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FROM THE EDITORS

The purpose of this journal is to ensure the early publication of monographs and research work (source and analysis: bibliographies, maps, lexicographic studies, articles) carried out in the Department of African Languages and Cultures. Our Department is currently engaged in work in the fields of linguistics, literature, history and education in North-East, East and West Africa. The journal is primarily meant for disseminating works of the department staff. It starts to be open also for researchers from other centers of African studies who are somehow co-operating with us.

We believe that our work will be useful to specialists both in their own research work and in their teaching. This publication is not a commercial venture, and it is available only through exchange.

We shall be very grateful for all comments on the studies which we publish, for these will provide us with useful guidelines about the direction of our research and teaching.

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It is with the greatest sadness and regret
that we inform about the death of

Professor Joanna Mantel-Niećko

who passed away on 28th October, 2009

We have lost the renowned expert in Ethiopian studies,
specialist in the Amharic language, history of Ethiopia,
and current issues in the Horn of Africa.

She was gifted Tutor of many generations of students in
the Department of African Languages and Cultures, Uni-
versity of Warsaw, Teacher and Master, a great authority
on scientific and moral standards, Friend of young people
and unforgettable Colleague.

R.I.P.

Zygmunt Frajzyngier
Department of Linguistics,
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Grammaticalization as emergence of functional domains: three cases in Chadic¹

1. Grammaticalization as coding means within the grammatical system

Grammaticalization, as understood in this article, is the coding of some function within the grammatical system of a language. That function may be semantic, i.e. the coding of an element within one of the semantic domains expressed by the grammatical system of the language, e.g. tense, aspect, number, mood, or it may be the less frequently studied function of indicating the internal structure of the utterance. Coding the internal structure of the utterance may include marking constituent structure or indicating which other elements of the discourse, sentence, or clause a given element should be interpreted with. Grammaticalization so understood may have a variety of sources, including tone, intonation, phonological changes affecting segments, linear order, position, and lexical sources. This approach to grammaticalization is considerably broader than the one imple-

¹ I would like to thank Erin Shay for the careful reading of several versions of this article and numerous substantial and editorial comments. The work on Wandala has been supported over many years by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, National Science Foundation, Jane and Charles Butcher Foundation, and University of Colorado. The most recent work has been supported by the National Science Foundation Grant Nr. 0439940. I am most grateful to Wandala speakers with whom I worked the most: Seini Aji Alhaji, Oumaté Mahamat, and especially Ramadan Abba.

mented in majority of contemporary studies of grammaticalization (e.g. Hopper and Traugott 1993, Heine and Kuteva 2002, Introduction) The focus of this paper is the grammaticalization of the functions, with some discussion of how the means to code these functions emerged.

The purpose of this article is to describe the grammaticalization of selected functions in Chadic languages², functions that have seldom been observed in other languages and that have been largely ignored by literature making theoretical claims but that have profound effects on the structures of languages involved. The selected grammaticalizations are important for the overall typologies of syntax and semantics. The selected grammaticalizations are: grammaticalization of non-categorial morphology whose function is to code the syntactic organization of the clause, i.e. the internal structure of the utterance; the coding of the category 'goal'; and the coding of the domain of locative predication. Interestingly, the first and third grammaticalizations described here do not involve changes from a lexical item to a grammatical morpheme. The grammaticalization of non-categorial morphology has exploited phonological reduction to code one function and has exploited the most frequently used form in the coda of lexical items to code another function. The second grammaticalization, that of the category 'goal', may have a lexical item as its source. In addition to different sources, it appears that each grammaticalization had different motivations.

The paper is organized as follows. I first describe the grammaticalization of non-paradigmatic morphology, followed by the grammaticalization of the category 'goal' and the grammaticalization of the locative predication. The paper's conclusion summarizes the theoretical implications of the three grammaticalizations described.

² Chadic languages are the largest and the most diversified family within the Afroasiatic phylum. Out of some 140-160 languages, classified into three or four branches only 40 or so have descriptive grammars, in most cases one description per language.

2. Grammaticalization of non-categorial morphology

Most traditional and contemporary approaches to morphology conceive of paradigms in which a certain morpheme is associated with one or more specific functions, e.g. case marking, tense marking, or person marking. Most inflectional markers occur with only one lexical category or one specific class of lexical categories, e.g., agreement markers that may occur on nouns, adjectives, numerals, etc. Some inflectional markers indicate the relationship between two elements of the utterance. A number of Chadic languages have grammaticalized a type of morphological marking that is drastically different from the types of markers described so far in the literature on morphology and syntax. This morphological marking has the following characteristics: It is binary, i.e., it consists only of two forms; it can occur on all lexical and grammatical categories; the grammatical markers coding various functions can themselves be marked to indicate the internal structure of the clause; and the morphemes in question have no one-to-one relationship with semantic functions grammaticalized in the language.

Non-paradigmatic morphological coding in Chadic languages consists of phonological reduction to code phrase-internal position and morphological augmentation to code phrase-final position. The phonological reduction may involve the deletion of a word-final vowel or reduction of one or more word-internal vowels.

kwà	kw-yîi	
goat	goat-PL	(Mina, Frajzyngier et al. 2005)

Word-internal vowel reduction ($a \rightarrow \text{ə}$):

mávár	mávér	‘guinea-corn mush’
(Barreteau and Le Bléis 1990: 21)		

In many languages, the non-reduced form constitutes the phrase-final form of the morpheme. The vowel alternation as described above has been observed in individual descriptions of Chadic languages but has always been described as an alternation between pre-

pausal and non-prepausal forms. Such analyses have missed the crucial fact that very often there is no pause of any kind after so called prepausal forms. Most important, such analyses have missed the morphological, syntactic, and functional importance of the distinctions observed.

In some languages, the phrase-final forms are derived through the addition of the phonological material. In Mina (Central Chadic), third-person singular and all plural pronouns, demonstratives, and anaphors derive phrase-internal forms through final vowel deletion and derive phrase-final forms through the addition of the suffix *aŋ* to stem. The vowel *a* of the suffix undergoes fronting or rounding vowel harmony, triggered by the preceding vowel. The third-person plural also reduplicates the first consonant:

- (1) *à* *ndí* *tàw-á* *nènéŋ/nòkón/hínéŋ/ tətàŋ*
 3SG HAB hit-GO 1PL.EXCL/1PL.INCL/2PL

‘He hits us (INCL)/us (EXCL)/you (pl)/them.’

The phrase-internal form has no *aŋ* suffix. The pronoun has consonantal ending with an epenthetic schwa if syllable structure conditions so require:

- (2) *í* *n* *kə́* *lim-é* ***nók*** *zà*
 3PL PREP INF see-GO 1PL.INCL EE

‘They should not see us.’

- (3) *káyà* *díy-á* *wállə́* ***tə́***
 INTERJ (F.) put-GO help (F.) 3PL

bə́ *də́* *tàŋ*
 ASSC cook DED

‘She started to help them to cook it.’

The demonstrative *mà* ‘there’ and *kà* ‘here’ and the unspecified object *wà* ‘something’ derive their phrase-final forms through the addition of the suffix *cíŋ*.

- (4) *kwáykwáy-yü* *wà* *zá* *ígè* *há*
 hyena-PL DEM COMP if 2SG
- mbál-ù* *há* *yàn* *á* ***kàcíŋ***
 want-3SG 2SG move PRED here

‘The hyenas said to her, “If you want, you can move in here.”’

- (5) *èe* *híd-yü* *wá* *í-bə̀* *yàŋ*
 eh man-PL DEM 3PL-ASSC move
- tə̀ tə̀* *á* ***màcíŋ***
 3PL:POSS PRED there

‘Those people moved over there.’

The phrase-final forms of demonstratives, in addition to occurring in clause-final position, are used in clause-internal position to code topicalization:

- (6) *ngàlǎmbə̀r* ***wàcíŋ*** *ngàlǎmbə̀r* *tǎ* *kwáyàŋ*
 story DEM story GEN squirrel

‘This story is the story of the squirrel.’

Compare the phrase-internal forms of the demonstrative *wà* and the adverbial *kà* ‘here’:

- (7) *kwáykwá-yiì* *wà* *lù* *žéŋ* *i* *zà*
hyena-PL DEM say RECIPR 3PL COMP
- hiði* *wà* *kà* *dá* *dʒpdàp*
people DEM here exist only

‘The hyenas said to themselves, there are people in here.’ (Frajzyngier et al. 2005)

Examples from Wandala (Central Chadic; Frajzyngier in press) are used to illustrate non-paradigmatic morphological functions that are found in other Chadic languages, though other languages may use other coding means. In Wandala, all lexical items, including independent grammatical morphemes, have at least two forms, and a small class of morphemes has three forms. The large majority of lexical items have a form, labeled ‘root’, that is characterized by the absence of a word-final vowel, and another form consisting of the root + the vowel *a*. Most lexical items and grammatical morphemes exhibit the latter form in clause- or sentence-final position. Some morphemes end in the vowel *e* in clause-final position. These morphemes may have the root with no vowel ending) or the root + *a* form in clause-internal position:

- (8) *tà* *sá* *wè*
3PL come:GO what

‘What did they bring?’ (elicited)

Compare the phrase-final but clause-internal form *wà*:

- (9) *kái* *kándángwà* *kónà*
kái *ká* *ndá-n* *gə* *wà* *kà* *únà*
no 2SG say-3SG TO what 2SG DEM

“‘Hey, why do you say this?’”

The phrase-final forms instruct the listener to interpret the ensuing material as belonging to a different phrase than the preceding phrase. The phrase-internal forms direct the listener to interpret the ensuing material as belonging to the same phrase as the preceding form. In the following description of the functional distinctions, I shall contrast the function of the root form with that of the root + *a* forms.

Some forms occur only in the root form because of the functions they encode. These include:

Spatial specifiers and prepositions that obligatorily precede the noun or a question word, e.g. the spatial specifier ‘before’ *tù* and the preposition *g* or *gə* ‘to’:

- (10) *nóŋwá* *nè* *yénjátwáfká* *pàtrònárwà*
nó *ŋàné* *yá* *njà* *á* *tù* *wáfká-á*
 PRES 3SG 1SG sit PRED before face-GEN

patron-á-rwà
 boss-GEN-1SG

‘Here I sit in front of my boss.’

Auxiliaries before verbs, e.g. the future-tense marker *də́* and the sequential marker *də̀*, both of which immediately precede the verb because the auxiliary and verb belong to the same phrase:

- (11) *mákáfár* *ndzədàbákà* *ɔ́gdzrè* *dó* *žàgàdè*
má *ká* *fà-r* *ndzədà* *bá-kà* *ɔ́gdzrè* *dó*
 HYP 2SG put-ON force say-2SG child FUT
žàgàdè
 escape

‘If you apply force, the child will run away.’

- All lexical categories before the disjunction *mtù*, and the hypothetical marker *má*. That indicates that disjunction and the hypothetical marker belong to the preceding phrase:

(12)

<i>kàdúhù</i>	<i>mù</i>		
<i>kà</i>	<i>dúw</i>	<i>hw</i>	<i>mtù</i>
2SG	go:VENT	outside	or

‘Did you go anywhere?’ *hwà* ‘outside’

- Inherently transitive verbs or transitivized verbs before their objects in the perfective and perfect aspects are always in the root form:

(13)

<i>yò</i>	<i>dikdi</i>	<i>zàrvà</i>	<i>ḡànnà</i>	<i>kini</i>
<i>yò</i>	<i>dyà-k-dyì</i>	<i>zàrvà</i>	<i>ḡànnà</i>	<i>kini</i>
well	know-2SG-know	sesame	DEF	C.FOC

“‘You know sesame, don’t you?’”

- Nouns before adjectives and determiners have the root form. The order head-modifier is the usual order for most modifications of nouns in Wandala:

(14)

<i>yé</i>	<i>ṣà-k</i>	<i>úyì</i>	<i>cùkwá</i>	<i>ngùdì</i>
1SG	tell-2SG	story	small	small

‘I will tell you a short story’ (*úyà* ‘story’)

There exist, however structures in which the adjective precedes the noun. In such cases, the adjective has the root + *a* form:

(15)

<i>égdà</i>	<i>ṣóyá</i>	<i>làríusà</i>
<i>égdà</i>	<i>ṣóy-á</i>	<i>làríusà</i>
small	story-GEN	marriage

‘a short story of a marriage’

All lexical categories before complement clauses have the root form:

- (16) *tátsàtá* *dúḥàbè*
tá *tsə* *tá d-úw* *ḥàbè*
 3PL get up 3PL go-VENT again

‘They get up, they go there again.’ (verb *tsə* ‘get up’)

Verbs before adverbs have the root form. Adverbs are modifiers of verbs and their position following the verb is expected in Wandala:

- (17) *má* *šá-p-tə-šè/ə* *cəkwa* *ḡgùdì*
má *šá-p-tə-š* *cəkwa* *ḡgùdì*
 HYP find-APPL-T-find a little bit

‘If she is a little bit free . . .’

The root + *a* forms occur in a number of syntactic environments and are exploited to code a variety of functions. Subject pronouns that precede the verb always have the vowel *a*. The position of the subject pronoun before the verb is a relatively new development in Wandala:

- (18) *tá kkəḥà* *tá kkəḥà* *tá kkəḥà*
tá *kkəḥà tá* *kkəḥà tá* *kkəḥà*
 3PL count 3PL count 3PL count

‘They count, they count, they count,’

Verbs before interrogative particle *hè* have the root + *a* form. The interrogative particle forms another phrase:

- (19) *yá* *mlà-k-ú-mlà* *hè*
 1SG help-2SG-help Q

‘Can I help you?’

Compare the clause-final form of the same verb:

- (20) *yà* *mlà-kú-mlè*
 1SG help-2Pl-help

‘I helped you.’

Topicalized noun phrases which occur in clause-initial position have the root + *a* form:

- (21) *tàkàtá tákígyé*
tàkàt-a *tá* *kígyé*
 fellow-PL 3PL three

‘There were three friends.’

- (22) *mdə* *kígyé* *ɣánnà* *mdàrà*
mdə *kígyé* *ɣánnà* *md-á-rà*
 people three DEF people-GEN-Q

‘Those three people, who are they?’

The distinction between phrase-internal and phrase-final forms has been further grammaticalized to distinguish between the categories subject and object when noun phrases follow the question word or the negative marker. Question words and the negative marker ending in the root form indicate that the following noun phrase is the object. The root + *a* form indicates that the following noun phrase is the subject:

- (23) *kái* *kándángwà* *kónà*
kái *ká* *ndá-n* *gè* *wà* *kà* *únà*
 EXCL 2SG say-3SG TO what 2SG DEF

‘Hey, why do you say this?’

Compare the root form, which indicates that the ensuing noun is the object:

- (24) *ábáḡánè kòndáḡgù kòbíuṇà*
á bá ḡánè kò nd-á-n ḡḡ w
 3SG say 3SG 2SG say-GO-3SG TO what
kò bwá nà
 2PL two DEM

‘He says, “Why do you say the two of you?”’

- (25) *á bàdà-ná wàr kèllù*
 3SG flatter-3SG who Kellu

‘Who flatters Kellu?’

- (26) *á bàdà wàrà Nábbà*
 3SG flatter who:PB Nabba

‘Who does Nabba flatter?’

The grammaticalization of *a* as a phrase-final marker may well have its origin in the phonological structure of words in Wandala. No lexical or grammatical morpheme may end in a consonant in clause-final position. There are only two vowels allowed in this position, *a* and *e*. The vowel *a* is by far the most frequent. The vowel *e* has a much more limited distribution. It occurs only with one class of verbs, all of which indicate movement away from a source. This indicates that the vowel *e* is a derivational marker. The vowel *e* is the final vowel of most adjectives and thus may be a derivational marker as well. It is also the final vowel of the question words *wè* ‘what’ and *wàré* ‘who’. Historically, the final vowel *e* represents the high-front vowel *i*. Given the statistical prevalence of the vowel *a* in clause final position, it was most likely re-analyzed as a phrase-final mark-

er, and subsequently used in clause-internal position to code the internal organization of clauses and sentences.

3. The category goal

Many Chadic languages have grammaticalized the domain ‘point of view’. Some verbs inherently represent the event from the point of view of the subject, e.g. ‘die’, while others represent the event from the point of view of the goal, e.g. ‘build’. Within the domain point of view, some Chadic languages have grammaticalized the category ‘goal’, coded as an inflectional marker on intransitive and transitive verbs. Adding the goal marker to an intransitive verb allows an object to be added to the clause, as is the case with the verbs *ámbo* ‘go’ and *céttò* ‘stand’ in the following example:

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
| (27) | <i>n-ámbo-n</i> | <i>míná-i</i> | <i>pidi</i> | <i>cí-ta</i> |
| | SEQ-go-GO | house-DEF | place | REL-FUT |
| | <i>céttò-n</i> | <i>kúndúl-i</i> | | |
| | stand-GO | kundul-DEF | | |

‘And they will take it to the house where the *kundul* will stand.’ (lit. ‘where they will stand the *kundul* (a deity)’ (Pero, Frajzyngier 1989, analyses new)

In Hausa, intransitive verbs with the goal marker can be followed by locative complements without any prepositions (all Hausa examples from Frajzyngier and Munkaila 2004):

- | | | | |
|------|------------|---------------|-------------|
| (28) | <i>yaa</i> | <i>faadāa</i> | <i>ruwa</i> |
| | 3M:PRF | fall:GO | water |

‘He fell in the water.’

- | | | |
|------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>sun</i> | <i>ruugaa</i> | <i>daakii</i> |
| 3PL:PRF | rush:GO | room |

‘They rushed into the room.’

When added to a transitive verb, the goal marker indicates that the predication has one more goal in addition to the neutral argument structure of the verb, or one more goal in addition to those overtly coded in the clause. Consider the verb *carà* ‘throw’ in Hausa. With the goal marker (the suffix *a*) the verb indicates that, in addition to the expected object, the verb also has a locative goal:

- (29) *yaa* ***caràa*** *maashii* *samà*
 3M.PRF throw:GO spear sky

‘He threw the spear into the sky.’

Without the goal marker, there is no implication of a locative complement or goal:

- (30) *yaa* *carà* *maashii*
 3M.PRF throw spear

‘He threw the spear [probably on the ground].’

Consider also the verb *cirà* ‘raise’. With the goal marker added, the verb indicates that the noun following the object is the locative goal of the event:

- (31) *yaa* ***ciràa*** *hannuu* *samà*
 3M.PRF raise:GO hand sky

‘He raised his hand toward the sky.’

The goal marker is an independent coding means. The evidence is that the mere presence of another lexical item after the direct object does not trigger the use of the goal marker. In the following example, the lexical item *samà* ‘sky’ is interpreted as an adverb indicating general direction rather than as the goal of the predicate. The reason for this interpretation is the absence of the goal marker on the verb:

- (32) *yaa cirà hannuu samà*
 3M.PRF raise hand sky

‘He raised his hand upward.’

The goal marker also indicates the presence of the goal when the actual goal of the predicate is not marked otherwise, i.e. when the nominal or pronominal goal does not occur in the clause. The verb ‘give’ in Pero, as in many other languages, can have two arguments other than the subject: the person who receives and the object given. The goal marker is used when there is no direct object overtly marked in the clause:

- (33) *cà mijibà mà-pót-nà ànjikkò*
 say stranger COND-come-PRF rich man
kàm wée-nì
 ASSC thing-3M

‘They say that if a stranger comes, a rich man has things

cí-tà-mínù-n *tì* *mijibà-ì*
 REL-FUT-give-GO PREP stranger-DEF

that he will give to the stranger.’

No indirect object:

- (34) *bàtúurè n-yé-tù n-wát-tù mínù-n*
 white man SEQ-call-VENT SEQ-come-VENT give-GO
àníni bélòw
 anini two

‘The white man called the chief and gave him two *anini* [a small coin].’

The goal marker is obligatory if there is neither a direct nor an indirect object in the clause with the verb *múnù* ‘give’:

- (35) *mà-béccó-kò* *cò* *gbónón* *n-yé-tù*
 TEMP-sacrifice-PRF time three SEQ-call-VENT
ánkúndùl-ì
 owner of kundul-DEF

‘When they [have] sacrificed three times they will call the owner of the *kundul*.’

n-cáarò-ì *n-múnù-n* *n-àdǎ-inà*
 SEQ-cut-CONSEC SEQ-give-GO SEQ-eat-PRF

‘They cut [part of the liver] and give [it to him] and he eats it.’

If both a direct object and an indirect object occur in the clause, the subcategorization conditions of the verb ‘to give’ are satisfied, the roles of arguments are marked by the linear order and a preposition, and there is no goal marker on the verb:

- (36) *mà-mú* *céer-kò* *cínǎ-nì* *mùmmúnù* *pídi* *tì*
 TEMP say-PRF part-3M give:PL place PREP
mól-nì
 brother-3M

‘When one has said his part he gives the place to his brother.’

In some languages there exists an opposition between the category point of view of the subject and the category point of view of goal. In Hdi, when the marker coding the point of view of the subject occurs with an inherently intransitive verb, the nominal argument after the verb is the subject and it is the affected argument:

- (37) *bl-ú-blá* *xàsú’ù*
 break-SO-break branch

‘The branch broke off.’ (SO point of view of the subject)

When the same verb occurs with the goal marker, the nominal argument that follows the verb is the object and also the affected argument:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------|---------------|
| (38) | <i>bl-á-blà</i> | <i>tá</i> | <i>xàsú'ù</i> |
| | break-PVG-break | OBJ | branch |

‘He broke off a branch.’ (Hdi, Frajzyngier with Shay 2002)

Morphemes that code the category goal in Chadic languages are phonologically similar to morphemes belonging to two categories. One category is the locative predicator or preposition, which in some languages is *a*, or the locative preposition *n*. The other is the third-person singular object pronoun *n*. Either category is a likely source for the goal marker, both through similar processes: The locative predicate or the object pronoun could be attached to an intransitive verb to code transitivity or to a transitive verb to code the presence of an argument other than those for which the verb subcategorizes or an argument for which the verb subcategorizes but which is not present in the clause.

4. Grammaticalization of locative predication and locative predicator

Many Chadic languages have grammaticalized a domain of locative predication that is formally distinct from other predications. The fundamental property of locative predication in languages that make this distinction is that both the predicate and the complement must be either inherently locative or overtly marked for the locative function. Whether a predicate or complement is inherently locative or not in a given language is revealed by whether or not additional markers must be used to code the locative function. Typical inherently locative predicates are directional verbs of movement and stative verbs indicating presence in a location. Typical inherently locative complements are toponyms and nouns designating ‘home’, ‘village’, and ‘town’. In Mina, a language that has grammaticalized the domain of locative predication, when both the predicate and the complement

are inherently locative, no other morphemes are deployed to code locative predication, and the predication consists simply of the apposition Predicate Complement (examples Frajzyngier et al. 2005):

- (39) *yá* *í- bə̀* *ndə̀* *tətə̀* *bín*
 call PL-ASSC go 3PL.POSS room

‘They went into the room.’

A locative predication whose predicate is not inherently locative must be marked by the particle *á*. This particle marks a non-locative predicate as having a locative function. The particle *á* follows the direct object, if any. The verb *yà* ‘call’ is inherently non-locative. The nouns *bín* ‘room, hut in a compound’, and *idá* ‘house’ are inherently locative:

- (40) *nd-á* *yà* *ngùl* *ngən* *á* *bín*
 go-GO call husband 3SG PRED room

‘And [she] called her husband into the room.’

When the predicate is locative but the complement is non-locative, the complement must be marked for its locative role. This is done by the preposition *n*, whose function is to mark a non-locative noun as a locative complement:

- (41) *mínjée* *mbə̀* *mə̀* *mármàr* *ká* *nàz-á*
 now boy REL pasture INF abandon-GO
kʷ-yii *zə̀* *nə̀* *láy*
 goat-PL EE PREP field

‘Now the shepherd left the goats in the field.’

If neither the predicate nor the complement is inherently locative, the locative predication is marked by the locative predicator *á* and the preposition *n*, marker of the locative complement:

- (42) *séy wàl wàcíŋ kúl skù à dál-áhà*
 so woman DEM able NEG 3SG make-GO
séy dǎɓ ii dǎɓ á nɔ̀ lɛ́ptál
 so take 3PL take PRED PREP hospital
kɔ́ hùrgɛ̀ tàŋ
 INF cure DED

‘This woman was not well, she was sick. So she was brought to a hospital for treatment.’

The locative predicator *á* and the preposition *n* are also used to code the addressee of the verb of saying.

- (43) *hà ŋ kɔ́ lùw-á-ŋ zín á*
 2SG PREP INF say-GO-3SG then PRED
nɔ̀ ví
 PREP who

‘Who are you going to tell it to?’

The importance of the domain of locative predication in some Chadic languages is that its form depends on the inherent properties of predicates and complements. Compare this to English, where locative predication is coded by prepositions regardless of whether the predicate or the complement is inherently locative or not: (nouns that are + animate require additional marking if they are to be used as locative complements) (examples from the London-Lund corpus):

Non-locative predicates:

‘I’ll be **at** home’

‘I can spend the whole of that time **on** those two papers.’

Potentially locative predicates:

‘and you send them through **to** me **in** Loughton’

‘it may have come **from** the same source again’

The interest of grammaticalization of the locative predication in Chadic languages is that there is no clear motivation why the domain of locative predication is different from other domains and why the structure of the domain should be the way it is. The motivation cannot be cognitive, as other languages have different structures for locative predication. The motivation cannot be lexical, as different constructions involved in the predication have different forms.

5. Conclusions

The importance of the first grammaticalization described in this paper is that it has created a morphological means for coding functions that have not been described before. The ultimate source of these grammaticalizations lies in phonological alternations involving lexical items and grammatical morphemes. The importance of the second grammaticalization is that its emergence explains why the grammatical systems of Chadic languages have not grammaticalized the category passive. The importance of the third grammaticalization is that it provides the evidence that grammaticalization may involve the emergence of a functional domain rather than an individual construction. The formal properties of various constructions within the domain depend on the properties of lexical items chosen for the predicate and the locative complement.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ANAPH	anaphor
APPL	applicative
ASSC	associative
C.FOC	contrastive focus
COMP	complementizer
CONJ	conjunction
CONSEC	consecutive
COP	copula
DED	deduced reference
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DEF	definite
EE	end of event
EXCL	exclusive
F.	Fula
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GO	goal
HAB	habitual
HYP	hypothetical
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INTERJ	interjection
NEG	negative
PB	phrasal boundary
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRED	predicator
PREP	preposition
Q	question
REL	relative
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
VENT	ventive

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What is New in Ethiopian and other African Language Areas ?

Resumé

Le ‘Sprachbund’ de l’Afrique Nord-Est ou, autrement, Macroethiopien, existe malgré des oppositions hypercritiques de certains linguists. Il englobe au moins 9 moindre ‘Sprachbuende’ que j’ai déjà identifiées en 1991 et, à cette occasion, j’ai aussi démontré que seulement 6 traits des langues appartenant à ce ‘Sprachbund’, figurant sur la liste de Ferguson (et de Bender!) de 1976, peuvent être considérés comme étant apparus à la suite de contacts et d’interférences, tandis que les autres traits communs découlent de la parenté dans le cadre du sémitique et du chamito-sémitique. Je propose, au total traits types pour ce ‘Sprachbund’, auxquels il faut ajouter ceux établis par Crass, Meyer et Bisang et cette liste sera, très probablement, élargie. En Afrique, il existe de nombreux autres ‘Sprachbuende’ qui, souvent, s’embriquent, mais ne sont pas fondés, notamment à cause d’un degré trop élevé de généralité et du hasard, les tentatives de considérer toute l’Afrique comme un seul grand ‘Sprachbund’ et de chercher des traits prétendument africains typiques.

Historically what is still rather controversially called ‘African linguistics’ (does anything like ‘Asian linguistics’ exist?) has always been, apart from descriptive studies, a combination of genetic and typological approaches, frequently with a heavy preponderance of typology like in the Handbook of African Languages. Areal linguistics, although closely connected with typology, was not really in

focus for the long time although language contact and interference (in the past usually limited to the simplistic idea of ‘borrowing’) was a recognized and even often overestimated factor practically everywhere in Africa. The existence of the Ethiopian (or North-Eastern African) Language Area was recognized already in the 19th century at least by Franz Praetorius (1871, 1879, 1880, 1893a and b; in the 20th century followed by Moreno 1948, Leslau 1945, 1952, 1959 and others) while this recognition has been usually attributed to the papers of 1970 and 1976 signed by Charles Ferguson but actually written together with or perhaps even mainly by M.L. Bender (see Bender 2003: 40; 31, 39). I was the first to reject not the idea of the Ethiopian Language Area but the mistaken Ferguson and Bender list of the alleged Ethiopian areal features (Zaborski 1991) which contains, in its majority (except the first six features!), actually genetic Semitic or Afroasiatic elements and I was the first to postulate the existence of the Ethiopian Macroarea consisting of a series of concatenated subareas. Since my papers of 1991 and its sequel (2003a) appeared in rather rare and not easily accessible publications, my ideas have remained largely unknown. The existence of the Ethiopian Language Area (cf. Anonymous n.d. and Ongaye Oda 2007) has been later questioned by Mauro Tosco who at first recognized the existence of areal problems in Ethiopia (see Tosco 1994 and 1996) but later (2000) based his negative approach on the rejection of most of the Bender’s and Ferguson’s genetic features (without a reference to my earlier paper!) postulating some rather hypercritical conditions (see also Stolz 2002 and Urban 2007; cf. Dimmendaal 2001 for much better discussion, also Simpson 1994) which could make impossible not only the recognition of the Ethiopian but also of many other if not all the acknowledged language areas. In his newest paper Tosco (2008) admits that there is, following my proposal of 1991 and using Thompson’s (1976) data, a subarea which he calls Northern Eritrean Language Area. Tosco’s insistence on the use of precise conditions which should be met in order to prove the existence of a language area is correct. Now Tosco even acknowledges that “the necessary genetic diversity of the languages of the area, and the (typological – A.Z.) ‘unnaturalness’ principle ...cannot, on both theo-

retical and empirical grounds, be fully met” (p. 119, see also p. 115 and 116). Obviously a radical application of the condition of the lack of even remote genetic relationship and the rejection of “area-defining features (established – A.Z.) on the basis of typological tendencies and regularities” (p. 114) would nullify even the ‘classical’ Balkan language area whose minor details are still subject of discussion. But it is difficult to agree with Tosco’s third condition that “language areas should not be overlapping – unless one accepts that a language can belong to two different areas defined, at least partially, by the same features” (p. 115). In my opinion this statement is rather circular. At first Tosco excludes Beja as well as Tigrinya and Saho for the subarea in quite an arbitrary way saying that “all these languages do not conform fully to the word order patterns discussed here” (p. 117) but on the same page he himself shows that the languages he has included in the subarea, viz. Tigre, Bilin, Kunama and Nera also do not ‘fully conform’ to the selected patterns! Who can deny that there has been Tigre-Southern Beja, Tigre-Tigrinya, Bilin-Tigrinya, Saho-Tigrinya and even Saho-Tigre contact and interference which left traces not only in the lexicon? Can we exclude Tigrinya-Amharic secondary interference (certainly blurred by their genetic ties!)? Within the ‘Eritrean’ subarea there are smaller subareas involving Beja, Tigre and Arabic, then Bilin and Tigre, then Bilin, Tigre and Nara, then Saho, Afar, Tigre and Tigrinya etc. Everywhere Arabic (not one variety!) appears as an adstratum. By the way it is noteworthy that such an interesting areal feature like independent pronouns (Zaborski 1989, 1998 and 2003: 63, Tewelde 2005) consisting of possessive pronouns suffixed to a noun (sometimes only a particle like in Arabic *inna-ni*, *inna-ka* etc.?) are common to Beja (e.g. *bar-uu/uus* ‘he’; *bar*+suffixed pronoun has been borrowed into Shukriyya Arabic of the Sudan in which even the first person, e.g. *ana baraa-y* ‘I myself’ has been created) and to Tigrinya (*nEss-u* ‘he’) but not to Tigre (at least Tigre dialects that we know) which has been in contact with Beja for many centuries, perhaps almost two millennia and this type of independent pronouns occurs also far in the South, e.g. in Amharic and in Gurage while in the North it was a very early innovation of Egyptian. ‘Afar-Tigrinya

and ‘Afar-Arabic contact and interference is a fact and although the influence of Tigrinya upon ‘Afar has been greatly exaggerated by Hayward (who stressed first of all the retention of the prefix conjugation as allegedly due mainly to the contact with Tigrinya but this could be only a minor influence since so many other Cushitic languages contacting and interfering with languages having well preserved prefix conjugations have either greatly limited its use like Somali or given it up; cf. also Hayward 1991 and 2000), nevertheless these languages make a small area also with Arabic as only a relatively younger adstratum. Exactly North-Eastern Africa is a very good example of overlapping (or interacting) areas.

Genetic and areal studies cannot be separated and I do not think that “Language arealness is ... orthogonal so to speak to other classifications, not complementary to them” (Tosco 2008: 119) whatever the meaning of the metaphor “orthogonal” in this case may be. I also do not think that “we will have discovered history through language arealness, rather than the other way round” (Tosco: 119-120). Whenever reliable historical (not linguistic!) sources showing not only geographical proximity but also cultural and communicative, viz. language contact are available we must use them for reconstructing the wider background of the cultural and not only language area. Obviously there can be no language area without a cultural area, the latter not necessarily interpreted in the old “Kulturkreis” sense. Not only in the case of the lack of non-linguistic historical sources areal linguistics helps to throw some light on prehistory.

Crass and Meyer (2008: 234-250) have made a very important contribution discovering a number of new areal features which are by no means trivial. I only have to express my astonishment by the fact that both authors say that they “enlarge the Ferguson’s number of features considerably”. The first thing to do should be either a very drastic reduction of Bender/Ferguson features (Zaborski 1991 and 2003a – only six morphological common features are valid) or rather sending their mistaken ideas back to the museum of the history of research since it should **not** be “the reference for all scholars” (Crass 2006: 231, see also Crass and Bisang 2004; Bisang 2006).

In my opinion nine subareas (Zaborski 1991 and 2003a: 64) of the Ethiopian Macroarea are rather uncontestable and some other are quite probable: 1. Eritrean, 2. Sudano-Eritrean, 3. Central Ethiopian, 4. Gurage-Highland East Cushitic-Yemsa (cf. Rapold and Zaugg-Coretti n.d.) - Welamo, 5. South Western (see Sasse 1986), 6. Western peripheral, 7. Eastern peripheral, 8. Kenyan (see e.g. Klein-Arendt 1988), 9. Tanzanian. The actual number cannot be a simple total of individual subareas since there are subareas of the first and of a second order, e.g. Northern Omo, Southern Omo and Maji. As I said, the subareas are overlapping (their boundaries are as fuzzy as most boundaries between dialects of the same language where transitional dialects are frequent) and some features extend over two or more subareas, e.g. the so-called 'selectors' or preverbal clitic clusters for person, tense etc. which appear in languages of Southern Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania. A division into core nucleus and periphery may not always be easy or even possible to discover. We should start with the investigation and surveys of the smallest subareas like Crass and Meyer have done. The simplistic approach e.g. by Sarah Thomason (2001) telling us about a unilateral influence of Cushitic on Ethiosemitic is obviously wrong (Zaborski 2003b; on the interaction of Ethiosemitic and Cushitic see e.g. Kapeliuk 2002a, 2002b, 2004, 2005; Raz 1989, Appleyard 1978, 1989). The influence of the contacting and interfering languages has been mutual or bidirectional although the degree of this mutual influence, its intensity and scope has been different for various linguistic and sociolinguistic reasons. The same language could be both a donor and a borrower, e.g. Amharic and Oromo have both influenced other languages and have been influenced by them. Moreover a diachronic perspective must be taken into consideration although, due to the lack of earlier records, it is very difficult to reconstruct the directions and relative chronologies of different and recurring waves. There can be no doubt that in different periods and in different regions (migrations resulted in contact with different languages) 'Cushitic' features have been transmitted by Cushiticized Semites and some Ethiosemitic features have been transmitted farther by Semiticized Cushites.

This is a slightly updated list (see Zaborski 2003a) of the typical (but not necessarily occurring in all the languages!) Macroethiopian areal features:

1. “Emphatic” consonants are pronounced as glottalized or ejective.
2. Labialized consonants are frequent
3. Some palatalized consonants are innovations
4. Geminated consonants are frequent
5. Subject in the oblique case
6. A tendency to limit the use of nominal plural
7. Widespread use of singulative
8. New forms of independent pronouns (mainly third and second persons) using suffixed pronouns (see above)
9. S-OV syntactic group order (for an exception see Bliese and Gignarta Sokka 1986; see also Dimmendaal 2008 for a wider perspective)
10. Dependent clauses precede main clauses
11. Main verbs precede auxiliaries
12. Adjectives precede nouns which they qualify (but cf. Tosco 2008)
13. Possessor precedes the possessed
14. Relative clauses are frequent when other languages use simple sentences
15. Limited use of indirect speech
16. Connectors (e.g. -t, -m) suffixed to verbs
17. Complicate new verbal systems with many new paradigms
18. In new periphrastic tenses both the main verb and the auxiliary are fully inflected
19. Relatively considerable number of different ‘to be’ verbs
20. Compound verbs with the auxiliary which etymologically means ‘to say’, ‘to live’, ‘to be’ (see Cohen, Simeone-Senelle, Vanhove 2002)
21. After a renewal of the Present tense the Old Present survives as Negative Present
22. Regular negative verbal paradigms; also negative copulas in many languages (on copulas see Crass and Meyer 2007)

23. Special paradigms of verbs in relative clauses
24. Special paradigms in focus constructions
25. Gerund or ‘converb’ (cf. Crass 2007)
26. Development of future tenses, sometimes two or even three
27. Postpositions and circumpositions
28. Postpositions functioning as new case endings

Languages provisionally classified as Nilo-Saharan and some Cushitic languages interfered in South West Ethiopia and Cushitic influenced Nilo-Saharan in the South up to Tanzania. In my opinion a part of the so-called ‘Omotic’ languages (mainly Hamar-Ari-Banna and probably also the little known Mao and company, see Zaborski 2004) are not Afroasiatic at all (cf. Theil 2008 who classifies all ‘Omotic’ as non-Afroasiatic) while another part can be hypothetically (!), viz. provisionally classified as West Cushitic. If the latter part could be classified as a separate sixth branch of Afroasiatic at all, the number of the alleged features of direct descent from Proto-Afroasiatic could have been very, very small (see Bender 2003, 27 admitting a possibility that Omotic languages are not Afroasiatic at all but elsewhere considering Omotic as a member of Afroasiatic, see p. 29 and note 16 on p. 41) while other Afroasiatic features could be easily ascribed to contact with Cushitic and actually it could be quite difficult to decide what goes back to Proto-Afroasiatic (via Proto-Cushitic) and what is due to secondary contact in the area. Most probably there have been at least two waves – one older and one recent – of Cushitic influence in South West Ethiopia. Actually after a better reconstruction even my alleged West Cushitic (that is ‘Omotic’ minus ‘South Omotic’ and ‘Maoid’) can appear to have been originally a branch (or branches?) of the enigmatic Nilo-Saharan branch which (this branch but not all the Nilo-Saharan languages whose genetic relationship is still largely hypothetical!) underwent a strong influence of a Cushitic adstratum. The newest study by Vaclav Blažek (2008) using the modernized version of lexicostatistics is important as far as the lexical comparison and phonological reconstruction is concerned but the final conclusion that Omotic actually can be a separate branch of Afroasiatic is quite hypotheti-

cal. In my opinion not only the number of cognates of the very little known ‘Maoid’ group as well as of ‘South Omotic’ (consisting of Ari, Hamar, Banna, Karo, Dime) with other languages is quite small and can be due to borrowing from Cushitic in spite of the fact that they belong to the basic vocabulary, but first of all the number of vocabulary shared by the alleged ‘Omotic’ with Afroasiatic languages but not with Cushitic is limited and may be due either to the loss of these lexemes in Cushitic or to our imperfect knowledge of the Cushitic lexicon. In other words so there is nothing detected in the lexicon that would force us to separate the alleged ‘Omotic’ from Cushitic.

Chad-Ethiopian ‘zone’ has been hypothetically mentioned by some scholars (Heine 1975, Güldemann 2005 and 2008: 184). This may be a too far-fetched hypothesis especially since features like syntactic group (‘word’) order or tone cannot be taken alone as criteria without other, first of all morphological features.

There is no doubt about the existence of many other language areas in Africa like the ‘Tanzanian Rift Valley Area’ (see the very convincing characteristic by Kiessling, Mous and Nurse 2008) and even the “Macro-Sudan Belt (Area)” (as postulated by Güldemann; see also Caron and Zima 2006, Zima 2006) but is there anything like an ‘African language area’? This question has been asked by several scholars (e.g. Greenberg 1959, 1983, Meeussen 1975; Gilman 1986) but the answers have been either inconclusive or obviously premature. In the newest study by Heine and Zelcalem Leyew (2008: 34) we read that “... there is evidence to define Africa as a linguistic area; African languages exhibit significantly more of the eleven properties ... than non-African languages do...” but a few lines later they present themselves several reservations which almost invalidate their first conclusion. Actually it is surprising that features like ‘lexical and/or grammatical tones’, ‘verbal derivational suffixes’, ‘nominal modifiers follow the noun’ etc. (see table 2.2 on p. 29) can be seriously considered as “African typological properties” since they are so common in many languages from other parts of the world. In my opinion this kind of generalizations backed by pseudo-statistical approach is completely mistaken.

In general, typological conclusions based on randomly selected number of the known languages (usually quite a limited number in comparison with hundreds of unknown languages!) are either very weak or, in the best case, quite provisional. E.g. for an investigation of the alleged ‘African areal features’ in the field of phonology the database consisting of some 150 languages (Clements and Rialland 2008: 83-85) is far too small to provide reliable evidence. It is remarkable that the ‘sixth phonological zones in Africa’ (Clements and Rialland 2008, see Map 3.1) had been postulated **before** the presentation of the data and their analysis in a clearly aprioric way. The authors make only superficial excuses for the fact that the frontiers between their ‘zones’ are quite arbitrary, e.g. they include Nubian languages within the North Zone together with Arabic and Berber, they do not even mention Nilo-Saharan languages (probably also a part of the so-called ‘Omotic’ languages belongs to the otherwise hypothetical Nilo-Saharan and on p. 72 the authors do not even suppose an ‘Omotic’/‘West Cushitic’ and Nilo-Saharan contact which is a well known fact!) in the North-Eastern African contact zone which they call, strangely enough, just ‘East’. The authors ask a trivial question whether a ‘characteristically African phonological property, that is common to the continent as a whole’ and the obvious answer is ‘no!’. The whole presentation is rather an unsystematic collection of information on some randomly selected languages and we hardly get an explanation of the existing situation. E.g. we learn that ‘It is not clear to us whether nasal systems of this type have been inherited from a common source, whether they result from diffusion, or whether they have evolved independently in different languages’ but without providing even hypothetical answers to similar questions it is impossible to establish any zones or areas in a serious way. There are also factual mistakes, e.g. how can we know that ‘all Chadic languages are tonal’ (p. 72) while most of the Chadic languages have not been described so far; we read that „predictable stress-accent occurs across most varieties of Arabic” (p. 69) but actually there is no exception to this rule in Arabic dialects; it is not true that implosive consonants „occur distinctively ... in Cushitic languages” (p. 59) although they do occur in Dahalo. The recon-

struction of /p/ for Proto-Afroasiatic is well secured (here it is only mentioned in a footnote, see p. 67) and I do not think that something like „P-lesness” in many African languages can be reasonably attributed to language contact in the scale of the continent.

Also the list of 19 morphosyntactic ‘African’ features is based on a far too limited evidence, it is imprecise and inconclusive. E.g. what is the use of a feature like “The use of special verb forms in sequential constructions” allegedly “particularly widespread among African languages” or the alleged feature formulated as “Focus strategies implying morphosyntactic alterations, and in particular focus marking be means of verbal inflection, are particularly common in Africa” (Creissels et al., 2008, p. 149)?

In short: ‘African linguistics’, viz. a whole-sale comparison of all the African languages is not scientifically justified in the same way as it does not make sense to compare all the ‘Asian’ languages. Typological comparison cannot be performed as a kind of unsystematic collection, actually a mix of trivialities, peculiarities, oddities and rarities. Typological comparison and analysis must take all the evidence into consideration and if so many languages remain unknown then generalizations must be either avoided or limited to small groups of languages. In general we need the study of the particular small sub-areas before we attempt to characterize larger areas or languages macro-areas not to mention real big linguistic cycles (this term was used e.g. by Milewski 1965: 153-154, 186) or nets, viz. overlapping or concatenated macro-areas.

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Swahili vs. English in Tanzania and the political discourse

1. Introduction

Tanzania is one of those few African countries that have been praised for their focus on an endoglossic language policy. This policy puts emphasis on the promotion of national languages (i.e. those of African origin) with regard to status and corpus empowerment. In the case of Tanzania, Swahili has been playing the role of a language of wider distribution or lingua franca with a broad social basis for many years. It is supra-ethnic in its function, thus facilitating the verbal interaction of people regardless of their ethno-linguistic origin. The legendary Tanzanian President JK Nyerere (1971: ii) once stated:

Lugha hii [i.e. Swahili, K. L.] ya watu wote ilikuwa na thamani kubwa sana katika juhudi za kupigania uhuru na katika kuliungani-sha Taifa letu changa [This lingua franca was of great value in the struggle for independence and in unifying our young nation].

In fact, its supra-ethnic status is much appreciated in a country where a multitude of other languages/linguistic varieties (ranging from Bantu and non-Bantu languages to Indian and European languages – mainly English) coexist. Thus, Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) claims that there are 128 living languages and 1 has no known speakers. The Languages of Tanzania project which culminated in a Language Atlas for the country (LoT 2009) lists 150 languages. But these numbers need further clarification, as they only partly reflect the linguistic situation. Both sources do not take full account of the close lexico-grammatical relationship which is often characteristic of

neighbouring languages. Glossonyms in Africa – and Tanzania is no exception – do not reflect the high degree of mutual intelligibility, nor are they based on sound linguistic principles. Hence, as a consequence, the number of languages in Tanzania could be reduced as soon as a thorough dialect study would be carried out. Suffice it to note here the dialect continuum in Bagamoyo district, where Kwele, Kami, Kutu, Zaramo and possibly more linguistic varieties form a dialect cluster, similar to Vidunda, Saghala and Kwiva in Kilosa District or Sukuma and Nyamwezi in Tabora/Mwanza Region. Accordingly, just in this case the list of Tanzanian languages could be reduced by seven entries, if the dialect cluster concept is consistently applied.

2. Some historical facts

The mainland part of what is now Tanzania was a German colony (1884 to 1918, known as German East Africa/Deutsch-Ostafrika). After the German defeat in WW1 the country was occupied by British troops and subsequently renamed as Tanganyika ruled by Great Britain as a Mandate of the League of Nations. From 1945 to 1961, the year of the country's independence, Tanganyika was a Trusteeship country of the United Nations where Great Britain was the administering power. As a consequence of this foreign rule, English became the official language of the country. Swahili was accepted at the provincial and district level by the administration. This language had to be used in oral or written communication with foreign administrators, civil servants, and other non-African staff, when English competence was not given. In those years, English was never spoken by a feasible group of Tanganyikans. Accordingly, the independence struggle waged by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) went along with the request for appropriate formal empowerment of the Swahili language.¹ This position was also reflected i. a. in peti-

¹ Addressed at the 1954 TANU Conference as: "9. It was ... agreed that Kiswahili should be the second language to be used in the Legislative Council meetings ..." (TANU 1954: 3). As seen, the TANU constitution and conference proceedings were submitted in English (and not in Swahili, as may be expected with regard to this statement). **The reason for so doing might**

tions to the Trusteeship Council and UN Visiting Missions, or in other ways. In its turn, the British administration tried in vain to prevent any further spread of Swahili by discrediting it just before independence as the language of the slave trade. The political message was quite clear – it was an attempt to undermine Swahili's role as the unifying medium of the anti-colonial struggle of the national liberation movement by attaching a label to this language that was indirectly held responsible for the infamous slave trade.

Nonetheless, the British administration had to give in with regard to the nationalist campaign to make Swahili the second official language. Thus, in 1955, Swahili was admitted as a language that may be used in the then Legislative Council (Legico). Not least in light of the TANU position outlined above, the then Governor, Sir Edward Twining, felt compelled to make the following concession:

The question of whether Swahili should be allowed as a second language in the proceedings of the new Legislature has been raised again during the past few months. This is a matter to which Government has given very thorough consideration and I have already announced that Swahili would be permitted in debate with the permission of the Chair (Tanganyika 1954/5: 288).

At the same time, however, the Governor made clear that a wider use of Swahili was not envisaged by his government. This fact transpires from the following depreciatory statement on the same occasion:

I may say that Government considers it to be quite out of the question for Council papers to be translated into Swahili as the language *is not suitable for the intricacies of legal documents*" [emphasis added] (ibid.: 288).

have been the instruction to register organizations in English.

As a matter of fact, under foreign rule English enjoyed the role of a high status language; Swahili came next, while the bulk of languages other than Swahili (L1s) were just ignored. The latter were used by missionaries in church and mission schools (at least until 1945) and in regional publications.

The prominent position of English was partly supported even by some traditional leaders. One of them, the Chagga Paramount Chief Thomas Marealle II (who was much favoured by the British) wrote in a letter to the then secretary of the East African Swahili Committee: "My own view is that we should go straight to English from the local dialect (i.e. Chagga – K.L.)."

Tanganyika's independence (9 December 1961, one year later the country became a Republic) did not change the situation. The young nation-state inherited the language policy and management with English on top of a hierarchy followed by Swahili that came next being subordinate and felt to be inferior, and L1s at the bottom with regard to popularity and use. But consonant with political declarations in pre-independence years these linguistic power relations were about to be changed in such a way that Swahili was earmarked for gradually taking over from English the latter's role of medium of communication in official domains i.e. the legislative, the executive and the judiciary. In addition other formal domains were targeted for change too. A Swahili Commission was appointed by the then government where the prominent Swahili scholar Amri Abedi presided and subsequently submitted a report and legal terminologies. In 1962 then Prime Minister Rashidi Kawawa announced important steps to implement the move towards Swahili in e.g. the Parliament. One of these steps was President Nyerere's Republic speech in the National Assembly in 1962 that he addressed in Swahili. In so doing, he set an example that inspired the members of the National Assembly (henceforth MP's) who since February 1963 have almost exclusively used this language in the Parliamentary Proceedings (Hansard), while laws continued to be written in English. Nonetheless, in those early years as well as up to date the Standing Rules of the National

Assembly still require all MP's to be proficient both in Swahili and in English for the former reason.

The move to Swahili gained further momentum in 1967, when the ruling TANU party adopted the so-called Arusha Declaration (*Azimio la Arusha*) which became the political platform and guideline for building up an egalitarian society. The ideological basis was called *Ujamaa*.² The pro-socialist orientation of the country was further enhanced in the document *Mwongozo wa TANU* (known as the TANU Leadership Code).

The emphasis on Swahili in the 1970ies was firmly supported by administrative measures. There were several government staff circulars that directed civil servants and employees of government and parastatal institutions to refrain from using English in excess. This language was identified as creating a formal distance to the overwhelming majority of Tanzanians who were not competent in the latter language. For example staff circular no. 7 of 1970 stated:

Ili kukuza utumiaji wa lugha ya Taifa katika shughuli za Kiserikali ... matangazo yote yasiyo ya Kisheria, kama kuajiriwa au kupandishwa vyeo na kuhamishwa kwa watumishi, tanzia, biashara, n .k. yatafanywa katika lugha ya Taifa ... (Tanzania 1970). [To enforce the use of Swahili in Government business all non-legal advertisements such as employment, promotion and staff transfer, obituaries, trade, etc. will be made in the national language.]

Especially Staff Circular no. 1 of 1974 *Matumizi ya Lugha ya Kiswahili katika Ofisi za Serikali* [The use of the Swahili language in Government offices] (Tanzania 1974) which is said to be still in power (p.c. Prof. Hermas Mwansoko, Ministry of Information, Culture and Sports, February 12, 2010) was a major break-through in consolidating the position of Swahili. As a consequence, Ministries and parastatal institutions (including University of Dar es Salaam) added Swahili to office names or replaced English by Swahili names in 1974.

² *jamaa* - a borrowing from Arabic, meaning 'people', the prefix *u-* places the noun into noun class 14 which hosts abstract nouns, thus meaning something like "brotherhood" - also translated as [African/Tanzanian] Socialism, further discussion see Bromber (1993).

For many years the prestige of Swahili as the prominent and predominantly used official language of Tanzania was undisputed. The President, political leaders and government officials insisted on its use in the dialogue with Tanzanians of all chores of life. Simultaneously, in most domains the use of English was discredited. People who were speaking this language were blamed as portraying *kasumba* 'opium' meaning here displaying a colonial mentality. The tune was mostly set by JK Nyerere who was said to have been the mastermind that initiated and endorsed all decisions with regard to the promotion of Swahili as long as he was in power. One of his strategic steps was the establishment of the National Swahili Council in 1967. Nevertheless, Nyerere remained biased when it came to the position of English in the country. Thus, he said:

Kiingereza ni Kiswahili cha Dunia. Ni makosa kukiachia Kiingereza kikafa. Kukiachia ni ujinga, siyo uzalendo [English is the Swahili of the world ... To give it up is foolishness, not patriotism] (Nyerere, quoted in Rutayisingwa 1984: 1).

Earlier Nyerere³ had informed: "Our ambition is to become bilingual in Swahili and English. We have no ambition to cut out English."

A highly disputed topic is the medium of instruction policy in Tanzanian education. In primary schools (grades 1-7) Swahili is the medium of classroom interaction as directed in the curriculum, while English is a subject that is even in urban schools poorly taught. At the end of primary education, learners can barely speak a meaningful sentence that is not learnt by heart.⁴ As classroom management in government schools leaves much to be desired, those who can afford to pay high school fees send their youngsters to private so-called English medium schools. Often these schools claim to use English, while there is a lot of code-switching. However, the teacher:learner ratio in a private school is better than in government schools (in

³ 1974 in an interview published in the *Times Educational Supplement*; quoted in Kihore (1976: 49-50).

⁴ The low level of English knowledge is i.a. reflected by the fact that even in the afternoon learners greet foreigners "Good morning, teacher/Sir".

some places 1:80 up to more than 100) thus making private schools more attractive.⁵

In secondary schools (form 1-4, form 5-6 in high schools) English is officially the medium of instruction;⁶ Swahili is taught as a subject. Tertiary education is dominated by the use of English. Some subjects (in Teacher Training colleges as well as Swahili at the universities are taught in Swahili). The command of English by students is unanimously rated a catastrophe by university staff.⁷ Nonetheless, efforts to establish Swahili-medium secondary schools were bluntly rejected by the Ministry of Education, in those days headed by Joseph Mungai who time and again expressed his sympathy towards English in public, simultaneously pretending “...Kiswahili was not yet sufficiently developed” (quoted by Yahya-Othman 2001:81).

In an editorial mid 1980ies the then Institute of Swahili Research of the University of Dar es Salaam (since 2009 merged with the Department of Swahili becoming *Taasisi ya Taaluma za Kiswahili* [Institute of Swahili Studies]) criticized a situation whereby the promotion of Swahili was described of lacking momentum at the end of Nyerere’s presidency.⁸ Obviously, the situation did not change for better. The multi-party system, globalization as well as the economic liberalization contributed to a stronger role of English. This focus is nowhere stipulated. In fact, the 1997 Cultural Policy document (Tanzania 1997:18) calls English a foreign language and promises to declare Swahili the official language of the country (ibid.:16). This policy document had almost no impact so far, but was a step forward

⁵ For a substantial discussion of the pro’s and con’s of English-medium schools and the latter’s school management see Rugemalira (2005).

⁶ In practice classroom interaction takes mainly place in Swahili that after having introduced the subject matter in English is used to explain it and to make the students understand.

⁷ Criper and Dodd (1984) were worried about the role of English in Tanzania that was to become a foreign language stating that less than twenty percent of university students were at a level where they would find it easy to read even the simpler books required for their academic studies (quoted in Rugemalira 2005: 78).

⁸ See Tahariri (1985:vi).

in recognizing the linguistic diversity of the country that earlier be-devilled languages other than Swahili (and English) as symbols of tribalism (*ukabila*).

3. Current language use

As for language choices, a *laissez-faire* approach is observed in the recent past. Swahili still holds a strong position, but there is a tendency in public that some people tend to demonstrate their (mostly rudimentary) knowledge of English by inserting English words (articulated with a terrible Swahili accent) whenever possible. They produce a speech variety that is basically Swahili, but intended to demonstrate the status of the speaker who is eager to distinguish him/herself from others who do not dispose of an English vocabulary. This tendency is well described by a journalist:

Today, nobody wants to speak plain Kiswahili. To appear 'like them' or to appear 'educated' most of us today prefer to mix English and Kiswahili in our speech and communication, and this is across the board! What is worse, nobody in the national leadership considers this disposition as a serious misnomer demanding immediate and prompt rectification (Makwaya wa Kuhenga, 2009: 9).

The occasional inclusion of English words in spoken Swahili is a phenomenon that is widely spread. Whether this is already code-switching has still to be investigated, since there is more or less just a limited stereotype use of English expressions somebody has heard or learnt to impress people. More problematic and irritating is code-switching by some middle class people who obviously do not much bother about speaking proper Swahili. Even this issue has to be further studied. However, some examples that were found in published texts can be discussed in brief. To begin with, Mkude (2005:10, examples *ibid*: 11) has already marginally paid attention to this issue quoting official sources:

In 2004 the prime minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, when closing the budget session, found it necessary to warn members of parliament against mixing English with Swahili. He cited the following examples:

- *Waziri, u-clean your house* > ...*safisha nyumba yako*⁹
Minister, you-clean your house 'Minister, clean up your house.'

- *Ina-confuse madereva* > *inatatanisha...*
It-confuses drivers 'It confuses drivers.'

- *Wanaweza waka-afford ku-hire a lawyer*
> ...*wakamudu kumwajiri mwanasheria*
They-can they-afford to-hire a lawyer 'They can afford to hire a lawyer.'

- *Anapokuwa ana-m-train employee wake*
> ...*anamfundisha mfanyakazi/mwajiriwa...*
He-when-be he-him-train employee his 'While he is training his employee...'

The examples above demonstrate an unnecessary use of English words by MP's. It is not clear why appropriate Swahili words were just ignored. This is everyday vocabulary that is certainly known even to the speaker who for reasons whatsoever prefers code-switching, probably to demonstrate his/her English competence.

A comprehensive recent account of code-switching transpires from the transcripts of the so-called Mwakyembe Commission. This Commission was appointed by the National Assembly 13 November 2007 to investigate the Richmond case.¹⁰ The transcripts as well as

⁹ The Swahili words given here on the right hand side in italics after the arrow sign > were included by the author of this paper.

¹⁰ This was obviously a fake company that was given a tender for emergency electricity distribution. The tender process did not abide by the established procedure. It turned out that top government officials (including the then Prime Minister Lowassa) selected Richmond disregarding a group

the report by the Commission were made available in public. The *Uhuru* newspaper¹¹ published in February and March 2008 the text of the interviews. The interviews were conducted in Swahili, but to a certain extent commission members including the chairman and some witnesses who gave evidence did not always care about consistent language choice. Occasionally, a paragraph contains more English than Swahili. In contrast, the report submitted by Chairman Mwakyembe in the *Mtanzania* newspaper¹² is presented in flawless standard Swahili throughout. Here are some examples that illustrate careless code-switching in the interviews on the part of commission members and evidence given by the invited witnesses. The first extract is from a statement by Chairman Mwakyembe himself (Uhuru, 21/2/2008: 11):

Ni kwa ajili yaku-peruse tuna tuka-compare na volume tulizonazo hapa za photocopies hizi. Tutaweza tukafika tukatoa comments ambazo si halali. It is just to be on the safe side. ... I hope hujasahau ombi la mwenzetu kuhusu ile diagram.

The appropriate Swahili words or expression would have been ‘peruse’ -*soma*, ‘compare’ -*linganisha*, ‘volume’ *juzuu, hati*, ‘photocopies’ *nakala (kivuli)*, ‘comments’ *maoni, mawazo*, ‘it is just to be on the safe side’ *hii ni kwa kuwa na uhakika tu*, ‘I hope’ *natumaini*, ‘diagram’ *kielelezo*.

Ni kwa ajili ya kusoma tu na tukalinganisha na juzuu tulizo nazo hapa za nakala kivuli hizi. Tutaweza tukafika tukatoa maoni am-

of better qualified applicants. The way how existing laws and tender practices were violated resulted in a massive campaign in the media that in its turn led to the Parliament decision to investigate the whole issue that was later called a scandal.

¹¹ *Uhuru* was the mouthpiece of the ruling CCM. It is still an influential source of information pertaining to government related issues.

¹² Only the second part of the report was available to the author, see Taarifa (2008)

bayo si halali. Hii ni kwa kuwa na uhakika tu. Natumaini hujasahau ombi la mwenzetu kuhusu kile kielelezo.

'It is only for perusal and then we compare it with the volumes of these photocopies that we have here. We might possibly come to give comments that are not adequate. It is just to be on the safe side. I hope that you have not yet forgotten our friend's request concerning the diagram.'

Another example of code-switching is given below. The witness is Ambassador Fulgence Kazaura, the Chairman of the Tanzanian Electricity Supply Company (TANESCO) Board of Directors:

... kuna mahali I must admit my ignorant (ignorance? - K.L.) na hapo na admit? Lakini nafikiri you can't generate power bila kuwa registered by somebody. I can't prompt when ... kuwapatia vibali vya ku-operate in a country... (Uhuru 18/2/2008: 18).

Here is a Swahili version where code-switching is removed:

... kuna mahali inanibidi kukiri kuwa sijui na hapo nakiri? Lakini nafikiri huwezi kuzalisha umeme bila kusajiliwa na jamaa. Siwezi kufanya lolote hadi ... kuwapatia vibali vya kufanya kazi katika nchi fulani...

'Somewhere I must admit my ignorant (ignorance? - K.L.) and here I admit? But I think you can't generate power without being registered by somebody. I can't prompt when ...to grant them permission to operate in a country...'

Even in the case of technical details, code-switching produced by witnesses or committee members was not necessary, as the following example below demonstrates:

... ukosefu wa coordination, waliwasha ile mashine kutoa zile covers na kwa sababu ina-suck hewa zika-shrink kwa sababu ili-create vacuum. (Njombe: U 28/02/08: 19).

The revised version is as follows:

... ukosefu wa **kuoanisha shughuli**, waliwasha ile mashine kutoa yale **mafuniko** na kwa sababu inavuta hewa zikapungua kwa sababu **ilileta ombwe**.

‘... a lack of coordination, they switched on the engine to remove the covers and because it sucks air, it shrinks since it creates a vacuum.’

More details of how English expressions and terms were used in the witness interviews of the Mwakyembe Commission could be given. However, even these few extracts of the Commission transcripts demonstrate that the way the verbal interaction went on in the Commission leaves much to be desired, in particular when issues of a non-technical nature were discussed. The Commission as a political institution was created by the Tanzanian National Assembly which runs its business in Swahili. It goes without saying that a similar approach to making full-fledged use of the national languages should have been practiced by the commission and its witnesses who were tasked to act on the National Assembly’s behalf. However, this was not always the case. To give reasons for this kind of code-switching that transpires from the commission proceedings is not easy. It could be lack of Swahili competence, and of terminology development awareness especially with regard to recently created technical, legal and trade terms, indifference about the role of the national language, arrogance or strong exposure to and professionalism in English. The case of F. Kazaura (Chairman, BoD, TANESCO) and Ch. Kimei (CEO, CRD Bank), is typical for several of the reasons that were forwarded before, since they spoke even about simple, non-technical issues in English. However, one must also acknowledge the fact that in many sections the transcripts offer a fine account of some committee members and witnesses who were fully deploying the national language when deliberating about contracts, credits, liabilities, energy problems etc. Therefore, it might have

been expected that even the rest could have done so, thus showing a strong commitment to the cause of the national language.

It turned out that when the Mwakyembe Commission addressed top managers and government officials a special form of address was used, i.e. the word *ndugu*. This is very interesting to note as it was thought that this term was gone with the Ujamaa ideology. Here are some historical reminiscences that deal with the emergence of this form of address.

In the 1970ies, the strife for enforcing the egalitarianism principle triggered the introduction of the word *ndugu*. In its original meaning this term meant male members of an extended family. TANU introduced it as a form of addressing its members and, moreover, as the ruling party, subsequently all Tanzanians. In its wider meaning this word is the equivalent of 'comrade(s)' used in the then Eastern European communist countries, and currently by the Social-Democrats and post-Communists. The traditional connotation of *ndugu* made its introduction among female party cadres and addressees not unproblematic. They felt initially somehow embarrassed by a term that ignores femininity.¹³ Nevertheless, common practice of internal TANU (and subsequently CCM [*Chama cha Mapinduzi*/Revolutionary Party]) verbal interaction and official language use widely spread the term *ndugu*.

An interesting example is the story about how this word became and ceased to be the form of address in the Tanzanian National Assembly. For a couple of years since Independence the MP's had addressed each other, Ministers and the Speaker of the Parliament as *Mheshimiwa* (in plural *Waheshimiwa*) 'Honourable(s)'. In 1974 at the 17th session of the National Assembly (22/10/1974) the term *ndugu* turned up throughout the proceedings. In addition, the initial section of the proceedings lists all MP's as *Ndugu*...including *Ndugu Waziri* 'Comrade Minister', *Ndugu Spika* 'Comrade Speaker'. Similarly, MP's referred to each other as well as *ndugu*. The last session

¹³ The author visited in November 1974 Iringa Girls Secondary School, where the female principal spoke to fellow teachers and learners at the roll call addressing them several times as *ndugu*. The teenage girls felt uncomfortable and were whispering and laughing whenever the word was used.

where *ndugu* was the official form of address was the 6th session of January 20, 1987. The Proceedings of the 7th session (21/4/1987) record the return to *Mheshimiwa*. This change of the form of address took place, when *Ujamaa* and egalitarianism were still official benchmarks of the country. The reason for the rejection of *ndugu* is related to position of MP's from Zanzibar/Pemba who insisted on being called *Mheshimiwa*. For them *ndugu* implied a lack of respect, hence they opposed its use.¹⁴ Despite this removal in the proceedings, budget submissions by some Mainland Tanzanian Ministers still used the term *ndugu* until 1990.

Although *Ujamaa* and other political key words (such as *Chama kushika Hataamu*/Party supremacy) became outdated when its implementation turned out to be impracticable and, as a consequence, the illusionary vision was given up end eighties, *ndugu* continues to be mainly informally used even in our days. It refers now foremost to 'brother' and is a form of address that avoids and circumvents the word *Bwana*. As mentioned before, Chairman Mwakyembe and commission members called the invited witnesses *ndugu* (e.g. *Karibu sana Ndugu Mohammed Saleh* 'A cordial welcome, Brother / Comrade Mohammed Saleh', Uhuru 21/02/08: 11).

The question why this form of address survived from the good old *Ujamaa* days was discussed with Mohamed Mwinyi (ex National Swahili Council).¹⁵ Mwinyi's argument in support of *ndugu* goes along with the avoidance of the word *Bwana* 'Mister' which is somehow pre-loaded. He relates *Bwana* to a period when the antonym was the word *mtumwa* 'slave, servant'. For him, the avoidance makes sense. Nevertheless, in public the word *Bwana* (and *Bi* as the female form of address) is frequently heard. The Mwakyembe commission in one case i.e. that of Fulgence Kazaura further refers to

¹⁴ Personal communication Prof. K. Tambila, Dar es Salaam, 13/02/2010.

¹⁵ Mwinyi is a Swahili mother tongue speaker and language expert with an own radio program that scrutinizes Swahili spoken these days by mostly non L1 speakers.

somebody as *Mheshimiwa* the reason being that the witness is a former Tanzanian ambassador, hence 'Excellency'.¹⁶

In this context it is further interesting to note that when the Mwakymbe Commission asked about personal details of the witness, reference was made to the ethnic origin of the interviewee by using the term *kabila* 'tribe'. This term is normally avoided and has become a no-word as it relates to tribalism (*ukabila*) that is understood to undermine national unity. Normally *kabila* is found in "wanted" circulars, as well as in hotel registration forms, the latter still a legacy of the British administration. The reason for doing so is explained by Mwakymbe "...tunaendesha masuala yetu hapa kwa utaratibu wa kimahakama..." 'we run our interviews according to the court procedure.' In answering this question about *kabila*, the Commission witnesses revealed their ethnic origin as Chagga (Kimeji, U 24/2/08: 27 and Nkini, U 25/02/08: 14), Pare (Mgonja, U 23/02/08: 13, Tenga, U 01/03/08: 16), Hehe (Chengula, U 01/03/08: 17), Jita (Mfungo, U 26/02/08: 19), Safwa (Njombe, U 27/02/08: 20), Maasai (Ole-Naiko, U 28/02/08: 20), Nyakyusa (Mwakapungi, U 01/03/08: 18)... but in one case a witness (Gire, U 03/03/08: 21) identified himself as *Muislam au Suni Muslim* 'Muslim or Suni Muslim', another one (Ali Salehe) answered *Mngazija* 'Comorian' which is both ethnicity and nationality (although in that case nationality was given as Tanzanian).

This section of the paper dealt with selected aspects of how either Swahili or English is used in recorded sources. The given examples reflect language use by MP's and other middle class people. The tendency to code-switch or to include English words and expressions in the matrix language Swahili underscores the importance that these people assign to English. This issue is further discussed in the next section.

¹⁶ In a very few cases the witness was addressed as *Bwana* 'Mister' and one female person, i.e. Anetha Chengula of TANESCO, as *Bibi* 'Mrs.' (Uhuru 01/03/08: 17)

4. The advance of English

The prestige English is enjoying in Tanzania and its wide-spread use as the international medium of communication is claimed to make the move towards this language in official and in other formal domains necessary. Unfortunately this takes place at the expense of Swahili. A critical account of the current situation with its bias towards English is given by the journalist Makwaya wa Kuhenga who was quoted already earlier. Below, the English preference of the Tanzanian Head of State Kikwete is put into a wider context as follows:

I want to submit through the columns of this newspaper that my country has been deprived of the little and least freedom it could still cling to - cultural independence. With this evidence just described that our Head of State - the symbol of our nationhood - prefers English to address his own people rather than his own and his people's mother tongue, Kiswahili, then we are just as good as shadows of foreign powers and their cultures.

We are finished. There is nothing left in us - even the little pride expected of us. The Anglo-American influence on our cultural autonomy has been too intense, especially in the last two decades of neo-Liberalism. The posture of our Head of State just described is just one angle of the massive Western cultural synchronisation infused into our country (Makwaya wa Kuhenga, 2009: 9).

This view basically confirms the advance of English in Tanzania. It is an ongoing process that can be further illustrated by two details. On the one hand, Swahili shares the linguistic landscape in public with English. Nevertheless, given the latter's low speaker numbers, its presence is more widespread than expected. In Dar es Salaam and other urban centres of the country English billboards and posters advertise products and services of mobile phone companies, banks, airlines, supermarkets, etc. English can even be found in areas where almost exclusively Swahili speaking people are shopping or hiring services.

On the other hand, Government institutions such as Ministries and Commissions, parastatals, banks and companies maintain websites where the text is almost exclusively in English. One of these examples is the Prime Minister's office homepage <http://www.pmo.go.tz/>. Admittedly, Prime Minister's speeches can be read in Swahili, but the whole structure of the page as well as information about the office mission is in English. Non-English speaking Tanzanians are not addressed at all.¹⁷ Another example is the Tanzanian Electricity Supply Company TANESCO that is completely in English, except for a single sentence – *Tunayaangaza maisha yako* 'We light up your life'. An enquiry was sent to TANESCO February 26, 2010 criticizing the exclusive use of English and asking the question whether TANESCO cares at all for the majority of its clients that do not understand English. The email remained unanswered. After a reminder mid-March a verbose reply in TANESCO's defence was received. The message written by Adrian Severin, Afisa Mawasiliano Mambo ya Ndani (TANESCO Makao Makuu) Adrian.Severin@tanESCO.co.tz [Communication officer, Internal affairs, TANESCO Headquarter], 24 March 2010, 06:41 promised to work on a Swahili version of the webpage. It is worth to watch the implementation of this project, since otherwise no changes will take

¹⁷ A similar structure pertains to the Parliament's website <http://www.parliament.go.tz>, some websites are completely written in English, e.g. <http://www.moe.go.tz/> (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training), <http://www.mca-t.go.tz/> (Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs, Millennium Challenge Account), similarly those that attract for their Swahili name (while the rest is English) - <http://www.mifugo.go.tz/> (Ministry of Livestock Development and Fisheries), <http://www.maji.go.tz/> (Ministry of Water and Irrigation), while the website of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism <http://www.mnrt.go.tz/> covers Swahili quite well.

place. Other homepages which are similarly English only are the Tanzanian Road Authority (Tanroads) – <http://www.tanroads.org/> or the Bank of Tanzania (BoT) – <http://www.bot-tz.org/>, and many more (banks, mobile phone companies, universities, etc.)

In fact, it is a pity that instead of implementing a cross-cutting bilingual policy where Swahili as the national language is promoted to its fullest and simultaneously English competence is developed, the linguistic market is strongly influenced by English in ad's, business, trade and commerce, banks, technology, TV and in other domains that are a concomitant of Western lifestyle. In so doing, the vast majority of Tanzanians are turned into “silent observers” of development as Idris, Legère, Rosendal (2007: 44) wrote. Insofar English is selectively advancing among those who have learnt it, and this is a tiny percentage.

5. Conclusion

This paper dealt with the role of Swahili and English in Tanzania. It gave examples of current language use illustrated by written records of middle class people's verbal interaction. On the strength of the evidence given in the paper it is safe to say that English is advancing and regaining lost grounds. Simultaneously, Swahili is stagnating as long as there is no active Swahili promotion campaign which focuses on the implementation of the language policy formulated after Independence. For the time being, the market forces dictated by foreign companies and a pro-Western political establishment go for a growing role of English in Tanzania. These forces do not care about the Tanzanian people that have only limited access to English in an inefficient education system and are incompetent in this language. This pro-English trend is going to make many Tanzanians step by step to “linguistic strangers” (de Cluver 1993) in their own country.

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Incantation in Hausa Culture: An Example of Syntactic Reduplication

Resumé

L'article porte sur la reduplication dans la langue haoussa, suivant une approche pragmatique. Il y est question de la reduplication de mots et de phrases dans les formules incantatoires magiques. Du point de vue linguistique, ce genre de reduplication est considéré comme un procédé syntactique. Or, les énoncés à caractère magique, dans lesquels on a souvent recours à la reduplication, ont un pouvoir performatif et doivent augmenter l'effectivité des procédés visant p.ex. à se protéger contre les moustiques, à rendre quelqu'un invisible, ou à faciliter l'accouchement. La répétition des mots et des phrases a généralement pour but d'augmenter l'effectivité de l'action ou la rendre immédiate, mais elle peut simplement exprimer l'impatience. L'article contient des exemples d'incantations en haoussa et en poular, accompagnés d'indications sur les fonctions pragmatiques des reduplications.

1. Introduction

Reduplication as universal phenomenon operates within lexical units and a clausal structure. In a number of languages, reduplication within lexical units is used to express or to build pluractional verbs, augmentative and diminutive adjectives, simple adjectives, intensives of adverbs, numbers, among others. This type of reduplication operates within a morpheme, and it could be partial or complete, as argued in Kiyomi 1993, Rubino 2005, Inkelas and Zoll 2005, among others. On the other hand, reduplication that operates outside the lexical units involves repetition of a clause or part of a clause as dis-

cussed in Israeli 1997, Lindström 1999, Maas 2005, Yakasai 2005, among others. Most languages that exhibit reduplication within lexical units also undergo the clausal one. The productivity of the former implies the productivity of the latter.

Hausa is a Chadic language of Afro-Asiatic phylum that productively uses reduplication within lexical units and in a clausal structure. The morphological and semantic aspects of Hausa reduplicated forms became subject of many linguistic works such as Frajzyngier 1965, Pawlak 1975, Newman 1990, Schuh 2002, Al-Hassan 1998, Yakasai 2009, Gouffé 1975, Auwal 1998, Yakasai 2006a, Yakasai 2006b, among others, whereas pragmatic function of reduplication, and its possible cultural context still need research.

This paper discusses incantation in Hausa culture as an example of reduplicative construction that uses clauses or phrases. In Hausa culture, there are number of ways or practices that indicate reduplicative construction within clausal or phrasal domain; incantation is one of those cultural practices that expresses reduplication beyond one lexical unit and fills more than one syntactic slot. The scope of this paper is to lay emphasis on syntactic reduplication occurring within a sentence, clause or phrase. In view of this, the paper is divided into four main sections. The first section discusses nature and theoretical assumptions of syntactic reduplication. The second section focuses on incantation in Hausa culture and its classification. The third part presents incantation as an example of syntactic reduplication. The fourth section examines the pragmatic senses of syntactic reduplication in relation to incantation in Hausa culture.

2. Syntactic Reduplication: Its Nature and Theoretical Assumption

The term syntactic reduplication (henceforth SR) covers reduplicative constructions that go beyond one lexical unit and fill more than one syntactic slot. In a number of works, SR is included in studies of reduplicated forms of particular language, for instance Wierzbicka 1991 in Italian, Israeli 1997 in Russian, Lindström 1999 in Swedish, Maas 2005 in Arabic, Gouffé 1975 and Yakasai 2005 in Hausa, among others. In contemporary linguistics, the subject is of more

general theoretical interest, since this phenomenon is regarded as one of the linguistic universals and icons. As Wierzbicka (1991: 260) argues “it seems likely that the pragmatic meanings associated with ‘clausal repetition’ have led, through wide use, to the emergence of new grammatical category, a language-specific grammatical device ‘syntactic reduplication’”. Wierzbicka (1991) distinguishes Italian syntactic reduplication from two seemingly similar phenomena as exemplified in (1a and 1b).

(1)

- a. *adagio adagio* ‘slowly slowly’
- b. *adagio, adagio* ‘slowly, slowly’

The reduplicated expression given in (1a) is distinguished from repetition in (1b). The former is a pauseless expression, while the latter is indicated by the use of a comma (which signals the presence of a pause).

Lindström (1999) exemplifies that two or more juxtaposed pronominal adjectives indicate this type of repetition (as in 2a), and it may form a unit by coordination (as in 2b).

(2)

- a. *sme sme barn* ‘little little children’
- b. *springer och springer* ‘I run and run’

Looking at the above examples, it is very clear that SR operates on words rather than a morpheme, and it forms a clause or part of a clause rather than lexical unit.

Lindström (1999) argues that SR “[...] have a pragmatic rather than a direct semantic motivation. Reduplication communicates most often the speakers emotional stance towards the subject matter. When one says *sma sma barn* there is no claim about extreme smallness, but rather the speaker expresses his or her feelings about ‘little little children’; this can, of course, relate to a cute, moving kind of smallness. In other words, this repetition has typical *diminutive* connota-

tions, not seldom universally expressed with a reduplicative construction” (taken from the English summary of the dissertation).

Moreover, Wierzbicka (1991: 264) points out that the communicative import of SR is to insist on the validity of what is said and it means that SR may have prosodic dimension. Gouffé (1975) has indicated that the effect of echo and symmetry play an important role in creating reduplicated forms in Hausa, for both stylistic device and harmony of the text. SR here indicates that a sentence or some elements in a sentence, a clause or a phrase that are repeated. Indeed, some aspects of reduplication that are based on repetition of the content not the form are taken into consideration, as well as reduplication understood as prosodic effect of symmetry or echo. SR operates on words and has the syntactic motivation, and the reduplication that operates within a word has the morphological motivation. The argument that SR has pragmatic rather than semantic motivation (as argued in Wierzbicka 1991, Lindström 1999, Yakasai 2005, among others) is adopted here for the analysis of Hausa incantation phrases.

2.1. Nature of SR in Hausa

The productivity of morphological reduplication in Hausa implies the productivity of SR in Hausa. It is this productivity that creates different typological patterns of SR. The typological patterns presented in (Yakasai 2005) are adopted here. These are:

(3) repeated phrases, i.e. *kai*¹, *kai*, *kai* /you, you, you/ ‘stop, stop, stop’;

zoo, *zoo* ‘come, come’; *Koo dà mèle*, *koo don mèle* /or and what, or for what/ ‘all means’

(4) conjoined reduplicated phrases, i.e. *râi dà râi* /soul and soul / ‘always’;

¹ For all Hausa examples, low tone is indicated with a grave accent (‘), falling tone by a circumflex (ˆ) and high tone is left unmarked. Long vowels are indicated by doubling the affected vowel, hence -aa ‘long’ versus -a ‘short’.

idòo dà idòo / eye and eye / ‘meeting each other’; *koomai yanàa tàfiyàa daidai wà daidà* ‘everything goes well’

(5) reduplicated clauses (verbal phrases), i.e. *yà cika, yà cika* / let him be filled, let him be filled / (idiomatic sense: ‘he is angry’); *yà kai, yà kaawoo* / let him take, let him bring / (idiomatic sense: ‘going back and forth’;

(6) disjoined clauses with a sense of reduplication, e.g. *Mù jee zuwàa, mahàukàcìi yaa hau kuuraa* / let us go /, / madman rode hyc a / (common sense: ‘we are in a hurry’).

For other detail explanation and more examples see (Yakasai 2005: 11-16).

3.0. Incantation in Hausa Culture

“Language is the principal means whereby we conduct our social lives. When it is used in contexts of communication, it is bound up with culture in multiple and complex ways” (Kramsch 2009: 3). The concept of culture is becoming an important aspect in linguistic and pragmatic studies. Taylor’s (1871) famous definition of culture reads: “Culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”.

Gamble and Gamble (2002: 35) see culture as “a system of knowledge, beliefs, values, customs, behaviors and artifacts that are acquired, shared and used by members during daily living”. Most sociologists conceive culture as a design for living. Each culture constitutes a unique lifestyle – a unique combination of values, rules, roles and relationship that provide a guide for socially defined appropriate behaviour (Ogunbameru and Rotimi 2006: 235). It is very clear that culture is an attribute not of individuals *per se* but of individuals as members of groups, it is learned and transmitted in society. It is one of the capabilities acquired by man as a member of a society. In most societies, traditional medical beliefs are integrated

into a complex network of beliefs and values that are part of their culture. Incantation is one of such beliefs. Incantation is very popular in Hausa culture and is still being practiced in contemporary Hausa society. Culture determines the words to be used and usages vary from culture to culture.

Incantation is defined as an act of magic which involves using words of one or more languages that may not have a direct meaning or even are meaningless in order to satisfy the needs of people (Bunza 2006, Abubakar 2006, Doguwa 2002, among others). Therefore, incantation is a collection or combination of special words that are uttered or sung to have magic effect. Kabir (1991: 181) describes incantation as having “a poetic quality and rhythm and powerful striking words are used. In reciting it, sometimes one uses a high piercing sound and sometimes slow and soft sounds to punctuate and emphasize whatever is being said”. Incantation involves not only the special words, but also doing some kind of activity. For example, Kabir (1991: 181) states that in Fulbe culture incantation for correction of dislocation involves breathing on a knife and gently massage onto the affected part, for seven days or until cured. This could be done either by the native doctors, followers of *tsibbù*² and people that are traditionally involved in putting bones in place. Below is the example:

(7)

a. Bismillahi Murgut, fi mata murgut

‘In the name of God *Murgut*³, from what has died *murgut*’

² The word *tsibbù* originated from Arabic word *dibb* meaning ‘medicine’. It is a way of giving medicine to the sick or somebody in need of help or protection. *Tsibbù* has come to Hausaland after the coming of Islam. The followers of *tsibbù* also practice incantation (Abubakar 2006: 26).

³ Bunza (2006), Doguwa (2002), Abubakar (2006), among others, have stated that there are certain expressions in the incantation that sound like a native words of a language but do not have any meaning. Thus, the meaning of *murgut* could not be identified; the Fulfulde native speakers contacted informed that *murgut* does not have any meaning. I would like here to express my gratitude to Malam Musa Muhammad Dinga, the President of Fulfulde Association at Baye-

- b. Mi itti murgut, mi wati murgut
‘I have removed *murgut*, I have put *murgut*’
- c. To manga baroji, Allah jeyi jam
‘Where is the main killer, It is God that provides health/recovery’
- d. Min jeyi ‘yi’ yam
‘Blood is mine’.

Incantation is very popular in African cultures (such as Fulfulde, Yoruba, Igbo, Nupe, Kanuri, among others) and in other cultures far away from Africa (Bunza 2006: 228). As far as Hausa culture is concerned incantation is classified into two, namely:

- a. traditional
- b. modern

Traditional incantation involves purely Hausa words and no any assimilation or influence of a foreign culture. Modern incantation contains or involves assimilation or influence of a religion, a language and/or foreign culture. This type of incantation consists of borrowed words from another language, such as Arabic, Fulfulde, among others (Bunza 2006: 228). Because of the influence of Arabic and Fulfulde languages on Hausa culture, a number of incantations have included Arabic or Fulfulde word(s). Both types are being practiced in the contemporary Hausa society. In Hausa society, the following people are prominent in practicing and promoting incantation:

- a. Women
- b. Native doctors (*bookàayee*)
- c. Followers of cult (‘*yan bòorii*)
- d. Followers of *tsibbù* medicine (*màalàman tsibbù*)
- e. People in need of help or something

ro University Kano and Maimuna Kabir of the Fulfulde section at Federal College of Education Kano for assisting in the translation of Fulfulde expressions.

3.1. Purpose of Incantation

In Hausa culture incantation is the secret of all ways of giving or practicing traditional medicine. It is used for a number of purposes. There is incantation for the purpose of love as could be seen below in the Fulfulde language:

(8)

a. Bismillahi **takkam makkam**

‘In the name of God, come closer, come closer to me

b. **Hafam nafam**, huuram ba juɓe

‘Hold me, come to my aid, and cover me just like the jujube tree’

c. Taaram ba delɓi, dakkam ba nyakkabre

‘Surround me like the ebony tree’

d. Biila’am, a nyaamataa, **a dawrataa a dawrintaa**

‘Be with me like prickly grass, my beloved you will not eat’
(You would not contact somebody for advice and nobody to contact you for an advice)

e. Say ko **dawrumi** haa abada

‘You abide only with what I have decided forever’.

(Kabir 1991: 181)

Kabir (1991: 181) states that in Fulɓe culture, the example given in (8) should be used when a person wants another to love him. It should be breathed on the place the beloved will sit or sleep. Example of SR could be seen in (8a, b, d and e) indicating that some words are repeated or semi-repeated in Fulfulde. Similarly, the example given in (9) has the purpose of love, and it is used or recited when holding the hand of a beloved (see also Doguwa 2002: 18).

(9)

a. **Kar kɪ bii nɪ kâanaa kɪ bii nɪ, wà iɪyaakɪ kɪ bii nɪ**

‘Do not follow me then you follow me, I call on you to follow me’

b. **Kar kì bii nì làkàd kì bii nì, màhiihi kì bii nì**

‘Do not follow me, you must follow me, forget about everything and follow me’

c. **yaa kàmaatà kì bii nì**”

‘You should follow me’.

(Doguwa 2002: 26)

Incantation has the purpose of seeking protection from anything as exemplified in (10 and 11). The example in (10) is recited when somebody is seeking protection from all angles either in the home or at any place.

(10)

a. **Àllaahummà fil kà tsariì ,**

‘Protection is from God’

b. **Kà tsariì, kà tsariì**

‘You protect, you protect’

c. **Kà tsarìn gidaa, kà tsarìn daajji**

‘Protect at home; protect in the forest or outside home’

d. **Kà tsarìn gabàs**

‘Protect me at the east’

e. **Kà tsarìn yâmmmaa**

‘You protect me at the west’

f. **Kà tsarìn àbîn dà kai kaɗai kà tsarèewaa**

‘Protect me from everything that only you protect’.

(Doguwa 2002: 22)

There is incantation in the Fulbe culture which is built for the purpose of imprisoning all mosquitoes and stop them from biting the one who has recited it. It should be breathed on the place where the mosquitoes are (Kabir 1991: 181). Here is the example:

(11)

a. **Bismillahi cufu ‘yugu, ‘yugu ‘yurgu**

‘In the name of God, mosquito, biting ant, biting ant that flies’

- b. **Ko yani bo yana**, honduko foode maɓɓe
‘What has died, has died, just keep quite’
- c. **Si ngad, ngad, ngad**, haa fajiri.
‘Just biting, biting, biting, even in the morning’

Incantation is used for the purpose of becoming invisible. When somebody recites the incantation or holds its charm nobody will see him. This type of incantation has both merit and demerit in Hausa culture. Many people use it for good sake, while others use it for bad sake, particularly thieves. Below is the example:

(12)

- a. **Nii bakii, nii bakii, bakin sâ**,
‘I am black, I am black, the black he-cow’
- b. In na wucè **bâa su ganii**,
‘If I passed they would not see’
- c. **Bà sù ganii baa**,
‘They did not see’
- d. **Kàmat kafàa, kàmak kafàt àlluuràa**,
‘Like a leg, like a leg of a needle’
- e. Arnaa duf
‘Enemies could not see’
(Bunza 2006: 247)

Incantation is also done for the purpose of easy delivery. A pregnant woman recites the following incantation for easy delivery:

(13)

- a. **Girdin bâa girdin**,
‘Difficulty no difficulty’
- b. **Yaa kî tàhoo huràiratù**,
‘Come, come hurairatu’
- c. **Tàhoo maza-maza**
‘Come quickly’
- d. **Tàhoo anàa neemanki**,
‘Come, you have been looked for’

e. Yànzù-yànzù dà gaggaawaa

‘Just now and quickly’

(Bunza 2006: 246)

Incantation is used for many purposes, and it controls the life of the society and its activities (for further explanation on this and other issues relating to incantation in Hausa and Fulfulde cultures, see Kabir 1991, Bunza 2006, Abubakar 2006, Doguwa 2002, among others).

4.0. Pragmatic Senses

In view of the aforementioned purposes, incantation as an example of SR has been identified with the following pragmatic senses:

- a. Urgency - the repetition of certain elements signals a directive urging the addressees to act immediately, like the examples given in (11 and 13).
- b. Calling for attention – SR refers to calling or drawing the attention of the addressee.
- c. Insistence – this communicative import indicates that SR insists on the validity of what is said as exemplified in (9 and 12).
- d. Impatience – SR has the meaning of lack of patience as shown in (13).

Most of the examples of incantation that have qualified as SR have the general sense of urgency, insistence and attention. This is because incantation is being practiced in order to get what is needed instantly. Indeed, incantation in most cultures involves calling of jinn and *ràuhaani*⁴.

⁴ The *Hausa to Hausa Dictionary* published by Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University Kano, Nigeria (2006) sees *ràuhaani* as jinn who accepted Islam. Bargery (1934: 846) defines *ràuhaani* as supernatural beings between angels and devils, whose prerogative it is to assist human beings in obtaining answers to their prayers.

5.0. Incantation as an example of SR

As mentioned earlier, incantations in Hausa culture contain an example of SR or are expressed in the form of SR and each incantation has its own purpose. Below are some examples of incantations (each example is presented in the sequence of a, b, c for easy reference and explanation):

(14)

- a. **Kar kî bîi nî kâanaa kî bîi nî, wà iyyaakî kî bîi nî**
'Do not follow me then you follow me, I call on you to follow me'
- b. **Kar kî bîi nî làƙad kî bîi nî, màhiihî kî bîi nî**
'Do not follow me, you must follow me, forget about everything and follow me'
- c. **yaa kàmaatà kî bîi nî**
'You should follow me'
(Doguwa 2002: 26)

(15)

- a. **Yaa naarù akèe yîi**
'It is fire making'
- b. **Yaa naarù fàu**
'Fire starts on'
- c. **Naarù kùnnu**
'Fire starts on'
- d. **Naarù kàamaa balbalbal**
'Fire starts on rapidly'
- e. **Yi jaa, yi haskee**
'Become red and lighten'
- f. **Irin na raanaa jânjânjân**
'Like that red of a sun'
(Bunza 2006: 244)

(16)

a. **Kaa zàaburàa, naa zaaburoo** òan gàjeercee

‘You have sprung up, I have sprung up too, you the short’

b. Bà kâ daakàtaa in wucè ba?

‘Could you stop and let me pass’

(Doguwa 2002: 23)

Having looked at the above examples, we could see that examples given in (9, 10, and 15) are instances of modern incantation. In (9), *wà iyyaaki* ‘(for female) calling her to abide’ and *làkàd* ‘showing emphasis or trueness of something’ are Arabic words. So also examples (10 and 15) contain Arabic words *Àllaahummà* ‘God’ *fil* ‘in’ and *naarù* ‘fire’ respectively. Examples shown in (12, 13, and 16) are clear examples of traditional incantations. Incantation as an example of SR is identified in repeated phrases; conjoined reduplicated phrases, reduplicated clauses (verbal) and disjoined clauses with a sense of reduplication. SR in (10, 15, 12a, d, and 13b, c and d) exemplifies repeated phrases, where one or two lexical items functioning as phrases are repeated. Here, the repeated phrases are nouns or other nominal phrases. If they are verbs, they occur in imperative form (as indicated in 10). Conjoined reduplicated phrases are identified in (10a and b), with *kàanaa* ‘then’ *làkàd* and *wà iyyaaki*. In (10a-b and 12b-c) SR contains verbs in their finite form and operates with negative markers. The reduplicated clause resembles unit formed by coordination in which one or other components are repeated (as expressed in 15e and 16a). Incantation expresses SR in the form of disjoined clauses with a sense of reduplication. This could be seen in (13b) *yaa ki* ‘come’ has the same meaning with *tàhoo*. Similarly, (13d) *tàhoo* ‘come’ and *anàa neemanki* ‘you are wanted / you have been looking for’ are disjoined clauses that share the same semantic content (13e). SR within incantation is expressed either as full or modified.

6.0. Conclusion

Hausa productively employs the use of reduplication in both morphological and syntactic domains. The productivity of SR covers not only incantation, but also related issues such as praise-epithet, traditional boxing, among others. SR as seen above is based on the contextual meaning rather than abstract meaning. Thus, it is pragmatically motivated. The identified communicative imports of SR in relation to incantation is neither long nor complete. The paper supports the claims in Yakasai (2005) that “the nature and pragmatic function of syntactic reduplication reveals that the process bears some kind of idiomatic property where the meaning cannot be deduced solely from the form of the constructions. This is really the case of SR in relation to incantation. By and large, incantation in Hausa culture involves calling of jinn or *ràuhaanii* and this has caused that most but not the real name of a person. It is in the light of this that the pragmatic senses established are related. The paper shares the view with Gouffé (1975) and Yakasai (2005) that SR functions as a device which is recognizable at the prosodic level. In this respect, an effect of symmetry or echo is observed in the reduplicated phrases or clauses.

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Morphophonological reduction in Swahili: the pressure of frequency and lexical diffusion

Abstract

The article discusses a number of morphophonological alternations in Swahili which vary as to their scope and degree of regularity. It is argued that the allomorphy between syllabic and non-syllabic variants of some morphemes is due to phonological reduction which affects high frequency lexical items first and gradually extends on others by way of lexical diffusion. The analysis is supported by comparing the data of Standard Swahili to less conservative colloquial varieties and non-standardized local dialects, in which reductions are more advanced. The analysis contributes to a better comprehension of synchronic allomorphy and it also sheds light on the mechanism of diachronic change.

1. Introduction

This article¹ focuses on phonological reduction in Swahili which is observed in various morphophonological environments. The process brings about a lexically specified allomorphy of grammatical morphemes which alternate between syllabic and non-syllabic variants. I will demonstrate that this kind of reduction is principally conditioned by high frequency of particular words. The reduction starts in few lexical items of high frequency initiating an allomorphy rule. When there is a potential domain of the rule's application in other contexts, it may extend on less frequent words by way of lexi-

¹ Parts of this paper were read at the 6 th World Congress of African Linguistics in Cologne, August 17-21, 2009. I thank members of that audience for their comments.

cal diffusion. Ultimately, the allomorphy may reach a stage of regularity when it applies to the entire lexicon. The dialectal data provide extensive evidence that reductions limited to a few lexical items in the Standard language have a much wider scope in non-standardized dialects. Within Standard Swahili, there is also some variation with more reductions occurring in less formal registers being an indication of a diffusion process *in statu nascendi*. Before discussing the Swahili data, I will briefly present a general perspective to the reduction processes of this kind as discussed in the literature.

2. Frequency factor in sound change and lexical diffusion

Reductions of the phonological form tend to occur when these forms are used more often than others. The correlation between reduction and high frequency, observed by many linguists at various times, was initially looked upon as a completely sporadic and unpredictable phenomenon. At a later time, it started to be regarded as a relatively ordinary state of affair either from the perspective of a possible way of diachronic change or as a factor in synchronically observable variation. Witold Mańczak in the early 1960s first formulated a coherent hypothesis of the “irregular phonetic development caused by frequency” which, according to him, represents a third (in addition to “regular” and “analogical”) path of change in sound structure and which takes place on a large scale in all languages. Mańczak has been supporting his thesis by abundant cross-linguistic evidence in numerous publications up to this day, drawing arguments from the variety of data and using different methodologies (see, among others, Mańczak 1965, 1969, 1977, 1978, 2008). A few English examples below, coming from a much wider corpus of similar facts, provide a brief illustration of his data and arguments.

The comparison of the parallel, i.e. regular and irregular developments of the same words/affixes reveals that the latter characterizes only items of high frequency, cf. English regular *one* and irregular *a(n)*. Among English monosyllabic words ending with *-ave*, *-ay*, *-een*, *-f*, *-ine*, respectively, only the most frequent words show reductions, namely, *have*, *say*, *been*, *if*, *mine* (>*my*). The initial Germanic **h-* remained in over one thousand words and was lost only in the

pronoun *it* which is the most frequent of all *h*-initial words. Similarly, **spr-* remained in all words except in the most frequent *speak*. What is also characteristic of reductions caused by high frequency is that they often take place in words with similar meanings in different languages unlike in the case of all other irregularities being very much language-specific. For example, the word for 'speak' has undergone irregular reduction not only in English, but also in French, Italian, Polish, Russian or Swahili (see later in this paper) and likely in other languages, because words with this meaning typically belong to the most frequent lexicon. Apart from W. Mańczak's work, diachronic reduction related to frequency has been observed in numerous studies on grammaticalization, because a form more general in meaning (more grammaticalized) is used more often (see, among others, Bybee 1985, Bybee *et al.* 1994, Heine 1993, Traugott and Heine 1991), cf. English examples as *gonna* < *going to*, *'ll* < *will*, *n't* > *not* etc.

Once a reduction initiated in the context of higher frequency begins, it may propagate onto other words by way of an analogical process referred to as 'lexical diffusion'. This possible path of development has been empirically observed for various kinds of phonological changes in progress not necessarily limited to reduction, and has been argued to present a parallel, alternative mechanism to the regular sound change postulated by the Neogrammarians (cf. Bermúdez-Otero 2007, Bybee 2000, 2001, Hock 1986, Hooper [Bybee] 1976, Labov 1972, 1994, Wang 1977, among others). Each stage of the gradual process: the emergence of a change and its extension on other lexical items is accompanied by a period of variation between an old form and a new one until the complete elimination of the former.

The studies of synchronic variation have also brought about plenty of evidence for the positive correlation between high frequency and reduction of form (e.g. Bybee 2000, 2001, 2007, Hay 2003, 2007, Pierrehumbert 2001). For example, the positional reduction of schwa in English is most advanced in words of extremely high frequency, as e.g. *every* or *evening* (complete vowel elision), relatively advanced in words of mid frequencies as e.g. *memory*, *salary* or

summary (syllabic *r*) and it does not occur in low frequency words, as e.g. *mammary* or *artillery*. Similarly, the reduction of the prefix *un-* shows a gradient continuum correlated with the frequency of prefixed words, being more significant in high frequency words as e.g. *unfortunately* or *uncertain* than in low frequency words as e.g. *unboring* or *unbiased*.

Taking into account the fact that frequency of use constitutes one of the major factors in lexical reduction, a question arises, why it should be so? In the literature, there have been two basic lines of explanation proposed, which can be called a mechanistic view and a functional view. Under the first approach, reductive changes associated with high frequency are directly related to higher predictability of more frequent words and morphemes which causes an increase in overlapping of articulatory gestures (cf. Bybee 2007:11). The alternative latter approach, advocated in W. Mańczak's work, assumes a more general motivation of reduction which goes back to Zipf's (1935) statistical laws and the principle of the inversed correlation between the frequency and size of a linguistic unit. This functional view can be supported by an additional argument based on the observation that frequency-related reductions may have an abrupt character, as in the case of acronyms or truncation, which are not due to the mechanical gesture overlap.

Frequency-related reductions discussed in this paper include mostly vowel weakening occurring in grammatical affixes. I will interpret the resulting difference in syllabicity as a binary distinction with two allomorphic forms schematized as *CV~C(G)*, i.e. a full form with the vowel and a reduced non-syllabic form with the vowel either completely deleted or preserved as a glide. Perhaps detailed instrumental studies could show phonological significance of some phonetic intermediate stages gradually interpreted. I will leave it as a question for the future research.

Throughout this paper I will use the Standard Swahili orthography for the notation of the Standard language as well as dialectal forms, for which the rule of the thumb is (roughly): consonants as in English, vowels as in Italian. Special symbols include: *j* for the voiced palatal stop, *ny* for the palatal nasal, *ng'* for the velar stop.

Underlying indicates a dental stop (t) and a colon is used for long vowels (a:). Even though I use ‘Swahili’ as the name of the Swahili language conventionalized in English, I will refer to the non-standard dialects using their original names, i.e. with the inclusion of the class prefix *ki~chi*.

3. Standard Swahili reduction and allomorphy

All languages provide examples of idiosyncratic reductions which occur in frequently used expressions, such as, for example, greetings or forms of address, cf. English *goodbye* reduced from the phrase *God be with you* or Spanish *usted* ‘sir’ from *vuestra merced*. Reductions of this kind are spectacular in that large portions of original structures are deleted or fused, but since they are completely unsystematic, they have no consequences for the language system as such. Occasional blendings often show abrupt idiosyncratic reductions, too, cf. *brunch* from *breakfast & lunch* or *broccoflower* from *broccoli & cauliflower*. More systematic abrupt reductions occur in truncation as well as in various kinds of acronyms and abbreviations, cf. English: *Pam* from *Pamela*, *GB* from *Great Britain*, etc. Such formations are structured according to particular prosodic patterns, which are quite general and may be mapped on new lexical items, but the deletion processes involved in them do not constitute sound change. Swahili examples of similar kinds are shown in (1) and consist of: a highly reduced case of a greeting in (1a), a blending in (1b) and two kinds of acronyms in (1c) and (1d).

- (1) Abrupt reductions in acronyms, abbreviations, truncation etc.
- a. *shikamoo* ‘kind of greeting’
 < *ninashika miguu (moo) yako* ‘I am holding your feet’
 - b. *chajio* ‘supper’
 < *chakula cha jioni* ‘evening food’
 - c. *BAKITA*
 < *Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa* ‘National Swahili Council’
 - d. *CCM*
 < *Chama cha Mapinduzi* ‘Revolutionary Party’

While idiosyncratic reductions as in (1) cannot be source of lexical diffusion, certain grammaticalization processes tend to occur in chains. In Swahili, as in many other Bantu languages, grammaticalization of verbal constructions to tense/aspect markers often follows the same path, illustrated in (2), which represents a change in progress (the structure being reduced is marked in bold). Some other verbs in Swahili have undergone the grammaticalization process completely and reached the final stage of (2d) when a monosyllabic tense/aspect marker represents a remnant of the lexical verbal root, as in the case of the future marker *ta* diachronically deriving from the verb *taka* 'want' or the perfective marker *me* from the verb **mala* 'finish'. Still other Swahili verbs are at the beginning stage of (2a), when the verb occurs as an auxiliary, as e.g. the verbs *pata* 'receive' or *wahi* 'do on time', both used in a more grammaticalized meaning of 'manage, have an occasion (to do something)'. Even if these and other similar verbal constructions undergo the same development as *kwisha* 'finish' in (2), it would be hard to consider these cases as "diffusion" comparable to lexical diffusion in phonological processes.

(2) Grammaticalization of Swahili verbs to tense/aspect marker

- a. Nimekwisha kusoma. 'I have finished reading.'
- b. Nimekwishasoma. 'I have finished reading/have already read.'
- c. Nimeshasoma. 'I have already read.'
- d. Nishasoma. (*dial., coll.*) 'I have already read.'

I will proceed now to the issue of phonologically conditioned reductions which are frequency-sensitive and occur in grammatical morphemes creating the above-mentioned allomorphy pattern: CV~C(G). The reduction takes place in a specified phonological environment, namely, before a vowel and not before a following consonant. But it is limited to only some vowel-initial and lexically specified environments. In all cases, the words in which reduction occurs have high token frequency, higher than other words with the same affixes. Whenever possible, the quantitative data of the Stan-

dard language have been drawn from the electronic Helsinki Corpus of Swahili, specifically, the part *Books*, consisting of literary texts, and the contents of the newspaper *Nipashe* (jointly). I will limit the presentation of the Standard Swahili data to a few examples only; more discussion of this issue together with a formal analysis in the Optimality Theoretic framework can be found in Kraska-Szlenk (2007, 2009). It should be noted that in addition to the lexically specific reductions treated in this section, the same alternation pattern, i.e. a vowel before a consonant and a glide or zero before a vowel, characterizes a large portion of Swahili morphophonology, where it appears as a completely regular process. I will return to this problem later in this section.

The first set of examples illustrates lexical reductions in Swahili personal and noun class markers positioned directly before a verbal root. There are three morphological environments in which these markers and the verbal stem are adjacent: subjunctive (hortative) forms with subject markers, infinitive (gerund) forms with class 15 marker *ku* and verbs containing object prefixes. In all these three environments, personal and noun class markers regularly occur in their full syllabic forms *CV* or *V²*, whether the subsequent verbal stem starts with a consonant or a vowel. Exceptional reductions occur only in one case of a subject marker and in several cases of class 15 marker, which I discuss in turn below. No reduction of object prefixes is observed in Standard Swahili, cf. the following examples (object prefix underlined): *waliniambia*, *walikuambia*, *walituambia*, *waliwaambia* ‘they told me/ you/ us/ them’.

The subjunctive (hortative) forms are illustrated with the first person singular subject marker *ni* and the first person plural marker *tu* positioned before vowel-initial stems. As seen in the following examples, the hiatus remains at the prefix-stem juncture, cf. *niimbe* ‘let me sing’, *nione* ‘let me see’, *niuze* ‘let me sell’, *niendelee* ‘let me continue’, *tuimbe* ‘let’s sing’, *tuone* ‘let’s see’, *tuuze* ‘let’s sell’, *tuendelee* ‘let’s continue’. There is only one verb of this structure in which the subject marker is reduced to the non-syllabic form, name-

² Only third person singular object marker has the form *m-mw*.

ly, *twende* 'let's go'. It would be hard to determine on the basis of the Helsinki Corpus created from the written texts that *twende* has high token frequency, because this particular form occurs mostly in the spoken language. However, everyday experience clearly shows that Swahili *twende* and its equivalents with the meaning 'let's go' in other languages belong to extremely frequent expressions.

The class 15 prefix *ku* is also realized in the full form before vowel-initial stems, cf. *kuimba* 'to sing', *kuona* 'to see', *kuuza* 'to sell', *kuendelea* 'to continue'. The reduction of the prefix to the non-syllabic *kw* takes place in several cases. The lexically specified allomorphy *ku~kw* is illustrated in (3) where words with the reduced variant of the prefix are listed together with their frequency figures based on (the part of) the Helsinki Corpus and some other infinitives with the full variant of the prefix are included for comparison.

The first example, in (3a), is the infinitive of the mentioned earlier verb of motion, cf. *kwenda* 'to go', although a few cases of *kuenda* are found in the corpus, too. Another verb *kuisha* 'to finish, end' and its reduced variant *kwisha* occur in variation, cf. (3b). This verb has developed into a more grammaticalized meaning, as mentioned earlier in (2) above; it has also extended into the adverb 'afterwards, then'. In this latter case, it has an even more reduced form *kisha* which occurs in variation with *kwisha*, but not *kuisha*. The corpus figures³ for all three variants demonstrate that the shorter the form, the more frequent it is. While all cases of *kuisha* carry the meaning of infinitive/gerund and all cases of *kisha* are adverbs, it is sometimes hard to distinguish between verbal and adverbial usages of *kwisha*, because of the existence of intermediate stages where both interpretations are possible, cf. the corpus examples: an infinitive usage, e.g. *pombe sasa inaelekea kwisha* 'the beer now is coming to an end' (lit. 'to end') and *baada arusi kwisha* 'after the wedding ended', an adverbial usage, e.g. *kwisha maamkio* 'after greetings', undetermined, e.g. *kwisha kusema maneno haya* 'having said/after

³ The Helsinki Corpus figures are surprisingly low for this frequent verb. This is due to the spelling convention and incorporating *kwisha* into the verb complex, cf. the earlier examples in (2).

saying these words'. A similar process of grammaticalization affected also the frequent verb meaning 'to begin' which occurs in its full form in the infinitive as *kuanza* 'to begin', but is reduced to *kwanza* in the meaning of 'first, firstly', cf. (3c). The most frequent lexical item in this group is the complementizer *kwamba* in (3d) which is etymologically related to the gerund (class 15) of the obsolete verb **amba* 'to say', still used in Swahili in its derived forms, e. g. *ambia* 'tell (someone)', *ambiana* 'say to each other'. The remaining examples in (3) demonstrate that other verbs occur in the full form of the infinitive prefix *ku*. In some cases, the reduction is not possible on the phonological grounds, as indicated in (3e-f) examples, since a sequence of **kwo* is generally prohibited in Swahili; if it were to take place, the glide would have to delete, too, as it happens in other contexts (cf. *kote* 'all-class 15/17, **kwote*), but such forms do not exist, either. On the other hand, it could be argued that the reduction in the previous cases of (3a-d) has a phonological motivation and is encouraged by the factor of stress, because the glided vowel occurs before the syllable carrying stress (which in Swahili regularly falls on the penult). The following examples in (3g-e) with the full realization of the prefix before disyllabic stems starting with *e-* or *i-* demonstrate that the position of stress can not be the only cause here. The example of *kuendelea* 'to continue' in (3j), which contains the same root as *kwenda* 'to go' shows that the reduction is not a property of particular lexical roots. The final example in (3k) contains a highly grammaticalized, but not very frequent infinitive *kuelekea* 'to go towards; towards' with no reduction observed; this shows that the grammaticalization process is not a condition of the prefix's reduction, if not on par with high frequency.

(3) Frequencies of *ku~kw* allomorphs in Helsinki Corpus (joint Books & Nipashe)

a. <i>kwenda</i> 2260	<i>kuenda</i> 10	'to go'
b. <i>kwisha</i> 44	<i>kuisha</i> 14 <i>kisha</i> 719	'to end/then'
c. <i>kuanza</i> 945	<i>kwanza</i> 2493	'to begin'/'first'
d. <i>kwamba</i> 10496	<i>kuamba</i> 0	'that'
e. <i>kuona</i> 973	<i>kwona</i> 0, <i>kona</i> 0	'to see'
f. <i>kuomba</i> 458	<i>kwomba</i> 0, <i>komba</i> 0	'to ask'

g. <i>kuimba</i> 91	<i>kwimba</i> 2 ⁴	'to sing'
h. <i>kuishi</i> 590	<i>kwishi</i> 0	'to live'
i. <i>kuepa</i> 6	<i>kwepa</i> 0	'to avoid'
j. <i>kuendelea</i> 886	<i>kwendelea</i> 0	'to continue'
k. <i>kuelekea</i> 384	<i>kwelekea</i> 0	'to go towards; towards'

The next example of an irregular reduction involves the negation prefix *ha* which is positioned before a personal or noun class marker in certain types of negated verbs. It occurs in the full form before all noun class markers, whether consonant or vowel-initial, e.g. class 7: (*kiti*) *hakikuanguka* '(the chair) did not fall', class 8: (*viti*) *havikuan-guka* '(the chairs) did not fall', class 3: (*mti*) *haukuanguka* '(the tree) did not fall', class 4: (*miti*) *haikuanguka* '(the trees) did not fall', class 11: (*ukuta*) *haukuanguka* '(the wall) did not fall'. However, the negation prefix reduces to *h* before vowel-initial second and third person singular markers, cf. 2nd sg /ha+u/ > *hu*: (*wewe*) *hukuanguka* 'you (sg) did not fall', 3rd sg /ha+a/ > *ha*: (*yeye*) *hakuanguka* '(s)he did not fall'. Notice that the reduction in the second person marker creates an exact minimal pair with respect to the lack of reduction in the classes 3 and 11, since each of these markers consists of the vowel /u/. An irregular reduction (fusion) also takes place in the first person singular form, cf. 1st sg /ha+ni/ > *si*: (*mimi*) *sikuan-guka* 'I did not fall'. It is also interesting to observe that there is no comparable idiosyncratic shortening in plural personal subject markers, cf. 1st pl /ha+tu/ > *hatu*: (*sisi*) *hatukuanguka* 'we did not fall', 2nd pl /ha+m/ > *ham*: (*nyinyi*) *hamkuanguka* 'you (pl) did not fall', 3rd pl /ha+wa/ > *hawa*: *hawakuanguka* 'they did not fall'. To summarize, all irregular reductions involving the negation marker *ha* occur in the singular personal verbs only. This fact is clearly related to the frequency of use, since verbs with personal subjects have much higher text occurrence than verbs with non-personal subjects. Also, the singular number is used more often than the plural as it has been confirmed by various kinds of cross-linguistic data (e.g. Green-

⁴ Apart from the place name Kwimba.

berg 1966). The case of the negation markers, however, differs from the data discussed earlier in this section, because the reduction of the negation markers is regularized to the whole category of the verbs with the singular personal markers. On the basis of the cases discussed previously as well as cross-linguistic evidence, we can hypothesize that the negation marker originally weakened in particular lexical items of the highest frequency first and was then generalized to the whole category.

In addition to the above data, irregular allomorphy motivated by frequent criteria characterizes some other morphemes. The future marker alternates as *ta~taka*, with the longer allomorph preserved only in relative clauses which are a context of low frequency, cf. *atafanya* '(s)he will do' and *atakayefanya* '(the one) who will do'. In class 4 *mi~my~m* variation, the shorter allomorph tends to appear with some adjectives of high frequency, but not with nouns and low frequency adjectives, e.g. *mingi* 'many', *miiba* 'thorns', *miovu* 'bad' (cf. Kraska-Szlenk 2007, 2009 for details).

It is well known that apart from idiosyncratic irregular reductions discussed thus far in this paper, Swahili has a number of regularized morphophonemic processes which apply across-the-board in particular contexts. All of such alternations are based on the mentioned earlier pattern: a full variant (*CV* or *V*) before a consonant and a reduced variant (*C* or *CG*) before a vowel. The following examples (of reduced variants only marked in bold) of noun class markers illustrate: before the tense marker *a*, e.g. *gari laibwa* 'the car is stolen', before the associative particle *a*, e.g. *miti ya machungwa* 'orange trees', with possessive pronouns, e.g. *nyumba yao* 'their house', with the relative pronoun *o*, e.g. *kitabu nilichokinunua* 'the book which I bought', with the pronoun *ote*, e.g. *habari zote* 'all news'. What is interesting about all such regularized cases of allomorphy is that it takes place in highly grammaticalized, and therefore frequent contexts. It can be hypothesized that such general patterns diachronically arose from idiosyncratic reductions similar to the ones previously discussed in this section and by lexical diffusion and analogy extended onto all lexical items co-occurring with these morphemes.

4. Advanced morphophonological reductions in non-standard dialects.

The non-Standard dialects of Swahili exhibit much more reductions in various morphophonological environments. I will illustrate some of them starting with the contexts mentioned before in section 2. The data are cited after the general sources as Bertoncini (1999) and Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993), and more detailed sources as Maganga (1991) for Kimakunduchi, Kipemba and Kitumbatu, and Kisseberth and Abasheikh (1976) for Chimwiini. Since the sources of the dialectal data usually do not include comments on frequency and regularity of the reductions, no attempt will be made to determine how advanced the process of the lexical diffusion in particular dialects is and in most cases I will limit myself to showing the examples.

Many Swahili dialects demonstrate considerable reductions of personal subject markers before vowel-initial stems. For some dialects, non-syllabic variants appear in the sources as the only possible pronunciation (e.g. Kimakunduchi, Kitumbatu in (4) below); for some others, it is given as optional to the full vowel variant (e.g. Kipemba, Kivumba). Recall that in Standard Swahili only *twende* 'let's go' shows this kind of reduction. It is also common to reduce the 1st person marker *ni* to *n* before some consonants, as seen in the examples in (4), where Standard Swahili forms (or underlying forms, where there are no comparable Standard forms) are given in parentheses for comparison.

(4) Reduction (coalescence) of the subject prefix before a verbal root

a. Kimakunduchi:

tuze (St. Sw. *tuuze*) 'let's sell', *nyuze* (St. Sw. *niuze*) 'let me sell',
nyone (St. Sw. *nione*) 'let me see', *nyimbi* (< *niimba*) 'I sang',
nyono (< *niona*) 'I saw', *nvata* (< *nivata*) 'I got'

b. Kitumbatu:

nyone (St. Sw. *nione*) 'let me see', *simbi* (St. Sw. *siimbi*) 'I don't sing', *suzu* (< *siuzi*) 'I don't sell'

c. Kipemba:

niezeke~nyezeke 'let me thatch', *nipate~mpate* (St. Sw. *nipate*) 'let me get', *ninunue~nnunue* (St. Sw. *ninunue*) 'let me buy'

d. Kivumba:

wera (St. Sw. *waita*) 'they call', *nuze* (St. Sw. *niuze*) 'let me sell', *nambe~niambe* 'let me say', *senende~sienende* 'I am not going'

Similarly, the reduction of the infinitive prefix *ku* is more advanced in non-Standard dialects than in Standard Swahili and occurs not only with high frequency lexical items but with many other verbs, too, as shown in (5a) and (5b) by Kimakunduchi and Chichifundi/Kivumba examples, respectively. The allomorphy is completely regularized in Chimwiini, where each allomorph is phonologically conditioned with the *k*-allomorph before a vowel-initial stem, *x*-allomorph before voiceless consonants, and the full form *ku* in the remaining contexts (Kisseberth and Abasheikh 1976), as illustrated in (5c) below.

(5) Reduction of cl. 15 *ku* in non-Standard dialects

a. Kimakunduchi: *kona* 'to see' (St. Sw. *kuona*), *kwambizana* 'to speak' (St. Sw. *kuambiana*)

b. Chichifundi/Kivumba: *koga* 'bathe' (St. Sw. *kuoga*), *kosa* 'to wash' (St. Sw. *kuosha*)

c. Chimwiini: *kambila* 'to say', *ki:mba* 'to sing', *xpika* 'to cook', *xfana* 'to do', *kugafa* 'to make a mistake', *kubu:sa* 'to kiss'

Unlike in Standard Swahili, reductions of object markers are quite common in dialectal data, as illustrated in (6). All examples of the earlier mentioned subject markers as well as object markers in (6) are personal and I could not find comparable data containing non-personal markers of other classes. Consequently, no conclusive claim can be made as to the scope of these reductions: whether they are

limited to widely used personal markers or extend to class markers which generally have much lower text frequencies.

(6) Reduction of the object prefix

a. Kimakunduchi:

atone (St. Sw. *atuone*) ‘let him see us’, *akone* (St. Sw. *akuone*) ‘let him see you’, *anyuze* (St. Sw. *aniuze*) ‘let him sell me’

b. Kipemba:

wanepuke~wanyepuke (St. Sw. *wanepuke*) ‘let them avoid me’, *wanifiche~wamfiche* (St. Sw. *wanifiche*) ‘let them hide me’

c. Chichifundi:

were (St. Sw. *waite*) ‘call them’, *ruchiwajiza* (St. Sw. *tuliwaagiza*) ‘we ordered them’, *ulienira* (St. Sw. *aliyeniita*) ‘(one) who called me’

Another context for reduction is the juncture between a tense/aspect marker and a verbal root. As the examples in (7) illustrate, the vowel of the grammatical morpheme undergoes coalescence with that of the following verbal root.

(7) Reduction (coalescence) of the tense/aspect marker before a verbal root

a. Kimakunduchi:

tukemba (< *tukaimba*) ‘we sang’, *hatujemba* (< *hatujaimba*) ‘we haven’t sung’, *tukoza* (< *tukauza*) ‘we sold’, *hatujoza* (< *hatujauza*) ‘we haven’t sold’

b. Chichifundi:

rukeba (St. Sw. *tukaiba*) ‘we stole’

Subject prefixes may also undergo idiosyncratic reduction before a tense/aspect marker starting with a consonant which does not take place in Standard Swahili, except for the optional shortening of the 1st person marker *ni*, cf. *ninakuja* ~ *nnakuja* ~ *nakuja* ‘I am coming’.

The deletion of the prefix's vowel and, subsequently, the deletion or fusion of the prefix's consonant leads to other changes, most conspicuous in the case of the 1st person marker *ni*, as shown in the examples in (8) below.

(8) Reduction (fusion) of the subject prefix before a tense/aspect marker

a. Kimvita:

tʰakwambia (St. Sw. *nitakuambia*) 'I will tell you', *nnakuja* (St. Sw. *ninakuja*) 'I am coming'

b. Kipemba, Kimakunduchi, Kitumbatu:

tʰaimba (< *nitaimba*) 'I will sing', *tʰaʔka* (< *nitaimba*) 'I will wake up'

c. Kitumbatu:

hapata (< *nikapata*) 'I got', *hona* (< *nikaona*) 'I saw', *sambili* (< *nisiambili*) 'I don't tell'

The final example in this section includes the data from Makunduchi, which show idiosyncratic reduction in the negative form of the frequent verb *jua* 'know'.

(9) Kimakunduchi idiosyncratic reduction in the negative form of the verb *jua* 'know'

a. *heji* (St. Sw. *hajui*) 'he does not know'

b. *sikwiji* (St. Sw. *sikujui*) 'I do not know you'

With the exception of the last example in (9) which involves a case of a lexically specified idiosyncratic change presumably limited to this one verb, the dialectal data demonstrate a large corpus of evidence for a widely extended diffusion of reduction processes in various morphophonemic contexts.

5. Innovative reduction in informal registers in Standard Swahili

The Standard Swahili data as previously presented in section 3 are to some extent idealized and representative of the textbooks, grammars and formal registers. In real language usage, the pronunciation is not so homogenous and variation between unreduced and respected reduced forms is bound to occur, especially in the spoken language and in colloquial or fast speech. Reduced innovations occasionally infiltrate into the written language, too, as shown in (10) by examples coming from Shafi Adam Shafi's novel *Vuta n'kuvute* (Dar es Salaam 1999). In the book, the reductions like these occur only in the dialog parts and never in the narrator's passages and they seem to represent "colloquial Swahili" rather than specific dialectal forms. As seen from these examples, reductions take place in multiple contexts and involve various morphemes: subject personal markers in a number of different environments, as in (10a), object prefixes in (10b) and other morphemes, as in (10c). But in the majority of cases the reduction affects high frequency expressions; it occurs with verbs, such as *kwenda* 'go' and *kwisha* 'end', but not with low frequency verbs, as for example *kuimba* 'to sing' which would always occur in its full form. The only exception is the behavior of the first person marker *ni* which is reduced with other verbs as well, as in *ntatangulia* 'I will go first', *n'kuvute* 'let me pull you' or *un-an'tazama* 'you are looking at me'. All examples in (10) have formal equivalents included in parentheses; both variants of reduced/unreduced morphemes are underlined for convenience.

(10) Examples of reduction and coalescence in Shafi's novel *Vuta n'kuvute* (1999)

a. subject prefix reduction/coalescence:

ntatangulia (nitatangulia) (SP+tense *ta*)

'I will go first'

n'kuvute (nikuvute) (SP+OP *ku*)

'let me pull you'

yeshe (yaishe) (SP+ verb *isha*)

'let them (cl. 6) end'

haw <u>e</u> shi (hawa <u>i</u> shi)	(neg+SP+ verb <i>isha</i>)
‘they do not end’	
ha <u>i</u> shi (hai <u>i</u> shi)	(neg+SP+verb <i>isha</i>)
‘it (cl. 9) does not end’	
b. object prefix reduction:	
haku <u>n</u> ambia (haku <u>n</u> ambia)	(OP <i>ni</i> + verb <i>ambia</i>)
‘(s)he did not tell you’	
<u>n</u> ambiye (<u>n</u> ambie)	(OP <i>ni</i> + verb <i>ambia</i>)
‘tell me’	
un <u>a</u> n’tazama (un <u>a</u> nitazama)	(OP <i>ni</i> + verb <i>tazama</i>)
‘you are looking at me’	
ali <u>k</u> wabia (aliku <u>u</u> ambia)	(OP <i>ku</i> +verb <i>ambia</i>)
‘(s)he told you’	
c. coalescence of other morphemes in pre-verbal contexts:	
<u>h</u> endi (<u>h</u> a <u>e</u> ndi)	(neg <i>ha</i> +verb <i>enda</i>)
‘(s)he is not going’	
<u>n</u> ikenda (nik <u>i</u> enda)	(AM <i>ki</i> +verb <i>enda</i>)
‘if I go’	
y <u>a</u> sishe (y <u>a</u> si <u>i</u> she)	(neg <i>si</i> +verb <i>isha</i>)
‘let it (cl. 6) not end’	

A more detailed study, based on the spoken language needs to be done to determine, how representative Shafi’s dialog forms are for the colloquial Swahili and how much the variation is determined by the frequency criteria. I leave this for the future research.

Conclusion

The data discussed in this paper demonstrate that a number of the Standard Swahili morphophonological reductions are restricted to the high frequency lexemes. Because the affixes undergoing the weakening are found in many other lexical contexts, there is a potential of lexical diffusion and applying the same process in larger domains. This is especially encouraged by the fact that an internalized allo-morphy rule can be easily formulated in phonological terms (a hiatus

resolution) and similar allomorphy characterizes a number of other Swahili affixes on a regular basis. Such extended reductions are commonly found in many non-standardized dialects. They also appear in informal varieties in Standard Swahili. This could indicate a case of inter-dialectal borrowing, but it could be as well treated as an independent process, especially since the more advanced reductions seem to be limited to the high frequency contexts.

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Reviews

Thomas Bearth, Jasmina Bonato, Karin Geitlinger, Lorenza Coray-Dapretto, Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig, Thomas Olver (eds.), *African Languages in Global Society. Les langues africaines à l'heure de la mondialisation. Lugha za Kiafrika kwenye enzi ya utandawezi*, „Topics in Interdisciplinary African Studies” 15, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2009, 499 pp.

The present volume contains fifty-four papers accepted for publication from among 101 contributions that were read at the Symposium „Text in Context: African Languages between Orality and Scriptuality”, which was organised by the Africanist Section of the University of Zurich in co-operation with the Swiss Society of African Studies. It took place at the University of Zurich between 17 and 21 October, 2001. The Symposium gathered 131 registered participants, among them 62 scholars from Sub-Saharan Africa. From 22 to 25 October there was a Post-Symposium on African languages in digital society, attended by 30 participants. The Symposium was accompanied by further highlights like „African Languages and African Football – a Literary Competition” (October 19) and „Public Round-Table on Multilingual and Multicultural Education in Africa and Europe in the 21st Century” (October 20).

From among fifty-four papers accepted for publication, thirty-nine were in hard copy form, and they constitute the core of the present volume. Fifteen others have been included as part A of the companion CD-ROM enveloped in the dust jacket. Part F of the CD-ROM contains a selection of poetic texts submitted by African writers in response to a competition on African languages and African football, which was launched by the Swiss Society of African Studies. More detailed information on technical aspects of the Symposium and on the contents of published papers can be found in a „Preface” by Thomas Bearth, main editor of the volume (English

version pp. XV-XXVII and a shorter French version XXIX-XXXVI). The main bulk of the book is preceded by a „Dibaji/ Prologue” by the Euphrase Kezilahabi’s authorship (pp. XXVII-XXXIX) and by *Kumbukumbu*, a Swahili obituary of the late Ruth M. Besha (pp. XLI-XLIII) by Yared M. Kihore. She attended the Symposium and delivered a plenary address to its participants just a few months before her untimely death. Her contribution titled „Regional and local languages as resources of human development in the age of globalisation” (pp. 1-13) opens the essential part of the volume. In this introductory paper Professor Besha has taken into consideration the linguistic profile of Tanzania and tried to demonstrate how the language issue could be a key to the „non-development” of Africa.

In the first section, „African verbal art and contemporary society” (pp. 15-90) six papers have been published. Eric Adja shows in his contribution how Fongbe proverbs are used in modern Benin media for the social and political purposes. The dialogically enacted proverbs are even used in the electoral campaigns as evidenced by two attached voting papers. Sa’idu Babura Ahmad compares three versions of a Hausa story known as „Ruwan Bagaja” (The Water of Bagaja), which were transmitted in 1911-1913, 1971 and 2001 respectively through three different media: orality, Latin script and present-day „hybrid” media. The researcher points out that all the media, oral, print and electronic, are flourishing side by side up to date, although in different social circles. Story-telling sessions take place in almost all towns and villages throughout northern Nigeria. Having provided brief information on the Yoruba kingship, institutions and the palace poetry, Akintunde Akinyemi comes to a conclusion that the Yoruba traditional rulers have skilfully managed to „domesticate” the palace chanting to their own advantage. In our times the palace artists use their art to further confirm the sacredness of the kings. Making use of her own field research among the Zarma people from Niger, Sandra Bornand discusses the power relationships between a genealogist/historian (*jasare*) Djéliba Badjé and a Zarma noble. In order to enjoy a dominant position in society, the noble has to submit temporarily to the griot who is socially inferior but is able to define the principles of behaviour. The paper presented

by Getie Gelaye analyses the role of two genres – *quererto* „war songs” and *fukkerä* „heroic recitals” – of the Amharic poetry, which was composed, recited and sung by the peasants of East Gojjam in response to the unjust land redistribution policy carried out by the Ethiopian government in 1996/1997. Those poems express peasants’ grievances, protests and feelings of bitter sorrow and condemn the Land Distribution Policy. They are directed against local officials and denounce their corruption and injustice, thus pointing to the conflicts between rural population and local armed agents. Wole Ogundele reminds the reader that the Yoruba language functions on a midway between the complete orality and the unachieved literacy. Since two decennia it has been used as a main vehicle in the Yoruba video film production, which combines technology and commercial motives with traditional culture, and displays some specific features of African post-modernism understood as a counterpart of post-colonialism.

The second section, „African languages in African literature” (pp. 91-149), contains five papers and opens with a study by Fatimata Munkaïla and Abdoul-Aziz Issa Daouda, in which they try to analyse the complex reasons, which motivate the Nigerian writers to choose some ancient local names for the characters of their novels. In an analysis of *L’Anté-people* novel by Sony Labou Tansi, Jean-Michel Nzikou discovers some traces of four Congolese mother tongues (Kikongo, Lingala, Munukutuba and Teke), which have penetrated the French written work and „[...] operate like a palimpsest, a re-writing of a culture dominated by orality” (p. 105). Michel Naumann concentrates on the second generation urban literature in Nigeria and contrasts it with the literary work of representatives of the first one (Chinua Achebe, Wole Şoyinka). He examines the novels by Biyi Bendele-Thomas (born 1967), in which town varieties of language are used for the literary purpose. Richard Samin tries to point out why Es’kia Mphahlele combines English with his mother tongue seSotho and with the forms borrowed from orality in his creative output, and especially in the novel titled *Father Come Home*. Doing thus Mphahlele shapes a form of literary writing meant to be understood by all South African readers. Antoinette Tidjani Alou first

discusses the obstacles which discourage the development of creative writing in Niger, and then concentrates on two of the best-known literary works: *L'Aventure de Bi Kado fils de noir* by Boubou Hama and *Sarraounia* by Abdoulaye Mamani. She aims to elucidate the interplay of history and magic in those novels.

The third section, „African languages in education and society” (pp. 151-271), contains 9 contributions and starts with the paper by François A. Adopo, in which he presents the Programme of an Integrated School, a basic educational programme launched recently by the government of the Ivory Coast Republic. It is aimed at overcoming the gap between formal education and the socio-cultural milieu of the pupils, and gives the languages (10 of them, including Diula and Baule) habitually spoken by the pupils their place in the school teaching. „Quel avenir pour les élèves malgaches d’aujourd’hui?”: trying to answer this question Béatrice Coffen presents a short history of the linguistic situation on Madagascar, discusses the so-called *malgachisation* policy based on a new variety of the Merina language known as *malgache commun*, and describes the re-introduction of French as the language of education. There are many obstacles which make it difficult to introduce home languages into the educational systems of the African countries. Those challenges are dealt with by Elisabeth Gfeller who substantiates her findings by her own field experience in the Western Region of Ethiopia. To the main obstacles belongs the necessity to choose one of three alphabets as there are three scripts in competition there: Arabic, Ethiopic and Latin. Andrew Haruna provides detailed information on various attempts to formulate a language policy in education in Northern Nigeria. He pays special attention to the „[...] circumstantial position of Hausa and English” (p. 191) and points to some of the barriers which hinder the effective use of Hausa as a medium of instruction. Sociolinguistic situation in Morocco is presented by Frank Jablonka who undertook empirical research in suburbs of Rabat-Salé and interviewed young educated urban speakers. He concentrates on the aspect of cultural identity related to three languages in contact: Arabic, dialectal Arabic and French. According to his findings the competence in French does not challenge the identity based on Arabo-

Islamic culture. Kapele Kapanga appeals to the policy makers asking them to grant their support to basic education in the mother tongues of Africa. He claims that languages and ideologies inherited from the colonial times constitute main hindrance to the participative democracy and to the political empowerment as such.

The paper by Stephen M. Neke & Jan Blommaert comments upon the Medium of Instruction debate in Tanzania, which began as early as in 1961. It has been drawn from an extensive research, which arose from a widespread belief that the notion of English is equivalent to education. The authors made use of two sources: newspaper articles and the open field interviews with secondary school teachers. The majority of respondents linked English with the high quality education whereas Swahili was imagined as a vehicle of a poor quality education. Colette Noyau & Alilou Cissé take into account the relation between oral (home) and written (French) languages in the school system of Togo and Benin. The majority of children “discover” the French language only when they go to school. It makes the learning process a very complex cognitive task for them. The image of the linguistic situation in Niger stems from an inquiry carried out among some 3.800 persons by a team of the Swiss and Niger sociolinguists: the results of their research have been presented by Pascal Singy. Twenty tongues are spoken in this country, nine of them being recognised as national languages. Although French occupies a privileged position, Hausa and Zarma challenge it in many formal contexts as low variety of the vehicular diglossy, and they oppose French as the vehicular of the “high” variety.

Only two papers have been published in a section titled “African languages and gender” (pp. 273-275). Soundjock-Soundjock presents there a Camerounian epic of Mongo Dзам containing as many as 36.592 verses, in which its hero accedes to the throne through the agency of two brave and wise women: king’s daughter and a wife of a supernatural creature. The second paper by Inyang Udofot aims at providing linguistic evidence for the existence of sexism in Nigerian languages. The author takes into account ten randomly selected tongues and substantiates his statement by a thorough analysis of phrases which are used in order to portray women and to show some atti-

tudes towards them. He comes to a conclusion that sexism present in some Nigerian languages ignores, insults and deprecates women, but in the Ijaw community women are highly regarded, which is certainly due to the fact that they are a matrilineal community.

In the next section, "From orality to writing" (pp 297-368), Christine Glanz presents an essay on the religious literacy of the Baganda people in Uganda. The study constitutes an extract from the wider research conducted in urban Kampala and in the rural Mpigi District. The Ugandan language policy allows the language choice in cultural activities. The languages understood by the majority, Luganda and English, dominate religious events in the area under study. Arabic is obligatory language of Islam, whereas Christianity does not prescribe a specific tongue. The paper by Peter Gottschligg explores dialectal variations according to the initial consonant alternation (ICA) of the Fulfulde verb and comes to a conclusion that due to the multitude of dialectal features of ICA it seems pointless to make an attempt at a pan-dialectally standardised written form of this language. Nawdba from Togo have non-hierarchical social structure, which makes us understand the absence of a prestige dialect of Nawdm, their language. Jacques Nicole explains how a specific Nawdm orthography has been conceived in order to enable the members of each dialectal group to read the texts with their own dialectal particularities. The use of Berber as a national language of Algeria (since 2001) continues to be limited essentially to the oral communication. It is split off in various dialects and at present has three graphic systems: Latin, Arabic and "Lybico-Berber" script Tifinagh. Noura Tigziri explains how, despite all the difficulties, the Berber users try to create websites using mostly a variety of the Tifinagh script. Having discussed the complementary roles of speaking and writing within the general communication complex, Petr Zima pays attention to the specific types of literacy in Africa, restricted and extended one, and points to its transitory character. African literacies and literatures are deeply affected by the fast increasing impact of audio-visual mass media.

In the section "African languages in language planning and language politics" (pp. 369-448) seven papers have been published. Elena Bertoncini discusses a particular language variety, which is

used in a Swahili weekly titled *Kasheshe*. It is written in a strange language and style with the aim to distinguish it from other Swahili newspapers. Two other papers on Swahili and in Swahili are also based on an analysis of the press language. Nelli V. Gromova detects a number of common features, which are characteristic for the Tanzanian press in general. She emphasises that the language of newspapers is incessantly enriching and renewing itself by the use of new phraseology, borrowings from English and sociolects. Yared M. Ki-hore discusses a number of grammatical features of the editorials in the newspapers *Mtanzania* (A Tanzanian) and *Majira* (name of a radio programme), which are privately owned and which command a reputable position in the country. The paper by Daniel Franck Idiata focuses on the Gabon languages and evaluates their vitality by analysing the data concerning the language use by some 1.200 children from Libreville. Tanzania's changing language policy and its impact on socio-economic development is dealt with by Daniel J. Mkude. According to his prophecy, the impact of liberalisation and free market economy may push Swahili back and eventually marginalise it. The author is in favour of developing a unifying African language: the obvious candidate for this role is Swahili. Josué Ndamba, from the critical viewpoint, first reviews different reasons for the maintenance *status quo* in the use of African languages, and then proposes an integrated language planning in the frame of the regional integration scheme, in which the Congo languages should be taken into account. The article by Yolande Nzang-Bie proposes an initial approach to the standardisation of the Fang language in Gabon. The data coming from over 400 informants suggest that the reference dialect ought to be chosen by the language communities themselves.

The final section of the volume, "African languages in the digital age" (pp. 449-495), consists of four papers. Russell H. Kaschula is preoccupied with the use of the South African national languages on Internet. He believes that the increasing use of cellular phones could facilitate the access to the African languages functioning in the web system. The paper by Maurice Tadadjeu and Blasius Chiatoh concentrates on the possibilities of developing digital satellite communication network in African languages. It contains some proposals, which

are intended to introduce the concept of the satellite communication project. Kwesi Yankah tries to demonstrate how the language of *mass media* has contributed to shaping the culture and democracy in Ghana. He argues that the privately owned radio has helped to valorise an indigenous (Akan) language and fostered greater participation in the decision making process. The last paper of the volume by Akosua Anyidoho describes how the emergence of public and private regional radios has contributed to the promotion of the national languages of Ghana. She concentrates on the communication strategies of the radio and TV presenters, and on the development of the Akan language.

In an epilogue Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig (pp. 497-499) rightly observes that the eight years delay in publishing proceedings of the Zurich Symposium did not make them in any way outdated. On the contrary: "The problems raised and the ideas forwarded by the discussants are as acute as they used to be at the time of the Symposium" (p. 497). The papers published in the hard copy form display considerable equilibrium: twenty of them have been published in English and seventeen in French. Two papers in Swahili make us believe that African languages deserve more dignified place in the world wide scientific discourse. The volume has been edited in an exemplary way from both the technical and professional point of view.

Stanisław Pilaszewicz

Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig, Frank Seidel, Marc Seifert (eds.), *Language Contact, Language Change and History Based on Language Sources in Africa*, "Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika/SUGIA" 20 (Special Volume), Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2009, 385 pp.

A special issue of SUGIA makes known the proceedings of international workshop held at Koenigswinter near Bonn in 2007. The volume brings together the experiences of linguists working in the field of linguistic historiography in Africa. Main contribution are results of the project "Migration, Settlement and Cultural History on the Basis of Linguistic Sources in South-West Africa" undertaken by the Special Research Centre ACACIA of the University of Cologne.

The volume contains 13 articles on language history and history based on language sources. The geographical area is not strictly limited, however, the subjects of the project focus mainly on the Bantu languages of Northern Namibia and Southern Angola. In this case, linguistic data are used as evidence for the pre-colonial history of the people speaking these languages. Some data come from the other regions of East, West and South Africa (from Songhay, Jukun, Kordofanian, Mande, and Khoesan languages). The language data are not direct sources for the history, they are used to discuss methodological aspects of tracing back the language history when the written sources lack. The volume presents the most significant achievements of the diachronic studies in the field of African linguistics in the last few decades.

The methodological background of the volume is presented in the opening article by the Editors: Wilhelm J.G.Möhlrig, Frank Seidel, and Marc Seifert, i.e. *Language Contact, Language Change and History: Based on Language Sources in Africa*. With reference to the historical studies of African languages, two models of change are seen as basic for recognition of language history: evolutionary change (documented on the ground of historical comparative method) and contact induced change. Contact phenomena that support the idea of non-linear evolution and significantly modify the concept of mono-genealogical development of languages, are recognized as different scenarios that can be interpreted from the historical perspective. In this context, the authors also mention a very specific method of dialectometry which is a device to measure the degree of proximity between dialects and languages in coherent geographic areas. They demonstrate its use in historical argumentation. The article serves as guidelines on different linguistic methods adopted in reconstructions and their value for interpretation of historical processes.

The case studies presented in the book make an attempt to correlate linguistic sources with some extra-linguistic facts, and give them a historical interpretation. Different sources are taken into consideration, such as oral literature, art, ethnographic and archeological sources, social structure, economy, etc.

Roger Blench in his article *Was there an Interchange between Cushitic Pastoralists and Khoesan Speakers in the Prehistory of Southern Africa and how can this be Detected?* develops a hypothesis that in ancient times there was interaction of Khoe speakers and Cushitic pastoralists somewhere in modern central Zambia. Such a hypothesis which is supported by the arguments of comparative ethnography and archeology, would not be possible without linguistic evidence (mostly lexical etymologies) that indicate the transmission of cattle culture.

Another approach to understanding the African prehistory is presented in Koen Bostoen's article *Semantic Vagueness and Cross-Linguistic Lexical Fragmentation in Bantu: Impeding Factors for Linguistic Paleontology*. It is shown that the far horizon of cultural history (evolution of Bantu pottery in this case) is recognizable through the analysis of vocabulary, that includes semantic fields within lexical items and their semantic shifts.

Inge Brinkman (*Writing, Oral traditions and the Construction of Ethnic Identities*) defines ethnohistory at a more abstract level and discusses the questions of orality and literacy in the context of ethnicity. The case studies of two areas in Angola (South-East Angola and Northern Angola) show that understanding of ethnic identity is co-related with cultural and historical environment and therefore oral traditions can hardly be interpreted through events.

The interrelation between oral tradition and linguistic findings is also discussed in Geritt J. Dimmendaal's article *Esoterogeny and Localist Strategies in a Nuba Mountain*. The language contact scenario (rather than strategies of intentional manipulation proposed earlier) serves as an explanation for the linguistic distance between the two genetically related languages - Tima and Katla.

Axel Fleisch in *Language History in SE Angola: The Ngangela-Nyemba Dialect Cluster* discusses the instance of non-linear language development which is the result of intensive language contact leading to language shift and a double affiliations. With a dialectometrical approach (providing separate measuring of lexical and phonological evidence), the author describes the ties between the lan-

guages of the Nyangela-Nyemba cluster to shows their different historical scenarios.

Wilfrid H.G.Haacke analyses contact phenomena with regard to interpretation of genetical links within Khoisan languages. In the article *Crossing the Linguistic Divide between Namibian Khoekhoe and Kalahari Khoe: Possible Directions for Future Research* the linguistic data provide clues about the early migratory history of Khoe-speaking peoples.

Eileen Kose's article *A Sketch of Pre-Colonial Metalworking in Northern Namibia and Southern Angola* investigates the spread of iron production in south-west Africa. In this case, source material is represented by archeological findings that receive confirmation in oral history and cultural anthropology. Also linguistic evidence, such as rituals and taboos or place names supplement archeological data and shed more light on iron working groups and links between the people.

Wilhelm J.G.Möhlrig presents *Historiography on the Basis of Contemporary Linguistic Data: The Herero Case*, that gives an adjustment of historical linguistic findings to the extra-linguistic historical picture. This fundamental question on language traces of past events is here investigated through the analysis of the Herero speech community. Interesting results concern distinguishing contact scenarios in the development of language that are arguments for the interpretation of historical facts (migrations, social turbulences in the region) known from other sources.

Robert Nicolai in his article *Language Contact, Areality, and History: the Songhay Question Revisited* presents the complex picture of language history that gives new content to the traditional notion of "genetic origin". The hypothesis that the Songhay language was formed by contacts with different languages and therefore it may serve as an instance of a *mixed* language is controversial and not fully accepted by linguists dealing with language reconstruction. However, the paper demonstrates that the historical evidence from non-linguistic sources warrants the support for the hypothesis that Songhay has evolved through contact of a variety of Mande with the Arabic-Berber *lingua franca*.

A detailed study of a contact zone is presented in Hennig Schreiber's article *Social Networks, Linguistic Variation and Micro Change in an African Context: A Case Study in the Borderland of Mali and Burkina Faso*. The research made in two neighbouring villages demonstrates the mechanisms of language change that are observed at the level of individual contacts across the language family borders. It explains language change by social network structure. The analysis has a methodological value for the studies on different types of language contact situations.

The contact phenomena interpreted in terms of the concept of stratification are demonstrated by the history of Yeyi, a Bantu language spoken in convergence area between the Bantu and Khoisan families. Frank Seidel (*Layered Language Genesis in the 'Catch Basin' of the Linyanti and Okavango Swamps: The Case of Yeyi*) does not question the genetic relationship of that language, but rather focuses on 'layering' of innovative influences that make the genetic relationship not discernable.

Marc Seifert presents a study on oral literature. The article *Folktales as a Source for Historical Traces: The Reintroduction of Iron Working along the Central Kavango* is an analysis of narrative texts that gives a contribution both to methodological study on diachronic methods of text comparison and to the historical study on ironworking in the northern Namibia and southern Angola.

Anne Storch's article *Cultured Contact: Ritualisation and Semantics in Jukun* refers to secret and ritual speech that functions in multi-lingual context. Special registers are placed in social and cultural context and are interpreted in terms of contact scenarios.

The book is edited in an excellent way, the data from African languages are supported by diagrams, figures, and maps. References are indicated at the end of each article, whereas the bibliography is fully listed at the end of the volume. The index of languages and subjects near the back of the book enables finding the item (topic) in the text.

Language Contact, Language Change and History Based on Language Sources in Africa provides a significant contribution to linguistic historiography of Africa. First of all, however, the publication makes a thorough overview of the results of diachronic linguis-

tics in the area of African studies and gives them a new dimension. It focuses on explaining contact phenomena and linking them to historical events on the continent. The contributors give the evidence to the idea that contact scenarios, not the reconstruction of protolanguage, are main goal of linguistic studies oriented at tracing the history of the people speaking these languages.

Nina Pawlak

Norbert Cyffer & Georg Ziegelmeyer (eds.), *When Languages Meet. Language Contact and Change in West Africa*, "Topics in African Studies" 13, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2009, 160 pp.

The book is a collection of 8 papers on language contact and change that provides exemplification of areal influences in the development of languages. Various case studies examine contact phenomena in West Africa, with a consideration of their universality and areality. The interest focuses on the very specific territory of the West African Sahel region. This is a contact area where three African language families meet, i.e. Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo, and where genetically unrelated languages are used in a relatively close distance.

The book explores different perspectives in the development of Kanuri which was a dominant language of the area in earlier times (as the official language of the Kanem-Bornu empire) and position of which has faded nowadays. Various aspects of its change that are caused by the linguistic context are demonstrated in three contributions.

Norbert Cyffer in his article *Cause and reason in Kanuri: the impact of areality on linguistic change* investigates the means of expressing subordination that are interpreted in terms of sentence/clause structures influenced by contact. The presentation of data is supported by more general linguistic observation that sentence structures are not much determined by language family patterns. In the processes of language development the concept for grammatical marking and the relevant formatives are distinguished as separate notions.

Doris Löhr's article *Reduction of dialectal features in Kanuri as outcome of language contact* demonstrates the leveling processes within dialect continuum of Kanuri that are strongly connected with the spread of Hausa in this area. The data collected by the author during her field research are to show the 'linguistic accommodation' at the level of phonology and syntax. The analysis shows the implementation of some Hausa subordinators (*hár/háttá* 'until', *dón/dalil* 'because', *tún da* 'since', *sái dái > séde* 'except, until', *dole* 'must') that are used on the whole Kanuri-speaking area without respecting Kanuri dialect boundaries.

The incorporation of foreign features at all levels of grammatical structure is recognized in the Buduma-Kanuri direct contact situation. In *Quelques aspects des interférences kanuri-buduma* Ari Awagana demonstrates the instances when the two genetically unrelated languages share not only the lexicon, but also properties of nominal and verbal morphology. In this context, a very specific feature was recognized on the phonological ground, namely articulation of the Buduma words 'in a Kanuri way', that respects the morpho-phonological alternations characteristic of that language.

The West African Sahel region is also investigated as an area of the dominant position of Hausa, both in the past and in the modern times. In the article *The Hausa particle koo – a widely spread formative in Northern Nigeria*, Georg Ziegelmeyer presents the polyfunctional and polysemantic particle *koo* (which is Hausa by origin) that is frequently employed in some other languages spoken in northern Nigeria. The fact that the languages (Fulfulde, Chamba-Daka and Guruntum) are representatives of different language families illustrates the impact of external factors on the development of language structures. Author's claim about the restricted area in which the particle *koo* is employed, is a contribution to the studies on ethnic and cultural contacts in the region.

The question of lexical borrowings from Hausa to Adamawa-Fulfulde is investigated in terms of social conditions that motivate those loans and linguistic aspects of their grammatical adaptation. Abubakar Umar Girei (*Hausa loanwords in Adamawa-Fulfulde: a question of prestige or sociolinguistic necessity*) presents a rich do-

cumentation of Hausa loanwords from various social and cultural registers in both original and modified form. However, the orthography does not clearly reflect the mechanisms of adaptation. As the original Hausa words are presented in the standardized orthography which does not provide marking long vowels (*direba*, *doya*, *karuwa*, *uwar gida*) they are hardly comparable with their equivalents in Fulfulde which are marked for vowel length (*direeba*, *dooya*, *kaaruwa*, *uwar gida*). Moreover, some original Hausa terms are written not in standard form (*zanin gado*, *kosay*) that makes the Adamawa Hausa a distinct variety distinguished for the purposes of this investigation.

Out of 'the Borno convergence zone' and 'Hausa *lingua franca* territory' the book provides the evidence for areal features in another area of West Africa that emerged from the contact between South Mande and Kru languages (for which the term 'Upper-Guinean Coast Sprachbund' is used). Valentine Vydrine's article *Areal features in South Mande and Kru languages* gives a rich catalogue of both phonological and morphological features that are common to the languages of the area. The distribution of some characteristic sounds (labiovelar consonants **kp**, **gb**) and spreading of morphophonological rules are noted (like e.g. vowel harmony and the rule of "consonant homoresonance" which means realization of a foot-internal /-L-/ as [-n-], [-r-] or [-l-] depending on the class of the foot-initial consonant). The common 'culture vocabulary' and even 'basic vocabulary' raise questions about historical arguments explaining the similarities. Some of them are discussed in the article.

A new pattern of language contact in Africa is presented in Bamidele Rotimi Badejo's article *The dynamics of Yoruba-English contact in Nigeria*. The author examines the relation between European and African languages in South-Western Nigeria. In this case, the co-existing of languages without the contact of the neighbouring societies determines the nature of new linguistic phenomena. The point is to show the ongoing change of English and its development as a new means of expression in the new cultural environment.

The contact between Arabic and African languages is discussed in Sergio Baldi's paper *Arabic loans in West African languages: a semantic shift*. It is a presentation of loans in which the change of their

source meaning is determined by some non-linguistic conditions. This aspect of linguistic change is important in tracing the earlier forms of common roots and their reconstruction, therefore the interpretation of changes in terms of language contact is a contribution to more general historical investigations.

The book under review presents a significant contribution to areal studies in both theoretical and material dimension. The contact phenomena are richly documented at the level of phonology, morphology, and syntax. The examples of spreading the vocabulary contribute much to the studies on common cultural zones in Africa. The recognized features are important for understanding more global tendencies in linguistic change, through which the idea of *Sprachbund* has gained thorough and more complex interpretation.

Nina Pawlak

Jouni Maho, *The Bantu Bibliography*, African Linguistics Bibliographies 8, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2008, 844+xxiii pp.

The eighth monumental volume of *African Linguistics Bibliographies* is devoted to Bantu languages. Its author, Jouni Maho, is well known for his previous work in Bantu linguistics which also includes referential studies: on Bantu noun classes (Maho 1999, reviewed in SDALC 29, 2001: 84-88), and a bibliography of works on Tanzanian languages (Maho and Sands 2002, reviewed in SDALC 34, 2003:83-85).

The present bibliography is meant to be exhaustive and it contains approximately 17 000 references on Bantu languages out of which about 11 500 concern various aspects of descriptive and theoretical linguistics and the remaining sources are mostly ethnographic and historical works which can be of use to linguists as well. The book consists of six parts, an appendix and two indexes.

The first part *Language by language survey* (pp. 1-674) constitutes the main body of the book and is organized into sixteen chapters covering sixteen Bantu zones of the updated Guthrie's classification (included in the appendix and described in Maho 2003). Within each zone, languages are listed according to their classification code and the references are arranged in the alphabetical order of authors' names without further divisions into specific subjects. Some lan-

guages have a lot of space devoted to them, for example, Swahili (with its dialects), pp. 188-254, or Zulu, pp. 610-635. Some others may have only a few or even one reference and there is no inclusion of languages for which no published work is available. The second part *Comparative, general, miscellaneous* (pp. 675-735) is devoted to general studies on specific topics, such as, noun classes (pp. 675-691), tense and related issues (pp. 692-707), names of people and places (pp. 707-714) and miscellaneous ('unsorted', pp. 714-735). The short part three *Proto-Bantu* (pp. 736-738) contains references to diachronic work on the reconstructed Proto-Bantu and the following part four *The "Bantu Expansion"* (pp. 739-744) covers mostly historical references on Bantu origin and early migrations. The fifth part of the book (pp. 745-750) includes works on classifications and language surveys. The last part six (pp. 751-761) contains bibliographies. A classified list of the Bantu languages and dialects appears in the appendix (pp. 762-786). The book ends with two indexes: one of language names and another of authors' names.

In general, the bibliography is very well organized and transparent. The listing of the references in the main part of the book according to a referential code (and not alphabetically) has been a good choice since it makes an easy access to the references on closely related languages and dialects, while a language code can be quickly checked in the index. In addition to the references on individual languages, each chapter of part one includes a section devoted to works on a language group, as well as general works on languages of the geographical zone. For example, subchapter 1.7 *Languages of zone G* starts with G10: Gogo-Kagulu group. One general reference is listed under the group heading and then the references for two languages of this group: G11 Gogo and G12 Kagulu. Then, G20 Shambala group follows with references for the group and for the individual languages, and so on, until the last group in this zone: G60 Bena-Kinga. The chapter closes with a section on general references pertaining to languages of zone G which includes some unsorted references, too. Each section is distinguished visually by specific marking, for example, group headings are in bold, language headings are indented and marked with the bullet. References for particular dia-

lects are listed separately after the general references for each language. In the case of Swahili, for example, the references for the Standard Swahili and the varieties not specified as a particular dialect are given under the heading "G41, G42, G43 Swahili". After those, specific dialects come separately, starting with Tikuu and ending with Mgao; some dialects are listed in clusters, e.g. Mombasa Swahili which includes Mvita, Ngare, Jomvu, Changamwe and Kilindini. Alternative names of languages and dialects are mentioned after the language/dialect heading, for example, *Tikuu* comes first and then alternative names as *Tikulu*, *Bajuni*, *Gunya*. Prefixed language names are seldom mentioned (even as an alternative), for example in the Swahili group: *Kiswahili* is given after *Swahili*, *Kingwana* after *Ngwana*, *Shingazija* after *Ngazija*, but only *Mwani*, *Tikuu*, *Mwiini* etc. and no *Kimwani*, *Kitikuu*, *Chimwiini*, but I do not think it is a problem to a prospective user of the bibliography - a Bantuist, well aware of the prefixed/non-prefixed language names.

The structure of the major part one leads to many repetitions of the same work coming under different headings in different sections of the zone. For example, Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) is mentioned as many as sixteen times only in the 'Swahili group' section, because it appears as a reference to different Swahili dialects and closely related languages as Ngazija or Mwani. In addition, the same book appears as a general reference to zone G and as a specific reference to languages and dialects of zone E (Pokomo, Elwana, Mijikenda). Even more overlapping will be found in the case of general references as e.g. Johnston 1919/22 which is included in various zones under general and language-specific headings. Such repetitions, although take significant amount of space, are very practical and make the search faster and more convenient than if they were avoided under a different organization of the book. The only problem I have is the way references are cited: always with full first and middle names, often with the ISBN numbers, unnecessary inclusions of words as *Press* in the name of a publisher, etc. For example, the two references mentioned above are written as:

Johnston, Harry Hamilton. 1919/22. *A comparative study of the Bantu and semi-Bantu languages*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. xi, 819; xii, 544.

Nurse, Derek, Hinnebusch, Thomas Joseph. 1993. *Swahili and Sabaki: A Linguistic History*. Ed. by Thomas J. Hinnebusch, and with a special addendum by Gérard Philippson. UCP in linguistics, 121. Berkley: Univ. of California Press. ISBN-10 0-520-09775. Pp. 780.

Such detailed specifications, repeated here and there again simply take too much space and are quite redundant: the names of the authors appear in full in the authors' index and could be abbreviated to the initials in the contents of the book, likewise other bibliographical information should be kept to the (exhaustive) minimum. But apart from this critical remark on too much generosity with space, I have no other complaint concerning the shape and contents of the book. The bibliography is very comprehensive, it includes a lot of publications not easily available and not often cited so far thus giving them a chance to be better known to a larger audience of Bantuists. It provides a very useful tool for anybody, whether already experienced and knowledgeable or not, who is willing to work on Bantu languages. To sum up, it is a gigantic and extraordinary piece of work, important for Bantu studies.

In addition, Jouni Maho has compiled a supplement to the published Bantu Bibliography (currently dated May 19, 2010 and available on his homepage in the electronic version) which will be updated as additional works are available. The supplement preserves the format of the published bibliography, with the same parts and categories distinguished. He has also created an electronic Bantu Online Bibliography available for a free use on his homepage in which the entries are alphabetically organized according to authors' names. This bibliography, updated on a regular basis, provides a very convenient tool for search of a particular item or for general literature on narrow topics.

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Iwona Kraska-Szlenk

Anne Storch (ed.), *Perception of the Invisible. Religion, Historical Semantics and the Role of Perceptive Verbs*, „Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika" 21, Köln, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2010, 393 pp.

The content of this volume is based on papers and discussions which were presented during the international, multidisciplinary conference that was held at the University of Cologne between 14th and 17th November, 2007.

In a short introductory chapter of the same title as the title of the book (pp. 8-19) Anne Storch defines the motivation standing behind the subject of this scientific meeting: „[...] to enhance our understanding of the spiritual aspects of African social histories, to develop tools for the description and analysis of non-material culture, and to stimulate multidisciplinary research" (p. 9). The book encompasses 17 articles representing various approaches typical of several related disciplines: Africanistics, cultural anthropology, Egyptology, history, linguistics, social anthropology and politology. The articles and their authors have been briefly introduced by

the Editor in the preface. The contributions have been divided into four thematic sections

The first section, „Representations of Invisible/Unseen Objects” contains seven articles, and it begins with the essay by Heike Behrend titled „Electricity, Spirit Mediums and the Media of Spirits” (pp. 21-34). She deals with the spirit mediums in Uganda and points – in the historical perspective – to the role of new media in the process of producing occult powers. Gerrit J. Dimmendaal in „Perception of the Living Dead and the Invisible Hand in Teso-Turkana” (pp. 35-49) investigates lexical terminology as the linguistic manifestation of the material and spiritual culture of that ethnic group. He fixes his mind on the widespread terms for the „living dead” as invisible forces and comes to a conclusion that spirits in Teso-Turkana speaking communities are associated with colour rather than with smells. In „Written Pleas to the Invisible World: Texts as Media between Living and Dead in Pharaonic Egypt” (pp. 51-80) Sylvie Donnat points to the role of the written documents (known as letters to the dead) in the relationship between the living and the invisible forces, especially the deceased parents. Those letters were never part of the official culture and that is why there is no Egyptian term for them. According to Johannes Harnischfeger the invisible has become a crucial element in constructing new political authorities. In the contribution titled „Visualizing the Power of Deities. Spiritual Warfare in Igboland, Southeast Nigeria” (pp. 81-93) the Author deals with the techniques of visualizing occult forces that assume political and judicial functions. Having started with the presentation of the oracles in Igboland (Okija and Ibinukpabi oracle of the Aro people), he tried to point out that the power is rooted in the realm of the occult practices and some Nigerian politicians consult all sorts of spiritual and magic experts in order to safeguard their career. Joseph Koni Muluwa and Koen Bostoen in their article „Les plantes et l’invisible chez Mbuun, Mpiin et Nsong” (pp. 95-122) provide the reader with the documentation referring to the magical and religious usage of plants in three closely related Bantu ethnic groups of the Bandundu province (Congo-Kinshasa). They point out that

plants serve as crucial media between the living and the ancestors. In a short essay titled „Imagination and its Readings in Ancient Egypt” (pp. 123-131) Anja Kootz discusses some possible interpretations of the Ancient Egyptian notion of its spiritual world and pays attention to the meaning shifts as the years go by. Ritual and magic practices of the Pharaonic Egypt are also dealt with by Juan-Carlos Moreno García in his article „Oracles, Ancestor Cults and Letters to the Dead” (pp. 133-153). He comes to a conclusion that the cult of the ancestors who were involved with the affairs of their living kinsmen used to maintain the cohesion of the Egyptian extended families and to preserve the kin collective memory.

At the beginning of the second section titled „Social Organization and History”, which contains four contributions, Keith Allen in „Tabus and Quirks of Human Behaviour” (pp. 155-164) surveyed the origin and definition of *taboo* from the world-wide perspective and then discussed the practice of female genital mutilation in some African societies. She summarised her discourse by the statement that „[...] for behaviour to be proscribed it must be perceived as in some way harmful to an individual or their community” (p. 163). The problem of *taboo* has been also raised by Ulrich Kleinewillinghöfer in his article „Bogoŋ *akʔlɛsa*. Taboos of the Chala” (pp. 207-223). The article is based on documentation coming from the endangered Bogoŋ tongue, a Gurunsi language spoken by the Chala people in Ghana. Having discussed the concept of *akʔlɛsa*, the Author tentatively grouped the *taboos* into several categories like those which have to be observed when living with a priest, those related to living with the invisible beings, and those which command people to abstain from all sorts of „dirt” and „filth”. In „Invisible Bonds between Kordofan and Dongolawi Nubians According to Tagle Oral Tradition” (pp. 165-205) Gumma Ibrahim and Marcus Jaeger present the activities of the Nubian Studies Group aimed at exploring how history and identity are created and recreated, and which are the implications of the now invisible past for the contemporary identities of the Tagle people from the Sudanic Kordofan.. The essay by Françoise Labrique titled „Percevoir le divin, selon le cycle des legends thébaines dans

Ovide, *Métamorphoses* III” (pp. 225-243) discusses Thebaic legends which are contained in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. The Author tries to prove that from among all the modes of perception, seeing is the most important for the ancient Greeks: the one who sees exerts his influence on the one who is seen.

The third section of the book is titled „Perceptive Preferences and Categorization Patterns”, and is represented by four articles. In „Eyes on Top? Culture and the Weight of the Senses” (pp. 245-270) Walter E.A. van Beek is of the opinion that perceptions do not differ world-wide, but the hierarchy of senses depends on cultural practices. He supports his statement by some examples taken from the divination practices of Kapsiki and Dogon, and from the funeral rituals of Kapsiki. The Author comes to a conclusion that rituals, which visualise the presence of the invisible, routinely appeal to as many senses as possible. Roger M. Blench in „The Sensory World: Ideophones in Africa and Elsewhere” (s. 271-292) provides the reader with an interesting study on ideophones in English and globally, with an accent placed on ideophones in the African languages. Special attention is paid to the odour terminologies and body image terms. Evelyn Fogwe Chibaka, the author of „The ‘Invisible’ Perception Verbs Comparison in Mankon and Meta?: Succession-Induction Rites” (pp. 293-311), having studied kingdom succession rituals among those two Cameroonian peoples attempted to demonstrate how the hierarchy of senses differs in different social and ritual contexts. Research on the Ethiopian „Sprachbund” is in an initial stage and concentrates on grammatical aspects. Ivone Treis considers her article titled „Perception Verbs and Taste Adjectives in Kambaata and Beyond” (pp. 313-346) as a very preliminary study of the shared lexicalisation patterns in the Highland East Cushitic language of Kambaata, and in other genetically related or geographically adjacent tongues.

The final section of the volume, „Language and Discourse”, comprises two contributions. Gratian G. Atindogbé in „Naming the Invisible in Bantu Languages of Cameroon” (pp. 347-372) ponders on the semantic coherence of nominal class systems. He examines sets of closed vocabulary items linked to the world of the „invisi-

ble': God, devil, spirit, ghost, sorcery, wizard, witch and others. His study has not shown „[...] any straightforward evidence via the vocabulary studied that there is a semantic coherence in the noun class systems of the Bantu languages which can lead to the definitive statement that modern Bantu languages share a common ancestor" (p. 368). In „Water and Inversion: African Conceptualizations" (pp. 373-390) Anne-Maria Fehn and Anne Storch examine the history of the notion of „deep water", „sea" and „river" by combining analysis of the contemporary Nigerian „water" names with those of the seafaring adventures of the 18th century Atlantic Ocean.

The volume testifies to the success of the Cologne International Conference in fulfilling its aims. It is edited in an exemplary way and only few misprints could be detected in it: *extend* instead of *extent* on p. 12f.; *theater* instead of *theatre* on p. 30; *bring* instead of *brought* on p. 56f.; *thought* instead of *though* on p. 60; *are totally lack* instead of *totally lack* on p. 61; *interpret* instead of *interpreted* on p. 127; *as well* instead of *as well as* on p. 129; *within in* instead of *within* on p. 210; *world* instead of *would* on p. 246; *morning* instead of *mourning* and *enthroned* instead of *enthroned* on p. 299, and *immorality* instead of *immortality* on p. 351. They neither obscure the reading of the rich theoretical proposals, nor the observation of the original documentary material.

Stanislaw Pilaszewicz

Joachim Crass, Ronny Meyer (eds), *Language Contact and Language Change in Ethiopia*, "Topics in African Studies" 14, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2009, 120 pp.

Joachim Crass and Ronny Meyer, who have been pursuing their structural and sociolinguistic studies for many years, focused this time on the phenomena of contact-induced language change. In the case of Ethiopia, the subject seems all the more relevant as it has hardly been researched up to now. As detailed examinations of the minor and less known languages of Ethiopia are reaching a satisfactory level, an analysis of their mutual influence becomes well justified.

The first article by Binyam Sisay “Copula and/or focus. The morpheme *-(k)ko* in two East Omoto languages” (p. 7-17) corresponds, together with the last one by Silvia Zaugg-Coretti on the focus marker in Yemsa and Oromo, to the former publication edited by the Crass/Meyer duo, *Deictics, Copula, and Focus in the Ethiopian Convergence Area* (2007). In his article Sisay argues that the process of grammaticalization of *-(k)ko* in Haro and Koorete from a copula to a focus marker is already over, as synchronically the gram *-(k)ko* is a focus marker only. Haro presents a more advanced stage of grammaticalization from COP > FOCUS, using a zero gram in the present tense unless focus is needed on one of the constituents, while Koorete requires *-ko* obligatorily, which is explained by the author through the obligatory marking of a sentence constituent for focus. The very interesting example (3) shows a nominative marker move to a predicate nominal constituent only to empty the position at a subject nominal which is to be marked for focus. But is a nominative marker obligatory in Koorete? Probably not (8c).

The problem of a focus marker, its origin and functions, is also approached by Silvia Zaugg-Coretti in “The morpheme *-tu* as a focus marker in Yemsa (Omotic) and Oromo (Cushitic)” (p. 97-120). In her quite short – as for the virtues of being substantive, thorough and neat – article the author claims that the question of the origin of the Yemsa *-tu* marker is still not clear, although the trail may lead to the conclusion that it has been borrowed from Oromo in social contacts between the speakers of the two languages. As admitted by the author, this hypothesis can hardly be supported by functions plus geographic conditions (similarity to the Southern Oromo variant). As the languages under discussion have a short written tradition, the origin of any constituent can hardly be established and becomes the subject of multi-dimensional speculations. In my view, the most acceptable, natural and manifestly not too far-fetched is a scenario where the existence of the cognate *-tte* in Omoto worked “...in favor of an adoption of the Oromo suffix *-tu*” (p. 116). Anyway, we need to follow Silvia Zaugg-Coretti’s reasoning to see it. The technical operation of differentiating between the Yemsa = *tu* and the Oromo

-*tu* from the very beginning of the article suggests that the morphemes' shape is the only obvious similarity between them.

Silvia Zaugg-Coretti co-authored, together with Christian J. Rapold, another article on Omotic languages, i.e. "Exploring the periphery of the Central Ethiopian Linguistic Area: Data from Yemsa and Benchnon" (p. 59-83). The article analyzes both languages from the point of view of areal features proposed for the Ethiopian Linguistic Area by Crass and Meyer (2008). According to Table 1. proposed by the authors in the conclusion (p. 77), Yemsa shares six and a half while Benchnon four and a half features out of fifteen proposed for eight Ethiopian languages belonging to the Semitic, Cushitic and Omotic languages of Ethiopia (including Amharic and Oromo). Three of the fifteen are shared by all of the Ethiopian languages investigated, including Yemsa and Benchnon, and they are considered to be the result of language contact. The final conclusion puts a question on an areal character of some features proposed by Crass and Meyer, for example the h-possessive > obligation path (p. 74), because of their cross-linguistic character.

There is no doubt that the quotative verb "to say" used to be included into the group of the areal features of Ethiopia. Ronny Meyer analyzed the verb in his article "The quotative verb in Ethiosemitic languages and in Oromo" (p. 17-43). The author presents the quotative verb "to say" and its functional expansion (productivity), concluding it might be considered a contact-induced phenomenon because it does not exist in out-of-Africa Semitics. The most probable source would be the Cushitic languages of Ethiopia, although the phenomenon is most clearly observable in Afar and Highland-East Cushitic, but not in Oromo and Somali, Ethiopia's two widely used languages. Besides, the phenomenon is attested in other languages of the world, so, according to the author, it might have been "...initiated, distributed and/or retained by language contact through multilingual individuals". To conclude on some minor but noticeable wording used in the article, in my opinion referring to "the frequency of use" requires some statistical data, otherwise the result just "seems to be" rather than is.

The next article by Ongaye Oda on “The spread of punctual derivation in Dullay and Oromoid languages” (p. 43-57) is an example of a well-organized and systematically presented data and, at the same time, it exposes some – expectable but undesirable – lack of data (see Bussa or Burji, p. 52). A contact approach using the proper interpretation of facts must leave empty slots and indicates directions for further research concerning a specific grammatical feature, in this case – punctual derivation. Being realized by the gemination of the final root consonant, the feature itself is hard to recognize, but still the author’s reasoning does not leave us without hope.

The importance of gemination as a classification feature on the one hand, and its “physical”, not to say – existential weakness on the other hand is one of the points of interest for Sascha Woellmin in his article “Some dialectical differences between Gumer and Chaha (Gurage)” (p. 83-95). Chaha has almost no gemination, while in Gumer gemination is (hardly) being preserved; as I have understood it, the fathers pronounce it, but the sons do not any more (p. 94). The author emphasizes that, except for some differences in phonology and lexicon, which are observed and accepted by the speakers of “the same”, which is an important sociolinguistic factor.

The publication edited by Crass and Meyer collects articles which present some very interesting and new data as well as interpretations on Ethiopian languages, giving them a chance to see the daylight, and, what is more, proposing some theoretical frame, namely the contact-change phenomenon. In the case of Ethiopian languages, this kind of approach is both justified and desirable. In descriptions of Ethiopian languages difficulties arise mainly on the level of the origin of linguistic features, and therefore an analysis of any Ethiopian language, including Amharic and Oromo as the biggest ones, cannot be complete without the contact approach. The most recent publication by Crass and Meyer proves this in an excellent, unaffected way, and I am sure its follow-up will reach me soon.

Laura Łykowska

Yvonne Treis, *A Grammar of Kambaata (Ethiopia). Part 1: Phonology, Nominal Morphology, and Non-verbal Predication*, Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2008, 445 pp.

The book is a result of a PH.D. project and meant as a first part of Kambaata Grammar. Kambaata, as explained in introductory chapter, is spoken in Ethiopia, around the Hambarrichcho massif situated about 300 km southwest of Addis Ababa. It is classified in the Highland East Cushitic branch of the Cushitic languages. This volume deals with phonology, nominal morphology and non-verbal predication. The language data was collected during several fieldwork trips conducted mainly in Daamboyya and Duuraame where Kambaata is spoken. The book contains 107 tables showing mainly declension case paradigms, various types of word classes (de-ajectival quality nouns, de-verbal nouns) and examples of word formation patterns among others.

The author states that the aim of the book is to „[...] give as complete account as possible of the phonology, morphology, and morphosyntax of nouns, attributes (adjectives, numerals, and demonstratives), and pronouns in Kambaata (p. 15)”. The description follows the Basic Linguistic Theory, advocated by R.M.W Dixon and contains many references to other closely related Cushitic languages, especially Alaaba and Qabcena, but also to Amharic which is the source of many loanwords for Kambaata.

The book is divided into 10 chapters. The first introductory chapter contains some basic information about the language, such as its classification and the overview of the literature as well as the presentation of the corpus on which the study is based. The next three chapters deal with phonological characteristics of Kambaata (chapter 2), accent (chapter 3) and morphophonology (chapter 4). Chapter 5 „Orthography” is quite crucial for the structure of the book because the author presents the rules of Kambaata orthography based on the Latin script and indicates how the official orthography varies from the orthography of the book. The explanation is important as the following chapters (from 6 to 10) contain the examples written in a slightly altered Kambaata orthography. Examples in previous chapters (from 1 to 6) are written in phonetic transcription.

Chapter 6 gives an overview of word classes that exist in Kambaata. Some of them are undisputed, such as nouns, verbs, pronouns, conjunctions, adverbs, ideophones and interjections. Others – adjectives, numerals, demonstratives and quantifiers are claimed to belong to a single word class called attribute with three subclasses: adjectives, numerals and demonstratives. Although the three subclasses of attributes have slightly different morphosyntactic characteristics (only adjectives and numerals function as head nouns, only adjectives can govern complements) they share one common feature that sets them apart from nouns and verbs, i.e. they can be used as gender/case agreeing modifiers of a head noun, e.g. *abbá* (M.ACC) *mini* (M.ACC) ‘big house’, *lamú* (M.ACC) *mini* (M.ACC) ‘two houses’ *ka* (M.ACC) *mini* (M.ACC) ‘this house’ (p.87).

Chapter 7 “Nouns” takes one third of the entire book and tackles with various aspects of nominal morphology: case, number, gender, agreement, word formation, and nominal suffixes. The figure presented at the beginning of the chapter shows how many derivational and inflectional morphemes can be attached to nouns in Kambaata and the example 280 (p. 100) *olleechchoontannée* “and with our neighbour (F)” clearly illustrates the usage of some of the morphemes: *oll-* (root), *-eechch* (singulative morpheme), *-oon* (case marker), *-ta* (linker), *-nne* (possessive pounoun), *’-V* (coordination suffix). The chapter also discusses so called ‘special nouns’ containing temporal nouns or spatial nouns among others. The categorial status of these lexemes is less clear as they lack some morphological or functional features of nouns.

The chapter discusses also the way of expressing spatial relations. The discussion can be found in sections concerning spatial nouns and cases. As Kambaata lacks adpositions, location or direction is expressed by means of spatial nouns that are used to encode static topological relations, motion verbs, and case: ablative, locative, or instrumental-comitative-perlative.

Apart from nouns, various morphemes of nominal origin are described in the chapter, such as pragmatically determined suffix *-n* marking the focus of the attention or topic continuity, *-be* – a sign of a speaker's surprise or disbelief, *-nnu* "what about X", and *-ma(t)* – a marker of heavy emphasis.

Chapter 8 describes attributives: adjectives (including quantifiers), numerals, demonstratives and vocalic attributes. Apart from attribute adjectives that have a unique morphology that sets them apart from nouns there are some lexemes with nouns-like features, e.g. *labb-áa* 'male', *me'-áa-ta* 'female'. They cannot be categorized as nouns or as adjectives out of context.

All types of pronouns: personal (free and bound), demonstrative, and interrogative are described in chapter 9. It is noteworthy that Kambaata has two honorific pronouns. Treis gives an overview of historical development of pronouns, semantic features of referents (dependent personal pronouns may refer to humans only apart from exceptional cases where a non-human referent has an affectionate reading), grammaticalization process of certain pronouns (third person masculine bound pronoun has become a marker of definiteness), and their pragmatic function (third person honorific pronouns in sentences without overtly expressed subject may have an impersonal reading).

Chapter 10 describes non-verbal predication in Kambaata based on three types of copulas: one locative and two non-locative copulas. A locative copula, referred to as copula 1, consists of a defective verb *-yoo*. It is used to express location, existence, time, accompaniment and possession. Copula 2 is an enclitic, non-verbal copula used in ascriptive and predication predication. Copula 3 is used in identificational and oblique case predication.

The author is very careful about her statements and manages to keep the reader informed about possible misinterpretations. Whenever the term may be misunderstood, Treis clearly states its usage. For example, on page 102, she explains that Kambaata has a "marked nominative system" which does not mean that nominative case has more phonological weight than the accusative, but accusative is more frequent, it is used in more contexts than the nomina-

tive. If the function of a morpheme or a lexeme is questionable Treis always indicates her doubts clearly or suggest two different hypotheses rather than superimposing the straight, yet not precise interpretation. For example in section 7.8.1 the author states that the pragmatically motivated suffix *-n* may be used as an emphasis marker or a marker of topic continuity, but its function is still obscure and requires further investigation. A similar statement is made with regard to the morpheme *-s*. After having stated that it is a definiteness marker, Treis quote a few counter-examples where the suffix is attached to inherently definite noun phrases (proper nouns and pronouns) admitting that it has to be examined whether the given characterization of the suffix is appropriate (p. 356).

The book contains more than a rough grammatical information. Treis managed to describe the language structure without losing track of the Kambaata people. Apart from the information about their occupation, history and economy (section 1.5) one can find Kambaata proverbs, riddles, and fragments of songs scattered throughout the chapters. The reader ends the book knowing that adults use affectionate language for the communication with infants by inflecting common nouns like personal names (section 7.2), men may be called by the name of their eldest son (footnote, p. 110), people make use of Ethiopian calendar having 13 months and their most important feast is *masaalá* and *shaashshigá* (section 7.7.1.1).

There are more than fifteen hundreds language examples in the book. All examples are glossed. The language data presented throughout the book consists not only of elicited sentences, but also of spontaneously produced utterances, fragments of narratives, and passages taken from school books. Reach and diversified language corpus collected by the author made it possible to discover certain nuances, such as the function of a morpheme *-n*, which „[...] is not frequent in elicited data, but used in almost every sentence of spontaneously produced oral literature or conversations (p. 226)“.

The book contains a lot of diachronic, comparative and typological notes. Due to the richness of information concerning anthropology or ethnology the book may be of use to specialists dealing with these fields. It is also a first-class source for those interested in morphology because Kambaata has extremely rich morphological structure. For descriptive linguists it is an excellent guide of writing a grammar. Finally, the book is to be highly recommended to Cushitists because of comparative remarks on other Cushitic languages.

Izabela Will

