

**A DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE KINGOME
DIALECT OF SWAHILI**

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**This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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Abstract

This thesis provides a comprehensive phonological and morphological description of the KiNgome dialect of Swahili as currently spoken in the Northern Division of Mafia Island District on the south-east coast of Tanzania. Unlike other Swahili dialects, which are succumbing to the encroachment of Standard Swahili (SSW) forms and only found in small pockets of older generation speakers, KiNgome does not face extinction at present. It stands up to be a major means of daily communication among northern inhabitants of Mafia Island.

The thesis has two primary goals: The first is to provide a synchronic linguistic description of this undocumented main variety of Mafia Swahili (designated as G43d under Guthrie's classification) at the phonological and morphological levels. The second goal is to examine the KiNgome data in a diachronic perspective by comparing its phonological and morphological systems with the reconstructed Proto-Sabaki (PSA) as proposed by Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993). Where necessary I have referred to a more distant proto-language, namely Common Bantu (CB) as proposed by Guthrie (1969-71) and which we assume to be the earliest common ancestor of the Bantu languages including PSA.

Relative to the rest of the Swahili dialects, KiNgome is a conservative dialect, retaining older forms presumably from a proto stage prior to the massive influence of KiUnguja (Ung) and SSW. Most of these forms survived unchanged in KiNgome and nearly so in the surrounding rural non-Unguja Southern Swahili dialects (SD). The study shows that the contemporary KiNgome forms by and large can be linked to PSA and CB: Phonologically, KiNgome has kept more transparent forms of a prenasalised voiced/voiceless series segments than any other Swahili dialect. It has largely preserved stops, both with restricted and unrestricted distribution which link directly to CB proto-segments. However, changes have also been noticed: KiNgome has a 5-vowel system when compared to the PSA/CB 7-vowel system and has undergone fully the Bantu spirantization process. It has lost an earlier tone system. Aspiration is a regular feature of KiNgome. It has no /r/: /l/ distinction; instead it has flap [ɾ]. It also attests certain palatalised consonants in the form of /kɣ-/ and /rɣ-/ , and there is a palatal /ɲ/ which has derived from /ni-/ that

expresses 1sg.

A homorganic moraic nasal (N) has resulted from syncopation in classes 1, 3, and 18 where the nominal prefix was /mu-/. In congruence with other Non-Unguja SD, KiNgome displays a full 5- suffix vowel copying (CV) phenomenon and a common VHH process. In addition, it uniquely displays a ku-/ko- prefix VHH determined by verb root vowel. Morphologically, it has retained a simple verbal system characterised by an unmarked perfective/past tense with VC operating in the final vowel suffix. The most significant morphological aspect of the KiNgome nominal system is a clear opposition between classes 11 and 14. It also joins other non-Unguja SD, Comoro and Pokomo in displaying sets of 2sg and 3sg persons which are mainly determined by certain tense/aspect formatives, polarity and finite form (subjunctive).

Although I have not subjected KiNgome lexical data to a lexicostatistic analysis, the thesis demonstrates the existence of a set of a peculiar lexical items that are also found in the neighbouring KiMwani, KiEkoti, Makonde, KiMakunduchi and in Old KiUnguja.

The results of my field fieldwork largely corroborate Nurse and Hinnebusch's reconstruction of many features of PSA. In some cases, I have proposed a reconsideration of some aspects of their reconstruction in the light of the new data from KiNgome. The case of KiNgome is of interest to the field of Swahili dialectology and Bantu linguistics in general. Undoubtedly, it will offer valuable material for systematic comparison with other Swahili dialects as well as for the contemporary study of Swahili phonology, morphology and lexicon.

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I am also grateful to Michael Mann who willingly identified and made available to me some items of the growing literature on Bantu languages. I also thank Prof. Pat Caplan who offered me substantial anthropological data on the Wangome. Despite her tight schedule, she has been supportive to me throughout this study. Likewise to Derek Nurse, Sam Mchombo, Gérard Philippson, Lutz Marten, Nancy Kula, Taeko Maeda, and Arturo Servades. I say to you '*Asanteni sana*'.

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Abbreviations

σ	syllable
[]σ	syllable boundary
μ	mora
//	phonemic notation
[]	phonetic notation
[]	epenthetic segment
**	ill-formed
*	proto-forms
-	morpheme or clitic boundary
>	derived to
<	derived from
~	varies with
◦	skewed /irregular
()	optional components
1, 2, 3 ...	noun class 1, 2, 3... concord
C	consonant
CB	Common Bantu
Cl.	clitic
DEM	demonstrative
EXT	extension suffix(es)
FV	final vowel
LOC	locative
ND	Northern Kiswahili dialects
NoP	No prefix
NEG	negative marker
OM	object marker
PSA	Proto-Sabaki
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative marker
SD	Southern Kiswahili dialects
SG	singular
SM	subject marker
SSW	Standard Kiswahili
TA	tense and aspect markers
V	vowel
VR	verb root

MAP 1: THE SWAHILI COAST*



* Adapted from Nurse and Hinnebusch(1993)



Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0 Background: the problem

Three decades ago, Trevor Hill (1973:17) made a call for the extension of the monographic study of Swahili dialects in such Tanzania locations as Kilwa, Rufiji and Mafia and the smaller settlements such as Kunduchi or Sadani. These areas were (and are still) thought to have distinct primary dialects of Swahili. The main purpose was to continue what had begun in the middle nineteen-fifties, i.e. publications in the series 'Studies in Swahili Dialect', published by the East African Swahili Committee. In spite of the efforts by Swahilists¹ to document Southern Swahili Dialects (hereafter SD), they left a gap of about a 500 Km stretching between the Rufiji estuary and the River Ruvuma at the border of southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique (including the offshore islands). Seeing this, Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 14) reiterated that 'the whole geographical area needs more extensive (linguistic) research'.

This study emanates from the quest to settle definitively the question regarding the existence of living dialects of Swahili along the southern coast of Tanzania and its offshore islands. We hope to clear the uncertainty that has baffled Swahilists for about a half century now.

At present, there are general assumptions about the presence of KiMgao and KiMafia as the sole Swahili dialects along this section of the 'Swahili Corridor'. The collection of a few materials that represents KiMgao first appeared in Stigand (1915: 21) and later in Chiraghdin and Mnyampala (1977: 29-31). There is no mention of the exact location of the KiMgao dialect in their studies. Legère (1986) surveyed the Lindi region and in particular the village of Mgao on the Southern Tanzania coast searching for possible remnants of KiMgao, only to find that what is left there is a sort of KiMaraba and Urban Lindi Swahili that had been influenced by phonological features of the neighbouring Bantu languages.

On KiMafia, Temu (1980: 29-31) collected 49 sample lexical items that represented the distinct KiMafia (KiNgome) dialect of Swahili. The materials he collected were too sketchy for a satisfactory linguistic analysis. However his collection matched with what I have gathered for KiNgome. Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 12) provided the exact location of the distinct KiMafia dialect; they further postulated that KiMafia (which according to Guthrie's classification falls under G43d) is de facto a SD

¹There has been a project titled Computer Archives of Kiswahili and Folklore aiming at collecting linguistic and folkloristic data of Swahili dialects in the late 1980's (see Arvi Huskainen 1989)

variety with 'the apparent addition of some lexis from P10/P20² languages'. They offer very scant materials for KiMafia (including KiNgome), which we noticed were related to Temu's collection.

An attempt was also made by Caplan³ (1997: 239-242) to provide a substantial glossary of KiNgome that consists of 83 cultural items. As can be seen, neither sets of materials were sufficient for a comprehensive linguistic description.

There was an indication that new data as would be provided by a fuller collection of synchronic KiNgome data could offer new insights into the intermediary diachronic levels of the phonology and morphology of Swahili. Additionally, data from KiNgome would help to establish the existence of a close-knit unity among non-Unguja SD, together with the peripheral Sabaki⁴ member (KiMwani and probably KiEkoti).

My first task then, is to offer a comprehensive description of KiNgome at the phonological, morphological and lexical levels. I will later attempt to advance the study of the history of the Coastal Sabaki languages by more exactly determining the position of KiNgome within Coastal Sabaki. This will be accomplished through establishing the correspondences between a Proto Sabaki (PSA) reconstruction (as proposed by Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993), and, where necessary, referring to the Common Bantu (CB) (Guthrie 1967-71) and modern KiNgome forms.

In the longer term, I hope this study will encourage further attempts to unravel some of the enigmas arising from the living SD spoken in the 500 Km coastal stretch between the Rufiji estuary and the River Ruvuma at the border of southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique, as well as on the offshore islands. Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 13) are certain that 'the question whether there is a distinctive form of Southern Swahili spoken anywhere between Kilwa and the Mozambique border' is still open.

As such, this study is important to the field of Swahili dialectology by offering new data from SD and thus helping answer Hill (1973:17) and Nurse and Hinnebusch's (1993:14) appeals for more empirical evidence

² Guthrie's Zone P, group 10 languages: Ndengereko, Ruihi, Matumbi, and Ngindo; and group 20 languages: Yao, Mwera, Makonde, Ndonde and Maŕiha.

³Prof Caplan has been conducting social anthropological studies on the people in the Northern Division of the Mafia Islands district since 1965. I wish to express my gratitude for her invaluable support.

⁴'Sabaki' is a linguistic label for six eastern Bantu languages: KiSwahili, KiMwani, KiElwana, KiPokomo, KiMijikenda, and KiComoro (see Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993:35)

from a hitherto undescribed area of SD.

1.1 Bantu ancestry and spread

Swahili dialects, including KiNgome, are linked to the Northeast Coast Bantu-speaking communities. The broad subdivision of the 'Eastern' and 'Western' Bantu was established following successive massive works on Bantu classification by Guthrie (1967-71), Heine (1973) and, more recently, Ehret (1999). Hence the term 'North-East Coast' Bantu (NEC) (see Hinnebusch 1973, Nurse and Philippson 1975 and Nurse 1988, 1999) refers to a discrete unit of NEC that includes the following subgroups:

(a) Sabaki (b) Seuta (c) Ruvu (d) Pare

This discrete unit is in close relationship with other adjacent 'Eastern' Bantu languages such as: The Rufiji-Ruvuma languages (P10 and P20) and KiMakua (P30) ; West Tanzania languages (Zone F, e.g.. Sukuma); KiChaga and KiGweno /KiTaita (E60 and E46) and the Central Kenya Bantu languages (E50 eg. KiThagicu).

Swahili is part of the Sabaki language group, a subgroup of Northeast Coast Bantu Languages (NEC). According to Hinnebusch (1999: 182-183) the 'Coastal Sabaki' that forms part of a larger East African genetic affiliation of NEC, comprises the Swahili cluster (including the Zanzibar, Mombasa, and Lamu clusters), KiMwiini, KiKomoro, and KiMwani. This Coastal Sabaki is related to each of the other Sabaki subgroups: KiElwana, KiPokomo, and KiMijikenda.

There is no evidence for stating the exact location and time at which the Proto-Northeastern Coastal Bantu language (PNEC) was spoken. Nurse and Spear (1985) and Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) speculate that it was around the first century A.D in the area around Mombasa, and that the Taita hills, the Pare Mountains, Dodoma and the Rufiji River are possible PNEC homelands. The split of the early proto-Sabaki community (PSA) from PNEC and its subsequent movement to the north has been estimated to have taken place over the last two thousand years. These PSA speakers were both iron-working subsistence farmers and fishermen by around 500 A.D. The PSA communities expanded subsequently to the north and south of the present-day Swahili spectrum. This drift is envisaged as having taken place between the 5th and 10th centuries (see Nurse 1985: 239). A lucrative seafaring trade network as dictated by monsoon winds consolidated this movement. Inevitably a string of discontinuous Swahili settlements established themselves in the 3000 km stretch of coastline from southern Somalia to the northern coast of

Mozambique, and on the adjacent islands as far out as the Comoros and Madagascar. Archaeological evidence suggests that from approximately A.D 800 onwards, there were a number of coastal sites in northern Kenya at Manda, Shanga, Pate, the Lamu Archipelago, and on Zanzibar, and at Kilwa in southern Tanzania and Chibwene in southern Mozambique (see Chittick 1966, 1974, 1984; Horton 1987, and Durte 1991). The Swahili communities along the coast, in adapting to an Indian Ocean environment, shifted to a sea-based economy from their original agriculture-based economy.

Swahili was the only language spoken in these coastal places. Each settlement developed its own dialect, which led to a number of Swahili dialects. As far as the early Swahili people of the Mafia archipelago are concerned, there are no clear records as to when exactly these people began to settle in the Mafia Islands. In the oral literature, we learnt only that the first inhabitants were the Wambwera, coastal Swahili from between Kisiju and the Rufiji estuary, who crossed from the mainland and built a town close to Ras Mkumbi (Piggot 1941). No excavations have been carried out anywhere in the entire northern Mafia area (See Freeman-Grenville 1958 : 20) and in spite of the fact that the habitations of the Ngome area were in situ prior to the advent of the foreigners (Arabs, Portuguese, and 'Wapokomo') to the area from around the 10th century onwards.

1.2 Sociohistorical setting

Off the southern coast of Tanzania, in the Indian ocean, lies the Mafia archipelago. The main island of Mafia covers an area of about 512 km², and has a length of 48 km from north to south with an average width of 17 km. It is about 21 km from the eastern edge of the Rufiji Delta on the mainland of Tanzania and approximately 120 km south of the city of Dar-es-salaam.

Administratively, Mafia Island district has only two divisions: the Northern and Southern. The primary population centre of KiNgome speakers is in the villages of Kanga, Bweni, Jimbo, Mrali, Banja and Jojo in the Northern division. These villages jointly cover a total of 150 km² in an area extending between latitudes 7°37' and 7°61' south of the Equator and between longitudes 39°34' and 39°55' East (cf. Map 2).

The mode of life, and hence the speech patterns between these two divisions differ significantly. The Northern Division, where the KiNgome dialect is found, is economically backward when compared to

the Southern Division. The state of the infrastructure in the Northern Division is extremely poor. There is no electricity or tap water. There is only one dry-weather road reaching the Northern Division from the Southern Division, and this is roughly 50 km long. This poor road ensures the seclusion of the Northern Division during the rainy season from March to June. The north is marked exclusively by nucleated villages which are on an average of 5 km apart whereas in the south, the houses are scattered. The major means of transport within the Northern Division is bicycle or small sea vessels travelling along the western coast. The majority of the people, especially the women, walk. Heavier loads (such as coconuts) are carried by donkeys. At the time of my fieldwork, there was not a single inhabitant of the Ngome area who owned a vehicle. The few vehicles on Mafia are either privately owned by the relatively well-off people of Kirongwe, Utende or Kilindoni or publicly owned by the Government institutions centred in Kilindoni. The Ngome area has few brick and stone buildings: of note is a lighthouse, built in 1892 by the architect Hendrick with the help of the locals at Ras Mkumbi, three dispensaries and four primary schools. The rest are mud houses in which corrugated-iron roofs, *bati*, have slowly begun to replace the traditional palm-leaf thatching, *makuti*. Plans for a private tourist hotel along the *Musikitini* area in Kanga village have not yet materialised. People in the remote six northern villages, which were the focus of my study, have no choice but to rely on Kirongwe for services such as the main market, shops, the office of the Northern Division secretary, and the primary court. Kirongwe sharply divides the main Mafia Island into two halves. The majority of the population at Kirongwe associate themselves with the southerners and by and large KiNgome there has given way to Standard Swahili (herewith SSW) with a KiMafia accent.

The Southern Division is where the capital of the district, Kilindoni, is located. The capital of the Southern Division has all the necessary facilities of the modern town. There are two permanent diesel-generators which provide electricity to almost 600 clients (although they have a maximum capacity for 5000 clients). There are three TV satellite dishes that daily provide the capital dwellers with world news. Kilindoni is the site of the airport, the only secondary school, the general referral hospital, the bank, the prison, the post office and national and international telephone services, as well as the harbour, garages, churches, main mosque, and the offices of the Mafia Island Marine Park. Three tourist hotels are located at Utende village on the eastern coast of the Southern

Division as is the headquarters of the Mafia Island Marine Park. Public and private cars shuttle all around the Southern Division on the main island. Permanent tin-roofed houses in streets lined with lights can be seen vividly from the air. It is the place where civil servants of different ethnic backgrounds mix with the natives of the south who only use Standard Swahili with a KiMafia accent.

1.3 Historiography of the Mafia archipelago

The history of Wangome as part of the Mafia Archipelago historiography can be linked (since 10th century) to the sea-faring part of the Swahili culture area. Mafia, as one of the older Swahili settlements, has never had an independent political status. Rezende's Chronicle records that by 1000 AD, Mafia was subject to the sultan of Kilwa. The Portuguese are reported to have partially built an arsenal at Jojo (Northern Mafia) in 1635 to be garrisoned only in times of war (c.f. Saidi 1941; King 1917).

Further foreign influences on Mafia Island can be located at around the 17th and 18th Centuries. These began with the influx of Shatri (Arabs) immigrants that took place between 1692 and 1711 (Nicholls 1971). In 1840 Mafia was ruled by the sultans of Muscat, who presided over Kilwa and Mafia islands from their headquarters in Zanzibar. It was at that time that Arabs immigrated in abundance to Mafia and established large coconut plantations, especially in the south of the island. This was undertaken with the help of slaves brought from the mainland. The slave trade was abolished formally in the Mafia archipelago by 1922.

The death of Seyyid Said in 1856 led to Zanzibar becoming a British protectorate. By the 20th century, Indians and Europeans had come to own large plantations of coconuts for copra export mainly in the southern part of the main island. At the Berlin Conference in 1884-85, Mafia, Pemba and Zanzibar were declared to be under the rule of Great Britain. But through the Anglo-German treaty of 1st July, 1890 the British exchanged Mafia Island for Stevenson's Road, a strip of territory on Lake Nyasa, so that Mafia became part of the German administration. The Germans made Chole their capital, and later transferred it to Kilindoni in 1913.

Mafia was captured by British troops of the Kings African Rifles together with Indian troops in January 1915. In 1922 it became part of the Tanganyika British protectorate. Since 1964, it has been one of the districts of the Coast Region of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Thus foreigners seem to have influenced the southern part of Mafia far more than the northern part, which had no economic pull to attract

them. This resulted in minimal linguistic influence on KiNgome. Altogether, the combined influence of visiting fishermen, traders, labourers, and soldiers garrisoned there left its mark on Mafia island linguistically.

1. 4 The KiNgome dialect and its speakers

The dialect of Swahili spoken in the northern part of Mafia Island is referred to by its speakers as *KiNgome* or *KiPokome*. Some Bantuists have generally referred to it as *KiMafia* (see Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 12; Nurse and Spear 1985: 64). Each of these three terms reflects certain facts: Firstly, KiNgome is a term derived from the geographical feature of the northern parts of Mafia Island where on the eastern shore there is some uninhabited coral rock and dense forest known locally as *Ngome* 'a coral land forest' (see Map 2 and Baumann's (1886) map⁵). This covers an area of about 25 Km in length extending from the north-end of the main Island to the south (i.e. From Ras Mkumbi to Ras Mkunguni) and with an average width of 5km. The northern area came to be known as *Ngome* on account of this peculiar topographic feature of the Island; and the people living around this came to be known as Wangome. Hence their distinct Swahili dialect is known as KiNgome. Generally, the word *Ngome* means 'fortress' in KiUnguja/SSW but for the Wangome it refers to 'a coral land overgrown by dense forest'. As regards the term KiPokome or KiPokomo, we have the following explanation: The oral traditions of the indigenous Wangome had it that the Portuguese were responsible for the migration of Wapokomo from the northern coast of Kenya. These came to reside at Kidakuli in the Mrali area. This oral account is connected to written reports that in 1634 the Portuguese erected a fort, or rather 'a blockhouse', near Kirongwe or Jojo, which in war time was garrisoned by 'twelve men' from Mombasa (Baumann 1957: 5, King 1917: 119, Moffett 1958:31). These two related accounts throw some possible light on the existence of the 'Wapokomo' and 'KiPokomo' in the northern Mafia area. No other reasons have been given for the presence of the earliest Wapokomo in the Ngome area. Of course, Swahili dialects and KiPokomo share a common root as they are both descendants of Proto-Sabaki (see Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 60).

As for the term (Ki)Mafia, this can only be meaningful if we consider it as an umbrella term comprising KiNgome, KiChole, KiJuani, KiBwejuu

⁵ Oskar Baumann conducted a survey of Mafia island in 1885. He also provided a map indicating the 'Ngome' area.

and Kijibondo, spoken in the Northern Division and on the Chole, Juani, Bwejuu and Jibondo islets respectively. The Southern Division, including part of Kirongwe, Ndagoni, Utende, Baleni, Marimbani and Kilindoni, uses SSW with a unique features much influenced by P20 languages. Further investigation is required for the varieties of KiChole, KiJuani, KiBwejuu, and Kijibondo in the four islets found in the Southern Division. Limitations of time barred this researcher from expanding the scope of this study beyond the Ngome area so as to consider other undescribed varieties of Mafia Swahili as spoken on these islets in the Mafia archipelago.

The Ngome area which is the focus of this study is said to be the first place where the prehistoric inhabitants of Mafia, who have been identified in the Kilwa Chronicles as *Wambwera*, built their town, near Ras Mkumbi. These Wambwera⁶ are akin to the coastal Swahili-speaking people found between Kisiju and the Rufiji estuary on the mainland about 25 Km across the Indian ocean (Baumann 1957: 9). It is not known exactly when the Wambwera landed at Ras Mkumbi or around Jimbo, Mrali and the presently derelict settlement of Kidakuli in northern Mafia. Chami (1994) believes that the early inhabitants of Mafia were iron-working and farming Bantu who crossed from the mainland and settled there by 200-400 A.D. A more recent projection is that of Nurse (1983), who dated the movement of the Swahili-speaking peoples from the north-east of the Kenyan Coast to the south-east end of the coastal Swahili range as far as Comoros and Madagascar at around 800 A.D.

There is no consciousness of earlier tribal ancestry in the Ngome area; my visit to the Ngome area has assured me that no one regards himself as *Mbwera* or *Mpokomo*. Rather all speakers feel inclined to regard Jimbo and Mrali in the Ngome area as their 'ancestral land'. Caplan (personal communication) finds a similar situation from her social anthropological study of the northern Mafia people since 1965.

The *Wangome* do not resent being referred to in a derogatory manner as 'bush people' by Southerners who reside south of Kirongwe village towards the Baleni, Kilindoni and Kiegeani wards. Wangome, proudly, regard themselves as the native dwellers of Mafia Island and the rest who reside in the Southern Division are 'outsiders' from Kilwa Island and mainland Tanzania.

⁶ My study of KiNgome has shown some minor influences of KiMbweera or KiMwera (as appeared in Harries 1950) on KiNgome.

The estimate of the total population⁷ for the whole Mafia archipelago is 46,143. The population figures prepared by the Agriculture Extension Office (AEO)⁸ in Mafia District Council show that by June 1999, the Ngome area, which comprises the villages of Bweni, Kanga, Jimbo, Mrali, Jojo and Banja had a total of 8,306 people.

KiNgome is spoken by almost all categories of people in the Ngome area. Hence, intergenerational transmission is still prevalent despite the vigorous progress of SSW in reducing the numbers of monodialect speakers and their territory. Children in the Ngome area are raised speaking KiNgome. The five primary schools in the area show a minimal influence of SSW. This is because by the time children are enrolled in school, they have already acquired a mastery of KiNgome as their mother tongue. SSW is regarded as *Kiswahili cha shule* (School Swahili) spoken mainly by non-natives and southerners. However, the encroachment of SSW through the daily network of the Standard Swahili Radio transmission of *Radio ya Taifa* and *Sauti ya Zanzibar*, through travelling outside the area and through attendance at School will in the near future reduce the significant number of monodialect speakers even in the heartland of the Ngome. Most Wangome can understand when one is using SSW, but it is a bit difficult for the southerners and any SSW speakers to pick up KiNgome easily. I have noted that most SSW speakers such as the government personnel in the form of paramedics, teachers and development officials who visited or were sent to work in the Ngome area faced difficulties in thoroughly understanding the speech of the ordinary WaNgome.

The majority of monodialect speakers are still found in the villages of Jimbo and Mrali. In Kanga, Bweni and the western islets of Banja and Jojo there exists a mixture of monodialectal and bi-dialectal speakers who have daily contact with other Swahili speakers during fishing activities and trading. There have been close contacts between fishermen and businessmen from Unguja, Rufiji, Pemba, Tumbatu, Mbwamaji, Dar es Salaam, Kimbiji, Kwale, Koma, and Kisiju with the northern ports of Jojo, Kanga and Bweni on the western side of the Northern Mafia Island for many years. Periodically, fishermen come to these area to camp (*weka dago*) along the shores (*mu ph^hwa*). Several men have been allowed to

⁷ The population in the 1979 census was 23,000, while at the last census in 1988 it was 33,025. The population in Ngome area as collected by AEO in 1999 is 8306.

⁸ I am grateful to the staff of the Agriculture Extension Office (AEO) in Mafia Islands District for their generous help during my first field trip in March to September 1999.

marry here on the basis that they are *Waswahili* and Muslims. Some have taken their wives to various places such as Dar-es-salaam and Zanzibar. However, my observation is that there is minimal contact between people from the interior (Jimbo and Mrali) and outsiders. The Wajimbo (including the WaMrali) have their farms deep in the *Ngome* and their own 'secluded' harbour is found on the eastern coast and can be reached only after one hour's crossing of the dense *Ngome* along a single track from Mrali village.

The Wangome are Sunni Muslims divided into different *tarikas* (sufi orders) led by local *sheikhs*. New immigrants are either Christians or traditional religionists, who very rarely intermarry with the locals. The Wangome prefer close kin-marriage, *Nk^{he} ndugu*, rather than out-group marriage (Caplan 1975). Their main occupation involves co-operating in small-scale fishing activities and both shifting and semi-permanent subsistence farming in *makhonde* (fields) and *madawe* (meadow lands). Most people grow coconut palms and some keep animals such as goats, cows, and donkeys for hauling goods around their homesteads. They cultivate coconuts as the main cash crop, grow rice, cassava and keep livestock for local consumption. Selling of copra is no longer a lucrative business. Agriculture, in the north, is affected by wild animals which force farmers to build wooden fences called *mabati*. Men are regularly engaged in fishing using small dug-out canoes known locally as *michoo*. They do not have large fishing vessels to range far out into the Indian ocean for larger quantities of fish. Their most profitable type of fishing is diving (*kuchokoa*) for lobster and octopus. These are bought on the spot at an average price of £ 2 a kilogram for lobsters and 30 pence per kilogram for octopus by two foreign firms based in the south of the island and licensed to export fresh products abroad. Other fresh catches are sold in part to hawkers at the ports of Bweni, Musikitini and Jojo, while the remainder are sun-dried and sold for a better price on the mainland. Women, in addition to agriculture, support themselves by selling *ukindu* (dried raffia palm), and *mikeka* (mats), which are sold on the mainland and in Zanzibar.

I believe KiNgome will continue to persist in the mouths of many Wangome due to three major factors: the natural geographical barrier, the continuation of the system of marriage and their desire to preserve their self identity.

1. 4. 1 Linguistic neighbourhood

KiNgome can be subdivided into two major variants: North KiNgome and South KiNgome. The North subdivision comprises KiNgome spoken in Bweni, Kanga, Banja and Jojo. The South subdivision is that of Jimbo and Mrali, 'the heartland' of the majority of the linguistic ancestors of the Wangome. There are minor phonological differences between these two varieties/lects (see Chapter 2).

The southerners from Kirongwe village, even though it is the headquarters of the Northern Division, use predominantly SSW while the 'extreme' northerners (in the remaining villages) speak KiNgome and partly SSW with non-natives. I have noted some phonological elements in Mafia Island Swahili, whether SSW or KiNgome, that are similar to the adjacent Rufiji-Ruvuma languages⁹ such as P10 of KiRuihi and KiMatumbi and P20 of KiMwera and KiMakonde. For example, one often hears a moraic (homorganic) nasal derived from *mu-* syncopation e.g. *ŋk^h_a* (1)'wife' or *ŋt^h_ot_o* (1)'child'.

1. 5 Field research

The data for this study was collected in six villages of the northern Mafia Islands from 25 March to 10 September 1999 and from 29 March to 10 May 2002. I easily got my research clearance through the Vice Chancellor of the Open University of Tanzania. I flew to Mafia Island's capital Kilindoni in early April 1999 where I was stranded for three days hoping for 'a lift' to get to the *Ngome* area. There was no designated transport to the north of the Island during that rainy season (*masika*). Generally, Mafia Island has only one privately owned bus (christened *Mtu kwao*) that shuttles between Kilindoni and Bweni during the dry season. In this first trip I secured by chance a truck travelling to Jimbo where I had to complete the rest of the trip to Kanga village on foot. At other times I had to rely on bicycle or foot as the only means of transport around the Ngome area or when I needed to go to the capital in Kilindoni which is about 45 Kilometres from my base at Kanga village.

All this time, I lived in a traditional *makuti* house belonging to the late Mikidadi Juma Kichange, which I shared with three young men who were also my informants. Despite the lack of modern facilities such as electricity, tap water, or telephone, I had no trouble in acclimatising myself to the coastal life in Northern Mafia, as I had spent my childhood

⁹ See Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:20) on Eastern Bantu classification.

and early schooling period in a similar coastal environment in Tanga and Pangani.

I had a schedule for visiting each village on a separate day, whilst accompanied sometimes by my host Late Mikidadi Kichange, a forester by profession and well known as an environmentalist throughout Mafia Island, and at other times by a young man named Mzee Ali Hija who is one of the few secondary school leavers from Kanga village. Throughout my stay in the Ngome area I enjoyed very caring support and co-operation from all the people I met.

The data collected for this study was based on a questionnaire, text recording sessions and on informal interviews. The questionnaire comprises 830 items compiled for the purpose of the study. It includes basic vocabulary, grammar and morphology items. I had prepared an additional 316 items for short discourses meant for the elicitation of morphological and morpho-phonological data. All these data were collected from the six key villages. Although I attempt to follow my planned questionnaire, I selected a few informants to spend a long elicitation hours with me. I allowed the rest of my informants and the people I met throughout my trips to stray as much as they liked from the questions asked. I provoked discussion that aimed to let them express themselves and explain to me their daily experience of life on the island. This technique helped me to record a range of topics that I had initiated, some of which forms part of the KiNgome texts. I attempted to note down almost every distinct word in its context in order to explicitly illustrate its actual meaning and usage restrictions.

I also used only six informants to gather information about the dialect and to gain some understanding of the sociolinguistic patterns, the history of the speech community, and their own personal details. Their responses helped to draw a picture of KiNgome in general. Taken together, my principal informants were:

Informants	Gender	Age	Village
Mwamviwa Bakari Suleiman	Female	53	Bweni
Omari Mashi Fungo	Male	25	Bweni
Aboud Mohamed Juma	Male	70+	Jimbo
Ahmed Mwatanda	Male	65+	Kanga
Afina Hassan	Male	24	Kanga
Haji Mohamedi	Male	26	Kanga
Maalim Manzi	Male	70	Kanga

Mzee Ali Hija	Male	20	Kanga
Aisha Kombo Juma	Female	75+	Kanga
Abdalah Haji Mwinchande	Male	54	Kanga
Mwansiti Bint Makame	Female	32	Kanga
Mikidadi Juma Kichange	Male	46	Kanga
Athumani Bakari	Male	31	Mrali
Mohamedi Hassan	Male	48	Jojo
Hassan Khatibu	Male	32	Banja

The above table lists the informants I selected to contribute the wordlist and corpus of KiNgome materials set out on my prepared questionnaires. Much care was taken to select men and women representative of the Ngome area. These informants had grown up in the target locality. Both males and females, aged between 20 and 75 plus, contributed to the database by assisting in filling out questionnaires, taking part in an interview schedule and in participating in everyday conversation. I participated in local social gatherings such as a burial ceremony (*mariro*), Sufi order (*Ziara*), Swahili New Year (*Mwaka koga*) and in the traditional dances (*Mdatu*) and spirit possession rituals (*Kitanga*).

I also spent time with fishermen of Jojo, Musikitini, Bweni, and Mrali and also with the famous iron-smiths of Jimbo. In these places I observed and noted the way KiNgome is spoken. I did not hesitate to ask whenever I had a problem, and the people were more than willing to explain to me the meaning of words and the ways in which KiNgome speech differs from my Tanga dialect and SSW in general. They did not seem to mind when I kept noting what I heard or recorded casual conversations, stories and interviews in my handy digital recorder for later elicitation.

The medium of data elicitation was at first SSW. Later I usually put to use my knowledge of KiNgome after picking up the key features of the dialect and various distinct items of vocabulary so as to keep my informants and people around me at ease. The more people I met, the more I learnt the lexical variation grammar and peculiar sounds of KiNgome in contrast to the Standard forms and those of other Swahili dialects.

I started with individual elicitation by asking the informants to supply the equivalent of the SSW words, together with any variants. I had opportunities to rectify any discrepancies in the responses with more than

one informant. I carried out random 'spot-check'-type comparisons of the speech of informants. Usually I completed a wordlist with one participant and then checked it with another participant. In case of discrepancy between participants I tried to test the item in the field to see what were other people's responses in the course of normal conversation. Often I observed that some of the items I had found appeared doubtful and I then noted their usage in context. This technique helped me to note both the basic form and also variant ways of speech resulting from differences of age, gender, schooling and upbringing.

I visited Mafia Island again in March to May 2002 to countercheck some of the discrepancies I encountered in the course of my investigation and analysis. The present study is the result of all this undertaking.

Chapter 2: Phonology

2.0 The Segmental Phonology

This chapter deals with the Phonology of KiNgame segments, and their distributions within roots. I shall attempt to prove the distinctiveness of various segments by invoking the principle of contrast in analogous environments (that also necessarily includes contrast in identical environment) as employed by Pike (1947: 75).

The consonant inventory based on the KiNgame database is summarised in Table 1. In the subsequent sections, I present descriptions of the segments by categories. Thus, I will consider stops, fricatives, nasals, glides and the flap in the Consonants section. The section on Vowels will examine their phonemic status , distribution and vowel harmony.

Table 1. KiNgame Consonant Phonemes

	labials	alveolars	palatals	velars	laryngeal
Voiceless stops	p	t	č	k	
Aspirated stops	p ^h	t ^h	č ^h	k ^h	
Implosives	b	d	ɟ	g	
Voiceless fricatives	f	s	š		h
Voiced fricatives	v	z			
Prenasalized Voiceless aspirated Stops	Np ^h	Nt ^h	Nč ^h	Nk ^h	
Prenasalized Voiced Stops	Nb	Nd	Nɟ	Ng	
Prenasalized voiceless fricative		Ns			
Prenasalized voiced fricatives	Nv	Nz			
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Glides	w		y		
Rhotic (flap)		r			

2.1 The consonant inventory

The above inventory of consonant phonemes in KiNgame manifests certain phonemic features common to SD as found in Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 567-576). The most notable feature is the extraordinary

richness of stops. It has five types of stops: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced implosives, and two contrasting series involving homorganic prenasalized stops. Plain voiced stops can only be found as components of the homorganic prenasalized stops (Nb, Nd, Nj, Ng)¹⁰. There are four plain nasals, five plain fricatives, three prenasalized fricatives, two glides, and a flap. Of note in this inventory is the presence of an alveolar flap that covers the absence of a lateral and of a trill. There is also a complete lack of the dental series which is a typical feature of the Northern Swahili dialects (ND), and this is one of the pieces of evidence for grouping KiNgome with other SD.

By and large, KiNgome shares similarities in segment distribution and in the possession of certain distinct segments with the following Non-Unguja SD members: KiMtang'ata, KiPemba, KiTumbatu, and KiMakunduchi. In particular I refer here to the voiceless unaspirated stops, voiceless aspirated stops, voiced implosives, plain nasals and fricatives. Throughout this study I have employed the simplified phonemic consonant symbols set out in Table 2 below:

Table 2 : The simplified phonemic consonant symbols

phoneme	IPA	description of principle allophone
p	[p]	voiceless labial stop
p ^h	[p ^h]	voiceless aspirated labial stop
b	[b]	voiced labial implosive stop
t	[t]	voiceless alveolar stop
t ^h	[t ^h]	voiceless aspirated alveolar stop
d	[d]	voiced alveolar implosive stop
ɕ	[tʃ]	voiceless palato-alveolar stop (affricate)
ɕ ^h	[tʃ ^h]	voiceless aspirated palato-alveolar stop (affricate)
ɟ	[ɟ]	voiced palatal implosive stop
k	[k]	voiceless velar stop
k ^h	[k ^h]	voiceless aspirated velar stop
g	[g]	voiced velar implosive stop
Np ^h	[mp ^h]	voiceless (aspirated) bilabial prenasalized stop
Nt ^h	[nt ^h]	voiceless (aspirated) alveolar prenasalised stop
Nɕ ^h	[ptʃ]	voiceless (aspirated) palato-alveolar prenasalized stop (affricate)

¹⁰ The N stands for a homorganic nasal that adapts phonologically to an immediately following consonant.

Nk ^h	[ŋk ^h]	voiceless (aspirated) velar prenasalized stop
Nb	[mb]	voiced labial prenasalised stop
Nd	[nd]	voiced alveolar prenasalised stop
Nj	[nd ₃]	voiced palato-alveolar prenasalised stop (affricate)
Ng	[ŋg]	voiced velar prenasalised stop
Nv	[ɱv]	voiced labio-dental prenasalized fricative
Ns	[ɱs]	voiceless alveolar prenasalized fricative
Nz	[nz]	voiced alveolar prenasalised fricative
f	[f]	voiceless labio-dental fricative
v	[v]	voiced labio-dental fricative
s	[s]	voiceless alveolar fricative
z	[z]	voiced alveolar fricative
ʃ	[ʃ]	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
h	[h]	voiceless laryngeal fricative
ħ	[ħ]	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
x	[x]	voiceless velar fricative
m	[m]	bilabial nasal
n	[n]	alveolar nasal
ɲ	[ɲ]	palatal nasal
ŋ	[ŋ]	velar nasal
r	[r]	alveolar flap
w	[w]	labial-velar glide
ɣ	[j]	palatal glide

As noted above, the presentation of prenasalised obstruents employs a nasal archiphoneme /N/. This nasal archiphoneme /N/ stands for a regularly homorganic nasal in KiNgome. I shall further present voiced implosives simply as /b, d, ɟ, and g/ throughout this thesis. For the alveolar flap [ɾ], I employ /r/ not as representing a trill but as representing KiNgome's alveolar flap [ɾ]. The voiceless palatal stop has been presented by /č/ and the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative will be symbolised as /ʃ/. This is for typographical convenience.

2.1.1 Stops

KiNgome is rich in phonemic stop consonants. There are three basic contrasts in stops (including the palatal affricates); the first is the distinction between aspirated voiceless and unaspirated voiceless which is

made possible on account of the clear presence of phonemic aspiration in this dialect. Secondly, the voiceless (aspirated and unaspirated) stops stand in contrast with the voiced implosives which fill the gap created by the lack of plain voiced stops (except when they occur as part of a prenasalized stops).

2.1.1.1 Aspirated versus unaspirated voiceless stops

The KiNgame dialect has numerous contrastive minimal pairs that establish the distinctiveness of aspirated versus unaspirated voiceless stops (including affricates) as illustrated in (1) below:

(1)

unaspirated voiceless stops		aspirated voiceless stops	
paNga	(5) 'machete'	p ^h aNga	(9a/10a) 'cave'
toto	(5) 'large baby'	t ^h oto	(9a/10a) 'furrow'
towe	(5) 'rope'	t ^h owe	(9a/10a) 'vein'
bati	(5) 'iron sheet'	b ^h ati	(9a/10a) 'cattle den'
koNde	(5) 'fist'	k ^h oNde	(9a/10a) 'field'
kama	(conj.) 'if'	k ^h ama	(9a/10a) 'necklace'
ɕaraza	(V) 'whip'	ɕ ^h araza	(9a/10a) 'wild pigeon'

As noted above, aspirated stops are clearly distinguished from unaspirated voiceless counterparts. There is no restriction in terms of distribution in word-initial and word-internal positions as more examples will reveal in the course of discussion of aspiration in the subsequent sections. My recordings show that aspiration is clearly audible. This is one of the major phonological characteristics of KiNgame that has been lost in SSW. A detailed discussion of the feature of aspiration in KiNgame will appear in subsequent sections. At this stage, I would like to continue illustrating evidence for the phonemic distinctions between the voiceless stops and voiced stops (implosives) by demonstrating contrasts in analogous environment (including identical environments).

2.1.1.2 Contrasting voiceless stops and implosives

I extract words from the KiNgame database showing voiceless stops (including affricates) contrasting with implosives in word-initial and word-internal environments in four places of articulation (labial, alveolar, palatal and velar). There is no restriction of occurrence of the

stops in terms of word-initial and word-internal environments. However, we would not be able to see a consonant in word-final position even in loanwords¹¹, as the phonotactics of KiNgome prohibits the occurrence of consonants in coda position.

(2)(a) Word-initially

pata	(V)	'get'	bati	(5)	'iron sheet'
tuNda	(5)	'fruit'	duNda	(5)	'hill'
čini	(Adv.)	'down'	ɟini	(1a)	'spirit'
kaNba	(9a/10a)	'rope'	gaNba	(V)	'scale'

(b) Word-internally

(N)p ^h opo	(9a/10a)	'bat'	bubu	(1a)	'dumb'
k ^h okoto	(10a)	'aggregate'	kodo	(5)	'testicle'
ɕ ^h əɕi	(1a)	'orphan'	Nk ^h aji	(9/10)	'snail'
uka	(V)	'stand up'	ugari	(14)	'stiff porridge'

In (2a&b) the phonemic status of voiceless unaspirated stops (that includes affricates in the palatal series) and voiced implosives is established in KiNgome. KiNgome exhibits four distinct voiced implosives in its inventory. These implosives occur rather than plain voiced stops in maintaining a contrast with voiceless stops.

In KiNgome, as well as other Swahili dialects, plain voiced stops occur only as components of the homorganic prenasalized stops (Nb, Nd, Nj, Ng). However when they follow homorganic moraic nasals they become implosives. The examples below illustrate implosives preceded by a homorganic moraic nasal in comparison with the plain (non-implosive) voiced stops found in the prenasalised homorganic voiced stops.

(3)

Ndemo	[ŋd̥ɔmo]	(3) 'lip'	Ndoo	[nd̥oo]	(10) 'buckets'
Nbaya	[mb̥aja]	(1) 'a bad person'	Nbaya	[mb̥aja]	(adj) 'bad'
Njini	[ɲjini]	(3) 'town'	Njiya	[nd̥ɟija]	(9/10) 'path'
NguNba	[ŋɡ̥umba]	(1) 'sterile person'	Nguñazi	[ŋɡ̥uñazi]	(9/10) 'grayhair'

¹¹ A section of KiNgome speakers have a good knowledge of Arabic as the language of the Koran. I have noticed accentual Arabic influence in this section of KiNgome speakers. Otherwise by loanwords I refer to words from the surrounding Bantu languages and SD (including Old-KiUnguja, KiMakunduchi and KiMwani).

In (3) we see clear contrast between implosives and plain (non-implosive) stops.

2. 1. 1. 2. 1 Aspirated voiceless stops in KiNgome

Aspiration in KiNgome results from both a productive synchronic process and from an earlier diachronic processes. This section concerns discussion of the synchronic process and of the general occurrence of aspiration in KiNgome. We defer the discussion on the diachronic account of aspiration in KiNgome until Chapter 5.

In KiNgome aspiration serves a distinctive function but is confined to certain contexts. I have come across various forms showing the distribution rules relating to the aspiration of the voiceless stops (including affricate č). The most notable environment that motivates aspiration of the voiceless stops (plus the voiceless affricate) in KiNgome, and indeed in Bantu languages in general (c.f. Hinnebusch 1975: 32; Mathangwane 1999:145-51; Schadeberg 1999: 388), is the nasal prefix for Classes 9/10. KiNgome has abundant examples of aspirated stops preceded by this nasal prefix, as in (4) . We start with consideration of the occurrence of cases of aspiration in word-initial position.

2. 1. 1. 2. 2 Aspiration of obstruents in word-initial position

(4)

Nk ^h arubu	(9/10) 'dog'
Np ^h ura	(9/10) 'nose'
Nt ^h iri	(9/10) 'type of fish'
Nt ^h ete	(9/10) 'unripe'
Nt ^h esa	(9/10) 'groundnut'
Nt ^h okosa	(9/10) 'rice'
Nt ^h andu	(9/10) 'scorpion'
Nk ^h ama	(9/10) 'type of bird'
Nk ^h uku	(9/10) 'hen'
Nk ^h asa	(9/10) 'turtle'
Nk ^h aji	(9/10) 'type of bee'

Examination of examples in (4) indicate that there is regular occurrence of voiceless aspirated obstruents preceded by the nasal prefix N-. Further observation of the cited examples reveal that an initial homorganic nasal

component of a prenasalized voiceless obstruent is stable and constitutes part of a unitary segment in KiNgome. Some of these examples have undergone the process of nasal deletion in SSW and other urban Swahili dialects such as KiMvita (Nk^hasa > k^hasa ; Nk^huku > k^huku). However there is some evidence that the process of nasal deletion in some cases is optional as the following synchronic alternation of N₀Ç^h ~ Ç^h, indicate in (5) :

(5)

Np ^h aNzi ~ p ^h aNzi	(9/10) 'grasshopper'
Np ^h opo ~ p ^h opo	(9/10) 'bat'
Np ^h uNda ~ p ^h uNda	(9/10) 'donkey'
Nt ^h ara ~ t ^h ara	(9/10) 'ray fish'
Nč ^h awa ~ č ^h awa	(9/10) 'louse'
Nč ^h ewa ~ č ^h ewa	(9/10) 'type of fish'
Nč ^h wago ~ č ^h wago	(9/10) 'type of crab'
Nč ^h ore ~ č ^h ore	(9/10) 'type of bird'
Nk ^h upe ~ k ^h upe	(9/10) 'wild rat'
Nk ^h upa ~ k ^h upa	(9/10) 'tick'
Nk ^h aNba ~ k ^h aNba	(9/10) 'prawn'
Nk ^h uruNge ~ k ^h uruNge	(9/10) 'forest'
Nč ^h aza ~ č ^h aza	(9/10) 'oyster'

The context in which the above alternation occur is not purely determined by phonetic reasons. Presumably, from phonetic point of view, all cases of N-deletion is made possible following the devoicing of N prefix in the environment of the homorganic voiceless obstruents. Crosslinguistically, Hajek (1997: 158) observed that devoicing of N has a major effect on perceptual saliency, which may lead to complete N-deletion in some languages¹². As far as the KiNgome synchronic evidence is concerned, I find three salient reasons behind N-deletion: First, is the tempo of speech: the nasal prefix loss becomes most obvious in casual speech but is retained in careful speech. Secondly, there is deliberate attempt by speakers to contrast the prenasalized aspirated stops

¹² Devoicing of N leads to complete assimilation to the following voiceless obstruents in Toba, Batak, and Sardinian, e.g. in Sard [pessare] < PENSARE] 'to think'.

against plain aspirated stops as the following minimal pairs reveal:

(6)

Nk ^h ama	(9/10) 'type of bird'	k ^h ama	(9a/10a) 'bead'
Nk ^h uku	(9/10) 'keel'	k ^h uku	(9a/10a) 'hen'
Nk ^h aji	(9/10) 'type of bee'	k ^h aji	(9a/10a) 'snail'
Nt ^h ara	(9/10) 'ray fish'	t ^h ara	(9a/10a) 'lamp'

Thirdly, I suspect some words have either entered into KiNgome lexicon while already lost nasal onset but preserved aspiration of the stops. These words constitute a third subset of nouns under Classes 9a/10a as follows:

(7)

t ^h ano	(9a/10a) 'five'
p ^h aña	(9a/10a) 'rat'
k ^h ago	(9a/10a) 'charm'
k ^h ope	(9a/10a) 'eyelashes'
k ^h yoNgore	(9a/10a) 'large fish'
p ^h eNbe	(9a/10a) 'horn'
k ^h uni	(9a/10a) 'firewood'
p ^h oNdo	(9a/10a) 'pole'

So far we have examined the word-initial position of aspirated obstruents effected by (loss or presence of) the N prefix of Class 9/10 nominal.

Similarly, I have observed that KiNgome voiceless obstruents may be aspirated following the presence of a homorganic moraic nasal, notably in Class 1 and 3 prefixes as the following data indicates:

(8)

N ₁ k ^h aka	(3) 'mat'
N ₁ ǽ ^h uzi	(3) 'broth'
N ₁ t ^h oto	(1) 'child'
N ₁ k ^h e	(1) 'wife'
N ₁ p ^h wa	(1) 'niece'

KiNgome attests homorganic moraic nasal resulting from mu-syncope where it becomes moraic m̥- that then assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonants N̥-. This is a regular process for KiNgome as far as the mu- prefix is concerned. In noun

prefixes of Classes 1 and 3, KiNgame has only two nominal prefix forms: the full form /m_u-/ or and the syncopated form /N̩-/, which is a moraic homorganic nasal. But we rarely encounter a case of /ɱ/ resulting from syncopation of the vowel /u/. The moraic homorganic nasal N̩, just like the nasal component of the prenasalised voiceless obstruent triggers, aspiration of the following oral stop. A similar situation is reported in another Bantu language, Ikalanga, where Mathangwane (1999: 62) indicates the following examples (in a footnote) where the moraic nasal precedes a voiceless labial aspirated stop;

(9)

má-n-k ^{hw} -a _{nan} -fálí	'one who is a breaker of pots'
má-n-k ^{hw} a _{k^w} arara	'one who makes the cricket noise'
má-n-t ^h úmba	'one who is carrying its dwelling'

In her own words n- stands for Class 1 prefix- with no relation to the má- prefix which is used in Ikalanga to mean 'one who has or who does something'. Although she does not explicitly relate the class 1 prefix n-, which she regards as a syllabic (in our terms moraic), with aspiration of the following stop, we have no doubt that the moraic nasal has brought about aspiration of the following voiceless stops.

2. 1. 1. 2. 3 Aspirated stops in word-internal position

Aspirated stops are commonly found in word-internal position too. I have noticed this characteristic of KiNgame in the following words:

(10)

-buruN ^t h _u	(9/10) 'hornless bull'
-fuN ^{ɔ̃} h _a	(V) 'grumble'
-fuN ^k h _a	(V) 'smoke'
-kiN ^k h _i s _a	(V) 'heatbeat'
-kuN ^t h _u	(V) 'defecate'
-oN ^t h _e	(A) 'all'
-puN ^t h _a	(V) 'be cool'
-taN ^t h _u ra	(V) 'toddling'
mwaN ^p h _u	(Adj) 'arrogance'
rukoN ^k h _o	(11) 'walking stick'

waNt^hu (1) 'people'

We have seen in § 2. 1. 1. 2. 2 that both the nasal onset in prenasalised stops and the moraic nasal preceding voiceless stops in word-initial position trigger aspiration. Likewise, prenasalised voiceless stops and cases of derived moraic homorganic nasal in word-internal position effect aspiration of the voiceless obstruents.

(11)

-eNk^huNdu ~ ek^huNdu (Adj) 'red'
 -nuNk^ha ~ -nuk^ha (V) 'smell'
 k^hwiNk^hwi ~ k^hwi k^hwi (9/10) 'hiccup'
 muNk^ha ~ muk^ha (1) 'wife'

The tempo of speech governs the alternation in (11). The nasal onset in the prenasalized stops is clearly audible in careful speech but seems to be lost in rapid speech. However it is obvious that this synchronic alternation is a result of the devoicing of the onset nasal that weakens it and thus results in its optional loss.

Closer to above cases, Ekoti (Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000:26), a distant relative of KiNgame, has interesting examples that support our contention that aspirated stops seems to be effected by the preceding nasal onset in word-internal position as seen in (12) below:

(12) kintak^h'oolə'n'k^ha 'I want to leave'
 wələnk^hi wəəp^ha 'I am already gone'

I'm convinced that nasal component contributes to the aspiration of the following stops.

Word-internally innovated aspiration is also evidenced in a derived environment like that of the 3sg OM /-N̥/, derived from /mu-/ when affixed in the verb, as follows:

(13) ńi-N̥-k^hutə
 1sgSM-3sgOM-meet
 'I have met him/her'

2. 1. 1. 2. 4 Aspiration of the stops in the penultimate mora

(14)

kip ^h aNga	(9a/10a) 'tsetse fly'
para ^h aza	(9a) 'cool season'
kitu ^h ura	(7) 'hut'
papa ^h rup ^h aNga	(9a/10a) 'saw fish'
kitet ^h esa	(9a/10a) 'butterfly'
kit ^h aNga	(7) 'type of dance'
čwidič ^h widi	(Adv.) 'slowly'
pwi ^h ta ^h p ^h wi ^h ta	(V) 'beat repeatedly'
kit ^h ezo	(7) 'incense burner'
Ŋsiki ^h iti	(3) 'mosque'

None of the previous factors that bring about aspiration, seem to be involved in (14) above. Further scrutiny of (14) shows that aspiration occur mainly or exclusively in the penult. I regard this phenomenon as merely a tendency as some of the informants did not clearly aspirate the above examples. It is not an obligatory process. But when I asked them to pronounce the following words ending with the location marker *-ni*, aspiration was clearly audible in the penultimate mora.

(15)

Ŋsiki ^h it ^h ini	'in the mosque'
kiru ^h Nbiki ^h ani	(7) 'sidewall'

This implies that although the position of stress plays a role in optionally bringing about aspiration, as in (15), the pragmatic factors such as the emphasis of a word with penultimate stress makes aspiration to be audible.

- (16) (a) Ŋsiki^hiti (3) 'mosque'
 (b) Ŋsiki^hit^hini 'in the mosque'

KiNgame attests to aspiration shift as we see in (16a & b). The aspiration occurs on the onset of the penultimate syllable, and if through the addition of the locative *-ni*, the penultimate mora changes, the

aspirated segment changes also. A clear evidence that stress in the penultimate may be responsible for aspiration of the stop that occurs in that position is presented by the compound word *paparup^haNgā* (9a/10a) 'saw fish'. This example has been derived from two independent words:

- (17) *p^hapā* (9a/10a) 'shark'
rupāNgā (11) 'machete'

In compounding, *paparup^haNgā*, there is a loss of aspiration in *p^hapā* in favour of the penultimate mora in *rupāNgā* which happens to have a voiceless stop. Subsequently, it has become aspirated.

2.1.1.2.5 Aspiration of the stops effected by sibilant

Among the synchronic cases I have observed of aspiration in KiNgome, is one where a syllable beginning with a sibilant precedes one beginning with a voiceless stop. Although KiNgome is a CV language, I have noticed a synchronic alternation in the following words:

- (18)
- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| <i>kasikazi</i> ~ <i>kask^hazi</i> | (9a) 'north wind' |
| <i>kasikazini</i> ~ <i>kask^hazini</i> | (9a) 'north' |
| <i>asikari</i> ~ <i>ask^hari</i> | (1a) 'soldier' |
| <i>šituka</i> ~ <i>šthuka</i> | (V) 'terrified' |

Noted in (18), are cases of aspiration resulting from the presence of sibilants preceding voiceless stops. Like onset N or moraic N preceding voiceless obstruents and bringing about aspiration, sibilants in the above environment trigger aspiration too. Rarely, KiNgome allows consonant sequences, the sequences S(ibilant) + C(onsonant) resulting from syncopation of an intervening vowel. This is depicted in the synchronic alternation in (18). It is interesting to note that the voiceless /k/ is aspirated in both *kask^hazi* and *kask^hazini* thus diminished the argument that penultimate stress may have triggered aspiration.

It is clear from the above discussion that aspiration is distinctive. The evidence drawn from synchronic KiNgome data has strongly shown that aspiration is triggered by a 'consonant' immediately preceding a voiceless stops. Essentially, as Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 66) note, aspiration is a period of voicelessness after the release of a stop stricture (). Nasal

onset, moraic nasal, stress in the penultimate mora, and moraic sibilants tend to cause an accumulation of airflow (pressure) preceding a noticeable burst that has been sustained for some considerable time (c.f. Ladefoged and Maddieson *ibid.*: 67) At the moment the possible 'consonants' are nasals (whether moraic or weightless) or sibilants /s/ or /ʒ/. Again some speakers with arabic influence are pronouncing arabic loan words such as *baft^ha* 'loin cloth' and *ft^hari* 'meal' with audible aspiration. KiNgome also expands the environment in which aspiration can occur; some speakers have been observed aspirating voiceless stops that fall in the penultimate position. The available data has no other cases of consonant following voiceless obstruents.

2. 1. 2 Fricatives

KiNgome has a total of 6 plain fricatives, which are / f, v, s, ʒ, z, h /. I shall demonstrate the phonemic status of /f/ and /v/ and show the contrast /s, ʒ z, / in analogous environment. The laryngeal fricative /h/ will be contrasted with various phonemes to establish its phonemic status.

2. 1. 2. 1 The Labial Fricatives.

The following are words illustrating contrast between voiced and voiceless labial fricatives in initial and word-medial position .

(19)

(a) word-initial

-fama	(V) 'urinate'	-vami[y]a	(V) 'pounce on'
-fuNga	(V) 'tie'	-vuNga	(V) 'confuse'
-fura	(V) 'swell up'	-vura	(V) 'put off'

(b) word-medial

rufa	(11) 'crack'	-ruvi	(9a/10a)'type of bee'
Ndefu	(Adj) 'tall'	Ndevu	(10) 'beards'

/f/ and /v/ are separate phonemes as they contrast in analogous environment.

2. 1. 2. 2 The alveolar and palatal fricatives.

We present by means of contrast in analogous environment the distinction between /s, z, and š/ in both word-initial and word-internal environments.

(20)

-suka	(V) 'plait'	-zuka	(V) 'erupt'	šuka	(5) 'loincloth'
kosa	(5) 'error'	-koza	(V) 'heat'	-koša	(V) 'wash'

The contrast between voiced alveolar fricatives and voiceless alveolar fricatives against voiceless palatal fricatives in (20) proves their phonemic status in KiNgome. However, KiNgome tends to employ /s/ whereas SSW and northern dialects prefer the palatal fricative /š/ in numerous lexical items. I have noted the following cases:

(21)

KiNgome		SSW and ND	
-soto	(adj) 'left'	-šoto	(adj) 'left'
-tonesa	(V) 'hurt'	-toneša	(V) 'cure'
-jaso	(5) 'sweat'	jašo	(5) 'sweat'
fuso	(5) 'charm'	fušo	(5) 'charm'
keso	(adv) 'tomorrow'	-kešo	(adv) 'tomorrow'
matapisi	(6) 'vomit'	matapiši	(6) 'vomit'
mosi	(3) 'smoke'	moši	(3) 'smoke'
NsiNdo	(3) 'noise'	N-šiNdo	(3) 'noise'
Nsipā	(3) 'vein'	ṁšiṁpa	(3) 'vein'
savu	(5) 'chick'	šavu	(5) 'chick'
sina	(5) 'trunk'	šina	(5) 'trunk'
siNda	(V) 'press'	šiNda	(V) 'press'
siNgo	(9a/10a) 'neck'	šiNgo	(9a/10a) 'neck'
soka	(5) 'axle'	šoka	(5) 'axle'
usaNga	(11) 'bead'	ušaNga	(11) 'bead'

There is a clear contrast here between KiNgome and SSW and ND together. In Chapter 6 we will extend this discussion by examining the diachronic factors leading to the above contrast. Tentatively, we suggest that the synchronic attestation of /s/ indicates an areal feature common to SD and the neighbouring P10 and P20 languages.

2. 1. 2. 3 The Laryngeal Fricative

In order to establish the phonemic status of /h/, I contrast it with other phonemes in similar environments, as in (22a &b):

(22)(a) word-initial

-hama	(V) 'move out'	-fama	(V) 'urinate'
-hema	(V) 'gasp'	-sama	(V) 'say'

(b) word-medial

masaha	(6) 'pus'	mačaza	(6) 'rice'
mahaNda	(6) 'twins'	mašaNa	(6) 'cultivated fields'

The evidence for the laryngeal fricative/h-/ in word-medial position is quite rare. However its phonemic character is clear following its opposition to other KiNgome phonemes in (22 a &b). Generally, /h/ occurs in few words of Bantu origin. as presented in (23).

(23)

ha- or hu-	'negative marker' c.f. CB/PSA*	nka- and *nku-
hoNbwe	(9a/10a)	'type of snail'
suhu	(V)	'rot' / 'ferment'
udaha	(14)	'pepper'

It is certainly the case that most instances of /h/ have entered into the KiNgome lexicon through Arabic loan-words via old KiUnguja:

(24)

KiNgome	Arabic source	
roho	ruh	(9a/10a) 'spirit'
huzuni	huzn	(9a/10a) 'sorrow'
hesa	hisa	(9a/10a) 'share'
hizi	huzn	(V) 'cause anguish'
haramu	harm	(9a/10a) 'sin / forbidden'
hadisi	hadθ	(9a/10a) 'story'
haNisini	xamsa	(9a/10a) 'fifty'
bahari	bahr	(9a/10a) 'sea'
mahari	mahr	(6) 'the bride-price'

Others are found as part of the general nautical vocabulary of the Indian Ocean such as:

- (25) *nahozə* (1a) 'skipper'
 deheni (V) 'caulk'

2.1.3 Prenasalized obstruents

Several Sabaki members have shown that in most cases prenasalized obstruents are limited to voiced oral consonants rather than to their voiceless counterparts. Though this seems to be the case for many modern Sabaki members, it by no means applies to all members. KiNgome, KiPokomo and even KiEkoti attest many cases both of prenasalized voiceless and of their voiced counterparts. This subsection will discuss the synchronic cases of prenasalized stops (herewith NS) and prenasalized fricatives (NF).

2.1.3.1 Prenasalized stops (NS)

Synchronically, KiNgome makes a distinction between prenasalized voiceless stops with aspiration /Nʃʰ/ and prenasalized voiced stops /Nʃ/. These contrasts occur in initial and medial position. However, we must stress the peculiarity of KiNgome in treating both prenasalized voiceless and voiced stops as unitary segments when they occur initially in Class 9/10 nouns (except in monomoraic stems) or word-internally. This is contrary to what Maeda (2001: 162) observed in the Swahili dialect of KiMvita (or indeed in SSW), namely that:

'...in the case of the N+C sequences in word-internal position, when a consonant of a N+C sequence is a voiced stop or a voiced labial/alveolar fricative, the sequence is realised as a prenasalized obstruent. However, it is realised as a moraic nasal followed by a consonant when any consonant other than a voiced stop or a voiced labial/alveolar fricative occurs, i.e., when a moraic nasal precedes a voiceless consonant, a nasal or a liquid'.

As far as prenasalized voiceless stops (excluding monomoraic stems) in KiNgome are concerned, this statement does not fit. In addition, if we consider KiNgome [wə]σ[Ntʰu]σ(2)'people', then if Maeda's observation for KiMvita also held for KiNgome then we would be required to have forms such as *[wəN]σ[tʰu]σ or

**[wa]σ[N]σ[t_hu]σ. In (26) more evidence for prenasalized voiceless obstruents is presented.

(26)(a) word-initial

Np ^h ura	(9/10) 'nose'	Nburiza	(9/10) 'grey-hair'
Nt ^h ara	(9/10) 'rayfish'	Ndama	(9/10) 'calf'
Nɔ ^h awa	(9/10) 'louse'	Njiwa	(9/10) 'pigeon'
Nk ^h uku	(9/10) 'hen'	NguNda	(9/10) 'wild pigeon'

(b) word-medial

ɔaNp ^h wa	(9a/10a) 'shore'	k ^h aNb ^a	(9a/10a) 'rope'
waNt ^h u	(2) 'peoples'	waNdo	(11) 'fishtrap'
-fuNɔ ^h a	(V) 'grumble'	-vuNja	(V) 'break'
boNk ^h o	(9a/10a) 'hippo'	boNgo	(5) 'brains'

The phonemic status of the prenasalized voiceless-aspirated stops /Nɔ^h/ is clearly established in (26 a & b) above. The prenasalized voiceless-aspirated stops (/Nɔ^h/) word-initially mostly occur in gender 9:10 nouns. Furthermore, KiNgome distinguishes a homorganic moraic nasal + stop sequence with a sequence of a moraic nasal + aspirated stops /Nɔ^h/ and /ɔ^h/, as the data in (27) indicates :

(27)

Nk ^h utu	(9/10) 'nest'	Nk ^h ate	(3) 'bread'	k ^h utu	(9a/10a) 'rust'
Nt ^h aNda	(9/10) 'pond'	Nt ^h aNb ^a	(3) 'heifer'	t ^h aNda	(5) 'big bed'

In addition to (27) above, we can further contrast prenasalized aspirated stops and plain stops as in (28) below:

(28)

fuNp ^h a	(V)	'bailing'	-fupa	(5)	'bone'
-puNt ^h a	(V)	'relax'	-puta	(V)	'kick'
-taNt ^h ura	(V)	'toddling'	-tatura	(V)	'tear apart'
Nt ^h esa	(9/10)	'groundnut'	-tesa	(V)	'torture'
-baNt ^h a	(V)	'grind'	bata	(9a/10a)	'locust'

bəNkʰo	(9/10) 'hippo'	boko	(5) 'large stick'
Nkʰujə	(9/10) 'type of bee'	kuja	(V) 'to come'
-kuNtʰu	(V) 'defecate'	kʰutu	(9a/10a) 'rust'

This set clearly shows the distinction and distribution of prenasalized aspirated obstruents in relation to plain voiceless and voiced stops. So far, I have concentrated on establishing the distinctiveness of prenasalized aspirated obstruents as found in synchronic KiNgome.

I regard NC (NS +NF) throughout this study as a unitary segment that can be contrasted with N̥C. The following points are the basis of this argument :

(a) Often when Bantuists have referred to prenasalised obstruents in phoneme inventories, they tend to focus only on asymmetric series of voiced sequences i.e. /N̥C/. The evidence of onset nasal preceding a prenasalized voiceless stop can be recoverable synchronically in Swahili only in monomoraic stem such as N̥tʰə (9/10) 'wax' (see Park 1997: 300-1). However, KiNgome and other peripheral Sabaki members such as KiPokomo and Ekoti¹³ have preserved a series of symmetrical contrasts between /N̥C/ and /N̥Cʰ/ mostly for four places of articulation. The cross-linguistic patterning of N-loss before voiceless obstruents is partly attributed to a phonetic basis resulting from the inherent constraints of the speech mechanism. There are Universalist claims that the preferential deletion of N before voiceless obstruents (but not before) rather than voiced obstruents are supported by a phonetic process of contextual devoicing or by the phonetic effect of obstruent voicelessness on the duration of N (See Hajek 1997: 158 and Fujimura 1977 :115). Fujimura (ibid.) reports that reduction of N before a voiceless consonant may be so extreme that complete loss of the nasal consonant is frequent. He argues that the extreme reduction in duration of nasals before voiceless obstruents is considered here purely as an intermediary largely the result of conflict between the muscle contraction necessary for the articulation of a voiceless obstruent, and the muscle relaxation necessary for velum lowering. N preservation before voiceless obstruents is presented here purely as an intermediary phonological feature only found in

¹³ Although Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) and Schadeberg and Mucanheia (2000) have not included KiEkoti as a new member of Coastal Sabaki, I have no doubt that my inclusion is tentatively justified by the close relationship between the 'Swahili-like' lexical items presented for KiEkoti and Sabaki members.

conservative dialects like KiNgome. Prenasalized voiceless obstruents are no doubt unified segments just like their counterpart prenasalized voiced obstruents. It is the only area where we tentatively suspect that KiPokomo may have left its mark on contemporary KiNgome.

(b) The reason to consider N+C sequences as a unit is provided in Maeda's (2001:172) treatment of KiMvita. She adopted Herbert's (1986) a two-level approach for deriving prenasalized consonants. Herbert (1986: 144) argues that prenasalized obstruents are not present underlyingly. In deep structure there are two independent units (a nasal plus an oral consonant cluster). Prenasalized obstruents are realised only at a surface/ syllabic level where they are regarded as unitary segments.

However, in order for two underlying segments to be unified, two processes have to take place: creation of homorganicity in articulation and timing adjustments. Homorganicity also involves voicing assimilation in nasal + obstruents sequences. The onset nasals share the voicing category of the obstruents that follow them. By timing adjustments, Herbert (1986: *ibid.*) adds the following statement: '... we assume that the single crucial process which defines a state of unification is timing adjustment. That is, there can be no question of a unification of components unless the surface complex exhibits a duration which is approximately that accorded to non-suspect underlying units '.

Maeda (*Ibid.*) applies Herbert's derivational model for prenasalized consonants to KiMvita. For instance, she claims that the prenasalized stop in the word /taNga/ (N. 5) 'sail', has undergone the following stages: (29)

	'sail'
Stage 1	/taNga/
Stage 2	/ta[ŋg]a/
Stage 3	/ta.[ŋg]a/
	[ta.ŋga]

In Stage 1, a nasal and an oral consonant are regarded as distinct segments. In Stage 2, the place assimilation takes place where N assimilates to the place feature of the following consonant. In Stage 3, The two segments, /^Ng/ are united as a result of the temporal adjustment, and consequently they are realised as a prenasalized consonant, [ŋg]. I suggest that this process also holds for KiNgome.

(c) The decision as to whether to regard N+C as a unit or a sequence is often a phonological rather than a phonetic matter (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 127). According to Herbert (1986: 161) morphosyntactic information such as class membership is crucial in treating prenasalised obstruents as unitary segments. In line with Herbert's suggestions, I have considered prenasalised obstruents (NC) as unitary segments as found in Class 9/10 noun prefixes in KiNgame. These unitary segments can be distinguished from moraic homorganic nasals as present in other nominal classes or Class 9/10 monomoraic nouns as nominal prefixes as follows:

(30)

NC		N+C	
Nsuka	(9/10) 'peninsula'	Nsusɪ	(1) 'plaiter'
Nthoto	(9/10) 'furrow'	Nthoto	(1) 'child'
Nthokosa	(9/10) 'stew'	NthariNbo	(3) 'black tea'
Nviño	(9/10) 'maggot'	Nvuvi	(1) 'fisherman'
Nkharubu	(9/10) 'dog'	Nkha	(1) 'wife'
Nburiza	(9/10) 'grey hair'	Nbu	9/10 'mosquito'
Ndwara	(9/10) 'illness'	Ndomo	(3) 'lip'
Njara	(9/10) 'hunger'	Nja	(Adv) 'outside'
Ngeza	(9/10) 'leprosy'	Ngeni	(1) 'guest'

KiNgame has no distinction between nasal + stop sequences and prenasalised stops. The only N+C clusters, apart from prenasalised stops, are moraic nasal + consonant clusters. This situation calls for the preference of a unitary analysis.

Moreover, just as there is preservation of prenasalized obstruents word-initially, there is a regular presence of prenasalized obstruents word-internally as exemplified below:

(31)

ñeNvure	(9/10) 'grasshopper'
ñamaNtho	(1a) 'infant'
ruNkha	(V) 'jump'
rugaNzi	(14) 'numbness'
baNvuwa	(9a) 'springtide'

Examples of moraic nasals preceding obstruents word-internally are the result of the productive derivational processes involving the loss of high vowels following nasals:

(32)

kaNt^hware Nt^hoto '(go) and take the baby' (N- < mu-).

The only underived case is:

(33)

kipiN^guN^juju (Adj) 'unsettled'

As is evident from the data presented above, KiNgome provides evidence of symmetrical consistency of prenasalized obstruents both word-initially and word-internally positions.

(d) Finally, my argument in favour of considering N+C as a unitary segment appears to be partly supported by the structure of verb-roots (VR) in KiNgome (and indeed Bantu languages in general). The canonical structure of the VR is -CVC- (excluding the monosyllabic VR's). Examples are:

(34)

-paN ^g -	'plan'
-daNt ^h -	'hang'
-ŋoN ^g -	'twist'
-puNt ^h -	'wait'
-ruNk ^h -	'jump'
-baNz-	'hide'
-riNd-	'watch'
-raNb-	'lick'
-fuNɕ ^h -	'fight'
-beN ^j -	'extract'

There is certainly no evidence of any other type of -CVCC- verb-root structure in KiNgome apart from the above if we consider NC above as clusters. The VR structure above clearly supports the preference of the unitary analysis as NC above fit in the same way as simple segments representing VR, such as -som- 'read'.

It is interesting to note from the above discussion that KiNgome

appears to have preserved an earlier feature in having prenasalised voiceless obstruents whereas the rest of SD members have undergone an innovation and lost the nasal component. Let us now examine the distribution of the prenasalized fricatives in modern KiNgome.

2. 1. 3. 2 Prenasalized fricatives (NF) in KiNgome

The nasal component of NF is more prone to loss than the nasal component of NS in various other languages of the world (de Chene 1985, Taylor and Uys 1988) and including Sabaki in general (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993). KiNgome still uses pre-fricative N as a component of a series of prenasalized voiceless and voiced fricatives. However, it is no longer a stable synchronic phenomenon. I present what I consider to be rare cases of NF segments in contrast with N̥+F sequences (in both mono- and bi-moraic stems) as follows:

(35)

NF		N̥+F	
Nsuk ^h a	(9/10) 'rice'	N̥so	(9/10) 'kidney'
Nsokora	(9/10) 'peninsula'	N̥swaki	(3) 'toothbrush'
Nviño	(9/10) 'maggot'	N̥viño	(3) 'wine'
Nvura~vura	(9/10) 'rain'	N̥zizi	(3) 'root'
Nzurura	(9/10) 'dizziness'	N̥zi	(9/10) 'house-fly'

As seen above, NF occurs in nouns of Class 9/10 on what I considered as a unitary prenasalised fricative. On the other hand, in monomoraic stems, we witness the nasal onset becoming a moraic nasal and stress bearer, similar to what occurs in the case described by Maeda (2001:121) of another Swahili dialect of KiMvita. The distribution of NF is not confined to word-initial position only, additional evidence for NF is provided in word-medial position, as shown below:

(36)

{b}word-medial

kuNvi	(9a/10a) 'chaff'
ñeNvura	(9a/10a) 'grasshopper'
baNvuwa	(5) 'spring-tide'
vuNvu	(5) 'fallow'
čuNvi	(9a/10a) 'salt'
ručaNvu[^h ɔ]	(11) 'a piece of cloth'

rugaNzi	(11)	'numbness'
-fyoNza	(V)	'suck'

The above data show prenasalized fricatives (NF) in word-internal position i.e. in other than 9/10 noun class prefixes. I summarise the distribution of NF as follows:

(37)

N	-	+	+	-	+	-
F	f	v	ɸ	ɸ̥	z	h

In the course of my investigations of the synchronic data of KiNgome, I have not come across cases of the prenasalised fricatives : **/Nf/, **/Nɸ̥/ and **/Nh/. Perhaps the best-known example of a Bantu language with none of the above gaps for NF is KiNyamwezi (F22), a Bantu language of Western Tanzania, where all the potential six homorganic nasal fricatives predicted in (37) are found (See Maganga and Schadeberg 1992 : 16-17).

The preferential loss of pre-fricative N, compared to pre-stop N is presumably a result of the articulatory instability of the former (see Hajek 1997:156). Altogether the preservation of NF and NS lead us to consider KiNgome as a conservative peripheral dialect of Swahili. The attestation of a prenasalized voiceless obstruent in Ns represents the perpetuation of a hypothesised transitional feature linking protoforms of PSA and CB and later innovated features.

2.1.4 Nasals.

KiNgome exhibits only one series of simple voiced nasals appearing in four places of articulations namely labial, alveolar, palatal and velar i.e. /m, n, ɲ, and ŋ/ respectively. Additionally we have pre-obstruent N as part of prenasalised obstruents as discussed above. Simple nasals may also manifest themselves as moraic nasals. Neither non-moraic nor moraic nasals have any restriction in their occurrence in terms of word-initial and word-internal environments. This section will confine itself to the discussion of such nasals. The nasal portion as a component of a prenasalized obstruent has been extensively covered in § 2.1.3.1 and § 2.1.3.2.

2.1.4.1 Simple Nasals

An attempt is made here to illustrate the phonemic status of simple nasals in KiNgome, I shall present in (38 a&b) the contrast in four places of articulation. I include two series of non-homorganic initial moraic nasals + voiceless and voiced (implosive) stops in order to demonstrate that the plain nasals and prenasalized stops are phonologically distinct. Words illustrating nasals and stops contrasting in intervocalic position are also presented.

(38)(a)

muwa	(3)	'cane sugar'	buwa	(5)	'stalk'
-nawa	(V)	'wash hand'	dawa	(5)	'medicine'
ñama	(9/10)	'meat'	Njama	(5)	'conspiracy'
ŋoNda	(9/10)	'dry fish'	-goNda	(V)	'thinning'

(b)

k ^h ama	(9/10)	'type of bird'	k ^h aNba	(9a/10a)	'rope'
wino	(11)	'ink'	wito	(11)	'call'
-fuña	(V)	'pinch'	-fuNğ ^h a	(V)	'grumble'
-boŋoña	(V)	'destruct'	doNgo	(5)	'soil'

The data in 38(a)&(b) establish the distinctiveness of four simple nasals in word-initial and word-internal position. There is no voiceless counterpart of the voiced nasals except as a component of prenasalised voiceless obstruents (occurring as homorganic voiceless nasals (N̥)).

In addition to simple nasals, KiNgome is predominantly characterised by the presence of moraic homorganic nasals, and this will form the subject of the following sub-section.

2.1.4.2 Moraic nasal

Whilst KiMvita (as well as SSW) is recently reported by Maeda (2001: 122-123) to have two moraic nasals; a non-homorganic /m̥/ and a homorganic /N̥-/, KiNgome has predominantly the homorganic moraic nasal /N̥/, as exemplified in the following alternations:

(39)

muNt ^h u ~ N̥t ^h u	(1)	'person'
munarani ~ N̥narani	(3)	'tower'
wanunu[w]a ~ waN̥nu[w]a		'they have bought'

Patterns of synchronic alternation of $\text{mu} \sim \text{N}$ and $\text{nu} \sim \text{N}$ in KiNgome suggest that the basic forms are mu- and nu- . Moraic nasal N was a relatively recent result of mu and nu syncopation, though these may still be retained in a carefully formal speech. This optional u -deletion and the consequent moraicity of the homorganic nasal commonly occurs in very rapid speech.

We can schematically present differences between KiNgome and SSW in terms of derivation of mu- or nu- to moraic nasal as follows:

(40)

KiNgome	SSW	
muCV	muCV	
mCV	mCV	(1) syncopation of mu
m̩CV	m̩CV	(2) moraicity of nasal segment
N̩CV	---	(3) Nasal homorganicity
N̩CV	m̩CV	(4) Output

KiNgome differs from SSW in their realisation of the moraic nasal. SSW has only a moraic nasal which has retained its phonetic place features and does not assimilate e.g. in voicing, to the following consonant (C). The KiNgome moraic nasal goes further to assimilate to the place feature of the following consonant.

The moraic homorganic N derived from the full form $/\text{mu-}/$ (as found in Class 1, 3 and 18, and as 3sg OM) is a phenomenon which is also found in the neighbouring Bantu language of KiMatumbi (Odden 1996). Odden (ibid.) terms it Mu-type alternations. KiNgome lacks the intermediate stage with $/\text{m̩}/$. This may represent unexpectedly strong influences from P10 and P20 languages. KiNgome does not distinguish N resulting from the 3sg OM $/\text{mu-}/$ in $\text{kaN̩}^{\text{thware}}$ 'take him' and N resulted from 1sg OM ni- in $\text{kaN̩}^{\text{thwari}}[\text{y}]_{\text{e}}$ 'take him for me'. They are both realised as a homorganic moraic nasal $/\text{N̩}/$. With the exception of KiPemba and KiVumba the rest of Swahili dialects have a moraic nasal m̩ where KiNgome and those other dialects mentioned have N̩ .

More evidence of moraic nasals are found in the following cases:

(41)

N̩jɔ	(V)	'come here'
N̩jə	(Adv)	'outside'
N̩gə	(9/10)	(scorpion)

Here KiNgame has initial moraic nasals mostly attributed to the monomoraic stems' requirements (See Park 1997 and Maeda 2001). Additionally, there are underived cases of homorganic moraic nasals word-internally such as:

(42)

naŋna [na]_σ[ŋ]_σ[na]_σ 'how'
 ruɸuvuŋma [ru]_σ[ɸu]_σ[vu]_σ[ŋ]_σ[ma]_σ (V) 'lie by side'
 ([]_σ indicates a syllable boundary)

2.1.4.3 Nasal Palatalization

KiNgame along with other Swahili dialects of KiChifundi, KiMakunduchi and KiTumbatu¹⁴ exhibits a common form of a palatalization triggered by high vowels /i/. We are particularly concerned to report on an alveolar nasal palatalization triggered by a high vowel /i/. Disregarding the nature of the initial segment of a stem or of a morpheme boundary, an alveolar nasal is palatalised in the environment of a following high vowel /i/ and occasionally by /e/. The palatalization of an alveolar nasal in Sabaki in general is commonly found in nouns of Class 9/ 10 in V-stems such as :

(43)

ŋufa < *ni-ufa (10) 'crack'
 ŋuNgo < *ni-uNgo (10) 'winnowing tray'
 ŋuso < *ni-uso (10) 'face'
 ŋuzi < *ni-uzi (10) 'thread'
 ŋoNdore < ŋi-oNdore (V) 'remove it (for me)'

KiNgame provides a further dimension to nasal palatalization as illustrated in (44) below:

(44)

ni+C- stem		ni+V-stem	
ŋiŋk ^h ut-a	'I found him'	ŋi[y]ona	'I saw'
ŋiŋp ^h ata	'I got him'	ŋi[y]erekere	'carry it for me'
ŋipa	'give me'	ŋi[y]aNbirwa	'I was told'
ŋiretere	'give it to me'	kaŋi[y]okeke	'heat it for me'
ŋisomere	'read it for me'	ŋi[y]eNda	'I went'
ŋeNda	'go'		

¹⁴ Polome (1967) reports cases of ŋiwa 'I am' and ŋevu 'I was'.

In addition to the data in (44) , KiNgome increases the impression that a high vowel following an alveolar nasal triggers the palatalization of that nasal. Whether the underlying form *ni-* is followed by a C-stem or V-stem does not affect the palatalization process. The occurrence of nasal palatalization *ñi-* is mainly confined in Class 9/10 prefix and the 1sg Subject and object markers. Further evidences of the above cases of nasal palatalization are noted in Rural Zanzibar Swahili dialects by Whiteley (1959: 52) where he records *ñ* before a C-stem (as well as a V-stem) . E.g. *ñi-vata* 'I have obtained'; *ñi-bomoo* 'I have destroyed'; *ñi-teke* 'I have drawn' e.t.c. Additionally, Chum (1994) provides numerous examples of *ñi-* from KiMakunduchi as follows:

(45)

<i>ñiloso samaki wawili</i>	'I have caught two fish'
<i>tangu ñivyolamka</i>	'since I woke up'
<i>ñimka akatwaa</i>	'I gave him and he accepted it'
<i>taatasi ñiyokukwa</i>	'the paper I gave you'
<i>hamñono</i>	'you don't see me'
<i>nvyolamka ñono tii</i>	'when I woke up I saw darkeness'
<i>ñivwae jaje ?</i>	'what shall I wear ?'

It is also common to hear a palatalized nasal followed by a low vowel through a process of vowel coalescence as in *ñondore* < *ñi-ondore* 'remove it for me'. The process of nasal palatisation before high vowel is a conditional one, An alveolar nasal is not palatalised when followed by other vowels.

(46)

<i>kinoro</i>	(7) 'sharpener'
<i>nunu</i>	(1a) 'mother'
<i>nanasi</i>	(9a) 'pineapple'
<i>nane</i>	(9a) 'eight'

More stricly, the synchronic distribution of the vocabulary list shows that initial *na, no, nu* are present:

(47)

<i>nunu</i>	(1a) 'mother'
<i>nanasi</i>	(9a) 'pineapple'
<i>nono</i>	(V) fat
<i>nawa</i>	(V) insult

nane (9a) 'eight'

but not initials *ni* or *ne*. On the other hand, *ni* occurs elsewhere in the word, e.g. *rukuni*, *kyani*, *mahani*. etc. It is important to note here that the environment by which nasal palatalisation (before high vowel) occurs is strictly the initial position.

Altogether, *ŋi* - seems to be an areal feature linking KiNgome and other neighbouring rural SD (excluding KiUnguja) of KiMakunduchi and KiTumbatu.

2.1.5 Glides

KiNgome exhibits two types of onset glides /w/ and /y/. Glides have not generally been regarded as consonants; they have been regarded rather as semi-vowels, or more accurately high vocoids. Since glides regularly occur where all non-syllabic contoids occur, i.e., as onsets, we consider the two categories to belong to the class of consonants in KiNgome. Their phonemic status is established by the following minimal set.

(48)

(a) word-initial

yepi	(Dem.) 'which?'	wepi	(A) 'where?'
yaNgu	(Poss.) 'mine'	waNgu	(1/3) 'mine'

(b) word-medial

haya	(A) 'shame'	hawa	(2) 'these'
kaya	(9a/10a) 'home'	kawa	(5) 'food cover'

Glides in the above examples represent a syllabic structure GV, where glides reside in onset position. Glides may also be found to follow consonants in CGV syllabic structure. The sequence CG has had a number of interpretations as far as Swahili dialects are concerned. There is unanimous acceptance of the orthographic sequence /ny/[ɲ] as a unitary segment (represented as /ŋ/ throughout this study). Recently Maeda (2001:135) established /mw-/ (phonetically realized as [ɰᵐʷ]), /fy/, /vy/ in addition to /ny/ function as unit phonemes in KiMvita. In this thesis, though we do not wish to dwell on the contentious issue of CG as sequences vs unit segment; we propose here to present along with the plain (simple) segments (I wish to call Set 1) certain complex segments (which could be regarded as Set 2). Thus I present in (49) below an inventory of Set 2 complex segments that constitute CG clusters in KiNgome.

Set 2 complex segments: Inventory of CG clusters in KiNgame

(b) C+y

pw	tw	čw	kw	py	ty	ky
ph _w		čh _w	kh _w			
bw	dw	jw	gw			
Nbw	Ndw	Njw	Ngw			
fw	sw	šw		fy		
vw	zw			vy		
	nzw					
mw	nw	ňw		my	ň	
	rw				ry	

Other instances of C+w are derived from the insertion of the passive marker -w- ;

kat-w-a > katwa 'be cut'
košw-a > košwa 'be washed'

C+y clusters are formed as a result of prefixes of Cl. 4, 7, 8 (mi-, ki-, vi-) coming into contact with V-stems (except if it is a high front vowel). Others are due to the insertion of the causative /y-/ e.g. ogof-y-a 'cause to fear'. The rest are found within noun, verb, and adverb stems. Phonologically I suspect that any member of the set in (49) may drift into Set 1. A priori, there is no phonetic rationale to regard, say /ɲ/, /fɣ/, /vɣ/, and possibly /mw/ only as unit phonemes and leave the others out. This thesis proposes that the preference for simple syllable structures in KiNgonde leaves no explanation for CG cluster other than to regard them as unit segments.

43

restricted environment:

(51)

South KiNgome

yɔNtʰe ~ gɔNtʰe 'all'

yaNgu ~ gaNgu 'my'

It seems that y~g alternation is morphologically conditioned by being confined in the environment of Class 6 dependent prefixes only in KiNgome (see also 341). The phonologically conditioned alternation is noted in KiMwani and KiUnguja (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993:107).

2. 1. 6. Rhotic

KiNgome, unlike other Swahili dialects, does not exhibit both a trill and a lateral phoneme; instead it has an alveolar tap [ɾ]. For convenience, I have used /r/ to represent this in the transcription throughout this study. There is no restriction in its occurrence, it occurs both in word/stem-initial and medial position. We establish its phonemic status by analogous pairs such as the following:

(52)

(a) word-initially

-rɔma (V) 'bite' -nɔna (V) 'keep quiet with a grudge'

(b) word-internally

-vura (V) 'put off' -vunu (V) 'harvest'

2. 1. 6. 1 Allophonic variation of /r/ and /y/ in KiNgome

While most of my informants in the Northern variety of KiNgome treat /r/ and /y/ as two distinct phonemes, speakers in South KiNgome often appear to alternate /y/ and /r/ word internally:

(53)

North KiNgome	South KiNgome	
sarama	sayama ~ sarama	'piece (greeting)'
pare	paye ~ pare	'over there'
muremure	muyemuye ~ muremure	'in there'
Nguruwe	Nguyuwe ~ Nguruwe	(9/10) 'pig'

The alternation of /y/ versus /r/ in South KiNgome indicates the way towards which KiNgome /r/ is heading, that is r-loss through $r \rightarrow y \rightarrow \emptyset$.

Let us now move to our next stage: the description of the details of vowels.

2. 2 Vowels

This section focuses on the KiNgome vocalic system and the process of vowel harmony. I begin by looking at the vowel inventory and the distribution of its members. This will be followed by a consideration of vowel height harmony (VHH).

2. 2. 1 The KiNgome Vowel system

KiNgome has a five-vowel system, I have noted few isolated cases of vowel length (see 70c). Generally all vowels occur in CV syllables and some occur in onsetless V syllables. The inventory of KiNgome vowel phonemes is given below:

Table 111: KiNgome Vowel Inventory.

	Front		round
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

As noted in the inventory, the five vowels can be divided into three subsets:

Set 1- high vowels : i and u

Set 2- mid vowels : e and o

Set 3- low vowel : a

I establish their phonemic status through the following minimal pairs:

(54)

-beNda	(V)	'request'	baNda	(V)	'shed'
-beba	(V)	'carry'	boba	(9a/10a)	'type of fish'
Nk ^h eNga	(9/10)	'palm fruit nut'	Nk ^h uNga	(9/10)	'eel'
gi ^z a	(5)	'darkness'	-geza	(V)	'imitate'
mwani	(3)	'seaweed'	mwana	(1)	'child'
ñoNga	(9/10)	'bile'	ñoNgo	(9/10)	'trunk'
-vara	(V)	'dress'	-vura	(V)	'undress'

-tosa	(V)	'sunk'	-tusa	(V)	'try luck'
thi ^s a	(9/10)	'nine'	-tosa	(V)	'drawn'
-tira	(V)	'put in'	-tura	(V)	'put down'

Examination of the data I have collected in the field has suggested that the vowel /ə/ does not appear after the labial voiced fricative /v/ in KiNgome.

We now find it necessary to look into the possible constraints on vowel combination in KiNgome.

2. 2. 1. 1 The distribution of vowels in noun stem with polysyllabic structure

KiNgome, exhibits all possible combinations of vowel patterning (sets) in noun stems having a polysyllabic structure without any constraints.

(55)

bedani	(5)	'curly hair'
koromido	(5)	'throat'
burudeNge	(1a)	'uninformed person'
ʒeNk ^h ani	(9a/10a)	'fountain'
herine	(9a/10a)	'ear ring'
jinamo	(9a/10a)	'a ripened stage of paddy'

However, there are combinatorial constraints in the distribution of vowels in polysyllabic verb stems with the form -(C)VCVC-.

2. 2. 1. 2 The co-occurrence restriction on vowels in verb stems with a (C)VCVC- structure

KiNgome allows the following patterns:

(56) CiCiC-	-kiNk ^h i ^s -	(V)	'heartbeat'
CiCaC-	-fi ^h aNg-	(V)	'mould (clay)'
CiCuC-	-si ^m ur-	(V)	'uproot'
CeCeC-	-reNdeNd-	(V)	'tête-à-tête'
CeCaC-	-peNdan-	(V)	'love each other'
CoCeC-	-ko ^b er-	(V)	'drink'
CaCaC-	-aNgat-	(V)	'assist'
CuCaC-	-vu ^g az-	(V)	'close (door)'
CoCoC-	-bo ^j oy-	(V)	'complain'

CuCuC-	-fufum-	(V) 'swell'
CoCaC-	-domas-	(V) 'pinch'
CuCiC-	-Ngutik-	(V) 'tremble'
CaCiC-	-arik-	(V) 'invite'
CaCuC-	-taNt ^h ur-	(V) 'tear'

Noted in (56) are the accepted combinations of vowels in verb stems. Thorough examination reveals that generally the vowels occur in two mutually exclusive sets of asymmetric vowel height harmony (VHH). In these sets, there is agreement in the value for the height feature, where both vowels are identical their feature specifications, as the data in (56) reveals. The high mid vowels /i/ and /u/ form one set while Set 2 with mid vowels /e/ and /o/ forms the other. Set 3 that consists of the low central vowel /a/, is regarded as neutral i.e. it does not effect combinatorial constraints. Unlike in noun stems, in (57) below we note the restriction in co-occurrence on vowels in polysyllabic verb stems. The following patterns do not occur in my data base.

(57)

*CiCeC-
 *CiCoC-
 *CeCiC-
 *CeCoC-
 *CoCiC-
 *CoCuC-
 *CuCoC-
 *CuCeC-
 *CaCeC-
 *CaCoC

These are 10 impermissible vowel patterns in verb stems in KiNgome. (and indeed in Sabaki) in general. Apart from *CeCoC-, *CaCeC- and *CaCoC-, the rest of the patterns listed above reveal that any combination of Set 1 and Set 2 in the same stem violates the harmonic patterning. This forms the basis of the vowel height harmony alternations in KiNgome and indeed in other Bantu languages. We shall demonstrate vowel height harmony in the following section.

2. 2. 2 Vowel Height Harmony (VHH) in KiNgome

KiNgome, a 5V dialect of Swahili , observes among others, what Hyman (1999: 236) regards as 'the canonical asymmetric VHH system of Bantu languages' where:

(a) front height harmony : $i > e / \{e, o\} C_$

(b) round height harmony : $u > o / \{o\} C_$

The front vowel /i/ is replaced by /e/ when preceded by root vowels {e, o}, while the round vowel /u/ is realised as /o/ when preceded by the root vowel /o/. This can be mostly be observed in the extension suffixes with the form -VC (V being -i or -u), although KiNgome also shows one of the rare (in Bantu) cases of a prefix vowel harmony process.

2. 2. 2. 1 The front VHH in KiNgome

This is a process where /i/ is lowered to /e/ when preceded by the mid vowels {e, o} when they appear in the root :

(58)

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----------------------|
| (a) | paNg-ir-a | 'arrange for'. |
| | fič-ir-a | 'hide for'. |
| | tuNg-ir-a | 'string together for' |
| (b) | čom-er-a | 'burn for'. |
| | čeNg-er-a | 'clear bush for'. |

The vowels -i in -iC extension suffixes in (58a) retain their height when preceded by root vowels {i, u, ə} whereas, the form -iC changes into a form with the mid feature -eC when preceded by mid vowels {e, o} in the verb root. The -iC extensions involved comprise the applicative -ir, causative -ič, stative -ik- and passive -iw.

2. 2. 2. 2 The Round VHH in KiNgome

Similar to the lowering of the front high vowel /i/ to mid /e/, the round high vowel /u/ is lowered to mid vowel /o/ in the environment of /o/, but not in the environment of /e/.

(59)

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|--------------------|
| (a) | paNg-ur-a | 'knock off' |
| | fič-ur-a | 'reveal / dispose' |
| | paNb-ur-a | 'sift' |
| | fum-ur-a | 'unweave' |

- (b) ðom-or-a 'pull out'
 sokot-or-a 'twist'

As noted in (59a) no changes occur with the extension -uC when preceded by root vowels {a, i, e, u}. In (59b) the round vowel -u in -uC is only replaced by -oC when preceded by /o/ as a root vowel. This has been seen as the basis of the asymmetric VHH in Bantu languages (see Kula 2002: 43).

2. 2. 2. 3 On Prefix VHH in KiNgome

The process of VHH in large number of agglutinating Bantu languages has been assumed to manifest itself through spreading of the dominant root vowel features to the recessive vowels at suffix position. This leads to Hyman (1999: 238) to assert that 'Canonical VHH (in contiguous canonical VHH area) does not apply to prefix vowels'. However, Hyman (ibid.: 240) elaborates that exceptional cases to the above rule, where the dominant root vowels target prefixes, is found in some Bantu languages outside this contiguous canonical VHH area. He cites the case of Londo A.11, Bakweri A.22, Nen C.71, Gunu A.62, Koyo C.24, Bobangi D.32, Mongo C.61, Tetela C.71, Kela C.72, Ombo C.76, Budu D.35, Logooli E.41, and Gusii E.42. These languages which happen to have 7-vowels or more are mainly found in areas classified by Guthrie (1967-71) as Zone A, C, D, and E. Let us cite one example of prefix VHH in Gunu that represents cases outside 'canonical area', Hyman (2001: 158) reports ma- ~ mo- Class 6 alternation as conditioned by a FV -o (otherwise ma-):

(60)

- /ma-lɪŋ-o/ > mo-lɛŋ-o 'adornment' (cf. len-a 'adorn')
 /ma-fít-o/ > mo-fító 'lead'

The presentation of these exceptions excluded Bantu languages (mainly with 5- vowel systems) found within the Central, Southern and Eastern Bantu areas i.e. canonical VHH area. This subsection presents case of KiNgome which happens to counterexample the Hyman's rule of prefixal VHH in contiguous areas. KiNgome's data is supported by Ikalanga S. 60, Old Chichewa N.31b, and Makonde P.10 which are all found within the Canonical VHH area.

Examination of synchronic KiNgome data reveal the following cases:



(61)

(a)

ku-fama	'to defecate'
ku-bin-i	'to cultivate '
ku-fuNkh-a	'to hoe'
ku-vudur-a	'to backbite'
kw-inur-a	'to lift'

(b)

ko-mer-a mijiji	'drink water'
ko-sem-a-je ?	'what do you say ?'
ko-peNd-a waNth ^h u	'to love people'
ko-ñor-a taNbi	'to tear the branch off (tree)'

(c)

ko-kweNd-a-pi?	where has he gone?
ko-teNd-a-je ko?	'what are you doing there?

Noted in (61a) ku- prefix remains as it is when it precedes the root vowels {i, a,u} but is replaced by ko- in (61b) when it appears before the root vowels {e, o}. In (61c), the ko- prefix is the alternate of the 2sg SM ku-; and this supports the claim for prefixal VHH in KiNgome. Comparatively, it is interesting to note that certain indication of ko- followed by root vowels {e, o} appears in 'old' Chichewa data. Marten (1996: 69) provides the following examples from the *Dictionary of the Nyanja Language* by Scott and Hetherwick(1929), which I interpret as a cognate of ko- followed by {e, o}:

(62)

khonyerera	'to turn or curl'
khonyola	'to break off, from a stalk- as a banana'
kokola	'to rake, gather together'

It is clear from the provided gloss in (62) that ko- or kho- are infinitive forms. It may be the case that the ku-/ko- alternation is no longer a productive process in present-day Chichewa (p.c Sam Mchombo). However, on the basis of the data in (62) and more to follow, I argue that the presence of ko- emphasises the notion that a ku-/ko- alternation has been an active process in the past. Another striking piece of material

from the *Collection for a Handbook of the Makonde Language* by Steere (1876: 39-40) further substantiates my claim:

(63)

(a)

ku-mbat-an-a	'to embrace'
ku-mbil-a	'to drink'
hi-ku-kumb-il-e	'I did not touch you'

(b)

ko-bod-ya	'to cause to bruise'
ko-leh-ya	'to hold it'
ko-to-pal-a	'to be pretty'

Again in (63a) ku- remains ku- when followed by root vowels {a, i, u} and in (63b) we see ku- realised as ko- when governed by the mid vowels {e, o}. Other prefix VHH cases are found in the account of Ikalanga (S.60) by Mathangwane (1999: 292-295):

(64)

(a) ku-/ko- alternation in Ikalanga

kúlúmúka	'rise in large numbers'
kwanyula	'break off maize cob from stalks'
kwégula	'get old'
kubálá	'get hurt'
kúlígwa	'be in advance stage of pregnancy'

(b)

konesa	'cause to be difficult'
kotoka	'arrive'
kókórobhána	'corrugate'
kómbéla	'help or join in a fight'
koobedze	'kill an animal already ailing'
kólómola	'dismantle'
kokonola	'remove something stuck onto some surface'

As we note in (64a), ku- is unaffected by nuclei {i, a, u} as found in the verb roots. In (64b), ku- is realised as ko- when followed by the governing nuclei {e, o} in the verb roots.

The restriction that prefix VHH applies only in certain contiguous

Bantu areas is here counterexamined by data from KiNgonde and some surrounding P and S languages. Since no Sabaki member other than KiNgonde attests prefix VHH harmony, it is safer to say that this is an areal feature rather than a retained feature. It may have probably been an influence of Makonde into KiNgonde. We are not certain that that trend will continue, but there are signs in KiNgonde that both *ku-* and *ko-* violate the expected harmonies as the following examples illustrate:

(65)

<i>ku-deheni</i>	'caulking'
<i>ko-rwara</i>	'to fall sick'
<i>ku-somera</i>	'to read for'
<i>ku-ŋonthera maji</i>	'to fetch water'
<i>ko-figaNba</i>	'he is boosting himself'
<i>ko-kwitaw-a</i>	'you are being called'

Is this a case of reanalysis? Does this data suggest that *ku-/ko* alternation is no longer an active vowel harmony process? A possible scenario is that the exceptions in (65) may represent a breakdown of the process under the influence of SSW.

I shall finalise the description of VHH in KiNgonde by reporting the intriguing cases I have found in the data that would challenge the apparently established fact that */-a/* in extension suffixes such */-an/* 'the reciprocal' or */-am/* 'the contactive' do not participate in the vowel harmony process as found in most Bantu¹⁵ languages (see Marten 1996: 65-66; Hyman 1999: 238; and Kula 2002: 42). As far as the *-an* extension is concerned there is a general adherence to the noted regularity in KiNgonde as well. However, I have noted the following exceptional cases that involve the *-am* stative extension, as the following examples show:

(66)

<i>dek-am-ez-a</i>	'slackening' (c.f. SSW <i>dek-ez-a</i> 'slackening')
<i>zod-on-ar-a</i>	'become ripe'
<i>guNd-um-uk-a</i>	'rise up'
<i>gaNd-am-an-a</i>	'to be attached to something'

¹⁵ Hyman (2001: 157) reports an iterative round harmony of the extension */-an/* in Gunu as follows:

ŋb-o 'sense' > *ŋb-on-o* 'bicker'
gos-o 'descend' > *gos-on-o* 'descend continuously'

Although I have not found any examples of -im in the data I have gathered, I consider the above cases as evidence that the -a suffix in -am may also be involved in the spreading of the value of the root vowels to the affixes attached to it. There are also vivid signs that the neighbouring KiMwera (Harries 1950: 79) has reciprocal, contactive and statives suffixes in which -aC ~ eC as governed by the root vowels as in the following examples:

(67)

ilend-en-e	'they are alike'
inem-et-e	'they are stuck'
ipind-im-ele	'they are crooked'
ieg-em-e	'they are stuck fast'
kang-am-ala	'be in a hurry'

As these examples show, KiNgame and other Bantu languages along the southern coast of Tanzania are beginning to reveal some peculiar characteristics that challenge some of the established generalisations in Bantu studies summarised in the canonical VHH rules (Hyman 1999: 238), namely, that:

- (i) Canonical VHH does not apply to /a/.
- (ii) Canonical VHH does not apply to prefix vowels

Additionally, we may ask whether VHH applies to the final vowel (FV) morpheme in KiNgame? The following section attempts to provide the answer.

2.2.2.4 Final vowel copying (VC).

KiNgame has joined other non-Unguja SD's in displaying a unique characteristic where the final vowels (FV) mirror the verb root vowels.

(68)

ñi-wa-(on)-o woñenekeana	'I saw them terrified'
ka-(Nǝom)-o Nsipa	'he has pierced my vein'
visu vy-(aNguk)-u	'knives have fallen'
kʰate ka-ri-(pik)-i nani?	'who has baked bread?'
ku-mwu-(ibir)-i nani?	'who have you stolen from?'
si-vi-(pet)-e	'I have not received it'
si-(fug)-u miye	'I do not keep (cattle).'

The cases in (68) cannot be said to fall within the description of the vowel height harmony (VHH) process as we have discussed it earlier in this section. These are typical instances of a regressive vowel-copying process (VC) where the features of the root vowels may replace those of the basic FV's {i, e, a}. The distinction between VHH and VC is clearly presented in the grammatical description of the South Western Bantu language of Herero (R.30) by Möhlig et. al (2002: 20-21). All five vowels can be copied. They are regularly found in the non-extended verb stems and associated with anterior aspect. Further discussion of the VC in relation to tense and aspect will be undertaken in Chapter 4.

2.3 The syllable inventory in KiNgome

KiNgome, generally, has a CV (light) syllable structure. I have also observed in my data moraic nasal (*N̩*) and onset-less V syllables which according to one version of moraic theory, would be seen as unsyllabified for failing to adhere to the minimal conditions for a syllable i.e., it must comprise at least a consonant and a vowel (Maeda 2001: 65). In addition, CVV is tolerated in the form of a diphthong and few cases of long vowels. There are few notable cases of closed syllables in the form of CVN derived through vowel syncopation. CVC is also found in non-native words (especially arabic loanwords). However, these closed syllables do not conform to a strictly-syllable structure of KiNgome. I present and exemplify the syllable structure in KiNgome as follows:

(69)

(a) Basic CV structure

i	CV	[fu] _σ	'die'
ii	CGV	[fyo] _σ [Nzə] _σ	'suck'
iii	N̩CV	[Nbu] _σ [zi] _σ	'goat'
		[wə] _σ [Ntʰu] _σ	'people'
iv	N̩CGV	[jə] _σ [Ngwa] _σ	'meadow'

(b) Moraic nasals and onset-less vowel

N̩	[N] _σ [tʰo] _σ [to] _σ	'child'
	[N] _σ [ge] _σ	'scorpion'
V	[a] _σ [faa] _σ	'type of paddy seeds'
	[ə] _σ [ka] _σ	'stay'

(c) Long vowels and diphthongs

V V	[a] _o [faa] _o	'type of paddy seeds'
	[aa] _o [fya] _o	'cooking stones'
	[ma] _o [fi i] _o [ya] _o	'Mafia'
	[bu] _o [rai] _o [ya] _o	'agree'
	[aaau] _o [wo] _o	'period of Spring Tide'

As can be seen in (69a-c), KiNgome like other Bantu languages, exhibits a fairly limited range of basic syllable types. Three syllable types are seen in examples above: CV, V (including a moraic N), which count as 'light' and CVV (long vowel and diphthong) which is considered as 'heavy'. C or moraic N does not occur in utterance-final position. Onset-less V occurs only in a word-initial position. Examination of the light CV structure reveals that the content of C does not necessarily confine itself to a single segments. We can interpret C as constituting a single onset C, or a complex onset $\widehat{NC}$, $\widehat{NCG}$ or $\widehat{CG}$ as exemplified in 69a(ii-iv). Similarly, V may constitute a single nucleus V as the case in 69a reveals, but becomes a complex nuclei VV (long vowel and diphthong) in 69c. These complex nuclei are to be regarded as bimoraic syllables. Thus, KiNgome has both monomoraic and bimoraic syllables, similar to KiMvita or SSW which have been argued to contain both mono-moraic and bimoraic syllables (see Maeda: 2001: 153).

Apart from the basic syllable structure above, KiNgome has a sort of phonological processes which disrupt unmarked syllable structure to marked types (vowel syncope) which lead to realisation of closed syllables in the form of CVC and CVN and interesting cases of NNV. Let us look at the following examples in 70 (a&b).

(70)

Optional Closed syllables

(a) CVC and CVN

kasikazi -->	[kaʃ] _o [k ^h a] _o [zi] _o	'northwind'
matirai --->	[aaʔ] _o [rai] _o	'eastwind'
kamutware -->	[kaN] _o [t ^h wa] _o [re] _o	'go and grab him!'
ñimukuta --->	[ñiN] _o [k ^h uta] _o	'I found him/her'
ñimupata --->	[ñiN] _o [p ^h a] _o [ta] _o	'I got him/her'
rufuvunma -->	[ru] _o [fu] _o [vuN] _o [ma] _o	'lying by side'

(b) NNV syllable

namuna --->	[na] _σ [Nna] _σ	'how'
wanunuwa -->	[wa] _σ [Nnu] _σ [wa] _σ	'you are buying'

Examination of the syllable types in (70a) indicates that moraic consonants (including the labial nasal) are not by themselves syllables (as in 70b) , but form part of a syllable in coda position. Such syllable types also ought to be considered as heavy syllables. There is also a clear difference between the source of CVC and CVN in KiNgome. Data reveals that CVC syllables are found in non-native words whereas CVN is derived from a moraic nasals in word-internal position (after vowel syncopation). This moraic nasals tend to adjoin the preceding constituent in the coda position. As far as the NNV syllable type in (70b) is concerned, instead of a moraic nasal in the word-internal position adjoining the preceding constituent, it is attracted to the following constituent with nasal onset. This resulted to a peculiar geminate (onset) consonants case in KiNgome.

2.3.1 Syllable structure and epenthetic glides in KiNgome

In spite of having some bimoraic syllables that contain a succession of vowels as in (69c), KiNgome disprefers onset-less nuclei and vowel sequences and instead favours a monomoraic syllable structure. This is a fundamental difference from KiMvita and SSW, which may have sequences of several vowels arising from the historical loss of certain consonants. If we take the case of *tāa* 'lamp' in SSW the vowel sequence is the result of the loss of intervocalic *l, which consonant is still retained in KiNgome as *tara* 'lamp'. Synchronic KiMvita and SSW tolerate vowel sequences whilst KiNgome, apart from retaining syllable-initial /r/, e.g. /pīg-ir-a (V) 'to hit for', vowel sequences are clearly discouraged by the insertion of epenthetic glides as seen in (71a&b) below:

(71)

(a)

ki[y]aNga	(7) 'dry season'
me[y]a	(V) 'grow'
bo[y]e	(9a/10a) 'sea-fly'

(b)

no[w]a	(9/10) 'type of sea turtle' c.f. nora (V) 'sharpen'
k ^h o[w]ana	(9a/10a) 'type of fish'

mau[w]a	(6) 'flowers'
mwau[w]o	(9/10) 'period of spring tide'

Glide epenthesis is totally predictable from the phonetic context. The *y*-glide is inserted after the vowel /i/ or /e/, while after the vowel /u/ or /o/ the *w*-glide epenthesis occurs as shown in (71 a&b). Epenthesis in KiNgome plays the role of maintaining a CV syllable and a monomoraic (light) syllable structure.

2.3.2 Word-stress patterns

This section intends to report on the main aspects of the stress system in KiNgome. In general, most Swahili dialects (except ChiMwiini and Kikae) (p.c. G Philippson) has a fixed system where main stress is located at the penulte. On the onset, it may look that since KiNgome or Swahili has a regular and predictable word-stress system, little of theoretical interest could be added. However, intricate connection between stress assignment, minimal word constraint and syllable weight in KiNgome (and indeed Swahili), poses a theoretical implication. Additionally, recent study of a mora and a syllable in Swahili dialect of KiMvita by Maeda (2001) has invoke a new impetus to the study of word-stress in Swahili. She proposes that KiMvita (and Swahili in general) has both moraic and bimoraic syllable structure and stress is borne out by a mora and not by a syllable as traditionally assumed. Under the theoretical model of the Metrical Stress Theory of Hayes (1995), the language which conform to the minimal bimoraicity condition has a stress system which differs from the language which conform to minimal bisyllabicity condition .

As the basic facts of the stress pattern and syllable structure in KiNgome are very similar to those of KiMvita, I will adopt Maeda's Moraic Stress Theory (2001) which primarily consider morae (rather than syllables) as the units to which stress assignment may refer. To begin with, let us briefly examine the basic properties of the Metrical Stress Theory (Hayes 1995) relevant to our discussion, it will be followed by Maeda's Moraic Stress Theory and presentation and analysis of KiNgome basic data under the Moraic model.

2.3.2.1. The Metrical Stress Theory (Hayes 1995)

The metrical theory as proposed by Hayes (1995: 2-3), which follows the earlier works of Liberman and Prince (1977) and Halle and Vergnaud

(1978) is crucially based on a stress unit known as the metric foot. Foot is a categorial label which is important in the representation of stressed elements. The foot template contained binary elements: one stressed element (represented by x) and one unstressed element (marked by a bullet.) The foot is included in a hierarchy of prosodic categories ranging upward from the moraic layer (μ), the syllabic layer (σ), the foot layer (F) to the word layer (Wd). This means that the minimal phonological word comprises a foot, the minimum foot comprises a syllable, and the minimum syllable comprises a mora. A language may either have unbounded (unrestricted) feet where the parameters of the metrical foot will be the entire phonological word, or bounded feet where we may have systems of stress that fall within limited distances both from each other and from word edges. Languages with bounded metrical feet have either iambic or trochaic feet. Iambs are asymmetrical binary feet with a light syllable followed by a heavy syllable. Trochees consist of elements which are roughly equal in duration. There are two types of trochaic systems: in the first type, feet are constructed from syllables, without regard for length.

$$(11) \quad \begin{array}{cc} (x & .) \\ \sigma & \sigma \end{array}$$

In the second type, feet are constructed from morae. Since the moraic trochee is based entirely on morae and not on syllables, a moraic trochee may be either two consecutive light syllables or a single heavy syllable.

(iii)

$$\begin{array}{ccc} (x & .) & \text{or} & (x) \\ \sigma & \sigma & & \sigma \\ | & | & & |\backslash \\ \mu & \mu & & \mu \mu \end{array}$$

This form the basis of Iambic/Trochaic Law by Hayes (1995: 80).

2. 3. 2. 1. 1 The minimal word constraint

A single light syllable cannot form or support a foot. The Moraic trochee languages disallow feet with one mora, and syllabic trochee language disallow feet consisting of just one syllable. Metrically this feature is considered as a ban on 'degenerate' feet. There are implications that follows a ban on degenerate feet. Languages may require content words (noun, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) to have some minimum size. The minima word size equals a single foot which is rhythmic unit consisting of two light syllables or bimoraic syllable. Some languages may actively

reinforce foot binarity by prosodically expanding any word that would otherwise fall below minimum i.e., by adding an augment of a mora to subminimal word (lengthening).

2.3.2.1.2 Syllable weight

Hayes (1995:50) argues that among the more interesting stress rules are those that refer to a distinction between heavy (H) and light (L) syllables. It is the class membership (H or L) of a syllable, rather than its segmental content, that determines the syllable's influence on stress. Heavy syllables characteristically attracts stress, whereas light syllables receive stress only in the absence of an eligible heavy syllable. This is evident in the stress rule of Latin. The distinction between light and heavy syllables under moraic theory requires mora counting. In all models of moraic theory, short vowels are associated with a single mora while long vowels are associated with two morae. Geminate consonants contribute one mora and through Weight-by-Position: a 'coda' consonant is assigned a mora in the course of syllabification (parametric).

Is minima word (foot) in Swahili expressed in terms of moraic contents or in terms of syllables ? The answer is provided by Maeda (2001) in her recent study of a mora and a syllable in Swahili dialect of KiMvita.

2.3.2.2. Moraic stress theory (Maeda 2001)

It has been widely considered that stress in Swahili is borne by a syllable rather than a mora following the establishment of the link between stress assignment and the minimal structural requirement for the word in Swahili (See Batibo and Rottland 1992: Pack 1995, 1997). They argue that the minimal word requirement is at least bisyllabic. Each syllable is also claimed to consist of a single mora. The possibility of bimoraic syllable in Swahili has been objected to as it has been assumed that this would conflict with the minimal word requirement and stress assignment. Thus: (73)

/yai/ 'egg' constitute two syllables.

/yǝi/ > [yǎ.i] (with two monomoraic (light) syllables)

and not [yǎi] (as a bimoraic heavy syllable). Batibo and Rottland (1992: 98) further claim that some 'moraic forms have been made disyllabic by the lengthening of the vowel segment, followed by resyllabification. In this way the lengthened vowel has constitute a separate syllable'. Thus

(74)

a! > [ǎǎ] 'what again!'

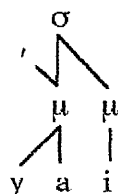
je? > [jéé] 'what'

From their stand, (74) are examples of bisyllabic words.

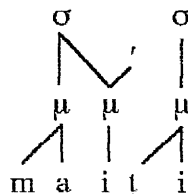
Counterexamples to this claim is made by Maeda (2001: 151-2) when she argues that the Least Syllable Condition (Hyman 1985: 52) does not accept /yai/, /a!/ or /je/ as consisting of two light syllables. She further establishes that bimoraic syllables exist in KiMvita (and indeed in Swahili in general) contrary to the above claims. She draws evidence from words of Arabic origin such as *kabla* 'before' where consonants occur in coda position and retain their moraicity. And also on the basis of the evidences of a diphthong-like vowel sequences such as *yai* 'egg' and *maiti* 'dead body'. She claims that words such as /yai/ and /maiti/ display different vowel quantity that can best be analysable under Moraic Theory which interpret them with the following moraic and syllabic structures:

(75)

(a) /yai/



(b) /maiti/



(75) is made up of a single syllable but two morae. This syllable is to be considered as heavy bimoraic syllable. In (75b) there is two syllables that consist of three morae. However the first syllable is heavy one whilst the second is light. Although (75) has a single syllable but it has fulfilled the minimal word constraint of Swahili, in this case bimoraic and not bisyllabic. As far as the stress assignment is concerned, the penultimate mora may appear in the first or the second mora of a bimoraic syllable; as seen in (75 and (b). The quantity distinction is displayed in (75&b) but nevertheless the assignment of stress is still found in the penult mora. It is clear then that both monomoraic and bimoraic syllable exist in KiMvita and Swahili in general. This lead to my interpretation of KiNgome data in the following manner:

2.3.2.3 Word stress in KiNgome

As the assignment of stress in a word in KiNgome (and Swahili in general) is tightly bound up with the theories of syllable structure and syllable weight, I present in (76a-c), KiNgome data showing both moraic and syllabic counts. I have also added a column for a syllable weight, where H stands for a 'Heavy syllable' while L stands for a 'Light' one :

(76)(a)

	syllable count	mora count	syllable weight	
jé:	ó	ǎǎ	H	what
Njǎ	ó	ǎǎ	H	'outside'

(b)

	syllable count	mora count	syllable weight	
jǎ: je ?	óó	ǎǎǎ	HL	'what for ?'
mǎ: fya	óó	ǎǎǎ	HL	'cooking stones'
mafi:ya	óóó	ǎǎǎǎ	LHL	'Mafia'
mwaúwo	óó	ǎǎǎ	HL	'period of Spring Tide'
buraíya	óóó	ǎǎǎǎ	LHL	'agree'

(c)

	syllable count	mora count	syllable weight	
fyónza	óó	ǎǎ	LL	'suck'
Njǎno	óó	ǎǎ	LL	'yellow'
tǎNbi	óó	ǎǎ	LL	'branch'
masáha	óóó	ǎǎǎ	LLL	'pus'
tirekíta	óóóó	ǎǎǎǎ	LLLL	'tractor'
kiNgurupíya	óóóóó	ǎǎǎǎǎ	LLLLL	'graft'

As can be seen in (76a-c), the main stress regularly falls on the penultimate mora. The fact that a syllable is heavy (H) or light (L) does not influence the placement of main stress in a penultimate position. The data also shows that there is no single light syllable (L) or mora that is attested to form a word. All words have at least two morae, which eventually defines the structure of the canonical feet in KiNgome. In (76a), we see cases of some words which when pronounced in isolation, are being turned into a binary word minimum by prosodically expanding

their original form that fall below minimum, i.e. adding an augment of a mora e.g. /je/ > [jé:] through vowel lengthening) or turning nasal onset which is underlying monomoraic in the form of /Njə/ 'outside' into moraic nasal + light syllable /Njə/ 'outside', thus creating two morae. Metrically, KiNgome has a strict prohibition on 'degenerate' feet as shown in (76a).

KiNgome stress pattern is a simple case of the moraic trochee where the foot consists of two morae, of which the first is stronger. Even in the heavy syllables (long vowels and diphthongs) as seen in (76a & b), the penult mora receives the main stress. In (76c), we see the number of moras is equal to the number of (light) syllables. This section has outlined the basic data of KiNgome and suggests the syllable structure and where to place the primary stress. We have seen that KiNgome has a straightforward penult mora. We have also seen that not all syllables are monomoraic, there are cases of bimoraic syllables. No attempt has been made to subject this data to a broader metrical analysis at this stage. For a precise metrical analysis of Swahili word-stress see Dobrovolsky and Katamba (1997: 120- 122).

2. 4 Summary

The present chapter has laid out the basic facts of KiNgome phonology. In many respects, the dialect is very conservative, exhibiting a number of features of phonology typically considered rural in contrast to urban dialects such as SSW and KiMvita.

The notable characteristics of the KiNgome dialect are the preservation of several instances of prenasalised consonants (NC). There is sufficient evidence to suggest that NC and CG are unitary segments. The KiNgome consonant system is marked by an absence of a lateral and a trill that is replaced by a flap. It also lacks a dental series. KiNgome's vowel-system displays an extended VHH system and a vowel copying phenomenon (VC). KiNgome' syllable displays both monomoraic and bimoraic syllables. I next discuss the synchronic morphological system of KiNgome.

Chapter 3: Morphology

3.0 Nominal Morphology

This chapter aims to describe the synchronic nominal morphology of the KiNgome dialect of Swahili. The discussion consists of an examination of nominal inflection, derivation and compounding. Specifically, we will look at the categories for which KiNgome nouns inflect, namely gender and number. We will further describe the noun derivational formations, nominal reduplication and nominal compounding.

3.1 The Noun Class System in KiNgome

As a member of Sabaki and an offshoot of the Eastern Bantu languages, KiNgome shares with other Swahili dialects the key features of Bantu languages: an elaborate system of noun classification, a system of verb extensions and the basic Bantu lexicon (Guthrie 1948: 12-13 ; Greenberg 1966 : 9; Williamson and Blench 2000: 12-13).

Nouns in Sabaki languages typically consist of a nominal prefix and a stem. The system of noun classification typically marks the singular and plural forms with distinct prefixes and often induces concordial agreement on the other sentence elements. These prefixes manifest a fusion of gender, number and grammatical person marking so that it is appropriate to consider them as 'gender-number-person markers' or GNPs (Maho 1999: 55).

In the Bantu noun class system, nouns fall into several distinct subsets known as classes or genders with respect to the pattern of agreement and number marking which they determine (Corbett 1991: 43 ; Carstens 1993: 152; Maho 1999: 53). The allotment of a noun to a particular class or gender depends both on its meaning and its form (Corbett 1991: 7-8). Swahili (including the KiNgome dialect) employs a combination of these factors, with certain exceptions.

The formal assignment rules categorise nouns into classes by the form of the nouns (mainly by their affixes). KiNgome provides the following examples:

(90)

- N_i-t^hoto (1) 'child'
- ki-tabu (7) 'book'
- ru-kuni (11) 'firewood'

The nominal classes are illustrated here where the prefix /N_i-/ identifies Class 1, /ki-/ identifies Class 7 and /ru-/ identifies Class 11. These

nominal prefixes also serve as number markers. All examples in (90) illustrate singular prefixes which can also be replaced by plural prefixes. Classes are numbered following the 'Bleek-Meinhof system' or 'BM numbers' which range from 1 to 23 (Maho 1999: 4). Within Sabaki languages, the term gender refers to the formal pairing of two forms of a noun lexeme rather than to a sex-gender system.

The pairing of nouns usually involves a singular versus a plural distinction. Some noun classes constitute a 'single or unpaired class' and this constitutes a gender by itself (de Wolf 1971: 43). In the past, it is presumed that allocation of nouns to genders was predominantly on a semantic basis (Corbett: 1991: 72). Currently, the system is 'clearly grammaticalised, blurring its original semantic basis' (Williamson and Blench 2000: 13).

In Sabaki languages, we can still sometimes associate gender with a semantic basis: humans, animals, plants, paired body parts, mass nouns, and liquids, abstracts, and others which are less transparent attest to this. Secondly, however, we can associate certain genders with categories such as the augmentative, the diminutive, the verbal infinitive and various locative concepts.

In the case of Swahili (including KiNgome), the forms of the nominal prefixes themselves can indicate the gender. However, there are other nouns with covert gender, which provides no formal clues about their gender or class subgroup. Their gender assignment has to rely on features of agreement as seen in other nominal, verbal and pronominal elements in the sentence. This leads us to the question of agreement. Internally, there is agreement within the noun phrase where the head noun controls agreement on the noun modifiers. Here nominal elements such as adjectives, quantifiers, demonstratives, etc. appear in the same class as the head noun they modify. Externally, there is agreement that involves the cross-referencing of the pronominal elements on a verb to the class of the heads of various noun phrases.

Further, from the fact that the binary distinction of animate versus inanimate nouns is of major concern in Sabaki languages, KiNgome (like other Swahili dialects) provides a noteworthy example of a case where a semantic assignment appears to recategorize all animate nouns to take gender 1 : 2 agreement. Maho (1999: 67) regards this phenomena as 'General Animate Concord (GAC)'. We can illustrate it using the following examples from KiNgome:

(91)

Noun class according to prefix	Gender	subject-verb agreement
Ntume : mi-tume 'prophet(s)'	3:4	a- / wa-
dakitari : ma-dakitari 'doctor(s)'	5:6	a- / wa-
ki-jana : vi-jana 'youth'	7:8	a- / wa-
samaki : samaki 'fish'	9a:10a	a- / wa-

As can be seen in (91), the formal system classifies nouns according to the affixal shape, the GAC rule overrides the shape of the noun prefixes and re-categorises them to take gender 1: 2 agreement of a-/wa-. Here the semantic criterion overrides the formal one. We see animate nouns in (91) employ the concords of Classes 1: 2 irrespective of the inherent noun class of such a form. More in depth discussion of semantics of noun classes in Swahili is found in Moxley (1995) and Contini-Morava (1989). So far I have noticed that though Maho has offered the GAC rule to account for those nouns with different classmarkers but induce gender 1: 2 agreement, there is no distinctive way of marking them to allow a reader to distinguish them from other nouns that have uniform way. I will suggest a formula (c[a]) where 'c' stands for Classmarker and 'a' stands for agreement marker (verb). Thus, ki-jana 'youth' will be marked as (7[1]). Here we can read that although ki-jana 'youth' has Class 7 noun prefix but induce gender 1: 2 agreement displaying GAC rule. Our formula (c[a]) could also be extended to cater for KiNgame (as well as other Bantu) nouns that display disconformity between classmarkers and their appropriate agreement markers:

(92)

ma-binamu	(6[2]) 'nieces'
bw-iNbwi	(14[5]) 'sweet rice'
bw-aNgari	(14[5]) 'hunger'
bu-Nbwi	(14[5]) 'sorcery'
ki-boko	(7[9a]) 'sea snail'
ki-uNbe	(7[1]) 'person'

By this way it will be easier to mark them for descriptive purposes. I defer

gender discussion to (95).

Let us now turn to a straightfoward chart of the KiNgame concordial agreement system showing the nominal prefixes, adnominal concords (demonstrative, interrogative pronoun -pi? 'which?', associative and possessive), relatives, subject and object prefixes as verbal agreements. Subclasses have been indicated by the conventional class number followed by a letter. NoP- stands for No Prefix.

(93) The KiNgame noun prefixes and their concordial morphemes

Class	Poss.	Dem.	Inter.	Assoc.	Rel.	SM	OM
1	mu-	wa-	yu-	ye-	wa-	ye-	a-/ka- mu-
1a	NoP-	ya-	yu-	ye-	wa-	ye-	a-/ka- mu-
2	wa-	wa-	wa-	wa-	wa-	o-	wa- wa-
2a	NoP-	za-	wa-	we-	wa-	o-	wa- wa-
3	mu-	wa-	ru-	we-	wa-	o-	u- u-
4	mi-	ya-	i-	ye-	ya-	yo-	i- i-
5	NoP-	ra-	ri-	ye-	ra-	ro-	ri- ri-
6	ma-	ya-/ga-	ya-/ga-	ye-/?	ya-/ga-	yo-	ya-/ga- ya-
7	ki-	ky-	ki-	kye-	ky-	kya-	ki- ki-
8	vi-	vy-	vi-	vye-	vy-	vya-	vi- vi-
9	N-	ya-	i-	ye-	ya-	yo-	i- i-
9a	NoP-	wa-	yu-	ye-	wa-	ye-	a- mu-
10	N-	za-	zi-	ze-	za-	zo-	zi- zi-
10a	NoP-	za-	wa-	we-	wa-	o-	wa- wa-
11	(r)u-	rw-	u-	we-	(r)wa-	o-	u- u-
14	(b/w)u	wa-	u-	we-	wa-	o-	u- u-
15	ku-	kw-	ku-	kwe-	kwa-	ko-	ku- ku-
16	pa-	pa-	pa-	pe-	pa-	po-	pa- pa-
17	ku-	kw-	mu-	kwe-	kwa-	ko-	mu- mu-
18	mu-	mw-	ku-	we-	mwa-	mo-	ku- ku-

KiNgame has a total of 16 primary noun classes plus 4 subclasses. Classes 1, 1a, 3, 5, , 7, 9, 9a, 11, and 14 contain mostly singular countable nouns but with a few mass nouns and nouns denoting liquids in Class 5 and abstract nouns in Class 14. Classes 2, 2a, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 10a are mainly

plurals (with the exception of some abstract nouns in Class 6). Altogether, Classes 1-11 and Class 14 (also has a singularia tantum) produce regular singular-plural pairings which constitute seven primary genders 1(a): 2(a); 3: 4 ; 5: 6; ; 7: 8 ; 9(a):10(a);11:10; and 14: 6. Unpaired genders consist of Class 14, 15, and the locatives Classes 16, 17, and 18 (all of which lack true lexical members and number alternation).

In (93), we show several examples of nominal prefixes that exhibit homophonous shapes in their basic form. Classes 1, 3, and 18 share a *mu-* ~ *N-* prefix, Classes 9 and 10 have a *N-* prefix and Classes 15 and 17 have a *ku-* prefix. The distinction between these classes (with homophonous shapes) is mostly justified in terms of the combination of factors: shape of the agreement morphemes, semantic contents (function) and even position they occupy within a stems. For instance:

(94)

- (a) *ka-mu-riNge* *mu-Nthu*
 CONS-1OM-see 1-person
 'Go and see a person'
- (b) *ka-u-riNge* *mu-ti*
 CONS-3OM-see 3-tree
 'Go and see a tree'

The examples in (94) show that the *mu-* prefixes in *mu-Nthu* and *mu-ti* induce different object markers, *mu-* and *u-*, in the verbs *ka-mu-riNge* and *ka-u-riNge* respectively. Therefore *mu-* head prefixes in (94a) and (94b) are two different Classes. By the same token, Class *ku-* in Class 15 and 17 have different function (infinitive vs locative). It is also observed that *ku-* infinitive is always in word-initial position *kubeNda* 'to request' but *ku-* as a locative marker can occupy either initial or final position as in *ku-no* 'here' or *hu-ko* < *huku-o* 'in there'.

Classes 1a, 2a, 5, 9a and 10a consist of prefixless nouns. I have used the NoP- abbreviation to stand for 'No Prefix'. The distinction between them partly correlates with the meaning of the nouns involved; e.g. Class 1a and 2a (its plural) denote kin-terms only. The rest of the prefixless nouns combine both animate and inanimate nouns.

Classes 11 and 14 are distinct in KiNgame. I have adduced synchronic evidences to show their distinctive forms (I present evidence in § 3. 1. 1. 11-12). Class 11 takes the plural of Class 10 while Class 14 may stand on its own or take Class 6 as a plural counterpart. This presentation will contest a popular stand that Classes 11 and 14 have merged to form a new Class

11=14 in SSW as reported by Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 349-350) where the putative merged class is marked by nominal prefix /u-/.

Classes 15 and 17 share the basic form of the prefix morpheme and induce similar agreement prefixes, although the nouns they represent function quite distinctively in syntax. In addition, KiNgame offers its own evidence for treating Classes 15 and 17 separately (see § 3. 1. 1. 13-14 for illustration and further discussion).

Furthermore, not all possible Bantu classes are present in KiNgame, thus, the diminutive Class 12 */ka-/ and its plural counterpart of Class 13 */tu-/ are totally absent from KiNgame. Their function have been taken over secondarily by gender 7 : 8.

Before we provide a full discussion of the properties of each nominal class, including the infinitive and locative classes, in KiNgame, we wish to emphasise the gender question by summarising the KiNgame gender forms as follows:

(95)

Gender	Prefixes	Agreement
1: 2	mu- / wa-	a- / wa-
1a: 2a	NoP / NoP	a- / wa-
3: 4	mu- / mi-	u- / i- ~ a- / wa-
5: 6	NoP / ma-	ri- / ya ~ a- / wa-
7: 6	ki- / ma-	ki- / ya-
7: 8	ki- / vi-	ki- / vi- ~ a- / wa-
9:10	N- / N-	i- / zi- ~ a- / wa-
9a:10a	NoP / NoP	i- / zi- ~ a- / wa-
11:10	ru- / N-	ru- / zi-
11:10a	ru- / NoP	ru- / zi-
11: 4	ru- / mi-	ru- / i-
11:10	u-/N-	u-/zi-
14: 6	(b/w)u/ma	(ri)u/ya
14	(b/w)u-	(ri)u-
15	ku-	ku-
16	pa-	pa-
17	ku-	ku-
18	mu-	mu-

A few observations need to be made about the gender forms in (95):

(i) The animate nouns take gender 1: 2 agreement (a-/wa-) irrespective of the nominal prefixes they carry.

(ii) The genders 3: 6, 7: 6 and 11: 4 are three uncommon genders each of which contains only one noun. Examples are:

(96)

mu-wiNgu (3) : ma-wiNgu (6) 'cloud(s)'
ki-ruNgo (7) : ma-ruNgo (6) 'body part(s)'
(r)u-ñwa (11) : mi-uñwa (4) 'earthworm(s)'

Whiteley (1959: 49) has also noted a case of the rare gender 3: 6 in the Southern Swahili dialect of KiTumbatu

(97)

m-fyagio (3) : ma-fyagio (6) 'broom'

(iii) The majority of genders are in singular/plural pairings; though genders 15, 16, 17, and 18 are typical one-class genders.

(iv) Although Genders 15 and 17 share identical agreement markers, I have outlined their functional differences in § 3. 1. 1. 13.

3. 1. 1 The KiNgome noun-class prefixes

This section will attempt to enumerate and describe in detail the KiNgome inflectional categories of nominal prefixes as outlined in (93). The majority of nouns in KiNgome (as well as other Sabaki languages) overtly carry inflectional prefix markers that serve simultaneously as the exponents of number and gender. The fact that each noun fits into a particular declension class implies that it belongs to a particular gender. The prefix-less nouns largely employ semantic and syntactic parameters to justify their assignment to a particular noun class. I discuss each nominal class in turn:

3. 1. 1. 1 Classes 1/ 1a

The nominal prefix for Class 1 in KiNgome is represented by three variant forms (as does Class 3): the unreduced variant /mu-/, the optionally reduced variant /mu- ~ N-/, and the obligatorily reduced variant /N-/, the choices of which are all lexically determined. These variant forms are for C-initial stems, while V-initial stems take the form /mw-/. This is parallel to the neighbouring Bantu language of KiMatumbi (Odden 1996: 83-89). We display each variant from the

KiNgame data in (98a-c) for C-initial stems and for V-initial stems in (98d) below:

(98)

(a)

mu-ruNgu	(1) 'God'
mu-vyere	(1) 'elder'
mu-were	(1) 'patient'
mu-hire	(1) 'cousin'
mu-pwa	(1) 'niece/nephew'

(b)

mu-k ^h osano ~ N _ɪ -k ^h osano	(1) 'father/mother in law '
mu-fu ~ N _ɪ -fu	(1) 'dead person'
mu-(N)k ^h a ~ N _ɪ k ^h a	(1) 'wife'

(c)

N _ɪ -ʒuNba	(1) 'fiancé/fiancée'
N _ɪ -t ^h ete	(1) 'baby'
N _ɪ -t ^h oto	(1) 'child'
N _ɪ -k ^h uNga	(1) 'midwife'
N _ɪ -gaNga	(1) 'traditional healer'

(d)

mw-amu	(1) 'brother in law'
mw-ari	(1) 'a girl'
mw-arimu	(1) 'teacher'
mw-anamuNk ^h a	(1) 'woman'
mw-ana	(1) 'child'

In (98a) we see cases of the nouns that retain the basic form /mu-/. The occurrence of this prefix shape is beyond the phonologically-governed rules. This seems to be an areal feature peculiar to conservative Sabaki languages such as KiMwani (see Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 525).

Data in (98b) show the optional alternation of /mu- ~ N_ɪ-/. Interestingly, the occurrence of this alternation is also not confined to

KiNgome alone, it is also a typical feature of the Swahili dialect of KiTikuu (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 182) and KiJomvu (Bakari 1985: 130-131).

In (98c) we observe several cases of the obligatory reduction of /mu-/ to a homorganic nasal /N-/. This feature puts KiNgome in line with KiPemba (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 182), the neighbouring Lindi Swahili (Legère 1986 : 148-152) and with the P10 and P20 languages.

In (98d) we see evidence of nouns in Class 1 marked with a /mw-/ prefix shape as found in V-initial stems nouns only.

Class 1a

These are prefix-less nouns (NP) that take gender 1a: 2a concords. This is a group that consists mostly of kinship terms.

(99)

baba	(1a) 'father'
kaka	(1a) 'older brother'
bibi	(1a) 'grandmother'
bubu	(1a) 'dumb'
ñamaNtho	(1a) 'a grown up child'
zeruzeru	(1a) 'albino'
čači	(1a) 'orphan'
nunu	(1a) 'mother/wife/grandmother'

I propose that the plural form of Class 1a be recognised as 2a, instead of Class 2 as has traditionally been assumed. A typical Class 2 prefix is /wa-/ while the true plural counterpart for Class 1a is prefixless or NoP (no prefix). This can be illustrated as follow:

- (100) baba (1a) y-aNgu 'my father'
 baba (2a) z-aNgu 'my fathers'

Both Classes 1a and 2a are prefixless i.e. baba (1a/2a) 'father(s)'. Therefore Class 2a is surely the appropriate subclass to distinguish the prefixless (and mostly kinship) nouns from Class 2 nouns in general.

3.1.1.2 Classes 2/2a

The regular form of plural for Class 1 is Class 2 /wa-/

(101)

(a) C-initial stems

wa-rimu	(2) 'teachers'
wa-were	(2) 'sick people'
wa-nawaka	(2) 'women'
wa-N ^t h _u	(2) 'persons'

(b) V-initial stems¹⁶

w-e ^v i	(2) 'thieves'	< wa-ivi
wa-na	(2) 'children'	< wa-ana

Class 2 nouns share a common semantic feature with Classes 1, 1a and 2a. We put together all human referents under those Classes and distinguish these human classes from animals and insects which are found in Classes 9/10 and 9a/10a. I believe the animate nouns deserve to be treated separately to human and non-human animate nouns. Lack of prefixes in animate nouns are largely the question of historical loss of *N- prefixes, the same cannot be said for human animate nouns such as **baba** or **mama**.

Class 2a

Class 2a differs from Class 2 as the former lacks a prefix marker.

(102)

babu zaN ^g u	(2a) 'my grandfathers'
dada zaN ^g u	(2a) 'my sisters'
bibi zaN ^g u	(2a) 'my grandmothers'
kaka zaN ^g u	(2a) 'my brothers'
akina kaka	(2a) 'those brothers'

The noun **kaka**, **babu**, **bibi** may appear in both singular and plural forms. However the agreement forms may show a clear differences between nominal prefixes for Class 1a versus Class 2a. The use of an attributive possessive **z-aN^gu** clarifies the plurality of **kaka**, **babu**, and **bibi**. In addition, if we qualify **kaka** 'brothers' with **akina** 'those' we realise the acceptable expression **akina kaka** 'those brothers'. Thus **kaka** and other kin-terms are best distinguished in terms of number by

¹⁶The prefix **wa-** shows vowel coalescence or deletion when added to V-stems: **wa-ivi** > **w[e]vi** 'thieves', **wa-ana** > **wa-na** 'children'.

the attachment of an adjective or agreement markers.

3.1.1.3 Class 3

Class 3 with C-initial stems also exhibits three variant prefix shapes (mu-, mu- ~ N̩, and N̩) similar to Class 1, as exemplified in (97 a-c) and the prefix shape /mw-/ with V-initial stems as in (97d).

(103)(a)

mu-waa	(3) 'dwarf palm'
mu-wa	(3) 'sugar cane'
mu-ɔ̃e	(3) 'bud'
mu-sima	(3) 'fruit stone'
mu-goNjo	(3) 'elephantiasis'

(b)

mu-ryaNgo ~ N̩-ryaNgo	(3) 'door'
mu-sipa ~ N̩-sipa	(3) 'vein'
mu-ɔ̃uzi ~ N̩-ɔ̃uzi	(3) 'stew'
mu-zizi ~ N̩-zizi	(3) 'root'
mu-koNdo ~ N̩-koNdo	(3) 'sea-current'
mu-kiya ~ N̩-kiya	(3) 'tail'

(c)

N̩-seNge	(3) 'a poking stick'
N̩-didimo	(3) 'thunder'
N̩-phika	(3) 'stretcher'
N̩-yasa	(3) 'sneeze'
N̩-bago	(3) 'new cloth'

(d)

mw-iNgo	(3) 'type of spirit possession ritual'
mw-iNbi	(3) 'sea wave'
mw-ata	(3) 'bait'
mw-are	(3) 'type of bamboo'
mw-agaro	(3) 'type of bead'
mw-ani	(3) 'sea weed'
mw-auwo	(3) 'period of spring tide'

The data in (103 a-c) show three variant forms of the nominal prefix that show the inherited /mu-/ form, intermediate alternants /mu-~N-/ and the innovated form /N-/. We shall extend this subject in Chapter 5.

Class 3 forms its plural by replacing /mu-/ with /mi-/ in Class 4 and is mainly composed of nouns designating plants and trees. Class 3 also contains some nouns denoting material objects, some parts of the human body, and certain natural phenomena. However, a few nouns denoting higher categories of animates (e.g., N-tume (1) 'prophet', with its plural mi-tume (2) 'prophets' and N-zimu (3) 'spirit' with its plural mi-zimu (4) 'spirits' induces gender 1: 2 agreement, displaying 'General Animate Concord'.

In (103d) we see the allomorph /mw-/ as a regular phonological derived variant of mu- in conjunction with V-initial stems. Interestingly, I have noticed that a form mw-iNbi (3) 'sea current' is only found in the singular form. However, the sense of heaviness or abundance is expressed in mw-iNbi mwiNgi 'a heavy current'.

3.1.1.4 Class 4

The Class 4 nominal prefix is marked as /mi-/ as follows:

(104)

(a) C-stems

mi-ti	(4) 'tree(s)'
mi-sipa	(4) 'veins'
mi-waa	(4) 'dwarf palms'
mi-čoo	(4) 'dug out canoes'
mi-kačuru	(4) 'tree with spots'
mi-ňoNgo	(4) 'side of the bodies'
mi-jiŋi	(4) 'water'
mi-zizi	(4) 'roots'

(b) V-stems

mi-[y]unu	(4) 'arms of cuttlefish'
mi-[y]aNgo	(4) 'doors'
mi-[y]aka	(4) 'years'

mi-[y]ezi	(4) 'months'
mi-[y]aNba	(4) 'sea currents'
mi-[y]asa	(4) 'sneeze'

Although the form /mi-/ is used in both C-initial and V-initial stems, it is regular in KiNgome to see the prefix /mi-/ inducing epenthesis of a glide in the environment of the V-stem: mi-ezi > mi[y]ezi 'months'.

3.1.1. 5 Class 5

KiNgome shares with other SD in having a group of nouns in Class 5¹⁷ with no overt prefixes (NoP), though they take Class 6 /ma-/ as their plural form. I present a few examples marking Class 5 nouns as follows:

(105)

bath _i	(5) 'cattle enclosure'
deNgereNge	(5) 'blister'
eNba	(5) 'mango'
nahoza	(5) 'captain'
tekeña	(5) 'maggot'
yai	(5) 'egg'
u[w]a	(5) 'flower'
yavu	(5) 'lung'

As can be seen above, these singular nouns here grouped under Class 5, do not have nominal prefixes, but they can all be made plural by the addition of Class 6 /ma-/. Essentially examples in (105) consists of noun stems which are minimally bimoraic. Both nouns with C-initial stems and those with V-initial stems (except i-initial stems) are characterised by NOP. However, the semantics of the nouns concerned differs: there are both animate and inanimate nouns. Those which are animate nouns take gender 1: 2 agreement marked by prefixes /a-iwa-/ instead of the typical /ri-iyā-/ verbal agreement for gender 5 : 6. Apart from denoting animate nouns, some others commonly denote names of fruits or plant products, skills or occupations.

Interestingly, KiNgome like SSW has limited number of nouns (with monomoraic stems and i-initial stems) that are characterised by /ji-/

¹⁷ Class 5 comprises nouns that historically lost the preprefix *i- which typically marked this class in Proto-Bantu (see Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 188-192).

form which may be linked to PSA *iji (see my discussion in Chapter 6). The role of ji- (here as a stem marker) is clearly presented through pluralisation of these nouns as follows:

(106)

Class 5	Class 6	
ji fya	ma-(ji) fya	(5/6) 'hearthstone(s)'
ji pu	ma-ji pu	(5/6) 'boil(s)'
ji we	ma-we	(5/6) 'stone(s)'
ji čo	ma-čo	(5/6) 'eye(s)'
ji-no < ji-ino	m-eno < ma-ino	(5/6) 'tooth(teeth)'
ji-vu < ji-ivu	ma-ji-ivu	(5/6) 'ash(es)'
ji-iko < ji-iko	ma-ji-iko	(5/6) 'kitchen(s)'

Tabulation of plural forms in (106) helps to suggest that Class 5 nouns just happen to begin with ji- form essentially as a stem marker (just like ku- in ku-rya 'eat') in monomoraic noun stems (as well as in nouns with i-initial stems). It becomes an optional when ma- prefix is added to a monomoraic stem such as -pu or -fya in (106). This ji- form just happen to coincide with augmentative ji- form. The difference between the form ji- in Class 5 nouns and augmentative ji- is based on a simple test. The Class 5 ji- form is optionally retained when pluralised (except in the case of ma-ji-ivu (6) 'ashes') but form ji- becomes obligatory when assuming the augmentative role as in ma-ji-ino 'big teeth' and ma-ji-čo 'big eyes'.

3.1.1.6 Class 6

Class 6 /ma-/ is the regular plural pairing for Classes 5, 9(a) and 14.

(107)

taNbi	(5)	:	ma-taNbi	(6)	'branch(es)'
ru-koko	(14)	:	ma-koko	(6)	'weed(s)'
ru-kuča	(14)	:	ma-kuča	(6)	'nail(s)'
bui	(5)	:	ma-bui	(6)	'spider(s)'

In addition to a variety of semantic associations that characterise Class most nouns that denote 'liquid like' materials form part of this class as seen below:

(108)

ma-ji <i>ji</i>	(6) 'water'
ma-ji <i>te</i>	(6) 'spit'
ma-fu <i>ta</i>	(6) 'oil'
ma-ko <i>jo</i>	(6) 'urine'
ma- <i>ŋ</i> ozi	(6) 'tears'
ma-ta <i>pi</i> si	(6) 'vomit'
ma-se <i>te</i> ra	(6) 'watered rice'
ma-sa <i>ha</i>	(6) 'pus'
ma- <i>ŋ</i> a <i>za</i>	(6) 'gruel'

There is no need to regard the forms in (108) as a putative Class 6a since they are phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically indistinguishable from Class 6, as Maho (1999:78) observes for Bantu languages in general. In addition to lexically underived Class 6 nouns, there are several derived nouns falling within this Class too though they deserve a special consideration and explanation:

- (109) ma-kurima (6) 'agriculture' (c.f. ri*m*-a 'cultivate')
ma-vu*vi* (6) 'fishery' (c.f. vu*r*-a 'fishing')
ma-fu*ga*ji (6) 'animal husbandry' (c.f. fu*g*-a 'keep animals')
ma-ri*r*-o (6) 'mourning' (c.f. ri*r*-a 'mourn') also ma*li*lo
in KiMwera (Harries 1950: 27)
ma-zi*ya*ra (6) 'pl. of zi*ra* which is annual ritual of ta*ri*ka
on founder's anniversary' (c.f. zu*r*u- 'visit')

These are all abstract nouns and pluralia tantum words. I shall extend their discussion in § 3. 1. 4.

3. 1. 1. 7 Class 7

KiN*g*ome is similar to other Southern Swahili dialects in attesting Class 7 /ki-/ or /k-/ before consonant-initial stems and before the vowel /-i/ respectively.

(110)

- ki-N*t*hu (7) 'thing'.
ki-fu*r*ukwe (7) 'tortoise'
k-iN*g*ereza (7) 'English' c.f. ki-iN*g*ereza)

With stems beginning with other vowels, KiNgame, like the other Swahili dialects of KiPemba, KiTumbatu and KiVumba, KiMakunduchi and KiMtang'ata attests a CG(lide) sequence where /ki-/ appears as /ky-/. However /ky-/ is realised as /ɕ-/ in SSW and KiMvita (see Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 222-223 and Maeda 2001:128). I present some examples below:

(111)

ky-uNgu	(7) 'pot'
ky-oo	(7) 'toilet'
ky-azi	(7) 'blood'
ky-epi	(7) 'which one?'

Some nouns of this class commonly supply names for ailments, as follow:

(112)

ki-tate	(7) 'deaf person'
ki-bavu	(7) 'pleurisy'
ki-bibi	(7) 'numbness'
ki-mača	(7) 'ringworm'
ki-homi	(7) 'twinges'

3.1.1.8 Class 8

The Class 8 vi- (vy- for V-stems except with i- initial) represents the regular plural for Class 7 /ki-/ :

(113)

vi-Nt ^h u	(8) 'things'
vi-ri ^b oto	(8) 'flea(s)'
vi-duNda	(8) 'hills'
vi-se ^g ayu	(8) 'heels'
vi-taNgaja	(8) 'round mats'
vi-tu ^t hure	(8) 'huts'
vy-akurya	(8) 'food'

In (113) above, Class 8 nouns refer primarily to inanimate things although some animate nouns can be found within gender 7 : 8, as the following data indicates:

(114)

ki-furukwe	(7)	vi-furukwe	(8)	'tortoise(s)'
ki-goya	(7)	vi-goya	(8)	'small ray fish(es)'
ki-boko	(7)	vi-boko	(8)	'sea snail(s)'
ky-oNgore	(7)	vy-oNgore	(8)	'large fish(es)'
ki-tate	(7)	vi-tate	(8)	'deaf person'
ki-zuki	(7)	vi-zuki	(8)	'widow(s)'
ki-naNgu	(7)	vi-naNgu	(8)	'small mullet(s)'

However, animates keep the agreement forms /ki-/ and /vi-/ when speakers emphasize diminutiveness:

(115)

ki-kwekwe ki-pote[y]a 'a small chick has lost'

3.1.1.9 Classes 9/9a

The common form for the prefix of Class 9 is a nasal homorganic with the stem-initial consonant/N-/. For example:

(116)

Np ^h ura	(9) 'nose'
Nsuka	(9) 'periphery'
Nvura	(9) 'rain',
Nt ^h okosa	(9) 'rice'

With V-initial stems, we generally have /ǁ-/, which appears in words such as:

(117)

ǁ-oNgo	(9) 'hip'
ǁ-uki	(9) 'bees'
ǁ-eNvure	(9) 'grasshopper'
ǁ-arubibi	(9) 'chameleon'
ǁ-iNbi	(9) 'large rayfish'

The sub-class 9a here includes those nouns without prefixes (NoPs).

(118)

fiNbo	(9a) 'stick'
vuNvu	(9a) 'fallow land'
boNk ^h o	(9a) 'hippo'

k ^h aji	(9a) 'snail'
vwaNbwɛ	(9a) 'high tidal wave travelling from west to east'
ɔ̃aɔ̃i	(9a) 'orphan'
duNgurira	(9a) 'heartburn'

Their dual Class membership is determined by the agreements they take:
(119)

- (a) fiNbo y-aNgu y-eʒa 'my stick is finished'
 9a-stick 9-mine 9-finish
- (b) samaki w-angu k-eʒa 'my fish is finished'
 9a-fish 1-mine 1-finish

The NoP in (119a) takes the concords of gender 9:10. However in (119b) the item *samaki* (9a) 'fish' induces gender 1: 2 agreements, instead of 9: 10, following GAC rule. Generally, the semantic coverage of these nouns belongs to various semantic fields, which include animals, birds, abstract terms, ailments, geographical features, parts of the body (see more detail in Hendrikse and Poulos (1992: 199-201). The semantics of Class 9a nouns are just like Class 9 nouns plus their plural counterparts of Classes 10 and 10a respectively.

Not all animate nouns fall under Class 9(a)/10(a) nouns. I have observed the following examples where 'fish' and spider induce different class prefixes and concordial morphemes:

- (120)
- samaki* (9a[1]): *samaki* (10a[2]) 'fish(s)'
bui (5) : *ma-bui* (6) 'spider(s)'

3.1.1.10 Classes 10/10a

Class 10 shares a basic form with Class 9 in having a homorganic nasal N with consonant-initial noun stems. It is a regular plural for some nouns of Class 9 and also of Class 11. Examples are:

- (121)
- (a)
- Nbuzi* (9) *Nbuzi* (10) 'goat(s)'
Nvura (9) *Nvura* (10) 'rain(s)'
- (b)
- r-uso* (11) *ñ-uso* (10) 'face(s)'
ru-rimi (11) *Ndimi* (10) 'tongue(s)'

Class 10a

See the discussion of Class 9a above.

3.1.1.11 Class 11

The canonical prefix form for Class 11 is /ru-/ (but rw- in V-initial stems) in KiNgome. Certain nouns alternate between /ru- ~ u-/, while others have either lost the initial /r-/, as a result of SSW influence, and are simply marked with /u-/ prefixes only, or they represent recent loans from SSW into KiNgome. . Thus, we have nouns that are exclusively marked with /ru-/ shape; and these show no sign of changing. We then have another group of nouns where we find optional alternation between /ru- and u-/. Other nouns have lost /r-/ and they are now typically marked with /u-/, as in SSW. I present example of the three sets in (122a, b & c) below:

(122)(a) Class 11 with /ru-/ shape.

r-uzi	<ru-uzi	(11) 'thread'
ru-rimi		(11) 'tongue'
r-uso	<ru-uso	(11) 'face'
ru-fizi		(11) 'gum'
ru-kuča		(11) 'finger nail'
ru-kiri		(11) 'palm fond'
ru-ňayo		(11) 'lower part of the leg'
ru-kosi		(11) 'neck'
rw-iko		(11) 'large wooden spoon'
rw-igo		(11) 'fence'

(b) Class 11 with /ru- u-/ shape.

ru-suko	~	u-suko	(11) 'calabash for making butter'
ru-poNdo	~	u-poNdo	(11) 'punting pole'
ru-saNga	~	u-saNga	(11) 'bead'
ru-siNgo	~	u-siNgo	(11) 'poison'
ru-rimi	~	u-rimi	(11) 'tongue'

ru-kope ~ u-kope (11) 'eyelash'

(c) Class 11 with /u-/ shape.

u-po	(11) 'bailer'
u-karara	(11) 'petiole of coconut palm'
u-čapa	(11) 'river'
u-čukuti	(11) 'palm frond'
u-tara	(11) 'wooden grain stand'
u-[w]a	(11) 'fence'

There is no way one can predict the assignment of Classes 11 nouns into any of these shapes; they are all lexically determined. Class 11 combines with Class 10/10a to form gender 11: 10(a). The following are typical of this gender:

(123)

ru-bavu (11)	Nbavu	(10) 'rib(s)'
ru-kuča (11)	kh <u>u</u> ča	(10a) 'nail(s)'
ru-rimi (11)	Ndimi	(10) 'tongue(s)'
ru-bawa ~ u-bawa (11)	Nbawa	(10) 'wing(s)'
ru-kiri ~ ukiri (11)	khiri	(10a) 'narrow strip of palm leaf'
ru-sige ~ u-sige (11)	sige	(10a) 'eyebrow'
ru-po ~ u-po (11)	ñ-upo	(10) 'bailer'
rw-igo (11)	ñ-igo	(10) 'fence'
u-čukuti (11)	čhukuti	(10a) 'palm leaf frond'

There has been a tendency to regard Class 11 nouns (with its subclasses) as having Class 10(a) and sometimes Class 6 for their plural counterpart. This is an automatic result of equating Class 11 with 14. Since this study recognises both Class 11 and 14 as distinct, we present gender 11: 10(a) and 14 : 6 as regular genders. We shall extend this discussion after the presentation of Class 14 nouns in § 3. 1. 1. 12.

Furthermore, there are nouns I have assigned to Classes 9a/10a that begin with /ru/, not with /ru-/ the prefix. Thus rubani (1a) 'pilot' cannot be said to begin with a /ru-/ prefix, and the following belong to (9a/10a) (NoPs):

(124)

rutathaNge	(9a/10a) 'sword fish'
ručwa	(9a/10a) 'termite'
ručuNgwi	(9a/10a) 'ant'

The above nouns require the agreement of gender 1: 2. We assign them to Class (9a/10a) based on semantic criteria; they are non-human animate nouns.

3.1.1.12 Classes 14 (b)u-

I have observed four variant prefix shapes that are associated with Class 14 in KiNgome: /bu-/, /w-/, /u-/ and /r]u/. The form bu-, although linked directly to proto form *bu- as in bw-iNbwi 'sweetened rice', cannot straightforwardly behave as typical Class 14 form. Semantically, it comprises of nouns that function as Class 14. However, instead of inducing Class 14 concordial agreement, it is associated with Class 5 concords. Hence, I have marked all nouns with 'historical' bu- prefix with a distinctive form of (14[5]). I have also observed /w-/ that is found in the environment of a vowel initial stem except /u/. A typical form wu- (< *bu-) that characterises the Class 14 has only been reported in Tuki (A601) (Hendrikse and Poulos 1992). Majority of nouns under this class are marked with /u-/ similar to SSW. The shape /r]u-/ to which there is an added epenthesis [r], is also common in KiNgome. There are similarities of Class 14 prefix form with /u-/ and /r]u-/ to Class 11 /u-/ and /ru-/ respectively. These similarities may lead to the assumption that Classes 11 and 14 have merged. My stand is that Classes 14 and 11 are distinct and that they need to be treated as separate classes. I present arguments and evidence from the KiNgome data that will show that the 'merger' theory is not appropriate even for SSW. First let us see examples of Class 14.

Class (14[5]) with /bu-/ shape.

KiNgome has few striking examples I prefer to regard as Class 14[5]) /bu- / (bw- in V-initial stems):

(125)

bw-iNbwi	(14[5]) 'sweetened rice'
bu-Nbwi	(14[5]) 'sorcery'

bu-ba	(14[5]) 'blister'
bw-aNgwari	(14[5]) 'hunger'
bw-aNda	(14[5]) 'garb'
b-obo	(14[5]) 'yoghurt'

Interestingly, one example, bw-iNbwí (14[5]) 'sweetened rice' has a cognate in KiMatumbi, a neighbouring Bantu language, which is bwéembé (14) 'flour', that still takes Class 14 /bu-/concord (see Odden (1996: 22). bw-iNbwí (14[5]) 'sweetened rice' in KiNgome takes gender 5: 6 concordial agreement. This prefix form (plus its semantic content) is a remnant of a proto-form that deserves to be associated with Class 14 with noticeable shift of the corresponding agreement morphemes just like in GAC rules. The items in (125) with /bu-/ partly support the demarcation of distinct Classes 11 and 14 in KiNgome. This prefix /bu-/ lead to /wu-/ and finally /u/ which in some cases attract by analogy [r] epenthesis. Class 11 /ru-/ derives from CB *du- the remnants of which are found scantily in KiPokomo. We shall extend this account of the historical development of Classes 11 and 14 in Chapter 6. We present below typical cases of Class 14 with u- and ru- prefixes:

(126)

(a)

u-bwiti	(14)'bone marrow'
u-čeza	(14) 'play'
u-čono	(14) 'anus'
u-čukwi	(14) 'rice'
u-java	(14) 'stream'
u-jera	(14) 'fish oil'
u-kuru	(14) 'sexual desire'
u-penu	(14) 'veranda'
u-rajuwa	(14) 'east'
u-roto	(14) 'brain'
u-siku	(14) 'night'

u-gema : magama(ni)	(14: 6) 'sea bank(s)'
u-karara : ma-karara	(14: 6) 'coconut leaf stem(s)'

(b)

[r]uʃi	(14) 'gruel'
[r]u-koma	(14) 'leprosy'
[r]u-Nga	(14) 'flour'
[r]u-kwiNdi	(14) 'teeth decay'
[r]u-ɔwero	(14) 'west'
[r]u-ɔawi	(14) 'witchcraft'
[r]u-meta ~ u-meta	(14) 'lightness'
[r]uhaNga ~ uhaNga	(14) 'birdlime'
[r]u-goNgo ~ ugoNgo	(14) 'customary payment at rituals'

[r]u-pere:mapere	(14: 6) 'scabies'
[r]-uwa :mauwa	(14: 6) 'flower(s)'
[r]u-deNda:ma-deNda	(14: 6) 'dribble'
[r]u-saha: ma-saha	(14: 6) 'pus'
[r]u-wiNgu: ma-wiNgu	(14: 6) 'cloud(s)'

In the examples above, we note numerous nouns with Class 14 /u-/ shape that resulted from the historical loss of the prefix onset /w/ before /u/. Both prefixal forms in (126 a&b) appear in consonant initial stems. Majority of nouns in this class are singulalia tantum . Other take Class 6 as their plural counterpart hence form gender 14: 6. As noticed in 126b, a handful of nouns frequently add epenthetic [r] before /u-/. For vowel initial stems (except /u-/), as in (127),

(127)

w-ari	(14) 'cooked rice'
w-izi	(14) 'theft' c.f. u-izi > w-izi
w-ivu	(14) 'jealousy' c.f. u-ivu > w-ivu
w-oga	(14) 'cowardice' c.f. u-oga > w-oga
w-aNga	(14) 'witchcraft' c.f. u-aNga > w-aNga

/u-/ becomes /w-/ in the environment of vowel initial stems (except /u/). This is a regular process in KiNgame just like ki--> ky, mu --> mw, bu--> bw. et. c.

From the observation of data above, I present two arguments that will help to refute the merger theory. First, the similarity between Class 11

/ru-/ and Class 14 /r]u-/ is just a coincidence. But the initial 'r' in both classes has different diachronic accounts. Similarly the Class 14 /u-/ derived from the loss of /w-/ is not the same as Class 11 /u-/ derived diachronically from the loss of /y-/ from /ru-/ > /yu-/ > /u-/.

Secondly, Class 11 (including subclasses) regularly takes Class 10 (or 10a) as its plural counterpart. They simply belong to the gender 11:10. Whilst Class 14 (and its subclasses) regularly form the gender 14: 6 or 14 (singularia tantum). Such regularity is crucial for distinguishing Class 11 from Class 14.

3. 1. 1. 13 Class 15 ku-

Similar to other Eastern Bantu languages, Class 15 /ku-/ (with its allomorph ko- determined by VHH) functions as the infinitive in KiNgome. These are nouns derived from verbs and refer to the event or action expressed by the verb itself. Like the locatives they constitute a one-class gender. The following are examples of both ku- in C-initial and V-initial stems :

(128)

(a) C-stems

ku-fama	(15) 'to defecate'
ko-ñora	(15) 'to remove'
ko-teNda	(15) 'to do'
ku-fipa	(15) 'to bale out water (from a boat)'
ku-fuNkha	(15) 'to cultivate'
ku-riNga	(15) 'to look at'

(b) V-stems

kw-enura	(15) 'to lift'
kw-imba	(15) 'to sing'
kw-era	(15) 'to climb'
kw-aNbata	(15) 'to flourish'

Class 15 (ku-) has no inherited nouns that are lexically assigned to it. All are productively derived from a verb stems. Class 15 in (128a) has /ku- ~ ko-/ as phonologically determined allomorphs which harmonise with the height of the stem vowel (/ku-/ for peripheral-height vowels and /ko-/ for mid-height vowels). No other Swahili dialects shows these Class 15 prefix variants. Class 15 in (128b) appears as

/kw-/ following a glide formation resulting from ku- + V-initial stems (except u-). However, I have noted an exception in the case of k-aga instead of kw-aga 'to treat' which is supposedly derived from ku-aga.

3.1.1.14 Classes 16/17/18

KiNgonje shares with other Swahili dialects the expression of location by means of one-class genders 16 /pa-/, 17 /ku-/, and 18 /mu-/. These classes have only a few lexical members such as pa-moja (16) 'together', ku-zimu (17) 'hades' the rest of the nouns being derived from the combination of locative prefixes and dependent nominals (e.g., adjectives or numerals).

(129)

pa-re	(16) 'there-at
ku-re	(17) 'towards there'
mu-re ~ N-re	(18) 'here-in'
ha-pa	'here-at ' (16)
hu-ku	'towards here' (17)
hu-mu	'here in -(18)

Unlike SSW however the locative particles can stand without the dependent nominals, e.g.:

(130)

fukura po utakiono	'dig (16) there, you will see it'
kino akyo po	'that over (16) 'there'
tokomera ko wende	'get out, go (17) over there'
kapiti pa	'he passed (16) here'
mu mu mu	'exactly in (18) here'
awe ku ko ko	's/he has to be (17) there'

KiMakunduchi also shows a similar use of independent particles as reported by Whiteley (1959: 66) in the following examples:

(131)

mayai yawa wapi? yawa muuuso	'where are the eggs ? in (18) here'
kisu kiwa viko? kiwa vavovo	'where is the knife? it is (17) here.'
kisu kiwa wapi? hakipo pa	'where is the knife? it is not (16) here

Similar usage occurs in KiPokomo (see Geider 1990: 442) as follows:

(132)

mu mu no

(18) 'exactly there'

SSW and KiMvita prefer the use of full forms, **ha-pa**, **hu-ko**, , **hu-mu**. This is not the case with KiNgome and KiMakunduchi (and even KiPokomo) as they both allow the locative particles **pa**, **ku**, and **mu** to stand by themselves to express the ideas of (16) 'here', (17) 'over there', and (18) 'in here'. Striking forms like **wapa**no 'they are here (16)' or **wamu**no 'they are there (17)' are simply instances of a verbo-nominal common in many Bantu languages.

The independent locative particles **pa**, **ku**, and **mu** qualify as primary classes as they behave in the same way as the other primary noun prefixes behave in inducing agreement with the governing locative affixes. KiNgome provides the following evidence:

(133)

a-yo matakaa **yo-kuja**

'that car is coming'

mu mu-no mu-mu

'in there in here '

kañiraga **ko-kwaNda** Mrari **ko** 'he told me that he is going to Mrari'

3. 1. 2 The Secondary Noun Classes

This section looks into the augmentative and diminutive formations as secondary functions of some of the prefixes we have discussed in § 3. 1. 1 under the primary classification. We begin with the augmentative in § 3. 1. 2. 1 and we shall present diminutives in § 3. 1. 2. 2.

3. 1. 2. 1 Augmentatives

The form /**ji-**/, normally found in monomoraic and i-initial noun stems of Class 5, marks augmentation. I have used a distinct way of marking augmentative classes by adding (x) after Class membership they share i.e (5x) and (6x). This augmentative prefix can be combined with any noun stem (animate or inanimate) to express the idea of greatness or hugeness:

(134)

ji-Nt^hu (5x) : **ma-jiNt^hu** (6x) 'giant'

ji-su (5x) : **ma-jisu** (6x) 'large knife'

ji-ke (5x) : ma-jike (6x) 'large female animal'
 j-aNga (5x) : ma-jaNga (6x) 'calamity'

The feature NoP may also marks augmentation in some lexicon. However, we may derive these particular augmentatives when we omit the diminutive prefix ki- (here marked (7x-) as the examples below illustrate:

(135)

ki-dude (7x-) 'small thing'	>	dude (5x) 'nondescript'
ki-duNgo (7x-) 'anklet'	>	duNgo (5x) 'big ankle'
ki-duNda (7x-) 'hillock'	>	duNda (5x) 'ant hill'
ki-furu (7x-) 'coconut shell'	>	furu (5x) 'large coconut shell'
ki-riNdi (7x-) 'small pit'	>	riNdi (5x) 'pit'
ki-koNbe (7x-) 'cup'	>	koNbe (5x) 'big plate'

Both augmentatives marked with ji or NOP attached Class 6 (ma-) as their plural. One may be tempted to regard, say ma-ji-su 'large knife' to consist of preprefix ma- followed by prefix ji- that carries the sense of hugeness or 'multitude'. It is also interesting to note that the sense of augmentation and diminutiveness is transparently reflected in the names of Swahili settlements such as *Malindi* region, *KiliNdoni* district, *Lindi* region, and *MaduNdani* ward.

3. 1. 2. 2 Diminutives

The available data show that the form /ki-/ (vi- pl.) is the only prefix used to derive diminutives in KiNgome. The reconstructed Bantu *ka- diminutive has not been found in my data. The derived diminutives are generated by attaching the /ki-/ prefix to the nominal stems, as shown below:

(136)

ki-toto	(7x-) 'small child'
ki-goNbe	(7x-) 'small cattle'
ki-əuguru	(7x-) 'ant-hill'

The above seem to be derived diminutives, their base stems having a

basic referential meaning e.g. -toto (1) 'big child'. Further to the above derived forms, KiNgome exhibits a 'lexicalised' /ki-/ diminutive noun form that lacks more basic noun stems, in other words, their stem has no basic referential meaning when standing alone without the /ki-/ prefix. (137)

ki-ñehe	vi-ñehe	(7x-/8x-) 'calf' cf. *ñehe
ki-jamaNda	vi-jamaNda	(7x-/8x-) 'small round basket' cf. *jamaNda
ki-čaNgu	vi-čaNgu	(7x-/8x-) 'small shark' 'č ^h aNgu (9/10) 'emperor variegated fish'
ki-ñiNgina	vi-ñiNgina	(7x-/8x-) 'great-grand son' cf. *ñ-iNgina
ki-tuture	vi-tuture	(7x-/8x-) 'small hut (s)' cf. *tuture
ki-boko	vi-boko	(7x-/8x-) 'sea snail(s)' but boNk ^h o (9/10) 'hippo'
ki-goya	vi-goya	(7x-/8x-) 'small rayfish' cf. *goya

Noted above are cases of lexicalised (frozen) diminutives nouns in KiNgome. These give us the impression that diminutivisation is both a productive formation as well as a diachronic process in KiNgome.

3.2 The agreement system:

Based on the table in (93), the preceding sections have discussed the primary and secondary nominal prefixes of KiNgome. This section will continue to describe forms marking the agreement between these nominal prefixes and their phrasal constituents including the governing of subject and object in the verb complex as shown in (93). KiNgome, like other Bantu languages with a noun class system, displays an asymmetric agreement system where the prefix in the head noun overtly governs the set of prefixes occurring in other noun phrase constituents such as adjectives, possessives, anaphoric pronouns, subject and object prefixes in the verb, verb relative markers, etc.

As observed in (93), the prefix of the head noun governs a set of agreeing elements in the noun and verb phrase. I have selected the pronominal possessives, the complementizer of the interrogative particle -pi? 'which', the demonstrative marker, the associative marker, the verb relative marker and the subject and object markers in order to illustrate the main characteristics of this agreement system. Although the shapes of the agreements in KiNgome differ slightly from other Bantu system, We will pay less attention to the seemingly similarities to allow

us to focus on peculiarities.

3. 2. 1 The pronominal possessives

The pronominal possessives have to agree with their head nouns. The markers differ slightly from other agreements elements such as that found in the associative in classes such as Classes 1a and 2a. I have presented Classes 9a and 10a markers that refer to inanimate nouns in that gender. The animate nouns that fall in that Class take gender 1: 2 agreement forms. It will be recalled that this thesis distinguishes Class 1a:2a human animate and Classes 9a: 10a non-human animate. We present below the agreement chart for pronominal possessives together with appropriate examples :

(138)

Class	Poss.	Examples	
(1)	w-	N ₁ k _h e w-aNgu	'my wife'
(1a)	y-	baba y-aNgu	'my father'
(2)	z-	wake z-aNgu	'my wives'
(2a)	z-	baba z-aNgu	'my fathers'
(3)	w-	N ₁ thi w-aNgu	'my tree'
(4)	y-	miti y-aNgu	'my trees'
(5)	ry-	jino ry-aNgu	'my tooth'
(6)	y-	magari y-aNgu	'my cars'
(7)	ky-	kiN ₁ thu ky-aNgu	'my thing'
(8)	vy-	viti vy-aNgu	'my chairs'
(9)	y-	Ndizi y-aNgu	'my banana'
(9a)	y-	siku y-aNgu	'my day'
(10)	z-	Ndizi z-aNgu	'my bananas'
(10a)	z-	samaki z-aNgu	'my fish'
(11)	rw-	rugoNjwa rw-aNgu	'my illness'
(14)	w-	ujiNga w-aNgu	'my foolishness'
(14[5])	ry-	bwiNbwi r-aNgu	'my sweetened rice'
(15)	kw-	kubini kw-aNgu	'my cultivation'
(16)	p-	pare p-aNgu	'my place'
(17)	kw-	kure kw-aNgu	'my place there'
(18)	m-	mure mw-aNgu	'my place 'over there'

The most interesting pronominal possessive markers displayed here by KiNgame are shown by Class 1a, 2a, 6, 7, 11 and 14. These forms help to show the difference between Class 1 and Class 1a by invoking different prefixes of the 1st person possessive stem /-aNgu/ 'mine'.

In Class 7, we see the agreement form /kɣ-/ that characterizes KiNgame together with KiMakunduchi (KiBwejuu) and KiPemba, where SSW and other dialects have /č-/ instead.

3.2.2 The demonstratives

Demonstratives in KiNgame shows all signs of an amalgamate of forms with clear influences of the surrounding P10 & P20, P30 and SSW. Essentially, there are forms displaying 'basic' demonstratives that behave as modifiers, *fukura pa* 'dig it there', *mwari yura* 'that girl'. There is also a productive set of complex demonstrative where locative 'elements' are encliticised to the base form as in, *kapiti=pa* 'she passed here', *ritupe=ko* throw it over there. The final type are emphatic demonstratives which are mainly derived by reduplication of locative morphemes such as, *mu mu mu* 'exactly in here', *awe ku ko ko* 's/he has to be exactly there' or *yu papa* 's/he is very here'. The emphatic demonstrative may also be marked by -no suffix, as in *reta pa-no* 'bring it here', *kiti ki-no* 'that very chair'.

The basic functions of demonstratives in KiNgame (and indeed other Bantu languages) is to specify a variety of spatial parameters in terms of proximity, distance or referential. We present below four primary series of demonstratives in the following order : 1) 'Dem. 1' representing proximity i.e., 'this', 2) 'Dem. 2' representing referential 'that', 3) 'Dem. 3' representing non- proximity, i.e. , 'that over there' and 4) emphatic (this very one).

(139)(a) Basic demonstratives in KiNgome

Class	Dem. 1	Dem. 2	Dem. 3	Emphatic
1 (a)	{h}uyu/ayu	{h}uyo	yure~ yuye	yuno
2 (a)	{h}awa	{h}a[w]o	ware ~waye	wano
3	huu /aru	{h}u[w]o	ure ~uye	runo
4	hii	{h}iyo	ire ~iye	ino
5	{h}iri	{h}iryo/ryo	rire ~yiye	rino
6	{h}aya~aga	{h}ayo/go	yare ~yaye	yano
7	{h}iki/aki	{h}ikyo/kyo	kire ~kiye	ki-no
8	{h}ivi/avi	{h}ivo/vyo	vire ~viye	vino
9	hii	{h}iyo	ire ~iye	ino
9a	as in Cl.1			
10	{h}izi	{h}izo / zo	zire ~ziye	zino
10(a)	as in Cl.2			
11	huu	{h}u[w]o/ro	ure ~uye	runo
14	huu	{h}uwo	ure ~uye	uno
15	{h}uku / ku	kuko	kure ~kuye	kuno
16	{h}apa /pa	papo	pare ~paye	pano, papa
17	{h}uku / ku	kuko	kure ~kuye	kuno,koko
18	{h}umu /mu	mumo	mure ~muye	muno,mumu

Note in (139) a variety of demonstrative in the form of (C)V-CV, CV-V, V-CV and C(G)V. To a great extent, these variations reflect the influence of the neighbouring languages towards KiNgome. The form V-CV is uncommon among other Swahili members but is a characteristics of P10-20, P30, Ekoti and even distant relative of Pokomo. Most Swahili dialects have a canonical pattern of hV-(C)V for Dem 1 and Dem 2 columns; Examples in SSW we have cases like hi-vi, hi-i, hi-zo. The h in KiNgome is only obligatory in Dem 1- Cl. 4, 9, 10a,11 and 14. It is also significant to note that there are several strict V-CV alternant forms in KiNgome which also dominate Dem. 1 and Dem. 2 forms in Makhuwa (Woodward 1926: 284), Makonde (Steere 1876: 25) Ekoti (Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000: 68) and partly Pokomo (Geider 1990: 436). Examples for Dem 1 and Dem. 2 in Classes 1 and 2 from these languages reveal the

following distribution of V-CV patterns:

(140)

	Class 1		Class 2	
	Dem. 1	Dem. 2	Dem. 1	Dem.2
MakoNde	a-yu	u-yu	a-wa	wa-ya
Makhuwa	u-la	u-yo	a-la	a-yo
Ekoti	o-tu	o-to	a-pa	a-po
Pokomo		a-ywo		
KiNgome	(h)u-yu/ayu	(h)u-yo	(h)a-wa	(h)a-[w]o
SSW	hu-yu	hu-yo	ha-wa	ha-o

The emerging picture is that Kingome forms are closer to both camps. It absorbed V-CV forms from the neighbouring Bantu languages whilst the h- initial form is a result of SSW influence. Let us now see a list of striking KiNgome demonstratives I have recorded in the field that will elucidate other patterns such as C(G)V, CV-CV and CV-V:

(141)

Class	Example	
1	(h)uyu mwana anakwawa	'this child is walking'
	a-yu mjeni wetu	'this is our guest'
2	wari ware -waye	'those girls'
3	njoo uriNge muti aru	'come to see this tree'
4	miti ino mikuza	'these trees are huge'
5	vugaza ryo raNgo	'close that door'
6	gamwegeni ago mijiji	'pour down that water'
7	kyuNba kino kyaNgu	'this room is mine'
	kiringe aki kirivyo	'see how this look like'
8	visu vino	'those very knives'
9	Nbegu hii ya afaa	'this seed of afaa'
10	kaziŋaŋaNte Nguo zino	'go and wash those clothes'
	kazitupe eNbe zo	'throw those mangoes'
11	rukua runo	'that very nail'
14	ruvuNba ryo	'that incense'
15	kurima kuno kwaumiza	'such hoeing hurts back'
	ŋoNgo	
16	fukura po utakiono	'dig overthere you will see it'

- 17 **awe kukoko** 's/he should be over there'
 18 **mununo muno** 'this very here'

It is worth mentioning here that KiNgame speakers have freedom to choose among the alternate demonstrative forms. More interesting, they can use certain demonstratives in pre-nominal or post-nominal (modifier) positions as in **ayu mjeni** 'this guest' or **mjeni ayu** 'this guest' without necessarily change of focus or emphasis.

3.2.3 Interrogatives

This is an area where I found quite some disparity between KiNgame and other Swahili dialects. Despite the occurrence of at least 16 forms of nominal prefixes that determine the concordial agreement of other types of NP constituents, KiNgame has chosen only 7 forms of the agreement morphemes to combine with the interrogative particle /-pi/ ? to express 'which?' e.g. . **gari ye-pi?** (5) 'which car?'.
 Clearly, KiNgame has fewer agreement morphemes in combination with -pi? to form the interrogative pronouns. The following are examples :

(142)

Class	Agm.	Examples	
(1)	ye-	muNthu ye-pi?	'which person ?'
(1a)	ye-	baba yepi?	'which father?
(2)	we-	watoto we-pi?	'which children?'
(2a)	we-	baba wepi?	'which fathers?'
(3)	we-	muti ye-pi ?	'which tree?'
(4)	ye-	miti ye-pi?	'which trees?'
(5)	ye-	gari ye-pi ?	'which car ?'
(6)	ye-	magari ye-pi ?	'which cars?'
(7)	kye-	kisu kye-pi?	'which knife?'
(8)	vye-	viNthu vye-pi ?	'what things ?'
(9)	ye-	Ndizi ye-pi ?	'which banana ?'
(9a)	ye-	siku ye-pi?	'which day?'
(10)	ze-	Ndizi ze-pi ?	'which bananas ?'
(10a)	ze-	siku zepi?	'which days'
(11)	ye-	rukuča ye-pi ?	'which nail ?'

- (14) we- ujiNga we-pi? 'which foolishness?'
 (15) kwe- kurima kwe-pi? 'which to cultivate?'
 (16) pe- pahari pe-pi? 'which place?'
 (17) kwe- kwahari kwe-pi? 'which place?'
 (18) we- mahari we-pi? 'which place?'

The data in (142) reveal that the predominant form is *ye-pi*, which occurs in Classes 1, 1a, 4, 5, 6, 9, 9a, and 11 and 14. This is a noticeable unique distribution of *ye-pi*? in KiNgame.

3.2.4 Associative constructions

The KiNgame associative marker is a bound form /-a/ that is combined with the agreement morpheme to realise categories such as the possessive construction. The characteristics of the possessive construction such as *N_k^he* ■-a *N_joNba* 'the uncle's wife' require the possessive to agree with the possessed noun, *nomen regens* (here being *N_k^he*) rather than with the possessor, *nomen rectum*, that follows, (here being *N_joNba*). Other examples are:

(143)

Class	Ass.	Examples	
1	w-	<i>N_k^he</i> ■-a <i>N_joNba</i>	'the uncle's wife'.
1a	w	<i>baba</i> ■-a <i>kaNbo</i>	'step father'
2	w-	<i>wake</i> ■-a <i>N_joNba</i>	'the uncle's wives'
2a	w-	<i>baba</i> (zaNgu) ■a <i>kaNbo</i>	'my step fathers'
3	w-	<i>N_thuNgi</i> ■-a <i>maji</i>	'a calabash of water'
4	y-	<i>mituNgi</i> y-a <i>maji</i>	'calabashes of water'
5	ry-	<i>jičō</i> r-a <i>ŋoNbe</i>	'the cow's eye'
6	g-~y-	<i>maji</i> g-a <i>kuñwa</i>	'drinking water'
7	ky-	<i>kifuru</i> ky-a <i>kyeNga</i>	'the shell of KyeNga'
8	vy-	<i>vifuru</i> vy-a <i>kyeNga</i>	'the shells of KyeNga'
9	y-	<i>Ndizi</i> y-a <i>N_thoto</i>	'a child's banana'
9a	y-	<i>fimbo</i> y-a <i>nunu</i>	'a grandmother's stick'
10	z-	<i>Ndizi</i> z-a <i>N_thoto</i>	'children's banana'
10a	z-	<i>fimbo</i> z-a <i>nunu</i>	'grandmother's sticks'
11	w-	<i>rupo</i> ■-a <i>N_č^hoo</i>	'the bailer of a dugout canoe'
14	w-	<i>uzuri</i> ■-a <i>N_k^he</i>	'the beauty of a wife'

15	kw-	kurima kw-a tirikita	'to cultivate by a tractor'
16	p-	pare p-a Haji	'that place of Haji'
17	kw-	kure kw-a baba	'that place of my father'
18	mw-	mure mw-a baba	'that place over there of my father'

3.3 Personal pronouns

KiNgome exhibits emphatic personal pronoun forms identical to those of KiPemba and KiTumbatu .

(144)

mi-ye	(1sg) 'I'	si-ye	(1pl) 'us'
we-ye	(2sg) 'you'	ñi-ye	(2pl) 'you'
ye-ye	(3sg) 'him/her'	wa-re/ye	(3pl) 'them'

I have in my data the following examples:

- (145) weye paka ako 'you alone'
 siye woNthe 'all of us'
 kwani ñiye kuwamo? 'are you in there?'
 miye ñitajaribuga 'I will try myself'

Other forms of pronouns are similar to those found in other Swahili dialects in general.

3.4. Lexical Morphology

The morphology of KiNgome allows several grammatical processes: word-formation, compounding and reduplication. Discussion is limited here to the verb-to-noun derivation process, nominal compounding , and nominal reduplication.

3.4.1 Class 6 /ma-/ nominalization in KiNgome

This subsection reports a striking fact about the creation of the noun forms from verbal forms in KiNgome. I present in (146) some irregularity in the formation of certain nouns between SSW noun forms and KiNgome noun forms as derived from their respective bases.,

(146)

Verb bases		Noun forms in SSW	Noun forms in KiNgome
zik-a	(V) 'bury'	ma-zik-i (6)	ma-zik-o (6) 'funeral'
li-a	(V) 'cry'	ki-li-o (7)	ma-rir-o (6) 'bereavement'
-rim-a	(V) 'cultivate'	u-kulim-a (11)	ma-kurim-a (6) 'agriculture'
-kojo(r)-a	(V) 'urinate'	mi-koj-o (4)	ma-koj-o (6) 'urine'
-fug-a	(V) 'breed'	u-fug-aji (11)	ma-fug-aji (6) 'husbandry'
-gomb-a	(V) 'quarrel'	u-gomv-i (11)	ma-goNv-i (6) 'quarrelling'
-vu(r)-a	(V) 'fish'	u-vuv-i (11)	ma-vuv-i (6) 'fishing'
lal-a	(V) 'sleep'	ma-laloni (11)	ma-rir-o (6) 'cemetery'
-za(r)-a	(V) 'give birth'	u-zaz-i (11)	ma-zaz-i (6) 'delivery'

Noted in (146) are the distinct derivational processes by which verb forms in SSW and KiNgome become noun forms but which differ slightly in their prefix categories. This is not to say that there are no similarities between SSW and KiNgome in the derived forms, the striking facts noted here are the differences in the choice of inflectional prefixes in the two dialects. During the derivation process, both SSW and KiNgome display similar final vowels which are regarded as lexical formatives. There are basically four possibilities:

- (i) Replacement of final vowel with /-o/.
- (ii) Replacement of final vowel with /-i/.
- (iii) Keep the final vowel as /-a/.
- (iv) Replace the final vowel with /-aji/

However, the selection of inflectional categories within derived words differs markedly and this raises concern by the seeming regularity on the part of KiNgome to select /ma-/ prefixes on above nouns. Before we discuss the disparity in the choice of prefixes in KiNgome and SSW, let us sketch what may be regarded as regularities in the choice of prefixes in the above derivation. Although it is difficult to generalise the semantic content of the derived nouns under Class 6 in KiNgome, their counterparts in SSW provide a hint that the regular prefix forms should mostly involve a /ru-/ prefix instead of /ma-/. Thus the prefix forms displayed by SSW are the regular or 'unmarked' ones.

Therefore, the productive formation for KiNgome would have to include /ru-/ prefix in the formation of these specific nouns (under Class 6) from verb forms. If we cite the case of za(r)a (V) 'give birth', we

anticipate the noun form to be *uzazi* (11=14) 'delivery' in SSW and *ruzazi* (14) 'delivery' in KiNgome. On the contrary, we see *ma-zazi* (6) 'delivery' in KiNgome. The choice of *ma-* prefixes in such a place is totally unexpected and is a virtually productive process. The use of the productive form /*ru-*/ is blocked by the established tendencies involving such words.

To account for the choice of *ma-* in the above specific noun forms in KiNgome we need to consider what is regarded by Matthews (1991: 76) as the distinction between established lexemes and potential lexemes. Matthews (ibid.) points out that 'an established lexeme is one that is actually part of a speaker's vocabulary' and 'a potential lexeme is one that could be created by a productive process.' The choice of /*ma-*/ prefixes in KiNgome is typical of the case of the established lexemes.

3. 4. 2 Compound nouns

Compounding is a derivational process by which compound lexemes are derived from two or more simpler lexemes (Matthews 1991: 82). They may be formed from different parts of speech. The most productive one in KiNgome is N+N ---> N. (147) illustrates some cases of such compounding:

(147)

[k ^h uku] _N	[t ^h aNda] _N	--->	[kukut ^h aNda] _N	'goose'
chicken	pond			
[p ^h apa] _N	[rupaNga] _N	-->	[paparup ^h aNga] _N	'saw fish'
shark	machete			
[k ^h ara] _N	[uvi] _N	-->	[karawuvi] _N	'type of crab'
crab				
[N ^t haNbara] _N	[nači] _N	-->	[N ^t haNbaranači] _N	'snake'
the crawling	ground			

There are also N + Adj , and Adv and V compounds:

(148)

[usiku] _N	[kukuru] _{ADJ}	-->	[usikukuk ^h uru] _N	(9/10) 'midnight'
(14)'night'	'great'			
[kipiNgu] _N	[mjuju] _{ADV}	-->	[kipiNgumjuju] _{ADV}	'unsettled'
(7)'seat'	'up'			
[kiti] _N	[NbaNba] _{ADJ}	-->	[kitiNbaNba] _N	(9a/10a) 'problems'
(7)'chair'	'trouble'			

[kičaNga]N[puNgwi]ADJ (7)'sand' 'breezy'	→[kičaNga ^h uNgwi] N(1a) 'a white sand beach'
[weNda]V[usiku]N 'to go' 14'night'	→[weNda ^h usiku]N(2) 'witch'
[mwaka]N [koga]V (3)'year' (V) to bath	--> [mwaka ^h koga]N (3) 'Swahili New Year's cleansing ritual'

Both compounds in (147) and (148) are basically made up of two major syntactic functions i.e.; a Head + Modifier. In the compound a head noun is shown to be modified by an adjective or another noun. The left-hand constituent of the compounds is the head while the right-hand constituent is the modifier. However there are also certain words I suspect to be compounds but I cannot prove it as I can't find the meanings of what seem to be the component words or where the original combination was, e.g.

(149)

[kiñiNgiⁿa]N 'great grand-son'
kiNgurup^hi[y]a]N 'parasitic plant'

3. 4. 3 Nominal reduplication

Reduplication is a constituent copying process that may copy entire morphemes or words (Marantz 1982). I present examples of typical nominal reduplication in (150):

(150)

yavu (5) 'lung' > ma-yavuyavu (6) 'lungs'
Njege (5) 'jaw' > NjegeNjege (10) 'jaws'

Presumably they have the same meaning, both constituents that combine to form a single reduplicated word can have semantic properties of their own. However, we have numerous forms of 'repetition of non-independent signs' known as onomatopoeic reduplication (Marchand 1969: 81) as presented in (151):

(151)

poNbopoNbo (5) 'type of tree'
gudugudu (5) 'dry coconut'
zeruzeru (1a) 'albino'

3.5 Summary

In this Chapter, I have examined the nominal morphology of KiNgome. Our key concern has been the primary and secondary classification system, and agreement system. This chapter has suggested a reconsideration of the merger theory concerning Class 11=14. The data and arguments presented in this chapter have clearly separated these classes as distinct. We have also seen the special way in which nouns are derived from verb forms into Class 6 with *ma*-prefixes in KiNgome.

Finally, I have surveyed a few aspects of lexical morphology in KiNgome. Our specific concern was the unique display of the verb-to-noun derivation system, nominal compounding and nominal reduplication. In the next chapter, we go on to consider the verbal morphology of KiNgome.

Chapter 4: Morphology II

4.0 Verbal Morphology

The present chapter provides a description of KiNgame verbal morphology. We will concentrate on the analysis of the categories of morphosyntactic and word-formation properties that form the basis of the inflectional and derivational processes which operate in the system. We will divide our description into two major sections: the prefix morphology and the suffixal morphology. Initially I present a brief overview of the verb.

As is typical in Bantu languages, KiNgame is characterised by a verbal complex that consists of possible sequences of inflectional prefixes followed by a stem. The stem in turn has an obligatory root, optional extensions, and an obligatory inflectional 'terminal vowel'¹⁸ or final vowel (FV). The nucleus of the verbal morphology is the verb root, here labelled VR, which allows a number of prefixes and suffixes to be affixed to it. Thus a KiNgame form *-riNga* (V) 'see' is composed of the root *riNg-* plus the terminal vowel *-a*. The inflected forms *u-riNg-a* 'you should see' is composed of 2sgSM, the verb root, and the subjunctive marker *-a*. In the case of *rim-iš-an-a* 'to cultivate for each other', it is composed of *rim-* 'cultivate', the causative *-iš*, the reciprocal *-an* and the terminal vowel *-a*. Thus, the derivational stem becomes *rimišan-*. The combination of a derived stem plus the 'terminal vowel' morpheme realises the stem *rimišana*. The prototypical inflectional properties of the VP mainly involve the marking of the subject and object (person and number) agreement, polarity (negative marking), tense and aspect, indicators of relative clause function and reflexive action. All these inflectional morphemes precede the verb root. The suffixes include derivational suffixes or 'extensions' that modify the valency of the verb, the inflectional terminal vowels that indicate in part the nature of the clause i.e. subjunctive, indicative, or negative, and in some cases a further plural formative *-ni*, may come after the terminal vowel.

Some of the typical Bantu extensions are highly productive (causative, passive, applicative, reciprocal, stative), while others (reversive *-u*, static *-am*, and contactive *-at*, and so on) are to a certain extent lexically restricted.

¹⁸ I prefer to use the term final vowel (FV) which is equivalent to 'terminal vowel' as it is known in Bantuist nomenclature (see Odden 1996: 44)

4. 1 The KiNgome verb template

KiNgome VP structure, like that of SSW (see Scotton 1967:16, Eastman 1967:1, Polome 1967:120, and Schadeberg 1984:14), have categories that occupy a consistent position in all or most of the relevant word forms. I present the hypothetical template realising the order of these categories as follows :

(152)

NEG¹ + SM + NEG² + T/A + REL¹ + OM + REFL/STM + VR + EXT + FV/VC + PL/REL²/CL
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

position	contents
1	preinitial negative affix ha-/hu-
2	subject agreement prefixes / STM ¹⁹ ku- / habitual prefix hu-
3	postinitial negative prefix si-
4	tense and aspect prefixes / polarity
5	relative agreement prefixes (tensed or negative forms)
6	object agreement prefixes
7	reflexive / STM ku-, i-orji-
8	verb root
9	extension suffixes
10	terminal vowels/VC / polarity
11	suffix -ni encoding a plural addressee (PL) / relative agreement suffixes (REL) or Clitics(CL):

In practical terms, the above hypothetical schema show the constraints on the co-occurrence of the categories. While only the VR and the FV are the obligatory core of the VP, other categories may occur optionally depending on the nature of the clause. Some categories may under certain conditions be partially obligatory but become optional under other conditions, e.g. SM is obligatory in the clause which contains PL provided certain categories do not co-occur e.g. REL¹ and REL². In the next subsection we consider the possible forms according to the actual co-occurrences of the categories as found in sentences.

4. 1. 1 The co-occurrence constraints on categories.

Indicative: The template can best be elaborated through an examination of indicative, subjunctive, and infinitive moods.

- (153) (a) (SM) -(TA) -(REL¹)-(REFL/OM) - VR -(EXTⁿ) -FV-(REL²)-(HAB)=(CL)
 (b) (NEG¹) - SM - (NEG²) - (TA¹)- (REFL/ OM)- VR - (EXTⁿ)- FV-(HAB)=(CL)

- E.g. (a) N₁ta-ye-mw-on-eš-e-[y]a
 SM- TA-REL¹-OM- VR-EXT- EXT- FV
 'The one that I will show (it) to him'
 (b) si-j-i
 1sgSM+NEG-VR-FV
 'I'm not coming'

Subjunctive :

- (154) (a) (NEG)- SM -(TA) - (OM) - VR - (EXTⁿ) - SUB - (PL)
 e.g. (a) mu-si-j-e
 SM-NEG²-come-SUB
 'Don't come!'
 (b) wa-si-j-e-riNg-e
 SM-NEG²-Aux-SUB-see-SUB
 'They should not come to see'

However, the use of -Nge- conditional marker do not co-ccur with SUB -e, instead FV -a is compulsory.

- (155)
 (a) N-si-Nge-wa-riNg-a
 SM-NEG²-TA-OM-see-FV
 'If I have not seen them'

Infinitive :

- (156)
 (a) INF + (NEG²)+ (OM/REFL) +(STM)+VR + (EXTⁿ) + FV+(HAB)/CL

- e.g. (a) ku-to-rim-iš-iw-a
 INF+NEG²+VR+EXT+EXT+FV
 'Not to cause to cultivate'
 (b) ku-to-ku-wa=mo
 INF-NEG²-STM-be-CL
 'Not to be in there'

Analysis:

- (a) VR and FV are the sole obligatory categories.
 (b) The imperative is formed by STM + VR + FV for a monomoraic verb stem e.g. i-ry-a 'eat' or simply VR + FV e.g. uk-a 'go !'
 (c) Post-FV categories such as second person plural , relative suffix,

- clitics, or habitual suffix marker -ga may immediately follow FV.
- (d) NEG² may also be marked by to- that is found in negative infinitive construction after ku- form. We regard it as NEG² as it occupied a post SM position.
- (e) PL only occurs in the affirmative subjunctive. It can not co-occur with CL or HAB in the post FV position.
- (f) REL¹ and REL² or COND Nge- and SUB -e do not co-occur in the same VP. Similarly, HAB and CL do not co-occur in the post-FV position.

We are now in a position to describe various morphosyntactic and word-forming categories that are present in the KiNgome VP under the following subsections: the prefix morphology and the suffixal morphology.

4.2 The Prefix Morphology

4.2.1 The preinitial and post-initial negative prefixes

KiNgome, like other Swahili dialects, does not exhibit a rich negative morphology. Basically there are two regular and syntactically bound negative elements: the preinitial negative ha-/hu- that occupies the first position, the postinitial (incorporated) negative si- that occupies the third slot in our hypothetical template in § 4.1. Similarly to- that represent negative infinitive is also found in the postinitial position (see our hypothetical template in § 4.1).

The following KiNgome data illustrate the distribution of the negative prefixes:

(157)

- (a) ha- tu-riNg-i
1sgSM+NEG¹- SM- see - FV
'we don't see'
- (b) tu-si-ry-e
1plSM-NEG²-eat- Subj
'we should not eat'
- (c) si-j-i
1sgSM+NEG² - come- FV
'I'm not coming'

- (d) a-si-ye-fen-a
3sgSM- NEG²- REL-go-FV
'the one who is not going'
- (e) ku-to-rim-a
INF-NEG³-cultivate-FV
'not to cultivate'

Data in (157a) shows the pre-SM negative morpheme *ha-* occupying the first position which here precedes the subject marker *tu-*. In (157b) the post-SM *si-* comes immediately after the SM. The affirmative counterpart for (157b) is *tu-ry-e* 'let's eat!'. The imperative negative also shows a similar pattern to that in (157b) where NEG is placed after SM and the form ends with the FV *-e*.

In (157c) the negative *si-* occupies the pre-SM position when co-occurring with 1sgSM, but is replaced by *ha-* in other persons e.g. *ha-tu-j-i* 'we will not come' or *ha-wa-j-i* 'they are not coming'.

The negative *si-* is also used in relative verb form as in (157d) while in the case of the infinitive in (157e), there is a slight departure from the above concerning negative forms. Here we have *to-* as a post-SM negative marker placed in between the infinitive prefix *ku-* and the VR.

4.2.2 The Infinitives *ku* ~ *ko*

The infinitive is marked by *ku-* (or *ko-*, and *kw-* variants). The variant *ko-* manifests prefix VHH while *kw-* is found in V-initial stem.

(158)

- ku-rima* (15) 'to cultivate'
ko-ñora (15) 'to peel'
kw-erer-a (15) 'to float'

The *ku-* form in the affirmative is common throughout Sabaki.

Just as in SSW, KiNgame has the negative infinitive marked by *to-*²⁰

¹⁹ I concur with the proposal of Lutz Marten (p.c) to regard *ku-* or *i-* as the 'stem marker' (STM), rather than as an infinitival.

²⁰ The speculation that KiNgame is related to KiPokomo is far reduced when we consider that KiPokomo (Geider 1990: 444) shows /*so-*/ in negative infinitive instead of /*to-*/.

- ku-so-na-dya* 'not to eat'
ku-so-kweNda 'not to go'
ku-so-kuwa 'not to be'

(159)

ku-~~to~~-ñor-a 'not to peel'

ku-~~to~~-rim-a 'not to cultivate'

It is interesting to note here that I have not heard speakers uttering :

(160)

**ko-~~to~~-rim-a 'not to cultivate'

On the contrary they simply say ku-to-rim-a.

4. 2. 3 The subject and object marking system in KiNgome

The other common pre-stem morphemes (that occupy prefix positions) are cross-referencing elements of the subject NP and the object NP. The SM and OM are verbal prefixes that function as coreferential elements in the VP. Verbs do not have to carry OM. If present, the OM is found in 6th position, just before the verb root.

Regarding the SM, it is typical in Bantu languages for the verb (with the exception of the imperative in the second person) to contain an affix that crossreferences the subject NP. This kind of obligatory cross-referencing is usually referred to as agreement. In addition, the verb may include optional cross-referencing of the object NP in the verb, as well as optional cross-referencing of phrases expressing other roles, such as benefactive and instrumental. We illustrate subject and object markers in Kingome as follows:

The SM's and OM's of KiNgome can be summarised as follow:

(161a)

Subject and object persons for Class 1

	SM		OM	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
CLASS 1				
1st person	ñi-, ki-?	tu-, ki?	ñi- , N	tu-
2nd person	u-~ku-, ki-?	mu, ki?	ku-	ku-
3rd person	a- ~ ka-	wa-	mu-, N	wa

Data in (161a) presents different subject and object prefixes as they appear in the singular and plural for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons. In (161b) below, I present the SM and OM for the remaining classes as follow:

(b) Subject and object markers for other classes

Class	SM	OM
Class 2/2a	wa-	wa-
Class 3	u-	u-
Class 4	i-	i-
Class 5	ri-	ri-
Class 6	ya- ~ ga-	ya- ~ ga-
Class 7	ki-	ki-
Class 8	vi-	vi-
Class 9	i-	i-
Class 10	zi-	zi-
Class 9a/10a 'animate'	as in 1a:2a	
Class 11	u-	u-
Class 14	u-	u-
Class 15	ku-	
Class 16	pa-	
Class 17	ku-	
Class 18	mu-	

In (161a&b) we see the subject and object persons that appear in KiNgome synchronic data. Although in many cases, there are similarities with other Swahili dialects, we have noted in (161a) KiNgome speakers optionally use /ki-/ replacing 1sg, 1pl, and even 2sg and 2pl persons.

(162)

- (a) ki-Ø-ja 'I have come/came'
- (b) ki-Ø-ja rini? 'when did you (sg/pl) come?'
- (c) ki-Ø-ja rero 'we came today'

As can be seen, the use of ki- with persons other than 1sg is peculiar to KiNgome and hard to explain. The use of ki- as 1sg SM/OM is found in the neighbouring Ekoti and Makhuwa (see Schadeberg 1997:16 and Woodward 1926: 281). I can only speculate that probably KiNgome has borrowed ki- as 1sg from these neighbours then spread into other persons. One may also speculate that ki- may have been taken from (underspecified) situative ki-. The next stage is full description of subject and object persons as follow:

(i) 1sg subject/object person (1sgSM and 1sgOM):

KiNgame has form /ñi-/ representing 1sg person as follows:

(163)

- (a) ñi-Ø-rim-a
 1sgSM-TA-cultivate-FV
 'I cultivated'
- (b) ñi-Ø-j-a jana
 1sgSM-TA-come-FV yesterday
 'I came yesterday'

The cognate of the KiNgame form /ñi-/ in SSW and the rest of SD is /ni-/. KiNgame speakers freely alternate the form ñi- with ño- as in the case of ñi-kw-aNbi[y]a 'I told you' sometime heard as ño-kw-aNbi[y]a 'I told you'. As can be seen in (163), the form ñi- is substituted with ki- (in a restricted verb paradigm).

(ii) 1pl subject/object person: (1plSM and 1plOM):

The forms tu- and tu-, which are also shared by other Swahili dialects, commonly represent the 1plSM and 1plOM as exemplified below:

(164)

- (a) tu-kut-an-e N^hitira
 1sgSM-meet-EXT-Subj early hours
 'let us meet in the early hours'
- (b) ka-Ø-tu-on-a pare
 3sgSM-TA-1plOM-see-FV there
 'S/he saw us there'

(iii) The 2sg person has two variant forms:

u- and ku-, are allomorph which appear in contrasting verb paradigms:

(165)

- (a) u-tur-ir-e kana maji ga N^h-thuNgi
 2sgSM-calm-APPL-Subj like 6- water of 3-pot
 'be calm like water in the pot'
- (b) u-ta-rim-a nini?
 2sgSM-TA-cultivate-FV what
 What will you cultivate?
- (c) ku-Ø-tu-on-a pare
 2sgSM-TA-1plOM-see-FV there
 'you saw us there'

- (d) weye ku-Ø-rerew-a wapi?
 you 2sgSM-TA-rear-FV where?
 'where have you been reared?'

Both *u-* and *ku-* realise the 2sgSM in KiNgame. These forms are in complementary distribution (they are determined by certain TA form). We shall extend the discussion of their co-occurrence with TA in § 4. 4.

(iv) The 2pl subject person (2plSM):

KiNgame share the basic form *mu-* with other Swahili dialects.

(166)

- (a) mu-na -bwir-a mp^hepeta
 2plSM-TM-swallow-FV rice snack
 'you are swallowing a rice snack'

(v) In 2sg/pl person OM (2sgOM and 2plOM), KiNgame shows similar forms to other SD. The 2sgOM is marked by *ku-* and the 2plOM by *wa-*

(167)

- (a) ñi-Ø-ku-riNga
 1sgSM-2sgSM-see
 'I saw you'
- (b) ñi-Ø-wa-riNga
 1sgSM-2plOM-see
 'I saw you'

(vi) 3sg/pl OM are marked with /*mu-*/ and /*wa-*/ forms respectively:

(168)

- (a) ñi-Ø-mu-on-o peka ake
 1sgSM-3sgOM-see-FV himself
 'I saw him on his own'
- (b) ñi-Ø-wa-on-a jana
 1sgSM-3plOM-see-FV yesterday
 'I saw them yesterday'

(v) 3sg/pl SM are characterised by variant forms *a-* and *ka-* for 3sgSM and *wa-* for 3plSM; e.g.

(169)

- (a) a-na-taN^thur-a
 3sgSM-TA-crawl-FV
 'S/he is crawling'

- (b) **ka-Ø-ñi-baNk^hur-a**
 3sgSM-TA-1sgOM-bit-FV
 'S/he has bitten me'

The alternation **a-/ka-** for 3sgSM form a set just like **u-/ku-** for 2sgSM in rural SD and Comoro or **ni-/si-** for 1sgSM in Mtangata, Vumba and Commorian. I shall elaborate them in § 4. 4.

We present the rest of the subject and object markers in other classes in (170) below. Examples for SM and OM are in bold.

(170)

Examples of Noun Class SM and OM

Classes SM and OM

2/2a	waNthu wa -narwara	'people are sick'
	ñi- wa -ona wo -ñeñekeana	'I saw them trembling'
3	N th ego u -ziNgizwa	'a trap has been set'
	ñi- u -ziNgiza N th ego	'I have set a trap'
4	mijuko i -navunana	'sweat is smelling'
	ñi- i -[y]ona mijiN th u	'I have seen giants'
5	dau ri -zama	'dhow has sunk'
	ka-ri -zamiša dau	'he has sunk the dhow'
6	maeNbe ya -domara yoN th e	'all the mangoes are rotten'
	marware ga -jara tere	'disease is plentiful there'
	phano	
	tu- ya -sugure maruNgo	'We should massage the whole body'
	yoN th e	
7	kisu ki -ñaNguka	'I have dropped the knife'
	fukura po uta- ki [y]-ono	'dig there (and) you will see it'
8	viatu vi -nanibana	'The shoes are tight on me'
	u- vi -kubuze visu vyaNgu	'sharpen my knives'
9	i -šañaN th e hiyo Nguo	'wash that cloth !'
	ñita- i -šañaN th a N th hitira	'I will wash it in the early morning'
10/10a	boti zi -pita	'boats have passed'

	simama po uta-zi-ono	'stand there (and) you will see them'
11	ufuNguo u wapi?	'where is the key?'
	tu-u-sahau Ndani	'we have forgotten it inside'
14	ubaridi u-navuma	'the wind is blowing'
	nahoza ana-u-kwepa	'The captain is avoiding the Southwest monsoon wind.'
	ubaridi wa kusi	
15	kurima faya ku-aumiza	'to plant <i>faya</i> causes back-ache'
	ñoNgo	
16	hapa pa-naNthana	'it is aching here'
17	kaeni kwangu ku-na Nbu	'there are mosquitoes at my home'
18	humo ■u-na weñiwe	'the owners are in there'

one can clearly noticed in (170) that apart from regular markers that occurs across Sabaki, there is no record of OM for classes 15, 16, 17 and 18 in KiNgome data at my disposal. Our next category is that of Tense and Aspect.

4.3 Tense and Aspect marking in KiNgome

Tense and aspect (TA) along with mood and polarity are among the inherent grammatical categories that find expression in the KiNgome verbal template by means of overt inflectional morphemes along with paradigmatically contrastive but unmarked slots signalled in this study by a putative null symbol /Ø/.

Before we move further into the analysis of KiNgome aspect and tense formatives and the meaning they can express, I find it necessary to present the concatenative ordering of tense and aspectual markers in relation to the finite verb stem as follows:

(171)

SM-	T(A)	-(REL)	(OM)	-VB	-A-	FV/A
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Examination of the template architecture relevant to the tense and aspect inflections reveals that the Tense (T) occurs at slot 2 after the Subject Marker (SM). Tense (T) may be collapsed with aspect (A) in the same pre-stem slot, something that occurs in other Bantu languages. This second slot may consists of the following optional affixes: conditional (COND)

affix, progressive (PROG) morpheme *na-/a-*, future (FUT) morpheme, past (PAST) morpheme *ri-*, habitual (HAB¹) prefix *hu-*, none of which can precede an SM, there could also occur a morphologically unmarked anterior (ANT) Ø, a situative (SIT) affix, or potential affix *ki-*, a consecutive (CONS) dependent morpheme *ka-*, a completive (COMP) marker *-ša*. Additionally this slot could also be occupied by a composite TA form that consists of either a past *ri-*, anterior (ANT) Ø a conditional *Nge-*, or a situative *ki-* combined with a completive aspect *-ša* to form *ri-ša*, *Øša*, *Nge-ša*, and *ki-ša* respectively. Although combined elements are two distinct markers on their own, we proposed them to be treated as a unitary TA form.

The third slot is occupied by the optional category of relative marker. The fourth is the optional object marker's category. The fifth slot contains an obligatory verb root plus optional derivational affixes which forms the verbal base. The verb base denotes the major event, state or action crucial for expressing contrasting tense and aspect meanings. The sixth slot is the regular (non-terminal) position for the habitual (HAB²) aspect suffix *-ag* or *-g*. The seventh slot, which is regularly occupied by the final vowel *-a* or the subjunctive suffix marker *-e*, may be occupied by the suffix vowel variant or 'VC suffix' that typically expresses anterior aspect.

In general, tense categories precede aspect categories in synthetically one-word forms. Similarly, in a periphrastic construction, tense occupies an auxiliary part, while aspect occupies the pre-stem slot in the main lexical verb. Interestingly, tense and aspect categories may occur cumulatively as in the case of past completive */ri-ša/*.

In this section, I intend to report on the way tense and aspect contrasts in the KiNgame verbal structure. Most emphasis will be on the presentation of the affirmative forms but this will be followed by some striking phenomena I have observed in negatives, conditions and relatives in the daily speech of KiNgame. I begin with presentation of a matrix of tense and aspect in affirmative forms which will reveal the full picture of how aspect and tense work in KiNgame. My description of TA system of KiNgame will follow, in principle, the matrix-based framework set up by Nurse and Muzale (1999) and as applied in Ruhaya and Swahili (Hewson et al (2000) and in Chaga (Nurse 2003). I have not included the 'underspecified' dependent form *ki-* and consecutive form *ka-*, in the matrix, which I partly assumed to be a subcategory of (far) past tense *ri-*. The TA formatives in KiNgame are summarised in the matrix below.

(172) TA matrix in KiNgome .

A⇒ T↓	PFV	PROG	HAB	ANT	COMP
	-a-	na(ku)- -a-, NEG: -Ø..(VC)	ag- (hu-...), NEG: -ag-i	-Ø-...(VC) NEG: -Ø....(VC)	-šə(ku)- NEG: -ja-
past ri(ku)- Ø..(VC)	tu-ri-ona 'We saw' NEG: ha-tu-ku-ona 'We didnt see'	turikuwa+ tu-na-ona/ tw-a-ona 'We were seeing' NEG turikuwa+ ha-tu-on-i 'We were not seeing'	tu-ri-on-ag-a 'We used to see' NEG: hatu-ku-on-ag-a 'We didnt used to see'	ka-Ø-ona 'He has seen' ka-Ø-pit-i 'He has passed' NEG: ha-Ø-ku-on-o 'He has not seen'	tu-rišə-ona 'Wehad already seen'
		tu-na-ona tw-a-ona 'we see' NEG: hatu-Ø-on-i 'We dont see' si-Ø-on-o si-Ø-fug-u si-Ø-raw-a si-Ø-wen-e si-Ø-bin-i	hu-Ø-on-aga '(We)used to see' NEG: hatu-onagi 'We don't used to see'	tu-Ø-on-a 'We have seen' NEG: hatu-ja-ona	tu-Øšə-ona 'Wehave already seen' NEG: hatu-ja-ona
Future -ta(ku)-	tu-ta-ona 'We will see' NEG: ha-tu-ta-ona 'We will not see.	tu-ta-'be'+ tu-na-ona/ tw-a-ona 'We will be seeing'	tu-ta-on-ag-a 'We will be seeing (repeatedly)' NEG: ha-tu-ta-on-aga 'We will not be seeing'	a-ta-'be'+ ka-Ø-ona 'He will have seen' NEG: atakuwa + ha-ja-on-o 'He will have not seen'	tu-ta-'be'+ tu-Øšə-ona 'We will have already seen'

The table above shows both affirmative and negative verb forms indicating the intersection of tense paradigms (horizontally) and aspect paradigms (vertically). I have distinguished five aspectual constructions for KiNgome (performative, progressive, anterior, habitual and completive, Tense are divided into past and future: We do not see the degrees of remoteness distinctions in both the past and future when

compared to certain Bantu languages such as Gikuyu (Mugane 1997) and Rundi, Haya and Bemba (Hyman and Watters 1984), which among other things exhibit a plethora of tense markers. Although the aspect category is semantically and morphologically tied up with that of tense, I present the core of my analysis of the TA system in KiNgome by examining both categories in affirmative and negative forms, beginning with the broader aspectual system, and followed by the tense system. KiNgome's negation constructions are not very different from SSW form. Illustration of KiNgome finite verb in § 4.1 indicates three fixed slots that are sensitive to polarity: the SM (including a preinitial and a postinitial negative markers), TA and the FV slots. We have seen earlier in § 4.1 how KiNgome (and indeed SSW) commonly contains a preinitial and a postinitial bound elements to mark negation. The negative makers select their own negative TA formatives.

4. 3. 1 Aspectual marking in KiNgome

By definition, tense is a category of morphosyntactic properties distinguishing a finite verb's temporal reference i.e., before, simultaneous with, or subsequent to a reference time. A reference time is usually the utterance time, but may also be a past or future time. Aspect is a category of morphosyntactic properties distinguishing the various senses in which an event can be situated at a particular time interval. Usually we defined aspect in terms of the beginning, duration, completion, repetitive, resulting, etc. of a verb without reference to its position in time. From another viewpoint, tense can be considered to refer to Universal Time, while aspect is considered to refer to Event Time (Hewson et. al 2000: 38). We discuss each aspectual category in the following order: performative, progressive, anterior, habitual, and completive :

4. 3. 1. 1 Performative

This is a basic form by which other forms within the paradigms are to be interpreted. It is typically segmentally marked by *a-* in the present tense form, but is marked with *ri-* to denote a simple past form and with *ta-* for a simple future form.

(173)

- (a) *tw-a-on-a mgi na*
 1plSM-PRST-see rice
 'we see rice'

- (b) tu-ri-on-a mgi na
1plSM-PAST-cultivate rice
'we saw rice'
- (c) tu-ta-on-a mgi na
1plSM-FUT-seerice
'we will see rice'

The form a- in (173a) carries equivocal meanings. It tends to invoke identical responses in the context of a general question such as 'what do you do for a living?', and in the context of 'what are you doing now?' Both questions can invoke the following identical responses:

(174)

- (a) tw-a-vuw-a kaNba
1plSM-PRST-fish-FV 9-lobsters
'We fish lobsters'
- (b) tw-a-suk-a ruki ri
1plSM-PRST-make-FV 11-palm fond material
'We make palm fond material'

The answers for the present formative will reflect a daily undertaking and not actually what is current happenings at the time the speech. The form a- may also be drawn to denote habituality. It is a situation that holds at all times but which is not necessarily occurring at the time of speaking. The negative strategy for the above forms are marked simply by the absence of the affirmative na-/a- and change of (polarity) suffix -a to -i.

(175)

- (a) tw-a-rim-a afaa
1plSM-PRST-cultivate-FV afaa
'We cultivate afaa'
- hətu-Ø-rim-i afaa
NEG 1pl-PAST-cultivate-FV afaa
'We are not cultivating afaa'
- (b) a-na-rim-a
3sgSM-PROG-cultivate-FV
'S/he is cultivating'
- hə-Ø-rim-i
3sg+NEG-PAST-cultivate-FV
'S/he is not cultivating'

The pattern NEG-Ø-(OM)-VB-i emerges from the above examples. Here we see three obligatory changes: insertion of NEG at SM, removal of affirmative AT markers and change of FV -a to -i.

4.3.1.2 Progressive

I have collected the following examples to mark the progressive aspect that stand for an ongoing or progressive action.

(176)

- (a) a-na-rim-a
3sgSM-PRST-cultivate-FV
'S/he is cultivating'
- (b) tw-a-rim-a
2plSM-PRST-cultivate-FV
'We are cultivating'
- (c) p^haka a-na-yug-a
9-cat 9SM-PRST-cry-FV
'The cat is crying'
- (d) tu-ri-kuwa tw-a-rima
1plSM-PAST-be 1plSM-PRST-cultivate-FV
'We were cultivating'

The use of na- and a- in (176a-d) has a present progressive interpretation. However, na- or a- may denote a habitual or continuous situation when a temporal adverbial is added:

(177)

- (a) a-na-rim-a kira siku
3sgSM-PRST-cultivate-FV every day
'S/he cultivates every day'.
- (b) tw-a-rim-a kyaka hadi kyaka
2sgSM-PRST-cultivate-FV year after year
'We cultivate every year'

However, form na- (derived from PSA/CB *na- 'have') in three SD members of KiPemba, KiMtang'ata and KiVumba differs from the use of na- (inherited from CB/PSA *imperfective) in KiNgome, KiMakunduchi, KiTumbatu and SSW (see Appendix A for details). No Swahili dialects use both na- as anterior and na- as progressive in its TA system.

Parallel to other Swahili dialects, the progressive aspect in KiNgome may refer to the past and future time as well. In those cases, tense and aspect expressions require a periphrastic construction which adds the auxiliary 'be' encoding past ri- or future ta- tense followed by the lexical verb marked with an aspect na- in the pre-stem slot.

(178)

- (a) *tu-ri-kuwa* *tw-a-ri-ma* *daweni*
1plSM-PAST-be 1plSM/PROG-cultivate 5-meadow land-Loc
'We were cultivating at the meadow land'
- (b) *tu-ta-kuwa* *tw-a-ri-ma* *daweni*
1plSM-FUT-be 1plSM/PROG-cultivate 5-meadow land-Loc
'We will be cultivating in the meadow land'. (so when you come,
you will know where to find us).

The formation of negative progressive replaced *na-* with covert $\emptyset$ in its place. There are two ways of realising negative progressive: When *si-* negative for 1sgSM is involved, KiNgame may apply $\emptyset$ --VC. The rest of the subject persons choose the pattern $\emptyset$ ---i construction:

(179)

- (a) *si- $\emptyset$ -on-o*
1sgSM+NEG-PAST-see-VC
'I don't see'
- (a) *hatu- $\emptyset$ -rudi*
3sgSM+NEG-PAST-return
'We don't return'

4.3.1.3 Habitual

The *-ag* form and in some cases prefix *hu-* typically express habituality in KiNgame. They are in free distribution and may denote an event occurring regularly, iteratively or expressing timeless truth or facts:

(180)

- (a) *siye hu-rim-a* *afaa*
we HAB¹-cultivate-FV *afaa*
'We (used to) cultivate afaa'
- (b) *yeye hu-rim-ag-a* *faya*
him HAB¹-cultivate-HAB²-FV *faya*
'S/he used to cultivate faya'
- (c) *tw-a-rim-ag-a* *afaa*
1plSM-PRST-cultivate-HAB²-FV *afaa*
'We cultivate afaa regularly'
- (d) *wa-ri-rim-ag-a*
SM-PAST-cultivate-HAB²-FV
'they cultivated repeatedly'
- (e) *tu-na-rim-ag-a*
SM-PRST-VR-HAB²-FV
'We cultivate habitually'

- (f) tu-ta-rim-ag-a
 SM-`FUT-cultivate-HAB²-FV
 'We will cultivate habitually'

Noted above are various examples containing habitual -ag and -hu in one-word forms. The form hu- may co-occur with the habitual suffix -ag as in (180b). I suspect the form hu- has entered into KiNgome through KiUnguja/SSW. The redundancy of these categories imply the contact of two dialects. Examination of the function of these forms do not give much clues on their differences, however, the form hu- is drawn towards expressing (stricly) timeless events while -ag is wider in its scope: it may denote 'habituality' or 'iterativity' in the past, present or future as seen in (180 c-f). The evidence that hu- in KiNgome is something new is expressed by the alternations

(181)

boti i-Ø-ja kira siku 'the boat comes every day'.

The fact that i- can replace hu- is a sign that it is a form which has just entered into the lexicon. The standard form would be boti huja kila siku 'the boat comes every day'.

As we have said earlier, the form -ag has wider use in KiNgome. The following polite imperative use of -ag is not found in SSW.

(182)

- (a) rim-ag-a!
 cultivate-HAB²-FV
 'Cultivate then!'
- (b) paNd-ag-a!
 climb-HAB²-FV
 'Climb then!'
- (c) fuNg-ag-a!'
 close-HAB²-FV
 'Close then!'
- (d) mu-rim-ag-a
 2plSM-cultivate-HAB²-FV
 'Cultivate then!'

Another rural SD member displays a similar -ag pattern in polite imperative as seen in KiMakunduchi (Whiteley 1959: 62),

(183)

- (a) oNj-ag-a!
taste-HAB²-FV
'try then!'
- (b) Njon-i-g-a vano
come-pl-HAB²-FV here
'come here then!'
- (c) m-lol-a-g-a uyoko
2sgOM-see-Subj-HAB²-FV there
'see that fellow there!'

It should be noted here that, neither a 'habitual meaning' nor an 'iterative meaning' is expressed above, instead the use -ag above simply express a sort of polite command without necessarily requiring the addressee to resume the activity s/he has been doing previously. This may speculate the diachronic discussion that probably an -ag that refers to habituality is different from the one that refers to polite command. Further cross-linguistic evidence is needed to validate this proposition. Whiteley (ibid.: 56) further reported that KiMakunduchi has a -ga form appearing at pre-stem slot as the following cases show:

(184)

- (a) na-ga-teNd-a
1sgSM/PRST-HAB¹-do-FV
'I'm working?'
- (b) si-na-ga-teNd-a
1sgSM+NEG-PRST-HAB¹-do-FV
'I'm not working'

It seems this is idiosyncratic to KiMakunduchi and no such case is present in my KiNgome corpus or SD in general. There is also no clear indication that this particular -ga typically expresses habituality. Let us now see how negation with -ag appears in KiNgome

(185)

- (a) siye hu-rim(ag)-a afaa
we HAB¹-cultivate-(HAB²)-FV
'We used to cultivate afaa'
- siye tu-na-rim(ag)-a afaa
we HAB¹-cultivate-(HAB²)-FV
'We used to cultivate afaa'

- (b) siye hatu-rim(ag)-i afaa
 we NEG-cultivate-(HAB²)-FV afaa
 'We do not use to cultivate afaa'

The habitual is made negative by inserting the NEG at SM slot and changing of suffix -a to -i, just like in the Negative Present.

4.3.1.4 Anteriority

One striking area in KiNgame aspectual categories which when compared to various other SD, (and also ND) proves to be distinct is a lack of overt anterior markers *ma-*, *ma-* or *na-*. KiNgame expresses anteriority with Ø... (VC). By anterior we refer to an earlier action, which produced a state, which either lives on, or whose consequences or relevance live on. In other words, it is past event with present relevance. KiNgame corpus has both stative and dynamic verbs expressing anteriority (and at the same time past reference):

(186)

Ø.....(VC) Stative anterior

- (a) wa-Ø-rar-a
 3plSM-ANT-sleep-FV
 'They are sleeping'
- (b) ka-Ø-potek-a
 3plSM-ANT-strand-FV
 'S/he is stranded'
- (c) ya-Ø-aruk-a
 6SM-ANT-raise-FV
 '(Tide) is raising'
- (d) mu-Ø-ramuk-a
 2plSM-ANT-awake-FV
 'Lit. How are you awakening?' (used as 'good morning?')
- (e) ka-Ø-fu
 3sgSM-ANT-die
 'S/he is dead'

These are typical stative verbs that express anteriority. However the bulk of dynamic verbs also express anteriority (merged with past reference) as shown below

(187)

Dynamic (verbs) anterior

- (a) maji ya-Ø-aruk-a
 6-water 6SM-ANT-rise-FV
 'The water tide has risen/rose'

- (b) tu-Ø-rim-a vuNvu retu
1plSM-ANT-cultivate-FV 5-farm our
'We have cultivated/cultivated our farm'
- (c) tu-Ø-ziNgiz-a Ntego
1plSM-ANT-cause to set-FV 3-trap'
'We have set/set a trap'
- (d) tu-Ø-ŋeNg-a pori
1plSM-ANT-clear-FV 5-bush
'We have cleared/cleared the bush'
- (e) ka-Ø-ri-ŋum-u
3sgSM-ANT-5OM-pick-VC
'S/he has picked/picked it'
- (g) ku-Ø-mu-ibir-i nani?
2sgSM-ANT-3sgOM-steal-VC who
'Who have you stolen/you stole from?'
- (h) ku-Ø-wa-on-o woñeñekeyana
2sgSM-ANT-2plOM-see VC terrified
'You have seen/saw them terrified'
- (i) kate ka-Ø-ri-pik-i nani?
5-bread 3sgSM-ANT-5OM-cook-VC who
'Who has baked/baked the bread?'
- (j) ka-Ø-N-oom-o ñoNgo
3sgSM-ANT-1sgOM-sting-VC 9-back
'It has stung/stung my back'
- (k) ka-Ø-rwar-a tuNbo
3sgSM-ANT-fell ill-VC 5-stomach
'S/he has suffered/suffered from stomach-ache'

As can be seen in (187 a-k), the anterior meaning is marked by Ø...(VC). There is also (near) past interpretations embedded in those examples. I would like to emphasize here that the expression 'near' past is simply a general statement, there are occasions when formative Ø...(VC) may refer to something that has happened a long time.

(188)

- (a) ka-Ø-taNdawar-a poNte pano
3sgSM-ANT-reign-FV all over here'
'S/he has reigned/reigned all over here'
- (b) ŋi-Ø-mu-on-a Ntoto
1sgSM-ANT-3sgOM-see-FV 1-child
'I have seen a child/saw a child'

The instances (188a&b) can be used to refer to an activity that could have occurred a long time ago. Examples above could have happened a year

ago.

The most important observation one can clearly see in (187 a-k) and (188 a&b) is the feature of collapsing an anterior and a (near) past. This is not idiosyncratic to KiNgonde, for a somewhat similar situation is obtained in closely related Coastal Sabaki members such as KiVumba, KiPokomo, KiMwani and Comorian. Northern Swahili dialect of KiVumba and Lower KiPokomo display the following examples:

(189)

- (a) *kə-Ø-fu* or *kə-Ø-fwi*
 3sgSM-ANT-die
 'S/he died/ has died' (Lambert 1953:19)
- (b) *ni-Ø-dz-a*
 1sgSM-ANT-come-FV
 'I have come recently I came' (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 424)
- (c) *hu-Ø-gw-a*
 1plSM-ANT-fall-FV
 'We have fallen/we fell' (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 428)

ND have *me-* and *Ø.....ele* for expressing anteriority and a *ri-* for past expression (see Mazrui 1976:18) and Drolc 1992:83). Instead of *Ø.....ele*, all no non-Unguja SD have *Ø.....(VC)*. How this formative is distributed in rural SD is our next discussion.

4.3.1.4.1 Suffix Vowel Copying (Ø.....VC) in SD

Swahili scholars have attempted to offer explanations on the environments to which VC suffix seems to be associated. Maganga (1990: 152) argues that speakers of KiTumbatu 'may opt to use either the long verb which involve the tense marker or the short verb forms which make use of vowel harmony (VC)'. He cites the following examples that I organize in the following pairs :

(190)

longer stem	shorter stem
(a) <i>si-na-kwiNb-a</i> 1sgSM+NEG-PRST-to sing-FV 'I do not sing'	<i>ñi-Ø-iNb-i</i> 1sgSM-ANT-sing-VC 'I sang/have sung'
(b) <i>si-na-vat-a</i> 1sgSM+NEG-PRST-get-FV 'I do not get'	<i>ñi-Ø-vat-a</i> 1sgSM-ANT-get-VC 'I got /have got'

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (c) | si-na-sumk-a
NEG-PRST-run-FV
'I do not run' | ñi-Ø-sumk-u
1sgSM-ANT-run-VC
'I ran/have run' |
|-----|---|---|

Is it really a question of shorter Vs longer verb stems? Let us see the following counterexamples from KiNgome

(191)

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (a) | hə-ku-ri-čum-u
NEG-3sgSM-5OM-pick- VC
'He has not picked it' |
| (b) | ku-Ø-ri-ñoNg-o
2sg-5OM-twist-VC
'You twisted it' |

The question of longer form or shorter form does not apply here. If we examine contrasting verb paradigms in (190), we will find out that there is difference between overt tense *na-* contrasting with *Ø-*. As we shall see in § 4. 4 these TA forms reside in different paradigm cells. Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 390-1) have noticed earlier that VC suffix may be associated with 2/3 sgSM *ku-*, *ka-* or other singular SM other than /ni-/. This was important observation which requires empirical support. I will make such attempt in the next subsection in this chapter. Moreover, The pattern *Ø...VC*, where all five variable vowels appear, is widespread in SD. Whiteley (1959: 58-59) presents data from KiMakunduchi (KiKae) showing *Ø...VH* that expresses anteriority:

(192)

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------|
| m-vit-i | 'I have climbed' |
| ñi-vat-a | 'I have obtained' |
| ñi-uz-u | 'I have sold' |
| ñi-okot-o | 'I have come across something' |
| ñi-fugu-u | 'I have opened' |
| N-kwel-e | 'I have climbed'(T) |
| ñi-m-tafut-u | 'I looked for him' |
| ku-yon-o | 'Have you seen ?' |

Although Whiteley (ibid) has not indicated zero anterior form at pre-stem slot, we are aware that between SM and VB there is a null element for AT

(anterior) expression. However SD has no anterior form (Ø)...ele/ile which is common in ND and surrounding Bantu languages. It is also interesting to note that just across the Indian Ocean on the mainland, the neighbouring Bantu of KiMwera (Harries 1950: 79) shows the reflexes of *-ile/ele anterior aspect:

(193)

ileNden-e	'they are alike'
inemet-e	'they are stuck'
indim-ele	'they are crooked'
iegem-e	'they are stuck fast'

This feature has not crossover to the island of Mafia. Let us now see the formation of negative anteriority in KiNgome.

4. 3. 1. 4. 2 Changing affirmative anteriority into negative

The form SM-Ø-VB-(VC). is made negative by inserting ja- at TA slot and prefixing NEG at SM slot.

(194)

affirmative	negative
(a) ŋi-Ø-rim-a 1sgSM-ANT-cultivate-FV 'I have cultivated / I cultivated'	si-ja-rim-a 1sgSM-NEG-cultivate-FV 'I have not cultivated'
(b) ŋi-Ø-j-a 1sgSM-ANT-come-FV 'I have come/ I came'	si-ja-j-a 1sgSM-NEG-come-FV 'I have not come/ I did not come'

In some cases of negative Ø...(VC), we no longer see retention of the anteriority meaning they previously share with past interpretation in KiNgome:

(195)

- (a) si-Ø-raw-a
1sgSM+NEG-ANT-go-VC
'I am not going. /do not go'
- (b) si-Ø-fug-u
1sgSM+NEG-ANT-keep animal-VC
'I am not keeping animals.'

- (c) si-Ø-mw-on-o
1sgSM+NEG-ANT-OM-see-VC
'I don't /never see him'
- (d) si-Ø-pik-i
1sgSM+NEG-ANT-cook-VC
'I am not going to cook/I don't cook'
- (e) si-Ø-vi-pet-a
1sgSM+NEG-ANT-OM-get-VC
'I don't /never get them'

This phenomenon of past negative Ø...VH is quite widespread in SD. In KiMtang'ata, Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 387) noted the following :

(196)

- | | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|
| si-Ø-pat-a | 'I am not getting/ don't get' |
| si-Ø-let-e | 'I am not bringing/ don't bring' |
| si-Ø-pit-i | 'I am not passing /don't pass' |
| si-Ø-onDok-o | 'I am not going out/ don't go out' |
| si-Ø-tafun-u | 'I am not chewing/ don't chew' |

Other similar cases are found in KiMakunduchi and KiTumbatu (See Maganga 1990).

4.3.1.4.3 Future anteriority

So far we have discussed present anteriority alone. KiNgome has no discrete form for future anteriority. In such case, KiNgome has to use a periphrastic construction to express such a reference as provided by the following examples:

(197)

- (a) tu-ta-kuɸ-a tu-ki-fik-a
1plSM-FUT-come-FV 1plSM-SIT-arrive FV
'We will come to you if we have arrived'
- (b) tu-ta-kwita tu-ki-fik-a
1plSM-FUT-call-FV 1plSM-SIT-arrive-FV
'I will call you when I arrived'

Closer to such a meaning is provided by the following case that involves a conditional Nge- and a completive ʒa-:

(198)

- (a) kama si juwa, tu-Ngeša-bini poNte pano
if Neg⁹-sun 1plSM-COND-COMP-cultivate all over here
'Were it not for the sun, we would have cultivated all over here'
- (b) muda huu ka-Øša-fik-a Kisiju
This time 3sgSM-COMP-arrive-FV Kisiju
'At present he has already arrived at Kisiju'

For the present state that is related to the imminent future event, I have heard the following expressions using *ni-Ø-j-a* 'I have come':

(199)

- (a) ni-Ø-j-a ku-perek-a ma-daftari
1sgSM-ANT-come-FV INF-send-FV 6-notebooks
'I have come to bring exercise books'
- (b) ni-Ø-j-a ku-kutweš-a
1sgSM-ANT-come-FV INF-2sgOM-cause to carry-FV
'Lit: I have come to say goodnight to you'

4.3.1.5 Completive aspect marker ša-

Another widespread feature of KiNgame is the use of affirmative aspectual marker *ša-* that encodes the completion of an event. Although this category best fit as part of the anterior, I consider *ša-* as a completive aspect that expresses an event that has recently finished and still has a relation to another subsequent events. It should also be noted that this form normally appears in Swahili in the form of a cumulative complex form such as *meša/kiša/liša/Ngeša* within a one-word form. Since KiNgame has no form *me-*, I regard *Øša-* as its replacement for *meša*.

(200)

- (a) ka-Øša-rim-a
SM-TA-cultivate-FV
'S/he has already cultivated'
- (b) mu-Øša-ravy-a ?
SM-TA-eat-FV
'have you already eaten?'
- (c) juwa ri-Øša-zam-a uka u-fen-e-ko!
9-sun 9SM-COMP-set-FV stand+IMPVE 2sgSM-go-Subj-CLIT
'The Sun has already set, get up and go there then !'

Apart from the cumulative form *-Øša-*, other regular prefixing

elements are *ki-*, *ri-* or even *Nge-* to produce complex categories in the following manner:

(201)

- (a) *mu-kiša-ravy-a* *mu-[r]uk-e*
 2plSM-SIT-COMP- cause to eat-FV 2sgSM-go-Subj
 'once you finish eating go away'
- (b) *mu-riša-ravy-a*
 2plSM-PAST-COMP-cause to eat-FV
 'you had already eaten'
- (c) *mu-Ngeša-ravya*
 2plSM-COND-COMP-eat-FV
 'you would have already eaten'

There is something noteworthy in (201b). Although *mu-riša-ravy-a* translates as pluperfect, Nurse (p.c) explains that it doesn't function as such. Therefore *riša-* or *liša-* is not a discrete form for pluperfect in KiNgome and Swahili in general. His observation support a similar observation advanced by Comrie (1985: 80) that SSW has no distinct form for pluperfect.

4.3.1.5.1 Negative completive

The affirmative completive marker *ša* becomes *ja* in the negative form. This changes co-occur with prefixing of NEG at SM slot. The FV *-a* remains unchanged. The following example illustrates this negative strategy:

(202)

- (a) *mpuNga u-Øša-kauk-a?*
 3-rice 3SM-COMP-dry-FV
 'Has the paddy rice already dried?'
 mpuNga hau-ja-kauk-a
 3-rice 3NEG-COMP-dry-FV
 'The rice has not dried'

As noted in (202 a&b), we have pattern NEG-*ja*-(OM)-VB-*a* which is identical to the negative pattern we have shown in (194).

4.3.2 Tense marking in KiNgome

A two-fold opposition of past Vs non-past is found in KiNgome. The non- past is an incomplete action, either present or future. KiNgome has two primary forms of reference to past time: a basic form *ri-* and *Ø...* (VC) which extends and overlaps with reference to anterior. For non-

past, KiNgome has only one discrete future tense *ta-*, a general present tense *a-*, which sometime speakers freely alternate with progressive *na-*.

4.3.2.1 Pasts

The reference to past tense in KiNgome is displayed by two variant forms: *ri-* and *Ø..* (VC) past formatives. Let us see evidence from KiNgome corpus that can be linked to the past reference.:

(203)

- (a) *tu-ri-čəNg-a vava*
 1plSM-PAST-clear-FV 5-thicket
 'We cleared the thicket'
- (b) *tu-Ø-čəNg-a vava*
 1plSM-ANT-clear-FV 5-thicket
 'We have cultivated/cultivated the thicket'

The form *ri-* (203a) has only past tense reference whilst the form *Ø..*(VC) has ambiguous references: an anteriority and a past. There is no clear distinction of remoteness one can easily equate to these forms. As we have noted in (177) and (178), KiNgome provides examples that indicate lack of strict cut-off point between (near) and (far) past. It is only loosely that we regard *ri-* as (far) past and formative *Ø..*(VC) as generally representing an event which occurred very recently or today,

4.3.2.1.1 Negative past performative

The affirmative *ri-* past is changed into negative *ku-* along with prefixing of NEG marker at SM slot.

(204)

- (a) *ŋi-ri-rim-a afaa*
 1sgSM-PAST-cultivate-FV afaa
 'I cultivated afaa'
- si-ku-rim-a afaa*
 1sgSM+NEG-PAST-cultivate-FV afaa
 'I did not cultivate afaa'
- (b) *tu-Ø-rim-a*
 1plSM-PAST-cultivate-FV
 'We cultivated'
- hatu-ku-rim-a*
 NEG+1plSM-PAST--cultivate-FV
 'We didn't cultivate'

The pattern that is emerging here is simply NEG-ku-(OM)-VB-a for simple past. As can be seen, there is no vowel changes at FV.

4.3.2.2 Non-pasts

As we have seen non-pasts are represented by present and future tenses.

4.3.2.2.1 Present tense

The present tense is used to express simultaneity of a situation with the present moment. The combination of this tense and various aspect categories realise simple present, present anterior and present progressive.

In simple present , we have:

(205)

- (a) *tu-a-rya* *ñoNdora*
 1plSM-PRST/PROG-eat 9a-leftover
 'We eat leftover (food)

which is different from:

- (b) *tu-Ø-ry-a* *ñoNdora*
 1plSM-ANT-eat-FV 9a-leftover
 we have eaten /ate leftover

which expresses a general fact and is not necessarily reporting an event occurring at the time of utterance. Here we speak of an act of eating which holds at present, and may have began before and may well continue beyond the present moment. Additionally, the present anterior is associated with the pattern SM-Ø-VB-VC and SM-*ša*-VB-a as exemplified below:

(206)

- (a) *ku-Ø-mw-on-o*
 2sgSM-ANT-1sgOM-see-VH
 'You have seen him'
- (b) *tu-ša-rim-a*
 1plSM-COMP-cultivate-FV
 'We have already cultivated'

In the present progressive, speakers are free to use either *na-* or *a-* forms as follow:

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| (c) | tu-na-rim-a | / tw-a-rim-a |
| | 1plSM-PROG-cultivate-FV | 1plSM-PROG-cultivate-FV |
| | 'We are cultivating' | 'We are cultivating' |

They are basically expressing an ongoing action at the time of utterance. Ways of expressing present time are not solely based on the forms we have described above. We simply argue here that there is a certain degree of association between these formatives and the meanings they can basically express. Largely, pragmatic rules may play a primary role in order to convey the exact meaning speakers wish to communicate .

For instance, when we have the following question and answer forms:

(207)

- | | |
|-----|---|
| (a) | mu-na-rar-a ? |
| | 2plSM-PRST-sleep-FV |
| | 'Are you sleeping?' (spending the night?) |
| (b) | tu-na-rudi |
| | 1plSM-PRST-return |
| | 'We are returning' (this evening) |

The na- form in (207 a&b) is expressing the imminent futurity and not something that is going on at that time of speaking. This makes it hard to exactly equate the form and meaning it can always convey in every context.

4. 3. 2. 2. 2 Future tense

KiNgame, like other SD, displays a morphologically discrete future form with ta- (čā- for KiMakunduchi and Vumba). It expresses events in future time.

(208)

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (a) | tu-ta-rim-a | peka etu |
| | 1plSM-FUT-cultivate-FV | selves our |
| | 'We will cultivate ourselves' | |
| (b) | N _i -ta-kweNd-a | Kidakuri |
| | 1sgSM-FUT-go-FV | Kidakuri |
| | 'I will go to Kidakuli.' | |
| (c) | N _i -ta-rim-a | N _i -ki-fik-a |
| | 1sgSM-FUT-cultivate-FV | 1sgSM-SIT-arrive-FV |
| | 'I will cultivate if I arrive' | |

As an exception to the common form above, I found one case of expressing future reference without a discrete morpheme ta-, which

may sound awkward to the SSW speakers.

(209)

- (a) kešo a-Ø-ŋi-fik-a hapa
tomorrow 3sgSM-ANT-1sgOM-arrive-FV here
'S/he will come to me here tomorrow'

There is no discrete *ta-* form above. The future expression is here portrayed by a zero form, the combination of the adverbial temporal expression and indicative mood marked by final vowel *-a*.

The subjunctive construction marked by a suffix *-e* at the FV slot may also be associated with some future reference without including the form *ta-*.

(210)

- u-j-e kešo
2sgSM-come-Subj tomorrow
'come tomorrow'

- u-simam-e pare
2sgSM-stand-Subj there
'stand there'

4.3.2.2.1 Negative future

The future negative forms, appears in both the affirmative and its negative counterpart.

211)

- (a) ŋi-ta-rim-a afaa
1sgSM-FUT-cultivate-FV afaa
'I will cultivate afaa'
si-ta-rim-a afaa
1sgSM+NEG-FUT-cultivate-afaa
'I will not cultivate afaa'

4.3.3 TA formatives *ki-* and *ka-*

We now look briefly at *ki-* and *ka-* forms. We have not included them in our matrix (174).

4.3.3.1 *ki-* underspecified marker

The form *ki-* at the TA slot in KiNgome (and indeed SSW) commonly marks 'if' conditional with future interpretation.

(212)

- (a) N̄-ki-rim-a N̄-ta-wun-a
1sgSM-SIT-cultivate-FV 1sgSM-FUT-harvest-FV
'If I cultivate, I will harvest'
- (b) N̄-ki-fik-a kešo N̄-ta-ku-p-a pesa zako
1sgSM-SIT-arrive-FV tomorrow 1sgSM-FUT-2OM-give-FV 9-money yours
'If I arrive tomorrow, I will give you your money'
- (c) a-ki-j-a m-p-e
1SM-SIT-come-FV 1OM-give-Impve
'When s/he comes give to her/him'
- (d) kuku a-ki-kučoNčor-a utapo haraka
9a-chick 9SM-SIT-to peck-FV 2sgSM-FUT-heal quickly
'When a chick pecks you, you quickly get better'
- (e) vi-ňagi vi-ki-ňi-kumbuw-a na-tetem-a
8-drizzle 8sgSM-SIT-1sgOM-soak-FV 1sgSM-tremble-FV
'When drizzle soaks me, I tremble'.
- (f) vire u-ki-ňi-on-a ŋi-kinw-a
when 2sgSM-SIT-1sgOM-see-FV 1sgSM-tremble-FV
'That time, when you saw me, I was angry'.

(213)

- (a) ŋi-ri-mw-on-a a-ki-eNd-a Bweni
1sgSM-PAST-3sgOM-see-FV 3sgSM-SIT-go-FV Bweni
'I saw him going to Bweni'
- (b) ŋi-ri-ku-on-a u-ki-ry-a
1sgSM-PAST-2sgOM-see-FV 2sgSM-SIT-eat-FV
'I saw you eating'
- (c) ŋi-ri-mw-on-a a-ki-rar-a
1sgSM-PAST-3sgOM-see-FV 3sgSM-SIT-sleep-FV
'I saw him sleeping'
- (d) N̄čana u-ta-kuwa-pi?
3-afternoon 2sgSM-FUT-be-where?
'Where will you be in the afternoon?'

ŋi-ta-kuwa daweni N̄-ki-riNg-a NpuNga
1sgSM-FUT-be 5-farm-Loc 1sgSM-SIT-see-FV 3-rice paddy
'I will be in the farm (watching) guarding rice paddy'

ki- in (212 a-f) gives the sense of 'if' and 'when' and all these are considered to have referential meanings. Here ki- occupies tense slot. Whilst in (213 a-d) shows what is regarded by Marten (1998:149) as a 'temporally underspecified'. The formative ki- is now in a subordinate position and fully depending on the preceding matrix clause for its contextual information. ki- form in (213 a-d) denotes progressive sense similar to na-/a- forms. It is evident in our data that the function of ki-

form in KiNgame matches that of SSW (see Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 367). Most speakers seems to employ the complex form 'sipo' for negative counterpart of (212 a-f) which I suspect to be borrowed from SSW, but majority have no clear response and I have left this area of negative form open for further investigation.

4.3.3.2 Consecutive ka-

KiNgame displays ka- form in the following context:

(214)

- (a) neNd-e-ni mu-ka-ry-e
 go-Impe-Pl 2plSM-CONS-eat-Subj
 'Go and eat'
- (b) ka-ry-e ma-čaza
 CONS-eat-Impe 6-rice
 'Go and eat rice'

(215)

- (a) tu-ri-kury-a tu-ka-šib-a
 1plSM-PAST-eat-FV 1pl-CONS-get full-FV
 'We ate and we got full'
- (b) ŋi-ri-čeNga ŋi-ka-bini harafu ŋi-ka-vuna
 1sgSM-PAST-clear 1sgSM-CONS-cultivate then 1sgSM-CONS- harvest
 'I cleared (the bush), cultivated and then harvested'

The form ka- in (214 a&b) displays what is known as 'go and V(erb)' function (Botne 1999: 476-477) in Bantu languages whilst in (215 a&b) the form ka- is associated with the notion of consecutiveness. It gives narrative meaning to single observations that are recounted. In such narratives, the first verb establishes the time framework, which normally is far past ri-. The sequencing is then represented by the form ka-. The ka- form changed into past form ku- to agree with negative counterpart of ri- past as the following example show:

(216)

- (a) si-ku-čeNga si-ku-bini wara si-ku-vun-u
 1sgSM+NEG-PAST-clear 1sgSM+NEG-CONS-cultivate then 1sgSM+NEG-CONS-
 harvest
 'I neither cleared (the bush), cultivated nor harvested'

We have demonstrated in this subsection how Tense formatives interact with Aspect formatives in KiNgame. Although KiNgame TA system is a

simplified one, it shares features such as Ø...(VC) with other rural SD. We have also mention earlier that there is peculiar SD feature of grammatical alternation of *u-/ku-* and *a-/ka-* representing 2/3sg Subject person that is associated with certain TA formatives. Our next attempt is to extend this discussion and probably provide an important contribution in the study of Sabaki morphology in general.

4.4 The agreement between TA and sets of 2/3sg Subject Person in SD

The affirmative finite verbs in KiNgame plus other non- Uguja SD have been observed to display three different paradigmatic representations for 1sg, 2sg and 3sg Subject Person in the form of *ni-/si-*, *u-/ku-* and *a-/ka-* respectively. The alternation *ni-/si-* is confined to two members of SD; Mtangata and Vumba only. We deliberate avoid discussing them in this study to allow us to concentrate on 2/3 sg which is wide spread. Apparently, the 2sg *u-* and 3sg *a-* are said to form a default set (henceforth SETA) that contrasts with 'marked' set (herein SETB) of 2sg *ku-* and 3sg *ka-*. The alternation between SETA and SETB is in someway a typical instance of a morphosyntactically conditioned allomorphy. These sets are sensitive to a morphosyntactic category of Tense/Aspect (TA). The attempt is made in this subsection to draw a distributional chart to reveal how and which TA formative determines the choice of SETA and SETB and thus form symmetric patterns or systematic opposition.

4.4.1 The grammatical alternation of 2sg and 3sg person in SD

The sets of Subject Person for Class 1 animate nouns in SD generally appear as follow :

(217)

	Singular		Plural	
1st	<i>/ni-/</i> , <i>/si-/</i>	'I'	<i>/tu-/</i>	'We'
2nd	<i>/u/-</i> , <i>/ku-/</i>	'You'	<i>/mu-/</i>	'You'
3rd	<i>/yu-/</i> , <i>/a-/</i> , <i>/ka-/</i>	'S/he'	<i>/wa-/</i>	'They'

As can be seen in (217), there are three sets of the subject person for 1st, 2sg and 3sg in the form of *ni-/si-*, *u-/ku-* and *yu-,a-/ka-* respectively. The set *ni-/si-*, is restricted to two SD members only, Mtang'ata and Vumba (see Temu (1980: 22) and Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 400-1) . The form *yu-* is beyond our scope. Hence, the alternation *u-/ku-* and *a-/ka-* will be our main concern. There are two reasons

why we need to discuss the variant forms *u-/ka-* (2sg) and *a-/ka-* (3sg) as they appear in SD. First, set *u-/a-* (SETA) is often reported to be in a morphological complementary distribution to set *ku-/ka-* (SETB) (see Maganga 1990: 161 and Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 365). Secondly, the evidence that SETB occurs before 'specific TA markers' (Maganga 1990: 151) and the issue of 'mutual exclusiveness' have been drawn from individual but not collective study of SD members. A generalised picture will only be possible by presenting samples from individual dialects to see how these sets co-occur with various TA formatives. From the available samples, we will draw a distributional chart that will reveal areas marking 'mutual exclusiveness'. This approach will reveal specific TA markers which are responsible for the choice of an appropriate set. It should also be borne in mind that TA formatives among SD members are not entirely homogeneous. Thus, any attempt to examine agreement of sets of subject person and TA within a verb paradigm in SD has to consider the disparity in TA forms in SD. This will minimise a danger of making overgeneralisation or undergeneralisation of the concrete fact. I have collected examples from Pemba (Pe), Tumbatu (Tu), Vumba (Vu), Makunduchi (Mak), Nungwi (Ngw), and my own data on Ngome (Ng). Standard Swahili (SSW) will only partially be referred in the course of discussion.

Previous analyses of SETA and SETB in SD appear intermittently in works of Nurse (1982, 1984/85), (Maganga (1990), Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) and Riedel (2001/2002). It is fair to say that perhaps, 'a tip of the iceberg' began to appear in Maganga's (1990:33) analysis of the form *a-* against *ka-* in SSW in the following sentence pair :

- (218) (a) *mwalimu a-me-sema*
 1-teacher 3SG-ANT-say
 'The teacher has said'
- (b) *mwalimu ka-Ø-sema*
 1-teacher 3SG-ANT-say
 'The teacher has said'

Two opposing paradigmatic verb cells emerged in (218 a&b). There is a complementary sets of *a--* and *ka-* that stand for 3sg person, along with *me-* versus *Ø-* that express anteriority. Maganga explains that the choice between *a--* and *ka-* is determined by the morphosyntactic category of perfective aspect (Anterior) *me-*. The *ka-* shape is chosen whenever overt

me- is dropped, otherwise in normal circumstance, we should expect a default a- to be followed by me-.

However, he (ibid: 108) admits that ka- that contrast with a- has a very restrictive usage in Pemba, but a wider application in Tumbatu and Makunduchi. Likewise the shape of anterior in Pemba is na- instead of me-. It seems then that when dealing with subject person variation in SD, we are not only abound to consider opposition between SETA and SETB but also between variant TA shapes such as me- and na- that may represent the same categorial function.

Since the main issue is the distribution of subject person in relation to TA formatives, let us examine the earlier attempts in this matter. Riedel (2001/2002:13) in her study of TA system of Northern Unguja Swahili as spoken in Nungwi organises the singular animate markers into Set A and Set B as follows

(219)	SET A	SET B	
1st	ni-	ni-	T
2nd	u-	ku-	'You'
3rd	a-	ka-	'S/he

In fact what Riedel demarcates for Nungwi in (219) is somewhat similar to Lambert (1953: 15) and Nurse (1982:175) for Vumba and SD respectively. Riedel (ibid) explains that Set B in Nungwi case is used primarily with main clause forms (past, anterior, future, completive and progressive. While Set A is used primarily for subordinate clauses (conditional, subjunctive and relatives). Maganga (1990: 228-9) made a similar observation in Makunduchi in which he analyses SETA as mainly found in the subjunctive, the negative, conditional and situative. These analyses represent only specific dialects, a need arises for a cross-dialectal description to be supported by clear examples.

Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:365-6) also noted that SETB as derived from CB/PSA *ku-/*ka- co-occurs with certain positive TA in Pokomo, SD, Mwani and Comorian. They went further to offer a serious suggestion that a complementary distribution between SETA and SETB can be taken as a Northeastern Bantu (NEC) isogloss. In this thesis we deliberately promote a stand that the presence of SETA and SETB demarcates Swahili dialects into SD and ND. However, to obtain data to adequately expose the complementary sets of 2sg and 3sg subject person is not an easy task,

examples of SETA and SETB that are found in SD are scattered, hence I have organised them to allow a reader to see them in totality.

My first attempt is to make clear what sort of TA formatives are present in SD dialects. We will then provide examples showing the use of SETA and SETB for each dialect to be followed by the distribution chart. The distribution chart will form the bases of our analysis of the co-occurrence of variant forms of 2SG/3SG with TAs markers within certain paradigm cells. The consideration of the myriad forms representing TA categories at this stage is pivotal before we attempt to analyse the distribution of SETA and SETB in SD. I have made comparison of TA forms in seven SD members plus SSW. All TA forms are those found in affirmative finite verb paradigm.

(220) TA formatives (affirmative) in SD

TA/SD	MAK	TU	NGW	PE	VU	MT	NG	SSW
na-, a-, hu- (Present)	na-	na-,a-, hu-	na-,a-	a-	a-	a-	na(ku)-/ a-	na-/ a-
na(ku)-, a- me-, ma- Ø..(VC) (Anterior)	me- Ø..(VC)	ma- Ø..(VC)	ma- Ø..(VC)	na(ku)- Ø..(VC)	na(ku)-, a- Ø..(VC)	na(ku)- me- Ø..(VC)	Ø..(VC)	me- Ø?
(me)ša-, ma- (Completive)	(me)ša-	ša-	ša-	ša-	ša-	ša-	ša-	(me)ša
li-/e-/, Ø..(VC) (Past)	li- Ø..(VC)	li, Ø..(VC)	li? Ø..(VC)	e-, Ø..(VC)	li- Ø..(VC)	li	ri-, Ø..(VC)	li-
ta-, ča- Nda-(Future)	ča-	ta-	ta- Nda-	ta-	ča-	ta-	ta-	ta-
Nga-, Nge- (Conditional)	Nge-	Nge-	Nge-	Nga-	Nga-	Nga-	Nga-	Nge-
ki-, ka- (Situative)	ka-	ka-	ki-	ki-	ka-	ka-	ki-	ki-

Note that there are certain dialectal variation in TA formatives in SD. Clearly noticeable are rare cases of TA formatives Nda- 'future' (FUT) and a- (immediate anterior (ANT)). ANT is dominated by Ø...(VC) in almost all eight cases. We also see in the PAST the occurrence of li-/e- form against Ø.....(VC). There are symmetric relationship in ANT and

PAST categories. There are also gaps which may be interpreted as lack of recorded data or suspicious occurrence of forms (e.g. loan). There are presence of invariant forms in completive (COMP), FUT, Conditional (COND), and Situative (SIT) in which we hope they will provide clues for 'exclusiveness' in the choice of the appropriate form. Which set 'wins' in particular context is the subject of our next stage.

4.4.2 The Data

I present the distributional of SETA and SET B against TA forms based on (see appendix A) Table 1 to 7 that represent examples from seven SD members. I admit that data at my disposal may be inadequate but at least will provide the picture we intend to draw and lay grounds for an additional data input.

(221) Agreement of 2/3 SG SM with TA markers in SD

	MAK		TU		PE		VU		NGW		MT		Ng	
TA/SM	SETA	SETB	SETA	SETB	SETA	SETB	SETA	SETB	SETA	SETB	SETA	SETB	SETA	SETB
na-, a- (Present)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				?	✓	✓		✓	
na- a- me-, ma- Ø...(VC) (ANT)	?	✓	?	?		✓		✓	?	✓		✓		✓
(me)ša- ma- (COMP)	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	?		✓	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	✓
li-, e- Ø...(VC) (PST)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			?			✓	✓
ta-, ča- Nda (FUT)	✓	✓	✓	?	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	
Nga/Nge (COND)	✓		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓	
ki-, ka- (SIT)	✓		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓	

key:

✓ 'present'; ? 'Not recorded or lack of data'; gap= absent

4.4.3 Analysis

SETA is exclusively used in COND, SIT, and appears in almost all FUT cases but only NGW and MAK have both SETA and SETB followed by FUT marker. COMP may trigger both SETA and SETB in majority of SD. The ANT/PAST in the form of Ø...(VC) selects SETB unambiguously.

There is no redundancy of shape *na-* as ANT/PRST in MAK, TU, NGW and NG on one hand, and PE, VU and MT on the other. This is an example of 'substitution' of *na-* shape. If *na-* is chosen as ANT then it will not appear as PRST/PROG and vice versa. Interestingly, *na-* ANT occurs exclusively with SETB. This is an area we can confidently talk of 'mutual exclusiveness'. There are 'rare' cases such as *a-* PRST in TU and *ma-* ANT in NGW are reported to trigger SETB. This may be regarded as isolation cases pending further cross-linguistic data.

We have seen areas in which exclusiveness applies. SETA is strictly chosen when COND, SIT appear in a verb. SETB is exclusively used when Ø...(VC) appears in ANT/PAST e.t.c. What can we sum up for SD then?

4.4.4 Tentative proposals

The following are my proposals based on the general properties of agreement between TA and subject prefixal sets in (221) above:

(a) There are three scenarios in (221) that characterize the selection of sets in SD finite verbs: Firstly, TA forms such as *na-* PRST and *ča-* FUT and *meča-* COMP in MAK, *na-* PRST in TU and *ša-* COMP in NGW and Ngome may agree with both SETA and SETB. Secondly, TA form such as Ø...(VC) that stands for ANT/PAST only select SETB. Other that also appear exclusively with SETB are *ma-* COMP and *me-* ANT in TU, *Nda-* FUT and *me-* ANT in NGW, and *na-* ANT in PE, VU and MT. The last scenario is marked by the exclusive selection of SETA in Nge-, Nga- COND, *ki-/ka-* SIT, and *li-*, *e-* PAST. These scenarios allow us to interpret TA forms in two paradigmatic cells.

I shall call them cell A (that agree with SETA) and cell B (that agree with SETB) as follows:

(222)

	PRST	PAST	ANT	COMP	FUT	COND	SIT
CELL A	<i>na-</i> , <i>a-</i>	<i>li-</i> , <i>e-</i>	<i>me-</i> , <i>ma-</i>	(<i>me</i>) <i>ša-</i>	<i>ta-</i> , <i>ča-</i>	<i>Nge-</i> , <i>Nga-</i>	<i>ki-</i> , <i>ka-</i>
CELL B	<i>na-</i> , <i>a</i>	Ø...(VC)	<i>na-</i> , <i>a-</i> , Ø...(VC)	<i>ša-</i> , <i>ma-</i>	<i>Nda-</i> , <i>ta</i>		

- (c) mašuwā u-na-**yo**-i-peNd-a i-fik-a
 5-boat 2sgSM-PRST-5OM-like-FV 5SM-arrive-FV
 'The boat that I you like has arrived'

The relative marker in (224a) is marked by the relative suffix **-yo** at post-stem slot. It realises the pattern SM-(AT)-VB-REL. In (224b) and (224c), it appears in the pre-stem position and displays the pattern SM-AT-REL-(OM)-VB-FV. The internal structure of relative marker consists of a Class prefix + the referential **-o** as its base. Each class has its own specific relative agreement marker presented below:

(225)

Gender	Singular Relative	Plural Relative
1(a): 2 (a)	ye	o
3: 4	o	yo
5: 6	ro	yo
7: 8	kya	vya
9: 10	yo	zo
9a:10a 'animates'	ye	o
11: 10	o	yo
14: 6	o	yo
15	ko	
16	po	
17	ko	
18	mo	

E.g.

(226)

- (a) a-ri-**ko**-perək-a ma-zao ni Nbari
 3sgSM-PAST-REL-send-FV 6-crop is far
 'Where s/he has sent crops is far'

- (b) Nbegu ŋi-ri-**yo**-ku-beNd-a i-Ø-karuk-a
 9-seed 1sgSM-PAST-REL-2sgOM-request-FV 9-ANT-dry-FV
 'The seed I requested from you has dried'

There are constraints on the distribution of the relative markers in relation to TA markers. In the prestem slot, the relative markers may be preceded by the past marker **ri-**, the present marker **na-** or the future marker **ta-**.

4.6 Reflexives

Syntactically, reflexivization is a morphosyntactic operation that traditionally has been argued to involve valency reduction. As in many other Sabaki languages, KiNgome reflexivization is marked by the reflexive morpheme **ji-** which is prefixed to the verb in the OM slot.

(227)

- (a) **ka-ji-kat-a**
 3sgSM-REFX-cut-FV
 'S/he has cut him/herself'.
- (b) **mwizi ka-ji-reta**
 1-thief 3sgSM-REFX-bring
 'The thief brought himself'
- (c) **N-t^hoto a-ri-ji-kata kidore**
 1-child 3sgSM-PAST-REFX-cut finger
 'A child cut his/her finger'

4.7 Suffix Morphology

This section will concern itself with a discussion on categories that occur following the verb root: namely the verb extensions, the obligatory inflectional final vowels, and enclitics.

4.7.1 The verbal extensions in KiNgome

KiNgome verbs (as well as other Sabaki languages) accept a wide range of derivative suffixes to form new lexemes. The verb root forms the base upon which a derivation is created by suffixing a verbal extension to it. A number of these extensions are productive synchronically. Highly productive extensions are the causative, the passive, the applicative, the reciprocal, and the stative while non-productive lexically restricted ones are the reversive and the contactive.

Following a basic verb stem such as **fuNg-a** 'close' we may derive the following extensions ;

(228)

type of extensions	verb stems
passive	fuNg-a-a
causative	fuNg-iš-a
applicative	fuNg-ir-a

The paradigmatic Cell A has members which cut across the whole of Swahili spectrum and Sabaki in general . This cell can be assumed to hold 'unmarked' TA forms or 'general paradigm'. The Cell B is characterizing the SD, and indeed Comoro, and Pokomo (Nurse p.c). This cell fits the characteristic of a 'marked TA or 'subparadigm'. Why should Cell B occurs in SD? The answer is not clearcut. One possibility seems to be a desire in part of SD speakers to shorten their way of speaking. In doing so, they realise variant paradigms which call for variant exponents and thus avoid redundancy in grammatical categories.

(223)

- (a) a-ri-rim-a
 3sg-PAST- cultivate-FV
 'S/he cultivated'

- (b) ka-Ø.-rim-a
 3sg-PAST-cultivate-FV
 'S/he cultivated/has cultivated'

Another reasons, may be attributed to a historical fact that SD are holding essential forms (SETB) which have dissappeared in non-SD including SSW. More study and data are needed to explore this subject. However, the evidence reported in this subsection has partly corroborate clearly the suggestion by Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 365-6) that complementary distribution between SETA and SETB is an isogloss that subclassify NEC. The morphological division of SETA and SETB between SD and ND in Swahili is one of these cases.

4.5 Relatives

Some verb forms in KiNgame (as well as in Bantu in general) exhibit a set of inflectional affixes at prefix and or suffix slots that encode the relativised argument. These affixes may occupy the prefix or suffix positions depending on the presence or absence of certain TA categories . The following present typical use of relative clause in KiNgame:

(224)

- (a) mašūwa y-eNda-yo Bweni i-fik-a
 9-boat 9-SM-go-REL Bweni 9SM-arrive-FV
 'The boat going to Bweni has arrived'

- (b) mašūwa i-ri-yo-eNd-a Bweni i-fik-a
 9-boat 9SM-PAST-REL-go-FV Bweni 9SM-arrive-FV
 'The boat which has gone to Bweni has arrived'

stative	fuNg-ik-a
stative+passive	fuNg-ik-iw-a
static(contactive)	fuNg-a-a
contactive	fuNg-at-a
reversive	fuNg-ur-a
reciprocal	fuNg-an-a
reciprocal+reciprocal	fuNg-an-an-a
reversive+applicative	fuNg-ur-ir-a
reversive+applicative+reciprocal	fuNg-ur-ir-an-a
static+reciprocal+caus+pass	fuNg-a-an-iš-iw-a

We discuss each of these extensions in turn:

4.7.1.1 The passive

The KiNgame passive (PASS) (like that of other Swahili dialects and several Bantu languages) is marked by the suffix -w (or -iw or -ew as determined by VHH). It has the effect of 'demoting' the subject NP to the status of an oblique complement, marked as the object of the preposition na, while at the same time promoting the object NP to subject function. Consider the following active sentence:

(229)

mw-ari	a-na-pik-a	ma-čaza
1-girl	3sgSM-PRST-cook-FV	6-gruel
'A girl is cooking gruel'		

becomes passive by the addition of the passive suffix /-iw/

(230)

ma-čaza	ya-na-pik-w-a	na mwari
6-gruel	6SM-PRST-cook-PASS-FV	Prep 1-girl
'Gruel is cooked by a girl'		

The oblique NP can be omitted. Moreover, the passive verb does not allow the occurrence of the OM, as shown by the following :

(231) **mačaza ya-na-ya-pik-w-a na mwari

6-gruel	6-SM-TA-cook-PASS-FV	Prep 1-girl
---------	----------------------	-------------

The passive marker is allowed to combine with other extension suffixes but can only be preceded by them, never followed by them.

(232)

ha-v-iš-w-i	> causative + passive
pig-ik-w-a	> stative + passive
pig-ir-iw-a	> applicative + passive
pig-an-iw-a	> reciprocal + passive

The data collected also contains one example of a passive marker that may be segmented as ko-kwit-aw-a 'you are being called'. The passive marker is -aw instead of -w, -iw(-ew by VHH). Guthrie has a CB *-yitab- 'respond to call' which has widespread reflexes; however -ab- does not appear to be a regular extension.

4.7.1.2 Applicatives

The basic shape of the KiNgonje applicative (APPL) morpheme is -ir (-er by VHH).

(233)

- (a) Musa a-ri-paNd-a afaa 'Musa planted afaa'
Musa a-ri-paNd-ir-a bibi afaa 'Musa plants afaa for
Grandmother'
- (b) Nthoto a-na-som-a kitabu 'a child is reading a
book'
Nthoto a-na-m-som-er-a bibi kitabu 'a child is reading
a book to his
Grandmother '

This is a syntactic process that extends the valency of the verb. The applicative /-ir/ is directed at an animate object who plays the role of a beneficiary or experiencer. Thus the NP in the second examples in (233) a and b) is a beneficiary argument of the verb. The applicative may also be used to introduce other thematic roles such as an instrumental or a locative into the range of arguments which the verb can support.

4.7.1.3. Causatives

Causatives (CAUS) are among the most striking feature of the morphological component of the extended verb system in Eastern Bantu languages. Basically, the majority of the primary KiNgonje causatives, as well as other Swahili dialects (see Damman 1978: 41-47), are realized by

the form *-iš* and *-eš* or *-iz* and *-ez* (as determined by VHH). KiNgome, like other Eastern Bantu languages, has a multiplicity of causative forms which are productive i.e. (*-y*, *-iš* and *-eš* or *-iz-* and *-ez*) and these are considered to be derived historically from **-i(-y)*. Here are examples of verbs with various morphological causative suffixes:

(234)

base form		causative form	
ziNg-a	'set trap'	ziNg-iz-a	'cause to set a trap'
rim-a	'cultivate'	rim-iš-a	'cause to cultivate'
um-a	'bite'	um-iz-a	'cause to bite'
ogop-a	'take fright'	ogo-fy-a	'cause to take fright'
tobor-a	'piece'	tobor-eš-a	'cause to pierces'
vwar-a	'dress'	vwar-iš-a	'cause to dress'

The above examples show a morphological process of deriving causative verbs from their base form by the addition of the appropriate causative markers. However, just as in KiUnguja /SSW, I found in my data a case of a verb *mariza* 'finish', without the base form *mar-a*. It appears that the causative *-iz* has been completely absorbed to create a new base form *mariz-* 'finish'. Such a verb no longer show a causative relationship to a corresponding simple root, even though an earlier causative interpretation seems reconstructable. I regard *mariza* 'finish'(or *maliza* 'finish' in SSW) as a case of a petrified causative **-iz*.

I have also come across a typical case of lexical variability (Coupez 1975) in the forms of *tiNbiñ-a* 'to tread' and *tiNb-a* 'to tread'. It is easy to regard *tiNb-a* as the base form of *tiNbiñ-a* 'to tread' in KiNgome. This is not the case. Although both form are currently in use, the form *tiNbiñ-a* is the native KiNgome word while *tiNb-a* has entered into the KiNgome lexicon through its contact with KiUnguja/SSW. A similar sort of difference between what I regard as the native KiNgome word *taNdawar-a* 'spread' versus the borrowed form *taNd-a* 'spread' from KiUnguja/SSW exists in the synchronic KiNgome data.

4.7.1.4 Statives

The stative suffix (STAT) is signalled by the morpheme *-ik* (or *-ek* by VH). Stative verbs are very similar to the passive, in that they omit all expression of an agent and promote oblique functional categories such as beneficiary, patient or instrumental to the subject function.

(235)

- (a) Nt^hoto ka-ri-vuNj-a buri
 1-child 3sgSM-5OM-break-FV 5-kettle
 'a child broke the kettle'
- (b) buri ri-vuNj-ik-a
 5-kettle 5SM-break-STAT-FV
 'the kettle is broken'

The stative extension is very regular and productive. Thus, we have verb stems with stative forms such as the following:

(236)

Base form		stative form	
pit-a	'pass'	pit-ik-a	'be passable'
tum-a	'send'	tum-ik-a	'be sendable'
som-a	'read'	som-ek-a	'be readable'
fur-a	'swell'	fur-ir-ik-a	'be swollen'
vuNj-a	'break'	vuNj-ik-a	'be breakable'
kat-a	'cut'	kat-ik-a	'be cut'

The statives does not interact with other suffixes as readily as the passive. However, we do find some statives with applicative or causative modification.

(237)

- vuNj-ik-a 'be broken' vuNj-ik-ir-a 'be broken at'
- tum-ik-a 'be sendable' tu-m-ik-iš-a 'cause to be sendable'

4.7.1.5 Reciprocals

Reciprocity is expressed through the suffixation of ordinary verbs with *-an*. The verb appears with a subject NP which is plural in number. This

is achieved by having a subject NP that denotes a group or by having a co-ordinate structure in the subject position. Note the following:

(238)

watoto	wa-na-pig-an-a
2-children	2SM-pres.-fight-RCP.-FV
'Children are fighting one another'	

KiNgame like other Bantu languages can derive reciprocal verbs from the transitive verb form. This is a valency-reducing operation, resulting in predicates which do not permit a direct function to be assigned to an NP corresponding to the reciprocal affix.

The reciprocal verb can serve as a base for causative, causative-passive, applicative, stative and reduplicate verb as follows:

(239)

piḡ-an-a	fight +REC+FV
piḡ-an-iṣ-a	fight +REC+CAUS+FV
piḡ-an-iṣ-w-a	fight +REC+CAUS+PASS+FV
piḡ-an-ir-a	fight +REC+APPL+FV
piḡ-an-ik-a	fight +REC+STA+FV
piḡ-an-a-piḡ-an-a	fight +REC+FV+fight +REC+FV

Apart from the formative -an which is regular, I have noticed certain expression raNdeNd-a 'talk tete a tete' with a suffix -eNd which may possibly reflect an older reciprocal marker. I have no other examples to confirm this.

4.7.1.6 Reversives

The reversive (REV) is marked by -ur- (-or- as determined by VH). Unlike the other derivatives which have major syntactic implications, the reversive is a purely semantic process with no effect on voice or valency.

(240)

kuNj-a	'shut'	kuNj-ur-a	'open'
fič-a	'hide'	fič-ur-a	'reveal'
var-a	'dress'	vur-a	'undress'
čiNba	'dig'	čiNb-ur-a	'excavate'
fun-ik-a	'cover'	fun-ur-a	'uncover'

fuNg-a	'tie up'	fuNg-ur-a	'untie'
čom-a	'sting'	čom-or-a	'pull out'

This suffix has lost its productiveness, and it appears in only a small set of verbs. It is not freely affixed to other verbs.

4.7.1.7 Contactives

These verbs denote something about body posture or position. There are very few words that allow adding a contactive extensions (CONT). KiNgome data has shown the following examples:

(241)

- (a) fuNg-am-an-a
close-CONT-REC-FV
'To associate oneself'
- (b) gaNd-am-an-a
stick-CONT-REC-FV
'To be attached to something'

However, I have noted in my data some possible further extensions of contactive markers. Let us look at the following data :

(242)

- (a) dek-em-ez-a
slack- CONT-CAUS-FV
'slackening' (c.f. SSW dek-ez-a 'slackening')
- (b) zod-om-ar-a
increase-CONT-APLL-FV
'become ripe'
- (c) guNd-um-uk-a
rise-CONT-STAT-FV
'rise up'

Here we observe the occurrence of suffixes -em, -om, -um and -am occurring along with -ez, -ar, -uk and -an respectively. It seems that -em, -om, -um and -am share some common original form which is hard to decipher at this stage. With the exception of am- in fuNg-am-an-a 'to associate oneself', all other examples of this

doubtful extension show a form of vowel copying based on the root vowel. I can only speculate that I find it difficult on semantic grounds to directly relate such putative allomorphs with the contactive suffix *-am*. The best solution (though doubtful) I propose here is to treat these KiNgame cases as a further cases of lexical variability (Coupez 1975).

4.7.2 The Suffix Vowel Copying (VC)

KiNgame and other SD (except KiUnguja and SSW) are characterised by a process in which there is straightforward echo (copying) of the stem vowel into the suffix. See § 2. 2. 2. 3

4.7.3 Clitics

One of the morphological peculiarities of the KiNgame dialect is the excessive use of enclitics with verbal forms in post-final positions. The common forms of enclitics are interrogatives */-pi/* 'where?', */-je/* 'how?', and */-ni/* 'what?' and locatives elements of Classes 16, 17, and 18 */-po, -ko, -mo/*. I have used = mark to indicate clitic boundary. (243)

unakwaNda=pi ?	'where are you going ?'
keba=ni ?	'what has s/he stolen ?'
he=je?	'what for ?'
ja=je?	'how was it?'
kofaNza=je=ko	'what have you done there!'
yowera=po	'rest there!'
ritupe=ko	'throw it there'
ritiNbiñe=ko	'tread on it there!'
kara=po	'sit there!'
irya=ŋo	'eat that!'
iñwa=mo	'drink from it!'
ñiyaNgurira=po	'pick it up there for me!'
kapiti=pa	'S/he passed here!'

In a similar pattern, the neighbouring KiMwera (P22) (Harries 1950: 50) is reported to exhibit enclitization of certain suffixes namely *-pe, -ga* and *-je* as follows:

(244)

ajeNde=je	'let him go !'
nika=ga nne	'If I come'
kuNdawi=pe	'early in the morning'

4.8 Subtractive Morphology

This is an area in which I find KiNgome strikingly distinct from other Swahili dialects, especially SSW. The subtractive phenomena derive from a shortened forms where a portion of the stem is deleted. There seems to be no particular pattern that is followed in the shortening process. However, I will attempt to group related sets in relation to their full forms as found in SSW.

(245)

KiNgome	SSW	
(a) miri	miriki	'to own'
ki-yaNga ²¹	ki-yangazi	'dry season'
ku-ta	ku-taga	'to lay (eggs)'
ñi-ri-ku	ni-ri-ku-wa	'I had'
hesa	hesabu	'count, fair deal'
čaji[y]o	ča jioni	'evening meal'
usiɟime	usijiñime	'do not deny yourself'
(b) tetema	tetem-ek-a	'shiver'
Ngeka	Ngekewa	'luck'
kañikaribu	kanikarib-iš-a	'S/he invited me'
uhami	uhamaji	'shifting or moving'
(c) ayo	hayo	'that'
eka ako	peke yako	'yourself'
isi gani?	jiNsi gani?	'how is it?'
(d) he-je?	imekuwa-je?	'what happened'
ja-je?	imekuwa-je?	'what happened?'
ki-r-i	ni-me-kul-a	'I have eaten'
zid-o	zid-iš-a	'add'

²¹ Bakari (1985:261) also noted the presence of kiɟyanga 'brightness' in KiTikuu.

u-wa wapi? unakwenda wapi? 'where to?'

KiNgame displays an intricate form of 'chopping' words which may look strange from the point of view of SSW speakers. I have attempted to group words according to the characteristics they share in relation to the full SSW forms. In (245) there is absence of a CV syllable in the KiNgame forms. The missed syllables cannot be associated with any particular morphological paradigm. A similar pattern is found in Maá (Nurse p.c). In (245b) the KiNgame forms seem to display aspect that can be assumed to be the base forms as compared with the extended forms in SSW. In (245c) we observe the lack of the initial consonants in KiNgame forms. In (245d) we note a sort of shortening which may be related to truncation. In general it has not been easy to analyse the KiNgame forms above. We can not say with certainty that such phenomena reflect any genuine morphological process.

Interestingly, KiNgame has no full forms as alternatives to the ones we have pointed out in (245). To KiNgame speakers above cases are not truncated or shortened forms but rather they are complete forms and have to be used in daily KiNgame speech as they appear above. It seems that other dialects also have tendency of shortening words. I have come across the case of fu sizi 'heavy dust' which have been derived from fusi zito in KiPate (see Chiraghdin 1987: 82). At this stage I may only speculate that the shortened form has arisen due to poetic licence as I have found used in poetry. This is a future subject worth investigating. I have no intention of attempting to provide any sort of rule for the above cases, I only intend at present to emphasize the salient ways to which KiNgame differs from other Swahili dialects in particular SSW.

4.9 Summary

The present chapter has described the KiNgame basic verb morphology. Specifically, I have presented inflectional affixes which indicate subject and object marking, tense and aspect, negation, reflexives, relatives, derivational suffixes, and final vowel variants; and subtractive morphology. It is clear from the description that KiNgame aligns with other rural SD in displaying common morphosyntactic categories serving a variety of grammatical functions.

The next two chapters will focus on the diachronic aspects of the striking phonological and morphological features we have seen so far in KiNgame in relation to the reconstructed Proto-Sabaki forms proposed by Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993).

Chapter 5: Historical Phonology

5.0 Development of the phonological system of KiNgome

This chapter presents a historical account of the phonology of the KiNgome dialect. Specifically, I will examine the correspondences between the Proto-Sabaki (PSA) forms as reconstructed by Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) and the contemporary KiNgome forms; where necessary, we will go further back to the Common Bantu (CB) forms as proposed in Guthrie's magnum opus (1967-71).

PSA is a diachronic stage representing the latest possible stage from which all modern Sabaki languages can be derived. It has been reconstructed from the modern Sabaki languages, primarily by means of the comparative method. Common Bantu is here taken to represent a diachronic stage preceding PSA.

The consideration of CB, PSA and Modern KiNgome thus represents three different diachronic layers, comprising the earliest stage, an intermediate stage, and a modern stage. Between Common Bantu and the present Coastal Sabaki (including the KiNgome dialect) there have been many sound changes which went through intermediate stages. Since proto-languages are not attested languages, but a hypothetical prototype parent language as reconstructed from the daughter languages', PSA (and even CB) reconstruction has to be understood as a set of hypotheses about the prehistoric development of Sabaki (and Bantu) languages.

The attempt is being made in these two chapters to validate this tentative proposal against the actual modern forms as found in KiNgome. We intend to determine what happened in the course of KiNgome development. As a peripheral dialect, the KiNgome dialect is assumed to exhibit a mixture of the results of sound change such as the retention of CB/PSA forms and conversely of the loss of them. We also expect to see evidence for convergence, shared innovations with SD and ND, and the intimate borrowing of lexis, especially from P10 and P20 languages.

We will make an attempt to chart the most plausible route from CB/PSA sound to the modern-day KiNgome. To that end, we favour the principle of seriation as an analytical method rather than simply to list correspondences. Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 56) argue that 'seriation plays a role in demonstrating that different dialects potentially share parts (intermediate stages) of specific processes with other dialects, which would otherwise not be apparent only by looking at autonomous correspondences'. Seriation will show the various intermediate stages

and the evolutionary development of modern forms of KiNgome.

This chapter will primarily focus on the KiNgome reflexes of PSA consonants and vowels. We will examine the correspondences between those elements at their various stages and develop a discussion of the relevant processes and patterns that are likely to have occurred. By offering hitherto missing data from KiNgome, this chapter and the following one are expected to corroborate in part the work of Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) on the comparative historical phonology and morphology of the Sabaki languages.

5.1 Development of the KiNgome inventory

In order to trace the route via which the present-day KiNgome inventory emanated, we begin with an outline of the Common Bantu inventory (henceforth CB²² as reconstructed by Guthrie (1969-71) to be followed by PSA inventory. We shall examine their correspondences with the KiNgome consonant and vocalic system. The following presentation of the consonant system gives the generally accepted proto-forms (while disregarding their precise phonetic nature, which is a matter of controversy).

(246) The CB phonemic inventory

Consonants				Vowels	
*p	*t	*c	*k	*i	*u
*b	*d	*j	*g	*i	*u
*m	*n	*ñ	*ŋ	*e	*o
*mp	*nt	*nč	*nk	*a	
*mb	*nd	*nj	*ng		

CB inventory in (246) has a rather simple consonant system, and a slightly more complex vowel system. There is twenty consonants and seven vowels; but lacks fricatives, and liquids. In (247) below we present the PSA inventory as reconstructed by Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 61) :

²² Guthrie defined CB as the inventory of lexical and grammatical items found to exhibit regular sound correspondences among contemporary Bantu languages. It is still, however, a form of proto-language.

(247) The PSA phonemic inventory:

Consonants				Vowels	
*p	*t	*c ²³	*k	*i	*u
*W	*l	*j	*g	*i	*u
*f	*s	*ʒ		*e	*o
*v	*z				*a
*mp	*nt	*nč	*nk		
*mb	*nd	*nj	*ng		
*m	*n	*ñ	*ŋ		
*w	*(r?)	*y			

The PSA consonant inventory differs considerably from the Common Bantu inventory. It has a greater number of consonants, including fricatives, nasal plus consonant sequences and liquids. Remarkably, both CB and PSA share the same seven-vowel system. Briefly, we observe that:

- (a) there is an increase in consonants from 20 to 28.
- (b) simple stops, nasals and the seven-vowel system has remained unchanged since CB.
- (c) fricatives have developed via a process widely known as 'Bantu spirantization'. Here, CB stops became spirants in the environment of the following CB high close vowels *i and *u.
- (d) we note the presence of a voiced nasal-stop cluster series, just as in CB. However, the counterpart nasal-fricative series is not indicated in the PSA inventory though they are often present in Nurse and Hinnebusch's illustrations and discussion.
- (e) There is an indication of semivowels and a liquid, which were not reconstructed for CB.

Let us now compare the CB and PSA inventories with the following contemporary KiNgame inventory:

²³ The segment *c in CB and PSA is equivalent to *č in KiNgame i.e. this is merely a notational not a phonological or phonetic difference.

(248) The KiNgome phonemic inventory

Consonants				Vowels	
p	t	č	k	i	u
p ^h	t ^h	č ^h	k ^h		
b	d	j	g	e	o
f	s	š	h	a	
v	z				
Np ^h	Nt ^h	Nč ^h	Nk ^h		
Nb	Nd	Nj	Ng		
	Ns				
Nv	Nz				
m	n	ñ	ŋ		
w	r	y			

A picture is beginning to emerge about what sort of sound changes must have occurred from CB to PSA and later to present-day KiNgome:

- (a) There is further increase in the number of consonants from PSA (28) to KiNgome (36) but there is a reduction of the CB/PSA 7-vowel system to a 5-vowel one. Several Bantu languages including the Swahili dialects attest the reduction of a seven to a five vowel system as a result of the merger of the close vowels (*i and *u) with the high vowels *i and *u.
- (b) KiNgome has inherited from PSA its nasals, stops, fricatives, semi vowels and liquid. However, the most obvious difference between PSA and KiNgome is the extensive development of aspiration.
- (c) KiNgome has also developed an extensive series of nasal + obstruent segments.

5.1.1 The KiNgome reflexes of PSA inventory

Let us now review the various series of PSA segments in turn to see how they correspond to synchronic KiNgome forms. We presumed that developments outlined below still occurring within three historical stages as already envisaged in this study. The following sections will show both

regular and irregular KiNgame reflexes of PSA reconstructions. There is ample evidence that in some areas KiNgame preserved an earlier CB form irrespectively of the conditioning environments. However, in a number of cases, there is clear correspondence between CB/PSA and the present day KiNgame. Where striking irregularities occur, I argue for a revising of some problematic PSA reconstruction. We believe that new data from KiNgame and other rural SD as presented in this section will have positive impact on previous PSA hypotheses.

5.1.1.1 The KiNgame reflexes of PSA voiceless stops *p, *t, *k, *c

KiNgame is conservative in the preservation of voiceless stops, for some Sabaki languages have shown sporadic lenitions of PSA *p, *t, *k, *c. However, it should be noted that KiNgame has two distinctive sets of voiceless stops as the reflexes of CB/PSA voiceless stops /^{*}p, t, k, c/: plain voiceless stops /p, t, k, ɕ/ and aspirated voiceless stops /p^h, t^h, k^h, ɕ^h/, which is commonly associated with the loss of a preceding N as the prefix of Class 9/10 as described in chapter two. The CB /PSA voiceless stops are fully preserved in word-/stem-initial and intervocalic environments in KiNgame, as illustrated in the following subsections.

5.1.1.1.1 The KiNgame reflexes of PSA *p

The regular reflexes of PSA *p are /p/ and /p^h/. KiNgame forms are directly related to PSA reconstruction as seen in the following examples:

(249)

CB	PSA ²⁴	KiNgame
*-púúm- 'breathe'	*-puumul- (V) 'breathe'	-pumur- (V) 'breathe'
*-pédik- 'send'	*-pelek- (V) 'send'	-perek- (V) 'send'
*-pàng- 'plan'	*-pang- (V) 'plan'	-paNg- (V) 'plan'
*-kópé 'eyelash'	*lu-kope (11) 'eyelash'	ru-kope (11) 'eyelash'
*-páka 'cat'	*m-paka (9) 'cat'	p ^h aka (9) 'cat'
*-pépò 'wind'	*m-peepo (3) 'wind'	ru-pepo (11) 'wind'
*-kípà 'vein'	*mu-šipa (3) 'vein'	N-sipa (3) 'vein'

The retention of CB/PSA /*p/ groups KiNgame with KiMwani and other Southern Swahili dialects. However, it is one of the things in which KiNgame differs markedly from KiPokomo (purported to have

²⁴I have altered Nurse and Hinnebusch's PSA forms to show morpheme boundaries in order to make for greater comparability with KiNgame data.

influenced KiNgome at the time of the contact between the Wapokomo and the WaNgome in the 16th century) and neighbouring KiMakunduchi. KiPokomo and KiMakunduchi participate in an intermediate innovation serialised by Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 65) as follows:

(250)

*p > φ > h > ∅ Stage 1

*p > φ > β > v Stage 2

Nurse and Hinnebusch (ibid.) propose that KiPokomo attests an innovation where CB/PSA *p becomes /h/ while KiMakunduchi participates in the Stage 2 development where the reflex of CB/PSA *p becomes v through β. e.g. PSA* -tapik- 'vomit' is retained as -tapik- 'vomit' in KiNgome but appears as -həφik- 'vomit' in KiPokomo and as -tavik-a 'vomit' in KiMakunduchi.

5.1.1.1.2 The KiNgome reflexes of PSA *t

KiNgome attests /t/ and /t^h/ as the reflexes of CB/PSA *t and *N+t respectively. The KiNgome form /t/ which is directly corresponding to PSA/CB *t is exemplified below:

(251)

CB	PSA	KiNgome
*-túm- 'send'	*-tum- (V) 'send'	-tum- (V) 'send'
*-tób- 'pierce'	*-toW ol- (V) 'pierce'	-tobor- (V) 'pierce'
*-ték- 'be soft'	*-tek- (V) 'be soft'	-tek-(uk-) (V) 'be soaked'
*-dót- 'dream'	*-lot- (V) 'dream'	-rot- (V) 'dream'
*-tí tree'	*mu-ti (3) 'tree'	N-ti (3) 'tree'

Generally, the reflex of CB/PSA /*t/ appears in three different shapes in Swahili dialects: (i) as t (as in KiUnguja m-toto 'child'). It also appears as t in all SD plus the peripheral dialects of KiMwani and Chimwiini; (ii) as č (as in m-čočo 'child'), which appears in KiSiu, KiPate and KiTikuu; and (iii) as r (as in m-roro 'child'), which appears in KiVumba and Chifundi. However, KiPokomo (Lower Pokomo) shows, extensive lenition of PSA *t, serialised by Nurse and Hinnebusch (ibid. : 69) as :

(252)

*t > (t_ɾ) > ɾ > h as in *mu-ti 'tree' > mu-t_ɾi > mu-ɾi > mu-hi

Thus KiNgome did not participate in this shift (any more than in the *t-palatalization as seen in some ND). This again decreases the possibility that KiPokomo influenced KiNgome during their presumed contact since it did not appear to give rise to any marked sound change.

5. 1. 1. 1. 3 The KiNgome reflexes of PSA *k

KiNgome (as well as all other Swahili dialects) regularly attests k and k^h (when preceded by a nasal onset) as the reflexes of CB/PSA *k, as follows:

(253)

CB		PSA		KiNgome
*-kùmbuk-	'remember'	-kumbuk-	(V) 'remember'	-kuNbuk- (V) 'remember'
*-kúéd-	'go up'	*-kwel-	(V) 'climb'	-kwer- (V) 'climb'
*-kúpá	'tick'	*n-kupa	(9/10) 'tick'	k ^h upa (9/10) 'tick'
*-búúk-	'rise up'	*-Wuuk-	(V) 'rise up'	-uk- (V) 'rise up'
*-kâté	'bread'	*mu-kate	(3) 'bread'	N-k ^h ate (3) 'bread'

Though PSA/CB *k reflexes in KiNgome seem to be stable generally, there are two cases where a weakening of *k > /h/ is attested . The one case of lenition of *k > h is found in the reflex of the PSA primary negative prefix *nkə. PSA *nkə > ŋk^hə > k^hə > hə; likewise the habitual marker hu- has derived from PSA *niku > n(i)ku- > nku- > ŋk^hu- > k^hu- > hu-. These are the only two cases noted however where PSA *k > h in KiNgome (or indeed in SD generally).

5. 1. 1. 1. 3. 1 The KiNgome reflexes of PSA *ky-

KiNgome joins other conservative SD in confirming reconstructed PSA forms with *ky- before V-stems in Cl. 7, where KiUnguja/SSW has /č/.

CB ²⁵	PSA	KiNgome	UNG/SSW
*ki-yùdá 'frog'	*ky-ura (7)'frog'	ky-ura (7)'frog'	č-ura (7)'frog'
*ki-yù má 'iron'	*ky-uma (7)'iron'	ky-uma (7)'iron'	č-uma (7)'iron'
*ki-yòmbò 'vessel'	*ky-ombo (7)'vessel'	ky-oNbo (7)'vessel'	č-ombo (7)'vessel'
*ki-yàmbò 'bait'	*ky-ambo (7)'bait'	ky-aNbo (7)'bait'	č-ambo (7)'bait'
*ku-d ĩa 'eat'	*ky-akulya (7)'food'	ky-akurya (7)'food'	č-akula (7)'food'
*ki-yungu 'pot'	*ky-ungu (7)'pot'	ky-uNgu (7)'pot'	č-ungu (7)'pot'
*ki-yúmbà 'room'	*ky-umba (7)'room'	ky-uNba (7)'room'	č-umba (7)'room'

This means that, KiNgome attests the rule:

CB/PSA *ki- (Cl. 7) → ky / __ V (except i).

/ky-/ in all the above examples is lexically determined. Although the intermediary sound /ky-/ is predominant, there are signs that some common words are beginning to show signs of yielding to the widespread sound shift to /č-/ . There are alternant forms /ky- ~ č-/ in the following examples:

(255)

ky-eñe ~	č-eñe	(7) 'wrinkle'
ky-eNgine ~	č-eNgine	(7) 'other'
ky-oNgore ~	č-oNgore	(7) 'toothless'
ky-akurya ~	č-akurya	(7) 'food'
ky-oño ~	č-oño	(7) 'pus nucleus'
ky-ara ~	č-ara	(7) 'finger'

And more revealing, is the fact that some Northern KiNgome speakers comfortably use forms with /č/ in some common words like:

(256)

č-aNbo (7) 'bait'	< PSA * ky-ambo	(7) 'bait'
č-oNbo (7) 'vessel'	< PSA * ky-ombo	(7) 'vessel'
č-ura (9/10) 'frog'	< PSA * ky-ula	(7) 'frog'
č-uwo (7) 'Koran school'	< PSA *ky-uW o	(7) 'book'

To a great extent this depicts the influence of KiUnguja/Standard Swahili that is exerted on KiNgome.

So far KiNgome reflexes of PSA reconstructions of *ky- proves to be

²⁵ Guthrie's CB *y as a stem-initial consonants does not participate in the phonological or morphological process here. It is the vowel-initial stems that are involved here.

fairly regular and uncontroversial. However, I have noted some intriguing irregular cases based on the following data:

(257)

CB	PSA	KiNgame	UNG/SSW
*-yákà 'year'	*mw-aka (3) 'year'	ky-aka (7) 'year'	mw-aka (3) 'year'
*-yàdī 'blood'	*mw-azī (3) 'blood'	ky-azi (7) 'blood'	mw-ezi (3) 'moon'
*-yina 'pit'	*mw-ina (3) 'pit-trap'	k-ina (7) 'depth'	k-ina (7) 'depth'

As seen earlier in (254), PSA attests a regular presence of Class 7 *ky- before V-stem. KiNgame seems to have directly inherit PSA prefix forms in its reflexes. However, data in (257) shows that the PSA prefix forms are reconstructed as different from KiNgame and (even KiUnguja/SSW) reflexes. PSA has reconstructed nouns with *mw- that falls in Class 3. KiNgame strictly has prefix reflexes falling under Class 7 in the form of /ky- and k-/.

The choice of PSA *mw- is partly attested in SSW/KiUnguja's reflexes. Still we noticed the PSA *mw- in *mw-ina (3) 'pit-trap' differs from SSW/KiUnguja's prefix k- in k-ina (7) 'depth'. It is certain that PSA *mw- does not directly correspond to KiNgame's ky- or k-. This lack of correspondence between KiNgame reflexes and PSA prefix reconstruction is by no means a mere accident. Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993), in addition to their own, rely on Guthrie (1967-71) to select Class 3 mu- reflexes that seems to outnumber the occurrence of Class 7 ki-. However, KiNgame, which is rather conservative in comparison to the rest of the urban Swahili dialects, appears to different class prefix for word 'pit-trap' that reverses the situation so that there is a case for reconsideration of the plausibility of PSA *mu- in (257). My observation here is that this array highlights the difficulties of attempting to reconstruct grammatical categories in Bantu languages. The selection of class prefix for word 'pit' and 'blood' proves to be illusive as different gender attested in Bantu languages: 'pit' appears in gender 3:4 (Swahili, Shona etc) , 5:6 (Sukuma etc), 7:8 (Gikuyu e.t.c) and blood induces Class 4 in P10-20 languages. The attestations of both *ky- and *mw- in Swahili dialects is a noticeable hinch in the PSA reconstructions. Elsewhere CB/PSA *ki-/_C is regularly realised as /ki-/ in KiNgame:

(258)

CB		PSA		KiNgome	
*-ntù	'thing'	*ki-ntu	(7) 'thing'	ki-N th u	(7)'thing'
*-dòndà	'wound'	*ki-londa	(7) 'wound'	ki-doNda	(7)'wound'
*-kídà	'tail'	*mukila	(3) 'tail'	Nk ^h ira	(3)'tail'
*-dedù	'chin'	*ki-levu	(7) 'chin'	ki-devu	(7)'chin'
*-yúki	'bee'	*nyuki	(9) 'bee'	ñuki	(9)'bee'
*-tì	'chair'	*ki-ti	(7) 'chair'	ki-ti	(7)'chair'

5. 1. 1. 1. 4 The KiNgome reflexes of PSA *c

The reflexes of PSA *c in KiNgome is the affricate č or č^h as a result of the influence of the preceding nasal, mostly in the Class 9/10 prefix. However, not all Swahili dialects preserve the palatality of PSA *c, Most Northern dialects attest a dental stop /t/, while KiMwani is reported by Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:82) to have a reflex /s/.

(259)

CB		PSA *c		KiNgome reflex	
*-càngá	'sand'	*mucanga	(3) 'sand'	Nč ^h anga	(3) 'sand'
*-càc	'go sour'	*-cac	(V) 'go sour'	-čač-a	(V) 'go sour'
*-còòc	'poke in'	*-còòc-	(V) 'poke in'	-čoNč ^h -a	(V) 'poke in'
*-yico	'eye'	*i-jico	(5) 'eye'	jičo	(5) 'eye'
*-cúá	'termite'	*-cwa	(11) 'termite'	ru-čwa	(11) 'termite'
*-càná	'daytime'	*mu-cana	(3) 'daytime'	N-čhana	(3) 'daytime'
*-càká	'thicket'	*i-caka	(7) 'thicket'	ki-čaka	(7) 'thicket'

There are few exceptions to the /č/ reflex of PSA *c in KiNgome. I have noted some similarity with ND in attesting a stop /t/ (though without dentality) as a reflex of PSA*c, in the following:

(260)

CB		PSA		KiNgome reflex	
*-càmbúd-	'pick out'	*-cambul-	(V) 'pick out'	-taNbura	(V) 'pick out'
*-càng-	'assemble'	*-cangany-	(V) 'mix'	-taNgaña	(V) 'mix'

In some SD dialects PSA*c has de-affricated to palatal /š/. Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 86) regard this shift as a sporadic change, not attested in all possible lexical items nor affecting all dialects equally. We have the

following cases:

(261)

PSA	SD	KiNgome reflex
* _i -coka 'axe'	šoka (5) 'axe' (Ung)	soka (5) 'axe'
* _i -cavu 'cheek'	šavu (5) 'cheek' (Ung)	savu (5) 'cheek'
*-cenga 'sift', cut	-šenga (V) 'sift' (Pe)	-seNga (V) 'sift'

The occurrence of /s/ in KiNgome could be due to the following possible explanations:

(a) All SD except KiNgome regularly de-affricated PSA*_o > /š/ but KiNgome preferred to retain the affricate /č/ or reanalysed the SD /š/ to /s/ through *c > š > s.

(b) We suspect that KiNgome is drawn towards a depalatization of PSA *c > /s/ following an areal influence of P20 and KiMwani which favour the continuant /s/. KiMwani has a regular shift of PSA *c > /s/ as these few cases reveal:

(262)

PSA	KiMwani
*-canj- (V) 'spread'	-sanja (V) 'spread'
*-cak- (V) 'seek'	-saka (V) 'seek'
*-caam- (V) 'move'	-sama (V) 'move'
*-cimb- (V) 'dig'	-simba (V) 'dig'
*-mu-cele (3) 'cleaned grain'	n-sere (3) 'cleaned rice'

5.1.1.1.5 Traces of Dahl's Law in KiNgome

Dahl's law as formulated by Meinhof (1904: 299) states that:

'when two successive syllables in a stem each begin with a voiceless plosive, then the first of these becomes voiced'

(quoted translation from Schadeberg 1999:391).

According to the above law, KiNgome merely shows sporadic cases that can be related to this once-active process in North-Eastern Bantu languages. We present data in (263) that we suspect have a connection with Dahl's law:

(263)

(a)

CB	PSA	KiNgome
*-kùt- 'shout'	*-kuut- (V)'shout'	-gut- 'shout'
*-kònt 'knock'	*-kont- (V)'knock'	-got ^h - 'knock'
*-kátà 'headpad'	*n-kata (9/10)'headpad'	(N)k ^h ata~Ngata (9/10)'headpad'

(b)

*-kùnkunt- 'shake off' *-kunkunt- (V) 'shake off' -kuṇuNt^h- (V) 'shake off'

(c)

*-kànd- 'plaster' *-kandik- (V) 'plaster' gaNdik- (V) 'plaster'
 *-kònd- 'get thin' *-kond- (V) 'get thin' -goNd- (V) 'get thin'
 *-yídja 'darkness' *ki-zya (7) 'darkness' kiza~-giza (7)/(5) 'darkness'

In (263a) KiNgome attests the result of a typical Dahl's law process. Our data show just a few examples, and these underline Nurse and Hinnebusch's contention that 'traces of Dahl's law are very minimal in Sabaki' (see *ibid.*: 215). These traces could be inherited but more likely transferred from North-Eastern Bantu languages. The inheritance argument seems weak because if you look across Sabaki there is no solid evidence for Dahl's law. Thus very unlikely that PSA had it and then lost everywhere except for a few words in KiNgome. Much more likely that either the words themselves are transferred from some neighbouring coastal language, or the Ngome community absorbed numbers of people from those communities i.e people who practiced Dahl's law in their speech.

In (263b), we see a slight departure from Dahl's law so that instead of the initial voiceless consonant shifting to its voiced counterpart, it is the word-medial /Nk/ that has shifted to /ŋ/. The shift in voicing may be considered as a typical case of lexical variability (Coupez 1975), Whilst (263 c) a case of an initial voiceless stop copying of the voicing of the following voiced consonant. This is a not a typical Dahl's law phenomenon but there are striking sound changes involving the reflexes of CB/PSA *k in KiNgome. Otherwise, I may argue that CB/PSA *k seems to have been an

unstable segment as compared to *p, *t, and *c in KiNgame. Almost all the above cases in (262) involved the shift of velar stops. Lack of adequate data inhibit us from making any generalisation about such a shift. However, they are enough to show that there are some exceptions to the total inheritance in all contexts of CB/PSA *k by KiNgame. Furthermore, KiNgame complicates the attempt to instantiate Dahl's law phenomena when we see the following cases:

(264)

CB	PSA	SSW	KiNgame
*-càngà 'sand'	*ncangalawe	čaNgarawe	ča(N)k ^h arawe
*-dùkut 'blow bellow'	*-vùkut	vuguvugu	vukuvuku

Noted above are two interesting cases: in the first case, the KiNgame form ča(N)k^harawe (9)'gravel' shows a progressive assimilation derived from PSA *ncangalawe (9)'gravel'. In the second case, the KiNgame form vukuvuku 'lukewarm' is a retention of the PSA proto form. We may be tempted to argue that the KiNgame form ča(N)k^harawe (9) 'gravel' is an older form which later innovated in SSW. If this is true, then the CB and PSA reconstruction would need to be revised on the basis of the real case from KiNgame. This notion is supported by vukuvuku (9) 'lukewarm' in KiNgame where we would say that it remains unchanged and hence attests a CB/PSA proto-form. SSW vuguvugu (9) 'lukewarm' shows sound changes that help to support our contention that KiNgame retains older forms.

Cross-linguistic verification from other Bantu languages is paramount in order to make any generalisations. Tentatively, we could posit that KiNgame has isolated cases of the reanalysis of the once productive process of Dahl's law.

5.1.1.2 The KiNgame reflexes of PSA voiced series *W, *l, *j, *g

Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 88-9) proposed a slightly differing reconstruction for the symmetrical counterpart of the set of non-nasal voiceless obstruents (*p, *t, *c, and *k) by proposing an asymmetrical voiced series comprising two approximants *W, *l, and

two stops *j, *g for PSA²⁶. This proposition is identical to the earlier asymmetrical reconstructions of the voiced series in Eastern Bantu-proto languages by Hinnebusch, Nurse and Mould (1981: 16) marked by two voiced continuants rather than stops (*b and *d). They argued that stops have a more restricted distribution in Eastern Bantu proto-languages and that their presence in the modern reflexes can generally be explained in terms of identifiable conditioned sound changes.

They draw evidence from the close relatives of the Sabaki languages to justify their reconstructions. The basis of their arguments are as follows:

(i) PSA's asymmetrical system is 'well motivated on comparative external evidence'. For example, Sabaki's nearest relatives, Seuta and Ruvu have /w/ and thus support reconstructions of non-stops rather than stops. They further claim that the comparative evidence from non-Sabaki NEC indicates that pre-PSA had *w and *l rather than either *β, a fricative (or *b stop) or *d.

(iii) Where stops are found in modern Sabaki reflexes, they argue that they are found in specific environments and appear to be a local secondary development.

These specific environments involve a strengthening process in which PSA *W/*l > b/d in the environment of:

- (a) the preceding super high vowels conditioning or analogical levelling on the model of the strengthening Class 5 forms.
- (b) the post-nasal position in the nouns of Class 9/10.

Although most of the SD including KiNngome, have unambiguous traces of ancient voiced stops /b/ and /d/, they dismiss the propositions that these stops are relics and that they should be included in PSA reconstruction. They regard their occurrence as resulting from post-PSA events. Despite the above arguments in favour of conditioning environments for the occurrence of voiced stops /b/ and /d/ in modern Sabaki lexicons, Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 137) admit that there are several cases of irregularity that attest voiced stops in unrestricted environments. They admit that 'strengthening is not all regular. The irregular distribution suggests borrowing, presumably from SD'. Is SD a separate subgroup of Sabaki that does not deserve inclusion in the PSA reconstruction? The irregularities are also found in Lower Pokomo,

²⁶ Meinholf reconstructed a voiced series of continuants, *β, *l, *γ while Guthrie has a symmetrical system of *b, *d, *j, and *g for the same series.

²⁷ Kristina Reidel (p.c) surveyed the Nungwi area in 2001 and claims that the so called the Northern Zanzibar Swahili dialect is in fact a living dialect with the distinctive name of KiNungwi.

Elwana, and Comorian. It is clear from their presentation that they base their evidence on data mostly from the northern area of the Sabaki continuum. Since SD and ND descended from a common ancestor, I believe data from SD deserves an equal degree of attention in the deliberations about a plausible PSA segment. Recently, Nurse (1999: 22) admits that 'it seems that there has never been a simple way to interpret the lenition of the voiced series *b, *d'.

I summarise Nurse and Hinnebusch's conclusions in the following four statements:

- (i) PSA *W and *l preceded by a nasal > /b/ and /d/ respectively.
- (ii) PSA *W and *l not preceded by a nasal > /w/ and /l/ respectively.
- (iii) PSA *W and *l preceded by diachronic high vowels *i and *u becomes /b/ and /d/ respectively.
- (iv) PSA *W and *l not preceded by diachronic high vowels *i and *u becomes /w/ and /l/ respectively.

In the light of new data from KiNgome along with other Sabaki members I find the PSA reconstructed voiced series of *W and *l controversial and I suggest that there is a need to refine the reconstruction of the PSA voiced stops series so as to capture the realities imposed by what Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 137) regard as 'irregular' and 'idiosyncratic' voiced stops in peripheral Sabaki reflexes. Our discussion will have the following format:

(265)

- (a) forms /w/ and /l/ in KiNgome and other SD
- (b) forms /b/ and /d/ in restricted environments in KiNgome and other SD.
- (c) forms /b/ and /d/ in unrestricted environments in KiNgome and other SD.

5. 1. 1. 2. 1 Attestations of the lenited PSA *W and *l in KiNgome

As we have seen above, Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) proposed the approximants *W and *l as reflexes of Guthrie's CB *b and *d. The non-stop's lenited forms /w/ and /l/ are far more frequently attested in modern reflexes than stops. In this subsection, we will examine

KiNgame's occurrences of /w/ and /l/ as putative lenited forms of CB *b and CB *d, which Nurse and Hinnebusch regard as derived form from PSA *W and *l.

5. 1. 1. 2. 1. 1 The PSA *W attestation in KiNgame

Let us begin with attestations of lenited forms /w/ in KiNgame which is derived from PSA *W < CB *b. Below we see part of the lexicon that show regularities in the correspondences between KiNgame reflexes and PSA.

(266)

CB *b		PSA *W		KiNgame /w/	
* ba-ntù	'people'	*wantu	(2) 'people'	waNt ^h u	(2) 'people'
*-bĩng	'chase'	*-Winj-	(V) 'hunt'	°-wiNd-a	(V) 'hunt'
*-gùdùbè	'pig'	*nguluWe	(9) 'pig'	N-guruwe	(9) 'pig'
*-bik-	'crow'	* Wik-	(V) 'crow'	wik-a	(V) 'crow'
*-bēék-	'put'	* Week-	(V) 'put'	wek-a	(V) 'put'

The data in (266) appears to support the reconstructed PSA *W (CB *b) as attested in the form of /w/ in KiNgame. Further to the above cases, the PSA *W- (< CB*b) is regularly weakened to Ø before round vowels (*u and *o) in KiNgame:

(267)

CB		PSA *W		KiNgame reflex /Ø/	
*-cǐó	'face'	* Wuso	(14) 'face'	[r]uso	(11) 'face'
*-dũmbá	'smell'	* Wuvumba	(14) 'perfume'	[r]uvumba	(14) 'incense'
*-cábí	'witch'	* WucaWi	(14) 'witchcraft'	[r]učawi	(14) 'witchcraft'
*-pèdè	'pimple'	* Wupele	(14) 'pimple'	[r]upere	(14) 'rash'
*-tái	'spit'	* Wute	(14) 'mucus'	[r]ute	(14) 'mucuos '
*-yùngà	'flour'	* Wunga	(14) 'flour'	[r]uNga	(14) 'flour'
*-t ǐkù	'night'	* Wusiku	(14) 'night'	usiku	(14) 'night'
*-gàd ǐ	'mush'	* Wugali	(14) 'mush'	ugari	(14) 'stiff porridge'
*-bùùk-	'rise up'	*-Wuuk-	(V) 'rise up'	-uka	(V) 'rise up'
*-bòd	'bad'	*Wovu	(Adj) 'bad'	-ovu	(Adj) 'evil'
*ngubo	'cloth'	*nguWo	(9) 'cloth'	Ngu[w]o	(9) 'cloth'

Data in (267) suggests that CB *b > PSA *W > KiNgame Ø / __ u, o.

Therefore CB *b is not directly lenited to Ø, but passes through PSA *W which shares a [+round] feature with the vowels o, u. Thus PSA*Wu > Ø / __ u, o. However, the initial [r] in some cases above, is a result of a reanalysis of a class prefix. KiNgome has a tendency of inserting epenthetic [r] or [w] (paradigm levelling) in order to disallow an initial vowel or vowel sequence. However, loans from SSW have introduced onset-less moraic vowels in the word-initial position. Exceptions to the above lenition/ is presented below:

(268)

CB		PSA *W		KiNgome /r/	
*-bǐngù	'cloud'	* _i -Wingu	(5) 'cloud'	ru-wingu	(14) 'cloud'
*-dùbà	'flower'	* _i -luWa	(5) 'flower'	ruwa	(14) 'flower'

5. 1. 1. 2. 1. 2 The PSA *l attestation in KiNgome

A section of KiNgome lexicon attests PSA *l in the form of /r/ [r] as exemplified below:

(269)

CB		PSA *l		KiNgome /r/	
*-dàng-	'look at'	*-langal (il) (V)	'look at'	-riNg-a (V)	'see'
*-dáád-	'sleep'	*-laal- (V)	'sleep'	-rar-a (V)	'sleep'
*-déét-	'bring'	*-leet- (V)	'bring'	-ret-a (V)	'bring'
*-dòg-	'bewitch'	*-log- (V)	'bewitch'	-rog-a (V)	'bewitch'
*-dúád-	'become sick'	*-lwal- (V)	'become sick'	-rwar-a (V)	'become sick'
*-dúm-	'bite'	*-lum- (V)	'bite'	-rum-a (V)	'bite'
*-kúéd-	'climb'	*-kwel- (V)	'climb'	-kwer-a (V)	'climb'
*-dìd-	'cry'	*ki-lil-o (7)	'mourning'	ma-rir-o (6)	'mourning'

The above data shows *d-lenition in what seem to be unrestricted contexts. Thus generally, CB *d > *l / __ V. However, synchronic evidence further indicates that where *d is lenited it passes through various intermediate stages towards a total loss of segment. KiNgome attests the intermediate alternant /r~y/ and several cases of total shifts to /y/ resulting from a weakening of /r/. Cases of /y/ are only found in Southern KiNgome. We present the cases noted that illustrate this movement as follows:

(270)

CB		PSA *1		KiNgome /r~y/	
*-dàtú	'sandal'	*kilatu	(7) 'shoe'	kiratu ~ kiyatu	(7) 'shoe'
*-dòngud-	'lead'	*kilongozĩ	(7) 'leader'	kiroNgozi~kiyoNgozi	(7) 'leader'
*-mèd-	'grow'	*-mel-	(V) 'grow'	mera ~meya	(V) 'grow'

These synchronic alternants highlight changes that are in progress. In the Southern variety of KiNgome, I came across typical '/y/' only' cases such as :

(271)

Northern KiNgome /r/	Southern KiNgome /y/
sarama	sayama 'peace (greeting)'
pare	paye 'over there'
muremure	muyemuye 'in there'
Nguruwe	Nguyuwe 'pig'

Furthermore, the presence of some intermediate /y/ as a reflex of PSA *1 (<CB*d) is not confined to KiNgome only. Recently, Stude (1995: 102) reports a major correspondence between of /l/ and /y/ in KiTumbatu and Northern Zanzibar Swahili²⁷ as follows:

(272)

Tumbatu		N. Zanzibar		KiNgome
-ugula	(V) 'fall ill'	-uguya	(V) 'fall ill'	-rugura (V) 'fall ill'
-vula	(V) 'undress'	-vuya	(V) 'undress'	-vura (V) 'undress'
-kalanga	(V) 'fry'	-kayanga	(V) 'fry'	-karaNga (V) 'fry'
-lumia	(V) 'be hurt'	-yumia	(V) 'be hurt'	-rumira (V) 'be hurt'
-lumiza	(V) 'wound'	-yumiza	(V) 'wound'	-rumiza (V) 'wound'
-lota	(V) 'dream'	-yota	(V) 'dream'	-rota (V) 'dream'
-lomba	(V) 'ask for'	-yomba	(V) 'ask for'	-roNba (V) 'ask for'
-lokota	(V) 'pickup'	-yokota	(V) 'pick up'	-rokota (V) 'pick up'
mulume	(1) 'husband'	muyume	(1) 'husband'	murume (1) 'husband'
kolo(meto)	(5) 'throat'	koyo(meto)	(5) 'throat'	koro(mito) (5) 'throat'
kilapo	(7) 'oath'	kiyapo	(7) 'oath'	kirapo (7) 'oath'
ulongo	(14) 'lie'	uyongo	(14) 'lie'	u[w]oNgo (14) 'lie'
jogoyo	(9a) 'rooster'	jogolo	(9a) 'rooster'	jogoro (9a) 'rooster'

tala (9)'lamp' taya (9)'lamp' tara (9) 'lamp'

Though KiNgome and KiTumbatu show stability where the Northern Zanzibar Swahili or KiNungwi dialect (Reidel p.c) as seen in (272) shows that a way has been paved towards *l-loss through *l > y > Ø. A typical example of alternation from synchronic KiNgome is provided by the case of Nguruwe ~ Nguyuwe ~ Nguuwe (9) 'pig'. Complete cases of loss of initial onset in KiNgome are found in the following examples:

(273)

CB		PSA		KiNgome/SD
*-dàp-	'swear'	*-lap-	(V) 'swear'	-apa (V) 'swear'
*-dáádik-	'invite'	*-laalik-	(V) 'invite'	-arika (V) 'invite'
*-dác-	'throw away'	*-lac-	(V) 'throw away'	-ača (V) 'leave'
*-dámú	'sibling in law'	*mu-lamu	(1) 'sibling in law'	mw-amu (1)'brother in law'

Generally, we have seen that KiNgome is stable in preserving r [r] derived from PSA *l both word-initially and word-internally. There are several cases of *l-lenition, that help to draw KiNgome together with other *l-preserving dialects (such as KiTumbatu, KiMakunduchi, KiMwani and ChiMwiini). In other words, it is an areal feature which draws closer the peripheral southern coastal Sabaki languages.

5.1.1.2.2 Sabaki strengthening rules

Where reflexes /b/ and /d/ surface in Sabaki, Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993 : 135) attribute their occurrence as post-PSA events. They argue that /b/ and /d/ are restricted in conditioning environments i.e. strengthening of PSA *W and *l. There are two conditioning environments: *i conditioning and post-nasal conditioning: Let us begin with *i conditioning cases in KiNgome that support strengthening rules. The KiNgome synchronic data exhibits a /b/ reflex of PSA *W (CB *b).

5.1.1.2.2.1 The reflex /b/ retained in *i conditioning environment

(274)

(a)

CB *b		PSA *W		KiNgome /b/
*-bíbí	'refuse'	*i-WiWi	(5) 'refuse'	biwi (5) 'refuse'
*-bùýú	'baobab fruit'	*i-Wuyu	(5) 'baobab fruit'	buyu (5) 'baobab fruit'
*-bègá	'shoulder'	*i-Wega	(5) 'shoulder'	bega (5)'shoulder'

*-bùbí 'spider'	*i-W uiW ui (5) 'spider'	bu[y]i (5)'spider'
*-babá 'wing'	*i-W aW a (5) 'wing'	baW a (5)'wing'
*-bǐngú 'cloud'	*i-W ingu (5) 'cloud'	NbiNgu (9)'cloud'
*-yǐb- 'steal'	*-iW- (V) 'steal'	-ib-a (V) 'steal'
*-yǐbuk- 'come out'	*i-W uk- (V) 'emerge'	-ibuk-a (V) 'emerge'
*-dǐb- 'stop up'	*-ziW- (V) 'stop up'	-zib-a (V) 'block'
*-cùùb- 'skin of fruit'	*-cuuW- (V) 'skin'	-čubur-a (V) 'skin'
*-bándud 'tear off'	*-Wandul- (V) 'tear off'	-baNdur-a (V) 'tear off'

There has been general acceptance that there are certain conditions that block stops leniting in Sabaki and in Eastern Bantu in general. The opposite of stop lenition is stop strengthening, which occurred mostly in the environment of CB*_i or CB*_u, which also governs the presence of stops in lexical items that would be expected to have weakened or lost them. Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 133) posit this complex phenomenon as a SD and a Comorian feature.

Mpiranya (1995: 26) supported the strengthening hypothesis by presenting SSW data that tally with Nurse and Hinnebusch's (1993:135) general picture of strengthening in SD especially in the environment of the preceding PSA*_i (most occurrences represent the Class 5 pre-prefix). Mpiranya (ibid.) summarised the phenomenon as *b > b in an *_i context as in (275):

(275)

* _i -babá (5) 'wing'	> bawa (5) 'wing'
* _i -bibí (5) 'heap'	> biwi (5) 'heap'
* _i -bubidi (5) 'spider'	> bui (5) 'spider'
* _i -bega (5) 'shoulder'	> bega (5) 'shoulder'
*-y _i b- (V) 'steal'	> -iba (V) 'steal'
*-y _i buk (V) 'sink'	> -ibuka (V) 'emerge' (out of water)
*-y _i ba (3) 'thorn'	> mw-iba (3) 'thorn'

5. 1. 1. 2. 2. 2 The reflex /d/ as retained in a restricted environment

As in the case of CB *b, KiNgame has numerous instances of a reflex /d/ which we assume to be inherited from CB*d - though considered by Nurse and Hinnebusch as derived from strengthening of PSA *1. We find

in (276) the stop /d/ preserved in the environment of a preceding hypothetical ɿ- conditioning.

(276)

CB	PSA	KiNgame
*-dòngó 'soil'	*ɿ-longo (5) 'soil'	doNgo (5) 'soil'
*-dùmbù 'co-sibling'	*ɿ-lumbu (5) 'co-sibling'	duNbu (1a) 'co-sibling'
*-ďĩďĩ 'pit'	*ɿ-lindi (5) 'pit'	diNdi ²⁸ (5) 'pool'
*-dùng- 'joint'	*ɿ-lung- (5) 'joint'	duNg-o (5) 'joint'
*-dòmò 'big lip'	*ɿ-lomo (5) 'big lip'	domo (5) 'big lip'
*-dúmè 'male animal'	*ɿ-lume (5) 'male animal'	dume (5) 'male animal'
*-dùnd- 'store up'	*ɿ-lund- (5) 'pile'	duNd-a (5) 'hill'
*-pũ- 'stomach'	*ɿ-lifu (5) 'fibre'	difu (5) 'coconut's fibre'
*-dèngè 'blister'	*ɿ-lenge (5) 'blister'	deNge-reNge (5) 'blister'

Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 137) treat the above as cases of retention of CB *b and CB *d after *ɿ-. However, there are exceptions to the above strengthening rule as shown by the following reflexes in KiNgame (and indeed SSW).

(277)

CB	PSA	KiNgame
*-bĩmbĩ	*ɿ-Wĩmbĩ	wĩNbi (14) 'wave'
*-bĩngù	*ɿ-Wĩngu	[r]uwiNgu (14) 'cloud'
*-béédè	*ɿ-Wéele	kiwele (7) 'breast'
*-duba	*ɿ-luwa	u[w]a (14) 'flower'
*-ďĩbá	*ɿ-liwa	riwa (5) 'bird-trap'

Noted above are exceptions to the generalisation of the strengthening rule in KiNgame. The PSA conditioning form *ɿ is actually reconstructed with such lenited forms in KiNgame (as well as in SSW). In addition, there are also some alternations in KiNgame and some rural SD such as :

(278)

rewa ~ dema 'fishing trap' < PSA *ɿ-lɛma

²⁸ KiNgame attests PSA *liNd- for 'harbour' in KiriNdoni and diNd- 'pit'. It seems that across the Swahili spectrum the lenited form /l/ has been generalized for 'harbour' hence we have places such as Malindi, Lindi and KiriNdoni.

rindi~diNdi 'pool, harbour' < PSA *ĩ-lindi

These alternations may be interpreted in two ways: either *ĩ- is not totally responsible for changing *l > d, as claimed by Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993), or both *l/d should be reconstructed for PSA. If *ĩ- was responsible for changing all *l in PSA into /d/ such alternations should not be there. These alternations strongly support the case of an on going process of d* > d > l > y > Ø. It refutes the PSA rule that there is a re-emergence of CB* d > PSA *l > d / *ĩ-. I argue here that the reflex /d/ is the retention of CB *d and it must be part of any PSA reconstruction. As we shall see in this section KiNgome, along with other SD gives evidence that, apart from the appealing rules of strengthening in Sabaki, other numerous occurrences of voiced stops /b/ and /d/, which do not fit in with the above rule and have not been adequately accounted for.

5. 1. 1. 2. 2. 3 A Reflex /b/ in post-nasal environment

Both SSW (see Mpiranya 1996) and KiNgome present evidence that stops are preserved in the environment of a preceding nasal onset as shown in (279) and (280) respectively:

(279) The retention of /b/ in post-nasal position in PSA and KiNgome

CB	PSA	KiNgome
*-búḍĩ 'goat'	*m-buzĩ (9) 'goat'	Nbuzi (9) 'goat'
*-béḡú 'seed'	*m-begu (9) 'seed'	Nbegu (9) 'seed'
*-bádĩ 'side'	*m-bali (9) 'far'	Nbari (9) 'far'
*-bòḡà 'vegetable'	*m-boga (9) 'vegetable'	Nboga (9) 'vegetable'

(280) Retention of /b/ in post-nasal position in SSW

*-bono 'castor oil plant'	> Nbono (3)	'castor oil plant'
*-boga 'vegetable'	> Nboga (3)	'pumpkin'
*-buju 'baobab'	> Nbuyu (3)	'baobab tree'
*-baḍũ 'rib'	> Nbavu (10)	'ribs'

Additionally, Geider (1990: 441) indicates that KiPokomo agreement makers in the following cases also show a preservation of voiced stops /b/ in a post-nasal position :

(281)

wana mbwangu	'my (2) children'
muhi mbwangu	'my (3) tree'
ugonjwa mbwangu	'my (14) illness'

Instead of *wa-* we have the form *mbw-* derived from **{n}bu*. Likewise reflex /d/ is also preserved post-nasally as data below illustrate clearly.

5. 1. 1. 2. 2. 4 A reflex /d/ in post-nasal position

(282)

CB		PSA		KiNgome reflex	
*-dege	'bird'	* n-dege	(9/10)'bird'	Ndege	(9) 'bird'
*-dòd-		*n-dola	(9)'marriage'	Ndo[w]a	(9) 'marriage'
*-dedu-	'beard'	*n-devu	(9/10) 'beard'	N-devu	(9/10) 'beard'
*-dóót-	'dream'	*n-dooto	(9/10) 'dream'	N-doto	(9/10) 'dream'
*-dobo	'bucket'	*n-doW o	(9/10)'bucket'	N-doo	(9/10) 'bucket'
*-dĩmĩ	'tongue'	*lu-limi	(11) 'tongue'	N-dimi	(10) 'tongues'
*-dà-	'inside'	*n-da-ni	(Adv)'inside'	Nda-ni	(Adv) 'inside'

The data in (282) can be summarised as CB **d* > d/n__ . It should be noted here that the existence of an earlier stop can still be inferred from the divergent development of Class 9/10 nouns both in PSA and in synchronic KiNgome.

It is undeniable that N- blocked stops from being lenited in Sabaki. The above evidence of /b/ and /d/ as found in restricted environments forms the basis of Nurse and Hinnebusch's contention that the voiced stops /b/ and /d/ only appear regularly in specific environments in Sabaki. They treat 'irregular' cases mainly as the result of borrowing or of influence from neighbouring non-Sabaki languages. Although their arguments appear sound and convincing, lack of recent data from rural SD and now KiNgome has greatly affected their generalisations as my evidence will attempt to highlight. I argue that there are numerous native words that exhibit voiced stops /b/ and /d/ with no obvious conditioning factor in sight.

5. 1. 1. 2. 3 Reflexes **b* and **d* in unrestricted environments

KiNgome (and indeed SD) is not short of exceptions with regard to the

claim that PSA *W is retained as /w/ in Sabaki in unrestricted environments or where the rule of strengthening that has been proposed blocks lenition. I begin by showing some noted exceptional cases (equally recognised by Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993 in SSW except for *kiambaza* 'wall') in KiNgome and rural SD in general.

5. 1. 1. 2. 3. 1 Reflexes /b/ found in unrestricted environments

(283)

CB		PSA		KiNgome
*-bèmb-	'entice'	*-Wemb-	(V) 'entice'	-beNb-er-ez- (V) 'plead'
*-bándud-	'tear off'	*-WaNdul-	(V) 'tear off'	-baNdur-a (V) 'tear off'
*-bàmb-	'peg out'	*ki-W ambaza	(7) 'wall'	ki-baNbaza (7) 'wall'
*-bòngó	'brain'	*lu-W ongo	(11) 'brain'	ru-boNgo (11) 'brain'
*-bàgò	'hoe'	*lu-W ao	(11) 'board'	ru-ba[w]o (11) 'timber'
*-bàbá	'wing'	*lu-W aWa	(11) 'wing'	ru-bawa (11) 'wing'
*-bàdù	'rib'	*lu-W avù	(11) 'rib'	ru-bavu (11) 'rib'
*-bòd-	'rot'	*-Wov-u	(Adj) 'rotten'	-bov-u (Adj) 'rotten'
*-bĩcĩ	'raw'	* Wici	(Adj) 'raw'	bičĩ (Adj) 'raw'

A clear argument in favor of strengthening process, would point that a lot of examples in (283) are in Cl. 11, where the plural is Cl. 10. This means an example such as ru-bavu (11) 'rib' : N-bavu (10) 'ribs'. They may also indicate that adjectives -bov-u and bičĩ are related to N-bov-u and N-bičĩ which behave like Cl. 10. Why should Cl. 11 directly reflect the rule of PSA *W > /w/ before strengthening apply in Cl. 10 ? What sort of environment that triggers the strengthening of verbs -beNb-er-ez- (V) 'plead' and -baNdur-a (V) 'tear off' ? Are these isolated cases? or signs that CB *b is still on many occasions retained in KiNgome and SD ? What is the explanation for the synchronic alternation such as *baaba ~ waawa* 'father' (CB * *bààbá*) in Chimwiini? (see Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993:176). Are there regular reflexes of /b/ (and indeed /d/) in unrestricted environment? The following data from KiNgome (will provide a clue.

 KiNgome

-baNgabaNga	(V) 'cracking'
-baNt ^h a	(V) 'grind'
-bamaNda	(V) 'press together'
-baribari	(V) 'pull'
-beNja	(V) 'extract, squeeze'
-bini	(V) 'cultivate'
-biri	(V) 'join'
-biša	(V) 'go against tide'
-bobota	(V) 'exploit , conning'
-bogo[w]a	(V) 'harvest'
-bomora	(V) 'destruct'
-boñera	(V) 'pinch'
-boNgoya	(V) 'complain'
-bwira	(V) 'eat'
ko-bera	(V) 'to drink'
bwaNda	(5) 'garb'
bobo	(14[5]) 'yoghurt'
bu-Nbwi	(14[5]) 'sorcery'
bw-iNbwi	(14[5]) 'sweet rice'
u-bobota	(11) 'tamarind'
ki-baNgu	(7) 'wound cover, scar'
kiriboto	(9a/10a) 'flea'
burudeNge	(1) 'uninformed person'
Ngebwe	(9/10) 'type of fish'
bugabuga	(V) 'find'
ñarubibi	(9/10) 'chameleon'

As noted in (284), the voiced stop /b/ occurs in various classes (including verbs) such as 7, 9/10, 11, and 14. There is no restriction in the position of the voiced stops /b/ as /b/ occurs both initially and non-initially. Close relatives of KiNgome supported the occurrence of /b/ in unrestricted environments as recently shown in KiMakunduchi (Chum 1994). Examine the following words in KiMakunduchi that I presume to be native and see the occurrence of /b/. A great care has been taken to exclude Classes 5 and 9/10 with initial voiced stops /b/.

(285)

Mak		PSA	CB
usubu	(9a) 'sandfly'		
mtobwe	(3) 'walking stick'		
koboa	(V) 'break off'		
kobaga	(V) 'spread'		
kibambo	(7) 'lid'		
kibubuɟu	(Adv) 'down'		
kibuno	(7) 'waist'	*kiWuno	*-búnò
mkibe	(3) 'a variety of bean'		
mgubilo	(3) 'work'		
bamba	(V) 'plug'		
bembeza	(V) 'spy'		
bošoa	(V) 'split'		
bebesa	(V) 'agitate'		
boñwa	(V) 'ripe'		
buga	(V) 'be confused'		
buturu	(V) 'abuse'		

What is clear from the data in (284 and 285) is evidence that the segment /b/ is by no means a result of innovation from PSA *W > /b/. It is found in the shape of voiced stops both initially and non-initially. The claim that the phoneme /b/ is restricted in its occurrence in Sabaki is here counterindicated in rural SD. Despite original /b/ being obscured by high frequency of the lenited form /w/ in Sabaki in general, the case for PSA *W is not sufficient to explain the attestation of /b/ as seen in the above cases. The occurrence of /b/ above contributes to a mixed situation that cannot be explained away simply by attributing it to borrowing or analogy. I have noted a similar situation with regard to /d/.

5. 1. 1. 2. 3. 2 KiNgame reflex /d/ in unrestricted environments

Some Bantuists find the reconstructions of the intermediary form *1 from CB *d less controversial in various Bantu languages they have

observed. Ehret (1999: 59) regards *1 of Kaskazi²⁹ 'a more satisfactory reconstruction' than Guthrie's CB *d. Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) also choose *1 for PSA as a reflex of CB *b. Based on synchronic data from KiNgame and SD in general, I find such an intermediate stage reconstruction of *1 a difficult and contentious.

In general, KiNgame shows broad variation in its reflexes of PSA *1, which variation is shared by other SD as well. It has clear cases of the preservation of CB *d > /d/ and d-lenition to /r/ , /r~y/ , /y/. The lenition path can be serialised as follows:

(286) CB*d > d > d/r > r > y > Ø.

As far as a reflex /d/ in KiNgame (as well as SSW equivalents) is concerned, I have observed what I regard as the retention of CB *d, as shown below:

(287)

CB>PSA			SSW	KiNgame	
*-dungùdùd	> *-lungul-	(V)'burn'	kiungulia	duNgur-ir-a	(5)'heartburn'
*-dèdḡ	> *ki-levu	(7)'chin'	udevu	ki-devu	(7)'chin'
*-dòndà-	> *ki-londa	(7)'wound'	ki-donda	ki-doNda	(7)'wound'
*-damuk-	> *-lamušy-	(V)'wake up'	-amka	-dauk-a~ramuk-a	(V)'wake up'
*-kòdòmǐdò	> *-nkolomilo	(9)'throat'	kolomeo	k ^h odomido	(9a)'throat'
*-dùng	> *ki-lungo	(7)'joint'	ki-ungo	ki-duNgo	(7)'joint'
*-dod-	> *-lol-	(V)'look at'	ko-oa	ko-dor-a	(V)'stare'

It should be noted that KiNgame proves that CB* d is still retained as /d/ in most cases in KiNgame. There is no indication in the reconstructions of PSA above of any presence of conditioning factors that would turn PSA *1 into a KiNgame reflex/d/. It is obvious that the /d/ reflex in KiNgame has been retained from CB proto-segment *b. Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:137) have objected to the retention theory here; they have suggested that such occurrences are isolated cases, mainly attributable to word-borrowing or analogical levelling. However, further instances of KiNgame /d/ are not quite supported by their PSA proposition.

²⁹ The Kaskazi substratum consists of Bantu languages of Guthrie's zones D. 40-60; E. 10-40, 70, 74a; F. 33-34; G. 10-40, 50, 60; M. 10-30; N.10; and P.10-20 except 15. This is according to Ehret (1999: 53).

(288)

KiNgome	
dagara	9a 'sardine'
duri	9a 'heifer'
gudugudu	9a 'dry coconut'
demani	9a 'autumn'
-deheni	(V) 'caulk a boat'
kidore	(7) 'finger'
khedi	Adj 'proud'
domasa	(V) 'pinch'
kanadi	9a 'small mullet'
Ndidimo	(3) 'thunder'
khodo	(5) 'testicle'
burudenga	(1) 'uninformed person'

The data in (288) attest to what Lexical Diffusionists call 'phonetic gradualness'. This means 'the change from stop to approximant is far from completion'. Again, the neighbouring sister dialect of KiMakunduchi provides ample evidence of an unconditional presence of /d/ both initially, and non-initially, as recorded by Chum (1994) and also acknowledged by Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 136 see footnote. 30) :

(289)

Mak		PSA	CB
dalia	(V) 'lie down'	*-laala	*-dáád-
uwade	14 'sickness'	*lwal-	*-dúáde-
daNba	(V) 'lick'	*-lamb-	*-dám-b-
doNba	(V) 'wish/ask'	*lomb-	*-dómb-
dotoa	(V) 'peck'	-	-
defu	(Adj) 'tall'	-	-
didigia	(V) 'sink'	-	-
digi	(Adj) 'small'	-	-
dodeka	(V) 'thinning'	-	-
mwida	(3) 'song'	-	-
kodoa	(V) 'hurt'	-	-

Are the /d/ occurrences in the above merely exceptions? KiNgome and

KiMakunduchi's preservation of /d/ are also supported by genetically related KiPokomo, as Geider (1990: 441) observes:

(290)

soga dyangu 'my colleague'
dakika ideide 'in that minute'

These are few but substantial cases of /d/ preservation in an unrestricted areas. I argue here that these few cases are residue of earlier CB* b and d which has to be reflected in PSA reconstruction. Data from rural SD especially KiNgome and KiMakunduchi prove that PSA's lenition theory is not entirely completed. Before drawing a conclusion, I intend to present an often misinterpreted evidence for diachronic stops in spirantizing languages such as KiNgome and other Swahili dialects. In such languages there is a process of nominalization and adjectivization that involves a sound shift $*d > v$ / $*-i$ / $*-u$. This means that

(291)

$*-vul-$ 'to fish' $> u-vuvi$ 'fishing'
 $*-legel-$ 'slack' $> legevu$ 'slackness'

What is happening here is that during the process of nominalisation/ adjectivization it is $*vud- + *-i$ that gives rise to $-vuvi$. Likewise:

(292)

$*legel + *-u$ that gives rise to $regevu$

There is no possibility that $*l > v$ / $*-i$ / $*-u$. It make sense that PSA has both $*d$ / $*l$ in such a way that :

(293)

CB		PSA
$*vud$	$>$	$*vud- / + *-i$
	$>$	$*vul-$ elsewhere.

If we consider that PSA had $*vul-$ only then we have to assume a

reversion back to the CB stop, viz. CB *d > PSA *l > d which unnecessarily complicates the matter. I argue here that during the frication process, the forms *-ɿ / *-u acted upon the voiced stop *d, and not upon *l at the edge of the root. There is no case of fortification of *l in the case above. PSA has to have retained *d to be involved in the productive process of spirantization as we have seen in (293). This means PSA had an alternation in the root in the form of *d/*l. My argument is supported by Labrousse (1999:372) who argues that 'for spirantization to produce a well-formed output, the only phonetically correct input is a stop consonant and not any corresponding lenited form.only *b, *d and *g can result in spirants through affrication'. Since PSA is the ancestor of KiNgonde and the other Sabaki languages, it must have preserved *b, *d or *g in order to engage them in the spirantization process as we have proposed in (288) above. On the bases of the evidence I have presented above, I suggest that *b and *d must be added to the PSA inventory. The implication of this addition will lead to the following proposal.

5.1.1.2.4 A tentative proposal

Whilst from the synchronic point of view, the changes from CB *b > /w/ and CB *d > /l/ have occurred in almost all Sabaki languages, there is no way of establishing nor any need to assume that the change occurred in all dialects at precisely the same point in time. Generally, it is assumed that changes that have occurred have done so in a reasonably uniform manner with minor exceptions. This led to the PSA reconstruction of *W and *l.

However, if we examine these exceptions, we do not see a normal pattern of weakening in all of Sabaki. KiNgonde and SD lead in showing a greater number of unchanged reflexes of CB stops than could have otherwise been expected to weaken. Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) dismiss the 'relic theory' either by regarding the occurrence of b/d in unrestricted environments as irregular and idiosyncratic, or simply by seeing them as a case of borrowing from the neighbouring Bantu languages. However, they have admitted that certain varieties of rural Zanzibar Swahili dialects attest examples of b/d which can not be subjected to conditioning or analogical levelling. I admit that cases of lenition have greatly outnumbered the unchanged segments so that it might seem on quantitative evidence that *W/l are automatic candidates for reconstruction by a simple majority rule. I suggest that

quantitative considerations and a particular conditioning patterning have proved to be too weak to account for the many unconditional occurrence of /b/ and /d/ reflexes in some Sabaki members. Since the shift *b > /w/ and *d > /l/ has failed to obliterate all traces of the proto-segments, the plausible PSA reconstruction should appear like this:

(294) *b/W and *d/l.

Given the mixed situation, it seems proper to give due attention to unrestricted cases of some lexical items with /b/ and /d/ in rural SD (including KiNgome), Comorian and Pokomo. Such cases which constitute holdovers from an earlier time, have implications for the general PSA reconstruction. As Nurse (1999:7) asserts, 'the evidence from minor or peripheral languages is important for making statements about earlier stages for all'.

5. 1. 1. 2. 5 The KiNgome reflex of PSA *g

As far as CB/PSA *g is concerned, KiNgome can be regarded as a g-preserving dialect of Swahili.

(295)

CB	PSA *g	KiNgome reflex
*-gánd- 'coagulate'	*-gand- (V) 'coagulate'	-gaNda (V) 'coagulate'
*gòmb- 'argue'	*-gomb- (V) 'argue'	-goNb- (V) 'argue'
*-bègà 'shoulder'	*ᵛWega (5) 'shoulder'	bega (5) 'shoulder'
*-gògò 'log'	*ᵛgogo (5) 'log'	gogo (5) 'log'

There is a minimal number of cases of PSA *g > /y/ in an intervocalic environment:

(296)

CB	PSA	KiNgome reflex
*-pᵛgà >	*ᵛfiga (5) 'hearthstone'	ma-fya~ma-jifya (6) 'hearthstone' but ma-figa (in SSW and Pemba)
	*mwaga (V) 'pour'	mwaya(V) 'pour'

This represents an intermediate /y/, in which CB/PSA *g > y. The intermediate /y/ is best presented by alternations g~y as appeared in g-

angu ~ y-angu 'mine'. Following *g > y then we expect to move to y-lenition and hence we expect full loss of CB/PSA *g- in KiNgome; and there is evidence for this, viz. as evidenced below:

(297)

PSA*-guluk - 'rise up' (CB: *-gùd-) > -uka (V) 'stand'

PSA*-genel - 'spread' > -enera (V) 'spread'

There is no direct loss of *g to Ø, it is only possible through intermediate /y/.

Another rare case of *g : j is found in the following example:

(298)

PSA* *ǀgembe* (5)'hoe' > j-embe (5)'hoe'

This may be assumed to be derived out of *g > y > Ø, and later segmenting j- in the environment of Øembe (5).

In the southern variety of KiNgome, g ~ y appear in the following examples:

(299)

ma-ruNgo g-aNgu g-oNthe g-anaruma ~ ma-ruNgo y-aNgu y-oNthe ya-naruma 'all my body parts are hurting'.

5.1.1.2.6 A PSA *j reflex in KiNgome

KiNgome joins KiMvita, KiJomvu, KiUnguja, KiMakunduchi, KiTumbatu, KiPemba, KiVumba, KiMtang'ata, KiChifundi, and KiMwani in attesting /j/ as a reflex of the PSA *j. It is preserved in all environments (word/stem initial and intervocalic) as follows:

(300)

CB		PSA *j		KiNgome reflex	
*-ǀi-	'water'	*ma-ji	(6) 'water'	maji	(6) 'water'
*-ǀùbá	'sun'	*ǀ-juWa	(5) 'sun'	-juwa	(5) 'sun'
*-yòngòdò	'millipede'	*ǀ-jongolo	(5) 'millipede'	jongoro	(9a) 'millipede'
*-yíkò	'fireplace'	*ǀ-ǀjiko	(5) 'fireplace'	-jiko	(5) 'fireplace'
*-yík-	'come'	*-ij-	(V) 'come'	-ja	(V) 'come'

There is a regular preservation of CB/PSA *j as /j / in KiNgome (and indeed in SD generally). However there are some exceptions we have noted where PSA*j > y, as in the following examples :

CB		PSA		KiNgome reflex
*-yúngú	'pumpkins'	*jjungu (5)	'pumpkins'	yuNgu (5) 'gourd,
*-jàní	'leaf','grass'	*kijani (7)	'small leaf'	kyani (7) 'small leaf'

5.1.1.3 Development of spirants in KiNgome

A link has been established between a major phonological process in Bantu where proto-stops become fricatives in the contexts of super high vowels and another diachronic process where 7V are reduced to 5V through merging of vowels of degree 1 and degree 2 (see Hinnebusch 1981, Schadeberg 1995, Mpiranya 1996, Labroussi 1999, Mathangwane 1999 and Kula 2002). Mpiranya (ibid:15) argues that fricatives occurred in order to prevent the phonemic confusion between the vowels of first and second degree of aperture $*i/*y$ and $*i/*u$. Thus, the phonemic opposition between vowels was transferred to consonants through what is regarded as 'transphonologisation'. Meinhof (1932) considers high 'close' vowels $*i$ and $*u$ (from his ur-Bantu) to have a quality of tenseness which contributed to the friction effect. Mathangwane 1999: 90) says that 'it is the frication of the initial portion of the high vowels due to a combination of different elements involved in the production of both stops and the high vowels which led to the frication of these stops'.

Schadeberg (1995:73), supported by Labroussi (1999:336), questions the existence of the direct causal-relationship between 7V > 5V reduction and spirantization which has traditionally been treated as 'a drag-chain or a push-chain' relationship. He considers spirantization to be largely an independent process that may be influenced by an areal norm or areal spread.

Labroussi (1999: 336-337) classifies spirantization processes in terms of transparent and non-transparent³⁰. Non-transparent spirantization is found in the lexicon (morpheme-internally) while transparent spirantization occurs at the morpheme-boundaries hence requires an indication of morpho-phonemic features: e.g.:

- (i) adjectival $*-y$ and causative $*-i$ -
- (ii) agentive (nominalizer) $*-i$

³⁰ Labroussi 1999:340 defines non-transparent as spirantization that is irretrievable through synchronic analysis, while transparent (= input and change) is retrievable by virtue of the alternation between actual reflexes.

(iii) past/perfect tense $*-i$ de (KiNgome has no past/perfect tense marker as derived from proto-form $*-i$ de)

I adopt Labroussi's dichotomy (lexical Vs morphophonemic spirantization) in my discussion of KiNgome spirantisation data. Before we present KiNgome spirantization data based on Labroussi's approach, I find it necessary to lay-out rules that govern spirantization in KiNgome.

5. 1. 1. 3. 1 Spirantization rules in KiNgome

KiNgome has inherited from PSA a widespread innovation that involved a series of sound changes that give rise to spirants from CB consonants $*p, *t, *c, *k, *b, *d, *j, *g$ in the environment of the super high vowels $*-i$ and $*-u$.

The following are typical spirantizations, all of which can be found in KiNgome:

(302)

$*p / __ *-i > f$	$*t, *k, *p / __ *-u > f$
$*t, *k, *c / __ *-i > s$	$*c / __ *-u > s$
$*b / __ *-i > v$	$*b, *g, *d / __ *-u > v$
$*d / __ *-i > z$	
$*k / __ *-i > \text{ʃ/s (in causative)}$	

Each set of rules is exemplified as follows :

(i) Rules $*p / __ *-i > f$ and $*t, *k, *p / __ *-u > f$

(303)

CB	PSA *f	KiNgome reflex
*píágid- 'sweep'	*-fyagil-(V) 'sweep'	-fyagira (V) 'sweep'
*-píát- 'seize'	*-fyat- (V) 'seize'	-fyata (V) 'hold tight'
*-píóm- 'read'	*-fyom- (V) 'read'	-soma (V) 'read'
*-pú 'be fitting'	*-fwa- (V) 'be fitting'	-faa (V) 'be fitting'
*-túg- 'raise'	*-fug-(V) 'raise animal'	-fugu (V) 'raise animal'
*-túm- 'sew'	*-fum- (V) 'sew'	-fuma (V) 'sew'
*-túúd- 'swell up'	*-fúul- (V) 'swell up'	-fura (V) 'swell up'
*-kúbà 'chest'	*ki-fuwa (7) 'chest'	ki-fuwa (7) 'chest'
*-kú 'die'	*-fw- (V) 'die'	-fu (V) 'die'

(ii) Rules $*t, *k, *c > s / __ i$ and $*c > s / __ u$

(304)

CB	PSA *s	KiNgame reflex
*-tĩndĩ- 'heel'	*ki-sĩ(n)gino (7) 'heel'	ki-sageyu (7) 'heel'
*-tĩká 'rainy season'	*ĩ-sĩka- (6) 'rainy season'	ma-sika (6) 'rainy season'
*-kĩndò 'noise'	*mu-šĩndo (3) 'noise'	Nĩ-siNdo (3) 'noise'
*-kĩpà 'vein'	*mu-šĩpa (3) 'vein'	Nĩ-sipa (3) 'vein'
*-oĩàg- 'grind'	*-sag- (V) 'grind'	-sag-a (V) 'grind'
*-oĩàd- 'remain'	*-sal- (V) 'remain'	-sar-ira (V) 'remain'
*-oúĩ- 'we'	*swi (1) 'we'	°siye (1) 'we'
*-yàtĩ- 'grass'	*lu-nyasi (11) 'grass'	ru-ñasi (14) 'grass'

(iii) Rules $*b / __ *-i > v$ and $*b, *g, *d / __ *-u > v$

(305)

CB	PSA *v	KiNgame reflex
*bĩ-'Cl.(8) prefix'	*vi-'Cl. (8) prefix'	vi-'Cl.(8) prefix'
*-bĩmb- 'swell'	*-vĩmb- (V) 'swell'	-viNb-a (V) 'swell'
*-bũn- 'harvest'	*-vũn- (V) 'harvest'	-vun-u (V) 'harvest'
*-bũnj- 'break'	*-vũnj- (V) 'break'	-vuNja (V) 'break'
*-dũgàd- 'shut'	*-vũgazy- (V) 'shut'	-vugaza (V) 'shut door'
*-dũgũd- 'undress'	*-vũũl (V) 'undress'	-vura (V) 'undress'
*-dũb- 'fish'	*-vũW- (V) 'fish'	-vura (V) 'fish'
*-dèdũ 'chin'	*ki-levũ (7) 'chin'	ki-devu (7) 'chin'
*-oàgũ 'cheek'	*ĩ-oavũ (5) 'cheek'	savu (5) 'cheek'
*-gũnd-'stink'	*-vũnd- (14) 'stink'	vuNda (V) 'stink'

(306) Rule $*d / __ *-i > z$

CB	PSA *z	KiNgame reflex
*-dĩng- 'surround'	-zĩng- (V) 'go around'	-ziNg a (V) 'commit adultery'
*-dĩgò 'load'	muzĩgo (3) 'load'	muzigo (3) 'load'
*-dĩ- 'root'	muzĩ (3) 'root'	Nzizi (3) 'root'
*-yàdĩ 'blood'	mwazĩ (3) 'blood'	kyazi (7) 'blood'
*-oòdĩ 'tear'	ĩoòzĩ (5) 'tear'	čozĩ (5) 'tear'
*-dũgàd- 'shut'	-vũgazy (V) 'shut'	-vugaza (V) 'shut (door)'

*-tĩngĩ- 'sleep' Wusĩnzĩ (14) 'sleep' ʔrusĩNgĩzi(14)'sleep'

(iv) Rule *k/____ *-ĩ > ʃ/s (in causative)

(307)

CB	PSA	KiNgome
*kĩ/____ [+caus]	ʃy	ʃ/s
	*-cešy- 'laugh at'	-češa 'laugh at' < čeka
	*-lamusy 'wake up'	-ramuša 'wake up'
	*-keešy 'pass the night'	-kesa 'pass the night awake'
	*-tonešy- 'hurt'	-tonesa 'hurt'

Examples in (303-307) indicate direct correspondences between reconstructed PSA forms with spirants and KiNgome spirants with a minor exception in the reflex of CB *k/____ *-ĩ > /ʃ/ in PSA (but sometimes it becomes /s/ in KiNgome). I will extend the discussion of the complexity of this shift in § 5.1.1.3.3.

5.1.1.3.1.1 Lexical Spirantization (non-transparent) in KiNgome

Lexical spirantization is widely attested in KiNgome following the spirantizing rules formulated in (302). Typical examples of non-transparent lexical spirantization process in KiNgome in three historical stages is as follows:

(308)

CB	PSA	KiNgome reflexes
*-pĩc- 'hide'	*-fĩc- (V) 'hide'	-fiča (V) 'hide'
*-fĩmá- 'well'	*ki-sĩma (7) 'well'	ki-sima (7) 'well'
*-cĩng- 'rub'	*-sĩng- (V) 'rub'	siNga (V) 'rub'
*-yókĩ- 'smoke'	*mošĩ (3) 'smoke'	mosi (3) 'smoke'
*-bĩmb- 'swell'	*-vĩmb- (V) 'swell'	-viNba (V) 'swell'
*-dĩĩk- 'bury'	*-zĩĩk- (V) 'bury'	-zika (V) 'bury'
*-gĩd- 'abstain'	*-zĩla- (V) 'hate'	zira (V) 'abandon'
*-tũd- 'forge'	*-fũl- (V) 'forge'	-fura (V) 'forge'
*-cũg- 'wash'	*-sugul (V) 'rub'	-sugura (V) 'rub'
*-kũmbat- 'embrace'	*-fumbat (V) 'embrace'	-fuNbata (V) 'embrace'
*-bũd- 'harvest'	*-vũn- (V) 'harvest'	-vunu (V) 'harvest'
*-dũmbud- 'uncover'	*-vũmbul- (V) 'uncover'	-vuNbura (V) 'uncover'

*-gùnd- 'stink' * Wu-vundo (14)'bad odour' ru-vuNdo(14) 'bad odour'

As noted above, KiNgome shares with the proposed PSA reconstructions evidence of a complete frication process. As we have seen earlier, the only difference between PSA and KiNgome is in the reflex of CB *k/____i > /š/ in PSA contrast to /s/ in KiNgome.

5. 1. 1. 3. 1. 2 Morphophonemic spirantization

According to Labroussi, Spirantization based on the morphophonemic mechanism involves the following morphophonemic features:

- (i) causative *-i_i
- (ii) adjectivizer *-y_i
- (iii) nominalizer *i_i
- (iv) past/perfect tense *-i_ide

We illustrate the first three mechanisms (as appeared in KiNgome) in turn:

- (i) Spirantized causative derivatives using *-i_i- are regular in KiNgome:
(309)

CB	PSA	KiNgome
*t _i /___[+caus]	*sy	s
*k _i /___[+caus]	*šy	š/s
*p _i /___[+caus]	*fy	fy
*b _i /___[+caus]	*vy	vy
*d _i /___[+caus]	*zy	z

examples are:

(310)

stops + *-i _i -	PSA	KiNgome reflexes
*-yògòp-+ -i _i	*-ogofy- (V) 'frighten'	-ogofya (V) 'frighten'
*-dàmuk-+ -i _i	*-lamušy (V) 'wake up'	-ramuša (V) 'wake up'
*-pòd- + -i _i	*-pozy- (V) 'cool'	-poza (V) 'cool'
*-tot- + -i _i	*-tosy- (V) 'drown'	-tosa (V) 'drown'
*-dèb- + -i _i	*-levya (V) 'make drunk'	-revya (V) 'make drunk'

Spirantizing agentive derivatives that would have used *-j
[+caus]+agent in KiNgome are also regular:

(311)

KiNgome Verb stem		CB*-j agentive	Resulting noun	
-suk	'plait'	-suk-+*-j	N-susi	(1) 'plaiter'
-riNd-	'guard'	-riNd-+*-j	N-rinzi	(1) 'guard'
-rew-	'be drunk'	-reb- +*-j	N-revi	(1) 'drunkard'
-pik-	'to cook'	-pik- +*-j	N-pisi	(1) 'cook'
-ib-	'steal'	-ib- +*-j	mw-ivi	(1) 'thief'
-teNd-	'creat'	-teNd-+*-j	u-teNzi	(14) 'poetry'
-jeNg-	'build'	-jeNg- +*-j	N-jeNzi	(1) 'builder'
-pumud-	'breath'	pumud- +*-j	pumuzi	(9) 'breath'
-ñor-	'shave'	-ñod- +*-j	ki-ñози	(1) 'barber'
-vyar-	'deliver'	-vyad- +*-j	N-zazi	(1) 'parent'
°-vur-	'fish'	-vud- +*-j	N-vuvi	(1) 'fisherman'
-aNdik-	'write'	-aNdik-+*-j	mw-aNdis-i	(1) 'writer'

The agentive *-j above is associated with the spirantizing of a preceding stem-final consonant. It is active as a derivation mechanism. Very few exceptional cases appear with a non-spirantizing preceding consonant :
e.g. fuNd-i 'mechanic' < PSA *funzy

(312) The adjectivizing *-y spirantization in KiNgome:

KiNgome Verb stem	*-y adjective	KiNgome reflex(adjectives)
*tur-ir-	*-tud-id- + *-y	-turivu 'quiet'
*-reger-	*-leged- + *-y	-regevu 'slack'
*-okor-	*-okod- + *-y	-okovu 'salvage'
*-bor-	*-bod- + *-y	-bovu 'rotten'
*-per-	*-ped- + *-y	-pevu 'ripe'
*-kar-(uk)-	*-kàd- + *-y	kavu 'dry'

KiNgome has spirantizing adjective derivatives that would reflect the

morph *-ɸ. Spirantizing affects the most 'responsive consonants'. Spirantization does not occur with phonemes resulting from lenition processes, such as PSA *W and *l. As we have seen earlier in (293) I am convinced that in such a case as that of *regavu* we have two synchronic stems *reg-er-* and *reg-ed-* 'slack'. It is the latter form *reged-* that is used to derive *reg-ez-a* and *reg-ev-u*. The form *reg-er-* is used elsewhere to derive other categories e.g. *reg-er-a* in KiNgome. This consolidates our earlier argument that the stops *b and *d are equally plausible reconstructions along with PSA *W and *l.

5. 1. 1. 3. 2 The Reflexes of CB *k/___ i in PSA and KiNgome

Hinnebusch, Nurse & Mould (1981: 25) and Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:122-24) reconstructed /ʒ/ for PSA as the reflex of CB *k/___ i. But data from KiNgome, other rural SD, Sabaki, and from the majority of the Corridor Bantu languages show a regular form /s/ as a reflex of CB *k/___ i. The disparity between PSA*ʒ against /s/ in KiNgome is clearly demonstrated in the following examples:

(313)

CB	PSA*ʒ	KiNgome /s/
*-kíná 'tree trunk'	*i-šina (5) 'tree trunk'	sina (5) 'tree trunk'
*-kíndò 'noise'	*mu-šindo (3) 'noise'	ŋsindo (3) 'noise'
*-kípa 'vein'	*mu-šipa (3) 'vein'	ŋsipa (3) 'vein'
*-kíndá 'press to end'	*-šindikizy- (V) 'see off'	siNdikiza (V) 'see off'
*-kíndi 'soot'	*ma-šizi (6) 'soot'	masizi (6) 'soot'
*-kíndò 'neck'	*n-šingo (9) 'neck'	siNgo (9) 'neck'
*-có 'left hand'	*ku-šonco (15) 'left hand'	ku-soto (15) 'lefthand'
*-kééšy- 'pass the night'	*i-keešyo (5) 'tomorrow'	keso (5) 'tomorrow'
* ?	*mušikyana (1) 'girl'	ŋsičana (1) 'girl'

The attestation of /s/ is widespread throughout rural SD. Recent data drawn from KiMakunduchi (Haji Chum 1994), KiPemba (Khamis 1984), and KiTumbatu (Stude 1995) attest CB *k/___ i > /s/ as follows:

(314)

CB	PSA	SSW	Pe.	Tu.	Mak.	KiNgome
*-yókì-	*moši	moši	mosi	mosi	mosi	mosi 'smoke'
*-kíngo	*nšingo	šingo	siNgo	siNgo	siNgo	siNgo 'neck'

*-có	*-šonco	-šoto	-sot o	-soto	-soto	-soto	'left hand'
*-kínd-	*-šind	-šiNda	-siNda	?	-siNda	-siNda	'press'

Data in both (313) and (314) show that /s/ is a regular reflex in SD. It is only KiUnguja/SSW (and ND except KiTikuu) that provided the basis for reconstructing /š/ for PSA from CB*k/___ i. The presence of /š/ in both SD and ND is found mainly in the context of the causative morph *-i-, where ki/___ [+caus] > š. However, KiNgome attests both /š/ and /s/ in the causative form.

(315)

CB	PSA	KiNgome
*ki/___ [+caus]	šy	š/s
	*-keešy 'pass the night'	-kesa 'pass the night awake'
	*-cešy- 'laugh at'	-češa 'laugh at' < čeka
	*-lamusy 'wake up'	-ramuša 'wake up'
	*-tonešy- 'hurt'	-tonesa 'hurt'

A palatal sibilant /š/ in causatives is not uniform in all of Sabaki. KiPokomo is noted by Geider (1990: 457) to have /s/ in the causative marking:

(316)

ku-furah-iš-a	'to make happy' < -furahi 'be happy'
ku-dy-es-a	'to make eat' < kudya 'to eat'

Notwithstanding the above facts, Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:115) find *š an appropriate candidate for the PSA from CB*k/___ i, and this is despite the fact that in their Sabaki spirantization chart³⁴ the overall majority of Sabaki members attest /s/ as the reflex of CB*k/___ i. Therefore the normal pattern in Sabaki and NEC is CB*k/___ i > /s/. This study does not intend to challenge any of the hypotheses³¹ that

³¹ (i) Mijikenda, Ngazija, Nzuani, Pokomo, Tikuu, SD (except KiUnguja/SSW in many cases) and neighbouring Seuta and East Ruvu, Kami and Kutu attest /s/. Only Unguja and ND except Tikuu attest /š/ as the reflex of CB*k/___ i. In general, they proposed the following scenario for CB*k/___ i:
(ii) Pre-PSA/NEC: CB*k/___ i > *s (inherited as an early Bantu proto/areal innovation)(ii) Early PSA: *k/___ i > *š (*k shifts to *š/___ i as spirantization spread to Sabaki.

si, resulted from CB*k_i > ky_i > (či) ? >tsi > si (the intermediate /či/ is my own assumption). Some Chaga dialects (see Hinnebusch and Nurse 1981) attest the intermediate /tsi/, while /si/ itself is a commonly occurring reflex in spirantizing eastern Bantu languages. For instance, the evidence from Lake Corridor Bantu languages in South-western Tanzania (See Labrousse 1999) indicates that *k_i >...s_i is a widespread and regular shift in both lexical and morphophonological spirantization contexts. More evidence shows that the spirant-weakening languages of P10 and P20 extend the process from the intermediate /s/ from CB*k_i > ... /s/ > h > Ø (see Nurse 1979). The fricative /š/ (and indeed /s/) generally corresponds to CB*_pi, t_i in some cases with CB*-i- causative in spirantizing Bantu languages. Since it is difficult to establish the 'incremental steps' (i.e. establishing intermediate phonetic steps for /š/ as a regular lexical spirantization of CB *k before i) the occurrence of /š/ in KiUnguja and ND (except KiTikuu), can only be linked to non-phonetic factors such as reanalysis or borrowing. It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate why /š/ characterises KiUnguja and ND.

I simply present below its distribution in Sabaki:

(a) Sabaki spirantization in morpheme-internal contexts:

(i) Reflex /s/ (in SD, KiTikuu, Pokomo, Ngazija, but not ND and Ung)

(ii) Reflex /š/ (in ND, Ung, but not SD , KiTikuu, Pokomo, Ngazija)

(a) Sabaki spirantization in causatives:

(iii) Reflex /š/(both ND, SD, but not Ngazija, Pokomo and some Mijikenda)

(iv) Reflex /s/ (in Ngazija and Pokomo)

The distribution of Reflex /š/ is not uniform. Examination of the distribution of reflexes with/s/ versus /š/ reveals that Ngazija and Pokomo strictly realise /s/ in all contexts of spirantization. Rural SD (including KiNgome) mostly realises /s/ in two out of three contexts of spirantization. On the other side /š/ is preferred in all context in ND and Unguja. SD share with ND and Unguja in the i- causative context only. The proposition by Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 122) that the reflex /s/ in some Sabaki members is a result of a depalatalization of PSA *š > /s/

diminishes the possibility that pre-PSA or NEC *s has left traces in Sabaki. The weight of evidence as seen in (289-93) indicate that most peripheral Sabaki members parallel the regular NEC process of CB*k/___ i > *s. Distant relatives of Sabaki also attest CB*k/___ i > /s/ as observed in South-western Bantu languages (Labroussi 1999). Reflexes with /ʒ/ or /dz/ are mainly confined to the context of the i causative (See Mathwangwane 1999 for Shona, Zulu, and Ikalanga and Kula (2002) for Bemba. From the above scenario, I propose that the PSA reflex of CB *k/___ i > should rather be /s/ than the currently proposed /ʒ/.

5. 1. 1. 4 KiNgome reflexes of PSA nasals

KiNgome has inherited PSA nasals which can be linked to CB (without a velar nasal). The Nasal series is exemplified as follows :

(318)

CB		PSA		KiNgome	
*-dúm-	'bite'	*-lum-	(V) 'bite'	-ruma	(V) 'bite'
*-ntù	'person'	*mu-ntu	(1) 'person'	mu-Nt ^h u	(1) 'person'
*-dĩ	'root'	*mu-zĩ	(3) 'root'	Nĩ-zizi	(3) 'root'
*-nòòd-	'sharpen'	*-nool-	(V) 'sharpen'	-nora	(V) 'sharpen'
*n-nánè	'eight'	*n-nane	(9) 'eight'	-nane	(9) 'eight'
*-bũn-	'harvest'	*-vũn-	(V) 'harvest'	-vunu	(V) 'harvest'
*-nĩàd-	'wither'	*-nyal-	(V) 'wither'	-ñara	(V) 'wither'
*-mèni-	'peel'	*-meny-	(V) 'peel'	-meña	(V) 'peel'
-ḡàḡ-	'grumble'	*-ḡaḡany-	(V) 'grumble'	-ḡaḡana	(V) 'grumble'
?		*-ḡal-	(V) 'shine'	-ḡara	(V) 'shine'
?		*-ḡol-	(V) 'uproot'	-ḡora-	(V) 'uproot'

Here we see that KiNgome forms directly correspond to PSA forms. These data show clearly that nasals are stable. However, the following case may be regarded as nasal-loss :

CB*n-nánè > PSA *n-nane (9/10) 'eight' > (KG) nane (9/10) 'eight'.

But KiNgome, uniquely, displays a moraic nasal in the following form:

Nĩ-Nĩo (V) 'come!'

This becomes Nĩoo (V) 'come!' in SSW. The moraic nasal occurs here parallel to what occurs in monomoraic stems like Nĩe 'outside'.

5.1.1.4.1 KiNgame reflexes of PSA *NÇ clusters³² (*mp, *nt, *nk, *nc,)

There is a range of related changes involving the KiNgame reflexes of PSA *NÇ clusters. These can be summarised as follows:

- (319) (a) PSA*NÇ > NÇ^h,
 (b) PSA*NÇ > NÇ^h ~ Ç^h
 (c) PSA*NÇ > Ç^h
 (d) PSA*NÇ^h > N + Ç^h. (in monomoraic stems or where mu-
 is syncopated)

The above rules are exemplified below:

(320)

CB	PSA	KiNgame
*-pákà 'cat'	*mpaka (9) 'cat'	p ^h aka (9) 'cat'
*-pùdà 'nose'	*mpula (9) 'nose'	Np ^h ura (9) 'nose'
*-ntú 'person'	*muntu (1) 'person'	Nt ^h u (1) 'person'

Changes involving PSA *NÇ clusters show general areal features of Eastern Bantu. Hinnebusch, Nurse & Mould (1981:73) summarise four sets resulting from the PSA reflex:

(321)

- a) NÇ^h [mp^h, nt^h, nk^h] e.g. Chicewa,
 b) NÇ^h [Np^h] e.g. Shambala and Pokomo
 c) Ç^h [p^h] e.g. Swahili
 d) N [N] e.g. Sukuma

KiNgame exhibits features of set (b) and (c) as presented in (321). It also attests NÇ^h < PSA *NÇ like Seuta, Pokomo and Chimwiini. N assimilates to the voicelessness of the voiceless stop; triggers aspiration, a period of voicelessness, is a concomitant development. The attestation of NÇ^h in KiPokomo (Geider (1990: 423) widens the speculation that KiPokomo influenced KiNgame and would be in line with the report that Wapokomo resided in the Ngame area in the 16th century. In some lexical items we see N-loss (but retention of aspiration) as in other

³² Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:149) regard the PSA *N+C elements as sequences.

Swahili dialects (except KiChimwini) In addition, KiNgome data attest a synchronic alternation $\text{N}\text{C}^h \sim \text{C}^h$. I have noted that NC^h is most preferred in careful speech while C^h is prevalent in very rapid speech. This alternation serves to validate the intermediate stages which have completely disappeared in modern reflexes of KiUnguja, KiMvita and SSW.

I tentatively envisage the ordering of the historical development of the reflexes of PSA *NC in the following manner:

(322)

PSA:	*kiNtu '(7) 'thing) *kiNtanda (7) 'bed'	
KiNgome:	ki-Ntu	ki-Ntanda (1)nasal assimilation/ devoicing
	ki-N ^h tu	ki-N ^h tanda (2) aspiration
	-----	ki-Øt ^h anda (3) Nasal-loss
	ki-Nt ^h u	ki-t ^h anda (4) prenasalization
	ki-Nt ^h u	ki-t ^h anda Output

PSA sequences of N+stop (voiceless) underwent several changes in KiNgome including nasal devoicing-assimilation and aspiration of the voiceless obstruent. The presence of alternation $\text{N}\text{C}^h \sim \text{C}^h$ marks the route towards total nasal loss.

Although KiNgome borders KiMwani to the south, it does not share the Mwani reflexes of PSA *NC:

(323) PSA	KiNgome	KiMwani
*mpula 'nose'	Np ^h ura	mula
*mpwani 'coast'	mup ^h wa	mwani
*muntu 'person'	Nt ^h u	munu

5. 1. 1. 4. 2 The development of aspiration in KiNgome

I consider below the factors leading to aspiration of voiceless obstruents in KiNgome. Hinnebusch (1975), Givon (1974) and Mathangwane (1999) propose different schema accounting for the development of aspiration following *NC in Bantu languages. Aspiration in Ikalanga (Mathangwane 1999:151) is diachronically linked to the following CB

contexts:

- (a) following CB high vowels *ɪ and *ʊ
- (b) /w/ < CB *ʊ/ __ (non-back vowel)
- (c) *Nɕ clusters

Since KiNgome (and Swahili in general) is a fully spirantizing dialect, the contact between voiceless stops and high vowels as in (a) and (b) yield stridents and not aspirated obstruents. We, further, do not see the direct link between the voiceless obstruents followed by PSA *w (from the contact of ʊ+V) and resulting aspiration. Aspiration in KiNgome is diachronically linked to sequences of nasal plus voiceless obstruents.

As noted in Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:159), diachronically, 'aspiration is a concomitant of devoicing either as an automatic consequence or as a metathesis of pre-oral-stop voicelessness'. KiNgome provides evidence of intermediate stages towards aspiration as follows:

(324)

*mpapa	*mu-pa	*muNka	(1) CB/PSA forms
N̥papa	ṁ-pa	ṁNka	(2) assimilation/syncopation
N̥p ^h apa	N̥p ^h a	N̥N ^h ke	(3) Homorganicity
Øp ^h apa	N̥p ^h a	N̥Øk ^h e	(4) Nasal deletion/ moraicity
p ^h apa	N̥p ^h a	N̥k ^h e	(5) output

A cross-linguistic survey shows that there are Bantu languages without nasal devoicing but which exhibit aspiration e.g. ChiCewa and Mananja (see Hinnebusch et al. 1981: 73). Moreover, in (271), we saw active cases of the moraic nasals followed by aspirated obstruents in KiNgome. Therefore, nasal devoicing is only a prerequisite for nasal-loss but not for aspiration. Likewise, it appears to be the case that voice preservation is also a prerequisite for nasal 'stability' in the form of prenasalisation of obstruents e.g. Nb, Nd e.t.c. in Sabaki.

5.1.1.4.3 Nasal-loss in N̥ɕ^h > ɕ^h

Data from KiNgome shows that the nasal element displays different degrees of stability depend on the environment. It is more susceptible to imminent loss in the word-initial environment. We link this tendency

with the proposition made by Ohala (1975) that N-loss before voiceless stops and other obstruents may be favoured by a phonetic process of contextual devoicing. However, N-deletion does not appear to be the inevitable result of contextual devoicing. Devoicing of N without a concomitant increase in nasal airflow, and therefore, nasal turbulence, has a major effect on perceptual saliency, which may lead to complete N-deletion. However, one regular tendencies that can be observed from synchronic KiNgame data is the preservation of PSA*NC̣ word-internally:

(325)

CB		PSA		KiNgame reflexes	
*-ntù	'thing'	*kintu	(7) 'thing'	kiNt ^h u	(7) 'thing'
*ba-ntú	'persons'	*Wə-ntu	(2) 'persons'	wəNt ^h u	(2) 'persons'
*-yónchè	'all'	*-once	(Adj.) 'all'	-oNt ^h e	(Adj.) 'all'

In (325) we see forms that have retained the nasal element of the prenasalized obstruents. However, despite the above attestations, we have noted that although KiNgame synchronic data shows the unitary segment N̥C^h word-internally it is beginning to move towards (N̥ + C^h). Some speakers are clearly pronouncing [kiŋ]_σ[t^hu]_σ with two syllables. I assume this to be a very recent innovation.

Our next concern will be to discuss the less controversial attestation of inherited PSA *NC̣.

5.1.1.4.4 PSA *NC̣ (Voiced stops)

KiNgame like the rest of SD inherited PSA voiced *NC̣ sequences.

(326)

CB		PSA		KiNgame reflexes	
*-bégu	'seed'	*m-begu	(9) 'seed'	Nbegu	(9) 'seed'
*-dàngè	'blister'	*ɿ-ləŋə	(5) 'blister'	dəNgerəNge	(5) 'blister'
*-dòndà	'sore'	*ki-londa	(7) 'sore'	ki-doNda	(7) 'sore'
*-jìdà	'path'	*n-jila	(9) 'path'	Njira	(9) 'path'

As the data in (326) indicate, the prenasalised voiced stops are directly

linked to CB/PSA *NC. There is no restriction of their occurrence. The reflexes of PSA*NC in KiNgame provide support for our contention that the members of the counterpart voiceless series should be considered as a unitary segments.

5. 1. 1. 4. 5 KiNgame reflex of PSA *NF clusters

(327)

CB		PSA		KG	
*-píḡò	'kidney'	*mḡḡo	(9) 'kidney'	fḡḡo	(5)'kidney'
*-tḡkù	'day'	*nḡḡku	(9) 'day'	sḡku	(9) 'day'
*-kḡḡò	'neck'	*nḡḡḡo	(9) 'neck'	sḡḡḡo	(9) 'neck'

Deletion of a nasal before a fricative occurs preferentially rather deletion of a nasal before a stop. Prefricative N deletion is due to its articulatory instability. Mayerthaler (1982: 225) notes that the passage of air through the nasal cavity affects the level of the airflow through the oral cavity, thereby reducing the amount of turbulence/frication.

5. 1. 1. 4. 6 KiNgame reflexes of PSA CG sequences

We have seen in § 2. 5. 1. that KiNgame allows CG sequences. This has been noticed to be a feature of PSA too. By comparison, KiNgame CG sequences have undergone very little change from the reconstructed PSA. For the most part KiNgame attests PSA's CG sequences and thus becomes a conservative dialect of Swahili.

(328)

CB		PSA		KiNgame	
*-kúéd-	'go up'	*-kwel-	(V) 'climb'	khwera	(V) 'climb'
*-duad-	'be sick'	*-lwel-	(V) 'be sick'	-rwar-	(V) 'be sick'
*-dī-	'eat'	*kyakulya	(7) 'food'	kyakurya	(7) 'food'
*-píḡid-	'sweep'	*lupyagilo	(11) 'broom'	rufyagiyo	(14)'broom'

PSA*Cw is preserved after all consonants except s, ʃ, z and v and f while PSA *Cy is found when a glide *y follows consonants : k-, l-, v-, f-.

The case of CG sequences in Swahili (especially the case of KiMvita) is well described by Maeda (2001). KiNgame and other Swahili dialects share similar cases of CG sequences as illustrated by Maeda (ibid.). However, glide loss has also been noticed in KiNgame. The following are some of

the examples of PSA glide-loss in KiNgome.

(329)

CB	PSA	KiNgome reflexes
*-dɔ́ád- 'dress'	*-vwal- (V) 'dress'	-vara (V) 'dress'
*-kɔ́a 'crack'	*lufwa (11) 'crack'	rufa (11) 'crack'

Generally, we see in KiNgome that PSA*_w is deleted after *v*, *f*, *s*, while PSA*_y is lenited when preceded by the fricatives *z*, *s* and *ʃ*.

5.1.1.5 The development of the KiNgome vocalic system

KiNgome has a 5-Vowel system derived from the CB/PSA 7-Vowel system. What actually happened was a merger of the degree 1 and degree 2 vowels of CB/PSA. CB/PSA had seven vowels with four degrees of aperture:

(330)

	front (unrounded)	back (rounded)
aperture 1	i	ɯ
aperture 2	i	u
aperture 3	e	o
aperture 4	a	

From the above system, KiNgome and the rest of the Swahili dialects have developed a system with only 5 phonologically distinct vowels, following the merger of vowels of apertures 1 and 2. This resulted in the synchronic system as seen below:

(331)

	front (unrounded)	back (rounded)
apertures 1&2	i	u
aperture 3	e	o
aperture 4	a	

However the value of the feature front/back has not changed in KiNgome (nor indeed in other Swahili dialects in general). Therefore, CB/PSA vowels of degree 1 (high close vowels) correspond to KiNgome merged degrees 1&2. This is evident in the following examples:

(332)

CB		PSA		KiNgame	
*-tũng-	'close'	*-fũng-	'close'	fuNga	'close'
*-dĩng-	'surround'	*-zĩng-	'go around'	-ziNg-	'commit adultery'

Has KiNgame retained vowel length? The answer is provided by the following example:

(333)

CB		PSA		KiNgame	
*-tũũd-	'swell up'	-fũũl-	'swell up'	-fura	'swell'
*bààbá	'father'	*bàabà	'father'	baba	'father'
*-béék-	'put'	*-Wéek-	'put'	weka	'put'
*kóópĩ	'slap'	*ĩ-kóopfĩ	'slap'	kofi	'slap'
*-zĩĩk-	'bury'	*-dĩĩk-	'bury'	-zika	'bury'

It is clear that there is widespread loss of vowel length in KiNgame as examples above show. However, isolated cases of vowel length have been noted in some lexicon in KiNgame (see § 2. 3). Chimwiini is reported to preserve vowel length among all Swahili dialects (See Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 209).

5. 2 Summary

The present chapter has attempted to map out the historical evolution of the present day KiNgame segment inventory. The initial picture reveals that a great many KiNgame segments support PSA reconstruction. However, I have noted some relic segments that can clearly be linked to the distant CB ancestor and thus suggest some addition to the PSA forms i.e., PSA *W and *l (The retention of /r/, /g/ and /ky/ subgrouped KiNgame along with other conservative dialects of Swahili). I have identified a number of innovations including the 7V > 5V reduction, full spirantization, reduction of PSA*NC sequences to a unitary segment, the evolution of aspiration and certain unproductive traces of Dahl's law.

The next chapter continues with the establishment of a correspondence

between the PSA morphological system and that of KiNgome. We have examined the correspondences between KiNgome and reconstructed Proto-forms of PSA and CB. The majority of CB/PSA phonological characteristics have been retained in KiNgome. KiNgome also participates in the common Sabaki innovation such as 7>5 vowel reduction, loss of tone and full spirantization of stops triggered by high vowels.

Chapter 6 : Historical Morphology

6. 0 The development of the morphological system of KiNgome

The previous chapter has concerned itself with a discussion of the phonological development of the KiNgome dialect. This chapter continues to examine the evolution of the morphological system. Thus, primarily, I will describe the diachronic morphology of KiNgome tracing it back from the latest ancestor PSA and the distant CB forms. This chapter will be divided into two main parts: the nominal system and the verbal system. In the nominal system, I will trace the evolution of the KiNgome noun class inventory; nominal prefixes, noun class pairings and noun class agreement patterns. In the verb system section, I will examine the correspondence between the present-day formatives (for tense, aspect, person, subject and object prefixes, negatives, and extension suffixes in the verbal system) of KiNgome in comparison with PSA and CB. I will pay attention to the presence, absence and creation of (new) markers.

Generally, I assume that morphemes shared by Coastal Sabaki languages are descended from CB and PSA forms. Hence, all my examples will refer to three-stages of development.

6. 1 The development of the KiNgome nominal system

The noun class systems in Bantu languages are directly descended from the Proto-Bantu system i.e. from CB. Despite some disparities in the various reconstruction of the Bantu noun class system (see Maho 1999: 246-249), I have selected Guthrie's CB (see Guthrie 1971: 144 vol. 2) as the representative reconstruction for comparison with PSA and KiNgome forms. I present in (331) the correspondences between CB, PSA and KiNgome class prefixes. The set that represents CB primary nominal prefixes are from Guthrie (1971:144 vol. 2) who describes them as independent prefixes (IP). For PSA, we have adopted what Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 652-653) designate as SET 1 that represents nominal and cardinal numerals. Again, NoP stands for No overt prefix marking.

The (-) represents lack of form.

(334)

	CB	PSA		KINGOME	
Cl.		C-stem	V-stem	C-stem	V-stem
1	*mu-	*mu-	*mw-	mu-, N-	mw-
1a	NoP	NoP	NoP	NoP	NoP
2	*ba-	*W a-	*W-	wa-	wa
2a				NoP	NoP
3	*mu-	*mu-	*mw-	mu-, N-	mw-
4	*mi-,	*mi-	*m(i)	mi-	mi~my-
5	*yi-	*i-	*ji-	NoP	NoP
6	*ma-	*ma-	*m(a)	ma-	m(a)-
7	*ki-	*ki-	*ky-	ki-	ky-
8	*bi-	*vi-	*vy-	vi	vy-
9	*ny-	*N-	*ny-	N-	ñ-
9a	-	-	-	NoP-	NoP-
10	*ny-	*N-	*-ny	N-	ñ-
10a	-	-	-	NoP-	NoP-
11	*du-	*lu-	*lw-	ru-	rw-
12	*ka-	*ka-	*k(a)	-	-
13	*tu-	-	-	-	-
14	*bu-	*W u-	*W-	u-	w-
15	*ku-	*ku-	*kw-	ku-	kw-
16	*pa-	*pa-	-	pa-	p-
17	*ku-	*ku-	*kw-	ku-	kw-
18	*mu-	*mu-	*mw-	mu-, N-	mw-
19	*pi-	-	-	-	-

As noticed in (334), the majority of the reconstructed Set 1 noun class series have been retained unchanged. Thus the present day KiNgame noun class system gives the impression of a system in which the CB/PSA systems survive. Guthrie (1967-1971) has reconstructed nineteen classes (very similar to Meeussen 1967: 97 and Meinhof 1932). Since then, there have been additions and refinements of this reconstruction as reported by Maho (1999: 248). However, there are some disparities we have noticed in

the above presentation. What Guthrie (vol.1 1967:94) regards as Classes 1a:2a is different from what I have presented here (and indeed as presented in PSA). Guthrie meant that Class 1a is marked by the zero prefix (hereafter NoP), but he refers to Class 2a as having a special type of prefix found mostly in Eastern languages. We do not know what is the basis for regarding, for instance, G.42d *mama* 'mother' as belonging to 1a: 2 instead of 1a: 2a. Does the plural of Class 1a *mama* in G.42d have any prefix form? Do Classes 1a and 2a exist in PSA? Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 618) rectify Guthrie's anomaly by showing a few examples of Class 1a: 2a such as **baba* 'father' as being a direct reflex of CB *-*bààbá* 'father' and PSA **maama* 'mother' (CB *-*mààmá* 'mother') as belonging to the 1a:2a Classes. They do not regard Class 2a as 'a class with special prefix' as portrayed by Guthrie (ibid.). No Sabaki languages (and indeed Bantu in general) have any pairing of 1a: 2. In actual fact there is only pairing of 1: 2 and 1a: 2a.³³ I accordingly consider 2a in KiNgome as NoP nouns and not a 'class with special prefix' (see my argument in § 3. 1. 2. 4).

Other striking development in KiNgome is seen in occurrences of NoP which are morphemically defined for the sub-classes 1a, 9a, 2a, 10a, 5. NoP is found only in Set 1 noun prefixes. We have designated this development in separate subclasses. NoP is traditionally regarded as a zero morpheme. However, I do not favour the term 'zero morpheme' in order to avoid giving the impression that a null * $\emptyset$ is a morpheme of some kind.

6. 1. 1 Retention of PSA nominal classes in KiNgome

Most class prefixes of PSA survive unchanged in present-day KiNgome forms. KiNgome forms as found in Classes 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9,10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 correspond to their closer ancestor PSA. Some CB nominal prefixes can be seen to have undergone relatively few sound changes in PSA and KiNgome. For instance, present-day KiNgome exhibits *ku-* ~ *ko-* alternation that go back to CB/PSA **ku-*. I argue in Chapter 2 that this is the peculiar form of prefix VHH. More cases of regular retention is evident in classes 2, 5(a), 8, 9, 10, 11 and 14. Although the majority of shape of KiNgome nominal prefixes strongly support the PSA and CB reconstruction, it is necessary to comment on some of the striking changes in the retained classes discussed in the following subsection.

³³ In M42 Bemba Cl. 1/2 can be exemplified by *umu-ntu/aba-ntu* 'person', Cl. 1a/2a by *fulwe/baa-fulwe* 'tortoise'.

6.1.1.1 KiNgome reflexes of PSA *mu for Classes 1, 3 and 18

CB/ PSA Classes 1, 3, and 18 share an identically reconstructed prefix *mu- with C-stems (but *mw- with V-stems). We see KiNgome has partly retained the full form mu- while some other prefixes have a homorganic moraic nasal prefix N̥-. There is however a regular alternation mu- ~ N̥-, which is clear evidence for the operation of a phonological change. The KiNgome case differs from urban Swahili dialects such as SSW and KiMvita as the latter exhibit mu- syncopation e.g. *mu-toto 'child' > becomes ɱ-toto 'child', KiNgome has a homorganic nasal N̥-toto 'child'. Quite definitely this form can be attributed to an areal influence, as KiNgome is surrounded by P20 languages that are characterised by a /N̥-/ prefix rather than /ɱ-/, and this includes Urban Lindi Swahili (see Legere 1986) and all Mafia Island Swahili.

6.1.1.2 KiNgome reflexes of PSA *N-

The PSA *N that represents Class 9/10 (C-stems) corresponds to Guthrie's reconstructed CB */ny-/ for Class 9 and the dual prefixes */dɪ-, ny-/ for Class 10. Meinhof proposed */ni-/ and the dual prefixes */lɪ-, ni-/ for those same classes. Both agree in the regular loss of their first CV in Class 10 */dɪ- or lɪ-/. PSA had *N-, a prenasalized homorganic nasal, for both classes but *ny- is found in the environment of the vowel initial stems of both classes. The derivation of *N- is linked to the loss of the high vowel in *ni-. Guthrie's *y- in CB *ny- is generally equated with the high vowel ɪ. Ehret (1999:59) pointed out that he did 'not recognise Guthrie's *y as a stem-initial consonant, preferring to reconstruct vowel-initial stems in such instances'. KiNgome attests the PSA reconstruction of Classes 9 and 10. However, there is a trend under the influence of SSW, for it to slowly lose some nasal onsets which have gone through a devoicing stage. Classes 9a and 10a are formulated here to cater for these nouns that have recently lost their nasal onset.

6.1.1.3 The KiNgome reflexes of PSA *lu-

Guthrie reconstructed CB */du-/ for Class 11, Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) have */lu-/ for PSA. KiNgome has a regular reflex /ru-/, representing Class 11, and an allomorph /u-/ is also present as a result of influences from SSW/Unguja. I place this recent u- in sub-class 11a. It has not necessarily resulted from l-loss but I assumed to be borrowed

directly from SSW. The CB form *du- has not been preserved with a /d/ in our data and hence KiNgome wholly supports the PSA reconstruction of *lu-. The most contentious issue is whether Class 11 in KiNgome has really merged with Class 14. We shall find the answer in the discussion of Class 14 below:

6. 1. 1. 4. The KiNgome reflexes of PSA *Wu-

There is a noteworthy case which involved the retention of the Class 14 CB *bu- in KiNgome; for instances bu-Nbwi (14[5]) 'sorcery' or bw-imbwi (14[5]) 'sweetened rice'. There has also been a parallel report of the development of a new class briefly marked as 11=14, in SSW (see De Wolf 1971: 44 and Moxley 1995: 237). This is assumed to be a merger of classes 11 and 14 which resulted from their sharing identical prefixes in their nominal and agreement prefixes. De Wolf (ibid.) regards /u-/ of Class 11 for SSW as a 'merger of Classes 14 *bu- and 11*du- of CB. Hence they can freely be written as 14: 6 and 11: 6. KiNgome, along with Pokomo, Mijikenda, Ilwana, Mwani and Mwiini (Nurse p.c.) provides strong evidences that run counter to the general view on the merger of Classes 11 and 14 in Swahili. Schematically, I propose a tentative diachronic evolution of the present day forms of Classes 11 and 14 in KiNgome as follows:

(335)

	Class 11	Class 14
CB	*du-	*bu-
(PSA)	*lu	*(bu) Wu-
	ru-	bu-, Wu
surface	ru- and u-	bu-, (r)u-

Class 11 /ru-/ in KiNgome is a reflex of PSA *lu- derived from CB*du-. There are no surviving cases of exactly the CB *du- shape in KiNgome nor in Swahili dialects in general. I find most nouns with a prefix /u-/ in KiNgome are a result of external influences (mainly from SSW). Both /ru-/ and /u-/ take Class 10 as their plural. I have proposed that the prefix /ru-/ be regarded as the Class 11 and prefix /u-/ as the Class 11a prefix.

As far as Class 14 is concerned, there is one case of Class 14 retaining a direct reflex of CB * bu- in KiNgome. The form *bu- shifted to *Wu- in

PSA but lost the /w/ as a result of the following /u-/. Since KiNgome prefers to preserve a CV structure, there has been tendency to epenthesize r- before the initial vowel-. This epenthetic [r]u coincides with ru- of Class 11. The argument that Class 11 and Class 14 have identical nominal and verbal prefixes is not a licence to regard them as merged classes. Likewise, we are aware that Classes 15 and 17 share both nominal, adnominal and verbal prefixes, but still the suggestion that Classes 15=17 has not gained popularity.

It has been too early to say that Classes 11 and 14 have lost their distinctiveness in modern Sabaki languages. Cross linguistic evidence gives evidence that differences between these Classes still obtain as noted in KiPokomo (Geider 1990: 441) where the original contrast between Classes 11 and Class 14 are still clearly present and traces of Class 14 *bu- and Class 11 *du- are still to be found in possessive forms, e.g.

- (336) lu-fanga ndu-angu
 11-machete 11- mine
 'The machete is mine'
 u-gonjo mbu-angu
 14-illness 14- mine
 'The illness is mine'

This distinction is also present in adjacent coastal ND (Nurse 1982), hence, I have distinguished Classes 11 and 14 on the basis of: association, evolution, the persistence of an inherited CB form *bu-, their distinct plurality and function.

6.1.2 Loss of PSA nominal prefixes in KiNgome

My corpus lacks PSA pre-prefix i- for Class 5 C- initial polymoraic stems as a reflex of the CB *di- nominal prefix. In addition, there is completely absence of PSA Classes 12, 13 and 19. Let us discuss these cases in turn:

6.1.2.1 Loss of preprefix PSA *i- in KiNgome

Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:187) reconstructed PSA i- for Class 5 C-initial polymoraic stems as a reflex of the CB *di- nominal prefix. They also reconstructed PSA *iji- for monomoraic C-stems and V-stems. The reconstruction of PSA*i- tallies with what Meeussen (1967: 97-9)

reconstructed for the PB class system where we find *i- stands for the Class 5 nominal prefix. However, as far as Guthrie's reconstruction is concerned we have four common Bantu forms : CB*/yi-, yĩ-, di-di-/³⁴ and an extra form *ji- which both appear as the Class 5 nominal prefix. If PSA *i- is derived from CB *di- then obviously PSA has gone through the drastic change in losing the initial consonant, which was probably *i³⁵ resulting in vowel-initial *i-. What brought about this change is tentatively suggested by Hinnebusch (1973: 50-5).

However, there is no clear explanation for the reflex of CB *yi- as the Class 5 nominal prefix in PSA. Guthrie (vol.4 1970: 221-222 C.S 2204a-d) linked CB *di- with G.42d^oji- and CB*yi- with G.42d Ø-zero morpheme (herein NoP). If G.42d has ^oji- then the PSA form ought to be *ijj i- and if G.42d has NoP then it must be derived from PSA by *i-deletion. If that is true I find a clear connection between CB *yi- and PSA *i- but there is remote linkage between CB *di- and PSA *i-.

Evidence from Hinnebusch (1973: 55) shows that CB *yi- is responsible for reflexes with i- in Bantu languages such as A.34, C22, D.14, E. 51, F.21, M.42, e.t.c. and Ø or NoP for G.42d, N.21, D.28b, G.35, for consonant-initial noun stems. Likewise the evidence points towards CB*di- for the PSA reflex of *ijj i-.

I have contributed to the discussions about Class 5 by suggesting that CB*yi- has developed into PSA *i- in C-stems and PSA*ijj i- for V-stems although Guthrie has not reconstructed a nominal prefix for V-stems. The reflex of PSA *i- in KiNgame is NoP which derived from the loss of PSA *i-. I have also considered monomoraic stems (M-stems) under Class 5. M-Stems are commonly found with a minimal CV shape, hence, there is a gap in PSA and KiNgame for M-/ Vowel-initial stems. Since Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 188-191) find it hard to come out with a uniform reconstructed prefix with M-stems, I have suggested in (328), under sub-class 5, that the plausible CB form could be *di- and consequently PSA form would have to be *(l)i-. The evidence for this hypothesis is suggested by data presented in Nurse and Hinnebusch

³⁴ These are purported to be common denominators (reflecting the diversity of forms) and not the ultimate proto-Bantu reconstruction.

³⁵ Hinnebusch (1973: 50-1) earlier reconstructed the Class 5 prefix as /*li-/ for Coastal (Sabaki) languages which in some cases lost its consonant by becoming /i-/ which then became /i-/ which eventually was lost.

(1993:188-189). Although they did not propose sub-class 5 or even consider CB form for M-stems as *dĩ-, I have examined their presentation of all reflexes of M-stems and realise that there are basically five attested nominal prefixes : i-, ij-, ji-, ri- and di-. Tentatively, I suggest the following derivations:

(337)

- (a) *dĩ- > di- (di-bwe 'stone' in Kwere
> dz>ji (ji-we 'stone') in SSW
- (b) *dĩ- > di-> li-, ri- (ri-we 'stone' in KiMwani)
> i- l-loss (e.g. i-we 'stone' in Giriama
> Ø (e.g. bwe 'stone' in Comorian dialects

The above scenario suggests that there were two evolution involving the proto-form: *dĩ-, retained as di- in some languages and innovated to ji- in others. In other way, *dĩ- is retained as di- > and changed to li- which subsequently attests l-weakening and then i- loss altogether. This is the reason why we think it is appropriate to have a separate sub-class 5.

The process of initial i- deletion of PSA Class 5 nouns in KiNgome is almost complete. Here are typical cases:

(338)

CB	PSA	KiNgome	
*-káǵà	ĩkala	kara	(5) 'charcoal'
*-yuba	ĩjuWa	ju[w]a	(5) 'sun'
*-yino	ĩjino	jino	(5) 'tooth'
*-bú	ĩvú	j-ivu	(5) 'ash'

Though KiNgome has lost the pre-prefix i- in Class 5(a) nouns, I have noticed the occurrence of the uncommon i- verb-stem- initial. These are:

(339)

-ikar-a	(V) 'sit'	PSA* -ĩkal, -CB*-ĩkad-
-iñw-a	(V) 'drink'	PSA*-nyw
-iry-a	(V) 'eat'	PSA*-ly

The cognate of -ikar-a (V) 'sit' appears in KiMwani as ikala (V) 'sit'.

Interestingly, Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 525) have noted that some SD dialects attest verbs with vowel-initial stems in the form of -ipik-a 'cook', -iruk-a 'fly', -ikal-a 'sit'.

The i-initial verb stems were a common features in CB and PSA but the degree of retention differs among Sabaki members. Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 588-90) have shown that KiMwani leads in having a higher number of retention of i-initial verb stem than other Sabaki members, including KiNgome.

6.1.2.2 Loss of PSA Classes 12, 13 and 19 in KiNgome

Classes 12, 13 and 19 *ka-, *tu- and *pi- cannot be ascertained from KiNgome data. PSA retains a reflex of CB *ka-, but there is a loss of CB*tu- and *pi- in PSA too. Classes 12 and 13 are diminutives in other languages, but role has been taken over by Classes 7 and 8 in KiNgome (and indeed also in SSW). The CB Class 19 *pi- (diminutives) is reported by Maho 1999: 199) to have a very restricted distribution in Bantu language (It is found mainly in the rainforest area and largely occurs in singular forms only). Both PSA and KiNgome lack this Class.

6.1.3 KiNgome reflexes of PSA Set 2 prefixes

In addition to Set 1 prefixes, Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) reconstruct Set 2 noun class prefixes specifically for demonstratives, possessives, connectives, ordinal numerals, anaphoric pronouns, verbal SM and OM. In CB they were regarded as dependent prefixes :

(340)

Class	CB	PSA	KiNgome	description
1	*yu	*yu	yu	demonstrative
1		*u	u	poss. and ordinal number
3	*gu	*u	u	"
4, 9	*yi	*i	i	"
5	*di	*li	ri	"
6	*ga, ya	*(g)a	ga, ya	
10	*di	*zi-	zi	

There have been no marked changes from reconstructed PSA forms to those of KiNgome. KiNgome and PSA share identical forms that can be traced from CB. In other classes, Set 2 prefixes are identical to Set 1.

Therefore KiNgame adnominal prefixes support the proposed PSA reconstruction. Let us now turn to the evolution of the verbal system.

6.2 The development of the KiNgame verbal system

This section will trace the evolution of the modern KiNgame verbal system from PSA and where possible linking to its distant ancestor CB, for which Guthrie described a number of word-building elements (see Guthrie Vol. 1: 1967: 86-91). The quality of reconstruction for verbal inflection for CB is significantly less solid than for phonology or nominal morphology. Although Meeusen 1967: 81-121 is comparatively richer in this regard, we intend to consistently stick to CB forms. The primary verb structure of the Bantu verbal word is fairly uniform; see the verb template in § 4.1. The evolution of the various categories will be examined under the two subtopics: prefix and suffix verbal developments.

6.2.1 The prefixes verbal developments

This section on the development of the prefixes categories will cover: subject markers, negative and object marking, reflexive marking, TAM and relatives as illustrated in the comparison between CB, PSA and KiNgame presented in (341).

6.2.1.1 KiNgame reflexes of PSA 's SM and OM

Although the majority of individual Sabaki members have seen drastic changes in their verbal systems from CB/PSA to modern forms, KiNgame has retained several basic constituent morphemes that have been earlier reconstructed in CB/PSA. The negative marking and reflexives have been retained as such (with slight phonetic changes). The CB/PSA primary negatives *nka- has developed into ha- (through *Nka- > N_gka- > Økha- > ha-) while in 1sg person *si- is retained in that shape and position in KiNgame e.g. si-j-i 'I will not come'. Together with the primary negative in the prefix position, it is further marked by the suffix -i as a reflex of CB/PSA *-i. The reflexive CB/PSA *ji- is as well retained as such in KiNgame in the form of /ji-/.

KiNgame has also retained subject and object marking morphemes (with certain phonetic changes and even the loss of consonants) as obvious direct reflexes of CB/PSA forms. We present in (341) a comparison chart of SM and OM from CB, PSA to KiNgame. Apart from a general picture of retention, there has been few changes of prefix (and indeed suffix)

categories from CB/PSA to current KiNgome forms. In some items, representing affirmative SM, our informant provided more than one forms. In such cases we have considered forms linked to PSA/CB as basic referents or regular reflexes. Let us see a comparison chart in (341a &b). Chart (341 a) is for subject persons in Cl. 1.

The comparison of SM and OM in CB, PSA and KiNgome

(341)(a)

Class	CB		PSA		KINGOME	
Cl. 1 sg.	SM	OM	SM	OM	SM	OM
1 person	*ni-,ny-	*ni-,ny-	*ni-	*-ni	ni-~ñi-	-ni-~ñi
2 person	*u-,ku-	*kù-	*u-,*ku-	*-ku	u-,ku-,	-ku
3 person	*a-,ka-	*mu-	*a-,*ka-	*-mu	a-,ka-, ki?	-mu
Cl.2 pl.						
1 person	*tu-	*tu-	*tu-	*tu-	tu-, ki?	tu-
2 person	*mu-	*mu-	*mu-	*mu-	mu-, N-	N-
3 person	*ba-	*ba-	*Wa-	*Wa-	wa-	wa
3	*gu-,*yu-	*gu-	*(g)u-	*(g)u-	u-,	u-
4	*gi-,*yi-	*yi-	*i-	*i-	i-	i-
5	*di-	*di-	*li-	*li-	ri-	ri-
6	*ga-,ya-	*ga-,ya-	*(g)a-	*(g)a-	ga-, ya-	ga-,ya-
7	*ki-	*ki-	*ki-	*ki-	ki-~öi-	ki-
8	*bi-	*bi-	*vi-	*vi-	vi-	vi-
9	*yi-	*i-	*i-	*i-	i-	i-
10	*dɪ́-	*dɪ́-,yi	*zi-	*zi-	zi-	zi-
11	*du-	*du-	*lu-	*lu-	(r)u-	(r)u-,
12	*ka-	*ka-	*ka-	*ka-	-	-
13	*tu-	*tu-	-	-	-	-
14	*bu-	*bu-	*Wu-	*Wu-	[r]u-	[r]u-,
15	*ku-	*ku-	*ku-	*ku-	ku-	ku-
16	*pa-	*pa-	*pa-	*pa-	pa-	pa-
17	*ku-	*ku-	*ku-	*ku-	ku-	ku-
18	*mu-	*mu-	*mu-	*mu-	mu-	mu-
19	*pi-		-	-	-	-

As can be seen in (341 a&b)), the majority of SM and OM in CB/PSA have

been retained unchanged in KiNgome. However, apart from regular trend, some areas seems to have employ other additional forms. Examination of KiNgome reflexes of PSA 1SM*ni-, 2 SM *u- and *ku- show that both *u- and *ku- stand for CB/PSA 2sgSM. They are in complementary distribution similar to the case of *a- and *ka- in 3rd sg. *u- and *a- occur with all other tenses.

(342)

- (a) u-na-bwir-a mpepeta
2sgSM-PRST-eat-FV 3-beaten rice
'You are eating beaten rice'
- (b) ku-Ø-rwar-a nini weye ?
2sgSM-ANT-fall sick-FV why you
'What are your suffering?'

In addition to these regular forms, we have heard KiNgome speakers use ki- in the following manner.

(343)

- (a) ki-Ø-j-a rini weye?
2sgSM-PAST-come-FV when you
'When did you came?'
- (b) ki-Ø-j-a rero
1sgSM-ANT-come-FV today
I have come / come today
- (c) ki-Ø-wa-on-a Kidakuri
1plSM-ANT-3plOM-see-FV Kidakuri
'We saw them at Kidakuri.'

ki- is here used for 1sgSM, 1plSM and 2sgSM (see also (162) for synchronic illustration). However we noted in (341a) that PSA has *ki- and *ti- (Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 366) but failed to appear in CB. Reflexes of PSA*ti- occur only in Comorian, Mwani, Nosse Be Swahili, ChiFundi, and bits of G30 (Kami, etc.) (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 366). We cannot directly link ki- form to KiNgome. As we have argued in chapter 4, this may be considered as a borrowed case from P-languages or reanalysis of the situative ki-.

KiNgome reflexes of CB/PSA 3 sg person *a- and *ka-, have been retained unchanged in KiNgome.

(344)

- (a) a-na-rim-a
3sgSM-PROG-see-FV
'S/he is cultivating'

- (b) ka-Ø-fu
 3sgSM-ANT-die
 'S/he died' (cf. KiVumba in Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 366)

We have dealt with the use of a- and ka- in chapter 4.

The most striking case in (341) is seen in the retention of Class 6 agreements in KiNgome. The variation between ga- or ya- reflects PSA *(g)a. The prefix ga- is a typical feature of the speech of KiNgome south variety (KGS) in the Mrali and Jimbo areas, whilst ya- characterises the speech of KiNgome north variety (KGN) as spoken in Jojo, Bweni and Kanga villages. No other Swahili dialects attest ga- as an agreement prefix for Class 6.

(345)

KGS	KGN	
ga-Nk ^{ho}	ya-ko	'yours'
go-Nt ^{he}	yo-Nt ^{he}	'all'
ga-Ngu ga	ya-Ngu ya	'these mine'
ga-wa-po	ya-wa-po	'they are there'
ga-jar-a	ya-jar-a	'fill up'
ga-mweg-e-ni	ya-mweg-e-ni	'spill them'

Some speakers in Kanga have been heard alternating ga ~ ya in their speech. I treat ga- and ya- as allomorphs of the same morpheme but at the same time these forms underline a primary division between the varieties of KGS and KGN. There is a probability that ga- entered into KiNgome via KiMwera during the early migration of the Bantu to the island. This assumption consolidates the link between KiMwera and the ancestors of the modern-day WaNgome as speculated in the traditions of the Wangome. KiMwera (see Harris 1950: 45) attests ga- as illustrated below:

(346)

- (a) a-go ga-ngali ma-lowe ga-mbone
 Dem-6 6-be still not 6-word 6- good
 'Those are not good words'

Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 345) reconstructed the Class agreement *(g)a for PNEC based on Mijikenda and Kaguru only. KiNgome, as a Sabaki member, is here providing further evidence of ga- along side ya-

form.

6. 2. 1. 2 The development of TA system in KiNgome

This subsection traces the evolution of the modern-day TA system of KiNgome in relation to reconstructed PSA and CB forms. All cases of TA in KiNgome involve the pre-existing materials that are found in PSA/CB. There are instances where PSA/CB formatives are directly inherited to the contemporary KiNgome forms with slightly changes in their original shape and range of meanings. In other instances, we see the older materials (verbs) are grammaticalized and assuming TA roles. By and large, the diachronic origins of these developments are still transparent and they reveal that KiNgome is a typical SD-subgroup. However, this is not say that we cannot talk of innovation in modern-day TA forms in KiNgome, there exist alteration, loss of original forms and extension and narrowing of meanings. In general, we can talk of both retention and innovation of TA forms in KiNgome. I present simplified charts in (347 a & b) to display evidence of the TA evolution in three stages of its evolution: modern KiNgome, PSA as well as CB.

(347)

(a) TA comparison chart

CB	PSA	KiNgome
*-á- 'far) past'	*-á+li '(far) past'	ri- '(far) past'
*Ø- '(near) past'	*Ø- (near) 'past'	Ø...(VC) (near)past/ anterior
*a- (past, future, repetitive, progressive)	*à- (non-past)	a- 'present'
*na-...-a 'aspect of progress, future'	*na- 'imperfective'	na- 'progressive'
*ka- 'past'	*ka- 'narrative'	ka- 'narrative'
?	*ki- 'continuos'	ki- 'situative'
(*a- {dè), (*Ø- {dè)' 'aspect of completion', past'	*-Ø-...-i le 'anterior' *-Ø-...(VC) 'anterior'	Ø...(VC) 'anterior/a near past'
*a-... -aga 'past aspect of progress, repetition'	*-ag- 'habitual'	-ag- 'habitual'
*ti-, ci- 'negative'	*si- 'negative'	si- 'negative'

As can be seen in (347a), the bulk of PSA/CB formatives are preserved in modern KiNgome. This may be regarded as direct inheritance of forms (with slight changes in the form and meaning). Other TA were formed through a common process of grammaticalization.

(b) Grammaticalization chart

CB	PSA	KiNgome
*yìj- 'come'	*-ijə 'come'	ja- 'NEG anterior'
*-oàk- 'want'	*oə{kə}- 'want'	tə 'future'
*ngà 'if'	*ngà- 'like, if'	Nga- 'conditional'
*-tì-?	*iśya 'finish'	śa- 'completive'
*dì 'be'	*-lì- 'be'	ri- a far past
*-gid 'finish'	*-ile 'finish'	
* nà	*na 'have'	
*màd- 'finish'	*-malə 'finish'	

Similarly, we noticed in (347b), that KiNgome adds numerous TA forms through grammaticalization of certain CB/PSA verbs elements. This is an instance of unidirectional grammaticalization where a source verbal element PSA/CB develops into a morphological marker in KiNgome and acquires a grammatical meaning that indicate temporal and aspectual distinctions. This sizeable number of TA formatives that has been added through grammaticalization are not confined to KiNgome alone, it is a sort of drift that cut across the Swahili spectrum (see Givon 1995: 198; Marten 1999: 141-142 and Heine and Kuteva 2002: 79, 83, 134).

In general, KiNgome TA reflexes provide evidence in support of both CB and PSA reconstruction of TA formatives. However, despite the general conformity between these stages, some noteworthy differences arise as well. it is appropriate to discuss them in two ways: retention and innovation of original forms.

6. 2. 1. 2. 1 Retention of TA formatives

All TA formatives that characterise KiNgome are either linked to formatives or verb sources of PSA/CB as evidenced in (347 a&b). The following forms share identical shape with their closer ancestor of PSA: a-present, na- progressive, ka- narrative, ki- situative , -Ø...(VC)

'anterior/near past', -ag habitual and si- negative. The ri- 'past' is a reduced form of PSA *-á+li which is the composite form of the old *-á and auxiliary 'be' form *li-. The composite form -a+li is only found in KiTikuu (see Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993: 367).

(348)

n-a-li-rudi 'I went home'

While KiVumba and KiPemba attests a- and e- 'past' respectively (see Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993:389), the majority including KiNgome attest the grammaticalized *li- form that is realised as li- or ri- formative for past reference.

Although the habitual -ag still survives in contemporary KiNgome, its decline in usage across the board is also apparent. Only KiNgome and some few Sabaki members such as KiMakunduchi, KiChifundi and KiPokomo (see details in Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 523) still show traces of *-aga.

(349)

ri-ta-ku-rum-ag-a 'it will bite you (in all occasion)' (KiNgome)

The presence of Ø...(VC) formative in present-day KiNgome supports the reconstruction of the same formative in PSA. This formative underwent semantic extension by merging both past and anterior references.

(350)

- (a) wa-Ø-jeNg-a pamoja
3plSM-ANT-build-FV together
'They have built/built together'
- (b) ka-Ø-ri-pik-i nani?
3sg-ANT-3OM-cook-VC who
'Who has baked/baked it'

KiNgome shares identical form and meaning of a- (as reflex of PSA *-à) to refer to the present tense.

(351)

- (a) mw-a-riNga=ni?
2plSM-PRST-see=CL
'What are you watching?'

Closer to this, is the one-form-one-meaning development in KiNgome:

- (352) a-na-rima
3sg-PROG-cultivate-FV
'S/he is cultivating'

Here *na-* progressive is derived from PSA **na-* imperfective which together with CB form entail the feature of one-form-several meanings.

Not all TA features are attested in KiNgome. We can not say for certain that lack of the reconstructed forms like **-Ø-...-i1e* 'anterior' is due to loss. This is the principal TA form that differentiate non-Unguja SD with ND. The anterior *-i1e* suffix, VC suffix and *-i* positive suffix have specific, and almost mutually exclusive geographical distributions across Bantu. In general they do not co-occur, the few places they co-occur are along the borders between the three areas. So for example VC suffix and *-ile* co-occur in a very few languages in zones K and L. NEC languages have reflexes of **/Ø-...-i1e/* but no **/Ø-...VC/*. SD and Comorian have only the **/Ø-...(VC)/* and no **/Ø-...i1e*. Both **/Ø-...-i1e* and **/Ø-...(VC)/* suffixes have been reconstructed for PSA. The **/Ø-...(VC)/* pattern is found among SD and Comorian while **/Ø-...i1e/* pattern attested in ND. (see Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993:391 for more discussion). This is an example of an areal feature that characterise SD from ND. Let see instances of changes that has involved TA in KiNgome.

6. 2. 1. 2. 2 TA innovation

The category of TA in the verbal system of KiNgome has undergone several changes. There has been change in the shape of morphs: an obvious innovations as induced by sound change is the loss of tone distinctions as hypothesised for CB/PSA. Tone no longer plays any role in tense formation in KiNgome and has since been replaced by a penultimate stress.

The creation of new markers also represents a change. KiNgome joins other Swahili dialects in realising a relatively common process of grammaticalization. Data in (347b) exhibits this process where *ta-* 'future' and *ja-* negative are simply reduction of **oa(ka)-* 'want' (here ND **c* > SD **t*;) and **-i1ja* 'come' respectively. A change of category content (but identical forms) is witnessed in the grammaticalization of *ri-* past < **li-* 'be'; *Ngā-* 'conditional' < **ngā-* 'as if'; *sa* 'completive' < **išya* 'finish'. There is no attestation of grammaticalized form of **-mala* 'finish' or **-i1e* 'finish' in KiNgome.

There has been a semantic extension of **/Ø-...(VC)/* 'anterior' to cover an affirmative (near) past. There is also the use of the **/Ø-...(VC)/* as a 'negative non past'. More attestation of **/Ø-...(VC)/* are reported in

KiMakunduchi and KiTumbatu (see Maganga (1990: 219-21). KiNgome also joins other non-Unguja SD and Comoro to attest an interesting and almost untapped cases of agreement between certain TA formatives and their exclusive set of subject persons. This has been dealt in § 4. 4.

6. 2. 2 The development of suffix verbal Morphology

The suffix morphology covers extensions and final vowel morphemes and the imperative plural. KiNgome has inherited its extension(s) which are valence-changing categories such as applicative, stative, reciprocal, reversive, and passive from CB/PSA. The final slot is occupied by vowels that expresses negation, subjunctive, and tense in the case of *ag-*. The *ag-* form covers a marker of imperative plural.

6. 2. 2. 1 Verbal extension

The contemporary KiNgome formatives for extension morphemes are directly linked to the proto- PSA and indeed CB forms. Almost all older forms have been preserved. Here we may talk of transparent diachronic sources. The comparison chart is presented in (354):

(353)

	CB	PSA	KiNgome
reciprocal	*-an	*-an	-an
causative	*-i	*-y	-y
passive	*-u	*-w	-w
stative(potentive)	*-ik	*-ik (-ek)	-ik (-ek)
applicative	*-id	*-il (-el)	-ir(-er)
reversive	*-ud,	-ul- (-ol)	-ur (-or)
repetitive	*-ang	*-a(n)g	-ag
contactive	*-at	*-at	-at
static (positional)	*-am	*-am	-am (om,um,em)
inceptive	*-p	*-p	-p

All KiNgome extension morphemes can be traced directly from the hypothesised CB/PSA morphemes as discussed in Chapter 3.

6. 2. 3 Development of pronominal forms in KiNgome

The pronominal forms in KiNgome have direct link from its ancestors (PSA/CB). However, tone system that characterised CB is no longer present in PSA and KiNgome pronominal forms. KiNgome differs from SSW but aligned with KiPemba in displaying the inherited particle plus *-ye* suffix except in *wao* 'they'. SSW reduplicate the original forms with C(G)V shape. KiNgome mainly selects *-ye* suffix. This suffix has no particular meaning. I suspect it is the case of reanalysis and it may have been employed to fulfil a minimal word requirements i.e. bimoraicity. The following is the pronominal chart revealing the path through which the modern KiNgome pronominal forms have passed:

(354)

CB	PSA	KiNgome	
*mí	*mi	mi-ye	'I'
*-bé	*We	we-ye	'you'
*-yé	*ye	ye-ye	'he/she'
*-oúí	*swi	si-ye	'we'
*nyúí	*nywe	nyi-ye	'you (pl)'
*bó	*Wo	wao	'them'

Just like SM and OM, bound pronominal forms in KiNgome can be traced back to earlier PSA/CB forms. Notice how KiNgome use *-ye* in almost all cases except in *wao* 'them'. SSW has *-ye*³⁶ suffix in *ye-ye* 'he/she' as reduplicate case and not a case of reanalysis. Probably WaNgome first adopted *ye-ye* 'he/she' then reanalyse every other case with *-ye* suffix (except in *wao* 'them'). Interestingly, the choice of either reduplicate form or reanalysis of *-ye* do no bring change in meaning. In this case we have different forms but one meaning. I believe cross-linguistic data can help to throw more light on developments of pronominal forms in Bantu languages.

³⁶ The form *-ye* in *yeye* 'him/her' in SSW is a chance resemblance to *-ye* affixed in KiNgome base.

6.2.4 Development of the possessive system

(355)

CB	PSA	KiNgame	
*-ngú	*-angu	-angu	'mine'
*-kúé	*-akwe	-ake	'his, her'
*-ayítú	*-aitu	-etu	'our'
*-ayínu	*-ainu	-enu	'your (pl)'
*-akó	*-ako	-ako	'your (sg)'
*-abó	*-aWo	-ao	'their'

The PSA and CB possessive forms are carried over to the present-day KiNgame possessive system with some slight phonological changes such as loss of tone or glide loss.

6.3 Summary

This chapter has focused on the evolution of the striking nominal and verbal systems of the reconstructed CB/PSA against the modern-day KiNgame forms. On the whole, it may be said that the proposal of CB and PSA noun class systems and verb systems do not differ much from the modern reflexes in KiNgame. However, I have proposed some refinement in areas I found CB/PSA have not been clear i.e. the probable source of Class 5 and 5 or Traces of CB gender *bu and *Wu for Class 14. In general the KiNgame data has shown regular and predictable morphological changes as occurred in the histories of Sabaki languages.

Conclusions

This thesis has had two interrelated aims. The first was to offer a comprehensive description of the phonology and morphology of the undocumented Swahili dialect of KiNgome. The study was prompted by the desire to understand the basic phonological and morphological features of KiNgome so as to lay a foundation for more research in Swahili dialects and in Sabaki in general. Second, was the examination of the diachronic development of present-day KiNgome, in relation to the reconstructed proto-Sabaki of Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) and to Common Bantu forms as proposed by Guthrie (1967-71).

This study of Mafia Swahili (G43d) has concentrated on a single variety of KiNgome which is spoken in the northern tip of the main Mafia Island. With regard to my first objective, I have attempted to describe areas of the grammar that struck me as being particularly distinct for distinguishing the dialect of KiNgome from the rest of Swahili dialects and from Sabaki in general. The results indicate that KiNgome exhibits several shared phonological and morphological traits with several rural-SD. As new data come to light, we have established in this study that rural SD are closely related to one another and form a distinct subgroup within Sabaki family.

As for the development of present-day KiNgome, the general picture has shown that the various modern forms have links with earlier proto-forms as reconstructed for CB and PSA. The KiNgome dialect reveals itself as a conservative dialect by retaining the bulk of the proposed forms. By undertaking the detailed examination of KiNgome, this thesis provides a case study of an isolated Sabaki member whose intermediate features are crucial for tracing the history of the proto-forms and the various reflexes found in synchronic forms of the present day Sabaki members.

In general, synchronic KiNgome data has provided a strong support for PSA reconstruction by Nurse and Hinnebusch(1993). Linguistic evidences produced in this thesis establish convincingly that KiNgome is undoubtedly a rural SD. It is a timely addition to the inventory of references relevant to the structure, history and dialectology of Swahili and Sabaki in general.

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Appendix A: Table 1: Makunduchi

TA	SETA	SETB
/na-/ 'present'	(a) čukua u-na-čo-čak-a 'take 2sg-PRST-REL- want-FV 'Take anything you want' (Whiteley 1959: 64)	(a) ama ku-na-kuf-a fwa! If 2sg-PROG-die-FV dies 'If you are dying die' (Chum 1994: 10) (b) ka-na-Ngi-a 3sg-PROG-enter-FV 'S/he is entering' (Sengo 1994:32)
/me-, ma-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Anterior'		(a) ku-me-iNb-a 2SG-ANT-sing-a 'You have sung' (Maganga 1990: 228-9) (b) ke-me-law-a 3S-ANT-come-FV 'S/he has come' (Chum 1994: 11) (c) ku-Ø-uNd-u 2S-ANT-make-VC 'You have made' (Whiteley 1959: 65)
/(me)ša-,ma-/ 'Completive'		(a) ke-mesa-i-bwes-a 3sg-COMP-OM-torn-a 'S/he has torn it' (Chum 1994: 10) (b) ku-še-čoge-a kulya? 2sg-COMP-push- over here 'Have you finished pushing over here' (Whiteley 1959:59)
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'	(a) a-Ø-vyo-kwis-a 3sg-PST-REL-finish-FV 'When he finished' (Whiteley 1959:204)	(a) ku-Ø-sumk-a 3sg-PST-sell-FV 'You ran' (past) (Maganga 1990: 228-9) (b) ka-Ø-uz-a 3sg-PST-sell-FV 'S/he sold' (past) (Maganga 1990: 228-9)
/ta-, ča-, Nda-/ 'Future'		(a) ka-ča-vat-a 3sg-FUT-get 'S/he will get' (Maganga 1990: 228-9)
/Nga-, Nge/ 'Conditional'	(a) u-Nga-m-on-a 2sg-COND-2OM-see-FV 'You would have seen' (Whiteley 1959:61)	X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'	(a) u-ka-fik-a kučamona 2sg-SIT-arrive-FV 'If you arrive you will find him' (Whiteley 1959: 60)	X

Table 2: Tumbatu

TA	SETA	SETB
/na-, a-/ 'present'		(a) ku-na-zi-uz-a ? 2SG-PROG-OM-sell-FV 'Are you selling it?' (N & H 1993: 408) (a) kw-a-lamuk-a 2sg-PRST-wake up-FV 'You wake up' Maganga (1990: 160)
/na-,a-, me-, ma- Ø...(VC) 'Anterior'	?	?
/(me)šə-, ma-/ 'Completive'		(a)ku-šə-kwiNba 2sg-COMP-to sing-FV 'You have sung' (Maganga 1990: 155) (b)ke-šə-kweNbilwa 3sg-COMP-to tell-FV 'S/he has been told' (Maganga 1990: 190)
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'		(a)k-Ø-og-o 2sg-PST-bath-VC 'You bathed' (Maganga 1990:160) (b)kw-Ø-aNbil-i watu 3sg-PST-tell-VC people 'S/he told people' (Maganga ibid:160)
/ta-, čə-, Nda-/ 'Future'		X
/Nga-, Nge/ 'Conditional'		X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'		X

Table 3: Nungwi

TA	SETA	SETB
/na-/ 'present'	X	(a) ku-na-kweNd-a ku-m-on-a 2SG-PROG-go-FV to see him 'You are going to see him' (Riedel 2002: 28)
/me-, ma-/ 'Anterior'	(a) u-ma-jafyagiy-a? 2sg-ANT-sweep-FV 'Have you swept?' (Riedel 2002: 19)	(b) ka-ma-vay-a kaNga 3sg-ANT-dress-FV 'S/he is wearing a kanga' (Riedel 2002: 19)
/(me)ṣṣa-, ma-/ 'Completive'	(a) u-ma-kuly-a? 2sg-ma- eat-FV 'Have you eaten?' (Riedel 2002: 22)	(a) ku-ṣṣa-kuly-a 2s-Compl-eat-FV 'Have you eaten?' (Riedel 2002: 28)
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'	(a) a-Ø-po-fik-a 3sg-PST-REL-arrive-FV 'When s/he arrived' (Riedel 2002: 17)	(a) ka-Ø-j-a 3sg-PST-come-FV 'S/he came' (Riedel 2002: 28) (b) ke-Ø-Nd-e 3sg-PST-go-VC 'S/he went' (Riedel 2002: 16)
/ta-, ca-, Nda-/ 'Future'	(a) a-ta-ye-ṣṣa-rudi 3sg-FUT-REL-COMP-return 'Each person who will have returned' (Riedel 2002: 28)	(a) ka-ta-ye-j-a uka veye 3s-Fut-Rel-come-FV 'S/he is the one who will leave' (Riedel 2002: 27) (b) ka-ta-som-a 3s-Fut-read-FV 'S/he will read' (Riedel 2002: 26) (c) ka-Nda-fika 3sg-Fut-arrive-FV 'S/he is going to arrive' (Riedel 2002: 28) (d) ku-Nda-mon-a 3sg-Fut-arrive-FV 'You are going to see him' (Riedel 2002: 28)
/Nga(li)-, Nge(li)/ 'Conditional'	(a) a-Ngali a-ka-som-a 3sg-COND- 3sg-ka-read-FV 'I was still reading' (Riedel 2002: 25)	X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'	(a) a-ka-j-a ka-ta-kuka vitu 3sg-SIT-come 3sg-FUT- give foog 'If s/he come shewill give gou food' (Riedel 2002: 25)	X

Table 4: Pemba

TA	SETA	SETB
/na(ku)-, a-/ 'simple present'	(a) w-a-aNk-a 2sg-PRS-wake up-FV 'You wake up' (Maganga 1990: 112)	X
/na-/ 'Anterior'		(a) ka-na- uk-a 3sg-ANT-return-FV 'S/he has returned' (N&H 1993: 420)
/(me)ṣa-, ma-/ 'Completive'	?	?
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'	(a) w-e-aNk-a 2sg-PST-wake up-FV 'You woke up' Maganga (1990:112)	(a) ku-Ø-pik-i leo 2sg-PST-cook-VC today Did you cook today? (Whiteley 1959: 15) (b)kw-Ø-eNd-e jana? 2sg-PST-go-VC 'Did you go today?' (Whiteley 1959: 15)
/ta-, ṣa-, Nda-/ 'Future'	(a) a-ta-kweNd-a 3sg-FUT-go 'S/he will go' (Whiteley 1959: 15)	X
/Nga-, Nge/ 'Conditional'		X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'		X

Table 5: Vumba

TA	SETA	SETB
/na-/ 'Anterior'	X	(a) ku-na-fyom-a 2sg-ANT-read-FV 'You have read' (N&H 1993: 422) (b) ka-na-kufw-a 3sg-ANT-die-FV 'S/he has died' (N&H 1993: 376)
/a-/ 'Immed. Anterior'		(a) kw-a-kubw-a 2sg-Imm. ANT-fall-FV 'You have just fallen' (N&H 1993: 422) (b) k(a)-a-fik-a 3sg-Imm. ANT-arrive-FV 'S/he has just arrived' (N&H 1993: 366)
/(me)ṣṣa-, ma-/ 'Completive'		(a) kwa-ṣṣa-iNjik-a 2sg-COMP-write-a 'You have written' (Lambert 1953: 30) (b) ka-ṣṣa-kuḡ-a 3sg-COMP-arrive-a 'S/he has arrived' (Lambert 1953: 30)
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'	(a) u-Ø.-vivi 2sg-PST-be-how 'What sort of person are you?' (Lambert 1953:30) (b) a-li-vo-oNdok-a... 3sg-PST-REL-go-FV 'As s/he went ..' (Lambert 1953: 38)	(a) ka-Ø-fu 3sg-PST-die 'S/he died' (N&H 1993:366) (b)ka-Ø-wa-ṣṣiNd-i 3sg-PST-win-VC 'S/he won them' (Whiteleys 1953: 35) (c) ku-Ø-rer-e 2sg-PST-bring-CV 'You brought' (Lambert 1953: 18)
/ta-, ṣṣa-, Nda-/ 'Future'	(a) u-ṣṣa-fuNg-a 2sg-FUT-tie-FV 'You will tie,will be tying' (N&H 1993: 422)	X
/Nga-, Nge/ 'Conditional'	(a) a-Nga-wa-je ... 3sg-COND-be-how 'Whatever he is' (Lambert 1953: 33)	X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'	(a) kavu a-ka-rwaNga 'S/he used to clean grain' (N&H 1993: 420)	X

Table 6: Mtang'ata

TA	SETA	SETB
/Ø, a-, na-/ 'present'	(a) a-Ø-aw-a 3sg-PRST-go-FV 'She is going' (Temu 1980: 27) (b) a-Ø-geuk-a 3sg-PRST-turn-a 'She is turning' (Temu 1980: 23) (c) u-na-ko-ka-a 2sg-PROG-LOC-stay-FV 'Where you stay' (Shihabudin & Mnyampala 1977: 34)	X
/na-/ 'Anterior'	X	(a) ku-na-ya-bun-u 2sg-ANT-6OM-create-VC 'You have created them' Temu (1980: 20) (b) ka-na-bak-a 3sg-ANT-give out -FV 'She has given out' Temu 1980:23)
/Ø...(VC)/ 'Anterior'	X	ku-Ø-on-o you -ANT-see- VC 'You have seen ' (Shihabudin&Mnyampala 1977: 34)
/(me)ǂa-, ma-/ 'Completive'	?	k-eǂi-pika kande 3sg-COMPL-cook food '(She) has finished cooking the food' (Polome 1967: 23)
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'	(a) u-li-č-o-kuj-i-a 3sg-PST-REL-come-APPL-FV 'That which you came for' Temu 1980: 26	
/ta-, ca-, Nda-/ 'Future'	(a) a-ta-twig-iǂ-w-a 3sg-FUT-pull-CAUS-PASS-FV 'She will be pulled' (Temu 1980: 26)	X
/Nga-, Nge/ 'Conditional'	(a) a-Nge-ni-p-a 3sg-COND-1OM-FV 'S/he could have given me' (Temu 1980: 17)	X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'	(a) u-ka-pika 2sg-SIT-cook-FV 'If you cook' (N& H 1993: 420)	X

Table 7: Ngome

TA	SETA	SETB
/na(ku)-, a-/ 'present'	(a) u-na-rim-a faya 2sg-PROG-cultivate-FV faya 'Are you cultivating faya?'	(a)ko-Ø-ki-tak-a kiswahili kyaNgu 2sg-Ø-7OM-want-FV 7-Swahili my 'Do you want my Swahili?'
/Ø...(VC)/ 'Anterior'	X	(a) ku-Ø--mw-on-o 2sg-ANT-2OM-see-VC 'Have you seen him?' (b) ka-Ø--faNz-a -j-e-ko 3sg-ANT-do-FV-how-17-Loc 'What has s/he done there?'
/(me)ǂa-, ma-/ 'Completive'	(a) a-Øǂa-rim-a 3sg-COMP-cultivate-FV 'S/he has already cultivated'	(a)ku-Øǂa-rim-a weye? 2sg-COMP-cultivate you 'Have you cultivated already?' (b)ka-Øǂa-guNdumk-a ? 3sg-COMP-wake up-FV 'Has she woken up already?'
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'	(a) a-ri-rim-a 3sg-PST-cultivate-FV 'S/he cultivated'	(a) ku-Ø-zarik-a-j-e ? 2sg-PST-be born-ST-FV how 'How were you born?' (b)ka-Ø--pit-i pa 3sg-PST-pass-VC here 'S/he passed here'
/ta-, ca-, Nda-/ 'Future'	(a) a-ta-rim-a 3sg-PST-cultivate-FV 'S/he cultivated'	X
/Nga-, Nge/ 'Conditional'	(a) a-Nga-rim-a 3sg-COND-cultivate-FV 'S/he could have cultivated'	X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'	(a) a-ki-rim-a 3sg-SIT-cultivate-FV 'If s/he cultivates'	X

APPENDIX B : KiNgame Texts.

This section contains three texts. They are intended to give extended samples of the dialect. Texts A and B were narrated by Ahmed Mwatanda of Kanga village. Text A describes a typical KiNgame marriage ritual. Some of the customs narrated here have begun to change but the words are still known to the majority of people. Text B is a narrative concerning WaNgame mythology. There is a belief and indeed a practice of owning spirits with supernatural power. The narrative involves a person who went to a Shaman to 'buy' a jinn at Kanga village. Text C was part of a conversation I recorded with Aisha bint Kombo of Kanga village.

Each text is first presented with a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis, a close interlinear translation and finally a free translation.

TEXT A: Marriage at Bagoni

Mwanamuka	baada	ya	kuorewa	hu[w]iŕi
mu-anamuka	baada	ya	ku-or-ew-a	hu-ishi
1-woman	after	of	15-Inf-marry-Pass-FV	Hab-live

A woman after getting married lives in

kwa	siku	saba	fuNgateni.	a[y]iŕi	na	mumewe
ku-a	siku	saba	fungate-ni	a-iŕi	na	mu-me-we
15-for	10a-day	seven	honeymoon-Loc.ISM-live with	1-male-1Poss.		

the honeymoon for seven days. She lives with her husband

na	Nguo	za	kawaida,	kira	asubuhi	a-pik-ir-w-a
na	n-guo	z-a	kawaida	kira	asubuhi	a-pik-iw-a
with	10- cloth	10-ass	normal	every	9a-morning	1SM-cook-Appl-Pass-FV

with her everyday clothes, every morning they cook her a

mihogo,	kunde,	vitumbuwa,	mupepeta	na
mi-hogo	kunde	vi-tumbu[w]a	mu-pepeta	na
4-cassava	9/10-kunde	8-rice fritters	3-rice crisp	&

a breakfast of cassava, peas, rice-fritters, beaten rice
and

uji. N̄chana huriswa wari wa
 uji n-cana hu-ris-w-a wari w-a
 14-porridge. 9/10-afternoon Hab-eat-Pass-FV 14-rice 14-Ass.
 porridge. In the afternoon she is fed with cook coconut
 rice

nazi, kitowere kyeñewe ni asari na samuri ya ŋoNbe.
 n-nazi ki-tower-e ky-eñewe ni asari na samuri y-a ŋoNbe.
 9-coconut 7-broth 7-itself is 9-honey and 9-ghee 9-Ass 9-cow.
 with sauce of honey and cow ghee.

kisa baba wa muka anasema, awari ya rero
 ki-sa baba w-a mu-ka a-na-sem-a, awari y-a rero
 then 1a-father 1-Ass. 1-wife 1SM-TA-say-FV, from 9-Ass. 9-today
 Then the father of the woman says, from today

fañeni hisabu mpaka siku ya saba muje
 fañ-e-ni hisabu mpaka siku y-a saba mu-j-e
 make-pl count until 9-day 9-of 9a-seven 2plSM-come-Subj
 count till the seventh day (then) you come

mumtowe harusì wenu. Na mama naye
 mu-m-to-[w]e harusì w-enu. na mama na-ye
 2plSM-1OM-release-Subj 1a-bride 1-poss. & 1a-mother &-herself
 to take your bride out . And the mother also

anatowa habari zi-re uwani. Ire siku
 a-na-to[w]-a habari z-ire u[w]a-ni. i-re siku
 1SM-deliver-FV 10-news 10-Dem. 11a-backyard-Loc 9-Dem. 9-day
 delivers a similar message to the people in the courtyard.
 On the sixth day

ya sita mabinamu wa mwanamuka wanunuwa ruzi
 y-a sita ma-binamu w-a mu-anamuka wa-nunu[w]a r-uzi
 9-Ass. six 6:2-nieces ³⁷ 2-Pos 1-woman 2-buy 11-
 thread
 cousins of the bride-side buy

wawo na siNdano ya kusonera. WanatuNgiya
 wa-[w]o na sindano y-a ku-son-cr-a. wa-na-tung-if[y]a
 11a-their & 9-needle 9-ass 15-weave-App-FV 2SM-TA- weave-App-
 E-FV

³⁷ The formula 6:2 is used here to refer to 6 as the class marker and 2 the dependent concord, here animate.

their thread and sewing needle. They thread

usaNga; Upo usaNga wa kiunoni, upo wa mwagaro na upo
u-sanga u-po u-sanga w-a ki-uno-ni, u-po w-a mu-agaro na u-po
11a-bead 11a-Dem 11a-bead 11a-Ass 7-waist-loc, 11a-loc 11a-of 3-buttock & 11a-
Loc

beads. There is a waist (band of) bead, there is one for
hips and there is

wa rukosi. Anaviswa pete na kutogwa
w-a ru-kosi. a-na-viš-w-a pete na ku-tog-w-a
11a-Ass 11-neck 1SM-TA-wear-Pass-FV earing and 15-pierce-Pass-FV
for the neck. They put on her a ring and pierce [her]

masikio[y]o. Tundu za masikiyo za kati huitwa
ma-siki[y] o. Tundu z-a ma-siki[y]o z-a kati hu-it-w-a
6-ears 10-hole 10-Ass 6-ears 10-Ass 9a-cent Hab-call-Pass-FV
ears. The holes pieced in the ears are called

map^hete. Na puwani anatogwa upande mmoji wa
ma- p^hete. na pu[w]a-ni a-na-tog-w-a u-pande m-moj-i w-a
6-earings & 9-nose-Loc 1SM-TA-pierce-FV 11a-side 11:3-one 11a-
Ass

map^hete. And on the nose they pierce

N^hono wa Nsoto awu Nriye. Kweñe Ndewe
n-k^hono w-a n-soto a[w]u n-ríy-e ku-eñe n-dewe
3-hand 3-Ass 3-left or 3-right 17-Loc 9-ear
her on one side either left or right. In her ears they

anatiwa harine, puwani 'kipini kya Ndege'. Sasa
a-na-ti-w-a harine, pu[w]a-ni 'ki-pini ky-a n-dege'. sasa
1SM-TA-Pass-FV 9/10-earring 9/10-nose-Loc 7-medallion 7-Ass 9-bird'. Now

put earrings, in a nose-pin with the likeness of a bird'.

Now

anaviswa usaNga wa kiwunoni na mwagaro.
a-na-vis-w-a u-sanga w-a ki-[w]unoni, na mu-agaro
1SM-TA-wear-Pass-FV 11a-bead 11a-Ass. 7-waist-Loc & 3-hip
they put her beads around the waist and the hips.

Harafu fundi anamfuNda kuiši na mume wake.

then fundi a-na-m-fund-a ku-ishi na mu-me w-ake.
 then 5-trainer 1SM-TA-OM-teach-FV 15-Inf-live & 1-husband 1-Poss.

Then her trainer teaches her how to live with her husband.

Afere amuri ya mume.
 a-fer-e amuri y-a mu-me
 1SM-follow-Subj 9-rule 9-Ass. 1-husband
 And that she ought to follow her husband orders.

TEXT B: To Buy a Jinn

Bwana we kija hapa kutaka nikuuziye jini.
 buana we ki-ja ha-pa ku-taka ni-ku-uz-i[y]e jini
 1a-mister you 1sm-come loc-16 15-want 1sg-15-sell-Appl-Subj 1a-jinn
 Mister you have come here to ask me to sell you a jinn.

Miye jini wangu si-Nthumi kaNk^hate furano
 mi-ye jini w-angu si-Nthumi ka-N^hate furano
 I-pron- jinn 1-poss Neg-1OM-send 1SM-1OM-cut somebody
 I won't ask my jinn to go and kill somebody.

au kamurarise furano. Situmii taNgu mizimu
 au ka-mu-rar-is-e furano. Si-tumi-i taNgu mi-zimu
 or TA-OM-sleep-Caus-Subj somebody. Neg-use since 4-spirits
 or to hypnotise somebody. I have not been allowed to do that

ya mababu kuñirusiya miye. KuNthuma jini
 y-a ma-babu ku-ñi-rusi[a] mi-ye. ku-Nthuma jini
 4-Ass 6-ancestors 15-1sgOM-restrict 1-pron. 15-1OM-send 1a-jinn
 since the time of my ancestors . To send a jinn

ukamurarise furano au amupe šida muNthu hapano.
 u-ka-mu-rar-is-e furano au a-mu-pe šida mu-Nthu hapano
 2sgSM-TA-1OMsleep-Caus-Subj 1a-somebody or 1SM-OM-give 9-problem 1-person
 no
 to hypnotised or hurt a person is forbidden.

Sasa rete kitezo. weka mukaa na rete ruvumba.
 sasa rete ki-tezo. weka mu-kaa na rete ru-vuNba.
 Now bring 7-burner. put 3-charcoal & bring 14-incense
 Now bring an incense burner, put on charcoal and bring incense.

We! muzee kičoNgwečoNgwe kija kiumbe ayu
 we! mu-zee kičoNgwečoNgwe ki-ja ki-umbe a-yu
 2sgpron 1-elder kičoNgwečoNgwe 3sgSM-come 7:1-person 1-Dem
 you old man Kichongwechongwe here comes a person

anakutaka awe rafiki yako. umusiki[y]e maneno
 a-na-ku-taka a-we rafiki ya-ko. u-mu-sikie ma-neno
 1SM-TA-2sgOM-want 1SM-be 1a:9-friend 9-Poss 2sg-3sgOM-listen 6-words
 who wants to be your friend. Listen to

gake goNt^{he} anagogataka kosema.
 ga-ke go-Nt^{he} a-na-go-ga-taka ko-sema
 6-Dem 6-all 3sg-TA-6Rel-6OM-want 15-say
 all his words which he wants to say

Uwe naye umuriNge na
 u-we na-ye u-mu-riNge na
 2sg-be &-Pron 2sgSM-1OM-see-Subj &
 Be with him, look after him &

keNgeja wake uwariNde muzee.
 kengeja wa-ke u-wa-rind-e mu-zee
 1a-wife 1-Poss 2sgSM-2OM-protect-Subj 1-elder
 his children protect them, old man

TaNbo za kutupiwa Nbere uzikiNge,
 TaNbo z-a ku-tup-iw-a N-bere u-zi-kiNge-e
 10a-charm 10-Ass 15-throw-Pass-FV 9-front 2sg-10-OM-guard-Subj
 Guard him against the charm thrown in front of him.

ikiwa za ñuma na kufukiwa pi[y]a uzikiNge,
 ikiwa z-a ñuma na ku-fuk-iw-a pia u-zi-kiNge,
 or 10-Ass 9-behind & 15-dig-Pass-FV also 2sg-10OM-protect,
 or from the behind and protect him.

umupepetuše Nguru asikañage rubaya
 u-mu-pepet-uš-e N-guru a-si-kañag-e ru-baya
 2sgSM-3sgOM-keep off- Caus-Subj 3-leg 3sgSM-NEG-tread-FV 14-bad
 keep his leg from treading on any evil at all.

wowoNthe. soka ra kupigani[y]a unaro.
 wow-oNthe. soka r-a ku-pig-an-i[y]-a u-na-ro.
 14-all. 5-axe 5-Ass 15-hit-Rec-Appl-FV 2sg-have-5Rel.
 you have an axe to fight with.

MuriNde na uwe mačo. Zawadi zako zipo.
 mu-rinde na u-we mačo. Zawadi z-ako zi-po.
 2sgOM-protect & 2sg-be 6-eyes. 10a-gift 10-Poss 10-16Loc
 Guard him and be alert. You will have your rewards'

kyano pi[y]a utapata. Na Nk^hwavi umrorweze.
 ky-ano pi[y]a u-ta-pata. Na N-k^hwavi u-m-rorw-ez-e
 7-feast also 2sg-TA-get. & 9-cattle 2sg- 2SM-3sgOM-slaughter -Caus-Subj
 You will be given your tray of delicacies. You will have a
 cow slaughtered for you.

Haya suguri iša twara jini ryako ukatumi[y]e.
 haya suguri iša twar-a jini ry-ako u-ka-tumi[y]-e
 Ok 9a-ritual complete get-FV 5x-jinn 5-Poss 2sgSM-TA-use-Subj
 ok, the ritual is over take your jinn and use him.

Text C: To Sharpen a Machete

Heje? kufura muNdu Jimbo? kweNda
 he-je? ku-fura mu-ndu Jimbo? ku-enda
 Intg-Cl. 15Int-forge 3-matchete Jimbo? 15Inf-go
 Hey? have you forge your billhook at Jimbo? Do you intend
 to take it along when you go

nawo bara weye? Basi tafuta Nthu
 na-wo bara we-ye? basi tafuta Nthu
 &-Rel. 9-land 2per.Pron ok find 1-person
 to the mainland? Ok then find a person

akupangiye harafu aukurure.
 a-ku-pang-i[y]-e harafu a-u-kurur-e.
 1SM-2sgOM-process-App-Subj then 1-SM- 3OM-smooth-FV Nasoro
 who will process it then smoothen it.

nenda pare kwa Nasoro
 n-enda pa-re ku-a Nasoro
 2pers-go 16-Dem 17-Ass Nasoro
 Go to Nasoro

akupangi[y]e. Hebu! ñi-pa
a-ku-pang-i[y]-e hebu! ñi-pa
1-SM-2sgOM-forge-Subj Alright! 1sgOM-give-Impve
to process it. Alright

ñi-u-riNge. Mu-Ndu N-zito.
ñi-u-riNg-e. Mu-ndu n-zito
1SM-3OM-see-Subj. 3-matchete 3-heavy
Let me see it. It is a heavy machete.

Sasa pereka aukurure, kiša aunore sawasawa.
sasa pereka a-u-kurur-e ki-ša a-u-nore sawa sawa.
now send 1SM-3OM-smooth-FV then 1SM-3OM-sharpen well.
Now send it to be smoothed. Then, to be sharpened well.

kama haukururiwa haupati makari
Kama ha-u-ku-kurur-iw-a ha-u-pati ma-kari.
if Neg-3SM-15-smooth-Pas-FV Neg-3SM-get 6-sharpness
If it hasn't been smoothed, it never becomes sharp.

Akisaunora utakweNda kurimi[y]a
A-ki-ša u-nora u-ta-ku-enda ku-rim-i[y]-a
1SM-TA-Aux-3OM-shapern 3SM-TA-15Inf-go 15-Inf-cultivate-App-FV
After being sharpened you will use it for cultivation

kisa utaku-wa unanora tu kinoroni.
kisa u-ta-ku-wa u-na-nora tu ki-noro-ni.
then 2sg-TA-15inf-be 2sg-TA-sharpen only 7-whetstone-Loc.
you will [need to keep] sharpening it with a whetstone.

MuNdu wa kurotora ndio unafaa kwa
mu-ndu w-a ku-rotor-a ndi-o u-na-faa ku-a
3-machete 3-Ass 15-Inf. smooth be-Rel 3SM-TA-right 15-Ass.
The smoothed machete is perfect for

kučeNgeya vava, na kukati[y]a koNgowa.
ku-čcNg-e-[y]-a vava na ku-kat-i-[y]-a Kongowa
15-clear-Appl-FV 9a-shrub, & 15-cut-Appl-FV 10-poles
clearing bush and cutting poles.

APPENDIX C: KiNgome - English Lexicon

The following is a KiNgome-English wordlist. Indication of a Class number shows that an item is a noun; Adj. stands for adjectives; Adv. stands for Adverbs; Conj. stands for conjunctions; V for verbs; Pron. for pronoun; interj. for interjection; Dem. for demonstratives. This information is given after the lexical item. KiNgome entries are ordered alphabetically. Only stems are listed for verbs, adjectives, adverbs and pronominal words. The distinction between transitive and intransitive verb stem will be illustrated by (T) and (I) respectively.

KiNgome - English Lexicon

A

abikiza	(V)	make a try
agama	(V)	lean
aganika	(V)	be occupied, be busy
ako	(Pron)	your
amura	(V)	settle a dispute
aNgari[y]a	(V)	see
aNgata	(V)	assist
aNguka	(V)	fall
aNgura	(V)	hatch (T)
arizi	(9/10)	land
aruka	(V)	the rise-of tide
asikari ~ askhari	(1a)	soldier
aswari	(9a)	honey
atika	(V)	plant
avi	(adj)	empty
aye	(pron)	him/her
aNbari	(9a/10a)	amber
aNga	5	cloud
ada	9a/10a	fee
ayari	9a/10a	type of rope

B

baNga	(V)	split (T)
baNgabaNga	(V)	crack (T)

baNtha	(V)	grind
batha	(V)	backbite
baNthu	(5)	bark of tree
baNvu[w]a	(9a)	spring tide
baNza	(V)	hide (I)
bamaNda	(V)	press together
baribari	(V)	pull
bata	(9a)	locust
bati	(5)	cattlepen
bedani	(5)	curly hair
beho	(9a)	belch
beNda	(V)	request
beNja	(V)	extract
bigiri	(5)	small pen/stone wall
bini	(V)	cultivate
bini	(V)	lie
biri	(V)	join (I)
bisi	(9a)	dune
biša	(V)	go against tide
biwi	(5)	refuse heap
boba	(9a)	type of fish
bobo	(14[5])	yoghurt
bobora	(V)	demolish
bobota	(5)	ripen tamarind
bobota	(V)	exploit
bogaboga	(9a)	ripen paddy grain
bogojera	(9a)	big rain
bogo[w]a	(V)	harvest (maize)
boji	(5)	heavy rain
boma	(5)	forest/large timber
bomora	(V)	destroy
boñera	(V)	pinch
boNk ^h o	(9a)	hippo
boNgoya	(V)	complain
bova	(9a)	type of snake
boye/bowe	(9a)	flying fish

boŋoŋa/boNŋoŋo[w]a	(V)	wear
buba	(14[5])	blister
bububu	(5)	egg
bugabuga	(V)	find
buki	(5)	kidney
bui ~ rubui	(9a)	spider
buNbwi	(14[5])	sorcery
buni	(9a)	coffee
burai[y]a	(V)	agree
huri	(5)	teapot
burugara/burudeNge	(1a)	uninformed person
burukutu	(9a)	a cup without a handle
buruN th u	(9a)	hornless bull
buyi ~ rubuyi	(9a)	spider
bwaNda	(14[5])	garb
bwaNgwari	(14[5])	hunger
bwaN th a	(V)	blurt out
bwiNbwi	(14[5])	sweet rice
bwira	(V)	gulp; request

C

čače ~ čači	(1a)	orphan
čafi	(9a)	biceps
čagara	(5)	branch of tree
čakarawe	(7)	pebbles
čaŋaN th a	(V)	wash (T)
čaNba	(V)	wash oneself
čaN ^{ph} wa	(9a)	flotsam
čaNbo	(7)	bait
čaN ^g we	(5)	shrub
čata	(V)	salivate
čemeNbe/ky-emeNbe	(7)	diaghram
čeŋe / ky-eŋe	(7)	wrinkle
čeNk ^h ani	(7)	fountain
česi	(9a)	small deer
čočora	(V)	nibble

čoka	(V)	get tired
čoňo[w]a	(V)	peck
čoNthā	(V)	draw (water)
čuNbua	(V)	breakfast
čuruka	(9a/10a)	bait
čwago	(9a/10a)	type of crab

D

daba	(Adv)	jokingly ; in jest
dagara	(9a)	sardine
dago	(5)	fishermen's camp
daka	(5)	coconut stem
dakuka	(V)	be sour
dakuka	(1a)	stubborn girl
daNbura	(V)	eat little food
damuka ~ ramuka	(V)	wake up (I)
danaNga	(V)	cling
dari	(5)	ceiling
daNthā	(V)	hang, swing
dasidasi	(Adv)	hastily
dau	(5)	dhow
dawa	(5)	medicine
dawe	(5)	meadow land
defu	(Adj)	tall
deheni	(V)	caulk
dekemeza	(V)	slacken
demani	(5)	type of rope in a sailing boat
deNgereNge	(5)	blister
difu	(5)	coconut meat
diNbuka	(V)	eat the first harvest
diNdi~ riNdi	(5)	harbour , pool
domasa	(V)	pinch
doNdoza	(9a/10a)	wasp
dosari	(9a/10a)	insect (that eats wood)
dude	(5x) Aug.	huge beast
duNda	(5)	hill

duNduka	(5)	unripe coconut
duNga	(V)	follow
duNge	(5)	cashew nut
duNgurira	(5)	heartburn
duNpha	(V)	swing (I)
duri	(5)	bull
dusa	(5)	heap
E		
eka (ako)	(V)	stay (alone)
eNbe	(5)	mango
eNda	(V)	go
ereka	(V)	carry
erera	(V)	float (I)
eruka	(V)	cause to froth
esabu	(V)	count
eda	(9a/10a)	mourning days-of widow
F		
fama	(V)	urinate
faNza	(V)	do
fena	(V)	go
fiNgo	(9a/10a)	shore
fipa	(V)	suck
fu	(V)	die
fu[w]ara	(9a/10a)	any food
fufu	(9a/10a)	trap (birds)
fufuma	(V)	swell
fugu	(V)	keep animal(s)
fukuču[w]a	(V)	wash face (T)
fuNčha	(V)	fight
fuNduki	(5)	breast
fuNkha	(V)	cultivate (using hoe)
funanga	(V)	mould
funura	(V)	open (T)
fupa	(V)	award

fupha	(V)	bale out water (boat)
furama	(V)	crouch
fure	(1a)	impotent man
furu	(9a/10a)	disease of the eye
furukwe	(9a/10a)	tortoise
furuma	(V)	foam, froth
fusa	(V)	break wind
fuso	(5)	charm
fyata	(V)	hold tight
fyuka	(V)	escape
fyagina	(V)	sweep

G

gaNda	(V)	press/stick
gaNdika	(V)	plaster
gasa	(V)	swell
gavu ~ Ngavu	(5)	net
geNbe	(5)	waist
geñu	(9a)	rotten fruit
gera	(V)	throw
giza	(9a/10a)	darkness
goNgowa	(V)	envoke spirits
gudugudu	(5)	dry coconut
guNdumuka	(V)	wake up (I)
guNga	(V)	treat-medically
guye	(5)	thicket

H

habuka	(V)	be in suspense
hadisi	(9a/10a)	story
hama	(V)	migrate
hapa	(Dem)	here
haramu	(Adj)	forbidden
hari	(9a/10a)	situation, news
haswa[y]i	(9a/6)	castrated bull
hazima	(9a/10a)	amulet

herine	(9a/10a)	earring
hesa	(9a/10a)	share
hijabu	(9a)	disease of the ear
hirizi	(9a/10a)	charm
hitima	(9a)	prayer uttered 40 days after a death
hizi	(V)	be in agony
homa	(9a)	fever
hoNbwe	(9a/10a)	type of snail
huzuni	(9a/10a)	sorrow

I

igi	(5)	egg
irya	(V)	eat
isi (gani?)	(Adv)	in what manner; for what reason

ikara	(V)	to sit
irya	(V)	to eat

J

ja	(V)	come
janaeza	(5)	coffin
ji ~ dyi	(Refl.)	self
jaso	(5)	sweat
jino	(5)	tooth
jipu	(5)	boil
jiwa	(5)	stone
jaNgwa	(5)	salt flat
jifya	(5)	hearthstone
jamvi	(5)	plaited floor matting
jaNbika	(V)	wear skimpily / casually
jara	(V)	fill up (I)
jayaya	(5)	kidney
jake	(5)	top layer (of milk or stew)
jaNbe	(5)	hoe
jaNga	(V)	build ; accredit
jiNbi	(5)	yam
jiNbiru	(9a/10a)	wild pigeon

jasi	(9a)	type of mineral
jiko	(5)	kitchen
jina	(5)	name
jinamo	(9a/10a)	A ripening stage of paddy grain
jogoro	(9a/10a)	cock
joNgoro	(9a/10a)	millipede
jovya	(V)	belch
juni[y]a	(5)	sack
juru	(Adj)	up
juya	(5)	fishnet
ju[w]a	(V)	know
K		
kago	(5)	protective magic
kakama	(V)	dry
kama	(V)	drain (T)
kanadi	(9a/10a)	small mullet
kaNba	(conj)	that
kara	(V)	sit down
karafati	(9a/10a)	raw cotton filling (caulking holes)
karaNbisi	(9a/10a)	type of mackerel
karuka	(V)	dry (I)
kaskhazi	(9a/10a)	the Northeast Monsoon
kaskhazini	(9a/10a)	north
kaye	(9a/10a)	settlement
keNgeje[y]a	(V)	inflict pain
kesa ~ keša	(V)	pass the night awake
khaji	(9a/10a)	snail
khaNba	(9a/10a)	prawn
khangu	(9a/10a)	blue coloured fish
khara	(9a/10a)	crab
kharauvi	(9a/10a)	type of crab
khakwa	(9a/10a)	type of ray-fish
khedi	(Adj)	proud

k ^h eNga	(9a/10a)	palm fruit
k ^h eNga	(9a/10a)	unripe cashew fruit
k ^h oča	(V)	crossing legs while riding a donkey
k ^h ome	(9a/10a)	sea snail
k ^h oNbe	(5)	big plate ~ food
k ^h oNde	(9a/10a)	field
k ^h oriĵa	(9a/10a)	a unit of twelve
k ^h otama	((9a/10a))	hunting knife
k ^h owana	(9a/10a)	type of fish
k ^h uči	(9a/10a)	big type of rooster
k ^h uja	(9a/10a)	type of bee
k ^h upa	(9a/10a)	tick
k ^h upe	(9a/10a)	large wild rat
k ^h uruNge	(7)	forest
ki-	(7x-)	diminutive
kibaNgu	(7)	a skin of parchment
kibavu	(7)	disease of the ribs
kibibi	(Adj)	numbness
kiboko	(9a[1a])	sea snail
kibuNbwi	(7)	sorcery (in Jimbo)
kičaNgu	(7)	uncleared bush inside the farm
kičapa	(7)	rivulet
kiduNda	(7)	hillock
kiduNgo	(7)	joint, anklet
kidusa	(7)	hill
kifuru	(7)	coconut shell
kifurukwe	(9a[1a])	tortoise
kigara	(7)	ripe rice grain
kigaĵaNdu	(7)	scar ; membrane
kigoya	(9a[7])	small ray fish
kigudi	(7)	elbow
kihomi	(7)	twinges
kijamaNda	(7)	basket
kikoko	(7)	shrub

kikwekwe	(9a[7])	type of rooster
kimača	(7)	ringworm
kimareNba	(7)	multicolor
kimiro	(7)	uvula
kimwa	(V)	silence
kiñagi	(7)	drizzle of rain
kiñehe	(7)	calf - 'animal'
kiñeNbe	(7)	razor blade
kiñiNgiña	(7[1a])	great- grand son's children
kinaNgu	(9a[7])	small mullet
kineNgwe	(9a [7])	type of fish
kiNgurupi[y]a	(7)	graft
kiNk ^h isa	(7)	heartbeat
kipaNga	(9a/10a)	tsetse fly
kipiju	(7)	rainbow
kipiNguNjuju	(Adv)	be unsettled
kipofu	(1a)	blind person
kiraNde	(9a/10a)	trigger fish
kiriboto	(9a[7])	flea
kirikita	(5)	tractor
kiruNbasi	(7)	a fragrant plant
kiruNgo kya mukono	(7)	palm
kiruru	(9a)	desire
kiruwirui	(7)	headache
kisegeyu	(7)	heel
kisirani	(7)	omen
kisiwa~fuNgu	(7)	island
kisogoo	(7)	occiput
kisugudi	(7)	elbow
kisune	(7[1a])	bachelor ; uncircumcised person
kisusi	(7)	ceiling beam
kitaNga	(7)	type of spirit possession ritual
kitaNgaja	(7)	round mat made of borassus palm
kitate	(7[1a])	deaf
kitetesi	(9a[7])	butterfly

kitezo	(7)	incense burner
kitika	(V)	sting
kitiNbaNba	(7)	problems
kituNguru	(7)	onion
kitupa	(7x-)	small bottle
kituture	(7)	hut
kiNgaja	(7)	wrist
kiwaNbaza	(7)	wall
kiwiNdu	(Adv)	tying a boat (syle of)
kiyaNga	(7)	dry season
kiziwaNda	(7x-[1a])	last born
kizu	(9a/10a)	African goshawk
kizuki	(7[1a])	widow
ki(r)uNbika	(7)	side wall (of the house)
kobera	(V)	drink
kodo	(5)	testicle
kohoro	(5)	cough
koko	(5)	coconut stone
komara	(V)	become ripe
koNde	(5)	fist
koNgoro	(5)	bone
koNgowere	(9a)	wood beam
koriJa	(10a)	a set of twenty
koromito	(5)	throat
kosa	(V)	miss- in aim
kowa	(5)	snail-shell
koyoNge[y]a	(V)	eat without a pause
koza	(V)	heat
kuki[y]a	(V)	sleep
kukuNthu	(Adj)	few
kukuthaNda	(9a/10a)	duck
kuNdeNba	(Adv)	in private
kuNvi	(10a)	chaff
kuruma	(V)	flow
kururu	(5)	edible coconut leaf
kusi	(9a)	the South West Monsoon

kusini	Loc.	south
kwada	(V)	peel off unwanted skin or bark
kwawa	(V)	crawl
kwečuka	(V)	be dehydrated (I)
kwera	(V)	climb
kwema	(V)	get pregnancy
kwiNkhwi	(9a)	hiccup
kyaka	(9a)	year
kyakura	(7)	food
kyani	(5[7])	leaf
kyatu	(7)	shoe
kyazi	(9a[7])	blood
kyeñe ~ čeñe	(7)	wrinkle
kyoNgore	(9a/10a)	large type of fish
kyoo	(7)	mirror
kyuma	(7)	iron
kyuNba	(7)	room
kyuNgu	(7)	pot

M

Nba	(3)	dandruff
Nbago	(Adj)	new
Njeni	(1)	guest
NsaNbo	(3)	ecstasy
Nthafu[w]o	(3)	the third layer on donkey's back
Nyaa	(3)	dwarf (doum) palm
Nyasa [ɱjasa]	(3)	sneeze
Nyuñu	(3)	cuttlefish tails
majimaNga	(9a)	coconut juice
mijiji	(4)	water
mačaza	(6)	gruel
mačina	(Adj)	cold (of water)
mahaNda	(6)	twin
mahani	(6)	activities
majifya ~ maifya	(6)	hearthstones
majite	(6)	spittle

maki	(Adj)	thick
makoko	(6)	weed
makopo	(6)	coconut palm flower
makurima	(6)	agriculture
maki	(Adj)	wide
mana	(Adj)	low tide
mariro	(6)	a place of sorrow
mariro	(6)	bereavement
maruNgo	(6)	body
masaha	(6)	pus
masetera	(6)	watered rice
matapisi	(6)	vomit
matirai ~ matrai	(9a/10a)	Eastwind
mazi[y]ara	(6)	graveyard
marereji	(6)	fishing season
meno	(6)	teeth
meko	(9a)	kitchen
mwakakoga	(3)	Swahili New Year
mwaNdani	(1)	mistress
mwaNdani	(3)	inner part of the grave
mwani	(3)	seaweed
mede	(9a/10a)	table
meka	(V)	blow the nose
motoni	(Adv)	hellishly
moto	(3)	fire
mañu	(Adv)	typically/indigenously
meza	(V)	swallow
mijiji	(6)	water
miye	(Pron)	me/I
miri	(V)	own
mi[y]amoja	(9a/10a)	100
moji ~ moja	Num.	one
moNgorera	(9a/10a)	cave
mu-	(18)	in there
muče	(3)	bud
MučuNba~NčuNba	(1)	fiancé

mučuzi ~ Nčuzi	(3)	stew
mudomo ~ Ndomo	(3)	lip
mufu ~ Nfu	(1)	dead person
mugoNjo	(3)	elephantiasis
muguru	(3)	leg
muhire /mgosi	(1)	cousin
muhu	(Adj)	bad tempered
muki[y]a ~ Nkhi[y]a	(3)	tail
mukoNjogo	(3)	file
muñu	(9a)	salt
muNkha	(1)	wife
mupwa	(1)	nephew/niece
muraNga	(3)	sun
muriNba	(9a/10a)	very big type of mullet
mururu ~ m̥ruru	(3)	fencing using tree branches
muryaNgo	(3)	door
muryo	(3)	food
musima	(3)	fruit-stone (unripe)
musipa ~ Nsipa	(3)	vein
mutoto ~ Nthoto	(1)	baby
muvyere	(1)	elder
muwa	(3)	sugarcane
muwaa	(3)	dwarf palm
muwere	(1)	patient
muzizi ~ Nzizi	(3)	root
mu[r]uNgu	(1)	God
mwagaro	(3)	bead
mwamu	(1)	brother in law
mwaNgo	(3)	door
mwani	(3)	sea weed
mwaNphu	(Adj)	arrogant
mware	(3)	type of bamboo
mwari	(1)	girl
mwata	(3)	bait
mwauwo	(3)	period of Spring Tide
mweka	(Interg.)	please

mwiki	(3)	morning food cooked the night before
mwiNbi	(3)	tide
N		
Nbu	(9/10)	mosquito
Nchoo	(3)	dug-out canoe
Nchoöu	(3)	cheese
Nchuzi	(3)	relish/sauce
Ndidimo	(3)	thunder
NgaNga	(1)	medicine man
Nge	(9/10)	scorpion
Ngina	(3)	paddy
Nkhaöuru	(3)	spotted tree / discoloured tree
NkhaNdaa	(3)	type of tree
NkhareNba	(3)	type of tree
Nkharo	(3)	big nail; a stabbing spear
Nkhate	(3)	bread
Nkhizi	(9/10)	old mullet
Nkhono	(3)	arm
Nkhosano	(1)	father in law
NkhuNga	(3)	midwife
NkhuNga	(9/10)	moray eel
Nnazi	(3)	coconut tree
NNja	(9/10)	outside
NNjo	(V)	come here
NpheyaNpheya	(Adv)	with a rolling motion (of boat)
Nphika	(3)	stretcher
Nsana	(3)	sitting room
NsaNga	(3)	sand
NseNge	(3)	poking stick
Nsinzi	(3)	type of tree
Nsipa	(3)	hernia
Nso	(9/10)	kidney
Nsuka	(Adv)	peripherally

N̄thana	(V)	pain (I)
N̄thaNbara nači	(9/10)	snake
N̄thariNbo	(3)	tea
N̄thekuñeñe	(3)	rice
N̄thete	(1)	baby
N̄thitira	(Adv)	in the early hours
N̄vivu	(1)	lazy person
N̄vuvi	(1)	fisherman
N̄zi	(9/10)	housefly
N̄zurura	(Adv)	dizzily
naNga	(V)	reprehend, blame
nawa	(V)	insult
Nbara	(9/10)	antelope
Nbigiri	(9/10)	thorn
Nbiri	(9/10)	two
Nbova	(9/10)	small blue fish
Nbuguma	(9/10)	heifer
Nburiza	(9/10)	grey/white hair
Nčhawa	(9/10)	louse
NčheNba	(3)	sea current
Ndime	(Adv)	very hard
Ndo[w]ana	(9/10)	fish hook
Ndu[w]aro	(9/10)	barracuda
Ndwere	(9/10)	illness
Ngebwe	(9/10)	type of fish
Ngeka	(9/10)	luck
Ngeza	(9/10)	leprosy
Ngisi	(9/10)	squid
Ngome	(9/10)	rocky forest
Nguku	(9/10)	hen
Nguñazi	(9/10)	fog
NguNda	(9/10)	type of wild pigeon
Nguru	(9/10)	king fish
Ngutika	(V)	tremble, shiver
Nkhaji	(9/10)	type of bee

Nk ^h ama	(9/10)	type of bird
Nk ^h ara	(9/10)	crab
Nk ^h arubu	(9/10)	dog
Nk ^h ata ~ Ngata	(9/10)	headpad
Nk ^h uku	(9/10)	keel
Nk ^h uNguni	(9/10)	bug
Nk ^h wapa	(9/10)	armpit
NjegaNjega	(5)	jaw
nona	(V)	fatten (I)
nono	(adj)	fat
Nsuka	(9/10)	peninsula
Nthara	(9/10)	rayfish
Nthesa	(9/10)	groundnut
Nthi(N)thira	(9/10)	cattle (black)
Nthiri	(9/10)	half-beak
Nthitira	(9/10)	early morning
Nthokosa	(9/10)	stew
Nthokose	(9/10)	newly harvested rice
nunu	(1a)	mother/ wife
Nviño	(9/10)	maggot
Nvura	(9/10)	rain
ñama	(9/10)	meat
ñamabahari	(9/10)	whale
ñamantho	(1a)	precocious; infant
ñaNgi	(9/10)	noise
ñara	(V)	shrink (I)
ñarubibi	(9/10)	chameleon
ñehe	(Adj)	small
ñeNvure	(9/10)	grasshopper
ñeñefu	(V)	irritate
ñeñeka	(V)	tickle
ñiNbi	(9/10)	very big rayfish
ñitika	(V)	protrude, swell (of belly)
ñoNdora	(9/10)	leftovers
ñoNga	(9/10)	bile

ñoNgo	(9/10)	back
ñora	(V)	shave (T)
ñuwe	(Pron)	You (pl)
ñuzi za (bui)	(10)	cobweb
ñwa	(V)	drink
ñwere	(9/10)	hair
ɲaNba	(9/10)	type of turtle
ɲara	(V)	shine
ɲeɲesa	(V)	look over
ɲora	(V)	uproot
O		
oga	(V)	bath
ogofya	(V)	frighten
oka	(V)	plant seed, transplanting
ona	(V)	see
oNgora	(V)	save
oNja	(V)	taste
oNthe	(Adj)	all
ororo	(Adj)	soft
P		
pa	(V)	give
pa-	(16)	here (Locative)
pakura	(V)	pour over
paNgaña	(V)	mix (T)
paNgusa	(V)	wipe
paparup ^h aNga	(9a)	saw fish
para	(V)	fly
para	(V)	scale off (T)
paraNgana	(V)	be mixed up
parathaza	(9a/10a)	cool season (June-August)
paNjoyoyo	(Adj)	maximal
piši	(10a)	a dry measure of grain
pasura	(V)	split (T)
pa(r)ura	(V)	thatching (roof)

peNbura	(V)	sift or winnowing
pereka	(V)	send
phapa	(9/10)	shark
phara	(5)	roof
pheNgo	(5)	teeth loss
phete	(9a/10a)	finger ring
phiNbiri	(9a/10a)	trunk (of body)
phiNgusi	(9a/10a)	type of shark
phopo	(9a/10a)	bat -'animal'
phuNda	(9a/10a)	donkey
phweteko	(9a/10a)	type of bird
pika	(V)	cook (T)
piNgu	(5)	very big basket
pita	(V)	pass (I)
pojopojo	(Adj)	big
pokera	(V)	receive
poNbopoNbo	(9a/10)	type of tree
poNgora	(V)	give birth
poromoka	(V)	stumble, descend
pota	(V)	be upset (of stomach)
poteka	(V)	slacken (I)
potera	(V)	disappear
pumura	(V)	relax
puNtha	(V)	wait

R

rwara	(V)	fall sick
ragura	(V)	foretell
ramuka	(V)	wake up early (I)
ramuri	(9a/10a)	horoscope
raNba	(V)	lick
rapa	(V)	swear
rara	(V)	sleep
rema	(V)	refuse
reNba	(5)	spot

reNdeNda	(V)	tête è-tête
reNgejeka	(V)	soak (I)
rewa	(V)	booze
riNda	(V)	watch
riNdi ~ diNdi	(S)	harbour, pool
riNga	(V)	see
roNbe	(S)	maize
roNga	(V)	say
roNgora	(V)	lead
rotora	(Adj)	unspoiled; virgin
rota	(V)	dream
rubawa	(14)	wing
ručawa	(14)	nakedness
ručawi	(14)	witchcraft
ručuNgwi	(9a/10a)	ant
ručwa ~ učwa	(9a/10a)	termite
ručwero	(14)	west
rufa	(11)	crack
rufagiwo	(14)	broom
rufizi	(11)	gum
rufuvuNma	(Adv)	by lying on the back
rugaNzi	(14)	numbness
ruGoNjwa	(14)	illness
ruji	(14)	porridge
rukhuča	(11)	finger nail
rukhuni	(11)	firewood
rukiNdu	(11)	palm leaf
rukiri	(11)	palm fond
rukoma	(14)	leprosy
rukosi	(11)	neck
rukuni	(11)	firewood
rukwiNdi	(14)	tooth decay
ruma	(V)	bite
ruñayo	(11)	lower part of the leg
ruñoya	(11)	feather
ruNga	(11)	flour

ruNkha	(V)	jump
rupepo	(11)	wind
rupere rya mapaNde	(14)	smallpox
rupono	(9a/10a)	marbled parrot fish
rurimi	(11)	tongue
ruru	(9a/10a)	pearl
rusiNgisi	(14)	sleep
ruso ~riso	(11)	face
rutathaNge	(9a/10a)	sword fish
rutene	(9a/10a)	penis
ruti rya mugoNgo	(11)	backbone
ruwa	(11)	fence
romwoka	(V)	be upset
reNgu	(5)	outrigger
ruzi	(11)	thread
ruziwa	(14)	milk
rwiko	(11)	large wooden spoon
rwigo	(11)	fence/ hedge
rya	(V)	eat

S

šaibu	(1a)	older person
šazi[y]a	(5)	big type of needle
šiki[y]o	(5)	ear
šogi	(5)	donkey's saddle.
šuja[y]i	(9a/10)	fierce rooster
šaruti	(9a/10a)	type of rope on sailing boat
saza	(V)	leave (food leftover)
somo	(1a)	namesake
suguri	(9a/10a)	event
saba	Numeral	seven
saga	(V)	grind
saha[w]u	(V)	forget
saNjari	(1a)	companion
savu	(5)	cheek (side of face)
sema	(V)	say

serasini	Numeral	thirty
seta	(Adj)	foolish
siye-	(Pron)	we
sibiwa	(V)	be bewitched
siki[yl]o	(5)	ear
simura	(V)	pull out
siNdano	(9a/10a)	needle
sipha	(9a/10a)	poking stick
sitha	Numeral	six
sogera	(V)	move over (I)
sokota	(V)	twist (T)
soma	(V)	read
sosora	(V)	beget
sugura	(V)	rub
suhu	(V)	rot
suka	(V)	plait
sukuma	(V)	push
sukutura	(V)	wash mouth
suNgura	(V)	rub
swarire	(9a)	swan
swifa	(9a)	shark oil
T		
ta	(V)	lay
taajabu	(V)	be amazed
tamu	(Adj)	sweet
taNbi	(5)	branch of a tree
taNbura	(V)	discover
taNbuza	(V)	forge
taNda	(5)	big type of bed
taNgaña	(V)	mix (I)
taNthura	(V)	toddle
tapata	(V)	be upset(of stomach)
tara	(Adj)	steep-roofed
tekuka	(V)	be soaked
teNbera	(V)	walk

teNda	(V)	do
teNge	(Adv)	vertically
tereka	(V)	cook (T)
tereko	(9a)	food
tetema	(V)	tremble
thaNbi	(5)	branch(tree)
thaNbo	(10a)	sorcery
thaNda	(5)	pond
thano	Numeral	five
thara	(5)	roof
thara	(9a)	rayfish
thasa	(1a)	barren woman
thataNge	(9a)	swordfish
thatu	Numeral	three
thekeña	(5)	chigger
thete	(Adj)	unripe
thetere	(9/10a)	wild pigeon
thetesi	(9a/10a)	butterfly
theNbe	(1a)	wife
thigino	(9a/10a)	heifer
thiNburira	(5)	sugar and coconut doughnut
thisini	Numeral	ninety
thoto	(9a/10a)	furrow
thuNbi	(9a/10a)	pig
thuNgu	(9a[5x])	big navel
thutu	(9a/10a)	type of wild pigeon
tikita	(V)	bullfight
tiNbiña	(V)	tread
tira	(V)	put into
toga	(V)	pierce the body
tokota	(V)	boil (I)
tokosa	(V)	cause to boil
tomwe	(5)	hole
toña	(V)	pinch

toja	(V)	leak
topora	(V)	uproot
toša	(V)	inform thoroughly
towe	(10a)	vein (pluralia tantum only)
tuma	(V)	send
tuNbi	(9a/10a)	pig
tuNbu[w]o	(9a/10a)	lock
tuNgure	(9a/10a)	tomato
tupa	(V)	throw
tura	(V)	lay/put down
turwa	(V)	be placed
tuši	(5)	insult
tusa	(V)	try ones luck
tweka	(V)	raise sail
tweša	(V)	bid goodnight
twiña	(9a/10a)	chick
tyaNga	(V)	wander
U		
uboNgo	(11)	brain
ubaridi	(14)	fishing season
uberu	(Adv)	on half sail
ubwiti	(14)	mussels
učapa	(11)	river
učawa	(14)	nakedness
učeNge	(14)	cleared bush
učeza	(14)	sport/play
učono	(11)	anus
učukuti	(11)	palm frond
učukwi	(14)	rice plant
udaha	(11)	pepper
ugema	(14)	bank (river or lake)
ugoNgo	(14)	customary payment at rituals
ugubiko	(11)	cap
uhaNga	(14)	birdlime
ujava	(14)	stream

ujera	(14)	sea-food (a mixture of ray and other fish)
ujusi	(14)	to die without marrying
uka	(V)	stand up (I)
ukadi	(14)	anus
ukarara	(11)	petiole of coconut palm
ukoNgo[w]a	(11)	central midrib of a palm leaf
ukope	(11)	eyelash
ukuru	(14)	sexual desire
ukurutu	(14)	rash
ukwehere	(14)	bad odour
ukweku	(14)	walking stick
umage	(11)	knife
umeta	(14)	lightness
uñeñefu	(14)	tickling
uñwa	(9a)	earthworm
upo	(11)	bailer, scoop
upoNdo	(11)	pole
ureju[w]a	(9a)	east
uriza	(V)	ask
uroto	(14)	brain
urwere~ Ndwere	(14)	illness
usaNga	(11)	bead
usiku	(14)	night
usikukukuru	(14)	midnight
usiNgo	(14)	poison
usuko (for milk)	(14)	calabash for making cheese
utara	(11)	wooden grain stand
uturu	(14)	latex
uvi	(9a/10a)	wasp
uwači	(14)	fog
uwage/wage	(14)	millet chaff
uza	(V)	sell
u[w]a	(11)	backyard
V		
vagaa	(V)	disperse (I)

vage	(5)	storm
vara	(V)	dress (T)
viriNgi	(Adj)	fat
viriNgo	(Adj)	round
vihaNgaišo	(8)	food cover made of a palm-leaf
vudura	(V)	slander
vugaza	(V)	close (of door) (T)
vugura	(V)	open door without key
vukuvuku	(Adj)	warm
vuñaNga	(V)	mix (T)
vuna	(V)	smell (I)
vuNda	(V)	ferment (I)
vunu	(V)	harvest
vuNvu	(5)	fallow ; untilled land
vwaNbwe	(5)	high (tidal) wave running from west to east
viNgi	(Adj)	plenty
vyuNgu	(8)	pots
vyoo	(8)	toilets

W

wa	(V)	be
wa	(Pron)	them/they
wage	(14)	millet
waNbo	(14)	style of knitting palm leaves
waNbo	(14)	wooden frame (of fence)
waNdo	(14)	wire net
waNga	(2)	witch
waNthu	(1)	people
wari	(14)	rice
waye ~ ware	(Pron)	them, they
weye	(Pron)	You (sg)
weNje	(14)	fillet
wida	(14)	type of harmful grass
wito	(14)	a call
wito	(1a)	circumciser
wiva	(V)	ripen (I)

wivu	(14)	jealousy
wizi	(14)	theft
woga	(14)	cowardice
Y		
yavu	(5)	lung
yepi	(Dem)	which (cl.9/10)
yowera	(V)	rest
yoyoma	(V)	disappear
yuga	(V)	wail (of cat)
yuNgutika	(V)	stagger
yuno	(Dem).	this
Z		
zabau	(5)	shirt
zagara	(V)	scattered
zahama	(5)	trouble
zaifu	(Adj)	weak, feeble
zaini	(V)	sweep
zara	(V)	deliver
zawiyani	(9a)	area for holding 'Sufi' rituals
zeruzeru	(1a)	albino
zezeta	(1a)	moron
zido	(Adj)	additional
ziNdiko	(5)	protective charm
ziNga	(V)	commit adultery
ziNga	(V)	trap
ziNgo	(5)	sacrifice
ziNgo	(9a)	hair style
ziNgweziNgwe	(9a)	a sacrificial place
zumazuma	(Adv)	confused
zuzu	(1a)	idiot

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Appendix A: Table 1: Makunduchi

TA	SETA	SETB
/na/ 'present'	(a) čukua u-na-čō-čak-a 'take 2sg-PRST-REL- want-FV 'Take anything you want' (Whiteley 1959: 64)	(a) ama ku-na-kuf-a fwa! If 2sg-PROG-die-FV dies 'If you are dying die' (Chum 1994: 10) (b) ka-na-Ngi-a 3sg-PROG-enter-FV 'S/he is entering' (Sengo 1994:32)
/me-, ma-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Anterior'		(a) ku-ma-iNb-a 2SG-ANT-sing-a 'You have sung' (Maganga 1990: 228-9) (b) ke-ma-law-a 3S-ANT-come-FV 'S/he has come' (Chum 1994: 11) (c) ku-Ø-uNd-u 2S-ANT-make-VC 'You have made' (Whiteley 1959: 65)
/(me)šā-, mā-/ 'Completive'		(a) ke-mašā-i-bwašā-a 3sg-COMP-OM-torn--a 'S/he has torn it' (Chum 1994: 10) (b) ku-šē-čoga-a kulya? 2sg-COMP-push- over here 'Have you finished pushing over here' (Whiteley 1959:59)
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'	(a) a-Ø-vyo-kwiš-a 3sg-PST-REL-finish-FV 'When he finished' (Whiteley 1959:204)	(a) ku-Ø-sumk-a 3sg-PST-sell-FV 'You ran' (past) (Maganga 1990: 228-9) (b) ka-Ø-uz-a 3sg-PST-sell-FV 'S/he sold' (past) (Maganga 1990: 228-9)
/ta-, čā-, Nda-/ 'Future'		(a) ka-čā-vat-a 3sg-FUT-get 'S/he will get' (Maganga 1990: 228-9)
/Nga-, Nge/ 'Conditional'	(a) u-Nge-m-on-a 2sg-COND-2OM-see-FV 'You would have seen' (Whiteley 1959:61)	X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'	(a) u-ka-fik-a kučamona 2sg-SIT-arrive-FV 'If you arrive you will find him' (Whiteley 1959: 60)	X

Table 2: Tumbatu

TA	SETA	SETB
/na-, a-/ 'present'		(a) ku-na-zi-uz-a ? 2SG-PROG-OM-sell-FV 'Are you selling it?' (N & H 1993: 408) (a) kw-a-lamuk-a 2sg-PRST-wake up-FV 'You wake up' Maganga (1990: 160)
/na-, a-, me-, ma- Ø...(VC) 'Anterior'	?	?
/(me)šā-, ma-/ 'Completive'		(a) ku-šā-kwiNba 2sg-COMP-to sing-FV 'You have sung' (Maganga 1990: 155) (b) ke-šā-kweNbilwa 3sg-COMP-to tell-FV 'S/he has been told' (Maganga 1990: 190)
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'		(a) k-Ø-og-o 2sg-PST-bath-VC 'You bathed' (Maganga 1990: 160) (b) kw-Ø-aNbil-i watu 3sg-PST-tell-VC people 'S/he told people' (Maganga ibid: 160)
/ta-, šā-, Nda-/ 'Future'		X
/Nga-, Nge/ 'Conditional'		X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'		X

Table 3: Nungwi

TA	SETA	SETB
/na-/ 'present'	X	(a) ku-na-kweNd-a ku-m-on-a 2SG-PROG-go-FV to see him 'You are going to see him' (Riedel 2002: 28)
/me-, ma-/ 'Anterior'	(a) u-ma-jafyagiy-a? 2sg-ANT-sweep-FV 'Have you swept?' (Riedel 2002: 19)	(b) ka-ma-vay-a kaNga 3sg-ANT-dress-FV 'S/he is wearing a kanga' (Riedel 2002: 19)
/(me)šə-, ma-/ 'Completive'	(a) u-ma-kuly-a? 2sg-ma- eat-FV 'Have you eaten?' (Riedel 2002: 22)	(a)ku-šə-kuly-a 2s-Compl-eat-FV 'Have you eaten?' (Riedel 2002: 28)
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'	(a) a-Ø-po-fik-a 3sg-PST-REL-arrive-FV 'When s/he arrived' (Riedel 2002: 17)	(a)ka-Ø-j-a 3sg-PST-come-FV 'S/he came' (Riedel 2002: 28) (b) ke-Ø-Nd-e 3sg-PST-go-VC 'S/he went' (Riedel 2002: 16)
/ta-, ca-, Nda-/ 'Future'	(a) a-ta-ye-šə-rudi 3sg-FUT-REL-COMP-return 'Each person who will have returned' (Riedel 2002: 28)	(a)ka-ta-ye-j-a uka veye 3s-Fut-Rel-come-FV 'S/he is the one who will leave' (Riedel 2002: 27) (b)ka-ta-som-a 3s-Fut-read-FV 'S/he will read' (Riedel 2002: 26) (c)ka-Nda-fika 3sg-Fut-arrive-FV 'S/he is going to arrive' (Riedel 2002: 28) (d)ku-Nda-mon-a 3sg-Fut-arrive-FV 'You are going to see him' (Riedel 2002: 28)
/Nga(li)-, Nge(li)/ 'Conditional'	(a) a-Ngali a-ka-som-a 3sg-COND- 3sg-ka-read-FV 'I was still reading' (Riedel 2002: 25)	X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'	(a) a-ka-j-a ka-ta-kuka vitu 3sg-SIT-come 3sg-FUT- give foog 'If s/he come shewill give gou food' (Riedel 2002: 25)	X

Table 4: Pemba

TA	SETA	SETB
/na(ku)-, a-/ 'simple present'	(a) w-a-aNk-a 2sg-PRS-wake up-FV 'You wake up' (Maganga 1990: 112)	X
/na-/ 'Anterior'		(a) ka-na- uk-a 3sg-ANT-return-FV 'S/he has returned' (N&H 1993: 420)
/(me)šə-, ma-/ 'Completive'	?	?
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'	(a) w-e-aNk-a 2sg-PST-wake up-FV 'You woke up' Maganga (1990:112)	(a) ku-Ø-pik-i leo 2sg-PST-cook-VC today 'Did you cook today?' (Whiteley 1959: 15) (b)kw-Ø-eNd-e jana? 2sg-PST-go-VC 'Did you go today?' (Whiteley 1959: 15)
/ta-, ča-, Nda-/ 'Future'	(a) a-ta-kweNd-a 3sg-FUT-go 'S/he will go' (Whiteley 1959: 15)	X
/Nga-, Nge/ 'Conditional'		X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'		X

Table 5: Vumba

TA	SETA	SETB
/na-/ 'Anterior'	X	(a) ku-na-fyom-a 2sg-ANT-read-FV 'You have read' (N&H 1993: 422) (b) ka-na-kufw-a 3sg-ANT-die-FV 'S/he has died' (N&H 1993: 376)
/a-/ 'Immed. Anterior'		(a) kw-a-kubw-a 2sg-Imm. ANT-fall-FV 'You have just fallen' (N&H 1993: 422) (b) k(a)-a-fik-a 3sg-Imm. ANT-arrive-FV 'S/he has just arrived' (N&H 1993: 366)
/(me)šə-, ma-/ 'Completive'		(a) kwa-šə-iNjik-a 2sg-COMP-write-a 'You have written' (Lambert 1953: 30) (b) ka-šə-kuŋ-a 3sg-COMP-arrive-a 'S/he has arrived' (Lambert 1953: 30)
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'	(a) u-Ø.-vivi 2sg-PST-be-how 'What sort of person are you?' (Lambert 1953:30) (b) a-li-vo-oNdok-a... 3sg-PST-REL-go-FV 'As s/he went ..' (Lambert 1953: 38)	(a) ka-Ø-fu 3sg-PST-die 'S/he died' (N&H 1993:366) (b)ka-Ø-wa-šəiNd-i 3sg-PST-win-VC 'S/he won them' (Whiteleys 1953: 35) (c) ku-Ø-rer-e 2sg-PST-bring-CV 'You brought' (Lambert 1953: 18)
/ta-, čə-, Nda-/ 'Future'	(a) u-čə-fuNg-a 2sg-FUT-tie-FV 'You will tie, will be tying' (N&H 1993: 422)	X
/Nga-, Nge/ 'Conditional'	(a) a-Nga-wa-je ... 3sg-COND-be-how 'Whatever he is' (Lambert 1953: 33)	X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'	(a) kavu a-ka-rwaNga 'S/he used to clean grain' (N&H 1993: 420)	X

Table 6: Mtang'ata

TA	SETA	SETB
/Ø, a-, na-/ 'present'	(a) a-Ø-aw-a 3sg-PRST-go-FV 'She is going' (Temu 1980: 27) (b) a-Ø-geuk-a 3sg-PRST-turn-a 'She is turning' (Temu 1980: 23) (c) u-na-ko-ka-a 2sg-PROG-LOC-stay-FV 'Where you stay' (Shihabudin & Mnyampala 1977: 34)	X
/na-/ 'Anterior'	X	(a) ku-na-ya-bun-u 2sg-ANT-6OM-create-VC 'You have created them' Temu (1980: 20) (b) ka-na-bak-a 3sg-ANT-give out -FV 'She has given out' Temu 1980:23)
/Ø...(VC)/ 'Anterior'	X	ku-Ø-on-o you -ANT-see- VC 'You have seen ' (Shihabudin&Mnyampala 1977: 34)
/(me)ǝa-, ma-/ 'Completive'	?	k-eǝi-pika kande 3sg-COMPL-cook food '(She) has finished cooking the food' (Polome 1967: 23)
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'	(a) u-li-ǝo-kuj-i-a 3sg-PST-REL-come-APPL-FV 'That which you came for' Temu 1980: 26	
/ta-, ca-, Nda-/ 'Future'	(a) a-ta-twig-iǝ-w-a 3sg-FUT-pull-CAUS-PASS-FV 'She will be pulled' (Temu 1980: 26)	X
/Nga-, Nge/ 'Conditional'	(a) a-Nge-ni-p-a 3sg-COND-1OM-FV 'S/he could have given me' (Temu 1980: 17)	X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'	(a) u-ka-pika 2sg-SIT-cook-FV 'If you cook' (N& H 1993: 420)	X

Table 7: Ngome

TA	SETA	SETB
/na(ku)-, a-/ 'present'	(a) u-na-rim-a faya 2sg-PROG-cultivate-FV faya 'Are you cultivating faya?'	(a) ko-Ø-ki-tak-a kiswahili kyaNgu 2sg-Ø-7OM-want-FV 7-Swahili my 'Do you want my Swahili?'
/Ø...(VC)/ 'Anterior'	X	(a) ku-Ø--mw-on-o 2sg-ANT-2OM-see-VC 'Have you seen him?' (b) ka-Ø--faNz-a -j-e-ko 3sg-ANT-do-FV-how-17-Loc 'What has s/he done there?'
/(me)šā-, ma-/ 'Completive'	(a) a-Øšā-rim-a 3sg-COMP-cultivate-FV 'S/he has already cultivated'	(a) ku-Øšā-rim-a weye? 2sg-COMP-cultivate you 'Have you cultivated already?' (b) ka-Øšā-guNdumk-a ? 3sg-COMP-wake up-FV 'Has she woken up already?'
/li-, e-, Ø...(VC)/ 'Past'	(a) a-ri-rim-a 3sg-PST-cultivate-FV 'S/he cultivated'	(a) ku-Ø-zarik-a-j-e ? 2sg-PST-be born-ST-FV how 'How were you born?' (b) ka-Ø--pit-i pa 3sg-PST-pass-VC here 'S/he passed here'
/ta-, ca-, Nda-/ 'Future'	(a) a-ta-rim-a 3sg-PST-cultivate-FV 'S/he cultivated'	X
/Nga-, Nge/ 'Conditional'	(a) a-Nga-rim-a 3sg-COND-cultivate-FV 'S/he could have cultivated'	X
/ki-, ka-/ 'Situative'	(a) a-ki-rim-a 3sg-SIT-cultivate-FV 'If s/he cultivates'	X

APPENDIX B : KiNgome Texts.

This section contains three texts. They are intended to give extended samples of the dialect. Texts A and B were narrated by Ahmed Mwatanda of Kanga village. Text A describes a typical KiNgome marriage ritual. Some of the customs narrated here have begun to change but the words are still known to the majority of people. Text B is a narrative concerning WaNgome mythology. There is a belief and indeed a practice of owning spirits with supernatural power. The narrative involves a person who went to a Shaman to 'buy' a jinn at Kanga village. Text C was part of a conversation I recorded with Aisha bint Kombo of Kanga village.

Each text is first presented with a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis, a close interlinear translation and finally a free translation.

TEXT A: Marriage at Bagoni

Mwanamuka	baada	ya	kuorewa	hu[w]iŋi
mu-anamuka	baada	ya	ku-or-ew-a	hu-ishi
1-woman	after	of	15-Inf-marry-Pass-FV	Hab-live

A woman after getting married lives in

kwa siku saba fuNgateni. a[y]iŋi na mumewe

ku-a	siku	saba	fungate-ni	a-iŋi	na	mu-me-we
15-for	10a-day	seven	honeymoon-Loc.ISM-live with	1-male-1Poss.		

the honeymoon for seven days. She lives with her husband

na Nguo za kawaida, kira asubuhi a-pik-ir-w-a

na	n-guo	z-a	kawaida	kira	asubuhi	a-pik-iw-a
with	10-cloth	10-ass	normal	every	9a-morning	1SM-cook-Appl-Pass-FV

with her everyday clothes, every morning they cook her a

mihogo,	kunde,	vitumbuwa,	mupepeta	na
mi-hogo	kunde	vi-tumbu[w]a	mu-pepeta	na
4-cassava	9/10-kunde	8-rice fritters	3-rice crisp	&

a breakfast of cassava, peas, rice-fritters, beaten rice
and

uji. N^hana huriswa wari wa
 uji n-cana hu-ris-w-a wari w-a
 14-porridge. 9/10-afternoon Hab-eat-Pass-FV 14-rice 14-Ass.
 porridge. In the afternoon she is fed with cook coconut
 rice

nazi, kitowere kyeñewe ni asari na samuri ya ñoNbe.
 n-nazi ki-tower-e ky-eñewe ni asari na samuri y-a ñoNbe.
 9-coconut 7-broth 7-itself is 9-honey and 9-ghee 9-Ass 9-cow.
 with sauce of honey and cow ghee.

kisa baba wa muka anasema, awari ya rero
 ki-sa baba w-a mu-ka a-na-sem-a, awari y-a rero
 then 1a-father 1-Ass. 1-wife 1SM-TA-say-FV, from 9-Ass. 9-today
 Then the father of the woman says, from today

fañeni hisabu mpaka siku ya saba muje
 fañ-e-ni hisabu mpaka siku y-a saba mu-j-e
 make-pl count until 9-day 9-of 9a-seven 2plSM-come-Subj
 count till the seventh day (then) you come

mumtowe harusì wenu. Na mama naye
 mu-m-to-[w]e harusì w-enu. na mama na-ye
 2plSM-1OM-release-Subj 1a-bride 1-poss. & 1a-mother &-herself
 to take your bride out . And the mother also

anatowa habari zi-re uwani. Ire siku
 a-na-to[w]-a habari z-ire u[w]a-ni. i-re siku
 1SM-deliver-FV 10-news 10-Dem. 11a-backyard-Loc 9-Dem. 9-day
 delivers a similar message to the people in the courtyard.
 On the sixth day

ya sita mabinamu wa mwanamuka wanunuwa ruzi
 y-a sita ma-binamu w-a mu-anamuka wa-nunu[w]a r-uzi
 9-Ass. six 6:2-nieces ³⁷ 2-Pos 1-woman 2-buy 11-
 thread
 cousins of the bride-side buy

wawo na siNdano ya kusonera. WanatuNgiya
 wa-[w]o na sindano y-a ku-son-cr-a. wa-na-tung-i[y]a
 11a-their & 9-needle 9-ass 15-weave-App-FV 2SM-TA- weave-App-
 E-FV

³⁷ The formula 6:2 is used here to refer to 6 as the class marker and 2 the dependent concord, here animate.

their thread and sewing needle. They thread

usaNga; Upo usaNga wa kiunoni, upo wa mwagaro na upo
u-sanga u-po u-sanga w-a ki-uno-ni, u-po w-a mu-agaro na u-po
11a-bead 11a-Dem 11a-bead 11a-Ass 7-waist-loc, 11a-loc 11a-of 3-buttock & 11a-
Loc
beads. There is a waist (band of) bead, there is one for
hips and there is

wa rukosi. Anaviswa pete na kutogwa
w-a ru-kosi. a-na-viŝ-w-a pete na ku-tog-w-a
11a-Ass 11-neck 1SM-TA-wear-Pass-FV earing and 15-pierce-Pass-FV
for the neck. They put on her a ring and pierce [her]

masikio[y]o. Tundu za masikiyo za kati huitwa
ma-siki[y] o. Tundu z-a ma-siki[y]o z-a kati hu-it-w-a
6-ears 10-hole 10-Ass 6-ears 10-Ass 9a-cent Hab-call-Pass-FV
ears. The holes pieced in the ears are called

map^hete. Na puwani anatogwa upande mmoji wa
ma-^hete. na pu[w]a-ni a-na-tog-w-a u-pande m-moj-i w-a
6-earings & 9-nose-Loc 1SM-TA-pierce-FV 11a-side 11:3-one 11a-
Ass
map^hete. And on the nose they pierce

N^hono wa Nsoto awu Nriye. Kweñe Ndewe
n-^hono w-a n-soto a[w]u n-ri[y]-e ku-eñe n-dewe
3-hand 3-Ass 3-left or 3-right 17-Loc 9-ear
her on one side either left or right. In her ears they

anatiwa harine, puwani 'kipini kya Ndege'. Sasa
a-na-ti-w-a harine, pu[w]a-ni 'ki-pini ky-a n-dege'. sasa
1SM-TA-Pass-FV 9/10-earring 9/10-nose-Loc 7-medallion 7-Ass 9-bird'. Now

put earrings, in a nose-pin with the likeness of a bird'.

Now

anaviswa usaNga wa kiwunoni na mwagaro.
a-na-vis-w-a u-sanga w-a ki-[w]unoni, na mu-agaro
1SM-TA-wear-Pass-FV 11a-bead 11a-Ass. 7-waist-Loc & 3-hip
they put her beads around the waist and the hips.

Harafu fundi anamfuNda kuiŝi na mume wake.

then fundi a-na-m-fund-a ku-ishi na mu-me w-ake.
 then 5-trainer 1SM-TA-OM-teach-FV 15-Inf-live & 1-husband 1-Poss.

Then her trainer teaches her how to live with her husband.

Afere amuri ya mume.
 a-fer-e amuri y-a mu-me
 1SM-follow -Subj 9-rule 9-Ass. 1-husband
 And that she ought to follow her husband orders.

TEXT B: To Buy a Jinn

Bwana we kija hapa kutaka nikuuziye jini.
 buana we ki-ja ha-pa ku-taka ni-ku-uz-ilye jini
 1a-mister you 1sm-come loc-16 15-want 1sg-15-sell-Appl-Subj 1a-jinn
 Mister you have come here to ask me to sell you a jinn.

Miye jini wangu si-Nthumi kaNk^hate furano
 mi-ye jini w-angu si-Nthumi ka-N-k^hate furano
 1-pron- jinn 1-poss Neg-1OM-send 1SM-1OM-cut somebody
 I won't ask my jinn to go and kill somebody.

au kamurarisise furano. Situmii taNgu mizimu
 au ka-mu-rar-is-e furano. Si-tumi-i taNgu mi-zimu
 or TA-OM-sleep-Caus-Subj somebody. Neg-use since 4-spirits
 or to hyponotise somebody. I have not been allowed to do that

ya mababu kuñirusiya miye. KuNthuma jini
 y-a ma-babu ku-ñi-rusi[a] mi-ye. ku-Nthuma jini
 4-Ass 6-ancestors 15-1sgOM-restrict 1-pron. 15-1OM-send 1a-jinn
 since the time of my ancestors . To send a jinn

ukamurarisise furano au amupe šida muNthu hapano.
 u-ka-mu-rar-is-e furano au a-mu-pe šida mu-Nthu hapano
 2sgSM-TA-1OMsleep-Caus-Subj 1a-somebody or 1SM-OM-give 9-problem 1-person
 no
 to hypnotised or hurt a person is forbidden.

Sasa rete kitezo. weka mukaa na rete ruvumba.
 sasa rete ki-tezo. weka mu-kaa na rete ru-vuNba.
 Now bring 7-burner. put 3-charcoal & bring 14-incense
 Now bring an incense burner, put on charcoal and bring incense.

We! muzee kičoNgwečoNgwe kija kiumbe ayu
 wel mu-zee kičoNgwečoNgwe ki-ja ki-umbe a-yu
 2sgpron 1-elder kičoNgwečoNgwe 3sgSM-come 7:1-person 1-Dem
 you old man Kichongwechongwe here comes a person

anakutaka awe rafiki yako. umusiki[y]e maneno
 a-na-ku-taka a-we rafiki ya-ko. u-mu-sikie ma-neno
 1SM-TA-2sgOM-want 1SM-be 1a: 9-friend 9-Poss 2sg-3sgOM-listen 6-words
 who wants to be your friend. Listen to

gake goNthe anagogataka kosema.
 ga-ke go-Nthe a-na-go-ga-taka ko-sema
 6-Dem 6-all 3sg-TA-6Rel-6OM-want 15-say
 all his words which he wants to say

Uwe naye umuriNge na
 u-we na-ye u-mu-riNge na
 2sg-be &-Pron 2sgSM-1OM-see-Subj &
 Be with him, look after him &

keNgeja wake uwariNde muzee.
 kengeja wa-ke u-wa-rind-e mu-zee
 1a-wife 1-Poss 2sgSM-2OM-protect-Subj 1-elder
 his children protect them, old man

TaNbo za kutupiwa Nbere uzikiNge,
 TaNbo z-a ku-tup-iw-a N-bere u-zi-kiNge-e
 10a-charm 10-Ass 15-throw-Pass-FV 9-front 2sg-10-OM-guard-Subj
 Guard him against the charm thrown in front of him.

ikiwa za numa na kufukiwa pi[y]a uzikiNge,
 ikiwa z-a numa na ku-fuk-iw-a pia u-zi-kiNge,
 or 10-Ass 9-behind & 15-dig-Pass-FV also 2sg-10OM-protect,
 or from the behind and protect him.

umupepetuše Nguru asikañage rubaya
 u-mu-pepet-uš-e N-guru a-si-kañag-e ru-baya
 2sgSM-3sgOM-keep off-Caus-Subj 3-leg 3sgSM-NEG-tread-FV 14-bad
 keep his leg from treading on any evil at all.

wowoNthe. soka ra kupigani[y]a unaro.
 wow-oNthe. soka r-a ku-pig-an-i[y]-a u-na-ro.
 14-all. 5-axe 5-Ass 15-hit-Rec-Appl-FV 2sg-have-5Rel.
 you have an axe to fight with.

MuriN^{de} na uwe mačo. Zawadi zako zipo.
 mu-rinde na u-we mačo. Zawadi z-ako zi-po.
 2sgOM-protect & 2sg-be 6-eyes. 10a-gift 10-Poss 10-16Loc
 Guard him and be alert. You will have your rewards'

kyano pi[y]a utapata. Na Nk^hwavi umrorweze.
 ky-ano pi[y]a u-ta-pata. Na N-k^hwavi u-m-rorw-ez-e
 7-feast also 2sg-TA-get. & 9-cattle 2sg- 2SM-3sgOM-slaughter -Caus-Subj
 You will be given your tray of delicacies. You will have a
 cow slaughtered for you.

Haya suguri iša twara jini ryako ukatumi[y]e.
 haya suguri iša twar-a jini ry-ako u-ka-tumi[y]-e
 Ok 9a-ritual complete get-FV 5x-jinn 5-Poss 2sgSM-TA-use-Subj
 ok, the ritual is over take your jinn and use him.

Text C: To Sharpen a Machete

Heje? kufura muNdu Jimbo? kweNda
 he-je? ku-fura mu-ndu Jimbo? ku-enda
 Intg-Cl. 15Int-forge 3-matchete Jimbo? 15Inf-go
 Hey? have you forge your billhook at Jimbo? Do you intend
 to take it along when you go

nawo bara weye? Basi tafuta Nthu
 na-wo bara we-ye? basi tafuta Nthu
 &-Rel. 9-land 2per.Pron ok find 1-person
 to the mainland? Ok then find a person

akupangiye harafu aukurure.
 a-ku-pang-i[y]-e harafu a-u-kurur-e.
 1SM-2sgOM-process-App-Subj then 1-SM-3OM-smooth-FV Nasoro
 who will process it then smoothen it.

nenda pare kwa Nasoro
 n-enda pa-re ku-a Nasoro
 2pers-go 16-Dem 17-Ass Nasoro
 Go to Nasoro

akupangi[y]e. Hebu! ñi-pa
a-ku-pang-i[y]-e hebul ñi-pa
1SM-2sgOM-forge-Subj Alright! 1sgOM-give-Impve
to process it. Alright

ñi-u-riNge. Mu-Ndu N-zito.
ñi-u-riNg-e. Mu-ndu n-zito
1SM-3OM-see-Subj. 3-matchete 3-heavy
Let me see it. It is a heavy machete.

Sasa pereka aukurure, kiša aunore sawasawa.
sasa pereka a-u-kurur-e ki-ša a-u-nore sawa sawa.
now send 1SM-3OM-smooth-FV then 1SM-3OM-sharpen well.
Now send it to be smoothed. Then, to be sharpened well.

kama haukururiwa haupati makari
Kama ha-u-ku-kurur-iw-a ha-u-pati ma-kari.
if Neg-3SM-15-smooth-Pas-FV Neg-3SM-get 6-sharpness
If it hasn't been smoothed, it never becomes sharp.

Akisaunora utakweNda kurimi[y]a
A-ki-ša u-nora u-ta-ku-enda ku-rim-i[y]-a
1SM-TA-Aux -3OM-shapern 3SM-TA-15Inf-go 15-Inf-cultivate-App-FV
After being sharpened you will use it for cultivation

kisa utaku-wa unanora tu kinoroni.
kisa u-ta-ku-wa u-na-nora tu ki-noro-ni.
then 2sg-TA-15inf-be 2sg-TA-sharpen only 7-whetstone-Loc.
you will [need to keep] sharpening it with a whetstone.

MuNdu wa kurotora ndio unafaa kwa
mu-ndu w-a ku-rotor-a ndi-o u-na-faa ku-a
3-machete 3-Ass 15-Inf.smooth be-Rel 3SM-TA-right 15-Ass.
The smoothed machete is perfect for

kučeNgeya vava, na kukati[y]a koNgowa.
ku-čcNg-e-[y]-a vava na ku-kat-i-[y]-a Kongowa
15-clear-Appl-FV 9a-shrub, & 15-cut-Appl-FV 10-poles
clearing bush and cutting poles.

APPENDIX C: KiNgome - English Lexicon

The following is a KiNgome-English wordlist. Indication of a Class number shows that an item is a noun; Adj. stands for adjectives; Adv. stands for Adverbs; Conj. stands for conjunctions; V for verbs; Pron. for pronoun; interj. for interjection; Dem. for demonstratives. This information is given after the lexical item. KiNgome entries are ordered alphabetically. Only stems are listed for verbs, adjectives, adverbs and pronominal words. The distinction between transitive and intransitive verb stem will be illustrated by (T) and (I) respectively.

KiNgome - English Lexicon

A

abikiza	(V)	make a try
agama	(V)	lean
aganika	(V)	be occupied, be busy
ako	(Pron)	your
amura	(V)	settle a dispute
aNgari[y]a	(V)	see
aNgata	(V)	assist
aNguka	(V)	fall
aNgura	(V)	hatch (T)
arizi	(9/10)	land
aruka	(V)	the rise-of tide
asikari ~ askhari	(1a)	soldier
aswari	(9a)	honey
atika	(V)	plant
avi	(adj)	empty
aye	(pron)	him/her
aNbari	(9a/10a)	amber
aNga	5	cloud
ada	9a/10a	fee
ayari	9a/10a	type of rope

B

baNga	(V)	split (T)
baNgabaNga	(V)	crack (T)

baN ^h ha	(V)	grind
ba ^h ha	(V)	backbite
baN ^h hu	(5)	bark of tree
baNvu[w]a	(9a)	spring tide
baNza	(V)	hide (I)
bamaNda	(V)	press together
baribari	(V)	pull
bata	(9a)	locust
bati	(5)	cattlepen
bedani	(5)	curly hair
beho	(9a)	belch
beNda	(V)	request
beNja	(V)	extract
bigiri	(5)	small pen/stone wall
bini	(V)	cultivate
bini	(V)	lie
biri	(V)	join (I)
bisi	(9a)	dune
biša	(V)	go against tide
biwi	(5)	refuse heap
boba	(9a)	type of fish
bobo	(14[5])	yoghurt
bobora	(V)	demolish
bobota	(5)	ripen tamarind
bobota	(V)	exploit
bogaboga	(9a)	ripen paddy grain
bogojera	(9a)	big rain
bogo[w]a	(V)	harvest (maize)
boji	(5)	heavy rain
boma	(5)	forest/large timber
bomora	(V)	destroy
boñera	(V)	pinch
boNk ^h o	(9a)	hippo
boNgoya	(V)	complain
bova	(9a)	type of snake
boye/bowe	(9a)	flying fish

boŋoña/boNŋoño[w]a	(V)	wear
buba	(14[5])	blister
bububu	(5)	egg
bugabuga	(V)	find
buki	(5)	kidney
bui ~ rubui	(9a)	spider
buNbwí	(14[5])	sorcery
buni	(9a)	coffee
burai[y]a	(V)	agree
huri	(5)	teapot
burugara/burudeNge	(1a)	uninformed person
burukutu	(9a)	a cup without a handle
buruNthú	(9a)	hornless bull
buyi ~ rubuyi	(9a)	spider
bwaNda	(14[5])	garb
bwaNgwari	(14[5])	hunger
bwaNthá	(V)	blurt out
bwiNbwí	(14[5])	sweet rice
bwira	(V)	gulp; request

C

čače ~ čači	(1a)	orphan
čafi	(9a)	biceps
čagara	(5)	branch of tree
čakarawe	(7)	pebbles
čaňaNthá	(V)	wash (T)
čaNba	(V)	wash oneself
čaNphwa	(9a)	flotsam
čaNbo	(7)	bait
čaNgwe	(5)	shrub
čata	(V)	salivate
čemeNbe/ky-emeNbe	(7)	diaphragm
čeňe / ky-eňe	(7)	wrinkle
čeNkhani	(7)	fountain
česi	(9a)	small deer
čočora	(V)	nibble

čoka	(V)	get tired
čoňo[w]a	(V)	peck
čoNt ^h a	(V)	draw (water)
čuNbua	(V)	breakfast
čuruka	(9a/10a)	bait
čwago	(9a/10a)	type of crab
D		
daba	(Adv)	jokingly ; in jest
dagara	(9a)	sardine
dago	(5)	fishermen's camp
daka	(5)	coconut stem
dakuka	(V)	be sour
dakuka	(1a)	stubborn girl
daNbura	(V)	eat little food
damuka ~ ramuka	(V)	wake up (I)
danaNga	(V)	cling
dari	(5)	ceiling
daNt ^h a	(V)	hang, swing
dasidasi	(Adv)	hastily
dau	(5)	dhow
dawa	(5)	medicine
dawe	(5)	meadow land
defu	(Adj)	tall
deheni	(V)	caulk
dekemeza	(V)	slacken
demani	(5)	type of rope in a sailing boat
deNgereNge	(5)	blister
difu	(5)	coconut meat
diNbuka	(V)	eat the first harvest
diNdi~ riNdi	(5)	harbour , pool
domasa	(V)	pinch
doNdoza	(9a/10a)	wasp
dosari	(9a/10a)	insect (that eats wood)
dude	(5x) Aug.	huge beast
duNda	(5)	hill

duNduka	(5)	unripe coconut
duNga	(V)	follow
duNge	(5)	cashew nut
duNgurira	(5)	heartburn
duNpha	(V)	swing (I)
duri	(5)	bull
dusa	(5)	heap
E		
eka (ako)	(V)	stay (alone)
eNbe	(5)	mango
eNda	(V)	go
ereka	(V)	carry
erera	(V)	float (I)
eruka	(V)	cause to froth
esabu	(V)	count
eda	(9a/10a)	mourning days-of widow
F		
fama	(V)	urinate
faNza	(V)	do
fena	(V)	go
fiNgo	(9a/10a)	shore
fipa	(V)	suck
fu	(V)	die
fu[w]ara	(9a/10a)	any food
fufu	(9a/10a)	trap (birds)
fufuma	(V)	swell
fugu	(V)	keep animal(s)
fukuču[w]a	(V)	wash face (T)
fuNöha	(V)	fight
fuNduki	(5)	breast
fuNkha	(V)	cultivate (using hoe)
funanga	(V)	mould
funura	(V)	open (T)
fupa	(V)	award

fup ^h a	(V)	bale out water (boat)
furama	(V)	crouch
fure	(1a)	impotent man
furu	(9a/10a)	disease of the eye
furukwe	(9a/10a)	tortoise
furuma	(V)	foam, froth
fusa	(V)	break wind
fuso	(5)	charm
fyata	(V)	hold tight
fyuka	(V)	escape
fyagira	(V)	sweep

G

gaNda	(V)	press/stick
gaNdika	(V)	plaster
gasa	(V)	swell
gavu ~ Ngavu	(5)	net
geNbe	(5)	waist
geñu	(9a)	rotten fruit
gera	(V)	throw
giza	(9a/10a)	darkness
goNgowa	(V)	envoke spirits
gudugudu	(5)	dry coconut
guNdumuka	(V)	wake up (I)
guNga	(V)	treat-medically
guye	(5)	thicket

H

habuka	(V)	be in suspense
hadisi	(9a/10a)	story
hama	(V)	migrate
hapa	(Dem)	here
haramu	(Adj)	forbidden
hari	(9a/10a)	situation, news
haswa[y]i	(9a/6)	castrated bull
hazima	(9a/10a)	amulet

herine	(9a/10a)	earring
hesa	(9a/10a)	share
hijabu	(9a)	disease of the ear
hirizi	(9a/10a)	charm
hitima	(9a)	prayer uttered 40 days after a death
hizi	(V)	be in agony
homa	(9a)	fever
hoNbwe	(9a/10a)	type of snail
huzuni	(9a/10a)	sorrow

I

igi	(5)	egg
irya	(V)	eat
isi (gani?)	(Adv)	in what manner; for what reason

ikara	(V)	to sit
irya	(V)	to eat

J

ja	(V)	come
janaeza	(5)	coffin
ji ~ dyi	(Refl.)	self
jaso	(5)	sweat
jino	(5)	tooth
jipu	(5)	boil
jiwe	(5)	stone
jaNgwa	(5)	salt flat
jifya	(5)	hearthstone
jamvi	(5)	plaited floor matting
jaNbika	(V)	wear skimpily / casually
jara	(V)	fill up (I)
jayaya	(5)	kidney
jake	(5)	top layer (of milk or stew)
jeNbe	(5)	hoe
jeNga	(V)	build ; accredit
jiNbi	(5)	yam
jiNbiru	(9a/10a)	wild pigeon

jasi	(9a)	type of mineral
jiko	(5)	kitchen
jina	(5)	name
jinamo	(9a/10a)	A ripening stage of paddy grain
jogoro	(9a/10a)	cock
joNgoro	(9a/10a)	millipede
jovya	(V)	belch
juni[y]a	(5)	sack
juru	(Adj)	up
juya	(5)	fishnet
ju[w]a	(V)	know
K		
kago	(5)	protective magic
kakama	(V)	dry
kama	(V)	drain (T)
kanadi	(9a/10a)	small mullet
kaNba	(conj)	that
kara	(V)	sit down
karafati	(9a/10a)	raw cotton filling (caulking holes)
karaNbisi	(9a/10a)	type of mackerel
karuka	(V)	dry (I)
kaskhazi	(9a/10a)	the Northeast Monsoon
kaskhazini	(9a/10a)	north
kaye	(9a/10a)	settlement
keNgeje[y]a	(V)	inflict pain
kesa ~ keša	(V)	pass the night awake
khaji	(9a/10a)	snail
khaNba	(9a/10a)	prawn
khaNgu	(9a/10a)	blue coloured fish
khara	(9a/10a)	crab
kharauvi	(9a/10a)	type of crab
khatwa	(9a/10a)	type of ray-fish
khedi	(Adj)	proud

k ^h _a Nga	(9a/10a)	palm fruit
k ^h _a Nga	(9a/10a)	unripe cashew fruit
k ^h _o č̣a	(V)	crossing legs while riding a donkey
k ^h _o me	(9a/10a)	sea snail
k ^h _o Nbe	(5)	big plate ~ food
k ^h _o Nde	(9a/10a)	field
k ^h _o rija	(9a/10a)	a unit of twelve
k ^h _o tama	((9a/10a))	hunting knife
k ^h _o wana	(9a/10a)	type of fish
k ^h _u č̣i	(9a/10a)	big type of rooster
k ^h _u ja	(9a/10a)	type of bee
k ^h _u pa	(9a/10a)	tick
k ^h _u pe	(9a/10a)	large wild rat
k ^h _u ruNga	(7)	forest
ki-	(7x-)	diminutive
ki _b aNgu	(7)	a skin of parchment
ki _b avu	(7)	disease of the ribs
ki _b i _b i	(Adj)	numbness
ki _b oko	(9a[1a])	sea snail
ki _b uNbwi	(7)	sorcery (in Jimbo)
kič̣aNgu	(7)	uncleared bush inside the farm
kič̣apa	(7)	rivulet
ki _d uNda	(7)	hillock
ki _d uNgo	(7)	joint, anklet
ki _d usa	(7)	hill
ki _f uru	(7)	coconut shell
ki _f urukwe	(9a[1a])	tortoise
ki _g ara	(7)	ripe rice grain
ki _g aŋaNdu	(7)	scar ; membrane
ki _g oya	(9a[7])	small ray fish
ki _g udi	(7)	elbow
ki _h omi	(7)	twinges
ki _j amaNda	(7)	basket
ki _k oko	(7)	shrub

kikwekwe	(9a[7])	type of rooster
kimača	(7)	ringworm
kimareNba	(7)	multicolor
kimiro	(7)	uvula
kimwa	(V)	silence
kiňagi	(7)	drizzle of rain
kiňehe	(7)	calf - 'animal'
kiňeNbe	(7)	razor blade
kiňiNgiňa	(7[1a])	great- grand son's children
kinaNgu	(9a[7])	small mullet
kineNgwe	(9a [7])	type of fish
kiNgurupi[y]a	(7)	graft
kiNkhisa	(7)	heartbeat
kipaNgā	(9a/10a)	tsetse fly
kipiju	(7)	rainbow
kipiNguNjuju	(Adv)	be unsettled
kipofu	(1a)	blind person
kiraNde	(9a/10a)	trigger fish
kiriboto	(9a[7])	flea
kirikita	(5)	tractor
kiruNbasi	(7)	a fragrant plant
kiruNgo kya mukono	(7)	palm
kiruru	(9a)	desire
kiruwirui	(7)	headache
kisegeyu	(7)	heel
kisirani	(7)	omen
kisiwa~fuNgu	(7)	island
kisogoo	(7)	occiput
kisugudi	(7)	elbow
kisune	(7[1a])	bachelor ; uncircumcised person
kisusi	(7)	ceiling beam
kitaNga	(7)	type of spirit possession ritual
kitaNgaja	(7)	round mat made of borassus palm
kitate	(7[1a])	deaf
kitetesi	(9a[7])	butterfly

kitezo	(7)	incense burner
kitika	(V)	sting
kitiNbaNba	(7)	problems
kituNguru	(7)	onion
kitupa	(7x-)	small bottle
kituture	(7)	hut
kiNgaja	(7)	wrist
kiwaNbaza	(7)	wall
kiwiNdu	(Adv)	tying a boat (syle of)
kiyaNga	(7)	dry season
kiziwaNda	(7x-[1a])	last born
kizu	(9a/10a)	African goshawk
kizuki	(7[1a])	widow
ki(r)uNbika	(7)	side wall (of the house)
kobera	(V)	drink
kodo	(5)	testicle
kohoro	(5)	cough
koko	(5)	coconut stone
komara	(V)	become ripe
koNde	(5)	fist
koNgoro	(5)	bone
koNgowere	(9a)	wood beam
korija	(10a)	a set of twenty
koromito	(5)	throat
kosa	(V)	miss- in aim
kowa	(5)	snail-shell
koyoNge[y]a	(V)	eat without a pause
koza	(V)	heat
kuki[y]a	(V)	sleep
kukuN th u	(Adj)	few
kukuthaNda	(9a/10a)	duck
kuNdeNba	(Adv)	in private
kuNvi	(10a)	chaff
kuruma	(V)	flow
kururu	(5)	edible coconut leaf
kusi	(9a)	the South West Monsoon

kusini	Loc.	south
kwada	(V)	peel off unwanted skin or bark
kwawa	(V)	crawl
kwečuka	(V)	be dehydrated (I)
kwera	(V)	climb
kwema	(V)	get pregnancy
kwiNk ^h wi	(9a)	hiccup
kyaka	(9a)	year
kyakura	(7)	food
kyani	(5[7])	leaf
kyatu	(7)	shoe
kyazi	(9a[7])	blood
kyeñe ~ čeñe	(7)	wrinkle
kyoNgore	(9a/10a)	large type of fish
kyoo	(7)	mirror
kyuma	(7)	iron
kyuNba	(7)	room
kyuNgu	(7)	pot
M		
Nba	(3)	dandruff
Nbago	(Adj)	new
Njeni	(1)	guest
NsaNbo	(3)	ecstasy
Nthafu[w]o	(3)	the third layer on donkey's back
Nyaa	(3)	dwarf (doum) palm
Nyasa [ɲjasa]	(3)	sneeze
Nyuñu	(3)	cuttlefish tails
majimaNga	(9a)	coconut juice
mijiji	(4)	water
mačaza	(6)	gruel
mačina	(Adj)	cold (of water)
mahaNda	(6)	twin
mahani	(6)	activities
majifya ~ maifya	(6)	hearthstones
majite	(6)	spittle

maki	(Adj)	thick
makoko	(6)	weed
makopo	(6)	coconut palm flower
makurima	(6)	agriculture
maki	(Adj)	wide
mana	(Adj)	low tide
mariro	(6)	a place of sorrow
mariro	(6)	bereavement
maruNgo	(6)	body
masaha	(6)	pus
masetera	(6)	watered rice
matapisi	(6)	vomit
matirai ~ matrai	(9a/10a)	Eastwind
mazi[y]ara	(6)	graveyard
marereji	(6)	fishing season
meno	(6)	teeth
meko	(9a)	kitchen
mwakakoga	(3)	Swahili New Year
mwaNdani	(1)	mistress
mwaNdani	(3)	inner part of the grave
mwani	(3)	seaweed
mede	(9a/10a)	table
meka	(V)	blow the nose
motoni	(Adv)	hellishly
moto	(3)	fire
meñu	(Adv)	typically/indigenously
meza	(V)	swallow
mijiji	(6)	water
miye	(Pron)	me/I
miri	(V)	own
mi[y]amoja	(9a/10a)	100
moji ~ moja	Num.	one
moNgorera	(9a/10a)	cave
mu-	(18)	in there
muče	(3)	bud
MučuNba~NčuNba	(1)	fiancé

mučuzi ~ Nčuzi	(3)	stew
mudomo ~ Ndomo	(3)	lip
mufu ~ Nfu	(1)	dead person
mugoNjo	(3)	elephantiasis
muguru	(3)	leg
muhire /mgosi	(1)	cousin
muhu	(Adj)	bad tempered
muki[y]a ~ Nkhi[y]a	(3)	tail
mukoNjogo	(3)	file
muñu	(9a)	salt
muNkha	(1)	wife
mupwa	(1)	nephew/niece
muraNga	(3)	sun
muriNba	(9a/10a)	very big type of mullet
mururu ~ m̥ruru	(3)	fencing using tree branches
muryaNgo	(3)	door
muryo	(3)	food
musima	(3)	fruit-stone (unripe)
musipa ~ Nsipa	(3)	vein
mutoto ~ Nthoto	(1)	baby
muvyere	(1)	elder
muwa	(3)	sugarcane
muwaa	(3)	dwarf palm
muwere	(1)	patient
muzizi ~ Nzizi	(3)	root
mu[r]uNgu	(1)	God
mwagaro	(3)	bead
mwamu	(1)	brother in law
mwaNgo	(3)	door
mwani	(3)	sea weed
mwaNphu	(Adj)	arrogant
mware	(3)	type of bamboo
mwari	(1)	girl
mwata	(3)	bait
mwauwo	(3)	period of Spring Tide
mweka	(Interg.)	please

mwiku	(3)	morning food cooked the night before
mwINbi	(3)	tide
N		
Nbu	(9/10)	mosquito
Nčhoo	(3)	dug-out canoe
Nčhuču	(3)	cheese
Nčhuzi	(3)	relish/sauce
Ndidimo	(3)	thunder
NgaNga	(1)	medicine man
Nge	(9/10)	scorpion
Ngina	(3)	paddy
Nkhačuru	(3)	spotted tree / discoloured tree
NkhaNdaa	(3)	type of tree
NkhareNba	(3)	type of tree
Nkharo	(3)	big nail; a stabbing spear
Nkhate	(3)	bread
Nkhizi	(9/10)	old mullet
Nkhono	(3)	arm
Nkhosano	(1)	father in law
NkhuNga	(3)	midwife
NkhuNga	(9/10)	moray eel
Nnazi	(3)	coconut tree
NNja	(9/10)	outside
NNjo	(V)	come here
NpheyaNpheya	(Adv)	with a rolling motion (of boat)
Nphika	(3)	stretcher
Nsana	(3)	sitting room
NsaNga	(3)	sand
NsaNge	(3)	poking stick
NsiNzi	(3)	type of tree
Nsipa	(3)	hernia
Nso	(9/10)	kidney
Nsuka	(Adv)	peripherally

N̄thana	(V)	pain (I)
N̄thaNbara nači	(9/10)	snake
N̄thariNbo	(3)	tea
N̄thekuñeñe	(3)	rice
N̄thete	(1)	baby
N̄thitira	(Adv)	in the early hours
N̄vivu	(1)	lazy person
N̄vuvi	(1)	fisherman
N̄zi	(9/10)	housefly
N̄zurura	(Adv)	dizzily
naNga	(V)	reprehend, blame
nawa	(V)	insult
Nbara	(9/10)	antelope
Nbigiri	(9/10)	thorn
Nbiri	(9/10)	two
Nbova	(9/10)	small blue fish
Nbuguma	(9/10)	heifer
Nburiza	(9/10)	grey/white hair
N̄hawa	(9/10)	louse
N̄heNba	(3)	sea current
Ndime	(Adv)	very hard
Ndo[w]ana	(9/10)	fish hook
Ndu[w]aro	(9/10)	barracuda
Ndwere	(9/10)	illness
Ngebwe	(9/10)	type of fish
Ngeka	(9/10)	luck
Ngeza	(9/10)	leprosy
Ngisi	(9/10)	squid
Ngome	(9/10)	rocky forest
Nguku	(9/10)	hen
Nguñazi	(9/10)	fog
NguNda	(9/10)	type of wild pigeon
Nguru	(9/10)	king fish
Ngutika	(V)	tremble, shiver
Nk̄haji	(9/10)	type of bee

Nkhama	(9/10)	type of bird
Nkhara	(9/10)	crab
Nkharubu	(9/10)	dog
Nkhata ~ Ngata	(9/10)	headpad
Nkhuku	(9/10)	keel
NkhuNguni	(9/10)	bug
Nkhwapa	(9/10)	armpit
NjegeNjege	(5)	jaw
nona	(V)	fatten (I)
nono	(adj)	fat
Nsuka	(9/10)	peninsula
Nthara	(9/10)	rayfish
Nthesa	(9/10)	groundnut
Nthi(N)thira	(9/10)	cattle (black)
Nthiri	(9/10)	half-beak
Nthitira	(9/10)	early morning
Nthokosa	(9/10)	stew
Nthokose	(9/10)	newly harvested rice
nunu	(1a)	mother/ wife
Nviño	(9/10)	maggot
Nvura	(9/10)	rain
ñama	(9/10)	meat
ñamabahari	(9/10)	whale
ñamantho	(1a)	precocious; infant
ñaNgi	(9/10)	noise
ñara	(V)	shrink (I)
ñarubibi	(9/10)	chameleon
ñehe	(Adj)	small
ñeNvure	(9/10)	grasshopper
ñeñefu	(V)	irritate
ñeñeka	(V)	tickle
ñiNbi	(9/10)	very big rayfish
ñitika	(V)	protrude, swell (of belly)
ñoNdora	(9/10)	leftovers
ñoNga	(9/10)	bile

ňoNgo	(9/10)	back
ňora	(V)	shave (T)
ňuwe	(Pron)	You (pl)
ňuzi za (bui)	(10)	cobweb
ňwa	(V)	drink
ňwere	(9/10)	hair
ŋaNba	(9/10)	type of turtle
ŋara	(V)	shine
ŋeŋesa	(V)	look over
ŋora	(V)	uproot
O		
oga	(V)	bath
ogofya	(V)	frighten
oka	(V)	plant seed, transplanting
ona	(V)	see
oNgora	(V)	save
oNja	(V)	taste
oNthe	(Adj)	all
ororo	(Adj)	soft
P		
pa	(V)	give
pa-	(16)	here (Locative)
pakura	(V)	pour over
paNgaña	(V)	mix (T)
paNgusa	(V)	wipe
paparuphaNga	(9a)	saw fish
para	(V)	fly
para	(V)	scale off (T)
paraNgana	(V)	be mixed up
parathaza	(9a/10a)	cool season (June-August)
paNjoyoyo	(Adj)	maximal
piši	(10a)	a dry measure of grain
pasura	(V)	split (T)
pa(r)ura	(V)	thatching (roof)

peNbura	(V)	sift or winnowing
pereka	(V)	send
phapa	(9/10)	shark
phara	(5)	roof
pheNgo	(5)	teeth loss
phete	(9a/10a)	finger ring
phiNbiri	(9a/10a)	trunk (of body)
phiNgusi	(9a/10a)	type of shark
phopo	(9a/10a)	bat -'animal'
phuNda	(9a/10a)	donkey
phweteko	(9a/10a)	type of bird
pika	(V)	cook (T)
piNgu	(5)	very big basket
pita	(V)	pass (I)
pojopojo	(Adj)	big
pokera	(V)	receive
poNbopoNbo	(9a/10)	type of tree
poNgora	(V)	give birth
poromoka	(V)	stumble, descend
pota	(V)	be upset (of stomach)
poteka	(V)	slacken (I)
potera	(V)	disappear
pumura	(V)	relax
puNtha	(V)	wait

R

rwara	(V)	fall sick
ragura	(V)	foretell
ramuka	(V)	wake up early (I)
ramuri	(9a/10a)	horoscope
raNba	(V)	lick
rapa	(V)	swear
rara	(V)	sleep
rema	(V)	refuse
reNba	(5)	spot

reNdeNda	(V)	tête è-tête
reNgejeka	(V)	soak (I)
rewa	(V)	booze
riNda	(V)	watch
riNdi ~ diNdi	(S)	harbour, pool
riNga	(V)	see
roNbe	(S)	maize
roNga	(V)	say
roNgora	(V)	lead
rotora	(Adj)	unspoiled; virgin
rota	(V)	dream
rubawa	(14)	wing
ručawa	(14)	nakedness
ručawi	(14)	witchcraft
ručuNgwi	(9a/10a)	ant
ručwa ~ učwa	(9a/10a)	termite
ručwero	(14)	west
rufa	(11)	crack
rufagiro	(14)	broom
rufizi	(11)	gum
rufuvuNma	(Adv)	by lying on the back
rugaNzi	(14)	numbness
rugoNjwa	(14)	illness
ruji	(14)	porridge
rukhuča	(11)	finger nail
rukhuni	(11)	firewood
rukiNdu	(11)	palm leaf
rukiri	(11)	palm fond
rukoma	(14)	leprosy
rukosi	(11)	neck
rukuni	(11)	firewood
rukwiNdi	(14)	tooth decay
ruma	(V)	bite
ruñayo	(11)	lower part of the leg
ruñoya	(11)	feather
ruNga	(11)	flour

ruNkha	(V)	jump
rupepo	(11)	wind
rupere rya mapaNde	(14)	smallpox
rupono	(9a/10a)	marbled parrot fish
rurimi	(11)	tongue
ruru	(9a/10a)	pearl
rusiNgisi	(14)	sleep
ruso ~riso	(11)	face
rutathaNge	(9a/10a)	sword fish
rutene	(9a/10a)	penis
ruti rya mugoNgo	(11)	backbone
ruwa	(11)	fence
romwoka	(V)	be upset
reNgu	(5)	outrigger
ruzi	(11)	thread
ruziwa	(14)	milk
rwiko	(11)	large wooden spoon
rwigo	(11)	fence/ hedge
rya	(V)	eat

S

šaibu	(1a)	older person
šazi[y]a	(5)	big type of needle
šiki[y]o	(5)	ear
šogi	(5)	donkey'saddle.
šuja[y]i	(9a/10)	fierce rooster
šaruti	(9a/10a)	type of rope on sailing boat
saza	(V)	leave (food leftover)
somo	(1a)	namesake
suguri	(9a/10a)	event
saba	Numeral	seven
saga	(V)	grind
saha[w]u	(V)	forget
saNjari	(1a)	companion
savu	(5)	cheek (side of face)
sema	(V)	say

serasini	Numeral	thirty
seta	(Adj)	foolish
siye-	(Pron)	we
sibiwa	(V)	be bewitched
siki[y]o	(5)	ear
simura	(V)	pull out
siNdano	(9a/10a)	needle
sip ^h a	(9a/10a)	poking stick
sitha	Numeral	six
sogera	(V)	move over (I)
sokota	(V)	twist (T)
soma	(V)	read
sosora	(V)	beget
sugura	(V)	rub
suhu	(V)	rot
suka	(V)	plait
sukuma	(V)	push
sukutura	(V)	wash mouth
suNgura	(V)	rub
swarire	(9a)	swan
swifa	(9a)	shark oil
T		
ta	(V)	lay
taajabu	(V)	be amazed
tamu	(Adj)	sweet
taNbi	(5)	branch of a tree
taNbura	(V)	discover
taNbuza	(V)	forge
taNda	(5)	big type of bed
taNgaña	(V)	mix (I)
taNthura	(V)	toddle
tapata	(V)	be upset(of stomach)
tara	(Adj)	steep-roofed
tekuka	(V)	be soaked
teNbera	(V)	walk

teNda	(V)	do
teNge	(Adv)	vertically
tereka	(V)	cook (T)
tereko	(9a)	food
tetema	(V)	tremble
thaNbi	(5)	branch(tree)
thaNbo	(10a)	sorcery
thaNda	(5)	pond
thano	Numeral	five
thara	(5)	roof
thara	(9a)	rayfish
thasa	(1a)	barren woman
thataNge	(9a)	swordfish
thatu	Numeral	three
thekeña	(5)	chigger
thete	(Adj)	unripe
thetere	(9/10a)	wild pigeon
thetesi	(9a/10a)	butterfly
theNbe	(1a)	wife
thigino	(9a/10a)	heifer
thiNburira	(5)	sugar and coconut doughnut
thisini	Numeral	ninety
thoto	(9a/10a)	furrow
thuNbi	(9a/10a)	pig
thuNgu	(9a[5x])	big navel
thutu	(9a/10a)	type of wild pigeon
tikita	(V)	bullfight
tiNbiña	(V)	tread
tira	(V)	put into
toga	(V)	pierce the body
tokota	(V)	boil (I)
tokosa	(V)	cause to boil
tomwe	(5)	hole
toña	(V)	pinch

toja	(V)	leak
topora	(V)	uproot
toša	(V)	inform thoroughly
towe	(10a)	vein (pluralia tantum only)
tuma	(V)	send
tuNbi	(9a/10a)	pig
tuNbu[w]o	(9a/10a)	lock
tuNgure	(9a/10a)	tomato
tupa	(V)	throw
tura	(V)	lay/put down
turwa	(V)	be placed
tuši	(5)	insult
tusa	(V)	try ones luck
tweka	(V)	raise sail
tweša	(V)	bid goodnight
twiña	(9a/10a)	chick
tyaNga	(V)	wander

U

uboNgo	(11)	brain
ubaridi	(14)	fishing season
uberu	(Adv)	on half sail
ubwiti	(14)	mussels
učapa	(11)	river
učawa	(14)	nakedness
učeNge	(14)	cleared bush
učeza	(14)	sport/play
učono	(11)	anus
učukuti	(11)	palm frond
učukwi	(14)	rice plant
udaha	(11)	pepper
ugema	(14)	bank (river or lake)
ugoNgo	(14)	customary payment at rituals
ugubiko	(11)	cap
uhaNga	(14)	birdlime
ujava	(14)	stream

ujera	(14)	sea-food (a mixture of ray and other fish)
ujusi	(14)	to die without marrying
uka	(V)	stand up (I)
ukadi	(14)	anus
ukarara	(11)	petiole of coconut palm
ukoNgo[w]a	(11)	central midrib of a palm leaf
ukope	(11)	eyelash
ukuru	(14)	sexual desire
ukurutu	(14)	rash
ukwehere	(14)	bad odour
ukweku	(14)	walking stick
umage	(11)	knife
umeta	(14)	lightness
uñeñefu	(14)	tickling
uñwa	(9a)	earthworm
upo	(11)	bailer, scoop
upoNdo	(11)	pole
ureju[w]a	(9a)	east
uriza	(V)	ask
uroto	(14)	brain
urwera~ Ndwere	(14)	illness
usaNga	(11)	bead
usiku	(14)	night
usikukukuru	(14)	midnight
usiNga	(14)	poison
usuko (for milk)	(14)	calabash for making cheese
utara	(11)	wooden grain stand
uturu	(14)	latex
uvi	(9a/10a)	wasp
uwači	(14)	fog
uwage/wage	(14)	millet chaff
uza	(V)	sell
u[w]a	(11)	backyard
V		
vagaa	(V)	disperse (I)

vage	(5)	storm
vara	(V)	dress (T)
viriNgi	(Adj)	fat
viriNgo	(Adj)	round
vihaNgaišo	(8)	food cover made of a palm-leaf
vudura	(V)	slander
vugaza	(V)	close (of door) (T)
vugura	(V)	open door without key
vukuvuku	(Adj)	warm
vuñaNga	(V)	mix (T)
vuna	(V)	smell (I)
vuNda	(V)	ferment (I)
vunu	(V)	harvest
vuNvu	(5)	fallow ; untilled land
vwaNbwe	(5)	high (tidal) wave running from west to east
viNgi	(Adj)	plenty
vyuNgu	(8)	pots
vyoo	(8)	toilets
W		
wa	(V)	be
wa	(Pron)	them/they
wage	(14)	millet
waNbo	(14)	style of knitting palm leaves
waNbo	(14)	wooden frame (of fence)
waNdo	(14)	wire net
waNga	(2)	witch
waNthu	(1)	people
wari	(14)	rice
waye ~ware	(Pron)	them, they
weye	(Pron)	You (sg)
weNje	(14)	fillet
wida	(14)	type of harmful grass
wito	(14)	a call
wito	(1a)	circumciser
wiva	(V)	ripen (I)

wivu	(14)	jealousy
wizi	(14)	theft
woga	(14)	cowardice

Y

yavu	(5)	lung
yepi	(Dem)	which (cl.9/10)
yowera	(V)	rest
yoyoma	(V)	disappear
yuga	(V)	wail (of cat)
yuNgutika	(V)	stagger
yuno	(Dem).	this

Z

zabau	(5)	shirt
zagara	(V)	scattered
zahama	(5)	trouble
zaifu	(Adj)	weak, feeble
zaini	(V)	sweep
zara	(V)	deliver
zawiyani	(9a)	area for holding 'Sufi' rituals
zeruzeru	(1a)	albino
zezeta	(1a)	moron
zido	(Adj)	additional
ziNdiko	(5)	protective charm
ziNga	(V)	commit adultery
ziNga	(V)	trap
ziNgo	(5)	sacrifice
ziNgo	(9a)	hair style
ziNgweziNgwe	(9a)	a sacrificial place
zumazuma	(Adv)	confused
zuzu	(1a)	idiot

