Code-switching or lexical borrowing: Numerals in Chasu language of rural Tanzania

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	This paper addresses the complexity in distinguishing the forms of code-switching, particularly single lexeme switches, from lexical borrowing through an analysis of the numerical system in Chasu language of Same District in Kilimanjaro Tanzania. The study of language contact in this context was conducted in a multilingual rural community wherein three languages co-exist; that is Chasu the host language, English and Swahili the donor languages. Borrowed and code-switched items are all features of bilingualism which appear to be identical in their initial stage, but with different endings. Despite these distinguishing criteria, it has been difficult to ascertain whether certain forms especially single lexemes from Swahili to Chasu can either be classified as code-switched or lexical borrowings.

1. Introduction

This paper concentrates on the complexity existing in establishing whether certain forms particularly numerical expressions borrowed from Swahili to Chasu can be categorized as either code-switched elements or lexical borrowings. The research of this paper was carried out in rural African communities, among speakers of Southern Chasu dialect of Same District in Kilimanjaro Tanzania. Of the Chasu community, approximately 5% are monolingual, 63% are bilingual in Chasu and Swahili, and 32% trilingual in Chasu, Swahili and English (Lewis 2009). Being a multilingual society, language use in Tanzania extends from ECLs to Swahili, the national and official language, then to English, the official and international language. Like any other Ethnic Community Language (hereafter ECL)(also known as "minority languages" in terms of their status, prestige and literacy) in Tanzania, Chasu is acquired and used at homes, in several religious contexts, in informal settings like funerals, local markets, wedding ceremonies etc.

As it may be common to any other society, people in the Chasu speech community can be classified with respect to the rest of their society by social characteristics like education, occupation, age and sex. Most of the people are subsistence farmers who, together with a few pastoralists, constitute a lower social class with primary school education or no formal schooling at all. Another group is made up of educated professionals and businessmen and women. These individuals constitute a middle class, and in most cases this group includes youngsters and few middle-aged speakers. Myers-Scotton (2002:41) explains that lexical borrowing usually occurs when 'L1 speakers of the less prestigious groups take into their language words from the L1 of the more prestigious language'. Though the reverse direction is also possible, Myers-Scotton (2006:209-11) adds that the exchange between languages is never equal; a group of people with less opportunity in socio-economic status or political control are likely to borrow the most. Even though the individuals with higher educational background as well as business men and women in Asu society maybe few in number according to the population distribution, yet they still comprise a dominant group in terms of socio-economic and political achievements. They use Swahili and sometimes English professionally, the latter reflecting their adoption of Western culture. These are the sources of new words in Chasu. Other classes follow the lead of the professionals in adopting loan words. However, to distinguish certain switches of single lexemes from borrowed words especially from Swahili is not easy; particularly with numerical expressions and grammatical features common to Swahili and Chasu. This difficulty is addressed in this paper whereby based on the degree of recurrence, predictability and social acceptability by language users, borrowed numerical expression are classified as core- lexical borrowings.

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2. Lexical borrowing and code-switching

In distinguishing lexical borrowing from code-switching, Poplack and Meechan (1995:200) assert that, 'code-switching may be defined as the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of its lexifier language… borrowing is the adaptation of lexical material to the morphological and syntactic (and usually phonological) patterns of the recipient language'. Consequently, the categorisation of lexical borrowing and code-switching in this paper is based on the supposition that code-switched elements occur when a bilingual introduces completely unassimilated forms into the structure of a receiving language, whereas borrowed elements are nativized by assuming the morphological, syntactic and often the phonological properties of the recipient language (Haugen 1956:40, Thomason 2001:134). Despite this assumption, the status of an expression as code-switching (particularly single-lexeme items) or lexical borrowing items is not always straightforward. Its complexity increases when there is an attempt to distinguish Poplack's idea of 'nonce borrowing', sometimes known as 'momentary' borrowing (single-word code-switching) from lexical borrowing. Poplack et al (1988:58) classify nonce borrowing as 'a one-off occurrence resorted to by the speaker', different from established lexical borrowing which is 'recurrently used in the community'.

Traditionally, the degree of integration of loan forms into a recipient language has been the criterion used to distinguish borrowed forms from single-lexeme switches. Myers-Scotton (1993:162), however, takes a contrary view. She suggests the frequency of occurrence to be a reliable decisive factor. Lexical borrowed forms are usually recurrent and widespread in the speech of the individuals across the community, including monolingual speakers of the recipient language. Monolinguals access loanwords regularly, along with the remainder of the recipient-language lexicon. Myers-Scotton (1995:41) & Jan Tent (2000:24) suggest further that, despite their common origins within the donor language, borrowed forms and code-switching also differ in terms of predictability and recurrence. Lexical borrowing is relatively predictable since it has a status in the lexicon as belonging to the recipient language. Code-switching, on the other hand, has no predictable value: items involved in code-switching may not necessarily recur. Poplack (1980 & 2004:5-6) affirmed that code-switching is used by those individuals whose language skills in both languages are stable. While lexical borrowings occur only at the level of word category, code-switching extends from the lexical level to that of syntax or utterances. Romaine (1995:156) summarizes this distinction by asserting that, borrowed words are (a) established, (b) morphologically, syntactically and phonologically integrated, (c) recurrent, widespread and accepted by the community, and (d) form a continuum with native words while code-switching does not show these attributes. Taking these criteria into consideration this paper shows the difficulty of distinguishing switches of single-lexeme from borrowed words, particularly with numerical expressions from Swahili to Chasu.

3. Data collection

In this study the featured primary informants are people who were born, raised and did at least their primary education within Myamba ward, hence speaking Southern Chasu dialect, widely spoken in the southern part of Same District. The data was collected through the sociolinguistic/conversational interviews (Feagin 2002:26),in which a set of questions is used to educe as much free conversation as possible to elicit naturalistic data on language in daily use. Sociolinguistic interviews involve open-ended questions which are intended to reduce the distance between the interviewer and the subject, making the interaction more natural. Generally, the informants were requested to give details of their background, talk about their families, daily activities, schooling, marriage ceremonies, entertainment and what they cherished most in their life. They were also asked to narrate stories about their ancestors, festivals, and personal events that they would never forget. In this session informants, like businessmen, revealed stories about car accidents, injuries and robberies they had encountered when they were travelling. Young informants talked about entertainments like watching and playing football, national and famous international football teams they have watched; movies and music, or playing pool games. Farmers revealed stories about natural catastrophes such as floods, the coming of locusts and drought which hindered their successes in farming activities. Pastoralists talked about wild animals like leopards, hyenas and various kinds of snakes which threatened them and dragged off their animals in the bushes. These interviews were conducted between 2006 and 2007 with 57 informants, from highly and less educated businessmen and women, professionals, animal keepers and subsistence farmers. Most of the conversations with peasants took place in their homes, especially during the evening, to allow them time for their farming activities in the morning. To make contact with the pastoralists, who live away from other people in mountainous areas not under cultivation,

the researcher with the assistance of her father[2](both are fluent Chasu speakers)spent several hours very early in the morning visiting the pastoralists before they went out for grazing. In a few cases participants like businessmen were interviewed in their place of work, like shops, restaurants etc while the professionals were targeted during their weekends. The interviewer visited the participants, and the interview took place instantly, if the subject was available, otherwise an appointment was requested. In this study the questionnaire method was also used to gather personal information concerning the respondents and their language use.

After the transcription of the data by the researcher, those forms with clear features of borrowed lexical items from both Swahili and English were identified and categorised into groups of core and non-core borrowings based on the terms 'core' and 'non-core' vocabulary, as used by Appel and Muysken (1987:165). Their equivalents are; 'core' and 'cultural' borrowing (Myers-Scotton 2002:41, 2006:215-217) or 'basic' and 'non-basic' (Thomason 2001:68-74). Core borrowings are words that 'duplicate elements that the recipient language already has in its store' (Myers-Scotton 2006:215), i.e. the concepts already exist in the recipient language. In situations of unequal prestige, it is the borrowing language which is usually lower in status. Consequently, core borrowings are likely to be used for reasons of prestige prompted by a desire to identify an individual with the donor language and its higher social status. In comparing core borrowings with code-switching, Myers-Scotton (1993:169-76) asserts that in their initial stage these forms are identical. They may appear once or twice in a large data corpus with no predictability as to their recurrence. They are mainly used by speakers with fluency in both languages. Myers-Scotton (1993:174-75) hypothesizes that, before they became established borrowings, such core lexemes were code-switching forms with connotations of prestige. They achieved the status of loan words by recurring over time in the speech of more and more individuals. It is important to note that not all code-switched forms become core borrowings, only the recurring and assimilated ones.

The numerical expressions from Chasu and the borrowed ones from English and Swahili were also identified where as the categorisation and details are presented in section 5. Before attempting the subject on numerical expression, following is the general description of lexical borrowing in Chasu.

4. Lexical borrowing in Chasu

Table 1.1: Lexical borrowings from English and Swahili into Chasu

Lexical category	Core borrowings	%	Non-core borrowings	%	Grand total	%
Nouns	236	57.8	584	91.1	820	78
Verbs	140	34.3	57	8.9	197	18
Pronouns	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adverbs	20	4.9	-	-	20	1.9
Adjectives	6	1.4	-	-	6	0.57
Conjunctions	6	1.4	-	-	6	0.57
Interjection	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	408		641		1049	

In this study there was a total of 1049 loanwords, used by bilingual and trilingual Chasu speakers, of which 127 were English words borrowed to Swahili and then adopted to Chasu while 924 were direct from Swahili. Table 1.1 above shows the distribution of the 1049 loans; 641 of these were non-core borrowings, and all were content words made up of 584 (91%) nouns and 57 (8.9%) verbs. There was a total of 408 core borrowings of which 236 (57.8%) were nouns, 140 (34.3%) verbs, 20 (4.9%) adverbs, 6 (1.4%) adjectives and 6 (1.4%) conjunctions. In the data of this study, there were no incidences of borrowed words direct from English to Chasu or any other foreign language.

The Chasu data shows that the verbs and nouns, from Swahili are borrowed most frequently both in non-core and core borrowings. Table 1.2 below shows the most frequent core and non-core loanwords from

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[2]The researcher's father was not involved in conversational interviews although he speaks fluent Chasu. His assistance was mainly for reasons of security: wild animals abound in the locality where pastoralists live.

Swahili to Chasu, and that non-core lexemes, particularly nouns, occur most frequently. It is worth mentioning that tables 1.1 above and 1.2 below include all tokens, including the repetition of the same item.

Table 1.2: The frequency of occurrence between core and non-core borrowings

Core borrowings	Gloss	Frequency	Non-core borrowings	Gloss	Frequency
va-zazi	parents	14	shule	school	132
i-kanisa	church	19	i-darasa	class	45
uwezo	capacity	12	biashara	business	34
ma-shamba	farms	8	sekondari	secondary	22
ma-tatizo	problems	12	tangawizi	ginger	20
nyumba	house	7	msingi	primary	16
m-kulima	farmer	6	elimu	education	15
harusi	wedding ceremony	5	mw-alimu	teacher	14
i-tukio	event	11	tarehe	date	13
changamoto	challenge	12	i-gari	a car	13
kazi	work	3	timu	team	7
mawazo	thoughts	3	pesa	money	8
kipato	income	4	thieta	Theatre	8

In this table and in the analysis generally, the ultimate origin of borrowed forms is not relevant; rather, the word is first adopted in Swahili for standardization and later in Chasu. There are words like *mw-alimu, tarehe* and *elimu* which are from Arabic via Swahili, *pesa* and *gari* from Hindi, while *timu, sekondari, thieta* for this context are from English. However in this study English is treated differently from other foreign languages such as Hindi or Arabic. Due to its high status in terms of socio-economic power and prestige, English currently serves as a donor language in Tanzania, irrespective of its relatively restricted impact in much everyday life for many particularly in rural areas. In rural Tanzania particularly Chasu speech community English is currently restricted to educational domain only. In this context foreign words from English direct to Chasu are still at the level of code-switching particularly for numerals as discussed below. Table 1.2 also indicates that, while the most frequently occurring core borrowings reflect general topics, non-core borrowings reflect specific topics or certain fields such as formal education, business, medicine etc.

Generally, when a word is borrowed from Swahili into Chasu, the phonological adaptations are minimal except for phonemic tone, which Swahili does not currently possess. Loanwords are assigned tone when they are borrowed into Chasu. Otherwise, rules for the pronunciation and writing of Swahili forms resemble those of Chasu. The sound patterns and syllabic structure of Chasu and Swahili are characteristically Bantu as they both have a CVCV syllable system making it easy to insert words or syllables from one language into another. Some words are likely to retain their phonemic structure while others adopt new inflectional affixes. Morphological adaptation does occur in loanwords from Swahili into Chasu, as shown in table 1.3 below. On the other hand, when Chasu borrows words from English, some assimilation is necessary, since the phonemic systems of these languages are different.

Table 1.3: Assimilated borrowed nouns in Chasu

N/C	Chasu	Swahili	English	Probable ultimate origin
5/6	I-gita/Ma-	Gitaa/Ma-	guitar	English
5/6	I-gari/Ma-	Gari/Ma-	car	Hindi
5/6	I-kampuni/Ma-	Kampuni/Ma-	company	English
5/6	I-darasa/Ma-	Darasa/Ma-	class	Arabic
5/6	I-kanisa/Ma-	Kanisa/Ma-	church	Swahili
9/10	Timu/-	Timu/-	team	English
9/10	Shule/-	Shule/-	school	German/Hebrew?
9/10	Thieta/-	Thieta/-	theatre	English
9/10	Biashara/-	Biashara/-	business	Swahili/Arabic?
9/10	Tangawizi/-	Tangawizi/-	ginger	Swahili
9/10	Sekondari/-	Sekondari/-	secondary	English
1/2	Mw-alimu/Va-	Mw-alimu/Wa-	teacher	Arabic
1/2	M-fanyakazi/Va-	M-fanyakazi/Wa-	worker	Swahili
1/2	M-sabato/Va-	M-sabato/Wa-	sabbath keeper	Hebrew/English?

In the data, words from the Swahili noun classes 1/2, 5/6, and especially 9/10 are prone to borrowings compared to other noun classes. In contact between Swahili and English, noun class 9/10 of Swahili receives more nouns compared to the other noun class; likewise Chasu accepts nouns extensively in this class from Swahili or English. Chasu treats borrowed words in 9/10 like the way Swahili does hence those words, which are normally allocated to noun class 9/10 in Swahili borrowings from English, happen to occupy the same noun class when they are later adopted into Chasu. They are easily integrated into the Chasu noun prefix system, as some of them resemble each other either in singular, plural or both, as in noun class 9/10. It should be noted that words in noun class 9/10 have zero allomorphs for their nominal prefix .One can only distinguish whether they are singular or plural through their subject prefix, which is attached to the verbs as an agreement or in demonstratives as in example 1 below.

Example 1

(a)　shuke　i-　i　i-　　ne- ela
　　　9:cloth　DEM-　9 9-　　FUT-　clean
　　　This cloth will be clean

(b)　shuke　i-　ži　ži-　ne-　ela
　　　10:cloth　DEM-　10　10-　FUT-　clean
　　　These clothes will be clean

Words borrowed from English into Swahili are frequently slotted into noun class 9/10, and are easily borrowed into Chasu as they do not change their nominal prefix. However, it is only through their recurrence that one can tell if borrowed nouns in noun class 9/10 are loanwords and not single-word switches from Swahili, because they are morphologically identical.

5. Numerical expression in multilingual Chasu

Compared to nouns and verbs which are frequently borrowed word categories (cf. table 1.1), in this study numerical expressions are the most frequently borrowed lexicons. Table 1.4 below illustrates the numerals which were borrowed from Swahili and English and their frequency. The total frequency of borrowed numerals is more than half of the total numerical expressions used in the entire conversations.

Out of a total 1250 tokens of numerical expressions in the corpus, 619 were from Chasu, while 609 were borrowed from Swahili and 22 were from English (bold in table 1.4). Borrowed numerical forms comprise 579 cardinals and only 52 ordinals (italicized). From Swahili, borrowed ordinal numbers included –*a*

kwanza 'first', *-a sita* 'sixth'and *-a saba* 'seventh' from single digits. Chasu speakers borrow cardinal numbers *sita* 'six', *saba* 'seven', and *tisa*' nine'; *ishirini* 'twenty' up to *mia* 'one hundred' and a *lfu* 'thousand'. These are the numerical terms which were also borrowed from Arabic via Swahili. Speakers still use other Chasu single digits in their conversations, while tens, hundreds, and thousands are referred to in Swahili. In this study, the Chasu word *igana* 'hundred' was only once used, and *ikumi*' ten' was used twice. The remaining numerals were from Swahili, except the single digits *mwenzu,* 'one', *mbiri* 'two', *ntatu* 'three', *ne* 'four', *sano*'five' and *mnane* 'eight'.

Table 1.4: The frequency of numbers from Swahili and English

Borrowed numbers	Gloss	Frequency
elfu	thousand	83
sabini	seventy	54
saba	seven	48
sitini	sixty	45
themanini	eighty	44
sita	six	42
hamsini	fifty	40
mia	hundred	39
tisini	ninety	38
moja	one	35
tisa	nine	33
-a kwanza	*first*	*28*
-a saba	*seventh*	*19*
arobaini	forty	17
four		**9**
ishirini	twenty	9
nne	four	8
mbili	two	9
one		**6**
-a sita	*sixth*	*5*
thelathini	thirty	4
tano	five	4
tatu	three	4
three		**3**
six		**2**
two		**2**
sifuri	zero	1
Total		**631**

Numbers are also used in mentioning birthdates. In this context most of the informants were born in the 1900s, so mentioning *alfu*(one thousand) frequently was inescapable since among the interview question was to mention birthdates.

It needs to be emphasized that earlier Chasu had equivalents for all these terms, for single digits and tens and hundreds as tables 1.5 and 1.6 respectively show below. Single digits cardinal numbers, stem from Proto Bantu so it is not unexpected that they are used in Chasu.

Table 1.5: Numerical system: single digits in Chasu

Chasu	Swahili	English
mwenzu	moja	one
mbiri	mbili	two
ntatu[3]	tatu	three
ne	nne	four
sano	tano	five
mtandatu	sita	six
mfungate	saba	seven
mnane	nane	eight
kenda	tisa	nine
ikumi	kumi	ten

Table 1.6: Tens and hundreds in Chasu

Chasu	Swahili	English
makumimeri	ishirini	twenty
makumimatatu	thelathini	thirty
makumi mane	arobaini	forty
makumimasano	hamsini	fifty
makumimtandatu	sitini	sixty
makumimfungate	sabini	seventy
makumimnane	themanini	eighty
makumikenda	tisini	ninety
igana	mia	hundred
kiku	alfu	one thousand
laki	laki	one hundred thousand
milioni	milioni	million

As we can see in table 1.4 above, borrowed numbers from Swahili are not assimilated to Chasu structure phonologically, syntactically or morphologically, even though they occur frequently, are widespread in the community and seem to be socially acceptable judging from their frequency. There are speakers, especially younger ones, who hardly remember Chasu numbers especially the single digits for'six' up to 'nine' and for 'twenty' and above. These changes are also common in other Tanzanian languages, such as [4]Matumbi and Ngindo from Zone P, as well as Bondei, Pogoro and Ndamba from Zone G.Though borrowed numerical forms are not absolutely integrated, they have been regarded as core borrowing forms because Chasu has its own numerical expressions, as shown in tables 1.5 and 1.6 above, and the borrowed ones are considered to be used for reasons of prestige prompted by a desire to identify an individual with the donor language and its higher social status. It is also due to the fact that numbers are used in business transaction which involves young people whereby Swahili language is normally used in this community (Sebonde 2009, 2012). However as mentioned above, using borrowed numeral forms from Swahili is currently happening in many Tanzanian languages especially those in same zone with Swahili. It is also happening to the languages which are neighbouring to Swahili hence it may be due to intense contact.

In Chasu, borrowed cardinal numbers occur as nouns (n=580) as in sentence 2(a) and quantifiers (n=40) as in 2b and c) in examples below.

Example 2

(a)   Ni-mog-iwe   mwaka   *alfu-moja-mia-tisa-na-arobaini-na-saba*
      1st PS-born-PST   year   thousand-one-nine-and- forty- and- seven
      'I was born in 1947'

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[3]Ntatu is different from borrowed *tatu* because in Chasu all plosive sounds including the voiceless alveolar stop **t** are pre-nasalized when they occur in the initial position. However when it occurs in the middle position the nasal sound is dropped hence it is difficult to differentiate Chasu from Swahili in Noun class /6 Ma-tatu and /8 Vi-tatu because the nominal agreements are the same in both language.
[4] Numbers from 1 to 10 in Over 5000 Languages :Many files (http://www.zompist.com/numbers.shtml)

(b)   Ni-na   va-na   *saba*
       1st PS- have   2-child   seven
       'I have seven children'

(c)   Abu   e-na   mbuži   *mia*   **sano**.
       Uncle   3rd PP has   10-goat hundreds   five
       'Uncle has five hundred goats'

When they function as quantifiers, the numbers *mwenzu, mbiri, ntatu, ne* and *sano* show the morphological agreement with the noun class prefix of the noun phrase, except for noun class 9/10. The numbers *mtandatu, mfungate, mnane, kenda* and *ikumi* do not show morphological agreement despite the change of the noun class or the plurality of the nouns. We can view this in table 1.7 below:

Table 1.7: Noun class and Chasu numerical system

Noun class/ numbers	Numeral one	Numeral two to five	Numeral six to ten	
1/2 M-/Va-	M-ntu m-mwenzu 'one person'	Va-ntu ve-ri (2) Va-ntu va-tatu (3) Va-ntu va-ne (4) Va-ntu va-sano (5)	Va-ntu mtandatu (6) Va-ntu mfungate (7) Va-ntu mnane (8) Va-ntu kenda (9) Va-ntu ikumi (10)	Person(s)
3/4 M-/Mi-	M-ti m-mwenzu 'one tree'	Mi-ti mi-ri (2) Mi-ti mi-tatu (3) Mi-ti mi-ne (4) Mi-ti mi-sano (5)	Mi-ti mtandatu (6) Mi-ti mfungate (7) Mi-ti mnane (8) Mi-ti kenda (9) Mi-tiikumi (10)	Tree(s)
5/6 I-/Ma-	I-jego i-mwe 'a tooth'	Ma-jego me-ri (2) Ma-jego ma-tatu (3) Ma-jego ma-ne (4) Ma-jego ma-sano (5)	Ma-jego mtandatu (6) Ma-jego mfungate (7) Ma-jego mnane (8) Ma-jego kenda (9) Ma-jego ikumi (10)	Tooth/teeth
7/8 Ki-/Vi-	Ki-ogweki-mwe 'one potato'	V-i-ogwe vi-ri (2) Viogwe vi-tatu (3) Vi-ogwe vi-ne (4) Vi-ogwe vi-sano (5)	Vi-ogwe mtandatu (6) Vi-ogwe mfungate (7) Vi-ogwe mnane (8) Vi-ogwe kenda (9) Vi-ogweikumi (10)	Sweet potato(es)
9/10 N/N	Shukemwenzu 'one cloth'	Shuke mbiri (2) Shuke ntatu (3) Shuke ne (4) Shukesano (5)	Shukemtandatu (6) Shukemfungate (7) Shukemnane (8) Shukekenda (9) Shukeikumi (10)	Cloth(es)

Table 1.7 illustrates that when nouns take their plural forms, as in column 3, traditional Chasu numbers *mbiri,* 'two', *ne* 'four' and *sano* 'five' take the morphological agreement from the noun class, except for noun class 9/10. Column 4 illustrates that numbers *mtandatu*, 'six', *mfungate*, 'seven', *mnane* 'eight', *kenda* 'nine' and *ikumi* 'ten' do not change despite their plurality. When the numbers in column 4 are replaced by borrowed Swahili/Arabic counterparts *sita* 'six', *saba* 'seven' and *tisa* 'nine', they likewise have a zero prefix form, since this is what occurs in all three languages concerned, Arabic and Swahili as well as traditional Chasu.

Numerals from English are considered in this study as non-established forms, because they do not occur frequently and are not predictable. They can be considered as single lexemes in code-switching, since they do not recur, are not assimilated, and are used by few educated trilinguals. Of all 22 English numerical expressions, 21 occurred amongst highly educated speakers, while one token was from a less educated speaker. Though they are few compared to Swahili borrowed numerical expressions, their number is likely to increase as English and Chasu come into contact more directly. All numerical forms from English

occurred when speakers were discussing their level of education, particularly in secondary school; see examples 3 below. Thus, due to their functions in the sentence structure, these numbers happened to occur more as part of a compound noun than as numerals on their own.

Example 3
(a)   Kipindinekishoma **form three** mpaka **form four** hakateamgomo
          'When I was doing form three to form four there was a strike.'

(b)   ...nikatongaMuhezasekondari **form one** na **two, form three** na **four** Parane
          '... I went to Muheza secondary for form one and two, three and four in Parane'.

(c)   ... nikarongamtihaniwa **form six** nikafaulu
          'I did and passed my form six examination'.

Apart from such numerical forms from English, numbers occurred when the respondents discussed or mentioned the following topics: dates of birth and ages, marriage ceremonies, historical events such as festivals or catastrophic phenomena like the coming of locusts, dates of schooling, other levels of education attained, number of children and other possessions like animals (goats and cows) etc.

Generally, the number of borrowed numerals is surprisingly large, with above half of all used numerical terms in the corpus. Though borrowing instances are quite high, these forms are not found in any Chasu written texts like bibles and hymn books where traditional Chasu numerals dominate. In these texts, people could easily access traditional Chasu numerals. In speech, however, speakers - particularly youngsters - do not use Chasu numerals much, as they opt the borrowed ones from Swahili. This situation suggests that, with time, more changes will occur in the use of borrowed numerals, especially when even more people are in contact with Swahili through education, travelling and business.

6. Conclusion

Though there is a strong tendency in Chasu to borrow lexical items from Swahili and English, it has been at times hard to ascertain whether some nouns as expressed above are borrowed or code-switched. Myers-Scotton (1993:167) claims that scholars working on different data sets are concluding that 'morphological and syntactic linguistic subsystems are much more open to borrowing than previously acknowledged, and that not all lexical borrowing forms are equally integrated into the recipient language'. This statement applies to the study of Chasu; where core borrowed words which are allocated in noun class 9/10 have a zero allomorph for the prefix. As mentioned before, these noun classes are treated the same in Chasu and Swahili. When a borrowed word from Swahili is slotted into this noun class in Chasu, it is difficult to assert whether the word is borrowed or switched, since no assimilation takes place.

The study of numerals in Chasu raises several critical issues. Numbers in this study are adopted from Swahili, themselves being borrowed from Arabic. However like single-word switching, neither cardinal nor ordinal borrowed numerical expressions are assimilated into Chasu structure; hence they behave like single-word switches. Lack of assimilation goes contrary to the argument of Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan (1990:74) that "the clearest cases of B (borrowing) forms are those forms showing phonological, morphological and syntactic integration into the Matrix Language, but phonological integration may not always be complete". Owing to these traits it is difficult to ascertain whether borrowed numerical expressions are loan words or single-word switches as in this study we cannot observe the same kind of structural integration in Swahili and Chasu. Nevertheless currently borrowed numbers from Swahili are predictable as to their recurrence and they seem to be accepted by the speakers, since the data shows that they are the most borrowed items, especially the 'tens'. This makes the recurrence and its acceptability among the language users more important criteria than assimilation in distinguishing lexical borrowing from code-switching. Hence borrowed numerals have been categorised into the group of core lexical borrowings based on these reasons: first traditional Chasu numerals did exist and documented in books such as bibles and hymns and second, on the degree of recurrences, predictability and social acceptability.

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