

Report on

The Unification of The Shona Dialects

*Carried out under the auspices of
the Government of Southern Rhodesia
and the Carnegie Corporation*

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with an introduction by Herbert Chimhundu**

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NHAKA YADOKE

(Summary in Shona)

Kutsikiswa patsva kuri kuitwa bhuku rino richitobuswa saizvozvi icherechdzo yokukosha kwenhaka yatakasiyirwa naMuzvinafundo Clement Doke, avo vakatoita zvokudaizwa nehurumende kubva kuSouth Africa kuti vazogadzirisa nyaya yezvebumbiro remanyorerwo eChiShona muna 1929. Vedzisvondo dzomunyika muno vakanga vava nenguva yakareba vatangana nebasa iri zvakasimba kubva muna 1903 vakazosvika pakubvuma muna 1928 kuti vakanga vakundikan kuwana nzira yokuumba bumbiri rimwe chete ravaigona kushandisa vose kumatunhu ose avaishandira kwaitaurwa papazi akasiyana omutauro wedu. Senyanzvi yezvemitauro yavatemala yainge yatombobudisa zvinyorwa zvikuru mumutauro weZulu, Doke ndiye akazokwamisa kugadzirisa nyaya iyi akaumba bumbiro rakavakazotambira vose. Mhasi uno ChiShona chava kuto verengwa pakati pemimwe mitauro mikuru yavatemala yasimukira chaizvo kuburikidza nezvinyorwa zvakasiyana-siyana zvavakubudiswa mauri zviru kuramba zvichingowanda. Kuvapo kwebumbiro irori ndiko kwakaita kuti mabasa ose okunyora muChiShona abudirire, maumbirwo emutauro atsanangurike kuchitonyorwa mabhuku aizvozvi, mabhuku okudzidzisa mutauro nouvaranomwe achinyorwa, maduramazwi achinyorwa, vananyanduri vachizoteverawo nemabhuku euvaranomwe akasiyana-siyana, kusanganisira ngano, nhorooondo, nganonyorwa, nyaya pfupi, mitambonyorwa nenhetembo dzamarudzi akawanda. Izvi zvese zvava kukwanisikika nokuda kwebasa guru rakashandwa naVaDoke kareko.

Basa rakaitwa naMuzvinafundo Clement Doke muna1929-31, vachibat-sirwa nechikwata chevamwe vatatu vakanga vakamirira vedzisvondo, ndiro rakatipa hwaro hwokuumbwa nokuvandudzwa kwebumbiro remanyorerwo eChiShona kubva panguva iyoyo kusvika pari zvino. Zvavakawana mutsvakurudzo yavakaita panguva iyoyo namazano avakapa kuhurumende zvakazobudiswa chatova chinyorwa chakazobudiswa ratova bhuku rino, Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects (Doke, 1931a). Bhuku irori ndiro rava kutsikiswa patsva richiperekedzwa nenhanganya ino iri muChiShona nemamwe mashoko okuvamba ari muChiRungu kuitira kuti vadzidzi nevamwe vaverengi vanhasi vawane nhorooondo yakakwana yakwakabva bumbiro rezvemanyorerwo ratava kushandiswa, kubva pakaumbwa roku-

tanga chairo naMuzvinafundo Doke muna 1931, rikapuwa semazano akatambirwa nehurumende nevedzisvondo dzaiva ndidzo dzaiva nezvikoro zvaizidzisa vanhu vatema panguva iyoyo. Bumbiro raDoke irori rakazodzokorodzwa zvimwe zviperengo bebatanidzo zvichishandurwa kaviri kese, muna 1955 nomuna 1967, asi zvaishandurwa zvacho zvakanga zvisina kuwanda. Nokudaro mamiriro ebumbiro racho sechiumbwa aingosara akadaro, uye pfungwa huru dzaitungamirira vairikwenenzvera vacho dzaingorambawo dziichenderana. Saka basa guru rakanga ratoshandwa kare naVaDoke.

Nhoroondo yekuumbwa nokuvandudzwa kwebumbiro remanyorerwo eChiShona rinozazanira zana remakore nemakore mashanu, kubva pakatanga-tanga vauyi kuedza kunyora mapazi omutauro wedu munzvimbo dzakasiyana-siyana dzavakanga vapfekera. Panguva iyoyo, kana zita rokuti ChiShona rakanga risati ratombobatira, kana madziteteguru edu akanga asingatomborishandisi. Kuuya kwazoita vedzisvondo dzechiKristu vachitevera maPioneer eBritish South Africa Company vachitora nyika voumba Southern Rhodesia ndipo pakazotanga basa chairo rine chinangwa rokuti mutauro weChiShona unyorwe. Vana mufundisi vedzisvondo dzakasiyana dzakadzika midzi kuma1890 dzikatandira mumatunhu enyika akasiyana ndivo vainyanyoita shungu nebasa iri, chinangwa chavo chiri chekuti vawane nzira yokunyora naya Bhaibheri mururimi rwavagari vemuno, vagozokwanisa kuparadzira shoko raMwari pakati pavo, svondo dzavo dzichikura nokupararira. Pakati pedzisvondo idzodzi paitova nekukwikwidzana, asi vakakurumidza kuona kuti, vanhu vaiva munzvimbo dzose dzavaishandira idzi vaiva vanhu vamwe chete, vanomutauro mumwe chete wavaishandisa vachinyatsonzwana, kunyange zvazvo mutauro iwoyu waitova nemapazi awo aiva nepamwe pawairatidza siyano dzakati kuti kumatunhu akasiyana. Nokudaro vakaona kuti zvaitozovarerukira ivo pachavo kufambisa basa ravo rokuparadzira vhangeri kana vakawana nzira yokuntora Bhaibheri rimwe chete ravaizoshandisa munzvimbo dzose idzi. Kana vatsigiri vavo vakaita seveBritish and Foreign Bible Society vaivavabatsira kutsikisa mabhuku evhangeri avaida kushandisa mudzisvondo nokuti zvizonyanya kuvadhurira kubudisa maBhaibheri akasiyana mumapazi akasina omutauro mumwe chete aizongoshandiswa munzvimbo diki nevanhu vashoma. Nokufamba kwenguva, vakaona zvakare kuti zvaitova nyore kukwezva vanhu kuti vauye kusvondo dzavo kana pane zvimwe zvaizodzidziswa zvaivabatsira kwete shoko raMwari roga. Saka vakatangisa zvikoro zvakawanda zveatanho epasi pavaiita kuti vanhu vangokwanisa

kuverenga nokunyora Mukudzidzisa kuverenga nokunyora umu ndimo makazoita kuti kubudiswe mamwewo mabhuku okuverenga ane nyaya dzakasiyana dzaisanganisira ngano, nhoroono nezvimwewo zvoupenyu zvainakidza vanhu. Vainyanya kuzobudirira pane zvedzidzo izvi ndivo zvakare vaizonyanya kubatsira pakuparadvira vhangeri ravo, vamwe vazhinji vachitovashandira sevaturikiri nevaparidzi.

Nokufamba kwenguva, hurumende yeSouthern Rhodesia yakazenge yava kubatsirawo vedzisvondo ivava norutsigiro rwemari dzokufambisa mabasa omuzvikoro zvavo. Kubva pakapuwa vachena vaitonga panguva iyoyo masimba okuzvionera pane zvimwe zvizhinji neBritain muna 1923, masimba eutongi eBritish South Africa Company akabva apera, kwava kuchumbwa hurumende yeSouthern Rhodesia. Vehurumende ivava vakatozosvika pakutaurira vedzisvondo ava kuti vaifanira kuwirirana kuti mabhuku avaibudisa nokushandisa muzvikoro zvavo ari mumutauro weChiShona ave akafanana kuitira kuti vawane rubatsiro rwehurumende urwu. Saka vedzisvondo ava vakatowedzerwa shungu dzokuti vaumbe bumbiro remanyorerwo eomutauro weChiShona raizokwanisa kushandiswa kumatunhu ose aita urwa mutauro iwoyu, mabhuku avo achitoreka kuvanhu vaitaura mapazi awo akasiyana. Nyaya iyi yakanga yagara iri mudariro paiitwa misangano yesangano revedzisvondo rainzi Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference kubva muna 1903. Kwakatenge kwaumbwa komiti yaiongorora nezvenyaya yezvanyorerwo eChiShona asi, pasisangano yose yaipota ichiitwa neveSRMC kwopera makore mavir kana matatu, hapana chavakakwanisa kunyatsowirirana kana kusungwa kusvikira 1928. Pamusangano wa1928 ndipo pavakazobvuma kuti iyi pachavo vakanga vakundikana, kwava kuisa chichemo kuhurumende kuti kudaidzwe nyanzvi yezvemitauro yaizovabatsira kugadzirisa nyaya iyoyi.

Uku ndiko kudaidzwa kwakazoitwa Doke, uyo akanga ari nyanzvi yezvemitauro yevatema aishanda samuzvinafundo paYunivhesiti yeWiwatersrand kuJohannesburg. Doke ndiye akazokwanisa kugadzirisa nyaya iyi, kwava kuumba bumbiro rokutanga raizoshandiswa kumatunhu ese aita urwa ChiShona muZimbabwe. Bumbiro irori rakabva rangonzi nderomuunganidzwa.

Bumbiro roMuunganidzwa, 1931

Gadziridzo yoKutanga, 1951

Dadziridzo yeChipiri, 1967

Mabasa oKuvandudza Mutauro

DOKE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARD SHONA

1. Introduction

This introductory chapter is an assessment of Doke's contribution to the development of Shona as a standard literary language since he submitted his *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects* in 1931. It is intended to place this *Report* (Doke, 1931a) in the context of subsequent developments to the present, but initially the background leading to the commissioning of Doke to do this work is given from 1903. The report is now being re-issued by the ALLEX Project as a photographic reprint of the original. Therefore, this chapter is in fact a critical evaluation of the *Report*, which is given in the form of an historical review covering a period of about 100 years. In a sentence, the impact of Doke's work was immense and his influence is still evident in virtually all the developments that have taken place in Shona since 1932. Whether one looks at the writing system itself, or one looks at Shona phonetics, grammar, vocabulary or literature, Doke's *Report* has remained the major reference point.

In making such an assessment, one now has the benefit of 75 years of hindsight, which makes it possible to make a whole series of pertinent observations. First, we must note that Doke was invited to intervene and settle the contentious issue of a common Shona orthography, which the early missionaries had been addressing seriously during the previous 25 years but had failed to resolve. Secondly, the intensive work that he did with missionary representatives from 1929 culminated in his report, which was accepted by the government, and his recommendations were implemented almost in their entirety in the African education system which at that time was run by the missionaries. Thirdly, he did manage to come up with a common writing system for all the Shona dialects of Zimbabwe that are spoken outside the administrative provinces of Matabeleland. The major principles on which he based this unified Shona orthography have been maintained to the present, that is, the principle of distinctiveness of symbols used in the alphabet and the choice of a conjunctive system of word division as being appropriate for an inflecting or agglutinative language.

By and large, the actual provisions that were made in that orthography have been maintained to the present despite two revisions of the orthogra-

phy in 1955 and 1967, the total effect of which was to replace six of Doke's original eight phonetic symbols /b, d, s, z, j, ʒ, ŋ, v/ with Roman letters and to make a few minor changes in word division. This standard orthography plus the other recommendations that Doke made on the writing up of the grammar, the pooling of vocabulary and compiling of dictionaries, the development of a written literature and the creation of a standing committee to advise on language and the promotion of writing and literacy, have made it possible for Shona to develop into one of the major literary languages of the region.

In addition to recommending the official use of the collective term Shona, it is also important to note that Doke selected the Zezuru dialect cluster as the basis for both standard spelling and grammar, with significant influence from Karanga and progressively less influence from Manyika, Ndau and Korekore, while Kalanga was to be counted as a separate language altogether. In its written form, the standard Shona that we have today is mainly Zezuru-based, while Kalanga is now classified as a minority language, along with several other minority languages that later became the subject of Hachipola's survey (1998). It was Doke who recommended that Shona and Ndebele be the two African languages that were to be recognized officially in the areas in which they were predominant and that all the other languages be basically ignored, which is precisely what has happened since then. Indeed, very little attention has been paid officially to Zimbabwe's fourteen minority languages, which are mostly also cross border languages with populations of about one per cent each or less in Zimbabwe, viz: Kalanga, Shangani, Cewa, Venda, Tonga (cp. Zambia), Nambya, Sotho, Chikunda, Sena, Xhosa, Tonga (of Mutoko), Barwe, Hwesa and Tshwawo (the only non-Bantu African language in Zimbabwe). So, even some of those recommendations that Doke made but were peripheral to his terms of reference, have also proved to be important insofar as they have affected policy and practice over the years. Thus, all the major issues on the standardization and development of Shona, on national language policy in Zimbabwe (Chimhundu, 1997 & National Language Policy Advisory Panel, 1998) and on policy on language in education in particular, can only be fully understood and appreciated with reference to Doke. Hence the decision to produce this re-issue of Doke's *Report* with an introductory chapter that evaluates his contribution in the context of what happened after 1931.

In terms of organization, this chapter on Doke's legacy is divided into sections that follow a chronological order but it is written in the style of a criti-

cal review rather than a narrative. The historical review starts with the early efforts of the missionaries to come up with a common writing system for the language under the auspices of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference (later renamed the General Missionary Conference of Southern Rhodesia) from 1903-1928, followed by Doke's intervention in 1929-1931 and culminating in his *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects*, and then by implementation of the report from 1932, and then by mounting criticism of the special symbols and what some considered to be excessive conjunctivism from 1946 in particular. This criticism eventually led to the changes that were made in 1955 by the Shona Language Committee mainly to remove the special phonetic symbols. However, while some problems were solved, more were created because ambiguity was the result in several cases where some of the Roman letters now represented more than one contrastive sound or phoneme. More changes were made again by the Shona Language Committee in 1967 to restore the principle of distinctiveness without having to resort to the use of special symbols as Doke had done. At the same time, the Committee also drew up an elaborate set of rules for word division but the basic conjunctive system that had been designed by Doke was retained although conjunctivism was slightly reduced.

It is this "new" orthography of 1967 that we, in fact, now refer to as the current orthography, which is being used to write standard Shona today because there has not been another revision since then. In reality, this current orthography is a compromise between the two previous ones in that it restored the principle of distinctiveness or "one sound one symbol" (Doke, 1931a: 84) while using only the Roman letters or their combinations to represent the 32 phonemes that Doke had identified in Shona and had represented in the alphabet using a mixture of Roman letters and phonetic symbols. So, in addition to discussing the merits and demerits of the "new" orthographies of 1931, 1955 and 1967, we will discuss problems that are experienced today by Shona speaker-writers in both spelling and word division as they use the current orthography. We will touch on the debates on proposed solutions to accommodate various dialectal features, and we will also indicate more recent trends towards full standardization, especially those that have a bearing on Doke's original ideas of unification and standardization of Shona, and on the recognition or otherwise of the other indigenous languages of Zimbabwe.

This treatment should be particularly useful for teachers and students of Shona who are interested in the history of writing in the language, in lan-

guage policy and planning issues, and in dialect studies. However, for the latter, further reference has to be made to Doke's more detailed *Comparative Studies in Shona Phonetics* (1931b), for which he reserved the details of his findings from the fieldwork that he conducted across the country with the help of the missionaries and others.

2. Early Missionary Efforts, 1903-1928

One can go back to the period preceding the arrival of the Pioneer Column and the creation of Southern Rhodesia by the British South Africa Company to find writings on the Shona language in English and compilations of Shona vocabulary, such as Bleek's *The Languages of Mosambique* (1856) and Elliot's *Dictionary of the Ndebele and Shona Languages* (1887), which were followed by Hartmann's *English-Mashona Dictionary* (1894). However, serious efforts to design a Shona orthography did not begin until 1903 when the missionaries started addressing this question collectively after a number of divergent systems had already emerged.

The main participants during the next twenty-five years that preceded unification were members of various Missionary Societies (i.e. denominations of the Christian churches) operating in different parts of the country. However, their efforts were uncoordinated. The individuals who were attempting to reduce the language to writing based their writing systems on their limited knowledge of the speech varieties of their own immediate areas, which also tended to be peak dialects that exhibited the greatest number of unique features. They ended up with divergent systems of spelling and the problem was further compounded by the preference of most of them for disjunctive word division, which split Shona words into small component parts that were deemed to be equivalent to English translations, although Shona is an inflecting or agglutinative language. To add to this confusion, the orthography used by the officials of the Native Department "varied considerably from man to man" (Doke, 1931a: 5). Despite all this confusion, there was a general realization from the beginning that the people of these different areas shared a common language, and the search for a solution to the divergent orthographies continued.

The leading figures who were engaged in the early efforts to design a Shona orthography were all missionaries based at different stations run by different denominations around the country. Chimhundu (1992a: 97-100) gives details of the early central stations from which seven denominations

had established extensive networks of out-stations in different regions of the country by 1900, noting the competition and rivalry between them while they expanded their spheres of influence. Apart from the London Missionary Society, which had come into Matabeleland much earlier and had established two missions near Bulawayo at Inyati (1859) and Hope Fountain (1870), all the other churches founded their mission headquarters during the 1890s “in the wake of the British South Africa Company’s occupation of the country” (Zvobgo, 1973: 63). The Wesleyan Methodists operated from Waddilove Mission (established 1892) near Marondera in what is now Mashonaland East Province and from Epworth Mission (also established 1892) near Harare. The Catholics operated from Chishawasha (1892) near Harare and from Triashill (1896) near Rusape in Manicaland, a province they shared with the Methodist Episcopal (United Methodist) Church operating from Old Umtali (1892) and the Anglican Church operating from St Augustine’s (1898), both near Mutare. The American Methodists established their headquarters further to the south, east of Mutare, where they operated from Mount Selinda (1893) and from Chikore (1893). Operating from Morgenster Mission (1891) near the Great Zimbabwe, the Dutch Reformed Church established a predominant influence in Masvingo (then Victoria) Province.

Thus, when we consider Doke’s recommendations below, not only on Shona orthography but also on other general issues on language in the country, we need to assess them in this given context in which four realities on the ground must be noted. First and most importantly, the different church denominations operated in clearly distinct areas far away from each other, except around the bigger towns of Harare and Mutare where two different denominations had missions within fifty miles of each other. So the individual missionaries who were engaged in efforts to find a common writing system for Shona came to the meetings of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference (SRMC) as representatives of the dialects of the different regions in which they operated or where their churches were predominant. Therefore, as a result of this approach to missionary work, language study and literature development, Doke (1931a: 5) notes that:

“... four distinct dialects have been pushed into prominence, viz. Karanga in the ‘Victoria Circle’, Zezuru in the ‘Salisbury Circle’, Manyika in Manicaland, and Ndau in Melsetter.”

Secondly, there was no mission headquarters for any denomination in the Korekore area of north-eastern Zimbabwe. So Korekore was not represented and, not surprisingly, this dialect was not seriously considered in Doke's union orthography. Thirdly, the Kalanga dialect of the south-western area where the London Missionary Society was operating was presumed to be part of Matabeleland and was excluded from union Shona partly for reasons of administrative convenience. Fourth, the long distances between the mission headquarters of the different denominations and the mode of travel at that time made frequent communication very difficult, even assuming that that this was desired or attempted. So the result was regionalization of church operations.

While this regionalization of church operations was becoming a permanent feature of Zimbabwe, each Christian denomination was recognized by the government as a Responsible Authority for African education, a situation that only changed during the UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence 1965) period when, for most schools, this authority was transferred to district councils (Chimhundu, 1992a: 97). As far as the question of a common writing system for Shona was concerned, the consequence was that:

“... the efforts of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference to resolve the problem of the Shona orthography were fruitless because the church representatives participating in the discussions took the stance of provincial and tribal defenders, and every meeting on this matter between 1903 and 1928 ended in deadlock” (Chimhundu, 1992a: 99).

The individual missionaries who made notable efforts to design orthographies based on the dialects of their different areas are listed by Magwa (1999: 10) as follows (with mission stations in brackets): Dr W.L. Thompson (Mount Selinda), J.E. Hatch (Rusitu), A. Burbridge (St Benedict's), J. Springer (Old Umtali), Mrs H.E. Springer (Old Umtali), B.H. Barnes (St Augustine's), A.A. Louw (Morgenster), Mrs C.S. Louw (Morgenster) and H.W. Murray (Morgenster). All concerned agreed that it was desirable to find a uniform system of writing the language (i.e. Shona) and this question came up regularly at meetings of the SRMC. When this item was first put on the agenda of the Conference in 1903, the missionaries only talked about the dialects that made up the Shona language but nothing of substance was

discussed on the orthography. At the next meeting in 1905, the Rev. A.A. Louw read a paper on the local languages, which was followed by general discussion. However, the matter of a common orthography for Shona was only addressed directly at the next conference in 1906 when a committee on Shona was set up under the leadership of the Rev. A. Springer of Old Umtali Mission. This was after the missionaries had found that it would not be easy to reach consensus on many issues in the three main areas of vocabulary, spelling and word division, all of which they needed to produce a Shona Bible.

This remained the trend at subsequent conferences and no solution was found. In fact, in 1920, the committee on Shona decided to shelve the project of a common version of the scriptures because it was felt that the circumstances did not permit. Although this committee was revived in a different form in 1922, the missionaries still failed to find a solution by themselves. So, in 1928, they decided to appeal to the government to intervene and Professor Doke was invited from South Africa to come and study the situation and make recommendations. This Doke did in the form of the *Report* (1931a) that is now the subject of review in this introductory chapter. For the Shona language, the most important one of Doke's recommendations was number 7 (pp. 85-99), which settled the question of a common orthography

However, before we proceed to discuss what Doke actually did, it is necessary to note the reasons for the particular interest of the missionaries in this whole process. The interest of the missionaries was certainly not academic or linguistic but evangelization. They needed a Bible that could be produced in one form that could be used in all the dialect areas, because producing different versions for each area would be too expensive for the respective population sizes. Support for publication was undertaken by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), which actually published a number of smaller items in the different dialects and orthographies. The missionaries also needed to produce vernacular readers, which they could use in their African schools. At the same time, the Native Department was also demanding that the language question should be settled in order to facilitate some of their administrative activities. We must also note that Southern Rhodesia had attained responsible government status in 1923.

So the position by 1928 was that the government was willing to let the vernaculars be used as media for instruction in the first years of African education, but it would only give grants-in-aid for the production of text-

books and readers for Mashonaland and Matabeleland if single versions could be determined for each administrative province by the Missionary Conference. There was no problem of dialectal variation for Matabeleland but it was not easy to agree on such common versions for Mashonaland without a common orthography. During the 1928 conference, two conflicting resolutions were actually raised:

- one to seek authorization to write in the two larger dialects, Karanga and Zezuru, and/or for standardizing these two;
- the other to build a unified language based on Karanga, Zezuru, Ndau and Manyika.

During the ensuing debate, they failed to arrive at a solution and the Conference (now the General Missionary Conference of Southern Rhodesia) agreed to seek expert advice through the government. The following compromise resolution was adopted:

“This conference finds itself unable to decide at present between the alternatives of standardizing two languages for Mashonaland, viz. Chizezuru and Chikaranga, or of standardizing a unified language built on the four existing dialects. We therefore prefer to reserve our opinion till expert advice has been obtained. We would respectfully request the Government to approach the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, with a view to obtaining a suitable expert to investigate and advise upon the matter.” (Doke, 1931a: 5.)

In George Fortune’s words:

“The result of this motion was that Professor C.M. Doke, Professor of Bantu Languages at the University of the Witwatersrand, was approached to undertake the work. He secured a Traveling Scholarship for Research from the Carnegie Corporation and arrived in Salisbury to begin work at the end of January 1929. The purpose of the visit was to make a thorough study of the language position throughout the country with a view to advising the Government upon a uniform orthography and a possible unification of the dialects, for

the standardization of an official language for that part of Rhodesia inhabited by Shona-speaking peoples.” (Anon., Undated 1: 12.)

Doke worked closely with a Language Committee of three missionaries who were appointed by the government: (a) to collect data and explore the field; and (b) to represent the different dialects. One person, the Rev. B.H. Barnes, who was also the Chairman, represented the smaller dialects, Ndau and Manyika. Karanga was represented by Mrs C.S. Louw, and Zezuru by Rev. A. Burbridge. At the end of the assignment, Doke’s *Report* was presented to the Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia in 1931 and it was accepted and implemented through the education system, which was actually controlled by the missionaries themselves.

3. The Unified Orthography, 1931

All in all, Doke made a total of seven recommendations, mostly on Shona, but with some also touching on other aspects of language in the country, which we must also look at in this introductory chapter because of the immense influence that his work has had over the years. The main recommendations, to which Doke devoted the most space in his *Report* (1931a: 83-104), were on “a unified orthography” (1931a: 83), which is actually the most important area for our purposes here. It is also in the area of orthography that there has been the most controversy since 1931 and the most revision. Therefore, in this chapter, we will pay the most attention to orthography, especially spelling, because any future changes are also likely to be in this area where debate is still raging.

Doke’s main task was to design a standard orthography that would be used to unify the Shona dialects into a literary whole (1931a: 76). The provisions of this “new” orthography are reviewed in this section, starting with the alphabet or set of symbols used for spelling (Recommendation 7), followed by the rules of word division (Recommendation 6). Then the other aspects of this literary unification on which he also made recommendations will also be looked at, starting with grammatical standardization (# 4), followed by choice of vocabulary (#5), procedures for implementing the new orthography (# 10 & 11), use of the collective term Shona for all the dialects excluding Kalanga (# 1, 2 & 3), and then finally the position that he took on Ndebele vis-à-vis Zulu (# 8).

This section will be mainly descriptive, with indications made on implications for the future, but the latter will be the subject of fuller treatment in other sections below, when we look at revisions that were made to Doke's orthography (sections 4 and 5), and when we make a general assessment of Doke's legacy in the context of on-going debates on the current Shona orthography (section 5), on standard Shona and on general policy on language in Zimbabwe (section 6). When examples are cited in the general description in this and in subsequent sections, we will use angle brackets < > for common orthography, slashes // for phonemic script and square brackets [] for phonetic script where necessary to show allophonic variation.

3.1 The Alphabet

Doke aimed for “a good phonetic orthography” (1931a: 84) but the present writer believes it is fair to describe the outcome as phonemic. The 32 letters listed in his alphabet (Recommendation 7a, p.85) show that he made a bold decision not to restrict himself to the 26 Roman letters as these are used in English. His study of Shona phonetics had shown that the language had its own peculiar sounds that showed significant contrasts for which additional symbols were required if he was to maintain the principle of one sound one symbol. From the 26 Roman letters, he kept all the five vowels <a, e, i, o, u > and all the consonants except <l> and <q>, and then he added eight special symbols < b, c, ŋ, s, j, v, z, ʒ > which he took from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). With these eight special symbols added, Doke was able to come up with what was essentially a phonemic alphabet in which he made sure that “no one character has more than one value in any one dialect” (1931a: 84).

The phonetic descriptions of these symbols are given as the first items in the second column in each row below, while the significant contrasts which they can make are illustrated by using minimal pairs in which the second items are the other symbols representing different phonemes that are nearest to them in terms of articulation:

Symbol	Phonetic Description	Example	Current Spelling	Gloss
ɓ	voiced bilabial implosive stop	-ɓata	-bata	touch, catch
b	voiced bilabial explosive/ plosive stop	bata	bhata	butter
ɗ	voiced alveolar implosive stop	-ɗaɗa	-dada	be proud
d	voiced alveolar explosive/ plosive stop	dada	dhadha	duck
ɕ	voiceless labialized alveolar fricative	-ɕika	-svika	arrive
s	voiceless alveolar fricative	-sika	-sika	stir, spin
ʒ	voiced labialized alveolar fricative	ʒino	zvino	now
z	voiced alveolar fricative	zino	zino	tooth
ʃ	voiceless prepalatal/ palato-alveolar fricative	-ʃara	-shara	choose
s	voiceless alveolar fricative	-sara	-sara	stay behind
ʒ	voiced prepalatal/ palato-alveolar fricative	ʒara	zhara	hunger
z	voiced alveolar fricative	-zara	-zara	be full
ʋ	voiced labiodental(denti-labial)/ bilabial approximant	ʋaŋga	vanga	scar
v	voiced labiodental/ denti-labial fricative	-vaŋga	-vhanga	scoop food (from plate)
ŋ	voiced velar nasal	-ŋura	-n'ura	gnaw
ŋg	voiced prenasalized velar stop	-ŋgura	-ngura	wash, bath

From the very beginning, these special symbols drew a lot of attention. The symbols <ɕ, ʒ> were rejected right at the outset and they were replaced by <sh, zh> when the unified orthography was implemented. As we shall see later, the controversy surrounding the remaining six special symbols and the unique sounds that they represented was only resolved during the second revision of the standard Shona orthography in 1967.

As phonemes, these sounds have a wide distribution in clusters or combinations of consonants in Shona, and they appear in 11 of the 47 digraphs and trigraphs that Doke recommended (# 7d, p.86):

- <dz> as in <-dzara>, now spelt <-dzvara>, ‘plant’
- <mŋ> as in <mŋana>, now spelt <mwana>, ‘child’
- <nz̥> as in <-nanz̥a>, now <-nanzva>, ‘lick’
- <ŋg> as in <ŋgoro>, now <ngoro>, ‘cart’
- <ŋgw> as in <maŋgwana>, now <mangwana>, ‘tomorrow’
- <ŋw> as in <kuŋwa>, now <kumwa>, ‘to drink’
- <ɕw> as in <-peɕwa>, now <-pesvwa>, ‘be provoked’
- <fw> as in <ifwa>, now <ishwa>, ‘(edible) flying termite’
- <tɕ> as in <itɕo>, now <itsvo>, ‘kidney’
- <zw> as in <-kwezwa>, now <kwezvwa>, ‘be enticed’
- <zw> as in <-zwinya>, now <-zhwinya>, ‘scream (esp. of pig)’.

So when the special symbols were dropped or replaced in 1955 and 1967, the resultant changes were many.

In addition to the above, we must also note a number of digraphs and trigraphs that had been listed by Doke but were also dropped or changed later, even though they did not involve the special symbols. The following have since been dropped:

- <nn, nny>, for Karanga long nasal /n/ as in <nna, kunnyara>, now <na, kunyara>, ‘four, to be tired’
- <kh>, for Manyika aspirated /k/ as in <khamba>, now <kamba>, ‘leopard’
- <ph, th> for Ndau aspirated /p, t/ as in <kuphan̄ga, kuthetha>, now <kupanga, kuteta>, ‘to rob, to scratch (of hen)’
- <xw>, for velarized /x/ in Karanga as in <uxwa>, now <uswa> ‘grass’.

The single letter <x>, which Doke had included to represent unvoiced pre-velar fricative /x/ in Karanga, as in <xarani> ‘cotton thread’, was similarly dropped. The following have since been replaced:

<bg, mbg, mx, px>,

in which velarization occurs and /w/ is realized as allophones [g, x], as in:

<ibge>, now <ibwe>, ‘stone’

<imbga>, now <imbwa>, ‘dog’

<mxaruŋgu>*, now <mbwarungu>, ‘european dog’

(*after dropping the explosive /b/ as Doke recommended for <mbx> in Ndaou)

<pxaruŋgu>, now <pwarungu>, ‘sugar cane’.

All in all, 22 of the 47 digraphs and trigraphs on Doke’s original list have since been dropped or replaced.

However, apart from <x> and the six special symbols <ɓ, ɗ, ʒ, ɲ, ɥ>, the bulk of the single letters of the union orthography have been retained to the present, that is, 25 out of 32 letters, or 5 vowels plus 20 consonants. This means that the core of the whole system has remained intact because digraphs and trigraphs are combinations of the consonants as these are represented by single letters of the alphabet. On the credit side, we must also note that one of the best decisions made by Doke was to recommend the digraphs <ty, dy> as neutral spellings to be used in the verbs <kutya> ‘to fear’ and <kudya> ‘to eat’, which have many different pronunciations in the different Shona dialects and sub-dialects. This decision has stood the test of time because, as Doke predicted, each of these two digraphs is still being pronounced by the locals in their own way: “... each digraph to have a conventional pronunciation, according to the district in which it is used” (1931a: 87-88). Another permanent solution to the problem of previous divergent orthographies was his decision to use the symbol <v> for “... ‘the bilabial -v, at present variously written b, v, w and y’” (1931a: 86). Also good for a practical orthography, was his decision not to increase complications by simply recommending the symbol <r> for the rolled consonant and not to represent the flapped /ɾ/ which also occurs in Ndaou in variation with lateral /l/, which he also chose not to represent.

Still, however, one notices over-elaboration and inconsistency in Doke’s representation of consonant clusters by combinations of letters of the alphabet. From the examples that we have already given above, we have to query three decisions that were based on selective representation of features that were peculiar to specific dialects as follows:

- That “... the digraphs px, bg and mŋ must be used for plain velarization of bilabials, and that in all other cases velarization be not indicated other than by the semi-vowel”, i.e. <w> (1931a: 88). This was simplified in 1955 by using <w> in all cases of velarization.
- That <kh, ph, th> be used to show aspiration in the eastern dialects. These digraphs were dropped in 1955.
- That the unvoiced pre-velar fricative /x/ or <x> be used “to satisfy the demands of Southern Karanga, particularly the Mhari dialect” (1931a: 87). The letter <x> was dropped in 1955.
- As has already been shown in the examples above, that <nny> and <mx> also be used to satisfy demands from Karanga and Ndaui respectively, yet a completely different position was taken that <v> must be used in Manyika class 2 concords instead of <w> in order to conform with the other dialects (1931a: 97).

These inconsistent decisions betray the results of lobbying by different members of the Language Committee for different renditions and a give-and-take outcome. Not surprisingly, no reference is made to any similar demands from Korekore. After initially making the bold decision to base the alphabet on Zezuru as being broadly and sufficiently representative of the other dialects in terms of the basic contrastive sounds, this selective representation shows inconsistency and added complications that were quite unnecessary in a practical orthography.

As regards <c, ʃ, ʒ>, these were really non-issues. Doke decided to use <c> rather than <ch> to represent the pre-palatal affricate /tʃ/, as in <cikoro>, now <chikoro>, ‘school’, arguing that, “It is quite unnecessary to use two letters, since c alone is not otherwise used to indicate anything in Shona” (1931a: 87). The decision to change to <ch> in 1955 was merely influenced by a desire to match its use in English. For the voiceless and voiced pre-palatal fricatives, Doke argued that, “ʃ and ʒ are the International Institute’s considered symbols to represent in Africa the sounds commonly written sh, zh” (1931a: 86). The rejection of <ʃ, ʒ> and the adoption of <sh, zh>, which we have already noted above, was motivated by the same desire to match English, i.e. sticking to the conventional Roman letters wherever possible, including their use in conventional digraphs.

Two other important decisions that Doke made and have stood the test of time relate to diacritics and tone. Doke was clearly against the use of diacrit-

ics or special marks such as dots superimposed on the conventional letters of the alphabet, arguing that these were unworkable in a practical orthography. Instead he opted for the special symbols that we have already described to make all the necessary distinctions. Similarly, he recommended that tone should not be marked in a practical orthography, arguing that context would give sufficient indication. This is still the practice today although some are arguing that this issue should be revisited because significant contrast can be made on the basis of tone alone. However, we must hasten to throw in a word of caution here because there are dialectal variations in tone patterns as well, even in lexical tone in some cases.

Doke did recognize that Shona was a tone language, but in his analysis there were three flat tone levels -- high, mid and low (see examples on pp. 74-76). However, there are three shortcomings in his analysis. First, as Fortune later amply demonstrates in his *Shona Grammatical Constructions* (2 vols. 1980-84), significant tone in Shona operates as a two-level register at high and low. Secondly, tone is a factor that could have made clearer his treatment of the two features of aspiration and ejection in Manyika and Ndaou (pp.67-9). Thirdly, the tone levels that he actually shows on some of his examples for Karanga and Ndaou are incorrect (esp. on p. 75). Be that as it may, these are just points of detail. The basic decision that he made not to mark tone was practical and prudent.

Now let us round off this section with some discussion of the guiding principles Doke adopted in coming up with an alphabet for the unified orthography. Doke based his orthography on the principles set out by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in a memorandum called "Practical Orthography of African Languages" (Doke, 1931a: 83). As a linguist himself, Doke also had advanced analytical skills which are quite evident in his "Outline of Shona Phonetics" (pp. 37-76) and in his description of the language situation in the country (pp. 3-37) in this *Report*. Therefore, unlike the missionaries before him, Doke operated on a sound theoretical base and he had clear phonetic principles and procedures for identifying the phonemes or basic sounds that were used in the Shona dialects to make significant contrasts. He was very clear about the need to maintain the principle of distinctiveness in a practical orthography. Therefore, he set out to design an alphabet that was phonemic.

A phonemic alphabet has the advantage of being unambiguous and it makes it possible for people to write more or less as they speak. However, therein lies the inherent problem that there is always the danger of defeating

one's own purpose in situations where there is so much dialectal variation as in Shona because you want to be accurate in representing the spoken language while at the same time you are trying to accommodate its varieties. The option of selecting one dialect and then sticking to it as the imposed norm was only available to Doke to a limited extent because of the divergent orthographies that were already in place before he came onto the scene and because the missionaries who were appointed to work with him as the Language Committee were actually dialect representatives. Therefore, the general approach that was adopted was unification of the dialects, that is, to try and standardize by merger or incorporation of at least some elements from each one of the four dialects that were represented. As we will see later, most of the criticisms of Shona spelling today and demands for revision to represent more features are explained in terms of dialectal variation and lobbying to accommodate specific dialectal features. Not surprisingly, such complaints do not come from Zezuru.

Doke did recognize the need to select a norm. For the purposes of designing a common orthography for Shona, he chose Zezuru as the basis for his phonetic analysis for three reasons that were quite practical:

- He had observed that the Zezuru dialect cluster included all the phonetic differences that were needed in unified Shona, i.e. representation of the full range of the phenomena (sounds) to be considered. So one could operate on the basis that, by and large, what was said for Zezuru could also be said the other dialects.
- He observed that there was minimal to nil variation in pronunciation within the Zezuru cluster. Therefore, one could operate on the logic that a unified orthography that was based on Zezuru would be the least complicated because pronunciation within the cluster was more or less uniform.
- He also noted that Zezuru was spoken in the central geographical area, which was useful for comparison with the other dialects -- Korekore in the north, Karanga in the south, and Manyika and Ndaou in the east.

Chimhundu (2002, ch. 8) discusses other factors that have favoured Zezuru as the dialect of the capital Harare to the extent that it is now quite entrenched as the dialect on which other aspects of the on-going process of standardization are now also based (cp. Chimhundu, 1997).

As far as the development of the literary language is concerned, one must go back to Doke to fully understand and appreciate this trend. At the time that he compiled his *Report*, Doke was foresighted enough to declare in his concluding remarks:

“By regulating the use of grammar, by definitely fixing the orthography, and by permitting as great a freedom as possible in the choice of vocabulary and idiom, I have every hope that a rich literary language will develop naturally and ultimately become an asset to the literatures of the world” (1931a: 104).

Judging by the research, documentation and literary output in Shona after the implementation of the unified orthography that Doke designed, this has actually been achieved.

3.2 Word Division

The statement of rules for word division that Doke gives in Recommendation 6 (pp.82-83) is quite simple and easy to follow when compared with the rules and qualifications that were subsequently worked out by the Language Committee in 1967 and described by Fortune (1972). We will discuss the latter in detail when we make a critical analysis of the current orthography in section 5.

Before Doke came onto the scene, the Shona orthographies used were divergent in both spelling and word division. However, word division generally tended to be disjunctive, with the writers being guided mainly by equivalent translations in English and thus splitting Shona words unnecessarily. The differences shown by the various scripts were only in terms of degree of disjunctiveness, with the notable exception of Mrs Sringer at Old Umtali, whose system came quite close the conjunctive system that Doke later recommended. Extreme examples of what was possible at that time are given in the unified orthography in these two part-sentences:

1. ... va sikana va ka şika pa tsime va ka cera mvura.
(... the girls arrived at the well and fetched some water.)
2. ... vana baġa na vana mai va ka ŋga va enda ku munda ku ndo sakura.
(... the parents, lit. fathers and mothers, had gone to the field to do some weeding.)

Doke recommended the conjunctive rather the disjunctive method of word division after observing that the function of stress in Bantu is word-building and after noting that Shona has natural word division that is based on main stress or, as we now call it after Fortune, penultimate length as the word marker:

“... by following this, and not dividing words according to the divisions in the English translation, natives are able to divide words accurately without fail” (1931a: 82).

As guidelines, Doke gave only five rules to illustrate how this conjunctive system would be applied to Shona. Verbs were to be written as single words inclusive of their inflections, as in <ndicamuona, hativagoni, akazitaura, makazoitei>. This applied also to what he called true auxiliary verbs that serve to break up the predicate, like <-nga>, as in <Takanga tatosvika.> In possessives, the concords or prefixes were to be joined to the stem, as in <basa ratete, mukadzi womunhu, zido zenyu, guta reHarare>. The conjunctive formative <na-> was to be joined to the succeeding word, as in <sekuru nambuya, mbudzi nejombe namakwai>. Similarly, both the monosyllabic locative prefixes <pa-, ku-, mu-> and the disyllabic locative prefixes <pana-, kuna-, muna-> were to be joined to the succeeding word or portion of the word functioning as the locative stem, as in <pabasa, kurwizi, mumba, panamai, kunamambo, munaishe>. It seems that, in practice, application of this rule was extended to the auxiliary verbs <-ri, -va>, ‘to be’, as in <varikutaura, avakuenda>. Later criticisms of what some called excessive conjunctivism led to the separation of the disyllabic locative prefixes and verbs ‘to be’, so that from 1955 the above examples were written as <panamai, kuna mambo, muna ishe, vari kutaura, avakuenda>.

Use of the hyphen was recommended only in the case of vowel coalescence which typically occurred in Karanga, as in <wakabato-musoro wake, vairise-jombe>, where the final vowel in the verbs <wakabata, vairisa> changes to <o, e> under the influence of the initial vowel in the succeeding word. Doke justified this rule by arguing that words such as <wakabato, vairise> would not otherwise exist.

To wind up this sub-section, we would merely point out that the area of word division has been far less controversial than spelling. The substantive changes made in the area of word division are quite few by comparison, but

the statement of the rules has been made much more elaborate in the current orthography.

3.3 Grammar

On the point of grammar, Doke recommended that unification be based on Karanga and Zezuru because the respective missionary representatives, Mrs Louw and Fr Biehler, had come up with closely similar grammatical descriptions of these two major dialects that accounted for more than half of the concerned population. On that basis, he came up with eleven noun classes in which singular-plural pairings were treated as one class: e.g. <mu-, va->, which we now treat as classes 1 and 2, were allocated to class I; <mu-, mi->, now classes 3 and 4, were allocated to class II; <ci-, zi->, now classes 7 and 8, were allocated to class III; and so on (see full list, pp.80-81).

On this same basis, the decision was made not to include in class I the Manyika human plural prefix <wa->, which is a variant of the Karanga-Zezuru <va->, now class 2. Similarly, deliberate decisions were made to ignore Korekore <hu-, xu-> as variants of <tu-> in class VI plural, now class 13, and to ignore the Manyika sub-dialect Karombe's <shi-> as variant of class III singular <ci->, now class 7. As for Ndau, Doke's view was that the grammatical variations were mainly due to what he called Zuluisms (p. 81), which should not be incorporated in the standardized grammar of Shona.

This has remained the position on all these points up to the present. Doke's further suggestion that "a comprehensive grammar should be prepared as soon as possible as a guide to literary work" (p. 80), was followed up by O'Neil (1935) who came up with such a grammar, with a clear bias towards Zezuru, as is reflected in the elaborate title *A Shona Grammar, Zezuru Dialect. With notes on Karanga and Manyika by the Rev A.A. Louw (Jnr) and the Rev B.H. Barnes*. As we will see later, when Fortune came up with his Shona grammars from the 1950s to the 1970s, his analysis was also largely based on Zezuru. So a trend had been set in the 1930s based on Doke's recommendations.

The most significant change that has been made to Doke's grammatical description is to increase the number of noun classes to 21 by:

- separating plurals from singulars and assigning each half pair to its own class;
- separating <ku-> infinitive class 15 from <ku-> locative class 17; and

- separating <ka-> class 12 from <tu-> class 13, <vu-> class 14 and <svi-> class 19.

Credit for this change goes to George Fortune who wrote a number of Shona grammars (see 5.1.2).

3.4 Vocabulary

Doke recommended that a Shona dictionary should be compiled which was as inclusive as possible of synonyms and variants from those four dialects that had already been used as literary media, that is, Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika and Ndaou. However, words from Korekore were to be admitted sparingly, while the use of colloquial words from a number of specified sub-dialects was to be discouraged: Budya (Buja), Shangwe and Tavara in the Korekore cluster; Karombe and Teve in the Manyika cluster; and Danda and Shanga in the Ndaou cluster. Presumably, these sub-dialects were deemed to have too many peculiar features that would complicate or hinder the process of standardization through the unification strategy, but only Buja (Korekore) and Karombe (Manyika) are actually identified as peak dialects, along with Ndaou (Ndaou) and Mhari (Karanga) in those sections where Doke describes the characteristics of the individual dialect groups. Note that no peak dialect was identified for Zezuru, whose eleven sub-dialects Doke considered as constituting “Central Shona” (1931a: 31).

In practice, this means that the following were permitted from all the other dialects in the main groups or clusters to be incorporated in the unification process:

- Synonyms such as <bveni, guḏo, dede, ḏiro, mutiro>, ‘baboon’; <kuvata, kurara, kurinda, kuyenzera>, ‘to sleep’.
- Different forms of the same words, such as <bveni, bvene>, ‘baboon’; <nzira, zhira>, ‘path, way’; <imbga, mbga>, ‘dog’; <buruku, burukwa, burugwa>, ‘trousers’.
- Different meanings of the same word form, as in the cases: <mṛenje>, ‘torch’ and ‘grass’ (Ndaou); <uswa>, ‘grass’ and ‘mealie-meal’ (Ndaou).

Doke’s recommendation on vocabulary was quickly followed up by Rev. B.H. Barnes, who came up with the dictionary *A Vocabulary of the Dialects of Mashonaland in the New Orthography* in 1932. Doke’s selective criteria (Recommendation 5) must have influenced the choice of vocabulary

by Barnes but, to be fair, he was rather idealistic insofar as he tried to be fair to all the dialect groups and all the missionary societies. The other dictionary that came out before the first revision of the union orthography was *Beihler's Shona Dictionary: A Shona Dictionary with an Outline of Shona Grammar Originally Compiled by Revd E. Beihler, S.J.* This was published in 1950 by the Jesuit Fathers of Chishawasha Mission, just outside Harare and therefore also in the Zezuru area. As we will see later, deliberate effort has since been made to include more vocabulary from Korekore and Ndaou in the Shona dictionaries that were compiled much later by Hannan (1959 & 1974-81) and by the ALLEX Project team (Chimhundu, ed. 1996a & 2001).

The remaining recommendations by Doke cover strategies for implementation of the unified Shona orthography (10 and 11), use of the term Shona itself (1, 2 and 3), a separate orthography for Kalanga (9) and recognition of Ndebele as the other African language to be used officially (8). As these were rather peripheral to his terms of reference, Doke did not devote much space to them, and we will do likewise here.

3.5 Implementation

On implementation of the Shona orthography, Doke's recommendations covered two aspects, language examinations and production of materials. Government language examinations were to be reorganized and enlarged. Missionary workers were also urged to take these examinations. However, as we will elaborate later, the Native Affairs Department refused to cooperate. On the question of materials required for implementation, he recommended the production of uniform reading charts, elementary readers and a typewriter with a special keyboard. Teachers would have to be given systematic training in the new orthography and all the mission bodies were urged to use the new orthography in their publications, which they actually did, and to produce "a Union translation of the New Testament and ultimately of the whole Bible" (p.103). The Shona and Ndebele Language Committees, which continued into post-independence Zimbabwe, had as their forerunner the permanent Advisory Committee on Language that was recommended by Doke. After the creation of the Department of African Languages at the University of Zimbabwe in 1965, the Professor and Head of Department became a member of both the Shona and Ndebele Language

Committees. Also consistent with Doke's original recommendations was the creation of the Literature Bureau in 1956 to promote the development of literature in these two African languages. Doke had specifically recommended that a language expert should be appointed to supervise the preparation of various materials (readers and textbooks) and to initiate a program for the development of Shona in which "the natives should be encouraged to contribute of themselves to the literature of the country" (p.103). He believed that all these strategies would facilitate a natural development as opposed to an artificial creation, and lead ultimately to the development of Shona as a great literary language. When today we look at the output by Shona writers and researchers, as is witnessed at such annual events as the Zimbabwe International Book Fair and Zimbabwe Book Publishers Association's annual awards, we can argue that this dream has been achieved to quite a large extent.

3.6 The Term Shona

Before Doke's *Report* (1931), Karanga had been used by some writers as a collective term since the days of contact between the Shona-speaking people and the Portuguese. The last such usage was probably in Francisque Marconnes' elaborate book title, *A Grammar of Central Karanga: The Language of Old Monomotapa at Present Spoken in Central Mashonaland* (1931). It was Doke who formally recommended the official use of the collective term Shona for the clusters of sub-dialects that he had identified in his comprehensive survey and had grouped under the terms Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, Manyika and Ndau. In so doing, Doke was acting on the recommendation of the Language Committee that was composed of the missionaries who had been appointed by the government to assist him. Doke stressed that a common term was needed for use with reference to the unified language that was spoken by the vast majority of the Africans in the country. Doke actually estimated that "... there are more than six times as many Shona-speakers as there are Ndebele-speakers" (p. 26).

Admittedly, the Shona-speaking people did not have a collective term to refer to themselves, preferring to identify themselves by their clans (*madzinza*), totem groups (*mitupo*) and chiefdoms (*ushe*), which existed in loose and perpetually expanding confederacies that nevertheless clearly belonged to a common ancestry, language and culture (Doke, 1931a: 78-80; Chimhundu, 1992a: 89-91). The language varieties that were identified by

the missionaries and Doke as dialect clusters and sub-dialects did not actually belong to any political entities or chiefdoms as such and, although there were describable patterns of distribution, there were no strict geographical boundaries between them. The etymology of the word Shona is unclear and could very well have started as a derogatory term coined by outsiders but, after Doke's *Report*, it was readily accepted and today its unifying effect is well appreciated. Decades of publishing in Shona under the name Shona, as well as its use officially, in education and in the media, have led to the general acceptance of the term. Attempts after 1980 by oral historians Aeneas Chigwedere and Solomon Mutsware to promote the term Mbire as a possible substitute for Shona were quite unsuccessful.

3.7 Kalanga

Doke's recommendation not to apply unified Shona to the Kalanga or Western Shona group of dialects was based on basically two arguments: that this dialect cluster had been physically separated from the other five clusters and now fell in the administrative province of Matebeleland; and that, although it definitely belonged to Shona (p.36), it now had too many features that were peculiar to itself. Among the examples of such features that he noted was the use of lateral /l/ instead of the roll or trill /r/ and the absence of the implosives /b, d/ that were commonly used in the other five dialect clusters (p.100).

Accordingly, Doke proposed a separate orthography for Kalanga which had the same set of five vowels as for Shona but had only 23 consonants that included <l> but did not include <r, b, d, sh, zh>. However, Doke made three additional qualifications that proved significant in a negative way:

- That, while Kalanga could be used for literary and educational purposes, it should not be recognized as an official language.
- That the education department in Botswana (then Bechuanaland, should be approached "to participate in the preparation, and cost of the necessary educational literature in Kalanga" (p.100).
- That school books, or indeed any other books should not be published in the Lilima or Nambya sub-dialects of Kalanga.

In practice, this meant that: (a) Ndebele dominated both officially and for literary and educational purposes; (b) there was no collaboration in materials production with Botswana; and (c) both Kalanga and Nambya were

marginalized to the extent that they are now regarded as separate minority languages, i.e. as unrelated to Shona.

3.8 Ndebele

In his very first recommendation, Doke stated very clearly that only two African languages were to be recognized officially in the country: one for the main Shona-speaking area, including the non-Shona areas south of the Karanga, i.e. Shangani; and one for the Ndebele-speaking area, including the areas covered by Kalanga (1931a: 76). Doke actually listed the administrative districts in which Ndebele was to be so recognized and further recommended “the substitution of literary Zulu for official and educational purposes”, arguing that “Ndebele is recognized as a dialect of Zulu”, and that “Zulu already has a growing literature which Ndebele sadly lacks” (1931a: 99). So Zulu was actually taught in the country and materials published in Zulu were used widely. In fact, Ndebele only replaced Zulu as a Cambridge School Certificate Ordinary Level and Advanced Level subject from about 1971.

At the national level, policy and practice have remained pretty much the same. Shona and Ndebele are now available as subjects in their respective regions up to A-Level and at university level, but the other local languages are not, although some space has now been provided for some of them in the media and at lower levels of primary school education. Despite occasional rhetoric in which Shona and Ndebele are referred to as national languages, their official status is still largely theoretical because neither is used as medium of instruction or language of record. However, since independence, more space has been created for both in the media and, because of the sheer number of speakers, Shona is now being used much more in business and in public life.

4. *The First Revision, 1955*

The government referred Doke's recommendations to an enlarged committee of ten that included Doke himself, the three original members that he had worked with, and two members each from the Missionary Conference and the Native Affairs and Native Development departments. Some strong feelings had been aroused by Doke's recommendations, especially by the eight special symbols. However, the enlarged committee rejected only two of these symbols <ɟ, ʒ> and recommended the substitution of <sh, zh>. The new recommendations were submitted to the government and accepted as the official orthography for Shona on the 3rd of September 1931. From then

on, the provisions of the new orthography gradually made their way into general use by the schools, the missions and the departments concerned.

In this section, we will divide the period between the coming into force of the unified orthography in 1931 and its first revision in 1955 into two, the period of general acceptance to 1946 and the mounting criticism leading to the revision. Then, in a third sub-section, we will actually describe the changes that were made in 1955 and discuss their merits and demerits.

4.1 Period of General Acceptance

Although there continued to be some misgivings and debates on specific details, the years 1931 to 1946 can be regarded as the honeymoon period for the new orthography. The general mood was summed up by Fr Barnes, who is credited with coining up with the slogan “Unify the orthography and pool the vocabularies”, in addition to Doke’s own two slogans “One sound, one symbol” and “One stress, one word” (Anon., Undated 1: 8). This is why Barnes considered a dictionary project to be very important. However, after the publication of his own *Vocabulary of the Dialects of Mashonaland* in 1932, the next serious effort in this same spirit only came up in the form of Hannan’s *Standard Shona Dictionary* in 1959. The steps towards unification were similarly accelerated in the area of grammar by publications which now referred to Shona, although the dialect bias was also sometimes indicated in the subtitles (Chimhundu, 1992b: 79). A good example is O’Neil’s *A Shona Grammar: Zezuru Dialect* (1932). The only exception seems to have been Marconnes’ *A Grammar of Central Karanga* (1932) but later handbooks and grammars followed the main trend, notably Jackson’s *Shona Lessons* (1956) and Fortune’s *An Analytical Grammar of Shona* (1955), *Elements of Shona* (1957) and *Shona Grammatical Constructions* (2 vols. 1980-84).

The biggest and most important project for the missionaries in the unification process was a translation of the New Testament, which the Rev A.A. Louw Jr of Morgenster Mission had been authorized to undertake by the Missionary Conference. In 1941, Louw came up with *Testamente its, a yaS’he wed’u Jesu Kristu*, which was described in the blurb as “The New Testament in Union Shona”. Although the *Testamente* was essentially in Karanga, it was written in the new orthography and it gained circulation despite misgivings by speakers of other dialects. However, Louw defended himself by saying that he had merely taken the practical approach of using one dialect as the basis and working the others in where possible. He explained that, after repeated attempts, he had

found that he would not succeed by trying to construct an artificial language from the different dialects. The British and Foreign Bible Society accepted the manuscripts for both the New Testament and the Old Testament on that understanding (Anon., Undated 1: 9).

Although the publications that were coming up were written in dialect, the general feeling of the leading persons involved in the development of writing in Shona at that time was that the unification approach was preferable to selecting only one of the spoken dialects and making it the basis of a literary language. Books for use in schools would use the common orthography and at least try to draw from the common pool of vocabulary. Through general circulation of these books, other individual dialect speakers would become familiar with words from dialects other than their own. In Barnes' own words, the thinking was that:

“In a generation or two, we shall have advanced perceptibly towards a common language, not by the road of conquest, but by the better road of peaceful interpenetration.” (Anon., Undated 1: 8)

It is important to observe that it was the missionaries who were the principal players in the implementation of the orthography because they ran the whole African education system through the networks of missions and schools that were run by their church denominations. They were recognized as the responsible authorities by the government, which gave them support for African education in the form of grants-in-aid. Throughout this period, they produced several publications for educational and religious purposes. Most of the books that appeared from the 1930s were readers for elementary school level. Among the first to appear was Morgenster Mission's primer *N'gano* in Karanga. By 1934, Barnes had edited a series of readers in Manyika under the title *Tsamba*, which were published by Sheldon Press. In point of fact, Barnes' work in Manyika under the auspices of the Anglican Diocesan Translation Committee is the best example of efforts that were being made by the missionaries from their different dialect areas to implement and promote the union orthography. So it is appropriate to devote a little bit more space to the work that was being done by this committee.

Fr Buck, who took over from Barnes, reported that *Tsamba ye Citatu* and *Tsamba ye Cina* were circulating widely in the country, i.e. beyond the Manyika area. Similar interpenetration was happening with books from the

other churches and the dialects that they worked in. Although the books were written in dialect, the requirement was that the Government Language Committee must vet all books that were intended for use in schools before they were approved and printed. In 1942, Buck noted that this policy

“... is gradually bringing us closer to Unified Shona, and the books being printed now are becoming much more understandable all over Mashonaland, according to the Chairman of the Government Language Committee” (Anon., Undated 2: 21).

In 1944, Buck further noted that the ***Kwatsambe*** series and other books published mainly by the mission presses were having the effect of

“... unifying the various dialects of Shona so as to have one literary language for all publications, instead of publishing books in the dialects which make them useful only in limited areas” (Anon., Undated 2: 21).

A number of series of readers were published in the union orthography during this period, going up the different levels of primary school education. Magwa (1999: 15) lists titles of readers that were produced in this orthography up to 1954 in Karanga, Manyika and Zezuru respectively as the Mugabe Readers by Morgenster Mission, the Longmans Readers by Longmans and the Chishawasha Readers by the Jesuit Fathers (cp. Anon., Undated 2: 22). These are given below in ascending order of level or school year for each one of the three dialects:

Karanga: 1. *Cipere* (1941)
2. *Nyaya* (1939)
3. *N'gano* (1939)
4. *Shumo* (1942).

Manyika: 1. *Pepukai. Buku rekutan'ga Sub A* (1950)
2. *Kare-kare Buku recipiri Sub B* (1950)
3. *Pasi idz,a. Buku rekutan'ga* (1951)
4. *Pasi idz,a. Buku yecipiri* (1952)
5. *Pasi idz,a. Buku yecitatu* (1952)
6. *Pasi idz,a. Buku yecina* (1954).

- Zezeru:** 1. *Tarisai. Rugwaro rwav'ana* (1944)
2. *Rugwaro rgwo* kutanga kunemba Cishona*** (1935)
3. *Rugwaro rwe ciposhi* (1943)
4. *Rugwaro rwe citatu* (1944)
5. *Rugwaro rwe cina* (1945)
6. *Rugwaro rwe cishanu* (1945)
7. *Rugwaro rwe citanhatu* (1953).

* Fortune notes that the spelling and word division were frequently faulty at first.

** Published in two parts as 3 & 4 in 1943 & 1944.

The feeling by 1944 was that the new orthography was being justified and the hope was that development would eventually be towards unification because Doke had removed the obstacles to a natural development in this direction. It was also hoped that this process would be accelerated by the circulation of the existing literature as far as possible in the Shona-speaking areas.

4.2 Mounting Criticism

As we have already indicated, there were some misgivings on the new orthography right from the outset and debate on aspects of it continued on and off. By 1946, it had become clear that there was mounting criticism. While almost everybody else had welcomed the 1931 orthography, its main opponents were government officers who criticized the special symbols and resented the fact that it had been designed by someone who had been brought in from outside (Chimhundu, 1992b: 83). The most negative reaction had come from the Native Affairs Department where the new orthography was never introduced. In 1935, the Minister of Native Affairs, Godfrey Huggins, flatly rejected the idea of introducing new language examinations in the new orthography, claiming that his officers were too busy to study it. In a letter to Fr Barnes, he categorically stated:

“There is no question of introducing the new orthography in the Native Affairs Department. The very numerous officers in that Department have passed their Native Languages Examinations already, and they are far too busy to expect them to pass another one.” (Anon., Undated 2: 23.)

Huggins also indicated that he had been lobbied by one missionary who was violently opposed to the new orthography and that half of the people he had spoken to on the matter were also against it. Over the years, this lack of co-operation and negative attitude by the Native Affairs Department was passed on to its successors, Internal Affairs and later Home Affairs, “which to the present are notorious for their disregard of the rules of spelling and word division in Shona” (Chimhundu, 1992b: 84). The numerous errors in materials and notices circulated by this department have contributed to the confusion among speaker-writers who repeat some of the mistakes. Thus, the Native Affairs Department was actually a hindrance to the smooth implementation of the 1931 orthography.

Another problem the Government Language Committee had to deal with was whether or not to involve or consult Africans. Initially, there was resistance to the idea of including Africans in the Committee, and in 1932, a vague motion was adopted urging the Director of Native Development to ensure that “Native assistants” were consulted in the functioning of the Language Committee. Subsequently, a separate Native Missionary Conference became active from about 1938 but cooperation between the African and the European missionary conferences only began in 1942.

The honeymoon period or period of general acceptance for the 1931 orthography ended in 1946 when the first serious moves were made against it. During the meeting of the General Missionary Conference of Southern Rhodesia (GMCSR) in that year, Fr Baker presented a paper in which he proposed that the special symbols should be discarded and that the tendency towards “excessive conjunctivism” should be checked. The Africans were also beginning to make serious criticisms of the new orthography. At the next GMCSR in 1948, the African representatives, Stanlake Samkange for Shona and Tennyson Hlabangana for Ndebele, each read a paper on the use of the current orthographies in their respective languages. (In the case of Ndebele, this was the Zulu orthography of that time.) At the same time, we must note that the Government Language Committee had become defunct. Further, the new Director of the Native Education Department, J. Farquhar, was not keen to promote African Languages as media for instruction and he opposed Doke’s orthography, describing it as an imposition from outside rather than an indigenous development. As for the Government Language Committee, Farquhar actually said that his department had decided to do nothing about its resuscitation (Anon., Undated 2: 27).

With all this mounting criticism, the feeling was growing quite strongly that reverting to the Roman alphabet would simplify implementation by way of printing, reading and writing. Throughout the intervening period, criticism continued mainly on the basis that the special symbols made it impossible for Shona books to be produced by ordinary typing and printing machines. Therefore, the production of Shona books would be too expensive. The other related argument was that Shona spelling was made too unlike that of English, which would hinder book production and development of the habit of reading. Thus, it was now just a matter of time before such a revision was made.

4.3 The Changes, 1955

Over the years, influential people were won over to the argument that the special symbols should be discarded and that reversion should be made to the Roman alphabet. So, in 1954, an Orthography Committee was set up by the government to specifically make provisions for a system of spelling in which only the letters of the Roman alphabet would be used. The Committee was chaired by the Rev S.K Jackson of Morgenster Mission, with D.P. Abraham of the Native Affairs Department as the Secretary. The other members were C.S. Davies, also of the Native Affairs Department, H.W. Chitepo of the University of London, G. Fortune of the University of Cape Town, H. Hannan of the Cambridge Examinations Syndicate and M.M. Hove, editor of *The Bantu Mirror* (Magwa, 1999: 17). The outcome was the pamphlet *A Guide to Standard Shona Spelling*, which was produced by the Orthography Committee in 1955, setting out the new rules.

As might be expected, Doke's principle of one sound one symbol, or one symbol one sound, was abandoned in the committee's bid to discard the special symbols, which was the major preoccupation of the members. The following were the of letters and digraphs that were to be used:

<a, b, ch, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, m, n, ny, ng, o, p, r, s, sh, sv, t, u, v, w, y, z, zh, zv>.

From the Roman alphabet, only the letters <l, q, x> were not taken. This means that, <x> was dropped, while <c> was replaced by <ch>, so that the words <coto, cakata, cihuri> were now spelt <choto, chakata, chihuri>, 'fireplace, variety of loquat, lock/ latch'.

The six special symbols were replaced as follows:

1931	1955	Examples in the “new” orthography
ḃ	b	-baya, ‘stab, pierce’; basa, ‘work’
ḋ	d	doro, ‘beer, alcohol’; -dada, ‘be proud’
ḥ	sv	-svika, ‘arrive’; svondo, ‘week, church’
Ḍ	zv	-zvara, ‘give birth’; zvino, ‘now’
ŋ	ng	ngombe, ‘cattle’; manga, ‘chaps in sole of foot’
ṽ	v	vana, ‘children’; vavariro, ‘aim, objective’.

In the case of the digraphs <sv, zv>, which now represented the whistling fricatives /ḥ, Ḍ/, the Committee had managed to find a solution that did not create new problems. This solution was thus extended all the affricates /tḥ, dz, nḌ/ by substituting the trigraphs <tsv, dzv, nzv>, as in <tsvana> ‘young of buck’, <idzva> ‘new’ class 5, and <nzvuru> ‘specimen of wild fruit’ where previously the spellings used were <tḥana, dzinyu, nziru>. Similarly, the velarized forms of the labialized fricatives were now represented by the trigraphs <svw, zvw, tsvw, dzvw> as in the verb stems: <-pesvwa>, ‘be provoked’; <-rezvwa>, ‘be enticed’; <-kotsvwa>, ‘be rounded up’ (of cattle); and <-redzvwa>, ‘be prolonged, be extended’.

However, in the other four cases, the result was ambiguity because distinctions could no longer be made between the implosives /ḃ, ḋ/ and plosives /b, d/, between the bilabial approximant /ṽ/ and the labiodental fricative /v/, and between the velar nasal /ŋ/ and prenasalized velar stop /ŋg/. Each of the three letters <b, d, v> and the digraph <ng>, which had been substituted, now represented more than one phoneme or one sound, as is shown in the following matches between the 1955 and 1931 orthographies:

1955	Examples	1931	Examples
b	- bara, ‘give birth, write’	ḃ b	- ḃara, ‘give birth’ -bara, ‘write’
d	-dura, ‘confess, be expensive’	ḋ d	- ḋura, ‘confess’ -dura, ‘be expensive’
v	mavara, ‘spots/colours, you have closed’	ṽ v	mavara, ‘spots/ colours’ mavara, ‘you have closed’
ng	nga, (ideophones for) ‘biting, tying up’	ŋ ŋg	ŋa, (ideophone for) ‘biting’ ŋga, (ideophone for) ‘tying up’

With the last change above, the trigraph < ŋgw> also disappeared and it was replaced by <ngw>, so that the spellings <ngwena, ngwindi>, for ‘crocodile’

and ‘hippopotamus’ respectively, now replaced <ŋgwena, ŋgwindi>. It was assumed that the alphabet would be used primarily by mother-tongue speakers who would be able to work out what the symbols represented from the context. This is an unsound basis on which to design an alphabet. The Committee had not really set out to design a rational system but simply to convert the alphabet from a language specific phonemic one to a general Roman one. The price was to discard the principle of distinctiveness of phonemes.

There were a few more changes that were made that can be mentioned in favour of the Committee because they simplified the orthography. The most notable one was the decision to use <w> to represent velarization in all cases. This resulted in the following changes:

1931	Examples	1951	Examples
px	ipxa, ‘sweet reed’	pw	ipwa, ‘sweet reed’
bg	ibge, ‘stone’	bw	ibwe, ‘stone’
mbg	imbga, ‘dog’	mbw	imbwa, ‘dog’
mŋ	mŋana, ‘child’	mw	mwana, ‘child’
xw	uxwa, ‘grass’	sw	uswa, ‘grass’

The following changes involving the dropping of some symbols were also made:

- The long <nn> that Doke had observed in Karanga was now replaced by single <n>. So, for example, <avo vanna vannyara>, ‘those four are now tired’, was now to be written as <avo vana vanyara>.
- The <h> that Doke had used to represent aspiration in Manyika and Ndau in the digraphs <kh, ph, th> was now dropped, resulting in ambiguity. For example, in Manyika, the spelling <kamba> now represented both ‘tortoise’ and ‘leopard’, while in Ndau, the spelling <kupanga> now represented both ‘to yearn for’ and ‘to rob’, and the spelling <kuteta> now represented both ‘to fear pain’ and ‘to scratch on the ground’. (The absence of tone marking increased the ambiguities.)

From the above, it will be clear that the main problem resulting from the changes made in 1955 was ambiguity. As the distribution of the letters and digraphs that now represented more than one sound was wide, and as they appeared quite frequently in texts, the ambiguity proved to be a real nuisance. As with the previous one, it was just a matter of time before this

“new” orthography would also have to be revised. This second revision of the unified Shona orthography came in 1967. However, before we look at the changes that were effected, it is useful to indicate the progress that was made in implementing the second “new” orthography during the intervening period.

First, we must note that the 1955 orthography was approved by the government for general use by the whole Shona-writing community, whereas implementation of the 1931 orthography had been resisted by some government departments, especially the Native Affairs Department. To that extent, Fortune (1972:18) is right to say that the first orthography united the dialects but divided the writers because those who had rejected it continued to use older forms of the Shona alphabet with the Roman letters alone. However, although there was no similar resistance to the 1955 orthography, its defects were so obvious that Hannan actually opted to introduce unauthorized digraphs to deal with the problem of ambiguity in the very first edition of the *Standard Shona Dictionary* (1959). The solutions that he came up with were to use <h> in <bh, dh, vh> to distinguish plosives /b, d/ from implosives /ɓ, ɗ/ and fricative /v/ from approximant /ʋ/, and to use <n'> to distinguish velar nasal /ŋ/ from prenasalized velar stop /ŋg/. Since <bh, dh, vh, n'> were not approved at that time, Hannan put these in brackets after the headwords to show how each particular word was to be pronounced. These solutions were formally incorporated into the orthography in 1967.

Secondly, the adoption of the 1955 orthography almost coincided with the creation of the Southern Rhodesia Literature Bureau in 1956, which promoted creative writing, vetted manuscripts and supported publication in the African languages, specifically Shona and Ndebele. By the time of the second revision of the orthography in 1967, a good number of publications had come up in Shona in the “new” orthography, both academic books and creative works. Shona language and literature were also being studied at increasingly higher levels of the education system and the Department of African Languages was created at the University of Zimbabwe in 1965, with Professor George Fortune as the founding head. Perhaps the most important book published during this period was Hannan’s *Standard Shona Dictionary* (1959), which was subsequently revised and enlarged twice (in 1974 and in 1981), after the second revision of the orthography in 1967. In these different editions, this dictionary remained the basic reference work in Shona for the next 35 years, until monolingual dictionaries started to appear.

In the area of creative writing, fiction became the fastest growing genre after Solomon Mutswairo published the first Shona novel, *Feso* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1956). Several immensely popular novels that were later recycled a number of times as prescribed texts were published during the life of the 1955 orthography. Notable among these are Bernard Chidzero's *Nzvingamutsvairo* (Salisbury: Longman, 1957), John Marangwanda's *Kumazivandadzoka* (Salisbury: Longman, 1959), Paul Chidyausiku's *Nyadzi Dzinokunda Rufu* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1962), Giles Kuimba's *Gehena Harina Moto* (Salisbury: Longman, 1963) and his *Tambaoga Mwanangu* (Salisbury: Longman, 1965), as well as four of Patrick Chakaipa's five classical works: *Karikoga Gumiremiseve* (Salisbury: Longman, 1958), *Pfumo Reropa* (Salisbury: Longman, 1961), *Rudo Ibofu* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1961) and *Garandichauya* (Salisbury: Longman, 1963). Chakaipa's fifth novel, *Dzasukwa mwana-asina-hembe* (Salisbury: Longman, 1967), came out in the year that the Shona orthography was revised again. Paul Chidyausiku came up with the philosophical and instructive prose anthology, *Pfungwa Dzasekuru Mafusire* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1960). Cuthbert Musiiwa compiled and edited the first anthology of modern Shona poetry, *Mutinhimira Wedetembo* (Salisbury: Longman, 1965). Although it was a translation of a centuries old religious play rather than an original Shona work, *Mutambo Wapanyika*, by P. Calderon, was also published during this period (Gwelo: Catholic Mission Press, 1957). The first Shona play as such only came out in 1967 orthography when Paul Chidyausiku published *Ndakambokuyambira* (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1968).

It was also during this period that diversity in creative writing started and written Shona literature started to break away from church strings. Chimhundu (1997: 139) observes that, in the early stages, the development of literature in African languages was closely linked with the evangelization efforts of the missionaries. The main motivation for their early efforts to design a unified Shona orthography was the need to produce a common version of the Bible, and to produce hymn books and other liturgical works. However, they soon realized that, for the basic training that would make the Africans consumers of the church literature, they also needed a general literature in the creative sense. So they included folktales and other modern stories in the readers that they used in the church run schools. These stories were heavily moralistic and didactic. So they were

useful because they tended to confirm the missionaries' own teachings. This moralizing and didacticism continued even when individual writers emerged who started producing full-scale novels and other literary works during the 1950s and 1960s. During the early part of this period, most of these novels were published locally by Longmans.

5. The Second Revision, 1967

The second revision of the Shona orthography was undertaken by the Shona Language Committee, which was set up as an advisory committee of the Ministry of Education, with responsibility "... to guide the evolving written language ... towards a consistent and uniform system, common to all the speakers of the language" (Fortune, 1972: v). The Committee reviewed both spelling and word division. Comprehensive descriptions of both are given in Fortune's booklet, *A Guide to Shona Spelling* (1972). The total effect of the changes that were made to the alphabet in 1967 was to bring the 1955 orthography in line with the 1931 orthography by restoring the principle of distinctiveness, but the ambiguities of the 1955 orthography were removed without resorting to the special symbols of 1931. In the area of word division, the Committee maintained the conjunctive system but came up with a set of six rules, which were statements of guiding principles based on considerations of both meaning and grammar. The explanations of and qualifications to these six rules were so elaborate that consistent and correct use became quite difficult.

The changes that were actually made in 1967 to the system of writing for standard Shona will be described and critically reviewed in the sections that follow. There has been no further revision of the alphabet or rules for word division since then. Therefore, when we talk about the current orthography, we are referring to the 1967 orthography.

5.1 Spelling

Today, written Shona uses the following alphabet, which was approved by the Minister of Education in 1967:

<a, b, bh, ch, d, dh, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, m, mh, n, nh, ny, n', o, p, r, s,
sh, sv, t, u, v, vh, w, y, z, zh, zv>

These 34 letters and digraphs are based on the Roman alphabet and they represent all the phonemic distinctions that were recognized by Doke in 1931, but without the addition of any new or special symbols. This set of

letters and digraphs is the basic alphabet that is also used to produce other combinations or clusters of consonants that are unique like <nyn>, or to represent velarization as in <n'w, ngw, pw, bw, mbw, mw>, which are listed below as the changes that were effected or retained in 1967.

The following changes were made in 1967 to the previous alphabet:

1955	1967
b	b, bh
d	d, dh
v	v, vh
ng	n', ng
ny	ny, nyn'
ngw	n'w, ngw

As we have already indicated, the problem that was being solved was ambiguity. The necessary distinctions were made by adding the letter <h> to create the digraphs <bh, dh> to represent the plosives, while the single Roman letters <b, d> now represented the implosives, and to create the digraph <vh>, while the single Roman letter <v> now represented the approximant. The velar nasal was now represented by letter <n> plus apostrophe <'> to create <n'>, the only instance in which the Shona alphabet now uses a diacritic. In this way, the Shona Language Committee adopted four of the distinctions that had been made by Doke. If we go back to the examples that we used in 4.3 above, we will see the disambiguation that was achieved by simply adding columns showing the current spellings as follows:

1955	Examples	1931	Examples	1967	Examples
b	-bara, 'give birth, write'	ɓ	- ɓara, 'give birth'	b	-bara, 'give birth'
		b	-bara, 'write'	bh	-bhara, 'write'
d	-dura, 'confess, be expensive'	ɗ	- ɗura, 'confess'	d	-dura, 'confess'
		d	-dura, 'be expensive'	dh	-dhura, 'be expensive'
v	mavara, 'spots/colours, you have closed'	ʋ	mavara, 'spots'	v	mavara, 'spots/colours'
		v	mavara, 'you have closed'	vh	mavhara, 'you have closed'

ng	nga, (ideophone for) 'biting, tying up'	ŋ	ŋa, (ideophone for) 'biting'	n'	n'a, (ideophone for) 'biting'
		ŋg	ŋga, (ideophone for) 'tying up'	ng	nga, (ideophone for) 'tying up'

However, the additional distinctions that were made in 1967 between <ny> and <nyn'>, and between <n'w> and <ngw> were not really necessary for disambiguation because the differences they represent in pronunciation are more a matter of detail in free variation. Consider the following examples:

<mwena, n'wena> as different spellings for /mŋena/, 'hole'

<mwanda, n'wanda> as different spellings for /mŋanda/, 'bundle of thatching grass'

and then compare with the examples:

<ngwena>, 'crocodile'

<kungwara>, 'to be clever'.

The first pair of examples simply shows two pronunciations of velarized /m/, while the sound represented by the trigraph <ngw> is quite different from both. Similarly, <ny> and <nyn'> represent different pronunciations of palatal nasal /ɲ/ as in <-nyura, nyn'ura>, 'sink' and <nyana, nyn'ana>, 'young of a bird'. So the addition of <nyn'> and <n'w> in 1967 was quite unnecessary.

The following changes, which had been made in 1955, were maintained in 1967:

1931	1955 → 1967
ɕ	sv
ʑ	zv
tɕ	tsv
dʑ	dzv
nʑ	nzv

The main reasons for these changes were typographical, simplification and reducing cost of production of texts by avoiding special symbols. Examples have already been given in 4.3. Since the changes were retained in 1967, there is no need to give more of the same. The following changes made in 1955 were also maintained in 1967:

1931	1955 → 1967
px	pw
bg	bw
mbg	mbw
mŋ	mw

The main reasons for these latter changes were simplification and consistency in the treatment of velarization. Examples have already been given in 4.3. Since the changes were retained in 1967, there is no need to give more of the same.

In a category by itself was the <c> of the 1931 alphabet, which was replaced by <ch> in 1955. The <ch> was retained in 1967. No problem was really solved by this change and the reason for it was simply a desire for similarity with English in the representation of the affricate /tʃ/.

5.1.1 Discussion

When we take a closer look at what is actually permitted now and what is not, we see various problems and anomalies that arise from the elaboration of the rules on how to use the basic alphabet that was given at the beginning of 5.1 above. So it is necessary to also critically examine the principles and provisions of this elaboration of the rules of Shona spelling. A similar discussion will be necessary when we get to word division, and the basic reference used for both will be *A Guide to Shona Spelling* by George Fortune. The *Guide* states the decisions that were made by the Shona Language Committee, explains the rationale behind these decisions and gives illustrative examples in both the areas of spelling and word division. In addition, it reiterates the decision that was made not to mark tone and it also gives guidelines for punctuation.

In the area of spelling, the following are all and only the letters and combinations of letters that are permitted in the current standard Shona orthography:

[**Vowels** - all single phonemes;

Consonants - letters and diagraphs representing single phonemes; and

Consonant combinations - diagraphs and trigraphs representing clusters:]

Vowels	Examples	Phonetic symbols
a	-para, 'scrap'; -tara, 'draw line'	a
e	-pera, 'be finished'; -tera, 'pay tax'	e
i	-pira, 'worship, dedicate'; -tira, 'be accustomed to (hardship)'	i
o	-pora, 'cool down'; -tora, 'take'	o
u	-pura, 'thrash'; -tura, 'put load down'	u

Consonants	Examples	Symbols
b	baba, 'father'; bere, 'hyena'	ɓ
bh	bhiza, 'horse'; bhazi, 'bus'	b
ch	choto, 'fireplace'; chuma, 'string of beads'	tʃ
d	-dura, 'confess, reveal'; rudo, 'love'	d
dh	dhadha, 'duck'; mudhara, 'old man'	d
f	-fara, 'be happy'; mafufu, 'crumbs'	f
g	-gara, 'sit, stay'; -gogodza, 'knock'	g
h	hove, 'fish'; huni, 'firewood'	h
j	-jaira, 'be used to'; jari, 'tasseled blanket'	dʒ
k	mukaka, 'milk'; -kurukura, 'discuss'	k
m	-mira, 'stand, wait'; -maira, 'visit'	m
mh	mhuka, 'animal'; mheni, 'lightning'	<u>m</u>
n	-naka, 'be good/nice/beautiful'; chinono, 'slowness'	n
nh	nhoro, 'kudu'; nhaka, 'legacy, inheritance'	<u>n</u>
ny	nyaya, 'story'; nyika, 'country'	ɲ
n'	man'a, 'chaps in sole of feet'; n'anga, 'traditional healer'	ŋ
p	-pima, 'measure'; -popota, 'scold, shout at'	p
r	-rarama, 'exist, survive'; -raira, 'instruct, counsel'	r
s	musana, 'back, backbone'; -siya, 'leave behind'	s
sh	-shata, 'be bad, be ugly'; shoko, 'word, message'	ʃ
sv	svikiro, 'spirit medium'; svosve, 'ant'	ʂ
t	-tura, 'speak'; chitota, 'small locust'	t
v	vavariro, 'aim'; ruva, 'flower'	v
vh	-vhaira, 'boil, be showy/pompous'; vhiri, 'wheel'	v
w	-wana, 'find'; mawere, 'precipice'	w
y	-yaura, 'suffer pain'; -yemura, 'admire'	j

z	zano, 'idea', plan'; zizi, 'owl'	<u>z</u>
zh	zhoweza, 'noise, pandemonium'; -zhinji, 'many'	<u>ʒ</u>
zv	-zvara, 'give birth'; zvinhu, 'things'	<u>ʒ</u>

Consonant combinations	Examples	Symbols
bv	-bva, 'come from, come off'; ibvi, 'knee'	<u>bv</u>
dz	-dzidza, 'learn, study'; -dzinga, 'expel, chase away'	<u>dz</u>
dzv	dzvinyu, 'lizard'; dzvuku, 'red' (adjective class 5)	<u>dz</u>
mb	mbama, 'slap'; mbambo, 'peg'	<u>mb</u>
mv	mvura, 'water'; imvi, 'gray hairs'	<u>mv</u>
nd	-enda, 'go'; ndonga, 'knobkerrie'	<u>nd</u>
ng	nganganga, 'tying tightly' (ideophone); ngura, 'rust'	<u>ŋg</u>
nz	nzungu, 'groundnuts, peanuts'; nziyo, 'songs'	<u>nz</u>
nzv	-nanzva, 'lick'; -nzvenga, 'dodge, dribble'	<u>nz</u>
pf	-pfira, 'spit'; pfumo, 'spear'	<u>pf</u>
ts	-tsiura, 'advise against'; tsono, 'needle'	<u>ts</u>
tsv	tswana, 'young of buck'; -tsvene, 'pure, holy' (adjective)	<u>tʃ</u>
/Cw/ clusters	(Almost all the consonant letters and combinations above can be followed by <w> when velarized or to form sequences. The exceptions are <f, v, w, y, mv, pf, tsv>.)	

In the third column, underlining indicates breathy voice or murmur. Comparison between the phonetic symbols in the third column and the letters and combinations of letters in the left column show how all the phonemes that were originally identified by Doke are now represented, while the examples in the middle column show how his principle of distinctiveness has been maintained using only the letters of the Roman alphabet. It is also interesting to note that the consonant combinations <n'w, nyn'>, which we have already described as unnecessary in 5.1 above because they represent variations in pronunciation, are not listed here. These options have crept in but do not appear to have been prescribed or sanctioned (Fortune, 1972: 28).

Most of the debate that has continued to rage among Shona subject specialists is on details and inconsistencies of application of the rules in Shona spelling across the dialects rather than on the basic alphabet itself. The main areas to which attention is drawn are: (a) restricted use of the intrusive <h>; (b) representation of consonant clusters; (c) the handling of dialectal variation; (d) insertion of the glides <v, w, y> between vowels; and (e) attempts to standardize Shona grammar. Occasionally, calls are also made for the addition of new letters, especially <l> to represent the lateral /l/ and <th> to represent voiceless dental fricative /θ/, which occur in some dialects or have come in with loanwords or adoptives. The most comprehensive description and critique of the current system has been made by Mkanganwi (1975) in a long article entitled “A Description of Shona Spelling”, to which further reference may be made. Magwa’s description (1999) and critique (2002) are more brief, but both these authors highlight the same problems that we are indicating here with reference to Fortune’s *Guide* (1972) and in the context of Doke’s legacy.

(a) Intrusive <h>

The intrusive <h> has been very useful in making it possible for the current orthography to represent all the distinctive speech sounds that were recognized by Doke: approximant by <v> and fricative by <vh>; implosives by <b, d> and plosives by <bh, dh>; voiced nasals by <m, n> and breathy voiced or murmured nasals by <mh, nh>. However, one of the current debates is about whether or not to extend the use of intrusive <h> to represent breathy voice in the common alphabet in respect of:

- Other consonants, notably the roll /r/ as in <roora>, ‘lobola’, and its murmured version /r̥/ as in <rhori>, ‘lorry’.
- Prenasalized stops /mb, nd, ŋg/ as in <mbambo, ndiro, ngoro>, ‘peg, plate, cart’, and their respective murmured versions /mb, nd, ŋg/ as in <mbhaura, ndhari, nghanunu>, ‘heater, beer for sale, canon’.

Officially, the combinations <rh, mbh, ndh, ngh> are not permitted. Other occurrences of breathy voice, as with /g/ in /kuggada/ or <kughadha>, ‘to ride’, and with /j/ in /kujamwa/or <kuyamwa>, ‘to be supported, helped’, have not been an issue because they are sporadic.

As a general note, the occurrence of murmur or breathy voice has the effect of depressing or lowering the tones of high-toned syllables so that they

commence with a low pitch that rises to high, and of further lowering low-toned syllables so that they are pronounced as very low-level pitch.

(b) Consonant Clusters

Reference here is made to consonant clusters that are represented in the common orthography by combinations of letters at the margins of syllables. The three main types of these combinations are nasal-oral combinations, affricates and <w> combinations.

For the nasal-oral combinations, <mb, nd, ng> stand for both voiced and breathy voiced combinations, hence <mbh, ndh, ngh> are not permitted. In <mv, nz, nzv>, the <v> stands represents breathy voice, which would normally be spelt <vh> outside such combinations. Affricates are combinations of stops followed by or released into spirants or fricatives. The combinations <pf, ts, tsv, ch> represent unvoiced affricates /pf, ts, tʃ, tʃ/, while the combinations <bv, dz, dzv> and the letter <j> represent /bv, dz, dz/ and /dʒ/ respectively. In all cases of clustering, <v> represents breathy voice, which is normally spelt <vh>.

There is a wide range of <w> combinations because almost all consonants and consonant combinations may be followed by <w> before vowels in syllables. The actual phonetic realization or pronunciation of /w/ varies considerably depending on the preceding consonant. That is why there are a number of variant forms or allophones of /w/ in these clusters, [w, k, x, g, ŋ] as in [imwe, ipka, pxere, ibge, mŋana] spelt <imwe, ipwa, pwere, ibwe, mwana>, respectively for 'one, sweet reed, young child, stone, child'. The representation of all the variant forms of /w/ by <w> in the current orthography does not seem to cause any problems for the speaker-writers as the consonant combinations represented are fairly common across the Shona dialects.

Also unproblematic in standard Shona are Doke's neutral spellings <ty, dy>, which are purely conventional because they are not based on the pronunciation of any of the variations that occur in speech: e.g. for <kudya>, 'to eat'; <kutya>, 'to fear'; <ndyari>, 'conman'; <ndyire>, 'greedy cheat'; <kutyora>, 'to break'; <tyava>, 'whip'.

(c) Dialectal Variation

The current problems and debates relating to standard Shona spelling can all be explained in terms of a system which speaker-writers of different dialects expect to represent all their distinctive speech sounds accurately because it was designed as a fairly phonetic alphabet. However, this is not possible

because in practice **written Shona must be a system common to all**. Therefore, it cannot be a perfect fit for any one dialect or sub-dialect. As a result, all speaker-writers will of necessity experience problems of one kind or another, depending on the peculiarities of their own dialect or sub-dialect, and on the conventions that have been made through the common system.

Typically, the form that was adopted by the Language Committee to be the standard was selected on the basis of what was observed or deemed to be “the pronunciation of the majority of the dialects” (Fortune, 1972: 32). However, the Committee was inconsistent in applying this ‘majority rule’ principle because:

- It allowed some latitude “in the case of dialectical pronunciations which can be easily accommodated in the system” (Fortune, 1972: 32), eg: <kudzidza ~ kudziidza> ‘to learn/study’; <kuinda ~ kuenda>, ‘to go’.
- It refused to accept or recognize alternative spelling forms when the differences they represent are greater, i.e. “very marked”, e.g: <uchi>, ‘honey’, but not Zezuru <huchi> or Karanga <vuchi>; <upenyu>, ‘life’, but not Zezuru <hupenyu> or Karanga <vu-penyu>; <upenyu hwangu>, ‘my life’, but not <hupenyu hwangu> or <vupenyu bwangu>.
- It opted for affricates used in other dialects but did not allow the fricatives used in Karanga as alternative forms, e.g: <pfuma>, ‘wealth’, but not <fuma> <tsine>, ‘prickly grass’, but not <sine> <tsuro>, ‘hare’, but not <shuro> <tsvina>, ‘dirt’, but not <svina> <bvunzo>, ‘examination’, but not <vhunzo> <nzeve>, ‘ear’, but not <zheve>.
- It did not allow the use of <w> by Manyika and Budya speaker-writers in class 2 affixes and opted for the <v> used in Karanga and Zezuru as the standard forms, e.g: <Ava vana vaviri vari kuitei?>, ‘What are these two children doing?’, but not <Awa wana wawiri wari kuitei?>

The main problem with the application of such a ‘majority rule’ principle is that the selected norm shifts from dialect to dialect with each feature that is being looked at. Therefore, it becomes very difficult for any of the speaker-writers to internalize the rules and apply them consistently. Furthermore, the spellings that are prohibited in these individual cases are already accommodated and used in other occurrences and contexts by the same speaker-writers in their respective dialects. Like everybody else, Karanga speakers use the same fricatives they should not use in the above examples in such words as: <-fara>, ‘be happy’; <simba>, ‘strength, power’; <shavi>, ‘patronal spirit’; <-vhiya>, ‘skin (a carcass)’; <zhowezha>, ‘noise’. Similarly, when and when not to use <w> becomes a problem for Manyika and Budya speakers because, like everybody else, they use it in other words such as: <-wana>, ‘find, marry’; <-wa>, ‘fall’; <wara wara>, (deophone for) ‘scattering, being empty’. In practice, the recommended standard form is ignored and speakers, whose general tendency is to write in dialect, use the alternative form. However, the requirement to use <v> to replace <w> in substantives and in the concordial agreements which they govern is applied more strictly. This means that the Manyika and Budya have to be more careful with the written forms, which makes written Shona more of a special language for them.

Other dialectal features that are distinctive but have not been accommodated since Doke are ejected voiceless stops /p’, t’, k’/ in Ndaun and aspirated voiceless stops /ph, th, kh/ in Manyika, with consequent ambiguity in such spellings as <-panga> for /-p’anga/ ‘advise’ and /-paŋga/ ‘rob’, or as <kamba> for /kamba/ ‘tortoise’ and /khamba/ ‘leopard’. However, perhaps these problems are not so big because such contrastive use does not seem to be widespread in these dialects. Nevertheless, there is still some lobbying for these contrasts to be accommodated. There are also demands for the accommodation of:

- Ndaun breathy voiced nasals /m, n/ followed by aspirated stops /ph, th/ to yield such spellings as <mphuka> for ‘animal’ and <munthu> for ‘person’, but these consonant combinations are not recognized in standard Shona. These two spellings must be replaced by <mhuka> and <munhu>.
- Karanga and Korekore voiceless velar aspirant /x/ to yield such spellings as <maxeu> for ‘(traditional) sweet beverage’ in Karanga and <xumbudzi> for ‘small goats’ in Korekore, but the <x> must be

replaced by <h> in standard Shona spelling, so that these words can only be written as <maheu> and <humbudzi>. However, this cannot be done in all cases where /x/ is used, e.g: <xwanda> has to be replaced by <tswanda>, ‘reed basket’; and <uxwa> has to be replaced by <uswa>, ‘grass’.

(d) The Glides /v, w, j/

Another big area of inconsistency is when and when not to insert the glides /v, w, j/ between vowels to represent various pronunciations in dialect. These three glides or semi-vowels are represented by <v, w, y> in common spelling. Fortune (1972: 30) has stated elaborate rules that are based on tongue position for the articulation of each particular vowel as is represented on the chart below:

Position	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid		e	o
low		a	

These rules, which speaker-writers find hard to internalize or apply consistently, may be stated in four parts as follows:

- Insert <w, y> when a higher vowel is followed by a lower vowel, as in <iyo> ‘that one’ (classes 4 & 9) and in <mowa> ‘(variety of) wild vegetable’. However, this should not be done in the case of <u> followed by <o> because of the differences found between the dialects, which means that <musuo> ‘entrance, door’ is allowed but <musuwo> is not allowed.
- Do not insert <w, y> when low vowels precede high vowels, as in <nhau> ‘news’, <tsvai> ‘(ideophone of) finishing’, and <toi toi> ‘type of protest dance’. This means that the alternative spellings <nhawu, tsvayi, toyi toyi> are not permitted.
- Do not insert <v, w, y> between vowels on the same level (high, mid or low), as in <-pfuura> ‘pass’, <-boora> ‘pierce’ and <-teerera> ‘listen’. This means that the alternative spellings <-pfuwura, -pfuwura>, <-bovora, -bowora> and <-teyerera> are not permitted.

- Insert <w, y> when back vowels precede front vowels, as in <yuwi> ‘cry of surprise’ and in <yowe> ‘cry of pain’, but not when front vowels precede back vowels, as in <tiu> ‘(ideophone for) striking heavily’.

(e) Standard Grammar

Up until now, there is no common understanding of what standard Shona grammar is with reference to possible variations in spelling across the dialects. Doke’s position on grammatical forms of written Shona was “That a unified grammar be standardized on the basis of Karanga and Zezuru” (1931a: 80). As justification, Doke noted that:

- There was very little real difference between the the Karanga and Zezuru representatives on the point of grammar, as evidenced by the publications by Mrs Louw and Fr Beilher respectively.
- More than half the speakers in the whole Shona-speaking area (i.e. not just in Rhodesia then or Zimbabwe now) were either Karanga or Zezuru.
- Therefore, the application of the grammatical forms of these two groups would not pose difficulties in the other dialect areas.

On these bases, he opted to confine attention to Karanga and Zezuru on grammatical points and recommended that “a comprehensive grammar should be prepared as soon as possible as a guide to literary work” (1931a: 80).

Actually, the eleven noun class system that he proposed from I-XI was based on Karanga-Zezuru prefixes, e.g. class I was <mu-, va->, now spelt <mu-, va->, and not Manyika /mu-, wa-/, also spelt <mu-, wa->. This has been maintained to the present, except that the numbering of the classes was subsequently changed by Fortune to 1-21 after allocation of different numbers to the singular-plural pairs, e.g. 1 <mu-> and 2 <va->. Doke’s class VIII <u-, vu-, hu-> had accommodated variation between Karanga <vu-> and Zezuru <hu->. Now all are class 14 <u->, as in <uchi> ‘honey’. This means that today Karanga speakers must not write <vuchi> and Zezuru speakers must not write <huchi>. However, Doke ruled that Korekore <hu-, xu-> instead of <tu->, now class 13, and Karombe /ji-/ or <shi-> instead of <ci-> or <chi->, now class 7, were to be ignored (1931a: 81). This has been maintained to the present.

The influence of Doke's recommendations is quite evident in O'Neil's and Marconnes' grammars of the 1930s and in Barnes' dictionary of 1932. On the point of grammar, the same influence is seen much later in translations of the Bible and in those points that have become standard practice under the general guidance of the Shona Language Committee. Still, however, Fortune (1972: 50) is quite right in pointing out that "very little standardization of grammatical forms has taken place".

Consequently, one of the problems that is still giving rise to free variation in spelling of certain word forms is the lack of clarity on what is standard Shona grammar. This is most evident in respect of the allomorphs of inflections of substantives and of verbs, as well as class 14 affixes. Apparently guided by the 'majority rule' principle, the Shona Language Committee has selected forms to be used as the norm from different dialects for different types of inflections or affixes or word classes.

Karanga speech is to be followed in the inflection of substantives or substantive phrases where the Shona dialects otherwise use different options from <a, e, o>. This means that, following Karanga speech forms, the choice of <a> or <e> or <o> depends on the noun noun class, as follows:

- <a> is used before substantives of classes 1a, 2a, 2, 6, 13 and 16 as in the class 2 examples <baba vavana>, 'the father of the children', and <kutaura navanhu>, <talking to people>.
- <o> is used before substantives of classes 1, 3, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17 and 18 as in the class 1 example <mukadzi womunhu>, 'someone's wife', and in the class 3 example 'muriwo ndowangu uyu', 'these are my vegetables'.
- <e> is used before substantives of classes 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 19 and 21 as in the class 9 example <mari yechingwa>, 'money for bread', and in the class 1 example <mukuru wechikoro>, 'head of school'.

What is involved here is coalescence between the vowel /a/ of the inflecting affixes and the vowel of the class affix.

However, in practice, we find that no one, not even the Karanga speaker-writers themselves, apply these rules consistently, especially in respect of the inflecting affixes for copulatives <nda->, possessives <wa-, va-, ra-, cha-> etc., or adverbials <na-, sa->. Instead, speaker-writers of all the dia-

lects use any one of the three options available with the vowels <a, e, o> freely in each case, as long as it is permissible in at least one dialect. Thus, in various written texts, we can expect to get variation between <nda-, nde-, ndo->, <wa-, we-, wo-> and <va-, ve-, vo-> etc., as well as between <na-, ne-, no-> and <sa-, se-, so->, as in the examples:

- <vana ndavangu ~ vana ndevangu>, ‘the children are mine’, and <murume ndowangu ~ murume ndewangu> ‘the man is mine’;
- <baba vavana ~ baba vevana>, ‘father of the children’, and <mudzi womuti ~ mudzi wemuti>, ‘the root of the tree’;
- <kubaya nebanga ~ kubaya nobanga>, ‘to stab with a knife’, <kutaura savanhu ~ kutaura sevanhu>, ‘to talk like humans’, <somuenzaniso ~ semuenzaniso>, ‘as an example’.

These are just a few examples. The more noun classes you look at, the more variation you get. Therefore, in terms of fixing the standard on the basis of a selected norm, the rule is simply ignored and all the forms that occur in speech are found in the written form and accepted, even by those who do not use the particular options exercised.

Although there is no specific reference to conjunctive formatives in the section in which Fortune (1972) deals with standard Shona grammar, application of the above sub-rules is deemed to be extended to <na-, ne-, no-> (cp. Manyika nga-, nge-, ngo-> with the same resultant variation in practice, as in <mombe, mbudzi nehwai ~ nohwai>, ‘cattle, goats and sheep’, and in <vakomana navasikana ~ nevasikana>, ‘boys and girls’. Further evidence that people are always likely to write in dialect is found when we look at the plural of respect, where the terms conferring such respect in classes 1a and 2a, such as <baba, ishe, Mwari>, ‘father, chief, God’, typically require plural agreements but, occasionally, singular agreements based on Zezuru also occur in writing, and we end up with such variations as <baba vake ~ wake>, ‘his/her father’, <ishe uyu ~ava>, ‘this chief’, and <Mwari akanaka ~ vakanaka>, ‘the good Lord’.

The same applies to class 14 affixes, where <u-> should be prefixed to nouns, adjectives and enumerative, as in <upenyu> ‘life’ and in <umwe usavi> ‘some relish’, while <hu-> should be used in all other cases, as in <upenyu hunonakidza tinohuda tose>, ‘we all love the good life’. However, the <h> should be changed to <hw> when it occurs before a stem or forma-

tive beginning with or consisting of a vowel, as in <usiku hwose ~ usiku hwese>, ‘the whole night’, and in <upenyu hwamazuva ano ~ upenyu hwamazuva ano>, ‘life nowadays’. In practice, we find variation in the written forms based on the options that are available in speech across the dialects, or sometimes on the basis of personal preference, as in <upfu uchena ~ upfu huchena ~ hupfu huchena ~ hupfu hwuchena>, ‘white mealie meal’. In the case of selector stems, the standard spellings should be <-no, -ya>, based on Karanga and Manyika practice, as in <basa rino> ‘this job’ and <gore riya> ‘that year’. However, the Zezuru option with <e> appears quite often in the written form, as in <vana vaye> ‘those children’, <gore riye> ‘that year’, and <zvinhu zviye> ‘those things’. Similarly, while the terminal vowel of the negative present tense should be <i>, we find that the Zezuru options <e, a> feature prominently in the written form and they are accepted, so that we end up with options such as <haadi ~ haade>, ‘he/she does not want’, <havamuzivi ~ havamuzive>, ‘they do not know him’, <hazvimboiti ~ hazvimboita>, ‘that simply won’t do’.

Zezuru practice is supposed to be the basis for selecting the subject prefix of class 1, which is spelt <a> as in <munhu anoda kudya>, ‘a person has to eat’, and in <mwana ane njere uyu>, ‘this child is intelligent’. This sub-rule does not seem to cause a big problem because <a> is also the preferred option in Manyika and Korekore, but occasionally <u>, the preferred option in Karanga and Ndau, also occurs in written texts, as in <munhu unoda kudya> and in <mwana une njere uyu>. Finally, we observe that, where an option in spelling occurs, and where this is permitted by the basic alphabet rather than by the sub-rules, speaker-writers will exercise the option both in speech and in writing. A typical case is the free use of both <ndo> and <no>, as in <ndichandomuona ~ ndichanomuona>, ‘I will go and see her/him’, and in <vakandotsvaka mari ~ vakanotsvaka mari>, ‘they went to look for money’. Yet the Language Committee had actually recommended that the spelling <-ndo-> rather than <-no-> should be used for this verbal infix, which is also sometimes referred to as an auxiliary verb or a deficient verb.

5.1.2 Fortune’s Grammars

In *A Guide to Shona Spelling* (1972), Fortune is simply describing the provisions of the 1967 orthography as decided upon collectively by the Shona Language Committee. He may not have personally agreed with all the deci-

sions or with the statement of all the sub-rules, especially on word division. The section on standard grammar as it was to be applied to the orthography, which we have just reviewed immediately above, does not reflect his immense contribution to the systematic description of Shona. He developed these grammars over an extended period in a number of volumes that subsequently became the basis of many studies in Shona phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax. Fortune's grammars and his other works make him the other luminary figure in the development of Shona as a standard written language. However, a fair review of his work is a separate subject that would require another chapter that cannot be fitted into this re-issue of Doke's *Report*. What we can only do here is to mention the volumes in question.

Perhaps under the influence of Doke, Fortune chose the Zezuru dialect as the basis of his grammatical descriptions of Shona. Fortune published three major works on Shona grammar: *An Analytical Grammar of Shona* (1955), *Elements of Shona: Zezuru Dialect* (1957) and *Shona Grammatical Constructions* (2 vols., 1980-84). In these grammars, Fortune developed and applied the constituent structure analysis to Shona. Through a process of scaling down, this is the descriptive approach that has been adopted in Shona textbooks at high school level, such as Chimhundu's *Zambuko* series (1992-98). At higher levels, other linguists adopted Fortune's approach and applied it to the other dialects, e.g. Mkanganwi to Ndau (1973), Dembetembe to Korekore (1987) and Pongweni to Karanga (1990). Others have since applied more modern theories, e.g. transformational generative grammar (Dembetembe, 1976) and lexical functional grammar (Matambirofa, 2003), to describe the structure of the Shona language. However, all of these and others, e.g. Pongweni (1990) and Mberi (2002), refer to both Fortune and Doke in a manner that enhances the stature of the latter two as the principal figures in the study, development and standardization of the Shona language during the 20th century.

5.1.3 Conclusion

From the five sub-sections (a) to (e) above, it is clear that the sub-rules that give details of how the basic alphabet should be used in standard Shona spelling are not adhered to or even used consistently. This is so, either because application of the 'majority rule' principle is too complex, or because the selected norm shifts from one dialect to the other in respect of particular word forms, or because speakers prefer to write in dialect, which they find

easy to do because the basic alphabet makes this possible in most cases. While it is understandable that the Shona Language Committee wanted to be fair to all the main dialects, they ended up with a system that was too complex for speaker-writers to internalize and to apply consistently. By comparison, Doke made a deliberate choice to base grammatical standardization on only two of the dialects but with some accommodation of the other dialects. The considered opinion of the present writer is that Doke ended up with a system that was simpler to comprehend and to apply more consistently because the criteria for norm selection were clearer. Even today, most of the debate in the area of spelling has to do with a desire by some to have specific features of what are considered to be marginalized dialects accommodated. However, those who lobby for such accommodation seldom consider what will happen to the system of writing as a whole and whether it is possible to accommodate so much variation in a common and practical orthography on the basis of which standardization of the literary language can continue to develop. The debate is likely to continue for many more years. So will the reference to Doke.

5.2 Word Division

The basic system of conjunctive word division that was recommended by Doke in 1931 has been retained to the present. As we have already observed, the relatively minor revisions that were made in 1955 were retained in 1967. In addition, the Shona Language Committee came up with a set of six rules that were intended to describe in detail what was permissible and what was not in the application of this system in the current orthography. These rules, which are quite elaborate, are reproduced in Fortune's *Guide* (1972, chapters 1 & 4), together with explanatory notes and illustrative examples. They are also reproduced in Hannan's *Standard Shona Dictionary* (second edition 1974 & 1981). During the process of elaboration, the Committee created a number of inconsistencies, resulting in a number of problems that are now experienced by Shona speaker-writers as they try to apply the rules. The basic contradiction lies in the fact that, while the word marker in Shona has been clearly identified by both Doke and Fortune as penultimate length or stress, the main rule does not give a phonological definition of the written word. Instead, it defines the written word on the basis of composite meaning, and then all the other rules that amplify or qualify the main

rule refer to grammatical form. A critical review of these rules follows in the discussion below.

5.2.1 Discussion

First, we will look at the main rule and its amplification (Rule 1), then we will look at the qualifying rules (Rules 2, 3 & 4), and finally we will look at reduplication and use of the hyphen (Rules 5 & 6).

(a) The Main Rule

Rule 1 defines a written word as a speech form that means something by itself "but cannot be divided into lesser units which all make sense when spoken by themselves" (Fortune, 1972: 7). The amplification of this rule covers complex nominal constructions (or compounds) whose constituent elements must be written as single words and without hyphenation, e.g: <mushandirapamwe>, 'cooperative'; <nzvengamutsvairo>, 'lazy bones'. This general rule is further amplified by three converse rules that are intended to reinforce it by saying the same thing in a different and more phonological way. They specify speech forms that should not be written as separate words, viz:

- a monosyllable that is grammatically linked, either: (a) to a word just preceding it, i.e. enclitics or suffixes such as <-ye, -zve, -ko, -po, -i, -ba, -su, -ka>; or (b) to a word that follows, such as <sa- ~ se- ~ so-, na- ~ ne- ~ no-, zve-, mu-, zva-, sezva->;
- if it is a constituent part of a word and cannot make sense by itself, e.g. <-nyatso-, -no-, -chi->.

Notable exceptions are monosyllabic Karanga nouns like <mbwa> 'dog', <ngwe> 'leopard', <bwe> 'stone'. In initial position in the sentence, the interrogative <Ko> and conjunctive <Zve> are not affected and they are written as separate words.

The phonological amplification of this rule is based on two observations:

- That the typical Shona syllable is CV structure and that its characteristic marker is the tone, either high or low, which it carries. As with the previous two orthographies, tone is not marked in the current Shona orthography.

- That the characteristic marker of the Shona spoken word is accent which is realized as penultimate length, i.e. "the presence (or potential presence) of an accent or prominence of extra length (and perhaps extra stress) on the second last syllable. This accent is hardly perceptible in quick speech but it is nevertheless present and it shifts as affixes or inflections are added to the left or to the right of the basic word form, as in <i:ni>, 'me' → <ini:ni>, 'myself' → <inini:wo>, 'me too' → <ininiwo:zve>, 'me too please'. However, the phenomenon of penultimate accent is not used as the basis for the statement of rules of Shona word division.

The gist of the grammatical commentary on Rule 1 is that in all three basic word classes in Shona, i.e. the two types based on roots -- nouns and verbs--and the ideophones, the affixes and inflections are attached to them and written as single words, viz:

- Substantives of all types, whether prefix or stem (e.g. nouns and adjectives as in <mu-rume mu-kuru>, 'a big man'), or stabilizing vowel plus affix (e.g. <i-ye>, 'him/her', and <u-yu>, 'this one').
- Inflected substantives (e.g. copulatives such as <ndi-mai>, 'it is mother'; possessives such as <ya-mai>, 'mother's'; adverbials such as <na-tete>, 'with aunt'; presentatives such as <ha-vo>, 'there they are'; ownership nouns such as <sa-musha>, 'home owner', or <muz-vina-chitoto>, 'shop owner').
- Inflected verbs, i.e. written as one word with all types of inflections joined together, whether verb roots or extended (e.g. subject concord <ndi->, tense sign <-cha->, object prefix <-ku->, and applied extension -er- in <ndi-cha-ku-teng-er-a>, 'I will buy for you').
- Particles called enclitics, which are suffixed to verbs, e.g. plural <-i>, interrogative <-i>, adverbial <-wo, -zve>, interjective <-su, -ba, -ka>.
- Verbs or nouns derived from ideophones when these combine with verbalizers, as in <-bvaru-k->, 'get torn', or by the addition of prefixes, as in <chi-gwa-gwa-gwa>, 'machine gun'.
- Ideophones derived from verb roots by the addition of <-e, -ei>, as in <bat-e>, 'hoding', and <famb-ei> 'walking a little distance'.

All these word forms conform to the pattern in which the composite word formed carries penultimate accent. So these amplification rules would still be valid if the main rule of word division had been a statement recognizing this pattern as the word marker in both the spoken and the written forms. Speaker-writers would have found it easier to comprehend the whole set of rules for word division in Shona.

(b) The Qualifying Rules

There are three qualifying rules (Rules 2, 3 & 4) that give different types of exceptions to the main rule (Rule 1). These exceptions are certain speech forms that may not make sense by themselves but have to be written as separate words. These are:

- Auxiliary or deficient verbs in compound tenses, as in: <tava kuona>, 'we can see now'; <anga aenda>, 'he had gone'; <vari uko>', 'they are over there'.
- Verb equivalents, such as <-na> in <tine basa>, 'we have work to do', and in <vana baba>, 'they have a father'. The latter is inflected by subject concords and is to be distinguished from <vana-> as in <vanababa navanamai>, 'ladies and gentlemen'.
- Conjunctives that consist of more than one syllable and are used to join words, phrases or clauses, e.g: <kana>, 'when, if'; <asi>, 'but'; <chero>, 'even'; <uye>, 'and', <uyezve>, 'and then'; <dai, dei>, 'if only', <kubva>, 'then, in that case'. Karanga monosyllabic forms such as <bva, mva, de> are also written as separate words.
- Interrogatives <Ko> at the beginning of a sentence and <here> at the end.
- Adverbial <Zve>, at the beginning of the sentence, which is a short form of <zvekare>.

The same observation that was made at the end of 5.2.1(a) above also applies here.

(c) Use of the Hyphen

The last two rules (5 & 6) deal with reduplication and use of the hyphen. Reduplicated verb stems must always be separated by a hyphen, as in: <ku-

bata-bata>, 'to touch all over, to caress'; <famba-fambai>, 'go for a stroll, go away'; <aimbomira-mira ipapo>, 'he/she used to hang around there'. Ideophones are already full words and, when they are reduplicated, they are written as separate words, e.g. <bate bate>, 'touching all over, caressing'; and <fambei fambei>, 'walking and walking again for a distance'. Reduplication of verbs does not normally involve whole words. However, similar reduplication of substantive stems is treated differently because the hyphen is only used if the reduplicated stem has more than two syllables, as in <mangwanani-ngwanani>, 'early morning', but not in <runghanangwana>, 'early morning'. The logic of this syllable counting is not clear. In any case, one is hard put to find many more occurrences of reduplicated substantive stems of more than two syllables.

Reduplication is used in Shona to convey intensity as in <runghanangwana>, 'early morning', or simple repetition as in <bhedhenu bhedhenu>, 'unfolding and unfolding', but sometimes there is a hint of both repetition and intensity. A source of confusion is the sub-rule that reduplicated words are combined and written as one word if the reduplication adds or results in a new meaning. Among the examples given by Fortune (1972: 11) are <manomano>, 'tricks', <mheremhere>, 'noise, violence', and <mesomeso>, 'flirtation'. Among the examples given of reduplication that does not add or result in new meaning are <shure shure>, 'well behind', <pasi pasi>, 'deep down', and <mberi mberi>, 'way ahead'. These later examples are to be written as separate words. However, there is really no difference between these two sets of examples. There is definitely addition of intensity to the meanings of the latter set as well. This is precisely why speaker-writers frequently violate the sub-rule. This sub-rule is yet another example of the over-elaboration that we have already observed elsewhere in the statement of rules in the current Shona orthography.

More confusion is added by the sub-rule that complex nominal constructions derived from reduplicated ideophones are not to be written as one word because the ideophones are whole words already, as in <chamusvetu musvetu>, '(game of) repeatedly jumping up and down'. Similar examples of reduplicated substantives that are already whole words are the nouns <masimba masimba>, 'power play', and <mukuru mukuru>, 'very senior person'. In all these examples, there is both addition to and change of meaning. In the case of the substantives, there is even change in the tone pattern in the

second word form. Therefore, these complex nominals should actually be conjoined.

5.2.2 Conclusion

As with spelling, the statement of the rules of word division in the current orthography is over-elaborate and ridden with inconsistencies of both principle and application. In fact, some of the converse rules and qualifying rules are unnecessary. All they do is to make too many simultaneous demands on the speaker-writers to think and write analytically like grammarians if they are to apply the rules correctly and consistently. The basic conjunctive system of word division has stood the test of time since Doke designed it. There is no need to change it. What needs to be changed is the basis of the statement of rules from semantic and grammatical elements to phonological accent, so that the speaker-writers can see more clearly how written Shona follows spoken Shona by using penultimate length or stress as a word marker. Apparently the Shona Language Committee did not quite understand this phenomenon or appreciate the consistency of its application in building and marking off Shona words in speech (Fortune, 1972:40; cp. Doke, 1931a: 82). This is why they went on to formulate elaborate rules that are based on elements of meaning and grammar. In view of the practical problems that speaker-writers are experiencing in internalizing and applying the current rules consistently, a review is now needed of the statement of rules **and not** of the basic conjunctive system.

6. Towards Standard Shona

Shona is well on its way towards full standardization as a written and literary language. The orthography, which is the most important instrument in this process, is now quite fixed now, thanks to Doke's initial effort and vision about 75 years ago. This is the basic system in which Shona grammars have been written, the written literature has developed, dictionaries have been compiled and terminological expansion is being recorded. The two revisions that were made in 1955 and 1967 did not change the basic system that was designed by Doke in 1931. Current debates on more changes that some would want to see are not likely to lead to any fundamental changes in the system of spelling and word division that is used in Shona. However, it is important to note that standardization is a process of development and that this process has other aspects besides orthography. Doke (1931a)

touched on most of these aspects. In the preceding sections, we have already touched on three other important aspects besides orthography: i.e. grammar, lexicography and written literature. We have indicated developments after Doke in the standardization of the grammar [3.3, 4.1 & 5.1.1(d)], the compilation of dictionaries [3.4 & 4.3], and the growth of creative writing in both output and originality from school readers and church-related literature to fully fledged novels, plays and anthologies of poems [4.1 & 4.3].

We have already noted that written literature in Shona has grown and diversified, and that it has completely broken away from church strings. It is now generally acknowledged that there is more literature written in Shona than in many other African languages. Shona literature now covers many genres ranging from folklore, proverbial lore and oral poetry to modern novels (including thrillers), short stories, and individually and collectively authored anthologies of poems and plays. This literature is growing, particularly in response to the demands of the high school and tertiary level market where prescribed texts for literature courses are changed regularly.

However, translation activities that also have a bearing on language standardization and development are lagging behind. This is why we have not looked at translation activities, apart from efforts to produce common versions of the Scriptures in Shona.. Neither have we linked translation and lexicography to terminological development and diversification of the functions of the language. Further reference on the relationship between translation, terminology and standardization may be made to Chimhundu (1990, 1996b & 1997). Translation activities and expansion of the functions of Shona in different spheres of life have not kept abreast with growth of the general literature or advances in lexicography because Zimbabwe has not put in place a policy framework that is conducive to such development. Despite occasional rhetoric on the need to promote the national languages, official practice shows a clear preference for the country to function in English. Even so, some professional language workers have taken it upon themselves to do the preparatory work that will make it possible in future to implement such a policy when it comes along. The biggest and most sustained effort in this direction has been that of the ALLEX Project, which is now housed at ALRI.

In this concluding section of the introductory chapter, we will fill in some gaps by indicating more recent advances towards full standardization of the Shona language, with particular reference to lexicography. Our discussion

will be based mainly on Chimhundu (1997: 137-44). Of the areas that we have already looked at, orthography and grammar may be referred to as codification: that is, setting the rules of the writing system and describing the forms of the language. The other areas that are important for standardization are compilation and expansion of the vocabulary, and practical use in various domains, which may require or involve an increase in translation activities. Collectively, these latter areas may be referred to as elaboration: that is, developing the language in order to expand its use in society. This process of standardization must happen along with developments in various sectors rather than happen first and be completed before the language is actually used in all spheres of life.

6.1 On Standardization

What is standardization anyway? The standard form of a language is that variety which draws the least attention to itself, as opposed to other marked or peak dialects to which one would automatically assign a regional or class label. Typically, this standard language develops in the written form and is based on a variety or dialect that has been imposed on the others because it was favored by historical and geographical circumstances such as being associated with the rulers and or with the location of the capital and or the main center of commerce and fashion. As it develops, the standard language will enjoy a flexible stability and fulfill four basic functions:

- **Unifying**, in respect of other varieties of the language.
- **Separating**, in respect of other languages;
- **Prestige**, which makes it generally accepted; and
- **Normative**, insofar as it will provide a frame of reference.

While the other varieties will continue to exist in the spoken form, it is this standard written form that will be developed to full functional capacity in all spheres of life.

For a language to develop the capacity to function in all spheres of life, and to be used as an effective tool for education and development, it must go through a process of standardization. A sound policy framework does help to accelerate this process because all these things do not just happen by

themselves. A lot of work is involved for which an enabling environment is required and this work has to be sustained or institutionalized.

However, there is no such language policy framework in Zimbabwe. As Chimhundu (1997) has observed, the standardization of Shona is happening without official policy or planning. Successive attempts after independence to have this process formalized through deliberate policy and planning have not succeeded because of lack of political will. The last major attempt was made by the National Language Policy Advisory Panel during 1997-98. The Panel was chaired by the present writer and, after a full year's work, it submitted a *Report on the Formulation of a National Language Policy* (May 1998). Its recommendations for a comprehensive national language policy were well received (*The Herald*, 'Comment', 7 July 1998, p.8), but there was no follow up to implement them by the government. We are talking here about a national language policy and not just about policy on language in education. The latter is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, which, in ad hoc fashion, has occasionally come up with directives and guidelines on languages to be taught in schools within the framework of the Education Act of 1987 (Amended 1991; Part XI, para. 55: 225-6). Thus, Doke's *Report* of 1931 has remained the only comprehensive and officially accepted language policy statement to date. At the time of writing, there is not even a linguistic normative body in Zimbabwe. Therefore, officially, no one has the responsibility to oversee the development and standardization of Shona or any other language in the country. This role now seems to have been assumed by the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI), which was set up at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) in year 2000 in order to institutionalize and expand the work of the African Languages Lexical Project (ALLEX). Since its inception in 1996, the ALLEX Project has prioritized the production of monolingual dictionaries.

6.2 ALLEX and ALRI

As a way of responding to the practical needs of the language communities in Zimbabwe, particularly with reference to the teaching of Shona and Ndebele as subjects at different levels in the education system, the ALLEX Project deliberately prioritized monolingual dictionaries. The long-term plan was to start with the compilation of three general dictionaries in each language. The first ever monolingual dictionary in an African language in Zimbabwe, *Duramazwi reChishona* (ed. Chimhundu, 1996a) was a me-

dium sized dictionary for the middle level users. This was the prototype in which the ALLEX team experimented with methodology and used ICT (information and computer technology) to start building an electronic corpus as a resource and to produce dictionaries in both electronic and book form. The team continued to build on this work and, five years later, they came up *Duramazwi Guru reChiShona* (ed. Chimhundu, 2001), which was much bigger and more comprehensive, and was intended for higher and tertiary level users. By this time, a tradition had been set in mother tongue lexicography and another team of the same project came up with a similar dictionary in Ndebele, *Isichazamazwi SesiNdebele* (ed. Hadebe, 2001), which was in between the two Shona ones in terms of both size and comprehensiveness. The work of the ALLEX Project was institutionalized and expanded in 2000 when the ALRI was created at the UZ. ALLEX is now housed at ALRI, a permanent research unit of the UZ, which was deliberately created as a non-faculty unit to make its program both as flexible as possible and inter-disciplinary in approach. For details of its current research activities and what has been accomplished so far, reference may be made to Chimhundu (ed. 2003).

The ALRI agenda is both visionary and futuristic but, more importantly, it emphasizes products and sustained effort as the chief means for realizing the vision. The Institute's mission statement is:

To research, document and develop Zimbabwean indigenous languages in order to promote and expand their use in all spheres of life.

The objectives, activities and products that make up this agenda may be summarized in ten points as follows:

- Basic research and documentation of the indigenous (i.e. African) languages of Zimbabwe.
- Outreach and advocacy programs nationwide, both as consultation during research and as a public education exercise.
- Publication of series of language reference works, prioritizing monolingual dictionaries, both general language and specialized or terminological dictionaries.

- Publication and dissemination of research products both in book form and electronically through the Internet.
- Building and maintenance of electronic language corpora for various research purposes.
- Developing of morphological parsers and syntactic analyzers.
- Developing other language technology applications, including spell checkers and other such tools, using the resources built from the same research and publications.
- Providing language advisory and consultancy services for both the public and the private sectors.
- Offering specialist training services in order to enable other mother-tongue researchers to do similar work in their own language communities.
- Serving as a center of excellence for language research and development, and taking a leading position vis-à-vis other language departments and research units in higher institutions of learning at both national and sub-regional levels.

And what has this all got to do with Doke's legacy? In layman's terms, the short answer is that the ALLEX-ALRI program is a logical extension of the vision that Doke had in 1931, although he could not have foreseen the advent of black majority rule and the creation of Zimbabwe in 1980. In more practical and direct ways, it is also a logical extension of the basis that he laid for the standardization of Shona and the work that was subsequently done by others during the next two generations.

We need to make a brief and direct comment here on the relationship between dictionary-making and language standardization. For a more detailed discussion on the subject, reference may be made to Hadebe (2002). In both the twin processes of codification and elaboration, a standard dictionary has an important normative influence, much more so if it is monolingual. Users accept and apply the lexicographer's descriptions of word forms, his statements about their meaning and usage (e.g. whether colloquial, obsolete, vulgar or idiomatic), and his interpretation of the rules of standard spelling and word division. The general language dictionaries published by the ALLEX Shona team have already established trends and set a tradition for monolingual lexicography, while the team's specialized dictionary series

will similarly set the trends and a tradition for the development of terminologies in different subject areas. It is already quite clear that the monolingual Shona dictionaries have given the language the abstractive powers that it needs to describe itself by developing the metalanguage and a standard set of transparent abbreviations, by naming characters and letters of the alphabet in Shona and prescribing how these should be pronounced, and by providing essential tables and standardizing descriptive terms in problem areas of the grammar such as the noun class system and verbal extensions. All these are given in the front matter of *Duramazwi reChiShona* (1996) and *Duramazwi Guru reChiShona* (2001). The COBUILD definition formats used give typical type statements that contain the headword, and further illumination of the senses is given in more sentences that are given as illustrative examples of usage. Collectively, all the statements in the front matter and in the definitions may be viewed as a style manual that shows the speaker-writer how to write correctly in the Shona language, particularly with reference to spelling, word division, punctuation, capitalization, presentation of examples, paragraphing, as well as the organization and heading and sub-heading of sections and sub-sections of a text. These dictionaries also help the speaker-writers to appreciate language variation at different levels, especially dialectal and stylistic variation, synonyms and variants, monosemy and polysemy, and neutral or lexical meaning as distinct from idiomatic meaning.

The ALLEX terminological dictionaries have all their definitions in Shona, but they also have a translation component in the form of English glosses that come immediately after the headwords and in the form of a reverse index at the end of the dictionary. Through these dictionaries, technical vocabulary for different specialist fields is being collected, analyzed and coined where necessary in systematic ways that make sense to the speakers of Shona. The process of translation is partly matching of equivalents and partly creative. So the translation component in these specialized dictionaries actually triggers term creation, which results in the expansion of Shona vocabulary.

7. General Conclusion

Doke's permanent legacy is that he gave us the basis on which to develop Shona as a standard written language, which is now showing the potential to develop further into a national official language. In future, Shona may well develop into a state language. In the area of codification, Doke made the

most important contribution in the development of a standard orthography, while Fortune has since made the most important contribution in the development of a standard grammar. Thus, it is not possible to talk about standard Shona without reference to Doke or Fortune. However, Doke's contribution has to be seen in a much broader perspective for two reasons. Firstly, his seminal works on Zulu in South Africa must have also influenced his recommendations on Ndebele vis-à-vis Shona and the other languages in Zimbabwe. Secondly, during 1929-31, he did not just confine his research and recommendations to Shona orthography and grammar. His *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects* (1931a) also covered other aspects of the standardization of the Shona language in the area of elaboration. Further, he looked at the language situation in the country as a whole and made recommendations on policy and planning that are still influencing practice today.

In the area of elaboration, the most significant advances have been in lexicography or dictionary making, where the second edition of Hannan's *Standard Shona Dictionary* (1974 & 1981) stands out as the largest and most important bilingual (Shona-English) reference work to date, while the ALLEX Project's *Duramazwi Guru reChiShona* (ed. Chimhundu, 2001) currently stands out as the largest and most important monolingual (Shona-Shona) reference work in any African language in the region. Building up on the latter, ALRI is now compiling a series of terminological dictionaries in a number of specialist fields. A Shona dictionary of biomedical terms, *Duramazwi reUrapu neUtano* (Mpofu et al, 2004), is already out. By the time the ALLEX Project winds up in 2006, the Institute will have published three more dictionaries in Shona: a dictionary of musical terms, a dictionary of linguistic and literary terms, and an illustrated children's dictionary – in that order. Judging by these products and by the impact that the work of the ALLEX Project has already had, future generations will find it impossible to review further development towards the full standardization of Shona without reference to ALLEX or ALRI.

The current Shona orthography is not perfect but it is based on principles that are clear. It is practical and workable, it has been generally accepted, and it has stabilized. Using this orthography, the Shona language has already made advances towards standardization in the full sense of the term as it has been defined above. Language variation is a natural phenomenon. Therefore, a standard orthography is partly a matter of convention because it is not possible to come up with a common writing system that suits each and

every one of the varieties of a language perfectly, not even the selected norm. Shona orthography has already been revised twice since Doke designed the basic system about 75 years ago. It is not advisable to keep changing the writing system after every generation or so. Those who are lobbying for more changes in order to accommodate particular dialectal features must first of all look at the divergent orthographies that Doke found in 1929 and then consider whether their proposed changes would not lead to demands for more changes by others, whether at the end of the day there will be more problems solved than created, whether we will still have a common writing system that is stable and acceptable to all, whether that system will stand the test of time, and whether progress towards full standardization of Shona will be accelerated or impeded by the proposed new changes.

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SOUTHERN RHODESIA

REPORT

ON

THE UNIFICATION OF
THE SHONA DIALECTS

*Carried out under the auspices of the Government of
Southern Rhodesia and the Carnegie Corporation*

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THE UNIFICATION OF THE SHONA DIALECTS

INTRODUCTORY

HAVING been granted a Travelling Fellowship for Research by the Carnegie Corporation, I reached Salisbury at the end of January, 1929, to commence investigations into the phonetics and philology of the languages spoken by the Natives of Mashonaland. Owing to the assistance provided by the Government of Southern Rhodesia, I was able to include in my researches a thorough study of the language position throughout the country, with a view to advising the Government upon a uniform orthography and a possible unification of dialects for the standardization of an official language for that part of Rhodesia inhabited by the Shona-speaking peoples. In Appendix I to this Report I give details of the year's itinerary, as well as lists of those who have assisted my work with information.

I wish to record most sincere thanks to Missionaries and Officials of the Native Department for their hearty co-operation and help, and for the hospitality so generously extended to me everywhere; and also to the Department of the Surveyor-General for the drawing of the maps appended to this report.

No doubt the recommendations which this report sets out are what will be most eagerly read and criticized; but the very nature of these recommendations, technical in many respects, demands a fair amount of preliminary information for their proper understanding and for an appreciation of the reasons for them. I have therefore included an outline of the language situation in Southern Rhodesia, an explanation of my methods of investigation, a description of the native inhabitants of each native district, with population figures and map, and a careful analysis of the speech sounds in the more important key dialects. In this last I have tried to avoid the "scientific" as far as possible, so as to make the material clear to the layman. A full scientific study of "Shona" Phonetics I hope to publish

later, and in it will be the detailed data collected both in field and instrumental work.

Throughout my researches I have worked in conjunction with the Language Committee¹ set up by the Government, have received every assistance from the Department of Native Development to which I was attached during the year, and have kept in touch with the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

In the main my recommendations have the full support of the Language Committee, and those regarding alphabet and orthography have the endorsement of the International Institute.

¹ The following was the personnel of the Committee: The Rev. Father B. H. Barnes, C.R. (Chairman), The Rev. Father A. Burbridge, S.J., and Mrs. A. A. Louw.

THE LANGUAGE POSITION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

1. **Administrative Division of Southern Rhodesia.**—For administrative purposes Southern Rhodesia has been divided into two main divisions, Matabeleland and Mashonaland. The former area is roughly that over which Lobengula claimed suzerainty, being bordered on the north by the Zambesi, on the south by the Limpopo, on the west by the Bechuanaland Protectorate and on the east more or less by a line from the Kariba Gorge to Gwelo, thence southwards to the Limpopo River. All east of this line, including Manicaland and Melsetter, is generally termed Mashonaland.

For Matabeleland, Sindebele, a dialect of Zulu, has been recognized as the official Native language. In Mashonaland, however, considerable difficulty has been encountered. Owing to the way in which Missionary work (and hence language study and literature production) has been developed in districts isolated one from the other, and by Missionary Societies working independently, four distinct dialects have been pushed into prominence, viz. Karanga in the "Victoria Circle", Zezuru in the "Salisbury Circle", Manyika in Manicaland, and Ndau in Melsetter District. Probably because administrative headquarters were established in Salisbury, the Zezuru dialect, known commonly as "Chishona", has received more recognition than any of the others as the official language of Mashonaland; this despite the fact that figures show now that Karanga commands a much greater population than any other single dialect, and that Manyika has produced more numerous publications.

2. **Unity of Mashonaland Dialects.**—Even a cursory study of the publications in these dialects convinces one of their inherent unity, a unity which, unfortunately, has been sadly camouflaged by vastly divergent systems of orthography and methods of dividing the words. The differences between the dialects have been grossly exaggerated by these artificial means, and I believe that there is no insuperable difficulty to their absolute unification in one literary form. As far back as 1905 Mrs. H. E. Springer in her *Hand-Book of Chikaranga* wrote: "There is no more difference between the different dialects here than between the dialects in the different parts of the United States; not nearly so much as to be found in various parts of England, or between the clans of Scotland. Therefore, if local idioms are avoided, it is possible to have one Bible for the whole of Mashonaland; no one questions the advantage to be derived thereby." Had that advice been followed then, an immense amount of labour, expense and difficulty could have been avoided. In "Mashonaland" to-day there are in use four distinct translations of the New Testament, three of which have been produced by one Bible Society, the "British and Foreign". Here is a financial and labour wastage which should not have occurred.

For the sake of argument, let us suppose England to be a heathen country. Four distinct Missionary Societies commence work, one among the Cockneys, one among the University class, one in Yorkshire, and one in Devonshire. Each produces a translation into the "local" vernacular, each further uses a different orthography and some split up their words into small component parts. What an enormous difference there would be between the four literary efforts: they would not be mutually understood! And yet literary English which we use to-day amply meets the needs of the millions of the British Isles, America, and the Dominions! When compared with what we have just pictured, the differences between the dialects of Mashonaland are almost infinitesimal. Between 80 per cent and 90 per cent of the vocabulary is common to the whole area.

Further, while independent treatment of dialects, such as occur in England, might be defended because of the millions of speakers involved in each, the smallness of the population, under a million, speaking the "Shona" dialects makes independent treatment to-day an economic impossibility.

3. Varying Orthographies.—The practical advantages of a unification of the dialects of Mashonaland have long been recognized both by Missionaries and Officials of the Native Department. The Missionary Conference, which met at the Victoria Falls in 1909, accepted an alphabet for universal application in Mashonaland, having in view an ultimate unification. Unfortunately this alphabet, which involved the use of certain underscorings of letters to differentiate sounds, was adopted in two areas only, viz. those of Karanga and Ndau; it being developed most fully in the former in the publications of the Morgenster Mission Press. It is a great pity that it was not wholeheartedly taken up at the time, for it represents, more carefully than any other yet devised, the characteristic sounds of the language. The fact, however, that distinctions were made by diacritic marks, militated greatly against its practical success.

Since that time each Missionary Society has been following its own method of writing, and in many cases individual writers have indulged their own fancies in varying the orthography. Father Biehler's "Swina" (Zezuru) dictionary set the fashion for most of the publications put out by the Roman Catholic Church. In the 1906 and 1913 editions of "Biehler" certain diacritics were used: denti-labial-**v** was indicated by **v̄** and bi-labial-**v** by plain **v** (in Mrs. Louw's Karanga orthography denti-labial-**v** is **v**, bi-labial-**v**, **v̄**); **ñ** and **w̄** were also used, the former to indicate the velar nasal, and the latter a similar sound occurring in a velarized compound after **m**. In the 1927 edition of "Biehler", the marking of **v̄** was dropped, while **ñ** and **w̄** took the place of **ñ** and **w̄**. This was distinctly a retrograde move.

The publications of the English Church, mostly emanating from the Manyika area, followed the simple orthography advocated by Bishop Steere in East Africa, and clung to the "26 letters of the English Alphabet", permitting of no deviation therefrom, with the result that such digraphs as **sw** and **zw** each served the purposes of two distinct sounds, with unsatisfactory result.

A similar adherence to the "26 letters" is exemplified in the work of the Wesleyan Mission in "Shona" (Zezuru), where the symbol **b** is made to serve for three distinct sounds, viz. "explosive-**b**", "implosive-**b**", and "fricative-**b**" (**b**, **β**, and **v**).

As far as one can gather, the orthography used by officials of the Native Department has varied very considerably from man to man,¹ while there has been an avoidance of the use of diacritics.

4. A Move towards Unification.—All this has resulted in chaos and uncertainty and there has been expressed from Missionary bodies and from the Native Department a growing demand for a settlement of the whole question of a language for Mashonaland. The 1928 General Missionary Conference of Southern Rhodesia adopted the following resolution :—

"This Conference finds itself unable to decide at present between the alternatives of standardizing two languages for Mashonaland, viz. Chizezuru and Chikaranga, or of standardizing a unified language built on the four existing dialects. We therefore prefer to reserve our opinion till expert advice has been obtained. We would respectfully request the Government to approach the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, with a view to obtaining a suitable expert to investigate and advise upon the matter."

A small Language Committee of three local Missionaries was appointed by the Government to collect data and explore the field. The Committee consisted of Rev. B. H. Barnes, C.R., Chairman, also representing the minority fields of Manyika and Ndau, Mrs. C. S. Louw, representing Karanga, and Rev. A. Burbridge, S.J., representing Zezuru. From the commencement of my study of the position during 1929, I have worked in close touch with the members of the Committee. In order to further the gathering of data upon which to base conclusions, I prepared a questionnaire at the end of 1928, upon which the Committee set to work. It was as follows :—

5. Questionnaire.—

- (i) How many allied "Mashonaland" dialects are there ?
- (ii) Are there more Karanga dialects than one ?

See Bullock's *The Mashona* and articles in *Nada*.

- (iii) What are the geographical limits and population to each dialectal area ?
- (iv) Through the medium of which dialects have Missions been working? State the names of each Mission, date of establishment, number of workers (white and native), number of schools, teachers, scholars, churches, using the medium.
- (v) What publications are there concerning each dialect ?
- (a) Translation of Scriptures, O.T., N.T., Portions.
 - (b) Service and Books of Devotion.
 - (c) School Books and Books of General Knowledge.
 - (d) Collections of Native literature :
 - (i) by Europeans,
 - (ii) by Natives.
 - (e) Grammars and aids to Language Study.
 - (f) Dictionaries and Vocabularies.
 - (g) Periodical literature.
 - (h) Miscellaneous.

N.B.—Nos. (a), (d), (e), and (f) are of greatest importance, and a critical valuation of books under these headings would be useful.

- (vi) In each dialect what percentage of Natives is able and does use a neighbouring dialect? What neighbouring dialect is used ?
- (vii) What percentage of natives in each dialect can read and write in own tongue ?
- (viii) What percentage of natives in each dialect is qualified to pass out of elementary schools ?
- (ix) What percentage of natives in each dialect are
- (a) teachers,
 - (b) evangelists,
 - (c) ordained ministers ?
- Under (c) state to what Church they belong.
- (x) What is the relative affinity of the dialects from the point of view of vocabulary ?

Prepare comparative lists (English, Ndau, Zezuru, Manyika, Karanga (a) and (b) if necessary), of at least 500 words as follows :—

- (a) Absolute pronouns for all persons and classes.

- (b) Commonly-used nouns (primitive stem words as far as possible), names of animals, etc.
- (c) Adjectives and numerals.
- (d) Simple verb stems.
- (e) A selection of Onomatopoeic, etc., Radicals.

(Let the list be uniform, i.e. do not pick especially on words *known* to show differences, or vice versa, do not pick especially on words *known* to show kinship. Let each word be written in its present orthography.)

(xi) Wherein do the dialects differ in phonetics ?

(xii) In what way do the dialects differ in grammatical structure ?

This questionnaire was intended to discover, if possible, whether one of the dialects showed greater virility and natural predominance than any of the others, with a view to choosing such a dialect for standardization. It was also intended to demonstrate to what extent the various languages were inter-related, with a view to an alternative of unification into one literary form.

When the questionnaire was sent round it was found extremely difficult to supply the necessary information ; this was especially so in all statistical questions. Figures were not available in most cases, and such as were available were unsatisfactory since percentages could not be given. It was found necessary to itinerate considerably, and to conduct local research both upon population statistics and geographical distribution of tribes and dialects.

6. Questions (i) and (ii).—Regarding the first two questions the Committee was unable to give clear information. This was only natural, as the question demanded extensive field work, which I soon found was a necessary part of my research. I first of all carried out investigations into the four known main dialects of Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika, and Ndau ; but it was not long before I found that Korekore, grouped with several other cognate dialects, deserved a distinct place along with the other four. Pursuing investigations into Manyika and Ndau very soon convinced me of the necessity of including in any calculations the number of allied natives living in the territory of the Mozambique Company. It was not until after the middle of the year that a visit to Gwelo, Selukwe, and Belingwe Districts revealed that this question of language unification was not a “Mashonaland” one, but concerned the whole of Southern Rhodesia. Further research proved practically the whole of those districts, as well as a large portion of Sebungwe, to be Shona-speaking, with a somewhat scattered “Western Shona” group stretching from Wankie to Bulalima-Mangwe, which I termed the “Kalanga Group”.

When all the sub-dialects were examined it was found that, stretching from Tati-Concession and Bechuanaland on the west, right to the sea-coast in Portuguese Territory on the east, and from the Zambesi on the north to within an appreciable distance of the Limpopo on the south, were six main Shona Groups with an intrusive break through the western portion where the Ndebele speakers are found. These six "Shona" Groups I classify as follows: Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, Manyika, Ndau, and Kalanga. Efforts to discover one predominating group amongst these were not successful, for mere numerical predominance is not a sufficient guide, and hence my attention, as well as that of the Committee, was turned to the problem of unification.

7. Question (iii).—The geographical limits and population of each dialectal area were determined mostly on the spot, working with the Native Commissioners, and such statistics as they were able to provide, and then supplementing these data by examination of representative Natives. The result has been the preparation of a language map (appended to the report) and the compilation of population statistics (see Appendix III), which give an approximate idea of the relative distribution and numerical importance of all the languages in Southern Rhodesia.

8. Question (iv).—This question was answered satisfactorily by the Missions to which the questionnaire was addressed, but, owing to the impossibility of fixing upon one dominant language, the figures provided under this heading need not be given here.

9. Question (v).—Regarding question (v), the number of publications eventually found was surprising, but it must be remembered that from a literary point of view they are very "slight", being mostly confined to religious service books and elementary school readers. A list of the publications in the Shona dialects is given in Appendix II. It must be stated that in the Ndau and Manyika Groups there are "peak languages", Ndau proper in the former, and Karombe in the latter. As will be observed later, these "peak languages" are in each case extreme forms, differing more noticeably from average Shona than other representatives of the groups concerned. Unfortunately the Missionaries of the Ndau group had to do their literary work in the peak language, Ndau, making their inclusion in the unification more difficult than that of most of the other dialects. Had they been able to choose Danda, or better, Zanga, their publications would have resembled Zezuru, for instance, to a much higher degree. In the case of Manyika, fortunately, the Guta and Hungwe dialects were generally chosen, and the difficulties which the peak language, Karombe, would have presented to unification, were avoided—quite unwittingly.

10. Questions (vi), (vii), (viii), and (ix).—To these questions no satisfactory replies could be obtained, and it is further found that the information desired in them is unnecessary to the unification proposed.

11. Question (x).—In order to obtain information under the heading of Question (x), the Chairman of the Language Committee issued to about thirty persons, Missionaries and Government Officials, a list of 540 English words likely to have equivalents in all dialects, and received in answer twenty-five vocabularies, illustrating various dialectal differences. A careful collation of these lists made abundantly clear the great extent of agreement as to vocabulary among the various Shona dialects. It was found that in many cases the differences were solely phonetical, and the reconciliation of many of these was dependent upon the type of unified orthography chosen. In Appendix IV will be found comparative lists of thirty-seven sub-dialectal types illustrating over 100 key words, chosen specially to show similarities and important divergencies, upon which, to a great extent, group differentiation depends. These lists have all been obtained by me from natives first hand, as the lists sent in to the Committee naturally took no notice of "tones" and in several instances proved to be very unreliable as to content.

12. Question (xi).—This question formed the centre of my year's work as Carnegie Research Fellow, and a certain amount of detail of phonetic analysis will be dealt with in this report. It goes without saying that exact phonetic data are essential to any settlement of orthography, and a uniform orthography must necessarily be the basis of any settlement of the language position in Southern Rhodesia.

13. Question (xii).—Regarding the final question, but little opportunity was found during the year for any detailed scientific work in grammar, but an examination of the existing works of Biehler, Buck, Mrs. Louw, and the American Board Mission, and of a manuscript kindly lent by Rev. F. Marconnès, showed that a unification of grammar in the Shona area would be one of the least of the difficulties to be surmounted in the case of the five eastern groups, but that it might prove impossible in the case of the sixth, the Kalanga or Western Group. This will be discussed later.

METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

14. Field Work.—The first and principal item towards the language settlement was the collecting of data to provide the basis of proposals for the unified orthography. From the itinerary given in Appendix I to this report and from the lists of native informants there given, it will be seen that I tried to cover as much as possible of the field work, examining the

pronunciations of as many individuals and types of natives as were necessary to a decision upon doubtful or varying sounds. I also took advantage of information and help which was willingly given me by missionaries and Native Department officials who were interested in the language question. In certain cases, notably at Mt. Silinda, conferences with language workers were held, and I profited much from the discussions and criticisms which resulted. In common with the Language Committee I took as the basis for tentative suggestions the Memorandum on Orthography put out by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, and from time to time laid before Missionary bodies and individuals various sectional suggestions. The favourable way in which these were received encouraged me and the Committee to go forward with the full recommendations which this report makes.

15. Instrumental Work.—I did not rely upon any accuracy of the ear, which differs so vitally from one individual to another, for finally deciding disputed points in pronunciation, but used certain selected natives from five of the dialectal groups for instrumental research, most of which was conducted at Salisbury, though some was also done at St. Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga. The two principal aids in instrumental research which I used were kymograph and palatograph recording.

16. Kymography.—The Kymograph is used for visual recording of vibrations and has been adapted for speech recording in phonetic research. The native whose speech is to be analysed speaks into a mouthpiece connected by a length of tubing to a small delicate tambour or drum on which is fixed a recording stylo. Every variation of sound phenomena affects the tambour and causes the stylo to move, vibrate, kick up violently or be drawn downwards. The stylo is adjusted to touch a revolving cylinder covered with smoked paper. In this way a graph is recorded in white on the blackened paper, and provides a visual record of the sounds spoken into the mouthpiece. The graphs may afterwards be fixed by means of a "resin bath", providing a permanent record which can be analysed at leisure. By means of the Kymograph, records are also taken from the nose to detect any nasalization of sounds, or from the larynx to detect the slightest "voicing" caused by vibration of the vocal chords. In this way doubtful sounds can be analysed to discover whether they are voiced or voiceless, nasal or purely oral, explosive, implosive, fricative or affricative; and such other phenomena as aspiration, ejection, tone inflexion, and stress may also be recorded. The Kymograph¹ which I used in Salisbury was a small

¹ Kindly lent for the purpose by Rev. B. H. Barnes of the Community of the Resurrection, who was Chairman of the Language Committee appointed by Government.

portable one, and was not fitted for recording tone or stress with any degree of accuracy.

17. Palatography.—For palatograph recording an artificial vulcanite palate has to be prepared by a dentist for each native subject. The palate is made as thin as possible so as not to interfere with the man's normal pronunciation. The underside is powdered over with chalk powder, and the palate carefully inserted in place. The speaker then makes the required sound and the palate is as carefully removed. Both tongue and artificial palate are examined. The former will reveal the position of any chalk taken off the palate by contact, and the palate will show where the contact has been made. Copies of the positions affected both on tongue and palate are recorded on diagrams prepared. These diagrams are termed palatograms, and from them the "tongue position diagrams" are drawn by deduction. Examples of these will be given later in the report. Naturally palatography is limited to sounds which are modified by the hard palate. Sounds modified in the throat or by the lips cannot be recorded in this way. Palatography is a necessary counterpart to kymography, for while the latter records "types" of sound, the former determines the relative positions of tongue and palate necessary to their production and records what cannot be otherwise observed in a closed or obstructed mouth.

18. Photography.—In addition to the above experimental methods the Kine-camera, as well as the ordinary camera, have been used to photograph lip positions, which are very important in the production of certain of the peculiar sounds in the Shona dialects.

ANALYSIS OF THE POPULATIONS OF THE NATIVE DISTRICTS

19. Unreliable Estimates of Population.—The survey of the geographical position¹ of the Shona-speaking people has shown that they extend very considerably in Portuguese East Africa on the north and east, and overlap to a slight extent into Bechuanaland on the west. Hitherto most unreliable estimates as to the populations of the groups, as of the make-up of the groups, have been made. For instance, in the British and Foreign Bible Society's *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles*, "Shona" is said to be spoken by about 450,000 people, Karanga by about 70,000, and Kalanga by about 20,000. In the *Bibliography of Christian Literature*, compiled by Rowling and Wilson, Kalanga is again estimated at 20,000, Karanga at 360,000, with "dialects by 300,000 more", "Shona" or "Swina" at 300,000, and "Ndau" at 200,000. Similarly estimates sent in at the commencement of

¹ See Map No. 1.

my investigations showed equally glaring differences, and I found that the only way to arrive at even an approximately correct estimate was to determine first of all the exact localities of each group and dialect, and, with that information, to work at the statistics given by the Government tax registers for each native district.

20. Figures for the District of Mozambique.—Through the courtesy of Dr. Placido, Portuguese Consul at Salisbury, I was able to consult the figures for the districts of the Mozambique Company, and judging from information given in a Portuguese publication, *Respostas ao Questionario Etnografico*, edited in 1928 by Gustavo de Bivar Pinto Lopes, and by questioning various natives and Europeans, official and other, who know the areas concerned, I was able to place approximately the divisions of the dialect and tribes on my map, and thus estimate the populations concerned. In Appendix III (a) the figures for the whole of the territory of the Mozambique Company are tabulated, showing an estimate of their division between the tribes and dialects. It will be seen that of the total 310,686, more than half are non-Shona peoples, about 185,000 belonging to Sena, Barwe, Tonga, or Hlengwe tribes. The Shona-speakers belong mostly to the Ndaou Group, with the dialects of Ndaou, Danda, and Sanga; these number about 98,000, but there are some 27,000 who belong to the Manyika Group which includes in this territory the Teve dialect.

21. District Analysis.—The Mossurize District, with its population of 24,303, is mostly made up of Danda-speakers with a certain number of Ndaou and a sprinkling of Hlengwe. In Moribane (13,908) the majority are Ndaou with a fair number of Teve and a few Manyika. Chimcio (16,798) has mostly Teve, with a minority of Manyika and Ndaou. Manica (7,898) is entirely composed of Manyika. Neves Ferreira (8,258) has slightly over half its population non-Shona; the Shona-speakers in the district are Sanga, Teve, and Ndaou in that numerical order. In the Buzi District (20,562) the vast majority are Sanga, and with them a certain number of Ndaou. In Beira (7,745) more than half are non-Shona, the remainder being Sanga. In Sofala (25,147) the majority are Sanga, with a minority of Danda. The whole of the population of Chiloane (8,764) is Sanga. In Govuro (20,000) almost all are non-Shonas being Hlengwe, but there are a few hundred Sanga near the Sabi mouth. In Sena (39,943), Marromeu (11,695), Gorongoza (21,996), Chupanga (12,598), Cheringoma (13,883), Chemba (47,238), and Mocoque (9,150) all the native inhabitants are non-Shona belonging to the Sena group.

22. District of Tete.—In this district the only Shona-speakers are the Tavara, who stretch from the north end of Darwin District (Rhodesia) to

the Zambesi. It has been impossible to get figures to estimate accurately their numbers, as only the total figures for the whole of Tete District are available. Taking into consideration their numbers in Rhodesian territory and comparing the sizes of territory they occupy on each side of the border, I have roughly computed the numbers of Tavara in Portuguese East Africa at 35,000.

23. Bechuanaland and Tati.—I have not been able to get the figures for the numbers of Shona-speakers, Kalanga, and Lilima, who are to be found in the Tati Concession and in Khama's Country. They extend a considerable distance, and the computation which I have entered in my tables of 15,000 is, I believe, a very conservative one.

24. Distribution of Natives in Southern Rhodesia.—In Southern Rhodesia natives are living (*a*) in Native Reserves, where the natives are themselves the land-holders, (*b*) on Crown Lands, lands belonging to the Government, (*c*) on alienated lands, such as farms where individual Europeans are the land-holders, or (*d*) in towns or on mines. The Language Map¹ appended to this report shows the positions of all the native reserves to which reference will be made. On the map the native district boundaries are shown according to the most revised delimitation to date (December, 1929). It must be pointed out, however, that the population statistics are based upon those of the Chief Native Commissioner's Report for 1928, and this must be borne in mind especially when considering figures for Bulalima-Mangwe, Matobo, and, to a less extent, Umtali and Makoni. There are four Native reserves marked in which no natives are at present living. These are the Sanyati, Sebungwe, Sibaba, and Pashu Reserves. From them all native inhabitants were moved on account of the "fly" and sleeping-sickness.

In the native districts of Southern Rhodesia, the official computation of the population is based upon a multiplication of the number of males on the Tax register by $3\frac{1}{2}$. This is admittedly too small a figure for most of the districts. It may hold good in the "fly" areas, but elsewhere, in all probability, four times the taxpayers is nearer the mark. The Native Department hopes to arrange for specimen census takings in certain areas to test the results. Until that is done it would seem futile to alter the computation arbitrarily. The difficulty of estimating the population is increased, however, when it is found that certain districts differ tremendously from others in the rate of infant mortality. Some districts are much more healthy than others, and average longevity is much higher in such. In Bulalima-Mangwe, for instance, it is estimated² that there is an average

¹ Map No. 1.

² This is the opinion of R. Lanning (N.C. Plumtree), supported by that of Rev. J. Whiteside, of Dombodema Mission.

of four children alive to every woman in the district—this would make the figures practically six times every male taxpayer. The figures which I give here are calculated upon the $3\frac{1}{2}$ basis, but in the summary I shall also give an estimate, upon the basis of 4 for Southern Rhodesia, which will reflect more truly the real numbers of the native population. The figures for Southern Rhodesia are tabulated in Appendix III (b).

25. Wankie District.¹—Total population, 12,507 :—

Reserves : Wankie, and A and B	7,013
Crown Lands	5,388
Alienated Lands	106

Language Distribution :—

Nambzya	7,119
Tonga (Middle Zambesi)	4,963
Leya (Allied to Tonga)	425

26. Sebungwe District.²—Total population, 20,989 :—

Mpapa Reserve	167
Omay Reserve	2,535
Crown Lands	18,287

Language Distribution :—

Gova	756
Sangwe	13,149
Tonga (Middle Zambesi)	7,084

Note.—There are no natives now living in the Sebungwe, Pashu, and Sibaba Reserves. On an estimate taken during vaccination in 1928, the basis of $3\frac{1}{2}$ times taxpayers was found to be too conservative, even for this district.

27. Lomagundi District.³—Total population, 47,158 :—

Sinoia, including Zwimba and Makonde Reserves	18,763
Urungwe, including Urungwe Reserve	12,295
Sipolilo, including Sipolilo Reserve	16,100

Note.—Zwimba Reserve is mainly Zezuru, while the other three Reserves are Korekore.

¹ Information per F. Hulley (N.C. Wankie).

² Information per G. A. Bain (Gokwe).

³ Information per J. A. S. Aylward (Acting N.C. Sinoia), R. M. Stronge (A.N.C. Sinoia), L. J. B. McAdams (A.N.C. Miami), and H. Ely (A.N.C. Sipolilo).

Language Distribution :—

	Zezuru	Kore- kore.	Gova.	Misc. Shona.	Chi- kunda.	Total.
Sinoia . . .	6,000	12,000		763		18,763
Urungwe . . .		8,500	2,500	1,295		12,295
Sipolilo . . .		14,100			2,000	16,100
Lomagundi . . .	6,000	34,600	2,500	2,058	2,000	47,158

Among the Korekore figures are included the Tande found along the Portuguese Border.

28. Darwin District.¹—Total population, 34,545 :—

Mt. Darwin, including the Chiswiti, Mazarabani, Kandeya, and Madziwa Reserves	25,179
Rusambo (Chimanda Reserve)	9,366

Language Distribution :—

	Zezuru.	Korekore	Tavara.	Chi- kunda.	Total.
Mount Darwin . . .	2,000	17,679	3,500	2,000	25,179
Rusambo . . .		5,620	3,746		9,366
Darwin . . .	2,000	23,299	7,246	2,000	34,545

Note.—The Chiswiti Reserve is made up of Tavara; the Chimanda Reserve of mixed Tavara and Korekore; Mazarabani Reserve of Korekore; Madziwa Reserve of Korekore with a few Zezuru in the South; Kandeya Reserve of the Nyongwe section of the Korekore.

29. Mtoko District.²—Total population, 35,243 :—

Mutoko Reserve	23,465
Mkota Reserve	7,049
Chikwizo Reserve	3,525
Alienated Lands	83
Crown Lands	1,091
Towns, Mines, etc.	30

¹ Information per E. T. Palmer (N.C. Mt. Darwin) and E. Hick (A.N.C. Rusambo).

² Information per E. R. Morkel (N.C. Mtoko).

Language Distribution :—

Ɔudya	23,853
Tonga	11,390

Note.—The Tongas of the Mtoko District belong to the Sena Group of languages, are closely akin to the Barwe, and the majority of them are found in Portuguese Territory.

30. Mrewa District.¹—Total population, 31,692 :—

Mangwendi Reserve	17,875
Uzumba Reserve	6,320
Maramba Reserve	2,965
Fungwi Reserve	4,532

Language Distribution :—

Zezuru	22,195
Korekore	6,497
Ɔudya	3,000

Note.—In the Mangwendi Reserve are Zezuru-speakers of the Nohwe dialect ; in the Fungwi Reserve, Korekore of the Pfungwe dialect ; Maramba Reserve, has Korekore and a few Ɔudya ; Uzumba Reserve has Zezuru and Ɔudya.

31. Mazoe District.²—Total population, 17,776 :—

Chiweshe Reserve	13,593
Bushu Reserve	2,460
Alienated Lands and Towns	1,723

Language Distribution :—

Zezuru	16,568
Korekore	1,208

32. Salisbury District.³—Total population, 25,653 :—

Seki Reserve	6,707
Chindamora Reserve	6,291
Chikwakwa Reserve	3,842
Msana Reserve	3,675
Kunzwi Reserve	1,040
Chinyika Reserve	642
Alienated Lands	3,268
Towns	188

¹ Information per W. E. Edwards (N.C. Mrewa).

² Information per R. I. M. Kelly (A.N.C. Mazoe), J. G. Roberts (A.N.C. Bindura), and H. A. Ling (Shamva).

³ Information per E. J. Woollacott (Salisbury).

Language Distribution :—

Total population is Zezuru-speaking.

Note.—In Seki Reserve are found the Harava ; in Chindamora Reserve, the Sawafa ; in Kunzwi Reserve are the Tsunga, who are similar to those in Marandellas under Chief Nyandoro ; in Chinyika Reserve are both Gova and Sawafa.

33. Hartley District.¹—Total population, 11,574 :—

Mondoro Reserve	11,074
Alienated Lands	500

Language Distribution :—

Total population is Zezuru-speaking.

Note.—Gatooma sub-district is concerned almost exclusively with non-indigenous native labourers.

34. Gwelo District.²—Total population, 25,000 :—

Lower Gwelo Reserve	4,612
Que Que Reserve	3,372
Alienated Lands	10,846
Crown Lands	1,650
Towns	4,520

Language Distribution :—

This district contains extremely mixed elements both as to tribe and language. The Lower Gwelo Reserve contains Humbe (of Lilima origin), Sangwe, Ndebele, and Rozi. Que Que Reserve is composed of Govera, Rozi, Sangwe, and Hera. On the Crown Lands and in the towns are quite a number of domiciled aliens. It has been difficult to allot the distribution, but the following is the result of various inquiries :—

Karanga	1,500
Sangwe	1,672
Zezuru	1,500
Miscellaneous Shona	11,962
Ndebele-speakers	5,500
Aliens	2,866

35. Charter District.³—Total population, 52,570 :—

Charter	29,660
Buhera	22,910

¹ Information per Native Department, Hartley, and A. G. Yardley (A.N.C. Gatooma).

² Information per T. M. Thomas (N.C. Gwelo).

³ Information per J. W. Posselt (N.C. The Range) and R. Tapson (A.N.C. Buhera).

Language Distribution :—

	Zezuru.	Tonga.	Karanga.	Hungwe.	Misc. Shona.	Aliens.	Total.
Charter	29,590					70	29,660
Buhera	18,374	3,359	267	245	665		22,910
Charter	47,964	3,359	267	245	665	70	52,570

Note.—The Zezuru figures include Njanja and Hera from Charter, and Njanja (11,441), Hera (5,019), and Nobvu (1,914) from Buhera. The Hungwe are “tembo” in the Buhera district. The Miscellaneous Shona include Rozi in the Buhera District. The Tonga are allied to the Ndaui.

36. Marandellas District.¹—Total population, 32,288 :—

Shiota Reserve	17,343
Soshwe Reserve	2,966
Wedza Reserve	10,188
Crown Lands	538
Alienated Lands	1,215
Mines	38

Language Distribution :—

Zezuru	27,950
Miscellaneous Shona	4,338

Note.—Shiota Reserve contains Zezuru with certain Suda and Manyika elements who now speak Zezuru. Soshwe Reserve is made up of Mbire with a few Nohwe. Wedza Reserve contains Mbire (6,188) and Rozi (4,000), who have practically lost their original tongue. On the Crown Lands are some 338 Remba, who have practically lost their original tongue, and are reckoned amongst the Miscellaneous Shona.

37. Makoni District.²—Total population, 32,214 :—

Weya Reserve	2,499
Chikore Reserve	882
Chiduku Reserve	16,131
Makoni Reserve	6,661

¹ Information per F. W. T. Posselt (N.C. Marandellas).

² Information per H. N. Hemans (N.C. Makoni).

Alienated Lands	5,516
Crown Lands	525
Language Distribution :—	
Zezuru (Nohwe)	499
budyā	600
Hungwe	25,372
Manyika	1,661
Miscellaneous Shona	3,800
Non-Shona	282

Note.—Weya Reserve is composed mostly of Hungwe with a few Nohwe ; Chikore Reserve of budyā and Barwe, the latter of whom are non-Shona ; in Chiduku Reserve the majority are Hungwe, with nearly 4,000 Rozi who are practically Hungwe-speakers now ; Makoni Reserve is predominantly Hungwe, with a few Manyika.

38. Inyanga District.¹—Total population, 27,415 :—

Native Reserves	8,897
Crown Lands	7,360
Alienated Lands	11,158

Language Distribution :—

Manyika	19,500
Barwe	7,700
Hungwe	215

Note.—Among the Manyika are included some 4,500 Unyama. The Barwe, who are non-Shona, include Wesa (3,000) and Taamngwena (1,200). The Barwe live in the North-Eastern borders of the district and are intruders from the Barue district of Portuguese East Africa. The Wesa and Taamngwena are in the Inyanga North Reserve. The Unyama are in Inyanga Reserve, and the Manyika are found in the Nyamarona District, and in the Inyanga, Manga, and Manyika Reserves.

39. Umtali District.²—Total population, 29,491 :—

Mutasa Reserve	1,039
Mutasa North Reserve	1,439
Jenya Reserve	112
Zimunya Reserve	2,341
Marankē Reserve	6,080

¹ Information per W. S. Bazeley (N.C. Umtali).

² Information per W. S. Bazeley (N.C. Umtali).

Crown Lands	332
Alienated Lands	17,591
Towns, Mines, etc.	557

Language Distribution :—

Manyika	10,841
Jindwi	9,320
Ɔoca	6,850
Bvumba	1,250
Non-Shona	1,230

Note.—Zimunya's people are Jindwi, and Maranke's people are Ɔoca.

40. Melssetter District.¹—Total population, 40,863 :—

Mutema Reserve	3,562
Musikavantu Reserve	2,027
Mutambara Reserve	2,225
Ngorima Reserve	1,632
Mawushu Reserve	1,978
Crown Lands	14,824
Alienated Lands	14,457
Towns, etc.	158

Language Distribution :—

Ndau	31,363
Garwe	5,000
Hlengwe	4,500

41. Selukwe District.²—Total population, 20,150 :—

Native Reserves	11,000
Crown Lands	1,500
Alienated Lands	2,800
Towns and Mines	1,500

Language Distribution :—

Karanga	16,800
Ndebele	1,800
Domiciled Aliens	1,550

Note.—The Ndebele-speakers are found on Alienated Lands, and the domiciled aliens in Towns and Mines.

¹ Information per D. M. Powley (N.C. Chipinga).

² Information per P. van Broembsen (N.C. Selukwe).

42. Chilimanzi District.¹—Total population, 22,753 :—

Chilimanzi Reserve	12,302
Serima Reserve	4,215
Crown Lands	3,175
Alienated Lands	2,661
Towns, Mines, etc.	400

Language Distribution :—

With the exception of about 600 Zezuru in the northern portion, the whole district is Karanga-speaking.

43. Gutu District.²—Total population, 39,116 :—

Gutu Reserve	18,858
Chikwanda Reserve	13,930
Crown Lands	749
Alienated Lands	5,579

Language Distribution :—

Karanga	38,116
Tonga (Ndau)	1,000

Note.—The Karanga of this district is almost entirely of the Govera dialect.

44. Bikita District.³—Total population, 28,685 :—

Bikita Reserve	20,781
Sangwe Reserve	1,099
Matsai Reserve	1,615
Crown Lands	777
Alienated Lands	4,413

Language Distribution :—

Karanga	27,485
Tonga (Ndau)	450
Hlengwe	750

45. Victoria District.⁴—Total population, 34,002 :—

Victoria Reserve	7,954
Mtilikwi Reserve	3,761
Zimutu Reserve	3,858

¹ Information per C.N.C.'s Office.

² Information per F. E. Fynn (N.C. Gutu).

³ Information per H. N. Watters (N.C. Bikita).

⁴ Information per C. Bullock (then Superintendent of Natives, Fort Victoria).

Nyajena Reserve	3,192
Crown Lands	5,705
Towns, Mines, etc.	9,532
Language Distribution :—	
Karanga	33,102
Hlengwe	900

46. Ndanga District.¹—Total population, 30,502 :—

Ndanga Reserve	26,400
Ndanga East Reserve	600
Crown Lands	2,890
Alienated Lands	612

Language Distribution :—

Karanga	26,002
Hlengwe	4,500

47. Chibi District.²—Total population, 34,102 :—

Chibi Reserve	16,121
Lundi Reserve	3,472
Matibi No. 1 Reserve	4,032
Matibi No. 2 Reserve	1,466
Crown Lands	5,001
Alienated Lands	4,010

Language Distribution :—

Karanga	29,102
Hlengwe	5,000

Note.—The Hlengwe of Chibi are almost all in Nuanetsi sub-district.

48. Belingwe District.³—Total population, 36,990 :—

Belingwe Reserve	25,065
Lundi Reserve	6,290
Crown Lands	1,926
Alienated Lands	2,175
Towns, Mines, etc.	1,534

Language Distribution :—

Karanga	28,855
Ndebele	5,501

¹ Information per C.N.C.'s Office.

² Information per C.N.C.'s Office.

³ Information per Native Department, Belingwe.

Venda	1,100
Domiciled Aliens	1,534

49. Gwanda District.¹—Total population, 21,836 :—

Gwanda Reserve	2,050
Semokwe Reserve	200
Crown Lands	8,910
Alienated Lands	10,326
Towns, Mines, etc.	350

Language Distribution :—

Karanga	3,500
Hlengwe	1,000
Suto-speakers (including Birwa)	7,500
Ndebele-speakers (including Nyufi, and Rozi)	5,500
Venda-speakers (including Mbedzi)	4,336

50. Insiza District.²—Total population, 17,853 :—

Insiza Reserve	1,910
Crown Lands	6,596
Alienated Lands	7,700
Towns, Mines, etc.	1,287

Language Distribution :—

Ndebele-speakers	12,853
ZeZuru	2,000
Karanga	3,000

Note.—The ZeZuru and Karanga elements belong to a number of sub-tribes residing on De Beer's Ranch under Chief Mazetese. Among the Ndebele-speakers are Rozi and Leya, who have lost their own original languages.

51. Mzingwane District.³—Total population, 9,515 :—

Mzingwane Reserve	176
Crown Lands	170
Alienated Lands	9,069
Towns, Mines, etc.	100

¹ Information per E. H. Beck (Acting N.C. Gwanda), and estimated language distribution per F. A. Yates (Civil Service Board).

² Information per G. G. B. Woods (N.C. Insiza).

³ Information per A. L. Jones (N.C. Mzingwane).

Language Distribution :—

Ndebele	7,515
Nyuŋi (and Rozi)	2,000

52. Matobo District.¹—Total population, 22,025 :—

Shashani Reserve	6,973
Matobo Reserve	4,382
Crown Lands	3,433
Alienated Lands	6,659
Towns, Mines, etc.	578

Language Distribution :—

Ndebele-speakers	16,025
Nyuŋi.	6,000

Note.—These figures are according to the old district delimitation. The Nyuŋi people are mostly bilingual, and the younger folk are fast discarding their mother tongue in favour of Ndebele.

53. Bulalima-Mangwe District.²—Total population, 47,450 :—

Nata Reserve	22,502
Mphoeng's Reserve	2,338
Raditladi Reserve	1,816
Semokwe Reserve	3,832
Crown Lands	8,494
Alienated Lands	8,468

Language Distribution :—

Kalanga-speakers :

Kalanga	18,980	} 26,098
Lilima	6,406	
Talahundra	712	

Ndebele-speakers :

Ndebele	2,610	} 15,895
Nyai	6,168	
Nambzya	4,033	
Leya	3,084	

Suto-Chwana-speakers :

Suto	3,085	} 5,457
Kurutzi	1,423	
Mangwato	949	

¹ Information per H. M. G. Jackson (C.N.C.) and W. R. Benzies (N.C. Fort Usher).

² Information per R. Lanning (N.C. Plumtree).

Note.—It must be pointed out that in the opinion of the Native Commissioner and others these figures are far too low for the district. The Native Commissioner's own estimate puts the total at over 70,000.

54. Bulawayo District.¹—Total population, 8,596 :—

Crown Lands	46
Alienated Lands	4,850
Towns, Mines, etc.	3,700
Language Distribution :—	
Ndebele	8,096
Miscellaneous Shona	500

55. Nyamandhlovu District.²—Total population, 15,872 :—

Gwaai Reserve	4,714
Crown Lands	2,100
Alienated Lands	9,058
Language Distribution :—	
Kalanga-speakers	3,555
Nambzya	2,381
Ndebele-speakers	8,349
Tonga (Middle Zambesi)	1,587

Note.—The following is the numerical distribution (roughly) according to tribes : Lilima 10 per cent, Tonga 10 per cent, Leya 10 per cent, Nambzya 15 per cent, Kalanga 25 per cent, and Nyai 30 per cent ; but the Nyai and Leya are Ndebele-speakers in this district, as are also many of the Kalanga and Lilima.

56. Bubi District.³—Total population, 29,994 :—

Inyati Reserve	560
Ntabazinduna Reserve	2,107
Shangani Reserve	10,202
Crown Lands	3,570
Alienated Lands (including Queen's Kraal and Fingoe Location)	10,558
Towns, Mines, etc.	2,997
Language Distribution :—	
Ndebele	29,000
Tonga (Middle Zambesi)	994

¹ Information per C.N.C.'s Office.

² Information per J. S. Harris (N.C. Nyamandhlovu).

³ Information per S. W. Greer (N.C. Inyati).

Note.—Among the Ndebele are numbers of Nyai and Rozi, who have lost their mother tongues.

57. Summary of Statistics.—From the statistical table given in Appendix III (b) it is seen that the total for the various Shona groups is 699,667, while that for the Ndebele-speakers is only 116,034. There are also in the Territory 15,053 Tongas belonging to the North Rhodesia tribe of that name, 23,372 belonging to the Chikunda, Barwe, and Tonga sections of the Sena group, 16,650 Hlengwes connected with the Ronga of Delagoa Bay, 5,436 Vendas who have come in from the Transvaal, and 12,957 belonging to the Suto-Chwana Group, besides some 7,250 domiciled aliens of various tribes.

It has already been stated that these figures are based upon a calculation of $3\frac{1}{2}$ times male taxpayers. If the calculation is made at the rate of 4 times male taxpayers the result, I consider, will be much nearer the correct figure. The result of this calculation is as follows :—

Total Native population of Southern Rhodesia	1,024,479
Total number of Ndebele-speakers	132,610
Total number of Shona-speakers	799,619

The following is the tabulation of Shona-speakers in Rhodesia, Portuguese East Africa, and Bechuanaland :—

	Southern Rhodesia. ¹	P.E.A.	Bechuanaland.	Total.
Korekore	135,291	35,000		170,291
Zezuru	188,003			188,003
Karanga	271,865			271,865
Manyika	86,005	27,204		113,209
Ndau	47,054	98,173		145,227
Kalanga	44,746		15,000	59,746
Miscellaneous	26,655			26,655
	799,619	160,377	15,000	974,996

These are the figures for 1928. It may safely be reckoned that the Shona-speaking people number fully a million by now. In considering the importance of the language position of these people in Rhodesia, it must be noted that there are more than six times as many Shona-speakers as there are Ndebele-speakers. I shall allude to this aspect again later.

¹ Figures increased at ratio of 4 to $3\frac{1}{2}$.

LANGUAGE-GROUPS AND DIALECTS

58. The Boundaries of the Shona Area.—Referring to Map No. 1, it is seen at a glance that almost the whole of the present territory of Southern Rhodesia, as well as a large portion of the Mozambique Company's territory must at one time have constituted a solid block of the Shona-speaking peoples. The irruption of the Matabele just over 100 years ago, meeting an earlier intrusion of Middle Zambesi Tonga from Northern Rhodesia, has served to cut off from the main body of the Shona the Western Group, which I have called the Kalanga Group. This hundred years' isolation has served to accentuate a radical difference between the Western Group and the main body, a difference which I have reason to believe was caused much earlier by an influence from the North, from the direction of Barotseland. The presence of the scattered groups of Leya point in this direction; and a study of them, their language¹ and culture, may go a good way towards explaining the riddle of the Rozi, and their relations, the Nambzya, the Nyai, the Kalanga, and the Lilima.

The main body of the Shona still occupies to a great extent the positions held at the time of the first visit of the Portuguese, over 400 years ago. To the evidence left by the Portuguese writers I shall allude later. The Shona are a typical Bantu group, almost completely surrounded by other Bantu types.

59. Sena Group.—On the north-east the Shona-speaking area is bounded by the Sena group of languages, which include the Chikunda, penetrating Rhodesia in the Darwin and Sipolilo Districts, the Nyungwe, who have strongly influenced Tavara speech in the district of Tete, the Barwe, living mostly in the Mozambique Company's territory, but also penetrating into the Inyanga district, the Tonga, found in considerable numbers in Mtoko District and especially over the Portuguese border, the Wesa and Taamngwena² in the north end of Inyanga District, and the Sena proper found along the Lower Zambesi and in the territory of the Mozambique Company.

60. Ila-Tonga Group.—On the north-west the boundary is the Zambesi River and the Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, who are linguistically and ethnically connected with the Ila (Mashukulumbwe) and Lenje. These Tonga have penetrated considerably into Southern Rhodesia, especially in the Sebungwe and Wankie Districts, but are also to be found in Bubi

¹ Still spoken on the Zambesi banks.

² I collected a vocabulary of Taamngwena at Umtali, and it distinctly belongs to the Sena Group.

and Nyamandhlovu. A small section of them in Wankie District along the Zambesi River are called Dombi.

61. Suto-Chwana Group.—On the south-west, the Kalanga Group touches upon various sections of the Suto-Chwana peoples, especially the Mangwato, Kurutsi, Suto, and Birwa, some 13,000 of whom are found to-day in the Bulalima-Mangwe and Gwanda Districts, having penetrated from Bechuanaland and the Transvaal. Scattered Bushmen¹ and mixed Bush peoples are found all along the south-western border.

62. Venda and Hlengwe.—To the south of the Shona area are found in the Belingwe and Gwanda Districts a small number of Venda, who have emigrated from the Transvaal. Between them and the true Karanga are the Karanga-speaking Pfumbi. In the south of the Chibi, Ndanga, and Melsetter Districts, and all south of the Sabi River to the coast are to be found the Hlengwe, who belong to the Thonga or Ronga Group of languages, best known at Delagoa Bay. Hlengwe are also found in small numbers in Bikita, Victoria, and Gwanda Districts.

63. The Shona in Portuguese East Africa.—In the Mozambique Company's Territory the Shona occupy all the country between the Sabi and the Pungwe Rivers, reaching the sea-coast.

64. Linguistic Classification of the Shona.—In this investigation I am not in any way concerned with the ethnic affinities of the various tribes and sub-tribes. Analyses of these have been published by Messrs. Posselt² and Bullock,³ whose works may be referred to. A comparison of the language map in this report and the ethnographic map published in Posselt's *Survey* will show that in very many cases ethnographic and linguistic considerations by no means coincide. I am concerned merely with the language spoken by the people.

It was not very difficult to identify the Shona-speakers as such. They have a unity of grammatical, phonetic, and vocabulary type which is at once striking, and their dialects are to a high degree mutually understood; though, as I have already intimated, the Western section has developed apart from the main sections to such an extent that it may be impossible to bring it into a scheme of literary unification. The northern section of the Tavara, too, through the influence of Nyungwe, has diverged considerably, especially in vocabulary, from the normal forms. With regard to the rest of the various dialects, I hope to show that there is no insuperable difficulty to their unification.

¹ Who, of course, are non-Bantu.

² F. W. T. Posselt, *A Survey of the Native Tribes of Southern Rhodesia*, Salisbury, 1927.

³ Charles Bullock, *The Mashona*, Juta and Co., Capetown, 1927.

The main points which bind into one language the many Shona dialects are the following :—

- (a) Underlying unity of vocabulary.
- (b) Common sharing of particular phonetic features :—
 - (i) Five vowel system.
 - (ii) Use of three significant tones.
 - (iii) Employment of “whistling fricatives”.
 - (iv) Phenomenon of velarization.
 - (v) Employment of implosives (this last does not apply to the Western Group).
- (c) Common sharing of particular grammatical features :—
 - (i) Monosyllabic noun prefixes.
 - (ii) Significant super-addition of prefixes to nouns.
 - (iii) Uniform tense system.
 - (iv) Single forms for “father” and “mother”.
 - (v) Decimal numeration.
 - (vi) Form of relative construction.
 - (vii) Vocalization of initial consonants of Stems in Class V singular.
 - (viii) Locative formation ; especially the non-inflexion of place-names.

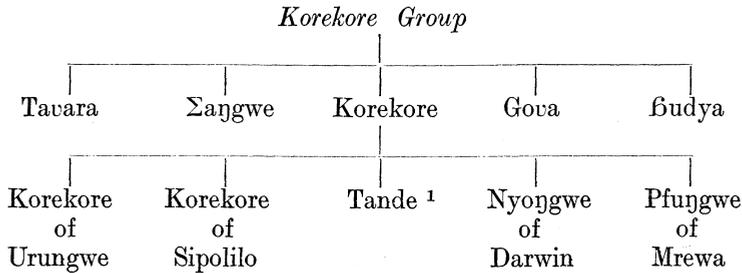
These are but some of the points briefly stated ; but they are sufficient to justify the grouping together of all the Shona dialects as but local exemplifications of one language.

65. The Main Divisions of the Shona.—Further, more minute considerations, mainly of vocabulary and phonetics, serve to divide the Shona into six main groups, as follows :—

- (i) Korekore Group.
- (ii) Zezuru Group.
- (iii) Karanga Group.
- (iv) Manyika Group.
- (v) Ndau Group.
- (vi) Kalanga Group.

It is not necessary here to discuss the vocabulary and phonetic differences which have to a great extent prompted this division, as reference to the comparative vocabularies (Appendix IV), and the phonetic analysis given later, will provide ample material. I shall now deal briefly with each of these groups and the dialects which are included in them.

66. **The Korekore Group.**—The following is the table of dialects :—



This group constitutes the “Northern Shona”. They stretch in a broad belt south of the Zambesi from longitude 28 almost to 33. A large extent of their territory being infected by tsetse fly, their numbers are not so great as one might expect from a glance at the map; nevertheless they total over 170,000. From the linguistic point of view, nothing whatever has been done in any of the dialects—they have contributed nothing to Shona literature.

67. **The Tavara** are found in the northern portion of Darwin District, in the Chiswiti Reserve, and mingled with true Korekore in the Chimanda Reserve. Most of the Tavara in Rhodesia have been heavily influenced in speech by Korekore. The bulk of these people, however, live in Portuguese territory in the District of Tete from the Rhodesian border to the Zambesi between longitudes 32 and 33. It is impossible to get accurate statistics, but they total in all probability nearly 45,000 in the two territories. A comparison of the two Tavara vocabularies, given in Appendix IV, will reveal in that from Portuguese territory a strong Nyungwe influence. The Tavara may be looked on as a “buffer” between the Sena Group and the Shona Group. The Tavara were mentioned by Bocarro early in the seventeenth century when he wrote of ² “Antauara, the Kingdom of Chikuma” as a vassal kingdom to that of the Monomotapa.

68. **The Σangwe** live mainly in the Sebungwe District, but numbers of them are to be found in the Lower Gwelo Reserve and even in the Que Que Reserve. They claim ethnic connection with the Hera of Charter District,³ who are Zezuru-speaking; but linguistically the Σangwe decidedly belong to the Korekore Group. I noticed two clearly distinct linguistic sections of these people, a Northern and a Southern.

The Comparative Vocabulary illustrates these.

¹ Now living between the Kadzi and Musengedzi Rivers on the Portuguese border of Sipolilo District. Used to extend as far as the Dande River, from which they derived their name. I was unable to examine them as their territory was closed because of smallpox.

² Bocarro, *Decade*, chap. cxxiii; see Theal, *Records of South-East Africa*, vol. iii, p. 356.

³ This is confirmed by Bullock's statement (see *The Mashona*, p. 34).

69. The Korekore, who probably number 75,000, or nearly half of the group bearing that name, constitute an important section of the Shona. Owing to the way in which they are scattered over a large tract of country, much of which is in "fly" area and cattleless, it is only within the last few years that there have been any attempts at Missionary work, and hitherto no attempt has been made to work in the local dialect. Generally Zezuru, or even Manyika books are being employed. This is all to the good from the point of view of unifying the dialects; still it is to be hoped that Korekore will contribute in time its quota to the wealth of literary Shona. The Korekore proper are found mainly in Lomagundi and Darwin Districts, and also in Mrewa and to a slight extent in Mazoe. The dialects differ very slightly one from another, and it is generally considered that the "best Korekore" is heard in the Urungwe District.

70. The Gova are really a type of riverine Korekore, living below the Zambesi escarpments in Urungwe and north-east Sebungwe Districts. Bullock¹ states that the Korekore exercised the privilege of appointing chiefs over the Gova. There is the slightest sign of Middle Zambesi Tonga influence in their language, which otherwise is practically identical with that of the Korekore, though they employ the quinary system of numeration, as do also the Sangwe.

71. The Sudya, who show ethnic affinities² with the Tavara, from the linguistic standpoint, share features both of Korekore and Manyika: they seem to be a buffer between the two, but lean more strongly to the former. There are about 31,000 people belonging to this sub-tribe.

72. The Zezuru Group.—The following are the sub-dialects:—

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------|
| (1) Sawaja | (Salisbury). |
| (2) Harava | (Salisbury and Hartley). |
| (3) Gova | (Mazoe). |
| (4) Nohwe | (Mrewa and Marandellas). |
| (5) Hëra | (Charter). |
| (6) Njanja | (Charter). |
| (7) Mbire | (Marandellas). |
| (8) Nobvu | (Charter). |
| (9) Vakwācikwakwa | (Salisbury). |
| (10) Vakwazimba | (Lomagundi). |
| (11) Tsunga | (Salisbury and Marandellas). |

This group constitutes the "Central Shona", and Zezuru is spoken, with Salisbury as a centre, practically throughout the districts of Mrewa,

¹ *The Mashona*, p. 24, n. 3.

² One noticeable sign is the wearing by the women of a similar type of brass lip clip.

Mazoe, Salisbury, Hartley, Charter, and Marandellas. Small numbers of Zezuru-speakers are found in several other districts, notably in Lomagundi. The Nyadzidzi River constitutes a fairly clean boundary between the Zezuru and Karanga areas on the south. To the north lie the Korekore, and to the east the Manyika. A glance at the Comparative Vocabulary¹ will show that there is scarcely any difference between the various lists recorded there. Naturally on the borderline a certain amount of mingling with the adjacent dialects is to be expected. At Macheke a mingling of Zezuru and the Hungwe dialect was noticeable. In the Zwimba Reserve, which used to be pure Zezuru, there are now mixed elements of Korekore and Zezuru, and both dialects are mutually understood. Similarly both Hera and Njanja contain elements of Karanga due to their borderland position. The Sawaja dialect may safely be considered as the purest Zezuru. The localities of these various types of Zezuru may be seen from the language map. In thus classifying Zezuru it must be emphasized that language and not ethnic considerations are governing, for the Hera people are ethnically connected with the Sangwe of Sebungwe, and the Njanja came originally from Portuguese East Africa near Beira,² while in the Marandellas district are numerous Budya and Manyika settlements,³ now entirely Zezuru-speaking. The Zezuru Group numbers about 188,000.

73. The Karanga Group.—The following are the sub-dialects :—

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) Duma | (Victoria, Bikita, and Ndanga). |
| (2) Jena | (Victoria). |
| (3) Mari | (Chibi, Belingwe, and Selukwe). |
| (4) Govera | (Gutu, Chilimanzi, and Victoria). |
| (5) Dgova or Gova | (Selukwe). |
| (6) Nyufi | (Mzingwane, Matobo, and Gwanda). |

This is the largest and most compact of all the Shona Groups, and numbers over 270,000. From the point of view of phonetics and vocabulary, however, the Karanga Group shows much greater internal differences than do the various dialects of Zezuru. The Govera dialect, for instance, is really more akin to typical Zezuru in those two respects than it is to, say, the Mari dialect, but for grammatical as well as traditional reasons, it is necessary to classify Govera as a Karanga dialect, and consider it as a "buffer" between the two groups. Karanga may be considered the "Southern Group" of Shona. Its most typical dialect is Duma, and most of the publication works put out by the Morgenster Mission have used that or Jena, which differs very little from it. In the Bikita District are found

¹ Appendix IV.

² Though Bullock (p. 29, note) states they are descendants of the Chikunda.

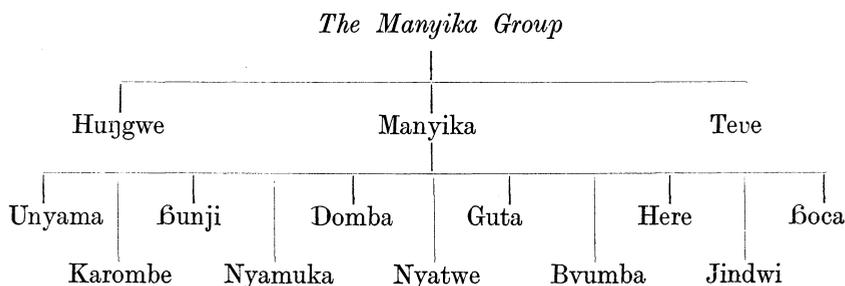
³ See Posselt's *Survey of the Native Tribes of Southern Rhodesia*, p. 10, note 18.

certain Rozi speakers, though they are fast losing their own speech in favour of Karanga. The Mari dialect, widespread as it is, constitutes an extreme type of Karanga, employs a special diminutive class of nouns with prefixes *ši-vu-*, and necessitates the introduction into the alphabet of the symbol *ǰ* in combination with *w*. The Nyubi, cut off in isolated islands by the Matabele, still speak, in many places, a Karanga dialect almost identical with Mari. In the extreme south-west corner of Belingwe District the tribes become very mixed; Karanga, Ndebele, and Venda elements are all found, as are also settlements of Remba, evidently of Swahili origin.

The outstanding features which especially distinguish Karanga from the other Shona Groups are :—

- (1) Use of monosyllabic nouns, e.g. *bge* for *ibge*.
- (2) Use of *ǰ* for *Zezuru nz*.
- (3) Consistent employment of the bi-labial fricative.
- (4) General avoidance of the *ka-tu-* diminutive class.
- (5) Vocabulary.

74. The Manyika Group.—The following is the table of dialects :—



As far as Rhodesia is concerned the group is located in the Makoni, Inyanga, and Umtali Districts. The Hungwe people are almost entirely confined to the Makoni District, while the various sub-dialects of Manyika are found mainly in the other two districts. The Teve, as well as most of the Bvumba section of the Manyika, are located in Portuguese territory. The total number of Manyika-speakers I estimate at about 113,000. The main feature of the group, a feature which is not shared, however, by Teve, foca, and Jindwi, is the substitution of the semi-vowel *w* for the bi-labial fricative *v* or denti-labial semi-vowel *β*. This feature has probably been influenced from the Barwe section of the Sena Group, and similar influence is noticeable in the *šudya* dialect of the Korekore Group.

75. The Hungwe do not claim any real connection with the Manyika, but linguistically they belong to the same group. They show close affinity

in language with the Guta of Mutasa, but do not distinguish **kh** from **k**. Their separate tribal identity goes back a considerable time, for Bocarro ¹ in the early seventeenth century mentions "Maungo, of which Macone is King", as being a vassal kingdom to the Monomotapa.

76. The Manyika, in a comparatively small area, are represented by a multiplicity of dialects. Guta of Penhalonga represents the speech of the people of Mutasa, and in this dialect most of the literary work has been done. Jindwi and Soca, spoken respectively in the Zimunya and Maranke Reserves to the south of Umtali, share certain of the features of Ndau, owing to their proximity to the Garwe people. Here, akin to Jindwi, is spoken around Umtali. The Unyama ² formed originally a branch of the Barwe, but no longer retain any linguistic connection with them. Karombe constitutes the "peak language" of Manyika, being least influenced by surrounding tribes. With Karombe are closely associated Sunji, Nyamuka (at Trias Hill), Domba, and Nyatwe. That Karombe has retained its purity is probably due to the mountainous locality, which better resisted incursions. A Karombe-speaker termed the Hungwe and Guta people "Watonga". Among the noticeable features of Karombe are: (1) The substitution of the prefix **ji-** (plur. **zi-**) for the more commonly found Shona prefix **ci-**; (2) the use of **mazi** for "water", **-asu** and **-anu** for the possessives **-edu** and **-enyu**, and **maso** and **manyo** for the plurals of **ziso** and **zinyo**; and (3) the common substitution of **ts** for Guta **s**, e.g. **Batsa** for **Sasa**.

77. The Teve show affinities both to Manyika and to Ndau, but are more closely associated with the former than with the latter. Their domain has evidently shrunk in recent years, and despite the gross exaggeration of Manuel Barretto, ³ they must have occupied a much larger area than they do now; and Captain Pedro Barreto de Rezende wrote ⁴ in 1635, "The King of the coast of Sofala is called Quiteve . . . He was subject to the Monomotapa, but being under our protection he has almost come to refuse him any obedience." To-day they number some 16,000, mostly located in the Moribane and Chimoio districts of the territory of the Mozambique Company.

78. The Ndau Group.—The following are the dialects:—

- (1) Ndau (Melsetter District, and in Mossurize, Moribane, Chimoio, Neves Ferreira, and Buzi Districts of P.E.A.)

¹ In his *Decade*, chap. cxxiii; see Theal, *Records of South-East Africa*, vol. iii, p. 355.

² Information per W. S. Bazeley.

³ In his "Report upon the State and Conquest of the Rivers of Cuama," 1667 (Theal, *Records*, vol. iii, p. 487), he writes: "Below Manica and Butua, towards the sea and the Cape of Good Hope, extends the great Kingdom of Quiteve, which all the land obeys as far as the Cape and throughout the Interior."

⁴ In "Of the State of India," Theal, *Records*, vol. ii, p. 405.

- (2) Tonga (Charter, Gutu, and Bikita.)
- (3) Garwe (Melsetter.)
- (4) Danda (Mossurize and Sofala, P.E.A.)
- (5) Σαγγα (Buzi, Beira, Sofala, Chiloane, Govuro, and Neves Ferreira, P.E.A.)

The Ndaú Group totals about 145,000, of whom under one-third reside in Rhodesia and over two-thirds in Portuguese territory. This group is distinguished by some definite phonetic phenomena, which are exaggerated in the "peak dialect" of Ndaú, where aspiration of affricates, as well as of explosives, is used semantically. The use of an unvoiced aspirate after the voiced explosives **h** and **d** is another noticeable feature. The Ndaú dialect comprises about 60,000 speakers, and into their vocabulary is quite a noticeable infiltration of Zulu following the conquest of Gungunhana. The Garwe of the Mutambara Reserve are a buffer folk between the Ndaú and the Manyika and retain features of each, though definitely more biased towards the Ndaú. The Tonga are very few in numbers and live in the "Mopani veld" on the western side of the Sabi Valley. The Danda, who live mostly between the Buzi and the Sabi Rivers, as well as the Σαγγα, who are the coastal Shona, have the feature of employing **l** very commonly, in place of **r**. It is remarkable that this phonetic feature is found among the extreme western group of Shona as well. Both the Danda and the Σαγγα have occupied their present territory for several hundred years, being mentioned as belonging to the same locality in early Portuguese records. A distinctive type of vocabulary marks the Ndaú Group, and there appears to be greater divergence here from typical Shona than with any of the four groups, Korekore, Zezuru, Karanga, or Manyika.

79. The Kalanga Group.—This, the Western Group of Shona, is comprised of the following :—

- (1) Nyai.
- (2) Nambzya.
- (3) Rozi.
- (4) Kalanga.
- (5) Talahundra.
- (6) Lilima or Humbe.
- (7) Peri.

The whole group, though definitely belonging to the Shona, has evidently been strongly influenced from the north, and it is very questionable whether it can be brought into the scheme of unification which is proposed in this report. The Rozi¹ are now scattered in small communities throughout

¹ See Posselt's *Survey of the Native Tribes of S. Rhodesia*, p. 11, and for a more detailed account his *Mambo and his Court* (Argus, Salisbury, 1923).

Southern Rhodesia, their language still being spoken by the old people of Jiri's country near Bikita. In the other districts, notably Gwanda, Belingwe, Gwelo, Makoni, Wedza, Bubi and Sebungwe, where they occur, the people speak the local language, whether it be Zezuru, Hungwe, Karanga, or Ndebele. The Nyai were very closely related to, if not identical with, the Rozi. I was informed¹ that there are still a few old people² who speak "Cinyai, the Kalanga dialect", which existed before the Ndebele invasion. The present Nyai, living in the Bubi, Nyamandhlovu, and Bulalima-Mangwe districts, however, speak Ndebele. Francisco de Souza wrote in 1710 of the "famous Reino de Munhay ou da Mocrange, as they are ordinarily called by the Portuguese". It is possible that the "Kingdom of Munyai" and "Rozwi Empire" are synonymous terms, and that that was what existed with Monomotapa at the head when the Portuguese first came into contact. The Monomotapa was called Mambo,³ a term for chief not used by the present Karanga but by the Korekore, Zezuru, Manyika, Ndau, and Rozi.

The Nambzya, commonly called Nanzwa or Nambya, were an offshoot of the Nyai, and are found in Wankie and Nyamandhlovu districts. Those in Bulalima-Mangwe district are now all Ndebele-speakers. One of the peculiarities of the Nambzya dialect was the use of an initial *i-* with words of Class IV, e.g. *ivura* "water" and *injiri* "wart-hog". Another feature was the presence of palatalized consonants.

At present the most important member of the group, with a population probably exceeding 30,000, is Kalanga. This is spoken in the Bulalima-Mangwe and Nyamandhlovu districts of Southern Rhodesia, and to a certain extent in Bechuanaland Protectorate. The features which it shares in common with the other members of the group, differentiating them sharply from the main body of the Shona, are: (1) Absence of implosive consonants; (2) substitution of *l* for *r*; (3) an intricate method of indicating the possessive stem for Class I singular⁴; (4) unique form of prefix for Class II; (5) somewhat divergent vocabulary. Kalanga further differentiates itself phonetically from the other dialects of the same group by using *h* for *ɟ* and *fi* (voiced-*h*) for *ʒ*, a change which creates a remarkable difference in pronunciation.

The Lilima, or Humbe as they are sometimes called, are found in the Bulalima-Mangwe and Nyamandhlovu districts, but many are in the Tati-Concession and Khama's Country. The Peri of Nswazwi in Khama's Country are a branch of the Lilima. With the Talahundra, a small clan

¹ By Cheza (Non-S. 6).

² I was unable to get in touch with any of these.

³ See Dos Santos, "Ethiopia Oriental," 1609, in *Therl, Records*, vol. vii, p. 288.

⁴ See Vocabulary, Appendix IV.

numbering less than 1,000, situated some ten miles south of Plumtree, the Lilima share the peculiarity of pronouncing the nasal combination **nd** with a lingual fricative slur following, resembling the Southern English sound of **r**. Lilima has also certain other phonetic peculiarities, including Aspirated Consonants.

AN OUTLINE OF SHONA PHONETICS

80. The Necessity for correct Phonetic Data.—Having before us the details of the tribes and sub-tribes involved, their geographical distribution, their populations and their group relationships, exact data concerning their individual pronunciations are essential before a discussion upon unifying the orthography is at all possible. It is upon the rock of insufficient or incorrect data that many an orthography conference has suffered shipwreck. It is impossible to argue upon the representation in writing of sounds the nature of which is not understood, and personal opinions or the prejudices of long usage are valueless unless backed up by the certainty of recorded data. It is for this reason that the major part of my research in Rhodesia was occupied in collecting, recording, and comparing phonetic data. I hope, in a subsequent publication, to make available this detailed scientific study; but in this report I shall confine myself to a statement upon the sound-forms which occur, and only go into detail in a few cases where sounds, unaccustomed to the European ear, need a fuller demonstration and explanation. In order to make comparison and explanation possible, two things are necessary: (1) the employment of phonetic script in examples and descriptions, and (2) the choice of one dialect to act as a basis for the analysis.

81. Phonetic Script.—In the analysis of the Shona sounds I shall make use of the script of the International Phonetic Association, which aims at the principle of “one sound, one letter”, and avoids as far as possible the use of diacritic marks above or below letters to indicate differences of position and manner in production of the sounds indicated. I shall, however, make the analysis as simple as possible and avoid a very “narrow” transcription of the sounds. A glance at the Comparative Vocabularies in Appendix IV will show that a narrow transcription has been used there. The reason is that these same vocabularies are required for my more detailed work to be published later. A Key at the commencement of the Vocabularies indicates the significance of the special symbols used therein. It must be stated here that the script used in this analysis is only used for the sake of recording as exactly as possible the data necessary for any orthographic decision: it is not necessarily the script which will be recommended for the new Shona orthography. Where the International Phonetic Association

has not made provision for special sounds used in Southern Rhodesia, special symbols have had to be devised.

82. A Dialect for the Main Analysis.—For the main phonetic analysis I have chosen Zezuru, not because I consider it to be of greater importance than any of the others—Karanga is to my mind the most important of the Shona dialects—but because of certain features it presents. Firstly, in its phonetics, it represents practically every phenomenon that will be necessary to consider in the alphabet for the Unified Shona. Secondly, there is practically no variation in Zezuru pronunciation throughout the whole area, i.e. it represents a phonetic unity spoken by some 188,000 people. Karanga, spoken by a considerably larger number of people, shows important variance in phonetic type between Govera, Duma, and Mari, for instance, and would be more difficult to treat of as an entity; from a strictly phonetic point of view Govera might well be added to the Zezuru Group. Thirdly, Zezuru stands in a central position useful for comparison with the Northern, Southern, and Eastern groups of Shona.

83. Phonetic Analysis of Zezuru.—Speech sounds in Zezuru, as used in ordinary grammatical speech,¹ may be divided into the two categories of Vowels and Consonants. The former are very simple and straightforward throughout Shona, but it is in the latter that numerous difficulties to the European speaker are encountered. What is said with regard to the Zezuru vowels will hold good for all the various Shona dialects.

84. Zezuru Vowels.—The Shona dialects all employ a five-vowel system in ordinary speech, and Zezuru is typical of this. The five vowels are *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, and *u*. But these vowels must not be compared in their pronunciation to English. In the first place each vowel is pure, that is to say, it is not diphthongized as are most of the vowels in Southern English. In Zezuru the tongue- and lip-positions taken up for the commencement of the vowel are maintained throughout its enunciation: there is no slurring from one position to another.

i pronounced as *i* in French or Italian, or as the first element of the diphthongized vowel in the English word “feet”. In Zezuru the lips are well spread.

Ex.: **rurimi** (tongue)

e has a sound value and tongue-position almost midway between those *fó*: the phonetic *e* and *ε* as heard in French, Italian, and such Bantu languages as Zulu. In Zezuru this sound does not vary in quality: some persons think they hear two varieties, but their

¹ I.e. excluding phenomena found in exclamation and onomatopoeia.

impression is solely due to the association of the vowel with different Consonants and varying stresses or tones.

Ex. : **ndebvu** (beard)
kuḡereka (to give birth)
iwe (thou)

a in Zezuru is pronounced with a fairly forward tongue-position, not as far forward as in Scotch or French ; but it is not a back vowel, and its nearest European counterpart is probably found in Italian, or in the first element of the English diphthong in the word " high ".

Ex. : **zana** (hundred)
kuḡaṭa (to grasp)

o is a parallel example to that of **e**. The vowel is pure, having practically the Italian value of **o** (as in " ecco "), but with a lower tongue-position than for the Northern English as in " No ". Here again Zezuru has only one quality of **o**, and surrounding circumstances have caused many to think that there is also a fully-open type.

Ex. : **gomo** (hill)
rukofa (stream)

u pronounced as in French and Italian, with fully rounded lips.

Ex. : **mumo** (in there)
munfu (person)

85. Diphthongs.—Investigation has shown that Zezuru employs two diphthongs, **ou** and **ai**, but these are not significant. Oftentimes, especially when emphasis is required, the vowels are pronounced separately, each forming a syllable. With some speakers this latter pronunciation is consistently followed. Examples of this are : **mou**¹ (ostrich), **nzou** (elephant), **mai** (mother), **fai** (stop it). The imperative plural **-ai** is never diphthongized, though it is not pronounced forcibly enough to be indicated by **-aji**, e.g. **endai** (go ye !).

86. Zezuru Consonants.—Zezuru Consonants, as is seen from the Chart,² may be divided into two types : " Plain Consonants " and " Velarized Consonants ". The term " plain " is convenient to use for consonants each of which is composed of a single phone element or a homorganic³ combination of elements. The velarized consonants, as will be explained later, are generally combinations which are not homorganic.

¹ Or **mfiou**.

² Appendix V, No. 1.

³ That is, each element of the combination is formed by the same organs of speech.

The Consonantal Chart is of two dimensions. The horizontal columns show the manner in which the sounds are produced. The vertical columns show the position taken up by the organs of speech for the production of the sounds.

Bi-labial indicates that the two lips are used in the production of the sound.

Denti-labial indicates that the upper front teeth are against the lower lip.

Dental indicates that the tongue tip touches or approximates to the upper front teeth.

Alveolar indicates that the tongue-tip touches or approximates to the alveolus or gum-ridge behind the teeth.

Alveolar labialized sounds are formed as alveolar sounds, but with an accompanying extreme lip rounding which gives them almost a whistling effect.

Prepalatal indicates that the front (not tip) of the tongue is against that part of the palate which is between the gum-ridge and the true hard palate.

Velar indicates that the back of the tongue is against the soft palate or velum.

Glottal sounds are modified in the throat.

Explosives are formed by momentary complete closure of the air-passage; the air is compressed and, on release, issues suddenly with explosion.

Implosives are also formed by a closure of the air-passage, but instead of the air being compressed, it is rarified by a lowering of the larynx, and, on release, a momentary inrush of air or implosion takes place. This phenomenon will be explained more fully presently.

Nasals are formed by a complete closure in the mouth, the velum being lowered so that the air passes out through the nose only.

The *Rolled* Consonant is formed by a rapid succession of taps made automatically by the tongue-tip on the gum-ridge.

Fricatives are formed by narrowing the air-passage between the articulating organs, so that the air issues with audible friction or hissing.

Affricates are formed as explosive consonants, but with a slower separation of the articulatory organs, so that the corresponding (or homorganic) fricative sound is audible as this separation takes place. There are therefore two homorganic elements in each affricate.

The *Semi-Vowels* are formed with the tongue and lips in the position for vowels, but the articulating organs are held so tensely that consonantalization foreign to the vowels takes place.

On the Chart two lines each are shown for explosives, fricatives and affricates. Of these the upper line gives unvoiced consonants, and the lower

line voiced consonants. Each of the lines for implosives, nasals, the rolled consonant, and semi-vowels indicates voiced consonants. *Unvoiced* or *breathed* consonants are pronounced without accompanying vibration of the vocal chords. *Voiced* consonants are pronounced with accompanying vibration of the vocal chords.

87. The Explosives.—Zezuru uses the three unvoiced explosives **p**, **t**, and **k**. Each is pronounced with very slight aspiration¹ as in English, but **t** in Zezuru has a somewhat more forward position of the tongue which touches the teeth with most speakers.²

With the voiced forms **b**, **d**, and **g** there is practically no difference from the corresponding pronunciations in English. It must be observed that nasal consonants are never used with the unvoiced explosives, but always with the voiced, in the forms **mb**, **nd**, and **ng**.

In Zezuru explosive **b** and **d**, apart from their use in the homorganic compounds **mb**, **nd**, **bv**, and **dz**, and in the velarized forms **bg** and **dyw**, are not as commonly used as the implosives **ɓ** and **ɗ**. Nevertheless **b** and **d** occur frequently in words imported mainly from English and Dutch, and in a limited number of Zezuru words, many of which are onomatopoeic in origin.

88. Examples of b.—

(i) Importations :

mabuku	(books)
burukwa	(trousers, < Dut. broek)
biza ³	(horse)
banana	(banana)
bodzgera	(bottle)
batjke	(jacket, < Dutch baatji)
bandi	(belt)
bara	(write, < Zulu).

(ii) Onomatopoeic words :

kuti ba ba ba	} to pat on the back
kubabadza	
kuti bu	(to fall as a ball, to blāze up)

¹ Audible rush of air succeeding the explosion.

² I am not giving lists illustrating sounds which do not need special explanation or argument.

³ In Shona **mbizi** is used for "zebra". European pioneers corrupted this to **biza**, and the natives, in their turn, took the corruption of the European and applied it to the imported "horse".

kubururuka (to fly)
 brrr . . . (cry of a sheep).

(iii) Zezuru words :

kubisa (to remove)
 kudabuka (to rebound)
 kubaruka (to get torn)
 kudebuka (to sway)
 banfire (skin belt with pouches)
 bošo (trumpet)
 dibu }
 dibura } (noose and pole trap).

(iv) Examples of **mb** (e.g. **famba**, travel), **bv** (e.g. **bvunza**, ask), and **bg** (e.g. **ibge**, stone) are commonly found, so I do not give a list here.

89. Examples of **d**.—

(i) dibi (dip-tank)
 dina (dinner)
 daka (mud, < Zulu).

(ii) Onomatopoeic words :

kudirima (to thunder)
 kuti du (to snap, of string)
 kuti da (to stretch, of rope)
 kuti da da da (to wobble along).

(iii) Zezuru words :

madabgadabga (thin mud)
 kudanaira (to toddle)
 kudededza (to toddle)
 madananga (stilts)
 dipña (noose trap)
 dumukwa (water-buck)
 dimba (species of small bird)
 dada (duck).

(iv) Examples of **nd**, (e.g. **enda**, go) and **dz** (e.g. **mukadzi**, wife) are commonly found, so I do not give a list here.

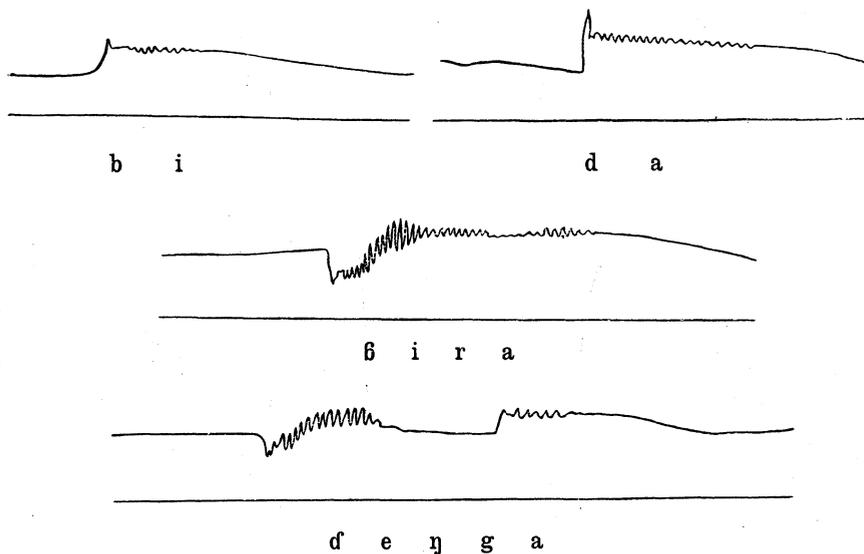
90. The Implosives.—Hitherto the existence of implosive consonants has not been recognized in the dialects of the Shona Group.¹ Nevertheless

¹ Except by me in an analysis of Manyika in 1924, and a hint of such in Ndau by Professor Daniel Jones. See Doke, *Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, Appendix II, p. 291.

the importance of distinguishing the explosives from the implosives in Shona cannot be over-emphasized.

(1) In the first place these two types of sound are not only different, but practically opposite in their manner of production. **b** and **d** are formed by a stoppage during emission of breath and the stoppage only serves to compress the air for a sudden plosion *outwards*. On the other hand, **ɓ** and **ɗ** are produced by a stoppage during which a rarefaction is formed by the enlargement of the air passage above the larynx, by moving the larynx down; so that on releasing the stoppage, instead of there being pent-up air forced outwards, there is a momentary inrush of air to fill the rarefied space, and the plosion is *inwards*. Implosive **ɓ** and **ɗ** may be considered practically as inverted **b** and **d**. An examination of the Kymograph tracings, given hereunder, shows clearly that in the case of the explosives the stylo is "kicked" violently upwards, while in the case of the implosives the stylo is "sucked" downwards before the succeeding vowel is pronounced. Implosives are in fact a type of click.

Kymograph Tracings¹ Comparing Explosive with Implosive Consonants

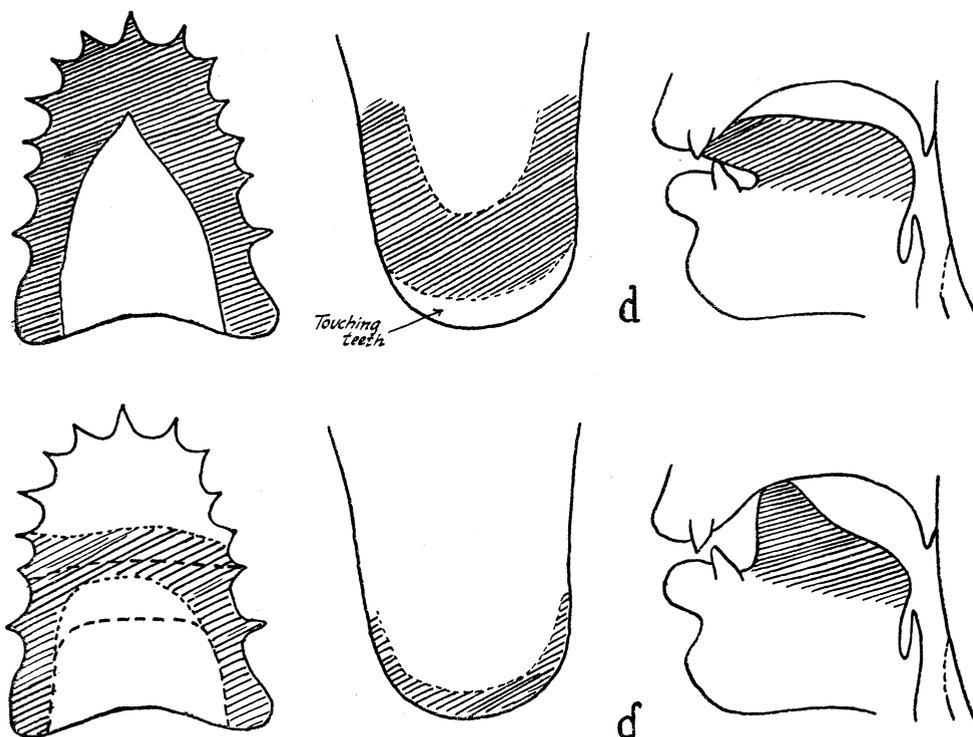


(2) In the second place, to the native ear, the two types of sound are absolutely different. The native does not naturally associate **ɓ** with **b** or **ɗ** with **d**. These differences, being foreign to the European ear, are not naturally so noticeable to the European. In the same way the Bantu,

¹ These examples are taken from the Karanga dialect, pronounced by James Marumbuka (K. 11).

being accustomed to a limited range of vowels, do not readily distinguish between such words as "ship" and "sheep", which to the English ear are very different, and must be distinguished. To condone a European's use of **b** for **β** is equivalent to condoning the Bantu use of **l** for **r**—and examples of the mispronunciation of words like "rice", "broom", "bright", etc., are classical. In providing an orthography for educational use we dare not confuse such important distinguishing sounds.

(3) In the third place the tongue-position for the formation of **ɖ** differs radically from that for the formation of **d**. **d** is distinctly dental in most of the dialects, whereas **ɖ** is always alveolar, and with some speakers is pronounced extremely far back on the hard palate. The following palatographs¹ of Zezuru **d** and **ɖ** will illustrate this radical difference.



(4) Lastly, the differentiation of these types of sound serves to distinguish words which would otherwise² be alike. In other words, the distinction between **b** and **β**, and **d** and **ɖ**, is a semantic one.

¹ From experiments with Patrick Ngoshi (Z. 8).

² Differences of tone also occur in some of these examples.

Examples :

(a) Zezuru :

bara	(write)	ɓara	(bullet)
bisa	(remove)	ɓisa	(put away)
bu	(of falling, as ball)	ɓu	(of biting finger)
dada	(duck)	ɗaɗa	(be insolent)
dededza	(toddle)	ɗeɗeɗza	(bite)
du	(of string snapping)	ɗu	(of resounding noise).

(b) Karanga :

bara	(write)	ɓara	(begin to bud)
duma	(of putting on lid)	ɗuma	(Duma country)
dura	(be expensive)	ɗura	(confess).

(c) Manyika :

bara	(write, pay tax)	ɓara	(bullet, beget)
bande	(belt)	ɓande	(bark)
bi	(of throwing on the ground)	ɓi	(of breaking wind).

(d) Ndau :

baɗura	(hit with heavy object)	ɓaɗura	(slap).
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It might be pointed out here that implosive sounds are not found in the Kalanga or Western Shona Group at all. In the main Shona Groups, **ɓ** and **ɗ** are far more commonly found than **b** and **d**, except when the latter are compounded as in **mb**, **bv**, **nd**, and **dz**. I do not therefore give further examples of the implosives here. This is not the place, either, for a description of how to acquire the correct pronunciation of the implosives.¹

91. The Nasals.—There is nothing of great importance to notice about the plain nasal consonants in Zezuru. **m** occurs before vowels and in combination with **b** (**mb**) and **v** (**mv**). **n** similarly occurs before vowels and in combination with **d** (**nd**) and **z** (**nz**).

ɲ is the prepalatal nasal formed not with the tip of the tongue, but with the front coming into contact with a forward part of the palate. In current orthographies this is represented by **ny**, but it must be remembered that the pronunciation is much like that in the French word *reine* (ʀɛɲ), and differs radically from the English word *onion* (ʌɲjən). **ɲ** is used in Zezuru before vowels (e.g. **ɲika**, country; **ɓgaɲa**, cru.h, etc.), and also before the affricate **ɗʒ** in the combination **ɲɗʒ**, commonly written **nj**, as in **ɲɲɗʒi** (many).

¹ Explanation is given in Doke's *Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, chap. v.

ŋ, the velar nasal, represents the sound in the English word *singing* (*siŋiŋ*). It occurs in Zezuru before vowels (e.g. *maŋa*, chappings; *ŋombe*,¹ cattle; *ŋaŋga*, diviner; *kuŋoŋodza*, to rattle; *kuŋujuna*, to gnaw; *munuŋuna*, younger brother; etc.), and also in the combination *ŋg*, as in *ŋgoma* (drum).

92. The Rolled Consonant.—It has already been stated that the whole of the Kalanga Group, as well as the Eastern dialects of Danda and Zanga, substitute *l* for the usual Shona *r*. The use of a *fully-rolled r* is one of the features of Shona, and it must be emphasized that the sound is pronounced as the Scotch *r*, with clear tongue-tip trilling, and for it the Southern English fricative *r* must not be substituted.

Examples : *kubururuka* (to fly).
rurimi (tongue).
kuroβa (to smite).

A variant from this rolled *r* occurs in other groups under certain circumstances. This will be noticed later.

93. The Fricatives.—Among the fricative consonants Zezuru, in common with all other Shona dialects, employs a special type of lip-rounded or labialized consonants, for which special symbols have had to be devised, viz. *ɕ* and *ʒ*. These consonants, where their nature has been recognized, are generally called “whistling fricatives”. In all the Shona dialects nasal consonants combine only with voiced forms, e.g. *mv*, *nz*, and *nʒ*. In Zezuru there is no unvoiced *h*, but only the voiced form, the presence of which some Europeans find it very difficult to detect.

94. Denti-labial Fricatives.—In Zezuru *f* and *v* are pronounced as in English. *f* is quite commonly used (e.g. *kufa*, to die; *mafufu*, crumbs; etc.); but, apart from its use in the compounds, *bv* (e.g. *bveni*, baboon), and *mv* (e.g. *mvura*, water), the proper voiced denti-labial fricative *v*² is of comparatively rare occurrence.

Examples of *v* in Zezuru :—

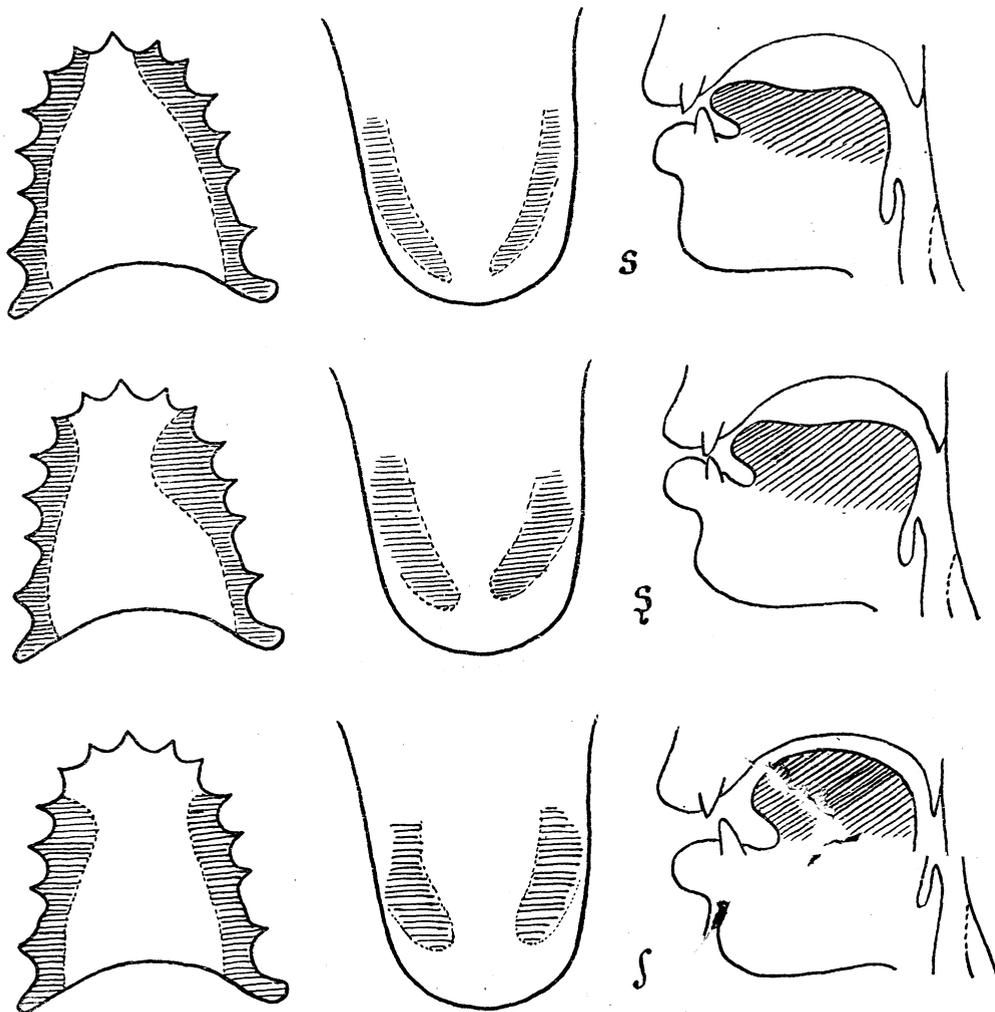
kuveneka (to be light)
kuveva (to ask questions)
kuvima (to hunt)
mavudzi (hair)
ivu (earth)

¹ Zezuru-speakers generally use the word *mombe*, the form *ŋombe* is more common in the other groups.

² In some current orthographies the symbol *v* also stands for the semi-vowel *β*, q.v.

kuvuva (to be rotten)
 kuvuvuta (to blow violently)
 kuvunduka (to fear)
 kuvogoka (to talk excitedly).

f is also used in forming the affricate pf, q.v.



95. Dental Fricatives.—In Zezuru *s* and *z* have normal spreading of the lips with the tongue-tip narrowed towards the teeth. The pronunciation is as in English.

96. Alveolar Labialized Fricatives.—In the formation of these peculiar sounds the tongue is not troughed as much as for *s* and *z*; but it is

considerably flatter and there is a much wider space between the forward tongue-contacts. The main difference in sound, however, between *s* and *ʂ* is due to the raising of the lower lip and general rounding of the lips in such a way as to lessen materially the opening. The following palatographs of *s*, *ʂ*, and *ʃ* taken from an Ndaus subject ¹ illustrate the sequence of variation in tongue position.

Many European investigators have interpreted these labialized fricatives as containing a *w*, writing them with the digraphs *sw* and *zw*, and, worse still, pronouncing them in that way. It must be emphasized that *ʂ* and *ʃ* represent simple sounds, entities as are *s* and *z*. The following photographs ² illustrate the rounding of the lips in the case of *ʂ*, and the spreading of the lips for *s*.



s

ʂ

Examples of *ʂ* in Zezuru :—

kuʂika (to arrive)
 uʂaʂi (net)
 kuʂetuka (to leap)
 kuʂina (to wring out)
 tʃiʂuʂuro (breakfast).

Examples of *z* :—

zini (now)
 izi zese (all of these)
 zakanaka (it is well)
 zokwadi (certainly).

¹ James Nkandhlande (N. 17).

² Of David Nhemhwa, a Manyika (M. 1).

Examples of **nz** :—

nzimbo	(place)
fianzadzi	(brother)
donzo	(large walking stick).

Note.—The digraph **nz** is used here in a broad transcription, but the **n** is assimilated in tongue- and lip-position to **z**. In a narrow transcription (as in the vocabularies) I have used the symbol **n̥** to indicate this assimilated **n**.

As a rule with the Shona dialects there is very little whistle to be detected in the pronunciation of these sounds : the term “whistling fricative” being hardly applicable.

97. Prepalatal Fricatives.—Reference to the palatographs given in the previous section will show that **s**, **ʃ**, and **ʒ** compose a series showing successive retardation and flattening of the tongue. The voiced series shows the same process, viz. **z**, **ʒ**, and **ʒ̥**. There is no material difference in the pronunciation of **ʃ** and **ʒ̥** in Zezuru from that in the words *ash* (**æʃ**) and *azure* (**æʒə**). In current orthographies **ʃ** is represented by **sh**, and **ʒ̥** generally by **zh**, though the Roman Catholic publications use **j**, as in French.

Examples of **ʃ** :—

ʃamɿari	(friend)
ife	(master)
firi	(bird)
ʃumba	(lion).

Examples of **ʒ̥** :—

ʒ̥iza	(autumn)
ʒ̥indzi	(many)
ʒ̥ombge	(species of wild vegetable).

In the case of prepalatals it is peculiar that the nasal consonant does not combine with the fricative **ʒ̥**, but with the affricate **dʒ̥** to form **pdʒ̥**.

98. The Glottal Fricative.—In Zezuru the glottal fricative is always voiced, and closely resembles the sound in the Afrikaans *hand* (**fant**). The voiced glottal fricative (phon. **f**) really indicates that the succeeding vowel is pronounced with a vibrant roughening caused by throat friction. The whole of the succeeding vowel is so affected. In Zezuru **f** is used initially before vowels and also in conjunction with a preceding **m** or **n**, as **mf** and **nf**. Especially in this latter usage is it difficult to detect the presence of the **f**. In *Budya* the **f** in such cases is pronounced most clearly, but with many speakers in Zezuru it is indistinct, and some speakers omit it altogether.

Examples of initial **fi** :—

fianga	(guinea-fowl)
fiope	(sleep)
funi	(firewood)
fiaba ¹	(jackal)
fiere	(interrogative adverb)
fuku	(fowl)
famba	(tortoise)
fioβe	(fish)
fama	(kinsman).

Examples of **mf** :—

mfiti	(grysbok)
mfuka ²	(animal)
mfuyga	(sorghum)
mfiondoro	(lion)
mfiepo	(wind)
mfiripiri	(chili)
mfaka	(fault)
mfou	(1, ostrich ; 2, cow)
mfuno ³	(nose).

Examples of **nf** :—

munfu	(person)
nfasi	(to-day)
nforo	(koodoo)
kud'onfu	(to drop)
nfunzi	(fly)
nfamo	(misfortune)
tjinfu ⁴	(thing).

99. The Affricates.—Zezuru has affricates formed with each of four sets of fricatives. There is no affricate corresponding to the glottal fricative. In each case the affricate is indicated by a digraph; the first symbol indicates the explosive element, the second the homorganic fricative. In the case of the labialized alveolars the symbol used for the explosive element is only approximate. This will be explained.

¹ Must be distinguished from **aβa** (these).

² Contrast **muka** (get up).

³ Contrast **muno** (in here).

⁴ Contrast **tjinu** (calabash for oil).

100. Denti-labial Affricates.—The first element of these affricates is in each case bilabial.¹ They can thus only be considered as partially homorganic in their formation, as the second element is denti-labial.

Examples of **pf** :—

kupfuura	² (to pass by)
pfuti	(gun)
pfumo	(spear)
mapfupa	(bones).

Examples of **bv** :—

ndebvu	(beard)
mabvute	(shade)
ibvi	(knee)
bvupa	(large bone).

101. Dental Affricates.—Zezuru **ts** and **dz** are pronounced as in the English words *itself* and *adze*.

Examples of **ts** :—

kunatsa	(to make good)
tsime	(spring of water)
tsungu	(moth).

Examples of **dz** :—

mɲedzi	(moon)
idzi dzese	(all of these)
kudzoka	(to return).

102. Alveolar Labialized Affricates.—For the sake of simplicity these are indicated by the digraphs **tɕ** and **dʒ**, though it must be made clear that the first element in each case is not true **t** or **d**, i.e. not dental or ordinarily alveolar in formation. In a narrow transcription I use the symbols **ɸ** and **ɖ** to indicate explosive elements homorganic to the respective fricatives **ɕ** and **ʒ**, making the digraphs **ɸɕ** and **ɖʒ** as in the vocabularies. As the affricates **ts** and **dz** are composed of two elements, an explosive and a fricative, each formed with the same positions of the organs of speech; so are the labialized affricates composed of two elements, each of which has similar tongue-position and similar lip-rounding. In most of the Manyika dialects and in Tavara the lip-rounding is so extreme that the explosive element is almost and sometimes actually a *p* or a *b*, and to indicate this in a narrow transcription I use the symbols **ɸ** and **ɖ**.

¹ In Zulu the affrication is fully homorganic, but only occurs after the denti-labial nasal **ɲ**.

² In Karanga this is **kupfuvura**.

Examples of tʃ :—

kutʃaira	(to sweep)
futʃa	(a burn)
tʃimbo	(a stick)
tʃitʃo	(slag)
kutʃutʃudzira	(to set on dogs)
itʃa	(new, Class IV).

Examples of dʒ :—

kudʒina	(to squeeze)
dʒipu	(lizard)
dʒuku	(red, Class V)
kuti dʒa	(to lie flat)
dʒegwa	(unburnt pot).

103. Prepalatal Affricates.—The Zezuru prepalatal affricates tʃ and dʒ are pronounced as in the English words *Church* and *judge*. It must here also be observed, as in the previous section, that the first element in each of these sounds is not true t or d. In a narrow transcription, as in the appended vocabularies, I use the symbols t̥ and d̥ to indicate the explosive elements homorganic to the respective fricatives ʃ and ʒ, making the digraphs t̥ʃ and d̥ʒ, but for ordinary phonetic purposes this is unnecessary, so long as it is understood that the explosives are assimilated to the position of the fricatives.

Examples of tʃ :—

tʃigaro	(seat)
tʃete	(merely)
kutʃeka	(to cut)
kutʃeɲdʒera	(to be wary)
tʃando	(cold).

Examples of dʒ :—

dʒetʃa	(sand)
dʒambga	(blame)
dʒoŋgwe	(cock)
dʒena	(white, Class V).

The nasal consonant ɲ is not used in Zezuru directly before the fricative ʒ, but before the affricate, making ɲdʒ.

Examples :—

ɲdʒere	(wisdom)
mɲeɲdʒe	(torch)

ndziβa	(dove)
ndza.ndzi	(railway)
zipndzi	(many).

104. The Semi-Vowels.—Zezuru uses the common semi-vowels, **w** and **j**, but, along with a few other Shona dialects, has the distinction of using a semi-vowel of denti-labial type. To indicate this I use the symbol β. In most of the other Shona dialects, Karanga particularly, the bi-labial fricative **v** is used instead of this semi-vowel. Map III gives the distribution of β, **v**, and **w** (used especially in the Manyika area).

105. The Prepalatal and Velar Semi-Vowels.—These are pronounced as English *w* and *y*. **w** has its origin in the vowel **u**, and **j** in the vowel **i**.

Examples :—

wed'u	(our)
iwe	(thou)
kuwa	(to fall)
kuuja ¹	(to come)
ije	(he)
kujamɿa	(to suck).

106. The Denti-labial Semi-Vowel.—This unique sound has its origin in an abnormal vowel, viz. phonetic **u**, which is really a spread-lipped type of **u**. β closely resembles **v** in the formation of the lips which touch the lower teeth. It has been mistaken commonly for **v**, but it is frictionless, and very light in its pronunciation. By some it has been interpreted as **w**.

Examples :—

kuβaβa	(to be bitter)
rukofa	(stream)
zuβa	(sun)
fiβe	(fish)
βanfu	(people)
kureβa	(to speak).

107. Velarization.—One of the main features of the Shona dialects is the occurrence of velarization, due to the action of the semi-vowel **w**. This occurs principally in passive formation, though there are many other cases of velarization. The Zezuru Consonantal Chart shows that there are three types of velarized compounds used : (1) Plain velarization, (2) velarization together with the semi-vowel, and (3) the plain semi-vowel.

¹ Karanga : **kuuja**.

Plain velarization is found (*a*) with the bi-labial consonants **p**, **b**, and **m**, and (*b*) with the prepalatals **ɲ**, **tʃ**, and **dʒ**. In Zezuru plain velarization occurs as **k** with unvoiced consonants, as **g** with voiced consonants, and as **ŋ** with nasal consonants. Elsewhere in the Shona dialects plain velarization occurs as **x**, **ɣ**, and **ŋ**, the first two symbols representing pre-velar fricative sounds.

Velarization with the semi-vowel retained is found in Zezuru with dental, alveolar, alveolar labialized, and prepalatal sounds. In these cases with unvoiced sounds the velarization generally occurs as **k**, though with some speakers as **x**; with voiced sounds it is usually **ɣ**, though **g** is sometimes heard. **ŋ** again represents the velarization with nasals.

In most of the dialects of Korekore and Manyika velarization is absent when the semi-vowel appears. In Karanga **x**, **ɣ**, and **ŋ** are consistently used in these circumstances. In Ndau velarization with the semi-vowel is rare.

Velar and glottal consonants are accompanied by the semi-vowel **w** without any addition of velarization.

108. Velarized bi-labial Consonants.—Examples :—

pk.	pkere	(child)
	ipka	(sugar-cane)
	ɸapka	(armpit)
	kurapka	(to be cured, pass. of kurapa)
	kupkera	(to suckle)
	kupkaja	(to shatter)
	kupka	(to dry up)
bg.	kubgana	(to crush)
	ibge	(stone)
	kubgibgija	(to brighten)
	imbga	(dog)
	mfiembge	(duiker)
	ruɸambga	(accident)
	kuumbga	(to be fashioned, pass. of kuumba)
mŋ.	mŋana	(child)
	ɸamŋari	(friend)
	mŋedzi	(moon)
	kukamŋa	(to be milked, pass. of kukama).

109. Velarized Prepalatal Consonants.—I shall discuss later the great variety of forms among the Shona dialects for the words *to fear* and *to eat*. In Zezuru these appear with the sounds of **tʃ** and **dʒ**, accompanied by

velarization, viz. **k** and **g** respectively. Further, parallel to the form **nj** occurring in Karanga, Zezuru has, in addition to the prepalatal nasal **ɲ**, a velarized form **ɲɣ** which occurs not infrequently.

Examples of **ɲɣ** :—

dɲɣa	(noose-trap)
kupɲata	(to be wet)
kupɲangadika	(to melt)
dʒeɲɣa	(skull)
ɲɣana	(child)
kupɲaβa	(to be soft)
kuti ɲɣaβa ɲɣaβa	(to swagger)
gekeɲɣa	(egg-shell)
kupɲura ¹	(to drown).

Examples of **tʃk** :—

kutʃka	(to fear)
batʃke	(jacket)
dʌtʃka	(frog)
kutʃkoka	(to get broken)
kutʃkatʃkata	(to trot)
kutʃkaira	(to whip animals)
ndinetʃkaka	(I am stiff).

Examples of **dʒg** :—

kudʒga	(to eat)
ndudʒga	(giraffe)
fodʒga	(tobacco)
kudʒgara	(to sow mealies)
kudʒgungu	(to pierce)
bodʒgera	(bottle)
padʒgo	(near)
tʃidʒga	(thigh)
rudʒgi	(right side)
kupndʒgundʒguta	(to trot).

110. Examples of Velarization with the Semi-Vowel :—

tkw	tkwana	(little children)
	utkwu	(these, Class VI)
	kubatkwa	(to be held, pass. of kubata)

¹ Contrast **kupɲura** (to clean meat from bone), and **kupura** (to take out of water).

dɣw	kudyweŋga	(to ask anxiously)
	kuti dɣwe	(to drip, of rain)
	kutandywa	(to be driven away, pass. of kutanda)
nɲw	kunɲwa	(to drink)
	munɲwe	(finger)
	kutanɲwa	(to be picked, pass. of kutana)
ryw	kurywa	(to fight)
	urywu	(this, Class VII)
	kurywara	(to be ill)
	kutorywa	(to be taken, pass. of kutora)
skw	uskwa	(grass)
	skwiza	(giraffe)
	kuroweskwa	(to be bewitched, pass. of kurowa)
zyw	izywi	(word)
	kupfakazywa	(to be witnessed, pass. of kupfakaza)
	kunzywa	(to hear)
tskw	kutskwa	(to stamp)
	kutskwija	(to squeak)
dzyw	kukudzywa	(to be renowned, pass. of kukudza)
ʃkw	kupeʃkwa	(to be encouraged, pass. of kupeʃa)
zɣw	kukwezywa	(to be enticed, pass. of kukweza)
ɲɲw	kukaɲɲwa	(to be kneaded, pass. of kukaɲa)
ɟkw	ɟkwa	(flying termite)
	kuɟuɟkwa	(to be persecuted, pass. of kuɟuɟa)
zyw	mafiozywa	(snails)
	kuzywija	(to scream)
tɟkw	kwabvakatɟkwa	(a holiday has been taken, pass. from bvakatɟa)
dzyw	kudzɣwapa	(to crush)
	ɟɔpdzywa	(species of caterpillar).

111. Examples of the Semi-vowel compounded without Velarization :—

kw	kwete	(no)
	kwazo	(absolutely)
gw	kuregwa	(to be left off, pass. of kurega)
	gwifa	(ant-bear)
	ɲgwena	(crocodile)
	kusuŋwa	(to be bound, pass. of kusuŋga)

ɲw	fuɲwi	(hyena)
	kuti ɲwii	(to be silent)
fiw	fiwai	(sheep)
	fiwata	(secretary bird)
	munofiwe	(Nohwe native).

112. Consonantal Differences in the Karanga Group.—Reference to the Karanga Consonantal Chart¹ will show that the Zezuru and Karanga Consonantal systems are very closely allied, but there are one or two distinctions that must be noted. Dealing with the plain consonants, no difference is seen with the explosives, the implosives, and the affricates. The fricatives and semi-vowels differ only in the fact that where Zezuru uses the strange denti-labial semi-vowel β, Karanga uses the more common bi-labial voiced fricative v. Certain differences are noticeable with the dental nasal, Karanga having, in addition to the ordinary n, a long n indicated by doubling (nn), and n followed by the semi-vowel j in distinction from the prepalatal nasal ɲ. Another important difference from Zezuru is the use in Karanga of the flapped lateral ɾ replacing r in certain circumstances, and both voiced and unvoiced forms of this sound followed by palatal fricatives, to take the place of the prepalatals with plain velarization found in Zezuru.

A comparison of the velarized consonants also reveals certain definite distinctions. Velarization in Karanga is softer than in Zezuru, x and y always taking the place of k and g in these forms. Plain velarization only occurs with bi-labials in Karanga; while a general feature is the substitution of gw for ryw and xw for skw or sxw.

Certain forms have been placed in the chart in square brackets. This indicates that a uniform phonetic system does not prevail over the entire Karanga area. In the succeeding paragraphs I give examples of those sounds only which differ from what has been set out for Zezuru.

113. The Dental Nasals in Karanga.—

nn. As far as can be ascertained there is only one word in Karanga which has this lengthened n, viz. the numeral -*nna* (four), e.g. *zigaro zinna* (four chairs). It must be noticed that -*nna* does not comprise two syllables, but a lengthened consonant.

nj. This combination in Karanga is pronounced much as in the English word *onion*. In some words there are alternative pronunciations with the regular Shona sound ɲ, but in other cases the use of nj is essential.

¹ Appendix V, No. 2.

Examples :—

kuti nja nja nja	(to walk weakly)
fazu dzakanja	(soft clothing)
kunja	(to be soft ; kuja also used but less commonly)
kunjara	(to be tired, Ct. kupara , to be ashamed)
kuti njengu	(to enter quickly)
kuti njarakata	(to enter with a splash)
kunjura	(to dip in ; alternate : kupura)
kunjapudzira	(to beat gently ; alternate : kunapudzira)
kunjakatika	(to melt ; alternate kupakatika)
kunjangarika	(to disappear ; alternate : kupangarika).

The counterpart to the form (nj) is found in Zezuru in the prepalatal nasal with plain velarization, viz. **ɲj**. The consistency of the use of the Zezuru form points to its being the older form than the Karanga.

n is of course much more commonly found in Karanga than is **nj**, e.g. **nika** (country), **pama** (meat), **kupengerera** (to deceive), **panga** (horn), **kupora** (to write), etc.

114. The Flapped Lateral in Karanga.—Although **r** is generally used in the Karanga dialects, we find before the vowel **i** and the voiced fricative **j** (the fricative form of **j**) a species of flapped lateral consonant. To indicate this I use the symbol **ɮ**. This is not a continuant sound, but is enunciated by a single flap of the tongue, and differs radically from **l**, the symbol by which it has sometimes been written. The contact positions are much as for **l**, but there is more tension of the organs of speech. In North Rhodesian Ila, Lamba, and Bemba, **ɮ** belongs to the same phoneme as **l**,¹ but in Shona it is alternate in its use with **r**. In Karanga **ɮ** is sometimes used before the vowel **e**, but the rule for this occurrence has not yet been ascertained.

Examples of **ɮ** in Karanga :—

kubeva	(to say)
vanohisa	(they are herding)
hini	(when ?)
tʃivuki-zeve	(deaf person)
zuva hetatu	(the third day)
kurakira	(applied form of kurara . to lie down).

115. The Words for “to fear” and “to eat” in Karanga.—Zezuru, as we have seen, uses **kutʃka** and **kudzga**. The common Karanga forms are

¹ See Doke, “An Outline of Ila Phonetics,” in *Bantu Studies*, vol. iii, No. 2, pp. 139–40.

recorded on the Chart as ɬɕ and ɬj , but reference to the Comparative Vocabularies will show great variance in the sub-dialects, as follows :—

To fear :	Govera :	-ɬɕa
	Duma :	-tɕa
	Jena :	-ɬtɕa
	Mari and Nyuŋi :	-ɬa
To eat :	Jena, Duma, and Govera :	-ɬja
	Mari and Nyuŋi :	-ɬa

Taking first the words for “to fear”, ɬ is the symbol for the unvoiced form of the flapped lateral. In Govera it is followed by ɕ , the palatal unvoiced fricative, being the unvoiced form of j . In the Duma dialect the combination is -tɕa , which is found quite commonly in other parts¹ of Mashonaland. Jena shows further complication, which, no doubt, gave rise to the present Karanga spelling of -rthia . The Mari and Nuŋi dialects use the unvoiced lateral fricative, ɬ , a sound found commonly in Zulu and Ndebele, where it is generally spelt hl . It must be remarked that this sound is very close to the corresponding form in Manyika, where ɬj , a palatalized type of lateral fricative, is used.

In the case of the words for “to eat” there is less divergence. Mari and Nuŋi use ɬ , the voiced form of ɬ , the root -ɬa being the very same as is found in Ndebele. Nevertheless it cannot be stated definitely that these pronunciations are due to Ndebele influence, especially owing to their occurrence (palatalized) in Manyika, and to the fact that “to fear” in Ndebele is *ukwesafa*, quite a different root. In Jena, Duma, and Govera the more truly typical Karanga form -ɬja is used. This has hitherto been written *ldy*.

Examples of these sounds in Karanga :—

ɬɕ	kɬɕa	(to fear)
	ɬɕava	(whip)
	kukɬɕamara	(to be surprised)
	kɬɕiɬɕidzira	(to threaten)
	kɬɕapura	(to stir porridge)
	kɬɕaka	(to boil, as porridge)
	kɬɕesa	(to cock, as a gun)
	kuti ɬɕo ɬɕo ɬɕo	(to be fine, of weather).
	ɬj	kɬja
ɬju		(hip)
kuti ɬju		(to stab)

¹ See Map No. IV.

foŋja	(tobacco)
makohja	(year before last)
bohjera	(bottle).

It is noteworthy that in Karanga under nasal influence **h** becomes **ndj** or sometimes **ɲj**, e.g., **kandjera**, or **kaɲjera** (candle), and **maɲondja** (edible grub, cf. Zezuru, **ɲondzywa**).

116. The Voiced Bi-Labial Fricative.—In Karanga and in a number of other Shona dialects¹ the commonly-called bi-labial **v** is used in place of Zezuru **β**. In the formation of this sound the lips are close enough together to cause vibration as the voiced sound passes through. The teeth play no part in the production of the sound, and the tongue-position is immaterial. In Karanga this has been indicated by **v**. The phonetic symbol is **v**.

Examples of **v** in Karanga :—

vanfu	(people)
vusiku	(night)
kuvunda	(to hoe in clods)
vuxwa	(grass)
kutava	(to stretch)
kuṣova	(to glide).

It is noticeably used in the prefixes **va-** and **vu-**. **v** must be carefully distinguished from **v**, for, though they are few, there are cases of semantic difference between these two, e.g. **kuveṅga** (to stir up), and **kuveṅga** (to hate).

117. Velarized Consonants in Karanga.—In place of Zezuru **pk** and **bg**, Karanga generally has **px** and **by**, where **x** and **y** are used to represent pre-velar fricatives, which in a narrow transcription might be indicated by **ɣ** and **ɟ** to distinguish them from the velar fricatives.

In the Mari dialect of the Belingwe District, **by** is heard as **vy**, a velarized form of the voiced bi-labial fricative.

Examples :	vye	(stone, cf. Govera, Duma bye)
	vyana vyeḍu	(our little children).

txw is found in Govera in such words as **patxwa** (affliction) and **kufatxwa** (to be held), which is elsewhere in Karanga **ḥaxwa**. Similarly **ryw** occurs in Govera in such words as **kwagarywa** (there was a sitting), and **kurywara** (to be ill), which in the other Karanga dialects occur as **kwagagwa** and **kugwara**. In the same way **gwizi** is heard in all these dialects except Govera for **rywizi**.

¹ See Map III for the distribution of **va**.

In Govera, as also with some Duma speakers,¹ **sxw** and **tsxw** take the place of the more general Karanga **xw**, as for example :—

musxwi, mutsxwi	(pestle, cf. muxwi)
kusetsxwa	(to be made to laugh)
vusxwa, vutsxwa	(grass, cf. vuxwa)
sxwiza	(giraffe, cf. xwiza)
pasasxwa ²	(it has been sprinkled).

In Karanga I found no forms such as **ɲɲ**, **tʃk**, **dʒg**, **ɲɲw**, **tʃkw** or **dʒyw**, which are a feature of Zezuru velarization.

Where **kw**, **ɣw**, and **ɲɣw** occurred in Karanga it was generally noticed in Govera, Mari, Duma, and Jena that the lips of the speaker were previously brought into contact forming a slightly pronounced bi-labial consonant. Examples of this may be seen in the Vocabularies, where the bi-labial consonant is indicated within brackets, e.g. **ma(m)ɲɣwana** (to-morrow), **(p)kwete** (no), **(b)ɣwai** (sheep). This feature of the pronunciation was noticeably absent in the Nyufi dialect.

It has already been noticed that the pre-velar fricative **x** is commonly found in Karanga in combination with **w**. In addition to examples already given above, I note **kuxwa** (to pound in a mortar), **xwanda** (basket), **kuxwedera** (to approach), and there are many others indicated in Mrs. Louw's grammar under **h**.

There are a few words employing **x** without the **w**, but one can see foreign influence in most of these, e.g.

kusaxa	(to saw < Zulu)
maxewu	(fermented porridge < Zulu)
tʃixaxa	(strong beer ; derivation unknown).

I think the use of **x** in Karanga apart from the **w** or the indication of velarization in **px** may be safely disregarded as foreign importation.

118. Other Karanga Distinctions.—Karanga as a general rule substitutes **ʒ** for Zezuru **nz**, e.g. **ʒou** (elephant), **ʒira** (path), **ʒeve** (ear), and **kuʒe** (outside) for **nzou**, **nzira**, **nzeʒe**, and **kunze**.

Karanga further favours monosyllabic nouns in Class V, where Zezuru uses an initial **i**, e.g. **bye** (stone), **go** (wasp), **vu** (soil), for **ibge**, **igo**, and **ivu**; also in Class Ia note Karanga **ʃe** (chief) for Zezuru **ife**.

Zezuru **ɲɲw** is found in Karanga as simple **ɲɲw**, e.g. :—

Zezuru : munɲwe,	Karanga munɲwe	(finger)
„ kunɲwa,	„ kuɲwa	(to drink)
„ tanɲwa,	„ taɲwa	(to be picked).

¹ At Jichidza Mission.

² Such forms are generally avoided; in Mari, only the alternative **pasasiwa** being heard.

119. Consonantal Differences in the Korekore Group.—Less need be said here regarding the phonetic peculiarities of the members of this group, as no literary work has hitherto been done in them, and they are less likely to influence, for many years at least, the unified literary language. In Appendix V I have included Charts for Korekore, Σangwe, Tavara, and Budyā, because, though I have classified them under one group heading, they show certain definite differences from one another which prevent a common chart.

120. Korekore Peculiarities.—In the plain consonants¹ Korekore differs from Zezuru only in the fact that some speakers use **w** (especially in Urungwe), some use **β** and others use **v** in the case of words represented in Zezuru by **β**.

In the case of velarization, however, there is a vast difference. Most speakers of Korekore use no velarization at all. The plain **w** is used with all consonants including **m**; and it is only in the rare case of **p** and **b** that any velarization occurs. In Korekore the sounds **px** and **by** seem to be carefully avoided. As in Karanga, especially as spoken in Chibi and Belingwe Districts, so in Korekore the form **xw** is commonly found, though with some speakers **hw** (using the unvoiced glottal fricative) takes its place. Examples:

ixwa or ihwa	(sweet-reed)
uxwa or uhwa	(grass)
fiwaxwa	(armpit, Ct. fiwafiwa , beer)
kuxwa	(to dry up)
hwere	(small child).

With some speakers **hu-** is used as a variant to the more common **tu-** as Class VI plural concord; e.g. **humbudzi**, **hudukuḍuku** or **tumbudzi**, **tufukuḍuku** (tiny goats); **hwana** **huviri** or **twana** **tuviri** (two small children). This **h** must be carefully distinguished from **fi** (the voiced form).

Korekore uses **kutʃa** and **kudʒa** for the words “to fear” and “to eat”. Gova uses the form **kutʃa** for “to fear”, the pure semi-vowel with **p** to form **pw**, the flapped lateral and no **hw** or **xw**. Apart from the fact that no velarization ever occurs in Gova, the phonetic system is practically the same as for Korekore.

121. Σangwe Peculiarities.—I found velarization to be absent from the Σangwe consonantal system,² with the exception of a slight suggestion with one speaker in the combination **mw**. Northern Σangwe differs in some important respects from the Southern variety. The North uses **v** where

¹ Appendix V, No. 3.

² Appendix V, No. 4.

the South uses β . In the South $tʃ$ and $dʒ$ are the forms used in the words for "to fear" and "to eat", whereas in the North the forms $tç$ and dj are used, and in some cases these are pronounced as c and j respectively. These last symbols indicate pure palatal explosives, such as are used in some North Rhodesian Bantu languages.

122. Tavara Peculiarities.—Northern Tavara, that spoken in Portuguese Territory, is heavily influenced in vocabulary, and to a certain extent in phonetics, by the Nyungwe language. For instance, $pʒ$ and $bʒ$ with complete lip-contact as in Nyungwe, not $pʒ$ and $bʒ$ as in Manyika, are used. Northern Tavara uses the same forms for "to fear" and "to eat" as does Northern Σangwe, viz. $tç$ and dj , and in the same way Southern Tavara and Southern Σangwe correspond.

As may be seen from the Chart ¹ velarized consonants are very rare in Tavara. The Non-Shona peculiarity of a nasal consonant preceding an unvoiced affricate was noticed in *nts*, e.g. *muntsi* (a pestle).

123. Sudya Peculiarities.—On the Sudya Chart ² one sees at once the aspirated consonants, *th*, *kh*, and *tsh*, which connect up this dialect with the Manyika and more especially perhaps the Ndau Groups. More careful research will no doubt show that aspiration extends in this dialect to other consonants as well. A further link with the Manyika Group is the use of *w* in place of *v* and β used in the other groups. Lack of full velarization is another Manyika peculiarity which Sudya shares.

As was observed in Karanga, so in Sudya *kw*, *gw*, and *ŋgw* are pronounced with initial lip-contact giving almost the effect of *pkw*, *bgw*, and *mŋgw*: this I have indicated on the Chart by placing the labial element in brackets. Sudya has this further peculiarity that, while $dʒ$ is used in the word for "to eat", the word for "to fear" has *tʃk* as in Zezuru and not the form that would have been expected, viz. *tʃ*. In Sudya, when *fi* is used after *m* or *n* it is most clearly pronounced.

124. Consonantal Differences in the Manyika Group.—The Manyika Group presents a confusing number of dialects. In the scope of this report it is out of the question to deal with each of these. I have appended ³ a Consonantal Chart for the Guta dialect, as best representative of the literature which has been published. Beyond making a few remarks upon the differences to be found in some of the other dialects, I shall confine myself to what is found in Guta. The main distinctions of the Manyika Group from the others lie in the non-existence of *v* or β , *w* being used where in other dialects these sounds are found, in the employment of aspiration,

¹ Appendix V, No. 5.

² Appendix V, No. 6.

³ Appendix V, No. 7.

in the use of a type of lateral fricatives, and in the absence of velarization except with bi-labials.

125. The Use of the Aspirated Velar Explosive in Guta.—As will be noticed presently, Ndaú uses a full set of aspirated explosives, and an indication of this tendency is seen in Guta, where both **k** and **kh** are used significantly. In Karombe and allied dialects an aspirated affricate, **tsh**, is also found. Hungwe, on the other hand, does not employ aspirates, leaning to the Zezuru Group in this respect.

Examples of **k** and **kh** in Guta :—

k.		kh.	
kamba	(tortoise)	khamba	(leopard)
kora	(be plump)	khora	(house occupied by boys only)
mukore	(copper)	mukhore	(inter-leg loin cloth)
kata	(coil up)	khata	(of mounting a horse)
kana	(1, to fight ; 2, even if)	khana	(food-hunger)
kenga	(to scratch)	khenga	(grass put on house-top)
kukara	(to have meat hunger, Nyatwe dialect)	kukhara	(1, to sit down, Nyatwe dialect ; 2, to have meat hunger, Guta dialect)
koma	(to join, Nyatwe dialect)	khoma	(parasitic plant, Guta).

It may be observed that the diminutive prefix **ka-**, and the infinitive prefix **ku-** always have unaspirated **-k**, e.g. **kajoma** (a few), **kufa** (to love). The unaspirated is by far the more common form.

126. The Lateral Fricatives in Guta.—In this dialect and in the Manyika dialects of Karombe, Nyatwe, Hungwe, and Bvumba the palatalized lateral fricatives **ɕj** and **ɕj** are used in the words for “to fear” and “to eat” respectively. These fricatives closely resemble the sounds found in Ndebele and Zulu in the words **isiɕaɕa** (a bush) and **ukuɕa** (to eat), but in Guta the consonants are followed by a palatal glide, indicated in a broad orthography by **j**. **ɕ** is the sound in the Welsh word **Llanelly** (**ɕanɕi**), and is a voiceless consonant having the tongue-position of **l**, but with such a narrow lateral opening that the air passing over the side of the tongue causes hissing. **ɕ** is the voiced counterpart of **ɕ**, and may also be described as a fricative form of **l**; the formation is the same as for **ɕ**, only vocal chord vibration accompanies the sound.¹

¹ For a description of these sounds in Zulu, see Doke, *Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, pp. 97-101.

Examples of tʃj in Guta :—

kuʃja	(to fear)
ʃjau	(whip)
kuʃjora	(to break law)
kuʃjoka	(to become broken)
kuʃjisa	(to cock a gun)
kuʃjapura	(to crack a whip)
paʃjo	(near, cf. Hungwe peʃjo)
muʃjofo	(bark for rope)
muʃjaʃa	(species of plant)

In pronouncing this sound some speakers have been noticed to use tʃʃj, an affricate combination.

Examples of kʃj in Guta :—

kuʃja	(to eat)
boʃjera	(bottle)
foʃja	(tobacco)
ruʃji	(right hand)
kuʃjara	(to sow, also kuʃzara)
tʃiʃja	(thigh)
maʃjiro	(platters).

127. Alveolar Labialized Consonants in Guta.—In Manyika generally ʃ and ʒ are very fully rounded, so much so that in the affricates there is a much greater lip influence than is found with most of the other Shona dialects. In Guta the lips do not entirely meet, but the acoustic impression of p and b is given with the affricates. While these are written pʃ and bʒ, in a narrow transcription I should write pʃ̣ and bʒ̣. The ſunji, Nyatwe, and Hungwe dialects favour the more common Shona pronunciation of tʃ and dʒ, but all the other Manyika examples which I have studied, i.e. Karombe, Unyama, Guta, Bvumba, ſoca, Jindwi, and Teve use the more fully labialized forms. Examples :—

pʃimbo	(stick)
pʃina	(dirt)
ipʃa	(new)
kupʃaka	(to look for)
ʒipʃene	(good)
kupʃaira	(to sweep)
kubʒatsira	(to pat)
kubʒutura	(to taste)
kubʒiṇa	(to pinch).

128. The Use of w in Guta.—It has already been observed that neither *v* nor *β* occurs in Guta nor in the more typical dialects of the Manyika Group, but that *w* is used instead.

Examples :—

kuwona	(to see)
munfu wangu	(my man)
wanfu wangu	(my men)
wanfu wese wauja	(all the people have come)
fiawane-wana wana ¹	(they have not got four children)
kuwa ²	(to become)
kuwaka	(to build)
kuweza	(to carve).

129. Velarization in Guta.—This is found only with bi-labials, e.g. *px* (rarely *pk*), *by* (rarely *bg*), and *mŋ* :—

<i>px</i>	kupxapa	(to break)
	mupxere	(child)
<i>by</i>	imbya	(dog)
	ibye	(stone, in Karombe, etc.)
<i>mŋ</i>	(dialectally heard as <i>mw</i> , <i>m̄w</i> and <i>m̄w̄</i> , the last as in Ndau, where it is explained)	
	famŋahi	(friend)
	mŋana	(child)
	mŋija	(1, strength ; 2, breath, spirit)
	mŋojo	(heart).

Non-labial consonants in Guta are followed by a plain *w* and no velarization, e.g. *tswanda* (basket), *uswa* (grass), *kutaŋwa* (to be ridden), *izwi* (word, ct. with *izi*, these), *nzwara* (claw), etc.

130. Some Peculiarities of other Manyika Dialects.—Karombe substitutes *tsh* for Guta *s*, e.g. *-etshe* for *-ese* (all), and in addition to the aspiration of *k* (*kh*) has *thw*. For “to eat” Karombe also uses the word *kuza*. Karombe, *ŋunji*, and *Nyatwe* are closely associated dialects.

ŋunji uses *kuja* for “to eat”, and is rather unique in employing the combination *ɸfi* (voiced glottal fricative with implosive -d), e.g. *ɸfiipa* (spear) *ɸfiota* (fire).

This group of dialects further substitutes *f* for the more common *G* (and general Shona) *tʃ*, e.g. *firo* (thing) for *tʃiro*.

¹ In Karombe this is *fiawane-tufija turongomuna*.

² In Karanga *kuwa* means “to fall”, but in Guta “to fall” is *kugwa*.

The dialects of *ſoca*, *Jindwi*, and *Teve* lean towards *Garwe* and other members of the *Ndau* Group. A noticeable feature is the use of **mbh** and **ndh**, which will be discussed under *Ndau*. *Teve* also uses implosive **-b** with the semi-vowel, i.e. **ſw**, e.g. **ſwigi** (sheep).

131. Consonantal Differences in the Ndau Group.—The most noticeable feature of *Ndau* phonetics¹ is the distinctive work of aspiration. Explosives and affricates occur with both ejective and aspirated forms. In addition to **p'**, **t'**, **k'**, **pf'**, **ts'**, **tʃ'**, and **tʃ'** *Ndau* uses **ph**, **th**, **kh**, **pʃh**, **tʃh**, and **tʃh**. The Nasal Compounds with an unvoiced fricative or aspirate mark another important feature of *Ndau*. They occur in *Teve*, grouped with *Manyika*, as well as in *Ndau*, *Danda*, and *Σanga*. *Garwe*, though grouped with *Ndau*, does not share this feature. The use of the palatal fricatives **ç** and **j** in the compounds **rj**, **tç**, and **dj** is also noticeable. *Ndau*, with *Teve* and *Danda*, uses the unvoiced **-h** in place of the more common Shona voiced **-h**, which is found in *Σanga*. In *Ndau* there are also certain peculiar types of velarized consonants, notably **pɣ** (voiced velarization with an unvoiced consonant) and **ſɣ** (a velarization with an implosive consonant).

132. Ejection and Aspiration in Ndau.—An aspirated consonant is an unvoiced consonant, the enunciation of which is immediately followed by an audible rush of air through the open glottis. An ejective consonant is an unvoiced consonant pronounced with simultaneous glottal stop; that is to say, there is an appreciable break, caused by the closing of the glottis, between the enunciation of the consonant and that of the vowel following; the air is pent up and when released the sound is “ejected” with considerable force. Some phoneticians term such consonants “compressives”. *Ndau* employs both ejective and aspirated forms of all true explosives and affricates. In some cases words are distinguished by these differences.²

(a) Examples of **p'** and **ph** :—

k'up'anga	(to advise)	k'uphanga	(to rob)
p'andha	(perhaps)	k'uphanda	(to scratch)
p'afi	(down)	k'uphazura	(to pluck)
p'ani	(whose ?)	k'uphaphura	(to cut up fowl)
p'adera	(above)	phaſu	(of bleeding)
p'arip'o	(straightway)	phot'o	(of being well finished)
p'ouri	(where you are)	k'uphaphamira	(to fly about)
k'up'ak'ura	(to scoop)	k'uphaizira	(to splash)

¹ Appendix V, No. 8.

² Certain examples of significant aspiration were given by Dr. W. L. Thompson in an article in *Nada*, 1927, but these are mostly from *Σanga*.

k'up'ambhadza	(to slap)	k'ut'i phi	(to fall over)
p'amunda	(at the garden)		
k'up'arara	(to scatter)		
mat'op'e	(mud)		

(b) Examples of t' and th :—

k'ut'uma	(to send)	k'uthathanura	(to unroll)
k'ut'umbura	(to take out thorn)	k'uthumba	(to discover)
k'ut'et'ena	(to gnaw)	k'uthetha	(to scratch)
k'ut'amba	(to play)	k'uthathura	(to tear)
k'ut'iza	(to run away)	k'uthija	(to defend)
k'ut'uk'a	(to scold)	k'uthutha	(to rise up)
k'ut'eerera	(to follow)	k'uthethura	(to open slightly)
k'ut'anga	(to commence)	k'uthatharika	(to stumble)
k'ut'ora	(to take)		
k'uit'a	(to do)		

(c) Examples of k' and kh :—

k'amba	(be a magician)	khamba	(leopard)
k'eja	(cut round)	khepa	(woven grass)
k'aro	(little thing)	kharo	(empty feeling)
k'uk'ana	(to knead)	khat'a	(paint)
k'uak'a	(to build)	khooro	(an old hen)
k'unazywi	(although)	khokhora	(thicket)
k'arip'o	(it is there)	khe khe khe	(of laughing)
k'uk'otshora	(to cough)	mukhore	(loin cloth)
		k'ukhat'ajira	(to be proud)

(d) Examples of pf' and pfh :—

k'upf'ana	(to squeeze)	pfhumo	(spear)
		pfhut'i	(gun)
(Ejective very rare)		k'upfhaa	(to be soft)
		k'upfhandidza	(to cool)
		k'upfhapfhadza	(to render down)
		k'upfheka	(to dress)
		k'upfhina	(to curl up)
		k'upfhira	(to spit)
		tj'ipfhuwo	(domestic animal)

(e) Examples of ts' and tsh :—

k'uts'iira	(to block path)	k'utshik'a	(to tread on)
k'uts'una	(to pinch)	tshunu	(insect)
k'uts'anangura	(to select)	k'uk'otshora	(to cough)

k'uts'ek'ets'zwa (to be moth-eaten)	k'utshaa (to be tough)
	k'utshenek'a (to be angry)
	tshap'i (barn)
	tsham̃ja (to be angry)

(f) Examples of **tʂ** and **tʂh** :—

k'utʂ'iɲa (to strangle)	tʂhimbo (stick)
k'utʂ'aira (to sweep)	k'utʂheruk'a (to be ashamed)
k'utʂ'ak'a (to search)	k'ut'i tʂha (to be quite dark)
k'utʂ'otʂ'oma (to pour, of rain)	

(g) Examples of **tʃ'** and **tʃh** :—

tʃ'ip'anda (pole)	tʃhutʃhu (foetus of animal)
tʃ'iro (thing)	tʃhutʃhururu (beans)
tʃ'ando (cold)	
tʃ'uru (ant-hill)	
k'utʃ'ek'a (to cut)	

133. Nasal Compounds with Unvoiced Fricatives.—The occurrence of the nasals followed by voiced glottal fricatives has already been noticed in Zezuru. This is a common feature of the Shona dialects, and perhaps **mfi** and **nfi** are pronounced most distinctly in the Sudyā dialect. In Ndaū, in place of these sounds, **mbh** and **ndh** are found. In the current orthography these sounds have been interpreted as **mph** and **nth**, but kymograph tracings revealed the fact that the explosive element in each of these cases is voiced. The Ndaū combinations are very unusual; the nasal typically precedes a voiced explosive, but it is rare to find the unvoiced glottal fricative (**h**) succeeding a voiced consonant in Bantu. In Ndaū a further nasal compound **mpx** is found, in which the last element is the unvoiced pre-velar fricative such as occurs in velarization.

(a) Examples of **mpx** :—

mpxaruɲgu ¹	(sugar-cane)
mpxere	(small child)

(b) Examples of **mbh** :—

p'ambhiri (on the edge)	mbhak'ure (cobra)
mbhuk'a (animal)	mbhut'e (fog)
mbhet'e (finger-ring)	mbheni (lightning)
mbhoni (blister)	mbhere (alarm)

(c) Examples of **ndh** :—

k'uʂondhora (to peel)	mundhu (person)
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¹ Also heard as **pxaruɲgu** and **m'xaruɲgu**.

d'undhu	(mountain)	vandhu	(people)
d'endhe	(otter)	ndhenga	(feather)
ndhengeri	(wild plum)	k'ut'i ndho	(to be tasteless)

134. The Bi-labial Voiced Fricative in Ndau.—Among the Ndau, speakers seem to be fairly evenly divided over the use of the bi-labial voiced fricative, *v*, and the denti-labial semi-vowel *β*, some using the one and some the other form.

Examples :—

vana vairi	or βana βairi	(two children)
vandhu	or βandhu	(people)
k'uvava	or k'uβaβa	(to itch)

In addition, the denti-labial voiced fricative (*v*) must be carefully distinguished, e.g. *k'uvima* (to hunt), *k'avenek'a* (to shine), *verevere* (of whispering).

135. Palatal Compounds in Ndau.—In Ndau the word for “to fear” contains a consonantal compound of *t* followed by the unvoiced palatal fricative *ç*, the sound of the German *ich-laut*.

Examples :—

k'utça	(to fear)	k'utçuk'a	(to come down)
tçoi	(coward)	k'utçusa	(to take down)
k'ut'i tçu	(to have a sharp pain)		

The word for “to eat” appears in Ndau with the consonantal compound *rj*, composed of the rolled alveolar lingual *r* and the voiced palatal fricative *j*, the voiced form of *ç*.

Examples :—

k'urja	(to eat)	dgerje	(toad)
murjo	(right hand)		

In addition to these two compounds, the voiced equivalent of *tç*, viz. *dj*, occurs in rare instances, e.g.

p'edjo	(near)	djandja	(species of bulb)
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136. The Glottal Fricative in Ndau.—In Ndau the glottal fricative is typically unvoiced, though a few speakers use the more usual Shona voiced form. The usual Ndau pronunciation is practically that of *h* in English words. Examples :—

hop'e	(sleep)	hatf'i	(horse)
huk'wai	(little sheep)		
hove	(fish)		
usik'u hwan̄gu	(my night)		

137. Velarized Consonants in Ndau.—Ndau has the distinction of employing both **px** and **py** as forms of plain velarization, and the two pronunciations must be distinguished.

Examples :—

k'upxa	(to dry up)	k'upyaṅik'a	(to be broken)
k'upxisa	(to cause to dry)	mapyanda	(fruit of egg-plant)
		k'upyak'at'ik'a	(to crackle)
		tj'ipyere	(child)

Implosive consonants are found in Ndau with plain velarization or plain semi-vowel, **β** with the former and **d'** with the latter. This is an unusual occurrence in Shona dialects.

Examples :—

βyaβya	(potato-plant)	k'uṣad'wa	(to be swallowed)
βyanda	(fruit of egg-plant)	tj'id'waid'wai	(edible greens)
k'uβyefura	(to break in pieces)	d'we	(of dropping of water)
k'uβyamura	(to tear)		
βyizi	(sheep)		

The bi-labial nasal with plain velarization in Ndau is pronounced implosively with a "smacking" sound resembling a kiss.¹ This I indicate by **m̃ṅ**. Examples :—

m̃ṅana (child), **m̃ṅari** (the deity), **m̃ṅedzi** (moon), **rim̃ṅe** (one), etc.

Examples of the other velarized consonants need not be given here, the Consonantal Chart in the Appendix tabulates them.

138. Consonantal Differences in Danda, Σanga, and Garwe.—Danda shares with Ndau the use of ejectives, e.g. **p'**, **t'**, **k'**, but these are not found in Σanga or Garwe. Where Ndau uses more commonly **px**, shared by Σanga and Garwe, Danda uses **pç**, a combination also found with certain Ndau speakers. Danda, like Ndau, uses the unvoiced **h**, but the other two dialects employ the more common voiced variety. Danda and Σanga substitute the combination **pdz** for the Ndau **nz**, as in **pdzou** (elephant), **bvupdza** (ask). Garwe is the only one of these dialects which does not use the nasal compounds **ndh** and **mbh**, so typical of the group. Perhaps the outstanding feature of Danda and Σanga is the use of **l** in place of **r**; the former of these dialects uses **r** on rare occasions, and the latter sometimes uses the flapped lateral. Examples of **l** are : **d'olo** (beer), **muili** (body), **mbhondolo** (lion), **k'ugala** and **kugala** (to sit). Σanga uses **v**, Garwe and Danda **β**, where these sounds alternate in Ndau, e.g. Ndau, **βandhu** or

¹ See D. Jones, *The Pronunciation and Orthography of the Chindau Language*, para. 13 (University of London Press, 1911).

vandhu ; Saṅga, vandhu ; Danda, βandhu ; Garwe, βanfu. Danda uses the compound ŋg in ŋgombe (cattle), where the velar nasal occurs alone in the other dialects. In the word for "to fear", tɛ is used throughout, but there is variance in the word for "to eat", Garwe having lj, and Danda and Saṅga each having rg. The affricative form of the labialized alveolar approaches pɕ in Saṅga, while all the others have tɕ. Danda has a preference for s instead of ʃ which occurs in the other dialects, e.g. lasa (throw away), musī (pestle).

139. Consonantal Differences in the Kalanga Group.—The Consonantal Table given in the Appendix ¹ illustrates the phonetic system of the Kalanga language, the principal representative of the group. Although there are definite differences of a very important character between the members of this group, principally Nambzya, Lilima, and Kalanga, the group as a whole has distinctive characteristics. The phonetic characteristics of the Kalanga Group may briefly be stated as follows :—

- (i) Prevailing use of l.
- (ii) Complete absence of implosives.
- (iii) Substitution of v for usual Shona mv. *vales affricates*
- (iv) Absence of any velarized compounds showing velarization with the semi-vowel.

In the sphere of Grammar,² two points of especial interest are worthy of note :—

- (1) The Class II singular prefix in *un-* instead of *mu-*.
- (2) A unique form of varying possessive stem in agreement with Class I singular.

Vocabulary differences form a serious barrier to successful unification with the other Shona groups.

140. Use of Explosive b and d in the Kalanga Group.—Implosives do not occur in this group ; hence words in the other groups employing implosives are represented in this Western Group either by corresponding explosives, or by fresh words altogether.

<i>Zezuru.</i>		<i>Kalanga.</i>
gufo	(baboon)	fudo
kufata	(to grasp)	kubata
kuda	(to love)	kuda
duri	(mortar)	duni.

¹ Appendix V, No. 9.

² I have had but the scantiest opportunity of research into the grammatical phenomena of this group.

Other examples of the use of the voiced explosives are such words as *kubuza* (to ask), *kudana* (to call), *bujwa* (grass, in Lilima), *kudununa* (to run, in Rozi), *bujendrasi* (sorrow, in Lilima), and *dombo* (stone, in Rozi).

141. The Use of l in the Kalanga Group.—In Nambzya and Rozi the rolled consonant, r, is generally used, but it is not found in Kalanga, Lilima, or Talahundra apart from such importations as *ngoro* (canoe), which is derived from the Chwana. In Lilima and Talahundra a species of “fricative -r”, as is found in Southern English and indicated phonetically by *ɹ*, occurs in the compound *ndɹ*, which is simple *nd* in Kalanga. Examples :—

<i>mutalafundɹa</i>	(a Talahundra person)
<i>kupindɹa</i>	(to pass) ¹
<i>ndɹa</i>	(1, lice ; 2, ploughed land) ²
<i>kuendɹa</i>	(to go).

Apart from these instances, l is the usual consonant found in this group. Examples :—

z	<i>kufiala</i>	(to be full, Lilima <i>kugala</i>)
	<i>kugwala</i>	(to be ill, Nambzya <i>kurwara</i>)
	<i>kuvulaja</i>	(to kill, Nambzya <i>kuvuraja</i>)
	<i>kuletʃa</i>	(to leave off, Nambzya <i>kuleka</i>)
	<i>kubyilila</i>	(to return, Lilima <i>gwilila</i>)
	<i>luʒi</i>	(right hand, Lilima <i>luʒi</i> , Talahundra <i>luʒi</i> , Nambzya <i>ruʒi</i> .)
	<i>kugala</i>	(to sit, Nambzya <i>kugara</i>)
	<i>lulumi</i>	(tongue, Lilima <i>lilimi</i> , Talahundra and Nambzya <i>lulimi</i>)
	<i>fulo</i>	(yesterday, Nambzya <i>giro</i> , Rozi <i>guro</i>).

142. Differences within the Kalanga Group.—An examination of the comparative vocabularies in Appendix IV will show the differences between the various dialects of this group. It is unnecessary for me to remark on them in any detail in this report, but one outstanding sound shifting is that Kalanga h is Lilima, Talahundra and Nambzya ʃ, while the voiced form fi in Kalanga corresponds to their ʒ, the voiced form of ʃ. Examples :—

<i>hule</i>	<i>kufule</i>	(behind)
<i>he</i>	<i>ʃe</i>	(chief)
<i>pehugwi</i>	<i>peʃugwi</i>	(above)
<i>humba</i>	<i>ʃumba</i>	(lion)
<i>hoko</i>	<i>ʃoko</i>	(monkey)
<i>kulaha</i>	<i>kulaʃa</i>	(to throw away)

¹ Ct. *kupinda* (to enter) in Zezuru.

² Differentiated by tone.

uhwa	bujwa	(grass)
kufa	kuga	(to come)
fou	zou	(elephant)
kufala	kuzala	(to be full)
kutifa	kutiza	(to run away).

While Kalanga uses certain aspirated explosives these seem to be more fully developed in Lilima. There are certain interchanges in form for the words "to fear" and "to eat" which the vocabularies reveal. Kalanga and Lilima show the curious combination *nl* in the words *tfifalanlota* and *tfigalanlota* indicating a "rubbish-heap". While Kalanga, Talahundra, and Nambzya use the velarized form *by*, it is noticeable that Lilima carefully avoids it. In Kalanga the unvoiced glottal fricative, *h*, is generally pronounced with a very forward position and slight "scrape"; this is especially noticeable with the semi-vowel, when *xw* is a nearer representation of the sound.

Nambzya has several peculiarities of pronunciation of its own. Chief among these are palatalized forms of the velarizations *by* and *px*, examples *imbyja* (dog), *kupxja* (to dry up), *flapxja* (arm pit), *byjato* (canoe), etc. Not every speaker, however, used this pronunciation; one used *bw̄* and *pw̄*, where the *w* was slightly velarized. The combinations *vw* (as in *kuvwima*,¹ to hunt) and *vz* (as in *kunavza*, to taste) also occur in Nambzya.

143. Significant Tone in Shona.—The Shona dialects, like almost every Bantu language, employ a varying of the pitch of the voice upon words to convey distinctive differences. This pitch alteration we term tone. Though there are several gradations of tone in Shona speech, it is found sufficient to indicate in scientific recording only three, a high tone, a mid tone, and a low tone. In ordinary speech these are all level tones, that is, upon any given syllable the musical note is maintained constant and does not glide from one position to another. The high tone I indicate by the diacritic ' above the vowel concerned, e.g. *á*; the low tone by the diacritic , below the vowel, e.g. *ḁ*; while the mid tone I leave unindicated, e.g. *a*.

It is outside the scope of this report to discuss at any length the question of tone in Shona, but some examples from each of the groups showing significant tone distinction in words may be helpful towards a recognition of this important method of differentiation employed in Bantu.

(a) Zezuru :

<i>ife</i> (nest of rats)	}	<i>foḁe</i> (beans boiled in pods)	}
<i>ifé</i> (chief)		<i>foḁé</i> (fish)	

¹ The infinitive is sometimes expressed by *u* instead of *ku*, e.g. *uwwima*.

d'are (bell) }	d'oró (rice garden) }
dare (open space) }	d'oro (beer) }
ḡuna (lemur, knot in wood) }	d'ama (word) }
ḡuna (girl) }	dama (cheek) }
mbira (coney) }	nzara (finger-nail) }
mbira (hand-piano) }	nzara (hunger) }
kaná (child) }	tkwána (little children) }
kaná (if) }	tkwána (wild-dog) }
nzywatata (pancreas) }	ḡata (duck) }
nzywatata (dallying) }	ḡata (hold) }

(b) Karanga :

tava (stretch) }	kutjera (to draw water) }
táva (protect by medicine) }	kutjera (to dig, to slander) }
vaḡá (run) }	simba (strength) }
vaḡa (wounds) }	simba (genet) }
ndové (sodden ground) }	mbira (coney) }
ndove (dung) }	mbira (hand-piano) }
jokó (monkey) }	godó (bone) }
joko (word) }	godó (jealousy) }
rova (strike, break through) }	jumba (aim a gun, covet) }
rova (become obliterated) }	jumba (lion) }
ḡove (fish) }	ramba (be sterile) }
ḡove (cooked green beans) }	ramba (refuse) }

(c) Korekore :

nzara (hunger) }	mbira (hand-piano) }
nzara (finger-nail) }	mbira (coney) }

(d) Manyika :

ḡeto (tax) }	doro (beer) }
ḡeto (dew) }	doro (early garden) }
rudzi (tribe) }	mbira (coney) }
rudzi (bark rope) }	mbira (hand-piano) }
tsuro (hare) }	pfunda (chew, knot, get "high") }
tsuro or tsuro (orphan) }	pfunda (bachelor) }
d'owe (edible root) }	wakauja (thou camest) }
d'owe (name of a district) }	wakauja (he came, they came) }
ḡuu (yellowish leaves) }	
ḡuu (large beast of prey) }	in the Karombe dialect.

(e) Ndau :

kharo (empty feeling) }	fura (graze) }
kharo or kharo (I don't know) }	fura (shoot) }

khat'a (paint)	}	maara (speck)
khat'a (of jumping on horse)		maara (mice)
edza (try)	}	rudzi (tribe)
edza (fish, dawn)		rudzi (bark rope)
mbira (coney)	}	
mbira (hand-piano)		

(f) Talahundra :

ndia (lice)	}
ndia (ploughed land)	

(g) Nambzya :

kufa (to die)	}
kufa (to vomit)	

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR LANGUAGE UNIFICATION

144. **The Scope of the Recommendations.**—My year's research in Rhodesia has been almost exclusively among the Shona dialects, and my efforts have been directed chiefly towards the problem of unifying these dialects into a literary whole. Problems connected with Ndebele and other non-Shona groups have scarcely been touched upon, and I feel unqualified to make recommendations regarding them. Nevertheless, as I have repeatedly been asked for an opinion upon certain aspects of these problems too, I venture to refer to them in my recommendations.

For the literary unification of Shona, it is necessary to make recommendations upon orthography, including word-division and alphabet, upon grammatical standardization, upon choice of vocabulary, and upon the procedure necessary to the introduction of the changes and the development of the literature. I shall also consider the question of language examinations, and make recommendations as to the treatment of the Western Shona group.

145. Recommendation 1.—

That there be two official native languages recognized in Southern Rhodesia, one for the main Shona-speaking area, and one for the Ndebele-speaking area.

By the main Shona-speaking area I mean the area covered by the Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, Manyika, and Ndau Groups, and would add to these the non-Shona areas south of the Karanga. By the Ndebele-speaking area I refer to the part delimited as such on the map appended to the report, and, for purposes of official communication with the people, would add to that the areas covered by the Kalanga group in Wankie,

Nyamandhlovu, and Bulalima-Mangwe. For educational purposes there will be a further suggestion regarding this area. Naturally certain of the present native districts will be bi-lingual, especially Gwanda and Gwelo. It may be possible to treat the whole of Sebungwe through the medium of Shona, as the non-Shona section (Tonga) is also non-Ndebele, and thus save that area from being treated as bi-lingual.

146. Recommendation 2.—

That one unified literary language be recognized to serve the main Shona area, excluding the Western (Kalanga) Group.

Sufficient evidence has been adduced in the previous sections of this report to demonstrate that the dialects of Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, Manyika, and Ndau belong to one language. Experience in travelling throughout these areas has shown that a knowledge of any one of the dialects is sufficient to carry one through any of the others. In other words, all these areas contain dialects which are mutually understood to a very high degree. With the exception of the case of Ndau, an examination of the vocabularies shows over 80 per cent of common words, and a much higher percentage than that applies to words mutually understood, though not generally used in any one area. In the case of Ndau the percentage is only slightly less.

Practically every large Mission in the country has extended its work outside the dialectal area in which it began, and in doing so has employed the medium of the first dialect for preaching, instruction, and the use of books. For instance, the Missions working in the Korekore area almost invariably use Zezuru books, and where the Missionaries use a vernacular in their work, that vernacular is Zezuru. Zezuru is also used by the Roman Catholic Missions in the Karanga area, and the Dutch Reformed Church Missions have carried Karanga across the border into the Zezuru area. But perhaps the most convincing example of this interpenetration of dialects is to be found in the spread of Manyika. Map II appended to this report shows convincingly how Manyika books, issued by the Church of England Mission from St. Augustine's and Rusape, and by the Methodist Episcopal Mission from Old Umtali, are being used, and used to profit, not only in the Manyika area but in practically every other Shona area as well. Natives of one dialect find no serious difficulty in using publications in another dialect of the same language.

In the case of the dialects of the Kalanga Group, though there is no doubt of their constituting a branch of Shona, long separation from the main section and strong outside influence have created serious differences. It is with the utmost difficulty that a Kalanga understands anything said in

Zezuru or Karanga unless he has been to Salisbury or Fort Victoria for work. The vocabulary is in many respects divergent; the phonetics show distinctive features which present grave difficulties to unification; and in grammar I fear the obstacles are greater still. For these reasons I consider it is not possible to include this Western Shona Group in the unification proposed.

147. Recommendation 3.—

That the name of the unified language be Shona, and in the vernacular Cijona.

This recommendation embodies the conclusion of the majority of the Language Committee at its last meeting, and in support of it I quote at some length from the report of the Chairman of that Committee, presented at the end of 1929:—

“The Committee have come to the conclusion that the only name possible for the language which may be expected ultimately to result from the proposals made is the name ‘Shona’, and accordingly we propose to produce a Shona Grammar and a Shona Vocabulary.

“We hope to unify in the fulness of time the dialects of the area generally and officially known as Mashonaland and the name for the language should preferably be one which indicates this width of range. No name but ‘Shona’ has been suggested which can do this simply. It has been widely felt that the name ‘Shona’ is inaccurate and unworthy, that it is not the true name of any of the peoples whom we propose to group under the term ‘Shona-speaking people’, and further that it lies under a strong suspicion of being a name given in contempt by the enemies of the tribes. It is pretty certainly a foreign name and as such is very likely to be uncomplimentary (like the name ‘Kafir’), but in point of fact its etymology is extremely uncertain and no one can dogmatize about it. It has been connected with *šina* or *šina*, dirt. It has been connected with the Portuguese *suino*, swine; it has been connected with *shona* or *chona*, to despise; Fr. Torrend derives it from Sena (*Comp. Gram.*, p. 25) and makes the language a relation of the Sena language; it has been suggested that the Zulu-speaking raiders from the East Coast used it to describe their victims as people of the West, from the Zulu word *-shona*, to set of the sun; and it has been stated that the Mandebela on the west called a hill to the north-east of Gwelo in early days *Tshona* and the people beyond it the *amaTshona*. The idea that it is a contemptuous nickname is widespread, but is always based on nothing more certain than these very uncertain etymologies. It is true that the name Mashona is not pleasing to the natives, but th/

may very well be simply because it is a group name imposed from without and ignoring all true tribal distinctions. Certainly no people in the country claim the name Mashona as their tribal name and each would prefer to be described by the proper name of his particular group. There have been known Scots, Welsh, and Americans, not to mention Irish, who resented bitterly being lumped under the race-name of English, but who would have rightly claimed to belong to the English-speaking family. Therefore, with a certain reluctance, we recommend the name Shona for the unified language, while we would be quite ready to accept any more worthy alternative."

The only alternative suggestion that can be put forward is that advanced for Karanga. The early Portuguese records inform us that, at the time of the first European contact with this area at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the so-called "Empire of Monomotapa" was termed "Mokaranga". It is evident that this term designated the ruling clan and not the whole population, and when that ruling clan became weakened the vassal sections broke away. Manoel Barretto wrote in 1667 as follows ¹ :—

"As Maravi is beside us up the river ² on the eastern side, so is Mokaranga on the northern side. It commences immediately above Tete, and extends towards the west and north about a hundred and fifty leagues both in length and breadth. Upon the western and southern side extends the great kingdom of Quiteve, of which I shall speak presently, leaving in the middle, with our lands and the revolted Botonga, the kingdom of Baroe and Manica, which are small, and do not exceed fifty leagues on any side. Mokaranga is the name of the famous kingdom of the emperor of Monomotapa, and the natives are called MoKarangas. . . . This emperor, before we entered the rivers, ruled the whole of Botonga, which we now possess, and all the empire of Quiteve, to the Cape of Good Hope . . . even to this day a great part of Botonga . . . obeys him, and the Kings of Baroe and Manica render homage to him. With this and the whole of Mocaranga to himself, he is even still a very powerful king."

If this evidence is to be relied upon in any way, the Karanga must at that time have inhabited a different locality from their present one, or else they must have made a temporary conquest of the northern and eastern areas. The latter is probably the correct surmise; for as early as 1635

¹ "Report upon the State and Conquest of the Rivers of Cuama," see Theal, *Records of South-East Africa*, vol. iii, p. 42.

² I.e. the Zambesi River.

disintegration had so far set in that we find the following reference¹: "gold and silver mines . . . which are situated in the kingdoms of Monomotapa, Mokaranga, Quiteve, Butica, Manica, and Chicova . . ." The early Portuguese records speak of Sedanda (Danda), Quiteve (Teve), Manica (Manyika), Baroe (Barwe), Batonga (Tonga), Maungo (Hungwe), Chicova (Gova), and Chikoro (probably Korekore) as well as Mokaranga, recognizing them as separate entities, and we have no right to consider them all as originally having been Karanga.

Taking things as we find them to-day, no natives outside of the area marked Karanga on the map will acknowledge themselves to be Karanga: this is a term applicable to that group only, and it will still be so applicable. But we need a linguistic term to use in connection with the unified language, a term by which the people need never call themselves.

It has been urged that it is unnecessary to employ a definite term yet, and that for reference we could use such a phrase as "the language of Mashonaland". Considering the way in which it has been necessary to allude to the unified language in the early part of this report alone, it will be seen that such a terminology is too cumbersome to employ, besides being incorrect. I have therefore had to decide to recommend the term Shona.

148. Recommendation 4.—

That a unified grammar be standardized on the basis of Karanga and Zezuru.

A comparison of the existing grammatical work in the publications of Mrs. Louw and Father Biehler reveals very little real difference between the Karanga and Zezuru representatives on the point of grammar. These two areas, with an estimated population of about 460,000, constitute over half of the Shona speakers who will be concerned in the unification, and considerably more than half of those in Rhodesia. For grammatical purposes it will be best, at first, to confine attention to these two groups; and a comprehensive grammar should be prepared as soon as possible as a guide to literary work. There will be no difficulty in any of the other areas to the application of grammatical forms covered by the two groups mentioned.

For instance, I would propose that the Ncun-classes be treated in the unified language as follows:—

Class	I	mu-	va-
	Ia	—	va-
	II	mu-	mi-
	III	ci-	zi-
	IV	i-	dzi-
	V	ri-	ma-

¹ Theal, *Records*, vol. iv, p. 25.

Class	VI	ka-	tu-	(Northern)
		ʃi-	vu-	(Southern)
	VII	ru-	dzi-, ma-	
	VIII	u-, vu-, hu-		
	IX	ku-	(Locative and Infinitive)	
	X	mu-	(Locative)	
	XI	pa-	(Locative).	

The fact that Korekore uses *hu-* or *xu-* as a variant of *tu-* in Class VI, I should ignore in the unified grammar, as also the Karombe *ʃi-* in place of *ci-* in Class III. The present grammatical forms used in Hupgwe and Guta approximate very closely to the Zezuru and will in the main be incorporated in the Standardized Grammar. The places in which Ndaú varies from the others are mainly due to Zuluisms, and it will be wise to omit such from Shona grammar.

It is impossible here to go into any further detail regarding grammar.

149. Recommendation 5.—

That a Dictionary of Shona be prepared, to be as inclusive as possible of words from Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika, and Ndaú. That for the present Korekore words be admitted sparingly, and that the use of colloquial words from the dialects of Sudya, Tavara, Karombe, Danda, Teve, Sanga, Sangwe, etc., be discouraged.

The first essential of the dictionary is to recognize and incorporate as far as possible words from those dialects which have been used as literary media. In Appendix IV are thirty-seven specimen Shona vocabularies (in a narrow phonetic transcription), from which it will be seen how closely akin the words are throughout the area, and yet how many small and important differences there are between each. The recommendations which I shall make with regard to spelling will obliterate many of these differences; nevertheless, different forms of the same word will still occur in certain instances. For instance, Zezuru *nz* sometimes appears in Karanga as *z*: both forms should be usable in the unified language, e.g. *nzira* and *zira* (path), *nzou* and *zou* (elephant). A further instance is the use in Karanga of monosyllabic nouns, where Zezuru and Manyika have them dissyllabic, e.g. *ʃe* and *ife* (chief), *mbga* and *imbga*, etc. Here again both forms should be permitted. In a similar way such duplicates as *uswa* and *vuxwa* (grass), *burukwa* and *buruku* (trousers), *vana* and *vanna* (four, Class I), *pfuwura* and *pfuura* (pass by), and *pxere* and *mupxere* (weaned child), *dzese* and *dzose* (all, Class IV), *nombe* and *membe*, and many others will have to be permitted. In the case of words such as *mjenje*, which means "torch" in Karanga and Zezuru but "grass" in Ndaú, or *uswa*, which means "grass"

in Zezuru but "mealie-meal" in Ndau, both meanings should be allowed, each word having two meanings, but care must be exercised that the context does not allow of any confusion. Time alone can decide whether one or both of the forms will persist, and, if only one, which one it will be.

The aim is towards the opening of the flood-gates to vocabulary, so that the unified literary Shona may be as rich as possible in synonyms. Words from the different dialects, at present having identical meanings, will in time acquire shades of difference to the enrichment of the language. For "to sleep" Karanga will contribute *kuvata*, Zezuru *kurinda*, Korekore *kuyenzera*, and Manyika *kurara*. "Lion" will be represented by *jumba* and *mhondoro*; "leopard" by *mbaḍa*, *ingwe* or *ḡwe*, and *khamba*; "baboon" by *bveni* or *bvene*, *guḍo*, *d'iro*, and *d'ede*; "father" by *ḡaḡa* and *ḡambo*; "beer" by *d'oro*, *hwahwa*, *maḡuro*, and *mhamba*; and so on. In many cases, of course, but one single word holds good throughout, as for instance *kuḡa* (to love), *kuḡika* (to arrive), *mḡana* (child), *nyoka* (snake), *kuziva* (to know), etc.

Space will not admit of more than just this brief indication as to how the vocabulary should be developed.

150. Recommendation 6.—

That the conjunctive method of word-division be used in writing Shona.

In a pamphlet published by the Department of Native Development,¹ entitled "The Problem of Word-division in Bantu with special reference to the languages of Mashonaland", I discussed at some length the questions of disjunctive and conjunctive word-division in Bantu, and pointed out that the function of stress in Bantu is that of word-building. In each word or word-group in Bantu there is one, and only one, main stress. Shona, then, has a natural word-division, and, by following this, and not dividing the words according to the divisions in the English translation, natives are able to divide accurately without fail, and school dictation mistakes will be reduced to a minimum. I do not intend to discuss the merits of the case further here, as that was done fully in my pamphlet to which reference may be made.

The implications of conjunctive word-division may be summarized as follows:—

- (i) The verb will be written in one: *tinodḡa*, *ticadḡa*, *tinomudḡa*, *vakari-dḡainza*, etc. True auxiliary verbs such as *-ḡga*² serve to break up the predicate into two or more parts, e.g. *ndakḡanga ndakavuya*, etc.

¹ Occasional Paper, No. 2, May, 1929.

² And probably all the verbs given in Lesson XXXIII of Mrs. C. S. Louw's *Manual of Chikaranga*.

The subject concord and the object concord should be written in one with the verb stem.

- (ii) The possessive concord will be joined to the succeeding word or portion : **munhu wake, munhu wamambo, mjana womunhu, ruoko rwomucece, izwi raMakoni.**
- (iii) The locative prefixes¹ **ku-, mu-, pa-, kuna-, muna-, and pana-** will be joined to the succeeding word or portion forming locative adverbs of the whole. The dissyllabic forms are used before pronouns and nouns of Class Ia. Examples : **kumba, mumvura, pamusoro, kunayiye, panaſambo, etc.**
- (iv) The conjunctive formative **na-** will be joined to the succeeding word, e.g. **musikana nomukomana, mukadzi namambo wake, jiri nemhuka newanhu** (in Manyika).
- (v) In Karanga when coalescence of a final vowel takes place in one word that word should be joined by a hyphen to the succeeding word, the influence of the lapsed initial vowel of which has caused the coalescence. For instance, **wakaſata ruoko rwake** is usually if not always, pronounced **wakaſato-ruoko rwake**, and should be so written ; similarly with **kurisa mbudzi**, which is usually **kurise-mbudzi**. As there are no such words as **wakaſato** and **kurise** it is necessary to hyphen them to the next.

Further examples of the application of conjunctive word-division will be seen in the Shona Texts given in Appendix VII.

151. Recommendation 7.—

That there be a unified orthography based upon the principles set out in the Memorandum of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, entitled “ Practical Orthography of African Languages ”.

Here again I quote from the Report of the Chairman of the Language Committee, in which the reasons for this recommendation are clearly stated :—

“ We were, and are, well aware of a strong feeling in many quarters that what is needed is a very simple alphabet with a minimum of new symbols, if indeed any new symbols at all can be tolerated. English, it is said, manages with an alphabet of only twenty-six letters, and what more can a native language need than what has sufficed for the most widespread language of the world ?

“ Yes, it is true that English has muddled along somehow with 21 ambiguous and overlapping consonants and 5 vowels to represent

¹ Not prepositions in Bantu.

special letters, if properly designed, are no more difficult for an African to learn than ordinary Roman letters. Long experience with systems containing accented letters has shown that in practice the native African very frequently omits the accents, and confusion arises in consequence. Experts in the psychology of reading say that dots and accents give a blurred outline to words and thus impair their legibility. Printers find that dots and accents wear out more quickly than the letters, and are therefore apt to become indistinct in print."

The principles set out in this Memorandum have been applied with success in the orthographic settlements of a number of African languages already. In West Africa the following languages have adopted a unified system employing special symbols: Eve, Twi, Gã, Mende, Temne, Soso, Kono, Limba, Efik, Ibo, and Yoruba; in the Nile Valley the Shilluk, Nuer, Dinka, Bari, Latuko, Madi, and Zande languages came into line at the Rejaf Conference of 1928; in Northern Rhodesia¹ there exists a similar movement, while in the Union of South Africa the Central Orthography Committee is applying these principles in the settlement of the orthographies of Zulu, Xosa, Chwama, and Pedi. Naturally absolute uniformity cannot be achieved, as each area has its own local difficulties and individual problems which require solution and reconciling. As there is a general movement in Africa towards this method of dealing with orthography, Southern Rhodesia will do well to come into line.

152. Recommendation 7 (a).—

That the following alphabet be adopted for Shona:—

a b ß c d f e f g h i j k m n ŋ o p r s š t u v u w x y z z̄ z̄̄

153. Recommendation 7 (b).—

That the names of the letters be as follows:—

a, bi, ßa, ci (tʃi), di, d'a, e, fi, ga, ha, i, ji (dʒi), ke, em, en, iŋ, o, pi, ra, se, ši, fa, ti, u, vi, ua, we, xi, ži, ze, ži, za.

The opinion was expressed that it would be advisable to associate the vowel i with each consonant in naming it, but there is a distinct advantage in alternating the three vowels a, e, and i in this connection. There is much less likelihood of misunderstanding in spelling out words, especially over the telephone.

154. Recommendation 7 (c).—

That the forms of the letters, capital and *script*, *cursive*, *block*, and *italic*, be as in Appendix V I, attached to this ^{a.}

¹ Notably in *Y* of aspiration, etc., in Nda.

155. Recommendation 7 (d).—

That the following conventional digraphs and trigraphs be employed :—

bg, bv
 dw, dy, dz, dzw, dz
 gw
 hw
 kh, kw
 mb, mbg, mh, mŋ, mv, mx
 nd, nh, nj, nn, nny, nw, ny, nz, nzw, nz
 ŋg, ŋgw, ŋw
 pf, ph, px
 rw
 sw
 şw
 fw
 th, ts, tsw, tş, tw, ty
 xw
 zw
 zw
 zw

156. Recommendation 7 (e).—

That tone be not marked in a practical orthography, context being a sufficient indication.

157. Observations on the proposed alphabet.—It is seen that eight symbols, viz. b, d, ŋ, ş, f, v, z, and z, foreign to the Roman alphabet are proposed for use in Shona. The first two, suggestive of **b** and **d**, represent the implosive forms so necessary to be distinguished from the explosives. ŋ is the velar nasal occurring twice in the Southern English pronunciation of "singing". ş and z represent "whistling -s" and "whistling -z". f and z are the International Institute's considered symbols to represent in Africa the sounds commonly written sh and zh. v represents the "bi-labial -v", at present variously written **b**, **v**, **w**, and **v**. Every one of the new signs proposed suggests the old letter of which it is a variety.

The alphabet suggests no change in the writing of the vowels, **a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, and **u**, sufficing to represent the five vowels of Shona.

Similarly no change is proposed for **b**, **d**, **f**, (**g**), **j**, **k**, **m**, **n**, **p**, **r**, **s**, **t**, **v**, (**w**), (**y**), and **z**. Each of these will continue to stand for the one sound normally associated with it, **v** known **v** letters in parenthesis will stand for their old sounds, and **w** grounds, specially circumstances serve to indicate something else, as will **v** letters with dots and a

Three additional letters need special mention. The first is the use of the single letter **c** in place of the conventional digraph **ch**. It is quite unnecessary to use two letters, since **c** alone is not otherwise used to indicate anything in Shona. In English the value of **c** is usually either that of **s** or **k**. The value (phon. **tʃ**) which I suggest for it in Shona is the value it holds in Italian and in certain Bantu¹ languages already. It is further the suggestion of the International Institute.

The second is the use of **x**, to satisfy the demands of Southern Karanga, particularly the Mari dialect, for the unvoiced pre-velar fricative, a sound somewhat akin to the Afrikaans **g**, but pronounced more forward in the mouth. Apart from its use in conjunction with **p**, this symbol is not required in the other language areas coming under the unification.

The third is the use of **h** to indicate what is in most of the area a voiced glottal fricative (phon. **ɦ**). When **h**, however, follows an unvoiced explosive consonant or an unvoiced affricate, it is used to indicate aspiration. For instance, in Ndau, it is necessary in certain words to distinguish between **p** and **ph**, **t** and **th**, **k** and **kh**.² This distinction of the radical from the aspirated explosives extends to Manyika, where **k** needs to be distinguished from **kh**, no differentiation of aspiration being made in other cases of the Guta dialect, which is used for literary purposes.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in suggestions for unifying the two sets³ of sounds found in the common words for "to fear" and "to eat", and in a very limited number of other words.

The word for "to fear" was found to vary as follows :—

Zezuru	kutʃka
Manyika	kuʃja
Ndau	kutɕa
Korekore	kutʃa and kutɕa
Karanga	kuʃɕa and kuʃa.

The word for "to eat" varied as follows :—

Zezuru	kudʒa
Manyika	kuʃja
Ndau	kurja and kurga
Korekore	kudʒa and kudja.
Karanga	kuʃja and kuʃa.

In order to reconcile these differing pronunciations (and there are yet more among the sub-dialects), it is recommended that the digraphs **ty** and **dy** be employed—**kutya** (to fear) and **kudya** (to eat)—each digraph to

¹ Chwana, Bemba, and approximately in Lamba.

² For the proposed treatment of further cases of aspiration, etc., in Ndau, see para. 159.

³ See Map IV for distribution.

have a conventional pronunciation, according to the district in which it is used. The symbol *y*, when used as a semi-vowel, has the value usually ascribed to it, but is used in conjunction with other consonants in Shona only in a conventional way : thus *ny* = *n*, while *ty* and *dy* have the conventional values ascribed to them above.

In order to cope with the difficulties of velarization,¹ it is proposed that the digraphs *px*, *bg*, and *my* be used for the plain velarization of bi-labials, and that in all other cases velarization be not indicated other than by the semi-vowel, e.g. *sw*, *rw*, *zw*, *gw*, *kw*, etc. Full examples of this are given below.

I have already indicated that labialization, the lip-rounding of *s* and *z*, is to be indicated by the symbols *ʂ* and *ʐ*. For the affricate forms the conventional digraphs *tʂ* and *dʐ* are proposed, understanding that *t* and *d* represent homorganic explosives with lip-rounding. In fact, in some of the Northern Dialects, viz. Northern Manyika, *ʂudya*, and the non-Shona Nyungwe, the lip-rounding is so pronounced that *pʂ* and *bʐ* would seem closer representations. Nevertheless, *tʂ* and *dʐ* serve sufficiently for the Shona dialects. Similarly *nʐ* is but a convention, for the nasal is here assimilated to the altered tongue-position of *ʐ*.

There are certain combinations of consonants which are peculiar to Nda. Phonetically analysed there are :—

ndh	mundhu, dʼundhu, dʼendhe.
mbh	pambhiri, mbhuka, mbhute, mbhakure.
mbx	mbxarungu, mbxere.

In each case the voiced explosive is succeeded by a strong unvoiced fricative. It is proposed that in the union orthography the explosive be omitted. The resultant forms will closely resemble in writing the corresponding words in the other Shona dialects, e.g. :—

nh	munhu, dʼunhu, dʼenhe
mh	pamhiri, mhuka, mhute, mhakure.
mx	mxarungu, mxere.

158. Explanations and Examples in the New Orthography.—

- a. *kunama* (to plaster)
vana (children)
- b. Voiced bi-labial explosive, pronounced as in English. In Shona it occurs in many imported words from English and Dutch, in a limited number of Shona words, many of which are onomatopoeic, and in the compounds *bg*, *bv*, and *mb* (see paragraphs 87, 88).

¹ For description see paras. 107 et seq.

Importations :

buku (book)
biza (horse)
burukwa, buruku (trousers, Dut. *broek*).

Shona examples :

bururuka, bururika, buruka (fly, vb.)
kuti bi (to hit a hollow object)
dibu (noose trap)
banire (belt with pouches).

bg¹ **bge, ibge** (stone)
mbga, imbga (dog)
bgereketa (speak).

bv² **kubvunza** (to ask)
kubvisa (to remove).

mb See under *m*.

6. Bi-labial implosive.³ This is the commonly-found "b" in all the Shona dialects. *ɓ* does not combine with any other consonant.⁴

ɓaɓa, ɓambo (father)
kuɓa (to steal)
ɓere (hyaena)
ɓufa (go out)
kuti fi (to break wind).

- c. This symbol represents the unvoiced prepalatal affricate (tʃ), hitherto written *ch* :

cinhu, ciro (thing)
cipfuwo (domestic animal)
kuceka (to cut)
curu (ant-hill).

- d. Voiced alveolar explosive, pronounced as in English. In Shona it occurs in imported words from English and Dutch, in a limited number of Shona words, many of which are onomatopoeic, and in the compounds *dw*, *dy*, *dz*, *dz*, and *nd* (see paragraphs 87, 89).

Importations :

dibi (dip-tank)
dokotera, dokodeya (doctor)
doropa (town, Dut. *dorp*).

¹ See paras. 107, 108, 117, 129.

² See para. 100.

³ See para. 90.

⁴ Except in Nda; see para. 137.

Shona examples :

kuti di (to hit in the ribs)

dadamuka (be elastic)

dumukwa (water-buck)

kuti du du du (to knock).

dw¹ **kutandwa** (to be driven away)

kudwenga (to ask anxiously).

dy The pronunciation of this conventional digraph varies with the different districts. In every dialect it indicates an affricate or other compound. The varying pronunciations have already been explained.²

kudya (to eat)

fodya (tobacco)

padyo, pedyo³ (near).

dz⁴ **dzangu** (mine)

dzidzisa (teach)

kudzoka (to return).

dz⁵ **dzuku** (red, Cl. V)

dzinyu (lizard).

nd See under **n**.

d. Alveolar implosive. This is the commonly-found **d** in all the Shona dialects. **d** does not combine with any other consonant.⁶

wed'u (our)

d'oro (beer)

kud'a (to like)

d'enga (the sky).

e. **kurega** (to leave off)

cenjera (be wise).

f. Unvoiced denti-labial fricative.⁷ Found also in the compound **pf**.

kufara (to be happy)

rufu (death).

pf (see under **p**).

¹ See para. 110.

² See paras. 109, 115, 126, 135.

³ Also found as **patyo, petyo, and ped'o**.

⁴ See para. 101.

⁵ See para. 102.

⁶ Except in Nda (see para. 137) and **funji** (see para. 130).

⁷ See para. 94.

- g.** Voiced velar explosive, pronounced as in English "get". In Shona it occurs before vowels and in the compounds **bg**, **gw**, and **ng**.

kugara (to sit)

go, igo (wasp).

bg See under **b**.

gw¹ **gwanḡwadza** (cave)

kuregwa (to be left off)

gwizi (river, Dialectal).

ng See under **ṅ**.

- h.** This symbol has two values in the Shona dialects, which do not conflict in their use :—

(i) To indicate aspiration in the eastern dialects, when following an unvoiced explosive, viz. **kh**, **ph**, and **th**. See under **k**, **p**, and **t**.

(ii) To indicate the voiced glottal fricative ² (**fi**) when used in all dialects before vowels and the semi-vowel **w**, and when following **m** and **n** in the compounds **mh** and **nh**.

hope (sleep)

huku (fowl)

huni (firewood)

handidi (I do not want).

hw **kuhwa** (to hear)

hwai (sheep).

mh See under **m**.

nh See under **n**.

- i.** **idzi** (these)

kurima (to cultivate).

- j.** This symbol is suggested to represent the voiced prepalatal affricate (**dʒ**³). It is also used in the compound **nj**.

jeca (sand)

joṅgwe (cock).

nj See under **n**.

- k.** Unvoiced velar explosive; no appreciable aspiration. Occurs before all vowels and the semi-vowel **w**. In Ndau and Manyika

¹ See para. 111.

² See para. 98.

³ See para. 103.

are significant examples of this explosive aspirated, to indicate which the digraph **kh** is suggested.¹

kufamba (to travel)

makomo (hills)

vakuru (elders).

kh Manyika examples :

khamba (leopard, Ct. **kamba**, tortoise)

kukhara (to have meat-hunger).

Ndau examples :

khenya (woven grass, Ct. **kenya**, cut round)

kukhakha (to split, as a board).

kw **kwenyu** (at your home)

kwazo (absolutely).

m. Bi-labial nasal, found before vowels and in the combinations **mb**, **mbg**, **mh**, **mj**, **mv**, and **mx**.

mafuta (fat)

mukomana (youth)

mai² (mother).

mb **famba** (travel)

imba (house).

mh³ **mhuka** (animal, Ct. **muka**, get up)

mhombo (adulterer)

mhondoro (lion).

mj⁴ **mjana** (child)

mjedzi (moon)

mjoyo⁵ (heart).

mv **mvura** (water, rain)

mvuto (bellows).

mx See notes on special combinations in Ndau at the end of paragraph 157.

n. Alveolar nasal, found before vowels and in the combinations **nd**, **nh**, **nj**, **nn**, **nny**, **nw**, **ny**, **nz**, **nzw**, and **nz**.

kunaka (to become good)

nokuti (because).

¹ See paras. 87, 125, 132.

² In Manyika, especially, **ai** in ordinary speech may form a diphthong.

³ See para. 98.

⁴ See paras. 107, 108.

⁵ Also found as **moyo**.

- nd** **ndinoziwa** (I know)
kutanda (to drive away).
- nh**¹ **nhasi** (to-day)
munhu (person)
zinhu (things)
kufonha (to drip, of water).
- nj**² In this compound the nasal element is really **n**, assimilated to the prepalatal position of **j**.
zinji (many)
njanji (railway).
- nn**³ This combination is necessary for Karanga where a long **n** is found.
vana vana (four children ; Ct. the other dialects which have **vana vana**).
- nny**⁴ In Karanga it is necessary to provide for a sound similar to that found in the English "onion" (phonetic **nj**).
kunnyara (to be tired, Ct. **kunyara**, to be ashamed)
nguvo dzakannya (soft clothes).
This same trigraph may be used for the Zezuru **ɲj** in such words as
nnyava (swaggering)
nnyonga (spread, of a sore)
nnyangadika (melt).
- nw**⁵ **kunwa** (to drink)
nunwe (finger).
- ny**⁶ This is the digraph representation for the pre-palatal nasal (**ɲ**).
The same sound occurs before **j** in the conventional digraph
nj (q.v.).
nyati (buffalo)
nyoka (snake).
- nz** **nzou**⁷ (elephant)
nzira⁷ (path)
nzungu (monkey-nuts).
- nzw** **kunzwa** (to hear).

¹ See para. 98.

² See paras. 91, 103.

³ See para. 113.

⁴ For Karanga see para. 113, and for Zezuru para. 109.

⁵ See para. 110.

⁶ See para. 91.

⁷ In Karanga these words appear as **zou** and **zira**.

- nz**¹ **hanzadzi** (brother)
nzimbo (place).
- ŋ**. Velar nasal found before vowels and in the combinations **ŋg**, **ŋgw**, and **ŋw**.²
- ŋombe**³ (cattle)
ŋaŋga (diviner)
maŋa (chapping)
munuŋuna (younger brother).
- ŋg** **taŋga** (begin)
ŋgoma (drum).
- ŋgw** **kusuŋgwa** (to be bound).
- ŋw** **kujwa** (to drink)
kuti ŋwi (to be silent).
- o**. **kutora** (to take)
nomunhu (with the person).
- p**. Unvoiced bi-labial explosive; no appreciable aspiration. Occurs before all vowels and in the combinations **pf** and **px**. In Ndau a fully-aspirated variety, **ph**, occurs.
- mapaŋgo** (poles)
kupinda (to enter).
- pf**⁴ **pfumo** (spear)
pfuwura, **pfuvura** (pass by).
- ph**⁵ In Ndau :
- phaŋga** (rob, Ct. **paŋga**, advise)
phaphamira (fly about)
kuti photo (to be well finished)
kuphazura (to pluck).
- px**⁶ **pxa**, **ipxa** (sweet reed)
pxere, **mupxere** (weaned child)
mvura yapxa (the water has dried up).
- r**. Rolled alveolar consonant.⁷ In certain cases, when this consonant is associated with the vowel **i**, it gives place to the flapped lateral (**ɾ**),

¹ See para. 96.

² See para. 91.

³ A common variant is **mombe**.

⁴ See para. 100.

⁵ See para. 132.

⁶ See paras. 107, 108, 117, 129, 137.

⁷ See paras. 92, 114, 138.

and in certain dialects it appears as a pure *l*. The symbol *r* is sufficient, however, to indicate every case in the unified Shona. *r* also occurs in the combination *rw*.

kurara (to sleep)
zita rangu (my name)
kurova (to strike).

*rw*¹ *kurwara* (to be ill)
rwizi (river)
urwu (this, Cl. VII).

- s. Unvoiced alveolar fricative.² Also used in the combinations *sw* and *ts*.

kusika (to make)
musikana (girl)
misodzi (tears).

*sw*³ *uswa*⁴ (grass)⁵
*swiza*⁴ (giraffe).

ts See under *t*.

- ʃ. Unvoiced alveolar fricative labialized.⁶ A lip-rounded *-s* with somewhat retarded tongue-position and wider troughing. There is no whistling note with this sound among the Shona speakers, but often considerable hissing. Found also in the combinations *ʃw* and *tʃ*.

kuʃika (to arrive)
kuʃuʃura (to breakfast)
ciʃo (razor).

*ʃw*⁷ *peʃwa* (be provoked).

tʃ See under *t*.

- f. Unvoiced prepalatal fricative,⁸ pronounced as in English *she*. Used before all vowels and in the compound *fw*.

fe, ife (chief)
famɲari (friend)
fumba (lion).

*fw*⁹ *fufwa* (be persecuted).

¹ See para. 110.

² See para. 95.

³ See paras. 110, 112.

⁴ In Southern Karanga the equivalents are *vuxwa* and *xwiza*.

⁵ This word in Ndau means "mealie-meal".

⁶ See para. 96.

⁷ See para. 110.

⁸ See para. 97.

⁹ See para. 110.

- t. Unvoiced alveolar explosive ; no appreciable aspiration. Occurs before all vowels, in the combinations *ts*, *tsw*, *tɕ*, *tw*, in the conventional digraph *ty*, and in *th*, the fully-aspirated form found in Ndau.
- kutaura* (to speak)
matombo (rocks).
- th*¹ In Ndau :
kuthetha (to scratch, as hen ; Ct. *kutetena*, to gnaw)
kuthathanura (to unroll).
- ts*² *tseŋga* (chew)
tsama (handful).
- tsw*³ *setswa* (be caused to laugh).
- tɕ*⁴ *kutɕaira* (to sweep)
tɕuku (red, Cl. IV).
- tw*⁵ *twana* (little children)
fatwa (be caught).
- ty* The pronunciation of this conventional digraph varies with the different districts, and is usually the unvoiced form of the local pronunciation of *dy*. In each dialect it indicates an affricate or other compound. The varying pronunciations have already been explained.⁶
- kutya* (to fear)
tyisa, *tyesa* (cock a gun)
tyoka (be broken).
- u. *munhu* (person)
kubud'a (to go out).
- v. Voiced denti-labial fricative, as in English.⁷
- kuvima* (to hunt)
kuveneka (to illuminate)
kuvuva (to be mouldy).
- Found also in the combinations *bv* and *mv*.
- bv* See under *b*.
- mv* See under *m*.

¹ See para. 132.² See para. 101.³ See para. 110.⁴ See para. 102.⁵ See para. 110.⁶ See paras. 109, 115, 126, 135.⁷ See para. 94.

- v. The sound represented by this symbol varies with the dialects.¹ In Karanga and with some speakers of Ndau, it is the voiced bi-labial fricative. In Zezuru it is a denti-labial semi-vowel. In Korekore it varies between the bi-labial fricative and the denti-labial semi-vowel. It is proposed that **v** be used to represent both varieties. In Manyika a pure **w** takes its place; but it is recommended that in Manyika an attempt be made to substitute **v** for **w**, where the former would be used in the other dialects.

vanhu (people, Manyika **wanhu**)

kuvava (to be bitter)

rukova (river)

kureva (to speak).

- w. Velar semi-vowel, as in English *wet*. Also used in combination with non-labial consonants, in which case **w** has the pure semi-vowel value in Manyika, Korekore, Sudyā, and Tavara. In the other dialects, e.g. Zezuru, Karanga, and Ndau, velarization accompanies the **w** compounded with all non-labial and non-velar (or glottal) consonants.

mjana wangu (my child)

kuwa (to fall)

uswa, vuswa (grass).²

For other examples see under **g, h, k, n, ŋ, r, s, ʃ, t, x, z, ʒ**, and **ʒ**.

- x. Unvoiced pre-velar fricative. Used with **p** to indicate velarization, with **m** in Ndau, and needed for Southern Karanga in combination with **w**.³

mx See under **m**.

px See under **p**.

xw **xwanda** (small basket)

kuxwa (to stamp in mortar)

kuxwefera (to approach).

In other Shona dialects **sw** usually takes the place of Southern Karanga **xw**.

- y. Palatal semi-vowel, as in English *yet*.⁴ Used also in the conventional digraphs **dy**, **ny**, and **ty**.

¹ See paras. 106, 116, 120, 128, 134.

² Phonetically this appears as **uskwa** in Zezuru, **vusxwa** in Karanga, and **uswa** in Manyika.

³ See para. 117.

⁴ See para. 105.

hama yangu (my kinsman)
kuwuya, kuvuya (to come).

dy See under **d**.

ny See under **n**.

ty See under **t**.

- z**. Voiced alveolar fricative ; the voiced form of **s**.¹ Also used in the combinations **dz**, **nz**, and **zw**.

zino (tooth)

kuziva, kuziya (to know)

kuzara (to be full).

dz See under **d**.

nz See under **n**.

zw² **izwi** (word)

kuzuzwa (to be shaken).

- z**. Voiced alveolar fricative labialized.³ This is the voiced form of **ʃ**. Found also in the combinations **dz**, **nz**, and **zw**.

zino (now)

kuzara (to give birth)

izi zese or **izi zose** (all of these).

dz See under **d**.

nz See under **n**.

zw⁴ **kukwezwa** (to be enticed).

- ʒ**. Voiced pre-palatal fricative, pronounced as in English *treasure*.⁵ Voiced form of **f**. Also occurs in the compound **ʒw**.

zinja (many)

zira (path)

ziza, zezza (harvest-time).

ʒw⁶ **ʒuzwa** (be bartered)

ʒwina (scream).

Further examples in the proposed unified orthography will be seen in the Shona texts given in Appendix VII.

159. The Treatment of further special cases in Nda.—In paragraph 157 I considered the treatment of certain special cases in Nda, recommending

¹ See para. 95.

² See para. 110.

³ See para. 96.

⁴ See para. 110.

⁵ See para. 97.

⁶ See para. 116.

the writing of **nh**, **mh**, and **mx** to indicate **ndh**, **mbh**, and **mbx**, and further noted the significant use of aspiration recommending the use of **ph**, **th**, and **kh** to indicate this. Were I recommending an orthography for Ndaou only I should extend the use of **h** to the affricates to distinguish **pfh**, **tsh**,¹ **tʃh**, and **tʃh** from the ejective forms, which I should then write **pf**, **ts**, **tʃ**, and **tʃ**.² But since this type of distinction is not found in the other Shona dialects coming into the unification, I hesitate to burden the orthography to that extent, and strongly recommend either that these latter distinctions be not made or that words necessitating them be not permitted in the Union vocabulary. I would make a similar proviso in the case of the velarized bilabial consonants in Ndaou³ writing **px** for both **px** and **py**, and using the union forms **bg** and **dw** to indicate the Ndaou **βy** and **d'w**.

160. Recommendation 8.—

That for the Western Area Ndebele or Zulu be recognized as the official language, and that for educational purposes this official language be used in the following districts: Insiza, Mzingwane, Matobo, Bulawayo, Bubi, most of Nyamandhlovu, and portions of Bulalima-Mangwe, Gwanda, Belingwe, and Gwelo.⁴

There will of necessity be overlapping between this language and Shona in certain districts where the populations are mixed. As my investigation of the language position in Southern Rhodesia was almost entirely into the Shona dialects, I am not in a position to give a definite recommendation regarding the choice between Ndebele and Zulu as the official language of the Western Area. It may be observed, however, that Ndebele is recognized as a dialect of Zulu, that Zulu is well understood by Ndebele speakers), that the necessary movement in Africa is towards an economy in the number of dialects used for official and educational purposes, and that Zulu already has a growing literature which Ndebele sadly lacks. My personal opinion would be towards the substitution of literary Zulu for official and educational purposes in this area.

161. Recommendation 9.—

That the following procedure be adopted with regard to the Kalaṅga or Western Shona group of dialects:

- (a) **That unified Shona be not applied in this area.**
- (b) **That Kalaṅga be recognized for literary and educational purposes, but not as an official language.**

¹ This also applies to Karombe.

² See para. 132. Note also that **tʃ** would be **c**, and **tʃh** would be **ch** in our unified orthography.

³ See para. 137.

⁴ See population table in Appendix III.

- (c) That an orthography be adopted for Kalanga as proposed in paragraph 162.
- (d) That no school books or other books be published in the Lilima or Nambzya dialects.
- (e) That, in view of the extension into the Tati Concession and Bechuanaland of the Kalanga and Lilima peoples, the native education department of the Bechuanaland Protectorate be approached to participate in the preparation, production, and cost of the necessary educational literature in Kalanga.

162. Outline of proposed orthography for Kalanga.—

(a) Conjunctive method of word-division.

See paragraph 150, and the Kalanga Text in Appendix VII.

(b) Alphabet ¹ :

a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, o, p, s, ʃ, t, u, v, w, x, y, z, z̄.

(c) Note ² : Kalanga uses l in place of Shona r. There are no implosives. c will have the value it has in Shona, i.e. phonetic tʃ. h will represent the voiced variety (phon. ð) which appears in Lilima as ʒ; it is unnecessary therefore to introduce the latter symbol. j will be as in Shona (phon. dʒ). x will represent the unvoiced glottal fricative (phon. h) which with some speakers is pronounced with prevelar friction (phon. x̣), especially in the combination xw; in Lilima the corresponding sound is ʃ, which does not occur in Kalanga. ny will be used to represent the phonetic n, and ty and dy as conventional digraphs to represent what appears in Kalanga as ɬ and ɮ, in Lilima as tʃ and dʒ, in Talahundra as tɕ and dʒ, and in Nambzya as tɕ and lʒ. px, bg, and mŋ will represent the bi-labials velarized.

163. Recommendation 10.—

That the Government language examinations be enlarged in scope and reorganized.

- (a) That they should be more general in their application, being framed to meet the needs of members of the native department, the native development department, and the police.
- (b) That they should be available to members of missionary bodies, which do not at present organize their own courses of study and examinations for new members of their staffs.
- (c) That the examinations should be taken in two parts: the first a purely oral examination in the presence of a native representative of the

¹ See paras. 139-42, and the Consonantal Chart, Appendix V, 9.

² See the Comparative Vocabularies in Appendix I

particular dialect for which the candidate presents himself; this to be purely a test of conversational and translational ability. The second to be taken at a later date in order to test the candidate's knowledge of the grammar and composition of the unified Shona.

- (d) That detailed syllabuses and courses of language study should be provided for the guidance of candidates.

I have examined the examination papers set in recent years and find that they are inadequate tests of a candidate's knowledge. It is possible, under the present system, for a candidate who speaks one of the dialects fluently to be "flooded" in his examination because of his examiner's lack of knowledge in that particular dialect and the candidate's lack of knowledge of grammatical theory. It seems unfair that a "good linguist" should be held up from promotion because of a lack of "book knowledge". I consider that ability to pass an oral colloquial examination, carried on mainly by means of conversation with a native representing the dialect presented by the candidate, is what both official and missionary bodies most earnestly desire in the first place. Qualification in the second examination should only be insisted upon from the cultural aspect to give the candidate higher qualifications for purposes of bonus or promotion.

At present the themes in the language examinations centre in the legal aspects, court procedure, etc., and I consider it would be a great advantage if native custom, folklore, and general life were brought in to a greater extent in order to make the examinations of wider application.

It is greatly to be deplored that several Missionary Societies place so little importance upon language study that they have no courses arranged which their probationers need to pass before full missionary status is granted. I consider that a knowledge of the native language is perhaps the first essential to useful missionary work—to work through an interpreter is to approach a caged native from without the bars. It is not every society that is in a position to provide courses of study and examinations, and therefore I recommend that the Government examinations be so widened as to be of use to such missionary bodies. In addition to the examinations, the Government is urged to provide syllabuses and courses of study for the guidance of candidates.

164. Recommendation 11.

That the following procedure be followed for the introduction of the new orthography and the unifying of the dialects:—

- (a) That there be issued immediately a wall-sheet of the new alphabet complete with key-words for hanging up in schools and offices.

In addition to propagating the new orthography throughout the country,

these sheets will be of special use to persons who do not wish to use the new orthography, but who need to understand it, when they come across it in print or writing.

- (b) **That uniform reading charts be supplied for the whole of the area concerned, and supplied for use in every outschool.**
- (c) **That a first reader, complementary to the reading charts, and containing as far as possible elements common to the principal dialects, be prepared and substituted for those at present in use in the aided schools at the expense of the education authorities.**

This is necessary to ensure that the introduction of the new orthography should be simultaneous in all schools throughout the country, and that no undue or impossible burden should be laid upon Missionary Societies or upon native children who have gone to the expense of purchasing the readers at present in use.

- (d) **That systematic instruction of native teachers in the new orthography be given as soon as possible ; and that, in order to further this, district lecturers be appointed, whose task it should be to go to mission and other centres, in order to expound the new system to native and European staffs.**

In some cases a type of vacation school will perhaps meet this need. But it is essential that the new orthography should be introduced in the lowest standards first, and in order to do this all native teachers must have a sound grounding in it.

- (e) **That a typewriter company be approached with a view to securing the preparation of a machine having the symbols necessary to the proposed Shona orthography.**

One of the chief objections raised against the use of special symbols is the difficulty of the present typewriter. Until a typewriter with a special keyboard is available, there will certainly be difficulties in typing ; but these may to a great extent be overcome by makeshifts and by the substitution of new type-bars for some which can easily be spared on the present machines. As an instance of temporary makeshifts, the figures 6 and 3 may be used to indicate ǃ and ǂ.

- (f) **That, while it is recognized that each mission and denomination must be responsible for the production of religious literature, it be urged upon mission bodies to employ the new orthography in all future publications, and that, as far as possible, the proposed unification of the dialects be furthered by the choice of vocabulary and idioms used, and by the avoidance of what are recognized to be strictly localisms.**

It cannot be urged too strongly that it is in the interests of each Mission to make its publications of as wide an application as possible ; and with this in view Missions would be well advised to take advantage of any Government language expert or Committee of reference which may be appointed, in order to have the literary content of any proposed publication carefully scrutinized, and suggestions made in order to check strictly dialectal tendencies.

(g) That the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference be asked to appoint a Committee to explore the possibilities of preparing a Union translation of the New Testament and ultimately of the whole Bible.

That this must ultimately come cannot be denied, and while it may be too early to commence such translational work, it is not too early to appoint a Committee to explore possibilities. Unanimity upon certain points of variance could be arrived at almost immediately, and it would be of inestimable value to each Mission to have, as soon as possible, a ruling upon the Union word to be used for " God ", and for a number of religious terms, at present variously translated.

(h) That, in connection with the department of native development, there should be appointed a permanent Advisory Committee on language and literature, and, for some years at least, a language expert who should supervise the preparation of suitable readers and school text-books, guide the development of a Shona literature programme, and act in conjunction with the Advisory Committee, as consultant and referee upon matters submitted by literature-producing bodies.

It is obvious that the development of a literature of unified Shona is a work that will involve considerable time, and need carefully planning and guidance. The Advisory Committee will be needed to draw up the special programme of publications, but it is plain that there must be a literary expert to provide the initiative in carrying out such a programme. It is undesirable that the development of the literature should receive undue bias towards any one of the dialects. It is, therefore, urgent that the expert appointed should have a sound general knowledge of the language position throughout the country.

It is also desirable that the natives should be encouraged to contribute of themselves to the literature of the country ; and it should be in the province of the language expert to organize competitions to stimulate native teachers and others of the better educated to write upon native folklore, custom, and history, and generally to develop the " Bantu " contribution without which Shona literature would become stultified.

In the early production of school text-books, there will naturally be a bias towards the dialect with which the writer is best acquainted. It will

therefore be necessary for the "referee" to add footnotes or a glossary of terms not current *yet* throughout the country. These footnotes will give the better-known form, or that which will explain the term in other parts of the country.

Conclusion.—In concluding the report there are two things which I desire to emphasize.

The first is that the spirit of the proposed unification should be that of natural development, and not that of artificial creation. By regulating the use of grammar, by definitely fixing the orthography, and by permitting as great a freedom as possible in the choice of vocabulary and idiom, I have every hope that a rich literary language will develop naturally and ultimately become an asset to the literatures of the world. I have a great faith in the potentialities of Bantu literature. But I have an equal fear of the non-success of any artificial unification.

The second is the crying need for more research into every dialect in Southern Rhodesia. We know practically nothing about Nambzya, Kalanga, Korekore, Tavara, Budya, Karombe, Teve, Danda, Sangga, and many other most interesting dialects. Here is work for much research which should not be delayed too long.

CLEMENT M. DOKE.

14th February, 1930.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I**(i) Itinerary**

Feb.	1	Salisbury (headquarters).
„	12-14	Chishawasha Mission.
„	22-Mar. 5	St. Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga.
Mar.	18-27	Morgenster Mission.
„	27-28	Fort Victoria and Gokomere Mission.
„	29-Apr. 1	Chibi Mission and Chibi (N.D.).
Apl.	5	Domboshawa Training Institute.
„	16	Chishawasha Mission.
„	24-26	Howard Institute and St. Alban's Mission (Chiweshe Reserve).
May	1	Waddilove Institute.
„	2	Monte Cassino Mission.
„	3	Old Umtali Mission.
„	4-6	St. Augustine's Mission.
„	6	Umtali (N.D.) and Mutambara Mission.
„	7	Melsetter (N.D.) and Rusitu Mission.
„	8	Chipinga (N.D.).
„	9-14	Mount Silinda Mission.
„	10	Chikore Mission.
„	11	Spungabera (Portuguese East Africa).
June	1	Hope Fountain Mission.
„	10	Trias Hill Mission.
„	11	Bonda Mission.
„	12	Inyanga (N.D.).
„	13	St. Faith's Mission.
„	14	Rusape (N.D.).
July	1	Morgenster Mission.
„	5	Fort Victoria.
„	8	Pamushana Mission.
„	9	Bikita (N.D.).
„	9-11	Zaka (N.D.).
„	11	Jichidza Mission.
„	25	Nyadiri Mission.
„	26	Tete.
„	27-29	Boroma Monastery.
„	30	Mutoko (N.D.) and Mutoko Mission.
„	30	Murewa (N.D.) and Murewa Mission.
Aug.	3	Epworth Mission.

Aug.	5-7	Domboshawa Training Institute.
„	19	Sinoia (N.D.).
„	20-24	Miami (N.D.) and Kinsale Mine.
„	23	Namatombo Mission (Urungwe Reserve).
Sept.	10	Kutama Mission.
„	11	Hartley (N.D.), Gatooma (N.D.), Gwelo (N.D.).
„	12	Selukwe (N.D.) and Mnene Mission.
„	13	Masase Mission.
„	14	Belingwe (N.D.).
„	16	Gutu Mission and Alheit Mission.
„	17	Gutu (N.D.) and Driefontein Mission.
„	18	Umvuma (N.D.), The Range (N.D.), and Makumbe Mission.
„	19	Buhera (N.D.) and Wrenningham Mission.
„	24	Sipolilo (N.D.).
„	25	Amandas (Mazoe, N.D.).
„	26	Mt. Darwin (N.D.) and Mavuradonha Mission.
„	27	Bradley Settlement and Bindura (N.D.).
„	28	Shamva (N.D.).
Oct.	7	Rusape (N.D.) and Inyazura Mission.
„	8	Marandellas (N.D.) and Chimanza Mission.
„	9-11	Wedza (N.D.) and Lower Wedza Reserve.
„	30-31	Gokwe (N.D.).
Nov.	20	Domboshawa Training Institute.
„	30	Plumtree (N.D.) and district.
„	30-Dec. 3	Dombodema Mission and Tati Concession.
Dec.	3	Fort Usher (N.D.).
„	4-6	Wankie (N.D.).
„	7	Bulawayo.
„	8-10	Salisbury.
„	10-11	Umtali (N.D.).
„	12	St. Augustine's Mission.

(ii) **List of Missionaries, Officials, and Others Specially Consulted**

Rev. A. Burbridge, S.J.	St. Benedict's Mission.
„ F. Marconnes, S.J.	Makumbe Mission.
C. Bullock	N.C. Sinoia.
Rev. B. H. Barnes, C.R.	St. Augustine's Mission.
Mrs. C. S. Louw	Morgenster Mission.
H. Jowitt, B.A., M.Ed.	Director of Native Development.
Rev. J. White	Waddilove Training Institute.

Rev. E. H. Greeley	Old Umtali Mission.
W. S. Bazeley	N.C. Umtali.
Rev. J. E. Hatch	Rusitu Mission.
N. P. M. Nielsen	N.C. Chipinga.
Dr. W. T. Thompson	Mt. Silinda Mission.
C. C. Fuller	Chikore Mission.
H. M. G. Jackson	Chief Native Commissioner.
Major S. Jackson	Assist. Chief Native Commissioner.
Col. C. L. Carbutt	Supt. of Natives, Bulawayo.
W. E. Edwards	N.C. Mrewa.
F. Hulley	N.C. Wankie.
J. W. Posselt	N.C. The Range.
T. M. Thomas	N.C. Gwelo.
E. G. Howman	N.C. Salisbury.
H. N. Hemans	N.C. Rusape.
F. W. T. Posselt	N.C. Marandellas.
J. L. Oliver	N.C. Zaka.
Rev. H. W. Murray	Morgenster Mission.
„ A. A. Louw, jun.	Morgenster Mission.
„ A. C. Jackson	Morgenster Mission.
„ Neville Jones	Hope Fountain Mission.
„ J. Whiteside	Dombodema Mission.
„ G. E. P. Broderick, B.Sc.	Domboshawa Training Institute.
Capt. W. J. Phillips, O.B.E.	Chief of Police, Salisbury.
Dr. M. J. Placido	Portuguese Consul, Salisbury.
Commandant Lanne	Spungabera, P.E.A.

In addition, many Native Commissioners and Assistant Native Commissioners assisted with statistical information (some by correspondence) and in obtaining natives for research work, as did Missionaries on the various Mission Stations visited.

(iii) List of Native Informants

(a) Korekore Group

Korekore.

- Ko. 1. *Mateya Matekenya*, m. 23, from Sipolilo.
2. *Wilson Chijamatamba*, m., from Sipolilo.
1st March, 1929, at St. Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga.
3. *Joseph Tembo*, m. 30, from Sipolilo.
4. *Cyril Nondo*, m. 28, from Sinoia (showed considerable Zezuru influence).
5. *Geoffrey Soko*, m. 21, from Darwin.

- Ko. 6. *Benson Soko*, m. 25, from Sipolilo.
25th April, 1929, at St. Alban's Mission, Chiweshe Reserve.
7. *Mavura*, m. 40
8. *Mawaki*, m. 35
9. *Kamutungondo*, m. 40 } Both parents in each case Korekore and the
men each from Kasangarari's village, 5
miles from Kinsale Mine.
21st August, 1929, at Kinsale Mine, Miami.
10. *Two men*. 23rd August, 1929, at Namatombo Mission, Urungwe Reserve.
11. *Chief Chitsungo*, old man } North of Sipolilo, below the Escarp-
12. *Chief Chisungo*, old man } ment.
13. *Two men*.
14. *Police Messenger*, Sipolilo Reserve (nearer to Zezuru in much of his pronunciation).
24th September, 1929, at Sipolilo.
15. *Native Constable Katumba*, m. 32. Dendera's Country, Urungwe Reserve.
8-9th November, 1929, at Salisbury.

Gova.

16. *Chitemerere*, m. 19. Sampakaluma's Country.
31st October, 1929, at Gokwe.

Tavara.

17. *Murefu*, m. 25 (1 year from home)
18. *Mutumbu*, m. 18 (2 " " ")
19. *Chipungu*, m. 18 (2½ " " ") } All three boys from the
Chimanda Reserve. Gave
themselves out as Korekore
but were Tavara, with Kore-
kore influence.
13th February, 1929, at Chishawasha Mission.
20. *Kamonzi Soko*, m. 18. Portuguese border of Darwin District.
Called himself Korekore.
25th April, 1929, at St. Alban's Mission.
21. *James Chirongo*, m. 35. Chigango's Village.
26th September, 1929, at Mavuradonha Mission.
22. *Chirombo*, m. 45. Zambara's Village near Chigango.
12th November, 1929, at Salisbury.
23. *Maina*, f. 35. Village of Singwa, Mt. Darwin. Left P.E.A. at time of war with Portuguese about 20 years ago. Showed Nyungwe influence.

- Ko. 24. *Ngahwe*, f. 12. Daughter of above.
16th November, 1929. Both at Salisbury.

Sudya.

25. *Tsaga*, m. 32
26. *Mkazi*, m. 55
27. *Muzengesa*, m. 45
28. *Chikumira*, m. 55
29. *Munedza*, m. 55
30. *Peter Nyamutsahuni*, m. 20. Born 15 miles from Mutoko.
25th November, 1929. At Salisbury.
- } 30th July, 1929. All at Mutoko.

Sangwe.

31. *Bamba*, m. 45. Nemangwe's Village, Sasami River. Resided some time at Salisbury, etc.
15th October, 1929. At Salisbury.
32. *Chokonyo*, m. 30. Born 18 miles from Gokwe.
33. *Karombo*, m. 30. Born Munyati River, N.E. Gokwe.
34. *Ntunaye*, m. 30. Born 100 miles N. of Gokwe. (Relative of Bamba.)
(Ko. 31.)
31st October, 1929, at Gokwe.

(b) Zezuru Group**Zezuru.**

- Z. 1. *Murungweni Vito*, m. 40. Chishawasha. Interpreter to Charge Office, Salisbury. Speaks Zezuru (Native tongue), English, Nyanja, Nyungwe, Sena, Sanga, and a little Ndebele.
6th, 7th, 8th February, 1929, at Salisbury.
2. *Nyamasoka*, m. about 75
3. *Ndoro*, m. about 50
4. *Gwatidzo*, m. about 45
} Sawaſa.
13th February, 1929, at Chishawasha.
5. *Chahata*, m. about 50. Of Mbire and Sawaſa descent.
6. *Rusere*, m. about 60. Sawaſa.
7. *Stephen Chirau*, m. 36. From Chiweshi Reserve.
14th February, 1929, at Chishawasha.
8. *Patrick Ngoshi*, m. 35. Harava, from Salisbury District. For ordinary instrumental research, Grammar, etc.
March-October, 1929, at Salisbury.

- Z. 9. *Shadrach Mashagada*, m. 32. Enkeldoorn } Hera.
 10. *Samuel Garikayi*, m. 18. , }
 2nd March, 1929. At St. Augustine's Mission.
11. *Zebediya Moyo*, m. 26. Born at Chirisere near Glendale.
 24th April, 1929. At Howard Institute, Chiweshe Reserve.
12. *Shadrach Shawa*, m. 28. From Marandellas District.
13. *Solomon Shawa*, m. 35. From Mazoe District.
 25th April, 1929. At St. Alban's, Chiweshe Reserve.
14. *Matthew J. Rusike*, m. 33. Born near Salisbury.
15. *Simon J. Chihota*, m. 33. Born near Epworth, Salisbury.
 1st May, 1929. At Waddilove, Marandellas.
16. *Gomba*, m. 19. Born near Wedza.
17. *Muchabaiwa*, m. 15. Monte Cassino.
18. *Peter Mataranyika*, m. 23. Monte Cassino.
 2nd May, 1929. At Monte Cassino, Macheke.
19. *Zure Jonasi*, m. 30. Zwimba Reserve (showed influence of Korekore)
 19th August, 1929. At Sinoia.
20. *Three men* from Narira Reserve, Njanja speakers.
 16th September, 1929. At Gutu Mission.
21. *Munenzei*, m. 45. From Bika, Nyashana's } Both are Hera-
 Country, 40 miles from the Sabi. } speaking Tonga
 22. *Chanuwa*, m. 35. From Nechavava, Nya- }
 shana's Country, 45 miles from Sabi. } (Ndau).
- 18th September, 1929. At Makumbe Mission.
23. *Enoch Tembo*, m. 25. Nohwe from district of Mrewa.
 7th October, 1929. At Inyazura Mission.
24. *Nyamayaro*, m. 25. Grandson of Chikwakwa from Chikwakwa
 Reserve.
25. *Waringeni*, m. 25. Nohwe Country, E. of Mrewa.
 18th November, 1929. At Salisbury.
26. *Mbaiwa*, m. 26. Born Mtekedza's Country, near The Range, Hera.
27. *Cephas Mutomba*, m. 40. Born Ranga's Country, 15 miles from The
 Range. Njanja.
 20th November. 1929. At Domboshawa

(c) **Karanga Group****Karanga.**

- K. 1. *Mamvura*, f. about 60. Born near Victoria, came to Morgenster area as a child.
2. *Timothy Mazenza*, m. about 37. Father originally from Chibi; mother a Rozi, was taken by Matabele; he returned with her as a baby and lived all his life at Morgenster.
3. *Dzarira*, m. 60. Of Royal Family, Magondo's Village.
20-25th March. At Morgenster Mission.
4. *Ernest Beta*
5. *Amunon Shava*
6. *Guwa Moyo* } Teachers at Chibi Mission.
29th March, 1929. At Chibi Mission.
7. *Three men in the Reserve*, about midway between Fort Victoria and Chibi.
6th July, 1929. Between Fort Victoria and Chibi.
8. *Several Natives*.
8th July, 1929. At Pamushana Mission.
9. *Native Messenger*. 10th July, 1929. At Zaka.
10. *Two Natives*. 11th July, 1929. At Jichidza Mission.
11. *James Marumbuka*, m. 22. Pamushana Mission. Practical work at Salisbury.
5-7th August, 1929, also 20th November, 1929, at Domboshawa.
12. *Justinus Shoko*, m. 24. From Charumbira's Country, about 8 miles from Morgenster.
13. *Stephan Moyo*, m. 25. Makonese's Country, near Mnene.
14. *Noah Shawa*, m. 25. 30 miles south of Chibi.
13th September, 1929. At Mnene Mission.
15. *Several Natives*. 16th September, 1929. At Gutu Mission.
16. *Native Teacher*. 17th September, 1929. Driefontein Mission.
17. *Mtakati*, m. 45. Nyusi from Matopo Hills.
3rd December, 1929. At Fort Usher.
18. *Kamengombe*, m. 45. Grandson of deceased Chief Chibi. A Mari from Chibi, worked only at Selukwe.
19. *Mutodza*, m. 60. Born at Chibi (uninfluenced). Mari.
20. *Chirangoma*, m. 55. Born at Chibi. Mari.
21. *Kangaidzo*, m. 55. Born 25 miles S.E. of Morgenster. Jena.

- K. 22. *Juru*, f. 45. Govera from Gutu.
 23. *Takambirwa*, m. 16. Son of No. 22.
 24. *John Knox*, m. 28. Govera-speaking Nda, born at Chipinga, brought up at Gutu.
 25. *Kaleb Gozho*, m. 55. Born at Mushawasha near Morgenster. Duma. 14th December, 1929. At Morgenster Mission.

(d) **Manyika Group**

Ma nyika (Guta, Karombe, Sunji, Nyatwe).

- M. 1. *David Ramehwa*, m. 23. Born at St. Augustine's Mission.
 2. *Thomas Chikisana*, m. 25.
 3. *Daniel Chidawanyika*, m. 14.
 4. *Weston Buzuzi*, m. 25.
 5. *Ernest Chidawanyika*, m. 35.
 23rd February, 1929, et seq. At St. Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga.
 6. *J. M. Chimbadzwa*, m. 40. Native Deacon. Old Umtali.
 5th March, 1929. Conversation and letter.
 7. *Paul Malianga*, m. 32. (Not reliable as Manyika : is influenced by Zezuru.)
 4th May, 1929. At Old Umtali Mission.
 8. *George Sagumbo*, m. 4th May, 1929. At St. Augustine's Mission.
 9. *Alfred*, m. P.E.A. Border.
 10. *Two girls*, f. 20 and 23. 11th June, 1929. At Trias Hill Mission.
 11. *Five young men*, m. 11th June, 1929. At Bonda Mission.
 12. *Harry Mandisadza*, m. 40. (Messenger at Inyanga Camp. Speaking Karombe.)
 13th June, 1929. At Inyanga Camp.
 13. *Boniface Chitsoko*, m. 30. Near Trias Hill (Karombe and Manyika).
 12th August, 1929. At Salisbury.
 14. *Thomas Mutsano*, m. 35. Near Trias Hill.
 15. *Laurence Nyahotsi*, m. 35. Born at Trias Hill (Sunji and Karombe.)
 16th November, 1929. At Salisbury.

Hungwe.

- M. 16. *Mutsakwane*, m. 15. Chiduku Reserve. Hungwe-speaking Zezuru.
 17. *Maurice Shonga*, m. 16. Rusape.
 18. *Bopoto*, m. 15. Rusape.
 19. *French*, m. 20. Macheke. Hungwe-speaking Zezuru.
 2nd May, 1929. At Monte Cassino Mission.

20. *Michael*. Makoni Reserve.
11th June, 1929. At Trias Hill.
21. *One man*. 30th July, 1929. At Nyadiri Mission.
22. *Two men*. 7th October, 1929. At Inyazura Mission.
23. *Chihunya and Men* from Makoni.
14th June, 1929. At Rusape.
24. *Isaiah Manjese*, m. 45. Born at Rusape.
20th November, 1929. At Domboshawa.

Unyama.

- M. 25. *Takulandidza*, m. 18. Born at Saunyama, Inyanga.
26. *Mushandiryd*, m. 25. Born at Saunyama, Inyanga.
11th December, 1929. At Umtali.

Boca.

- M. 27. *Samson Azina*, m. 30. Born at Bocha, Messenger at Umtali.
11th December, 1929. At Umtali.

Jindwi.

- M. 28. *Chineta*, m. 35. Born at Jindwi.
29. *Chisamba*, m. 60. Born at Jindwi.
11th December, 1929. At Umtali.

Bvumba.

- M. 30. *Cyprian Mwashata*, m. 25. Born Bvumba Mountains, border of
P.E.A.
11th December, 1929. At Umtali.

Teve.

- M. 31. *Francis Nyemu*, m. 30. Born 16 miles from Mutambara, P.E.A.
6th May, 1929. At Mutambara.
32. *Manwele*, m. 40. Nyaumbwe, Chimoio District, P.E.A.
21st November, 1929. At Salisbury.

(e) Nda Group**Nda.**

- N. 1. *Ndambi*, m. 19. Mount Silinda.
28th March, 1929. At Fort Victoria.
2. *Solomon*, m. 30 }
3. *Wilson*, m. 18 } 8th May, 1929. At Rusitu Mission.
4. *Kiyana Mhlango*, m. 45. Born 10 miles from Mount Silinda.
Worked Salisbury.

- N. 5. *Hlabati Dzukuso*, m. 44. Born Chikore, worked at Salisbury, Bulawayo, Johannesburg.
6. *Ngilazi Nkomo*, m. 50. Born near Mount Silinda, worked at Salisbury, Bulawayo, Johannesburg.
7. *Madeya Hlatshwayo*, m. 50. Born and lived all his life at Mount Silinda.
8. *Mnyaka*, m. 35. Born in P.E.A., 15 miles from Mount Silinda.
9. *Vangwaye*, m. 45. Born at Mount Silinda, worked at Salisbury and Johannesburg.
10. *Soniye Hlanga*, m. 40. Born at Mount Silinda.
Both parents of 4-10 are Ndau.
10th May, 1929. At Mount Silinda.
11. *Charlie Mtisi*, m. 50. Born at Chikore. Worked three times at Salisbury.
12. *Hlupo Nkomo*, m. 40. Born at Chikore. Worked in Johannesburg and Umtali.
13. *Ransome Tondhlana*, m. 24. Born at Chikore. Not been away.
14. *Rice Maposo*, m. Born Mumbé's Country, 25 miles south of Chikore. Been to Salisbury and Messina.
15. *Simon Nyombo*, m. 42. Born in P.E.A., 25 miles south of Mount Silinda. Worked in Johannesburg and Natal.
16. *Luke Sitole*, m. 24. Born at Mount Silinda. Worked in Bulawayo.
10th May, 1929. At Chikore Mission.
17. *James Nkundhlande*, m. 26. Born Chikore. (Father and son both spoke Zulu, mother understood it.)
25-27th June. Instrumental work at Salisbury.

Garwe.

- N. 18. *Albert Goni*, m. 35. Mutambara.
19. *Enoch Kumwe*, m. 30. Mutambara.
20. *Silas Nhamo*, m. 30. Born Dunhu, about 12 miles from Mutambara.
6th May, 1929. At Mutambara Mission.
21. *Tasive*, m. 35. Mutambara.
22. *Zungwaro*, m. 35. Mutambara.
21st November, 1929. At Salisbury.

Tonga.

- N. 23. *Two boys and two girls*. 16th September, 1929. At Alheit Mission.
24. *Boy from Sabi River*. 18th September, 1929. At Makumbe Mission.

Danda.

N. 25. *Nukwase*, f. 18. Born at Mutati, Chibavava's Country. (Also for Nda.)

18th November, 1929. At Salisbury.

Saŋga.

N. 26. *Mbaimbai Magona*, m. 50. From Mambone, mouth of Sabi in district of Govuro, P.E.A.

19th November, 1929. At Salisbury.

(f) Kalanga Group**Talahundra.**

Kal. 1. *Pura*, m. 60

2. *Mfana Moyo*, m. 35

3. *Wife of Pura*, f. 25

4. *Several men and women*

} 30th November, 1929. At Nkombe-
ledzi's Village near Plumtree.

Lilima.

Kal. 5. *Habangani*, m. 50. Chief.

6. *Six men and two women* of Habangani's Village, Lilima-speaking Kalangas.

2nd December, 1929. At Habangani, Tati Concession.

Kalanga.

Kal. 7. *Sipopa L. Kupe*, m. 47. Storekeeper. Born near Tekwane River in 1882.

8. *Chilwa*, m. 36. Born 6 miles from Dombodema.

9. *Mudongo*, m. 71. Born Lilima Country at Domboshawa, 30 miles from Dombodema.

10. *Gwakuwa*, m. 45. Born near Dombodema.

11. *Haninga*, m. 81. Born 20 miles from Dombodema.

12. *Valevesa*, f. 82. Born Nata Reserve.

13. *Vutsitse*, f. 61. Born Bulilima in Khama's Country. Bechuana-land Protectorate.

2nd December, 1929. At Dombodema, Plumtree.

Nambzya.

Kal 14. *Change*, m. 70. Headman, Lukozi River, near Wankie.

15. *Nyongwa*, m. 32. Native messenger. Born Nyatuwi River, Wankie Reserve, No. A.

16. *Tumba*, m. 30. Native messenger.

4th December, 1929. At Wankie.

APPENDIX II

Bibliography of Shona Publications

The following Bibliography has been made possible through the assistance of Missionaries in the various centres, who have not only supplied information, but have been most helpful in providing specimens of their publications. A draft bibliography for each area was checked and corrected by the Revs. B. H. Barnes, C.R., A. Burbridge, S.J., J. White, Mrs. C. S. Louw, and Mr. C. C. Fuller, whose help has been invaluable.

In addition the following publications have been used in the compilation :—

- (i) The British and Foreign Bible Society's *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles*, 4 vols.
- (ii) Rowling and Wilson's *Bibliography of African Christian Literature*, 1923-7.
- (iii) E. W. Smith's *The Way of the White Fields in Rhodesia*, 1928.

It will be seen that the Bibliography contains 3 General items, 41 Karanga, 36 Zezuru, 61 Manyika (mostly in the Guta and Hungwe dialects), 27 Ndau, and 6 Kalanga, making a total of 174 items, most of which, however, are of trifling importance from a literary or educational point of view. This list, naturally, is not an exhaustive one.

(a) General

1926. The Mashonaland Quarterly, vol. i, Nos. 1-4, July, 1926-June, 1927. Articles in several of the dialects published, sometimes with English translations, with the object of forwarding the unification movement. Printed at Morgenster and supported by the Government through the Department of Native Education. (1)
1928. The Rhodesian Quarterly, vol. ii (continuing), being a continuation of the Mashonaland Quarterly, including articles in Ndebele. (2)
1929. A Manuscript Grammar¹ of "Karanga, the language of Old Monomotapa, as at present spoken in Mashonaland, compared with and explained by other Bantu and Non-Bantu languages". By Francisque Marconnès, S.J. Contains between 200 and 300 typed pages, in which the author has employed the ultra-disjunctive method of writing. This grammar purports to include the different Shona dialects, and contains much valuable and original matter. It is ready for the press. (3)

¹ Kindly lent by the author.

(b) **Karanga**

1893. Matabele and Makalaka Vocabularies. Murray and St. Leger, Cape Town. 18·5 × 12 cm., pp. 32. By M. E. Weale. This little publication was designed to assist settlers in communicating with their native servants. Arranged in three parallel columns, "English, Tabele, and Kalaka." The author used a very misleading orthography, and much of his Karanga is incorrect. (1)
1899. Buke eo ko Ravisa Tshekaranga. Middelburg, S.A. Republic. 12 × 17·5 cm., pp. 46. Elementary Reader, prepared by Lutheran Missionaries, who employed the Suto system of orthography. (2)
- Buko eo ko Ravisa Tshikaranga. Undated. 11 × 14 cm., pp. 38. A First Reader in Suto orthography. (3)
1900. Mark. Translated by Dr. J. T. Helm and Rev. A. A. Louw, and printed privately. (4)
1902. Mashòko e Buke eo Modzimo. Berlin. 12·5 × 18·5 cm., pp. 168. Bible Stories compiled by Rev. Wedepohl, of the Berlin Mission, in Suto orthography. (5)
1903. Ngano. First Reading Book. Morgenster, pp. 32. Prepared by Mrs. C. S. Louw. A later edition, printed at Cape Town in 1927, was 10 × 13·5 cm. (6)
1904. Evangeli ea Mattheus. B.F.B.S. 16 × 10·5 cm., pp. 109. St. Matthew's Gospel, translated by J. T. Helm and A. A. Louw, missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, Morgenster. They had completed a version of the whole N.T. in 1900. The neighbouring German missionaries were consulted as to the system of orthography to be adopted. (7)
1904. Evangeli ea Markus. B.F.B.S. 16 × 10·5 cm., pp. 67. St. Mark's Gospel, previously printed privately in 1900, see No. (4). (8)
1905. Evangeli ea Lukas. B.F.B.S. 16 × 10·5 cm., pp. 116. St. Luke's Gospel. (9)
1906. Evangeli ea Yohannes. B.F.B.S. 16 × 10·5 cm., pp. 88. St. John's Gospel. (10)
1906. Zuito zua va-Apostola. Epistola ko na va-Filippi. Epistola eo ko tanga ko na va-Thessalonika. Epistola e' peri ko na va-Thessalonika. B.F.B.S. 16 × 10·5 cm., pp. 110 + 27. The Acts of the Apostles, bound together with the Epistles to the Philippians and the Thessalonians. (11)
1906. The Gospels, Acts, and three Epistles. The portions hitherto published were bound together in one volume with a general title, wrongly dated 1904. (12)

1906. Shumo. Second Reading Book. Morgenster. pp. 60. Prepared by Mrs. C. S. Louw. A later edition, printed at Cape Town in 1927, was 12 × 18 cm. (13)
- Zuwunzo za Vana pa Shoko ro Modzimo. Bible History Questions. 12 × 14 cm., pp. 32. In Suto orthography. Date uncertain. (14)
1909. Vunzo dze Shoko ro Wedenga. Bible History Questions. Morgenster. Translated from the Dutch by Mrs. C. S. Louw. (15)
1909. Katekisma. Morgenster. Catechism, translated from Dutch by A. A. Louw. A later edition at Cape Town was 11 × 15 cm., pp. 26. (16)
1910. Nziyo dze Chikaranga dze "De Ned. Ger." Kereke pa Mashonaland. Cape Town. 10 × 15·5 cm., pp. 128. Hymns of the Dutch Reformed Church. A later edition appeared in 1923, entitled Nziyo dze Kereke. Morgenster. 11 × 17·5 cm., pp. 196. This contained 210 hymns, translated from Dutch, English, and German, by various members of the Staff. (17)
1910. Mipirigwe. Morgenster. Formularies of the Dutch Reformed Church, translated by A. A. Louw. (18)
- Mirairo ye Dutch Reformed Church pa Mashonaland. Morgenster. In two sizes: 10·5 × 13 cm., pp. 20; 13 × 18·5 cm., pp. 15, interleaved blank. Church Laws obtaining in Mashonaland. Date uncertain. (19)
1912. Vunzo dze Shoko ro Mudzimu ne dza Mashoko e Kereke. Questions on the Word of God and the Church. Morgenster. 13·5 × 21 cm., pp. 64. (20)
1913. Vuya kuna Yesu. Come to Jesus. Morgenster. pp. 60. Newman Hall's tract translated by A. C. Jackson. A second edition was published in 1919. Dundee, Natal. 12·5 × 18 cm., pp. 46. (21)
1913. Munyai wa SHE. Morgenster. A bi-monthly magazine, which has been running continuously since 1913. Has contained as serials the "Pilgrim's Progress" and translations of devotional books. Edited by A. A. Louw and Mrs. C. S. Louw. (22)
1915. A Manual of the Chikaranga Language, with Grammar, Exercises, Useful Conversational Sentences and Vocabulary (English-Chikaranga and Chikaranga-English). Philpott and Collins, Bulawayo. 13 × 19·5 cm., pp. x + 397. By Mrs. C. S. Louw. This book contains the best grammatical sketch of any Mashonaland language hitherto published. The Karanga vocabulary contains over 8,000 words, among which the author has included terms of a wider area than that covered strictly by Karanga. The whole book constitutes a valuable piece of work. (23)

1918. Buku ya Vana. Children's Book. Citadel Press, Cape Town. 13·5 × 20·5 cm., pp. 150. Old Testament History. By H. C. Hugo. A second edition was published in 1928. (24)
1918. Eyangeri Nna ne Mibato. B.F.B.S. 8 × 12·5 cm., pp. 77, 50, 83, 61, 78. The Four Gospels and Acts. (25)
1919. Testamente Tsa ya She wedu no Muchengeti Yesu Kristu. B.F.B.S. 8 × 12·5 cm., pp. 582. New Testament, re-translation by A. A. Louw with the assistance of Mrs. C. S. Louw. (26)
1919. Buku ra Masom. Cape Town. 13·5 × 20·5 cm., pp. 74. Arithmetic, by H. Murray. (27)
- Kate'hisma Duku. Luther's Small Catechism, translated by Rev. Wedepohl of the Berlin Missionary Society. (28)
1920. English Book for Va-Karanga. Morgenster. pp. 30. By H. Murray. Another edition entitled "Primer for Vakaranga" was published in 1925. Morgenster. 10·5 × 13·5 cm., pp. 32. (29)
1921. Mapsalma a Davide. Morgenster. The Psalms of David, translated by A. A. Louw. (30)
1924. Nziyo dze Chikoro. School Songs. Morgenster. 12·5 × 17 cm., pp. 59. Containing 50 songs with Sol-fa. Some are purely native songs, and others were translated from English by Mrs. J. Reyneke. (31)
1924. Rudo. Love. Morgenster. 10 × 13·5 cm., pp. 22. Translated from Dr. A. Murray's book by A. C. Jackson. (32)
1924. Buku ya Vadzidzisi. Book of Instructions for Teachers. Morgenster. 10 × 13·5 cm., pp. 70. By H. W. Murray. (33)
1925. Ku Nyengetera. Prayer. Morgenster. 10·5 × 12·5 cm., pp. 38. Translated from Dr. A. Murray's book by A. C. Jackson. (34)
1925. Mufaro wo Muviri. Bodily Health. Morgenster. 10·5 × 13·5 cm pp. 41. By H. W. Murray and Dr. T. Steyn. (35)
1926. English-Chikaranga Dictionary. Morgenster. 10 × 13 cm., pp. 50. Excerpts from Mrs. Louw's larger book by Mrs. G. Murray. (36)
1926. Njere. Wisdom. Morgenster. 10 × 13 cm., pp. 44. Elementary book of Nature and Science Study, by H. W. Murray and A. C. Jackson. (37)
1927. Mashoko e Bible. Bible Stories. Church of Sweden Mission. 13 × 18 cm., pp. 64. (38)
1928. Katekasimu Doko ya Martin Luther. Church of Sweden Mission. 10 × 16 cm., pp. 20. Luther's Smaller Catechism. (39)
1928. Masom, Buku II. Morgenster. 10·5 × 13 cm., pp. 51. A second Arithmetic, by H. W. Murray. (40)

1928. *Buku ya Madzimai*. Book for Mothers. Morgenster. 10.5 × 13 cm., pp. 50. By Mrs. C. S. Louw. (41)

(c) **Zezuru**

1893. *An Outline of a Grammar of the Mashona Language*. Cape Town. 12.5 × 18 cm., pp. 69. By A. M. Hartmann, S.J. Hartmann was a pioneer in grammatical work in this field, but his ear was evidently very faulty, and he was utterly unable to distinguish certain voiced from unvoiced sounds, writing *zwaganaga* for “*zwakanaka*”, *umdswairo* for “*mutswairo*”, *oku tsinofa* for “*huku dzinofa*”, *dinoguda* for “*ndinokuda*”, *imboga* (three syllables) for “*imbga*”, etc. (1)
1894. *English-Mashona Dictionary*, with Appendix of some Phrases. Juta and Co., Cape Town. 10.5 × 13.5 cm., pp. vi + 78. By A. M. Hartmann, S.J. This little book contains a vocabulary of about 2,000 English words, and ten pages of common phrases in English and Zezuru with Ndebele equivalents. (2)
1897. *Dictionary of the Tebele and Shuna Languages*. Nutt, London. 11 × 16 cm., pp. xl + 398. By W. A. Elliott of the London Missionary Society. Contains a grammatical outline and dictionaries intended to cover several of the dialects of Mashonaland. Elliott used a vocabulary of Hartmann, but his work on “*Shuna*” is very inaccurate. He did not even recognize the “*whistling fricatives*”. (3)
1898. *Rugwaro Kunamata*. Prayers. First edition, prepared by A. M. Hartmann. 5 × 7.5 cm., pp. 30. Second edition, prepared by E. Biehler in 1906. 7.5 × 12.5 cm., pp. 150. Third edition, 1910, fourth edition, 1914, fifth edition, 1920, sixth edition, 1925. 10 × 15 cm., pp. 207. (4)
1898. *Ivangeri ya Marako*. B.F.B.S. 15.5 × 10.5 cm., pp. 96. St. Mark's Gospel translated by John White of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. (5)
1900. *Roman Catholic Catechism*, by Fr. Moreau. A second edition was published in 1913. 7.5 × 12.5 cm., pp. 60. A third edition was entitled “*A First Catechism of Christian Doctrine in English and Chishwina*”. 7.5 × 12.5 cm., pp. 40. A fourth edition was prepared by Fr. Daignault in 1924. All are translations of Bishop Challoner's “*Catechism of Christian Doctrine*”. (6)
1901. *Ivangeri ya Mateyu*. B.F.B.S. 15.5 × 10.5 cm., pp. 151. Matthew's Gospel translated by J. White. (7)

1902. Zwizidzo zwa Badugu. W.M.M.S., Epworth Press. pp. 50. Children's Reader prepared by J. White. The 1928 edition was 10 × 15·5 cm., pp. 32. (8)
1903. Ivangeri yakanyorwa na Johane. B.F.B.S. 15·5 × 10·5 cm., pp. 128. John's Gospel translated by J. White, with the help of A. Walton. (9)
1905. Ndziyo ne Minamoto. Hymns and Service Book. W.M.M.S., Epworth Press. pp. 120. A third edition was published in 1927 entitled, Ndziyo ne Minamoto ya Banu Banonzi ba Ma-Wesire pa Mashonaland. W.M.M.S., Epworth Press. 8·5 × 13 cm., pp. 231. (10)
1905. Rugwaro rgwa Kunemba Chishwina. Stories Native and European adapted. A second edition was published in 1913. 12·5 × 20 cm., pp. 38. (11)
1906. Rugwaro rwo kutanga rwa Moses runongi Genesis. B.F.B.S. 17 × 11·5 cm., pp. 74. Genesis translated by A. Walton. Reprinted in 1928. (12)
1906. English-Chiswina Dictionary with an Outline Chiswina Grammar. By E. Biehler, S.J. Chishawasha Jesuit Mission. 10 × 14 cm., 263 + 120 pp. A new and enlarged edition was published in 1913. Chishawasha. 10 × 14 cm., pp. 288, followed by "Mashona or Chiswina Vocabulary", pp. 155. A further revised and enlarged edition was published 1927. Chishawasha. 12 × 15 cm., pp. 428. Biehler's work is at present the only book of reference on Zezuru. (13)
1906. Four Methods of Teaching English to Mashwina. By E. Biehler. 12·5 × 20 cm., pp. 50. 1st method, Daily Conversation; 2nd method, Elementary Grammar; 3rd method, Dialogues between Master and Servant; 4th method, School Songs. (14)
1906. Testamente. Chishawasha. 15 × 21 cm., pp. 135. Translation of Knecht's "Child's Bible History," with appendix of additional Bible Stories, by E. Biehler. A second edition was published in 1913. (15)
1907. Testamente Itswa ya She wedu Jesu Kristu no rurimi rwe Chishona. B.F.B.S. 17·5 × 11·5 cm., pp. 293. The New Testament translated by J. White, with the assistance of a native named Jonas Chihota. A second edition was published in 1911, and reprinted in 1914. (16)
1910. Mibvunzo yo kutanga. W.M.M.S. pp. 30. Wesleyan Methodist First Catechism, by J. White. (17)
- Nano ne Nano. Paper covers, 7·5 × 12·5 cm., pp. 40. "A Karanga Progressive Reading Book," by F. Marconnès, S.J. (18)

1913. *Epistora ne Evangerio gore ye gore re Kirike*. Roermond, Holland. 10 × 15 cm., pp. 385. With Church Calendar and Index, prepared by Fr. Hesse, S.J. (19)
1913. *Rupenyu rgwa Mambo wedu Yesu Kriste, sa rgwa ka nyorgwa na Mateo, Marko, Luka na Yoanes*. Chishawasha. 10 × 14 cm., pp. 270. A Harmony of the Gospels. This contains an attempt to retain disjunctive word-division, while bringing the conjunctive elements closely together with small spacing. (20)
1916. *Rugwaro rgwo kutanga kunemba Chizezuru*. A First Reader in Chizezuru. A second edition was printed at Mariannahill in 1927. 12·5 × 18 cm., pp. 64. Prepared by the sisters at Monte Cassino Mission, Macheke. Contains a few native tales, which, however, are of little ethnographic value, as they are adapted for religious purposes. (21)
1920. *Chizezuru and Chinyanja Songs*. Salvation Army, C.T. 12 × 17·5 cm., pp. 48. Contains 124 Zezuru Hymns, 27 Nyanja Hymns, and 41 Zezuru Choruses. (22)
1922. *Rugwaro rwe Mibvunzo Ye Nau dze Biberi*. W.M.M.S., Epworth Press. 10 × 18 cm., pp. 187. Scripture Question Book, by J. White, illustrated, attractively printed, and bound in stiff cloth boards. (23)
1924. *Vamartyre vo ku Uganda*. The Blessed Martyrs of Uganda. Mariannahill. 11 × 15 cm., pp. 54. Translated and adapted from the pamphlet of Bishop Streicher by Joseph Dambaza, a Zezuru Catechist of Kutama's Mission. This is a good example of thoroughly idiomatic Zezuru. (24)
1925. *Paraphrased Poem in Zezuru*, by A. Vera and A. Cripps. In "Nada", No. III, page 13. (25)
1925. *Katekisimo ye Zwifundiso zwa Yesu Kriste*. Mariannahill. 10·5 × 13 cm., pp. 95. A translation of a Catechism of Christian Doctrine, by the Jesuit Fathers. (26)
1925. *Rugwaro rgwo Kunamata rgwa vanu ve Kirike Katolike*. Mariannahill. 10·5 × 13 cm., pp. 208 + vii. Prayer and Hymn Book, prepared for the Zambesi Mission. Fourth edition, revised and augmented. (27)
1926. *Mashona Proverbs*, by "Mbizo". A collection of fifteen Zezuru proverbs, in "Nada", No. IV, pp. 29, 30. (28)
1926. *Some Mashona Songs and Dances*, by Guy A. Taylor. A collection of eleven, in "Nada", No. IV, pp. 38-42. (29)

1927. Rugwaro rgwe chipiri kunemba Chizezuru. Mariannahill. 13·5 × 21 cm., pp. 89. A second reader prepared by the sisters at Monte Cassino Mission, Macheke. (30)
1928. Ndziyo. Psalms. B.F.B.S. 11 × 17 cm., pp. 83. This translation was made by A. Walton in 1914. (31)
1928. Mibvunzo ya Mawesire Methodisi Churche. London. 12 × 18 cm., pp. 30. Catechism prepared by J. Butler. Large print, with two coloured illustrations. (32)
1928. Rugwaro rwemibvunzo rwechipiri, rwe Hondo yo Ruponiso. Salvation Army, C.T. 12 × 18 cm., pp. 48. Directory No. II of the Salvation Army, prepared by General William Booth, and translated by Ensign Kimball. (33)
1928. Testamente ndokuti Nawu dze Chitenderano cha Kare ne dze Chitswa. Salisbury Jesuit Mission. 12·5 × 18·5 cm., pp. 124. Old and New Testament History in the form of lessons and questions. Prepared by Bishop F. J. Knecht, and translated into Zezuru by Fr. Daignault in conjunction with Lorenzo Sawada and Joseph Dambaza. This is a far more idiomatic translation than the "Rupenyu", for instance, and is purged of "padreisms". (34)
- Isaiah. B.F.B.S. Translated by J. White in 1922 in collaboration with three Zezurus. (35)
1929. Johane. B.F.B.S. 10·5 × 16 cm., pp. 50. A new translation by J. White. (36)

(d) **Manyika**

1898. . . . (Matins and Evensong, a portion of St. Mark's Gospel, and hymns, in Chino, the language of Mashonaland). S.P.C.K., London. 16·5 × 10·5 cm., pp. 52. A small volume including, besides the usual passages of Scripture, Mark i-vi, 13, translated by D. R. Pelly, of the S.P.G., assisted by a native reader. (1)
1900. Minamato ne Zwiyimbo yawana we sangano. S.P.C.K. 15 × 10 cm., pp. 24. Prayers and Hymns for Church people in Chino. (2)
1900. Lumen ad Revelationem Gentium. S.P.C.K. 15 × 10 cm., pp. 32. Scripture portions showing God's revelation to men. Compiled by missionaries in Corea, and translated by D. R. Pelly into Chino. (3)
1903. Vangeri rinoyera ra Sante Marka. S.P.C.K. 16·5 × 10·5 cm., pp. 54. St Mark's Gospel in the Chizwina language, translated by E. H. Etheridge of the S.P.G. (4)

1903. Minamoto ne zwiymbo. S.P.C.K. pp. 268. Portions of the Book of Common Prayer, with Psalms and Hymns in Chiswina, the language of Mashonaland, translated by E. H. Etheridge. Besides the Liturgical Epistles and Gospels and other passages of Scripture included in the first part, this volume contains Psalms cxlv, cxvii, viii, xx, xxiv, xlvii, liv, cxiii, cxi, cxxi, xcvi, lxvii, li, xxiii, and c (in this order). (5)
1905. Mayangeri ne Mabasa e Wapostori. S.P.C.K. 16·5 × 10·5 cm., pp. 381. The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in Chiswina, translated by E. H. Etheridge. (6)
1905. A Hand-Book of Chikaranga or the Language of Mashonaland, by Mrs. H. E. Springer. Methodist Episcopal Mission. 18·75 × 12·5 cm., pp. 106. This little book, though based on the Manyika of Old Umtali, contains many words of Zezuru. A brief grammatical introduction is followed by an English—"Chikaranga" Vocabulary and a "Chikaranga"—English Vocabulary, the latter containing nearly 3,000 words. In her introduction Mrs. Springer showed a remarkable grip of the language position in Mashonaland. (7)
- Zwishamiso ne Mifananidzo zweise zwa Yesu Kristu Muponesi wedu. Rhodesia Mission Press. 18 × 11·75 cm., pp. 60. The Miracles and Parables of Jesus, prepared by Mrs. H. E. Springer, and illustrated. (8)
1907. Tsamba yo kutanga ya Samueri. Tsamba ye chiperi ya Samueri. B.F.B.S. 18 × 11·5 cm., pp. 87. I and II Samuel, translated by E. W. Lloyd of the S.P.G. The Manyika is influenced by the Hera dialect (Zezuru) of the Enkeldoorn district. (9)
1908. Testamente Itswa. S.P.C.K. 17 × 11 cm., pp. 656. The New Testament in Chiswina. Translated by E. H. Etheridge. Between 1908 and 1918, 19,500 copies were issued, and the reprint in 1920 was of 3,000 copies. (10)
1908. Magono e Rudawiro. S.P.C.K. 16 × 10 cm., pp. 64. "Heroes of the Faith" in the Chiswina language. A small volume containing Heb. xi-xii, 2, with illustrative passages from the O.T. and N.T., prepared by A. S. Cripps of the S.P.G. Reprinted in 1913. (11)
- Buku re Kutanga. (First Primer in Chimanyika). The tenth edition was issued in 1928, edited by E. H. Greeley of Old Umtali Mission. Rhodesia Mission Press. 12 × 18 cm., pp. 32. (12)
1910. Katekisma kana Tsamba ye Rudzidziso rwe Sangano katolike. Mariannahill. 11 × 15·5 cm., pp. 74. Roman Catholic Catechism, prepared by F. Mayr. (13)

1910. *Buku re Chipiri*. (Second Primer in Chimanyika.) Revised in 1927 and edited by E. H. Greeley. Rhodesia Mission Press. 12·5 × 18·5 cm., pp. 64. (14)
1911. *Munda we Mweya kana Tsamba ye Minamoto ne Ndwiyo*. Prayer and Hymn Book, by F. Mayr. Mariannahill. 10 × 13 cm., pp. 226. With illustrations and Tonic Sol-fa notation. (15)
1911. A Dictionary with Notes on the Grammar of the Mashona Language, commonly called Chiswina, by H. Buck, C.R. S.P.C.K. 12 × 17·5 cm., pp. 206. This contains a simple grammatical sketch, and a vocabulary of about 4,500 Manyika words. The book has proved of great use to European workers, despite its weakness in orthography. (16)
1911. *Stories of Our Lord, in the Chiswina Language*. S.P.C.K. 15·5 × 12·5 cm., pp. 32. Illustrated. This was reprinted in 1925. (17)
1912. *Easy-English for Natives in Rhodesia*. Manyika-English Phrase and Conversation Book, by F. Mayr. The third edition was published in 1928. Mariannahill. 12 × 17·5 cm., pp. 80. This little book is very popular with the natives in both Manyika and Zezuru areas. (18)
1913. *Rwendo rwe Mukristu*. Service Book. S.P.C.K. A second edition with two illustrations was prepared at Rusape by Mrs. M. Lloyd, in 1920. S.P.C.K. 13·5 × 10·5 cm., pp. 178. A third edition with illustrations, some by Margaret Glover, was prepared by Canon E. W. Lloyd in memory of his late wife, and published "in the Chiwanhu language", 1929. S.P.C.K. 10 × 15·5 cm., pp. 192. (19)
1913. Material relating to the Nyika (maNyika) people in Mashonaland, contributed by Bro. Aegidius Pfister. This is a contribution to "The Collector," No. 4, edited by W. Wanger, and printed at Mariannahill. The Manyika material occupies pages 179-183 of native text and English translation, and describes various native customs. (20)
1914. *First Primer in the Chiswina Language*. S.P.C.K. 12 × 17 cm., pp. 72. This little book is beautifully illustrated with sketches from native life by Miss Margaret Glover, and was prepared at Rusape. (21)
1915. *Tsamba ye Masoko*. Book of Stories. St. Augustine's Mission. 12 × 17·5 cm., pp. 43. (22)
1915. *Buku duku re masoko anoyera*. Mariannahill. 12·5 × 18·5 cm., pp. 74. Bible Stories illustrated, prepared by Bishop F. J. Knecht, and translated into Manyika by I. Krauspenhaar. (23)

1917. Masoko akasarudzwa e Wanoyera. Selected sayings of the Saints, by I. Krauspenhaar. Mariannahill. 10·5 × 13 cm., pp. 96. (24)
1917. Buku re Masoko anoyera e chirangano che kare ne chipswa rakawambzirwa nge masoko e sangano. Mariannahill. 13·5 × 21 cm., pp. 231. Old and New Testament Stories, followed by a short Church History, prepared by Bishop R. Gilmour, and translated by Brother Aegidius (not by F. Mayr as stated on the title-page). (25)
1917. Minamoto ye Dzimwe Nguwa. Prayers for various occasions. Salisbury. 13 × 10 cm., pp. 12. Published by E. H. Etheridge. (26)
1917. Minamoto ne Zwiyimbo. Portions of the Book of Common Prayer and Hymn Book. S.P.C.K. 11 × 16 cm., pp. 351. In this year there were also separately published "Morning and Evening Prayer", also "Prayers and Hymns", and four sheets of Hymns, all by the S.P.C.K. In 1926 was published an enlarged edition of Minamoto ne Zwiyimbo. S.P.C.K. 10 × 15·5 cm., pp. 291 + 159. (27)
1918. Gore Rinoyera re Sangano. The Holy Year of the Church. Mariannahill. 9·5 × 12·5 cm., pp. 264. Prayers and Hymns prepared at Triashill Mission. (28)
1918. Washingi we Rudawiro, Part I. Heroes of the Faith. Salisbury. 13·5 × 21 cm., pp. 20. Prepared at Rusape by E. W. Lloyd. (29)
1918. Minamoto ye Makristu. Christian Prayers. Salisbury. 8·5 × 12·5 cm., pp. 16. (30)
1918. Chaplet che Minamoto. Chaplet of Prayer. S.P.C.K. 7·5 × 11 cm., pp. 48. Compiled by M. W. Conran. Reprinted in 1924. (31)
1919. Minamoto ye Compline. Prayers for Compline. St. Augustine's Mission. 12 × 12·5 cm., pp. 11. Prepared by B. H. Barnes, C.R. (32)
1919. Katekizima Duku ye Metodisti Episkopari Chechi. Junior Catechism of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Rhodesia Mission Press. 12 × 16 cm., pp. 40. Translated by E. H. Greeley. (33)
1920. Nzira ya Kunamata. S.P.C.K. 12 × 17 cm., pp. 32. Thoughts on Prayer, by A. H. Baverstock. (34)
1921. Masoko e Testamente ye Kare. S.P.C.K. 13 × 18 cm., pp. 114. Old Testament Stories, illustrated. (35)
1921. Katikizima. Provincial Catechism. S.P.C.K. 8·5 × 11 cm., pp. 64. (36)
1921. Chiswina Primer. S.P.C.K. 12 × 18 cm., pp. 22. (37)

1921. Zwa ra Mwari re kuzorora ne redu. Sentinel Publ. Co., C.T. 12 × 18 cm., pp. 8. Tract on "The Sabbath", translated by Mrs. Bowen for the Seventh Day Adventist Mission at Inyazura. (38)
- Sondo Musi we Tenzi wedu. Sunday, the Day of Our Lord. Tract prepared by the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, Old Umtali. Rhodesia Mission Press. 8·5 × 13 cm., pp. 13. (39)
1923. Masoko e Buku ya Mwari (Testamente ya Kari nga Chikaranga). Rhod. Mission Press. 12 × 18 cm., pp. 70. Old Testament Stories, translated and printed by the Berlin Missionary Society in 1902, and transliterated by Mrs. J. M. Springer. (40)
1924. Tsamba ye kutanga. First Reader. S.P.C.K. 13·5 × 18 cm., pp. 16. (41)
1924. Tsamba ye chipiri. Second Reader. S.P.C.K. 10 × 16 cm., pp. 32. (42)
1925. Vangeri ra Sante Luka. S.P.C.K. 10 × 16 cm., pp. 96. Luke's Gospel reprinted. (43)
1925. Zwiyimbo. S.P.C.K. 12·5 × 18 cm., pp. 268. Hymn Book with music. (44)
1926. Kudzokera kwa Kristu. Sentinel Publ. Co., C.T. 12 × 18 cm., pp. 8. Tract on The Return of Christ, translated by C. Robinson of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission, Inyazura. (45)
- Mudzidzi Mupswa uri pa Tafura ra Tenzi. The Young Disciple at the Lord's Table. Rhod. Mission Press. 10 × 13 cm., pp. 16. Tract prepared at Old Umtali Mission. (46)
1926. Zwiyimbo Zwishoma zwe Metodisti Episkopari Chechi. Rhod. Mission Press. 12·5 × 15·5 cm., pp. 28. Third edition, containing 36 hymns in Sol-fa. The first edition (13 × 18 cm., pp. 24) was published 1924. (47)
1926. Mukosi we Ndarama. The Gold Thread. S.P.C.K. 10 × 15 cm., pp. 55. A Reader prepared by Norman MacLeod, and translated by Mother Annie with the help of two natives. (48)
1926. Munamato we Chidhlo cha Tenzi nekuti Chidhlo Chinoyera. Alternative Form of Service for Holy Communion. S.P.C.K. 10 × 16 cm., pp. 25. (49)
1927. Nyaya ya Tenzi Jesu. The Children's Bible, Part I. S.P.C.K. 10 × 16 cm., pp. 93. Prepared at Rusape and illustrated. (50)
1927. Buku re Kutanga re Kuwanga ne Hygiene. First Book of Health and Hygiene. S.P.C.K. 10 × 16 cm., pp. 30. (51)
1927. Zwiyimbo. Hymn Book. S.P.C.K. 10 × 16 cm., pp. 166. (52)

1927. Zwibatsiro zwe Wafundisi zwe kudzidzisa Nhambara. Rhod. Mission Press. 11 × 15 cm., pp. 69. Arithmetic Book by Georgia H. Beven. (53)
1928. Respostas ao Questionário Etnográfico. Published by the Government of the Territory of the Mocambique Company, and edited by Gustavo de Bivar Pinto Lopes. This contains a Vocabulary of "Chimanhica" in the comparative lists, pp. 1-25 at the end of the book, and also certain grammatical notes on pp. 113-22. (54)
1929. Hygiene and First Aid. Rhodesia Mission Press. 12·5 × 17·5 cm., pp. 33. Prepared by Ona M. Parmenter. (55)
1929. Ngoma dze Methodist Church ye Rhodesia. Rhod. Mission Press. 11 × 15 cm., pp. 326. Hymn Book compiled by E. H. Greeley of the Old Umtali Mission, containing 308 hymns with Sol-fa notation to first lines, and Responsive Readings. It is a great pity that the cover should contain such bad "Bantu" as "Sande Sikulu" for Sunday School—Chikoro chesondo. A previous edition of the Hymn Book was issued in 1924. (56)
1929. The Acts of the Apostles in Chiswina. S.P.C.K. 10 × 15·5 cm., pp. 96. (57)
1929. Sixteen Hymns cyclostyled (200 copies) for use at Camp meetings of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission, Inyazura. (58)
1929. Hymn Book for Seventh Day Adventist Mission. Sentinel Publ. Co., Cape Town. (In the press.) Containing 110 hymns with Tonic Sol-fa notation. (59)
- Berean Chidzidzo Tsamba. Quarterly Bible Study Pamphlet. Rhodesia Mission Press. 13·5 × 21 cm., pp. 16. This has appeared quarterly for a number of years. 1929 is vol. xxii. The present editors are Miss M. L. Fuller and Mrs. M. J. Murphree. (60)
- Umbowo Hwe Ukristu. The Christian Witness. Rhodesia Mission Press. 13·5 × 21 cm., pp. 16. This paper ran from January, 1918, to July, 1928, being at first a monthly, and latterly a bi-monthly. It contained items of religious and moral instruction, general news and correspondence from natives. Publication is expected to re-commence at the end of 1929, under the editorship of Miss B. H. Reitz, of Nyadiri Mission. (61)

(e) Ndaú

1856. Dr. W. H. I. Bleek, in his "Languages of Mosambique" (London: Harrison and Sons) included an Ndaú vocabulary under the name of "Sofala". (1)

1903. Tshindao Primer. London. 18.5 × 12.5 cm., pp. 131. Prepared by Douglas Wood of the South Africa General Mission, Rusitu Station, Melsetter. This primer contained, among other matter, Folk Tales, Hymns and Scripture selections, which last included passages from Exodus, Deuteronomy, the Psalter, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Ezekiel, the Gospels, the Acts, some of the Epistles, and Revelation. (2)
1907. Hymn Book. American Board Mission. A second edition was published in 1913. A third edition was published in 1919 with tunes in Sol-fa notation. This book (13.5 × 20 cm., pp. 268) contains 230 hymns composed or translated by missionaries of the S.A.G.M and A.B.M. and native Christians. (3)
1910. Masoko akanaka a Mateu. Vangeri ngokunyora kwa Marko. Masoko akanaka a Ruka. Vangeri ngokunyora kwa Johani. B.F.B.S. 14.5 × 9.5 cm., pp. 158, 91, 165, 119. The Four Gospels bound in one volume. Matthew was translated by D. Wood, Mark and John by Dr. G. A. Wilder, and Luke by J. E. Hatch. After a fire at Chikore Mission in 1916, which destroyed the printing plant and stock of books, the B.F.B.S. re-published the Gospels (revised) in one volume in 1919. (4)
1911. The Pronunciation and Orthography of the Chindau Language. University of London Press. 13.5 × 21 cm., pp. 16. By Daniel Jones, now Professor of Phonetics at University College, London. This brief analysis was conducted in conjunction with a native Nda, Simbini Nkomo, and the assistance of Dr. W. L. Thompson, of Mount Silinda. The author of this work did not record the implosive consonants, which are such a feature of Nda. (5)
1914. Acts. Chikore Mission Press. Translated by J. E. Hatch. (6)
1914. Tsamba yemipango yedanda rorufuba. 12.5 × 15 cm., pp. 8. Pamphlet on Consumption, translated from the Xosa by R. Ngonyama. (7)
1914. Tsamba yokutanga. First Reader. A second edition was published in 1915. A third edition of 3,000 in 1917. A fourth edition of 10,000 in 1923. American Board Mission. 10.5 × 16 cm., pp. 52. (8)
1915. Chindau-English and English-Chindau Vocabulary with Grammatical Notes. A.B.M. 13.5 × 19.5 cm., pp. 139. This work is due principally to G. A. Wilder, D.D., who had collected a vocabulary of over 1,000 Nda words as far back as 1888, J. P. Dysart, C. C. Fuller, and A. J. Orner. It contains about 4,000 Nda words which include numerous Zulu terms, many of which are indicated therein by a (Z). In the Nda-English section the nouns are listed

- according to the initial letters of their prefixes. Italicized letters are used to indicate many of the sounds not provided for by the Roman alphabet. (9)
1915. Romans. Chikore Mission Press. Translated by J. E. Hatch. (10)
1915. Tsamba ya Vanotenda Mwari. A.B.M. 8 × 12·5 cm., pp. 59. Catechism. A second edition was published in 1924, entitled Tsamba ya Vakristu. A.B.M. 10 × 15·5 cm., pp. 55. (11)
1918. Tsamba yechipiri. Second Reader. A.B.M. 11 × 15 cm., pp. 70. A second edition was published in 1925. (12)
1919. Acts-Revelation. B.F.B.S. (published in one volume). (13)
1920. Songs and Tales from the Dark Continent, recorded from the singing and the sayings of C. Kamba Simango, Ndaou tribe, Portuguese East Africa, and Madikane Cele, Zulu tribe, Natal. G. Schirmer, New York. 18·5 × 26 cm., pp. xxv + 170. By Natalie Curtis. This publication, which is beautifully got up, contains ten photogravure illustrations, mostly full page. As this book is part of a musical series, it contains a general introduction on African music. There are biographical sketches on Kamba Simango and Madikane Cele. P. 13 has a note on the pronunciation of the Ndaou text, according to an analysis by Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University, New York. P. 14 has six proverbs in Ndaou with English explanations. Pp. 15-19 contain notes on the beliefs and customs of the Ndaous. These are very scrappy. Pp. 20-53 contain the Ndaou folk-tales and songs. Pp. 81-129 have the Ndaou songs given with staff notation. Pp. 153-64 contain an interlinear translation of the Ndaou texts. Pp. 55-76, 131-49, and 164-70 are devoted to Zulu. (14)
1921. Zidzidzo zokukumbira. Study on Prayer. A.B.M. 12·5 × 17·5 cm., pp. 47. By Mrs. M. T. Dysart. (15)
1922. Mukristu nokupa kwake. The Christian and his Giving. A.B.M. 8·5 × 13·5 cm., pp. 47. By J. P. Dysart. (16)
1922. Das Verwandtschaftssystem der Vandau. An article by Dr. Franz Boas in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, liv, pp. 41-51. This contains a list of relationship terms in Ndaou. (17)
1922. [Vandau Folk Tales]. *Journal of the American Folk-Lore Society*, xxxv, pp. 151 ff. Collected by F. Boas from Kamba Simango. (18)
1923. Ethnographische Bemerkungen über die Vandau. An article by Dr. Franz Boas in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, lv, pp. 6-31. This contains 20 Ndaou texts of ethnographical interest, written by Kamba Simango and published with accompanying German translation. On pp. 6-7 is a short note on Ndaou phonetics. (19)

1923. Testamente Idza ya Mambo Nomuponesi wedu Jesu Kristu na Nduyo dze Baibere. B.F.B.S. 10 × 16 cm., pp. 708. New Testament and Psalms. The Psalms was translated by Zaba T. Hlatywayo, a native teacher, under the direction of C. C. Fuller. In the N.T. the orthography employed was that of underscored letters to indicate sounds not catered for by the Roman alphabet. (20)
1924. Ndaa dze Testamente rekare neidza. Stories from the Old and New Testaments. A.B.M. 12 × 18 cm., pp. 194. This is a revised edition of Mrs. M. T. Dysart's Ndaa dze Baiberi (pp. 175), which was set up in type but never printed. (21)
1926. Mukristu nechiro chikurutu munyika. The Greatest Thing in the World. A.B.M. 8·5 × 11 cm., pp. 62. A tract by J. P. Dysart. (22)
1927. Kuhamba kwomuhambi. The Pilgrim's Progress. Religious Tract Society. 11 × 18 cm., pp. 184. Translated by J. E. Hatch, and illustrated with African photographs. This translation is considered to be of a very high order. (23)
1927. A Uniform Phonetic Alphabet for the Native Languages of Rhodesia. An article in "Nada", No. 5, by Dr. W. L. Thompson. Contains a short list of words in the Sanga Dialect contributed by K. Simango to show the semantic use of aspirated explosives. (24)
1928. Respostas ao Questionário Etnográfico, published by the Government of the Territory of the Mocambique Company, and edited by Gustavo de Bivar Pinto Lopes. This publication contains a vocabulary of the principal dialects spoken in the territory, including Manyika and Ndau, and a short grammatical study, in which the Sena and Ndau verb conjugations are compared. The information regarding Ndau is culled from the American Board publication, and Portuguese orthography is used in all native words. (25)
1929. Tsamba mbiri dzokutanga dza Mosi, Genesis na Eksodusi. B.F.B.S. 12·5 × 18·5 cm., pp. 105. Genesis and Exodus, translated by J. E. Hatch. (26)
- Chindau Lessons, a manuscript of 97 typed quarto pages, prepared by J. P. Dysart, and used by the American Board missionaries in learning the language. This work contains much valuable grammatical and syntactical matter. (27)

(f) **Kalaŋga**

1904. Ndebo Mbuya ya ka nyoliwa nge Matu wa ka engemala. B.F.B.S. 10 × 15 cm., pp. 150. Matthew's Gospel translated by Rev. J. H. Cullen Reed, L.M.S., with native help. This was revised by Monwa Tjuma, printed by the B.F.B.S. in 1924, but never bound or issued. (1)
1904. Katekisma. L.M.S. 16 × 12 cm., pp. 32. "Sekalaña" Catechism, prepared by J. H. C. Reed. (2)
1920. Gwaba li no mba a no boka Mlimo ngelulimi gwe Kalaña. L.M.S. 15 × 10·5 cm., pp. 95. Hymn Book by J. H. C. Reed, containing 96 hymns adapted principally from the Sechuana. (3)
1924. Matama e-tjikalanga anopesa. L.M.S. 14 × 11·5 cm., pp. 19. Proverbs compiled by Sipopa L. Kupe. Contains 114 proverbs in native text only. This is a most interesting example of native initiative. (4)
1926. Ipelete mu Ndebo ye Tjikalanga. L.M.S., Tiger Kloof. 16 × 12 cm., pp. 38. A Second Reader (illustrated) in the Lilima dialect. Prepared by Rev. J. Whiteside, with native helpers, principally for use in the Tati Concession area of Bechuanaland. (5)
1929. Ndebo mbuya yobuhe gwe Ndzimu. B.F.B.S. 15 × 10·5 cm., pp. 288. The Four Gospels and Acts in Kalaŋga prepared by Rev. J. Whiteside and native helpers. The disjunctive method of word-division is employed. (6)

APPENDIX III

District and Dialectal Population Statistics

(a) DISTRICT OF MOÇAMBIQUE, PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA

District.	Manyika	Teve	Danda	Ndau	Σanga	Non-Shona	Total.
Mossurize	—	—	18,000	6,000	—	303	24,303
Moribane	500	4,008	—	9,400	—	—	13,908
Chimoio	2,798	10,500	—	3,500	—	—	16,798
Manica .	7,898	—	—	—	—	—	7,898
Neves							
Ferreira	—	1,500	—	500	2,000	4,258	8,258
Buzi .	—	—	—	4,562	16,000	—	20,562
Beira .	—	—	—	—	3,500	4,245	7,745
Sofala .	—	—	5,147	—	20,000	—	25,147
Chiloane	—	—	—	—	8,764	—	8,764
Govuro .	—	—	—	—	800	20,000	20,800
Sena .	—	—	—	—	—	39,943	39,943
Marromeu	—	—	—	—	—	11,695	11,695
Gorongosa	—	—	—	—	—	21,996	21,996
Chupanga	—	—	—	—	—	12,598	12,598
Cheringoma	—	—	—	—	—	13,883	13,883
Chemba .	—	—	—	—	—	47,238	47,238
Mocoque	—	—	—	—	—	9,150	9,150
Total	11,196	16,008	23,147	23,962	51,064	185,309	310,686

Shona :	Manyika Group :	Teve .	16,008	}	27,204	}	125,377
		Manyika	11,196				
	Ndau Group :	Ndau .	23,962	}	98,173		
		Danda .	23,147				
		Σanga .	51,064				
Non-Shona :	Hlengwe	20,303	}	185,309			
	Sena Group	165,006					
				310,686			

APPENDIX IV

Comparative Vocabularies of Thirty-seven Shona Variants

In these representative vocabularies, I have employed a narrow phonetic script ; in addition to marking by symbols minute phonetic differences I have indicated the tones on the vowels.

Explanation of additional symbols used :—

x and ɣ are the pre-velar fricatives, indicated broadly elsewhere by x and the symbols for the velar fricatives.

n , t , and d used instead of the symbols n , t , and d before alveolar labial fricatives to show assimilation.

p and b , similar to above, but showing more lip-approximation.

t and d used instead of t and d before ʃ and ʒ to show assimilation.

$\tilde{\text{w}}$ nasalized -w , to indicate very slight velarization in the compound n

$\hat{\text{w}}$ slightly velarized, as in $\text{b}\hat{\text{w}}$.

$\hat{\text{w}}$ slightly velarized unvoiced, as in $\text{p}\hat{\text{w}}$.

$\text{m}\hat{\text{w}}$ slightly velarized but implosive ; closely resembles $\text{m}\hat{\text{w}}$, but the velarization is of the slightest.

\sim indicates nasalization, as in $\tilde{\text{w}}$, $\tilde{\text{u}}$, $\tilde{\text{i}}$.

$_$ beneath a nasal consonant indicates that it is syllabic, as in $\underline{\text{n}}$, $\underline{\text{m}}$.

(b) SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

	Korekore				Zez	Karanga.				Manyika				Ndau					
	Korekore		Goua			Budyā		Tarara		Zangwe		Karanga		Nyuŋi		Manyika		Ndau	
	Korekore	Goua	Budyā	Tarara		Zangwe	Karanga	Nyuŋi	Manyika	Hupgwe	Jindwi	Boca	Ndau	Garwe					
Wankie	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Sebungwe	—	756	—	—	13, 149	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Lomagundi	34, 600	2, 500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Darwin	23, 299	—	—	7, 246	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Mfoko	—	—	23, 853	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Mrewa	6, 497	—	3, 000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Mazoe	1, 208	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Salisbury	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Hartley	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Gwelo	—	—	—	—	1, 672	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Charter	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Marandellas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Makoni	—	—	600	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Inyanga	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Umtali	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Melsetter	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Selukwe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chilimanzi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Gutu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bikita	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Victoria	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Ndanga	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Chibi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Belingwe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Gwanda	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Insza	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Mzingwane	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Matobo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bulalima-Mangwe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bulawayo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Nyamandhlovu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bubi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Totals	65, 604	3, 256	27, 453	7, 246	14, 821	64, 503	9, 882	32, 002	27, 082	9, 320	6, 850	31, 363	5, 000						
Group Totals	118, 380					237, 882					75, 254					41, 111			

APPENDIX V
Consonantal Charts

1. ZEZURU CONSONANTAL CHART.

		Plain Consonants.							Velarized Consonants.					
		Denti-Labial.	Dental.	Alveolar	Alveolar Labialized.	Pre-Palatal.	Velar.	Glottal.	Plain Velarization.		Velarization with Semi-vowel.			Plain Semi-vowel.
									Bi-labial.	Pre-palatal.	Dental and Alveolar	Alveolar Labialized.	Pre-palatal.	Velar and Glotta
losive.		p	t				k		pk		tkw			kw
		b	d				g		bg		dyw			gw
losive.														
al			n				ŋ		mŋ		nŋw		mŋw	ŋw
ed				r							ryw			
ative.		f	s		ɬ						skw	ɬkw	ɬkw	
		mv	z		ɰ			ɰ			zyw	zyw	zyw	ɰw
icate		pf	ts		tɬ						tskw		tɬkw	
		bv	dz		dɰ						dzyw		dɰw	
i-vowel						j	w							

2. KARADGA CONSONANTAL CHART.

	Plain Consonants.										Velarized Consonants.					
	Plain Consonants.					Velarized Consonants.					Plain Velarization.		Velarization with Semi-vowel.		Plain Semi-vowels.	
	Bi-labial.	Denti-labial.	Dental.	Alveolar	Alveolar Labialized.	Pre-palatal.	Velar.	Glottal.	Bi-labial.	Dental and Alveolar.	Alveolar Labialized.	Pre-palatal.	Alveolar Labialized.	Pre-palatal.	Velar & Pre-velar.	Glottal.
plosive .	p b	mb	t d	nd	—	k g	ŋg	—	px by	[txw] dyw	—	—	—	—	kw gw	—
plosive.	ɸ	—	—	d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
al .	m	—	n nj	mn nj	—	ŋ	—	—	mŋ	—	—	—	—	ŋw	—	—
lateral .	—	—	—	r	—	—	—	—	—	[rɣw]	—	—	—	—	—	—
pped lateral	—	—	—	ɸ ɸ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
lateral .	v u	f mv	s z	nz	ɸ nz	ɸ z	—	ɸ	[vɣ]	[sxw] zyw	ɸxw zyw	ɸxw zyw	—	xw	—	ɸw
lateral .	—	pf bv	ts dz	—	tɸ dz	tɸ dz	—	—	—	[tsxw] dzɣw	—	—	—	—	—	—
lateral .	—	—	—	—	—	—	w	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

[] indicate alternate dialectal forms.

3. KOREKORE CONSONANTAL CHART.

	Plain Consonants.										Velarized Consonants.	
	Bi-labial.	Denti-labial.	Dental.	Alveolar.	Alveolar Labialized	Pre-palatal.	Velar.	Glottal.	Plain Velarization Bi-labial.	Plain Semi-vowel.		
Explosive	p b	— —	t d	— —	— —	— —	k g	— —	(px) (mby)	tw ɲgw		
Implosive	ɓ	—	—	dʼ	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Nasal	m	—	n	—	—	ɲ	—	—	—	mw (m)ɲw		
Rolled	—	—	—	r	—	—	—	—	—	rw		
Fricative	[v]	f mv v	s z	— nz	ʃ z	ɲ ʒ	— —	[h] ɸ	— —	xw [ɲw] ɸw		
Affricate	—	pf bv	ts dz	— —	tʃ dʒ	ndʒ	— —	— —	— —	— —		
Semi-vowel	—	[β]	—	—	—	j	w	—	—	—		

() indicate sounds rarely used by certain individuals.
[] indicate alternate dialectal forms.

4. SAJGWE CONSONANTAL CHART.

	Plain Consonants.										With Semi-vowel.
	Bi-labial.	Denti-labial.	Dental.	Alveolar.	Alveolar Labialized.	Pre-palatal.	Palatal.	Velar.	Glottal.	No Velarization.	
Explosive	p b	—	t (d)	nd	—	—	[c] [ç]	k g	— ŋg	—	tw kw gw ŋgw
Implosive	ɓ	—	—	ɗ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nasal	m	—	n	—	—	ɲ	—	—	—	—	mɰ* ɲɰ
Rolled	—	—	—	r	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Flapped Lateral	—	—	ɫ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fricative	[v] —	mv f	s z	nz	—	ʃ ʒ	—	—	—	—	xw fw
Affricate	pf bv	—	ts dz	—	tʃ dʒ	ɲdʒ	[tɕ] [dɕ]	—	—	—	—
Semi-vowel	—	β	—	—	—	—	j	w	—	—	—

[] indicate Northern variants.
() indicate example not found.

* Also heard as m̄w with very slight velarization.

5. TAVARA CONSONANTAL CHART.

	Plain Consonants.										Velarized Consonants.		
	Bi-labial.	Denti-labial.	Dental.	Alveolar.	Alveolar Labialized.	Pre-palatal.	Palatal.	Velar.	Glottal.	Plain Velarization.	Velarization with Semi-vowel.	Plain Semi-vowel.	
Explosive.	p b	mb	t (d) nd	—	—	—	—	k g	ng	px	txw	gw bw mbw ngw	
Implosive.	ɓ	—	—	ɗ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Nasal	m	—	n	—	—	ɲ	—	ŋ	—	—	—	mw	
Rolled	—	—	—	r	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Flapped Lateral	—	—	ɾ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Fricative	—	f mv (v)	s z nz	—	ɣ z (nz)	ʃ ʒ	—	—	—	—	—	sw nzw	
Affricate	—	pf bv	ts dz	—	tʃ [pʃ] dʒ [bʒ]	tʃ dʒ ɲdʒ	[tɕ] [dʒ]	—	—	—	—	—	
Semi-vowel	—	β	—	—	—	—	j	w	—	—	—	—	

() indicate example not ascertained.

[] indicate dialectal alternates.

6. SUDYA CONSONANTAL CHART.

	Plain Consonants.								Velarized Consonants.			
	Bi-labial.	Denti-labial.	Dental.	Alveolar.	Alveolar Labial-ized.	Pre-palatal.	Velar.	Glottal.	Plain Velarization.		Velari-zation with Semi-vowel.	Plain Semi-vowel.
									Bi-labial.	Pre-palatal.		
Explosive.	p b	mb	t d	th nd	— —	— —	k g	kh ng	— —	px mby	— —	(p)kw (b)gw (m)ngw
Implosive.	ɸ	—	—	—	d'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nasal .	m	—	n	—	—	ɲ	—	—	—	—	—	mɳw
Rolled .	—	—	—	r	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	rɳw
Flapped Lateral.	—	—	ɬ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fricative .	—	f mv	s z	nz	—	ɕ ʒ (nz)	—	ɸ	—	—	—	nɳw ɸw
Affricate .	—	pf bv	tsh dz	—	—	tʃ dʒ	—	ndʒ	—	tʃk	tsɳw	— —
Semi-vowel	—	—	—	—	—	j	w	—	—	—	—	—

() indicate example not ascertained.

[] indicate alternate form.

7. MANYIKA (GUTA) CONSONANTAL CHART.

	Plain Consonants.										Velarized Consonants.		
	Bi-labial.	Denti-labial.	Dental.	Alveolar	Alveolar	Alveolar	Pre-palatal.	Velar.	Glottal.	Plain Velarization.	Plain Semi-vowel.	Velarized Bi-labial.	Velarized Plain Semi-vowel.
Explosive .	p b	— —	t d	— —	— —	— —	— —	k g	— —	px by	kw gw	— —	— —
Implosive .	ɓ	—	—	d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nasal .	m	—	n	—	—	—	ɲ	—	—	mɲ [mŋ]	nw	—	—
Rolled .	—	—	—	r	—	—	—	—	—	—	rw	—	—
Flapped Lateral .	—	—	ɭ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lateral Fricative .	—	—	—	—	ɕ kɕ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fricative .	—	f mv	—	—	—	—	ʃ ʒ	—	ɸ	—	sw zw	ʃw ɸw	—
Affricate .	—	pf bv	—	—	—	—	tʃ dʒ	—	—	—	—	—	tsw dzw
Semi-vowel .	—	—	—	—	—	—	j j̣	w	—	—	—	—	—

[] indicate alternate forms.

8. NDAU CONSONANTAL CHART.

	Plain Consonants.							Velarized Consonants.				
	Bi-labial.	Denti-labial.	Dental.	Alveolar.	Alveolar Labial-ized.	Pre-palatal.	Palatal.	Velar.	Glottal.	Plain Velarization.	Velarization with Semi-vowel.	Plain Semi-vowel.
Explosive .	p' ph b mb	—	t' th d nd	—	—	—	—	k' kh g ɣg	—	px py mby	—	t'w thw —
Implosive .	ɓ	—	—	d'	—	—	—	—	—	ɓy	—	d'w —
Nasal .	m	—	n	—	—	—	ɲ	—	—	mŋ	—	—
Nasal Compound	mbx mbh	—	— ndh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rolled .	—	—	—	r	—	—	rj.	—	—	—	ɾyɥ	—
Fricative .	—	f v	s z nz	—	ʃ z nz	—	—	—	h [ɦ]	—	ɬxw zyw	fw hw —
Affricate .	pf' p'fh bv	—	ts' tsh dz	—	ts' tʃh dʒ pɔg	—	tɕ dʒ	—	—	—	ts'xw —	—
Semi-vowel .	—	[β]	—	—	—	—	j, j/	w	—	—	—	—

[] indicate alternate forms.

9. KALADGA CONSONANTAL CHART.

	Plain Consonants.							Velarized Consonants.	
	Bi-labial.	Denti-labial.	Dental.	Alveolar Labialized	Pre-palatal	Velar.	Glottal.	Plain Velarization.	Plain Semi-vowel.
								Bi-labial.	Velar, etc.
Explosive . . .	p b mb	— —	t d nd	— —	— —	k g ŋg	— —	px by mby	kw khw gw ŋgw
Nasal . . .	m ṁ	— —	n ṅ	— —	ɲ —	ŋ —	— —	mɲ —	ɲw —
Rolled . . .	—	—	r	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lateral . . .	—	—	l	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lateral Fricative	—	—	ɭ k̠	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fricative . . .	— v	(f) v	s z	ʃ ʒ	— —	— —	h ɦ	— —	xw fw
Affricate . . .	—	—	(ts) dz	tʃ (dʒ)	ɟdʒ	—	—	—	—
Semi-vowel . . .	—	—	—	—	j	w	—	—	—

() indicate example not found.

APPENDIX VI

(a)

FORMS OF THE LETTERS OF THE PROPOSED
SHONA ALPHABET

PRINT	CURSIVE	BLOCK	PRINT CAPS	CURSIVE CAPS	PRINT	CURSIVE	BLOCK	PRINT CAPS	CURSIVE CAPS
a	<i>a</i>	a	A	<i>A</i>	o	<i>o</i>	o	O	<i>O</i>
b	<i>b</i>	b	B	<i>B</i>	p	<i>p</i>	p	P	<i>P</i>
ḃ	<i>ḃ</i>	ḃ	Ḃ	<i>Ḃ</i>	r	<i>r</i>	r	R	<i>R</i>
c	<i>c</i>	c	C	<i>C</i>	s	<i>s</i>	s	S	<i>S</i>
d	<i>d</i>	d	D	<i>D</i>	ṣ	<i>ṣ</i>	ṣ	Ḍ	<i>Ḍ</i>
ḏ	<i>ḏ</i>	ḏ	Ḑ	<i>Ḑ</i>	ṣ̣	<i>ṣ̣</i>	ṣ̣	Ḍ̣	<i>Ḍ̣</i>
e	<i>e</i>	e	E	<i>E</i>	t	<i>t</i>	t	T	<i>T</i>
f	<i>f</i>	f	F	<i>F</i>	u	<i>u</i>	u	U	<i>U</i>
g	<i>g</i>	g	G	<i>G</i>	v	<i>v</i>	v	V	<i>V</i>
h	<i>h</i>	h	H	<i>H</i>	ṿ	<i>ṿ</i>	ṿ	Ḑ̣	<i>Ḑ̣</i>
i	<i>i</i>	i	I	<i>I</i>	w	<i>w</i>	w	W	<i>W</i>
j	<i>j</i>	j	J	<i>J</i>	x	<i>x</i>	x	X	<i>X</i>
k	<i>k</i>	k	K	<i>K</i>	y	<i>y</i>	y	Y	<i>Y</i>
m	<i>m</i>	m	M	<i>M</i>	z	<i>z</i>	z	Z	<i>Z</i>
n	<i>n</i>	n	N	<i>N</i>	ẓ	<i>ẓ</i>	ẓ	Ḑ̣	<i>Ḑ̣</i>
ṅ	<i>ṅ</i>	ṅ	Ḑ	<i>Ḑ</i>	ẓ̣	<i>ẓ̣</i>	ẓ̣	Ḑ̣̣	<i>Ḑ̣̣</i>

(b) *Italics* :

a b b c d d e f g h i j

k m n ŋ o p r s ɛ f t u

v v w x y z z z

APPENDIX VII

Shona Texts in the Proposed Orthography

Korekore Text ¹

Rungano rwetsuro nebvene

Tsuro yakasangana nebvene, ikati, "Uatateguru murikutşagenyi?" Bvene rikati, "Ndirikutşaga kudya." Tsuro ikati, "Zakanaka, ngatiende, ndinamuraikidza kunekudya kuginji." Ikaenda naro bvene, vakaşika mumunda munenyimo. Tsuro yakacera nyimo, iciyisa pamberi pabvene. Bvene rikadya. Zino tsuro yakaona kuti bvene raguta, yakatora hoko, ikarovera muxwe webvene pasi. Zino tsuro yakati, "Hokoyo nevaridzi vemunda"! Zino bvene rakatadza kutiza, nekuti rakaņge rakaroverwa muxwe pasi. Uaridzi vemunda vakauya, vakaribaya nepfumo. Rinopinza zikuru, rikafa. Tsuro ikatiza.

The Story of the Hare and the Baboon

A hare met a baboon, and said, "Grandfather,² what are you looking for?" The baboon said, "I am looking for food." The hare said, "All right, let us go, I will show you ² where there is plenty of food." So he went with the baboon, and they reached a garden of ground-nuts. The hare dug up the nuts, and brought them before the baboon. The baboon ate. Then the hare saw that the baboon was satiated, and he took up a nail, and hammered the baboon's tail into the ground. Then the hare said, "Look out for the owner ² of the garden!" Then the baboon failed to run, for he was hammered to the ground by the tail. The owner ² of the garden came and slew him with a spear. It was very sharp, and he died. The hare ran off.

Sudya Text ³

Cingano cemapfene

Dgeiyonguwa mapfene wakange wari wanhu. Wakange wari rudzi rwaamathusi naamapfene. Asi wakaita nungo dzekurima, wakange wacindodya zekuşa sedzi. Asi wakadzingwa newamņe wamambo. Iwo wakati, "Haticadi kurima faisu." Wacibva warasa mipini yawo

¹ Dictated to me by Katumba (Ko. 15).

² The "respectful plural" is used in these places.

³ Collected by Rev. A. Burbridge, S.J., and dictated to me by Peter Nyamutsahuni (Ko. 30).

yemapadza, asi wakati, "Tinoda kudya zekufa. Asi kuti mumpe wedu abatiwa mheno zake, kana akauraiwa mheno zake." Zino mukuru wawo akatora mupini wake webadza, aciupfeka mumuromo wake, wese wakabva wapinduka waciwa mapfene nezinouno. Ndiko kuwamba kwakaita mapfene, pamusana penungo dzawo dzekusada kubata mafasa.

The Story of the Baboons

Once upon a time baboons were men. They were of the Tusi and Pfene race. But they were too indolent to hoe, and used to eat stolen food only. But they were chased away by other chiefs. They said, "We refuse to hoe ourselves," and there and then threw away the hafts of their hoes, and said, "Our will is to live by theft. But if anyone of our race is caught that is his affair, and if he is killed that is his affair." Then their chief took the haft of his hoe, and placed it in his mouth, and they all began to change into baboons to this very day. Such is the origin of the baboons, on account of their indolence and disinclination to do their duty.

Zezuru Text ¹

Rungano rwaTuro naHamba

Uakafurirana kundocera tsime. Zino Turo akaramba. Hamba wakaenda kundotşaga vanaşumba. Zino vanaşumba vakacera tsime. Zino Turo wakauya kuzoşa mvura. Akauya namaşende ake. Akawana Hamba aripo. Akamuwona, akatiza. Rimpe zuva akawana Hamba akahwanda mumvura. Zino akada kucera mvura. Hamba akabata ruwoko rwaTuro. Zino Turo akati, "Rega kundibata!" Turo akati, "Rega, ndinokutşagira huci!" Hamba waregera Turo. Zino Turo wakapa huci kunaşumba. Turo wakati, "Rega, nditanşe ndakusunga, Sekuru." Zino Turo wakayisa mabge muhuci. Akayisa mabge mukanwa maşumba. Zino Turo wakasimuka oova şumba.

The Story of Hare and Tortoise

They agreed to dig a well. Then Hare refused. Tortoise went to look for Lion and his people. Then Lion and his people dug the well. Then Hare came to steal water. He came with his calabashes. He found Tortoise present. He saw him and ran away. On another day he "found" Tortoise hiding in the water. Then he wanted to draw water. Tortoise caught

¹ Dictated to me by Nyamayaro (Z. 24).

Hare's arm. Then Hare said, "Stop gripping me!" Hare said, "Stop it, I will find you some honey!" Tortoise let go Hare. Then Hare gave some honey to Lion. Hare said, "Stop, let me first tie you up, Grandfather." Then Hare put stones in the honey. He put the stones in Lion's mouth. Then Hare got up and beat Lion.

Karanga Text ¹

Zuro icinyengere-jumba

Rimne zuva juro yakafoŋgana nefumba, ikati, "Sekuru munotsakei?" Zumba ikati, "Ndinovima." Zuro ikati, "Cihendei kugomo, mugondovata makaita majada pamukwara wemhuka, ini ndigondodzinge-mhuka mugomo, imi makagaridzira." Nambera juro inonyengere-jumba, kuti jumba igotakwa nebge rinokunguruswa mugomo nefuro. Zino jumba yakandovata-po, ndokuhwa hurumatanda dzicivirima dzicibvo-mugomo. Zumba ndokuvata padivi, mabge aya ndokupfuvura. Zumba ndokudzokera paya payasiyiwa nefuro, ndokuvata ze yakaita manede. Zino juro ndokuvanga, ndokuti, "Ndakanguva ndarubvira rwokuvuraye-jumba!" Zino ikati icitorebanga rokuvuraye-jumba, jumba ndokufate-juro, mambava ndokuwadzuka, juro ndokutiza icidzingana nefumba. Zuro ndokupinda mugwirirwindi, jumba ndokufato-mjise wefuro. Zuro ikati, "Mandikoniwa, mafato-mudzi!" Zumba ndokuregedza. Zuro ikati, "Ohi, hamuzandikoniwa!" Ndokugara mumjena kuŋika jumba yainda.

The Hare ² deceiving the Lion ²

One day a hare met a lion, and said: "Uncle, what are you looking for?" The lion answered: "I am hunting." So the hare said: "Let us go together to the mountain, and you go and lie down on your back in the path of the game, while I go and chase down the game in the mountain, and you are lying in wait." Forsooth the hare wanted to deceive the lion, so that the lion should be crushed by a stone which would be rolled down the mountain by the hare. So the lion lay down there, and heard big stones thundering down the mountainside. The lion thereupon went and lay down some distance away, and the stones went past. Then the lion returned to where he had been left by the hare, and lay down again on his back.

¹ Collected by Rev. A. A. Louw, jun., from Mamvura (K. 1), and dictated to me by Kaleb Gozho (K. 25).

² As these words are not represented in the text with Class I concords I have not treated them as Proper Names. Compare the Korekore text, and contrast the Zezuru text.

Presently the hare came running along, and cried out: "I'm an old hand at killing lions!" Just as he was about to take his knife to kill the lion, the lion grabbed the hare, but the hare's fur came off, and off went the hare followed by the lion. The hare ran into a hole, but the lion caught hold of the hare's tail. But the hare called out: "You've missed me, you've caught hold of a root!" The lion let go, and the hare called out: "Ah! now you've missed me indeed!" So he remained in the hole until the lion had gone away.

Manyika Text: (a) Guta¹

Rungano rwakamba nesawara

Kamba nesawara wakafamba wese. Sawara rakaseka kamba, rikati, "Unemapande." Kamba wakati, "Mapande anondifatsira kuti ndisanaiwe ngemvura; ze iumba yangu." Ndizo kamba wakati, "Dgenyi iwe, Sawara, unemuromo wakafanana nefemo, asi haukufatsiri ciro?" Ndizo mvura yakanaya pekarepo. Kamba akazigisa mumapande ake, asi sawara rakanaiwa kwazo, rikati, "Samjari, ndizisewo mumapande ako." Kamba wakati, "Handiwo here ayo waseka kare? Muromo wako ngaukufatsire." Sawara rakafa, asi kamba wakapona ngemapande ake. Ndiko kuguma kwerungano.

(b) Nyatwe.²

Rungano rwakamba namusawara

Kamba namusawara wadofamba wetse.³ Musawara udotseka kamba afiti, "Unemapande." Kamba afiti, "Mapande afandifatsira kuti ndireke kunaiwa ngemvura; ze iumba yangu." Zino kamba ufoti, "Dgenyi iwe, Musawara, unemuromo ugosi ifemo, asi haukufatsiri firo?" Zino mvura ifonaya apoapo. Kamba ufozikotsa mumapande afe, asi musawara ufonaiwa zikuru, akati, "Samjari ndikotsewo mumapande ako." Kamba ufoti, "Handiwofa ayo watseka pakuamba? Muromo wako ngaukufatsire." Musawara ufopfa, asi kamba ufozona ngemapande afe. Dgekuguma kwerungano rwakamba namusawara.

¹ Collected by Rev. B. H. Barnes, C.R., from Ernest Chidawanyika (M. 5), and dictated to me by Boniface Chitsoko (M. 13).

² Dictated to me by Boniface Chitsoko (M. 13).

³ In this text *ts* is really aspirated. As I have not noticed phonemic difference as in N'dau I have not here used *tsʰ*.

The Story of the Tortoise and the Crow

The tortoise and the crow journeyed together. The crow laughed at the tortoise, saying, "You've got bark on you." The tortoise said, "My shell helps me not to get wet when it rains; besides, it is my house." Then the tortoise said, "Why have you, Crow, got a beak like an axe, but it is not a bit of use to you." Just then rain fell at once. The tortoise hid himself in his shell, but the crow got very wet, and said, "Friend, hide me too please in your shell." The tortoise said, "Isn't that what you laughed at just now? Get your beak to help you." The crow died, but because of his shell the tortoise escaped alive. That is the end of the story.

Ndau Text ¹**Rungano rwetshuro ² nekhamba**

Dgerimjeni zuva, khamba rainga rafa ngenzara. Rakahambahamba zuva refe, risikaoni cokudya. Rakaguma pambudukuto yetshuro, rikati, "Aa, nyamaji ndinozoono kudya kwakanaka." Ndizo rakahwarire-tshuro kuuya kwayo, ngokuti inga irikodya. Khamba rakagarira mukuwo wakareba. Kwakati tshuro youya, yakaona kuti uripo wakandihwarira kundifata. Ndizo yakapinimidza kuti, "Dgandifaidze kuti ndione kuti ariipo wakandihwarira." Ndizo tshuro yakaamba kudaidza, ikati, "Yembudukuto foo! yembudukuto foo!" Asi, aizi kudaira. Asi ngokuangira kwetshuro kudaidza, khamba rakapinimidza kuti, dani mbudukuto inofaira. Ndizo rakati, "Yefoo." Ndizo tshuro yakatiza yecifeke-khamba kuti, "Iwewe uri senzi, wakamboona mbudukuto inofaira here?" Ndizo khamba rakatambudzika ngenzara kakurutu.

The Story of the Hare and the Leopard

One day a leopard, who was very hungry, walked about all day long without finding anything to eat. He came to a hare's burrow and said (to himself), "Oh, to-day I shall find something good to eat." So he hid, waiting for the hare to return, because he was out hunting for food. The leopard waited a long time. When the hare came he saw that someone was hiding, waiting to catch him, so he thought to himself, "Let me call and see if anyone is hiding from me." So the hare began to call, saying, "O burrow !

¹ Collected from Bennie Dube by Mrs. D. V. Meacham and Mr. C. C. Fuller, and dictated to me by James Nkundhlande (N. 17).

² Even in Ndau it may prove advisable not to mark aspiration, other than with explosives, in order to further unification, and thus use *ts* for *tsh*.

O burrow !” But it did not answer. However, as the hare continued to call, the leopard thought that perhaps the burrow should answer, and so he said, “ Yes.” Then the hare ran away laughing at the leopard, saying, “ You are a fool. Have you ever heard a burrow answer ? ” So the leopard was very hungry indeed.

Kalanga Text ¹

Lungano gwembizi

Mbizi yakaxaya nyanga ngodyisa zuvi. Mbumbi wezinu zose wakadana muka dzose ewodzikovela nyanga. Ha mbizi ihwa kuti tadarwa, ikandodya zayo. Ikalaila dzimne muka, ikati, “ Mundondibatila-vo nyanga.” Dzikaşika dzimne muka, dzikapiwa dzadzo nyanga, mbizi ikaxaya. Mbizi ha ivona dzimne dzivuya nenyanga, ikadzixanganidza, iti, “ Ndabatigwa nyanga ngedzimne.” Dzimne dzikati, “ Tapiwa dzedu dzoga.” Ikave yoyenda-vo. Ikati şika-ko, ikawana kuyi, “ Dzapela, ngove wakatowa-dyisa zuvi.”

The Story of the Zebra

The zebra lacked horns on account of his gluttony. The maker of all things called all the animals to distribute to them horns. When the zebra heard that they were called (lit. we are called), he went off to eat by himself. He sent word to the other animals, saying, “ You just get the horns for me.” The other animals arrived, and were given their own horns, and the zebra went without. When the zebra saw the others coming back with horns, he met them, thinking, “ I have had the horns got for me by the others.” The others said, “ We have been given only our own.” Then off he went also. When he arrived there, he found it said, “ They are finished, because you are a glutton.”

¹ Dictated to me by Sipopa L. Kupe (Kal. 7) and Gwakuva (Kal. 10).

KOREKORE GROUP

	Korekore (General)	Korekore (Urungwe)	Gova	Σangwe (South)	Σangwe (North)	Tavara (Rhodesia)	Tavara (P.E.A.)	Budya
above	pamusoró kudɛngá -ese -ose	pamusoró kudɛngá -ese -ose	pamusoró -ose	pamusoró kudɛngá -ose	pamusoró kudɛngá -ose	pamusoró -ese	padɛngá -ose	pamusoró -ese
armpit	fiwaxwá	fiwaxwá	fiwapwá	fiwaxwá	fiwaxwá	fiapxá	fiapwá	fiapxá
(to) arrive (to) ask baboon	-šika -bvunza bvenɛ	-šika -bvunza bvenɛ	-šika -bvunza bvenɛ	-šika -bvunza bvene	-šika -vunza vene	-šika -bvunza bvenɛ	-šika -bvunza bvenɛ	-šika -bvunza pfenɛ
beer	mašuro fiwafiwá	mašuro fiwafiwá	mašuro	mašuro fiwafiwá usukwá	mašuro fiwafiwá usukwá	fiwafiwá	fiwafiwá	fiwafiwá
behind	kusulé	kusulé	masulé	kusúte kumasúte	kusúte kumasúte	kusúte	kusúte	musúre
body	muširi	muwiri	muširi	muširi	muvirí	muširi	muširi	muwirí
(to) build canoe	-baka fiwató	-waka fiwató	-baka fiwató	-baka fiwató	-vaka fiwató	-baka fiwató	-waka fiwató	-waka fiwathó
cattle	ɲombɛ mombɛ	ɲombɛ	ɲombɛ	ɲombɛ	ɲombɛ	ɲombɛ	ɲombɛ	ɲombɛ
chief	mámbo ife	mámbo	mambɔ	mambɔ	mambɔ	mambɔ ijé	mambɔ pfumó	mambɔ ife
child	mwana	(m)ɲwana	mwana	mwana	mwana	mwana	mwana	mwana
(to) come crocodile	-uja ɲgwena	-uja ɲgwena	-wuja ɲgwena	-uja ɲgwena	-vuja ɲgwena	-uja ɲgwena	-uja (m)ɲgwena	-úja ɲgwena (m)ɲgwena
(to) do	-ita	-ita	-ita	-ita	-ita	-ita	-ita	-ita
dog	imbwá	ɲgwá	ɲgwá	ɲgwá	ɲgwá	imbwá	imbwá	imbɲá
(to) drink	-mwa	-ɲwa (m)ɲwa	-mwa	-mwa	-ɲwa	-mwa	-mwa	-mwa
(to) dry up	-xwá -oma	-xwá -oma	-oma	-omerera	-omerera	-pxá -fioma	-pxira -joma	-pxá -woma
(to) eat	-ɖza	-ɖza	-ɖza	-ɖza	-ɖja	-ɖza	-ɖja	-ɖza
phant enter	nzoɹ -pinda -ɲgúna šafa watsano -tʃá -fiwá moto	nzoɹ -pinda -ɲgúna šafa watsano -tʃá	nzowo -ɲgúna šafa -tʃá	nzoɹ -ɲgúna táté	nzoɹ ɲgúna táté -fiwá moto	nzoɹ -pinda atsano -tʃá -kakatana moto	nzoɹ -pinda atsano -tʃá -šutana mwotó	nzoɹ -pinda šafa -rwa motó mwotó

ZEZURU GROUP

KARADGA GROUP

Zezuru	Njanja	Hera	Nohwe	Cikwakwa	Jena	Duma	Govera	Mari	Nyufi
pamusóró	pamusóró	pamusóró	pamusóró	pamusóró	pamusóró	pamusóró	pamusóró	pamusóró	pamusoro
-ese	-ese	-ese	-ese	-ese	-ose	-ose	-ose	-ose	-ose
fiapka	fiapka	fiapka	fiapxa	fiapxa	fiapxa	fiapxa	fiapxa	fiapxa	fiapxa
fiapxa									
-şiká	-şiká	-şiká	-şiká	-şiká	-şiká	-şiká	-şiká	-şiká	-şiká
-bvunzá	-bvunzá	-bvunzá	-bvunzá	-bvunzá	-bvunzá	-vunzá	-vunzá	-vunzá	-vunzá
pfeni	gud'q	gud'q	gud'q	gud'q	gud'q	gud'q	gud'q	gud'q	gud'q
bveni	bveni	bveni	bveni	bveni					
d'oro	d'oro	d'oro	d'oro	d'oro	d'oro	d'oro	d'oro	d'oro	d'oro
fiwafiwa	bɔabɔa	fiwafiwa	fiwafiwa	fiwafiwa					
wawa									
-fure	-fure	-fure	maɟure	-ɟure	-sue	-sue	-ɟure	-sue	ɟure
múbirí	múbirí	múbirí	múbirí	múbirí	muvirí	muvirí	muvirí	muvirí	—
-baká	-baká	-baka	-baká	-baká	-vaka	-vaka	-vaka	-vaka	-vaka
igwa	igwa	igwa	fiwató	igwa fiwati	ɔwató	gwa	—	gwa	mukoro
mombé	mombé	mombé	mombé	mombé	ɔombé	ɔombé	ɔombé	ɔombé	ɔombé
ɔombé									
mambo	mambo	mambo	mambo	mambo					
ifé	ifé	ifé	ifé	ifé	fé	fé	fé	fé	fé
mjana	mjana	mjana	mwana	mwana	mwana	mjana	mjana	mwana	mjana
mwana									
-uja	-wuja	-uja	-ɟuja	-uja	-vuja	vuja	-vuja	-vuja	-vuja
ɔgwena	garɔwe	ɔgwena	ɔgwena	ɔgwena	(m)ɔgwena	(m)ɔgwena	(m)ɔgwena	(m)ɔgwena	gagwe
garɔwe									
-ita	-ita	-ita	-ita	-ita	-ita	-ita	-ita	-ita	-ita
imɔya	imɔya	imɔga	imɔya	imɔya	mɔya	mɔya	mɔya	mɔya	mɔya
-nywa	-nwa	-nwa	-nwa	-nwa	-ɔwa	-ɔwa	-ɔwa	-ɔwa	-ɔwa
-pka	-pka	-pka	-pɔa	-pka	-pɔa	-pɔa	-pɔa	-pɔa	-pɔa
-oma	-woma	-fioma	fioma	-oma	-oma	-oma	-oma	-oma	-oma
-dɔga	-dɔga	-dɔga	-dɔga	-dɔga	-tja	-tja	-tja	-ɔa	-ɔa
nzou	nzou	nzou	nzou	nzou	zou	zou	zou	zou	zou
-pinda	-pinda	-pinda	-pinda	-pinda	-pinda	-pinda	-pinda	-pinda	-pinda
ɔaɔa	ɔaɔa	ɔaɔa	ɔaɔa	ɔaɔa	ɔambo	ɔambo	ɔaɔa	ɔaɔa	ɔambo
-tjka	-tjka	-tjka	-tjka	-tjka	-tɔa	-tɔa	-tɔa	-tɔa	-tɔa
-ɔgwa	-ɔywa	-ɔywa	-ɔywa	-ɔywa	-gwa	-gwa	-ɔywa	-gwa	-gwa
-ɔywa									
mɔotó	motó	motó	motó	motó	mɔotó	mɔotó	mɔotó	motó	motó

MANYIKA GROUP

	Karombe	Sunji	Nyatwe	Unyaa	Guta	Hungwe	Bvumba	Soca	Jindwi
outside	kunzá	kunzá	kunzá	kunzé	kunzé	kunzé	panzé	kunzé	kufanzi
path	nzira gwanza	nzira	nzira gwanzi	nzira	nzira gwanzi	nzira	gwanzi	gwanzi	gwanzi
people	wanfiu	wanfiu	wanfiu	wanfiu	wanfiu	wanfiu	wanfiu	wanfiu	wanfiu
person	munfiu	munfiu	munfiu	munfiu	munfiu	munfiu	munfiu	munfiu	munfiu
pestle	muthwi	muthwi	muthwi	muthwi	mutwi	mutswi	muthwo	mutwo	mutwo
pig	nguruwe	—	nguruwe	nguruwe	nguruwe	nguruwe	nguruwe	nguruwe	nguruwe
(wart-hog)	ndgiri	—	ndgiri	ndgiri	ndgiri	ndgiri	ndgiri	ndgiri	ndgiri
(to) pound	-twa -thwa	-thwa	-twa	-thwa	-twa	-tsewa -dzura	-thwa	-twa	-twa
rain	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura
(to) return	-tshanduka	-tsanduka	-tshanduka	-dzokera	-dzokera	-dzokera	-dzokera	-petuka	-petuka
right-hand	rukjo	rujo	rukjo	rukjo ruljo	rukjo	rukji	rulji	ruljo	muljo
river	ruzi	ruzi	ruzi	rwizi	rwizi	rwizi	rwizi	rwizi	rwizi
rubbish-heap (ashes)	d'urunfiuru	d'urunfiuru	d'urunfiuru	fumbaro	marara	marara	d'urunfiuru	d'urunfiuru	marara
(to) run	-wara	-wara	-wara	-wara	-tizira	-tizira	-rumba	-rumba	-rumba
(to) run away	-wara	-wara	-wara	-wara	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza
(to) see	-fiona	-wona	-fiona	-wona	-wona	-wona	-wona	-wona	-wona
sheep	fiwai	fiwai	fiwai	fiwai	fiwai	fiwai	fiwai	fiwai	fiwai
(to) sit	-khara	-khara	-khara	-gara	-gara	-gara	-gara	-gara	-gara
(to) sleep	-rara -kusa	-kusa	-rara	-rara -tata	-rara	-rara	-rara	-tata	-rara
snake	poka	poka	poka	poka	poka	poka	poka	poka	poka
sorrow	wutshuro	wutsuro	wutshuro	nfiamo	urombo	usuro	nfiamo	urombo	urombo
(to) speak	-kweta	-kweta	-kweta	-taura	-taura	-taura	heketa	-taura	-taura -heketa
spear	pfomo	d'fiipa	pfomo	pfumo	pfumo	pfumo	pfumo	pfumo	pfumo
(to) stand	-jima	-ima	-mira	-mira	-mira	-mira	-mira	-mira	-mira
stone	ibye	ibye	ibye	ibwe	ibwe zifwe	zifwe d'ombo	buwe	buwe	buwe
(to) suck	-amwa	-amwa	-amwa	-amwa	-amya	-jamya	-amwa	-amwa	-amwa

Teve	NDAU GROUP				KALADGA GROUP				
	Ndau	Garwe	Danda	Sanja	Kalanga	Lilima	Talahundra	Nambzya	Rozi
kunzé	k'ufanzé	kufanzi	k'ufanjé k'ufandzé	kupdzá	kufe	kuzé	kuze	paže	paže
nzira gwanza bandhu	pdzira ngira bandhu vandhu	gwanza banhu	pdzila ngila bandhu	pdzira vandhu	zila vanu	zila vathu	zila vandhu	izira vanhu	zira vanhu
mundhu	mundhu	munhu	mundhu	mundhu	nu nu	nthu	ndhu	unhu	unhu
mutxwó	mutço	mutçó mutxwó	musi	muji	nsi	nsi	nsi	m̄wisi	usi
nguluβe	nguruβe nguruve	nguruβe	nguruβe	nguruve	ngulúve	ngulúve	ngulúve	ingutútu	ngurungunda fumba pdziri -xwa
-txwá	-thwá	-txwa	-thwá	-thwá	-khwa	-khwa	-kwa	ipdziri -thwa	-xwa
mvura	mvura	mvura	k'um̄na	mvula	vula	vula	vula	ivura	vura
dzoka	-hwirira	-fwirira	-hwilila	-fwikira	-b̄xilila -vuja luçi	-gwillila -vuja ludzi	b̄xilila	-vuja rulji rubji	—
ruljo	muljo	muljo	murgço muljo	murgço	mulambo	gwizi	gwizi	gwizi	gwizi
durundhuru	durdhuru	durdhuru	duru	duru	tjifalanlota	tjifalanlota	tjifalalota	rota	—
-guguma	-rumba	-rumba	-gogoma	-gogoma	-tifa	-tiga	-tiga	-lavuka	-dununa
-tiza	-t'iza	-tiza	-t'iza	-tiza	-tifa	-tiga	-tiga	-tiga	-tiga
-wona	-ona	-wona	-βona	-vona	-vona	-vona	-vona	-vona	-wona
βwizi	hwai βyizi	fwai	hwai	bvuta	m̄pizi	kwizi	βyizi	im̄wizi	fwai
-gara	-gara	-gara	-gala	-gala	-gala	-gala	-gala	-gara	-gara
-βata	-at'a	-βata	-βat'a	-vata	-ezela -lala	-ezela -lala	-ezela -jezela -izela -lala -poka	-rara -lara	-kwezera
poka	pok'a	poka	pok'a	poka	poka	poka	poka	ipoka	poka gara
ndhamo	ndhamo	nfiamo	ndhamo	ulombo	vujenda si	bujend.asi	kudziila	(k)ufeta (k)udzira	—
-tura	-erek'et'a	-reketa	-βelek'et'a	-vereketa	-leva	-leva	-leva	-levereka	—
pfumo	pfumo	pfumo	pfumo	mukhondo	thumo	thumo	pfumo thumo	ipfumo ifumo	pfumo
-mira	-ema	-mira	-ema	-ima	-mma	-ma	-ma	-ma	-mira
βuwe	βuwe	βuwe	βuwe	βuwe	βwe	gwe	βwe	ib̄we ib̄we	dombó
-am̄wa	-am̄ja	-am̄wa	-m̄ja	-m̄wa	-m̄ja	-jwa	-m̄ja	-m̄ja -m̄wa	—

mulibq

KOREKORE GROUP

	Korekore (General)	Korekore (Urungwe)	Gova	Σangwe (South)	Σangwe (North)	Tavara (Rhodesia)	Tavara (P.E.A.)	Budya
(to) sweep	-tšaira	-tšaira	-tšaira	-tšaira	-tšaira	-pšaira	-pšaira	-tšaira
thing	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu
(to) throw away	-taja	-taja	-taja	-taja	-taja	-taja	-taja	-taja
tobacco	fodza	fodza	fodza	fodza	fodja	fodza	fodja	-rasa fodza
to-day	nʃasi nʃasiuno	nʃasi nʃasiuno	nʃasi	nʃasi nʃasiuno	nʃasi nʃasiuno	nʃasi	nʃasi	pasi
to-morrow	manswana fiwedza	manswana fiwedza	manswana	manswana	manswana	manswana fiwedza	manswana fiwedza	ma(m)swana fiwedza
tongue	rukimi	rukimi	rukimi	urimi	rurimi	ukimi	tʃilimi	rukimi
village	muja	muja	muja	muja	muja	muja	muja	muja
(to) warm oneself	-dzija	-dzija	-ota	-dzija	-dzija	-fota	-fota	-gotha -wotha
water	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura
wind	mʃepo	mʃepo	mʃepo	mʃepo	mʃepo	mʃepo	mʃepo	mʃepo
yes	ʃee	ʃee	ʃee	ʃee	ʃee	inde	ʃinde	ewo ʃunde
yesterday	nezuro	nezuro	nezuro	nezuro	nezuro	nozuro	nozuro	nezuro
you (pron.)	imi	imi	imi	iywi	iywi	imi	imi	imi
you (obj. conc.)	ku—ii	ku—ii	ku—ii	ku—ipi ku—ini	ku—ipi ku—ini	ku—ji	ku—ji	ku—(j) i

ZEZURU GROUP

KARADGA GROUP

ZeZuru	Njanja	Hera	Nohwe	Cikwakwa	Je	Duma	Govera	Mari	Nyu6i
-tʃáirá	-tʃáirá	-tʃáirá	-tʃaira	-tʃaira	-tʃair	-tʃaira	-tʃaira	-tʃaira	-tʃaira
tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃ	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu	tʃinʃu
-rásá	-rásá	-rásá	-rásá	-rásá	-ráfá	-ráfá	-ráfá	-ráfá	-ráfá
fódzga	fódzga	fódzga	fódzga	fódzga	fofjá	fofjá	fofjá	fofjá	fofjá
nfiási	nfiási	nfiási	nfiási	nfiási	nfiás	nfiási	nfiási	nfiási	nási
nási									
manɣwana	manɣwana	manɣwana	manɣwana	manɣwana	ma(mɣwana)	ma(m)ɣwana	ma(m)ɣwana	ma(m)ɣwana	manɣwana
fiwedza			fiwedza	wedza					
rurimi	rukimi	rurimi	rurimi	rukimi	ruri:	rukimi	rukimi	rurimi	rurimi
muja	muja	muja	muja	muja	muɟ:	muja	muja	muja	muja
-dzija	-dzija	-dzija	-dzija	-dzija	-dzi:	-dzija	-dzija	-dzija	-dzija
mvurá	mvurá	mvurá	mvurá	mvurá	mvu:	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvurá
mfiépo	mfiépo	mfiépo	mfiépo	mfiépo	mfié:	mfiépo	mfiépo	mfiépo	mfiépo
fiɔngu	fiɔngu	fiɔngu	fiɔngu	fiɔngu	fiɔɔ:	fiɔɔ	fiɔɔ	fiɔɔ	fiɔɔ
			fiɔngu	fiɔngu				wóɔɔ	
			fiéβó	fiéβó					
			fiéβó	fiéβó					
nezurɔ	nezuro	nezuro	nezurɔ	nezurɔ	zurɔ	zurɔ	nezurɔ	zurɔ	zurɔ
imi	imi	imi	imi	imi	imɔi	imi	imi	imwí	imi
ku—ji	ku—(j)i	ku—(j)i	ku—ji	ku—ji	ku—(j)i	ku—(j)i	ku—(j)i	ku—(j)i	ku—(j)i
					-mu-	-m-		-mu-	-mu-
					mu—(j)i	mu—(j)i		mu—(j)i	mu—(j)i

Teve	NDAU GROUP				KALADGA GROUP				
	Ndau	Garwe	Danda	Zanga	Kalanğa	Lilima	Talahundra	Nambzya	Rogi
-zara	-zara -dzara	-zara	-dzala	-zala	-fala	-zala	-gala	-zara	—
-enda	-enda	-enda	-enda	-pinda	-jenda	-endia	-endia	-nda	-nda
-bata uswa	-bat'a m̄jēndzē	-bata usxwa m̄wēndzē	-bat'a sola	-bata maufwa sola	-bata ouxwa ouhwa	-bata bufwa	-bata buxwa	-bata ouxwa	-bata dixwa fora
-zwa	-zwa	-zwa	-zwa	-zwa	-fiwa	-wa	-fiwa	-fiwa	-(fi)wa
mwojō	m̄jōjō	m̄wōjō	m̄jōje	m̄wōjō	mojō	mojō	mojō	mojō	mojō
-kē inlmi	-k'e inlmi	-kē inlmi	-k'e ijewe	-ke inlmi	imi	(-we, -gwe, -tje, etc., varying with classes) imi	imi	imi	imi
-rywara -uraja	-rywara -uraja	-rywara -uraja	-wadza -ulaja	-rywala -wulaja	-gwala -vulaja	-gwala -vulaja	-gwala -vulaja	-rwarā -vuraja	— -baja
-ziβa	-zija	-zija	-zija	-ziua	-ziua	-ziua	-ziua	-ziua	-ziua
-lega	-rek'a -rek'era	-reka -rekerā	-lek'a	-tega	-letja	-letjha	-letja	-leka	-rekedza
khamba	khamba	khamba	khamba	khamba	ngwē	dindingwe	ngwē	ingwē	mbada
mwojō	k'up'onā	upēpū	k'up'onā	kuponā kupēpa	kutfila	kutfila	kutfila	kutfira	—
mbhondolo	mbhondoro	fumba	mbhondolo	mbhondolo	humba	fumba	fumba	ifumba	mfondoro
-da magwéré	-da maβonore	-da magwere	-da maβomore	-da maβonore	-da tjimanga	-da tjimanga	-da tjimanga	-da tjimanga	-da tjibagwe
-zipdzi	-zipdzi -zipzi	-zipdzi	-wanda	-zipdzi	-pdzi	-pdzi	-pdzi -pdzipdzi	-pdzi	-zipdzizipdzi
fokō d'uti maj	fok'ō d'uri maj	fokō d'uti maj	sok'ō d'uli maj	kolō d'uti maj	hokō duni mmē m'e	fokō duni mmē	fokō duli mmē	idzeta idyki amaj	fokō dubi maj
mbeβa ndwara	mbeja ndwara	mbeja ndwara	mbeβa ndwala	mbeva ndwala	mbeva umba	mbeva umbana	mbeva umbana	mbeva ipara	mbeva gwarā
zita	zina	zina	zina	zina	zina	zina	zina	izina	zina
pedjō	p'edjō p'ed'ō p'asinde	patçō	p'ed'ō	ped'ō	peçō	pedçō	pedjō	pafupi	peļō
aiwa hwi:	haiwa	fandifi	haiwa	fandifi	'a	'a	'a	umpe	andidi u'u
mbhuno	mirō	mirō	mirō	miβō	tjimiļō	tjimiļō	tjimiļō	tjimirō	zimirō

KOREKORE GROUP

	Korekore (General)	Korekore (Urungwe)	Gova	Σangwe (South)	Σangwe (North)	Tavara (Rhodesia)	Tavara (P.E.A.)	Budya
outside	panzé	panzé	panzè	panzé	panzé	panzé	panzé	panzé
path	nzira	nzira	nzira	nzira	nzira	nzira	nzira	nzira
people	βanfū vanfū	wanfū	βanfū	βanfū	vanfū	βanfū	βanfū	wanfū
person	munfū	munfū	munfū	munfū	munfū	munfū	munfū	munfū
pestle	mutsi	mutsi	mutsi	mutsi	mutsi	mutsi	muntsi	mutshi
pig	nguruβe	nguruwe	nguruβe	nguruβe	nguruve	—	—	—
(wart-hog)	fumba	fumbá	—	ngurungunda	ngurungunda	fumbá	fumbá	fumbá
(to) pound	pdzirí -dzura	pdzirí -dzura	— -dzura	— -dzura	— -dzura	pdzirí -dzura	pdzirí -bzura	pdzirí -dzura
rain	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura	mvura
(to) return	-dzoka	-dzoka	-dzoka	-dzoka	-dzoka	-dzoka	-funza	-dzoka
right-hand	rudzi	rudzi	rudzi	udzí	udji	rudzi	rudji	rudzi
river	fiwizi	fiwizi	—	gwizi	gwizi	kafiwizi	fiwizi	rwizi
rubbish-heap	muronḡa	muronḡa	muronḡa	—	—	—	—	—
(ashes)	zararota	zararota	rota	ḡurunudza	ḡurunudza	zunguzalè	zunguzalè	zambarotha
(to) run	-ita ḡo -ita runo	-ita ḡo -ita runo	-ita ḡo	-ḡuruna -ita runo	-ḡuruna -ita runo	tizira	tizira	-ti ḡo
(to) run away	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza
(to) see	-wona	-wona	-wona	-wona	-wona	-wona	-wona	-wona
sheep	fiwai	fiwai	fiwai	fiwai	fiwai	fiwai	bzanda	fiwai
(to) sit	-gara	-gara	-gara	-gara	-gara	-gara	-garikika	-gara
(to) sleep	-jenzera -enzera	-jenzera -enzera	-jenzera	-jenzera	-inzerá	-jenzera -enzera	-jenzera -enzera	-rara
snake	poka	poka	poka	poka	poka	poka	poka	poka
sorrow	nfiamo	nfiamo	nfiamo	nfiamo	nfiamo	nfiamu	nfiamu	nfiamo
(to) speak	-taura -reeteka	-taura -reeteka	-taura	-taura	-taura	-taura	—	-taura
spear	pfumo	pfumo	fumo	pfumo	pfumo	pfumo	pfumo	pfumo
(to) stand	-mira	-mira	-mira	-mira	-mira	-mira	-mira	-mira
stone	ḡombó	ḡombó	ḡombo	ḡombo	ḡombo	—	—	ḡombó
(to) suck	-janwa -jamwa -jamwa	-jamwa	-janwa	-janwa	-janwa	ibwe -jamwa	libwe -mwa	-jamwa -jamwa

ZEZURU GROUP

KARADGA GROUP

ZeZuru	Njanja	Hera	Nohwe	Cikwakwa	Jena	Duma	Govera	Mari	Nyuŋi
kunzé	kunzé	kunzé	kunzé	kunzé	kuzé	kuzé	kuzé	kuzé	pagé
panzé			panzé	panzé					
nzira	nzira	nzira	nzira	nzira	zira	zira	zira	zira	zira
βanfu	βanfu	βanfu	βanfu	βanfu	vanfu	vanfu	vanfu	vanfu	vanfu
βanu									
múnfu	múnfu	múnfu	múnfu	múnfu	munfu	munfu	munfu	munfu	munfu
múnu									
mutŋi	mutŋwí	mutŋkwí	mutŋi	mutŋi	muŋi	muŋi	mutŋwí	muŋi	muŋi
ngúruβe	ngúruβe	ngúruβe	nguruβe	nguruβe	nguruβe	nguruβe	nguruβe	nguruβe	ngúruβe
ndzirí	ndzirí	ndzirí	ndzirí	ndzirí	ndzirí	ndzirí	ndzirí	ndzirí	—
-tskwá	-tsxwá	-tskwá	-dzurá	-dzurá	-xwá	-xwá	-tsxwá	-xwá	-xwá
mvurá	mvura	mvura	mvurá	mvurá	mvurá	mvurá	mvura	mvurá	mvurá
-dzoká	-dzoká	-dzoká	-dzoká	-dzoká	-dzoká	-dzoká	-dzoká	-dzoká	-dzoká
rudzgi	rudzgi	rudzgi	rudzgi	rudzgi	ruhji	ruhji	ruhji	ruhji	ruhji
rywizi	rywizi	rywizi	rywizi	rywizi	gwizi	gwizi	rywizi	gwizi	gwizi
rukobá	rukobá	rukobá	rukobá	rukobá	rukova	rukova	rukova	rukova	rukova
zarezare	ɖurunfiuru	ɖurunfiuru	zararotá	zararotá	ɖurunfiuru	ɖurunfiuru	ɖurunfiuru	ɖurunfiuru	ɖurunfiuru
-maɲá	-máɲá	-máɲá	-máɲá	-máɲá	-vaɲga	-vaɲga	-vaɲga	-maɲá	-tiza
-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza	-tiza
-ona	-wona	-wona	-wona	-wona	-vona	-vona	-vona	-vona	-vona
fiwai	fiwai	fiwai	fiwai	wai	(b)gwai	(b)gwai	(b)gwai	(b)gwai	gwai
-gara	-gara	-gara	-gara	-gara	-gara	-gara	-gara	-gara	-gara
-rinda	-rinda	-rinda	-rinda	-rinda	-vata	-vata	-vata	-vata	-vata
-βata	-βata	-βata							
póká	póká	póká	póká	póká	poka	poka	poka	poka	poka
námó	nfiámó	nfiámó	nfiámó	nfiámó	nfiamo	nfiamo	nfiamó	nfiamo	nfiámó
-taurá	-taura	-taura	-taura	-taura	-byereketa	-byereketa	-byereketa	-byereketa	-byereketa
-réβá	-réβá	-réβá			-leva	-leva		-leva	
					-nepa			-nepa	
pfúmó	pfúmó	pfúmó	pfúmó	pfúmó	pfumo	pfumo	pfumo	pfumo	pfúmó
-mírá	-mírá	-mírá	-mírá	-mírá	-mira	-mira	-mira	-mira	-mira
ɖombó			ɖombó	ɖombó					
ibye	ibye	ibge	ibge	ibye	bye	bye	bye	bye	bge
-jamjá	-jamjá	-jamwá	-jamwá	-jamwá	-mja	-mja	-mja	-mja	-mja

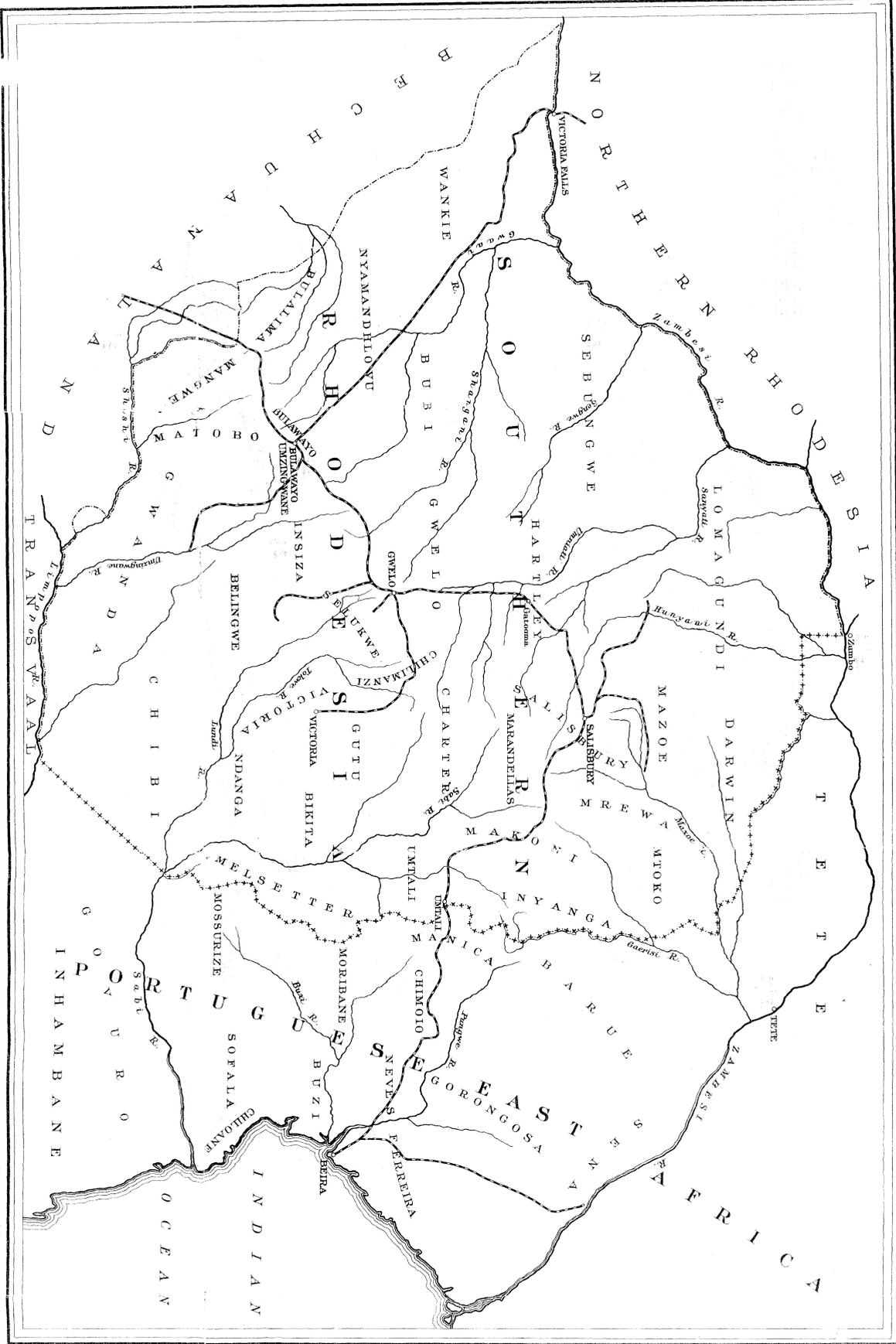
ZEZURU GROUP

KARADGA GROUP

Zezuru	Njanja	Hera	Njwe	Cikwakwa	Jena	Duma	Govera	Mari	Nyubi
-zara	-zara	-zara	-zara	-zara	-zara	-zara	-zara	-zara	-zara
-enda	-jenda	-inda	-jenda	-jenda	-inda	-inda	-inda	-inda	-enda
-bata fiuskwa fiusxwa	-bata usxwa	-bata uskwa	-bata fiuskwa fiusxwa	-bata fiuskwa fiusxwa	-bata vuskwa	-bata vuskwa	-bata vutsxwa	-bata vuskwa	-bata vuskwa
-nzywa	-nzywa	-nzywa	-nzywa	-nzywa	-fiwa	-fiwa	-nzywa	-fiwa	-fiwa
mwojo	mwojo	mwojo	mwojo	mwojo	mwojo	mwojo	mwojo	mojo	mojo
-ke ini	-ke ini	-ke ini	-ke ini	-ke ini	-kwe ini	-ke ini	-ke ini	-ke imi	-ke ini
-rywara -uraja	-rywara -uraja	-rywara -uraja	-rywara -uraj	-rywara -uraja	-gwara -vuraja	-gwara -vuraja	-rywara -vuraja	-gwara -vuraja	-gwara -vuraja
-zipa	-zipa	-zipa	-zipa	-zipa	-ziva	-ziva	-ziva	-ziva	-ziva
-rega	-rega	-rega	-regi	-rega -regera	-rega	-rega	-rega	-rega	-regedza
ingwe mbada	ingwe mbada	ingwe mbada	ingwi mba	ingwe mbada	(m)ingwe	(m)ingwe	(m)ingwe	(m)ingwe mbada	ingwe
upeju fiupeju mfondoro fumba -da tjibawe	upeju fiupeju mfondoro fumba -da tjibawe	upeju fiupeju mfondoro fumba -da tjibawe	fiupeju fiupeju mfondoro fumba -da tjibawe	fiupeju fiupeju mfondoro fumba -da tjibawe	upeju upeju mfondoro fumba -da mabagwe	upeju upeju mfondoro fumba -da mabagwe	upeju upeju mfondoro fumba -da mafarwe	upeju upeju mfondoro fumba -da tjibagwe	upeju upeju mfondoro fumba -da tjibagwe
-zipdzi	-zipdzi	-zipdzi	zipdi	zipdzi	-zipdzi	-zipdzi	-zipdzi	-zipdzi -wanda	zipdzi
tsoko duri maj ama mbeba nzara	tsoko duri maj ama mbeba nzara	tsoko duri maj ama mbeba nzara	tsok duri ama mbeba nzara	tsoko duri ama mbeba nzara	foko duri maj mbeba ndzara	foko duri maj mbeba jdzara	foko duri maj mbeba nzywara	foko duri maj mbeba jdzara	foko duri maj mbeba jdzara
zita	zita	zita	zita	zita	zita	zita	zita	zita	zita
padzgo	padzgo	padzgo	padzo	padzgo	pedo	pedo	pedo peho	pedo peho	pego
kwete	kwete	kwete bodq	kwete aiw	kwete aiwa	(p)kwete bodq	(p)kwete bodq	(p)kwete	(p)kwete bodq	fai bodq fandi
mfuno	mfuno	mfuno	mfio	mfuno	mino mirq	mino	mino	mino	mino

MANYIKA GROUP

	Karombe	Sunji	Nyatwe	Unyama	Guta	Hungwe	Bvba	Boca	Jindwi
(to) sweep	-p̄saira	-t̄saira	-t̄saira	-p̄saira	-p̄saira	-t̄saira	-p̄s̄e	-p̄saira	-p̄saira
thing	firo	finfū	firo	t̄firo	t̄firo	t̄firo t̄finfū	t̄firo	t̄firo	t̄firo
(to) throw away	-r̄atshā	-ratsa	-r̄atshā	-rasa	-rasa	-rasa	-ras	-rasa	-rasa
tobacco	foza	foja	fokja	fokja folja	fokja	fokja	folj	folja	folja
to-day	pamusa	pamunza	pamusi n̄fasi	n̄amusi	pamusi n̄fasi	n̄fasi	n̄an	namasi	namasi
to-morrow	mangwana	mangwana	mangwana mangwani	mangwana	mangwana mangwani	mangwana	marana	mangwana	mangwana
tongue	rurumi	rurumi	rurumi	rutimi	rurimi	rurimi	ru	rutimi	rutimi
village	muj	muj	mujā	mujā	mujā	mujā	mu	mujā	mujā
(to) warm oneself	-fiota	-fiota	-fiota	-fiota	-gota	-dzija	-go	-gota	-gota
water	mazi	mazi	mvura	mazi	mvura	mvura	m	mvura	mvura
wind	t̄fero	fikwa	t̄fero	m̄fepo	m̄fepo	m̄fepo	m	d̄uthu	d̄utu
yes	mm	ibako	mm	fundē	fundē	fundē fungu	fu	fundē	fundē
yesterday	dzuro	d̄as̄wa	dzuro	zuro	zuro	zuro nezuro	zur	zuro	zuro
you (pron.)	im̄we	im̄we	im̄we	im̄we	im̄wi im̄ji	im̄wi im̄ji		im̄wi	im̄wi
you (obj. conc.)	-mu-	-mu-	-mu-	-mu-	-mu-	-mu- ku—ji	-i	-mu-	-mu-



Drawn at the Office of the Survey-General, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, Dec., 1925