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Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics
University of Dar es Salaam

Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics
University of Dar es Salaam
P.O. Box 35040
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania

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Editorial

Drawing on the morphosyntactic cliticisation approach, Mpemba analyses the syntax of Kiswahili contractions. Specifically, he looks at how Kiswahili speakers choose the appropriate combinatorial partners to form an appropriate and permissible contraction. He points out that noun-possessive combinations in the formation of Kiswahili contractions are not limited to kinship terms since a range of nouns can be used to form "NPos" contractions. He also argues that Kiswahili "NPos" contractions can be formed through the omission of the adjoining portions of the words involved or of the mid-portion of a particular possessive. According to Mpemba, these processes are governed by phonological and morphosyntactic principles, among others.

The article by Aboh is concerned with the use of euphemism as one of the politeness strategies that speakers deploy to lessen the effect of an expression on the hearer, in terms of threatening his or her image. Drawing insights from face theory, Aboh argues that preserving the self-image of the hearer is to preserve the hearer's identity and that disregarding the self-worth of the hearer is to disregard his or her identity. According to Aboh, euphemism is a strong discourse strategy that is not only deployed to tone down the effect of an expression on the hearer, but a linguistic modality which discourse participants activate for politeness reasons.

Using data drawn from Kiswahili newspaper headlines, Asheli makes an attempt to show how nouns in the form of acronyms are treated in Kiswahili. He argues that such nouns are regarded as a different category of nouns and that one acronym noun may be assigned to more than one noun class. He notes, however, that one noun class is normally dominantly associated with a certain acronym noun. The conclusion he arrives at is that this special treatment of acronym nouns is an indication that semantic criteria are crucial in deciding how agreement should be and that it is also a sign of an on-going language change that is affecting the number of noun classes in Kiswahili.

Philpo presents an account of how primary school leavers' level of English literacy affects their learning in English in secondary school. One interesting finding of his study is that 10/28 (35.7%) Form I students with SM background have difficulty learning content subjects through English. He, conversely, shows that Form I students with EM background are at an advantage when they learn content subjects through the same language. His conclusion is that there are serious problems relating to ELT in SM primary schools.

Nkamigbo attempts to show that there is an interaction between tone and the morphological classes of Igbo verbs. This interaction is perceived through the realization of tone since every vowel, and consequently every syllable, bears a tone. For instance, she says that the tone borne by the vowel in a simple verb could be either high or low and that, if the first verb in a compound verb bears a high tone, the second verb bears a low tone and vice versa. She is also of the view that, if the free verb bears a high tone, the affix in a complex verb bears a low tone. She further notes that the tone borne by the vowel in an inherent complement verb could be either high or low. Nkamigbo concludes that Igbo verbs take either a high or a low tone and, therefore, reaffirms the need to continue with the already established tone classes of Igbo verbs.

Dr Abel Y. Mreta
Chief Editor
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The Formation and Syntax of Contractions in Kiswahili with Special Emphasis on Noun-possessive Combination

*Titus Mpemba**

Abstract

*Kiswahili contractions may be formed in various ways with a free-standing content word, a number figure or different word combinations with varying reducing degrees, sometimes becoming monosyllabic, with only a vowel or vowel-consonant combination. Most contractions are attached to host words to form permissible combinations. These attachments exhibit behaviour that implies that they are joined to the preceding or succeeding form in the lexicon, as affixes do (e.g. -**yo** from **yako** 'your/yours' is joined to **baba** 'father' to form **babayo** 'your father'). Paradoxically, though, they behave syntactically like a group of clitics, created from two distinct constituents. This paper examines the behaviour of Kiswahili possessives in combining with nouns to form contractions. It looks at how Kiswahili speakers decide on choosing the appropriate combinatorial partners to form an appropriate and permissible contraction. Drawing on morphosyntactic cliticisation approach, the paper also examines the syntax of Kiswahili contractions.*

Keywords: *Kiswahili contractions, noun-possessive combination, syntax*

Introduction

Kiswahili uses contractions as a brevity, time-saving, and speech connectivity device. It is, thus, not unusual to hear speakers say:

1. (a) *Babangu* (instead of *baba yangu* 'my father').
   (b) *Mwanao* (instead of *mwana wako* 'your son/child').
   (c) *Jinale* (instead of *jina lake* 'his/her/its name').
   (d) *Kakayo* (instead of *kaka yako* 'your brother').

To the contrary, the same speakers do not say:

2. (a) *Bintingu* to mean my daughter.
   (b) *Mpenzingu* to mean my love(r).
   (c) *Shemejinu* to mean your (pl.) sister/brother in law.
   (d) *Mwalimutu* to mean our teacher.

The present paper examines how contractions are generally formed in Kiswahili and special reference is made to noun + possessive (henceforth NPos) contractions. The aim is to find out what processes are involved in

* Lecturer, Department of African Languages and Literature, University of Zimbabwe, P. O. Box MP 167, Mount Pleasant, Harare, Zimbabwe, Email: mpemba@yahoo.com

the formation and why certain contractions in general, and NPos combinations in particular, are allowed but not others. Two questions are answered. First, is Kiswahili NPos contraction formation a morphosyntactic process of cliticisation with clear rules or a lexicalisation phenomenon resulting from a complex diachronic process? Secondly, why don't Kiswahili speakers use constructions like those in 2(a)-(d), while they accept those in 1(a)-(d)? The paper further examines the syntactic behaviour of the contractions resulting from NPos combinations given the controversy surrounding the syntax of contractions as noted by Spencer (1991), Wescoat (2005), and Spencer and Luís (2012), who argue that, while contractions are traditionally regarded to behave syntactically like a group of clitics, some contractions seem to be incompatible with this view.

Justification and Methodology

Contractions have been given a blind eye in Kiswahili scholarship. Despite the fact that they are part and parcel of daily communication, little attention has been devoted to their study. Surprisingly, they even do not have a Kiswahili name and are non-existent in many Kiswahili grammars (see, for example, Mfaume, 1984; Mohamed, 1986; Mdee, 1988; Massamba et al., 1999). It is the view of this paper that they deserve a scholarly analysis in order to identify the governing principles of how they are formed, how their permissibility is determined, and how they behave syntactically in view of providing a scientific guide to Kiswahili teachers and learners.

The data for the paper were solicited from three types of sources. First, secondary sources were consulted. The researcher employed literature research to identify authentic Kiswahili contractions that speakers of the language use in real context. Although this method may seem ineffective given that contractions are common in spoken and non-formal language but usually avoided, even prohibited, in written discourse, some literature is rich in contractions. One can, for example, find such contractions as *nami* 'with me', *asema* 'says', *babangu* 'my father', *mwanawe* 'his/her son/child' and much more in such religious texts as *Misale ya Waumini* 'Believers Missal' and The Holy Bible. Literary texts, especially poems, are also rich in contractions.

Secondly, the data obtained from literature were complimented with another set of data generated through introspection since the researcher is also a Kiswahili speaker and a linguist. Thirdly, to establish which contractions were permissible and which ones were not, the researcher presented a list of contractions generated from literature and introspection to 20 (twenty) Kiswahili speakers and asked them to identify which ones were permissible and which ones were not. The participants were further

asked to provide some more examples of permissible and impermissible contractions.

Definition of Key Terms and Theoretical Framework

The central term driving the present paper is contraction. Mohammed (2001:20) defines contraction as "a fusing of a sequence of forms so that they appear like a single form" and provides such examples as *wa+enzi = wenzi* 'partners; companions' and *wa+ana = wana* 'sons', inter alia.

Mohammed looks at the concept from a process point of view. One may, however, wish to foreground the product of that process and conceptualise contraction as a shortened form of a number figure, a word or group of words, with missing letter(s) or number(s). In this paper, it is the second sense that is used. Whereas the missing letters or numbers are usually marked by an apostrophe in English language and contractions can be made up of one or more contractional clitics (e.g. don't; shouldn't've), this is rare in Kiswahili because most contractions do not bear apostrophes.

As its analytical tool and theoretical framework, this paper adopts morphosyntactic cliticisation approach complemented by phonological analysis. This revolves around the idea of formation of complex words by attaching 'little words' resembling a full word, but which are incapable of standing on their own, but have to 'lean on' neighbouring or host (main) words, instead (Katamba, 1989; Spencer, 1991; Spencer & Luís, 2012). These little words are called clitics and their attachment to their host words, in case of NPos contractions, is governed by phonological rules and the interplay between morphological and syntactic principles.

Formation, Permissibility and Impermissibility of Kiswahili Contractions

Kiswahili contractions can be formed in various ways. However, not all word categories can be used in the process.

Formation, Permissibility and Impermissibility of Kiswahili Contractions in General

The first way through which a Kiswahili contraction can be formed is by omitting a sound or more from a free-standing word (i.e. one that does not need to attach to a host word) or a number or more from a number figure as in data 4. However, as data 3(a)-(c) and 5(a)-(c) illustrate, this process is applicable to open word categories only.

3. (a) *Nitakuona* 'I will see you' drops '*i*' and becomes *ntakuona.*
   (b) *Ninakula* 'I am eating' drops '*ni*' and becomes '*nakula*' or drops '*ni*' and '*ku*' to become *nala*.
   (c) *Mimi* 'I' drops '*mi*' and becomes *mi.*

4. *Mwaka 1995* 'the year 1995' can drop '*19* and become *mwaka 95*, with or without an apostrophe (*95* or *'95*).

5. (a) *Na* 'and/with' drops none of its sounds to become any contraction.
   (b) *Kwa* 'for/by/with' drops none of its sounds to become any contraction.
   (c) *Oyee*! 'Hurrah!' drops none of its sounds to become any contraction.

It is, therefore, impermissible to contract words from closed word categories as stand-alone words. Even under open word categories, adverbs, adjectives and interjections are not contracted as such. Only numbers referring to years and main verbs can be contracted. More examples may include *ninasema*→*nasema* 'I say/I am saying', *ninakuja*→*naja* 'I come/I am coming'; *anakula*→*ala* 's/he eats/s/he is eating'; *mnajua*→*mwajua* 'you (pl.) know'; *tukaenda*→*tukenda* 'We went'; *amelala*→*kalala* 's/he is asleep/sleeping'; *tumeshasema*→*tushasema* 'We have already said'; *nilikwishawaona*→*nshawaona* 'I have/had already seen them', *wataenda* → *watenda* 'they will go'; *wataenda* 'they will go'→*kwenda* 'to go'.

The processes involved in the formation of contractions exemplified above are either morphological or morphophonological. A contracted word is formed by deleting or inserting one or more sounds with or without phonological adjustments to the adjacent sounds. When the deletion involves a phonological process, the adjacent sounds that are phonologically adjusted are glidised, palatalised, fricativised and some cases involve vowel harmony.

To begin with deletion without phonological adjustments, some phonological and morphological factors of the verb in question such as its syllabic character (is it mono or multisyllabic?), personality of concordial agreement marker (is it in first, second or third person?), number (is it in singular or plural form), tense (is it in present, past or future tense?), affirmativity or negativity (is it affirmative or negative?) as well as the noun class of its subject prefix have to be considered.

For example, contraction of multisyllabic affirmative present tense verbs in first person singular and second person singular, as well as plural, involve deletion of the adjoining parts of the subject prefix and tense marker (e.g. *ninasema*→*~~nin~~asema*→*nasema* 'I say/I am saying'; *anaweza*→*~~an~~aweza*→*aweza* 's/he is capable'). This also applies to verbs with subject prefix markers from classes 5, 6 (e.g.

linaelea→lin~~in~~aelea→laelea 'it (thing e.g. a buoy) floats/it is floating'; *yanaelea→ya~~an~~aelea→yaelea* 'they (things e.g. buoys) float/they are floating'), 10 (e.g. *zinauzwa→zi~~in~~auza→zauzwa* 'they (e.g. houses) are sold/they (e.g. houses) are being sold'), 15 (e.g. *yanasumbua→ya~~an~~asumbua→yasumbua* 'they (e.g. diseases) bother'/'they (e.g. diseases) are bothering') and 16 (e.g. *panatulia→pa~~an~~atulia→patulia* 'it (a place) gets calm'/'it (a place) is getting calm').

In monosyllabic verbs, in addition to the adjoining parts of the subject prefix and tense marker, the infinitive morpheme {ku} is also omitted (e.g. *ninakula→ni~~n~~a~~k~~ula→nala* 'I eat/I am eating'; *wanakunywa→wa~~n~~a~~k~~unywa→wanywa* 'they drink/they are drinking' etc). No contractions are formed out of negative verbs.

With regard to deletion with phonological adjustments, the above mentioned phonological and morphological factors should also be borne in mind. Contraction of multisyllabic affirmative present tense verbs in first person plural and second person singular, as well as verbs with subject prefix markers from classes 3, 11, 13, 14 and 18, involve deletion of the nasal consonant /n/ in the tense marker and glidisation of the subject prefix vowel /u/ (e.g. *tunaona →tu~~n~~aona →twaona* 'We see/We are seeing'; *unapenda →u~~n~~apenda →wapenda* 'you (sg.) like/love'; *kunavutia →ku~~n~~avutia →kwavutia* 'it (e.g. singing) is attractive'; *kunatisha→ku~~n~~atisha→kwatisha* 'it (a place there or yonder) is scary'). This also applies to verbs with subject prefix markers from classes 4 and 9. However, instead of /u/, the subject prefix vowel that is glidised is /i/ (e.g. *inaungua→i~~n~~aungua→yaungua* 'they (e.g. trees) burn/ they (e.g. trees) are burning'; *inaungua→i~~n~~aungua→yaungua* 'it (e.g. a house) burns/it (e.g. a house) is burning'). In monosyllabic verbs, in addition to the nasal consonant in the tense marker, the infinitive morpheme {ku} is also omitted (e.g. *tunakula→tu~~n~~a~~k~~ula→twala* 'We eat/We are eating').

Palatalisation and fricativisation take place in verbs with subject prefix markers from classes 7 and 8 respectively whereby '*ki-*' becomes '*ch-*' and '*vi-*' becomes '*vy-*' respectively (e.g. *kinaungua→ki~~n~~aungua→chaungua* 'it (e.g. a chair) burns/it (e.g. a chair) is burning'; *vinaungua→vi~~n~~aungua→vyaungua* 'they (e.g. chairs) burn/they (e.g. chairs) are burning').

Again, verbs in future tense '*-ta-*' and those in narrative tense '*-ka-*' drop the sound /a/ in front of the tense marker as a result of vowel harmony. The sound is dropped when it comes into contact with mid vowel /e/ (e.g. *tukaenda →tuk~~a~~aenda →tukenda* 'We went'; *wataelewa →wat~~a~~elewa →*

watelewa 'they will understand'). The contractions of this nature, however, are largely dialectical. No contractions are formed out of negative verbs.

With regard to insertion, verbs in past tense and perfect tense aspect insert a morpheme '*sha'* or '*isha*' or '*kwisha*' between the tense/aspect marker '*li/me*' and the verb before the tense marker to emphasise completeness of an action or activity, after which the portions '*i*', *'kwi'* and the tense marker are deleted to contract (e.g. *tumeshasema* → *tu~~me~~shasema* → *tushasema* 'We have already said'; *nilikwishawaona* → *~~nilikwi~~shawaona* → *nshawaona* 'I have/had already seen them'), or the subject prefix '*a*' and the perfective '*me*' are dropped and replaced by a verbal prefix '*ka*' (e.g. *ameshasema* → *~~ame~~shasema* → *kashasema* 's/he has already said'). Again, verbs in present tense, second person plural, and those with class 17 subject prefix drop the nasal consonant in the tense marker, after which vowel /u/ is inserted and glidised (e.g. *mnaimba* → *m~~n~~aimba* → *maimba* → *m**u**aimba* → *m**w**aimba* 'you (pl.) sing/you (pl.) are singing; *mnatulia* → *m~~n~~atulia* → *matulia* → *m**u**atulia* → *m**w**atulia* 'it (inside.) gets calm/it (inside) is getting calm).

Another way of forming Kiswahili contractions involves omission plus combination. A sound or more or even a word can be omitted from a word or series of words and the resulting form is combined with another word or series of words to form a single word. For example:

6. *Mama* 'mother' drops *'ma*' and combines with *mkubwa* 'big/elder' to form *mamkubwa* 'maternal aunt; elder sister to one's mother'.
7. *Baba* 'father' drops '*a*' and *yangu* 'my/mine' drops '*y*' and the two combine to form *babangu* 'my father'.
8. *Kuma ya mama yake* 'his/her mother's cunt' drops '*ya*' after the first word, one '*ma*' from *mama* and '*ak*' from *yake* and becomes *kumamaye* 'his/her mother's cunt'.
9. (a) *Mimi* 'I/me' drops '*mi*' and combines with *na* to form *nami* 'with me'.
   (b) *Wewe* 'you (sg.)' drops '*we*' and combines with *na* to form *nawe* 'with you (sg.)'.
   (c) *Yeye* 's/he/him/her' drops '*ye*' and combines with *na* to form *naye* 'with him/her'.
   (d) *Sisi* 'we/us' drops '*si*' and combines with *na* to form *nasi* 'with us'.
   (e) *Nyinyi* 'you (pl.) drops '*nyi*' and combines with *na* to form *nanyi* 'with you (pl.)'.
   (f) *Wao* 'they/them' drops '*wa*' and combines with *na* to form *nao* 'with them'.

More or less like the first one, this way is mostly applicable to open word categories, particularly nouns and adjectives as well as to pronouns and possessives, because it is only conjunction cum preposition *na* 'and/with' under closed word categories that can form contractions by combining with contracted pronouns (see data 9(a)-(f) above). Nouns are also not contracted as stand-alone words. They do so by combining either with other nouns (e.g. *baba* 'father' + *watoto* 'children/kids'→*bawatoto* 'father of kids'; *kaka* 'brother' + Masika 'someone's proper name meaning rainy season'→*kaMasika* 'brother Masika) or with words from other categories such as adjective (e.g. *baba* 'father' + *mkubwa* 'big'→*bamkubwa* 'elder paternal uncle; elder brother to one's father'; *bwana* 'mister' + *mdogo* 'small'→*bwamdogo* 'mister small, to mean someone's juniour') and possessives (e.g. *mwana* 'son/child' + *wangu* 'my/mine'→*mwanangu* 'my son/child'). Of these combinations, NPos is the most productive combination in Kiswahili, hence the quest for the present paper's special emphasis on NPos contractions.

Formation, Permissibility and Impermissibility of NPos Kiswahili Contractions

The participants asked to identify permissible and impermissible contractions did identify a sufficient number of permissible and impermissible NPos contractions. They also provided some more data of permissible and impermissible NPos contractions. The data were classified into eight groups, with regard to their noun classes (see Appendix). Under each class, the data with final vowel /a/ are presented first, followed by those ending in /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/ respectively. The permissible contractions are unmarked, while the impermissible ones are indicated with an asterisk and the doubtful ones with a question mark at the beginning.

The data reveal four major findings. First, quite a variety of nouns can form contractions with possessives. Secondly, there are various ways through which NPos contractions can be formed. Thirdly, there are possessives that are more productive than others. And finally, the formation of NPos contractions is predictable and is governed by clear morphosyntactic and phonological principles.

To begin with which nouns can form contractions with possessives, opinion among scholars is divided. Some argue that the purview is limited to terms of relationship (Kamusi Project, 2015; SALAMA, 2015), also known as kinship terms (Peace Corps Tanzania, 1998:44) or family-relation names (SALAMA, 2015). Others maintain that pronouns and other nouns are also useful (see Quizlet, 2015). However, it is not clear how pronouns can be useful in NPos contraction formation.

It is true that kinship terms are commonly used in formation of NPos contractions and many permissible contractions can be formed through this combination (e.g. *babangu* 'my father'*; babako* 'your father'*, babayo* 'your father'*, babazo* 'your fathers'*; babake* 'his/her father'*, babaye* 'his/her father'*, babaze* 'his/her fathers'*; babetu* 'our father'*; babenu* 'yourr father'*; mwanangu* 'my son/child'*, wanangu* 'my sons/children'*; mwanao* 'your son/child'*, wanao* 'your sons/children'*; mwanawe* 'his/her son/child'*; wanawe* 'his/her sons/children'; *mwanetu* 'our son/child'*; wanetu* 'our sons/children', *mjukuuwe* 'his/her grand child', *wajukuuze* 'his/her grand children' etc (for more examples, see data 1 under Appendix).

However, SALAMA and Kamusi Project's contention is questionable for two reasons. First, not all kinship terms can form NPos contractions with every possessive. For instance, although formed through NPos combination, the following contractions are impermissible in Kiswahili: **mjukuungu, *mjukangu, *wajukuungu*; **wajukangu*; **mjukuuko, *mjukako; *mjukuuke, *mjukake;*wajuuke; *wajukake*, **babutu*, **wifinu*, **mtotonu* and **mketu*, inter alia. This is because kinship terms like *babu* 'grandfather', *binti* 'daughter', *shangazi* 'paternal aunt', *wifi* 'sister in law' (used by women only), *mke* 'wife', *mtoto* 'child' and many more others that do not end in /a/ are not compatible with the possessives *-angu* 'my/mine', *-etu* 'our/ours', *-enu* 'your/yours' and *-ao* 'their/theirs'. They can operate freely only with '*-ako*' and '*-ake*'. As such, such kinship terms are more selective than their counterparts ending in /a/. The pattern is, therefore, that terms ending in /a/ such as *mama* 'mother', *baba* 'father', *kaka* 'brother', *dada* 'sister', *nyanya* 'grandmother', inter alia, can combine with every possessive (*-angu*, *-ake*, *-ako*, *-etu*, *-enu* and *-ao*) to form NPos contractions, while those ending in vowel other than /a/ operate with '*-ako*' and '*ake*' only.

Secondly, there is a plethora of evidence showing that, apart from kinship terms, there are other nouns that can form NPos contractions. These include:

10. Proper nouns:?*Dodomaye* 'his/her Dodoma', *?Kenyayo* 'your Kenya', **Masanjangu* 'my Masanja' etc.
11. Common nouns: *kitabucho* 'your book', *harufuye* 'his/her/its smell', *mtuwe* 'his/her person' etc.
12. Concrete nouns: *simuzo* 'your phones', *garile* 'his/her car', *majiyo* 'your (sg.) water'etc.
13. Abstrcact nouns: *mawazoyo* 'you ideas/thoughts', *wemao* 'your (sg.) goodness/kindness' etc.
14. Countable and uncountable nouns:

(a) **Shambangu* 'my farm'/*mashambangu* 'my farms', *kitandacho/vitandavyo* 'your bed(s)', *garile/magariye* 'his/her car(s)', *kalamuyo/kalamuzo* 'your (sg.) pen(s)' etc.
(b) *Moshiwe* 'its smoke', *hewaye* 'its air', *harufuyo* 'your smell'

15. Collective nouns: jeshilo 'your (sg.) army' *jeshinu 'your (pl.) army', timuyo/timuzo 'your team(s)' etc.

The data in 10-15 speak against the contention that NPos contractions cannot be formed out of nouns other than kinship terms. Data 1 through 8 in the Appendix also prove this fact. Therefore, NPos contractions can be formed out of a plethora of nouns; concrete and abstract nouns, singular and plural nous, countable and uncountable nouns, collective and individual nouns and nouns from all noun classes. The only exception seems to be proper nouns and those in class 15 (e.g. *kuimba* 'singing', *kupenda* 'loving').

The data show two clear patterns of NPos forms. The first one is N + -*angu*, -*ake*, -*ako*, -*etu*, -*enu* and –*ao*, which applies to nouns ending in /a/. However, under this pattern, kinship terms enjoy more flexibility than others as shown in data 16. The second pattern is N + -*ake* and –*ako*, which is applicable to nouns ending in vowels other than /a/ as exemplified in data 17.

16. N+-*angu*, -*ake*, -*ako*, -*etu*, -*enu* and -*ao* pattern

S/N	Noun	Gloss	*N+-angu*	*N+-ako*	*N+-ake*	*N+-etu*	*N+-enu*	*N+-ao*
(i)	*Baba*	father(s)	*babangu*	*babako; babayo; babazo*	*babake; babaye; babaze*	*Babetu (sg.)*	*Babenu (sg.)*	*babao(sg.)*
(ii)	*Mama*	mother(s)	*mamangu*	*mamako; mamayo; mamazo*	*mamake; mamaye; mamaze*	*mametu(sg.)*	*Mamenu (sg.)*	*mamao(sg.)*
(iii)	*Dada*	sister(s)	*dadangu*	*dadako; dadayo; dadazo*	*dadake; dadaye; dadaze*	*dadetu(sg.)*	*Dadenu (sg.)*	*dadao(sg.)*
(iv)	*Mwana Wana*	child children	*mwanangu wanangu*	*mwanao; wanao*	*mwanaw; wanawe*	*mwanetu; wanetu*	*mwanenu; wanenu*	**mwanao *wanao*
(v)	*Nyanya*	grandma(s)	*nyanyangu*	*nyanyako; nyanyayo; nyanyazo*	*nyanyaye; nyanyaze*	*nyanyetu*	*nyanyenu*	*nyanyao*
(vi)	*Nyumba*	house(s)	*nyumbangu*	*nyumbako; nyumbayo; nyumbazo*	*nyumbake; nyumbaye; nyumbaze*	*nyumbetu(sg.)*	*nyumbenu(sg.)*	*nyumbao(sg.)*
(vii)	*Kamba*	rope(s)	*kambangu*	*kambako; kambayo; kambazo*	*kambake; kambaye; kambaze*	*?kambetu*	*?kambenu(sg.)*	*kambao(sg.)*
(viii)	*Familia*	family(ies)	*familiangu*	*familiayo familiazo*	*familiaye; familiaze*	**familietu(sg.)*	**familienu*	*familiao(sg.)*

(ix)	*Unyoya* *Manyoya*	feather; quil; hair strand feathers; quils; hair strands	**unyoyangu;* **manyoyangu*	*unyoya(w)o* *manyoyayo*	*unyoyawe;* *manyoyaye*	**unyoyatu;* **unyoyetu* **manyoyatu;* **manyoyetu*	**unyoyenu* **manyoyenu*	**unyoyao* **manyoyao*
(x)	*Ubua* *Mabua*	straw, stubble straws, stubbles	**ubuangu;* **mabuangu*	*ubua(w)o;* *mabuayo*	*ubuawe;* *mabuaye*	**ubuatu;* **ubuetu* **mabuatu;* **mabuetu*	**ubuanu* **ubuenu* **mabuani* **mabuenu*	**ubuao* **mabuao*
(xi)	*Pigo* *Mapigo*	blow blows	**pigongu;* **pigangu* **mapigongu* **mapigangu*	**pigoko;* **pigako;* *pigolo;* **mapigoko;* **mapigako;* *mapigoyo*	**pigoke;* **pigake;* *pigole;* **mapigoke;* **mapigake;* *mapigoye*	**pigotu; *pigetu* **mapigotu;* **mapigetu*	**pigonu;* **pigenu* **mapigonu;* **mapigenu*	**pigoo; *pigao* **mapigoo;* **mapigao*

17. N+*-ake* and *-ako* pattern

S/N	Noun	Gloss	*N+-angu*	*N+-ako*	*N+-ake*	*N+-etu*	*N+-enu*	*N+-ao*
	Mume Waume	husband husbands	**mumengu* **mumangu* **waumengu* **waumangu*	*mumeo;* *waumezo*	*mumewe;* *waumewe* *waumeze*	*?mumetu;* **waumetu*	*?mumenu;* *?waumenu*	**mume(w)o;* **waume(w)o*
	Mke Wake	wife wives	**mkengu* **mkangu* **wakengu* **wakangu*	*mkeo* *wakeo;* *wakezo*	*mkewe;* *wakewe;* *wakeze*	*?mketu;* *?waketu*	*?mkenu;* *?wakenu*	**mke(w)o;* **wake(w)o*
	Bibi	grandma(s)	**bibingu* **bibangu*	*bibiyo;* *bibizo*	*bibiye; bibize*	**bibetu*	**bibenu*	*?bibio*
	Mpenzi Wapenzi	love(r) lovers	**mpenzingu* **wapenzingu*	*mpenzio;* *wapenzio*	*mpenziwe;* *wapenziwe*	**mpenzitu* **wapenzitu*	*?mpenzinu* *?wapenzinu*	*?mpenzi(w)o* *?wapenzi(w)o*
	Mti Miti	tree trees	**mtingu;* **mtangu* **mitingu* **mitangu*	*mti(w)o;* *mitiyo*	*mtiwe mitiye*	**mtitu; *mtetu* **mititu; *mitetu*	**mtinu; *mtenu* **mitinu;* **mitenu*	**mtio; *mtao* **mitio; *mitao*
	Mzigo Mizigo	luggage	**mzigongu;* **mzigangu* **mizigongu* **mizigangu*	*mzigowo;* *mizigoyo*	*mzigowe;* *mizigoye*	**mzigotu;* **mzigetu* **mizigotu;* **mizigetu*	**mzigonu;* **mzigenu* **mizigonu;* **mizigenu*	**mzigoo;* **mzigao* **mizigoo;* **mizigao*

Regarding how NPos contractions are formed, the data indicate that the words involved in the formation are subjected to a morphosyntactic process of cliticisation. In this process, a complex word is formed by attaching a clitic to a fully independent word. As noted earlier, clitics are 'little words' resembling a full word but which are incapable of standing on their own, but have to 'lean on' neighbouring or host (main) words, instead (Katamba, 1989; Spencer, 1991; Spencer & Luís, 2012). Given that possessives are capable of standing on their own, they are first cliticised before they are attached to a host word to form NPos contractions.

There are two ways through which possessives are cliticised. Either the adjoining portions of the relevant noun and the possessive or the mid-portion of the possessive are eliminated after which they are fused with the

host words. The reducing degrees of cliticisation vary. At times, the cliticised word becomes monosyllabic with only a single vowel (*wako* 'your/yours' becomes *'-o'* as in *mwana* 'son/child'+*wako* = *mwana**o*** 'your son/child') or with a vowel-consonant combination (*yake* 'his/her/hers' becomes '*-ye*' or '*-ke*' as in *mama* 'mother' + *yake* = *mamaye*/*mamake* 'his/her mother').

However, before elimination is effected, the noun in question first determines the concordial agreement of the possessive (e.g. *mwenzi **w**angu*; *baba **y**angu*; *gari **l**ake*; *nyumba **y**ako* etc). When the host word and the clitic are fused, they make one form which is realised phonologically as a single word identified by one stress at the penultimate syllabe. The new combination may have the stress on a different syllable or on the original syllable of one of the two words.

The question whether one should eliminate adjoining portions of the contracting words or mid-portion of the possessive is determined by morphological and phonological criteria. First, when the process involves nouns in class 1 ending in /a/, preferably kinship terms, the adjoining portions of the contracting words are eliminated. Thus, *mwenza wangu* 'my partner/companion' becomes *mwenzangu* after the adjoining parts have been struck off as in 18 (more examples in 19):

18. **mwenza wangu ➔ mwenz(~~a w~~)angu➔ mwenzangu**

19. NPos contractions resulting from omission of adjoining portions in singular form

S/N.	Possessive "*-angu*" as "my" or "mine"
(i)	*mwenz~~a w~~angu* becomes *mwenz**angu***
(ii)	*mwan~~a w~~angu* becomes *mwan**angu***
(iii)	*mam~~a y~~angu* becomes *mam**angu***
(iv)	*bab~~a y~~angu* becomes *bab**angu***
(v)	*kak~~a y~~angu* becomes *kak**angu***
(vi)	*dad~~a y~~angu* becomes *dad**angu***
(vii)	*mjomb~~a y~~angu* becomes *mjomb**angu***
(viii)	*nyany~~a y~~angu* becomes *nyany**angu***
(ix)	*mpendw~~a w~~angu* becomes ?*mpendw**angu***
(x)	*msichan~~a w~~angu* becomes ?*msichan**angu***
	Possessive "*-ako*" as "your" or "yours" (singular)
(xi)	*mwenz~~a w~~ako* becomes *mwenz**ako***
(xii)	*mwan~~a w~~ako* becomes ?*mwan**ako***
(xiii)	*mam~~a y~~ako* becomes *mam**ako***
(xiv)	*bab~~a y~~ako* becomes *bab**ako***

(xv)	*kak~~a y~~ako* becomes *kak**ako***
(xvi)	*dad~~a y~~ako* becomes *dad**ako***
(xvii)	*mjomb~~a y~~ako* becomes *mjomb**ako***
(xviii)	*nyany~~a y~~ako* becomes *nyany**ako***
(xix)	*mpendw~~a w~~ako* becomes ?*mpendw**ako***
(xx)	*msichan~~a w~~ako* becomes ?*msichan**ako***
	Possessive "*-ake*" as "his/her" or "his/hers"
(xxi)	*mwenz~~a w~~ake* becomes *mwenz**ake***
(xxii)	*mwan~~a w~~ake* becomes *mwan**ake***
(xxiii)	*mam~~a y~~ake* becomes ?*mam**ake***
(xxiv)	*bab~~a y~~ake* becomes *bab**ake***
(xxv)	*kak~~a y~~ake* becomes *kak**ake***
(xxvi)	*dad~~a y~~ake* becomes *dad**ake***
(xxvii)	*mjomb~~a y~~ake* becomes *mjomb**ake***
(xxviii)	*nyany~~a y~~ake* becomes *nyany**ake***
(xxix)	*mpendw~~a w~~ake* becomes ?*mpendw**ake***
(xxx)	*msichan~~a w~~ake* becomes ?*msichan**ake***

This pattern also applies to the plural possessives "***-etu***" as **"our" or "ours"**, "***-enu***" **as "your" or "yours" (plural)** and "***-ao***" as **"their" or "theirs"**.

While those nouns in 19 that take '*w-*' as their subject prefix can be pluralised (prefix not affected) and combined with possessives to form permissible contractions, those that take '*y-*' (which canges into '*z*' in plural) cannot. Thus:

20. NPos Contractions Resulting from Omission of Adjoining Portions in Plural Form

S/N.	Possessive "*-angu*" as "my" or "mine"
(i)	*wenz~~a w~~angu* becomes *wenz**angu***
(ii)	*wan~~a w~~angu* becomes *wan**angu***
(iii)	*mam~~a z~~angu* becomes **mam**angu***
(iv)	*bab~~a z~~angu* becomes **bab**angu***
(v)	*kak~~a z~~angu* becomes **kak**angu***
(vi)	*dad~~a z~~angu* becomes **dad**angu***
(vii)	*wajomb~~a z~~angu* becomes **wajomb**angu***
(viii)	*nyany~~a z~~angu* becomes **nyany**angu***
(ix)	*wapendw~~a w~~angu* becomes ?*wapendw**angu***
(x)	*wasichan~~a w~~angu* becomes ?*wasichan**angu***
	Possessive "*-ako*" as "your" or "yours" (singular)
(xi)	*wenz~~a w~~ako* becomes *wenz**ako***
(xii)	*wan~~a w~~ako* becomes ?*wan**ako***

(xiii)	*mama zako* becomes **mamako*
(xiv)	*baba zako* becomes **babako*
(xv)	*kaka zako* becomes **kakako*
(xvi)	*dada zako* becomes **dadako*
(xvii)	*wajomba zako* becomes **wajombako*
(xviii)	*nyanya zako* becomes **nyanyako*
(xix)	*wapendwa wako* becomes ?*wapendwako*
(xx)	*wasichana wako* becomes ?*wasichanako*
	Possessive "*-ake*" as "his/her" or "his/hers"
(xxi)	*wenza wake* becomes *wenzake*
(xxii)	*wana wake* becomes **wanake*
(xxiii)	*mama zake* becomes ?*mamake*
(xxiv)	*baba zake* becomes **babake*
(xxv)	*kaka zake* becomes **kakake*
(xxvi)	*dada zake* becomes *dadake*
(xxvii)	*mjomba zake* becomes *mjombake*
(xxviii)	*nyanya zake* becomes *nyanyake*
(xxix)	*wapendwa wake* becomes ?*wapendwake*
(xxx)	*wasichana wake* becomes ?*wasichanake*

Although it may seem clear from the examples in 19 that the formation of NPos contractions in Kiswahili is straight forward, two things may be worth noting here. First, not all nouns ending in /a/ can be used to produce similar results. For instance, eliminating the adjoining portions of *mwana* 'son/child' + *wako* 'your/yours (sg.)'➔*mwana wako* yields a contraction ?*mwanako* whose existence in Kiswahili is doubtful because the common one is *mwanao*. In this contraction, the voiceless velar sound /k/, which is maintained throughout examples 19(*xiii*) to (*xviii*), is lost. This also applies to such words as *mpwao* 'your nephew/niece', *mchumbao* 'your fiancé/fiancée', and *mshengao* 'your intermediary/go-between', inter alia. Secondly, as illustrated in 20, kinship terms without noun class prefixes, or other nouns with or without noun class prefixes, especially those taking '*-y*' as their subject prefix, either make contractions in plural forms which are exactly the same as those in their singular forms, or make unacceptable ones in both singular and plural forms as further examplified in 21.

21. NPos Combinations that Yield Ambiguous and/or Unacceptable Contractions

No.	Singular	Plural
	Possessive "*-angu*" as "my" or "mine"	
(i)	*baba yangu* becomes *bab**angu***	*baba zangu* becomes **bab**angu***
(ii)	*mama yangu* becomes *mam**angu***	*mama zangu* becomes **mam**angu***
(iii)	*kaka yangu* becomes *kak**angu***	*kaka zangu* becomes **kak**angu***
(iv)	*wifi yangu* becomes **wif**angu***	*mawifi zangu* becomes **mawif**angu***
	Possessive "*-ako*" as "your" or "yours" (singular)	
(v)	*mti wako* becomes **mt**ako***	*miti yako* becomes **mit**ako***
(vi)	*mkono wako* becomes **mkon**ako***	*mikono yako* becomes **mikon**ako***
(vii)	*kidevu chako* becomes **kidev**ako***	*videvu vyako* becomes **videv**ako***
(viii)	*pombe yako* becomes **pomb**ako***	*pombe zako* becomes **pomb**ako***
	Possessive "*-ake*" as "his/her" or "his/hers"	
(ix)	*redio yake* becomes **red**ake***	*redio zake* becomes **red**ake***
(x)	*shoga yake* becomes *shog**ake***	*shoga zake* becomes *shog**ake***
(xi)	*kasoro yetu* becomes **kasor**etu***	*kasoro zetu* becomes **kasor**etu***
(xii)	*bei yake* becomes **be**ake***	*bei zake* becomes **be**ake***
	Possessive "*-etu*" as "our" or "ours"	
(xiii)	*chumba chetu* becomes **chumb**etu***	*vyumba vyetu* becomes **vyumb**etu***
(xiv)	*tabia yetu* becomes **tabi**etu***	*tabia zetu* becomes **tabi**etu***
(xv)	*upendo wetu* becomes **upend**etu***	*not applicable*
	Possessive "*-enu*" as "your" or "yours" (plural)	
(xvi)	*ndugu yenu* becomes **ndug**enu***	*ndugu zenu* becomes **ndug**enu***
(xvii)	*mtoto wenu* becomes **mtot**enu***	*watoto wenu* becomes **watot**enu***
(xviii)	*zulia lenu* becomes **zuli**enu***	*mazulia yenu* becomes **mazuli**enu***

Possessive "*-ao*" as "their" or "theirs"		
(xix)	*unywel~~e w~~ao* becomes **unywel**ao***	*nywel~~e z~~ao* becomes **nywel**ao***
(xx)	*upep~~o w~~ao* becomes **upep**ao***	*pep~~o z~~ao* becomes **pep**ao***

The discrepancies noted in 20 and 21 call for a plausible explanation as to how Kiswahili speakers face this challenge. This is where elimination of the mid-portion of the possessive involved in the contraction formation comes in. This strategy applies to nouns ending in vowels other than /a/ and those that take '*y-*' as their subject prefix (which changes into '*z*' in plural) in boths singular and plural. It should be noted that the possessives involved are '*-ako*' and '*-ake*' only. Thus, *gari lako* 'your (sg.) car/vehicle' becomes *garilo* after deletion of the mid-portion of the possessive as in 22 (more examples in 23):

22. **gari lako ➔ gari l(~~a k~~)o ➔ garilo**

23. NPos contractions resulting from omission of the mid-portion of the possessive

No.	Singular	Plural
Possessive "*-angu*" as "my" or "mine"		
(i)	*mdogo w~~an~~gu* becomes **mdogow**gu***	*wadogo z~~an~~gu* becomes **wadogozgu*
(ii)	*mama y~~an~~gu* becomes **mamaygu*	*mama z~~an~~gu* becomes **mamazgu*
Possessive "*-ako*" as "your" or "yours" (singular)		
(iii)	*mgogoro w~~ak~~o* becomes *mgogoro**wo***	*mgogoro y~~ak~~o* becomes *migogoro**yo***
(iv)	*ndugu y~~ak~~o* becomes *ndugu**yo***	*ndugu z~~ak~~o* becomes *ndugu**zo***
(v)	*baba y~~ak~~o* becomes *baba**yo***	*baba z~~ak~~o* becomes *baba**zo***
(vi)	*utete w~~ak~~o* becomes *utete**wo***	*matete y~~ak~~o* becomes *matete**yo***
Possessive "*-ake*" as "his/her" or "his/hers"		
(vii)	*mke w~~ak~~e* becomes *mke**we***	*wakez~~-ak~~e* becomes *wake**ze***
(viii)	*chumba ch~~ak~~e* becomes *chumba**che***	*vyumba vy~~ak~~e* becomes *vyumba**vye***
Possessive "*-etu*" as "our" or "ours"		
(ix)	*nyumba y~~et~~u* becomes **nyumb**ayu***	*nyumba z~~et~~u* becomes **nyumba**zu***
(x)	*sanduku l~~et~~u* becomes **sanduku**lu***	*masanduku y~~et~~u* becomes **masanduku**yu***

Possessive "*-enu*" as "your" or "yours" (plural)		
(xi)	*ukuta we~~n~~u* becomes **ukuta**wu***	*kuta ze~~n~~u* becomes **kuta**zu***
(xii)	*msukule we~~n~~u* becomes **msukule**wu***	*misukule ye~~n~~u* becomes **misukule**yu***
Possessive "*-ao*" as "their" or "theirs"		
(xiii)	*shindano l~~a~~o* becomes *shindano**lo***	*mashindano y~~a~~o* becomes *mashindano**yo***[2]

From data 23, it is obvious that omission of the mid-portion of the possessive caters for two possessives only, namely '*-ako*' and '*-ake*'. Further, some contractions formed through deletion of the mid-portion of the possessive, mostly '*-ako*', also lose the noun class prefix of the possessive in question. For instance, *mwana w(~~ak~~)o* 'your son/child' contracts to *mwana**wo*** and then loses the prefix '*w*' before '*o*', leaving *mwanao*. The same also applies to *mkeo* 'your (sg.) wife', *mumeo*'your (sg.) husband', *mpenzio*'your (sg.) love(r)', *mwenzio* 'your (sg.) partner/companion', *mchumbao* 'your (sg.) fiancé/fiancée', *mshengao* 'your (sg.) intermediary/go-between', *mpwao* 'your (sg.) nephew/niece', *mpangajio* 'your (sg.) tenant', *mkateo* 'your (sg.) bread', *mzukao* 'your (sg.) ghost/spirit' etc (see Appendix for more examples).

Regarding the productivity of possessives, the data show that singular possessives are more productive than their plural counterparts. The data further indicate that, of the singular possessives, '*-ako*' and '*-ake*' are the most productive (see data 23 and Appendix). They can form contractions with any noun, except those in classes 16, 17 and 18 (PA, MU and KU).

Finally, the morphosyntactic and phological principles that govern the formation of NPos contractions in Kiswahili lie in elimination of the adjoining portions of the noun and the possessive involved or the mid-portion of the possessive involved as determined by the final vowel of the nouns in question. When the process involves nouns in class 1 ending in /a/, as noted earlier, the adjoining portions of the contracting words are eliminated. However, when it involves nouns ending in such vowels as /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/ and those that take '*y-*' as their subject prefix (which changes into '*z*' in plural), in boths singular and plural, the target of elimination becomes the mid-portions, and the possessives involved are only '*-ako*' and '*-ake*'.

[2] This is acceptable, but translates into **your** (instead of **their**) competition.

Utility and Syntax of Kiswahili Contractions

There is a general consensus that the common usage of contractions is in speech and colloquial forms of writing (Heidinger, 1984:88; Bybee, 2007:11). Bybee (2007:11) points out that many contractions, exceptions and oddities in language are a result of extremely high frequency of use. Frequent use of a given word leads to, inter alia, its phonological and morphological reduction (Bybee, 2007:11). For example, Kiswahili speakers would tend to reduce words like *mimi* 'I', *mama* 'mother' and *wako* 'your/yours (sg.)' because they are used frequently, but not words like *tini* 'notes', *tapo* 'school of thought', or *dama* 'draughts', which are not frequent, even though the two sets of words are phonologically similar. Frequent use of a word makes people tired of saying it over and over again. As such, there are such contractions as can't, don't, I'll, you'd, etc., because people get tired of saying "cannot", "do not", "I will", etc., over and over again. Since people do converse more than they write, contractions are commonly used in spoken language.

Likewise, common contractions in Kiswahili are a result of their frequent use. That is why forms like *mwanangu, babake, babaye,* etc., may tempt one to regard them as lexical items in their own right, having come into existence via frequent use, while forms like *msichanake*, *mashambake,* etc., seem doubtful because they are not used frequently. While it is true that contractions are commonly used in spoken discourse, there are some which are also not strange in written Kiswahili. For instance, it is not strange to come by contactions such as '*baadaye'* 'afterwards' instead of '*baada yake*', '*na-*' instead of '*nina*' as in '*naendelea kudai kuwa …*' instead of '*ninaendelea kudai kuwa …*' 'I go on claiming that …'. Additionally, kinship terms like *mwenziwe*, *mkewe*, *mumewe* and *mwanawe* are also not strange to come by in written texts.

Denzer-King (2007) argues that contractions have little or nothing to do with syntax or morphology. However, when one examines the data in this paper, it becomes obvious that contractions do have syntactic behaviours. For instance, the data indicate that Kiswahili words that do not form contractions as stand-alone words but, as combination of more than one word, **may contract only when they are adjacent**. Thus, '*na*' and '*mimi*' cannot combine to form a contraction in this context: ***na*** *aliingia* ***mimi*** *nikimwona* 'and s/he entered while I was seeing him/her'. However, because of adjacency, contraction is possible in *aliingia* ***na mimi*** *pia nikamwona* 's/he entered and I saw him/her': '*aliingia* ***nami*** *pia nikamwona*'. Similarly, ***mama*** *na* ***watoto*** 'mother and children/kids' cannot contract because of the interruption by '*na*'. When '*mama'* and '*watoto'* are adjacent as in *mama watoto*, it is possible to contract into ***mawatoto*** 'mother of children/kids'. Likewise, ***kaka*** *aliye* ***wangu*** 'the brother who is

mine' cannot yield ***kakangu*** 'my brother' because of the interruption by *aliye* 'who is'. What then are the syntactic behaviours of Kiswahili NPos contractions?

Kiswahili NPos Contractions as Clitics

There is no any study known to the present researcher on the treatment of Kiswahili contractions as clitics. On the other hand, English contractions, especially auxiliary contractions, have been "routinely treated as clitics" (Wescoat, 2005:1). Representing this view are Zwicky (1977) and Zwicky and Pullum (1983). Zwicky, for example, treats auxiliary contractions in English as "members of the class of *simple clitics*" (Wescoat, 2005:1, emphasis in the original), which comprise "cases where a free morpheme, when unaccented, may be phonologically subordinated to a neighboring word" (Zwicky, 1977:5). What Zwicky means is that a contraction corresponds to the free form, and the contracted form only arises in places where the full form could have occurred. For example:

24. (a) I**'ll** come.
    (b) I **will** come.

Therefore, English auxiliary contractions are clitics because they are syntactically free but phonologically bound to other forms in the lexicon (Katamba, 1989; Wescoat, 2005; Spencer & Luís, 2012). This means that when they are not yet contracted and attached to the host word(s), they are realised as independent words. But when they contract and join the host word(s), the two are realised a single word.

In Kiswahili, possessive contractions which are attached to the preceding or succeeding lexical item behave syntactically in similar ways as the English auxiliary contractions–as clitics realised phonologically as single words. Before they are contracted and attached to the host word(s), they are realised as independent words with their independent stress. But after contraction and attachment to the host word(s), the two (host word + possessive contraction) are realised a single word with only one stress at the penultimate syllable. Likewise, the contracted forms only arise in places where the full form could have occurred as in 25.

25. (a) *Mke* ***wake*** *ni mrembo* 'His wife is beautiful'.
    (b) *Mke****we*** *ni mrembo* 'His wife is beautiful'.

Lexicalist Counteranalyses to the Contractions as Clitics View

While Kiswahili and English contractions behave syntactically as clitics, there have been counterarguments that some English auxiliary contractions seem to be incompatible with the contractions as clitics view (see, for example, Spencer, 1991:383). To that effect, there have also been proposals that contractions should be seen as affixes, based on selection

(contractions select restrictively the hosts to which they attach) and morphophonological idiosyncrasies criteria (Wescoat, 2005:2). For instance, Sadler (1998) has proposed a treatment of the "pairings of pronouns with nonsyllabic auxiliary contractions as *tense-marked pronouns* (D)" (Wescoat, 2005:5, emphasis in the original), as in 26a (figure 1). Bender and Sag (2001) have proposed to incorporate the pronoun into the auxiliary (V), which in turn combines with a base-form VP to yield a saturated sentence that does not require a subject NP, as in 26b (figure 1). Since selection and morphophonological idiosyncrasies are lexical issues (Wescoat, 2005:4), analyses that adopt this view have been called lexicalist.

26.

Fig. 1 An example of lexicalist analyses of English auxiliary contractions (adopted from Wescoat, 2005:5)

Legend
IP = Inflectional phrase
S = Saturated sentence
I' = I-bar (an X-bar level in X-bar syntax that allows further expansion to include complements, adjuncts and recursion)
DP = Tense-marked pronoun phrase
D = Tense-marked pronoun
VP = Verb phrase
V = Verb

The lexicalist analyses are, however, not without problems. Wescoat, for example, notes that these approaches render difficulties in prediction of the syntax of contractions. Wescoat cites coordination as an example, highlighting that "coordination fails to apply to the hypothesized affixed word" (Wescoat, 2005:5), as in 27.

27. ***You're** and **I'm** helping.

In Kiswahili, there are no instances where coordination fails to apply to the NPos contractions as it can be seen in 28.

28. (a) *Utakwenda na* ***mkeo*** *na* ***mwanawe*** 'You will go with your wife and her son/child'.
    (b) ***Usingiziwe*** *na* ***ndotoze*** *ni liwazo kwake* 'Her/his sleep and dreams are a comfort to her/him'.
    (c) ***Babangu*** *na* ***mamangu*** *ni walimu* 'My father and my mother are teachers'.

Considering Zwicky and Pullum's (1983:504) observation that "syntactic rules can affect affixed words, but cannot affect clitic groups," the view that contractions are a group of clitics stands out to hold much more water than the lexicalist approaches.

Conclusion

The present paper set out to (i) investigate how Kiswahili speakers decide on choosing the appropriate combinatorial partners to form appropriate and permissible contractions, (ii) explore the contraction-formation procedures and (iii) examine the syntactic behaviour of Kiswahili contractions with special emphasis on noun-possessive combination. Five major findings have been highlighted: (i) noun-possessive combination in the formation of Kiswahili contractions is not limited to kinship terms since a range of nouns can be used to form NPos contractions; (ii) Kiswahili NPos contractions can be formed through omission of the adjoining portions of the words involved or of the mid-portion of the possessive in question, the processes which are governed by phonological and morphosyntactic principles; (iii) singular possessives tend to be more productive than their plural counterparts and, among them, '*-ako*' and '*-ake*' are the most productive; (iv) the formation of NPos contractions is predictable and is governed by morphosyntactic and phological principles such as cliticisation and vowel harmony; and (v) morphosyntactic cliticisation approach affords best and successful analysis of contractions as clitics. These are just some of the issues. More ground needs to be covered. For instance, research is needed to determine what guides the speakers in alternating between *babake* and *babaye*. When does the speaker choose to use *babake* and when does s/he choose to use *babaye*, given that the two mean exactly the same thing?

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Appendix

Permissible and Impermissible Noun-possessive Contractions

1. M-/WA- class

7	Example noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1st psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2nd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1st ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2nd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(vii)	*Baba*	father(s)	*babangu*	*babako; babayo; babazo*	*babake; babaye; babaze*	*babetu(sg.)*	*babenu(sg.)*	*babao(sg.)*
(viii)	*Mama*	mother(s)	*mamangu*	*mamako; mamayo; mamazo*	*mamake; mamaye; mamaze*	*mametu(sg.)*	*mamenu(sg.)*	*mamao(sg.)*
(ix)	*Dada*	sister(s)	*dadangu*	*dadako; dadayo; dadazo*	*dadake; dadaye; dadaze*	*dadetu(sg.)*	*dadenu(sg.)*	*dadao(sg.)*
(x)	*Mwana Wana*	child children	*mwanangu wanangu*	*?mwanako; mwana(w)o; wana(w)o*	*?mwanake; mwanawe; wanawe*	*mwanetu; wanetu*	*mwanenu; wanenu*	**mwanao *wanao*
(xi)	*Nyanya*	grandma(s)	*nyanyangu*	*nyanyako; nyanyayo; nyanyazo*	*nyanyaye; nyanyaze*	*nyanyetu*	*nyanyenu*	*nyanyao*
(xii)	*Mume Waume*	husband husbands	**mumengu *mumangu *waumengu *waumangu*	**mumeko; mumeo; ?wameo; ?wamezo; waumezo*	**mumeke; mumewe; ?wamewe; waumewe waumeze*	*?mumetu; *waumetu*	*?mumenu; ?waumenu*	**mume(w)o; *waume(w)o*
(xiii)	*Mke Wake*	wife wives	**mkengu *mkangu *wakengu *wakangu*	**mkeko; mkeo *wakeko; ?wakeo; wakezo*	**mkeke; mkewe; wakewe; wakeze*	*?mketu; ?waketu*	*?mkenu; ?wakenu*	**mke(w)o; *wake(w)o*
(xiv)	*Bibi*	grandma(s)	**bibingu *bibangu*	**bibiko; bibiyo; bibizo*	**bibike; bibiye; bibize*	**bibetu*	**bibenu*	*?bibio*
(xv)	*Mpenzi Wapenzi*	love(r) lovers	**mpenzingu *wapenzingu*	**mpenziko mpenzio; wapenzio*	**mpenzike mpenziwe; wapenziwe*	**mpenzitu *wapenzitu*	*?mpenzinu ?wapenzinu*	*?mpenzi(w)o ?wapenzi(w)o*
(xvi)	*Mwenza/ Mwenzi Wenza/ Wenzi*	partner; companion; partners; companions	*mwenzangu *mwenzingu wenzangu *wenzingu*	*mwenzako; wenzako; mwenzio; wenzio*	*mwenzake; wenzake; mwenziwe; mwenzie; wenziwe; wenzie*	*mwenzetu; wenzetu*	*mwenzenu; wenzenu*	*mwenzao; wenzao*
(xvii)	*Mpangaji Wapangaji*	tenant	**mpangajingu *mpagajangu*	**mpangajiko;mpangajio; wapangajio*	**mpangajike;mpangajiwe; wapangajiwe*	**mpangajitu * wapangajitu*	**mpangajinu * wapangajinu*	*?mpangaji(w)o?wapangaji(w)o*
(xviii)	*Somo*	namesake(s); initiation instructor(s)	**somongu *somangu*	**somoko; somoyo; somozo*	**somoke; somoye; somoze*	*?sometu*	*?somenu*	**somo(w)o*
(xix)	*Babu*	grandfather(s)	**babungu*	**babuko; babuyo; babuzo*	**babuke; babuye; babuze*	**babutu*	**babunu*	**babuo*
(xx)	*Mjukuu Wajukuu*	grandchild grandchildren	**mjukuungu *mjukangu *wajukuungu *wajukangu*	**mjukuuko; *mjukako; mjukuuyo wajukuuzo*	**mjukuuke; *mjukake; mjukuuye *wajuuke; *wajukake; wajukuuze*	**mjuketu; *wajuketu*	**mjukuunu; *wajukuunu*	*?mjukuu(w)o; *wajukuu(w)o*

2. M-/MI- class

S/No	Sample noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1st psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2nd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1st ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2nd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(xxi)	*Mtima* *Mitima*	heart hearts	*mtimangu;* *mitimangu*	*mtimako;* *mtima(w)o;* *mitimayo*	*mtimake;* *mtimawe;* *mitimaye*	*?mtimetu* *?mitimetu*	*?mtimenu* *?mitimenu*	**mtimao* *mitimao*
(xxii)	*Mpera* *Mipera*	guava tree guava trees	*mperangu* *miperangu*	*?mperako;* *mpera(w)o;* *miperayo*	*?mperake;* *mperawe;* *miperaye*	*?mperetu;* *?miperetu*	*?mperenu;* *?miperenu*	*?mperao* *?miperao*
(xxiii)	*Mzuka* *Mizuka*	ghost/spirit ghosts/spirits	*mzukangu;* *mizukangu*	*mzukako;* *mzuka(w)o;* *mizukayo*	*?mzukake;* *mzukawe;* *mizukaye*	*?mzuketu* *?mizuketu*	*?mzukenu* *?mizukenu*	*?mzukao* *?mizukao*
(xxiv)	*Msukule* *Misukule*	- -	**msukulengu;* **msukulangu* **misukulengu* **misukulangu*	**msukuleko;* **msukulako* **misukuleko;* **misukulako* *msukule(wo)* *misukuleyo*	**msukuleke;* **msukulake* **misukuleke;* **misukulake* *msukulewe* *misukuleye*	*?msukuletu* *?misukuletu*	*?msukulenu* *?misukulenu*	*?msukulao;* *msukuleo* *?misukulao;* *misukuleo*
(xxv)	*Mkate* *Mikate*	bread	**mkatengu;* **mkatangu* **mikatengu* **mikatangu*	**mkateko;* **mkatako;* *mkate(w)o;* **mikateko;* **mikatako;* *mikateyo*	**mkateke;* **mkatake;* *mkatewe* **mikateke;* **mikatake;* *mikateye*	*mkatetu* *mikatetu*	*mkatenu* *mikatenu*	*?mkateo* **mkatao* *mikateo*
(xxvi)	*Mkunde* *Mikunde*	cowpea plant cowpea plants	**mkundengu* **mkundangu* **mikundengu* **mikundangu*	**mkundeko;* **mkundako;* *mkunde(w)o;* **mikundeko;* **mikundako;* *mikundeyo*	**mkundeke;* **mkundake;* *mkundewe;* **mikundeke;* **mikundake;* *mikundeye*	*mkundetu;* *mikundetu*	*mkundenu;* *mikundenu*	*?mkundeo;* **mkundao* *mikundeo*
(xxvii)	*Mti* *Miti*	tree trees	**mtingu;* **mtangu* **mitingu* **mitangu*	**mtiko; *mtako;* *mti(w)o;* **mitiko;* **mitako; mitiyo*	**mtike; *mtake;* *mtiwe *mitike;* **mitake; mitiye*	**mtitu; *mtetu* **mititu; *mitetu*	**mtinu; *mtenu* **mitinu; *mitenu*	**mtio; *mtao* **mitio; *mitao*
(xxviii)	*Mzigo* *Mizigo*	luggage	**mzigongu;* **mzigangu* **mizigongu* **miziganguu*	**mzigoko;* **mzigako;* *mzigo(w)o;* **mizigoko;* **mizigako;* *mizigoyo*	**mzigoke;* **mzigake;* *mzigowe;* **mizigoke;* **mizigake;* *mizigoye*	**mzigotu;* **mzigetu* **mizigotu;* **mizigetu*	**mzigonu;* **mzigenu* **mizigonu;* **mizigenu*	**mzigoo;* **mzigao* **mizigoo;* **mizigao*
(xxix)	*Mtindo* *Mitindo*	style styles	**mtindongu;* **mtindangu* **mitindongu* **mitindangu*	**mtindoko;* **mtindako;* *mtindowo;* **mitindoko;* **mitindako;* *mitindoyo*	**mtindoke;* **mtindake;* *mtindowe;* **mitindoke;* **mitindake;* *mitindoye*	**mtindotu;* **mtindetu;* **mitindotu;* **mitindetu;*	**mtindonu;* **mtindenu* **mitindonu;* **mitindenu*	**mtindoo;* **mtindao* **mitindoo;* **mitindao*
(xxx)	*Mgogoro* *Migogoro*	conflict conflicts	**mgogorongu;* **mgogorangu* **migogorongu* **migogorangu*	**mgogoroko;* **mgogorako;* *mgogorowo;* **migogoroko;* **migogorako;* *migogoroyo*	**mgogoroke;* **mgogorake;* *mgogorowe;* **migogoroke;* **migogorake;* *migogoroye*	**mgogorotu;* **mgogoretu* **migogorotu;* **migogoretu*	**mgogoronu;* **mgogorenu* **migogoronu;* **migogorenu*	**mgogoroo;* **mgogorao* **migogoroo;* **migogorao*
(xxxi)	*Mkufu* *Mikufu*	chain chains	**mkufungu;* **mkufangu* **mikufungu* **mikufangu*	**mkufuko;* **mkufako;* *mkufu(w)o;* **mikufuko;* **mikufako;* *mikufuyo*	**mkufuke;* **mkufake;* *mkufuwe;* **mikufuke;* **mikufake;* *mikufuye*	**mkufutu;* **mkufetu* **mikufutu;* **mikufetu*	**mkufunu;* **mkufenu* **mikufunu;* **mikufenu*	**mkufuo;* *?mkufao* **mikufuo;* *?mikufao*
(xxxii)	*Mkungu* *Mikungu*	bunch (e.g. of banana) bunches	**mkungungu;* **mkungangu* **mikungungu* **mikungangu*	**mkunguko;* **mkungako;* *mkungu(w)o;* **mikunguko;* **mikungako;* *mikunguyo*	**mkunguke;* **mkungake;* *mkunguwe;* **mikunguke;* **mikungake;* *mikunguye*	**mkungutu;* **mkungetu* **mikungutu;* **mikungetu*	**mkungunu;* **mkungenu* **mikungunu;* **mikungenu*	*?mkunguo;* *?mkungao* **mikunguo;* *?mikungao*

3. JI-/MA- class

S/No	Sample noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1st psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2nd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1st ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2nd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(xii)	*Jina* *Majina*	name names	*?jinangu;* *majinangu*	*?jinako;* *jinalo* *majinangu;* *majinayo*	*?jinake;* *jinale* *majinake;* *majinaye*	**jinatu;* **jinetu* **majinatu;* *majinetu*	**jinanu;* **jinenu* **majinanu;* *majinenu*	**jinao* *majinao*
(xiii)	*Shamba* *Mashamba*	farm farms	*?shambangu* *mashambangu*	*?shambako;* *shambalo* *mashambayo*	*?shambake;* *shambale* *mashambaye*	**shambatu;* **shambetu;* **mashambatu* *mashambetu*	**shambanu;* **shambenu;* **mashambanu* *mashambenu*	*?shambao* *mashambao*
(xiv)	*Duka* *Maduka*	shop/store shops/stores	*?dukangu;* *madukangu*	*?dukako;* *dukalo;* *madukayo*	*?dukake;* *dukale;* *madukaye*	**dukatu;* **duketu;* **madukatu* *maduketu*	**dukanu;* **dukenu;* **madukanu* *madukenu*	*?dukao* *madukao*
(xv)	*Teke* *Mateke*	kick kicks	**tekengu;* **tekangu* **matekengu* **matekangu*	**tekeko;* **tekako; tekelo* **matekeko;* *?matekako* *matekeyo*	**tekeke;* **tekake; tekele* **matekeke;* *?matekake* *matekeye*	**teketu* *?mateketu*	**tekenu* *?matekenu*	**tekao;* **tekeo* *?matekao;* *matekeo*
(xvi)	*Macheche*	restlessness	**machechengu;* *machechangu*	**machecheko;* *machechako;* *machecheyo*	**machecheke;* *machechake;* *machecheye*	*machechetu*	*machechenu*	*?machecheo* *machechao*
(xvii)	*Ini* *Maini*	liver livers	**iningu* **inangu* **maningu* **mainangu*	**iniko; *inako;* *inilo; *mainiko;* **mainako;* *mainiyo*	**inike; *inake;* *inile; *mainike;* **mainake;* *mainiye*	**initu; *inetu* **mainitu;* **mainetu*	**ininu; *inenu* **maininu;* **mainenu*	**inio; *inao* **mainao;* *mainio*
(xviii)	*Wimbi* *Mawimbi*	wave waves	**wimbingu;* **wimbangu* **mawimbingu* **mawimbangu*	**wimbiko;* **wimbako;* *wimbilo;* **mawimbiko;* **mawimbako;* *mawimbiyo*	**wimbike;* **wimbake;* *wimbile* **mawimbike;* **mawimbake;* *mawimbiye*	**wimbitu;* **wimbetu* **mawimbitu;* **mawibetu*	**wimbinu;* **wimbenu* **mawimbinu;* **mawimbenu*	*?wimbio;* **wimbao* *?mawimbio;* **mawimbao*
(xix)	*Pigo* *Mapigo*	blow blows	**pigongu;* **pigangu* **mapigongu* **mapigangu*	**pigoko;* **pigako;* *pigolo;* **mapigoko;* **mapigako;* *mapigoyo*	**pigoke;* **pigake;* *pigole;* **mapigoke;* **mapigake;* *mapigoye*	**pigotu;* **pigetu* **mapigotu;* **mapigetu*	**pigonu;* **pigenu* **mapigonu;* **mapigenu*	**pigoo;* **pigao* **mapigoo;* **mapigao*
(xx)	*Lengo* *Malengo*	objective objectives	**lengongu;* **lengangu* **malengongu* **malengangu*	**lengoko;* **lengako;* *lengolo;* **malengoko;* **malengako;* *malengoyo*	**lengoke;* **lengake;* *lengole;* **malengoke;* **malengake;* *malengoye*	**lengotu;* **lengetu;* **malengotu;* **malengetu;*	**lengonu;* **lengenu* **malengonu;* **malengenu*	**lengoo;* **lengao* **malengoo;* **malengao*
(xxi)	*Lopoo* *Malopoo*	offprint offprints	**lopoongu;* **lopoangu* **malopoongu* **malopoangu*	**lopooko;* **lopoako;* *lopoolo;* **malopooko;* **malopoako;* *malopooyo*	**lopooke;* **lopoake;* *lopoole;* **malopooke;* **malopoake;* *malopooye*	**lopootu;* **lopoetu* **malopootu;* *?malopoetu*	**lopoonu;* **lopoenu* **malopoonu;* *?malopoenu*	**lopooo;* *?lopoao* **malopooo;* *?malopoao*
(xxii)	*Dau* *Madau*	dhow dhows	**daungu;* **mkufangu* **madaungu* **mikufangu*	**dauko; daulo;* **madauko;* *madauyo*	**dauke; daule* **madauke;* *madauye*	**dautu;* **madautu*	**daunu;* **madaunu*	*?dauo* *?madauo*
(xxiii)	*Maajabu*	wonders	**maajabungu;* **maajabangu*	**maajabuko;* **maajabako;* *maajabuyo*	**maajabuke;* **maajabake;* *maajabuye*	**maajabutu;* **maajabetu*	**maajabunu;* **maajabenu*	*?maajabuo;* **maajabao*

4. KI-/VI- class

S/No	Sample noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1st psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2nd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1st ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2nd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(i)	*Kina* *Vina*	rhyme rhymes	**kinangu;* **vinangu*	**kinako;* *kinacho; *vinako;* *vinavyo*	**kinake;* *kinache;* **vinake;* *vinavye*	**kinatu;* **kinetu* **vinatu;* **vinetu*	**kinanu;* **kinenu* **vinanu;* **vinenu*	**kinao* **vinao*
(ii)	*Kinaa*	satisfaction	**kinaangu*	**kinaako;* *kinaacho*	**kinaake;* *kinaache*	**kinaatu;* **kinaetu*	**kinaanu;* **kinaenu*	**kinaao*
(iii)	*Kitanda* *Vitanda*	bed beds	**kitandangu;* **vitandangu*	**kitandako;* *kitandacho;* **vitandako;* *vitandavyo*	**kitandake;* *kitandache;* **vitandake;* *vitandavye*	**kitandatu;* **kitandetu* **vitandatu;* **vitandetu*	**kitandanu;* **kitandenu* **vitandanu;* **vitandenu*	**kitandao* **vitandao*
(iv)	*Kipengee* *Vipengee*	component components	**kipengeengu;* **kipengangu* **vipengeengu* **vipengangu*	**kipengeeko;* **kipengako;* *kipengeecho* **vipengeeko;* **vipengako;* *vipengeevyo*	**kipengeeke;* **kipengake;* *kipengeeche* **vipengeeke;* **vipengake;* *vipengeevye*	**kipengeetu;* **kipengatu* **vipengeetu;* **vipengatu*	**kipengeenu;* **kipenganu* **vipengeenu;* **vipenganu*	**kipengeeo;* **kipengao* **vipengeo;* **vipengao*
(v)	*Kibwebwe* *Vibwebwe*	girdle girdles	**kibwewengu;* **kibwebwangu* **vibwewengu* **vibwebwangu*	**kibweweko;* **kibwebwako;* *kibwewecho* **vibweweko;* **vibwebwako;* *vibwewevyo*	**kibweweke;* **kibwebwake;* *kibweweche* **vibweweke;* **vibwebwake;* *vibwewevye*	**kibwewetu;* **kibwebwatu* **vibwewetu;* **vibwebwatu*	**kibwewenu;* **kibwebwanu* **vibwewenu;* **vibwebwanu*	**kibweweo;* **kibwebwao* **vibweweo;* **vibwebwao*
(vi)	*Kialamize* *Vialamize*	signifier signifiers	**kialamizengu;* **kialamizangu* **vialamizengu* **vialamizangu*	**kialamizeko;* **kialamizako;* *kialamizecho* **vialamizeko;* **vialamizako;* *vialamizevyo*	**kialamizeke;* **kialamizake;* *kialamizeche* **vialamizeke;* **vialamizake;* *vialamizevye*	**kialamizetu;* **kialamizatu* **vialamizetu;* **vialamizatu*	**kialamizenu;* **kialamizanu* **vialamizenu;* **vialamizanu*	**kialamizeo;* **kialamizao* **vialamizeo;* **vialamizao*
(vii)	*Kiburi* *Viburi*	arrogance or sturbonness	**kiburingu;* **kiburangu* **viburingu* **viburangu*	**kiburiko;* **kiburako;* *kiburicho* **viburiko;* **viburako;* *?viburivyo*	**kiburike;* **kiburake;* *kiburiche* **viburike;* **viburake;* *?viburivye*	**kiburitu;* **kiburetu* **viburitu;* **viburetu*	**kiburinu;* **kiburenu* **viburinu;* **viburenu*	**kiburio;* **kiburao* **viburio;* **viburao*
(viii)	*Kipepeo* *Vipepeo*	hand-fan hand-fans	**kipepeongu;* **kipepeangu* **vipepeongu* **vipepeangu*	**kipepeoko;* **kipepeako;* *kipepeocho* **vipepeoko;* **vipepeako;* *vipepeovyo*	**kipepeoke;* **kipepeake;* *kipepeoche* **vipepeoke;* **vipepeake;* *vipepeovye*	**kipepeotu;* **kipepeatu* **vipepeotu;* **vipepeatu*	**kipepeonu;* **kipepeanu* **vipepeonu;* **vipepeanu*	**kipepeoo;* **kipepeao* **vipepeoo;* **vipepeao*
(ix)	*Kipeto* *Vipeto*	parcel parcels	**kipetongu;* **kipetangu* **vipetongu* **vipetangu*	**kipetoko;* **kipetako;* *kipetocho* **vipetoko;* **vipetako;* *vipetovyo*	**kipetoke;* **kipetake;* *kipetoche* **vipetoke;* **vipetake;* *vipetovye*	**kipetotu;* **kipetatu* **vipetotu;* **vipetatu*	**kipetonu;* **kipetanu* **vipetonu;* **vipetanu*	**kipetoo;* **kipetao* **vipetoo;* **vipetao*
(x)	*Kiango* *Viango*	wall-hook wall-hooks	**kiangongu;* **kiangangu* **viangongu* **viangangu*	**kiangoko;* **kiangako;* *kiangocho* **viangoko;* **viangako;* *viangovyo*	**kiangoke;* **kiangake;* *kiangoche* **viangoke;* **viangake;* *viangovye*	**kiangotu;* **kiangatu* **viangotu;* **viangatu*	**kiangonu;* **kianganu* **viangonu;* **vianganu*	**kiangoo;* **kiangao* **viangoo;* **viangao*
(xi)	*Kifuku* *Vifuku*	rain season rain seasons	**kifukungu;* **kifukangu* **vifukungu* **vifukangu*	**kifukuko;* **kifukako;* *?kifukucho;* **vifukuko;* **vifukako;* *?vifukuvyo*	**kifukuke;* **kifukake;* *kifukuche;* **vifukuke;* **vifukake;* *vifukuvye*	**kifukutu;* **kifuketu* **vifukutu;* **vifuketu*	**kifukunu;* **kifukenu* **vifukunu;* **vifukenu*	**kifukuo;* **kifukao* **vifukuo;* *?vifukao*
(xii)	*Kitunguu* *Vitunguu*	onion onions	**kitunguungu;* **kitungangu* **vitunguungu* **vitungangu*	**kitunguuko;* **kitungako;* *kitunguucho;* **vitunguuko;* **vitungako;* *vitunguuvyo*	**kitunguuke;* **kitungake;* *kitunguuche;* **vitunguuke;* **vitungake;* *vitunguuvye*	**kitunguutu;* **kitungetu* **vitunguutu;* **vitungetu*	**kitunguunu;* **kitungenu* **vitunguunu;* **vitungenu*	**kitunguuo;* **kitunguao* **vitunguuo;* **vitungwao*

5. N-/N- class

S/No	Example noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1st psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2nd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1st ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2nd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(xxxiii)	*Nyumba*	house(s)	*nyumbangu*	*nyumbako; nyumbayo; nyumbazo*	*nyumbake; nyumbaye; nyumbaze*	*nyumbetu(sg.)*	*nyumbenu(sg.)*	*nyumbao(sg.)*
(xxxiv)	*Kamba*	rope(s)	*kambangu*	*kambako; kambayo; kambazo*	*kambake; kambaye; kambaze*	*?kambetu*	*?kambenu(sg.)*	*kambao(sg.)*
(xxxv)	*Familia*	family(ies)	*familiangu*	*?familiako; familiayo familiazo*	*?familiake; familiaye; familiaze*	**familietu(sg.)*	**familienu*	*familiao(sg.)*
(xxxvi)	*Maabara*	laboratory(ies)	**maabarangu*	*?maabarako; maabarayo maabarazo*	*?maabarake; maabaraye; maabaraze*	*?maabaretu*	*?maabarenu*	*?maabarao*
(xxxvii)	*Kengele*	bell(s)	**kengelengu*	**kengeleko; kengeleyo kengelezo*	**kengeleke kengeleye; kengeleze*	*?kengeletu*	*?kengelenu*	*?kengeleo *kengelao*
(xxxviii)	*Baraste*	speedway(s)	**barastengu *barastangu*	**barasteko; barasteyo barastezo*	**barasteke; barasteye barasteze*	*?barastetu*	*?barastenu*	**barasteo; ?barastao*
(xxxix)	*Sherehe*	celebration(s)	**sherehengu *sherehangu*	**shereheko; shereheyo sherehezo*	**shereheke; shereheye shereheze*	*?sherehetu*	*?sherehenu*	**shereheo; *sherehewo *sherehao*
(xl)	*Akili*	intelligence/intellect	**akilingu *akilangu*	**akiliko; *akilako; akiliyo; akilizo*	**akilike; *akilake; akiliye; akilize*	**akilitu; *akiletu*	**akilinu; *akilenu*	**akilio; *akilao*
(xli)	*Ajali*	accident(s)	**ajalingu; *ajalangu*	**ajaliko; *ajalako; ajaliyo; ajalizo*	**ajalike; *ajalake ajaliye; ajalize*	**ajalitu *ajaletu*	**ajalinu *ajalenu*	**ajalio *ajalao*
(xlii)	*Bei*	price(s)	**beingu*	**beiko; beiyo*	**beike; beiye beize*	**beitu; *beetu; *betu*	**beinu; *beenu; *benu*	*?beio; *beao*
(xliii)	*Sahani*	plate(s)	**sahaningu; *sahanangu*	**sahaniko; *sahanako; sahaniyo sahanizo*	**sahanike; *sahanake; sahaniye sahanize*	**sahanitu; *sahanetu*	**sahaninu; *sahanenu*	**sahanio; *sahanao*
(xliv)	*Simu*	phone(s)	**simungu; *simangu*	**simuko; *simako; simuyo simuzo*	**simuke; *simake; simuye simuze*	**simutu; *simetu*	**simunu; *simenu*	**simuo; *simao*
(xlv)	*Siku*	day(s)	**sikungu; *sikangu*	**sikuko; *sikako; sikuyo sikuzo*	**sikuke; *sikake; sikuye sikuze*	**sikutu; *siketu*	**sikunu; *sikenu*	**sikuo; *sikao*
(xlvi)	*Pingu*	handcuff(s)	**pingungu; *pingangu*	**pinguko; *pingako; pinguyo pinguzo*	**pinguke; *pingake; pinguye pinguze*	**pingutu; *pingetu*	**pingunu; *pingenu*	**pinguo; *pingao*
(xlvii)	*Hukumu*	judgement(s)	**hukumungu *hukumangu*	**hukumuko; *hukumako; hukumuyo hukumuzo*	**hukumuke; *hukumake; hukumuye hukumuze*	**hukumutu; *hukumetu*	**hukumunu; *hukumenu*	*?hukumuo; *hukumao*

6. U-/N- (Ø-)

S/ No	Sample noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1st psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2nd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1st ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2nd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(i)	*Uga* *Nyuga*	field fields	*?ugangu* **nyugangu*	**ugako;* *uga(w)o* **nyugako;* *nyugazo*	**ugake;* *ugawe* **nyugake;* *nyugaze*	**ugatu;* **ugetu* **nyugatu;* **nyugetu*	**uganu;* **ugenu* **nyuganu;* **nyugenu*	*?ugao* *?nyugao*
(ii)	*Ua* *Nyua*	fence fences	*?uangu* **nyuangu*	**uako;* *ua(w)o* **nyuako;* *nyuazo*	**uake;* *uawe* **nyuake;* *nyuaze*	**uatu;* **uetu* **nyuatu;* **nyuetu*	**uanu;* **uenu* **nyuanu;* **nyuenu*	*?uao* *?nyuao*
(iii)	*Ukuta* *Kuta*	wall walls	*?ukutangu* **kutangu*	**ukutako;* *ukuta(w)o* **kutako;* *kutazo*	**ukutake;* *ukutawe* **kutake;* *kutaze*	**ukutatu;* **ukutetu* **kutatu;* **kutetu*	**ukutanu;* **ukutenu* **kutanu* **kutenu*	*?ukutao* *?kutao*
(iv)	*Wembe* *Nyembe*	razor blade razor blades	**wembengu;* **wembangu* **nyembengu* **nyembangu*	**wembeko;* **wembako;* *wembe(w)o* **nyembeko;* **nyembako;* *nyembezo*	**wembeke;* **wembake;* *wembewe* **nyembeke;* **nyembake;* *nyembeze*	**wembetu;* **nyembetu*	**wembenu* **nyembenu*	**wembeo;* **wembao* **nyembeo;* **nyembao*
(v)	*Uele* *Ndwele*	diseas deases	**uelengu;* **uelangu* **ndwelengu* *?ndwelangu*	**ueleko;* **uelako;* *uele(w)o* **ndweleko;* **ndwelako;* *ndwelezo*	**ueleke;* **uelake;* *uelewe* **ndweleke;* **ndwelake;* *ndweleze*	**ueletu;* **ndweletu*	**uelenu* *?ndwelenu*	**ueleo;* **uelao* **ndweleo;* **ndwelao*
(vi)	*Ukosi* *Kosi*	collar collars	**ukosingu;* **ukosangu* **kosingu* **kosangu*	**ukosiko;* **ukosako;* *ukosi(w)o* **kosiko;* **kosako;* *kosizo*	**ukosike;* **ukosake;* *ukosiwe* **kosike;* **kosake;* *kosize*	**ukositu;* **ukosetu* **kositu* **kosetu*	**ukosinu* **ukosenu* **kosinu* **kosenu*	**ukosio;* **ukosao* **kosio;* **kosao*
(vii)	*Ubeti* *Beti*	stanza stanzas	**ubetingu;* **ubetangu* **betingu* **betangu*	**ubetiko;* **ubetako;* *ubeti(w)o* **betiko;* **betako;* *betizo*	**ubetike;* **ubetake;* *ubetiwe* **betike;* **betake;* *betize*	**ubetitu;* **ubetetu* **betitu* **betetu*	**ubetinu* **ubetenu* **betinu* **betenu*	**ubetio;* **ubetao* **betio;* **betao*
(viii)	*Ubano* *Mbano*	clip clips	**ubanongu;* **ubanangu* **mbanongu* **mbanangu*	**ubanoko;* **ubanako;* *ubano(w)o* **mbanoko;* **mbanako;* *mbanozo*	**ubanoke;* **ubanake;* *ubanowe* **mbanoke;* **mbanake;* *mbanoze*	**ubanotu;* **ubanetu* **mbanotu* **mbanetu*	**ubanonu* **ubanenu* **mbanonu* **mbanenu*	**ubanoo;* **ubanao* **mbanoo;* **mbanao*
(ix)	*Ukoo* *Koo*	clan; kinship clans; kinships	**ukoongu;* **ukoangu* **koongu* **koangu*	**ukooko;* **ukoako;* *ukoo(w)o* **kooko;* **koako;* *koozo*	**ukooke;* **ukoake;* *ukoowe* **kooke;* **koake;* *kooze*	**ukootu;* **ukoetu* **kootu* **koetu*	**ukoonu* **ukoenu* **koonu* **koenu*	**ukooo;* **ukoao* **kooo;* **koao*
(x)	*Ubeleko* *Mbeleko*	baby's sling baby's slings	**ubelekongu;* **ubelekangu* **mbelekongu* **mbelekangu*	**ubelekoko;* **ubelekako;* *ubeleko(w)o* **mbelekoko;* **mbelekako;* *mbelekozo*	**ubelekoke;* **ubelekake;* *ubelekowe* **mbelekoke;* **mbelekake;* *mbelekoze*	**ubelekotu;* **ubeleketu* **mbelekotu* **mbeleketu*	**ubelekonu* **ubelekenu* **mbelekonu* **mbelekenu*	**ubelekoo;* **ubelekao* **mbelekoo;* **mbelekao*
(xi)	*Ukindu* *Kindu*	wild-date-palm leaf	**ukindungu;* **ukindangu*	**ukinduko;* **ukindako;*	**ukinduke;* **ukindake;*	**ukindutu;* **ukindetu*	**ukindunu* **ukindenu*	**ukinduo;* **ukindao*

		wild-date-palm leaves	**kindungu* **kindangu*	*ukindu(w)o* **kinduko;* **kindako;* *kinduzo*	*ukinduwe* **kinduke;* **kindake;* *kinduze*	**kindutu* **kindetu*	**kindunu* **kindenu*	**kinduo;* **kindao*
(xii)	*Ubavu* *Mbavu*	rib ribs	**ubavungu;* **ubavangu* **mbavungu* **mbavangu*	**ubavuko;* **ubavako;* *ubavu(w)o* **mbavuko;* **mbavako;* *mbavuzo*	**ubavuke;* **ubavake;* *ubavuwe* **mbavuke;* **mbavake;* *mbavuze*	**ubavutu;* **ubavetu* **mbavutu* **mbavetu*	**ubavunu* **ubavenu* **mbavunu* **mbavenu*	**ubavuo;* **ubavao* **mbavuo;* **mbavao*

7. U-/MA- Class

S/No	Sample noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1st psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2nd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1st ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2nd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(xlviii)	*Unyoya Manyoya*	feather; quil; hair strand feathers; quils; hair strands	**unyoyangu; *manyoyangu*	**unyoyako; unyoya(w)o; *manyoyako; manyoyayo*	**unyoyake; unyoyawe; *manyoyake; manyoyaye*	**unyoyatu; *unyoyetu *manyoyatu; *manyoyetu*	**unyoyenu *manyoyenu*	**unyoyao *manyoyao*
(xlix)	*Ubua Mabua*	straw, stubble straws, stubbles	**ubuangu; *mabuangu*	**ubuako; ubua(w)o; *mabuako; mabuayo*	**ubuake; ubuawe; *mabuake; mabuaye*	**ubuatu; *ubuetu *mabuatu; *mabuetu*	**ubuanu *ubuenu *mabuani *mabuenu*	**ubuao *mabuao*
(l)	*Ugonjwa Magonjwa*	ailment ailments	*ugonjwangu; magonjwangu*	*ugonjwako; ugonjwa(w)o; magonjwako; magonjwayo*	*ugonjwake; ugonjwawe; magonjwake; magonjwaye*	**ugonjwatu; *ugonjwetu *magonjwatu; ?magonjwetu*	**ugonjwanu *ugonjwenu *magonjwani *magonjwenu*	**ugonjwao *magonjwao*
(li)	*Utete Matete*	reed reeds	**utetengu; *utetangu *matetengu *matetangu*	**uteteko; *utetako; utete(w)o *mateteko; *matetako; mateteyo*	**uteteke; *utetake; utetewe *mateteke; *matetake; mateteye*	**utetetu; *matetetu*	**utetenu; *matetenu*	**uteteo; *utetao *mateteo; *matetao*
(lii)	*Ushuzi Mashuzi*	farting; flatulation	**kiburingu; *kiburangu *viburingu *viburangu*	**kiburiko; *kiburako; kiburicho *viburiko; *viburako; ?viburivyo*	**kiburike; *kiburake; kiburiche *viburike; *viburake; ?viburivye*	**kiburitu; *kiburetu *viburitu; *viburetu*	**kiburinu; *kiburenu *viburinu; *viburenu*	**kiburio; *kiburao *viburio; *viburao*
(liii)	*Ulezi Malezi*	upbringing	**ulezingu; *ulezangu *malezingu *malezangu*	**uleziko; *ulezako; ulezi(w)o *maleziko; *malezako; maleziyo*	**ulezike; *ulezake; uleziwe *malezike; *malezake; maleziye*	**ulezitu; *ulezetu *malezitu; *malezetu*	**ulezinu; *ulezenu *malezinu; *malezenu*	**ulezio; *ulezao *malezio; *malezao*
(liv)	*Ugunduzi Magunduzi*	discovery discoveries	**ugunduzingu; *ugunduzangu *magunduzingu *magunduzangu*	**ugunduziko; *ugunduzako; ugunduzi(w)o *magunduziko*magunduzakomagunduziyo*	**ugunduzike; *ugunduzake; ugunduziwe *magunduzike*magunduzakemagunduziye*	**ugunduzitu; *ugunduzetu *magunduzitu; *magunduzetu*	**ugunduzinu; *ugunduzenu *magunduzinu; *magunduzenu*	**ugunduzio; *ugunduzao *magunduzio; *magunduzao*
(lv)	*Wango Mawango*	computation; counting	**wangongu; *wangangu *mawangongu *mawangangu*	**wangoko; *wangako; wango(w)o *mawangoko; *mawangako; mawangoyo*	**wangoke; *wangake; wangowe *mawangoke; *mawangake; mawangoye*	**wangotu; *wangetu *mawangotu; *mawangetu*	**wangonu; *wangenu *mawangonu; *mawangenu*	**wangoo; *wangao *mawangoo; *mawangao*
(lvi)	*Wano Mawano*	magic stick; arrow shaft magic sticks; arrow shafts	**wanongu; *wanangu *mawanongu *mawanangu*	**wanoko; *wanako; wano(w)o *mawanoko; *mawanako; mawanoyo*	**wanoke; *wanake; wanowe *mawanoke; *mawanake; mawanoye*	**wanotu; *wanetu *mawanotu; *mawanetu*	**wanonu; *wanenu *mawanonu; *mawanenu*	**wanoo; *wanao *mawanoo; *mawanao*

8. KU- Class

S/No	Example noun	Gloss	Poss. "*angu*" (1st psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ako*" (2nd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ake*" (3rd psg.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*etu*" (1st ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*enu*" (2nd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.	Poss. "*ao*" (3rd ppl.) and resulting NP contractn.
(i)	*Kuimba*	singing	*?kuimbangu*	*?kuimbako; *kuimbakwo; *kuimbayo*	**kuimbake; *kuimbakwe; *kuimbaye*	**kuimbetu*	**kuimbenu*	**kuimbao*
(ii)	*Kusoma*	reading; studying	*?kusomangu*	*?kusomako; *kusomakwo *kusomayo*	**kusomake; *kusomakwe; *kusomaye*	**kusometu*	**kusomenu*	**kusomao*
(iii)	*Kulala*	sleeping	*?kulalangu*	**kulalako; *kulalakwo; *kulalayo*	**kulalake; *kulalakwe; *kulalaye*	**kulaletu*	**kulalenu*	**kulalao*
(iv)	*Kubalehe*	reaching adolescence	**kubalehengu*	*?kubaleheko *kubalehekwo*	**kubaleheke; *kubalehekwe*	**kubalehetu*	*kubalehenu*	**kubaleheo*
(v)	*Kusamehe*	forgiving	**kusamehengu*	**kusameheko, *kusamehekwo*	**kusameheke; *kusamehekwe*	**kusamehetu*	**kusamehenu*	**kusameheo*
(vi)	*Kustarehe*	being confortabl; li luxuriously	**kustarehengu*	**kustareheko; *kustarehekwo*	**kustareheke; *kustarehekwe*	**kustarehetu*	**kustarehenu*	**kustareheo*
(vii)	*Kusubiri*	waiting	**kusubiringu*	**kusubiriko; *kusubirikwo*	**kusubirike; *kusubirikwe*	**kusubiritu*	**kusubirinu*	**kusubirio*
(viii)	*Kuhubiri*	preaching	**kuhubiringu*	**kuhubiriko; *kuhubirikwo*	**kuhubirike; *kuhubirikwe*	**kuhubiritu*	**kuhubirinu*	**kuhubirio*
(ix)	*Kutabiri*	forecasting	**kutabiringu*	**kutabiriko; *kutabirikwo*	**kutabirike; *kutabirikwe*	**kutabiritu*	**kutabirinu*	**kutabirio*
(x)	*Kwenda kombo*	going astray	**kwenda kombongu; *kwenda kombangu*	**kwenda komboko; *kwenda kombokwo*	**kwenda komboke; *kwenda kombokwe*	**kwenda kombotu; *kwenda kombetu*	**kwenda kombonu; *kwenda kombenu*	**kwenda komboo; *kwenda kombao*
(xi)	*Kuangua kicheko*	bursting into laughter	**kuangua kichekongu; *kuangua kichekangu*	**kuangua kichekoko; *kuangua kichekwo*	**kuangua kichekoke; *kuangua kichekwe*	**kuangua kichekotu; *kuangua kicheketu*	**kuangua kichekonu; *kuangua kichekenu*	**kuangua kichekoo; *kuangua kichekao*
(xii)	*Kupiga punyeto*	musturbating	**kupiga punyetongu*	**kupiga punyetoko; *kupiga punyetokwo*	**kupiga punyetoke; *kupiga punyetokwe*	**kupiga punyetotu *kupiga punyetetu*	**kupiga punyetonu *kupiga punyetenu*	**kupiga punyetoo; *kupiga punyetao*
(xiii)	*Kutubu*	repenting	**kutubungu*	*?kutubuko; *kutubukwo*	**kutubuke; *kutubukwe*	**kutubutu*	**kutubunu *kutubenu*	**kutubuo *kutubao*
(xiv)	*Kutibu*	treating	**kutibungu*	*?kutibuko; *kutibukwo*	**kutibuke; *kutibukwe*	**kutibutu*	**kutibunu *kutibenu*	**kutibuo *kutibao*
(xv)	*Kuadhibu*	punishing	**kuadhibungu*	**kuadhibuko; *kuadhibukwo*	**kuadhibuke; *kuadhibukwe*	**kuadhibutu*	**kuadhibunu *kuadhibenu*	**kuadhibuo *kuadhibao*

Euphemistic Choices: Face-saving Strategies and Sexual Discourse in Selected Nigerian Novels

Romanus Aboh[*]

Abstract

This paper examines the use of euphemism as one of the politeness strategies that speakers deploy to lessen the effect of an expression which might be interpreted as threatening to the hearer. Drawing insights from face theory, the paper argues that to preserve the self-image of the hearer is equally the preservation of the hearer's identity and to disregard the self-worth of hearer is to disregard the hearer's identity. Using Helon Habila's Waiting for an Angel, Vincent Egbuson's Love My Planet, Abimbola Adelakun'sUnder the Brown Rusted Roofs and Okey Ndibe's Arrows of Rainas representative texts, the analysis shows that euphemism is a strong discourse strategy that is not only deployed to tone down the effect of an expression on hearer, but a linguistic modality which discourse participants activate basically for politeness reasons. Four categories of sex euphemisms are identified – sex as movement/journey, sex as food, sex as a biological process of maturity and the sex organ as a manipulative object. Syntactically, except for one lexical and one phrasal euphemism, the euphemisms found in the sampled texts occur at the sentential level. Also, it is revealed that the Nigerian socio-cultural milieu exerts significant pressure on conversationalists' use of language.

Key words: *euphemism, identity, politeness, culture, sex, sexuality*

Introduction

It is perhaps needless to mention that language is the vehicle through which literature is driven.The success of any artwork relies on the writer's creative ingenuity, the ability to manipulate the resources of language in conveying their creative intentions. Basically, language gives expression to literature: the writer's success depends much more on their familiarity with the resources of language than with the content or thematic inclination. Fowler (1996:13) maintains that "literature is the creative use of language … the one people most immediately acknowledge as creative". Language is energetic. It gives force to the writer, enabling them to articulate their creative intentions.

[*] Lecturer, Department of English, University of Uyo, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria, Email: romeaboh@gmail.com

The issue of language of African literary narrative, though almost as old as African literature in English and French expressions, can hardly be glossed over, provided the critic's interest has to do with language.The problem of the language to be employed in narrating the African experience is in every sense tied to Africa's peculiar colonial history which has, in diverse ways, shaped Africa's existence in intriguing ways.Despite the ambivalence of whether to write in their indigenous language or the language of the colonialist, the Nigerian writer, as have other African writers, has continued to use the English Language in nuancedways to capture the Nigerian reality. This nuanced way of using language to portray Nigeria's sociocultural realities has led to a robust harvest of scholarly works relating to language issues in Nigerian literature. Osundare (2004), taking a socio-stylistic perspective, draws attention to the fact that language can be calibrated in the construction of nationality. He argues that Nigerian novelists' use of idiomatic expressions in their creative ambience is a clinical instantiation of their Nigerian identity. In Igboanusi's (2002) study of south-eastern Nigerian novelists' adoption and adaptation of Igbo speech forms into the syntax of English, he maintains that such linguistic practice typifies the Nigerian writer's conscious efforts to "bend" the English Language so as to enable it to heave with cultural thoughts. Following a discourse-stylistic approach in the analysis of Elechi Amadi's *The Concubine*, Ushie and Aboh (2013) hold the view that the novelist's use of indigenous expressions in his narrative discourse is an act of Igbo ethnic identity construction. Also, Lamidi and Aboh (2011), adopting the analytical methods of discourse analysis, connect the use of names in Nigerian novels to identity construction. They argue that names, as used in the novels they examined, are not used haphazardly, illustratinga character's given name is tied to an identity type. Aboh (2014), locating his work within the theoretical provisions of ethnic identity discourse, maintains that Nigeria's novelists' linguistic practice of loaning lexical items from indigenous languages into English where English equivalents exist is not to fill up some narrative space, but a linguistic means of constructing ethnic identity. As illuminating as these studies are, in relation to the use of language in the Nigerian novel, they are yet to examine the discursive functions to which euphemism is put in terms of politeness and sexual identity formulation. In an attempt to bridge this gap, this paper undertakes a discourse-pragmatic analysis of euphemistic choices commonly associated with sexual discourse as depicted in the sampled Nigerian novels. The purpose of engaging in this scholarly exercise bifurcates into: first, to reveal that sex and sexually oriented topics are concepts that are reflected in literary discourse; and second, to account for how the need to observe the face want of a hearer necessitates a speaker to deploy euphemism in interactive situations.

Conceptual Issues

The argument offered in this paper is anchored on euphemism and face as embedded within politeness theory. It has been argued that language users resort to euphemism with the purpose of mitigating the potential dangers of certain taboo words or expressions taken to be too blunt or offensive for a social situation. Crespo (2005: 79) writes that euphemism is "a more general phenomenon that participants in communicative exchanges employ with the purpose of softening the effects of what they really wish to communicate, avoiding, as much as possible, offence and conflict". Though not quite different from other scholars' views on euphemism, implied in Crespo's conjecture is the idea that any linguistic unit or verbal strategy which tries to avoid conflict in interpersonal communication can be said to be euphemistic. Furthering his views, Crespo writes how

> euphemism undoubtedly constitutes a faithful linguistic politeness marker within the approach followed by Lakoff, Leech and Brown and Levinson which favours indirectness as an ideal behaviour for mitigating conflictive situations and insuring the mutual protection of face. (78)

Corroborating Crespo's views, Ma (2011:802) accords that euphemism "literally means to speak good words in a pleasant manner". Traditionally, euphemism acts on taboos that the speaker (S) attempts to tone down the effects of an expression on the listener (L/H). Euphemism, regarding sex and death, for example, has been variously pursued (Epstein, 1985; Ushie, 2012). However, the use of euphemism as a face strategy in describing or referring to sexual discourse is yet to attract the attention of critics of the Nigerian novel. This is despite the fact that euphemism is one of the many discursive strategies deployed in the Nigerian novel in the discourse of sex and sexual identities. Euphemism is a prominent speech pattern in Nigeria's linguistic situation, especially in sex and sexually etched discourses.

As for face, it is a technical term that is associated with politeness theory. Politeness theory works in tune with the notion that people in interactive situations have a social image that they consciously or unconsciously project as well as protect. Politeness, according to Brown and Levinson (1978), can be seen as the means employed by a language user to be mindful of another person's face. Face is "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (Brown and Levinson, 1978:66). Brown and Levinson divide the notion of face into two: negative and positive face. Negative face reflects a person's desire not to be impeded or imposed upon. Positive face describes an individual's desire to have their self-image

approved of by others. Activating a negative or positive face depends largely on the social positions of the people involved in the conversational exchange (Cutrone, 2011). Therefore, in everyday conversation, interactants, cognizance of politeness principles, generally behave as if their face wants will be acknowledged and respected. According to Brown and Levinson (1978), in the bid to be polite, if S's verbal action is interpreted as a threat to H's face, S can say something to weaken the perceived threat: this is termed face saving act (FSA). Similarly, if S says something that instantiates a threat to H's expectations in relation to self-image, it is known as face threatening act (FTA). It implies that between linguistic choice and social interaction euphemism is intrinsically connected to identity. To save a person's self-image is to acknowledge the person's identity. Different types of euphemistic strategies, motivated by identity construction goals, are obviously linked to discourse participants' desire to be polite in social relationships. McGlone and Batchelor (2003) have proved that euphemistic use basically serves self-presentational purpose, protecting the speaker's positive *self* without much concern for the *other's* discomfort. The psychological need to protect peoples' face/identity has seen the plethora of euphemism taking root in language.

From this point of view, euphemism, face and identity are mutually dependent phenomena in the sense that the need to be polite determines euphemistic use in a corresponding manner. The discursive strategy provided by euphemism, in turn, contributes significantly to language users' awareness of their identity in its sexual form. Arguably, the main aim of euphemism coincides with a basic discursive function: reinforcing social relations in interpersonal communication. This works in a corresponding manner in the sense that identities are based on shared sets of values, agreed-upon cultural understandings and the ideologies which underlie our use of spoken and written discourse.

Embedded in the foregoing argumentation is the idea that euphemism can be seen as a twofold phenomenon: first, as a linguistic material which discourse participants rely upon to avoid taboo language; and second, as a set of discourse strategies which S generally employs to save H's face, to model some verbal behaviour that does not conform to conversational conventions, and also, to threaten H's face. Euphemism is always associated with taboo language. Put differently, euphemism is usually employed in conversational situations to avoid taboo language. Moreover, sex, so long as the Nigerian sociolinguistic context is concerned, remains a taboo topic that is not discussed openly. In fact, in all cultures of the world, people have created euphemisms "to describe genitals, sexual acts, sexual body parts, and body products" (Timothy, 1999:144). It follows that there are various euphemistic ways of referring to sex, sexual acts and parts. An

interesting linguistic feature of euphemism lies in its elastic nature. Depending on the social relationship between discourse participants – speaker and hearer – the situational context and the discourse genre, speakers in specific conversational setting select euphemism to save H's face and achieve the communicative purpose.

In the world of literary arts, writers employ euphemistic expressions to perform various communicative functions. Besides the fact that prose fiction provides an elaborate platform for writers to be vivid in their use of language, many Nigerian sub-cultures are characterised by high degree of indirectness –a compelling example of how the medium can be the message. The implication is that, when euphemism is used, there is an undercurrent message to the primary message. The subtext speaks to the S's and H's ultimate understanding of the discourse and systematically shapes their use of language. What emerges from this stream of argument is that euphemistic choices and politeness are mutually dependent such that there is an intertwined link between them: the need to conform to the conventions of interpersonal communication motivates euphemistic choices, which also helps language users to enact sexual identities either with or without an FTA. This builds largely on the social relationship of the interactants. In turn, identity is defined by the euphemistic choices that are made by discourse participants. The interface of euphemistic choices, politeness and identity, being the fulcrum of this research, is discussed in the section on "The Findings".

Texts under Study

The novels – HelonHabila's *Waiting for an Angel* (hereafter *Angel*), Vincent Egbuson's *Love My Planet* (hereafter *Planet*) Abimbola Adelakun's *Under the Brown Rusted Roofs* (hereafter *Rusted Roofs*) and Okey Ndibe's *Arrows of Rain* (hereafter *Arrows*) – that have been sampled for analysis in this paper are in the Nigerian periodization jargon described as third-generation Nigerian/African novels. The act of breaking Nigerian artwork into generations of writers has been considered a fuzzy and nebulous adventure (Ima & Aboh, 2015). This paper will not derail into such periodization palaver because Nigerian literature written in English, as Ima and Aboh (2015) have argued, is too young to come under the weight of literary periodization. In corollary, the novels under this research were not selected based on generationalization paradigm, but by their eloquent testimonies of how euphemism is deployed as politeness strategies in sexual discourse. This implies that other forms of euphemism that do not describe sex and sex-oriented topics are not considered for analysis in this paper.

While the paper identifies the various types of euphemism – lexical, phrasal and sentential – deployed in the selected texts, the paper is neither concerned about detailed quantification of the euphemisms found across the sampled texts nor is it concerned with comparing the novelists in terms of how they have appropriated euphemism in their respective narratives. The core of the paper is to examine euphemism as one of the many linguistic strategies, which in line with the Nigerian cultural narrative, Nigerian novelists engage in their narratives to account for sex and sex-related topics. It seems needless to say that this research is without some limitations. First, the rich cultural diversity in the country is ignored in a search for cultural linguistic regularities and homogeneities. Second, selecting these texts from a country with diverse cultures and several writers is a herculean task on its own.

The Findings

Euphemism describing sex and sexual acts are considered from four analytical directions: sex as movement/journey (*Rusted Roofs* and *Planet*), as food (*Angels* and *Rusted Roofs*), as a biological process of tracking maturity (*Rusted Roofs*, *Arrows* and *Planet*) and the sexual organas an object (*Rusted Roofs*). It is also realized that *Rusted Roofs* has more uses of euphemism and *Angel* has the least number of euphemisms. This is not unconnected with the setting of both novels. While *Rusted Roofs* is set in a rural area where indirectness to "taboo" topics such as sex is considered a communicative necessity, *Angel* is set in Nigeria's commercial city, Lagos. Lagos is a mix of people from different parts of the world. Expectedly, the tendency for communicative directness will be high. Syntactically, three forms of euphemisms have been identified: lexical, phrasal and sentential. Except for the use of lexical and phrasal euphemisms in *Rusted Roofs*, all the euphemisms found in the sampled texts exist at the sentential level.

In the examination of euphemistic choices, the paper focuses attention on conversational exchanges because it is within interactive situations that euphemism can best be understood as face-saving or face-threatening strategy. For example, during a gossip Sikira tells Alake:

> "It's true. It is too late for her anyway even if she repents now. I don't think she can conceive any more even if she wants to."
> "Yet she will go into Alhaji. Instead of leaving those of us that can give birth alone to him," Sikira said and hissed.
> "She still goes in to Alhaji?" Alake asked but Sikira was not ready to start a fresh topic. (*Rusted Roofs*, 143–4)

In sexual discourse, verbs such as *go* and *come* are used to describe movements. A journey can be defined as "a process of travelling from one place to another" (*Chambers 21st Century Dictionary*, 2004). The euphemism, *go into* (an active verb and also an instance of phrasal euphemism) calls up the image of movement from one point to another, and captures the actual experience of sexual intercourse. However, the meaning of the expression relies on the socio-cultural knowledge that is shared by the discourse participants. In the context of the novel, Sikira laments to Alake that in spite of Afusa's age, she still *goes into* (has sexual intercourse) Alhaji. The conjunction "yet" explicitly ties the meaning of Sikira's verbal choice together with her sexual identity reproduction. It makes the meaning of *go into* coordinate Afusa's sexual engagement with Alhaji. Accordingly, the expression *go into* signifies the experience of love making. In terms of identity construction, Sikira distances herself from women who, in spite of their age, still have sexual intercourse with their husbands. Sikira and Afusa are both married to Alhaji, and Sikira is the youngest of Alhaji's three wives. Alake, Sikira's friend, whom she laments to, is also the youngest wife of a polygamous marriage.

It can therefore be said that the inclusive plural pronoun, *us*, constructs a positive face for Sikira and Alake. Being younger members of polygamous marriages, the polygamous milieu in which they operate provides materials for sexual identification as younger wives who are entitled to *go into* their husbands. Critically, Sikira's euphemistic choice is informed by the exogenous ideology that the essentiality of sex between couples in most traditional African cultures is not for sexual pleasure but for procreation. According to this ideological sentiment, it is therefore inconsequential for Afusa to *go into* Alhaji since she has reached her menopause. The use of *go into* is informed by the need to be polite. It is Sikira's calculated observation of Alake's positive face want which resonates with the cultural ideology of indirectness while discussing taboo topics.

In the example that follows, Akidi is involved in extra-marital sex and when her husband confronts her, she activates euphemism to back up her sexual escapade in the excerpt below:

> A woman was insulting her husband and her son was shouting at her to stop. The man was begging his son to leave his mother, let her insult him as she had done since he married her – had it affected him in any way?
>
> 'That is because you are not a man!', his wife told him. 'That is why you have no shame. You are not

> ashamed that you cannot take care of your wife! Hoooo!
>
> The son asked his mother: 'you, Akidi, are you not ashamed? You spread your legs on the road for young boys to walk through'. (*Planet*,170)

The sententialeuphemism, *you are not a man,* does not denote or refer to the componential meaning of a man. Rather, it is euphemistically loaded with various conceptual and dissociative meanings which can only be understood on the wider matrix of Akidi's dissatisfaction with her husband's inability to satisfy her sexually. Akidi presupposes that her husband will infer that her involvement in extra-marital sex is prompted by the desire to derive sexual contentment, not for money or material things as her husband hitherto purports. Akidi's euphemistic choice has a pragmatic force of appealing (saving her face) to her listeners to hear the reason she indulges in extra-marital sex. Her argumentation lies in the fact that her sexual act is not immoral. In so doing, she ends up in saving her face, but threatens her husband's face because she degrades his self-worth by revealing that he is *not a man* – sexually impotent. The deictic reference *that* has a mental reference: it refers to something both discourse participants are aware of, and forms a platform for Akidi's defense of her face and sexual identity. The defensive mechanism is imbued in the sense that *to be a man* is to be able to meet (to take care of) the sexual needs of a woman. On the whole, Akidi's euphemistic strategy is face-threatening: it threatens the absolute autonomy of men over women, and also the fact that her husband is *not a man.* In the light of this, Akidi meta-pragmatically projects the idea that women whose husbands are *not men enough* are free to seek sexual satisfaction elsewhere. This is the reason she turns to "young boys", who, unlike her husband and probably men of her husband's age, are sexually energetic. Akidi's euphemistic selection also generates an implicature: that any man who fails to sexually satisfy his wife should naturally be ashamed of himself. Akidi's son's illocutionary act is both face-saving and -threatening. For him to be euphemistic, as in the use of the sentential euphemism, *You spread your legs on the road for young boys to walk through*, he conforms to the conversational norm of cultural indirectness, but then, given the filial position: mother-son, his verbal affront on his mother is totally an FTA. The implication is that a euphemism can simultaneously function as face-saving and face-threatening, depending on the pragmatic context. Moreover, Akidi's son describes sex as movement, a journey one undertakes to get to somewhere. This view of sex as a journey to some place is articulated in the nominal item, *road* and the verb entity – walk.

In *Rusted Roofs*, sex is euphemistically described as food –something one eats. There is commotion in Lamidi's house, and we are told:

> The young man, having slowly recovered, understanding crept up to him. He burst into tears. Meanwhile, Iyabo was dressing up too as quickly as she could. The crowd outside grew larger as people came from neighbouring *agbooles* too when they heard the noise and saw the crowd….
>
> "Rashidi, did I hear right", he asked between hard breaths, "that you have been using knife to eat your brother's yam behind his back?"
>
> "Baba, it is Esu," Rashidi pleaded.
>
> "Nothing good will come to you, you son of a dog!" (*Rusted Roofs*, 85)

Baba n'sale employs a euphemistic expression to question Rashidi's sexual defamation of his elder brother's wife, Iyabo. The example above is a direct translation of a Yoruba expression. Baba n'sale uses *yam* to refer to the female genital. It is the cultural pressure not to openly discuss sex and sex organs that makes S indirectly call the female organ *yam*. The euphemism, drawn from Yoruba agrarian society, presupposes that it is abominable for Rashidi to *eat* his brother's *yam*. The weight of the euphemism is hinged on the fact that a person does not exist all by himself: he exists because of the existence of the other people, a demonstration of the African communityspirit of one being a brother's keeper. Thus, it is culturally expected of Rashidi to protect his brother's *yam* but not to *eat* it with a knife. The nominal item, *knife*, in the context of the euphemistic expression, is described as an acerbic instrument that is capable of destroying familial ties. The above use of language by S shows the reflexivity between face want and euphemistic choices. Baba n'sale's verbal act, though euphemistic is threatening, disregards Rashidi's desire not to be impeded upon. As noted earlier, the interactional context necessitates that S (Baba n'sale) deploys blatant expressions to drive home his communicative intent. Euphemism in specific contexts is thus always interpretive and expressive of a distance from referenced opinions or attitudes that are diametrically opposed to in-group norms. In this sense, the word *knife* is a euphemistic echo of Rashidi's"despicable" sexual behaviour.

Closely related to the foregoing example also taken from *Rusted Roofs*, Rafiu'sphallus is described as a manipulative object:

> "Remember, it's someone that put those goods on her head," Alake warned. "And that woman knows how to display madness. What happens when that one asks her to render account of herself and she mentions your name?"
>
> "She will know that madness passes madness. It is *Iyale* Agba that will answer for it eventually. I believe she knows that her son has been exercising his 'thing' on his sister's friend every day." (*Rusted Roofs*, 42)

The item *thing,* in the context of the novel, refers to the male genital organ. Sikira uses *thing* to intimate Alake with the illicit sexual affair that has been going on between Rafiu and Mulika. As deployed within the context of the above exchange, *thing* refers to Rafiu's phallus, a manipulative object, which he *exercises* on Mulika. Although Sikira's use of *thing* works in tune with the cultural pragmatics of using indirect expressions to refer to sex organs and sexual acts, the euphemism has an implicit FTA. Sikira's euphemistic description of Rafiu's illicit sexual exploit is anchored on the premises that sex, at least from the cultural practices of some Nigerian people, just as in most sub-cultures of the world, is essentially reserved for the married. Here again, the conceptualization of sex as a biological process is discernable. Rafiu and Mulika's sexual engagement, considered a penetration of a circle which they do not legally belong, prompts Sikira's speech act that undermines Rafiu and Mulika's face want. It could be said that Sikira's verbal choice is subversive since she describes Rafiu's phallus as a *thing*. Drawing significant insights from the context in which the expression is used, one would conclude that her verbal act is an instance of negative politeness, as it unmistakably damages Rafiu's self-worth. This can be connected to the fact that she and Rafiu have never been in a cordial relationship.

Moreover, in the example drawn from *Angels*, the act of sex is described as food, something someone can eat and derive satisfaction. In this instance, a prison Superintendent employs euphemism to concurrently save his face and perform FSA. He tells H, a woman he is wooing:

> She sips her drink, avoiding his eyes.
> 'I love you, Janice. Very much. I know you think I am not serious. That I only want to suck. The juice and throw away the peel. No.' He suddenly dips his hand into the pockets of his well-ironed white kaftan and brings out a yellow paper. (*Angel* , 22)

The female genitals, including the breasts, are equated with fruit – food. The verbal activity *suck* calls up the image of an orange or any other fruit that can be sucked, the juice squeezed out and *the peel* thrown away. The euphemism works as a persuasive strategy in the context of the novel. The Superintendent assures Janice, the woman he is wooing, that he wants her as a permanent companion, not for sexual pleasure. Throwing away *the peel* means abandonment. Most probably, the Superintendent and Janice share the same background knowledge of men who *suck* women and abandon them. The euphemism achieves a communicative goal because it expresses the Superintendent's intention: the intention to stay even after he *sucks* the *juice*. There is a subtext to the Superintendent's expression: that most relationship between a man and a woman ends in bed. It, however, exonerates him from the actions of other men who throw the *peel* (walk away) after *sucking* the *juice* (sleeping with a woman), and self-categorizes in a positive light. By this act of self-positive categorization, the Superintendent successfully stamps his identity in the class of gentlemen who do not woo women for the sake of *sucking* and throwing away the *peel*. It can be seen how the Superintendent employs euphemism, expressions that are necessitated by the need not to impede on Janice's face want. In this way, the Superintendent succeeds in performing a FSA as his verbal constructs are pragmatically calibrated not to encumber H's self-worth.

Like in the examples discussed in *Rusted Roofs* and *Planet*, there is also the use of euphemism in referring to sex as a biological process of maturity.in Ndibe's *Arrows*:

> On the first night Iyese had been worried that her lover's ecstatic cries might scandalise the villagers, but the next day she met the village chief, an old hunched man with a mischievous twinkle in his eye. Smirking, he asked her, 'Daughter, are you the one making our son a man?'
>
> Embarrassed, she asked, 'What do you mean, elder?'
>
> 'Every child cries when it is born,' explained the chief. 'It cries to announce its arrival. It also cries because of all the evil it sees in the world. But every child has another cry waiting in the future, the cry of love. It is the cry that makes a boy a man, a girl a woman…. (*Arrows*, 135–136)

The euphemistic expression, an example of sentential euphemism, captures the pivotal role sex plays in transforming boys into men. Contextually, sex is regarded as a biological process that transports "boys"

to "men," and "girls" to "women." The chief of Utonke's euphemistic deployment is apt. In an effort not to be offensive and not to mention sex directly, S employs "…the one making our son a man" and "It is the cry that makes a boy a man, a girl a woman…" to ask H, Iyese, if she is the one who is accountable for their son's, Dr Jaja's, sexual transformation from childhood to adulthood. The chief's comment is encapsulated in the ideological construct that sex in most Nigerian cultures, as it is the case with other cultures of the world, is solely meant for adults. Ideologically, it emphasizes the fundamental and complimentary involvement of sex in changing people's status. Also, embedded in the cultural euphemism is the idea that one is only counted as a man if one has sexual knowledge of a woman.

Cognizance of the tabooed nature of sex, the chief deepens his politeness effort by noting that:

> 'Last night, we heard our son crying the cry of manhood. It put much happiness in our breast.' (136).

The chief's comments are strategic signifiers or pointers of how discourse participants deploy euphemistic expressions as face-saving strategies when making reference to taboo topics. Invariably, *the cry* which is probably associated with orgasm is that of manhood but not of childhood or when one is hurt. It is a *cry* that accompanies sexual pleasure and contentment. From the chief's perspective, Iyese's sexual adventure with Dr Jaja is biological: it processes Dr Jaja into the circle of "men", hence identity. In a nutshell, the chief's euphemization of sex presupposes that sex signifies a man's maturity. Moreover, sex is seen as a transformational process; a process that confers manly responsibilities.

Conclusion

In drawing this exercise to a close, it is pertinent to mention that besides the ability of euphemism to avoid unpleasant ideas, it can have sinister motivation too: to blur reality, not so much to avoid offence, but to deceive. These sets of euphemistic expressions are explored when sinister ideas are discussed. The use of euphemism, the analysis suggests, is all about mouthing the right-sounding words for situations that deal with sex, genitals and sexual acts. In this way, the political nature of people is clearly articulated. The analysis also betrays the relationship between language and cultural patterns of existence. Implicitly, there is a strong bond between euphemistic expressions and people's peculiar cultural ways of using language. It can therefore be surmised that euphemism is a politeness phenomenon that helps to preserve, and make conversation

appealing to discourse participants, i.e. it is not a matter of linguistic code, but a discourse strategy in which discourse participants "weigh" the interactive situation before they deploy euphemism; making euphemism a comprehensive phenomenon with a primarily discursive dimension. Also, euphemism invokes points of view; for example, sex as food, as journey to somewhere through life, etc.

Needless to say, the ideological sentiment held by some linguistic "purists" that literary texts should not be considered veritable data for linguistic analysis seems to have been faulted by the analysis done here. A literary work is a composition of linguistic artifacts. Hence it remains an interesting data for linguists who are interested in the social and cultural meaning of language in use.

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Assignment of Noun Classes to Acronyms in Kiswahili: A Study of Acronym-nouns in Kiswahili Newspapers

Nicholous Asheli[*]

Abstract

Kiswahili, like other Bantu languages, has a noun class system as each noun in the language belongs to a particular class. This paper attempts to show how nouns in the form of acronyms are treated in Kiswahili. The data are drawn from Kiswahili newspaper headlines. To determine the noun class to which a particular acronym is assigned, we pay attention to agreement marking affixes on verbs, which reflect the nouns to which they refer. We also argue that some acronym nouns are treated differently from other non-acronym nouns. Indeed, the paper observes that such nouns are regarded as a different category of nouns. Moreover, the data show that one acronym noun may be assigned to more than one noun class. However, one noun class is normally dominantly associated with a certain acronym noun. Interestingly, some acronyms are assigned to noun classes differently from the head noun in acronyms when they are spoken/written in full. It is concluded that this special treatment of acronym nouns is an indication that semantic criteria are crucial in deciding how agreement should be. It is also a sign of an on-going language change that affects the number of noun classes in the language.

Keyword: *Kiswahili, Bantu languages, noun class system, acronym nouns*

Introduction

Most Bantu languages have nouns that belong to different noun classes. These classes are like noun genders. Among other things, noun classes help one to determine whether a noun is singular or plural. It is the class to which a noun belongs that gives that noun its semantic and syntactic characteristics and, of course, morphological properties as well. For example, each noun class has its agreement pattern marked on a verb. There are essentially slots for subject and object marking, among other slots, in the Bantu verb morphology. Each noun class has its own subject and object markers. Kiswahili, which has eighteen noun classes, marks subjects and objects as follows:

[*] Assistant Lecturer, Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics, University of Dare es Salaam, P. O. Box 35040, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Email: ashelinjeza@gmail.com/niconjeza@yahoo.co.uk

Table 1: Kiswahili Noun Classes

Noun Class	Class Prefix	Subject Marker	Object Marker	Example
1	m-	a-, yu-	-mu	*Tumaini **a**-me-**mu**-on-a Amani* Tumaini SM-Perf-Object- see-FV Amani 'Tumaini has seen Amani.'
2	wa-	wa-	wa-	*Wa-toto wa-na-wa-pend-a wa-limu wao* 2-child SM-Pres-Object-love-FV 2-teacher their 'Children love their teachers.'
3	m-	u-	-u-	***M**-ti **u**-me-**u**-gus-a **m**-lima* 3-treeSM-Perf-Object-touch-FV mountain 'The tree has touched the mountain.'
4	Mi	i-	-i-	***Mi**-lima **i**-na-**i**-pend-ez-esh-a **mi**-ji* 4-mountain SM-attract-intens-causative-FV 4-town 'Mountains make towns look attractive.'
5	ji-/T	li-	li-	*Ji-cho li-na-li-on-a jibu* 5-eye SM-Pres-Obj-see-FV answer 'The eye sees the answer.'
6	ma-	ya	ya	*Ma-cho ya-na-wash-a* 6-eye SM-Pres-itch-FV 'Eyes are itching.'
7	Ki	ki	ki	*Ki-su ki-li-ki-kat-a ki-chwa* 7-knife SM-Past-OM-cut-FV 7-head 'The knife cut the head.'
8	Vi	vi	vi	*Vi-tabu vi-me-chanik-a* 8-book SM-Perf-tear-FV 'Books are torn out.'
9	N-	i-/ya	-i	*N-yumba i-me-haribik-a* 9-house SM-Perf-destruct-FV 'The house has been destroyed.'
10	N-	zi	zi	*Wa-tu wa-ta-zi-nunua n-yumba zi-le* 2-person SM-Fut-9-buy 9-house SM-those 'People will buy those houses.'
11	U-	u-	u-	U-*kuta u-me-u-anguk-i-a m-lango* 11-wall SM-Perf-Obj-fall-Appl-FV 3-door 'The wall has fallen on to the door.'

12*	Ka-*	ka-	ka-	*Ka-shamba ka-le tu-li-ka-nunu-a juzi* 12-farm 12-that we-Past-Obj-buy-FV the day before yesterday 'That small farm, we bought it the day before yesterday.'
13	Tu-*	tu-	tu-	*Tu-shamba tu-le tu-na-pendez-a* 13-farm 13-those 13-Progressive-look good-FV 'Those small farms look good.'
14	U-	u-	u-	*Tu-me-u-vunj-a u-moja wao* We-Perf-Obj-break-FV SM-unity their 'We have broken their unity.'
15	Ku-	ku-	ku-	*Ku-ji-shughul-ish-a kwake ku-na-onekan-a* 15-self-be committed-Caus-FV his SM-Present-be seen-FV 'His commitment to work is evident.'
16	Pa-**	pa	pa	*Pa-le nyumbani pa-me-chafu-k-a* 16-there at home SM-Perf-dirty-Stative-FV 'It is dirty (there) at home.'
17	Ku- *	ku-	ku-	
18	M-**	m-	m-	*M-le chumbani m-na mende* 18-there in the room SM-be cockroach 'There are cockroaches in the room.'

* means not acceptable in Standard Kiswahili, although many speakers of the language use the prefixes in informal communication. Kihore et al. (2003:96) say that such prefixes are a Bantu influence on Kiswahili and that they have not been accepted in Standard Kiswahili. Why these scholars arrive at that conclusion may be questioned by inquisitive scholars, especially by those who believe that Kiswahili is a Bantu language. They might not see the reason why Kiswahili should be excluded from the Bantu languages group.

** shows that the class prefixes are no longer attached to Kiswahili nouns. They, however, manifest themselves in sentences as they are attached to verbs, adjectives and demonstratives.

It should be noted that Kiswahili, like most other Bantu languages, follows the Bleek-Meinhof numbering system (cf Lobben, 2012: 133), in which singular and plural classes are usually paired. Lobben (ibid.) emphasizes

that plural classes may also have other functions. This shows that there are also semantic bases for the existence of the noun classes. Among other things, in this paper, the interplay between semantic and other factors governing the noun classes is discussed. It should be expected that some of the morphological properties of acronyms are semantically motivated.

Previous Studies on Acronyms

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2010) defines an acronym as a word formed from the first letters of the name of something. Hartmann and Stork (1972) give reasons for the existence of acronyms in languages (which they treat as synonymous with abbreviations) as they say that acronyms are used to save the time and effort spent both in speech and writing. This is mainly because acronyms are shorter than the phrases from which they are formed. So, they save energy, space and time.

Katikiro (2014) also talks about saving time and space as the major reason for the use of acronyms both in speech and writing. Katikiro wonders why acronyms are not given their due treatment in Kiswahili dictionaries, although they are words just like other words found in a language. Katikiro (2014:23) also observes that some nouns in the world's languages exist as acronyms. Additionally, he says the creation of acronyms is predominantly a property of written language. That means only a language that is written is likely to have acronyms in it. Languages that are not written may hardly contain acronyms. Since Kiswahili is both spoken and written, it has quite a good number of acronyms.

Like Katikiro, Massamba (2000) talks about acronyms and abbreviations in relation to Kiswahili. However, Massamba focuses on how acronyms and abbreviations of foreign origin are translated when Kiswahili is the target language during translation. Unlike the foregoing two papers, the current paper studies how nouns that are acronyms are accommodated and incorporated into the Kiswahili noun class system.

It should be noted that nouns have their properties. One of such properties is manifested in Bantu languages (like Kiswahili), each of which has a noun class system in which every noun belongs to a certain noun class (i.e. gender). The rules that govern where newly formed nouns that enter the language (Kiswahili) as acronyms will be placed need to be explained. This is the goal which this paper seeks to achieve. One might think that the exercise of assigning acronyms to noun classes is easy because acronyms have words that head them (i.e. each acronym has a head noun) and every noun has a class to which it belongs. That assumption may be based on the fact that acronyms are essentially noun phrases and, as a general rule, each noun phrase (and of course, each phrase) has a head word. So, one

might simply say that the assignment of acronyms to noun classes ought to follow the class of the head noun in a phrase. That would automatically mean that the entire acronym would behave like its head. Since an acronym is a noun phrase, then it will have the same agreement patterns as those of the head noun. As we shall soon see, that is not always the case with acronyms in Kiswahili.

How Class Membership is Assigned to Acronyms in Kiswahili

As pointed out earlier, acronyms are words formed from the combination of initials (i.e. the first letters of certain words) or the first syllables of constituent words. The following table exemplifies this:

Table 2: Assignment of Class Membership to Acronyms

Acronym	Long Form	Head Noun	Gloss
MKUKUTA	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umasikini Tanzania	Mkakati (class 3)	Strategy for Economic Growth and Poverty Alleviation in Tanzania
BAKITA	Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa	Baraza (class 5)	The National Kiswahili Council of Tanzania
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi	Chama (class 7)	The Revolutionary Party
UWT	Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania	Umoja (class 14)	The Union for Women in Tanzania
BMT	Baraza la Michezo la Taifa	Baraza (class 5)	The National Sports Council
JWTZ	Jeshi la Wananchi Tanzania	Jeshi (class 5)	The Tanzanian People's Defence Force

When acronyms like those in the table are used in sentences, they follow certain agreement patterns. As pointed out earlier, each noun class has it agreement patterns. Lusekelo (2013) calls the agreement pattern on the verb as verb external agreement just because the agreement is a manifestation of noun features outside the noun phrase. The agreement pattern an acronym shows is determined by the way the acronym is perceived by the speakers of the language. That may seem to be a non-issue, but it is an issue because there are some variations. Sometimes, some speakers treat acronyms by considering the class to which a head word in the acronym belongs. There are cases where language users ignore the class of the head noun and use completely different agreement patterns, something that entails different class assignment). This is the problem that this paper attempts to address. The following section examines noun class assignment to various acronyms.

Acronyms Referring to People

The acronyms that refer to people follow the agreement patterns of classes 1/2 in Kiswahili, i.e. they have **a-** and **wa-** in the subject marker position of the verb. Class 1 acronyms have **m-** in the object marker slot of the verb, while class 2 ones retain the form **wa-** for both the subject marker and object marker positions in the verb. The following exemplify this:

1. *DC a-me-ondok-a leo*
   DC SM- Perf-leave today
   'The District Commissioner left today'

2. *Ma-DC wa-me-it-w-a na rais*
   6-DC SM-Perf-invite-Passive-FV by president

   'The District Commissioners have been invited by the President'

3. *MEK a-li-wa-shauri wa-limu ku-fany-a kazi kwa bidii*
   Ward Education Coordinator SM-Past-Obj-advise 6-teacher infinitive-do work with effort
   'The Ward Education Coordinator advised the teachers to work hard'
   Note: MEK is an acronym for Mratibu Elimu Kata.

4. *MM a-ta-end-a Arusha kesho*
   Associate Director SM-Fut-go-FV Arusha tomorrow
   'The Associate Director will go to Arusha tomorrow'

   Note: MM refers to Mkurugenzi Mshiriki.

Although some of the acronyms referring to people used in the foregoing examples are not established (standardized, since some of them are foreign as they have been borrowed from English), the acronyms have the agreement patterns like those of people's names. Since the agreement patterns observed in the acronyms referring to people observe the rules of classes 1 and 2, we can confidently argue that a semantic criterion is used in assigning class membership to acronyms. As a rule, nouns referring to people in Bantu languages are put in classes 1 and 2. Therefore, it seems that people look at an acronym and determine in advance whether or not it refers to human beings. Demuth (2000:283) argues that human noun classes demonstrate relatively high semantic productivity in that new noun classes referring to human beings show the semantic properties of classes 1 and 2. When speakers have established that new nouns (including new acronyms) refer to human beings, they assign them to classes 1 and 2 and such nouns automatically show the agreement patterns of these classes. That criterion does not seem to be relevant to all the

acronyms referring to non-human entities. The following sections discuss various acronyms and how they are assigned class membership.

Acronyms Referring to Non-human Entities

While we have seen that the acronyms referring to human beings do not pose any problem with regard to class assignment, other types of acronyms pose certain problems. The following table lists some acronyms that are taken from newspaper headlines.

Table 3: Acronyms with Kiswahili Head Nouns

	Headline with Acronym(s)	Gloss	Head Noun	Its Noun Class	Noun Class in the Acronym	Evidence
1	*JK: CCM **i**naweza kung'oka 2015* (Mwananchi 26th Oct 2013)	CCM may be defeated in the 2015 elections.	Chama 'party'	7/8	9/10	The use of **i** as SM
2	*Chadema **yai**tikisa CCM* (Tanzania Daima, 9th Feb 2014)	Chadema shakes CCM	Chama 'party'	7/8	9/10	The use of **ya** in the SM and **i in** OM sitions in the verb
3	*CWT **ya**anzisha kitengo maalumu kwa ajili ya walimu wanawake* (Mwananchi, 17th Feb 2014	CWT launches a special unit for female teachers	Chama 'union'	7/8	9/10	The use of **ya** in SM
4	*Mgeja atamba CCM **i**po imara hakuna wa*	Mgeja boasts that CCM is firm, no one	Chama 'party'	7/8	9/10	The use of **i** in SM and OM

	*ku**i**yumbisha* (Mwananchi, 10th February 2014)	can shake it				
5	*Bomani: CCM **i**sivuruge mchakato wa katiba* (Rai, 6th March 2014)	Bomani: CCM should not disrupt the constitutional review process	Chama 'party'	7/8	9/10	The use of **i** in SM
6	*CCM wapiga magoti kuomba kura Kalenga* (Mwananchi, 3rd March 2014)	CCM kneel as they ask for votes in Kalenga	Chama 'party'	7/8	2	The use of **wa** in SM
7	*Chadema wataka JK aingilie kati Bunge the Katiba* (Mwananchi, 3rd March 2014	Chadema want JK to intervene in the Constituent Assembly	Chama 'party'	7/8	2	The use of **wa** in SM
8	*Chadema **ki**meshindwa kwa mengi uchaguzi madiwani* (Mwananchi, 22nd Feb 2014)	Chadema lost the councilors' election for various reasons	Chama 'party'	7/8	7/8	The use of **ki** as SM
9	*Suma JKT **ya**pongezwa kuimarisha ulinzi*	Suma JKT appreciated for maintaining	Shirika 'corporation'	5/6	9/10	The use of **ya** as SM

	(Tanzania Daima, 27th Feb 2014	security				
10	*JUKATA* ***ya****lalamikia uteuzi wa JK* (Tanzania Daima, 13th Feb 2014)	JUKATA criticizes JK's nomination	Jukwaa 'forum'	5/6	9/10	The use of **ya** as SM

In the examples, some acronyms headed by the word *chama* 'party' or 'union', which is a class 7/8 noun as its agreement affixes are ki/vi, which when palatalized become **ch** or **vy** are consistently assigned to new noun classes. In the last two cases, where acronyms are assigned to class 2, it is clear that the writer thought of a political party as a group of individuals. Although a political party is mentioned, reference is made to the followers or leaders of that particular political party. This is not a big problem because one may simply say semantic consideration dictates the choice of an appropriate noun class. One may wonder what exactly happens to the acronym JUKATA (Jukwaa la Katiba Tanzania), which is headed by the noun *jukwaa* 'forum', a class 5/6 noun. Why does it have the agreement pattern of classes 9/10?

What may trigger more questions is the fact that the majority of acronyms are placed in classes 9/10. This will be explained later. Let us, at this point, look at acronyms whose constituent words are in English to see how they are treated as far as class assignment is concerned. These acronyms have their Kiswahili equivalents, and therefore have Kiswahili head nouns (although they're not in the acronyms). The following table illustrates this point:

Table 4: English based Acronyms

	Headline with Acronym(s)	Gloss	Head Noun	Its Noun Class	Noun Class in the Acronym	Evidence
1	*WWF yashauri elimu ya uwekezaji kwa jamii* (Mwananchi,	The World Wildlife Fund (WWF) recommends investment	Mfuko 'fund'	3/4	9/10	The use of **ya** as SM

	4th March 2014)	in community education				
2	*NEC yaanza kuboresha daftari* (Tanzania Daima, 5th March 2014)	NEC starts updating the voters' register	Tume 'commission'	9/10	9/10	The use of **i** in the SM and OM
3	*TFF yalaani vurugu Yanga vs Al Ahly* (Tanzania Daima, 5th Feb 2014)	TFF condemns violence that occurred during Yanga vs Al Ahyl	Shirikisho 'federation'	5/6	9/10	The use of **ya** in SM
4	*NEC isimamie demokrasia* (Tanzania Daima, 9th Feb 2014	NEC ought to safeguard democracy	Tume 'commission'	9/10	9/10	The use of **i** in SM
5	*TFF yaanika wajumbe kamati* (Tanzania Daima, 9th Feb 2014	TFF announces committee members	Shirikisho 'federation'	5/6	9/10	The use of **ya** in SM
6	*DART yawatoa hofu wanaotaka zabuni* (Tanzania Daima, 6th March 2014	DART clears tender bidders' fear	Wakala 'agency'	14	9/10	The use of **ya** in SM
7	*TBS yatunukuu vyeti bora*	TBS awards certificates of excellence	Shirika	5/6	9/10	The use of **ya** in SM

	kampuni 50 (Mwananchi, 10th Feb 2014	to 50 companies	'corporation'			
8	*TFF ingefanya haya kupata uzoefu* (Mwananchi, 10th Feb 2014)	This is what TFF should do to gain experience	Shirikisho 'federation'	5/6	9/10	The use of **i** in SM
9	*TSA yapigwa jeki* (Mwananchi, 10th Feb 2014)	TSA gets support	Chama 'association'	7/8	9/10	The use of **ya** in SM
10	*TCD yashauri mapendekezo 16* (Mwananchi, 17th Feb 2014	TCD makes 16 suggestions	Kituo 'centre'	7/8	9/10	The use of **ya** in SM

As the examples in the table indicate, most of the acronyms (including those containing English words) are placed in classes 9 and 10.

Why are most Acronym-nouns placed in Classes 9/10?

The following are possible explanations for the dominance of classes 9/10:

- Acronyms are treated independently of the words constituting them. So, they are accommodated as borrowed words and classes 9/10 are considered to be host classes where most borrowed nouns are accommodated in most Bantu languages. Demuth (2000) refers to classes 9/10 as default classes. That means classes 9/10 are for accommodating any new nouns that do not fit in the other classes. This is attested in many Bantu languages. In Shinyiha, for example, words like *isimu* (phone), *ikompyuta* (computer), *itelevisheni* (television), *ifeni* (fan) are accommodated in classes 9/10 (cf. Asheli, 2013:40). One may then be tempted to argue that in Kiswahili acronyms have the same status as borrowed nouns. It seems that Kiswahili speakers perceive acronym-nouns as loanwords and

therefore accommodate them in classes 9/10. We cannot say different speakers of the language make mistakes consistently; but if one says those are mistakes, then how many times should a mistake be a mistake before it is given the status of a new version of a particular language? In my view, treating the use of the class 9/10 agreement pattern as a mistake is the same as correcting people who use regular forms in English where irregular ones are expected. Think of a person who says '*He goed to school yesterday'. We want them to say 'went' instead of 'goed'. By doing that, it seems we have allowed irregular forms to be regular.

What seems strange, as far as host classes are concerned, is the fact that there are acronyms whose head nouns belong to classes 5/6 but which are assigned to classes 9/10. That is strange because classes 5/6 are also host classes because some borrowed nouns are accommodated here, and normally when there is a conflict over where a borrowed noun should be placed the 'war' is between classes 5/6 and 9/10. For example, we would expect *BMT*, which has the word *baraza* as a head noun that belongs to classes 5/6, to have the agreement patterns of class 5/6. Strange as it may seem, we have seen BMT having the agreement patterns of classes 9/10. This strengthens the argument that this language treats acronyms as borrowed words whose host classes are 9/10, no matter the class to which the head word in an acronym belongs (with the exception of human acronyms).

- Another explanation could be: The noun class system is changing from irregular to regular. It should be noted that the complex noun class system in Bantu is an irregular system. McMahon (1994) talks of regularity principle as something that governs the direction of language change. In which case, language is said to change from irregular to regular. So, one may argue that a day will come when most, if not all acronym-nouns, will be in classes 9/10. What this essentially means is that language speakers prefer regular forms. In my view, speakers are the main stakeholders in determining the direction of change. Those who stick to standards may succeed in controlling things for a period of time. However, the power of language speakers is enormous in determining what the trend is like. It is my humble submission that language standardizers should harmonize their rules with how people speak a particular language. The challenge for language standardizers lies in what to do when language changes. This explanation is supported by the fact that there is evidence for a reduced number of noun classes in Bantu languages. Demuth (2000:287) argues that at least some parts of Bantu noun class will persist over time. As suggested by the data

presented in this paper, classes 9/10 are among those that will persist. Maho (1999) gives Mbati and Kako as Bantu languages whose noun classes have been reduced to 2 and 3 noun classes, respectively. The way acronyms are treated in Kiswahili may prompt one to think that certain noun classes are disappearing gradually.

- If one wants to be neutral about what happens, as far as the assignment of noun class to acronyms in Kiswahili is concerned, one would argue that there are two correct forms of agreement involving acronyms. One form takes the agreement markers of classes 9/10 and the other takes that of the head noun in an acronym. This kind of explanation would imply that there are at least two varieties of the language in question.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to look at how the existing acronym-nouns are assigned noun class membership in Kiswahili. It has been argued that acronyms are put into the noun class system following the referent (for human acronyms) and the acronym stem in some cases. However, the majority of acronym-nouns are put in classes 9/10. It may be concluded that acronym-nouns pose a challenge as far as the assignment of class membership to them is concerned. The trend shows that noun classes 9/10 are increasingly becoming more accommodating than the other noun classes, which perhaps shows an on-going language change towards the regularization of the language. That may imply that the process of reducing the number of noun classes in Kiswahili is at work. A change in the number of noun classes has been attested in some Bantu languages. While Proto-Bantu had more than twenty noun classes, most of the existing Bantu languages have less than twenty noun classes. However, there are classes that resist this change.

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Primary School Leavers' English Skills and their Adequacy for Knowledge Acquisition at Secondary School: The Case of Iringa Municipality[1]

*John Philpo**

Abstract

This study presents an account of how primary school leavers' level of English literacy affects their learning in English at secondary education level. It adopts CALLA[2], which is an instructional model for second/foreign language learners. A total of 40 Form I students in 4 secondary schools were sampled for the study. To obtain the data, 5-minute passage reading and 30-minute writing of their short history in English were used. One interesting finding is that 10/28 (35.7%) Form I students with SM[3] background who were assigned to write their short history in English could neither complete nor write comprehensively. Again, when they were given a reading task, 8/28 (28.6%) could not complete and were apparently unable to read the text. Conversely, 12/12 (100%) Form I students with EM[4] background who were tested for writing were able to complete writing their comprehensible short history texts, and all 12/12 (100%) who were assigned a reading task completed reading with clear comprehension. It was, therefore, concluded that there were problems associated with ELT[5] in SM primary schools.

Keywords: *English literacy, medium of knowledge acquisition, adequacy, primary school leavers*

Introduction

In Tanzania, the Swahili language is the medium of instruction in primary schools, and English is only taught as a compulsory academic subject at this level (with the exception of a few English-medium primary schools (MoEC, 1995). Many pupils in both rural and urban areas come from families where Swahili and ethnic community languages are predominantly spoken. However, currently, some children mainly from

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* Assistant Lecturer, Department of Languages and Literature at Mkwawa University College of Education, Email: johnphilpo@yahoo.com

[2] CALLA is a short form for Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach.

[3] SM is a short form for Swahili Medium.

[4] EM is a short form for English Medium.

[5] ELT is a short form for English Language Teaching.

well-to-do families, especially in urban areas, are sent to English medium primary schools.

For more than three decades now, educators, teachers, civil societies, human right activists, and other well-wishers in Tanzania have been complaining about the level of literacy acquired by pupils during their primary education. This is especially so in public Swahili medium primary schools where the majority of pupils attend. In this regard, some studies also report that the levels of literacy in both the Swahili and English languages have been falling dramatically, leading to the churning out of primary school leavers who can neither read nor write a basic story in either of the two languages (cf. Uwezo, 2012, 2011; Qorro, 2008; Roy-Campbell & Qorro, 1997).

In this paper, medium of instruction means a language used to transfer knowledge from an instructor/teacher to a learner mainly in teaching and learning situations. Its role is equated with that of a copper wire that carries and transmits electricity from one point of the grid-line to another. Cognitive psychologists in education say that a child will learn better in the language he/she is familiar with. This implies that any medium of instruction should be the one that most learners are familiar with (Qorro, 2005; 2008; 2010). The current study confined itself to reading and writing (*conventional literacy*) because the two language skills are crucial for Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) of the learner in the acquisition of the knowledge stored not only in print but also in spoken discourse. However, although a lot of talking and listening is done in the classroom, it is only essential for facilitating interpersonal communication and not necessarily academic. This is, in fact, what Saville-Troike calls Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) as opposed to CALP (cf. Saville-Troike, 2006).

This study investigated the adequacy of using English literacy as the medium of knowledge acquisition amongst Form I students with SM background and compared them with those with EM background at early stages of their secondary education using Iringa Municipality as a case study. To achieve the objectives, two pertinent questions were used:

(i) To what extent are the primary school leavers in Tanzania English literate?
(ii) How does the level of English language literacy acquired by primary school leavers in Tanzania affect their learning in English at secondary education?

Literature Review

Various studies (e.g., Mlama and & Matteru, 1977; Mvungi 1982; Criper and Dodd, 1984; Simmonds *et al*., 1991; Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1997; Kadeghe, 2000, 2003; Brock-Utne, 2004, 2005, 2007; Galabawa and Lwaitama, 2005; Galabawa and Senkoro, 2006; Bryne, 2006; Qorro, 1999, 2005, 2008, 2010) conducted in Tanzania so far raise concerns on the debate about which language should be a medium of instruction at secondary education in Tanzania: Swahili, English or both. Although these studies (e.g., Qorro, 2010:10) admit that the level of English language proficiency in Tanzania secondary schools is 'totally inadequate for use in the learning of other subjects, yet they do not examine the level of the English language *literacy*[6] acquired by the primary school leavers who join secondary education, and how it may affect their post-primary learning. Below is a summary of the key studies reviewed:

Studies by Mlama and Matteru (1977), Mvungi (1982), Criper and Dodd (1984), Simmonds *et al*. (1991), and Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1997) found that there was a continued challenge of using a foreign language as a medium of instruction at secondary education to the majority of Tanzanian learners. These studies also challenge the way the English language is generally taught. Thus, the focal point inherited in these studies is to trigger language policy change. However, the current study presents the evidence that would enhance English literacy teaching in primary schools for the development of the learners' Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), particularly when learning is done in a foreign language. The current study, therefore, seeks to provide a comparative analysis between Form I students with EM background and those with SM background in order to propose intervention, and accordingly trigger improved learning and teaching of the language, rather than throwing it out of the window.

Again, Bryne (2006) shows that in Tanzania the level of the English language has been fluctuating since the 1920s. This, according to Bryne (ibid.), is because of, among others, changes of both teachers and English language syllabuses to match the adopted policy of education imposed before and after independence. In his report, Bryne also argues that during the pre-colonial era English was taught by native speakers in middle schools but after Tanganyika (now Tanzania Mainland) attained independence in 1961, English was taught by African teachers who

[6] '*Literacy*' refers to the ability to *read* and *write* correctly in a particular language; such as Swahili, English, German, French, Swedish, etc. In some disciplines; especially pedagogy, '*Literacy*' includes *numeracy* (the ability to count numbers correctly). However, in this paper, the term '*Literacy*' is used to refer to the learner's ability to 'read' and comprehend a *text*, and to 'write' correctly a *passage* about what he/she knows in the English language.

acquired the language from the native speakers. According to Bryne, these teachers are now *old* and many of them have retired, thus, the present low level of English proficiency in primary school leavers in Tanzania is mainly attributable to the fact that many English language teachers are young, non-native and have very low English proficiency. However, according to the report, despite the fact that English is badly taught in primary schools, Bryne (ibid.) does not show how the level of English language proficiency acquired by primary school leavers may affect their post-primary learning in the language as classes are currently made up of students with EM and SM backgrounds.

Furthermore, other studies conducted in Tanzania present findings on the assessment of general language literacy in education, particularly of Kiswahili among primary school leavers, the youth, adults and the general public (Polome & Hill, 1980; Rubagumya, 1990, 1994; Pithis, 2000-2005; Mulkeen, 2005, 2006; Bhalalusesa, 2008). However, these studies, do not question the English language literacy (*reading and writing*) acquired by primary school leavers, and its adequacy for use as a medium of knowledge acquisition in print material in secondary education and the differential pace in learning between Form I students in one classroom but with two different language medium backgrounds.

Theoretical Approach

This study adopts the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) to guide the analysis and discussion of the findings relating to the problem under investigation. CALLA is an instructional model for second and foreign language learners based on the cognitive theory and research. CALLA was developed by American Summer Institute in 2006 to meet the academic needs of students learning in English as *a second language* and/or *foreign language* (source: **http://nclrc.org**). CALLA integrates instruction in priority topics from the content curriculum, the development of the language skills needed for learning in school, and explicit instruction in using learning strategies for academic tasks. CALLA aims to make students learn essential academic content and language; and to become independent and self-regulated learners through their increasing command over a variety of strategies for learning in school. CALLA aims at assisting students essentially in:

- valuing their own prior knowledge and cultural experiences, and relating this knowledge to academic learning in a new language and culture;
- learning the content knowledge and the language skills that are most important for their future academic success;
- developing language awareness and critical literacy;

- selecting and using appropriate learning strategies and study skills that will develop academic knowledge and processes;
- learning through hands-on, inquiry-based, and cooperative learning tasks;
- increasing motivation for academic learning and confidence in their ability to be successful in school; and,
- evaluating their own learning and planning how to become more effective and independent learners.

Justification of the Approach

It is said that using a *Second language* or *foreign language* as a medium of instruction increases exposure to learners as it promotes the acquisition of its proficiency, and that it develops divergent thinking and cognitive academic abilities (cf. Kadeghe, 2000; 2003). Therefore, investigating *English Language Literacy (ELL)* does not refute this claim, but mainly seeks to find out the extent of the *ELL* acquired by primary school leavers, and the way it may affect the Learners' Cognitive Academic Language Learning, knowledge acquisition and creation regarding the multi-linguistic backgrounds learners hold upon joining secondary education in Tanzania. As per this model, using an L2/FL in teaching and learning other subjects provides opportunities for learning the language in question, and it can make learners develop divergent thinking, critically argue and access knowledge that is stored in the language, especially if it is well taught in elementary and primary levels of education. Again, using an L2/FL develops language awareness, and critical literacy through an increased exposure. However, this requires a huge investment in terms of qualified human resource, facilities, infrastructure, motivation and a relevant policy.

Methodology

Four (4) secondary schools in Iringa Municipality (two private and two public) were sampled for the study based on their history in academic performance and the type of students they admit. They were: Iringa Girls' Secondary School (public), Highland Secondary School (private), Lugalo Secondary School (public) and Spring Valley Secondary School (private). In each school, ten (10) Form I students who were randomly sampled were tested. Thus, each Form I student in each school had an equal chance to participate or to be picked based on the language medium background. Out of the ten (10) students from each school, three (3) were from English Medium Primary Schools (EMPS), and seven (7) were from Swahili Medium Primary Schools (SMPS). Students with EM background were few in all the schools selected. Thus, each student involved in the study was tested and observed in the classroom during the teaching and learning of English and other subjects. This was done in order to determine the

adequacy of the level of English literacy acquired by primary school leavers who join secondary education through *reading* and *writing* as they interacted with their teachers and materials. Generally, the overall results were obtained using two *Model tests, viz*: A 5-minute *passage reading* and 30-minute *short history writing* for testing *comprehension* and *accuracy.* To obtain pertinent information, through reading, each student tested was asked to suggest a possible title for the passage after reading it. *Participant observation* was also done to determine student-teacher and learner-material interactions in the acquisition of knowledge of the subjects taught and presented in English prints in subjects such as Civics, Geography, History, Physics, and Chemistry.

Results

The results obtained from four (4) secondary schools were as follows: in school A: only 3 out of 7 Form I students from Swahili medium primary schools could complete writing their *short histories* in 30 minutes but with errors in word choice, spelling and punctuation. The other four (4) did not complete the *short histories* even when they were given more time. In the same school, 2 out of 3 Form I students who were from English medium primary schools completed writing their *short histories* in the first twenty (20) minutes and the rest within 28 minutes. In both cases, only a few errors in spelling and punctuation emerged. On reading a *model English passage* for *five minutes* by each student in the sample, 5 out of 7 Form I students who were from SMPS[7] completed reading the passage within the timeframe but with poor pronunciation and low comprehension. The other two did not finish on time. They were seemingly unable to read a text in English. By contrast, all three (3) Form I students from EMPS completed reading the passage within 3-4 minutes with a few pronunciation errors but with a good comprehension.

In school B, the results revealed that 5 out of 7 Form I students from SMPS completed writing their *short histories* in 30 minutes with errors in word choice, spelling and punctuation. The other two (2) could not complete the task. In the same school, all three (3) Form I students who were from EMPS[8] completed writing their *short histories* within the first twenty five (25) minutes with a few errors in spelling and punctuation. On reading the passage for five minutes, 4 out of 7 Form I students who were from SMPS completed reading within the time specified but with poor pronunciation and low comprehension of the passage; only 2 out of 4 got the title right. The other three (3) could not finish within the time specified. On the other hand, all (3) Form I students from EMPS completed reading the passage

[7] SMPS abbreviation for Swahili Medium Primary Schools
[8] EMPS abbreviation for English Medium Primary Schools

within 3 minutes with a few pronunciation errors but with good comprehension as all three 3 were able to identify the title after reading the passage.

In school C, 6 out of 7 Form I students from SMPS completed writing their *short histories* in 30 minutes with a few errors in word choice, spelling and punctuation. Only one (1) could not complete the task. In the same school, all three (3) Form I students from EMPS completed writing their *short histories* within the first twenty two (22) minutes but with a few errors in spelling. However, these showed a fairly good use of punctuation. On reading for *five minutes*, 5 out of 7 Form I students from SMPS completed reading the passage within the time spcified but with low comprehension; only 2 out of 5 could identify the title of the passage. The other two (2) could not finish on time. On the other hand, all (3) Form I students from EMPS completed reading the passage within 3-4 minutes with a good comprehension of the passage because all could identify the title.

In school D, 4 out of 7 Form I students from SMPS completed writing their *short histories* in 30 minutes with considerable errors in word choice, spelling and punctuation. The other three (3) could not complete their task. In the same school, all three (3) Form I students from EMPS completed writing their *short histories* within the first twenty seven (27) minutes with a few errors in word choice, spelling and punctuation. On reading the *passage* for *five minutes,* 6 out of 7 Form I students from SMPS completed within the time specified but with poor pronunciation. Besides, they showed a good comprehension of the passage; 3 out 6 who completed reading could identify the title of the passage. One (1) student could not finish within the time specified. By contrast, all (3) Form I students from EMPS completed reading the passage within 3-4 minutes with a few pronunciation errors but with a good comprehension of the passage; all got the title right.

During a classroom observation, it was also revealed in all the schools that Form I students joining secondary education with a Swahili medium background had difficulty following the lesson when compared with those who had an English medium background. The latter participated more in answering and asking questions than the former; they were more confident than their counterparts. It was also noted in the classroom that some teachers teaching subjects other than English in secondary schools had a poor command of the English language. Some teachers were more often code mixing as they clarified points during the lessons because a point could not come out clearly when explained in English only.

Discussion and Interpretation of the Findings

The findings indicate that public primary school education in Tanzania does not build the English literacy competence of the primary school leavers who join secondary education so that they may cope with learning in English. This is because 10 out of 28 (36%) students could neither complete nor write in English what could be deciphered. This might imply that 10 in every 28 Form I students who join secondary education from SMPS do not learn as much as they should at secondary school because of low English literacy. They could write but one could not make sense of what they wrote. Even those who completed writing their *short histories* within the time specified (i.e., *18/28 [64%]*) produced many errors in spelling, grammar and punctuation, thereby producing illegible texts that they themselves could not read and make sense of. Most of these learners could not take notes correctly during the lesson. Also, when they were asked to write in English, about what they knew, they failed. Therefore, English as the language of written materials and instruction is more of a barrier than a means of acquiring knowledge (cf. Roy-Campbell & Qorro, 1997).

On the other hand, the findings show that all 12 out of 12 (100%) students who were from EMPS were able to complete writing their *short histories* on time in all four (4) schools sampled. Their story texts were more comprehensible than those written by the students with the Swahili medium background. This, by contrast, implies that Form I students joining secondary education from EMPS are well prepared to cope with studies at secondary education where English is the medium of learning in both spoken and written materials. Therefore, these learners, in principle, learn without much difficulty at this level, as they are familiar with the medium of learning. Through the writing tests, it was learnt that these learners could write fairly with a good command of English literacy (cf. Rugemalira, 2005). This conceivably implies that, in Tanzania, there exist two kinds of learners based on their medium backgrounds as classrooms are consist of learners from these backgrounds (cf. Neke, 2003), and this perpetuates inequality, with regard to access to quality secondary education. That is to say, Form I students joining secondary education from EMPS are more favoured by the medium of learning in secondary education than those who join secondary education from SMPS. This was evident when the students with EM background actively participated in classroom discussion and followed the lessons, while those with SM background were unable to follow the lessons more actively.

Again, on reading an *English model passage* within 5 minutes, the results show that 8 out of 28 (29%) Form I students with SM background, who were tested, could not complete the task within the time specified, and

were apparently unable to read a text in English. This, again, suggests that 8 in every 28 students joining secondary education with SM background cannot comprehend fully a text written in English in secondary education; thus, their pace of learning is extremely slow when compared to that of Form I students with EM background. Even those 20 out of 28 (71%) from the same group, who read the text within the time specified, had problems comprehending the text; only 8/20 identified the right title of the text. The rest could not successfully figure out what the text was all about. By contrast, all 12 out of 12 (100%) Form I students with EM background completed the reading task within less than five minutes with clear comprehension of the text given. This, again, suggests that students who join secondary education with EM background have a greater chance to succeed in secondary education than those with SM background. This perpetuates inequality in terms of access to quality secondary education, especially in the initial stages in Tanzania.

These findings have, therefore, shed light into one of the issues haunting the teaching and learning process in Tanzania secondary schools, with reference to Iringa Municipality. That is, primary school leavers joining secondary education are linguistically divided into two types: those with SM background (*majority*) and those with EM background (*minority*) but in the same country. The findings have also shown that this linguistic background difference has brought about two major consequences. On the one hand, it has brought *a learning gap*. That is, many secondary school students who join secondary education with SM background struggle much or sometimes lag behind in their initial stages of secondary education because of the unfamiliar *medium of learning* in both written and spoken discourses. This was evident for the students with SM background during observations in Form I classrooms, where a learning gap was evidently revealed as students with SM background were unable to talk about the subject matter in the *medium* (language) *of learning* when compared with those with EM background.

However, anecdotal evidence suggests that students with EM background have an advantage in the first or second year of study in secondary schools but eventually the SM pupils catch up as they get to understand the English language and in the end they do even better than the others. There are also claims that, in primary schools, pupils taught in Swahili understand other subjects better than those taught in English. The claims also suggest that when other factors remain constant (i.e. facilities, teachers, motivation, etc.), pupils taught in Swahili medium at primary education understand other subjects better at secondary education than those taught in English in primary schools, with a relatively good performance at in the Form Four Examination.

On the other hand, the findings present the newly created *inequality regarding access to quality* education in initial stages. That is, the English language, which is the *medium of learning* in both written and spoken discourses at secondary education in Tanzania, has been allowed to divide learners in terms of the pace of learning, instead of playing the role of transferring knowledge equally to all learners in all stages of secondary education. This tendency is even getting worse as we witness a mushrooming of English Medium Primary schools for the '*haves*'[9] to send their children because the fees in these schools too exorbitant for the *'have not'*[10] to afford. Therefore, in Tanzania because of this education planning, many primary school pupils, especially those from poor families, find themselves in public Swahili medium primary schools where their parents can at least afford the fees. However, experience has also shown that in EM primary schools the basic ingredient is only the *medium of instruction;* when, in fact, it is normally the *resources available in a school and management* that matter. It has also been the case that, although comparatively English is common to both 'good' private secondary schools and public secondary schools, there are huge gaps in the resources available in the two categories of schools and the way they are managed.

The findings in the current study may partly be in support of or different from those in previous research studies (e.g. Kadeghe, 2000, 2003; Qorro, 2005, 2008, 2010). For example, Kadeghe's (2003) study reported that students' ability to study in Kiswahili only was poor in secondary schools just as it was when only English was used. On the other hand, Qorro (2006, 2008, 2010) generally and strongly argues for change of Language of Instruction (LOI) from English to *Kiswahili* at all levels of education in Tanzania and to teach English as an academic subject. However, Kadeghe (ibid.) recommends for the use of both Kiswahili and English, that is, a mixture of the two languages in what he calls *code-switching* at secondary education, the position also adopted in the current National Education and Training Policy (MoETV, 2014). But, essentially, their major concern is about which language/model should be the best medium of instruction in the Tanzania education system. Therefore, the current study sought to present findings based on comparing the English literacy competence acquired by EM pupils and SW pupils who meet in one classroom at secondary education and its effect on their pace of learning. This was, however, due to the belief that there is a positive relationship between the learners' English Language Proficiency (ELP) and their academic performance, as reported in Wilson and Komba (2012). In fact, in their study, they argue that the growth of ELP makes correlates with academic

[9] The 'haves' means the rich, people with money.
[10] The 'have not' means the poor, people without enough money.

achievements. This means that the more proficient in English a student is, the better s/he is in academics (ibid.:9).

Conclusions and Recommendation

As stated in the background, this paper aimed at shedding light on what Form I students, both from *Swahili* and *English* 'medium' *primary schools* are doing in secondary schools to improve the learning of English. The findings have shown that, in Tanzania, there are problems relating to the way English is taught and used especially in public Swahili medium primary schools, as evidenced by the abilities of the subjects involved in this study. It was also discovered that many primary school leavers joining secondary education from *Swahili medium* primary schools do not have adequate English language literacy competence for them to learn and acquire knowledge through the langauge in their initial stages of secondary education.

In contrast, students joining secondary education from *English medium* primary schools displayed a relatively better ability to learn and acquire knowledge in English when English is used as the *medium of* learning at this level. However, it was noted that the understanding of other subjects by students with EM background may be surpassed by those with SM background at the end of Form Four. Therefore, to a large extent, the level of *English literacy* acquired by pupils with SM background does not correspond with their success in *learning through English*, especially in their initial stages of secondary education in Tanzania. *English Language Teaching* should, therefore, be strengthened in public Swahili medium primary schools and careful selection of language of instruction model(s) should be done as well. Although the government has recently launched the Education and Training policy (cf. MoEVT, 2014), implementation strategies, investment and the feasibility of the policy are still uncertain. Neither does the policy address the root cause of the problem of the language of instruction.

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Morpho-tonological Classification of Igbo Verbs[1]

*Linda Chinelo Nkamigbo**

Abstract

Igbo verbs have been classified along morphological and tonal lines (cf. Emenanjo, 1978; Ogwueleka, 1987; Nwachukwu, 1995; Uchechukwu, 2011). On a morphological basis, simple, complex, compound and inherent complement verbs have been identified. Three tonal classes of verbs – high, high-low and low – are also identified. This paper discusses a morpho-tonological classification of Igbo verbs. From the investigation so far, the paper tries to show that there is an interaction between tone and the morphological classes of Igbo verbs. This interaction is perceived through the realization of tone since every vowel, and consequently every syllable, bears a tone. For example, for simple verbs, the tone borne by the vowel could be either high or low; for complex verbs, if the free verb bears a high tone, the affix bears a low tone. Consequently, if the free verb bears a low tone, the affix bears a high tone. For compound verbs, if the first verb bears a high tone, the second verb bears a low tone and vice versa. For inherent complement verbs, the tone borne by the vowel could be either high or low. This paper concludes that Igbo verbs take either a high or a low tone. The paper reaffirms the need to continue with the already established tone classes of Igbo verbs.

Keywords: *Igbo verbs, morphological classes, tone groups, tone-morpheme interaction*

Introduction

This paper is a review of the morpho-tonological classification of Igbo verbs. Igbo belongs to the West Benue-Congo sub-family of the proto Benue-Congo language family. The Igbo people occupy what is politically known as the southeastern part of Nigeria. The Igbo language is spoken in the core Igbo states – Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo – as well as in some parts of Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers States all in the southern region of Nigeria.

A close examination of the existing literature on the classes of Igbo verbs reaffirms the general trend in Igbo phonology that the already established high-low tone in Igbo should be maintained. The effort is for one to

* Linda Chinelo Nkamigbo, Phd, is a Lecturer, Department of Linguistics, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria, Email: lc.nkamigbo@unizik.edu.ng

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compare all the classifications and highlight their peculiarities. Concerning the tone marking convention, all tones are marked.

The paper is organized as follows: Section two gives a brief discussion on different morphological classifications of Igbo verbs; section three provides the tonal classifications of Igbo verbs; section four is devoted to the interaction of tone and the morphological classes of Igbo verbs while section five presents some concluding remarks.

Morphological Classifications of Igbo Verbs

The investigated morphological classifications are based on Ogwueleka's (1987) and Uchechukwu's (2011) studies. They are presented below.

Ogwueleka's Classification of Igbo Verbs

Ogwueleka (1987) identifies three broad classes of Igbo verbs, defined in terms of their morphological structure. They include: Simple, complex and compound verbs. The three classes are discussed below.

A Simple Verb

This is a verb that contains only one verb root. Ogwueleka (1987) observes that a simple verb form contains its citation form and nothing else.

Simple verbs do not have affixes, as shown below:

Table 1: The Structure of Simple Igbo Verbs

	Infinitive	Citation form	Imperative
a.	ị́zx̄ to buy	zx́	zx̀ọ́
b.	ígā to go	gá	gàá
c.	ísī̄ to cook	sí	sìé
d.	írī̄ to eat	rí	rìé
e.	ị́dà to fall	dà	dàá

Compound Verbs

A compound verb contains two free verbs. Ogwueleka maintains that a compound verb form is one whose constituents are at least two free verb forms (see Table 2).

Table 2: The Structure of Compound Igbo Verbs

Infinitive		Citation form	Imperative
a.	ịr[da̱ to climb down	r[+da = r[da	r[da
b.	írīgo̱ to climb up	rí+gó = rígó	rìgó
c.	íbu̱ba to carry into	bú+ba = búba	búbà
d.	ígba̱ba to run into	gbá+ba = gbábà	gbábà
e.	íga̱ba̱ to keep going	gá+bá = gábá	gàbá

Complex Verbs

A complex verb has one free verb and an affix. Ogwueleka (1987) claims that a complex verb form is a verb form whose constituents are at least a verb root and a bound affix, as indicated in the following table:

Table 3: The Structure of Complex Igbo Verbs

Infinitive		Citation form	Imperative
a.	ịpxta to come out	pxtà	pxtá
b.	ípa̱ta̱ to bring/carry	pátá	pàtá
c.	íbu̱te̱ to bring/carry	búté	bùté
d.	ílòtè to remember	lòtè	lòté

The free verbs in the above table are: px̀, pá, bú and lò, while the affixes are: tà, tá, té and tè.

2.2 Uchechukwu's Classification of Igbo Verbs

Uchechukwu (2011) gives four different classes of Igbo verbs based on their morphological structure. They include simple, complex, compound and inherent complement verbs. The simple, complex and compound verbs are similar to those discussed above. Therefore, emphasis is laid on Uchechukwu's inherent complement verbs.

Inherent Complement Verbs

An inherent complement verb, noted Uchechukwu (2008:394), "involves the combination of a verb root with a noun or prepositional phrase to form the equivalent of a simple verb in an average European language. This is also

obtainable in Igbo, an African language. For example: *-gbá ọ́sọ́* 'run,' *-gbá égwú* 'dance,' *-kpá nkàtá* 'converse,' and so on."

Verbs with 'prepositional meanings' in a verb$_2$ position of a compound verb structure

4. Verb$_2$	Verb$_1$ (-gbá 'run')+Verb$_2$	Prepositional Meanings of Verb$_2$
a. -bà 'enter'	-gbábà 'run into'	into
b. -dà 'fall'	-gbádà 'run down(wards)'	down(wards)
c. -fè 'go by/ over/across'	-gbáfè 'run over/across'	over; across
d. -gá 'go'	-gbágá 'run to (a location)'	to(wards)
e. -rú 'reach'	-gbárú 'run up to'	up to
f. -sò 'follow'	-gbásò 'run after'	after
g. -fù /-pù 'exit'	-gbáfù 'run out'	out

(Adapted from Uchechukwu, 2008:398)

Ogwueleka's classification of Igbo verbs involves three morphological classes of the verbs, while Uchechukwu's classification has four.

Classification of Igbo Verbs Based on Tone

Two major studies on the tonal classification of Igbo verbs will be reviewed here. They are Emenanjo (1978) and Nwachukwu (1995).

Emenanjo's Classification of Igbo Verb Stems

Emenanjo (1978) classifies Igbo verb stems into two classes, namely simple and complex. His classification is based on the number of syllables contained in the verbs as well as on their inherent tone patterns. Details of his classification are as follows:

The Simple Verb Stem

The simple verb, according to Emenanjo (1978:135), is "one which has only one element in its form." On tonal classification of the simple verbs, Emenanjo has two classes, namely the Simple High Tone Verb (HTV) and the Simple Low Tone Verb (LTV). He noted that the verb stem is consistently low for LTV and consistently high or downstep for HTV in most (if not all) verbal derivatives.

Table 4: Examples of Simple High Tone Verbs

	Infinitive	Citation Form	Imperative
a.	ịgā go	gá	gàá
b.	ísī cook	sí	sìé
c.	ịmā to know	má	màá
d.	ịkx̄ to plant	kx́	kx̀ọ́

Table 5: Examples of Simple Low Tone Verbs

	Infinitive	Citation Form	Imperative
a.	ịmà to stab	mà	màá
b.	íbè to cut	bè	bèé
c.	ífè to cross over	fè	fèé
d.	ịpụ̀ to go out	pụ̀	pụ̀ọ́

The Complex Verb Stem

A complex verb has more than one element in its basic form. Emenanjo (1978) describes those complex verbs which have two or three elements in their basic form. Concerning the tonal features of complex verbs, Emenanjo notes that "complex verbs can be divided into 12 tone classes 1-12, and 4 groups A-D, with regard to their tonal behaviour in verbal derivatives and in verb forms."

Table 6: Tone Classes/Groups of Igbo Complex Verbs

a.	Group A	1. HH	búlí carry up
b.		2. HHH	búlítè carry towards
c.	Group B	3. LH	wèlí take up
d.		4. LHH	wèlítè take towards
e.	Group C	5. HL	búbà carry into
f.		6. LL	wèbà take in
g.		7. HLH	búbàtá carry inside
h.		8. LLH	wèbàtá take inside
i.	Group D	9. HHL	rícháphụ̀ eat up
j.		10. HLL	mébèpụ̀ finish doing
k.		11. LHL	bètọ́pụ̀ cut off
l.		12. LLL	wèbèpụ̀ take up

(Culled from Emenanjo, 1978:148–149)

Tone groups A–D are capable of accounting for the various tone changes possible in the Igbo verbal system as in the Igbo sound system.

Nwachukwu's Classification of Igbo Verbs in Terms of Tone

Nwachukwu (1995) provides three tone classes of Igbo verbs using the citation form. The first class of verbs is the High, which includes stably high-tone verbs. The second class of verbs is the High-Low and this is the

class of verbs which has the tonal features of high tone verbs in the infinitive form, but behave elsewhere like low tone verbs. The third class of verbs is the Low, which involves stably low-tone verbs.

Table 7: The Three Tone Classes

TCL	Imperative	Past	Perfective	Gen. Subjunctive
1a.	rí rí**e** eat!	rì**ri**	è**rí**ela	rí**e**
b.	gbú gbú**o** kill!	gbù**ru**	è**gbú**ola	gbú**o**
c.	gbá gbá**a** run!	gbà**ra**	à**gbá**ala	gbá**a**
2a.	gá gà**á** go!	gà**ra**	à**gá**ala	gá**a**
b.	dé dè**é** write!	dè**re**	è**dé**ele	dé**e**
c.	mé mè**é** do!	mè**re**	è**mé**ela	mé**e**
3a.	dà dà**á** fall!	dà**ra**	á**dà**ála	dà**á**
b.	tò tò**ó** praise!	tò**ro**	é**tò**óla	tò**ó**
c.	chè chè**é** think!	chè**re**	é**chè**éla	chè**é**

(Data from Nwachukwu, 1995:16)

Nwachukwu goes on to assert that verbs of TCL1 kind maintain a consistent high tone on their root, that verbs of TCL2 kind have a low-tone root in the imperative and past forms only and that such verbs revert to a high-tone root in the perfective and general subjunctive forms. On the other hand, verbs of TCL3 kind have a consistent low-tone root in all the forms. The obvious conclusion is that the group of dialects investigated by Nwachukwu has two distinct high and low tone verb classes 1 and 3, with a second class which falls together with TCL1 in the perfective and general subjunctive forms and with TCL3 in the imperative and past forms. This is why this second class of tonally unstable verbs is sandwiched between TCL1 and TCL3.

Table 8: Comparison of Emenanjo's and Nwachukwu's Classifications of Igbo Verbs

Emenanjo's Classification	Nwachukwu's Classification
Fourteen tone classes of verbs.	Three tone classes of verbs.
Division of tone groups into simple verb tone groups and complex verb tone groups.	Concentration is on simple verbs.

The Interaction between Tone and the Morphological Classes of Igbo Verbs

Table 9: Simple Verbs

			Imperative	Past	Perfective	Gen. Subjunctive
a.	zx́	buy	zụ́ọ́	zụ̀rụ̀	àzụ́ọ́lá	zụ́ọ́
b.	gá	go	gàá	gàrà	àgáálá	gáá
c.	si	cook	sié	sìrì	èsiélá	sié
d.	ri	eat	rié	rìrì	èriélá	rié
e.	dà	fall	dàá	dàrà	ádàálá	dàá
f.	zà	sweep	zàá	zàrà	ázàálá	zàá
g.	tọ̀	be older than	tọ̀ọ́	tọ̀rọ̀	átọ̀ọ́lá	tọ̀ọ́

Table 10: Compound Verbs

			Imperative	Past	Perfective	Gen. Subjunctive
a.	r[dà	climb down	r[dà	r[dàrà	àr[dàálá	r[dà
b.	búbà	carry into	búbà	búbàrà	èbúbàálá	búbà
c.	gbábà	run into	gbábà	gbábàrà	àgbábàálá	gbábà
d.	gáfè	pass over	gáfè	gáfèrè	àgáfèélá	gáfè
e.	gàbá	keep going	gàbá	gàbàrà	àgábálá	gàbá
f.	rìgó	climb up	rìgó	rìgòrò	èrígóólá	rìgó
g.	p[wá	break by squeezing	p[wá	p[wàrà	áp[wáálá	p[wá
h.	tìwá	break by hitting	tìwá	tìwàrà	étīwāālá	tìwá
i.	sònyé	join	sònyé	sònyèrè	ésònyéélá	sònyé

Table11: Complex Verbs

		Imperative	Past	Perfective	Gen. Subjunctive
a.	pxtá come out	pxtá	pxtàrà	ápxtálá	pxtá
b.	pàtá bring/carry	pàtá	pàtàrà	ápàtálá	pàtá
c.	lòté remember	lòté	lòtèrè	élòtélá	lòté
d.	mékpà maltreat	mékpà	mékpàrà	èmékpàálá	mékpà
e.	ŕínwò not eat	ŕínwò	ŕínwòrò	èŕínwòólá	ŕínwò

Table 12: Inherent Complement Verbs

		Imperative	Past	Perfective	Gen. Subjunctive
a.	gbá qsq̄ run	gbàá qsq̄	gbàrà qsq́	àgbáálá qsq̄	gbàá qsq̄
b.	gbá mg̀bā wrestle	gbàá mg̀bā	gbàrà mg̀bá	àgbáálá mg̀bā	gbàá mg̀bā
c.	gbá às[r[gossip	gbàá às[r[	gbàrà às[r[	àgbáálá às[r[	gbàá às[r[
d.	gbá égbè shoot	gbàá égbè	gbàrà égbè	àgbáálá égbè	gbàá égbè
e.	gbá qkx̄ burn	gbàá qkx̄	gbàrà qkx́	àgbáálá qkx̄	gbàá qkx̄
f.	tx́ ányā expect	txò́ ányā	txrù ányá	àtxǫ́lá ányā	txò́ ányā
g.	tx́ ókwútē throw a stone	txò́ ókwútē	txrù òkwútē	àtxǫ́lá òkwútē	txò́ ókwútē
h.	tx́ nt̄x̄ tell a lie	txò́ nt̄x̄	txrù nt̀x́	àtxǫ́lá nt̄x̄	txò́ nt̄x̄
i.	sí ńrī cook food	sìé ńrī	sìrì ńrí	èsíélá ńrī	sìé ńrī
j.	si íkē be difficult	sìé íkē	sìrì íké	èsíélá íkē	sìé íkē

Observations

For the simple verbs, it is observed that apart from their past forms, the high-tone verbs are stably high while the low-tone verbs are consistently low. For the compound verbs, it is observed that the high-tone verbs maintain the high tone in all four cases while the low-tone verbs maintain their tone, apart from data11e-h at the 'Perfective' form. For the complex verbs, the high-tone verbs maintain the high tone in all four cases, while the low-tone verbs maintain their tone. As for the inherent complement verbs, there is tonal fluctuation among the verbs.

Summary of Findings and Conclusion

This paper has made an effort to reaffirm the morphological and tone classes of Igbo verbs. In doing so, the paper has endeavoured to:

(1) bring the different/disparate works together in one place.
(2) make transparent the features already identified by the different authors.
(3) identify the possible morpho-tonological pattern of the identified classes.

Thus, for the simple verbs, the tone borne by the vowel could be either high or low; for the compound verbs, if the first verb bears a high tone, the second verb bears a low tone and vice versa. For the complex verbs, if the free verb bears a high tone, the affix bears a low tone. Consequently, if the free verb bears a low tone, the affix bears a high tone. As for the inherent complement verbs, the tone borne by the vowel could be either high or a low. Overall, most of the verb roots would end up being regarded as either high-tone or low-tone roots.

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