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Fulfulde as a Vehicular Language: An Opportunity or a Threat to Minority Languages in Maroua?

James N. Tasah[*]

Abstract

It is increasingly recognized that most minority language speakers tend to give up their languages in favour of a vehicular language as they move to urban centres. In recent years, the degree of endangerment of indigenous languages seems to be accelerating due to the increased dominance of Fulfulde. This study seeks to find out whether the seeming progressive abandonment of local languages in the Far North region of Cameroon is due to Fulfulde or French. Data was obtained through participant observation and questionnaire administration. The results indicate that Fulfulde, and to a certain extent French tend to monopolize most of the proposed domains of language use. The findings show that the respondents have limited fluency in their Mother Tongues. They also reveal that Fulfulde is gradually becoming participants' Mother Tongues, and they considered it as a potential threat to minority languages. It concludes that minority languages are threatened more by Fulfulde than French in Maroua.

Key words: *Endangerment, shift, multilingualism, contact, domains*

Introduction

Major languages are accelerating their expansion in most urban centres of Africa, and in some cases threatening the existence of small languages, as speakers shift towards more prestigious or socio-economic dominant languages. Urbanization is therefore one of the major factors that causes language shift, as the children of urban migrants invariably adopt the language which is commonly spoken in a given urban centre. The process of language shift from one language to another is very widespread in Africa, where languages are not only in constant contact, but also differ in size, status, prestige and function (Brenzinger 1991; Smieja1996, 1998: Sommer & Visser, 2000). Cameroon is one of the countries in Africa with extensive linguistic diversity where more dominant languages are displacing less dominant ones in the cities. Usually, language shift takes place in favour of the more viable language, like Fulfulde that is acting asan attraction to the students and youths to develop negative attitude towards their MTsin Maroua.It is becoming increasingly clear that linguistic diversity that appeared to be a part

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of nature's gift is now becoming a threat through language contact situations. It has put many languages, especially, small languages, on the endangerment list (cf. Romaine, 2000; Crystal, 2000; Ohiri-Aniche, 2006; Grenoble & Whaley, 1998). Scholars and researchers alike are pondering on what, as a result of contact, would become of some minority languages at the turn of the century. In effect, language loss, with its attendant consequences such as loss of cultural identity, has become a subject of discussion among linguists and non-linguists alike.This study examines patterns of language use among somesecondary school students from three selected schools in Maroua in order to establish whether their knowledge and use of Fulfuldefavourably enriches their linguistic repertoire or acts as a potential threat to the vitality of their respective indigenous languages.The study is motivated by the fact that the use of minority languages in Maroua seem to be progressively abandoned to the advantage of Fulfulde, which has become a lingua franca not only in the area, but also in three Northern regions. It uses Batibo's (2005) MBM as a relevant theory that captures the phenomenon of language shift and endangerment. Data will be obtained through participant observation and questionnaire administration.The findings show that the respondents have limited fluency in their respective Mother Tongues (MTs). The analyses also reveal that Fulfulde is gradually becoming not only participants' MTs, but is also considered as a potential threat to their minority languages. On the basis of findings, it is clear to indicate that indigenous languages are threatened more by dominant languages like Fulfulde than French in Maroua. If Fulfulde is a threat to the indigenous languages in this area, its brief description here is necessary.

The Fulfulde Language

Fulfulde is a lingua franca that covers the regions of Adamawa, Northand Far North. It connects the people from different ethnic communitiesnot only in Maroua, but also in other Northern regions.It is very crucial as a communication bridge because it links a Giziga to a Mundang, a Gavar to a Mefele, a Tchuvok to a Mofu, a Mbedamto a Buwal, a Podoko to a Mofu, aMafa to a Massa and to a Tupuri, an illiteratePeul to a literate Peul and generally, all categories of people in the region irrespective of their educational status, linguistic background, etc. It is spoken as a first language by about 350,000 people andas second language by three million people (Echu, 2003b). The number given by Ethnologue is 668,700 (Gordon, 2005).

According to Chumbow (2008:29), Fulfulde (also known variously as Pulaar, Fulani...) is a vehicular language that spans the whole of the savannah belt of Africa from Senegal to Sudan, with a consolidated populationof about 17,700,000 of which there are about three million in Cameroon. Three million out ofa national population of more than 20 million and 286 languages makes Fulfulde the most dominant indigenous language in Cameroon spoken in the three Northern Provinces of Adamawa, North and Far North.From the above facts and figures, it is clear that Fulfulde will continue to dominate and endanger the vitality of other minority languages in Maroua because of its sociolinguistic, demographic, and prestigious status. After briefly describing the language, the characteristics that govern dominant and minority languages are alsocrucial and that is precisely the concern of the following section.

Some Characteristics of Dominant and Minority Languages

What are the main characteristics of dominant and minority languages? Chumbow (2008) characterizes dominant versus minority languages in terms of power, prestige, status, function, domain, and population:

Power refers to dominant languages that are powerful as a result of the cumulative impact of the functions they assume and the domains they occupy and monopolies, (domains that have economic advantages, social prestige and/ or political power), while minority languages are powerless because of the limitations in their functional loads and domains of usage.

Prestige means esteem and correlates with status, in the sense that a language with a high status has high prestige and esteem and vice versa.

Status distinguishes between minority languages with low status and (a dominant or official language) with a high or higher status.

Chumbow (2008) maintains that while status is conferred by the functional load of the language, determined by the number, type and quality or value of functions acquired by or allocated to the language in the nation or state function refers to the uses to which a language is put in the service of the nation. It may vary in type and perceived quality.

Domain is concerned with the different fields of use. Language is used differently (as a result of choice or constraint) in the home, school, government, church, media, etc. Chumbow (2008) indicates that domains are like territories in multilingual settings and the languages tend to be limited to certain territories to the exclusion of others. Function and domain in his opinion are related without being identical.

The low status of minority languages in his opinion stems essentially from the fact that they tend to be limited to a few basic domains, mainly the home domain, while the dominant language dominates most of the important and highly valued domains such as education, public administration, media, and internet and information technology and in fact, monopolizes certain domains.

Population: while most minority languages are smaller in size than dominant languages; this is not always the case because dominant languages may also be smaller in size than many minority languages. To Chumbow (2008), minority refers more to the status of the language than to its demographic strength. It is for the same reason that usage in the Language Planning industry opposes minority languages to majority languages rather than dominant languages. This is done with the understanding that majority simply means the most powerful language, not necessarily in demographic terms. Generally speaking, these languages do not have high vitality partly because they have low status and are restricted in roles.

Sociolinguistically, a minority language is defined not only by its relative demographic inferiority but also, and more so, by its limited functions. In fact, it is their marginalization and exclusion from serving in secondary domains (that is, public functions) as well as having no social status or prestige, that most characterizes them as minority languages (Batibo, 2005).

Some minority languages in Maroua that are not being transmitted from the older to the younger generation may appear to be irretrievably lost in future. Consequently, this is due to the language's disproportionate prestige in this areaand the fact that the more powerful and functionally dominant a language is, the more it will pull speakers to shift towards.There is a need to understand and underscore some facts discussed in Batibo's theoretical perspective for a clearer grasp of the context of Fulfulde in Maroua.

The Process-based Perspective

This study uses the "Marked Bilingualism model" (MBM) propounded by Batibo (1992, 1997) following his language surveys inTanzania and Botswana. This model was propounded by Batibo (2006) which states that language shift is accelerated by situations where there is a sharp gradient of imbalance between the dominant and the dominated language. It is based on the following assumptions:

a. Language shift can only take place when there is a state of bilingualism as, clearly, no community can afford to abandon its language and become mute.

b. In order for the speakers of one language to be attracted to another, there must be a significant difference of prestige and status between the two languages.

c. The rate of language shift depends to a large degree on the amount of pressure (attraction, from the dominant language on the one hand and the degree of resistance from theminority language on the other. It is divided into fivephases but onlyphases two to five are relevant to this analysis as follows:

Phase two: Bilingualism with L1 Predominance. This stage involves a dominant or more prestigious language, such as Fulfulde that dominates most of the respondents' language use. The respondents use it as a lingua franca or second language in the secondary domains. Since indigenous languages seem to be considered unworthy of being used in secondary contexts and because of their low developmental status, the respondents prefer Fulfulde totheir locallanguage which is a source of threat to the vitality and existence of indigenous languages.

When a diglossic situation arises, the L2 (Fulfulde) is used in the higher (H) public functions or for wider communication, such as inter-ethnic interaction, trade and local administration while L1 (MT) remains the language used in most village communication, inter-ethnic interaction and family life. Thus, each language has its own defined domains of use.

The third phase (Bilingualism with L2 Predominance) is observed when the predominant language (Fulfulde) becomes the primary language. This is because it isin an asymmetrical relationship with

indigenous languages, i.e one of unequal partners and is therefore unstable. This model can be applied synchronically either by categorizing a set of languages according to their degree of language shift or diachronically by looking at how the language shifts process evolves over time or how the different age groups shift progressively to another language. The model postulates five phases that a language goes through on its way to extinction as its speakers shift to the other language. Batibo sees these phases to be arbitrary points in a continuum from one end of the process to another.Due to the great prestige and more extensive use of Fulfulde and the French language to an extent, they are increasingly used in the wider domains until the former is gradually becoming the respondents' MT as they are more at ease while communicating in Fulfulde. However, the respondents' respective MTs are to a little extent restricted mostly to family and cultural activities.The relegation ofminority languages to family and cultural activities may gradually lead to theirendangerment.

The restrictedness of the use of L1 competence is the fourth phase. This is the stage in which the use and even the competence in L1 have become highly restricted. The stage is reached when the functions of L1 are so reduced that people use L1 forms only in specific situations, such as initiation ceremonies, rituals, or folkloric performances. Thus, communities in such a situation have lost the ability to use L1 in its original form and by implication, their stylistic competence in the language. In most cases, they will not have learnt it properly and so their structural competence is also greatly reduced. Only a few old men and especially women might still be familiar with the linguistic forms as originally used. Nevertheless, the language may remain a vibrant part of their ethnic identity.

The fifth phase is L1 as a substratum. This is the stage where the predominance of L2 such as, Fulfulde or French to an extent may gradually become dominant to the point where it may eventually replace L1 (indigenous languages) completely. It is the stage at which the local MTs can be described as dead as they may no longer be used in the community. However, the community may have kept some of its traditional values. Some of the linguistic characteristics of L1 often remain as residual features in L2. Such phenomena known as substratum features according to Batibo (2005) may involve prosodic, phonetic, phonological, semantic, or lexical elements.

In conclusion, he maintains that due to the often contradictory information, it is not always possible to be certain at what stage a language is on the continuum. Given that Fulfulde is one of the most dominant languages not only in Cameroon in general and the Northern regions in particular and has been accorded socio-political status, and is used as a lingua franca in different sectors in Maroua, it has multiplied its weight and attraction over other minority languages. Unless the other indigenous languages are documented and standardized and some public domains are accorded to them, they may continue to be vulnerable and their speakers especially the youths may see them as entities that have no utilitarian value, as they are not used in key domains like education, administration, judiciary, and the media or in assessing job opportunities. The relevance of this model is that it captures the phenomenon of language shift and death from the time a language is dominated to the time it becomes extinct and is replaced by another.

Methodology

Selection of Participants

Data for this study was obtained from 159 selected Secondary and High school students of both sexes from Lycée Bilingue, and Lycée Domayo, and Lycée Kakatare in Maroua. They were selected based on their relative competence and proficiency in three languages. The respondents were not only from different indigenous language backgrounds, but also from different divisions or regions of Cameroon.

Description of Participants

The subjects in this study were 159 Secondary and High school students of both sexes. While 83constitute males, 76 were females.Participants were categorized into different age groups, and from questionnaire analysis, the respondents' age ranged between 15-25 years. Participants were also categorized according to gender and language of parents.

The Survey Items

To address the study's objective, the target students were surveyed by the use of a questionnaire that investigated their language use patterns. The questionnaire had three sections. The first section was an exploration of the participants' family background information in order todetermine whether their MTs were being maintained or they are shifting to dominant languages.

The second section was designed essentially to assess participants' language use patterns in some proposed contexts. The last section evaluated not only the respondents' degree of multilingual competence in the proposed languages, but also the factors that might have contributed to their fluency orlack of it and the language that can be considered as a potential threat to their MT.

Data Analysis

This section examines the patterns of language use in the proposed domains in order to find out if respondents' level of bilingualism or multilingualism is thriving or is a threat to their respectiveindigenous languages. Data was analysed from the home, neighbourhood, education and social gathering (church, market etc.) domains. The domain analysis is useful in the understanding of language choices based on individual behaviour at the level of face-to-face verbal encounter; the reflection of widespread socio-cultural norms and expectation. On the basis of the respondents' knowledge of linguistic repertoire, the respondents consciously or unconsciously use an appropriate language to fit a specific domain. Before analysing the use of language in the proposed domains, the following table presents domains of preferred language use.

Table 1: Respondents' Preferred Domains of Language use

Languages		House	Neighbours	School with Classmates	Social Gathering	Total
Fulfulde	Count	58	75	14	12	159
	%	36.48	47.17	8.80	7.55	100
Fulfulde and Mother Tongue	Count	11	2	0	4	17
	%	6.91	1.26	0	2.52	10.69
Fulfulde, Mother Tongue and French	Count	3	0	0	13	16
	%	1.89	0	0	8.17	10.06
Fulfulde and French	Count	16	34 32	45	64	159
	%	10.07	21.38	28.30	40.25	100
French and Mother Tongue	Count	9	3	0	4	16
	%	5.66	1.89	0	2.52	10.06
Mother Tongue	Count	34	3	1	0	38
	%	21.38	1.89	0.63	0	23.90
French	Count	30	32	76	21	159
	%	18.87	20.13	47.79	13.21	100

This table explores therespondents'multilingual capacities in the in different domains. The first domain analysed and presented in the table above was the home domain because the pulse of any language lies solely with the younger generation and therefore parents have to ensure perfect transmission of their indigenous languages to their children at home. The statistics clearly show thatthe majority of the respondents 58(36.48%) interact in Fulfulde while only 34(21.38%) use their indigenous languages at home. In addition, 30 (18.87%) claimed to use French at home at home. A close observation of the results reveal that Fulfulde and even French are already used as Mother Tongues by some of the respondents in their homes.

The following observations are made on the basis of the percentage of those who claim to use Fulfulde at home. Firstly, the preference of Fulfulde by most of respondents at home is an indication that it is gradually replacing or threatening the respondents' respective MTs. The exclusive use of Fulfulde by 58% of the sample also suggests that the different respondents' minority languages may at a given time in future be seriously endangered because there will be fewer or no middle aged parents and grandparents left to pass on the language to their own children thereby providing more opportunities for the children to acquire or learn Fulfulde and probably French. This scenario is possible because the percentage of respondents who are using Fulfulde may increase with decreasing age group. For instance, the young respondents who are more competent in Fulfulde and use it dominantly now will be parents and grandparents in future and in turn, will transmit the language to their children and hence increase the number of Fulfulde speakers at the expense of their minority languages.

Related to home is the neighbourhood domain where the respondents were also asked to indicate the language(s) they use frequently with their neighbours, the results analysed indicate that 75 (47.17%) of the sample exclusively use Fulfulde in their neighbourhood. The analysis indicate a low percentage use of Fulfulde and MT and Fulfulde MT and French but a reasonable number 34 (21.38%) of the respondents who communicate either in Fulfulde or French. Some of the participants 32(20.13%) whose interlocutors may be strangers or non-natives, use only French with their neighbours.It is observed from the results analysed that in the neighbourhood domain, the respondents probably encounter and interact with neighbours and strangers mostly in Fulfulde and French because it is a language of

inter-ethnic communication while French is their First official language as pointed out in Section 1.1 above.

An analysis of the proposed languages with classmates show that only 14(8.80%) of therespondents interact in Fulfulde while 45 (28.30%) use both Fulfulde and French, and 76 (47.79%) communicate only in French. Although the results show that only 14% use Fulfulde and 45% use both Fulfulde and French with their classmates and friends in schools, observational data reveal that Fulfulde is sparingly used in class but dominate most students' interactions outside the classroom setting. Thus, their exclusive use of French is possible only in situations where teachers are in class but once outside the class, they switch back to Fulfulde except for those who are still learning the language.

Data analysed in the domain of social gathering, indicate that a majority of the participants 64 (40.25%) use Fulfulde and French but for those who used both languages separately, the results indicate 12 (7.55%) for Fulfulde and 21 (13.21%) for French respectively. It is worthy to note that these percentages are relatively similar to information obtained from observational data that indicates a reasonable use of both languages in social gathering interchangeably in the markets, death celebrations, political meetings and in the religious circles where the translation from French to Fulfulde or vice versa is usually the case. The following figure clearly represents respondents' domains of language use.

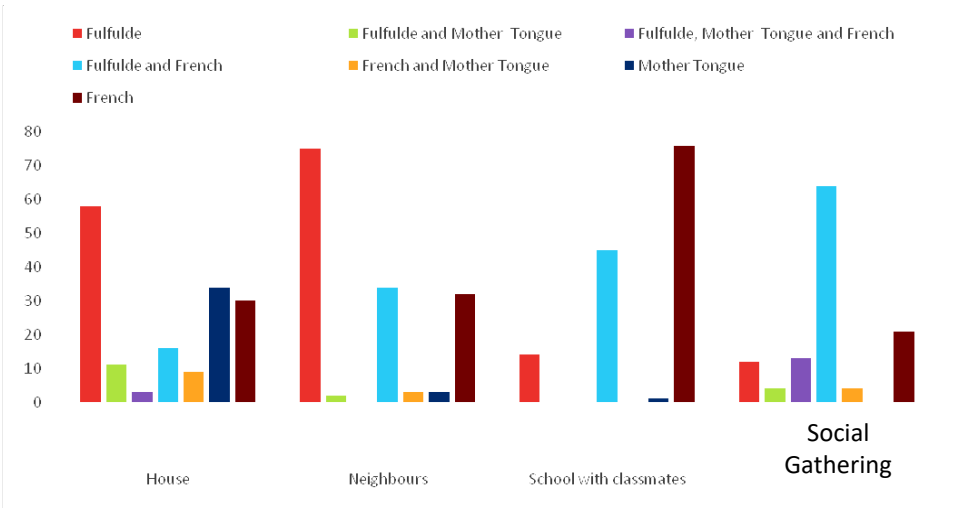

Figure 1: Respondents' Preferred Domains of Language Use

The figure above clearly shows that Fulfulde is the most frequently used language at home withneighbours and in social gathering. Although most of the respondents claim to use French 76 (47.79%) more than other languages while at school, the use of Fulfulde and French simultaneously atschool isstill relatively high. This is buttressed by data from participant observation which reveal that Fulfulde is predominantlyused inschool. The percentage of the exclusive use of the respective MTs at home, neighbourhood, school and classmates and school gathering is relatively low compared to Fulfulde and French which is an indication that the respondents' respective indigenous languages are gradually shifting to Fulfulde and French in Maroua.Looking at the different percentages obtained for the home domain, a number of factors can be established but only two areworthy of note here. The first factor is that this state of affairs may be interpreted as an indication that the respondents among other students in Maroua may already be assimilated into the cultural norms and values of Fulfulde language to the detriment of their own MTs. Some of the participants'frequent use of Fulfulde at home with parents, brothers and sisters may be seen as deviating from the expected cultural norms of self-identity and pride in one's MT. The second factor refers not only to the composition of the ethnic groups living in the town with diverse indigenous languages that may be spoken sparingly at home domain, but also thelikelihood that Fulfulde is gradually becoming the MT of most respondents.

It is also important to indicate that almost always, the respondents will reasonablymaintain the language acquired from their parents and perhaps learn additional languages such as Fulfulde, French and English to varyingdegrees particularly while young. They may switch these languages back andforth, depending on the context, whether it is at home, church, school, workplace or market, etc.; depending on each individual's exposure to thelanguage(s) spoken in the immediate environment. But without safeguards for language use at homesufficient to ensure transmission, attempts to prop the language up outside the home will belike blowing air into a punctured tire. It will be impossible to achieve a steady state based onthe incoming air due to the continual losses resulting from the un-mended puncture (Nettle & Romaine, 2000:178). On the whole, the results obtained for this domain already show signs that ifperfect intergenerational transmission from parents to children is not reinforced at home, the respective minority languages seemingly threatened by the region's lingua franca may eventually swallow them up in future.

Respondents' Communicative Competence in Three Languages

The communicative ability that people have in their languages may motivate their use in different domains. Respondents were also asked to assess their communicative competence in Fulfulde, their respective mother tongues (MT), and French in order to determine their competence and fluency in the three languages.

Table 2: Respondents' Degree of Communicative Competence in the Three Languages

Level of Competence		Languages		
		Fulfulde	**Mother Tongue**	**French**
Very good	Percent	56	22	44
	%	35.22%	13.84%	27.67%
Good		39	23	80
	%	24.53%	14.47%	50.31%
Average		44	32	34
	%	27.67%	20.13%	21.38%
Fair		17	47	1
	%	10.69%	29.56%	0.63%
Null		3	35	0
	%	1.89%	22.01%	0%
Total		**159**	**159**	**159**
	%	**100**%	**100**%	**100**%

The results of the analysis in the table above indicate that 56 (35.22%) of the respondents have a very good level of competence in Fulfulde against 22 (13.84%) who claim to be very competent in their MTs while 44 (27.67%) claim to be competent in French. Data analysed for those who claim to be good in the different languages showthat the majority 80(50.31%) are competently goodat French, followed by Fulfulde 39 (24.53%) and only 23 (14.47%) in their minority languages. These results are an indication that a growing number of the respondents are relatively very good and more competent in French and Fulfulde than in their respective languages. This implies that the phenomenon of language attritionmay be taking place in this multiannual context. These results are clearly represented in the following figure.

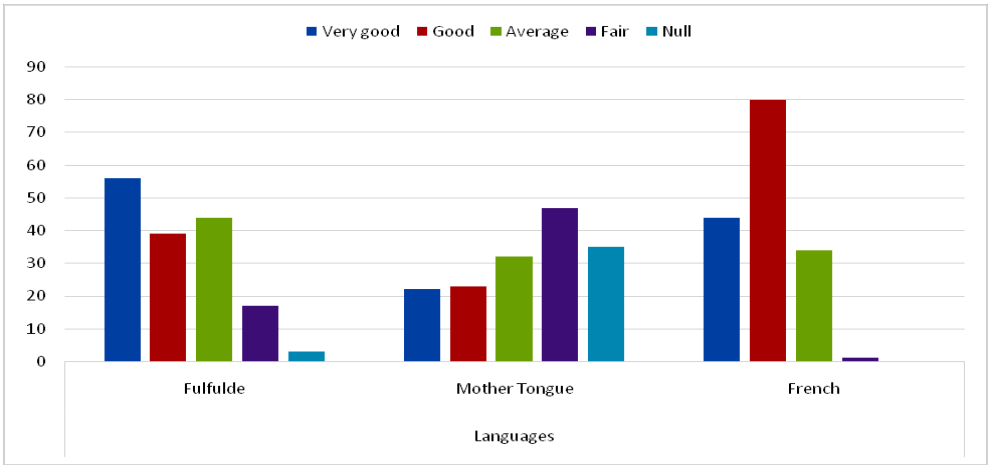

Figure 2: Respondents' Communicative Competence in Fulfulde, MT, and French

As already analysed in the table above and represented clearly in this figure, there is a disproportional use between the three languages. The majority of the respondents have more communicativecompetence in Fulfulde and French than in their respective minority languages. The paucity13.84% of therespondents who have a very good and good communicative competence and 14.47% who have only a good competence in their local languages respectively maystill beshifting progressively to Fulfulde and French whenever the need arises. Thus, the widespread use of both Fulfulde and French languages is due to most respondents' self-assessment claim of having more communicatively competent in these languages than their native languages. The different degrees of communicative competence following the respondents' self-assessment are an indication that intergenerational transfer of the first language (LI) from parents to children is not sufficient enough.

In addition, a comparative assessment of respondents' communicative competence in their MTs and Fulfulde clearly reveal that the percentage of those knowledgeably competent in Fulfulde is more than those communicatively competent in the indigenous languages as presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Respondents' Degree of Communicative Competence in Fulfulde and the Indigenous Languages

	Fulfulde	**Mother Tongue**
Very good	56	22
	35.22%	13.84%
Good	39	23
	24.53%	14.47%
Average	44	32
	27.67%	20.13%
Fair	17	47
	10.69%	29.56%
Null	3	35
	1.89%	22.01%
Total	**159**	**159**
	100%	**100**%

This table presents the respondents' degree of communicative competence in Fulfulde and the respective indigenous languages. A comparative assessment analysis show that 56 (35.22%) of the participants were very good at Fulfulde against 22 (13.84%) for Mother tongues. A reasonable number 39 (24.53%) are also good at Fulfulde while only 13 (14.47%) were communicatively competent in their indigenous languages. The fact that most of the respondents' degree of communicative competence was more in Fulfulde than in their respective local languages is another indication of the vitality and spread of Fulfulde and the decline of minority languages in Maroua. From these results, it is important to indicate that comparatively, the percentage of respondents who claim to have a very good and good communicative competence in Fulfulde are generally more than those of MT. The percentage of those who claim to have only an average, fair communicative competence in Fulfulde certainly represents some of those whose parents are from different divisions or regions in Cameroon. This information is further presented clearlyin the following figure.

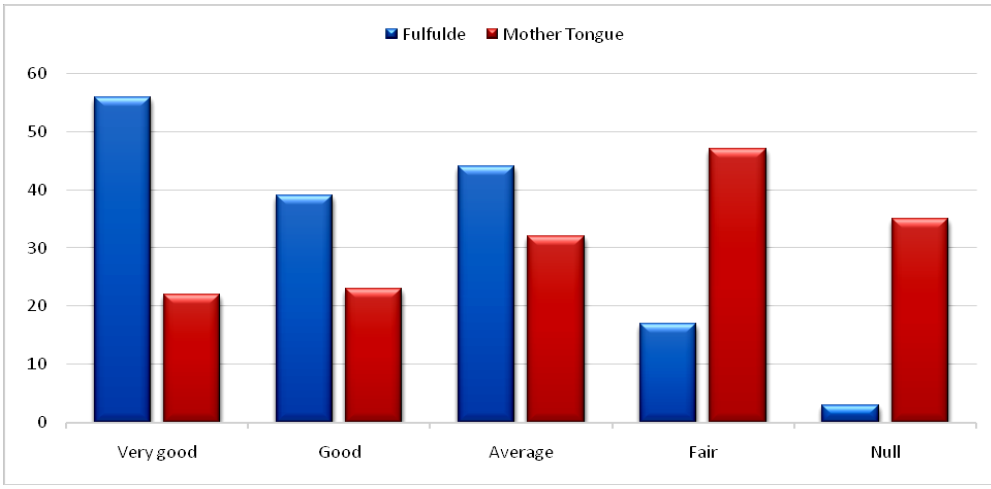

Figure 3: Respondents' Communicative Competence in Fulfulde and Mother Tongue

The results of Figure 3 are a clear indication that the majority of the respondents communicate more in Fulfulde than in their respective indigenous languages because they claim to be more communicatively competent in Fulfulde. As presented clearly in Figure 2 above, an overall comparison of respondents' communicative fluency between MT and Fulfulde shows that most of the respondents aremore communicative competent in Fulfulde. This may be one of the reasons whymost of them prefer to use Fulfulde in the proposed domains. In effect, the more a language is spoken, the more it will become stronger and healthier and the less it is spoken, the weaker it will become. This scenario not only provides signs that most of the respondents are gradually shifting towards Fulfulde, but also the extent to which it is progressively spreading.

The Spread of Fulfulde and the Progressive Weakening of Minority Languages

As Fulfulde keeps widening and spreading in Maroua, respondents' indigenous languages are also being weakened. That is why Batibo (2002:280) rightly indicates that the ex-colonial languages do not pose a threat to the survival of the local languages: the indigenous languages that have been elevated to national status do:

The minority languages of Africa are threatened not by the ex-colonial languages, which have now become the official media in most states, but rather by the dominant indigenous languages, especially the ones which have assumed lingua franca or national importance.

This statement is pertinent in the context of this study on the basis of data obtained from table1 and Fig 1 above where Fulfulde islargely preferred by the respondents because of its spread and attraction to their socialization.

Theparticipants were also asked to indicate some of the reasons they think could have contributed to their fluency or lack or fluency in their respective MTs. While they varied widely in their responses, there were some recurring factors among which were the following:

Including limited use of the language at home and even the influence of dominant and official languages

"Parents from different ethnic communities (intertribal marriage)"
"Refusal of parents to speak the local language at home"
"Lack of native speakers with whom to speak the Mother Tongue"
"Attitude and representations of city dwellers that use Fulfulde everywhere in town"
"Living in the urban areas where the nativelanguage is not regularly spoken"
"Not being taught in the MT early enough by parents"
"Native language is not useful in Maroua"
"Relating and having friends who are not from the same ethnic community"
"The influence of friends with whominteraction is carried out frequently thereby motivating the use of Fulfulde".
"No effective use of the local language by parents while at home"
"Brought up in an urban area where the MT is not spoken frequently".

From the reasons provided by some of the participants among others, it can be established that the socio-economic advantage that Fulfulde has over minority languages in Maroua is one of the reasons why the minority languages are progressivelybeing abandoned.Those participants who reported fluency in their minority languages gave factors that theyconsider important in the maintenance of their local languages. Many participants who considered themselves fluent felt that the fluency was an obvious result of having spent enough time in the rural areas or in homes where the languages are spoken.

Some of the responses are given below.
"Staying in rural areas where many people use the language"
"Visiting relatives in the rural areas during holidays"

"Having been raised in rural areas where the language is widely spoken and the ability to have been using it frequently".
"Attachment to the language because of its importance".
"Being brought up in a familywhereparents speak the same language"

Findings

It is evident from this study that indigenous languages in Maroua are losing ground to Fulfulde to a large extent since the results of analysis indicate that 58 (36.48%) of the respondents exclusively use it at home and the language in which the majorityare most competent. Fulfulde isalso the language most respondents prefer to use in their interactions with friends and neighbours. The results of the analysis in figure 2 clearly indicate that it is Fulfulde and French that is in the greatest competition for the different domains of language use.Generally, ifthe majority of the respondentslargely prefer Fulfulde and French to indigenous languages in the proposed domains, it may be as a result of insufficient proficiency in their respective MTs.

Thus, the socio-economic advantage that Fulfulde and French have over minority languages in the town and the region in general is one of the reasons why minority languages are gradually becoming the respondents' MTs.Also the reasons provided by the respondents above largely account for the progressive abandonment of the respective indigenous languages to adopt Fulfulde and French. It is important to note that findings are also buttressed by the issues discusses in Batibo's theoretical perspectives above where is seemingly becoming the region's Lingua Franca and used mostly in higher public functions alongside with French particularly in school while the respective indigenous languages areused in mostly at home with some family members and other more restrictive village communication during village traditional meetings in Maroua.Most of the respondents living with their parents in Maroua do not know their MT sufficiently enough. They may not necessarily have a negative attitude towards their MTs but most have simply grown up using Fulfulde or French and when they go to school, where Fulfulde relatively dominates most of their interactions. This is an issue that is of great concern and strategies have to be taken to reverse Fulfulde'sprogressive endangerment of other indigenouslanguages in Maroua.

Community Involvement

The centrality of speakers of the different languages is extremely important in the whole process of revitalization. Thus, the elites of the various languages spoken in Maroua can take centrestage in the promotionand empowermentof their respective languages. This can either be at the oral and written levels as a strategy for language maintenance. In fact, as well noted byGrenoble and Whaley (2006:20), for sustained success in language maintenance, however, language revitalization must be "a community-driven, a bottom-up kind of movement".

The Use of Languages in Education

The exclusion of local languages in schools as is the case in Cameroon among mostAfrican nations is bound to be interpreted as a formal condemnation of these languages andcultures, thus providing further motivation for their speakers to assimilate tobe the economically dominant languages. In this connection, Koichiro Matsuura, Director General of UNESCO in (UNESCO, 2008), maintains that:

> We must act now as a matter of urgency, by encouraging and developing language policies that enable each linguistic community to use its first language, or mother tongue, as widely and as often as possible, including in education….Only if multilingualism is fully accepted, can all languages find their place in our globalized world.

Thus, the oral introduction of all indigenous languages inschools in this region in particular and Cameroon will increase literacy and community mobilization for the revitalization of these languages.This is considered as one of the surest means of increasing their status, prestige and perceived utility as well as improving educational outcome among minority language speakers.

Language Revitalization

An advantage of revitalizing a language is to reverse the influence of dominant languages on the minority language so that the minority language can be activated, used in public domains, increase its speakers' population and their socio-economic power (ÓLaoire, 2008; Fishman, 1991). In this way, a language can get a new status from the old that it held before (Sarivaara & Uusiautti, 2013). The attitude of the different speech communities to their languages is also an important indicator of language endangerment. Both

subjective and objective attitude towards a language are important for its maintenance. Subjective and objective attitudes imply that while members of a particular speech community may feel attached to their language and culture and express a positive attitude towards the language, it may be found, on investigation, that they do not use the language in practice. Therefore, it is the objective use of language that matters and not the subjective willingness to do so without using it. Members of a speech community with a positive attitude towards their language are less likely to shift to another language. The opposite is true – those who detest their language and see it as inferior are likely to shift to the one they see more prestigious (Dorian, 1998). The maintenance of indigenous languages in their fullest sense entails the preservation and promotion of diversity at all levels.

Conclusion

This study has no doubt revealed that Fulfulde and to an extent French language are a threat to the vitality of minority languages in the Far North region.It has been established that Fulfulde is a potential threat to most of the indigenous languages in Maroua and couldreplace them through its progressive spread as a language of trade, education, administration, and religion. The prediction is that it will continue dominating indigenous languages and progressively weakeningthemif they are not revitalized and used in wider domains particularly in education. Although the pervasive influence and dominance of this language on other indigenous languages cannot be stopped because the process is driven by powerful socio-economic forces, all the region's indigenous languages should not be allowed to be endangered and disappear unrecorded and revitalized, since they will continue to have a scientific, socio-economic, pedagogic, cultural, and spiritual role to play in an increasingly globalized world.

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Why did you Choose Runyambo instead of Ruhaya for your Research Project? By the way, why not Choose Kiswahili, the National Language? 'Forces' Acting upon the Choice of Language of Research in Tanzania

Amani Lusekelo[*]

Abstract

In this paper, I approach the choice of the language of study for a graduate research program. In a way, irrespective of the functionalist and generative warnings, I articulate the rationale for the choice of mother tongue language as the language of research by linguists. In the article, I caution that absence of existing research outputs is not a sound reason to allow straightforward research permit. Further, I point out that the main motivation of the selection of a research topic could be the contribution to an ongoing research in which the mother tongue of the researcher is staged to offer good evidence in favour or rejection of the existing claims available in the literature. This is the tradition in the scientific inquiry. Furthermore, I argue that comparative works can also engage the cluster of the languages to which the mother tongue of the researcher is affiliated. The motivation for the choice of the cluster should be to examine genetic affiliation rather than to allow the researcher to attract easy data collection practises. In the end, I open a discussion for more research on endangered languages of Tanzania, which is an open linguistic research area left to foreigners to date. However, I argue that an interplay of documentation and theory should be realised.

Key words: *Research, graduate students, language choice, mother tongue, Tanzania*

Introduction[1]

In this paper,[2] I address motivation for the selection of a research topic in a given language, specifically the mother tongue language of the researcher.[3]Vaux and Cooper (2003) outline several parameters

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[1] This paper was written during my sabbatical stay in the Department of African Languages at the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa. I am grateful to the members of the department for granting conducive research environment, as well as KuriaMdoe for checking my English grammar.

[2] The first version of the paper was short in length and explanations brief. It is the highlights from the review desk which enabled the expansion and upgrading of the paper to the current shape. As usual, if the paper has not become more coherent despite the best effort of review, the fault is entirely mine.

[3] Mother tongue research or dissertation is a blanket term for research work which is/was conducted for the language spoken by the ethnic affiliation of the researcher. The focus is Tanzanian languages, but not Kiswahili, the national language.

necessary to be adhered to when selecting a topic of research for a particular speaker community. In this article, I address matters related to the choice of language of research by graduate students. Much attention is paid to the challenges that young researchers face when defending their research agenda before examiners.

In the volume by Vaux and Cooper (1999), the choice of informants is discussed in detail. Nonetheless, in this paper, I discuss the prevalence of mother tongue as the language of research in Tanzania, as well as in other African countries, as Ameka (2015:21) points out, 'African graduate students tend to work on their own languages and most of them have as their native language a major rather than a minority language.' However, the selection of mother tongue as language of research by graduate students faces a challenge from examiners who always pause the question: as a speaker of Runyambo, why do you want to conduct research on your mother tongue rather than another Tanzanian language? In Tanzania, this question is always paused by specialists of African languages, as well as examiners who are engaged in other fields of linguistic research, for instance, discourse analysis, second language learning/teaching, communication skills, and English and French specialists.

Another challenge arises from the prestigious Kiswahili language in Tanzania. It is apparent that Bantu languages contribute to the development Kiswahili (Gromova, 2000). Also, it has come to our knowledge that dialects of Kiswahili spoken in Zanzibar indicate close genetic affiliations with the Bantu languages spoken along the coast in Mainland Tanzania (Hans 2014a, b; Mwashota, 2017). Nonetheless, some researchers in the Institute of Kiswahili Studies face a challenge on the choice of the language of research other than their mother tongues, which are Bantu languages as well. This means that the room for research on mother tongue's contribution to Kiswahili is limited, probably only to the coastal Bantu.

Following Muzale and Rugemalira (2008), I want to argue that although Kiswahili enjoys prestige of being official language and the medium of instructions in education cycles, there is a dire need for continued research on Tanzanian languages other than Kiswahili. As I highlighted above, during the course of participating in the examination of graduate students for more than seven years now, and in the course of conducting research in the country, one of the embarrassing questions which I think we have not managed to

obtain the perfect answer for is on the motivation for the selection of a particular language of research for the researcher. It is my assumption that other researchers in African languages face the same challenge and thus I want to offer some opinions.

In order to present my argument smoothly, after the introductory note, I organise this paper as follows. In section 2, I discuss the nature of linguistic inquiry. This section paves the way towards understanding the paradigms of research engraved in the field called linguistics. In section 3, I provide the brief data I gathered from graduate students in Tanzania. ThenI follow with the discussion of the choice of mother tongue in section 4. In this section, I answer the question: Why choose Runyambo, a minority language, and ignore Ruhaya, a majority language? I propose that such a question should not arise once the researcher has staged his/her research agenda properly.Moreover, following Rugemalira (2005), I argue that marshalling the largest army of linguists should not be a decision in favour of selection of a language. In section 5, I present the superiority of Kiswahili and the advancement of linguistic knowledge from both different dialects and varied approaches. In section 6, I present forces associated with funding and the call for indigenous researchers on minority languages. In the section, I highlight that endangered languages are not researched by Tanzanians. Also, I discuss the influence of funding agencies on the question of the selection of languages. I highlight some setbacks associated with the choice of a dialect to modernise. I underscore that a mother tongue speaker is likely to yield good results based on linguistically informed decisions.I provide the conclusion in section 7.

The Nature of Linguistic Inquiry: Function and Generative Approaches

The nature of scientific inquiry concerns the choice of topic of research, better choice of theoretical base to lean the arguments in the research, proper designing of methods for data collection, and appropriate reporting. According to Creswell (2014), the type of research will dictate the choice of theory, design and methods of collection of data and their analyses. In this line, the choice of topic for the graduate dissertation forms the core of research in universities.

In hard-corelinguistics[4], the central concern is the cognitive approach to the understanding of internal structures of the language. In this regard, the dichotomy of the functionalist and generativist approaches to the studies of internal structures of languages form the core of the discussion in this section. On the one hand, pertinent issues highlighted by functionalists, particularly publications by Michael Halliday (see Halliday, 2004; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), will become central of the perspectives on the choice of language of research in Tanzania. On the other hand, the generativist approach of Noam Chomsky (Chomsky, 1995, 2000, 2002) guides the other perspective on the study of language.

The functionalist perspective developed in order to address issues that arose due to the advent of fieldwork encounters with the aboriginal people in the far world, in Australia, Oceania and Far East. Broadly, the functionalist approach subsumes two important issues, namely the language is acquired/learned in natural environment where it is used, and mastery of the structure of a language is at par with the mastery of the culture of the community in question. The mastery of the combination of the two that is what makes a proper understanding of a given language. As a result, linguistic inquiry is required to consider such facts when engaging in research on a given language.

The proponents of functionalismadopt the suggestion that language is a combination of facets, but primarily the role of environment in acquiring language remain central to the facets. In this regard, in understanding a language one would require to experience the language use in natural settings. Halliday (2004:187) points out that "in all human languages, the grammar construes experience in terms of figures." The reference to figure here entails the complex semantic unit in which humans process changes in the environments. Eventually, "the grammar transforms human experience into meaning" (Ibid:188). This process is consciously construed by humans. It means that an engagement in the real world experiences is central in the development of language. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:24) insist that "we use language to make sense of our experience, and to carry out our interactions with other people. This

4 Pertinent issues covered in this paper concern the hard-core issues in linguistics. The main fields of study involved include syntax (sentence patterns, semantics (meaning patterns), phonology, (sound patterns) morphology (word structures) and interpretation of texts (patterns of use). In the discussion in this paper, issues related to sociolinguistics and language in education are purposefully ignored because they might be examined in a quantitative fashion.

means that the grammar has to interface with what goes on outside language." The social processes become part of the system of the given language.

In acquisition or learning of language, using a mother tongue entails learning both the language and the culture of the society in question. Halliday (2004:197) highlights that "when children first learn their mother tongues, they are both learning the language and at the same time learning through the language." The mastery of the grammar of a language is really a combination of the mastery of language and society. Halliday (2004:206) summarizes it as follows: "The grammar of every natural language – its ordinary everyday vocabulary and grammatical structure – is already a theory of human experience." The central concern here is that internal structures of a language are learned by external experiences.

Generative studies of language constitute universal grammar as central in understanding a language. Universal grammar concerns the innate biological endowment of mankind to learn and internalise the language. A person who internalised a language (usually called I-language) becomes a native speaker who is able to execute competence and performance in a given language (Chomsky, 1995, 2000). Within the development of the generative paradigm, Noam Chomsky has remained at the centre of the generative approach to understanding of language. In this regard, this summary adopts ideas from his books.

The innateness hypothesis substantiates that human beings are endowed with internal biological ability to acquire and internalise a language. Chomsky (2000) points out that the human brain has the ability to acquire and develop a system of a given language. In generative approach, the mind is central in understanding the operation of a certain system of a given language. He points out that "the child acquires a specific language, making use of the resources of the initial state that determine a substantial part of the knowledge (competence) acquired." (Chomsky, 2000:53). Once a language is acquired, it develops natural systems which can be generalised for all languages. In this regard, Chomsky (2000:53) highlights that "the initial state can be regarded as a fixed biologically-determined function that maps evidence available into acquired knowledge, uniformly for all languages."

Two important components of generative approach are competence and performance. The former is associated with mastery of the language, and the latter with use of the language. On the one hand, Chomsky (2000:60) points out that "the mature state of competence is a generative procedure that assigns structural descriptions to expressions and interacts with the motor and perceptual system and other cognitive systems of the mind/brain to yield semantic and phonetic interpretations of utterances." On the other hand, Chomsky (2000:160) highlights that "accessed by performance systems, the internal representations of language enter into interpretation, thought, and action, but there is no reason to seek any other relation to the world, as might be suggested by a well-known philosophical tradition and inappropriate analogies from informal usage."

Both competence and performance are associated with internalised language (I-language). Chomsky (2002:27) points out that "the I-language is a property of the brain, a relatively stable element of transitory states of the language faculty." When a language is internalised, the speaker can execute ideas with it. In this line, Chomsky (2002:27) points out that "each linguistic expression generated by the I-language includes instructions for performance systems in which the I-language is embedded. It is only by virtue of its integration into such performance systems that this brain state qualifies as a language."

In order to execute a scientific inquiry in hard-core linguistics, some choices have to be made. The pertinent choice to make is to choose the language which will be the source of the data. Central to this choice is the mastery of the language itself and the need to conduct scientific research. This question is addressed partly in the subsequent methods part of this paper.

A Brief Methodology

My focus in this paper is on hard-core topics in linguistics (probably I should mention topics in phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and text analysis).The structures of the institutions of higher education in Tanzania have shown the presence of the departments of linguistics and/or Kiswahili being central in offering courses culminating to attainment of master or doctoral degrees. In this regard, I obtain first-hand information from the universities of Dar es Salaam, Dodoma and Ruaha Catholic in Tanzania.

The information that culminated into this paper partly arises from the intercourse[5] with graduate students from the three universities in Tanzania. Generally, Creswell (2014) highlights that a conversation with respondents generate data. Specific to fieldwork, Vaux and Cooper (2003) point out that a proper conversation with people engaged in the study of language is central to obtaining information. It is fortunate that I participated or continue to participate in the teaching of graduate studies in the three universities. In this regard, the outcomes of the conversation stand as the representative of the universities offering courses in linguistics.

Some purposeful intercourses wereexecuted with students engaged in hard-core linguistics. Two graduate students studied at the University of Dodoma, six studied at Ruaha Catholic University, and eleven from the University of Dar es Salaam. This representation is not skewed rather it represents the size of the universities on the language-related graduate courses. The languages concerned are listed in Table 1. Notice that all respondents had ethnic descend to these languages.

Table 1: Graduate Students Involved in Research Intercourse[6]

S/No.	Languages	Number of Graduate Researchers
1.	Giha	2
2.	Iraqw	1
3.	Kihehe	4
4.	Nyakyusa	2
5.	Nyiramba	1
6.	Ruhaya	1
7.	Runyambo	3
8.	Safwa	1
9.	Sukuma	1
10.	Vunjo	1
	Total	**17**

[5] The review desk suggested that consultation of the examiners' reports would benefit the study. If find this suggestion useful. Nonetheless, in this qualitative paper, the discussion is primarily based on the interview with the graduate students, and secondarily on my encounters with the supervision and evaluation of graduate courses and dissertations. Further research would involve information contained in the examiners' reports and dissertations.

[6] The higher number of Kihehe graduate students does not entail a large number of researchers. Rather it reflects of the respondents from Ruaha Catholic University.

In the conversation, more of the reasons for the choice of mother tongue dissertations were rejected. In fact, six graduate candidates highlighted that examiners were satisfied with the rationale for the choice of mother tongue, while eleven graduate candidatesobtained objections. In the intercourse, the following rationales were given for the choice of other tongue research (Table 2).

Table 2: Survey Summary of the Graduate and Students with Mother Tongue Dissertations

S/No.	Reasons for the Objection of Mother Tongue Dissertations	Respondents
1.	There is need to make contribution to my mother tongue	9
2.	The issue of language mastered, hence easy to conduct research	6
3.	The knowledge of the research sites in the speaker community	6
4.	Abundance of resources (literature) on the mother tongue	3
5.	The mother tongue has not been examined by this theory	3
6.	The knowledge of the speakers hence easy research	2
7.	The need to satisfy Chomsky's approach which is proved good.	1
8.	There is need for comparative research rather than mother tongue dissertations	1

In the subsequent sections, I outline the rationale for the choice and/or objection of a given mother tongue dissertation and/or research. In the course of the discussion, I highlight points necessary to be adopted in defence of mother tongue dissertations.

Doing away with the Mother Tongue Syndrome

In the discourse with graduate students and graduate teachers, the main rationale for writing the mother tongue dissertations had been the mastery of the language. The assumption here is that research in mother tongue will become smooth because the researcher becomes the informant as well. In my opinion, introspection is an accepted technique therefore the choice of mother tongue becomes acceptable. However, this assumption is not always accepted if introspection technique is adopted withoutthe required caution.

It is also assumed, albeit erroneously, that research on language X will require mastery of the language. Some linguists assume that conducting research in another language will involve learning that language.[7] The reality is that one may engage in research on a given language without learning the language. Thus, competence and performance cannot be assumed to be required in conducting research in any language. Some researchers appear to have conducted profound researches on languages such as Kiswahili and Ruhaya but they don't speak these languages.[8] This means that they did not learn the languages in question.

This issue does not arise in universities alone. The mastery of language is assumed to be a paramount point in conducting good research in African contexts. It is the linguists from the speaker community who are assumed to provide good results (Ameka, 2015). This kind of thinking builds from Chomsky's (1995) idea of competence and performance in which a native speaker of a certain language will have marshalled most of the required grammar of the language in order to analyse it properly.As I will explain below, this kind of observation is not fully accepted by both examiners and researchers.

For the purpose of documentation projects, research by native speakers is required. In fact, the selection of mother tongue language as language of research is pointed out as important even for the purpose of writing grammar books in the same languages. Muzale and Rugemalira (2008:75) opine that "it will be important for some of these languages to produce grammars written in the native languages themselves. Needless to say, the realization of this ideal will require significant changes in the national policies and practices pertaining to language use." However, the language policy in Tanzania have prevented the promotion of ethnic community languages (henceforth ECLs) by banning their use in formal settings (Muzale & Rugemalira, 2008). But research in ECLs is required in order to obtain information that contributes to the general knowledge in the field of linguistics. Given this scenario, the

[7] I am grateful to the review desk for pin pointing this point.

[8] Derek Nurse made tremendous contributions to tense and aspect in Kiswahili and Ruhaya. He also made tremendous research outputs on the history of Kiswahili. However, I am aware that he does not speak Kiswahili and Ruhaya. But this does not rule out the fact that other foreign researchers who speak Kiswahili made tremendous research outputs on the language. Here I would mention scholars of Germany descend, namely, Bernd Heine, Lutz Marten and ThiloSchadeberg.

selection of language of research has remained a challenge in Tanzania.

In the literature, it points out the call made by Africans in diaspora, Europeans and Americans want researchers from speaker communities in Africa toresearch and document African languages (see Essegbey et al., 2015). I want to add that mother tongue speakers should engage into discussion of a certain linguistic topic based on data obtained in their mother tongues. This has been the case in Tanzania, as I highlight below.

In a recent publication (Lusekelo, 2019), I point out that researchers in African languages, who obtained trainings in Europe and United States of America, researched on their mother tongues, which was the desired movement towards development of research skills by speakers of African languages. In Tanzania, prominent scholars did conduct research and promoted research on their mother tongues (Table 3).More research work continues to be conducted in these languages. The continued research on mother tongue is apparent for the current scholars in Ruhaya, Runyambo, Kisukuma and Shambala; but gaps are obvious for other languages, namely Chasu, Chindali, Ciruuri, Kiluguru, Nyamwezi and Sisumbwa.

Table 3: Researchers of the Mother Tongue Languages in Tanzania

S/No.	Languages	Researchers		
1.	Ruhaya	Ernest Byarushengo	Yunus Rubanza	Henry Muzale
2.	Kisukuma	Herman Batibo	BallaMasele	MasanguMatondo
3.	Runyambo	Josephat Rugemalira	Lea Mpobela	---
4.	Shambala	Ruth Besha	SaleheKaoneka	---
4.	Kivunjo	Lioba Moshi	---	---
5.	Kiluguru	Daniel Mkude	---	---
6.	Ciruuri	David Massamba	---	---
8.	Chindali	Imani Swilla	---	---
9.	Chasu	Abel Mreta	---	---
10.	Sisumbwa	KulikoyelaKahigi	---	---
11.	Nyamwezi	Clement Maganga	---	---

The continued research on the same language opens an avenue for more linguistic facts to be brought to the surface. The mass of literature marshalled by researchers in Kiswahili is a result of repeated research on the same subject matter, though with variations in approaches and dialects, as I will discuss in section 3.

The richness of Ruhaya, Runyambo, Kisukuma and Shambala is apparently useful to future researchers who will find it easy to trace weaknesses in the existing literature. I want to argue here that the answer to the question why Runyambo and not Ruhaya or Kiswahili can be answered easily by upcoming researchers as follows: I have found so and so gaps in the existing literatures, therefore, I want to conduct more research on the language in order to fill the gap on so and so subject matter.

In the course of the seven years as examiner, I have come to understand that most of the graduate students in Tanzania assume that the main reason to opt for a given language is lack of existing literature on the same topic for their mother tongues. I want to hastily say that such an answer is anomalous, indeed. Languages which obtained numerous research outputs presents a very good avenue to engage into debate with the previous researchers. It is the interrogation of the previous claims which makes the central point of significant in Tanzania: 'to contribute to the existing knowledge'. If a young researcher looks into uncultivated field, in my opinion, will be looking for a bad ground to engage into the existing literature. Consequently, the researcher may fail to offer the best outcome of research.

An underlying claim on the choice of language of research is that research should be conducted in the major languages, which contain the Bible in the languages, written grammar books, written story books, and dictionaries. I want to argue that this is a populist approach which, of course, arises from an assumption that the speaker community, which continue using the language for wider communication, will be the large consumer of the research output. I will use the South African case study to highlight how the formalisation of languages result into skewed research work. Webb (2013:177) highlights that "the setting up of language research and development centres to focus on nine of SA's 11 official languages: Sesotho saLebowa, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu." With the largest number of speakers, asSepedi, Sesotho, Isizulu and Isixhosa speakers outnumber the rest of the languages by millions (Webb, 2013:175), the market is not yet obtained. As a result, the publications of the books are required to be written in Afrikaans or English in order to fetch a large market (Motsaathebe, 2011).

A quick glance at the existing literature in Tanzania reveals that the major languages, which are areally superior (Batibo, 2005), have obtained major research outputs. In Table 4, I present a list of ten languages of Tanzania with majority speakers (LoT, 2009). The majority of the research outputs come from these languages (Lusekelo, 2019). For instance, Ruhaya contains many publications and gets used in most of the debates about Bantu languages (see Rugemalira, 1991, 1993a, b; Muzale, 1998, 2018, and references therein) and Nyamwezi and Sukuma are used in many research based debates (see Batibo 1976, 1991; Masele 2001, and references therein). Makonde obtains much research output in Tanzania rather than Mozambique (see Kraal, 2005; Amani, 2013; Rugemalira, 2013, and references therein).Maasai is at the centre of research outputs as well (see Payne, 2012; Karani, 2018, and references therein). Nonetheless, research in these favourably researched languages cannot be ceased because new theories emerge and further research is always required.

Table 4: The Areally Major Languages of Tanzania

S/No.	Languages	Speakers (LoT 2009)	Distribution of Habitation
1.	Sukuma	5,195,504	Mwanza, Shinyanga, Simiyu
2.	Giha	1,229,415	Kigoma
3.	Cigogo	1,023,790	Dodoma
4.	Nyamwezi	959,832	Tabora
5.	Ruhaya	833,214	Kagera
6.	Makonde	805,299	Lindi and Mtwara
7.	Maasai	803,457	Arusha and Manyara
8.	Kihehe	740,113	Iringa and Njombe
9.	Kinyakyusa	733,020	Mbeya
10.	Fipa	712,803	Mpanda and Rukwa

Out of these major languages, there are languages which have accumulated fewer previous studies and thus become open fieldwork grounds for future researchers. In fact, the claim above that languages in Table 4 are the majority and researched does not rule out the absence of outstanding research outputs in languages such as Cigogo, Kifipa, Kihehe and Giha, among others, except in a few publications (see Harjula, 2004; Rugemalira, 2009; Riedel &Patin, 2011, and few references therein). Based on lack of existing literature for an individual language, many researchers find it important to go into such an open field. However, some least researched and undocumented languages may not cast the required light on a given subject matter. In addition, as I pointed out above, it

is important that researchers interrogate the existing literature in order to obtain new research gaps. Therefore, the reasoning that I choose language X because it is an undocumented language does not sound good enough to allow a straightforward research permit.

Furthermore, I want to reiterate the point that the choice of mother tongue languages should be engraved in thereason of perpetuation of the existing debate. According to Lusekelo (2019), evidence points out that earlier researchers from Tanzania wanted to contribute to the general theoretical framework conceived in Europe and United States. For instance, the theory of argument structure, developed by scholars such as Fillmore (1968), Bresnan and Moshi (1990) and Dowty (1991) attracted the attention of Josephat Rugemalira. In his research outputs, arguments in favour and rejection of the claims advanced previously were made (see Rugemalira 1991, 1993a, b). But the question of why should the mother tongue speaker of Runyambo conduct research about his language may still linger because such contributions could also have been made using Hangaza (JD65), Kerebe (JE24) or Ruhaya (JE22), which are spoken in Tanzania and come from same Bantu cluster. This kind of reasoning may also water down the power of contributing to the existing body of knowledge using the language of the researcher.

Another case comes from David Massambawho examined tone patterns in Ciruuri under the influence of the autosegmentaltheory of phonology, propounded by John Goldsmith, his adviser. The contribution of Ciruuri to this theory is tremendously outstanding (Massamba, 1984). The contribution had been positive because one of the properties of the Mara Bantu is presence of tone, which is productive (Aunio, 2015). Now why did David Massamba choose his mother tongue as a language of research? Previously, Massamba (1977) examined the relatedness of Jita, Kwaya and Ruuri in the Mara Bantu. Probably contributions from Jita or Kwaya would have been equally outstanding. Thus, rather than choosing Ciruuri, his mother tongue, he would have opted for another language and eventually clear out the question of why not another language.

With the evidence from Ciruuri and Runyambo, which offered good theoretical contributions, the choice of mother tongue for research may not remain if we reason that language specific intricate matters could well be entangled when the researcher can command the language well, as Chomsky (1995) argues. Therefore, examiners

should be aware that the choice of mother tongue language, for the well-crafted research project, should be entertained.

Another reason for the choice of the researcher's own language had been to contribute to the comparative linguistics, which is assumed to be essential in African languages (see Massamba, 1977; Muzale, 1998; Mreta, 2000; Masele, 2001). Being a mother tongue speaker of Ruhaya, Muzale (1998) discusses the tense and aspect formatives in Rutara languages. Mreta (2000), a native speaker of Chasu, presents the linguistic and sociolinguistic evidence to display the influence of Chasuupon Gweno. Masele (2001) presents the relationship between Sisuumbwa, Kisukuma and Kinyamweezi. He was a mother tongue speaker of Sukuma. From the comparative linguistic point of view, all three studies were well staged for Bantu languages of the same clusters. However, the question of why choosing a class of the mother tongue of the speaker may keep looming because research in other Bantu clusters might also yield good results.

In case of the comparative Bantu, I opine that the presence of the mother tongue of the researcher also contributes to the better understanding of the patterns in the adjacent languages. The researcher goes out with the knowledge of his/her mother tongue, compares it with the other languages in his/her study. Again, I want to opine that examiners should be aware that the choice of mother tongue language for the comparative research project should also be entertained.

In summary, the choice of a mother tongue as a language of research should be motivated by the contribution to the existing debate on a given subject matter. This was well crafted, for instance, by Massamba (1984) for the autosegmental theory of phonology and Rugemalira (1993a, b) for the theory of argument structure. Current researchers may wish to engage in a debate using data from their languages without any hesitations. Nonetheless, the motivation for the choice of the mother tongue should be an engagement in an ongoing debate engraved in a given theoretical perspective; rather than just a choice of mother tongue for easy data collection.

In addition, the choice of a zone in which the other tongue of the researcher is located can also be opted for, as had been the case by Muzale (1998), Mreta (2000) and Masele (2001). The motivation for their choices, however, had been to compare systematically languages which are genetically related. Choices of Bantu zones,

however, can also contribute to the study of relatedness of languages, as had been pointed out by Aunio (2015).

Furthermore, the choice of mother tongue should not be concerned with easy research rather with abundance of informations which have not been unravelled by previous research. Instead of conducting research in languages with well-known linguists, e.g. English, Kiswahili and French in East Africa, attention should be paid to under-researched and under-documented languages. Therefore, researchers of mother tongues have linguistic goldmines in the language they have competence and performance.[9]

Circumnavigating the Same Topic in the Same Language: Lessons from Kiswahili

The university is known for being a home of international scholarship. In this regard, the choice of research on a certain topic requires to be motivated by the need to contribute to the international scholarship. In Africa, where universities strive to establish international recognition (Cardoso, 2019), the choice of a topic, requires to contribute to the international cycles. In sub-Sharan African linguistics, research in major languages have remained high in such languages as Kiswahili, Luganda, Bemba and Chichewa and (Lusekelo, 2019).

Some research topics have received much attention by Tanzanian researchers, as well as foreign experts. For instance, research on object marking and argument structure of Bantu verbs, tense and aspect in Bantu, and the structure of the noun phrase have been repeatedly examined in languages of Tanzania; see Muzale (1998) and Mreta (1998) and their graduate students on tense and aspect; and Rugemalira (1993b) and his students on verbal extensions, noun phrase structure, and object prefixation. At a point, it was assumed that no more research on argument structures and tense and aspect should be entertained. However, new research works have continued to be produced on tense and aspect and argument structure, albeit with a different theoretical orientation and from outside Tanzania (Bernander, 2017; Persohn, 2017; Riedel, 2009).

The point I want to make here is that researchers can repeat the same topic in the same mother tongue language but employing different methodological and theoretical approaches. The approach of

[9] I am grateful to the reviewer for highlighting this point.

grammaticalisation has now taken shape in African languages, mainly after the many contributions by Bernd Heine and his colleagues on the grammaticalisation of indefiniteness (Heine, 1997; Heine &Kateva, 2002), reciprocals (Heine & Miyashita, 2008) and recently nominal and verbal compound elements (Heine, 2019). I underscore here that the same research agenda could be approached differently, and of course results will also be different.

Probably I should draw an example from Kiswahili. The morphosyntax of object prefix in Kiswahili appeared in Wald (1979, 1995), Rugemalira (1991), Krifka (1995) and Riedel (2009, 2010). The exemplary cases continue to linger in the many publications by Lutz Marten (see Marten, 2000; Marten et al., 2007; Marten & Kula, 2012). This is a vivid evidence that a topic of discussion cannot be closed when it is topical. Researchers continue to conduct research on the same subject matter though with variations in approaches and tools of research. I want to argue that researchers can continue conducting research in their languages provided that the advance a good research tool which does not repeat the previous paradigm.

With regard to the choice of the same languages, I want to expose the last example from Kiswahili again. The question of language variation is paramount in the discussion about a certain subject matter. Kiswahili is a very good case in this regard. For instance, while Kipacha (2003) discusses the properties of the coastal dialects of Kiswahili in Tanzania and Kenya, Nassenstein (2015) presents vivid cases of Kiswahili data from Congo. Variations between standard Kiswahili is being reported by Kipacha (2012), while variations between Congolese Kiswahili appeared in (Nassenstein & Bose, 2016). Both scholars conduct research in Kiswahili, but the variation is on the dialects. The details contained in each of these two exemplary cases would have been unattained in case examiners were to argue that research on the same language should be avoided.

Hans (2014a, b) presents a case in which the dialects of Kiswahili spoken in Zanzibar may have historical relationship with the Bantu languages spoken in mainland Tanzania. In an effort to affirm this claim, Mwashota (2017) developed research agenda to examine the relationship between Kiswahili (Kimakunduchi dialect) and Kimakonde (Kimalabadialect). This is a kind of research which is encouraged because the more recent research looks into the previously made claims and establishes their validity.

Getting into Endangered Language for an Interplay between Documentation and Theory

The research on mother tongue appears to discourage the need for research on some smaller languages. In Tanzania, research on Kiswahili is preferred. Scholars (Batibo, 2005; Legère, 2006; Muzale & Rugemalira, 2008) highlight the demise of ethnic community languages on the face of Kiswahili in the country. The minority Tanzanian languages remain in a bad position as far as research on mother tongue is concerned. Some scholars (see Legère, 2006; Muzale& Rugemalira, 2008) point out that researchers in universities outside Tanzania have focused on endangered languages of Tanzania. I highlight in this section that Alagwa, Gorowaa, Hadzabe, Mbugwe, Nata, Ndengereko and Vidunda have been researched upon because they are endangered. I also highlight that documentation projects lean their work on some theoretical guidelines.

The movement towards research on endangered languages have not yet yielded good attention of Tanzanian researchers. This phenomenon is reported by Batibo (2005) and Legère (2006). However, in the external world, the promotion of endangered languages has yielded more interest on smaller languages in Africa (Ameka, 2015). As I highlighted, in Tanzania, attention by foreign researchers have been paid to the smaller languages mentioned which have fewer number of speakers. This subject matter has not attracted the attention of graduate students in Tanzania. The exception is JoashJ. Gambarage whose interest on Nata have resulted into documentation project (Gambarage et al., 2017). However, he has been influenced from outside Tanzania.[10] In this section, I outline the merits and dangers of engaging in endangered languages of Tanzania by the graduate students in the country.

The choice of an endangered language for a research project is predetermined by the level of endangerment of certain languages in a given country. One of the parameters is the number of speakers. Another parameter is the pressure exerted by Kiswahili. Both Batibo (2005:83) and Legère (2006:101-102) mentioned the languages which are highly endangered in Tanzania. In Table 5, I present the most endangered languages of Tanzania with population from LoT (2009).

[10] I am not suggesting that the external influence is not regarded as a bad one; rather I am underscoring that the endangered language research works have not yet gained ground in Tanzania.

Some research work and documentation projects have taken off for some endangered languages, with research being conducted by foreigners, e.g. Akie (Ndorobo) (König et al. 2015), Gorowaa (Harvey, 2018), Hadza (Tindiga) (Sands, 2013), Manda (Bernander, 2017), Mbugwe (Aunio, 2015) and Vidunda (Legère, 2007), among others.

Table 5: Most Endangered Languages of Tanzania (LoT, 2009)

S/No.	Languages	Speakers (LOT 2009)	Distribution of Habitation
1.	Doe	7,944	Tanga
2.	Nata	7,050	Mara
3.	Hacha	7,008	Mara
4.	Nindi	5,689	Ruvuma
5.	Kami	5,518	Tanga and Coast
6.	Shashi	4,449	Mara
7.	Surwa	4,394	Mara
8.	Kwavi	3,004	Arusha or Manyara
9.	Akie (Dorobo)	1,152	Manyara and Tanga
10.	Wandia	182	Songwe

Both Manyara and Mara Regions happen to contain many endangered languages in Tanzania. The endangered Bantu languages within the JE40 cluster called Mara Bantu include Ikizu (JE402), Ikoma/Issenye/Nata (JE45) and Shashi (JE404) (Batibo, 2005; Legère, 2006). According to Aunio (2015:359), 'the massive changes in the living areas and livelihoods during the past hundred years, of which the establishment of Serengeti National Park has probably been the most significant, have made the situation even more complex.' Given this complexity, Mara Region becomes an open area of research on contact linguistics and other language specific topics.

Research on individual languages in Mara Region appeared. In Tanzania, native linguists from the speaker communities research on languages such as Nata and Kuria. The researchers cover topics related to morphosyntax of the nominal structure (Gambarage, 2013) and verb extensions and arguments of the verb (Charwi, 2017). These two researchers have opted to conduct research work on their mother tongues. The challenge of the absence of the mother tongue speakers will continue to linger for Hacha, Zanaki, Shashi and Surwa.

Gambarage et al. (2017) presents a unique case of Nata. Apart from writing about a specific topic on Nata, he managed to establish a team and develop a research project to document the language. Two

issues are pertinent for Gambarage's case. On the one hand, an individual person had been treated as a source of data. This is a typical case of generativist outlook in which a person with I-language may be consulted as the resourceful informant representing the entire community. In fact, some endangered languages with very few speakers will benefit from this decision. On the other hand, the Nata project wants to connect the findings to existing theory. Therefore, the contribution of even a documentation project of endangered language has to interrogate some of the existing theories.

Moreover, Mara Region also remains an important research area due to the convergence of the Nilo-Sahara and Niger-Congo languages. Aunio (2015:359) points out that apart from many Bantu languages, 'there are also languages from all three branches of the Nilotic languages. Of these, Southern Nilotic Datooga and Eastern Nilotic Maa have been in the area for hundreds of years, whereas Western Nilotic Luo is a more recent addition.' Research on Datooga had been conducted focusing on Barbaig dialect spoken in Manyara Region, except Rottland (1983). The Maasai have received attention from Doris Payne but on comparative cases for all Maasai dialects (Payne, 2012). Research on these languages still linger on the absence of indigenous speakers, except Michael Karani, whose interest is on Arusa and Parakuyo dialects of Maasai (Karani, 2017). It is not a unique case because this linguist has Arusa for a mother tongue.

Manyara Region is at the heart of the Tanzanian Rift Valley, which is a zone of convergence of numerous languages from the four language phylum in Africa (Kiessling et al., 2008). Batibo (2005) and Legère (2006) mention these endangered languages from the Rift Valley area: Burunge, Hadzabe, Isanzu and Mbugwe. This area attracted a lot of researchers from beyond Tanzania and many publications appeared for the last two decades. For instance, sociolinguistics and lexical borrowing is covered in Kiessling (2001) and Lusekelo (2015) for Burunge and Hadza respectively, language documentation in Gorowa is dealt by Harvey (2019) and description of Mbugwe is offered by (Wilhelmsen, 2018).

Research by Wilhelmsen (2018) provides an exemplary of a crafty work. Her research is descriptive in nature. However, she underscores that there is no study that runs without theory. Thus, to fulfil this need, she employed the basic linguistic theory. In the course of analysis, various theoretical guidelines are applied. For instance, tone issues in chapter three are approached from the

guidelines outlined by prominent scholars such as Larry Hyman and David Odden. This choice allows the candidate to allow proper international scholarship. Therefore, even research on under-described and endangered languages may yield a contribution to the existing theories.

I pointed out in the foregoing discussion that one of the setbacks that engulf these endangered languages is lack of mother tongue speakers trained as linguists. The bad consequence is that research on these languages is carried out from the perspective of documentation, which is the focus on many funding agencies today. However, there are setbacks associated with the documentation projects, as outlined by Ameka (2015). I recapitulate three most acute for research in Tanzanian languages.

The first setback arises from the standardization of African languages. Ameka (2015) highlights that most of the research works involve the production of materials in standard language. There is always the pressure upon the selection of the dialects to be used as the benchmark. Usually, the language of the researcher is assumed first choice. In Tanzania, in other cases, the language of the paramount chief is chosen as the standard dialect. Madumula (1995) points out that the standard Kihehe may be assumed to be primarily spoken in the villages adjacent to Chief Mkwawa's enclave. The claim that the royal family holds the proper dialect may not always be the case. As a result, Madumulla (1995) admits that the varieties of Kihehe which are spoken in Iringa and Mufindi Districts in Iringa Region are what have to be regarded as proper Kihehe. With this backdrop in mind, the decision of a good source of data would be made relatively well by the mother tongue researcher of languages like Kihehe.

The second impediment concerns the development of orthographies which turn the African languages as tools of literacy. But Ameka (2015:25) cautions that 'most endangered language communities in Africa are oral cultures yet various stakeholders, including especially, the speakers, in the documentation enterprise tend to see the production of written literacy materials as a tangible outcome of language documentation.' Although writing a language is required, written documents have not been proved useful tools to safeguard endangered languages in Africa (Ameka, 2015). The choice of orthographic representation in a given language needs linguistic

information, which could be obtained from the researchers who are mother tongue speakers.

The other setback is associated with development of orthographies for the pure language as spoken by ancestors. Ameka (2015:28) points out the 'tension between the goals of language documentation which seeks to record actual language use including all the contact features and the desires of speakers who wish to preserve an authentic, traditional and ancestral form of the language.' The mother tongue researchers usually opt to use elderly speakers as important sources of their data. The disparities and disagreements between elderly and the youths are obvious in Tanzania (Petzell & Marten, 2016). This kind of choice generates new tension because examiners assume that languages change and no language has remained as was used by ancestors.

The presence of trained linguists can help to draw informed decisions on some of the linguistic issues paramount to the development of a language. For instance, languages in Tanzania come into contact with Kiswahili. As a result, lexical borrowing is attested in almost all Tanzanian languages (see Kiessling, 2001; Batibo, 2005; Amani, 2013; Petzell & Marten, 2016; Lusekelo, 2017, among others). Issues of language contact, such as code switching and lexical borrowing (Ameka, 2015), become part of the target languages, therefore, they should be incorporated, though with caution as none nativized ones need to be removed. This is the part in which the mother tongue speaker may come in and use his or her training to make proper decisions.

Conclusion

In this piece of research work, I outlined four main points which arise from the difficulties in choosing the language of research for postgraduate students. The first point I make concerns the staging of the current research on the existing body of knowledge. Researchers are required to interrogate the existing literature and pinpoint research gaps that will attract further research. The research gaps are well outlined in relation to the on-going changes upon a given theoretical background and the explanation therein. When the research agenda is well-crafted, the language choice become irrelevant because the research gaps will dictate the selection and no questions can be paused as to the choiceof language X over language Y. In fact, the crafting of the research gap and then filling in information is the nature of the scientific inquiry. I argue that

mother tongue dissertations in Tanzania should strive to open gaps and fill the gaps with outstanding research based claims. In this way, the rationale for mother tongue dissertations will be defended as required.

The second point I advance herein concerns the second point of saturation of research on a given language. Much research in Bantu languages of Tanzania surround Kiswahili, Ruhaya, Kisukuma, Shambala and Runyambo. This does not rule out the possibilities to conduct further research in these languages because there is no point of research saturation of an individual language. The case of object marking in Kiswahili began as far back as Wald (1979) and continued the conversation through the 1990s (Rugemalira, 1991) and debate goes on until now (see Marten & Kula, 2012). As I said above, graduate students should interrogate the present literatures and come up with a new paradigm for the same subject matter.

The third point concerns new approaches to research. In the course of the discussion in this paper, I pointed out that the opening of the new theoretical guideline such as grammaticalisation approach by Bernd Heine (Heine, 1997, 2019) should be treated an opportunity to interrogate previously established claims on tense and aspect, indefinite and definite noun phrases, reciprocal and reflexives. Thus, graduate students should venture into new areas of research instead of remaining into the old fields of research which shaped the thinking of the examiners. Knowledge becomes fascinating when new findings come to surface.

Lastly, I highlighted that research upon endangered languages of Tanzania is still premature. Researchers in Tanzania have to identify an undocumented language and conduct research upon a given subject matter. A word of caution also looms. The funding agencies have prescribed guidelines which the awardees have to adhere to (see Essegbey et al., 2015). Nonetheless, a nice topic can be selected for a given endangered language of Tanzania. Research of such kind will make double impact. On the one hand, the output will help improve the documentation of the language. On the other hand, contribution to the existing body of knowledge, which is central in basic research, will be achieved. An appropriate case is already provided and defended by Gambarage (2017) on the nexus of documentation and contribution to theory using the Nata language of Tanzania.

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Ninogeshe: Strategic Selection of Value Adding Terms in Advertisement and Slogan Creation by Corporations in Dar es Salaam

Norbert Mtavangu[*]

Abstract

Strategic choice of lexical items constitutes one of tactics that corporate companies adopt when composing advertisements or creating slogans. The paper presents a situation in which five corporate companies: Bakhresa Group, CRDB Bank, Tanzania Telecommunication Corporation Limited, Viettel Tanzania Public Limited Company (Halotel) and Tanzania Breweries Company Limited converged in the use of one lexical item -noga in its various derivations to generate advertisement and slogans for their products. To establish a historical background of the term -noga and the reasons for this convergence, the author reviews Bantu language dictionaries and relies on the information from print press. The findings show that -noga is an old stem carrying the meanings 'good', 'sweet' or 'pleasant' in several Bantu languages spoken in Tanzania. The game theory which enlightened the interpretation of the findings is used to explain that, -noga is favourable for advertisements because it adheres to three characteristics of a potential value adding term. Linguistically, it is analysable and it respects Bantu language rules; sociolinguistically, it is popular and suitable to express aesthetical issues like music and sports, and practically, it has a long and powerful tradition of expressing the notion related to 'lovability'. It is recommended, therefore that, in the light of the choice of this stem among private business corporations, studies could be extended to other linguistic items on how they can be used to enhance productivity.

Key words: *-noga, game theory, corporation, language*

Introduction

It is generally agreed that communication of thought, information and truth stands to be the core function of language, a function termed by Jacobson (1960) and Leech (1974) as referential and informational respectively. In addition to this function, language plays another major role: social control. The latter implies conscious or unconscious manipulation of speech to influence the listener in order for the listener to abide to the speaker's interest. Social control can be done through enticing, commanding or evoking person feelings (Bhat, 2008). This paper presents and discusses the social control function of language as a strategy adopted by business firms to attract clients. Specifically, I portray strategic choice and

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exploitation of a Swahili verb *kunoga,* or its derivations in commercial advertisements and slogans. The work comprises five sections: the introduction, the game theory, methodology, findings and discussion as well as the conclusion and recommendation.

Theoretical Framework: Game Theory

Game theory is a philosophical orientation that originates from mathematics but used in several disciplines (among others sociology, political science, law and linguistics). The theory illustrates situations of strategic interaction in which the assumption is that, participants in the interactions are rational. In other words, it is a systematic study of strategic interactions among rational individuals. Rationality in Game theory refers to ability of having well-defined objectives (or preferences) over a set of possible outcomes and implementing the best available strategy to pursue them (Kockesen & Ok, 2007). In this work, I humbly explain the details of the theory which suit only the linguistic purpose of the paper.

By way of illustration and for the benefit of those not familiar with the theory, proponents of the theory call it 'game' because it derives its base from ordinary games. If we take penalty shooting in football for instance, it is assumed that both two players involved: the shooter and the goal keeper each has two strategic roles: maximising one's potentials and exploiting the other's weaknesses. The shooter who is fully conscious that the goalkeeper is rational, in order to score would use his/her uppermost skills to score while at the same time taking advantage of the goalkeeper's weakness. Likewise, the goalkeeper skilfully defends the goal while studying the shooter's reasoning frame, skills and weaknesses: whether for instance the shooter is right or left-footed. In business arena, corporations as players aiming at winning clients and maximising profit compete with clients, and with other companies simultaneously or one by one. To win, the corporate companies thus utilise their potentials and weakness of the other part, in our case by careful selection of lexical items or expressions as slogans or statements for advertisement.

According to Jaeger (2008) in language and linguistics, there are two perspectives in which game theory can be used: in pragmatics and in language evolution. The pragmatic branch according to Jaeger (ibid:412) implies sender's deliberate efforts to align the message to the interest of the receiver in order to create credibility to the listener who is assumed to be a rational being. Players (interlocutors) in this context believe the message to be true as long as it is

presented in a rational way. In other words, to capture the intuition, the message should be credible. The evolutionary game theory on the other hand, emulates Darwinian natural selection model in which the objects of study in this case 'word' are not rational agents but entities. In language, evolution theory describes the way features of natural languages (sound segments, morphemes, words or expressions) compete among themselves in optimising certain reasonable target communication functions (Zang & Gernier, 2013:15). Ability of these constituents to survive in this competition is measured through ability to withstand turbulence over time, to replicate and to be passed from one human generation to another.

In the evolutionary perspective, the frequency distribution of traits as well as resistance to change affect its fitness (ibid:413). To take Marschak's (1965:136) words:

> Given the environment what determines the probability of that a set of traits will remain in existence for a given length of time? Logically, surviving is a special case of attaining a goal. Viability is thus a special case of efficiency. This goes for language as well as for other aspects of aspects of human organisation.

If we again take a communication game situation where a sender (S) communicates a message about an event (T) to the receiver (R) through the signal (F). In this game, the communication will be profitable and cost-effective if the receiver (R) will associate the signal (F) to the event (T). In our case, the stem *-noga* as signal (F) for say the Tanzania Telecommunication Corporation (TTCL) as sender (S) to communicate the message (T) about its rejuvenation will be efficient if the client (R) recognises the message and consequently is attracted to TTCL services. TTCL would have used its skills and perfectly exploited clients' mindset and interests.

Methodology

The study was specifically undertaken in Dar es Salaam the largest city in Tanzania. Dar es Salaam was chosen because it is the largest commercial city in Tanzania hence with a good number of commercial advertisements. Three stages were followed in data collection and analysis. The first step involved random observation of slogans' lexical items used by various companies. All public commercial advertisements broadcasted in television (particular in ITV and TBC) between November and December 2018 was observed.

The observation involved also: banners, billboards and posters accessible in streets, along the Morogoro road in Dar es Salaam city centre and Kinondoni districts. Given the variety and changing nature advertisement: new ones are posted while some old change every time, I could not establish the specific number.

The second stage, a qualitative one, commenced after finding that the most popular term was *kunoga* and its derivations. The stage implied surveying publications especially dictionaries of Bantu languages spoken in Tanzania and online information to find the occurrence and meanings of the term *kunoga* in Bantu languages as well as historical connection of the term with the business industry. At this stage, I studied 25 dictionaries. At same time, being a native speaker of Hehe, I used my intuition to recall the use of the term in my mother language. Documentary review involved also establishment of the evolution of the word from ethnic community languages to the current attained status in Swahili where it is a commercial asset. The third stage involved an interview with five personnel in charge of from public relations and/or marketing and a focused group discussion with 10 university students, who are potential clients. These discussions were held to examine whether the choice of lexical item had any psychological impact to clients. In the following paragraphs, I present the findings and the discussion.

Findings

In this study it was found that, corporations through print, broadcast and online media used a variety of terminologies to compose slogans as well as to advertise commodities and services. Among these terms, derivations from the stem *–noga* were used by five companies, whereas *mzuka* (from stem *-zuka*) was used by Coca-Cola and a lottery network company *Tatu Mzuka*. Other terms were not shared, each advertiser had a different term. Since *–noga* and its derivations had the highest frequency, I ignored other lexical items and concentrated to study the origin and contexts in which the stem *-noga* was used denotatively and connotatively. The paper therefore analyses the socio-historical contexts in which the term evolved.

The term *–noga* originates from Bantu languages. It is however not found in Guthrie (1970). Bastin and Schadeberg (n.d) in *Bantu reconstruction 3*[11] indicate that the stem is only found in 3 Bantu

[11]https://www.africamuseum.be/en/research/discover/human_sciences/culture_society/blr/results_main?English=&Index=&Francais=&Tone=&T11=&T12=&T21=&T22=&T3=&T4=&RestT=&Word=n

language zones (E, F, J in North East region) where it means being 'crushed', 'tired'. In Guthrie (1970) and Bastin and Schadeberg (n.d). the most popular semantic content of 'palatable' or 'good' found in many languages including Swahili language, is represented by the root *–nona. -Nona* according to Bastin and Schadeberg (ibid) is widely dispersed in 13 (C, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, N, P and S) out 16 Bantu language zones.

Two hypotheses lead one to presuppose that the two stems: *–nona* and *–noga* are cognates of the same root. One way of associating the two terms is through Swahili language in which *–nona* means 'be fat' and *mnofu* (stem *–nofu*) is 'flesh'. If in Proto-Bantu according to Guthrie (1970), *mnofu* comes from *-nòkú*[12] in can plausibly be hypothesised that there existed a verb *–noka*, in which the sound /k/ was voiced to /g/ to create *-noga* in some languages. Again, it is possible that /k/ was from *nòkú* was spirantised to /v/ or /f/ as it has been done in Swahili in example 1.

Example 1: Derivations that transform /k/ to /v/ or /f/

*cho**k**a* -be tired	uchov**u**/uchof**u**	tiredness
*tuku**k**a* be glorified	utuku**f**u	glory

Another hypothesis is found in Hehe greetings[13]: The greeting *Unogage* (or *unoge*) "how are you?" (literary, 'are you good?') (with *-nog.-* root*)* is responded by *ndimnofu*. 'I am fine' (literary 'I am good') (with -nof-). In this language, *–nona* means 'be sweet' whereas *–nofu* also means 'beautiful', 'good', or 'kind'. Thus, at least in these Swahili and Hehe languages, we can establish semantic and phonological link between *–nona* and *–noga.* These links imply that *-nog-* and *-nof-* are cognates of the same root. The association can be worked as a single element as indicated below.

Table 1: Distribution of the Stem *-nona* and -nofu Swahili and Hehe

	-nona	*-nofu*	*-noga*
Swahili	be fleshy, fat	-flesh	Pleasant,
Hehe	Sweet,	Good, beautiful,	Be physically fit, be kind, be smart

on&C1=&V11=&V12=&C2=&V21=&V22=&C3=&V3=&C4=&V4=&Rest=&Gram=&SumRegNum=&SumReg=&SumZonNum=&SumZon=&NClass=

[12] in Kinyamwezi *-nogu* refers to 'be soft' or 'easy to agree'.

[13] My own intuition

Having created this link, in the rest of the paper I treat –*noga* as a dublicate of –*nona*.. The consultation of other ethnic language dictionaries showed that, none of the two neither –*noga* nor –*nona* was found in five languages (Hangaza, Zinza, Ndamba, Mashami and Kahe); -*nona* without -*noga* was found in two languages (Gweno and Zigula) while -*noga* was found in ten dictionaries as listed below.

Table 2: Meaning of the Stem -*noga* in some Bantu Languages

Source	First Meaning	Second Meaning
Gogo (Rugemalira, 2009):	be fit, be pleasing, well;	
Ruri (Massamba, 2005):	harvest, reap;	
Ikizo (Sewangi, 2008):	1- become tired;	2. ripen, mature, be cooked
Hehe (intuition)	be physically fit, healthy, pleased, smart, beautiful	
Jita (Mdee, 2008)	harvest, pick crops or vegetable;	
Nyakyusa (Felberg, 1996):	be satisfying, pleasing, tasty;	*nogela* means benefit from, become rich
Haya (Muzale, 2006)	harvest; pluck	
Nyambo (Rugemalira, 2002):	being thoroughly crushed, pounded,	pick, harvest, pluck
Simbiti: (nora) (Mreta, 2008):	become fat, fatten up.	
Sumbwa (Kahigi, 2008):	be tired *choka*	be good/sweet *furahisha*/ -*wa na furaha*

From the above data, one can establish a semantic continuum of plant products or fruit being passing from 'harvesting', through 'cooking' to the other end of 'eating' and exceptionally 'prosper' or 'become rich'. In other words, these semantic coverages qualify the term to be potential for expressing the notion of: 'joy' 'success', 'fruitfulness', 'flavour', and 'prosperity'.

In Swahili language, both –*nona* and -*noga* exist; but –*noga* seems to be recently incorporated into the language. -*Noga* is not a headword in early Standard monolingual Swahili (Johnson, 1935) and Standard Swahili-English dictionary (Johnson, 1939) but Sacleux (1939:687) registers the word while admitting that (at that time) it was still a dialectical term spoken by Mrima dialect[14] speakers. To

[14] Spoken in Mainland Tanzania (spoken in the northern coast)

Sacleux (ibid) mrima borrowed the term from other languages: Zigura, Kami, Ngindo, Pogoro among others.

Today, in Swahili, still the term does not figure in some Swahili dialects spoken in Zanzibar island like Makunduchi (BAKIZA, 2012a), Pemba (BAKIZA 2012b[15]) and Tumbatu (BAKIZA, 2012c). However, almost all standard Swahili dictionaries published in Tanzania mainland, Zanzibar and in Kenya have *-noga* as headword. TATAKI (2014:365)'s entry for instance reads:

> *Nog.a kt <sie>* be delicious: *chakula kime~* the food is delicious; be pleasant*: Mazungumzo yame~* the talk has been pleasing*. <tde> nogea* be delicious to sb*; (tdew) nogewa* be pleasing*; (tdk) nogeka; (tds) nogesha* make sth be delicious, make sth pleasing.

In addition, according to BAKITA, (2015:801) *-noga* expresses also a well performed or enjoyed game or dance.

On the spread of the term standard Swahili, it seems that, the Zaramo expression *ngoma inogile* 'the dance is vivacious' and subsequent reiterations by modern music performance has facilitated the current fast spread of the stem *-noga*. Specifically, between 2013 and 2018 at least three music recordings were made, two of them with title *ngoma inogile*.[16] The third *Ninogeshe* released early 2018[17] by Faustina[18] Charles Mfinanga lifted high the status of *–noga* to the current position. Meanwhile, before Ms. Mfinanga's production, newspapers used the expression '*ngoma inogile'* as headlines in sports and somehow in politics, meaning the confrontation is ripe or the match is ready (see appendix 1).[19] It is therefore from Mfinanga's production that famous firms and corporations started to utilise *-noga* or its derivations as part of their slogans or advertisement

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[15] In Pemba dialect the derived *nogewa* was found.

[16] One by Ude ude recorded around 2010's https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bVrBDcrug5k uploaded on youtube on 14th August 2013 and Sultan King published on youtube on 29th August 2016.

[17] In the album *The African Princess* that can be found at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IlQUCGS3m1s. The chorus of the song reads: *ninogeshe baby baby ninogesheninogeshe ninogeshe babybaby ninogeshe Raha raha tupu kupendana na wewe...*

[18] Artistcally she presents herself as Nandera

[19] Just as if to prove this efficacy, on 20Th February, when we were writing this article three of ten news papers (on mpekuzi blog) reported their new with the term. It was a subsequent win of Simba sport club over....., just a week after defeating Dar es Salaam Young Africans.
Nyota ya Bocco Yaendelea KUNOGESHA 'VIPORO' SIMBA (uhuru)
Simba yazidi kunoga (nipashe)
Safari imenoga (Tanzania daima)

statement for their products and services.[20] Table 3 below indicates the captions from slogans and advertisements in Dar es Salaam.

Table 3: Advertisements/Slogans with *-noga* Stem

	Advertising Phrase	**General Meaning**	**Advertiser**	**Source**
1.	***Imenoga*** fresh	It (the juice) is delicious.	Bakhresa Group	Television advertisement
2.	*Huduma za kibenki zinaendelea* **kunoga,** *kwa huduma app*	Banking service are becoming more be enjoyable following the introduction of app services.	CRDB Bank Plc	A note on CRDB ATM also, on internet[21].
3.	**Ninogeshe** na Halopesa	Enrich me with halopesa.	Viettel Tanzania Public Limited Company, trading as Halotel	Television advertisement
4	*Rudi nyumbani* ***kumenoga*** ***Aso:*** *rudi nyumbani kunazidi* ***kunoga***	Come back, (life) is enjoyable at home. The situation is ameliorating at home.	Tanzania Telecommunications Company Limited	Company slogan used on television and billiboards
5	*TBL* ***kumenoga****: tukutane baa*	It is exciting in TBL: join us in a bar	Tanzania Breweries Limited	A poster found at an alcoholic bar in a street.

Since the advertisers above are corporations with international status, it is obvious that they opted for the same lexical item deliberately and strategically. CRDB bank for instance is one of best performing banks in Tanzania, at least between 2000 and 2019 (Mwanyemba, 2017). Likewise, TTCL and TBL are the oldest and largest companies in Tanzania specializing in telecommunication and breweries industries respectively. Again, Bakhresa group also forms one of largest business company in East Africa which provide many services and products whereas Halotel Tanzania constitutes a fast-growing mobile telephone service provider. Now, since public relation officers and marketing managers in these firms are experienced and skilful enough to withstand and win commercial competitions, must have carefully selected lexical items for slogans

[20] Halotel for instance, used exactly Ms Mfinangas tune.
[21] https://crdbbank.co.tz

and advertisements to the extent that they ended up with *kunoga*, *ninogeshe, kumenoga*, or *imenoga* as discussed below.

Discussion

It is worthwhile noting that each company targets its own meaning of *'-noga'*. To Bakhresa group advertising *African fruti* juice *imenoga* signifies 'taste'. On the *African fruti* juice box, the juice is qualified as 'most wholesome, nutritious, great-tasting and high-quality product'; to CRDB Bank, the term refers to 'ease operation' or 'user friendly' of operations assisted by *apps*; while TBL and TTCL talk about general conducive environment for membership or clientele. Interestingly, Halotel opted for *–noga* to express financial gain, a meaning peculiar to Nyakyusa (see Felberg, 1996). Nonetheless, all the companies target enticing clients and maximising profit.

Interviewed personnel in the corporate companies insisted that slogans and advertisements are an inevitable element in running a firm because the catch phrases provoke positive emotion towards the product. Statements in slogans according to them, act as tools to capture consumers' attention to the product. The personnel affirmed that companies use much financial resources for advertisement because advertisements and slogans define organization mission and vision of the organization and are identities of new products. According to Lamtey (2018), slogans composed by telecommunication companies in Tanzania in 2018 contributed in increasing the number of subscribers. According to Lamtey (ibid), the TTCL's *Rudi nyumbani kumenoga'* enabled the company to lead among competitors in recruiting one third more new subscribers between March and June 2018. However, the interviewees admitted that, it is difficult to measure profit just by one word like '*imenoga*' because turnover is conditioned by several factors, linguistic element choice is being one of them.

Studies demonstrate evidence on the contribution of human traits including language in economic development. According to Basu (2000:37–38) :

> The prosperity and progress of an economy are not just a matter of guns and butter - or, for that matter, tariff levels, fiscal deficit and macroeconomic stability – but also our attitude towards work, level of mutual trust, standard of ethics, and social norms. […] The importance of social norms as foundation for economic activity is best illustrated by the

> act of exchange […]. Whereas greatly facilitated by the ability to communicate or, even better, to speak and understand a common language.

Related to common language, Marschak (1965:137), Rubinstein (1996) as well as Zhang and Grenier (2013b) list nine criteria that qualify a language item to be potential candidate for adding value to a commodity. I condense the list to three clusters: the linguistic ease to understanding each other, sociolinguistic acceptance of the chosen term, and practical efficacy of the term.

Linguistically, according to the authors (Marschak, ibid ; Zhang & Grenier 2013b), the most effective term should be simple and does not necessitate restudying or reorganizing rules: they have to respect common language rules. From game theory perspective, for a term to be an effective signal, it has to follow the phonological rules, length, and similarity with existing words and has to adhere to aesthetics of sound and cadence (Zang & Gernier, 2013b:15). In this state, the chosen lexical item can be acquired or learned easily hence deliver pertinently the message about the commodity.

Just for illustration, the following examples from Swahili highlight effectiveness of choice of alternative terms. The three utterances below can be used interchangeable to explain a 'live broadcasting' but produce different effects.

Example 2: Lexical choice in expressing 'live broadcasting in Swahili.

*a) Matangazo yanarushwa **live***
*b) Matangazo yanarushwa **mubashara***
*c) Matangazo yanarushwa **moja kwa moja***

For the sentences above, there are two factors to consider: morphological describability and semantic transparency. In sentence a) the term 'live' is the lightest and easiest to pronounce but semantically heavy to non-English speakers. Non-English speakers cannot associate it with 'life', 'lively' and the like. Similarly, *mubáshara* from Arabic,[22] which is an *a-priori* long word, is semantically opaque to Bantu speakers. It also violates the phonological patterns of Swahili language by placing accent on the second syllable (*mubáshara)* instead of (*mubashára)* in which the accent is placed on the penultimate syllable. On the other hand, although *moja kwa moja* in sentence c) is the longest expression, it is

[22] From b-sh-r Arabic root meaning: rejoice, good tidings, cause of cerebration etc. Here extended to live broadcasting. In Swahili we find bashiri- guess, bet etc.

morphologically analysable to Bantu language speakers hence semantically transparent as it follows common conceptualisation of 'one to one' or 'one against another' (*n- kwa –n*[23]*).* Sentence c) therefore is likely to deliver better results across time and space than the other two sentences: a) and b).

Describability and transparency according to economists (Marschak, ibid; Zhang & Grenier, 2013b) make easy to detect indicative traits as one can identify the root and affixes attached to it. In our case, Swahili and other Bantu language speakers recognise the forms: *imenoga*, *kunoga*, *ninogeshe* and *kumenoga* as derivatives from the root *–nog-* which typical adheres to phonological characteristic of a Bantu root CVC-(see Guthrie, 1970). In the atturances, morphologically *kunoga* is the infinitive form; the other forms are conjugated according to subject, object, tense and mood as indicated below.

Example 3: Derivation of the Root -nog-

a) Imenoga

i	Me	Nog	A
CL 9	PRES-PERF	Root	FV-indicative

It (the juice) is sweet

b) Kumenoga

ku	Me	Nog	A
CL 17	PRE-PERF	Root	FV-indicative

At that place, the situation is favourable/enjoyable

c) Ninogeshe

Ø	Ni	Nog	esh	e
2ndPers	CL 9	Root	CAUS	FV-imperative

Make me prosper (financially).

If for example one replaces *–noga* with its synonyms: *ni tamu*, *ina ladha nzuri*, in examples a); *kuzuri* in b) and *nitajirishe* in c) above, one finds that all these items are etymologically borrowed from Arabic, hence hardly describable and extendable. On contrary, *-noga* can further be extended through affixation to create *nogea, nogewa* and many more words.

[23] Noun kwa noun like in uso kwa uso; ana kwa ana; bila kwa bila, mguu kwa mguu, etc.

Sociolinguistically, according to Marschak (op. cit) and Zhang and Grenier (op. cit), a potential value adding term should be free from sociopolitical bias. It should preserve national unity, defend tradition, and yet adapt judiciary to the new needs. On the other hand, it should be free from vulgar associations or ill-mannered expressions (Zhang & Grenier, ibid). In our case, the fact that the -*noga* is used in Swahili and in other Bantu languages gives the term a credit of uniting speakers of the language in Tanzania and beyond. Although ethically the modern music (like Ms Mfinangas song) evokes the sense of sex, which is a taboo in many African communities, this association -*noga*- with 'sexual pleasure' seems not to have taken root into people's mind because traditional ngoma chorus *ingoma inogile* and sports vivacity connotation overpower the sex connotation.

During focus group discussions, participants had the view that a slogan or advertisement, that exploit the value of -*noga* which implicitly recalls the music by Ms Mfinanga can make a difference in decision making on purchasing a product. Yet, the majority of participants reported that, in buying they considered other factors too beyond slogans. In other words, it is true that tactful use of language in slogan creation is beneficial to firms (Knowles & Marthur, 1995), but as Adhakari (2018) reports, in Nepal among university students as clients a clear link was not found between slogan and productivity.

Practically, the term -*noga* is valid and reliable. It is valid and efficient because it effectively talks about what is directed to do. Unlike in music where it does conceal an obscene message; in business advertisement and slogans, it depicts exactly the content that one finds in other Bantu language terminologies and in traditional artistic performance. On reliability or viability, the term –*noga* has survived for centuries and spread in a wide area and now acting as media in several domains. In evolutionary approach of game theory, a language trait that has survived more than others is optimal for building on incoming concepts (Marschak, 1965). Thus, these characteristics convince us to answer the question, why the TTCL, TBL, Bakhressa group, Halotel and CRDB bank each at its own time chose the linguistic signal –*noga* to vehicle its products or services.

Conclusions

The paper is an attempted to present and describe the way linguistic items can be used to attract clients hence maximise profit and how business firms have been using this technique. The tendency by the firms above translates a long practice by corporation to make use of peoples' mindset and attitudes to foster accumulation of wealth. Internationally, according to the Alkire et al. (2016:5) "Private sector firms and corporations have long been using and often exploiting their knowledge of human psychology [including language faculty] and social predilections to further their own interests and profits".

In our view, since *–noga* for instance may have a contribution to success of companies, it is therefore argued that, more research on other language items can be undertaken to measure their efficiency in enhancing socio-economic development. In other word, linguists have to carry out more researches on the relationship between linguistic items and development in order to support development efforts by public authorities and non-profit making organisations.

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List of Abbreviations

2nd Pers	second person
ATM	automated Machine Teller
BAKITA	BARAZA LA KISWAHILI TAIFA
CAUS	Causative
CL	noun class
CVC	Consonant Vowel Consonant
FV	Final vowel
ITV	Independent Television
Kt	Swahili means 'verb'
PERF	Perfect
PRES	Present
Sie	Swahili means 'intransitive'
TATAKI	Taasisi ya Taaluma za Kiswahili
TBC	Tanzania Broadcasting FCorporation
TBL	Tanzania Breweries Company Limited
Tde	Swahili means 'applicative'
Tdew	Swahili, means 'passive'
Tdk	Swahili means 'stative'
Tds	Swahili means 'causative'
TTCL	Tanzania telecommunication Corporation Limited

Appendix 1: Newspaper Headlines with –noga

	Heading	Newspaper	Event	Interpretation	Author
1	*Yanga ngoma inogile kileleni* 'Yanga cerebrates at the the top of the league'.	Mwananchi. Saturday November 2, 2013	Yanga team won 4-0 over Ruvu stars to make it leads the league:	Yanga at the peak, at the pleasant times	Sweetbert Lukonge
	Simba, Mtibwa ngoma inogile, 'The match between Simba and Mtibwa is imminent'.	Mwananchi February, 2014	The match was to be played the following day	The time for confrontation between the two teams is Ready, mature	Elius Kambili
	Professor Jay na mrembo Victoria Kimani 'ngoma inogile', wenyewe wasema yajayo yanafurahisha 'The two musicians Professor J and Victor have agreed to collaborate and record together'.	November 9, 2018 in (Bongo five blog)	Professor Jay will make collaboration with Victoria Kimani in singing	Ripe for consumption	Godfrey Mgallah

The Phonetic Manifestation of *-ile* Suffix across Bantu Languages: The Case of Nyasa-Tanganyika Corridor

Nichodamus Robinson[*]

Abstract

This paper investigates the phonetic manifestation of -ile suffix across three selected Bantu languages forming the Nyasa-Tanganyika corridor. The study is guided by the Theory of Utterance selection whose underlying thesis vests on the assumption that speakers subconsciously change linguistic forms towards simplified ones. Data were collected from written texts, narrative stories and interviews. The findings indicate that three phonetic forms of the suffix which are ***-ite, -ile*** *and* ***-ie*** *exist across these languages. In Ndali the suffix manifests itself into* ***-ite*** *and* ***-ile*** *under varying conditions. It is also indicated that the suffix acquires irregular phonetic shape as a result of its suffixation to irregular verbs which are defined differently across the languages under investigation.*

Key words: *Phonetic manifestation, -ile suffix and Nyasa-Tanganyika corridor*

Introduction

This paper seeks to investigate the phonetic properties of *ile* suffix resulted from its historical development and suffixation across three Bantu languages forming the Nyasa-Tanganyika corridor[24]. The languages are Nyakyusa (M31), Ndali (M301) and Malila (M24). These languages are appropriate for this investigation because they are genetically so closely related that makes possible to study language change (in *-ile*) through a comparative method (Campbell, 2006).

The suffix *-ile* is a common inflectional category of the verb across many Bantu languages (Botne, 2010). The suffix started its life as an aspect marker since it is traditionally called perfective *-ile* (Mkude, 1974: Kahigi, 1989; Nurse, 2008; Asheli, 2013; Lusekelo, 2013). But according to Nurse and Philippson (2006), the suffix has undergone an interesting change as it is associated with either tense or aspect. Studies such as Hyman (1995) and Botne (2010) regard the suffix as

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[24] The Nyasa-Tanganyika Corridor is a geographical stretch that was named by a social anthropologist; Monica M. Wilson in 1958 after the two lakes (Nyasa and Tanganyika) defining it to the south and north; involving Bantu languages of South-West Tanzania, North-East Zambia and North Malawi. The corridor has three subgroups namely, Nyakyusa (Nyakyusa and Ndali), Nyika group (Nyiha, Safwa, Malila, Iwa), and Mwika group (Rungwa, Fipa, Rungu, Mambwe, Manda and Nyamwanga) (Persohn, 2017).

either a tense or an aspect marker in some Bantu languages. But Kotzé (2004) regards the suffix as a tense marker in Lobedu and Northern Sotho. Therefore, the role of the suffix is not clear unless close attention is paid to an individual language. But in the same view of its change, the suffix's phonetic shape manifests differently as a result of its historical development and/or its suffixation.

Historically, the suffix is said to be originated from the Proto-Bantu perfective suffix *-ida* (Mazrui, 1883) and/or *-ide* (Meessen, 1967; Hyman, 2007). But in languages such as Ruhaya (Hewson & Nurse, 2000), Runyambo (Rugemalira, 2005), Ruzinza and Runyankore (Muzale, 1998) the suffix assumes the *-ire* form for perfective. The data presented by Swilla (1998) and Botne (2003) show the existence of *-ile* and *ite* forms in Ndali. Given the focus and scope of the aforementioned studies in this paragraph, they could not attempt to reconstruct phonetic forms of the suffix to account for its disappearance across Bantu languages. This paper adopts *-ile* form out of the aforementioned forms (*-ida, -ite, -ile, -ire, -ie*) since it is the most common form across selected languages and it is widely used in the contemporary Bantu linguistics.

The fact that *-ile* suffix manifests itself into different phonetic shapes implies that phonetically, this suffix is evolving. The evolution of this suffix indicates the danger of its partial/total disappearance across Bantu languages. For instance, the data provided by Mreta (1998) show that in Chasu the suffix undergoes partial and/or total disappearance. In this language, the suffix undergoes partial disappearance as it involves loss of [l] leaving behind a (diphthong) sequence of two vowels [ie] as exemplified in 1 (a). This occurs mainly when *-ile* suffix co-occurs with a pre-root T/A formative to mark past tense. But the suffix undergoes total disappearance when it marks anterior as exemplified in 1 (b).

(1). (a). *bhé-im-íe* they cultivated
(b). *bhá-im-á* they have cultivated

Also the perfective marker *-ile* has totally disappeared in Swahili. This conclusion has been made following the presence of *-ile* suffix in Swahili dialects, namely Kiamu and Kibajuni as they use *-me/-ile* and *-indo/-ile* respectively for perfective aspect (Mazrui, 1983). According to Mazrui, the perfective prefix *-me-* originated from the word mala 'finish' whose underlying form was *malile* 'has finished'. Muzale

(1998) demonstrates below the stages in which the Swahili perfective *-me-* has passed from its Proto-form *malile.*

(2). Underlying form *tu-mal-ile kusoma* "we have finished to read"

Stage 1:	Loss of [l]	*tu-maile kusoma*
Stage 2:	Vowel coalescence	*tu-meele kusoma*
Stage 3:	Loss of [l]	*tu-meee kusoma*
Stage 4:	Vowel shortening	*tu-me kusoma*
Stage 5:	Loss of the infinitive	*tu-me-soma*
	Surface form	*tu-me-soma*
		"we have read"

Based on its suffixation the suffix *-ile* has a phonological impact to the verb base where it is attached (Mould, 1972; Kahigi, 1989; Kula, 2001; Kotzé, 2008; Robinson, 2015; Harford & Malambe, 2017). This impact poses descriptive and analytical challenges in terms of predictability of the suffix's phonetic shapes across Bantu languages. While Mould refers to as 'modified base' the phonological impact of *-ile*, Bastin (1983) refers to as 'imbrication'[25] (it is the key term of the title). So far as predictability of the *-ile* form is concerned there are incidences when we can predict the phonetic shape of the suffix (technically called regular suffixation) and when we cannot even if we know its base (irregular suffixation[26]). Kula mentions regular verb roots in Bemba as CV-roots, ØVC- as in *ak-a* light, ØVCV- as in *úmfu-a* 'hear', CVC- as in *pet-a* 'fold' CV:C- as in *paal-a* 'bless', CGV:C- as in *fyuuk-*a 'escape', CV(CV)NC- as in *béleng-a* 'read, whereas extended verbs involve irregular suffixation. Also, Kotzé mentions simple verbs that are regular whereas complex verbs (extended verbs) are irregular.

Generally, the reviewed studies suggest that the conditions for regular and irregular suffixation vary within and across languages. For instance, while Hyman (1995) and Morrison (2012) mention extended verbs that are irregular in Bemba, Northern Sotho and Bena respectively, Kula (2001) mentions some simple verbs and all extended verbs to be irregular. Following this variation, this paper suspects that the concept of regularity is language specific.

[25] This paper adopts the term imbrication as it has been widely used by several Bantuists such as Kula (2001), Rugemalira (2005), Asheli (2013), Robinson (2015).
[26] Imbrication is associated with irregular *-ile* suffixation.

The irregularity of the phonetic shapes of *-ile* suffix can be described under the framework of the Theory of Utterance Selection developed by Croft (2000). The theory states that speakers change their respective languages as they use through innovation and propagation. In the course of this change, users subconsciously impose simplification strategies and rules (Hayes, 2009). Therefore, this paper systematically investigates the change involving the phonetic shapes of *-ile* suffix by way of identifying simplification strategies and/or phonological processes (rules) shaping this change across three Bantu languages forming the Nyasa-Tanganyika corridor.

Methodology

Data collection process began by reviewing written texts particularly portions of Bible translated by SIL[27] into the selected languages. From these translated Bible portions and narrative stories, some phonological changes of *-ile* suffix were noticed. To supplement the data from these texts, interviews were done to at least one informant; a native speaker of each of the languages under study; living in Ilembo (M24), Isongole (M301) and Talatala (M31). Therefore, written texts, narrative stories and interviews were the main data collection strategies involved in triangulation.

Results and Discussion

Historical Manifestation of the *-ile* Phonetic Forms

This subsection seeks to present phonological change involving *-ile* by way of reconstructing its forms as a result of its historical development since Proto Bantu. Findings show that three forms of the suffix exist across languages under study. These forms are *ile, -ite and -ie* existing under varying conditions across these three languages. In Ndali and Nyakyusa two forms exist under varying conditions whereas in Malila only one form exists. For this reason, the following subsections present the forms and contexts in which these forms are used in an individual language.

The *-ite*/*-le* Forms in Ndali

In Ndali, two forms, namely *-ile* and *-ite* are used under varying condition or domain of use. The findings show that in Ndali, *-ite* is widely used as opposed to *-ile* suffix. The condition that restricts the use of these forms is the nature of the verb root. For instance, the *-ile* form is attached to CV-roots in Ndali. In this language and other

[27] They can be accessed on www.malilalanguage.com, www.ndalilanguag.com and www.nyakyusalanguage.com

many Bantu languages, the verbs with CV-roots are very few as they do not exceed twenty in number (Kula, 2001). In this view, *-ile* form has a very limited domain of use in Ndali. It was established from the data collected that the rest of the regular verbs in this language such as CVC- roots, CV:C-roots and CVCV(NC)-roots attract *-ite* form. Table 1 provides examples for verbs that allow suffixation of *-ile* in Ndali.

Table 1: Suffixation of -ile Form to CV-roots in Ndali

Stem	-ite	-ile	Gloss
fu-a	*fwite	*Fwile*	died
li-a	*liite	*Liile*	ate
lu-a	*lwite	*Lwile*	fought
si-a	*syite	*Syile*	grinded
ng'u-a	*ng'wite	*ng'wile*	drank
gu-a	*gwite	*Gwile*	fell
pi-a	*piite	*Piile*	bunt

The fact that *–ite* form is widely used and *–ile* suffix having restricted domain of use in Ndali implies that the language has retained the earlier form and a little change has occurred on the suffix.

Forms *-ile/-ie* in Malila and Nyakyusa

In Malila and Nyakyusa the *-ile* form is used throughout to mark tense and/or aspect. But in some environments, *-ie* form is used in Nyakyusa. In a connected speech, particularly in spoken discourse, Nyakyusa speakers tend to drop the consonant of the suffix. Example 3 illustrates how Nyakyusa speakers drop [l].

(3). a). *abhaanangu bha -gon -ie ninjala*
My children SM VB Prf with hunger
'My children slept without eating'

This dropping of [l] has phonetic motivation as it occurs in the phonetic environment where it is preceded by the high front vowel [i] but not otherwise. Table 2 provides examples to illustrate the dropping of [l] when occurring after the high front vowel [i] in Nyakyusa.

Table 2: No Dropping of [l] in CV- root Dtructure in Nyakyusa

Stem	Gloss	-ile Suffixation	Dropping	Surface Form
fua	Die	Fuile	*fuie	*fwile*
lia	Eat	Liile	*liie	*liile*
sia	Grind	Siile	*siie	*siile*
kua	Pay dowry	Kuile	*kuie	*kwile*
pia	Burn	Piile	*piie	*piile*

Generally, across the languages under investigation the suffix *-ile* is phonetically evolving as it assumes different phonetic shapes which are *-ite, -ile* and *-ie.* But the basic question behind these three forms of the suffix is which one can be reconstructed as the earlier form? To answer this question, two strategies as adopted from Campbell (2006) have been taken into account. The first strategy vests in the principle which states; any reconstruction should involve as few changes as possible between the daughter languages and the proto-languages. In this view, *-*ite* is reconstructed here as an earlier form of the suffix since it involves a relative fewer change from the proto-form *-*ide.* The change involved so far is only the voicing feature that is from the voiced alveolar stop [d] of the proto-form to the voiceless alveolar stop [t] in the daughter languages. The change that involves -*ide (proto form) to *-*ile* one of the form existing in languages under investigation does not conform to this principle since there is a wider gap of change between them.

The second strategy vests on the principle of directionality. This principle states that sound changes that recur in independent languages typically go in one direction. In this view, it is very common for [d] of *-ide* (the proto Bantu) to change into [t] of *-ite.* It is also common for [t] of *-ite* (the cognate) to change to [l] of *-ile* (cognate) in many languages and the vice versa is very rare. Therefore, the principle of directionality also reconstructs *–ite* to be the earlier form.

So far, considering the two aforementioned strategies, *-ite* form is the earlier form, followed by *-ile* and eventually *-ie* form. In terms of the rate of change of the suffix among the three languages, Ndali is said to have the lowest rate. This conclusion has been reached because *-ite* form which has been reconstructed as the earlier one, have a wider domain of use in the language than *-ile* form in Ndali.

After having presented the phonetic manifestation of *-ile* suffix resulted from its historical development, the next section, therefore presents the changes involving the phonetic forms of *-ile* suffix as a result of its suffixation in the realm of imbrication.

Imbrication

Imbrication is a morpho-phonological change in many Bantu languages in which the morpheme *-il-/-ir-*, which may be glossed as perfective, stative or past fuses with the verb stem producing relatively opaque differences between input and output forms (Hyman 1995; Rugemalira, 2005). This phonological change is expressed under different environment within a language and/or across the selected languages. For that reason, the following subsections describe imbrication with its triggering environment and set of phonological processes shaping the output forms in individual languages.

Imbrication in Nyakyusa

Imbrication in Nyakyusa depends on the structure of the verb root/stem. The CV-, CVC- and CVCV(NC)-verb roots are regular verbs in Nyakyusa as they involve predictable *-ile* form and therefore, they involve no imbrication. Table 1(a & b) illustrate regular *-ile* suffixation in Nyakyusa.

Table 3a: -ile Suffixation to CV-roots in Nyakyusa

Stem	ile Suffixation	Gloss
fu-a	*Afwile*	He has died
si-a	*Asiile*	He has grinded
ku-a	*Akwile*	He has paid dowry
lu-a	*Bhalwile*	They have fought

Table 3b: -ile Suffixation to CVC- roots in Nyakyusa

Stem	*-ile* Suffixation	Gloss
lim-a	*a-lim-ile*	He has cultivated
kom-a	*a-bha-kom-ile*	He has beaten them
jobh-a	*a-jobh-ile*	He has said
sond-a	*a-sondile*	He has put something in a (bottle)
som-a	*a-som-ile*	He has read

Table 3c: -ile Suffixation to CVCV(NC)- roots in Nyakyusa

Stem	-ile	Gloss
kasing-a	*Kasingile*	Has fried (maize)
kalang-a	*Kalangile*	Has fried (food)
bhulung-a	*Bhulungile*	Has rolled up
bheleng-a	*Bhelengile*	Has counted
fulumb-a	*Bhulumbile*	Has unpurified water
pamand-a	*Pamandile*	Has slapped

However, when both CV- and CVC- roots have been extended by verb extension suffixes they become irregular as it is not possible to predict the *-ile* phonetic forms. The following paragraphs demonstrate irregularity of the verbs with verb extension suffixes in Nyakyusa.

First, *-ile* suffix triggers imbrication to verbs extended with the reciprocal suffix *-an-* such as *kom-an-a* 'beat each other'. When *-ile* suffix is attached to *kom-an-a* the expected form would be *komanile*, but the resulting word is *komeene* 'have beaten each other'. The word *komeene* therefore is the surface form which has been shaped by several phonological processes from its underlying form. Example 4 illustrates the change from *komanile* (underlying form) to *komeene* (the surface form) with stages and accompanying phonological process shaping the change.

(4)	Underlying form	/komanile/
Stage 1:	Deletion of [l]	/*komanie/*
Stage 2:	CV metathesis	/*komaine/*
Stage 3:	Vowel coalescence	/*komeene/*
	Surface form	[komeene]

Imbrication to verbs with reciprocal suffix in Nyakyusa is shaped by three phonological processes which are; deletion [l]; consonant of tense/aspect suffix, consonant-vowel (CV) metathesis; the process involving position swap of the adjacent sound segments [n i], and vowel coalescence; the process involving assimilation of two adjacent segments affecting each other, making a juxtaposition of two [a, i] to disappear and be replaced by new compromised vowels [ee] (Massamba, 2010). Table 4 illustrates more about this imbrication and the asterisk [*] has been used throughout this paper to indicate that the word is ill-formed as it no longer used in the respective language.

Table 4: Imbrication to Verbs with the Reciprocal Suffix in Nyakyusa

Verb	Gloss	-an-	-ile Suffixation	Surface Form
koma	beat	*kom-an-a*	*komanile	*komeene*
manya	know	*many-an-*	*manyanile	*manyeene*
seka	laugh	*sek-an-a*	*sekanile	*sekeene*
jabha	Serve/divide	*jabh-an-a*	*jabhanile	*jabheene*
guta	push	*gut-ana*	*gutanile	*guteene*
tuula	help	*tuul-ana*	*tuulanile	*tuuleene*
ega	Marry/take	*eg-ana*	*eganile	*egeene*

Secondly, the suffix *-ile* triggers imbrication to verbs extended with applicative suffixes; *-il-* /*el-* which harmonize depending on the vowel of the verb root. This is demonstrated below using the verb stem *limila* 'cultivate for/use something to cultivate, changing from *limilile* to *limiile* and the verb *komela* 'beat for' changing from *komelile* to *komiile.* Stages and phonological processes shaping these changes vary as illustrated in 5(a & b).

(5). a). Underlying form / limilile/
Stage 1: Deletion of [l] /*limilie/*
Stage 2: CV metathesis /*limiile/*
Surface form [limiile]

b). Underlying form */komelile/*
Stage 1: Deletion /*komelie/*
Stage 2: CV metathesis /*komeile/*
Stage 3: Deletion of [e] /*komile/*
Stage 4: Compensatory lengthening /*komiile/*
Surface form [komiile]

Imbrication to the verbs with applicative suffix *-il-* involves two phonological processes, namely deletion of *l and consonant-vowel metathesis. But imbrication to verbs with applicative -el- is shaped by four processes, namely deletion of [l], CV metathesis, deletion of the mid vowel and vowel lengthening. Normally the rule for vowel deletion in this context is stated as the mid vowel is deleted before a high vowel. The rule is presented using features as follows.

(6). 1 2 3

$$\begin{bmatrix} +syllabic \\ +mid \\ -back \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\theta] / \_\_\_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix} +syllabic \\ +high \\ +back \end{bmatrix}, \quad 1 \neq 3$$

The compensatory lengthening occurs after the loss of the mid vowel [e] occurring before another dissimilar vowel. Then the remaining vowel [i] lengthens to compensate the lost one.

The third condition involves verbs extended with causative and passive suffixes; however, the phonological processes shaping changes in these verbs vary significantly. The suffixation of causative (*-esi-/-isi-)* and passive (*-igu-*) suffixes in Nyakyusa, necessitate *-ile* suffix to induce a phonological change as elaborated in the following paragraphs.

As pointed in the paragraph above, two causative suffixes are involved depending on the nature of the vowel of the verb root. The verb root which consists of a mid vowel attracts *-esi-* suffix whereas the suffix *-isi-* is applied elsewhere. When *-ile* suffix is attached to verbs with causative suffix such as from the *word kom-esy-a* 'cause to beat', the expected form would be *komesyile.* But this word changes into *komiisye* under several phonological processes. Also *lim-isy-a* was expected to be *limisyile* after *-ile* suffixation, but it has changed into *limiisye*. Therefore, example 7 (a) illustrates stages and phonological processes that have shaped the change from *komesyile* to *komiisye* and example 7 (b) illustrate the change from *limisyile* to *limiisye*.

(7). a).	Underlying form	/komesyile/
Stage 1:	Deletion of [l]	/komesyie/
Stage 2:	CV metathesis	/komeisye/
Stage 3:	Vowel deletion	/komisye/
Stage 4:	Vowel lengthening	/komiisye/
	Surface form	[komiisye]

b)	Underlying form	/*limisyile/*
Stage 1:	Deletion of [l]	*/limisyie/*
Stage 2:	CV metathesis	/*limiisye/*
	Surface form	[limiisye]

From two illustrations presented above, we have observed variation of phonological processes shaping the verbs with the causative suffix *-esi-* from that of causative suffix *-isi-.* With the former four phonological processes are involved, they include deletion of the consonant of the tense/aspect suffix, CV metathesis, deletion of the vowel preceding another vowel and compensatory vowel lengthening. While that with the causative suffix *-isi-* involves only two

phonological processes which are deletion of the consonant of the tense/aspect suffix and CV metathesis. But the verbs extended with the passive suffix *-igu-* are shaped by two processes; deletion of [l] and metathesis involving a sequence of a consonant and a glide (CG) with a vowel as illustrate below using the verb *tumigu-a* 'be sent' changing from *tumigwile* to *tumiigwe.*

(8).	Underlying form	*/tumigwile/*
	Deletion [l]	*/tumigwie/*
	(CG) V metathesis	/tumiigwe/
	Surface form	[tumiigwe]

Apart from extended verbs, there are longer verbs than two syllables. These verbs over time have undergone lexicalization with extension suffixes such as applicative suffix *-il-* and stative *-ik-*. In this paper, these verbs have been grouped differently from other extended verbs since we cannot separate the extension suffixes without meaning distortion. The suffix *-ile* induces imbrication to these verbs. For instance, when *-ile* suffix is attached to the word *bhotoka* the expected form would be *bhotokile* but the word has changed into *bhotwike.* Example 9 illustrates stages in the change of *bhotokile* into *bhotwike*.

(9).	Underlying form	/*bhotokile* /
Stage 1:	Deletion of [l]	/*bhotokie/*
Stage 2:	CV metathesis	/*bhotoike/*
Stage 3:	Gliding:	/*bhotwike/*
	Surface form;	[*bhotwike*]

Three phonological processes have been shaping the change that involves *-ile* suffixation to extended verbs with stative and applicative suffixes which in this language the verbs are lexicalized. The processes are deletion of [l], Consonant-Vowel (CV) metathesis and gliding; the process where the vowels; [i] and [o] glides. Based on the examples illustrated above and more examples provided below, the gliding rule can be stated as the vowels; [i] and [o] glides before another dissimilar vowel. The same rule stated is presented below using features.

(10). 1 2 3

$$\begin{bmatrix} +syllabic \\ -low \\ -back \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +approximant \\ +labial \end{bmatrix} / \_\_\_\_\_ [+syllabic],\ 1 \neq 3$$

Table 5 (a): Imbrication to Lexicalized Verbs (with gliding) in Nyakyusa

Stem	-ile	-ile	Surface Form
Bhotoka	become plenty	**bhotokile*	*bhotwike*
Putuka	bend	**putukile*	*putwike*
Satuka	fall down	**satukile*	*satwike*
Saaguka	Separate	**saagukile*	*saagwike*
Tumula	Cut	**tumukile*	*tumwike*
Bhapula	Slap	**bhapulile*	*bapwile*
Bhututuka	walk aimlessly	**bhututukile*	*bhututwike*

The changes involving *-ile* suffix to lexicalized extended verbs in Nyakyusa can be grouped into two, namely those words shaped by gliding (Table 5a) and those shaped by vowel coalescence (Table 5b).

Table 5(b): Imbrication to Lexicalized Verbs (Vowel Coalescence) in Nyakyusa

Stem	-ile	-ile	Surface Form
Bhugala	become fat/recover	**bhugalile*	*bhugeele*
Bhungaana	Gather	**bhungaanile*	*bhungeene*
Gasama	Gape	**gasamile*	*gaseeme*
Fugama	kneel down	**fugamile*	*fugeeme*
Lusama	Gaze	**lusamile*	*luseeme*
Kangala	become old	**kangalile*	ka*ngeele*
Angala	be in a good company	**angalile*	a*ngeele*

Also *-ile* induces imbrication to C(G) VC- roots whose nucleus is a low vowel [a]. Examples of these verbs are *fwala* 'dress', *twala* 'bring' and *bhyiala* 'plant'. Table 6 provides more examples for imbrication to C(G) VC-roots in Nyakyusa.

Table 6: Imbrication to C(G)VC- Roots in Nyakyusa

Stem	Gloss	-ile Sufixation	Surface Form
fwala	Dress	*?fwalile*	*fweele*
twala	Bring	**twalile*	*tweele*
bhyala	Plant	**bhyalile*	*bhyeele*
syala	Remain	** syalile*	*syeele*
syasya	Cause to remain	**syasyile*	*syeesye*

Imbrication to these verbs is shaped by three processes; deletion of [l], CV metathesis and vowel coalescence as illustrated below using the word *twala* 'bring'.

(11).	Underlying form	/*twalile*/
Stage 1:	Deletion of [l]	/*twalie*/
Stage 2:	CV metathesis	/*twaile*/
Stage 3:	Vowel coalescence	/*tweele*/
	Surface form	[tweele]

It has been illustrated above that the condition for *-ile* suffix to induce imbrication is the low vowel [a] constituting the nucleus in C(G)VC- roots. Otherwise, no imbrication is attested to the same verbs with the same verb root structure (C(G)VC-roots) when the nucleus is not a low vowel [a]. Table 7 demonstrates the exception of the verbs with C(G)VC-roots in Nyakyusa.

Table 7: -ile Suffixation to C(G)VC-roots whose Nucleus is not a Low Vowel

Stem	Gloss	Regular -ile Suffixation
fwima	Hunt	*fwimile*
fyuka	go up hill	*fyukile*
syula	unbury	*syulile*
syuta	Swing	*syutile*
syoka	don't agree	*syokile*
bhoola	Slaughter	*bhoolile*
toola	get something by chance	*toolile*
tuula	Help	*tuulile*

In Nyakyusa some verbs with CV:C- root structure whose nucleus is a long low vowel [a:], create the condition for *-ile* to induce imbrication. For instance, when *-ile* suffix is attached to the verb *bhaala* 'increase' the expected form would be *bhaalile* but in Nyakyusa the form changes into *bheele.*

However, exception has been noticed as far as these conditions demonstrated in table 6 and that has been pointed out in the paragraph above. There are verbs whose stems satisfy the mentioned conditions, yet the *-ile* suffix does not induce imbrication. The examples in table 8 illustrate this exception in this language.

Table 8: -ile Suffixation to C(G)VC-root and CV:C roots (exception)in Nyakyusa

Stem	Stem + -ile	Gloss	ill Formed
laata	*Laatile*	has confessed	**leete*
gaala	*Gaalile*	has become drunkard	**geele*
fyata	*Fyatile*	has tightened	**fyeete*
nywama	*Nywamile*	has become fat	*?nyeeme*
paala	*Paalile*	Has invited	**peele*
pyata	*Pyatile*	Has peeled	**pyeete*
kwabha	*Kwabhile*	has married/pulled her	**kweebhe*

These exceptions provide a proof for the theory of language change which takes its inspiration from the neo-Darwinian evolution theory by underlying four key concepts. One of these key concepts is 'selection' which fits in the description of this exception involving *-ile* suffix in Nyakyusa. The concept of selection implies the process where replicators (entities possessing structure that can be passed on) are different in that some are more successful than the other in the course of change. Therefore, not all entities in languages change or rather change in the same direction or at once, this means some structures may be retained and others are innovated into change.

Moreover, *-ile* suffix induces a phonological change in Nyakyusa when it is attached to the verbs with CV:C(G)-root as in the word *leefi-a* 'cause trouble'. The expected word after –ile suffixation would be *leefyile*. But this word has changed into *leefifye*.

Example 12 illustrates the change from *leefyile* to *leefifye.*

(12).	Underlying form	leefyile
Stage 1:	Deletion of *l	*/leefyie/*
Stage 2:	CV metathesis	/*leeifye/*
Stage 3:	consonant insertion	/*leefifye/*
	Surface form	[leefifye]

The phonological processes involved in shaping this change are; deletion of [l] the consonant of the suffix, CV metathesis, insertion of a ghost consonant which normally is a copy of the last consonant in the word and vowel coalescence. More examples are shown in table 9.

Table 9: Imbrication to CV:C(G)- roots in Nyakyusa

Stem	Stem+ile	Surface Form	Gloss
leefya	**leefyile*	*Leefifye*	has made us angry/annoyed
leesya	**leesyile*	*Leesisye*	has peeled (tomato)
puufya	**puufile*	*Puufifye*	has warmed the food
gaasya	**gaasile*	*tu-gaasisye*	made us become drunkard
paasya	**paasile*	*Paasisye*	has feared
teesya	**teesile*	*Teesisye*	has mounted (a hen)

The last structure that attracts phonological change is the CVC(G)- root as in the word *tolw-a* 'become in need/sick'. This kind of structure attracts only one phonological process called metathesis where a glide [w] interchanges position with the vowel [i] of the suffix. Table 10 provides more examples to illustrate this change in Nyakyusa.

Table 10: Imbrication to CVC(G)-roots in Nyakyusa

Stem	-ile	GV-metathesis	Gloss
tolwa	*tolwile	*Tolilwe*	Has become weak/sick/in need
milwa	*milwile	*Mililwe*	Has drowned
gogwa	*gogwile	*Gogilwe*	Has dreamt

Imbrication in Ndali

In this language, there are two groups of verbs, namely regular and irregular verbs. The concept of the irregularity of verbs in Ndali is somewhat different from that of Nyakyusa. Unlike in Nyakyusa where the irregular verbs constitute all extended verbs and some unextended verbs, Ndali defines all extended verbs with a reciprocal suffix *-an-* and the stative suffix *-ik-* to be regular as they involve predictable forms of *-ile* suffix. Table 11 provides more examples for verbs that involve regular *-ite/-ile* suffixation in Ndali.

Table 11(a): -ile Suffixation to CVC-roots in Ndali

Stem	-ite/-ile Suffixation	Gloss
lim-a	*Limite*	cultivated
ghan-a	*Ganite*	loved
many-a	*Manyite*	knew
ghon-a	*Ghonite*	slept
bhomb-a	*Bhombite*	worked
taagh-a	*Taghite*	threw
sobh-a	*Sobhite*	lost

Table 11(b): -ile Suffixation to Verbs Extended with Reciprocal and Stative Suffixes in Ndali

Stem	-ite/-ile Suffixation	Gloss
kom-an-a	*Komanite*	beat each other
gan-an-a	*-gananite*	loved each other
jabh-an-a	*-jabhanite*	divide each other
gog-an-a	*-goganite*	killed each other
Manyana	*-manyanite*	Know each other
tuul-an-a	*-tuulanite*	helped each other
nyatuka	*Nyatukite*	went'
ghomoka	*Ghomokite*	returned'
lembuka	*Lembukite*	woke up'

However, in Ndali the suffix *-ile* induces imbrication under different conditions. The first condition is when the verbs are extended with the applicative suffix *-il-/el-.* Applicative suffixes in Ndali involve a vowel harmony that is it becomes *-el-* when the verb root consists of a mid vowel and *-il-* is applied elsewhere. For this reason, the phonological processes that shape the change vary accordingly. Example 13 illustrates changes involving *-ile* suffixation to verbs with applicative suffixes.

(13). a).	Underlying form	/limilile/
Stage 1:	Deletion of l	/limilie/
Stage 2:	CV metathesis	/limiile/
	Surface form	[limiile]
b).	Underlying form	/komelile/
Stage 1:	Consonant deletion	/komelie/
Stage 2:	CV metathesis	/komeile/
Stage 3:	Vowel deletion	/komile/
Stage 4:	Vowel lengthening	/komiile/
	Surface form	[komiile]

From the examples provided above, the word *limila* 'cultivate for' was expected to be *limilile* after *-ile* suffixation. But this expected word has changed into *limiile*. The change involving *-ile* suffixation to verbs extended with applicative suffixes is shaped with several phonological processes. For the verb that is extended with *-il-* suffix involves two phonological processes, namely deletion of [l] and (CV) metathesis. But the applicative suffix *-el-* involves four processes; deletion of [l], CV metathesis, vowel deletion and compensatory vowel lengthening which happens after deletion of the vowel. Table

12 provides more examples to illustrate imbrication to verbs with applicative suffixes in Ndali.

Table 12: Imbrication to Verbs with Applicative Suffixes in Ndali

Stem	Gloss	-ile	Surface Form
kom-ela	beat for	*komel-ile	*komiile*
lim-il-a	cultivate for	*limil-ile	*limiile*
bhal-li-a	count for	*bhalil-ile	*bhaliile*
jugh-il-a	speak for	*jughil-ile	*jughiile*
bhyal-il-a	plant for	*bhyalil-ile	*bhyaliile*

The second condition in which *-ile* induces imbrication is when the verbs are extended with the passive suffix *-ighu-*. This kind of change is shaped by two phonological processes, namely deletion of [l] and CV metathesis. Example 14 illustrates stages in the change involving *-ile* suffixation to verbs with the passive suffix in Ndali that is, from the expected word *komighwile* to *komiighwe.*

(14).	Underlying form	/komighwile/
Stage 1:	Deletion of [l]	/komighwie/
Stage 2:	CV metathesis	/komiighwe/
	Surface form	[komiighwe]

Table 13 also provides more examples to illustrate the change involving *-ile* suffixation to verbs with the passive suffix in Ndali.

Table 13: Imbrication to Verbs with Passive in Ndali

Stem	Passive	-ile	Surface Form	Gloss
lima	limibwa	Limibhwile	*limiibhwe*	has been cultivated
tuma	tumibhwa	Tumibhwile	tu-a-*tumiibhwe*	We were sent
bhyala	bhyalibhwa	Bhyalibhile	ga-a-*bhyaliibhwe*	They were planted
bhala	bhalibhwa	Bhalibhwile	tu-a-*bhaliibhwe*	We were counted

The third condition through which *-ile* suffixation induces phonological change is when the verbs are extended with causative suffixes *-esh/-ish*. In this condition the suffix does not trigger imbrication rather it causes the so-called distant (non-adjacent) progressive assimilation. According to Campbell (2006) this kind of assimilation is not as common as adjacent assimilation, though some changes having to do with vowels or consonants in the next syllable are quite common. So far as this language is concerned, this

assimilation involves a sound change in which the consonant of the *-ile* suffix which in principle appears after a vowel becomes more similar to the causative suffix as exemplifies in table 14.

Table 14: Imbrication to Verbs with the Causative Suffix in Ndali

Stem	Gloss	-ile Suffixation	Assimilation
bhomb-esh-a	cause to work	bhombeshi*l*e	bhombeshi*sh*e
bhol-esh-a	cause to decay	bholeshi*l*e	bholeshi*sh*e
lim-sh-a	cause to cultivate	limishi*l*e	limishi*sh*e
kol-esh-a	cause to touch	koleshi*l*e	koleshi*sh*e
pon-esh-a	Heal	poneshi*l*e	poneshi*sh*e

Imbrication in Malila

Like in Nyakyusa and Ndali, in Malila, as far as *-ile* suffixation is concerned, there are verbs with which we can predict the *-ile* forms when we already know the base (regular verbs) and those verbs which we cannot predict the *-ile* forms (irregular verbs). However, these concepts of regularity and irregularity may slightly become different from that of Nyakyusa and Ndali. The CVC-roots in Malila are regular as exemplified in Table 15.

Table 15: Regular Verbs in Malila

Stem	Gloss	-ile	Gloss
bhomba	work	bá-*bhombile*	They worked
manya	know	á-mu-*manyile*	He knew him
lima	cultivate	á-*limile*	He cultivated
toonya	rain	yá-*toonyile*	It rained
waala	plant	bhá-*waalile*	They planted

However, irregular verbs in this language are of different kinds. The first kind of verbs to which the suffix induces imbrication in Malila includes short verbs with CV-roots such as *lu-a* (lwa) 'fight'. The expected form after *-ile* suffixation to the word *fu-a* would be *fuile* but it has changed into *fuuye*. Example 15 illustrates stages in the change of *fuile* into *fuuye* in Malila.

(15).	Underlying form	/luile/
Stage 1:	Deletion of [l]	/luie/
Stage 2:	Gliding of [i]	/luye/
Stage 3:	Vowel lengthening	/luuye/
	Surface form	[luuye]

From the example illustrated above, three phonological processes that have been shaping the change resulted from *-ile* suffixation, have been identified. They include deletion of [l], gliding of the high vowel occurring after another dissimilar vowel, and vowel lengthening after gliding. Table 16 provides more examples to demonstrate imbrications to short verbs with CV-roots in Malila.

Table 16: Imbrication to Verbs with CV Root Structure in Malila

Stem	-ile	Surface Form	Gloss
gwa	*gwile	águuye	He fell down
fwa	*fwile	áfuuye	He died
lwa	*lwile	bháluuye	They fought
kwa	*kwile	ákuuye	He paid dowry

The second kind of verbs to which the suffix *-ile* induces a phonological change, involves the longer verbs which are extended with applicative suffixes *-el-/-il-*. Some of these verbs are lexicalized with the extension suffixes as we cannot separate the extension suffixes without distorting the meaning of the base. Example 16 illustrates phonological change involving *-ile* suffixation to verbs with applicative suffixes in Malila.

(16).	Underlying form	fumilile
Stage 1:	Deletion of [l]	/fumilie/
Stage 2:	CV metathesis	/fumiile/
Stage 3:	Deletion of [l]	/fumiie/
Stage 4:	Insertion of ghost consonant	/fumiiye/
	Surface form	[fumiiye]
(17).	Underlying form	dumulile
Stage 1:	Deletion	/dumulie/
Stage 2:	CV metathesis	/dumuile/
Stage 3:	Deletion	/dumuie/
Stage 4:	Gliding	/dumuye/
Stage 5:	Vowel lengthening	/dumuuye
	Surface form	[dumuuye]

From the example illustrated above, five phonological processes have been shaping the change as a result of *-ile* suffixation. These include deletion of [l], CV metathesis, deletion of the consonant of the applicative suffix [l], gliding and vowel lengthening. Table 17 provides more examples to illustrate imbrication to verbs with applicative suffixes in Malila.

Table 17: Imbrication to Verbs with Applicative Suffixes in Malila

Stem	Gloss	-ile Suffixation	Surface Form
tungula	pick	*tungulile	*tunguuye*
sogola	leave	*sogolile	sogooye
dumula	cut	*dumulile	*dumuuye*
supiila	oversleep	*supiilile	supiiye
lim-ile	cultivate for	*limilile	*limiiye*
bhomb-ela	work for	*bhombelile	*bhombeeye*
khom-ela	beat for	*khomelile	*homeeye*

The third condition under which *-ile* suffix induces imbrication in Malila involves verbs extended with causative suffixes -esi-/-isi-, -ezi-/-izi- or verbs that have been lexicalized with causative suffixes. Table 18 shows examples of imbrications resulted from *-ile* suffixation to verbs with causative suffixes in Malila.

Table 18: Imbrication to Verbs with Causative Suffixes in Malila

Stem	Gloss	-ile	Surface Form
bhuuzya	Tell	*bhuuzyile	*bhuuziizye*
sundamaizya	cause to kneel down	*sundamizyile	*sundamiziizye*
lol-esy-a	Show	*lolesyile	*lolesiizye*
many-izya	Teach	*manyizyile	*manyiziizye*

The fourth condition for *-ile* to induce phonological change involves verbs extended with reciprocal suffix *-an-* such as *khomana* 'beat each other'. The expected word as a result of *-ile* suffixation to the word *khomana* would be *khomanile* but it has changed into *khomiine*. Example 18 illustrates stages in the change of the word *khomanile* into *khomiine* in Malila.

(18).	Underlying form	/khomanile/
Stage 1:	Deletion of [l]	/khomanie/
Stage 2:	CV metathesis	/khomaine/
Stage 3:	Vowel deletion	/khomine/
Stage 4:	Compensatory lengthening	/khomiine/
	Surface form	[khomiine]

The phonological change that involves *-ile* suffixation to verbs with the reciprocal suffix is shaped by four phonological processes, namely deletion of [l], CV metathesis, Vowel deletion and compensatory vowel lengthening. Table 19 provides more examples for this change in Malila.

Table 19: Imbrication to Verbs with the Reciprocal Suffix in Malila

Stem	Gloss	-ile Suffixation	Surface Form
khom-an-a	beat each other	*khomanile	*khomiine*
long-an-a	talk to each other	*longanile	*longiine*
say-an-a	bless each other	*sayanile	*sayiine*

The fifth condition involves verbs extended with the passive suffix *-u-* or any word whose ending resembles passive suffixation such as *pootwa* 'fail' and *limwa* 'be cultivated'. The expected form resulted from *-ile* suffixation to the word *limwa* would be *limwile* but the form has changed into *limiilwe*. Example 19 illustrates stages in the change of *limwilile* into *limiilwe* in Malila.

(19)	Underlying form	/limwile/
Stage 1:	AV metathesis	/limilwe/
Stage 2:	Vowel lengthening	/limiilwe/
	Surface form	[limiilwe]

The phonological change involving *-ile* suffixation to verbs extended with the passive suffix is shaped by two phonological processes, namely non-adjacent approximant-vowel (AV) metathesis and vowel lengthening. Table 20 provides more examples to illustrate imbrication to verbs extended with the passive suffix in Malila.

Table 20: Imbrication to Verbs with the Passive Suffix in Malila

Stem	Passive	-ile	Surface Form	Gloss
simba	simbwa	*simbwile	*zyá-simbiilwe*	They were written
saya	saywa	*saywile	*bhá-sayiilwe*	They were blessed
paapa	paapwa	*paapwile	*á-paapiilwe*	He was born
kunga	kungwa	*kungwile	*á-kungiilwe*	s/he was tied

Conclusion

The evidence from the three selected languages suggests that the suffix is undergoing loss as historically, in Nyakyusa it ends up in dropping its consonant. But based on its suffixation under varying conditions, the shape of *-ile* suffix is blurred. Basically, the suffix is made up of three segments, namely the high vowel [i], the consonant [l] and the final vowel [e]. But in observing stages through which imbrication takes place, the first stage across the languages begins with deletion of the consonant of the suffix [l], then its preceding vowel [i] fuses with adjacent segments through coalescence or deletion and lengthening or both. But the final vowel of the suffix [e] is only the segment that is retained. Therefore, through imbrication -

ile suffix acquires indefinite phonetic shape which in turn indicates that the suffix is subject to disappearance across Bantu languages. The triggering conditions for imbrication are not self-sufficient within and/or across Bantu languages. For instance, *-ile* triggers imbrication to CV-roots in Malila whereas in Nyakyusa and Ndali it does not. Also *-ile* does not trigger imbrication to extended verbs with reciprocal and stative suffixes in Ndali whereas in Nyakyusa and Malila it triggers.

Concerning the Theory of Utterance Selection which advocates a change moving towards simplified forms, the change that involves *-ile* suffix under the umbrella of imbrication makes the imbricated words to sound relatively simplified. The words are reduced in terms of the number of syllables. For instance, the word *komana* 'beat each other'; would be expected to be *komanile* (with four syllables). But when a change has occurred resulted from *-ile* suffixation the resulting word is reduced into (*komeene*) three syllables.

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Variation in Subject-Verb Agreement Marking in Two Kibena Dialects: The Highland Dialect and the Lowland Dialect

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Abstract

Many traditional dialectologists tend to describe language dialects in favour of phonological and lexical analysis. This paper is a comparative description of variation in subject-verb agreement marking between two Kibena varieties: the Highland Dialect (HD) and Lowland Dialect (LD). This study is guided by the Bantu Divergence-Convergence Theory. The findings reveal that in both the HD and the LD, subject prefixes obligatorily co-occur with all personal pronouns and all noun classes. Unlike in HD, nouns denoting animals take agreements from class 1/2 in LD. For coordinated subject noun phrase, semantic and morphological criteria are used for subject-verb agreement marking in HD. For LD, three strategies are employed: semantic, syntactic and morphological criteria. The variation in agreement marking between the HD and LD is contributed by geographical and historical factors, as well as language contact. This analysis provides evidence that both HD and LD are still varieties of Kibena.

Key words: *Agreement marking, Kibena, highland dialect, lowland dialect, morphosyntax*

Introduction

Morphosyntactic variation is commonly observed across languages rather than internal language variation. However, language variation can be revealed at any level of linguistic analysis: phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and discourse; and all languages can exhibit internal variation. In one sense language is the sum of several varieties which also termed as dialects. Language and dialect can change their status. This means a dialect of one language can grow into a language because of long time separation geographically, socially and economically from other dialect speakers. The vice versa is also possible: two or more languages that are genetically related could change into dialects of one language after coming into contact geographically, socially and economically. This concurs with the Bantu divergence-convergence Theory (Massamba, 2018).

Traditionally, dialectological researches have mainly focused on phonological and lexical variations; this means syntactic variables

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have been given less emphasis in classical dialectology. Therefore, syntactic dialectology is an innovative branch that could help in recent theoretical developments relating to grammatical variation. This paper describes morphosyntactical variation in Kibena language.

Kibena is a Bantu language classified in Bena-Kinga group (Guthrie, 1948, 1967-1971; Maho, 2009), and it is particularly assigned G63. It has mainly two dialects morphosyntactically and sociolinguistically: the Highland Dialect (HD) and the Lowland Dialect (LD) (Mgecha, 2019). Geographically, HD is found in areas of the highlands of Njombe Region and in Madaba area in Ruvuma Region (LoT, 2009). The LD is found in lowland zones of Morogoro Region, specifically in Kilombero and Malinyi Districts. LD speakers migrated as a group from the highland zones of Njombe to the lowlands of Morogoro in the later part of the 20th century; and this group is known as Bena-Manga (Nyagava, 2000; Mitterhofer, 2013; Morrison, 2015). The LD speakers reside among other linguistic communities which are Ndamba, Ndweve and Ngoni.

Subject Agreement Marking across Bantu Languages

Subject agreement marking is among the central morphosyntactic aspects in Bantu languages, and it is obligatory in most of these languages. In most Bantu languages, subject marking is done through prefixing a subject marker to the verb stem; and it agrees with noun class or personal pronoun features of the preverbal subject (Zeller, 2008). Noun class prefixes govern the grammatical agreement of other constituents such as verbs, adjectives and associatives (Matei, 2008; Chaula, 2017). In the example below, Lusekelo (2015) indicates how grammatical agreements are revealed in Kihaya.

Example (1) Agreement marking in Kihaya

Abasigazi	*Bashatu*	*Bambele*	*bakagenda*	*Tanga.*
*a-**ba**-sigazi*	***ba**-shatu*	***ba**-mbele*	***ba**-ka-genda*	*Tanga*
AUG-CL2-boy	CL2-three	CL2-first	3PL-PST-go	Tanga

'The first three boys went to Tanga.' (Lusekelo, 2013:25)

One of the features of Bantu languages is that the subject of a sentence may be left out, then its information is indicated by the subject marker (Mugari, 2013). Some of these languages are Cisukwa, Cindali and Cilambya (Mtenje, 2016). Mtenje affirms that

all these three languages are pro drop languages; but the subject noun phrase and the personal pronoun can be included when a speaker usually wants to show emphasis. Below in (2) are sentences showing these settings from Cilambya.

Example (2a) Subject marking with overt subject noun phrase in Cilambya

Mwanalúme	*avula*	*iʃáti*	*muúnda.*
mu-analume	***a****-vul-a*	*i-ø-ʃati*	*mu-mu-unda*
CL1-man	1SM-undress-FV	AUG-CL.9 shirt	CL18-CL3-garden

'The man has taken off his shirt in the garden.'

Example (2b) Subject marking with covert subject noun phrase in Cilambya

Waaŋgwíle.

w*-aa-ŋgw-ile*

2SMsg-PST-drink-PF

'You drank.' (Mtenje, 2016:259-260)

Again, in some languages, subject marking is mandatory in some contexts while in other environments it is not allowed. For instance, in Chiyao, subject marking is prohibited in declarative sentences for present simple tense and simple past tense (particularly in narratives).

Example (3) Non-subject agreement marking in Chiyao

Mwanáche	*kutakúlaga*	*nguwo.*
mu-anáche	*-ku-takúl-aga*	*nguwo*
CL1-child	-PRES-wear-HAB	CL9clothes

'A child puts on clothes.' (Taji, 2017:108)

Also in Kikuria (of Kenya) subject agreement is required on all verbs except in imperatives (Diercks *et al.*, 2015).

Bantu languages employ different strategies in agreement marking system. Taji (2017) indicates that subject marking in Chiyao is in two ways: first, subject prefix can be marked as an agreement marker: it coreferences a subject noun which is overtly indicated in the construction. Second, subject prefix can function as an anaphoric binder; it coreferences the subject which has topical function. Both strategies are exemplified below.

Example (4a) Subject prefix as an agreement marker in Chiyao

Mbíísu	*sikúlúmá.*
mbíísu	***si**-kú-lúmá*
CL9carterpiller	9SM-PRES-bite

'Caterpilars do bite.'

Example (4b) Subject prefix as an anaphoric binder in Chiyao

Matambá	*galilé*	*ngondolo.*
ma-tambá	***ga**-lilé*	*ngondolo*
CL6-meal	6SM-eat.PERF	CL9sheep

'Cassava meal has been eaten by sheep.' (Lit: Cassava meal has eaten sheep) (Taji, 2017:144–145)

For topicalization case, either logical or grammatical subject is marked on the verb in some Bantu languages like Chiyao. In some languages, only logical subject is allowed to be marked on the verb even if it appears post-verbally as the example from Kimatengo reveals below.

Example (5) Subject agreement marking in Kimatengo

a.

Máhimba	*gaatamiti*	*mukítengu.*
má-himba	***ga**-a-tam-iti*	*mu-kí-tengu*
CL6-lion	6SM-PST-live-PERF	CL18-CL7-forest

'Lions lived in the forest.'

b.

Mukítengu	*gaatamiti*	*máhimba.*
mu-kí-tengu	***ga**-a-tam-iti*	*má-himba*
CL18-CL7-forest	6SM-PST-live-PERF	CL6-lion

'In the forest lions lived.' (Yoneda, 2010:320)

Some Bantu languages allow the verb to carry locative subject marker in locative inversion. Such languages are Kami, Kutu, Kwere, Luguru, Nguu and Zigua, while in language like Zalamo, locative subject marker is not allowed (Petzell and Hammarström, 2013).

In coordinated subject noun phrase, when two nouns are joined making up a subject, challenges arise on which noun should be marked on the verb; and which criterion should be used. Difficulties increase when the nouns involved come from different noun classes. These challenges bring variations in agreement marking strategies among Bantu languages. Varying strategies are reflected in several languages such as Kiswahili (Marten, 2000), Kihaya (Katamba,

2003), Xitsonga and Isixhosa (Mitchley, 2015), and Chiyao (Taji and Mreta, 2014; Taji, 2017).

Marten (2000) reports that three strategies are used in marking coordinated subject nouns, namely: morphological agreement which involves singular-plural pairing of most noun classes; anaphoric agreement which is the most common to non-animate nouns. It includes the use of default agreement with class 8 or 10; and syntactic agreement which is based on the closest subject noun to the verb. According to Marten (2000), the third strategy is used with some restrictions to animate versus non-animate nouns.

In Kikuria (of Kenya), three strategies are commonly used for coordinated noun phrase subject marking: first, verb takes the agreement marker of the first subject noun (the singular form of the first conjunct); second, the resolved agreement is used (the plural form of the first subject noun); third, subject agreement is marked by default agreement noun class 8. Example (6) below indicates subject marking in coordinated non-human nouns.

(6) Coordinated subject noun phrase in Kikuria (of Kenya)

a.	*u-mu-bíírá*	*ní-í-ri-gɛ́ná*	*ŋ-**gí**-síir:é*
	AUG-CL3-ball	and-AUG-CL5-stone	FOC-CL4-disappear.PST.FV

'The ball and the stone disappeared.'

b.	*u-mu-bíírá*	*ní-í-ri-gɛ́ná*	*m-**bí**-síir:é*
	AUG-CL3-ball	and-AUG-CL5-stone	FOC-CL8-disappear.PST.FV

'The ball and the stone disappeared.' (Diercks *et al.*, 2015:31)

In example (6a), the verb is marked with subject prefix from the plural noun class 4 of the first conjunct or a default class 8 is used as in (6b).

In Chiyao, three principle criteria are employed, namely semantic criterion, syntactic criterion and morphological criterion (Taji and Mreta, 2014; Taji, 2017). The semantic criterion is based on the meaning of the coordinated subject nouns disregard for their classes; syntactic criteria are used to mark the closest subject noun to the verb when the coordinated subject nouns are formed by different noun classes. Morphological criteria take the plural form of the coordinated subject nouns or use a default agreement. For instance,

when the verb is marked with the subject noun closest to the verb as in example (7) below, it signifies syntactic criterion.

(7) Coordinated subject noun phrase in Chiyao

Mkáti	*ni*	*Paásа*	*páná*	*chítukuta.*
m-kati	*ni*	*pa-asa*	***pa**-na*	*chi-tukuta*
CL18-inside	and	CL16-outside	CL16-there is	CL7-hotness

'The inside and outside are hot.' (Taji, 2017:139)

Generally, subject agreement in coordinated noun phrase depends on several factors which are (i) human/non-human conjuncts (ii) whether the conjuncts are singular or plural (iii) whether or not both conjuncts carry the same noun class feature, and (iv) the order of the conjuncts (Mitchley, 2015:i). These strategies presented are not used similarly across all languages. There are multiple factors which trigger a specific agreement marking strategy within a specific language context (Mitchley, 2015).

The above reviews indicate that there are wide variations in subject-verb agreement marking across Bantu languages. Though these variations are revealed at language level, this calls for further research into other languages and at dialectological level. This paper therefore examines variations in subject-verb agreement marking in two Kibena Dialects: the Highland Dialect and the Lowland Dialect.

Previous Studies on Language Dialectology

Kanana (2011) investigates linguistic variations among six dialects of Kimeru in Kenya, namely Imenti, Tharaka, Igoji, Mwimbi, Muthambi and Chuka. Parameters used are phonology, morphology and lexis. The findings indicate that all six dialects share many of phonological aspects. A minor variation is noted in noun classes. This study provides phonological and morphological information particularly in pronunciation and noun classes respectively. However, variation in agreement marking is not examined which is the concern of this paper.

There are other dialectological studies related to Kanana (2011) that focus either to phonological, morphological and lexical aspects or to one or two of the three aspects. Kipacha (2003) analyses linguistic variations among Kiswahili dialects. Linguistic variables involved are phonology, morphology and lexis. Hans (2014) also describes

lexical variation between three Kiswahili dialects spoken in Zanzibar, namely Kimakunduchi, Kitumbatu and Kipemba. However, morphosyntactic aspects are not included in both studies. This is an area that the paper examines.

In Kibena, we are aware of two dialectological studies. The first study is done by Mitterhofer (2013) who describes the dialects of Kibena basing on phonological and lexical parameters. The study reveals three varieties, namely: the East dialect, the South dialect and the North-west dialect.

Mitterhofer's study (2013) does not indicate morphosyntactic features that can also manifest dialectical variation. Additionally, the groups of Kibena speakers living outside Njombe Region were not studied. For instance, the Bena-Manga group found in Kilombero and Malinyi, Morogoro Region (Mhiche, 2000; Nyagava, 2000) is not included in the study although the author acknowledges its presence.

The second study is done by Morrison (2015) who identifies six dialects of Kibena: Twangabita, Ngaveta, Maswamu, Sovi, Vanyikolwe, and Mavemba. Like Mitterhofer (2013), the study also confines itself to Njombe and Wanging'ombe Districts. However, Morrison concurs with Nyagava (2000) on the presence of another variety known as Bena-Manga, who migrated to Morogoro Region during the twentieth century. The study is mainly based on some phonetic, phonological and lexical variables in classifying the dialects of Kibena. Like Mitterhofer's study, this study also does not include some morphosyntactic aspects that could also reveal significant dialectical variations.

To synthesize, both studies on Kibena are based on the traditional approach of dialectology; their description of Kibena varieties is dominated by phonological and lexical parameters. Also, other groups of Kibena speakers outside Njombe Region are excluded by both studies. Even their results are quite different. One identifies three dialects and the other identifies six with varying names. All these set grounds for examining dialect of Kibena using different parameters and methodology.

Again, most of traditional dialectologists devote much of their time to lexical and phonological variations rather than syntactical variation. However, most of previous studies (like Hinnebusch, 1999; Nurse & Philippson, 2003; Petzell & Hammarström, 2013; Sibajene, 2013;

Mtenje, 2016) indicate that lexical items are easily borrowed while phonological features can slightly change across time and space rather than morphosyntactic variables. Therefore, this paper describes variations in subject-verb marking as one of morphosyntactic variables aiming: first, to determine whether using this relatively stable variable could indicate either great or minor variations between the Highland Dialect and the Lowland Dialect; secondly, to make contribution on existing Kibena dialectological studies (Mitterhofer, 2013; Morrison, 2015) which focused on phonological and lexical variations. Finally, to identify if the two dialects are still varieties of one language due to distant geographical relationship they have between them.

This study is guided by the Bantu Divergence-Convergence Theory (BDC). This theory was developed by Massamba (2007) and it is revised in Massamba (2018). As for divergence, the theory holds that once a single speech community has separated first their geographical location changes, slowly creating socio-cultural differences. New experiences and contacts lead to differences in speech, which then develops into distinct dialect and consequently, language. On the convergence side, linguistic communities that were separated for a long time and ended up into different dialects/languages are forced to interact (due to social and/or economic reasons like trade and intermarriage) because of speech contact, naturally begin to look similar linguistically and/or sociolinguistically (Massamba, 2007).

In this paper, the BDC Theory helps to analyse the historical assumptions which indicate that, there were small group/s of Kibena speakers separated from other Kibena speech community during the late 20th century and lived in other areas (such as Kilombero and Malinyi) outside Kibena homeland (Mhiche, 2000; Nyagava, 2000; Morrison, 2015). Again, the theory is useful in determining if HD and LD are still varieties of one language due to historical facts and geographical distance between them. This is done by observing similarities and variations in morphosyntactic variables. This theory was also applied by Hans (2014) in describing lexical variation among Kimakunduchi, Kitumbatu and Kipemba dialects.

Methodology

The study is based on field data which were collected from three regions particularly in areas inhabited by native Kibena speakers: Njombe, Ruvuma and Morogoro. Sampling process was done through

purposive sampling technique. Informants involved were: Kibena native speakers, aged 50 and above, both speakers with formal and informal education, those residing in remote areas which have no great linguistic influence from other languages. In addition, clanship relationship and religious factors also helped in identifying significant informants. Using purposive sampling, a total of 36 informants were selected. HD involved 27 informants found in Njombe Region, and 3 informants from Madaba area found in Ruvuma Region. LD involved 6 informants; 3 from Kilombero area, and 3 from Malinyi, Morogoro Region. HD involved many informants (30) compared to LD because HD covers large area and it is the homeland of Kibena speakers (particularly areas found in Njombe Region).

Data were elicited by reverse translation elicitation, review elicitation and oral texts. In reverse translation elicitation, 54 sentences were translated from Kiswahili to Kibena to extract data on agreement marking variations. Reverse translation was followed by review elicitation which was used to note some agreements, disagreements as well as discrepancies found in the translated sentences. Oral texts were used to elicit data on subject-verb agreement marking, sociolinguistic information and the reasons for variations between HD and LD. In this technique, four short speeches were collected. These included procedural texts about traditional activities for making local beer, getting traditional rulers, giving sacrifice to gods and marriage. In addition, one story on the history of Vabena Manga/LD speakers was elicited. The story provided historical data for LD speakers' separation and movement from Njombe Kibena Homeland.

Subject-Verb Agreement Marking in Kibena

In Kibena, concordial agreement markers are categorised into two forms: noun class subject markers and personal pronoun markers. Noun class subject markers are divided into two categories. The first category includes subject markers that use the same form of the noun class. These concur with noun classes 2, 5, 7/8, 11, 12/13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 20. The second category involves subject markers that do not resemble the form of the inherent noun class prefixes. These are subject markers for noun classes 1, 3/4, 6 and 9/10. Subject markers for classes 1 and 2 refer also to 3rd personal pronouns, singular and plural respectively. Table 1 below presents noun classes and subject agreement markers in Kibena.

Table 1: Noun Classes and Subject Agreement Markers in Kibena

No	Augment	Noun Class Prefix	Subject Prefix	Example	Gloss
1	*u-*	*mu-*	*a-*	*U**mu**nu **a**dzile.*	A person has come.
1a	*u-*	*ø*	*a-*	*Udaada **a**dzile.*	A father has come.
2	*a*	*va-*	*va-*	*A**va**nu/avadaada **va**dzile.*	People/fathers have come.
3	*u-*	*mu-*	*gu-*	*U**m**twangilo **gu**denyike.*	The pestle is broken.
4	*i-*	*mi-*	*gi-*	*I**mi**twangilo **gi**denyike.*	Pestles are broken
5	*i-*	*li-*	*li-*	*Il**i**tuli **li**li kunyumba.*	The mill is inside.
6	*a-*	*ma-*	*ga-*	*A**ma**tuli **ga**li kunyumba.*	Mills are inside.
7	*i-*	*ki-*	*ki-*	*Il**ki**dego **ki**li kunyumba.*	The chair is inside.
8	*i-*	*fi-*	*fi-*	*I**fi**dego **fi**li kunyumba.*	Chairs are inside.
9	*i-*	*n-*	*yi-*	*In**g**'uku **yi**li kunyumba.*	The hen is inside.
10	*i-*	*n-*	*dzi-*	*In**g**'uku **dzi**li kunyumba.*	Hens are inside.
11	*u-*	*lu-*	*Lu*	*Ul**u**lenga **lu**li mukiviya.*	Water is in the pot.
12	*a-*	*ka-*	*ka-*	*A**ka**twangilo **ka**denyike.*	The small pestle is broken.
13	*u-*	*tu*	*tu-*	*U**tu**twangilo **tu**denyike.*	Small pestles are broken.
14	*u-*	*vu-*	*vu-*	*U**wu**tine **wu**li mukiviya.*	Flour is in the pot.
15	*u-*	*ku-*	*ku-*	*Ukutola **kw**inoga **(ku**-inoga).*	The marriage is interesting.
16	**a-*	*pa-*	*pa-*	***Pa**nyumba **p**inoga **(pa**-inoga).*	At the house, it is interesting.
17	**u-*	*ku-*	*ku-*	***Ku**nyumba **kw**inoga (**ku**-inoga).*	Inside (the house), it is interesting.
18	**u-*	*mu-*	*mu-*	***Mu**nyumba **mw**inoga (**mu**-inoga).*	Inside (the house), it is interesting.
20	*u-*	*gu*	*gu*	*U**gu**dego **gu**li kunyumba.*	The big chair is inside.

The use of augments for locative classes (16/17/18) is not common in Kibena except for the inherent locative noun *-ono* 'place'. The sterm *-ono* can be derived to *apoono* 'at the place', *ukoono* 'to the place', *umoono* 'in the place'. Among the three locative nouns, *apoono* is the most common. In addition, the noun *nyumba* 'house' when attached locative marker *ku-* and *mu-* displays the same meaning 'inside' (see Table 1).

Kibena has six personal pronoun markers, three for singular and three for plural. These are presented in Table (2) below.

Table 2: Kibena Personal Pronouns and Personal Pronoun Markers

No	Personal Pronoun	Gloss	Personal Pronoun Marker	Example	Gloss
1st SG	*uneene*	I/me	*ndi-*	*Uneene **ndi**kaalimile igolo.*	I cultivated yesterday.
1st PL	*uneefwe*	we/us	*tu-*	*Uneefwe **tu**kaalimile igolo.*	We cultivated yesterday.
2nd SG	*uveeve*	you/you	*u-*	*Uveeve **u**kaalimile igolo.*	You cultivated yesterday.
2nd PL	*unyeenye*	you/you	*mu-*	*Unyeenye **mu**kaalimile igolo.*	You cultivated yesterday.
3rd SG	*umweene*	he/she/him/her	*a-*	*Umweene **a**kaalimile igolo.*	He/she cultivated yesterday.
3rd PL	*aveene*	they/them	*va-*	*Aveene **va**kaalimile igolo.*	They cultivated yesterday.

Kibena subject prefixes can appear pre-verbally or they can be preceded by other prefixes like negation and relative markers. Table (3) below indicates the Kibena verb structure and the slot that subject prefixes can occupy.

Table 3: Kibena Verb Structure

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
NEG$_1$/ REL	**SM**	**NEG$_2$/ INF**	**NEG$_3$**	**TAM$_1$**	**TAM$_2$**	**OM**	**RT**	**EXT**	**FV/TAM**	**CLITIC**	**Gloss**
Si-	***a-***	*-*	*-*	*dzi-*		*mu-*	*lim-*	*il-*	*a*		He/she will not cultivate for him/her.
A-	***va-***	*si-*	*-*	*-*		*-*	*lim-*		*ile-*		Who have not cultivated
	Ndi-	*-*	*-*	*kaa-*	*dzi-*	*mu-*	*lim-*	*-*	*iye (ile)*		I went and cultivated for him/her.
	U-	*si-/ki-*	*ta-*	*-*		*va-*	*lim-*	*il-*	*a*		Do not cultivate for them.
	Tu	*-*		*la-*		*mu-*	*lim-*	*il-*	*a-*	*ga*	We will be cultivating for him/her.
		Ku-					*lim-*	*-*	*a*		To cultivate

Variation in Subject-Verb Agreement Marking between the Kibena HD and LD

This part first presents subject-verb agreement marking in HD, followed by subject-verb agreement marking in LD, and it ends by displaying the general variations in subject-verb agreement marking between the two main dialects.

Subject-Verb Agreement Marking in the HD

The subject prefix in Kibena HD, can occupy pre-initial verb position or can be preceded by other verb prefixes like negation and relative markers (see Table 3). Subject prefix reflects the noun class prefix using the same form or different form (see Table 1). It is obligatory to appear with all finite verbs. This is illustrated in example (8) below.

(8) Subject prefix in finite verbs

a. *Avadimi* *Avatali* *Vikina* *ingoma.*
*a-**va**-dimi* *a-**va**-tali* ***va**-i-kin-a* *i-ngoma*
AUG-CL2-boy AUG-CL2-tall CL2-PRES-dance-FV AUG-CL9.drum
'Tall boys are dancing.'

b. *Ilibiki* *liguwe.*
*i-**li**-biki* ***li**-guw-e*
AUG-CL5-tree CL5-fall-FV
'The tree has fallen.'

c.	*Ilibiki*	*siliguwe.*
	*i-**li**-biki*	*si-**li**-guw-e*
	AUG-CL5-tree	NEG-CL5-fall-FV

'The tree has not fallen.'

In example (8a&b), subject prefix occupies pre-initial verb position whereas in (8c) it appears after negation marker *si-*. In relative clause constructed with relative prefix, the subject prefix appears after relative marker while in the relative clause formed by a relative pronoun, the subject occupies pre-initial verb position as illustrated in (9) below.

(9) Subject prefix in relative clause

a.	*Ilibiki*	*Iliguwe*
	*i-**li**-biki*	*i-**li**-guw-e*
	AUG-CL5-tree	REL-CL5-fall-FV

'The tree which has fallen'

b	*Ilibiki*	*Lye*	*liguwe*
	*i-**li**-biki*	*Lye*	***li**-guw-e*
	AUG-CL5-tree	REL.PRO	CL5-fall-FV

'The tree which has fallen'

The subject prefixes agree with persons and/or noun class prefixes as exemplified below.

(10) Subject agreement markers in HD

a.	*Uneefwe*	*Tukaalimile*	*igolo.*
	u-neefwe	***tu**-kaa-lim-ile*	*i-golo*
	AUG-1PRO	1PL-P_3-cultivate-PERF	AUG-CL9.yesterday

'We cultivated yesterday.'

b.	*Avaana*	*Avadebe*	*vaguwe.*
	*a-**va**-ana*	*a-**va**-debe*	***va**-guw-e*
	AUG-CL2-child	AUG-CL2-little	CL2-fall-FV

'The children have fallen.'

c.	*Udaada*	*Ayavile*	*idzayi.*
	u-daada	***a**-yav-ile*	*i-dzayi*
	AUG-CL1.father	CL1-pick-PERF	AUG-CL9.tea leaves

'The father has picked tea leaves.'

d.	*Idzayi*	*Ayavile*	*udaada.*
	i-dzayi	***a**-yav-ile*	*u-daada*
	AUG-CL9.tea leaves	CL1-pick-FV	AUG-CL1.father

'The father has picked tea leaves.'

Even in the topicalized sentence where the subject noun occupies the postverbal position, still its subject prefix governs the concordial agreement in the sentence as in example (10d). It is the logical subject which is verb-marked.

In HD, human nouns take subject prefixes from noun classes 1/2 (see example 11b&c), while animal nouns usually agree with noun classes 5/6 or 9/10 as illustrated below.

(11) Subject markers for human and animal nouns in HD

a.	*Inyau*	*Yangu*	*yísaka*	*kugona*	*pakitanda.*
	i-nyau	*yi-angu*	***yi**-i-sak-a*	*ku-gon-a*	*pa-ki-tanda*
	AUG-CL9.cat	CL9-POSS.1SG	CL9-PRES-want-FV	CL15-sleep-FV	CL16-CL7-bed

'My cat wants to sleep in the bed.'

b.	*Iliteemba*	*likaayagíle*	*igolo.*
	*i-**li**-teemba*	***li**-kaa-yag-ile*	*i-golo*
	AUG-CL5-hen	CL5-P_3-loose-PERF	AUG-CL9.yesterday

'The hen was lost yesterday.'

c.	*Amateemba*	*Gakaayagile*	*igolo.*
	*a-**ma**-teemba*	***ga**-kaa-yag-ile*	*i-ø-golo*
	AUG-CL6-hens	CL6--P_3-loose-PERF	AUG-CL9-yesterday

'Hens were lost yesterday.'

However, in storytelling, speakers have the tendency of personifying animal nouns and therefore, these nouns are marked with subject marker from classes 1/2 as indicated in example (12) below.

(12) Subject markers for personified animal nouns in storytelling

a.	*Usude*	*Itigilaga*	*"Ng'wale*	*ng'wale*	*wipiya....."*
	u-sude	***a**-i-tigil-ag-a*	*ngwale*	*ngwale*	*u-i-piy-a*
	AUG-CL1.hare	CL1-PRES-say-NAR-FV	CL9. francolin	CL9.francolin	2SG-PRES-burn-FV

'The hare said "Francolin, francolin! You will burn yourself".....

In locative constructions, HD have three distinctive locative prefixes *pa-, ku-* and *mu-*. In normal conversation, speakers prefer to use subject prefix *ku-* mostly in the contexts of *pa-* and *ku-* itself. This is exemplified in (13) below.

(13) Locative subject prefixes in HD

a.	*Kukaye*	*kuli*	*vagedzi.*
	ku*-kaye*	***ku****-li*	*va-gedzi*
	CL17-home	CL17-be	CL2-guest

'There are guests to/at home.'

b.	*Munyumba*	*Mna*	*liyoka.*
	mu*-nyumba*	***mu****-na*	*li-yoka*
	CL18-house	CL18-have	CL5-snake

'There is a snake inside (the house).'

Topicalization in locative construction, either logical or grammatical subject is marked on copula verb *-li* 'to be'. However, it is ungrammatical for existential verb *-na* 'to have' to be marked with non-locative subject markers. The examples from (13) above are reversed in (14) below.

(14) Subject prefixes in reversed construction

a.	*Vagedzi*	*vali*	*kukaye.*
	va-gedzi	***va****-li*	***ku****-kaye*
	CL2-guest	CL2-be	CL17-home

'At home, there are guests.'

b.	**Liyoka*	*Lina*	*munyumba.*
	li-yoka	***li****-na*	***mu****-nyumba*
	CL5-snake	CL5-have	CL18-house

Lit. 'In the snake, there is house'. 'There is a snake inside (the house).'

Subject markers of existential verbs come from the three locative classes as illustrated in (15) below.

(15) Locative subject prefixes in existential verb

a.	*Panyumba*	*Pana*	*liyoka.*
	pa*-nyumba*	***pa****-na*	*li-yoka*
	CL16-house	CL16-have	CL5-snake

'There is a snake at the house.'

b. *Kunyumba* *Kuna* *liyoka.*
***ku**-nyumba* ***ku**-na* *li-yoka*
CL17-house CL17-have CL5-snake
'There is a snake inside (the house).'

c. *Munyumba* *Mna* *liyoka.*
***mu**-nyumba* ***mu**-na* *li-yoka*
CL18-house CL18-have CL5-snake
'There is a snake inside (the house).'

As in example (15) above, meaning of the noun *nyumba* 'house' depends on the locative class prefix attached on it. When it is prefixed with *pa-* locative class, it means 'at the house', when it is affixed with *ku-* (class 17) or *mu-* (class 18) it means 'inside'.

Subject-Verb Agreement in Coordinated Noun Phrase for HD
In coordinated subject noun phrase such as those containing human + human, animate + human, and human + inanimate, the subject-verb agreement marker comes from the plural form of class 2 noun prefix (human) *va-* in HD. Examples in (16) below are illustrative.

(16) Subject agreement markers in coordinated noun phrase in HD

a. *Umuhidza* *nu* *Mudimi* *vahele* *kusule.*
u-mu-hidza *na* *u-mu-dimi* ***va**-hel-e* *ku-sule*
AUG-CL1-girl and AUG-CL1-boy CL2-go-FV CL17-school
'The girl and the boy have gone to school.'

b. *Ilibuwa* *nu* *Mudimi* *vikina.*
i-li-buwa *na* *u-mu-dimi* ***va**-i-kin-a*
AUG-CL5-dog and AUG-CL1-boy CL2-PRES-play-FV
'The dog and the boy are playing.'

c. *Umwayuva* *ni* *Ndiilo* *vali* *kula.*
u-mu-ayuva *na* *i-ndiilo* ***va**-li* *ku-la*
AUG-CL1-woman and AUG-CL9.basket CL2-be CL17-there
'The woman and the basket are there.'

Speakers prefer the use of subject prefix of noun class 2 plural because semantically they treat human nouns as having the highest status compared to non-human nouns. Semantic motivation, therefore, requires the speakers to opt for class 2, *va-* subject prefix and not any from non-human beings.

When two non-human nouns from same noun classes are coordinated the verb takes the subject prefix *fi-* from noun class 8. This is common in HD. The examples in (17) are illustrative.

(17) Subject markers for coordinated non-human nouns in HD

a.	*Ilibiki*	*ni*	*Lisoli*	*fikwaka.*
	i-li-biki	*na*	*i-li-soli*	***fi****-i-ku-ak-a*
	AUG-CL5-tree	and	AUG-CL5 grass	CL8-PRES-CL15-burn-FV

'The tree and grass are burning.'

b.	*Amadziva*	*na*	*Mahalagi*	*fiheluka.*
	a-ma-dziva	*na*	*a-ma-halagi*	***fi****-i-heluk-a*
	AUG-CL6-milk	and	AUG-CL11-water	CL8-PRES-boil-FV

'Milk and beans are boiling.'

c.	*Isenga*	*ni*	*ng'uku*	*filiya*	*madzebele.*
	I-senga	*na*	*i-ng'uku*	***fi****-i-li-a*	*ma-dzebele*
	AUG-CL9-cow	and	AUG-CL9.hen	CL8-PRES-eat-FV	CL6-maize

'A cow and a hen are eating maize.'

In example (17a), coordinated nouns belong to the same class 5 (*li-)*, (17b) nouns come from class 6, example (17c) both nouns belong to class 9 (*n-*).

When coordinated non-human nouns come from different noun classes, the verb is also marked with default noun class 8 (*fi-*) as indicated in example (18) below.

(18) Subject markers for coordinated non-human nouns from different classes in HD

a.	*Lituli*	*na*	*Mtwangilo*	*fili*	*munyumba.*
	li-tuli	*na*	*m-twangilo*	***fi****-li*	*mu-nyumba*
	CL5-mill	and	CL3-pestle	CL8-be	CL18-CL9.inside (the house)

'The mill and the pestle are inside (the house).'

b.	*Mtwangilo*	*na*	*Lituli*	*fili*	*munyumba.*
	m-twangilo	*na*	*li-tuli*	***fi****-li*	*mu-nyumba*
	CL3-pestle	and	CL5-mill	CL8-be	CL18-CL9.inside (the house)

'The pestle and the mill are inside (the house).'

c.	*Lulenga*	*na*	*kiviya*	*Fili*	*munyumba.*
	lu-lenga	*na*	*ki-viya*	***fi**-li*	*mu-nyumba*
	CL6-water	and	CL7-pot	CL8-be	CL18-CL9.inside (the house)

'Water and the pot are inside (the house).'

In example (18a&b) above, the conjuncts have exchanged positions but the subject prefix *fi-*noun class 8 is used in both sentences.

Generally, in coordinated subject noun phrase, HD use two strategies for subject marking: first, the verb takes subject agreement marker from the plural form of class 2 noun prefix *va-* when the conjuncts involve human and non-human. Second, the verb takes the subject prefix *fi-* from noun class 8 when two non-human nouns from different or same noun classes are coordinated.

Subject-Verb Agreement Marking in LD

Just like in HD, subject prefixes in Kibena LD have the same distribution. They can occupy pre-initial verb position, or they can be preceded by a slot of pre-subject markers (like negation markers, see example 8a, b&c). Unlike in HD where subject prefixes are attached after relative prefixes, in LD relative pronouns are used instead of relative prefixes. This is because LD speakers have lost relative prefixes as relativization strategy. Here, the subject prefix occupies the pre-initial verb position. Example in (19) is illustrative.

(19) Subject prefix in relative clause

Ilibiki	*Lye*	*liguwe*
*i-**li**-biki*	*Lye*	***li**-guw-e*
AUG-CL5-tree	REL.PRO	CL5-fall-FV

'The tree which has fallen'

Speakers from LD different from HD, have the tendency of personifying animal names using subject prefixes of the noun class prefixes 1 and 2 in all contexts as exemplified in (20) below.

(20) Subject markers for personified animal nouns in LD

a.	*Mwanyau*	*Vangu*	*isaka*	*kugona*	*pakitanda.*
	mua-nyau	*va-angu*	***a**-i-sak-a*	*ku-gon-a*	*pa-ki-tanda*
	NG-CL9.cat	CL2-POSS.1SG	CL1-PRES-want-FV	CL15-sleep-FV	CL16-CL7-bed

'My cat wants to sleep in the bed.'

b. *Mwaneemba* *akaayagíle* *igolo.*
mua-neemba ***a****-kaa-yag-ile* *i-golo*
NG-CL9.hen CL1-P_3-loose-FV AUG-CL9.yesterday
'The hen was lost yesterday.'

c. *Vaaneemba* *Vakaayagile* *igolo.*
va-neemba ***va****-kaa-yag-ile* *i-golo*
CL2-CL9.hens CL2-P_3-loose-FV AUG-CL9.yesterday
'Hens were lost yesterday.'

Kibena speakers from LD usually affix natural male gender prefix *mwa-* from personal names (like in ***mwa****-Mgedza,* ***mwa****-Matimbwi,* ***mwa****-Ngumbuke*) to the head noun for singular and noun class 2 prefix *va-* for plural. The subject concordial agreements are *a-* and *va-* respectively.

For locative expressions, subject prefix has similar behaviour in LD and in HD. Among three locative prefixes *pa-, ku-* and *mu-,* speakers prefer to employ subject prefix *ku-* in the contexts of *pa-* and *ku-* itself (see example 13). In the case of topicalization of locative expression, either logical or grammatical subject is marked on the verb formed by copula verb. It is ungrammatical to mark an existential verb *-na* 'to have' with non-locative subject markers (see examples 14&15). Like in HD, only logical subject is verb-marked for a construction formed by an action verb (see example 10c&d).

Subject-Verb Agreement in Coordinated Noun Phrase for LD
Like in HD, opting for plural subject markers in LD depends on the animacy hierarchy. In coordinated subject nouns involving human and non-human conjuncts, class 2 noun prefix (human) *va-* is used in the slot of subject marker for LD (see example 16). Speakers attach the highest status to human nouns.

However, LD speakers use a different strategy in marking subject of the nouns given in example (17). In this dialect, when the subject consists of two non-human nouns belonging to same class, the subject concordial agreement comes from its plural form as shown in example (21) below.

(21) Subject markers for coordinated non-human nouns in LD
a. *Libiki* *na* *Lisoli* *gíkwaka.*
li-biki *na* *li-soli* ***ga****-i-ku-ak-a*
CL5-tree and CL5 grass CL6-PRES-CL15-burn-FV
'The tree and grass are burning.'

b. *Madziva* *na* *Malenga* *gíheluka.*
ma-dziva *na* *ma-lenga* ***ga**-i-heluk-a*
CL6-milk and CL6-water CL6-PRES-boil-FV
'Milk and water are boiling.'

c. *Mwasenga* *nu* *Mwambisi* *víliya* *madzebele.*
mua-senga *na* *mua-mbisi* ***va**-i-li-a* *ma-dzebele*
NG-CL9.cow and NG-CL9.rooster CL2-PRES-eat-FV CL6-maize
'A cow and a rooster are eating maize.'

In LD, there is no shift of noun classes when the subject consists of two nouns belonging to the same class as in examples (21a&b). When coordinated subject noun is formed by two non-human conjuncts from different noun classes, LD speakers employ two strategies to resolve the situation: the most preferred strategy is to take the singular subject prefix from the second conjunct noun class prefix which appears closest to the verb; or though very rarely, they use noun class 8 prefix. Both strategies are shown in example (22) below.

(22) Subject markers for coordinated non-human nouns from different classes in LD

a. *Lituli* *na* *mtwangilo* *Guli* *munyumba.*
li-tuli *na* *m-twangilo* ***gu**-li* *mu-nyumba*
CL5-mill and CL3-pestle CL3-be CL18-CL9.inside (the house)
'The mill and the pestle are inside (the house).'

b. *Mtwangilo* *na* *Lituli* *lili* *munyumba.*
m-twangilo *na* *li-tuli* ***li**-li* *mu-nyumba*
CL3-pestle and CL5-mill CL5-be CL18-CL9.inside (the house)
'The pestle and the mill are inside (the house).'

c. *Malenga* *na* *kiviya* *Kili* *munyumba.*
ma-lenga *na* *ki-viya* ***ki**-li* *mu-nyumba*
CL6-water and CL7-pot CL7-be CL18-CL9.inside (the house)
'Water and the pot are inside (the house).'

d. *Malenga* *na* *Kiviya* *fili* *munyumba.*
ma-lenga *na* *ki-viya* ***fi**-li* *mu-nyumba*
CL6-water and CL7-pot CL8-be CL18-CL9.inside (the house)
'Water and the pot are inside (the house).'

In example (22a&b) between the two conjuncts, one comes from noun class 3 and another from noun class 5. In (22a) the verb is marked with the subject prefix from the closest conjunct *mtwangilo* while in (22b) the conjuncts have exchanged positions and the closest conjunct to the verb is *lituli*. This makes the verb to be attached the subject prefix from class 5. This also applies to example (22c). In (22d) the verb is inflected with the subject prefix from noun class 8. The latter strategy (using noun class 8) is not much common in this variety. Speakers concur with the construction but the form is too formal to them; they do not employ it in many contexts.

Therefore, LD speakers use four strategies for subject-verb marking in coordinated noun phrase. First, noun class 2 prefix *va-* is used for coordinated noun phrase involving human and non-human conjuncts; second, plural form for the conjuncts belonging to the same class. The third and the fourth, subject prefix of the closest conjunct to the verb is used or a default class 8 is used for conjuncts coming from different noun classes.

Variation in Subject-Verb Agreement between HD and LD

In single subject noun constructions, HD and LD share many of their traits. In both, subject prefix appears on pre-initial verb or it can be preceded by other pre-subject markers. In locative expressions, speakers from both varieties prefer to use subject prefix *ku-* in the place of locative prefix *pa-* and *ku-* itself. For topicalized noun in locative expressions, either logical or grammatical subject is marked on copula verbs; whereas only locative subjects *pa-/ku-/mu-* are marked on existential verbs. For action verbs, only logical subject is marked on both HD and LD (see example 10c&d). Apart from a long time separation, this similarity signifies that HD and LD are still variety of the same language as per Divergence-Convergence Theory.

However, in single subject noun constructions, speakers from LD have the tendency of personifying animal names using subject prefixes of the noun class prefixes 1 and 2 in normal speech contexts. HD speakers do personification but only in storytelling. For this case, language contact could be one of the factors for these variations. Both varieties get influence from other languages particularly Kiswahili but not equal in status. LD is much influenced by Kiswahili compared to HD because it is situated outside Kibena. Living with non-Kibena speakers like the Ndamba, the Ndweve and the Ngoni may be one of the reasons for LD to use Kiswahili frequently. Consequently, it has impact on the LD grammar. For instance,

Kiswahili treats humans and animals in the same noun classes hence it uses the same agreement markers; the LD speakers do the same.

In coordinated subject noun phrases, both HD and LD depend on the animacy hierarchy in opting for plural subject markers. When coordinated subject nouns involve human and non-human conjuncts, class 2 noun prefix *va-* is used in the slot of subject marker.

However, some variations are observed in coordinated subject noun phrases. In HD, when two non-human nouns from different or same noun classes are coordinated, the verb takes the subject prefix *fi-* from noun class 8. In LD, three strategies are applicable: when the subject consists of two non-human nouns belonging to the same class, the subject agreement comes from its plural form. When the subject is formed by two non-human conjuncts from different noun classes, speakers employ two strategies: the most preferred strategy is to take the singular subject prefix from the second conjunct noun class prefix which appears closest to the verb; another option, albeit rare, is to use the class 8 prefix. Table (4) below summarises subject-marking strategies between HD and LD.

Table 4: Variation in Subject-Verb Agreement Marking Strategies in Coordinated Noun Phrase

Context	HD	LD
HUMAN + NON-HUMAN	noun class 2 prefix *va-*	noun class 2 prefix *va-*
NON-HUMAN + NON-HUMAN from same class	noun class 8 prefix *fi-*	plural form from the same class
NON-HUMAN + NON-HUMAN from different classes	noun class 8 prefix *fi-*	noun class prefix of the noun closest to the verb, and class 8 prefix in rare occasions

Generally, all these strategies can be classified into three categories: semantic, syntactic and morphological criteria. Semantic criterion is used when the noun phrase involves human and non-human conjuncts; this observes the status of the conjuncts on the animacy hierarchy. Syntactic criterion is based on marking the closest conjunct to the verb for non-human conjuncts; morphological criterion adheres to plurality of noun class prefixes. In this case, it signifies the use of plural form for marking nouns from the same

class or using default agreement class 8 for nouns belonging to different noun classes. Hence, according to the content in Table (4) above, HD uses semantic criterion and morphological criterion in subject-verb agreement marking for coordinated noun phrase. The LD employs three criteria: semantic criteria, syntactic criteria and morphological criteria.

The variation in agreement marking between the HD and LD is likely to have been contributed by three factors, namely geographical and historical factors, and language contact. As already indicated in previous sections, LD speakers had been separated for a long time from speakers of HD. The dialect is located in the lowland zones of Kilombero and Malinyi Districts, Morogoro Region while HD are found in highland zones. This makes them to vary in most cases. Massamba (2007) in the BDC theory also insists that once the members of a single speech community have been separated for a long time, their culture and speeches become different.

Conclusion

The study examined variation in subject-verb agreement marking system between Kibena HD and LD. Variation in subject-verb agreement in single noun phrase construction and in coordinated noun phrase is analysed.

Variations are revealed in two cases: first, LD has the tendency of personifying animal names in normal conversation; all animals therefore take class 1/2 concordial agreements. This is not experienced in HD. In general, HD uses semantic and morphological criteria while LD adds syntactic criterion to the two employed in HD. According to the BDC theory, HD and LD are still dialects of Kibena language; none has developed into distinct language.

This analysis contributes to syntactic dialectology which is an innovative branch that could help in developing recent theories on grammatical variations.

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Abbreviations

1SG	1st Person Singular	FOC	Focus	PERF	Perfective
1PL	1st Person Plural	HAB	Habitual	POSS	Possessive
2SG	2nd Person Singular	HD	Highland Dialect	PRES	Present
2PL	2nd Person Plural	INF	Infinitive	PRO	Pronoun
3SG	3rd Person Singular	LD	Lowland Dialect	PST	Past
3PL	3rd Person Plural	NAR	Narrative	REL	Relative
AUG	Augment	NEG	Negation	RT	Root
CL	Class	NG	Natural Gender	SM	Subject Marker
EXT	Extension	OM	Object Marker	TAM	Tense, Aspect and Mood
FV	Final Vowel	P_3	Past three		

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Speaker-audience Convergence and Divergence in Tanzanian Campaign Discourse

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Abstract

This paper illustrates how two Tanzanian presidential candidates deploy discourse for self-legitimation and other-delegitimation purposes. It also examines audiences' understanding of the strategies the candidates used with a view to finding out whether their understanding and the dual function of the strategies converge or diverge. The paper examines four campaign speeches given by former President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete and Dr Wilbroad Slaa during the 2010 presidential election campaign (two speeches by each candidate). The three questions guiding this paper are: How did the candidates legitimate themselves and delegitimate each other? What is the target audiences' understanding of the function of the strategies used to do so? Does their understanding depart from the function the strategies performed or not? Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) is used to analyse the speeches. In particular, the analysis is done using Theo van Leeuwen's discursive semantic-functional approach. The findings show that the candidates deployed certain discursive strategies for self-legitimation and other-delegitimation purposes, of which some of the participants were aware. The other functions suggested by a fair number of participants are seeking to serve Tanzanians and lying. But it is shown that, if the participants had probed the candidates' language further, they wouldn't have mentioned functions such as seeking to serve. This divergence implies that consumers of campaign speeches need to pay close attention to language to understand what candidates say.

Key words: *Self-legitimation, other-delegitimation, discourse, CDA, serve, lying, understanding, convergence, divergence, Kikwete, Slaa*

Introduction

In countries that are politically plural, anyone who intends to hold an elective public post has to seek the support of others. Thus, the political communication happening during election campaigns involves using strategies intended to influence people's thinking on candidates as well as political parties. Candidates belonging to ruling parties present opposition candidates as people who are visionless, dangerous and biased, and themselves as anything but that. In the effort to realise their objective, they also discredit or "challenge" those in the opposition (Quinto, 2014:177). For exactly the same purpose, opposition candidates background their negative

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traits and foreground positive ones on the one hand, and emphasise the negative traits of their opponents in power on the other.

Although competitive elections usually involve more than one candidate running for a given electoral seat, say, a presidential seat, the real battle normally tilts towards front runners. This happened in Tanzania in 2010 when President Kikwete and Dr Slaa were locked in a fierce battle as each sought a mandate to lead the country. Whereas the former was seeking re-election on the Chama cha Mapinduzi (henceforth CCM) ticket, the latter was running for president for the first time on the platform of Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (henceforth CHADEMA), the main opposition political party in Tanzania at present.

The Place of Politics in Society

Hay (2007:61–62) defines politics as "a process of public deliberation and scrutiny of matters of public concern." Acemoglu and Robinson (2012:92) conceptualise politics as "the process whereby a society chooses the rules that will govern it." Therefore, politics is a social practice involving various people dealing with issues which affect entire communities or societies, or large sections thereof. The rules Acemoglu and Robinson (2012) refer to are used to determine, among others, how power is distributed in a given society, for a limited distribution of power is bad for any society. Aristotle (1887) suggests that politics arose from the use of language to indicate what is useful and harmful and therefore what is just and unjust. The goal in doing so is to achieve "the highest good" in the interest of the citizens of a given society (Fairclough, 2018:17). Aquinas (2007:156) agrees with Aristotle that the purpose of politics is to ensure that there are "public goods" in society. Aquinas observes that the state established in a given society and the laws obtaining in that society have a duty to protect such goods. Like Aristotle and Aquinas, Hobbes (1991) acknowledges the importance of political authority, without which civilised social life would be impossible. He suggests that citizens should not undermine a lawful regime. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) have linked politics in general and discursive legitimation or delegitimation in particular to argumentation. Self-legitimation and other-delegitimation are instances of political deliberation. This means, for example, that, through the arguments that the candidates make to legitimate themselves and delegitimate each other, both Tanzanians and the speakers are engaged in argumentation or deliberation.

Political Discourse

Reyes (2011:783) conceives of political discourse as "a genre that involves political actors speaking publically. Those speech events are commonly made in public forums in which politicians attempt to project their political agendas. They can present their agendas in more or less subtle ways, sometimes by presenting the state of affairs as a simple narrator." This conception of political discourse focuses on the making of speeches by politicians in order to advance certain political agendas. It leaves out a number of issues relative to political discourse. It is therefore important to look at other conceptions of political discourse. Chilton (2008:226) notes that "[p]olitical discourse is the use of language to do the business of politics and includes persuasive rhetoric, the use of implied meanings, the use of euphemisms, the exclusion of references to undesirable realities, and the use of language to rouse political emotions." The emotions referred to in the foregoing quote may be fear or hope, which is evoked through political discourse in order to make people react to what politicians say on occasions such as election campaigns in a certain way. Also, campaign speeches are a sub-genre of political discourse. These speeches are usually characterised by lexical, grammatical, semantic and pragmatic elements most suited to the context of an election campaign. For instance, highly emotive expressions such as *peace*, *prosperity*, *employment*, *victory* and *defeat* may be deployed in such speeches. Abdullahi-Idiagbon says (2010:30) campaign speeches are "an important tool politicians use to express views and feelings to the public with the sole intention of reshaping and redirecting the electorates' opinions to agree with theirs."

Audience and Political Discourse

Capone (2010) explains that the audience is responsible for determining the meaning of what the speaker says, which may coincide with the intentions the latter has in saying what he or she is saying. Capone makes this argument in relation to campaign speeches. If his argument is in any way correct, then the role of the speaker is solely being an animator of what the audience wants said (Goffman, 2007). Bell (1984) suggests, however, that, to suit the interests of their audiences, speakers change their styles. Indeed, Duranti (2006) and Joseph (2006) argue that political language is aimed at persuading audiences to have attitudes or opinions desired by speakers on what is said or on speakers themselves and the (political) groups to which they belong. Joseph (2006:13) is even forthright about this issue, arguing that "the inspiring orator can

also lead a people, or rather mislead them, into believing that the narrow self-interests of the governing party are actually the interest of the people as a whole." Thus, besides examining how the candidates legitimated themselves and delegitimated each other, this paper also looks at the target audiences' understanding of the function of their strategies to find out whether their understanding and the function of the strategies converge or diverge. And if they diverge, the paper attempts to establish the implication of this divergence.

Literature Review

Campaign speeches have received the attention of critical discourse analysts. Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) notes that three presidential aspirants, notably Okhai Mike Akhigbe, Donald Duke and Abubakar Atiku, employed a kind of language characterised by sentiments and emotions and that each concentrated on painting a good image of himself and a bad image of his opponents. Abdullahi-Idiagbon opines that the reason each aspirant used emotive or sentimental language was that he wanted to present himself to Nigerian voters as the person best qualified to hold the presidential office and bash his opponents. Allen (2007) has argued that Howard and Mark Latham deployed the pronouns *I*, *we* and *they* strategically to either identify themselves as belonging to certain political groups, with which they might be identified, or as not belonging to certain other groups, with which they did not want to be identified. Allen argues that identity change and the deployment of pronouns with more than one meaning helped the candidates to persuade many people to support them, since the two techniques led to their being identified with a broad section of the Australian populace.

Ike-Nwafor (2015) has examined eight campaign speeches. The objective of the study was to examine the ways in which ideology and unequal power relations were created and reproduced by the gubernatorial candidates whose speeches she has analysed. Ike-Nwafor shows that, in order to dominate the people in their states, the candidates used certain lexical expressions and imperative constructions in their speeches. The issue of using language to control the mind of others (voters) finds support in a study by Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2008). The duo argues that, during election campaigns, politicians use language adroitly in order to persuade voters to cast their ballots for them. But in order for that to happen, argues the duo further, politicians need to control voters' minds using a kind of language that is characterised by emotions.

Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2008) also argue that politicians use a kind of language bristling with negative expressions or terms to delegitimate their opponents before potential voters so that they are not supported. In a study of propaganda with respect to the 2007 Nigerian presidential campaign rhetoric, Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2008) maintain that one of the strategies used to bash the government in power was overstatement of issues or problems. They show, for example, that the politicians who were challenging the ruling party in that election claimed that the country had a 95-per cent electricity problem, when in fact the problem was, according to them, not that big. Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2008) also explain that another linguistic strategy candidates usually use to tarnish the image of their opponents for their own good is the use of abusive language. In particular, they say that politicians choose words or expressions with overtones of abuse in order to castigate their opponents. Apart from discrediting others, politicians employ other strategies in their campaign speeches with a view to making themselves appealing to voters.

Akubor (2015) argues that hate speech, which took the form of abusive language, was very common in the campaigns of the PDP and the APC during Nigeria's 2015 election. In respect of this, Akubor (2015:8) observes, for example, that "[…] Fasoye took his smear campaign a notch higher when he implied that Buhari, who was around the same age with (sic) his mother, wears baby 'pampers' as he no longer has control of his body system." Christian politicians, observes Akubor further, used abusive language against Moslem politicians, and vice versa. He also notes that hate speech pitied political groups, and the people generally to some extent, against each other. Mwombeki (2019) has submitted that the politicians in CCM as well as CHADEMA and UKAWA whose speeches he has analysed made various arguments to persuade Tanzanians to support their candidates or political parties at the ballot. Finally, this paper contributes some important knowledge to the area of political, discursive (de)legitimation and documents audiences' understanding of the discourse used to do that.

Theoretical Framework

This paper is grounded in CDA. Discourse is said to play a fundamental role in areas of domination, unequal power relations and (de)legitimation (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 1998; van Leeuwen, 2008). Discourse production, distribution and consumption are some of the discursive aspects examined by CDA scholars to determine,

among others, what informs how discourse should be produced and who controls the distribution of discourse in society and why. It is also used to find out for whom a particular stretch of discourse is intended and why. CDA examines discourse to establish how problematic practices such as social control, discrimination and (de)legitimation are conducted, sustained and, on occasion, resisted. CDA scholars do this because they believe that such practices are "inscribed in and mediated through the linguistic system" as well as other semiotic systems such as images (Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996:xi). According to Wodak (2001:2), "CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse)." The main goal is to "help create a world where people are not discriminated against because of sex, colour, creed, age or social class" (Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996:xi). There are other 'unacceptable' practices realised through discourse, including problematic (de)legitimation. Such social practices are usually opaque or hardly decipherable to the vast majority of people who are usually victims of the same practices. Therefore, in their studies, CDA scholars carry out critical analyses to expose the socially problematic functions that discourse performs in the interest of a few members of society at the expense of many. They expose the hidden meanings of such discourses and sometimes make practical suggestions as to how the inequities discovered may be dealt with. Since this paper examines campaign speeches (a genre of political discourse), it employs CDA in the analysis of the speeches and in the discussion of the findings.

The Analytical Approach

This paper uses the semantic-functional approach (a form of CDA) developed by Theo van Leeuwen (2008) to analyse the campaign speeches. Reyes (2011:782) notes that "legitimation is a justification of social behaviour (mental or physical)," adding that "[t]he process of legitimation is enacted by argumentation, that is, by providing arguments that explain our social actions, ideas, thoughts, declarations, etc." Reyes (2011:782) also points out that "the act of legitimizing or justifying is related to a goal, which, in most cases, seeks our interlocutor's support or approval." Van Leeuwen (2008) notes that legitimation is telling others why something should or must be done, and presumably must be done in the way proposed by the speaker. On the other hand, delegitimation is critiquing (controversial) people, actions or social practices (Vaara, Tienari & Laurila, 2006; van Leeuwen, 2008).

Van Leeuwen (2008) has proposed four strategies of legitimation which may also be used for delegitimation purposes. They are *authority*, *moralisation*, *rationalisation* and *mythopoesis*. *Authority* is legitimation of things or people by referring to people with some institutional authority or to authority derived from laws, documents, customs and traditions. *Moralisation* relates to arguing by providing values or beliefs that indicate the (im)morality of the actions or practices being legitimated or delegitimated. Legitimation through moralisation can, for example, be done using arguments that show that something is normal or natural and that certain people have good values. This means that things that are neither normal nor natural may be given attributes that show that they are in order that the audience agrees with the speaker. *Rationalisation* is legitimating actions or social practices by showing their usefulness and/or importance. It may also be used to (de)legitimate people or institutions such as political parties during election campaigns or on other occasions. In making rationalisations, experts of the areas to which social practices relate are quoted or cited. Legitimation or delegitimation can also be done using *mythopoesis*. This strategy involves telling a story in which a hero is rewarded and/or another story in which a villain gets punished. The hero gets rewarded because he has done something that is socially acceptable or has done it in accordance with certain social norms and the villain gets punished because he has done something that is not acceptable or has made some mistake in doing it. Van Leeuwen's analytical approach has been adopted because it is relevant to this study, which examines discursive self-legitimation and other-delegitimation.

Method

I obtained the campaign speeches from the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC), two speeches by each candidate. I collected the other set of data in Kinondoni District (Dar es Salaam Region), Nzega District (Tabora Region), Same District (Kilimanjaro Region) and Tandahimba District (Mtwara Region). Since the study zeroes in on presidential campaign speeches, it was thought important to involve people from different parts of the country. I selected a sample of 60 people, 15 from each research site, and then collected the data from them using focus group discussion. The participants' years of age ranged from 28 to 80 and their level of education ranged from primary school to university education. The sample comprised petty traders, businesspeople, farmers/peasants, employed people and university students. I transcribed the speeches and identified the strategies in the light of van Leeuwen's analytical approach. I also

transcribed the data collected from the field and identified relevant extracts pertaining to the audiences' understanding of the function of the strategies. I translated the two sets of data into English in the interest of those who don't know Kiswahili.

Analysis and Findings

Self-legitimation

The candidates employ *authority*, *moralisation* and *rationalisation* to legitimate themselves as well as the political parties through which they are running for the highest office in the land. For instance, President Kikwete uses *authority*, a strategy of legitimation which is usually based on people, documents or things with some kind of authority. The candidate invokes his running mate's name and title, and uses either the first-person singular pronouns *I* and *me* or the first-person plural pronoun *we* for the purpose already mentioned. He says:

(1) *Naahidi kwamba mkituchagua mimi na Dkt Bilal tutaingoza nchi yetu vizuri. Tutatumia nguvu, uwezo, maarifa na uzoefu tulioukusanya kwa miaka mingi ya utumishi wa umma kwa ajili ya masilahi na maendeleo ya taifa letu na watu wake.*

"I promise that, if you vote for Dr Bilal and me, we will lead our country well. We will use our energy, ability, knowledge and experience which we have accumulated for many years of being public servants in the interest and for the development of our nation and its people."

The mentioning of Dr Bilal and of the speaker himself is highly likely intended to justify the request or suggestion the candidate is making to the audience. This may be the case, since the gentlemen 'hold' the two highest leadership posts in the country, namely presidential and vice-presidential posts. Therefore, mentioning them and their credentials, as well as the use to which the credentials will be put ideologically performs a legitimating function. This observation is concurrent with the one made by Vaara and Tienari (2008). In a study of a text on the shutting down of a company, these scholars note that "[t]o a large extent, the text rests on the *authorisation* provided by CEO Ole Johansson," adding that "[t]he involvement of the CEO lends credibility to the evidence provided, most clearly shown in his speech acts" (original emphasis) (Vaara & Tienari, 2008:9).

President Kikwete uses *authority* implicitly in the above excerpt. He does not say directly that because he (the president) is asking for votes the people should vote for him and his running mate. Instead, he indirectly exploits both the positions that he and his running mate 'hold' in the country and their combined experience to tell them that they are qualified to continue serving as president and vice-president, respectively. This self-legitimation is linked to the benefit (development) the people and the country more generally will get by giving the duo a mandate to lead the country again. Thus, personal authority and development are discursively interlinked to win the people's support. However, the speaker does not elaborate on the kind of development they will bring about when they have won the election. The task of determining the exact meaning of what he pledges to do is left to the audience. It may be the case that the candidate has left out the details, fearing that providing them may result in self-harm.

Dr Slaa, too, employs *authority*, mentioning Mabere Marando as he tells the audience that they want to make some constitutional reforms. He says:

(2) *Mheshimiwa Marando amenisaidia kueleza mabadiliko makubwa tunayotaka kuyaleta katika nchi hii. Amezungumzia kwa kina mabadiliko makubwa tunayotaka kuyaleta kwa njia ya katiba. Sina sababu ya kuyaeleza, ameyafafanua kwa kina. Mimi niyaseme machache. Nitayasema machache katika mabadiliko ya katiba.*

"The Honourable Marando has helped me explain the major reforms we want to introduce into the country. He has talked in detail about the major constitutional reforms we intend to make, so I'll not repeat everything. I'll only touch upon a few things in respect of the constitutional reforms."

The candidate refers to what Marando has said regarding the constitutional reforms they will carry out. For a long time, Marando worked as a barrister, representing various people in court. This made him well known; thus, what he said regarding legal issues was highly likely to be believed and perhaps supported as well. The candidate knows this and mentions Marando because he understands that doing so may help him elicit support from the audience or Tanzanians. In addition, he talks about constitutional reforms because various people have for years agitated for these

reforms. This agitation is the result of at least two things. One is that the current Constitution, which was written in 1977, is thought to be outdated.[28] The other is that the Constitution was written during the one-party era but the country is politically plural now. For example, the feeling of many is that the Constitution gives the president of Tanzania various sweeping powers, not least the power to appoint and sack public leaders without consulting any institution such as parliament. Being aware of the general feeling about the current Constitution, the candidate knows that promising to make constitutional reforms, especially writing a new constitution, may help him obtain support from some members of the public. Besides using Marando as an authority on what he says, the candidate also employs the first-person plural pronoun *we* to attribute agency to his political group. That is, he uses it to tell Tanzanians that they are the ones who will make the reforms in question. He remarks, *[...] mabadiliko makubwa tunayotaka kuyaleta kwa njia ya katiba* "[...] the major constitutional reforms we intend to make." The attribution of agency to his side is also a self-legitimation technique, for it indicates that it is the speaker and his colleagues who will carry out the reforms.

The candidate employs *moralisation* to show that it is morally wrong and unacceptable for Tanzanians to live in substandard houses. He says:

(3) *Ndugu zangu, CHADEMA tumedhamiria umasikini wa aina hii ni lazima ukomeshwe ili Watanzania wawe wanafurahia matunda ya uhuru wao. Hadhi ya binadamu, hadhi ya binadamu inaonekana kwanza katika mambo mawili. La kwanza ni aina ya nyumba anayoishi na kulala. La pili ni chakula anachokula.*

"Dear compatriots, we in CHADEMA are resolved to end this kind of poverty so that Tanzanians can enjoy the fruits of their independence. Human dignity manifests itself in two things. First, it is seen in the kind of house someone lives in. Secondly, it is seen in the kind of food he or she eats."

The candidate begins his statement by saying that they are resolved to end the poverty of housing facing the Tanzanian people. He uses the word *dhamiria* "resolved", which is a very powerful verb, in the

[28] In 2012 Tanzania began writing a new constitution, a process which remains unfinished to date. For further discussion on this issue, see Rutechura (2018).

sense that it makes their intention to address the problem very clear to the audience. By using this verb, he is able to make members of the audience and the public more generally see their intention to solve the problem facing countless people in the country, including them. The speaker employs deontic modality to show that the ending of the kind of poverty under discussion is a necessary, not optional, matter. Oddo (2011:297) explains that "*deontic* modality concerns social obligation, and includes such modal auxiliaries as *should*, *ought* and *must* (original italics)." Oddo (2011:297) distinguishes this type of modality from "*epistemic* modality [which] tends to qualify the certainty of given utterances – interpersonally creating more or less space for alternative viewpoints." In the excerpt, the speaker uses deontic modality, saying, *[...] tumedhamiria umaskini wa aina hii ni lazima ukomeshwe* "[...] are resolved to end this kind of poverty." Then he uses the purpose clause *ili Watanzania wawe wanafurahia matunda ya uhuru wao* "so that Tanzanians can enjoy the fruits of their independence." Through the purpose clause he implies that, since Tanzanians are facing the poverty of housing, they are not enjoying the fruits of their independence. This is a moral issue which is being exploited by the candidate to legitimate himself as well as CHADEMA.

CCM's candidate uses *rationalisation* for self-legitimation purposes. He does so as he talks about the kind of government they will form after winning the election and about those who will benefit from it. The following excerpt illustrates this:

(4) *Tutaunda serikali itayotimiza ipasavyo wajibu wake wa kikatiba kwa ulinzi na usalama na kusukuma maendeleo ya taifa letu. Serikali itakayoendeshwa kwa misingi ya kuheshimu utawala wa sheria. Kuheshimu haki za binadamu. Serikali itayoendeshwa kwa uwazi. Serikali itayoendeleza mapambano dhidi ya rushwa na uhalifu katika jamii. Serikali itakayojali maslahi ya Watanzania wote: watoto, akina mama, watu wenye ulemavu na watu wengine wenye nguvu, wenye uwezo.*

"We will form a government which discharges its constitutional mandate effectively for the safety, security and development of our nation. A government which is based on the rule of law and which respects human rights. A transparent government. A government which will fight graft as well as crime. A government which will work in the interest

> of all Tanzanians: children, mothers, people with disabilities, people without disabilities and the haves."

The speaker says the government to be formed will be a transparent government and will maintain security and fight graft, among others. The candidate presents the following as the qualities of the government they intend to form: being based on the rule of law, respecting human rights and being transparent. However, the candidate does not elaborate on any of these qualities. For example, he does not say how transparent his next government will be. But presumably the candidate talks of this issue in the 'current' electoral context because his and the previous governments were accused of not being transparent enough. In particular, this was the case with most of the contracts which had been agreed with 'foreign' organisations or companies. In relation to the pacts between the government and 'foreign' electric-power generation companies, it was generally felt that the pacts had been agreed with non-existent companies so that a few people in government and CCM could swindle the public out of money (Kubenea, 2010).

As far as the issue of security is concerned, the candidate talks about it because during his first term in office the people in the country lived in a relative climate of fear. This observation partly relates to the problem of robbery that was still facing the country at the time of the campaign, as the candidate himself admits: *Ingawaje yapo matukio ya uhalifu pamoja na ujambazi yanayoendelea kutokea lakini hali haifanani na ilivyokuwa wakati tunaingia madarakani. Ukweli ni kwamba siku hizi majambazi hayaachwi kutamba yatakavyo* "Although crimes, including robbery, continue, the security situation is better now than it was when we came to power. Robbers are not left to do as they please." Therefore, as he seeks re-election, the candidate must assure Tanzanians that the government they intend to form will protect them from all manner of danger.

The candidate mainly employs parallelism and the number game in talking of the kind of government they will form if the people vote them into office again. Ike-Nwafor (2015:154) notes that parallelism "is a device in which there is the repetition of formal syntactic patterns in consecutive order in a particular text, or body of texts," adding that "[t]he essence is to achieve emphasis or sometimes to heighten the emotional tone [...]." For more or less the same purpose, President Kikwete employs parallelism thus: *Serikali itakayoendeshwa kwa uwazi*, *Serikali itakayoendeleza mapambano*

dhidi ya rushwa na uhalifu katika jamii, Serikali itakayojali maslahi ya Watanzania wote [...].[29] This strategy is specifically used to show that the government will be highly beneficial to the people. As a strategy, the number game "not only plays a role in argumentation and legitimation, but also in the context of political interaction, namely to signal truth and precision and hence competence and credibility" (van Dijk, 2007:82). The speaker uses this strategy to do self-legitimation. He says, *Serikali itakayojali masilahi ya Watanzania wote: watoto, akina mama, watu wenye ulemavu na watu wengine wenye nguvu, wenye uwezo* "A government which will work in the interest of all Tanzanians: children, mothers, people with disabilities, people without disabilities and the haves." Specifically, the number game is deployed to tell the people that voting for Kikwete is for their own good, i.e. they will benefit from the work of the government, from which not a single Tanzanian will be excluded.

Other-delegitimation

The candidates also delegitimate each other, including the political party on whose platform each is contesting the presidency. Dr Slaa uses *authority* by drawing upon some documents to bash the president's government. He remarks:

(5) *Uchafu ndani ya serikali uko kila sehemu; tunazo documents. Kwenye serikali za mitaa huko ndo usiseme; ufisadi wao ninaujua kila sehemu. Kwa ufupi serikali nzima imeoza na haina uwezo wa kujisafisha.*

> "The whole government is dirty; we have got documents showing this. The local government authorities are the worst. I am aware of the extent of corruption in these authorities. In short, the entire government is rotten and it cannot clean up itself."

The candidate contends that the government is corrupt to the core and singles out the local government authorities as the worst. He deploys a metaphor to argue that the government is rotten, as though it were the body of a living organism like a human being. He also shows, through the same metaphor, that the government is so rotten that it cannot clean up itself. In addition, he uses the word *[u]chafu* "dirt or filth" to further describe the state of the government, insofar as corruption is concerned. The candidate gives

[29] The text has not been translated into English in order to maintain parallelism. However, its translation was given in excerpt (4).

this description so that the people get the picture he wants them to get, namely that corruption has reached a fatal stage in Tanzania. The candidate talks about corruption to denounce CCM and its candidate so that they are voted down. And saying that the government cannot clean up itself means the people should vote for CHADEMA and him, for they are supposedly able to address the problem, while Kikwete and CCM are not.

President Kikwete denounces Dr Slaa and other opposition politicians using *moralisation*. He shows that they are lustful for power and that they are ready to use whatever means possible to realise their goal. It should be pointed out, however, that, although the speaker includes other opposition politicians in his argument, it is clear that he is targeting his major challenger, as will be shown later. In excerpt (6), he says:

(6) *Tusiwape nafasi viongozi wa siasa wenye tamaa ya madaraka iliyokithiri.Hatakama watu watakuja kuuwana, watakuja kuumizana yeye hajali bora tu amefika pale [Ikulu]. [...] Achaneni nao. Hawana tija hawana manufaa hawana masilahi na nchi hii hata kidogo. Wana masilahi yao binafsi. Tamaa zao. Wanahubiri, "Unajua tutamwaga damu, tutafanya hiki. Siogopi vifaru vya nani." Tafadhalini sana Watanzania msiwasikilize. Achaneni nao.*

"We mustn't vote for political leaders who are lustful for power. Even if people die or get injured, he does not care, so long as he has got there [State House]. [...] Just ignore them. They are useless and they are not pursuing the interests of this country at all. They have got personal interests. Bad desires. They say, "You know, blood will be shed. We will do this and that. I am not afraid of anyone's military tanks." Please, Tanzanians do not listen to them. Just ignore them."

The candidate uses negatively valued constructions like *viongozi wa siasa wenye tamaa ya madaraka iliyokithiri* "political leaders who are lustful for power" and *Wana masilahi yao binafsi* "They have got personal interests" to castigate the opposition. But as noted above, he deploys these constructions and similar others so that Dr Slaa is perceived as someone who wants very much to be the next president of Tanzania and who wants to be so at any cost. This observation is concurrent with Taiwo's (2008:86) observation that "[t]he goal [in doing so] is to discredit the opposition and damage their chances in

the election." The speaker says, *Hatakama watu watakuja kuuwana, watakuja kuumizana yeye hajali bora tu amefika pale [Ikulu]* "Even if people die or get injured, he does not care, so long as he has got there [State House]." The implication of a statement such as this is that Dr Slaa is ready to see Tanzanians get injured or even die, provided that he realises his presidential ambitions. The negative construal of the opponent is also done through direct speech containing expressions which indicate that his major challenger is a dangerous person. He remarks: "They say, *Unajua tutamwaga damu, tutafanya hiki. Siogopi vifaru vya nani* "You know, we will shed blood. We will do this and that. I am not afraid of anyone's military tanks."" Through the direct speech, the speaker says that the opponent wants to shed blood and that he is not afraid of military tanks. Intending to shed blood and being unafraid of military tanks imply that he is a very dangerous man. In fact, in and of itself, the word *damu* "blood" is enough to evoke fear in the listeners' minds and hearts. As noted earlier, in certain parts of the excerpt, the candidate speaks as though he is referring to the opposition as a whole, but it is clear that he is talking about CHADEMA's candidate. For example, the pronoun *yeye* "he", which he uses in the second sentence, shows clearly that he is referring to Dr Slaa. Indeed, it was Dr Slaa who had said he was not afraid of military tanks. Here is what Dr Slaa said: *Na Dkt Slaa huwa haogopi kutamka. Uwe na vifaru uwe na nini mi siogopi* "And Dr Slaa is not afraid to speak the truth. I am not afraid, whether you have military tanks or whatever."

President Kikwete also delegitimates Dr Slaa using *mythopoesis* thus:

(7) *Unawaahidi watu kila kitu bure na kodi utapunguza. Sasa ukishaahidi kila kitu bure maana yake ni kwamba serikali ndiyo inayogharamia. Ukishapunguza na kodi maana yake ni kwamba ni ahadi haitekelezeki kwa sababu hautakuwa na mapato ya kutekeleza. Hatuwezi kujenga matumaini katika nchi hii tukawapa watu matumaini, "Msiwe na wasiwasi vitu vyoote hivi buree." Ndugu zangu, nchi hiyo duniani haipo. Nchi hiyo duniani haipo. Pepo hilo. Alifikiria Karl Marx. Walijaribu Urusi ikashindikana. Wamejaribu Uchina imeshindikana. Kwa hiyo nasema hivi wakati mwingine maneno haya ni mazuri kweli. "Msiwe na wasiwasi. Hiki bure, hiki bure." Sisi tulijaribu. Mwaka 1986 tulibadili. Na mwenyekiti wa chama tulipofanya uamuzi wa mabadiriko*

> *hayo ni Julius Kambarage Nyerere. Kwa kukubali ukweli tu kwamba dhamira ni nzuri uwezo mdogo. [...] Lakini nawaambieni hata mkimpa hatafanya. Hatakuwanazo raslimali za kufanya hivyo.*
>
> "You promise the people that everything will be free and that you will cut taxes. Now, if you promise that social services will be free, then it is the government that pays for them. And if you cut taxes, it means the pledge is impracticable because you will not have the resources with which to fulfil it. We cannot pep up the people's hopes. "Don't worry, everything will be free." Dear compatriots, no country in the world can do that. No country in the world can do that. That's a demon. Karl Marx thought about it. Russia tried to provide free social services but failed. China tried to do so but failed. Therefore, I say the words are sweet sometimes. "Don't worry, everything will be free." We, too, tried to do it but failed. We changed the policy in 1986. And when we took the decision to change the policy the chairperson of the party was Julius Kambarage Nyerere. We knew that the intentions were good but we did not have the money with which to pursue them. [...] But I tell you, he will not provide free social services even if you vote him into office. He will not have the resources to do so."

The speaker brings into his speech examples drawn from inside and outside the country to show that social services cannot be provided free of charge. From outside the country, experiences are drawn from Russia and China, which, he states, once tried to provide free social services but failed. What the candidate does not say is whether these countries failed because they lacked sufficient resources, on which his argument is premised. He invokes the name of Karl Marx, the German philosopher who once came up with the idea of communism. The reference he makes to the past experiences, both internal and external, is intended to serve as a caution; he is warning the people that, if wrong decisions are made in the present, problems will occur in future as they did in the past when similar decisions were made either inside or outside the country. The mentioning of Nyerere's name, like that of Marx, is purposeful. Nyerere is someone whom countless people in the country hold in very high regard mainly because he was a visionary, honest person and a great statesman (Butiku, 2017). Nyerere is also highly respected outside Tanzania. Thus, the candidate says that when they made the decision to end the policy on the provision of social services free of charge the

chairperson of the party (CCM) was Nyerere because he thinks that the people are likely to believe and follow what was done in the presence of President Nyerere. In other words, the candidate is criticising the pledge and thus castigate his opponent using Nyerere's and Marx's names. He is forthright in his delegitimation of CHADEMA's candidate. He says, *Lakini nawaambieni hata mkimpa hatafanya. Hatakuwanazo rasilimali za kufanya hivyo* "But I tell you, he will not provide free social services even if you vote him into office. He will not have the resources to do so." This is geared towards making the people not vote for Dr Slaa.

Audiences' Interpretation of the Strategies

The target audiences mention four kinds of function which, according to them, the candidates' strategies or language played: *self-legitimation*, *seeking to serve*, *lying* and *other-delegitimation*. For instance, some participants say that the candidates legitimated themselves as they campaigned. In relation to President Kikwete's campaign rhetoric, TN1 says:

(8) *Ee hii lugha ambayo aliitumia kwa uelewa wangu kwa sababu alicho yaani ile ilkuwepo ni ahadi kwenye kampeni ili akubalike maana alitakiwa atoe ahadi ya kwamba atafanya hichi atafanya hichi. Sasa matokeo kwamba hakufanya yaani sikuyaona yale ambayo aliyaahidi. Sasa hapa ndo pale sasa narudi kwamba kumbe viongozi inawezekana wakaahidi kitu wasitekeleze. Uwezekano huo naona mpaka dakika hii naona kwamba inafanana kwamba mtu alichoahidi akawa hakukitekeleza basi nabaki kujua kwamba kumbe serikali au viongozi wanaweza wakaahidi kitu lakini wasikitekeleze. Hilo ndo maana yangu kwamba sasa hivi najiuliza yaani katika kujiuliza sasa napata majibu kwamba kumbe anaweza kuahidi mtu kitu halafu hasitekeleze.*

"Er he used that kind of language, in my view, to make promises during the campaign so that he could be supported. He had to say that he'd do this and that. But he didn't fulfil his pledges. This makes me realise that leaders can make a certain pledge and yet not fulfil it. I mean, I've come to realise that the government or leaders can promise something and yet not fulfil it."

In addition, NZ11 posits that Dr Slaa deployed his credentials to legitimate himself. For example, the candidate is said to have talked about his character and his track record. NZ11 remarks:

(9) *Aa yeye alikuwa akizungumza kwamba kutokana na anavyojijua yeye mwenyewe, utendaji kazi wake lakini pia kwa jinsi wananchi wanavyomfahamu kwamba hana scandals. Kwa hiyo anadhani ni mtu sahihi kuongoza serikali na kusimamia yale anayoyaamini.*

"Er he said that on the basis of his character, track record and the people's understanding that he'd not been mentioned in any scandals, and so he was the right person to lead government and defend what he believes (sic) in."

The candidate mentioned by NZ11 had served as a very efficient Secretary General of the Tanzania Episcopal Council, an MP for Karatu, a national Deputy Chairperson of CHADEMA and a Secretary General of the same party from 2004 to 2015. During this time, and especially during his time as a politician, he was never mentioned in any graft scandals which were very common in the country at the time (Mkumbo, 2014; Mtatiro, 2015). It was some of these credentials that the candidate was drawing upon as he campaigned. Van Leeuwen (2008:106) calls this "personal authority legitimation." In doing self-legitimation which is based on individuals' own authority, speakers usually refer to "their status or role in a particular institution," as the candidate did so as "to elicit people's support" (Reyes, 2011:784). The kind of support the candidate was seeking was political support so that he could be elected as president.

Some of the participants understand the strategies to mean that the candidates' objective was to serve Tanzanians. They think that the candidates wanted to help their country make progress. The issue of helping the country make progress is mentioned in relation to the various pledges they made during the 2010 election campaign. The pledges included reducing the cost of building materials, providing social services free of charge, ensuring security in the country, fighting graft and abuse of office, protecting national resources and building infrastructure. The participants, some of whose contributions are examined in this section, think that the candidates made these pledges and others because they wanted to serve Tanzanians. In respect of President Kikwete's language, SM5 says:

(10) *Alikuwa na lengo la kuwasaidia wananchi pamoja na kuboresha. Yaani Tanzania kwa ujumla.*

"He wanted to improve the situation in Tanzania, including the lot of citizens."

Other participants mention that the candidates were lying when they were campaigning. Such participants note that the candidates hoodwinked the people so that they might vote them into power. NZ2 remarks:

(11) *Mimi naona katika ugombeaji wake ulikuwa kama vile udanganyifu kwa sababu mtu huna ofisi, huna kitu cha kuwasaidia wananchi. Angalikuwa kama ule mfano anataka kuwasaidia wananchi, angejitokeza kama alivyojitokeza Nyerere. Nyerere aliweka mipango ya vijana. Kabla hajafanya kazi alipokuwa anataka kugombea urais, vijana aliwaboreshea. Aliweka maduka ya vijiji, aliweka viwanda kabla ya hajaingia katika masuala ya kuwa kama awe rais.*

"I think he was a liar. If he doesn't have office space, he doesn't have the means to help the people […]. If he really wanted to help the people, he should have done like the late Nyerere. Nyerere laid a foundation for the benefit of the youth. He improved the welfare of the youth. He set up shops in the rural areas and factories before he ran for president."

In the above excerpt, NZ2 is totally dismissive of Dr Slaa's rhetoric, arguing that the candidate was telling lies. He says this in relation to two things: party internal challenges and 'unpreparedness'. To begin with the former, the participant is of the opinion that CHADEMA was facing various internal challenges, including office space. The participant mentions the issue of limited office space as one of the challenges which the party's officials in various parts of the country were facing. The participant thinks that, before promising to solve Tanzanians' problems, the candidate and other CHADEMA leaders and supporters should have dealt with the problems afflicting the party.

In addition to saying that the candidate was lying, the participant compares the candidate to President Nyerere. He states that Dr Slaa is not like Nyerere, who laid a foundation for the benefit of

Tanzanians before he declared his intention to run for president. But since Dr Slaa did not start by doing that, he is a liar. Three points need to be made with respect to what NZ2 says in the above extract. The first is that President Nyerere did not do the things he says he did before he became president. Instead, the president led Tanzanian Mainlanders (formerly Tanganyikans) during the struggle for independence from Britain. Secondly, the president did what the participant says while he was in power. Indeed, in an effort to implement his socialist policies, the president established, among others, various public parastatals in the agricultural sector (Bomani et al., 2011). Thus, he had used public resources to do so. Thirdly and finally, the participant does not think that Dr Slaa, who for years had been agitating for the amelioration of Tanzanians' living standards, could have fulfilled his pledges.

Respecting other-delegitimation, SM12 says:

(12) *Lugha hiyo kwanza anaitumia kujiamini kwamba yeye ni bora kuliko yule pale kwa sababu sio bora kama yeye. [...] Ndiyo lengo lake kwamba mkinipa mimi nina uwezo wa kutekeleza yale ambayo nimeyafanyaje nimeshayaahidi. Lakini yule pale yeye hawezi.*

"That kind of language is used to show that he is better than the other candidate. [...] His objective is to tell voters that he is more capable of fulfilling what he has promised than the other person is."

The participant shows that, in doing other-legitimation, a candidate contrasts himself or herself with his or her opponent(s) by showing that he or she can fulfil pledges better than the opponents. He says this with respect to President Kikwete, who averred that he was more capable of fulfilling the pledges than Dr Slaa was of fulfilling the pledges he was making. The participant interprets the president's argument as being aimed at discrediting CHADEMA's candidate.

Discussion

Candidates present themselves as people who allegedly want to serve those whose support they are seeking. They choose strategic expressions or constructions and talk about issues relating to people's social, economic and political interests such as improved social service provision. The choice and use of such strategies is

intended to influence people's thinking on candidates as well as political parties. It has been demonstrated in this paper that discursive strategies such as *authority* and *moralisation* are employed for that purpose. In their campaign speeches Dr Slaa and President Kikwete present themselves as being wholly altruistic and ready to get Tanzanians out of the social, economic and political quagmire they have wallowed in for many years. This positive personal portrayal is akin to the image European explorers and missionaries presented of themselves and of the colonialists who succeeded them. Using language adroitly, these agents of colonialism showed that both they and the colonialists were highly concerned about Africans' woes and had thus come to Africa to save and serve them. They persuaded Africans to welcome them and let them do what they had come to do, which, of course, had nothing to do with either saving or serving them.

In the electoral contest, from which the campaign speeches analysed in this paper were taken, we see language being used in the same way. Each candidate shows that he is the messiah from God with the key to the door to paradise. In doing this, each deploys emotively loaded expressions and constructions and discusses various problems facing the people to paint his messiah-ness so that Tanzanians elect him as president. For instance, Dr Slaa shows that it is morally wrong for the people to live in substandard houses and that CHADEMA is resolved to end this problem. He talks about flat-roofed houses which he has allegedly seen in many different parts of the country and to which CHADEMA, if it is successful at the ballot, will call a halt. For his part, President Kikwete promises the people that everyone will benefit from the work the government they intend to form will do. It must be stated here that many people in the country complained, for example, that only some of the people in government and in CCM, to an extent, benefited from the nation's financial and innumerable natural resources during the president's first term in office. That's perhaps why the candidate pledges that everyone will benefit from the government they'll form. It is possible that the candidates have intentions other than the intention to serve Tanzanians. But in order for the people to uncover the candidates' real intentions, they need to keep in mind the fact that, since both are running for president, they must necessarily make pledges such as the foregoing. But in addition, they need to ask themselves questions like the following: Why, in addition to legitimating themselves, do the candidates engage in such a fierce battle? What does each stand to gain from being president? And in relation to

President Kikwete, they may have to pose these questions: If he truly intends to serve us as he claims he does, why didn't he serve us during his first term in office? What prevented him from serving us before? If he didn't do so then, how can we believe that he'll serve us now? What has changed?

The data from the field suggests that some of the participants asked themselves such questions. For example, some of them said the candidates had legitimated themselves and delegitimated each other. It is obvious from the findings, however, that apart from this convergence, the participants did not look at the broader purpose of the candidates' language. This observation brings us to the divergence noted in the data. Some of the participants mentioned that President Kikwete and Dr Slaa wanted to serve the people or were lying. According to those who held the former view, for instance, the candidates were seeking to be president so that they could serve Tanzanians. But if such participants had asked themselves questions such as those posed earlier perhaps they'd have perceived their language differently. This divergence alerts people (Tanzanians in particular) to the necessity of stretching their thinking contours to establish the meaning of candidates' campaign speeches. In this regard and in addition to asking themselves the above questions and others, they need to look at a candidate's ability, track record and sincerity in conjunction with careful consideration of the context in which such speeches are made, namely the electoral context where every candidate wants to make people vote for him and/or the political party on whose platform he is running for public office, to understand what candidates say.

Conclusion

This paper has looked at how Dr Slaa and President Kikwete legitimated themselves and delegitimated each other and at some of the audiences' understanding of the function of the candidates' discursive strategies. The purpose was to find out whether their understanding converges or diverges from the dual function the strategies performed, as well as showing the implications of such convergence or divergence. This paper used CDA to analyse the speeches and discuss the findings. It has been found that Dr Slaa and President Kikwete deployed *authority*, *moralisation*, *rationalisation* and *mythopoesis* to legitimate themselves and delegitimate each other, functions which some of the audiences were aware of. The other functions suggested by a fair number of participants are seeking to serve and lying. But if the participants

had probed the candidates' language further they wouldn't have mentioned functions such as seeking to serve. This divergence implies that consumers of campaign speeches need to pay close attention to candidates' language to understand what candidates say on the campaign trail.

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The Enactment of Male Mothering in Clark's *The Wives' Revolt*

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Abstract

The predominantly conventional situation in indigenous and contemporary Africa has been a practice of female mothering within the domestic space. Given the postmodern spirit of professionalization that is affecting numerous entrepreneurial outfits and agencies around the world, men have entered into spaces of mothering, hitherto reserved for women. Examples abound in Europe and America of male nannies while a sizeable number of men in Nigeria secured employment through the growing influence of the Macdonaldization witnessed in fast food companies. This has influenced the gender changing roles witnessed in a number of homes in Nigeria and in Africa. This paper therefore examines the representation of male mothering in Clark's The Wives' Revolt with a view to establishing the artistic agency of the playwright. Judith Butler's gender theory of Performativity is used to analyze representations. The discussion of representation in the play shows that the playwright mismanages the male mothers and thereby demonstrates a clear misapprehension of gender as performance.

Key words : *Female mothering, domestic space, male nannies, performativity, representation, performance*

Introduction

The context of male mothering in Clark's *The Wives' Revolt* is located in the exploration of oil in the Niger Delta, a southeastern part of Nigeria. Oil was discovered in Nigeria in the 1950s in Oloibiri (Mosobalaje, 2015 :443). It became exportable in commercial quantity in 1958. Oil commerce took a different turn in the early 1970s when Nigeria witnessed what was aptly referred to as the oil boom. With the oil boom, Nigeria abandoned all other natural means of generating wealth such as cocoa, gold and other agricultural products to solely concentrate on oil commerce. The oil commerce attracted many foreign investors and multinational corporations that later settled in Nigeria for oil drilling. Not long after these multinational corporations settled to oil drilling, the oil-bearing states began to feel the heat of environmental degradation as a result of oil drilling. The Niger Delta communities were largely farmers and fishermen. Gas flaring and acid rain destroyed farmlands, rivers and the entire environment was damaged (Jike, 2004:692).

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The environmental degradation resulted in massive resistance from the people of the oil-bearing communities. They demanded that the government intervene in the issues of the degradation by making adequate provision for revenue allocation that would bring about the enhancement of the battered environment of the Niger Delta. Following poor revenue allocation, the people of the communities decided to make oil drilling and lifting unbearable for the multinational corporations. Unfortunately for the Niger Delta people, the Nigerian government entered into a triadic relationship that involved the Nigerian government, the multinational corporations and the American government. In the relationship, the Nigerian government started to offer protection to the multinational corporations by creating a good and well secured environment for oil drilling and lifting. The resistance from the Niger Delta people took different forms that ranged from the physical to the legal and the literary. Bodies and movements were formed to campaign against the Nigerian government both within and abroad for its role in aiding the environmental degradation in the oil-producing communities and the lack of provision of viable amenities for the Niger Delta people.

The Nigerian government, however, designed reprisal strategies that would curtail the growing waves of the Niger Delta resistance. One of such was armed mobilization of the Nigerian army to the locations of oil drilling. A major blow to the resistance struggle of the Niger Delta people was the government execution by hanging of a foremost Nigerian environmental activist, Ken Saro Wiwa on a frame-up murder charge in November 1996 (Soyinka, 1996 :148–149). This reprisal attack by General Sani Abacha junta on the oil-bearing communities irked Nigerians and the international communities. The cold murder of Ken Saro Wiwa by the government worsened the resistance struggle of the Niger Delta people. The communities thereafter formed a vigilante group known as Egbesu boys that used spirituality to bolster its frame of resistance manifested in pipeline vandalization and kidnapping of white workers and officials of the multinational corporations.

Two measures therefore have been put in place by successive governments and the multinational corporations to court peace in the region. The Nigerian government has settled for dialogue with the Niger Delta militants which led to the amnesty granted to the militants by President Sheu Musa Yar Adua. The amnesty empowered the Niger Delta militants in several ways. This made

majority of the militants to surrender their weapons of destruction and left the creeks. With the amnesty wealth, Niger Delta militants have taken up jobs, some have gone for further studies while some have set up businesses on their own. The multinational corporations also came up with different forms of compensation for the oil-bearing communities for the incalculable loss done to the oil-bearing communities.

Clark's *The Wives' Revolt*chronicles the crisis of oil in the Niger Delta oil-producing communities and the monetary compensation provided bymultinational corporations to buy peace in the region. It also chronicles the reception of the compensation and the eventual gender crisis that the compensation brought upon the community of the play. In resolving the crisis that follows the compensation in the world of the play, the playwright demonstrates his delicate understanding of gender consciousness.

Theoretical Approach: Judith Butler's Gender Theory of Performativity

There have been theoretical insights devoted to the study of gender identity and power relations before the promulgation of Butler's Performativity theory which seeks to denounce the existence of a pre-discursive identity and subject. One of such earlier scholars was Simone de Beauvoir in her seminal work entitled *The Second Sex* (1953). In this work, she categorically states that there is nothing called feminine nature but there is feminine situation. To quote her directly, "One is not born, but rather becomes a woman" (1953:273). In other words, a man is not born but also becomes man within society. What this therefore means is that the gender categories such as femininity and masculinity come into being through processes of socializations. They are products of social constructions.

Arising from de Beauvoir's notion that both biological sex and gender are culturally determined, it is reasonable to see through the agency of different societies in the crucial political process of social constructions of identities. Drawing from most societies in which social constructions of gender have taken place, there is a huge correlation between gender identity construction and power relation. The construction of masculinity speaks to a privileging power over and above the social construction of femininity which places women across the globe on the marginal scale in relation to their male counterpart.

The context of power relation can truly provoke a discussion of gender conception of power. Two schools of thought have contributed to scholarship on gender conception of power. One conception (Mackinnon, 1987; Dworkin, 1987) considers power to be a form of domination. This school posits that there are two participants inhabiting this conception of power. There is the dominating agent and also the receiver of the domination. In this arrangement, men are the dominating agents while women are the receivers of the domination. This school of thought sounds plausible given the fact that men dominate women because of the socially constructed identity of femininity. We also must note that this school of thought does not give cognizance to the fact that there are equally widespread female-on-female violence and female-on-male violence. The only female victimhood may not be a totally plausible argument as held by this school.

The second school of thought approaches the conception of power from an opposite direction. The school (Hoagland, 1988; Ruddick, 1989; Held, 1993) rejects the notion of domination outright claiming that power can be empowering, affirmative and transformative. The fact of being women, through its traits and practices, can be empowering. It is established that women can be caring and not aggressive. They equally manifest mothering traits. These are traits that are positive and therefore needed to enable peaceful coexistence in nations. Femininity, going by these traits, has all it takes to transform individuals and nations for positive ends. It is no wonder that it is sometimes prayed that the future is feminine. Nonetheless, no one is denying the fact that women, in spite of these empowering traits, still face domination in the hands of men

Both schools have also been criticized because of their internal weakness in spite of their being good models to study relations among the genders in society. The domination conception has been criticized for not recognizing the fact that the receivers of domination do have capacity for action and have therefore at different times assumed agency to subvert male domination and male spaces. The conception of power as empowering has also been punctured. It is argued that the conception has turned the traits of caring and mothering which men have used to subjugate women to points of empowerment. Further on this is the issue of contradictory experience of power with respect to men. Men can be said to be enjoying power as a social group. Some men, however, lack power as individuals (Kaufman, 1994 :144).

Judith Butler goes into the heart of gender theorizing with her Performativity theory which debunks notions of pre-discursive subject to asserting that "gender is also the discursive/cultural means by which 'sexed nature' or 'a natural sex' is produced and established as 'prediscursive', prior to culture, a politically neutral surface on which culture acts" (1990:7). Butler adds her voice to the argument that sex is culturally constructed and not in any way natural. Central to Performativity theory is the argument that sexuality, gender and any forms of identity are wholly performative.

She argues that identities are produced through a process of re-signification and repeated performance of identities legislated by privileging gendered discourses. She argues that femininity and masculinity are ideologically sanctioned acts that gain prominence through continual and repetitive performance. Arising from the fact of repetitive performance, gender identity, she claims, cannot be said to have any ontological foundation. It is therefore, a permeated act that is repetitively enacted in order to imitatively structure gender identity and thereby give it a natural legitimacy.

Butler seems to reject the notion of conscious agency since gender identity is all about a re-enactment of established acts of gender performance. Unknowing to men and women, they act out the traits socially constructed for them by the society. The task of Butler's Performativity theorizing is actually to restore conscious agency after having established the fact of the performative nature and strength of gender. A thorough process of re-signification and unlearning processes can evolve new sets of acts that would be performed over a period of time in such a way that would rival the earlier repetitive acts that structure oppressive gender configuration. With the emergence of new sets of acts for subsequent repetitive performance, the pre-discursive stereotype and natural validity undergirding oppressive gender would be supplanted for a battle of rivaling acts for supremacy or equality.

Hierarchies of Gender Violence

It is important in this section to first of all examine the context that led to the emergence of male mothers and male wives within the domestic spaces. It has to do with some form of violence that can be framed as being largely gendered as shown in *The Wives' Revolt*. The gender violence is divided into three. The first form of gender violence is described as multinational masculinity. The second is

called patriarchal masculinity while the third one is referred to as female masculinity as expressed in exilic encounter.

Multinational masculinity is a kind of male enactment of violence demonstrated by multinational corporations in the oil-producing Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Given the establishment of oil commerce in Nigeria, as stated above, multinational corporations supported by their home governments flooded the oil-bearing communities and consequently destroyed natural habitation and endangered indigenous agricultural occupations of the members of the oil-bearing communities. This led to the impoverishment of the land and the people such that they were left with nothing but to be dependent on the government of the land and the multinational corporations for survival. The government of the land has, overtime, not yielded to the full demands of the oil-bearing communities in terms of revenue allocation for the physical and social development of the region to the comfort of the people.

This impoverishment carried out by a group of foreign business men on the Nigerian men and women of the oil-bearing communities is termed multinational masculinity. The violent act and the consequent impoverishment of the oil-bearing communities by the multinational corporations is a process of feminization of these communities. As a mode of production, the oil commerce and its successes reproduce the multinational corporations and gave them the new identity of multinational masculinity. The loss of the aboriginal work of the oil-bearing communities through oil exploration and commerce has therefore turned the people of oil communities to women who depend largely on the multinational corporations as breadwinners. The gender clash between men and women of Erhuwaren in the play is an indicator of the feminization as the multinational corporations became the plunderer men who in turn feed the people of the community with stipend as emergency breadwinners.

The second form of gender violence is patriarchal masculinity which comes about as a product of the breadwinner status of the multinational corporations within the home of the oil-bearing communities. From time to time, the multinational corporations drop off stipend to the oil-bearing communities to be used for the upkeep of the community. The stipend creates the enabling environment for dictatorial men (Orabueze, 2010 :86) of these communities to enact their own acts of gender violence described as patriarchal

masculinity. In their wisdom, men and women must not have equal share of the stipend because men are greater than women. They therefore consider it appropriate to share the stipend along the patriarchal divide which is largely considered to be natural and equitable as shown in the excerpt below:

> **Okoro**: It is the matter of the money sent by the oil company operating on our land. The amount is known to all. This sum, after due debate in the town hall, has been shared out in three equal parts, one going to the elders of the town, the second to the men in all their age groups, and the third by no means the least, to the women, also in all their age grades (1)

Conscious of their subjugation by the multinational corporations also, women in *The Wives' Revolt*, rise against the distribution formula devised by the men of Erhuwaren community of this play. They raise their hands to vehemently speak against the formula. The speaker of the community meeting, however, does not give them the equal opportunities to speak up to the case. Right at home, Koko is holding up her husband to the wrongdoing the men-folk meted out on them in the community gathering arising from the sharing formula. Okoro, the husband, falls back onto the usual stereotypical defence of men as shown in the following:

> **Okoro**: We didn't, I swear. You know as well as I do that it was in strict observance of tradition that we shared the money into three parts. And it is also in the strictest interest of the community that we have passed the law banning goats from town. We cannot have goats wandering about our streets and home-steads uncontrolled. It was enough having them fill the place with filth, but now that we know they also provide refuge for forces of evil, oh, yes, that wherever there is a herd of goats there is a coven of witches, our immediate and mandatory duty to the community is to see them safely out of town (7)

Irked by the fact that women could gain the capacity to act and speak up to violence, men decide to punish them for gaining voice to speak on such issues. The punishment is realized through a genderization of animals. Commonly, in most parts of the Nigerian societies that produced this play, women rear goats which are considered household animals while men rear pigs. Unknowing to

women in the community of this play, men tend to keep pigs because of the commercial value of swine. In spite of the clear resemblance that pigs have with men and the multinational corporations in their destruction of women's farmland, men prefer and protect pigs while they frame goats up in gender terms as being abodes of witches, a charge which is traditionally leveled against women in most parts of Africa. The politics of genderization of animals is vividly expressed in the following by Okoro's wife:

> **Koko**: Responsible men! Now, if you are looking for a creature other than man in this town that causes havoc physically and immediately, you people really should have done better than pick upon the goat. But, oh, no, all you want to do is get on top of us women. There you have your pigs prowling all over the place unmolested, but because you hold the swine in common trust and sell it at inflated prices to Ughelli people at times of their festival, while goats are household animals kept by us women, you protect one animal and expel the other out of town (8)

The third category of violence comes from the women of Erhuwaren in the form of female bonding and exilic encounter. These women cannot stand the oppressive sharing formula and the consequent banning and expulsion of their goats from town. Goats that are not sent out of town after the deadline set up by men are confiscated by almost all the men in the community with festival gusto. The exilic encounter is framed in terms of violence because of its effects on the men of Erhuwaren and the entire household left behind by the angry women. The men of Erhuwaren are, undoubtedly, like all other men who suffer from a stereotype that comes from another form of genderization. Men genderize action and consider it a wholly male preserve. Men push all women into the province of gossip in which women lack any iota of inkling for action, let alone being capable of mass action. Okoro challenges his wife when he says:

> **Okoro**: It is your business to cheer us all right, since you aren't made for action. But you must first inspire us, yes, inspiration must come before action, so inspire us, first. (15)

This genderization must have come from biology which opines that women are not as physically strong as men given the presence of some male hormonal composition (Reaser, 2010:74–75), which

women do not have. This also must have led the global community from time immemorial to be fielding men in spaces that require much physical energy such as military expeditions, wars and other tasks of the same rank. Okoro must have been coming from the female lack of capacity for action ensured by biology and past experiences of non-fielding of women in such powerful spaces. Lumping them altogether within the province of gossip arising from another biological consideration which sees women as being less intelligent than men, Okoro cannot figure women as being capable of rational thinking but gossip and noise as shown in the excerpt below:

> **Okoro**: I don't see what you women can do. You cannot even speak with one voice on any one matter at any time. We saw a good display of your unity today at the assembly, didn't we? All you can do is buzz about an issue like a swarm of houseflies, unable to move a little object in the way that ants in all their mute state do so well with ease. (11)

Still coming from the stereotypical genderization of mental acuity and knowledge always done by men, the men of Erhuwaren think that women naturally lack the capacity for action because they lack the power of rational thinking that would power such. Men, therefore, lay absolute claim to knowledge about the nature and state of women at all times. However, the men of Erhuwaren, are, however, held in contradiction. They reflect their male anxiety in their charge of witchcraft against women but at the same time they go ahead claiming that they know women in totality that they are incapable of action. This contradiction belies the male absolute claim to knowledge of the psyche of women as represented in the apprehension of Okoro in the quote below:

> **Okoro**: Am I sure? If I don't know my wife inside out, who should? Of course, she's still in her dreamland, pursuing a herd of pigs pulling up her precious crops. Now, let me call her for you so you can see for yourself, Koko, Koko! She is not in her room and she is not at the well either. Now where can she be so early in the morning when every decent woman should be getting her husband a decent breakfast and the children off to school? (18)

The march of the women out of town, abandoning their homes because of the obnoxious male laws confirms their capacity for action

and to assume agency as against the male empty claim to absolute knowledge of the women's condition and psyche. Okoro shows this empty claim thus: "Who would have thought they had the might and mind?" (19) This is an acknowledgement of their capacity for action and mental acuity. They declare their assumption of agency and exilic manifesto thus:

> **Koko**: The law you have passed is bad, unfair and discriminatory, being directed against women because of our stand. We will not accept it (10)

Contrary to popular male empty claim to absolute knowledge, the women of Erhuwaren have marched into exile as a movement. They have shown to have a greater potentials and power for mobilization than men have obviously been thinking. Okoro's friend thus laments aloud:

> **Idama**: Of course, I'm sure. My own Titi, too, is gone. Yes, all are gone – handmaid, headwife, most favoured wife, nursing mother and pregnant wife, they have all left town. There look around you and see if you can find a single female in town except old unmarried girls and wives retired home from their husbands. (19)

The gender violence inflicted by these women is peculiar because it cuts across all the gender grades. The men are the hard hit by the violence of the march because of household chores which kill them to the bones. They cannot also have their sexual gratifications even from their free girls. The children also suffer the pains of the absence of their mothers. The entire community also partakes in the effect of the absence of women because the entire community becomes exceedingly unkempt. The old women who are left behind in Erhuwaren refuse to placate the women in exile and even unwilling to assist in any manners of household chores to relieve the men. They firmly show solidarity for the women in exile. The other form of violence is on the women themselves. It is the liability of the exilic encounter. They are inflicted with a contagious disease from a popular prostitute assigned to them in the host community as recollected by Idama in the following excerpt:

> **Idama**: We unwillingly delivered our wives into the hands of our arch-enemies at Eyara who wasted no time in assigning them the most gorgeous maid of honour with no less a name than Ighodayen (55)

Strategic Enactment of Male Mothering and Artistic Agency

In view of the oppressive sharing formula backed up by the force of tradition and the obnoxious male law banning goats belonging to women from town while keeping destructive pigs belonging to men in town, women come together as a socio-cultural and political movement, hitherto unbelievable by men, and decide to go on exile and never to come back. The exile, as mentioned above, involved abandoning even their children.

The question to ask is: what happens to the domestic and community duties naturally anchored by women as a result of their exile? Answering this question would take us back to the issue of sex role discussed above. From a biological standpoint, certain roles were hitherto distributed to men and women based on their sexes. With the works of scholars such as de Beauvoir (1953) in her reconfiguring of gender as a product of sociological construction, biological determinism was laid to rest. As a result of this, gender is seen as being created by different social forces in the society.

The intervention of Butler appropriately situates gender or sexed nature as the products of repetitive performances by different social agents in societies. As repetitive acts, overtime, they become modes of production that give birth to certain identities. The productive nature of the repetitive acts, therefore, have conditioning power which structure gender and sex which can alienate the carrier of such gender or identities. This alienating capacity was what informed Butler's earlier notion of lack of conscious agency on the parts of the holder of the gender.

In the context of our study, the repetitive acts of oppressive gender are the ones created and sustained by sex role theory and which are kept alive, unknowing to sex role theory, by Performativity. In the Nigerian or most African households represented in *The Wives' Revolt*, it is the women that carry out most of household chores such as cooking, washing of clothes of the household, fetching of water, bathing of children and attending to the entire gamut of child care while men provide the financial wherewithal for the house as the breadwinner.

The contention by these scholars is that this distribution is gendered and not natural and that each repetition of these acts tends to perpetuate them and condition the gendered sex created in the first place. Theses household chores are therefore known as conditioning

acts from which generations upon generations have learnt their gender. As children grow in most African households, the repetitive acts condition their passages into different spaces in the household. The girl child is given repetitive acts that condition her passage to the kitchen and the bedroom while the boy child is given repetitive acts that would lead him into the spaces of decision making and leadership in the house and subsequently into the public square.

The duty of Performativity is to open up the condition of existence of gender as being based on repetitive performance undergirded by social constructions. This, therefore, means, as stated earlier, that these repetitive acts can be reframed and unlearned for a new set of repetitive actions to take their place and begin a new form of conditioning. Whatever new set of actions that are put up, their performative condition of existence must be born in mind. The march of the women into exile has therefore thrown up an opportunity for the exposure of the performative condition of existence of the supposedly female household roles or chores. In their absence, it can actually be tested whether the spaces of the domestic repetitive acts belong to women by nature or not. The male characters in the play take up the challenge and promise to enter into the spaces with gusto as boasted thus:

> **Okoro**: Bah! How many women know how to cook? Many cook by rote, although they call it a different recipe every day. The gravy always of one colour, red or yellow all over with palm or groundnut oil, and if the pepper is not of the strength to blow off the roof of your mouth, the salt is a sufficient dose to burn up your bowels. In the wide world outside, the greatest cooks are to be found among men. From ships to palaces, all the great cooks are men. Oh, I can tell you exactly what my wife will cook one month from now. Now, you tell me one wife in this day and age who can cook as well as our mothers did.
>
> **Okoro**: Wash our clothes? You mean ruin our clothes for us. Remember my fine George I danced *udje* with last year? Koko has ruined it completely with her washing. The children will do equally well. (21–22)

The above account from Okoro goes beyond a boast given the fact of the extra-literary reality he has culled up with regard to cooks in

ships, palaces and even in planes. This is due to the fact that cooking has become professionalized as a highly paying job. Men have equally moved into the domain and have proven some high level of excellence and expertise. Okoro's challenge and that of other men in the play is a discursive intervention necessary for emulation in his Erhuwaren community.

The above takes us to the issue of conscious agency. Butler contends that the alienating condition of repetitive acts prevents conscious agency. This can be true to the extent that the repetitive acts condition the social agent eternally. There can be a conscious agency in a situation in which a check is placed on the repetitive acts. The entrance of men into the supposedly natural domestic spaces of women breaks down the repetitive acts of these spaces and their conditioning power.

The acts are now reconstituted with new social agents and new gender configuration. Here is a new enactment which can be termed a subversive agency. As a subversive act in these spaces, we now have characters we can call conscious male subjects or autonomous male agents who have debunked the sex role distribution, opened up the spaces for both genders in order to foreground the truth of Performativity as the basis of gender practice. The annexation of the domestic spaces is, however, presented with a twist in the quotes below:

> **Okoro**: Then let's start the fire. You'll find the match box up there in that corner. That's where Koko normally hides it so I wouldn't find it to light my cigarette. The foolish woman, to run out on me. I'll show her I can do without her. Let me get some firewood, already split. Good for her, it's fresh bundle she brought from the farm yesterday. [*Both men go on their knees and begin making the fire, bringing the pieces of wood together downstage centre. They strike a match, it doesn't light the first time. When it does eventually, they apply the flame to the wood splinters but it does not light.*] (23)
>
> [*Still the fire does not come to life, although both men, now on their knees, necks craning, crawl around it bumping their heads in the process, until thoroughly spent, they fall back on haunches*] (24)

> **Okoro**: Come, you give up too easily. Any child can light a fire. Now, why didn't I think of that before? Let me call Omote to see to it; while you and I go to settle the serious matter of carving up the meat. Now, that's a man's job. Are you coming? (24)

The firebrand takeover of the female domestic spaces by Okoro and his friend is without doubt with some male nationalism. However, a twist is being introduced in the stage direction pointing to the possible failure of their occupation of these spaces. Yet, the two friends refuse to see their failure to light the fire as a result of their not being women. Instead, they call forth the male child to handle this while they go ahead to handle a harder job considered to be men's job.

Herein lies the contradiction of the autonomous male agent who dedicates himself to opening up the female domestic spaces for the inclusion of men but who also at the same time considers a certain action as being a job for men only. This contradiction obviously reveals the artistic agency of the playwright. The playwright is supposed to use this play as a vehicle to establish the performative condition of existence of repetitive acts that form gender by following up on the agency of the male characters in their laudable attempt to open up the supposedly natural female domestic spaces for the inclusion of men. However, the playwright thwarts the active agency of the male characters by presenting them, in the end, as naturally unfit for the female domestic spaces in households because they cannot breastfeed, light fire, fetch water and cannot withstand children strapped on their backs wetting on them. The excerpts below show the above:

> **Idama**: I see in these days of emergency men play many roles. Great orators in the assembly, and poor nannies at home (27)

> **Idama**: Look, this morning I wanted to wash my mouth and face, and found there was not water around the house. 'Oh, no, don't come to me!' says the old girl, even before I had opened my mouth. 'I bathed you coming into the world, and now you should be arranging to wash me when I'm gone!' So with that I took up rope and pot, and went to the well. Man, I didn't know it takes some trick bringing water up a well. I won't tell

> you how many times I tossed the thing this way and that way to get it under water. The short end of it is I broke the pot against the side of the well. And all the old woman said when I came back wet all over was: 'So there are certain things men can't do after all?' Oh, yes, the old girl and her kind are standing firmly behind the wives in their march (28)
>
> **Okoro**: Wetting himself onme, you mean? I believe he has gone and done the big one too on me. Oh, my friend, for a moment, I thought I had burst my bladder or worse (37)
>
> **Okoro**: Several days gone and I've not been able to go to the market, while other people are busy making money, all because of these foolish, misguided women (39)

It is from the above performative perspective that I intend to situate the artistic agency of the playwright. The playwright's agency manifests false gender consciousness. He genuinely sets out to defend the rights of women and to restore equitable power relations. He is able to achieve this at the end of the play because the power scale tilts back to the equilibrium expected by the women in the play. However, his artistic agency is bogged down by a false consciousness in his inability to see that gender is a set of performance with regard to male mothering and male domestic worker.

He creates male characters that enter into the stereotypically reserved spaces of mothering and domestic work. Instead of him to have sharpened them strongly well in line with realities in the contemporary world in which men have successfully demonstrated expertise as cooks and nannies, the playwright, suffering from the sex role differentiation, presents the male mothers and domestic workers as inept, thus arguing that those roles can only be handled by women given their nature.

He aims to use the ineptitude of the male mothers as a point for which men are forced to plead for the return of the women within the context of complementarity. His intention to smoothly resolve the contradiction in the play in favour of the women-folk has also led him to committing a gender faux pas of further authenticating gender oppression in the act of perpetuating domestic work as the natural habitat of women.

While it would be some good argument that the men miss their women because of sex, this would abundantly be mutual on the part of both genders in the same way that household chores be socially configured as being mutual exercises. The case drawn up by the playwright to establish the ineptitude of men in the play pale off in the outside world as evidences abound in several professionalized macdonaldized spaces.

His gender consciousness must have been mixed up with the African patriarchal notion of the place of women in the house. The playwright is, however, thereby, in his rejection of the performative condition of repetitive acts for biological or pre-discursive gender identity, enmeshed in poor understanding of gender struggle and thus deploying false gender consciousness.

The Male Showdown and the Female Breakage of the Conditioning Act

The contradiction and the false gender consciousness that undergird the artistic agency of the playwright can be examined further within the context of actional representation between the genders in the play. One wonders why the playwright gives the female gender a full agency while the male gender is allotted partial agency that breaks at the seams when it is mostly needed to resolve a crisis. Women in *The Wives' Revolt*are positioned to breakdown the performative repetitive acts and its subsequent conditioning acts that sustain oppressive gender prosecuted by men. However, men are able, through the partial agency, to make a false start that goes nowhere in calling off the conditioning acts and the eventual oppressive gender which is the product of the conditioning acts of male oppressive gender.

The partial agency is demonstrated in the failure of male characters in the play to successfully enter into the supposedly natural female domestic spaces that have been dismantled in real world as shown in the analysis above. The full agency to disrupt the repetitive acts and the conditioning acts that bring about the disempowering femininity created by men can be shown in three ways in the play. The first is unity and formation of a movement by women. The second is capacity for social mobilization and action and the third is the capacity for beating back. Through their full agency, women have broken down the repetitive acts of men and their conditioning acts in the above three sectors. The breakdown has thus led to the final male showdown realized at the end of the play.

Beginning with the first one, it would be appropriate to dig into the roots of the repetitive acts that ensured the prominence of men in the area of unity and formation of men's movement. The age-long voicelessness of women in most African societies must have contributed to their lack of unity that would bring them together for the formation of a political movement. In most homes, when men are talking, women commonly excuse the gathering of the wise men into the closet or into the kitchen. This age-long practice has, over the years, positioned men in the domain of public affairs while women operate in the background. Taken to the public domain, men form the greatest number in the decision making bodies of most African societies whereas women consume the decisions arrived at by men. The recent upsurge of the female breakdown of the monopoly of male repetitive acts in the areas of female unity and formation of female movement towards political participation comes as a surprise to the men-folk and this is why Okoro warns persuasively thus:

> **Okoro**: A witch in the kitchen, that's what you are. Why don't all women stay that way and leave affairs of state to us men? Life would be so much better for everybody (14)

The women in *The Wives' Revolt* do not stop at only forming a united movement, the movement launches into social mobilization. With the assumption of voice and formation of a movement, women reel out a new set of actions that would be perpetuated with repetitive acts that would bring about a new gender identity. The mobilization gathers all the grades of women in Erhuwaren excluding the old women who decide to stay back and give solidarity support to their sisters in arms who are in exile. This mobilization for action testifies to the existence of conscious agency to stem out oppressive male constructed repetitive acts geared towards oppressive female identity. As autonomous social agents, they engage a new set of performative acts to checkmate the forces of social constructions of patriarchy presented as divinity.

The third act recruited by women is the beating back capacity. From time immemorial, in most African societies, wife beating is the typical practice of men which is largely termed a corrective measure. Husband beating is a misnomer because the husband is the leader of the house. The male capacity to beat draws its strength from this leadership status and also from the supposed physical power of men over women. Trends in other climes in the world have shown that

spouse beating is not a domain of male preserve. Women have now entered into the domain to break the monopoly of men. Arising from this full agency granted to the females in the play, Koko has disrupted the repetitive act of wife beating by including husband beating in the manner of beating back or spouse beating. Going by this stall to male repetitive act of wife beating, women have instituted a new act that would by way of Performativity lead into another set of repetitive acts that would create and govern empowering female identity. The beating back enacted by Koko is captured as follows:

> **Koko**: [*Rushing at her husband*] What form? Who is showing what form? Are you now calling me a witch? Are you now branding me a witch? [*Such is the surprise and the speed of her attack, he reels before her fury, trips over the mortar, and falls flat on his back, his wife tripping over him from the sheer of her own onslaught*] (52)

This full agency given to women to institute new acts that would disrupt the male disempowering repetitive acts while men are given a partial one that cannot achieve the same objective brings us back to the contradiction at the heart of the artistic agency of the playwright which forces one to conclude that the playwright manifests false gender consciousness.

From the resolution of the play, the full agency given to women has been exceedingly effective. Through the new acts of disruption, the male-oriented repetitive acts have been checked and put under control. It has eventually resulted in a male showdown as shown thus:

> **Idama**: The consensus shaping up is that we send the old girls to go at once and bring them with the firm promise that they may keep their goats (31)

> **Idama**: In general, yes. There is, however also the proposal that those who impound must also pay (36)

And the age-long repetitive acts of male-on-female violence are retraced with adequate compensation from the men as announced by the Town-Crier, the husband of Koko, who announces the reenactment the violent male law at the opening of the play:

> **Okoro**: By the same token, our womenfolk whose insight into these matters passes the understanding of all men, deserve the specially fatted cow, the hundred heads of yam, the ten barrels of palm oil and all the other items of reparation required in the act of settlement. No award is too much for this singular set of women, who in fearless opposition to an unjust law, staged a walk-out on all their men, bringing life to a standstill, not even sparing their children … As for the original matter of the oil company money that started all this fire, let it be known here and now that it was not such a big sum of money anyway. Certainly, not so big that it was going to change the condition of our lives permanently for better. It has left the poor, poorer, and the rich perhaps a little richer as our oil continues to flow to enrich other people across the country. But that is another story. Right now, let nobody pour more petrol on a fire that is already dying down in all households. Since it cannot even build us a road or a clinic, it has been decided by consensus that we open a school building fund with what is left of it for the benefit of our children (59-60)

Conclusion

The study has looked into the portrayal of male mothering in *The Wives' Revolt*with the sole aim of unraveling the artistic agency of the playwright within the framework of gender. As a piece of literature, the method has been a study of representation based on Butler's Performativity theory which posits that gender is a performance guided by routinely performed socially constructed repetitive acts.

The analysis reveals that the oppressive gender and identity perpetrated by men is not a product of nature or a pre-discursive identity steeped in biology but a product of sociology. Gender is, therefore, a socially-sanctioned set of acts that are perpetuated by repetitive performance. It is observed that the characters in both genders in *The Wives' Revolt*are pushed to a point of realizing that gender is a set of performance that can be unlearned and subverted.
Through the artistic distribution of the playwright, the female characters are endowed with full agency. This agency enables them to use their understanding of the condition of existence of gender as a performance to institute new set of actions to disrupt the hitherto

socially constructed repetitive acts that create and perpetuate oppressive gender identity for women. With this agency and subversive new acts, they, as conscious and autonomous social agents, stall the performance of the oppressive female identity created by men. The male characters, on the contrary, are given partial agency which prevents them from carrying through their new set of performance which is geared towards freeing the oppressive female gender identity from the clutches of male domination.

I, therefore, opine that this is a contradiction in the artistic agency of the playwright which he seems not to have realized in the course of using the play as a vehicle to bring about equitable distribution of power among the genders in such a way to remove the women from the marginal space. By sustaining the domestic space as the domain of excellence for women in which men are unfit, the playwright is rejecting Performativity and regarding domestic work as a pre-discursive space for women. This thus shows the artistic agency of the playwright as manifesting false gender consciousness.

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The Relationship between Vocabulary Learning Strategies and Vocabulary Knowledge among Tanzanian Learners of Chinese

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Abstract

This study investigates the relationship between the use of vocabulary learning strategies and vocabulary knowledge. The participants in the study were 39 first-year students who had been enrolled on a Chinese language course at the University of Dar es Salaam. Two measuring instruments were used to collect the data: a vocabulary test and a vocabulary learning strategies questionnaire consisting of strategy items and adapted from Schmitt's (1997) taxonomy of vocabulary learning strategies and from Shen's (2005) Character Learning Strategy Inventory questionnaire. The findings reveal that the participants actively used the vocabulary learning strategies. They also show that the participants preferred strategies specific for learning over certain common strategies. They also reveal that overall use of vocabulary learning strategies was positively related to the learners' vocabulary knowledge.

Key words: *Language learning strategies, Chinese language learning, Chinese vocabulary knowledge*

Introduction

The field of language learning strategies (LLS) has received considerable attention in SLA research. Researchers have gained insights into the relationship between the use of language learning strategies, language outcomes and situational and social factors such as setting, learning task and gender.

In spite of this development in research, the nature of a target language has not featured in the learning strategy research agenda. Most of the studies which have been done in this area have focused on the learning of Indo-European target languages, particularly English. Han (2014) notes that language learners develop preferences for language learning strategies so as to cope with the unique challenges involved in learning a certain language. This implies that the findings on the strategies used to learn target languages such as English and other Indo-European languages may not be generalizable to those used to learn a language like Chinese, which is fundamentally different from such languages. Unlike alphabetic written Indo-European languages, Chinese has many homophonous words as well as tones, and uses a logographic writing

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system. As Tavassoli (1999) argues, these linguistic differences have certain qualitative implications for the processing and representation of verbal information in memory and for the way in which words are organized in, and retrieved, from memory. It follows that these characteristics of Chinese may influence learners' choice of language learning strategies and determine how effective strategies can be on the overall learning process. Therefore, to be able to understand more the effectiveness of LLS on L2 learning, we need to understand the use and the relationship between strategy use and L2 proficiency in Chinese.

A survey of LLS research reveals that learners use LLS more in learning a target language's vocabulary than in learning other components of the target language. According to Schmitt (1997), there may be two reasons for this tendency: the discrete nature of vocabulary compared to other language areas and/or learners' awareness of the importance of vocabulary in learning a language. This study therefore explores the use of vocabulary learning strategies, a subgroup of general language learning strategies, in relation to the vocabulary knowledge of the learners of Chinese as a foreign language at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania.

Literature Review

Strategies Use and Language Development

LLS can generally be defined as mental or physical activities which learners do in an attempt to master the target language. O'malley and Chamot (1990) argue that the role of learning strategies is to make explicit what may occur without the learner's awareness or may occur inefficiently during early stages of learning which, in language learning, involves selecting specific information of interest in the input, transferring selected input from working memory into long term memory for permanent storage, building internal connections between ideas contained in working memory, and searching for prior linguistic knowledge in long-term memory and transferring this knowledge to working memory.

SLA literature includes a number of factors which are believed to affect learners' use of LLS. Cultural/ethnic background, learners' level of language proficiency, motivation, learning style and gender have all been shown to have considerable influence on learners' use of different types of strategies (Deneme, 2010; Grainger, 2012; Javid, Al-thubaiti, & Uthman, 2013; Loh & Teo, 2017; Oxford, 1996; Rahimi, Riazi, & Saif, 2008). According to Ellis (1994), LLS act as a

mediator between a set of factors which includes learner differences and situational and social factors on the one hand and learning outcomes on the other. Individual learners' differences together with situational and social factor variables determine learners' choice of strategies, which then influence two aspects of learning, namely the rate of acquisition and the ultimate level of achievement. Likewise, the success that learners experience and the level of L2 proficiency can have effects on their choice of strategies.

Most studies on LLS have applied grouping variables based on cultural/ethnic background, gender and language proficiency differences (Božinović & Sindik, 2011; Catalan, 2003; Han, 2014; Javid et al., 2013). Research indicates that learners from certain cultural/ethnic backgrounds are predisposed to use certain types of strategies. This, according to Oxford (1996), is because language learning is fully situated within a given cultural context hence various cultural beliefs, perceptions, and values significantly affect the strategies students adopt.

However, it is important to point out that the effect of a variable on the use of a strategy needs to be interpreted within the context of other variables. For instance, although high language proficiency is associated with the use of large number of LLS, O'malley and Chamot (1990) found evidence for this among participants in a foreign language context as opposed to those in second language contexts. In addition, Ehrman, Leaver and Oxford (2003) found out that less able learners often use strategies in a random, unconnected, and uncontrolled manner, which may result to the use of more strategies than effective learners may. This suggests that strategy use is ultimately tied to individual differences, learning styles and contextual factors and therefore, these factors should be taken into account when interpreting findings.

The majority of the mentioned strategies studies are based on the learning of English. This suggests that the nature of the target language has not received sufficient attention as a factor determining the choice of strategies. The current study investigated strategies use in the learning of Chinese vocabulary. In addition to uncover strategy use in learning Chinese, this study may allow, for a firm understanding of how other variables like ethnic background and context relate to choice of language learning strategies.

Difference between Chinese and Alphabetic Languages

There is a considerable difference between Chinese and alphabetically written languages. Perhaps the most noticeable feature that sets Chinese apart from alphabetic languages can be seen in phonological and orthographic forms. Chinese uses logographic writing system which has characters as its basic units. These characters usually represent morphemes, which, in most cases, are coextensive with syllables. However, there are as many as 7000 characters but only 1200 syllables; apparently, more than five morphemes or characters may share one syllable. This makes the relationship between orthography and phonology more opaque as it leads to the existence of many homophones. In contrast, the basic units of writing in alphabetic languages are graphemes. In many of these languages, there is a high correspondence between a grapheme and a phoneme, hence once the word is pronounced; its spelling can be correctly identified.

At the level of vocabulary, the absence of morphophonemic or paradigmatic alternation as well as grammatical agreement in the Chinese language distinguishes it from many other languages. This means that words in Chinese do not inflect to match grammatical values such as number and gender of other words in the sentence or to show the relationship between the sentence and events in the real world. In addition, the absence of morphological markers coupled with the strong correspondence between a written character, a morpheme and a syllable means that there is no sharp distinction between the root, lexeme and a word in Chinese. In fact, according to Packard (2000), to many ordinary Chinese, the intuitive notion of a word is 'zi' 字 which refers to a morpheme in spoken language as well as a written character. Although the vast majority of these morphemes have lexical properties, most of them are bound roots; that is, they are not syntactically free. The Chinese word distinct from 'zi' is called 'ci' 词. This is a technical term known mostly by language and linguistic experts. The 'ci' word is the smallest independently usable part of the Chinese language. According to Shi (2000), the majority of *ci* (80%) in modern Chinese, as opposed to old Chinese are dissyllabic. Therefore, the majority of modern Chinese words are compounds made up of two *zi.*

These characteristics of Chinese may have some implication on its learning. Research in behavioural studies reveals that language processing in Chinese is largely based on visual stimuli as opposed to phonological stimuli in alphabetic written languages (Chen & Yuen,

1991; Huang & Hanley, 1995; Lesch & Pollatsek, 1998; Tan et al., 2000). The possible reason for this tendency may be that it is more difficult to extract sound from the Chinese logographs than in alphabets. This is because the sound in Chinese is mapped at the syllable level as opposed to the phoneme level in alphabet languages. In addition, the presence of the phonetic component in the character does not provide much clue to the sound of a character forming a word. According to Fernandes et al. (2013), only 38% of the phonetic components convey consistent pronunciation information in the Chinese character. These differences in language processing mechanisms may lead to differences in the use of learning strategies and language learning preference in general.

Strategy research in CSL/CFL is still in its infancy. The review of strategy research in Chinese has revealed that the focus of LLS research has mostly been on the learning of Chinese characters, reading, speaking and listening. As vocabulary in Chinese is usually associated with character learning, little attention has been paid on vocabulary learning strategies (VLS). Research in this area is often integrated into Chinese character research. However, as highlighted previously, the majority of Chinese words are made of two characters; and if the assumption that the orthographic structure of a single Chinese character is responsible for the right hemisphere dominance as opposed to the left hemisphere of the double characters' words (Tan et al., 2000) holds, we may be able to assume differential learning between single character words and double words based on the differences in processing requirements. Therefore, although research on character learning may offer insights into the strategies used in Chinese vocabulary learning, their scope may be limited to single character words. For a complete account of VLS in learning Chinese, a study that includes both single and double character words is important.

There are few studies on Chinese VLS. One of these studies is the classroom-based case study that investigated VLS used by nine learners of Chinese as a foreign language in the USA (Winke and Abbuhl, 2007). The authors formulated a vocabulary learning strategy taxonomy based on Long's (1996) Interaction Hypothesis. Strategies were classified into three groups: input based strategies, characterized by the learner's attempt to seek input on the target language; output based strategies, involving learner producing the L2 in either speech or writing; and cognition based strategies, involving learner-internal cognitive activities. According to Winke

and Abbuhl (2007), learners indicated that all three types of strategies were fundamental to their studies. In output based strategies, the study found that the strategies used involve making and using flash cards to learn Chinese vocabulary, repeating words (oral rehearsal) in class, and writing tones on words spelled in Pinyin which, according to the authors, is a form of written rehearsal. Winke and Abbuhl (2007) concluded that the students realized that the Chinese logographic script and the tone system made unique demands on their memories; they thus made conscious efforts using output-based strategies to automate both the written and oral production of Chinese words.

Another study that has provided valuable insights into VLS use in learning Chinese is the study which compared the use of VLS by English-speaking learners of foreign languages at the University of Auburn in the USA (Han, 2014). The aim of this study, among others, was to uncover the underlying factors for the use of foreign language vocabulary learning strategies, taking both alphabet-based languages and character-based languages into consideration; describing VLS use and examining the differences in frequency of VLS use between the two language groups. The target languages in the alphabet-based group were Spanish, French, German and Italian whereas in the character based languages there were two languages: Chinese and Japanese.

The finding shows that, on average, participants learning character based languages used VLS more often than those learning alphabet based languages. The study also shows that learners of character-based languages used visualization strategies and writing repeatedly significantly more often than learners of alphabetic languages. In contrast, learners of the alphabetic target languages were frequently found to connect new (cognate or similar) words to their first languages. According to the researcher, these differences can be attributed to the fact that learning characters does require more visual efforts on one hand and perceived similarity between L1 and L2 in the alphabet-based language on the other.

Although the above mentioned strategies studies provide preliminary insights into the difference in the use of strategies between Chinese, a language that uses the logographic writing system, and languages that use alphabets, the study which explores the relationship between strategies use and vocabulary is desirable in order to

further our understanding of the use of strategies in learning Chinese vocabulary.

Methodology

Participants

The participants of the study were 39 Tanzanian undergraduate students at the University of Dar es Salaam who were enrolled on the Chinese Mandarin for beginners II course in 2017/18 academic year. This course is equivalent to Chinese proficiency level two on the HSK scale. During their first semester of the academic year, the participants had taken the Chinese Mandarin for beginners I course. This means they already had some introduction to the Chinese language. Two instruments were administered among the participants; these were a vocabulary learning strategies questionnaire and a vocabulary test. These instruments are described in more detail in the following section.

Instruments

The Vocabulary Learning Strategy Questionnaire

Data on vocabulary learning in this study was collected by the vocabulary learning strategy questionnaire with strategy items adapted from the Vocabulary Learning Strategy Inventory (Schmitt, 1997). This vocabulary learning strategy typology is, probably, currently the most comprehensive typology in vocabulary subgroup of learning strategies. Most studies on the use of vocabulary learning strategies have employed this typology. Strategy items in the questionnaire were classified following Oxford's (1990) classification system. However, recognizing the limitation of this classification in categorizing vocabulary-specific strategies, Schmitt introduced a new category, which he labelled *determination strategies*. This refers to strategies used by learners in discovering the meaning of a new word without involving other people's expertise. The resulting taxonomy of vocabulary learning strategies consisted of five basic categories of strategies: cognitive, memory, metacognitive, social and determination strategies. These are further divided, based on the distinction suggested by Cook and Mayer (1983) and Nation (1990), into discovery strategies, which involve activities used for the initial discovery of a word's meaning and consolidation strategies, which are responsible for remembering the word once it has been introduced.

The taxonomy was adapted to fit the target language and the learning context. In addition, some specific strategies that relate to the learning of Chinese vocabulary derived from Character Learning

Strategy Inventory questionnaire (Shen, 2005) were added to the inventory. The modified inventory consists of 34 items on a 5-points Likert-type scale ranging from never or almost never to always or almost always. To make sure that the questionnaire was clearly understood, strategy statements were translated into the Kiswahili language.

Vocabulary Test

The vocabulary test was designed to measure vocabulary knowledge of learners on Chinese single character words and compound character words. The test consisted of three parts. The first part contained two tasks which required a passive recognition and recalling of word forms and meaning. The first task had ten sentences, each with a missing word. The learner was required to choose an appropriate form of a word presented in pairs consisting of the target word and a distracter. The target words comprised of single-character and compound-character high frequency words. The distracters were either characters, words or a combination of characters that resembles in some way the form of the target word like in the single word-character 走 '*go*', which is presented with a non-word character 老 as a distracter or a double-character word 牛奶 '*milk*' presented with a combination of two characters 件仍, which do not constitute a word. The second task had ten sentences, each with a missing word. The learner was presented with ten words from which to choose the correct words and fill in the blanks in the provided sentences.

The second part consisted of two vocabulary productive tasks. The first task contained ten gap-fill sentences. With the context provided by the sentence, the target words were primed with Pinyin forms to make sure of the target word rather than an alternative, which might make sense to the learner. The second task in this part was a translation task consisting of ten Kiswahili words to be translated into Chinese.

The third part of the test was designed to test the depth of learners' Chinese vocabulary knowledge. It was designed in the form of Word Association Format (WAT) (Read, 1993). In this test, learners were presented with a stimulus/target word together with a group of other words, some of which are related to the stimulus word and some are not. Their task was to identify related words or associates. Two main types of relationships associates involved were paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships.

There were seven target words in this task, each with two associate words intended to tap the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations of the target word. Each target word in both kinds of relationships was presented with two distracters. For example, in the paradigmatic relation, the Chinese word **注意** which means pay *attention to* has **小心** '*be careful*' as a near synonym associate but not **看见** '*see*' or 请求 '*request*'. In the syntagmatic relation, it has **必须**'*have to/must*' as its collocate/colligate but not **超市** '*market*' or 计划 '*project*'.

To make sure the test was comprehensible to the learners and that the knowledge of other words in sentences does not interfere with the task completion, the sentences and structures in both tasks were taken from HSK 1, HSK 2 and HSK 3 past papers.

Procedure

Data collection took place at the University of Dar es Salaam at the end of the second semester of the 2017/18 academic year. The instructor of the Chinese intermediate class agreed to have students complete and take the test in the class. Thirty nine (39) participants agreed to complete the vocabulary learning strategy questionnaire and vocabulary test. After collection, data were coded and entered into an SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) file for analysis.

Results and Discussion

Vocabulary Learning Strategy Use

The median and interquartile range of the strategy items listed in the vocabulary learning strategy questionnaire were compared and classified into more preferred strategies and less preferred strategies. The median splits sample data into the lower half and the upper half, thus indicating the proportion of individuals in the lower and upper halves of the median value. Interquartile range is the difference between the 3rd quartile and the 1st quartile (the middle 50% of the data). It is a measure of how the middle 50% of the data is spread around the median. A large interquartile range indicates that data are more spread, and vice versa. Strategies with the median of 4 and above and with the interquartile range of 1 were considered as preferred strategies, while strategies with the median of 4 and below and with the interquartile range of 1 or 2 were considered as less preferred strategies. Table 1 presents a summary of the participants' strategy use.

Table 1: Summary of Strategies Use

C.Strategy	Median	I.Range	Mean	Std. Deviation	D.Strategy	Median	I.Range	Mean	Std. Deviation
CSTRG16	5.00	1.00	4.5128	.64367	DSTRG1	3.00	2.00	3.4872	1.16691
CSTRG17	5.00	1.00	4.4103	.71517	DSTRG2	3.00	2.00	3.1026	1.33367
CSTRG18	4.00	2.00	3.5385	1.31482	DSTRG3	4.00	1.00	3.5641	1.09532
CSTRG19	4.00	2.00	3.5641	1.29361	DSTRG4	4.00	2.00	3.7179	1.25549
CSTRG20	4.00	1.00	3.5128	1.12090	DSTRG5	5.00	1.00	4.4872	.85446
CSTRG21	4.00	2.00	3.5641	1.16517	DSTRG6	4.00	2.00	3.5385	1.37355
CSTRG22	4.00	2.00	3.8974	1.04617	DSTRG7	3.00	2.00	3.1026	1.29361
CSTRG23	4.00	2.00	3.8462	1.18185	DSTRG8	4.00	2.00	3.9487	1.21284
CSTRG24	4.00	2.00	3.8205	1.25387	DSTRG9	4.00	2.00	4.0513	1.02466
CSTRG25	4.00	2.00	3.9744	1.11183	DSTRG10	4.00	2.00	3.7692	1.13466
CSTRG26	4.00	1.00	3.6410	1.06344	DSTRG11	4.00	2.00	4.0513	1.07480
CSTRG27	3.00	2.00	3.1026	1.39161	DSTRG12	5.00	1.00	4.3846	.84652
CSTRG28	5.00	1.00	4.4872	.88472	DSTRG13	5.00	1.00	4.2308	1.03775
CSTRG29	4.00	2.00	3.7436	1.42751	DSTRG14	4.00	2.00	3.9744	1.08790
CSTRG30	4.00	1.00	3.5385	1.18868	DSTRG15	4.00	2.00	3.3846	1.40704
CSTRG31	4.00	2.00	4.0256	1.13525					
CSTRG32	4.00	1.00	4.1538	1.08914					
CSTRG33	5.00	1.00	4.3333	.92717					
CSTRG34	2.00	4.00	2.7949	1.85216					

Note: CSTRG = Consolidating strategy
DSRTG = Discovery strategy

The table shows, with respect to discovery strategies, that using a dictionary (including phone apps and online dictionaries) to look up the meaning of a new word was the most preferred strategy. There may be two possible explanations for this. The first explanation relates to the deep-rooted notion among many language learners that learning a new word is to know the definition of a word in a dictionary. This may lead learners to direct their efforts in the use of dictionaries, which provide translations of words to learners' mother tongue or, in this case, English. The second possible explanation is that the participants of this study, being beginners, had not developed much Chinese language knowledge that could enable them to employ other strategies that require them to infer the meaning of the new words from the context. As a result, they rely on the use of dictionaries, which provide them with the meaning of the new vocabulary items in the language they already know.

The findings also show that strategies involving the orthographic features of the character/word were among the most preferred ones by the participants. These strategies involved observing a character carefully and paying attention to stroke order. The preference of using these strategies entails the importance of paying attention to orthographic features on the learning of the Chinese word, in particular the written form. These findings support research findings from behavioural studies which reveal that Chinese word processing relies more on visual than phonological processing of the language input (Chen & Yuen, 1991; Huang & Hanley, 1995; Lesch &

Pollatsek, 1998; Tan et al., 2000). Two possible reasons for this are the difficulty in extracting sound from the Chinese writing system and its associated unreliability of phonological mapping. This may have prompted learners to pay more attention to visual configurations of Chinese words.

On the uses of consolidating strategies, the findings show that most strategies used were what Winke and Abbuhl (2007) labelled *output based strategies*. These were practising with others, using written and verbal repetition and taking notice. These are common strategies that many language learners use in different parts of the world. According to Schmitt (1997), students often resist giving them up to try other new strategies. Alternatively, it may suggest the possibility of strategies transferring from the previously learned languages to the learning of Chinese. Tanzania is a multilingual country with Kiswahili and English as official languages. To most learners, these languages are learned after the acquisition of ethnic mother tongues. This may affect the use of strategies in learning Chinese, which, in this case, comes as the learning of a third language. First, learners may have managed to figure out what strategies work best for them hence may consciously apply them to the learning of Chinese/vocabulary. Alternatively, most strategies may have been proceduralized through practice while learning previous language(s) and are invoked by working memory on learning a similar new task.

The Relationship between Vocabulary Learning Strategy Use and Vocabulary Knowledge

For the relationship between strategy use and vocabulary knowledge, a Canonical Correlation Analysis was conducted to evaluate the multivariate shared relationship between the variables. The predictor variables consist of vocabulary discovery and consolidating strategy categories and the criterion variables include single character and double character words scores. The analysis is summarized in Tables 2 and 3.

Table2: Descriptive Statistics of Single Character Words and Compound Character Words

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Mean	Std. Deviation
SCW_SCORES	39	13.00	17.7692	3.60162
CCW_SCORES	39	20.00	14.7692	4.47485
Valid N (listwise)	39			

Note: SCW_SCORES = Single character word scores
CCW_SCORES = Double characters word scores

Table 2 shows descriptive statistics for the vocabulary knowledge variables. The results indicate that scores were relatively closer to the mean in single character words with the range of 13 and standard deviation of 3.60 compared to the range of 20 and standard deviation of 4.47 in double character words. Overall, the performance was relatively equal in single character words (M 17.7692) and double characters cores (M 14.7692)

Since the numbers of items were different in the discovery strategy and consolidating strategy categories, the mean of each group was calculated by dividing the sum of individual strategies means to the number of items in the respective category.

Table 3: Canonical Correlation of Strategies Use with Vocabulary Knowledge

Canonical Correlations

	Correlation	Eigenvalue	Wilks Statistic	F	Num D.F	Denom D.F.	Sig.
1	.466	.277	.751	2.694	4.000	70.000	*.038
2	.202	.042	.959	1.530	1.000	36.000	.224

H0 for Wilks test is that the correlations in the current and following rows are zero

* denote significance at p<.05

Table 3 presents the results of the CCA. The analysis yielded two functions with the squared canonical correlation of 0.22 and 0.04 for each successive function. Collectively, the full model was statically significant, Wilks' λ is .751, F (4, 70) = 2.694, ρ < .05. Since Wilks' λ represents the proportion of variance unexplained by the model, 1 minus Wilks' λ provides the proportion of variance explained by the full model (effect size). Thus, for the full model, the effect size was 0.249, which indicates the full model explained about 25% of variance shared between the two sets of variables. On the basis of

these results, the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between the variables is rejected. Thus, there is a relationship between vocabulary knowledge and vocabulary learning strategy use. This relationship is captured by the first canonical function (*Rc* .466) which explains 22% of variance within its function. Examining function 1 in Table 4.8, we note that the canonical weight shows that the criterion variable in this function has a relatively higher contribution from double character words scores (.614) than single character words scores (.456) while the predictor variable has a higher contribution from consolidating strategies (.717) and a secondary contribution from discovery strategies (.388).

This result shows that overall use of vocabulary learning strategies relates positively with the vocabulary knowledge of the learners of Chinese as a foreign language in Tanzania. The findings support the widely believed theoretical assumption that the more successful language learners use more language learning strategies (O'malley & Chamot, 1990; Selinker & Gass, 2008). The findings also support empirical evidence which has established a positive correlation between language learning strategies and language achievement (Wong & Nunan, 2011; Zhang, 2011). Furthermore, the results reveal that both discovery and consolidating strategies made a useful contribution to the relationship mentioned above. For language learning to take place, a learner must be able to encode the target language input and organize it into his or her cognitive system. This requires the interaction between target language input and a learner's cognition. The use of the language learning strategies maximizes the efficiency of this interaction by directing the selection of features of language input and their organization into a learner's cognitive system.

Although the study does not emphasize the causal relationship between the use of vocabulary learning strategies and vocabulary knowledge, this relationship may be implied from the findings. The results suggest that the use of vocabulary learning strategies help learners organize their learning and process language input, which facilitates the development of the knowledge of the target language vocabulary.

Conclusion

This study investigated the use of vocabulary learning strategies by learners of Chinese as a foreign language in Tanzania. The results indicate that the participants actively use vocabulary learning

strategies to learn Chinese vocabulary items. The results also reveal a positive relationship between vocabulary learning strategy use and vocabulary knowledge. This suggests that frequent use of vocabulary learning strategies contributes to the development of vocabulary knowledge among learners. This has exciting implications for second language learning. The integration of language learning strategies instruction into second language pedagogy will increase learners' awareness of the strategies and boost the overall language learning process.

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A Socio-academic Reflection of College Students' Slang Expressions

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Abstract

This paper sought to contribute knowledge to the field of sociolinguistics (register). It specifically identified and categorised slang expressions used by the Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE) students studying Bachelor Degree of Arts with Education (BAED) and Bachelor Degree of Education (BED) in day–to–day socio-academic interactions. Data were collected through questionnaire from forty (40) students. The slang expressions were categorised in respect to the meanings/interpretations expressed by the respondents. The categories include slang expressions associated with academics, food and drinks, money, body shapes/parts, people and studying areas. It is concluded that the application of slang expressions motivates DUCE students' socio-academic interactions as well as strengthening their relationships and bring forth a sense of belongingness.

Key words: *College students, socio-academic interactions, slang expressions*

Introduction

> *Like clothing and music, slang is an aspect of social life that is subject to fashion, especially among adolescents. It can be used by those inside a group who share ideas and attitudes as a way of distinguishing themselves from others* (Yule, 2010:211).

Slang expressions forge a part of language application in multi-diverse forms of communication. Eble (1996) in Arua and Alimi (2009:16) defines slang as "an ever-changing set of colloquial words and phrases that speakers use to establish or reinforce social identity or cohesiveness within a group or with a trend or fashion in a society at large." Ellis (2002) in Arua and Alimi, 2009:16 defines slang as "a variety of language used in certain context by means of which people express their sense of belonging to a particular group within the community which is not specific to any geographical location."

Despite the argument from the Ellis' (ibid.) definition, that slang expressions are not associated with geographical setting, the study

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by Forsskåhl (2001:106) in Ekenas and Helsinki found that "slang vocabularies do provide a means of marking gender and geographical identity". Apart from geographical setting, language usage might differ from one social cluster to the next (Wijaya, 2013). It is asserted that members of a community may possess knowledge of their language but the degree of competence in respect to the use of slang expressions might vary from one individual to another (Agha, 1999). The variation of competence of the application of slang expressions might be attributed to the social limits in relation to the groups which an individual person is involved with (Agha, 2015). Such variation could be associated with pronunciation, grammar and words (Liaw, Dani and Johari, 2013).

Dozie and Madu (2012) report that slang expressions are either newly coined words or the standard ones with a manipulated meaning and they are subject to change through time. Each generation of people might come with new slang expressions which reflect their social belongingness (Pedersen, 2007). Such belongingness improves social bond of a given group against 'outsiders'. Lewandowski (2010:64) adds that there is "general slang vocabulary used by young people regardless of their social group". Fisher and Lapp (2013) and Liaw, Dani and Johari, (2013) have observed that students coin and use slang expressions and they can manipulate the discourse from standard to colloquial words when the audience change. The current study aims to identify and categorise slang expressions used by the Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE) students in respect to their socio-academic interactions.

Literature Review

The review of literature highlights the relationship between slang expressions and its users. The relationship cuts across slang expressions and youth, features and roles of slang expressions in day-to-day communication requirements. The section further offers insights from related studies.

Features of Slang Expressions

It has been observed that slang expressions are characterised by a number of peculiar manipulative linguistic features. According to Saal (2010), slang expressions include assigned connotations; coined expressions, short forms of words (some slang expressions are made up of only two words), and the use idiomatic expressions. Some slang expressions are characterised by foreign language traits particularly

phonemic treatment. Arua and Alimi (2009) argue that slang expressions are of poor status as are hardly used in official settings. They also acknowledge that the use of slang expressions clearly indicates user's internalised knowledge of the language. Thus, slang expressions are considered unsuitable in official occasions. Apparently, students have been noted to be using slang expressions and the expressions are mostly applied in informal situations, since they share a common background (being students) especially when they converge to discuss various issues. The current study highlights the socio-academic circumstances in which DUCE students apply slang expressions in respect to features and interpretations.

Reasons for Using Slang Expressions

Studies show that there are many reasons for using slang expressions among different groups of people within a speech community. According to Gomaa (2015:103), Saudi youths use slang expressions in order to "sound more funny and humorous". Other reasons for the use of slang expressions include pressure from friends, taunting, and to laugh at or offend mates. Wijaya (2013) asserts that slang expressions are used to economize the language while talking or texting. Some people use slang expressions for fun and others for discriminating 'outsiders'. Yaghan (2008:39) points out that young Arabs used the word *Arabizi* – "a slang word describing a system of writing Arabic using English characters" due to technological challenges as the mobile phones lacked Arabic writing system. Others used slang expressions because "they felt relaxed using Arabizi system" and it was "cool and free of errors" (Yaghan, 2008:44).

In Zhou and Fan (2013:2212–2213), respondents highlighted that they used slang expressions for "self-identity and "achieving politeness." Pedersen's (2007) respondents indicated that the use of slang expressions brings about commonality and improves social bond among group members. Others make use of the expressions as euphemisms.

Slang expressions are used for various purposes, and they are as important as any other forms of communication. Studies show that they are useful in strengthening social togetherness as well as addressing a number of communicative needs. The current study illustrates slang expressions as supplied by University students and how they bond together in day to day socio-academic interactions.

Slang Expressions and Youths

Dozie and Madu (2012) stress that slang expressions are used by individuals who share a common background and understanding. The expressions are normally non-standard, lasting in a short period of time and mostly, semantically idiomatic. Studies have revealed a connection between slang expressions and the users. Dozie and Madu (ibid.) found out that students used slang expressions as a way of communicating within their respective groups. It was uncovered that students used slang expressions in order to appear 'modern'. The use of slang expressions is not random; rather, it is an intentional selection of words that youths use in their interactions. Eble's (2009:79) study shows that Egyptian youths' use of slang expressions is associated with "describing personalities and objects", whereas Al-Kharabasheh and Yassin (2017) observed that Arab youth made use of slang expressions more often than adults. Mazer and Hunt's (2008) study shows that students appreciated their teacher's use of slang expressions as it simplified understanding and improved the bond between teachers and students. In terms of frequency of use, Pedersen (2007) observed that slang expressions are highly used by male youth. Basically, these studies concur that youth and the use of slang expressions are inseparable.

Related Studies

Agha (2015) gathered a record of slang expressions from American colleges. The purpose of the study was to collect and index slang expressions with regard to semantic configuration across time and identify the word formation processes used. The study found out that some slang expressions were coined through manipulating meaning of standard words. Expressions such as *crasher* 'one who cannot tolerate alcohol', *killer* 'excellent' and *wanker* 'undesirable person, situation or thing' (Agha 2015:325) were observed. Other slang expressions referring to 'a stupid person' included *butthead, yo-yo, jerk face, cracker jack*, etc. (p. 326). It appears that the expressions manifest social bonds between individuals, behaviour and the context in which the naming occurs. Such an observation offers room for a study in a local context, to investigate the relationship between slang names and individuals behaviour.

Investigating slang expressions used in 'Ride Along' movie, Adrianto (2015:48) identified and categorised slang expressions found from the movie. The purpose of the study was to note down the types of slang expressions and their functions. The author categorised slang expressions into three: slang society – slang expressions that are

used in daily conversations; public house slang – related to workplaces; and slang in medicine. Some slang expressions found in the movie include *shit*, *damn*, *cop* 'police', *pussy* 'female genitals', *nigga* 'black person', *nuts* 'crazy' and *dude* 'male friend'. The study illustrates that slang expressions could be categorised into different types based on their semantic properties.

Mazer and Hunt (2008) investigated students' perceptions toward teacher's use of slang expressions in the process of teaching and learning. The study specifically sought to investigate the effect posed by such expressions. The findings revealed that the use of positive slang expressions in teaching was positively appreciated by students. One respondent commented that the use of slang expressions "helped me to relate to the subject", while the other said, "it felt more personal, like one-on-one communication" between the teacher and students. Another respondent had the following to say:

> *The slang the teacher was using was helpful, because it helped me to relate [and] to understand what point he was trying to make* (Mazer & Hunt, 2008:24).

The comments from respondents clearly justified that the use of positive slang expressions could improve the relationship between individuals who share the same/similar context.

El Falaky (2016) conducted a study to determine the extent of use of slang expressions among Egyptian youths. The study aimed to investigate semantic interpretations of the slang expressions too. The findings of the study revealed that 51% concurred to purposely using slang expressions. The respondents' slang expressions basically referred to human behaviour and things. For instance, words such as *chick* 'a beautiful girl', *idiot* 'a naïve person', and *sheep* to describe an individual who follows Muslim Brotherhood beliefs were observed. The study also identified other words such as *amen* which is used to concur with someone's argument and *shave* which refers to ignoring something. Such slang expressions seem to associate individuals and situations or behaviour.

Another study was set out by Arua and Alimi (2009) with a purpose of investigating students' invention of academic slang expressions at the University of Botswana. Methodologically, the study used questionnaires to collect data. The study aimed to examine semantic connotations of the slang expressions obtained. The findings revealed

a number of slang expressions related to academic issues, social and love affairs and relationships among students and teachers. The study identified slang expressions such as *toolbars* and *witches* for excellent learners, *clippers* and *boiling point* for high grades, while lower grades were called *red zone, under the belt,* and *sinkers*. Further, the study revealed slang expressions such as *computer, the messiah,* and *professor* for competent teachers, *false prophet*, and *bad pill* for less competent teachers (Arua and Alimi, 2009:20). The study current study manifests a connection between slang expressions and human behaviour. Individuals are attached with slang names to reflect their traits.

Methodology

Research Design

The current study is descriptive. According to Kothari (2004:37), a descriptive research is "concerned with describing the characteristics of a particular individual or group". The current study identifies various slang expressions used by the college students in different occasions and categorise the expressions in respect to semantic properties. The current study shows the relationship between the college students, their slang expressions, and how the slang expressions reflect their socio-academic relationships.

Research Site and Participants

Data for the current study were gathered at the Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE). Since the researcher was teaching at the College, it was easy to access respondents who provided the data. The study involved a total of 40 second and third year students, who were pursuing Bachelor Degree of Arts with Education (BAED) and Bachelor Degree of Education (BED). The respondents were purposively selected because they were more familiar with varieties of language used at the college. The selection of the said students aimed to simplify data collection process.

Data Type and Data Collection Tool

The current study relies on the primary data – slang expressions, collected primarily from DUCE students. Kothari (2004:95) underscores that "the primary data are those which are collected afresh and for the first time, and thus happen to be original in character." The data for this study were gathered through questionnaires as they are "…free from the bias of the researcher and items are in respondent's own words" (Kothari, 2004:101). In this study, the tool required the respondents to mention slang

expressions they normally use in daily conversations and provide their interpretations where necessary. The tool contained twenty (20) slots for the respondents to fill in the expressions and their interpretations.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

This study adopted a descriptive and explanatory approach of analysing the data. The descriptive analysis aimed to simplify the interpretation of data in respect to their semantic properties. When the data gathered is large, it is necessary to classify the items based on homogeneity. Words with similar semantic expressions were grouped together to simplify comprehension. Such classification of data normally would show the relationship among research variables (Kothari, 2004). The data in the current study were classified on the basis of their meanings or interpretations. The slang expressions referring to the same/similar aspect were grouped together. The interpretation of the slang expressions was provided by the respondents.

Findings

The study identified and categorised slang expressions from the research respondents. The expressions were categorised on the basis of interpretations. The categories include slang expressions associated with academics, food and drinks, body parts/shapes, money, people, and studying areas. This section offers the expressions, categories and their interpretations.

Slang Expressions Associated with Academics

Slang expressions associated with academics were sub-categorised in respect to four aspects. The aspects include expressions about behaviour of individuals toward learning, study materials, examinationination results, and activities related to studying at the College. The interpretations of slang expressions about behaviour of individuals focused on what some individuals frequently engaged in and academic competences. Slang expressions related to examinationination results focused on the results, whether the highest or average. Other slang expressions depicted activities related to studying styles, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: Academic Slang Expressions

S/N	Slang Expression	Literal Meaning	Interpretation
1.	Desa/Madesa (plural)	Summarised notes/handouts	Learning materials
2.	Desa boy/girl		a) An intelligent student (mostly males) who is used by another student (mostly females) for studies b) A male/female student who spends most of his/her time studying
3.	Kipanga	Northern goshawk; a bird of prey that feeds on chicks or rats. It never misses to pick prey.	An intelligent student
4.	Kilaza	From Swahili word *laza* 'make someone sleep', thus *kilaza* is 'an ever sleeping person'.	A slow learner, an average student or an incompetent student
5.	Banda	From Swahili; a cone shaped traditional thatched or bamboo hut	'A' grade
6.	Karai	A large round bottomed pan used to warm cold water.	'C' grade. It curves at the bottom like a C.
7.	September conference	Supplementary examinations are scheduled in September.	Supplementary examinations period
8.	Kupiga msuli	a) Kupiga 'to hit' b) Msuli 'muscle'	To study very hard
9.	Kukamatwa	To be arrested and detained under police custody. To get caught.	To fail an examination, get a D/E grade
10.	Kubeti	It originates from 'betting games', involving guessing/ probability.	To sit for an examination without prior preparation
11.	Msuli bed	Msuli 'muscle'	To studying while lying on bed.
12.	Msuli bata	a) Msuli 'muscle' b) Bata 'duck'	Extensive reading/studying for leisure

S/N	Slang Expression	Literal Meaning	Interpretation
13.	Msuli yatima	a) Msuli 'muscle' b) Yatima 'orphan'	Individual/private study
14.	Msuli mande	a) Msuli 'muscle' b) Mande (slang) 'more than one person' doing the same thing	Group discussion

The study found out that the slang expression *desa* (*madesa* in plural) refers to the learning materials that students use. The learning materials mostly include copies of books, handouts, journal papers, book chapters and lecture notes. A *desa boy* is a student who spends most time studying and discussing academic materials. The expression changes to *desa girl* when a female student is involved. In a restricted sense, the expression *desa boy* is used for an intelligent male student that female students rely on for academic assistance. The female students would always cloud the *desa boy* and offer him treats to keep him for academic support. The support could be joining them in group discussions, and sitting strategically close to him during tests or examinationinations. During such times, the *desa boy* is surrounded by female students who expect his support. The expressions *kipanga* and *kilaza* reflect two contrasting facts. *Kipanga* refers to an intelligent student while *kilaza*, an incompetent student. *Kipanga* (equated to northern goshawk) is an 'A' material student while *kilaza* is an average student, and sometimes, it refers to a student who never contributes anything in group discussions and fails tests and examinations.

Banda (a hut) refers to an 'A' grade in examinations. It is assumed that it was named so since its letter shape resembles a hut, while *karai*, a 'C' grade, resembles a steel-round shaped washing basin. Slang expressions from (8) to (11) refer to learning activities. *Kukamatwa* 'to get caught' is when a student fails a final examinationination, hence required to sit for a supplementary examinationination, while *kubeti* 'to bet' is when a student sits for an examination without prior preparations hence they guess the answers. *Msuli* 'muscle' is a Swahili word which is used with other various words for different interpretations which reflect studying. From the researcher's experience in football grounds, *kupasha msuli* (*kupasha* – to warm something up) refers to the time when players warm up. In the college, it refers to studying styles. *Msuli* is combined with other Swahili/English words such as bed, *bata* 'duck'–

slang expression for enjoyment, *yatima* 'orphan' and *mande* – a slang word for group sex. September conference refers to that period when supplementary examinations are administered. The expression remains the same regardless of alternation of supplementary examination period (October/November) with regard to the University's calendar.

Slang Expressions for Food and Drinks

This sub-section offers slang expressions related to food and drinks. The category is divided into varieties of meals, drinks and activities related to food and drinks. Food is among the basic human needs. Around the college, students obtain a variety of meals from cafeterias. The college students name such meals, drinks and eating habits in respect to the shape of food, abbreviation, and other criteria. See Table 2 below.

Table 2: Slang Expressions for Food and Drinks

S/N	Slang Expression	Literal Meaning	Interpretation
1.	Misumari	Nails – Building materials	Sardines
2.	Suji	A coined slang	Rice
3.	Bente	A coined slang	Rice
4.	Kiwiko	Elbow	A slice of bread
5.	RB	Abbreviation	Rice and beans
6.	Joro	A coined slang	a) Leftovers b) Rice crust
7.	Soda kubwa	A big bottle of soda	Alcoholic drink
8.	Maji ya ku-download	Water poured from a water dispenser –like object	a) Tap water b) Boiled/treated water for drinking
9.	Pasi ndefu	Long pass	To skip meals
10.	Kupiga deshi	a) Kupiga 'to hit' b) Deshi 'dash'	To skip meals
11.	Neutral	A gear in automatic transmission cars	To skip meals

In this category, it was realised that the slang expressions come from standard words and coined ones. From the above data (in Table 2), the words *joro*, *suji* and *bente* are coined while the rest are Swahili

standard words with an exception of English words 'download' and 'neutral', and an abbreviation *RB*. Sardines are called *misumari* 'nails – building materials', a standard Swahili word. The name resembles the shape of sardine, which is similar to the shape of nails. Soda – a drink has been combined with a standard Swahili word *kubwa* 'big', and the combination refers to any kind of alcoholic drink including beer and wine. *Kiwiko* 'elbow' is a standard Swahili word whose meaning has been manipulated to reflect a slice of bread. *Maji ya ku-download* refers to the drinking water straight from the tap. Such water is normally used when the students have spent the entire stipend hence they cannot afford to buy bottled water.

Slang expressions (9) – (10) refer to an act of skipping meals. *Pasi ndefu* 'long pass' (in football), refers to an act and the moment when students do not afford three meals per day; hence they skip breakfast or lunch. *Deshi* is a nativised Swahili slang expression from an English word 'dash' – a punctuation mark. In writing, when a dash is used, no word is placed on its top. The same way in the college, when students place a 'dash' in the morning or afternoon, it means they skip a meal. Neutral – the position of the gears in automatic transmission cars applied when the car is not engaged in any moving gear reflects the action of skipping meals – breakfast /lunch.

Slang Expressions for Body Shapes/Parts

This is another category of slang expressions gathered from the students. The category basically relies on one aspect; the expressions which reflect parts of human body. Mostly, the expressions refer to female body parts and shape, and few for males' body parts. It includes standard words and coined words as well. See Table 3 below.

Table 3: Slang Expressions for Body Shape/Parts

S/N	Slang Expression	Literal Meaning	Interpretation
1.	Kimbweta	A cement-made seat	a) A female student with big bums b) Big bums
2.	Koziweki kubwa	Higher coursework	Big bums
3.	Msambwanda	A female dancing group	Big bums
4.	Chura	Frog	Big bums
5.	Flat screen	A flat screen TV	A woman with flat/small bums

6.	Bastola	Pistol holster	Hips (females')
7.	Papuchi	A Spanish gynecologist Julio Iglesias Puga nicknamed Papuchi	Female genitals/vagina
8.	Kibamia	Okra	Small/short penis
9.	Mkonga	a) A trunk b) An elephant trunk	Big/long penis

In (1) above, *kimbweta* refers to the brick-made kind of outdoor chairs that are used by students for individual study and group discussions. They are placed in different areas around the college. They are bigger compared to normal/office/home chairs. Additionally, the word refers to (a woman with) big bums. *Koziweki* is a nativised Swahili word for coursework. A higher coursework (koziweki kubwa – big/higher) refers to big bums. *Msambwanda* and *chura* are slang expressions for big butt. *Msambwanda* comes from a female musical dancing group named *Kibao Msambwanda*. Their dancing style involves shaking/twerking bums. *Chura* is a standard Swahili word for frog. It comes from a dancing style whose dancers sleep on belly while twerking bums. From researcher's experience, the expressions (*chura* and *msambwanda*) are also used outside the college. But *koziweki kubwa* and *kimbweta* are exceptional for college surroundings or used by college students outside the college.

Flat screen refers to a type of TV set with a flat back, as opposed to a cathode ray tube (old style TV set) which has a huge back part. Female students with small butt are equated to flat screen TVs due to the shape, that they are almost flat. *Papuchi*, *kibamia* and *mkonga* are expressions for female and male genitals respectively. *Papuchi* was derived from the Spanish gynecologist (Julio Iglesias Puga) who dealt with women's reproductive health diseases. He was nicknamed *papuchi*. *Kibamia* comes from a standard Swahili name *bamia* 'okra' while '*ki*-', is a diminutive. Considering the size of okra, a small/short penis is named the same. *Mkonga* is a standard Swahili word with multiple meanings. It refers to a tree trunk or an elephant trunk. A trunk's hugeness is equated to male's penis size. An expression *bastola* 'pistol' is equated to female's big hips. It reflects the way female police officers place the pistols on the side of the waist.

Slang Expressions for Money

The slang expressions associated with money are into two groups. The first group is about the names for money while the second one reflects actions. Some college/University students in Tanzania receive money from the Higher Education Students' Loans Board (HESLB) to finance their studies. Thus, the slang expressions also reflect the moment when the students are required to sign loan forms, before the loan (stipend) is deposited in students' bank accounts, and also when the students have spent the entire stipend provided (see Table 4 below) .

Table 4: Slang Expressions for Money

S/N	Slang Expression	Literal Meaning	Interpretation
1.	Boom	Deep loud sound	Money for meals and accommodation (stipend)
2.	Madini	Minerals	Money
3.	Shimo limetema	a) Shimo 'hole' b) Limetema 'it has spit/released'	Stipend being deposited in students' bank accounts
4.	Boom limehit	a) Boom 'money' b) Limehit 'it has hit'	Stipend being deposited in students' accounts
5.	Boom limekata	a) boom ' deep loud sound' b) Limekata 'it is finished'	To go broke after spending all stipends
6.	Kutia kidole	a) Kutia 'to put something (in)' b) Kidole 'finger'	To write a signature on students' loan forms

From Table 4, it is clear that there are slang expressions which reflect money in general, and other expressions for actions that are associated with money, stipend in particular. The expressions (1) and (2) all refer to money. 'Boom' is a common word which refers to the stipend which students receive from the Loans Board. *Madini* is a standard Swahili word for minerals. The concept of wealth/money that is obtained through the Loans Board is equated with the stipend that college students receive. *Shimo limetema* (*madini*) is a short sentence that reflects the moment when the stipend has been deposited in students' accounts. *Shimo* 'hole' in this sense is used as a mine while *limetema* 'has spit' refers to the moment when minerals have been extracted.

Boom limehit is similar to the previous expression (4). *Limehit* 'it has hit', is a combination of Swahili prefixes *li-* , an object marker, *-me-*, a tense marker (completed), and an English verb hit. Together, *boom limehit* refers to that moment when the stipend has been deposited. *Boom limekata* is mostly used when the students have spent the entire stipend. In this slang expression, *li-* is an object marker, *-me-* is a tense marker, *kat* 'cut' is a root and *-a* is a final vowel. Further, *kutia kidole* 'to put a finger (on/in something)' is often used when the students are required to sign the loans forms before the stipend is deposited into their bank accounts. *Kutia* 'to put something in' is a standard Swahili and the same to *kidole* 'finger'.

Slang Expressions for People

This section presents slang expressions for names of people. Such individuals are given names to mirror their behaviour as perceived by others. The names reflect both males and females. The names also echo students names and other individuals not necessarily students. The names are made of coined words as well as standard words with a connotative meaning (see Table 5 below).

Table 5: Slang Expressions for People

S/N	Slang Expression	Literal Meaning	Interpretation
1.	Sponsor	Financial assistant	A male (married) person who is used by a female student financially
2.	Mwanaume suruali	a) Mwanaume 'man' b) Suruali 'trousers'	A poor (financially) man
3.	Kibenten	Ben10 cartoon	A young male who engages in sexual affairs with an older woman
4.	Mwanaume mashine	a) Mwanaume 'man' b) Mashine 'machine'	a) A male with large/ longer penis b) A male who knows how to satisfy a woman's sexual needs
5.	Konki master	a) Konki 'conk' – to hit someone on the head with a heavy object b) Master 'a skilled person'	A person who went through tough times/ challenges
6.	Slay queen	A young and naïve girl/woman who does	a) A female student who offers sex for

S/N	Slang Expression	Literal Meaning	Interpretation
		not fall in love with poor men.	money b) A female student who likes expensive styles of life
7.	Maharage ya Mbeya	a) Maharage 'beans' b) Mbeya 'a region in Tanzania'	A slut /whore
8.	Mtoto si riziki	a) Mtoto 'child' b) Si riziki 'not a blessing'	A gay
9.	Mzee baba	a) Mzee 'old man' b) Baba 'father'	A male friend
10.	Kontena jipya	New container	First year female students

In this category, the slang expressions manifest the behaviour of the intended targets or the perceptions of the users of the expressions. A sponsor around the college refers to a male person who provides financial support to female students in exchange for sexual pleasure. *Mwanaume suruali* is a combination of nouns; *mwanaume* 'man' and *suruali* 'trousers'. The expression reflects men who are financially poor. In *mwanaume mashine*, a word *mashine* was borrowed from an English word 'machine'. In this context, *mwanaume mashine* reflects a male person with big/long genitals or that man who knows how to 'operate his machine' well and knows his ways to satisfy women sexually. The expression *kibenten* comes from a cartoon named Ben10. A prefix *ki-* plays a diminutive role as it reflects a young male who involves himself with sexual affairs with older women.

Additionally, *slay queen* reflects that woman who likes expensive life styles. It also means a young woman who is financially poor; hence, she offers sex in exchange for money. In *maharage ya Mbeya*, maharage is a standard Swahili word for 'beans' and Mbeya is a region in Tanzania. Beans from Mbeya get ready quickly when cooked. In this sense, they reflect a female person who is easy to have sexual intercourse with, a slut. *Mtoto si riziki* is a common saying mostly used when a child passes away. The saying portrays that when a child dies, then it was not a God's blessing. *Mtoto* refers to 'child', *riziki* is 'God's blessing' and *si* is a negative associative marker. But when the saying is used for an adult, it refers to a gay person. *Mzee baba* is a compound of two standard words, *mzee* 'old man' and *baba* 'father'. The amalgamation refers to a male friend,

commonly used by youths. When fresh students arrive in college for a new academic year, they are normally given names. *Kontena* 'container' *jipya* 'new' [new container] is a commonly used phrase that reflects the arrival of new female students. The expression is equated to the arrival of new containers from abroad. The slang expressions in this category reflect the behaviour of the individuals or the perceptions that other individuals have towards them.

Slang Expressions for Studying Areas

This category reflects various locations around the college and their names. The category includes slang expressions for names of lecture venues, studying areas and weather. Each area was given a name on the basis of its features/experience. Observe the following slang expressions in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Slang Expressions for Studying Areas

S/N	Slang Expression	Literal Meaning	Interpretation
1.	Uwanja wa Taifa	The national stadium	New lecture theatre 'C'
2.	Mortuary	A place where dead bodies are kept before burial.	A lecture venue (MTR)
3.	Coco beach	Name of a beach in Dar es Salaam	A studying area
4.	Peasant	Farmers	A studying area
5.	Makaburini	Cemetery/graveyard	A studying area
6.	Wi-Fi	Wireless internet	Windy area

In Table 6 above, each location/venue has been named to reflect its features. *Uwanja wa Taifa* 'the national stadium' is the name for the biggest lecture theatre in the college. It is assumed that the venue, given its size, was named so because the college is next to the national stadium, the biggest and the modern stadium in the country. *Mortuary* is the name of a smaller lecture venue in the college. It is often used for smaller classes and for tutorials. It is named so because of its quietness which is resembles mortuaries in hospitals. *Coco beach* is a studying area in the college. The area is very windy, it's under the trees and there are designated seats for students. It was named *Coco beach* due to the wind that blows in the location, similarly to the wind that blows at Coco beach – a popular beach in Dar es Salaam. 'Peasant' is another studying area, mostly

used by aged and in-service college students. *Makaburini* 'graveyard' was named so because of the presence of two old graves closer to the studying area. Apart from free Wi-Fi internet in the college, strong wind that blows anywhere in the college is also called Wi-Fi.

Discussion

Giles and Ogay (2007:294) assert that "social interaction is a subtle balance between needs for social inclusiveness (convergence) on the one hand, and differentiation (divergence) on the other." In the current study, the findings illustrate the convergence of students in language application, slang expressions in particular. It is apparent that the college students share the same slang expressions in respect to their academic endeavors. In the academic setting, for instance, the study has observed slang expression that cut across names of people such as *kipanga* 'an intelligent student' and *kilaza* 'an incompetent student'. Others include examination results such as *banda* 'A grade and *karai* 'C grade'. Academic settings are also reflected in activities such as *kupiga msuli* 'to study' and *kubeti* 'to attempt a test/examination without prior preparations'. Such an application of academic slang expressions could be observed in Arua and Alimi (2009). The two found out slang expressions such as 'toolbars', 'witches', and 'prophets' for students with good academic performance and, 'learning disabled', 'puppets' and, 'corresponding students' for students with poor academic performance. Apparently, the students converge when using specific choices of slang expressions to reflect their academic relationships and demonstrate a sign of belongingness.

Apart from academic setting, students' communication bond has been observed in the application of slang expressions that relate to people. It was noted that people are named with regard to their behaviour or the perceptions of others who name them. For instance, in the current study, the students make use of words such as 'sponsor – a male person who is financially used by female students', *mwanaume suruali* 'a male who is poor financially', *maharage ya Mbeya* 'a slut' and *mtoto si riziki* 'gay'. The findings are similar to El Falaky's (2016); he found out names such as 'sheep' which refers to a person who follows Muslim Brotherhood ideologies and 'chick' for a beautiful woman. In Agha (2015) names such as 'killer' for excellent, 'wanker' – an undesired person', and 'doper' for a person who smokes marijuana were observed. In Eble (2009), there are expressions such as 'asshole', 'douche bag', and 'shithead' which reflect negative connotation of individuals. The students manipulate the meanings of

standard words and coin new words to satisfy their communicative needs and improve their social bond.

Other students' slang expressions reflect their association with names of body parts and shapes. Such names of body parts exemplify the features of individuals. The students converge through their choices of slang expressions. For instance, in the current study, it has been seen that students coin slang expressions, and from time to time, manipulate the meaning of standard words. Expressions such as *kimbweta, chura* and *msambwanda* reflect females' big bums, *papuchi* and *kibamia* are for females' and males' private parts respectively. The findings are similar to Eble's (2009). In the study, the author found out an expression *badonkadonk* 'bums' and 'butterface' for a woman with an attractive body but ugly face. It appears that most slang expressions are male-made, and they refer to women's body parts, although, there are also slang expressions that reflect men's private parts.

The findings of the current study further illustrate students' socio-academic relationship on the choice of slang expressions which reflect food and drinks. It is undeniable fact that humans need food and drinks in order to survive. Such food and drinks have different standard names, however, language users tend to sometimes manipulate the names or come up with new expressions which reflect the types of food and drinks. The application of such expressions would normally bring a group of users together as they share a common background. The current study has observed slang expressions for varieties of meals such as RB 'rice and beans', *misumari* 'sardines', *soda kubwa* 'alcohol' and other activities associated with eating and drinking including *kupiga deshi* and *pasi ndefu* which all together refer to skipping meals due to lack of money. Similarly, Dozie and Madu (2012) have observed expressions such as *wack* 'eat', *embibing* 'drinking palm wine', *shack* 'an alcoholic drink' and, *bottling* 'drinking beer'. In Mutonya (2007), there is *kabier* 'small beer'. In Eble (2009), the author observed expressions including *grub* 'food' and *crunk* for 'crazy and drunk person'. Such slang expressions are shared by groups of individuals who share mutual knowledge and they converge on social background through the choices of slang expressions.

Students require financial support for their survival at the college. In Tanzania, as it was explained earlier, some college/University students receive loans from HESLB. Therefore, they seem to

converge in creating slang expressions which reflect the stipend they receive for each semester. Such a convergence is manifested in names and activities related to the loan. For instance, in the current study, expressions such as *boom and madini* refer to the stipend while activities such as *shimo limetema*, *boom limehit* and, *kutia kidole* are associated with the stipend being deposited in students' bank accounts and to sign for the stipend to be deposited. In other studies such as Kairuki, Kanana and Kebeya (2015) from Kenya, slang expressions for money include *chapaa, doh, dollare, ganji* and *mkwanja*. In Nigeria, Dozie and Madu (2012) report a slang expression *pepper* for money. Such similarities of expressions from individuals who share common knowledge of their language clearly illustrate how societies converge in their day-to-day communicative needs.

Further, the current study observed other kinds of slang expressions for places within the college such as the names for lecture rooms including *uwanja wa taifa* and *mortuary*, studying areas such as *cemetery* and *beach*. In Kenya, there is a slang word *hao* for house (Kairuki, Kanana and Kebeya, 2015). Other slang expressions were observed in Ainiala (2012) for Helsinki. The slang expressions used to refer to the city include *Stadi* and *Hesa*. Such slang expressions for different places/areas shared by the individuals of similar social background bring the interlocutors closer and strengthen their social and communicative bond, and hence satisfy their communicative needs.

Conclusion

The findings of the current study show that DUCE students have their own choices of slang expressions which they apply in the day-to-day communication requirements. Such slang expressions include the manipulation of standard words to come up with different interpretations or coining new expressions. The slang expressions collected cut across academic and social aspects. The expressions fell into different categories including academic, food and drinks, human body shapes and parts, and expressions for money. Other slang expressions reflected kinds of people, lecture venues and studying areas, and other activities. The application of the slang expressions indicates their social and academic bond. It strengthens their relationships as some of the expressions illustrate the students' belongingness – that they are college students.

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