

“BLESSED WITH A CURSE?” LINGUISTIC CONSTRAINTS ON THE CODE-SWITCHING OF BILINGUAL SHONA-XHOSA SPEAKERS IN CAPE TOWN

BY

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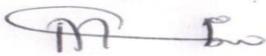
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DECLARATION

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I, **John Mambambo**, declare that **“BLESSED WITH A CURSE?” LINGUISTIC CONSTRAINTS ON THE CODE-SWITCHING OF BILINGUAL SHONA-XHOSA SPEAKERS IN CAPE TOWN** is my work and that all the sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



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ABSTRACT

Completely couched in and steered by the qualitative research method, this study examines the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The views of the key research participants obtained through participant observation, interviews and questionnaires were heavily relied on. The motivations for the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town were explored in this study, including the Shona-Xhosa interlink. Myers-Scotton's Markedness theory was scrutinized to discern the assorted social variables motivating the bilingual speakers to code-switch in Cape Town while the Matrix Language Frame Model was used to determine that Shona is the base language and isiXhosa is the embedded language in the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town. Diverse linguistic constraints were examined in the context of the Shona-Xhosa code-switching and their universality was disputed. Similarities between Shona and Xhosa were unearthed and the researcher recommends that further Shona-Xhosa studies be pursued.

KEYWORDS

Shona-Xhosa similarities; code-switching; bilingualism; linguistic constraints; interlocutors; bilingual; code-switching motivations; Markedness theory; Matrix Language Framework Model; constraint.

DEDICATION

to

my son Divine John Mambambo

and

my daughter Delight Jayden Mambambo

who brought some chaotic harmony to my world

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Various language contact situations exhibit different language elements complementing constituents of others in diverse linguistic phenomena, namely, reflexification, transferring, borrowing, diffusion, and code-switching. In many instances, the elements and constituents of one language find themselves acting as ‘barriers’ for smooth and uninterrupted communicative code-switching. Against this background, the main focus of the current study is on code-switching.

The current study explores the scarcely studied area of Shona and Xhosa code-switching. It is in the areas of sociolinguistics and theoretical linguistics and it takes a discourse analytic approach whose main focus is to prove if a blessing of having more languages becomes a curse amid a plethora of linguistic constraints faced by the Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

Code-switching occurs in multilingual communities where the general function of languages cannot be noticeably detached. This research depicts and exposes the linguistic characteristics of the Shona-Xhosa mixed-codes. It argues that Xhosa lexical and phrasal items are constantly integrated into Shona utterances in an explicit pattern since code-switching is most inclined to occur under explicit linguistic constraints and along precise boundaries in the mix. These sentiments are echoed by numerous scholars, (Verma 1975; Poplack 1980; Kamwangamalu 1989) and Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b and 1994). Languagesgulper.com classifies Shona and Xhosa under the same language group; the Niger-Congo (B) Bantu. Such a classification connotes that Shona and Xhosa have some similarities that this study explores.

Many linguistic constraints are clear in Shona-Xhosa speakers’ daily communicative interactions and the morphosyntactic structure rules of Shona cause resistance to any interference from any language that does not share the same linguistic rules in the particular context of use. The bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers’ interactions in Cape Town exhibit conversations that mirror a lot of code-switching. In this study, a ‘code’ varies from a merely spoken constituent ranging from as small a component as a morpheme to more inclusive and complex components like the whole gamut of language.

The study examines the complex phenomenon of the use of more than one language and how these languages tend to interfere with each other in the process constraining the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town. The study examines the Xhosa language hegemony over the foreign Shona language and how this complex relation inspires linguistic tendencies whose consequences are code-switching. This is clearer on the motivations for the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town.

Following the political turmoil and economic meltdown in Zimbabwe in 2008, there was a mass exodus out of Zimbabwe and people sought refuge from every corner of the World. Migration out of Zimbabwe existed prior to the imposition of the colonial borders by the colonial powers. De Guchteneire, Pecoud and Cholewinski (2009) note that the free movements of people across the national borders, either for political or socio-economic reasons have been in existence well before the borders existed. Migration to South Africa by the Zimbabweans was significantly augmented by the colonial politics that forced them to search for employment in South African farms, mines, and plantations. In some instances, people were compelled by the colonial powers to migrate so that they satisfy an array of imperative colonial demands. Regrettably, in all these migration instances, there were no inclusion, incorporation, and integration processes in the South African communities, leaving non-South African immigrants alienated and secluded in South African communities. For easy integration into the Xhosa communities among other reasons, Shona speakers had to learn to speak Xhosa and use it in their daily conversations leading to linguistic transformation. This has had a direct impact on the way they speak Shona in their different interactions in an elusive and subtle way that this study explores and endeavours to uncover.

From the constraint-based standpoint, directly follows a hypothesis that the same constraints corresponding to Shona, and the same processing style, corresponding to Xhosa, should underlie both sentence understanding and articulation. This is a more radical stance that this study pursues, bearing in mind that any deviation from the linguistic structure of either of the two languages results in the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers.

Studies of code-switching such as the current one enhance our appreciation of the character, processes, and constraints of language. Prominent among these code-switching studies are Myers-Scotton (1993a), Azuma (1998) and Boeschoten (1998). These studies also give us an

appreciation of the relationship between language utilization and the speakers' communicative strategies, language approaches and purposes within unambiguous socio-cultural contexts as noted by Auer (1998), Jacobson (1998) and Myers-Scotton (1993b).

This study breaks a new ground and aims to inspire more studies in the field of Shona-Xhosa linguistics leading to the possible production of a Bilingual Shona-Xhosa dictionary or Comparative Shona-Xhosa Grammar books in the near future. Moreover, it seeks to show that there are some unimaginable similarities in some of the grammatical structures of Shona and Xhosa, including words that sound and mean the same, excluding the borrowed words.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Many Xhosa-Shona bilingual speakers in Cape Town exhibit perceptible shadows of the Xhosa language when they converse among themselves. This has been a direct result of the Xhosa-Shona linguistic and cultural mixing. This study explores the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers.

Linguists across the globe have explored various causes, functions, characteristics and effects of code-switching. Linguistic constraints on code-mixing have also been explored in other world languages. However, there has been no research on this area in Shona-Xhosa bilingual code-switching to-date.

The investigations on the causes of the phenomena of code-switching in other world languages show social and psycholinguistic factors. According to Akere (1977), Bokamba (1989), Hymes (1962), Kachru (1989) and Kamwangamalu (1989), some of the motivations for the code-switching are, the expression of modernization, the undermining of certain traditional principles of the speakers, desire to develop a certain status, self-pride, comfortability, integrity, poetic originality, westernization, professionalism, modernization, efficiency, social advancement, prestige and innovations in the structure of one of the other languages. To this list of motivations, Gumperz (1982) adds the intragroup identity. It is interesting to note that all these scholars subscribe to the notion that code-switching is apparent in most bilingual communities. The current study explores the motivations for the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual Speakers in Cape Town. It is also observed that all the studies on the phenomena reviewed above

are silent on the underlying linguistic constraints on bilingual code-switching. It is this particular area that this study focuses on, particularly in the Xhosa-Shona communities.

When a second language is learnt and used by a group of people, in this case by the Shona immigrants or by virtue of the introduction of a new language to a resident population of the Xhosa community, they frequently introduce second language words and phrases into conversations with fellow bilingual speakers. Such phrases are referred to by Weinreich (1968) as nonce borrowings and they seem to constitute the thin end of the wedge in a variety of subsequent linguistic changes. Poplack and Sankoff (1984) note that nonce borrowings are evidently the route for the ultimate adoption and embracing of these lexical items as loan words into the immigrant or minority language, in this case, Shona language. This stage of 'adoption' has not yet been reached by the bilingual Shona speakers in Cape Town as they are still fully code-switching between Shona and Xhosa.

It is interesting to note that there are some deep similarities at morphophonemic levels between Shona and Xhosa and this encourages the code-switching by the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers. The exposition of linguistic similarities through this study might serve to bolster smooth integration of immigrants into the South African communities that are showing grave misgivings and misunderstanding of the immigrants.

Be that as it may, the similarities in some lexical items seem to create conflict and confusion in a speech in the utterances of Xhosa-Shona bilingual speakers. It is quite gloomy that there is no literature that focuses on this gray area in linguistics to-date. This study fills in this linguistics gap. This potentially improves the society at large as the Shona speakers are integrated into Xhosa communities.

1.3 Aim of the study

This research aims at exploring the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers.

1.3.1 Objectives

1. To ascertain the motive behind Shona-Xhosa code-switching.
2. To investigate the similarities and underlying linguistic differences between Shona and Xhosa languages.
3. To establish the constraints on the code-switching between Xhosa and Shona languages.

1.3.2 Research Questions

1. What are the motivations for the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers code-switching?
2. What are the similarities and the underlying differences between Shona and Xhosa languages?
3. What are the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the Xhosa-Shona bilingual speakers?

1.3.3 Justification of research

In order to fully examine and categorize the different types of patterns of switching in a Shona-Xhosa bilingual code-switching context and to fully address the other issues emanating from this phenomenon, this study is centered around the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa speakers residing in Cape Town.

The motivation behind the choice of this specific speech community and linguistic group stems from the fact that it represents one of the largest groups of bilingual speakers in Cape Town. The Cape Town population constitutes various immigrants from different nationalities like the Congolese, Somalians, Nigerians, Egyptians, and Pakistanis among others. However, the current study focuses solely on the Zimbabwean immigrants who speak Shona and Xhosa languages.

In 2008, masses of Zimbabweans immigrated to Cape Town. They did so due to socioeconomic as well as political reasons. A further motivation for this study stems from the fact that the phenomenon of the shift from Shona to Xhosa among the Shona speakers in Cape Town is a

frequent trait of these immigrants' speeches and daily conversations. It is a fact that this phenomenon is here to stay and the best that can be done by linguists is to gain a deeper understanding of the constraints on the code-switching of these speakers. The long term benefit of this study could be the production of relevant literature that further bridges the gap between Xhosa and Shona languages and communities.

1.4 Literature Review

The term *code-switching* (or, as it is occasionally written, *codeswitching*) is commonly used in linguistics and a range of its associated fields. Research on code-switching has immensely developed in the recent years, much of it focussing on the socio-functional factors that come into play to constrain it. Such studies include Genishi (1981), Gumperz (1971), Gumperz (1976), Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez (1975), Huerta-Marcias (1981), McClure (1981) and Valdes-Fallis (1976). However, these studies do not specifically explore the underlying linguistic constraints hindering the smooth code-switching processes. This is why the current study focuses on the 'linguistic constraints' on the code-switching of Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers.

An increasing volume of code-switching studies has dealt with the linguistic factors coming into play in the code-switching process. These include Gingras (1974), Gumperz (1976), Poplack (1980), Poplack (1981), Timm (1975), Wentz (1977) and Zentella (1981) among many others. From these code-switching studies, the general linguistic constraints surfaced. However, all these linguistic constraints were never tested from within the context of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual code-switching, a yawning gap, filled by the current research.

Ondene (2007) makes a closer analysis of the grammar of English-Afrikaans code-switching in South Africa. Her study focuses on the grammatical and structural facets of the code-switching between these two languages. The key objective of Ondene's study is to examine the worth of a description of intrasentential code-switching (i.e., where languages are switched within a single sentence) in terms of the Feature Checking theory, a theory linked to the minimalist syntax. The current research, however, explores the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. An array of theories, including the Markedness Model and the Matrix Language Framework are analyzed in an effort to gain a deeper understanding of the code-switching process and its dynamics in Cape Town.

The study by Poplack (1980) has been the most inclusive in elaborating the notion of linguistic constraints on code-switching. He discovers that code-switches are susceptible to occurring at points in dialogue where the concurrence of L1 and L2 elements does not breach a syntactic rule of either of the dual languages. This is usually at points around which the surface structures of the dual languages smoothly map onto each other. According to this clear constraint, a switch is repressed from occurring within a constituent produced by a rule from one language which is not found in the other. However, an analysis of Xhosa and Shona languages defies this rule to an extent and the current study reveals how bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers code-switch even in instances where the grammatical rules differ.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) present an exceptional synopsis of the theoretical evolution in the linguistic description of code-switching behavior over the past years, drifting from the interactional sociolinguistic methods, such as those of Le Page and Tabouret-Kelly (1985), through to the post-structuralist techniques, to the arbitration of identities. Gumperz (1982) stresses the significance of dialogue in code-switching, giving hints about conversational contributions such as conviction, reassurance and a shift of topic using data solicited mostly from conversations in Kenya. The current study analyses the scenarios where code-switching is used by the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in their natural environment in Cape Town. It appraises and investigates the specific contexts within which the Shona-Xhosa bilinguals code-switch.

The study by Myers-Scotton (1998) is centered on the social motivations for code-switching and reveals how the speakers engaging in code-switching utilize the social and psychological values which have come to be connected with diverse linguistic varieties in a specific speech community, relying on the concept of markedness to negotiate a transformation in social distance between the speakers and other participants in the conversation. The current study seeks to expose that many people who know two languages are sufficiently bilingual to switch codes strategically and skillfully and they are driven by socio-stylistic motivations such as commenting on insights of self, topics, and context. Expressing nuances such as these is not the only noteworthy factor in code-switching, therefore, this study further reveals that unlike Myers-Scotton's observation of speakers' code-switching to negotiate a change in social distance, the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers who are at similar social levels constantly code-switch in Cape Town.

Other scholars like Auer (1998) and Jacobson (1998) have pointed out that in many cases a shift between two languages is explained not so much by the arbitration of social identity, but rather by investigating the comparative linguistic abilities of the speakers. Zentella (1997) refers to this as the crutch syndrome, where a speaker who is bemused in one language keeps on engaging in dialogue using translated synonyms. In a parallel vein, Giampapa (2004) argues that it is not only numerous and shifting identities that are the core cause of code-switching behavior but that partial competence in certain linguistic domains may also exist. These scholars make these affirmations without analyzing the specific contexts in which speakers' code-switch. The present study looks at these assertions with the aim of evaluating their applicability within the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers' context. It reveals that code-switching within the Shona-Xhosa bilinguals' context has little or nothing to do with the speakers' linguistic competence or incompetence in certain domains but rather a status symbol.

Bilingualism rarely involves the routine, smooth, accurate and accent-free use of two languages, as using such a narrative and definition would make a few individuals eligible as complete bilinguals. More often, bilinguals have diverse abilities in their languages or use them in different domains, and Grosjean (1982) defines a bilingual as someone who uses two or more languages in daily speech; a definition in terms of language usage rather than skill or proficiency is perhaps more practical and this is the approach that this study takes. While generalisations can only be made with extra caution, it is doubtlessly harmless to suppose that the speakers in the Shona-Xhosa code-switching context are different bilinguals since their competence in Shona (the L1) is significantly better than in Xhosa (the L2). Nonetheless, they are unquestionably bilinguals in terms of Grosjean's definition, and they use Shona (L1) and Xhosa (L2) with some evenness. Kachru (1986) notes that code-switching reveals one's linguistic catalogue of bilingualism as well as one's degree of linguistic proficiency. Code-switching behaviour between Shona and Xhosa is improbably an authentic issue of preference of the marked versus unmarked codes to make a point. This research reveals some diverse motivations for the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers' code-switching.

The current study acknowledges that researchers examining a multiplicity of aspects of bilingual behavior are confronted with an assortment of challenges. There is a multiplicity of differences between the bilingual speakers and monolingual speakers that researchers must be observant about when embarking on a study on code-switching. Grosjean (1992) notes that bilinguals are not regarded as dual monolingual speakers in one, but as a particular group with its own set of

characteristics. Therefore, this research does not apply the same criteria applied to monolingual speakers as it investigates the bilingual speakers in Cape Town. Other factors classically linked to bilingual speakers, among others, of the discrepancy, found among the bilingual speakers, definitely set hurdles on the way of the study of Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers. This is carefully noted and does not bring bias to the research findings.

1.5 Definition of terms

1.5.1 Code-switching: Maschler (1998) defines code-mixing as the use of two languages such that a new code surfaces and the elements of the two languages are integrated into a structurally definable blueprint. Liu (2006) defines code-switching as the mere integration of words, phrases, and sentences from discrete grammatical systems. Muysen (2000) describes code-switching as the swift sequencing of numerous languages in a distinct speech event.

1.5.2 Code-mixing: According to Treffers-Daller (1992), there are two types of code-mixing: intersentential and intrasentential.

The term code-mixing emphasizes hybridization, while the term code-switching highlights switching from one language to another.

1.5.3 Linguistic constraints: A 'constraint' is a limitation or restraint. Therefore, 'linguistic constraints' are restrictions on the operation of linguistic rules or the occurrence of a linguistic construction.

1.6 Theoretical framework

This research makes an inherent assessment of the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The free morpheme constraint, the size-of-constituent constraint, and the equivalence constraint are examined. The research further presents a portrayal of the markedness theory as well as the matrix language framework model.

1.6.1 The Free Morpheme Constraint

The free morpheme constraint was one of the first linguistic and grammatical ideologies to be proposed as a constraint on code-switching by Poplack (1980). Poplack claims that the free morpheme constraint is sufficiently universal to offer a description of all cases of code-switching and, simultaneously, restrictive enough not to produce cases of non-occurring code-switches. It is noted that a switch to a code is inhibited between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless if the latter is integrated into the language of the former.

According to Poplack's universality claims, the free morpheme constraint is capable of accounting for the switching of the Shona-Xhosa codes in Cape Town. Code-switched greetings like "*Molweni vakomana*" (Hello boys), excuses like "*Xolo mhani guys*" (I'm really sorry guys) as well some discourse elements like "*Unoyiziva yandiri kuthetha*" (You know what I mean) and "*Ini ndinothetha manje*" (I can really speak IsiXhosa) are abundant in Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers' conversations. All these linguistic elements emerge as bound morphemes since they exhibit a strong inclination to be uttered as if they were uttered in a monolingual context. Examples of switches that are unacceptable in terms of the free morpheme constraint are explored during the current research. Examples of such inhibited switches are in words like "*Molo*" (Hi) where the prefix /*mo-*/ is also found in Shona as /*mho-*/ in "*mhoru*" (hello) while the affix /*-lo*/ is only found in IsiXhosa. According to Poplack (1980), a code-switch cannot occur in such an instance, unless the Xhosa morpheme has been phonologically integrated into the Shona language. This, therefore, implies that unless the /*mo-*/ in "*Molo*" is rephonologised to /*mho-*/, a switch of linguistic codes is absolutely inhibited.

This research explores how the free morpheme constraint affects the flow of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual's code-mixed speeches. Whether this constraint exists in Shona-Xhosa bilingual utterances is explored in this study. Morphemes like /*mu-*/ and /*-nhu*/ from "*munhu*" (Shona) and /*mu-*/ and /*-ntu*/ from "*muntu*" (Xhosa) as language specific bound morphemes are explored and a conclusion has to be reached as to whether these bound morphemes exist cross-linguistically especially within the context of bilingual Shona-Xhosa code-switching. It is apparently questionable to distinguish whether a Shona-Xhosa bilingual speaker would have used a Shona or Xhosa morpheme when they say "*munhu*" (person) since the morpheme /*mu-*/ is universal for the two languages.

1.6.2 The Size-of-constituent constraint

This constraint was propounded by Poplack (1980). Its main precept claims that larger linguistic constituents on the linguistic hierarchy are frequently switched during code-switching than the lower level linguistic constituents like nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and determiners for example. This constraint is supported by Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994) who declare that the appropriate constraints on code-switching should be invented in a hierarchical order and should utilize differences and associations already present in the grammar. These scholars then proceed to propose the functional head constraint. They suggest that a language feature, such as [+IsiXhosa] or [+Shona], is one of the pertinent qualities checked and the functional head requires that the language characteristic of its complement match its own equivalent feature. If the features do not connect, then the switching of a code is jammed and the utterance does not occur. Belazi et al (1994) scrutinize the constraint on switching between the heads and their respective modifiers, specifically between adjectives and nouns. From the collected data, it appears that code-switching is inhibited where the position of adjectives and nouns observe both grammars from which they are drawn for example “*vakomana abadala*” (Big boys). In this example, the Shona Noun /*vakomana*/ (boys) agrees with the Xhosa Adjective “*abadala*”(old). More analysis of the size-of-constituent constraint and the functional head constraint is pursued in the current study.

1.6.3 The equivalence constraint

The fundamental idea behind the equivalence constraint is that code-switching is permitted within linguistic constituents as long as the word order of the two languages corresponds at the sentence structure level. This constraint looks pretty straight forward, but its applicability is explored within the context of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual code-switching in Cape Town. This constraint reveals the linguistic relationship between these two languages. The analysis of this constraint is related to and complemented by the Word-Grammar Integrity Corollary. This purports that a word from language X, with grammar GX, must obey the grammar GX. This derives from the supposition proposed by Chomsky (1993), that all lexical entries are connected to morphosyntactic features. Belazi et al (1994), are of the view that what is applicable to all lexical entries in all languages must also be applicable to code-switching. This is why this corollary is looked at in relation to the Shona-Xhosa bilingual code-switching in Cape Town.

1.7 Research Methods

The qualitative data collection method is employed in this study because much emphasis is on the merits of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally studied in terms of numbers, quantity or regularity of occurrence. The qualitative data collection method refers to the studying of real-world situations as they occur naturally and there is a lack of prearranged constraints on the findings of the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town.

The data collection procedures range from observations, questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and observation. The personal experience, and general engagement with the respondents where the researcher has direct contact with and gets close to the people, circumstances, and occurrence under examination is critical in observations. The researcher's personal experience and insight are an imperative part of this investigation and significant to the perception of the phenomenon of code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

All of the Shona-Xhosa speakers from whom code-switching data are collected are adults (18 to above 40 years) and have resided in Cape Town for a minimum period of at least two years and have gained enough Xhosa vocabulary to enable them code-switch. The study further selects bilingual speakers with different educational backgrounds to obtain a balanced analysis of their bilingual Shona-Xhosa speech. It was admitted that Zimbabweans who speak Shona are spread out throughout a variety of classes in and around the city with Kraaifontein, Dunoon, Joe Slovo among others having the highest concentration of bilingual Xhosa-Shona speakers. The linguistic fieldwork is carried out predominantly in these neighbourhoods for accessibility purposes.

Descriptive research designs or the naturalistic observation is employed during this research. The descriptive research design was specifically chosen due to the nature of the current research that demands that we portray the naturally observed phenomena and it facilitates the answering to the questions of what, when, who, where, and how connected to a specific research problem of the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The subjects or participants are observed in a wholly natural and untouched environment.

Desk research was used to extract more information on different theories analyzed in this research.

The analysis of qualitative research aimed at appreciating the bigger picture by using the collected data to describe the phenomenon of linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The recorded speeches were transcribed and analyzed accordingly. This limited the amount of the collected data due to time constraints. The whole is superior to the sum of its parts, therefore, the social context of thoughts, events and actions became indispensable for the inclusive interpretation, especially of the motivations for the Shona-Xhosa speakers code-switch in Cape Town. The analysis of qualitative data began in the field, during participant observation and during interviewing, as the researcher identified issues that helped in understanding the linguistic situation.

1.8 Scope of study

This dissertation focuses specifically on the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of Shona-Xhosa speakers' conversations in Cape Town. It is divided into six chapters. The first Chapter introduces the research as it presents the statement of the problem, the aims of the research, research methods used to extract data, the research questions, justification and the scope of the research. Chapter two is the literature review. Chapter three presents the theoretical framework. Chapter four is the research methodology and the research methods. Chapter five outlines the analysis of the data that includes the examination of the 'relationship between Xhosa and Shona languages and further presents a discussion of the different linguistic constraints on Shona-Xhosa speakers' code-switched speeches. Chapter six presents the conclusion.

1.9 Ethical considerations

Ethics impact on all forms of research. All participants in this research were informed of a set of moral principles that ensured the respondents' confidentiality, anonymity and privacy as well as legality and professionalism in research. The method, possible benefits and probable inconveniences of partaking in the research were explained to the participants before data collection commenced. Full consent was sought from the participants and they were given ample time to ask questions. Participation in the research was voluntary and no one who decided not to participate was forced to give data to the researcher. Those who gave sensitive information remained anonymous for security reasons. Dencombe cited in Grix (2010) outlines the role of ethics in research as that which deals with what has to be done and what need not be done. It generally calls for an honest perception of phenomena, rather than a sensible perception.

It was the researcher's duty and responsibility to respect the participants who were involved in the research. All the interviews were only carried out after permission from the interviewees was obtained and after ascertaining the correct schedules of the participants' routine. The researcher was very clear on how he collected, analyzed and disseminated the gathered data.

It was of great necessity to pay heed to confidentiality and to maintain independence from possible attempts to manipulate the results during data collection and even after completion. The University of South Africa was to be informed of any issues, problems or complications that would be encountered by the researcher during the research process and the proper communication procedures were to be adhered to. A letter of consent was produced to all participants who needed it before data collection commenced.

1.10 Conclusion

The main aim of this study is to discover the linguistic constraints on the code-switching between Shona and Xhosa notwithstanding their apparent similarities at various linguistic levels. This chapter discussed the background of the study. It established how Zimbabweans found themselves speaking Xhosa in Cape Town and how this led them to code-switching which had its own constraints. This chapter also presented the aim and objectives of this study. The chapter also revealed that the qualitative research method was undertaken in this study and various research instruments used include interviews, questionnaires, and observations. The respondents were carefully selected on the basis of the time that they have spent in Cape Town. It is the hope of the researcher that this study inspire more studies between Shona and Xhosa.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The introductory chapter revealed that this study focuses on the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. While studies on the code-switching of bilingual speakers around the world abound, the opposite is true for the code-switching of Shona/Xhosa speakers and its related linguistic constraints. The current study would be incomplete if we would not explore the rationale behind the code-switching of the Shona/Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town as well as the strategies that the interlocutors employ to efficiently communicate amid a plethora of linguistic constraints. It is against this background that this chapter will be devoted to the review of the literature from the previous researches on the code-switching of bilingual speakers around the globe. In this section, the researcher looks at the background literature related to all the linguistic areas covered in this study. It is such an endeavour that situates this study in its rightful and practical context. The entire discussion in this chapter is done against the perception and understanding that it is convoluted and erroneous to claim that the linguistic constraints explored in this study are totally exhaustive especially given the fast-paced transitions that the global languages are undergoing.

2.2 Tracing the code-switching, linguistic constraints, and bilingualism studies footprints

Earlier works of the 1970s have been identified as appealing and inspirational by researchers in the linguistic spheres of syntax, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics. These publications on the syntax of code-switching are Poplack (1979), Poplack (1981) and the one that focuses on sociolinguistics is Blom and Gumperz (1972). Luckmann (1983) observes that code-switching developed from what was initially perceived as a unique act into what is currently recognised as an important subject matter that has now been extended to Shona/Xhosa linguistics through this study. Our perception about the structure of bilingual conversations was refined through the study of code alternation by Alfonzetti (1992), Li Wei (1994) and Sebba (1994). Fant and Halle (1952) made the early fusion of code-switching studies that included research on bilingualism, structural phonology, and information theory. The explicit initial mentioning of the term ‘code-switching’ was done by Vogt (1954) when he argued that, code-switching was a non-linguistic phenomenon and its apparent causes were resultantly extra-linguistic. These studies and their related subject matters will not be pursued any further to avoid misplacing the current research’s quest. Jakobson, Fant, and Halle (1952) are of the view that ‘switching codes’ implies the transition that a monolingual or bilingual speaker must effect to be able to decipher another

person's code or to construct such a change. These scholars, however, failed to account for the reasons why code-switching has come to subsume diverse forms of bilingual behavior. Accounting for such differences is outside the confines of the present study, yet critical.

Earlier studies on bilingualism were absolutely silent on the existence of 'codes' in languages, worse still 'code-switching, justifying reservations of oblivion of such an existence at this time. Haugen (1950a), Haugen (1950b) and Weinreich (1953) are some of these eminent, earlier works on bilingualism. Milroy and Muysken (1995) clearly state that code-switching is the key issue in bilingualism studies. Mestherie, Swan, Deumert and Leap (2000) concur with this sentiment by claiming that code-switching studies have largely been carried out in bilingual speech communities, a view supported by Riehl (2005) who argues that the majority of research on bilingualism focuses on code-switching. The turn towards an interactional and practical view of code-switching was instigated by Gumperz and Naim (1960). The study of linguistic constraints was launched on the conjecture of the pre-existence of dual-distinctive languages by Pfaff's (1979) study. This study queries if code-switching emerges out of the restraints in the surface-level combination of linguistic elements of the dual distinctive languages. Sankoff and Poplack (1981), indicate that if one intends to credibly argue for or against code-switching constraints, research should confirm beyond any reasonable doubt that speakers possess dual identifiable linguistic systems and that code-switching stems from the interaction that is predictable between the lexical items and grammatical rules from the dual languages. It is generally accepted that all research on code-switching is based on the hypothesis of the antecedence and pre-existence of two or more distinctive languages. The current study seeks to explore the existence of linguistic constraints on the code-switching of Shona/Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town. The existence of such 'constraints' proves beyond any reasonable doubt that the speakers in question possess dual identifiable linguistic systems, namely; Shona and Xhosa in Cape Town. The constraints paradoxically mirror the impenetrability in finding common grammatical patterns between these twin idiosyncratic languages. It is these Shona/Xhosa idiosyncrasies that are unique and of critical value to the current study.

The pioneering studies that dealt with code-switching were launched in the 1960s with the prominent works from Gumperz (1964), Lehtinen (1966) and Clyne (1967). These observations are supported and reinforced by Boumans (1998). Currently, there are arguably more code-switching studies between English and Spanish than on any other language pairs around the world. This trend was inspired by the earlier studies in code-switching in this language pair.

Grammatical structures and syntactic rules were analyzed in the 1970s and 80s, on the basis of English and Spanish. These studies were by Gumperz (1976), Pfaff (1976) and Myers-Scotton (1989) among the most prominent of such studies. It is such studies that inspire the current study and its line of inquiry by specifically focussing on code-switching in Cape Town by the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers.

The study of linguistic constraints is not a recent phenomenon either. Earlier studies that focussed on the linguistic constraints on the code-switching presented contentious findings. Lance (1975) while studying English-Spanish syntax argued and concluded that there are conceivably no syntactic restrictions on where the switching of codes occurs. However, other scholars who studied the same phenomenon in the same era had contrasting findings, Gumperz (1976), Kachru (1977), Pfaff (1976), Poplack (1980), Sankoff and Poplack (1981), Timm (1975) and Lipski (2005) who discovered that linguistic and syntactic constraints on code-switching flourish. Their most interesting observation was that some of the constraints can only be validated against certain language pairs and not others. It is such a discrepancy that this study seeks to explore by validating some of the most popular linguistic constraints against the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town. Such findings add a voice to this old debate on the linguistic constraints on code-switching.

2.3 Code-switching studies in other parts of the world

Auer (1998) notes the complexity of the linguistic affairs in Israel. It is noted that even though Israel has a single official language – Hebrew, it is de facto tremendously multilingual. In this work, it is noted that 80% of Israel's population speak at least two languages. The additional languages that are spoken are habitually of the immigrants; Hebrew is, thus, seldom spoken prior to the immigration of the bilingual speakers. What is worth noting is that new immigrants constantly import their languages into Israel, a situation that obtains in South Africa, and in Cape Town, to be specific, where the Shona speakers constantly import their language and use it alongside Xhosa, a local language in Cape Town, making the speakers bilingual.

Jacobson (1996), while contrasting Mexican-Americans and Malaysians to investigate the rationale behind their code-switching develops a proposal for the taxonomy of bilingual speakers into those; with an unbiased use of two languages, those with a somewhat major use of L1, those with markedly major use of L1, those with a somewhat major use of L2 and those with markedly major use of L2. These variables are particularly significant, in immigrant communities and they

shall be evaluated using the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers' scenario in Cape Town. Such variables were noted to be in existence in immigrant communities like the Turkish-German speakers in Germany (Pfaff 1990) and the Spanish-English speakers in the United States (Jakobson 1998b). It is fascinating to note, however, that while such a classification of bilingual speakers facilitates the question of the motivations for the code-switching of these speakers, the socio-cultural environments where code-switching exists significantly vary and hence the reasons why speakers code-switch, making it difficult to have a universal classification for all languages. It is for this reason that the current study seeks to consider the unique socio-cultural landscape obtaining in Cape Town to explore the rationale behind the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in this setting to add on to the whole gamut of discoveries in other world languages. To support this view, Li (1998) makes a study in Newcastle and notes that the Cantonese-English speakers code-switch for a variety of locally contingent reasons, including the compliance with the interlocutors' choices of languages aid the dialogue along, among other reasons. He observes that the question of why bilingual speakers code-switch must be sought after locally, conversation-by-conversation and speaker-by-speaker. This is the approach that the current study pursues. Myers-Scotton's (1993b) 'markedness' theory is utilized as a tool, framework, and guideline in this regard.

Aung (2010) studied the code-switching behavior of the bilingual Indian-English speakers in Indian films produced in India. The studied film transcripts of the code-switchers' dialogues uncovered an array of syntactic and morphological schemes that were employed by the speakers as they code-switched between Indian and English languages. These linguistic strategies included insertion and alternation. The current study explores the linguistic strategies employed by the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers as they code-switch in Cape Town. While this study on Indian-English code-switching is inspiring, it is worth noting that Bollywood movie transcripts are not a frank and reliable manifestation of how the bilingual speakers use language in India. Indeed, these movie scripts are products of artistic scriptwriters who have the liberty to depart from the norm for their artistic reasons and to obtain their anticipated effects from the movies. English usage in these studied movie scripts could have been intentionally trimmed down to accommodate the Hindu viewers, making this study unreliable in its linguistic findings. The current research, therefore, focuses on the authentic conversations of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in their bona fide and the real linguistic environment in Cape Town – wholly devoid of the make-belief code-switching as was done in Aung's (2010) study in India.

The Arabic-French study by Redouane (2005) revealed that code-switching constituted of smaller constituents like adjectives, determiners, adverbs, prepositions, nouns and verbs as well as the larger linguistic constituents like sentences and clauses. The current study explores where most switching occurs in the Shona-Xhosa code-switching. It seeks to establish if Shona-Xhosa code-switching consists of smaller constituents like adjectives, adverbs, nouns and other smaller linguistic constituents or if it consists of larger linguistic constituents like sentences and clauses. This is the gap that the current study seeks to fill. Moreover, Redouane (2005) did not investigate the factors and motivations for the Arabic-French code-switching, a yawning gap that the current research explores in the Shona-Xhosa code-switching.

Pandharipande (1998) recognizes and demonstrates that Marathi-Sanskrit code-switching alongside the Marathi-English code-switching defies some popular structural linguistic constraints on code-switching. She justifies this finding through the discovery that the genetic relationship between these dual sets of languages is dissimilar, the former being genetically close and the latter, genetically distant languages respectively. Such a discovery is also made by Annamatai (1989) where it is noted that there is a discrepancy between code-switching that involves Indian languages only and that which involves English and Indian languages. The current study seeks to explore the linguistic-genetic link between Shona and Xhosa as Bantu languages and how the relatedness affect the linguistic constraints on the code-switching between these two languages.

2.4 Code-switching studies in other African countries

In a research into the forms of languages attained at different periods in the lives of the members of the influential in Nigeria, Ayeomoni (2006) studies the Irele and the Okitipupa areas of Nigeria. This study establishes that bilingualism manifests itself in the early childhood years of primary school kids who start code-switching at this early age. Given this background, the study encourages English language teachers to formulate the means of stopping the consequence of code-switching from affecting the acquisition of this language by young speakers. The current study, however, does not view code-switching as a harmful interference, but rather a way of developing language as it looks at the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town, a phenomenon that has hitherto, not been tapped on.

Leyew (1998) carried out a research in Ethiopia, a multilingual country in Africa. This research reveals how prevalent code-switching is in this country. It is noted that code alternations are

rampant from other languages into Amharic and switching from Amharic to English is widespread among the educated elite. The matrix language is Amharic and English is the embedded language – the linguistic constraints underlying the code-switching between these two languages are exposed. The syntactic categories that are easily permissible and those that are restricted and impossible to Amharic-English alternation are exposed, including how the monolingual speakers view code-switching. Leyew's (1998) research concludes that Amharic-English code-switching is methodical, rule-bound and conventional. Finally, the question of why the bilingual Amharic-English speakers code-switch is addressed and answered, identifying the underlying motivations. It is worth noting, however, that the study was carried out in Ethiopia, focussing on the switch between Amharic and English – the current study, being carried out in South Africa and between the code-switching of Shona and Xhosa, inherently differs in setting and context. The motivations for the code-switching as well as the linguistic constraints on code-switching are explored and examined in the context of these two languages that have not been studied together hitherto, in this context. The switches that are permissible and those that are impossible and restricted between Shona and Xhosa as bilinguals try to and as they code-switch are further examined.

Gimode (2015) examines the socio-structural developments from urban code-switching in Nairobi, Kenya. She identifies some social motivations for this code-switching as the bilingual speakers interchange between Kiswahili-English and Lulogoli-English in their daily conversations as well as the linguistic patterns emerging in this process. Two theoretical models guided her research, Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model and the Matrix Language Framework. The Markedness Model was used to identify the critical social variables motivating speakers in Nairobi to code-switch including, among others, education, various social domains of interaction, status, and age of the bilingual speakers. It was observed and emphasized that these social factors that are in the urban context largely affected the motivations for code-switching in Nairobi, making the code-switching process, a strategy in its own right, to maximize conversational benefits. The Matrix Language Framework was used largely to analyze the linguistic features of the corpus that were used in the research. The model was tested and it successfully explained numerous examples that were used in the research. In the current research, the same theoretical models used by Gimode (2015) inspire the inquiry into the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. Further inquiry is extended to the motivations for the code-switching of these speakers in Cape Town.

Mugari (2014) analyses and investigates code-switching that is displayed in the Zimbabwean urban grooves music and he emphasizes that code-switching is a music style as well as a linguistic style marker for this youthful music genre. It is further argued in this research that the urban grooves musicians use code-switching as a unique stylistic device that distinguishes and marks this genre from all other types of Zimbabwean music. Code-switching by these musicians is also regarded as a matter of and an expression of linguistic choice by these young musicians – a clear description of motive for the switching. The current study, however, does not focus on a music genre where the artists deliberately alter their language to suit the demands of their young audience, but focus on language usage within the normal speech community of the Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The motive is further interrogated within this setting.

Shona-English code-switching is a subject of focus of Mashiri (2002) who looks at the code-switching behavior of the bilingual Shona-English students at the University of Zimbabwe. The matrix language is Shona and the embedded language is English in this context. Shona-English morphosyntactic constraints are analyzed and it is noted that for smooth code-switching to occur, English's morphosyntactic structure must match the Shona morphosyntactic structure, reducing the linguistic constraints on the code-switching between these two languages. It is further noted that the University of Zimbabwe students uses English of considerable syntactic and lexical profundity that retains its semantics and syntactic integrity even in code-switched conversations. The current study investigates if the code-switching between Shona and Xhosa leave either of the two languages with semantic and syntactic integrity in code-switched utterances. It also analyzes the differences between Shona and Xhosa morphosyntactic structures and how such differences influence and impose linguistic constraints on the code-switching between these two languages.

Chimhundu (2002) deals with the question of language transformation and change. His research narrowly examines how Shona responds to its interaction and encounter with foreign languages like English where it adopts and adapts the majority of its various linguistic elements. He looks at adoptions in Shona where English is the major source language as well as other minor contributors like Portuguese, Afrikaans, Fanagalo that are major sources of adopted words. More emphasis is on the lexical transfer processes and their continuity as the Shona language is looked at as an open system that is constantly undergoing change, a view adopted by the current research. Chimhundu (2002) discloses that languages that are constantly in contact are subject to the adoption and adaptation processes, a critical view in light of the current research as it zooms

into the possible future implications of the Shona-Xhosa contact evident through code-switching in Cape Town. Code-switching is viewed as evidence of the ability of the bilingual speaker to draw from a broad range of bundled codes. Chimhundu made more tentative conclusions, asking more questions than providing answers and the current study seeks to bring more answers to questions, especially those surrounding the relationship between Shona and Xhosa languages as well as the linguistic constraints on the code-switching between these two languages.

2.5 Code-switching studies in South Africa

Code-switching research has been extensively conducted in South Africa, though much of it focussed on this phenomenon within an educational context. A trace of such research can be traced back to Adendorff (1993), Ncoko, Osman and Cockroft (2000), Ramsay-Brijball (2004), Nangu's (2006) masters dissertation, Rose's (2006) masters dissertation, Rose and Van Dulm (2006), Olugbara (2008) and Songxaba's (2011) D.Ed thesis. The focus of the research on code-switching in education is far removed from the purpose of this study and for that reason, acknowledging them suffices and their detailed focus shall not be further pursued.

De Klerk (2006) analyses some facets of code-switching behavior of mother-tongue Xhosa speakers who also speak English and generally regarded as bilingual speakers. The study enlightens readers about the extent of bilingualism of the speakers who were researched on, indicating the difficulty of measuring the extent of bilingualism of the speakers in general. The studied speakers used unstructured and relaxed discourse, an approach that is adopted in the current study to study the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town. In the current study, Shona-Xhosa bilingual participants were encouraged to converse normally and not to worry about their laughing and colloquialism.

Hlongwa and Ndebele (2014) focus on the provision of an overview of the socio-cultural motivations of IsiZulu-English code-switching in Durban, South Africa. Much focus of their study is on the social functions of the linguistic phenomenon of code-switching as well as the motivational factors for the code-switching of these bilingual speakers. An interesting point is made that code-switching is a complex process that demands a great amount of skill from the speaker. An erroneous conclusion is reached by these scholars that code-switching involves the use of an indigenous African language like Zulu and English, an assertion that the current study refutes completely as it focuses on the code-switching between Shona and Xhosa, two African languages in Cape Town.

It is demonstrated in scholarship that code-switching is apparent in Cape Town. Bowers' (2007) Masters dissertation investigates code-switching within the context of the Cape Flats speech community of Cape Town. The subjects of research are English-Afrikaans bilingual speakers and they use these languages in the formal and informal contexts. As a consequence of their contact with these two languages, historical and political influences, these bilinguals constantly exploit and use these two languages within a single dialogue and utterance. It is noted and emphasized that code-switching is a fundamental part of this speech community. The major rationale of the research was to unearth and examine the motivations behind code-switching in the Cape Flats area of Cape Town while presenting a strong argument and observation that code-switching prototypes evident in the bilingual English-Afrikaans speakers in Cape Town flatly defy the general linguistic constraints that are ostensibly and generally applicable to all languages. The current study, however, focuses specifically on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town, examining the linguistic constraints on the code-switching as well as the motivations for the code-switching of the speakers in question.

The strongest criticism to the free morpheme constraint as well as the equivalence constraint within the South African context seems to emanate from Hara's (2006) Master's dissertation who carried out a study on the simultaneous acquisition of three languages by a three-year-old child. The three languages acquired are Chichewa, Chitumbuka, and English. Much interest in the current research is on the findings of Hara's study that the child's code-switching was largely influenced by the subject of discussion, the context, and the interlocutor's assorted input. These, to the studied child, were the motivations for the code-switching. The current study, however, investigates the rationale behind the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual adults in Cape Town. While studying the child's triple-language acquisition and code-switching, the study flatly disputes the free morpheme constraint as well as the equivalence constraint in that they do not emerge to be collectively relevant and applicable to all languages. This adds on to the defiance of the universality of the linguistic constraints by Bowers (2007). However, the Matrix Language Framework is supported because it applies to code-mixing involving English and Bantu languages. Its relevance stemmed from the evidence obtained from the code-switching between English, Chichewa, and Chitumbuka. The current study evaluates the applicability of the free morpheme constraint, the equivalence of structure constraint and the size-of-constituent constraint within the context of the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town.

Da Costa's (2010) masters dissertation pursues a discourse analysis of code-switching practices among the Angolan migrants in Cape Town. The study takes a closer look at an array of code-switching issues confronted by the Angolan migrants living in Cape Town. The study broke new ground by studying the code-switching of the Angolan immigrants in Cape Town, in the same manner, that the current study studies the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in the same city. The effect of space, power discourse, language dogma and the general attitude on the prototype of internal intrasentential code-switching by the Portuguese-English speakers are examined closely. The ultimate findings of the study revealed that the communication of long-term migrants exhibits marked and unmarked social code-switching. Unmarked social code-switching is marked by a premeditated effort by the participants aiming to achieve some gains while the marked social code-switching is independent of any gains or rewards to the speakers. Interestingly, both of these social code-switching types were inspired by a search for a fresh identity and elimination of the Angolan immigrant newcomers from the speech of the other speakers who had spent more years in Cape Town. The current study explores the motivations for the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the four categories of literature related to this study, which covers (a) the tracing of the surfacing of code-switching, bilingualism, and linguistic constraints studies. (b) Code-switching studies in other parts of the world. (c) Code-switching studies in other parts of Africa and (d) Code-switching studies in South Africa. In this chapter, it was demonstrated that code-switching studies cannot be separated from bilingualism studies. In mapping the current study, this chapter illustrated that much of the code-switching and linguistic constraints studies did not exclude the motivations for the code-switching of various bilingual speakers around the world. Moreover, Myers-Scotton's Markedness theory was largely used to identify the various social variables motivating the bilingual speakers to code-switch while the Matrix Language Frame Model was used to identify and analyze the linguistic features of many examples from various languages around the world. The detailed reference to the other theories related to this study is a subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter presented a review of the literature concerning the code-switching behavior of speakers around the world. It further revealed the various motivations for the code-switching of this wide spectrum of speakers and the various strategies that these speakers employ to avert the challenges presented by the constraints on their code-switching. Furthermore, linguistic constraints were examined within the different linguistic contexts in which they were identified around the world. This chapter presents a vital synopsis of the theoretical questions as well as the methodical and practical questions most rampant in the study of the socio-pragmatic and structural dimensions to code-switching. Intra-sentential and inter-sentential study of code-switching has been approached primarily from two angles, the structural, grammatical/syntactic perspective, and the socio-pragmatic/discourse perspective. The structural approach to code-switching studies is principally concerned with the grammatical aspects. Its focus is to identify the syntactic and morphosyntactic constraints on code-switching which is the core focus of the current study. The socio-pragmatic approach, however, sees code-switching mainly as a discourse phenomenon, focusing on the questions of how social meaning is created in code-switching and the exact discourse functions that it serves. Given this framework, this research provides a critical synopsis of the competing theories and models prevailing in the study of the structural and the sociolinguistic dimensions of code-switching. A range of distinctive theories and models will be discussed in this chapter, emphasizing more on how these influence this study. A separate set of models that look at the linguistic constraints on code-switching will be explored within the context of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual code-switching in Cape Town.

3.2 The structural approach to the code-switching studies

It is predominantly believed that bilingual speakers pursue explicit rules in terms of what to merge and what not to merge in their speech according to Kamwangamalu (1994). Such rules that have been advocated include the Free Morpheme Constraint, the Equivalence Constraint (Sankoff and Poplack 1981) and the Matrix Language Frame Model (Myers-Scotton 1992) and (Myers-Scotton 1993).

The Matrix Language Framework Model (MFL) informs the structural analysis and study of the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. Myers-Scotton (1993) introduced the MFL to clarify intrasentential code-switching of bilingual speakers. During the process of intrasentential code-switching, the distribution of dual languages is uneven. The prevailing and

dominant language becomes the Matrix language (ML) and the less dominant one becomes the Embedded Language (EL). ML is primarily the first language of the speaker or that in which the morphemes and words are habitually used in conversations. The difference between content and system morphemes is critical in identifying the ML and distinguishing it from the EL. Content morphemes comprise of verbs, nouns, adjectives, some prepositions, express semantic and pragmatic aspects and receive thematic roles that are indispensable in expressing messages in communication. System morphemes, on the other hand, include function words and inflections and they express the correlation between content morphemes without assigning or receiving thematic roles. They are necessary for building and establishing grammatical frames. Myers-Scotton's (1993) MFL model is principally structurally based. MLs enormously have abstract grammatical frames where ELs are inserted during code-switching. The speaker's proficiency is used by Myers-Scotton to classify code-switching into two categories. A more proficient speaker who is capable of producing sufficient grammatical structure in the ML engages in classical or conventional code-switching. However, when the speakers are deficient in the grammatical frame of the anticipated ML, part of the theoretical and abstract grammatical structure comes from one variety and the other part from a different one. This type of code-switching is recognized when the speakers have vague intentions about the preferred ML. Both of these types of code-switching are discussed in this research.

Myers-Scotton's MLF model is an authoritative tool to depict not only code-switching, but also a variety of language contact phenomena and also language acquisition. It is in light of this view that this study of linguistic constraints on the code-switching of Shona-Xhosa is based on the Matrix Language Model.

3.3 Is bilingualism being blessed with a curse?

Pavlenko (2005:433) notes that research in bilingualism has accrued a remarkable amount of data on lexical and cognitive processing in bilingual individuals, but he tells us little or nothing about the impact of linguistic and cross-cultural differences in thought processes of the bilingual speakers. It is this gap that the current study seeks to fill as we take a closer look at the linguistic constraints to code-switching between Shona and Xhosa languages. The current study pays closer attention to both structural/linguistic and functional or discursive levels of interaction between language and thought as the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speaker code-switches.

It is interesting to note that code-switching has been frequently linked to a processing cost or rather a processing curse. According to Bialystok (2001), we habitually consider bilingual speakers to be those people who are capable of speaking two or more languages to a certain level of proficiency. Macnamara and Kushnir (1971) established that bilinguals were slower to read language-mixed passages than single-language passages. This seems to be a curse linked to the blessing of bilingualism. Meddling effects from language changes have also been reported on lexical choice latencies in lists of unrelated words. Bilingual speakers were found to be slower to distinguish words in one language when these were preceded by words from another language, signifying that switching languages, influences word identification processes negatively as noted by Granger and Beauvillian (1988) as well as Granger and O'Regan (1992). These studies support the idea that the identification and incorporation of a linguistic code different from that mostly used by the speaker entail processing costs for the speaker. The current study explores if these processing costs are manifesting as the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speaker code-switches and code-mixes. It is noted, however, that the bilinguals' speeches are moderated by factors such as the simplicity which a switch can be acknowledged and the constraint of the framework in which the switch is embedded. This idea is supported by Li (1996).

The idea of the impact that language has on the character of the speakers is a noteworthy one. According to Crystal (2000), in a universal diglossic situation, the dominated language is there to articulate the character of the speakers as members of their particular speech community. It is noted that a less dominant language is not capable of doing this. In contrast to this view, he also notes that only at the point where people have completely misplaced their sense of identification with their ethnic origin will the new language suggest an alternative and a comfortable linguistic home, often resulting in total cultural assimilation. The current study seeks to establish the effect that the acceptance and use of Xhosa have had on the identity and sense of self of the Shona speakers in Cape Town. Ultimately, it has to be established whether the possession of Xhosa as a language has been a blessing or a curse to the Shona speakers in Cape Town.

3.4 Motivations for code-switching and code-mixing

Linguists across the globe have investigated in their experiments the causes, functions, and effects of code-switching and code-mixing. Such investigations on the causes of the phenomena, for example, have revealed sociolinguistic factors as well as psycholinguistic factors. According to these scholars, some of the causes of code-switching and code-mixing are the intragroup identity, according to Gumperz (1982) and poetic creativity according to Kachru (1989). It is noted however that some of the reasons for code-switching identified by these scholars apply when code-switching occurs between African languages and the non-African languages like English. This, therefore, means that there are some particular reasons for code-switching that are unique to code-switching between African languages like Shona and Xhosa and this study explores such motives.

The Markedness Theory is one of the most eminent theories that explains the motivations for the code-switching of the bilingual speakers. Myers-Scotton (1993a) reveals that the markedness model presumes code choices as some indexing rights-and-obligations (henceforth referred to as RO) sets between speakers in any form of communicative contact. The unmarked ROs set derives from the situational features that are most important in the community in that form of communication. The markedness model therefore succinctly accounts for the social motivations for all sorts of code-switching, based principally on the negotiation principle. According to Myers-Scotton (1993a), this principle entails that speakers choose the structure of their dialogue contribution in a manner that signifies the set of RO's that they wish to implement between speaker and addressee in a specific exchange. Myers-Scotton cited in Pütz (1992: 418) says that the negotiation principle and the axioms or maxims connected to it:

Encapsulate the human predisposition to use code choices as implicating intentional context about presentations of self and/or perceptions of rights and obligations holding between self and others.

This negotiation principle underlies the motivations for code-switching that are explored in this study within the context of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town.

Groundbreaking research on code-switching focussed on studies of bilingualism and language contact. The major research was carried out by Weinreich in 1953 and this was followed by

Blom and Gumperz in 1972. By the early 1970s, code-switching took the limelight as more researchers developed inquisitiveness in the interactional functions and the social impetus of the offshoots of bilingualism. Several purposes were recognized and connected to code-switching, with most of them being related to a complex of interwoven social and contextual variables such as interlocutors, the situation, and the topic of discussion. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) proposed that in addition to these domains, code-switching, and language selection are also influenced by the socio-psychological theory, for example, envisaging that speakers' desires to connect to or detach from a group will direct their language choice. The current study investigates the conversational functions and social thrust of the causes and consequences of Shona-Xhosa bilingualism in Cape Town.

Lexical gaps have been identified as one of the considerable causes of code-switching. Bilinguals code-mix in order to find an easy way to express themselves. Luke (1998) recognized code-mixing as a way of filling in the lexical gaps. These gaps develop when the target words are not yet in the linguistic inventory and repertoire. The flip side of this idea is that the proficiency of an individual in a language determines the lexical gaps and the bilingual speaker would then draw upon words from another language to fill in the lexical gaps. Chan (1998) discovered that during the Cantonese-English code-mixing conversations, English nouns make up the prime quantity of code-mixed words. The current study focuses on Shona-Xhosa code-switching and seeks to establish the rationale behind this linguistic phenomenon.

The medium of learning has been identified as one of the motivations for code-switching in other world languages. Li (2009) says when a concept C is introduced in language X, C tends to be psycholinguistically mediated through language X, even through the same concept is encountered later in language Y. Li (2009) points out that the medium-of-learning effect is one important factor that makes code-switching so difficult to avoid. The current study looks at some bilingual Shona speakers who have Xhosa as their medium of instruction in their colleges and universities around Cape Town and explores how this has affected their code-switching patterns.

According to Myers-Scotton (1995), young children's motivations for code-mixing might be psycholinguistic in nature, but the adults' motivations often entail sociolinguistic as well rhetorical factors, with linguistic factors occasionally playing a role as well. The current study explores why the Shona-Xhosa adult bilingual speakers code-switch in Cape Town.

Wardhaugh (2006) refers to a single language or a variety of languages as a code. Terms like language, dialect, style, standard language, and pidgin are said to be prone to rouse some emotions. What is interesting to note at this moment are the factors governing the selection of a specific code over another. The questions of what motivates people to choose one code over another, what causes shifts from one code to another, why they sporadically favour using a language formed from two other languages by shifting back and forth have to be answered by the end of the current research. A monolingual speaker would be regarded as a misfit, lacking the necessary skill of being able to interact freely with speakers of the other languages with whom the regular contact is made. Wardhaugh (2006) further argues that within each code, there will also be a likelihood of choices, not all of which will have the same importance because some will be more marked than others. This is likely what causes linguistic constraints and the current study evaluates this hypothesis by analyzing Shona-Xhosa bilingual code-switching in Cape Town.

Wa Thiongo (1986) argues that while language serves a communicative function, it is also a carrier of culture. The connection between language and identity has long been recognized and acknowledged. Language, if looked at from WaThiong'o (1986)'s perspective, is both a constructor and a manifestation of social identity. However, this association between language and culture becomes more complex in a bilingual community where the languages and cultural values bear lopsided social prestige. This study tests if Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town is a choice to emphasise the bilingual's bicultural identity.

According to South Africa's 1996 Bill of Rights, it is clearly stated that all the people have the right to use a language of their preference. In addition, the point is made that any people belonging to any linguistic community may not be deprived of their right by other members of that particular community. These constitutional stipulations allow the Shona speakers to freely use their language within the predominantly Xhosa communities in Cape Town and this might be the reason why they end up code-switching with Xhosa. The current study searches why the Shona speakers code-switch in Cape Town.

3.5 Linguistic/Grammatical constraints on bilingual code-switching

Originally, the proper concept of a rule was borrowed from the computational concept of post-production systems introduced by Emil Post in the 1930s. In Generative Grammar, one of the

essential characters of a ‘*rule*’ is that it maps groups of linguistic threads onto other classes of linguistic threads in a precise way: the rule determines the change. Constraints are therefore less discrete fundamentally owing to the realism that their chief attribute is that of not being rules. The word “rule” is also frequently used to refer to what we would now categorize as a well-formed constraint as is established in parts of Stanley (1967). Constraints are primarily limits, so the precise character of a constraint is dependent on whether one is limiting a rule, a root, or a depiction. The current conventional use of this term sees constraints as assessing structures, but initially, constraints were restrictions on the convention, typically defined in terms of a string characteristic. The present study uses the term constraints with enormous allegiance and loyalty to the original meaning of the term.

In recent years, research on linguistic constraints, increased and it progressively pointed more toward the universality of three linguistic constraints on code-switching: (1) equivalence constraint, (2) size-of-constituent constraint, and (3) free morpheme constraint. The present study breaks itself away from the Spanish-English prototype - the dual languages upon which most code-switching studies have been based and draws upon data from a language contact situation between Shona and Xhosa - the two Bantu languages that are syntactically dissimilar yet sharing some notable linguistic similarities.

Sankoff and Poplack (1981) shed more light on the equivalence constraint by arguing that code-switching occurs at points where the placing of lexical items from one language into another does not infringe the syntactic rules of either language. Hara (2006) seems to have given the equivalence structure the strongest criticism within the South African context by flatly contesting its universality as it was inapplicable to the Chichewa-Chitumbuka languages of Malawi. The overall argument that the Equivalence Constraint is not universally valid is tested against the milieu of the Shona-Xhosa code-switching context in Cape Town.

The size-of-constituent constraint articulates that higher level constituents on the linguistic hierarchy are inclined to be switched regularly than the lower level constituents (Poplack 1980). Below the linguistic level of a sentence, nouns frequently involve the greatest number of switches. The current study explores the dominant pattern of switches as the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers converse. This constraint has significant corollary ramifications for theories of bilingualism since it is continually found to correlate with the bilingual speaker’s linguistic competence. Recurrent intrasentential code-switching is connected to high bilingual proficiency,

while the intersentential code-switching is connected to the lack of proficiency or the supremacy of a language over another. In light of this constraint, the Shona-Xhosa bilingual code-switching constraints are evaluated in Cape Town. Much focus, in relation to this constraint, will focus on its applicability within this specific linguistic context.

Regarding the free morpheme constraint propounded by Sankoff and Poplack (1981), a code-switch is repressed between a bound morpheme and a lexical form except when the lexical form has been phonologically included into the language of the bound morpheme in question. This constraint has however received much condemnation from Slabbert and Finlayson (1999) who used examples of code-switching where the lexical items are not phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morphemes, as is alleged by this particular constraint. Its universality has also been questioned by Ramsay-Brijball (2003) who argues that it applies to certain code-switching cases but not on all of them. The present study evaluates this constraint and explore if it applies wholly or in part to the Shona-Xhosa bilingual code-switching context in Cape Town.

Assortments of linguistic constraints on code-switching have been proposed by various researchers, each focusing on switching across different sets of languages. Some of the proposed constraints are language-specific, while others act as universal constraints for code-switching, applicable in any language. Muysken (1995) indicates that switching of the linguistic codes is feasible under the following circumstances:

- i). When no determined relationship exists between grammatical elements or when there are no perceptible rules preventing a switch,
- ii). Under equivalence: when the order of the grammatical elements is homogeneous in both languages,
- iii). When the constituent undergoing the switch is morphologically abridged, and
- iv). When the first word of the switch can belong to any of the languages involved, such as ‘in’ which has the same meaning and is pronounced in the same way in German and English or ‘mu’ which has the same meaning and is pronounced the same way in Shona and Xhosa as in ‘munhu’ and ‘muntu’ (person). It is apparent that this is applicable to the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town and forms a strong basis for sound academic arguments.

Myers-Scotton (1993b) presents word order equivalence as a possible linguistic constraint. This prevents the occurrence of code-switching when the ML word order and the EL do not overlap.

This constraint means that a code-switch is repressed from happening within a component generated by a rule from one language which is not mutually accepted by the two languages. This makes this constraint more applicable to code-switching occurring between languages sharing analogous and equivalent syntactic structures. The current evaluates this relationship of the Shona-Xhosa languages to ascertain the possibility of the existence of this grammatical/linguistic constraint on code-switching.

In sentence conception, the phonological or morphological data, may or may not be incompletely absent due to some noise, the semantic information may not be abundant because of familiarity or lack of knowledge on certain topics. This noise results in a variety of linguistic constraints that this study focuses on. Even though there is a broad consensus on the reality of the existence of constraints, there are many discrepancies over the nature of these constraints, the question of whether these are linguistic in nature. The Chomskyan approach to language, however, suggests that the constraints are linguistic rather than cognitive in nature. These linguistic constraints are represented in the form of a Universal Grammar (UG) – an enormous biologically innate endowment of linguistic knowledge (Chomsky 1986). The current study exposes the linguistic constraints to code-switching between Shona and Xhosa in Cape Town.

3.6 Bantu languages interlink: Zone S / The Niger-Congo B Bantu

According to Nurse and Philippson (2003), the Bantu language family has a total of about five hundred languages spoken by roughly two hundred and forty million people. This research cannot be an exhaustive panacea, hence focussing on two of these five hundred Bantu languages, Shona, and Xhosa with emphasis on how these two are related or linked. While it is acknowledged that all due diligence is done in these aforementioned languages with regard to the analysis of the linguistic constraints between them, it is further emphasized that they are not representatives of the whole gamut of the Bantu language family. It is admitted, however, that data from other Bantu languages might be cited where it serves to stress an argument as we focus on Shona and Xhosa. A literature review on Bantu languages reveals that no study has ever focused on the linguistic duality of Shona and Xhosa and it is this wide gap that this study seeks to fill.

In the 20th century, several classifications of the Bantu languages were attempted by an array of scholars. From Johnston (1919/1922), more or less authoritative statements were released on

how to classify these languages by Doke (1945), Guthrie (1948), Guthrie (1971), Cope (1971), Bastin, Coupez and Halleux (1983), Bastin, Coupez and Mann (1999) and Dalby (2000). Some of these scholars only focused on specific sections of the Bantu area like Doke (1954), Nurse and Philippson (2003), Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993), the current study espouses a similar approach. While focussing only on Shona and Xhosa, the current study adopts the eminent classification and coding system of Guthrie (1971). This has been done calculatingly to purge any inconsistencies that might have been created by an array of scholars who attempted to classify the Bantu languages. Moreover, this stance is justified by the fact that Guthrie's (1971) zone S classification has been unanimously acknowledged by almost all of the different scholars who classified Bantu languages. It is worth noting, however, that Guthrie (1971)'s classification is basically an aerial-typological classification exhibiting anything from much to no linguistic genetic validity. Therefore, this study focuses on the specific linguistic characteristics that are homogeneous and heterogeneous between Shona and Xhosa that encourage and hinder smooth code-switching respectively. Upon wider comparison of Bantu languages, no consistent pattern has emerged across languages and this study seeks to explore if any, consistent pattern can be established between Shona and Xhosa languages in a wider linguistic continuum.

Striking similarities in structure and vocabulary among the Bantu languages are such profound that one can, without fail, note their common ancestry once descriptive data has been obtained. Genetic relatedness of the Bantu languages have been uncontroversial for more than a century. According to Guthrie (1948:11), determination of this connection and relatedness is based on "(a) a repertoire of a common lexical inventory, and (b) a distinctive system of grammatical genders, noun classes marked by prefixation and extensive concordial agreement patterns." The current study explores the lexical inventory for Shona and Xhosa together with the various concordial agreement patterns of these languages. Guthrie further notes that the group is a unit with a wholly linguistic importance, whereas the zone is not. This assertion was shared by Doke (1945:1) who noted that the division into zones was "mainly a geographical classification." Doke went on to say that a zone was an area "characterized by uniform or similar linguistic phenomena". This study, therefore, reveals that Guthrie's (1948) conclusions about the 'zones' were flawed and erroneous since Shona and Xhosa were classified under the same 'zone' yet they exhibit some strong linguistic resemblance on various linguistic levels.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, an account of the on-going academic discourse on code-switching and linguistic constraints on code-switching was presented. Diverse theories and hypotheses pertinent to the present study of the code-mixing of bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town were analysed, including the Free Morpheme Constraint, the Equivalence Constraint and the Matrix Language Frame Model that explain the structural aspect to code-switching. The Markedness theory was identified as the relevant theory to explain the motivations for the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The size-of-constituent constraint was also analysed within the context of the current study. An argument on the relationship between Shona and Xhosa as Bantu languages was launched, indicating a close similitude in some of these two languages' features. The subsequent chapter will present the research methodology of the present study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented diverse theories pertinent to the current study with the objective of placing it within its apt theoretical framework. In an endeavour to evocatively deal with the study objectives outlined in Section 1.3.1 and the research questions raised in Section 1.3.2 of Chapter one, this chapter presents the methodological approaches that were utilized for data collection and the methods used to analyze, present, examine and discuss data gathered from the field. It discusses the detailed and specific research methods used in data collection. It further presents a demographic and physical impression of the current research setting. The major data collection tools used in this research include the questionnaires, participant observation, audio recordings, and interviews. The ethical considerations are also outlined and an account of the limitations of the current study is also presented in this chapter.

4.2 Qualitative research design

The qualitative research design was used in this study and it has an assortment of definitions. Despite the apparent diversity and the occasional contradictory nature of the underlying assumptions about its intrinsic qualities, several scholars have attempted to capture the essence of qualitative research by naming a set of its key intrinsic worth. Some scholars prefer to define qualitative research in terms of what it is *not*. Jupp (2006) posits that qualitative research investigates the characteristics of people's lives which are not subject to quantitative analysis. In light of this definition, the present study is devoid of any quantitative approaches and profoundly relies on the researcher's interpretation and construal of the meanings of the collected data and this is presented argumentatively. In addition to that, Ibid (2006) argues that the nature of qualitative research characterized by profundity, depth, and detailed analysis forces it to be on a mini scale and this is a clear advantage of the approach. It is on this same basis, among other reasons, that the current study chose to critically analyze the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town and views that stem from the research participants using the qualitative approach.

Qualitative research is based on and grounded in the narrative of observations. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) characterize qualitative research as that which entails a true-to-life and natural approach. The implication of this observation is that when one engages in qualitative research,

they come face-to-face with the phenomena that they will be inquiring about or the people offering them the crucial data, who in a sense also offer their understanding and interpretation of the phenomena around them.

It is essential to note that there is a reasonably broad consensus among scholars that qualitative research is a naturalistic, interpretative approach concerned with the deep understanding of the meanings which people attach to diverse phenomena. Bryman (1988) echoes the same sentiments when he observes that the manner in which the research participants construe and comprehend their surrounding environment is the key to qualitative research. In the current study, the bilingual Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers have been studied in their natural environment in Cape Town. Punch (2003) identifies qualitative research as that research which is pragmatic and its data is not in numerical form. Much emphasis here is being laid on the investigation of social phenomena which is not quantifiable.

With the intention of avoiding people from becoming exaggeratedly fixed on the variations that make simple definitions of qualitative research complex, it is conceivably helpful to underline the key elements which are generally agreed to give qualitative research its distinctive character. It is bluntly perceptible from the definitions by the scholars above that qualitative research focuses on obtaining meanings and interpretation of social phenomena. The current study, therefore, revolves around the close reading and the critical interpretation the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town as well as the responses from the participants regarding their code-switching experiences.

4.3 Research Data collection methods and procedures

For the purpose of this study, the researcher elicited data through a range of data collection procedures. These included observations, interviews, personal experience, questionnaires and the general engagement with the participants.

4.3.1 Interview Method

The researcher solicited for the data from bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town using interviews among the other selected data collection instruments. Jupp (2006) observes that an interview represents a dialogue between people where personal and social contact takes place.

Since the current study is centred on the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town, the researcher had to first identify the key respondents. The recognized participants from whom data was solicited through interviews were bilingual speakers who had stayed in Cape Town for a period of not less than two years by the time the research commenced. This particular and special group of individuals was identified as the key research participants because they possessed unique data and consented to share their information with the researcher, grounds noted and supported by Le Compte and Goertz in Fetterman (1984). The other acknowledged key participants in the research were linguists or experts in the research area, a key feature of the key informants according to Muranda (2004). A total of four (4) linguists were interviewed by the researcher and they furnished the researcher with crucial linguistic data. Two other groups of participants were interviewed through semi-structured interviews to elicit data. Each of these groups consisted of six (6) participants whose educational backgrounds varied significantly, but were equally bilingual in Shona and Xhosa languages.

Open-ended questions were used during the interviews in order to solicit as much data as was possible and the participants were given a chance to choose a language between English and Shona for their interviews. The interviews were generally treated as a simple conversation between the researcher and his respondents. It is generally argued by Saville-Troike (1989) that this data collection instrument may solicit extensive cultural data and the detailed explanations of encounters among the different members of the community in specified different contexts. The researcher fully subscribes to this notion and all of the interviews for this study were face-to-face.

Creswell (2003) sums up the pros and cons of interviews as a data collection instrument. According to him, interviews can be divided into three classes, face-to-face, telephone or group interview. According to him, the face-to-face interview is most helpful when the respondents are not accessible for observation. However, its flaw is that the solicited data is sifted by the interviewees. Telephonic interview, on the other hand, becomes useful in a research because it provides the participants with ample chance to provide some historical information. However, this method of data collection is equally flawed since the data is not collected in the natural setting. Finally, group interviews are beneficial since they enable the researcher to manage the

line of questioning even though his presence may cause some bias in the collected responses. Such a summed-up analysis of the interview method was born in mind by the researcher as he solicited for the data using an interview method in Cape Town.

The researcher found the interview method valuable in collecting data, especially from the linguists. This is because the interviews permitted the researcher to make follow-up questions in order to obtain data with greater accuracy. The interviews provided clarity and immediate feedback to the researcher. This clarity was made possible by further probing the interviewees on their Shona-Xhosa code-switching experiences in Cape Town

4.3.2 Questionnaire Method

A questionnaire was also selected as a data collection instrument for the current research. A questionnaire is a printed self-report form designed to extract data that can be solicited through the research participants' written responses. Raj (2005) defines a questionnaire as a method in which information is obtained with the help of questions prepared solely for the reason. Goddard and Melville, (1996) describe a questionnaire as a printed inventory of questions that respondents are asked to answer. These scholars further present some of the salient characteristics that depict a high-quality questionnaire and these were taken into cognizance by the researcher as he designed the questionnaire for the current study. According to them, an ideal questionnaire has brevity, only asks pertinent questions, gives lucid instructions, is complete as it solicits for all the data necessary to a study and has sensitive questions at the end.

Questionnaires were personally distributed by the researcher to the respondents in their neighbourhoods. The questionnaire was handy in gathering data from identified key participants who were bilingual speakers who had stayed in Cape Town for a period of not less than two years and with diverse academic credentials. Pertinent data were collected from a total of fourteen (14) respondents using this instrument. Of these fourteen (14) participants, seven (7) were Honours Degree graduates, four (4) were linguists and three (3) were undergraduate students.

Bias was avoided by taking extra caution during the drafting of the questionnaire and during the data collection process. The questionnaire that was used in this study is attached as Appendix 1 on page 95. All questions were designed in a user-friendly manner that would require no involvement by the researcher to clarify any questions.

The researcher relied upon convenience sampling to implore data from the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. Bryman (2001) views a convenience sample as one that is essentially available to the researcher. For the purpose of this research, bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers who had stayed in Cape Town for a minimum period of two years were selected as a more expedient group because the researcher was staying in Cape Town for the duration of the research.

There were some selected instances where the participants preferred questionnaires to interviews and the researcher respected their choices. Some of the questionnaires were physically circulated to the participants, but some were sent to the participants using Google forms and survey monkey, where the participants' responses were instantly received in the email of the researcher. The responses received from the participants formed the basis for the arguments presented in this study. It is commonly beneficial to use questionnaires to solicit data because they assemble a huge amount of data from masses of people over a reasonably short space of time. This benefit of questionnaires was essential in this research given the time constraints for the collection of linguistic data.

4.3.3 Observation

The researcher also collected data through participant observation during his general engagement with the participants in addition to the interviews, questionnaires and personal experience. This enabled the researcher to be an eye witness to the phenomena he was exploring, an experience supported by Denzin and Lincoln (1998) who are adamant that a researcher must be in touch with the research participants. During the researcher's observations, he took some notes on the observed code-switches and also recorded the participants' conversations. The physical observation of research participants is regarded as one of the most recognizable methods of ethnographic data collection. This perception is completely subscribed to by Saville-Troike (1989) who argues that the key to a triumphant participant-observation is liberating oneself as

much as is humanly feasible from the sieve of one's own cultural familiarity. Fundamentally, when the researcher observed bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town, he was open and perceptive of the cultural values of his participants and ensured that his own cultural knowledge would not interfere with the study.

4.3.4 Recording of group conversations

The researcher recorded some group conversations at the shopping malls in Khayelitsha, Joe Slovo and Kraaifontein where many bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers were found. Many of these participants were working in Hair Salons around these shopping malls and recordings were done with their approval. Fishman (1972) notes that linguistic choices are predictable on the basis of the domains in which they occur, therefore, this became the basis on which the researcher selected these particular settings to record the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers' conversations.

The dominant topics in these discussions were not selected by the researcher. The interlocutors alternated between the dominant topics that ranged from soccer, politics, religion, the economy and xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The reason why the researcher did not choose topics for the speakers was to enable himself to obtain genuine, raw and natural data from the participants. Though the speakers were aware that they were being recorded, they engaged in their normal day-to-day conversations and they were encouraged to stick to their normal way of speaking and pretend as if the researcher was not in their midst. Since there was less freedom of speech in Zimbabwe, and the Government authorities arrested anyone who spoke against their political systems, the researcher had to let the participants enjoy their freedom of speech in South Africa surrounding the political atmosphere in Zimbabwe. Such discussions allowed people from varied educational backgrounds to engage and freely articulate their feelings and emotions, exposing their natural way of communication where they constantly code-switched. It is critical to remember, however, what Kreckel (1981) noted, that audio recordings tend to influence the participants' behavior. Kreckel further argues that it is safest to presume that speakers never completely lose their awareness of being recorded. Prior to the commencement of the recording of the participants' conversations, the researcher inquired from the participants if they were comfortable with being recorded and all the respondents were absolutely comfortable.

After the observations and recorded interactions, the researcher also requested the participants to complete a questionnaire after the appropriate procedures had been clearly explained to them.

4.4 Population and setting

This research was carried out in Cape Town, particularly in Khayelitsha, Joe Slovo, and Kraaifontein areas. These are high-density suburbs that are generally densely populated and often house the immigrants, and the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speaking migrants who are the participants in this research. These high-density areas are more affordable to the majority of immigrants who will be trying to find their feet in their new 'country'. Saturday and Sunday are the days when the majority of the people in these areas is free from work. In essence, for the purposes of this study, the weekend was ideal for the extraction of most of the data that was generated for this study. The researcher found it fairly easy to collect data from these participants since he was staying in Cape Town. The research was predominantly conducted over the weekends and on public holidays. This research focused on thirty participants, all migrants from Zimbabwe. In this study, the researcher identified participants who were Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers and had stayed in Cape Town for a period of not less than two years. These were the key participants in this study and they included bilingual Shona-Xhosa university students as well as linguists. As noted by Muranda (2004), the key informant technique entails conducting investigative research by searching for and conversing with the participants with well-known knowledge and proficiency in the area of research. The researcher, therefore, used the data obtained from the key participants to draw conclusions on the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town as well their respective motivations for code-switching.

The ages of the participants for this study ranged between 25 to 64 years, but the majority of the participants were between 25 and 44 years old. The educational backgrounds of the participants varied from high school graduates to Masters Degree graduates. Of the thirty (30) consulted participants, ten (10) were high school graduates, six (6) graduated from technical colleges, three (3) were undergraduate students, seven (7) were Honours Degree graduates, and four (4) were Master Degree graduates (Linguists). All of the participants resided in Khayelitsha, Joe Slovo, and Kraaifontein by the time the research was conducted. These areas house the lower to middle-class people, speaking to the social status of the participants in this study. All of the participants

in this study were fully bilingual, speaking both Shona and Xhosa, but their mother tongue was Shona. All of the participants had stayed for a minimum period of two years in Cape Town by the time of the study. It was of vital worth for the researcher to cautiously select the participants in the current research, especially on the basis of the length of their stay in Cape Town which was to be a minimum of two years as well as the participants' proficiency in both Shona and Xhosa, marked by their capacity to code-switch between these two languages.

4.5 Data analysis

Three broad classifications of the collected data were identified in this study and will be analyzed respectively:

- ❖ The structural analysis of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa code-switches that will enable us to explore the linguistic relationship between Shona and Xhosa,
- ❖ The motivations for the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town and,
- ❖ The linguistic constraints identified from the collected data.

The standard focus of the data analysis informing the structural analysis of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa code-switches in Cape Town is Myers-Scotton (1993)'s Matrix Language Framework Model (MFL) that was discussed and highlighted in the preceding chapter. This model was carefully chosen due to its apparent provision of an in-depth theoretical background for the structural analysis and clear elucidation of intrasentential code-switching.

The scrutiny of the data, divulging the motivations for the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town would be deficient without the use of the Markedness theory propounded by Myers-Scotton (1993). This specific model was selected because it is one of the most distinguished theories explaining the motivations for the code-switching of bilingual speakers. Had Auer's (1998) model been selected to analyze the motivations for the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town, it would have reduced this research into mere individual inferences taken from exchanges in conversations. Eggins and Slade (2006), however, note that such incomplete analysis cannot explain the way in which patterns from different levels of language interrelate to create the meanings of informal conversations. This would have been the case with our analysis of the Shona-Xhosa code-switching motivations as well. Through the use of the Markedness model, this flaw was averted by grouping the respondents by their age groups, educational backgrounds and their length of stay in Cape Town.

In addition to this, Myers-Scotton (1993) presents a fascinating line of argument by adding that the Markedness theory clearly outlines that in spite of speakers having a common sense of “markedness” regarding their accessible linguistic codes for any linguistic contact, they decide on the codes to use based on the character or relations which they wish to develop with others. Such an ability by the speakers to decide on their own codes imply that they are conscious of the “... potential costs and rewards of all alternative choices” (Myers-Scotton (1993:75)). Such a power to choose, unlike Auer’s (1998) conversational analysis, taps into participants’ influence associations and not just their role in the instantaneous interactions, and this is why this model becomes critical in analyzing the motivations for the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

Data processing took the researcher through the data transcription process. The recorded files from the Shona-Xhosa speakers’ speeches were circumspectly listened to and devotedly transcribed. In this process, some ‘noise’ was omitted from the files during transcription. This ‘noise’ included some other conversations from other people who were in the background whose conversations had nothing to do with the current study. The transcribed files were ultimately verified as the researcher listened to the audio files while reading the transcribed files. All the transcribed data of the Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town were analyzed using the Markedness Model.

Ultimately, the analysis of the data that speaks to the linguistic constraints identified from the collected data is inspired by the close examination of the following basic constraints; the equivalence of structure, size-of-constituent, free morpheme constraint as well as the word-order-equivalence. Sankoff and Poplack (1981) offer a detailed illumination of the equivalence of structure constraint. These scholars’ main tenet is that a constraint is found at points where the overlaying of lexical items from one language onto another inhibited. The bilingual Shona-Xhosa code-switches are closely analyzed using the tenets of this particular constraint.

According to Poplack (1980), the size-of-constituent constraint claims that higher level constituents are inclined to be switched more and regularly than the lower level constituents. The analysis of the collected data from the Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town pays close attention to the assertion of this constraint and proves its validity thereof.

The Free Morpheme constraint, propounded by Sankoff and Poplack (1981) is also used to analyze the collected data with the aim of proving or disproving its validity within the context of the Shona-Xhosa code-switching. This constraint outlines that a switch is inhibited between a bound morpheme and a lexical form except where the lexical form has been rephonologised to match the language of the bound morpheme. Shona-Xhosa switches are closely analyzed to validate or disapprove of this claim. This constraint is analyzed together with Myers-Scotton's (1993b) word-order-equivalence which also claims the Matrix Language (ML) and the Embedded Language (EL) word order must overlap to avoid a constraint. The analysis of this constraint enhances the understanding of the basic linguistic relationship between Shona and Xhosa languages. In a nutshell, the relationship between these two languages will only be understood well after a close analysis of the said linguistic constraints.

4.6 Ethical considerations

Conducting research demands the researcher's skill, expertise, knowledge, and meticulousness, but above all, it demands the researcher's truthfulness, honesty, reliability, and integrity. This is fundamentally done to defend the rights of the individual subjects who are participants in the research. For the study to be regarded moral and ethical, the rights to choose, secrecy, privacy and informed consent are observed. Prior to the commencement of the current study, an application for Ethical Clearance was launched with the Department of African Languages' Research Ethics Review Committee at the University of South Africa. Having met the ethical requirements, an Ethical Clearance Certificate with a reference number; Ref#: [2016_DALRERC_001] was issued, authorizing the commencement of the research. The participants were informed of their privileges and rights to willingly approve of or decline participation and to withdraw from the research at any time without being subjected to any penalty. The purpose of the current study as well as the data collection procedure was revealed to the participants prior to their decision to participate in the study. The participants were also guaranteed that there were no potential risks or costs involved if they would decide to participate in the study. During the data collection process, no participants were hurt, injured nor stressed up. Anonymity and confidentiality were assured to the participants by not requesting their names on the questionnaires and not including their names in the research report.

Prior to the commencement of the data collection process, a statement of the informed consent form, as well as an informed consent form, were issued to the prospective participants. These

forms clearly explained and briefed all the participants on the title of the research, the aims of the research, gave participants the assurance that there would be no study discomforts and the fact that the participants would be free to withdraw from the study at any point without risking being penalized for consenting to participate in the first place. Participants were also notified of the expected time that would be required of them if they consent to participate. The participants were also given the contact details of the researcher as well as those of the researcher's promoter so that they would freely report any issues that they would pick as the researcher collected the data in the field. They were also requested to keep the statement of informed consent form as proof of their participation in the study. Ultimately, the researcher avoided dishonesty and deceit by truthfully recording the participants' responses to the questionnaires and transcribing the audio recordings. There was absolutely no manipulation of data.

4.7 Limitations of the research

According to Cohen and Morrison (2000), the qualitative and ethnographic research methods have an array of technical hitches which have a potential of affecting the study's validity and reliability. The difficulties are the reaction of the participants to the researcher's presence and the negligence of the wider social contexts of the participants who are dealing with a contextualized and focussed research. These identified issues are of great significance to the current research and the researcher admits that the participants' behavior was to an extent influenced by the presence of the researcher even though the participants were encouraged to behave naturally. During the interviews, some of the participants revealed that they felt threatened and uncomfortable being interviewed by a Masters student when their highest educational achievement was a high school graduation. The researcher, however, assured the respondents that the questions asked would be easy to respond to, their level of education was respected and their responses valued. This assurance gave the participants confidence and they became free to provide the needed data.

Just as Oakey (1981) cited in Denzin and Lincoln (1998) notes, interviews as a data collection instrument can be equated to marriages where behind every closed front door there is a wide range of secrets and issues. The researcher acknowledges that behind every interviewed and observed respondent were a whole range of issues stemming from their unique cultural and

social backgrounds and some peculiar view of the real world around them. The researcher respected the uniqueness of each respondent but did all in his power to ensure that these differences would not interfere with the study in any significant way.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter presented a detailed synopsis of the methodological approaches that were employed for collecting data in the field and the methods that were used to analyze, present, scrutinize and examine the solicited data. It revealed that the current study pursued qualitative research. It further discussed the detailed and specific research methods that were used in the data collection process of the current research. The major data collection tools used in this research include the questionnaires, participant observation, audio recordings, and interviews. The key participants in the research were identified as the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town. These participants had stayed in Cape Town for a minimum period of two years by the time the research was conducted and they came from varying educational backgrounds. These participants were also fully bilingual and they used Shona and Xhosa in their daily conversations. A detailed account of the ethical considerations that were adhered to in this study was outlined and an impression of the limitations of the current study was presented in this chapter. The subsequent chapter provides a full analysis and discussion of the collected data.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

The current chapter is completely devoted to the analysis of the collected data. The collected data were analyzed and interpreted using qualitative data analysis methods. The qualitative methods which were employed in this study comprise of thematic analysis, content analysis, and critical discourse analysis. The discussion topics are divided and separated into sections along with subsections to enhance the clear analysis and the smooth discussion of the research findings. This is also done to place the current research into its proper context, to address the specific aims as well as objectives and ultimately respond to all the research questions that were posed in Chapter one of the current study. The sections include the determination of the base language between Shona and Xhosa, the motivations for the Shona-Xhosa code-switching, the linguistic constraints on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching and the Shona-Xhosa interlink.

The section on the determination of the base language outlines whether Shona or Xhosa is the matrix language and provides reasons for this argument using the Matrix Language Frame Model. The subsequent section focuses on the motivation for the Shona-Xhosa code-switching, specifically focusing on the provision of sufficient evidence from the research participants to reflect the motivations of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. It furthers its argument through the analysis of some of the theoretical framework presented in Chapter three. Chief among these theories is Myers-Scotton's Markedness theory that explains the motivations for the code-switching of bilingual speakers. Some of the code-switching motivational patterns that emerged from the bilingual interlocutors' discourse are discussed.

The section on the linguistic constraints on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town that surfaced from the solicited data presents a detailed analysis and discussion of these findings. The equivalence constraint, the size-of-constituent constraint as well as the free morpheme constraint are among the chief linguistic constraints analyzed in this chapter. Other linguistic constraints that were identified in Chapter three like Muysken (1995) and Myers-Scotton's word order equivalence are also analyzed and discussed within the context of the collected data from the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town. This leads to the section on the relationship between Shona and Xhosa languages in general. This is followed by the discussion of findings and the conclusion.

A total of sixteen (16) copies of the questionnaire was handed out to the respondents, fourteen (14) of which were completed and returned. The majority of the questions on the questionnaire were used during the semi-structured interviews in the field. Groups of respondents were also observed while conversing on different topics that were recorded and transcribed for analysis. A total of 30 (thirty) participants contributed to the current study.

5.2 Determining the Base/Matrix Language between Shona and Xhosa: An analysis through the Matrix Language Frame Model

Since the current study is centred on the code-switching of Shona-Xhosa bilingual code-switching in Cape Town, it is essential to recognize the base language from the language of the switch, what Myers-Scotton (1997) identifies as the ‘matrix language’ and the ‘embedded language’ respectively. The identification of the matrix language further enables us to recognise the linguistic base upon which the linguistic constraints on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching emerge. It is argued that the matrix language supplies and dominates the grammar for the code-switched discourse. It is this matrix language which resists the defiance of its grammatical rules during code-switching in some specified instances, resulting in the surfacing of linguistic constraints on the code-switching process. It is admitted however that in some few discourse instances, linguistic constituents swing and oscillate numerous times from a language to another in a single sentence as in (75): Ndati **mabeze bacule abantwana** avo ndichakamira [*I said those kids must come and sing while I’m still standing*]. (2): **Ninjani? Mna ndiyathetha kodwa dzimwe nguva ndinotywa** [*How are you? I speak IsiXhosa but I am scared at times*]. Evidently, there is no pragmatic and empirical reason to insist that linguistic stretches like these two above consist of a single primary matrix language, Shona with apparent insertions from the embedded language, Xhosa. However, it is apparent that code-switches of this nature are extraordinary, unusual, rare and the minority in the overall Shona-Xhosa code-switches, making Shona the base or matrix language and IsiXhosa, the embedded language. Generally, the majority of Shona-Xhosa code-switches in Cape Town exhibit some stretches of numerous sentences that undoubtedly belong to Shona except for some sporadic IsiXhosa constituents as in (33): Ndakakumbira **makhoti** kuti andibatsire basa kuno [*I requested my daughter-in-law to assist me with my job*], (7): Hapana achamuda **ngoku** [*Nobody is on his side now*], (5): **Yintoni entsha?** Chii chitsva? [*What’s new?*] or (77): Vamwe vanhu vanofarira kungob**huda** pese-pese [*Some people enjoy speaking incoherently*].

The model that applies to the Shona-Xhosa code-switching scenario is the Matrix Language Principle, which is commonly known as the Matrix Language Frame Model. Kamwangamalu (1994) and Kamwangamalu (1996) applies it to the code-switching in English. In line with the arguments presented in identifying the matrix language by Myers-Scotton (1997) and Bhatt (1997), it is evident that Shona is the matrix language and Xhosa is the embedded language in the context of the code-switching under review. Myers-Scotton (1997) argues that the matrix language supplies more morphemes in a discourse than the embedded language as in (26): Ta|-a-|-ku-|-da- -zvi-|-tsva **ngo-|-ku-** [*We want change now*]. Clearly, there are six Shona morphemes and only two Xhosa morphemes, indicating that Shona is the matrix language and IsiXhosa, an embedded language. Bhatt (1997) argues that the matrix language marks the tense, aspect and agreement in a discourse that is code-switched. In (30): Izvozvo **zvinobanjisa** nyange muno [*You can be arrested for that even here*] the tense of the whole code-switch is determined by Shona which is the matrix language. The matrix-embedded language rapport is maintained throughout the study. Shona supplies the grammatical framework for the Shona-Xhosa code-switched constituents. Shona is plainly providing the grammatical framework in the presented code-switching scenarios from Appendix 2 and 3 in terms of numerous morphemes, tense and agreement markers, making it unquestionably the matrix language.

Speaker A in Appendix 3 says, Hatikurudziri **ukulova** kukereke [*We do not encourage absenteeism from Church services*]. In this example, it is Shona that is contributing to the grammatical framework for the code-switched expression and is consequently regarded as the matrix language. Shona is marking the present tense in this utterance. This was said when two Christian friends were engaging in a discussion around Christian faith and Christian values.

5.3 Motivations for the Shona-Xhosa Code-switching in Cape Town

Table 1: Shona-Xhosa switched conjunctions

Turn Phrase

Number	Phrase
77	kodwa ngavafambe vese [<i>But they need to move together</i>]
77	ngoba kwave kusviba [<i>Because it's getting dark</i>]
78	ngoba unowira muchivi [<i>Because you become susceptible to temptation</i>]
83	kodwa havadi [<i>But they are adamant</i>]
85	ngoba ndizvo zvinodiwa naJesu [<i>Because that's what Christ expects of us</i>]

29	<i>ngoba</i> hatityi izvi [<i>Because we are not scared of this</i>]
89	<i>kodwa</i> veduwee ngatiitei serious, Jesu vave kudzoka [<i>But guys, let's be serious</i>] <i>Jesus is about to come back again</i>]

There is an emerging pattern surfacing from the Shona-Xhosa bilingual interlocutors' discourse illustrating an unswerving dependents on the conjunctions '**kodwa**' [*but*] and '**ngoba**' [*because*]. All through their code-switching, the Shona-Xhosa bilingual interlocutors use these conjunctions frequently in an assortment of speech circumstances, suggestive of the fact that these conjunctions are heavily relied upon in their day-to-day code-switching.

These two conjunctions also emerge as exclamations as in (91): Aa, **ngoba!**? [*Aaa why!?*] , interjections like (92): (*Interjecting*) **Kodwa** itai muchiita *serious* [*But you need to be serious*] as well as sentence fillers as in (93): Ndange ndakutsanangura **kodwa** wandidimbudzira [*I was about to explain but you interjected me*]. Furthermore, the Shona-Xhosa interlocutors in Cape Town use these two conjunctions to offer explanations as in (29): **Ngoba** hatityi izvi, **kodwa** tiri kuona zvedu [*Because we are not afraid of this, but we are just careful*]. It is apparent that the conjunctions 'because' and 'but' serve a solely communicative and social purpose and not necessarily a grammatical purpose when used by the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. In this specific context, it is clear that the Shona-Xhosa interlocutors are motivated to code-switch by social factors.

The use of conjunctions from Xhosa rather than Shona is also attributed to the social motivations for code-switching. It is clear from the Shona-Xhosa code-switching that the switching process is not necessarily planned but emerges as the interlocutors negotiate meaning. In light of this view, one can only assume, and justly so, that the switch serves and achieves a specific communicative objective, that of indexing one's bilingual Shona-Xhosa identity, a notion supported by Banda (2005). This manifests more in (21): Nhasi nyika yese **inolila** [*Today, the whole country is in agony*]. In this example, the bilingual speaker would have efficiently and conveniently used a Shona word 'inochema' [*is in agony*] where he used a Xhosa word '**inolila**' [*is in agony*]. Another clear example is (22): Havachatyi **ukufa** vanhu [*People are no longer scared of being killed*]. It is clear that the use of the Xhosa variant has lengthened the Shona word 'kufa' [*to die*]. In (11): Ndozvakaite **tifudukele** kune imwe nyika. Nzara vanhu **yakavabetha** apawo zuva **rakavatshisa** zvekutoshaya **vakawangwaba** [*That's why we migrated to South Africa. People*

were hunger struck and the sun burnt them and nobody buried them], the speaker would have simply said in Shona, ‘...Nzara vanhu yakavaruma, apawo zuva rikavapisa...’ [*People were hunger stricken and the sun burnt them*], but clearly the speakers code-switched to appeal to their Shona-Xhosa bilingual community in Khayelitsha. The use of Xhosa words in conjunction with the Shona phrases, therefore, demonstrates that the speakers recognize themselves and those around them as members of the Shona-Xhosa speech community.

The collected data from the code-switching discourses exhibit switches as a marked choice used by the interlocutors to express social identity and to augment social distance between the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers and the monolingual Shona speakers. It is clear that a Shona speaker would not understand the conversations between two bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers engaging in a dialogue. (79): Speaker B: **Ukuty**a ndokunonotsa, munhu otozorovha [*People are delayed by eating and they end up being absent from Church services*] and (80): **Indlala** yemhandoi iyoyo? Ndisatani chete. [*What type of hunger is that? It’s only the devil*]. In these two examples, it is clear that the insertion of Xhosa words blocks the semantic flow if a monolingual Shona speaker tries to listen to their conversation, revealing the unintentionally marked choice of the two bilingual speakers. The speakers might also be attempting to identify with each other in the process revealing their motivation for code-switching.

A lucid pattern emerges from the collected linguistic data, Shona is the dominant and matrix language for all conversations. Despite the topics under discussion, Xhosa remains an embedded language. It is interesting, however, that code-switching occurs endlessly, serving a variety of functions and purposes.

It is clear from the collected data that Shona has a strong effect and influence on the Shona-Xhosa interlocutors’ pronunciations of Xhosa words. The bilingual code-switchers exhibited deep and heavy accents characteristic of Shona speakers who acquired Xhosa as a second language. Communal and peer influence appeared to have played a significant role in the pronunciations of these speakers as well as their general code-switching tendencies. In (1): **Molweni** vadikani [*Hello guys*], the Xhosa bound morpheme /**Mo-**/ is pronounced as a Shona morpheme /**Mho-**/. In (7): Hapana achamuda **ngoku. Ngubani?** [*Nobody wants him now. Who?*] the Shona accent in the question ‘**Ngubani?**’ is too heavy that it was almost impossible to identify it as such and imperceptible until the researcher listened to the recorded tape several times. The speakers spoke as they speak the Shona word ‘nguvai’ [*What time?*].

Some examples reflect mixed utterances as in (10): Gore riye **takasokola** [*We struggled in that year*], (11): Ndozvakaite **tifudukele** kune imwe nyika. Nzara vanhu **yakavabetha** apawo zuva **rakavatshisa** zvekutoshaya **vakavangwaba** [*That's why we migrated to South Africa. People were hunger struck and the sun burnt them and nobody buried them*]. (24): Dai tiri kumusha **tisingathethi** sezvizvi [*If we were in Zimbabwe, we wouldn't be talking like this*] and (65): **Patnobala** zvinofananawo [*When we count, it's the same*]. In these utterances, the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers used Shona and Xhosa to form a single word, a linguistic scenario that can only obtain in a bilingual set-up and around the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers, speaking to the motivation for their code-switching, to mark their social identity. Code-switching was used as a contextualization cue, a view supported by Myers-Scotton (1999).

Many sociolinguists focused on the social motivations to code-switching and the general attitudes of code-switching. Contained by this viewpoint are several theories and models and one of the most noteworthy one is Myers-Scotton's Markedness model which is centered on the social indexical motivations for the code-switching of bilingual speakers.

Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1999) is greatly determined by rational choice. Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model is particularly affected by the work of philosophers like Jon Elster (1989) who argues that individuals' activities are sifted and filtered by two separate processes before they occur. The first filter leads to the formation of the speaker's prospect. It is the second filter that makes the moment in time where the individual deliberately chooses between varieties of choices. In the second stage, the Shona-Xhosa speakers knowingly deal with a cost-benefit examination and take the option that can present the best general outcome on the interpersonal relationships. At this stage, the bilingual speakers consider their possibilities and rationally select the choice which enables them to achieve their provisional goals without withdrawing their former viewpoints. According to Myers-Scotton (2002), simple regularity count is used to explain the less frequently-used language as the marked code and the more-frequently used language as the unmarked code or choice. In the current study, Shona is the unmarked choice and Xhosa is the marked choice since the former is the matrix language and the latter is the embedded language. Code-switching as an unmarked choice acts as a symbol of identity for the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town.

The socio-psychological features such as the language mindset and the speaker's identity are also incorporated into the Markedness Model. It claims that individual interlocutors can exploit the

associations that they have with their addressees to make and design their conversational contributions. They always have their addressees in mind as they switch codes. Speakers, therefore, select their codes based on the relationships that they need to put in place. As the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers' code-switch, it is apparent that they do so to optimize their benefit from their interactions. An example is a religious conversation between the speakers in Appendix 3, (86): Speaker B: Ngatisanganei neCawa [*Let's meet on Sunday*] and (87): Speaker A: Zvakanaka, ndichiri *kukhohlela* wena [*It's all good, I am still coughing though*]. It is clear that these two speakers are accommodating each other in their conversations as they reflect their bilingual abilities through code-switching.

When the Shona-Xhosa code-switchers were arguing in Appendix 3, the choice of codes and the intrinsic motivations became so evident. In conversation (95): Speaker A: Wati zvinoita kunge Jesu haachadzoki? [*Did you say it appears as if Jesus is no longer coming back?*]. In this utterance, the speaker does not code-switch. In (96): Speaker B: Ini zvenharo handidi asi zviripachena izvi [*I don't want to argue but it is clear*]. This Shona response was an argumentative response to the initial argument that was started with speaker A. This argument continues in this fashion until the two speakers stop arguing. Myers-Scotton (1998) says that speakers need to put in an amalgamation of choices together to take all the available options into account regarding the best preference for an interaction. As the two Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Appendix 3 argued, they both switched to their unmarked choice, Shona in order to feel more confident, self-assured and proficient in their argument. They also used Shona, their matrix language to reap their rewards and to minimize their costs of losing in the argument, revealing their motivation for code-switching.

The central tenet and construct used by Myers-Scotton's Markedness theory to measure the marked from the unmarked choices are the rights and obligations (RO) sets. The RO sets account for specific codes of behavior that are established and adhered to in communities, more like the Shona-Xhosa community's social-cultural values. Factors such as age, sex, occupation and the socioeconomic status all become the unmarked RO sets. These factors clearly affect the code-switching behavior of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town. Speakers clearly take the specific salient situational factors of the Shona-Xhosa community into account to establish the perimeter for the unmarked RO set different interaction settings. According to Myers-Scotton (1998: 25), "...they calculate the relative markedness of code choices to index the unmarked RO set". Situational factors remain the same in conversations when the unmarked code-switches

occur. Asked why they code-switched, more than 80% of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers indicated that it gives them status in their society, it gives them self-pride, they feel more comfortable when code-switching, it is more efficient to do so, it makes the Xhosa people to love and accept them, it is just a choice and that is how they generally speak with friends. Using two languages in a single conversation becomes the way of following the Markedness model's unmarked choice maxim for the unmarked RO set given the Shona-Xhosa speakers' situational factors.

Myers-Scotton (1993) regards the bilingual speakers as creative actors whose linguistic preferences achieve more than just the conveying of general referential meaning. The speaker's choice of codes is made with the anticipation that the addressee will also distinguish the preference with a precise purpose. A good example is found in Appendix 3 where the speaker who started an argument in the Shona code suddenly switches the codes with Xhosa as he tries to stop the argument by apologizing to his friend. (88): Speaker B: **Xolo** shamwari yangu ndicela uxolo. [*Sorry my friend. I am really sorry*]. The response from Speaker A indicates that he understands the intention of speaker B and respects that his friend does not want to continue with the argument by saying, (101): Speaker A: **Akhonto**, uri shamwari yangu. Ngaisiye matambo. [*It's all fine, don't worry. You are my friend. Let's put all this behind us*]. Interestingly, when these two speakers were at the peak of their argument, they used the Shona code only and when they wanted to stop the argument, they engaged in the Shona-Xhosa code-switching. In essence, code-switching was used to calm the speakers and to stop their argument. As indicated by the Markedness theory, the goal of the speakers when they code-switched was to maximize the reward and minimize the cost. The use of the Shona-Xhosa code had more benefits relative to the costs of the sole use of the Shona code.

The foundation of the Markedness Model is the negotiation principle or the compromising attitude. This model also rests on the maxims that follow the principle as indicated by Myers-Scotton (1993:113); (i) the unmarked choice maxim, (ii) the marked choice maxim, (iii) the exploratory choice maxim and the (iv) the virtuosity and the deference maxims which are dual auxiliary maxims to the unmarked choice axiom directing the interlocutors towards a seemingly marked choice. The motivation behind the use of either of these maxims is the concession of the RO set that is regarded as beneficial to the speakers engaging in a discourse. It is clear that as the Shona-Xhosa speakers code-switch in Cape Town in all the transcribed appendices, they do so being fully aware that they are surrounded by their bilingual peers. Therefore, it is clear that

code-switching is barred from occurring if the speakers are strangers to each other who cannot confirm their mutual membership in the bilingual speech community, in this case, to the Shona-Xhosa speech community in Cape Town. Myers-Scotton (1993) notes that unmarked code-switching is greatly marked by intrasentential code-switching, a feature apparent in the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town e.g (12): Ikozvino **gwayimba** harichaperi [*There are demonstrations everywhere these days*] and (20): Hanzi takarwira **lizwe. Nonsense.** [*They claim that they fought for our freedom. It's all nonsense*]. It is clear that the code-switching of these interlocutors enables them to freely express themselves on the Zimbabwean politics and be assured that nobody outside of their bilingual community would understand their conversations.

The sequential unmarked code-switching occurs when the unmarked RO set changes following the shifting of the situational features within a discourse according to Myers-Scotton (1993). In light of this, it is clear that the shift of focus or topic within a discourse motivates code-switching. In Appendix 2, (40): Asi ngatitaurei, Shona yakafanana neXhosa [*But let's be realistic, Shona and Xhosa languages resemble each other*], the speaker invites the other participants to reflect on the Shona-Xhosa similarities. This invitation is followed by unquestionable code-switching by the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers as they endeavor to demonstrate the similarities between these two languages as in (41): Riini? – **Nini?** [*When?*] Ngatitaurei! [*Let's talk*] and many such switches that followed this one. Therefore, by making the unmarked choice, the Shona-Xhosa speakers were accepting the status quo and accepting the indexical eminence of this unmarked choice, a view supported by Myers-Scotton (1993:114). The unmarked response of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers to switch codes to the index of the new invitation, call, and unmarked RO set is a clear indication that the speakers accept the Shona-Xhosa set for the remainder of their discourse.

The virtuosity and deference maxims are dual auxiliary maxims to the unmarked choice maxim according to Myers-Scotton (1998). The deference maxim is revealed when the interlocutors switch the codes in deference to others when under specific circumstances, certain respect is required. This usually occurs when the speaker is requesting something from the addressee. This maxim did not obtain in this study. However, the virtuosity maxim obtains to propel a conversation forward and to accommodate all the speakers and participants in the conversation and linguistic exchange. This is clear in all the transcribed conversations in this study where the Shona-Xhosa bilingual interlocutors code-switched to propel their conversations and to accommodate each other as bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers. This also displays and exhibits the

speakers' linguistic competence in Shona and Xhosa as they constantly switch from Shona to Xhosa.

Much criticism of this model is advanced by Li Wei (2000) who points out its inadequacy and by mentioning that it can only work if the researcher assumes that each individual will operate reasonably on all occasions. Additionally, this model is based on the conjecture that all speakers have an inherent 'markedness evaluator' that authorizes them to review and differentiate marked codes from the unmarked ones in any specified communication.

5.4 Linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town

The main aim of the current research is to critically analyse the solicited linguistic data within a prescribed grammatical frame. Given the exterior nature of the constraints on code-switching, the line of attack pursued in this research is one based on the simplification of the surface phrase structures by a grammar that is context-free. Therefore, this sub-section focuses on the analysis and interpretation of the collected linguistic data in light of the linguistic constraints on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town. The linguistic constraints theoretical underpinning highlighted in Chapter three serves as a justification for the current data analysis. The equivalence constraint, the size-of-constituent constraint as well as the free morpheme constraint are among the chief linguistic constraints analyzed in this section. Other linguistic constraints that were identified in Chapter three like Muysken (1995) and Myers-Scotton's word order equivalence are also discussed within the context of the collected data from the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town.

It is generally agreed by linguists as was indicated in the Literature Review chapter, that code-switching is intricate and there are linguistic constraints on what may possibly or may not be possibly switched. Clearly, code-switching is not a sheer substitution of words and phrases from another language to another because it is not all words and phrases that can be replaced and substituted anyhow and anywhere. The Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town is clearly governed by these linguistic constraints or linguistic rules. It is comprehensible that in Cape Town, as is generally agreed the world over, the Shona-Xhosa individual interlocutors hold some grammatical framework controlling the manner in which their code-switching occurs. It is generally claimed that where a grammar of either of the two languages is infringed and contravened, code-switching constraints emerge.

In the analysis of the collected data from the interlocutors' discourse, evidence of the linguistic constraints on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching is revealed by the close examination of substantiation and evidence of the application of these constraints.

5.4.1 The equivalence constraint on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching

This linguistic constraint was propounded by Sankoff and Poplack (1981), as alluded to in Kamwangamalu (1994) and *ibid* (1999). Intra-sentential code-switching is more inclined to occur at those points where the syntactic rules of neither language are dishonoured and violated. However, the collected Shona-Xhosa linguistic data reveal that in some codeswitching situations, the syntactic honesty, and integrity of both languages may be violated depending on the interlocutor's preference. In (8): Havachadi **abantu. uRhulumente** ndivo vanhu [*People are tired. People are the Government*], (10): Gore riye **takasokola** [*We struggled a lot in that year*]. In these two examples, it is clear that the interlocutors avoid breaking the general grammatical rules of both languages at all cost by placing the **verb** before the **noun** as is the norm in both Shona and Xhosa and having the **noun+-adjective+-verb** (Gore+-riye+-takasokola), a structure common in both languages. It is clear that the interlocutors had to create a word by combining both Shona and Xhosa in creating **takasokola** to avoid breaking the grammatical or linguistic rules of both. However, it is interesting to note that code-switching still continued even where the grammatical rules of the languages involved were broken as in (8): Havachadi **abantu. uRhulumente** ndivo vanhu [*People are tired. People are the Government*]. It would have been more grammatical in Shona if the interlocutor had said 'uRhulumente ndiyo vanhu' (*People are the Government*) but clearly the Shona grammatical rule was twisted to accommodate the Xhosa noun uRhulumente. In (31): Nhasi nyika yese **inolila** [*Today, the whole country is in agony*], the interlocutor creates a word '**inolila**' by combining a Shona morpheme /ino-/ and a Xhosa verb /-lila/.

It is clear, therefore, that the equivalence constraint's stipulation and condition of syntactic integrity are absolutely compromised yet Shona-Xhosa code-switching is effectively executed. This compromise is in line with the discovery made by Ramsay-Brijball (2003), who also disputes this linguistic constraint by arguing that the syntactic uprightness and integrity of both languages cannot be generally upheld. Based on the findings from the current study and that of Ramsay-Brijball, it may be argued that the equivalence constraint is not universally applicable even though there are cases where the syntactic integrity of both languages are respected, as in (6):

Ukukhanya kwelanga kuchauya nezvitsva [*Dawn will bring new things*], where even though IsiXhosa phrase initiates a sentence and a Shona phrase completes it, none of the two languages' syntactic integrity is compromised. (24): Dai tiri kumusha **tisingathethi** sezvizvi [*If we were in Zimbabwe, we wouldn't be free to express ourselves like this*] further sustains the main precept of this constraint because neither Shona nor Xhosa rules are compromised in the switching of the codes.

5.4.2 The size of constituent constraint on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching

According to Poplack (1980), this constraint clearly states that the key and major constituents such as sentences and clauses tend to be switched more frequently than the smaller constituents like the nouns, determiners, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives. According to the collected Shona-Xhosa code-switching data in Cape Town, the opposite is true, the smaller constituents have been frequently switched more than the main and major constituents like sentences and clauses. This clearly indicates that this linguistic constraint is not universally applicable, and is not particularly applicable to the Shona-Xhosa code-switching scenario. Appendix 2 exhibits switches that are largely smaller constituents. Appendix 4 has only a single occurrence of a switch that is not a smaller constituent and that is (100): Speaker B: **Xolo** shamwari **ndicela uxolo** [*Sorry my friend, I'm really sorry*]. It is, therefore, apparent that the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers switch the smaller constituents more than the larger linguistic constituents. This linguistic constraint has momentous corollary ramifications for theories of bilingualism in view of the fact that it continually correlates with and easily exposes the bilingual speaker's linguistic competence. Since frequent intrasentential code-switching is connected to high bilingual proficiency, clearly, intersentential code-switching is connected to the lack of full proficiency or the supremacy of a language over another. In light of this view, the collected data of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual code-switching reveal that more switches occur at the level of the smaller linguistic constituencies that result in more frequent intrasentential code-switching, a mark of high Shona-Xhosa bilingual proficiency in Cape Town.

5.4.3 The free morpheme constraint on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching

This is a fascinating constraint in the sense that it exhibits the linguistic consciousness of the interlocutor as s/he transforms the words from one language so that they fit into the grammar of another. According to Sankoff and Poplack (1981), as cited in Kamwangamalu (1994), this constraint stipulates that code-switching is inhibited and repressed between a bound morpheme

and a lexical form except when the latter has been phonologically incorporated into the language of the bound morpheme. The code-switching linguistic data collected from the current study largely disagrees with the free morpheme constraint. A close look at the following utterances from Appendix 2 reveal how the Shona-Xhosa interlocutors employed their linguistic skills to execute code-switches without phonologically altering the Xhosa words but rather by prefixing them with Shona to create a completely new word; (10): Gore riye **takasokola** [*We struggled in that year*], (11): Ndozvakaitha **tifudukele** kune imwe nyika. Nzara vanhu **yakavabetha** apawo zuva **rakavatshisa** zvekutoshaya **vakavangcwaba** [*That's why we migrated to South Africa. People were hunger stricken and the sun burnt them and nobody buried them*] and (24): Dai tiri kumusha **tisingathethi** sezvizvi [*If we were back home in Zimbabwe, we wouldn't even speak like this*] It is clear that the interlocutors deliberately mixed Shona and Xhosa morphemes without necessarily altering the phonological and morphological structure of Xhosa and code-switchings were not constrained and the utterances remained grammatical. These findings are in line with the findings of Slabbert and Finlayson (1999) who gave this constraint, much disapproval and condemnation using examples of code-switching where the lexical items were not phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morphemes, yet code-switching occurred. The claim of the universal applicability of the free morpheme constraint is therefore challenged through the findings of the current study.

The free morpheme constraint was only found to have been applicable to a situation where a Shona-Xhosa bilingual speaker replaced the Xhosa bound morpheme 'lu' with the Shona 'ru' in (104): Speaker A: Mangwana ndinouya **ndokukurura** kuSalon [*Tomorrow I will come and release you from the Salon*]. In this scenario, the bilingual speaker phonologically manipulated the Xhosa bound morpheme into Shona for the code-switching to be executed effectively. It is interesting to note, however, that this phonological manipulation landed the interlocutor a word that resembled a Shona word that has a different meaning from that which the rephornologised word means. '**Kurura**' in Shona means 'undress' but in this case, the interlocutor used the word 'kurura' as phonologically and morphologically manipulated from '**kulula**' with the Xhosa meaning that means to 'release' someone of a certain duty.

5.4.4. Other linguistic constraints on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching

In this section, Muysken (1995) and Myers-Scotton's (1993) word order equivalence are evaluated against the code-switching data solicited in Cape Town.

According to Muysken (1995), code-switching is possible under the following conditions:

a). *When no firm relationship exists between grammatical elements or when there are no apparent rules preventing a switch.* This condition is applicable to all the code-switching examples from the Shona-Xhosa speakers' collected data in Cape Town. This is so because the Shona-Xhosa switches were possible in all those scenarios where there was no inhibition of switches by any grammatical rules, in a nutshell, the switches were possible because the grammatical rules permitted this.

b). *Under equivalence: when the order of the grammatical elements is uniform in both languages.* In (4): **Phambi kokuba** tipfuurire takwazisana [*Before proceeding, we greeted each other*], it is clear that the first Xhosa phrase is exactly in a position where a Shona equivalent phrase could have replaced it without altering the grammatical structure of that utterance. In Shona, one could have said '**Tisati tati** tipfuurire takwazisana' [*Before proceeding, we greeted each other*]. Another perfect example is (6): **Ukhukhanya kwelanga** kuchauya nezvitsva [*Dawn will bring new things*] where the Xhosa switch could have been replaced by the Shona phrase '**kubuda kwezuva**' without altering the grammatical structure of this utterance. Clearly, these examples reveal grammatical uniformity between Shona and Xhosa that has encouraged the Shona-Xhosa code-switching.

c). *When the constituent undergoing the switch is morphologically summarized.* This condition could not be established in the Shona-Xhosa code-switches in Cape Town.

d). *When the first word of the switch can belong to any of the languages involved.* This condition is a mirror reflection of the condition for grammatical uniformity. (9): **Niyakhumbula** 2008? [*Do you remember 2008?*] is a perfect example where the Shona word, '**Munorangarira**' [*Do you remember*] could have replaced the Xhosa word without any change to the question structure. (13): **Ugwayimbo** harishandi pana Mugabe [*Demonstrations do not change Mugabe*]. It is clear that the Shona words could be simply replaced by the Xhosa words – the first word could possibly belong to either Shona or Xhosa without altering the grammatical structure of the utterance. This example can perfectly fit the condition set by Myers-Scotton (1993b)'s word order equivalence that claims that code-switching is inhibited where the Shona language word order does not correspond with the Xhosa language word order, creating a word order equivalence constraint.

5.4.5 Shona-Xhosa interlink

It is fascinating to note some striking similarities between Shona and Xhosa stemming from the collected linguistic data. It is this similarity that seems to have reduced the amount of strain on the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The similarities are categorised and classified below:

Table 2: Shona-Xhosa Days of the week

Shona	IsiXhosa	English Translation
neMuvhuro	ngoMvulo	<i>On Monday</i>
Chipiri	uLwesibini	<i>Tuesday</i>
Chitatu	uLwesithathu	<i>Wednesday</i>
China	uLwesine	<i>Thursday</i>
Chishanu	uLwesihlanu	<i>Friday</i>
Mugovera	uMgqibelo	<i>Saturday</i>
Svondo	iCawa	<i>Sunday</i>

It is clear that Shona and Xhosa days of the week closely resemble each other phonetically except for Sunday where the Shona and the Xhosa words sound different. This reveals some striking similarity between these two languages that have seen the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town being motivated to code-switch.

Table 3: Shona-Xhosa Numbers from One to Ten

Shona	IsiXhosa	English Translation
Imwe	Inye	<i>One</i>
Mbiri	Bini	<i>Two</i>
Nhatu	Thathu	<i>Three</i>
Ina	Ne	<i>Four</i>
Shanu	Hlanu	<i>Five</i>
Tanhatu	Thandathu	<i>Six</i>
Nomwe	Sixhenxe	<i>Seven</i>
Pfumbamwe	Sibhozo	<i>Eight</i>
Sere	Ithoba	<i>Nine</i>

Gumi	Ishumi	<i>Ten</i>
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Counting from one to ten in Shona and Xhosa reflect some striking similarities at the phonological, morphological and phonetic structures of the numbers one to six and ten. The numbers one to six and ten sound the same and have the same number of morphemes, further cementing the linguistic similarity between Shona and Xhosa languages that could act as a motivation for the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town as was highlighted by some respondents in their response to the question of their motivations to code-switching in Cape Town.

Appendix 2 and 4 reveal some interesting similarities between Shona and Xhosa. The nouns and verbs tabled below exhibit close morphological and phonological resemblance between Shona and isiXhosa languages:

Table 4: Shona-Xhosa Similar Shona and Xhosa Nouns

Shona	IsiXhosa	English Translation
Hurumende	uRhulumente	<i>Government</i>
Umgodi	Mugodhi	<i>Mine</i>
Nyongo	Inyongo	<i>Bile</i>
Ngozi	Ingozi	<i>Danger</i>
Mongo	Umongo	<i>Bone marrow</i>
Huku	Inkuku	<i>Hen</i>
Vanhu	Abantu	<i>People</i>
Shangu	Isihlangu	<i>Shoe</i>
Rupawo	Uphawu	<i>Mark</i>
Mwana	Umntwana	<i>Child</i>
Muti	Umthi	<i>Tree</i>
Chiono	Injongo	<i>Goal</i>
Nzara	Ndlala	<i>Hunger</i>

Such similarities make it easier for the Shona speakers to use Xhosa in their daily conversations. The similarities motivate the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers to code-switch in Cape Town.

Table 5: Shona-Xhosa Verbs

Shona	IsiXhosa	English Translation
Kosora	Khohlela	<i>Cough</i>
Vhura	Vula	<i>Open</i>
Misa	Misa	<i>Stop</i>
Uraya	Bulala	<i>Murder/Kill</i>
Dzima	Cima	<i>Undo/ Delete/Turn-off</i>
Wana	Fumana	<i>Find</i>
Sungirira	Bopelela	<i>Tie</i>
Wonesa	Bonisa	<i>Show</i>
Yamwisa	Ncancisa	<i>Breastfeed</i>
Idya	Itya	<i>Eat</i>
Gara	Hlala	<i>Sit</i>
Inzwa	Iva	<i>Hear</i>
Famba	Hamba	<i>Walk</i>
Rara	Lala	<i>Sleep</i>
Muka	Vuka	<i>Wake up</i>
Bvunza	Buza	<i>Ask</i>
Zevezera	Sebezela	<i>Whisper</i>
Shumira	Shumayela	<i>Preach</i>
Dzvara	Tyala	<i>Plant</i>
Mitiswa	Mitha	<i>To become pregnant</i>
Wokera	Bukela	<i>Watch</i>
Famba	Hamba	<i>Walk</i>
Hora	Rhola	<i>Get your salary</i>
Tevedzanisa	Landelelanisa	<i>Sort</i>
Tumira	Tumela	<i>Send</i>
Vharira	Valela	<i>Seal/Enclose</i>
Woba	Bona	<i>See</i>
Tanga	Qala	<i>Start</i>

Pera	Phela	<i>End</i>
Cheka	Sika	<i>Cut</i>
Vaka	Akha/Yakha	<i>Build</i>
Sanganisa	Hlanganisa	<i>Merge/Mix/Combine</i>
Bvumira	Vumela	<i>Allow</i>
Kurura	Khulula	<i>Undress/ Relieve someone</i>
Tevera	Landela	<i>Follow</i>
Tanga	Qala	<i>Start</i>
Isa	Yisa	<i>Put</i>
Svikirira	Fikelela	<i>Access</i>
Rasa	Lahla	<i>Discard</i>
Vhura	Vula	<i>Open</i>
Terera	Lalela	<i>Listen</i>
Kava	Khaba	<i>Kick</i>
Funga	Cinga	<i>Think</i>
Potsa	Posa	<i>Miss</i>
Kubaya	Ukuhlaba	<i>Stub/Inoculation</i>

Of all the grammatical categories, it is the verb that inhibits striking similarities between the Shona and IsiXhosa verbs, in both morphology and phonology. In all their forms, these verbs reflect a pattern of a homogeneous number of morphemes. It is such similarities that keep motivating the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town to code-switch as was mentioned in the majority of the respondents from the administered questionnaire. It was also interesting to note the similarities between Shona and Xhosa when it comes to the naming of the body parts.

Table 6: Similar Shona and Xhosa body parts:

Shona	IsiXhosa	English Translation
Musoro	Ntloko	<i>Head</i>
Chiso	Buso	<i>Face</i>
Ziso	Liso	<i>Eye</i>
Mhuno	Mpumlo	<i>Nose</i>
Muromo	Umlomo	<i>Mouth</i>
Nzebe	Nhlebe	<i>Ear</i>

Chirebvu	Isilevu	<i>Chin</i>
Chifuva	Isifuba	<i>Chest</i>
Dumbu	Isisu	<i>Stomach</i>
Chigunwe	Umnwe	<i>Finger</i>

5.5 Discussion

In the current study, the collected Shona-Xhosa code-switching data revealed that Shona was the matrix language and IsiXhosa as the embedded language according to the Matrix Language Framework analysis. It is Shona that provided the grammatical framework in the Shona-Xhosa code-switching scenarios in Cape Town. The majority of switches consisted of smaller constituents and larger constituents but the majority of the switches were using the smaller linguistic constituents. The collected data further revealed that nouns constituted a large number of switches together with verbs. This was in line with the findings by Sankoff and Poplack (1981) whose investigation of English and Spanish revealed that nouns were switched more frequently and constituted the largest number of switches. However, such findings are in sharp contrast to those of Gumperz (1976) who found the sentence to have been switched more frequently than the smaller linguistic constituents.

It was also revealed that there was an emerging pattern from the Shona-Xhosa code-switching data from the interlocutors' discourse illustrating an unswerving dependents on the conjunctions '**kodwa**' [*but*] and '**ngoba**' [*because*]. These conjunctions were frequently used in discourses as exclamations and were generally used for communicative as well as social purposes in all the instances where these conjunctions were used by the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. These two conjunctions were always found in different positions, exhibiting some inconsistency in their general usage. On such switches, Kachru (1976) while studying the Hindi-English code-switching advances that when a switch happens between two clauses, it is unworkable that the conjunction is in a different language from both the clauses that it conjoins. It is clear, however, that the Shona-Xhosa code-switching scenario in Cape Town presents dissimilar findings where the Xhosa conjunctions conjoin the Shona clauses.

It was also interesting to note that code-switching emerged from the search for meaning by the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. Speakers also switched their codes to appeal to their bilingual community. Some of the Shona-Xhosa code-switches in Cape Town were

identified as marked choices used by the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers to express their social identities as well as to augment social distances between the bilingual and monolingual speakers in Cape Town.

The findings of the current study demonstrates that the discourses of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town had varied switches between Shona and Xhosa in formal and informal situations, additionally, a significant number of cases of code-switching occurred even though the surface structures of the two languages was not corresponding. This apparent infringement of the linguistic and syntactic rules of either Shona or Xhosa languages can be used as substantiation to disprove the validity and universality of the three linguistic constraints analyzed in this study. It has been argued by Poplack (1980) that switching is only feasible within structures with similar surface structure in both languages and if it does not infringe the surface syntactic rules of both languages that area involved, however, the current study revealed that code-switching is possible even in cases where the grammatical rules for both Shona and Xhosa were infringed. Bentahila, Abdelali and Davies (1983) strongly support the findings of the current study. They found that their French-Arabic code-switching data displayed a number of infringements of this linguistic constraint.

It was also discovered from the collected data that Shona imposed some strong effects and influences on the bilingual Shona-Xhosa interlocutors' pronunciations of their Xhosa switches. This would also make one to easily identify the Shona speaker even when he spoke stretches of Xhosa phrases. It is also interesting to note that the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers invented some words by combining both Shona and Xhosa as in ***takasokola*** [*we struggled*] and ***yakavabetha*** [*It beat them*].

Looking at the motivations for the Shona-Xhosa code-switching using Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, Shona was irrefutably identified as the unmarked choice that supplied the basic grammatical framework to all instances of switches and Xhosa was identified as the unmarked choice since the former was the matrix language and the latter, the embedded language. It was also interesting to note a wide variety of reasons for the code-switching of these bilingual speakers. Many speakers indicated that Shona-Xhosa code-switching gave them status in the society, code-switching made them feel more confident, they found it more efficient to switch the Shona and Xhosa codes, it made the Xhosa people to love and accept them and that it was just but their choice as they conversed with family and friends in Cape Town. Shona was

solely used by the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers to feel more confident and self-assured in their aim to win in arguments. They used Shona to reap their reward in minimizing the potential of losing an argument. Speakers accommodated each other as they conversed in their discourses. The speakers code-switched in some instance to put an end to an argument, giving us yet another motivation for the Shona-Xhosa interlocutors' code-switching in Cape Town.

The current study also revealed some interesting findings on the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. What may or may not be possibly switched between Shona and Xhosa was explored. The equivalence constraint's universal applicability was refuted because code-switching between Shona and Xhosa occurred even when the grammatical rules for both these languages were infringed. The claim of the maintenance of syntactic integrity is absolutely compromised yet code-switching between Shona and Xhosa is effectively executed. This finding concurred with the findings by Ramsay-Brijbal (2003) who irrefutably disputed the universality of this constraint.

The size-of-constituent constraint's claim that the key and larger constituents like sentences and clauses are switched more than the smaller constituents like the nouns, determiners, verbs, adverbs and the adjectives were absolutely refuted and disputed. According to the collected code-switching data, it was discovered that the smaller linguistic constituents were switched more frequently than the larger linguistic constituents.

On the free morpheme constraint, it was discovered that some interlocutors transformed some words from Shona to enable them to fit into the grammar of Xhosa. Some phonological and morphological alterations were made to handle the linguistic constraint to code-switching. These findings were in line with those of Slabbert and Finlayson (1999) who disapproved of this linguistic constraint and its universal applicability. This constraint was found to have a limited applicability to the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town. The linguistic constraints proposed by Mysken (1995) were found to be applicable to the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town.

Ultimately, it was discovered that Shona and Xhosa are related. Evidence was drawn from the collected linguistic data indicating that the days of the week, numbers from one to ten, some nouns, verbs and body parts sounded the same and had a similar number of morphemes, exhibiting striking linguistic resemblance between these two languages.

It is worth noting that there is potential for future studies to further explore the Shona-Xhosa code-switching. Future studies can explore how one goes about establishing universal constraints in code-switching. The functions of code-switching in bilingual communities also need to be examined. It needs to be established if the functions of code-switching are universally applicable to specific communities and if there could be universally agreed upon spheres in which bilinguals use code-switching to realize such functions. The issue of the universality of code-switching can be investigated from different standpoints, including the code-switching language attitudes, code-switching, and language transformation as well as code-switching and language modernization, just to highlight a few. Further efforts can also be made to come up with detailed and comprehensive Shona-Xhosa bilingual dictionaries. The cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies are also essential as these might not only shed some light on critical code-switching issues and also help establish universals in code-switching.

5.6 Consolidation

This section consolidates the focus of Chapter Five which was centred on the analysis of the collected code-switching data in Cape Town. The collected data were analyzed and interpreted using qualitative data analysis methods and the qualitative methods which were employed in this study comprise of thematic analysis, content analysis, and critical discourse analysis. In the current research, an attempt was made to evaluate the motivations for the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers' code-switching in Cape Town. The soundness and validity of the linguistic constraints on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town were also evaluated; the equivalence constraint, the free morpheme constraint, and the size-of-constituent constraint. Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Framework Model was used to determine that Shona was the matrix language and Xhosa was the embedded language in the current study. Shona was found to have been plainly providing the grammatical framework in the presented code-switching scenarios in Cape Town.

It was discovered that the use of conjunctions from Xhosa rather than Shona was attributed to the social motivations for code-switching. It was also clear from the Shona-Xhosa code-switching that the switching processes were not necessarily planned but emerged as the interlocutors negotiated meaning. It was noted that many sociolinguists focused on the social motivations to code-switching and the general attitudes of code-switching. Contained by this viewpoint are several theories and models and one of the most noteworthy one is Myers-Scotton's Markedness model which is centred on the social indexical motivations for the code-switching of bilingual speakers. This model was analyzed to help understand the motivations for the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town.

It is comprehensible that in Cape Town, as is generally agreed the world over, the Shona-Xhosa individual interlocutors hold some grammatical framework controlling the manner in which their code-switching occur. It is generally claimed that where a grammar of either of the two languages is infringed and contravened, code-switching constraints emerge. The equivalence of structure constraint's universality was refuted in the current study. The size-of-constituent constraint was also found to have some momentous corollary ramifications for theories of bilingualism in view of the fact that it continually correlates with and easily exposes the bilingual speaker's linguistic competence. It was discovered that Shona-Xhosa bilingual code-switching had more switches occurring at the level of the smaller linguistic constituencies that result in

more frequent intrasentential code-switching, a mark of high Shona-Xhosa bilingual proficiency in Cape Town. The free morpheme constraint was found to be largely inapplicable to the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town serve for some few instances where the interlocutors changed the phonological and morphological structure of their utterances to ensure that code-switching would be effectively executed. It was also noted that code-switching smoothly occurred when the order of the grammatical elements is uniform in both languages as noted by Mysken (1995). Interestingly and more applicable, when the first word of the switch could belong to any of the languages involved, code-switching smoothly occurred. Ultimately, the current chapter revealed the interlink between Shona and Xhosa and this could have motivated the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers to code-switch in Cape Town. Substantiation from the collected linguistic data revealed that the days of the week, numbers from one to ten, some nouns, verbs and body parts sounded the same and had the precise parallel number of morphemes, demonstrating some serious linguistic semblance between these two languages.

It was ultimately recommended that more research should be conducted exploring how one can go about establishing universal constraints in code-switching. The functions of code-switching in bilingual communities were also said to be critical and need to be examined. It was noted that the universality of the functions of code-switching to specific communities need to be explored. It was highlighted that further efforts can also be made to come up with detailed and comprehensive Shona-Xhosa bilingual dictionaries.

5.7 Conclusion

This Chapter analyzed the collected data from the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town and presented the findings. The collected data were analyzed using the qualitative data analysis methods. The initial determination of the base language was launched at the beginning of the analysis of the collected data. Shona was then identified as the matrix or base language and Xhosa was identified as the embedded language. The motivations for the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual interlocutors in Cape Town were explored and the findings were presented. The linguistic constraints on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching were examined using the collected code-switching, data and the key constraints that were used for the evaluation were the equivalence constraints, the-size-of-constituent constraint, and the free morpheme constraint. These linguistic constraints were analyzed to examine their applicability to the Shona-Xhosa code-switching context in Cape Town. Furthermore, the universality of these constraints was questioned when they failed to fully explain the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town. On top of these three key linguistic constraints, Mysken's constraints were examined and they indeed managed to explain the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town. Myers-Scotton's word order equivalence was also partly analyzed to complement Mysken's constraints. Ultimately, the relationship and interlink between Shona and Xhosa were examined and the findings were presented, revealing a strong relationship between the two. It was argued that the relationship between these two could have motivated the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers to code-switch in Cape Town. Some recommendations were finally made for future studies and researches.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

The current chapter presents a synopsis of the current research findings. This research aimed at examining the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The key and main objectives of the study were to ascertain the motives behind Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town, to investigate the similarities and underlying linguistic differences between Shona and Xhosa languages and finally to analyze the constraints on the code-switching between Xhosa and Shona languages. The base language in the Shona-Xhosa code-switching was identified as the Shona language and the Xhosa language was identified as the embedded language. The various motivations for the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa code-switching were examined and the findings were presented. The three main linguistic constraints that were analyzed were the equivalence constraint, the-size-of-constituent constraint as well as the free morpheme constraint. Mysken's constraints, as well as Myers-Scotton's constraints, were further examined within the context of the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town. The relationship between Shona and Xhosa as languages were ultimately presented from the collected data. The current chapter summarizes the major findings of this research; discuss the limitations of the study as well as the recommendations for future research.

6.2 Summary of the study

This study examined through the qualitative methods of research, the apparent linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa interlocutors in Cape Town. Chapter 1 of this study, which is the introductory chapter, discussed the background of the study. It explained how Zimbabweans found themselves speaking Xhosa in Cape Town. This chapter also presented the aim and objectives of this study and revealed that the qualitative research method was used in this study with its related research instruments, including interviews, questionnaires and participant observations.

This study involved a broad research across the disciplines of bilingualism, linguistics, and code-switching. It is against this backdrop that Chapter 2 analyzed the four classes of literature related to this study: (a) the tracing of the surfacing of code-switching, bilingualism, and linguistic constraints studies. (b) Code-switching studies in other parts of the world. (c) Code-switching studies in other parts of Africa and (d) Code-switching studies in South Africa. In this chapter, it

was argued and demonstrated that code-switching studies cannot be separated from bilingualism studies. In mapping the current study and placing it in its proper context, it was illustrated that much of the code-switching and linguistic constraints studies did not exclude the motivations for the code-switching of various bilingual speakers around the world. Myers-Scotton's Markedness theory was also largely used to recognize diverse social variables motivating the bilingual speakers to code-switch while the Matrix Language Frame Model was used to discover and examine the linguistic features of many examples from various languages around the world. It was against this background that Chapter 3 presented an account of the on-going academic discourse on code-switching and linguistic constraints on code-switching, looking at it from within the context of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers' code-switching. Different theories pertinent to the present study were analyzed, including the Free Morpheme Constraint, the Equivalence Constraint and the Matrix Language Frame Model that explain the structural aspect to code-switching. It is in this chapter that the Markedness theory was identified as the appropriate theory to explicate the motivations for the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town. The size-of-constituent constraint was also analysed within the context of the current study. An argument on the relationship between Shona and Xhosa as Bantu languages was launched, indicating a close resemblance in some of these two languages' features.

Chapter 4 presented a detailed synopsis of the methodological approaches that were employed for collecting data in the field and the methods that were used to analyze, present, scrutinize and examine the solicited data. It revealed that the current study pursued qualitative research. On those grounds, the perspectives of the research participants were essential to the development of arguments in the current study. Resultantly, the research methods that are explained in this chapter were meant to capture the opinions, views, and experiences of the research participants. As authentication to this avowal, this research completely relied on the humanistic strategies of investigation which are the questionnaires, participant observation, audio recordings, and interviews. It further discussed the detailed and specific research methods that were used in the data collection process of the current research. The key participants in the research were identified to be the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town. These participants had stayed in Cape Town for a minimum period of two years by the time the research was conducted and they came from varying educational backgrounds. All the participants were fully bilingual and they used Shona and Xhosa on a daily basis in their conversations. The chapter ultimately

presented a detailed account of the ethical considerations that were adhered to in this study and an impression of the limitations of the current study was presented.

Following the methodological presentation of Chapter 4, Chapter 5 analyzed the collected data from the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town and presented the research findings. The collected data were analyzed using the qualitative data analysis methods as were outlined in Chapter 4. The initial determination of the base language was launched at the beginning of the analysis of the collected data and the Shona language was identified as the matrix or base language and the Xhosa language was identified as the embedded language. The rationale for the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual interlocutors in Cape Town was explored and the findings were presented. The linguistic constraints on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching were examined in this Chapter using the collected code-switching, data and the key constraints that were used for the evaluation were the equivalence constraints, the-size-of-constituent constraint, and the free morpheme constraint. These specified linguistic constraints were analyzed to scrutinize their applicability to the Shona-Xhosa code-switching context in Cape Town. Additionally, the universality of these constraints was queried when they failed to completely elucidate the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town. On top of these three key linguistic constraints, Mysken's constraints were examined and they undeniably managed to describe the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town. Myers-Scotton's word order equivalence was also partially examined to complement Mysken's constraints. Eventually, the association and connection between Shona and Xhosa were examined and the findings were presented, revealing a strong connection between these two languages. Some recommendations were finally made for future studies at the end of this chapter. Chapter 6 is the conclusion and the presentation of the research findings as well as an exploration of the possibilities of future research.

6.3 Research findings

6.3.1 The matrix and the embedded language between Shona and Xhosa

Using Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Framework Model, Shona was identified as the matrix language and the Xhosa language was identified as the embedded language. This is because, in the majority of the Shona-Xhosa code-switching cases that were identified from the collected data, it is Shona that supplied the grammatical framework upon which the code-switching was based. The tenses were marked and controlled by the Shona language. The present research discovered that there is an emerging pattern on the consistent reliance on the use of the use of the two conjunctions '**kodwa**' (because) and '**ngoba**' (because) by the bilingual Shona-Xhosa

speakers. It was discovered that these two conjunctions were serving a communicative purpose rather than a grammatical one when used by the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

6.3.2 Nature of the Shona-Xhosa code-switching

It was also discovered that the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town emerged as the interlocutors negotiated for meaning. The bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers switched the codes to appeal to their Shona-Xhosa bilingual communities in Cape Town. The study further revealed that code-switching in Cape Town was marked by switches which were identified as marked choices that were used by the interlocutors to express their social identity and to augment their social distance between themselves as the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers and the monolingual Shona speakers. The study further revealed a strong Shona effect on the Xhosa words that were used by the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers. Myers-Scotton's Markedness Theory was helpful in our understanding of the motivations of the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa bilingual speakers in Cape Town. Shona was identified as the marked choice and Xhosa was the unmarked choice. It was discovered that the Shona-Xhosa interlocutors avoided code-switching to reap their rewards of minimising the cost of losing in the arguments. In essence, code-switching would increase their risk of losing in their arguments, hence sticking to their mother tongue in arguments. The interlocutors indicated that code-switching gave them a status in their communities, it made them more comfortable, it was more efficient for them to code-switch since they often switched codes in their conversations at home and in general, it made the Xhosa speakers to love and accept the interlocutors, and ultimately, code-switching was just their choice. The interlocutors would even go as far as inviting others to code-switch.

6.3.3 Linguistic constraints on the Shona-Xhosa code-switching

The different linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town were examined through the analysis of the applicability of the Equivalence Constraint, the Free Morpheme Constraint, and the-size-of constituent constraint. Mysken's constraints were also examined and their applicability to the Shona-Xhosa code-switching explored. The equivalence constraint was closely analysed and the research findings led to the refuting of the claim of the universality of this constraint. It was discovered that code-switching would still be executed smoothly even when the grammatical rules of Shona and Xhosa languages were broken, questioning this constraint's syntactic integrity. This finding was supported by the research that was carried out in other languages around the world. On the-size-of-constituent constraint, its claim that the smaller linguistic constituents like nouns, determiners, verbs,

adverbs and adjectives are switched more than the larger linguistic constituents like sentences and clauses was disputed through the evidence from the collected Shona-Xhosa code-switching data in Cape Town. It was found that in the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town, the larger linguistic constituents are switched more often than the smaller linguistic constituents. An examination of the free morpheme constraint revealed that the Shona-Xhosa bilingual code-switching interlocutors coined some terms by combining Shona and Xhosa to avert the constraining of code-switching, this was a linguistic strategy employed. This finding was also supported and substantiated by other scholars basing on their research in other languages. The Shona-Xhosa interlocutors were found to have rephonologised some bound morphemes, perfectly fitting in the description and conditions set by this linguistic constraint. Mysken and Myers-Scotton's constraints were also examined in the context of the Shona-Xhosa code-switching and their applicability was presented.

6.3.4 The Shona-Xhosa interlink

The findings from the research revealed that there is a strong link between the Shona and Xhosa languages. A scan of the available literature revealed that no specific study has focussed on Shona and Xhosa languages specifically. Furthermore, the literature reviewed for the purpose of this study showed that these two languages stem from the same Bantu linguistic zone S. This was further compounded by the evidence from the research that revealed a close interlink between Shona and Xhosa where the words belonging to various linguistic categories sounded the same and had a similar linguistic form including the same number of morphemes. It was discovered that the days of the week, some nouns, verbs and body parts closely resembled each other. The similarities were striking and were presented as evidence in Chapter 5.

6.4 Limitations of the Study

Research has shown that the qualitative and ethnographic research methods have an assortment of technical snags which have a potential of affecting the study's reliability. Some of the challenges that were identified during the study were the anticipated reactions of the participants to the researcher's presence and the negligence of the wider social contexts of the participants who were dealing with a contextualized and focussed research of the Shona-Xhosa code-switching in Cape Town. These identified issues were of great implication for the current study and the researcher admits that the participants' behavior was to an extent influenced by the presence of the researcher even though they were encouraged to behave as naturally as was possible. For the duration of the interviews, some of the participants revealed that they felt threatened and uncomfortable being interviewed by a Masters student when their highest educational achievement was a high school graduation. The researcher, nevertheless, guaranteed the respondents that the questions asked would be easy to respond to, their level of education was respected and their responses valued and this assurance gave the participants confidence and they became very free to supply the needed data to the researcher. The researcher acknowledges that behind every interviewed and observed respondent were a whole range of issues stemming from their unique cultural and social backgrounds and some peculiar view of the real world around them and these were considered in the analysis of the collected data. The researcher, respected the uniqueness of each respondent but did all in his power to ensure that these differences would not interfere with the study in any significant way. Ultimately, conceivably the collected code-switching data could have been analyzed from the perception of second language acquisition theory, chiefly the interlanguage theory and the fundamental resemblance measure in relation to the transfer between Shona and Xhosa languages. In this apparent linguistic developmental course, it would have been fascinating to observe how the interaction between Shona and Xhosa languages manipulates and influences the language development of the interlocutors.

6.5 Recommendations for future research

It is worth noting that there is potential for future studies to further explore the Shona-Xhosa code-switching:

1. Future studies can explore how one goes about establishing universal constraints in code-switching.
2. The functions of code-switching in bilingual communities also need to be examined.
3. It needs to be established if the functions of code-switching are universally applicable to specific communities and if there could be universally agreed upon spheres in which bilinguals use code-switching to realize such functions.
4. The issue of the universality of code-switching needs to be investigated from different standpoints, including the code-switching language attitudes, code-switching, and language transformation as well as code-switching and language modernization.
5. Further efforts need to be made to come up with detailed and comprehensive Shona-Xhosa bilingual dictionaries.
6. The detailed Shona-Xhosa cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies are essential.
7. It is submitted and recommended that researchers must create linguistic models that will allow for an analysis of the mixed morphemes in single word remarks, especially for languages like Shona and Xhosa

This study concedes that these are plausible submissions towards the development of the research that was initiated by the current study.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire for the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town

[**STUDY TITLE:** “Blessed with a curse?” Linguistic constraints on the code-switching of bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.]

STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT FORM

NAME OF RESEARCHER: MAMBAMBO JOHN

The researcher is a postgraduate Master of Arts student at the University of South Africa (UNISA) investigating the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

It is hoped that the study will contribute to the better understanding of the linguistic fields of code-switching and bilingualism. This research also specifically aims at exploring and exposing the linguistic constraints on the code-switching of the bilingual Shona-Xhosa speakers in Cape Town.

I understand that participating in the study might take some of my valuable time and that there is no specific possibility of any resulting study discomforts. I also realize that my participation in the study will take approximately 5-10 minutes of my time answering the questionnaire or longer if I am being observed in my natural environment.

I know that my participation is strictly voluntary, that I have the right to withdraw at any time and that no penalties will be incurred for the withdrawal. If I have any questions about the study or about being a participant, I know I can contact the following people:

- The researcher on phone numbers: 081 721 4984 or 078 965 2197
- The researcher’s Promoter: 072 076 0843 or 012 4298248

I have been assured that my identity will not be revealed either while the study is being conducted or when the study is published.

I agree to participate in this study, and I confirm having received a copy of this consent form.

RESEARCHER’S SIGNATURE......DATE...30 JUNE 2016.

NOTE: *By completing and submitting this questionnaire, you are indicating that you understand the statements above, and consent to participate in this study. Do not put your name on the questionnaire; your signature acknowledging that you understand the information presented above is not required.*

Please provide your responses in the spaces provided and tick where applicable:

1. What is your gender? Male Female
2. How old are you?(tick one of the choices on the right)
 - Under 25 years of age
 - 25–34 years of age
 - 35–44 years of age
 - 45–54 years of age
 - 55–64 years of age
 - 65–74 years of age
 - 75 years of age or older

3. How many languages do you speak? _____

3.1 What is your mother tongue? _____

4. How long have you been staying in Cape Town? _____ years.

5. What is your highest educational qualification accomplishment? (tick one of the choices on the right)
 - High school graduation (with a school-leaving certificate; e.g., “matric”; “O” level or “A” level)
 - Trade/technical/vocational training
 - Diploma
 - Bachelor’s degree
 - Postgraduate Diploma or Honours
 - Master’s degree
 - Professional degree
 - Doctorate degree

6. Do you understand someone speaking in IsiXhosa? _____ (Yes or No)

7. Do you switch from Shona to Xhosa in your conversations? _____ (Yes or No)

7.1 Do you find it easy to mix these two languages in speech? _____ (Yes or No)

- 7.2 Why do you use Xhosa words and phrases your Shona conversations? (tick all your applicable choices on the right)
- It gives me a status in the society where I live
 - It shows my honesty
 - It gives me self-pride
 - I feel comfortable when code-switching
 - It is prestigious to use Xhosa in Shona speech
 - It shows that I am modern and not primitive
 - It is more efficient to do so
 - It makes the Xhosa speakers love me
 - That is how we speak with my friends and family
 - I feel more creative when I do so
 - It is just my choice
 - Other reason(s)

7.3 State any other reason(s) why you use Xhosa words in your Shona conversations here:

7.4 Do you encounter any challenges when you switch these two languages? _____ (Yes or No)

7.5 What are some of the challenges that you face when you code-switch between Shona and Xhosa?

7.5 How do you deal with these challenges that you face while code-switching?

8. After using these two languages during code-switching, do you realize any similarities between Shona and Xhosa? _____ (Yes or No)

8.1 What are some of the similarities that you have picked between Shona and Xhosa?

9. Instructions: Please carefully read each of the following statements and respond by ticking the response box that best reflects your opinion. Please be completely open and honest in your responses. Take as long as you need, but do not linger over any statement.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain / Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
(a) Given a chance, I would continue code-switching	<input type="checkbox"/>				
(b) Shona and IsiXhosa have some similarities	<input type="checkbox"/>				
(c) I usually find easy to code-switch	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Thank you for participating

Appendix 2:

Topic: Zimbabwean Politics and other Shona-Xhosa similarities

- 1: **Molweni** vadikani (Hello guys)
- 2: **Ninjani? Mna ndiyathetha kodwa** dzimwe nguva ndinotywa (How are you? I speak IsiXhosa but I am scared at times)
- 3: **Sikhona** kana makasimbawo (We are fine, how are you?)
- 4: **Phambi kokuba** tipfuurire mberi takwazisana (Before proceeding, we greeted each other)
- 5: **Yintoni entsha?** Chii chitsva? (What's new?).
- 6: **Ukhukhanya kwelanga** kuchauya nezvitsva. (Dawn will bring new things).
- 7: Hapana achamuda ngoku. **Ngubani?** (Nobody wants him now. Who?).
- 8: Havachadi **abantu. uRhulumente** ndivo vanhu (People are tired. People are the Government.)
- 9: **Niyakhumbula** 2008? (Do you remember 2008?)
- 10: Gore riye **takasokola.** (We struggled in that year).
- 11: Ndozvakaite **tifudukele** kune imwe nyika. Nzara vanhu yakava**betha** apawo zuva rakavat**shisa** zvekutoshaya vakava**ngcwaba** (That's why we migrated to South Africa. People were hunger struck and the sun burnt them and nobody buried them).
- 12: Ikozvino **gwayimba** harichaperi. (There are demonstrations every day now).
- 13: **Ugwayimbo** harishandi pana Mugabe. (Demonstrations do not change Mugabe).
- 14: Hanzi takaunza **inkululeko** (They say they brought freedom).
- 15: **Iphi inkululekho** tichitambura kudai? (Where is freedom amid such poverty?).
- 16: Vamwe vakati takarwa hondo. (Some say they fought in the war).
- 17: Ndakaona **inkululeko** muno munyika (I witnessed real freedom in this country)
- 18: **Wonke umntu** ane rusunguko, nesuwo maForeigner. (Everyone is free, including us the foreigners).
- 19: **Umntu wokuqala** kana wes**ibini** fanana. (The first and the second person are the same).
- 20: Hanzi takarwira **lizwe.** *Nonsense.* (They claim to have fought for the freedom of the country. Nonsense.)
- 21: Nhasi nyika yese inol**ila.** (Today, the whole country is crying of agony).
- 22: Havachatyi **ukufa** vanhu. (People are not scared of death anymore).
- 23: Kana kub**ethwa** hatichatyi. (We are not scared of being beaten either).
- 24: Dai tiri kumusha tisinga**thethi** sezvizvi. (If we were in Zimbabwe we wouldn't be talking like this).
- 25: **Usofoko ethetha uMugabe** haanyarari. (Mugabe is always talking. He does not shut up at all).

- 26: Taakuda zvitsva **ngoku**. (We now want new things).
- 27: Wotonzwa zvichinzi **goduka** kuZimbabwe. (You hear some people telling you to return to Zimbabwe).
- 28: Asi tinoxathisa chete. (But we resist at all cost).
- 29: **Ngoba** hatichatyi izvi, **kodwa** tiri kuona zvedu. (Because we are not scared but we are watchful).
- 30: Izvozvo zvinobanjisa nyangwe muno (That can get you arrested even here)
- 31: **Ndidiniwe**, ndaneta nazvo ini (I am tired of it all)
- 32: Tichawana **inxaxheba** chete (We will get an opportunity once)
- 33: Ndakakumbira **makhoti** kuti andibatsire basa kuno (I requested my daughter in law to come and assist me here)
- 34: Patakazogqiba basa racho tese tainge taneta (We were both tired when we completed the work)
- 35: Ndaneta nePolitics dzeZimbabwe (I am tired of the Zimbabwean Politics)
- 36: **Ndilambile** tsvakai chekudya (I am hungry, can you look for some food?)
- 37: Haa inini **ndihluthi** zvangu (As for me, I am full at the moment)
- 38: Daidza **nkwenkwe** iyo tiitume (Call that boy, we want to send him)
- 39: Sezvo takawanda, anoda anomukhapha (Since we are many, he needs to be accompanied)
- 40: Asi ngatitaurei, Shona yakafanana neXhosa (But let's talk about this, Shona and Xhosa languages resemble each other)
- 41: Riini? – **Nini?** (When?) Ngatitaurei (Let's talk)
- 42: Ko **ukulova** nokurovha (What about being absent?)
- 43: **Ukutya** nekudya zvakafanana (Eating is the same for both languages)
- 44: **uRhulumente** neHurumende ndozvimwe (Government is the same as well)
- 45: Ndopamoti hee **goduka**, hatiendi. (That's when they say we should return home to Zimbabwe, we won't go anywhere)
- 46: Ngatikhangeleni mamwezve manzwi (Let's look for more words)
- 47: **Ungodi** ndiwoka mugodhi (A mine sounds the same also)
- 48: **Inyongo** ndiyo nyongo (Bile is also the same)
- 49: **Ingozi** ndiyoka ngozi (Danger is the same also)
- 50: **Umongo** ndiwoka mongo kuChiShona (Born marrow is the same)
- 51: **Inkukhu** ihuku kuchiShona (Chicken sounds the same)
- 52: **Isinye** ndiyo umwe (Singular is the same in both languages)
- 53: **Abantu** zvinoenderana navanhu (People sound the same)

- 54: Ko **isihlangu** handiti ndoshangu? (A shoe sounds the same in both languages)
- 55: **Uphawu** ndirwo rwatinoti rupawo (A mark sounds the same)
- 56: **Umntwana** musamukanganwaka mwana (Don't forget a child)
- 57: **Umthi** ndiwowo muti (A tree is the same in both languages)
- 58: Zvakunakidza manje. Chikafu chauya (It's exciting now. The food is now here)
- 59: **NgoMvulo** ndone Muvhuro (Monday sounds the same)
- 60: **uLwesibini** ndoChipiri (Tuesday sounds the same)
- 61: **uLwesithathu** ndiChitatu (Wednesday sounds the same)
- 62: **uLwesine** ndicho China (Thursday)
- 63: **uLwesihlanu** ndoChishanu (Friday)
- 64: **uMgqibelo** ndoMugovera (Saturday)
- 65: Patinobala zvinofananawo (When we count, it's also the same)
- 66: **Inye** ndoimwe neShona (One sounds the same)
- 67: **Bini** ndidzo mbiri (Two)
- 68: **Thathu** ndidzo nhatu (Three)
- 69: **Ne** ndo na (Four)
- 70: **Hlanu** ndoshanu (Five)
- 71: **Thandathu** ndonhanhatu (Six)
- 72: **Ishumi** ndogumi (Ten)
- 73: Mavverb nemabody parts akawanda akafanana (Many verbs and body parts are the same)
- 74: Ehe. Mavverb nemabody parts akawanda akafanana (Yes. Many verbs and body parts are the same)
- 75: Ndati **mabeze bacule abantwana** avo ndichakamira (I said those kids must come and sing while I am still standing)
- 76: Vamwe vanhu vanofarira kungobhuda pese-pese (Some people enjoy speaking incoherently)
- 77: Vanhu vangaenda zvavo **kodwa** ngavafambe vese **ngoba** kwave kusviba. **Nihambe kakuhle** veduwe. Mufambe zvakanaka veduwee. (We may leave, but let's move together because it's getting darker. Go well, guys)

Appendix 3:

Topic: Christian Religion and other related issues

78: Speaker A: Hatikurudziri **ukulova** kukereke **ngoba** unowira muchivi (We discourage absenteeism from Church services because you become susceptible to falling into sin)

79: Speaker B: **Ukutya** ndokunonotsa, munhu otozorovha (People are delayed by eating and they end up not attending to the Church services)

80: Speaker A: **Indlala** yemhandoi iyoyo? Ndisatani chete. (What type of hunger is that/ It's only the devil)

81: Speaker B: Unotoona **neimvumi** dzePraise and Worship dzichirovhawo. (You even see the good singers from the Praise and Worship team missing Church services)

82: Speaker A: Wese munhu ngaave **neinjongo** dzekufadza Mwari. (Every person must aim at pleasing God).

83: Speaker B: Vazhinji vachiri kuda kuzvara **ngokutsha kodwa** havadi. (Many people still need to be born again but they resist).

84: Speaker A: Wandifungisa iya **ingoma** inoti Tendeukai. (You just reminded me of that song called Tendeukai).

85: Speaker B: **Limpawu** yemuKirisitu **kuyika** Mwari **ngoba** ndizvo zvinodiwa naJesu. (The mark of a Christian is to fear God because that's what Christ expects of us).

86: Speaker B: Ngatisanganei ne**Cawa** (Let's meet on Sunday)

87: Speaker A: Zvakanaka, ndichiri kuk**hohlela wena**. (It's all good, I am still coughing though)

88: Speaker B: Tinomushumira **Tixo** wedu nemwoyo wese. (We worship God with all our hearts)

89: Speaker A: **Kodwa** veduwee ngatiitei serious, Jesu vave kudzoka. (But guys, let's be serious, Jesus is about to come back again).

90: Speaker B: Zvinoita kunge Jesu haachadzoki. (It looks as if Jesus is not returning).

91: Speaker B: Aaa, **ngoba**? Nekuti ukatarisa... (Aa why? Because if you look at it).

92: Speaker A: **Kodwa** itai muchiita serious. (But you need to be serious).

93: Speaker B: Ndange ndakutsanangura **kodwa** wandidimbudzira. (I was about to explain but you interjected me).

94: Speaker B: **Ihlabathi** yakuzoguma nyika iye zvino. (The world is coming to an end now).

95: Speaker A: Wati zvinoitika kunge Jesu haachadzoki? Unnenge usisaziviwo zvawave kutaura iwe. (Did you say it appears as if Jesus is not coming back? You are now lost).

96: Speaker B: Ini zvenharo handidi asi zviripachena izvi. (I don't want to argue but it is clear).

97: Speaker A: Ko zvakambonyorwa papi kuti anouya riini? (We don't know when he will come back).

98: Speaker B: Iwe hauoni kuti dai aida kudzoka akatouya kare? Mbavha, maporofita enhema awanda, pfambi fararira zvose izvi (Can't you just see that if He wanted to come back He would have come by now? There are so many thieves, so many false prophets and a lot of prostitutes.)

99: Speaker A: Wakutaura kunge muhedheni manje! (You are now speaking like a heathen!)

100: Speaker B: **Xolo** shamwari **ndicela uxolo**. (Sorry my friend, I am really sorry).

101: Speaker A: **Akonto** uri shamwari yangu. Ngaisiye matambo (It's ok, don't worry, you are my friend. Let's put this issue to rest).

102: Speaker B: Ini kugeza kwevana ava ndokwandisingadi. (I do not like how these kids are naughty).

103: Speaker A: Kana torara unonzwa vachiita ruzha. (They make a lot of noise when we are about to sleep).

104: Speaker A: Mangwana ndinouya ndokuk**hulula** kuSalon. (Tomorrow I will come and release you from the Salon).

Appendix 4:

Topic: Shona and Xhosa similarity game

105: Ngatiitei game inotaridza kufanana kwe Xhosa neShona, saka ‘A’ anotaura inzwi, ‘B’ otaura reShona rakafana neinzwi iroto kuti tione kufanana kacho. (Let’s play a game that shows the similarities between Shona and Xhosa. ‘A’ will have to say a Xhosa word and ‘B’ will have to speak the corresponding Shona word so that we can see the similarities between the two).

NOUNS

Speaker A: Xhosa	Speaker B: Shona	English Translation
Umntu	Munhu	Person
Injongo	Chiwono	Goal
Indlala	Nzara	Hunger
uRhulumente	Hurumende	Government
Invumi	Mubvuwi	Great singer
Umgodi	Mugodhi	Mine
Ingoma	Ngoma	Song
Inyongo	Nyongo	Bile
Ingozi	Ngozi	Danger
Umongo	Mongo	Bone marrow
Inkunku	Huku	Chicken
Abantu	Vanhu	People
Isihlangu	Shangu	Shoe
Uphawu	Rupawo	Mark
Umntwana	Mwana	Child
Umthi	Muti	Tree

VERBS

Speaker A: Xhosa	Speaker B: Shona	English Translation
Khohlela	Kosora	Cough
Vula	Vhura	Open
Vala	Vhara	Close
Misa	Misa	Stop
Bulala	Uraya	Kill
Cima	Dzima	Delete

Fumana	Wana	Find
Bopelela	Sungirira	Bind
Bonisa	Wonesa	Show
Ncancisa	Yamwisa	Breastfeed
Itya	Idya	Eat
Hlala	Gara	Sit
Iva	Inzwa	Hear
Hamba	Famba	Walk
Lala	Rara	Sleep
Vuka	Muka	Wake up
Ncedisa	Batsira	Help
Buza	Bvunza	Ask
Sebezela	Zevezera	Whisper
Shumayela	Shumira	Preach
Tyala	Dzvara	Plant
Bukela	Wokera	Watch
Hamba	Famba	Walk
Rhola	Hora	Receive your salary
Landelelanisa	Tevedzanisa	Sort
Thumela	Tumira	Send
Valela	Vharira	Seal/Enclose
Bona	Wona	See/View
Qala	Tanga	Start
Phela	Pera	End
Sika	Cheka	Cut
Yakha	Vaka	Build
Hlanganisa	Sanganisa	Mix/Merge
Vumela	Bvumira	Allow
Khulula	Kurura	Undress
Yisa	Isa	Put
Fikelela	Svikira	Access
Hlanganisa	Sanganisa	Combine

Bonisa	Wonesa	Display/Show
Lahla	Rasa	Discard
Ukuvula	Kuvhura	Opening
Lalela	Terera	Listen
Ukucima	Kudzima	Turning off
Akha	Vaka	Build
Dura	Dhura	Expensive
Khaba	Kava	Kick
Khohlela	Kosora	Cough
Cinga	Funga	Think
Phosa	Potsa	Miss
Ukuhlaba	Kubaya	Inoculation

BODY PARTS

Speaker A: Xhosa	Speaker B: Shona	English Translation
Intloko	Musoro	Head
Iliso	Ziso	Eye
Impumlo	Mhuno	Nose
Umlomo	Muromo	Mouth
Inhlebe	Nzeve	Ears
Isilevu	Chirebvu	Chin
Ubuso	Chiso	Face
Isifuba	Chifuva	Chest
Umnwe	Munwe	Finger

DAYS OF THE WEEK

Speaker A: Xhosa	Speaker B: Shona	English Translation
Mvulo	Muvhuro	Monday
uLwesibini	Chipiri	Tuesday
uLwesithathu	Chitatu	Wednesday
uLwesine	China	Thursday
uLwesihlanu	Chishanu	Friday

uMgqibelo	Mugovera	Saturday
iCawa	Svondo	Sunday

NUMBERS FROM ONE TO TEN

Speaker A: Xhosa	Speaker B: Shona	English Translation
Inye	Imwe	One
Mbini	Mbiri	Two
Thathu	Nhatu	Three
Ne	Na	Four
Hlanu	Shanu	Five
Thandathu	Nhanhatu	Six
Sixhenxe	Nomwe	Seven
Sibhozo	Pfumbamwe	Eight
Ithoba	Sere	Nine
Ishumi	Gumi	Ten