

LANGUAGE ADAPTABILITY
(Lexical Adoption or Word Borrowing
In *Zambian Languages*)

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TO CHIEF EDITOR - ASR

Introductory Remarks

The following chapters seek to show the manner in which Zambian languages have gone about adopting foreign lexical items means of enriching indigenous vocabulary. Chapter one deals specifically with lexical items pertaining to mining. While chapters two, three and four on the other hand, use bemba specifically for illustration.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

IN WHAT LANGUAGE IS ZAMBIA'S COPPER PRODUCED?

First Published in 1990 by the Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, in the *Factor of Language in Zambia*, pages 132-136 1

CHAPTER 2

THREE ZAMBIAN LANGUAGES TO TOWN

First Published in 1990 by the Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, in the *Factor of Language in Zambia*, page 137 9

CHAPTER 3

LEXICAL ADOPTION IN FOUR ZAMBIAN LANGUAGES

First Published in 1978 by *International African Institute in African Languages Papers*, pages 81-95 19

CHAPTER 4

SOURCES AND PATTERNS OF WORD BORROWING IN A ZAMBIAN LANGUAGE, in *Language Reform: History and Future*, page 57

Fador and Claude Hage'ge(Eds.) 39

CHAPTER 1

IN WHAT LANGUAGE IS ZAMBIA'S COPPER PRODUCED?

In what language is Zambia's copper produced? What a pointless question to ask! At least that was my initial reaction when an expatriate, a Scotsman, who had been needling me about how central and crucial English was to Zambia's development for upwards of an hour, while we waited for our hostess to announce that dinner was, at last, served, finally asked in rising exasperation, 'If you are so doubtful about the overwhelming importance of English to Zambia's development, in what language do you think this country is being developed? Where would this country be without English?'

Apart from the largely academic consideration of what one means by 'development' (upon which there is no universal agreement), the Scotsman's premise raises a number of rather interesting implications.

Returning to the question regarding the language used in the production of Zambia's foremost export commodity, copper, one indeed may well wonder what the medium (or media) of communication during the actual extraction, processing and export of this vital commodity. Do miners in our various copper mines, when actually engaged in mining, communicate among themselves in one or several languages? Which are these languages? In what language are orders, instructions and warnings given? What is the language used between the shift boss and his work gang, or among members of the work gang themselves? Is an injunction in Kabanga (until recently the workers' lingua franca on the mines), such as *faga malasha lapa lo stofu*, 'put coal in the stove', likely to elicit an answer in the same language, or is the response more likely to be in Bemba (the lingua franca of the Copperbelt), or in English (the language of prestige)? In which situations on the mines, during mining operations (i.e., excluding those periods when the miner is not at work) is Kabanga, Bemba, English or some other language used? Does one language predominate? Why? And outside Zambia (and of course outside the scope of this chapter), in what language or languages

are vital negotiations, copper sales, and purchase of mining machinery and accessories undertaken? The catalogue or range of questions that one could ask is seemingly infinite, indicating the complexity of the phenomena to be considered.

I wish primarily in this chapter to examine some of the effects urbanisation has had on one aspect of Zambia's cultural heritage -*language* with particular reference to Bemba on the Copperbelt. Since the discovery of profitable copper deposits and the subsequent establishment of the copper industry in Zambia, the Copperbelt has attracted, particularly between 1940 and 1960, migrant workers from an assortment of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Even within Zambia itself, migrant workers have been drawn from a wide range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. As regards immigrant labour, i.e., labour recruits from outside Zambia, Ohadike (1969a, p.2) reports that 'Apart from European immigrants, Africans, mostly from neighbouring countries, have been coming in large numbers to work in Zambia. The total number of foreign Africans in the mines rose, with some fluctuations from 25,011 during 1940-44 to 51,791 during 1960-64, the peak period in the flow being 1950-1959 when they represented over one-quarter of all employees in the copper mines'. In the order of their relative numerical strength, Ohadike (pp.2-5) shows Malawian labour immigrants topping the list followed by Tanzanians, then by Angolans and Zaireans, with those coming from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other African countries constituting a very small percentage.

Within Zambia, labour migrants from the Northern and Luapula provinces, whose inhabitants for the most part speak languages or dialects which have very close similarities together formed the largest group, a factor which probably accounts for the emergence of Bemba as the lingua franca of the Copperbelt: They were followed by those from North-Western, Central, Eastern, Copperbelt, Western and Southern provinces, in that order.

As may be supposed, so varied a source of labour could not but have serious consequences as regards communication. Given this highly heterogeneous labour force, linguistically speaking, how could the miners communicate among themselves?

Unfortunately, patterns of communication among miners in the copper mines of Zambia, to my knowledge, have never been systematically studied. What we know, or more correctly suspect is based on hearsay, conjecture, or at best second-hand information. Still, it is possible to state with some certainty that before 1964, the common medium of communication among mineworkers, at least at the place of work, was the worker's language known by different names in various parts of Southern Africa, e.g., Fanagalo or Kitchen Kaffir in South Africa, and ciLapalapa or ciKabanga in Zambia. It developed largely in the Witwatersrand gold mines and is a mixture of Zulu, Sotho, English and Afrikaans words; the structure is basically Bantu.

Kabanga, in the mines and elsewhere in work situations in Zambia, has been an important means of communication not only between one African and another, but between the European and the African. It is widely accepted that during the colonial period, it was considered by the European a sign of impertinence, or 'uppitiness' if an African presumed to address him in English, even if the European had first spoken to the African in English. So while it was accepted that Europeans could address each other in English, this medium was deliberately denied to the Africans. The only vehicle at his disposal was Kabanga.

There very little information on the extent to which Bemba has been used among workers, during actual mining operations, as a common medium of communication, but is safe to infer that, being the lingua franca of the area, it would be in relatively wide use at least among African mineworkers, especially as a substitute for Kabanga. It must be remembered that considerable numbers of miners have not received formal education so that in effect they cannot speak English. To these, Kabanga and Bemba (and of course the miner's mother tongue), are the only options open. At any rate, according to my informant (a man who had spent a considerable period of his life on the Copperbelt, with experience in both underground and surface operations) when I visited the area in 1972, while working on a language research project, the use of Bemba during working hours had been on the increase since independence. So had the use of English. Kabanga, on the other hand, had been declining steadily.

A practical question arises. It is the question one frequently encounters: Are African languages capable of expressing technical terms?

Specifically, if Bemba is indeed supplanting Kabanga as the medium of communication during the production of copper, has it adapted sufficiently to cope with so highly developed, technically and technologically, an industry as copper mining? How is Bemba coping, for example, with such terms as hoist, drum; bar-machine, gasket, developer, launder, detonator, etc.? Are English terms, in their native form, inserted in an otherwise Bemba sentence? To what extent have foreign (predominantly English) words become an integral part of the Bemba language?

To answer these and related questions, by way of illustrating the built-in mechanism by which languages adapt to foreign cultural influences, several examples are given below to show how Bemba has adjusted, and continues to adjust, to the requirements of the copper industry. It is important to underline the point that the examples which follow do not represent merely bastardised versions of corresponding English words. They are true loanwords and are now as much part of the Bemba language as algebra (from Arabic), cargo, cigar, and mosquito (from Spanish), piano and tempo (from Italian), intelligentsia (from Russian), and horde and kiosk (from Turkish) are to English.

A miner rushing to report for his shift will most likely ask his wife where he put the following:

Bemba	Meaning	Source
oofolooshi (ba-)	Overalls	<i>English Overalls</i>
i-buutushi (ama-) or combo (ba-)	boots	<i>Eng. Boots</i>
i-lekeeni (ama-)	leggings	<i>Eng. leggings</i>
i-kalaapushi (arna-)	glove(s)	<i>Eng. gloves</i>
i-kalaashi (ama-)	<i>Eng. goggles(s)</i>	<i>Eng. glass</i>

Some of the tools of the trade with which he has to be thoroughly familiar are:

Bemba	Meaning	Source
Baa(la)-mashini	bar-machine	Kabanga bar-machini, From Eng.
ceeke(ba-, ma-)	jack	Eng. <i>Jack</i>
ceeke-aama(1a)(ba-)	jackhammer	Eng. <i>Jackhammer</i>
in-cornboolo (in-)	jumper (drilling end of jackhammer)	K. <i>njombolo</i>
shiiimukulofba-, ama-)	jim crow	Eng. <i>jim crow</i>
ici-kombola (ifi-)	launder(containing rods in different lengths used for drilling holes)	K. <i>skombora</i>
ici-koocika(1a) (ifi-)	scotch-cart	Eng. <i>Scotch-cart</i>
i-tolookoshi (ama-)	granby car (for hauling rocks from. underground)	K. <i>trokokoshi</i> , from Eng. trucks
fooshoolo(ba-)	shovel	Eng. shovel (with sounds reversed in Bemba

Work places that initially may appear and sound strange and mysterious to the new recruit gradually become second-nature to him as the following become part of his daily vocabulary:

Bemba	Meaning	Source
urnu-kooti (imi-)	mine	Zuluungodi meaning 'hole'
ici-longoma (ifi-)	stope (big hole)	K. <i>chilongomo</i>
shaafu (ba-)	shaft	Eng. shaft

ici-kwepe (ifi-)	cage(s)	K. chikwepe
baaila	furnace	Eng. boiler
pande or bande i-biini (ama-)	conveyor	K. bande (Afrikaans)
im-bokooshi (im-)	bin (for storing rocks on the surface)	Eng. bin
Im-bokooshi(im-)	bin (for storing rocks underground before hauling)	Eng. box
shimata	smelter	K. simata, from Eng.
miilu	concentrator	K. millo
ama-lcla	Main way, ladder	K. manila

What must seem particularly mystifying to the new recruit, or the uninitiated, are the actual operations. In the course of his mining experience, the miner will at some stage or other have performed the following tasks:

Bemba	Meaning	Source
uku-chiisa utupata	(to) detonate explosives	K. chisa, from Zulu tshisa 'burn', and K.kapata
uku-laisha	(to) lash, shovel, load (soil, coal etc)	K. layisha
uku-caaya ama-ola	(to) drill holes	K. caya, plus -ola Eng. hole
uku-tonsa	(to) haul, drag	K. donsa

These examples underscore two important points. While they may not have quite answered the Scotsman's needling question, and only in passing indicated that development is not the prerogative only of the English

language, they in part illustrate the many and varied changes taking place in Zambian society, an index at the same time to the adaptability and dynamism of cultures the world over. Zambia, like many other African countries, has since towards the turn of the century felt the impact of contact with the outer world. Of singular significance, however, has been the advent of the European, and the consequent introduction of western values, systems of administration, and forms of education, Christianity, commerce, and industrialisation. All these have left their own indelible mark on the Zambian cultural way of life. Zambia's social and cultural systems have undergone fundamental changes, and on present evidence, it is a safe prediction that similar changes will continue to affect our cultural life for some time to come.

Secondly, the examples re-emphasize the point that in spite of the marginal roles that Zambian languages have been assigned to play in the society, they are proving remarkably resilient, and are responding to the bombardments of rapid change with almost incredible elasticity. Most important of all, these examples are the best testimony against the widely held belief that Zambian languages are 'static' and are too impoverished to cope with the many technical and technological requirements of the present century. Nor is this any surprise at all. Linguistic change often accompanies cultural change, and from the cultural changes that we can see all around us, we can expect corresponding changes in our languages in the years to come.

CHAPTER 2

THREE ZAMBIAN LANGUAGES GO TO TOWN

Building on the conclusions of the preceding chapter, the present chapter sets out to re-emphasise the dynamic aspect of cultural change, linguistic change being only one dimension ‘of this, albeit an important one. The main difference lies in the shift of gears from a concern with patterns and manifestations of word borrowing (i.e., lexical adaptability) within the context of a single language, to a concern with comparative patterns of borrowing among-several related languages. More plainly, one would like to know whether a number of languages very similar in structure (as all Zambian languages are), when exposed to more or less the same cultural forces, show signs of adapting in convergent or divergent ways. With specific reference to the three languages at issue, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga, does one detect from the evidence available similar or dissimilar patterns of word borrowing? Does Nyanja exhibit richer yields of adoptives than Lozi, for instance, under the category of, say ‘household item’s’ and not under that of ‘telecommunications’ and if so, why?

In most discussions of these issues, the question oftentimes asked (and it is probably advisable to anticipate it here as well) is: Why do languages adopt words from other languages? The reasons are legion, of course.

However, the most important and the most pertinent in the case of the languages under discussion is to fill critical lexical lacunae or empty slots in the vocabulary of the language in question. A language lacking a concept of and therefore the word for ‘window’ is most likely to adopt that word upon coming in contact with a culture in which ‘window’ is a well-established lexical item. Indeed we find the adoptive (i) *windo* in many Zambian languages today as the result of prolonged contact between Zambian and English cultures.

Word adoption is not, however, the only device by which languages under pressure and challenge of new times and changed circumstances try to ride with the waves of new and alien ideas, concepts and material

objects. Several other devices are at their disposal. One of these is by twisting or *extending* the meaning 'of an existing word to suit new circumstances and new nuances, or to achieve new connotations - an inverted process of old wine in new casks. *Ntamba-lukuta*, a Bemba word of ancient origin but with an entirely new current meaning, is a logical extension of an old word that in the past merely denoted a term of honour addressed to a respectable, or wealthy person. An old word with the literal meaning of 'over-seer of family, crowd or community has been adapted (i.e. extended) today to mean quite specifically 'the President' to - suit the new political circumstances of Zambia.

Another device is coining or creating new words from the existing stock - a form of linguistic self-reliance. This is a process whereby a language, rather than abetting and perpetuating linguistic importation decides on a deliberate policy of import substitution by cleverly, imaginatively, and creatively manipulating the existing corpus of indigenous vocabulary and coming up with stocks of brand-new words. Big-shot up-shot, and moon-shot in English are products of this ingenious process of word engineering. Similarly, one could conceivably coin in the Bemba language today the word *umwikala-caalo* to mean 'citizen', from the verb *-ikala* (dwell, live) and the noun *icaalo* (country), following the same word-formation rule that had earlier yielded the compound *umwik - alamushi* 'resident of a village'.

But the word-creating device, that primarily interests us in this study" and consequently the one to which attention will now be directed, is BORROWING or word adoption. It has been hinted above that a language may exhibit a preponderance to borrow heavily in one (cultural) area and not in another. We could, therefore, usefully begin at this point by examining and comparing the patterns of word adoption manifest in Lozi, Nyanja, and Tonga, to ascertain in particular whether there are significant differences between them in the manner in which they have so far adopted words from other languages, and what these donor languages are. Has Tonga borrowed more political terms than Lozi, for example?

In the relatively technical fields of broadcasting and telecommunications, the available data show that Lozi, Nyanja, and Tonga (henceforth L, Ny and T) have not acquitted themselves particularly well.

As we might expect, ‘radio’ (L. *ladio*, Ny *lediyo*, and T. *ledyo* or *lediyo*), but more so its synonym ‘wireless’ (L. and T. *wayalesi*, Ny. *wailesi*), features prominently in all the three languages. In all the three, we also find related words such as ‘microphone’, ‘short wave’, ‘programme’, ‘studio’, ‘switch’, and so on. We must, however, be very careful here as to what we mean by an ‘adoptive’. If, for example, in this instance we discarded words familiar to and active only in the speech of those manning radio and telegraphic stations, or those assigned the more technical tasks of peering at the electronic gadgetry, the actual list of true adoptives, i.e. widely known and in common use, is likely to be very short. Thus, if our criterion of a true adoptive is that which has a reasonable permanence in the language, is familiar to a wide spectrum of the speakers of the language, and is in common use, then Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga excel only in a few areas in their borrowing patterns so far.

Besides broadcasting and telecommunications, other fields in which the degree of borrowing is notably relatively low include mining, imported law, commerce, industry, banking, and professional terminology. This apparent deficiency raises a central, and, particularly in the African context, very often the controversial and sensitive question of whether African languages are by a freak of divine arrangement less capable, if not altogether incapable, of adaptation to science and scientific jargon than their counterparts elsewhere in the world which have already accomplished this feat. Does the fact that, as already stated, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga have not so far borrowed words to any remarkable degree in the technical, technological and professional fields forever lay to rest the widely-held belief that African languages are by some innate mechanism not amenable, lexically, to development in the scientific and technical areas’?

The answer to this question is best illustrated by what has happened to Bemba, a related language. If one cites mining as an appropriate instance of a highly developed concern of human endeavour in the technical and technological sense, one finds that Bemba, as was shown in the last chapter, has to a considerable extent been able to adapt and to come to terms, if only lexically, with a highly sophisticated industry. The reason for this is mainly because Bemba has been actively and functionally

employed a means of communication by miners and those engaged in ancillary mining operations. It is reasonable to expect that as the circle of those speaking the language, and who are at the same time directly or indirectly connected with mining grows larger, adoptives in Bernba in this area would become widely diffused in the community. This would lead, as indeed has happened, not only to a general acceptance of such words in the community but to permanent incorporation in the recipient language.

Similarly, word adaptation in Lozi, Nyanja, and Tonga seems on present evidence to be most pronounced, or at least to show comparatively longer lists of adoptives, in those areas in which the material objects and or concepts of the lending culture have been accepted by and become widely familiar to the speakers of the language in the recipient culture. Of these, the area ‘we have designated ‘household items’ (including house fixtures and furniture) appears to head the list in all the three languages comprises words that most Zambians will readily recognise:

Lozi	Nyanja	Tonga	Meaning	Source
Bufu(li-)	Bafa(ma-)	bbafa (ma-)	bath (tub)	English
Tauolo(li)	bedi (ma)	in-taulo (in-)	towel	English
Mu-mbeta(ma-)	thaulo (ma-)	bbedi (ma)	bed	English
Mbokisi(ma-)	bokisi (ma-)	bokosi (ma-)	box	English
Mbulasho(li-)	bulasho (ma-)	bulasho (ma-)	brush	English
Pilo(li-)	pilo (ma-)	pilo (ma-)	pillow	English
matelesi (ma-)	matelesi (ma-)	matulesi (ba-)	mattress	English
Ketele(li-)	ketulo (ma-)	ketulo (ma-)	kettle	English
Mbekete(ma-)	bekete(ma-)	bbekete(ma-)	Bucket	English
Foloko(ma-)	Foloko(ma-)	Foloko(ma-)	fork	English

Among other areas, in which our data show relatively extensive borrowing may be mentioned, are clothing (including foot- and headwear etc.) professions (employment); personal names; geographical (or place) names; buildings; education (objects and concepts associated with education; counting, weights and measures; government business; foods and beverages machines (and their parts); sports and games calendar; and telling time; and military and police. To illustrate, further the kinds of words borrowed by the three languages, we cite here examples from two areas.

(a) Clothing

Lozi	Nyanja	Tonga	Meaning	Source
ubulauzi (ma- li-)	bulauzi (ma-)	bbulauzi (ma-)	blouse	English
ndelesi (ma-)	delesi (ma-)	delezi (ma-)	dress	English
koti (ma- li-)	khoti (ma-)	koti (ma-)	coat	English
shati (li-)	shati (ma-)	shaati (ma-)	shirt	English
njakete (li-)	jekete (ma-)	jekete (ma-)	jacket	English
magilasi	rnangilazi	magilazi	spectacles (from glasses)	English
tai (li-)	thayo (ma-)	tai (ba-)	tie	English
tilauzi (rna-)	thlauzi (ma-)	talauzi	trousers	English

(b) Employment (professions)

Lozi	Nyanja	Tonga	Meaning	Source
kalupenta (ma-)	kalipentala (rna-)	kaapenta (ba-)	carpenter	English
kalaliki (ma-)	kalaliki (ma-)	kileeki (ba-)	clerk	English
kapitao (ma-)	kapitao (ma-)	folornani (ba-)	foreman	English and Portuguese
kuka (ma-)	khuki (ma-)	kuki (ba-)	Professional cook	English
ndokota (ma-)	dokotala (ma-)	dokotela (ba-)	(hospital) doctor	English
lemba (ma-)	leba(la) (ma-)	lebbala (ba-)	labourer	English
mekanika (ma-)	makanika (a-)	makanika (ba-)	mechanic	English
tela (ma-)	telala (a-)	tela (bama-)	tailor	English
Ticele (ma-)	Tica(ma-)	tica (bama-)	teacher	English

From the examples thus far given, we may draw several important conclusions. The first concerns the languages that have significantly contributed adoptives to the three Zambian languages under discussion. From the evidence presented alone, it should be clear that the richest source of adoptives, by far, is English and understandably so. Not only has English been the principal, official means of communication in Zambia and the chief vehicle through which formal education has been imparted to the Zambian people for, nearly a century now, in the prolonged and continuing contact between African and European cultures, but perhaps even more important it has enjoyed great social prestige and status among speakers of the borrowing languages. The very fact that a considerable number of the speakers of Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga, who have to vary tents either acquired the ability to speak English or merely come in contact with certain aspects of English (or more generally British) culture, desire and often behave, dress (and some say even think and dream) like the reference points of their emulation, would account for the preponderance of adoptives in these languages from English.

But this does not mean that English has had an unchallenged monopoly. We have already indicated, albeit only somewhat incidentally, that the word for ‘foreman’ in Lozi and Nyanja, unlike in Tonga is *kapitao* from Portuguese and not from English. Similarly, the word for “shoe” e.g. *sapato* in Nyanja, is derived from Portuguese. However, because of increased and still growing attachment to the English language by Zambians as a nation, there has been a palpable swing in recent years in all three languages to the adoption of or indigenisation of English words like ‘shoe’ and ‘foreman’ at the expense of earlier adoptions from other languages. In other words, the prevailing and apparently self-perpetuating linguistic and cultural environment is giving English an understandably superior advantage over other languages as potential word-lenders.

Other notable examples of words not derived from English in Lozi, for example, are:

word	derived from	source	meaning
mbasopo	pas op	Afrikaans	beware, look out
mboma (li-)	boma	Swahili (from Persian)	Government administrative centre.
cakolwa (ma-)	caakolwa	Bemba	drunkard
fuseke		Kabanga (from Afrikaans)	get away
sando	fuzek(voetsak)	Kabanga	hammer
sikafu(ma-)	isikafu	Kabanga (from South African English (scoff	food, meal
sikwepe (li-)	chikwepe	Kabanga	cage; automatic lift (escalator)
mbaula	imbaula	Bemba	charcoal brazier, heater. cooker.

From two of the adoptives just cited, cakolwa ‘drunkard’ and mbaula ‘charcoal brazier’, both from Bemba, arises a point worth noting, if only in passing. It illustrates a development in the borrowing process, in the Zambian context, which requires some elaboration. In the past, when Zambians belonging to different language groups lived in relative isolation from one another or had little or no cultural-linguistic contact, one could not expect the linguistic exchange, which we are concerned with here, to take place. But ever since the conditions, opportunities and environment were created, beginning early in this century, for greatly increased and varied social-and cultural contact among Zambian peoples, Zambian languages on their part began to trade words and expressions.

The conditions being referred to be chiefly labour migration (which took Zambians to South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Zaire, and the Zambian Copperbelt), urbanisation (which caused them to live and interact in towns as neighbours), and education (an important melting-pot

catalyse). Intermarriages, and more recently the easier and widespread circulation of Zambians within their own country. The net result is that linguistically Bemba, for example, has adopted *uku-patika* ‘to load on vehicle’, *ukucimwa* to err’, *katundu* ‘luggage’, etc., from Nyanja.

It is reasonable to expect that with greater cultural and social contact among Zambians as time goes by, the circulation of words among their languages will not only accelerate but also grow in volume, variety and significance.

Does this mean that this will eventually lead to the emergence of a single Zambian language? Are we on the way to a convergence of Zambian languages into a single Zambian lingua franca? Some may think so but the ultimate result may be quite different. The answer, judging from what has happened elsewhere, in fact, persuades one to state quite categorically that this is not likely to happen, or at least to underline the caution that a development of this kind does not necessarily lead to the evolution of a single language. English has borrowed extensively from French, but this does not mean that French is about to be swallowed up by English or vice-versa. We can conclude from this that, while borrowing from each other and therefore becoming more like the next language, Zambian languages will continue to perpetuate their distinctive identities.

The final conclusion we may draw from the preceding discussion is that the words which are eventually adopted and which then become inseparably part of the native vocabulary are in response to the following factors among others. First and foremost, we must mention again the non-existence of indigenous words to express new or foreign concepts. The linguistic philosophy here seems to be quite pragmatic, a pragmatism that exhorts the borrower: ‘when lacking or inadequate, borrow!’

A second and important reason for borrowing points to the need to provide more specific lexical differentiation which never existed before. For example, in the culinary field, there is a need today to differentiate between the professional cook or the hotel chef, *kuka* in Lozi, *khuki* in Nyanja, and *kuki* in Tonga (who may not have to be a woman) and domestic cook (for which there is no specific term in Zambian languages who may have to be, according to tradition and contrary to women’s Lib, a woman) Medicine is another area. Today the hospital doctor is generally differentiated from the ‘traditional’ medical specialist.

Word borrowing is also, especially in the Zambian circumstances, the function of conscious or unconscious reliance on the fascination and appeal of a foreign language. For example, many words, expressions of ideas that could quite adequately and accurately be expressed by resorting to indigenous Zambian words are today expressed in English or European terms simply because the Zambian finds it more prestigious status-giving to resort to alien words or expressions. So that word-borrowing is not necessarily the result of not having the word, concept, or idea in the borrowing language. There is always an interplay of social, cultural and linguistic factors which determine its direction and pace.

CHAPTER 3

LEXICAL INNOVATION IN FOUR ZAMBIAN LANGUAGES

Introduction

In ‘Three Zambian languages go to town’ (Kashoki 1975a), a sequel to ‘In what language is Zambia’s copper produced?’ (Kashoki 1973), an attempt was made in a very preliminary fashion to investigate and compare patterns and manifestations of word borrowing in three Zambian languages, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga.

Word borrowing was treated as being among the many important dimensions of the dynamics of cultural and social change, particularly in societies in a state of flux and rapid transformation. The investigation focused on lexical innovation, and sought to demonstrate the extent to which a number of closely related languages had augmented their lexical repertoires when exposed to similar socio-cultural forces. While it was re-recognised that word borrowing was only one among several other means by which languages adapt in response to a continuously changing socio-cultural environment, it was considered important and useful to isolate it so as to gauge its significance in the total context of the changing linguistic panorama in Zambia.

The result of the study pointed, albeit only tentatively, to English as by far the major donor language. This conclusion was reached after examining and comparing an extremely limited body of data, the present article, apart from extending earlier studies, is ‘aimed at examining a larger corpus of loanwords in order to ascertain whether the earlier conclusion stands up to more varied and more extensive empirical evidence. To the extent that a demonstration of English (a European language) as the principal source of loanwords in the Zambian languages under study is closely bound up with the question of cultural contact between Zambian and non-Zambian peoples, one is in effect measuring, even if indirectly, the impact on language of such socio-cultural forces as education, intermarriage, internal social and geographical mobility, internal and external (labour) migration, and urbanisation. In this paper, we shall in particular focus on urbanisation (and its concomitant migration) as a major factor in the discernible lexical adaptation of the

four languages of our concern. Bemba is added to the original three languages to broaden the focus of the study.

In a related but independent study, 'Migration and language change' (Kashoki 1975b), in which attention was focused on providing evidence that the rural and urban sectors in Zambia have both played important, if unequal, roles in the permanent incorporation of a wide range of loanwords into Bemba, several factors (viz. labour migration, urbanisation, trade, Western type of administration, the money economy and education) were seen as most immediately and most significantly impinging on the adaptation of Zambian languages as exemplified by Bemba, (Kashoki 1975b, 708). Labour migration (and, because of their inter-relatedness, urbanization) in particular was found to have had the greatest impact on word borrowing in Bemba. It would be intriguing to ascertain the extent, to which this finding is generally applicable to Zambian languages. Thus, the possible effect of urbanisation on linguistic change forms the primary motivation for the present investigation.

A Note on Terminology

Addressing himself to the question of definition, and rejecting language mixture or hybrid as appropriate and even misleading terms for describing the phenomenon of the occurrence of the foreign items (lexical and otherwise) in another language, Haugen {(1950) 1972} prefers the term borrowing as being definitionally more exact. He sees borrowing, as defined by him strictly as a process and not as a state, and urges that students of borrowing should not confine themselves to the results or end products of borrowing but should devote equal attention to the process itself (p. 82).

Scotton and Okeju (1973), underscore this point when they decry the preoccupation in the past with the end product i.e. the borrowed item itself, at the expense of the process that brought about the end result, arguing that investigation of the psychological and sociological contexts determining which item are borrowed and how they are borrowed may be as important as the study of the outcome of the process (p27). Whitely (1967,125), considers relating word borrowing to changing socio-cultural background a process worth studying.

As a process involving reproduction, Haugen perceives a loan as varying from an imitation satisfactory to a native speaker [of the donor language] to one that the native speaker would not recognise at all ([1950] 1972). The definition would appear to allow the inclusion of items which in studies concerned with the end product are referred to as unassimilated (or partially incorporated) and semi-assimilated (or partially incorporated) these would normally be excluded in such studies since the premise is generally that to qualify as a true loanword an item must be fully assimilated into the recipient language.

Our own definition is more narrowly delineated, by ‘loanword’, ‘loan’, ‘borrowed word’ or ‘adoptive’ (terms which are used interchangeably), reference is here made to that item borrowed or adopted from one language (whether similar or dissimilar) into another which has a reasonable degree of permanence in the recipient language, is familiar to a wide spectrum of its speakers, and is in common use or general currency (Kashoki 1975a: 30).

So defined, we are dealing from Haugen’s perspective specifically with the end result rather than with the process, since the overriding criteria are permanence of assimilation and common use, both of which assume a crystallised linguistic form and shape.

This definition nevertheless has important implications for the setting up of categories of adaptatives which may be used to ascertain in which areas, social-cultural, political, technical, etc., the languages under study have borrowed most or least. The point indeed needs to be underlined that during the collection of the adoptives utilised in this study, specific guidelines were given to research assistants to record items which in their estimation and experience as native speakers they were certain would be considered sufficiently indigenised to be recognised and accepted by most speakers of the language as now constituting an integral part of the Language. In effect, therefore, we are concerned here with the general incidence of adoptives in the language as manifested in the speech at once of monolinguals and bilinguals. We assume that if a given adoptive is found to occur pervasively and to have considerable stability in the speech of both monolinguals and bilinguals, this is sufficient proof that it has achieved permanence and legitimacy in the language. This bias is accounted for partially by the fact that the language adaptation

project, from which the bulk of the data utilised in this study is derived, formed part of a long-term project being undertaken by the University of Zambia's Institute for African Studies to update the existing dictionaries of the seven Zambian languages used in for education.

Migration and Urbanisation in Zambia

It has been indicated in the introduction that in accounting for the lexical innovation observable in the four Zambian languages under study, attention would be focused on urbanisation and migration as two of the major correlates with language change in Zambia. However, it is not intended to this paper to attempt an exhaustive discussion of these part sociological and part historical antecedents in the process of lexical adaptation. For purposes of economy and brevity, it will suffice merely to draw the reader's attention to the most salient points.

The first of these is that discussed more fully in an earlier study (Kashoki 1975b) in which the central thesis was the close inter-linkage between migration and language adaptation. In this study, it was found that the reciprocal nature of the contributive relations among the different interacting sectors of the speech community in question (Bemba) constituted a crucial variable in lexical change. The evidence pointed to the general conclusion that while the urban area, particularly in the later stages of Zambia's development, accounted for the bulk of the adoptives found in Bemba, a not inconsiderable number had been borrowed initially through the rural sector and then transmitted to the urban sector. This process, it was argued, was indicative of and reflected the constant and continuing migration of the Zambian population, mainly from the rural to the urban areas, but no less importantly back from the urban to the rural areas.

In the same study, the effects on language change of out or external migration of the Zambian people to other countries notably those contiguous to Zambia, were explored. It was shown that the varied periods the migrant labourers spent away from home, in alien linguistic environments, not only had immediate consequences in the sometimes large linguistic repertoire acquired by the individual but also tended to modify in rather significant ways his original language as a whole, particularly as regards vocabulary. It must, however, be said that external

migration is an aspect of Zambian life, in social and economic terms, less important and less significant today than it was before the attainment of political Independence in 1964. For instance, one of the very first politico-economic measure put into effect by the new Zambian government was to terminate the recruitment of migrant labour particularly from the western (formerly Barotse) province for deployment in Rhodesia and South Africa.

In the period up to the year 1925 (see Ohadike 1969b), most migrants under deliberate pressure from taxation measures and recruiting drives, went to the labour hungry mining and agricultural areas of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo (now Zaire) and to a lesser extent, Tanganyika (now Tanzania). There they came into contact with various foreign languages, English, Afrikaans; Kabanga (or Fanagalo or Chilalalapa), a major vehicle of communication between Europeans and non-Europeans in southern Africa, and Swahili, is widely used in the eastern Belgian Congo. After that period, although out-migration continued to be significant right up to Independence, the local copper mining industry began to attract increasing numbers of labour migrants to growing urban centres within the country (Bates 1976; Ohadike 1969b). The main language of communication in these copperbelt towns became Bemba, English and Kabanga.

For the period since Independence, two studies (Ohadike 1969b; Jackman 1973) provide a basis for gauging the nature and extent of urbanisation in Zambia. Since we are concerned here only with the barest and most essential details, it is expedient to concentrate on those elements of these studies which most directly interface with language modification.

From an analysis of the 1964 census of population, Ohadike shows that in the year 1963 'nearly three-quarters of Africans in Zambia lived in the rural areas, while one fifth in towns (1969b:109). Another finding, pertinent to this study, is that Zambian towns have been expanding rapidly more through in-migration of Africans than through their rate of natural increase' (p. 108). One important implications of this finding is related to a point emphasised previously, namely the interaction and interdependence of town and country.

Where Ohadike focused on the nature and extent of urbanisation in Zambia, Jackman sought to relate the rates of population growth during a six-year intercensal period, from 1963 to 1969, to intra-country (or internal) migration. She also found that the high rate of population growth during this period in urban areas could not be attributed to natural increase but was largely due to the spatial mobility of people (1973: 8). Her second most significant finding was that rural provinces (or rural districts of provinces) on the whole suffered a decrease in population, their loss being the gain of urban areas. Thirdly and important to this study, is her observation that whereas in 1963 urban dwellers constituted only about 20 per cent of the total Zambian population, in 1969 this figure had risen to nearly 30 per cent. In other words, urbanisation in Zambia is to be regarded as a relatively widespread phenomenon, and undoubtedly likely to be a major factor in social change in the future. The extent of urbanisation in Zambia in comparison to many other African countries is unusually high (Jackman 1973: 12). It is in this sociological and demographic context that the subsequent analysis must be seen,

The Variables

If Haugen's proposition ([1950] 1972: 79) that for any large scale borrowing a considerable group of bilinguals has to be assumed' is accepted as valid, then English, functioning as it has done and continues to do since its introduction into Zambia at the turn of the century as the language of administration, commerce and industry, should be expected to constitute a major source of loan words in the Zambian language under study. As the vehicle for instruction, at least from the upper grades of primary education onwards and as the principal means of communication in government, business and industry, as well as the language accorded high social status and prestige because by a quirk of history it has attained strategically unrivalled importance, English enjoys a unique place at present in Zambian society. It is spoken as the second, third or fourth, but rarely as a first language by a relatively large segment of Zambian population. Graham Mytton (1974), found it to be the third most widely spoken language in Zambia, second only to two Zambian languages Bemba and Nyanja. While far from being the language of wider communication among the majority of Zambians, it is nonetheless a major means of communication among the educated sector and those

who have come in contact with it in work situations. Thus, it has the potential of diffusing throughout the language spoken in the country a common pool of lexical and other elements borrowed from it, and should expect this fact to be actually represented in the corpus of loanword data to be analysed shortly.

The second variable concerns the geographical mobility of the population discussed in the preceding section. We assume that the fact that considerable number of Zambians have had the opportunity to travel either within or to areas outside Zambia has brought them into close (protracted or temporary) contact with people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The South African Gold Mines, for example, brought together in close cultural contact(at any rate at places of work) peoples from Europe, Asia and various part of the Africa. We can safely assume that the resulting interaction of peoples with dissimilar and varied cultural backgrounds would be reflected in the end results of borrowing process, not only as regards the nature and variety of cultural referents represented, but also as regards the volume and range of actual lexical items borrowed from any given language. Thus, of crucial importance to this study would be the relative significance of language from which the cultural referents are drawn. We would assume that those languages of greater functional and /or social significance, which are, therefore, likely to exert the greatest influence, would tend to act as major source of adoptives in a way that language of less functional or social significance would not.

The third variable concerns the different aspects of modern Zambian life in which socio-cultural changes have had the greatest impact on the people. In other words, if, for example a large proportion of the national population or a particular speech community is exposed to and become familiar with aspects of formal education through another language, it is most probably internalise these aspect. Familiarity and internationalisation further mean that these aspects are likely to be transferred as adoptives from the source language to the borrowing language(s). Borrowing, therefore, may be expected to take place to a varying extent for different categories of words, such as those concerned with, for example, science, technology, education, broadcasting, foreign religions, business, commerce law, administration.

The fourth and final variable is basic to all studies of word borrowing. It rests on the premise that cultures in a state of transition, in part due to their own intrinsic dynamic nature and in part because they are coming into frequent contact with other cultures, undergo lexical change in those areas where they are lexically most deficient. African societies are presently in the midst of a modernising upheaval, and since modernisation in their case is almost always synonymous with westernisation, what is involved is essentially an almost wholesale adaptation to western modes of life. We are, therefore, most likely to find reflected in their new vocabularies a large element of western technical or non-technical terms relating to material objects, concepts and abstract ideas.

The Analysis

The analysis consist of two parts. We have hinted at the likelihood that a borrowing language may demonstrate a predilection to borrow heavily in one or several cultural areas and not in others. In the context of correlating languages adaptation to urbanisation, we are, therefore, first of all interested in examining and comparing the patterns of borrowing manifest in Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga to ascertain whether certain categories of lexical item predominance in the four language, what these categories are, whether there are significant differences among the among the four language and, if so, why. Since urbanisation (or perhaps more correctly protected or temporary residence in town) generally entails contact by individuals with one or more new languages spoken or used in their new area of residence, we are also interested in determining which languages have contributed most or least to word borrowing for the four languages under consideration.

1. Categories of Adoptives

No attempts has been made in this preliminary study, to count the exact number of adoptives involved in each of the categories discussed below for each language so that more precise comparison could be made. In the absence of such calculations, the statements that follow are based at the beat on impressionistic estimates of the volume of adoptives involved in each category. They should, therefore, be understood as providing only rough indications of the trends of words borrowing manifest in the four languages.

The available loanword data have been grouped tentatively into categories as follows: agriculture, animals (domestic and wild); broadcasting; building (i.e. names of) carpentry and bricklaying; clothing (including head- and foot-wear'); construction (roads and buildings); counting, weights and measures; education (i.e. terms associated with formal education); employment/profession; food (including beverages, fruits, confectionery etc.); games and sports (including sports equipment); government (administration and politics); health; household effects (including furniture and house fixtures); law (i.e. terms associated with the administration of justice); machines and their parts military; (including police and firearms); mining miscellaneous (e.g. colours) money: music (instruments, dances, etc.); names (personal and geographical); religion; swearing (including obscenities); stationary; telecommunication; time(including names of months, weeks and days) trade(including money); and transport.

In conformity with similar situations elsewhere in the world, in so far as languages in the process of adaptation are concerned, one would expect to find the lowest degree of borrowing in those fields involving scientific, technical specialised and/or professional terminology. In every language, including English, where it is relatively highly developed, scientific, technical specialized vocabulary is normally familiar only to a small percentage of population. This is the segment of the population which acquires and employs it for purposes of carrying out its specialist functions. Technical or specialised vocabulary normally remains outside the orbit of even native users of that language who have no need to employ it for specialised or highly specific purposes. As a generality, then, word borrowing is likely to be most pronounced or to Show comparatively extended lists of adoptives in those areas to which the material objects and/or concepts on the lending culture have been accepted by and become widely familiar to the speakers of the language in the recipient culture we found this to be true of the four languages under study. While, for example, non-technical terms relating to the specialised fields of broadcasting, law, music and telecommunications were represented, however minimally, in the data, there was a striking absence of what may be regarded as the more technical vocabulary associated with these fields.

Looked at from this point of view, the fact that Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga show temporary deficiencies in their word borrowing in

scientific and technical areas, should not be taken as vindicating the still commonplace view that African languages are innately inadaptable to scientific and technological development. It merely serves to underline the inaccessibility of these areas for the ordinary user of these or indeed any languages. It must be borne in mind that professional, skilled and even in the majority of cases semi-skilled occupation have become generally open to Zambians only during the last decade or so following the attainment of Independence. Before that, all these occupations were the privileged preserve of white settlers. One result of this was to render technical language unfamiliar to the vast majority of the African population even in those instances where African labour migrants obtained employment in foreign countries, whether in mining, farming or secondary industries, their work experience was confined on the whole to non-technical and non-professional areas. Word borrowing accordingly tended to reflect this limited experience.

The point emphasised above is graphically illustrated by the uneven patterns of borrowing manifest among Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga in the mining field. Whereas Bemba, a major African lingua franca on the Copperbelt since the earliest times of the development of the copper mines in Zambia, has adopted a fair amount of loanwords in the mining field, the latter three languages have done so, relatively speaking, only to a minor degree. As stated in an earlier study (Kashoki 1975a;30) the reason for this is that besides Bemba being a major lingua franca for daily communication, has along with English and Kabanga(or Fanagalo or Chilapalapa), been actively and functionally employed as a means of communication by miners and those engaged in ancillary operation. With the decline of Kabanga as a third functional language, it is reasonable to predict that Bemba's strategic position as an important vehicle of communication during mining operations is bound to be enhanced rather than undermined. The position of English is also certain to be consolidated. Bemba's present degree of adaptation to the highly sophisticated industry of mining is demonstrated by the following adoptives:

Bemba		Meaning	Source
sing	Pl.		
<i>Baa(la)-mashini</i>	<i>Ba-</i>	Bar-machine	Eng. through Kabanga <i>bar-machini</i>
<i>i-baauti</i>	<i>ama-</i>	Bolt	Eng. through K. <i>Bauti</i>
<i>i-biini</i>	<i>ama-</i>	bin(s) for storing rock on the surface	Eng.
<i>im-bokoehi:</i>	<i>im</i>	bin(s) (underground, for strong rocks before hauling)	Eng. 'box' through K. <i>bokis</i>
<i>Keebulo</i>	<i>Ba-Ama-</i>	Cable(s)	Eng. through K. <i>Kebulo</i>
<i>i-tolookoshi</i>	<i>Ama-</i>	(granby) car for hauling rocks from underground	Eng. 'truck' through K. <i>trokoshi</i>
<i>pande</i>	<i>Ba-</i>	conveyor (belt)	<i>K. bande</i>
<i>in-conbulo</i>	<i>In-</i>	jumper (drilling end of jackhammer)	<i>K. njombolo</i>
<i>Ici-kombola</i>	<i>Ifi-</i>	launer (containing rods in different lengths used for drilling holes)	<i>K. skombora</i>
<i>Umu-kooti</i>	<i>Imi-</i>	Mine; urban area	Zulu <i>umgodi</i> meaning 'hole' through k. <i>mgodi</i>
<i>shaafu</i>	<i>Ba-</i>	Shaft	Eng.
<i>Ukuciisa utupata</i>		To detonate explosives	k. <i>chisa</i> , from zulu <i>tshisa</i> 'burn' and K. <i>kapata</i>

Thus, the adoption of mining terms has been considerable in Bemba but not in the other language. The fields in our data which show a very low, uniform of borrowing in the four languages are broadcasting, law and telecommunication. If, within our definition of a loanword, we discard items known to and active only in the speech of those in charge of radio and telegraphic stations or those responsible for the more technical task of technical tasks of maintaining and repairing electronic equipment, our data reveal a very short list adoptives in these fields in all four languages. And such items as are borrowed are in fact not technical in the strict sense of the word. They are items which would be familiar to any speaker of the donor language with reasonable exposure to the basic operations involved. They include such items as:

Item	Bemba	Lozi	Nyanja	Tonga	Source
Radio	<i>Leedyo</i>	<i>ladyo</i>	<i>Lediyo</i>	<i>Ledyo orlediyo</i>	Eng.
Metre	<i>Miita</i>	<i>Mita</i>	<i>Mita</i>	<i>mita</i>	Eng.
Short-wave	<i>Shootiwefu</i>	<i>Shotiwebu</i>	<i>Shotiwevu</i>	<i>Shotiwevu</i>	Eng.
Telephone	<i>(teelo)fooni</i>	<i>(tele)foni</i>	<i>(teli)foni</i>	<i>(tele)fooni</i>	Eng.
Telegram	<i>Teekalamu</i>	<i>Telegilamu</i>	<i>telegilamu</i>	<i>telegilamu</i>	Eng.
court	<i>i-kooti</i>	<i>koti</i>	<i>koti</i>	<i>koti</i>	Eng.

A third group of fields showing somewhat longer but still extremely limited lists of adoptives in all four languages includes agriculture, animals, carpentry and bricklaying, names of buildings, construction, games and sports, swearing, stationery and transport. Once more, familiarity or unfamiliarity of the terms associated with a particular field to the speakers of the borrowing language is an important consideration. Where the terms, as in the case of names of buildings, are familiar to a wide segment of the speakers of the recipient language, this fact is also reflected in the relatively broader range of words borrowed, Where the reverse is true, we find this reflected in the relatively poorer repertoires

of adoptives. This perhaps explains the rather poor representation in our data of terms associated with the construction and transport industries. Lack of significant representation may also be explained by the narrow range of terms associated with the field by the layman even in the donor language. This would be the case, for example, with carpentry and bricklaying. In some fields a low rate of borrowing may be because an adequate vocabulary already exists in the borrowing language. It seems probable that the relatively minor representation of swear words~ animal and agricultural terms in our data is due in part to this factor.

Turning to the categories which impinge on and affect the daily lives of the people, one at once encounters richer and more varied repertoires of adoptives. Examples are the areas of education, employment/ professions, government, health, machines and .their parts, military, religion and time, It is in these areas that the four recipient languages show characteristics not only of being resourceful and creative but of availing themselves of a wider range of alternative sources of word borrowing. Where in the more technical fields one noted that the four languages borrowed almost exclusively from one source language, English, the number of languages from which non-technical adoptives are taken is far greater. In Bemba, for example, religious terms are drawn not only from English but from Latin, Swahili, Spanish, French and other languages, e.g

Bemba Adoptive	Meaning	Source
<i>umu-takatiifu (aba-)</i>	saint (clean, pure person)	Swahili <i>mtakatifu</i>
<i>ibalaka</i>	benediction (i.e. the ceremony)	Arabic through sw. <i>baraka</i>
<i>i-saali(ama-)</i>	prayer	Arabic through sw. <i>sali</i>
<i>Kwaleshima</i>	lent	Latin <i>quadragesima</i>
<i>Im-minsa(im-)</i>	mass	Lat. <i>missa</i>
<i>Imu-paatili(aba-)</i>	priest	Spanish <i>padre</i> (probably via British Army English)
????????????????	christmas	Fench <i>Noel</i>

On available evidence word borrowing in Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja and Tonga appears to be most advanced, i.e. to demonstrate the richest yields of adoptives, in the categories we have designated counting, clothing, food, house hold effects, miscellaneous, and names. Among these ‘households’ effects’ and ‘miscellaneous’ are by far the most ‘subscribed’ in all four languages. Nor should this be surprising. Of all the categories enumerated in our study, these represent the areas where the greatest cultural contact may be assumed to have occurred between the speakers of the four languages and other-cultural bearers. Regarding household effects, for example, it was noted in a previous study (Kashoki 1975b; 722) that ‘whether his wanderings took him to the Rand mines in South Africa, or to the gold or coal mines of Southern Rhodesia, or to copper mines of Zambia, the labour recruit seems to have been motivated by the two things: (a) to amass material wealth, and (B) to bring back some money. Whatever the motivation, the result was that the original homes of the migrant labourers were inundated with a wide assortment of Western materials objects. Since Zambia’s Independence access to Western goods, trinkets and the tinsel of modern life by the general population has increased rather than diminished. Independence opened employment opportunities more widely than was ever the case during colonial period, thereby enhancing the likelihood of more and more people coming in cultural contact with certain aspects of Western cultures, particularly that associated with materialism. Owing to this, all four languages display a remarkable repertoire of adoptives in the areas of, for example, clothing and household effects, as illustrated below:

(a) Clothing

Item	Bemba	Lozi	Nyanja	Tonga	Source
blouse	<i>i-bulaaushi</i> (ama-)	<i>mbulauzi</i> (ma-, li-)	<i>Bulauzi</i> (ma-)	<i>Bbulauzi</i> (ma-)	Eng.
dress	<i>in-deleeshi</i> (in-)	<i>ndeleshi</i> (in-)	<i>delesi</i> (ma-)	<i>Deleezi</i> (ma-)	Eng.

jacket	<i>i-ceedeti (ama-)</i>	<i>njakete (li-)</i>	<i>Jekete (ma-)</i>	<i>Jekete (ma-)</i>	Eng.
Spectales (glasses)	<i>Ama- kalaashi</i>	<i>magilashi</i>	<i>mangilazi</i>	<i>magalazi</i>	Eng.

(b) Bedding

pillow	<i>Piilo (ba-)</i>	<i>Pilo(li)</i>	<i>Pilo(ma-)</i>	<i>Pilo(ma-)</i>	Eng
mattress	<i>maateleesh (ba-)</i>	<i>mateleshi (li-)</i>	<i>Mateleshi (ma-)</i>	<i>Matulesi (ma-)</i>	Eng.
Bed (European)	<i>Beeti (ba)</i>	<i>mu-mbeta (mi)</i>	<i>Bedi (ma-)</i>	<i>bbeedi (ma-)</i>	Eng.
blanket	<i>ubu-langeeti (ama-)</i>	<i>mbulangeti (ma-)</i>	<i>bu-langete (ma-)</i>	<i>bbu-langeti (ma-)</i>	Eng.
Bed-sheet	<i>Umu- shiishibeeti (imi-)</i>	<i>mbendishiti (ma-)</i>	<i>Bedishiti (ma-)</i>	<i>bedishiiti (ma-)</i>	Eng

(d) Furniture

Item	Bemba	Lozi	Nyanja	Tonga	Source
cupboard	<i>aka-abati (utu-)</i>	<i>Kabati(ma- ,li-)</i>	<i>Kabati (ma-)</i>	<i>Kabati (ma-)</i>	Eng.
table	<i>i-teebulo (ama-)</i>	<i>tafule (li-)</i>	<i>thebulu (ma-)</i>	<i>tafwule (ma-)</i>	Eng., Afks
sofa	<i>soofa (ba-)</i>	<i>sofa (ma-)</i>	-	<i>Sofa (ma-)</i>	Eng.

(f) Utensils

bucket	<i>im-beketi</i> (<i>im-</i>)	<i>mbakete</i> (<i>ma-</i>)	<i>bekete</i> (<i>ma-</i>)	<i>bbakete</i> (<i>ma-</i>)	Eng.
bottle	<i>i-botolo</i> (<i>ama-</i>)	<i>botela (ma-)</i>	<i>botolo</i> (<i>Ma-</i>)	<i>bbodela</i> (<i>ma-</i>)	Eng.
cup	<i>in-kaapu (in-)</i> <i>or inkomaki</i>	-	<i>Kapu</i> (<i>ma-</i>)	<i>Nkapu (ma-)</i> <i>or nkomeki</i>	Eng., Afrikaans
Kettle	<i>aka- etulo</i> (<i>utu-</i>)	<i>Ketele (li-)</i>	<i>Ketulo</i> (<i>ma-</i>)	<i>Ketulo (ma-)</i>	Eng.

With the general patterns discussed above, one is struck by the interesting differences that exist between one language and another as regards degrees, types, and varieties of adoptives. Bemba, for example, seems to show a greater willingness to borrow than any of the other three languages as demonstrated by the relatively larger body and wider variety of items it has borrowed from a wide range of sources, Swahili, French, Latini, Portuguese, Kabanga, Zulu, Ndebele, Nyanja, and English. These differences might be due to sociological and psychological factors. The nature and type of cultural contacts experienced and the attitudes of those undergoing cultural contacts, no doubt have played a part in the borrowing process that has yielded the adoptives documented here. Concerned as we are, however, primarily with general patterns of borrowing in the four languages, this aspect has been excluded from our discussion.

(ii) Donor languages

The question as to which languages have contributed most to word borrowing in the four languages under discussion is explored here only very briefly. It is immediately apparent from the example given in this study that English has been the major source of adoptives in all the four languages. It has not only been one of the principal means of communication in Zambia for the past seven decades or so, and the main medium through which formal education has been imparted to the Zambian people, but in the continuing contact between African and European (western) cultures it enjoys, for the time being at least, unparalleled social status and prestige among speakers of Zambian languages. We have

already indicated that the very fact that numerous and varied contacts with English, and concomitantly the British (western) culture underlying it, either within or outside Zambia, by speaker of Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja, and Tonga, coupled within the fact that western materialism continues to form an essential part of the lives of the Zambian people, would account for the preponderance of adoptives derived from English in these four Zambian languages.

It must not be supposed, however, that English has enjoyed an enviable monopoly. As was amply demonstrated in a study already cited (Kashoki 1975b), one of the four languages, Bemba, has drawn for its ever adaptive vocabulary from a relatively wide range of donor languages, among which Swahili, Kabanga, and English predominate, at the same time, the study showed that while Bemba drew heavily from Swahili and Kabanga before the development of the copper mines in Zambia, when labour migration to countries outside Zambia was at its peak, this trend was reversed when cultural experience tended to be confined within the national borders, leading to the pre-eminence of English in the borrowing process.

That English has not had an unchallenged monopoly can be further illustrated by a few examples from Lozi. In this language the following loans are derived from sources other than English: *mbasopo* ‘beware’ (Afrikaans *pas op*, through Kabanga *basopa*); *mboma* ‘administrative centre’ (Swahili *boma*, probably from Persian, widely used by the English colonizers); *sikonkwani* ‘piece work’ (kabanga *skonkwani*); *tekeleshi* ‘lid’ (Afrikaans *desk*, through Kabanga), and *cakolwa* ‘drunkard’ (Bemba *caakolwa*).

In general, however, despite these sprinklings from other sources, English emerges as the major contributor of adoptives in the four languages under study.

Notes

1. The data utilised in this study are derived from the loanword project entitled ‘language adaptation; a study of loan-words in four Zambian languages’ carried out between 1972 and 1976. Financial assistance for its execution was generously provided by

the Research and Higher Degrees Committee of the University of Zambia and elsewhere, who provided the insights without which my grasp of the subject would have been greatly impaired. The late Professor Irvine Richardson deserves special mention for his very useful comments. The original version of this paper was read at the 20th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (USA), Houston, Texas, and November 2-5, 1977.

2. For a discussion of this aspect of word borrowing see Whiteley 1967; Lehmann 1969; Parsons 1962; and Haugen [1950] 1972.
3. Even with such a definition, it is not always easy to draw a distinct line between well established and only partially established loanwords. The situation is further complicated by the fact that as discussed in Kashoki (1972), code-switching, and/or the interlarding or sprinkling of English expression in mother tongue speech, is increasingly becoming a widespread socio-linguistic phenomenon in Zambia, more particularly among the educated sector of the population who consider it a sign of social distinction or urbanity.

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CHAPTER 4

SOURCES AND PATTERNS OF WORD ADOPTION IN BEMBA PREAMBLE

This article has a limited scope and its main, specific aims will be (a) to account for the socioeconomic, geopolitical and educational forces that have influenced or given impetus to the word adoption (or borrowing) process discernible in the Bemba language, (b) to identify the major sources of lexical adoptives in the language, and (c) to provide a selective, illustrative sample of the words that have been adopted and incorporated permanently into the language from foreign sources. Languages in the patterns of word adoption that they exhibit, typically add to their existing stock of lexical items (or words in more common parlance) in various ways. The best known and the most common are word adoption (or borrowing), coining, and extending the meaning of an existing lexical item.

The process of vocabulary expansion or enrichment that interests us here more narrowly, however, is word or lexical adoption and the present chapter, therefore, will be restricted solely to a brief discussion of this single aspect. Concomitant with this will be an attempt, through the data provided, to give the reader a glimpse of the adoptives that have come into the Bemba language from foreign languages during approximately the last hundred years, particularly as a result of cultural-linguistic contact between speakers of Bemba and the foreign agent transmitters of the words that were eventually adopted into the language. A broad description of the various forces at work will also be provided. An insight into the social stimuli that gave impetus to the word adoption the process may be gained in this way.

It is also important and germane to clarify the point at the outset that what we are concerned with here in accounting for vocabulary expansion in Bemba, are words that are considered to have attained a reasonable permanence and wide currency in the language. Thus, excluded from consideration will be those words that are either just gaining entry into

the language or those that may be regarded as “transients”, i.e. of doubtful permanence. In this instance, then, we are dealing with, in Haugen’s terms (1950, as cited in Anwar S. Dill’s “Ecology of Language”, (1972), with the end result and not the word borrowing process itself. Our concern is with fully assimilated words and not with those that are either unassimilated or semi-assimilated. This approach has the advantage of enabling us to set up categories of adoptives as they appear in their permanently incorporated form in the language.

An attempt will also be made, albeit only in the most summarised form, to account for the phonological and morphological incorporation processes at work. This aspect, in order to receive the attention it deserves in its own right, requires separate treatment. This is not possible under the present circumstances and a full treatment will therefore not be attempted here.

While to provide a complete picture of the lexical adaptation or innovation evident in the Bemba language at the present moment would require accounting in equal measure for the three aspects involved in the process of lexical growth and enrichment, namely lexical adoption, coining of new words and giving new meanings to existing lexical items, this has not been attempted in the present chapter for two principal reasons. First, no systematic study to date has been undertaken with a thorough account of those new words that have been added to the Bemba language in recent years via the process of coining new words or extending the meaning of existing lexical items. Intuitively, of course, there is no doubt that a certain amount of lexical items has been added to the language via these two processes but it is altogether a different matter to translate this intuitive knowledge into a herent, systematic statement. Second, as rendered more explicit in a later section, deliberate “lexical engineering” has not been, at least as far as is known, a feature of improving the lexical repertoire of indigenous Zambian languages. To my knowledge, no administrative authority in Zambia has embarked upon a deliberate policy of bringing about an improvement to the lexical stock of Zambian languages, including Bemba, by means of coining new words or extending the meaning of the existing lexicon. It is for these reasons that the present treatment in scope has been consciously restricted narrowly to a description of the word borrowing process in Bemba.

THE FORCES AT WORK.

For the purpose of the present chapter, it is necessary to provide only the barest outline of the forces at work which impinge on the word borrowing process in Bemba. However, the reader who is interested in further details is referred to my earlier, more detailed accounts on the same subject (cf. Kashoki 1972, 1975a, 1975b, 1978).

Probably the factor which has had the most far-reaching influence on the borrowing process in Bemba is labour migration. Labour migration, especially in its heyday in the 1940s and 1950s, not only took Bemba-speaking labour migrants in search of paid employment to diverse distant lands, but it had the other more relevant effect of exposing them to several different foreign languages in the countries of their sojourn as part of the process of cultural contact and social interaction. Countries of notable significance in this regard were the Congo (now Zaire), whose emerging copper industry and related secondary industrial activities drew a sizeable labour force from the Bemba speaking Luapula and Northern Provinces, Tanganyika (now Tanzania), whose goldfields and sisal plantations were another equally strong magnet, and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) as well as South Africa, two of the countries which subsequently replaced Tanganyika and the Congo in the sheer numbers of the labour migrants they attracted to their farms and coal, gold and diamond mines. As a result of these sojourns in these countries, the Bemba-speaking labour migrants came into contact with co-workers who spoke a variety of alien tongues. notably Afrikaans, English, Fanakalo or Kabanga, Zulu (in South Africa), Ndebele and Shona (in Southern Rhodesia) and Swahili (in Tanganyika and the Congo). As the migrant workers, in their thousands, plied up and down between their villages and their places of employment, they brought back with them as part of their newly-acquired linguistic baggage the vocabulary which they had acquired and internalised abroad. This they subsequently diffused in the rural areas to which they returned either for temporary stays, usually at six-monthly intervals, or for prolonged or even permanent stays.

In the early colonial period, war was also another important form of labour migration. Considerable numbers of able-bodied young men were either conscripted or voluntarily enrolled for service in the army as carriers or soldiers during both World War I and World War II. The stint in the army brought the army recruit into contact with languages unfamiliar to him previously in his village setting, as well as with military terms current at the time. This exposure constituted another important source of lexical adoptives in the Bemba language. As an international traveller, the army recruit saw action in such far-flung countries like Ethiopia and Burma.

Pre-dating labour migration and the two world wars as catalysts in the word borrowing process were trade (chiefly the slave trade) and missionary activity. The Roman Catholic White Fathers, for example, arrived to ply their missionary trade in the Bemba-speaking Luapula and Northern Provinces at the turn of the century. Their subsequent evangelising activities resulted in the Bemba language adopting much of the church vocabulary the missionaries had brought with them as part of the programme of converting the native population to Christianity. We thus find a remarkable representation of imported religious terms of Latin, Swahili and even Portuguese origin in the Bemba language today.

Now in sharp decline since the advent of Zambian independence in 1964, the worker's pidgin more commonly known in Zambia as Cilapalapa (because of the frequent occurrence in the language of the phrase hamba lapa, 'come here') or Kabanga is called variously in the southern African region Fanagalo, Fanakalo, Kitchen Kaffir, Pidgin Bantu, Basic Bantu, Basic Nguni, Basic Zulu, etc. (cf. Cole 1953). In grammatical structure Kabanga is minimally Bantu, its main characteristic being its ability to draw continually for its lexical growth from many languages spoken in the country where it operates, notably English, Zulu, Xhosa and Afrikaans in South Africa, Ndebele and Shona in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Bemba and Nyanja in Zambia.

The colonial administrator, coming close on the heels of the missionaries in the late 1890s provided an additional source of lexical adoptives, initially only to a minor degree but gradually subsequently, as a knowledge of English spread among the indigenous population, to an

increasingly influential degree. The arrival of the colonial administrator created opportunities for Africans to find jobs, for the most part, menial ones, in the colonial administration at the administrative centres that were established, for example in the police force, in the army and on road construction projects. These opportunities, as social situations, generated the potential for an imported stock of lexicon to be added to the Bemba language.

Preceding the arrival of the missionaries and, much later, the British colonial administrators were the Arabs or their agents whose primary occupation was the slave trade which flourished before its abolition in the two provinces with which this chapter is concerned. In addition to the trinkets and tinsel (such as beads), they peddled, the Arabs and their agents introduced military equipment (e.g., guns and gunpowder) and various commercial goods into the Bemba economy. Thus, prior to the 1880s, when the missionaries first trickled into the country, and the 1890s when the presence of the colonial administrator began to be felt, various new items of imported merchandise began to be reflected in Bemba vocabulary. The most notable were ama-luti ‘gunpowder’ < *barudi* or *baruti* (originally Turkish but adopted through Arabic and Swahili), amalisaawa ‘small shot, lead’ < *marisawa* or *marisaa* or *marisawo* (from Arabic through Swahili), *makashi* (plural *ba-*, *makasi* from Arabic through Swahili) ‘a pair of scissors’ and *ici-biliiti* (plural *ifi-*, *kibiriti* or *kibriti*, from Arabic through Swahili) ‘box of matches’.

Two epoch-making events, the introduction towards the close of the 1890s of a British type of colonial rule and, attendant upon it, westernisation, which brought in its wake the money economy, significantly changed the form of social relations among the Bemba-speaking peoples. As I observed in an earlier study (Kashoki 1978: 86), as a result of changed cultural contacts, “African societies were presently in the midst of a modernising upheaval, and since ‘modernisation’ in their case is almost always synonymous with westernisation, what is involved is essentially an almost wholesale adaptation to western modes of life,” It is indeed the western patterns of thought and behaviour that have to the greatest extent dictated both the pace and direction of lexical adoption in Bemba.

Within the broad rubric of westernisation, formal education in its imported western form is to be singled out as perhaps the most dominant force in the whole process of the lexical adoption we are concerned with here. The western type of formal education in this regard has been influential in two important, related respects. First, it has been instrumental in bringing about new vistas of perceiving social reality among the Zambians who have benefited from its acquisition to varying degrees depending on the level of education they have attained. It is these new vistas of thought, coupled with concrete experiences that lead the individual to absorb new concepts which then become part of his daily vocabulary. With widespread education in the community, imported concepts, more particularly names of imported objects, become widely diffused throughout the recipient population. This accounts largely, as we shall see, for the comparatively large volume of words derived from English that have now been permanently incorporated into Bemba.

Second, formal education (relying as it has always done since the earliest days of its introduction in the country on a single, dominant language, English, as the principal medium of instruction) has played the key role in exposing learners to the vocabulary of a foreign language, thereby causing these learners to transfer to their own languages much of the English lexical repertoire that they have acquired and internalised in turn. Formal education, in other words, has created a vast pool of bilinguals in Zambia. In any process of social change involving vocabulary expansion, it is typically the bilinguals that constitute the driving, critical force behind any lexical adaptation that takes place, especially in instances where this involves large scale borrowing.

Mention has already been made of labour migration which caused sizeable numbers of labour migrants to trek to places of employment beyond their national boundaries. Mention must now be made of internal migration, i.e. the phenomenon of the national population having to be confined largely within its national boundaries for purposes of gainful employment.

Two events in particular in Zambia account for the cessation of external labour migration and for the ushering in of an era of increased internal labour migration. One, and the more important, was the discovery

of large deposits of copper ore in the country and their subsequent exploitation on a large industrial scale after the year 1925. Internal labour migration from the Bemba-speaking areas of Luapula and the Northern Provinces to the Zambian copper mines, known as the Copperbelt, reached a peak during the 1940s.

A second factor that accounts for the confinement of Zambian labour migrants within their own borders was the decision by the Zambian Government, at the attainment of independence in the year 1964. This brought to a formal close the earlier pre-independence practice of allowing Zambian nationals to be recruited for work outside the country as migrant workers by South African, and to a much smaller extent, Southern Rhodesian recruiting agents. This measure is important and significant in two respects apropos the discussion to follow.

First and more germane, it presaged the greatly stabilised nature of the employment process evident in Zambia today. As early as the 1950s, Zambia had begun to be characterised by a gradual switch from the highly mobile migrant worker of earlier days to one who spent increasingly longer periods at the actual place of work. In this respect, where earlier migrant workers were as a rule bachelors (or not allowed to bring wives with them to the workplace), the labour recruit of the 1950s and subsequent years was allowed to marry and raise a family. This change in official policy led to increased urbanisation with the result that by the time Zambia gained independence in the year 1964, it had become one of the most urbanised countries in Africa (Ohadike, 1969; Lackman, 1973).

In the period following independence, we see a new and important social phenomenon emerging. This relates to the fact that whereas during the colonial period specialised, technical and senior administrative jobs were by deliberate policy the privileged preserve of colonial administrators and white settlers, these gradually changed hands in favour of Africans in the post-independence era. This change in social conditions led to a situation where, more and more, the indigenous population gained greater access to the more specialised or technical vocabulary than had been the case in the past. It is relevant to make this point because technical vocabulary can normally be borrowed from one

language into another only when relatively large numbers of speakers of the recipient language has become sufficiently acquainted with such specialised vocabulary. This new situation, however, has not been of long enough duration to cause technical terms to be incorporated into the language to an appreciable degree.

This section can be brought to a conclusion by underlying the point that three factors in particular, namely formal education, the workplace and the contemporary social milieu in general, are today the dominant forces at work in the word adoption process still going on in Bemba. These three factors continue not only to dictate the character of the words that are adopted but the pace and volume evident in the rate and incidence of lexical adaptation in Bemba.

Of no account and significance at all, in this respect, is what may be called “lexical engineering.” Unlike, for example, in Tanzania where, after the official promulgation of Swahili as a national and sole official language following the attainment of independence in the year 1963, specialised committees or agencies were established and given the responsibility of creating a lexical infrastructure capable of serving the needs of a modern nation in all the myriad facets of socioeconomic activity, no such deliberate steps have been taken in Zambia. In this sense, the word adoption in Bemba has always characteristically remained at the most informal level possible. In other words, it is the people themselves who have been creative in doing their own thing without any governmental intervention. Word adoption in Bemba can thus be regarded as a good example of self-reliance or as a mechanism of innovative, linguistic self-survival.

ACTUAL MANIFESTATIONS OF WORD ADOPTION

From the year 1972 to the year 1976, while a member of the Institute for African Studies at the University of Zambia, I undertook what was designed to be a long-term study entitled “Language adaptation: a study of loanwords in four Zambian languages” sponsored by the Research and Higher Degrees Committee of the University of Zambia. The study was intended to be a major contribution to the then ongoing efforts at the University aimed at up-dating the lexicographies of the official Zambian languages. The data utilised in this chapter represent part of the results of that labour.

The Bemba language, in adapting to change and still changing socio-economic conditions, has demonstrated a capacity to adapt to a wide range of the various fields of human endeavour. It should further be evident that the areas showing little or no representation are those associated with science and technology. In this regard, mention was made in the preceding section of the fact that in their contact with the Western mode of life, Zambians have had only a limited exposure at their places of work and other contexts to occupations entailing technical expertise, more especially before the attainment of independence. Opportunities in technical and professional fields were opened to Africans on a large scale, only after independence. It is thus not surprising that word adoption should reflect this restricted experience and is accordingly least evident in those fields involving scientific, technical, specialised and/or professional jargon.

It is not considered necessary when listing the adoptives as they now exist in Bemba under various categories, as exemplified above, to employ a strict linguistic notation. Thus, for example, such a critical (to the analyst) linguistic feature as the tone will not be symbolised at this stage. Instead of the officially-approved orthography presently in vogue will be employed. Recourse to linguistic notation will become necessary, and will therefore be employed, only when considering phonological and morphological incorporation processes in the concluding sections.

Source languages: *English (Eng.), French (Fr.), Portuguese (Port.), Afrikaans (Afr.), Swahili (Sw.), Kabanga (K.), Zulu, Ndebele and Nyanja.*

a) Agriculture

The adoptives found in this category typically relate to exotic, cash or export crops, thus:

Singular	Plural	Meaning	Source
anyense	anyense	onion(s)	Eng.
(or)	(or)		
oonyoni	oonyoni		
i-nanaashi	ama-nanaashi	pineapple	ananas (Fr.)
im-beu	im-beu	crop; seed	(Sw.)
kaabeci(ki)	ba-kaabeci(ki)	cabbage	Eng.

Broadcasting

The representation in this category is comparatively meagre when compared to such other technical or semi-technical categories as carpentry/bricklaying and construction. The reason for this state of affairs cannot be easily accounted for, and it is sufficient to only state that the range of adoptives is quite limited and is typically confined to such words as these:

Singular	Plural	Meaning	Source
leedyo	ba- (or ama-) leedyo	radio	Eng.
waileeshi	ba- (or ama-) waileeshi	wireless, radio	Eng.
shootiwefu	ba- (or ama-) shootiwefu	short-wave	Eng.
miita	ba- (or ama-) miita	metre	Eng.

c) Carpentry/bricklaying and construction

Of the two, lexical adoption is considerably more extensively represented in carpentry/bricklaying than in construction. The adoptives more familiar to or those of wide currency in the community include:

Singular	Plural	Meaning	Source
ceesulo	ba- (or ama-) ceesulo	a chisel	Eng. (through Kabanga chezulu)
leefu	ba- (or ama) leefu a level	a level	Eng.
i-pulanga	ama-pulanga	a plank	Eng.
puleeni	ba- (or ama-) puleeni	a plane (i.e. a tool for smoothening wood)	Eng.
i-tafwali	ama-tafwali	a brick	K. <i>metafali</i> or <i>metafware</i>
ici-kombola	ifi-kombola	a brick mould	K. <i>skombora</i> or <i>chikombola</i>
i-shoopo	ama-shoopo	carpentry (or motor-vehicle) workshop	Eng.

d) Clothing (including headwear and footwear)

Not surprisingly, adoptives relating to clothing feature with extensive abundance in the language. This can be explained by the fact that the acquisition of material wealth, was one of the primary factors which motivated the migrant worker to seek employment whether within or outside Zambia. Indeed, the return of a worker from the urban centres to his home village has been, before and after independence, characteristically an occasion for dispensing largesse of various kinds to his kinsfolk. In this way, the material objects acquired in the urban setting and subsequently distributed in the rural area became generally familiar to both the urban and rural folk. Hence the rather large volume of adoptives as represented here:

Singular	Plural	Meaning	Source
im-pasha	im-pasha	clothes; clothing; wealth	Zulu <i>mphashle</i> through K
i-kalaapushi	ama-kalaapushi	glove	Eng. <i>gloves</i>
in-dyato	in-dyato	shoe; sandals	Sw. <i>kiatu</i> or <i>kilato</i>
in-sapato	in-sapato	shoe	Port. <i>sapato</i>
in-sookoshi	in-sookoshi	socks, stockings	Eng.
i-tolooshi	ama-tolooshi	a pair of trousers	Eng. <i>drawers</i>
i-shaati	ama-shaati	a shirt	Eng.
in-deleeshi	in-deleeshi	a dress	Eng.
i-bulaaushi	ama-bulaaushi	a blouse	Eng.
ici-peewa	ifi-peewa	a beret; hat	Port. <i>chapeu</i>
swala		silk	Shaba Sw. <i>swala</i> from the French <i>soie</i>
satana		satin (cloth)	Eng. <i>satın</i>
kaaliko		a type of cotton cloth (especially if from India) calico	Eng. <i>calico</i>

e) Household effects (including furniture and house fixtures)

In addition to clothing, on his return or periodic visits to his village, the urban worker, brought home with him the household effects that he had managed to accumulate during his stint in the army, in the mines, on a European farm or at an administrative centre. These came in various forms as the following examples seek to demonstrate:

Singular	Plural	Meaning	Source
i-beseeni	ama-beseeni	basin; large dish (especially one large enough for washing clothes in)	Eng. <i>basin</i>
in-saani	in-saani	plate, dish, basin	SW. <i>sahani</i>
im-beketi	im-beketi	bucket, pail	Eng. (probably through K.)
i-tepe	ama-tepe	four-gallon petrol can used as container	Sw. <i>debe</i> (of Indian origin)
ici-tini	ifi-tini	a tin, can	Eng. <i>tin</i>
shoomeka	ba-shoomeka	a cooking utensil made from scraps of metal (also sometimes used as a bath-tub)	Eng. <i>shoe-maker</i>
baafwa	ba- (or ama-) baafwa	bath-tub	Eng. <i>bath</i>
aka-etulo	utu-etulo	kettle	Eng.
aka-abati.	utu-abati	cupboard	Eng.
i-windo	ama-windo	window	Eng.
i-teebulo	ama-teebulo	table	Eng.

f) Mining

Since its establishment as one of the main industrial activities in Zambia in the 1930s, copper mining has attracted as part of its labour force large numbers of Bemba-speaking workers from the Luapula and Northern Provinces. In part, because of this, Bemba has emerged and has remained up to the present time the principal lingua franca of the Copperbelt. As a consequence of its use both as a tool of communication during actual mining operations and as a lingua franca by the Copperbelt community generally, we find that today mining terms abound in the Bemba language as the following examples illustrate

Singular	Plural	Meaning	Source
im-pooto	im-pooto	slag pot (ladle)	Eng. pot
i-kulishibu	ama-kulishibu	slag pot (ladle)	Eng. crucible
konsenteleeta	ba- (or ama-) konsenteleeta	concentrator	Eng.
miilu	ba- (or ama-)	concentrator	Eng. mill through K. milo
<i>i-shimata</i>	<i>ama-shimata</i>	<i>smelter</i>	<i>Eng. through K. simata</i>
<i>i-biini</i>	<i>ama-biini</i>	<i>bin (for storing rocks on the surface)</i>	Eng.
<i>im-bokooshi</i>	<i>im-bokooshi</i>	<i>bin (for storing rocks underground before hauling)</i>	Eng. box through K.
<i>pande</i>	<i>ba- (or ama-) pande</i>	<i>conveyor belt</i>	K. bande (from Afrikaans ?)
<i>ici-longoma</i>	<i>ifi-longoma</i>	<i>stope (i. e. big hole)</i>	K. chilongoma
<i>i-ola</i>	<i>ama-ola</i>	<i>hole(s) (i. e. number of feet dug)</i>	Eng. hole through K. hola
<i>i-lela</i>	<i>ama-lela</i>	<i>mainway; ladder</i>	K. manela
<i>baaila</i>	<i>ba- (or ama-) baaila</i>	<i>furnace or boiler</i>	Eng.
<i>kapuliini</i>	<i>ba- (or ama-) kapuliini</i>	<i>draw-bar (for chaining trucks together)</i>	Eng. coupling through K. couplin
<i>ici-alatiini</i>	<i>ifi-alatiini</i>	<i>dynamite; explosive detonator</i>	Eng. through K. jalatini

g) Swear-words

Bemba shows an interesting variety of swear-words in the form of adoptives as the following illustrations seek to demonstrate:

Adoptive	Meaning	Source
fuseeke	go away! get away! (as to a dog)	Afr. voestsak, K. <i>fuzek</i>
kotoofu	get lost; scam, go away	Eng. <i>get off</i>
kontaelo	go to hell; get lost	Eog. <i>go to hell</i>
paasooop	(a) as a warning: beware! look out!	Afr. <i>pas op</i> through K. basopa
	(b) as a threat: watch it! beware!	
tuluukooti	I swear!	Eng. true as God
shataapu	shut up!	Eng. shut up
nyamamfu	you rotten fellow!	Sw. nyamafu 'dead animal, carrion'
paashiteeti	good-for-nothing person; bastard	Eng. bastard
shicuupiti	stupid!, fool!	Eng. stupid
fwakini	fuck you!	Eng. fucking
teesheti	an expression of extreme agitation or exasperation	Eng. dash it

Miscellaneous

Without doubt, the category showing the longest list of adoptives is that considered here under the label of "miscellaneous" or "general" terms, i.e. those adoptives which do not fall under any of the categories we have enumerated above. It is reasonable to assume that non-specialised or non-technical terms are, in any process of word borrowing, the vocabulary most commonly adopted from one language into another:

(i) Verbs

Adoptive	Meaning	Source
uku-menda	to mend; repair	Eng. mend
uku-lungisha	to mend; repair	K. lungisa
uku-shuupa	to be troublesome, difficult, intractable	K. shupa
uku-cinja	to change, alter, mutate; cash, money	Eng. change (through K. chinja)
uku-kopa	to draw a picture; take a photograph (with a camera); to copy (i. e. cheat in examinations); to imitate.	Eng. copy
uku-pikita	to carry out an organised search (e. g., by the police, military etc.); to search, frisk	K. pikita (from the Eng. picket)
uku-cimwa	to err, make a mistake; to be guilty	Nyanja ku-cimwa
uku-beca	to wager; to show off	Eng. wager
uku-sopesha	to warn, forewarn	K. <i>sopesha</i> (meaning 'sav or 'keep')
uku-ciisa	to iron clothing	K. <i>chisa</i> or <i>cheesa</i> (from the Zulu <i>tshisa</i> 'burn')
uku-fwakasha	to visit; go on holiday or pleasure trip	N debele <i>vakatsha</i>
uku-lebela	to make level (e.g., road, mound etc.)	Eng. <i>level</i>

(ii) Adverbs

Adoptive	Meaning	Source
fuuti	again, once more	<i>Nyanjafuthi</i>
poole-poole	slowly	Sw. <i>polepole</i>
mbicaana	slightly, a little	K. <i>bichana</i> or <i>mbitshana</i> from Afr, <i>bijje</i> 'a little bit' diminutive Zulu suffix <i>-ana</i>
manje	now, immediately	K. <i>manje</i> or <i>manje-manje</i>
muushe	well, all right, O. K.	K. <i>mooshe</i> (from Zulu)
taputapu	quickly, fast (originally a military order meaning 'on the double')	Eng. <i>double-double</i>
shiteleki	very much	K. <i>sterek</i> (from Afr. <i>sterek</i>)

(iii) Other expressions (e.g., exclamations, interjections)

Adoptive	Meaning	Source
aikoona	no, nothing, not at all	K. <i>aikona</i> (from the Zulu <i>ayikhona</i>)
kaashe	wait a minute!	K. <i>kahle</i> ‘gently’ (from Zulu)
ooti	may I come in? (a verbal knock)	Sw. <i>hodi</i>
kalibu	come in! (a verbal assent or invitation for one to enter)	Sw. <i>karibu</i>
apaana	no, not at all	Sw. <i>hapana</i>
ninkishi	no, nothing, not at all	from Afr. <i>niks</i> (through K. <i>nikisi</i>)
aayuwa	here you are!	Eng, <i>here you are</i>

(iv) Nouns (with plural suffix)

Adoptive	Meaning	Source
ici-ola (ifi-)	bag, suitcase	K. <i>chola</i>
ici-ngolongolo (ifi-)	metal bracelet worn around the wrist; metal part of a bicycle wheel	K. <i>chingolongolo</i> ‘badge’
ici-kope (ifi-)	picture, photograph, drawing	Eng. <i>copy</i>
i-bendi (ama-)	a bend in a road; a corner	Eng. <i>bend</i> (probably through K. <i>bendi</i>)
cuuti (ba-)	leave (of absence from duty)	Eng. <i>duty</i> from off-duty
ici-kaaфу (ifi-)	food, meal, provisions	K. <i>isikafu</i> (from the South African Eng. ‘scoff, Dutch <i>schoft</i> meaning ‘quarter of a day’, hence ‘meal’)
iposo	food, provisions	Sw. <i>posho</i> meaning ‘ration’ (probably from English <i>portion</i>)
bululu (ba-)	relative, relation	K. <i>blulu</i> (from Afr. <i>broer</i> meaning ‘brother’)
shikooпо	head butt, brain(s); intelligence, cleverness	K. <i>skopo</i> (from Afr. <i>skop</i>)
shiceelemu	danger; trouble	K. <i>skelem</i> (from Afr. <i>skelm</i> meaning ‘scoundrel’)

From the data cited, it is apparent that the languages from which the bulk of the adoptives in Bemba have been derived are English, Swahili, Kabanga, Nyanja and Ndebele, not necessarily in that order. Not accounted for by the data is Latin which functioned as an important source during the earliest days of missionary activity when the Catholic missionaries set about spreading the Christian message in the Luapula, Northern and Copperbelt Provinces. Only to a very minor degree does French, a language of much more functional or strategic importance and social prestige in neighbouring Zaire, feature as a source of adoptives in Bemba.

Mention of Latin brings up an important, relevant point. Word adoption in Bemba from a historical perspective has closely paralleled and reflected successive historical waves of cultural and social contact between the Bemba-speaking borrowers of foreign words and the speakers of languages from which such words have been borrowed and then adopted.' In the earliest times, dating roughly from the arrival of the Arab (slave) traders, the first wave of cultural contact with a totally alien culture of some significance was with these Arab traders or their agents. This yielded a rich crop of Swahili or Swahilized Arabic words." This wave was followed by missionary activity and in turn, introduced Latin and more Swahili terms into the Bemba vocabulary as part of the religious paraphernalia the Catholic White Fathers brought with them in their mission of converting the local population to the Catholic brand of Christianity. At about the same time Bemba-speaking labour migrants found themselves working in Tanzania (then Tanganyika) and Zaire (formerly the Congo). This historical the development further enhanced Swahili's role as a major donor language. Then came the trek by migrant workers to the South African and Southern Rhodesian (now Zimbabwean) mines and farms, and relatively later to the Zambian mines. At this point, Kabanga became a major source of adoptives.

English, as a source of adoptives, can be traced not only to the time the British Government assumed direct responsibility for administering Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) but also to the days when the labour migrant had to find work in South

Africa and Zimbabwe. Both entailed some contact with the English language.

Other languages, such as Afrikaans, Zulu and Ndebele, are peripheral to the word adoption process in Bemba, and if they have acted as donor languages they have done so typically through Kabanga as an intermediary. Nyanja, a language spoken widely in Malawi and Zambia, has bequeathed a sprinkling of adoptives to Bemba as the few examples in the cited data attest. Such languages as Zulu, Ndebele and Nyanja have been donor languages only to a minor degree and can be explained in large part by the fact that, as Bantu languages, they already share a large proportion of lexical items with Bemba, another Bantu language. The room for borrowing is, therefore, already circumscribed.

All in all, it is English as the dominant language foreign to the indigenous cultures of Zambia that has been and remains to this day the foremost donor language in the word adoption process evident in Bemba.

For a more detailed discussion of the manner in which French has contributed new vocabulary to Luunda, in larger measure than to Bemba, refer to Kashoki and Musonda 1982: 293-316.

PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL INCORPORATION PROCESSES

The aim of this section is to present in a very broad outline the phonological and morphological incorporation processes evident in Bemba adoptives. At the phonological level, phonological changes involved when a foreign word is incorporated into Bemba will be discussed sketchily. Concerning morphological incorporation processes, a summary account of the manner in which the lexical items (especially nouns) that are adopted are assigned to the Bemba class (or singular-plural) system will be attempted. It should be re-emphasised here that what we are dealing with are adoptives that have been permanently incorporated or assimilated into the Bemba language. Thus, we shall not be concerned with unassimilated or semi-assimilated adoptives.

Phonological Incorporation Processes

In Bemba phonology, the distinctive or contrastive phonemes are the seven-teen consonants /p B t c j kg f s sh (or s) m n n y (or n) n l w y/ and the five vowels /a e i u/ as elaborated in the diagrams below:

(i)

Contrastive vowels in Bemba

	Front	Central	Back
	(unrounded)	(unrounded)	(rounded)
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

(ii) Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Velar
Stops and affricates				
voiceless	p	t	c	k
voiced			j	g
Lateral		l		
Fricatives (sibilants, aspirants)				
voiceless	f	s	sh (s)	
voiced	B			
Nasals	m	n	ny (ŋ)	ŋ
Semi-vowels (approximants)	w		y	

An extended discussion of this aspect is contained in my article (Kashoki 1975a:707-729). 6 For an elaboration of this aspect as well, refer to Kashoki (1975 a).

A few points regarding consonants, insofar as the discussion to follow is concerned with them, are worth noting at this point. First, the consonants /j/ and /g/ do not occur singly but are always preceded by an appropriate homorganic nasal symbolised orthographically in both cases simply as n, thus nj and ng. Second, [d] as a phonetic variant of ll/ occurs in the language only if preceded by the homorganic alveolar nasal ln/ as in in-deke ‘aeroplane’. Third, the chart above shows the absence of the voiced counterparts to bilabial stop lp/ and the bilabial, alveolar and palatal fricatives. If s sh/. instead of a voiced bilabial stop Bemba has a voiced bilabial fricative except that the former is a phonetic variant of the latter and occurs in the phonological environments where the bilabial nasal lm/ precedes it, as in (Inombal) ‘now’.

Additional to vowels and consonants are the two distinctive tones (or tonemes), high (symbolised as a grave over the appropriate vowel) and low (unmarked), as in the contrast ijumo ‘abdomen’ and ifumo ‘spear’. Vowel length (symbolised by writing the vowel twice) is a further distinctive phonological feature in the language as exemplified by the contrast between ukusala ‘to choose’ and ukusaala ‘to beg for mercy’.

As is common to many other Bantu languages, syllables and consonant clusters in Bemba are characteristically of the following types:

- V: these consist of a vowel occurring singly, e.g., ala (a-la), an exclamation of irritation;
- CV: these consist of a consonant followed by a vowel, e.g., sala (sa-la) ‘choose!’; sha ‘leave it’;
- CCV: these consist of a consonant followed by another consonant, or a semi vowel, followed by a vowel, e. g., mpaala (mpaa-la) ‘bless me’, fwala (fwa-la) ‘put on clothes’ or ifyela (i-fye-la) ‘pieces of iron’;
- CCCV: these consist of a nasal followed by another consonant followed by a semi-vowel and finally a vowel, e. g., ntwala (ntwa-la) ‘take me; accompany me’ or impyani (i-mpya-nt) ‘a successor’.

As is generally the rule in Bantu languages, syllables in Bemba can be described as being characteristically Open. One consequence of this, when considering word adoption, is that Bemba syllable structure and consonant cluster patterns do not permit the occurrence of consonant clusters of the English type pl sp st spl etc. Two specific syllables *si and “fa also do not occur. A cluster of s and i, where it occurs, is realised as shi as, for example, when the verb -isa ‘come’ changes to -ishile (L e. verb root -is- plus past tense suffix -ile). A combination of the sounds s and y also results in a sh sound. The syllable ki is also peculiar. It does not occur in Bemba in word-initial position. The syllable fa, where it is adopted, is normally realised asfwa but there are a few, isolated exceptions as in seefa ‘sieve’, most probably borrowed through Kabanga.

With these statements as background, the phonological transformations involved during the indigenisation of Bemba adoptives can now be stated in terms. As regards vowels, where English is the source language, the following are the normal realisations in Bemba:

English vowels realised in Bemba as

(a) pit, kit, bit (b) peat, keel, beat	/i/ e.g., piki ‘pick’, cii ‘key’
(a) bed, pet, dead	/e/ e.g., beeti ‘bed’
(a) pat, match, back (b) lunch, cup, gun (c) arm, dark, heart (d) shirt, bird	/a/e.g., maacisa ‘matches’, kaapu ‘cup’, ishaati ‘shirt’
(a) pot, hop, shop (b) sword, court, fork	/o/ e.g., ishoopo ‘shop’, ikooti ‘court’ .fooloko ‘fork’
(a) fool, moon, soon (b) full, good, wool	/u/ e.g., uulu ‘wool’, ibuuca ‘butchery’

Two general points need to be borne in mind when considering modifications as they pertain to vowels. The first, and perhaps the more important, is that the way the particular vowel is modified in the process of word adoption to suit the sound system of the recipient language most

probably depended, in the first instance, on the type of English dialect from which it was originally copied. As Emst Wendland (1984: 22) aptly observes: “In any examination of the word changes that take place when a word of one language is borrowed into another, it is important to take into consideration any dialect peculiarities with regard to the donor language, for these will most likely affect the final result in the receptor language”. This may account for the realisation of butt-head in Bemba as puutyeti where the /u/sound in/puu/ may have been influenced by a particular dialect or variety of British English. Or it could have been the result of the factor described below.

The second factor, accounting for the particular manner a vowel sound is realised in Bemba, is the influence of Kabanga. A considerable number of the words borrowed from English into Bemba had initially been adopted into Kabanga and by the time they were transferred to Bemba certain sound modifications had already taken place. So that, in effect, the sounds at this point were no longer strictly English sounds but those close to the phonological system of Kabanga. These are the ones eventually borrowed by Bemba as in the case of -cinja ‘change, alter’ (K. chinja < Eng. change) and -pikita ‘to frisk, search’ (K. pikita < Eng. picket). The word tmbeketi from ‘bucket’ may also most probably have been adopted in this manner.

Let us now consider how word adoption appears to deal with two aspects of the English sound system: (a) consonant clusters of the type pl, sp, st, sk, nts, mps etc., and (b) the final consonant in closed syllables as in spoon and cook. In the case of English consonant clusters, the general rule in Bemba is to break up the cluster by the insertion of appropriate vowels, thus, for example, school becomes isukulu (i-su-ku-lu), spoon > supuuni (su-puu-ni) and stamp > shitampa (shi-ta-mpa).

The more difficult aspect to account for in any predictable way is how Bemba actually selects the type or quality of vowel to assign to the syllables that replace the English cluster(s) as, for example, how school becomes i-su-ku-lu but stamp on the other hand becomes shi-ta-mpa. While precise, predictable rules cannot be posited at this stage to account for every case, it seems that the general rule in operation here is that the way in which such clusters as pl, st, and sk are broken up and assigned

vowels depends on the approximate (inherent?) phonetic quality of the consonants in question as they relate to each other in the particular cluster. For example, p in pl in plural is heard (at least for purposes of adoption) as possessing an [u] sound and so is realised as puluula (pu-luu-la) in Bemba. Similarly, the s in st in stamp is heard as having an [i] vowel quality and is thus rendered as shitampa (shi-ta-mpa) in Bemba, where si is automatically transformed into shi by the rule we have already described. By the same token, s in school and spoon becomes i-su-ku-lu and su-puu-ni respectively.

The same basic principle seems to apply in instances involving the borrowing of English words containing final consonants in closed syllables, once again citing the same examples spoon and school. The final consonants /nl/ and /l/ are realised in Bemba as /ni/ and /lu/ respectively essentially because this is how they appear to have been heard before the words in question were borrowed and then modified. This, in any case, seems to account for the sound modifications suggested by the following adoptions:

same	seemu	‘same’
sick	shiiki	‘diarrhoea’
basin	ibeseeni	‘dish’
bed	beeti	‘(European) bed’
globe	koloobu	‘electric bulb’
knife	naaifi	‘(European) knife’
cup	kaapu	‘cup’

There are, however, exceptions to this rule, as for example, when

pot is not realised as *im-pooti* but as *impooto*
lamp is not realised as “*i-lampu* but as *ilampi*
matches is not realised as “*maacishi* but as *maacisa*

Despite these exceptions, the general rule is not invalidated. One plausible reason for these exceptions is the possible intervention of Kabanga before some of these words were actually adopted by Bemba. To be discounted here is the suggestion (e.g., by

Wendland, 1984: 23) that some kind of vowel harmony is in operation in these instances. At any rate, vowel harmony, even in any weak form, would not be satisfactory as an explanatory principle for accounting in a generalised way for the modification of English word-final consonants in Bemba adoptives.

Requiring passing mention is the realisation of English diphthongs (or glides) and stress in Bemba adoptives. English diphthongs are actualised as full vowels in Bemba adoptives, and the sound form they assume in Bemba closely resembles the approximate original sound in English, thus:

boy	booi (boo-i)
tie	taai (taa-i)
trousers	talaauseeshi (ta-laa-u-see-shi)
out	aaatu (aa-u-tu)

English primary stress is normally realised in Bemba adoptives as a lengthened vowel. This is graphically exemplified by the words just cited above where the lengthening in booi, taai, talaauseeshi and aaatu reflects primary stress in English. This principle finds further support in such words as stripe, stove, and blanket which have been adopted in Bemba as shitelepa, icitoofu arid ubulangeeti. Sometimes, especially in compound words, even English secondary stress is realised as a lengthened vowel in Bemba as in beeti-shiiti < bed-sheet and piilo-keeshi < pillow-case.

In addition to vowel lengthening, English primary stress tends to be reflected in Bemba adoptives as a high tone as, for example, in liuiishi < rice, shitelepa < stripe and icitoofu < stove. Exceptions are, however, not unknown as in ilampi < lamp where high tone in Bemba does not coincide with primary stress in English.

Observations on how certain English consonants or those foreign to Bemba generally are realised in adoptives will be confined to two principal aspects: (a) consonants, viz., d, j and g, which do not occur in Bemba without a preceding corresponding nasal, and (b) consonants, e. g., h, th, v, z and r, which are entirely foreign to Bemba phonology.

The consonants d, j and g which may occur singly in English and other languages from which Bemba has borrowed words are modified by changing them into their corresponding voiceless counterparts t, c and k respectively except that d is also sometimes realised as a consonant cluster nd, e.g.:

saddle	ici-saatulo or ici-s <u>and</u> ulo
jacket	i- <u>ce</u> eketi
to wager	uku-be <u>ca</u>
glove	i- <u>k</u> alaapushi
glass (mirror)	i- <u>k</u> alaashi
get Off!	<u>k</u> otoofu

As regards the other consonant sounds foreign to Bemba, h is dropped in Bemba adoptives, the interdental (English) voiceless fricative th is realised as s, v as f or b, z as sand r as l, as in the following examples:

hotel	<u>o</u> otela
hodi (Sw.) ‘may I come in!’	<u>o</u> oti
thousand	<u>sa</u> ausande
to thatch	uku- <u>sa</u> aaca
a level	lee <u>f</u> u
to (make) level	uku-le <u>b</u> ela
chisel (K. chezulu)	cee <u>s</u> ulo
fuzek (K.) ‘go away’	fue <u>s</u> eeke
ruler	<u>l</u> uula
karibu (Sw.) ‘come in!’	ka <u>l</u> ibu

Morphological Incorporation Processes

In Bemba, as in other Bantu languages, nouns belong or are assigned by the grammar of the language to a class or concord system, class in this case being signalled by subsets of prefixes indicating singular and plural (e.g. umu-ntu/ abantu ‘person/ persons’) as well as determining the pattern of prefixal agreement in the syntax. There are altogether eighteen such classes in Bemba except that those designated as classes 16, 17 and 18 are locative

nominals (e.g., pa-mushi ‘at the village’, ku-mushi ‘to the village’ and mu-mushi ‘in the village’) and do not conform to the singular-plural class pairing characteristic of nominals in classes 1 to 15. When nouns are borrowed from foreign sources they are assigned to one of the following classes:

Class

Class	Example	Meaning
1/2	umu-ntu/aba-ntu	person/persons
1a/2a	(zero prefix) fundilbaa-fundi	hunter/hunters
3/4	umu-ti/imi-ti	tree/trees
5/6	i-fupa/ ama-fupa	bone/bones
7/8	ici-puna/ifi-puna	stool/stools
9/10	in-nama/in-nama	animal/animals
11/10	ulu-kasU/in-kasu	hoe/hoes
11/6	ulu-kasa/ama-kasa	foot/feet
12/13	aka-nwa/utu-nwa	mouth/mouths
14/6	ubu-sanshil ama-sanshi	bedlbeds
15/6	uku-bokol ama-boko	armlarms

Accounting for the incorporation of nouns borrowed from foreign sources into Bemba is not amenable to precise, predictable rules. In part, this is due to the fact that even in the case of nouns indigenous to the language a logical pattern of assigning a particular category of nouns to a particular singular-plural class is not discernible. Thus, while in general terms nouns denoting persons or associated with human beings, e.g., umu-aumelaba-aume ‘man/men’, are normally found in classes 1/2 or 1 a/2a, other nouns of this kind are also represented in other classes. For example, i-shilutama-shilu ‘madman/madmen’ are not assigned to either of these classes but to 5/6. Similarly, it is not necessarily the case that nouns associated with things will be assigned to classes 7/8 although this is the class-pair in which such nouns are ordinarily found.

Consequently statements of any predictive value that can be made at this stage are essentially tentative and are restricted to the following general observations. First, the most popular classes into which nouns from foreign languages are borrowed into Bemba are 1/2 (especially 1a/2a), 5/6, 7/8 and 9/10; of these 1/2 and 5/6 are the most dominant as the cited data clearly demonstrate. Other classes of some significance are 14/6 and 12/13 as shown by such adoptives as *ubu-langeeti* (ama-) ‘blanket’ and *aka-abati* (utu-) ‘cupboard’ respectively.

Second, assigning of borrowed nouns to the Bemba class system seems to be in some instances a matter of what may be termed “phonological analogy”. Phonological analogy seems to be the process involved, for example, when the word *blanket* (K. *buranget*), adopted as *ubu-langeeti*, is borrowed and assigned to class 14/6, i. e. *ubu-lama-* which has the sound sequence *ubu-* in the singular. A similar process seems to be at play in the case of *kitchen* borrowed as *tei-kiniltfi-kini* into class 7/8.

Third, in recent years, probably as the result of the influence of other Bantu languages, there has been a growing tendency to assign most of the borrowed nouns to an irregular class-pair, 9/6, as reflected in such adoptives as *ceesulo* (ama-) <*chisel* and *baafwa* (ama-) <*bath-tub*, where *ceesulo* and *baafwa* contain a zero singular prefix. It is apparent that, as shown by the growing volume of adoptives, words adopted without a visible prefix, which normally would have gone into the 1 a/2 a class-pair, are increasingly being assigned to class 9 in the singular and class 6 in the plural, as reflected syntactically in the agreement pattern, e.g.:

Class 9

	<i>ceesulo</i>		<i>i-andi</i>	<i>i-lya</i>
gloss:	<i>chisel</i>		<i>my</i>	<i>there</i>
meaning:	<i>There</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>chisel</i>

Class 6

	<i>ama-ceesulo</i>		<i>ya-andi</i>	<i>ya-lya</i>
gloss:	chisel		my	there
meaning:	There	are	my	chisel

The significance of this irregular class-pair is the extent to which it now appears to have supplanted the class-pair 1a/2a into which most of the nouns tended to be borrowed in the past.

Finally, it will be noted that from the data available there are hardly any adoptives to be found in classes 11/10, 11/6 and 15/6. What is noteworthy in this regard is that, in any case, even the number of nouns indigenous to the language is relatively very small in these classes.

CONCLUSION

This sketch dealing with sources and patterns of word adoption in Bemba has hardly done full justice to a complex subject. However, it is hoped that it has at least provided sufficient illustration of the dominant processes that are involved. In particular, the sketch will have achieved its objective if it has given the reader some insight into the historical and other forces at play and provided an illustrative glimpse of the adoptives so far evident in the language.

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