LEXICAL-SEMANTIC AND MORPHO-SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN SUKUMA

By

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Sukuma in the domains of the Determiner Phrase DP, Inflectional Phrase IP and Verb Phrase VP. The primary data of English loanwords in Sukuma were collected through audio-recordings of spoken language in discourse-pragmatic contexts, and through the method of introspection, in addition to consultation of available published sources. The researcher consulted Sukuma native speakers in the provision of additional loanword data and for confirming the data collected. The data on English loanwords in Sukuma collected, were analysed and examined invoking the broad framework of generative syntax, as postulated by Chomsky in the Government and binding theory (Chomsky, 1981a; Carnie, 2006; 2013) and Principle and Parameter Theory, with specific focus on Abney's syntactic Determiner Phrase (DP) hypothesis, as proposed by Abney (1987). In the framework employed in this study, the generative syntax theory is complemented by perspectives from language typology as postulated by Greenberg (1963) and further developed by Croft, (2003) and Haspelmath, (2009), in the investigation of the argument structure properties of verbs.

The findings of the study demonstrate that English loanwords in Sukuma exhibit lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties similar to inherent (i.e. native) Sukuma words. In the DP domain, English loan nouns are modified to conform to the Sukuma nominal morphology. Each English loan noun, for example, is assigned to the Sukuma noun class system, exemplifying a noun class prefix. Furthermore, various inherent Sukuma nominal affixes are evidenced to occur with English loan nouns, similarly to inherent Sukuma nouns. The findings of the study give evidence that some of the English loan nouns in Sukuma undergo semantic broadening, semantic narrowing, or semantic shift, and that borrowed compound nouns are lexicalized in Sukuma.

In regard to the IP and VP domains, the findings of the study give evidence that English loan verbs are modified for integration into the complex agglutinative Sukuma verbal morphology. For example, English loan verbs inflect for the three tense forms and they occur with various Sukuma verbal derivational suffixes, such as the applicative and causative, hence exhibiting the same morpho-syntactic properties similar so inherent Sukuma verbs. The findings of the study, however, demonstrate that some English loan verbs do not exhibit properties similar to inherent Sukuma verbs. It is argued that some English verbs are not accommodated fully in the Sukuma verbal system, possibly due to the typological difference between Sukuma and English. The resistant English verbs in regard to the integration in the Sukuma verbal morphology include verbs denoting human activities, such as eating, swallowing and crying. It is proposed in this study that English verbs borrowed in Sukuma, in most cases, are associated with the development of science and technology, and innovation, thus, they express new concepts and entities which did not previously occur in the lexicon of Sukuma.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die leksikaal-semantiese en morfo-sintaktiese eienskappe van Engelse leenwoorde in Sukuma in die domein van die Bepalerfrase (‘Determiner Phrase’), DP, die Infleksiefrase, IP, en die werkwoord frase, VP. Die primêre data van leenwoorde in Sukuma is versamel met behulp van oudio-opnames van gesproke taal in diskoers-pragmatiese konteks, asook deur die metode van introspeksie, die navorser synde ‘n eerstetaalspreker van Sukuma, naas die ondersoek van beskikbare gepubliseerde bronne. Die navorser het verskeie Sukuma eerstetaalsprekers gekonsulteer rakende die voorsiening van bykomende data oor Engelse leenwoorde in Sukuma, en vir die bevestiging van die data wat versamel is. Die data oor Engelse leenwoorde in Sukuma is ondersoek en ontleed binne die breë raamwerk van generatiewe sintaksis, soos gepostuleer deur Chomsky in die GB (‘Government and Binding’) teorie (Chomsky 1981a, Carnie 2006, 2013) en P&P (‘Principles and Parameters’) teorie, met spesifieke fokus op Abney se beskouings oor die Bepalerfrase (‘Determiner Phrase), DP hipotese soos gepostuleer deur Abney (1987). In die raamwerk aangewend vir die studie, word die teorie van generatiewe sintaksis gekomplementeer deur perspektiewe vanuit taaltipologie, soos gepostuleer deur Greenberg (1963), en verder ontwikkel deur Croft (2003) en Haspelmath (2009) in die ondersoek van die argumentstruktuur van werkwoorde.

Die bevindings van die studie demonstreer dat Engelse leenwoorde in Sukuma leksikaal-semantiese en morfosintaktiese eienskappe vertoon wat soortgelyk is aan inherente Sukuma woorde. In die DP domein, word Engelse leenwoorde gemodifiseer ten einde te konformeer met Sukuma nominale morfologie. Elke Engelse leennaamwoord word toegeken in die Sukuma naamwoordklassisteem, met die naamwoordklasprefiks. Voorts, word bewys gegee dat verskeie Sukuma nominale affikse met Engelse leen-naamwoorde verskyn, soortgelyk aan inherente Sukuma naamwoorde. Die bevidings van die studie toon dat sommige Engelse leennaamwoorde in Sukuma semantiese verbreding, semantiese vernouing of semantiese skuif ondergaan. Voorts word leen-naamwoorde wat saamgestelde naamwoorde is, geleksikaliseer.

Met betrekking tot die IP en VP domeine, gee die studie evidensie dat Engelse werkwoorde in Sukuma gemodifiseer word vir integrasie in die komplekse agglutinerende Sukuma werkwoord morfologie. Engelse leenwerkwoorde vertoon die infleksie van drie tydsvorme, en verskyn met verskillende Sukuma werkwoordelike afleidingsmorfeme, soos die applikatief en die kousatief, en vertoon dus morfo-sintaktiese soortgelyk aan inherente Sukuma werkwoorde. Die bevindinge van die studie demonstreer voorts dat sommige Engelse leenwerkwoorde nie die eienskappe vertoon van inherente Sukuma werkwoorde nie. Daar word geargumenteer dat sommige Engelse leenwerkwoorde nie ten volle ge-akkommodeer word in die Sukuma werkwoordsisteem nie, moontlik weens die tipologiese verskil tussen Sukuma en Engels. Die weerstandige Engelse leenwerkwoorde met betrekking tot die integrasie in die Sukuma werkwoordmorfologie, sluit in werkwoorde wat menslike aktiwiteite uitdruk soos eet, sluk en huil. Daar word voorgestel in die studie dat Engelse leenwoorde in Sukuma, in die meeste gevalle, geassosieer word met die ontwikkeling van wetenskap en tegnologie en innovasie, en dus druk hulle nuwe konsepte en entiteite uit wat nie voorheen in die Sukuma leksikon verskyn het nie.

DEDICATION

To my lovely wife, Christina Luhende

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ABBREATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Adj	Adjective
Adj.Agr	Adjectival agreement
AdjP	Adjective phrase
Adv	Adverbial
AF	Affix
Agr	Agreement prefix
AgrO	Object agreement
AgrS	Subject agreement
APPL	Applicative suffix
ASP	Aspect
CAUS	Causative suffix
C	Consonant
CONJ	Conjunction
DET	Determiner
DEM	Demonstrative
DP(s)	Determiner phrase(s)
EXT	Extensions
FUT	Future tense
FV	Final vowel
G	Glide
HAB	Habitual morpheme
IMMP	Immediated past tense
IMP	Immediate past
IMPE	Imperative
INC	Inchoative morpheme
INF	Infinitive morpheme
IV	Initial vowel
LOC	Locative affix

N	Nasal
NC	Noun class
NCP	Noun class prefix
NEG	Negation
NUM	Number
PAM	Plural addressee marker
PASS	Passive suffix
peopl	People
PERF	Perfective morpheme
POSS	Possessive
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PRES	Present tense
PROG	Progressive aspect
RECP	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive suffix
REF	Remote future
REMP	Remote past
REMF	Remote future
REV	Reversive suffix
SAM	Singular addressee marker
sb	Somebody
STAT	Stative
TAM	Tense and aspect marker
V	Vowel
VP	Verbal phrase
(*…)	Unacceptable sentence
1, 2, 3, etc.	Number for noun classes
1SG	First person singular
1PL	First person plural
2SG	Second person singular

2PL	Second person plural
3SG	Third person singular
3PL	Third person plural
>	Newly formed form
<	Origin (source) form

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction and rationale

This dissertation focuses on the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Sukuma. It is centrally concerned with the question of the extent to which English loanwords exhibit the same, or similar, properties that non-loanwords exhibit in Sukuma in the domains of the Determiner Phrase (DP), the Verbal Phrase (VP) and the Inflectional Phrase (IP). The chapter is organized into the following sections: Section 1.2 presents some background perspectives and factual information about Sukuma and English with regard to the context of the contact situation. Section 1.2.9 presents the problem statement of the study and section 1.2.6 presents the research questions. The theoretical framework assumed is outlined in section 1.3. Section 1.4 discusses the research design and methods employed in the study. Section 1.5 examines the significance of the study. Section 1.6 presents definitions of key terms employed in the study and section 1.7 presents the organization of the study.

1.1 Background to Sukuma and English

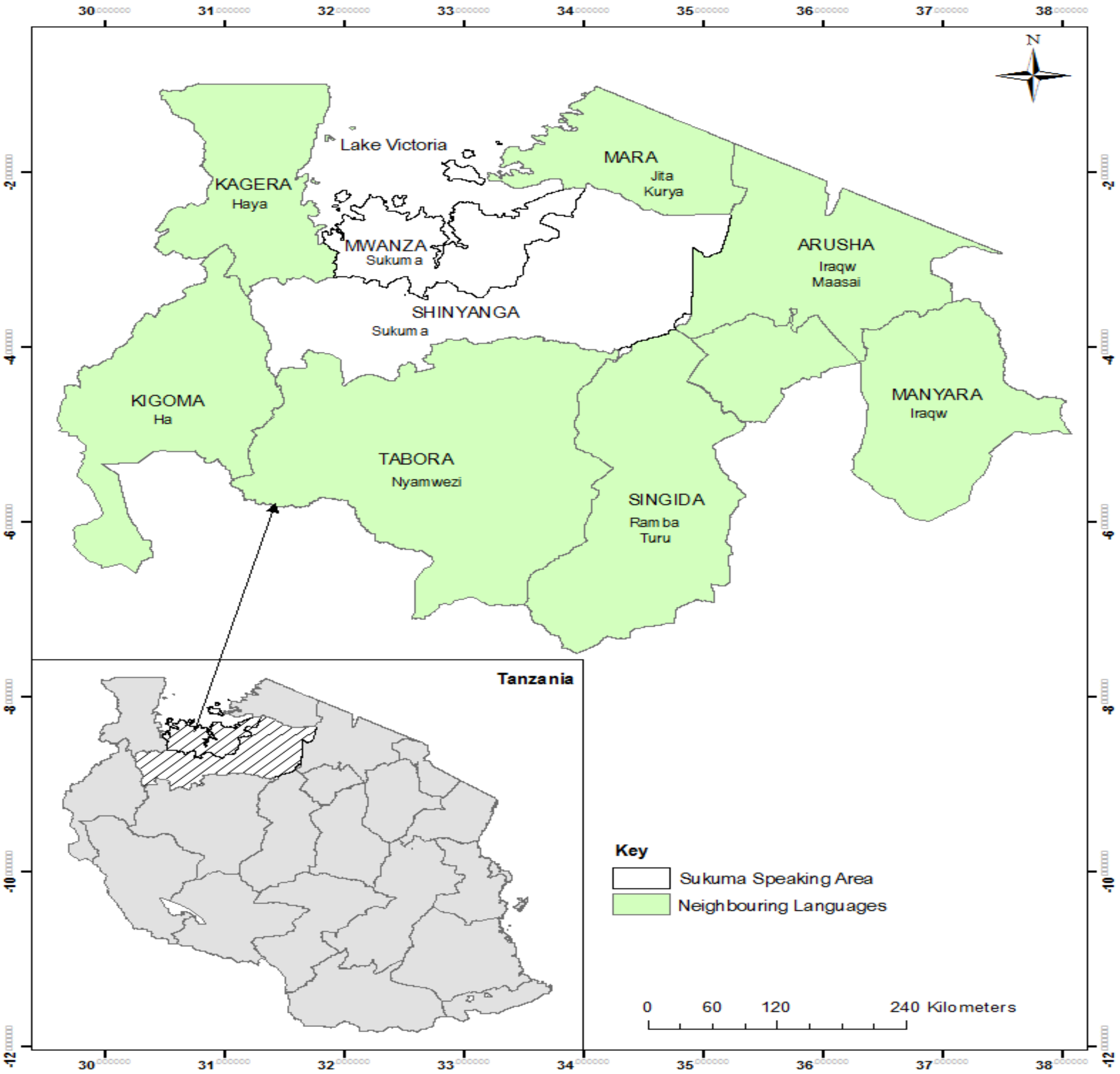
In order to understand the properties with regard to the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Sukuma, it is necessary to first consider the historical contact between English and Sukuma. This section, therefore, presents some background insights relating to the context of the contact situation of English and Sukuma.

1.1.1 Sukuma

In Maho's (2009) online version of the new updated Guthrie's list referential classification of Bantu languages, Sukuma, a Bantu language of the Niger-congo family, is classified as a member of language zone F20 (Sukuma-Nyamwezi group) in which Sukuma is assigned to sub-zone F21. It is a language spoken mainly in Shinyanga, Mwanza and Simiyu regions in the southern eastern Lake Victoria, and also in some parts of Tabora, Singida and Kigoma regions in Tanzania. The word Sukuma means *"North"* referring to 'the people of the north', who call themselves *'βasukuma'*. It can be pointed out here that, due to dialectical differences within Sukuma, different noun class prefixes occur, referring to the Sukuma language. The variant referents that occur in Sukuma include *Kesukuma, Kisukuma, Jisukuma* and

Shisukuma. Since the main goal of the current study is the examination of the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords, NOT dialectical properties, the term *Sukuma* is assumed throughout this dissertation. Sukuma is spoken by over 7 million speakers, which is 12.6 % of the total population in Tanzania (Guthrie, 1967; Maho, 1999; Matondo, 2003:2 LOT, 2009).

Map 1: The Sukuma speaking area and the neighbouring languages


N
Lake Victoria
KAGERA
Haya
MARA
Jita
Kurya
MWANZA
Sukuma
ARUSHA
Iraqw
Maasai
SHINYANGA
Sukuma
KIGOMA
Ha
MANYARA
Iraqw
TABORA
Nyamwezi
SINGIDA
Ramba
Turu
Tanzania
Key
Sukuma Speaking Area
Neighbouring Languages
0
60
120
240 Kilometers
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
-2
-4
-6
-8
-10
-12

The Sukuma speaking area is surrounded by the Kurya and Jita on the Nothern part, Lake Victoria on the North, the Haya on the Northwestern part, the Ha on the West, the Nyamwezi, Turu and Ramba on the South, and the Iraqw and Maasai in the East (cf. Map 1). However, language intelligibility between Sukuma and the neighbouring languages is inevitable, given that a rigid demarcation between one specific African language and the neighbouring languages in terms of linguistic affiliation is not possible (cf. Masele, 2001, Muhdhar, 2006).

1.1.2 English

English, 'belongs to the Western Germanic branch of the Indo-European group of languages' (Guthrie, 1967; Batibo, 1985; Maho 1999; Owino, 2003:14). The English language evolved through various phases such as old English, middle English, early modern English and modern English (cf. Guthrie, 1967; Owino, 2003). It is characterised by extensive lexical borrowing from different ancient languages such as Latin and Greek. Furthermore, the early modern English exhibited a considerable number of lexical items from other European languages like French, Germany and Dutch (cf. Maho, 1999; Owino, 2003). It is the most commonly spoken language in the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Ireland, Newslands and Australia. Given its status as international Lingual Franca, English is furthermore widely learned as a second language in the world. It is an official language of the United Nations, of the Europen Union, and of many other world and regional international organisations.

1.2.3 The Contact between Sukuma, Swahili and English

English was first introduced in Tanzania by the Christian Missionaries and early traders approximately in the 1880's. Later on, the British colonialists expanded the English contact to Swahili and other ethnic community languages (Sukuma included) in Tanzania, which resulted in the intensive introduction of foreign words (cf. Whiteley, 1969; Knappert, 1970; Grimes, 1996; Lodhi, 2000; Mwita, 2009; Mpiranya, 2015:5). Batibo (2001:1) points out that "one of the key factors in the dynamism of Swahili is its long period of influence by other languages with which it has come into contact". Swahili became the language of prestige in Tanzania and other parts of East Africa (cf. Alexandre, 1989).

Although Swahili is the national language in Tanzania and also the language of social communication, English is an official language in Tanzania. It is used as a language of instruction in medium primary schools, secondary schools and in tertiary institutions. It also serves as a subject in public primary schools (cf. Swilla, 2000; Mwita, 2009). The status of English as the major international language of science and education in most countries in the world, it is in addition an official language in Tanzania. It is widely used for communication in politics, economics, business, education, science and technology, sports, and in social entertainment. English has become a powerful language in Tanzania, as in many other countries of the world (cf. Schaderberg, 2009; Mpiranya, 2015).

Furthermore, English is currently a powerful language widely recognised as an official or national language in sub-Saharan Africa, and it is used in conjunction with community African languages, such as Swahili in Tanzania, lexical borrowing is inevitable. The development of modern science and technology and exposure to international sports and entertainment through globalization has resulted in the introduction of terms for new entities and concepts for which Swahili and other ethnic community languages, such as Sukuma, do not have inherent (native) words. The Swahili lexicon is extensively influenced by English lexical items (cf. Whiteley, 1969; Knappert, 1970; Massamba, 1989; Massamba et al., 1999, 2001; Batibo, 2002). This influence on Swahili has, in turn, contributed considerably to the introduction of Swahili lexical items with English origin in other ethnic community languages in Tanzania, particularly Sukuma (cf. Petzell, 2005). The Sukuma lexicon has therefore been influenced by newly introduced lexical items, most of which never existed before. Sukuma speakers are thus obliged to use these newly imported terminologies by modifying or adapting them to suit the morpho-phonology, lexical-semantics and morpho-syntax in their language system (cf. Joseph, 2012). Many lexical items are borrowed in Sukuma via Swahili, although some lexical items are borrowed directly from English into Sukuma.

The investigation of loanwords (lexical borrowings) has been of considerable scholarly interest for many decades (cf. Haugen, 1950; Gumpers, 1982; Appel & Muysken, 1987; Myers-Scotton, 2006; Haspelmath, 2009; Tadmor, 2009; Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009; among others). Some scholars argue that lexical borrowing entails the transfer of content items such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs from one language to another, while others point out that, as opposed to the transfer of functional affixes, lexical borrowing entails the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language (cf. Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:37; Haspelmath, 2009:38; Tadmor, 2009; Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009:13). Interestingly, some scholars view lexical borrowing as instances of code-switching (cf. Myers-Scotton, 2006; Dowling, 2011:145). Others, however, differentiate the two phenomena by pointing out that in the case of code-switching, the speaker “alternates between one coherent grammar (and lexicon) and another, according to some predictable syntactic constraints on switch points, while in the case of lexical borrowing phenomena, only one grammatical system is brought to play” (cf. Poplack and Sankoff, 1984:99).

Lodhi (cf. 2000:26) defines code-switching as the process of mixing of linguistic items from two or more languages when the speaker has no mastery of the primary language of communication in a particular speech situation. The current study supports the view put forward by Haspelmath (cf. 2009) that a loanword differs from code-switching in the sense that a loanword is a word that at some point in the history of a language entered its lexicon as a result of lexical borrowing, lexical transfer or lexical copying. In the case of loanword phenomena, a complete stem of one language is adapted and used in the domain of another language, and it exhibits the linguistic features of the host language. Loanwords, therefore, are part of the mental lexicon of the recipient language (cf. Eastman, 1992:36). Further discussion on the difference between code-switching and loanword phenomena is presented in chapter three of this dissertation (cf. section 3.2.2.1).

Campbell (cf. 2004) argues that when two languages are in contact, it is a normal phenomenon for a less powerful language to incorporate some words from the more powerful language, most of which are those words that denote new concepts, ideas, objects, processes and phenomena. These words are called borrowed words or loanwords. The recipient language takes these new words from the donor language, treating them as its own after making some modifications to suit its linguistic system. This process of modifying loanwords is called lonword adaptation (cf. Lodhi, 2000).

When words are borrowed from the donor language, they tend to undergo some processes of linguistic change for the purpose of integration according to the system of the recipient language. However, not all loanwords fully correspond to the linguistic features of the recipient language; rather, some tend to violate the constraints of the recipient language. Thus, such loanwords require adaptation mechanisms to conform to the recipient language (cf. McMahon, 1994; Mwita, 2009). In investigating the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Sukuma, the main focus of the present study is on the question of the extent to which English loanwords exhibit the same properties as inherent (native) Sukuma words.

Several recent studies in the field of lexical borrowing have been conducted on African languages from a variety of theoretical and typological perspectives (cf. Knappert, 1970; Lodhi, 2000; Simango, 2000; Petzell, 2005; Awagana et al., 2009; Kadenge, 2009; Kenstowcz, 2009; Mwita, 2009; Yoneda, 2010; Dowling, 2011; Joseph, 2012; Iribemwangi, 2013, among others). Most of these studies have focused on lexical borrowing of nouns, and relatively few on verbs. It is generally assumed by the researchers that verbs are more difficult to be borrowed into a language than nouns because they need more grammatical adaptation than nouns (Haspelmath, 2009:35).

1.2.4 Problem statement

This study investigates problems relating to how English loanwords are adapted when borrowed directly or indirectly via Swahili into Sukuma. As far as I could ascertain, no other study has addressed the phenomenon of English loanwords in Sukuma in respect to lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties. The main question addressed in the present study relates to the extent to which English loanwords in the respective syntactic domains of the DP, VP and IP exhibit the same or similar properties as non-loanwords in Sukuma, or whether they are restricted, or deviate, with regard to some lexical-semantic and/or morpho-syntactic properties. It is posited furthermore that nouns and verbs exhibit different properties during the adaptation process. Thus, employing both the generative syntax approach and the typological perspective, the current study examines the lexical-semantic and morph-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Sukuma, focusing on the Determiner Phrase, the Verbal Phrase and the Inflectional Phrase.

1.2.5 Purpose of study

The main purpose of this study is to comprehensively investigate the lexical-semantic and morphosyntactic properties of English lexical items that occur as loanwords in Sukuma. In order to determine the extent to which English loanwords exhibit the same linguistic properties as other non-loanwords do in Sukuma, the dissertation is guided by the following specific objectives:

(i) To examine whether or not English loanwords exhibit similar properties for the lexical categories nouns and verbs to non-loanwords;

(ii) To identify and explore the morpho-syntactic properties that characterize the adaptation of English loanwords;

(iii) To analyse the syntactic distribution of the DPs with a loan-word head;

(iv) To examine the extent to which English loanwords in the VP and IP domains exhibit lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties characteristic of inherent Sukuma words;

(v) To examine the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of loan nouns relating to compound nouns in English.

(vi) To explore the morpho-syntactic properties that characterize the adaptation of English loan verbs;

1.2.6 Research questions

This dissertation aims to address the following questions as regards English loanwords in Sukuma:

(i) Do English loan nouns exhibit similar properties to non-loanwords or inherent Sukuma nouns?

(ii) What are the morpho-syntactic properties that characterise the adaptation of English loan nouns?

(iii) To what extent do English loan nouns in the DP domain exhibit lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties characteristic of inherent nouns in Sukuma?

(iv) What are the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of compound nouns?

(v) To what extent do English loan verbs in the VP and IP domains exhibit lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties characteristic of inherent verbs in Sukuma?

(vi) What are the morpho-syntactic properties that characterize the adaptation of English loan verbs?

1.3 Theoretical framework of study

In order to examine the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Sukuma, this study assumes the broad framework of generative syntax, with specific focus on the Determiner Phrase DP hypothesis, (cf. Abney, 1987; Chomsky, 1995; Carnie, 2006;2013; Rauh, 2010) and perspectives on argument structure properties of the verb. The generative syntax approach is complemented by perspectives from language typology, as postulated by Greenberg (1963) and later on developed by Croft (2003) and Hespalmuth (2009), among others.

1.3.1 Generative syntax perspectives

The generative syntax approach can be traced back to the mid-1950s and the early 1960s (cf. Carnie, 2006:5) when Chomsky reacted to the structuralists, particularly to Harrison's (1951) structuralist program. Furthermore, the generative syntax approaches emerged as Chomsky's reaction to the Greenbergian typological dichotomy, with Chomsky arguing that such dichotomy is simply descriptive rather than generating and developing new linguistic theories. The generative syntax approach has undergone several versions, with different names as it developed. From its initial postulation to the present, the theory has developed through the version of Transformational Grammar (cf. Chomsky, 1951), Transformational Generative Grammar (cf. Chomsky, 1951; 1957), Standard Theory (cf. Chomsky, 1965), Extended Standard Theory (cf. Chomsky, 1970; 1973), Government and Binding Theory (cf. Chomsky, 1980; 1981a; 1986), the Principles and Parameters approach (cf. Chomsky, 1981a), and the most recent version, the Minimalism Program (cf. Chomsky, 1993; Carnie, 2006:5). Although the development of generative syntax theory is characterized by several versions, its theoretical development is viewed to take place at two levels. On the one hand, it describes general concepts concerning language and language acquisition, particularly concerning the notions of competence and performance, and the concept of innateness. On the other hand, the theory focuses on ideas about the explanation of syntax, which is characterised by frequent changes over time (cf. Carnie, 2006; 2013).

The current study assumes the generative syntax approach pertaining specifically to the area of the DP syntax and predicate argument structure in analysing various lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic characteristics of English loanwords in Sukuma. It provides a framework for investigating the lexical-semantic and morphosyntactic properties of various English loanwords borrowed into Sukuma compared with inherent Sukuma words.

1.3.2 The DP hypothesis

The study of nominals has been considerably influenced by the introduction of Abney's syntactic DP Hypothesis in 1987. It was assumed that before the postulation of the DP Hypothesis, the syntactic category noun N assumed the position of the head of the noun phrase NP. A category noun N could occur as an independent noun or it could occur with other optional determiners, as illustrated in figure 1 below.

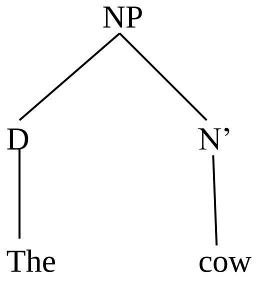


Figure 1: Noun Phrase

Researchers posited that the determiner D is not an inherent constituent of the NP, therefore, the NP should be analysed as a phrase whose head is a determiner D (cf. Abney, 1987; Carnie, 2013), as demonstrated it the figure 2 below.

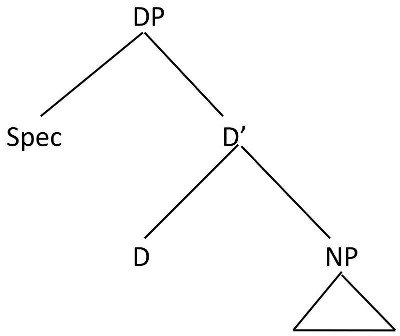


Figure 2: The DP Hypothesis

The DP Hypothesis assumes that a Noun Phrase (NP) is dominated by a Determiner Phrase (DP) of which the head represents a functional category (Chomsky, 1995; Carnie, 2013; van Gelderen, 2013). In other words, the determiner is not inside the NP, but rather heads its own phrasal projection with the NP functioning as the complement of the D head (Abney, 1987; Carnie, 2013:142). The category determiner, viewed broadly in generative studies, includes various nominals, such as demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals and possessives. This view is assumed with regard to English and other languages that have articles as determiners and the article heads the functional projection DP (Alexiadou et al., 2007; de Dreu, 2008). The concern here is whether languages (for example African languages, and, specifically Sukuma) which do not have English-like articles can assume the DP. From this perspective, this study explores grammatical functions like subject, (direct and indirect) objects, and nominal complements and possessive morphemes. In investigating the occurrence of loanwords that are conventionally associated with the DP, compound nouns and multi-word expressions occurring as English loanwords in Sukuma are also explored. Given that the pre-prefix in Sukuma is regarded in the present study as a determiner since it denotes (in)definiteness and specificity, the DP hypothesis is invoked to investigate whether the (non)occurrence of the pre-prefix in English loanwords exhibits lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties as it does in inherent Sukuma. Furthermore, the DP hypothesis is assumed in order to establish the availability of functional projections of English loanwords and their relation to the interpretation of discourse-related information, particularly definiteness and specificity.

As pointed out above, the lexical semantic-properties of English loanwords are investigated by invoking Theta role theory, which posits a "bundle of thematic relations associated with a particular argument" (Carnie, 2013). In terms of this theory, the number of theta roles that can be assigned is determined by the number of theta roles that can be provided by a predicate. According to the theta criterion, "each argument is assigned one and only one theta role and each theta-role is assigned to one and only one argument" (Abney, 1987; Carnie, 2013:169). For instance, with intransitive verbs, the argument (subject) is assigned only one theta role (e.g. agent) because the verb has only one such role to assign; in the case of monotransitive verbs, the verb assigns two theta roles (e.g. agent and goal), and in the case of ditransitive verbs, the verb assigns three theta roles (e.g. agent, goal and recipient) (Gruber, 1965; Abney, 1987; Grimshaw, 1990; Carnie, 2013). In the current study, this approach is adopted for examining verbs that occur as English loanwords with respect to their lexical-semantic properties and nouns that occur as arguments in the argument structure of such verbs according to transitivity types (intransitive verbs, monotransitive verbs, and ditransitive verbs). Salient grammatical properties of English loan verbs in Sukuma, including the possibility to take object agreement prefixes and verbal derivational prefixes and suffixes, are examined invoking this perspective.

1.3.3 The typological approach

Language typology, according to Croft (2003), is a linguistic approach whose fundamental principle invokes a 'cross-linguistic comparison' of characteristic patterns of different languages in the linguistic world. The approach can be traced back to the early 1960's when

J. H. Greenberg discovered and presented the universal implications in regard to morphological word order (cf. Greenberg, 1963; Croft, 2003). This approach is occasionally referred to as Greenbergian typology (Smith, 1988), or functional-typological approach (Croft, 2003). It is argued, within the framework of language typology, that languages differ greatly in their structural properties and such patterns do not occur and distributed haphazardly, rather there are linguistic structures that re-occur more regularly in certain languages while some structures are not found in other languages (cf. Greenberg, 1963; Comrie, 1989; Croft, 2003; Katamba, 2006). The major concern of typological research is to establish carefully attested explanations and posit generalisations as to why certain similarities and differences occur in the distribution of the structural patterns in different languages of the world. The current study takes in to account perspectives from typological research in analysing loanword integration based on various lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic characteristics of English loanwords in Sukuma. The typological research is taxonomic in nature thus it is suitable to establish explanations of the similarities and differences of structural properties in relation to English loanwords that are borrowed in Sukuma. Thus, the approach is invoked in the present study to compare English loanwords and inherent Sukuma words and the properties that occur before and after borrowing.

1.4 Research design and methods

This study adopts a qualitative approach to the process of gathering of data that occur as English loanwords borrowed in Sukuma either directly or indirectly via Swahili. The qualitative approach, as Kombo and Tromp (2006) argue, is the kind of research design which aims at the collection of data and, in addition, it invokes the transcription, classification, comparison, analysis and interpretation of data into meaningful entities. The qualitative research approach is suitable for the data collection conducted for this study, given that it is necessary for descriptive purposes, and it makes it possible to test the validity of certain claims and assumptions in natural settings, which in turn facilitates the exploration, understanding, and experiences of the research participants (Mason, 2002). This approach to data gathering is appropriate because the phenomena under investigation in the current study involves the linguistic exploration of actual speech data in natural environments, from the perspective of generative syntax concerning identifying linguistic intuitions of speaker’s language. The data collection and interpretation for the current study entail exposure to and observation of natural language discourse by Sukuma speakers, extended by consultations on specific intuitions and judgements about loanword use and acceptability with selected Sukuma consultants. This is thus the convential methodology for determining speaker judgements, including introspection, in generative syntax research and that the study is NOT a sociolinguistic quantitative one. The data collection procedures are discussed in section 1.4.2 below.

1.4.1 Sampling design and sample

This study uses purposeful and snowball sampling methods because of the nature of the phenomena investigated. The target population involved Sukuma native speakers aged 20 years and above. A total of 18 informants were selected from the target population. 12 informants from the University of Dar es Salaam were selected as a sample and 6 informants were selected from Dar es Salaam city. The informants were selected on grounds of the following criteria: (i) being competent native speakers of Sukuma; (ii) born and raised in the Sukuma area up to the age of fifteen, and (iii) acquisition of Sukuma as a first language. The 6 informants were requested to answer the unstructured interview questions, and 6 informants participated in the focus group discussion activities in order to facilitate the availability of required information. The other 6 informants from Dar es Salaam city were consulted as informants to verify the data from the unstructured interviews and focus group discussions. The University of Dar es Salaam was one of the areas for data collection because of the location of the Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics, where several professional linguists who have an expert knowledge of matters relating to research on language works. Furthermore, the Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics regularly hosts foreign students, researchers, lecturers and visiting professors who in turn, at various levels and time, were consulted in connection with this study. In addition, some staff in the University of Dar es Salaam in the Departments Engineering and Computer Sciences were consulted as regard the corpus design in the collection of loanwords as a result of the development of science and technology.

1.4.2 Data collection procedures

The current study employed different data collection procedures in obtaining both the primary and the secondary data. These methods included audio-recordings, the introspection method, field observation, consultations of published documents and the film Jesus in Sukuma. The following subsections discuss each procedure in more detail.

1.4.2.1 Audio-recordings

The primary data for this study were partly obtained through audio-recordings of natural discourse in Sukuma in different linguistic contexts in which English loanwords were expected to be used. In the first phase, data collection involved the audio-recordings of the discourse of the sampled subject in Dar es Salaam. The second phase took place in Shinyanga and Mwanza where the researcher observed the natural use of Sukuma in a variety of discourse contexts. The primary data were collected through the use of audio-recordings of the following natural types of discourse: (i) Religious discourse, (ii) Educational discourse, (iii) Political discourse, (iv) Sports and games discourse, and (v) Discourse of recreation, entertainment and fashion.

1.4.2.2 Introspection

The primary data for this study were partly obtained through the method of introspection. Nunan (1992) defines introspection as “the process of observing and reflecting on one’s thoughts, feelings, motives, reasoning process and mental states with a view to determining the way in which these processes and states determine or influence behaviour”. Introspection is widely used by scholars in generative linguistic research. Since the researcher of the present study is a native speaker of Sukuma (born and raised as a speaker in Sukumaland), the introspection technique was employed in order to support the other methods employed in the study. As pointed out, additional data were obtained through personal communication involving day to day social activities such as wedding ceremonies, funeral ceremonies, conferences, lectures, meetings, political gatherings and legal proceedings, in which the researcher participated with the Sukuma speakers in actually spoken pragmatic-discourse contexts. Through this method, the researcher was able to capture a considerable number of loanwords with English origin as they were used in the actual contexts. Through the researcher’s linguistic judgements, a complete list of loanwords with English origin was prepared. The list included both English loan verbs and loan nouns. Furthermore, the researcher invoked his knowledge of Sukuma to edit the data and later on, tested the data with monolingual speakers to avoid the influence of the researcher on the findings.

1.2.4.3 Consultation of relevant published sources

Secondary data on lexical borrowing in Sukuma were obtained from published sources such as books, articles, papers and dictionaries. In addition, printed texts, manuscripts, handouts, posters, advertisements, newspapers, dissertations and theses were consulted. The “Sukuma Holy Bible”, in particular, was potentially a rich source of data. Other written sources such as Batibo’s (1985) thesis on ‘Le Kesukuma (langue Bantu de Tanzania) Phonologie Mophologie” and Matondo’s (2003) thesis on “Kisukuma Tonal Morphology” were also consulted as secondary sources of data. Since Batibo’s (1985) dissertation on Sukuma phonology and morphology was written in French, the researcher worked with a research assistant who was conversant and competent in French for translation and interpretation of some morphological aspects the research needed for the current study. The translations and interpretations provided by the researcher assistant were attested to two teaching staff from the French unit at the University of Dar es Salaam for verification.

1.2.4.4 Consultation of Sukuma films and songs

Sukuma is one of the Bantu languages in which practice of traditional dances is common. Several types of dance groups called *ɪmbina* ‘the drum’ are active in Sukuma communities especially after harvesting of the crops. Each group compete against other groups through composing and singing songs. It came to the attention of the researcher of the current study that currently, the *ɪmbina* groups are in transition from using typical skin-traditional-made drums to using modern instruments such as guitars. Several traditional dancers were consulted on their use of terms for instruments and they confessed that they did not have inherent Sukuma names for the modern musical instruments. The researcher was able to compile a short list of nouns with English origin denoting entertainment. Furthermore, the inspirational film of Jesus in English has recently been translated into Sukuma. It is a two hours duration film narrating the coming of Jesus and the life He lived. The narration in Sukuma involves a number of English loanwords especially on new entities and concepts, which do not have equivalents in inherent (native) Sukuma vocabulary. The researcher collected a comprehensive list of words with English origin from the film.

1.2.4.5 Observation

Observation is the principal technique for collecting data on non-verbal behaviour particularly with respect to the participant observation, which allows direct involvement of the researcher (Corbetta, 2003:235). During this study, observation provided the researcher with the opportunity to accumulate rich data and develop an in-depth understanding of actual circumstances. Observation in conjunction with interviews were effective in the provision of a greater understanding to the researcher of the context under investigation. Observation exposed the researcher to the actual natural setting in which the English loanwords were used. This study employed observation because its aim was to collect natural data, which could not be collected by using other instruments alone. The technique of observation was also used to gather an impression of bilingualism and language use. The researcher spent a considerable amount of time in some social settings, observing speakers' language proficiency in Sukuma, Swahili and English in different environments. This included events such as wedding ceremonies, burial rituals, farming activities, among others, attended spontaneously.

1.4.3 Data analysis

In this study, data on loanwords were translated from Sukuma into English for transcription. Subsequently, the transcribed data were classified according to their linguistic properties, taking into account similarities and differences in lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties. The sample of English loanwords adapted into Sukuma was selected and examined to determine the extent to which they exhibit different linguistic characteristics compared to non-loanwords in Sukuma. The sample was then analysed further to determine the way English loanwords behave in the domains of the DP, VP and IP, focusing on the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties they exhibit when borrowed into Sukuma.

English loan nouns in the DP domain were carefully analysed to determine their lexical-semantic characteristics. They were then grouped according to the relevant changes: semantic broadening, semantic narrowing, semantic retention and semantic shift. Furthermore, the study examined the nature of multi-word loanword expressions from English occurring as compound nouns in Sukuma. The compound nouns were analysed according to their forms and meanings. They were classified according to the semantic properties.

English loan verbs within the VP domain were closely examined with respect to their lexical-semantics to identify their meanings. The classification included consideration of (in)transitivity (intransitive verbs, monotransitive verbs, and ditransitive verbs). The verb arguments were examined with particular reference to active, stative and passive verb's constructions in order to determine to what extent loanword verbs exhibit lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic characteristics compared to non-loanword verbs in Sukuma. In addition, the salient grammatical properties of verbs, such as the ability of a verb to take object argument prefixes and verbal derivational suffixes, were analysed.

1.5 Significance of the study

As far as could be established, this dissertation provides the first detailed investigation of linguistic borrowing in Sukuma that explores lexical borrowing in the syntactic domains, namely the DP, VP and IP. The findings of this study are important to both formal linguistics researchers and lexicographers. It provides lexicographers with information concerning the linguistic properties of the loanword lexemes such as multi-word expressions and their senses. The study can provide lexicographers with knowledge about lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic insights that enable them to make decisions on the types of loanword lexemes which can be given the status of headwords in compiling dictionaries. Furthermore, the study provides an important contribution to the existing literature on linguistic borrowing in Sukuma, and more generally in other Bantu languages. In addition, the findings may stimulate other researchers to explore the processes of adaptation of English loanwords in Sukuma and in other Bantu languages in order to determine the nature of cross-linguistic variation in the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic behaviour of loanwords.

1.6 Definition of terms

This section presents some definitions that are invoked in the current study. These definitions are used in different contexts in the investigation of English loanwords in Sukuma. Scholars, in some instances still debate on some of the definitions of terms in regard to loanwords linguistics. *Lexical borrowing* is a process of transferring a lexical item from one language to another (cf. Thomason and Kaufman, 1988). Lexical borrowing in the current study refers to the transfer of English loanwords into Sukuma. The transferred lexical item is defined as a *loanword* (cf. Haugen, 1950). The language offering the loanword is referred to as the *donor language* while the language receiving the loanword is defined as the recipient language (cf. Myers-Scotton, 2006). The donor language, in this case, is English and the recipient language is Sukuma. *Loanword adaptation* is the process of modifying the loanwords to conform to the recipient language (Haspelmath, 2009). In this study, other terms that are used interchangeably with the term loanword adaptation include *loanword nativization* and *loanword accommodation*. However, several definitions of terms are used in the current study in discussing views according to different scholars.

1.7 Organisation of study

This dissertation is organised into six chapters. Chapter one presents the introduction and rationale of the study. Furthermore, the objectives and research questions for the study are outlined in this chapter. In addition, the methodology and methods adopted in the study and an overview of central perspectives of the generative syntax approach and the typological perspectives employed in this study are presented in this chapter.

Chapter two presents an outline of Sukuma descriptive grammar. This chapter provides an overview of Sukuma in terms of its main grammatical properties, including phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical-semantic properties.

Chapter three presents a previous review of previous research on lexical borrowing in African languages. It includes a general outline of issues addressed in research on lexical borrowings cross-linguistically, focusing in particular on previous studies since 2000 (for languages in general) and for research on loanwords in Bantu languages, focusing on studies from the 1970's onwards.

Chapter four examines lexical borrowing in the DP domain. The chapter presents a systematic investigation of the sets of English loan nouns in terms of their lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties compared to inherent Sukuma nouns. The chapter further explores the properties of compound nouns that occur as English loanwords, given that Sukuma also exhibits different compound nouns. The chapter, in addition, presents an overview of English loan nouns from both a generative syntax and a typological perspective.

Chapter five presents an investigation of lexical borrowing in the VP and IP domains. The chapter focuses especially on verbs that are loanwords with respect to their argument structure and their lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties. The investigation considers verb transitivity (intransitive verbs, monotransitive verbs, and ditransitive verbs). Salient grammatical properties of English loan verbs, including the possibility to take object agreement prefixes and verbal derivational suffixes, are examined in this chapter.

Chapter six, the last chapter in the current study, presents the summary and conclusion of the main findings of the study and it gives recommendations for further studies.

CHAPTER TWO

AN OUTLINE OF SUKUMA DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an outline of Sukuma descriptive grammar. It is concerned with salient linguistic aspects of Sukuma grammar, some of which the current study explores in the following chapters. More specifically, the chapter examines various aspects of Sukuma descriptive grammar at the levels of phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. The chapter focuses mainly on the Sukuma nominal and verbal morphology because the current study's main focus is the investigation of English loanwords in Sukuma by exploring the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties they exhibit when borrowed in Sukuma, in close comparison with the inherent (i.e. original native) Sukuma words. Thus, the investigation of Sukuma nominal and verbal morphology are of paramount importance in the current study for the exploration of English loanwords in Sukuma conducted in chapter four and five of this dissertation.

This chapter presents an outline of Sukuma descriptive grammar as an independent chapter, given that no comprehensive descriptive grammar has so far been published on Sukuma linguistic properties, with focus on selected lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic characteristics. However, the chapter does not claim to explore the Sukuma grammar exhaustively, rather, it provides the reader with some general overview of the language, in regard to the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties in the language relevant to the aims of the investigation of loanwords in the following chapters of this study.

This chapter is organised into five sections as follows. Section 2.2 examines the phonological properties of Sukuma. In this section, the Sukuma vowel qualities are discussed in section 2.2.1 and the consonant properties in section 2.2.2. Furthermore, the chapter examines the syllable structure of Sukuma in section 2.2.4. Salient aspects of Sukuma tonology are briefly presented in section 2.2.5.

The second section of this chapter explores Sukuma nominal morphology in section 2.3, in which section 2.3.1 is concerned with the analysis of the Sukuma noun class system. Section 2.3.2 examines properties of how different inherent Sukuma nouns are distributed in the different noun classes according to their noun class prefixes. Furthermore, section 2.3.3 presents an analysis of morphological properties referring to how nouns are derived when they occur with different derivational morphemes. In addition, section 2.3.4 examines various types of compound nouns and the semantic properties they exhibit in Sukuma, while the range of nominal modifiers is discussed in section 2.3.5.

Section 2.4, the third section, examines the Sukuma verbal morphology. In this section, the order of elements in the Sukuma verbal morphology is systematically discussed and examined in section 2.4.1. Thereafter, the three tense forms are explored in section 2.4.2. Section 2.4.3 discusses the various aspectual forms while section 2.4.4 examines the different verbal derivational suffixes, supported by relevant examples. The third section of this chapter presents an overview of how various nouns are derived from verbs, in section 2.4.5.

The fourth section, which is 2.5, discusses the Sukuma phrase structure. The Sukuma noun phrase (DP) structures, including the various nominal elements that occur in a noun phrase, are examined in section 2.5.1, while coordination of clauses in Sukuma is discussed in section 2.5.2. The next section, section 2.5.3 explores the question of how complex sentences are coordinated. Furthermore, issues pertaining to the realization of the pre-prefix in Sukuma are discussed in this section. Section 2.5.4 is concerned with the sentence pattern system, coordination of clauses, subordination, and various other types of sentence structures such as interrogatives and imperatives. The fifth section of this chapter, section 2.6 presents the summary of the chapter.

2.2 Phonology

This section begins with the description of the vowel system and their characteristic features. It then discusses the consonant system, syllable structure and lastly, the section presents an overview of the tone system. Since the Roman orthographic system, which is used in the orthography of many languages, cannot represent all sounds in Bantu languages, including Sukuma in particular, the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) is used in this discussion to represent sounds, which do not occur in a one-to-one relationship with Roman letters. The section on phonology is included for reasons relevant to the morphophonology relevant to the study.

2.2.1 Vowels

Sukuma, like some other Bantu languages, has seven contrastive vowels, distinguished primarily by advanced tongue root [ATR] harmony. They can be differentiated by features [high], [low], [back], [round], and [ATR]. [+ATR] refers to the articulatory position where vowels are fronted because the root advancing tends to push the tongue forward during articulation (Owino, 2003). This is sometimes called *tense*. [-ATR] refers to the position where vowels have a lower first formant frequency acoustically (Batibo, 1985). This is called *lax* (cf. Ladefoged, & Maddieson, 1996:301). The vowels in Sukuma are phonetically either long or short. Vowel length in Sukuma is phonologically distinctive. Vowel lengthening increases the number of vowels to a set of fourteen basic vowel phonemes for the language, as exemplified in the charts 1a and 1b.

Chart 1a: Seven vowels		**chart 1b: Fourteen vowels**	
i	u	ii	uu
ɪ	ʊ	ɪɪ	ʊʊ
e	o	ee	oo
a		aa	

2.2.1.1 Vowel length

Each of the seven vowels in Sukuma can either be underlyingly long or be lengthened by the phonological process in the pronunciation of words. This means that when a vowel is lengthened, the word pronounced has a different meaning. These vowels can be determined by minimal pairs. The following examples in (1) present the minimal pairs in the seven vowels, showing both short and long vowels.

(1)	*Short vowels*			*Long vowels*		
	/i/	*gita*	'make a fence'	*/ii/*	*giita*	'become dark'
	/ɪ/	*lɪla*	'cry'	*/ɪɪ/*	*lɪɪla*	'eat for someone'
	/e/	*βela*	'break something'	*/ee/*	*βeela*	'be beautiful'
	/a/	*βaβa*	'itch'	*/aa/*	*βaaβa*	'father'
	/o/	*doto*	'wet'	*/oo/*	*dooto*	'a twin born second'
	/ʊ/	*tʊla*	'beat'	*/ʊʊ/*	*tʊʊla*	'put'
	/u/	*fula*	'wash (clothes)'	*/uu/*	*fuula*	'blow'

Two types of vowel lengths occur in Sukuma. The first type of vowel length is referred to as compensatory lengthening. This type occurs in order to compensate for the duration of the lost underlying syllable that was represented by the vowel, which has been deleted or changed into a glide (cf. Joseph, 2012). Consider the following examples in (2).

(2)	*ʊmu + eji*	*ʊŋg’w**ee**ji*	‘moon’
	ʊmu + igʊlʊ	*ʊŋg’w**ii**gʊlʊ*	‘in heaven’

The examples above show that a vowel becomes lengthened when it follows the glide of the preceding vowel. It further implies that when two different vowels from two different syllables are juxtaposed, the first vowel is deleted and the second vowel is lengthened. Since the first vowel leads to the loss of one syllable, the remaining vowel is lengthened to compensate for the lost one. The second type of vowel length occurs when a vowel is followed by a pre-nasalised consonant. Consider the examples in (3).

(3)	*ɪmhamba*	*ɪmhaamba*	‘food for journey’
	ɪmhembe	*ɪmheembe*	‘horn’
	ɪmhɪnda	*ɪmhɪɪnda*	‘pocket’

2.2.3 Consonants

Sukuma has 33 consonant phonemes (Batibo, 1985). As in many other Bantu languages, most of the consonant phonemes in Sukuma are dual, that is, they occur as voiced and voiceless sound segments. Table 1 below presents the Sukuma consonant phonemes. The Sukuma consonant phonemes illustrated in Table 1 are adopted from Batibo (1985) since Sukuma encodes some consonant sequences that do not have IPA convention. With the exception of the two glides, glottal and a lateral, other consonants occur in pairs. When the symbols occur in pairs in Table 1 below, the one to the right denotes a voiced consonant phoneme and the one to the left denotes a voiceless consonant phoneme.

Table 1: Sukuma consonant inventory

		PLACE OF ARTICULATION					
MANNER OF ARTICULATION		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
	Plosive	p b		t d	c ǰ	k g	
	Semi-nasal	mp mb	mf mv	nt nd			
	Nasal	mh m		nh n	ɲh ɲ	ŋh ŋ	
	Fricative	ɸ β	f v	s z	ʃ		h
	Lateral			L			
	Glide		w		y		

Source: Adopted from Batibo (1985).

The following are the consonant phonemes and the glides in orthography and their corresponding symbols are provided in the slanted lines: p /p/, b /b/, t /t/, d /d/, ch /c/, j /ǰ/, k /k/, g /g/, mh /mh/, m /m/, nh /nh/, n /n/, nyh /ɲh/, ny /ɲ/, ngh /ŋh/, ng` /ŋ/, fw /ɸ/, bh /β/, f /f/, v /v/, s /s/, z /z/, sh /ʃ/, h /h/, l /l/, w /w/, and y /j/.

2.2.3.1 Pre-nasalized consonants

In Sukuma, pre-nasalized consonants occur when nasal consonants assimilate to the position of adjacent consonants. Sukuma has six pre-nasalized consonants. These are *mb* as in *ng'hʊʊmbɪ* ‘grasshopper’, *nd* as in *mhɪɪndɪ* ‘evening’, *ŋg* as in *ŋg'halaaŋga* ‘groundnuts’, *nz* as in *ɲyaanza ‘lake’, ɲʃ* as in *ɲʃooma* ‘proper name’ *and ɲc* as in *ɲceembi* ‘cutter’. See for Batibo (1985) Kahigi (2008) for further discussion.

2.2.3.2 Voiceless nasals

Voiceless nasal patterns vary clearly with those of pre-nasalized consonants such as mb, nd and ŋg. Like pre-nasalized consonants, voiceless nasals occur word-initially or finally. Four voiceless nasals occur in Sukuma, namely *mh* as in *namhala* ‘an old man’, *nh* as in *ndɪɪnho* ‘a wooden spoon’, *ɲh* as in *mmɲyha* ‘a young woman’ and *ŋh* as in *lʊmeeŋho* ‘sign/mark’.

2.2.4 Syllable structure

The most common surface syllable structure in Sukuma is CV (cf. Matondo, 2003). However, few CC clusters occur in the language. The following sub-sections present the analysis of the syllable structures in Sukuma, with some supporting examples.

2.2.4.1 The C (V) structure

In Sukuma, a syllable may consist of only a single vowel. However, in certain environments, a nasal consonant can form a syllable. All seven vowels, with the exception of the high front vowel /i/, can occur in the initial position of the word or a syllable. It should be noted that if a syllable consists of a vowel only, except the high back vowel /*u*/, it occurs in a word or in a morpheme-initial position (Batibo, 1985). Another type of a syllable containing a single segment is that which comprises a syllabic nasal consonant /*m*/. The high back vowel /u/ in the syllable -*mu* is deleted and the bilabial nasal that remains becomes the nucleus of a syllable (cf. Batibo, 1985; Joseph, 2012). Consider the examples in (4).

(4)

Before deletion		After deletion	Gloss
mupʊʊŋga	>	*mpʊʊŋga*	'rice'
kamunda	>	*kamnda*	'puppy'
njeemu	>	*njeem*	'marijuana'

2.2.4.2 The CCV Structure

As in the case of the consonant-verb (CV) sequence, the consonant-consonant verb (CCV) structure ends with any vowel. Despite that, the occurrence of the consonant-consonant (CC) cluster has some restrictions. It can consist of a sequence of nasal-consonant-verb (NCV), consonant-glide-verb (CGV), nasal-glide-verb (NGV), or glide-glide-verb (GGV). In an NCV structure, the first consonant is a nasal, which shares the same point of articulation with the next consonant. For example, *mbV* as in *mbasa* 'axe', *ntV* as in *ntemi* 'chief' and *ŋgV* as in *βooŋgo* 'brain'. In the CGV structure, a syllable may also consist of a consonant, a glide, and a vowel. This structure is not a result of the phonological rule but rather a phonotactic rule form (cf. Kindija, 2003:81). For example, *lwV,* as in *lwenge* 'proper name', *swV,* as in *maswa* 'grasses' and *zwV,* as in *zwanzwa* 'bed sheet'. The GGV type of syllable structure occurs in a very limited number of words. Here, the first glide is always the front glide /y/ followed by the back glide /w/, as in the example, *ywV,* as in *lʊywi* 'grey hair' and *ywV* as in *ywa* 'hard'.

The other syllable structure is that of NGV. This type of syllable structure does not co-occur with nasals in a cluster with glides.

2.2.4.3 The CCCV Structure

The CCCV structure is a common sequence in Sukuma. According to the examples that are available, the type of syllable with such a structure occurs as an NCGV form. This onset is a result of both phonotactic rules and phonological processes (Kindija, *ibid*). Two processes the structure, namely, vowel deletion and homorganic nasal assimilation, as in for example *nzwV* as in *nzwi* ‘root’ and *ŋgwV* as in *ŋkwiiŋgwa* ‘father-in-law’. This syllable structure is not restricted in its occurrence since it can occur word-initially, word-medially and word-finally. When this syllable structure occurs word initially, it is triggered by vowel deletion and homorganic nasal assimilation (cf. Kindija, 2003; Joseph, 2012).

2.2.5 The Sukuma tonal system

Like many other Bantu languages, Sukuma is a tonal language. The tonal system in Sukuma is highly complex (cf. Matondo, 2003). Phonetically, three basic tones are attested in Sukuma. These include high tone (H), marked by an acute accent [´], low tone (L), marked by a grave accent [`], and fall rising tone (FR), marked by [ˇ] (Maganga and Schadeberg, 1992). Sukuma tonal system has both lexical and grammatical tones. Lexical tone results in a change in the meaning of lexical items, as is illustrated in (4a-g) below, while grammatical tone results in grammatical contrast. Consider the following examples (5a-d).

(4)	a.	*lʊlá*	‘whistle’	*lʊlà*	‘became sour’
	b.	*lààmbá*	‘lick’	*lààmbà*	‘become hard’
	c.	*sumá*	‘stich’	*sumà*	‘search food’
	d.	*βolá*	‘kind of a bird’	*βolà*	‘be rotten’
	e.	*tujá*	‘content’	*tujà*	‘drive cattle for somebody’
	f.	*soká*	‘soccer’	*sokà*	‘type of a fish’
	g.	*ɲyamá*	‘bring back cattle’	*ɲyamà*	‘meat’

(5) a. βa-**á**-lɪm-**à**
AgrS-PERF-cultivate-FV
‘They have cultivated’ (just few minutes ago).

b. βa-**a**-lɪm-a**á**
AgrS-PAST-cultivate-FV
‘They cultivated’ (long time ago)

c. βa-**á**-sek-**à**
AgrS-PERF-laugh-FV
‘They have laughed’ (just a few minutes ago)

d. βa-**a**-sek-a**á**
AgrS-PAST-laugh-FV
‘They laughed’ (a long time ago).

Since the investigation of the current study focuses on the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of loanwords in Sukuma, tone phenomena fall outside the scope of this study. Hence, in the remainder of this dissertation, tonal properties of Sukuma will only be considered in instances where the tone is of direct relevance to understanding specific lexical-semantic or morpho-syntactic aspects of Sukuma loanwords. (For further discussion of Sukuma tonology, see Matondo (2003)).

2.3 Nominal morphology

Given that the main goal of the current study is to explore the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Sukuma, this section is dedicated to presenting an analysis of various linguistic properties of the Sukuma nominal morphology. It is concerned with questions of how the inherent, (i.e. original or native) Sukuma nouns are distributed in the various noun classes, and the criteria determining the assignment of nouns in Sukuma noun class system. Furthermore, nominal derivation and other morpho-syntactic properties of inherent Sukuma nouns are examined in this section.

2.3.1 Sukuma noun classes

One of the salient features of Bantu languages is the occurrence of nouns, which are classified into various nouns classes (cf. Guthrie, 1967; Batibo, 1985; Mchombo, 1993; Maho, 1999; Lodhi, 2000; Muhdhar, 2006). In Sukuma, the structure of the noun comprises of an initial vowel (IV) or pre-prefix or augment, a noun class prefix (NCP) and a noun stem (NS). The three vowels that may occur as pre-prefix in Sukuma are [a, ɪ, ʊ] and the realization of their occurrence depends on the vowel in the noun class prefix. Therefore, the pre-prefix is like a copy of the vowel in the noun class prefix (cf. Batibo, 1985; Matondo, 2003; Joseph, 2012).

Traditionally, Bantu languages are assumed to have 21 noun classes as far as Proto-Bantu noun classes are concerned (cf. Doke, 1954). This is not the case in Sukuma where only 18 noun classes (cf. Nurse, 1988:45; Batibo, 1985:212) have been retained. Morphologically, a prefix is affixed to the noun stem, one for a singular and the other for a plural noun. Thus, all the nouns with the same prefixes are assigned to the same noun class. The syntactic criterion pertains to the characteristic phenomenon of the grammatical agreement, whereby adjectives, possessive pronouns, demonstratives and other nominal modifiers that are co-referential with a noun bear an inflectional prefix that co-indexes the class of a specific noun if it denotes an inanimate object (cf. Table 14). The third criterion, which pertains to a semantic consideration, refers to the assignment of noun classes according to their meanings. For example, classes 1 and 2 are the classes denoting human beings while class 3 and 4 are the classes referring to trees (cf. Batibo, 1985; Maganga and Shadeberg, 1992; Joseph, 2012).

However, noun classes cannot be determined solely by the form of the noun: the prefixes for classes 1 and 3 (m- in both cases) are homonymous. The same occurs with noun classes 5, 9 and 10 where the noun may sometimes lack a prefix. The agreement prefixes also exhibit some homophonous properties. Therefore, the definition of noun class in Sukuma normally involves reference to the prefix on the noun, the properties of grammatical agreement and the semantic characteristics of the nouns (cf. Joseph, 2012). Table (2) illustrates the occurrence of nouns in Sukuma in various noun classes.

Table 2: Sukuma noun classes

Class	Pre-prefix	Prefix	Stem	Example	Gloss	Semantic field
1	ʊ-	m-	nhʊ	ʊm:nhʊ	*person*	human
2	a-	βa-	nhʊ	aβa:nhʊ	*people*	human
3	ʊ-	m-	tɪ	ʊmtɪ	*tree*	plant/object
4	ɪ-	mi-	tɪ	ɪmitɪ	*trees*	plants/objects
5	ɪ-	li-	we	ɪliwe	*stone*	argumentative
6	a-	ma-	we	amawe	*stones*	things/animals
7	ɪ-	ji-	lo:ti	ɪjilo:ti	*dream*	object
8	ɪ-	ji-	lo:ti	ɪjilo:ti	*dreams*	objects
9	ɪ-	n-	bʊli	ɪmbʊli	*goat*	thing/animal
10	ɪ-	n-	bʊli	ɪmbʊli	*goats*	things/animals
11	ʊ-	lʊ-	goye	ʊlʊgoye	*rope*	long/thin objects
12	a-	ka-	ana	akaana	*a small child*	diminutive
13	ʊ-	tʊ-	ana	ʊtwà:nà	*small children*	diminutive
14	ʊ-	βʊ-	sa:tu	ʊβʊsa:tu	*sickness*	abstract entities
15	ʊ-	gʊ-	cha	ʊgʊcha	*dying*	verbal infinitive
16	a-	ha-	nu:mba	ahanu:mba	*on the house*	location
17	ʊ-	gʊ-	nu:mba	ʊgʊnu:mba	*at the house*	location
18	ʊ-	m-	nu:mba	ʊmnu:mba	*in the house*	location

Source: Adopted from Batibo (1985).

2.3.2 The distribution of nouns in noun classes

As illustrated in the table (2) above, noun classes in Sukuma generally form singular-plural pairs (cf. Batibo, 1985; Matondo, 2003; Kahigi, 2008; Nyanda, 2010; Joseph, 2012). For example, noun class 1 pairs with noun class 2, noun class 3 pairs with noun class 4 and, so on with the exceptions of noun classes 15, 16, 17 and 18 which do not occur with the counterparts. The following examples illustrate the distribution of Sukuma noun classes in relation to their lexical-semantic properties.

2.3.2.1 Noun classes 1/2

Noun classes 1/2 are classes that involve members with human characteristics. Classes 1/2 are productive because they are the source of agentive nouns. The following examples in (6) demonstrate nouns denoting humans.

(6)

Class 1	**Gloss**	**Class 2**	**Gloss**
mnhʊ	‘person’	*βanhʊ*	‘people’
nangi	‘priest’	*βalangi*	‘priests’
ŋwaanikɪ	‘girl’	*βaanikɪ*	‘girls’
nzengi	‘builder’	*βazengi*	‘builders’
ɲyaanda	‘boy’	*βayaanda*	‘boys’

The noun class prefixes for classes 1 and 2 are *m*- and *βa*- respectively. However, the noun class prefix for singular m- occurs in different allomorphic forms depending on the properties of the vowel in the environment it occurs. For example, in (6) above, the noun class prefix *m*- occurs as different allomorphs such as *n*-, *ŋ*- and *ɲ*-. Furthermore, the relatively suitable pre-prefix for nouns in class 1 is *ʊ*- as in *ʊ-m-nhʊ* ‘person’ and *a*- as in *a-βa-nhʊ* ‘people’ for nouns in class 2.

2.3.2.2 Noun classes 3/4

The classes semantically refer to natural things like trees, plants and inanimate objects. The following examples in (7) illustrate nouns denoting this property.

(7)

Class 3	**Gloss**	**Class 4**	**Gloss**
ntɪ	‘tree’	*mitɪ*	‘trees’
ntwe	‘head’	*mitwe*	‘heads’
nswa	‘termite’	*miswa*	‘termites’
naɲha	‘stick’	*milaɲha*	‘sticks’

The singular class prefix is *n*- and the plural class is *mi*-. The suitable pre-prefix for nouns in class 3 is *ʊ*- as in *ʊ-n-twe* ‘head’ while the pre-prefix *ɪ*- as in *ɪ-mi-twe* ‘heads’ occurs with nouns in class 4.

2.3.2.3 Noun classes 5/6

Nouns allocated in classes 5 and 6 in Sukuma denote miscellaneous entities, paring entities and augmentations. Class 5 has a zero noun class prefix, except when the stem of the noun is either monosyllabic or disyllabic vowel-initial. Under this condition, the noun class prefix -*li*- is affixed to the noun, denoting argumentation. The noun class prefix for nouns in class 6 is *ma-*, denoting plurality to nouns in class 5 (consider the examples in (8)). Class 6 also assumes the plural form for noun classes 9, as illustrated in (9) and 14 as exemplified in (10).

(8)	**Class 5**	**Gloss**	**Class 6**	**Gloss**
	lindege	‘maize’	*mandege*	‘types of maize’
	ikuumbo	‘brush’	*makuumbo*	‘brushes’
	isonga	‘arrow’	*masonga*	‘arrows’
	ipeela	‘guava’	*mapeela*	‘guavas’

(9)	**Class 6**	**Gloss**	**Class 9**	**Gloss**
	makuunda	‘doves’	*ɲhuunda*	‘dove’
	makalanga	‘groundnuts’	*ɲhalanga*	‘groundnut’
	mayoβe	‘donkeys’	*nzoβe*	‘donkey’
	maŋgoombe	‘cows’	*ŋgoombe*	‘cow’
	madama	‘calves’	*ndama*	‘calf’

(10)	**Class 6**	**Gloss**	**Class 14**	**Gloss**
	maβʊsaatu	‘diseases’	*βʊsaatu*	‘disease’
	maβʊganga	‘medicines’	*βʊganga*	‘medicine’
	maβʊpaanga	‘livelihoods’	*βʊpaanga*	‘livelihood’

Furthermore, nouns in classes 5 and 6 can express diminutive, and they can occur as derived nouns in classes 12/13 as shown in the following examples.

(11)	**Class 12**	**Gloss**	**Class 13**	**Gloss**
	kandege	‘a small maize’	*tʊndege*	‘small maize’
	kakuumbo	‘a small brush’	*tʊkuumbo*	‘small brushes’
	kasonga	‘a small arrow’	*tʊsonga*	‘small arrows’
	kapeela	‘a small guava’	*tʊapeela*	‘small guavas’

From the examples above, it is evident that noun classes 5 and 6 are relatively productive in Sukuma because they can be derived to occur in other noun classes.

2.3.2.4 Classes 7/8

Classes 7/8 are related to nouns denoting inanimate objects, manner or style of something, diminutives and augmentative characteristics. Class 8 is a plural to class 7, as demonstrated in the examples in (12).

(12)	**Class 7**	**Gloss**	**Class 8**	**Gloss**
	jitaaβu	‘book’	*shitaaβu*	‘books’
	jidoonge	‘tablet’	*shidoonge*	‘tablets’
	jizwaalo	‘cloth’	*shizwaalo*	‘clothes’

jikoombe	‘cup’	*shikoombe*	‘cups’
jɪɪto	‘act’	*shɪɪto*	‘acts’

As illustrated in the examples above, the noun class prefix for class 7 is *ji-* which sometimes occur as *jɪ-* as an allomorphic form, while the noun class prefix for class 8 is *shi-*. The two noun class prefixes can co-occur with the pre-prefix *ɪ-*, depending on the constraints regarding the (non)occurrence of the pre-prefix in Sukuma.

2.3.2.5 Classes 9/10

Both classes 9 and 10 are dedicated to nouns denoting animals. Class 10 is a plural to class 9, as shown in (13) below. Classes 9/10 share the same noun class prefix, thus their singular-plural distinction is determined largely syntactically rather than semantically through, for example, the subject agreement prefix in the verbal morphology, as illustrated in (14).

(13)

Class 9	**Gloss**	**Class 10**	**Gloss**
ŋhʊʊlʊ	‘dove’	*ŋhʊʊlʊ*	‘doves’
ŋgoombe	‘cow’	*ŋoombe*	‘cows’
ndama	‘calf’	*ndama*	‘calves’
mbiti	‘hyena’	*mbiti*	‘hyenas’

(14) (a) ɪndama yaajimɪɪla
ɪ-n-dama ya-a-jimɪɪl-a
IV-9-calf AgrS-PAST-lose-FV
‘The calf got lost’

(b) ɪndama jaajimɪɪla
ɪ-n-dama ja-a-jimɪɪl-a
IV-10-calves AgrS-PAST-lose-FV
‘The calves got lost’

From the examples above, it can be argued that differentiating nouns allocated in class 9 with those allocated in class 10 is problematic because the two noun classes share the same noun class prefix, that is, *N-*. However, the distinction of the two can be determined by the context in which they are used. For example, in (14) above, the occurrence of the grammatical subject agreement prefixes of the verb in the two sentences denote that the subject argument sentence (14a) is singular, thus belongs to class 9, while sentence (14b) is plural, hence it belongs to class 10 (cf. Rugemalira, 2006; Kahigi, 2008; Mahlangu, 2016).

2.3.2.6 Class 11

Class 11 is the class dedicated to nouns denoting long things and abstract objects. In Sukuma, class 11 takes its plural counterpart in class 10, as shown in (15) below.

(15)	**Class 11**	**Gloss**	**Class 10**	**Gloss**
	lʊgoye	‘rope’	*ngoye*	‘ropes’
	lʊgoβi	‘river grass’	*ngoβi*	‘river grasses’
	lʊgʊlʊ	‘hill’	*ngʊlʊ*	‘hills’
	lʊshʊ	‘knife’	*shʊ*	‘knives’

2.3.2.7 Classes 12/13

These are the classes denoting diminutive in Sukuma. The noun class prefix for class 12 is *ka*- while the noun class prefix for class 13 is *tʊ*-. The examples in (16) illustrate nouns in these respective classes.

(16)	**Class 12**	**Gloss**	**Class 13**	**Gloss**
	kaana	‘a small child’	*twaana*	‘small children’
	kawe	‘a small stone’	*tuwe*	‘small stones’
	kawa	‘a small dog’	*tuwa*	‘small dogs’
	kayoka	‘a small snake’	*tuyoka*	‘small snakes’

The pre-prefixes that can occur with nouns allocated in classes 12 and 13 include *a*- as in *akaana*, ‘the small child’ which is class 12 and *ʊ*- as in *ʊtwaana*, ‘the small children’, which is class 13. Furthermore, nouns allocated in classes 12 take the plural form in class 6.

2.3.2.8 Class 14

Class 14 is characterised by abstract entities, mass nouns and it has its corresponding plural nouns in class 6, as discussed above in (10). Consider the following examples in (16).

(16)	**Class 14**	**Gloss**	**Class 6**	**Gloss**
	βʊpaanga	‘livelihood’	*maβʊpaanga*	‘livelihoods’
	βʊsaatu	‘sickness’	*maβʊsaatu*	‘sicknesses’
	βʊsoso	‘dirtiness’	*maβʊsoso*	‘dirtiness’
	βʊsoga	‘beauty’	*maβʊsoga*	‘beauty’
	βʊlʊlʊ	‘bitterness’	*maβʊlʊlʊ*	‘bitterness’

The noun class prefix for class 14 is *βʊ*- as in *βʊlʊlʊ* ‘bitterness’ denoting the situation or state of being bitter.

2.3.2.9 Class 15

Class 15 denotes infinitives. It takes its plural form in class 6. Consider the following examples in (18).

(18)

Class 15	Gloss	Class 6	Gloss
gʊtʊla	'the beating'	*matʊla*	'beatings'
gʊgʊla	'the buying'	*magʊla*	'buyings'
gʊlya	'the eating'	*malya*	'eating'
gʊlɪma	'the cultivating'	*malɪma*	'cultivating'

The noun class prefix for class 15 is the infinitive morpheme *gʊ*-. The infinitive class 15 has been widely characterised as a nominal with an internal clausal structure, a view which is plausible for Sukuma, as for other Bantu languages. For example, in (18) above, *gʊgʊla* 'the buying' denotes a nominal infinitive. Furthermore, the same nominal infinitive is affixed with an object agreement prefix, resulting in the clausal infinitive, for example, as *gʊyɪgʊla* 'to buy it' (cf. Du Plessis and Visser, 1992:92; Maganga and Schadeberg, 1992:64).

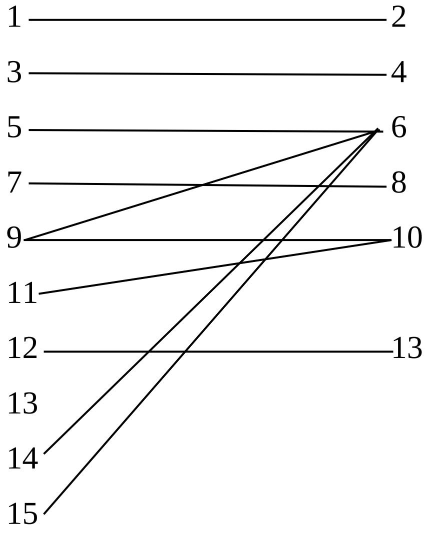
2.3.2.10 Classes 16, 17 and 18

These noun classes are the locative classes in Sukuma. Class 16 denotes 'near', having the prefix '*ha*' "here" while class 17 denotes 'remote', having the prefix *'gʊ'* and class 18 denotes 'inside', having the prefix *'mu'*. Consider the following examples in (19).

(19)

Class 16	Gloss	Class 17	Gloss	Class 18	Gloss
Hakaya	'at home'	*gʊkaya*	'home (far)'	*mukaya*	'inside the house'
Hangunda	'at the farm'	*gʊngʊnda*	'far at farm'	*mungunda*	'in the farm'

Figure (3): Singular/plural paring in Sukuma noun system



The figure above demonstrates how different Sukuma noun classes are generally paired as singular/plural. It is evident that, in regard to count noun, the classes with numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 12 are singular by default, and the noun classes with numbers 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 13 are plural. Furthermore, count nouns in classes with numbers 9, 14 and 15 have their plural forms in class 6, while the noun class 11 takes its plural counterpart in class 10. Locative noun classes 16, 17, and 18 do not have plural counterparts, as demonstrated in figure (1) above. An interesting observation from the pairing in figure (3) above is that noun class 6 is the plural counterpart to noun classes 9, 14 and 15 (cf. Batibo, 1985; Maganga and Schadeberg, 1992; Joseph, 2012).

2.3.3 Nominal derivation

As in many Bantu languages, nouns in Sukuma can be formed through derivation. Derived nouns in Sukuma are formed from verbs, adjectives, and numerals, by the change of the noun class prefix and by the use of the suffix -*na*-.

2.3.3.1 Nouns derived from verbs

Nouns derived from verbs in Sukuma exhibit similar derivation properties to those found in many Bantu languages (cf. Kahigi, 2008). It involves productive derivational processes namely i) derivation of a verb base to a nominal stem by adding various final suffixes, and ii) assignment of a derived nominal stem to a nominal class. Within the two productive derivational processes, several derivational options occur in forming nouns from verbs (cf. Mletshe, 2010; Hlungwani, 2012).

Nouns derived with the suffix -i

These nouns are derived by the addition of the suffix -*i* to the verb base. Nouns derived from this process include nouns classes 1 and 2, and 14, which is a class for abstract nouns. Table 3 below demonstrates nouns derived through this process.

Table 3: Nouns derived with the suffix -i

Verb base	**Gloss**	**Class 1**	**Class 2**	**Class 14**
sheema	milk	*nsheemi* (milker)	*βasheemi (milkers)*	*βʊyoombi*
Diima	catch	*ndiimi* (catcher)	*βadiimi* (catchers)	*βʊdiimi*
saama	migrate	*nsaami* (migrant)	*βasaami* (migrants)	*βʊsaagi*
saaga	remain	*nsaagi* (remnant)	*βasaagi* (remnants)	*βʊsaagi*
yoomba	Talk/speak	*nyoombi* (speaker)	*βayoombi* (speakers)	*βʊyoombi*

Source: Field data (2016).

In the deverbal nouns in the table above, the suffix -*i* is suffixed to the verb root, which has the -*a* as the final vowel in inherent Sukuma verbs. The nouns derived from the suffixation of the suffix -*i* are agentive nouns in classes 1 and 2 since these classes denote human attributes. Furthermore, derived nouns formed by the same process are abstract nouns in class 14 as indicated in the table above.

Nouns derived with the suffix -o

Nouns derived by the suffix -*o* usually refer to an object or the result that is associated with the action of the verb involved. Nouns of this kind are those classified in classes 3 and 4, 5 and 6, 7 and 8, and 9 and 10. Table 4, below exemplifies deverbal nouns derived through this process.

Table 4: Nouns derived with the suffix -o

Verb base	***Singular class***	**Gloss**	***Plural class***
lɪma	*nɪmo* (3) (work)	cultivate	*milɪmo* (4) (works)
Zuga	*nzugo* (3)	cook	*mizugo* (4)

	(cook)		(cooks)
βʊʊja	*iβʊʊjo* (5) (question)	ask	*maβʊʊjo* (6) (questions)
iganika	*iganiko* (5) (thought)	think	*maganiko* (6) (thoughts)
olecha	*joolecho* (7) (direction)	Show/point at	*shoolecho* (8) (directions)
jiinja	*jijiinjo* (7) (item for sale)	sell	*shijiinjo* (8) (items for sale)
deeka	*ndeeko* (9) (cooking)	to cook	*ndeeko* (10) (cookings)
Zuga	*nzugo* (9) (cooking)	cook	*nzugo* (10) (cookings)

Source: Field data (2016).

In the examples above, it is evident that the suffix -*o* changes the grammatical category status of the verb into a noun when affixed to the final position of the verb root. In addition, the derivation of nouns with the suffix -*o* demonstrates the productivity of Sukuma derivational morphology since the derivational suffix -*o* occurs in several different noun classes, as illustrated in Table 4 above.

Nouns derived with the suffixes -ele/ile

Nouns formed by this process involve the nouns derived by a combination with the suffixes [-*ile*] [-*ele*] and the manner prefix *ka*-. The nouns formed by this process are classified into noun class 12, as illustrated in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Nouns derived with the suffix -ele/ɪle

Source verb-root	**Class 12**	**Gloss**
-gema	*Kagemele*	the manner of testing
-βʊmba	*kaβʊmbɪle*	the manner of building
-mala	*kamalɪle*	the manner of finishing
-gesa	*Kagesele*	the manner of harvesting
-tʊla	katʊlɪle	*manner of biting*

Source: Field data (2016).

However, such derived nouns can undergo further derivations, ending with the suffix -o. This may trigger a change of meaning of some of the derived nouns. This phenomenon is illustrated with reference to examples in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Nouns ending with the derivational suffix -o

Derived Class 12	**Alternative forms**	**Gloss**
kagemele	*kagemelo*	trial
kaβʊmbɪle	*kaβʊmbɪlo*	instrument for building
kamalɪle	*kamalɪlo*	the way of finishing
kagesele	*Kageselo*	instrument for harvesting
katʊlile	*katulɪlo*	instrument for beating

Source: Field data (2016).

In table 6 above, the derived nouns demonstrate another derivational process by the occurrence of the *-e* derivational suffix instead of the *-o* derivational suffix, resulting in the formation of a secondary meaning denoting various instruments used for doing certain activities. In this case, the occurrence of the suffix *-o* in the position of the suffix *-e* yields a different meaning to the former meaning i.e. the manner of doing something, in that it denotes ‘an instrument for doing something’.

Nouns derived with the passive suffix -w-/-iw-

Nouns formed by the passive -w- are formed from transitive verbs and most of these nouns occur in classes 1 and 2, 7 and 8 and in the class of abstract nouns, 14. They are naturally associated with source verbs. The examples in Table 7 below demonstrate this property.

Table 7: Nouns derived from the passive -w-/-iw-

Verb stem	**Singular class**	**Gloss**	**Plural class**	**Class 14**
-gema	*ngemiwa* (temptee)	temptee	*βagemiwa* (temptees)	*βʊgemiwa*
-tʊla	*ntʊliwa* (sb beaten)	sb beaten	*βatʊliwa* (beaten peop)	*βʊtʊliwa*
-toola	*ntoolwa* (sb married)	sb married	*batoolwa* (married peop)	*βʊtoolwa*
-gana	*jiganwa* (narrative)	narrative	*shiganwa* (narratives)	*βʊganwa*

Source: Field data (2016).

In the examples above, it is evident that the derivational suffix -*iw*- occurs between the verbal base and the final vowel, resulting in the formation of nouns denoting benefactive or patient attributes in Sukuma. Derived nouns of this nature are associated with the source verbs they are derived from. For example the derived noun *ngemiwa* ‘temptee’ is derived from the verbal base -*gema* ‘tempt’ bears the meaning ‘someone who is given a trial or tempted to do something’, which is implicitly the meaning associated with the source verbal base -*gema* ‘try’.

Nouns formed with bare verb stem ending in -a

Nouns can be formed from the verb stem ending with a final vowel -*a*. Nouns derived in this way are agentive nouns in Classes 1 and 2, of which the stems form abstract nouns with a prefix of class 14. Nouns of this kind are also allocated in classes 5 and 6, as illustrated in the examples in Table 8.

Table 8: Nouns formed with bare verb stem ending in -a

Source verb	**Singular class**	**Gloss**	**Plural class**	**Class 14**
lɪma	*nɪmi* (1) (farmer)	cultivate	*βalɪmi* (2) (farmers)	*βʊlɪmi*
Seka	*nseki* (1) (laugher)	laugh	*βaseki* (2) (laughers)	*βʊseki*
Gesa	*ngesi* (1) (harvester)	harvest	*βagesi* (2) (harvesters)	*βʊgesi*
saama	*isaama* (5) (migrant)	migrate	*masaama* (6) (migrants)	*βʊsaami*
hɪɪga	*ihɪɪga* (5) (hunt)	hunt	*mahɪɪga* (6) (hunts)	*βʊhɪɪgi*
sʊlʊja	*isʊlʊja* (5) (trading)	trade	*masʊlʊja* (6) (tradings)	*βʊsʊlʊji*

Source: Field data (2016).

In the examples above, deverbal nouns are formed from a verbal base with the bare stem ending in the final vowel -a. Nouns formed through this derivational process are allocated to classes denoting humans with certain attributes and abstract entities. Furthermore, the pre-prefix *i*- is attached to some of the nouns assigned to classes 5 since the final vowel in such situation remains -*a*. However, the pre-prefix *i*- may co-occur with the augmentative prefix -*li*- in class five, as *in ɪ-li-hɪɪga* ‘the hunting activity’, denoting an augmentation interpretation.

2.3.3.2 Nouns derived from adjectives

Nouns derived from adjectives are formed by affixation of the Class 14 prefix *βʊ-* to the adjective, as is shown in Table 9 below:

Table 9: Nouns derived from adjectives

Derived nouns	**Source Adjectives**	**Gloss**
βʊtaale	-taale ‘big’	bigness
βʊsoga	-soga ‘beautiful’	beauty
βʊgokolo	-gokolo ‘lazy’	laziness
βʊβi	-βi ‘bad’	badness

Source: Field data (2016).

Nouns derived by the affixation of the class 14 prefix *βʊ-* denote the state of being something else. The meaning of such nouns is associated with the source adjective. For example, the adjective -*gokolo* denotes ‘lazy’. When the noun class 14 prefix *βʊ-* is affixed to the adjective -*gokolo* ‘lazy’ leads to the formation of an abstract noun *βʊgokolo* ‘laziness’, which implicitly refers to ‘the state of being lazy’.

2.3.3.3 Nouns derived from numerals

The Class 14 prefix *βʊ-* is affixed to numerals, deriving nouns from numerals, as indicated in Table 10 below

Table 10: Nouns derived from numerals

Derived Nouns	**Source Numerals**	**Gloss**
βʊmo	mo ‘one’	Unity
βʊβɪlɪ	βɪlɪ ‘two’	duality
βʊdatʊ	datʊ ‘three’	Trinity
βʊtaano	taano ‘five’	five
βʊtaandatʊ	taandatʊ ‘six’	six

Source: Field data (2016).

In the table above, it is evident that the affixation of the noun class 14 prefix *βʊ-* to numerals in Sukuma results in the formation of nouns denoting numbers. However, these nouns have a nominal derivational alternative, which can result through affixation of the pre-prefix *i-* to the numeral stem which may result in the formation of nouns in class 5, such as *itaano* ‘five’ and *itaandatʊ* ‘six’.

2.3.3.4 Nouns derived by different noun class prefixes

Nouns derived from the change of class involve the affixation of various class prefixes to a noun stem. Examples of nouns of this type are shown in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Nouns derived by change of class

Class 1	Gloss	Class 7	Gloss	Class 14	Gloss
ɲyaanda	boy	*jiyaanda*		*βʊyaanda*	boyhood
nswahili	Swahili person	*jiswahili*	Swahili language	*βʊswahili*	Swahili area
nzuungu	English person	*jizuungu*	English language	*βʊzuungu*	English area
ndakama	Dakama person	*jidakama*	Dakama language	*βʊdakama*	Dakama area
namugɪ	Husband	*jinamugɪ*		*βʊnamugɪ*	husband hood

Source: Field data (2015).

In the examples in table 11 above, various noun class prefixes are affixed to noun stems, forming derived nominals in different classes. For example, the noun stem -*yaanda* ‘boyish’ undergoes several nominal derivations. The noun class 1 prefix *m*- (*ɲ*-) is affixed to the noun stem -*yaanda* as in *ɲyaanda*, forming a derived noun denoting ‘boy’. Furthermore, the noun class 7 prefix *ji*- is affixed to the same noun stem -*yaanda*, resulting in the formation of a differently derived noun *jiyaanda*, which refers to ‘the style or manner in which a boy does something- something boyish’. In addition, the noun class 14 prefix *βʊ*- can also be affixed to the noun stem –*yaanda*, resulting in the formation of an abstract noun *βʊyaanda* ‘boyhood’.

2.3.3.5 Nouns derived by affixation of the morpheme *-na-*

These are kind of nouns formed by the addition of the morpheme -*na*- to the noun stem. Nouns involved in this category include those in classes 1 and 2 and those in class 14. In Sukuma folk tales, the element -*na*- is also used to describe animal characters. Table 12 below demonstrates these nouns.

Table 12: Nouns derived by affixation of the morpheme -na-

Noun stem	Class 1	Gloss	Class 2	Class 14
-na-dakama	*mnadakama*	Southern Sukuma person	*βanadakama*	*βunadakama*
-na-miiko	*mnamiiko*	foreigner	*βanamiiko*	*βʊnamiiko*
-n-mhʊlɪ	*mnamhʊlɪ*	an elephant	*βanamhʊlɪ*	*βʊnamhʊlɪ*
-na-sʊβɪ	*mnasʊβɪ*	a leopard	*βanasʊβɪ*	*βʊnasʊβɪ*
-na-mbiti	*mnambiti*	a hyena	*βanambiti*	*βʊnambiti*

Source: Field data (2016).

In respect to the examples above, it can be argued that the process of nominal derivation in Sukuma is productive because the same noun stem can co-occur with other noun class prefixes, forming different nouns with distinct meanings. For example, apart from deriving nouns in classes 1, 2 and 14 as indicated in table 12 above, this kind of nouns denote people's citizenships or places they come from. Consider the examples in Table 13 below.

Table 13: Nouns describing people's citizenships or places

Noun stem	Class 1	Gloss	Class 2	Class 14
-na-βʊsaɲya	*mnaβʊsaɲya*	a person from βʊsaɲya	*βanaβʊsaɲya*	*βʊnaβʊsaɲya*
-na-pilitolia	*mnapilitolia*	a person from Pretoria	*βanapilitolia*	*βʊnapilitolia*
-na-lwanda	*mnalwanda*	a person from Rwanda	*βanalwanda*	*βʊnalwanda*
-na-talime	*mnatalime*	a person from Tarime	*βanatalime*	*βʊnatalime*
-na-magu	*mnamagu*	a person from Magu	*βanamagu*	*βʊnamagu*

Source: Field data (2016).

From the table above, it is evident that the morpheme *-na-* is affixed to the noun stem, which is in turn affixed to various entities to denote different denotations, such as *m-na-mhʊlɪ* 'an elephant' (an animal), *m-na-βʊsaɲya* 'a person from βʊsaɲya' (place) and *m-na-kɪɪya* 'a person from the East' (direction). The nominal derivation in regard to English loanwords is discussed in chapter four (cf. section 4.6.4).

2.3.4 Compound nouns in Sukuma

Compounding in Sukuma, as also common in other Bantu languages, is robust. It is the product of a combination of two or more lexemes, forming a single lexical word. Sukuma identifies a number of different types of compound nouns (cf. Joseph, 2012). In most cases, such compound nouns can be used by speakers to serve various sociolinguistic purposes. In regard to compound morphology, Sukuma is an endocentric language, therefore the constituents that constitute a compound noun in Sukuma exhibit a head-modifier relationship. In general, the head bears the lexical content while the other constituent has the function of a modifier of the head of the compound noun.

2.3.4.1 Noun-noun compounds

A noun to noun compound is formed when, for example, the element '*ng'wana*' is combined with inherent Sukuma proper names to form a single lexical word. The element '*ng'wana*' simply means 'the child of'. Thus, when affixed to a proper noun, such as *Kwangʊ* below, the sense obtaining is that *Kwangʊ* is the mother of the child (Kwangʊ's child). See the examples below.

(20)	Ng'wana + Kwaangʊ	>	*ng'wanakwaangu*	'Kwangu's son'
	Ng'wana + Kayaange	>	*ng'wanakayaanga*	'Kayange's daughter'
	Ng'wana + Kalıma	>	*ng'wanakalıma*	'Kalımaa's daughter'
	Ng'wana + Lʊheende	>	*ng'wanalʊheende*	'Luhende's daughter'
	Ng'wana + Maliya	>	*ng'wanamaliya*	'Mary's son (Jesus)'

In Sukuma tradition and custom, the use of compound nouns of the above kind denote respect, that is, they are honorific expressions with discourse-pragmatic context. For example, a person cannot call his/her mother-in-law or father-in-law by their first names. The above kind of names denotes respect.

2.3.4.2 Derived compounds

In Sukuma, derived compounds are nouns formed through the process of derivation. Three attested derivational morphemes are affixed to the verbal root to form a deverbal noun, which then combines with another noun to form a lexical word that is a compound noun. Such morphemes include *ja-* with its allomorphs *je-* and *ji-*, as indicated in (21a) below, *lʊ-* as in (21b) and *m-* with its allomorphs *n-* and *ŋ-*, as illustrated in (21c) below. The specific realization of the derivational morphemes is determined by vowel harmony.

(21)

(a)	*Ja-mba + ma-baala* 1-dress + 6-land	*jambamabaala*	'a person who is everywhere' (a person who dresses huge areas)
	Je-nha + miyeeye 1-bring + 6-happiness	*jenhamiyeeye*	'a winer/champion)' (a person who brings happiness)

	Ji-mila +n-zoka 7-swallow + 9-snake	*jimilanzooka*	‘a dangerous person’ (a bird which eats snakes)
(b)	*lʊ-koondya* + *maβiti* 1-weaken + 6-hyena	*lʊkoondyamaβiti*	‘a person who can do the impossible’ (a person who can make the hyena thin)
	lʊ-kanya + *βa-laambu* 1-seduce + 2-clever	*lʊkanyaβalaambu*	‘a clever person’ (a person with a high convincing power)
(c)	*n-gaka* + *gʊ-βonwa* 1-never + inf-see	*ngakagʊβonwa*	‘a person who is rarely seen’ (a porcupine)
	n-sekela + *mi-deeko* 1-laugh + 6-food	*nsekelamideeko*	‘a person who is lazy’ (a person who only laugh who laughs for food)

Most of the above compound nouns were traditionally used in discourse-pragmatic context by Sukuma dancers as their nicknames instead of their given names. The compound nouns were used to denote power in regard to how a person is viewed as prestigious in doing impossible activities in the society. This naming convention was one of the ways in which Sukuma speakers could convey messages to their enemies about their strength. (cf. Mchombo, 2004:117; Contini Morava, 2007 for a similar observation). As in other Bantu languages, some Sukuma compound nouns have idiomatic denotations. For this reason, the gloss meanings given above may appear odd. For example, in (21b) above, the compound noun *lʊkoondyamaβiti* consists of two lexical items namely *kondya* (make something thin) and *maβiti* (hyenas) The nominalizing morpheme ‘*lʊ*’ is affixed word-initially, deriving the verb *kondya* (make something thin) to a deverbal noun *lʊkondya* (a person who can make something thin). Thus, the combination of the two constituents refers to a person who can make hyenas thin. Idiomatically, the compound denotes a person who can do anything, even if such a thing could appear impossible to be done. Consider the examples in (21) in which each compound noun exhibit two meanings. The meanings in the brackets denote the actual or literal senses while the meanings in the quotation marks refer to the idiomatic meanings denoted by the compounds.

2.3.4.3 Coordinate compounds

A coordinate compound is a kind of noun whose constituents are conjoined by a conjunction. Several conjunctions are used in Sukuma in combining two or more constituents in forming compound nouns. The structure of such compound nouns is illustrated below.

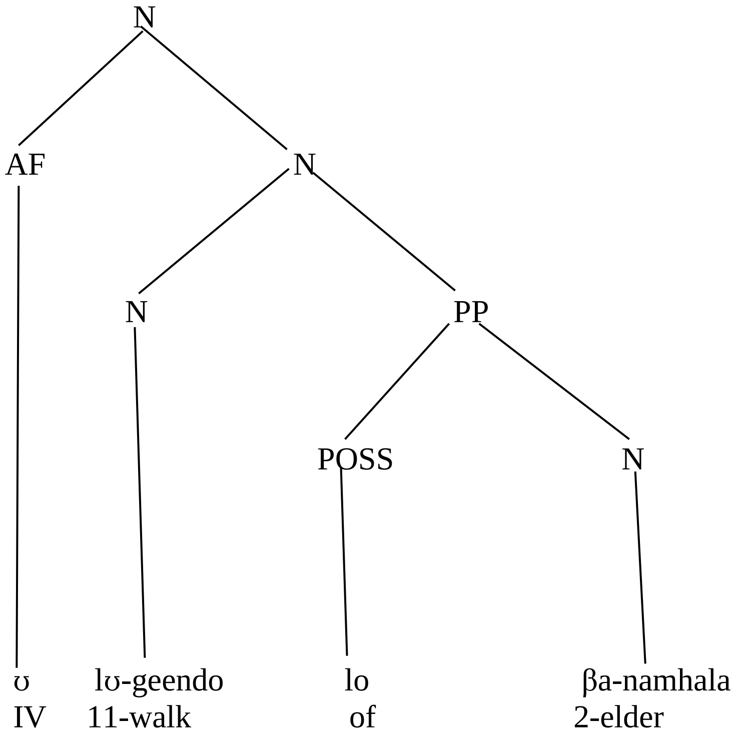


Figure 3: An illustration of a coordinate Compound noun with a possessive

(22)	*ng'wa-ana-o-ndʊʊlʊ* 2-child of 9-zebra	‘a Zebra’s child’
	βa-ana-βa-βa-taale 2-child of 2-elder	‘children of elders/leaders’
	li-daale-lya-ma-noni 5-swam of 6-bird	‘a swam of birds’
	ng'ombe-ya-gʊlɪma 9-cow of Inf-ox	‘cows that pull a plough in agriculture’(an ox)
	ka-ana-ka-shiimba 12-child of 9-lion	‘a cub of a lion’
	lʊ-geendo-lo-βa-namhala 11-walk of 2-elder	‘a style of walking for the elders’ (slow)

In the examples above, the possessive morpheme introduces a possessive nominal modifier. The class of the compound is determined by the noun class of the first constituent of the compound noun. For example, in the compound noun *βaana-βa-βataale* ‘children of elders’ the noun *βaana* ‘children’ is assigned to noun class 2, appears as the head of the compound. The noun class prefix for class 2 is *βa*-.

2.3.5 Nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers of various categories can modify the head noun in a noun phrase (DP). They include demonstratives, possessives, quantifiers, numerals, adjectives and relative pronouns. The next section examines these nominal modifiers in detail.

2.3.5.1 Demonstratives

Sukuma distinguishes two kinds of demonstratives. These are (a) proximal demonstratives *ɪyɪ* ‘this’, *ɪyo* ‘that’ and (b) distal demonstratives *ɪji* ‘this', *ɪjo* ‘those’. The proximal demonstratives in Sukuma denote the entities that are close to both the speaker and the addressee, while the distal demonstratives refer to entities far from both the speaker and the addressee although the entities remain in the view of both the speaker and the hearer. Demonstratives follow the head nouns hence showing the agreement in noun class with the head noun. The examples in (23a-f) below exemplify this argument.

(23) a. ʊmunhʊ ʊyʊ alɪsaata
ʊ-mu-nhʊ ʊ-yʊ a-lɪ-saat-a
IV-1-person IV-DEM AgrS-PRES-sick-FV
‘This person is sick’

b. aβanhu aβa βalɪsaata
a-βa-nhu a-βa βa-lɪ-saat-a
IV-2-person IV-DEM AgrS-PRES-sick-FV
‘These people are sick’

c. ɪmbʊli ɪyɪ yigʊtaga
ɪ-m-bʊli ɪ-yɪ yi-gʊt-aga
IV-9-goat IV-DEM AgrS-fed up-PERF
‘This goat is fed up’

d. ɪ-m-bʊli ɪ-ji ji-gʊt-aga
ɪ-m-bʊli ɪ-ji ji-gʊt-aga
IV-10-goat IV-DEM AgrS-fed up-PERF
‘These goats are feed up’

e. ɪndama ɪjo jiliiza
ɪ-n-dama ɪ-jo ji-li-iz-a
IV-10-calf IV-DEM AgrS-PROG-come-FV
‘Those calves are coming’

f. ɪndama ɪyo yɪliiza
ɪ-n-dama ɪ-yo yɪ-li-iz-a
IV-9-calf IV-DEM AgrS-PROG-come-FV
‘That calf is coming’

2.3.5.2 Possessives

Possessives in Sukuma are manifested by the addition of the possessive concord of the possessee nouns to the possessor noun or pronoun (Matondo, 2003). Possessive pronouns in Sukuma form singular plural pairings. Singular possessive pronouns are [-*ane*] ‘my’, [-*ako*] ‘your’ and [-*akwe*] ‘his/hers]. Plural possessive pronouns are [-*ise*] ‘ours’, [-*iŋg’we*] ‘yours’ and [-*aβo*] ‘theirs’. See the data in (24) below.

(24)

	Singular possessive pronouns		**Plural possessive pronouns**
a.	m-bʊli ya-ane 9-goat NCP-POSS ‘My goat’	b.	m-bʊli ji-ise 10-goat NCP-POSS ‘Our goats’
c.	m-bʊli ya-ako 9-goat NCP-POSS ‘Your goat’	d.	m-bʊli ji-ŋg’we 10-goat NCP-POSS ‘Your goats’
e.	m-bʊli ya-akwe 9-goat NCP-POSS ‘His/her goat’	f.	m-bʊli ja-aβo 10-goat NCP-POSS ‘Their goats’

2.3.5.3 Quantifiers

Three elements that function as quantifiers in Sukuma are distinguished (Maganga and Schadeberg, 1992). These are [-*ose*] ‘all’, [-*geehu*] ‘few/little’ and [-*ingɪ*] ‘many’. As pointed out in respect to other modifiers, quantifiers also follow the noun they modify, as is illustrated in (25) in the following examples.

(25) a. a-βa-ana βo-ose βa-lɪ-lɪl-a
IV-2-child 2-all AgrS-PRES-cry-FV
‘Children all are crying’ (Lit)
‘All children are crying’

b. βa-nhʊ βa-geehu βa-gi-iz-a
2-person 2-few AgrS-PAST-come-FV
‘People few came’ (Lit)
‘Few people came’

c. a-ga-gʊl-a ŋ-g’ombe ɲy-ingɪ
3SG-AgrS-PAST-buy-FV 10-cow 10-many
‘He bought cows many’ (Lit)
‘He bought many cows’

2.3.5.4 Numerals

Numerals in Sukuma follow the head noun that they modify. The noun class prefix is affixed to both cardinal and ordinal number stems realizing agreement with the modified noun (Maganga and Schadeberg, 1992). With ordinal numbers, the inflectional agreement of the numeral from **one** up to **six** is encoded by the combination of class 12 nominal prefix. The forms **six** through **ten** are invariable. The examples in (26) below demonstrate the phenomenon.

(26)

kamo	‘once’	*ʊlʊshigʊ lo kamo*	‘first day’
kaβɪlɪ	‘twice’	*ʊlʊshigʊ lo kaβɪlɪ*	‘second day’
kadatʊ	‘three times’	*ʊlʊshigʊ lo kadatʊ*	‘third day’
kane	‘four times’	*ʊlʊshigʊ lo kane*	‘fouth day’
kataano	‘five times’	*ʊlʊshigʊ lo kataano*	‘fifth day’
katandatʊ	‘six times’	*ʊlʊshigʊ lo katandatʊ*	‘sixth day’
mpungatɪ	‘seven times’	*ʊlʊshigʊ lo mpungatɪ*	‘seventh day’

2.3.5.5 Adjectives

An adjective in Sukuma is a descriptive category that modifies a head noun from any noun class exhibiting in its inflectional agreement morphology of the class agreement prefix of the modified noun in both number and class (Maganga and Schadeberg, 1992). In Sukuma, adjectives are classified into two groups, namely simple or underived adjectives (see the data in 27a), and the verb-like or derived adjectives (see the data in 27b). Simple adjectives are listed in the lexicon as inherent adjectives while the verb-like adjectives are those derived from lexical verbs.

(27) a.

-aza	‘red’
-ape	‘white’
-api	‘black’

b.

Adjective	**Gloss**	**verb**	**Gloss**
-angʊ	‘quick’	*angʊha*	‘be quick/hurry’
-galɪ	‘wide’	*galɪha*	‘widen’
-kalɪ	‘fierce’	*kalɪha*	‘be fierce’
-do	‘small’	*dooha*	‘be small’
-ʊgɪ	‘sharp’	*ʊgɪha*	‘become-sharp’

Table 14: Sukuma noun class prefixes and corresponding concordial forms

NC	IV	NCP	Stem	Example	Gloss	NoC	AgrS	AgrO	Adj.Agr	NUM SG/PL	POSS Mine	Demonstratives		Semantic fields
												This	That	
1	*ʊ-*	*m-*	*nhʊ*	*ʊm:nhʊ*	person	*o-*	*a-*	*m-*	*m-*	*ʊmo*	*o-ne*	*ʊyʊ*	*ʊyo*	human
2	*a-*	*βa-*	*nhʊ*	*aβa:nhʊ*	people	*βa-*	*βa-*	*βa-*	*βa-*	*βaβɪlɪ*	*βa-ne*	*aβa-*	*aβo*	
3	*ʊ-*	*m-*	*tɪ*	*ʊmtɪ*	tree	*go-*	*gʊ-*	*n-*	*n-*	*gʊmo*	*go-ne*	*ʊyʊ*	*ʊyo*	trees, etc.
4	*ɪ-*	*mi-*	*tɪ*	*ɪmitɪ*	trees	*ya-*	*yɪ-*	*mi-*	*mi-*	*ɪβɪlɪ*	*ya-ne*	*ɪyɪ*	*ɪyo*	
5	*ɪ-*	*li-*	*we*	*ɪliwe*	stone	*lya-*	*lɪ-*	*li-*	*li-*	*lɪmo*	*lya-ne*	*ɪlɪ*	*ɪlo*	body parts, food, etc.
6	*a-*	*ma-*	*we*	*amawe*	stones	*ga-*	*ga-*	*ma-*	*ma-*	*aβɪlɪ*	*ga-ne*	*aya*	*ayo*	
7	*ɪ-*	*ji-*	*looti*	*ɪjilo:ti*	dream	*ja-*	*ji-*	*ji-*	*ji-*	*jimo*	*ja-ne*	*ɪji*	*ɪjo*	things, language, etc.
8	*ɪ-*	*ji-*	*looti*	*ɪjilo:ti*	dreams	*ja-*	*ji-*	*ji-*	*ji-*	*jiβɪlɪ*	*ja-ne*	*ɪji*	*ɪjo*	
9	*ɪ-*	*n-*	*bʊli*	*ɪmbʊli*	goat	*ya-*	*yi-*	*m-*	*n-*	*yimo*	*ya-ne*	*ɪyɪ*	*ɪyo*	common objects, animals, fruits, etc.
10	*ɪ-*	*n-*	*bʊli*	*ɪmbʊli*	goats	*ja-*	*ji-*	*m-*	*n-*	*iβɪlɪ*	*ja-ne*	*ɪji*	*ɪjo*	
11	*ʊ-*	*lʊ-*	*goye*	*ʊlʊgoye*	rope	*lo-*	*lu-*	*lu-*	*lu-*	*lumo*	*lo-ne*	*ʊlʊ*	*ʊlo*	common objects, body parts, etc.
12	*a-*	*ka-*	*ana*	*Aka:na*	a small child	*ka-*	*ka-*	*ka-*	*ka-*	*kamo*	*ka-ne*	*aka*	*ako*	diminutives
13	*ʊ-*	*tʊ-*	*ana*	*ʊtwa:na*	small children	*to-*	*tu-*	*tu-*	*tu-*	*tuβɪlɪ*	*to-ne*	*ʊtʊ*	*ʊto*	

14	*ʊ-*	*βʊ-*	*saatu*	*ʊβʊsaatu*	sickness	*βo-*	*βʊ-*	*βʊ-*	*βʊ-*	*βʊmo*	*βʊ-ne*	*ʊβʊ*	*ʊβo*	abstract things, insects, etc.
15	*ʊ-*	*gʊ-*	*cha*	*ʊgʊcha*	dying	*go-*	*gʊ-*	*gʊ-*	*gʊ-*	-	*go-ne*	*ʊyʊ*	*ʊyo*	body parts and infinitives
16	*a-*	*ha-*	*nuumba*	*ahanuumba*	on the house	-	*ha-*	*ha-*	*ha-*	*hamo*	*ha-ne*	*aha*	*aho*	location
17	*ʊ-*	*gʊ-*	*nuumba*	*ʊgʊnuumba*	at the house	-	*gʊ-*	*gʊ-*	*gʊ-*	-	-	-	*ʊko*	
18	*ʊ-*	*m-*	*nuumba*	*ʊmnuumba*	in the house	-	*m-*	*m-*	*m-*	-	-	*ʊmu*	*ʊmo*	

2.4 Verbal morphology

Several scholars have pointed out that Bantu languages have a complex agglutinative verbal morphology characterised by the verbal base consisting of a number of inflectional and derivational morphemes encoding features such as agreement, tense, aspect, and other derivational extensions (cf. Sapir, 1921; Greenberg, 1963; Lyons, 1968:194, 1999, among others). In this kind of verb template, different morphemes have specific positions within the verbal system. As is the case in other Bantu languages, Sukuma manifests both simple and complex verb morphology (cf. Batibo, 1985; Maganga and Schadeberg 1992; Matondo, 2003). The verb consists of a root to which all other prefixes and derivational extensions are affixed, yielding a typical agglutinative verb structure (cf. Rugemalira, 2005). The most simple verb form in Sukuma is composed of the prefixes-root-extensions-final vowel. Many of the verbal extension suffixes correlate with operations on verbal argument structures such as the applicative, causative, passive, stative and reciprocal (cf. Matondo, 2003).

2.4.1 Order and functions of elements in the Sukuma verbal morphology

The order of elements in the Sukuma verb morphology, for a wide range of morphemes, consists of pre-initial, initial, post-initial, position 1, position 2, pre-radical, verbal base, pre-final, final and post-final positions. The table below summarises the range of elements of the Sukuma verb morphology.

Table 15: Order of elements in the Sukuma verb morphology

S/N	***Slot/Position***	***Inflectional/ derivational affix***
1	Pre-Initial	Associative pre-clitic *na-*
2	Initial	Agreement of subject prefix
3	Post-Initial	Negative marker
4	Position 1	Time/aspect/mood marker
5	Position 2	Itive marker
6	Pre-radical	Agreement of objective prefix/infinitive marker
7	Verbal base	Lexical base of the verb stem
8	Pre-final	TAM marking element -*ag*-/extensions
9	Final	TAM marker/final vowel
10	Post-final	Plural addressee marker/final clitic

Source: Adopted from (Maganga and Schadeberg, 1992:97).

2.4.1.1 The pre-initial verb position in the Sukuma verbal morphology

The pre-initial position in Sukuma is encoded by the element [*na*-], functioning as a conjunction with a successive verb in a series of verbs. Semantically, this element means ‘and (then)’. It is an obligatory element in the sequential past, expressing a consecutive event following a preceding event (cf. Batibo, 1985; Matondo, 2003). The following examples in (28) illustrate the occurrence of this element.

(23) a. ʊmaayʊ agazuga na ʊʊlya
ʊ-maayʊ a-ga-zug-a na-ʊ-ʊ-ly-a
IV-mother AgrS-PAST-cook-FV and then-AgrS-PAST-eat-FV
‘The mother cooked (the food) and then ate’.

b. βagooga na βʊʊzwaala myeenda jaaβo
βa-go-og-a na- βʊ-ʊ-zwaal-a myeenda jaaβo
3PL-AgrS-PAST-wash-FV and then-AgrS-PAST-wear-FV clothes their
‘They washed (their bodies) and then wore their clothes’.

In the example in (28) above, the pre-initial clitic *na*- connects two Sukuma clauses, forming a complex construction. For example, in (28a), the clauses with the verbs *-zuga* ‘cook’ and -*lya* ‘eat’ are joined by the clitic element *na*- to denote that the two events happened in a sequence and that the completion of the first event led to the completion of the second event. Hence, the completion of the second event depends on the completion of the first event. A similar example occurs in (28b).

2.4.1.2 The initial position in the Sukuma verbal morphology

The initial position is occupied by the subject agreement prefix, indicating the agreement features of a person, number and noun class gender of the verb. Like the element in the pre-initial position, the morpheme in the initial position is an obligatory element in all forms of the verbal constructions (except in imperatives) in that it realises the concordial agreement with subject nouns and objects (Kanijo, 2012). Consider the following examples in (29).

(29) a. ʊɲyaanda niihu alɪɪβatʊla aβaanikɪ
ʊ-ɲyaanda niihu a-lɪɪ-βa-tʊl-a a-βa-anikɪ
IV-1-boy tall AgrS-PRES-AgrO-beat-FV IV-2-girl
‘The tall boy is beating the girls’.

b. ʊmaami agʊβeenhela aβaana jilaatʊ
ʊ-maami a-gʊ-βe-enh-el-a a-βa-ana ji-laatʊ
IV-1-uncle AgrS-FUT-AgrO-bring-APPL-FV IV-2-child 8-shoe
'(My) Uncle will bring shoes for the children'.

2.4.1.3 The post-initial position in the Sukuma verbal morphology

The post-initial position the verbal morphology is occupied by the negation element [-*da*-] in Sukuma. It is evidenced in Bantu languages that negation occurs in different moods, including the indicative, subjunctive, imperative, and relative (cf. Kiango, 2000; Rugemalira, 2005; Kahigi, 2008). The negative element [-*da*-] occurs in both negative subjunctive and negative imperative moods in Sukuma. Consider the following examples in (29).

(29)	**Affirmative construction**			**Negative construction**
a.	a-ga-sek-a	(past)	>	a-da-sek-ile
	AgrS-PAST-laugh-FV			AgrS-NEG-laugh-PERF
	'He laughed'			'He did not laugh'
b.	a-lɪɪ-sek-a	(Progressive)	>	a-dʊ-sek-aga
	AgrS-PROG-laugh-FV			AgrS-NEG-laugh-FV
	'He is laughing'			'He is not laughing'
c.	a-gʊ-sek-a	(Future)	>	a-dʊ-sek-a
	AgrS-FUT-sek-FV			AgrS-NEG-sek-FV
	'He will laugh'			'He will not laugh'
d.	a-gʊ-sek-ag-a	(Habitual)	>	a-da-sek-ag-a
	AgrS-INF-sek-HAB-FV			AgrS-NEG-sek-HAB-FV
	'He laughs (everyday)'			'He does not laugh (everyday)'
e.	sek-ag-a	(Imperative)	>	u-da-sek-age
	laugh-EXT-FV			AgrS-NEG-laugh-SUBJ
	'laugh'			'do not laugh'

2.4.1.4 Position 1 in the Sukuma verbal morphology

Position 1 in the Sukuma verbal system is occupied by tense and aspect morphemes. While tense is the realization of time in which the event denoted by the clause occurs, aspect denotes the state of the completion of the event from the speaker's point of view (cf. Nurse, 2008; Anyanwu, 2010). The following examples in (30) illustrate the occurrence of tense and aspect in combination.

(30) a. a-lɪɪ-som-a ɪ-haha
AgrS-PROG-read-FV IV-now
‘He is reading now’

a-gʊ-som-a ntoondo
AgrS-FUT-read-FV tomorrow
‘He will read tomorrow’

b. a-gʊ-som-ag-a βʊlɪgwa
AgrS-INF-read-HAB-FV everyday
‘He reads every day’

βa-a-som-ile mazuuli
AgrS-PAST-read-PERF two days ago
‘They read two days ago’

2.4.1.5 Position 2 in the Sukuma verbal morphology

Position 2 is a slot occupied by an Itive morpheme, encoded by the element [-*ga*-], which expresses or denote the meaning “going to” in Sukuma. Both tense and Itive affixes can co-occur in the verbal structure, as shown in the following examples in (31).

(31) a. ɪŋg’oombe jilɪɪgadɪɪma
ɪ-ŋg’oombe ji-lɪɪ-ga-dɪɪm-a
IV-cow AgrS-PROG-going to-graze-FV
‘The cows are going to graze’

b. ɪŋg’oombe jilɪɪja gʊgadɪɪma
ɪ-ŋg’oombe ji-lɪɪ-j-a gʊ-ga-dɪɪm-a
IV-cow AgrS-PROG-go-FV going to-graze-FV
‘The cows are going to go to graze’

2.4.1.6 The pre-radical position in the Sukuma verbal morphology

The pre-radical position in Sukuma is the position in which the object agreement prefix occurs. The object agreement prefix is obligatory if the direct object noun is specific, hence the object agreement prefix is absent if the direct object is non-specific. The object agreement prefix bears features of a person, number and (in concordial agreement with) the object noun class (Maganga and Schadeberg, 1992). Only one object prefix may occur in the morphology of the verb in Sukuma. Consider the following examples in (32).

(32) a. ʊmaayʊ alɪɪβooja aβaana
ʊ-maayʊ a-lɪɪ-βo-oj-a a-βaana
IV-1-mother AgrS-PROG-AgrO-wash-FV IV-2-child
‘My mother is washing the children’

b. βagajidɪɪma ɪnzɪkʊ
βa-ga-ji-dɪɪm-a ɪ-nzɪkʊ
3PL-AgrS-PAST-AgrO-graze-FV IV-9-ox
‘They grazed the oxen’

2.4.1.7 The verbal base position in the Sukuma verbal morphology

The verbal root is considered as a nucleus to which all other affixes can be affixed (Rugemalira, 2005: 43). It is the part of the verb which cannot be morphologically decomposed further. The root of the verb expresses the basic meaning of the event or state denoted by the verb. As pointed out, (cf. Schadeberg, 2003), the canonical form of the verb root of most Bantu languages is consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC), although other syllabic forms can occur. In Sukuma, different forms of the roots occur. The root can be monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic. With monosyllabic roots, the infinitive marker [-*gu*-] is prefixed to the verb root as illustrated in (33) below. However, the common syllabic verb for Sukuma structure is the disyllabic verb root. Consider the following example in (34).

(33) **Monosyllabic verb roots**

gʊ-cha	'to die'	*gʊ-gwa*	'to fall'
gʊ-ja	'to go'	*gʊ-kwa*	'to pay dowry'
gʊ-lya	'to eat'	*gʊ-lwa*	'to fight'
gʊ-ŋg'wa	'to drink'	*gʊ-ɲya*	'to defecate'
gʊ-pya	'to burn'	*gʊ-sha*	'to grind'
gʊ-swa	'to spit'	*gʊ-zwa*	'to sprout from the ground'

(34) **Disyllabic verb roots**

gʊ-diima	'to catch'	*gʊ-lota*	'to dream'
gʊ-lola	'to look'	*gʊ-seka*	'to laugh'
gʊ-lɪla	'to cry'	*gʊ-daka*	'to be angry'
gʊ-haamba	'to plant'	*gʊ-sheema*	'to milk'
gʊ-toola	'to marry'	*gʊ-shoka*	'to return'
gʊ-gaya	'to die'	*gʊ-peela*	'to run'

Polysyllabic verb roots, that is, verbs with a structure longer than CVC are formed by the derivational verbal extensions (see 35 below) and reduplications (see 36 below).

(35) **Verbal extension**

sol-a	'take'
sol-el-a	'benefactive'
sol-el-wa	'passive'
sol-el-a-nij-a	'a combination of APPL and CAUS'
sol-el-a-nij-iw-a	'simultaneously'

(36) **Reduplication**

luha 'suffer'	>	*luhaaluhaa*	'suffer frequently'
chagʊla 'choose'	>	*chagʊlachagʊla*	'choose many times'
gʊlya 'to eat'	>	*gʊlyaalyaalya*	'to eat'

2.4.1.8 The pre-final position in the Sukuma verbal morphology

Scholars generally agree that Bantu languages are relatively rich in verbal extension morphemes (cf. Greenberg, 1963; Guthrie, 1967; Rugemalira, 1993; Schadeberg 2003, among others). Such derivational extension morphemes expand the semantic properties of the verb to which they are affixed. The occurrence of verbal extension suffixes in Bantu languages is generally determined by a vowel harmony rule in terms of which the vowel of the extension assimilates to the vowel of the verb root. In contrast to Kiwoso (cf. Mallya, 2016), in which the vowels of extension are invariable, Sukuma exhibits extension properties similar to some other Bantu languages in which the realization of verbal extension suffixes is influenced by the vowel of the verb root. The habitual affix [-*ag*-] and the verbal extension suffixes are the two morphological elements that occupy the pre-final position. Verbal extension suffixes include the applicative, causative, passive, stative, reciprocal and reversive (Matondo, 2003). Table 16 below summarizes the verbal extension suffixes in Sukuma.

Table 16: Verb extension suffixes in Sukuma

S/N	Extension	Suffix	Example	Gloss
1	Applicative	[-ɪl-] [-el-]	*lɪm-**ɪl**-a* *som-**el**-a*	cultivate for read for
2	Causative	[-ch-] [-sh-] [-j-] [-y-] [-ish-]	*da-**ch**-a* *lii-**sh**-a* *lo-**j**-a* *koond-**y**-a* *lɪm-**ish**-a*	cause someone to be angry cause someone to eat look sth on behalf of someone cause someone to be thin cause someone to cultivate
3	Passive	[-w-] [-iw-]	*tʊl-**w**-a* *tool-**iw**-a*	be beaten be married
4	Stative	[-ɪk-] [-ek-]	*tʊl-ɪk-a* *βon-ek-a*	be beaten be seen
5	Reciprocal	[-an-]	*lum-an-a*	meet one another
6	Reversive	[-ʊl-]	*kund-ʊl-a*	uncover

Source: Field data (2016).

The numbering of the verbal extension suffixes in Table 16 above indicates the relative frequency of occurrence in spoken discourse and productivity of the suffixes (Luhende, 2016 field data). The most productive verbal extension suffixes in Sukuma are the applicative, causative, passive and stative while the less productive extension suffixes are reciprocal and reversive suffixes. The occurrence of Sukuma verbal extension suffixes with English loan verbs is discussed in section 5.6 of chapter five.

2.4.1.9 The final position in the Sukuma verbal morphology

The final position of the verb in Bantu languages is occupied by a small closed set of morphemes, most commonly the vowels *-a*, *-e* and *-i* (cf. Bresnan & Mchombo, 1987; Bresnan & Kanerva, 1989; Deen, 2005; Nurse, 2003, 2008). In most cases, the vowel *-a* is considered as a default final vowel in Bantu languages. Sukuma is one of the Bantu languages which exhibit similar morphemic properties. The final slot in the Sukuma verbal morphology is occupied by two verbal extension affixes. These are the final vowel and the Tense and Aspect morphemes (TAM). The final vowel in Sukuma morphologically indicates mood (Matondo, 2003). Two forms of final vowels in Sukuma are distinct, namely, [-*a*-] and [-*e*-]. Consider the following examples in (37).

(33) a. ʊmaami alɪɪnitana ihaaha
ʊ-maami a-lɪɪ-ni-tan-a i-haaha
IV-1-uncle AgrS-PRES-AgrO-call-FV IV-now
'(My) Uncle is calling me now'

b. mnizugɪle mchele
m-ni-zug-ɪl-e mchele
2PL-AgrS-AgrO-cook-APPL-FV rice
'Cook rice for me'

The vowel *-a* in (37a) above is considered as the default final vowel in Sukuma, while the vowel *-e* in (33b) encodes the imperative mood.

2.4.1.10 The post-final position in the Sukuma verbal morphology

Nurse (2008) points out that in some Bantu languages, extension morphemes occur in the post-final position in the verbal morphology. A similar case occurs in Sukuma in which the verbal extension suffixes occur post-finally. In Sukuma, the post-final position is the last slot in the Sukuma verbal morphology and it is occupied by two verbal extension suffixes, namely the singular addressee suffix [-*a*-] and the plural addressee suffix [-*i*-]. The singular and plural addressee suffixes denote imperatives in Sukuma. See more examples concerning imperatives in Sukuma in section 2.5.6. Consider the following examples in (38).

(38) a. ngoosha,jaaga
n-goosha, ja-ag-a
2-man go EXT-IMP
‘Man, let you go’

b. βaanikɪ shaagi βʊsu
βa-anikɪ sh-aag-**ɪ** βʊsu
2-girl grind-EXT-IMP flour
‘Girls, grind the flour’.

In Sukuma, clitics are of two types, namely clitics affixed in the pre-verbal position and clitics affixed in the post-verbal position. In the latter case, locative noun classes 16, 17 and 18 elements occur as final clitics with verb forms, as illustrated in the following examples in (39).

(39) a. dʊliindagi ho
dʊ-lii-ndag-i ho
1PL-AgrS-PRES-wait-FV 16-CLITIC
‘Wait for us there’

b. βagaja ko
βa-ga-j-a ko
3PL-AgrS-PAST-go-FV 17-CLITIC
‘They went to the place’

c. agiingila mo
a-gii-ngil-a mo
3SG-AgrS-PAST-inter-FV 18-CLITIC
‘He interred inside there’

2.4.2 The tense forms

Tense is generally regarded as the grammatical category concerned with the realisation of the time at which the event denoted by the verb occurs (cf. Crystal, 1991; Nurse, 2008; Anyanwu, 2010). Comrie states that tense expresses the process of grammaticalizing the location with regard to the time at which an event denoted by the verb occurs, and this process can be linearly represented, with the left side being occupied by the past tense while the right side being occupied by the future tense (cf. Comrie, 1976; 1985:2).

Tense in Sukuma is encoded in the verbal morphology, denoting a certain event in time with reference to the moment of the utterance. Three main tense forms are distinguished, namely the past tense, the present tense and the future tense. The past tense is further classified into three sub-forms, namely the immediate past tense, the recent past tense and the remote past tense while future tense is distinguished in two sub-forms, referred to as the near future tense and the remote future tense.

2.4.2.1 The past tense

The past tense indicates that the event denoted by the verb happened in the past, thus the event is retrieved from the speaker's memory in discourse-pragmatic context. Three forms of past tense are distinguished in Sukuma, namely the immediate past tense, the recent past tense and the remote past tense.

The immediate past tense

The immediate past tense refers to the type of tense form that captures an event that has happened in the recent past, within a day, the approximate duration ranging from sunrise to sunset. The action or state denoted by the verb is completed but its effects can still obtain in the current situation. The immediate past tense form is encoded by [-*a*…-*aga*] and [-*da*…-*e*] in affirmative and negative constructions respectively. It is usually supported by the use of adverbs of time like *leelo* ‘today’, etc. Consider the following examples in (40).

(40) a. ʊɲyaanda adajiile ishuule ileelo
ʊ-ɲyaanda a-da-jiil-e i-shuule i-leelo
IV-1-boy AgrS-NEG-IMMP IV-school IV-today
‘The boy has not gone to school today’

b. aβanamhala βaajaaga kaaya
a-βa-namhala βa-a-ja-aga kaaya
IV-2-elder AgrS-IMMP-PERF home
‘The elders have gone home’.

In the examples above, the two constructions denote that the two events occurred have been completed, without having been intervened by other events. The interpretation obtaining for example, in (40b), is that the act of the elders going to school implicitly means that the elders have not done any activity apart from the act of going to school. Thus, the immediate past tense denotes an event or an action not intervened by any other event or action.

The recent past tense

The recent past tense refers to an event that has happened, from the speaker's perspective in discourse-pragmatic context, approximately, yesterday. It is morphologically encoded by the morphemes [*-a-…-ile*] and [*-da-…-ile*] in affirmative and negative constructions, respectively, and often co-occurs with temporal adverbials like *igolo* 'yesterday' and *βʊjikʊ wi golo* 'yesterday night', as illustrated in the following examples in (41) below.

(41) a. ɪŋg'oombe ja-a-ŋg'w-ile miinzɪ igolo
ɪ-ŋg'oombe ja-a-ŋg'w-ile miinzɪ igolo
IV-10-cow AgrS-RECP-drink-PERF water yesterday
'The cows drunk water yesterday'

b. ɪŋg'oombe ji-da-ŋg'w-ile miinzɪ igolo
ɪ-ŋg'oombe ji-da-ŋg'w-ile miinzɪ igolo
IV-10-cow AgrS-NEG-RECP-drink-PERF water yesterday
'The cows did not drink water yesterday'

In (41a), the reading obtains that it is evident in the view of the speaker and the hearer that the action denoted by the verb happened within a few days ago, and that this action was completed. The occurrence of an adverbial of time specifies the relative time of the event denoted by the verb. The occurrence of such temporal adverbials relates to the further emphasis of the time denoted by the verbal tense forms.

The remote past tense

The remote past tense denotes an event that happened from the speaker's perspectives in discourse-pragmatic context some days in the past, some weeks, months or years ago. The remote past tense is encoded by the morphemes [*-ga-…-a*] and [*-da-…-ile*] in the affirmative and negative verb forms, respectively. It often co-occurs with temporal adverbials like *ʊlʊshigʊ lweene* 'that day', *ɪɲyuma yeene* 'that week', *ʊŋg'weeji gweene* 'that month', *ʊŋg'waaka gweene* 'that year' and *ɪkale* 'ago'. Consider the following examples in (42).

(42) a. ʊntemi agaβapeeja aβaalaβu ʊŋg'waaka gweene
ʊ-ntemi a-ga-βa-peej-a a-βa-alaβu ʊ-ŋg'waaka gweene
IV-1-king AgrS-REMP-AgrO-chase-FV IV-2-Arab IV-year that
'The king chased the Arabs that year'.

b. ʊntemi adaβapeej-ije aβaalaβu ʊŋg’waaka gweene
ʊ-ntemi a-da-βa-peej-ije a-βa-alaβu ʊ-ŋg’waaka gweene
IV-1-king AgrS-REMP-NEG-AgrO-chase-FV IV-2-Arab IV-year that
‘The king did not chase the Arabs that year’.

The remote past tense is used in discourse-pragmatic context to describe historical events or to report events occurred in the past experience of speakers. During the utterance, the speaker is usually present in the event context for example in the narration of events as in the narration of folk tales.

2.4.2.2 The present tense

The present tense in Sukuma refers to the time that an action is taking place in relation to the time of utterance. It can entail various types of imperfect tense situations, such as those denoting ongoing activities, generic or habitual activities. Aspectual markers, such as the progressive [*-ɪɪ-…-a*] and the habitual [*-gwii-…-ag-*] normally refer to an event that takes place in the present or which occurs habitually. Thus, the present tense is commonly associated with aspectual distinctions such as progressive and retrospective forms. Consider the following examples in (43).

(43) a. aβaanikɪ βalɪɪdaha miinzɪ
a-βa-anikɪ βa-lɪɪ-dah-a mi-inzɪ
IV-2-girl AgrS-PRES-fetch-FV 6-water
‘The girls are fetching water’.

b. ʊseengi agwiikalaga ŋg’waanza
ʊ-seengi a-gwii-kal-ag-a ŋg’waanza
IV-1-aunt AgrS-PRES-live-HAB-FV Mwanza
‘My aunt lives in Mwanza’.

c. aβanamhala βalɪɪja kaaya
a-βa-namhala βa-lɪɪ-ja-a kaaya
IV-2-elder AgrS-PROG-FV home
‘The elders are going home’.

2.4.2.3 The future tense

The future tense in Sukuma is distinguished in terms of two types, namely the near future tense and the remote future tense. The two future tense forms express event(s) that will take place in the relative future from the speaker’s perspective.

The near future tense

The near future tense expresses an event expected to occur definitely in the near future in the view of the speaker and the hearer in discourse-pragmatic context. The expected event may happen a few hours later on a particular day, or later when the day is over or early the next day. The near future is encoded by [-*gʊ*-] with variant forms [-*ʊ*-] and [-*gw*-]. The near future verb exhibits the final vowel [-*a*]. The interpretation of the near future tense is emphasised by the occurrence of some temporal adverbials like *leelo* 'today', *mhʊndɪ* 'in the evening', and *ntoondo* 'tomorrow'. Consider the following examples in (44).

(44) a. dʊgʊŋg'wa maβeele intoondo
dʊgʊŋg'wa maβeele intoondo
1PL-AgrS-FUT-drink 6-milk IV-tomorrow
'We will drink milk tomorrow'

b. aβayaanda βagwiinhiwa mbutʊla jaaβo leelo
a-βa-yaanda βa-gwi-inh-iw-a m-butʊla jaaβo leelo
IV-2-boy AgrS-FUT-give-PASS-FV 10-short their today
'The boys will be given their shorts today'

The remote future tense

The remote future tense in Sukuma denotes an event that will take place in a relatively distant future according to the view of a speaker. This kind of tense is therefore distinct from the near future in regard the degree of remoteness of the event referred to by the speaker. It is normally supported by optional adverbials like *mazʊʊli* 'the day after tomorrow', *haŋg'waaka* 'next year', or *mjidikʊ* 'coming rain season'. In Sukuma, the remote future tense occurs through the suffixation of [-*laa*-] to the root of the verb. Consider the following example in (45).

(45) ʊmaami alaanigʊlɪla nuumba mhya ahaŋg'waaka
ʊ-maami a-laa-ni-gʊl-ɪl-a nuumba mhya ahaŋg'waaka
IV-1-uncle AgrS-FUT-AgrO-buy-APPL-FV 9-house new next year
'(My) Uncle will buy me a new house next year'

2.4.3 Aspectual morphology in Sukuma

Aspectual morphology forms in Sukuma are classified into four categories, namely, the inchoative, the habitual, the progressive and the perfective aspectual forms. It can be pointed out that a degree of inter-relatedness obtains.

2.4.3.1 The inchoative aspect

Etymologically, the term 'inchoative' originates from the Latin *"incohatus"*, referring to the beginning of an action or an event, which is not finished (Batibo, 1985). Hence, the inchoative aspect expresses an event which has already begun and which continues but it is not finished yet. This aspectual type is encoded by [-*jʊʊ-…-a*] in Sukuma. The inchoative occurs with other tense and aspect morphemes in yielding different interpretations. Consider the following examples in (46).

(46) a. aβayaanda βalɪjʊʊlɪma
a-βa-yaanda βa-lɪ-jʊʊ-lɪm-a
IV-2-boy AgrS-PRES-INC-cultivate-FV
'The boys are (still) cultivating'

b. nalɪjʊʊsoma jitaaβu
na-lɪ-jʊʊ-som-a ji-taaβu
1SG-AgrS-PRES-INC-read-FV 7-book
'I am reading this book'

2.4.3.2 The habitual aspect

Habitual aspect morphology indicates that the event denoted by the verb takes place repeatedly or regularly. The habitual aspect is morphologically encoded by the morphemes [-*gʊ-…-ag-…-a*]. Consider the following examples in (47).

(47) a. agʊlɪmaga nguunda βʊlɪ ŋg'waaka
a-gʊ-lɪm-ag-a nguunda βʊlɪ ŋg'waaka
3SG-AgrS-INF-cultivate-HAB-FV 9-farm every year
'He cultivates the farm every year'

b. nagʊhambaga madooke βʊli gwa
na-gʊ-hamb-ag-a madooke βʊli gwa
1SG-AgrS-INF-plant-HAB-FV 6-banana every day
'I plant bananas everyday'

2.4.3.3 The progressive aspect

The progressive aspect expresses an incomplete action in discourse-semantic context. The action denoted by the verb continues for a certain period of time, although the beginning and the completion of that particular event is not clearly known by the discourse participants. Thus, the progressive aspect denotes a situation that occurs around the time of reference. It is encoded by the morphemes [-*lɪɪ-*…-*a*]. Consider the following examples in (48).

(48) a. alɪɪdubʊla mihogo mngunda gookwe
3SG-a-lɪɪ-dubʊl-a mihogo m-ngunda gookwe
AgrS-PROG-uproot cassava LOC-farm his
'He is uprooting cassava in his farm'

b. βalɪɪsɪɪnza mbʊli ihaha
βa-lɪɪ-sɪɪnz-a m-bʊli i-haha
3PL-AgrS-PROG-slaught-9-goat IV-now
'They are slaughtering a goat now'

2.4.3.4 The perfective aspect

The perfective aspect expresses in discourse-semantic context an event with a specified beginning and completion in discourse-pragmatic context, contrasting with the imperfective in which the event has no specific time for completion. The imperfective aspect is encoded by the morphemes [-*a*-…-*ile*]. Consider the following examples in (49).

(49) a. aβayaanda βaadiimile sʊβʊya ʊgwipoolu
a-βa-yaanda βa-a-diim-ile sʊβʊya ʊ-gwipoolu
IV-2-boy AgrS-PAST-catch-PERF gazelle IV-forest
'The boys (sometimes in the past) caught a gazelle in the forest'.

b. waajile mjini
wa-a-j-ile m-jini
3SG-AgrS-PAST-go-PERF LOC-town
'He (sometimes in the past) went to town'

From a discourse semantic view, the perfective verb denotes events that took place in the remote past, not events that happened relatively recently.

2.4.4 Verbal derivational suffixes in Sukuma

With the exception of the reversive suffix [-*ʊl*-], the other verbal derivational suffixes in Sukuma, like the applicative [-*ɪl*-/-*el*-], causative [-*ch*-/-*sh*-/-*j*-*y*-], passive [-*w*-/-*iw*-], stative [-*ɪk*-/-*ek*] and reciprocal [-*an*-] are productive (Batibo, 1985; Matondo, 2003).

2.4.4.1 The applicative suffix

A verb with an applicative derivational suffix denotes that someone does the event or action on behalf of, or for the benefit of someone else. In Sukuma, the applicative suffix is encoded by the morphemes [-*il*-] as in *lım**ıla*** 'cultivate on behalf of someone else', and [-*el*-] as in *som**ela*** 'read on behalf of someone else'. The realization of the applicative suffix is determined by vowel harmony properties. The morpho-syntactic and lexical-semantic properties of the applicative were briefly discussed in 2.4.1.8 above.

2.4.4.2 The causative suffix

The allomorphs of causative suffixes are [-*ch*-], as in *da**cha*** 'cause someone to be angry', [-*sh*-], as in *gwii**sha*** 'cause someone to fall down', [-*j*-], as in *lo**j**a* 'make someone look at something', and [-*y*-], as in *koond**ya*** 'make someone thin'. The causative suffixes express the possibility of the verb-subject argument to cause an event. A brief discussion of causative verb sentences was presented in section 2.4.1.8 above.

2.4.4.3 The passive suffix

Two morphemes in Sukuma realize the passive suffix, namely [-*w*-] and [-*iw*-]. Both of the suffixes are affixed to the verb root following by the final in a vowel. Consider the following examples in (50).

(50)	*tʊla*	'beat'	>	*tʊl**wa***	'be beaten'
	toola	'marry'	>	*tool**wa***	'be married'
	luha	'suffer'	>	*luh**iwa***	'made to be suffering'
	lola	'look'	>	*lol**iwa***	'be looked at'

2.4.4.4 The stative suffix

The realization of the stative suffix [-*ık*-] and [-*ek*-] in Sukuma is determined by vowel harmony. As observed in regard to the passive suffix, the occurrence of the stative suffix reduces the transitivity of the verb. Hence with suffixation of the stative morpheme to the verb, a transitive verb changes into an intransitive verb, as shown in (51) (See Rugemalira, 2005, 2008).

(51)	*βona*	'see'	*βon-**ek**-a*	'be seen'
	soma	'read'	*som-**ek**-a*	'be eligible'

tʊla	‘beat’	*tʊl-**ɪk**-a*	‘be beaten’
βɪnza	‘break’	*βɪnz-**ɪk**-a*	‘be broken’

2.4.4.5 The reciprocal suffix

A reciprocal verb suffix indicates that the action denoted by the verb is reciprocally performed by the subject argument participants to one another (see Lodhi, 2002). The reciprocal suffix is encoded by the suffix *-ana-*, as exemplified in (52).

(52) a. ʊJohn nʊ Salome βagalumana igloo
ʊJohn nʊ Salome βa-ga-lum-ana igloo
ʊJohn nʊ Salome AgrS-PAST-meet-RECP yesterday
‘John and Salome met one another yesterday’

b. aβacheezaji βagalogaana mβʊwanja
a-βa-cheezaji βa-ga-loga-ana m-βʊwanja
IV-2-player-AgrS-PAST-bewitch-RECP in the pitch
‘The players bewitched one another in the pitch’

2.4.4.6 The reversive suffix

The reversive suffix in Sukuma denotes the reversal of the entire action expressed by the verb root. It is encoded by the suffix [-*ʊl*-]. However, some verbs with the suffix [-*ʊl*-] do not actually denote reversive properties (cf. in 53b), rather they denote quite different meanings, as illustrated in the following examples in (53).

(53) a.

hamba	‘plant’	*hamb-**ʊl**-a*	‘uproot’
sɪmba	‘dig’	*sɪmb-**ʊl**-a*	‘undig’
funga	‘close’	*fung-**ʊl**-a*	‘open’
chiβa	‘block’	*chiβ-**ʊl**-a*	‘unblock’

b.

gʊndʊla	‘cultivate the farm for the first time’
sambʊla	‘steal’
βilʊla	‘turn something upside down’
gɪmbʊla	‘get tradition medicine’
dʊlʊla	‘make a hole’
bʊdʊla	‘bend’

2.4.5 Verbs derived from nouns (Denominal verbs)

Verbal derivation from nouns which involves forming new verbs from nouns is a process with relatively low rate of productivity in Sukuma. Very limited data is available to give evidence of the general occurrence of the process (Kahigi, 2008). Consider the following examples in (54).

(54)

Noun	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
namhala	'old man'	*namhalʊka*	'become an old man'
ngiikʊlʊ	'old woman'	*gigʊlʊha*	'become an old woman'
nsʊmba	'youth (son)'	*sʊmbahala*	'become handsome'
dɪɪda	'lean animal'	*dɪdɪhala*	'become lean (animal)'

(Modified from Kahigi, 2008:62)

2.4.6 Verb derivations from adjectives (De-adjectival verbs)

Various affixes can be involved in deriving verbs from adjectives. Kahigi (*ibid*) identifies five affixes characteristic of this kind of derivation, namely *-h-*, *-hal-*, *-mp-*, *-l-* and *-am*. The order of these affixes is determined in accordance with the frequency of their productivity in the process. See the examples in (55).

(55)

Adjective	Gloss	verb	Gloss
-angʊ	'quick'	*angʊha*	'be quick/hurry up'
-galɪ	'wide'	*galɪha*	'be wide'
-kalɪ	'fierce'	*kalɪha*	'be fierce'
-do	'small'	*dooha*	'become small'
-ʊgɪ	'sharp'	*ʊgɪha*	'become sharp'

2.4.7 Reduplications in Sukuma

Reduplication of the verb root yields the meaning of doing something repeatedly (Matondo, 2003). Generally, the root of the verb is not truncated, the derivational morphemes are not split and derivational/inflectional suffixes surface in the reduplicant (Matondo, *ibid*). Reduplication in Sukuma can be partial or full. Partial reduplication occurs when part of a verb is reduplicated while full reduplication occurs when the whole verb is reduplicated. Consider the following examples in (56).

(56) **Monosyllabic reduplication**

gʊlya	'to eat'	>	*gʊlya-lya-lya*	'eat repeatedly'
gʊswa	'to spit'	>	*gʊswa-swa-swa*	'spit several times'
gʊlwa	'to fight'	>	gʊlwa-lwa-lwa	'to fight frequently'
gʊja	'to go'	>	gʊja-ja-ja	'to go now and then'
gʊsha	'to grind'	>	gʊsha-sha-sha	'to grind several times'

2.5 Phrase structure

2.5.1 Noun phrase structure (DP)

As pointed out in 2.3.4 above, nominal modifiers in the noun phrase structure in Sukuma manifest inflectional agreement in that they agree with the head noun being modified (cf. Table 14 above). Various inflectional morphemes occur in realizing agreement, as exemplified in (57).

(57) a.
aβanhʊ βaβɪlɪ βalɪlɪma ngʊʊnda
a-βa-nhʊ βa-βɪlɪ βa-lɪ-lɪm-a n-gʊʊnda
IV-2-person 2-two AgrS-PRES-cultivate-FV 9-farm
‘Two people are cultivating the farm’.

b.
imva nhaale yigaβakaŋga aβaana βa nkɪɪma ʊyo
mva nhaale yi-ga-βa-kaŋg-a a-βa-ana βa n-kɪɪma ʊyo
9-dog big AgrS-PAST-AgrO-scare-FV IV-2-child CONJ 1-woman that
‘A big dog scared the children of that woman’

c.
ʊngoosha agʊgʊlaga lʊgoye lʊliihu
ʊ-n-goosha a-gʊ-gʊl-aga lʊ-goye lʊliihu
IV-1-maan AgrS-AgrO-buy-HAB 11-rope long
‘The man buys a long rope’

In the examples above, the set of nominal class suffixes and their corresponding concordial agreement affixes are indicated by the number in the gloss.

2.5.1.1 The order of nominal modifiers in the Noun Phrase (DP)

In the Sukuma noun phrase (or DP), the head noun can be modified by different modifiers. The head noun may be modified by at least five different modifiers. Some restriction may obtain in regarding the order of nominal modifiers with respect to the head noun, as exemplified in (58).

(58) a.
NOUN + POSS + DEM +NUM + ADJ
ɪ-mbʊli ja-ane iji i-taano ngɪnu
IV-10-goat my this five fat
‘My five fat goats’

b.
NOUN + DEM + NUM + ADJ
a-βa-nhʊ aβa βa-βɪlɪ βa-liihu
IV-2-person these 2-two 2-tall
‘These two tall people’

c. NOUN + NUM + ADJ
n-zoβe idatʊ mboku
10-donkey three blind
‘Three blind donkeys’

d. NOUN + POSS + CONNEC – NOUN
ɪ-nuumba yaane iya ma-baadi
IV-9-house my of 6-corrugated iron
‘My house with corrugated iron’.

e. NOUN + POSS + ADJ
ʊ-maami waane ʊ-ntaale
IV-uncle my IV-big
‘My elder uncle

2.5.1.2 Noun phrase (DP) coordination with the conjunction *na*

The conjunction *na* occurs as a coordinating conjunction in joining noun phrases with heads from different noun classes in a coordinate noun phrase (or DP), as exemplified in (59).

(59) a. m-bʊli na n-goko
9-goat CONJ 9-hen
‘goat and hen’

b. a-βa-nhʊ na ma-yoβe
IV-2-person CONJ 6-donkey
‘The people and donkeys’

c. a-βa-yanda na βa-anikɪ
IV-2-boy CONJ 2-girl
‘The boys and girls’

d. saata na βʊ-gota
5-disease CONJ 14-medicine
‘Disease and medicine’

2.5.1.3 Noun class conflict resolution

In the case of a coordinate subject noun phrase (DP) consisting of coordinated noun phrases with head nouns from the same class in the subject agreement affix on the verb is the plural class (Rugemalira, 2005). However, sometimes the subject can consist of coordinated noun phrases with head nouns from different (gender) classes, resulting in noun class conflict with regard to the appropriate concord with the verb. When this happens in Sukuma, the noun class 8 -*shi*- (this applies to things and animals) is generally used as a resolution to noun class conflict. Consider the following examples in (60).

(60) a. amachuungwa na mitɪ shigabakɪjiw-a

a-ma-chuungwa na mitɪ shi-ga-bakɪj-iw-a
IV-6-orange CONJ 4-tree 8-PAST-load-PASS-FV
‘The oranges and trees were loaded (in a car).

b. ɪmbʊli na lilaale shilɪjinjiwa
ɪ-m-bʊli na li-laale shi-lɪ-jinj-iw-a
IV-9-goat CON 5-land 8-PRES-sale-PASS-FV
‘The goat and a piece of land are being sold’

2.5.1.4 The realisation of the pre-prefix

In Sukuma, the pre-prefix is realised in different environments. While it must obligatorily occur in certain environments, the occurrence of the pre-prefix is disallowed in some other environments (cf. Petzell, 2003; Rugemalira, 2005). Following the views of Visser (2008) and Asiimwe, (2014), the pre-prefix in Sukuma functions as the determiner head in the DP projection, as demonstrated in figure (2).

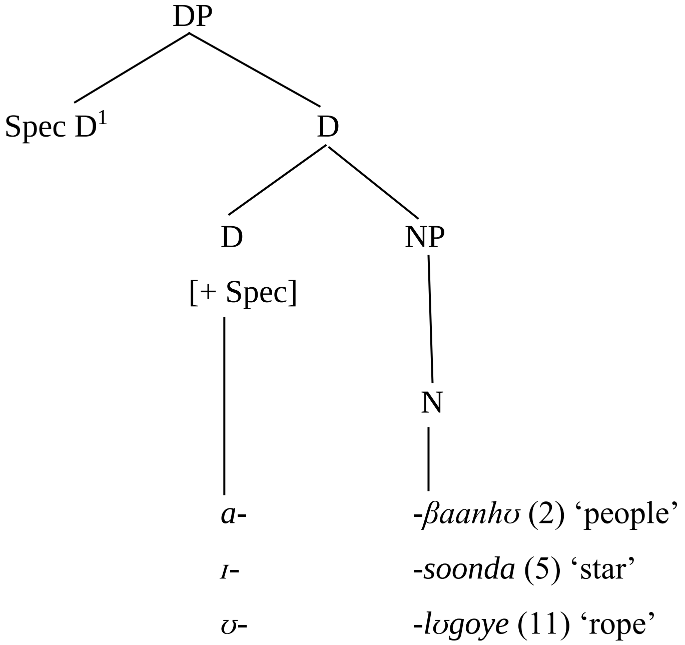


Figure 5: Realisation of the pre-prefix as head of DP projection

In figure (5) above, the three vowels, that are, [*a*-, *ɪ*- and *ʊ*-] in Sukuma occur as the pre-prefix of nouns in different nouns classes and the interpretable features they yield is that of definiteness and specificity. The pre-prefix in Sukuma occurs in the following environments: First, it occurs with all the common nouns, as exemplified in (61) below.

(61)	*ɪlidalaasa*	‘a classroom’	*ʊmnhʊ*	‘a person’
	ɪngoko	‘a hen’	*ɪlɪntɪ*	‘a tree’
	ichuungwa	‘an orange’	*ɪligɪ*	‘an egg’
	amagɪ	‘eggs’	*ɪjilɪɪwa*	‘ food’
	ʊngʊnda	‘a farm’	*ɪjilaatʊ*	‘a shoe’

Determiners in Sukuma have inflectional agreement morphology in accordance with noun class gender features, as shown in (62) for demonstrative determiners below.

(62)	a.	*ɪ-yi*	‘this’	*ɪ-yo*	‘that’
		ɪ-ji	‘this’	*ɪ-jo*	‘that’
		a-ya	‘these’	*a-yo*	‘those’
		ɪ-shi	‘these’	*ɪ-sho*	‘those’

b.	*ʊ-mnhʊ ʊ-yʊ*	‘this person’	*a-βa-nhʊ a-βa*	‘these people’	(classes 1/2)
	ʊ-ntɪ ʊ-yʊ	‘this tree’	*ɪ-mitɪ ɪ-yi*	‘these trees’	(classes 3/4)
	ɪ-li-ndege ɪ-lɪ	‘this maize’	*a-ma-ndege a-ya*	‘these maize’	(classes 5/6)
	ɪjilaatʊ ɪji	‘this shoe’	*ɪshilaatʊ ɪshi*	‘these shoes’	(classes 7/8)
	ɪmbʊli ɪyi	‘this goat’	*ɪmbʊli ɪji*	‘these goats’	(classes 9/10)

The noun class pre-prefix or augment occurs as inflectional agreement with numeral stems from **one** to **six**, as exemplified in (63) below.

(63)	*ɪ-mo*	‘one’	*mbʊli ɪmo*	‘one goat’
	ɪ-βɪlɪ	‘two’	*mbʊli ɪβɪlɪ*	‘two goats’
	ɪ-datʊ	‘three’	*mbʊli ɪdatʊ*	‘three goats’
	ɪ-ne	‘four’	*mbʊli ine*	‘four goats’
	i-taano	‘five’	*mbʊli itaano*	‘five goats’
	i-taandatʊ	‘six’	*mbʊli itaandatʊ*	‘six goats’

The noun class pre-prefix can occur with adverbials, (i.e. adjuncts) of time. This kind of adverbial with the pre-prefix denotes a specific day that is referred to. For example *ɪmazʊʊli* ‘the day before yesterday’, *ɪng’wakiizo* ‘last year’ and *ɪmookono* ‘this year’. Hence, the presence of the pre-prefix in these environment denotes that the referent (i.e. the specific year) is known to both the speaker and the hearer(s), whereas the absence of the pre-prefix yields the interpretation that the referent is known only by the speaker.

The pre-prefix does not occur in the following environments:

(i) The noun class pre-prefix is absent when an object noun follows a negative expression, as exemplified in the following sentences in (64)

(64) a. βadajaaga shule
βa-da-ja-ag-a shule
3PL-AgrS-NEG-HAB-FV 9-school
‘They do not go to school’

b. adʊhambaga madooke
a-dʊ-hamb-aga ma-dooke
3SG-AgrS-NEG-plant-PERF 6-banana
‘He is not planting banana’

c. adalaalya jilɪɪwa
a-dala-aly-a ji-lɪɪwa
3SG-AgrS-NEG-eat-FV 7-food
‘She will never eat food’

(ii) The noun class pre-prefix of the head noun does not occur in a noun phrase with the nominal modifier meaning ‘anything’. This nominal modifier exhibits inflectional agreement with the head noun, for example, *ooseoose*, *joosejoose*, *koosekoose*, as is determined by the noun class. See the examples in (65).

(65) a. nadaβonile mnhʊ ooseosse
na-da-βon-ile m-nhʊ ooseosse
1SG-AgrS-NEG-see-PERF 1-person anybody
‘I did not see anybody’

b. βadasolile jikolo joosejoose
βa-da-sol-ile ji-kolo joosejoose
3PL-AgrS-NEG-take-PERF 7-thing any
‘They did not take anything’

(iii) The noun class pre-prefix of the head noun does not occur if the clitic -*kɪ* (what kind?) is affixed, as exemplified in (66).

(66) a. alɪzuga jilɪɪwakɪ
a-lɪ-zug-a ji-lɪɪwa-kɪ
3SG-AgrS-PRES-cook 7-food which
‘What kind of food is she cooking?’

b. waabyalile ng`waana kɪ
wa-a-byal-ile n-g`waana-kɪ
3SG-AgrS-PAST-give birth-PERF 1-child which
‘To which child has she given birth?’

(iv) The noun class pre-prefix of the nominal head does not occur in a noun phrase in which this head noun is preceded by the modifying invariable element *βʊlɪ* (every/each), as exemplified in (67).

(67) a. βʊlɪ ji-taaβʊ ji-gu-gul-w-a
every 7-book 7-FUT-buy-PASS-FV
‘Every book will be bought’

b. βʊlɪ m-nhʊ a-gu-ly-a ji-lɪɪwa
every 1-person AgrS-FUT-eat 7-food
‘Every person will eat food’

c. βʊlɪ ɲya-anda a-laa-tool-a
every 1-boy AgrS-FUT-marry-FV
‘Every boy will get married’

(v) The noun class pre-prefix of the head nominal does not occur with kinship terms, as exemplified in (68):

(68)	*maayʊ*	‘mother’
	βaaβa	‘father’
	gʊʊkʊ	‘grandfather’
	maama	‘grandmother’
	seengɪ	‘aunt’
	maami	‘uncle’

2.5.2 Coordination of clauses

Several words are employed as coordinating conjunctions in compound sentences. These include, for example, *niinga* ‘or’, *alɪyo* ‘but’, *na haangɪ* ‘furthermore’, and *gunguno* ‘because’. Consider the following examples illustrating compound sentences with coordinated clauses.

(69) a. βagagʊla saato *niinga* βagasɪɪnza ngoko?
βa-ga-gʊl-a saato *niinga* βa-ga-sɪɪnz-a n-goko?
3PL-AgrS-PAST-buy-FV 9-fish or AgrS-PAST-slaughter-FV 9-hen
‘Did they buy fish or did they slaughter a chicken?’

b. agaβapeelela *aliyo* adaβapandɪkile
a-ga-βa-peelel-a *aliyo* a-da-βa-pandɪk-ile
3SG-AgrS-PAST-AgrO-run-FV but AgrS-NEG-AgrO-catch-PERF
‘He ran after them but he did not catch up with them’

c. ʊβaaβa alalile *gunguno* alɪsaata
ʊ-βaaβa a-lal-ile *gunguno* a-lɪ-saata
IV-1-father AgrS-sleep-PERF because AgrS-PROG-sick
My father is asleep because he is sick’

2.5.3 Subordination in complex sentences

As is general in Bantu languages (cf. Batibo, 1985; Maganga and Schadeberg, 1992; Rugemalira, 2005), Sukuma has a range of subordinating conjunctions introducing subordinate clauses in complex constructions such as *ʊlʊ* ‘if’, *ɪshi* ‘since’, *aho* ‘when’, and *jikʊlʊ* ‘although’, as exemplified in the following complex sentences in (70).

(70) a. ʊlʊ βalashige mgʊβazugila βʊgalɪ
ʊlʊ βa-lash-ige m-gʊ-βa-zug-il-a βʊgalɪ
If AgrS-arrive-PERF AgrS-FUT-AgrO-cook-APPL-FV porridge
‘If they arrive, you will cook them porridge’

b. ɪshi natuuβɪle leka nazuge jilɪɪwa
ɪshi na-tuuβ-ɪle leka na-zug-e ji-lɪɪwa
since AgrS-hungry-PERF, let AgrS-cook-FV 7-food
‘Since I am hungry, let me cook food’

c. βagammana uYesu aho ʊgʊmega ngaate
βa-ga-m-man-a u-Yesu aho ʊ-gʊ-meg-a n-gaate
AgrS-PAST-AgrO-know-FV IV-Jesus when AgrS-PAST-break-FV 9-break
‘They discovered it was Jesus only when he broke the bread’

d. jikʊlʊ βasataga aβayanda, βagapeela nhambo
jikʊlʊ βa-sat-aga a-βayanda, βa-ga-peel-a n-hambo
jikʊlʊ AgrS-sick-PERF IV-2-boy AgrS-PAST-run-FV run
‘Although the boys were sick, they ran away (from the police)

2.5.4 Transitivity of verbs

In regard to transitivity, three types of verbs are generally distinguished in Sukuma, namely intransitive verbs, monotransitive verbs and ditransitive verbs. Verbal derivational suffixes (see the discussion in section 2.4.1) such as the causative (see the discussion in section 2.4.2) have been researched widely in Bantu languages with regard to their effect of changing the transitivity of a verb by increasing the object arguments (cf. Maganga and Schadeberg, 1992; Rugemalira, 2005).

2.5.4.1 Intransitive verbs

An intransitive verb (predicate) does not take any object (Rugemalira, 2005:89). The examples in (71) illustrate intransitive verbs.

(71) a. ʊŋg'waana alɪlɪla
ʊ-ŋg'waana a-lɪ-lɪl-a
IV-1-child AgrS-PRES-cry-FV
'The child is crying'

b. ʊɲyaanda agapeela
ʊ-ɲyaanda a-ga-peel-a
IV-1-boy AgrS-PAST-run-FV
'The boy ran (away).

2.5.4.2 Monotransitive verbs

A monotransitive verb (predicate) allows only one object in a clause, as illustrated in the following examples in (72).

(72) a. isato yamilaga mbuli
i-sato ya-mil-aga m-buli
IV-python AgrS-swallow-PERF- 9-goat
'The python has swallowed a goat'

b. ʊmaayʊ alɪzuga βʊchele
ʊ-maayʊ a-lɪ-zug-a βʊchele
IV-1-mother AgrS-PROG-cook-FV 14-rice
'(My) mother is coking rice'

2.5.4.3 Ditransitive verb

Contrary to monotransitive verbs, ditransitive verbs in Sukuma allow two objects, namely a direct and indirect objects, as exemplified in (73).

(73) a. ʊβaaβa agʊngʊlɪla ʊŋg'waana jitaaβu
ʊ-βaaβa a-gʊ-n-gʊl-ɪl-a ʊ-ŋg'waana ji-taaβu
IV-1-father AgrS-FUT-AgrO-buy-APPL-FV IV-1-child 7-book
'The father will buy his child a book'

b. βagaŋg'wiinha ʊnamhala iyoβa
βa-ga-ŋwi-inh-a ʊ-namhala i-yoβa
3PL-AgrS-PAST-AgrO-give-FV IV-old man IV-pumpkin
'They gave an old man the pumpkin'

2.5.5 Interrogative sentences

Question word constructions vary in their morphological and syntactic properties across Bantu languages (Maganga and Schadeberg, 1992; Rugemalira, 2005). The following section discusses the properties of a range of question words in Sukuma interrogative sentences.

2.5.5.1 Question words

In order to obtain information in discourse-pragmatic context, Sukuma speakers employ various invariable interrogative words, such as *naani* ‘who’, *halı* ‘where’, *kı* ‘what’, *naanalı* ‘when’, and *βʊlı* ‘why’. The question word *halı* is used for enquiring about the location or place while the question word *naanalı* refers to the time. The question word *βʊlı* denotes that more elaboration or clarification in answering this question is required in discourse-pragmatic context. Consider the following examples in (74).

(74) a. naani alıjiinja mbʊli?
naani a-lı-jiinj-a m-bʊli?
who AgrS-PRES-sell 9-goat?
‘Who is selling a goat?’

b. βagandiimıla hali ʊnsaambo?
βa-ga-n-diimıl-a hali ʊ-n-saambo?
3PL-AgrS-PAST-AgrO-catch-FV where IV-1-thief?
‘Where did they arrest the thief?’

c. ʊnsaambo agiiβa kı?
ʊ-n-saambo a-gi-iβ-a kı?
IV-1-thief AgrS-PAST-steal-FV what?
‘What did the thief steal?’

d. naanalı dʊgʊja mjini?
naanalı dʊ-gʊ-j-a m-jini?
when AgrS-FUT-go-FV LOC-town
‘When will we go to town?’

e. βʊlı ʊlılıla?
βʊlı ʊ-lı-lıl-a?
why AgrS-PRES-cry-FV?
‘Why are you crying?’

2.5.5.2 Yes/No questions

Yes/no questions are characterized by a high-falling tone pattern in Sukuma. In discourse-pragmatic context, the answers obtained are either (yes) or (no), although some additional information may be added for more clarification. For further discussion of Sukuma tonology, see Matondo (2003). Consider the following examples in (74).

(75) a. βa-yaanda ŋg’wa-lyá-agà? > eehe, (da-lyá-agà)
2-boy AgrS-eat-PERF yes (2PL-eat-PERF)
‘Boys, have you eaten?’ ‘Yes (we have eaten)’

b. ʊ-namgɪ wa-ako a-lí-hoì? > eehe, (a-li-hoi)
IV-1-husband yours AgrS-PRES-here? yes AgrS-PRES-here
‘Is your husband here/present?’ ‘Yes (he is here)

c. ʊ-ga-ga-jiinj-a a-ma-βéelè? > yaaya (no)
IV-PAST-AgrO-sell-FV IV-6-milk
‘Did you sell the milk?’

The bracketed expressions provide more elaboration to the answer of the yes/no questions although only the yes/no answers are sufficient.

2.5.6 Imperatives

Various morphemes occur in Sukuma imperatives. The affix [-*ag*-] co-occurs with various final vowels, indicating an imperative addressed to either a singular or plural in affirmative sentences, as exemplified in (76). The final vowel [-*a*] denotes a singular addressee while the final vowel [-*i*] indicates a plural addressee of the imperative. Furthermore, the final vowel [-*e*] has a singular or plural object agreement in affirmative constructions, as illustrated in the following examples in (76 i, j).

(76) a. ja-ag-a
go-EXT-IMP
‘go’ (singular)

b. yomb-ag-a
speak-EXT-IMP
‘Speak’ (singular)

c. sol-ag-a
take-EXT-IMP
‘Take’ (singular)

d. lɪl-ag-a
cry-EXT-IMP
‘Cry’ (singular)

e. ja-ag-i
go-EXT-IMP
‘go’ (plural)

f. yomb-ag-i
speak-EXT-IMP
‘speak’ (plural)

g. sol-ag-i
take-EXT-IMP
'Take' (plural)

h. lɪl-ag-i
cry-EXTIMP
'Cry' (plural)

i. n-ind-ag-e
AgrS-wait-EXT-IMP
'Wait for him/her'

j. βa-lind-ag-e
AgrS-wait-EXT-IMP
'Wait for them'

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, central linguistic aspects of Sukuma grammar were examined. This overview included linguistic aspects of phonology, nominal morphology, verbal morphology and phrase structure. The main goal of this chapter was to explore various lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties that nominal and verbal categories of Sukuma words exhibit. The linguistic aspects discussed in this chapter serve as the basis for the discussion of English loanwords, in the following chapters, i.e., chapters four and five, which aim to explore the extent to which English nominal and verbal loanwords exhibit properties similar to inherent (i.e. native) Sukuma words.

It was pointed out in this chapter that Sukuma exhibits three different vowels which occur as pre-prefixes in the noun class system (cf. section 2.3.1). It was stated that Sukuma nouns, as is generally characteristic of Bantu languages, are assigned to different noun classes according to the noun class prefixes. Some of the noun classes occur in singular/plural pairs while some do not have counterparts. It was argued that nouns which do not exhibit noun class prefixes are allocated to the default classes, which are classes 5/6 and 9/10 in Sukuma (cf. Batibo, 1985; Kahigi, 2008; Muhdhar, 2006; Nyanda, 2010; Joseph, 2012). Evidence was discussed that some singular nouns have the plural forms in classes than other pairs of nouns. For example, noun classes 9 and 14 take their plural forms in noun class 6 (cf. section 2.3.2.8). Nouns in Sukuma are either derived or underived (cf. Kahigi, 2008). It is pointed out in section 2.3.3 that Sukuma employs various derivational suffixes in nominal derivation. The chapter has also examined the range of lexical-semantic properties of compound nouns with reference to different types of compounds. It was stated that compounds in Sukuma are lexicalized, yielding different interpretations. It was pointed out that many compound nouns in Sukuma occur as proper nouns and that nicknames exhibit idiomatic meanings.

Evidence was discussed in this chapter in regard to the view that Sukuma, like Bantu languages in general, exhibits a complex verbal morphology, with various morphemes occurring in pre-root positions and suffixes occurring in post-root position (cf. Batibo, 1985; Matondo, 2003). Tense and aspect morphemes in Sukuma were examined in this chapter. It was pointed out that Sukuma exhibits three tense categories namely the past tense, the present tense, and the future tense (cf. section 2.4.2). The three categories of tense forms in Sukuma were explored, with reference to a range of examples. In addition, various verbal derivational suffixes such as the applicative, causative, passive and stative were examined. It was demonstrated in this chapter that Sukuma verbal morphology exhibits different lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties.

In summary, the main purpose of this chapter was to provide a basis for the detailed examination of English loanwords in respect to their lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties when they are adapted in Sukuma in comparison with inherent (native) Sukuma words. An analysis and account of the English loanwords is presented in chapters four and five. The next chapter reviews the related research literature on loanword in African languages.

CHAPTER THREE

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON LOANWORDS IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, various lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic characteristics of Sukuma were discussed. The phonological system, including the vowels and consonant properties, among others, were explored. In addition, nominal and verbal morphology in Sukuma were discussed. The aim of an outline of Sukuma descriptive grammar, as conducted in chapter two was to provide a foundation for the investigation of the properties of English loanwords compared to inherent Sukuma words in chapters four and five. In the current chapter, therefore, the focus is on the review of studies related to the topic of this dissertation, namely the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Sukuma. The chapter explores some previous studies on loanwords conducted within either a typological or a generative syntax framework.

In the present chapter, particular attention is given to the views of scholars in previous studies on how different languages accommodate loanwords from other languages in their grammatical systems, exploring specifically their views on the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of loanwords in general, and views on loanwords in African languages in particular. However, the chapter does not claim to present an exhaustive review of all research on African languages in regard to loanwords, rather studies on some languages, which have been well studied are included in the review. The languages in studies reviewed concerning loanword accommodation include Swahili, Hausa, Iraqw, Kanuri, Ngoni and IsiNdebele.

The chapter explores important aspects of the topic of loanword accommodation, as by previous researchers, beginning with a general overview of lexical borrowing in section 3.2. Section 3.2.1 examines lexical borrowing, whereas section 3.2.2 discusses code-switching. The difference between lexical borrowing and code-switching is examined in section 3.2.2.1. The following section, section 3.2.3, discusses the properties of compound nouns in general while section 3.2.3.1 examines various types of compound nouns in different Bantu languages. Thereafter, the chapter explores the lexical-semantic properties of loanwords, including issues relating to the phenomena of semantic broadening, semantic narrowing and semantic shift, in section 3.2.4. Section 3.3 presents a review of some research studies on lexical borrowing. The chapter then presents a review of loanwords research on languages, in general, in section 3.3.1 before section 3.3.2, presents a review of research on loanwords specifically in African languages. Lexical borrowing in Swahili is discussed in section 3.3.2.1. The following section, 3.3.2.2, examines lexical borrowing in Hausa, and thereafter, lexical borrowing in Iraqw is presented in section 3.3.2.3. The chapter gives attention to research on lexical borrowing in Kanuri in section 3.3.2.4, while section 3.3.2.5 considers lexical borrowing in Ngoni. Lexical borrowing in isiNdebele follows in section 3.3.2.6. Section 3.4 discusses various issues raised in the reviews of the research, and section 3.5 summarizes the chapter.

3.2 Overviews of selected research studies on lexical borrowing

This section presents a general overview of selected research studies on lexical borrowing. It presents relevant definitions of terms as an orientation to the literature review on loanwords in general and loanwords in African languages in particular. Different views of scholars on loanword terminologies are considered in this section.

3.2.1 Lexical borrowing

The process of lexical borrowing, or linguistic borrowing, as it is referred to by some scholars, entails a transfer of content items such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs from one language to another. Some scholars refer to this process as adoption (cf. Thomason and Kaufman, 1988). Other scholars consider this process as adaptation (cf. Lodhi, 2000) while others combine the two terms (cf. Mahlangu, 2016). In general, this process involves the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language, as opposed to the transfer of functional words or affixes (cf. Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Amani, 2010:14; Sote, 2011:2). Haugen (1950) defines borrowing as “the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another”. He maintains that the terms borrowing and loanwords denote two different phenomena in that loanwords occur within borrowing. This view is supported by Heath (2001) who states that the terms borrowing and loanwords denote different notions, that is, a borrowing entails a stem which is not a complete lexical item and, therefore, able to constitute a full phrase, while loanwords are always single lexical items. Opposing the notion that the terms borrowing and loanwords differ, Myers-Scotton (1993) states that both loanwords and borrowings refer to the same linguistic function, namely words, which are borrowed from one language, the donor language, sometimes referred to as the offering language, to another, the recipient language, the language which borrows a loanword.

According to Myers-Scotton (2006), two different types of borrowings occur, namely: cultural and core borrowings. Cultural borrowings constitute the borrowing of words, which express concepts that do not exist in the lexicon of the recipient language. Many of the cultural borrowings i.e. words are lexical elements related to the semantic domains of science and technology and in some cases, they can even constitute new words from the donor language. Myers-Scotton (*ibid*) discusses the examples of computer-related terminologies, which were introduced to the world a few decades ago and were new, even to native speakers of English. However, cultural borrowings are not always words referring to science, but also words that describe items in the fields of clothing or food which do not have lexical equivalents in the recipient language's lexicon (cf. Myers-Scotton 2006: 212). On the other hand, core borrowings do not entail the borrowing of new words, but words that are already expressed by equivalent lexical items in the recipient language (Myers-Scotton 2006: 215). Some scholars (cf. Sankoff, 2002; Campbell, 2004) maintain that linguistic borrowing includes the aspects relating to sounds (phonology and phonetics), orthography, morphological forms and rules of forming words, rules for word order and semantics. In addition, some other scholars like King (2000) argue that whether or not elements of grammar or syntax can be borrowed at all, is still questionable. These scholars and others who subscribe to this view maintain that grammatical or syntactic borrowing is impossible because of its complexities.

Linguistic borrowing takes place as a consequence of cultural contact between two languages. Borrowing of words can take place in both directions of the two languages in contact, but often there is an asymmetry, such that more borrowed words occur in one language than in the other. In this case, the source language has some advantage because of its power, prestige and/or wealth that makes the objects and ideas it brings desirable and useful to the borrowing language. Lodhi (2000) contends that sometimes the lower status of the speakers of the recipient language creates a fertile environment for them to borrow words used by the speakers of the language with high status. He argues that such condition is observed in different domains such as the political, social, cultural, economic and technological domains. Furthermore, many of the loanwords are found predominantly in certain semantic fields including words denoting activities such as commerce, architecture, religion, sports and games, recreation, legal, handicraft, industry, and poetry. Lodhi (*ibid*) points out that, among different domains, many of the loanwords borrowed from English into Swahili are found in domains such as modern science, innovations and technology, thus they appear to be ‘international’ terms. This view is supported by some scholars who argue that it is not a common phenomenon for a prestigious and powerful language to donate different words to languages with less power and prestige (cf. Lodhi, 2000; Haspelmath, 2009; Mwita, 2009).

The most frequently occurring type of borrowing is lexical borrowing, which entails content words: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. It is the most common borrowing phenomenon that languages have been subjected to (cf. Myers-Scotton, 1988;1992; Winford, 2003:12; Swilla, 2000). Of all the content words, nouns are viewed to be the more frequently borrowed items compared to other word categories. This phenomenon is advanced by Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009) in a project they conducted on loanword typology in which they found that nouns are more borrowable than other lexical items. Their data below illustrate their conclusion.

(1)

Semantic meanings	Number of meanings
“Nouns”	905
“Verbs”	334
“Adjectives”	120
“Adverbs”	4
“Functional words”	97
Total	1460

(cf. Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009: 8)

Reasons for the primacy of nouns include their perceptual saliency and semantic transparency, and the view that borrowed nouns expand the language’s referential capacity. Furthermore, Haspelmath and Tadmor (*ibid*) state that one factor influencing the large presence of borrowed nouns relates to the low level of structural integration in the discourse of the recipient language and the quality of being the word classes that bear most of the lexical content. They maintain that the openness of the noun class as compared to other parts of speech is indeed a factor, though it can be assessed in relation to other lexical classes and subclasses.

3.2.2 Code-switching

Over the last century, the phenomenon of code-switching has gained the attention of different researchers and scholars in linguistics, from a number of different perspectives, especially in research on language contact situations. In the field of linguistics, the term code-switching was introduced by Jacobson, who investigated ‘switching codes’ (Tatsioka, nd). The term ‘code’ refers to ‘various languages’, including the distinct varieties of the same language (cf. Romaine, 1995). Gumperz (1982) views code-switching as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”. Clyne (2004) proposes a slightly different definition, claiming that code-switching is “the alternative use of two languages, either within a sentence or between sentences”.

Myers-Scotton (2006:234) views code-switching as the process of using “surface-level words” that belong to two languages. Myers-Scotton classifies code-switching into two categories, namely classic code-switching and composite code-switching. Classic code-switching, on the one hand, happens when the utterance used in a certain speech context follows the morpho-syntactic rules of only one of the languages of the bilingual which denotes that (s)he has acquired, hence has mastered the morpho-syntactic patterns of one of the languages. Composite code-switching, on the other hand, occurs when morphemes that belong to both languages are used, and this situation obtains when the morpho-syntactic patterns of the utterance are monitored by the rules of both languages in the context of speech (cf. Myers-Scotton, 1967).

3.2.2.1 Lexical borrowing versus Code-switching

The discussion on the difference between lexical borrowing and code-switching has been of paramount importance among linguists worldwide. Many scholars have been using the two concepts interchangeably. Consensus, as regard to the precise difference has not been reached, thus there is no clear-cut demarcation between the two concepts. Borrowing, according to Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2016) refers to the “process of a lexical item to replace a lexical item of another language”. It refers to the process of the lexical item of the donor (or offering) language replacing the lexical item of the recipient (of offered) language.

The new lexical item, therefore, becomes part of the linguistic property of the offered language after being borrowed. Lodhi (2000), citing Boyd (1997), defines lexical borrowing as "the incorporation of embedded language material in the matrix language discourse such that the embedded language material is (a) phonologically, (b) morphologically, and (c) syntactically integrated in the matrix language; and (d) use of the same embedded language material, integrated in similar ways, occurring in similar contexts is widespread in the matrix language speech community, including among matrix language monolinguals, who may be unaware of its origins in the embedded language. Furthermore, (e) borrowing is often limited to one lexeme" (cf. Lodhi, *ibid*: 26). By contrast, Lodhi (*ibid*) defines code-switching as "the incorporation of embedded language material in matrix language discourse such that the embedded language material is not (a) phonologically, (b) morphologically or (c) syntactically integrated into the matrix language…"

Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) distinguish between lexical borrowing and code-switching, stating that lexical borrowing involves lexical items that have been established in the recipient language while code-switching refers to 'nonce borrowings'. Nonce borrowings are words that occur as a single lexical item and that can only be integrated for the purpose of the time of the conversation (cf. Poplack et al. 1988). The majority of these words belong to the grammatical category of nouns (cf. Myers-Scotton 2006).

Myers-Scotton (2006) includes the single-occurring borrowings in the category of code-switching and views them as 'code-switched elements in mixed constituents' (cf. Myers-Scotton, 2006:254). Furthermore, Myers-Scotton distinguishes between established borrowings and code-switching in the sense that established borrowings are integrated into the word order of the recipient language, while code-switching occurrences follow the word order of the donor language (Myers-Scotton, *ibid*). Poplack (1988) argues in favour of this view, stating that apart from the factors of frequency and morpho-phonological integration, a loanword is distinguished from code-switching in respect to the property that the loanword follows the rules of the recipient language, not those of the donor language. Some linguists claim that the occurrence of code-switching does not always comply with the word order of the donor language (cf. MacSwan 2004). Myers-Scotton (2002) argues that cultural borrowings can be introduced into the recipient language through the occurrence code-switching of the bilingual speakers. Thus, they are single occurring code-switching forms, which can possibly become cultural borrowings.

Heath (2001) discusses the distinction between borrowing and code-switching. He points out that the term 'borrowing' does not represent its true sense, that is, an element, which is borrowed but then anticipated to be returned to the donor language. He maintains that borrowings are never returned to the donor language but become integrated into the recipient language. For Heath, the ideal definition of borrowing is "a historically transferred form, usually a word (or lexical stem) that has been fully integrated into the target language grammatical system", while code-switching is "characterized by spontaneity, complete linguistic influence, internal structure and clear boundaries between the sentences of the two languages". In other words, a word of foreign origin, which has been fully integrated into the recipient language and perceived as one of its own is viewed as an instance of a true borrowing (cf. Heath, 2001: 433). Furthermore, Heath points out that the distinction between borrowing and code-switching is problematic. He states that borrowing and code-switching in certain cases resemble each other. Some borrowings have not been fully integrated into the recipient language and are still recognizable as foreign. In addition, some borrowings exist in the form of phrases, which strictly follow the structure of the donor language. Furthermore, code-switching does not always occur between sentences and can simply consist of foreign words or phrases, which are included into a fully unaffected syntactic structure of a language. In order to take account of these overlapping situations, some linguists have favoured the use of the term code-mixing (cf. Heath, 2001). Heath concludes that the degree of nativization of a lexical item could be a sufficient factor to distinguish between borrowings and code-switching. The distinction between borrowings and code-switching is furthermore problematic because of the different linguistic levels that constitute the nativization process. In the majority of the cases, some phonological properties of the borrowing or the code-switching phrase can be fully nativised to the recipient language, but others may still contain elements of the phonology of the donor language (cf. Heath, 2001).

3.2.3 The properties of compounding

The term compounding in respect to its complexity has been considered by a number of linguistic scholars. These scholars have different views on issues of compounding in the different languages of the world. Such differing viewpoints concern aspects such as the linguistic components that build the compound, their types, and their semantic interpretations. In defining what a compound is, some scholars point out that compounds result from the combination of two or more roots, stems, or even fully inflected lexical items to form a noun. Others argue that a compound noun is composed of two or more lexemes or stems or affixes to form an independent lexical noun.

Downing (1977), citing Li (1971) points out that a compound is simply a combination of two nouns, forming a new noun, that is, the first lexical noun fuses with the second one to make a new third nominal. Warren (1978), however, is of the opinion that compounds consist of two constituents, which are at least semantically related although it is not necessarily the case with all compounds. Warren further holds that each constituent that makes up a compound consists of one or more compounds, bringing about the notion of 'compound complex unit' known as compounds-within-compounds. However, at some point, scholars seem to affirm that a compound contains two elements (cf. Matthew, 1972: Fabb, 1984: Bybee, 1985; 1994: Lieber, 1992: Mphasha, 2006:5). Basciano (2011) points out that root or primary compounding can be defined as "the combination of two roots, stems or fully inflected lexical items which would otherwise be free-standing forms in a given language".

In addition, scholars maintain that compounds are categorised into two types: endocentric and exocentric compounds. This categorization, however, was made in respect to European languages such as French and English. Endocentric compounds are compounds which have a head in their constituents. In this kind of compound nouns, the heads are either located to the right or left of their counterpart elements (cf. Castrars-McCathy, 1992: Lieber, 1992). For example, English is a right-headed language while French is a left-headed language. The element *board* in the compound black*board* is the head of the compound and it holds the core lexical content while the left element *black* modifies the headword in English, and denotes 'the board that is black in colour'.

3.2.3.1 Compounding in Bantu languages

Root compounds in Bantu languages are formed by conjoining two nominal stems, which has been the general schema. Many scholars of Bantu languages concur that the second noun of the two nominal stems that make up a compound noun sometimes drop its pre-prefix. In that case, the pre-prefix of the first element is realised as the functional head of Determiner Phrase (cf. Schadeberg, 2003; Visser, 2008). This is because the compound in Bantu languages is morpho-syntactically regarded as a full noun, thus, the pre-prefix in the first element of the constituents that make up a compound determines the whole compound noun, as shown in the example from Bemba.

(2) a. Be. shíkùlú-(*a)-bántù
b. Be. í-mpùndù-búsùshí
(Basciano et al., 2011:213)

In (2b) above, the pre-prefix [*í*-] is located in the left peripheral position of the compound noun, thus assuming the role of a specifier of the whole compound noun. However, this happens only when needed in the syntactic and semantic context. In addition, it only happens to Bantu languages which characteristically exhibit the occurrence of the nominal pre-prefix, such as IsiXhosa, IsiNdebele and Runyankore-Rukiga (cf. Visser, 2008; Asiimwe, 2014; Mahlangu, 2016) respectively. Mchombo (2004), discussing Chichewa as an example of Bantu languages, is of the opinion that compound nouns, as a result of the concatenation of two nominal stems, have, in most cases, complex morphology and that they are not productive anymore although they may have idiomatic meanings (cf. Mugane, 1997; Mchombo 2004: 117). In the few cases of noun-noun (NN) compounds, for example, some scholars maintain that compounds of this kind are lexicalized semantically to the extent that meanings they bear do not exhibit a direct connection to the semantic properties of the individual constituent meanings.

Basciano et al., (2011) points out that, structurally, compounds in Bantu languages are left-headed. The agreement pattern of the whole compound in Bantu languages is determined by the noun class prefix of the first element constituent of the compound noun, which occurs in the left constituent. In addition, the grammatical characteristics of compounds i.e. noun class prefix is determined by this leftmost element of compounds in Bantu languages (cf. Basciano at el., 2011:211). Semantically, Noun-noun (NN) compounds generally have free interpretations since the two stems that make up the meanings of compounds are fluid to the extent that it is difficult to assign a range of interpretations to them.

Bantu languages exhibit some compound nouns constituted by the combination of a verb (V) and a noun (N), forming a new independent noun. The fully inflected verb is positioned to the left periphery, with the occurrence of the final vowel. However, some Bantu languages such as Sukuma, Chichewa, isiXhosa, Bemba characteristically maintain the pre-prefix (cf. Batibo, 1985; Mchombo, 2004; Visser, 2008; Basciano at el., 2011) respectively, while other languages such as Swahili (Mpiranya, 2015) have dropped the pre-prefixes.

It is argued that deverbal compounds in Bantu languages are categorized into different groups according to the noun class prefixes. Normally, the end product of the combination of a verb (V) and a noun (N) is a compound noun, resulting in the formation of a compound denoting agentive or instrument participants, as shown in the Bemba examples below.

(3) pal-a matábwa ‘scrape timber’ → m-palamatabwa ‘carpenter’
low-a m’málo ‘enter in place’ → m-lowammalo ‘substitute, pronoun’
gon-á m’báwa ‘sleep in bar’ → chi-gonambáwa ‘a drunk, an alcoholic’
(Mchombo 2004: 117)

It should be noted that before the combination of the two or more word elements that make up a compound, these elements individually may have independent meanings. For example in (3) above, the verb *gon-á* denotes ‘sleep’. In addition, the noun *m’báwa* refers to ‘bar’ in Bemba. The combination of the two words yields the compound *gonambáwa* ‘sleep in bar’. Furthermore, the noun class prefix *chi-* is affixed in word-initial position, resulting in the formation of the deverbal noun *chi-gonambáwa*, which implies ‘a drunk, an alcoholic person’. A similar case is observed in Swahili and Sukuma, as exemplified in (4) and (5).

(4) m-pita njia ‘passerby’ (lit. ‘street-passer’)
cm1-pass street
ki-choma mguu ‘herb with barbered seed’ (lit. ‘foot-piercer’)
cm7-pierce foot/leg
(Contini Morava 2007: 1131)

(5)

Jamba + mabaala	>*Jambamabaala*	‘a person who can be everywhere at a time’
lʊkanya + βalaambu	>*Lʊkanyaβalaambu*	‘a person with a high convincing power’
ng’oogela + mchele	>*Ng’oogelamchele*	‘a person who showers when rice is cooked’

(Luhende, Field data, 2016)

In Sukuma, as shown in (5) above, three derivational morphemes are affixed to the verbal root to form a deverbal noun, which is then combined with another noun to form a word unit, specifically a V+N compound noun. Such morphemes include *ja*-, *lʊ*- and *m*- with its allomorphs *n*-, as shown in (5) above. The choice of the derivational morphemes is determined by vowel harmony. The three deverbal morphemes in Sukuma denote ‘a person who does something’. The lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of compound nouns borrowed from English into the Sukuma lexicon are examined in more detail in chapter four, (section 4.7).

3.2.4 Lexical-semantic properties of loanwords

Lexical-semantics is a linguistic field concerned with the examination of various meanings of words. This field assumes that a word meaning is, to some extent, mirrored by the context in which communication takes place. The language used for various communication purposes, for example, before the development of science and technology, differ from the language used after the discovery of the modern world, probably due to the introduction of new concepts, and the intensive contact among languages. Bloomfield (1993) points out that “one’s communication competence is shown by one’s ability to interact relevantly with one’s current environment-physical, social, psychological and linguistically”. Linguistically, a language can undergo several changes when involved in contact with other languages, depending on the level of bilingualism of speakers, time frame and the status of the languages involved. This instance can result in different kinds of impacts, including meaning changes in some lexical items through borrowing. The impacts may be positive or negative depending on the status of both the donor language and the recipient language involved (cf. Lodhi, 2000).

As pointed out in section 3.2.1 above, when a word is borrowed from the donor language into the recipient language, it enters with its meaning. When a word is adapted in the recipient language, there is a tendency for the original meaning to be affected in the recipient language, which can result in semantic change. Murray (1996) and Crowley (1998) identify three types of semantic change. These include semantic broadening, semantic narrowing and semantic shift. However, Kabulise and Klu (2014) identify only two types of semantic change, namely (i) meaning extension (also referred to as meaning generalization or meaning broadening), and (ii) meaning specialization (also referred to as meaning narrowing or meaning restricting). The present study assumes the views put forward by Murray (1996) and Crowley

(1998). It will thus focus in the investigation of lexical-semantic properties of Sukuma loanwords in the discussion of semantic broadening, semantic narrowing and semantic shift. The lexical-semantic properties of English loanwords are discussed in chapter four (cf. section 4.5).

3.2.4.1 Semantic broadening

Semantic broadening occurs when a word with a specific or limited meaning is widened, that is, the use of a word or phrase in a more diverse context than it was used in its historical application (cf. Bloomfield, 1993). The broadening process is technically called *generalization* or *extension*. With semantic broadening, the meaning of the word expands in that it becomes useful in more contexts than before the occurrence of the adaptation process. For example, the word *mpunga* in Swahili denotes *rice* that is found in the farm, specifically the rice which is not yet harvested. This word also denotes the rice that is not husked. In Shimalɪla, the word *ʊmʊpúunga* has a more general meaning. It denotes the rice in the farm, rice that is not husked, rice that is husked but not cooked, and cooked rice of any kind. (cf. Sote 2011:89). In addition, the word *chupa* 'bottle' has been borrowed from Swahili into Ngoni where it is used extensively. Before being borrowed, the meaning of the word *chupa* in Swahili was restricted to denote only a bottle made of glass. However, after being borrowed into Ngoni, the word obtained an extra meaning, that is, apart from a glass bottle, the word meaning also denotes a plastic bottle, exemplifying a semantic generalisation or semantic broadening (Mapunda and Rosendal, 2015). The semantic broadening properties of English loanwords in Sukuma are discussed in chapter four, (cf. section 4.5.1).

3.2.4.2 Semantic narrowing

Narrowing of meaning occurs when a word with a general meaning obtains, in the process of borrowing, a much more specific meaning. In this instance, the range of the meaning of a word or phrase decreases. For example, the word *mashine* 'machine' in Swahili refers to any equipment with moving parts that uses power to fulfil a particular function. In Shimalɪla, the word *ɪmashíinii* is restricted to refer to equipment for milling and husking crops only (Sote, 2011:91**).** The same word 'machine' refers to a train only in Sukuma, especially when the word is borrowed directly from English into the Sukuma system (Joseph, 2012). It is observed that the train in Sukuma speaking community was something new, during the caravan trade route in parts of Tabora. However, when the word *ɪmashine* 'machine' is borrowed from the Swahili word ‘mashine’ into Sukuma, it denotes the equipment for milling and husking crops. Another example from a different semantic field, which illustrates a similar semantic change in the Ngoni lexicon, is found in regard to the concept of ‘charcoal’. The Swahili term *mkaa* ‘charcoal’ is presently in the process of replacing the Ngoni terms for ‘charcoal’, which are *makalakala* ‘charcoal to be burnt, burning charcoal, charcoal on fire’ and *makisila* ‘already burnt charcoal or soot’. After being borrowed, *mkaa* includes all these various meanings of the referent. The Swahili term is used for all kinds of charcoal, while the Ngoni term *makalakala* retains the narrow meaning ‘charcoal to be burnt, burning charcoal, charcoal on fire’ and the terms *masima* and *makisila* both denote ‘already burnt charcoal or residue’. Thus, at present *mkaa* has become a superordinate in Ngoni while *makalakal*a and *masima/makisila* are hyponyms. As another example, consider the Swahili term *tanki* ‘tank’ which refers to different senses, such as ‘water tank’, ‘petrol tank’, ‘gas tank’, ‘septic tank’, etc. (cf. Hornby 2015; TUKI, 2015:882). The sense of the borrowed term *tanki* ‘tank’ in Iraqw is narrowed to refer to a specific tank, that is, ‘water tank’. The other senses are absent possibly because the Iraqw speakers are more familiar with water than the other types of the liquids a tank can hold, such as petrol, gas and septic liquids (cf. Mous and Qorro, 2009). See the detailed discussion of semantic narrowing of English loanwords in Sukuma in chapter four (cf. section 4.5.2).

3.2.4.3 Semantic shift

The semantic shift occurs when a word loses most of its meaning, resulting in that particular word obtaining a new meaning. For example, the word *sanduku* in Swahili refers to a box, a suitcase or a trunk. In Shimalıla, the word *ısánduku* refers to a coffin (Sote, 2011). Similarly, the word *sanduku* in Swahili denotes a box, a case, a suitcase, a briefcase or a trunk for keeping different things in Swahili. As borrowed into Sukuma, the word *ısandıko* refers to the coffin, a box in which a dead body is put before a burial ceremony. Since the two boxes have different functions, the meaning of the word, therefore, changes (cf. Joseph, 2012:88). Furthermore, the word *mkoloni* ‘colonialist’ in Swahili means a person who settles and dominates a particular area which he considers to belong to him. However, as a borrowed word in Sukuma, it occurs as *ʊnkooloni* ‘colonialist’ with an altered meaning, referring to any person who isolates himself/herself from the community. This shift of meaning is attributed to the historical facts that the colonialists alienated themselves from the indigenous people during colonialism (cf. Joseph, 2012).

3.3 Previous research on lexical borrowing

This section examines the prominent issues in previous studies conducted on lexical borrowing pertaining to the way borrowed words are adapted into different host languages. It does not discuss all previous studies, rather, it focuses on selected studies, mainly on some African languages. The section is divided into several sub-sections, examining lexical borrowing in general and, thereafter, discussing research on a few specific selected languages assumed to provide insights to the presentation of the analysis and findings in the next chapters of the current study.

3.3.1 Some central issues in research on lexical borrowing

Lexical borrowing has been the centre of interest for various reasons by different linguists. Petzell (2005) conducted research on expanding the Swahili vocabulary with the purpose of examining and evaluating some of the newly adapted words in Swahili in the field of information and communication technology (ICT). Petzell points out that some of the Swahili vocabularies are borrowed from the Arabic language. However, she is of the opinion that currently, many English loanwords occur in the Swahili lexicon. The loanwords are the results of advancement of science and technology, where new concepts, ideas, processes, phenomena etc. are adapted in the Swahili lexicon. Like other Bantu languages, Swahili is an agglutinative language (cf. Petzell, 2005). This implies that its verb is a combination of different morphemes affixed to the verb root. The data for this study were collected through internet sources. Other sources of data were obtained by consulting relevant publications and the supplement data were collected through different consultations from people involved in information and communication technology.

Petzell (2005) views loanwords as a “total morphemic incorporation of single or compound words with a varying amount of morphemic substitutions”. Words such as *kampuni* ‘company’, *data* ‘data’ are fully adapted without any phonemic modifications. Presenting the findings of the study, Petzell comments that nouns borrowed from English into Swahili are assigned to various noun classes, depending on their noun class prefixes. Nouns which resist, or do not exhibit noun class prefixes are grouped into the default classes 5/6 and 9/10. She points out that when a verb is borrowed, it undergoes full inflection in the Swahili agglutinative verbal morphology. However, some limitations occur in regard to the verb extensions not permissible in Swahili. For example, *kurekodiwa*, 'to be recorded' and *kukopia* 'to copy for/on behalf of'. From these examples, only passive and applicative derivation morphemes are allowed in the Swahili words with an English origin. Thus, only the verb root is borrowed and during the adaptation process, affixation and derivation processes follow. Petzell concludes that when English verbs are borrowed into Swahili, they are inflected to follow the Swahili agglutinative verbal morphology although some derivational morphemes such as passive and applicative are permissible in the morphology of the borrowed verbs. Other derivational suffixes such as stative, reciprocal, causative rarely occur with English loan verbs in Swahili. This is possible because the verbs have a complex morphology, and thus rigid in the adaptation process.

In regard to research on lexical borrowing from a typological perspective, Haspelmath et al., (2009) conducted extensive research in the loanword typology project and the world loanword database. The project involved 41 languages of the world, chosen on the bases of genealogical, geographical, typological and sociolinguistic diversities. A total of 1460 lexical meanings were obtained and used as the World Loanword Typology Database. In the first part of the study, the authors point out that most of the 1460 lexical meanings have counterpart words, although sometimes no counterpart is given for a word of a particular language due to three reasons, namely insufficient information obtained from the informants, meaning irrelevant to most of the speakers, and complete lack, or no counterparts at all. To know whether a certain word was a loanword or not, five degrees of certainty were employed by the researchers in their discussion with their consultants, as indicated below.

(6) 0. No evidence for borrowing
1. Very little evidence for borrowing
2. Perhaps borrowed
3. Probably borrowed
4. Clearly borrowed
(Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009:13)

The authors furthermore provide the criteria they used to identify loanwords. They argue that if a word is analysable morphologically, and if it has phonological properties, then that word qualifies to be a true loanword. Furthermore, a word qualifies to be viewed as a loanword if it is attested in a sister language since the semantic properties of the word help to determine the status of the word.

The findings of the project are presented in part three of the study by Tadmor (2009:55) who concludes that 'lexical borrowing is a universal phenomenon'. There is no language within the sample of 41 languages researched, which is completely free from lexical borrowing. Every language in some period borrowed words from other languages. Not only the languages involved in the 41 language sample but also other languages of the world, at some moment, borrow words from other languages. The reasons for borrowing can be attributed to necessity, cultural attitude or prestige, and homonymy avoidance. Furthermore, Tadmor states that some languages have extensive published resources, have spread and are being read by different people worldwide. Under these circumstances, it is to be expected that some of the words from those publications are borrowed, especially words denoting new inventions and technology.

Tadmor provides statistics of lexical borrowing rates in loanword typological languages indicating each language's rate of borrowing, starting with the very high language borrowers. He argues, for example, that Selice Roman and Tarifiyt are the highest borrowers, each with 898 loanwords (62.7%) and 789 loanwords (51.7%), respectively. Languages which are high borrowers are also identified to be Gurindji, with 384 loanwords (45.6%), Romania with 894 loanwords (41.8%), English with 617 loanwords (41.0%), Swahili with 447 loanwords (27.8%), to mention a few. He points out that the average borrowers are Lower Sorbia with 374 loanwords (22.4%), Hausa with 323 loanwords (22.2%), to mention only a few, and, lastly he points out that the languages which are the lower borrowers include Manange with 84 loanwords (8.3%), Old High German with 70 loanwords (5.8%) and Mandarian Chinese with 25 loanwords (1.2%). (For the full lexical borrowing rates in loanword typology project languages, see Tadmor (2009: 56-57)).

From the data provided, it emerges that there is no uniformity in the borrowing rates of the sampled languages. One language sometimes has many loanwords compared to another. For example, the top ten languages in the table provided do not manifest the same or similar typological and sociolinguistic patterns. However, Tadmor (2009:56) comments that "…so the most useful explanations appear to be language-specific rather than general. He states that typological classification and sociolinguistic circumstances are not constant- they may, and often do change during a language's history".

Tadmor (2009) contends that content words – nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, - are more borrowable than function words. This view is supported by other linguistics scholars such as Batibo (1985), Lodhi (2000), Mwita (2005), Petzell (2005), among others. These scholars point out that nouns are borrowed more than other lexical categories such as verbs and adjectives. Tadmor (2009) provides a reason for this claim that "…nouns are more borrowable than verbs because verbs constitute a complex and rigid system that inhibits borrowing" (cf. Tadmor, 2009:61). However, Tadmor does not deny that verbs, as compared to nouns, are also borrowed, although the two categories undergo different treatments as regards the process of accommodation in the host languages. He further maintains that isolating languages like Thai need no morpho-syntactic adaptation processes when they borrow verbs, while synthetic languages like Hebrew need significant morpho-syntactic modifications to the verbs borrowed. This is attributed to the fact that synthetic languages have complex verbal morphology in which a verb root is affixed with a number of inflectional and derivational affixes.

With regards to the level of lexical-semantic properties, Tadmor (2009) points out that although languages of the world differ cross-linguistically, they have domains that are shared with each other. In other words, most languages borrow more words in certain semantic domains than the other way around. In this regards, most of the 41 languages have shown consistency between the borrowed words and the domains from which they have borrowed the words, as demonstrated below.

(7) Borrowing by semantic fields

Semantic fields	Loanwords as % of total
Religion and belief	41.3%
Clothing and grooming	38.6%
The house	37.2%
Law	34.3%
Social and political relations	31.0%
Agriculture and vegetation	30.0%
Food and drinks	29.3%
Warfare and hunting	27.9%
Possession	27.1%
Animals	25.5%
Cognition	24.2%
Basic action and technology	23.8%
Time	23.2%

Speech and language	22.3%
Quantity	20.5%
Emotions and value	19.9%
The physical world	19.8%
Motion	17.3%
Kinship	15.0%
The body	14.2%
Spatial relations	14.0%
Sense perception	11.0%
Total words	24.2%

Adopted from Tadmor, (2009:64).

From the table above, Tadmor contends that some semantic fields are affected more than others. For example, the fields most affected include religion and belief, clothing and grooming and the house. He provides possible reasons that these semantic fields are more affected than others due to colonial influence. Many borrowed words occur in the field of religion and belief due to the impact of religions (Christianity and Islam) in the past which resulting in the intensive lexical borrowing of the new words used in the churches and mosques. Furthermore, the field of clothing and grooming is affected due to colonial mentality and globalisation influence where various terminologies were borrowed by different languages around the world. He provides a relatively similar explanation for the field of the house. As house materials such as apartment blocks, furniture and utensils spread all-over the world, they spread with the terminologies, which are finally borrowed.

In respect to the semantic fields that received less lexical borrowing, like body parts, sense perceptions and kinship field, Tadmor (*ibid*) points out that those fields are not affected much by borrowing because they are common fields across the world and every speech community has inherent language concepts to express such fields. Therefore, there is a relatively less need for human societies to borrow other words. However, the author does not include the fields of sports and games, innovation and technology and politics, which could change the rates of borrowability in relation to semantic fields. Some modern human societies borrow not only words that are unavailable in the vocabularies but they also borrow words to replace the inherent ones but this depends much on the intensity of contact and the level of bilingualism of the languages involved.

Apart from Haspelmath and Tadmor's, concerning typological research on lexical borrowing, Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2016) conducted a recent typological study on loan verbs, drawing examples from different mostly European languages. The purpose of their study was to identify various structural properties that loan verbs undergo when borrowed in different languages. Wichmann and Wohlgemuth distinguish four major structural properties used as strategies for accommodation of loan verbs, namely the light verb strategy, indirect insertion, direct insertion, and paradigm transfer. This observation is contrary to Muysken (2000) who agrees with only two of the four strategies; combining indirect and direct strategies, together with the light verb strategy excluding the paradigm strategy. Sometimes lexical borrowing involves the introduction of the verb 'to do' to a loan verb for smooth adaptation, to which they refer to as a 'light verb-, a verb performing an auxiliary like-role'.

With regard to the light verb strategy, Wichmann and Wohlgemuth argue that in some languages, borrowing involves the borrowing of only a root-v to which other affixes are affixed during nativisation of loan verbs. With reference to data from Turkish, they point out that French verbs are nominalised when borrowed in Turkish verbal morphology by a 'light verb' or 'do-construction'. Wichmann and Wohlgemuth state that in some languages, the 'do-construction' verb merges with loan verbs, resulting in the formation of compounds. The same process occurs in Pech, in which Spanish loan verbs are adapted by forming compounds. With the indirect insertion, the authors maintain that many languages use an affix during the process of accommodating loan verbs, and after the affixation process, the rest of the inflectional morphology follows. They furthermore point out that this strategy occurs mostly in European languages. With the direct insertion strategy, a loan verb is directly accommodated in the host language without involving any morpho-syntactic processes. It is a root form that is borrowed, and it is the same root that is inflected for the third person from the source language. This process normally occurs in Germanic languages, such as Danish, and Romance languages, such as Spanish.

Discussing the paradigm of transfer, Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (*ibid*) maintain that when a verb is borrowed from language X to language Y, language X maintains the function of the borrowed verb in the premises of language Y. This strategy is manifested only in situations where bilingualism is at a high level due to the intensity of the contact situation. Although the intention of the author was to provide a suitable description pattern of loan verbs in the world's languages, the content and the evidence provided are based on European languages. They have not demonstrated the way structural properties are manifested in loan verbs in

African languages, of which most are agglutinative in nature, with complex verbal morphology. Moravcsik (1975) disagrees that a language can borrow verbs, as she argues that it is not possible for a language to borrow a verb as a verb category. Rather, the borrowed verb must be nominalised first before it is grammaticalized into a verb in the host language. Her argument, however, lacks empirical evidence to support her proposal.

3.3.2 Review of related literature in African languages

This section presents an overview of research on lexical borrowing in various African languages, including both Bantu and other African languages. The discussion of the research reviewed is based on the chronological years of publication in order to trace the necessary observations observed by recent scholars in comparison with the former scholars' observations. In cases where loanwords in the same language have been researched by two or more scholars, attention is given to the year of research, the donor language(s) involved and the topic studied.

3.3.2.1 Lexical borrowing in Swahili

Many scholars conducted linguistic studies on lexical borrowing in Swahili, a Bantu language spoken by approximately 75 million people around Eastern and Centre Africa, especially Tanzania (cf. LOT, 2005; Mpiranya, 2015). Particular attention is given in these studies to the different ways that Swahili lexical borrowing is influenced by foreign words and culture (cf. Lodhi, 2000; Petzell, 2005; Mwita, 2009; Schadeberg, 2009; Batibo, 2012). Mwita (2009) conducted research on the adaptation of Swahili loanwords from Arabic with the aim to examine the processes that take place during the adaptation of Arabic loanwords. Data were obtained from Bosha (1993) in which a few words with various kind of syllables were selected as the sample for data analysis and presentation. The syllable was the main component in this study because in examining the Arabic loanwords in Swahili, some phonological processes are involved. He argues that naturally, Swahili syllable structure consists of the CV, which implies that the language has an open syllable structure. The nativization of loanwords in Swahili thus has resulted in the increase of syllable structures which were not present before lexical borrowing (cf. Mwita, 2009).

Swahili does not allow a sequence of consonants. However, most loanwords seem to have the consonant clusters which are tolerated in it. Mwita (*ibid*) argues that when a word is borrowed from one language to another, it often violates some rules of well-formedness. In such a case, it needs adaptation to conform to the host language. Mwita (*ibid*) points out that Swahili uses various repair strategies to accommodate Arabic words. These strategies include vowel epenthesis, consonant deletion, cluster tolerance and feature change.

Vowel epenthesis, according to Mwita (2009), is a mechanism of separating the consonants in the consonant cluster by inserting a vowel between them (cf. Kiango, 2000). This method occurs in Swahili to break the sequence of consonants in Arabic loanwords as in *asl* > *asili*. However, not all sequences of consonants are broken in this way. It is argued that some of the sequences such as *sultan*, *stempu* and *stovu* are tolerated. Consonant deletion, on the other hand, is the process of adapting a loanword by deleting a consonant especially when there is a geminate consonant cluster. In such environment, one consonant is dropped as in *ammar* > *amiri, amm* > *amu*, and *budd* > *budi*. Furthermore, cluster tolerance is another mechanism used to adapt Arabic loanwords in Swahili. It involves maintaining of some clusters of the donor language in the host language, as in *sultan* > *sultani*, *usquf* > *askofu*. The last mechanism used in the adaptation of Arabic loans is feature change in which the phonemes that are available in Arabic but are not inherently available in Swahili, are substituted with the nearest counterparts in Swahili during the adaptation process. Mwita (*ibid*) concludes that most of the Arabic loanwords are adapted by the insertion of vowels (also referred as vowel epenthesis).

Schadeberg (2009) conducted research on loanwords in Swahili. His main purpose was to explore three linguistic aspects, namely (i) the donor languages involved in the contribution of loanwords in Swahili by establishing their periods of contact with the Swahili, (ii) the process of identifying the loanwords in relation to their etymologies, and (iii) the processes involved in accommodation of loanwords. The data for this study were collected through the perusal of the available dictionaries. Other data were gathered from various documents since Swahili is a well-documented language and lastly, Schadeberg obtained data from different Swahili grammars (Schadeberg, *ibid*).

Schadeberg (*ibid*) traces the historical contact through which Swahili went since its pre-stages. He argues that "throughout its history, Swahili has been a contact language *par excellence* and this common history of external contacts is important for the identity of the

Swahili-speaking people" (cf. Schadeberg, 2009:78). He demonstrates that since then, Swahili has been involved in contacts with several external and internal languages to the extent that it is difficult to trace the etymology of some of the loanwords. He briefly discusses the contact situations with their respective periods. The first contact was before 800 when Swahili was in its pre-stage, that is, the first Century. Despite Swahili being at its pre-stage time in this contact period, it is not known which language was spoken at the coast and that until that moment, there was no trace of loanwords in Swahili. Later on, only one probable loanword was found in Swahili database, which is the word *maziwa* 'milk', the origin of which Schadeberg is not certain as he admits that "…which probably entered proto-Sabaki through contact with a cattle-keeping people speaking a South Cushitic language" (cf. Schadeberg, 2009:79).

The second period of language contact Swahili has undergone was between 800-2000 in the rural areas of Tanzanian Hinterland where there were small farming communities with small-scale political organisations. At this stage, identifying a loanword was problematic because most of the surrounding Bantu languages were viewed as the same. It was also difficult to determine the donor versus the recipient language (cf. Schadeberg, 2009). The third contact period which occurred between 800-1920 involved a network of traders who came for trade along the Indian Ocean with the help of monsoon winds. Schadeberg (*ibid*) points out that the Arabic language was introduced alongside with Hindi-related languages by the traders in the coastline, and Swahili towns traded intensively before the traders could return to their home countries. It was during this period when Swahili varieties emerged and, due to frequent visit by the Arabs, the Arabic language became the dominant language. Thus, Swahili varieties, including the Comorians adapted some words from Arabic. Therefore, of the loanwords that penetrated into Swahili, many are of Arabic origin, followed by loanwords from Indian languages. The Persian language contributed a very limited number of loanwords in Swahili.

Schadeberg (*ibid*) points out that the fourth contact period occurred in 1000 to 2000 when Muslim visitors and immigrants dominated the Swahili communities. Most of the people around the coast joined the Islam religion, as a result, they learned about the Arabic culture. It was during that time that Arabic poetry, music, and ways of life contributed to the integration of the Arab culture with the Swahili communities alongside the coastline. This lead to the spread of loanwords into Swahili. The next contact period was categorised into three parts.

The first part occurred in 1500-1700 when the Portuguese under Vasco Da Gama politically took power on the Eastern African coastline. The Portuguese aimed at monopolising the economy of the coast and in some towns around the coast. They, therefore, terrorised the Swahili people who were forced to leave their businesses. Some Swahili people decided to fight, but the Portuguese were always victorious. Relatively few Portuguese loanwords were introduced into Swahili.

The second part, Schadeberg states, occurred in 1700-1800 when Sultan Seyyid Said moved his capital from Muscat in Oman to Zanzibar. Kiunguja, a language spoken in Zanzibar and Kimvita, a dialect of northern Mombasa, developed during this period (cf. Schadeberg, 2009:83). The third part involved the political dominance of the late colonialism (1800-1960). Schadeberg (*ibid*) states that during the 19th century, the European countries divided and colonised the countries around East and Central Africa, including Zanzibar. With the exception of German administrators who used Swahili in their economic activities, all other European powers used English in their day to day economic activities. This lead to the widespread use of English, whose words, later on, were borrowed into Swahili.

The sixth contact period, which took place in 1800 to 1900, involved the caravan trade. The Nyamwezi of Tabora participated in this process, both as people who could work from the interior part of Tanzania to plantations in the Indian coast and in Zanzibar plantations and also as slaves. Swahili became a lingua franca in the 19th century and spread all over East and Central Africa as a result of the caravan trade. The seventh part involved the standardization and modernization of Swahili whereby Kiunguja dialect was chosen. Since that time, new lexical items have been created by the BAKITA Institution comprising of translators and academics have been involved in creating new lexical items and compiling dictionaries to popularize Swahili. However, the English loanwords have increased, as Schadeberg (2009:85) states that “although BAKITA established word-creation principles disfavouring loans, especially from English, many new loanwords have entered Swahili in recent decades, the many of them being from English. The lexical growth of Swahili is much too rigorous to be effectively controlled by BAKITA or any other regulating institutions”.

Considering the donor languages, Schadeberg (*ibid*) maintains that Arabic is the prominent donor language of all the languages that contributed to enrich the Swahili lexicon. Many words in Swahili have an Arabic origin. He states that English follows Arabic as a second donor language, followed by other languages with little contribution of loanwords in Swahili. Most of the borrowed lexical categories are nouns. He argues that verbs and adjectives have the same rank of borrowability and that the borrowed adjectives show the complexity of accommodation in Swahili. Furthermore, Schadeberg (*ibid*) distinguishes two types of adaptation for accommodating loanwords into the Swahili system, namely phonological and morphological adaptation. As regard to phonology, Schadeberg demonstrates a number of techniques used in the adaptation of the sounds, sound sequence and the stress properties of the foreign words into Swahili, for example, the introduction of some sounds which did not occur in Proto-Swahili. These sounds include the fricative *th* and *dh*, and the voiced velar fricative *gh*. The nearest counterparts for these sounds in Swahili are *s*, *z* and *g* respectively. He refers to the introduction of an ‘extra’ sound *kh* which can be pronounced by people alongside the coast of Indian Ocean. Interdialectal borrowings has led to the contrast between *l* and *r* as it is exemplified in identical minimal pair *Mlima* ‘mountain’ and *Mrima* ‘name of the coastal area in Tanzania’. Loanwords also brought about the phonemic contrast in Swahili, as in *kalamu* ‘pen’ (<Arabic *qalam*) versus *karamu* ‘feast’ (<Arabic *karam* ‘generosity’). Vowel insertion also occurs as a mechanism of loanword adaptation, especially in the sequence of consonants that are disallowed in Swahili. For example, *barafu* ‘ice’ (<Persian/Hindi *barf*) versus *karatasi* ‘paper’ (<Arabic *qartas*). However, some of the loanwords with consonant sequences are tolerated in Swahili. For example *bluu* ‘blue’ (<English) and *bustani* ‘garden’ (<Arabic/Persian *bustān*).

Schadeberg (*ibid*) points out that morphologically, nouns, verbs and adjectives differ with respect to ways of adaptation in Swahili. Nouns, for example, are assigned to classes 5/6 and 9/10 according to the semantic and phonological criteria. It is convenient to assign a loanword to class 5 because it has a zero prefix in most cases. Furthermore, class 6 is a plural to class 5 with the *ma-* prefix, used as a default class for plural, as exemplified in *kaburi/makaburi* n 5/6 ‘grave/graves’ (<Arabic *qabr*). Similarly, classes 9/10 do not require any change because they are identical in the sense that both do not have nominal prefixes. For example *samaki* n 9/10 ‘fish’ (sg/pl) (<Arabic *samak*). Sometimes resyllabification of the initial C(V) occurs to the noun class prefix. Schadeberg (*ibid*) provides evidence for this phenomenon as in *mw-alimu/w-alimu* n 1/2 ‘teacher/teachers’ (<Arabic *muallim*), *m-sumari/mi-sumari* n 3/4 ‘nail/nails’ (<Arabic *mismār*). Furthermore, Schadeberg states that

nouns are more easily integrated than verbs and adjectives. For example "native underived verb stems consist of a root and a suffix (often called final vowel which is *-i* in the general negative, *-e* in the optative and some forms of the imperative, and *-a* elsewhere. Borrowed verb stems generally end in ***-i***, ***-u*** or ***-e*** and cannot morphologically be separated" (Schadeberg, ibid: 91). He compares native *ku-som-a* 'to read': *u-som-e* 'you should read' versus borrowed *ku-jibu* 'to answer': *u-jibu* 'you should answer' (<Arabic ğāba (II)). He concludes that some of the borrowed verbs manifest native-like characteristics which are morphologically inflected similarly to native verbs.

Schadeberg's (2009) study on loanwords in Swahili provides important insights to the current study in the sense that it examines some of the aspects that are of the concern to the current study. One of these aspects is the historical contact between Swahili/Sukuma and the foreign world. Although the current study explores the ways English loanwords behave when they are adapted in Sukuma, most of these English loanwords are adapted in Sukuma through Swahili. Thus, research on loanwords in Swahili provides important understanding to the investigation of loanwords in Sukuma.

3.3.2.2 Lexical borrowing in Hausa

Another linguist who researched loanwords is Awagana and his collaborators. Awagana et al, (2009) conducted research on loanwords in Hausa, a lingua franca spoken in Western and Central Africa spoken by approximately 50 million people, approximately half of them as their mother tongue. Apart from Yoruba and Igbo, Hausa is the largest lingua franca in Nigeria, spoken by approximately one-third of 20 million total population. Hausa is spoken in other areas in the neighbouring countries such as Duara in Cameroon and Damagaram in Niger (Awagana et al., 2009). Hausa came to fame after a long time contact with various smaller languages, such as languages of the plateau, and the process of standardizing it began in 1911 (Awagana et al, *ibid*). Currently, Hausa enjoys the privilege of being a language of commercial and high mobility in Nigeria and elsewhere, after borrowing extensive vocabularies from donor languages such as Arabic, Kanuri, English and French. During the eras of western colonialism and missionary engagement, Hausa witnessed penetration of a number of English vocabularies into the Hausa lexicon. Vocabularies that were used by British administrations were prominent in the Hausa database, even more than French, especially in Kano, which was the capital for the British during western colonialism in the

20th century. It was at that time that the campaigns to alphabetize Hausa begun, and in 1919 the first school was established (Awagana et al, *ibid*).

Hausa is claimed to have many borrowed words from different donor languages, many of which have been fully nativized into Hausa to the extent that their etymologies sometimes surprise speakers. However, Awagana et al, admit that it is hard to claim ownership of some words, stating, "…it is necessary to admit that in the context of African languages, contact scenario, route and intermediaries, even for clearly borrowed words are hard to establish and almost impossible to prove beyond doubt. The reasons for this relate to a scarcity of data on the potential donor or intermediary languages, lack of historical documentation and of methodologically sound reconstructions, lack of robust dialectological evidence even for the target languages. Judgement, therefore, often remains intelligent guesswork" (cf. Awagana et al, *ibid*).

The primary data for the research by Awagana et al., (2009) were collected by the introspection method, in which one of the members of the project was competent in the Hausa language by native acquisition of Kanuri in Niger. In order to control biasesness, the data were attested using the dictionaries available both for Kanuri and Hausa. The borrowed words from either English or French were included in the data to reflect the impact caused by the donor languages before, during and after colonialism. Other potential publications available including Skinner (1996) and '*Sahelia*, a database for languages of the wider Sahel zone' were used to provide data for the project.

With reference to the number and the kind of loanwords, Awagana et al., (2009) maintain that Hausa has borrowed 300 words which are equivalent to 21% of the total words in the database. The 24 semantic fields also show that the modern world lexicon field is prominent borrowability, followed by the lexical fields of clothing and grooming. In general, Arabic seems to contribute at least two words in every semantic field, while English follows as a second donor language with a total of 88 as loanwords to the database. Kanuri contributes only 44 words in Hausa while French offers 28 vocabularies.

Some of the borrowed words enter the Hausa lexicon via another language. The authors, for example, argue that some Arabic words are borrowed in Hausa through Kanuri. However, during the adaptation process, both borrowed words, whether directly or indirectly, are treated the same. The prefix article *al-* is affixed to loanwords to conform to the Hausa sound pattern. For example, *al-fijr* > *alfijir* 'dawn' and *al-ibra* > *alluuraa* 'needle' while the uvula stop /*q*/ is substituted by an ejective velar /*k*/. English loanwords that are stressed word-medially are substituted with long vowels in Hausa. For example, 'button' > *bootin*, 'towel' > *taawul*, and 'court' > *kootu*.

During the adaptation of loanwords from or through Kanuri, some phonological mechanisms operate for the reason that the two languages differ in their vowel quality. Hausa differentiates between short vowels and long ones, while Kanuri does not. This applies to both loan nouns and loan verbs. The authors conclude, that there is no systematic study on grammatical borrowing in Hausa. However, there are only a few data in the database which do not show any evidence of the possibility whether they were borrowed from Kanuri or not.

3.3.2.3 Lexical borrowing in Iraqw

Apart from the study of loanwords in Hausa, research on lexical borrowing in Iraqw has been conducted by Mous and Qorro (2009). Their research aimed at examining loanwords in Iraqw, the Cushitic language of Tanzania with approximately half a million speakers (cf. Mous and Qorro, 2009). Iraqw has been expanding rapidly, with extensive loanwords from different indigenous languages, including Swahili. In Tanzania, Swahili is a language of mass media (Legère, 1988), hence it has contributed considerably to the donation of words into indigenous languages, such as Iraqw. Iraqw speakers indulge in economic activities such as animal keeping and farming. However, Iraqw speakers living in urban areas find it difficult to speak their heritage mother tongue because of contact with people with other native languages. In this situation, they are obliged to speak Swahili which is a unifying language for them and when they visit their people at their homes, they code-switch Iraqw with Swahili. This is how Swahili rapidly spread to the indigenous languages (cf. Mous and Qorro, 2009). The authors point out that most of the interviews used in the data collection for the project were conducted in Swahili. Nevertheless, the level of proficiency of Swahili among Iraqw speakers is still low and they see Swahili as a new language. In addition, English is taught in schools with Swahili but it does not appear to affect Iraqw in that no English words are directly borrowed in Iraqw although some words are borrowed via Swahili.

The data for this project were extracted from the database by Mous' et al., in 2002. Additional data were drawn from the two dictionaries available by then, namely Maghway (1995) and Wada (1973). The loanwords were extracted carefully and examined with the comparison of a word list prepared by one of the members in the project during the research. The introspection method was also used for additional data by Qorro, one of the members in the project, and a native speaker of the language under research. A list of inherent words was constructed and examined morphologically in tracing the origin of loanwords.

Mous and Qorro (2009) report that 156 loanwords occur in Iraqw, which is 14% of the total words available in the database. This could be possible because only certain loanwords were involved. Possible loanwords were discarded to avoid confusion since some of the possible loanwords in Iraqw were also available in the neighbouring languages. Thus, it was difficult to tell which language is the donor and which is the recipient one. Most of the borrowed words are nouns, followed by verbs, adjectives, adverbs and lastly functional words. Some of the loanwords provided as examples are *serikali* 'government', *tattoo* 'mutation', *shida* 'problem', *msaada* 'aid', *kiongozi* 'leader', *viongozi* 'leaders', *tanki* 'water tank', *ofisi* 'office' and *dawa* 'medicine'. Most of the loanwords are additives. They are borrowed for filling gaps for new concepts, objects, and phenomena due to technical development, science and technology, sports and games, recreation and politics. Consequently, the semantic fields for modernity show a good number of loanwords compared to the semantic field for domestic animals. Swahili donated a relatively high number of words although there are few words with Datooga origin. Most of these words name animals, trees, mountains, rivers, lakes, and food. A few loanwords occur from Mbuge, Rangi, English and Latin.

When a word is borrowed, it has to go through some processes to conform to the host language. The same happens to words loaned from Swahili into Iraqw. According to Mous and Qorro (2009), two processes are involved in the adaptation of loanwords, namely phonological and morphological processes. Phonologically, not every Swahili loanword is fully adapted in Iraqw because Iraqw speakers have control of both the Iraqw and Swahili sound patterns. However, the Swahili words that end with -*ia* are substituted with -*yaa*. For example, *gunyaa* (<Swahili gunia 'sack'), *kofyaa* (<Swahili kofia 'cap') and *sufuriyaa* (<Swahili sufuria 'cooking pot'). Furthermore, Iraqw does not have /z/ in its phonemic inventory. Here, the tendency is to substitute it with the nearest sound available in the

language, which is /s/. For example, *aansuus* (<Swahili anza 'start'), *gaseeti* (<Swahili gazeti 'newspaper'). Iraqw speakers also disprefer word-initial stops or combination of a syllabic *m* word initially. To solve this problem, they insert a vowel before the next syllable, such as *mukate* (<Swahili mkate 'bread'), *mochele* (<Swahili mchele 'rice'), *musumaari* (<Swahili msumari 'nail') and *muhogo* (<Swahili mhogo 'cassava'). Sometimes, there is a tendency to mix /r/ and /l/. Both languages have these sounds but an Iraqw speaker may pronounce /r/. Morphologically, nouns are subjected to their respective noun classes according to their noun class prefixes and number. Borrowed verbs in Iraqw are adapted by the use of a verbaliser suffix to which a derivational suffix -*s* is affixed. The Iraqw verbs exclude the Swahili infinitive *ku*-. For example, *shitak-uus* (<Swahili kushitaki 'accuse'), *pang-uus* (<Swahili kupangusa 'wipe') and *nyo-uus* (<Swahili kunyoa 'shave') (cf. Mous and Qorro, 2009).

3.3.2.4 Lexical borrowing in Kanuri

Research on lexical borrowing in Kanuri was a project in linguistics conducted by Löhr, Woff, and Awagana, (2009). The aims were to examine (i) whether or not Kanuri, a Saharan language spoken by 3 to 4 million speakers, is a dialect, (ii) the contact between Kanuri and other languages of the world, (iii) the kind and number of loanwords in Kanuri, and (iv) the way loanwords are accommodated in Kanuri. According to Greenberg (1963), Kanuri belongs to the Western subgroup of the Saharan phylum together with other languages such as Tedaga and Dazaga, the languages spoken in the Northeastern Niger and Northern Chad (cf. Gordon 2005). They point out that the introduction of colonialism in Nigeria and Niger caused a gradual diminishing of Kanuri as a lingua franca, favouring Hausa which became the most powerful lingua franca in the regions formally dominated by Kanuri. Kanuri lost its former status to the Hausa to the extent that it only remained a language of oral communication. The arrival of the Arabs increased the contact in that many Kanuri speakers were Islamised. In this situation, Kanuri received a number of loanwords from Arabic but because the language was such weak, it could not hold, as a result, Arabic loanwords penetrated in Kanuri via Hausa, the powerful lingual franca of that time. Hausa also contributed in the donation of loanwords in Kanuri (cf. Löhr, Woff, and Awagana, 2009).

The findings indicate that of the 386 lexical items, 285 (17%) are clearly borrowed. Many borrowed words have Arabic origin and this implies that in Kanuri, Arabic is the main donor language, followed by Hausa, which is the lingua franca in the area. English is the second while French takes the last position in the line of donor languages. Löhr et al., argue that Kanuri does not have all the consonants available in the donor languages. In adapting words, the nearest counterparts are employed. Vowel epenthesis is sometimes employed in the adaptation of loanwords with a sequence of consonants, mostly words from Arabic loanwords. The authors state that Kanuri does not have phonemic vowel length. If a word has a long vowel and it needs membership into Kanuri, that particular vowel is shortened to conform to the Kanuri vowel system. Occasionally, vowel and consonant assimilation are observed. Furthermore, most of the English loanwords into Kanuri come through Hausa. This means that Hausa acts as the intermediary language because of its status of being a lingua franca. The authors point out that grammatical borrowing is yet to be researched for Kanuri.

3.3.2.5 Lexical borrowing in Ngoni

Assuming a semantic framework, research was conducted by Mapunda and Rosendal (2015). Their aim was to investigate on how Swahili words are accommodated into Tanzanian Ngoni, a language spoken in the Southern Highlands in the southwestern part of Tanzania. Tanzanian Ngoni can be traced back to the 19th century when Ngoni speakers settled in South Africa. It is a language associated closely with Nguni-speaking languages. The research examines the way different Swahili nouns are integrated into Tanzanian Ngoni, considering specifically semantic generalisation, semantic specialisation, and semantic shift (cf. Mapunda and Rosendal, 2015).

Tanzanian Ngoni has been in contact with Swahili for a long time (Mapunda and Rosendal, 2015). It is assumed that the contact between the two languages can be traced back more than a century ago and it is this contact, which has led to a huge number of lexical borrowings from Swahili into Ngoni. Mapunda and Rosendal argue that most of these borrowed words express both new concepts and those that reduplicate existing words. Data collection was conducted in Songea, one of the districts in Ruvuma region in Tanzania and the scope involved three villages, namely Peramiho, Kilagano and Mhepai. The informants were shown different photos and instructed to describe them while the researchers were recording the descriptions. They described 63 locally produced photos with three semantic fields, namely ‘cooking’, ‘farming’ and ‘modern life’. The recorded descriptions were transcribed by native Ngoni speakers. Other informants were consulted for either verifying data or asked to explain the theme that did not need recording. In addition, other data were collected through eight group interviews.

The authors argue that the borrowed words obtained from the data are mostly direct loans, that is, they are loaned from Swahili into Ngoni. However, some loanwords are borrowed into Ngoni from English via Swahili, while some are borrowed directly from English into Ngoni, although such borrowed words are few in number (Mapunda and Rosendal, *ibid*). Furthermore, the authors point out that some semantic fields have a high rate of borrowability while other semantic fields have a lower rate of borrowability. The authors contend that the semantic fields with a big number of borrowings include 'modern world' entities and concepts, 'food and beverages', and 'clothing and grooming'. Many of the borrowed words are additive loans compared to the substitutive loans. With regard to substitutive borrowing, that is, borrowing of the core or inherent vocabularies, which are assumed to be resistant to borrowing, Mapunda and Rosendal point out that some of the semantic meanings of the borrowed words undergo a semantic shift. For example, when the Swahili word *nywele* is borrowed into Ngoni, it replaces all the inherent words describing hair. Basic words such as *mayunju* 'uncared for, not properly cared kind of hair' and *njwili* 'short traditional-style hair' are replaced by the Swahili term *nywele*. In addition, the word *chupa* 'bottle' has been borrowed from Swahili into Ngoni and it is used extensively. Before being borrowed, the word *chupa* in Swahili was restricted to only a bottle made of glass. However, when borrowed into Ngoni, the words get an extra semantic meaning, that is, apart from a glass bottle, the word meaning includes also the plastic bottle. This represents semantic generalisation or semantic broadening.

Ngoni people have a variety of pots moulded from clay. They have a special pot for storing drinking water (*chihulu/chifulu*), a pot for brewing liquors (*likalangu*), and a pot for frying meat, vegetables (*chikalangu*). However, all the pots are generally referred to as *chiviga*. The tendency developed by Ngoni speakers is the use of *chiviga* to refer to all kinds of ports and this leads to loss of traditional material culture. Mapunda and Rosendal conclude that the Ngoni lexicon has been heavily influenced by Swahili in almost all aspects. Semantically, most words have been affected in that their meanings have undergone various semantic processes such as semantic generalisation, semantic specialisation and semantic shift. They argue that some of the inherent Ngoni words are replaced by Swahili words and used mostly by the new generation. Furthermore, more borrowing has been observed in the modern semantic fields such as clothing and grooming, and food and beverages. In addition, loanwords are borrowed either directly or indirectly depending on the donor languages, which are Swahili and English.

3.3.2.6 Lexical borrowing in isiNdebele

Mahlangu (2016) has conducted research on language contact and change, specifically on the influence of Afrikaans and English in isiNdebele, one of the lesser developed languages of South Africa. The purpose was to demonstrate the way the two languages, namely Afrikaans and English impacted isiNdebele vocabulary after contact. More specifically, Mahlangu examined the extent to which Afrikaans and English have contributed, as major donor languages, to the isiNdebele new vocabularies as loanwords, the way the loanwords are adapted and the impacts of these foreign words to the lexicon of isiNdebele. Mahlangu (2016) asserts that for a long time, Afrikaans and English have been donating a number of words in various grammatical categories. IsiNdebele has not less than five grammatical categories of words. Within the five word categories, some of the nouns and verbs are loanwords from either Afrikaans or English or both. However, Mahlangu (*ibid*) points out that the scope of his study includes nouns, verbs, adjectives and conjunctions. The reason he gives is that most of the studies on loanwords consider only two word categories such as nouns and verbs, in most cases, while other word categories such as adjectives, adverbs and conjunctions are also borrowed in most African languages, in general, and isiNdebele, in particular. Mahlangu traces the contact and interaction of Afrikaans and English to IsiNdebele that led to the introduction of loanwords in isiNdebele to four phenomena. These include the socio-political situation, socio-economic situation, cultural situation and religion, as he suggests: "…the contact and the interaction has evolved for socio-political, socio-economic, cultural and religious reasons that were spearheaded by early settlers, the *Voortrekkers* and missionaries from various European countries. Words such as money, parliament, computer, sugar etc. infiltrated the lexical stock of African languages in general and isiNdebele in particular as social factors. Prestige also played a vital role in the adoption process…" (Mahlangu, 2016:26).

Data for the research were drawn from four different sources, namely (i) the isiNdebele Dictionary Unit, known as *lesiHlathululi-mezwi sesiNdebele*, (ii) isiNdebele Terminology

Book, (iii) personal interview with the speakers of the language, and (iii) a special phone-in programmes on iKwekwezi FM. Furthermore, Mahlangu (*ibid*) contends that the data were confirmed by the native speakers of the language. Preliminarily, the speech communities closer to Afrikaans, such as the Nzunza seem to be dominated much by loanwords from Afrikaans. The same occurs in the amaNdebele in which the loanwords adapted exhibit Afrikaans origin (cf. Mahlangu, 2016).

Mahlangu (2016) states that relatively many borrowed nouns in IsiNdebele are from Afrikaans and English. When borrowed into isiNdebele, the nouns are morphologically and phonologically assigned into various noun classes. The borrowed nouns are allocated in almost all noun classes in isiNdebele. He provides examples systematically, showing the ways each borrowed noun is assigned to its suitable noun class in isiNdebele. In noun classes 1/2, which commonly denote human being attribute in isiNdebele, Mahlangu (*ibid*) argues that borrowed nouns that denote human beings are allocated in classes 1/2. The borrowed nouns at these classes are those related to Christianity. Consider the examples provided to illustrate the phenomenon in (8).

(8)	Class 1		Class 2	
	umKhresto	‘Christian’	*abaKhresto*	‘Christians’
	umbhabhadisi	‘baptiser’	*ababhabhadisi*	‘baptisers’ (Mahlangu, 2016:26).

The reason for the borrowing of these nouns could possibly be attributed to the arrival of the missionaries who were using English in delivering their services in their churches in isiNdebele speech communities and as a result, such nouns were borrowed. With noun classes 1(a) and 2(a), Mahlangu (ibid) contends that the borrowed nouns that are assigned within these classes are nouns related to, for example, professional positions, months of the year, and animals. Consider the examples in (9).

(9) *uNebejara* ‘New Year’ (1a) *aboNebejara* ‘New Years’ (2a) (<Afr)
ufagoroni ‘half-crown’(1a) *abofagoroni* ‘half-crowns’(2a) (<Eng/Afr) (Mahlangu, 2016:27).

In noun classes 3/4, Mahlangu (*ibid*) comments that the number of borrowed words assigned in these noun classes is very limited compared to the number of loanwords allocated in other noun classes. This could be possible because these classes are related to trees and natural phenomena, which are difficult to be borrowed. Consider the following examples in (10).

(10) *umtjhini* ‘machine’ (3) *imitjhini* ‘machines’ (4) (<Afr *masjien/masjiene*)
umdanso ‘dance’ (3) *imidanso* ‘dances’ (4) (<Afr *dans/danse*) (Mahlangu, 2016:27).

Mahlangu points out that classes 5/6 in isiNdebele comprise of nouns that denote objects, such as mountains, parties of the body, insect etc. As the situation in noun classes 3/4, the number of borrowed words in these noun classes is relatively low. Consider the following examples in (11).

(11) *ikerese* ‘candle’ (5) *amakerese* ‘candles’ (6) (<Afr *kers/kerse*)
ibhodlelo ‘bottle’ (5) *amabhodlelo* ‘bottles’ (6) (<Eng/Afr *bottel/bottels*)
(Mahlangu, 2016:27).

He argues that most borrowed nouns that are allocated to noun class 5 have their plural forms in class 6, while the inherent isiNdebele nouns allocated in class 5 take their plural forms either in class 6 or class 10 or both classes 6 and 10. He refers to this tendency as “double pluralism”. (Mahlangu, *ibid*: 27). However, he does not account for ‘double pluralism’ tendency.

Mahlangu (*ibid*) asserts that classes 7/8 denote instruments, languages, culture, food stuff, and insect. He points out that many borrowed nouns from Afrikaans and English are assigned in these noun classes. Most of the borrowed words allocated in these classes have an Afrikaans origin compared to those with an English origin. Consider the examples in (12).

(12) *isikere* ‘pair of scissors’ (7) *iinkere* ‘pairs of scissors’ (8) (<Afr *skêr/skêre*)
isikolo ‘school’ (7) *iinkolo* ‘schools’ (8) (<Afr *skool/skole*) (Mahlangu, *ibid*:27).

Mahlangu (*ibid*) argues that classes 9/10 are “the hub of foreign” borrowed words in isiNdebele. Classes 9/10 denote animals traditionally in isiNdebele although sometimes miscellaneous nouns do belong here. Furthermore, noun class 9 takes its plural forms in classes 6 and 10 or both. The author contends that borrowed nouns from Afrikaans and

English exhibit the same characteristics similarly to inherent nouns in isiNdebele. In other words, some of the borrowed words from Afrikaans and English take their plural forms in class 10 while some of them are assigned in class 6. In addition, some of these borrowed nouns take their plural forms in both classes 6 and 10 (Mahlangu, *ibid*).

(13) *iplurhu* 'plough' (9) *iimplurhu* 'ploughs' (10) (<Afr *ploeg/ploeë*)
itiye 'tea'(9) *iintiye/amatiye* 'kinds of tea'(10/6) (<Eng/Afr*tee/soorte tee*)
(Mahlangu, *ibid*:28).

In isiNdebele, class 14 denotes "the state of being…" (Mahlangu, *ibid*:28). In this class, the borrowed nouns share the same features with the nouns grouped into noun classes 1 and 1a. He contends that borrowed nouns from Afrikaans and English follow the same procedures.

(14) *ubuphristi* 'the state of being a priest' (< *umphristi*'priests')
ubuphrinsipali 'the state of being a principal' (< *uphrinsipali*'principal')
(Mahlangu, ibid: 28)

Class 15 denotes nouns that are derived from the verbal stem or infinitive in Nguni languages (Mahlangu, *ibid*). The prefix *uku-* of class 15 is prefixed to borrowed nouns from Afrikaans and English into isiNdebele to indicate incomplete action or a manner of doing something.

(15) *ukusamenda* 'to cement' (< *-samenda* 'cement' (v)) (<Eng/Afr*sement*)
ukuferefa 'to paint' (< *-ferefa* 'paint' (v)) (<Afr *verf*) Mahlangu, *ibid*:28).

Mahlangu (*ibid*) concludes his discussion on nouns borrowed from Afrikaans and English into isiNdebele by providing evidence that all the borrowed nouns are grouped into all the 15 noun class system in isiNdebele.

Discussing on the way borrowed verbs from Afrikaans and English are adapted into isiNdebele, Mahlangu (2016) points out that the amaNdebele apply two strategies in accommodating loan verbs, namely the transformation process, which involves derivation of an adapted noun into a verb form and the second strategy is by adopting and adapting a verb as a new concept in the donor language. He states that in isiNdebele, the transformation process is the most applied strategy because it has an extra role. Verbs from Afrikaans and English are accommodated in isiNdebele phonologically and morphologically whereby a ‘positive terminative vowel’ *-a* is affixed to the newly formed root. Consider the examples in (16).

(16) *-ayin**a*** (v) ‘iron’ <*i-ayini* (n) (<Eng ‘iron’ (n))
*-khrayon**a*** (v) ‘crayon’ <*ikhrayoni* (n) (<Eng ‘crayon’ (n)) (Mahlangu, ibid: 28).

Mahlangu points out that verbs from Afrikaans and English are adapted despite the existence of inherent IsiNdebele verbs. The impact is that the inherent verbs are often dispreferred by speakers because they are considered old-fashioned. Some inherent verbs in IsiNdebele are gradually disappearing because the newly borrowed verbs, which exhibit high status and prestigious to the speakers, have replaced them. Mahlangu maintains that the old generation probably may continue to use the inherent verbs, as they are not exposed to the newly borrowed verbs in isiNdebele.

3.4 Issues from research on lexical borrowing

This section examines salient issues in the research studies reviewed in the previous sections on different languages pertaining to lexical borrowing in African languages. Some general concepts in regard to the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of loanwords, in general, have been reviewed in this chapter. From the studies by linguistic researchers on lexical borrowing, the following issues emerge. Some of the issues cut across the studies reviewed while others are identified from specific studies.

3.4.1 Lexical borrowing is universal

The first issue established in this chapter is that lexical borrowing is inevitable. There is no African language which does not include loanwords in its lexicon. Langacker (1968), supporting this assertion, stated that “there is no language whose speakers have ever had contact with any other language which may be said to be completely free of borrowed forms”. Through innovation, loanwords denoting new entities and concepts are introduced in various semantic fields, such as science and technology, sports and games, recreation, clothing and grooming, medicine, and education. These entities and concepts are introduced in languages which often do not have the inherent words to name, hence the need to borrow the words and nativize (or accommodate) them to conform to the system of the borrowing languages. Even sociolinguistically powerful languages are not free from lexical borrowing. All languages include loanwords. English, for example, borrowed the words *safari* 'journey' and *panga* 'machette' from Swahili although the inherent words are available in English, which are 'journey' and 'machette', respectively. However, the borrowing rate differs depending on the status of languages. Prestigious languages borrow less, but donate more words to the less prestigious languages (cf. TUKI, 2006:755; Hornby, 2015:1322).

3.4.2 Adaptation of loanwords

When words are borrowed in a language become part of the lexicon of the borrowing language through adaptation to suit the phonological and morphological system of the host language. The phonological and morphological modification includes a number of processes depending on the phonemic systems of the two languages, i.e. the donor and the recipient languages involved. In general, it involves deletion of some vowels or consonants, vowel shortening or lengthening, vowel insertion, consonant insertion, suffixation and prefixation, derivation, gender and number assignment, assignment of various borrowed nouns into noun classes system of the recipient language. Furthermore, the borrowed words need to conform to the syntax and the lexical-semantic properties of the host language. This includes the relationship of the borrowed word and other inherent words in the noun phrase, the determiner phrase, and the verb phrase. In addition, the co-occurrence of the borrowed words with other inherent words in utterance need to yield a meaningful denotation.

3.4.3 Nouns are borrowed more readily than verbs

Among all lexical categories, nouns are borrowed more readily (cf. Tadmor, 2009:64; Iribemwangi, 2012; Joseph, 2012). In the studies reviewed, the trend demonstrates that when two languages are in contact for a considerable period, words are borrowed from both languages although the powerful language with high status offers more words to the language with low status. In that case, many words will be borrowed into the language with low status and most of these words are nouns. The reason for nouns to be borrowed more readily compared to other lexical categories is that they are easy to adapt since they do not have complex morphology. In discussing the results of the world language project, Tadmor comments that "even highly isolating languages borrow proportionally more nouns than verbs, so the reason for the higher borrowing rate of nouns cannot be due solely to grammatical factors. Part of the explanation may relate to the fact that things and concepts are easily adapted across cultures (along with the words for them)" (Tadmor, 2009:61). This implies that, generally, loan verbs are derived from nouns. Speakers of the borrowing language accommodate nouns, which in turn are derived into verbs. However, some loan verbs are borrowed directly as verbs from the source languages without undergoing deverbalization process.

3.4.4 Semantic rate of borrowability

Lexical borrowing involves the transfer of words from one language to another. These loanwords are of different semantic fields such as religion, house, agriculture, time and many other semantic fields. These semantic fields differ in the rate of borrowability from one to the other. In the review of the studies above, it emerged that the semantic fields of the modern world, clothing and grooming, and religion and belief have the highest rate of borrowability of loanwords whereas the semantic fields of the body, kinship and animals have the lowest rate. Several of the findings from the studies confirm this trend. This can probably be attributed to the fact that most of the words borrowed are normally those expressing new concepts, ideas, processes and phenomena, which are not in the lexicon of most languages, and for which they do not have equivalent words. The semantic fields of kinship, the body and animal have a low rate of borrowability for the reason that each language community has inherent (native) words to express these concepts. For example, Mahlangu (2016) argues that in isiNdebele, the number of borrowed words in regard to natural entities, such as trees, are limited. A similar observation was made by other scholars (cf. Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009; Mous and Qorro, 2009; Schadeberg, 2009; Asheli, 2015; Mapunda and Rosendal, 2015, among others) who argue, from typological perspective, that it is difficult for speakers to borrow entities denoting natural phenomena such as body parts, forests, lakes, mountains and many other natural entities since the language community concerned has the inherent concepts denoting such natural entities.

3.4.5 No evidence for grammatical borrowing

From the studies reviewed above, it is evident that grammatical borrowing does not occur in loanwords, rather, studies on lexical borrowing are prominent in research. In general, researchers, maintain that there is no any evidence of borrowing of grammatical elements or research conducted on such borrowing in African languages, although no specific reason is provided by those linguists as to what factors prevent grammatical borrowing. In discussing grammatical borrowing in Hausa, Awagana et al., point out that there is no evidence concerning the existence of studies on grammatical borrowing in Hausa, as they state, “To the best of the authors’ knowledge, systematic investigation into possible grammatical borrowing is yet to begun” (Awagana et al., 2009:159). This view is supported by Campbell (2000), who argues that it is possible for content items such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs to be borrowed, rather than grammatical categories.

3.4.6 Indirect borrowing

From the research reviewed in the above sections, it is evident that the process of borrowing of words involves a donor language and a recipient language. The donor language offers words of different lexical categories such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs to the receiving language which in turn modifies or accommodates these words for the purpose of making them part of its own lexicon. However, sometimes an intermediate language exists, which acts as a bridge during nativisation of borrowed words from the donor language to the recipient language. This process is called “indirect borrowing” (Mous and Qorro, 2009). From previous studies, the view emerged that some borrowed words enter another language by obtaining them from the language close to the recipient language, in that case, ‘the second’ donor language, in which case the ‘second donor’ language has borrowed the words from the main or the ‘first’ donor language. This phenomenon is evidenced in the project *Loanwords in Iraqw* by Mous and Qorro discussed above. These authors claim that “Even though English is taught at school and is the official language of instructions in secondary education, it has had little influence on Iraqw directly, in that loanwords from English enter Iraqw through Swahili” (Mous and Qorro, 2009:106-107). Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) state that not all loanwords in Ngoni are adapted directly from Swahili. Some loanwords are adapted directly from English and other loanwords are adapted in Tanzanian Ngoni from

Swahili via English. Such words thus enter the Tanzanian Ngoni lexicon through Swahili words with an English origin.

The loanwords borrowed from one language, i.e. the donor language, into another language, i.e. the recipient language, via an intermediary language often do not have the former's linguistic characteristics for the reason that they might have undergone some phonological and morphological changes when borrowed initially from the 'first' donor language. Loanwords of this kind may have more of the intermediary donor language features when they are adapted in the 'last' recipient language. Therefore, the 'last' recipient language actually modifies the morpho-syntactic and lexical-semantic features of the intermediary language.

3.4.7 Lexical borrowing as a gradual process

In the reviewed studies above, some researchers have emphasized that lexical borrowing is not an instant process. It takes place gradually. After the contact between two languages, some words may be used in various conversations especially in code-mixing and code-switching. This process continues for a relative time depending on the complexity of the borrowed word. If the structure of the word somehow resembles the structure of the recipient language, then the borrowing process may take place in a short time. If the linguistic characteristics of the borrowed word are complex, the adaptation process can take a long time. Lodhi (2000) points out that the process of adaptation of loanwords is motivated by the economic importance of the loanwords concerned. For example, words borrowed in the semantic fields such as innovation, modern science and technology are adapted promptly in the host language for the reason that the host language lacks the inherent words to express the newly introduced concepts. However, the adaptation of other words with less economic importance can take a considerable time since the host language may have inherent (native) words for the relevant terms (cf. Lodhi, 2000:44). In most cases, the adaptation of the verbs takes a relatively long time compared to nouns. Other scholars agree with this claim that for verbs which are complex in structure, the adaptation process takes place over a longer time (cf. Petzell, 2005; Tadmor, 2009; Wichmann and Wohlgemuth, 2016).

3.4.8 Prominent donor languages

Throughout the discussion on previous studies on loanwords above, it has been stated that lexical borrowing involves a donor language and a recipient language. The donor language offers the word to the recipient language, which nativizes the word to its linguistic system. From the above research review, it emerged that the main donor language in most languages studied is English. This can be attributed to the fact that English has been in contact with many languages before, during and after colonialism. During that time, English was widely used in communication in socio-economic and political dominations in many countries of the world, hence English words spread widely over the world. Given these circumstances, English became a prominent donor of words to other world languages, generally and Africa, in particular (cf. Owino, 2003; Petzell, 2005, Tadmor, 2009; Mahlangu, 2016 among others).

Arabic is viewed as the second most prominent donor language after English. Like English, Arabic penetrated into the lexicons of different languages in Africa. This was due to different types of trade that took place along the coast of Indian Ocean. Many Arabic loanwords have been identified by scholars in the coastal towns in Africa because of the early contact (cf. Lodhi, 2000; Mwita, 2009). The trade activities were associated with the introduction of the Islamic religion, Arabic culture, and many other Arabic goods and services, which contributed to the spread of Arabic loanwords in many languages, such as Swahili in Africa.

Swahili, on the other hand, is a lingua franca in East and Central Africa (cf. Mpiranya, 2015). Swahili donated a significant number of loanwords to many languages of East and Central Africa and beyond. In Tanzania, the lexicons of many ethnic community languages are affected heavily by Swahili words. An individual speaker of a native (or indigenous) language does not speak the mother tongue without code-mixing with Swahili. Swahili borrows words from English and these borrowed words, in turn, are borrowed into other indigenous languages. In the studies reviewed above, the view that Swahili is currently spreading over large parts of Africa and beyond is discussed. Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009) argue that Swahili is now spoken in International conferences, international broadcasting cooperation such as the British Broadcast Cooperation, and it is taught in many Universities in and outside Africa (cf. Schadeberg, 2009; Iribemwangi, 2013, Mpiranya, 2015). Other donor languages have been identified by scholars as donors of lexical items into African languages. It is generally accepted that French has donated a number of words to different languages, especially languages in the Western part of Africa (cf. Awagana et al., (2009). Afrikaans, as stated by Mahlangu (2016), entered some vocabularies in IsiNdebele.

3.4.9 Reasons for borrowing

The question of 'why do speakers of language Y borrow words from language Z?' has stimulated extensive discussions among linguists. Some of the studies reviewed in this chapter propose various reasons for why one language borrows words from another language. Some languages borrow cultural loanwords although the inherent (native) words are available in their lexicons. Researchers maintain that a language borrows words from another one due to a range of reasons. One of the reasons related to is *prestige*. Languages in the world differ in this regard. Some languages are more powerful and have high status whereas others are less powerful, with a low status. Speakers of a language of low status like to associate themselves with the language of high status by speaking that language. They consider it prestigious to borrow words from such a language and use them even though they have inherent words in their mother tongue to express the same concepts in their own languages. Opposing the reasons proposed by Thomason and Kaufman, and Myers-Scotton, Haspelmath argues that, "Other terms such as cultural pressure (cf. Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:77) or loss of vitality (of the recipient language) (cf. Myers- Scotton, 2006:215) are often found, but these are even vaguer and intangible than prestige" (Haspelmath, 2009:48).

A further reason for lexical borrowing is homonymy avoidance. This was proposed by Rédei (1970:11) as cited by Haspelmath (2009:50). It is argued that speakers of one language borrow words from another language for avoiding a clash of two words, which become the same either phonologically or morphologically. The similarity between the two words is caused by the change of their sound. Sometimes the language may borrow a word from another language due to insufficient vocabulary to fill the concept. This occurs when new objects, concepts and phenomena are introduced in a speech community because of development of science and technology, and innovation.

3.4.10 Audio-visual recordings

Recording the conversations among consultants during data collection is a reliable way of capturing sound properties especially when a scholar conducts research on phonology (cf.

Kadenge, 2009; Dowling, 2010). However, from the studies reviewed above, it is evident that the use of audio-visual recording was largely not considered. The use of a database, a list of different words collected a long time ago and stored in custody might or might not be of value to the study of sound in the phonological analysis of a particular language. Several of the studies reviewed above have sections on a phonological adaptation of loanwords although, in the section of data collection, the data indicated that these loanwords were obtained either from the existing publications (books and dictionaries) written long ago or by consultations of songs. Given that languages, especially the phonology, change with time, the use of audio-visual recordings makes the available new data, which in turn may yield reliable findings.

3.5 Summary

The main goal of this chapter was to provide an overview of research studies on loanwords in African languages. The chapter aimed to present a background to and the basis for the study of loanwords in Sukuma by reviewing studies on both non-African languages and African languages. Through this review, the view emerged that lexical borrowing is universal, hence no language is free from lexical borrowing (cf. Tadmor, 2009). Furthermore, it was pointed out that of all the grammatical categories, scholars generally hold the view that nouns are borrowed more readily than other lexical categories (cf. Lodhi, 2000; Petzell, 2005; Awagana et al., 2009; Mwita, 2009; Mahlangu 2016, among others). Thus, scholars maintain that nouns are more readily adapted in a recipient language than verbs, which have complex morphology (cf. Tadmor, 2009). Evidence discussed demonstrates that when a word is borrowed, it undergoes some phonological and morphological modifications to conform to the grammatical system of the host language (cf. Haugen, 1950, 1953; Poplack et al., 1988; Boyd, 1997; Lodhi, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2006; Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009; Mahlangu, 2016, among others).

Evidence from previous studies reviewed in this chapter indicated that some words are adapted directly in the host language while some words are adapted through intermediary languages. (cf. Petzell, 2005; Awagana et al., 2009; Mous and Qorro, 2009). The full adaptation of words is a gradual process. The process of adaptation of loanwords does not occur haphazardly, in a non-systematic way. A loanword may pass through a code-switching stage and then be fully nativized as it is used by speakers as part the lexicon of their language (cf. Lodhi, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2006). It was stated that English has donated many words to different languages, followed by Arabic. Swahili as a lingua franca in Eastern and Central Africa has donated a number of words in different African languages. It was pointed out that English, for example, has borrowed the words *safari* ‘journey’ and *panga* ‘matchette’ from Swahili although the inherent words for *safari* and *panga* exist in English (cf. Lodhi, 2000; TUKI, 2006; Mous and Qorro, 2009; Schadeberg, 2009; Hornby, 2015). The view emerges from previous studies that the semantic fields relating to the modern world have a considerable number of loanwords in languages compared to the semantic fields of kinship, animal and body parts, which have a lesser rate of borrowability since every speech community has inherent words to denote body parts (cf. Haugen, 1950; Murray, 1996; Crowley, 1998; Schadeberg, 2009; Mapunda and Rosendal, 2015, among others).

The next chapter examines loan nouns in the Sukuma Determiner Phrase, focusing on the ways loan nouns in the DP exhibit various lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties when borrowed to Sukuma, compared to inherent (native) nouns, that is, non-loan nouns.

CHAPTER FOUR

LOAN NOUNS IN THE SUKUMA DETERMINER PHRASE

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, various linguistic viewpoints concerning the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of loan nouns, in general, have been introduced. This was done for providing the basis for data analysis and discussion of loan nouns in the current chapter, chapter four, and in chapter five. In chapter three, from the overview of various studies on loan nouns conducted from both typological and generative linguistic perspectives, respectively, several issues have emerged. The view emerged that the phenomenon of lexical borrowing is a universal issue and that loan nouns in the world's languages need adaptation processes to conform to the grammatical system of the host languages. Furthermore, it is evident from the previous studies that nouns are borrowed more readily than other lexical items, and that borrowing especially occurs in respect to new semantic fields, such as technology. Due to multicultural contact, indirect borrowing has been noted to occur in some languages. Previous studies pointed out that lexical borrowing does not occur haphazardly, but that it is a gradual process. All these issues, and some new ones are explored and related to the findings of the current study. The major goal of the analysis presented in this chapter is to address the following questions with regard to English loan nouns in Sukuma.

(i) Do English loan nouns exhibit similar properties to non-loan nouns, that is, inherent Sukuma nouns?

(ii) To what extent do English loan nouns in the DP domain exhibit lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties characteristic of Sukuma?

(iii) What are the morpho-syntactic properties that characterise the adaptation of English loan nouns?

This chapter is organized in the following manner. Section 4.2 examines the morphological structure of the determiner phrase in articled languages, drawing examples from English. Section 4.3 examines the notion of the cultural-related influences on loan nouns. In this section, various English loan nouns are discussed in relation to cultural senses with which they are associated in the source language. A number of different semantic fields are identified which host English loan nouns in Sukuma to varying degrees. Section 4.3 explores phonological sound properties that appear in loan nouns which are subject to phonological repair to conform to the Sukuma phonemic system. The next section, section 4.5 is one of the two central focus sections of the chapter. This section examines the lexical-semantic features of the English loan nouns in the DP, exploring more specifically the properties of these English loan nouns in Sukuma. The section discusses semantic properties of broadening, narrowing, shift and semantic retention of loan nouns. The morpho-syntactic properties of English loan nouns are examined in section 4.6. In this section, the distribution of English loan nouns in the Sukuma noun class system is discussed. In addition, various derivational processes are discussed, including reference to the derivational suffixes of English loan nouns. Section 4.7 examines the lexical-semantic properties of compound nouns in Sukuma with an English origin. In this section, different types of compound nouns are examined. Section 4.8 discusses views from the typological approaches to English loan nouns in Sukuma. In this section, various structural patterns of English loan nouns in Sukuma are discussed. A cross-linguistic comparison of selected African languages is presented for tracing the similarities and differences among languages. Section 4.9 presents an analysis of the properties of English loan nouns in Sukuma, from a generative perspective. Section 4.10 presents the summary of the chapter.

4.2 The morpho-syntax of the Determiner Phrase (DP)

In the initial stages of generative syntax, the noun (N) has been assumed to occur as the head of a noun phrase by various scholars. In that case, the linguistic expressions that occur at the prenominal position were regarded as nominal specifiers (cf. Jackendoff, 1972; 1977). Scholars (cf. Abney, 1987, Szabolcsi, 1987, 1989, 1994; Bernstein, 1993; Longobardi, 1994; Alexiadou et al., 2007, among others) explored the DP hypothesis, which posits that it is the determiner that selects the nominal head as its complement, thus it occurs as head in the DP projection (cf. Katamba, 2006:6; Asiimwe, 2014). The head of a DP projection can be either a full content word or a functional category. Languages exhibit different DP structures depending on their affiliations. Some languages, such as English have articles, and other languages, such as the Bantu languages, do not have specific determiners like in English articles (cf. De Dedreu, 2008; Asiimwe, 2014). Such languages have the pre-prefix as the head in the DP projection. The general structure for articled languages such as English is shown in Figures 6 and 7 below.

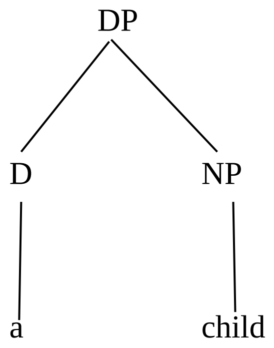


Figure 4: The English DP

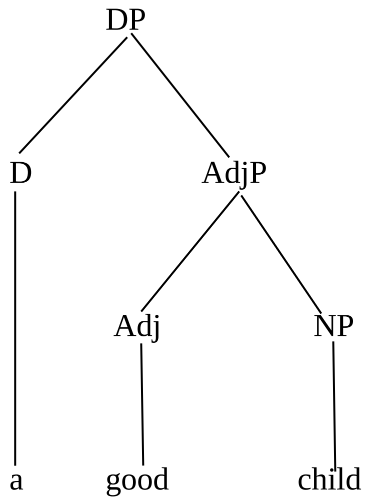


Figure 5: The English DP structure

In figure (6) above, the determiner phrase ‘a child’ is composed of an article ‘*a*’ and the noun ‘child’. The head of the projection of the DP is the article ‘*a*’. In other words, the position of the NP ‘child’ is bound by D ‘A’ since the determiner ‘*a*’ is linked to the noun ‘child’ (cf. Oswa, 2000). The article ‘*a*’ in Figure (7) above occurs as the head of the projection. The twin sister of the head of projection ‘*a*’, that is Adjectival phrase *AdjP* yields two more twin sisters, an adjective ‘good’ and a noun ‘child’. The adjective ‘good’ bears attributive characteristics to the head noun ‘child’, which assumes the role of the semantic content of the projection.

4.2.1 General properties of English loan nouns in the Sukuma DP

It was pointed out in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.1), that the structure of the Sukuma nominal morphology consists of three elements, namely the augment, also referred to as the pre-prefix or initial vowel, the noun class prefix and the noun stem. The occurrence of the pre-prefix in the noun morphology is compulsory in some environments, but it is optional or restricted in some other environments depending on the constraints of the syntactic properties of the language. English and Sukuma differ in the sense that the former is an articled language while the latter does not have articles similar to English. It can be argued that the pre-prefix assumes the role of a determiner (cf. Visser, 2008; Asiimwe, 2014), in that it functions as the head of the determiner phrase in the Sukuma DP projection.

In figure 4.1 above, the structure of the DP projection in English is illustrated. The structure illustrated in the figure, however, demonstrates that English and Sukuma have different DP projection structures. A noun in Sukuma needs to obey the DP projection structure of the host language. This involves, among other morpho-syntactic features, the occurrence of the pre-prefix as the head of the DP projection.

However, before discussing the general features of English loan nouns in the DP, it is in order to present an overview of the types of English loan nouns borrowed in Sukuma and some of the different facets of cultural influence, they convey in the host language. Thus, the investigation of the morpho-syntactic properties of English loan nouns in Sukuma is presented in section 4.5.

4.3 Lexical borrowing and culture-related influences

The history of language contact and spread is said to be as old as the human history (Bwenge, 2012). Of particular interest to this study is the contact and spread of lexical items between English and Swahili, and other ethnic community languages, specifically Sukuma in Tanzania. As mentioned in chapter three, apart from other linguistic cultures, as pointed out by Bwenge (2012), lexical borrowing involves the transfer of words denoting cultural items and concepts, which include borrowings denoting people’s behaviour, artefacts and beliefs. Such cultural items and concepts can be tangible and intangible ones and they constitute defining factors for a particular group of people sharing the same values, norms, customs, mores, organisations, institutions, technologies, tools and products (Iribemwangi, 2013:2).

Through lexical borrowing of words from English into Sukuma, it is possible to identify some concepts of English culture that have been transferred into Sukuma. Such borrowed words and concepts are reformed and thus incorporated as conforming to Sukuma cultural norms, as Iribemwangi asserts;

> “When there is cultural borrowing there is always the likelihood that the associated words may be borrowed too [and the inverse of this is also true that] when there is lexicon borrowing (resulting from language contact) there is always the likelihood that the associated cultural practices and values may be borrowed too” (Iribemwangi, 2013:2).

4.3.1 Types of borrowed loan nouns

Tangible culture refers to cultural aspects, which include cultural heritage items, products and other objects. As Iribemwangi (2013) points out, it contains various cultural items that can be stored and physically touched. This includes utensils such as water vessels, transport means such as cars and aeroplanes, and public monuments such as temples. In brief, English loan nouns that denote tangible cultural items and entities are classified according to different semantic fields such as education, transportation mechanisms, title and careers, counting and numbers, sports and games, clothes, school equipment, home environment, food, beverages, fruits, home utensils, animals both domestic and wild animals, and military ornaments. Intangible transfer, on the other hand, involves ideas, concepts and phenomena not vividly seen but which can be perceived. The following section examines considerations relating to how various tangible and intangible English loan nouns are adapted in Sukuma in different semantic fields.

4.3.2.1 Nouns denoting educational terms

Education in Tanzania can be traced back to the time before the arrival of the foreigners, including Europeans. In Tanzania, the Sukuma community traditionally observed norms of passing knowledge and skills from one generation to another. There were no schools or classrooms where teachers could teach the students. The kind of education was informal, practical in nature and such informal education was offered with the consideration of age and gender. Youths learnt different cultural traditions and customs of their ancestors (cf. Smith, 1988; Kinuthia, 2009; Ndege, 2009; Ojimbo, 2009). The introduction of formal education in which trained teachers were appointed to teach a specialized curriculum in the classroom to students resulted in the introduction of a number of foreign words into the Sukuma lexicon. Since the Sukuma speakers had no inherent (i.e. native) words for naming the newly introduced entities, they were obliged to adapt the names for concepts and entities, which denoted such new entities in the foreign language, especially from English, by making some modifications that made these lexical items part of the Sukuma lexicon. The following examples illustrate the introduction of English loan nouns in Sukuma in the field of education.

(1)

Loanword		
ɪpeeni	<Swahili (peni)	'pen'
ɪchaaki	<Swahili (chaki)	'chalk'
ʊtiicha	<Swahili (ticha)	'teacher'
ɪpeepa	<Swahili (pepa)	'paper'
ɪyuunifom	<Swahili (yunifomu)	'uniform'

It is evident from the examples above that the Sukuma speaking community had no inherent words for denoting *tiicha* 'teacher' or *yuunifom* 'uniform' given that earlier there were no formal teachers involved in teaching since imparting skills, given that knowledge transfer was the responsibility of the whole community. No word existed for '*yuunifom*' 'uniform' either because the teaching was done everywhere in the community by everyone thus there were no specific places that needed students to have a *yuunifom*. Examining the comparative analysis of loan nouns in the three Bantu languages, Lusekelo (2013) acknowledges the existence of Swahili loan nouns in Runyambo, Ciruuri and Cigogo dominate the field of education, likely because the three languages have no inherent lexical items that could well capture the lexical-semantic characteristics of the borrowed words.

4.3.2.2 Nouns denoting transportation

English loan nouns that denote transportation generally occur in African languages, particularly in Sukuma. This is the results of the contact between English and Sukuma. Before the contact, Africans, including Sukuma speakers, in that case, travelled long distances looking for food, and doing barter trade. The major means of travel was by foot. Nevertheless, during and after the contact with foreigners, many words relating to transportation were adapted in the host language. Examples of borrowed words from English into Sukuma, either directly, or via Swahili, include the following.

(2)	Loanword		
	ɪbaasi	<Swahili (basi)	‘bus’
	ɪβasikeeli	<Swahuli (baiskeli)	‘bicycle’
	ɪmaadigaadi		‘mudguard’
	ɪmoodoka		‘motorcar’
	ɪteleeni	<Swahili (treni)	‘train’

The newly introduced loan nouns had no native equivalents in Sukuma although some of the transport vehicles have been given new names in accordance with the way they operate. For example, *ɪteleeni* ‘train’ is also given two other names relating to its appearance. First, a train now is called ‘*lɪmagʊlʊ igaanda’* to denote ‘many iron tires’ and the second name given to a train is *‘lyachumba igana’* to refer to “many coaches”, characteristic of a train. The older generation of Sukuma speakers do not use the loan noun *ɪβasikeeli* ‘bicycle’. They use the word *ʊmpilya* ‘rubber’, to refer to ‘bicycle’ probably for the reason that bicycle tires are made of rubber materials.

4.3.2.3 Nouns denoting professional names

The contact of English with other African languages, in particular, Sukuma, introduced a number of loan nouns denoting professional names which did not exist before. Since the recipient language, Sukuma speakers had no equivalent inherent words for the newly introduced careers, thus they adapted them, making some modifications to suit the Sukuma grammatical system of the language. Some of the loan nouns denoting professional positions introduced to Sukuma are illustrated in the following examples.

(3)	Loanword	
	ʊmeeneja	‘manager’
	ʊdoogita	‘doctor’
	ʊpoolisi	‘police officer’
	insipekita	‘inspector’
	ʊdeleva	‘driver’

From the examples above, it is evident that the newly introduced loan nouns contributed considerably to the professional names in the Sukuma lexicon. However, some inherent (native) nouns denoting professional positions were near equivalents for the loan nouns which were used by Sukuma speakers. For example, before the introduction of the word *ʊdoogita* ‘doctor’, the Sukuma word *nfumu* was used. The word *nfumu*, however, denotes more than one sense. First, it refers to a traditional healer and secondly, it refers to a person practising witchcraft, someone who uses magic to harm other people. In order to disambiguate *nfumu'*, the Sukuma speakers were obliged to adopt the loan noun *ʊdoogita* ‘doctor’, thus the word *nfumu* remained being used for the other sense of traditional healing. A similar observation obtains for the loan noun ‘inspector’ and ‘police officer’, which both denote security staff. However, before they were introduced in the language, Sukuma speakers had an alternative word for security. The word *aβashilikale* was used to refer to ‘security men’. This noun does not specify the ranks in the security system, as is specified with the use of borrowed words such as ‘Police Officer’ and ‘Inspector’. Findings of this nature are reported by several other Bantuists (cf. Rugemalira, 2005; 2006; Muzale, 2006; Lusekelo, 2013).

4.3.2.4 Nouns denoting counting and numbers

Counting and numbers are two semantic fields on which English loan nouns had limited effect. Sukuma speakers have traditional ways of counting for both cardinal and ordinal numbers. However, a few English numbers are borrowed and adapted in Sukuma, which do not have inherent counterparts in the Sukuma numeral system. When the Europeans came to Tanzania, they introduced their currency in terms of cents. Terms used for different amounts of cents ranging from 5 (five cents) to 50 (fifty cents). The Sukuma speakers generalized *seende* ‘cents’ to refer to all the kinds of currencies. In order to specify a certain amount of cents, Sukuma speakers could borrow terms for the required amount of money from Swahili, which had coined local names for cents, apart from *seende* ‘cent’.

4.3.2.5 Nouns denoting sports and games

In Sukuma, as generally in African languages, inherent lexical words were used for denoting terms in various sports and games before the contact with foreign languages, particularly English. These lexical items could denote different kinds of sports and games such as traditional dances, wrestling, and telling funny jokes. However, the introduction of new types of sports and games contributed to the introduction of new words to express new phenomena in sports and games. The following examples below illustrate these terms.

(4)

Loan noun	
ɪsoka	'soccer'
ʊgoolikipa	'goalkeeper'
ɪfuutibooli	'football'
ʊdifenda	'defender'
ɪpeenati	'penalty'
ɪgoofu	'golf'

The examples illustrated in (4) above were borrowed to the Sukuma from English lexicon. The words that are associated with these sports and games give evidence of this. For example, a golf game has several terms associated with it which were not available in the traditional games of the Sukuma people.

4.3.2.6 Nouns denoting clothes

Nouns denoting clothes have been noted to have a relatively extensive corpus of borrowed lexical items from English into Sukuma. The past colonialism and recent globalisation have contributed to the extension of foreign words in many languages, including Sukuma. The types of clothes people wear in Europe are currently the same as that being worn by many people in African speaking communities and elsewhere in the world. This modern clothing terminology is also evident among Sukuma where clothing items such as trousers, mini-skirts, high heeled shoes are in fashion, especially with women. Prior to the arrival of Western influence, the Sukuma community had a traditional style of dressing, *kaniki* being the common dress code. The following examples illustrate the newly introduced nouns denoting clothes.

(5)

Loanword	inherent noun	
ɪsuuti	*ɪngwaanda*	'suit'
ɪtiisheeti	*ɪngwaanda*	't-shirt'
ɪshaati	*ɪngwaanda*	'shirt'
ɪtulauza	*ɪmbutʊla*	'trousers'
andasigeeti	*ɪsigeeti*	'underskirt'
ɪminisigeeti	*ɪsigeeti*	'miniskirt'

The above examples denote that Sukuma speakers had only one name for any cloth worn on top, namely *ɪngwaanda*. However, the contact, with foreigners led to the introduction of varieties of names to refer to cloth wore on top. Both a pair of trousers and a pair of shorts were equally referred to as *ɪmbutʊla*. All types of skirts, such as underskirt, miniskirts, and skirts were viewed equally as *skirts*. Similar findings have been made by typology linguists (cf. Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009; Mous and Qorro, 2009; Schadeberg, 2009; Iribemwangi, 2013; Asheli, 2015; Mahlangu, 2016, among others) who point out that the introduction of colonial views and lifestyle supported by globalization contributed to the expansion of English language terms in Sukuma, like in many African languages.

4.3.2.7 Nouns denoting school equipment

Scholars generally maintain that the introduction of formal schools during the colonial era contributed to the introduction of a number of words denoting different entities used in the teaching-learning processes (cf. Mous and Qorro, 2009). Such newly introduced words ranged from terms used in primary school to college and university context although few colleges and universities existed. These loan nouns brought European cultural values into Tanzania, particularly in the Sukuma speaking community. The following examples illustrate loan nouns denoting school equipment.

(6)

Loanword		
chaaki	<Swahili (chaki)	‘chalk’
ɪdeegisi		‘desk’
daasta	<Swahili (dasta)	‘dust’
bulaakiboodi		‘blackboard’

From the above examples, it is evident that prior to Western influence, words such as ‘blackboard’ and ‘desk’ were not included in the Sukuma lexicon. In informal education, the elders in Sukuma society employed a practical method to pass skills and knowledge from one generation to another. For example, children were taught good manners by positive motivation, such as rewarding them when they behaved well, and by negative motivation, that is, punishing them whenever they misbehaved according to the social morals and norms of the Sukuma society. Words such as ‘blackboard’ and ‘desk’ were introduced in the Sukuma community in response to loan nouns through formal teaching-learning practices in which professional teachers teach students who wear school uniforms in the location of the classroom (cf. Smith, 1988; Iribemwangi, 2013). Most of the loan nouns are borrowed in Sukuma from English via Swahili. Similar findings have been reported by other scholars (cf. 2006; Kahigi, 2005, Mous and Qorro, 2009; Lusekelo, 2013; among others) relating to the view that Swahili has made an extensive contribution to loanword lexical items in different African languages.

4.3.2.8 Nouns denoting food and beverages

Before the contact between the Europeans and Africans, including Sukuma speakers, the main food of the Sukuma native speaker community consisted of porridge, as they were good agriculturalists, growing millet, sorghum and potatoes. These food crops were also used to brew traditional beer like *kindi*, *kangara* and *komoni*. In addition, fruits were available abundantly in the forest. The arrival of the Europeans in Tanzania, particularly in Sukumaland, led to an increase of foreign words denoting food and drinks in the Sukuma lexicon. They brought with them different types of food, drinks and fruits, each with different names of which many were new to Sukuma speakers. The following examples illustrate these newly introduced loan nouns denoting food.

(7)	Food			Drinks	
	ɪchokoleeti	<Swahili (chokoleti)	‘chocolate’	*biya*	‘beer’
	ɪkalooti	<Swahili (karoti)	‘carrot’	*waini*	‘wine’
	painepo	<Swahili (painepo)	‘pineapple’	*juyisi*	‘juice’

From the examples above, it can be deduced that the newly borrowed nouns, though limited, are the result of the socio-economic influences. Currently, the local beers, such as *kindi* and *kangala*, are no longer consumed by most of the people in Sukuma community, given that now people consume modern drinks such as beer and wine, products made at various production breweries and distillers in Tanzania. Some elderly people however still consume traditionally made beer. The examples of loan nouns in (7) above are borrowed in Sukuma from English via Swahili, although they are also modified morpho-syntactically to suit the linguistic structures of Sukuma. As discussed in chapter two, indirect borrowing is not a new phenomenon in linguistic field. Many languages are reported to borrow words from many prestigious languages via intermediate languages. For example, Chindali (Swilla, 2000) and Iraqw (Mous and Qorro, 2009) are two Bantu languages reported to borrow English words via Swahili. Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) demonstrate that South Ngoni’s lexicon is highly influenced by English words borrowed through Swahili. Other Bantu languages reported to borrow English words via Swahili are Runyambo, Ciruuri and Cigogo in Tanzania (Lusekelo, 2013).

4.3.2.9 Nouns denoting home utensils

A large corpus of loan nouns occurs in the semantic field of utensils, denoting a wide range of tools people use to perform different functions at home in day-to-day activities in Sukuma. The result of the contact between Europeans and the Africans resulted in the introduction of utensils for use in homes and workplaces. The Sukuma's current lexicon is influenced by new modern utensils that never existed before. Below are examples of these newly introduced utensils.

(8)

Loan noun	
hotipooti	'hotpot'
soofa	'sofa'
filiiji <Swahili (friji)	'refrigerator'
naayifu	'knife'
gilaasi <Swahili (glasi)	'glass'

Loan nouns, such as the above examples support the view that before the contact with the outsiders, Sukuma people used indigenous home utensils for different functions and purposes such as utensils for storing water, cooking, sitting on, and sleeping in. For example, they used various kinds of pots such as *nengelo,* a special pot for brewing traditional beer, *lʊzoga* for keeping drinking water, *lʊβɪga* for cooking vegetables, *fugo* for cooking porridge, and *lʊkalangwa* for cooking oily or greasy food such as meat or fish. Nevertheless, the introduction of the *hotipooti* 'hot pot', a kind of vessel in which cooked food is kept to keep it warm for later consumption, replaced all the kinds of traditional pots in Sukuma community, particularly in the remote areas, where people do not have access to electricity. Likewise, the introduction of *gilaasi* 'glass' in Sukuma speaking community resulted in the introduction of several loan nouns as lexical substitutions to some inherent Sukuma nouns. Before their contact with the foreigners, Sukuma people used to drink water by using *ikulu* 'calabash', *nhʊʊnda* for drinking milk and *suha* for honey. The terms for all these inherent lexical items have been replaced by *gilaasi* 'glass', the loan noun denoting an object, which is used multipurposely. Similar views have been stated by Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) that the lexicon of the South Ngoni has been considerably influenced by loan nouns which replaced the inherent words.

4.3.2.10 Nouns denoting animals

Scholars, (cf. Tadmor, 2009; Iribemwangi, 2013) argue that animals common to human societies are universal, that each speech community has inherent (native) words to refer to animals. Hence, it is generally not necessary for a particular speech community to borrow some terms for which it has the native words. In this regard, a similar situation obtains for Sukuma. Most of the terms referring to domestic and wild animals are native words. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that most animals live in the same environment of the speakers' community. However, a few foreign animal names are borrowed in Sukuma for different communicative purposes, as illustrated by the following examples.

(9)

Loan noun	inherent noun	
ɪdoonkei	*ɪnzoβe*	'donkey'
ɪhaaina	*ɪmbiti*	'hyena'
ɪtaaiga	*ɪsʊβɪ*	'tiger'
elofaanti	*ɪmhʊlɪ*	'elephant'
kobula	*ɪjipalanoonga*	'cobra'

Considering the examples above, it is evident that Sukuma has inherent words referring to kinds of animals indicated in the examples in (9). Thus, there was no need for such names to be borrowed by the language. However, as pointed above, such names are borrowed for fulfilling specific communicative needs and attributions according to the characteristic behaviour of each animal. For example, *ɪdoonkei* 'donkey' and *ɪhaaina* 'hyena' have the inherent (native) counterparts *ɪnzoβe* and *ɪmbiti,* respectively in Sukuma, but they are borrowed only when a Sukuma speaker, especially young speakers, want to embarrass someone who demonstrates the qualities or attributes of either a donkey or hyena. These names denote negative connotations. However, Sukuma speakers normally use the available inherent words in their normal daily conversations. Likewise, the word *elofaanti* 'elephant' is used to denote 'a very big/huge person', just like the body of an elephant. The inherent noun *ɪmhʊlɪ* is used normally to refer to an elephant. In Sukuma, *ɪjipalanonga* 'cobra' refers to a dangerous snake that can eat a snail without breaking its shell. Such a snake is considered dangerous, thus, the name *ɪkoobula* 'cobra' is borrowed to refer to merciless people in the society. Furthermore, personal names with foreign origin are currently given to domestic animals, particularly to the family pets. Such animals with personal names are given respect and tend to be treated well as other members of the family. However, borrowing of words referring to natural phenomena, such as trees and animals is very limited, and if it happens, it is done by young people whose language proficiency is relatively affected by intercultural influence (cf. Tadmor, 2009:64).

4.3.2.11 Nouns denoting military weapons

Terms in the semantic field of military weapons refer to the armoury and military equipment which a country may have for security purposes (Hornby, 2015). The weapons were introduced by the European countries in different parts of Africa, including Tanzania. Traditionally, before the contact with the foreigners, the Sukuma had weapons that were used for hunting. For example, they used a bow and arrows, spears, clubs and other traps for both hunting and for security purposes. During colonialism and currently, globalisation, new terms referring to modern military equipment were introduced to replace the traditional terms. Examples of terms denoting the newly introduced military equipment include the following.

(10)	Loan noun	
	mashiinegaani (9/10)	‘machine gun’
	piisito (9/10)	‘pistol’
	ılibomu (5)	‘bomb’
	buuleti (9/10)	‘bullet’

The loan nouns denoting weapons in the examples above were likely introduced by discoverers and traders, and later on by colonialists in the vocabulary of the Sukuma speech community. The examples in (10) above give evidence that Sukuma had no inherent words to express or describe the newly introduced modern military equipment, thus, borrowing was inevitable. However, the terms for these military equipment were modified morpho-phonologically to conform to the language system of Sukuma. In addition, the borrowed nouns were grouped into noun classes according to their semantic properties and noun class prefixes. For example, *ılibom* ‘bomb’ is assigned to class 5 as it bears -li- morpheme, which is a singular noun class prefix for class 5 in Sukuma. The borrowed nouns which do not have noun class prefixes are assigned to the default noun classes, which are classes 5 and 6, and 9 and 10 in Sukuma. Similar findings have been made by Schadeberg (2009:84) in regard to the spread of terms denoting modern entities in most East and Central African countries, stimulated by the caravan trade which had an impact of long-distance trade

4.3.2.12 Nouns denoting religion and beliefs

The major religions, which contributed greatly to the expansion of the Sukuma lexicon, are Christianity and Islam. Influence of the latter is not considered since the current study is concerned with English loan nouns, not Islamic loan nouns, which are regarded as borrowed from Arabic. Before the arrival of the missionaries, African people had worshipped ‘gods’ whom they believed could solve their problems. After the arrival of the missionaries from European countries, new religious nouns denoting new concepts were introduced in many African languages, including Sukuma. Consider the following examples in (11).

(11)

Loanword	
ʊpapa (1)	< ‘pope’
ʊpaadili (1)	< ‘padre’
saakalamenti (9/10)	< ‘sacrament’
divaai (9/10)	< ‘devine’
ʊkatekisita (1)	< ‘catechist’

From the examples in (11) above, it is evident that a number of religious loan nouns entered in the Sukuma lexicon and that these nouns denote entities in a variety of semantic fields such as food, drinks, and professional positions. For example, the term *ʊpapa* ‘pope’ denotes a person who is a leader of the Catholic Church whose headquarters is in Rome in Italy and who is also the Bishop of Rome. Furthermore, the loan noun *ɪsaakalament* ‘sacrament’ denotes, among other things, the bread and wine eaten and drank when the Roman Catholic members celebrate the communion. All these loan nouns have no inherent corresponding to Sukuma, thus, they were borrowed to fill the lexical gap in the host language. Morpho-syntactically, and semantically, nouns borrowed into Sukuma occur into different noun classes according to their meanings and noun class prefixes. For example, the noun *ʊpaadili* ‘Padre’ and *ʊkatekiisita* ‘catechist’ denote humans, thus, they occur in noun class 1, and noun class 2, respectively, with the noun class prefix -*βa*- as in the noun *aβapaadili* ‘Padres’ and *aβakatekiisita* ‘catechists’ to denote plurality. The noun *saakalament* ‘sacrament’ and *divaai* ‘wine’ lack noun class prefixes, thus, occurring in classes 9 and 10 which are default classes in Sukuma. The reason for the introduction of loan nouns from the semantic field of religions, such as Christian can be attributed to the fact that Sukuma speakers had no inherent counterparts for these terms existed in their language (cf. Tadmor, 2009: 64-65).

4.3.2.13 Nouns denoting entertainment

Forms of entertainment in Sukuma culture were present even before colonialization of African countries by the Europeans. The Sukuma culture includes traditional dances called *mbina* to refer to ‘drum dance’. In these kinds of traditional dances, men dance vigorously, stamping their feet, twisting their shoulders and jumping up rhythmically while the women show off their dancing skills by moving their hips and pelvis erotically at the same time twisting their waists before the spectators. However, the dances are dominated by men and normally these performancestake place to celebrate a certain event, such as marriage, burial ceremonies and many other cultural rituals. Most of the performances take place after the harvesting periods, the time everybody is free from agricultural activities. During and after colonialism, and in the present era of globalisation, many types of modern entertainment were introduced. The newly introduced entertainment resulted in the introduction of new terms in the Sukuma lexicon, as exemplified in (12).

(12)	Loanword		source language
	ɪkilaabu	‘club’	<Swahili (klabu)
	ɪseneema	‘cinema’	<Swahili (sinema)
	ɪvideeyo	‘video’	<Swahili (video)
	ɪmuuvi	‘movie’	<Swahili (muvi)

The arrival of the European in Africa led to the replacement of the African traditional dances and other kinds of indigenous entertainment that prevailed earlier. For example, instead of the Sukuma dancing in an open space in front of spectators, the Europeans introduced clubs to which people, particularly young people, go to listen to music, dance, and smoke, and drink activities that, in most cases, occur at night in a special building. Since Sukuma had no inherent lexical item to express the concept of the club, the loan noun *ɪkilaabu* ‘club’ was modified to suit the Sukuma morphophonological system. Some nouns are borrowed into Sukuma to denote various concepts related to entertainment. Nouns such as *ɪbesideei* ‘birthday’, *ɪkichenipaati* ‘kitchen part’ and *ɪsendoofu* ‘send-off’ were not used before Western Contact, but they are widely used now within Sukuma-speaking community. For example, the noun *besideei* ‘birthday’ was borrowed because of lack of an inherent, i.e. native, Sukuma word that expresses the concept of celebrating the day/date a person was born, which traditionally was not celebrated in the Sukuma-speaking community. It is for this reason that many of elderly Sukuma people do not know the year in which they were born, rather they associate their birthdate with events such as ‘during the war’ or some natural calamities, such as hunger and flood. Furthermore, the Sukuma people had their traditional ways of mentoring the brides before marriage and this was done by the aunts of a concerned bride. The loan noun *ɪkichenipaati* ‘kitchen part’ was adapted to express this concept.

4.3.2.14 Nouns denoting proper nouns (names)

Proper nouns denote identity in the naming of people, places, institutions, among other entities. In many African languages, words express various culture-related terms, such as traditions and customs, and the common history and experiences of people. Historically, there have been different ways of naming children in Africa. Before colonialism and globalization, African people generally had culture-related practices in naming children, pertaining to spirituality, burial rites, and other natural phenomena. For example, the Sukuma names such as *Ng'waanza, Nkwiimba, Ngolo*, among others refer to the mothers who are viewed as the foundation in Sukuma. Names such as *Maβula, Mayala, βʊlʊgʊ*, *Masheeneenhe*, among others are meaningful names denoting various natural events in the cultural history of the Sukuma people. The introduction of the new culture from the European countries resulted in the introduction of new names in Sukuma, including the following.

(13)	*Keenedi*	'Kennedy'	<English proper name for male
	Wilyamsoni	'Williamson'	<English proper name for male
	Eduwaadi	'Edward'	<English proper name for male
	Joyisi	'Joyce'	<English proper name for female
	Vaneesa	'Vanessa'	<English proper name for female

The examples of proper names in (13) above occur in the Sukuma lexicon as a result of the missionaries who come in Africa to spread religion. They met with the Sukuma people who had their names. Their preaching required the Sukuma people to be baptized and hence given new names, like those illustrated in (13) above. These new names were meaningless to Sukuma people and implicitly praised the former apostles as described in the Holy Bible. Names such as *Maxwell, Johnstone*, *Vanesa*, *Jerome, Junior, Susan*, among others were introduced, and this naming practice caused Sukuma speakers to abandon inherent Sukuma names, as they considered them not modern. Currently, it is common for many Sukuma people to have only one Christian/English name. Similar observations have been pointed out by Guma (2001) in regard to the arrival of Christianity in Basotho society which led to the elimination of initiation ceremonies, which represented the traditional way of naming processes among the Basotho, where initiation was assumed as a precondition to adulthood and personhood. Guma states that many people were converted to Christianity and the only ritual that assumed the qualification for one being a convert was baptism. The current study acknowledges that culture is dynamic. Thus, a language which includes words denoting various cultural concepts and entities changes as it continues to interact with other languages from different cultures, as Nettle and Romaine (cf. Nettle & Romaine, 2000:50-57) argue.

4.4 Phonological properties of English loan nouns

Although the focus of this study concerns the lexical-semantic and the morpho-syntactic characteristics of English loan nouns in Sukuma both, directly and indirectly via Swahili, a discussion of how loan nouns in Sukuma are phonologically adapted through various phonological processes is in order (cf. Joseph, 2012). Sukuma, as stated in chapter two (cf. section 2.2.1), has seven contrastive vowels, extending the number to fourteen vowels (Batibo, 2005; Joseph, 2012). English has twenty-four vowels (Crystal, 1997). This addresses some of the potential phonological mechanisms that occur in Sukuma in the process of adaptation of loan nouns.

4.4.1 Vowel epenthesis

Vowel epenthesis involves the insertion of a vowel between two consonants or after a consonant in a syllable-final position (cf. Crystal, 1997:45). The inserted vowel segments are underspecified and the quality of the vowel inserted normally depends on the predominance of the adjacent segments in the assimilation process (Batibo, 2005; Joseph, 2012). English allows consonant clusters whilst Sukuma does not. English loan nouns with consonant clustersin the Sukuma phonological environment are adapted through vowel epenthesis to conform to the acceptable Sukuma phonology. The following examples demonstrate this process.

(14)	/kæptɪn/ > */kapute:ni/*	'captain'
	/stɪk/ > */sitiki/*	'stick'
	/ˈstraɪkə(r)/ > */sitilayika/*	'striker'
	/ˈlæptɒp/ > */laputo:pu/*	'laptop'

The epenthetic vowels [u] and [i] in the examples above demonstrate that the consonants that they precede, that is /p/ and /s/, cannot function on their own, rather they need vowels since only vowels can function as syllables in Sukuma. From the above examples, the closed English syllable CVC changes to an open Sukuma syllable CV given that the epenthetic vowel [u] and [i] are inserted between consonant clusters in order to satisfy the permissible Sukuma syllable structure, a process which is called resyllabification (cf. Batibo 1985, 2002; John, 2000:45; Zivenge, 2005:40; Joseph, 2012).

4.4.2 Sound deletion

This is a phonological process in which some sound segments or syllables are dropped or deleted from a word. The findings show that some sound segments of the borrowed English nouns that form sequences, which violate the constraints of Sukuma, are deleted when they are adapted to Sukuma phonology.

(15) /ˈhelɪkɑːptər/ > */lʊko:pita/* ‘helicopter’
/ˈhɑːspɪtl/ > */siβita:li/* ‘hospital’

4.4.3 Glide insertion

Glide insertion is a phonological process in which glides or semivowels are inserted to break the complex peaks to simple peak (Batibo, 2002). The findings demonstrate that sometimes, English borrowed nouns are adapted in Sukuma by the insertion of glides /y/ and /w/ between the vowel clusters in order to break the vowel sequence (Joseph, 2012). Consider the following examples in (16)

(16) /faʊl/ > */fawulo/* ‘foul’
/faɪl/ > */fayili/* ‘file’
/fɔɪl/ > */foyili/* ‘foil’

In the examples above, the input sounds /faʊl/ and /faɪl/ have complex peaks as demonstrated by [aʊ] and [aɪ] respectively. This is not permissible in Sukuma, thus, the semivowels [w] and [y] are inserted between sequences of vowels and this breaks the peaks /aʊ/ and /aɪ/ to simple peaks /wʊ/ and /yi/ respectively, which is permissible in Sukuma. Glide insertion process can also be employed by suffixation of the vowels /o/ and /i/ in the examples above since Sukuma does not allow coda consonants at the end of the syllable (Batibo, 1985; 2002).

4.4.4 Sound mutation

Sound mutation involves nouns with English origin borrowed into Sukuma through Swahili. This process entails the loss of a segment at the end of a word. In Sukuma, the high back vowel /u/ preceded by a bilabial nasal /m/ is silent when it occurs word-finally.

(17) /drʌm/ > /dramu/ (<Swahili) > */dula:m/*
/ˈkɑːləm/ > /kolamu/ (<Swahili) > */kolam/*

Generally, nouns that undergo sound mutation process are borrowed from English into Sukuma lexicon via Swahili. However, the findings by Mnyonge (2011) and the findings made by the current study maintain that borrowing involves the gaining or losing of linguistic features between languages in contact since languages may exhibit different properties in regard to various aspects of the linguistic accommodation of borrowed words. (cf. McMahon, 1994; Zivenge, 2009).

4.4.5 Consonant insertion

English allows the clustering of vowels, which is not the case in Sukuma. The findings of the current study in regard to loan nouns show that English borrowed nouns, with vowel clusters, are adapted to conform to the Sukuma syllable system by the insertion of consonants between the vowels.

(18) /tɔɪlət/ > */toyile:ti/* ‘toilet’

In some instances, consonant insertion does not operate in breaking the cluster of vowels. The findings show that in these circumstances, English borrowed nouns remain intact when borrowed into Sukuma.

(19) /tʃæmpiən/ > */championi/* ‘champion’
/dɪˈfendər/ > */difenda/* ‘defender’

In the above examples, the consonant clusters in *champion* ‘champion’ and *difenda* ‘defender’ are tolerated in Sukuma. This may be attributed to the fact that such sequences of consonants are gradually adapted in the Sukuma phonemic inventory.

4.4.6 Substitutions

Substitution, according to Sapir (1964), entails the replacement of a sound segment with another sound segment in certain linguistic environments in a structure. Although languages have equivalents in their phonemic inventories, some slight differences occur (cf. Sapir, 1964:128). This notion is evident in English and Sukuma in the sense that the two languages share some sound segments while they differ in some other sound segments. From the examples, it is observed that Sukuma lacks some of the consonant phonemes, which are available in English. These are dh /ð/, th /θ/, and r /r/. The findings show that these sounds are replaced by their native equivalent phonemes /z/, /s/, and /l/ respectively, as it is demonstrated in the examples in (20).

(20)	/trænsˈfɔːmə(r)/	>	*/tulansifo:ma/*	‘transformer’	(English /r/ > Sukuma /l/)
	/ˈperɪskəʊp/	>	*/pelisiko:pu/*	‘periscope’	(English /r/ > Sukuma /l/)
	/ˈfɑːðə(r)/	>	*/fa:za/*	‘father’	(English /ð/ > Sukuma /z/

English loan nouns with sound segments that are not recognized in Sukuma are substituted with the nearest available counterparts in Sukuma. For example, the segmented sound /r/ in English is substituted by /l/ while the sound segment /ð/ is substituted by its nearest equivalent sound /z/ in Sukuma, for the reason that the two segment sounds share the point of articulation, that is, they are both alveolar sounds. In that case, the English word /ˈfɑːðə(r)/ becomes /fa:za/ when adapted in Sukuma. However, lengthening of the English words /ˈfɑːðə(r)/ is retained in the Sukuma words /fa:za/. The process of substitution does not occur haphazardly, rather it occurs systematically and the main principle that guides such occurrence is that the two sound segments share similar distinctive features (cf. Batibo, 1985;2002).

4.4.7 Sound assimilation

Sound assimilation is a phonological process, which occurs when one sound influences the articulation of a nearby sound to the extent that the two sounds become similar (Amani, 2010:76). Therefore, two sounds are involved in assimilation process, which are, the assimilating sound and the sound, which causes the changes. The findings show that the bilabial nasal /m/ is assimilated to alveolar nasal /n/ when borrowed from English into Sukuma lexicon. Sound assimilation only occurs when the sound /m/ is at the word-initial position.

(21)	*/ŋkilisitu/*	< Swahili (mkristu)	‘Christian’
	/ŋkatoliki/	< Swahili (mkatoliki)	‘Catholic member’

4.4.8 Monophthongization

Sukuma, like many other Bantu languages, has simple vowels as opposed to English complex vowels, which, apart from monophthongs, include diphthongs and triphthongs. This denotes that English bears both simple and complex vowels and that the latter is realised by the branching rhymes (Batibo, 2002). Thus, the English complex vowels in Sukuma are simplified according to the Sukuma system of simple vowels in loanword adaptation, as illustrated in the following examples.

(22)	/fəʊn/	>	*/foni/*	‘phone’
	/təʊn/	>	*/toni/*	‘tone’

In the above examples, the diphthong /əʊ/ in the English nouns /fəʊn/ and /təʊn/, respectively, are replaced by a monophthong /o/. Similar findings are made by Zivenge (2009:160), who propose that monophthongization is employed to repair complex peaks of loan nouns that are not permissible in Tonga.

4.5 Lexical-semantic properties of English loan nouns

As pointed out in chapter three (cf. section 3.2.3), lexical-semantic characteristics determine how lexical items behave semantically, especially when two languages are into contact. It is a general view that lexical borrowing is a consequence of cultural contact between two language communities. This section addresses issues concerning the lexical-semantic properties of English loan nouns in Sukuma. It is centrally concerned with the question of the extent to which English loan nouns exhibit the same, or similar, semantic properties that non-loan nouns exhibit in Sukuma. It is demonstrated, in this section, that Sukuma speakers borrow lexical items from English due to vocabulary gaps, especially gaps regarding unfamiliar concepts or objects related to new technology, and foreign flora and fauna. The borrowed lexical nouns serve as synonyms of some native words. Furthermore, Sukuma speakers borrow some lexical items for prestigious purposes. These kinds of loan nouns generally duplicate existing native words (Joseph, 2012). When a word is borrowed from English into Sukuma it transfers the source meaning. However, the original meaning is affected in various semantic ways. The available data on Sukuma loan nouns give evidence that some borrowed lexical items undergo semantic broadening, semantic narrowing and semantic shift. In addition, some borrowed lexical items are coined in different ways to bear different views among speakers. Some borrowed compounds and multiword expressions are lexicalized as single lexical items while others undergo segment loss, as examined systematically in the following subsections, with supportive examples.

4.5.1 Semantic broadening

As discussed in chapter three (cf. section 3.2.4.1), semantic broadening involves the expansion of the meaning of a given word to include more senses in a way that such word can be used in different contexts (cf. Bloomfield, 1993; Murray, 1996; Crowley, 1998). The Sukuma data demonstrate that some of the English borrowed words undergo semantic expansion when borrowed into Sukuma and consequently expand their context of use.

Several words have demonstrated semantic broadening when borrowed into Sukuma. One of these borrowed words is *ʊboosi* ‘boss’. This noun in English refers to a person who is in charge of other people at work where he/she instructs them what to do. Adapted in Sukuma, the noun *ʊboosi* ‘boss’ refers to any person who is more well-off economically than the person addressing him/her so. Hence, this loanword denotes any person superior to the one using this term and its meaning is broadened in that it is used in other contexts apart from the working place. A young person, for example, qualifies to be called *ʊboosi* ‘boss’ only if he/she is wealthy or has a high status, even if he/she is not in charge of other people. Generally, people who address such a person as their boss are of lower status, and at some point in time, would ask for economic or material assistance from *ʊboosi* ‘boss’.

The loan noun, *hotipooti* ‘hotpot’ is an example, which exemplifies semantic broadening. According to Hornby (2015), the English word ‘hotpot’ designates two senses. First, it denotes a sort of hot food that is slowly cooked in liquid in an oven, and secondly, it refers to an electric pot for heating food or water. Borrowed in Sukuma, this word obtains an extra semantic feature in Sukuma in that, the word *hotipooti* ‘hotpot’ refers to a vessel that is used to keep food hot. When the food is already cooked, it is put in a *hotipooti* so that even other people who are not present at that particular moment can find the food still hot. This kind of utensil can keep the food hot for a considerable time on its own, without any electrical connection. In most cases, people use this vessel when they want to carry food with them for later consumption, especially in places without microwaves for heating food.

4.5.2 Semantic narrowing

Semantic narrowing occurs when a lexical item, which had several senses, is narrowed to denote fewer or only one sense, different from its former context of use (cf. Murray, 1996; Crowley, 1998). From the Sukuma data collected and analysed, it has emerged that sense narrowing occurs in some English loan nouns borrowed into Sukuma. For example, a ‘yellow card’ may refer to any card that is yellow in colour. When the word *yelokadi* ‘yellow card’ is borrowed in Sukuma, it loses its general sense in denoting a much more specific sense, that is, a card shown by the referee to a player (particularly in sports such as football), indicating that such particular player has been found guilty of bad behaviour or violated the rules and regulations of playing football.

The noun *ɪmashine* ‘machine’ in English refers to a piece of equipment with moving parts that are designed to do a particular task by using power like electricity, steam, gas or human power to perform such a task. In Sukuma, the noun *ɪmashine* ‘machine’ is restricted only to denoting a railway/railway engine pulling a number of coaches or trucks, in taking people and goods from one place to another: train. Diachronically, the loan noun *ɪmashine* ‘machine’ was introduced alongside with the introduction of the train during the colonial period. The train was the only means of transportation for raw materials and staff from the production areas to the manufacturing industries. Thus, Sukuma speakers narrowed the general sense of machine to refer only to a train. This finding contrasts Sote`s (2011) findings on the similar loan noun *ɪmashine* who posits that this loan noun is restricted to the equipment for milling and husking crops only in Shimalɪla. This difference in a sense may be attributed to differences in exposure and lesser contact between the Shimalɪla and the Sukuma communities.

The noun uniform is an English word, which denotes “the special set of clothes worn by all members of an organisation or a group at work, or by children at school” (Hornby, 2015). When the noun is borrowed in Sukuma, its former meaning is narrowed to denote a sense that is much more specific. In Sukuma, the term *yunifoom* ‘uniform’ refers only to clothes worn by students at school. This meaning excludes uniforms worn by other people in different working environments. This sense could be attributed to the speakers’ experience of lack of industries or organizations in their environment where people wear uniforms when performing their duties.

The loan noun for the store is another word exhibiting lexical-semantic properties, similarly to other words discussed above. In English, the word ‘store’ means, “a large shop that sells many different types of goods” (Hornby, 2015). However, when the word ‘store’ is borrowed in Sukuma, it assumes a narrower meaning. In Sukuma, *sitoo* ‘store’ refers to a special room where different kinds of goods are kept. In a *sitoo* ‘store’, one may find things such as hoe, slashers, fertilisers, bush knives, broken chairs, and many other objects that are used at home. Thus, the English meaning is narrowed to a much more specific semantic sense.

From the discussion above, it is evident that when words are borrowed from one language to another one, they enter the lexicon with semantic properties such as meanings. The original meanings are sometimes received as they are in the donor language although sometimes such meanings are twisted according to the semantic perspective of the speakers of the recipient language. This occurs in Sukuma with nouns borrowed from English. In this section, it has been demonstrated that some of the meanings of borrowed words are narrowed for different reasons, one of them being the nature of speakers' social-cultural context.

4.5.3 Semantic retention

Semantic retention occurs when a borrowed word maintains the sense(s) it has when used in the recipient language. Most nouns particularly those with one or two senses seem to maintain their meanings after being borrowed into Sukuma. For example, the word *dauniloodi* 'download' retains its sense as "data which is downloaded from another computer system" (Hornby, 2015). Words of this nature are normally borrowed for filling the gap in the vocabulary of the recipient language.

4.5.4 Semantic shift

A shift in the meaning of a particular word occurs when such a meaning is used to refer to something else of which differs from the first or original meaning (cf. Bloomfield, 1993; Mapunda and Rosendal, 2015). This occurs in some of the English loan nouns in Sukuma, especially compound nouns. According to the data, a compound noun "goal keeper", a person who is literally responsible for taking care of the goal in sports, particularly football in a certain tournament, assumes a new sense when borrowed in Sukuma. In Sukuma, *ʊgolikipa* 'goal keeper' refers to 'a married woman who is neither employed in the public sector nor in private sector. Hence, such a woman does not earn any amount of money as her payment; rather she stays at home waiting for her husband to bring home everything required for family consumption. Sometimes, the term 'goal keeper' may denote the more general sense of a married woman who does not generate income, whether indirectly or directly. For example, a married woman may be involved in agricultural activities, which may lead to the production of surplus food for the family, but this woman is referred to as a goal keeper. The term *ʊgolikipa* 'goal keeper' denotes a related sense, especially in the discourse-pragmatic context of the time a man wants to get married to a woman. If it is discovered that the woman that is about to get married has no job or does not do anything to earn a living, younger people would gossip, *alɪhaya gʊtoola golikipa*, 'He wants to marry a goal keeper', implying that the man is about to marry a woman with no job. However, the older generation is not concerned with this concept.

Other loan nouns that demonstrate a sense shift include *ɪdoola* ‘dollar’ and *ɪvoocha* ‘voucher’. The former refers to “the unit of money in the US, Canada, Australia and several other countries, or the value of the US dollar compared with the value of the money of other countries”, while the latter denotes “a printed piece of paper that can be used instead of money to pay for something, or that allows you to pay less than the usual price of something” (Hornby, 2015). However, when borrowed into Sukuma, the two entities denote different semantic senses. The former refers to ‘air time’, the amount of time loaded for an individual using a cell phone, while the latter refers to a document with numbers or code on it and such number or code is loaded on a person’s cell phone for the purpose of paying for airtime. When enquired about the reasons for these senses, some of the consultants were of the opinion that the US dollar is a powerful currency and using it in regard to one’s cell phone make them feel associated with the United States of America.

The loan noun *ɪpulasitiiki* ‘plastic’ in English refers to a “light strong material that is produced by chemical processes and can be formed into different shapes when heated” (Hornby, 2015). When borrowed into Sukuma, the noun *ɪpulaasitiiki* ‘plastic’ changes the meaning to refer to a bucket, an open container with a handle, used for carrying or holding liquids, sand etc. These kind of buckets are very valued, especially by women who use them daily for fetching water over a far distance. When asked why they use the term *pulasitiiki* instead of the inherent word available in Sukuma, four women at different times provided the reason that the *pulasitiiki* is light compared to steel buckets, and further according to its shape, it looks like an imported.

A shift in meaning occurs to the English compound noun ‘mobile telephone’. It denotes “the part of the [mobile] telephone that a person holds in his/her hand and speak into” (Hornby, 2015). The mobile telephone (mobitel) company was one of the first companies to operate in Tanzania and the phones introduced were small and portable. As people continued to enjoy the portability of the mobitel, gradually the sense of the name shifted from a portable mobitel to ‘a slender/thin woman’. Thus, the speakers have adapted the name with some morphological modifications to correspond to a native Sukuma word. The word *jimobiteeli*, (derived from mobitel) refers to a slender woman. Similar findings have been made by Petzell (2005:92) in her study on English loan nouns in Swahili.

4.5.5 Non-literal meanings of loan nouns

In the course of data analysis, it was observed that some lexical items undergo gradual semantic change. These words are borrowed from English and they are used in figurative ways in that their etymological senses diminish, and they gain new senses in the host language. The word ‘garden love’ is an English compound noun which does not have a clear definition in the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary. Borrowed into Sukuma via Swahili, it assumes a figurative sense referring to ‘a person, particularly a man with hair on the chest that his girlfriend/wife plays with when they are together’. This new sense occurs in the utterance as exemplified below.

(23) ʊDaudi alɪ na gaadeni laavu
ʊ-Daudi a-lɪ na gaadeni laavu
IV-David AgrS-PRES- CONJ garden love
‘David has a garden love’

The account for this sense may relate to the fact that women enjoy different flowers in the garden, thus they associate this with a ‘garden, not just any garden, but for a garden of love’.

Apart from ‘garden love’, *ɪsweeta* ‘sweater’ and *ɪsigeeti* ‘skirt’ are two loan nouns that illustrate the non-literal meaning of loan nouns. These nouns both denote types of clothes but they demonstrate different meanings when borrowed into Sukuma. While the former denotes a piece of cloth that is made of wood for being worn on the upper part of the body, the latter refers etymologically to a piece of cloth worn by female persons to cover the lower parts of their bodies. However, the meaning changes when these terms are used idiomatically in that they assume other senses, as exemplified in the following two examples.

(24) ʊnyaanda ʊyʊ alɪ na nkono go sweeta
ʊ-nyaanda ʊ-yʊ a-lɪ na n-kono go sweeta
IV-1-boy IV-this AgrS-PRES CONJ 9-hand PRE sweater
‘This boy has a hand of a sweater’

In the utterance, denoted by the above sentence, the word '*sweeta*' simply refers to a man who is not circumcised. A possible account for this sense is that a man of such condition is associated with the appearance of the hand of a sweater, which is an idiomatic way of conveying a message to people concerned. Sometimes the word is used purposely to provoke someone who is accused of having 'a sweeta'. Traditionally, the Sukuma people did not have a culture of circumcising their children while young. The use of an utterance like in (24) has contributed considerably to the motivation of them to dismiss this custom.

(25) ʊJohn alɪɪchoola sigeeti
ʊ-John a-lɪɪ-chool-a sigeeti
IV-1-John AgrS-PRES-look-FV 10-skirt
'John is (busy) looking for skirts'

In regard to the word *sigeeti* 'skirt' in the above example, the new sense associated with is that of the actions of an irresponsible man who always looks for women instead of going to work for a living. The loan noun *sigeeti* is used as a symbol to refer to women. It is a figurative language expression to convey information to people involved in this kind of behaviour to urge them to refrain from it. Thus, these two loan nouns suit the context well when used in utterances and the message conveyed is clear to the people.

4.5.6 Phrasal lexical-semantic properties of names

In addition to English loan nouns discussed above, two further words merit consideration in that they appear exceptional compared to other loan nouns in the sense that they are derived from English phraseology (i.e. multiword expressions) but lexicalised when borrowed in Sukuma. The word *gotoβo* results from the derivation of an English phrase 'go to work'. From a historical point of view, English people arrived at Ibadakuli, the village of the current researcher with the main purpose to install an electric plant. Despite having professionals and skilled technician in that field, they needed labour power from the village who could deal with all manual activities. Thus, they temporarily hired a number of Sukuma people from the village. The hired workers used to have lunch together, under the supervision of the visitors. When lunchtime was over, the supervisors could shout "GO TO WORK", encouraging the workers to return to their respective posts. Since the linguistic communication of the foreigners was new to the hired workers, they could not pick every sound in the phrase 'go to work'. This commenced for a long time and the workers associated the phrase 'go to work' with the closest Sukuma sounds, thus used the expression *gotoβo*. Since then, the reference to the place where the electric plant was installed is ‘gotoβo’. For example, a person could say, *nalɪɪja gʊβa gotoβo* “I am going to the *gotoβo* area”. However, the ‘gotoβo’ finished the installation and went away, and the name *gotoβo* is currently diminishing gradually.

Second, the word *kolomije* is now the current name of one of the villages in Misungwi, northern Tanzania. Like *gotoβo*, the word *kolomije* is drawn from an English phrase ‘call me J’. Asked about the etymology of the name *kolomije*, five consultants at different times responded in the same way. They generally pointed out that at a certain moment in time, a white man called Jonathan lived there. He had a well from which the villagers fetched water. Most of the time, especially in the mornings, Jonathan could be asleep. The villagers could not pronounce Jonathan’s name because it sounded foreign. If they found him still asleep, they could not wake him up. When Jonathan discovered the problem, he told them, “CALL ME J” meaning that they could call him by his initial, that is, J for Jonathan. Unfortunately, the villagers could not pick Jonathan’s foreign sounds, hence they associated his words with the closest Sukuma sounds *Kolomije*. Since then, *Kolomije* is the name for that village.

Several similar findings have been reported by other linguists (cf.; Kohnlein, 2015). It is demonstrated that many place names such as *Kolomije* relate to etymological reasons. Other factors triggering naming in different languages may concern the behaviour of the referent, its function, some events, and/or appearance depending on what is to be named. Place names emerge due to various social and linguistic reasons, including lexical approximation, which includes misinformation, mispronunciation, misunderstanding and misinterpretation. Furthermore, the language proficiency of the people may result in either change or loss of semantic and or etymology of a lexicon. Mojapelo (2009) argues that some traditional names conceded from one generation to another do not have a clear derivational origin, and therefore supports the general assumption that generally, proper names are expressions with no specific sense. A language is acquired by every new generation as it adopts different words from the linguistic world, using them as a label without pondering on their linguistic etymologies and lexical-semantic properties.

In summary, the cultural influence due to the arrival of foreigners from Europe and other continents introduced new nouns of English origin. Given that languages are culturally oriented lexical influence affects languages at different linguistic levels, such as phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics (cf. Muzale, 1998). These influences result in speakers equating words from one language with words from another language, known by the speakers, which may be considered similar but are in fact different. This results in changes in a language in all linguistic fields just like the way English phrases GO TO WORK and CALL ME J were mispronounced and equated to 'gotoβo' and 'kolomije' respectively, as posited above.

4.6 Morpho-syntactic properties of English loan nouns

A core aim of this chapter is to explore the morphology of nouns of English origin, which are borrowed in Sukuma directly, or indirectly, via Swahili. In this regard, the chapter explores various linguistic characteristics of borrowed words in both the donor language and the recipient language, in regard to their similarities and differences. Thus, this section is concerned with various linguistic features of English loan nouns in comparison with inherent (native) Sukuma words. This discussion considers how different borrowed nouns are distributed in the Sukuma noun class system in regard to the criteria that determine the assignments of newly borrowed nouns in the Sukuma noun class system. Furthermore, nominal derivations of English loan nouns are examined in this section. The following subsections consider the question of how various English borrowed words are accommodated in the Sukuma linguistic system morpho-syntactically.

4.6.1 Loan nouns in the noun phrase (DP)

The nominal morphology of Sukuma, as explained in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.1), comprises of an initial vowel or pre-prefix, noun class prefix and a noun stem. In most cases, the occurrence of pre-prefixes in Sukuma [a, ɪ, ʊ] differ according to their different respective environments (cf. Batibo, 1985; Kahigi, 2006; Muhdhar, 2006). The occurrence of an initial vowel or a pre-prefix depends on the vowel in the noun class prefix. The initial vowel in Sukuma is bounded to the root noun, which denotes definiteness and specificity, contrasting with English which is an articled language, having the articles [*a*, *an* and *the*] for expressing (in)definiteness. The next sections considers how the isolated English nominal morphology is accommodated in the complex Sukuma nominal morphology, in the process of adaptation of loan nouns.

4.6.2 The distribution of loan nouns in Sukuma noun classes

In chapter two, (cf. section 2.3.1), it was stated that all the Sukuma nouns occur in different noun classes according to the meaning and noun class prefixes they have. Each of the 18 respective noun classes in Sukuma contains nouns based on their semantic and morphological characteristics. Sukuma has borrowed a number of nouns from English either directly, or indirectly, via Swahili which are adapted in the Sukuma noun class system. However, the adaptation of these borrowed nouns does not occur non-systematically, rather some mechanisms apply to them to conform to the grammatical system of the host language. Thus, the borrowed nouns that occur in one of the Sukuma noun classes are modified to conform to the nominal morphology of Sukuma, the host language. The next sections discuss how lexical items borrowed from English occur in various Sukuma noun classes in accordance with their semantic properties.

4.6.2.1 Noun classes 1 and 2

Noun classes 1 and 2 denote human beings in Sukuma, as generally in Bantu languages. While noun class 1 denotes singular, noun class 2 indicates plural in Sukuma. English borrowed nouns that denote human being occur in classes 1 and 2. Singular nouns appear in noun class 1 while plural nouns appear in noun class 2. Furthermore, most of the English borrowed nouns denoting human beings have meanings relating to Christianity. Consider the following examples.

(26)	**Class 1**		**class 2**	
	ʊpaasita	‘pastor’	*aβapaasita*	‘Pastors’
	ʊkatekiisita	‘Catechist’	*aβakatekiisita*	‘Catechists’
	ʊkilisitu	‘Christ’	*aβakilisitu*	‘Christs’
	ʊmatiija	‘Baptist’	*aβaβatiija*	‘Baptists’

From the examples above, it can be assumed that these nouns have been borrowed into Sukuma possibly because of the early contact between the missionaries and the Sukuma speaking community and that the missionaries used these terms in their day to day activities when preaching Christianity. To accommodate these nouns, the Sukuma speakers were obliged to modify them to conform to the phonological system of Sukuma (cf. Tadmor, 2009: 65). Loan nouns denoting professionals occur either class 1 or class 2 depending on their singular or plural features. Similar findings are made by Mahlangu (2016), who argues that the borrowed nouns that are grouped into noun classes 1 and 2 denote English and Afrikaans human nouns in IsiNdebele. Demuth (2000) proposes similarly that in Sesotho, loan nouns referring to humans are assigned into classes 1 and 2, and 1a and 2a, for kinship and proper nouns.

4.6.2.2 Noun classes 3 and 4

Noun classes 3 and 4 commonly denote natural objects like trees. The singular class prefix is *n*- and the plural class prefix is *mi*-. Loan nouns with English origin occur in classes 3 and 4 depending on their singular or plural forms, thus, singular nouns occur in noun class 3 while plural nouns occur in noun class 4. However, a very limited number of data has been obtained to demonstrate the loan noun. *nkilisimaasi* 'Christmas tree' and *mikilisimaasi* 'Christmas trees' is an example of this, the former for singular and the latter is for plural. The account for this is likely to be that Sukuma speakers have inherent names to refer to almost all the types of trees around thus, no need for borrowing foreign names. This observation has been made in studies on many African languages, from a typological perspective, in which there is a similar trend of low levels of borrowing of names referring to natural entities (cf. Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009; Mous and Qorro, 2009; Schadeberg, 2009; Asheli, 2015; Mahlangu, 2016, among others).

4.6.2.3 Noun classes 5 and 6

As pointed out in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.2.3), classes 5 and 6 in Sukuma denote miscellaneous things, paired things and augmentations. Class 5 has a zero noun class prefix, except when the stem of the word is either monosyllabic or disyllabic vowel-initial when the noun class prefix -li- does occur, while class 6 uses *ma*- as its noun class prefix. Noun class 6 in Sukuma includes mass nouns, the class of collectives, liquids and in addition, serves as the plural of classes 9 and 14. Some English loan nouns occur in these classes when adapted in Sukuma. Consider the following examples in (27).

(27)	**Class 5**	**class 6**	**classes 5/6**
	ısakalameenti	*masakalameenti*	'sacrament/sacraments'
	looli	*malooli*	'lorry/lories'
	ligiita	*magiita*	'guitar/guitars'
	lishaadi	*mashaadi*	'shirt/shirts'
	lifaayili	*mafayili*	'file/files'

The examples above illustrate that for count nouns, English loan nouns in class 5 have plural counterparts in class 6, similarly to the case in Sukuma in which inherent nouns in class 5 have plural forms in class 6. However, the examples were insufficient to determine whether class 6 is a plural of classes 9 and 14. This may be due to the linguistic difference between English loan nouns and inherent Sukuma nouns. Some English loan nouns have morpho-syntactic properties similarly to inherent native nouns in Sukuma but the properties of others differ from the inherent nouns.

4.6.2.4 Noun classes 9 and 10

Noun classes 9 and 10 in Sukuma are predominantly animate classes in that they contain nouns denoting animate entities. Since classes 9 and 10 have the same noun class prefix, their singular and plural forms are not easily distinguished for nouns in isolation. Noun classes 9 and 10 also have plural forms in class 6 in Sukuma. Although classes 9 and 10 mainly contain nouns denoting animals, many English loan nouns occur in these classes. The English loan nouns allocated in these classes include miscellaneous nouns and common objects. Consider the following examples in (28).

(28)	**Class 9**	**Class 10**	
	ɪkomyuuta	*ɪkomyuuta*	‘computer/s’
	ɪsupaana	*ɪsupaanaa*	‘spanner/s’
	ɪchaaki	*ɪchaaki*	‘chalk/s’
	ɪchokoleeti	*ɪchokoleeti*	‘chocolate/s’
	ɪtoileeti	*ɪtoileeti*	‘toilet/s’

From the examples above, it is evident that the distinction between classes 9 and 10 loan nouns used in isolation is not clear. Considering these loan nouns individually, it appears that *ɪsupaana* ‘spanner’ (class 9) is similar to *ɪsupaana* ‘spanners’ (class 10). However, differentiating them, as posited above, is through consideration of their use in clausal structure with the subject agreement prefix in the verbal morphology, as illustrated in (29).

(29) a. ɪkompyuuta yaane ɪyɪ yaajimaga
ɪ-kompyuuta ya-ane ɪ-yɪ ya-a-jim-aga
IV-9-computer POSS-my IV-this AgrS-PRES-switch-PERF
Lit. This computer of mine is switched off
‘My computer is switched off’

b. ɪkompyuuta jaane ɪji jaajimaga
ɪ-kompyuuta ja-ane ɪ-ji ja-a-jim-aga
IV-10-computer POSS-my IV-these AgrS-PRES-switch-PERF
Lit. These computers of mine are switched off
'My computers are switched off'

The two examples above illustrate the distinction between the loan nouns in class 9 with that in class 10 morpho-syntactically. Their singular and plural forms are demonstrated clearly, which is evident from the individual loan nouns in isolation. In this regard, Schadeberg (2009:90) is of the view that classes 9/10 have zero nominal prefixes and that they are synchronically differentiated through their grammatical morphemes in clausal structures. Foreign words occurring in these classes, therefore, do not require morphological change. Some scholars (cf. Batibo, 1985; Demuth, 2000; Petzell, 2005: 91; Rugemalira, 2006; Kahigi, 2008; Mous and Qorro, 2009; Asheli, 2015; Mahlangu, 2016, among others) have made similar findings in the specific languages they have studied. Mahlangu (2016) states that "classes 9 and 10 are the hub of foreign adapted nouns" in many African languages. In Sukuma, noun classes 9 and 10 have plural forms in noun class 6, which is not evidenced with English loan nouns. This implicitly denotes that English loan nouns allocated to noun classes 9 and 10 do not have similar properties as inherent Sukuma nouns grouped in noun classes 9 and 10. The possible account for the difference could be due to language differences since Sukuma in a Bantu language while English is an Indo-European language, hence the two have relatively different linguistic properties.

4.6.2.6 Noun classes 12 and 13

As was pointed out in chapter two, (cf. section 2.3.2.7), classes 12 and 13 in Sukuma denote diminutive objects. Thus, English loan nouns that occur in these classes behave similarly to inherent Sukuma nouns. For example, they exhibit similar singular/plural forms. The following examples illustrate loan nouns in classes 12and 13.

(29)

Class 12		**Class 13**	
kakamela	'a small camera'	*tʊkamela*	'small cameras'
kafaili	'a small file'	*tʊfaili*	'small files'
kagiita	'a small guitar'	*tʊgiita*	'small guitars'
kashaati	'a small shirt'	*tʊshaati*	'small shirts'

The examples above illustrate that the singular and plural class prefix *ka-* and *tʊ-*, respectively, are affixed to English loan nouns, similarly to the prefix of inherent Sukuma nouns. Nouns in classes 12 and 13 take their plural counterparts in class 6 in Sukuma. This is similarly the case with English nouns adapted in Sukuma in that for count nouns, English loan nouns that occur in classes 12 and 13 have plural forms in class 6, as illustrated below.

(30)

Class 12	**Class 13**	**Class 6**	
kakamela	*tʊkamela*	*makamela*	‘camera/s’
kafaili	*tʊfaili*	*mafaili*	‘file/s’
kagiita	*tʊgiita*	*magiita*	‘guitar/s’
kashaati	*tʊshaati*	*mashaati*	shirt/s

The class 6 noun prefix is affixed to English loan nouns forming the plural to the diminutive nouns in classes 12 and 13. Thus, noun classes 12 and 13 are productive since loan nouns can occur in both these noun classes. This finding contrasts with the observation posited by Demuth (2000) that Setswana and Sethoto, and some of the other African languages have experienced what she calls “massive loss” of classes 12 and 13.

4.6.2.7 Noun class 14

Class 14 is, as indicated in chapter two, (cf. section 2.3.2.8), a class of nouns denoting abstract entities and mass nouns in Sukuma, which has plural form in class 6. The noun class prefix for this noun class is *βʊ-***,** denoting the “situation or state of being…” English loan nouns grouped in this noun class include professional names which have counterparts of deverbal nouns denoting humans in classes 1 and 2. Consider the following examples in (31).

(31)

Class 14	
ʊ-βʊ-deleva IV-14-driver	‘state of being a driver’
ʊ-βʊ-doogita IV-14-doctor	‘state of being a doctor’
ʊ-βʊ-neesi IV-14-nurse	‘state of being a nurse’

In chapter two (cf. section 2.3.2.8), it was pointed out that the Sukuma noun class 14 has its plural form in class 6. However, this is not the case with English loan nouns. Abstract nouns such as ‘*ʊβʊdoogita*’ ‘state of being a doctor’ thus have related singular or plural continues in noun classes 1 and 2 '*ʊdoogita*' 'doctor' and '*aβadoogita*' 'doctors' respectively, rather than class 6 **maβʊdoogita*. This can be related to issues of simplification in the articulation process, as Petzell (2005:90) points out that speakers of any language would like to opt for a simple lexical morphology than a complex one.

4.6.2.8 Noun class 15

The noun class 15 in Sukuma is distinguished by the noun class prefix -*gʊ*-. Nouns that occur in this class express verbal-noun infinitive meanings. They have plural forms in noun class 6 in Sukuma. Nouns that occur in this noun class are generally derived from verbs and they denote the notion of 'the process of …' or 'the act of doing something'. English loan nouns that belong to this noun class thus similarly have the class 15 prefix. The noun class prefix -*gʊ*- is affixed to Sukuma nouns in class 15 derived from verbs with English origin. This property is demonstrated in the following examples.

(32)	a.	ʊ-gʊ-soovu IV-INF-solve	'to solve'	<	solve
	b.	ʊ-gʊ-dauniloodi IV-INF-download	'to download'	<	download
	c.	ʊ-gʊ-piliinti IV-INF-print	'to print'	<	print
	d.	ʊ-gʊ-daansi IV-INF-dance	'to dance'	<	dance
	e.	ʊ-gʊ-βatɪɪja IV-Inf-baptize	'to baptise'	<	baptise

In (32) above, the borrowed English verbal nouns have been derived similarly to inherent verbal nouns in Sukuma, denoting 'the process of doing something'. However, the above examples do not correspond to inherent verbal nouns in Sukuma which have plural forms in class 6 as demonstrated previously (cf. section 2.3.2.9) in Chapter two. Instead, loan nouns that occur in class 15 have corresponding forms in class 14, which is a class for abstract entities in Sukuma. Theoretically, these derived loan nouns are required to have the final vowel -*i*, as shown in the following examples.

(33)	*υβυsoov***i**	‘the state of solving’	<	solve
	*υβυdaunilood***i**	‘the state of downloading’	<	download
	*υβυpiliint***i**	‘the state of printing’	<	print
	*υβυdaans***i**	‘the state of dancing’	<	dance
	*υβυβatɪɪj***i**	‘the state of baptising’	<	baptise

In the above examples, borrowed noun class 15 have been transferred back to class 14 as abstract nouns, losing their noun class 15 infinitive feature. It is marked that infinitive nouns such as *υgυsoovu* ‘to solve’ and *υgυβatɪɪja* ‘to baptise’ have lost their former final vowels **-u** and **-a** respectively, and gained new final vowels **-i** and **-i** respectively. This is the requirement to loan nouns of infinitival nature from class 15 when they occur in abstract nouns in class 14. However, such nouns are not commonly used by Sukuma speakers because of the articulation complexities.

From the above discussion, it is evident that English loan nouns occur in different noun classes when they are adapted in the Sukuma noun class system. The examples provided to illustrate this process confirm that some English loan nouns have similar properties to inherent Sukuma noun despite minor differences identified from the examples. Similar results were obtained by Mauvangou (2005) in Yilumbu, Asheli (2015) in Shinyiha, and Mahlangu (2016) in IsiNdebele although the findings of the current study on Sukuma differ from Mahlangu’s conclusion that isiNdebele adapted words from English and Afrikaans occur in every IsiNdebele noun class. In this study, it has been demonstrated that English loan nouns are assigned in most of the noun classes in Sukuma though there are some classes, namely class 11 and the locative classes 16, 17 and 18 which do not allow accommodation of English loan nouns.

4.6.3 Realisation of the pre-prefix of English loan nouns

It was pointed out in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.1), that Sukuma noun morphology consists of three components, namely a pre-prefix, a noun class prefix and a noun stem. The three pre-prefix vowels in Sukuma are [*a*, *ɪ*, *υ*] and their occurrence depends on the vowel in the noun class prefix, since the pre-prefix is like a copy of the vowel in the noun class prefix. The pre-

prefix in Sukuma is realised in certain syntactic environments while it does not occur in some other environments, as stated in chapter two (cf. section 2.5.1.4). By contrast, Chesterman (1991), as cited in Asiimwe (2014:39) points out that English has five articles namely *the*, *a*, *an*, the unstressed *some*, and *null* article. Each of the five articles manifests a distinctive sense of the nouns with which it occurs. For example, the *null* article co-occurs with singular proper nouns and some singular count nouns, while the zero article occurs with mass plural nouns. This is not the case with Sukuma and many other Bantu languages in which the pre-prefix denotes (in)definiteness and (un)specificity to the nouns to which they are affixed. The pre-prefix can occur with English loan nouns in certain syntactic environments although, in some other environments, the pre-prefix does not occur with English loan nouns in Sukuma. The following section presents the realisation of the pre-prefix, demonstrating the environments in which it occurs with English loan nouns.

4.6.3.1 The occurrence of the pre-prefix in English loan nouns

(a) The pre-prefix occurs with common English loan nouns

As was pointed out in chapter two (cf. section 2.5.1.4), the pre-prefix in Sukuma occurs with common nouns. This property is also evident with English loan nouns in which the pre-prefix is licensed. It was stated that English is an articled language which has the articles *the* and *a* represented as determiner categories in the DP. When English common nouns occur in the Sukuma DP, the pre-prefix is realised as the category Determiner, functional head of DP. The presence of the pre-prefix denotes definiteness and specificity interpretations (cf. Visser, 2008; Asiimwe, 2014), as realised in figure 8.

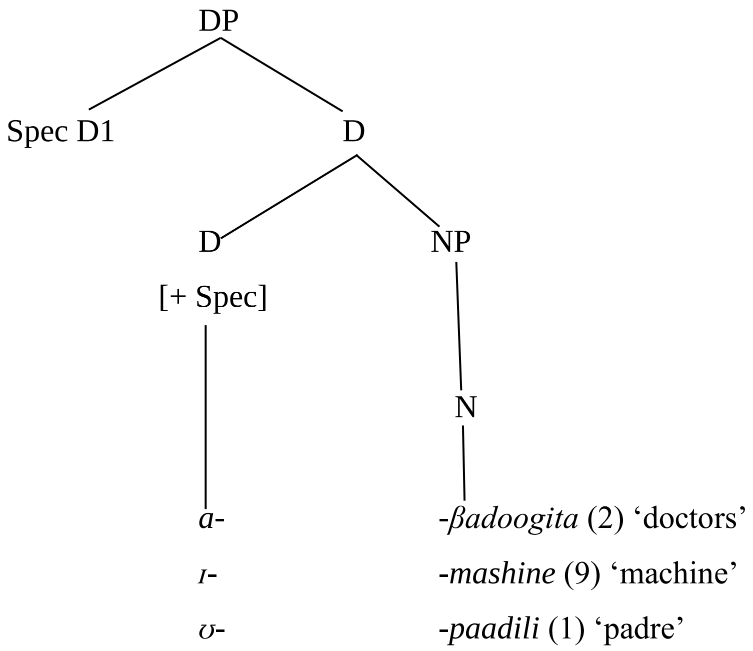


Figure 6: Realisation of the pre-prefix with common English loan nouns

Figure 8 above represents the property that English common nouns license the occurrence of the pre-prefix. The English common nouns borrowed in Sukuma occur in different Sukuma noun classes, depending on the meaning of the noun and the noun class prefix. The omission of the pre-prefix results in a reading of indefiniteness and unspecificity. Similar findings have been made that in some Bantu languages, definiteness and specificity are encoded by the pre-prefix (cf. Bleek, 1869; Mould, 1974; Givón 1978; Visser, 2008:16). Thus, the pre-prefix in Sukuma assumes a function similar to the English article *the*, marking definiteness while the omission of the pre-prefix is in some ways similar to the indefinite article *a* in English.

(b) The pre-prefix occurs with cardinal numbers

It is noted in chapter two (cf. section 2.5.1.4) that the pre-prefix in Sukuma can occur with nouns denoting numbers from one to six, and ten. However, the English borrowed nouns denoting numbers in Sukuma involve numbers that lack inherent counterparts in Sukuma. The following examples illustrate some of these English borrowed nouns denoting numbers.

(34) *ɪtweenti* < ‘twenty’
ifoote < ‘forty’
ɪmilyooni < ‘million’

However, borrowing of English loan nouns denoting numbers is limited in Sukuma. The main donor for concepts denoting numbers is Swahili. Thus, Sukuma speakers prefer to borrow Swahili words denoting other cardinal numbers apart from those mentioned above. A similar observation is made by Petzell on Kagulu that the pre-prefix does occur with loan nouns denoting numerals although its occurrence is very limited (cf. Petzell, 2008:64)

(c) The pre-prefix occurs with a lexical head in a DP

The pre-prefix in Sukuma occurs with the lexical head noun phrases in which the object agreement is encoded in the verbal morphology. A similar property obtains when English loan nouns are borrowed in Sukuma, as demonstrated in the following examples.

(35) b. βa-ga-yɪ-seeti ɪ-koompyuuta
3PL-AgrS-PAST-AgrO-set IV-9 computer
(They) set the computer'

d. βa-gʊ-βa-dawunilodi-a ɪ-peepa
3PL-AgrS-FUT-AgrO-download-APPL IV-9paper
'They will download them the paper'

Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) proposed that the occurrence of the agreement of object prefix (AgrO) assumes a role of the pronoun. The AgrO that co-occurs with the object DP in the examples in (35) above denotes a salient referent in that particular context. In that case, the agreements prefixes of the objects, *yɪ* and *βa* co-occur with the DP object *ɪ-kompyuuta* 'computer' and *ɪ-peepa* 'paper' respectively, yielding definite DPs. Similar findings have been made by Visser (2008) that the presence of the object agreement prefix renders a definite and specific reading, while the absence of the object marker in a construction yields indefinite and non-specific interpretation in IsiXhosa (cf. Visser, 2008:18). For similar views, see also Asiimwe (2014) and Matthewson (1998).

4.6.3.2 Environments in which the pre-prefix is omitted

Despite occurring in some environments, the pre-prefix does not occur in some other environments as pointed above in chapter two (cf. section 2.5.1.4). A similar observation has been noted in English borrowed words in which the pre-prefix is disallowed to occur in some environments, as exemplified in the examples below.

(a) The pre-prefix does not occur with a noun that follows a negative verb

The pre-prefix is not licenced in the environment that the object DP is proceeded by negative polarity. This is because the negation c-commands the object DP, hence in such context, the DP bears the notion of non-specificity under negative operator. Consider the following examples in (36).

(36) βadasomaga koomyuuta
βa-da-som-ag-a koomyuuta
3PL-AgrS-NEG-read-HAB-FV Ø-9-computer
'They don't do computer studies'

The interpretation obtaining in the above example is that the object DP *koomyuuta* 'computer' is non-specific. It can refer to any computer since only the presence of the pre-prefix can license the specific interpretation. Thus, the occurrence of the negative operator does not yield a specificity reading. Scholars generally agree that in Bantu language, the negative verb does not allow the occurrence of the pre-prefix in the object DP unless the verbal morphology encodes object agreement (cf. Taylor, 1985; Hyman & Katamba, 1993, among others). By contrast, this is not attested in Kagulu in which, according to Petzell (2005), the negative operator rule is not always observed.

(b) The pre-prefix does not occur with nouns in a phrase with the element denoting '*yooseyoose*'

The pre-prefix does not occur in the postverbal environments in a DP with an element denoting *yoyoose* 'anything' in Sukuma. English loan nouns that occur in constructions with an object DP denoting *yooseyoose* 'anything' omit the pre-prefix thus conforming to the Sukuma system, as exemplified below.

(37) a. du-gwi-bakil-a moodoka yooseyoose
1PL-AgrS-FUT-board-FV 9-motor car anything
'We will board any motor car'

b. *du-gwi-bakil-a ɪ-moodoka yooseyoose
1PL-AgrS-FUT-board-FV IV-9-motor car anything
'We will board any motor car'

In (37a) above, the pre-prefix is absent since it is disallowed in this phrasal environment in which it refers to any *moodoka* 'motor car', resulting in ungrammaticality when present as in (37b) where the pre-prefix occurs.

(c) The pre-prefix does not occur with a noun to which the clitic '*ki'* is affixed

The clitic *kɪ* in Sukuma denotes the interrogative element 'what'. The pre-prefix in Sukuma does not occur with the noun to which the clitic *kɪ* 'what' is affixed. English words that enter in the Sukuma noun class system are adopted according to this linguistic property of Sukuma. Therefore, nouns to which the clitic *kɪ* 'what' is affixed do not occur with the pre-prefix, as exemplified below.

(38) a. βi-bakɪl-aga teleeni ki?
3PL-AgrS-board-PERF 9-train CLITIC
'Which train did they board?'

b. *βi-bakɪl-aga ɪ-teleeni ki?
3PL-AgrS-board-PERF IV-9-train CLITIC
'Which the train did they board?'

The examples above illustrate that the pre-prefix is omitted in (38a) and it occurs in (38b). The example in (38b), is ungrammatical since it violates the distributional requirements of the pre-prefix in Sukuma.

(d) The pre-prefix is absent with a noun preceded by the word 'βʊlɪ'(every)

As was pointed out in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.1), the pre-prefix is not licenced to occur with a noun that is preceded by an invariable element *βʊlɪ* 'every' in Sukuma. The same properties are exemplified with English loan nouns adapted in Sukuma. Thus the presence of the invariable element *βʊlɪ* before English loan nouns denotes a non-specific interpretation of the subject DP, as demonstrated in the following example below.

(39) βʊlɪ koompyuuta yɪ-ga-seeti-w-a
βʊlɪ 9-computer AgrO-PAST-set-PASS-FV
'Every computer was set'

In the example above, the interpretation of the subject DP *koomyuuta* 'computer' is regarded as generic since it does not denote a specific computer the speaker is referring to. The omission of the invariant element *βʊlɪ* could license the occurrence of the pre-prefix with the head noun of the subject DP, yielding a specific reference reading. This observation concurs with the findings by Hyman & Katamba, (1993) that the pre-prefix in Haya is omitted when nouns are preceded by the invariant element *βʊlɪ*.

(e) The pre-prefix is absent with proper nouns following nouns denoting titles

The occurrence of the pre-prefix is not permissible with proper nouns after titles in Sukuma. The same property is observed with English loan nouns of which the pre-prefix is omitted in the environment where a proper noun is preceded by a noun denoting a title. This is exemplified in (40) below where (40a) is grammatical while (40b) is ungrammatical.

(40) a. Doogita Kelementi
1-doctor 1-Clement
'Doctor Clement'

b. *Doogita ʊ-Kelementi
1-doctor IV-1-Clement
'Doctor Clement'

Buell made a similar finding that the augment in Nguni languages may not occur in the environments where a proper noun is preceded by a title (cf. Buell, 2009:6).

(f) The pre-prefix does not occur with a noun following the associative concord *ŋg'wa*

The pre-prefix is not allowed to occur with a noun that is preceded by the associative element *ŋg'wa* in Sukuma. It can be argued that in the environments where three morph-syntactic contexts occur, the pre-prefix is omitted. The combination that implicitly denotes 'something of x' or 'the place of y' does not allow the occurrence of the pre-prefix in Sukuma. The same observation has been noted in borrowed English loan nouns in which the pre-prefix is dropped in case the three morpho-syntactic situations occur. Consider the following example in (41).

(41) a. ɪ-mashine yaŋg'wa Doogita
IV-9-machine POSS 1-doctor
'Doctor's machine'

b. *ɪ-mashine yaŋg'wa ʊ-Doogita
IV-9-machine POSS IV-1-doctor
'Doctor's machine'

The above examples illustrate that the pre-prefix does not occur with a noun after the associative element *ŋg'wa*. Hence the example in (41a) is grammatical while the example in (41b) is not.

(g) The pre-prefix does not occur with nouns with locative prepositions

It was stated in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.2.10) that Sukuma exhibits three locative preposition-like morphemes, namely [*ha-*, *gʊ-* and *mu-*]. The occurrence of the pre-prefix of nouns with these morphemes in Sukuma is not permitted. The pre-prefix of English loan nouns in Sukuma does not occur with a noun with the locative morphemes. The occurrence of the pre-prefix with locative morphemes yields an ungrammatical phrase, as exemplified below.

(42) a. ʊ-mu-ofisi ya-ane
IV-LOC-office POSS-my
'In my office'

b. *ʊ-mu-ɪ-ofisi ya-ane
IV-LOC-IV-office POSS-my
'In my office'

In (42a) above, the omission of the pre-prefix is required for the grammaticality of the construction while the occurrence of the pre-prefix in (42b) results in the construction being ungrammatical. Scholars such as Hyman & Katamba (1993) and Petzell (2005) point out that this property is a common characteristic in most Bantu languages particularly languages which retain the pre-prefix with the noun class prefix.

(h) The pre-prefix does not occur with the indefinite expression denoting 'oseose' (anybody)

The pre-prefix, as stated in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.1), does not occur with a noun in a construction with the element denoting *oseose* 'anybody' in Sukuma.The pre-prefix of English loan noun is omitted to nouns that occur with the utterances that carry the *oseose* 'anybody' meaning, when adapted in the linguistic system of Sukuma, as exemplified in the following examples.

(43) a. a-gʊ-lagʊl-w-a na Doogita oseose
AgrS-FUT-treat-PASS-FV CONJ 1-Doctor anybody
'He will be treated by any Doctor'

b. *a-gʊ-lagʊl-w-a na ʊ-Doogita oseose
AgrS-FUT-treat-PASS-FV CONJ 1-Doctor anybody
'He will be treated by any Doctor'

The sentence in (43a) above has the interpretation that there is no specific doctor to treat (a patient). In this case, the reading obtains that, any doctor available can conduct the treatment process. The pre-prefix is omitted to render a non-specific reading. However, in (43b) the pre-prefix occurs but does not render definiteness interpretation since it is not permitted to occur with a noun that follows the element *oseose* 'anybody' hence the whole utterance in (43b) is ungrammatical.

Generally, it can be argued that the pre-prefix is realised in different environments in Sukuma conditions, which similarly apply to English loan nouns. However, some environments occur in which the pre-prefix is realised with inherent Sukuma nouns but not with English loan nouns. For example, the pre-prefix in Sukuma occurs with determiners and adverbials of time while it is not the case with English loan nouns. Furthermore, the (non)occurrence of the pre-prefix is probably language-specific since it does not occur in some instances with inherent nouns in Sukuma but occurs with English loan nouns. For example, the pre-prefix does not occur with kinship nouns such as *maayʊ* 'mother', *maami* 'uncle' and *βaaβa* 'father' in Sukuma but it occurs with kinship nouns in English such as *ʊfaaza* 'father' *ʊmaaza* 'mother' and *anko* 'uncle'. Thus, the pre-prefix is language determined. Furthermore, it is observed that the pre-prefix with both Sukuma inherent nouns and English loan nouns generally occur in limited environments compared to the environments in which the pre-prefix does not occur. This suggests that the pre-prefix in Sukuma is obligatory despite some optional occurrences. In many other Bantu languages, especially the languages that possess the pre-prefix in their nominal morphology, the occurrence of the pre-prefix differs according to individual languages involved. In this case, as Petzell (2005) argues, "there are no rules which apply generally as regard the use and occurrence of the pre-prefix across all Bantu languages which exhibit the pre-prefix".

4.6.4 Deverbal nominal derivation with English loan nouns

It is, in Sukuma, and in other Bantu languages, argued that nouns are either derived or underived (Kahigi, 2008). Languages have morphological mechanisms of deriving nouns. In Sukuma, nouns are derived from verbs, adjectives, and numerals, and sometimes with the conjunction with a different noun class prefix, and the suffixation of an element -*na*- as pointed out in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.3). Sukuma exhibits two productive nominal derivational processes, namely derivation by the addition of different suffixes, and the assignment of a derived nominal stem to a nominal class. Thus, the derivation of nouns from verbs in Sukuma involves a variety of derivational sub-options. The following sections explore the property of English loan nouns in regard to these various derivation processes in Sukuma.

4.6.4.1 Deverbal loan nouns derived with the suffix -i

Loan nouns derived with the suffix -i occur when the derivational suffix -*i* is affixed to the verb root. It was stated in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.3.1.1) that nouns derived by this mechanism are agentive nouns classes 1 and 2 which are humans by nature. Abstract nouns are derived in noun class 14 in Sukuma. English loan nouns derived through this process are demonstrated in the following examples.

(44)

Class 1	**Class2**	**Class 14**	**Reference**	
ʊndauniloodi	*aβadauniloodi*	*ʊβʊdaunilodi*	someone who downloads	‘downloader/s’
ʊmpiliint	*aβapiliinti*	*ʊβʊpilinti*	someone who prints	‘printer/s’
ʊnseeti	*aβaseeti*	*ʊβʊseeti*	someone who sets	‘setter/s’
ʊnsoovi	*aβasoovi*	*ʊβʊsoovi*	someone who solves	‘solver/s’
ʊnsaachi	*aβasaachi*	*ʊβʊsaachi*	someone who searches	‘searcher/s’

The examples above demonstrate that the agentive suffix -*i* is affixed to different verb roots, deriving agentive nominal morphology. The initial vowels ʊ- and a- are affixed pre-in the verbal position, in association with singular-plural noun class prefixes, deriving the agentive nouns in class 1 and noun class 2. The initial vowel ʊ- precedes the noun class 14 prefix -*βʊ*- for abstract entities to classes 1 and 2. In regard to Setswana and Sesotho, Demuth (2000) states that noun classes 1 and 2 have demonstrated a high rate of nominal derivational morphology.

4.6.4.2 Loan nouns derived with the suffix -*e*

As pointed out in chapter two, (cf. section 2.3.3.1.3), Sukuma exhibits deverbal nouns with the derivational suffix -*e* at the end of the verbal root. It is further pointed out that these nouns are formed by the manner prefix *ka*-, which is affixed at the verbal initial position. The manner prefix *ka*- refers to 'the way or manner of doing something….' The, deverbal nouns derived from verbs with English origin undergo a similar process to conform to the Sukuma morphology. According to the examples, the manner prefix *ka*- is affixed to verb initial position whilst the suffix -*e* is affixed to the verb-final position, deriving from verbs with English origin into deverbal nouns denoting various ways of doing things. Consider the following examples.

(45)	*kasoovie*	< solve	'the way of solving something'
	kaseetie	< set	'the way of setting something'
	kasaachie	< search	'the way of searching for something'
	kadaaunilodie	< download	'the way of downloading something'

It is evident from the examples above that deverbal nouns undergo some morphophonological adaptation processes. The verb of English origin is adapted into Sukuma with a syllable structure similar to Sukuma morphophonology, such that 'solve' is shaped into *soovu*, 'set' is modified into *seeti*, 'search' becomes *saachi* and 'download' occurs as *dauniloodi*. The adapted verbs do not have final vowels, as Schadeberg (2009) states that most of the loan verbs have three vowels functioning as final vowels, namely -*a*, -*i* and -*u*, which are inseparable morphologically. In addition, the manner prefix *ka*- is affixed to the initial position of the adopted verb root and, the suffix -*e* occurs in the final position of the adopted verb root. The derived noun denotes a notion of 'manner or the way of doing something'. However, very limited data for deverbal nouns occur with verbs of English origin while deverbal nouns derived from Sukuma inherent verbs are abundant (cf. Maganga and Schadeberg, 1996; Kahigi, 2008).

4.6.4.3 Derived loan nouns with the passive affix -w-/-iw-

Nouns derived by use of the passive elements -*w*-/-*iw*- are, in most cases, formed from transitive verbs and are classified in noun classes 1 and 2, classes 7 and 8, and in the class of abstract entities, 14 in Sukuma. The derived nouns of this kind are associated with the source verbs. In Sukuma, these nouns denote benefactive or patient (cf. Kahigi, 2008:57). Verbs of

English origin used in nominal derivation are grouped in one of the classes mentioned above. The Sukuma data give evidence that deverbal nouns derived from verbs with English origin into Sukuma nouns with the passive element *-iw-*, occur in classes 1, 2, and 14 as demonstrated by the following examples.

(46)

Class 1	**Class 2**	**Class 14**
ʊ-n-saachi-w-a	a-βa-saachi-w-a	ʊ-βʊ-saachi-w-a
IV-1-search-PASS-FV	IV-2-search-PASS-FV	IV-14-search-PASS-FV
‘The searched person’	‘The searched people’	‘The state of being searched’
ʊ-n-seeti-w-a	a-βa-seeti-w-a	ʊ-βʊ-seeti-w-a
IV-1-set-PASS-FV	IV-2-set-PASS-FV	IV-14-set-PASS-FV
‘The set person’	‘The set people’	‘The state of being set’
ʊ-n-soovi-w-a	a-βa-soovi-w-a	ʊ-βʊ-soovi-w-a
IV-1-solve-PASS-FV	IV-2-solve-PASS-FV	IV-14-solve-PASS-FV
‘The solved person’	‘The solved people’	‘The state of being solved’

In the above examples, it is evident that the derivational morpheme *-iw-* occurs in verbs with English origin from which Sukuma nouns are derived. The process of derivation involved transitive verbs *search*, *set* and *solve* as representative of the data. The derivation of loan nouns from verbs with English origin, as evidenced by the examples above, involves several steps. The first step is the adoption of the English verbs into the Sukuma verbal morphology by modifying the morphophonological properties of the verb to conform to the language system of Sukuma. The second stage is to affix the derivational morpheme at the verbal final position of the adapted verb. Thirdly, the noun class prefix is affixed word-initially depending on the class in which the noun occurs. In the above examples, *-n-* and *-βa-* are noun class prefixes for classes 1 and 2, respectively, while *-βʊ-* is the noun class prefix for class 14. Lastly, prefixation of an initial vowel occurs. Deverbal loan nouns do not occur in classes 7 and 8 as it is posited in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.3.1). The reason for this could relate to the fact that the occurrence of nouns in different noun classes depends on their semantic and the noun class prefix. The noun class prefixes for classes 7 and 8, like inherent nouns discussed in chapter two, are *-ji-* and *-shi-* respectively, thus, are unavailable for deverbal loan nouns derived from verbs of English origin.

4.6.4.4 Loan nouns derived with the element -na-

Nouns that are formed with the element *-na-* in Sukuma are classified into noun classes 1 and 2, and noun class 14 (Kahigi, 2008). The element *-na-* denotes ‘a place or location of…’when used in classes 1 and 2 and it denotes ‘abstractness of something…’ when used in noun class 14. Furthermore, the element *-na-* involves noun-to-noun derivation in Sukuma if it is inserted between the noun class prefix and the noun stem. The noun class prefix depends on the noun class to which the element *-na-* is inserted. Furthermore, the element *-na-* is used in folktales to refer to animals. Thus, derivation of a noun to a noun with loanword occurs similarly. Consider the following examples. The numbers in brackets indicate the noun class of each noun.

(47)	London	>	*m-na-landani* (1)	‘a person from London’
	Londoni	>	*βa-na-landani* (2)	‘people from London’
	Germany	>	*m-na-βʊjelemaani* (1)	‘a person from Germany’
	Germany	>	*βa-na-βʊjelemaani* (2)	‘people from Germany’
	London	>	**βʊ-na-landani* (14)	‘Londonhood’
	Germany	>	**βʊ-na-βʊjelemaani* (14)	‘Germanyhood’

The examples above demonstrate various noun-to-noun derivation processes of English loan nouns. In the first example, ‘London’ is adapted to conform to Sukuma nominal morphology *landani*. The next stage, the insertion of the derivational morpheme *-na-* between the noun class prefix class 1 *m-* occurs and the already adapted noun *landani*, resulting in the derived noun. The same process occurs to noun class 2 in which the derivational morpheme *-na-* is inserted between the noun class prefix *βa-* and the adapted noun *landani*. With the insertion of the derivational morpheme *-na-* in both class 1 and 2, results in the derived nouns denoting humans.

It is uncommon for the derived nouns with the derivational morpheme *-na-* to occur into noun class 14, the class that denotes abstractness. This property is contrary to that of derived inherent nouns in Sukuma. Various nominal derivational affixes occur in Sukuma in which the productivity is generally robust. For example, the derivational morpheme *-o* is affixed to the nominal final position to denote an ‘instrument used to perform a certain act’. Another example of a derivational morpheme is *-a*. With inherent Sukuma verbs, the morpheme *-a* is affixed to the verb-final position to form a noun. These two morphemes, among others, in Sukuma, do not co-occur with loan nouns. However, in many cases, loan nouns do not take the morphemes *-a* as their final vowels. (cf. Schadeberg, 2009). Thus, some nominal derivational processes are pertinent to English loan nouns and others, are not permissible to borrowed nouns. Deverbal loan nouns exhibit derivational processes similar to those in the derivation of inherent words of the host language, Sukuma. Thus, English loan nouns exhibit the same morpho-syntactic features as inherent nouns in Sukuma while others behave differently compared to inherent nouns.

4.7 The lexical-semantics of compounding

The phenomenon of compounding, in morphology, has received extensive attention by researchers (cf. Matthew, 1972: Fabb, 1984: Bybee, 1985: Lieber, 1992; 2004; 2009; Lieber and Štekauer, 2009; Mphasha, 2006:5; Scalise and Vogel, 2010, among others). Scholars have employed various frameworks in investigating different kinds of compound nouns, for example, Jackendoff's Conceptual Semantics framework (2016) and Štekauer's Onomasiological perspectives (2016), among others. The current study, thus, assumes Lieber's lexical-semantic framework in examining the properties and interpretation of different types of English loan noun compounds in Sukuma. Lieber's theory is postulated for analysing the lexical-semantic morphology of both simple and complex compounds (cf. Lieber, 2004). She posits two theoretical mechanisms, namely a set of lexical semantic features – [material], [dynamic], and [IEPS], and *co-indexation*, which simplifies the semantic interpretation of constituents into a single referential unit. She also points out that such apparatus is essential in classifying simple and complex words, especially the interpretation of synthetic compounds in which semantic skeletons are composed (Lieber, 2004). Lieber distinguishes three kinds of compound nouns namely endocentric compounds, which have their head in one of their constituents, exocentric, which are headless compounds, and synthetic compounds. English is an endocentric language, thus the interpretation of compound based on the two constituents concatenated to form a new independent lexical item, which is referred to as a metonym.

Lieber (*ibid*) discusses various attributives that guide the structure of different types of compound nouns in English. In regard to root compounds made up by the combination of two constituents, Lieber points out that the right-hand constituent is normally not derived from the verb in such compounds. The structure of a root compound is given as follows.

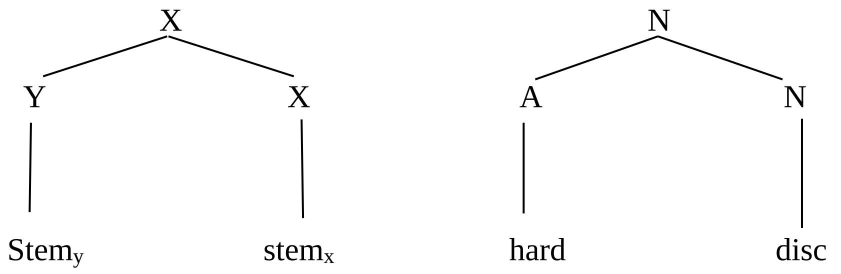


Figure 7: The structure of the root compound

From the diagrams above, it is evident that root compounds are formed by the combination of two stems. Their type of compound noun is identified as an independent word category, including all the morpho-syntactic properties that any right-hand stem is supposed to have.

In addition, Lieber presents a structural skeleton of synthetic compounds in English, the kind of compound whose right-hand constituent is a deverbal stem. With reference to two different structures of the synthetic compounds, Lieber demonstrates how the interpretation of synthetic compounds can cause ambiguity. The two structures are illustrated below.

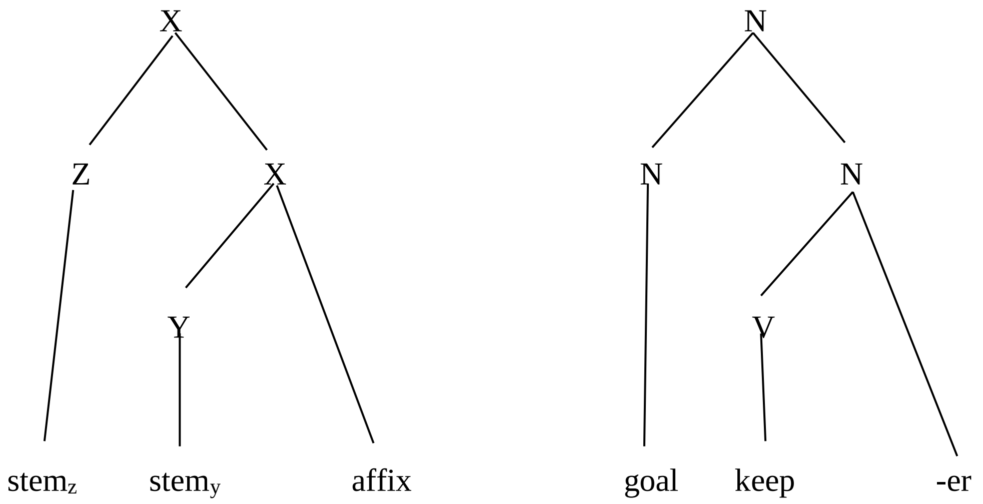


Figure 8: The structure of synthetic compounds

In figure 8 above, the structure is suggested to be acceptable for synthetic compounds. Lieber argues that this structure is supported by scholars who conducted researches in this field. For example, the derived noun *keeper* combines with another underived noun *goal* to form the compound *goalkeeper*. In this newly formed compound, the stem *keeper* assumes the role of the head of the whole compound.

By contrast, the opposite with the structure in Figure 9 below in which the compound noun is composed of a noun *goal* and a verb *keep*. This is uncommon with regard to the requirements for the formation of the synthetic compound. The process required for synthetic compound requires that the verb first combined with the nominalizer suffix *-er* to derive a deverbal noun, which then combines with the first stem to form a synthetic compound. However, in figure 9 below, the derivation suffix *-er* is positioned outside the compound.

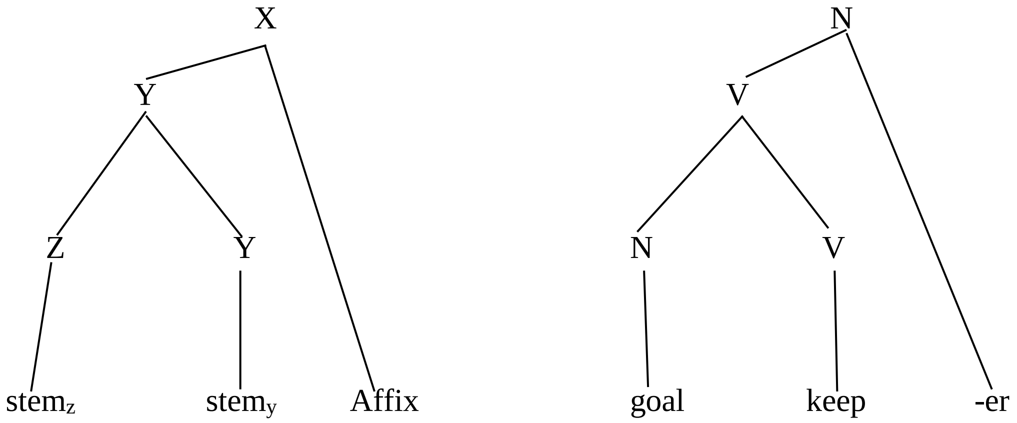


Figure 9: The structure of synthetic loan compounds

As discussed in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.4), like Bantu languages generally, Sukuma is a left-headed language while English is a right-headed language. The current section explores the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loan compound nouns borrowed either directly into Sukuma or via Swahili, especially endocentric and synthetic compounds, bearing in mind that the two languages – English and Sukuma - differ in terms of headedness in their compound morphology.

4.7.1 Loan compound nouns

Bantu languages exhibit various types of compound nouns. Compounds in Sukuma are borrowed from English directly or indirectly via Swahili. These compound nouns are probably borrowed taking account of different linguistic properties. As pointed out above, English is a right-headed language whereas Sukuma is a left-headed language. It is argued by many Bantuists (cf. Haugen, 1950; Knappert, 1970; Myers-Scotton, 1992; Nurse, 1988a; Campbell, 2004; Awagana et al., 2009; Mahlangu, 2016; among others) that loan nouns in the host language conform to the linguistic characteristics of that particular language. The sections below examine how the right-headed English compound nouns are accommodated in the left-headed Sukuma morphological system.

4.7.1.1 Noun-to-noun loan compound

Noun-noun (NN) loan compounds are prolific in the Sukuma lexicon. NN compounds generally have various interpretations since the two stems that constitute the compound can have a variety of meanings. When borrowed into Sukuma, these compounds are lexicalised to form a single lexical item with similar morpho-syntactic characteristics of Sukuma inherent words. The initial vowel is affixed to yield a specific reading. The borrowed compound nouns exhibit grammatical gender inflection, depending on the noun class prefix, as illustrated in the following examples.

(48) House + girl > *ʊhausigeelo* (1)
Goal + keeper > *ʊgoolikipa* (1)
Hand + brake > *ɪhandaβʊleeki* (9/10)
Foot + ball > *ɪfutubooli* (9/10)

The above examples illustrate that the initial vowels **ʊ-** and **-ɪ** are affixed to compound nouns *hausigeelo* / *goolikipa*, and also *handaβʊleeki* / *ɪfutubooli* respectively. Furthermore, the combination of the two constituents yields the derivation of an independent lexical item. Similar findings are reported by Buhumaid (2015:19) that the two lexical items involved in the combination of a loan noun compound are derived into one word when English loan compounds are borrowed in Hadhrami Arabic.

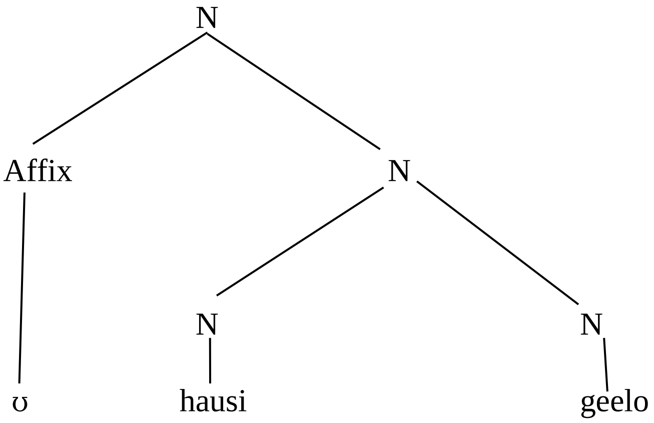


Figure 10: Noun-to-noun compound

In Figure 10 above, the NN compound consists of the nouns *hausi* ‘house’ and *geelo* ‘girl’ deriving the noun *hausigeelo* ‘house girl’. However, an affix -ʊ is affixed at word-initial position with the function of an initial vowel denoting specificity and definiteness. Scholars generally concur that the second noun of the two nominal stems that constitute a compound sometimes lacks its noun class prefix. The initial vowel of the first noun, in this case, determines noun class (cf. Schadeberg, 2003).

The [NN] *ʊhausigeelo* ‘house girl’ (10) above is formed with the head of the compound on the right, i.e, *geelo* ‘girl’, denoting the semantic interpretation that a girl is a person who takes care of the house. Thus, the loan noun *hausigeelo* reflects the English linguistic characteristics of being right-headed, which is opposite to inherent Sukuma compound nouns.

4.7.1.2 Deverbal loan noun compounds

Deverbal compounds have one constituent which is derived from a verb. Deverbal compound nouns are very rare in Sukuma because these kinds of nominalizers behave differently to nominalizers in English. Consider the following examples.

(49) lʊ-buloko βa-hala
AgrS-block 2-stupid (the one who blocks stupid people) < block English

ji-boa βa-yaanda
AgrS-bore 2-boy (the one who bores the boys) < bore English

In the examples above, the nominalizer *lʊ-* and *ji-* are affixed to the English verbs *block* and *bore*, respectively, changing their word categories to deverbal nouns. Although Sukuma has a range of nominalizers, these nominalizers do not co-occur with English loan verbs. They are only permissible in the derivation of inherent Sukuma verbs into nouns. This may be due to the fact that the nominalizers in English are affixed verb-finally, as in *drive (verb) + er (nominalizer) = driver (noun)* while the nominalisers in Sukuma are affixed verb-initially, as it is demonstrated in the examples above. The derived compound noun is lexicalised to denote only a single referent.

4.7.1.3 Coordinate compounds

As pointed out in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.4.3), coordinate compounding in Sukuma results from the combination of two or more constituents conjoined with a genitive morpheme coordinator. This genitive coordinator exhibits concord agreement with the noun class of the first constituent in a compound. For example, the two constituents in the compound *βayaanda βa βʊsanya* ‘boys of βʊsanya’ are connected with the genitive element *βa* which has agreement of the subject *βa-* in *βayaanda*, in noun class 2, denoting human plural semantics. Similar properties obtain noun with loan noun compounding. The initial vowel (or pre-prefix) is affixed to the first constituent of the loan compound, followed by the genitive coordinator, as illustrated in the following examples.

(50) a. ɪ-βasikeeli ya geeya
IV-9.bicycle CONJ gear > ‘a gear bicycle’

b. ɪ-supaana ja gaali
IV-10.spanner CONJ car > ‘spanners for a car’

c. ɪ-poombu ja βasikeeli
IV-10. pump CONJ bicycle > ‘a bicycles’ pump’

It is evidenced by the examples above that the connective genitive *ya* and *ja* are class exhibit agreement with noun classes 9 and 10, respectively. The distinction between singular class 9 and plural class 10 is evident in syntactic context as pointed out in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.2.5: examples 12a and b). The examples in (50) manifest Sukuma inherent compounding characteristics, that is, the left constituent occurs as the head of the compound. Thus, loan noun compound in Sukuma exhibit the linguistic characteristics thus conforming to the Sukuma linguistic system.

4.7.1.4 Adjectival compound loan nouns

Adjectival compound nouns consist of an adjective and a noun. In the previous chapters, particularly in chapter three, it was stated that the most borrowable word categories are nouns followed by verbs. Less is borrowed about adjectives and adverbs (cf. Mwita, 2009; Tadmor, 2009; Mapunda and Rosendal, 2015; Mahlangu, 2016; among others). This is probably because most of the speech communities have inherent adjectives and adverbs that describe the nature of entities. However, the emergence of new forms of culture due to language contact facilitates the introduction of a new vocabulary of which the inherent words cannot better describe the scenario. For example, in sports and games such as football, and in technology, words such as *ledikaadi* ‘red cord’ and *sofutikoopi* ‘soft copy’ have been introduced. Consider the following examples.

(51)	*yelokaadi*	‘yellow card’
	ledikaadi	‘red card’
	sofutikoopi	‘soft copy’

In the examples above, it is evident that the borrowed compounds with English origin are lexicalised as noun categories with Sukuma grammatical characteristics. The Sukuma inherent words for red and yellow are -*aza* and -*anjano* (<Swahili *njano*). The combination of

these inherent Sukuma terms for colour with loaned word ‘card’ does, however, not precisely capture the notion of ‘types of cards used by the referee in football as ways of warning players who violate rules or misbehave in the pitch’. The plausible combination is the loaned counterparts, which are, *yelo* ‘yellow’ and *leedi* ‘red’ each combining with *kaadi* ‘card’. Thus, it can be argued that such words are borrowed to accomplish the missing semantic implication in linguistics.

4.7.1.5 Proper noun compounds

Proper noun compounds are formed by the fusion of an inherent Sukuma noun and an English noun. As indicated in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.4.1), the constituent ‘*ŋg’wana*’, which denotes “child of” in Sukuma combines with a proper noun of English origin to form a compound, as illustrated in the following examples.

(52) ŋg’wana + Mary > *ŋg’wanamaliya*
ŋg’wana + Richard > *ŋg’wanaliichaadi*
ŋg’wna + Paul > *ŋg’wanapaaulo*
ŋg’wana + Rachel > *ŋg’wanaleecho*

In the examples in (52) above, the derived compounds denote the notion of ‘one to relate to the other’ in two ways. On the one hand, the compounds formed by the combination of the constituent ‘*ŋg’wana*’ with another English name constituent with feminine properties, such as Mary and Rachel in *ŋg’wanamaaliya* and *ŋg’wanaleecho*, respectively, as in (52) above denote the notion of ‘a son of…’, while on the other hand, the compounds fused with the same inherent Sukuma constituent with masculine English proper nouns such as Richard and Paul as in *ŋg’wanaliichaadi* and *ŋg’wanapaaulo* respectively denote the sense of ‘a daughter of…’ Traditionally, the Sukuma have means of showing respect to elders. As pointed out in chapter two, (cf. section 2.3.4.1), a person addresses his/her mother-in-law not by her name but by her father’s name. Furthermore, a person does not call his/her father-in-law by his name but by his mother’s name. This practice was common in the past when only inherent words were used. However, the situation changed especially with the introduction of religious names such as Michal, Peter, Melkizedeck, Emmanuel, Herman and many other names of the same nature. A further example of a proper noun compound denotes JESUS Christ, who is believed by Christians as the saviour of the world according to the holy scripts of the Bible referred to as *ŋg’wanamaliya*, ‘the son of Mary’ in Sukuma.

4.7.1.6 Semantic properties of loan noun compounds

It was stated that some loan compounds exhibit properties similar to the speakers of Sukuma. These compound nouns are borrowed into Sukuma from English via Swahili. In most cases, one constituent of the compound is omitted and the remaining one assumes the semantic reading of the whole compound, with the implicit interpretation of the source. The choice of which constituent to omit and which one to maintain depends on the simplicity or complexity of the compound noun, both morpho-syntactically and phonologically. Consider the following examples in (53).

(53)	‘Mini skirt’	> *jimiini* (cl.7) <Swahili (kimini)
	‘Memory card’	> *memoli* (cl.9) <Swahili (Memori kadi)
	‘Skin tight’	> *tayiti* (cl.9) < Swahili (taiti)
	‘Class monitor’	> *moonita* (cl.1) <Swahili (*monita wa darasa*)

From the discussion above, it is evident that some of the Sukuma compounds with English origin omit either the first constituent, as in ‘skin tight‘ and ‘class monitor’, or the second constituent, as in ‘mini skirt’ and ‘memory card’. However, the semantic interpretation of ‘mini skirt’ in *jimiini*, that is, a kind of skirt, which is implicitly short, is maintained. The property obtains same for *moonita* ‘class monitor’ of which the omission of the first constituent does not affect the semantic interpretation of the compound as ‘class monitor’. Thus, *moonita* ‘class monitor’ or ‘monita wa darasa’ refers to a student who controls all the activities in the classroom in the absence of teachers. The constituents that remain after omission of the counterparts’ other constitute appear in various noun classes. For example, ***ji-*** in *jimiini* is a noun class prefix for class 7 while *memoli* ‘memory card’ and *tayiti* ‘skin tight’ are both nouns in class 9 given that they do not have overt noun class prefixes, and *moonita* ‘class monitor’ belongs to noun class 1 since it denotes human. Thus, it can be argued that such kind of loan compounds exhibit linguistic properties similar to inherent Sukuma.

The loan nouns, *kingilodi* ‘king road’ and *loodimasta* ‘road master’ are compound nouns with English origin in Sukuma. These compound nouns came into existence in the Sukuma lexicon as labels that distinguished two types of bicycles. One bicycle had the label ‘King road’ while the other bicycle had the label ‘road master’. At that particular time, Sukuma speakers had only one word as a hypernym referring to all kinds of bicycles with names such as Phoenix, Gazelle, and Ambassador. The introduction of King Road and Road Master had the consequence that Sukuma speakers added other types of bicycle names called ‘*kingiloodi*’ and ‘*roadmasta*’ respectively. The sense of these two compound nouns is that such kinds of bicycles are strong enough to be used for travelling on, i.e. to manage and master various sort of roads. The findings in this regard concur with the views of Buhumaid, that one of the constituents of the English compound nouns is omitted when borrowed in Hadhrami Arabic although the remaining constituent assumes the semantic interpretation of the whole compound (cf. Buhumaid, 2015:19).

4.8 Typological approaches

Croft (2003) defines the language typology approach as an approach whose fundamental principle is *'cross-linguistic comparison'* of characteristic properties of different languages in the linguistic world. The approach is traced back to the early 1960's when J. H. Greenberg conducted research on the universal implications in word order (cf. Greenberg, 1963; Croft, 2003). Hence this approach is occasionally referred to as Greenbergian typology (Smith, 1988), or the functional-typological approach (Croft, 2003). Languages differ in their structural properties. It is pointed out that some linguistic properties occur more in certain languages while others do not occur in some other languages (cf. Greenberg, 1963; Chomsky, 1986; Comrie, 1989; Croft, 2003; Katamba, 2006). The following sections discuss the different structural properties of English loan nouns in Sukuma behave as compared to the structural properties of some selected African languages.

4.8.1 Typological approaches to English loan nouns

As stated above (cf. section 4.2), English and Sukuma are typologically unrelated languages that have some similarities and differences in their structural properties. In that case, English loan nouns with properties not permissible in Sukuma are adapted to conform to the Sukuma structural properties for them to be adapted in the Sukuma grammatical system. However, it has been observed that not all English loan nouns conform to Sukuma easily, rather it takes some time for some of them to be fully accommodated. This can be verified by the current study through the comparison of English loan nouns in Sukuma with the ways different Bantu, and non-Bantu languages accommodate loan nouns in their structural systems. This chapter focuses on the comparison of loan nouns to inherent nouns in Sukuma at three levels, namely phonological, lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic levels, as discussed next.

4.8.1.1 Phonological typology of loan nouns

It was pointed out in the previous sections (cf. section 4.4) that the structural properties of loan nouns that are not recognised by the speakers of the host language are adapted through a number of phonological processes, such as epenthesis, sound deletion, monophthongization, sound insertion, among others. The current section takes epenthesis as an example in discussing the similarities and differences of some African languages, in relation to English loan nouns in Sukuma. Sukuma does not allow a sequence of consonants in its system, thus the tendency is to insert an epenthetic sound to the English structural property not permissible in Sukuma, as explained in section 4.4.1 above. A similar view has been expressed by several scholars as it is demonstrated in the following examples.

(54) a. /ˈfʊtbɔːl/ > /fut**u**bɔl**ɔ**/ ‘football’
/skuːl/ > /s**i**kol**o**/ ‘school’ (Rose and Demuth, 2005).

b. /trænsˈfɔːmə(r)/> /tiranzifoma/ ‘transformer’
/dɪsk/ > /disiki/ ‘disk’ (Mheta and Zivenge, 2009).

c. /qartas/ > /karatasi/ ‘paper’
/barf/ > /barafu/ ‘ice’ (Schadeberg, 2009:90).

d. /ˈpeɪpə(r)/ > /pepara/
/fəʊk/ > /foroko/ (Lusekelo, 2013).

The examples above show that Bantu languages demonstrate an open syllable structure CV. Thus, borrowed words from other languages conform to this structural pattern. In (54a) above, the epenthetic vowels /u/, /o/ and /i/ are inserted between the consonants in the words *football* and *skol* respectively, for the reason that the structural syllabic property of the Southern African language Sesotho is open, which is different from the closed CCV syllable pattern of English and Afrikaans. Thus, English and Afrikaans words that are borrowed in Sesotho conforming to the structural properties of Sesotho (cf. Rose and Demuth, 2005). The same process occurs in (54b) in which different epenthetic vowels are inserted to break the sequences of English consonants borrowed in Tonga. In regard to (54c), Schadeberg points out that although Swahili tolerates some of the sequences of consonants from Arabic, some environments occur in which an epenthetic vowel is inserted for the natural pronunciation of Swahili speakers. English loan nouns in Setswana exhibit similar properties, as demonstrated by the examples in (54d) above in which the epenthetic vowels /a/ and /o/ are inserted word-medially /foroko/ and word-finally /pepara/. From a typological point of view, it can be concluded that languages have both similar and different structural properties. With regard to different types of loan nouns from different languages, it is evidenced that some structural properties re-occur more in certain languages while other properties do not occur in some languages. The cross-linguistic comparison of structural properties may result in identifying generalisations of the properties common in both the donor and the recipient language.

4.8.1.2 Lexical-semantic typology of loan nouns

It was stated in chapter three (cf. section 3.2.3) that loan nouns borrowed from one language enter the host language with their original meanings. However, these meanings may undergo changes, depending on linguistic and the socio-cultural properties of the host language. While some of the meanings of loan nouns undergo semantic broadening, others are narrowed to denote much more context-specific readings. Furthermore, a semantic shift occurs with some loan nouns. The current chapter refers to studies in four Bantu languages and one Cushitic language as examples in order to establish the semantic properties that occur when a languages borrow words from other languages. The selected languages include Swahili, Iraqw, Shimalıla, Ngoni and Sukuma.

As pointed in the previous sections, (cf. section 4.5.1), semantic broadening involves the expansion of referents a word may obtain after being borrowed. In Ngoni, the noun *chupa* ‘bottle’ is borrowed from the Swahili noun *chupa*. The meaning of the noun *chupa* ‘bottle’ in Swahili is restricted to ‘glass bottle’ only. Borrowed in Ngoni, it expands its meaning to denote all types of bottles, including plastic bottles (cf. Mapunda and Rosendal, 2016: 189). The same occurs in regard to the word *boosi* ‘boss’ in Sukuma. In English, the source language, the word boss refers to an individual who manages and gives instructions to other workers. When borrowed into Sukuma, the word *uboosi* ‘boss’ refers to any person who has a good financial status (cf. Joseph, 2012).

The Arab *samak* ‘fish’ was borrowed in Swahili as *samaki* to include reference to all the types of fish, and the term is mostly used by Tanzanian inland speakers (cf. Maho, 2000:44). The word *kalamu* ‘pen’ is borrowed from Swahili into Ngoni as *kalamu*, which denotes both pen and pencil. Nevertheless, in Ngoni (Mapunda and Rosendal, 2015:189), its meaning is restricted to *ink pen*. The Swahili word *mashine* ‘machine’ refers to “a piece of equipment with moving parts, designed to perform a particular function. The power used by the machine may be electricity, steam, gas, etc. or human power" (Hornby, 2015). However, when borrowed in Shimalıla, the word *imashine* 'machine' refers only to a machine special for grinding maize (Sote, 2011). Similarly in Iraqw, the Swahili word *miti* refers to both trees and sticks. The meaning of this word is restricted to denote only sticks when borrowed in Iraqw (cf. Mous and Qorro, 2009:117).

The current chapter has indicated some English loan nouns undergo a complete shift in meanings after being borrowed in Sukuma. For example, the English word 'goal keeper' refers to a player who keeps and protects the ball from going in his or her own team's goal post. When borrowed in Sukuma, the word *golikipa* 'goal keeper' refers to a woman who does not work, and who keeps waiting for her husband to bring everything needed at home. From these examples, it is evident that some borrowed words undergo semantic broadening, or obtain specialised meanings in the host language since their original meanings are narrowed, and undergo a semantic shift. In addition, cross-cultural linguistic comparison of different languages contributes to establishing semantic properties in various semantic fields. The borrowability rate differs from one semantic field to another. Through the comparison of different loan nouns occurring in different semantic fields in different languages, it can be observed that the semantic fields of 'modern world' science and technology, religious and belief systems, education, sports and games are robust sources of loan nouns (cf. Maho, 2000; Mous and Qorro, 2009; Tadmor, 2009; Iribemwangi, 2013; Mapunda and Rosendal, 2015; among others). By contrast, the rate of borrowing is less prominent in semantic fields such as those denoting forests, animals, birds, parts of the body, kinship, the house and the physical world. Many borrowed nouns in the semantic fields of the modern world are additive nouns, for filling the lexical gap due to the lack of inherent noun to express the newly introduced concepts and entities in the host language.

4.8.1.3 Morpho-syntactic properties of loan nouns from a typological perspective

In chapter two (cf. section 2.3.3), it was stated that in Sukuma, like generally in Bantu languages, nouns occur in different noun classes, determined by their meanings and the noun class prefix each noun has. It was also pointed out in the current chapter (cf. section 4.6.2) that all English loan nouns in Sukuma occur in one of the noun classes in Sukuma as classified by their noun class prefixes. Loan nouns without overt noun class prefixes occur in the default classes, 5 and 6 and 9 and 10 in Sukuma. Bantu languages such as Sesotho, Setswana, Yimbulu and Swahili can be viewed as examples for comparison in regard to the occurrence of English loan nouns in Sukuma.

From a typological point of view of the selected Bantu languages, it is revealed that the loan nouns received in Bantu languages are assigned into the noun classes with the consideration of their meanings and noun class prefixes. For example, class 1 and 2 in Yimbulu are semantically for human, thus, loan nouns such as *Mukamaruni* and *Bakamaruni* <Cameroun [Kamrun] French 'Cameroonese' are assigned to classes 1and 2 respectively since they denote humans. A similar property occurs in the other selected languages. Furthermore, it is argued that loan nouns that do not have noun class prefixes are grouped into either classes 5/6 and 9/10 (cf. Batibo, 1985 in Sukuma; Petzell, 2003, 2005 in Swahili) or assigned to classes 9/10 (cf. Demuth, 2000 in Setswana; Mavoungou, 2005 in Yilumbu). However, noun classes 9/10 are the default classes since they receive relatively many loan nouns across Bantu languages.

The process of adaptation of loan nouns into different noun classes is somewhat not uniform. For example, Mahlangu (2016) points out that all loan nouns with English and Afrikaans origin are spread in the 18 noun classes in IsiNdebele. This is not common in all Bantu languages in which some of the noun classes do not receive or accommodate loan nouns, particularly locative classes 16, 17 and 18. English loan nouns in Sukuma occur in most noun classes with the exception of noun classes 8, 11 and the locative noun classes 16, 17 and 18.

The nominal derivation is evidently robust in Bantu nominal morphology. For example, noun classes 1 and 2 are viewed as highly productive classes in the language studies reviewed. The three locative classes with the pre-prefixes [*fa*-], [*kwa*-] and [*mo*-] in Setswana are productive, in contrast to Sesotho and Sukuma. Swahili in which the variant locative suffix is **-***ni* (Petzell, 2005), as in the words *shamba***ni** 'at the farm', and *duka***ni** 'in the shop'. In Sukuma, as is general in Bantu languages, nominal derivation involves the affixation of morphemes, which result in changes of noun classes. For example, the noun class prefixes for classes 1 and 2 are *mu*-, as in *munhʊ* 'person' and *βa*-, as in *βanhʊ* 'people' respectively. In English loan nouns, the noun class prefix -*mu*- is assimilated to *n*-, as in [mkatoliki] 'Catholic member' to [nkatoliki]. The noun class prefix -*βa*- remains unchanged, as in *βakatoliki* 'Catholic members'.

Research within the language typology approach is important in the study of a cross-linguistic comparison of different language structures. Typology enables a linguist to establish the common structural properties of languages and to determine their differences. However, some linguists claim that linguistic typology is concerned with the ordinary description of languages and that the approach cannot sufficiently develop linguistic theory. Such a claim by the generative linguists entails a misperception of the typological approach among linguists. In actual sense, as Croft (2003) argues, the process of describing the structural properties of different languages is not only important to typologists but also to linguists assuming other approaches.

4.9 Generative syntax approaches

It was stated in chapter one (cf. section 1.3.1), that the generative syntax approach developed through a number of versions (cf. Carnie, 2006;2013) following the reaction by its main proponent, Chomsky towards Harrison's work. The current study picks, among other approaches, the Generative Syntax approaches in analysing various lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic characteristics of English loan nouns in Sukuma.

4.9.1 Phonological properties of English loan nouns in a generative syntax

The focus of the current study relates to the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loan nouns in Sukuma. Due to vowel and consonant differences between the donor and the host languages, it is important to consider phonological properties that occur in the process of adaptation of English loan nouns in Sukuma. This section therefore briefly addresses some of the phonological properties occurring frequently in Sukuma and other selected African languages in the generative syntax approaches.

The process of adaptation of English loan nouns in Sukuma involves a variety of phonological processes, taking into account the constraints of Sukuma. Sound deletion (cf. section 4.4.2) is taken as an example of how the generative perspective relates to the study of loan nouns in Sukuma and other African languages. Deletion of sounds is a phonological process in which some sound segments or syllables are omitted or deleted from a word (cf. Massamba, 2010). Concerning English loan nouns in Sukuma, it is established that some sound segments of the borrowed English nouns that form sequences, which violate the constraints of Sukuma are deleted when they are adapted. The following examples in (55a) and (56a) illustrate the way segment deletion operates in words borrowed from English and Swahili.

(55) a. *Siβitaali* <(Eng) ‘hospital’ - Sukuma (Joseph, 2012:65)
b. *Sepetlele* <(Eng) ‘hospital’ - Sesotho (Demuth, 2000)
c. *Yipitaali* <(Fr) ‘hospital’ - Yimbulu (Mauvangou, 2005:262)
d. *Siptaali* <(Eng) ‘hospital’ - Iraq (Mous & Qorro, 2009)
(56) a. *lʊkoopita* <(Swah) ‘helikopta’ - Sukuma (Joseph, 2012:66)
b. *likoptera* <(Fr) ‘helicopter’ - Yimbulu (Mauvangou, 2005:263)

From the data in (55) and (56) above, the onset and nuclear of the initial syllables *ho*- and *he*- are deleted from the nouns ‘hospital’ and ‘helikopta,’ respectively. This property similarly occurs in other African languages in which similar sound segments are omitted, as in Sesotho, Yimbulu and Iraqw as shown in the examples above. This process occurs because the deleted sound segments begin with a weak onset /h/. Thus, the deletion of these sound segments is a way of modifying the loan nouns in order to accommodate them into Sukuma, as in other African languages mentioned above. This observation does not conform to the observation made by Massamba (2010) that deletion of sound segment takes place word initially.

From a generative perspective, the phonetic form, which is viewed as sound sequences and the logical form, which is viewed as the mental abstract representation of sentences are captured by the Principles and Parameters framework (cf. Chomsky, 1986a:86), a subsequence version of generative syntax. For example, the word *sepetlele* in (55b) is combined with a sequence of vowels and consonants. The sequence of sounds bears a mental representation of the meaning, referring to ‘hospital’. In other words, the words *sepetlele* is borrowed from English, denoting the concept of ‘hospital’ although the sound sequence is modified to suit the linguistic system of Sesotho. The same occurs in Sukuma and other African languages as exemplified above. Thus, each process of language in Bantu languages may have a different sequence of sounds in adapting foreign words, for the mental representation of the meanings for example, in this case, ‘hospital’.

4.9.2 Morpho-syntactic properties of English loan nouns from a generative syntax perspective

It was stated in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.1) that in the Sukuma noun class system, the pre-prefix occurs in some environments while its occurrence is restricted in some other environments, depending on the syntactic environments. The structure of the DP illustrating the pre-prefix as it occurs with an inherent Sukuma head noun was given in chapter two (cf. section 2.5.1.4). In the current chapter, (cf. section 4.2.1), the properties of English loan nouns in Sukuma are explored. It was pointed out that English and Sukuma differ in the sense that the former is an articled language while the latter does not have articles similar to English. Thus, some of the words with English origin occur with the pre-prefix and others do not occur with the pre-prefix, depending on the syntactic restrictions of a pre-prefix with inherent Sukuma nouns. The occurrence of a pre-prefix of a noun with English origin denotes definiteness and specificity and its omission renders an indefiniteness and non-specificity interpretation to the noun. The occurrence of the pre-prefix of a noun is represented in the position of the head of the DP projection. The discussion about the (non)occurrence of the pre-prefix with English loan nouns is presented in the current chapter (cf. section 4.6.3). Similar issues were addressed by Visser (2008), Buell (2009), Asiimwe (2014) and Mahlangu (2016) in IsiXhosa, Nguni, Runyankore-Rukiga and IsiNdebele respectively, as shown in the following examples.

(57) a. *u-mu-ntu* ‘person’ *a-ba-ntu* ‘people’ (Visser, 2008:16)
b. *i-(li)-sango* ‘gate’ *a-ma-sango* ‘gates’ (Buell, 2009)
c. *o-mu-tumba* (3) ‘banana tree’ *e-mi-tumba*(4) ‘banana trees’ (Asiimwe, 2014:241)
d. *u-m-bhabhadisi*(1) ‘baptiser’ *a-ba-bhabhadisi*(2) ‘baptisers’ (Mahlangu, 2016:26).

The occurrence of the pre-prefix as head of DP in the examples above can be distinguished in terms of the pre-prefix occurrence with inherent nouns of Bantu languages and the pre-prefix occurrence with loan nouns. In (57a, b and c), the pre-prefix *u-*, *i-*, and o- are the head of the DPs *mu-ntu, sango* and *mu-tumba* for singular, as is the case with their plural counterparts. In (57d), the pre-prefix *u-* in *umbhabhadisi* ‘baptizer’ assumes the role of the head of DP for the loanword borrowed from English into IsiNdebele. Similarly for *abhabhadisi* in which the pre-prefix *a-* functions as head of the nominal DP projection, in both inherent and loan noun phrase projections as illustrated in the following structural representation.

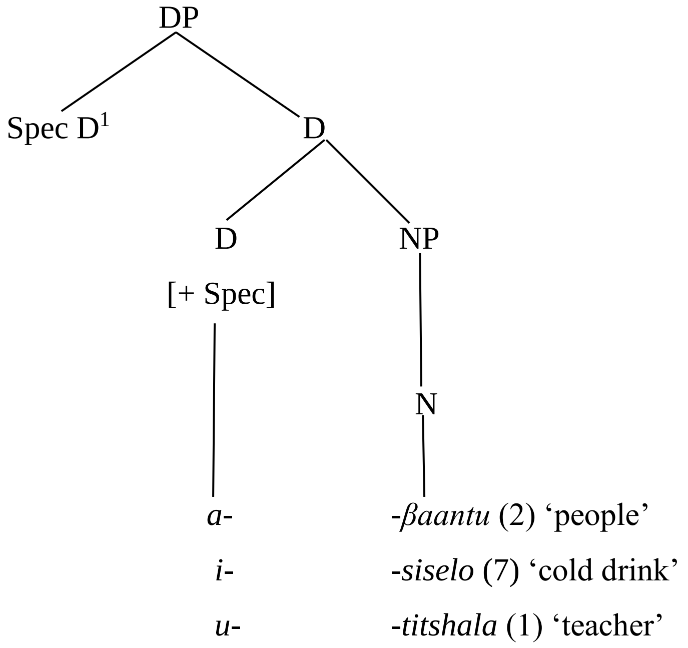


Figure 11: Realisation of the pre-prefix as head of DP in IsiXhosa (Visser, 2008:16)

The figure (11) above illustrates that the pre-prefix occurs in the position of the head of the functional category Determiner in the DP projection, bearing the feature specific [+Spec], and takes an NP complement. It can be suggested that the pre-prefix assumes the role of the head in the DP projection only when there is no any other lexical item in its position, otherwise, lexical items such as adjectives and demonstratives can assume the role of the head in the DP projection when the pre-prefix is omitted. From a generative syntax perspective, this observation concurs with the DP hypothesis as advocated by Abney and other scholars that the determiner selects the nominal head as its complement, thus occurring as head in the DP projection. Thus, it can be suggested that the head of a DP projection can be either a full content word or a functional category determiner DP (cf. Abney, 1987, Szabolcsi, 1994; Bernstein, 1993; Longobardi, 1994; Alexiadou et al., 2007, among others). Carnie (2006:196) maintains that this is not the case across all languages.

4.9.3 Lexical-semantic properties of English loan nouns from a generative syntax perspective

In chapter two, (cf. section 2.3.1), it was pointed out that the distribution of inherent Sukuma nouns in the Sukuma noun class system involves morphological and semantic criteria, For example, noun classes 1 and 2 are associated with human beings, noun classes 3 and 4 are associated with trees and natural objects while noun classes 9 and 10 are linked to the animal class, etc. As pointed previously, (cf. section 4.6.2), English nouns that need membership in Sukuma are assigned into different Sukuma noun classes, according to the semantic characteristics of their noun class prefixes, as exemplified below.

(58)	**Class 1**		**class 2**	
	ʊpaasita	'pastor'	*aβapaasita*	'Pastors'
	ʊkatekiisita	'Catechist'	*aβakatekiisita*	'Catechists'

in the examples above, the English loan nouns *ʊpaasita* 'pastor' and *ʊkatekiisita* 'catechist' are allocated to class 1 singular, taking their plural counterparts in class 2 *aβapaasita* 'pastors' and *aβakatekiisita* 'catechists' respectively because they implicitly denote human characteristics. The noun class prefix for classes 1/2 are -*mu*- and -*βa*- respectively in inherent nouns but it is observed that -*mu*- does not occur with loan nouns. Other English loan nouns, which do not have specific noun class prefix, are assigned in the default classes 5 and 6, and 9 and 10.

Furthermore, it can be argued that the introduction of new words with English origin in the Sukuma lexicon has led to the expansion of the existing semantic fields. Few examples of the semantic fields which have received loan nouns include education, transportation mechanisms, title and careers, counting and numbers, sports and games, clothes, school equipment, home environment, food, drinks, fruits, home utensils, animals both domestic and wild animals, and military ornaments. Most of these semantic fields are associated with the development of science and technology. Similar observations have been reported by Mauvangou (cf. 2005:264) in Yimbulu.

From a generative syntax perspective, it is assumed that an interrelationship obtains between sound and meaning (cf. Chomsky, 1972a:17; 1975; 2001a). It is assumed that human language faculty is divided into two parts namely the 'computational component' and the 'lexicon' (cf. Carnie, 2013:236). The former contains the rules and constraints of how the language ought to be while the latter stores information such as the lexical meaning of words, their syntactic category and the way they are pronounced. The computational component retrieves the linguistic information from the mental dictionary or lexicon for the interpretation of meaning (cf. Carnie, 2006; 2013). For example, the Sukuma word *ʊdoogita* 'medical doctor', borrowed from English, consists of a combination of different sounds or letters which together make up a unit of meaning of the object called *ʊdoogita*. The meaning is an abstract mental representation of concepts. The human mind requires modification of such a mental representation into general concept used by the mind, i.e. the loanword *ʊdoogita* ‘medical doctor’ is linked to the concept of “a person who has been trained in medical science, whose job is to treat people who are ill/sick or injured” (cf. Hornby, 2015). Thus, the interface between the external sound and internal meaning are linked by the computational components for the delivery of meaning, as exemplified in the English loan nouns *ʊdoogita* ‘medical doctor’.

4.10 Summary

The main purpose of this chapter was to examine the lexical-semantic and the morpho-syntactic properties of loan nouns with English origin in Sukuma. The key focus was to explore whether the English loan nouns exhibit properties similar to inherent Sukuma nouns. Thus, the chapter aimed to examine the extent to which English loan nouns in the DP domain exhibit lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of Sukuma non-loan nouns. Furthermore, the chapter was dedicated to the examination of the distribution of various English loan nouns in the Sukuma noun class system. In this chapter, it was demonstrated that the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic characteristics of English and Sukuma have some similarities and differences. While English is an articled language, Sukuma uses the initial vowel for denoting definiteness and specificity. Thus, English nouns that are adapted in Sukuma conform to the Sukuma grammatical system through some linguistic modifications according to the system of the host language. It was further pointed out that English loan nouns reflect views from the Sukuma culture. English loan nouns that denote tangible properties of cultures were classified according to different semantic fields such as education, transportation mechanisms, title and careers, counting and numbers, sports and games, clothes, school equipment, home environment, food, drinks, fruits, home utensils, animals both domestic and wild animals, and military ornaments. However, the occurrence of English loan nouns from the various semantic fields differ. Loan nouns occur more readily in some certain semantic fields such as science and technology, education, sports and games than in some other semantic fields, such as those denoting animals and birds, due to lack of the terms to describe newly introduced concepts and entities. Furthermore, Sukuma speakers borrow some lexical items due to language prestige. These kinds of loan nouns duplicate the existing inherent (native) words and thus serve as synonyms of native words.

In the investigation of Sukuma loan nouns, it was stated that when a word is borrowed from the donor language to the recipient language comes with its meaning. However, this original meaning may be affected in various semantic ways. Borrowed lexical items undergo a semantic broadening, semantic narrowing and semantic shift. It was demonstrated that some borrowed lexical items undergo lexical-semantic adaptation reflecting social and cultural views of Sukuma speakers, some borrowed compounds and multiword expressions in Sukuma are lexicalized as single lexical items and others undergo segment loss. In this case, it was affirmed that some of the English loan nouns exhibit similar semantic properties to the inherent (native) Sukuma words while some exhibit different semantic characteristics.

In regard to the morpho-syntax properties of English loan nouns, it was found that Sukuma has adapted a number of nouns from English either directly or indirectly via Swahili. The findings demonstrate that the borrowed words are adapted in the Sukuma lexicon. However, the adaptation of borrowed nouns does not occur non-systematically, rather, Sukuma employed various mechanisms of making them conform to its system. It was further argued that English nouns were distributed in the Sukuma noun class system. In that case, all the borrowed nouns that need membership in one of the Sukuma noun classes were modified to fit appropriately the nominal morphology of Sukuma, the host language, depending on their noun class prefixes. However, the English loan nouns, which do not have noun class marks, were assigned to the default classes 5 and 6, and 9 and 10 in Sukuma. In addition, it was pointed out that some Sukuma noun classes were observed to have many English loan nouns compared to other noun classes. For example, classes 1 and 2, 5 and 6, and 9 and 10 have massive loan nouns compared to classes 3 and 4, and7 and 8 in which few loan nouns were allocated.

The findings give evidence that nominal derivation in Sukuma entails two productive derivational mechanisms, namely derivation by the affixation of different final suffixes, and the assignment of a derived nominal stem to a noun class. Thus, the derivation of nouns from verbs in Sukuma involves a variety of derivational process. English loan nouns respond to various derivation processes when borrowed in Sukuma. Such processes involve attachment of elements such as [-*i*, -*e*, -*w*-/-*iw*- and -*na*-] to the loan nouns, denoting several different semantic properties. Some nominal derivational processes in Sukuma are permissible with English loan nouns while others are not. It was concluded that some morpho-syntactic properties are shared by both English and Sukuma while other properties are largely different between the two languages. Thus, some of the English loan nouns exhibit the same morpho-syntactic features as those of inherent nouns in Sukuma while others behave differently when compared with the inherent words.

This chapter was concerned with the examination of loan nouns that originate from English compounds in Sukuma. Despite the richness of compound nouns in Sukuma, several compounds in Sukuma are borrowed from English directly or indirectly via Swahili. Furthermore, it was maintained by many linguists (cf. Haugen, 1950; Knappert, 1970; Myers-Scotton, 1992; Nurse, 1988a; Campbell, 2004; Awagana et al., 2009; Mahlangu, 2016; among others) that loan nouns that need membership in the host language must adhere to the linguistic characteristics of that particular language. Assuming Lieber's (2004) lexical-semantic framework, the analysis of English compound loan nouns, especially the semantic interpretation of constituents into a single referential unit was examined. From the examples provided, it was evidenced that English compound nouns are lexicalised when borrowed into the Sukuma lexicon. Loan compounds of this nature are identified as noun-noun compounds, deverbal compounds, coordinate compounds, adjectival compounds and proper noun compounds. Furthermore, some loaned compounds drop either their first or last elements when borrowed in Sukuma despite retaining their original senses. English loan nouns in Sukuma were examined from both a generative syntax and a typological perspective. Few Bantu languages were considered for cross-linguistic comparison in examining the similarities and differences in structural properties. From the generative syntax perspective, it was established that most of the English loan nouns exhibit lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties similar to inherent Sukuma nouns. However, some few English loan nouns demonstrated rigidness in the process of adaptation. In the typological perspective, it was argued that Bantu languages share common properties despite few individual differences.

Generally, English loan nouns in Sukuma largely exhibit properties similar to inherent Sukuma nouns although relatively few English words are gradually accommodated in Sukuma possibly due to the typological distinction between the two languages and the complexity of the nominal morphology of the recipient language.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ADAPTATION OF ENGLISH LOAN VERBS IN SUKUMA: INFLECTIONAL, DERIVATIONAL AND LEXICAL-SEMANTIC PROPERTIES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines English loan verbs with a specific focus on the ways they are adapted in Sukuma. It is concerned with English loan verbs in the two domains of Verbal Phrase (VP) and Inflectional Phrase (IP), in analysing the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of loan verbs. The purpose is to examine the extent to which English loan verbs in Sukuma in the VP and IP domain exhibit lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic characteristics similar to those of inherent (native) verbs. The chapter aims to address the following questions:

(i) Do English loan verbs exhibit properties similar to inherent Sukuma verbs?
(ii) What are the morpho-syntactic properties that characterize the adaptation of English loan verbs in the VP and IP domains?
(iii) To what extent do English loan verbs in the VP domain exhibit lexical-semantic properties characteristic of inherent (native) verbs in Sukuma?

This chapter is organized into seven main sections. This section presents the introduction, which outlines the main purpose, aims and objective of the chapter. The introduction first gives a demarcation of loan verb issues which the chapter addresses. Next, it outlines the chapter organisation. Section 5.3 examines the Sukuma verbal morphology in relation to English loan verbs. Section 5.4 is concerned with the tense, aspect and mood forms of English loan verbs. In this regard, various tense forms are examined, including the past tense, of which the chapter discusses more specifically the past tense forms referring to as the immediate past tense, the recent past tense and the remote past tense. This is followed by a discussion of the present tense, and thereafter, the future tense. Section 5.5 is concerned with various aspectual forms of English loan verbs, such as the inchoative form, the habitual form, the progressive form, and the perfective form.

Section 5.6 addresses verbal derivational suffixes of English loan verbs in Sukuma, with regard to suffixes such as the applicative, the causative, the passive, the stative, the reciprocal, and the reflexive. The section furthermore presents an analysis of verbal extension co-occurrences. Section 5.7 examines the argument structural properties of English loan verbs, examining issues on the basic clause structure, transitivity, argument alternation, the reversive alternation, argument realisation with a combination of suffixes and coordination of clauses. Section 5.8 presents an analysis of different changes in lexical-semantic properties that English loan verbs undergo in the process of adaptation, such as semantic narrowing, semantic retention, semantic shift and other properties that exhibited by English loan verbs when they are accommodated in Sukuma as the host language. The last section, that is, 5.9, is the conclusion which gives a summary of the key findings of the chapter concerning lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loan verbs in Sukuma and considers issues concerning future research.

5.2 The order of morphemes in English loan verb morphology

Before discussing, though briefly, about the elements that constitute the English loan verbs, a brief descriptive introduction to the structure of the English verb is given. English is an isolated language since its morphemes are separate (Cristal, 1991;1995). In that case, the structures of the verbs in the three tenses vary greatly as shown below:

(1)	VERB ROOT + -ED	kill	>	kill**ed** (past tense)
	VERB ROOT + -S	kill	>	kill**s** (present tense)
	VERB ROOT + WILL	kill	>	**will** kill (future tense)

To express a past event, for example, the past tense marker *-ed* is affixed to the verb root. Normally, with the exception of the future tense marker, other morphemes that mark tense and aspect in English are affixed to the verb root. The three forms of the tenses above are further classified into various sub-forms to denote different senses in relation to time, aspect and mood. The following examples illustrate the different forms of tenses and the forms that express various senses in relation to time for each tense form.

VERB ROOT + -ED kill > kill**ed** (past tense)
John killed a lion

VERB ROOT + -S kill > kill**s** (present tense)
John kills a lion every day

VERB ROOT + -ES cry > cries (present tense)
The baby cries every morning
VERB ROOT + Ø eat > eat (present tense)
They eat food frequently

VERB ROOT + WILL kill > **will** kill (future tense)
The boys will kill a lion next week

However, English has other irregular verb forms that have different tense morphemes such as run > ran, sing > sang/sung etc. Verbs of this kind express past tense, past perfect tense and past participle tense. From the above examples, it is evident that English is an isolated language in that each word is written separately from the other as, for example, in the sentence '*The boy will kill a lion next week'*. This contrasts with the morphological word structure of Sukuma, and Bantu languages in general, which are agglutinative. Like Bantu languages generally, Sukuma is a richly inflected language. The grammatical inflectional morphemes in Sukuma generally occur before the verb root whereas the derivational suffixes follow the verb root, as indicated below.

(2) aganilımıla
a-ga-ni-lım-ıl-a
3SG-AgrS-PAST-AgrO-cultivate-APPL-FV
'S/he cultivated on my behalf'

From the example above, it is evident that some English loan verbs in Sukuma undergo adaptation with respect to forms and rules governing the morpho-syntactic and lexical-semantic properties of Sukuma as the host language. Consider the following example, which demonstrates that the morphological structure of some of the English loan verbs is similar to that of inherent (native) verbs in Sukuma.

(3) βalanidauniloodia
βa-la-ni-dauniloodi-a
3PL-AgrS-REMF-AgrO-download-APPL/FV
'They will (one day in the future) download on my behalf'

In the above example, the last vowel [-*a*] has two functions. As it is argued by Schadeberg (2009), most loanwords end with [-*i*, -*u* and -*e*] as their final vowels and they are not separated from the root verbs morphologically. However, since the monotransitive verb 'download' above has been detransitivized, the vowel [-*a*] assumes the function of both an applicative and a final vowel, as illustrated in the following example.

(4) βaladauniloodi
βa-la-dauniloodi
3PL-AgrS-REMF-AgrO-download
'They will (one day in the future) download'

In the above example (4), the English loan verb *dauniloodi* 'download' denotes a future event in a simple underived statement. However, it has been inflected for TAM similar to other inherent Sukuma verbs. For example, the grammatical agreement morphemes occur before the verb root, thus complying with the typical order of Sukuma verbal morphology. Furthermore, the verb has undergone phonological modification, specifically sound substitution and vowel lengthening. This implies that English verbs introduced in Sukuma comply with the Sukuma linguistic system. Issues in this regard are addressed in the next sections.

5.3 Sukuma verbal morphology in relation to English loan verbs

The Sukuma verbal morphology can be divided into three aspects namely the pre-root aspect, the root aspect and the post-root aspect. This section examines various elements that constitute the Sukuma verbal morphology in relation to the adaptation of English loan verbs. The aim is to examine the extent to which English loan verbs exhibit similar linguistic characteristics to inherent Sukuma verbs.

5.3.1 The pre-initial position in Sukuma verbal morphology

The pre-initial position is associated with the clitic -*na*- denoting 'and then'. As it is indicated in chapter two (cf. section 2.4.1.1), the pre-initial element -*na*- has the function of a conjunctive of two or verbs in a series, each expressing an event that happened or the event that will happen after a certain event in Sukuma. In a communication situation when the speaker wants to connect two English loan verbs in a series, the pre-initial element -*na*- is used, as exemplified below, taking English verbs *soovu* 'solve' and *piliinti* 'print' as a case study.

(5) alɪɪβasoovia na aβapiliintie amajibu
a-lɪɪ-βa-soovi-a na a-βa-piliinti-e a-ma-jibu
3SG-AgrS-PRES-AgrO-solve-APPL CONJ AgrS-AgrO-print-APPL IV-6-answer
'S/he is solving (the questions) *and then* print the answers (to the students)'

Two actions are expressed in the example in (5) above. The first action relates to the teacher solving the questions and the second one relates to the teacher printing the answers to the students. The two sentences are connected by the pre-initial element -*na*-. A similar example was discussed in chapter two (cf. 2.4.1.1) in which the element -*na*- connects two inherent verbs. It, therefore, can be concluded that English loan verbs exhibit similar characteristics to inherent Sukuma verbs. The combination of two loan verbs in a series occurs frequently, depending on the level of multilingualism of the speakers involved. The element -*na*- is not the only conjunction in Sukuma. Some other conjunctions are discussed in section 5.7 of this chapter.

5.3.2 The initial position in Sukuma verbal morphology

The initial position comprises of the agreement of the subject (AgrS), denoting the person, gender and number (singular or plural) features of the verb. The initial position is an obligatory element in all forms of the verbal morphology (except in imperatives) and that it realizes the concordial agreement with nouns, adjectives and objects (cf. Kiango, 2000:161; Kanijo, 2012:22). The Sukuma data indicate that some English loan verbs that enter into the Sukuma verbal morphology are adapted through various modifications to conform to the Sukuma grammatical system, as exemplified below.

(6) ʊŋg'waaniki waape agaβaseevu aβageni ɪjilɪɪwa
ʊ-ŋg'wa-aniki waape a-ga-βa-seevu a-βa-geni ɪ-ji-lɪɪwa
IV-1-girl white AgrS-PAST-AgrO-serve IV-2-visitor IV-7-food
'The white girl served the food to the visitors'

In the above example, it is evident that the subject agreement prefix (AgrS) indicates the gender and number features of the verb. The verb demonstrates concordial agreement with the object agreement prefix (AgrO), [-*βa*-], and the nouns [*aβageni*] 'visitors'. The example in (6) above demonstrates that at least some English loan verbs behave similarly to inherent Sukuma verbs. However, the verb in the above sentence construction does not occur with the applicative derivational morpheme, although it allows direct and indirect objects. This property is in contrast to that of inherent Sukuma verbs as was discussed in chapter two (cf. section 2.4.1.2) in which the applicative and the final vowel are allowed to occur. A possible reason for the difference could relate to the semantic nature of the loan verb *soovu* 'solve'.

5.3.3 The post-initial position in Sukuma verbal morphology

Negation morphemes are mutually exclusive with other functional morphemes of tense, aspect and mood. In the order of elements in the Sukuma verbal morphology, the negative morpheme occupies the third slot, that is, the post-initial position (cf. section 2.4.1) in chapter two, Sukuma has two morphemes for indicating negation. One is a negation morpheme indicating the past tense and the other is a negation morpheme that indicates the future tense. The past tense morphemes indicating negation are distinct for the near past tense, encoded by morpheme [-*da*-], and remote past tense, also encoded by the morpheme [-*da*]. The difference between the near past tense and remote past tense correlate with the use of temporal adverbials such as 'last year, yesterday, two days ago, that year and so forth. Furthermore, future tense morphology is similarly distinct, that is, the near future tense is encoded by the morpheme [-*dʊ*-] and the remote future tense is encoded by the morpheme [-*dala*]. When the verb denotes the near past tense, the final vowel occurs as *-e* in Sukuma. In other all types of negation, the final vowel remains -*a*. English loan verbs occur with a negative Sukuma morpheme, as exemplified below.

(7) a. ʊfuundi adaβaseetie ɪsa
ʊ-fuundi a-da-bha-seeti-e ɪ-sa
IV-1-technician AgrS-NEG-AgrO-set-APL-FV IV-clock
'The technician did not set the clock for them'

b. ʊfuundi adʊβaseetiya ɪsa
ʊ-fuundi a-dʊ-βa-seeti-ya ɪ-sa
IV-1-technician AgrS-NEG-AgrO-set-APL-FV IV-clock
'The technician will not set the clock for them'

As indicated in the above examples, not all the final vowels remain unchanged [-*a*], especially in English loan verb adaptation. It is pointed out above that, normally, loan verbs end with [-*e*, -*u* and -*i*]. If this happens with loan verbs, the final vowel fulfils two functions at the same time. It functions like an applicative and as a final vowel. The first example above (7a) demonstrates this phenomenon. The vowel [-*i*] in 'seeti' is part of the root of the loan verb thus it cannot be separated from its root morphologically (cf. Haegeman, 1995; Schadeberg, 2009). In this case, the only vowel, bearing the sense of an applicative and final vowel is [-*e*] above. From this claim, it can be concluded that sometimes loan verbs behave differently to Sukuma inherent verbs in regards to morpho-syntactic properties.

5.3.4 Position 1 in Sukuma verbal morphology

Position 1 in the Sukuma linear order of word morphology is occupied by a tense and aspect morphemes. As was discussed in chapter two (cf. section 2.4.1.4), tense and aspect morphology is indistinct. The three tenses and the aspectual forms in Sukuma, that is, the present tense, the past tense and the future tense, are discussed in section 5.4 of this chapter. The discussion here focuses on how different English verbs are adapted in the Sukuma verbal morphology and their adaptation in regard to the Sukuma tense and aspect morphemes.

5.3.5 Position 2 in Sukuma verbal morphology

Position 2 in the Sukuma linear order of word morphology is occupied by the Itive morpheme, [-*ga*-] which refers to 'going to'. The possibility for tense and Itive morphemes to co-occur in the verbal construction is common. The English loan verbs that need to be adapted to the Sukuma verbal morphology require some modification. From the Sukuma, data, it is evident that some English loan verbs exhibit similar properties to inherent Sukuma verbs, as exemplified below.

(8) alɪɪgadauniloodi jitaaβu ɪmhɪɪndɪ
a-lɪɪ-ga-dauniloodi ji-taaβu ɪ-mhɪɪndɪ
3SG-AgrS-PRES-going to-download 7-book IV-evening
'S/he is going to download a book this evening'

In the above example, the present tense morpheme [-*lɪɪ*-] co-occurs with the Itive morpheme [-*ga*-] in an English verb 'download', similarly to the occurrence of the same morphemes as discussed in chapter two (cf. section 2.4.1.5) in which the two morphemes co-occur with the inherent verb *dɪɪma* 'graze', as shown in (9) below.

(9) ɪŋg'oombe jilɪɪgadɪɪma
ɪ-ŋg'oombe ji-lɪɪ-ga-dɪɪm-a
IV-cow AgrS-PROG-going to-graze-FV
'The cows are going to graze'

5.3.6 The pre-stem position in Sukuma verbal morphology

The pre-radical slot is occupied by an optional object agreement prefix (AgrO) and the infinitive. The AgrO has a concordial association with the object noun class. As is the case in Nyamwezi, (cf. Kanijo, 2012:25), it is the semantic feature of the AgrO, which determines whether the object is animate or inanimate. The findings in this regard indicate that English loan verbs are adapted in the Sukuma language system in that they comply with the Sukuma verbal morphology, as shown in the following example, with the English verb *soovu* 'solve' as an example.

(10) ʊtiicha wiiza gʊβasoovia aβaanafunzi amaswaali
ʊtiicha wi-iza gʊ-βa-soovi-a a-βa-anafunzi a-ma-swaali
IV-1-teacher AgrS-come Inf-AgrO-solve-FV IV-2-student IV-6-question
'The teacher has come to solve the questions for the students'

In the above example, the infinitive *-gʊ-* and the AgrO *-βa-* co-occur with the verb *soovu* 'solve' indicating that the verb *soovu* adapts with the Sukuma verbal morphology. As is the case with inherent Sukuma verbs, the AgrO manifests concordial agreement with the object nouns of the English loan verb *soovu* 'solve'.

5.3.7 The verbal stem of the Sukuma verbal morphology

The verb stem is the host to which the grammatical morphemes and the derivational suffixes are affixed. The verbal base manifest different forms. In Sukuma, the verb stem can be a monosyllabic, disyllabic or polysyllabic. The infinitive morpheme [-*gʊ*-] is normally affixed to monosyllabic and disyllabic verb bases if used in isolation. It is evident, from the Sukuma data, that some English loan verbs, regardless of the numbers syllables they have, exhibit the same properties as the Sukuma inherent verbs, as illustrated in the following examples.

(11)	a. *gʊseevu*	'to serve'
	gʊpiliinti	'to print'
	gʊsoove	'to solve'
	gʊdaunilodi	'to download'
	b. **gʊswaalo*	'to swallow'
	**gʊsimaili*	'to smile'
	**gʊsimeeli*	'to smell'
	**gʊlaafu*	'to laugh'

From the examples in (11a) above, it is evident that the infinitive -*gʊ*- is affixed to the verb bases of the English loan verbs to nativize them to inherent Sukuma verbs. Furthermore, the process of affixing the infinitive verb-initially is correlated with some phonological processes permissible in Sukuma to ensure adaptation of the English loan verbs. However, not every English verb is adapted in Sukuma. Some English verbs show resistance towards adaptation in Sukuma as the host language. For example in (11b) above, the English verbs cannot be borrowed into the Sukuma because of their inherent lexical-semantic properties, given that, every language community is assumed to have inherent (native) verbs denoting basic human behaviour. It can be difficult to borrow the verb for ‘swallowing’ if an inherent verb in Sukuma exists as a long-existing inherent lexical item. Similar findings are made by (cf. Lodhi, 2000; Haspelmath, 2009; Schadeberg, 2009; among others) in regard to the view that normally lexical borrowing involves lexical items which need to compensate for a missing term of a certain concept in the host language. Furthermore, it is pointed out that lexical items denoting natural phenomena are rarely borrowed in Sukuma and other African languages for the reason that such items richly occur in the inherent lexicon of these languages.

5.3.8 The pre-final position in Sukuma verbal morphology

The pre-final position in Sukuma is occupied by the habitual morpheme [-*ag*-] and verbal derivational suffixes. These verbal derivational suffixes include the applicative [-*il*-, -*el*-], the causative [-*ch*-, -*sh*-, -*j*-, -*y*-, -*ish*-], the passive [-*w*-, -*iw*-], the stative [-*ik*-, -*ek*-], the reciprocal [-*an*-], the reflexive [-*i*-] and the reversive [-*ʊl*-]. The discussion of these verbal derivational suffixes in relation to how they co-occur with English loan verbs is examined in section 5.6 of the current chapter.

5.3.9 The final position in Sukuma verbal morphology

The final slot in the Sukuma verbal morphology is occupied by two extension morphemes. These are the final vowels and the tense and aspect morpheme (TAM). The final vowel in Sukuma morphologically indicates mood (Matondo, 2003). There are two forms of final vowels in Sukuma, namely [-*a*] and [-*e*]. The data of this study indicate that English loan verbs behave differently when borrowed in Sukuma, as shown in the following two examples, with the loan verbs *soovu* ‘solve and *dauniloodi* ‘download’.

(12) a. ʊŋg’waalim agasoovu amaswaali
ʊ-ŋg’wa-alim a-ga-soovu a-ma-swaali
IV-1-teaccher AgrS-PAST-solve IV-6-question
‘The teacher solved the questions’

b. mnidaunilodie ɪjitaaβu ɪhaha
m-ni-dauniloodi-e ɪ-ji-taaβu ɪ-haha
2PL-AgrS-AgrO-download-APPL/FV IV-7-book IV-now
'Download the book for me now'

From the examples above, it is evident that English loan verbs in Sukuma do not manifest the final vowels, as is the case with inherent Sukuma verbs. In (12a), for example, the borrowed verb *soovu* 'solve' ends with [-*u*] as the final vowel. However, the sound segment [-*u*] is part of the verb root, thus it cannot be separated morphologically from the root. Therefore, being part of the verbal root means it is not a distinct final vowel. In (12b), the borrowed verb *dauniloodi* 'download' ends with [-*e*] as the final sound segment. However, the sound segment [-*e*] assumes the function of the applicative suffix rather than a final vowel. It is thus concluded that loan verbs end with [-*e*, -*i*, -*u*] as their final vowel and that such final vowels are inseparable from the verbal roots (cf. Schadeberg, 2009). In (12b) above, the monotransitive verb *dauniloodi* 'download' occurs in detransitivized form, thus, the vowel [-*e*] assumes the function of both, the applicative and the final vowel. However, the borrowed verb *dauniloodi* 'download' is in the imperative mood, of which the element [-e] is realised in the final position in inherent Sukuma verbal morphology.

5.3.10 The post-final position in Sukuma verbal morphology

The post-final positionin the Sukuma verbal morphology is occupied by two morphemes, namely the singular addressee morpheme [-*a*] and the plural addressee morpheme [-*i*]. The addressee morphemes refer to the people addressed in the action or event. Some English loan verbs in Sukuma permit the addressee markers while others do not, as illustrated in the following examples.

(13) a. ŋg'wanikɪ, lekodiaga ɪlɪɪmbo ɪlɪ
ŋg'wa-anikɪ, lekodi-ag-a ɪ-lɪ-ɪmbo ɪ-lɪ
1-girl, record-IMPE-SAM IV-5-song IV-this
'Girl, record this song'

b. βaanɪkiɪ, lekodiagi amɪɪmbo aya
βa-anɪki, lekodi-ag-i a-mɪ-ɪmbo a-ya
2-girl, record-IMPE-PAM IV-6-song IV-these
'Girls, record these songs'

In the two examples above, the English loan verb *lekoodi* 'record' exhibits the singular addressee morpheme [-*a*] in (13a), and the plural addressee morpheme [-*i*] in (13b), denoting imperative morphemes, which is the morpho-syntactic property of the inherent verbs in Sukuma. Thus, it can be concluded in this regard that English loan verbs bear the properties of inherent Sukuma verbs.

The discussion and the examples provided in this section give evidence that English loan verbs in this study conform to the properties of the Sukuma verbal morphology. It is concluded that the elements of the Sukuma verbal system that occur with inherent Sukuma verbs occur with English loan verbs as well, with a few exceptions. The use of loan verbs can be attributed to the intensity of language contact which gives rise to increasing bilingualism among Sukuma speakers, as proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988).

5.4 Tense and aspect forms of English loan verbs

In this section, the occurrence of tense, aspect and mood affixes that occur with English loan verbs are examined in respect to the properties in inherent Sukuma verbs. The aim of the section is to determine the properties of TAM markers which occur with English loan verbs, especially the similarities and differences between the two languages involved. According to Crystal (1991), tense is a "category used in the grammar description of verbs (with aspect and mood), referring primarily to the grammar that marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb took place". Comrie points out that tense is "a grammaticalized location in time", and that "time can be represented as a straight line, with the past represented to the left and the future to the right" (cf. Comrie, 1976: 1985:2).

As stated in chapter two (cf. section 2.4.2), Sukuma distinguishes three broad categories of tense. These are the past tense, the present tense and the future tense. The past tense category is further distinguished into the immediate past tense, the recent past tense, and the remote past tense forms. The future tense form is further distinguished into the near future tense and the remote future tense forms. These tense forms occur in the adaptation of English loan verbs in Sukuma in different ways, depending on the various morphemes they exhibit, as discussed in the following sections.

5.4.1 The past tense

As pointed out in chapter two (cf. section 2.4.2.1), the past tense morphemes include morphemes which when affixed to the verb in a simple affirmative construction yield the interpretation that the event denoted by the verb has happened, and can be retrieved from the memory. Sukuma has three forms of past tense forms, namely the immediate past tense, encoded by the morpheme [*-a…-aga*] in an affirmative constructions and [*-da…-e*] in negative constructions, the recent past tense, encoded by the morpheme [*-a-…-e*] and [*-da…-e*] in affirmative and negative constructions respectively, and the remote past tense, encoded by the morpheme [*-a-…-a*] in affirmative constructions and [*-da…-e*] in negative constructions.

The immediate past tense category denotes an action or an event not intervened by another. The Sukuma examples, indicate that the English loan verbs undergo several modifications to suit the morphological and syntactic properties of the Sukuma verbal morphology. The following example illustrates several modifications to the English verb *lekoodi* 'record'. It is agglutinated into complex Sukuma verbal morphology in which the morphemes are combined to form a single meaningful verbal phrase. The tense category [*-a…aga*] in the sentence denotes the reading that the action of recording happened and completed.

(14) aβayaanda βaalekoodiaga mɪɪmbo aβɪlɪ leelo
a-βa-yaanda βa-a-lekoodi-aga mɪ-ɪmbo a-βɪlɪ leelo
IV-2-boy AgrS-IMP-record-PERF 6-song IV-two today
'The boys recorded two songs today'.

Furthermore, when an English loan verb is borrowed in negative Sukuma constructions, the tense morpheme [*-da…-e*] occurs, denoting negation, as pointed in chapter two (cf. 2.4.2.1). The following example demonstrates this form.

(15) aβayaanda βadalekoodie mɪɪmbo aβɪlɪ leelo

a-βa-yaanda βa-da-lekoodi-e mɪ-ɪmbo a-βɪlɪ leelo

IV-2-boy AgrS-IMP-record-PERF 6-song IV-two today
'The boys did not record two songs today'.

The above example demonstrates that the borrowed English verb in Sukuma exhibits derivational suffixes similarly to inherent Sukuma verbs. Furthermore, like with inherent

Sukuma verbs, temporal adverbials such as *leelo* 'today', *ımhıındı* 'in the evening'. can co-occur with the English loan verb, as shown in the two examples above.

A similar property is exhibited with the recent past tense in which the affixes [-*a…-e*] and [-*da…-e*] denote the action or event happened a few days ago. Like in the immediate past tense, some English loan verbs exhibit the same morpho-syntactic properties, typical of inherent Sukuma verbs. The following examples illustrate the English loan verbs in Sukuma in both affirmative and negative constructions in the recent past tense.

(16) a. βaalekoodie miimbo aβılı
βa-a-lekoodi-e mi-imbo a-βılı
3PL-AgrS-REP-record-FV 6-song IV-two
'They recorded two songs'

b. βadalekoodie miimbo aβılı
βa-da-lekoodi-e mi-imbo a-βılı
3PL-AgrS-REP-record-FV 6-song IV-two
'They did not record two songs'

In Sukuma, the remote past tense, encoded by the morphemes [-*a…-a*] and [-*da…-e*] in affirmative and negative constructions, respectively, expresses the reading that the action denoted by the verb took place a long time ago. When an English verb is borrowed in Sukuma, it exhibits the full extent of the agglutinative verb structure, as of the case for inherent Sukuma verbs. The examples illustrate this property.

(17) a. βaalekoodia miimbo aβılı ıŋg'waakizo
βa-a-lekoodi-a mi-imbo a-βılı ı-ŋ-g'waakizo
3PL-AgrS-REMP-record-FV 6-song IV-two IV-9-last year
'They recorded two songs last year'.

b. βadalekoodie miimbo aβılı ıŋg'waakizo
βa-da-lekoodi-e mi-imbo a-βılı ı-ŋ-g'waakizo
3PL-AgrS-REMP-record-FV 6-song IV-two IV-9-last year
'They did not record two songs last year'.

In the above two sentences, the reading obtains that the action of recording happened a year ago and is completed. In the two constructions in (17) above, it is evident that the English loan verbs can co-occur with adverbials of time for emphatic reasons, similarly to inherent Sukuma verbs. The occurrence of an adverbial of time explicitly denotes the specific time the event occurred, thus differentiating the three tense forms in Sukuma, namely the immediate past tense, the recent past tense and the remote past tense. As is the case in Sukuma, the omission of an adverbial of time yields the interpretation of the past tense denotation with no specific time in the past tense timeline.

5.4.2 The present tense

It was stated in chapter two, that the present tense in Sukuma denotes ongoing activities with a generic or habitual meaning. Unlike IsiNdebele, in which the present tense is expressed in the absence of a tense marker (cf. Kumalo, 2007:88), the present tense in Sukuma is encoded by the progressive marker, such as [-*ɪɪ*-…-*a*] to refer to an event occurring in the present. English verbs borrowed into Sukuma, conform to the combination of the morpheme order in the verb phrase. For example, in the following sentence construction, the English verb *soovu* ‘solve’ is adapted in Sukuma in accordance with the properties of inherent Sukuma verb morphology. The agreement of the subject *a*- follows the tense marker -*lɪ*- followed by the verbal root *soovu*, as illustrated in the following example.

(18) ʊŋg’waalim alɪɪsoovu maswali ɪhaha
ʊ-ŋg’waalim a-lɪɪ-soovu ma-swali ɪ-haha
IV-teacher AgrS-PRES-solve 6-question IV-now
‘The teacher is solving the questions now’.

The interpretation of the English loan verb *soovu* above remains the same: that is, the action of solving the question is still in progress. Therefore, English loan verbs exhibit similarly to inherent Sukuma verbs despite a few exceptions such as the (non)occurrence of the final vowel in (18). However, in Bantu languages, it is a common phenomenon for loan verbs end with vowels such as [-*i*, -*u* and -*e*] as an inseparable part of the loan verb, although they appear to occur in the position of the final vowel (cf. Schadeberg, 2009:98).

5.4.3 The future tense

The future tense refers to an event denoted by the verb in Sukuma that will take place in the future. Two types of the future tense are distinguished in Sukuma, namely the near future tense and the remote future tense. The discussion below discusses how English loan verbs are adapted in Sukuma in both the near and the remote future tenses.

5.4.3.1 The near future tense

The near future tense in Sukuma expresses actions denoted by the verb that will happen in the recent future (e.g Today). In the following example, (19), the English verb *koopi* 'copy' has undergone modifications to conform to the grammatical system of Sukuma as the host language. The loan verb in (19) indicates that the action of copying will happen later in the evening. The adaptation of these loan verbs from English conform to the structure of the verb phrase in Sukuma since some modification in adaptation for specific sounds occurred. For example, phonologically, the sounds **"c"** and **"y"** in *copy* are replaced by sounds **"k"** and **"i"** in *koopi*. Furthermore, the sound "o" undergoes a lengthening process as it appears in the English loan verb '*koopi'*, as illustrated in the following example.

(19) dʊgʊkoopi amaswaali ɪmhɪɪndɪ
dʊ-gʊ-koopi a-ma-swaali ɪ-mhɪɪndɪ
1PL-AgrS-FUT-copy IV-6-question IV-in the evening
'We will copy the questions in the evening'.

An English loan verb can be followed by temporal adverbials of time for emphatic reasons. The occurrence of these temporal adverbials demonstrate the specific time an event occurred, differentiating the two forms of the future tenses in Sukuma.

5.4.3.2 The remote future tense

The remote future tense refers to an event denoted by the verb in Sukuma that will take place from a relatively remote future, i.e. tomorrow onwards. When an English verb is adapted in Sukuma, it has to conform to the Sukuma linguistic system. The remote future is encoded by [-*laa…-a*], thus, an English loan verb occurs with the same element when adapted in Sukuma. In the example below, the action of *copying* the questions will take place next year.

(20) dʊlaakoopi amaswaali haŋg'waaka
dʊ-laa-koopi a-ma-swaali haŋg'waaka
1PL-AgrS-REF-copy-FV IV-6-question next year
'We will copy the questions next year'.

By observing the near and remote future tense forms, one may point out that the co-occurrences of the adverbials of time help to determine the demarcation between the two tense categories.

5.5 Aspectual morphology of English loan verbs in Sukuma

In chapter two (cf. section 2.4.3), it was stated that the time frame of sentences in Bantu languages in general, and Sukuma, in particular, is denoted by tense morphemes, and that the aspect stipulates "how the situation is distributed within the time frame" (Nurse, 2008). Four types of aspectual morphology are distinguished in Sukuma, namely the inchoative form, the habitual form, the progressive form and the perfective form. The aspectual morphemes expressing these aspectual distinctions occur in the final vowel slot of the verbal morphology in Sukuma. This property contrasts with Swahili, which has lost the primary function of the final vowel. Instead, it uses vowels such as -a' for neutral, -e for subjunctive and -i in one negation as the final vowels, as Nurse (*ibid*) states that "when G42 only marks one category – tense, aspect, or others – it does so at its portmanteau pre-stem position". The following example demonstrates this property.

(21) a. tu-*me*-imba 1P-PERF-sing 'We have sung'
b. tu-*na*-imba 1P-PROGS-sing 'We are singing'
c. tu-*ki*-imba 1P-SIT-sing 'If we sing', 'We singing'
(Nurse, 2008: 132).

In the above examples, the morphemes '-*me*-', '-*na*-' and '-*ki*-' in Swahili express aspect. The '-*a*' functions as a neutral morpheme although it takes the position of the final vowel. The following section, examines how the aspectual properties of English loan verbs via Swahili in Sukuma.

5.5.1 The inchoative verb morphology

The inchoative aspect expresses the beginning of an event of which the completion time is not specified. It is encoded by [-*jʊʊ*-…-*a*]. As is the case with other aspectual morphemes in Sukuma, the inchoative aspect co-occurs with both tense and aspect morphemes. Sometimes it combines with other aspects in the same slot, resulting in the formation of multiple interpretations. English loan verb borrowed in Sukuma, as indicated by the data of this study, exhibit similar properties to inherent Sukuma verbs, as illustrated in the following example provides.

(22) ojuugadauniloodi
o-juu-ga-dauniloodi
3SG-AgrS-INC-PRES-download
'He goes to download'

In the example above, it is expected that the final vowel could be [-*a*] since the inchoative aspect is encoded by [-*jʊʊ…-a*]. However, the English loan verb in (22) above ends with [-*i*] as its final vowel. This is because most of the loanwords in Bantu languages end with one of the three vowels as their final vowels. These vowels are [-*i*, -*u* and -*e*] (cf. Schadeberg, 2009). However, the verb is fully inflected for tense and aspect.

5.5.2 The habitual verb morphology

In Sukuma, the habitual aspect denotes that the event takes place regularly in regard to the time of speech. It is encoded by [-*gʊ…-ag-…-a*] in an affirmative construction and [-*da…-ag-…-a*] in negative construction. Normally, the habitual aspect is complemented by various adverbials denoting time, for example expressions denoting *every day*, *every evening*, *every month*, *every now*, among other adverbials. English verbs are adapted in Sukuma in the habitual aspect through modification of morpho-syntactic properties. The data in this study indicate that English verbs accommodated in Sukuma undergo several adaptation processes. For example, the English verbs *chaaji* 'charge' and *tulooti* 'trot' in the following examples demonstrate how English verbs are accommodated in Sukuma, thus, exhibiting similar properties to inherent Sukuma habitual verb morphology.

(23) a. nagʊchaajiaga ɪsim yaane βʊlɪgwa
na-gʊ-chaaji-ag-a ɪ-sim yaane βʊlɪgwa
1SG-AgrS-INF-charge-HAB-FV IV-phone every
'I charge my phone every day

b. βagʊtulotiaga βʊlɪ diiyʊ
βa-gʊ-tuloti-ag-a βʊlɪ diiyʊ
3PL-AgrS-INF-trot-HAB-F every morning
'They trot every morning'

In the above examples, the English verbs describe situations that happen frequently, modified by adverbials of time. In (14a), the reading obtains that the act of charging the phone does not happen only for two or three times but it happens every day to the extent that it has developed as a habitual behaviour. The example in (14b) has a reading that the act of trotting is done repeatedly but in the mornings only. From this observation, it can be argued that the English loan verbs *chaaji* 'charge' and *tulooti* 'trot' are fully adapted into the Sukuma grammatical system in several ways. First, these verbs express the Sukuma habitually situation after modification. Secondly, the morphological properties of these verbs conform to the Sukuma verbal morphology, that is, the English verbs are fully inflected for tense, number, and gender. However, some English verbs cannot be accommodated in Sukuma with respect to the habitual aspect because of their lexical-semantic characteristics. It is uncommon for English loan verbs such as 'die', for example, to co-occur with habitual aspect morphology, aas shown in the following ungrammatical sentence in (24).

(24) *nagudaiyaga βʊlɪ gwa
*na-gu-daiy-aga βʊlɪ gwa
1SG-PRES-die-HAB every day
*'I die every day'

English verbs such as 'die' is not permitted to occur with habitual aspect morphology because of its encyclopaedic semantic properties.

5.5.3 The progressive verb morphology

The progressive aspect in Sukuma indicates an ongoing event with reference to the moment of speech, that is, the activity occurs over time with no specific time boundaries. The progressive aspect denotes that the event continues over time and that it may consist of successive phases. In Sukuma, the progressive aspect morpheme occurs in the position 4 in affirmative constructions (cf. section 2.4.3.3 in chapter two). It is encoded by the element [-*lɪ*-]. English loan verbs adapted in Sukuma in the progressive aspect occur with the progressive marker [-*lɪ*-] as demonstrated in the following examples.

(25) a. alɪɪβapilintia kalataasi
a-lɪɪ-βa-pilinti-a kalataasi
3SG-AgrS-PRES-AgrO-print-APPL/FV 9-paper

'S/he is printing a paper on their behalf'

b. alɪɪdauniloodi jitaaβu
a-lɪɪ-dauniloodi ji-taaβu
3SG-AgrS-PRES-download 7-book
'He is downloading a book'

In the above examples, the two English loan verbs *pilinti* 'print' and *dauniloodi* 'download' are nativised in Sukuma, exhibiting the characteristics similar to other inherent Sukuma verbs. For example, both are affixed to the Sukuma grammatical morphemes and derivational suffixes. Furthermore, they both denote progressive events, in their agglutinative Sukuma verbal morphology. However, not any English verb can co-occur with the progressive aspect. Some verbs such as 'bring', 'wear', 'draw', 'fail' and 'graduate' have some restrictions in combining with the progressive aspect. In that case, the Sukuma speakers opt to switch to the inherent Sukuma verbs that could express concepts not well captured by English verbs.

5.5.4 The perfective verb morphology

The perfective aspect, as pointed out in chapter two (cf. section 2.4.3.4), denotes a completed event at the time of speech. Thus, the perfective aspect contrasts with the imperfective aspect in the sense that the time setting of the event comprises both the time in the past and the present, denoting that, the event started in the past and may be completed although may remain relevant in the present. In Sukuma, the perfective aspect is encoded by [-*a*-…-*ile*] in affirmative constructions and [-*da*-…-*ile*] in negative constructions. The following examples illustrate the way English loan verbs are adapted to conform to the Sukuma perfective verb morphology.

(26) a. ʊmaami waashuutie video yiingi
ʊ-maami wa-a-shuuti-e video yiingi
IV-uncle AgrS-shoot-PERF video yiingi
'my uncle has shot another video'

b. βadaunilodiaga ijitaaβu
βa-daunilodi-aga i-ji-taaβu
3PL-AgrS-download-PERF IV-7-book
'They have downloaded the book'

c.

βadadaunilodie jitaaβu
βa-ad-daunilodi-e -ji-taaβu
3PL-AgrS-NEG-download-PERF 7-book
‘They have not downloaded the book’

English verbs are generally adapted to co-occur with the perfective aspect but some verbs are resistant in this adaptation, mostly irregular verbs of which the adaptation process occurs gradually. However, the English loan verbs *shuuti* ‘shoot’ and *dauniloodi* ‘download’ manifest properties similar to inherent Sukuma verbs. The two English loan verbs denote the completion of the actions, as other inherent Sukuma verbs do.

It can be concluded that English loan verbs conform to the Sukuma verbal morphology similar to inherent Sukuma in regard to the tense and aspect verbs. The findings of this study concur with the observation suggested by Wohlgemuth (2009) that in cases where borrowing involves verbs, it is the verb base that is borrowed. Other grammatical morphemes and derivational suffixes are allowed by the host language in the process of adaptation of the newly introduced verbs. English loan verbs demonstrate the occurrence with various inherent Sukuma grammatical morphemes and derivational suffixes as illustrated in the examples in this section. However, a few exceptional occurrences have been noted. For example in sub-section 5.5.4 on the perfective verb morphology, it is pointed out that, the perfective aspect in Sukuma is encoded by [-*a*-…-*ile*] and [-*da*-…-*ile*] in the affirmative and negative constructions respectively, as illustrated in examples (26a, b and c). These examples indicate that the English loan verbs *shuuti* ‘shoot’ and *dauniloodi* ‘download’ do not occur with the inherent Sukuma perfective markers [-*ile*], rather, the element [-*ile*] is replaced by [-*e*]. This property can be attributed to the fact that the English loan verbs *shuuti* ‘shot’ and *dauniloodi* ‘download’ are borrowed in Sukuma via Swahili, whose perfective marker is [-*e*] (cf. Schadeberg, 2009).

The table below is part of the large summary of English loan verbs that mostly cannot occur with TAM morphemes. The last two verbs are inserted purposely to illustrate the ways other English loan verbs occur with various grammatical and derivational suffixes when borrowed in Sukuma. The symbol (√) indicates the co-occurrence of the English loan verbs with the Sukuma verbal morphemes whereas the symbol (-) denotes the non co-occurrence of the

English loan verb with Sukuma verbal morphemes. Properties of other examples of English loan verbs in Sukuma are summarised in appendix 1 affixed at the end of this dissertation.

Table 17: Summary of some loan verbs that do not permit derivational suffixes

Loan verb	English	PRES	FUT	PAST	HAB	PERF	APPL	CAUS	PASS	STAT	REC	REFL	REV
meki	make	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
simeli	smell	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
hiti	heat	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-
wini	win	√	√	√	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
kampeni	campaign	√	√	√	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
soovu	solve	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√
dawuniloodi	download	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

Source: Field data, (2016).

5.6 Verbal derivational suffixes of English loan verbs in Sukuma

Derivational suffixes, as discussed in chapter two (cf. section 2.4.4), occur in the post-radical position as pre-final morphemes of the verbal stem (cf. Miehe, 1989:23; Lodhi, 2000:1). In Sukuma, as generally in Bantu languages, derivational suffixes are affixed to various inherent verb stems yielding into new verb senses. A number of different derivational suffixes occur with verbs with English origin that are adapted in Sukuma, including the applicative, the causative, the passive, the stative, the reciprocal, the reflexive and the reversive derivation suffixes. While some of the derivational suffixes, such as the applicative and the causative, introduce an argument by increasing the valency of the verb, other derivational suffixes, such as the passive and the stative, reduce the argument. Other derivational suffixes, such as the reflexive, do not have any impact on the argument, thus, it remains unchanged in Sukuma. For more discussion about derivational suffixes, see Ashton (1944), Polomé (1967) and Shepardson (1986). The next section examines how verbal derivational suffixes occurring in the adaptation of English loan verbs conform to the Sukuma verbal morphology.

5.6.1 The applicative suffix

The applicative suffix, as examined in chapter two (cf. section 2.4.4.1), is a derivational suffix which occurs in verb extension to indicate that “someone does the action for or on behalf of someone else”. Applicative suffixes are encoded by [-*il*-] and [-*el*-] in Sukuma. According to Taljaard, (1988), an applicative is “formed by means of the extension -el- which is inserted between the root of the verb and the ending slot. It indicates an action carried out for, on behalf of or in the direction of someone or something”. Furthermore, Kumalo (2007) points out that the transitivity of the verb is increased by the use of applicative extension since it is normally necessary to specify the beneficiary argument of the extended action.

As the case in inherent verbs in Sukuma, similar applicative suffixes occur in the processes of accommodation of English loan verbs in Sukuma via Swahili. The English verbs ‘download’ and ‘copy’ in examples (27) illustrate agglutinative characteristics of Sukuma. In the construction in (27a), the reading obtains that the act of *downloading the questions* is done by the teacher and the beneficiaries are not specifically mentioned although they are represented by the agreement of object prefix -*βa*-. Thus, apart from the applicative suffix, the English verb root ‘download’ is inflected for tense and manifests full grammatical properties such as subject-verb agreement concordial. A similar property is exhibited in the construction (27b) where the English loan verb ‘copy’ undergoes a complete adaptation in regard to the derivational suffixation of an applicative suffix. The act of ‘copying’ is done by the teacher for or on behalf of the students. The applicative suffix -*ya*- occurs in both constructions.

(27) a. ʊŋg’waalim agʊβadauniloodiya maswaali
ʊ-ŋg’waalim a-gʊ-βa-dauniloodi-ya ma-swaali
IV-teacher AgrS-FUT-AgrO-download-APPL/FV 6-question
‘The teacher will download the questions on their behalf/for them’.

b. ʊŋg’waalim agankopiya ʊŋg’wanafunzi ɪpepa
ʊ-ŋg’waalim a-ga-n-kopi-ya ʊ-ŋg’wanafunzi ɪ-pepa
IV-1-teacher AgrS-PAST-AgrO-copy-APPL/FV 1-student IV-7-paper
‘The teacher did not copy the paper for the student’

Another function of the applicative suffix in Sukuma is the introduction of a malefactive role, which has the reading that the argument undergoes an evil action. This sense is exemplified in Sukuma as follows.

(28) agambulesiya ungiikʊlʊ gʊlyʊʊβa
a-ga-mbulesi-ya u-ngiikʊlʊ gʊ-lyʊʊβa
AgrS-PAST-pray/bless-APPL-FV IV-1-old woman LOC-God
‘S/he prayed to God on/for the old woman’

In the examples (28) above, it is possible for the agent of the action of praying to pray for the old woman in a true manner. The other reading obtains is that of ironical nature, entailing the prayer does not actually pray for good for the old woman (benefactive) rather it means the opposite (malefactive). This kind of reading does not frequently occur with English loan verbs. In Sukuma, two types of applicative suffixes are distinguished, namely ***-il-*** as in the verb *zug**il**a* ‘cook for’ and *-el-* as in the verb *zeng**el**a* ‘build for’. However, the two types of applicative suffixes do not occur with loan verbs as illustrated in the examples above. The applicative suffix *-iy-*, which is the frequently occurring suffix in many linguistic environments, is not a typical Sukuma applicative suffix. The reason for that is that almost all the loan verbs are borrowed into Sukuma via Swahili. Swahili also has two applicative suffixes, namely ***-i-*** as in the verb *lim**i**a* ‘cultivate for’ and ***-e-*** as in the verb *chez**e**a* ‘play for’. Since Sukuma does not tolerate a sequence of vowels, such vowel sequence is interrupted by inserting a consonant or a glide, for example, the verbs ‘limia’ and ‘chezea’ become *limiya* and *chezeya* respectively in Sukuma, changing the form of applicative suffixes from *-i-* and *-e-* to *-iy-* and *-ey-* respectively. Thus, the applicative *-iy-* occurs in English loan verbs for the reason that those verbs are borrowed in Sukuma via Swahili but modified to conform to the Sukuma grammatical system.

5.6.2 The causative suffix

The causative suffix encodes the semantic feature of coercion on the verb denoting the beginning of an event, which may lead to another result, as Mutaka (2000) states, “the causative implies to cause or to make somebody do something or cause something to become something different”. The causative derivational suffix entails the occurrence of at least two thematic roles, namely the argent and the patient in a construction. In Sukuma, as is the case in Swahili, and other Bantu languages, causative suffixes occur productively, as stated in chapter two (cf. section 2.4.4.2). Despite the prolific occurrence of the causative suffixes in Sukuma as indicated in chapter two (cf. section 2.4.1.8), only a limited instances of the causative suffix occurs in the process of adaptation of English loan verbs. Generally, the causative suffix *-ish-* occurs in the derivation of English loan verbs. The English verbs borrowed into Sukuma conform to the Sukuma linguistic system by exhibiting similar properties to inherent Sukuma verbs. The English verbs *pilinti* 'print' and *saini* 'sign' are examples in (29) illustrating how English verbs are adapted in Sukuma.

Semantically, the following examples denote that the doer of the first action causes the other participant to do another action. In other words, the girl in (29a) causes other participants, that is, the students, to print the paper. In this case, the girl is the causing agent of their action. In (29b), the coach made the player sign a new contract. Thus, by affixation of the causative derivational suffix *-sh-* to the English loan verbs 'print' and 'copy', two thematic roles are introduced in each sentence construction, that of the agent argument and the patient argument affected by the actions.

Syntactically, a subject-verb and the object-verb agreements occur in both constructions. The subjects (the girl and the coach) exhibit agreement with the VP, as illustrated the the following examples.

(29) a. ʊŋg'waanikɪ alɪɪβapilintisha aβaanafunzi kalatasi
ʊ-ŋg'waanikɪ a-lɪɪ-βa-pilinti-sh-a a-βa-anafunzi kalatasi
IV-teacher AgrS-PROG-AgrO-print-CAUS-FV IV-2-student 7-paper
'The girl is making the students print/causing them print'.

b. ʊkoocha agansainisha unchezaaji
ʊ-koocha a-ga-n-saini-sh-a u-nchezaaji
IV-1-coach AgrS-PAST-AgrO-sign-CAUS-FV IV-1-player
'The coach signed the player /the coach made the player sign'

The agreement morphemes of the subjects (AgrS) are followed by tense and aspect morphemes, then the root base followed by verbal extensions. Thus, it is evident that English loan verbs conform to the structure of the Sukuma verbal morphology when adapted in Sukuma. However, some English loan verbs cannot occur with the Sukuma causative suffix. These verbs include 'escape', 'recycle', 'run', 'sing', 'prepare', 'graduate', 'attend', and 'help', among others. This could be attributed to the encyclopaedic semantic properties of these verbs. The use of these verbs in a causative verb construction yields ungrammaticality, as is illustrated in the following example, with the English loan verb 'help'.

(30) *βagaβahelipisha
*βa-ga-βa-helipi-sh-a
3PL-AgrS-PAST-AgrO-help-CAUS-FV
'They caused them to help'

In the above example, the English meaning appears grammatically and morphologically correct and semantically meaningful. However, the corresponding content apart from the meaning is not permissible in Sukuma. Therefore, Sukuma speakers would rather use other inherent verbs denoting this meaning.

5.6.3 The passive suffix

The passive is a derivational suffix which is encoded by the morphemes [-*w*-] and [-*iw*-] in Sukuma. Morpho-syntactically, the structure of the passive construction consists of the subject and the predicate. In the formation of passive by the process of passive derivational suffix insertion, the active verb object argument appears as the grammatical passive verb subject argument, and the agent appears as post-verbal adjunct in Bantu languages in general as in Sukuma. (cf. Doke, 1967; Durant and Byarushengo, 1977; Kmenyi, 1980; Batibo, 1985; Katamba, 1993; Dlove, 1996; among others).

The passive derivational suffixes [-*w*-] and [-*iw*-] occur in the passive verb constructions of inherent Sukuma verbs and English loan verbs. The Sukuma data in this study indicate that English loan verbs largely manifest adaptation when borrowed in Sukuma. The following examples in (31) demonstrate this property.

(31) a. ʊŋyaanda agayɪtayipu ɪbaalʊwa
ʊ-ŋaanda a-ga-yɪ-tayipu ɪ-baalʊwa
IV-1-boy AgrS-PAST-type-FV IV-letter
'The boy typed the letter'

b. ɪbaalʊwa yɪgatayipiwa chiiza
ɪ-baalʊwa yɪ-ga-tayipi-w-a chiiza
IV-letter AgrS-PAST-type-PASS-FV
'The letter was typed well'

c. ʊEvander agannookauti ʊTyson
ʊ-Evander a-ga-n-nookauti ʊ-Tyson
IV-Evander AgrS-PAST-knock out-FV

'Evander knocked Tyson out'

d. ʊTyson aganookautiwa
ʊ-Tyson a-ga-nookaut-iw-a
IV-Tyson AgrS-PAST-knock out-PASS-FV
'Tyson was knocked out'

The two constructions in (31 a and c) above illustrate the active verbs which are not passivized, hence they allow objects being transitive verbs. However, passive verb sentences as in (31 b and d) do not have objects. In (31 a and c), the active verbs occur in non-final positions while in (31 b and d) the passive verbs are final positioned. Furthermore, as in Sukuma, objects arguments in (31 a and c) *ɪbaalʊwa* 'the letter' and *ʊTaisoni* 'Tyson' in the active verb constructions occur as the grammatical subject arguments in (31 b and d) while the agent *ʊɲyanda* 'boy' and *ʊEvanda* 'Evander' in (31 a and c) occur as adjunct phrase agents. These adjunct phrase agents remain optional in passive. (31 b and d) show that the agentive phrases and adjunct phrases are omitted.

The transitive verb 'knock out' in (31) above is an English loan verb that exhibits various properties. For example, it can co-occur with various derivational suffixes, such as the passive, the applicative, the causative, and in negation similarly to inherent Sukuma verbs. This loan verb is inflected for tense. Although the verb has several senses semantically, only one sense is borrowed, namely, "the process of defeating an opposing boxer by knocking him down to a count of ten, thus winning the game before the scheduled rounds" Hornby, (2016). However, other phrasal verbs of this kind, such as *knock down, knock over, knock back, and knock around* are not borrowed to Sukuma, possibly for the reason that they require complex adaptation processes. These examples suggest that English transitive loan verbs exhibit the same linguistic properties as inherent Sukuma transitive verbs, as the following with the English loan verb example 'kiss'.

(32) a. ʊJohn agankiisi ʊNyamiji

ʊ-John a-ga-n-kiisi ʊ-Nyamiji
IV-John AgrS-PAST-AgrO-kiss IV-Nyamiji

‘John kissed Nyamiji’

b. ʊNyamiji agakiisiwa na John
ʊ-ʊNyamiji a-ga-kiisi-w-a na John

IV-Nyamiji AgrS-PAST-kiss-PASS-FV by John

‘Nyamiji was kissed by John’

In the above constructions, the patient argument ‘Nyamiji’ in (32b) is foregrounded, hence, topicalised. This conforms to the view proposed by Khumalo (2007) that topicalisation is described as “the process of forming a derived construction in which one element is a topic, a syntactic element which is characteristically foregrounds what the sentence is about. In passive constructions, the topicalisation entails foregrounding the patient”. Therefore, it can be concluded, from the above examples, that English loan verbs exhibit morpho-syntactic and lexical-semantic properties similar to inherent Sukuma verbs.

5.6.4 The stative suffix

The stative suffixes *-ik-* and *-ek-* changes an action verb into a stative verb that denotes the state of being of the action. The stative derivational suffixes are sometimes referred to as neuter (Doke, 1947:139). Ashton (1944) refers to the derivational suffixes as stative and neuter verbs. Khumalo (2007) maintains that a stative derivational suffixes “indicate the state or condition without any special reference to an agent determining that condition”. As is the case with the passives suffix, stative suffixes detransitivize the verb whereas passive is encoded by [-*w*-] and [-*iw*-] the stative neuter verb is encoded by [-*ik*-] and [-*ek*-] suffixes in Sukuma. English verbs that are borrowed in Sukuma occur with the stative derivational morphemes, as shown in the following examples, which demonstrate how English loan verbs are adapted in the Sukuma stative verb morphology.

(33) a. ɪkopyuta yaane yɪlɪseetika
ɪ-kopyuta yaane yɪ-lɪ-seet-ik-a

IV-computer my AgrS-PRES-seet-STAT-FV

‘My computer is being set’.

b. iliswaali lɪga-soovika
i-li-swaali lɪ-ga-soov-ik-a
IV-5-question AgrS-PAST-solve-STAT-FV
'The question was solved'.

c. imoodoka yilidulayivika
i-moodoka yi-li-dulayiv-ik-a
IV-5motor car AgrS-PRES-drive-STAT-FV
'The motor car drives well'

However, some English loan verbs exhibit restrictions concerning adaptation processes. The verb *drive* in (33c) above licenses most of the derivational suffixes, including passive, but not the stative suffix. Thus, English verbs do not readily co-occur with the stative suffix. Such verbs include for example 'confess', 'bleed', 'share', 'dismiss', 'answer', 'sleep', 'dose', 'jump', 'swallow', and 'smell', among others.

5.6.5 The reciprocal suffix

The reciprocal derivational suffix indicates that the action denoted by the verb is reciprocated, done to one another by the argument participants. It is encoded by [-*an*-] morpheme. The derivational suffix morpheme -*an*- occurs after the verb root. Both the subject and the object arguments are affected directly by the action denoted by the verb. Thus, the subject and the object arguments in the construction are simultaneously the agent and patient. The reciprocal rarely occurs with borrowed English verbs due to the semantic nature of most English loan verbs. The following examples illustrate how reciprocal suffix -*an*- co-occurs with the English loan verbs in Sukuma, specifically the English loan verbs 'report' and 'kiss'.

(34) a. aβatooleke βagalipotiana ŋg'wamchungaji
a-βa-tooleke βa-ga-lipoti-an-a ŋg'wa-mchungaji
IV-2-couple AgrS-PAST-report-RECP-FV LOC-pastor.
'The couple reported one another to the pastor'.

b. ʊJohn na Nyamiji βagakisiana
ʊ-John na Nyamiji βa-ga-kisi-an-a
IV-John and Nyamiji AgrS-PAST-kiss-RECP-FV
John and Nyamiji kissed one another (the day before yesterday).

In the example in (34a) above, the subject is *aβatooleke* ‘couple’ and the object is *mchungaji* ‘pastor’. The sentence has a reading that both of them suffer the action denoted by the verb ‘report’ in a reciprocated manner. The same obtains in example (34b) in which the derived reciprocal verb denotes that the act of kissing was done by both John and Nyamiji simultaneously. The underived verb denotes that ‘John kissed Nyamiji’ or Nyamiji kissed John’. With insertion of the reciprocal derivation suffix *-an-*, both participants are affected by the action denoted by the verb ‘kiss’. Furthermore, the transitive verb kiss in ‘John kissed Nyamiji’ becomes intransitive in ‘John and Nyamiji kissed one another’ with insertion of the reciprocal derivation suffix *-an-*. Thus, the reciprocal derivational suffix *-an-* reduces the transitivity of the verb. Thus, it can be concluded that some English loan verbs conform to inherent Sukuma verb in respect to reciprocal verbal morphology.

5.6.6 The reflexive prefix

Reflexiveprefix in Sukuma is encoded by the morpheme [-*i*-]. The reflexive verb denotes that the agent and the patient argument in a monotransitive verb construction refer to the same entity. Temporal adverbial phrases may occur as adjuncts, which refer to the agent himself or herself. The following two examples demonstrate the way the English loan verbs are adapted to Sukuma reflexive verb morphology.

(35) a. agiifeelisha ŋg’weeyi ŋg’wɪɪkɪlɪ
a-gi-i-feel-ish-a ŋg’weeyi ŋg’wɪɪkɪlɪ
3SG-AgrS-PAST-REFL-fail-CAUS-FV he himself
‘He caused himself fail’

b. βagiilositisha βooyi βɪnɪkɪlɪ
βa-gi-i-losit-ish-a βo-oyi βɪnɪkɪlɪ
3PL-AgrS-PAST-REFL-lose-CAUS AgrO-themselves
‘They caused themselves to lose’.

In the examples in (35) above, the phrases *ŋg’weeyi ŋg’wɪɪkɪlɪ* and *βo-oyi βɪnɪkɪlɪ* occur for emphatic reasons although they could be omitted with the reflexive meanings remaining intact. However, the removal of the phrases could change the meanings into ‘he caused his failure’ and ‘they caused their lost’ respectively. The Sukuma data suggest that the reflexive occurs rarely with English loan verbs. This property of loan verb may change as the language contact is gradually increasing (cf. Joseph, 2012).

5.6.7 The reversive suffix

The reversive suffix expresses the reversal of the action denoted by the verb. In Sukuma, the reversive is encoded by the suffix [-*ʊl*-]. Limited data is available concerning the occurrence of reversive with English loan verbs obtained from the field, and from published sources consulted. From the data available on English loan verbs in Sukuma with the reversive suffix, consider the following relevant example.

(36) nagugubulokʊla
na-gu-gu-bulok-ʊl-a
1SG-AgrS-FUT-AgrO-block-REV-
'I will block you no more'.

In the example above, the discourse-pragmatic context involves two people of which one had blocked the other one on the mobile phone and they have a conversation to settle their dispute. The verb 'block' above is inflected in the Sukuma verbal morphology for the reversive derivational suffix. Sukuma speakers, however, use the reversive suffix verb rarely in communication. The table below illustrates some English loan verbs that resist occurring with various derivational suffixes. The symbol (√) indicates the occurrence of the English loan verbs with the Sukuma derivational suffixes whereas the symbol (-) denotes the non co-occurrence of the English loan verb with the respective Sukuma derivational suffixes. More examples of the properties of English loan verbs are summarised in appendix 1 at the end of this dissertation.

Table 18: Summary of some of the partially borrowed English loan verbs

Loan verb	English	PRES	FUT	PAST	HAB	PERF	APPL	CAUS	PASS	STAT	REC	REFL	REV
simeeli	smell	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
puluvu	prove	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	√	-	-	-	-
siliipu	sleep	-	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ansa	answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
busiti	bust	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-
laiti	write	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
giladuweti	graduate	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source**:** Field data (2016).

5.6.8 Verbal extension co-occurrences

Different derivational suffixes may co-occur in a verb phrase. In Sukuma, combinations of derivational suffixes are subject to restrictions. For example in the co-occurrence of the causative and the applicative suffixes, the causative suffix precede the applicative suffix. Furthermore, the causative suffix precedes the negative morpheme in both inherent Sukuma and English loan verbs. The following examples demonstrate these properties, with regard to the English loan verb *sheeli* ‘plough share’.

(37) a. aβalimi βalanshelishija ʊmaayu nguunda
a-βalimi βa-la-n-shel-ish-ij-a u-maayu n-guunda
IV-famers AgrS-FUT-AgrO-shel-CAUS-APPL-FV IV-mother 9-farm
‘The farmers will cause mother’s farm to be ploughed for her’.

b. aβalımi βadanshelishije ʊmaayʊ ngʊʊnda
a-βalımi βa-da-n-shel-ish-ij-e ʊ-maayʊ n-gʊʊnda
IV-famers AgrS-NEG-AgrO-shel-CAUS-APPL-FV IV-mother 9-farm
‘The farmers did not cause mother’s farm to be ploughed for her’.

c. ʊ-koocha adansainishije unchezaaji nkataba mpya
ʊ-koocha a-da-n-sain-ish-ij-e u-nchezaaji n-kataba mpya
IV-1-coach AgrS-NEG-AgrO-sign-CAUS-APPL-FV IV-1-player 3-contract
‘The coach did not sign the player a new contract’.

The Sukuma data of this study exemplify the occurrence of the causative suffix with the applicative suffix in sentences that express negation in the near past tense, where the final vowel changes from [-*a*] to [-*e*]. This happens, generally to the English loan verbs that are borrowed via Swahili but not always with loan verbs borrowed directly from English into Sukuma. For example, with the verb “sheeli” in the examples (37 a & b) above, the co-occurrence of the causative suffix and the applicative suffix conforms to the morphology of inherent Sukuma verbs. The English loan verb *sheeli* is borrowed from English directly to Sukuma first as a noun, which then undergoes a derivational process, changing its noun category status to a verb.

(38) a. aβalɪmi βadasheelishije nguunda
a-βalɪmi βa-da-sheel-ish-ij-e n-guunda
IV-2-farmers AgrS-NEG-shell-CAUS-APL-FV 9-farm
‘The farmers did not cause the farm to be ploughed’.

b. ʊfundi adafitishije milyango yiise ʊ-fundi
a-da-fiti-sh-ij-e mi-lyango yiise
IV-1-carpenter AgrS-NEG-fit-CAUS-APL-FV 6-door our
‘The carpenter did not make our doors fit for us’.

The applicative suffix in (38b) above demonstrate that if the affix that encodes negation in the near past tense (*-da*) occurs in a sentence, the causative suffix (*-sh-*) must be followed by an applicative suffix (*-ij-*), which in turn is followed by a final vowel (*-e*). Thus, both English loan verbs borrowed directly, or indirectly via Swahili, manifest similar properties when they occur in a combination of the causative suffix and the applicative suffix. In addition, English loan verbs conform to the properties in which the introduction of the negation morpheme changes the final vowel from [*-a*] to [*-e*] regardless of the way the verb was borrowed, that is, whether directly from English or indirectly via Swahili.

5.7 Coordination of clauses with English loan verbs

Sukuma exhibits coordinate (compound) clauses constructions, with various conjunctions (cf. section 2.5.2 in chapter two). These conjunctions include *niinga* ‘or’, *nʊʊlʊ* ‘even if’, *alɪɪyo* ‘but’, *nahaangɪ* ‘and then’, and *gunguno* ‘because’. However, the occurrence of English loan verbs in compound sentences is very limited in Sukuma speakers. Nevertheless, some of the above conjunctions can be used to coordinate two clauses, depending on the discourse-pragmatic contexts.

As pointed above, *niinga* is a Sukuma conjunction with the meaning ‘or’ and can join two clauses. Similarly, when it occurs with English loan verb, it conjoins two clauses forming a compound sentence, as exemplified in (39).

(39) ʊgaβapilintiya niinga ʊgaβafowadiya ɪfakisi?
ʊ-ga-βa-pilinti-ya niinga ʊ-ga-βa-fowadi-ya ɪ-fakisi?
AgrS-PAST-AgrO-print-APPL-FV or AgrS-PAST-AgrO-forward-APPL-FV IV-fax
‘Did you print for them or did you forward the fax to them?’

In (39) above, the constructions ‘did you print (the fax) for them’ and ‘did you forward the fax to them’ are coordinated with the conjunction *niinga* ‘or’ to form a single compound construction. However, this is rare with English loan verbs as confirmed by the Sukuma data.

The conjunction, *nʊʊlʊ* ‘even if’ is another conjunction that can be used in connecting two clauses with English loan verbs. The sentence in (40) demonstrates this conjunction.

(40) nʊʊlʊ ʊganikiisi nagʊgʊbulooko dʊhʊ ʊmsim yaane
nʊʊlʊ ʊ-ga-ni-kiis-i na-gʊ-gʊ-bulook-o dʊhʊ ʊ-msim yaane
even if 2PS-INF-1PS-kiss-FV 1PS-FUT-AgrO-block-FV still IV-phone my
‘Even if you kiss me, still I will block you on my phone’.

The two clauses above are conjoined by the conjunction *nʊʊlʊ* ‘even if’. However, as in (40) above, the occurrence of this kind of constructions is limited in Sukuma, and relates to the level of bilingualism of the speaker(s). The conjunction *alɪɪyo* ‘but’ in Sukuma denotes the contrast of two clauses and it is positioned between the clauses expressing contrasting facts. The example in (41) illustrates this kind of conjunction conjoining two English loan verb clauses to form a compound sentence.

(41) nagagutekisiti alɪɪyo ʊdalesipondie
na-ga-gu-tekisit-i alɪɪyo ʊ-da-lesipondi-e
AgrS-PAST-AgrO-text-FV but AgrS-NEG-respond-FV
‘I texted you (a message) but you did not respond’.

The above compound sentence has the reading that the person sent a message but that there was no feedback. The sender of the message expected an answer but in contrast with expectations no response was given. The *nahaangɪ* ‘and then’ conjunction can also conjoin two clauses to form a compound sentence in Sukuma. It denotes the order or series of events from the first to the last. Consider the following example in which it conjoins English loan verb clauses as exemplified in (42).

42) nidaunilodiyage ɪjitaaβʊ nahangɪ ʊnifowadiye
ni-daunilodi-ya-ge ɪ-ji-taaβʊ nahangɪ ʊ-ni-fowadi-ye
1PS-download-APPL-IMPE IV-7-book and then 2PS-1PS-forward-APPL/FV
‘Download for me the book and then forward it to me’

The two simple clauses with the reading ‘download the book for me’ and ‘forward the book to me’ are conjoined by the *nahaangɪ* ‘and then’ conjunction, yielding a compound sentence. This example has the reading that an order or a series of events occur. The first event is that of downloading the book, followed by the action of forwarding the book to the person in need. Two clauses in Sukuma can be connected by the conjunction *gunguno* ‘because’. This kind of conjunction indicates the reason or the source of something. The same property obtains in the linking of two clauses with the English loan verbs. The conjunction *gunguno* cannot occur at the initial position of the sentence. The example in (43), with the English loan verbs ‘win’ and ‘support’, demonstrates this conjunction.

(43) aβayaanda βagawiini gunguno dʊgaβasapooti
a-βa-yaanda βa-ga-wiini gunguno dʊ-ga-βa-sapooti
IV-2-boy AgrS-PAST-win because 1PL-PAST-AgrO-support
‘The boys won (the tournament) because we supported them.’

The example in (43) above illustrates how the two simple English loan verb clauses are conjoined, resulting in a compound construction. The reading obtains that the boys won (the game) only because they were supported and it is possible that they could have lost the game had there be no supporters around.

Another conjunction that can conjoin two clauses in Sukuma is *ʊlʊ* ‘if’. This conjunction denotes that for something to occur, there should be some condition obtaining. This reading also holds when the conjunction is used to connect English loan verb clauses. Consider the English loan verbs *tiichi* ‘teach’ and *wiini* ‘win’, in the following example.

(44) ʊlʊ ʊβatiichi chiiza βagʊwiini chiiza
ʊlʊ ʊ-βa-tiichi chiiza βa-gʊ-wiini chiiza
if 2PS-AgrS-teach nicely AgrO-FUT-win nicely
‘If you teach them nicely they will win nicely’

In (44) above, two clauses are connected by the use of *ʊlʊ* ‘if’ conjunction to form a complex construction, which has a reading that the success of one event leads to the success of the second event. The condition for winning, probably an examination, depends entirely on the quality of the teachings, and the vice versa.

From the discussion and examples above, it is evident that inherent Sukuma conjunctions conjoin two verb clauses in Sukuma, forming different types of compound sentences in regard to the communication requirements of Sukuma speakers. The inherent Sukuma conjunctions can also occur with English loan verb clauses, forming different loan verb compound clauses. Although the occurrence of compound constructions with English loan verbs is limited to some pragmatical-discourse context of use, the lexical-semantic and the morpho-syntactic properties of inherent Sukuma conjunctions are observed to be manifested in the English loan verbs.

5.7.1 Basic clause types

The basic verb clause types in Sukuma, as stated in chapter two, (cf. section 2.5.4), are distinguished in terms of intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verb clauses. The intransitive category, as is discussed in section 5.7.1.1 below does not allow an object, and the predicate allows only one argument, which is the agentive subject argument. The transitive verb clause is distinguished in terms of monotransitive verbs, which allow one object and have two arguments, namely the subject and the direct object. The ditransitive verbs, which have three arguments, namely the agent subject argument, recipient indirect object argument and the theme direct object argument. The following sections present a discussion of the types of basic clause types in respect to the way English loan verbs are adapted in Sukuma in these domains.

5.7.1.1 Intransitive verbs

An intransitive verb or predicate allows only a single argument, that is, the subject, which is mostly an agent or theme. The agent argument denotes a doer or the causer of an action. In this type of simple clause, the predicate does not take an object (Rugemalira, 2005:89). Etymologically, the word ‘intrans’ is a Latin word, which refers to ‘not across’ (Fall, 2014). This implies that an intransitive verb cannot transfer any action to the object argument because it does not allow an object. Thus, the action described by the verb is incomplete since no object argument occurs. Given that an object argument is disallowed with intransitive verbs, the predicate sometimes has complement categories, such as adverbials to express the manner of the action denoted by the verb. This is also the case in Sukuma. The English intransitive loan verbs in Sukuma undergo adaptation by conforming to the Sukuma grammatical system. The following examples in (45) illustrate this verb type.

(45) a. ʊŋgw'waalimu agadisapia
ʊ-ŋgw'waalimu a-ga-disapia
IV-teacher AgrS-PAST-disappear
'The teacher disappeared'

b. aβiiβi βagaesikeepu
a-βiiβi βa-ga-esikeepu
IV-thief AgrS-PST-escape
'The thieves escaped'

The two constructions above illustrate intransitive English loan verbs. In (45a) above, an adverbial of time can occur to indicate the time the event took place. Tense can also express times as in, for example, 'The teacher disappeared last night'. Similarly, in (45b), it is possible for the verb to have an adverbial complement, expressing, for example, how the thieves escaped, that is, 'The thieves escaped miraculously'. English intransitive loan verbs manifest the typical agglutinative Sukuma verbal morphology when borrowed and accommodated in Sukuma. Thus, English loan verbs conform to verbal morphology of Sukuma given that the affixes precede the verb base and the derivational suffixes follow the verb root. However, Some English verbs cannot be borrowed possibly due to the complexities during adaptation process.

5.7.1.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs have one or more arguments as object complement. A transitive verb may also have an indirect object complement which realizes the patient argument. Therefore, two types of transitive verbs are distinguished, namely monotransitive and ditransitive verbs.

a. Monotransitive verb

A monotransitive verb or predicate allows only a single object, that is, a direct object. The direct object can be a noun or a pronoun argument underlying the action denoted by the verb. When English verbs are borrowed into Sukuma, either directly or indirectly via Swahili, they are adapted in accordance with transitivity. Verbs that license one object argument are regarded as monotransitive verbs. English ditransitive loan verbs can license a direct object and an indirect object. The following examples demonstrate the way English loan verbs in Sukuma are accommodated as monotransitive verbs.

(46) a. aβayanda βadamisiye ɪjilɪɪwa
a-βa-yanda βa-da-misi-ye ɪ-jilɪɪwa
IV-2-boy AgrS-NEG-miss-PERF IV-food
'The boys did not miss the food'

b. ʊDawudi agupilinti ɪkalatasi
ʊ-Dawudi a-gu-pilinti ɪ-kalatasi
IV-David AgrS-FUT-printi IV-5paper
'David will print a paper'

The two constructions above exhibit verbs borrowed from English into Sukuma. The clause *βadamisiye* 'they did not miss' and *agupilinti* 'S/he will print' contain monotransitive verbs when adapted because they both allow one object each, that is, *ijiliiwa* 'food' and *ikalatasi* 'paper', respectively. Since Sukuma and English differ in regard to verbal morphology properties, English loan verbs conform to the verbal morphology of Sukuma as the host language. This gives evidence that English loan verbs undergo morpho-syntactic adaptation in accordance with the verbal morphology of Sukuma.

As pointed out above, a verb can be ditransitive, depending on a number of arguments in a sentence and the types of derivational suffixes involved during derivation process. The following example illustrates a ditransitive loan verb.

(47) ʊDawudi agumpilintia ʊMaliya ikalatasi
ʊ-Dawudi a-gu-m-pilinti-a ʊ-Maliya i-kalatasi
IV-David AgrS-FUT-AgrO-print-APPL/FV IV-Mary IV-paper
'David will print Mary a paper or David will print a paper for Mary'

In the above example (47), the English loan verb *pilinti* 'print' is ditransitive for the reason that an applicative suffix occurs after the verb root to denote the reading that the action of 'printing' will be done by Davis for or on behalf of Mary. This example demonstrates that an English loan verb conforms to the morphology of the host language, Sukuma in regard to the derivational suffixes. Thus, it can be concluded that English loan verbs are adapted into the Sukuma grammatical system by conforming to the morpho-syntactic properties of Sukuma in the accommodation process, similar to inherent ditransitive verbs.

b. Ditransitive verbs

As opposed to a monotransitive verb, a ditransitive verb normally allows two object arguments of which one is a direct object and the other is an indirect object. Thus, a ditransitive predicate generally consists of three arguments namely; the argent argument, recipient-like argument and the theme argument (Conti, 2008). Generally in Bantu languages, and Sukuma in particular, the argent argument or the subject precedes the predicate, and the recipient or an indirect object immediately follows the predicate while the theme argument, the direct object follows the recipient indirect object argument. However, sometimes this order changes as attested in Sukuma where the recipient argument and the theme argument can alternate their positions. An English loan verb that is adapted in Sukuma conform correspondingly to the Sukuma word order. The following examples demonstrate how English loan verbs are accommodated as ditransitive verbs in Sukuma, in sentences with the English loan verbs 'download' and 'serve'.

(48) a**.** ʊticha agandawunilodia ʊLuhende ijitaaβu
ʊ-ticha a-ga-n-dawunilodi-a ʊ-Luhende i-ji-taabhu
IV-Professor AgrS-PAST-AgrO-download-APL IV-Luhende IV-7-book
'The teacher downloaded for Luhende a book'

b. ʊmaayu agunseevia ʊMikayeli ijiliwa
ʊ-maayu a-gu-n-seevi-a ʊ-Mikayeli i-ji-liwa
IV-mother AgrS-FUT-AgrO-serve-APL IV-Michael IV-7-food
'(My) Mother will serve Michael the food'

The examples in (48) above, illustrate that English loan verbs 'download' and 'serve' exhibit the full Sukuma inflectional and derivational properties. In the affixation process, the verbs are adapted to conform to the Sukuma verbal morphology system, including, the applicative suffix of the two English loan verbs. Each of the two English loan verbs above has three arguments. For example in (48a), the verb 'download' has an agent argument 'teacher', a recipient argument 'Luhende', and a theme argument 'book'. Similarly, in (48b), the verb 'serve' exhibits these properties, that is, it has an agent argument 'mother', a recipient argument 'Michael' and a theme argument 'food'. This is a typical Sukuma verbal morphology characteristics for ditransitive verbs are concerned. As pointed above, the direct and the indirect objects in Sukuma can alternate their positions, as illustrated in the following examples.

(49) a. ʊticha agandawunilodia jitaaβu ʊLuhende
ʊ-ticha a-ga-n-dawunilodi-a ji-taabhu ʊ-Luhende

IV-teacher AgrS-PAST-AgrO-download-APPL 7-book IV-Luhende
'The teacher downloaded a book for Luhende'

b. ʊmaayu agunseevia jiliwa ʊMikayeli
ʊ-maayu a-gu-n-seevi-a ji-liwa ʊ-Mikayeli
IV-mother AgrS-FUT-AgrO-serve-APPL 7-food IV-Michael
'(My) Mother will serve the food for Michael'

In (49 a & b) above, the direct and indirect object arguments have exchanged positions yet the sentences with two predicates, that is, the verbs 'download' and 'serve' maintain the readings of their arguments. Luhende in (49 a) and Michael in (49 b) are understood as the recipient arguments of the verbs 'download' and 'serve' respectively. This indicates that the English verbs 'download' and 'serve' exhibit features like any other Sukuma ditransitive verb in the sentence. However, some English verbs do not comply with these characteristics. This may be due to their lexical-semantic complexities, hence they resist borrowing.

5.8 Lexical-semantic properties of English loan verbs

This section examines different lexical-semantic characteristics of English loan verbs and the ways they are accommodated in Sukuma, with reference to various senses extracted from the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English (cf. Hornby, 2015). The analysis of the English loan verbs aims to determine the number of their senses in the dictionary in relation to the senses borrowed in Sukuma lexicon. This section, in addition, examines the possible reasons for the borrowing of some senses and the conditions resulting in some senses not being borrowed in Sukuma. In the dictionary, some verbs occur with several senses while other verbs have one or two senses only. However, not all the senses of a verb are borrowed, rather, only the senses needed are borrowed in Sukuma as the host language for different communicative purposes.

From a lexical-semantic perspective, the data of this study indicate that in general, sense 1 of a borrowed verb is borrowed rather than other senses such as sense 2, sense 3, sense 4, sense 5 or any other sense in the series. For example, a verb such as *lani* 'run' has 32 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed. Verbs such as *dauniloodi* 'download', *tekisiti* 'text', *libuuti* 'reboot', *fakisi* 'fax', *doozi* 'dose', and *kampeeni* 'campaign' have only one sense each in the Sukuma lexicon as their definitions. Thus, the single sense that occurs in each of these verbs is borrowed into the Sukuma lexicon as the only sense of this borrowed verb. However, the choice of which senses should be borrowed and which senses be omitted depends on the requirements of the Sukuma speech community relating to the context of discourse. For example, the English loan verb *paasi* 'pass' is assigned 22 meanings but only sense 5 is borrowed in Sukuma specifically in the context of football, referring to the act of kicking, hitting or throwing the ball to one of the players of your own side (cf. Hornby, 2015). Thus, all the other English verb senses for the loan verb *paasi* 'pass' are omitted hence unborrowed for the reason that Sukuma speakers have inherent verbs that effectively capture the ideas the speaker intends to communicate. The table below demonstrate how a single sense is borrowed from an English verb with a single sense. For more data and analysis, see the main table on Lexical-semantic properties of English loan verbs in Sukuma in appendix 1 at the end of this dissertation.

Table 19: Single sense borrowing (dauniloodi 'download')

		Sense borrowed	Definition	Context of use
dowuniloodi	download	The verb has 1 sense of which it is the only one borrowed. The meaning is retained (R)	"To get data from another computer, usually using the Internet" (Hornby, 2015).	m-ga-dawunilodi i-ji-taabu? AgrS-PAST-download IV-8book? 'Did you download the books?'

Source: Field data (2016).

5.8.1 Lexical-semantic properties of loan verbs with derivational suffixes

A salient aspect in the discussion of the semantic properties of English loan verbs is the difference in the occurrence of derivational suffixes. In most of the borrowed senses, only applicative and passive derivational suffixes are manifested to demonstrate how the borrowed senses occur in the actual speech contexts through various examples provided. The causative, the stative, the reflexive and the reciprocal suffixes are rarely observed in the examples provided. Furthermore, the applicative suffix seldom occurs with verbs that can take the passive suffix. In short, the passive derivational suffix occurs in many different English loan verbs which do not permit the occurrence of other derivational suffixes. For example, it has been pointed out previously (cf. sections 5.6.5 and 5.6.7) that the reciprocal and the reversive suffixes rarely occur with English loan verbs. This is not the case with the passive suffix which occurs productively with different English loan verbs, including loan verbs that do not allow the occurrence of other derivational suffixes, such as the causative and stative suffixes.

5.8.2 Semantic shift

As stated in chapter three (cf. section 3.2.4.3), a word undergoes semantic shift in a sense that its original meaning changes completely when it is borrowed in the host language (cf. Haspelmath, 2009). This property has been observed in some of the borrowed Sukuma verbs from English. Sometimes, a verb may have several senses of which not any sense is borrowed in Sukuma. Their morphological forms are borrowed although their senses shift to refer to something else (*Semantic shift*). For example, English loan verbs such as *sheeli* 'share', *sooti* 'sort', *diigi* 'dig' and *panchi* 'punch' have some element of the English lexical forms although they bear different Sukuma senses. The possible reason to account for this property could be that such verbs are borrowed directly from English into Sukuma.

The researcher of this study interviewed two different consultants at different times who explained their understanding of the verb *sheeli*. Each of them said it denotes the way of tilling the land. After a close follow-up with two other consultants, this time elderly persons, the researcher was told that the verb *sheeli* has been borrowed from English since the colonial period. It has gone through a number of adaptation processes. It was adapted by the farmers in Sukumaland from an English word *ploughshare,* which refers to "the part of a plough that cuts the soil during cultivation activities" (cf. Hornby, 2015). Sukuma speakers borrowed it as a noun, from which a verb was derived. In the process the first part, i.e. 'plough-' was omitted and only the second part 'share' remained. Since Sukuma as the host language does not have the sound /*r*/ in its phonemic inventory, the sound /*r*/ was substituted with its nearest counterpart, i.e /*l*/, yielding the verb sound *sheli*. In addition, Sukuma phonologically permits vowel lengthening, thus, the vowel [*e*] was lengthened to [*ee*] as in the verb *sheeli*. Therefore, the verb *sheeli* denotes 'cultivation by using oxen pulling a plough'. Like inherent Sukuma verbs, *sheeli* 'share' co-occur with different grammatical affixes and derivation suffixes. The following example illustrates how the verb *sheeli* conform to the Sukuma verbal morphology similar to inherent Sukuma verbs.

(50) dʊlɪɪsheelisha
dʊ-lɪɪ-sheeli-sh-a
1PL-AgrS-PRES-share-CAUS-FV
'We are causing the land to be tilled'

The verb *sooti* 'sort' which originally denoted putting things together according to their characteristics (cf. Hornby, 2015) has developed a new meaning as a loan verb in Sukuma to refer to ‘fighting with fists’. Even the current researcher used to use this verb to refer to fighting in those old days. The boys in the remote villages use the English loan verb *sooti* with this reading, especially if they want to fight. Consider the following old Sukuma sentence with the verb *sooti* ‘sort’.

(51) lelo naagʊkaβa nzʊʊgʊ dʊjisooti lʊʊlʊ
lelo naa-gʊ-kaβ-a nzʊʊgʊ dʊ-ji-sooti lʊʊlʊ
today AgrS-PRES-catch-FV come AgrS-8-fist.fight now
‘I have caught you today. Come let us fight now (because you took my ball…)’.

The verb is now known to originate from English only by a few people who are educated, but yet, it is used as an expression for provoking someone to fight, due to different reasons, such as taking someone’s ball, a local car made of wire or of tin materials, or by someone pretending to know how to fight better than the opponents among many other reasons that could make one angry. Sometimes the verb is used to provoke someone to fight because his or her parents are not on good terms. The verb *sooti* is used by young boys of the age between 7 and 16 years, some of them who have never attended basic education. The verb *sooti* ‘sort’ can be inflected for all the three tenses in Sukuma. Consider the following example in (52).

(52) aβayaanda βaagʊjisooti ɪntoondo
a-βa-yaanda βaa-gʊ-ji-sooti ɪ-ntoondo
IV-2-boy AgrS-FUT-8fist-sort tomorrow
‘The boys will fight (with their fists) tomorrow

By contrast, *diigi* ‘dig’ is a verb borrowed from English into the Sukuma lexicon which is used by girls of the age between 4 to 12 years. The verb in English denotes ‘to make a hole’ but when borrowed in Sukuma, it refers to a kind of dance called *soolo*. The girls use the verb in a song especially in their dances after dinner and before they sleep. First, they make a circle and then start singing the song that has the verb *diigi* ‘dig’ (in its lyrics). During that time, they go in the middle of the circle one at a time and dance until everyone has danced and they again start all over. The verb has been used in that linguistic context for a long time. Consider the following verse that includes the verb *diigi* ‘dig’ as it is sung by girls, especially at night after dinner.

(53) “…*nalihaya dada Saala, dudigi soolo… dudigi soolo… dudigi soolo*”

(…I want sister Sarah to dig solo…to dig solo… to dig solo) Translation (Luhende, 2016)

A semantic shift also occurs with the English loan verb *panchi* 'punch'. Originally, the English verb 'punch' denoted "an act of hitting someone hard with a closed hand", i.e. with the fist (cf. Hornby, 2015). This act is normally done by youth or boys at the age between 7 and 16. However, when borrowed in Sukuma, it refers to the opposite to its original sense. It denotes the act of someone avoiding a fist by being hit on the face by using his forearm. Thus, the sense shifted from a 'hitting' action to a 'defending' action. When Sukuma speakers, especially boys who normally fight, want to talk about hitting someone with a fist, they always use the Sukuma inherent (native) verb. The following example demonstrates the use of this English loan verb in discourse-pragmatic context.

(54) nagayipanchi ıngumı yakwe
na-ga-yi-panchi i-ngumi yakwe
AgrS-PAST-AgrO-punch IV-fist his
'I punched his fist (I avoided his fist)'

It can be concluded from the above examples that some English loan verbs conform to the Sukuma verbal morphology, demonstrating similar properties to inherent Sukuma verbs. It was pointed out that some English loan verbs undergo semantic shift in which case their original meanings change according to requirements of the discourse-pragmatic context in Sukuma. The borrowed verbs exhibit the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of inherent Sukuma verbs, hence, occur as part of the Sukuma lexicon.

5.8.3 Semantic retention

In some cases, two senses from the same English verb are borrowed and their meanings are retained, resulting in *semantic retention*. For example, the English loan verb *aseesi* 'assess' has two senses, both of which are borrowed into Sukuma. Their original meanings are retained. For example, the English loan verb *dampu* 'dump' retains its meaning when borrowed into Sukuma, as illustrated below.

Table 20: Semantic retention (dampu 'dump')

LW	English	Borrowed sense	Definition	Context of use

[dampu]	dump	There are 6 senses of which only sense 4 is borrowed (R)	"To end a romantic relationship with somebody" (Hornby, 2015).	John a-ga-dampi-w-a John AgrS-PAST-dump-PASSFV 'John was dumped'

Source: Field data (2016).

In the example in the above table, the English loan verb *dampu* 'dump' denotes a meaning similar to the original meaning in English before being borrowed and adapted in the Sukuma lexicon. The possible reason for retaining the meaning of the English loan verb in the Sukuma lexicon could relate to prestige or fashion, as lexical borrowing is prolific among the young generation, which needs new terms to denote entities.

Another English loan verb, which maintains its original sense when borrowed into Sukuma is *soovu* 'solve'. This English loan verb bears two senses, which are (i) to find a resolution for a problem, and (ii) to find the correct answer especially in Mathematics (cf. Hornby, 2015). When borrowed into Sukuma, both senses are taken as they are and they are used in both social and academic contexts. The choice of which sense of the two borrowed senses obtains, depends on the discourse-pragmatic context of speech. However, few people, especially those from urban areas use this verb frequently because they are bilinguals. The table below provides an illustration on how this verb retains its senses.

Table 5.5: Semantic retention (*soovu* 'solve')

LW	English	Borrowed sense	Definition	Context of use
[soovu]	solve	There are 2 senses of which both are borrowed (R)	"To find a way of dealing with a problem or difficult situation". "To find the correct answer or explanation" (Hornby, 2015).	du-gu-li-soove pye AgrS-FUT-AgrO-solve all 'We shall solve that together'

Source: Field data (2016).

It is evident from the data that many English loan verbs retain their senses. The two examples provided above are part of the large corpus of English loan verbs in Sukuma that retain their senses. Although some of the English loan verbs retain their senses in Sukuma, they in addition conform to the morpho-syntactic properties of the Sukuma verbal systems in that they can co-occur with the grammatical affixes and derivational suffixes similar to inherent Sukuma verbs. For other examples of meaning retention, see the table on Lexical-semantic properties of English loan verbs in Sukuma in appendix 2 at the end of this dissertation.

5.8.4 Semantic narrowing

A verb undergoes semantic narrowing when its meaning becomes more specialised and specific in that some of its original senses are omitted. For example, the English loan verb *koopi* 'copy' is borrowed into Sukuma. In English, the verb 'copy' exhibits four senses but when borrowed in Sukuma, all the senses are omitted except the third sense, which means 'to cheat in school, college, and university examinations (cf. Hornby, 2015). The table below demonstrates how the English loan verb *koopi* 'copy' is narrowed when borrowed in Sukuma.

Table 21: Semantic narrowing (koopi 'copy')

LW	English	Borrowed sense	Definition	Context of use
[koopi]	copy	There are 5 senses of which only the 4th sense is borrowed (N)	"To cheat in an exam, school work, etc. by writing what somebody else has written and pretending it is your own work" (Hornby, 2015).	O-kopi-aga hali Suzana AgrS-copy-PERF from Susan 'You have copied (this) from Susan'

Source: Field data (2016).

Another English verb, which undergoes semantic narrowing when borrowed into Sukuma is *paasi* 'pass'. In English, this verb has 22 senses but, as pointed out previously, only sense 1 is borrowed. All the other 21 senses are omitted. This indicates that before the process of borrowing, the verb *paasi* manifested a wide range of senses. However, the meaning of this verb is very specific after being borrowed in Sukuma. The single sense that is borrowed refers to sports and games denoting the act of kicking the ball with one's leg to one of your team mates in sports, especially football. The following table demonstrates this semantic property.

Table 22: Semantic narrowing (*paasi* 'pass')

LW	English	Borrowed sense	Definition	Context of use
[paasi]	pass	The verb has 22 senses of which sense 5 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (N)	(in ball games) "to kick, hit or throw the ball to a player of your own side" (Hornby, 2015).	Ronaldo a-ga-m-pasi-a Ronaldinho Ronaldo AgrS-PAST-AgrO-pass-APPL Ronaldinho 'Ronaldo passed the ball to Ronaldinho'

Source: Field data (2016)

As stated in section 5.8.4 above, many English loan verbs occur with semantic narrowing properties in Sukuma. The above examples demonstrate how the meaning of different English loan verbs are narrowed when borrowed into Sukuma. Other examples are given in the table on lexical-semantic properties of English loan verbs in Sukuma in appendix 2 at the end of this dissertation.

5.8.5 Loan verb resistance

A verb borrowed from one language to another needs to be adaptation to conform to the system of the host language, thus becomes part of the lexicon of the receiving language. Such borrowed verb can be used in different domains similar to inherent verbs of the host language. In the examination of English loan verbs in Sukuma in regard to their lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties, this study has established that some of the English loan verbs are suitable for borrowability since they have required senses that are borrowed in Sukuma. However, when they are attested in the actual context of use in Sukuma sentences, they yield ungrammatical sentences. They cannot occur with any of the derivational suffixes. In the table on lexical-semantic properties of English loan verbs in Sukuma in the appendix 2, these type of loan verbs do not have corresponding Sukuma examples in their slots since they give rise to ungrammatical Sukuma constructions. However, with the morpho-syntactic characteristics, a few of them can inflect for the simple present tense. These verbs are divided into the following two groups according to their morpho-syntactic properties.

(a) Irregular verbs

Some English verbs have past tense forms and past participle tenses which are not formed according to the grammatical rules. For example in English, the *-ed* particle denotes past tense and past participle. However, the format is different with irregular verbs, which have irregular past tense forms, as indicated below.

(55) send > sent throw > threw
write > wrote run > ran
sing > sang hang > hung
make > made sing > sung

It is proposed by scholars (cf. Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Haspelmath, 2009) that the structural incompatibility of the languages involved in the donor-recipient language relationship can be the possible reason that some verbs are borrowed and some are not. It is possible that the above verbs do not occur with any of the derivational suffixes because they are irregular verbs in English.

(b) Regular verbs with variable characteristics

This class of verbs comprises of different verbs borrowed into Sukuma. Like the previous group of verbs discussed above, do not occur with any derivational suffix in Sukuma. They have different grammatical characteristics denoting the senses of *smell*, *read*, *hurt*, *fry*, *heat*, *arrange*, *prepare*, *help*, *refer*, *recycle*, and *exhibit*. These verbs have complex morphology and require more phonological effort during articulation. Tadmor (2009) points out that words that are simple to pronounce always have manageable morphological forms and they lack complex articulation features. However, an adaptation process of loan verbs takes place in a host language. Lodhi (2000) maintains that it take time for the word to be fully integrated into the host language. Some words are accommodated easily but some are less easily adapted to the system of the host language.

5.9 Summary

The main purpose of this chapter was to examine the properties English loan verbs exhibit when borrowed in Sukuma in the domains of the IP and VP. The English loan verbs were examined with regard to the lexical-semantic and morphosyntactic properties they exhibit when adapted into Sukuma. The chapter was organised into seven sections. Each section examined an aspect on how English loan verbs are adapted and conform to inherent Sukuma verbs. The chapter first presented a brief comparison of the verb systems of English and Sukuma in regard to the realization of the tense and aspect, demonstrating that, the morphological structures of the two languages differ. English is an isolated language whereas Sukuma is an agglutinative language, with a complex verbal morphology. In the first section, the tense and aspect properties of the English loan verbs in Sukuma were examined. It was pointed out in this chapter that some of the English loan verbs correspond to the Sukuma grammatical system when borrowed. They are inflected for the tense and aspect, exhibiting the same morpho-syntactic properties as non-loan verbs. For example, the grammatical morphemes in English loan verbs are affixed before the verbal root while the derivational suffixes are affixed after the verbal root. It was demonstrated that only the verbal root of English is borrowed and that other Sukuma grammatical and derivational suffixes are affixed to the verbal root. However, a few English loan verbs are partially inflected in the Sukuma verbal morphology. This kind of verbs have complex morphological structures thus they are not easily adapted in Sukuma as the host language. The inherent lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of these verbs could be the reason as to why some English verbs are partially borrowed.

With reference to the summary from the table (cf. appendix 1), various English loan verbs were examined, taking into account their properties of co-occurring with different derivational suffixes. English loan verbs generally demonstrated a possible co-occurrence with derivational suffixes such as the applicative, the causative, the passive, the stative, the reciprocal, but little with the reflexive. The English loan verbs in Sukuma have suffixes similarly to inherent Sukuma verbs. However, some verbs do not conform well to some derivational suffixes. It was suggested that the structural incompatibility of both the English verbs and the inherent Sukuma verbs may relate to the reason for partial adaptation of some of the English loan verbs (cf. Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Haspelmath, 2009). For example, verbs such as ‘drink’ and ‘swallow’ demonstrated limited occurrence with the inherent Sukuma derivational suffixes. These kind of verbs are, according to Levin (1993:213), verbs of ingesting. When borrowed in Sukuma, these verbs demonstrate very limited linguistic properties of inherent verbs compared to loan verbs from other verb classes. For example, these verbs cannot occur in passive when borrowed into Sukuma. Sukuma speakers use the inherent Sukuma verbs for verbs of ingestion in passives.

English loan verbs in Sukuma were examined to determine the co-occurrence with derivational suffixes. As with inherent verbs in Sukuma, most of the English loan verbs allow the co-occurrence of derivational suffixes. For example, the applicative suffix may co-occur with the causative suffix etc. With co-occurrence of the applicative and the causative suffixes, the causative precedes then the applicative. The argument structure properties were examined in relation to English loan verbs. The basic clause types were identified as intransitive verbs, monotransitive verbs and ditransitive verb clauses. In regard to transitivity, it was demonstrated that most English loan verbs exhibit linguistic characteristics similar to inherent Sukuma verbs. Furthermore, the alternation of arguments in regard to English loan verbs was explored and the evidence indicated that it is possible for a subject to take a position of an object and vice versa. In addition, it was pointed out that it is possible for a direct object argument to alternate positions with the indirect object argument. Thus, it is evident that English loan verbs are adapted extensively to conform to inherent Sukuma verbs. This chapter also examined the coordination of clauses in relation to English loan verbs. Two loan verb clauses from English combine to form a compound sentence with various inherent Sukuma conjunctions. However, it was stated that the use of this kind of coordination of loan verb clauses is limited with Sukuma speakers, especially in the rural areas. It is used in most cases by bilingual speakers in urban areas.

The lexical-semantic properties of English loan verbs were explored in this chapter. In this regard, English loan verbs were examined according to the number of senses they have and the type of senses borrowed. It was demonstrated that in most cases, the first sense of each English loan verb is borrowed rather than other senses in the series. It was further demonstrated that some English loan verbs in Sukuma have senses that are broadened, narrowed, retained and shifted. English loan verbs denoting semantic broadening consists of verbs whose senses expand and can be used in different contexts. English loan verbs that demonstrate semantic narrowing involve verbs with many original senses, of which only one sense is borrowed. It was demonstrated that some English loan verbs in Sukuma retain their senses, hence their senses continue to be used by speakers similarly to the contexts of English as the donor language. In addition, some senses of English loan verbs in Sukuma have completely shifted to denote some other entities. Senses of this kind are from verbs borrowed directly from English into Sukuma.

In summary, this chapter demonstrated that when English verbs are borrowed in Sukuma, they conform to the complex Sukuma verbal morphology. The process of accommodation for these English loan verbs differs according to the structural (in)compatibilities and semantic properties of the particular English verbs involved. An underived verb structure is more readily adapted in Sukuma. Thus, some verbs are morphologically fully adapted while others are adapted partially. Generally, verbs that are borrowed frequently denote new concepts and entities that needs to be included in the Sukuma lexicon. Thus, verbs in the fields of lexical items expressing new inventions due to the development of science and technology, sports and games, religion, recreation and entertainment are highly borrowed.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION OF THE FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

6.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this study was to examine the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Sukuma. This chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the main findings of the study with reference to the theoretical implications of the DP hypothesis of the generative syntax perspective assumed and the typological perspective employed in the analysis of the Sukuma data in chapter four and five of the study. The conclusions reached in this study correlated with the research questions posited in chapter one (cf. section 1.2.6). In addition, some recommendations and suggestions for further research are proposed at the end of this chapter.

6.2 General overview of the study on lexical borrowing in Sukuma

The current study comprises of four core chapters. Chapter two presented an outline of Sukuma descriptive grammar. It was stated that Sukuma exhibits seven contrastive vowels (cf. chart 1a&b in chapter two). Each of the seven vowels in Sukuma can either be underlyingly long or be lengthened by the phonological process in the pronunciation of words. This implies that the occurrence of lengthening process generally results in a change of the meaning of the word. In addition, 33 consonants occur in the Sukuma phonemic inventory. As in many other Bantu languages, most of the consonant phonemes in Sukuma are dual, that is, they occur as voiced or voiceless sound segments. Chapter two discussed noun classes, given that Sukuma, like other Bantu languages generally, manifests a noun class system in which nouns are grouped into gender according to the noun class prefixes.

The structure of the noun in Sukuma includes the pre-prefix (also referred to as augment or initial vowel), a noun class prefix, and a noun stem. The three vowels that occur as pre-prefix in Sukuma are [a, ɪ, ʊ] and their occurrences depend on the vowel in the noun class prefix (cf. section 2.3.1 in chapter two). It was demonstrated that, contrast to Bantu languages assumed to have 21 noun classes, Sukuma exhibits 18 noun classes, some of which occur in singular/plural pairing for count nouns. Thus, a prefix is prefixed to the noun stem, one for singular and the other for plural. Nouns with the same prefixes occur in the same noun classes. It was pointed out that, among other criteria, nouns occur in noun classes according to their semantic characteristics. For example, noun classes 1/2 generally denoting humans while noun classes 9/10 generally denote animals. In Sukuma, noun classes 5/6 and 9/10 are viewed as the default classes.

The examination of nominal derivation demonstrated that Sukuma exhibits a number of derivational structures with different derivational morphemes. The data gave evidence that nominal morphology in Sukuma is highly productive. The examination of compound nouns demonstrated that Sukuma exhibits several types of compound nouns, some of which have idiomatic meanings. Such compound nouns denotes, for example, nicknames, as with traditional dancers. Concerning Sukuma verbal morphology, it was pointed out that, as generally in Bantu languages, Sukuma is an agglutinative language with complex verbal morphology. The order of elements in the Sukuma verb morphology, consists of a pre-initial, initial and post initial positions, position 1, position 2, a pre-radical position, verbal base, pre-final, final and post-final positions. In addition, Sukuma exhibits three forms of tenses namely the past tense, present tense and future tense. The chapter explored the different derivational suffixes. It was stated that some of the derivational suffixes, such as the applicative, causative and passive occur frequently in Sukuma, while other suffixes such as the reflexive and reciprocal occur more rarely.

Chapter Three discussed selected previous research studies on loanwords in African languages. The chapter was organised into three parts. The first part presented a general overview on lexical borrowing. The view was expressed that lexical borrowing is a complex phenomenon to define. Various scholars have defined aspects of lexical borrowing differently and there is a lack of consensus among scholars. Some scholars view lexical borrowing as a result of code-switching, while others consider it as the transfer of content items, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, from one language to another (cf. section 3.2.2.1 in chapter three). Furthermore, some scholars argue that lexical borrowing results in the occurrence of loanwords while other scholars consider the two phenomena as essentially the same, stating that both loanwords and borrowings refer to the same linguistic phenomenon, namely words, which are borrowed from one language, the donor language, to another, the recipient language. In general, scholars agree that lexical borrowing involves the transfer of words from one language to another. The transferred words are adapted to conform to the grammatical system of the recipient language and they form part of the lexicon of the recipient language. The discussion of previous studies on compound nouns in Bantu languages demonstrated that compound nouns generally consist of two nominal stems. Scholars of Bantu languages concur that the second noun of the two nominal stems that constitute a compound noun sometimes omits its pre-prefix. In this case, the pre-prefix of the first element is realised as the functional head of Determiner Phrase. Apart from the literal direct meanings they denote, compound nouns in Bantu language can exhibit idiomatic meaning. In addition, this part examined other lexical-semantic properties of loanwords, including the aspects of semantic broadening (also referred to as meaning expansion), semantic narrowing (also referred to as meaning specialization) and semantic shift (cf. section 3.2.4 in chapter three).

The second part of Chapter Three examined prominent issues in previous studies conducted on lexical borrowing pertaining to the way borrowed words are adapted into different host languages, with focus on selected studies, mainly from African languages. The view emerged that loanwords exhibit different linguistic properties depending on the linguistic system of both the donor and the host languages. However, from a typological perspective, it was stated that similar structural properties occur across languages. For example, nouns are borrowed more readily compared to other lexical categories for the reason that they have a simpler morphological structure. Scholars argue that the reason for lexical borrowing is the development of science and technology. Due to a lack of appropriate terms to express the newly introduced entities and concepts in particular fields of science and technology, lexical borrowing is inevitable. It was further pointed out that languages of high status, such as English, Arabic and French are the prominent donors of loanwords to languages wither lower status, particularly in African languages.

The third part of chapter three presented an overview of research on lexical borrowing in various African languages. In this part, previous studies of six languages (Swahili, Hausa, Iraqw, Kanuri, Ngoni and isiNdebele) were selected for analysis. This analysis concerning lexical borrowing in the selected languages gives evidence that loanwords are adapted in the host language according to the grammatical system of the host language. Researchers maintain that lexical borrowing is a gradual process. Scholars state that the time for a word to be fully adapted in a language depends on several linguistic factors, such as the level of multilingualism of the speakers involved, the structural systems of the two languages in contact, the intensity of the contact and the economic potential of the donor language. Scholars generally hold the view that words borrowed in the fields such as innovation, modern science and technology are adapted promptly in the host language because it lacks the inherent words to express the newly introduced entities and concepts. However, the adaptation of other words in semantic fields with less economic importance can take a considerable time for the reason that the host language may have the inherent words for the relevant terms. In addition, attention was given to the phenomenon of indirect borrowing, that is, loanwords are sometimes borrowed from a donor language via another language. For example, Kanuri, Iraqw and Ngoni experience loanwords borrowed indirectly, rather, borrowed from a second donor language.

Chapter Four and Five explored the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Sukuma. Chapter four investigated the properties of English loanwords from a generative syntax, specifically in the Determiner Phrase perspective and also typological perspective, while Chapter Five examined the English loan verbs in Sukuma in the Inflectional Phrase (IP) and Verbal Phrase (VP) domains. The findings of both chapters is summarised in the following sections.

6.3 Summary of the major findings of English loanwords in Sukuma

The main goal of this study was to explore the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Sukuma in the DP, VP and IP domains. The focus was on the research questions outlined in chapter one (cf. section 1.2.6) relating to the extent to which English loanwords exhibit properties similar to inherent Sukuma words. The next sub-section presents the general summary of the main findings of the study.

6.3.1 Lexical-semantic properties of English loan nouns

The view emerges from the data analysis that some borrowed lexical items in Sukuma undergo processes of semantic broadening, semantic narrowing and semantic shift. In addition, some borrowed lexical items denote different meanings in Sukuma to those that they have in English. Some borrowed compound nouns and multiword expressions are lexicalized as single lexical items while others undergo segment loss.

With regard to semantic broadening, which refers to the expansion of the meaning of a borrowed word, the findings of the study demonstrated that some of the English loanwords occur with new or additional meanings when borrowed in Sukuma, apart from the meanings they had in the donor language before being borrowed (cf. section 4.5.1 in chapter four). This results in the expansion of the context of use as the borrowed nouns get used in more contexts than before. One of the English loan nouns which demonstrated semantic broadening is the noun *hotipooti* 'hot pot'. It is pointed out that the word 'hot pot' in English refers to two senses, namely first, a kind of hot food that is slowly cooked in liquid in an oven, and secondly, to an electric pot special for heating food or water. When this word is borrowed in Sukuma, it is assigned an extra semantic meaning. In Sukuma, the word *hotipooti* 'hotpot' refers to a vessel that is used to keep food hot. This compound noun denotes that when food is already cooked, it is put in a *hotipooti* so that even other people who are not around at that particular moment can find the food still hot. This kind of utensil can keep food for a considerable time on its own, thus does not need any electrical connection, as indicated in the origin sense. In most cases, people use *hotipooti* when they want to carry food with them for later consumption, especially to places without microwaves for heating food. Thus, it is evident that when English words are borrowed in Sukuma, some of the meanings of the borrowed nouns expand to denote additional meaning in contexts of discourse, as evidenced in the words *hotipooti*.

In regard to semantic narrowing, a phenomenon which occurs when a word with a general meaning obtains, in the process of borrowing, a much more specific meaning, the findings of the study demonstrated that the meanings of some of the English borrowed words undergo semantic narrowing. Some of the original meanings are excluded when borrowed in Sukuma, resulting in more specialised meanings. The findings indicated, for example, that the English compound nouns 'yellow card' denotes any card that is yellow in colour in general. When the noun *yelokaadi* 'yellow card' is borrowed in Sukuma, its sense is more specialized, omitting its general sense. It refers to a card shown by the referee to a player (especially in sports, such as football) and denotes that such a particular player has shown bad behaviour or violated the rules and regulations of playing football. The same narrowing occurs with the English word red card. In English, 'red card' refers to any card that is red in colour. When the words *ledikadi* 'red card' is borrowed in Sukuma, other meanings are omitted, and the remaining sense is more specific to a card shown by the referee to a player who has broken the rules in sports, especially football and that the player cannot play for the rest of the time of the game. These examples give evidence of the findings of this study that when some of the English words are borrowed in Sukuma, their senses are narrowed to suit the context of use. In other contexts, Sukuma speakers use the inherent words for describing yellow and red entities.

Other examples concerning semantic narrowing of English loanwords in Sukuma were examined in section 4.5.2 in chapter four. In addition, the findings of the study indicated that some English words borrowed in Sukuma retain their meanings. This process is referred to as semantic retention. In most cases, these words are borrowed for filling a gap in the recipient language (cf. section 4.5.3 in chapter four).

In regard to the examination of English loanwords in Sukuma in regard to semantic shift, the findings of the study demonstrated that the meanings of some English loanwords shift to refer to some other entities, different from the original meaning in the donor language. It was pointed out that, for example, the English compound noun “goalkeeper”, a person who is literally responsible for taking care of the goal in sports, particularly football, in a certain tournament, assumes a new sense when borrowed in Sukuma. It was stated that the word *ʊgolokipa* ‘goalkeeper’ in Sukuma refers to ‘a married or unmarried woman who does not earn anything, that is, does not receive any amount of money as her payment; rather she stays at home waiting for her husband (if married) to bring home everything required for the family. The term ‘goalkeeper’ may furthermore denote the sense of a married woman who does not generate income, either directly or indirectly. The view was expressed that the shift in meaning in the word *ʊgoolikipa* ‘goalkeeper’ is implicitly associated with the way the goalkeeper waits for the ball at the goal posts in football. Other English loanwords which demonstrated semantic shift have been discussed in section 4.5.4 in chapter four.

The findings of the study give evidence of differences in lexical-semantic properties that English loanwords exhibit when borrowed in Sukuma. Evidence was given that some English loanwords in Sukuma are still undergoing gradual semantic change. The implicit meaning denoted by a loan noun is associated with the pragmatic-discourse of the context of the host language. For example, the English loan noun *gadenilavu* ‘garden love’ is associated with ‘the hair on a chest of a man’. The implicit meaning of the compound noun ‘garden love’ (although not defined in the dictionary) bears a figurative expression that such a garden is full of love, as the borrowed words *gadenilavu* could imply. The findings indicated that this kind of borrowing is gradually spreading in the Sukuma speech community (cf. section 4.5.5 in chapter four).

The view emerged from the findings of this study that some English loanwords entered Sukuma from a historical point of view. These types of words occur as phrases in English but they are lexicalised when borrowed in Sukuma. One of such words includes the English loanword *kolomije* 'call me J'. It was demonstrated in section 4.5.6 in chapter four that *kolomije* originated from the English phrase 'call me Jonathan'. Historically, a white man called Jonathan worked in one of the villages in the Sukuma community. The villagers could not pronounce his name, so Jonathan decided to abbreviate his name to 'J', asking the villager to call him J. The villagers could not capture the pronunciation of Jonathan well, hence they called him '*kolomije*', an address form which is currently the name of that village. It is therefore evident that some meanings of Sukuma place names originated from English loanwords with a historical origin (cf. section 4.5.7 in chapter four).

The findings on the investigation concerning borrowed English compound nouns in Sukuma indicated that compound nouns are lexicalized when borrowed in Sukuma, resulting in the formation of independent lexical items (cf. section 7.7.1.1 in chapter four). The findings indicated that the meaning of the two constituents of a compound after lexicalisation may yields an idiomatic meaning. For example, the combination of the constituents *ŋg'wana* (child) and *Mary* (proper noun) yields the compound noun *ŋg'wanamaliya* 'son of Mary', which implicitly means Jesus/God (cf. section 4.7.1.5 in chapter four). In addition, the findings demonstrated that some borrowed English compound nouns omit one of the constituents when borrowed in Sukuma, as exemplified in chapter four (cf. section 4.7.1.6). Thus, the findings of the study give evidence that some English loanwords generally exhibit lexical-semantic properties similar to inherent Sukuma nouns.

6.3.2 Morpho-syntactic properties of English loan nouns

One of the main goals of this study was the investigation of the morpho-syntactic properties of English loan nouns in Sukuma, either directly, or indirectly via Swahili. The study examined a relatively large corpus of English loan nouns borrowed in Sukuma. In regard to morpho-syntactic properties of English loan nouns in Sukuma, a number of findings have emerged. The accommodation of English loan nouns has occurred in different ways in Sukuma and have demonstrated a wide range of borrowability.

The findings of the study furthermore indicated that a significant number of English loan nouns are introduced in the Sukuma lexicon. The borrowed nouns were adapted to conform to the Sukuma nominal morphology. It was pointed out that the distribution of the English loan nouns in the Sukuma noun class system does not occur in a non-systematic way. Borrowed nouns that enter into the Sukuma noun class system are modified to conform to the nominal morphology of Sukuma. For example, noun classes 1 and 2 denote humans, with noun class 1 denoting singular and noun class 2 the plural form. It was indicated that English loan nouns denoting humans occur in classes 1 and 2 when borrowed in Sukuma noun class system. It was further pointed out that most of the English loan nouns exhibiting humans denote nouns with Christian connotations such as *ʊpaasita* ‘pastor’ and *aβapaasita* ‘pastors’ in classes 1 and 2, respectively for the reason that the missionaries were rendering the Christian services in English. This resulted in the introduction of English loan nouns relating to Christian professions in the Sukuma lexicon.

English loan nouns which exhibit zero nominal prefixes occur in the default classes, which are noun classes 5/6 and 9/10 in Sukuma. English loan nouns, such as *supaana* ‘spanner’ and *chaaki* ‘chalk’ occur in classes 9/10. Although it was pointed out in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.2.3) that noun classes 9/10 in inherent Sukuma noun class system have corresponding plural forms in noun class 6, this phenomenon is not evidenced in the case of English loan nouns possibly because of the lexical-semantic difference of the languages involved.

It was indicated that noun classes 9/10 exhibit similar noun class prefixes in Sukuma (cf. section 2.3.2.5 in chapter two, and section 4.6.2.4 in chapter four). Therefore, the singular-plural distinction is determined syntactically rather than semantically through, for example, the subject agreement prefix in the verbal morphology. English loan nouns in Sukuma are accommodated similarly through this syntactic context (cf. example sentences 14a&b in section 2.3.2.5 in chapter two and example sentences 28a and b in section 4.6.2.4 in chapter four).

The findings in regard to the investigation of the occurrence of the pre-prefix with English loan nouns give evidence that, as in Sukuma, the pre-prefix occurs with English loan nouns in environments that are permissible in Sukuma. The pre-prefix does not occur with English loanwords in the environments where it is also disallowed to occur with inherent Sukuma nouns (cf. section 2.5.1.4 in chapter two and section 4.6.3.1 in chapter four).

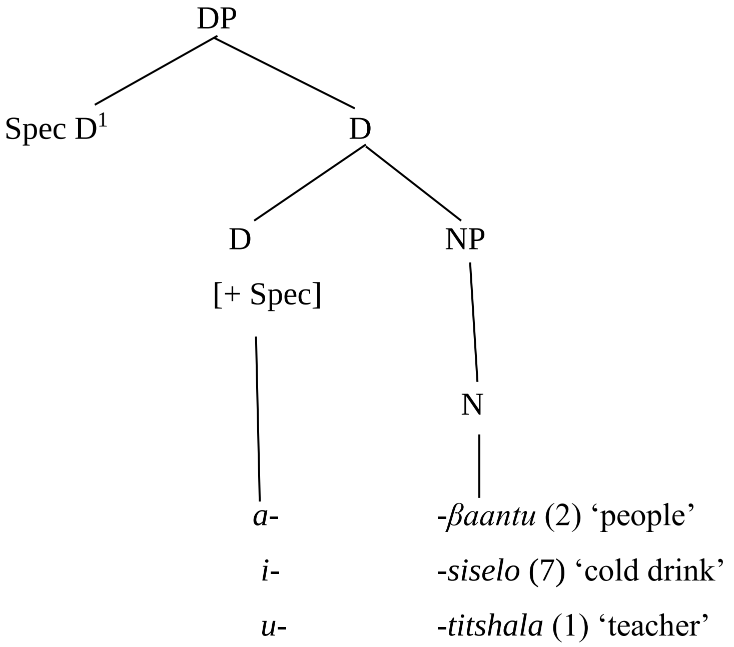
In regards to the investigation of discussion on nominal derivation in English loan nouns, the view emerged that some of the derivational suffixes that occur with inherent Sukuma nominal morphology also occur with English loan nouns. Derivational suffixes such as *-i*, *-e*, *-w-*/*-iw-*, and *-na-* occur with English loan nouns, similar to the occurrence with inherent nouns in Sukuma (cf. section 4.6.4 in chapter four). However, some inherent verbal derivational suffixes, such as *-o*, *-a*, *-ele*/*-ile* from which nouns are derived do not occur with English loan nouns (cf. section 3.3.3 in chapter two). The findings of the study give evidence that English loanwords generally exhibit morpho-syntactic properties similar to inherent Sukuma nouns, although exceptions in this regard occur.

6.3.3 Typological perspectives of loan nouns

As pointed out in chapter four (cf. section 4.2), English and Sukuma are typologically unrelated languages which nevertheless exhibit some similarities and differences in respect to their structural properties. English loan nouns with properties not permissible in Sukuma conform to the Sukuma grammatical system throughvarious adaptation processes. For example, it was pointed out that Sukuma does not permit a sequence of consonants in its syllable structure. The findings of the study demonstrated that English loan nouns with the syllable structural properties not permissible in Sukuma are adapted through the insertion of an epenthetic vowel to interrupt the sequence of consonants. A similar view was expressed by other scholars in studies on selected Bantu languages, in which an epenthetic vowel occurs to interrupt the sequence of consonants (cf. Rose & Demuth, 2005 in Sesotho; Mheta & Zivenge, 2009 in Tonga; Schadeberg, 2009 in Swahili; Lusekelo, 2013 in Setswana).

The findings of the study in regard to the lexical-semantic properties of loan nouns in various semantic fields give evidence that the rate of borrowing differs from one semantic field to another. The findings emerged from the typological point of view, that loan nouns occur relatively more prolific in the fields of ‘modern world’, science and technology, religious and belief, education, sports and games etc. (cf. Maho, 2000; Mous and Qorro, 2009; Tadmor, 2009; Iribemwangi, 2013; Mapunda and Rosendal, 2015; among others). By contrast, the rate of borrowing is lower in semantic fields such as forests, animals, birds, parts of the body, kinship, and the physical world. Borrowed words in the field of the modern world are generally additive lexical items that fill the gap due to lack of inherent words to express the newly adopted concepts in the host language, Sukuma.

Morpho-syntactically, it is evident that the properties demonstrated by the (non)occurrence of the pre-prefix in English loan nouns in Sukuma conform to those of inherent nouns. The occurrence of the pre-prefix in the noun morphology assumes the position of the head of the DP projection. Similar observations have been reported by Visser (2008), Buell (2009), Asiimwe (2014) and Mahlangu (2016) for IsiXhosa, Isizulu, Runyankore-Rukiga and IsiNdebele respectively. The Figure 13, repeated here, demonstrates the pre-prefix as head of DP in IsiXhosa (Visser, 2008:16) below.



Therefore, it is concluded that the pre-prefix assumes the head of DP. This view holds for both inherent nouns and loan nouns in Sukuma.

6.3.4 Lexical-semantic properties of English loan verbs

In chapter five (cf. section 5.8), different lexical-semantic characteristics obtained in the process of accommodation of English loan verbs in Sukuma were explored. The findings demonstrated that some verbs have several senses while others exhibit only one or two senses. In most cases, sense 1 of every English verb is borrowed compared to other senses. Other English verbs, such as *dauniloodi* 'download' exhibit one sense only, which is the precise sense borrowed in Sukuma (cf. Table 5.3 in chapter five). It was further stated that some derivational suffixes occur easily with the borrowed senses of verbs while the majority of the derivational suffixes do not occur with the borrowed verb senses. For example, the view emerged that the applicative and the passive occur more with the borrowed senses than other suffixes such as the causative, reciprocal and stative (cf. section 5.8.1 in chapter five). The possible reason for these morpho-syntactic properties could relate to the grammatical incompatibility of the two languages involved and the complexity of the verbal morphology of the recipient language.

In regard to the investigation of semantic shift of English loan verbs in Sukuma, the findings obtain that in some instances, the meaning of a borrowed verb may shift to refer to some other entity different from the original meaning in the donor language. Most of the verbs which exhibit such lexical-semantic properties include verbs which are borrowed directly from English into Sukuma. One English verb exhibiting this property is *sooti* ‘sort’, which originally denoted ‘putting things together according to their characteristics’ (cf. Hornby, 2015). It is pointed out that currently, the borrowed verb in Sukuma has developed a new meaning to refer to ‘fighting with fists’. The boys in the remote villages use the English loan verb *sooti* with this sense if they want to fight. The sense of this loan verb is captured well if it occurs in its context of use, as illustrated in example sentences (51 & 52) in chapter five.

Concerning the retention of the meaning of the loan verbs, the findings of the current study give evidence that some of the English loan verbs retain their meanings when borrowed in Sukuma. For example, the English loan verb *soovu* ‘solve’ exhibits two senses, namely (i) to find a solution for dealing with a problem, and (ii) to find the correct answer especially in Mathematics (cf. Hornby, 2015). When borrowed in Sukuma, the two senses are retained. Each sense retained is used depending on the context, particularly by bilinguals who inhabit urban areas (cf. Table 5.5 in chapter five). The findings indicated that some English loan verbs narrow their meanings after being borrowed in Sukuma. This occurs when some of the senses they originally existed from the donor language are narrowed into more specific senses in the host language. For example, an English loan verb *koopi* ‘copy’ is borrowed into Sukuma. In English, the verb ‘copy’ exhibits four senses but when borrowed in Sukuma, all the other senses are omitted except the third sense, which means “to cheat in schools, colleges, and universities examinations” (cf. Hornby, 2015) (cf. Table 5.6 in chapter five).

From the above summary on lexical-semantic properties of English loan verbs in Sukuma, it was concluded that English loan verbs exhibit properties similar to inherent Sukuma verbs to a relatively great extent although some English nouns and verbs demonstrated to be resistant to adaptation.

6.3.5 Morpho-syntactical properties of English loan verbs

It was stated in chapter Two (cf. section 2.4) that Sukuma, like Bantu languages generally, exhibits a complex agglutinative verbal morphology in which the verbal base occurs with various inflectional and derivational morphemes, demonstrating features such as agreement, tense, aspect, and other derivational extensions (cf. Table 15). The findings on the discussion concerning English loan verbs demonstrated that, although English verbal morphology does not exhibit complex agglutinate verb structure, English verbs that enter into the Sukuma lexicon characterised by complex verbal morphology are adapted to conform to the Sukuma verbal system through various inflectional and derivational morphemes. English loan verbs, for example, inflect for the three tenses in Sukuma (cf. section 5.4 in chapter five). It was pointed out that it is the English verb root that is borrowed in Sukuma verbal morphology. The borrowed root is inflected for tense, number and grammatical gender to conform to the Sukuma verb morphology. Other derivational suffixes are affixed in post-verbal root position, indicating different morpho-syntactic properties of the action denoted by the verb. However, some English loan verbs demonstrate rigidness or resistance in the adaptation process. English verbs such as *swallow*, *smile* and *cry* did not co-occur with most of the inherent derivational suffixes. In addition, irregular verbs such as *send*, *run* and *appear* demonstrated a gradual or partial adaptation when borrowed in Sukuma. The reason for this could be attributed to the typological incompatibility of the donor and the recipient language, that is, English and Sukuma, respectively.

It was established in this study that English loan verbs occur only with some inherent Sukuma derivational morphemes. It is pointed out in chapter two (cf. section 2.4.1.8) that Sukuma, like Bantu languages generally, exhibits a rich variety of derivational suffixes, including the causative suffix. The findings demonstrated that English loan verbs occur with only [-*sh*-] and [-*ish*-] causative derivational suffixes, excluding the other inherent causative derivational suffixes (cf. Table 16 in chapter two). It was indicated in chapter two (cf. section 2.3.3.1.5) that the prominent inherent Sukuma final vowels are -*a* and -*e* for affirmative and negative constructions respectively. This is contrast to English loan verbs which have the vowels *-i*, *-u* and *-e* as a final vowels when borrowed in Sukuma (cf. section 5.2 in chapter five). In addition, the findings in the current study give evidence that the English loan verbs, especially those borrowed directly from English into Sukuma are derived from nouns. For example, the verb *sheeli* (cf. section 5.6.8 in chapter five) evolved in many modification stages to its current grammatical form. It was borrowed as a noun *ɪsheeli*. The affixation of the inherent Sukuma derivational suffixes resulted in the formation of the verb *sheli*. It was also maintained that some English loan verbs were derived from nouns. Several of these verbs were found to appear in the semantic fields of education, science and technology, and entertainment. The discussion concerning the basic clause types in regard to English loan verbs demonstrated that the argument alternation, especially with ditransitive verbs, are realised similarly to that of inherent Sukuma verbs. Furthermore, it was indicated that the direct object argument can occupy the position of an indirect object argument, with the meaning of the sentence being retained.

From the above summary, it can be concluded that English loan verbs exhibit various morpho-syntactic properties in their adaptation in the Sukuma verbal morphology, as discussed in chapter five, with the key findings recapitulated in chapter six. It is argued in this study that in light of evidence from Sukuma, that a significant corpus of English loan verbs exhibit morpho-syntactic properties similar to inherent Sukuma verbs.

6.4 Concluding remarks

It is evident from the above summary of the findings that the focus of the current study was concerned with exploring the lexical-semantic and morph-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Sukuma via Swahili. The study did not aim to present a comparative study of loanwords is Sukuma and Swahili, thus, only in some instances the Swahili examples were referred to for specific clarification. From theoretical point of view, it is pointed out that the occurrence of the pre-prefix in the English loan nouns into Sukuma occurs in the position of the D in the DP projection, as suggested by Abney (1987) and later posited by other scholars. The findings concerning the occurrence of the pre-prefix with English loanwords into Sukuma presents evidence the functional head of the nominal projection can be occupied by the pre-prefix, a determiner-like element bearing the feature [+spec], contrasting with English as an articled language. Thus, from a generative perspective, the pre-prefix occurring with English loanwords represents a functional category determiner similar to the way it occurs with inherent Sukuma nouns. The research questions addressed in the current study were also explored from a typological perspective in regard to which similar properties on lexical borrowing across Bantu languages were presented. The view emerged that the differences in structural properties in Bantu languages are fairly limited compared to the structural similarities they exhibit. This lies in the presence or absence of the pre-prefixes in some Bantu languages and the number of productive noun classes.

In regard to studies on lexical borrowing as this phenomenon concern word categories, scholars generally posit that nouns are more readily borrowed that verbs. The findings of the current study, however, present compelling evidence from Sukuma that it is possible for verbs to be borrowed prolifically, although, accommodation of verbs in the host language is a gradual process due to the complexity that arises regarding the English and Sukuma grammatical systems. As the current study focused on the morpho-syntactic and lexical-semantic properties of English loanwords into Sukuma, it contributes to the body of knowledge on lexical borrowing, particularly on loan verbs in Sukuma and Bantu languages more widely. Generally, it can be concluded that the findings of the current study demonstrated that English loanwords in Sukuma exhibit linguistic properties similar to inherent Sukuma words while some exceptions occur.

The view that nouns are more readily borrowed than verbs has been largely accepted by scholars of lexical borrowing. Some scholars do not support the view that verbs can be borrowed for a number of reasons, one of which being the complexity of the verb inflection in adaptation process. The current study has given evidence that it is possible for verbs to be borrowed and that loan verbs are prolific in Sukuma. It was stated that it is a gradual process for the borrowed verbs to conform to the verbal morphology of the host language. This study provides a foundation for further research of English loanwords in Sukuma in particular, and in other African languages. The main conclusion that verbs, generally exhibit properties similar to inherent Sukuma verbal morphology in the current study should be explored in research on loanwords in other African languages. This will widen the research scope of loanwords in general, and loan verbs in particular.

6.5 Recommendations for further research

Due to scope and limitation of the current study, some aspects in Sukuma loanwords remain uninvestigated. It was pointed out in chapter two (cf. section 2.2.5) that the current study does not investigate tone in Sukuma. It is therefore, recommended that future research on loanwords in Sukuma can fruitfully explore various aspects of loanword tonology, in particular the properties of tonal properties exhibited by loanwords. An investigation of this nature can be extended to other Bantu languages for the purpose of stimulating cross-linguistic research on lexical borrowing in African languages.

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APPENDIX 1: List of Loanword verbs from English into Sukuma direct or via Swahili

S/N	Loanword verb	Source: English	Via Swahili	Swahili verb	Field of use	PRES	FUTURE	PAST	HAB	PERF	PASS	APPL	CAUS	STATIVE	RECIPROC	Intransitive	monotransitive	ditransitive
1	[kontuloo]	control	yes	kukontrol	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	-	√	
2	[seeti]	set	yes	kuseti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
3	[lekoodi]	record	yes	kurekodi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
4	[piliinti]	print	yes	kuprinti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
5	[soovu]	solve	yes	kusovu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
6	[shayini]	shine	yes	kushaini	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
7	[dawuniloodi]	download	yes	kudaunilodi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
8	[seevu]	save	yes	kusevu	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
9	[tekisiti]	text	yes	kuteksti	COMM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
10	[koopi]	copy	yes	kukopi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
11	[sayini]	sign	yes	kusaini	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
13	[fiiti]	fit	no	-	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	-	-	√
14	[sheeli]	share	no	-	agriculture	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	-	√	
15	[shuuti]	shoot	yes	kushuti	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
16	[chaaji]	charge	yes	kuchaji	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
17	[tayipu]	type	yes	kutaipu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
18	[disikaasi]	discuss	yes	kudiskasi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
19	[saachi]	search	yes	kusachi	general	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
20	[sooti]	sort	yes	kusoti	general	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
21	[cheeki]	check	yes	kucheki	medical	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	
22	[seendi]	send	yes	kusendi	TRANSP	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	
23	[piki]	pick	yes	kupiki	TRANSP	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	
24	[pulomiisi]	promise	yes	kupromisi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
25	[disikaaleeji]	discourage	yes	kudiskareji	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
26	[lipooti]	report	yes	kuripoti	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	

27	[libuuti]	reboot	yes	kuribooti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
28	[diipu/biipu]	beep	yes	kubipu	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
29	[insitolu]	Install	yes	kuinstall	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
30	[hayilayiti]	highlight	yes	kuhailaiti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
31	[sikaani]	scan	yes	kuskani	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
32	[pesiti]	paste	yes	kupesti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
33	[diliiti]	delete	yes	kudiliti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
34	[sevu]	save	yes	kusevu	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
35	[sheya]	share	yes	kushea	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	-	√	√	-	√	
36	[kalukuleeti]	calculate	yes	kukalkuleti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
37	[cheenji]	change	no	-	economic	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	√	-	√	
38	[deedi]	die	no	-	General	-	√	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	
39	[tulooti]	trot	yes	kutroti	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	
40	[sheevu]	shave	yes	kushevu	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
41	[duloo]	draw	yes	kudroo	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	
42	[biliidi]	bleed	yes	kublidi	medical	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	
43	[positi]	post	yes	kupost	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
44	[paasi]	pass	yes	kupasi	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
45	[pilizeenti]	present	yes	kupresenti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
46	[difendi]	defend	yes	kudifendi	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
47	[wini]	win	yes	kuwini	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	
48	[bulooko]	block	yes	kubloki	COMM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
49	[bowa]	bore	yes	kuboa	COMM	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	√	√	√	√	-	
50	[fooji]	forge	yes	kufoji	COMM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
51	[lositi]	roast	yes	kurosti	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
52	[konfemu]	confirm	yes	kukonfemu	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
53	[painti]	paint	yes	kupeinti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
54	[konfesi]	confess	yes	kukonfesi	religious	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	
55	[sasipekiti]	suspect	yes	kusaspekti	crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
56	[sapooti]	support	yes	kusapoti	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
57	[fakisi]	fax	yes	kufaksi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
58	[chaati]	chat	yes	kuchati	COMM	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	√	√	√	-	
59	[simeli]	smell	yes	kusmeli	General	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	
60	[swaalo]	swallow	yes	kuswalo	General	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	

61	[taachi]	touch	yes	kutachi	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
62	[soti]	sort	no	-	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	
63	[diigi]	dig	no	-	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
64	[push]	push	-	kupushi	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		
65	[buleekI	break	-	kubreki	TRANSP	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		
66	[looki]	lock	-	kuloki	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	
67	[tiichi]	teach	yes	kutichi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
68	[panishi]	punish	yes	kupanishi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
69	[paanchi]	punch	yes	kupanchi	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
70	[disimisi]	dismiss	yes	kudismisi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
71	[kilaashi]	crash	yes	kuklashi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
72	[simaashi]	smash	yes	kusmashi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
73	[puluuvu]	prove	yes	kupruvu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
74	[opoozi]	oppose	yes	kuopozi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
75	[sitilaiki]	strike	yes	kustraiki	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
76	[dansi]	dance	yes	kudansi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
77	[busiti]	bust	yes	kubusti	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
78	[siiti]	sit	yes	kusiti	General	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√		
79	[doozi]	dose	yes	kudozi	General	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√		
80	[siliipu]	sleep	yes	kuslipu	General	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√		
81	[kiisi]	kiss	yes	kukisi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	-	√	
82	[puleeyi]	play	Yes	kuplai	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
83	[woochi]	watch	yes	kuwochi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
84	[ateendi]	attend	yes	kuatendi	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	
85	[sikiipu]]	skip	yes	kuskipu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	-	-	√	
86	[giladuweti]	graduate	yes	kugradueti	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	√		
87	[insipekiti]	inspect	yes	kuinspect	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
88	[kiiki]	kick	yes	kukiki	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
89	[sasipendi]	suspend	yes	kusaspend	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
90	[chiiti]	cheat	yes	kuchiti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√		√	
91	[ansa]	answer	yes	kuansa	education	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-		√	
92	[aseesi]	assess	yes	kuasesi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	

93	[maaki]	mark	yes	kumaki	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
94	[modeleeti]	moderate	yes	kumodereti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
95	[livaayisi]	revise	yes	kurivaisi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
96	[invijileeti]	invigilate	yes	kuinvijileti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√		√	
97	[feeli]	fail	yes	kufeli	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-		√	
98	[livyuu]	review	yes	kurivyu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√		√	
99	[dayijesiti]	digest	yes	kudaijesti	medical	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√		√	
100	[joogi]	jog	yes	kujogi	medical	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-
102	[wooko]	walk	yes	kuwok	Medical	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-
103	[haati]	hurt	yes	kuhati	Medical	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√		√	
104	[safa]	suffer	yes	kusafa	Medical	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-		√	
105	[diishi]	Dish	yes	kudishi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
106	[boyili]	boil	yes	kuboili	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
107	[fulaayi]	fry	yes	kufrai	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
108	[hiiti]	heat	yes	kuhiti	Medical	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
109	[kampeeni]	campaign	yes	kampeni	political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
110	[aleenji]	arrange	yes	kuarenji	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
111	[saikuleeti]	circulate	yes	circulate	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
112	[komunikaate]	communic ate	yes	komyuniketi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
113	[konsaati]	consult	yes	konsalti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
114	[editi]	edit	yes	kuediti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
115	[edukeeti]	educate	yes	kueduketi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
116	[evalueti]	evaluate	yes	kuevalueti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
117	[ekisipuleeni]	explain	yes	kueksiplaini	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
118	[fasiliteti]	facilitate	yes	kufasiliteti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
119	[gayidi]	guide	yes	kugaidi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√		√	
120	[helupu]	help	yes	kuhelpu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	√		√	
121	[infomu]	inform	yes	kuinfom	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
122	[isitilakiti]	instruct	yes	kuinstrakti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
123	[intapuliiti]	interpret	yes	kuintapriti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
124	[mootiveeti]	motivate	yes	kumotiveti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
125	[intuloduuzi]	introduce	yes	kuintrodyuzi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	

126	[oliyenti]	orient	yes	kuorienti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
127	[pafoomu]	perform	yes	kupafom	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
128	[pulaani]	plan	yes	kupulani	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
129	[pulipeya]	prepare	yes	kupripea	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-		√	
130	[puloduuzi]	produce	yes	kuprodyuzi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√		√	
131	[liidi]	read	yes	kuridi	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	√		√	
132	[lefaa]	refer	yes	kurefaa	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-		√	
133	[sheepu]	shape	yes	kushepu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
134	[sitaadi]	study	yes	kustadi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
135	[supavayizi]	supervise	yes	kusupavaizi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
136	[tilayine]	train	yes	kutreni	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
137	[tilansileeti]	translate	yes	kutransleti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
138	[voluntiya]	volunteer	yes	kuvoluntia	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	√	
139	[layiti]	write	yes	kuraiti	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	-	√	-	√	
140	[sapooti]	support	yes	kusapoti	political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
141	[tesiti]	test	yes	kutesti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
142	[sapulayizi]	surprise	yes	kusapraizi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
143	[puleyiti]	plait (hair)	yes	kupleiti	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
144	[ditaachi]	detach	yes	kuditachi	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
145	[dileesi]	dress	yes	kudress	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
146	[wea]	wear	yes	kuwea	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	
150	[akiti]	act	yes	kuakti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
151	[singi]	sing	yes	kusingi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	√	
152	[laani]	run	yes	kurani	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	
153	[suloo]	throw	yes	kuthro	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	-	√	√
154	[wini]	win	yes	kuwini	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	
156	[kasiti]	cast	yes	kukasti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
157	[daileiti]	direct	yes	kudairekti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
158	[ekisibiti]	exhibit	yes	kueksibiti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	√	-	√	
159	[bokisi]	box	yes	kuboksi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
160	[kompoozi]	compose	yes	kukompozi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
161	[dampu]	dump	yes	kudampu	environment	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
162	[pulotekiti]	protect	yes	kuprotekti	environment	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
163	[poluuti]	pollute	yes	kupolyuti	environment	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	

164	[lisaiko]	recycle	yes	kulisaiko	environment	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	√	
165	[disituloyi]	destroy	yes	kudisitroi	environment	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
166	[loobu]	rob	yes	kurobu	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
167	[alesiti]	arrest	yes	kuaresti	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
168	[esikeepu]	escape	yes	kueskepu	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	√	√	-	
169	[apiili]	appeal	yes	kuapili	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√		√	
170	[sitiili]	steal	yes	kustili	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√		√	
171	[elekiti]	elect		kuelekti	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
172	[vooti]	vote		kuvoti	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
173	[wiini]	win		kuwini	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√		√	
174	[kompiti]	compete		kukompiti	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
175	[impilimenti]	implement		kuimpliment	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
177	[dubuliketi]	duplicate		kudupuliketi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
178	[disitilibyuuti]	distribute		kudistribyuti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
179	[bulodikasiti]	broadcast		kubrodikasti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
180	[filimu]	film		kufilimu	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
181	[kasiti]	cast		kukasti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
182																		

List of Loanword verbs from English into Sukuma direct or via Swahili

S/N	***Loanword verb***	***Source: English***	***Via Swahili***	***Swahili verb***	***Field of use***	***PRES***	***FUTURE***	***PAST***	***HAB***	***PERF***	***PASS***	***APPL***	***CAUS***	***STATIVE***	***RECIPROC***	***Intransitive***	***monotransitive***	***ditransitive***
1	[kontuloo]	control	yes	kukontrol	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	-	√	
2	[seeti]	set	yes	kuseti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
3	[lekoodi]	record	yes	kurekodi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
4	[piliinti]	print	yes	kuprinti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
5	[soovu]	solve	yes	kusovu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
6	[shayini]	shine	yes	kushaini	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
7	[dawuniloodi]	download	yes	kudaunilodi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
8	[seevu]	save	yes	kusevu	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
9	[tekisiti]	text	yes	kuteksti	COMM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
10	[koopi]	copy	yes	kukopi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
11	[sayini]	sign	yes	kusaini	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
13	[fiiti]	fit	no	-	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	-	-	√
14	[sheeli]	share	no	-	agriculture	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	-	√	
15	[shuuti]	shoot	yes	kushuti	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
16	[chaaji]	charge	yes	kuchaji	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
17	[tayipu]	type	yes	kutaipu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
18	[disikaasi]	discuss	yes	kudiskasi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
19	[saachi]	search	yes	kusachi	general	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
20	[sooti]	sort	yes	kusoti	general	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
21	[cheeki]	check	yes	kucheki	medical	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	
22	[seendi]	send	yes	kusendi	TRANSP	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	
23	[piki]	pick	yes	kupiki	TRANSP	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	
24	[pulomiisi]	promise	yes	kupromisi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
25	[disikaaleeji]	discourage	yes	kudiskareji	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
26	[lipooti]	report	yes	kuripoti	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
27	[libuuti]	reboot	yes	kuribooti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	

28	[diipu/biipu]	beep	yes	kubipu	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
29	[insitolu]	Install	yes	kuinstall	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
30	[hayilayiti]	highlight	yes	kuhailaiti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
31	[sikaani]	scan	yes	kuskani	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
32	[pesiti]	paste	yes	kupesti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
33	[diliiti]	delete	yes	kudiliti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
34	[sevu]	save	yes	kusevu	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
35	[sheya]	share	yes	kushea	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	-	√	√	-	√	
36	[kalukuleeti]	calculate	yes	kukalkuleti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
37	[cheenji]	change	no	-	economic	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	√	-	√	
38	[deedi]	die	no	-	General	-	√	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	
39	[tulooti]	trot	yes	kutroti	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	
40	[sheevu]	shave	yes	kushevu	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
41	[duloo]	draw	yes	kudroo	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	
42	[biliidi]	bleed	yes	kublidi	medical	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	
43	[positi]	post	yes	kupost	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
44	[paasi]	pass	yes	kupasi	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
45	[pilizeenti]	present	yes	kupresenti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
46	[difendi]	defend	yes	kudifendi	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
47	[wini]	win	yes	kuwini	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	
48	[bulooko]	block	yes	kubloki	COMM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
49	[bowa]	bore	yes	kuboa	COMM	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	√	√	√	√	-	
50	[fooji]	forge	yes	kufoji	COMM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
51	[lositi]	roast	yes	kurosti	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
52	[konfemu]	confirm	yes	kukonfemu	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
53	[painti]	paint	yes	kupeinti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
54	[konfesi]	confess	yes	kukonfesi	religious	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	
55	[sasipekiti]	suspect	yes	kusaspekti	crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
56	[sapooti]	support	yes	kusapoti	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
57	[fakisi]	fax	yes	kufaksi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
58	[chaati]	chat	yes	kuchati	COMM	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	√	√	√	-	
59	[simeli]	smell	yes	kusmeli	General	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	
60	[swaalo]	swallow	yes	kuswalo	General	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	
61	[taachi]	touch	yes	kutachi	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	

62	[soti]	sort	no	-	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	
63	[diigi]	dig	no	-	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
64	[push]	push	-	kupushi	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		
65	[buleekl	break	-	kubreki	TRANSP	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		
66	[looki]	lock	-	kuloki	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	
67	[tiichi]	teach	yes	kutichi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
68	[panishi]	punish	yes	kupanishi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
69	[paanchi]	punch	yes	kupanchi	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
70	[disimisi]	dismiss	yes	kudismisi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
71	[kilaashi]	crash	yes	kuklashi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
72	[simaashi]	smash	yes	kusmashi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
73	[puluuvu]	prove	yes	kupruvu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
74	[opoozi]	oppose	yes	kuopozi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
75	[sitilaiki]	strike	yes	kustraiki	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
76	[dansi]	dance	yes	kudansi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
77	[busiti]	bust	yes	kubusti	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
78	[siiti]	sit	yes	kusiti	General	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√		
79	[doozi]	dose	yes	kudozi	General	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√		
80	[siliipu]	sleep	yes	kuslipu	General	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√		
81	[kiisi]	kiss	yes	kukisi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	-	√	
82	[puleeyi]	play	Yes	kuplai	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
83	[woochi]	watch	yes	kuwochi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
84	[ateendi]	attend	yes	kuatendi	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	
85	[sikiipu]]	skip	yes	kuskipu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	-	-	√	
86	[giladuweti]	graduate	yes	kugradueti	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	√		
87	[insipekiti]	inspect	yes	kuinspect	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
88	[kiiki]	kick	yes	kukiki	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
89	[sasipendi]	suspend	yes	kusaspend	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
90	[chiiti]	cheat	yes	kuchiti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√		√	
91	[ansa]	answer	yes	kuansa	education	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-		√	
92	[aseesi]	assess	yes	kuasesi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
93	[maaki]	mark	yes	kumaki	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	

94	[modeleeti]	moderate	yes	kumodereti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
95	[livaayisi]	revise	yes	kurivaisi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
96	[invijileeti]	invigilate	yes	kuinvijileti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√		√	
97	[feeli]	fail	yes	kufeli	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-		√	
98	[livyuu]	review	yes	kurivyu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√		√	
99	[dayijesiti]	digest	yes	kudaijesti	medical	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√		√	
100	[joogi]	jog	yes	kujogi	medical	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-
102	[wooko]	walk	yes	kuwok	Medical	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-
103	[haati]	hurt	yes	kuhati	Medical	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√		√	
104	[safa]	suffer	yes	kusafa	Medical	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-		√	
105	[diishi]	Dish	yes	kudishi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
106	[boyili]	boil	yes	kuboili	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
107	[fulaayi]	fry	yes	kufrai	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
108	[hiiti]	heat	yes	kuhiti	Medical	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
109	[kampeeni]	campaign	yes	kampeni	political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
110	[aleenji]	arrange	yes	kuarenji	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
111	[saikuleeti]	circulate	yes	circulate	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
112	[komunikaate]	communicate	yes	komyuniketi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
113	[konsaati]	consult	yes	konsalti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
114	[editi]	edit	yes	kuediti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
115	[edukeeti]	educate	yes	kueduketi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
116	[evalueti]	evaluate	yes	kuevalueti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
117	[ekisipuleeni]	explain	yes	kueksiplaini	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
118	[fasiliteti]	facilitate	yes	kufasiliteti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
119	[gayidi]	guide	yes	kugaidi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√		√	
120	[helupu]	help	yes	kuhelpu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	√		√	
121	[infomu]	inform	yes	kuinfom	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
122	[isitilakiti]	instruct	yes	kuinstrakti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
123	[intapuliiti]	interpret	yes	kuintapriti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
124	[mootiveeti]	motivate	yes	kumotiveti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
125	[intuloduuzi]	introduce	yes	kuintrodyuzi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
126	[oliyenti]	orient	yes	kuorienti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	

127	[pafoomu]	perform	yes	kupafom	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
128	[pulaani]	plan	yes	kupulani	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
129	[pulipeya]	prepare	yes	kupripea	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-		√	
130	[puloduuzi]	produce	yes	kuprodyuzi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√		√	
131	[liidi]	read	yes	kuridi	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	√		√	
132	[lefaa]	refer	yes	kurefaa	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-		√	
133	[sheepu]	shape	yes	kushepu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
134	[sitaadi]	study	yes	kustadi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
135	[supavayizi]	supervise	yes	kusupavaizi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
136	[tilayine]	train	yes	kutreni	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
137	[tilansileeti]	translate	yes	kutransleti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
138	[voluntiya]	volunteer	yes	kuvoluntia	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	√	
139	[layiti]	write	yes	kuraiti	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	-	√	-	√	
140	[sapooti]	support	yes	kusapoti	political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
141	[tesiti]	test	yes	kutesti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
142	[sapulayizi]	surprise	yes	kusapraizi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
143	[puleyiti]	plait (hair)	yes	kupleiti	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
144	[ditaachi]	detach	yes	kuditachi	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
145	[dileesi]	dress	yes	kudress	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
146	[wea]	wear	yes	kuwea	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	
150	[akiti]	act	yes	kuakti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
151	[singi]	sing	yes	kusingi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	√	
152	[laani]	run	yes	kurani	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	
153	[suloo]	throw	yes	kuthro	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	-	√	√
154	[wini]	win	yes	kuwini	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	
156	[kasiti]	cast	yes	kukasti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
157	[daileiti]	direct	yes	kudairekti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
158	[ekisibiti]	exhibit	yes	kueksibiti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	√	-	√	
159	[bokisi]	box	yes	kuboksi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
160	[kompoozi]	compose	yes	kukompozi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
161	[dampu]	dump	yes	kudampu	environment	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
162	[pulotekiti]	protect	yes	kuprotekti	environment	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
163	[poluuti]	pollute	yes	kupolyuti	environment	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
164	[lisaiko]	recycle	yes	kulisaiko	environment	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	√	

165	[disituloyi]	destroy	yes	kudisitroi	environment	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
166	[loobu]	rob	yes	kurobu	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
167	[alesiti]	arrest	yes	kuaresti	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
168	[esikeepu]	escape	yes	kueskepu	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	√	√	-	
169	[apiili]	appeal	yes	kuapili	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√		√	
170	[sitiili]	steal	yes	kustili	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√		√	
171	[elekiti]	elect		kuelekti	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
172	[vooti]	vote		kuvoti	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
173	[wiini]	win		kuwini	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√		√	
174	[kompiti]	compete		kukompiti	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
175	[impilimenti]	implement		kuimpliment	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
177	[dubuliketi]	duplicate		kudupuliketi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
178	[disitilibyuuti]	distribute		kudistribyuti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
179	[bulodikasiti]	broadcast		kubrodikasti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
180	[filimu]	film		kufilimu	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
181	[kasiti]	cast		kukasti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
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APPENDIX 2

Lexical-semantic properties of English loan verbs – Semantic Broadening (B), Narrowing (N), Shift (S) and Retention (R).

Source: **A.S Hornby. 2015. Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English. 9th edition: Oxford University Press.**

S/N	Loan verbs	English	Semantic fields	Senses	borrowed Senses	Reasons / senses / explanation	Definitions of Sukuma borrowed senses	Examples of Sukuma borrowed senses in sentences
1	[kontuloo]	control	SP & GM	5	1	The verb has 4 senses of which only the first sense is borrowed	To have power over a person, company, country, etc. so that you are able to decide what they must do or how it is run	a-li-gu-kontuloo u-mpila AgrS-PRES-AgrO-control IV-ball 'He is controlling the ball'
2	[seeti]	set	COM PTEC	16	14	The verb has 16 senses of which only the 14th sense is borrowed	To use a machine or computer to arrange writing and images on pages in order to prepare a book, newspaper, etc. for printing	du-ga-yi-seeti i-komyuta AgrS-PAST-AgrO-set IV-computer 'We set the computer'
3	[lekoodi]	record	ENTE RT	5	2	The verb has 5 senses of which only 2 sense is borrowed	To make a copy of music, a film/movie, etc. by storing it on tape or a disc so that you can listen to or watch it again	na-gu-lekoodi lyimbo lelo AgrS-FUT-record song today 'I will record a song today'
4	[piliinti]	print	educ ation	7	1	The verb has 7 senses though only one is borrowed with its meaning retained (R)	To produce letters, pictures, etc. on paper using a machine that puts ink on the surface	βa-li-pilinti i-pepa AgrS-PROG-print IV-paper 'They are printing the papers'

5	[soovu]	solve	education	2	2	Two same senses borrowed and their meanings retained (R)	To find a way of dealing with a problem or difficult situation. To find the correct answer or explanation for something	du-gu-li-soove pye AgrS-FUT-AgrO-solve all ‘We shall solve (that) together’
6	[shayini]	shine	fashion	4	3	The verb has 4 senses of which only the 3rd sense is borrowed (N)	To polish something; to make something smooth and bright	i-ji-laatu ji-li-shaini IV-8shoe AgrS-PRES-shine ‘The shoes are shining’
7	[dawuniloodi]	download	educat	1	1	The verb has 1 sense of which is borrowed. The meaning is retained though (R)	To get data from another computer, usually using the Internet	m-ga-dawunilodi i-ji-taabu? AgrS-PAST-download IV-8book? ‘Did you download the books?’
8	[seevu]	save	SP & GM	8	7	8 senses though only the 7th sense is borrowed	(in football (soccer), etc.) To prevent an opponent’s shot from going in the goal	U-golikipa a-ga-seevu li-gooli IV-goalie AgrS-PAST-save 5-goal ‘The goalkeeper saved a goal’
9	[tekisiti]	text	COMM	1	1	A single sense borrowed and the meaning is retained (R)	To send somebody a written message using a mobile/cell phone	Na-gu-gu-teksiti i-mhindi AgrS-FUT-AgrO text IV-evening ‘I will text you an sms in the evening’
10	[koopi]	copy	education	5	4	The verb has 5 senses of which only the 4th sense is borrowed (N) and the meaning is retained (R)	To cheat in an exam, school work, etc. by writing what somebody else has written and pretending it is your own work	O-kopi-aga hali Suzana AgrS-copy-PERF from Susan ‘You have copied (this) from Susan’
11	[sayini]	sign	SP & GM	4	2	The verb has 4 senses of which the 2 sense is borrowed (N)	To arrange for somebody, for example a sports player	Ronaldo o-saini-e hangi Ronaldo AgrS-sign-PERF again

							or musician, to sign a contract agreeing to work for your company; to sign a contract agreeing to work for a company	‘Ronaldo has signed again’
12	[fiiti]	fit	General	7	1	The verb has 7 senses and the 1st sense is borrowed (N) with its meaning retained (R)	To be the right shape and size for somebody/something	I-ji-laatu ji-ga-ni-fiiti IV-8shoe AgrS-PAST-AgrO-fit ‘The shoes fitted me’
13	[sheeli]	share	agriculture	6	0	Of the 6 senses, no any sense has been borrowed because the verb changes to something else when borrowed in Sukuma. It refers to the process of cultivating by using oxen pulling a plough. Thus, this is meaning shift.	-	βa-du-sheelish-aga AgrS-NEG-sheelish-aga ‘They are not ploughing’
14	[shuuti]	shoot	SP & GM	11	9	The verb has 11 senses of which only the 9th sense is borrowed and its meaning is retained (R)	(in football (soccer), hockey, etc.) To try to kick, hit or throw the ball into a goal or to score a point	a-da-shuti-e AgrS-NEG-shoot-FV ‘He did not shoot’
15	[chaaji]	charge	General	11	1	The verb has 11 senses of which only 1 sense is borrowed to cover all the 11 senses (N)	To ask an amount of money for goods or a service	U-gu-ni-chaaji jinga? AgrS-FUT-AgrO-charge how much ‘How much will you charge me (for this work)?
16	[tayipu]	type	education	2	1	The verb has 2 senses though the first one is the only borrowed one and the meaning is retained (R)	To write something using a computer or typewriter	U-li-tayipu ki? AgrS-PRES-type what? ‘What are you typing?’
17	[disikaasi]	discuss	education	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which only the 1st sense is borrowed to cover both the two (N)	To talk about something with somebody, especially in order to decide	βa-gu-disikaasi lelo AgrS-FUT-discuss today ‘They will discuss today’

							something	
18	[saachi]	search	General	3	1	All the four senses mean the same thus the verb borrowed covers all the senses (N)	To look carefully for something/somebody; to examine a particular place when looking for somebody/something	Du-gu-m-saachi ntoondo AgrS-FUT-AgrO-search tomorrow 'We will search you tomorrow'
19	[cheeki]	check	medical	7	1	The verb has 7 senses of which only one is borrowed and maintain its meaning (R)	To examine something to see if it is correct, safe or acceptable	Nagagucheki AgrS-PAST-AgrO-check igloo 'I checked for you yesterday'
20	[seendi]	send	TRANSP	5	1	The verb has 5 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed though its meaning is maintained (R)	To make something go or be taken to a place, especially by post/mail, email, radio, etc.	
21	[piki]	pick	TRANSP	4	1	The verb has 10 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed and the meaning is retained (R)	To choose somebody/something from a group of people or things	Na-ga-m-piki u-ng'waana AgrS-PAST-AgrO-pick IV-kid 'I picked the kid (from school)'
22	[pulomiisi]	promise	General	2	1	The verb has 2 senses though meaning 1 is the only one borrowed and retains the meaning (R)	To tell somebody that you will definitely do or not do something, or that something will definitely happen	Na-li-gu-pulomiisi na-gwi-iza AgrS-PROG-AgrO-promise 1PS-FUT-come 'I promise I will come'
23	[disikaaleeji]	discourage	General	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed. The meaning is retained (R)	To try to prevent something or to prevent somebody from doing something, especially by making it difficult to do or by showing that you do not approve of it	Ba-ga-n-disikaaleji u-nyaanda AgrS-PAST-AgrO-discourage IV-boy 'They discouraged the boy'
24	[lipooti]	report	General	5	1	The verb has 5 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and retains the	To give people information about something that you have heard, seen, done,	Na-li-ga-lipooti polisi AgrS-PROG-INF-report police 'I am going to report to police'

						meaning (R)	etc.	
25	[libuuti]	reboot	COM PTEC	1	1	The verb has only one sense and its sense is maintained when borrowed (R)	if you **reboot** a computer or it **reboots**, you switch it off and then start it again immediately	U-di-zu-libuuti i-kompyuta yaane AgrS-NEG-AUX-reboot Iv-computer 'Don't try to reboot my computer'
26	[diipu/biipu]	beep	COM PTEC	3	3	The verb has 3 senses and sense 3 is borrowed and it retains its meaning.	To call somebody on their beeper	u-gu-ni-diipu ulu u-shiga AgrS-FUT-AgrO-beep if 2PS-arrive 'You will beep me when you arrive'
27	[insitolu]	Install	COM PTEC	4	2	The verb has 4 senses of which sense 2 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To put a new program onto a computer	Na-ga-insitoo dikisheneli igolo AgrS-PAST-install dictionary yesterday 'I installed a dictionary (in my computer) yesterday'
28	[sikaani]	scan	COM PTEC	7	5	This verb has 7 senses of which sense 5 is the only one borrowed (R)	To examine a computer program or document in order to look for a virus	Ba-da-sikani-e i-fulashi jaabo AgrS-NEG-scan-FV IV-flash disc theirs 'They did not scan their flash discs'
29	[pesiti]	paste	COM PTEC	3	3	The verb has 3 senses and it is the 3rd sense that is borrowed. Meaning is maintained (R)	To copy or move text into a document from another place or another document	Na-li-haya gu-pesiti i-baaluwa iyi AgrS-PRES-want INF-paste IV-letter this 'I want to paste this letter (in my pc)'
30	[diliiti]	delete	COM PTEC	2	2	The verb has 2 senses of which only sense 2 is borrowed (R)	To remove something that has been written or printed, or that has been stored on a computer	Biya gu-diliiti a-ma-faili gaane NEG INF-delete IV-6-file my 'don't delete my files please'
31	[sevu]	save	COM PTEC	8	8	The verb has 8 senses of which only sense 8 is borrowed (R)	To make a computer keep work, for example by putting it on a disk	U-ga-yi-seevu hali i-baaluwa yaane? AgrS-PAST-AgrO-save where IV-letter 'Where did you save my letter'
32	[sheya]	share	COM PTEC	6	2	The verb has 6 senses of which only sense 2 is borrowed (R)	To divide something between two or more people	U-wiitogwi bu-da-sheiwa-gw-a IV-love AgrS-NEG-share-HAB-FV 'Love is not shared'
33	[kalukule	calculate	educ	2	1	There are 2 senses of which	To use numbers to find out	Nzuugi du-kalukuleeti i-li-swaali

	eti]		ation			sense 1 is the only one borrowed (R)	a total number, amount, distance, etc.	Come, AgrS-PRES-calculate IV-quiz 'Come, let us calculate the question'
34	[cheenji]	change	General	13	4	The verb has 13 senses of which only sense 4 is borrowed (R)	To stop having one state, position or direction and start having another	A-li-cheenji myeenda AgrS-PRES-change clothes 'He is changing the clothes'
35	[deedi]	die	General	3	1	There are 3 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To stop living	U-ngooshi wake a-ga-deedi IV-husband hers AgrS-PAST-die 'Her husband died'
36	[tulooti]	trot	SP & GM	4	3	The verb has 4 senses though sense 3 is the only one borrowed (R)	To run or walk fast, taking short quick steps	U-nsaatu a-li-tulooti i-haha IV-patient AgrS-PROG-trot IV-now 'The patient is trotting now'
37	[sheevu]	shave	fashion	2	1	There are 2 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To cut hair from the skin, especially the face, using a razor	A-da-sheevi-e i-nzwiili jaakwa AgrS-NEG-shave-PERF IV-hair his 'He has not shaved his hair'
38	[duloo]	draw	SP & GM	16	13	The verb has 16 senses of which only 13 sense is borrowed (R)	To finish a game without either team winning	i-yigolo du-ga-duloo IV-yesterday AgrS-PAST-draw 'We drew yesterday'
39	[biliidi]	bleed	medical	5	1	The verb has 5 senses of which only the 1st sense is borrowed (R)	To lose blood, especially from a wound or an injury	A-gu-bilidi-ag-a bhuli-gwa AgrS-INF-bleed-HAB-FV every day 'He bleeds everyday'
40	[positi]	post	COMPTEC	9	8	The verb has 9 senses of which the 8 sense is the only one borrowed (R)	To put information or pictures on a website	A-ga-ni-positi-a baluwa AgrS-PAST-AgrO-post-APPL latter 'He posted me a latter'
41	[paasi]	pass	SP & GM	22	5	The verb has 22 senses of which sense 5 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	(in ball games) to kick, hit or throw the ball to a player of your own side	Ronaldo a-ga-m-pasi-a Ronaldinho Ronaldo AgrS-PAST-AgrO-pass-APPL Ronaldinho 'Ronaldo passed the ball to Ronaldinho'
42	[pilizeenti]	present	education	11	10	The verb has 11 senses of which sense 10 is the only one	To offer or express something in speech or	U-ng'waalim a-da-pirizenti-e i-yigolo IV-teacher AgrS-NEG-present-FV IV-

						borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	writing	yesterday 'The teacher did not present yesterday'
43	[difendi]	defend	SP & GM	5	4	The verb has 5 senses of which sense 4 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To take part in a competition that you won the last time and try to win it again	Du-li-difendi i-kombe liise AgrS-PREST-defend IV-cup our 'We are defending our championship'
44	[wini]	win	SP & GM	2	2	The verb has 2 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To be the most successful in a competition, race, battle, etc.	Arsenal yi-gu-wini i-mookono Arsenal AgrS-FUT-win IV-this year 'Arsenal will win the title this year'
45	[bulooko]	block	COM M	4	3	There are 4 senses of which only sense 3 is borrowed (R)	To prevent something from happening, developing or making progress	Na-ga-m-bulooko u-musimu AgrS-PAST-AgrO-block IV-phone 'I blocked her on her phone'
46	[bowa]	bore	COM M	3	1	The verb has 3 sense of which only 1 sense is borrowed (R)	To make somebody feel bored, especially by talking too much	U-li-ni-boa ngoosha AgrS-PRES-AgrO-bore man 'You are boring me man'
47	[fooji]	forge	COM M	4	2	There are 4 senses of which only sense 2 is borrowed (R)	To make an illegal copy of something in order to cheat people	Ba-ga-yi-fooji i-sahihi yaakwe AgrS-PAST-AgrO-forge IV-signature 'They forged his signature'
48	[lositi]	roast	Gene ral	4	1	The verb has 4 senses of which only 1 sense is borrowed (R)	To cook food, especially meat, without liquid in an oven or over a fire; to be cooked in this way	Du-gu-lositi ndiilo a-ha-jigukulu AgrS-FUT-roast fish IV-on ex-mass 'We will roast fish on ex-mass'
49	[konfemu]	confirm	Gene ral	5	1	There are 5 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To state or show that something is definitely true or correct, especially by providing evidence	A-ga-komfem giiki a-gwiiza AgrS-PAST-confirm that AgrO would come 'He confirmed that he would come'
50	[painti]	paint	educ ation	4	1	The verb has 4 senses of which only 1 sense is borrowed (R)	To cover a surface or object with paint	nanali m-gu-yi-painti i-ndugu when AgrS-FUT-AgrO-paint IV-wall

								‘When will you paint the wall?’
51	[konfesi]	confess	general	4	1	There are 4 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To admit, especially formally or to the police, that you have done something wrong or illegal	U-ng’wiibi o-konfesi-aga IV-thief AgrS-PRES-confess-PERF ‘The thief has confessed’
52	[sasipekiti]	suspect	crime/poli	3	1	The verb has 3 senses of which only 1 sense is borrowed (R)	To have an idea that something is probably true or likely to happen, especially something bad, but without having definite proof	U-polisi a-li-sasipekiti duli biibi IV-police AgrS-PRES-suspect us thieves ‘The police officer suspected us thieves’
53	[sapooti]	support	General	9	1	The verb has 9 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To help or encourage somebody/something by saying or showing that you agree with them/it	Du-dala-n-sapoti u-nogi AgrS-NEG-AgrO-support IV-witch ‘We will never support the witch’
54	[fakisi]	fax	education	1	1	The verb has 1 sense and it is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To send somebody a document, message, etc. by a fax	M-la-du-fakisi-e i-baluwa AgrS-FUT-AgrO-fax-APPL IV-letter ‘You will fax the letter to us please’
55	[chaati]	chat	COMM	2	2	The verb has 2 senses of which only sense 2 is borrowed (R)	To exchange messages with other people on the Internet, especially in a chat room	Du-gu-chaati ntoondo AgrS-FUT-chat tomorrow ‘We will chat tomorrow’
56	[simeli]	smell	General	5	4	There are 5 senses of which only sense 4 is borrowed (R)	(not usually used in the passive) to put your nose near something and breathe in so that you can discover or identify its smell	
57	[swaalo]	swallow	General	7	1	The verb has 7 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To make food, drink, etc. go down your throat into your stomach	

58	[taachi]	touch	COMPTEC	10	1	The verb has 10 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed and it maintains its meaning (R)	To put your hand or another part of your body onto somebody/something	Biya u-gu-ni-taachi Don't AgrS-INF-AgrO-touch 'Don't touch me please'
59	[soti]	sort	General	2	0	The verb has 2 senses of which no any sense is borrowed because the verb means something else (Semantic shift). When adapted in Sukuma, the verb refers to the fight especially among the youth.		u-li-haya du-ji-sooti angu? AgrS-PRES-want 1PL-AgrO-sort right? 'Do you want us fight now, right?'
60	[diigi]	dig	ENTERT	10	0	There are 10 senses of which no any sense is borrowed because the verb means something else (Semantic shift). When adapted in Sukuma, the verb refers to dancing (solo) activities.		Nzuugi du-diigi solo Come, AgrS-dig solo 'Come, let us dance solo'
61	[push]	push	SP & GM	10	1	The verb has 10 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To use your hands, arms or body in order to make somebody/something move forward or away from you; to move part of your body into a particular position	u-leefa a-ga-push-iw-a nu-difenda IV-referee AgrS-PAST-puch-PASS-FV by the defender 'The referee was pushed by the defender'
62	[buleekl	break	General	22	8	The verb has 22 senses of which only sense 8 is borrowed (R)	To end a connection with something or a relationship with somebody	Ba-ga-buleki mazuuli AgrS-PAST-broke two weeks ago 'They broke two weeks ago'

63	[looki]	lock	General	6	1	The verb has 6 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To fasten something with a lock; to be fastened with a lock	Ba-la-loki-w-a AgrS-FUT-lock-PASS-FV 'They will be locked'
64	[tiichi]	teach	education	6	2	The verb has 6 senses of which only sense 2 is borrowed (R)	To give lessons to students in a school, college, university, etc.; to help somebody learn something by giving information about it	a-da-ba-tichi-e AgrS-NEG-AgrO-teach-PERF 'He has never taught them'
65	[panishi]	punish	education	3	1	The verb has 3 senses of which only sense is borrowed (R)	To make somebody suffer because they have broken the law or done something wrong	na-ga-m-panishi u-ng'wanafunzi AgrS-PAST-AgrO-punish IV-student 'I punished the student'
66	[paanchi]	punch	SP & GM	3	0	The verb has 3 senses of which no any sense is borrowed because the verb means something else (Semantic shift). The verb refers to the action of one using their hands to stop their opponent hit their faces during fighting.		a-dala-yi-panchi i-ngume yaane AgrS-NEG-AgrO-punch IV-fist my 'He will never stop my fist from hitting his head'
67	[disimisi]	dismiss	education	6	4	The verb has 6 senses of which only sense 4 is borrowed (R)	To send somebody away or allow them to leave	a-ba-nigini ba-ga-disimisi-w-a IV-2-kid AgrS-PAST-dismiss-PASS-FV 'The kids were dismissed'
68	[kilaashi]	clash	education	6	3	The verb has 6 senses of which only sense 3 is borrowed (R)	(of beliefs, ideas or personalities) to be very different and opposed to each other	ba-gi-kilashi a-ha-dibeeti AgrS-PAST-clash IV-LOC-debate 'They clashed one another in the debate'
69	[simaashi]	smash	SP & GM	7	7	The verb has 7 senses of which only sense 7 is borrowed (R)	To hit a high ball downwards and very hard	a-ga-simashi mpaga ugwa AgrS-PAST-smash until down

							over the net	He smashed (the ball) until he fell down’
70	[puluuvu]	prove	education	5	1	The verb has 5 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To use facts, evidence, etc. to show that something is true	na-gu-ba-puluvi-a bukweli AgrS-FUT-AgrO-prove-APPL the truth ‘I will prove to them the truth’
71	[opoozi]	oppose	education	2	1	The verb has only 2 senses and sense 1 is maintained when borrowed (R)	To disagree strongly with somebody’s plan, policy, etc. and try to change it or prevent it from succeeding	du-gu-opozi i-sera jaabo AgrS-FUT-oppose IV-policy theirs ‘We will oppose their policy’
72	[sitilaiki]	strike	SP & GM	15	3	The verb has 15 senses and meaning 3 is borrowed and it covers meaning (S)	To hit or kick a ball, etc.	Ronaldo a-da-sitilaiki-le Ronaldo AgrS-NEG-strike-PERF ‘Ronaldo did not strike’
73	[dansi]	dance	ENTERT	3	1	The verb has 3 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To move your body to the sound and rhythm of music	du-ga-dansi bujiku peee AgrS-PAST-dance the whole night ‘We danced the whole night’
74	[busiti]	bust	General	3	1	The verb has 3 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To break something	I-tayili yi-ga-basiti IV-tire AgrS-PAST-bust ‘The tire busted’
75	[siiti]	sit	General	9	1	This verb has 9 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed (R)	To rest your weight on your bottom with your back vertical, for example on/in a chair	a-gu-siti hi-sumbe lya ntemi AgrS-FUT-siti on-chair of the king ‘He will sit on the king’s chair’
76	[doozi]	dose	medicine	1	1	The verb has 1 sense and it is the only sense that is borrowed. Meaning is maintained (R)	To give somebody/yourself a medicine or drug	Ba-ga-n-dozi-sh-a a-ba-dagitaali AgrS-PAST-AgrO-dose-CAUS-FV IV-2-ba-dagitali ‘The doctors overdosed him’
77	[siliipu]	sleep	General	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To rest with your eyes closed and your mind and	u-ng’waana a-li-siliipu IV-kid AgrS-PRES-sleep

							body not active	‘The child is sleeping’
78	[kiisi]	kiss	General	2	1	The verb has only 2 sense and sense 1 is maintained when borrowed (R)	To touch somebody with your lips as a sign of love, affection, sexual desire, etc., or when saying hello or goodbye	o-lem-aga gu-kisi-w-a AgrS-refuse-PERF INF-kiss-PASS-FV ‘He does not want to be kissed’
79	[puleeyi]	play	SP & GM	20	4	The verb has 20 senses and meaning 4 is borrowed (R)	To be involved in a game; to compete against somebody in a game	ba-li-puleyi soka AgrS-PROG-play soccer ‘They are playing soccer’
80	[woochi]	watch	General	3	1	The verb has 3 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To look at somebody/something for a time, paying attention to what happens	na-li-woochi muvi AgrS-PROG-watch movie ‘I am watching a movie’
81	[ateendi]	attend	education	5	1	The verb has 5 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To be present at an event	du-ga-atendi jikao AgrS-PAST-attend meting ‘We attended the meeting’
82	[sikiipu]]	skip	education	10	7	This verb has 10 senses of which sense 7 is the only one borrowed (R)	To move forwards lightly and quickly making a little jump with each step	James a-ga-sikipi-w-a James AgrS-PAST-skip-PASS-FV ‘James was skipped’
83	[giladuweti]	graduate	education	4	1	The verb has 4 senses and sense 1 is borrowed. Meaning is maintained (R)	To get a degree, especially your first degree, from a university or college	A-gu-giladuweti ha-ng’waaka AgrS-FUT-graduate next year ‘She will graduate next year’
84	[insipekiti]	inspect	education	2	2	The verb has 2 senses of which only sense 2 is borrowed (R)	To officially visit a school, factory, etc. in order to check that rules are being obeyed and that standards are acceptable	meneja a-ga-insipekiti i-shuule Meneja AgrS-PAST-inspect IV-school ‘The manager inspected the school’
85	[kiiki]	kick	SP & GM	4	4	The verb has 4 senses of which only the 4th sense is borrowed	(in sports such as football (soccer) and rugby) to	u-mpila gu-ga-kiki-w-a na James IV-ball AgrS-PAST-kick-PASS-FV

						(R)	score points by kicking the ball	'The ball was kicked by James'
86	[sasipendi]	suspend	education	5	4	The verb has 5 senses of which only the 4th sense is borrowed (R)	To officially prevent somebody from doing their job, going to school, etc. for a time	a-ba-nafunzi ba-du-sasipendi-w-a IV-2-student AgrS-NEG-suspend-PASS-FV 'The students will not be suspended'
87	[chiiti]	cheat	education	3	2	The verb has 3 senses of which only 2 meaning is taken (R)	To act in a dishonest way in order to gain an advantage, especially in a game, a competition, an exam, etc.	a-ga-n-chiiti u-ng'waalim AgrS-PAST-cheat IV-ng'waalim 'He cheated the teacher'
88	[ansa]	answer	education	2	1	The verb has 2 senses though only one is borrowed with its meaning retained (R)	To say, write or do something as a reaction to a question or situation	
89	[aseesi]	assess	education	2	2	Two same senses borrowed and their meanings retained (R)	1. To make a judgement about the nature or quality of somebody/something 2. To calculate the amount or value of something	ntondo du-gu-asesi shule yiise tomorrow AgrS-FUT-assess school ours 'Tomorrow we will assess our school'
90	[maaki]	mark	education	9	6	The verb has 9 meaning of which only 6 is borrowed (N)	To give marks to students' work	a-ma-dafutali ga-da-maki-w-e IV-6-exercises AgrS-NEG-mark-PASS-FV 'The exercise books are not marked'
91	[modeleeti]	moderate	education	3	2	The verb has 3 senses of which only 2 is borrowed (N). The meaning is retained though (R)	To check that an exam has been marked fairly and in the same way by different people	I-tesiti iyi yi-da-modeleti-w-e IV-test this AgrS-NEG-moderate-PASS-FV 'This test is not moderated'
92	[livaayisi]	revise	education	3	3	The verb has 3 senses though only the 3rd sense is borrowed	To prepare for an exam by looking again at work that you have done	ba-la-gu-livaizi u-ntiyani AgrS-FUT-AgrO-revise IV-paper 'They will revise the paper'
93	[invijileeti]	invigilate	education	1	1	The verb has 1 sense of which is the only borrowed and retains its meaning.	To watch people while they are taking an exam to make sure that they have	a-li-invijileti tesiti AgrS-PROG-invigilate the test 'She is invigilating the test'

							everything they need, that they keep to the rules, etc.	
94	[feeli]	fail	education	8	3	The verb has 8 senses of which only sense 3 is borrowed (R)	To not pass a test or an exam; to decide that somebody/something has not passed a test or an exam	ba-ga-feeli i-tesiti AgrS-PAST-fail Iv-test ‘They failed the test’
95	[livyuu]	review	education	6	1	The verb has 6 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To carefully examine or consider something again, especially so that you can decide if it is necessary to make changes	Mokono du-gu-livyuu i-kozi This year AgrS-FUT-review IV-courses ‘This year we will review the courses’
96	[dayijesiti]	digest	medical	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	**digest (something)** when you **digest** food, or it **digests**, it is changed into substances that your body can use	A-ga-duuma gu-daijesiti jiliiwa AgrS-PAST-fail INF-digest food ‘He failed to digest food’
97	[joogi]	jog	medical	2	1	There are 2 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed (R)	To run slowly and steadily for a long time, especially for exercise	U-n-saatu a-li-jog IV-1-patient AgrS-PROG-do Jogging ‘The patient is jogging’
98	[wooko]	walk	general	6	1	There are 6 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To move or go somewhere by putting one foot in front of the other on the ground, but without running	u-gu-wooko mpaga tauni leelo 2PS-FUT-walk up to town today ‘You will walk up to town today’
99	[haati]	hurt	Medical	6	1	The verb has 6 senses though sense 1 is the only one borrowed (R)	To cause physical pain to somebody/yourself; to injure somebody/yourself	
100	[safa]	suffer	Medical	3	1	There are 3 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To be badly affected by a disease, pain, sadness, a lack of something, etc.	a-ga-safa nooyi ng’waaka gweene AgrS-PAST-suffer very that year ‘He suffered much that year’
101	[boyili]	boil	Gene	4	1	The verb has 4 senses of which	when a liquid **boils** or when	a-minze ga-li-boili

			ral			only the 1st meaning is borrowed (R)	you **boil** it, it is heated to the point where it forms bubbles and turns to steam or vapour	IV-water AgrS-PROG-boil ‘The water is boiling’
102	[fulaayi]	fry	General	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which the 1 meaning is the only one borrowed (R)	To cook something in hot fat or oil; to be cooked in hot fat or oil	
103	[hiiti]	heat	Medical	1	1	The verb has 1 sense of which it is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To make something hot or warm; to become hot or warm	
104	[kampeeni]	campaign	political	1	1	The verb has 1 sense of which it is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To take part in or lead a campaign, for example to achieve political change or in order to win an election	na-dala-n-kampeni-ya ng’wibi AgrS-NEG-AgrO-campaign-APPL thief ‘I will never campaign for a thief’
115	[aleenji]	arrange	education	4	3	The verb has 4 senses of which sense 3 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To put something in a particular order; to make something neat or attractive	
116	[saikuleeti]	circulate	education	4	2	The verb has 4 senses of which sense 2 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	**circulate (something)** if a story, an idea, information, etc. **circulates** or if you **circulate** it, it spreads or it is passed from one person to another	A-ga-yisaikuleti i-taalifa AgrS-PAST-circulate IV-news ‘He circulated the news’
117	[komunikaate]	communicate	education	5	3	There are 5 senses of which only sense 3 is borrowed (R)	To have a good relationship because you are able to understand and talk about your own and other people’s thoughts, feelings, etc.	ulu umona u-gu-komyuniketi If you see (him) AgrS-FUT-communicate ‘If you see him you will communicate’
118	[konsaati]	consult	education	3	2	The verb has 3 senses of which only 2 sense is borrowed (R)	To discuss something with somebody to get their	m-ga-n-kosaliti nani? AgrS-PAST-AgrO-consult who?

							permission for something, or to help you make a decision	'Who did you consult?'
119	[editi]	edit	education	5	1	There are 5 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To prepare a piece of writing, a book, etc. to be published by correcting the mistakes, making improvements to it, etc.	A-gu-ni-editi-a i-kaaji yane AgrS-FUT-AgrO-edit-APPL IV-work my 'He will edit my work for me'
120	[edukeeti]	educate	education	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which only 1 sense is borrowed (R)	To teach somebody over a period of time at a school, university, etc.	Du-ga-ba-eduketi a-ba-fuungwa AgrS-PAST-AgrO-educate IV-2-prisoner 'We educated the prisoners'
121	[evalueti]	evaluate	education	1	1	There is only 1 sense which is the only sense borrowed (R)	To form an opinion of the amount, value or quality of something after thinking about it carefully	Du-gu-ba-evalueti a-ba-nigini leelo AgrS-FUT-AgrO-evaluate IV-2-kid today 'We will evaluate the kids today'
122	[ekisipuleeni]	explain	education	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To tell somebody about something in a way that makes it easy to understand	u-meneja a-ga-ekisipuleeni chiiza IV-manager AgrS-PAST-explain well 'The manager explained well'
123	[fasiliteti]	facilitate	education	1	1	There is only 1 sense which borrowed (R)	To make an action or a process possible or easier	u-nfazili a-da-du-fasiliteti-e jisoga IV-sponsor AgrS-AgrO-facilitate-APPL well 'The sponsor did not facilitate us well'
124	[gayidi]	guide	education	6	3	The verb has 6 senses of which only sense 3 is borrowed (R)	a person who shows other people the way to a place, especially somebody employed to show tourists around interesting places	A-da-ba-gaidi-e chiiza a-ba-talii AgrS-NEG-AgrO-guide-PERF well IV-2-toirist 'He did not guide well the tourists'

125	[helupu]	help	education	5	1	The verb has 5 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To make it easier or possible for somebody to do something by doing something for them or by giving them something that they need	
126	[infomu]	inform	education	3	1	The verb has 5 senses and it is only one 1 sense borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To tell somebody about something, especially in an official way	A-ga-ni-infomu a-gu-ni-sanga AgrS-PAST-AgrO-inform AgrS-FUT-AgrO-meet 'He informed me (that) he could meet me'
127	[isitilakiti]	instruct	education	4	1	The verb has 4 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To tell somebody to do something, especially in a formal or official way	Du-gu-ba-insitilakiti baje kaaya AgrS-FUT-AgrO-instruct them to go home 'We will instruct them to go home'
128	[intapuliiti]	interpret	education	4	1	The verb has 4 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To decide that something has a particular meaning and to understand it in this way	Nani a-gu-du-intapuliti-a? Who AgrS-FUT-AgrO-interpret-APPL? 'Who will interpret for us?
129	[mootiveeti]	motivate	education	3	1	The verb has 3 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To be the reason why somebody does something or behaves in a particular way	A-ba-nike ba-gu-motiveti-w-a IV-2-girl AgrS-FUT-motivate-PASS-FV 'The girls will be motivated'
130	[intuloduuzi]	introduce	education	8	2	There are 8 senses of which sense 2 is the only one borrowed (R)	To be the main speaker in a television or radio show, who gives details about the show and who presents the people who are in it; to tell the audience the name of the person who is going to speak or perform	a-ga-ba-intulodyuzi AgrS-PAST-AgrO-introduce 'He introduced them'
131	[oliyenti]	orient	educ	3	1	The verb has 3 senses of which	To direct	Ba-da-oliyenti-w-e

			ation			only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	somebody/something towards something; to make or adapt somebody/something for a particular purpose	AgrS-NEG-orient-PASS-FV ‘They were not oriented’
132	[pafoomu]	perform	ENTERT	3	2	There are 3 senses of which only sense 2 is borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To entertain an audience by playing a piece of music, acting in a play, etc.	i-videyo yi-da-pafomi-w-e chiiza IV-video AgrS-NEG-perform-PASS-FV ‘The video was not well performed’
133	[pulaani]	plan	ENTERT	3	1	The verb has 3 senses though sense 1 is the only one borrowed (R)	To make detailed arrangements for something you want to do in the future	A-la-ba-pulani-ya chiiza AgrS-FUT-AgrO-plan-APPL well ‘He will plan well for them’
134	[pulipeya]	prepare	education	3	1	There are 3 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To make something or somebody ready to be used or to do something	
135	[puloduuzi]	produce	ENTERT	7	2	The verb has 7 senses of which only sense 2 is borrowed (R)	To grow or make something as part of a natural process; to have a baby or young animal	Ba-ga-pulodyuzi ndama i-kumi AgrS-PAST-produce calves IV-ten ‘They produced ten calves’
136	[liidi]	read	education	14	2	The verb has 14 senses of which only the 2 sense is borrowed (R)	To go through written or printed words, etc. in silence or speaking them to other people	
137	[lefaa]	refer	education	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which the 2 meaning is the only one borrowed (R)	To describe or be connected to somebody/something	
138	[sheepu]	shape	education	3	1	The verb has 3 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To have an important influence on the way that somebody/something develops	u-hausigeelo a-ga-shepi-w-a chiiza IV-housegirl AgrS-PAST-shape-PASS-FV well ‘The house girl was shaped well’
139	[sitaadi]	study	educ	3	1	The verb has 3 senses of which	To spend time learning	Na-gu-sitadi-ag-a Linguistics

			ation			sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	about a subject by reading, going to college, etc.	AgrS-INF-study-HAB-FV Linguistics 'I do study Linguistics'
140	[supavayizi]	supervise	education	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To be in charge of somebody/something and make sure that everything is done correctly, safely, etc.	A-ga-ni-supavaizi-a ba-nafunzi AgrS-PAST-AgrO-supervise-APPL 2-student 'He supervised students for me'
141	[tilayine]	train	education	4	1	The verb has 4 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To teach a person or an animal the skills for a particular job or activity; to be taught in this way	Du-gu-m-tuleni-ya bana bing'we AgrS-FUT-AgrO-train-APPL 2-child your 'we will train your children for you'
142	[tilansileeti]	translate	education	4	1	There are 4 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To express the meaning of speech or writing in a different language	A-ga-du-tulansileti-a ji-falansa AgrS-PAST-AgrO-translate-APPL 7-French 'He translated French for us'
143	[voluntiya]	volunteer	education	4	1	The verb has 4 senses of which only 1 sense is borrowed (R)	To offer to do something without being forced to do it or without getting paid for it	u-Yesu a-ga-voluntia gu-du-chiila IV-Jesus AgrS-PAST-volunteer INF-AgrO-die 'Jesus volunteered to die for us'
144	[layiti]	write	education	7	1	There are 7 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To make letters or numbers on a surface, especially using a pen or a pencil	
145	[tesiti]	test	education	5	1	The verb has 5 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	an examination of somebody's knowledge or ability, consisting of questions for them to answer or activities for them to perform	a-ba-nafunzi ba-gu-tesiti-w-a IV-2-student AgrS-FUT-test-PASS-FV 'The students will be tested'
146	[sapulayiz	surprise	Gene	3	1	The verb has 3 senses of which	an event, a piece of news,	a-ba-byaji ba-dala-sapulaizi-w-a

	i]		ral			only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	etc. that is unexpected or that happens suddenly	IV-2-parent AgrS-NEG-surprise-PASS-FV 'The parents will never be surprised'
147	[puleeti]	plait (hair)	fashion	1	1	There is only 1 sense which is the only one borrowed (R)	To twist three or more long pieces of hair, rope, etc. together to make one long piece	u-ng'wanike a-li-puleeti nzwiili jakwe IV-girl AgrS-PROG-plait hair hers 'The girl is plaiting her hair'
148	[ditaachi]	detach	fashion	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	to leave or separate yourself from somebody/something	A-ga-ditaachi kawiigi kakwe AgrS-PAST-detach her wig 'She detached her wig'
149	[dileesi]	dress	fashion	3	1	There are 8 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To put clothes on yourself/somebody	A-gu-dilesi-w-a chiza ha-halusi yakwe AgrS-FUT-dress-PASS-FV well on her wedding 'She will be dressed well on her wedding day'
150	[wea]	wear	fashion	6	1	The verb has 6 senses though sense 1 is the only one borrowed (R)	To have something on your body as a piece of clothing, a decoration, etc.	
151	[mekapu]	make	fashion	19	1	There are 19 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To create or prepare something by combining materials or putting parts together	
152	[hengauti]	hang	fashion	9	1	The verb has 9 senses of which only 1 sense is borrowed (R)	To attach something, or to be attached, at the top so that the lower part is free or loose	
153	[taanapu]	Turn	fashion	16	2	The verb has 16 senses of which only the 2 sense is borrowed (R)	To move your body or part of your body so as to face or start moving in a different direction	
154	[akiti]	act	ENTE	6	5	The verb has 6 senses of which	one of several short pieces	i-muvi iyi yi-ga-akiti-w-a chiza

			RT			the meaning 5 is the only one borrowed (R)	of entertainment in a show	IV-movie this AgrS-PAST-act-PASS-FV well 'This movie has been acted up on well'
155	[singi]	sing	ENTERT	3	1	The verb has 3 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To make musical sounds with your voice in the form of a song or tune	
156	[laani]	run	ENTERT	32	1	The verb has 32 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To move using your legs, going faster than when you walk	
157	[suloo]	throw	ENTERT	17	1	The verb has 17 senses of which sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To send something from your hand through the air by moving your hand or arm quickly	
158	[daileiti]	direct	ENTERT	6	3	There are 6 senses of which only sense 3 is borrowed (R)	To be in charge of actors in a play, or a film/movie, or musicians in an orchestra, etc.	a-ba-igizaji ba-gu-dailekiti-w-a chiza IV-2-actor AgrS-FUT-direct-PASS-FV well 'The actors will be directed well'
159	[ekisibiti]	exhibit	ENTERT	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To show something in a public place for people to enjoy or to give them information	
160	[bokisi]	box	ENTERT	2	1	There are 2 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To fight somebody in the sport of boxing	Tyson a-ga-bokisi-w-a Tyson AgrS-PAST-box-PASS-FV 'Tyson was boxed'
161	[kompoozi]	compose	ENTERT	4	1	The verb has 4 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To combine together to form a whole	ga-ga-kompozi-w-a mimbo abili AgrS-PAST-compose-PASS-FV song two

								‘Two songs were composed’
162	[dampu]	dump	enviro	6	4	There are 6 senses of which only sense 4 is borrowed (R)	To end a romantic relationship with somebody	John a-ga-dampi-w-a John AgrS-PAST-dump-PASS-FV ‘John was dumped’
163	[pulotekiti]	protect	enviro	4	1	The verb has 4 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To make sure that somebody/something is not harmed, injured, damaged, etc.	ng’ombe yi-ga-pulotekiti-w-a 9-cow AgrS-PAST-protect-PASS-FV ‘The cow was protected’
164	[poluuti]	pollute	enviro	1	1	The verb has only 1 sense which is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To add dirty or harmful substances to land, air, water, etc. so that it is no longer pleasant or safe to use	i-hewa yi-ga-poluti-w-a IV-air AgrS-PAST-pollute-PASS-FV ‘The air was polluted’
165	[lisaiko]	recycle	enviro	2	1	The verb has 2 sense and the sense 1 is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To treat things that have already been used so that they can be used again	
166	[disituloyi]	destroy	enviro	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To damage something so badly that it no longer exists, works, etc.	bulogi bokwe bu-ga-disituloyi-w-a witchcraft his AgrS-PAST-distroy-PASS-FV ‘His witchcraft was destroyed’
167	[loobu]	rob	Crim	1	1	The verb has 1 sense which is the only sense borrowed (R)	To steal money or property from a person or place	
168	[alesiti]	arrest	Crim	4	1	There are 4 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed and it maintains its meaning (R)	if the police **arrest** somebody, the person is taken to a police station and kept there because the police believe they may be guilty of a crime	a-biibi ba-gu-alesiti-w-a IV-2-thief AgrS-FUT-arrest-PASS-FV ‘The thieves will be arrested’
169	esikeepu	escape	Crim	7	1	The verb has 7 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To get away from a place where you have been kept as a prisoner or not	Ba-ga-esikeepu ji-fungo AgrS-PAST-escape 7-prison ‘They escaped being imprisoned’

							allowed to leave	
170	[apiili]	appeal	Crime/poli	4	1	The verb has 4 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To make a formal request to a court or to somebody in authority for a judgment or a decision to be changed	U-mbehi a-ga-apiili i-kesi yakwe IV-man AgrS-PAST-appeal IV-case his ‘The man appealed for his case’
171	[sitiili]	steal	Crim	3	1	The verb has 3 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To take something from a person, shop/store, etc. without permission and without intending to return it or pay for it	A-da-sitili-e i-hela AgrS-NEG-steal-PERF IV-money ‘He has not stolen the money’
172	[elekiti]	elect	Political	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To choose somebody to do a particular job by voting for them	A-ga-elekiti-w-a moonita AgrS-PAST-elect-PASS-FV class monitor ‘He was elected a class monitor’
173	[vooti]	vote	Political	5	1	The verb has 5 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	a formal choice that you make in an election or at a meeting in order to choose somebody or decide something	u-rais a-da-vooti-w-e mookono IV-president AgrS-NEG-vote-FV this year ‘The president was not voted this year’
174	[kompiti]	compete	Political	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To try to be more successful or better than somebody else who is trying to do the same as you	Arsenal yi-gu-kompiti-ag-a na Liverpool. Arsenal AgrS-INF-compete-HAB-FV and Liverpool. ‘Arsenal competes with Liverpool’
175	[impilimenti]	implement	Political	1	1	The verb has 1 sense which is the only sense borrowed (R)	To make something that has been officially decided start to happen or be used	Du-da-impulimenti-e sera mhya AgrS-NEG-impliment-PERF policy new ‘We have not implemented the new policy’
176	[dubuliketi]	duplicate	ENTERT	2	1	The verb has 2 senses of which only sense 1 is borrowed (R)	To do something again, especially when it is	A-ga-ga-dubuliketi a-maswali AgrS-PAST-AgrO-duplicate IV-

							unnecessary	question 'He duplicated the questions'
177	[disitilibyuuti]	distribute	ENTERT	4	3	The verb has only 4 senses and sense 3 is maintained when borrowed (R)	To give things to a large number of people; to share something between a number of people	Ba-ba-disitilibyuti-aga migaate AgrS-AgrO-distribute-aga migaate 'They have distributed breads to them'
178	[bulodikasiti]	broadcast	ENTERT	2	2	The verb has 2 senses and sense 2 is borrowed (S)	To tell a lot of people about something	i-lyashala lyane li-gu-bulodikasi-w-a ntondo IV-business my AgrS-FUT-broadcast-PASS-FV tomorrow 'My business will be broadcasted tomorrow'
179	[filimu]	film	ENTERT	1	1	The verb has 1 sense of which it is the only one borrowed and it retains the meaning (R)	To make a film/movie of a story or a real event	A-da-filimi-e movi nsoga AgrS-NEG-film-PERF movie nice 'He did not film a nice movie'
180	[kasiti]	cast	ENTERT	11	8	There are 11 senses of which it is only sense 8 which is borrowed (R)	To choose actors to play the different parts in a film/movie, play, etc.; to choose an actor to play a particular role	Ba-ga-kasiti-w-a chiiza AgrS-PAST-cast-PASS-FV well 'they were casted well'

S/N	Loanword verb	Source: English	Via Swahili	Swahili verb	Field of use	PRES	FUTURE	PAST	HAB	PERF	PASS	APPL	CAUS	STATIVE	RECIPROC	Intransitive	monotransitive	ditransitive
1	[kontuloo]	control	yes	kukontrol	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	-	√	
2	[seeti]	set	yes	kuseti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
3	[lekoodi]	record	yes	kurekodi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
4	[piliinti]	print	yes	kuprinti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
5	[soovu]	solve	yes	kusovu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
6	[shayini]	shine	yes	kushaini	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
7	[dawuniloodi]	download	yes	kudaunilodi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
8	[seevu]	save	yes	kusevu	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
9	[tekisiti]	text	yes	kuteksti	COMM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
10	[koopi]	copy	yes	kukopi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
11	[sayini]	sign	yes	kusaini	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
13	[fiiti]	fit	no	-	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	-	-	√
14	[sheeli]	share	no	-	agriculture	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	-	√	
15	[shuuti]	shoot	yes	kushuti	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
16	[chaaji]	charge	yes	kuchaji	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
17	[tayipu]	type	yes	kutaipu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
18	[disikaasi]	discuss	yes	kudiskasi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
19	[saachi]	search	yes	kusachi	general	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
20	[sooti]	sort	yes	kusoti	general	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
21	[cheeki]	check	yes	kucheki	medical	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	
22	[seendi]	send	yes	kusendi	TRANSP	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	
23	[piki]	pick	yes	kupiki	TRANSP	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	
24	[pulomiisi]	promise	yes	kupromisi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
25	[disikaaleeji]	discourage	yes	kudiskareji	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
26	[lipooti]	report	yes	kuripoti	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
27	[libuuti]	reboot	yes	kuribooti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
28	[diipu/biipu]	beep	yes	kubipu	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
29	[insitolu]	Install	yes	kuinstall	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
30	[hayilayiti]	highlight	yes	kuhailaiti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
31	[sikaani]	scan	yes	kuskani	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	

32	[pesiti]	paste	yes	kupesti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
33	[diliiti]	delete	yes	kudiliti	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
34	[sevu]	save	yes	kusevu	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
35	[sheya]	share	yes	kushea	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	-	√	√	-	√	
36	[kalukuleeti]	calculate	yes	kukalkuleti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
37	[cheenji]	change	no	-	economic	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	√	-	√	
38	[deedi]	die	no	-	General	-	√	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	
39	[tulooti]	trot	yes	kutroti	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	
40	[sheevu]	shave	yes	kushevu	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
41	[duloo]	draw	yes	kudroo	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	
42	[biliidi]	bleed	yes	kublidi	medical	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	
43	[positi]	post	yes	kupost	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
44	[paasi]	pass	yes	kupasi	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
45	[pilizeenti]	present	yes	kupresenti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
46	[difendi]	defend	yes	kudifendi	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
47	[wini]	win	yes	kuwini	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	
48	[bulooko]	block	yes	kubloki	COMM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
49	[bowa]	bore	yes	kuboa	COMM	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	√	√	√	√	-	
50	[fooji]	forge	yes	kufoji	COMM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
51	[lositi]	roast	yes	kurosti	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
52	[konfemu]	confirm	yes	kukonfemu	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
53	[painti]	paint	yes	kupeinti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
54	[konfesi]	confess	yes	kukonfesi	religious	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	
55	[sasipekiti]	suspect	yes	kusaspekti	crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
56	[sapooti]	support	yes	kusapoti	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
57	[fakisi]	fax	yes	kufaksi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
58	[chaati]	chat	yes	kuchati	COMM	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	√	√	√	-	
59	[simeli]	smell	yes	kusmeli	General	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	
60	[swaalo]	swallow	yes	kuswalo	General	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	
61	[taachi]	touch	yes	kutachi	COMPTEC	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
62	[soti]	sort	no	-	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	
63	[diigi]	dig	no	-	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
64	[push]	push	-	kupushi	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		

65	[buleekI	break	-	kubreki	TRANSP	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		
66	[looki]	lock	-	kuloki	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	
67	[tiichi]	teach	yes	kutichi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
68	[panishi]	punish	yes	kupanishi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
69	[paanchi]	punch	yes	kupanchi	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
70	[disimisi]	dismiss	yes	kudismisi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
71	[kilaashi]	crash	yes	kuklashi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
72	[simaashi]	smash	yes	kusmashi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
73	[puluuvu]	prove	yes	kupruvu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
74	[opoozi]	oppose	yes	kuopozi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
75	[sitilaiki]	strike	yes	kustraiki	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
76	[dansi]	dance	yes	kudansi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
77	[busiti]	bust	yes	kubusti	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
78	[siiti]	sit	yes	kusiti	General	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√		
79	[doozi]	dose	yes	kudozi	General	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√		
80	[siliipu]	sleep	yes	kuslipu	General	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√		
81	[kiisi]	kiss	yes	kukisi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	-	√	
82	[puleeyi]	play	Yes	kuplai	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
83	[woochi]	watch	yes	kuwochi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
84	[ateendi]	attend	yes	kuatendi	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	
85	[sikiipu]]	skip	yes	kuskipu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	-	-	√	
86	[giladuweti]	graduate	yes	kugradueti	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	√		
87	[insipekiti]	inspect	yes	kuinspect	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
88	[kiiki]	kick	yes	kukiki	SP & GM	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
89	[sasipendi]	suspend	yes	kusaspend	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
90	[chiiti]	cheat	yes	kuchiti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√		√	
91	[ansa]	answer	yes	kuansa	education	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-		√	
92	[aseesi]	assess	yes	kuasesi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
93	[maaki]	mark	yes	kumaki	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
94	[modeleeti]	moderate	yes	kumodereti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
95	[livaayisi]	revise	yes	kurivaisi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
96	[invijileeti]	invigilate	yes	kuinvijileti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√		√	
97	[feeli]	fail	yes	kufeli	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-		√	

98	[livyuu]	review	yes	kurivyu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√		√	
99	[dayijesiti]	digest	yes	kudaijesti	medical	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√		√	
100	[joogi]	jog	yes	kujogi	medical	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-
102	[wooko]	walk	yes	kuwok	Medical	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-
103	[haati]	hurt	yes	kuhati	Medical	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√		√	
104	[safa]	suffer	yes	kusafa	Medical	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-		√	
105	[diishi]	Dish	yes	kudishi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
106	[boyili]	boil	yes	kuboili	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
107	[fulaayi]	fry	yes	kufrai	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
108	[hiiti]	heat	yes	kuhiti	Medical	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
109	[kampeeni]	campaign	yes	kampeni	political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
110	[aleenji]	arrange	yes	kuarenji	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
111	[saikuleeti]	circulate	yes	circulate	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
112	[komunikaate]	communicate	yes	komyuniketi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
113	[konsaati]	consult	yes	konsalti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
114	[editi]	edit	yes	kuediti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
115	[edukeeti]	educate	yes	kueduketi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
116	[evalueti]	evaluate	yes	kuevalueti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
117	[ekisipuleeni]	explain	yes	kueksiplaini	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
118	[fasiliteti]	facilitate	yes	kufasiliteti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
119	[gayidi]	guide	yes	kugaidi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√		√	
120	[helupu]	help	yes	kuhelpu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	√		√	
121	[infomu]	inform	yes	kuinfom	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
122	[isitilakiti]	instruct	yes	kuinstrakti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
123	[intapuliiti]	interpret	yes	kuintapriti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
124	[mootiveeti]	motivate	yes	kumotiveti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
125	[intuloduuzi]	introduce	yes	kuintrodyuzi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
126	[oliyenti]	orient	yes	kuorienti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
127	[pafoomu]	perform	yes	kupafom	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
128	[pulaani]	plan	yes	kupulani	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
129	[pulipeya]	prepare	yes	kupripea	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-		√	
130	[puloduuzi]	produce	yes	kuprodyuzi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√		√	

131	[liidi]	read	yes	kuridi	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	√		√	
132	[lefaa]	refer	yes	kurefaa	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	-		√	
133	[sheepu]	shape	yes	kushepu	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
134	[sitaadi]	study	yes	kustadi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
135	[supavayizi]	supervise	yes	kusupavaizi	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
136	[tilayine]	train	yes	kutreni	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
137	[tilansileeti]	translate	yes	kutransleti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
138	[voluntiya]	volunteer	yes	kuvoluntia	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	√	
139	[layiti]	write	yes	kuraiti	education	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	-	√	-	√	
140	[sapooti]	support	yes	kusapoti	political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
141	[tesiti]	test	yes	kutesti	education	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
142	[sapulayizi]	surprise	yes	kusapraizi	General	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
143	[puleyiti]	plait (hair)	yes	kupleiti	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
144	[ditaachi]	detach	yes	kuditachi	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
145	[dileesi]	dress	yes	kudress	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
146	[wea]	wear	yes	kuwea	fashion	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	
150	[akiti]	act	yes	kuakti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
151	[singi]	sing	yes	kusingi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	√	
152	[laani]	run	yes	kurani	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	
153	[suloo]	throw	yes	kuthro	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	-	√	√
154	[wini]	win	yes	kuwini	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	
156	[kasiti]	cast	yes	kukasti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
157	[daileiti]	direct	yes	kudairekti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
158	[ekisibiti]	exhibit	yes	kueksibiti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	√	-	√	
159	[bokisi]	box	yes	kuboksi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
160	[kompoozi]	compose	yes	kukompozi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
161	[dampu]	dump	yes	kudampu	environment	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
162	[pulotekiti]	protect	yes	kuprotekti	environment	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
163	[poluuti]	pollute	yes	kupolyuti	environment	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
164	[lisaiko]	recycle	yes	kulisaiko	environment	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	√	
165	[disituloyi]	destroy	yes	kudisitroi	environment	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
166	[loobu]	rob	yes	kurobu	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
167	[alesiti]	arrest	yes	kuaresti	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	
168	[esikeepu]	escape	yes	kueskepu	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	-	√	√	-	

169	[apiili]	appeal	yes	kuapili	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√		√	
170	[sitiili]	steal	yes	kustili	Crime/police	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√		√	
171	[elekiti]	elect		kuelekti	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
172	[vooti]	vote		kuvoti	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
173	[wiini]	win		kuwini	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√		√	
174	[kompiti]	compete		kukompiti	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
175	[impilimenti]	implement		kuimpliment	Political	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
177	[dubuliketi]	duplicate		kudupuliketi	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
178	[disitilibyuuti]	distribute		kudistribyuti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
179	[bulodikasiti]	broadcast		kubrodikasti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
180	[filimu]	film		kufilimu	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
181	[kasiti]	cast		kukasti	ENTERT	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	
182																		

List of Loan word verbs from English into Sukuma direct or via Swahili