ANIMATE CONCORD IN NORTHEAST COASTAL BANTU: ITS LINGUISTIC 
AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS AS A CASE OF GRAMMATICAL CONVERGENCE.¹

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1. Multilingualism and Convergence in NECB

Of immediate interest to this study is linguistic convergence toward 
ANIMATE CONCORD in the languages of Northeast Coastal Bantu.² In explori­
ing this phenomenon discussion will be presented in the following order.

First, the grammatical process of ANIMATE CONCORD (AC) is discussed 
as a syntactic phenomenon, distinguished from related processes such as 
CLASS CONCORD (CC) and NOUN CLASS SHIFT, and put into historical perspec­
tive as an innovation in the NECB area. In the second section the meth­
odology used in investigating AC is presented. In modern sociolinguistic 
and dialectological studies the methods of obtaining linguistic data are 
considered to be part of the data themselves, since the conditions under 
which linguistic data are elicited have been observed to affect the lin­
guistic behavior of producers of the data (cf. Shuy [1973] and Pop [1950] 
for discussions of the importance of methodology in sociolinguistic and 
dialectological studies). This is illustrated for some of the speakers 
discussed in the third section, with respect to AC. The ensuing discus­
sion of AC supports the notion that AC is an ongoing, semantically moti­
vated syntactic innovation in NECB, developing in both a syntactically and 
geographically coherent pattern. It is also proposed that there is an 
early, possibly pre-natal, stage in the dialectal development of AC in 
which AC is overtly rejected as a property of the dialect for reasons of

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grammatical descriptions of many of the NECB languages.

²The identification of an NECB group follows the classification of 
Hinnebusch [1973] for the most part.
a social rather than linguistic nature, but the use of AC is revealed in less introspective linguistic behavior. Finally, it is proposed that there is a stage in which AC and CC may vary within a dialect without either being considered "foreign" or "incorrect", and that at this stage certain contrasts in usage, which are elicitable from speakers, are parasitic on the loss of a social distinction between the two conflicting processes of concord, and have little or nothing to do with the further development of AC due to their limited utility.

Viewed as a whole, this study supports the sociolinguistic notion that investigating linguistic phenomena without reference to the contexts in which they occur leads to an incomplete and potentially confusing account of what linguistic processes entail. At this initial point, let us consider the general context in which the linguistic convergence is taking place.

Multilingualism and multiculturalism is a salient feature of the coast of Kenya and Northern Tanzania (the area associated with NECB). As a result of strong and long-established patterns of local ethnic identity in the midst of this multiculturalism, the coastal people exhibit a high degree of "language consciousness". Restricting our focus of attention to the Bantu-speaking people of the coast, language consciousness is evident in the readiness with which speakers exemplify differences between their own local languages (or dialects) and those of their neighbors, drawing on a reservoir of linguistic folklore deeply embedded in the individual and general cultures of the area. Concerning the Miji Kenda languages of the Kenyan coast, Sedlak [1975:67] observes:

3These differences go far beyond reporting of lexical peculiarities distinguishing local and neighboring communities to include phonological and even syntactic differences. Some of the reported differences are somewhat subtle and minute to outsiders, e.g. among the native Swahili dialects of Northern Kenya, speakers of Amu (the Swahili of Lamu) and speakers of Bajun (language of the adjacent Bajun islands) like to call attention to their differential pronunciations of the word for 'water': mayi and mai, respectively. Thus the presence or absence of a palatal glide preceding a high front vowel can be the subject of overt social comment.
With regard to interintelligibility among the Miji Kenda dialects, my own observations of cross-ethnic communication indicate that intelligibility is high. Members of these groups claimed a lesser degree of interintelligibility than their language behavior indicated.

Yet, despite the readiness of coastal Bantu speakers to emphasize the differences among their own and neighboring dialects, similarities among these languages are overwhelming both as a result of shared ancestry and linguistic convergence.

1.1. **Animate Concord in relation to Class Concord.** AC is variable in the NECB area as a whole. It is not coextensive with the area. In some languages like Swahili and Bondei, it is firmly established whereas in other languages, e.g. the Miji Kenda languages directly north of Bondei along the coast, various degrees of integration of AC into the grammar of those languages is exhibited. As one travels inland from the coast in any area AC becomes rarer until it ceases to be found at all. The continuum from "full" AC to no AC applies both to specific speech communities and to linguistic environments in Bantu constructions. I will be able to report with less certainty on how it relates to different styles of speech for reasons which will be discussed in the section on methodology (Sec 2 ff.).

Where AC is not found in relevant syntactic environments, CLASS CONCORD (CC) is the rule. It is the purpose of this section to distinguish these two types of concord. To begin with, it is a well-known fact about Bantu languages that the grammatical process of CC is found universally, whether or not AC is also a part of their grammatical descriptions. In considering how CC fits into Bantu grammar, we may begin by observing that it is determined by the nature of the Bantu noun (N), as commonly agreed by Bantuists.

It is a well-known feature of Bantu languages that they have a rich formal system of noun classification dependent primarily on the CLASS PREFIX (CP) appended to the N, and secondarily by the concord induced on modifiers and coreferential pronominal elements. Borrowing from Kiparsky's [1972] terminology which emphasizes surface characteristics of grammar, I distinguish transparent and opaque N's, with respect to N classification.
Transparent N's exhibit an unambiguous CP, while opaque N's exhibit an ambiguous CP or no CP making it not obvious from the shape of the N itself what class it belongs to.  

(1) **Class Concord**  
Token Construction:  \( \text{CP-le (CP-) N, ni-li-iM-ona} \)  
\( \text{that/ N/, I-Past-it/ -see} \)  
\( \text{those N's them} \)  
'That/those N(s), I saw it/them.'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transparent Controlling N</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Li-le ji-we, ni-li-li-ona</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>...stone...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Ya-le ma-we, ni-li-ya-ona</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...stones...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Ki-le ki-su, ni-li-ki-ona</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...knife...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Vi-le vi-su, ni-li-vi-ona</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...knives...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opaque Controlling N</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e. Li-le shina, ni-li-li-ona</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Ki-le chombo, ni-li-ki-ona</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. I-le chupa, ni-li-i-ona</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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In the examples given in (1), the characteristics of CC are illustrated for the token construction of left topicalization. The number below the concordial element follows the traditional Bantu practice of identifying N Class according to reflexes of the classes reconstructed and indexed by Meinhof [1948] for "Ur-Bantu" (hypothetical parent Bantu language.) The number following each example is the class assigned to the "controlling" N which induces concord. The controlling N, CP (if transparent) and the concordial elements are underlined. In all the cases in (1) it is observed that there is no conflict between the class of the controlling N and that of the concordial element. However, the difference between opaque N's and the transparent N's is that the opaque N's do not have an unambiguous CP and their class is deduced from the concord they induce. The examples are from Standard Swahili (also representative of Tanzanian urban Swahili in this case), but are intended to be typical of Bantu languages in general.
All examples in (1) above show strict CC. There is no conflict between the class of the controlling N and the concord induced. For transparent N's, it is sufficient to observe the N alone in order to identify its class, because of the transparent CP, and consequently the appropriate form of concord. For the opaque N's there is some degree of indeterminacy of class if only the N is observed, e.g. classes 9 and 10 forming singular/plural pairs for N's as in (lg) through (lj) are not distinguished for number. Since class opacity is the result of specific processes of phonological reduction which have obscured the surface form of the CP in these cases, there are limits to the indeterminacy.  

Classes 1 and 2 are of special interest. N's of these classes are marked with reflexes of the Proto-Bantu CP's *MO (Cl.1) and *BA (Cl.2). A much observed feature of these classes is that they are restricted to HUMANS (although humans also occur in other classes). Swahili has two celebrated exceptions:

5 See Hinnebusch [1973] for a fuller description of the processes that have led to the opacity of the CP in Swahili and other NECB languages. With regard to (lf) and (lg) above, it is usually the case that N's beginning with ch-, if from historic *ky- are assigned to class 7. The class 9 noun chupa 'bottle' is from historic *n-č... Because of the opacity of chupa, many lower class second-language speakers of Swahili in Dar es Salaam have metanalysed this word as if the initial affricate were the palatalized version of the CP of class 7 as in (lf) above; ch-ombo 'tool': ch-upa 'bottle'. This metanalysis is revealed by the plural vy-upa, where vl- is the class 8 CP associated with the class 7 singular CP as in (ld) above. This metanalysis is in contrast to the natively acceptable plural class 10 as in (lh) above, and is frowned upon by native speakers of Swahili in the area as well as second language Swahili speakers who have adopted the native speaker norms. It is interesting to note that this indicates a tendency for Bantu speakers (which include most of the second language speakers of Swahili in Dar es Salaam) to interpret an N as having a CP, if possible.
Significantly, both these exceptions are ANIMATE. N's referring to
animates, including humans, are found in most N classes in Swahili and
other Bantu languages (NECB or not), animals being heavily concentrated
in classes 9/10. The N's of classes 1 and 2 are transparent in NECB, as
in most Bantu languages. On the other hand, the N's of classes 9 and 10
are opaque for the singular/plural distinction as (1g) to (1j) illustrate
above.

AC is a well-known feature of Swahili by which animates, whether trans­
parent or opaque for N class membership, induce the concord associated
with classes 1 and 2. The examples below contrast CC with AC for animates.

(3) Concord with Animates

    b. Wa-le wa-toto, ni-li-wa-ona 2 '...children...'

AC: c. Yu-le ki-boko, ni-li-mw-ona 7 '...hippo...'
    d. m-jusi 3 '...lizard...'
    e. simba 9 '...lion...'
    f. jogoo 5 '...rooster...'
    c'. Wa-le vi-boko, ni-li-wa-ona 8 '...hippos...'
    d'. mi-jusi 4 '...lizards...'
    e'. simba 10 '...lions...'
    f'. ma-jogoo 6 '...roosters...'

In (3c) through (3f') there is conflict between the class of the con­
trolling N and the concord induced. The concord does not change with the
class, but only with whether the controlling N is singular or plural. It
is apparent that concord is induced on the basis of the semantic feature
ANIMATE of the controlling N, regardless of the N class membership of that N.
However, this is not yet quite an accurate characterization of what is going on.

Analysts of Swahili have been careful to note that augmentative and diminutive animates follow the typical Bantu rule of CC (e.g. Ashton [1944:295ff.]; Polome [1967:141ff.]). The augmentatives and diminutives are formed from N's of any class by a regular and productive derivational process described in detail for Swahili by Gregersen [1967:17-20]. Augmentatives begin with CP's for classes 5/6 (according to number), diminutives with those for classes 7/8. With animate N's derived in this way, concord is of the CC type rather than the AC type.

(4) Animate Concord (N underived)

a. Yu-le nyoka, ni-li-mw-ona
   \[ \underline{1} \] 9 'That snake, I saw it.'

b. Wa-le nyoka, ni-li-wa-ona
   \[ \underline{2} \] 10 '...snakes...'

Class Concord (Animate N derived)

Augmentative

c. Li-le j-oka, ni-li-li-ona
   \[ \underline{5} \] CP 5 '...giant snake...'

d. Ya-le ma-j-oka, ni-li-ya-ona
   \[ \underline{6} \] CP 6 '...giant snakes...'

Diminutive

e. Ki-le ki-j-oka, ni-li-ki-ona
   \[ \underline{7} \] 7 '...tiny snake...'

f. Vi-le vi-j-oka, ni-li-vi-ona
   \[ \underline{8} \] 8 '...tiny snakes...'

Gregersen further points out that where non-derived animates are already in the above classes, minimal pairs may be obtained (p. 19), e.g.

(5) Animate Concord (N underived)

a. Yu-le ki-pofu, ni-li-mw-ona
   \[ \underline{1} \] CP 1 '...blind man...'

Class Concord (N derived)

b. Ki-le ki-pofu, ni-li-ki-ona
   \[ \underline{7} \] CP 7 '...tiny blind man...'

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6 The diminutives might also have the force of endearment or derogation
I conclude from the data represented in (4) and (5) above that AC comes into effect if the $N$ class of the controlling $N$ is felt to be arbitrary, rather than semantically motivated. In the case of $N$ class assignment by some regular and productive derivational process, such as the formation of diminutives and augmentatives, there is a strong semantic motivation for $N$ Class assignment; consequently, the strictly formal process of CC operates.

For animates, and only for animates, if there is no transparent semantic motivation for class assignment, the semantic import of the $N$ itself is the basis for concord. This brings AC in conflict with CC, and as such, it is a radical departure from typical and historical Bantu grammar. Thus, although the semantic class ANIMATE is far from unexpected in natural languages, it has no effect on concord in most Bantu languages. However, for Swahili and other languages in the Swahili-speaking area to be discussed presently, where the controlling $N$ is animate, concord has been semanticized. By semanticization of concord, I mean that it has come to be conditioned by the meaning rather than the formal class of the controlling $N$.

This process of semanticization of concord is reminiscent of the semanticization of gender toward "natural gender" in English, while assignment of $N$'s to "masculine, feminine and neuter" genders are only very as in many other languages, e.g. English, Spanish, Yiddish, Slavic; hence, in (5) possible glosses are 'that poor little old blind man' or 'that damned little blind man.'

7 Appropriately, arbitrary noun class assignment is a lexical matter, rather than derived by a rule of grammar. It is likely that there are a number of other derivational processes for $N$ class assignment which are semantically transparent to Swahili speakers, e.g. forming the names of trees from fruits borne by them, effected by prefixing the CP's of classes 3/4 to $N$'s referring to the fruits: embe (5) 'mango' mw-embe (3) 'mango-tree', etc. Various non-human nominalizations of verbs are more problematic in terms of productivity and transparency of semantic motivation (cf. Kunene [1974] on Zulu). These processes will not be discussed further here since they are not relevant to AC.

8 AC is noted in non-Bantu Temne (West Atlantic) spoken in Sierra Leone, according to Wilson [1961:13-14].
weakly semantically motivated in most Indo-European languages including earlier forms of English. Considering that the semanticization of gender in English was accompanied by the loss of transparency of the formal gender class (unstressed suffixes) via the phonological "erosion" of gender class markers on English N's, it is noteworthy that the opacity of the CP for some N classes in Swahili and other NECB languages is irrelevant to AC. Classes 1 and 2, which are used for AC, are historically associated with transparently marked N's.

1.2. AC as distinct from Indeterminate Gender and N Class Shift. In order to highlight the distinctiveness of AC, it may be contrasted with certain other processes showing a similar semantic motivation, but of wide-spread occurrence in Bantu, as discussed in Givón [1970]. These two processes in which concord is assigned on a semantic basis are:

1. Indeterminate Gender Resolution
2. N Class Shift

Neither of these involve the conflict of concord and the class of the controlling N characteristic of AC.

Indeterminate gender arises when conjoined N's of different classes collectively induce concord. In LuGanda, if conjoined N's are all human, the concord of class 2 is induced. N's of class 2 are exclusively human plurals, as mentioned above (with the Swahili exceptions). However, it is noteworthy that non-human animates do not also induce class 2 concord when N's of different classes are conjoined, but rather exhibit non-semantically motivated class 6 concord typical of any conjunction involving non-humans. This contrast is exemplified below from Givón's LuGanda examples (which have a much wider application to Bantu languages).

(6) **Indeterminate Gender Resolution**

for Humans (Semantically Motivated)

a. O-mu-kazi, e-s-sajja ne o-lu-ana ba-a-la-b-wa.

  1 5 11 2

  woman fat-man and thin-child they-Past-see-Pass

  'The woman, the fat man and the thin child were seen.'
for Non-Humans (Not Semantically Motivated)

b. E-n-te, o-mu-su, e-ki-be ne e-ly-atof bi-a-lab-wa
\( \frac{9}{3} \frac{3}{7} \frac{7}{5} \frac{8}{5} \)
cow wild-cat jackal and canoe they-Past-see-Pass
'The cow, the wild cat, the jackal and the canoe were seen.'
(Givón [1970:11])

Gender or class of the conjoined N's is totally indeterminate in the above examples. Therefore, concord conflict cannot arise.\(^9\)

N Class Shift is a historical process by which N's change their class, as registered in their CP, with semantic motivation. Givón proposes a process of shift of N's referring to humans to classes 1/2 from classes 9/10 to account for the following (near-)doublets in ChiBemba.

(7) N Class Shift (9/10 > 1/2) for Humans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1/2</th>
<th>9/10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>umu-kashi 'wife'</td>
<td>in-kashi 'sister (of male)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umu-a-ume 'man, male'</td>
<td>in-dume 'brother (of female)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umu-loshi 'sorcerer'</td>
<td>in-doshi 'sorcerer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umu-pashi 'spirit'</td>
<td>im-pashi 'spirit, spirit shrine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umu-puupu 'thief'</td>
<td>im-puupu 'thief'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Let us note that only HUMANS are involved in this particular N class shift. This seems quite natural since classes 1/2 are exclusively human in most Bantu languages. However, note that in the following two sentences

\(^9\)Givón also notes that non-third person personal pronouns (i.e. pronouns referring to interlocutors involved in a speech act) induce 1/2 concord, regardless of the N to which the pronouns refer. Here, however, it seems that the controlling N is the pronoun itself rather than the N to which it refers. Considering that the interlocutory pronouns are of classes 1 and 2 to begin with, although they are not formally marked so, this again is not a case of concord conflict, e.g. in the following sentence from LuGanda (non-NECB) given by Givón, the pronoun is considered to be class 2, as suggested in that paper, despite its reference to the class 10 N ente 'cows':

E-n-te z-a-gamba: tu-li ba-luungi...
\( \frac{10}{3} \frac{10}{2} \frac{2}{2} \)
cows they-Past-say: we-be good...
'The cows said: we are good...'
(Givón [1970:10])
from Luguru (the majority language of Morogoro in close contact with the Swahili-speaking coast in Tanzania) N Class Shift to classes 1/2 involves non-human animates.

(8) **N Class Shift (9/10 > 1/2) for Animates in Luguru**

a. *Yu-mbwa w-a-ke a-f-ire*

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
1 & 1 & 1 \\
\end{array}
\]

dog it-of-him it-die-Perf (where mbwa 'dog' is 9/10)

'His dog is dead.'

b. *Gula a-mene wa-kulu*

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
2 & 2 \\
\end{array}
\]

buy goats big (where mene 'goat' is 9/10)

'Buy big goats.'

In these cases, N's from classes 9/10 have shifted to classes 1/2; therefore, CC is not violated. If the concords remain 1/2 but the N's had been kept in their original classes, then the result would be AC. However, in the examples in (8), it appears that the violation of CC is avoided by shifting the class of the controlling N.

One might want to argue about the Luguru case that it represents a further generalization from N class shift of the type exemplified in example (7) above for ChiBemba, i.e. that there has been a further generalization of N Class Shift toward classes 1/2 from HUMAN to ANIMATE. However, in examining the facts of AC in NECB more generally, it will appear more likely that this N Class Shift in Luguru is an avoidance of the violation of CC under the influence of the spread of AC from coastal areas where AC is well established. For the moment, it's worth mentioning that in southern coastal Tanzania, extending down into Mozambique, AC is commonly used in the singular in some areas, while N Class Shift to Class 2 is used in the plural. Makonde (Mawia dialect of Northern Mozambique) illustrates this point in (9) below:

(9) **Makonde (Mawia)**

a. AC with singular animate

*Našanga w-a-ke a-ndl-wa*

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
1 & 1 \\
\end{array}
\]

dog it-of-him it-Past-die

'His dog is dead.'
Map 1: Animate Concord in Northeast Bantu

Legend:
- AC used and accepted
- "Marginal" AC
- Urban Swahili speech communities
- Rural Swahili speech communities

Numerical References

Urban Swahili
1 Lamu
2 Malindi
3 Mombasa
4 Tanga
5 Zanzibar
6 Dar es Salaam

Rural Swahili
1 Bajuni
2 Jomvu
3 ChiFundi
4 Vumba
5 Pemba
6 Mtang'ata

Other NE Bantu
1 Pokomo
2 Giriama
3 Kambe
4 Chonyi
5 Rabai
6 Duruma
7 Digo
8 Segeju
9 Bondei
10 Zigua
11 Zaramo
12 Kami
13 Luguru
14 Kaguru
15 Gogo
16 Sambaa
17 Sagala
18 Dabida
19 S. Pare
20 N. Pare
21 Gweno
22 Rombo
23 Bosho
24 Vunjo
25 Machame
26 Siha
27 Kamba
28 Gikuyu
29 Embu
30 Meru
31 Tharaka
b. N Shift to Class 2 with plural animates

\[
\begin{align*}
\beta_a-\text{ng'ombe} & \quad a-\beta_a (ni) \quad \beta_a-\text{angu} \\
\text{cows} \quad \text{these (are) them-of-me}
\end{align*}
\]

"These cows are mine.'

A significant passage in Krapf's [1850] description of the Swahili spoken in the Mombasa area in the 1840's indicates that in Swahili itself, many second-language speakers from other Bantu-speaking communities, engaged in N Class Shift for the plural rather than violate CC under pressure of AC in native Swahili.

Common people, or slaves may sometimes be heard using a prefix in Nouns which have none in the plural--ex. gnombe (i.e. ng'ombe 'cow' class 9: BW) pl. wagnombe (i.e. wa-ng'ombe cf. (9b) above where the class 2 CP is prefixed to the class 10 N 'cows': BW). But this is improper language. In like manner slaves use the plural-prefix in the word mbusi (i.e. mbuzi 'goat' class 9: BW)--saying "wabusi" (i.e. wa-buzi, again the class 2 prefix: BW).

The learner must not imitate this language. (Krapf [1850:34])

The majority of these slaves (e.g. the Wa-Nyasa, cf. Bennett [1968]) are believed to have come from Bantu-speaking non-coastal areas where the plural of class 9 words such as ng'ombe 'cow' is class 10 zi-ng'ombe (or another reflex of PB *di-n-gombe). It would seem that the class 10 (pre-)CP is replaced by the class 2 CP wa under the influence of class 2 AC in Swahili.10

1.3 AC and the Domain of NECB. Map 1 shows the extent of AC in coastal Kenya and Northern Tanzania. It is noticeable that Zigua breaks the continuity of the coastal isogloss, separating the area into a Northern and Southern AC area. Possibly this discontinuity is the result of incomplete data, since coastal Zigua was not sampled in the research upon which this work is based. The largest Zigua-speaking community, Handeni, is considerably further inland and is only marginal with respect to AC. However, further south, Kami and Luguru, which are also somewhat removed from the coast do show AC. "Marginality" with respect to AC will be discussed later

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10 Not observed or reported for any current Swahili dialects.
Since there is no room here to justify the sub-grouping of NECB in detail on the number of shared features, the following divisions or "clusters" can be viewed as a matter of convenience for subsequent discussion (cf. Hinnebusch [1973:252ff.]).

Within NECB, the Kenyan languages are distinguished from the Tanzanian languages. Among the Kenyan languages, Pokomo is distinguished from the Miji Kenda languages, further sub-divided into North and South.

A. Kenyan NECB

i. Pokomo. This is the northernmost of the non-Swahili Kenyan coastal languages. Its most outstanding current phonological distinction from other NECB languages is the lenition of \( *p \) to \( [\grave{f}] \). Within Pokomo, a significant split is between dialects which reflect earlier Bantu \( *d\) as \( [\grave{f}] \) and those which reflect the same as \( [y] \). Both types of dialects are represented in this study (e.g. Ndura--y: Kumbi--\( \grave{f}\) below).

II. Miji Kenda (MK). These languages are in contact with Pokomo to the North and extend into the Tanga region of Northern Tanzania in the South, where they are in contact with Bondei and Sambaa.

a. Northern MK. This includes i. Giriama, the most widely spoken of the MK languages, along with the more localized languages: ii. Chonyi iii. Rabai iv. Kambe v. Jibana vi. Kauma vii. Ribe. The first four of these will be discussed in following sections. A convenient feature for distinguishing Northern MK from Southern MK is the word for 'dog': kuro in the North, dia in the South.

b. Southern MK. This includes i. Digo, the most widespread of the southern MK languages, and ii. Duruma. Also included is the dialect of Segeju spoken in Kirui, Tanga. Although Segeju is not normally considered part of MK for social reasons, the Segeju to be discussed herein is extremely similar to Digo, differing in a few phonological points such as having a palatal reflex of earlier Bantu \( *c \) and \( *j \), rather than the apicals \( t\) and \( dz \), shared in common by all the other MK languages, and a few lexical and syntactic points irrelevant to further discussion here.
B. Tanzanian NECB

I. North Coastal Tanzanian (NC TANZ). This includes Bondei, Sambaa and Zigua which share a number of features and are considered to form a group by native speakers (no doubt on social grounds, but also from the point of view of shared similarities as opposed to surrounding languages). Bondei is the prime example of an AC language in this group.

II. Mid Coastal Tanzanian (MC TANZ). This includes Zaramo, Kami, Luguru and Nhwele, all of which show some use of AC at present. More interior languages which might have close affinities to either II. or I. here do not exhibit AC.

For purposes of comparison, some reference will also be made to non-NECB languages. These languages do not exhibit AC in any obvious way.

Swahili, as discussed in the next section, is also an NECB language, but has not been put in the above classification. Native Swahili speech communities are distributed all along the area of AC from Northern Kenya to Mozambique. This is one strong indication that Swahili is most responsible for the spread of AC, if not for the original innovation.

1.4 The Special Position of Swahili in NECB. In this study Swahili occupies a special position for a number of reasons. First, AC is highly developed in most Swahili speech communities, particularly urban ones. AC is solidly established in these speech communities to the exclusion of CC in the environments discussed above. It appears to have spread to other coterritorial languages where it is, for the most part, less established.\footnote{The initial spread of AC among the various urban Swahili speech communities was probably accomplished by sea, rather than land. The urban Swahili communities have long played an important maritime role in trade in the East African area of the Indian Ocean. There is still a great deal of contact among the communities through commerce by dhow, although land connections are playing an increasingly important role since contact with Western European powers and consequent technological development. Urban Swahili shows its unity in Kenya and Northeastern Tanzania by its unique resistance to the lenition of earlier Bantu *p, distinguishing it from other NECB languages. This last remark is based on a personal communication with Tom Hinnebusch.}
There are other compelling reasons for distinguishing Swahili from other NECB languages.

Swahili is a commonly used lingua franca in the coastal area, as well as further inland. All of the speakers in this paper have a high degree of competence in Swahili, although most of them are identifiable as non-native speakers on the basis of their spoken Swahili. As (at least) bilinguals these speakers are not atypical of coastal males as a whole.

Swahili is one of the best documented and intensively studied languages of Bantu-speaking Africa. We have access to more information about Swahili, both synchronically and historically (due to a long literate tradition in Swahili using Arabic script) than to any other language in NECB, by far.

Most classifications of NECB languages are non-committal with respect to Swahili (e.g. Doke [1967], Sutton [1968], Hinnebusch [1973]). Polome [1967:29] suggests tentatively that Swahili may be most closely related to MK, particularly Giriama. This suggestion would have Swahili classified historically with Kenyan NECB.

Although there is no agreement among scholars on the origin of Swahili, it seems likely from historical evidence of a social nature that Swahili is more closely related to the languages of coastal Kenya than those of coastal Tanzania. Swahili is normally considered to be a Bantu language which developed on its own when Persian and Southern Arabians settled on the coast and intermarried with the original Bantu inhabitants of the area. The identity of these original Bantu speakers is unknown. It is agreed that the language spoken by them was essentially unchanged syntactically. If we date the origin of Swahili with the emergence of a speech community of mixed Bantu and southwest Asian origin, it is most likely that Swahili first emerged in northernmost Kenya and possibly Somalia. It should be most closely related to other NECB languages of similar geographical origin. Once Swahili emerged as the language of a distinct speech community (or set of speech communities), it developed on its own in various ways. Its closest relatives are Somali Bantu languages such as CiMwi:ni (the language of the Barawas of Brava, coastal Somalia), classified as a dialect of Swahili by Whitely [1969], but considered a distinct language by
both Barawas and Swahili-speaking peoples. It is not mutually intelligible with either Swahili or Bajuni.)

The oldest available texts of Swahili show variation between AC and CC, suggesting that the innovation or diffusion of AC to Swahili is not of much earlier date. For example, the following verses from the Herekali, dated at around 1740 by Knappert [1967:165, 167] exhibit variation between AC and CC:

(10) **Class Concord**

Farasi zi-li ku-pita zi-si watu, zi-kemata 10

horse they-be Inf-pass they-Neg people, they-neigh

'Horses went by without riders, neighing.'

**Animate Concord**

Farasi w-a-kwe w-a zita a-mu-wen-e-po ku-tela 9

horse it-of-him it-of-war it-him-see-Perf-when Inf-fight

'His war horse when it saw him fighting...'

At present, in coastal urban native Swahili speech communities, AC is obligatory in the positions where CC is manifest in (10) above.

A vestige of CC remains in two environments in urban Swahili, both involving the **attributive possessive** construction:

1. N's of classes 9/10 and 5/6 (accounting for the majority of human N's outside of classes 1/2) referring to HUMANS show CC in the possessive, e.g.

(11) Rafiki y-angu a-me-fika 9

friend he-of-me he-Perf.-arrive

'My friend has arrived.'

Rafiki z-a-ngu wa-me-fika 10

friend them-of-me they-Perf.-arrive

'My friends have arrived.'

Examples like ma-rafiki z-angu 'my friends' in which the class 6 CP is prefixed to the N but class 10 concord for the possessive is used indicate a more recent development of making the plural transparent for class 9/10 humans. This is a further deviation from strict CC.
2. **Plural N's**, referring to **NON-HUMAN ANIMATES** of class 10 exhibit CC, while the singulars exhibit AC.

(12) *Ng'ombe* w-a-ngu a-me-fika

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{cow} & \text{it-of-me it-Perf-arrive} \\
\end{array}
\]

'**My cow has arrived.'**

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Ng'ombe} & z-a-ngu \text{ wa-me-fika} \\
10 & \text{them-of-me they-Perf-arrive} \\
\end{array}
\]

'**My cows have arrived.'**

Two principles of resistance to linguistic change can be suggested by way of explaining the conservatism of the attributive possessive in the vestigial retention of CC:

A. Resistance to change in frequently used constructions

B. Resistance to change where important semantic contrasts would be levelled as a result.

These principles are tendencies observed in some cases rather than infallible rules with the power to predict the evolution of a language, as shall be seen in comparison with other NECB languages.

Principle A is appealing for **HUMANS** because most **kinship** terms are of classes 5/6 and 9/10. They are likely to occur more frequently in discourse than most other human N's. Most importantly, when they do occur in discourse they are most likely to appear in possessive constructions, indicating whose kin is being referred to.\(^{13}\)

Principle B is appealing to the extent that the singular/plural distinction can be considered important for NPs in Bantu languages. Most classes, as seen above, are transparently paired into singular/plural pairs. Class 9/10 N's, heavily loaded with kinship terms and animals, are opaque for number-marking, as first mentioned in Sec. 1.1 above. With CC, the number distinction is transparent with all concordial elements for classes

\[^{13}\text{The most central and commonly used kinship terms, e.g.} \text{ baba 'father', mama 'mother', dada 'older sister', kaka 'older brother' most frequently appear without a concordial element at all. This deletion has a phonological basis which applies to glides (y, w, h) in various environments, but especially in between two low vowels (a __ a); e.g. baba y-a-ngu 9 'my father' becomes baba-(a)-ngu, etc.}\]
9/10 as (11) and other examples above illustrate. On the other hand, on
the surface of Swahili, the possessive concords for AC (i.e. classes 1/2)
are identical in shape, e.g.

(13) Singular m-toto w-a-ngu 1 'my child'
    Plural wa-toto w-a-ngu 2 'my children'

With the number-opaque classes 9/10, AC in the attributive possessive
would result in ambiguity for number (cf. the controlling N's of (12)).

Finally, in considering the distinction between CC with humans and
non-human animates, such that CC only applies to plural non-human animates,
while it applies to humans regardless of number, it does not seem too far-fetched to me to suggest that principle A is also working: animals are
more likely to be mentioned with a plural possessive than a singular, particularly the herd-animals such as ng'ombe 'cow' and mbuzi 'goat'. In
this context, it is noteworthy to refer back to (9) where, in Makonde, N
class shift applies to plural animals, but not to singulars.

This section closes with a summary of AC as it applies to Swahili.

I. AC applies to animate N's regardless of N class membership if that
N class membership is not semantically motivated by a fully productive
derivational rule.

II. In attributive possessive constructions, where the controlling N
is the "possessed", CC rather than AC applies to animate N's if:
   a. The N refers to a human and is of the classes 5/6 or 9/10.
   b. The N refers to a plural animal of the class pair 9/10.

Rule I applies to all NECB languages which exhibit AC. Rule II does
not apply obligatorily in many NECB speech communities.

While the facts of I and II are described in all basic descriptions of
Swahili grammar, they have not been explicitly attended to in descrip-
tions of other NECB languages. The following section presents the

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14 To my knowledge II. was first noted for the "polite" dialect of
Zanzibar City by Steere [1870:92].
methodology used to ascertain to what extent AC is found in the grammars of other NECB languages, a problem magnified and enhanced by Swahili-native language bilingualism of NECB speakers.

2. The Methodology Used in This Study

The approach taken in this study necessitates an explication of the methods used for eliciting the data on which the conclusions to be reached are founded. Of ultimate interest to this study is the change and variation which is continually evolving in the everyday language of the speech communities of the East African Coast. However, this particular study is forced to fall short of being able to base conclusions on actual everyday speech for several reasons.

First, it was not possible in the time period of research upon which this report is based, to randomly sample members of various speech communities represented in this work. In the majority of cases, time and space dictated that speakers be interviewed outside of their speech communities. Therefore, there is an element of doubt as to how representative the speakers chosen, on the basis of availability rather than random sampling, are of their speech communities as a whole. For example, most speakers of Kenyan NECB were interviewed in Mombasa, where they were out-of-towners who spent variable degrees of time away from their native speech communities. In most cases, however, they were far from isolated from other members of their speech communities. That is, they were in contact with other speakers from their home-"towns". In addition, in most cases, speakers reported making periodic trips back home, the frequency of which depended on the distance to their homes from their place of employment (e.g. the distance from Dar es Salaam or Mombasa), and the financial resources available to them for making the trips. It cannot be said in any of these cases that the speakers were isolated from other members of their communities, but still they cannot be placed with certainty in the social structure of their own communities. Considering this limitation, it must also be noted that these speakers represent an ever-increasing tendency of members of rural African speech communities, especially adolescent to middle-aged males, to be drawn away from home for
long periods to seek employment in the rapidly growing urban centers of East Africa. Therefore, on their own they represent an increasingly important segment of the populations of Kenya and Tanzania with repercussions both for the target urban areas and their home areas.

Another way in which this study falls short of basing its conclusions on actual speech behavior in everyday situations is that very little of the material on such behavior is available. The reason for this is that I did not have the resources, particularly the receptive competence in most of these languages to allow me to analyze fluent natural speech. For the most part, inferences about everyday language behavior are based herein on behavior of a more indirect type. The most important types of behavior to this study are two:

1. Judgments of acceptability and/or familiarity.
2. The translation task.

2.1. Judgments of acceptability and/or familiarity. Judgments of acceptability are native speaker judgments of the possibility (but not probability) of the speaker saying a particular sentence using a particular grammatical construction in his language. Such judgments are elicited directly by suggesting a particular sentence to a native speaker and asking him if he might actually use it under appropriate circumstances. With judgments of familiarity, the issue is extended to his reported recognition of the possibility of use by some other members of his community, in the event that he does not report the usage for his own speech. The difference between the two can be appreciated by observing that one Giriama adolescent reported that he would use AC himself, but that Giriama living in more remote areas, for whom he had great respect, would use only CC. (Discussed more fully in 3.2).

The responses to requests for judgments of acceptability do not necessarily correspond to actual speech behavior, but rather uncover a set of rules which are accepted by speakers as being part of their language.

15 For this reason, folktales and personal narratives recounted by the speakers in their languages do not form a part of this study.
This set of rules is overt and accessible to the speaker insofar as he is able to make judgments about sentences being part of his language or not. However, they need not be identical and coextensive with the set of rules which he uses in everyday speech. Empirical language studies have indicated that the linguist must be aware of rules which are regularly used by speakers but not accessible to their introspections (e.g. Labov [1972], Wald [1973:esp. Chapter 4]). If this is true for essentially monolingual communities such as those in the cited works, it must be more of an issue for multilingual communities in which speakers defer to their elders as to authority on "correct" speech, as is the case for East Africans in general.

Where there is a conflict of rules used in everyday speech and rules used in "correct" ("real", "authentic" etc.) speech (available to speaker introspection and opinion), will the speaker report using both? In approaching everyday speech, any form of elicitation which distracts the speakers' attention from the actual grammatical point being investigated serves to encourage the use of rules of actual speech. The most practical approximation of everyday speech used in this study, starting with no initial knowledge of the languages being investigated, was the translation task. This is discussed below.

2.2 The translation task. All speakers surveyed were at least functionally bilingual in their own language and Swahili. It appears that most coastal Bantu speakers know some form of Swahili due to contact with speakers of other languages, not necessarily native speakers of Swahili themselves. In some cases, speakers had been to school where they were exposed to Standard Swahili. Knowledge of Swahili itself does not make any of the speakers interviewed unusual for their speech communities. Particularly, in the MK area, contact with native Swahili speakers has been long standing. MK speakers, when asked "do you know if/do you

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16 The problem of self-report is discussed for certain urban English-speaking speech communities by Labov [1966] (New York City) and Trudgill [1972] (Norwich, England), where the discrepancy between self-report and actual speech behavior is interpreted in terms of social forces acting on speakers to shape their responses.
think that there are any members of your community who do not understand Swahili?" replied negatively. This indicates at least that these speakers expect other members of their community to understand Swahili. In my own experience, I found no cases in coastal speech communities of speakers who could not understand Swahili, although in rare cases their productive competence appeared low and they preferred to answer me in their own language.

The entire translation task (TT) consisted of two forms, a word list (WL) and a grammatical searching form (GS), both administered verbally to the speakers by myself. The WL consisted of a set of words, many of which were of historical interest in exploring the evolution of phonological diversity in the area. These words provided a basic lexicon for the GS part of the task. The words of the WL recurred in a set of sentences which explored various syntactic constructions. With the aid of a few paradigms for tense and pronominal inflection of the verb, in addition to the WL, it was possible for me to extrapolate the grammatical constructions used by speakers, even without prior knowledge of the particular languages (dialects). This is not only because of the organization of the TT, but also because of the great degree of similarity in grammatical structure of the languages.

The stimulus sentences of the TT were given in Swahili to be translated upon hearing into the native language of the speaker. The sentences relevant to AC are given in Sec. 2.3 below.

2.3 AC and the translation task. The TT has seven sentences relevant to AC. These are given in (14) below. Their syntactic significance will be discussed in Sec. 3.1 below. The numbers preceding the sentences refer to their ordering among the sentences of the original TT, reflecting the order in which they were encountered by the speakers. It can be appreciated that by the time of the following sentences, the speakers were well accustomed to the TT. Any hesitation noted (discussed below) can be reasonably safely attributed to the nature of the stimulus sentence rather than unfamiliarity with the task.
20. Ha-wa ni ng'ombe w-a-ngu.

these are cow them-of-me
'These are my cows.'

21. Ng'ombe ha-wa ni w-a-ngu.

cow these are them-of-me
'These cows are mine.'

29. Kama a-ki-lala, ng'ombe z-a-ke wa-ta-toroka.

if he-Cond-lie down, cow them-of-him they-Fut-escape
'If he falls asleep, his cows will run away.'

32. Nunua mbuzi wa-kubwa.

buy goat big
'Buy big goats.'

33. U-si-nunu-e mbuzi wa-dogo.

you-Neg-buy-subjn goat little
'Don't buy small goats.'

41. Mtu amba-ye mbwa w-a-ke a-me-ku-fa a-na-sikitika.

man Rel-he dog it-of-him it-Perf-Inf-die he-Pres/Perf-be sad
'The person whose dog died/is dead is sad.'

42. Mtu amba-ye watu wa-baya wa-li-ua mbwa w-a-ke a-me-kasirika.

man Rel-he people past-kill dog it-of-him he-Perf-be angry
'The person whose dog bad people killed is angry.'

In all the seven sentences above provide 11 opportunities for AC to apply (those underlined). The Swahili stimuli sentences exhibit AC in 10 out of the 11 cases, the exception being the possessive concord in sentence 29 (discussed in 3.1 below).

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\[17\] If the English-speaking reader would prefer the gloss 'The person whose dog was killed by bad people...' passivizing the relative clause, even stronger preferences for passivization were indicated by some of the respondents, as discussed below in this section.
Since the stimulus sentences suggest AC to the speakers, it is important to ask whether the grammar of the stimulus affects the grammar of the response to the extent that "unnatural" translations are rendered. A translation would be unnatural if it deviated from whatever might actually be said in spontaneous speech (for the consideration of errors and self-correctsions see 3.2 below). The geographic distribution of the responses to the TT suggest that this is hardly likely. This will be attended to in reviewing those responses. However, at this point a few more general observations can be made with respect to the question of possible "unnaturalness" in reactions to the TT.

Because of the similarity in syntax of the languages involved, straight morpheme-for-morpheme translation is almost always possible. Morpheme-for-morpheme translation may reflect either actual use according to the speaker's grammar in spontaneous speech or the grammar of the Swahili stimulus. A priori there is no certain way to distinguish these two motives. Therefore, it is of great interest when the response deviates from the stimulus in some way other than simple morpheme-for-morpheme replacement. The rarest deviation was the speaker protesting a sentence, insisting that the Swahili stimulus could not be translated into his language but had to be replaced with a construction that the speaker felt had a different Swahili re-translation, e.g. the sentence:

(15) Ni-lu-ku-wa ni-ki-mw-uliza kitu ch-a maana wa-li-po-ni-katiza.

I-Past-Inf-be I-Cond-him-ask thing it-of meaning they-Past-when-me-cut off
'I was asking him something important when they interrupted me.'

was protested by a Southern Pare speaker who insisted that the sentence be changed in Swahili so that the underlined *li-po* (Past-when) be replaced by *ka*, equivalent to changing the English translation from *when* to *and then*. In such cases the speaker was encouraged to translate as he saw fit, with the expectation that in free translation the speaker would at least avoid what he could not say in spontaneous speech. Such protests, rare as they

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18 In point of fact, *when* and *then* clauses are usually not distinguished in Pare, and also in a contiguous area extending to rural coastal Swahili communities of Tanga and Vanga. The reasons for this go beyond this paper.
were, were confined to sentences involving complex syntax and were never overt in response to any of the AC sentences of (14).

A more common response can be labelled covert protest. In this case, the speaker did not comment on the Swahili stimulus sentence, but restructured it keeping the grammatical relations intact, but changing the syntax. This again was in response to complex syntax (other responses to such sentences being hesitation, stammering or requesting a repetition of the sentence). It affected both sentences 41 and 42 (Example (14)), for several speakers, by effecting passivization of the relative clause, so that the coreferential NP came into subject position closer to the antecedent NP. This is particularly striking for sentence 41 whose English translation above does not seem "awkward" or infelicitous. However, as the behavior of a Rabai speaker below exemplifies, the possessed N 'dog' was sometimes taken out of subject position, a prepositional extension (PREP) was suffixed to the verb, and the verb was passivized.

(16) Rabai (Buni)

41. Mut’h u y-e-dz-e-f-e-re-wa ni kuro-we yu-tsikirw-e.
   person he-Rel-Near Past-Rel-die-PREP-PASS by dog-his he-be sad-Pf
   lit. 'The person who was died on by his dog is sad.'

42. Uya mut’h a-ri-o-ulag-ir-wa kuro-we ni a-t’h a-i yu-na gani.
   that person he-Past-Rel-kill-PREP-PASS dog-his by people bad he-with sorrow
   lit. 'The man who was killed on his dog by bad people is sad.'
   i.e. 'The man who had his dog killed on him by bad people is sad.'

As such "covert protests" operate on sentence 41 (Example (16)) they reduce the opportunities for AC by one, removing the non-human animate noun mbwa 'dog' to a position from which it cannot induce AC in the verb.

In some cases, where I suspected an unnatural or inaccurate translation on the part of the speaker, I asked for a repeat, expecting that a repeat away from the direction of the Swahili stimulus might reveal the effect of that stimulus in the initial response. Although I occasionally applied requests for a repeat to some of the AC sentences (particularly sentences 41 and 42, Example (14)), when the speaker's initial response
exhibited AC, the repeat never provoked a change to CC. Therefore, this tactic, which had to be used sparingly in view of the length of the entire TT, was not applied systematically for the AC sentences for most languages.

While requests for a repeat did not reveal anything about AC in any of the languages, self-corrections from AC to CC were observed for several speakers. Various motives for self-correction can be proposed. This is of such interest and importance that it will be discussed more fully in Sec. 3.2. An example of self-correction is the following by a Sambaa speaking adolescent.

(17) 29. Kama a-ki-gona, ng'ombe \(w-a-kwe--w-a-kwe--ng'ombe \(\frac{r}{a}-kwe\)

\(\begin{array}{c}
\text{ne-} \frac{r}{i}-\text{ng'ok-e.} \\
\text{10}
\end{array}\)

\(\begin{array}{c}
\text{if he-Cond-sleep, cow them-of-him--them-of-him--cow them-of-him} \\
\text{Fut-they-run away-sbjjn}
\end{array}\)

'If he sleeps, his cows--his--his cows will run away.'

In the above sentence the possessive is stammered twice with AC and then corrected to CC. Instances of self-correction from AC to CC make it all the more significant that requests for repeats do not effect the change from AC to CC. It seems that speakers recognize for themselves in encountering AC sentences, whether an AC response is appropriate or not.

If a speaker self-corrected from AC to CC, his response was counted as a CC response. This self-correction reveals an awareness of conflict between AC and CC. Whether this conflict is between Swahili and the native language, or within the native language itself is the question of convergence of grammars that is being approached in this paper.

2.4 Sources and handling of data. All translation tasks were recorded. In addition exchanges requiring speakers' responses to proposed sentences relevant to AC and introspective judgments of acceptability and distinction between AC and CC were recorded. However, there is also introspective data from speakers who were not recorded on tape but only in the form of written notes. They are supplementary to this study, which is

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19 A Nagra IV-D tape-recorder and a Sennhuie M-14 lavelie mike were used.
primarily concerned with the behavior of speakers who underwent the TT.

All sentences were transcribed in broad phonetics without editing self-corrections, repeats, etc. and were then coded onto translation-processing charts which include the language, name, age and place of childhood of the subject as well as the tape number, date and place of the interview. Coding includes self-corrections and accepted alternative translations suggested by the interviewer or a bystander.

Chart I below displays the major social characteristics of the NECB speakers represented in this study. All these speakers are males, bilingual in Swahili and the native language. In some cases the speakers are at least trilingual. The two speakers asterisked are not responding in their native languages. Their native languages are indicated in parentheses following their childhood locations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Place of Childhood</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>IV Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bondei</td>
<td>Muheza</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Chonyi</td>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mombasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Digo</td>
<td>Likoni</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mombasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Digo</td>
<td>Ukunda</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mombasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Digo</td>
<td>Mwabungo</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Mwabungo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Duruma</td>
<td>Mwachanda</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Mombasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Giriama</td>
<td>Mariakani</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mombasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. *Giriama</td>
<td>Kilifi (Chonyi)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Malindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Kambe</td>
<td>Pangani</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mombasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Kami</td>
<td>Morogoro</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Luguru</td>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Pokomo</td>
<td>Ndura</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Pokomo</td>
<td>Kumbi</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Pokomo</td>
<td>Asu</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Lamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Rabai</td>
<td>Buni</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Sambaa</td>
<td>Lushoto</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Mombasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Sambaa</td>
<td>Lushoto</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Mombasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Segeju</td>
<td>Kirui</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Vanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. *Zigua</td>
<td>Kilosa (=9.)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to the twenty speakers listed above are a large number of speakers who gave introspective judgments of sentences involving AC and CC in the thirteen languages listed above, but were not recorded for the TT.

In addition to this data there are grammatical descriptions of varying degrees of detail and quality for some of the above languages. Reference will be made to these works where appropriate. Most of the grammatical descriptions are at least six decades old and primarily of historical interest in ascertaining whether a change has recently taken place in the language or not. These descriptions must be used with caution in considering their accuracy since they represent older speakers, are often non-specific as to community and even native speaker status of the speaker(s), and the methodology for obtaining the data is usually not clear.

3. Overview of AC in NECB and Adjacent Areas

When all occurrences of the use of AC in the TT are compared with all opportunities for the occurrence of AC for the sample of NECB speakers listed above in Chart I, the following averages obtain.

| TABLE I |
| Percentage of AC Response for NECB |
| Unweighted Average | Speakers | Weighted Average | S's |
| 0.60 | 20 | 0.58 | 176 |

In Table I and subsequent tables, the unweighted average is the average of the individual averages for each speaker. Hence in Table I, the average 0.60 is the AC response average for the twenty speakers. The weighted average is the average response for the total number of opportunities to use AC regardless of the number of speakers. Thus, in Table I AC is displayed as used 0.58 of the time (out of a possible 1.00) for a total of 176 opportunities (i.e. AC was used 102 times). Either average shows great variability in the use of AC in NECB.

The significance of the variability of AC in NECB is immediately obvious when compared with responses to the TT for non-coastal regions of Northeast Bantu as demonstrated in Table 2 below.
TABLE 2

Percentage of AC Response for Non-Coastal Northeast Bantu

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unweighted Average</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
<th>Weighted Average</th>
<th>S's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Int (K-INT)</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Tanz Int</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Tanz Int</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This extreme quantitative difference indicates that AC is coastal in its distribution. We will see that penetration into the interior of Kenya and Northern Tanzania depends on distance from the coast.

Within NECB AC responses are not evenly distributed within all languages. Table 3 shows a further break-down of NECB, revealing that Northern Kenya (Pokomo) and MC TANZ show the greatest tendency for AC response.

TABLE 3

Percentage of AC Response for NECB Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unweighted Average</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
<th>Weighted Average</th>
<th>S's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pokomo</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern MK</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern MK</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC TANZ</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC TANZ</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The area in between Pokomo and MC shows a diminished effect of AC. If the Tanzanian clusters are further broken down into component languages, it can be seen that it is the most immediately coastal languages of these groups that exhibit the highest percentage of AC. The languages further inland, while still nominally NE Coastal B, in comparison to even more interior languages, cause a reduction in the overall percentages.

---

20 The K-INT Sample: Sagala (Teri), Dabida (Undanyi), Meru (Mwimbi), Luhya (Bukusu), Gikuyu (Kabeche), Gikuyu (Nyeri), Kamba (Kitui), Kamba (Machakos).

The Northern Tanz Int Sample: Siha, Rombo, Machame, Vunjo, Bosho, Haya (Rubafu), Northern Pare (Taveta to DSM), Pare (Samia), Southern Pare (Ndungu), Isanzu (Singida).

The Southern Tanz Int Sample: Kinga, Nyakyusa, Tumbuka (actually a Malawian language just south of Tanzania).
TABLE 4
Percentage of AC Response for Individual Tanzanian NECB Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Percentage AC</th>
<th>Actual Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>HC TANZ</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bondei</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>10/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambaa (17)*</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>1/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambaa (18)*</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>1/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zigua</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>2/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MC TANZ</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kami</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>6/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luguru</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>10/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaguru</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>2/9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*Numbers refer to identification on Chart I above.)

Within the MC TANZ cluster, the Kami speaker felt that his language was closer to coastal Zaramo, which is an AC language according to the introspective reports of Zaramo speakers, than to Luguru. The Luguru examples which have been counted as AC here are actually cases of N Class shift. Only Luguru, of all the languages which have figured in the tables within NECB and without, exhibits N Class shift. Therefore, it has been included here in opposition to the non-NECB languages of the Kenyan and Tanzanian interiors, since none of these languages exhibits N Class shift. These data support the contention in 1.2 above that N Class shift is a reaction to AC, in order to preserve CC, since N Class shift does not intervene between AC and non-AC in Kenya and Northern Tanzania.

Within NC TANZ, Bondei is the prime example of an AC language. It is obligatorily AC in all environments according to the speaker's introspective judgments. He rejected the suggested sentences using CC, claiming they were "Swahili". AC was already firmly established in Bondei in the late nineteenth century. All possible examples in Woodward's 1882 grammar of Bondei exhibit AC, e.g.

(18) mbuzi yu-/w-a-kwe
      \[1 \quad 2\]
goat it/them-of-him
'his goat/s' (Woodward [1882:34], adapted)
Sambaa, closely related to Bondei by all accounts, including the judgment of native speakers of either language, shows only a slight influence of AC. Roehl's description of 1911 shows strict CC for animates in all examples given, e.g.

(19) Nyoka i-za-kula. 9

\[ \text{snake it-Perf-grow} \]

'The snake is big.'

ng'ombe m-bili 10

\[ \text{cow two} \]

'two cows' (Roehl [1911:73])

Conflicting data occurs in Steere [1867], where AC is invariably shown for Sambaa, as if it were Bondei. However, in the preface Steere indicates that his informant was not a native Sambaa speaker, illustrating the importance of revealing sources.

My own collections were obtained in the first place from a native of one of the coast villages, who was well acquainted with the Shambala country and language. They were revised by another man, a Zegula by birth, who made scarcely any substantial alteration. (Steere [1867], Underlining mine—BW)

The Zigua examples of Table 4 were given by a native speaker of Kaguru, an MC language with only "marginal" use of AC. Although Table 4 shows identical percentages for Zigua and Kaguru, the task was done in each language on a separate day, Kaguru first. The Kaguru speaker learned Zigua as a young adolescent at school in the Zigua speech community of Handeni among Zigua friends. His Zigua matches the anonymously written grammar of Zigua, representing inland Zigua (see Bibl.), which does not exhibit AC.

Returning to coastal Kenya, displayed on Table 3 above, the MK languages show a variability that cannot be so easily resolved according to language or speaker. This variability is indicative of an ongoing process of the integration of AC into the grammars of those languages, in the context of NECB. Table 5 below represents the AC responses for the individual MK languages.
TABLE 5

Percentage of AC Response for the Individual MK L's

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern MK</th>
<th>Percentage AC</th>
<th>Actual Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Giriama</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>3/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giriama</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>5/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chonyi</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>10/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kambe</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>8/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabai</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>2/8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southern MK</th>
<th>Percentage AC</th>
<th>Actual Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duruma</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>5/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digo (Mwa.)</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>4/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digo (Lik.)</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>4/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digo (Uk.)</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>6/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segeju</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>6/10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*Native Chonyi speaker.)

3.1 Syntactic constraints on AC in NECB. It was mentioned in Sec. 1.3 that in Swahili AC is not obligatory for attributive possessives. Elsewhere AC is obligatory in most urban dialects, and probably in the Standard Swahili language. For example, in (20) below AC is preferred to CC universally among native Swahili speakers. It is obligatory in most forms of urban Swahili.

(20) [Mburu ha-\(\frac{\text{wa}}{2}\) NP ni w-a-ngu/ ?? z-a-ngu. 'These goats are mine.'

goats these are them-of-me/ them-of-me

Comparison with other NECB languages indicates that AC is more favored when it is not in the same NP as the controlling N, as exemplified in (20) above. For example, in the less highly developed AC language Kami

\[21\] "Probably," in the absence of any decisive authority; a final answer depends on investigation of the standard literature, particularly governmental and academic publications.

\[22\] The role of syntactic distance from the controlling N in violations of strict CC is seen independently of the NECB phenomenon in Kimbundu (Northern Angola), where CC is judged obligatory for demonstratives and adjectives, but AC is acceptable for verbal inflections with human, but
(MC TANZ), AC is variable in attributive constructions, as in (21) below, but obligatory for the predicate verb, as in (22) below, according to introspective judgments of the Kami speaker.

(21) Variable with ADJ in NP.

\[
\text{Ka-ronda ng'ombe dz-a-ngu n-hulu/wa-kulu} \quad 10 \\
\text{he-like cows them-of-me big/big } 2
\]

'He likes my big cows.'

(22) Obligatory with Pred Vb, outside of NP.

\[
[Mbudzi dz-a-ngu]_{NP} \quad 10 \\
wa-/ *dzi-gomba [ng'ombe dz-a-ko]_{NP} \quad 10 \\
goat them-of-me they-/ *they-attack cow them-of-you
\]

'My goats attacked your cows.'

Sentence (22) shows the rejection of CC even though CC immediately preceded in the NP on the previous word.

This is particularly significant because there is a strong tendency observed in NECB for concord, either AC or CC, to apply across-the-board, i.e. in most languages there is a tendency to continue with concord initially chosen in a sentence. Speakers' responses to (14)-29 provide valuable evidence for this point. It is the only stimulus sentence with "split" concord, AC and CC in the same sentence:

(14) 29. Kama a-ki-lala, [ng'ombe z-a-ke]_{NP} wa-ta-toroka \quad 10 \\
if he-Cond-sleep [cow them-of-him] they-Fut-run away

'If he falls asleep, his cattle will run away.'

Fourteen of the fifteen speakers who responded to this sentence, applied concord across-the-board. The one exception, the native Chonyi speaker, was the only MK speaker to fail to apply CC across-the-board. As Table 5 above shows, the Chonyi speaker has the highest percentage of AC response among the MK (0.91). The Chonyi speaker was also alone among the

not other animate, controlling N's, e.g.

\[
\text{Ki-lumba ki/*u-na kl/u-a-mw-iza.} \quad \text{That girl is coming.} \\
girl (7) that (7/*) she (7/1)-be-in-come
\]

(data from Jao da Costa, a speaker of the Mbaka dialect).
MK respondents in overtly preferring AC to CC in (14)-29, when asked for an evaluation. Other Chonyi speakers interviewed also expressed a preference for AC. Thus, with respect to the integration of AC into the native grammar, Chonyi is the most highly developed of the MK languages.

Outside of MK, all the coastal NECB languages are more developed in the direction of AC than Chonyi. For (14)-29, AC was applied across-the-board to the north of MK by the two Pokomo speakers who responded. However, in intuitive judgments they allowed CC as a possibility.23

Further discrimination among the NECB languages for syntactic development comes from responses to (14)-20, repeated below.

(14) 20. \[Ha-\text{wa}]_\text{NP} \text{ng'ombe } w-a-\text{ngu.} \quad \text{"These are my cows."}

This is the first of the AC stimuli. Syntactically it is of interest because it presents a concordial element before and outside of the NP of the controlling N. This sentence strongly favored AC. There are two opportunities for concord, before and after the controlling N. Most NECB speakers applied AC to both. Table 6 illustrates that there was a syntactic effect for a few speakers who shifted from AC before the controlling N, to CC following it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NECB</th>
<th>AC before N</th>
<th>AC after N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pokomo</td>
<td>2/2</td>
<td>2/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North MK</td>
<td>3/5</td>
<td>2/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South MK</td>
<td>5/5</td>
<td>5/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC TANZ</td>
<td>3/3</td>
<td>2/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC TANZ</td>
<td>3/3</td>
<td>2/3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 6, only two of the eighteen respondents to this sentence responded with CC before the NP of the controlling N. These two are both Northern MK, the Rabai speaker (an older speaker) and the Giriama

---

23 With the implication that if the preceding possessive in the NP takes AC then AC is also obligatory for the verb in Pokomo.
speaker (a native speaker of Chonyi discussed further below). The Giriama, Sambaa and Luguru speakers shifted to AC after the controlling N, although the stimulus had AC.

The behavior of all speakers suggests that the position before and outside the NP of the controlling N is the position most susceptible to AC. It is apparent from Table 6 that North MK is less tolerant to AC than South MK.

Considering the results of the TT and the introspective judgments of NECB speakers, as discussed above. The following distinctions can be made with regard to degree of integration of AC into the grammars of various NECB languages (at least as exhibited by the speakers sampled, forming a geographically coherent pattern).

I. Total integration: obligatoriness of AC (in Bondei).
II. Obligatoriness outside of the possessive within the NP of the controlling N (in urban Swahili).
III. Obligatoriness outside of the NP of the controlling N (in Kami).
IV. Acceptance of AC and CC, but preference for AC over CC in all contexts (in Chonyi).
V. General rejection of AC, but tolerance of the use of AC before and outside of the NP of the controlling N (as in Sambaa and Zigua).

Possibly there are stages missing within this scheme of the syntactic integration of AC into NECB grammar. On the other hand, there may be a limit to the amount of syntactic detail which constrains AC, centering around the controlling N. AC appears most easily and becomes established most firmly outside of the NP of the controlling N. The controlling NP, then, is more resistant to the encroachment of AC than pronominal concord at a distance.

In the following subsection a connection will be made between self-corrections on the TT and the incipient development of AC in a language.

3.2 The systematicity of AC self-corrections. In section 2.3 above reference was first made to self-corrections with respect to sentence (14)-29 in Sambaa. The example is repeated below for convenience.
'If he falls asleep, his cows--his--his cows will run away.'

The Sambaa sentence proceeds from the beginning to mark the attributive possessive with AC. The speaker hesitates and then repeats the attributive possessive with AC. He hesitates again, and then repeats the entire controlling NP this time using CC. Having done this he proceeds directly to the verb where CC is used this time without hesitation.

A number of factors are involved in determining the "meaning" of this and similar self-corrections by other speakers. Before proceeding directly to a discussion of AC self-corrections, let us consider the nature of self-corrections in general.

They occur in spontaneous speech as well as in non-spontaneous speech, like that of the TT. Labov [1966] formulates a number of "editing' rules by which self-corrections that occur in natural speech (in English) are described. The significance of the editing rules is that they attempt to capture what a speaker must know in order to understand a sentence with a self-correction in it.

Self-corrections are interesting in that they indicate what a speaker, at a level of less than maximum attention paid to speech, rejects in speaking his language (less attention than in making introspective judgments, for example). Informally, what is rejected is usually thought of as a "mistake", and is usually dismissed as irrelevant to linguistic description, or, more importantly, to what a speaker of a language reveals by his behavior about his language. However, some investigators have argued that many mistakes or "speech errors" are systematic in their nature and reveal properties of human language and specific structures or systems of organization within languages, e.g. Fromkin [1971] argues that the types of phonological errors speakers of English make provide evidence for some level of linguistic organization in which the phonological segment exists, whereas this is far from obvious in examining acoustic records of spoken language.
For spontaneous speech, the motivation for various self-corrections has not been fully explored. In Fromkin's work on speech errors, self-corrections (if made) were motivated by correcting the violation of a [lexical (but not a phonological)] rule. However, socially motivated self-corrections have also been observed. For example, in English self-correction from multiple to standard negation under certain circumstances,

(23) I didn't tell nob--anybody.

Mult NEG   Single NEG

Especially because of socially motivated self-correction, it is not sound to consider a priori that what is edited out in a self-correction is necessarily "ungrammatical", at least where "grammatical" includes what in other situations is said on some systematic basis which shows up in frequent usage without attending self-correction; for example, multiple negatives in many varieties of English.

Considering self-corrections involving AC in the responses to the TT, it is not established for certain that the speakers regularly use CC to the exclusion of AC in speaking the languages represented.

The two most striking facts about the AC self-corrections are:

1. Self-corrections involving AC always proceed from AC to CC, i.e. they are uni-directional.

2. This self-correction is geographically confined to speakers from the NECB coast and adjacent Kenya and Northern Tanzania.

Concerning the first point, it must be noted that AC is prominent in the stimulus sentences. Therefore, corrections from AC to CC is favored. 24

Therefore, the second point is of great importance in establishing that AC self-correction is not merely a random artifact of the TT with no interesting relation to the native languages of the speakers. Below Table 7 displays the number of languages with AC self-corrections occurring at least once for the major clusters.

24 In fact, it is likely for many Bantu-speaking non-native speakers of Swahili that self-corrections from CC to AC sometimes occur in spontaneous speech.
### TABLE 7

Number of Languages with AC Self-Correction for Major Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Average Unweighted AC Response*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenyan NECB</td>
<td>2/13</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.62 (114)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanz NECB</td>
<td>1/7</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.52 (62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K Int</td>
<td>2/8</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.01 (75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Tanz Int</td>
<td>4/10</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.04 (98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Tanz Int</td>
<td>0/3</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00 (24)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Number of opportunities for AC in ( ).

From Table 7 it can be observed that self-correction is rare in all areas.

Considering NECB first, note that non-corrected AC responses are high. In point of fact, all NECB speakers also used AC without self-correction. All these speakers reported some use of AC among themselves and their peers in introspective judgments. This includes the three out of twenty NECB speakers who self-corrected: two speakers of Giriama and the younger Sambaa speaker cited for (17)-29 at the beginning of this section.

For the three speakers, estimation of the "correctness" of AC in their languages varied. For example, the native Giriama speaker reported that he and other Giriama speakers from Mariakani often use AC. However, Mariakani is a multilingual settlement, though largely restricted to MK languages. The speaker felt that speakers who lived in exclusively Giriama-speaking settlements (rural) used only CC. In offering this information, he expressed the social importance of CC for Giriama speech communities. These judgments were common among Giriama speakers from other areas as well, e.g. Kaloleni, Kilifi, Malindi, Ramada. His self-correction then seems to be motivated by the desire to represent the Giriama which he feels is most "authentic", and which appears to be most "archaic" with respect to AC.

The non-native Giriama speaker, a native Chonyi speaker, is interesting to note since he too showed awareness of the Giriama norm for AC. Chonyi, as discussed above, is the most highly developed for AC of the MK languages. The Chonyi speaker self-corrected only once, on the initial sentence.
His correction looks like it was influenced by his use of CC in the possessive, since he proceeds that far before self-correcting. From that point on, he never self-corrected again, although he applied AC to the last three AC sentences, as did the native Giriama speaker. He undertook the task in the presence of a friend of his, a native Giriama speaker from Ramada, who agreed with his translations.

By way of contrast, the native Giriama speaker from Mariakani self-corrected the first two sentences, in the first, i.e. (14)-20, only for the possessive modifier, already seen to be syntactically conservative in the retention of CC in many NECB languages.

He also used uncorrected AC more often than the non-native speaker. Thus, the CC norm is stronger for the non-native speaker than for the native speaker. Given that Chonyi speakers prefer AC to CC in their own language, the Chonyi speaker appears particularly sensitive to this difference between Chonyi and Giriama, outdoing the native Giriama speaker in awareness and avoidance of AC. 25

The only other NECB speaker to self-correct, the younger Sambaa speaker, self-corrected only in the sentence cited above. However, he used uncorrected AC in (28)-33. In this he was seconded by a peer from his hometown in Lushoto.

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25 This is a sign of hypercorrection by which learners of a new linguistic feature overgeneralize and stereotype its usage when compared with speakers more accustomed to the feature (cf. Labov [1966b]).
Since all three NECB self-correctors report the use of AC in their native languages and also used uncorrected AC in the TT, it stands to reason that the self-corrections were socially motivated, rather than motivated by the constraints of the actual grammars used by the speakers. However, these self-corrections do indicate that CC is overtly preferred by the speakers.

Bearing this in mind, it is striking that the two K INT languages showing AC self-correction are those closest (geographically as well as structurally) to NECB, viz. Sagala and Dabida. Although these languages differ in a number of details, they share much in common and have often been classified as a "single" language under the rubric of Taita. The Sagala speaker also used AC in one sentence without correction (see following section), while the Dabida speaker did not.

Speakers of the other six K INT languages represented, converted the AC stimulus to CC without hesitation (no self-correction necessary). Since Sagala and Dabida intervene between NECB where AC is strongest and the more remote K INT languages where AC is not accepted or responded to at all, these two languages show a tolerance for AC even though the speakers do not judge AC as a property of their native grammars.

This covert tolerance for AC is also found in adjacent North Tanzanian Interior languages. Northern Pare (but not Southern), adjacent to Sambaa to the east and Dabida to the north, also showed self-correction in (14)-20, as did the Chagga dialects of Vunjo, Machame and Siha (but not Rombo or Marangu) west of Pare. In Northern Pare and Machame uncorrected AC was also used in (14)-32.

I will close this section with the suggestion that the "meaning" of self-corrections be taken more seriously than it has been in the past as linguistic data, especially in multilingual communities. The evidence of this section strongly suggests that there is covert tolerance of AC, manifest in the susceptibility of speakers to the AC stimulus. This covert tolerance is indicative of a possible "pre-natal" stage in the integration of AC into the grammars of those languages. At this stage AC is increasingly heard in neighboring communities (to the east) but is not overtly accepted into the speech community under consideration in overt judgments.
3.3. **Fleeting contrast between AC and CC.** In preceding sections it has been shown that all NECB languages are affected to some degree by AC. The range is from marginal with self-correction and rare uncorrected usage as in the non-coastal Northern Tanzanian-Kenyan border area, to full acceptance of AC in all syntactic environments with the overt rejection of CC, as in Bondei.

Historically the trend appears to be greater development toward AC, both areally and syntactically, starting with the initial AC innovation somewhere along the East African coastline or adjacent islands (e.g. Zanzibar). Intermediate languages have exhibited variable use of AC both socially (as in **labelling** AC as Chonyi as opposed to Giriama above) and syntactically (Sec. 3.1).

In this section it will be proposed that in some intermediate languages, particularly the MK, there are unstable contrasts which are to some extent parasitic on the stage of development of AC in the languages. Such contrasts will be called "fleeting" contrasts: "fleeting" because they have a minimal effect on the choice between AC and CC. They are problematic with respect to influence on the further development of AC in NECB languages.

The sentences of the TT relevant to the notion of "fleeting" contrast are (14)-32 and 33. Note that the stimulus sentence (Swahili) obligatorily uses AC for the modifying ADJ. The following Sagala response, from outside NECB, shows the use of AC in one sentence but not in the other. This is apparently random use of AC with modifying ADJ's.

(14) Sagala (Teri) 32. Ula mbuzi wa-baha. 10 'Buy big goats.'

\[\text{buy goat big}\]

\[\text{U-so-u-e mbuzi n-jace. 10 'Don't buy small goats.'}\]

\[\text{you-Neg-buy-sbjn goat small}\]

This same behavior recurs among the Northern MK speakers. The following examples of shifting concord illustrate the randomness of the effect of the Swahili stimulus AC on the Northern MK response.
The speakers' overt judgments involved the "authenticity" of CC in their languages. As mentioned above, the Giriama speaker considered AC to be un-"authentic". On the other hand, the Kambe speaker explained that although he sometimes uses AC, it is "Giriama". These judgments are social. They are of limited value in determining to what extent AC has penetrated into the language of everyday life.

The Rabai speaker, lowest in AC use of all the MK speakers, used AC in adjectival position. The reason hinges on the opacity for singular/plural of class 9/10 N's and the concord on ADJ's. Out of context, the CC responses above could also be examples of class 9, i.e. the singular, e.g. 'Buy a big goat.' The Rabai pointed this out for his language. He claimed that he uses AC with plural ADJ's of words like mbuzi (9/10) to mark plurality. Although he rejected the use of AC with singulars or CC with plural animates of these classes, he reported that Rabai speakers might violate this semantically based distinction because of their contact with speakers of other MK languages such as Chonyi and Giriama. He was not alone among MK speakers in pointing out how AC makes marking of the plural for classes 9/10 transparent.

While the Likoni Digo speaker was performing the TT, he was criticized by an older Tiwi Digo speaker (a stranger to him) for using CC in ex. (14)-32 as follows:

(14) Digo (Likoni) 32. Gula mbuzi k₉ulu. 10
   'Buy big goats.'

The Tiwi speaker said that this sounded like a singular and that the plural should induce AC.
(14) Digo (Tiwi) 32. Gula mbuz\(l\) a-kulu. 10

'But big goats.'

The Likoni speaker did not accept this distinction for his own speech and that of the Digos he knew from Likoni. He appeared to be previously unaware that any Digo speaker preferred AC.

The other two Digo speakers who undertook the TT used either only AC for the pair of sentences (Ukunda agreeing with Tiwi) or only CC (Mwabungu agreeing with Likoni). This widespread disagreement about the preferability of AC for the plural attributive ADJ among MK speakers, along with the confusion in assigning AC to one or another of the sister languages of MK, indicates that distinguishing the singular from the plural for animates is not a strong motivation for choice between AC and CC. I am not suggesting that this potential communicative function of AC plays no role whatsoever in the choice between AC and CC, but that its role is minimal in the integration of AC into the grammars of the MK languages. Assuming that languages in which AC is more developed than in most of the MK area, such as Bondei, Swahili, Kami and Chonyi, have passed through a stage similar to that undergone by the Mk language at present, there must be further motivation for AC beyond giving overt expression to the singular/plural distinction, no doubt usually clear in context in actual discourse and not troubling to interior Northeast Bantu speakers.26

A much more obvious example of fleeting contrast as parasitic on the variability of AC at an intermediate stage of development involves an intuitive judgment question about distinguishing AC and CC for the attributive DEM(onstrative), in which CC or AC both provide transparent plural marking. The Segeju speaker explained the distinction as follows:

26 Even within MK, AC has become obligatory with some lexical items. For example, the word for 'dog' kuro (Class 5) obligatorily induces AC in all Northern MK languages. However, in Southern MK, the equivalent (non-cognate) item di-a (Class 5) takes CC obligatorily for the speakers mentioned above. (Southern MK dia is cognate with Swahili ji-bwa used by many native Swahili speakers as equivalent of Tanzanian Swahili mbwa, but with AC when underived from the augmentative: personal communication from Sarah Mirza, UCLA.
Suppose I have two groups of cows. Then I can say to you A-no ni ng'ombe a-a-ngu (These are my cows: uses AC) and Hizi n-z-a-ngu pia (These are mine, too: uses CC).

This explanation was encountered in other parts of the MK area also. For example, several Jomvu speakers gave the same explanation in the following context. 27 First I asked them about the possibility of saying:

(24) Ha-wa ni ng'ombe z-a-ngu. 10 'These are my cows.'

where the CC of the possessive modifier is acceptable (but not preferred) in urban Swahili, as discussed above. This was rejected and corrected to:

(25) Ha-wa ni ng'ombe w-a-ngu. 10

extending AC to the possessive modifier. I then asked if

(26) Ng'ombe z-a-ngu. 10

was unacceptable (haifai: it is not suitable), abstracting the NP from a sentential context. To this the response was:

(27) Zi-le ni ng'ombe z-a-ngu. 10 'Those...'

indicating that CC is acceptable if it is distributed across the board (unlike urban Swahili). Finally I asked whether there was a difference between

(28) Ng'ombe wa/zi-le 2/10 'Those cows'

contrasting AC and CC for the attributive demonstrative. Here the answer was, as in Segeju, that this could be used to distinguish two herds of cattle (kupambanua mafungo mawili).

Are these responses to be included in a grammatical description of

27 Jomvu is a rural Swahili-speaking area on the outskirts of Mombasa. The Swahili of Jomvu shares a number of characteristics with the MK languages, not shared with urban Mombasan Swahili, e.g. the use of kha- instead of ha- as a preverbal negative marker and the use of ni instead of na as an agentive preposition with passives, cf. Lambert [1958]. Several Jomvu speakers demonstrated their ability to speak and understand the Northern MK language Rabai.
Jomvu or Segeju, indicating a "slight" semantic distinction between the use of AC and CC? It seems clear to me that such a description would be inappropriate and misleading, and that responses contrasting AC and CC in such contexts are nothing more than ad hoc exploitations of the variable use of either AC or CC in these languages. Unlike other MK speakers discussed above, the Jomvu and Segeju speakers do not label either of these concords as "foreign", but rather accept both as properties of their own language and speech. When asked to distinguish the two they come up with a "fleeting" contrast, unaware either of the past situation that has given rise to the variation or of the future situation which is likely to resolve the variation in favor of AC given the dynamics of AC in the NECB area as a whole.

4. Conclusions

To summarize the findings of this study: AC is an innovation originating in the coastal area of NECB and spreading further inland, primarily through the agency of Swahili bilingualism. It involves the extension of the use of the concords for classes 1/2 (*mo/*ba), historically associated with nouns of those classes referring to humans, to nouns referring to animates, regardless of lexical class assignment.

AC is firmly established in urban Swahili, with the exception of attributive possessive concords for which it alternates with CC. In Bondei it has become obligatory even in these positions. In many coastal languages AC and CC alternate in most positions. Languages such as Kami illustrate that AC first establishes itself in positions outside the NP of the controlling N, such a position being most susceptible to violations of the historical Bantu pattern of strict CC.

At the earliest stage of development speakers may deny that they use AC in their language, but their susceptibility to it is revealed in translation from Swahili either with or without accompanying self-correction. This susceptibility is convincingly demonstrated in that the unreflecting use of AC occurs only in areas bordering those areas where AC is more firmly established. As AC progresses to a state where speakers are aware of its alternation with CC in their own speech and the speech of other
members of their community, they may assign it to another dialect or language known by them, e.g. Giriama speakers labelling it as Swahili, while Kambe speakers label it as Giriama. When speakers lose awareness of its historically foreign origin but retain its alternation with CC, they may rationalize fleeting contrasts between AC and CC under the influence of an investigator's questioning, as illustrated for Segeju and Jomvu Swahili. Finally, no doubt due to the transparent semantic basis for the use of AC, it completely replaces CC in virtually all environments, as in urban Swahili and Bondei, the most frequently used constructions most closely bound to the controlling N, viz. the possessive modifier, being the last hold-out to the innovation.

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