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LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN KIPEMBA

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Linguistics

15 September 2024

Department of Linguistics,
School of Languages, Cultures, and Linguistics
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Abstract

Kipemba is one of four varieties of the Zanzibar Swahili cluster, spoken on the Island of Pemba by approximately 500,000 people. Kipemba has been understudied and under-documented for decades, resulting in a substantial shortage of linguistic literature, which aligns with the historical marginalisation of the island and its people. This study contributes to the lacuna in Kipemba scholarship, offering an in-depth, descriptive, and comparative-linguistic study of selected linguistic aspects of the vernacular. The study uses triangulation methods, combining qualitative and quantitative (also employing dialectological and variationist) approaches and semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and participant observation methods to collect data.

The study finds that Kipemba is spoken with minor linguistic variations across and throughout Pemba. Linguistically, Kipemba differs slightly phonologically, morpho-syntactically, and lexically across eight different zones. The findings also show that distinctive Kipemba speech forms are predominant among the users from the Eastern and Northeastern zones but shrinking in some Western parts of Pemba and among young, educated, urban and well-travelled Kipemba users. The study shows that new linguistic features from neighbouring Swahili varieties, mainly Kiunguja and Standard Swahili, are gradually diffused and accommodated into Kipemba spoken in the Western zones of Pemba. From a comparative linguistic perspective, the structure of Kipemba is essentially distinctive from other Swahili varieties.

Different factors, including dialect contact, attitudes, and schooling, feed into the linguistic variation within Kipemba while simultaneously acting to reproduce the variety synchronically. Meanwhile, Kipemba is of considerable cultural value, symbolising identity and attesting to the community's distinctive socio-historical and linguistic experiences. The diffusion and accommodation of new features into Kipemba provide an early indication of dialect levelling, which may lead to the loss of variation in the vernacular. The study calls for urgent documentation and preservation initiatives to save the vernacular at risk of endangerment through levelling.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Maps	viii
List of Figures	viii
List of Tables	ix
Some Abbreviations and Writing Annotations	x
Abbreviations	x
Some Unusual Writing of Kipemba names	xi
Nasal syllabification	xi
Acknowledgement	xii
Dedication	xiii
Chapter 1: Understanding Pemba and Kipemba - An Overview	1
1.0. Introduction	1
1.1. PEMBA: The green island	1
1.1.1. Geography and Vegetation	2
1.1.2. Climate	4
1.1.3. Archaeology and History	4
1.1.4. Economy	9
1.1.5. Transport and Communication	10
1.1.6. People and Culture	10
1.2. Kipemba: Background to the problem	11
1.3. Research rationale and context of the study	17
1.4. Main Research Questions	24
Chapter 2: Kipemba - Background, Empirical Context, Attitudes and Linguistics	
Considerations	25
2.1. Introduction	25
2.2. Swahili and Bantu: The background to the language	25
2.2.1. Recent studies in Swahili dialects variation – an overview	29
2.2.2. Swahili and Sabaki: a linguistic history	29
2.3. Development of Swahili dialects	32
2.3.1. Northern Swahili dialects	33
2.3.2. Southern Swahili dialects	34
2.4. Kipemba and the 'perceived' challenge of bi-dialectism	36

2.5. Language Attitudes in Swahili	39
2.5.1. Language attitudes in Swahili and Kipemba – a 'diglossic' situation?	39
2.5.2. Language attitude and situational bi-dialectism in Kipemba.....	42
2.6. Kipemba: Classification of Kipemba linguistic zones and nomenclature.....	45
2.6.1. Möhlig's (and Guarisma's) dialectometric-dialectological contributions	45
2.6.2. Towards the classification of Kipemba linguistic zones.....	46
2.6.3. Kipemba: The basis of classification and nomenclature of linguistic zones	48
2.6.4. The Kipemba Linguistics zones.....	49
Chapter 3: Review of Selected Literature	54
3.1. Introduction	54
3.2. Kipemba as "one" regional dialect spoken in Pemba.....	55
3.3. Kipemba is, but a collection of varieties spoken in Pemba.....	66
3.4. Kipemba is a dialect spoken in Pemba (except on some parts of the island).....	71
Chapter 4: Methodology	76
4.1. Introduction	76
4.2. Positionality of the researcher	77
4.3. My fieldwork experience: an overview.....	80
4.4. Methodological considerations.....	81
4.4.1. Sampling design.....	83
4.4.2. Participants.....	84
4.4.3. Compensation plan.....	86
4.4.4. Instrument and equipment.....	87
4.4.5. Procedure	87
4.4.6. Data collection methods and techniques	88
4.4.7. Data analysis and interpretation	94
4.4.8. Limitation of the study	94
4.4.9. Delimitation of the study.....	95
4.5. Ethical consideration	95
4.5.1. Conflict of interest	97
4.5.2. Personally identifiable information.....	97
4.5.3. Covert enquiry.....	98
4.5.4. Data management.....	99
Chapter 5: Generic Phonological and Lexical features in Kipemba.....	100

5.1. Introduction	100
5.2. Generic phonological features in Kipemba	100
5.2.1. The Kipemba consonant inventory	101
5.2.3. The /m-n/ nasal sound alternation in Kipemba	103
5.2.4. The /m – n/ nasal alternation: Homorganic nasal place assimilation?	107
5.2.5. The phonological environment for /m - n/ nasal prefix alternation in Kipemba	109
5.2.6. The morphosyntactic roles of /m - n/ nasal alternation in Kipemba	110
5.2.7. Other phonological processes generic to Kipemba	113
5.3. Lexical Variation in Kipemba: Generic features	118
5.3.1. The names of household items	119
5.3.2. The names of seashells and sea creatures with hard shells	121
5.2.3. Kinship names	126
5.3.4. Traditional Kipemba food, pastries and delicacy	127
5.3.5. Farming and agricultural vocabulary	128
Chapter 6: Generic Morphosyntactic features in Kipemba	132
6.1. Introduction	132
6.2. Generic morphosyntactic features in Kipemba	132
6.2.1. Noun classes and class agreements in Kipemba	133
6.2.2. Augmentative and Diminutive forms in Kipemba	134
6.2.3. Pronominal forms in Kipemba	137
6.2.4. Determiners and Prepositions	145
6.2.5. Adjectives and Adverbs	147
6.2.6. Verbs – The structure of a verb in Kipemba	149
6.2.7. The Kipemba Copula Constructions	150
6.2.7. Object Marking in Kipemba	156
6.2.8. The Kipemba Relative Constructions	160
6.3. Conclusion	173
Chapter 7: Zone-specific Linguistics features in Kipemba	175
7.1. Introduction	175
7.2. Zone-Specific Phonological Features in Kipemba	176
7.3. Zone-specific morphosyntactic features in Kipemba	190
7.3.1. Noun class agreements: Augmentative and diminutive forms in Kipemba	191
7.3.1. Some distinctive adverbs, exclamations and ideophones in Kipemba	193

7.3.2. Copula Omission, Absence, or minimal use of the variable copula verb <i>ni-</i> in Southern Kipemba zones	197
7.3.3. Kipemba past locative forms with verbs 'to be' and 'to have'.....	198
7.3.4. The suffixal interrogative forms in Kipemba.....	200
7.3.5. Some unusual verb endings in Kipemba.....	200
7.3.6. Zone-specific Tenses and Aspects in Kipemba	203
7.3.7. The -le- subjunctive form: the N'gongele phenomenon?.....	204
7.3.8. Further discussion on zone-specific morphosyntactic features in Kipemba.....	206
7.4. Zone-specific lexical features in Kipemba	207
7.5. Discussion and Conclusion	213
Chapter 8: Factors for Variation in Kipemba: Analysis and Discussion.....	215
8.1. Introduction	215
8.2. Towards Factors for Linguistic Variation in Kipemba: Theoretical Grounding and Considerations.....	216
8.3. Factors for Linguistic Variation in Kipemba	217
8.3.1. Regional, Geographical, Historical, Ethnic and Cultural factors.....	217
8.3.2. Gender, Styles of Speech, and Context.....	225
8.3.3. Age	231
8.3.4. Urbanisation and Modernisation.....	239
8.3.5. Schooling, Socioeconomic Factors and the Power of Standard Swahili	240
8.3.6. Attitudes, Ideologies, Identity and Awareness.....	242
8.3.7. Dialect Contact and Interaction.....	247
8.4. Conclusion.....	250
Chapter 9: Conclusion.....	252
9.1. Introduction	252
9.2. The generic phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features in Kipemba.....	254
9.3. The zone-specific phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features.....	256
9.4. Limitations of the study revisited.	260
9.5. The Contribution of the Study to the Research and Scholarship	262
References.....	264
Appendices.....	289
Appendix 1: Consent Form for Research Participants (English Version – to be read and communicated in Swahili).....	289
Appendix 2 A: Fieldwork Research Participant Allocation & Identification form.....	291

Appendix 2 B: Research Participants Allocation by Numbers	293
Appendix 2 C: Research Participants Gender identification.....	294
Appendix 2 D: My Research Participants, according to age grades	298
Appendix 2 E: Kipemba: sound contrast and lexical variation verification questionnaire	299
Appendix 2 F: Kipemba Tense-aspect questionnaire.....	301
Appendix 3 A: General Participants Questionnaire	305
Appendix 4 A: Observation Notes	320
Appendix 4 B: Data from Kipemba folklore – tales, songs, poem	335
Appendix 4 C: Variation in consonants between North and South Kipemba. No significant change in consonants was found.	336
Appendix 4 D: Variation in vowels between South and North Pemba. No significant change in vowels was found.....	337
Appendix 4 E: Variation in semi-vowels between South and North Kipemba. No change in semi-vowels /w/ and /y/ was found.	338

List of Maps

Map 1.1: Location of Pemba Island on the East Africa Coast [Source: adapted from Google Maps]	2
Map 1.2: Pemba Island modern-day towns Source: adapted from Google Maps]	3
Map: 1.3. Variations in Kipemba as proposed by Sacleux (1909: ix) [Source: Open Street Map].....	20
Map: 1.4. Variations in Kipemba as proposed by Whiteley (1958) {Source: openstreet map]	22
Map 2.1 : The Swahili Coast from Barawa, South Somalia to Mozambique (Map by Chami, 1998:201)	32
Map: 2.2: Kipemba Linguistic Zones (Adapted from Google Maps).....	53
Map: 7. 1: The contrast between /tj/ with /f/ found in three Kipemba zones – KPN 2, 3 and 4.	177
Map: 7.2:Map of Pemba showing areas (in blue dots) where the /ch/ to /kj/ contrast is prevalent.....	179
Table 8.1: Distinctive Kipemba Phrases and Sentences	218

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 : Genetic classifications of the Sabaki languages (based on Nurse & Hinnebusch, 1993)	31
Figure 2.2 Genetic classification of Swahili dialects. (Based on Nurse, 1982; 1984/85; Nurse and Spear, 1985; Nurse and Hinnebusch, 1993.).....	33
Figure 2.3: Northern dialects of Swahili (Nurse and Spear, 1985:58).....	34
Figure 2.4 Southern dialects of Swahili (Nurse and Spear, 1985:58).....	35
Figure 8.1: The percentage distribution of distinctive Kipemba use per geographical zone. 220	
Figure 8.2: The language attitude continuum of the Zanzibar Swahili Dialect cluster	245
Figure 8.3: The attitude continuum of Kipemba in Pemba.....	246

List of Tables

Table 1.1 Economic Indicators of Unguja and Pemba, 1995 (Myers, 1996:234)	15
Table 2.1: The percentages of loanwords in Swahili (cited from Schaderberg, 2009).....	27
Table 3.1 Kipemba consonant system (Faki, 2009:26).....	58
Table 3.2: Consonant contrast between South and North Kipemba (adapted from (Siti Ali, 2017: 29)	73
Table 3.3 : Vowel contrast between North and South Kipemba (Ali, 2017: 30).....	73
Table 3.4: Semi-vowel contrast between North and South Kipemba (Ali, 2017: 31).....	73
Table 3.5: Lexical differences between North and South Kipemba	74
Table 4.1: The number of KPS research participants	85
Table 4.2: The number of NKPS research participants	86
Table 4.3: Assessment and evaluation ratings of the data collection techniques used	94
Table 5.1: The generic Kipemba consonant inventory (Adapted from Faki, 2009:26).....	102
Table 5.2: Pronunciation of foreign words between Kipemba and Kiunguja/Standard	103
Table 5.3: The images of seashells and sea creatures with shells.....	123
Table 5.4: The images of seashells and sea creatures with shells.....	124
Table 5.5: The respondents' responses to the names of seashells or sea stuff with shells in Southern Kipemba Linguistic zones	125
Table 5.6: Traditional food, pastries and delicacies in Kipemba (traditional and modern)...	127
Table 5.7: Different names of food crops – cassava, sweet potatoes, rice and banana/plantain found in Pemba (no gloss is provided due technicality of the terms used here).....	129
Table 6.1 Noun classes in Kipemba.....	134
Table 6.2: Nominal Class 1 and 2 Personal Pronouns in Kipemba.	137
Table 6.3: Standard Swahili Possessive Pronominal Stems (Ashton, 1947:55).....	140
Table 6.4: Nominal Class Determiners in Kipemba	146
Table 6.5: Object Markers in Standard Swahili and Kipemba	157
Table 6.6: The Present, Past and Future Tense Systems in Kipemba (Adapted from Loogman 1965)	162
Table 6.7: Tenses in Kipemba – affirmative and negative forms	165

Some Abbreviations and Writing Annotations

Abbreviations

- 1)A/G – Age/gender
- 2)PUN – Participant’s Unique Number
- 3)KP – Kipemba zone
- 4)N – North
- 5)S – South
- 6)M – Male 7. F – Female
- 7)C – Child
- 8)Y – Youth
- 9)A – Adult
- 10)E- Elderly
- 11)CT – Consultant;
- 12)NKPS – Non Kipemba Speakers;
- 13)MKD – Makunduchi;
- 14)TBT – Tumbatu;
- 15)TNG – Tanga;
- 16)UMJ – Unguja Mjini;
- 17)MBS – Mombasa
- 18)SS – Standard Swahili
- 19)KPS – Kipemba Speaker/ user
- 20)KPN – Kipemba North Zone
- 21)KPS – Kipemba South Zone

Some Unusual Writing of Kipemba names

Kipemba is well known for its distinctive /m/ - /n/ nasal alternation or nasal assimilation. In most cases, the names or words that begins with /m/ are usually pronounced with /n/ instead of /m/. In this study you will find that some names or words that begins with /m/ that are usually written with /m/ in Standard form are written as pronounced by the locals of Pemba with /n/ instead of /m/ as shown below (the list is indicative, not exhaustive)

Standard Writing	Written here in Kipemba
<i>Mkoani</i>	<i>Nkoani</i>
<i>Mtambile</i>	<i>Ntambile</i>
<i>Mtambwe</i>	<i>Ntambwe</i>
<i>Mkumbuu</i>	<i>Nkumbuu</i>
<i>Mkamandume</i>	<i>Nkamandume</i>
<i>Msuka</i>	<i>Nsuka</i>
<i>Mkia wa Ng'ombe</i>	<i>Nkia wa Ng'ombe</i>
<i>Mgelema</i>	<i>N'gelema</i>
<i>Chamjamjawiri</i>	<i>Chanjan'jawiri</i>

Nasal syllabification

Throughout the text, you will notice that some words beginning with /n/ are written with an apostrophe, such as in N'gelema (instead of Ngelema) and Chanjan'jawiri (instead of Chanjanjawiri). The difference between the two words – one with nasal syllabification and another without, were tested and verified using PRAAT - a free computer software package for speech analysis in phonetics. These words involve what we, linguistics, call 'nasal syllabification'. In Kipemba, this often occurs depending on an underlying phonological condition and environment.

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Completing this thesis was not a result of a heroic display of my solo endeavours but a strenuous collaborative work and effort with other people, stakeholders, and organisations. Hence, I am deeply indebted to the SOAS, University of London Doctoral School (SOAS DS) and SOAS's School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics for offering me a place to pursue my full-time research studies. I am immensely grateful to my funders, CHASE/AHRC/DTP Consortium and Students Finance England (SFE), for their financial and in-kind support.

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I am also highly obliged to the Zanzibar Kiswahili Council (BAKIZA) for (non-financial) sponsorship of my research in Zanzibar. My utmost but revered word of thanks goes to my research assistants' trio in Zanzibar, namely, Mr Salim Abbasi Ali, also known as Ben Abbas (Turkish Maarif Schools, Zanzibar), Mr Amour Salim Said (BAKIZA) and Dr Hamad Khamis Juma (Zanzibar Muslim College, Mazizini). Their hard work and dedication made my research experience exceptionally rewarding and successful. I would also like to thank my family, friends and everyone involved for their patience, guidance and backing as needed. Most of all, I want to sign off by expressing my profound gratitude to Allah, the most gracious and merciful, for making every step of my research a tremendous success. Unto him be the Glory and triumph! *Asanteni sana!* (Thank you all, very much)

Dedication

To my Mum and Dad - the stairs to my lifelong endeavours and accomplishments!

I am eternally indebted to their unconditional love, support, and guidance.

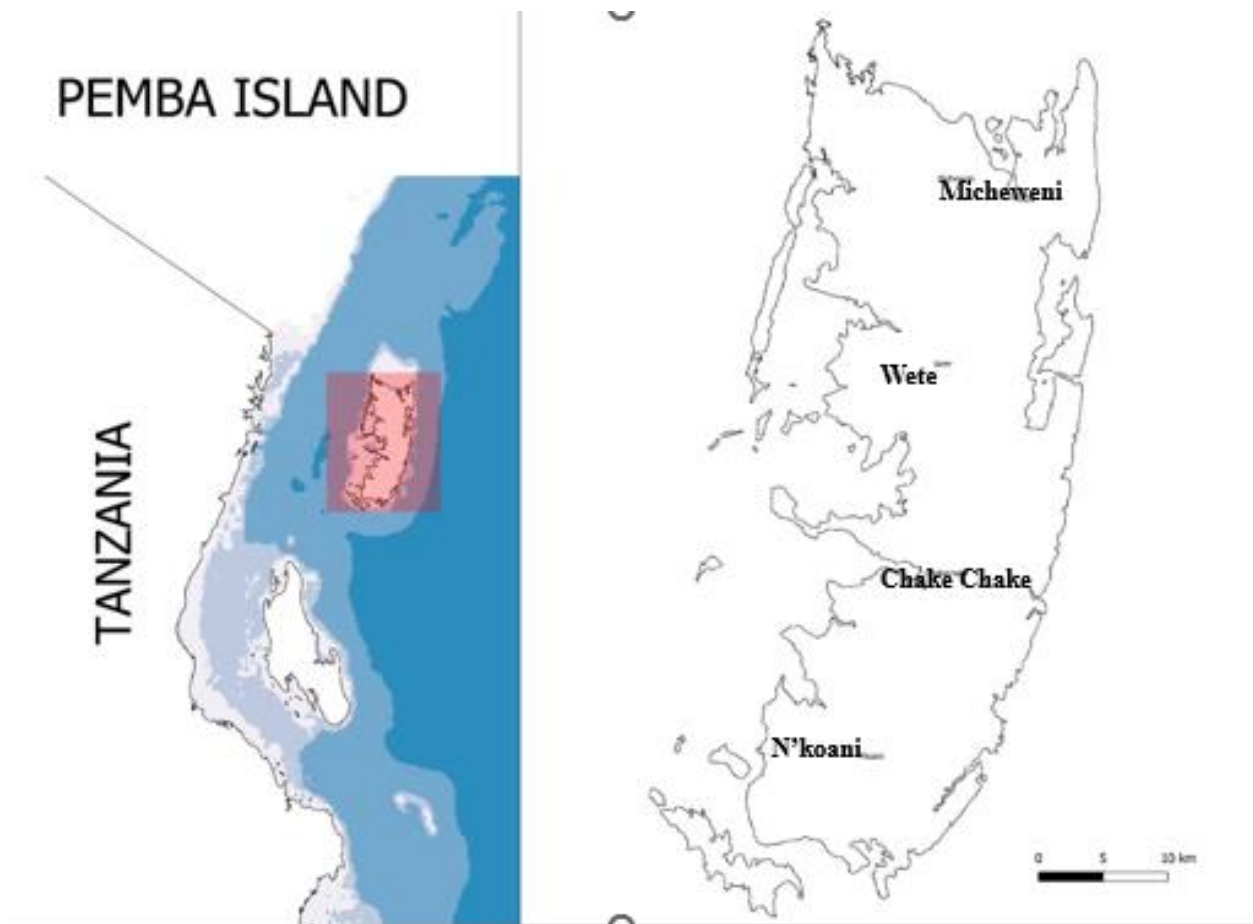
Chapter 1: Understanding Pemba and Kipemba - An Overview

1.0. Introduction

This thesis consists of nine chapters, including the introduction and conclusion. The introduction chapter covers the background of the study, an introduction to Pemba Island, the research rationale, the research context, and the main research questions. Language background, attitudes, and empirical and linguistic considerations are covered in chapter two. In addition, chapter two also explores critical issues relating to the history of the Swahili language, its origins, Swahili dialect classification and language attitudes. The chapter also discusses and analyses the linguistic considerations, language issues, and ideologies culminating in the zonal classification of linguistic zones in Kipemba. In chapter three, I review related literature on Swahili language studies, focusing on the works on Kipemba and the current classification of Swahili dialects, including Kipemba. The chapter also examines and highlights the gaps in the existing literature. Chapters five and six present and discuss research findings on generic linguistic features in Kipemba whereas chapter seven presents zone-specific features, and chapter eight explores different socio-linguistic aspects of variation in Kipemba based on various factors, culminating in the conclusion in chapter nine. The following section is a part of chapter one and it describes Pemba Island's geography, archaeology, history, economy, people, and culture. The section also shows how the area's history, geography, politics, people, and culture relate to and impact this research. This chapter concludes with the presentation and justification of the research context and the rationale for the study. The last part of this section outlines the main research questions and the critical assumptions about Kipemba that this study aims to substantiate and investigate further.

1.1. PEMBA: The green island

Pemba Island, also known as *al-Jazīra al-khadrā* by some Arab scholars (meaning 'the green island'), is a sister island of Unguja. Together, the two islands form a part of the Zanzibar archipelago in the present-day United Republic of Tanzania.



Map 1.1: Location of Pemba Island on the East Africa Coast [Source: adapted from Google Maps:]

1.1.1. Geography and Vegetation

Geographically, Pemba is hilly, particularly in the South and Northwest of the island. In the words of Adriaan Prins (1967), Pemba Island 'is dissected by valleys and gorges, making it distinctly more mountainous. Prins (1967:28) adds six inhabited islets, coral reefs, a delta, and rocks, and the 'quality of its topsoil and population is evenly distributed'. The seven inhabited islets in Pemba, also deemed significant to this research, are Kojani, Fundo, Kokota, Njau, Uvinje, Makoongwe and Kisiwa Panza. The soil is fertile and more fruitful in South and Northwest Pemba. Nathalie Arnolds (2003:41) describes the geography and vegetation of Mtambile (pronounced and in this thesis throughout written as "Ntambile") in South Pemba as being 'hilly, fertile, lush and green' with vegetation such as cloves, rice, cassava, plantains, sweet orange, pomelo, lemon, tangerine, mango, breadfruit, jackfruit and papaya trees. In addition to the former, Arnolds adds 'bitter orange, damson plum, Indian almond, ylang-ylang, and casuarina trees' and also makes a list among Pemba's indigenous flora. Apart from the Northeastern part of the island, a strip commonly known as "*Makaani*" particularly the area in

Wingwi - Micheweni Peninsula, where the soil is less fertile for agriculture than in other parts, the geography and vegetation that Arnolds listed here represent the whole island. The population of Pemba is estimated to be around 500,000 people. The latest available official demographic data on the population of Pemba is 543,441 (Population and Housing Census, 2022). Demographically, over half of the population of Pemba resides in the Northern part of the island, with Wete being the largest district of 148,712 people. The Wete town is the most populated area in Pemba, with an estimated population of 33,900 people, making the then-commercial capital town demographically the largest in Pemba (Population and Housing Census, 2022).



Map 1.2: Pemba Island modern-day towns Source: adapted from Google Maps]

1.1.2. Climate

Pemba enjoys a mild tropical monsoon climate with high yearly precipitation figures. The island enjoys an average temperature of 25.5°C (78°F). In dry seasons, the temperatures may rise to between 31°C and 33°C. The average rainfall in most places is between 1.364 mm and 1.900 mm (75 in). Pemba has two rainy seasons and two dry seasons. The rainy seasons stretch from March to May and October to December. Heavy downpours occur between March and May, occasionally causing floods in flatland areas, mainly in the Northeast of Pemba. Little rainfall showers between October and December, followed by dry seasons during January and February; the long dry season is between June and October. Over the past three decades, and probably due to climate change's impact, Pemba's climate is often mercurial.

1.1.3. Archaeology and History

Early Greek writings, including the *Periplus of Erythrean Sea* and the history covered by Mark Horton and John Middleton (1988:33), describe Menouthias (believed to be Pemba Island) as one of the ancient trading towns that existed from at least 50 BC (Skinner, 2005:394). According to La Violette and Fleisher (1995) and their subsequent publications on Pemba, the island was a centre for Swahili coastal trading around 600 AD. The earliest known town on the coastal settlement of Pemba is Ras Nkumbuu, also arguably known as *Qanbalu* by Ibn Masud and other early scholars. Greenville (1962:17) describes the distance to Nkumbuu as a 'one- or two-day sail from the coast'. Nkumbuu is located West of Pemba's capital, Chake Chake, on the long-stretched peninsula of Ras Nkumbuu. Back then, the town had a Muslim population and a royal family. At Ras Nkumbuu, one can find some of the oldest and best-preserved collections of early ruins on the islands, including the 14th- century Ndongoni ruins (Kirkman, 1959). Nkumbuu is arguably the first human settlement on Pemba Island. Its strong chiefdom inspired the development of other historical towns, such as Nkama Ndume at Pujini and Chwaka Tumbe. During my fieldwork, two participants shared some insightful information about possible early human settlements in Pemba. One of the participants from N'gelema and another from Pujini (later in this work, Nkama Ndume zone) told me that Nkumbuu is the cradle of humanity in Pemba, where the first human to land and settle on the island is believed to have arrived and settled. However, after examining various academic sources, including some works of Ibn- Batuta (A.D. 1325-1354), Pearce (1920), Buchanan (1932), Freeman-Greenville (1962), Kirkman (1964), Oliver and Fagan (1975), Spear (2000), and more recently, Reid and Lane (2014), to name but a few, Ras Nkumbuu is mentioned by many of these

scholars as one of the earliest settlements in Pemba, but none of these sources definitively confirm it as the cradle of humanity on the island leaving this discussion open, yet, but debatable.

The two participants also told me that the Bible and Quran King- cum-Prophet, King Solomon (Sulayman Ibn Dawud), arrived at Nkumbuu and sojourned on a small island called "Misali" - located a few miles away from Ras Nkumbuu. It is alleged that upon arrival, King Solomon prayed there. According to the research participants, "Misali" means *Nimesali*; in Swahili (I prayed), the name is believed to have been said by King Solomon himself – the claims also not verified by any reliable source so far. Today, the island of Misali is part of conservation and is also known as one of Pemba's most popular tourist attractions. With conviction, the research participants also told me that the people from Persia and some mainland tribes who came as enslaved people lived at Nkumbuu and later moved to Ndagoni - a nearby village. The first inhabitants of Nkumbuu moved when the most significant portion of Nkumbuu town began to submerge into the waters. From Ndagoni, people moved East and Southeast of Pemba to Nkama Ndume, Ntangani and Ngwachani areas in a modern-day Mkoani region South of Pemba.

Nkama Ndume (formally written as Mkama Ndume in Standard Swahili, but I will stick with the former rather than the latter throughout) is another ancient town East of Chake Chake and South of Pemba's Abeid Karume's Furaha Airport. According to various sources and accounts of my research consultants and participants, the town was under the chiefdom of a native ruler known by a famous sobriquet of Nkama Ndume – meaning, 'he who squeezes male parts' or, in Ingrams' (2007:140) version, "he who draws milk from a male", (if only they had any). The name was allegedly linked with his brutality and forbidding treatment of his subjects. Nkama Ndume's real name is a mystery, although, in some sources, he is known as Muhammad bin Abdelrahman (Ingrams, 2004:140). Nkama Ndume's portrayal in various historical literature engulfs mystery and mythical complexities. For example, in Ingrams (2007:140-41), he is portrayed as a religious, skilled boat builder and a builder of towns.

In contrast, Arnolds (2004:35) narrates that "when Nkama Ndume, the local king of Kudra (Jazira al- Khad'ra – green island), became angry with his staff, he made women sweep the kitchens with the pillows of their breasts". In another instance, Ingrams (2007: 141-42) recounts some atrocious episodes of 'inhuman cruelties committed by Nkama Ndume to his subjects, including "making people swim on dry land, forcing men to shout through their noses, opening the womb of wives to see what the child ate and making potters shuffle along on their

buttocks with the stones on their heads” (Ingrams 2007:141). I personally find these claims and any accounts narrated here as exceedingly exaggerated folklores with some hidden propagandistic motives. Since no written historical record exists, and the precise time Nkama Ndume might have lived and died remains an utter conundrum, the claims about this man remain vastly dubious. As said earlier, the accounts and historical anecdotes relating to the claims about this historical figure of his times are paradoxical and, to a large extent, ostensibly exaggerated and rather, indoctrinatory.

Against all odds, one of Nkama Ndume's notable contributions to the history of Pemba is, debatably, the building of towns and places of worship in places such as Vitongoji, Mtangani, Micheweni, Kichokochwe, and, most notably, Chwaka (also Twaka) in modern-day Tumbe. In a contrasting account, LaViolette (2014:144) disputes the account that Nkama Ndume found Kichokochwe and Micheweni towns based on the time frame between the sites where Nkama Ndume is believed to have lived. LaViolette argues that while Nkama Ndume is believed to have lived at the end of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the ruins at Kichokochwe date later to the 17th century. Although LaViolette’s account sounds plausible to argue that Nkama Ndume had no role in the towns such as Vitongoji, Mtangani (standard, Mtangani), Micheweni and Chwaka, based on my local consultants, I would argue in favour of Kichokochwe, as a different case in point. The Kichokochwe ruins, graveyard, and the words from the locals of Kambini village shed some incandescent insight that the towns, as mentioned earlier, might have existed during the time or even before the Portuguese invasion of Pemba. The old mosque in Kichokochwe, now a ruin, is primarily linked with Nkama Ndume in the region. The architecture and materials used in the mosque's construction resemble those found in Nkama Ndume's historical site in Pujini. In this regard, it is rather premature to give all the due credit to Nkama Ndume for his contributions to all those towns; it is firmly convincing that he had likely played some part in the Kichokochwe and Chwaka towns.

Chwaka, named earlier, is another ancient town and a chiefdom before the Portuguese invasion of Zanzibar. In his account, Ingrams (2007:143-44) mentions that two of Nkama Ndume's three children, Harun and Mwana Ntoto, known for their true piety over Islam, moved to Chwaka in a place now known as the Harun site near Nsikiti Shooko (Standard, Msikiti Chooko). The two children lived there until their mysterious demise before or soon after the Portuguese invasion of Pemba. According to archaeological sources, Chwaka was then one of the most prosperous trade towns on the East African coast and one of the first ancient settlements in Pemba. In their studies, Fleisher and LaViolette (2013:158) hold that "Tumbe was likely the richest settlement

on Pemba for its time, and one of the richest on the Swahili coast until the burst of town growth after AD 1000'. Archaeological findings in this area show that 'the locally produced pottery from Tumbe is part of the Early Tana Tradition (ETT, which Chami 1998 calls "TIW"), with incised and punctuated decorations most found on medium- to large-sized necked jars. This discovery confirms that pottery is the 'most common feature of regional coastal and hinterland sites from the sixth - tenth centuries, from Northern Kenya, Southern Mozambique, and interior settlements' (Horton, 1996; Chami, 1998; Fleisher & Wynne-Jones, 2011). The discoveries in Chwaka and Tumbe have tremendous archaeological significance that boasts excellent historical value, particularly in understanding the origins of the first people who lived in Pemba and their possible linguistic backgrounds.

In addition to Chwaka, another ancient town in Pemba is Ntambwe Nkuu (Standard, Mtambwe Mkuu), an early historical settlement on the Southwest tip of Pemba Island. Ntambwe Nkuu is a small island, joined to the mainland at low tide, directly South of Wete town. For over 1,000 years, Ntambwe Nkuu was one of the 'prosperous ports of East Africa' (McIntyre & McIntyre, 2013:368). A stock of silver and gold coins from this 9th to 11th-century town was discovered in 1984, with some of these metals believed to have belonged to the Sultans. The 10th–15th century Muslim and non-Muslim burials were also discovered on this site (Levtzion & Lee Pouwels, 2000:252) in the place now known as *Kwa Sambo* in Ntambwe Nkuu. This discovery affirms the assumption that this town was probably a fully-fledged settled town and a seaport in Pemba as early as the ninth century or earlier. When I visited Ntambwe Nkuu in February 2021 for fieldwork, I saw many of these historical artefacts. In addition to the *Kwa Sambo* old gravesite, I saw the first historic site of the old seaport at the place called Forodhani (a Swahili term for customs), a shoemaking factory site near *Kwa Sambo*, and an ancient remains of the mosque and old copper-smitten coins.

The four early chiefdoms of Pemba of Nkumbuu, Pujini (Nkama Ndume), Chwaka (the outskirts of the present-day Tumbe) and Ntambwe Nkuu, are crucial towards my study on variation in Kipemba. In present-day Pemba, it is unfortunate that these early settlements are no longer the towns they used to be. The villages are either deserted or have few people living there, and their historical value is diminishing under the eye of sheer neglect. In contrast, new towns such as Wete, Chake Chake and Nkoani developed. Most alarming, the Ntambwe Nkuu historical islet, now an area with less than 100 households, is in danger of vanishing in the next few years because of massive sea erosion that perpetually gnaws the island's land surface by the day. During my visit, the villagers pleaded for urgent government intervention to save their

small but ancient historical island settlement from disappearing. In the following paragraph I extend this discussion by adding to this study the information on demography and development of Kipemba zones – present and past.

Centuries ago, the early chiefdoms of Pemba disappeared soon after the Portuguese invasion of Pemba. The early Kingdom of Nkumbuu, Chwaka, Nkama Ndume, Ntambwe Nkuu, and Utenzi marked the beginning of the early permanent settlements of the people of Pemba. The early inhabitants of Nkumbuu are believed to have moved to the central and Eastern parts of Pemba to form the towns of Chake Chake, Wesha and the vicinity. According to my local consultants, the indigenous people of Ndagoni and Wesha villages came from some parts of Utenzi, such as Kangagani and Minungwini. On the other hand, the fall of the Nkamandume kingdom in Pujini is linked with the development of most Eastern villages and settlements of Pemba. Villages such as Matale, Chambani, Chanjan'jawiri, Pujini, Vitongoji, Ole and the vicinity are believed to have developed after the fall of the Nkama Ndume Kingdom. Besides Nkama Ndume, some consultants informed me that another small but early Kingdom in Pemba was in Ntangani, South Pemba and another chiefdom of Jamba Ngome, located Southwest of Pemba. These kingdoms are also linked to the development of many nearby villages, including the present day Wambaa in the Southern part of Pemba.

Ntambwe Nkuu, as mentioned earlier, is one of the oldest port towns in Northwest Pemba. According to my consultants from this area, the Ntambwe Nkuu old port town of Wete is linked with developing the greater Ntambwe area, Fundo Island, Gando, Wete town and their vicinities. The Chwaka township was "densely settled and likely had a larger impact on the political and geographic landscape" (La Violette, 2003; 2004). According to the sources cited here, the fall of Chwaka town and the fishing village of Kimimba likely led to the development of modern-day Tumbe village, including Kaliwa, as noted by Sarah Walshaw (2015:19). Other villages linked to Chwaka are Shumba N'jini (Standard, Shumba Mjini) and the nearby Northeastern villages such as Nsuka (Standard, Msuka) , Chaleni, Kipange, Makangale, Tondooni and Nkia wa Ngombe (Standard, Mkia wa Ng'ombe). I must highlight that according to my consultants, the current indigenous population of this area is composed of very few Christian Nyamwezi's and Makonde's from Tanzania mainland, the native Pembans from Micheweni and Minungwini areas who moved into this fertile region in pursuit of greener pastures.

Even though the theories mentioned above on the development of villages and communities in Pemba seem plausible, I particularly find the version on the origins of the people of Pemba

from my consultant from Kiuyu M'buyuni, Micheweni, markedly absorbing. According to this, gleefully outspoken consultant, Pemba's first people came from Persia, mainland Tanzania, and Kenya. These people arrived in Pemba and landed at the island's Northern tip in the present-day villages of Micheweni- Wingwi peninsula, Nsuka, Nkia wa Ng'ombe and Panga Watoro areas near Makangale. Due to weather and geographical factors such as soil fertility, they remained there — the people who arrived near the Ngezi forest and worked in the agriculture and fishing industry and stayed to present.

In contrast, those who arrived in the semi-arid areas of Micheweni were scattered throughout the Eastern parts of Pemba, stretching from North to Southeast Pemba. The consultant added that a few native Africans moved to the Central and Western parts of North and South Pemba in places such as Finya, Pandani, Piki, Ziwani, Kisiwani Kwa Binti Abeidi and Meli Tano. Agriculturally, Central and Western parts of Pemba are rich in agricultural activities, especially cloves, the island's backbone economic crop.

Historically, before the 1964 Zanzibar revolution, the land and clove plantation ownership belonged to Arabs who needed labourers to work in their plantations. Hence, my consultants said a few Africans moved here to look for jobs or work as peasants and farm labourers for Arab landlords. That is why, until today, most towns and villages in Central and Western parts of North and South Pemba are inhabited by a mixture of Arabs and Africans. Undoubtedly, the development of towns and villages, the diversity of its people and their economic activities are crucial segments and road maps towards understanding linguistic variations in Kipemba.

1.1.4. Economy

Economically, Pemba depends on small-scale agriculture and the marine economy. The main cash crop for Pemba is cloves. Pemba has been the world's largest spice producer for over a century. Pemba hosts over 3.5 million clove trees growing to ten to fifteen metres and can be harvested twice a year, some for half a century or more. Other economic activities include tourism, fishing, livestock keeping and seaweed plantation. While cloves remain Zanzibar's primary foreign export earner, in the wake of the 2000s, seaweed plantations have taken over as the primary household breadwinner in most of the coastal towns and villages of Pemba. Small-scale farming also dominates the islands. Cassava, coconuts, rice, beans, sweet potatoes, mangoes, jackfruits, papayas and breadfruits are some of many crops grown in Pemba for subsistence use. Beyond agriculture, Pemba is one of the richest fishing grounds on the Swahili coast, especially between the mainland and the islands. The expanse of the deep sea of the 50-

kilometre-wide Pemba channel consists of great fishing hotspots. However, due to a lack of modern fishing facilities, poverty and a shortage of effective fishing policies, local fishers from Pemba do not benefit fully from their abundant marine resources.

1.1.5. Transport and Communication

Regarding transport and communication networks, Pemba is relatively less developed than its popular sister island, Unguja. The roads are few, and some were until recently derelict, accommodating scant traffic. Public transport for Pemba consists of the *Daladala* – the famous passenger minibuses. *Daladala* operates regularly across and through the most popular urban and rural towns of Nkoani, Chake Chake, Wete, Michweni and Konde. Apart from *Daladala*, motorbikes, or *Bodaboda*, bicycles and scooters constitute some public transport means. Getting to Pemba is possible by ferry through Nkoani or Wete ports and flight through Pemba Airport in Chake Chake. Although the ferry and flight schedules have improved substantially in recent years, Pemba transport services are less reliable than Unguja Island. Despite these challenges, Pemba is hailed by travel experts as one of the safest destinations, where visitors can be immediately tempted by the locals' hospitality and easy-going and friendly nature.

1.1.6. People and Culture

A recent work by Chapurukha Kusimba and David Reich (2023) on "*Ancient DNA is restoring the origin story of the Swahili people of the East African coast*" shows that Swahili people (including the Pembans) have their origins from Bantu mothers and Persian fathers – the account that coincides with that of my consultant from Kiuyu, Micheweni. The inhabitants of Pemba Island and other mainland tribes who lived there for years and years can be referred to as the 'Wapemba'- the indigenous people of Pemba. Unlike many identities based on ethnicity or race in Africa, the identity of the Wapemba is not racial or ethnic but rather, geographical region in which they live – Pemba. In this regard, a Pemban or Mpemba could be anyone, be it an ethnic Bantu African or ethnic Asian, including someone from the Middle East. This Statement is supported by Ahmed Omar (2019: 48), who states that the origins of the people of Zanzibar (including Pemba) are rooted in two sources: Bantu Africans and people from Asia. Henceforth, it is rather appropriate to conclude that the genealogical and ethnic blend and diversity of the Pembans is a crucial determinant of their current social structure and, perhaps, a key factor for linguistic variation in Kipemba.

Swahili coast cultural stereotypes describe Pembans as humble, modest and hospitable people – the traits associated with many other Swahili peoples of the East African coast. However, visitors to the island are reminded of the old Kipemba proverb that resonates with and reflects the core of the inner cultures of the natives:

“Pemba Peremba, ukija na winda, warudi na kilemba. Ukija na kilemba warudi na winda.”

Proceed cautiously in Pemba. If you come wearing a loincloth, you leave wearing a turban. If you come wearing a turban, you leave wearing a loincloth (Laura Fair, 2001)

The terms "turban" and "loincloth" in this proverb are used figuratively or metaphorically to represent power dynamics and the status in the realms of social lives of native Pembans. Vaguely, the turban could mean anything in the line of high status and power, whereas a loincloth could mean a low class or a symbol of mediocrity. This saying interprets that if someone lives humbly in Pemba, they will be rewarded with a turban. Conversely, if someone behaves loftily, the Pembans will reduce them to the lowest fabric: the loincloth. For a researcher in fieldwork, this adage should serve as an *aide-mémoire* to emphasise that the alleged humble, modest and hospitable demeanour of the Pembans should not be misconstrued or taken for granted while in Pemba. This Swahili adage, like the old axiom, In Rome, do as Romans do, should be taken as a wake-up call that reminds the researchers to put themselves in the shoes of the local Pembans and always, as my former Supervisor, Professor Chege Githiora once advised, “keep a low profile” (p.c. October, 2019)

1.2.Kipemba: Background to the problem

For over a century, research on the Swahili language has focused on Northern dialects, such as Ki-Mombasa, and other Swahili dialects of coastal Kenya. Beyond the standard variety of Swahili spoken in Zanzibar Town, Kiunguja, Southern Swahili dialects – such as Kitumbatu, Kihadimu and Kipemba – have been overlooked, under-documented and understudied. The lack of literature, especially in Kipemba, is probably because early scholars lacked sufficient time and, perhaps, knowledge and understanding of some Southern dialects since most were foreign, and for Kipemba, lack of infrastructure and probably the insular nature of Pemba Island. Typical examples of the early researchers on Southern dialects, including Kipemba, were Sacleux (1909), Prins (1967), Whiteley (1958), Polomé (1967) and most notably, Stigand (1915), all of whom concluded that the Southern dialects of Swahili were similar. For instance, in his classification, Stigand (1915:2-3) categorises the Kiunguja, Kimrima and Kingao dialects as one 'Zanzibar' group of Swahili dialects – the account subject to further discussion

and research.

Stigand (1915:26) holds that Kihadimu, Kipemba and Kitumbatu are sub-dialects of the Zanzibar group because they are 'akin'. Stigand's view is also reinforced by Prins (1967:26), who also holds that Kipemba has an affinity with Kihadimu because the dialects contain words drawn from the old inhabitants of the island' – the theory I also dispute categorically. Perhaps the assumption that the Swahili dialects of Zanzibar are similar or akin proposed by the early researchers here might have eventually led to the conclusion that no further in-depth studies on the individual sub-dialects of the assumed Zanzibar group were needed. A detailed account and discussion on the classification of Swahili dialects, with specific reference to Kipemba, is covered in chapter two.

As highlighted in the previous paragraph, the oversight of Southern Swahili dialects is especially notable for Kipemba – the variety or a collection of varieties spoken on Pemba Island, a sister island of Unguja commonly known as Zanzibar. The term variety used throughout this study refers to a relatively distinctive form of a language, often based on geographical or social differences" (Bell, 2013:103). Despite Pemba being one of the two main islands forming Zanzibar, an indispensable economic contributor to Zanzibar's economy, there is an acute shortage of documentary materials and critical, descriptive and in-depth analysis of Kipemba. Despite its historical and economic potency, Pemba is left behind in all aspects of life, including academic research and scholarship. These findings are highlighted and confirmed in various sources, such as Jan Knappert (1992), Garth Myers (1996), Nathalie Arnolds (2003), Archie Matheson (2012), and Ahmed Omar (2019), to name just a few.

Historians, archaeologists and researchers have stated and reiterated that Pemba preserves and boasts of rich historical sources and treasures of older items of the Swahili language in the form of folk songs and poems, among others. Folk songs, folktales and poems are, in my opinion, the only remaining linguistic evidence showing the structure of Swahili and, some, Kipemba over the past years and centuries. The poetry works of Wilfred Whiteley (1957; 1958), Lyndon Harries (1962), James Allen (1971), Jan Knappert (1987; 1992), and Jahadhmy and Abdalla (2011) are some insightful works on Swahili and Kipemba. Wilfred Whiteley's (1958) 'The dialects and verse of Pemba' and Abdilatif Abdalla's (2011) poetry collection, "*Kale ya Washairi wa Pemba: Kamange na Sarahani*", shed light on the existence of the documented historic and resplendent but ancient variety and literary reserves in Pemba. The two historical but invaluable literary collections of poems from Pemba provide incandescent insights into the linguistic opulence of Kipemba. These works highlight the uniqueness of the forms of Kipemba used by the poets of Pemba in some places, such as Pondeani, Chake Chake, Bogowa in Wete

and Kojani islet. Even though the poetry collection between Whiteley's "Dialects and Verses of Pemba" and Abdalla's "*Kale ya Washairi wa Pemba*" are valuable pieces of historical literature on Kipemba, I see the two works in stark contrast to each other. Having read both works meticulously and being a native of present-day Pemba, I see the evidence of intriguing linguistic variations in Kipemba. Some early poems in Pemba represented the elite echelon of Arab proletariats and the other, the native African poetry. Looking into both works rationally, I found Whiteley's poems more reflective and representative of Pemba and Kipemba as spoken today than Abdalla's (2011), "*Kale ya Washairi wa Pemba*". The former represents the present-day native Kipemba spoken by most Kipemba speakers from rural areas, especially the Eastern Pemba and the latter, the elite Arab group that lived in Pemba, slightly similar to Kipemba spoken in Towns. Historically, Swahili poetry was considered an elite genre of literature that, during the colonial occupation in Zanzibar and Pemba, only a minor section of ruling Arab echelons had access. This assumption is probably why Arabic and Islamic linguistic features largely influenced early Swahili poetry of Pemba more than in the present time. The Arabic and Islamic influences in Pemba poetry were fundamentally a result of the socio-economic backgrounds of the poets of their times.

Compared with other Swahili dialects, Kipemba is rich in poetry and oral tradition that, if well preserved, could add significantly to the vast gap in the past literature on Kipemba. However, most early poems, anecdotal records and oral traditions about Pemba perish with their owners upon their passing. Apart from early poetry, some scholars argue that Kipemba spoken in Kojani is arguably the earliest form of Kipemba ever spoken on Pemba Island. In his work on Pemba, Whiteley (1958) outlined that the form of Kipemba spoken in the Kojani islet and its vicinity contained several archaic and esoteric repertoires of words and phrases of literary significance. Due to the lack of proper language documentation, low-quality writing materials, tropical weather, pests, and inadequate storage facilities, most written records contain the treasure of the early Kipemba language, and literary works of ancient and near-present times disappeared irrecoverably. To date, language documentation, preservation and proper record-keeping of historical and academic works remain a seemingly insurmountable challenge for Pemba and Zanzibar. Except for the early Swahili manuscripts collected and reserved at the SOAS library of the University of London and some in Hamburg, Germany, a plethora of language and historical documents containing language and literary content of tremendous academic merit, unfortunately, and perhaps heedlessly, were left to perish. The most cited reasons behind the loss of crucial written records were the need for 'proper', sound archiving and language documentation policies in Zanzibar and Pemba. This neglectful tendency has also

contributed to the shortage and loss of early works relating to Kipemba, the Swahili language and literature in Zanzibar. As a result, the lack of proper language documentation left an irreparable loss and a gap in the history of the Swahili language, its people, culture and the dialects of Zanzibar. Auspiciously, the above works of poetry have, at the very least, helped shed some flimsy light on the possible linguistic structure of Kipemba and variations in the variety.

Additionally, as highlighted earlier, the oversight of Kipemba can also be directly attributed to the historical marginalisation of Pemba and the Pembans in numerous forms and aspects of life. Indeed, marginalisation is a perennial problem that has considerable adverse effects on the island's development, research and scholarship. The marginalisation of Pemba has been discussed in several works, including a detailed and cogent account in Omar's (2019) book, "*Pemba: Muhanga wa Siasa*" (Pemba: The Scapegoats of Politics). Moreover, marginalisation of Pembans has been covered broadly by several other analysts, including Fitzpatrick (1999:145), Tambila (2000:97), Maliyamkono (2000:161), Oloka-Onyango and Nassali (2003:60), Oloka-Onyango (2003:140), Howard, Sungusia, and Maro (2004:23), Muloongo (2005:55), Matheson (2012:593-6), Keshodkar (2013:61), Bogaards and Elischer (2016:179), Arnolds (2018:145) and in elaborate detail by Omar (2019:171-282). The marginalisation of the Pembans has been a century-long issue of delicate nature and sensitive discussion. Matheson notes that "Pemba has been marginalised economically and politically to the extent that it is significantly less developed than its neighbouring island, Unguja" (Matheson, 2012:593). Economically, Pemba produces over 80% of Zanzibar cloves, the main export product and a crucial component of the national GDP. The Government controls and owns local peasants' cloves, paying farmers 20% or less of the market prices (there have been changes recently in price being slightly better than before). The profits from clove sales are mainly invested and spent to develop Unguja Island and exclude Pemba Island and Pembans. Studies show that most clove profits are invested in Unguja, which leaves Pemba struggling economically. Pemba struggles with "agricultural stagnation, lack of working capital, a destroyed co-operative movement, run-down dispensaries, schools with no books or chairs, and rampant corruption at all levels of government" (Cameron, 2002:4).

Historical records, research and reports indicate that the marginalisation of Pemba and Pembans is a perennial phenomenon dating back to the 1600s. Its impact on the current shortage of historical and linguistic research on Kipemba could be felt even more profoundly after the 1964 revolution (Omar, 2019: 171-273). Soon after the revolution, first President Karume of

Zanzibar closed Pemba to foreigners and researchers to prevent anti-government sentiments from reaching international communities (Knappert, 1992). For this reason, Esmond Martin's visit to Pemba and his publication of 1978 were hailed "remarkable" by Knappert (1992:46). With it being close to impossible for meaningful research to take place in Pemba; it is not surprising that the island has been overlooked by scholars, as summarised below:

Pemba has also historically been home to half of the Isles' population. Nevertheless, in much of the historiography, Pemba is rarely mentioned. When the island appears, it is often something of a side note. With the remarkable exceptions of J. E. E. Craster's detailed and affectionate 1913 book, *Pemba: The Spice Island of Zanzibar*, essential portions of William Ingram's work, and Esmond Martin's account of a visit to Pemba in the mid-1970s, Pemba has until recently either been curiously absent from much of the literature or has functioned as something of an unknown. When the island appeared, it was often depicted as a verdant and unruly hinterland populated by wilfully conservative, 'backwards', inward-looking people whose tight-knit communities stubbornly lag behind the (political and cultural) times." (Arnolds, 2018: 145).

The marginalisation of Pemba took its toll during the reintroduction of multiparty politics from 1992 onwards (Bogaards and Elischer, 201 ; Fitzpatrick, 2008). During this time, the economic disparity gap widened, causing severe hardship in people's lives. The economic problems in Pemba occurred roughly the same as IMF-led structural adjustments, leading to market liberalisation, which many believe was managed poorly and increased inequalities. The Table below shows the economic disparity between Pemba and Unguja after the 1995 elections, which left Pemba in dire economic shape. Although the statistics below are two decades old, it is hard to say whether there has been any considerable progressive change in Pemba since then.

	Unguja	Pemba
Residents without electricity	76%	93.8%
Residents without toilet	34.3%	79.8%
Residents without piped water	36.4%	85.2%
Households 2 km from public transport	9.9%	43.0%
Low-income households	31.7%	50.4%
Primary school attendance rate	70.6%	42.4%
Foreign investment (% of total)	93.9%	6.1%

Table 1.1 Economic Indicators of Unguja and Pemba, 1995 (Myers, 1996:234)

Shortly after the revolution, Pemba was isolated from the world for over a decade: 'No tourists were allowed in (ostensibly because there were no hotels); not even the research officers for the fisheries department could come near it' (Knappert, 1992:45-5). In acts of reprisal against rebelling Pembans, the 'government punished Pembans for not participating in the revolution' (Tambila, 2000:97; Keshodkar, 2013:61), and from that time onwards, the Wapemba' developed strong feelings of victimisation and political and economic marginalisation (Muloongo, 2005:55). The introduction of multiparty democracy in 1992 added salt to the wounds of Pembans. Such politics of exclusion resurfaced during the multiparty era in 1992. Fitzpatrick (2008:143) noted that 'tensions peaked during the 1995 elections and relations deteriorated after that, with Pembans feeling exceedingly excluded and unsatisfied. However, this situation was unsurprising, considering illiteracy rates are as high as 95%.' Although the data presented here is questionable, it is indisputable that Pemba remains side-lined in all aspects of life compared to its sister island, Unguja, even today. The recent available data on the literacy rate in Pemba (as of 2014) shows an illiteracy rate between 67.6% and 73.3%, which is still very high compared to Unguja Island.¹

Politically, Pemba is also subject to some forms of discrimination and victimisation. Between 1992 and early 2000, the Pembans complained of being strategically deprived of many opportunities in government administration, civil service and even access to higher education (Omar, 2019:171–4, 92–203). The victimisation and discrimination deprived many aspiring scholars of Pemba of the opportunity to advance their knowledge and skills, including research and scholarship – likely contributing to the absence of advanced studies on Pemba and Kipemba. Since then, the Government has imposed stricter rules and procedures for scholars interested in researching Pemba. However, the recent Zanzibar island's regimes, especially the current Dr Hussein Mwinyi's first three years presidential tenure has witnessed a number of Pembans in a key political and administrative positions in the government. In recent years, especially during Hussein Mwinyi's administration in Zanzibar, research permit rules and "red tapism" have been dramatically reduced and permit rules encouragingly relaxed. Still, research on politically related matters is subject to strict and hefty scrutiny, and for the locals, this line of research interest is highly delicate and not recommended to pursue.

Although the marginalisation of Pemba had a substantial negative impact on their lives and general scholarship, Prins (1964: xi) suggests that some research was still possible in the 1960s:

¹ https://www.tanzania.go.tz/egov_uploads/documents/TANZANIA_MAINLAND_SOCIO_ECONOMIC_PRO_FILE_sw.pdf

language research has 'made more progress than most other sectors of Swahili studies'. Prins cites the work of Whiteley, Knappert, Allen, Harries and himself as representing significant progress in language scholarship on Kipemba. However, it must be emphasised that the contributions highlighted by Prins do not address the broader linguistic aspects of Kipemba, and only a few to none of those works have focused on linguistics. A detailed review of relevant works and research gaps on Kipemba is presented in chapter three.

As stated earlier, Pemba contributes immensely to Zanzibar's economy. While over 80% of clove production comes from Pemba – Zanzibar's main export and the backbone of the economy for more than 150 years - Pemba remains socially, economically and politically deprived. Until recently, there has been a massive gap of development disparity between Pemba and Unguja. For example, regarding infrastructure and tourism (Kielmann, 1997:127), Unguja is more developed and receives over 300,000 tourists annually when tourism has replaced cloves as Zanzibar's primary source of income. In Pemba, the infrastructure is still a work in progress – the first traffic light in Pemba was introduced only in 2019, following the Government-led initiative to improve roads and transportation in Pemba. Thanks to Dr Ali Mohammed Shein's administration as the seventh President of Zanzibar and his bold initiatives to reduce the impact of marginalisation by empowering Pemba and Pembans during a decade of his presidential tenure.

1.3. Research rationale and context of the study

Despite its popularity and rapid spread, the Swahili language and some dialects lack 'hard evidence and documentation about their history' (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993:1). The main factors leading to the lack of evidence and documentation about the Swahili language and Kipemba were outlined and briefly discussed in the previous sections. Thus, it is fair and appropriate to reiterate that no written evidence relating to early Swahili communities exists today because of inadequate language documentation facilities and mechanisms used to preserve and store early written records. Historical data about the Swahili people once lived as nomadic communities that moved from one place to another (Pearce, 1920). The fact that the coastal settlers were nomads was also highlighted by many early scholars, including Pearce (1920) and the early works of Ingrams (2007). The main economic activities of the first coastal settlers were agriculture, pastoralism, fishing and small-scale trading. The nomadic nature of the people and communities could perhaps be one of the causes of the loss of early Swahili historical records. As noted in the previous section, the areas believed to be early towns in

Pemba, such as Nkumbuu, Nkama Ndume, Chwaka and Ntambwe Nkuu, are either entirely not occupied or under-settled today. The only remaining evidence of settlement in those sites includes the poorly preserved or visibly unkempt ruins that continue to erode and crumble by the day. It is no wonder that apart from recent archaeological discoveries in Pemba, scholars have primarily relied on historical sources to deduce and document the history and origins of Swahili communities. These include the ruins, tombs and some tangible historical materials found on-site. However, evidence from existing historical sites, such as ruins, is insufficient to fully comprehend the histories and origins of ancient communities, owing to inherent biases in the surviving material culture.

For this reason, the early communities' history and origins on the Swahili coast, including Pemba, remain predominantly unknown, and the little that we assume to know about ancient Pemba and Kipemba is hard to substantiate or verify. The evidence about early Swahili communities is based on the episodic reconstruction of historical artefacts rather than systematic documentation of facts and figures. This deficiency poses considerable challenges in providing an accurate early linguistic history and understanding the structure and evolution of the Swahili language and its dialects, including Kipemba. The lack of written documentation and language description particularly persists for some Swahili varieties, with a notable absence of in-depth studies. The historiographic records show that in the years leading to the end of the 20th century, despite significant progress in global research and scholarship, more is needed in Kipemba. The only systematic studies of Kipemba in that period numbered less than a dozen, most of which did not entirely focus on Kipemba per se.

Nonetheless, on the eve and early days of the commencement of the 21st century, ground-breaking developments in science, technology, and education began to change the face of the research landscape in Zanzibar. Most remarkably was the introduction of new Universities and colleges in Zanzibar in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Before then, Zanzibar had no Universities or colleges that conferred degrees – another substantial factor contributing to the current shortage of scholarly works on Kipemba. The inception of Zanzibar University and Sumait University in 1998, followed by the State University of Zanzibar (SUZA) in 2002, marked the beginning of a new era for developing knowledge, research and scholarship in Zanzibar. Previously, the University of Dar Es Salaam was one of few higher education hubs in the Tanzania mainland that offered limited places for Zanzibaris (including Pembans) to advance their higher education. Since the introduction of Universities in Zanzibar, a few works and more interest in Kipemba have emerged.

As highlighted earlier, the lack of evidence, linguistic description, and critical analysis are especially noticeable for Kipemba. Nonetheless, over decades, scholars and researchers have paid little attention to this variety of Kiswahili, which appears, in many ways, more diverse than any other dialect of Swahili in Zanzibar dialect cluster. Early works, such as Sacleux (1909), Stigand (1915), Ingrams (1924), Whiteley (1958), Polomé (1967) and Prins (1967), all agree that Kipemba is a variety of Swahili spoken in Pemba. From an analytical point of view, most of these works offer little or insufficient linguistic explanation of the language; most of the existing analyses of Kipemba are more than 40 years old and are often too generic to offer reliable conclusions about the variety. Hence, it is sound to hold that the old language description could be an indispensable source for understanding the language or a variety, such as Kipemba, and its history. However, with the passing of more than 40 years, for a better understanding of the comparative aspect of Kipemba, it is essential to revisit the findings of past studies in a more in-depth and systematic manner.

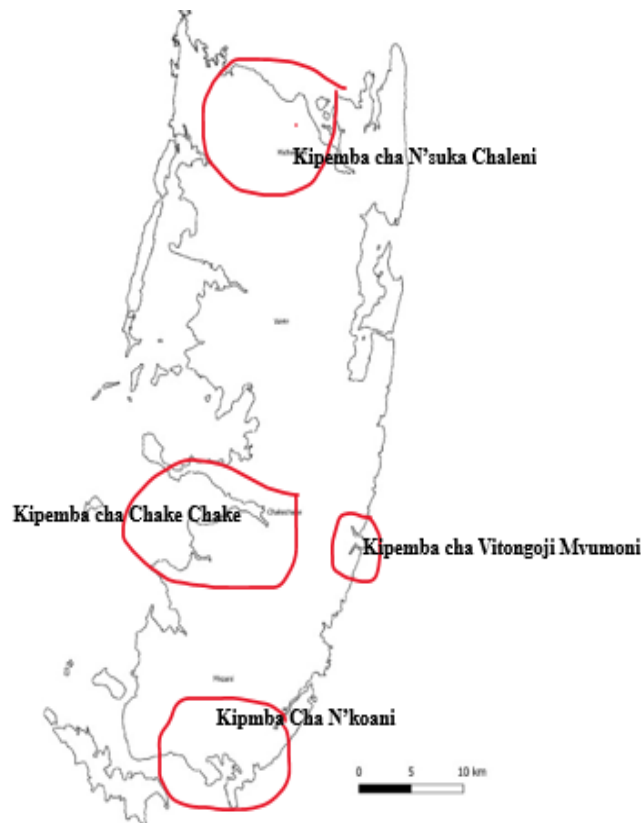
For some generic works, old and recent, revising the findings and offering recent, reliable, valid conclusions about Kipemba are also indispensable. As a result, whether Kipemba is one variety of Swahili or it comprises several other varieties or sub-varieties spoken in various parts of Pemba is yet to be confirmed. While it is certain that the varieties or sub-varieties spoken in Pemba are related, it is uncertain how and the extent to which those varieties are related. Some experts on Pemba, such as Nathalie Arnolds, hold that Kipemba is not merely one variety but several varieties spoken differently in different places in Pemba.² Arnolds believes that the Kipemba spoken at Ntambile (Southeast Pemba) differs substantially from the Kipemba spoken at Kojani (Northeast Pemba). In her opinion, the same applies to Kipemba spoken in other parts of the island. Nevertheless, Arnolds does not offer any explanation about variation across Pemba.

Even though no linguistic evidence supports Arnolds's claim, I take it as a wake-up call for the researchers to continue conducting further studies in the area. In line with this, Daulat Said (2009:1) and Sauda Juma (2012:6), who also worked on Kipemba, have highlighted similar observations. In their Master's dissertations on Kipemba, both scholars noted that Kipemba might have more than one variety spoken differently in different places in Pemba. In her work on Kipemba clitics, Said notes that Kipemba could constitute more than one variety. Still, due to a lack of proper systematic research to confirm the assumption, Said considers Kipemba as

² In an interview with Zaima TV online (2018), Professor Nathalie Arnolds, an expert researcher and a specialist on Pemba, argued that there is no Kipemba, but Vipemba (meaning there are several varieties of Kipemba).

one variety, suggesting further studies on Kipemba. Likewise, Sauda Juma studied a form of Kipemba spoken in Mwambe (also written as Muambe) in the Nkoani region. Even though the nature of Juma's study confirms her belief that Kipemba consists of more than one variety, in a similar vein to Said, Juma believes Kipemba is a variety with minor zone-specific linguistic variations. Both Said and Juma agree that Kipemba is understudied, urging other researchers to conduct in-depth, systematic research on Kipemba.

Turning our attention to the early studies on Kipemba, *Grammaire des dialects Swahilis* by Charles Sacleux (1909) is the earliest to highlight the existence of the Kipemba dialect. Sacleux (1909: ix) classifies Kipemba into four zone-specific varieties: *Kipemba cha Kusini* (Kipemba of the South), *Kipemba cha Vitongoji Mvumoni* (Kipemba of Vitongoji Mvumoni), *Kipemba cha Chake Mumuni* (Kipemba of Chake Chake), and *Kipemba cha Msuka Chaleni* (Kipemba of Msuka Chaleni) as shown in the map below:

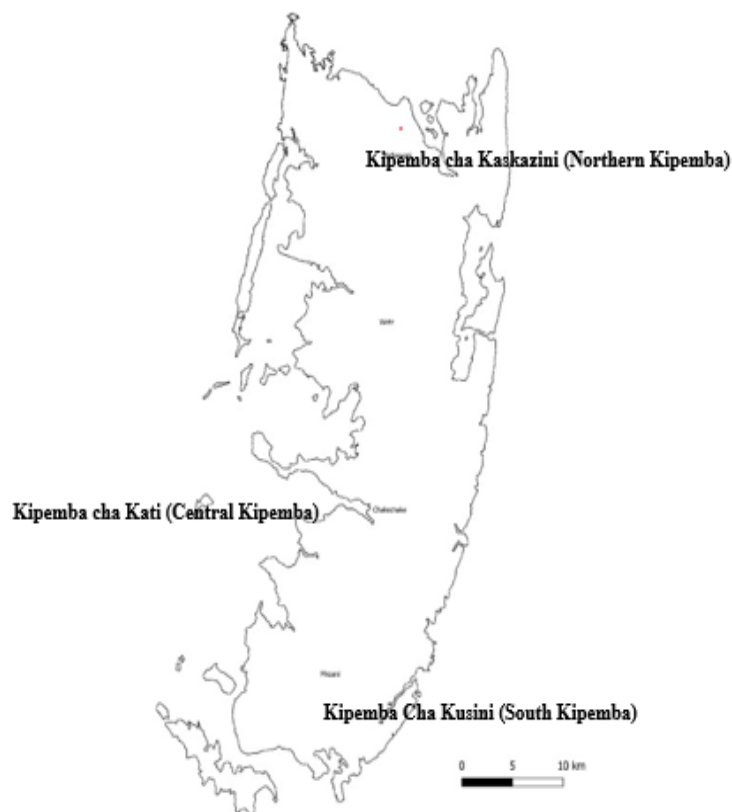


Map: 1.2. Variations in Kipemba as proposed by Sacleux (1909: ix)
[Source: Open Street Map]

Based on the nature of the human settlements and demographic distribution in Pemba during this time, Sacleux classification seems relevant, offering a broader understanding of Kipemba. However, the classification lacks substantial linguistic evidence analysis and description of how Kipemba looked like in those four proposed linguistic zones. Despite the shortcomings,

Sacleux classification is used as a roadmap guiding my classification of linguistic classification of Kipemba linguistic zones in Chapter two. Apart from Sacleux, other scholars, such as Stigand (1915) and Ingrams (1924, 1931), define Kipemba as a variety of Swahili generically spoken in Pemba. Still, there is a need for a more substantial analysis or an in-depth description of the structure of Kipemba. A brief survey on Kipemba by Whiteley (1958) divides Kipemba into three zones, differing from those proposed by Sacleux. The local variants listed by Whiteley are (1) Northern Kipemba (Konde, Tumbe, and Micheweni), (2) Central Kipemba (Kowani, Matele, Ndagoni, Ngwachani, Kiuyu, Kambini,) and (3) Southern Kipemba (Chokocho). Whiteley's classification plays an integral part in studying variation in Kipemba, confirming the presence of Kipemba and proposing local variants spoken across the island. However, like Sacleux, Whiteley's work does not offer a detailed description or analysis of Kipemba and the proposed local variants. However, of the few early studies on Kipemba, Whiteley's work is invaluable to the current language documentation and scholarship on Kipemba. Within a short time spent in Pemba researching its linguistic variety, Whiteley visited relevant places in Pemba. Having read his work on 'the dialects and verse of Pemba', I am convinced that Whiteley collected language data from reliable sources and sites in Pemba, with data relating to the names of traditional places, such as Nkadi wa Ndenge in Tumbe and Mwembe Jivuli in Konde. Additionally, Whiteley mentioned some renowned people of Pemba who lived in the old days before and during the 1950s. Names such as Kamange, Sarahani and the legendary *Sheha* Mbwara Haji of Tumbe are verified as accurate native names of Pemba. Although Whiteley's lexical data is over 50 years old, some words in his work are still used and recognised in a modern-day Pemba.

Further, Whiteley highlights vital features of linguistic variation in Kipemba as spoken in Micheweni, Tumbe, Chokocho and other parts of Pemba. These features will be used as a road map for his investigation of linguistic variation in Kipemba. However, Whiteley's work's limitations are evidenced in his claim that standard Swahili has taken over Kipemba in most parts of Pemba. Distinctive Kipemba dialect was still spoken in the North and Southeast Pemba (Whiteley 1958: 8), mentioning the areas such as Wingwi – Micheweni Peninsula, Matele and Kiuyu as highly conservative Kipemba zones. However, Whiteley did not visit places like Kojani and did not offer any linguistic data that could have helped understand the structure of Whiteley's 'allegedly' distinctive Kipemba dialect.



Map 1.3. Variations in Kipemba as proposed by Whiteley (1958) {Source: openstreet map}

After Whiteley came a few more works, as cited by Prins, written when government restrictions prevented meaningful research, the lockdown on local research in Kipemba continued until the early 1980s, when the situation eased slightly. It was not until 1984 that Said A. M. Khamis undertook more substantive research on Kipemba, covering small geographical areas around Wete, Micheweni and other rural places of interest. A few more studies followed suit some years later, including the works by Mshindo (1988), Maganga (1991), Kipacha (2004), Said (2009) and Faki (2009). Remarkable progress in the study of Kipemba can be noted in the wake of the 2010s, when the research interest in Kipemba caught the eye of mostly local researchers, primarily from the Universities of Zanzibar and the Open University of Tanzania in Zanzibar. Works by Sauda Juma (2012), Suleiman (2015), Ali (2015), Sharabil (2017) and Hamad Juma (2011; 2018) are a few of the studies conducted during this time. Even though the freedom to undertake meaningful research has increased substantially in Zanzibar, not many of the listed works above offer an in-depth analysis and description of either generic or specific linguistic features of Kipemba and its possible local variations.

Regarding the theoretical approach, studies on Kipemba over the past several decades have taken different perspectives. Some scholars view Kipemba as a regional dialect spoken on Pemba Island, but others see Kipemba as a collection of varieties spoken across Pemba.

There are also scholars such as Bryan (1959:127), Polomé (1967:24) and Mohamed (2001), who proposed that Swahili in the Southern tip of Pemba is markedly different from Kipemba. None of the works supports this view with sufficient evidence and examples. Siti Ali (2015: viii) provides a variation on this view, which suggests that the Kipemba spoken in the South Pemba is closely related to Kitumbatu and Kiunguja – this, too, does not rely on sufficient linguistic evidence that covers key linguistic features from all areas of Pemba.

From a brief review of the previous literature, it can collectively be concluded that all work on Kipemba exhibited one or more of the following shortcomings:

- Many are more than 50 years old. Despite offering interesting theories and leads, their relevance to present-day Kipemba must be reviewed.
- Some of these works lack breadth and depth due to focusing on isolated areas and small sample sizes, including the most recent studies by local graduates in Zanzibar. Due to low budgets and time constraints, the studies focus on small areas in one part of Pemba that cannot be deemed sufficiently representative to conclude, owing to the nature of the diversity of the Pemba linguistic community. Daulat, Sauda, Said, Hamad, and Ali, among others, fall under this category.
- The works do not clarify whether Kipemba is spoken island-wide or in some parts of the island. The fundamental but old assumption about Kipemba is that Kipemba is only spoken in some parts of Pemba. Whiteley once argued that Kipemba is mainly spoken in Northeast Pemba, especially in Wingwi – Micheweni Peninsula. The abovementioned assumption is supported by contemporary scholars, such as Juma (2018) and Siti Ali (2015). This assumption remains unsubstantiated by any in-depth linguistic evidence. It is still unclear whether Kipemba is spoken in some areas of Pemba or all over the island.

From the limitations outlined here, it is evident that the lack of in-depth and systematic study of Kipemba – and indeed the limited cultural and linguistic scholarship on Kipemba – is a deficiency that needs scholarly attention. This research aims to contribute to and add to the gaps of need for more attention, documentation and language description challenges in Kipemba by examining, documenting, describing and analysing variations in Kipemba. The study offers the first substantial, in-depth, systematic descriptive-comparative study of the region's dialect or variety using triangulation methods along with dialectological and variationist approaches in the study of Kipemba. The research covers two major geo-political regions – North and South – and four districts of Pemba: Micheweni, Wete, Chake Chake and

Mkoani. Statistically, Pemba has 18 political constituencies and 135 *shehia*. A *shehia* is the lowest official administration unit in Zanzibar's political administration hierarchy. Each *shehia* consists of a few villages and households. The local leader of a *shehia* is called a *sheha*. A complete account of the methodology used in this study is covered in chapter four. The following section presents the main research questions that address the limitations.

1.4. Main Research Questions

This research aims to determine whether Kipemba is one or a collection of more distinct varieties of Swahili spoken on Pemba Island. Below are the critical research questions for this study:

- a) What are the generic phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features of Kipemba?
- b) What are the specific phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features of the different sub-varieties/local variants of Kipemba spoken within and across other parts of Pemba Island?
- c) What factors have contributed to the variation in Kipemba discussed in (a) and (b) above?

Together with the above research questions, this study aims to answer the above research questions and address major theoretical postulates and assumptions on Kipemba. The study is interested in determining whether Kipemba is a variety spoken with minor zone-specific variations, as propounded by some older and contemporary scholars.

- Kipemba is a collection of a "number of subdialects spoken on Pemba Island" (Nurse and Spear, 1985:61)
- There is no Kipemba, but instead, various forms of Kipemba, as argued by some scholars, including Arnolds.
- Standard Swahili is taking over Kipemba, as once argued by Whiteley and supported by contemporary scholars in Kipemba.
- A distinctive Kipemba dialect is spoken in the East zone of Pemba, as Whiteley (1958) and Hamad Juma (2018) claimed.
- Kipemba is spoken all over Pemba except in the southern tip, as argued by Bryan (1959), Polomé (1967), Mohamed (2001) and recently, Siti Ali (2015).

Chapter 2: Kipemba - Background, Empirical Context, Attitudes and Linguistics Considerations

2.1. Introduction

For an insightful understanding of variation in Kipemba, this chapter refers to and revisits Swahili's history and how Swahili dialects developed over time. The chapter traces back and presents the historical background of the Swahili language from its ancestral Bantu roots and the development of Swahili dialects. It refers to various scholarly works to pursue the history and development of dialects, how Kipemba developed, and how it relates to other dialects of the East African littoral. Besides, it uses both research-based and empirical evidence to show the development of Kipemba. It argues for the development of Swahili dialects in some parts where situational bi-dialectism is believed to have positively influenced Kipemba, opposite Kiunguja, and the so-called Standard Swahili.

Further, the chapter explores the issue of language attitude in Zanzibar and argues that social attitudes towards Kipemba and Standard Swahili have played a paramount role in shaping bi-dialectism in Pemba. To elucidate this argument, I also show how those attitudes have primarily influenced the bi-dialectal situation. In this section, I argue that bi-dialectism and language attitudes are but the main factors for developing the geographical divisions and linguistic variation in Kipemba. Based on the pre-defined linguistic parameters I set out in this chapter, such as accent and distinctive Kipemba lexical repertoire, this chapter classifies Kipemba into eight linguistic zones. The linguistic zones are briefly explained and later used as a roadmap that guides my entire study, discussion and analysis of generic and specific linguistic features and factors that determine or influence linguistic variation.

2.2. Swahili and Bantu: The background to the language

Swahili, also known as *Kiswahili*, from which Kipemba belongs, is a Bantu language and a member of the wider Niger-Congo family, one of the four (now five, including Malagasy) main African language phyla (Nurse and Philippson, 2003:1-7). The name Bantu (meaning people) was first used in the 19th century by Wilhelm Bleek (1862/69). It later appeared in his book, *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*, as the language family's name. Historically, the Bantu family of languages descended from a common Proto-Bantu language. In a review of Nurse and Phillipson's book, "Bantu Languages", Lutz Marten (2005), points out about 500 Bantu languages and approximately 240 million speakers in 27 sub-Saharan African countries. The Bantu languages have the longest tradition of scholarly linguistic

attention and probably the highest degree of description.³ (Marten, 2005:500). According to Adler and Pouwels (2007:169), Bantu languages traced their roots from Cameroon around 2,500–3,000 years ago (1000 BC to 500 BC). Later, the Bantu expansion involved much of Sub-Saharan Africa, East of Cameroon, where Bantu peoples now constitute nearly everyone. Etymologically, the word 'Swahili' was derived from an Arabic word, 'The *Sahel*', according to (Whiteley, 1969:2), which means 'coast, shore, or coastal towns'. In its historical essence, the word "Swahili" is widely and collectively used to mean the language, its people, and its culture in the day-to-day use of the language. Arabic has, for centuries, influenced the Swahili language. Due to its historical and linguistic implications, the effect of the Arabic language in Swahili is noticeable. The influence of Arabic extends further to the heart of the language's structure and linguistics aspect. Most non-linguists have viewed Swahili as an Arabic or a hybrid language, primarily and foremost due to the number of Arabic loanwords in the language. Before the standardisation of Swahili, it was somewhat plausible to claim that Swahili contained up to 30% Arabic vocabulary. This figure of lexical borrowings was probably due to the perennial cultural and linguistic integration between Arabs and African people of the coast and the role of the slave trade in East Africa. The Slave trade, though one of the sombre and poignant historical episodes in African history, played a tremendous role in developing and spreading the Swahili language in East and Central Africa. An Afro-Arab ivory and slave trader, Ḥamad ibn Muḥammad ibn Jum‘ah ibn Rajab ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd al Murjabī (1832 -1905), known commonly as Tippu Tip, is immensely credited for, among other few positive things about the character, the spread of Swahili to interior Tanzania mainland to as far as to some Great lakes' regions such as the now, Democratic Republic of Congo.

The standardisation of Swahili in the late 1930s and early 1940s had a considerable role in the Swahili language. For instance, Swahili's number of Arabic loanwords began to decrease substantially. Other factors, such as Africanisation and the Bantuisation of Swahili, were cited as leading to decreased Arabic loanwords in Swahili. In their Africanisation campaign, African leaders also discouraged using Arabic words in Swahili in the political sphere, which many thought historically reminisced them of dark or traumatic slavery and the colonial past. The burgeoning use of English as an international communication medium also played a considerable role in discouraging the prominence of the Arabic language in Swahili. Far fewer Arabic words are used actively in Swahili-speaking communities than in the past five decades. Apart from Arabic, Swahili borrowed from other African and foreign languages such as

³ This information can also be accessed here <https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/7207/1/ReviewoftheBantuLanguages.pdf>.

English, Portuguese, Persian, Hindi and, minimally, Malagasy, but only in minimal proportions, as shown in the table below (Schadeberg, 2009).

Donor Language	Loanwords Percentage
Arabic (Oman mainly)	16.3–20%
English	4.6%
Portuguese	0.9–1%
Hindi	0.7–3.9%
Persian	0.4–3.4%
Malagasy	0.2–0.4%

Table 2.1: The percentages of loanwords in Swahili (cited from Schaderberg, 2009)

Research shows that over 70% of Swahili vocabulary is shared with other Sabaki languages (Nurse and Hinnebusch, 1993:321). This percentage of the shared lexical similarities also applies to grammar and sound systems. Traditionally, Swahili is regarded as the native language of the East African coast. Nonetheless, recent developments and expansion of the language show that Swahili is spoken beyond its original ancestral coastal frontiers. Swahili, arguably the most popular Bantu language in Africa, is primarily spoken in Tanzania, Kenya, Burundi, Congo, Somalia, and Mozambique. It is a lingua franca of the East African region, the African Great Lakes Region, and Southern Africa. In Tanzania, over 50 million Tanzanians speak Swahili as their second language, and about two million speak Swahili as their native or first language. Swahili is the national language, a medium of instruction in Tanzanian primary schools, and the language of mainstream media and social functions. Swahili enjoys official status in Kenya, but despite the widespread preference for English and Kenyan ethnic languages, Swahili remains a people's favourite in Kenya. Swahili is both a national and official language in Tanzania and Kenya. Deducing from various sources including Mazrui and Mazrui (1995), Kimemia (2001), Schmidt (2003), and Githiora (2018), Swahili holds special status in these countries, often as an official language or a significant part of cultural identity, recognised by governments, used in official documents, media and taught in schools. It symbolises the nation's heritage, traditions, and unity, fostering communication among diverse linguistic groups. Outside East and Central Africa, Swahili is now an optional subject taught in South African schools, Namibia, Botswana, South Sudan, and most recently, Burundi. This moves immensely popularised Swahili globally.

Beyond the frontiers of East Africa and the Great Lakes Region, Swahili is spoken and used internationally in the USA, UK, China and UAE. Some countries, such as Oman, Canada and

the UK, are now better known as the new diaspora hotspot of Swahili. For example, the UK is home to the most significant number of native Swahili speakers of the diaspora. An unversed case of this phenomenon can be traced to Barking and Dagenham in the United Kingdom. The London Borough of Barking and Dagenham is believed to harbour the largest native Swahili population in the UK and, arguably, in Europe and America, with over 11,000 native Swahili families, according to a survey by Swahili Society UK back in 2012.⁴ The number of Swahili families in the UK has increased dramatically since 2012, with towns such as Leicester, Coventry, Wellingborough, Nottingham, Birmingham, Bedford, Newcastle, Portsmouth and Northampton also registering a considerable number of Swahili speakers in their neighbourhoods.

Intriguingly, most of the Swahili speakers referred to here are the people who, in small numbers, came from Zanzibar following the 1964 Zanzibar revolution that toppled and terminated Sultan Jamshid's monarchy. Another wave of Swahili-speaking people were immigrants who fled Uganda in the 1970s following the then military leader, General Idi Amin Dada's regime crackdown against Asian migrants in Uganda. General Amin, the then President of Uganda, was the sole perpetrator of the crackdown that saw a wave of first immigrants from Uganda to the United Kingdom. Some of the Asian migrants spoke some Swahili when they left. Another wave of Swahili-speaking people into the UK was from Somalia following an outbreak of the Civil War that saw off the ousting of the then President of Somalia, General Mohammed Siad Barre, in 1991. The Swahili-speaking Somali refugees to the UK were later followed by another arrival of Swahili-speaking refugees from Burundi, mainly from Buyenzi in the Bujumbura area, following the 1994 genocide that marked the beginning of a decade-long civil war. The war broke following, among other factors, the untimely deaths of the then Presidents – Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi, from a plane crash earlier the same year. Apart from the Burundi Swahili-speaking immigrants to the UK, in an unsurprising fact that history repeats itself, the latest arrival of the Swahili-speaking migrants afterwards was again from Zanzibar islands who fled to the UK between 1995 and 2001 following a profoundly disputed 1995 election, hostile political persecution, and the 2001 post-election

⁴ Swahili Society, UK was an organisation co-founded by two SOAS students, one from a year abroad in Tanzania and Kenya in the 2010 – 2011 academic year. They decided to form a society that would connect or bring together all Swahili speakers in the UK on their return. In 2011, the organisation conducted a survey and found an estimated number of Swahili-speaking families in the UK. This organisation, including their resource-rich website, has since been inactive or dissolved.

cold-blooded civilian killings that claimed the dozens of innocent civilians' souls.⁵ The waves of Swahili-speaking immigrants that moved to the West, especially in the UK, marked the beginning of the growing popularity and expansion of the Swahili language to the world, far away from its East African littoral. Today, Swahili has more than 32 dialects spoken by over 200 million people worldwide and is arguably the most popular African language in the Western world.

2.2.1. Recent studies in Swahili dialects variation – an overview

I have stated from time to time that Swahili dialects, especially those of Zanzibar cluster have for long been overlooked in terms of research and scholarship. However, in recent years a number of in-depth systematic studies, though not on Kipemba in particular have been conducted adding substantially to the perennial gap in southern Swahili dialects linguistic literature. Among the works I lately referred and found of substantial contribution includes Takemura and Miyazaki (2020), Shinagawa and Nassenstein (2020), Furumoto (2020, 2021) and Furumoto and Gibson (2022). In summary these works discuss various approaches relating to the geographical and sociolinguistic diversity of Swahili language, combining traditional methods and newer directions in Bantu studies to explore current sociolinguistic trends such as language contact, the impact of new media, youth language practices, and urban fluidity concepts like metrolingualism and translanguaging. The approaches and findings from these studies have profoundly enriched my research on Kipemba.

2.2.2. Swahili and Sabaki: a linguistic history⁶

'Swahili and Sabaki: A Linguistic History' is a scholarly work resulting from rigorous research by Nurse and Hinnebusch in the 1970s. Martin Walsh (1993: 122), hails this work as "one of the most extensive studies of any of the Bantu subgroups" – it is, arguably, one of the most invaluable pieces of literature that trace the origins of Swahili back to one group of East African Bantu languages, Northeast Coast (NEC) Bantu in a precise and concise manner. In their account of Swahili, Nurse and Hinnebusch's proposed classification, the NEC group comprises Pare-Taveta, Seuta, Ruvu and Sabaki, the subgroup to which Swahili belongs. Sabaki (*Samaki*

⁵ A full report of the Zanzibar post-election incidents that took place in 2001 can be found at "THE BULLETS WERE RAINING" (hrw.org)

⁶ The title is from the book by Derek Nurse and Thomas Hinnebusch (1993). It is used here for its peculiar academic relevance and to highlight the point by Martin Walsh that "Nurse and Hinnebusch's *Swahili and Sabaki* remains the standard text on the emergence and development of the Swahili language" (Walsh, 2017:125).

in modern Swahili), a Pokomo word for a large fish or crocodile, was named after the Athi-Galana Sabaki River – Kenya's second-largest river after Tana. Sabaki is a linguistic label for six loosely related languages of the East African littoral: Elwana (Ilwana), Pokomo, Mijikenda, Comorian languages, Mwani and Swahili (Nurse, Hinnebusch and Philippson, 1993: 4). Some linguists, including Jouni Maho, consider Ilwana or Malakote a minor Bantu language spoken by a few speakers around the river Tana district (Maho, 2009).⁷ Pokomo is spoken by a speech community living around the Tana River in the Tana River County of Kenya. The Pokomos are a distinct tribe with sub-clans divided into Upper and Lower Pokomo. The Pokomos are agriculturalists, fresh and seawater fishers who speak the Pokomo language, descended from the Kingozi language – perhaps, a precursor to the modern-day Swahili.

Mijikenda is another subdivision of the Sabaki languages spoken in Kenya and Tanzania. *Kenda* is an archaic Swahili word for the number nine (now, *Tisa*) in Swahili, but it is still used in Kenya and some Southern Swahili varieties, including Kipemba. Mijikenda refers to the nine Mijikenda-language communities (now eleven communities/villages). Maho's (2009) updated Guthrie classification shows that the Mijikenda cluster comprises two main geographical sub-clusters – North and South Mijikenda. The Northern Mijikenda (or more) dialects include Giriyaama, Kauma, Chonyi, Duruma, Rabai, Jibana, Kame and Ribe. The Southern Mijikenda dialects are Digo, Segeju and Degere, making the number more than original “nine” Mijikenda-language communities

As for Comorian, this language was once considered a dialect of Swahili, but "today, it is generally accepted that Comorian is an independent language, classified within the genetic subgroup of Sabaki languages together with Swahili" (Nurse and Hinnebusch, 1993; Brown, 2005). Comorian languages are divided further into sub-clusters of Western and Eastern Comorian languages. Shimwali and Shingazija are in the Western Comoro, whereas Shimaore and Shindzwani are spoken in the East.

Mwani or Kimwani (meaning the beach language) is another subgroup of Sabaki languages spoken in the Cabo Delgado Province of Mozambique, including the Quirimbas Islands. Even though Kimwani shares high lexical similarity with Swahili by over 60%, the two dialects are not mutually intelligible (Petzell 2002:88–110). To add further to this discussion, Petzell initially contends that Kimwani is among the languages within the Swahili cluster but in light to Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:4), Kimwani is classified as "one of the six major varieties of

⁷ Refer to Ilwana at *Ethnologue* (18th ed., 2015) and Jouni Filip Maho, 2009. New Updated Guthrie List Online

the Swahili cluster" but lacks direct or peripheral relation to Swahili. From my perspective, however, it remains uncertain whether Kimwani and Swahili represent distinct languages or simply different varieties within the same linguistic group. Figure 2 below, shows Proto Northeast Coast (PNEC) Bantu languages and the Sabaki language clusters as discussed here.

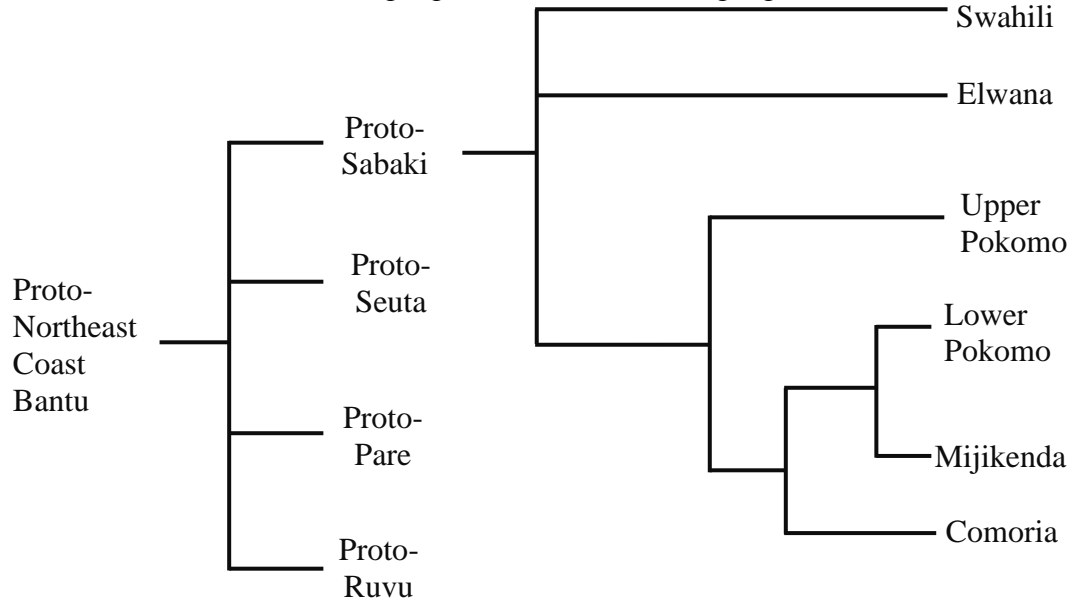


Figure 2.1 : Genetic classifications of the Sabaki languages (based on Nurse & Hinnebusch, 1993)

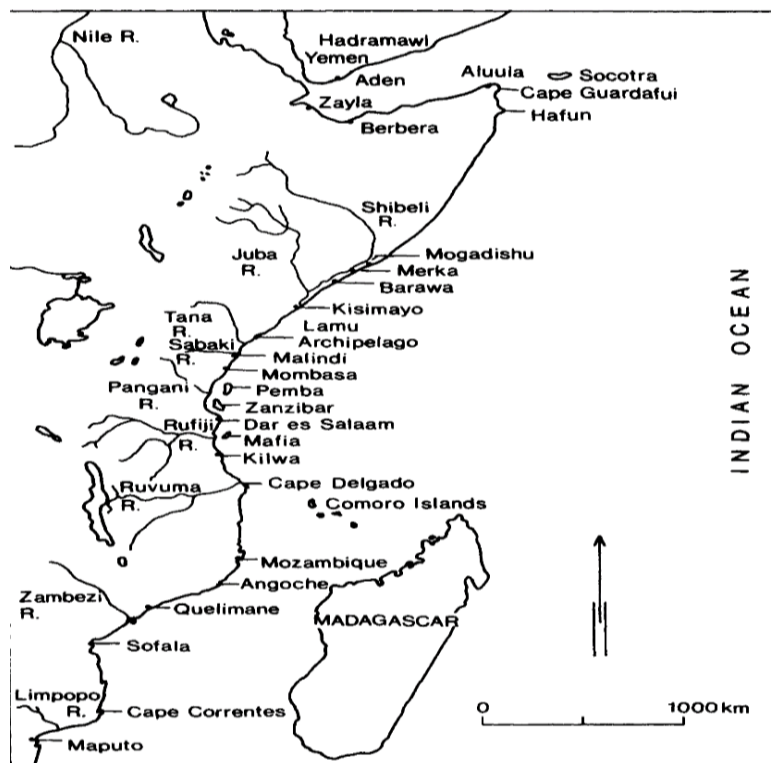
Figure 2.1 shows that Nurse and Hinnebusch's reconstruction of Sabaki's history presents significant findings. As shown in Figure 2.1 above, the genetic classification of the Sabaki languages differs considerably from the relationship their names suggest. The historical development and relationships of Sabaki show that Upper and Lower Pokomo are entirely different languages because the two are not dialects of a single language, as their names suggest (Walsh, 2017: 123 - 4). Evidence presented by Nurse and Hinnebusch suggests that the early Comorians had interacted with different Swahili-speaking communities (Nurse and Hinnebusch, 1993: 494 - 6); hence, due to this cultural contact and interaction, Comorian was, perhaps, erroneously considered a dialect of Swahili.

Further to this discussion, Swahili and Elwana remain primary branches in Nurse and Hinnebusch's Sabaki tree, next to the Pokomo/Mijikenda/Comorian group, all having developed from Proto-Sabaki (PSA). Their analysis, 'the PSA moved North to a homeland somewhere in the area North of the Tana River, and probably into Southern Somalia' (Nurse and Hinnebusch, 1993: 493). Therefore, the conclusion to these findings attests to the theory that the PSA period must have been comparatively short, lasting less than three centuries (Nurse and Hinnebusch, 1993: 493). The date range proposed (500 CE or earlier to sometime before 800 CE) might be adjusted to align with the current archaeological dates, suggesting

that a distinctive Swahili community had already developed by the seventh century CE (Walsh, 2017: 124). In this period, the Swahili language and communities occupied East African coastal corridors from Somalia to Mozambique. The map 2.1, of the East African coast below shows the areas where Swahili was spoken before spreading to the mainland interior of the East African region.

2.3. Development of Swahili dialects

As noted in the previous discussion, the Proto-Swahili community is believed to have temporarily settled in the area previously occupied by their Proto-Sabaki ancestors (Nurse and



Map 2.1 : The Swahili Coast from Barawa, South Somalia to Mozambique (Map by Chami, 1998:201)

Hinnebusch, 1993: 297). Nurse and Spear (1985:55) argue, "while other Sabaki continued to farm along the fertile river valleys of the North." Proto-Swahili and Comorian speakers moved towards the east coast to the nearby offshore islands, where they adopted a maritime way of life. Martin Walsh (2017) adds that the 'early dispersal of Swahilis had left their Northern native land and settlements more than a thousand miles of the Eastern African coast and islands'. This event represents an extraordinary social and economic transformation, matched by the development of different local varieties of Swahili (Walsh, 2017: 124). When the Proto-Swahili

speakers started to move down the coast and to the offshore islands of East Africa, two major

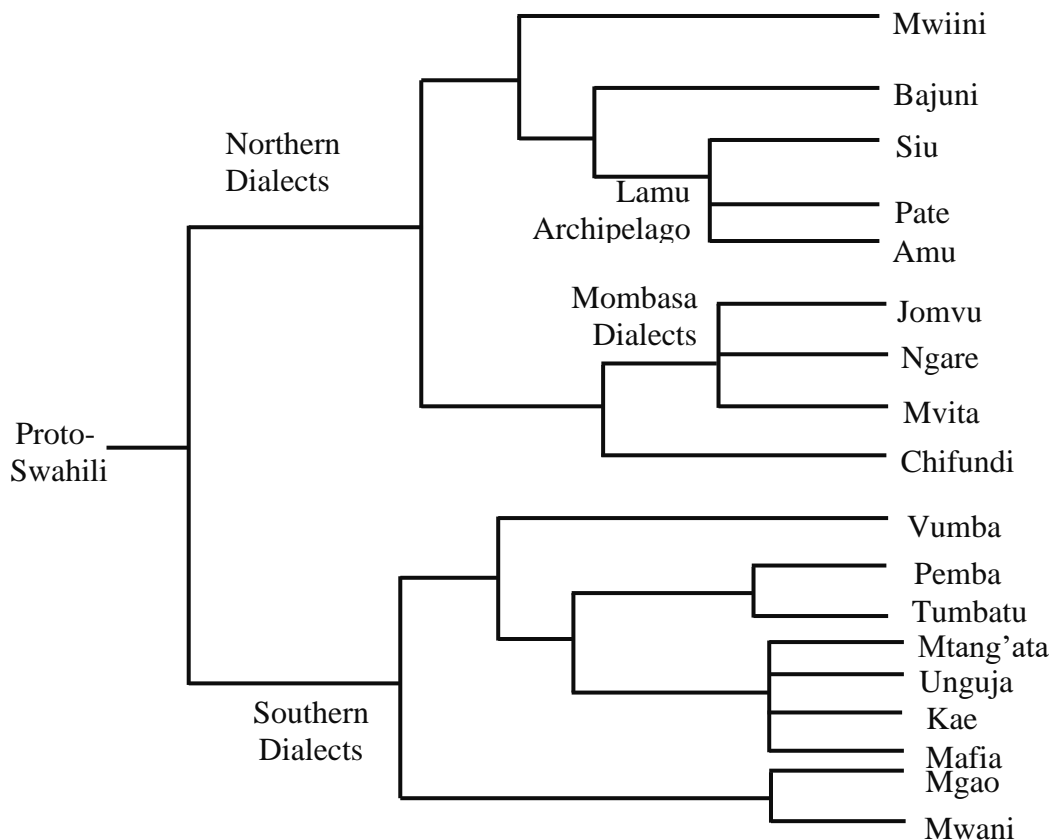


Figure 2.2: Genetic classification of Swahili dialects. (Based on Nurse, 1982; 1984/85; Nurse and Spear, 1985; Nurse and Hinnebusch, 1993.)

Swahili dialect clusters developed: northern and southern Swahili dialects, with the former believed to be the precursor to the latter. The assumption that Southern Swahili dialects developed from Northern Swahili dialects about the models explained in the earlier subsection will be presented later in this chapter. The figure below summarises the development and classification of the Swahili dialect.

2.3.1. Northern Swahili dialects

The Northern dialects can be located from Barawa on the Somali coast, where Swahili used to be spoken by then. Whether any Swahili speakers are left in the Barawa area is still a subject I am not able to offer any further comment for now. From Barawa, the Northern Swahili coastal belt stretches to Lamu, Pate and Siyu (also Siu) down to the Mombasa region. Historically, Northern dialects of Swahili were the first to have developed from Proto-Swahili. Over time, Northern dialects distinguished themselves from their Sabaki counterparts by undergoing systematic grammatical and sound changes, thus affecting their linguistic relationship. For example, Chifunzi is closely related to Mombasa dialects. Still, in contrast, Amu, Pate Siu, and, to an extent, Bajuni and Miini are more closely related to each other than to the Chifunzi and

Mombasa dialects, as shown in Figure 2.3 below:

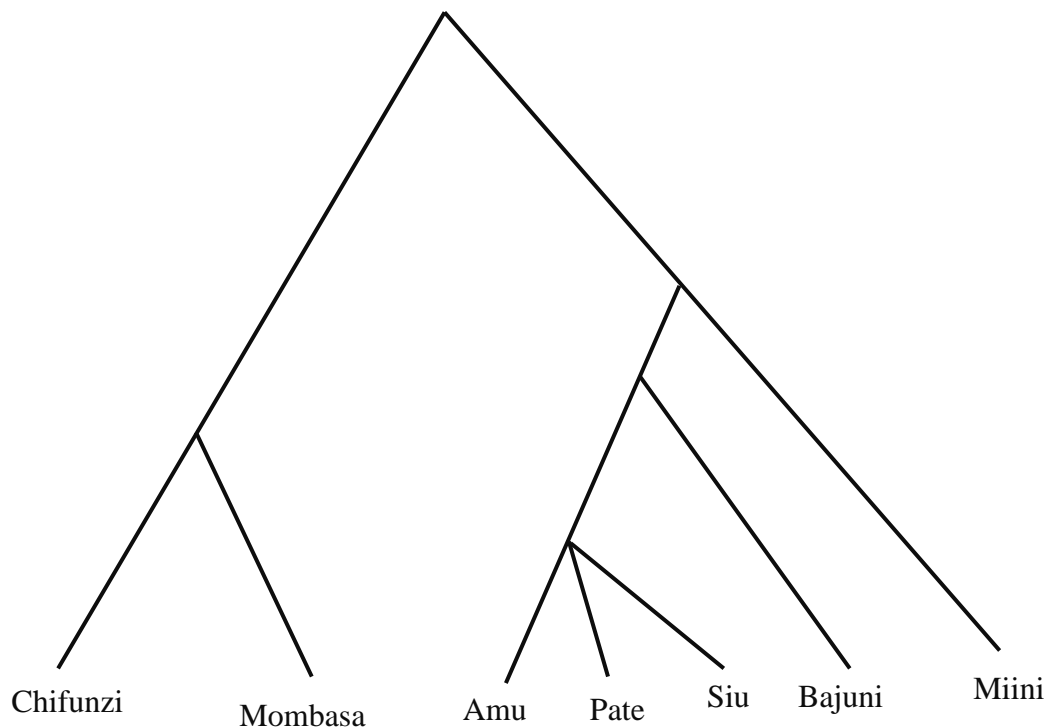


Figure 2.3: Northern dialects of Swahili (Nurse and Spear, 1985:58)

2.3.2. Southern Swahili dialects

Southern Swahili dialects are found in coastal Tanzania, the offshore islands of Zanzibar (Unguja and Pemba), Mafia, and Kilwa, down to the coast of Mozambique. Most Southern dialects seem to be influenced by Northern dialects and Comorian, resulting from a steady stream of additional migrants out of the North into established Southern communities' (Nurse and Spear, 1985: 63). Apart from Northern influences, Southern dialects are also related. In their research, Nurse and Spear (1985) concluded that the Vumba and Makunduchi dialects from Jambiani are closely related. In contrast, Tumbatu, Pemba, Mtang'ata, Mafia, Kilwa and Kihadimu, used in Makunduchi, resemble each other, as shown in Figure 2.4 below:

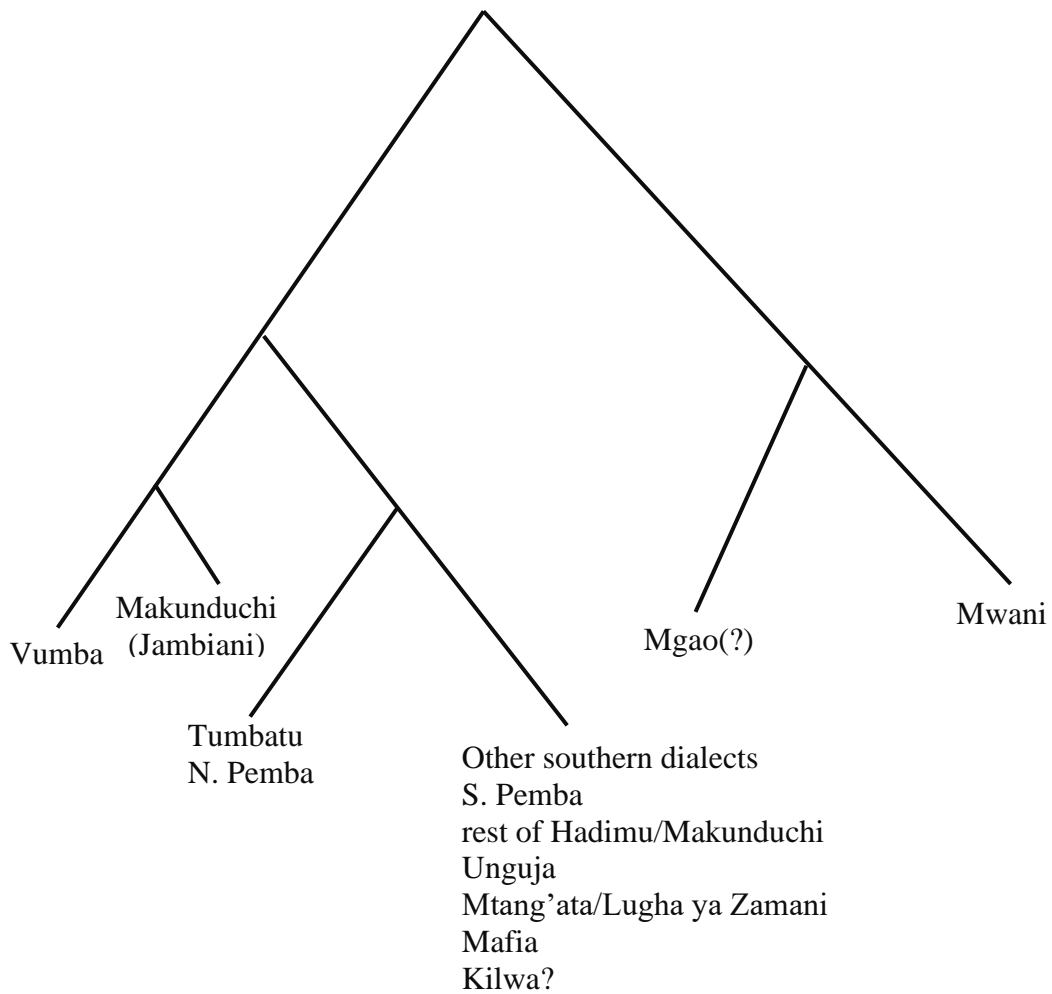


Figure 2.4: Southern dialects of Swahili (Nurse and Spear, 1985:58)

From Nurse and Spear (1985) and as noted earlier, the dialects spoken in the islands of Zanzibar, including Kipemba, developed later as people continued to migrate from the North to the South along the East African coastline, heading to the South coast of Africa. Nurse and Spear (1985) claim that Northern dialects have largely shaped Southern dialects in sounds and grammar. Over time, however, differences have emerged between Southern dialects such as Kiunguja, Kihadimu, Kipemba and Kitumbatu. This theory attests to the assumption that 'languages develop when people speaking a common language become separated. In the words of Nurse and Spear (1985:8) add that, in time, the speech of each community changes and evolves into different dialects or languages. In the context of Kipemba, I consider variation from different perspectives. Those include demographic diversity and linguistic and sociolinguistic interrelatedness between Northern and Southern Swahili dialects. In my discussion, this chapter applies this theory to guide the development of the new classification of linguistic

variation in Kipemba. The later section discusses the current dynamics of 'bi-dialectism' of Southern Swahili dialects, also called diglossia, focusing on Kipemba and the linguistic analysis of these dynamics in my research.

2.4. Kipemba and the 'perceived' challenge of bi-dialectism

The study of Southern Swahili dialects would be incomplete without meticulously considering and acknowledging the dynamics of 'bilingualism or "*bi-dialectism*" along the Southern coast. According to Nurse and Spear (1985: 61), bi-dialectism results from the ongoing influence of Kiunguja. Despite the influence of Kiunguja in promoting bi-dialectism, the empirical evidence also shows that bi-dialectism is a consequence of the speakers' language attitude towards Swahili and its surrounding dialects. During their visit to this region, Nurse and Spear (1985) found that speakers of Southern Swahili speak two or more languages or dialects as it is for Swahili, Makua or Makonde in Mozambique, or Kiunguja, Kipemba, Kitumbatu or Kimakunduchi speakers in Zanzibar. Slightly contrary to Nurse and Spear, it might be true that the people of Pemba, like many Southern Swahili speakers, can speak their local vernaculars, such as Kipemba and a form of Swahili close to Kiunguja, but hardly, standard Swahili. The assumption that Kiunguja is Standard Swahili could have been true once, but recently, there seems to be a thin line between Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. As a researcher and a native inhabitant of Unguja Island, I am convinced that Kiunguja, as spoken today, is not the so-called Standard Swahili or Kisanifu. This argument is also supported by Khamis (1984) and Maganga (1991). Whilst Kiunguja represents the Swahili spoken in Zanzibar with its unique characteristics, Standard Swahili serves as the formalised, standardised version used for official and educational purposes throughout East Africa.

Discussing the relationship between *Kiunguja mjini* and Standard Swahili, Khamis (1984:41) claims that *Kiunguja mjini* is not necessarily Standard Swahili – the two are not the same. Standard Swahili was previously assumed as the dialect spoken in Zanzibar town, but this is subject to further debate. Khamis added that Standard Swahili is a still-developing medium of broader communication that has already assumed some official functions in the mass media, education, law, judiciary, politics, science, technology, and agriculture. Kiunguja, on the other hand, is a spoken discourse from which the Standard Swahili developed.

Clement Maganga (1991:26-27) argues that Kiunguja was once identical to Standard Kiswahili. In his argument, Maganga concluded that Standard Swahili approximates Kiunguja with Standard Swahili. However, the latter is an official language in all formal communications and the former in day-to-day social communication. From my observation and commentary, Kiunguja is a variety spoken mainly by the native inhabitants of Zanzibar stone town, and it

should not be confused with Standard Swahili in any way. In the actual context and from my first-hand experience and observation, *Kiunguja*, also *Kiunguja mjini* is spoken by a small circle of the native indigenous Zanzibari population in Zanzibar town, especially in the Malindi, Funguni, Baghani and Shangani neighbourhoods and some nearby Zanzibar stone town vicinity. It must be noted that the spoken Kiunguja differs from the Standard written Swahili of Zanzibar heard or written in formal settings such as media, law and official proceedings. Recently, however, the so-called *Kiunguja mjini* seems to wither gradually from its original Stone Town area, primarily due to some linguistic factors associated with bi-dialectism and migration. The current Zanzibar stone town demography comprises many people from other parts, such as rural Unguja, Pemba, and recently, the massive influx of youths from Tanzania mainland coming to Zanzibar in search of greener pastures. This ethnic diversity triggered by migration and economic motives has a considerable linguistic impact on Kiunguja and, probably, the Standard Swahili.

Back to the point, bi-dialectism occurs when two or more language varieties exist side by side, a term Ferguson (1959) calls 'diglossia'. In the context of this study, diglossia commands special linguistic consideration, especially in connection to my research process and data collection on Kipemba. During their trip along the Tanzania coast, Nurse and Spear (1985:61) claimed that they 'could not find a single person who spoke pure dialect', but most people used a mixture of their local dialects and Standard Swahili. From my fieldwork experience and first-hand observation in Zanzibar, specifically Pemba, I would slightly but respectfully, beg to differ from Nurse and Spear's point of view. The empirical findings suggest that, depending on the context, Pembans often switch from their local dialects or accents to another. Accents are distinctive speech patterns used by different social groups (Cox and Fletcher, 2017:2). Pembans, unlike their Unguja dialects counterparts, can rarely mix the two dialects or accents simultaneously. For example, a Pemban would only switch to a variety close to Kiunguja (not Kiunguja per se) if speaking to a non-Pemban or another Pemban with an unfamiliar Kipemba accent. I also found that Pembans used their 'uncompromised' local vernacular of Kipemba if the other person genuinely spoke and looked like them (accent and dressing-wise). More precisely, in some rural areas of Pemba, such as the Wingwi–Micheweni peninsula, in my case, people consider anyone who wears neat or new clothes not regularly seen in the neighbourhood as a visitor or an outsider. This phenomenon implies that for Pembans, language contact with a stranger or someone with an unfamiliar accent will likely trigger dialect or accent switching.

A detailed discussion and analysis of variation in Kipemba based on context are covered in a meticulous detail in chapter seven.

In bi-dialectic Pemba, even though most people are proficient and comfortable using two or more Swahili dialects or accents, children and older people from Pemba and the rest of the Zanzibar Swahili dialect cluster are not purely bi-dialectic as once argued. Unlike youth and adults, a few called "bidialectic" do not tend to switch their speech in conversation. The only rare instance I can recollect when children and older people employ bi-dialectism is when they have undergone significant formal schooling or are well-travelled. This instance is the point Nurse and Spear might also have overlooked during their research visit to the area. In this regard, it is evident that bi-dialectism posed a crucial linguistic consideration for my researchers in Kipemba. Still, most notably, it is an essential aspect of the linguistic ecology of Pemba and needs to be addressed in its entirety and comprehensive analysis.

Further, my empirical observation noted that the higher my familiarity with the local dialects and people, the more productive the research process becomes, and the opposite is also true. From my research experience, I was already aware of this methodological challenge before the commencement of my fieldwork. As a result, when I spoke with my participants, I could readily switch my accents depending on my research location (linguistic zones) and the participant's accent. Since I had mastered the repertoires and accents from different parts of Pemba, it was easy to switch between accents and successfully interacted with my participants. My ability to switch among local Kipemba accents can be attributed to my background and years of experience growing up in Pemba. I was born and grew up in Pemba, and over time, I learned that Kipemba differs considerably in accent and the choice of words used in each local area.⁸ Undeniably, the mastery of the Kipemba repertoires and accents was a skill that proved invaluable during my fieldwork. Most participants considered me a local and spoke with me with their accents. A minor exception is the few participants, mainly those from the small islands of Kisiwa Panza, Makoongwe and Fundo, who did not use their local accents when they spoke with me. Still, they spoke locally with their familiar fellows in my absence. An elaborate discussion on data-collection methods, the challenges and researcher-participants' interaction and how their linguistic consideration impacted my data collection is addressed in more detail in chapter four.

⁸ I learnt about the significance of accent in Kipemba from many locals. One participant shared a post on one of the social media networks saying, "*Wapemba twajuana kwa lafudhi tu*" (We Pembans know each other by accents). This statement is crucial in my research and is a roadmap towards understanding linguistic variations in Kipemba.

In the following paragraphs, I review the language attitudes in the Zanzibar Swahili dialect cluster, specifically considering Kiunguja and Kipemba varieties. I argue that the role of Kiunguja and Standard Swahili have primarily influenced the 'diglossic' situation in Zanzibar Swahili, as Nurse and Spear argued. The Swahili speakers' opinions and feelings about how they speak Swahili are treated due to language attitudes and ideologies that existed even before the standardisation of Swahili, which promoted 'Kiunguja' to the status of the standard variety of Swahili.

2.5. Language Attitudes in Swahili

In this section I briefly discuss attitudes towards Swahili varieties especially Swahili dialects of Zanzibar cluster. I refer to different theories on language attitudes to discuss and analyse the attitudes to Swahili dialects of Zanzibar with special reference to Kipemba in relation to Kiunguja and Standard Swahili.

2.5.1. Language attitudes in Swahili and Kipemba – a 'diglossic' situation?

Apart from the standardisation of Swahili, the language attitudes and ideologies towards the Swahili spoken in Zanzibar are primarily influenced by the existing situation of bi-dialectism, also referred to here as 'diglossia'. Charles Ferguson first defined the term diglossia to refer to the situation where two or more languages or dialects are used side by side, one being "High" and another "Low". Richard and Schmidt rephrased Ferguson's view on diglossia as a situation in which two languages or varieties co-exist in a community, each used for different purposes (Richard and Schmidt, 1985:171). However well before Richard and Schmidt, Fishman (1972) extended the notion of diglossia from what Myers-Scotton (2006) calls "classic diglossia", to include two/more different languages. The situation is common 'to the societies with two distinctive codes of speech employed differently' (Wardhaugh, 2006: 85). The term diglossia has been used in a limited and, sometimes, a much broader sense in language use in academic literature. The most relevant example is in southern Swahili dialects, especially the Zanzibar Swahili language cluster, where the term diglossia can be summarised in three crucial features stated below:

- i. The community uses two distinct languages or varieties: a "High" (or H) variety and a "Low" (or L) variety. For instance, if Kiunguja is a High variety (H) and Kitumbatu (L), Kimakunduchi (L) or Kipemba (L) are used side by side.
- ii. Each variety had its domain of use that at some point both, H and L complement each other. The best example here is the use of Kiunguja (H) is used in Zanzibar urban and formal socio-cultural functions whilst– Kitumbatu (L), Kimakunduchi (L) and Kipemba (L) – in everyday use in their respective

localities by the people considered less or not modern.

- iii. No one uses the H variety in everyday conversation, as seen in many Swahili speakers of Zanzibar except the few native inhabitants of Zanzibar Town believed to be speaking Kiunguja or a variety close to standard Swahili.

In chapter one, I mentioned Kiunguja (a spoken form of standard Swahili), Kimakunduchi (KM), Kitumbatu (KT) and Kipemba (KP). This classification, probably after the standardisation of Swahili, had some underlying attitudes and classifications towards the Swahili language spoken in Zanzibar. To determine and study the people's attitudes towards Kipemba I adopted various models including Fishman's (1971) positive, neutral and negative model and Dragojevic (2021) extension of Fishman's continuum - structure, value and sound models. Based on these theoretical orientations, the social attitudes towards Swahili have since classified Kiunguja as 'Kimji' (urban Swahili variety), regarded as positive with high and a prestigious variety of Swahili. Earlier, I argued that Kiunguja mjini is a spoken variety but not completely similar to Standard Swahili. Kiunguja mjini, in this regard, is arguably a variety from which Standard Swahili is based. In other words, Standard Swahili, popularly known as "*Kiswahili sanifu*", is a highly codified Swahili based on the Kiunguja variety, used in all formal written correspondence and formal occasions. It should also be noted that "*Kiswahili sanifu*" is not what many refer to as "*Kisanifu*". Unlike *Kiswahili sanifu*, which is based on the Kiunguja variety, the term *Kisanifu* in its very sense, refers to the mainland version of codified written Swahili used predominantly in Tanzania mainland and Kenya formal, literary, and academic communication. Most mainland Kenya and Tanzania literary texts, media, legal, and other formal and academic communication forms use these "customised" forms of standard Swahili "for mass consumption" instead of Kiunguja mjini and *Kiswahili sanifu*. Therefore, the underlying attitude held by many *kisanifu* aficionados considers *Kiswahili sanifu* based on the Kiunguja mjini variety as a sophisticated, highbrow variety (or *minal'ali* as known among the Swahilis of Zanzibar). *Minal'ali* Swahili (highbrow Swahili accent) is a form of Kiunguja accent used by high-class social groups, and elite's equivalent to English's received pronunciation (RP) arguably spoken in the heart of Zanzibar Stone town, especially in the Baghani neighborhood. The so-called *minal'ali* Swahili accent is stereotyped by many as sweet, smooth, and elegant but challenging to learn and master. In their work on the history of Swahili, Chiraghdin and Mnyapala (1977:19) went as far as to say; that the so-called Kiunguja

(*Kiswahili Sanifu*) is a "silly"/"stupid" form of Swahili⁹. Regrettably, the Charaghdin and Mnyapala's linguistic chauvinism is still held and revered by many in mainland Tanzania and Kenya *kisanifu* users and devotees.

Apart from *Kiunguja Mjini*, a high variety of Swahili, other Swahili varieties outside Zanzibar Stone Town are known as '*Kishamba*' (KSB – rural Swahili). While the term '*Kishamba*' is loosely used to refer to all Swahili varieties outside the Kiunguja urban circle or and urban areas, there is an exception for using the term for Kimakunduchi, Kitumbatu and Kipemba - the three major Swahili dialects are barely addressed as '*Kishamba*' or Kimjini. In general, *Kishamba* is usually used to refer to the Swahili dialects from rural places other than Tumbatu, Makunduchi and Kipemba - a theory I find somewhat contentious and subject to further discussion. The foundation of this debate is pegged on the fact that the classification of Swahili dialects of Zanzibar, especially Kimakunduchi, Kiunguja and Kitumbatu, is incomplete or insufficient. In some extreme cases, I find it both – incomplete and insufficient. The challenge in this classification, as far as Wilhelm Möhlig and Ingrid Guarisma (1981) studies are concerned, can be seen in the proposed boundaries or dialect isoglosses. If, for instance, Kimakunduchi is spoken in Mkaunduchi, Jambiani and maybe, some parts of Kiziimkazi, what dialect would people of Paje, Unguja Ukuu, Ukongoroni, Chwaka, Marumbi and other South Unguja villages speak? Similarly, if Kitumbatu is spoken on Tumbatu island, what dialect would the people of Mkokotoni, Nungwi, Tazari, Kiwengwa, Mkwajuni, Bumbwini and other north Unguja villages use? I previously mentioned that Kiunguja mjini is spoken in Zanzibar town. If so, what dialect would the people outside Zanzibar town speak in Dimani, Bweleo, and Fumba – about 18 kilometres from Zanzibar town? The questions posed here can only be answered through a fresh study on dialect classification. However, to put these dialects in a language attitude continuum, it is evident that there are only two generic forms based on attitudes towards Zanzibar dialects: Kimjini and Kishamba (Urban and Rural dialects/accents). If so, Kitumbatu, Kipemba and Kimakunduchi can also qualify for the Kishamba category and, thus, be considered low varieties. For Kipemba, perhaps due to marginalisation, the variety is considered as negative, least favourable among the four Zanzibar dialects. It is well known that someone who speaks Kipemba is looked down upon and stereotyped as backwards by other Zanzibar variety users and even in the mainland Tanzania. Surprisingly, however, there seem

⁹ In their book, "Historia ya Kiswahili", - the authors Chiraghdin Shihabuddin and Mathias Mnyapala emotionally commented and ruled out Kiswahili is spoken in Zanzibar, the so-called Kiswahili sanifu as "*Kiswahili cha kijingajinga*."

to be well-crafted categories and stereotyped attitudes towards Kipemba spoken within Pemba by Pembans. In the following section, I explore the language attitude in Kipemba in Pemba itself.

2.5.2. Language attitude and situational bi-dialectism in Kipemba

"Siye tuna mashaka'a. Kile kikwetu hatwebu kisema ati twaona haya" (Adult participant, Male, Chwale Madenjani, KPN 2)

The quotation above is crucial in understanding the linguistic situation in Kipemba based on attitudes and situational bi-dialecticism in Pemba. The Kipemba sentence above translates, "We (Pembans) face a challenge: We do not want to speak in our local tongues (vernaculars, accent) because we feel shy". The statement confirms that most Pembans prefer not to speak their local tongues due to the language attitude associated with their local vernacular, Kipemba. Kipemba is considered a low-status dialect, and the speakers tend to be mocked as *Washamba* (the rural outcasts) by other Swahili speakers from other parts of Tanzania. Like Swahili in general, Kipemba is affected by some form of bi-dialectism – a situation attributed to the people's underlying attitudes and, to some extent, language ideologies. From the perceptual, linguistic perspective, 'language attitudes can be theorised to reflect two sequential cognitive processes: social categorisation and stereotyping' (Dragojevic et al., 2017; Ryan, 1983).

Additionally, Dragojevic et al. (2017) explain that social categorisation and stereotyping occur first when the listeners use linguistic cues (accent) to infer which social groups (ethnicity) speakers belong. This situation applies to Kipemba speakers who rely on accents to categorise and stereotype the Kipemba speakers. Second, Pembans attribute the stereotypic traits associated with those (inferred) group memberships to speakers. For Kipemba, some researchers, such as Nurse and Spear (1985:61), emphasise that Kipemba is a 'number of subdialects spoken on Pemba Island'. In contrast to this assumption, empirical evidence seems to differ considerably. What seems to baffle many local and foreign researchers is loosely mistaking different Kipemba accents (slight differences in pronunciation) for different dialects, varieties or subvarieties. While this assumption is not the only case in point, my preliminary fieldwork data on Kipemba indicate that the difference in accents and lexical variations are not satisfactory linguistic factors to derive such conclusions. For this study, however, accents or speech forms and vocabulary are the crucial factors used to classify Kipemba based on people's attitudes, as summarised below:

- a) *Kipemba cha Mjini* also known as *Kimji/Kimjini* (urban Kipemba)
- b) *Kipemba cha shamba*, also known as *Kishamba or Kipemba fyoko/halisi* (Rural Kipemba/old Kipemba)
- c) *Kipemba cha Bopwe* also known as *Kibopwe* (central zone Kipemba)

Kimjini (urban Kipemba) is spoken in Wete, Chake Chake, and Nkoani towns and, arguably, in the small Northern town of Konde. The terms *Kimjini* and *Kishamba* were first popularised by Said Khamis (1984) in his doctoral thesis on linguistic differences between urban and rural Kipemba. In this work, Khamis (1984:22) names Wete, Chake Chake and Nkoani as the major urban towns of Pemba. He also added smaller towns such as Ntambile, Kengeja and Konde as parts of urban towns. These smaller towns approximate the urban variety spoken in Wete, Chake Chake and Nkoani, a point I categorically dispute. In the present linguistic situation in Pemba, Khamis' ideation of urban towns and sub-towns is less relevant because the accents between urban towns are not the same, and so are the choices of words between and across the so-called "smaller towns". From my observation, it is apparent that Khamis overlooked some key noticeable parameters of variations between the urban Kipemba spoken in Chake Chake, Wete, Nkoani and Konde. In other words, the *Kimjini* cluster spoken in Wete, Chake, and Nkoani is discernibly different. The accents or speech forms detectable between the so-called urban Kipemba speakers are quite different between the towns– the same is true for *Kishamba* (rural Kipemba), spoken mainly in the Eastern parts of Pemba and smaller urban towns. The linguistic situation in Pemba shows a relative linguistic complexity in the study of Kipemba that should not be overlooked or take for granted here.

Another intriguing discussion on Kipemba, language attitude and ideology are on the rural Kipemba (usually called *Kishamba*). According to Khamis (1984:41), *Kishamba* is a disparaging term used to refer to the variety of a language that, in the context of Zanzibar, are always looked down on as inferior, low status and less potent by the town people of Zanzibar and elsewhere. *Kishamba* is stereotypically viewed as backward, undeveloped, rustic, and unpleasant Swahili variety or form. These include, to varying degrees, Kimakunduchi, Kipemba and Kitumbatu rural forms. Rural Pemba can be loosely defined as all the areas outside the urban and central (Bopwe) regions. This area stretches from North to South Pemba, outside Wete, Chake Chake and Nkoani town centres, mainly occupying the eastern part and some parts of Western Pemba. As can be seen, rural Pemba is a vast area with many villages and towns – where people have diverse cultures and accents. On the scale of diglossic

hierarchy, however, all the rural Kipemba speech forms are considered low, which attests to my earlier conclusion that there is some form of diglossia in Kipemba linguistic sphere.

Further to the observations above, my on-site field observations found Swahili spoken on the Wingwi–Micheweni peninsula; the Utenzi zones are considered by many, including the natives of Pemba, as less prestigious forms of Kipemba, sometimes stereotyped as *Kipemba fyoko*. *Kipemba fyoko* is the term used by natives of Pemba to mean the oldest, conservative and arguably, the real form of Kipemba spoken only by the conservative groups or early native rural inhabitants of Pemba. The Wapemba fyoko are the people from the Wingwi-Micheweni peninsula, Kojani and the vicinity, and they stand way low down the language attitude hierarchy of Pemba. In Zanzibar and Pemba, in particular, stereotypes and name-calling are usually intertwined with the attitudes of the speakers. The terms *Mshamba*, *Kishamba* and *Shamba* have different connotations depending on the attitudes of the Swahili speakers. In Swahili culture, *Kishamba* refers to the rural variety of Swahili, usually considered "Low". In contrast, *Shamba* means a rural place in its very sense, least developed in all aspects of life. Unlike *Mshamba*, *Kishamba* and *Shamba* have some favourable connotations: the two are not as disparaging as the latter. The term *Mshamba* is widely considered pejorative and not recommended to address anyone in such a manner. The term is widely used to mean uncivilised, conservative, or backward people from rural areas unwilling to adapt to modern changes and development. *Kibopwe* (*Kipemba cha Bopwe*), on the other hand, has relatively fewer speakers, spoken in central parts of Pemba, particularly in the rural towns of Kisiwani Kwa Binti Abedi, Ziwani, Piki, Bahanasa, some parts of Ntambwe such as Daya, Nzambarau Takao, Pandani, Finya, Kinyasini, Mgogoni, Kifundi, and Gando. Like urban and rural Kipemba, the speakers of *Kipemba cha Bopwe* do not speak alike – their accents or speech forms and words are noticeably different. However, from the analysis of the language attitudes held by many Swahilis and Kipemba speakers, it can be deduced that, in Pemba, there are various forms of Kipemba based on the accents or speech forms and lexical choices of the speakers. Although there might be some phonological and grammatical differences that may provide us with a comprehensive picture of the structure of the variety, at the preliminary stage of this research, their existence would be difficult to establish and comprehend. However, the preliminary fieldwork data indicates a situation same as diglossia in Kipemba, though it might not be in Kipemba.

For instance, most of the so-called *Kimjini* (Urban Kipemba) and *Kibopwe* are considered by many speakers of Kipemba as 'high' and prestigious accents. Alternatively, *Kishamba* is

considered a less prestigious accent than the former. During my fieldwork observations, I noted that the 'high' varieties differ in form and structure: they exhibit many features of non-standard Swahili that can also be found in Kipemba cha Shamba and Kipemba cha Bopwe. However, the empirical evidence shows that the Bopwe zone, particularly in the rural towns of Piki and Ziwani, speaks a developed form of Kipemba that could be considered a Standard accent or speech form of Kipemba. This assumption contradicts the widespread belief that *Kimjini* is the most prestigious and a version of the standard Kipemba accent. Although the discussion here has swayed in favour of the argument on the existence of diglossia in Kipemba, the empirical evidence suggests that the linguistic situation in Pemba is more complex than previously thought. The so-called "diglossic situation in Kipemba" does not seem to be the case of diglossia in its very sense but simply a variation between different varieties or accents in different geo-linguistic dimensions such as urban, rural, East, and West, as well as differences in the existing language attitudes and ideologies. In such a case, the classification of Kipemba based on the underlying attitudes of the speaker is quite misleading and might not be of some contribution to this study. Even though I have attempted to explore various possibilities of classifying Kipemba and show some tentative classifications of Kipemba, for this study, here, I use the empirical evidence and preliminary research data available to classify Kipemba into their precise linguistic boundaries or isoglosses. Based on variations in accent or speech forms and vocabulary used in each zone, I classify Kipemba into eight geo-linguistic zones. The classification proposed here will help understand and identify specific and generic linguistic features leading to variation in Kipemba.

2.6. Kipemba: Classification of Kipemba linguistic zones and nomenclature

In this section I refer to theories on dialect classification to discuss and present my case on the conceptualisation and classification of Kipemba linguistic zones. In the first part of this section, I discuss briefly the major contribution of Wilhem Möhlig and Heine (1980; 1993) and Möhlig and Guarisma (1981) and show how these works contribute towards my own proposed classification of Kipemba linguistic zones. In the second part, I use empirical evidence and theoretical propositions outlined by Prins (1967) and previous theoretical orientations of Nurse and Hinnelbusch (1993) to derive my proposed linguistic zones in Kipemba.

2.6.1. Möhlig's (and Guarisma's) dialectometric-dialectological contributions

In this work, Wilhelm Möhlig and Ingrid Guarisma (1981) also in Möhlig's other works (see 1980; 1993) have made pivotal contributions to the studies of African dialectology through

their innovative application of dialectometric methods. Their focus and emphasis on quantification of linguistic variation using statistical and mathematical tools, facilitating an accurate analysis of dialectal differences, robust methodological framework, linguistic atlas development and its tendency to underscore dialectal diversity makes their approach instrumental in creating detailed linguistic atlases, which visually represent the geographic distribution of dialectal features.

Generally, the work of Möhlig and Guarisma has tremendously helped in advancing the field of African dialectology by effectively quantifying and analysing dialectal variations, providing a systematic, data driven approach to understanding linguistic diversity. The use of linguistic atlases, visual representations of dialect distributions offer invaluable contributions in language preservations. This work, is beyond doubts, a cornerstone in the study of African languages that blends empirical precision and linguistic insights to effectively study African languages. Having read this work, it has, to some extent, helped inform and enhance my methodological aspect, comparative analysis of my data, map creation showing linguistics zones in Kipemba and enrich my pursuit in Kipemba and language contact which is one the key parts of my study. Using some of the ideas proposed in this work helped my study on Kipemba gain some contextual insights and depth, methodological rigor and in some ways a richer linguistic analysis.

2.6.2. Towards the classification of Kipemba linguistic zones

Taking Möhlig's contribution into consideration, the empirical evidence and data from my pilot study collected between December 2019 and January 2020 on linguistic variation in Kipemba, I provisionally developed and tested the hypothesis that there are at least eight distinct local Linguistics zones in Pemba. These local varieties and their respective geographical areas emanated from historical and linguistic factors. Having said this, the foundation of my classification stems from three theoretical considerations initially proposed by Prins (1967: 15) that suggest to:

(a) Make geographical divisions of groups and subgroups of dialects such as northern and southern (sub) dialects. Based on this criterion, I classify Kipemba (KP) into geographical zones - North and South Kipemba dichotomies. The zones are annotated with codes (N) and (S). In addition to geographical annotation, each zone will be numbered from 1 to 8. The complete annotated codes of Kipemba are classified as KPN 1 to KPN 4 (for the first four North zones) and KPS 5 to 8 (for south Kipemba zones).

(b) Follow linguistic criteria supporting the classification. In my experience, phonological

differences, such as accents, were also used to classify the linguistic zones. Preliminary data and empirical evidence show that the speakers' accents and lexical choices from different zones are the main criteria distinguishing Kipemba from one place to another. In Kipemba, the accent also differs from within the same linguistic zone. In my classification, I propose using three layers of accents - strong, typical, and soft. For the accent similarity between the two zones, I use the word "accent trace" to describe the inter-zonal accent situation.

(c) Consider the ethnic and political history of the area, such as political divisions of regions, districts and wards. The history and archaeological evidence were considered in this classification of Kipemba zones. Historical and archaeological evidence shows well-developed towns in Pemba from 600 to 950 AD onwards. In their archaeological studies, LaViolette and Fleisher (2009, 2013) describe the early towns of Chwaka (Twaka), Nkamandume, Ntambwe Nkuu and Nkumbuu as the earliest towns in Pemba. Their findings coincide with Knappert's five early chiefdoms after the Portuguese invasions of Pemba. According to Knappert, the first chiefdoms of Pemba were *Ukoma*, *Uungwana*, *Utenzi*, *Twaka* and *Nkumbuu* (Knappert 1992: 41). Along with the five historical zones, an elderly participant from N'gelema (Nkumbuu zone) believes there were a total of seven earliest towns in Pemba; five previously mentioned by Knappert were full-fledged chiefdoms. The other two early towns were Ntangani and Ngwachani, in the Nkoani zone. Although these zones are archaeological and historical, in this study, it is assumed they were probably the earliest settlements where the first forms of spoken Kipemba developed. Knappert (1992: 41) outlines that some of the five chiefdoms, such as Uungwana and Ukoma, must be explored further to identify their possible geographical location today. Still, the evidence collected from the sources of the present thesis indicates that Uungwana is likely the area known now as Ntambwe Nkuu. In contrast, Ukoma is arguably the present-day Nkamandume area in Pujini. Utenzi, Chwaka and Nkumbuu are zones widely known today by the same name. Due to geographical and demographical expansion in Pemba, I added three more zones into my classification: two from Nkoani (East and West Nkoani) and the Northeast Pemba, Micheweni zone (the latter also known by Polomé (1967) as "Wingwi-Micheweni Peninsula").

2.6.3. Kipemba: The basis of classification and nomenclature of linguistic zones

“Wapemba twajuana kwa lafudhi tu”¹⁰ (Young, Male, Kipemba Consultant, Wingwi, KPN 3)

I completed my MA in African Studies, majoring in Swahili literature, linguistics, and translation studies from and into Swahili at SOAS, University of London, 2013. Since then, my passion and curiosity about the Swahili language, culture, and dialects, especially Kipemba, have grown substantially. I spent most of my summer breaks in Pemba. There, I visited different parts of the island and spoke to the locals. The increasing use of social media technology through video streaming sites such as YouTube and recently, TikTok were an invaluable contribution. I could listen to audio and watch video recordings from local comedians and people through YouTube and other social networking sites. Most recordings were amateur, and they represented broader geographical locations of Pemba. Over time, I collected some video and audio clips from around seven zones in Pemba, and I asked different people from around Pemba the questions below:

- a. "From how s/he talks (accent), wherein Pemba do you think this person is from?"

Or rephrasing into,

- b. "Where in Pemba do you think the people are from?"

The responses I received were astonishing. The local people's responses based on those accents or their speech forms indicated that Kipemba was spoken differently across and throughout roughly, seven or eight zones. The initial fieldwork observation found a relative complexity in Kipemba spoken in two zones: Chwaka, also called Ki-Tumbe and Nkoani East. For instance, in the Ki-Tumbe zone, accents differ slightly between more significant Ki-Tumbe areas in the North than in Northwest parts such as Makangale, Nkia wa Ng'ombe, and Tondooni. The Northwest Ki-Tumbe exhibit some features from the neighbouring zones of Micheweni and Utenzi, probably due to the migration of the people from Micheweni - Utenzi zones to the most fertile lands of Northwest Pemba solely for economic reasons such as agriculture and fishing. In Nkoani East, the language situation is rather complex in the Muambe area, wherein in certain places, people speak differently, and some speak a variety like Kitumbatu. When I inquired further about my situation, I was informed that some people who have settled here have come from North Unguja in places such as Tumbatu, Tazari, Nungwi and Mkwajuni, this time again,

¹⁰ This sentence translates as “We, Pembans, know each other by accents!” or also said in its proverbial variant, “*Wapemba wajuana kwa vilemba*”. Pembans know each other by turbans.” The word “turban” here is metaphorically used to mean the “accent”.

for economic reasons such as agriculture and fishing. An in-depth, systematic analysis of distinctive zone-specific linguistic features of Kipemba will be covered in the later chapters. In identifying the proposed linguistic zones in Kipemba, each accent-based variant from the eight proposed zones is coded with a unique alphanumeric identification number based on the Kipemba code, KP. Different code extension alphanumeric values are added to the respective zone variants for code identification clarity, meaning, and uniqueness. The following sections present and explain the linguistic zones with their assigned nomenclature and alphanumeric codes.

2.6.4. The Kipemba Linguistics zones

In this section, I classify Kipemba into eight Linguistic zones based on distinctive factors such as accents and Kipemba-specific vocabulary used in one area or another. The classification of Kipemba linguistic zones is a yardstick that helps studying and understanding the generic and zone-specific linguistic features and the factors for linguistic variation in Kipemba.

1. The Uungwana zone (KPN 1), also known as the Wete zone

The KPN 1 zone is in Northwest Pemba, comprising the urban town of Wete and some notable suburban towns of Gando, Ntambwe Nkuu, Ntambwe, Bahanasa, Finya, Pandani, Mgogoni, and Kinyasini. The zone also includes the islands of Fundo, Njau, and Kokota. The empirical evidence shows that the Kipemba accent spoken here is considered urban (Kimji) and more prestigious than those spoken in rural parts of the island. Based on phonological features of the speech forms found here there seem to be an audible resemblance in speech form of Chake Chake and that of Mkoani town. The Kipemba spoken here is also known for not using or using less archaic Kipemba vocabulary in their daily communication. The strong accent of this zone comes from the central Wete township.

2. The Utenzi zone (KPN 2)

The Utenzi zone lies in the Northeast central part of Pemba. The zones include areas such as Kiungoni, Mwane, Shangafu, Ndige, Mashuga, Mchangamdogo, Minungwini, Kangagani some peripheral parts of Ole, the island of Kojani and the neighbouring villages within the circle of the vicinity. The empirical evidence indicates that the Kipemba accent spoken here is more popular than the other accents spoken in Pemba. The popularity of this accent is primarily attributed to the historical fact that the Utenzi people boast of the richest but archaic lexical

repertoire of old Kipemba vocabulary. This is probably, because early studies such as Whiteley (1957) and Polome pointed out that old Kipemba variety is spoken here. The other reason is that the people of this zone, especially Kojani island, have socially reclusive tendency of not mixing with other people from the neighbouring villages and towns. The natives of this zone are credited for having inborn talents in performance arts and oral poetry. To many natives of Pemba, Kipemba spoken in Utenzi regions is considered the "authentic" accent of the Kipemba variety. The strong "Utenzi" accent can be heard in Kojani and some parts of Chwale, i and Kichokochwe. A typical "Utenzi" accent can be heard in Minungwini, Kangagani and Mchangamdogo.

3. The Wingwi – Micheweni Peninsula zone (KPN 3)

Geographically, this zone is located on the Northeast end of the Pemba; the Wingwi-Micheweni peninsula covers places such as Wingwi, Micheweni, and Shumba mjini, Kiuyu, Maziwa Ng'ombe, Sizini and Kijichame, among other villages. Socially, the greater Micheweni area and the people are collectively known as 'N'gongele' – the name derived from the tendency of the people to use the *-le-* subjunctive forms in their speech. I use the term "N'gongele" sporadically in this chapter onwards, maintaining that using the term is not only due to the historical roots of the term but, most momentously, to its linguistic significance to this research. The empirical evidence from this zone found that the term "N'gongele" was derived from the linguistic tendency and habitual inclination of the natives of this zone to favour the use of the unpopular *-le-* subjunctive forms in their daily language use. This grammatical feature is believed to be dominant and is thought to be one of the key linguistic features that specifically identify with this zone. A strong accent is spoken in Shumba Mjini, whereas the typical accent comes from Wingwi, Sizini Kijichame and central Micheweni areas.

4. The Chwaka – Tumbe zone (KPN 4)

This zone lies opposite the Wingwi-Micheweni peninsula at the Northern tip of Pemba Island. The zones stretch slightly from the Northeastern rural town of Tumbe and its vicinity towards Kinowe, Chaleni and Nsuka. The zone also harbours the areas such as Uwaani, Shumba Vyamboni, Kibubunzi, Nyuma ya Nti, Bule, Faza, Chimba, Jichwa, Kicha, Konde, and the northwest rural towns and villages of Matangatuwani, Mgogoni, Kipange, Makangale, Tondooni and Nkia wa Ng'ombe. Significant numbers of fishers and peasants inhabit the area. The Northwest part of this zone is the most fertile part of Northern Pemba. Due to its fertile soil, over time, the zone attracted a population of non-native Pembans from Tanzania mainland,

mostly the ethnic Nyamwezis, Makondes, and perhaps the Sukumas found mainly at Kiuyu cha Manda near the ngezi forest and Makangale area. Apart from the ethnic mainland tribes, the Northwest part of this zone is an idyllic "greener pasture" for the native peasants from less fertile zones such as Micheweni and Utenzi. This ethnic and zonal intermingling poses a considerable linguistic challenge for this research. While the Chwaka -Tumbe accent is familiar throughout the zone, the accent traces of Utenzi, Micheweni and mainland Tanzania can also be minimally heard in this zone. Suffice it to say; that the current zonal accent mixture in KPN 4 is one of the exceptions to my proposed linguistics zones in Pemba; as a researcher, I must consider this in my later methodological analysis chapters. The empirical evidence also shows close and frequent contact between the people of this zone with those from Mombasa and coastal Kenya. The contact is primarily facilitated by ethnic and cultural ties between the people of this zone, who have mainly claimed to have originated from coastal Kenya. The strong Ki-Tumbe accent is spoken in the rural town of Tumbe, but the typical accent is from N'suka, Kinowe, and Chaleni. In the small town of Konde, the accent traces of zone 1 (KPN 1) can also be minimally heard as a result of regular contact with other speakers from major towns.

5. The Nkamandume zone (KPS 5)

The term was derived from the early Kingdom under the then-ruler of Pujini called Nkamandume, discussed widely in chapter one. This zone covers some parts of Ole, Vitongoji, Wawi, Furaha, Pujini, Matale, Chanja Mjawiri, Chonga and Ngwachani. It is located East of Chake Chake town in the central part of Pemba, with some towns and villages in the East and some western parts of the island. Except for Ole, whose accent is inclined mainly to the Utenzi accent, the Nkamandume zone, to some extent, shares an accent and some vocabulary with other neighbouring zones. For instance, some people of Pujini may occasionally exhibit accent traces of the Utenzi zone. Some locals from this zone speak with an accent like or close to that of Chake Chake town. This accent resemblance and mixture is probably a result of people's mobility within the zones due to geographical propinquity and other social factors. The strong accent of this zone can be heard in Vitongoji and Wawi villages.

6. The Nkumbuu zone (KPS 6)

I mentioned in the previous chapter that Nkumbuu was a historical town in Southeast Pemba that was no longer inhabited. In historical records, however, the town is attributed as being the first human settlement in Pemba. Due to its historical relevance, I named this zone after its name of historical origin, Nkumbuu. The zone includes the rural villages of Ndagoni, Weshu

and Chake Chake and suburban places such as Mwanamashungi, Pondeani, Ngomahazingwa and Kizomwe. Other places include Kisiwani kwa Binti Abeid, Piki and Ziwani areas. The old rural villages of Birikau, Tundauwa, Kipapo and N'gelema are a part of this zone. Most locals of this zone speak Kipemba with an urban accent except for the people of Ndagoni, Weshu, Kipapo and N'gelema - who speak a slightly different accent from urban Chake Chake. The strong accent is heard in Chake Chake town and the vicinity.

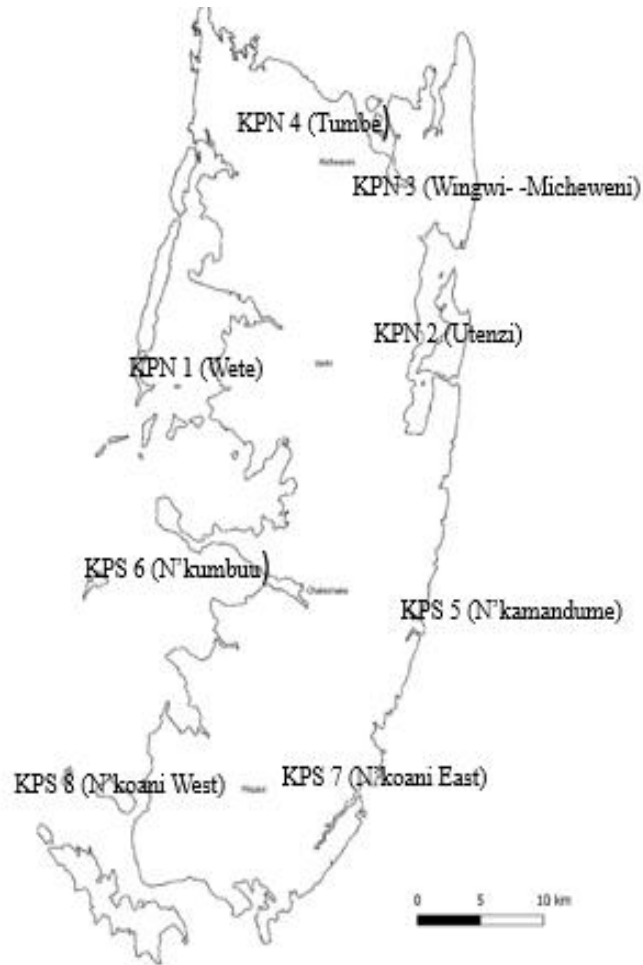
7. The Nkoani East zone (KPS 7)

The area lies on the Southeast end of Pemba in the places such as Chambani, Kiwani, Nanguji, Chokocho, Kisiwa Panza, Muambe, Kengeja, Michenzani, Shidi, Kangani, N'jimbini and Ntambile. There are some accent traces of KPN zone 2 and 3 in some parts of Chambani, Kiwani and Nanguji. In Muambe and slightly Kisiwa Panza, the traces of Kitumbatu are perceptible, but Kipemba is a predominant variety here. The strong accent of this region can be found in Chokocho and N'kanyageni areas, whereas the typical accent can be heard in N'jimbini, Kangani, N'tambile and the neighbouring villages.

8. The Nkoani West zone (KPS 8)

This zone lies on the Southwest tip of the island of Pemba. Like the Nkumbuu zone, Nkoani West accent categorisation is quite complex. The intricacy of this zone is primarily attributed to the seaport of Nkoani, which attracts people from all parts of Pemba, Zanzibar, and Tanzania mainland. A considerable mixture of people and cultures in Nkoani makes the town centre's urban accent diverse and mixed. However, in the suburban parts of Nkoani town centre, the accent is audible and discernible from other parts of Pemba. Apart from Nkoani town, this area covers Makoongwe, Tironi, Wambaa, Jamba Ngome, Mizingani and the neighbouring villages. The strong Nkoani West accent can be heard in the peripheries of Nkoani town centre in areas such as Mbuguwani, Manyaga and the surrounding villages. The effect of Kitumbatu and accent traces of Kitumbatu can also be heard on Makoongwe Island.

Throughout this study, I use the eight linguistic zones to explore linguistic variations in Kipemba.



Map: 2.2: Kipemba Linguistic Zones (Adapted from Google Maps)

Chapter 3: Review of Selected Literature

3.1. Introduction

Through an initial assessment and brief discussion of the existing linguistic literature on Kipemba, the previous chapters highlighted that Kipemba, unlike other Southern Swahili dialects such as Kiunguja, Kimakunduchi, and Kitumbatu, is both understudied and underdocumented. Compared to the other Swahili dialects of the Southern Swahili cluster, there are relatively fewer reliable, systematic research and scholarly works on Kipemba, especially on the linguistic features of Kipemba. In addition to the considerable shortage of linguistic works on Kipemba, two fundamental thematic uncertainties were identified in chapter one. Firstly, whether Kipemba is a variety of its own or a collection of varieties spoken in Pemba, and, secondly, connected to this, what are the generic and zone-specific linguistic features of Kipemba that underpin the views stated above?

Recently, it is encouraging that more works on Kipemba have started to sprout and blossom in the Southern Swahili academic sphere. However, many of these budding research work addresses specific linguistic issues in smaller geographical areas of Pemba, with a relatively small and less representative number of participants. This topical progress in linguistic literature on Kipemba indicates the tremendous progress in linguistic research, scholarship, and, undeniably, studies on the Southern Swahili dialects. However, a few areas for improvement, mainly relating to the research methodology applied and the findings of studies on Kipemba, have been highlighted in chapter one, brought forward and succinctly debated but not comprehensively and systematically addressed hitherto.

Despite the limitations in the current linguistic literature on Kipemba, it remains essential to analyse the existing predominant theories on these two issues in more detail to guide the present research and situate it in the broader research context.

This review of previous works addresses the data and the main arguments of prevailing theories on Kipemba, divided into three main categories. Over a century, scholars have viewed Kipemba as:

- a. one dialect of Swahili spoken in Pemba (for example, Stigand, 1915; Said, 2009),
- b. a collection of varieties spoken differently in Pemba (Sacleux, 1909; Whiteley, 1958; Nurse and Spear, 1985; Khamis, 1984), or
- c. a dialect is spoken in Pemba except on some parts of the island, especially the southern tip of Pemba (Bryan, 1959; Polomé, 1967; Mohammed, 2001; Ali, 2015).

Chapter one briefly outlined and discussed these theories; a more thorough assessment and analysis are undertaken here, particularly of the more recent and detailed studies. In this chapter, I critically review the theories above in light of the recent research works on Kipemba, relate and share the results of the selected studies with readers, relate the studies with ongoing debates and discussions within the field, and note down the gaps and lay down the framework for the present study commencing with the theory that Kipemba is but a regional variety of Swahili spoken in Pemba.

3.2.Kipemba as "one" regional dialect spoken in Pemba.

This overall perspective draws from the original classification of the Swahili language, as initially pioneered by Chauncy Stigand (1915:2-3) and then supported by Ingrams (1924, 1931) and Malcolm Guthrie (1948, 1971) in the classification of Bantu languages, with some native Pemban researchers later following suit. The theory indicates that geographical factors directly correlate with linguistic characteristics found in the areas of study, which implies that a sample of linguistic characteristics found in a small geographical area can be generalised as representative of a larger area. Over a century ago, Stigand's study of Swahili dialects across East Africa classified Kipemba as one dialect spoken in Pemba, albeit with slightly different zonal accents and lexical choices. The theory relies on geographical boundaries that determine the perceived linguistic isoglosses showing the variations in Kipemba. In this section, I assess a few notable works and selected literature on the most recent and relevant proponents of this perspective, including Hamad Mshindo (1988), Ahmad Kipacha (2004), Said Faki (2009), Daulat Said (2009), Salma Omar (2018), Clement Maganga (1991), and Sauda Juma (2012), to name but a significant few. The section highlights the main uncertainties and gaps in the studies and offers a framework that guides and informs his methodological and analytical approaches.

In his 1988 study on "the uses of *ka-* in the Pemba Swahili variety", Mshindo investigates *ka-* in Kipemba, primarily focusing on two linguistic zones: Utenzi and the Wingwi-Micheweni Peninsula. Working with twenty-six participants (eleven females and fifteen males), both literate and illiterate, aged between twenty and ninety, Mshindo collected data from Kangagani, Kambini, Mchangamdogo, Kojani, Wingwi, Micheweni, and Kiuyu Mbuyuni. Like many local researchers, Mshindo chose Utenzi and the Wingwi-Micheweni Peninsula (all Northeastern zones) due to the assumption that the purest form of Kipemba is spoken in these two zones; the claim is yet to be verified. In support of his choice, Mshindo defends his position and states

that "the form of speech distinguishes itself from the urban variety" (Mshindo, 1988:32), a claim that also needs further consideration and validation. Another common rationale assumes that the urban variety is identical to the Standard variety of Swahili — a postulation initially promulgated by Khamis (1984) and later widely accepted by a substantial number of researchers on Kipemba. Nevertheless, this assumption is uncorroborated by solid evidence leaving the subject open to further discussion and analysis. The two popular assumptions on Kipemba raised here, first, that it is spoken in Northeastern Pemba, especially Micheweni and Minungwini Kangagani areas and second, about urban variety of Kipemba both sound plausible, but further research is needed to verify the two assumptions.

Similarly, to assume that urban variety of Kipemba is identical to Standard Swahili, as Khamis (1984) and Mshindo (1988) argued, is also a claim open to discussion and further exploration. From my initial observation, I find that the claim that urban Kipemba is close to or identical to Standard Swahili is one of Swahili history's perennial misapprehensions requiring much deliberation and systematic linguistic validation. Existing sources, including Maganga (1991) and Mugane (2015: 205), agree that only some people speak Standard Swahili in Zanzibar because Standard Swahili is only used in writing and other formal contexts. I stated in chapter two and I shall reiterate this here that the so-called urban Kipemba forms are not the same. At the same time, it is either misleading or somewhat equivocal to maintain that urban Kipemba is identical to Standard Swahili without further linguistic validation. However, before I take this matter further, I am more interested to know whether the so called "urban Kipemba variety" truly exist and how it compares with the rest of Pemba – the question none of the previous researchers have sufficiently explored. Beyond these occasions, I remain convinced that a native resident of Pemba would unlikely speak any other variety besides Kipemba.

As with Standard Swahili, there is an ongoing debate that *Kiunguja mjini* (i.e., urban Zanzibari Swahili) is often mistaken for Standard Swahili. In effect, *Kiunguja mjini* speakers do not speak Standard Swahili (as many people and previous scholars suggested or thought). In urban Zanzibar, people speak *Kiunguja mjini*, from which the Standard Swahili variety is based. As far as this study is concerned, people from rural Zanzibar and Pemba, academics, and global Swahili speakers probably adopted the *Kiunguja mjini* variety because of its status or prestige. It should be noted that the source of prestige and status of the *Kiunguja* variety is not exclusively a result of standardisation but rather due to historical advantage and political and commercial power bestowed on *Kiunguja mjini* by perennial historical factors. In Mugane's words, the decision to choose *Kiunguja* for standardisation was because it was "the language of political control" - Kipemba and other Swahili dialects could not access this privilege

(Mugane, 2015:205). The political essence of Kiunguja (in the eyes of Omani Sultans and Europeans) was also the main reason for the prestige and status of Kiunguja over the rest of the Swahili varieties in the East African littoral. Despite a few limitations, Mshindo's study on Kipemba is invaluable to research and scholarship. The various uses of *-ka-* as explored in his work provides the roadmap that guides, further informs and feeds into and enriches this research in the forthcoming analysis chapters.

Said Faki's (2009) study on "affixes *e-*, *ha-* and *hi-* in the Kipemba dialect" is another intriguing but thought-provoking study. I find Faki's study fascinating and relevant as a point of reference for my study because, apart from discussing the affixes *e-*, *ha-*, and *hi-* in Kipemba, it engages in a valuable but thought-provoking discussion on Kipemba consonant inventory. For my study, understanding the consonant system of the variety is quite helpful for future analysis in the forthcoming chapters. Hence, before I engage in the discussion and review on affixes that I find equally helpful, I find it germane to delve into the discussion on Kipemba consonant inventory.

Before I discuss the Kipemba consonant system, it is worth mentioning that Kipemba is not a written language but a spoken variety of Swahili whose writing system, if it is to be written, is the same as Swahili. Therefore, the study of the sound system of Kipemba is only viable by referring to that of the Standard Swahili vowel-consonant inventory and then relating it to the Kipemba speech forms. A few studies have focused on the Swahili vowel-consonant systems. The earliest study is by Carl Meinhof and Van Warmelo (1932:125-7), who offer five Swahili vowels and thirty-eight consonants. Ethel Ashton (1944:3) and Edgar Polomè (1967:37-40) mention five vowels in Swahili and differ in their number of consonants; Ashton notes thirty-two, and Polomè thirty-four consonants. These classifications, however, incorporated some foreign consonants, diphthongs and trip-thongs that are no longer a part of the standard Swahili phonetics today. Mohamed's (2001:26-7) study offers a more insightful comparison than the previous studies, as he outlines two types of vowels: five cardinal and four secondaries. Mohammed's account differs considerably from other linguists concerning the Swahili consonants by offering twenty-six consonants in Swahili. Although Mohammed's Swahili vowel-consonant inventory is more succinct than the earlier studies, it overlooks a pivotal role of the aspirated sounds - /t/, /k/, /p/ and /tʰ/ in the Swahili language.

The study by Said Faki (2009:26) is the only available source I found, at least until the time of completion of my research that studied Kipemba vowel-consonant inventories more systematically. In his view, Faki argues that Kipemba, like standard Swahili, has thirty

consonants (including four aspirated sounds Mohammed overlooked, five cardinal vowels, and four secondary vowels previously presented by Mohammed. However, Faki overlooked the fact that sounds /y/, /X/, /θ/ and /ð/ are foreign Arabic sounds that have become a part of standard Swahili phonetics, recognised in the standard Swahili orthography (Tucker, 1942:854), but not essentially, Kipemba. Swahili elites mainly pronounce these sounds but are not used in most Swahili dialects of Zanzibar and the mainland. Contrary to their original pronunciation, these sounds in Swahili varieties are rendered as /g/, /h/, /s/ and /z/, respectively, by 'non-elite' speakers and the Swahili-speaking people outside the vicinity of the standard Swahili (Tucker, 1942:855). However, Faki suggests and holds that Kipemba contains thirty consonants (30), including those borrowed from Arabic, as shown in the table below. In the analysis and discussion chapters later, I revisit and review Faki's proposed Kipemba consonant system to validate the exact number of consonants used in Kipemba and use it as a road map to my phonological analysis.

	Bilabial	dental	Labio - dental	Alveolar	Post- alveolar	palat al	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	<i>p</i> <i>b</i> <i>p^h</i>			<i>t</i> <i>d</i> <i>t^h</i>		<i>f</i>	<i>k</i> <i>g</i> <i>k^h</i>	
Nasal	<i>m</i>			<i>n</i>		<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
Affricate					<i>tʃ</i> <i>tʃ^h</i>			
Fricative		<i>θ*</i> <i>ð*</i>	<i>f</i> <i>v</i>	<i>s</i> <i>z</i>	<i>ʃ</i>		<i>X*</i> <i>Y*</i>	<i>h</i>
Trill				<i>r</i>				
Approxi mant					<i>j</i>		<i>w</i>	
Lateral approxi mants				<i>l</i>				

Table 3.1 Kipemba consonant system (Faki, 2009:26)

Returning to the heart of the discussion, Faki explores the uses of the affix elements *e-*, *ha-* and *hi-* in Kipemba. These affixes are among several linguistic units that operate with verb forms in Kipemba-specific ways. According to Faki, those features are probably shared with Standard Swahili (SS) and other Swahili dialects (Faki, 2009: v). The study used observation, interviews, and audiotape recording because they allowed the researcher to meet the target groups in their natural settings. According to this researcher, the techniques allowed respondents to express themselves freely. The information was gathered as respondents were in real-life situations

(Faki, 2009: 17). For the same reasons and rationale used by Mshindo and Khamis earlier, Faki conducted his study in the Northeastern Pemba in Utenzi and Micheweni zones, assuming the 'real' Kipemba is spoken there adding to his rationale as "these areas have, for a long time, been the most isolated areas in Pemba Island. The areas have recently been made accessible by roads, which have increased movements to and from these areas. For this reason, the language spoken, primarily, by older residents remains unaffected" (Faki, 2009: 18). Furthermore, Faki added that the areas of this study were chosen because of their geographical importance. In his words, those areas are geographically isolated outliers that remain isolated outcasts despite the new Meli Tano - Konde Road constructed in 1991 to curb the perennial problem of commuting and geographical accessibility. In Faki's view, the accents or the speech forms of the people from this area remain uncompromised due to a lack of language contact with urban communities and travellers from other Swahili-speaking communities – the argument I am also keen to explore further. In his study, Faki also noted that Standard Swahili is now taking over Kipemba due to introducing new infrastructure (Faki, 2009: 18) – another interesting point of discussion I need to investigate further. In his study, Faki (2009: 42-3) describes the *e-* affix as a tense marker serving other grammatical roles, including subjunctive and imperative forms in Kipemba. However, the uses and prevalence of *e-* tense affix in Kipemba go beyond Faki's findings, and it could be more complex than what Faki presented in his but outstanding work. Some of the uses of *e-* in Faki's findings are as shown in the examples below:

(1) Kipemba (Faki, 2009: 42-3)

e-kuf-a

1.SM.PAST-die-FV

'S/he died.'

(2) Kipemba (Faki, 2009: 42-3)

n-e-umw-a

1.SM.SG-PAST-sick.PASS-FV

'I got sick.'

According to Faki, the prefix *hi-* occurs only in initial affirmative constructions involving the first-person singular subject in the past, conditional or subsequent events. It seems to be a unique affix element in Kipemba, as in the example below:

(3) Kipemba (Faki, 2009: 46)

hi-amb-iw-a

1.SM.SG-PAST-tell-PASS-FV

'(then) I was told.'

Faki also argued that the prefix *ha-* appears initially like the prefix *hi-*. However, the prefix *ha-* can be combined with different pronominal subjects, displaying the same shape. The example below shows the *ha-* as the subject negative conditional marker in Kipemba.

(4) Kipemba (Faki, 2009: 46)

ha-kyebu-pot-e-a

7.SM-NEG.COND-lose-APPL.FV

'It will not get lost.'

Like other supporters of this view, it seems that Faki supposed that Kipemba is a regional dialect spoken in Pemba and that he is generalising that the zone-specific prefixes *e-*, *ha-* and *hi-* (as studied here) are predominant features of Kipemba — a contentious point worth exploring in a more detail later in my research.

Salma Omar (2018) compares the tense-aspect markers in Kipemba (KP), Kitumbatu (KT), and Kimakunduchi (KM). The study aimed to identify and compare similarities and differences between tense-aspect morphemes in Kipemba (KP), Kitumbatu (KT), and Kimakunduchi (KM) at the verb structure level of the dialects. Omar collected data via written sources, interviews, and observation and found that all three dialects, i.e., KP, KT, and KM, have the same number of tense-aspect systems. The findings show that some morpheme structures are similar. In presenting tense aspects in those dialects, Omar found significant similarities between KP and KT and KT and KM. However, KM and KP were different in presenting their tense aspects. This statement implies that KP is more similar to KT than to KM, a point also highlighted in past research by Whiteley (1958), Polomé (1967), Ingrams (1924), and Prins (1967). Although these findings seem sound and conclusive, further in-depth, systematic study is needed, especially on Kipemba.

Turning to Kipemba in particular, Omar (2018: 2) considers Kipemba a dialect of Swahili spoken in different parts of Pemba Island, including small islands surrounding the main island. Scholars such as Stigand (1915), Ingrams (1924), Mkude (1983), and Khatib (1983) have previously shared the same view. On Kipemba, Omar acknowledged that some scholars consider the variety to be a collection of varieties spoken differently in different parts of Pemba — the findings initially supported by Sacleux (1909), Whiteley (1958), Polomé (1967), Khamis (1984), and Juma (2011–2018). Omar's study collected data on Kipemba in the Micheweni, Mchangamdogo, and Kojani areas of Northeastern Pemba and Kangani, Pujini, and Muambe on the Southeastern side of Pemba. The selected areas are equivalent to his proposed zones, i.e., KPN 2, KPN 3, KPS 5, and KPS 7, all in the Eastern part of Pemba, the choice of the area also influenced by the researcher's preconceived assumption that Kipemba is spoken in the

Eastern parts of Pemba. The number of participants were twelve, which is minimal considering the area's size and the broader linguistic diversity of Pemba. The researcher's preference for the Eastern zones of Pemba is not representative, as it disregards the linguistic significance of the Western zones, which could offer fresh insights into the Kipemba spoken there. For decades, the research tendency in Pemba shows that most researchers on Kipemba, such as Hamad Juma (2011, 2018), Mshindo (1988), and Faki (2009), among others, believe that an authentic or say, uncompromised form of Kipemba is spoken in the Eastern zones of Pemba – an assumption I am also keen to investigate further.

Delving further into the findings on tense aspects in Kipemba, Omar (2018: 40) identifies three tenses in Kipemba - past, present and future tenses. According to Omar (2018:41), three different morphemes, *e-*, *na-*, and *li-*, represent the past tense form in Kipemba. The morpheme *e-*, according to Faki, is the most preferred and widely used in Kipemba. In the examples below, Omar demonstrates the use of *e-* past tense forms, first as a subject marker and, secondly, as a tense marker.

(5) Kipemba (Omar, 2018: 41)

e-pig-a

1. SM- PAST-yell-FV
'S/he yelled'

In Kipemba, the *e-* past tense form may affect the morphological structure and the phonological processes. The phonological processes affected include glide formation and vowel deletion, as shown in example five (5) above.

Another morpheme used for the past tense is *na-*, used when the verb carries a reflexive or relative morpheme such as *ye-*, *vyo-*, *cho-*, *po-*, *mo-* or *ko-* (Omar, 2018: 44-45). The examples below clarify some of this further:

(6) Kipemba (Omar, 2018: 44-5)

a-na-ye-(ku)-p-a ...

1.SM- PAST-REL1-(OM2SG)-give-FV
'S/he who gave you...'

The morpheme *li-*, commonly used as a past tense form in Standard Swahili, is also used in Kipemba as a past tense form:

(7) Kipemba (Omar, 2018: 45)

a-li-kwend-a

1. SM-PAST-go-FV
'He went'

In Kipemba, there are also morphemes for past narrative tenses, usually represented by *ki-* and *ka-*:

(8) Kipemba (Omar, 2018: 53)

- a. *i-ki-zi-ngw-a*
9.SM-NAR-find-PASS-FV
'It was found.'

- b. *a-ka-tuw-a (nzigowe)*
1.SM-NARR-drop-FV
'He dropped his luggage.'

Omar (2018:54) concludes there are no clear boundaries/lines between the past and perfect tense (immediate past) — a claim subject to further investigation. On aspect markers, Omar outlines *a-*, *ki-*, *ke-*, *ngali-* and *hu-* as shown in examples below:

(9) Kipemba (Omar, 2018: 61)

- a-gonjw-a*
1. SM-PRES- unwell-FV
'(s/he) is unwell.'

Based on the above example (9), “*a*” in “*agonjwa*” (s/he is unwell) is a present (continuous) tense marker similar to standard Swahili *na-* (*anaumwa*) denoting the action is present as we speak and ongoing.

(10) Kipemba (Omar, 2018: 63-4)

- Tu-ki-ogop-a!*
1. SM -PAST Cont. -scare – FV
'(We were) used to be scared.'

The above example (10) above use *ki-* to denote past continuous action to mean, the action was happening continually in the past but not at present anymore.

What I also found more interesting in Omar’s analysis, *ke-* and *ngali-* are also used as continuous aspects in Kipemba.

(11) Kipemba (Omar, 2018: 64)

- i-ke*
9. SM- COND (raw)
'(The banana) is still (unripe).'

In example (11) above, *ke-* is used as a conditional form used similar to standard Swahili “*ngali*”. In this example, the speaker refers to banana, which at the time if speech, was still unripe.

Nevertheless, in some instances, Omar seems to confuse the perfect tense with the Standard Swahili’s past tense *li-*, but the two are not that similar in form and function. Unlike Faki (2009), Omar focused more on the tenses and aspects shared with Standard Swahili, Kitumbatu, and Kimakunduchi, disregarding Kipemba-specific tense markers previously reported by previous

researchers Faki's *e-* and *hi-* and Mshindo's *ka-*, the gap I shall attempt to explore further in this study.

Ahmadi Kipacha (2004) conducted a comparative study of more than a dozen Swahili dialects from the East African coast, including Kipemba. His study outlines linguistic differences between the dialects, citing lexical, phonological and structural characteristics and examples from the investigated dialects. Because of the broad scope of Kipacha's study, the researcher would often need to address individual varieties in detail. For example, having assumed that Kipemba is one dialect, Kipacha selected a small area in South Pemba and used fewer than 50 participants to conclude the whole island. As a result, for some dialects, including Kipemba, Kipacha's data are somewhat mixed up and slightly hazy. For example, Hamad Juma (2011:14) points out that Kipacha's work contains some examples of words that do not belong to Kipemba, the point I myself concur with. Some examples that Kipacha claims are from Kipemba (while they are not) include *vuya* (rain), *veo* for *wao* (theirs), and *dumba* for *omba* (beg). These words and many others could not be found in Kipemba lexical repertoire.

Daulat Said's (2009) "Clitics in Kipemba" is an extensive study covering a broader spectrum of linguistic features in the Kipemba spoken in Kiuyu Mungwini, also in Utenzi zone. Said argues that various forms of clitics are found in Kipemba, adding that the features are generic and that Kipemba tends to use "shortened" parts of words that are "agglutinated" into nearby words (2009: 38). The study investigates various types of clitics in Kipemba, such as *yo-*, *ngwa-*, and *vye-* and *mwe-*, as shown in selected examples below:

(12) *Kipemba* (Said, 2009: 38)

a. *N-shemegi-yo*

COP-in-law- 1. poss.

‘It is your brother/sister-in-law.’

b. *Nke-ngwa*

1. wife- poss.

‘Someone's wife’

c. *Chumba-ni-mwe*

7.room- LOC – 18.POS

‘Inside his/her room.’

d. *Hu-kaa-vye (Unguja)*

1. SM. HABIT- stay- 1. POS

‘S/he (him/herself) stays in Unguja.’

Apart from the, Said's points out that initial and final positions of clitics occur in pronominal structures such as possessive and personal pronouns. This study is substantial for its uniqueness,

depth and originality in studying clitics. It covers many grammatical structures that could be useful for future analysis and dissemination of findings. However, Said's study falls short of the same "generalisation" error that other researchers of this category. For instance, Said's study on clitics in Kipemba assumes that Kipemba is a language spoken by the people of Pemba. Said conducted her study in Minungwini (a ward in the Utenzi zone), implying that clitics are a generic feature in Kipemba without corroborating the conclusion with relevant data and examples from other linguistic zones. Despite the invaluable contribution of this work, limitations about the geographical area and data collection were insufficient; hence I see the need to study this matter further.

Sauda Uba Juma (2012) investigated "the phonology of [the] Swahili of Muambe (Mwambe)", slightly deviating from the norms of the views of scholars of this category. Initially, Juma views Kipemba as one variety; in this study, however, Ki-Muambe is portrayed as a distinct variety of Swahili within Pemba, probably because Sauda's study was more on phonology. Evidence of this can be inferred when Juma claims that the Swahili spoken in Muambe is highly affected by Kipemba (Sauda Juma, 2012: 2) - an intriguing statement that subtly implies that Ki-Muambe is not Kipemba but perhaps, a version of Kitumbatu or Kiunguja. Juma's view on Ki-Muambe was probably results from disregarding the complexity of the linguistic situation in Muambe - a point I previously discussed in this chapter. More contradictory is the claim that some people from Muambe speak Standard Swahili and not Kipemba (Sauda Juma, 2012: 2) - a claim I need to investigate and verify further in this study. The preceding chapter argued that the people of Muambe came from Tumbatu Island and other rural villages of North Unguja, meaning they do not speak Standard Swahili by default. Research indicates that people of North Unguja speak a variety close to Kitumbatu or *Kishamba* (rural Unguja Swahili varieties).

Juma concluded that Kipemba, as a variety, is spoken with minor linguistic differences across and throughout the island, inconsistent with earlier claims. This claim contrasts with her earlier claim that Ki-Muambe is a distinct dialect within Pemba. In effect, the phonological data Juma collected from Muambe shows that some words (lexical corpus), approximately 30–40%, are close to Kitumbatu and other varieties of Unguja, including Kimakunduchi. The rest of the linguistic data are purely and primarily shared with the Kipemba spoken in other parts of Pemba. Below are some phonological data from Muambe. Some of the words are from Kitumbatu and others, i.e., Kimakunduchi, Kitumbatu, and Kimakunduchi, as shown in the brackets:

- (13) Kipemba (Sauda Juma, 2012: 33-4)
- a. *Jaje* – 'how' – greetings (Kimakunduchi)
 - b. *Pano* – 'there' – demonstrative (Kitumbatu)
 - c. *Ve* – 's/he' – personal pronoun (Kitumbatu)

The examples above and data from Sauda Juma's work indicate that Ki-Muambe is a part of Kipemba and is influenced by the Swahili varieties of North Unguja. Furthermore, the data that Juma presented throughout her study does not show sufficient evidence that supports that:

- a. Ki-Muambe is not Kipemba but rather a variety of Swahili affected by Kipemba. On the contrary, the data from the study show that KiMuambe is a part of Kipemba,
- b. Ki-Muambe is close to or identical to Standard Swahili. There is no sufficient linguistic evidence that justifies and backs this claim, and
- c. Some people of Muambe speak Standard Swahili, but no sufficient evidence to support this argument. This study aims to investigate the above claims and findings further in the coming analysis chapters.

Clement Maganga (1991) studied the morphophonology of Standard Kiswahili, Kipemba, Kitumbatu, and Kimakunduchi. His study aimed to establish whether identical morphemes can undergo a phonological process comparable to identical morpheme boundaries in the four Swahili dialects. The study found that all four dialects use the same inventory of sound segments and the same underlying forms for prefixes whose underlying shapes are /((C)u/, /((C)a/, /((C)i/ and /N/. Post-radical affixes are also the same in the four dialects. However, tense-aspect markers, especially in the past and perfective affirmative verb forms, present, past and consequential negative verb forms, are different (Maganga, 1991: vi). Maganga also found that seventeen phonological processes governed by twenty different rules have been identified in the Zanzibar group of dialects. The popular phonological processes were glide formation, vowel deletion and vowel harmony in the verb extension. Other phonological processes were palatalisation, place assimilation, nasal syllabification, and neutralising noun classes 9 and 10. Maganga argued that in Kipemba, glide formation and vowel deletion are restricted to specific nominal stems, which begin with non-back vowels.

Moreover, (a) vowel deletion is restricted to specific nominal stems, and (b) only one type of vowel coalescence occurs in which /a+i/ becomes /-e-/. In Kipemba, the prefixes /mu/ and /ni/ and the tense/aspect marker *-na-* undergo vowel deletion, nasal syllabification and place assimilation in a similar environment. The study concludes that Kipemba and Standard Swahili are closer to each other than Kitumbatu and Kimakunduchi, which are also very much alike. Maganga's study broadly covers morphophonological data and findings of the Zanzibar group

of dialects. However, like previous studies, his work assumed that Kipemba is one variety spoken uniformly throughout Pemba – the assumption that needs further investigation.

In summary, the studies reviewed here presented several noteworthy linguistic features of Kipemba. However, the basic tenets of the assumption of this view might have led to the over-generalisation error that a linguistic feature found in one area is representative of other parts of Pemba. Available preliminary fieldwork data indicate that some linguistic features are zone-specific, and some are generic to Kipemba — the point most researchers did not explore. This study aims to fill the gaps outlined here by systematically identifying and expiating generic and zone-specific linguistic features of Kipemba, concluding whether Kipemba is a variety or a collection of varieties of Swahili spoken in Pemba.

3.3. Kipemba is, but a collection of varieties spoken in Pemba.

The proponents of this view hold that Kipemba is not “one” variety of Swahili but a collection of varieties or local variants in Pemba. The view emanates from the original study conducted by Sacleux in 1909, who classified Kipemba into four local varieties or sub-varieties (see Map 1), a view which was later further developed by Whiteley (1958, see Map 2), Nurse and Spear (1985), and Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993). In this section, on the merit of relevance, I examine a selection of works on Kipemba with this viewpoint, specifically the works of Nurse and Spear (1985), Said Khamis (1984), Hamad Juma (2011, 2018), Shaame Ali (2015), and Asha Sharabil (2017).

Nurse and Spear (1985: 61) define Kipemba as "some subdialects spoken on Pemba Island". Their classification of Swahili dialects divides Swahili into Northern and Southern Swahili dialects, where Kipemba is grouped as one of the Southern Swahili dialects. Nurse and Spear argue that the Southern Swahili cluster developed from Northern Swahili dialects, noting the similarity between North Kipemba and Kitumbatu (from a separate Zanzibari island, i.e., Tumbatu) and between South Kipemba and Kihadimu, Kiunguja, and Kimtang'ata (from Unguja Island). Even though Nurse and Spear's geographical division into North and South Kipemba appears plausible, they offered no further concrete evidence to support their argument. The only linguistic data to back their assumption that Northern Kipemba is more closely related to Kitumbatu. There is also insufficient evidence showing that South Kipemba is more closely related to Kihadimu, Mtang'ata, Mafia, and Kilwa dialects.

Siti Ali (2015) and Hamad Juma (2018) also support the view that Kitumbatu heavily influences Southern Kipemba. However, Khamis opposes this view and similar opinions

because they are loosely "based on impressionistic, unreliable findings and lacks statistical evidence" (Khamis, 1984: 20).

Said A. M. Khamis' (1984) thesis "Urban versus rural Swahili (a study of Pemba varieties)" is arguably the first in-depth, systematic, robust study on Kipemba by a native of Pemba. The study bridges the gap between colonial, postcolonial, and the later works on Kipemba by natives and non-natives. For this work, rich in methodology and content that covers broader linguistic aspects of the morpho-phonemical, phonological and lexical aspects of Kipemba, Khamis is credited for breaking an ice in classifying and studying the urban and rural variations of Kipemba. The research was conducted in five linguistic zones encompassing Maziwa Ngombe, Micheweni (KPN 3), Kojani (KPN 2), Chake Chake (KPS 6), Kiwani, Mwambe, Kisiwa Panza (KPS 7), Nkoani (KPS 8), Wete, and Fundo Island (KPN 1). Khamis used five questionnaires to collect data:

(i) The validity test questionnaire was used to verify and establish the truth of the findings on lexical items. The questionnaire incorporated two hundred nominal and verbal items (Khamis, 1984: 34 - 35).

(ii) The common vocabulary questionnaire comprised four hundred items of nominal and verbal forms from various semantic groups, including foodstuffs, kinship terms, local plants and animals, and cultural and spiritual phenomena. This questionnaire covered basic vocabulary.

(iii) The grammatical questionnaire aimed to obtain grammatical contrast in noun classes, concords, and other grammatical categories (Khamis, 1984: 35).

(iv) The foreign sounds questionnaire was used to ascertain variants of the articulation of foreign sounds in the phonological sequences of Swahili words, including the sounds /θ/ /ð/ and /ɣ/.

(v) The urban questionnaire (life history, hobbies, feelings, and social issues such as unemployment) was used in urban areas. There were one hundred male and female participants from both groups, with young adults aged between 18 and 50 and older adults aged 55 or above (Khamis, 1984:36).

Khamis's theoretical framework is built around dialectological approaches initially propounded by Schmidt (1976). In this study, Khamis used generative dialectology, "polylectal" grammar (1954), and interdisciplinary approaches to data analysis. Chambers and Trudgill (1980:45) state that dialects or varieties differ in three aspects. Firstly, in the phonological rules that apply to underlying forms. Secondly, in the environment in which the rules apply; and thirdly, in the order in which these rules apply (Chambers & Trudgill, 1980: 46). Whilst I concur with

Khamis' methodological choices, application and relevance, a few parameters within his study could be improved. Firstly, the classification of the Kipemba dialects into rural and urban Kipemba is not backed by linguistic evidence but rather by social attitudes underlying language ideologies that may not necessarily be realistic. I should reiterate that the Kipemba varieties spoken in Wete, Chake Chake, and Mkoani are not identical, as previously and prevalently argued. The same applies to the rural Kipemba clusters — a fact that Khamis seems to have overlooked. Above all examples, especially the variation in urban Kipemba, Khamis seem to confuse urban Kipemba with either/both Kiunguja or/and Standard Swahili. The so-called urban Kipemba is, in fact, no close equivalent of Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. However, these assumptions and findings are examined and discussed further in the data analysis and findings section.

Hamad Juma's two studies on Kipemba, one in 2011 and another (a PhD thesis) in 2018, are intriguing pieces of literature worth reviewing. Hamad's 2011 master's dissertation compares the varieties of Kipemba spoken in Wete and Micheweni. The study examines phonological, morphological and lexical features between two local varieties and found that the Kipemba spoken in Wete is close to Standard Swahili. In contrast, the Kipemba spoken in Micheweni contains a substantial repertoire of "older" forms of Swahili than in Wete. This research offers a detailed account of vital linguistic features. Still, the geographical area within the study and the number of participants in the data collection were inadequate to offer such conclusions. Another limitation of this study is the view that the Kipemba spoken in Wete is close to or identical to Swahili – the findings that need to be substantiated further.

Juma (2018) conducted another study on comparative historical linguistic accounts between the Kiamu, Kimvita, Kipemba, Kitumbatu, and Kimakunduchi dialects of Swahili. In this research, Juma seems to divert from his original course and the view that Kipemba is spoken differently in Pemba. In this work, Juma suggests that Kipemba might be one regional dialect with unique linguistic features, adding that the uncompromised Kipemba is spoken in the Eastern part of Pemba. This statement contradicts Juma's earlier findings and conclusions regarding Kipemba. Slightly at odds, Juma does not explain the form of Swahili or Kipemba spoken on the Western side of Pemba to counter check the data collected from the Eastern parts. Despite the depth, scope and significance of Juma's two works, further systematic research is required to answer unanswered questions and disentangle the existing contradictions for Kipemba that Juma overlooked in his two studies.

Akin to Juma, Asha Sharabil (2017) compares the morphophonological differences between Southern and Northern Kipemba. Sharabil's study area included Micheweni, Wingwi, and

Sebudawa (Micheweni zone) for the North and Muambe, Jombwe, and Shamiani (Nkumbuu and Nkoani zones) for the South. In this study, Sharabil used interviews and observational techniques to collect data, with the help of historical-comparative linguistic approaches for data analysis. The research found significant morphophonological differences between Southern and Northern Kipemba. Moreover, Sharabil found phonological differences between Southern and Northern Kipemba. In this study, Sharabil attempted to outline the morphophonological differences between Southern and Northern Kipemba without concluding the findings. However, she called for further studies to determine the origins of Kipemba and, possibly, the variations in Kipemba (Sharabil, 2017: viii). Sharabil's study played a significant part in highlighting some possible morphophonological differences in Kipemba. However, her assumption regarding the classification of Southern and Northern Kipemba disregards fundamental factors such as linguistic diversity and possible linguistic variations (i.e., accents or speech forms and choice of words) in determining the variations in Kipemba. Past studies have shown that Southern Pemba varieties are not homogeneous — the same applies to the Kipemba spoken in North Pemba.

In much the same manner as Sharabil, in respect of the methodology, research areas, and participants involved, Shaame Ali (2015) compares linguistic differences between the Kipemba spoken in Chake Chake (Nkumbuu zone) and Micheweni (Micheweni zone). Like other researchers, Ali assumes that Kipemba is a collection of varieties spoken differently across and throughout Pemba. In his findings, Ali outlines some phonological and structural variations in the Kipemba used in Chake Chake and Micheweni, emphasising similarities in the meanings of words used in both areas. Ali's study shows substantial lexical differences between the Micheweni and Chake Chake varieties. The differences were mainly in the pronunciation of words, and some were purely semantic — where the words differed in meaning.

Furthermore, the study found similarities in the use and meanings of words used in Micheweni and Chake Chake. Although Ali's study acknowledges the prevalence of linguistic differences in Kipemba spoken from one area to another, it says little to nothing about whether the differences are generic to Pemba or zone-specific. In his findings, there is no mention of whether the lexical differences found in Chake Chake and Micheweni can also be found in other areas of Pemba not covered in his research area.

In summary, the proponents of the view that Kipemba is a collection of varieties spoken differently throughout and across Pemba have contributed tremendously to uncover the linguistic variations in Kipemba. After reviewing the works of Khamis (1984), Shaame Ali

(2015), Asha Sharabil (2017), and others in this section, the shared theme shows the existence of significant linguistic variations in Kipemba. With some relevant fieldwork data, the researchers have attempted to outline some morphological, phonological and lexical variations in Kipemba. Whilst it is evident that there are variations in Kipemba, the works discussed here have left some apparent gaps and technical linguistic limitations that need fixing. Firstly, it is palpable that most researchers, mainly the native ones, took the linguistic situation in Pemba for granted, sometimes leading to errors of faulty generalisation of data, results and findings. Consequently, most researchers from this category should have paid more attention to some varieties, sub-varieties or minor zonal linguistic differences in Kipemba for varieties or dialects. This argument corresponds to Temu (1980: 20), who once stated that "some scholars might have viewed sub-varieties for varieties" — of which some researchers who support this view are not an exception. Another fascinating point of discussion that surmises a few shortcomings of this view is promulgated by Khamis. Khamis argued that the classifications, findings and conclusions by Whiteley (1958) and other early foreign researchers were based on "subjective reactions presented unsystematically" (1984:20). However, if valid, this statement seems to apply to all scholars, researchers and supporters of this view, including Khamis himself. The view regarding what Khamis labelled as urban Kipemba contradicts the fact of Standard Swahili in the first place. From the examples extracted from his work, when Khamis referred to urban Kipemba, he probably intentionally or accidentally referred to Standard Swahili. Moreover, the idea of rural Kipemba was merely subjective. No clear criteria and demarcation show the boundaries of rural Kipemba varieties. Some areas (such as Konde, Ntambile, and Kengeja) can be grouped as urban and rural settlements at the same time depending on the context. In addition, none of the speech forms used there are homogenous, concerning what Khamis and others considered the rural variety. It has been stated that - based on accents - rural varieties in Pemba differ considerably. Similarly, the Kipemba spoken in the Micheweni zone may differ within and across the zone. The same applies to Chake Chake, Mkoani, North, South, East and West Pemba, and other parts. This study intends to fill this lacuna by pursuing a systematic study of linguistic variation in Kipemba from the proposed linguistic zones by investigating both zone-specific and generic linguistic features of Kipemba.

3.4. Kipemba is a dialect spoken in Pemba (except on some parts of the island)

This view was first propounded by Bryan (1959) and Polomé (1967) and later supported by Mohamed (2001) and Siti Ali (2015). The scholars in favour of this view argue that Kipemba is a dialect of Swahili spoken on Pemba Island, except at the Southern tip. The southern tip referred to here is probably at the Southern end of the Nkoani zone, presumably East and West Nkoani zones. For further discussion, we must prioritise the consideration of Polomé and Ali since only they offer evidence through examples to support their analyses.

Polomé (1967) explores the structure of the Swahili language and its dialects, focusing mainly on the structure of Kiunguja (here, Standard Swahili) and some mainland Swahili dialects. Apart from Kiunguja and other dialects, Polomé highlights, in a nutshell, the Kipemba dialect with no further analysis of its structure and grammar. Writing on Kipemba, Polomé argues that Kipemba is a variety of Swahili spoken in Pemba, except at the southern tip (where the language situation differs from the rest of the island). Polomé explains that the Kipemba spoken at the island's southern tip is characterised by the absence of palatalisation in the noun class prefixes that occur before nouns with an initial vowel. In the Micheweni-Wingwi Peninsula in the North, subdialects have developed. For example, people from this area prefer to use *k-* instead of *h-* in the negative prefix in the second or third (class 1) person singular form, as shown below:

(14) Kipemba (Polomé, 1967: 24; see also Faki, 2009: 11-12)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>a. Ha-tak-i (SS)</i>
1. SM.NEG – want – FV
'S/he does not want.' | <i>b. Ka-tak-i (KP)</i>
1.SM.NEG – want -FV
'S/he does not want.' |
|---|---|

In the example mentioned earlier, and referring to the researcher's recent pilot study data, the *h-* to *k-* verb forms can hardly be heard amongst Kipemba speakers in the Wingwi - Micheweni zone. The only speakers who may exhibit this feature are older people, mainly women aged 65 or above. If this is the case, this suggests that the differences identified by Polomé were correct at the time of writing, but the passing of 53 years merits renewed investigation. Furthermore, Polomé's statement and evidence on the Micheweni subdialect are intriguing, but the areas initially referred to as Pemba's "Southern tip" could be a little perplexing. As it stands, it is unclear which specific areas he visited in the South. Geographically, the Southern tip of Pemba could be anywhere in the Southeast, in areas such as Muambe or Kengeja, or in Southwestern areas such as Nkoani town, Tironi, or Wambaa. Wherever it could be, be it Southeast or Southwest, Polomé did not clarify exactly where the Southern tip of Pemba was. In his explanation of Kitumbatu, Polomé asserts that Kitumbatu is spoken on Tumbatu Island and at

the Southern tip of Pemba. According to an earlier investigation, there are few places in Pemba where Kitumbatu can be heard: Muambe (Mwambe) and the islets of Kisiwa Panza and Makoongwe.

It is now known that Tumbatu people have long inhabited the areas referred to here. There is a slight mixture of Kipemba and Kitumbatu in some Southern areas of Pemba. As previously noted, and from Sauda Juma's study in Muambe, the Kipemba spoken here has been somehow influenced by Kitumbatu and other rural varieties of North Unguja islands — the point Polomé might have overlooked. In his work entitled "Modern Swahili Grammar", Mohamed (2001), like Polomé, believes Kipemba is not spoken at the Southern tip of Pemba Island. Nevertheless, Mohamed offers no evidence in support of the statement.

Siti Ali (2015) researched the lexical differences between Northern and Southern Kipemba, collecting data from the North Micheweni and South Mkoani districts. Thirty participants, mainly schoolteachers, participated in the data collection. The study found lexical differences between Northern and Southern Kipemba, adding that Northern Kipemba seems to contain a rich lexical repertoire of archaic words of Kipemba. In contrast, Ali claims that Southern Kipemba is closer to Kitumbatu and, to a large extent, seems to have swayed towards Standard Swahili. Unlike Polomé and Mohamed, Siti Ali offers extensive data on the Kipemba spoken at the southern tip of Pemba. In this study, Siti Ali provides valuable insights into the excellent contrast and lexical variation between North and South Kipemba. The data from the North were collected in Micheweni, Kiuyu Mbuyuni and Maziwa Ng'ombe and Muambe, Chokocho and Kangani in the South. Ali (2015:29) presented significant contrast in sounds between the South and North in her study. However, she did not say whether the sound correspondences in the tables below are systematic or arbitrary. Table 3.2 below illustrates the consonant contrast between North and South Kipemba.

North	South	Difference/Contrast	Gloss
<i>tunturi</i>	<i>sunsuri</i>	t - s	Type of fish
<i>birika</i>	<i>bilika</i>	r - l	Kettle
<i>bupuru</i>	<i>bufuru</i>	p - f	Skull, coconut shell
<i>guwa</i>	<i>buwa</i>	g - b	Unattended farm
<i>kyano</i>	<i>chano</i>	ky - ch	Platter
<i>vumbi</i>	<i>dumbi</i>	v - d	Dust
<i>joma</i>	<i>goma</i>	j - g	Rock
<i>repuleni</i>	<i>zepuleni</i>	r - z	Aeroplane
<i>zeme</i>	<i>veme</i>	z - v	Cold (weather)
<i>dapia</i>	<i>dakia</i>	p - k	Jump (on a vehicle)
<i>vuga</i>	<i>buga</i>	v - b	Disturb, annoy
<i>dukuwa</i>	<i>bukuya</i>	d - b	Trim, nib, cut
<i>chachata</i>	<i>chachaga</i>	t - g	Wash (clothes)
<i>kesa</i>	<i>chesa</i>	k - ch	Stay awake
<i>shushuka</i>	<i>chuchuka</i>	sh - ch	Grow (from infancy)
<i>shonya</i>	<i>bonya</i>	sh - b	Scold
<i>kovyoka</i>	<i>gonyoka</i>	k - g	Puke, vomit

Table 3.2: Consonant contrast between South and North Kipemba (adapted from (Siti Ali, 2017: 29)

Siti Ali also noted variations in vowel contrast between North and South Kipemba spoken in her investigated areas, as shown in Table 3.3 below (Ali, 2017: 30).

North	South	Contrast	Gloss
<i>boje</i>	<i>buje</i>	o - u	Swelling, bump
<i>vukuto</i>	<i>vukuti</i>	o - i	Heat
<i>izia</i>	<i>uzia</i>	i - u	Nuisance
<i>egema</i>	<i>igama</i>	e - i	Lean (on something)
<i>puma</i>	<i>poma</i>	u - o	Breathe

Table 3.3 : Vowel contrast between North and South Kipemba (Ali, 2017: 30)

Besides consonant and vowel contrast, Ali points out a significant contrast between North and South Kipemba in semi-vowels.

North	South	Contrast	Gloss
<i>bauwu</i>	<i>bauyu</i>	w - y	Pee
<i>pwaa</i>	<i>pyaa</i>	w - y	Sea
<i>tambuwa</i>	<i>tambuya</i>	w - y	Know, recognise
<i>juwa</i>	<i>juya</i>	w - y	Know, sun
<i>vuwa</i>	<i>vuya</i>	w - y	Rain

Table 3.4: Semi-vowel contrast between North and South Kipemba (Ali, 2017: 31)

Ali's data on the sound contrast between North and South Pemba is quite fascinating, and I am genuinely interested in finding more about this in my analysis of Chapter Seven. In addition to the data mentioned above, in contrast, Ali highlights that there are more tendencies towards deletion in North Kipemba than in South Kipemba (2017: 31), some minor variations in accents (2017: 31), less use of aspirated sounds in North Kipemba (Ali, 2017: 35), and some minor

morphological differences between the two regions (Ali, 2017: 39). Lexical differences seem to be higher between North and South Pemba. In Ali's findings (2017: 37), lexical differences between the two regions involved a slight change in sound, but most of the words are entirely different, as shown below.

North	South	Gloss
<i>kidudu</i>	<i>mdeke</i>	Male child's genitalia
<i>nchamo</i>	<i>bacha</i>	Old mat
<i>lepe</i>	<i>bangwe</i>	Siesta, nap
<i>kibunju</i>	<i>bera</i>	Teen, male youth
<i>gunda</i>	<i>dundu</i>	Gong, horn
<i>tumbwija</i>	<i>bavi</i>	Abscess
<i>komo</i>	<i>bingu</i>	Front head (protruding)
<i>totovu</i>	<i>bunju</i>	Pufferfish
<i>tumbwi</i>	<i>daka</i>	Young coconut
<i>geleka</i>	<i>aga</i>	Lost, get lost
<i>tilifu</i>	<i>angamia</i>	Suffer
<i>Asiza</i>	<i>asa</i>	Warn, stop a child from doing something
<i>fikicha</i>	<i>bigija</i>	Squeeze, scratch
<i>vova</i>	<i>boba</i>	Soak, get soaked
<i>zidiwa</i>	<i>chachiwa</i>	Overwhelm, be overwhelmed
<i>cheleya</i>	<i>shuka</i>	Come down (from above)
<i>himiza</i>	<i>faulisha</i>	Hasten, hurry up

Table 3.5: Lexical differences between North and South Kipemba

Siti Ali's study resembles that of Hamad Juma (2011), who compares Kipemba spoken in Wete and that of Micheweni. Ali's study also resembles the work by Ismail Ali (2015), who investigated the lexical variations between Kipemba spoken in Chake Chake town and that spoken in the Micheweni region. Admittedly, my interest and inquisitive vigour to study linguistic variation was primarily propelled by the findings from the three works discussed here. The early work also influenced my interest in studying variation in Kipemba by Khamis (1984), who also studied the differences between urban and rural Kipemba. My desire to study variation Kipemba in more depth was not because the three works left me with more questions than answers. Some striking questions that arose from the findings of these works were:

- Is there "rural" and "Urban" Kipemba?
- Is Kipemba spoken in the Micheweni zone (KPN 3) representative of Kipemba in the Northern region of Pemba? Likewise, is Kipemba spoken in Muambe, Kangani and Chokocho (KPS 7) representative of Kipemba in Southern Pemba? Most importantly, do the Kipemba speakers from the North or South speak alike?

- Studies have pointed out the distinctive features between North and South Kipemba. Does this mean there are no generic features in Kipemba, apart from Northern and Southern linguistic variations?
- Were the lexical variations in that small geographical areas' representative of the speakers from other neighbouring areas of the same zones? In other words, are the linguistic differences in Micheweni the same as those in Wingwi, Sizini and Kijichame, all being the villages and towns from the KPN 3 zones? Are the lexical differences in Muambe the same as those in Ntambile, Kisiwa Panza and the vicinity? And lastly but not least,
- Owing to the modest sample population and a small area for data collection used in earlier works, how reliable and valid were the findings considering the current linguistic diversity in Pemba and Kipemba in general?

Regardless of the outstanding work on the studies of Kipemba, there are still some gaps and numerous questions about Kipemba that need to be addressed. In the later chapters of this study, I attempt to find the answers to the main research questions and assumptions the previous studies left unrequited.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1.Introduction

This study combined quantitative and qualitative research designs to investigate the main research problem of linguistic variation in Kipemba. The study used the triangulation method to improve the credibility and validity of the findings. My choice of triangulation method is pegged from the rationale that it is a technique that "combines theoretical and methodological aspects or observers in a research study, which in one way or another, ensured that any fundamental biases arising from the use of a single method, or a single observer are overcome" (Noble and Heale, 2019:67; see also, Litoselitti, 2018, Flick, 2018). Vermeulen, De Bondt and Ryckman, (2012:24), present that triangulation is "a powerful technique that facilitates data validation through cross verification from more than two sources". In this study, the use of triangulation aimed to increase the credibility of research and to (1) enhance research findings by offering a variety of datasets to explain different aspects of a phenomenon of interest, (2) help refute where one dataset invalidates a hypothesis or assumption generated by another, (3) assist the confirmation of a hypothesis where one set of findings confirms another set, and (4) help explain the results of a study, hence, give more confidence in the research findings (Carvalho, 1997; Rothbauer, 2008:892- 4).

The study used linguistic dialectology and variationist approaches to linguistics analysis on linguistic variations in Kipemba. Dialectological approaches were used to study linguistic variation in Kipemba across eight proposed zones whereas the variationist approaches were used to focus on how language changes across and through the proposed linguistic zones by observing accurate linguistic data. Combining the two approaches in this research helped determine the geographical and social factors contributing to the existing linguistic variation in Kipemba. Reminiscent to Gumperz (1968) and Lakoff (1975) on dialects and variations that 'social and geographical factors must be seen as interrelated', the point relevant and applicable throughout the study, including mixed data collection techniques.' The data collection techniques used were participant observation, in-depth interviews (including focus groups), and questionnaires to collect data. A detailed explanation of this study's methodological setup and design is addressed later in this chapter.

This chapter explains the steps adopted in the study to address the hypotheses and research questions. In the forthcoming section, I discuss my positionality by describing my worldview and the position adopted about the research process and its socio-political context (Foote &

Bartell, 2011; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013; Rowe, 2014). The section encapsulates the background, concerns, and ontological assumptions of research. It encapsulates my epistemological position and the underlying beliefs about human nature and agency - his assumptions about the way people interact with their environment and relates to it (Sikes, 2004; Bahari, 2010; Scotland, 2012; Ormiston et al., 2014; Marsh et al. 2018; and Grix, 2019). The section also briefly describes my philosophical, personal, and theoretical beliefs and perspectives through which the research process and potential influences on the research, such as age, political opinions, and social class, and race to outline a few.

The methodological consideration section explores selected methods and techniques used in the research – including sampling design, the number of participants (age, gender, and location), instruments and equipment and the procedures and techniques used in data collection. Moreover, this chapter offers a detailed account of approaches and methods used in data analysis and interpretation. The later section highlights the limitation and delimitations of this study, culminating in a broader explanation of ethical considerations in this research. In the following section, I describe my positionality in this research.

4.2.Positionality of the researcher

I was born and raised at Wingwi, a village in Micheweni District (KPN 3). In my first 20 years, I grew up in different places in Pemba before relocating to Zanzibar town for further studies. I received my primary education at Wingwi (KPN 3), Tumbe (KPN 4) and an ordinary-level secondary education at Utaani Secondary School in Wete town (KPN 1). In Wete, I lived at Utaani boarding facilities with fellow students from around Pemba for four years. After completing Ordinary Level education, I spent some time in Chake Chake town (KPS 5 and KPS 7), and from time to time, I visited former schoolmates and friends from North and South Pemba towns and villages. I once sojourned at Uweleni, in the Nkoani district (KPS 8), where my father was posted as a Headteacher for Uweleni Secondary School in the late 1990s. In Nkoani, I made friends and visited other places, including Ntu Haliwa, Chokocho, Pujini (KPS 5), Muambe, Ntambile, Kengeja and Chambani (KPS 7). My extensive exposure and interactions with people and communities from around Pemba contributed extensively to cementing my linguistic and cultural experience, mastery and competence in Kipemba and Pemba.

As a native Pemban, I enjoyed the reunion with my home community of the ethnic African-Shirazi of Pemban heritage. Over my peripatetic life spanning two decades in Pemba, I was exposed to and acquainted with diverse cultures, views, ideologies, attitudes, and linguistic

differences of the native Pembans. However, one of my memorable anecdotal experiences endured in my early childhood and teenage years was how people, mainly from urban zones, ridiculed my neighbouring village colleagues and myself from my region because we spoke in a *Kishamba* accent. My use of the Wingwi - Micheweni accent which was considered low, attracted constant mockery and derision from peers. The accent in this zone is mainly considered contemptuously and is popularly referred to as "*Ki-n'gongele*" (The prefix *ki-* used here is the same as that used in Ki-Swahili to denote a language of certain people or place). Here "*Ki-n'gongele*" refers to the speech form of the people of the greater Micheweni area. In a more desirable term, this accent is also called Kipemba *fyoko* (the form of Kipemba entirely restricted, uncompromised, which maintains many conservative features). Being one of the so-called "*ethnic N'gongele*", I passed through challenging predicaments. For instance, throughout my youth, I survived recurring ridicule and disparaging remarks from play and schoolmates in places like Tumbe (KPN 4) and later in my teenage years at Utaani boarding school Wete (KPN1).

Except for the students from the Wete district (KPN 1), Chake Chake, Mkoani towns and the vicinity (KPS 5 – 8), the rest of the accents from KPN 2, KPN 3 and KPN 4 were considered low and were branded as the "*Washamba*" (the rural outcasts). However, the speakers from Wingwi - the Micheweni peninsula and the Utenzi region- had reserved further special seat and encountered more ridicule and received relatively unfair mockery. Undeniably, it is subtly excruciating for a child or teenage boy to endure the recurring ridicule, disparaging remarks and sometimes, seclusion from other fellows or playmates because of his accent. However, taking these childhood and teenage episodic experiences to a positive end, I learned that my childhood experiences were a cornerstone of my curiosity, understanding, and awareness of the potential linguistic variation, language attitudes and ideologies in Kipemba.

Admittedly, the variation in accents and speech forms was one of the matters that impeded my interaction with others during my early years. To survive, I had to adapt to these compelling circumstances, engulfed in the misty cloud of stereotyped linguistic attitudes, ideologies, and identities. In this regard, I surrendered to the most desired urban accents to live affably and harmoniously with others. Due to these experiences, I started to use and became familiar with other Kipemba accents, especially Ki-Wete (KPN and other speech forms from other urban towns and vicinity). Being familiar with various Kipemba accents or speech forms proved fruitful for my success in research, especially in data collection. Despite being a native of Pemba and a familiar community member, I faced some impinging holdups. For example, my linguistics background and competencies made seeing the remarkable patterns and data more

objectively in my fieldwork considerably challenging. More significantly, I could deduce that even though I conversed in different Kipemba accents and speech forms, my linguistic repertoire differed from some of my research participants.

As highlighted in chapter two, Pembans are believed to be bidialectic, though the veracity of this statement is doubtful and, thus, open to further discussion. By dialectic, the context changes; the Kipemba users are believed to often switch to standard Swahili – though, as said earlier, I doubt if anyone, habitually, speaks Standard Swahili in Pemba. This situation occurs, if it only does, when communicating with unfamiliar people, or those who do not speak with familiar accents and in schools or offices, especially in writing or reading formal written works. What is more complex but intriguing about switching is that the switch constitutes the change in the accent and some underlying grammatical patterns and structures. Despite some research on Kipemba, many researchers seem to be unaware of or have overlooked this tendency. A typical example of this argument is a popular hypothesis held by many previous researchers, including Whiteley (1958) and Polomé (1967) that standard Swahili is taking over Kipemba as discussed in chapter three earlier. Although further investigation is needed to justify and validate this assumption, the researcher's initial fieldwork findings show that Standard Swahili is often and only used, in a limited capacity, in written forms in schools, offices, and mainstream media spoken in Pemba.

Considering the above cases, I spent time with participants from all eight linguistic data collection zones. With participants, I established rapport and got acquainted with them in their local communities. This strategy was tailored to avoid potential researcher and methodological biases to which my linguistic repertoire and familiarity with participants could otherwise be contributed. The more time I spent interacting and socialising with the participants, the easier it became to speak freely and comfortably in their local accents. As a local of Pemba, I was aware of Pemba's complex and diverse linguistic situation and the positive impact of linguistic bi-dialectism on the island.

Further to the preceding philosophical position, the data collected were assumed to be objective-independent data and facts that already exist in the world to be found or explored. On the other hand, I also considered my role in discovering the data and determined the theories they imply. The methodological choice of mixed systems and triangulation helped mitigate potential biases. The biases include researcher and methodological biases that could otherwise occur and affect the study if I opted to use a single-method approach. When a researcher and methodological biases are decreased, the credibility of the research data and findings increases substantially.

From my experience in Pemba and years of active research on Kipemba, it was emphatically necessary to maintain the distance between myself as a researcher, my positionality to study and my participants. Nevertheless, I strived to ensure I was aware of the impact of my prior ideologies, limitations, attitudes, and beliefs. As a remedial measure, I did whatever I could, and had at my disposal, including my research training from my home institution, SOAS, my salient knowledge of Swahili, Kipemba, research, methodological choice, background, and competence to retain and maintain impartiality to the utmost level of efficiency. The following section offers a brief account of his practical fieldwork experience.

2.3. My fieldwork experience: an overview

I had initially planned to go for fieldwork in June 2020. However, when the COVID-19 pandemic broke out, the UK government took stringent preventive measures, including imposing travel restrictions from March 2020 onwards. Coincidentally, in March 2020, when the lockdowns and restrictions were imposed in the UK, I was already in Zanzibar for a family visit. While the number of COVID-19 infections was escalating considerably in the UK, I stayed in Zanzibar, where the government measures were relatively lax, and the impact of the pandemic infections was not as alarming and frightening as elsewhere in the world. In Zanzibar, I made a couple of fieldwork applications to SOAS Doctoral School. Still, my applications were declined for health, safety, and compliance with the UK's Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO) travel rules and regulations. However, between November and December 2020, the SOAS Doctoral School changed its fieldwork rules and regulations to allow all students to continue with fieldwork if they are already in the countries of their field research and if the local rules allow them to do so. Following the change, I submitted a new fieldwork application to SOAS Doctoral School in December 2020, and I got approved on the 8th of January 2021.

Between the 9th and 13th of January 2021, I consulted Tanzania's immigration offices in Zanzibar for research permits and immigration-related clearance. Later, I applied for a research permit from the Office of the Second Vice President, Zanzibar and the Office of the Chief of Statistics, Zanzibar, between the 14th and 17th of January 2021. The research permit was issued on the 18th of January 2021. However, the Office of the Second Vice President had three conditions to be met before issuing the research permit. One of the conditions required me to stay aloof from political affairs and to submit three copies of my completed thesis to the office of the Second Vice President, Zanzibar. Finally, the authority required me to have my research fieldwork backed by a local sponsor. I accepted all the conditions, sought and received research

patronage under the Swahili Council of Zanzibar (BAKIZA). I flew to Pemba for data collection when all the requirements were met.

In chapter one, I highlighted that public transportation services in Pemba have slightly improved. However, the available means of public transport was not suitable for my needs, considering the island's geographical terrain and infrastructure. Even though there has been some improvement in transport and infrastructure, in most parts of Pemba, access to public transport is still either inaccessible or, in some places, accessible but unreliable. Having that in mind, I arranged a self-riding motorcycle for the fieldwork. In Pemba, I was instructed to re-submit all the permission letters from the office of the Second Vice President to the relevant local government offices. Those included district commissioners' offices, the municipal councils, schools, and the offices of the ward-level local leaders of "*shehia*" called the "*shehas*". Despite being granted permission from the Central government of Zanzibar, each office in Pemba had to issue another fresh permission or "clearance" letter to allow me to work in the designated areas or localities officially and legally. Unquestionably, the extensive institutional red tape expended plenty of my precious but scarce fieldwork time in Pemba. Amid all the challenges, valuable lessons, and experiences encountered during the fieldwork application and clearance process, the data collection began on the 19th of February 2021, culminating successfully in September 2021.

4.4. Methodological considerations

As highlighted in the introductory section of this chapter, this study adopts dialectological and variationist approaches in studying linguistic variation in Kipemba. In some cases, I referred to perceptual dialectological approaches to understand people's perception on Kipemba. Dialectological approaches used here were based on the theoretical formulation of Chambers and Trudgill (1980). As for the variationist approaches, I borrow a leaf from the basic formulations and ideas of William Labov (1963) and Penelope Eckert (1991). The two prominent but fundamental approaches that helped examine and investigate variation in Kipemba are principally based on the geographic distribution and the linguistic features corresponding to my proposed eight linguistic zones in Kipemba.

The structural dialectology approach used here emanates from the original postulations of Uriel Weinrich (1954) that, according to Chambers and Trudgill (1998:39-40; 2012), linguistic forms should be treated as parts of systems or structures. In this view, the individual linguistic forms must be treated as different structures and constituent parts of their systems. Adding to

Weinrich's view, Moulton (1960) argues that dialect researchers should recognise the varieties as having systems and not rely on atomistic phonetic transcriptions alone.

In addition, the basic tenets of Weinrich's "polylectal" grammar were considered and observed throughout the research process. Polylectal grammars believe speakers of different dialects or varieties can understand each other more or less, because it is assumed that the linguistic systems involved in the dialects or varieties do not differ fundamentally. From my pilot study, I found that the speakers from all eight linguistic zones could understand each other even though the speech forms differed in Kipemba.

As highlighted earlier, Labov's and Eckert's variationist ideas were also applied in this study where relevant. Despite their theoretical differences and conceptual overlaps, both Labov and Eckert concur that understanding language requires understanding the variables and categorical processes. This thesis considered variations in the view of Labov and Eckert as a 'regular' and orderly process of a 'structured heterogeneity.' This statement attests to an age-old theoretical claim that no two languages are identical; the same applies to two or more dialects or varieties of the same language, including Kipemba. Further, it should be noted that synchronic variation is often viewed as a reflection of diachronic change (Bayley, 2013). Dubois and Sankoff (2005:282-303) argued that the variationist approach involves unrestricted procedures for obtaining representative and comparative data. However, those procedures starkly contrast the principles of control and predictability in other experimental-evaluative approaches. From this view, it can be inferred that the variationist approach relies on quantitative analysis methods that help validate data interpretation and analysis. Having that into consideration, this study used mixed data interpretation and analysis methods to tap into the invaluable stock of impartiality and reliability of data and the findings.

In this study, I, at times, where applicable, opted for "Perceptual dialectology" approaches based on the works of Carolyn Brown (1986), Denis Preston (1989; 1999; 2002), Bert Vaux (2000), Daniel Long (1999; 2000) to study and understand how people categorise Kipemba in terms of dialects and accents, as well as the attitudes and stereotypes associated with them. With this approach I focused on investigating how Pembans delineate dialect boundaries, in my case, linguistic zones, examining attitudes and stereotypes associated with Kipemba, using methods like drawing dialect maps to understand how people visualise the geographical distribution of dialects, considering how social factors influence perceptions of language variation, and understanding which linguistic features are most noticeable to non-linguists. That is why I chose interviews, and surveys to gather perceptions and evaluations of different speech samples of Kipemba as spoken across eight linguistic zones. The findings from this

approach aimed to help me provide insights into attitudes, change, and sociolinguistic variation in Kipemba, as well as possible practical applications in areas such as education, which can also help inform teaching practices and policies as well as preserving culture and the dialect, Kipemba.

Along these approaches, I also adopted the triangulation method to enhance objectivity, truth, and validity as a hybrid research-based approach and theoretical setup. The triangulation method is a powerful technique that facilitates data validation through cross-verification from more than two sources' by combining quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis (Vermeulen, De Bondt and Ryckman 2012:24). In practice, I was aware, considered and observed four types of triangulations developed by Norman Denzin (1978, 1989), namely (a) data triangulation, (b) investigator triangulation, (c) theory triangulation and (d) methodological triangulation. Elaborating this further, "data triangulation is for correlating people, time, and space, whereas an investigator triangulation is for correlating the findings from multiple researchers in a study. The theory of triangulation uses and correlates multiple theoretical strategies. In contrast, the methodological triangulation was meant for correlating data from multiple data collection methods" (Fusch, Fusch and Ness, 2018:22). In line with methodological triangulation, this research used interviews, questionnaires, and observation techniques in data collection. The following section offers insightful details of my sampling design, participants, compensation plan, instruments and data collection techniques.

4.4.1.Sampling design

For the study on variation in Kipemba, I used a stratified random sampling design (also known by scholars as "proportional random sampling" and "random quota sampling" (Trochim et al. 2015:418). This sampling design enabled me to obtain a sample population that represented the population of my study at its very best. This sampling design also confirmed and assured me that each group and subgroup of interest is appropriately represented. Practically, I classified the samples using social strata based on age (Children, Youth, Adults, and Elderly), gender (Male and Female), and education (Educated and Less/non-educated). I included a fixed number of participants in the interviews and questionnaires to ensure the effectiveness of the sample. The choice of stratified random sampling design helped me to (a) find more accurate details resulting in more substantial research results, (b) give a systematic way of gaining a population sample, (c) curb data collection-related bias because the methods were fair for all the participants (d) obtain efficient and accurate data, and (e) show different tendencies within

each category on linguistic variation in Kipemba. A detailed description of research participants based on this sampling design is covered in depth in the section below.

4.4.2. Participants

For ease, efficiency and effectiveness of my data collection process, I grouped the participants into two main categories – Kipemba Speakers (KPS) and Non-Kipemba Speakers (NKPS). In the KPS category, there were eighty research participants and ten NKPS. The participants were randomly chosen in each category based on gender, age, education, and locality. Initially, I planned to involve two participants from each stratum across eight linguistic zones, thus forming eighty KPS participants. As the participant's recruitment process continued to unfold, I found working with children in their familiar home environment challenging during the fieldwork. There were a series of policies and procedures and strict rules and regulations on safeguarding and child protection set by the local authorities in Zanzibar. The rules were stringent if anyone chose to work with children at home or in their neighbourhoods. Working solo with individual children was also challenging and almost impossible. Culturally, the children in Pemba are generally shy and not cooperative with strangers. Therefore, to work with the children (aged 9 to 15), I worked with them at their school premises, where the authorities found it safer than working with children at home or elsewhere. Instead of working with individual children, I worked with children aged between nine and fifteen in groups of ten to sixteen. I chose up to three children from the group to conduct interviews with them, and I asked some to tell me stories. The remaining group helped me complete the lexical and phonological data questionnaire whilst also assuming the *de facto* role of safety watchdogs and supportive backup to other children who could otherwise feel shy to talk if, otherwise, left alone. Hence the total number of child participants was one hundred and sixteen, used mostly for focus groups related interviews. This figure includes two children from each zone who initially formed the number of eighty KPS and NKPS participants, totaling a hundred and ninety participants. The methods and techniques used in each participant's strata are explained in the methodological consideration section later in this chapter.

My choice of participants was primarily based on the age and gender of the participants. The argument in support of this choice asserts that the "age differences in contemporary speech reflected the progress of historical change" (Gauchat 1905, Eckert 2012:89). My choice of women and adolescent (young) participants were reasonably pegged on the assumption that 'women and adolescents lead the revolution of sound change' (Eckert 2012:9) – a hypothesis this study also aims to investigate further. It is also assumed that youth participants would

represent the current linguistic data as spoken. On the other hand, I chose to work with the children to find out and verify the hypothesis that children at this age have not yet acquired bilingual or bi-dialectic competence in their language or variety. As for adult and elderly participants, I assumed the adult and older participants represent the language spoken over a given period of their lifetime. Reporting the findings on the Micheweni area (KPN3), Polomé presented that Micheweni speakers tend to switch /h/ as in "hana" to /k/ as in "kana" ('s/he does not have). Polomé's half-century-long findings seem dated, but it is still of paramount linguistic significance today. Whether this linguistic feature still exists in Micheweni zone or elsewhere in Pemba after seven decades since Polomé's study is the question only adult and older participants can help me with an answer.

Beyond age grade, I used a gender-balanced selection that involved male and female participants from all age groups in equal weighting. In addition, 24 non Kipemba Speakers (NKPS) participant was also chosen from Zanzibar dialects groups such as Kitumbatu, Kimakunduchi, and Kiunguja) speakers. Along with Zanzibar dialect groups, I also selected Swahili speakers from Tanga (the native speakers of Zigua and Sambiaa languages), Mainland Tanzania and some speakers of Mombasa dialects. Each NKPS stratum comprised two male and two female participants, some educated and some uneducated, in equal proportion. The table below shows the allocation and distribution of the research participants. A detailed breakdown of research participants, identification and their zonal allocation is in appendix 2 A to D.

Zone	Participants	Male	Female	Children	Youth	Adults	Elderly	KPS Consultants
(KPN 1)	10	5	5	2	2	2	2	2
(KPN 2)	10	5	5	2	2	2	2	2
(KPN 3)	10	5	5	2	2	2	2	2
(KPN 4)	10	5	5	2	2	2	2	2
(KPS 5)	10	5	5	2	2	2	2	2
KPS 6	10	5	5	2	2	2	2	2
(KPS 7)	10	5	5	2	2	2	2	2
KPS 8)	10	5	5	2	2	2	2	2
Total	80	(40)	(40)	(16)	(16)	(16)	(16)	(16)

Table 4.1: The number of KPS research participants

Locality	Gender	No of NKPS
Makunduchi	M	2
Makunduchi	F	2
Tumbatu	M	2
Tumbatu	F	2
Zanzibar town	M	2
Zanzibar Town	F	2
Korogwe, Tanga	M	2
Handeni, Tanga	F	2
Mombasa	M	2
Mombasa	F	2
Tanzania Mainland (Dar Es Salaam)	M	2
Tanzania Mainland (Kilimanjaro)	F	2
Total		24

Table 4.2: The number of NKPS research participants

4.4.3. Compensation plan

Initially, I planned to reward the participants with ten thousand (10,000/-) Tanzanian shillings (approximately £3 - £3.5 sterling) for their time and contribution in data collection. Previously, my supervisory panel advised me not to pay the participants in cash; instead, I should offer them a drink, lunch, or so. Inopportunately, this alternative compensation plan did not work for every participant in Pemba. During my fieldwork, I discovered that most people would refuse to cooperate if they were not assured of financial gain and preferred cash compensation. The monetary reward culture is old and is primarily attributed to the foreign researchers' habit of giving cash to the locals during their visits and partly to cash poverty. While I fully acknowledge the former as a contributing factor, my decision to offer cash rewards will be pegged on the latter motive of poverty as a compelling factor behind my decision to give cash rewards.

According to the SADC report (2006:5), Pemba is an economically poverty-stricken island with most people below the poverty line threshold. The new World Bank assessment of data from the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar's Household Budget Survey (HBS) and

Integrated Labour Force Survey (ILFS) shows an enormous income disparity and poverty rate between Unguja and Pemba islands, together known as Zanzibar islands. Loy Nabeta and Ekaterina Svirina (2017) present that “the poverty rate in Unguja island (commonly or mistakenly known as Zanzibar) decreased from 34.9% in 2010 to 30.4% in 2015. In Pemba, the poverty rate accelerated from 48% to 55% between 2010 and 2015.” The growing rates of poverty, especially income-related poverty in Pemba, have been discussed repeatedly in several editions of the Zanzibar Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty report Vol 1 – 4 (MKUZA, 2007 - 2020). In Pemba, people grow most of their foodstuff and are self-sufficient in subsistence share, but most do not have money to meet their daily basics. With Pemba's low formal labour market and the increasing income-related poverty disparity, I rethought my decision to offer cash-in-kind as advised. Instead, I went for the hard cash-in-hand option (£3.5/-) for my younger, adult and older participants. As for the child participants, I offered gifts of equivalent monetary value instead of cash and both approaches worked efficiently.

4.4.4. Instrument and equipment

The set of equipment listed below was used in data collection:

- 1 High-specification Lenovo Workhorse i5 8 Gb 500 Gb Laptop (2019)
- Waterproof backpack
- Waterproof Document case locker (lockable)
- One-pieces of 1 TB hard drive (Toshiba Canvio Basics) for securely and safely storing data and backup.
- Rain suit and wellies
- Helmet and Cycling Protective gear.
- First Aid Kit
- Stationery (Field and Journal notebooks)
- Life jacket
- Two pieces of Olympus Dictaphone
- Microphone x 2 (battery x 6), wired clips.
- Camera with SD card - GoPro HERO7 Black video recorder (battery x 2, charger x 1, SD card x 5), and a 'Recording' tag
- Motorcycle – Black and White, YAMAHA Click, 2014
- iPhone 8 Plus and
- Samsung Galaxy A5 (for backup)

4.4.5. Procedure

After two terms of in-class preparation and research training at SOAS, the University of London, I was finally set for my fieldwork. As stated earlier, due to the outbreak and severity of the COVID-19 infections and strict travel measures by the UK government, the initial

fieldwork plan over the summer of 2020 unfolded in January 2021. In January 2021, all required security clearance, research and immigration-related permissions were granted. I flew to Pemba Island and reported to the local government authorities for further clearance and approval. Afterwards, I visited all eight linguistic zones, recruited participants and obtained their informed consents in verbally and in writing (see consent form in appendix 1). I wanted to work with the school children in schools where I worked with headteachers and class masters to select and recruit the students. I also worked with the students in groups in open spaces and under the supervision of schoolteachers. For the locals, I worked with the local leaders of *Shehia*, who helped identify and select the participants from their respective zones. Before working with the participants, I spent time with them until they were comfortable and ready to cooperate. I then started to conduct the interviews and administered the questionnaires. After completing each data collection session, I briefly socialised with the participants did some linguistic observation. With observation, I visited my participants at their workplaces and social centres and sat with them and talked. During these social gatherings and I took as much language notes as I could from the participants. Some were in the form of jokes, folktales, songs and poetry which I found quite invaluable addition to my already rich Kipemba dataset. In most cases, I had some snacks and drinks with my participants I observed before bidding them a warm farewell.

When data collection was complete, I collected, organised, stored and secured all the data in safe lockers and backup hard drives. I then flew back to Zanzibar, where I commissioned two transcribers to transcribe the audio data. Each transcriber performed a similar task allowing me to cross-check and validate the accuracy of the transcribed interview content. The transcribers were native, educated graduates in the Swahili language from Zanzibar who worked remotely and did not know each other. This procedure helped me obtain two independent scripts for each audio or video clip transcribed, ensuring data credibility through systematic, comparative cross-checking. All transcribed data were later saved on the computer, the portable hard drive and the SOAS One Drive storage. In October 2021, I flew back to the UK with data for analysis, giving presentations and start my thesis write up.

4.4.6. Data collection methods and techniques

I used semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant observation, and questionnaires to collect research data. The linguistic interviews were individual interviews that occasionally exhibited and contained elements of focus groups and oral histories, especially with child and elderly participants. Apart from one-to-one questions, the interviews involved participants who

expressed their opinions or views on a particular topic of interest. This section discusses the interview technique in two steps: semi-structured individual interviews and focus groups. On the other hand, oral histories that surfaced during the interviews are also explored in succinct detail.

From my research data collection experience, I found that in most cases, older people struggled to respond to researchers' structured questions during fieldwork interviews. Sometimes, older participants seemed uncomfortable responding to conventional questions, especially those involving much thinking. However, older Pemba people were largely nostalgic and more comfortable discussing their past experiences, events, and histories during the interviews. Therefore, I encouraged participants to express their memorable recollections of affairs, hobbies and interests more freely. Although the older participants shared some fascinating oral histories with me, my focus was strictly on the content and elements of linguistic significance, not the stories' literary content. In this section, as occurred periodically during the interviews, oral histories are not discussed or presented as a separate independent data collection technique but as an integral part of the linguistics interview method. The following section addresses some interview techniques used in data collection and analysis. Appendix 3 A to F contains the questionnaires and selected interview questions.

a. Semi-structured, in-depth individual interviews

I used semi-structured, in-depth interviews with all the participants at different capacities depending on their age, level of education and gender. Therefore, the interview questions were not the same between the sampling strata of the participants. The youth questions differed slightly from those for children, adults, and older adults. With individual interviews, each participant was asked questions relevant to their age, gender, and level of education. The main goal of the interviews was to elicit data of maximum linguistic implication. However, the participants were not bound to the written questions only. Sometimes, and in most cases, I asked several follow-up questions that needed to be scripted initially to help with data elicitation. The rationale for choosing semi-structured interviews as in the words of Todd (2006) was to "allow unanticipated responses and issues to emerge by an open-ended questioning". With the application of semi-structured interviews, I gained more invaluable insights into the linguistic content because the wording of the questions was flexible – which facilitated different language levels to be used. The interviewee's clarification is to be made (Berg, 2009).

b. Focus groups

As mentioned in the introductory section, a focus group technique was integrated into an interview for children across eight linguistic zones in Pemba. The goal was to verify key linguistic elements that individual interviews did not cover or confirm. The focus groups comprised up to sixteen child participants who performed certain linguistic activities, such as describing the sequences in a picture and pronouncing challenging words in Kipemba. The pronunciation of words aimed to investigate, among other features, the contrast between /m/ and /n/ previously discussed by Khamis (1984: 45-7). Lastly, apart from phonological and morphological variation, the focus groups aimed at assessing the lexical variation for various names of seashells in Kipemba. The use of the children's focus groups application helped me to (a) " provide access to participants' language, concepts, and concerns; (b) encourage participants to articulate words more fully; and (c) offer the opportunity to observe the process of collective sense-making in action" (Jung, 2018:563 – 87).

c. Participant observation

Chapter two highlighted that Kipemba speakers are bi-dialectal like many Kipemba dialect speakers. They can speak more than one dialect of Swahili. Pembans tend to switch to a more familiar form of Swahili close to the Standard (but not Standard Swahili) when interviewed or recorded by locals or outsiders. This tendency, in most cases, may lead to compromising the findings. For example, in some cases and places, such as the In KPN 1 zone, some speakers tried to speak in a near-standard form of Swahili instead of the traditional communication forms in Kipemba – the participant's local vernacular. In this case, participant observation was used as a complementary method to minimise the effects and limitations of recorded interviews. In this study, linguistic observation was also used as a primary source of data once recommended as an effective technique by Rickford (1975), Mishoe and Montgomery (1994) and Dayton (1996). During the fieldwork, I spent time with the locals in their day-to-day endeavours. I participated in community events, observing and noting intriguing linguistic features in people's natural speech. Pembans are naturally hospitable but inherently cautious about engaging with strangers or foreign contacts the first contact. Whenever visitors enter the neighbourhood or join the community in their local coffee rendezvous, known locally in Swahili as *Baraza*, they are greeted, followed by minutes of silence. The silence continues until one of the locals resumes the conversation by switching from the earlier topic. The change in topic is usually followed by people demanding to know the visitor: their origins, whereabouts, their relatives hosting them, and if no relatives, their host. Once the introduction is complete

and satisfactory, the conversation may resume normally. Usually, if the *Baraza* is full of adults and older people, males, the speech form of Kipemba is likely to be retained without switching. In Pemba, I observed people from over 60% of the rural and urban towns and villages in each zone of Pemba. I visited schools, *Baraza*, Markets, farms, football pitches, public wash and cattle feed ponds and boreholes where women fetched water. Interestingly, I conversed with people and noted exciting sentences, phrases, and utterances in these natural contexts in every location in these places. I chatted the notes using the WhatsApp app of an iPhone 8 plus. I instantaneously sent all the chats to my other local WhatsApp number for the safety and backup of the data before emailing the entire chat threads to my safer email address for further processing. I adopted this technique with full informed consent of the people I always interacted with. The choice of this technique was because I found it easy, affordable and invaluable 'for studying infrequent grammatical items such as questions, modals, and particles, where tape-recorded interviews will not capture these forms' (Chambers et al. 2004: 33). The observation notes can be found in appendix 4.

d. Questionnaires

I used open-ended and occasionally closed-ended questionnaires to collect quantitative data. I administered two Kipemba speakers (KPS) and non-Kipemba speakers (NKPS) questionnaires. The KPS questionnaire focused on the two strata of participants – adults and children. The adult participants were educated, semi-educated or non-educated. By semi-educated, I refer to the participants who had basic literacy and numeracy skills but did not make it to high schools or colleges, unlike the educated ones. As for the uneducated, I mean the participants with no literacy and numeracy skills. The child participants involved males and females aged nine to fifteen years old. In the KPS category, I recruited participants knowledgeable and familiar with Kipemba within and across their linguistic zones to help complete the questionnaire. The consultants from this stratum were primarily high school Swahili teachers who graduated and specialised in Swahili language studies. I could identify competent consultants from this stratum through teacher-to-teacher referrals and headteachers' recommendations. The KPS adults' questionnaire content first included a set of phrases, expressions, and sentences in Kipemba. This item prompted the participants to demonstrate their understanding of the content in Kipemba by giving the corresponding meaning in the Standard or familiar form of Swahili other than Kipemba. Second, the questionnaire included a list of verbs and nouns used in Kipemba. Some nouns and verbs in this category were active, and others focused on specific items. The nouns included Pemba's household wares, kinship terms, traditional Kipemba food,

drinks, pastries, farming, local flora, and fauna. Toward the end of the questionnaire, I asked the participants four follow-up questions to clarify and enrich the data and findings. The follow-up questions below were also helpful in linguistic, sociolinguistic, and ideological analysis in the later chapters of this thesis:

- a) Do people here speak like this/or use these words?
- b) If they do not, what do they speak like/what alternative words do they use instead?
- c) Do you speak or use these words? And
- d) Where in Pemba do you think people speak like this?

The NKPS questionnaire was designed with maximum simplicity and was straightforward to help children and those least knowledgeable find it exciting and easy to complete. This questionnaire prompted the children to name up to twenty sea creatures with shells. Ten to sixteen children from two or three schools in each linguistic zone completed the questionnaire. Equally, the NKPS adults' questionnaire was almost the same for adults. Since the participants were Swahili speakers who I assumed not to have any knowledge of Kipemba, this questionnaire was simplified and shortened for convenience. The version of the NKPS questionnaire included only a set of phrases, expressions, and sentences in Kipemba and a list of selected nouns and verbs in Kipemba. The participants were also asked to comment on the meaning of the words and contents in Kipemba. The questionnaire prompted the participants to say where the words, phrases, expressions, and sentences are commonly spoken or can be heard. I used the questionnaire to gather and extract the respondents' primary phonological and lexical data. The linguistic questionnaire was a relatively low-cost, fast, and efficient technique for collecting extensive first-hand data. In the end however, the question remains: how reliable and effective were my data collection techniques? In the following section I present a methodological review and self-reflection.

I added this commentary to this section to make my disclaimer on how effective and reliable my data collection techniques were during the fieldwork. A statement of self-reflection on the techniques used here will play a crucial but informative role in deciding which data set I rely on most in my analysis in the later sections. As discussed earlier, I used interviews, questionnaires and observation to collect the data to study linguistic variations in Kipemba. During the fieldwork, I noted that the interview technique was more helpful in obtaining historical data and content relating to the cultures and general ethnographic information of minimal linguistic significance. Nonetheless, the linguistic data collected from the interviews lacked substantial linguistic significance because, as highlighted in chapter two, Pembans are

somewhat bidialectic. They tend to switch their native speech forms for the near-Standard forms when they speak to strangers or when they are on camera. In this regard, most interview data, especially from school children, youth and middle-aged adults, did not represent their native and daily Kipemba speech forms. This tendency led to the loss of crucial native Kipemba linguistic features, which could be detected with other methods other than recorded interviews. The questionnaires were administered to school children and native adults Swahili experts from around Pemba. As stated earlier, the questionnaire effectively gathered and extracted the respondents' primary phonological and lexical data on Kipemba. A notable limitation of this technique is that some participants could avoid giving honest comments, especially if they did not know the answer. For instance, some participants answered 'YES' to questions that were apparently meant to be 'NO'. Also, I noted that some participants, only a handful, admitted to knowing the meanings of certain Kipemba-specific words from the list given while they did not know. However, when prompted to explain or offer more information about the words, it was apparent they did not know their exact or intended meaning.

Participant observation is another technique I used to collect the data. With this technique, I spent significant time with the participants from each of the eight linguistic zones in Pemba. During observation, I followed all the procedures for 'good' research and data collection practice. Those included asking for informed consent and informing the local authorities of my presence and what I intended to do. Once all the consents and approvals were in place, I started spending time with local people in their meeting social places and listened to their conversations. Because I was not recording their conversation, participants spoke freely in their native tongues while I was chatting out some phrases and sentences using my electronic device. I then recorded my observational data, first in Ms. Word document and later in Ms. Excel for further analysis and interpretation. In fact, from my fieldwork experience, my observational data was more highly reliable and effective than the questionnaire and the interview data. In this regard, I aim to use the data from all three data collection techniques chosen in this study for my analysis chapters, but to a varying degree. Since the observational notes were more reliable compared to the two others, I rely profoundly on the linguistic data obtained through observation in my analysis and interpretation of data on linguistic variation in Kipemba. The table below offers an insightful assessment and evaluation rating the effectiveness and reliability of the techniques I used in data collection:

Data collection technique	Reliability	Effectiveness
Interviews	Low	Low
Questionnaires	Moderate	Moderate
Observation	High	High

Table 4.3: Assessment and evaluation ratings of the data collection techniques used

4.4.7. Data analysis and interpretation

As stated earlier, the audio data transcribed into text were also annotated and transcribed by two human transcribers. The transcribers converted the audio into text transcribed data, now in text format, which was then organised and coded using a Spreadsheet (Excel) for further processing and analysis. Using spreadsheets in data analysis enabled me to swiftly explore and produce valuable insights from the accumulated data on Kipemba. All quantitative data from questionnaires were analysed in Excel spreadsheets, whereas qualitative data from interviews and observations were analysed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method used to analyse qualitative data that entails searching across a data set to identify, analyse, and report repeated patterns (Braun and Clarke 2006:77- 8). Apart from analysing data, the method also involves interpretation in selecting codes and constructing themes. After transcription, textual Interviews and observational data were read and familiarised, coded and assigned to the themes based on their linguistic roles and functions in Kipemba. The themes were then reviewed, defined and named accordingly, culminating in interpreting, finalising the analysis and reporting the findings. In some occasions that involved complex phonological features, PRAAT – a computer software for analysis of phonetics was used to analyse phonological data.

4.4.8. Limitation of the study

The research was limited to sampling and selection, population traits and size, time constraints, need for up-to-date statistical data, facts and figures on Pemba. Starting with sampling design and selection, I opted for stratified random sampling that involved all participants' genders, ages, and educational levels. Although this sampling design was fair and helped reduce bias, it was challenging to implement. In some cases, the participants selected through random sampling were unsuitable for the research. In one instance, I accidentally selected a frail, ailing older man battling some form of illness that made him shaky and unable to speak properly as my participant. Some participants I recruited were too shy to speak or cooperate. In these circumstances, I had to re-work the selection of new participants – a move that consumed plenty of time. I admitted that choosing a random sampling design made arranging, organising, and

evaluating the results difficult. For this study, however, I chose an equal number of participants from each of the eight linguistic zones in Pemba despite the challenges I encountered.

Owing to the nature of the topic of investigation, the demographic distribution, historical factors, and geographical distributions of linguistic variations in Kipemba, the number of participants chosen may not be representative enough for a broader statistical significance and analysis. The smaller population size was primarily attributed to my limited time for research and data collection time. For example, the schedule of the research fieldwork was initially planned to commence in January 2020 and end in June 2021. However, some extraordinary factors and circumstances took longer than anticipated, such as COVID-19 interruptions and red tape in obtaining permissions in Zanzibar. As a result of time constraints, I did not have sufficient time to spend in each linguistic zone to conduct the study as initially planned.

The lack of up-to-date statistical data, facts and figures on Pemba was also another significant limitation of this study. I stated earlier that there is a considerable shortage of published works and proper documentation on Pemba. Thus, obtaining up-to-date demographic data such as Pemba's current population size, the labour force's percentage, and other crucial information that could otherwise enrich this study was difficult and sometimes impossible.

4.4.9. Delimitation of the study

This study focused on generic and zone-specific linguistic features in Kipemba. It covers phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical features in Pemba. The study does not cover or work on linguistic features found among individuals, small groups and communities in one area besides the allocated linguistic zones. Further, the study used the selection of participants in terms of age, gender, and education to collect linguistic data that helped determine generic and zone-specific linguistic features and how Kipemba varies across sub-regions in Pemba.

4.5. Ethical consideration

The research involved a hundred and sixteen schoolchildren. Child participants were crucial in obtaining data across different age groups. I assumed that children often speak the version of the local language used by adults due to their lack of travel, formal schooling, and contact with the standard variety of Swahili. I also assumed that children were less likely to switch their local accents or dialects for a more prestigious variety. Working with children was essential to test these hypotheses. There were specific ethical considerations I had to meet to work with

children, including taking and passing an online training course on "Research Integrity for Arts and Humanities". To comply with SOAS ethical research guidance, I followed the SOAS safeguarding policy for ethical research, which, among other considerations, included obtaining fully informed consent of the participants or the people responsible for child participants' consent. Before collecting data, I sought and obtained the informed consent of child participants. First, consent was obtained from SOAS, the University of London, and Zanzibar central and local government authorities. The local authorities included the local councils, district education authorities, and school headteachers, sometimes representing children's parent's wishes.

I did not work alone with individual or group children during data collection. Child participants were always accompanied and supervised by their teachers and students during data collection. All the interactions and data collection were held on the school compounds and, most crucially, in open public spaces. In addition to child participants, I worked with female adults, but most importantly, older people. There were some ethical issues with working with female participants in Pemba. Being culturally a Muslim-majority Island, strangers and unrelated males and females are not customarily expected to mingle or interact. Therefore, I obtained permission to work with female participants and those responsible for them according to their social and cultural norms. For unmarried females, permission was sought from their parents or guardians, and for married women, their husbands or parents (if single or widowed) granted permission. If the female participant was at work during the interview, their line managers granted permission.

Female participants were also asked for their informed written consent before participating in the research, even after their guardians had approved or gave their consent. For elderly participants, permission and consent were sought from themselves, their elder children or the people responsible for them. As a commitment to the ethical standards and good practices of ethical research, I was entirely responsible for participants' safety and privacy. I also vowed and ensured that my fieldwork data collection and the entire research process were built around safety and safeguarding principles and procedures. I confirmed that the research process and practice did not cause or inflict pain, harm, abuse, harassment, or violence and did not involve anything that could trigger participants' trauma and suffering.

4.5.1. Conflict of interest

CHASE DTP and SOAS, Doctoral School, funded this research and the fieldwork in Pemba. I am originally from Pemba Island, where I collected data. Despite recruiting and selecting participants using stratified random sampling presented earlier in this chapter, some participants I worked with during data collection were coincidentally family members, friends, and other familiar people. On these rare occasions, I maintained professionalism and ensured I was within the limits of his ethical research conduct. In adherence to professional and ethical practice, I also confirmed that all the participants were treated fairly, equally, with respect, and with integrity. In this regard, I would like to declare no conflict of interest between myself, the participants, funders, or any institution involved, and those not involved in this research.

4.5.2. Personally identifiable information

At first, I planned to use pseudonymisation and coding to protect the participants' personal information. Pseudonymisation is defined within the GDPR Article 4(3b)) and Article 5(4) as replacing any data or information that could, in one way or another, be used to identify or reveal the personal details of an individual. Pseudonymisation involves using a pseudonym or false name, or, in other words, a value that prevents an individual from being directly identified.¹¹ The approach helps to ensure the lowest risk of identifying the names and profiles of some participants in this research. However, in the context of Pemba, I found the approach needed to be revised because it could still allow room for identifying participants if applied. One of the potential limitations of using this approach is the nature of demographical and social factors in naming people in Pemba. The majority of Pembans, about 99%, are Muslims and have Muslim names that are primarily identical or shared across the island. In addition, Pemba is also a small place where most people know each other or are related. Hence, a trivial clue of personal information could lead to the exposition of the participant's identity. In this context, using pseudonyms was deemed rather impractical. Instead of pseudonymisation, I used alphanumeric codes to anonymise the participants' data. Instead of name, I used unique codes such as Participant Unique Number (PUN 1- 90). I also did not ask his participants questions that prompted them to share their personal information during data collection. Rarely do some participants disclose their data. In this instance, I purged the personal data, information or, in other words, identifiers that could shed light or give a clue that may lead to the identification

¹¹ See GDPR Article 4 (3b) and 5(4) <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/data-protection/guidance-staff-students-and-researchers/practical-data-protection-guidance-notice/anonymisation-and>

of the participants. This process ensured that any potential risk of identifying the participants was mitigated and, most crucially, sufficiently remote.

I also ensured that the information collected was at the minimum requisite possible. Data collection was built around integrity and transparency between the parties involved. After the data collection was complete, I gave each participant some access to scripts and video/audio of their full interviews to confirm the correctness of the information, if they were happy to do so. If unhappy or unsatisfied with the content, the participants could change the information in the worst-case scenario. By the worst-case scenario here, I meant that if participants removed or changed their initially recorded information, the data's quality, reliability, validity, and spontaneity would be dramatically compromised and entirely impaired. Appreciatively, however, no participant requested the change, purge or retraction of the information during and after my fieldwork.

The removal of personally identifiable data of the participants confirmed that any potential risk to the participants was explained in writing through a SOAS-approved consent form. Additionally, I asked the participants for their informed consent before data collection. In some extraordinary circumstances, where there is still a potential risk of exposing some participants' data, I will consider applying for an embargo to allow more time to remove any unwanted participants' data from the thesis.

4.5.3. Covert enquiry

As a prerequisite for granting the research permission, as stated earlier, the authorities in Zanzibar advised me to stay aloof from political affairs. Historically, Pemba is considered a highly sensitive political hotspot, a perennial political opposition stronghold and the centre of authorities' stringent surveillance and scrutiny. Likewise, Pembans have an inherent but genuine interest in political talks and related matters. I was aware of this experience; during data collection with participants, I could professionally manage and control any attempt where the participant tried to veer off course to engage in political discourse. When such a tendency occurred, before or after the consent had been sought and obtained, I interrupted by posing indirect questions that could turn around the wheel and bring the participant back on the right track. I used covert inquiry when the participant was distracted or veered off course in the data collection. For example, some elderly participants were very nostalgic in their interviews. They enjoyed talking about their good old days when life was, in their opinion, a fairy or heavenly. The recollection of the good old days seemed fascinating at the beginning of their oral accounts. Occasionally, I was prompted to interrupt the conversation when they blamed the system,

politics, and politicians for their present-day tough life misery and nightmare. In compliance with good practice and ethical research, any information directly or indirectly reflected on people's inner cultural values and practices was entirely avoided. Any question of sensitive and abrasive nature was also side-stepped.

4.5.4. Data management

Except for audio-recorded interviews, all data collected from observation and questionnaires were strictly inaccessible to anyone but the participants and me during the check-over and correction session. However, the audio-recorded interviews were accessible to two transcribers, the participants and me. To ensure compliance with ethical research procedures and conduct, the transcribers agreed to sign a non-disclosure agreement. They also pledged to adhere to and maintain confidentiality to the information they were entrusted to access and transcribe. The transcribed data were stored on a Lenovo Workhorse laptop (15inch i5 8GB 500GB Intel core i5 8th generation, August 2019 edition). The data were backed up in two different 1TB hard drives, personal email inbox and SOAS MS one drive cloud storage space. The laptop was password-protected for logging in when turned on or activated after sleep mode for additional security. For added security, sensitive documents and files stored on a computer were password-protected and encrypted. Hard drives were encrypted with the encryption software BitLocker (Microsoft Corporation). The encryption keys were carefully stored in SOAS-provided storage systems. Laptops, hard drives and data from audio, video, papers, and complex files containing research data were securely stored in lockable lockers, cases, and bags. All hard copy materials containing data – including papers – were then digitised and securely stored for future reference. Personal data were anonymised, and after they had been re-identified in the storage systems provided, they were de-identified accordingly and instantly. All data files and equipment were fully and securely encrypted before travelling from Zanzibar to London. The computers and devices containing research data were protected by running regular advanced scans with Windows Defender security and online communications by encryption with Express VPN – a secure, ideal, and practical software for maximum data security and protection.

Chapter 5: Generic Phonological and Lexical features in Kipemba

5.1. Introduction

One of the main objectives of this study is to examine and document generic phonological and lexical features in Kipemba. Kipemba, as highlighted earlier, is a variety of Swahili spoken across and throughout the eight proposed linguistic zones in Pemba. The Kipemba zonal classification was based on geographical and linguistic factors – focusing on how the variety is spoken or used throughout Pemba. Whilst zonal accent is paramount in classifying linguistic zones and discerning linguistic features in Kipemba, this chapter goes beyond accent boundaries of the variety by studying the generic phonological and lexical features found across and throughout the eight linguistic zones in Pemba. This chapter analyses and examines phonological features that identify Kipemba as a distinct variety of Swahili compared to other Zanzibar varieties. In the aspect of generic phonological features, I analyse and document my findings on (a) the Kipemba consonant inventory, (b) the /m - n/ nasal alternations, (c) the phonological environments for /m – n/ nasal alternations, (d) the morphosyntactic role of the nasal prefixes /m - n/ and, (e) other phonological processes generic to Kipemba.

From my observation, I argue that the alternation between the /m -n/ nasal prefixes is purely a phonological mechanism affecting other linguistic aspects, such as morphology and syntax in Kipemba. In this section, I discuss and analyse this phonological feature in a broader expanse citing various examples and phonological conditions behind the alternation. From the data, I shall argue that /m-n/ nasal alternation is primarily attributed, though with a few exceptions, to nasal place assimilation, in Kipemba. Along with the broader analysis of phonological features found in Kipemba, on the lexical aspect of my analysis, I analyse and investigate generic features along eight lexical domains – household items, names of seashells, kinship names, agricultural vocabulary fishing, flora and fauna of Pemba and finally, the list of vocabulary specific to Kipemba. In the following section, I begin my analysis by discussing generic phonological features in features in Kipemba.

5.2. Generic phonological features in Kipemba

This section commences by exploring the Kipemba consonant inventory, determining a set of consonants found in Kipemba and comparing them to standard Swahili. It also analyses and investigates the nasal alternation between /m/ and /n/ in Kipemba and the processes involved in the alternations, many outlined in the introductory section earlier. In the following section,

I analyse and examine the Kipemba consonant inventory to determine the consonant system found and used in Kipemba.

5.2.1. The Kipemba consonant inventory

In the literature review section, I reviewed Faki's (2009) Kipemba consonant system, and consequently, I was curious to know the exact number of consonants in Kipemba. However, this study found that Kipemba has only twenty-six consonants. This finding contradicts Faki's conclusion that Kipemba has thirty consonants, including /ɣ/, /θ/, and /ð/ as in *gharama* (expensive), *thamani* (value) and *dhahabu* (gold), respectively. While in Faki's analysis, these sounds are part of the Kipemba phonetics system, I argue that they are not productive in Kipemba. My argument is also supported by Tucker (1942: 854-55), who proposes that these sounds are from Arabic and are used in standard Swahili primarily by elite speakers. Correspondingly, from my data, these sounds are used mainly by old, predominantly ethnic Arab elite Kipemba speakers, mainly found in the Western zones of Pemba. This group of Kipemba speakers, due to the influence of Arabic knowledge, developed a specific restricted form of the register of Kipemba, as found in Kipemba's old poetry today. This evidence can be seen in the early 19th Century legendary poetry of *Kamange na Sarahani*, compiled in Abdilatif Abadlla's collection *Kale ya Washairi wa Pemba: Kamange na Sarahani* (2011), discussed at length in chapter one. In this collection of early poetic works of the two Arab elites of Pemba, the influence of Arabic sounds is dominant. Most poems in this collection use Arabic loan consonant diphthongs /ð/, /ɣ/, /sw/, /θ/ and /ɣ/. However, in native Kipemba, these sounds are not used nor constitute a part of the Kipemba consonant inventory – these remain Arabic loan words and their use is only limited to some elites with background in Arabic language and Islamic studies. Instead, the sound / ð / is replaced by /z/, /X/ and /ɣ/ by /h/, whereas /θ/ is replaced by /s/. The Arabic loan sounds feature predominantly in early Swahili poetry, including the poems collected in Pemba. Interestingly, apart from the use of sounds and the vast amount of Arabic loan words in their poetry, some parts of the sentence constructions and, mainly, morphology exhibit some features of some form of Kipemba. The Table below shows the consonant system that, according to this study, is generic to Kipemba. The Table shows Kipemba consonant inventory with foreign consonants in brackets. From my observation, foreign sounds are not widely used by most native Kipemba users.

Place of Articulation	Bilabial	Dental	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b p ^h			t t ^h d		ʃ	k g k ^h	
Nasal	m			n		ɲ	ŋ	
Affricate					tʃ tʃ ^h			
Fricative		(θ) (ð)	f v	s z	ʃ		(X) (ɣ)	h
Trill				r				
Approximant					j		w	
Lateral Approximants				l				

Table 5.1: The generic Kipemba consonant inventory (Adapted from Faki, 2009:26)

Before I delve further into this discussion, I must highlight that phonological variation in Kipemba starts with variation in the consonant inventory. Table 5.1 above shows that some consonants of foreign origin used in Standard Swahili are not used in Kipemba. The evidence to this is reflected in a number of data collection techniques used for this study including interviews and observation. These consonants include dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ and velar fricative /ɣ/ and /X/ sounds. The dental fricatives /θ/ as in *thamani* ('value') and /ð/ as in *dhahabu* ('gold') from standard Swahili do not exist in Kipemba. Instead, the two sounds are replaced in Kipemba by alveolar fricatives /s/ as in *samani* and /z/ as in *zahabu*, respectively. Conversely, velar fricative sounds /ɣ/ as in *ghali* ('expensive') and /X/ as in the personal name *Khamis* are replaced by /h/ as in *hali* and *Hamisi*, respectively. This phonological variation is generic across and throughout the eight linguistic zones in Pemba. The Table below summarises the pronunciation of words with foreign sounds (from Arabic) or sounds used in Kiunguja, Standard Swahili and by a specific section of the ethnic-Arab elite of Pemba.

Foreign sounds	Alternative sound in Kipemba	Standard Swahili	Kipemba	Gloss
/θ/	/s/	<i>thawabu</i>	<i>sawabu</i>	rewards
/ð/	/s/	<i>dhambi</i>	<i>zambi</i>	sin
/y/	/h/	<i>gharama</i>	<i>harama</i>	costs
/X/	/h/	<i>kheri</i>	<i>heri</i>	good tidings

Table 5.2: Pronunciation of foreign words between Kipemba and Kiunguja/Standard

In addition to dental and velar fricative sound variation, Kipemba is prominently known for contrasting the nasal /-n-/ with a bilabial nasal /-m-/. The /m - n/ nasal alternation in Kipemba occurs systematically in particular phonological environments, popular in Kipemba colloquial speech forms. In the next section, I analyse the /m – n/ nasal alternation in Kipemba and discuss the phonological environment that triggers the contrast between the two sounds.

5.2.3. The /m-n/ nasal sound alternation in Kipemba

The /m – n/ nasal alternation is a prominent and distinctive generic linguistic feature in Kipemba. Even though there is substantial work on class 9/10 nasal prefix alternation, the /m - n/ alternation in Kipemba has not been thoroughly studied. A few instances of this prominent phonological feature in Kipemba were first mentioned in the work of Khamis (1984). In other recent works, including Hamad Juma (2011, 2018), and Hamad (2018), the topic appears as a side note or a topic of negligible linguistic significance. Whilst the issues of nasal assimilation and homorganic nasals in Swahili have been broadly investigated, there is a substantially inadequate explanation of /m - n/ nasal prefix assimilation in Kipemba. In this section, I use the data collected throughout Pemba to investigate the nasal alternation in Kipemba. I begin with the most researched part of nasal assimilation of class 9/10 (N-), then trace the history back from Proto-Bantu, Northeast Coastal Bantu, Proto-Swahili and Kipemba. Here I argue that the class 9/10 (N-) nasal assimilation has little to do with the /M-/ and /N-/ alternation in Kipemba. The processes and conditions underlying the two phonological processes are slightly different. Therefore, this analysis views the two processes as distinct.

Choti (2015: 57) points out that "there are two kinds of nasal prefixes in Bantu languages: bilabial and syllabic /M/ and /N/" (see also Odden 1986, Hyman and Ngunga 1997, Ngunga 2000). These nasal prefixes may be traced back to Proto-Bantu syllables *mu-* and *nj-*, respectively (see also Meinhof 1932, Meinhof and Warmelo, 1932). The two syllables also

feature prominently, though not as class 9/10 markers, in Kipemba. In Bantu languages, nasal prefixes that mark noun class 9/10 and 1SG subject and object markers have been associated with a wide range of segmental alternations (Choti 2015: 1). In Standard Swahili, nasal prefixes that mark noun class 9/10 are marked by /N/, and the same is for Kipemba as shown below.

(15) *Nyumba njema*
 9-house 9-good
 'Good house'

(16) *Nyama nzima*
 9-meat 9- whole
 'The whole meat.'

(17) *Nywele nzuri*
 9-hair 9-beautiful
 'Beautiful hair'

However, as said earlier, the /n/ class referred to here is unrelated to the Kipemba /m - n/ nasal alternation but a part of a noun class identification which is class 9/10 commonly known as the “n” class. Nevertheless, like the /n/ class, the /m-n/ nasal alternation in Kipemba involves at least four processes associated with segmental alternations. These include nasal assimilation, devoicing and aspiration, some are covered in this section. Before I delve into the discussion on four segmental alternations involved in /m-n/ nasal alternation, it is essential to expound on the behaviour of the /M/ nasal prefix (which is rather morphological than the phonological /m/discussed earlier) in Bantu, Swahili and Kipemba as analysed by other scholars such as Choti (2015).

According to Choti (2015: 58), "the Bantu bilabial nasal prefix /M/ occurs regularly as the marker for noun classes 1, 3, and 18; 2PL subject, and 3SG object". Choti adds that in Swahili, Proto-Bantu (PB) *mu* has two allomorphs, /m̥/ and /mu/. The former occurs before consonants, while the latter occurs before vowels. When followed by a non-identical vowel, the /u/ of /mu/ may become a glide [w]. Choti's findings have also been previously reported and shared in the early works of Bell (1972), Hyman (2003), Iribemwangi (2011), and recently, Ye (2022). I refer to some of these works from time to time in connection to my findings in Kipemba. Choti notes that the behaviour of /m̥/ varies across languages. So, the observation that /m̥/ does not undergo any change or trigger alternations in stem-initial segments in Swahili might not hold for Kipemba. For historical reasons, /m/, depending on the phonological environment, changes into /n/ unless it is followed by a vowel (18) or bilabial sound /p/ (19), /b/ (20), aspirant /h/ (21) or another /m/ (22).

(18) Kipemba (Nasal /m/ followed by a vowel)

Word	Gloss	No /m/ - /n/ alternation/
<i>mama</i>	mother	<i>mama</i>
<i>meli</i>	ship	<i>meli</i>
<i>miti</i>	trees	<i>miti</i>
<i>m(w)oyo</i>	hearts	<i>m(w)oyo</i>
<i>mungu</i>	god	<i>mungu</i>

From example (18) above, it should not be misconstrued that I assume that the underlying vowel is /M/, not /m/; my discussion and point of argument from the outset is /m/ as a phonological feature that exhibits various roles in Kipemba – some morphological, syntactic and phonological. In this regard, I stick with the phonological /m/ instead of /M/, which I shall use when I refer to the morphological roles of /m/ in the later sections and discussions.

(19) Kipemba (Nasal /m/ followed by bilabial /p/)

Word	Gloss	No /m/ - /n/ alternation/
<i>mpwa</i>	cousin	<i>mpwa</i>
<i>mpaka</i>	border	<i>mpaka</i>
<i>mpingo</i>	ebony tree	<i>mpingo</i>
<i>mpango</i>	plan	<i>mpango</i>
<i>mpunga</i>	Rice plant	<i>mpunga</i>

(20) Kipemba (Nasal /m/ followed by bilabial /b/)

Word	Gloss	No /m/ - /n/ alternation/
<i>m'mbu</i>	mosquitoes	<i>m'mbu</i>
<i>m'ba</i>	skin patches	<i>m'ba</i>
<i>m'mbwa</i>	dog	<i>m'mbwa</i>
<i>mbingu</i>	sky	<i>mbingu</i>
<i>mboga</i>	vegetable	<i>mbingu</i>

(21) Kipemba (Nasal /m/ followed by glottal fricative /h/)

Word	Gloss	Add -u- after /m/	No change of /m/ into /n/ in Kipemba
<i>mhudumu</i>	Waiter/waitress	<i>muhudumu</i>	<i>muhudumu</i>
<i>mhadhiri</i>	lecturer	<i>muhadhiri</i>	<i>muhaziri</i>
<i>mhogo</i>	cassava	<i>muhogo</i>	<i>muhogo</i>
<i>mhenga</i>	an ancestor	<i>muhenga</i>	<i>muhenga</i>
<i>mhindi</i>	maize or an Indian	<i>muhindi</i>	<i>muhindi</i>

From the observations, the examples from (21) above seem more of a morphological issue than a phonological one but the fact these words were borrowed from other languages could be another plausible reason. The data shows that the class prefix m- corresponds to the class prefix mu- but only if /m/ is preceded with a glottal fricative /h/ - a feature perhaps peculiar for Kipemba. Although the instances of morphological -mu- have been widely studied and cited

across other Bantu languages, the condition and environment for its occurrence differ from Kipemba. For instance, in Congolese Swahili -mu- is used almost every time the prefix *m* is preceded by another consonant, such as *mtu* (person), which becomes *mutu*, *mzee* (older adult) becomes *muzee* and the list goes in- This feature has also been widely studied by Nico Nassenstein (2015; 2016). Even though, this feature is shared among the Congolese Swahili speakers and other up-country Swahili speakers of Kenya, Uganda and some parts of Tanzania, I see no reason to explore it further considering it has been extensively covered in the works of Nassenstein aforementioned earlier.

Contrary to Kipemba, the only instance morphological *m* is added with *u* is when *m* is preceded by glottal fricative /h/ as discussed earlier. In terms of change, *mu-* I agree that it is probably older, so the change would be from *mu-* to *m-*, which in Kipemba is more likely a result of loan adaptation rather than /m-n/ nasal assimilation or morphological derivation. In this regard, the data presented here rule out that no nasal assimilation occurs when it is preceded by glottal fricative /h/ in Kipemba.

(22) Kipemba (Nasal /m-/ followed by bilabial nasal /m-/)

Word	Gloss	No /m/ - /n/ alternation/
<i>mmakonde</i>	the ethnic Makonde person	<i>mmakonde</i>
<i>mmong'onyoko</i>	erosion	<i>mmong'onyoko</i>
<i>mmanga</i>	An Omani Arab	<i>mmanga</i>

As can be seen, the nasal /m/ does not change into /n/ in all phonological scenarios above in Kipemba. A minor exception occurs when /m/ nasal is preceded by glottal fricative /h/, in which a vowel /u/ is added after /m/apart from the phonological conditions from examples (18) to (22) above, /m/ changes into /n/, as can be seen in (23) below.

(23) Kipemba (Nasal /M-/ paired with non-bilabial consonants)

Word	Gloss	As pronounced in Kipemba - /m/ altered to /n/
<i>mchele</i>	rice	<i>nchele</i>
<i>mdudu</i>	insect	<i>n'dudu</i>
<i>mfuko</i>	pocket, bag	<i>nfuko</i>
<i>mgongo</i>	back	<i>n'gongo</i>
<i>mjomba</i>	uncle	<i>n'jomba</i>
<i>mkate</i>	bread	<i>nkate</i>

As it can be seen in example (23) above, the nasal sound /m/ changes into /n/ in some phonological environment in Kipemba. From example (23) above, it can be assumed that -n- is a class marker instead of -m- in Kipemba. However, from the observation, it is evident that the /m – n/ alternation in Kipemba is purely a phonological condition that affects other linguistic aspects such as morphology, syntax and lexis in Kipemba. Further discussion of these segmental alternations follows in the later sections. In this regard, however, I consider the /m - n/ nasal alternation as a process of nasal place assimilation that involves two homorganic nasals in Kipemba, as discussed in the section below.

5.2.4. The /m – n/ nasal alternation in Kipemba: Homorganic nasal place assimilation?

Past studies, including Khamis (1984) and Juma (2011, 2018), have outlined and highlighted the presence of /m - n/ nasal alternation in Kipemba without further linguistic description or explanation. This study investigated the /m - n/ nasal alternation in Kipemba and found that it is one of the most prominent, prevalent, generic features in Kipemba. It might be argued that /m- n/ nasal alternation is also shared with other Swahili varieties, an argument I cannot refute but from the data I collected that at some point involved various users of other Swahili dialects, I found that the feature is more prevalent and inherent to Kipemba than in other Swahili varieties. The example given in the table below shows phonological conditions and environments where /m – n/ nasal alternation occurs in Kipemba. The data were collected from the responses of primary school children around Pemba. They represented what I have discussed earlier about phonological conditions that trigger the /m - n/ alternation in Kipemba. The words below were carefully selected to include all the possible consonant combinations with /m/ in Kipemba for reliable and accurate analysis and conclusion.

(24) The /m - n/ alternation across eight linguistic zones in Pemba

KPN1	KPN2	KPN3	KPN4	KPS5	KPS6	KPS7	KPS8	Standard	Gloss
<i>mbwa</i>	<i>mbwa</i>	<i>mbwa</i>	<i>mbwa</i>	<i>mbwa</i>	<i>mbwa</i>	<i>mbwa</i>	<i>mbwa</i>	<i>mbwa</i>	Dog
<i>nchele</i>	<i>nchele</i>	<i>nchele</i>	<i>nchele</i>	<i>nchele</i>	<i>nchele</i>	<i>nchele</i>	<i>nchele</i>	<i>mchele</i>	Rice
<i>n'dom</i> <i>o</i>	<i>n'dom</i> <i>o</i>	<i>n'dom</i> <i>o</i>	<i>n'dom</i> <i>o</i>	<i>n'dom</i> <i>o</i>	<i>n'dom</i> <i>o</i>	<i>n'dom</i> <i>o</i>	<i>n'dom</i> <i>o</i>	<i>mdomo</i>	Mouth
<i>mfuko</i>	<i>mfuko</i>	<i>mfuko</i>	<i>mfuko</i>	<i>mfuko</i>	<i>mfuko</i>	<i>mfuko</i>	<i>mfuko</i>	<i>mfuko</i>	Pocket
<i>n'gom</i> <i>ba</i>	<i>n'gom</i> <i>ba</i>	<i>n'gom</i> <i>ba</i>	<i>n'gom</i> <i>ba</i>	<i>n'gom</i> <i>ba</i>	<i>n'gom</i> <i>ba</i>	<i>n'gom</i> <i>ba</i>	<i>n'gom</i> <i>ba</i>	<i>mgomba</i> <i>a</i>	Banana tree
<i>muhog</i> <i>o</i>	<i>muhog</i> <i>o</i>	<i>muhog</i> <i>o</i>	<i>muhog</i> <i>o</i>	<i>muhog</i> <i>o</i>	<i>muhog</i> <i>o</i>	<i>muhog</i> <i>o</i>	<i>muhog</i> <i>o</i>	<i>mhogo</i>	Cassava
<i>n'ji</i>	<i>n'ji</i>	<i>n'ji</i>	<i>n'ji</i>	<i>n'ji</i>	<i>n'ji</i>	<i>n'ji</i>	<i>n'ji</i>	<i>mji</i>	Town/city
<i>nkate</i>	<i>nkate</i>	<i>nkate</i>	<i>nkate</i>	<i>nkate</i>	<i>nkate</i>	<i>nkate</i>	<i>nkate</i>	<i>mkate</i>	Bread

<i>nlango</i>	<i>nlango</i>	<i>nlango</i>	<i>nlango</i>	<i>mlang o</i>	<i>mlang o</i>	<i>mlang o</i>	<i>mlang o</i>	<i>mlang o</i>	Door
<i>mwezi</i>	<i>mwezi</i>	<i>mwezi</i>	<i>mwezi</i>	<i>mwezi</i>	<i>mwezi</i>	<i>mwezi</i>	<i>mwezi</i>	<i>mwezi</i>	Moon
<i>nnazi</i>	<i>nnazi</i>	<i>nnazi</i>	<i>n'nazi</i>	<i>n'nazi</i>	<i>nnazi</i>	<i>nnazi</i>	<i>nnazi</i>	<i>mnazi</i>	Coconut tree
<i>mpira</i>	<i>mpira</i>	<i>mpira</i>	<i>mpira</i>	<i>mpira</i>	<i>mpira</i>	<i>mpira</i>	<i>mpira</i>	<i>mpira</i>	Ball
<i>nto</i>	<i>nto</i>	<i>nto</i>	<i>n'to</i>	<i>nto</i>	<i>nto</i>	<i>nto</i>	<i>nto</i>	<i>mto</i>	Pillow
<i>nswala</i>	<i>nswala</i>	<i>nswala</i>	<i>nswala</i>	<i>n'swala</i>	<i>nswala</i>	<i>nswala</i>	<i>nswala</i>	<i>mswala</i>	Praying mat
<i>nshumaa</i>	<i>nshumaa</i>	<i>nshumaa</i>	<i>nshumaa</i>	<i>nshumaa</i>	<i>nshumaa</i>	<i>nshumaa</i>	<i>nshumaa</i>	<i>mshumaa</i>	Candle
<i>nvua</i>	<i>nvua</i>	<i>nvua</i>	<i>nvua</i>	<i>nvua</i>	<i>nvua</i>	<i>nvua</i>	<i>nvua</i>	<i>mvua</i>	Rain
<i>nzizi</i>	<i>nzizi</i>	<i>nzizi</i>	<i>nzizi</i>	<i>nzizi</i>	<i>nzizi</i>	<i>nzizi</i>	<i>nzizi</i>	<i>mzizi</i>	Root

Example (24) above shows a slight variation in the pronunciation of /m/ and /n/ in Kipemba across the eight linguistic zones in Kipemba. Phonologically, and perhaps, historically, /m/ tends to, in most cases, change to /n/ depending on the phonologically conditioned environment in Kipemba. For instance, when /m/ is preceded by a vowel, as in *mama* (mother) and when preceded by glottal fricative /h/, as in *mhadhiri* (lecture). Other instances occur when /m/ is preceded by bilabial plosive sounds, bilabial nasal, and glide /w/ as in *mbwa* (dog), *mpira* (ball), *mmanga* (an Omani Arab) and *mwezi* (moon). Apart from these phonological conditions, /m/ usually alters to /n/ in Kipemba. However, from the Table above, in some linguistic zones, this does not apply. The data shows that in some linguistic zones, mainly in south urban towns and Western zones of Pemba, some speakers still need to replace /m/ for /n/ in their speech. For example, the word *mlango* (door) is pronounced as *nlango* in most linguistic zones of Pemba except for Nkamandume (KPS 6), Nkoani East (KPS 7) and Nkoani West (KPS 8) zones. Apart from *mlango*, a few words with / are pronounced with /m/ in the three linguistic zones mentioned earlier. From my observation, the use of /m/ in some parts of Pemba is attributed to the growing influence of Kiunguja and Standard Swahili into Kipemba as a result of increased dialect contacts between the speakers of Kiunguja, Standard Swahili and Kipemba in some linguistic zones, mainly those in the Southwest of Pemba. I would like to clarify that Kiunguja as used throughout this thesis refers to a variety of Swahili spoken in Zanzibar town. It is indeed a spoken form not written. On the other hand, Standard Swahili is a codified form of Swahili based on Kiunguja. It is a written form used for formal communication and it is slightly different from Kiunguja though the two share most features in common. As for Kipemba, I argue that it is a variety distinct from the two. In this thesis I argue that some features of both Kiunguja and Standard Swahili can possibly be found in Kipemba due to some factors

discussed in the later chapters. In the following section, I analyse the phonological environment where /m -n/ nasal alternation occurs in Kipemba.

5.2.5. The phonological environment for /m - n/ nasal prefix alternation in Kipemba

The data presented in Table 5.3 above shows alternation between the sounds /m - n/ in what seems to be a systematically defined phonological environment in Kipemba. The data shows that in Kipemba, the original underlying form is /n/, which is then assimilated to /m/ when followed by a labial consonant. /m/ in Kipemba. Further, in some phonologically conditioned environments, /m/ does not change into /n/ if and only if it is preceded by /p/, /b/ and a glide /w/. However, there is an exceptional instance where /m/ does not alter to /n/; unlike the previous cases, this process does not involve nasal assimilation. For instance, when /m/ is preceded by a glottal fricative /h/, an additional vowel /u/ must be added after /m/ as in *mhubiri* (priest), which becomes *muhubiri* in Kipemba. The Table below summarises the phonological environment where /m/ is pronounced as /m/ in Kipemba. The Table also shows phonotactic constraints to /m - n/ nasal alternations where /m/ remains the same.

(25) Phonological environment that determines /m/ - /n/ contrast in Kipemba

Nouns beginning with /m/	Phonological environment for /m/ - /n/ contrast	Pronunciation of /m/ in Kipemba
<i>Mbwa, mpira</i>	Bilabial plosive sounds	/m/ as in <i>mbwa, mpira</i>
<i>Mchele</i>	Post Alveolar Affricate	/n/ as in <i>nchele</i>
<i>Mdomo, mto</i>	Alveolar Plosive	/n/ as in <i>n'domo</i>
<i>Mfuko, mvua</i>	Labio dental Fricative	/n/ as in <i>mfuko, n'vua</i>
<i>Mgomba, Mkaté</i>	Velar plosive	/n/ as in <i>n'gomba, n'katé</i>
<i>Mhogo</i>	Glottal fricative	/m/ + /u/ as in <i>muhogo</i>
<i>Mji</i>	Post-Alveolar Approximant	/n/ as in <i>n'ji</i>
<i>Mlango</i>	Alveolar Lateral Approximant	/n/ as in <i>n'lango</i>
<i>Mwezi</i>	Velar Approximant	/m/ as in <i>mwezi</i>
<i>Mnazi</i>	Alveolar nasal	/n/ as in <i>n'nazi</i>
<i>Mzizi, mshumaa</i>	Alveolar fricative	/n/ as in <i>n'zizi, nshumaa</i>
<i>Mrija (Straw)*</i>	Alveolar trill	/n/ as in <i>nrija</i>

*The main questionnaire accidentally omitted the word *mrija* (straw) with /r/ (Alveolar Trill) paired with /m/. I included it in the list because the feature was also found in some of the Kipemba data I collected.

Example (25) above shows that /m/ is pronounced as /m/ in most phonological environments except when /m/ is followed by bilabial plosive sounds, glottal fricative /h/, a glide /w/ or another bilabial nasal /m/. The data across Pemba show that these phonological environments

are generic to all speakers of Kipemba, with exceptions to a few individuals whose Kipemba speech forms have been compromised with Kiunguja and in some cases, Standard Swahili. Theoretically, this phenomenon in Kipemba relates to one of the common concepts in segmental phonology: words have two different forms. In the words of Vaux and Cooper (1999: 77), first, "the one we store in our memory, and the one that we pronounce'. Relating the theory with the /m – n/ nasal alternation in Kipemba, it is evident that the speakers are aware of /n/, which assimilates to /m/, resulting in /m-n/ nasal alternation in Kipemba. In the next section, I analyse various morphosyntactic roles of the /m -n/ nasal alternations. My main point of the argument stands on the findings that although/m -n/ alternation is purely a phonological process, the two nasal contrasting forms assume various morphological and syntactic roles in Kipemba.

5.2.6. The morphosyntactic roles of /m - n/ nasal alternation in Kipemba

This section briefly discusses the morphosyntactic role of /m - n/ nasal alternations in Kipemba. The discussion on morphosyntactic features, including those discussed here, is provided in a broader expanse in chapter six. The nasal alternation between /m/ - /n/ assumes several morphosyntactic roles depending on the phonological environment. In Kipemba, both /m/ and /n/ assume the roles of a morpheme used to represent noun class, subject marking, Object marking, copula constructions and tense-aspect marking. In the discussion below, I argue that morphemes in all these environments involve a nasal prefix and assimilation.

a. The /m – n/ nasal alternation as a noun class marker

Depending on the phonological environment, the noun class prefixes for class 1 and class 3 are marked by either a homorganic nasal n- or m- in Kipemba. For example, the words in example below show how Class 1 and 3 nominal classes are realised in Kipemba.

(26) Realisation of Nominal classes 1 and 3 with /m – n/ nasal alternation in Kipemba

Noun Class	Kipemba	Class Marker	Gloss
1	<i>ntu nke</i>	n-	woman
	<i>ntoto</i>	n-	child
	<i>mbwa</i>	m-	dog
	<i>mpwa</i>	m-	cousin
3	<i>nti</i>	n-	tree
	<i>nkono</i>	n-	hand/arm

	<i>mpaka</i>	m-	border
	<i>m'bono</i>	m-	castor plant

b. The /m -n/ nasal alternation as a pronominal subject marker.

In Kipemba, the subject marker for the first-person singular is *n-*, which, depending on the phonological context, in this case, if the sound is not preceded by bilabial sound or other nasal, then it assimilates to /m/. The example below was noted in Manyaga, Nkoani West Pemba. It shows two different realisations of the subject prefix *-n-* into two different nasal alternation forms, one as *n-* and another as *m-*.

(27) Kipemba (Manyaga, KPS 8, Female, Child)

N'-tak- a (ngoja) *m' -pak-iw-e*
 1. SM.SG-PRES-want-FV (wait) 1. SM.SG-PRES-carry -PREP.PASS- FV. SUBJ
 'I am going to wait for the lift.'

Another example similar to (27) above was noted in Wingwi (KPN 3). In this example, the subject marker prefix *ni-* from the Standard Swahili is again realised as *n-* in the absence bilabial sounds and *m-* if preceded by bilabial sounds (i.e. /p/, /b/, and /m/ itself)

(28) Kipemba (Wingwi, KPN 3, Male, Adult)

N-chensh-ia-ni *m-pat-e* *n-kat-e*
 1. SM.SG-PRES-boil-PREP-PL 1. SM.SG-PRES-get-SUBJ 1. SM.SG-PRES
 breakfast- SUBJ

'Boil something for me so I get something for breakfast.'

As it can be seen from example (28), the subject marker *ni-* (1st Person, Singular) is marked by *n-* as in "*Nchenshiani*" (*nichemshieni* – Standard) and "*nkate mate*" (*Nikate mate* – Standard) and as *m-* in "*mpate*" (*nipate* - Standard). It should be noted that both *m-* and *n-* were used as various forms of subject marker for the 1st person singular form in Kipemba. As argued earlier, the nasal alternation between *-m-* and *-n-* are phonologically conditioned.

c. The /m - n/ nasal alternation as object marker for the third person singular

In Kipemba, object markers differ slightly from those in Standard Swahili and Kiunguja. An in-depth analysis of object markers is covered in Chapter Six. However, I briefly list them for clarity to demonstrate the role of /m – n/ nasal alternation used as object markers in Kipemba.

(29) Object marking between Kipemba and Kiunguja/ Standard Swahili and the realisation of nasal /-M-/ in Kipemba

Person	Object Markers in Swahili (Standard)	Object Markers in Kipemba
<i>1st sg. - Mimi</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>ni-</i>
<i>2nd sg- Wewe</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>
<i>Class 1 (3rd sg) -Yeye</i>	<i>m-*</i>	<i>n-/m(u/w)-</i>
<i>1st pl -Sisi</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu-</i>
<i>2nd pl- Wao</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wa-</i>
<i>Class 2 (3rd pl)- Nyinyi</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wa-</i>

In example (29), the nasal sound /m/ that stands as a class 1 marker is usually realised as nasal *n-* and as *m-* in Kipemba when preceding labial consonants. The following examples (30) and (31) illustrate the nasal alternation between /n/ and /m/, both assuming the role of object marking in Kipemba.

(30) Kipemba (Kojani, KPN 2, Male, Adult)

Mw-a-n-tamb-uw-a?

SM.2PL-Pres -OM1-know -PASS -FV

'Do you know him/her/it?'

(31) Kipemba (Wete, KPN 1, Female, Youth)

N-a-m-pend-a *a-la-ye*

SM1SG-Pres-OM1-like -FV SM1 -eat- REL 1

'I like the one who eats.'

d. The /m -n/ nasal alternation as variable Copula -ni-

In Kipemba, unlike in Standard Swahili and other Bantu languages, the copula *-n-* is variable. In most cases, the copula *-n-* is realised as nasal *n-* or *m-* and the pronominal forms, which will be discussed in a later section, where a broader discussion on the copula constructions in Kipemba is covered in chapter six. In this section, I illustrate the /M-/ and /N-/ nasal alternations in the role of the copula in Kipemba, as shown in examples (32) and (33) below:

(32) Kipemba (Tondo, KPN 4, Female, Child)

Tw-a-itw- a *n-nani*

SM1PL-Pres-call-FV COP-who?

'Who is calling us?'

(33)Kipemba (Shengejuu, KPN 2, Male, Adult)

M-pesa-yo?

COP-money-9. POSS.2SG

'Is this your money?'

e. The -m- and -n- as perfective aspect markers

In Kipemba, the perfective marker is n-, which sometimes assimilates into m- to form perfective forms. In the examples below, it can be noted that in some cases, n- represents perfective form and rarely, m- is also used for the same role, depending on specified phonological environments.

(34)Kipemba (Shumba N'jini, KPN 3, Male, Child)

Wa- n -kwend-a

waa?

2. SM.PL- Perf – to go -FV.

16-where?

'Where have they gone to look for mangoes?'

When the stem of a verb begins with bilabial sounds /m/, /b/ and /p/, the perfect form is marked by an *m-*.

(35)Kipemba (Makombeni, KPS 8, Male, Child)

Ka-m'-bw-a

(koto

a-

toka

damu)

3. SM.SG - Perf – hit. - FV

5. Finger fist

3. SM.SG – bleed

9. blood

'S/he was hit with fisted fingers,s/he bleeds.'

5.2.7. Other phonological processes generic to Kipemba

Apart from assimilation, other predominant phonological processes in Kipemba include deletion, addition, and nasalisation. In the sections below, I discuss these phonological processes citing relevant examples from Kipemba.

a. Deletion

In her study on deletion in Kipemba, Maryam Msabah (2018) investigated various types of deletion and the environment in which the deletion occurs. Msabah found that there are five types of deletion in Kipemba, namely deletion of a vowel, consonant, syllable, word, and deletion of a phrase. The data I collected throughout Pemba showed various instances of the five types of deletion previously discussed by Msabah, and I analysed them as below. Since most examples were taken from real-time speech scenarios, some examples may contain multiple types of deletion.

- **Deletion of a vowel**

Deletion of a vowel is one of the phonological processes studied and is found to some degree, in the data collected across Pemba and Kipemba speech forms. The examples below show the deletion of a vowel *a-* as used in perfective forms in Kipemba.

(36) Kipemba (Makangale, KPN 4, Female, Child)

Ka-n-kug-w-a
SMI-Perf- fall -PASS-fv
 'S/he has fallen.'

(37) Kipemba (Micheweni, KPN 3, Female, Youth)

Pampikwani? (From – panapikwani?)
Pa-m-pik-wa-ni?
16.Loc-Perf- cook- PASS- what?
 'What was cooked here?'

To add further explanation to examples (36) and (37) above, the vowel *a-* was deleted when paired with nasal sounds /m/ and /n/ that, in this instance, represent perfective aspects *me-* which in Kipemba is realised with nasal /n/ which is, sometimes assimilated into /m/ as in (37) above. However, the data from this study found that most instances cited in the previous studies, especially by Msabah, need to be clarified instances of deletion, as argued. For instance, apart from the above instances where perfective form can sometimes be realised with *a-* that precedes nasals /m/ and /n/, in other instances that Msabah mentions and compared to the data I collected, it is evident that deletion occurs if the reference is made from the Standard Swahili, and not Kipemba, which in my case, is not always necessary. For example, Msabah points out the deletion of a vowel in the copula verb *ni-* and in the subject prefix for the first-person singular, marked by *ni-* in Standard Swahili, as demonstrated. It is unnecessary to refer to Standard Swahili because in Kipemba, the copula form *ni-* and subject prefix *ni-* are marked by /n/, which is sometimes assimilated into /m/. In this regard, it is evident that no vowel is involved in the two structures – which, as a result, renders the argument on the prevalence or existence of vowel deletion in Kipemba copula constructions and the first-person subject prefix unfounded. The only pure instance of deletion of a vowel I, therefore, endorse and note in Kipemba is on some form of perfective aspect shown in (36) and (37) above.

- **Deletion of a consonant and semi-vowel /w/**

Another interesting observation in Msabah's work is the deletion of a consonant. In this work, Msabah (2018:33) outlines five areas in Kipemba where the deletion of consonants occurs – namely, the deletion of /h/ in demonstrative forms (34), the deletion of consonant /k/ in possessive forms (38), and the deletion of a glide /w/ (39).

(38) Kipemba (Gando, KPN 1, Adult, Male)

<i>A-ka-a</i>	<i>wapi</i>	<i>'uyu?</i>	<i>(Corresponds to – huyu)</i>
SM1- stay-FV	Loc-where	1-DEM	
'Where does s/he live?'			

(39) Kipemba (Micheweni, KPN 3, Youth, Female)

<i>Fuat-a</i>	<i>(dade-yo)</i>	<i>u-ka-omb- e</i>	<i>muungu</i>
<i>Follow-FV</i>	<i>1.sister- 1.Poss</i>	<i>SM1-Cond-beg-FV-SUBJ</i>	<i>1-god</i>
'Follow your sister and try your luck with God'.			

(40) Kipemba (Chambani, KPS 7, Elderly, Female)

<i>Ma-igi</i>	<i>ma-ili</i>	<i>(Corresponds Maigi mawili)</i>
<i>6-eggs</i>	<i>6-two</i>	
'Two eggs'		

In all three examples above, the deletion of consonants is suggested in Msabah's study. The data I also found shows that the consonant deletion seems somewhat restricted to demonstratives and some possessive forms that involve /h/ and /k/, respectively. However, whether the consonant deletion was a part of Kipemba demonstrative, or possessive forms is unclear. From the evidence of the data collected in Pemba, all demonstratives that involve /h/ in Standard Swahili are not common in Kipemba. This perhaps confirms that the sound /h/ in demonstrative form is not a part of Kipemba demonstrative forms. The rationale that may justify this is that the data shows all demonstrative forms that involve /h/ are not actively used in Kipemba, except for a few sections of users in the urban and Western parts of Pemba where the increased contact between Kipemba, Kiunguja and the Standard Swahili in such areas. As for the deletion of /k/ in possessive forms, this is, instead, a complex phenomenon since it is only restricted to possessive forms for second and third-person singular possessive forms *yako* (your) and *yake* (his/hers), which in most parts of Pemba, the two are realised as *yo* (your) and *ye* (his/hers), respectively, with /k/ deleted. It is, again, unclear whether the possessive /k/ from Standard Swahili was also an inherent feature in Kipemba. It is unclear whether the deletion is involved, or it suffices to say there is no /k/ in the two possessive forms in Kipemba. The only conceivable instance of deletion I found instead appealing is of a semi-vowel glide /w/ in (39), but the explicit instances of deletion of the consonant in Kipemba are rare or rather complex

unless the comparison made takes from the structure of the Standard Swahili, which again, at least in this case, not so right.

- **Deletion of a syllable**

In Kipemba, deleting a part of a small word unit containing a single vowel sound was also found to be prevalent, especially with locative classes 16/17/18. In example (41) below, the syllable *ko-* locative is deleted or absent from the word *yuko* (s/he is at).

- (41) Kipemba (Kivuugo, KPN 2, Youth, Male)
Ha-yu-po *yu' -Pandani*
NEG-SM1-16-Loc *SM1- Pandani (town)*
 ‘S/he is not here, s/he is at Pandani.’

Deleting a locative syllable in Kipemba seems consistent across all subject forms, as shown in (42) below. The locative forms in the brackets are usually deleted in the Kipemba speech forms.

- (42) Locative subject form in Kipemba
Mimi ni(ko/po/mo) Nyumbani(I am at home)
Weye u(ko/po/mo) Nyumbani(You are at home)
Yeye yu(ko/po/mo) Nyumbani(S/he is at home)
Siye tu(ko/po/mo) Nyumbani(We are at home)
Nyiye mu(ko/po/mo) Nyumbani(You are at home)
Waowa(ko/po/mo)Nyumbani(They are at home)

Based on the data from across Pemba, I cannot conceive or did not encounter any instance in Kipemba where *ko-* or other locative syllables are used the same way as in Standard Swahili in Kipemba speech forms, which makes me still wonder whether these are 'genuine' alternations or otherwise. A few instances where the locative forms are used can be found among the urban and western zone users of Kipemba, again due to increased contact with Kiunguja and the Standard Swahili.

In her study, Msabah also pointed out the prevalence of deletion of words and phrases in Kipemba. In my study, and based on the linguistic data, however, I find the two other types of deletion less relevant in Kipemba, and I see no urge to discuss them in more detail here. The examples below show some instances of deletion of a word (43) and deletion of a phrase (44) in Kipemba.

- (43) Kipemba (Shumba N’jini, KPN 3, Adult, Male)
Zogo lya nini, so paliwa, hwekulya
 ‘Why are you noisy? It is eating time. Haven’t you eaten already?’

- (44) Kipemba (Kisiwa Panza, KPS 7, Youth, Male)
Siye tunchoka zulumiwa, hatwebu hangaishwa
 ‘We are tired of being ripped off; we no longer want to be treated unjustly’.

From an example of the deletion of the word in (43) and the deletion of the phrase above (44), I found that most of the so-called deletion is more likely the issues related to syntax and not phonology (43) and it is not clear the deleted word was there in the first place or not. As for (44), the deletion of a phrase is again seemingly an issue of stylistic choices, and again, it is not clear whether the omitted phrases in (44) are real instances of deletion or stylistic choices used by the users for other communicative purposes.

b. Addition/insertion

Adding an extra sound to a word occurs, though only sometimes in Kipemba. The data show that in Kipemba, insertion occurs mainly in two phonological environments. First, the bilabial nasal sound /m/ is paired with a word's glottal fricative sound /h/ - the vowel /u/ is inserted in between, as shown in examples (45) and (46) below.

(45) Kipemba (Children and Adults, Phonological data)

Mu-hogo (instead of *Mhogo*)

3-cassava

'Cassava.'

(46) Kipemba (Adults, Phonological data)

Mu-halifu (instead of *Mhalifu*)

1-crime

'The criminal.'

The second phonological scenario occurs when a glide /y/ and /w/ are inserted between two vowels – an /i/ and /u/, respectively.

(47) Kipemba (Ole, KPS 5, Youth, Male)

Ka-sha-ow- a *lini?*

SMI-Perf- marry- FV *when?*

'When did s/he get married?'

In the above example, the glide /w/ was inserted between the vowels /a/ and /o/ either to ease the pronunciation or speech or the two vowels produced close to one another assimilated to form glide /w/ that later manifested in an actual speech.

(48) Kipemba (Mwanamashungi, KPS 6, Adult, Female)

U-ki-n-lete-ya (*Ukinletea*)

SMI- COND-OMI-bring- FV

'If you bring for him/her.'

In example (48), the glide /y/ is added between vowels /e/ and /a/ again to ease the pronunciation. Whether these additions are systematic or otherwise, further linguistic data is needed to establish and reach such a conclusion.

5.3. Lexical Variation in Kipemba: Generic features

In this section, I analyse lexical features that, according to the data available, are prevalent across and throughout Pemba. The generic lexical data from this study show that some words are zone-specific and some generic. The zone-specific words are bound in specific geographical areas, such as the Northeast of Pemba or another geographical zone, while generic features are those familiar across and throughout Pemba. In studying generic lexical variation in Kipemba, I choose eight thematic lexical domains to analyse data related to generic lexical repertoires in Kipemba. The term "generic features" here does not mean the features found everywhere and in everyone. Instead, the term generic here refers to the features found in most Kipemba speakers across eight Kipemba linguistic zones. The discussion in this chapter is based on the works on lexical and lexical semantics by Egli (1995), Weigand (1998), Coopmans et al. (2000), Asher (2001), Marten (2002), Zufferey (2010), Ghaithuu Suleiman (2017) and Walsh (2022), among others. In the discussion on lexical variation in Kipemba, I also refer to the types of lexical variation discussed by various scholars, including, for example, the work of Dirk Geeraerts (2012:3 - 4).

According to Geeraerts and others, there are various types of lexical variation. Those include geographical variation, and social variation, contextual and conceptual variation (Wanjiku 2018: 33-46). Geographical variation refers to the specific regional variation of words used in one geographical location and another. In the case of Kipemba, most research, including mine, has focused mainly on variation based, either loosely or systematically, on geographical factors. Among the previous works, the studies that compared linguistic variation between urban and rural Kipemba (Khamis 1984), Wete and Micheweni (Hamad Juma 2011), Chake Chake and Micheweni (Ismail Ali 2015) and Southern and Northern Kipemba (Siti Ali 2015) fall under this category. In light of the findings and conclusions of these studies, they all hold that there is significant regional lexical variation in Kipemba – the point I intend to investigate, validate and discuss further in this section.

Social variation, in the views of Hickey (2010), focuses on variation based on social parameters such as social class, age, sex and gender, education and occupation. Although I discuss social variation in more detail in chapter eight, I sporadically relate to and refer to the social criteria for lexical variation in Kipemba in this section. In line with this type of variation, I highlight that some vocabulary in Kipemba can only be found and used by a specific social group or people with particular social characteristics, hence the variation in use between one and another

social group in the same speech community. Contextual variation refers to the individual or small groups of the community's use of specific linguistic forms or vocabulary. The contextual variation depends on formality, location, the word's meaning to the speakers in context, age, gender and other social characteristics (Wanjiku, 2018: 42 - 44). In this variation, I analyse words that vary depending on the context of use among the Kipemba speakers and determine whether the variation is generic or zone-specific to Kipemba.

Finally, the conceptual variation includes onomasiological and semasiological variation. Onomasiological variation occurs when a referent is named using various distinct lexical categories. On the other hand, semasiological variation is when one lexical item refers to different referents (Geeraerts et al. 2012: 3-4). Regarding the theoretical concepts expounded above, I discuss generic lexical variation in Kipemba along the eight thematic lexical domains discussed below.

5.3.1. The names of household items

In my lexical data questionnaire, I asked my respondents, mainly children and adults, male and female, to name household items they know. For the children, the data I collected was quite interesting. The data on this thematic domain show that most household items they mentioned reflected their economic status, location, gender, and age. The students from lower economic status seemed to name more traditional household items made of wood, palm trees and clay. In contrast, those from better economic backgrounds listed items made of metals or silverware than their lower-class counterparts. The economic status of my participants was determined mainly by geography, as most participants from rural areas were a relatively lower class than those from urban areas. That is perhaps why the data show significant variation between rural and urban. The data show that children from rural areas were more conversant with locally made wooden and earthenware household items than their urban counterparts, and vice versa. Gender-wise, girls were more conversant in naming household items prolifically and accurately relating to the kitchen and general cleaning than boys. An elaborate discussion on social variation is covered at length in chapter eight.

On the other hand, adult respondents across Pemba seemed more familiar with a range of household items made from palm trees, wood, earthenware and silverware compared to children. Another point of interesting discussion is how some household items differ conceptually. Whilst most words relating to earthenware are no longer used, some household names have undergone a dramatic onomasiological change. For instance, some old words have

acquired new names but retain their original meanings. New ones replace these old names due to the invention. In most cases, however, the old names are used and the new ones interchangeably, as shown in an example below.

(49) Variation in household names of items in Kipemba

Old word (Not used or rarely used)	Make	Active word (used now)	Make	Gloss
<i>chungu</i>	clay	<i>sifuria</i>	metal	pot
<i>dishi</i>	metal	<i>sifuria</i>	metal	pan
<i>mafya</i>	clay	<i>jiko la gesi/oveni</i>	clay	cooker/oven
<i>kidoo</i>	plastic	<i>kisado/ndoo</i>	plastic	small bucket
<i>ntungi</i>	Clay/ceramic	<i>ndoo/dumu</i>	plastic	bucket
<i>hando</i>	metal	<i>ndoo/dumu</i>	plastic	bucket
<i>kata</i>	wood	<i>gilasi/kopo/ bilauri</i>	plastic, metal, glass	drinking scoop
<i>upawa</i>	wood	<i>Kijiko cha nchuzi</i>	metal	broth scoop
<i>buli</i>	metal	<i>birika/ chupa ya chai</i>	Plastic, metal	kettle

The terms in the above list of household item names, among many observations and findings, are known generically throughout and from across eight linguistic zones in Pemba. The Kipemba users, disregarding their gender, age, class, education and regional background, were familiar with most household items. Some names relating to household items are only found in specific zones hence covered later in chapter seven. Another observation from the Table above is the nature of variation and the status of words used in daily communication. As noted from the Table above, old words offer us at least three options for variation. For instance, some words are no longer or rarely used and have been replaced by new ones. The best example for this option involves the words whose make is different from old (clay, wood, raffia) to new (plastic, ceramic and metal), as shown in the examples below:

(50) The old Kipemba household items that are no longer or rarely used and their replacement.

Old word	Gloss	Make	New word (replacement)	Make	Gloss
<i>mafya</i>	Cooking pods	clay	<i>kuka, oveni, seredani</i>	metal	cooker, oven
<i>kibiya</i>	earthen bowl	clay	<i>kibakuli</i>	plastic, glass, metal	bowl
<i>kata</i>	drinking scoop	wood	<i>kopo, bilauri</i>	plastic, glass, metal	mug, glass
<i>kapu</i>	basket	raffia leaves	<i>mfuko, begi, kiroba</i>	plastic	Bag, sack

<i>nkeka</i>	mat	raffia leaves	<i>zulia, busati</i>	plastic	rug, carpet
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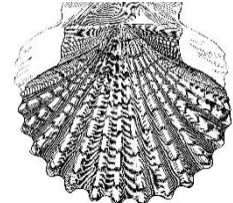

Another scenario where variation in household items occurs is when the item has changed its name, but the make remains the same; for example, *kidoo* ('bucket') and *kisado* ('bucket'). These words have acquired new names from the findings, but in most cases, the old, though to a lesser degree, and the new words are used interchangeably. Lastly, if the item was previously made of clay, raffia leaves or wood and now it is made of plastic, ceramic, metal or glass, the old form of the word is now unpopular drinking and not actively in use. For example, the drinking scoop (*kata*) was made of palm tree products and wood in the old days but has since been replaced by mugs and glasses. Likewise, *pakacha* (palm leaves bag), *nkoba* (raffia bag), and *upawa* (curry scoop), all made of wood or leaves, have been replaced by plastic, fabric, and metal items recently.

5.3.2. The names of seashells and sea creatures with hard shells

Collecting seashells is a centuries-old tradition for women and children in Pemba. I, therefore, decided to include this thematic lexical domain in my questionnaire to investigate whether there were variations in the names of seashells and sea creatures with exoskeletons. I will begin with a disclaimer that my major shortcoming in this lexical domain was my substantial deficiency of knowledge of English equivalent names of some seashells. Before I proceed further, I should begin with a humble disclaimer that some names of seashells presented here may not have their English equivalent terms. Still, I have the images of each item used here to show, which in this case, would not be an issue during data collection and, later, in data analysis. However, I used pictures or images of the items hoping that with them, I could locate some English names of some seashells, and most notably, it proved helpful for respondents to identify the objects.

In this lexical domain, I noted a few observations about the names of seashells. The questionnaire that prompted my participants to name the seashells was administered to all school children in Pemba. Even though Pemba is an island surrounded by the sea, some linguistic zones have no sea nearby. In this regard, children from the "land-locked" zones seemed deficient in their knowledge of the seashells and sea creatures with exoskeletons compared to those living near the sea. Surprisingly, despite naming lesser items than the children who lived close to the sea, children from around Pemba were familiar with and could identify most seashells, as shown in Table 5.3 below.

Below are the images of various seashells and sea creatures with shells I used in my questionnaire to collect data from my respondents. The images were collected from various open online sources, and as a researcher, I put forward my no-ownership disclaimer for these images. I have only used the pictures as a part of fair use policy and for demonstration purposes, but I reserve no rights to the images, and I admit are not all my own.

1. 	2.. 	3. 
4. 	5. 	6. 
7. 	8. 	9. 
10. 	11. 	12. 









13. 	14. 	15. 
16. 	17. 	18. 
19. 	What are the names of the items in pictures 1 to 20?	20. 

Table 5.3: The images of seashells and sea creatures with shells

The data collected were then separated zonally into two geographical zones – North and South, as shown in Tables 5.3 and 5.4. The percentages indicate how much the word compares along and across linguistic zones. For example, if the similarity is 100% it means the word is similar across all zones and 75%, the word is only similar across 6 linguistic zones.

Item number	KPN 1	KPN 2	KPN 3	KPN 4	% of similarity (Based on four KPN zones)
1.	<i>Nyangale</i> <i>Nyamwanzi</i>	<i>Nyawale</i> <i>Simba</i>	<i>Nyawale</i>	<i>Nyawale</i>	100%
2.	<i>Dondo</i>	<i>Kunduza</i>	<i>Dondo</i>	<i>Dondo</i>	75%
3.	<i>N'kwi</i> <i>Kijenge</i>	<i>Nyedi</i>	<i>N'kwi</i>	<i>N'kwi</i>	100%
4.	<i>Fuma/Nyuo/Shanuo</i>	<i>Nyuo</i>	<i>Nyuo</i>	<i>Nyuo</i>	100%

5.	<i>Doko</i>	<i>Kamba doko</i>	<i>Doko Kamba mawe (Tandu)</i>	<i>Doko</i>	100%
6.	<i>Chanje N'kondo (Furukutu)</i>	<i>Kaa dondo</i>	<i>Kaa/ chanje kudu</i>	<i>Kaa dondo</i>	100%
7.	<i>Kungugu</i>	<i>Churambwa (Kungugu)</i>	<i>Chuwambwa (Kungugu)</i>	<i>Kungugu/ Chuwambwa)</i>	100%
8.	<i>Kaure</i>	<i>Kaure</i>	<i>Kaure</i>	<i>Kaure</i>	100%
9.	<i>Chanje</i>	<i>Shanje</i>	<i>Chanje</i>	<i>Chanje</i>	100%
10.	<i>Dundu Kome</i>	<i>Kome</i>	<i>Gunda Pembe</i>	<i>Dundu</i>	100%
11.	<i>Tema mate Mbuzi</i>	<i>Shaza</i>	<i>Chaza</i>	<i>Chaza</i>	75%
12.	<i>Nyedi</i>	<i>Vibwasa</i>	<i>Kodwe Kijinu</i>	<i>Kodwe</i>	50%
13.	<i>Tondo</i>	<i>Tondo</i>	<i>Tondo</i>	<i>Tondo</i>	100%
14.	<i>Kiti cha Pweza</i>	<i>Kiti cha Pwani</i>	<i>Kiti cha Pweza</i>	<i>Kiti cha Pweza</i>	100%
15.	<i>Kombe mwamba</i>	<i>Kombe</i>	<i>Kombe</i>	<i>Kombe</i>	100%
16.	<i>Korong'ngo</i>	<i>Korong'onjo</i>	<i>Korong'onjo</i>	<i>Korong'onjo</i>	100%
17.	<i>Kasa</i>	<i>Kasa</i>	<i>Kasa</i>	<i>Kasa</i>	100%
18.	<i>Fukulile</i>	<i>Fukulile</i>	<i>Fukulile</i>	<i>Fukulile</i>	100%
19.	<i>Renga Pau</i>	<i>Kombe mashikio</i>	<i>Ringa Pau</i>	<i>Ringa Pau</i>	100%
20.	<i>Chekea mwezi</i>	<i>Kizingiriko</i>	<i>Mbaramwezi (Kibangwa)</i>	<i>N'nara mwenzi</i>	75%

Table 5.4: The images of seashells and sea creatures with shells

On the other side of this lexical domain, I compared the responses on the seashell names from another four southern Pemba linguistic zones, as shown in Table 5.5 below.

Item number	KPS 5	KPS 6	KPS 7	KPS 8	% Similarity (Based on four KPS zones)
1.	<i>Nyaale</i>	<i>Nyaale</i>	<i>Kome Nyaale</i>	<i>Nyaale</i>	100%
2.	<i>Kungugu arabu</i>	<i>Kisharifu</i>	<i>Gunda</i>	<i>Gunda</i>	50%
3.	<i>Kijenge</i>	<i>Mwamize</i>	<i>Karakacho Dodoki</i>	<i>Karakacho</i>	50%
4.	<i>Shanuo Fuma</i>	<i>Fuma</i>	<i>Shanuo Ujumba</i>	<i>Fuma</i>	100%

5.	<i>Kamba</i>	<i>Kamba doko</i>	<i>Kamba</i>	<i>Kamba kiDoko</i>	100%
6.	<i>Chanje</i>	<i>Chanje harusi</i>	<i>Kaa Chanje</i>	<i>Chanje kijiwe</i>	100%
7.	<i>Kungugu</i>	<i>Kungugu</i>	<i>Kungugwa</i>	<i>Kungugu</i>	100%
8.	<i>Kaure</i>	<i>Kaure</i>	<i>Kaure</i>	<i>Kaure</i>	100%
9.	<i>Kaa Chanje</i>	<i>Chanje kijiwe</i>	<i>Chanje Chanjwe</i>	<i>Chanje</i>	100%
10.	<i>Kijinu Kome</i>	<i>Kome</i>	<i>Chumbika</i>	<i>Kome nyike</i>	75%
11.	<i>Chaza</i>	<i>Shakiroro</i>	<i>Chaza</i>	<i>Tema mate Chaza</i>	75%
12.	<i>Chonya Sonya</i>	<i>Vijinu</i>	<i>Kodwe Sonya</i>	<i>Vishikio vya mwamba Sonya</i>	75%
13.	<i>Tondo</i>	<i>Tondo</i>	<i>Suka/ tondo</i>	<i>Tondo</i>	100%
14.	<i>Kiti cha Pweza</i>	<i>Kiti cha pweza</i>	<i>Kiti cha Pweza</i>	<i>Kiti cha Pweza</i>	100%
15.	<i>Kombe</i>	<i>Chaza/ kombe</i>	<i>Kombe jike</i>	<i>Kombe mchanga</i>	100%
16.	<i>Tage</i>	<i>Koromonjo</i>	<i>Tage</i>	<i>Tage</i>	75%
17.	<i>Kasa</i>	<i>Kasa</i>	<i>Kasa</i>	<i>Kasa</i>	100%
18.	<i>Fukufuku</i>	<i>Kote kibanda</i>	<i>Fukulile</i>	<i>Fukulile banda</i>	75%
19.	<i>Kombe Renga</i>	<i>Ziba sikio</i>	<i>Renga</i>	<i>Kombe Renga</i>	75%
20.	<i>Mwanyazi Manyezi</i>	<i>Koa wa Pwani</i>	<i>Koa wa Pwani</i>	<i>Koa wa Pwani</i>	75%

Table 5.5: The respondents' responses to the names of seashells or sea stuff with shells in Southern Kipemba Linguistic zones

From the response on the above names of seashells and their names across Kipemba linguistic zones (Table 5.4), it was found that 75% (15 of 20) of the seashells' names are similar across and throughout four Northern and Southern Kipemba Pemba linguistic zones. Although there are some variations (25%) in the names and, sometimes, pronunciation of some words, the meaning and the items referred to are similar. For instance, *chaza* ('seashell, mussels') and *chanje* ('crab'), the two words are spelt as *shaza* and *shanje* in KPN 2, but elsewhere in Pemba, they are spelt as *chaza* and *chanje*, respectively. Despite the variations in spelling and pronunciation, the study found that the words mean the same thing throughout and across eight Kipemba linguistic zones. However, this acknowledges slight phonological variations between Kipemba linguistic zones that I attempt to address in chapter seven of this study. Another fascinating observation about variation in seashells in Kipemba is the expansivity of the names

referring to seashells. Kipemba has an extensive vocabulary for a wide range of semantic domains. In other words, Kipemba is rich in synonyms – where one meaning of a thing or an item can be expressed by more than one word, in this regard, the names of seashells in Kipemba are not an exception. Looking back at Table 5.4 one might think some entries are different, but that is not true. This study found that the speakers know most names not mentioned in one area from other parts of Pemba.

A good example is the hermit crab, known in Pemba as *nyedi*, *n'kwi* or *kijenge*. The names for hermit crabs seemed to vary across four Kipemba linguistic zones. The same applies to *kungugu* ('shell cypraea Tigris schilderiana'), which has other names familiar to all the speakers across the four northern linguistic zones in Pemba. In this regard, it can be concluded that variation in names for seashells in Kipemba is more semasiological than geographical, contextual or social.

5.2.3. Kinship names

Like other previous lexical domains, Kinship names were shared by 75% of the population (precisely the same as the variation in the names of seashells) across and throughout eight linguistic zones. An intriguing observation about this lexical domain is that some kinship words in Kipemba are archaic. Hence, they are no longer found or used in most linguistic zones in Pemba. The names considered dated or out fashioned include *nkazahau* ('maternal uncle's wife') and *lahau* ('-in-law, male'). Others are *umbu* ('sibling or elder brother or sister you cannot marry'), *mbuya* ('lover male or female, mistress, side chick'), *chachi* ('maternal aunt'), *lahali* ('friend, colleague'), and *muamu* ('brother-in-law'). In recent times, the names *man'dogo* and *man'kuu* have been replaced by *haloo* and *mpuu* in most parts of Pemba, perhaps, due to modernisation, where new ways of life are replacing the old ones. The coming of new technology, electricity, social media, mobile communications, and industrial innovations is some factors for modern changes that feed into the variation in Kipemba. The taboo words that children and youth are not expected to use at any time are those connoting genitalia, marital affairs and related words such as *umbu* (*mahram*), *mbuya* (mistress, girlfriend), and *nchuchu* (mistress, girlfriend) and the likes. Apart from children and youths, these are still familiar amongst Kipemba speakers throughout Pemba, and some, remain zone specific and will be covered at length in chapter seven.

5.3.4. Traditional Kipemba food, pastries and delicacy

Traditional Pemba culture is rich in food, pastries and delicacies that can only be found in Pemba. For the food, pastries and delicacies with other cultures in the Swahili east African littoral, Pemba offers names that may be unfamiliar in other cultures and Swahili varieties. In this lexical domain, I noted a list of names (Table 5.4) representing Swahili food, pastries and delicacies in Pemba.

Number and the name of the item	Meaning
1. <i>Nsambwija</i>	Cassava meal pounded with raw banana.
2. <i>Kikomba</i>	Cooked raw jackfruit meal
3. <i>Sheli (sheli sheli)</i>	Breadfruit meal
4. <i>Muhogo</i>	Casava meal
5. <i>Ugali wa muhogo/bada</i>	Stiff cassava flour meal
6. <i>Wali</i>	Cooked rice
7. <i>Vipopoo</i>	Cassava flour made pastries of some shape – round, folded or curved.
8. <i>Nkate wa Gaye</i>	a traditional wheat flour bread baked on a raw banana tree leaf on an earthen pot
9. <i>Makopa</i>	Square or circular-shaped pastries made from cassava flour
10. <i>Makapushi</i>	Cassava flour pastries closely similar to <i>makopa</i> and <i>vipopoo</i>
11. <i>Mapapasa</i>	Same or closely similar to <i>makopa</i> , <i>makapushi</i>
12. <i>Tenei/Utawi</i>	Cooked raw mango meal
13. <i>Shoshoni</i>	Forest-bound root tuber similar to potato used to make edible flour
14. <i>Biye</i>	A water-bound root tuber similar to sweet potato used for food
15. <i>Kombo alawi</i>	A type of pastry that looks like a donkey ear prepared and served on festivities in Pemba
16. <i>Kaimati</i>	A type of pastry similar to kebab fried and then immersed into sugary sauce locally called " <i>shira</i> "
17. <i>Mahamuri</i>	Buns
18. <i>Visheti</i>	A kind of pastry commonly eight-shaped form fried and sprinkled with sugar
19. <i>Nkate wa nchele</i>	Rice cake
20. <i>Bumunda</i>	A kind of traditional bread, usually big and thick, made from wheat flour and baked on a raw banana leaf in an earthen pot.

Table 5.6: Traditional food, pastries and delicacies in Kipemba (traditional and modern)

I also wanted to know whether the names are predominant and familiar to most Kipemba speakers across Pemba. The Table below summarises the list of words I found generic among the Kipemba speakers.

My observations and findings of the above lexical domain show that most of the names above are familiar, though some are not used frequently, throughout Pemba. Most names of traditional foodstuffs and traditional pastries such as *makopa*, *vipopoo*, *uchochoni*, *biye*, and most names of the food made from cassava flour and the foods themselves have become less popular in recent times, especially in urban areas of Pemba. In chapter one, I highlighted that agriculture is one of the significant economic activities of the people of Pemba. However, recent factors ranging from climate change, modernisation and the improved economic status of the people have resulted in the diminishing popularity of cassava or cassava flour-made foodstuff. The shrinking agricultural activities have also led to the fall in Pemba's subsistence crops, especially fruit and grain production. The fall in food crop production also significantly impacted lexical terminologies related to food in Pemba. Traditional food such as *kikomba*, made of jackfruit, *tenei*, made from mangos, *sheli sheli*, made from breadfruit; and *nsambwija* (a concoction of cooked cassava and plantain), are becoming less popular; hence, these terms are becoming partially active, and passive and some extinct. For example, *nsambwija* is partially active, especially in rural Pemba, but is becoming less popular daily. The food is no longer on the regular household menu. As for *tenei* (raw mango stew), also called *utawi* in Utenzi zone, is now passive as the food is no longer popular even among the heritage fans in Utenzi, Micheweni and Tumbe zones. The *kikomba*, *biye* and most food foodstuffs, such as those made of cassava flour, are almost extinct in Kipemba. Their names can rarely be heard in daily communication, mentioned only for specific functions or specific cultural references. Like other lexical domains, most names of traditional food, pastries and delicacies are becoming unpopular amongst children and youth, perhaps, because of modernisation and improved economic conditions that bring modern dishes and pastries into households in Pemba.

5.3.5. Farming and agricultural vocabulary

In the above sub-section, I highlighted that agriculture was and still is one of the major economic activities of the people of Pemba. In Pemba, the most popular crops grown on a small scale are rice, cassava, sweet potatoes and plantain. Besides cassava and plantain farming, rice and sweet potatoes are seasonal crops. In this study, I was keen to know whether there are variations in the names of subsistence crops in Pemba. From the interviews with participants

from eight linguistic zones in Pemba, I compiled a list of species of cassava, sweet potatoes, rice and banana or plantains in Kipemba, as seen in Table 5.7 below.

Names, Types/ species of Agricultural vocabulary			
a) Cassava	b) Sweet Potatoes	c) Rice	d) Banana/Plantain
1. <i>Sepide</i>	<i>Mwatamu</i>	<i>Kihogo</i>	<i>N'zuzu/izu</i>
2. <i>Juma Kali</i>	<i>Mpumbavu</i>	<i>Ringa</i>	<i>N'kono wa Tembo</i>
3. <i>N'sitiri</i>	<i>N'kerewa</i>	<i>Kidunari</i>	<i>Pukusa</i>
4. <i>Ndege</i>	<i>Shangazi</i>	<i>Haliuku</i>	<i>Kiguruwe</i>
5. <i>Pira</i>	<i>Rikwata</i>	<i>Baramata</i>	<i>Kisukari</i>
6. <i>Mwari</i>	<i>Kandoro</i>	<i>Sotea</i>	<i>Boko/Koroboi</i>
7. <i>Rikunde</i>	<i>Ndiba</i>	<i>Kijivuli</i>	<i>N'twike</i>
8. <i>Majoka</i>	<i>Kibakuli</i>	<i>Iri</i>	<i>Kijaluba</i>
9. <i>Kibiriti</i>	<i>Kanzinda</i>	<i>Supa</i>	<i>Bukoba</i>
10. <i>Ali Hassani</i>	<i>Matako si Kijio</i>	<i>Sada Shaame</i>	<i>Kikonde</i>
11. <i>M'buyu</i>	<i>N'kwabi</i>	<i>Kokoti</i>	<i>N'sinyori</i>
12. <i>Kaputele</i>	<i>Beka</i>	<i>Madevu</i>	<i>Kifupa</i>
13. <i>Jawa</i>	<i>Nguzo</i>	<i>Kijivuli</i>	<i>Kijakazi</i>
14. <i>N'daikacha</i>	<i>Kibaraza</i>	<i>Kidula</i>	<i>Ali Hassani</i>
15. <i>N'zungu</i>	<i>Mwendambio</i>	<i>N'vivu kwa Nongwa</i>	<i>N'lali</i>
16. <i>Kipusa</i>		<i>Kitumbo</i>	<i>N'ficha Chana</i>
17. <i>Magereza</i>		<i>Rahika</i>	<i>Bungala</i>
18. <i>Kilimo</i>		<i>Saro</i>	<i>N'ngazija</i>
19. <i>Mbega</i>		<i>Kibawa</i>	<i>Twana</i>
20.		<i>Pichori/ Bichori</i>	

Table 5.7: Different names of food crops – cassava, sweet potatoes, rice and banana/plantain found in Pemba (no gloss is provided due technicality of the terms used here)

The names of agricultural produce in Pemba also vary slightly between one zone and another. While this feature appears more linguistic, other factors, such as weather, climate, and geographical features, contribute to the variation. As stated in chapter one, Pemba is geographically diverse and has varying climatic conditions. Geographically, South Pemba is

hilly and fertile for agricultural Kipemba-specific have been replaced by words for new items mainly made from silverware or aluminium. It might sound rather unusual that the change in the material used for a particular item leads to a change in the name of the item of similar shape and function. However, this is very true for Kipemba. For example, the pots once made of clay (earthen pots) were called *chungu* and *kijungu* but when the same referents were later made of silver or aluminium, their names changed into *dishi* or *sufuria* (pans and pots). Likewise, a serving bowl made of clay is called *kibiya* (earthen bowl), but it is called *kibakuli* (bowl) with aluminium or plastic. Most traditional Kipemba earthenware, food, pastries, and household items have had their names inactive because they no longer exist and have been replaced by other items of different make and new names. The names of Kipemba traditional foods, usually made of cassava and cassava flour, are somewhat inactive or extinct nowadays.

Similarly, most names of earthenware are now either extinct or have had their names replaced by the innovation of similar items. Household items such as *kibia* and *chungu* ('earthen pots') and traditional food and pastries such as *makopa* and *mapapasa* ('cassava flour-made pastries') are rare or extinct and thus no longer actively used. During my fieldwork, only adult and elderly respondents would identify and name these items. The second scenario is when the item existed with the same name previously, but for some reason, the new generation finds the name outdated and coins a new one for the same item. Some traditional Kipemba pastries, including 'Kombo Alawi', also called *mashikio* ('ears'), *nkate wa gawe* (a kind of pancake) and *bumunda* are becoming less popular among new-generation Pembans and according to this study, only less than 20% of youth and children knew some of these names. Kinship terms also offer some interesting findings. The words such as *nkazahau* (aunt), *chachi* (father's maternal sister), *muamu* (brother-in-law) and *lahau* (father-in-law) have since been replaced with new words such as *shangazi*, *shemegi*, and *bamkwe*, respectively. However, some of these kinship names are still used in some linguistic zones in Pemba.

One significant observation is that over 80% of the lexical categories discussed in this chapter seemed familiar to Kipemba speakers, even though there were minor lexical variations in the common Kipemba vocabulary used across and throughout eight Kipemba linguistic zones. According to the lexical data collected and analysed here, the variation in vocabulary is less than 30% in Kipemba. This finding implies that there is more considerable similarity in the Kipemba vocabulary spoken across the island. The minor lexical differences were found mainly among individual speakers and small groups of people in a small area in Pemba, which may not affect the larger linguistic zone. However, it is still premature to conclude whether Kipemba is one variety, or a collection of varieties spoken in Pemba without investigating

zone-specific linguistic features in Kipemba. It is also too early to comment on the long-standing assumption of variation between urban and rural Kipemba from a linguistic point of view. However, the findings from phonological data provide an early indication of increased contact and diffusion of new linguistic features from Kiunguja and the Standard Swahili into some linguistic zones, such as those in the Western parts of Pemba, with Nkoani West and Nkumbuu zones being affected the most.

Chapter 6: Generic Morphosyntactic features in Kipemba

6.1. Introduction

One of the main objectives of this study is to identify, describe and document morphosyntactic features generic to Kipemba. The word ‘generic’ is used in this study to refer to the linguistic features found, though in varying degrees, throughout and across the eight linguistic zones of Pemba. The rationale for studying, identifying, describing and documenting the linguistic features generic to Kipemba emanated from the perennial question of whether Kipemba is a regional variety or is a collection of several varieties spoken in Pemba, as discussed in the previous chapters. However, the answer to this question may not be possible without studying the features of Kipemba shared throughout and across Pemba. This chapter aims to answer the question raised in the previous studies by documenting generic morphosyntactic features in Kipemba. The term generic, as used in this context, should not be misconstrued as claiming that the content covered in this chapter is exhaustive; quite the opposite, it is an attempt to document and analyse variation among morphosyntactic features in Kipemba in its broadest expanse possible. During analysis and discussion, this chapter refers loosely to the parameters of morphosyntactic variation in Bantu proposed in Marten, Kula, and Thwala (2007) and from the draft master list developed by Guérois, Gibson, and Marten (2017). The chapter aims to study and document the following morphosyntactic thematic groups of analysis in Kipemba:

- Nouns and Class Agreement
- Pronominal forms
- Determiners
- Adverbs and Adjectives
- Verbs
- Copula verbs
- Object Markers
- Relative forms
- Tense and Aspect

Along the above works I have also referred to the recent works of Makoto Furumoto (2020, 2021 and 2022) on Zanzibar Swahili dialects (Kimakunduchi in particular) to strengthen the depth of my analysis. In the next section, I analyse and discuss various pronominal forms in Kipemba compared to Standard Swahili.

6.2. Generic morphosyntactic features in Kipemba.

In this subsection, I analyse morphosyntactic features in the linguistic data collected across and throughout Pemba. Below, I examine, with examples, the noun classes' agreement,

pronominal forms, tense and aspects, and relative and locative constructions, among others, starting with the noun classes and their agreements in Kipemba.

6.2.1. Noun classes and class agreements in Kipemba

Bantu languages are popularly known for the ‘noun class systems in which nouns are allocated to one of typically 15-20 noun classes (or grammatical genders) based on semantic and phonological factors’ (Gibson, Guérois and Marten, 2019: 217). In Swahili (unless otherwise indicated, this term refers to Standard Swahili in the following discussion), noun classes are a topic that has been broadly investigated and published. A substantial number of scholars, including Ashton (1944), Craig (1986), Schadeberg (1992), Contini-Morava (1994, 2002), Krifka (1995), Amidu (1997), Alcock (2000), Marten (2000), and Mpiranya (2015) have studied Swahili noun classes and agreement broadly. In this section, I refer briefly to some ideas proposed in some of these works. However, I rely mainly on the data I collected in Pemba to investigate linguistic variation in Kipemba. In Swahili traditional noun class analyses, ‘noun stems are subdivided into eleven classes, each marked by characteristic prefixes’ paired to represent singular and plural forms (Contini-Morava, 2002:10). The paired noun classes are noun classes 1 to 10 and 11/14. Each number in a pair represents a singular or plural form of a noun presented, although this is not the case for other noun classes. In addition, there are classes 15 and locative classes 16, 17 and 18.

In Kipemba, noun classes are, by and large similar to standard Swahili. However, minor variations, especially in augmentative and diminutive classes, were found between Kipemba and standard Swahili and between Kipemba spoken in the Western and Eastern zones. Since there is plenty of work on noun classes in standard Swahili, I focus my analysis on noun classes in Kipemba. Table 6.1 below shows nominal classes in Kipemba.

Class & Prefix	Prefix before vowel	Example
1 (n/m)	n/mw	<i>ntu nke</i> (woman, lit. female) <i>mama</i> (mother) <i>mwana</i> (child) <i>nungu</i> (porcupine)
2 (wa)/m/n	w(a)/ m/n	<i>watu wake</i> (women, lit. female persons) <i>mama</i> (mother) <i>wana</i> (children) <i>nungu</i> (porcupine)
3 (n/m)	m(w)	<i>nti</i> (tree) <i>mpapai</i> (papaya tree) <i>mwezi</i> (moon, month)
4 (mi)	mi/ m(y)/n(y)	<i>miti</i> (trees) <i>mipapai</i> (papaya trees) <i>myezi/nyezi</i> ¹² (moons, months)
5 (ji)	(j-)	<i>jicho</i> (eye)
6 (ma)	ma- mi- (3/4 combinatorial)	<i>macho</i> (eyes)/ <i>mijicho or mimacho</i> (big eyes)
7 (ki/ch)	ky	<i>kisu</i> (knife) <i>chombo</i> (utensil), <i>kyombo</i> ¹³ (Vessel)
8 (vi)	vy-/vi-	<i>visu</i> (knives) <i>vyombo</i> (utensils)
9 (n')	ny-	<i>nyama</i> (meat)
10 (n')	ny-	<i>nyama</i> (meats)
11 (u)	u-/uw-/w-	<i>uso</i> (face) <i>uwezo</i> (ability) <i>wema</i> (kindness)
15 (ku)	ku-/kw-	<i>Kupenda</i> (to love) <i>kwenda</i> (to go)
16 p(a)/ po	p(a)	<i>pahali</i>
17 (ku)/ko	kw-	<i>kwahali</i>
18 (mu)/ mo	mw-	<i>mwahali</i> (<i>mahali</i> is not common in Kipemba)

Table 6.1 Noun classes in Kipemba

6.2.2. Augmentative and Diminutive forms in Kipemba

The data from this study shows that Kipemba has some “unusual” ways of forming augmentative and diminutive forms. What I found peculiarly interesting is that the augmentative and diminutive classes in Kipemba are not only confined into class 5/6 and 7/8

¹² These forms are mainly zone-specific features in Pemba’s Northern and Eastern parts.

¹³ This feature is also zone-specific, found mainly in Pemba's North and eastern parts.

as known by many, in Kipemba these forms apply to all noun classes especially class 1 to 11. However, when augmentative and diminutive forms are used along other noun classes tow changes occur. First, the noun changes its original agreement into the agreement of the augmentative or diminutive class and second, another layer of semantic meaning is added or slightly alter the meaning to the original meaning as part of a derivation or secondary classification (refs, e.g., Maho or Gibson et al. diminutive paper). In my study on Kipemba, I find augmentative formation also very interesting because, apart from using class 5 “ji” to form augmentative in other classes, in Kipemba, the “n” (class 9) is also used to form augmentative forms as in example, (52b-c). From the data collected in Pemba, same as the Standard Swahili, the following were the possible scenarios where noun classes 5/6 and 7/8 were used to add a layer of semantic role between them and among other noun classes as shown in examples (51) and verbal agreement (52) below.

(51)Kipemba (Augmentative class 5 with Class 1 and Preposition -a of association)

Ji-tu la Bopwe
 5-person 5-CON Bopwe
 ‘The (big) man from Bopwe.’

(52) Kipemba (Augmentative class 5 with Class 1 and Verbal agreement)

- a. *Ji-tu li-shib-a-lo*
 5-person SM5-be-full-FV-REL5
 ‘The (big) man that eats well’.
- b. *N-ji-tu u-shibao*
 9-5-person SM3-be full-FV-REL3
 “The big man that eats well”
- c. *N-shimo u-chimbw-a-o*
 9- hole/pit SM3-dig-FV- REL3
 The big pothole being dug

As noted above, examples (51) and (52a) involves and animate noun, “mtu” (person) which is by default, noun class 1 and 2. However, using augmentative form “ji” as in “jitu” (hulk, giant) has not only altered the noun class of the word “mtu” (1-2) but it has, indeed added an extra semantic layer on the word, change its noun class to 5 – 6, which consequently leads to the change in entire noun class agreement (concord). This also applies to all augmentative forms shown in 52b-c above. Rather fascinating, the use of “n” (class9) as augmentative marker is quite unusual but very common form used more frequently than the “ji” augmentative form. What I find particularly interesting about changing these nouns into augmentative and diminutive classes, affects the user’s perception on meaning for both augmentative or

diminutive forms – structure and function. For example, in (51), the word “mtu” sounds ordinary man or person. Calling this very same name, “jitu” or “n’jitu” makes it not only huge, but somehow, unpleasant. Likewise, changing the same word, “mtu” into diminutive, as in “kijitu” (little, tiny man), makes the person not only small but also unpleasant, unusual or strange and to add another semantic layer, the diminutive here may connote, “contempt” to the subject referred.

Diminutives are formed with classes 7 and 8, which are used with other noun classes to denote smallness and sometimes unpleasantness or pejoration. For example, *jiwe* (‘stone’ class 5) becomes *kijiwe* (‘c.a pebble, a small stone’ class 7). In some cases, the diminutive class is combined with class 5 to form diminutiveness, as shown below:

(53) Examples of diminutive formations

- Class 1: *ntu* (‘person’)
- Class 5 and 7: *Kijitu* (‘unpleasantly small man’)
- Class 3: *nkono* (‘arm, hand’)
- Class 7 (and class 5, sometimes): *kikono/kijikono* (‘a tiny hand’)
- Class 5: *jicho* (eye).
- Class 7: *kijicho* (a tiny eye)
- Class 9: *nyumba* (house)
- Class 7 and 5 combined: *Kijumba* (a tiny house)
- Class 11: *uso* (face)
- Class 7 and 5 combined: *kijuso* (a tiny little face)

Like augmentative forms, the diminutive class can combine with other parts of speech, such as prepositions (54), verbal agreements (55), and many more.

(54) Kipemba (Diminutive class 7 with Class 1 and -a- of association)

<i>Ki-bibi</i>	<i>ch-a/ky-a</i>	<i>Kiuyu</i>
7-(poor) older_woman	7-PREP	Kiuyu
‘Poor older woman from Kiuyu’		

(55) Kipemba (Diminutive class 7 with class 1 and verbal agreement)

<i>Ki-bibi</i>	<i>ki-uy-u</i>
7-(poor) - older woman	SM7-return-FV
‘The poor older woman has returned.’	

Unlike the augmentative form, there are no diminutive plural forms in Kipemba. From the findings, it can be concluded that the examples discussed here are generic in Kipemba used throughout and across eight Kipemba linguistic zones, especially by the children, adolescents,

youth and young adult speakers. These features, are however, rare in use for adults and older adults since they may in most cases consider using them as a sign of disrespect to others.

6.2.3. Pronominal forms in Kipemba

Kipemba, like standard Swahili, has personal, possessive and demonstrative pronouns.

a. Personal pronouns:

There are six contrastive personal pronouns, each denoting a person in the singular and plural forms. They are contrastive because they slightly differ in structure from the pronominal form of Standard Swahili. In Kipemba, as in Standard Swahili, each personal pronoun has corresponding subject prefixes used with a range of grammatical categories, mainly verbs, to denote the subject, as shown in Table below:

Person	Pronoun in Kipemba	Subject Prefix (Affirmative)	Subject Prefix (Negative)	Example (<i>kuja-</i> to come)
1 st Sing. (I, me)	<i>mie/miye</i>	<i>n (a), -m-</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>naja/siji</i>
2 nd Sing (You)	<i>weye</i>	<i>u/w (a) (ku)*</i>	<i>hu</i>	<i>uje/ waja/ huji (kunkuja)*</i>
3 rd Sing (S/he)	<i>yeye</i>	<i>yu/ (a) (ka)*</i>	<i>ha-</i>	<i>yuaja /aja/ haji (kankuja)*</i>
1 st Plural (We)	<i>siye</i>	<i>tu/tw(a)</i>	<i>hatu-</i>	<i>tuje/twaja/hatuji</i>
2 nd Plural (You)	<i>nyiyeye</i>	<i>m(u)/mw (a)</i>	<i>ham (u)</i>	<i>Muje/mwaja/hamji</i>
3 rd Plural (they, them)	<i>wao</i>	<i>w(a)</i>	<i>hawa</i>	<i>waja/hawaji</i>

Table 6.2: Nominal Class 1 and 2 Personal Pronouns in Kipemba.

Table 6.2 shows different pronominal forms for noun classes 1 and 2 in Kipemba. In most cases, the phonological and morphological variation occurs when /m - n/ nasal alternation occurs. In chapter five, I have analysed and explained in greater detail that Kipemba /m - n/ alternation is a predominant phonological feature in Kipemba. This feature can assume a more significant morphosyntactic implication in Kipemba. The subject prefix *ni-* can be realised as /n-/ and, in some cases, as /n-/. Let me take two examples from two verbs, *taka* (want) and *kupa* (give), realised as *nataka* (I want), *ntaka* (I want), whereas *kupa* (to give) becomes *mpa* (give me) and not *n'pa* (give me). Both n (a), n- and m- were used in this example. The nasal prefix /n-/ used here results from the nasal place assimilation of /n-/ and /m-/ in Kipemba. It is also important to note that the nature of the consonants and vowel forms involved primarily determines this phonological process (nasal alternation) in Kipemba. Another form of variation noted here is more morphological than phonological. In the Table above are the prefixal forms of the second person (*u/w, a, and ku*), where *ku-* as in *kunkuja* (you have come) is unique and restricted to

perfective forms only. Similarly, the third-person singular ‘*yu*’ and the variant ‘*a*’ and ‘*ka*’ as in *yuaja*, *aja* and *kankuja* – the first two meanings, meaning ‘s/he comes’ and the latter being perfect form, ‘s/he has come’. The first two prefixes *yu-* and *a-*, are the same; thus, their variation is more stylistic than morphological or phonological. On the other hand, the prefix *ka-* is quite a unique pronominal subject prefix restricted to perfective forms used with the third-person singular only. During my fieldwork, I noted a typical instance where the third person *ka-* in Vitongoji (KPS 5) is used in the folksongs, as seen in the verse below. The *ku-* and *ka-* perfective pronominal subject forms are explained in the later sections of this chapter.

(56) Kipemba (Vitongoji, KPS 5, Pungwa Folk songs)

Kombo *baba-yo* *ka-n-kuj-a?*
 (Person’s name) father- 3. POSS 1.SM. SG – PERF- come -FV
 ‘Kombo, has your father come?’

In Kipemba, like in Standard Swahili, the pronominal forms above can be combined with various functional and morphological categories. These include verbs (including to have), copulas, locative forms, tenses, aspects, and moods, which is why there are various variable subject pronominal forms in Kipemba. For example, the first person singular subject prefixes *n(i)-* can operate with verbs, locative copula constructions, and subjunctive and conditional forms. It also works with future, narrative and narrative tenses in Kipemba. The Table below summarises the combinatorial nature of varying subject pronominal forms in Kipemba. A detailed analysis of each grammatical component discussed in the Table that follows is explained later in this chapter and chapter seven.

(57) Affirmative Subject Prefixes and their accompanying grammatical functions in Kipemba.

Person and Subject Prefixes	Subject prefixes used with a verb, locative, to have and TAM (examples used with verbs ‘ <i>kuja</i> ’ (to come) and ‘ <i>kupa</i> ’ (give))
<p>1st Sing</p> <p>a) <i>n(a/i)-</i> used with present, subjunctive, to have, conditionals and some locative forms</p> <p>b) <i>n(a/e) –</i> past forms, perfect, to have, and locative.</p> <p>c) <i>m-</i> used with bilabial sounds only</p>	<p>a) <i>naja</i> (I am coming – present prog) <i>nije?</i> (Should I come? -subjunctive) <i>nikija/ningekuja</i> (If I come/ I would have come- conditionals) <i>nipo</i>(I am here - <i>ko, mo</i> – locative) <i>nna/nina</i> (I have – present)</p> <p>b) <i>nekuja</i> (I came- past) <i>neepo</i> (I was there- <i>ko,mo-</i> locative) <i>nen</i>a (I had -past)</p> <p>c) <i>mpa</i> (give me)</p>

<p>2nd Sing</p> <p>a) u- used with subjunctive, to have, conditionals and some locative forms</p> <p>b) w(a/e) - used with present, past forms, to have, and locative</p> <p>c) ku – Perfect form</p>	<p>a) <i>uje</i> (You should come - <i>subjunctive</i>) <i>ukija</i> (if you come- <i>conditional</i>) <i>upo</i>(Are u there- <i>ko,mo</i> - <i>present locative</i>) <i>una</i> (You have- <i>present to have</i>)</p> <p>b) <i>Waja</i> (you come- <i>present</i>) <i>Wekuja</i> (you came - <i>past</i>) <i>Wengekuja</i> (you would have come -<i>conditional</i>) <i>weepo</i>(<i>you were there- ko, mo</i> - <i>past locative</i>) <i>wena</i> (you had - <i>past to have</i>)</p> <p>c) <i>Kunkuja</i> (you have come - <i>perfect</i>)</p>
<p>3rd Sing</p> <p>a) yu - Used with present, subjunctive, to have, conditionals and some locative forms</p> <p>b) a/ e - Past forms, to have, and locative</p> <p>c) ka- Perfect form</p>	<p>a) <i>yuaja</i> (s/he is coming - <i>present</i>) <i>yupo</i> (<i>s/he is around</i> - <i>ko,mo</i> – <i>present locative</i>) <i>yuna</i> (s/he has - <i>present, to have</i>)</p> <p>b) <i>aja</i> (s/he comes - <i>present</i>) <i>aje</i> (s/he should come -<i>subjunctive</i>) <i>akija</i> (if s/he comes - <i>conditional</i>) <i>ekuja</i> (s/he came - <i>past</i>) <i>engekuja</i> (s/he would have come -<i>conditional</i>) <i>eepo</i> (s/he was there - <i>ko,mo</i> – <i>past locative</i>) <i>ana</i> (s/he has- <i>present, to have</i>) <i>ena</i> (s/he had - <i>past, to have</i>)</p> <p>c) <i>Kankuja</i> (s/he has come - <i>perfect</i>)</p>
<p>1st Pl</p> <p>a) Tu</p> <p>b) Tw(a/e)</p>	<p>a) <i>tuje</i> (we should come - <i>subjunctive</i>) <i>tukija</i> (if we come - <i>conditional</i>) <i>tupo</i> (we are here- <i>ko,mo</i> – <i>present locative</i>) <i>tuna</i> (we have - <i>present, to have</i>)</p> <p>b) <i>twaja</i> (we come - <i>present</i>) <i>twekuja</i> (we came -<i>past</i>) <i>twengekuja</i> (we would have come- <i>conditional</i>) <i>tweepo</i> (we were there - <i>ko, mo</i> – <i>past locative</i>) <i>twena</i> (we had - <i>past, to have</i>)</p>
<p>2nd Pl</p> <p>a) M(u)</p> <p>b) Mw(a/e)</p>	<p>a) <i>muje</i> (you should come - <i>subjunctive</i>) <i>mukija</i> (when you come - <i>conditional</i>) <i>mupo</i> (you are there - <i>ko,mo</i> – <i>present, locative</i>) <i>muna</i> (you have - <i>present, to have</i>)</p> <p>b) <i>mwaja</i> (you come - <i>present</i>) <i>mwekuja</i> (you came - <i>past</i>) <i>mwengekuja</i> (you would have come- <i>conditional</i>) <i>mweepo</i> (you were here - <i>ko,mo</i> – <i>past, locative</i>) <i>mwena</i> (you had - <i>past, to have</i>)</p>
<p>3rd pl W(a/e)</p>	<p><i>waja</i> (they come- <i>present</i>) <i>wakija</i> (if they come - <i>conditional</i>) <i>waje</i> (they should come- <i>subjunctive</i>) <i>wapo</i> (they are there - <i>ko,mo</i> – <i>present, locative</i>)</p>

	<i>wekuja</i> (they came- <i>past</i>) <i>wengekuja</i> (they would have come- <i>conditional</i>) <i>weepo</i> (they were present- <i>ko, mo – past, locative</i>) <i>wana</i> (they have - <i>present, to have</i>) <i>wena</i> (they had - <i>past, to have</i>)
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b. Possessive Pronouns

In Standard Swahili, there are ‘two types of possession constructions. The one is a class of possessive pronominal stems generalised across all types of possessive relation. The other is a class of possessive suffixes which are restricted to (extended) kinship relations’ (Marten et al., 2023:6). Six possessive pronominal stems represent these possessive constructions making a distinction between 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person’s singular and plural forms:

	Singular	Plural
1 st	-angu	-etu
2 nd	-ako	-enu
3 rd	-ake	-ao

Table 6.3: Standard Swahili Possessive Pronominal Stems (Ashton, 1947:55).

One of the most significant observations about Kipemba pronominal possessive forms, which stands as the rule in my observation, because they change depending on the noun classes, a feature also found in Standard Swahili. In Kipemba, unlike Standard Swahili, there are seven possessive pronominal forms. These include the first six proposed by Ashton above and a generic 3rd person singular possessive form *-ngwa* (‘someone’s’) being the seventh, as shown in example below:

(58) Possessive Pronominal Stems in Kipemba

Person	Singular	Examples and gloss	Plural	Examples
1 st	<i>-angu</i> (<i>my</i>)	<i>ntoto wangu</i> (<i>my child</i>)	<i>-etu</i> (<i>our</i>)	<i>ntoto wetu</i> (<i>our child</i>)
2 nd	<i>-ako</i> (<i>your</i>)	<i>ntoto wako</i> or <i>ntotowo</i> (<i>your child</i>)	<i>-enu</i> (<i>your</i>)	<i>ntoto wenu</i> (<i>your child</i>)
3 rd	<i>-ake</i> (<i>his/hers</i>)	<i>ntoto wake</i> or <i>ntotowe</i> (<i>his/her child</i>)	<i>-ao</i> (<i>their</i>)	<i>ntoto wao</i> (<i>their child</i>)
Generic or anonymous 3 rd person	<i>-ngwa</i> (<i>somebody’s</i>)	<i>ntotongwa</i> (<i>someone’s child</i>)	<i>n/a</i>	<i>n/a</i>

Example (58) shows that some possessive pronominal forms in Kipemba, such as 2nd, 3rd singular and the generic possessive form *-ngwa*, have two distinct variants. The suffixes *-wo*

or *-yo* are added for the second person singular, depending on the noun class used. For example, the kinship terms *baba* ('father'), *dada* ('sister'), *kaka* ('brother'), and *mama* ('mother') originally belong to classes 9 and 10 (though in most cases, are treated as animate class 1 and 2) when used with the second, third and with the generic possessive pronominal form *-ngwa*. In Kipemba, the kinship names with the 'cliticised' pronouns read *babayo*, *dadayo*, *kakayo*, and *mamayo* for the second person. Likewise, the kinship names will read *babaye*, *dadaye*, *kakaye* and *mamaye* in the third person singular form. The same applies to *-ngwa* as *babangwa*, *mamangwa*, *kakengwa* and *dadengwa*. Possessive pronominal forms are also a feature of old Swahili. The discussion on using suffixal possessive stems in old Swahili is covered concisely in Marten et al. (2023) Chapter on morphosyntactic variation in Standard and old Swahili. However, from the data collected throughout Pemba, I noted that possessing possessive forms in suffix position is becoming less popular in everyday Kipemba use, especially in the urban and west-based Kipemba linguistic zones. Even though possessive stems in suffixal position are still prevalent throughout Pemba, the data show that these pronominal forms are used predominantly in the Kipemba speech forms in Pemba's Eastern and Northern zones. In the Western zones, however, most Kipemba possessive forms are becoming less popular as the new features from Kiunguja and the standard Swahili are diffused and accommodated into Kipemba speech forms.

As noted earlier, in Kipemba, possessive forms apply and agree with all other noun classes, and to avoid stating the obvious, I see no need to repeat every noun class here. In Kipemba, the locative class can also be used with locative nouns from other noun classes (except classes 1 and 2) using the locative suffix *-ni*. An exciting example of this came to light when one of the participants performed 'boso' folk song called *n'dondoo* for me. Boso is a traditional folk dance usually played with roughly eight drums of various sizes and rhythms in Pemba. From a linguistic point of view, the word *n'dondoo* comes from the verb *dondoa*, which means 'choose punctiliously'. In boso folk culture, *n'dondoo* is the first or early stage of the dance that usually begins with slow beats that tend to increase gradually as the audience continues to gather and get more enchanted by the mixture of drums and humorous, poetic songs. It is characterised by the random but prudent choice of short, highly metaphoric, moralistic poems that aim to warn, instruct and, most importantly, entertain. This song included the following lines:

(59) Kipemba (Boso folk song)

Kake Saidi Makame, n'tu si mbwa!
N'tu haachi n'jiwe kwa n'jingwa!
Elalia semedari nyumbaningwa!

Gloss

Brother Said Makame, a (sound) man, is not (in the likes of) a dog!
A (sound) man can not abandon his town for somebody's (town)!
He slept on a (conjugal) bed in somebody's house!

I find the verse from the folk song above fascinating due to its use of figurative language and linguistic significance. The locative nouns *n'ji* ('city/town') and *nyumba* ('house') were metaphorically used to mean "wife/partner" or, in simple terms, wedlock/marriage. Interestingly, the two nouns – '*n'ji*' and '*nyumba*' were used with the pronominal possessive stems, *we-* (his/hers, 3rd person, singular) as in *n'jiwe* ('his/her city') and the generic *ngwa-* in *nyumbaningwa* ('somebody's house'). The word *nyumbaningwa*, is already in a locative form – which for me, was even more interesting to note that the possessive forms can also combine with a locative noun and, most peculiarly, in suffix position. However, from the data, I noted that nouns from other classes in their locative forms can also take suffixal possessive forms, as seen in the examples below:

(60) Locative nouns from classes 3 and 4 and possessive forms (2nd and 3rd person) in Kipemba

- a. *n-koba-ni-po* (also *nkobaniko* and *nkobaninmo* – 2nd person)
3-basket- LOC – 16. Poss (your)
'At/in your bag.'
- b. *n-koba-ni-pe* (also *Nkobanikwe* and *Nkobanimwe* – 3rd person)
3-basket- LOC- 16. Poss (his/hers)
'At/in his bag.'
- c. *n-koba-ni-ngwa* (3rd person anonymous)
3-basket- LOC – 3. Poss (Somebody's)
'At/in someone's bag.'

(61) Locative nouns from classes 5 and 6 and possessive forms (2nd and 3rd person)

- a. *Gari-ni-po* (also *gariniko*, *garinimo*)
5.car-LOC- 16.Poss (your)
'In/at your car'
- b. *Gari-ni-pe* (also *garinikwe*, *garinimwe*)
5.car-LOC- 16.Poss (His/hers)
'In/at his/her car'
- c. *Gari-ni-ngwa*
5.car-LOC- 3.POSS
'In/at someone's car'.

(62) Locative nouns from classes 7 and 8 used with possessive forms (2nd and 3rd person) in Kipemba.

a. *Kibanda-ni-po* (also *kibandaniko, kibandanimo*)
7. hut- LOC- 16.Poss (your)
'In his/her hut'

b. *Kibanda-ni-pe* (also, *kibandankwe, kibandanimwe*)
7. hut- LOC- 16. Poss
'In his/her hut'

c. *Kibanda-ni-ngwa*
7.car-LOC- 3.POSS
'In/at someone's hut'.

(63) Locative nouns from classes 9 and 10 and possessive forms (2nd and 3rd person).

a. *Nyumba-ni-po* (also, *nyumbaniko, nyumbanimo*)
9.house-LOC-16.Poss (your)
'In/at your house.'

b. *Nyumba-ni-pe* (also, *nyumbanikwe, nyumbanimwe*)
9.house-LOC-16.Poss (his/hers)
'In/at his/her house.'

c. *Nyumba-ni-ngwa*
9.car-LOC- 3.POSS
'In/at someone's house.'

(64) Locative nouns from class 11 and possessive forms (2nd and 3rd person).

a. *Uso-ni-po* (also, *usoniko, usonimo*)
11.face-LOC-16.Poss (your)
'On your face.'

b. *Uso-ni-pe* (also, *usonikwe, usonimwe*)
11.face-LOC-16
'On his/her face.'

c. *Uso-ni-ngwa*
11.face-LOC-16.Poss
'On someone's face.'

Beyond locative nouns, possessive forms in Kipemba can also occur with verbs. In this case, the possessive forms usually assume the possessive forms from classes 9 and 10 and, in some specific linguistic zones, from classes 7 and 8. The examples below show the possessive forms used with the verbs:

(65) Kipemba (Possessive forms used with verbs)

- a. *Naja zangu* (I am coming back, myself)
- b. *Nenda zako* (You should go, yourself)
- c. *Nende zake* (S/he should go, him/herself)
- d. *Twende zetu* (We should go, ourselves)

e. *Mwende zenu* (You should go, yourselves)

What I find interesting about the possessive forms that modify verbs, there are, in this very instance, used as emphatic reflexives and not as used previously. Another significant point of interest is that not all possessive for can occur with verbs. A typical example is the generic third-person form *-ngwa*. However, other variable possessive forms of the above are only zone-specific and will be discussed in Chapter seven.

c. The demonstrative Pronouns

Schadeberg (1992:18) describes demonstrative using a three-way distinction between distal, proximal, and referential demonstratives. In Standard Swahili, these are formed schematically:

- Proximal: h + V + Cd, i.e., *huyu, hawa*
- Distal: cd + le, i.e., *yule, wale*
- Referential: h + V + Cd + o, i.e., *huyo, hao*.

The demonstrative forms in Kipemba are the same as in standard Swahili. There is slight phonological variation in Kipemba demonstrative forms. In Kipemba, the glottal fricative /h/ is usually deleted in proximal and referential demonstrative forms:

- Proximal: \emptyset + V + Cd, i.e. *'uyu, 'awa*
- Distal: Cd + le, i.e., *yule, wale*
- Referential: \emptyset + V + Cd + o, i.e., *'uyo, 'ao*.

The example below shows different demonstrative forms and their examples in Kipemba.

(66) Possessive Pronominal Stems in Kipemba

Person	Demonstrative forms	Examples in Kipemba
This (near singular)	<i>'uyu</i>	<i>n'tu n'ke 'uyu</i> (This woman)
These (near-plural)	<i>'awa</i>	<i>'watu wake 'awa</i> (These women)
That (reference)	<i>'uyo</i>	<i>n'tu n'ke 'uyo</i> (That woman - reference)
Those (reference)	<i>'ao</i>	<i>watu wake 'ao</i> (Those women - reference)
That (far singular)	<i>yule</i>	<i>n'tu n'ke yule</i> (That woman)
Those (far, plural)	<i>wale</i>	<i>watu wake wale</i> (Those women)

The remaining noun classes follow the same rules and structure as those in the example above and are summarised in the examples below:

(67)Kipemba – class 3 and 4 demonstratives

Proximal: $\emptyset + V + Cd$, i.e. *uu, ii* (*mti uu/ miti ii* – This tree/these trees)

Distal: $cd + le$, i.e. *ule, ile*

Referential: $\emptyset + V + Cd + o$, i.e. *uo, iyo*

(68)Kipemba – class 5 and 6 demonstratives

Proximal: $\emptyset + V + Cd$, i.e. *ili, aya* (*gari ili/ magari aya* – This car/ these cars)

Distal: $cd + le$, i.e. *lile, yale*

Referential: $\emptyset + V + Cd + o$, i.e. *ilo, ayo*

(69)Kipemba – class 9 and 10 demonstratives

Proximal: $\emptyset + V + Cd$, i.e. *ii, izi* (*nyumba ii/ nyumba izi* – This house/these houses)

Distal: $cd + le$, i.e. *ile, zile*

Referential: $\emptyset + V + Cd + o$, i.e. *iyo, izo*

(70)Kipemba – class 11 demonstratives

Proximal: $\emptyset + V + Cd$, i.e. *uu, izi* (*Uso uu/ nyuso izi* – This face/ these faces)

Distal: $cd + le$, i.e. *ule, zile*

Referential: $\emptyset + V + Cd + o$, i.e. *uo, izo*

(71) Kipemba – class 16, 17 and 18 demonstratives

Proximal: $\emptyset + V + Cd$, i.e. *apa, umu, uku* (*mahali apa/ mahala umu/uku* – This place)

Distal: $cd + le$, i.e. *pale, kule, mule*

Referential: $\emptyset + V + Cd + o$, i.e. *apo, uko, umo*

6.2.4. Determiners and Prepositions

- *Determiners*

Kipemba, like Standard Swahili, has no articles, but a few determiners are found from the data collected in Pemba. In Kipemba and Standard Swahili, determiners are almost identical but vary slightly depending on the noun class involved and geographical locations. Determiners covered in this section include *ote-* ‘all’, *o-ote-* ‘any’, *pi-* ‘which’ and *enyewe* ‘-self’, and ‘-selves’. These determiners appear with agreement prefixes following the verbal inflectional structure. Table 6.15 summarises the determiners and their verbal prefixes in Kipemba. The genitive and ‘ornative’ prepositions *a-* and *enye* and the verbal subject prefixes for each class are presented separately after the determiners. This section refers to and is based on findings from Hinnebusch and Mirza (1998:230), Mdari and Ngala (2008: 8), Beat (2015: 124), and Mpiranya (2015: 25 - 37) to adapt and construct the Table on determiners below.

Class	Determiners				Verbal Prefix
	-ote (all)	-o -ote (any)	-pi (which)	-enyewe (self)	Subject
1.	<i>n/a</i>	<i>yoyote</i> (<i>yoyosi</i>)	<i>yupi</i> (<i>yu'</i>)	<i>mwenyewe</i> (<i>mwenyiwe</i>)	<i>a , yu</i>
2.	<i>wote</i> (<i>wosi</i>)	<i>wowote</i> (<i>wowosi</i>)	<i>wapi</i> (<i>wa'</i>)	<i>wenyewe</i> (<i>winyiwe</i>)	<i>wa</i>
3.	<i>wote</i> (<i>wosi</i>)	<i>wowote</i> (<i>wowosi</i>)	<i>upi</i> (<i>uu'</i>)	<i>wenyewe</i> (<i>winyiwe</i>)	<i>wa</i>
4.	<i>yote</i> (<i>yosi</i>)	<i>yoyote</i> (<i>yoyosi</i>)	<i>ipi</i> (<i>ii'</i>)	<i>yenyewe</i> (<i>yenyiwe</i>)	<i>ya</i>
5.	<i>lote</i> (<i>lyosi/lyote</i>)	<i>lolote</i> (<i>lyolyote</i>)	<i>lipi</i> (<i>lii'</i>)	<i>lenyewe</i> (<i>lyenyewe/lyenyiwe</i>)	<i>l/ly</i> (<i>a, e, i</i>)
6.	<i>yote</i> (<i>yosi</i>)	<i>yoyote</i> (<i>yoyosi</i>)	<i>yapi</i> (<i>yaa'</i>)	<i>yenyewe</i> (<i>yenyiwe</i>)	<i>ya</i>
7.	<i>chote</i> (<i>kyote/kyosi</i>)	<i>chochote</i> (<i>chochosi</i>)	<i>kipi</i> (<i>kii'</i>)	<i>chenyewe</i> (<i>chenyiwe</i>)	<i>ki/ ch/ ky</i> (<i>a, e, i</i>)
8.	<i>vyote</i> (<i>vyosi</i>)	<i>vyovyote</i> (<i>vyovyosi</i>)	<i>vipi</i> (<i>vii'</i>)	<i>vyenyewe</i> (<i>vyenyiwe</i>)	<i>vi/vy</i> (<i>a, e, i</i>)
9.	<i>yote</i> (<i>yosi</i>)	<i>yoyote</i> (<i>yoyosi</i>)	<i>ipi</i> (<i>ii'</i>)	<i>yenyewe</i> (<i>yenyiwe</i>)	<i>i</i>
10.	<i>zote</i> (<i>zosi</i>)	<i>zozote</i> (<i>zozosi</i>)	<i>zipi</i> (<i>zii'</i>)	<i>zenyewe</i> (<i>zenyiwe</i>)	<i>zi</i>
11.	<i>wote</i> (<i>wosi</i>)	<i>wowote</i> (<i>wowosi</i>)	<i>upi</i> (<i>uu'</i>)	<i>wenyewe</i> (<i>wenyiwe</i>)	<i>u</i>
12.	<i>n/a</i>	<i>n/a</i>	<i>n/a</i>	<i>n/a</i>	
13.	<i>n/a</i>	<i>n/a</i>	<i>n/a</i>	<i>n/a</i>	
14.	<i>wote</i> (<i>wosi</i>)	<i>wowote</i> (<i>wowosi</i>)	<i>wapi</i> (<i>waa'</i>)	<i>wenyewe</i> (<i>wenyiwe</i>)	<i>u</i>
15.	<i>kote</i> (<i>kosi</i>)	<i>kokote</i> (<i>kokosi</i>)	<i>kupi</i> (<i>kuu'</i>)	<i>kwenyewe</i> (<i>kwenyiwe</i>)	<i>ku</i>
16.	<i>pote</i> (<i>posi</i>)	<i>popote</i> (<i>poposi</i>)	<i>papi</i> (<i>paa'</i>)	<i>penyewe</i> (<i>penyiwe</i>)	<i>pa</i>
17.	<i>kote</i> (<i>kosi</i>)	<i>kokote</i> (<i>kokosi</i>)	<i>kupi</i> (<i>kuu'</i>)	<i>kwenyewe</i> (<i>kwenyiwe</i>)	<i>ku</i>
18.	<i>mote</i> (<i>mosi</i>)	<i>momote</i> (<i>momosi</i>)	<i>mupi</i> (<i>muu'</i>)	<i>mwenyewe</i> (<i>mwenyiwe</i>)	<i>mu</i>

Table 6.4: Nominal Class Determiners in Kipemba

Table 6.4 shows the determiners in Kipemba. The data from the study found that Kipemba, mainly spoken in the urban and western zones of Pemba, share the same forms of determiners with Standard Swahili. The findings also show slight variation in the forms of determiners in some Kipemba linguistic zones, but these will be discussed in Chapter Seven. The determiners in the bracket are also found in old Swahili and are shared with Kipemba. They constitute some of the old, distinctive Kipemba linguistic features currently used predominantly by older people in the eastern zones of Pemba. Since the determiners in the bracket are zone specific, I reserve

them for discussion in Chapter seven. Another relevant point of discussion is on the variation in verbal forms within secondary classification using the noun classes 1 and 2 (animate), 5 and 6 (augmentative), and 7 and 8 (diminutive). These noun classes tend to differ between those in Kipemba and Standard Swahili. Again, I reserve the discussion on the verbal prefixes later when I focus on Kipemba verbs, structure and tense, aspects, and moods in Kipemba.

- **Prepositions**

In this section, I analyse two major preparations in Kipemba. The first is an *-a* - of association, and the other is *enye* ('having'), as used in Kipemba. In Kipemba, prepositions are the same as those in Standard Swahili. However, as it is for determiners, there are minor variations in the forms of prepositions in augmentative (5 and 6) and diminutive (7 and 8) classes. Since these variations are zone specific, I address them in Chapter seven.

6.2.5. Adjectives and Adverbs

- **Adjectives**

Most Bantu adjectives (including Swahili and Kipemba) may fit around two morphological categories – inflecting and invariable adjectives. The inflecting adjectives take a prefix that indicates the noun class of their referent. Invariable adjectives, in contrast, do not take any prefix. One unique characteristic that applies to, perhaps, all adjectives in Swahili and Kipemba is their property to follow the noun they modify. In this section, I analyse and describe various forms of adjectives found in Kipemba based on the fieldwork data collected throughout and across eight Kipemba linguistic zones.

'Plain adjectives or 'free-standing' adjectives do not take concords. The linguistic data collected throughout Pemba shows that these adjectives stand alone and do not show overt agreements with other parts of speech, and most of the free-standing adjectives are loanwords. Adjectives such as *rahisi* ('cheap'), *ghali* ('expensive'), *laini* ('soft'), *dhaifu* ('weak') and are some free-standing adjectives.

In contrast to invariable adjectives, some inflecting adjectives take a prefix with an adjectival concord. The adjectival agreement in Kipemba is primarily similar to those of Standard Swahili except for the classes 1 and 3 in (72) and (73), below where there is /n/-/m/ nasal alternation in Kipemba, a feature not found in Standard Swahili.'

(72) Kipemba (Invariable adjectives class 1 and 2 – n/m – wa)

a. *N-toto n-zuri / Wa-toto wa-zuri*

1-child 1-good/2-child 2-good

“A good child/good child”

b. *M-pemba n-zuri/Wa-pemba wa-zuri*

1-pemba 1- good/ 2-pemba 2-good

“A good Pemban/ Good Pembans”

As noted in the previous Chapter, *n-m* nasal alternation occurs in some phonological environments in Kipemba. In most cases, the prefix *-n-* is used as in (72a) above and whenever there is a bilabial sound such as /p/, /b/ and /m/ as in (72b) above.

(73) Kipemba (Invariable adjectives class 3 and 4 – n/mi)

N-ti n-refu / Mi-ti mi-refu

3-tree 3-tall/ 4-tree 4- tall

“A tall tree/the tall trees”

Some slight zone-specific variations in adjectives, especially in possessive *-enye* are explored in chapter seven.

- **Adverbs**

Despite their linguistic significance, adverbs form one of the least explored parts of speech in Swahili and Kipemba. Among the few publications on adverbs in Swahili is a recent work of Zahran and Bloom Ström (2022), which discusses the rise of Swahili adverbs in phrasal polarity. Another relevant publication is Safari’s (2012: 89-91) Swahili language course, which discusses three common adverbs based on time, manner and place. From the data I collected throughout Pemba, I found that Kipemba shares almost the same forms or adverbs as Standard Swahili. The example (74) below shows examples of adverbs found generically across and throughout eight Kipemba linguistic zones.

(74) Some examples of adverbs shared between Standard Swahili and Kipemba.

Time	Manner	Place	Frequency/degree	Means/instruments	Cause
<i>asubuhi</i> (morning)	<i>haraka</i> <i>haraka</i> (fast)	<i>mlimani</i> (on the hill/mountain)	<i>nadra</i> (rarely)	<i>kwa gari</i> (by car)	<i>kwa hivyo</i> (therefore)
<i>mapema</i> (early)	<i>pole pole</i> (slowly)	<i>nyuma</i> (behind)	<i>papo kwa papo</i> (intermittently)	<i>kwa miguu</i> (by foot)	<i>hivyo</i> (so, thus)
<i>maghribi</i> (late evening)	<i>taratibu</i> (with care)	<i>usoni</i> (in front of)	<i>saa zote</i> (all time)	<i>kwa ndoana</i> (by hook)	<i>matokeo yake</i> (as a result)

Even though adverbs are similar between Kipemba and the standard Swahili, this study also found a handful of adverbs that are zone specific to Kipemba and are covered a more detail in chapter seven.

6.2.6. Verbs – The structure of a verb in Kipemba

The structure of a Swahili verb is, in its complete form, composed of the markers for subject, tense, relative, and object, followed by the verb root and extensions (STROVE), as shown in the example below:

(75) Standard Swahili (Verb structure)

A-li-ye-ni-pik-i-a

SM1-PST-REL1-OM1SG-cook-APPL-FV

‘The one who cooked for me!’

From the data collected in Pemba, there is no variation in the verb structure between Kipemba and Standard Swahili. However, in Swahili, the verbs must agree with a noun class involved in the verbal constructions. This study noted slight variations in the verbal agreement between Kipemba and Standard Swahili. For example, In Kipemba, classes 1 and 2 have two verbal forms – *a-* and *-yu* but Standard Swahili has *-na-* only as show in examples (76 a-b) and (77a-b) below demonstrate the verbal forms for classes 1 and 2 in Kipemba.

(76)a. Kipemba (Verbal prefixes, class 1)

A-som-a

SM1.PRES-read-FV

‘S/he reads/studies.’

b. Standard Swahili

A-na-som-a

SM1-PRES-read-FV

“S/he reads/studies”

(77)a. Kipemba (Verbal prefixes, class 1)

Yu-a-som-a

SM1-PRES- read-FV.

‘S/he reads.’

b. Standard Swahili

A-na-som-a

SM1-PRES-read-FV

“S/he reads/studies”

The verbal prefix forms also show two minor variations in the augmentative class in Kipemba. The data shows the variation between Kipemba and Standard Swahili. For example, in Standard Swahili, the verbal prefix for class 5 is *li-* and for class 6, *ya-*. In Kipemba, the two forms are

represented by *l-* (class 5) and *ya-* (class 6). The example below (not segmented) is from the Kipemba *n'sondo* folk song, which I recorded as a part of my linguistic observation in Pemba. Kipemba (Nsondo folksong).

(78) *Mama njoo uniushe gogo laja iloo, we!*
Mwanangu usilie, sikiza nkwambie ndiko kuolewa uko, we!

'Mama, take me away; the log is coming my way.

Oh, weep not, my daughter, let me tell you, that is how it is when you get married.'

In example (78), I have underlined the phrase *gogo laja* ('the log is coming my way'), considering the word *gogo* is a class 5 noun, and *laja* is a verb conjugated with the class 5 prefix *l-*. The underlying verbal prefix is *la-*, but here it surfaces as *l-*, due to the following /a/ vowel of the present tense marker *a-* which leads to vowel elision. In Standard Swahili, the sentence corresponding to (78) would use the class 5 verbal prefix *li-* instead of *l(a)* - and read as *gogo linakuja* instead of *gogo laja*, employing a different present tense construction with *na-*. Even though it can be argued that *laja* I insisted is from Kipemba can also be found in some published works such as newspaper headlines and literature, my observation and findings differ categorically with such arguments. In my observation, what distinguishes Standard from Standard Swahili is that Standard Swahili must comply with strict grammatical rules and structures, including a verb structure marked with appropriate tenses such as *linakuja* instead of *laja*. In this regard, the use of *laja* in published works does not necessarily, or not at all, confirm it is standard but a spoken, somewhat colloquial form of Swahili found in most non-standard varieties of Swahili in Northern and Southern clusters.

6.2.7. The Kipemba Copula Constructions

The lack of sufficient in-depth morphosyntactic documentation characterises the study on copula verbs and constructions in Bantu. Recently, studies on copula constructions in Bantu have started to sprout, significantly adding to the gap in linguistic documentation in copula. Of considerable relevance to my research here are the studies by Marten (2013) and a recent, in-depth study on variation in copula constructions in Bantu by Gibson et al. (2019). In their comparative study on Bantu copula constructions using five languages – Mongo, Rangi, Digo, Swahili and Cuwabo, Gibson et al. (2019) provide an insightful, comparative study demonstrating variation in Bantu copula constructions. Kipemba is a regional variety of Swahili that, similar to Swahili, employs a wide range of copula constructions – some are similar to Swahili, and some are different. In this section, I refer predominantly to the structure

and the domains of analysis outlined in this work to analyse and investigate variations in copula constructions in Kipemba, also referring to the Standard Swahili for comparison. My analysis of copula constructions in Kipemba, as highlighted earlier, is guided by three domains of analysis of copula constructions as proposed by Gibson et al. (2019: 3). The three domains used to assess and analyse Kipemba copula constructions are:

- a. Formal means of expressing predication
- b. Combinatorial properties of different copula and
- c. Restrictions on interpretation and distribution.

In the next section, I demonstrate various forms of copula verbs. I show that copula verbs in Kipemba are used to express predication. In addition, I examine the combinatorial properties and restrictions on interpreting Kipemba copula constructions.

In the copula constructions, Bantu languages ‘employ a morphological copula as the basis for nonverbal predication. This morphological copula can be (a) invariable — showing no concord with the nominal subject. The invariable copula, in this case, acts as the predicative base. It can also be (b) an inflected form which hosts subject information’ (Gibson et al. 2019: 216). In Standard Swahili, the invariable copula is represented by *ni* in the affirmative form and *si* in the negative form. However, in Kipemba, no form *ni* can be analysed as an invariable copula verb.

In most cases, the copula changes depending on the phonological environment, as shown in examples (79) and (80). From the data collected throughout Pemba, I found no invariant copula in Kipemba. All copula forms are inflected and have combinatorial properties. They can occur with locative and referential pronominal markers to express predication. In examples (79), (80) and (81), the variable copula *ni* (which is rare to find as it is in Kipemba) is used as a formal means of expressing predication.

(79) Kipemba (Ntambwe, KPN 1, Adult, Male)

Hi-yo n-kazi (Standard: *Hiyo ni kazi*)
 DEM-9 COP-9. Task/job/work
 ‘That is a (huge) task.’

(80) Kipemba (Tumbe, KPN 4, Youth, Female)

W-a- it-w- a m'-babu-y-o (Standard: *Unaitwa ni babu yako*)
 SM2SG-PRES-call-PASS-FV COP-9. Grandfather-9-POSS2SG
 ‘Your grandfather calls you.’

As seen in examples (79) and (80), the copula *ni* exists but is rarely used in Kipemba speech forms. Instead, it is represented by a nasal prefix /n/ or /m/, depending on the given

phonological environment. Different uses and roles of nasal assimilation, including /n/ and /m/ as copula forms, were broadly discussed in Chapter five. One of the few instances I found *ni* used as a copula is when the following word begins with /n/, as in the example below.

(81) Kipemba (Micheweni, KPN 3, Adult, Female)

Miye ni nvyele-o (Standard: *Mimi ni mzazi wako*)
 PRO1SG COP 1. Parent-2. POSS2SG
 ‘I am your parent.’

The word *nvyele* used here is zone specific and used predominantly in northeastern Pemba. In other parts, primarily urban and western parts of Pemba, the word is replaced by *nzee* (‘parent’). Still, the same word *nzee* can be used with variable copula *ni* in the same way as in (81) above. Another instance where I found copula *ni* used in Kipemba is when a demonstrative form follows it, as in example (82) copula in Kipemba is the same as Standard Swahili:

(82) Kipemba (Tironi, KPS 8, Adult Male)

A-dangany-w-a ni u-le u-jasho
 SM1.PRES-deceive-PASS-FV COP 11-DEM 11- sweat.
 ‘S/he is deluded by his/her (youthly) sweat.’

In Kipemba, the inflectional copula *n-* can be used with locative forms. In Standard Swahili, the locative copula is “based on locative clitics or comitative prepositions”, adding that forms are usually used with interpretative restrictions (Gibson et al., 2019: 6). Similarly, in Kipemba, it can be used the same way as in Standard Swahili, but in most cases, without an overt locative copula affix.

(83) Kipemba (Kivuugo, KPN 2, Youth, Male)

YuPandani (Standard: *Yuko Pandani*)
 SM1.COP Pandani
 ‘S/he is at Pandani.’

(84) Kipemba (Gando, KPN 1, Adult, Female)

N'-gando mosi 'izi (Standard: *Niko Gando siku hizi*)
 COP-Gando 10.day DEM-10
 ‘I am in Gando nowadays.’

Like Standard Swahili, in Kipemba, the locative copula can also appear with *wh*-questions, as seen in example (85) below.

(85) Kipemba (Shumba Vyamboni, KPN 4, Youth, Male)

Aloo yu-wapi u-yu? (Standard: *Aloo yuko wapi huyu*)
 Hello SM1.COP-where DEM-1?
 ‘Hello, where is this (man)?’

In Kipemba, some pronominal (subject) prefixes can also be used as a copula. Below are the examples that show different pronominal forms used as copula in Kipemba:

(86) *Pronominal copulas in Kipemba*

Personal Pronoun	Pronominal Copula form		Examples	
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
<i>Miye</i>	<i>ni</i> <i>n</i> <i>m</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Miye ni ntu</i> (I am a person) <i>Miye nkakeyo</i> (I am your brother) <i>Miye mmameyo</i> (I am your mother)	<i>Miye si ntu</i> (I am not a person) <i>Miye si kakeyo</i> (I am not your brother) <i>Miye si mameyo</i> (I am not your mother)
<i>Weye</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>si</i> <i>hu</i>	<i>Weye u ntu</i> (You are a person)	<i>Weye si ntu</i> (You are not a person) <i>Weye hu ntu</i> (You are not a person)
<i>Yeye</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Yeye ni ntu</i> (S/he is a person)	<i>Yeye si ntu</i> (S/he is not a person)
<i>Siye</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>si</i> <i>hatu</i>	<i>Siye tu watu</i> (We are the people)	<i>Siye si watu</i> (We are not the people) <i>Siye hatu watu</i> (We are not the people)
<i>Nyiye</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>si</i> <i>hamu</i>	<i>Nyiye mu watu</i> (You are the people)	<i>Nyiye si watu</i> (You are not the people) <i>Nyiye hamu watu</i> (You are not the people)
<i>Wao</i>	<i>ni</i> <i>n</i> <i>m</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Wao ni watu</i> (They are not the people) <i>Wao n'kakezo</i> (They are your brothers) <i>Wao m'mamengwa</i> (They are someone's mother)	<i>Wao si watu</i> (They are not the people) <i>Wao si watu</i> (They are not the people) <i>Wao si mamengwa</i> (They are not someone's mothers)

The example (86) shows that Kipemba has numerous but variable pronominal copula forms except for the third person, which shares the same copula form with the Standard Swahili. This exception is more of a morphological constraint on a general phonological process. However, I find no further explanation to corroborate my assumption in this instance, but the Table above is self-explanatory.

Concerning combinatorial restrictions, *ni* and *si* negative copula can be used with proper nouns in Kipemba. Below, I present the examples where *-si-* negative copula appears with proper nouns (87), (88), and (89) and affirmative copula forms as they appear with other grammatical constructions such as possessive forms (90) and (91).

(87) Kipemba (Kipapo, KPS 5, Youth, Male)
Ali si ntu (w-a ku-chezea)
 Ali NEG.COP 1-person (1PREP 15-play)
 ‘Ali is not a person to mess with.’

(88) Kipemba (Negative copula *si* with demonstrative form)
Yu-le si Ali
 1-DEM NEG.COP Ali
 ‘He is not Ali.’

(89) Kipemba (Negative copula *si* with a personal pronoun)
Miye si Mpemba
 PRO1SG COP 1-Pemban
 ‘I am not Pemban.’

The inflectional copula forms in Kipemba can also be used as a possessive copula. The examples below confirm the following:

(90) Kipemba (Possessive copula with *ni*)
Weye ni w-angu
 PRO2SG COP 1-POSS1SG
 ‘You are mine.’

(91) Kipemba (Possessive with pronominal prefix)
Weye u w-angu
 PRO2SG COP 1-POSS1SG
 ‘You are mine.’

Other interesting findings about copula *ni* are their combinatorial properties which enable the copula to combine with different parts of speech (Pustet 2003: 7). In Swahili, the copula *ni* can only be used in the present indicative. In other tenses, ‘it is replaced by the verbal form *kuwa* ‘to be’, which can carry temporal and aspectual information’ (Gibson et al. 2019: 16). These findings are equally applicable to Kipemba, but with a slight variation to Standard Swahili. The examples below illustrate the findings.

(92) Kipemba (Variable copula *ni* with past tense)
N-e-kuwa n'-twefu mosi 'i-zi
 SM1SG -PAST-be 1-unwell 10. Day DEM-10
 ‘I was unwell these days.’

(93) Kipemba (Variable copula *ni* with perfect form)
Ku-n'-kuwa m'-buma
 SM2SG-PERF-be 1-big.
 ‘You have become big/ you are grown up.’

(94) Kipemba (Variable copula *ni* with future tense)
Tu-ta-kuwa wa-kali
 SM1PL-FUT-be 2-fierce.
 ‘We will become fierce/furious.’

In Kipemba, the variable copula *ni* can also be combined with other parts of speech. Below, the copula combines with a nominal (95a), an adjective (95b), an infinitive (95c) and a *wh*-question (95d).

(95) Kipemba (Combinatorial property of Variable copula *ni*)

a) *Ali ni n-tu m'baya*
 Ali COP 1-person 1-bad
 'Ali is a bad person.'

b) *Weye u-n-twefu* (also, *weye ni n'twefu*)
 PRON2SG SM2SG.COP-1-unwell
 'You are unwell.'

c) *Kazi-y-e n-ku-imba tu!*
 9. work-1-POSS3SG COP-15 -sing only
 'His/her job is singing (S/he always sings).'

d) *u-yu ni-ani?* (Also, *uyu nnani?*)
 DEM-1 COP-1.who?
 'Who is this (person)?'

In Kipemba, like in standard Swahili, copula constructions can express non-verbal predication. It can also combine with a range of other parts of speech but with some restrictions on interpretation and distribution. However, in Kipemba, like in standard Swahili, the variable copula *ni* 'cannot be associated with non-finite verb forms which host inflectional information on various categories, including noun class, person/number distinctions and tense' (Gibson et al. 2019: 18). The example (81) is grammatically incorrect because copula construction *ni* cannot appear before the and with a verb in Kipemba.

(96) **Ali ni a-li-let-a n'-tu m-baya*
 Ali COP SM1-PAST-bring-FV 1-person 1-bad.
 Intd.: 'Ali is brought a bad person.'

In this section, different copula forms and constructions were introduced. Cases of copula omission were not covered here, as they are zone specific and are covered in detail in Chapter Seven. In the next section, I analyse and discuss object marking in Kipemba.

6.2.7. Object Marking in Kipemba

Kipemba, as one of the regional varieties of Swahili, a Bantu language, owes much of its structure to Swahili and other languages of Bantu origin. Object marking in Bantu is a topic that has received considerable attention over the decades. A substantial number of works, each focusing on a specific aspect of object marking in Bantu, includes the works that defined the concept of object marking (e.g., Givón 1972, Duranti and Byarushengo 1977, Duranti 1979 Hyman and Duranti 1982). In addition, there is considerable work on the double object and applicative constructions (see Bresnan and Moshi 1990, Alsina and Mchombo 1993, Rugemalira 1993, Mchombo and Firmino 1999, Adams 2010) to name just a few. Studies such as those of Thwala (2006), Henderson (2006), Baker (2008), and Riedel (2009; 2022) also focused on examining the agreement and (or) pronominal incorporation in different Bantu languages. Besides, some works provided a detailed historical-comparative and typological overview of object marking, stressing mainly the morphology of object marking in Bantu (see Polak, 1986; Beaudoin-Lietz et al., 2004 and Poeta, 2017). Of particular interest is the work on ‘Object marking and morphosyntactic variation in Bantu’ by Marten and Kula (2012), which increases the broadness and depth of the topic by focusing on about 16 Bantu languages, including Swahili. Whilst object marking in most Bantu languages and Swahili, in general, has been studied extensively, in Kipemba, this is not the case.

This section closely follows the discussion, the methodology and parameters of analysis of object marking in Bantu as outlined in Marten and Kula’s (2012) paper and my fieldwork data on Kipemba to investigate the object marking in Kipemba. Kipemba, as noted earlier, is a variety of Swahili spoken under the Zanzibar dialect cluster. Its structure and lexicon can be relatively distinct from other varieties of Swahili, but Kiunguja and Standard Swahili also influence it in some way. Kipemba and Standard Swahili’s object marking is similar and related: ‘Swahili is a single asymmetric object marking language, and only the highest object can be co-referenced on the verb’ (Mursell 2018:429). This section investigates the object marking in Kipemba loosely based on six parameters of study outlined by Marten and Kula (2012:5) below:

- Can the object marker and the lexical object NP co-occur?
- Is an object marker obligatory with particular object NPs?
- Are there locative object markers?
- Is object marking restricted to one object marker per verb?
- Can an object marker express benefactive or theme objects in double object constructions?

- Is an object marker required/optional/disallowed in object relatives?

In addition to the above parameters, I am also keen to investigate whether object markers in Kipemba, like in Swahili, denote definiteness, specificity or both, the topic explored in greater detail by Kimambo (2018: 27-35). Before I delve into the investigation based on the parameters above, I compare the object markers between the Standard Swahili and Kipemba, followed by Kipemba linguistic field data from which my analysis and conclusion are drawn.

Person	Object Markers in Swahili (Standard)	Object Markers in Kipemba
<i>1st sg Mimi (I)</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-ni</i>
<i>2nd sg Wewe (You)</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-ku</i>
<i>3rd sg Yeye (s/he)</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-n-/m(u/w)</i>
<i>1st pl Sisi (we)</i>	<i>-tu</i>	<i>-tu</i>
<i>2nd pl Wao (they)</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-wa</i>
<i>3rd pl Nyinyi (You, all)</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-wa</i>

Table 6.5: Object Markers in Standard Swahili and Kipemba

Table 6.5 above shows no significant variation in object marking between Kipemba and Standard Swahili. Except for the third person singular, which is affected by nasal assimilation /n-/ (where the underlying nasal prefix shows place assimilation with the following consonant), the addition of vowel *u-* and a glide *w-*, in some phonological environments, the rest remains the same. However, it is unclear whether object marking in Kipemba is used the same way and serves the same function as in Standard Swahili. Based on Kipemba linguistic data and the parameters proposed by Marten and Kula (2012), the functions discussed by Kimambo (2018) earlier, the examples below are used for further investigation and analysis:

(97)Kipemba (Shumba N’jini, KPN 3, Adult, Male, Jokes)
a.N-e-i-(y)on-a (nyota y-a jaha)
 SM1SG-PAST-OM9-see-FV (9. star9-GEN holiness)
 ‘I saw the holy star.’

In Standard Swahili, ‘the object marker can be used together with an overt NP’; in other words, they allow the co-occurrence of an object marker and a co-referential object NP (Marten and Kula 2012: 5-6). The same applies to the object marking in Kipemba as in example (97a) above.

b. *N-e-i-(y)on-a* (uzuri nyota ya jaha)
 SM1SG-PAST-OM9-see-FVadd glosses.
 ‘I saw the holy star clearly.’

c. *N-e-i-(y)on-a* (nyota ya jaha uzuri)
 SM1SG-PAST-OM9-see-FV(the lucky star, well)
 ‘I saw the lucky star well.’

(98) Kipemba (Shumba N’jini, KPN 3, Adult, Male, Jokes)

a. *N-e-mu-on-a* (mw-alimu)
 SM1SG-PAST-OM1-see-FV (1-teacher)
 ‘I saw the teacher.’

b. *N-e-on-a* (mw-alimu)
 SM1SG-PAST-see-FV (1-teacher)
 ‘I saw the teacher.’

c. *N-e-on-a* (nyota y-a jaha)
 SM1SG-PAST-see-FV (9. star 9-GEN holiness)
 ‘I saw the holy star.’

An object marker is obligatory in Swahili with animate object NPs (Marten and Kula 2012:7), but this is not always the case in Kipemba, where both the animate object and inanimate objects can be used with and without an object marker, as shown in examples (98 b, c), above. However, the absence of object markers may and usually leads to differences in interpretation relating to definiteness and specificity. The term definiteness can be defined as ‘being uniquely identifiable or familiar to the hearer’ (Ward & Birner 1995, in Riedel 2009a: 48), whereas specificity refers to ‘having a particular referent’ (Sio 2006, in Riedel 2009a: 48).

Even though object marking is generally optional in Kipemba, it may sometimes be required in certain morphosyntactic structures. In example (99), the object is animate, even though there is no use of the proper noun of the object referred to here. In Kipemba, object marking is also required in prepositional verb forms (100) and relative constructions (101). In these sentences, an object is marked by definiteness via familiarity.

(99) Kipemba (Wete, KPN 1, Youth, Female, Object marking with Pronominal form)
N-a-m-pend-a (a-la-ye)
 SM1SG-PRES-OM1-love/like-FV (SM1.PRES- eat- REL1)
 ‘I love/like the one who eats.’

(100) Kipemba (Gando, KPN 1, Adult, Female)
u-ka-mw-amb-i-a (ende dukani?)
 SM2SG-NARR-OM1-tell-APPL-FV (should go to the shop)
 ‘And tell him/her to go to the shop?’

(101) Kipemba (Relative constructions, sayings)

a. *A-ku-pig-a -ye* (akufunza gowe/kuwana)
SM1-OM1-hit/beat-FV- REL1 (teaches you to fight)
'He who hits you teaches you to fight.'

b. *A-m-pa-ye* (*n'tu ni mungu*)
SM1-OM1-give-REL1 (god gives a person).
'The one who gives a person his/her providence is god.'

c. *Ki-su u-li-cho-ki-gey-a*
7-knife SM2SG-PAST-REL-7-OM7-lose-FV
'The knife that you lost'.

Besides the above, In Kipemba, there are locative object markers. The use of locative object markers is, however, optional.

(102) Kipemba (Locative Object Markers)

a. *Ka-na-pa-harib-u* (*pa-hali-p-e*)
SM1-PERF-OM16-destroy-FV (16-place-16-POSS3SG)
'S/he has destroyed/demolished' (his/her place)

b. *Ka-sha-ku-lim-a* *k-ote* (*shamba-ni-kw-e*)
SM1 -PERF -OM17-farm-FV 17-all (5.farm-LOC-17-POSS3SG)
'He has farmed all of his/her farmland.'

c. *Wa-m'-mu-tos-a* (*ma-ji ch-umba-ni*)
SM2 -PERF-OM18-wet-FV (6-water 7-room-LOC)
'They have made the room wet.'

Having investigated the object marking in Swahili and Kipemba along the parameters outlined in this section, it can be concluded that, in Kipemba:

- Object markers and lexical object NP can co-occur.
- Object markers are not always obligatory, even with NPs. It is most optional in some morphosyntactic constructions.
- There are locative object markers.
- There is no double object marking. Since this feature is non-existent in Kipemba, I did not see the need to show this with examples.
- There are slight differences in the interpretation of definiteness and specificity in object marking between Kipemba and standard Swahili.
- Copula omission exists in Kipemba but zonally. I, therefore, cover this section in chapter seven.

6.2.8. The Kipemba Relative Constructions

Fidele Mpiranya (2015: 70) defines a ‘relative clause as a subordinate clause that qualifies a noun’. Mpiranya adds that ‘subordinate clauses that qualify the “subject of the verb” are called “subject relatives”’. Various scholars, including Schadeberg (1989), Leonardos (2013) and Mpiranya (2015), have widely studied the discussion on relative constructions. However, the most in-depth comparative descriptive work on relative constructions in Swahili was that of Schadeberg (1989) on ‘The three relative constructions in Swahili (Kisanifu)’. Owing to its linguistic significance and relevance to my research on Kipemba, I refer to this work to present a brief, concise comparative history of relative constructions in Bantu, Swahili, based on my research data, in Kipemba.

‘Swahili has three types of relative constructions regarding the position of the relative marker’ (Mpiranya 2015: 71). Schadeberg (1989: 33) classifies the three morphologically distinct relative constructions into types A, B and C.

Type A is composed of a subject concord, a verb stem, and a relative concord, as in the example below:

(103) Standard Swahili (Relative form, Type A, Schadeberg, 1989:33)

Wa-sem-a-o

SM2-speak-FV-REL 2

‘The people who speak.’

Type B comprises a subject concord followed by a tense marker (usually present, past, future, and negative), the relative concord and a verb stem.

(104) Standard Swahili (Relative form, Type B, Schadeberg, 1989:33)

Wa-na-o-som-a

SM2 -PRES-REL2-speak-FV.

‘The people who speak.’

Type C comprises “*amba*” and a relative concord.

(105) Standard Swahili (Relative form, Type C, Schadeberg, 1989:33)

(Wa-tu) amba-o

2-persons REL--REL2

‘The people who.’

Following Schadeberg's classification, I refer to type A as a relative suffix form, type B as a tensed relative form, and type C as the *amba* relative construction. From Schadeberg's point of view, type A is likely a construction with covert tense marking – there is no overt morphological tense marking, in other words. However, from the findings, it is generally a relative form in habitual and present tense forms used mainly in spoken Swahili and the

predominant, popular relative form in Kipemba and Kiunguja. Historically, the internal reconstruction of relative forms has long hypothesised that type A construction is the oldest and type C the most recent, especially in the Zanzibar Swahili dialect cluster (cf. Perrott 1951: 64, Givón 1972: 191, Steere 1906: 12). The chronological studies on Bantu relative constructions have argued that type C constructions are also not found in other Bantu varieties that are ‘geographically and linguistically close to Swahili such as Pokomo, Nyika, Digo, Shambala, Bondei’ (Schadeberg 1989: 35). Even though Schadeberg (1989:35) thinks the development of type C is recent diachronically, consequently suggesting the researchers ‘to try and trace the development of type A in a comparative Bantu perspective’, this construction is now more common and frequent synchronically in Standard Swahili - written and spoken communication than in Kipemba.

As for Kipemba, the data shows that the Kipemba users are more familiar with type A and B relative constructions in their speech. The use of type C relative constructions is rare, limited to only formal communication contexts.

(106) Kipemba (Observation notes, Type A relative forms)

A-ku-pend-a-ye
 SM1.PRES-OM2SG-love-FV-REL1
 ‘The one who loves you.’

In example (106) above, the relative form is used in the suffix position, and as said earlier, this construction is only used to refer to habitual or tense forms. Another intriguing observation confirming popularity and chronological age is that type A relative consultations are widely used in Kipemba folk literature, such as sayings, proverbs, songs, and poems. Apart from type A constructions, type B relative forms are also used in day-to-day communication. The evidence of this can be found in many Kipemba sayings, as shown below.

(107) Kipemba (Observation notes, Type B relative form, Kipemba saying)

A-si-ye-kuwa-po *na* *lake/lyakwe halipo*)
 SM1NEG-REL1be-LOC16 CON 5. POSS SM3NEG-OM5-LOC16
 ‘He who is not present, his share is not present either.’

Although there are no significant variations between Kipemba relative forms, Kiunguja and the Standard Swahili, there are minor (micro-) variations in some relative forms from the augmentative classes 5 and 6 and diminutive classes 7 and 8 in eastern linguistic zones of Pemba. These variations are zone-specific and are covered at length in chapter seven.

6.2.9. Tenses and Aspects in Kipemba

Tenses and aspects are among Swahili's most studied and widely published topics. A substantial number of works have addressed the topic. Therefore, I used some of these works to develop my analysis and discussion on tenses, aspects and moods in Kipemba. Some of the works consulted in this section were Ashton (1947), Loogman (1965), Polomé (1967), Lodhi (1974), Heine and Reh (1984), Wilson (1985), Dahl (1985), Besha (1989), Bybee (1994, 1995), Payne (1997), Marten (1998), Givon (2001), Lindfors (2004), Nurse (2008), Mpiranya (2015), and Salma Hamad (2018), to name a significant few. Despite all the studies and publications, Kipemba, one of the varieties of Swahili, lags far behind the standard Swahili in this area of Swahili grammar research. This section refers to the above works and uses the evidence of linguistic data collected from Pemba to discuss and analyse tense, aspects and moods in Kipemba. I know the challenges from the previous studies on tense, aspects and modality in Swahili. In the words of Dahl (1985: 20f), one of the challenges is the ‘imprecision in the entire system of tense, aspect and modality’. Hence, “although everyone knows what prototypical cases of tense, aspect and modality are, it is not always clear how to distinguish the less typical ones” (Lindfors 2004: 10). Being aware of these challenges and their implication to my analysis, I present first-hand evidence from linguistic fieldwork data found in Kipemba speech forms and determine whether the features are generic and specific to Kipemba. I argue here that the generic TAM features are some native and some are new (loaned, borrowed) features to Kipemba, perhaps from Kiunguja and the Standard Swahili. In the next section, I discuss basic tenses and aspectual markers and later proceed to some more complex forms as found in Kipemba.

- **Tenses and Aspects in Kipemba: the time-based – Present, Past and Future**

Loogman (1965:190) divides Swahili's tense and aspect markers into three temporal systems: the present, past, and future. Since the classification is still relevant today and considering Kipemba is one of the varieties of Swahili, I begin to present the data and initiate my analysis and discussion on Kipemba based on three proposed tense and aspect markers. The Table below summarises tense-aspect markers in Kipemba. More relevant examples from the fieldwork data follow afterwards:

Present forms	Past forms	Future
Simple present <i>a-</i>	Simple past <i>e-</i> /(<i>li</i>)	<i>ta-</i> (<i>Ta</i>)
Progressive <i>a-</i>	Past Progressive <i>hi-</i> /(<i>ki</i>)	
Habitual <i>a-</i> /(<i>hu</i>)	Historical/ Narrative Past- <i>ka-</i>	

Table 6.6: The Present, Past and Future Tense Systems in Kipemba (Adapted from Loogman 1965)

Table 6.6 shows that the present form consists of the simple present, progress and habitual forms. In Kipemba, all these three forms are marked by *a-* and *hu-* for habitual. The habitual is, however, used rarely in Kipemba speech forms, as in the examples below:

(108)Kipemba (Present tense forms: Kizomwe, KPS 6, Male, Adult)

<i>N-a-on-a</i>	<i>mi-kono</i>	<i>y-a-pig-an-a</i>
SM1SG-PRES-see-FV	4-hand	SM4-PRES-hit-RECI-FV
'I see the hands fighting each other.'		

In Kipemba, it is challenging to distinguish between simple present, progressive and habitual forms because all three forms use the same prefix *a-*. In communication, the speaker and the listener can only understand the distinctions by drawing inferences or focusing on the context of the conversation. In example (108) above, the words *naona* and *yapigana* are all in present form. However, depending on the context, it is unclear whether the present is simple, progressive, habitual, or all may apply. As seen in (109) below, the habitual form is rarely used in Kipemba, and it is probably the tense aspect form borrowed from other Swahili varieties, probably, standard Swahili.

(109)Kipemba (Habitual, *-hu-*)

<i>(Na-si)</i>	<i>hu-l-a</i>
COM-PRO1PL	HAB-eat-FV.
'And we (also) eat.'	

In Kipemba, the past form is represented by *e-*, used interchangeably with *li-*, a past marker shared with other Swahili varieties, including Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. Even though *e-* is a distinctive linguistic feature found only in Kipemba, its use is diminishing gradually, especially in the urban towns of Pemba, where *li-* is used predominantly.

(110)Kipemba (Past tense *-e-*: Pujini, KPS 5, Male, Elderly)

<i>Ki-tabu</i>	<i>e-ki-gey-a</i>
7-book	SM1. PAST- OM7-lose-FV.
'S/he lost the book.'	

(111) Kipemba (Past tense *-li-*: Micheweni, KPN 3, Male, Youth)

<i>A-li-kuly-a</i>	<i>rungu</i>
SM1 -PAST-eat-FV	5-wooden baton/club.
'S/he was hit with a wooden baton/club.'	

In examples (110) and (111), the past tense forms, one with *e-* and another with *li-*, were used. While the verb form in example (111) can also be rewritten with *e-* to read *ekulya* instead of *alikula* (the verb '*kula*' was used metaphorically to mean hit and not eat), it is not common to replace *e-* for *li-* without changing the identity of 'Pembanness' or authenticity. Most Kipemba speakers consider sentences that use *li-* frequently as not typical of Kipemba. From my observation, I found that past *li-* is only used when *e-* cannot fully fit the grammatical or social

context, which can only be formed with *li-*, a tense marker from Kiunguja and the Standard Swahili, as seen below. I start with the grammatical context when the *-e-* past form cannot be used in Kipemba – which is past relative constructions category B (with relative prefix inside the verb structure). Below is the only conceivable grammatical context when *e-* past tense marker cannot be used in Kipemba.

(112) Kipemba (past relative construction)

<i>A-li-ye-kuly-a</i>	<i>rungu</i>
SM1 -PAST-eat- 1. REL- FV	5-wooden baton/club
'S/he who was hit with a wooden baton/club.'	

Apart from the grammatical context, the study found that the use of *-e-* past tense marker is minimal among educated and town-based Kipemba speakers, especially those in the Western zones of Pemba. The data show that most young and adult speakers from significant towns such as Wete, Chake and Nkoani West do not frequently use the *-e-* past tense form and this could, perhaps, be due to their increased contact with Kiunguja and the Standard Swahili. The discussion on the Kipemba speakers' attitude on tenses and aspects distinctive to Kipemba is covered later in this section.

In Kipemba, similar to standard Swahili, the future tense is marked by *ta-*. From the data collected throughout Pemba, I found that the *ta-* tense form is usually used with subject markers, but that there are also examples where it is used without a subject marking prefix, as shown in the examples below:

(113) Kipemba (Future tense *-ta-*: Chanjaani, KPS 5, Female, Youth)

<i>Ni-ta-tafut-a</i>	<i>tangawizi</i>
SM1SG-FUT-find-FV	9. Ginger
'I will find the ginger'.	

(114) Kipemba (Future tense *-ta-*: Questionnaire data)

Ta-ku-pig-a
 FUT- OM1-hit-FV.
 'I will hit you'.

In example (114), the future tense form can be used without qualifying subject prefixes. Using future without subject markers is common in Kipemba. Its use, nevertheless, is only applicable when used with the first-person singular form only. This form is restricted from other pronominal subject forms. From my observations and analysis, a phonological process could be involved, but this is unclear due to insufficient data to support the argument.

The negative forms for present, past and future tenses in Kipemba are also slightly different from those of Standard Swahili. To fully understand the negative forms of these tenses can be better illustrated in the examples below:

(115) Kipemba (Negative forms: Present, Past and Future.)

- a. Present
Si-on-i
 SM1SG. NEG-see-FV.
 ‘I do not see’.

- b. Past
he-ki-gey-a
 SM1.NEG-OM7-lose -FV.
 ‘S/he did not lose it.’

- c. Future
Si-ta-tafut-a
 SM1SG.NEG-FUT-find-FV.
 ‘I will not find.’

As shown in example (115) above, the negative tense-aspects forms change depending on the pronominal subject prefixes, or the nominal class involved. The negative pronominal and verbal nominal agreement forms were covered in the earlier sections, but the Table below summarises the affirmatives and negative forms.

Tenses	Affirmative	Examples	Negative	Examples
Present	a- (hu)	<i>aja/ huja</i> (s/he comes)	(h)+ -a-	<i>haji</i> (s/he doesn't come)
Past	e- (li)	<i>ekuja</i> (s/he came)	(h)+ -e-	<i>hekuja</i> (s/he did not come)
Future	ta- (TA)	<i>takuja</i> (s/he will come)	(h)+ -ta-	<i>hatakuja</i> (s/he will not come)

Table 6.7: Tenses in Kipemba – affirmative and negative forms

- **The Aspects in Kipemba**

Along with the tenses discussed above, Kipemba has a few aspect markers. Some aspects are simple, and some are more complex than others. In the section below, I discuss some simple aspectual forms in Kipemba.

- Past Progressive

Before I delve into the description and analysis of this aspect, I want to refer to the joke told by one of the consultants who helped me during data collection in Shumba N’jini (KPN 3). The man told me a funny story about a person in Shumba N’jini who claimed to have seen a divinely holy star known in Islamic theology and mythology as *Nyota ya Jaha* (‘the lucky star’). In Islamic theology and mythology, it is believed that whoever sees the holy star and prays or asks for anything they want, their wish is fulfilled. I am unsure whether the man who claimed to have seen the holy star meant it for real or did it for fun or to entertain his audience, perhaps, me. The joke was hilarious and of substantial linguistic significance, especially in studying tense and aspects of Kipemba. The excerpt of the joke is in the dialogue below.

(116) Kipemba (Shumba N’jini, KPN 3, Jokes)

Man 1: Basi nakwambiya jana neiyona nyota ya jaha

(I tell you; I saw the holy star yesterday)

Man 2: Ha’ hweomba kwani? (Why didn’t you ask for your wish?)

Man 1: Nepabayaa! (I was in the wrong place!)

Man 2: Ha’ wewaa? (I see, where were you?)

Man 1: Hinyaaaa! (I was relieving myself - in the bushes)

The dialogue above helps portray the past continuous tense marker *hi-* used predominantly in Kipemba. Faki’s (2008) unpublished dissertation on the role *hi-*, *e-* and *ha-* in Kipemba is a detailed explanation of this tense marker. In Kipemba, *hi-* is used as a past continuous aspect marker (see *hinyaa* when the subject is in the first-person singular, a situation like the future tense *ta-* discussed earlier. Otherwise, in some cases, the past continuous form is marked by *ki-*, as shown below:

(117) Kipemba (Shumba N’jini, KPN 3, Jokes)

A-ki-ly-a

SM1PAST.PROG-eat-FV.

‘I was eating.’

The negative forms for *hi-* and *ki-* are *si-* followed by *ki-*, as seen in the examples below.

(118) Kipemba (Negative form of *hi-*)

a. *Si-ki-ly-a*

SM1SG.NEG-PAST.PROG-eat-FV.

‘I was not eating.’

b. *Ha-ki-ly-a*

SM1.NEG-PAST.PROG-eat-FV.

‘S/he was not eating.’

- **Historical past/ narrative past (ki-, ha- and ka-)**

In Kipemba, the past narrative form is built with the markers *ki-*, *ha-* and *ka-* whereby *ka-* is used interchangeably with the past tense marker *li-*. The excerpt from the story below demonstrates the use of past narrative tenses *ki-*, *ha-* and *ka-* in Kipemba.

(119)Kipemba (Shumba N’jini, KPN 3, PUN 22, Interview data)

Siku moja akaja akan’gwiya ala ndizingwa. Sasa sungura ala ndizi ala ndizi tu. Akasema, miye n’ndavyangu ogeleya. Akenda akim’bwaga n’toni. Akiogeleya taa, kisha alipoogeleya akenda akimfunga. Akimpiga, akimpiga ata akimfunga na kigogo. Akimpiga taaa alipokwisha mpiga akisema....!

One day, the man came and saw (the rabbit) eating someone’s banana. Unaware and unsuspecting, the rabbit was busy eating bananas. When caught, the rabbit said, “I am going to swim”. The man took the rabbit and threw it into the river. The rabbit swam and swam, and then the man tied and hit the rabbit repeatedly. He tied it to a stem of a tree. He hit it until he finished and spoke!

In example (119) above, two aspect markers *ki-* and *ka-* are used in narrating a story. The first opening sentence of the story uses *ka-* as a narrative tense similar to that used in Standard Swahili. While the role of the narrative *ka-* is known, the *ki-* tense marker, otherwise used as a past progressive form, seems to have assumed the role of past narrative tense, functioning the same way as narrative *ka-*. The word *akenda* (off ‘s/he went) is a shortened form of *akaenda*. The form ‘*akaenda*’ is a speech form common in Kiunguja and the standard Swahili, which in Kipemba is pronounced as *akenda* following the deletion of a vowel /a/ in *akaenda*. From my observation and interpretation of the data, it seems that *ki-* is ambiguous in Kipemba's linguistic structure. It serves multiple morphosyntactic roles, functioning as a past progressive form and a narrative past tense marker. It is used along or interchangeably with narrative *ka-*. For example, *ki-* as used in *akimpiga* (‘s/he hit him/her/it’) can denote past progressive. On the other hand, based on the story's context, *ki-* also functions as a past narrative aspect marker in Kipemba.

As in Faki’s work (2008), the *ha-* narrative past is one of the most distinctive tense markers in Kipemba. According to Faki, this tense is found predominantly in Utenzi and Micheweni zones. However, the data collected across eight linguistic zones show that *ha-* past narrative can also be found in most eastern and western rural parts of Pemba. The following extract of a poem was collected in Kengeja (N’koani East, KPS 7).

(120) Kipemba (Kengeja, KPS 7, Oral Poetry of the Late Mzee Abdalla Said). The *ha-* tense marker is underlined.

Kake Hamadi enambia n'jiunge na kyama, firoo! - Brother Hamadi told me to join the
(Political) party, Afro.

Hamwambia Muungu hanoso, haloo! - I told him, "God forbids!" my dear!

*Kaskazi kushatanda kiwingu, n'choo!*¹⁴ - In the north, the clouds are ready for the
Spring rain season.

Mpa hikyo kihando kyangu, na ndoo! - Get me that water pot of mine and a bucket.

Hateke maji! - So, I can fetch some water.

As stated earlier, the *ha-* narrative past is used the same way as *ki-* and *ka-* in Kipemba. However, the *ha-* tense marker is only used in the first-person singular pronominal form, which from the analytical point of view, does not seem to be a separate tense marker, but rather a phonological variant of *ka-*. Interestingly, *ka-* can also be used with the first-person singular, as shown below:

(121) Kipemba (the *-ka-* tense as a variant of *-ha-*)

<i>N-ka-tek-e</i>	<i>maji</i>
1SG- NARR.PAST- fetch -SUBJ	6-water
'So, I can fetch some water.'	

- The Perfective aspects

In standard Swahili, the perfect form is usually marked by *me-* and sometimes, used with the anterior *sha-*. In Kipemba, the perfective form seems more complex than it is for standard Swahili. The linguistic data I collected throughout Pemba indicates no or significantly limited use of the *me-* perfective form in Kipemba speech forms. The infrequent instances of *me-* in use can be found in the western zones of Pemba, especially in the urban towns of Nkoani West, Chake Chake and Wete. However, based on the data and the views of my native Kipemba consultants, it was agreed that *me-* tense is one of the copious new linguistic features coming into Kipemba from Kiunguja and standard Swahili. The diffusion of these new features into Kipemba is, perhaps, due to increased contact and interaction between standard Swahili and the Kipemba speakers in major urban towns.

¹⁴ *Nchoo* (spelt, *Mchoo* in Standard Swahili) is a season of light, shallow rain season between July and October on Pemba Island.

Instead of *me-*, which is not a native Kipemba aspectual form, the perfect form is usually marked by nasal assimilated *n-* (122a), *m-* (122b) and *na-*(122c). The perfect form may also be marked by *na-* (122c) and *sha-* (123), as shown in the examples below. Whilst *n-* and *m-* are more allomorphs of the same underlying N(a) – prefix, *sha-* stands as an independent perfect - *sha-* form.

(122)Kipemba (Various Perfective forms)

- a. *Ka-n'-kuj-a-vy-e*
SM1 -PERF-come-FV-8-POSS3SG
'S/he has come back him/herself.'
- b. *Ku-m'-pit-a*
SM2SG-PERF-pass-FV
'You have just passed.'
- c. *Wa-na-uk-a*
SM2- -PERF-leave-FV
'They have left.'

(123) *Li-sha-kugw-a*
SM5 -PERF-fall-FV
'It has fallen.'

Intriguingly, the negative perfective form in Kipemba is marked by a negative affix *ja-* like that of the Standard Swahili. For instance, the examples above negate *hajajvye* (122a), *hujapita* (122b), *hawajauka* (122c) and *halijagwa* (123).

In Standard Swahili, the *sha-* form is usually accompanied by the perfect form *me-* as in:

(124) Standard Swahili (Perfect form with *-mesha-*)
Ni-me-sha-kul-a
SM1-PERF- already- eat- FV.
'I have already eaten.'

In Kipemba, the *mesha-* the combination is phonologically and morphologically restricted. In other words, the anterior *sha-* cannot be used with *me-* but in some forms, such as with *kwisha-* (finish) – the *sha-* can be used with perfective forms *n-* or *-na-* as shown in examples 125 a-c, below but with some exceptions. For example, the first exception is the anterior *sha-* cannot be used with any perfective prefix (*n-*, and *na-*) unless it is used as and with a verb *kwisha-* (see example 125a). The second exception is that even if the verb *kwisha* is used, the pronominal subject determines perfective forms (*n-*, and *na-*). To be more precise, if the anterior *sha-* is used with *kwisha* in the first-person singular, the use of perfective forms (*n-*, and *na-*) is

restricted as in 125b. For the rest of the pronominal subject forms, the anterior *sha-* can be used with perfective forms *n-* and *na-* in Kipemba as in 125c and d. It is important to note that the anterior *sha-* denotes a ‘completive’ state, and the *n-* and *na-* prefixes can be used interchangeably.

(125) Kipemba (Perfective forms with anterior *-sha-*)

- a. *N-sha-kul-a*
SM1.SG- PERF.anter- eat-FV.
‘I have already eaten.’
- b. *N-sha-kwish-a*
SM1.SG -PERF.anter- finish -FV.
‘I have already finished.’
- c. *Ku-n-kwish-a*
SM2.SG- PERF-finish- FV.
‘You have already finished.’
- d. *Ka-na-kwish-a*
SM3.SG- PERF- finish- FV.
‘S/he has already finished.’

Besides the above, there are past and future perfective forms in Kipemba, formed by complex verbal constructions involving the auxiliary verb *kuwa* ‘be’. The past perfective form is formed with *e-* or *li-* past tense forms, usually used with a verb to be followed by a verb marked by one of the perfective forms discussed earlier. The examples (125 a-c) show different perfective forms used in the past form.

(126) Kipemba (Past Perfect form)

- a. *E-kuw-a* *ka-n’-lala-vy-e*
SM1.PAST-be-FV SM1-PERF-sleep-8-POSS3SG.
‘S/he was sleeping, him/herself.’
- b. *Mw-e-kuw-a* *mu-m’-pig-ik-a*
SM2PL-PAST-be-FV SM2PL-PERF-hit-STAT-FV
‘You were badly hit/broke.’
- c. *W-e-kuw-a* *ku-na-elim-ik-a*
SM2SG-PAST- be-FV SM2SG-PERF-educate-STAT-FV
‘You were educated.’

In the future perfect form, the tense marker *ta-* is used with the verb *kuwa* ‘be’, which is accompanied by perfective forms of the following verb as shown in the examples below:

(127) Kipemba (Future Perfective form)

a. *A-ta-kuw-a* *ka-n’-lala-vy-e*
 SM1-FUT-be-FV SM1 -PERF-sleep-8-POSS3SG.
 ‘S/he will be sleeping, him/herself.’

b. *Mu-ta-kuw-a* *mu-m’-pig-ik-a*
 SM2PL-FUT-be-FV SM2PL-PERF-hit-STAT-FV
 ‘You will be badly hit/broken.’

c. *Wa-ta-kuw-a* *wa-na-elim-ik-a*
 SM2-FUT-be-FV SM2-PERF-educate-STAT-FV
 ‘You will be educated.’

- **The conditionals (*nge*, *ke-*, *hi-*, *ki-* and *ngali*)**

The Swahili conditionals is a topic that has been widely written and published. In this section, I refer to Marten (1998, 2007, 2015, 2023), Almasi (2014), Mohamed (2001), and Hurskainen (2022) and the data collected throughout Pemba to discuss different conditional forms in Kipemba. According to Hurskainen (2022), ‘there are five conditional markers, *nge-*, *nga-*, *ngeli-*, *ngali-* and *ki-*, in Standard Swahili. Out of five conditional forms, ‘the markers *nge-*, *nga-* and *ki-* refer to the present time. That is, if the condition is fulfilled presently, the action will take place in future. On the other hand, *ngeli-* and *ngali-* refer to past time, that is, if the condition were fulfilled, the action would have taken place, whereas *nga-* is no longer in active use in Swahili (Hurskainen 2022: 1-2).

In Kipemba, the form of the conditional differs slightly from that of Standard Swahili. The preset conditional forms are marked by *nge-*, *ngali/kali*, *ki-* and *ke-*, although *ngali* is rare and is usually replaced by *ke-* or *kali*. ‘These tenses indicate a condition, hypothesis, or an assumption. The *nge-* tense shows a condition in the present tense while the *ngali-* tense shows a condition in the past tense’ (Almasi, 2014: 335). The examples below can illustrate this more practically. During fieldwork, I encountered a group of older people discussing possibilities in Tanzania politics. The older adults believed that Dr Hussein Mwinyi would have been a running mate in the 2020 elections. However, the political party chose a woman running mate, Mama Samia, the current president of the United Republic of Tanzania. One of the sentences in their conversation read: ‘*Laiti Mama Samia si n’tu n’ke, basi n’gombea mwenza engekuwa*

Mwinyi'. The sentence translates into English as 'If Mama Samia were not a woman, then Mwinyi would have been a running mate'. In this example, the condition is expressed by the negative copula *si*. The consequence of the conditional is marked by *engekuwa*, repeated in (128) below:

(128) Kipemba (Nanguji, KPS 7, Elderly, Male)

E-nge-kuw-a

SM1.PAST-COND-be-FV.

'S/he would have been.'

The *nge-* marker was used in the above sentence to denote how the situation or state of affairs would have been now if certain conditions were met. From the discussion in example (128) above, Dr Mwinyi would have been a vice president only if Mama Samia were not a woman. However, Mama Samia is biologically female, and according to the older adults discussing this issue with me, that rules out any chances for Dr Mwinyi to become a running mate. Likewise, *ngali/kali* and *ke-* can also be used interchangeably to express the condition in Kipemba. The Standard Swahili *ngali-* is used to 'show a condition in the past tense' (Almasi 2014: 335). In Kipemba, *ngali-* is used the same way as *nge-* to denote the present condition of affairs if certain conditions were met. The *ke-* conditional is an outwardly strange form of conditional. However, the *ke-* works the same way as the former, insisting that something will remain as it is unless certain conditions are met, as in the example (129) below.

(129) Kipemba (Wingwi, KPN 3, Male, Youth)

U-ke *n'-toto*

SM2SG -COND 1-child'

'You are still a child/baby (unless certain conditions are met)'

Although *ke-* in example (129) does not seem to be a conditional form in this context in Kipemba, it is used interchangeably with *ngali* (i.e., *Ungali n'toto*) or *kali* (*ukali ntoto*) and still retains the same meaning. From my observation, *ke-* is indeed a form of conditional in Kipemba that may stand in a place of *ngali-* from Standard Swahili and *-kali-* originally from Kipemba.

The past conditionals in Standard Swahili, on the other hand, *ngeli*, *hi-* and *ki-* can generally be used in any temporal form – present and past, depending on the determining tense and context of the conditional form.

(130) Kipemba (Conditionals)

- a. *U-ngeli-n'-gwiya a* *kuku,* *n'-nge-ku-shitaki*
SM2SG-COND-OM1-catch-FV 1. Chicken SM1SG-COND-OM2SG-
prosecute.
'If you had caught the chicken, I would prosecute you.'
- b. *Hi-n'-gwiya* *kuku,* *u-ta-ni-on-a*
SM1SG.COND-OM1-catch-FV 1. Chicken *SM2SG-FUT-OM1SG-see-FV.*
'If I catch the chicken, you will see me.'

The prefix *hi-* as in 130 b, plays multiple roles in this sentence – first, as a subject marker for the first person singular and the second, as conditional equivalent to 'if', which is the same as *ki-* in 130 c below, which also translates as conditional -if-. In Kipemba

- c. *N-ki-n-gwiya a* *kuku,* *u-ta-ona*
SM1SG -COND-catch-FV 1. Chicken SM2SG-FUT- see-FV.
'If I catch the chicken, you will see.'

In Standard Swahili, 'it is possible to use both *nge-* and *ngali-* tenses in the same sentence.

When we want to show that a past condition affects the present, the first condition is denoted by *ngali-* and the second condition by *nge-*' (Almasi 2014: 337). This statement is also true for Kipemba, as shown in example (130 a) above.

6.3. Conclusion

In this section, I analysed and discussed the generic morphosyntactic features of Kipemba. The features covered a broader area of thematic criteria, including nouns, agreement, pronominal forms, adjectives, adverbs, verbs and tenses, aspects, and modality in Kipemba. The study found that morphosyntactically, the structure of Kipemba resembles that of old Swahili, or perhaps, it retains most features of old Swahili compared to Kiunguja and the Standard Swahili (see Marten et al. 2023). Most old Swahili phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical are prevalent in the Eastern zones of Pemba and, most predominantly, in the Northeastern parts of Pemba. The study shows that most of the distinctive generic linguistic features discussed in this Chapter are becoming less prevalent in the Western parts, leaving the old distinctive forms in the areas with fewer contacts with other Swahili varieties in the Eastern and Northeastern zones of Pemba such as Utenzi, Micheweni, and Tumbe zones remain predominantly conservative to these old Kipemba speech forms. The Kipemba linguistic data show that some new linguistic features, mainly from Kiunguja and Standard Swahili, and some, perhaps, a

result of independent innovation without contact with other varieties, are diffused and accommodated into Kipemba speech forms. New pronominal features, agreement issues and, most crucially, new tense aspects formed from Standard Swahili were found in Kipemba speech forms, especially in the western urban towns of Pemba. According to this study, some tense and aspect markers from Standard Swahili, such as the perfective aspect *me-*, *mesha-*, habitual *hu-*, present tense *na-* and the frequent use of past tense *li-* were found in Kipemba speech forms. The study also finds that these new features are coming gradually into Kipemba due to an increased influence of formal schooling, contact and interaction between people of western urban zones of Pemba and those from Unguja Island. The increased contact and interaction are, perhaps, leading to the increased geographical diffusion of these features that are also accommodated into Kipemba, leading to the current morphosyntactic variation in Kipemba. A detailed analysis of the some specific linguistic forms found in the eastern parts of Pemba is explored in chapter seven.

Chapter 7: Zone-specific Linguistics features in Kipemba

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I examine and analyse linguistic features found in specific linguistic zones in Pemba. By zone-specific features, I refer to the features found prevalently in specific linguistic zones and among most users, irrespective of age, gender, and status, in their designated linguistic zones in Pemba. To be more precise, zone-specific features cover linguistic characteristics found in specific zones such as Utenzi, Nkoani East or any of the eight Kipemba proposed zones.

In this chapter, like the previous two chapters, my discussion and analysis are based on the evidence of data from my fieldwork interviews, questionnaires and observation notes collected throughout and across Pemba. My analysis and discussion are built around three linguistic domains: phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical. The first section of this chapter presents, discusses, and analyses phonological features found in specific linguistic zones in Kipemba. The second section covers morphosyntactic features and the third lexical features. The phonological features discussed here include nasal alternations, nasal syllabification, and vowel lengthening and shortening in Kipemba. On the other hand, the morphosyntactic domains address features based on the thematic categories below:

- The uniqueness of augmentative and diminutive classes
- Some unusual possessive forms in Kipemba
- Some distinctive Kipemba adverbs and prepositions
- Past locative forms and their combinatorial property with verbs "to be" and "to have".
- Copula omission, absence, or reduced use of copula constructions
- Some unusual verb endings
- Zone-specific tense and aspects in Kipemba
- The *-le-* Subjunctive form and the *N'gongele* phenomenon

The final section of this chapter covers the lexical features found in specific zones in Pemba. These zones' specific lexical features are based on eight thematic categories below:

- Household items
- Names of the seashells and sea objects with shells
- Kinship names – old and new
- Traditional Pemba food, pastries, and delicacies
- Names of agricultural produce – food crops
- Fishing vocabulary – names of fish and fishing tools
- Flora and fauna of Pemba – selected names of trees and animals and
- The meanings of Kipemba-specific words.

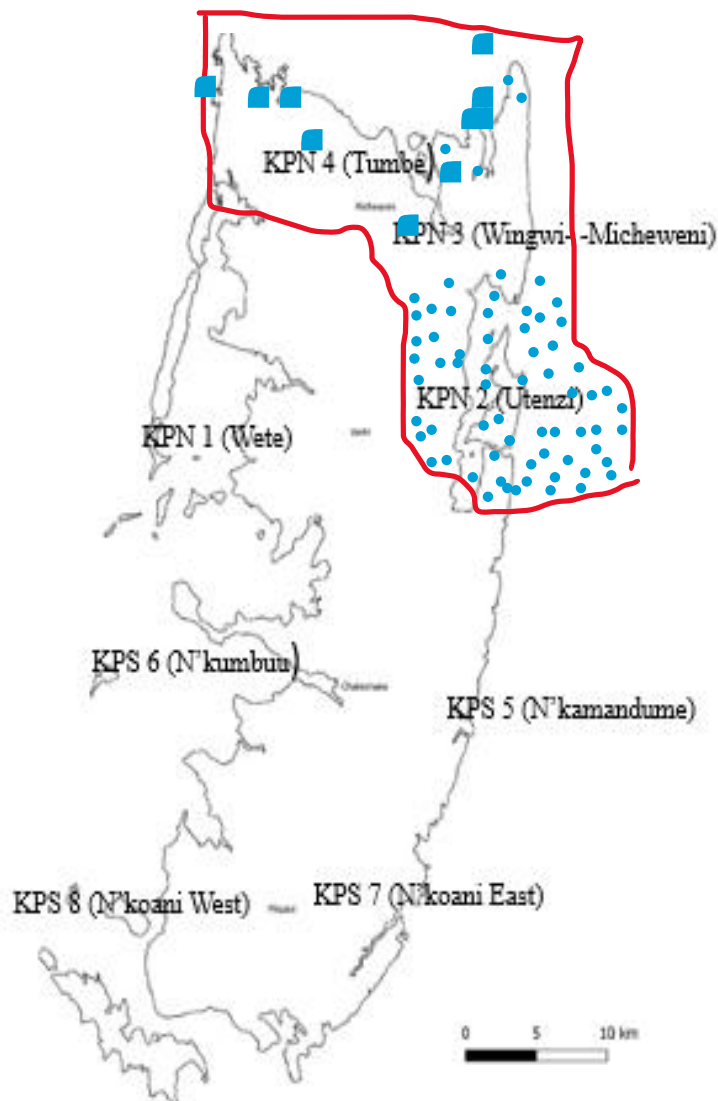
The arrangement of the discussion sections starts with phonological, then morphosyntactic, and finally, lexical analysis of variation in Kipemba. This structure and order are meant to ease the flow of ideas, considering the three domains are interdependent. For example, the phonological domain is essential in understanding the morphosyntactic analysis and the lexical domain at the end. In the following section, I discuss and analyse zone-specific phonological features in Kipemba, citing relevant examples from specific Kipemba linguistic zones.

7.2. Zone-Specific Phonological Features in Kipemba.

In this section, I examine, analyse, and discuss phonological features found in specific linguistic zones in Pemba. From the data I collected from across and throughout eight Kipemba linguistic zones, it was found that most phonological variations are found predominantly in the Eastern zones of Pemba and, most peculiarly, the northeast zones such as in Utenzi, Wingwi-Micheweni and Tumbe zones. In the following sub-section, I present my analysis and discussion on zone-specific phonological features found in Kipemba.

7.2.1. The post alveolar affricate /tʃ/ and post alveolar fricative /ʃ/ contrast (i.e., *chaza* - *shaza* – ‘shells’)

In some linguistic zones, the post-alveolar affricate /tʃ/ is contrasted with a post-alveolar fricative /ʃ/. This phonological feature is common in Utenzi (KPN 2), Wingwi - Micheweni (KPN 3), Tumbe (KPN 4) and, in some parts of N'kamandume (KPS 5) and the N'koani East zone (KPS 7) as shown in the map below.



Map: 7. 1: The contrast between /tʃ/ with /ʃ/ found in three Kipemba zones – KPN 2, 3 and 4.

The data also show that the two features are more prevalent in the Utenzi zone, where the speakers frequently or habitually contrast /tʃ/ with /ʃ/, despite their age, gender and other social characteristics compared to Micheweni and Tumbe zone. This phonological feature seems to fade gradually, especially among young and adult Kipemba users in the Wingwi-Micheweni and Tumbe zones. Fascinatingly, this feature was found to be used by most of the speakers, irrespective of their age and sex, in Kojani Island, Mwane, Chwale, Kitambuu, Madenjani, Kichokochwe, Mashuga, Jojo, Hindi and Minungwini in Utenzi zones. Further to noticing the presence of this feature, I was also keen to know if the sound contrast is systematic or haphazard. The Table below examines the possible phonological conditions involved in the words that begin with /tʃ/ to see if they may change into /ʃ/ when pronounced. The words below were collected in Kojani, Nchanga n'dogo and Minungwini in the Utenzi zone (KPN 2). The exact words are pronounced in Kiuyu m'buyuni, Micheweni and Shumba N'jini in the Wingwi Micheweni zone (KPN 3).

(131)Kipemba (Utenzi zone, /tʃ/ to /ʃ/ contrast)

Standard, West, Southeast Pemba, /tʃ/	Gloss	Northeast Pemba, especially Utenzi, /ʃ/
<i>chaza</i>	shell	<i>shaza</i>
<i>chanje</i>	crab	<i>shanje</i>
<i>chewa</i>	cod fish	<i>shewa</i>
<i>chakiroro</i>	shell	<i>shakiroro</i>
<i>chake</i>	sea gull	<i>shake</i>

From the examples in (131) above, the contrast from /tʃ/ to /ʃ/ is systematic in some words, but there are some exceptions. The Table below indicates that some words in Kipemba do not comply with the change as seen in the Table below:

(132)Kipemba (Utenzi zone, /tʃ/ to /ʃ/)

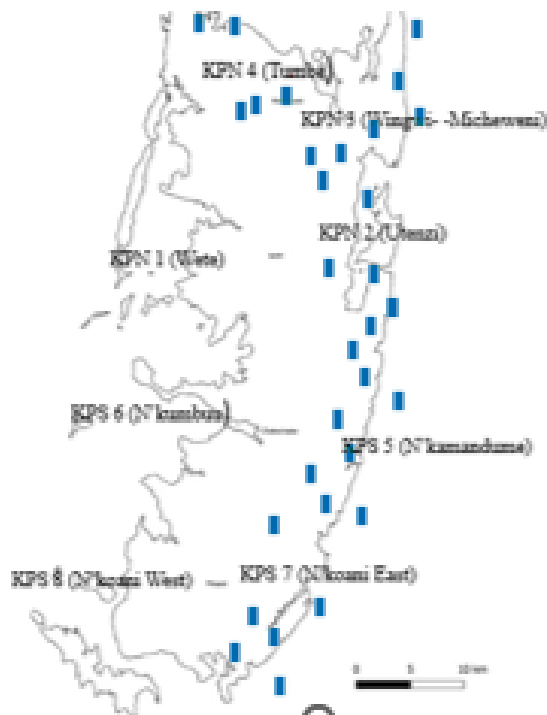
Standard, West, Southeast Pemba, /tʃ/	Gloss	Northeast Pemba, especially Utenzi, /ʃ/
<i>chenza</i>	tangarine	<i>shenza</i>
<i>chicha</i>	cococnut residue	<i>shicha</i>
<i>chooko</i>	chickpeas	<i>shooko</i>
<i>chuwambwa</i>	shell	<i>chuwambwa</i>
<i>chungwa</i>	orange	<i>shungwa</i>
<i>chana</i>	bunch	<i>chana</i>
<i>chuma</i>	iron bar	<i>kyuma</i>

The examples in (132) show that not all words that begin with /tʃ/ change into /ʃ/ in this part of Pemba. Words such as *chuwambwa*, *chana* and *chuma* above and a handful of other words (see example 133 below) do not change into /ʃ/. This study found that this sound change is not systematic or determined by vowel harmony. Still, it is perhaps a result of historical linguistic factors where it can be assumed that the sound /ʃ/ is the older form of /tʃ/. Hence, it seems that the Kipemba user's other parts of this linguistic zone have retained this old feature in some words they currently use, whilst most speakers in other parts of Pemba are no longer using it, as shown in the example below.

(133)Kipemba (Utenzi zone, /tʃ/ to /f/ more examples)

Word in Swahili	Gloss	Word in Kipemba
<i>chawa</i>	lice	<i>chawa</i>
<i>chembeu</i>	chisel blade	<i>chembeu</i>
<i>chili</i>	unborn fish eggs	<i>chili</i>
<i>chotezo</i>	incense burner	<i>chotezo</i>
<i>chujio</i>	a sieve	<i>chujio</i>

7.2.2. The /ch/ to /kj/ contrast (i.e., *chaso* – *kyaso* Pemba folk dance)



Map: 7.2:Map of Pemba showing areas (in blue dots) where the /ch/ to /kj/ contrast is prevalent.

Like the discussion from the previous section, this study found some contrast between post-alveolar affricate /tʃ^h/ for some words, such as in *chombo* ('vessel, household ware') and /kj/ as in *kyombo* in some parts of Pemba. This phonological feature is prevalent in the Utenzi zone and, to some degree, among the older adults in the Wingwi - Micheweni Peninsula (KPN 3), Tumbe zone (KPN 4), some parts of N'kamandume zone (KPS 5), and N'koani East zone (KPS 7).

The data collected throughout Pemba indicate that some speakers from these linguistic zones, especially adults and older people, and the pronunciation of some words that begin with /tʃ^h/ into /kj/ as shown in the example below:

(134) Kipemba, the /ch/ to /kj/ contrast in North, East and Southeast Pemba

Word in Swahili	Gloss	Word in Kipemba, -/tʃ ^h / becomes /kj/, especially Northeast Pemba
<i>chama</i>	political party	<i>kyama</i>
<i>chepeu</i>	baseball cap	<i>kyepu</i>
<i>chuma</i>	iron bar	<i>kyuma</i>
<i>chaso</i>	Pemba folk dance	<i>kyaso</i>
<i>chungu</i>	earthen pot	<i>kyungu</i>
<i>chovyoy</i>	wooden hook	<i>kyovyoy</i>

From the observation of the sound changes in (134) above, it is perceptible that the sound changes between /tʃ^h/, and /kj/ is primarily determined by assimilation between the vowel and the preceding consonant, e.g., /k/ + /i/ which result in /tʃ^h/ . The data also show the change that involves /tʃ^h/ into /kj/ is not systematic but a historical process where the old sound /kj/ is retained among the Kipemba users of the linguistic zones.

Using /kj/ in Kipemba is also historically linked with old Swahili speech forms. During my fieldwork, some elderly participants mentioned that the histories of some towns and villages in Pemba helped reveal that the sound /kj/, now replaced by /tʃ^h/, was once likely a predominant feature long before the use of /tʃ^h/ in a similar phonological environment in Kipemba. An elderly participant from Chambani told me that the name *Chambani* (a village in the Nkoani East zone) was historically known as *kyambani* (What does the little poor old woman say?). The word *kwamba* in old Kipemba means 'to speak', whereas /kj/ in *kyambani* corresponds with (*ki*) diminutive marker for class 7. According to the elderly participant from Chambani, the etymology of the name *Kyambani* came from an older woman who visited Chambani, probably from the Northeast villages of Pemba, possibly, Utenzi or Wingwi - Micheweni zone. When she spoke, the older woman had an accent or, perhaps, a variety unfamiliar or incomprehensible

to the people of Chambani. Because her speech was wholly or partially incomprehensible, one of the people there asked his/her fellow villagers, "*Kyambani' iki kibibi?*" ('What does this little poor old lady say?'); this question led to the village name, *Kyambani*, now known as Chambani in the Southeast Nkoani zone (KPS 7). Today, some older people still call this village *Kyambani* instead of the current name, Chambani. However, apart from the Utenzi zone, where the feature is still widely used, and in some places names that some still pronounce with /kj/, this old phonological feature was found to fade away gradually among Kipemba users from across and throughout Pemba in recent years.

7.2.3. The lateral /l/ to /ly/ contrast (i.e., lako – lyako – 'yours')

The lateral sound /l/ change into a glided form /ly/ is a phonological feature predominant among the Kipemba speakers from the Utenzi and Wingwi-Micheweni zones and a few older adults from the Tumbe zone. From the data collected in the three linguistic zones above, the /l/ contrast to /ly/ occurs when /l/ is, in most cases, followed by vowels a, e, and o, as in the following examples below.

(135) Kipemba, the lateral /l/ to /ly/ contrast

Word in Swahili	Gloss	Word in Kipemba, -/tʃ ^h / becomes /kj/, especially Northeast Pemba
<i>mlango</i>	door	<i>nlyango</i>
<i>lenye</i>	having, class 5	<i>lyenye</i>
<i>lako</i>	your	<i>lyako</i>
<i>mlaji</i>	consumer	<i>nlyaji</i>
<i>mlo</i>	meal	<i>nlyo</i>
<i>hilo</i>	that	<i>hilyo</i>

The /l/ to /ly/ contrast occurs predominantly with noun class 5 demonstratives and possessive pronouns (except those with vowels /i/ and words with /u/) as in *lile*, as in the examples below:

(136) The /l/ and /ly/ sound change in some Kipemba linguistic zones.

Swahili class 5 words	Gloss	Word in Kipemba, with /l/ and /ly/ sound change especially Northeast Pemba
<i>lako</i>	your, class 5	<i>lyako</i>
<i>lenu</i>	your, class 5	<i>lyenu</i>
<i>lao</i>	your, class 5	<i>lyao</i>
<i>lote</i>	all, class 5	<i>lyote</i>
<i>hilo</i>	that, class 5	<i>hilyo</i>
<i>lolote</i>	any, class 5	<i>lyolyote</i>

In addition to the above, the -a- of association (of) class 5 is also affected. In Kipemba spoken in this area 'la' (of, class 5) is pronounced as 'lya' as in an example below:

(137) Kipemba (Kojani, KPN 2, Female, Youth)

M'-buku lya 'ani 'ili lya Geography? (Standard: *Ni daftari la nani hili la Geography*)
'Whose Geography book is this?'

From the data and examples presented here, it can be concluded that the /l/ and /ly/ contrast are classic examples of vowel coalescence. An underlying class 5 morpheme li drives the sound contrast here-, and when the stem begins with a vowel, either the /l/ is deleted in front of high vowels, or the /i/ becomes a glide before non-high vowels. Historically, /ly/ is believed to be an older phonological form than /l/ in Kipemba, once used in old Swahili. Except for Utenzi and some parts of the Wingwi-Micheweni peninsula, this feature can now be found predominantly among elderly Kipemba users in the Eastern zones of Pemba.

7.2.4. The glottal fricative /h/ to velar plosive //k/ contrast (i.e., *haoni* – *kaoni* 'S/he does not see')

In the 1960s, the American linguist Edgar Polomé visited Pemba. There Polomé collected data on Kipemba from around and across the island. One of Polomé's findings was the contrast between a glottal fricative sound /h/ and velar plosive /k/ in the Micheweni area. When collecting my research data in Pemba recently, I found these features amongst the older adult speakers of the Wingwi-Micheweni and Tumbe zones. This feature has recently been fading away gradually. Its use is quite limited to some of a few conservative older Kipemba speakers from the area.

(138) Kipemba (Shumba N'jini, KPN 3, Male, Elderly)

N-nyam-a uyo ka-onek-a-ni (Standard: *Mnyama huyo haonekani*)
'That animal cannot be seen.'

(139) Kipemba (Tumbe, KPN 4, Female, Elderly)

Mwana-o ka-tak-i kuly-a uyo! (Standard: *Mtoto wako hataki kula huyo*)
'Your child does not want to eat.'

In examples (138) and (139), it can be seen that Kipemba spoken in KPN 3 and KPN 4 among the older speakers retains, the older form /k/ of the sonority hierarchy even though the sound is becoming increasingly unpopular as it is replaced by /h/. The change occurs mainly in verbs and all vowels except for /o/ as in *hodisha* (knock on the door). It was also interesting to note that an ancient village of *Kaliwa* (14th to 16th Century) in modern-day Tumbe, mentioned by

Sarah Wilshaw (2015:1), is still spelt with /k/ instead of /h/, corresponding to *haliwa*. To date, the village's name is *kaliwa* (not *haliwa*), again confirming that in some parts of Pemba, older linguistic forms are still retained, confirming that Kipemba is a variety in the continuous process of diachronic change. The Table below shows the phonological environment where the older form /k/ is retained in Kipemba verbs and the phonological restrictions where /k/ is replaced by /h/. The Table also confirms the findings that in this area of Pemba and among the older speakers, the older phonological form /k/ is still retained despite /h/ becoming increasingly popular among the speakers of Swahili in Pemba and elsewhere in Swahili East Africa.

(140)The sound correspondence between /h/ into /k/ in KPN 3 and KPN 4 Linguistic zones

Phrase in Swahili	Gloss	Phrase in Kipemba (KPN 3 & 4 – Older people)	Vowel in harmony	The sound change involved - /k/ or /h/?
<i>hataki</i>	S/he does not want.	<i>kataki</i>	a	k
<i>hendi</i>	S/he does not go.	<i>kendi</i>	e	k
<i>hifanya</i>	I was doing something.	<i>kifanya</i>	i	k
<i>hodisha</i>	Knock on the door.	<i>hodisha</i>	o	h remains
<i>huna</i>	You do not have something.	<i>kuna</i>	u	k

7.2.5. The Alveolar fricative /z/ as Labio Dental Fricative /v/ contrast (i.e., *zaa – vyaa* 'give birth')

In some parts of Pemba, the alveolar fricative sound /z/ corresponds to the labio-dental fricative /v/. This sound correspondence, like many other older forms, is found in varying degrees among the adult and older speakers from Utenzi (KPN 2), Wingwi-Micheweni zone (KPN 3), Tumbe (KPN 4) and some parts of Southeast Pemba, again denoting the variety in the process of diachronic change. Ideally, /v/ is older than /z/ and, in this case, it seems that some older users of Kipemba retain /v/ in some parts of Pemba, as shown in example below:

(141)The alveolar fricative /z/ correspondence with labiodental fricative /v/ in some parts of Pemba

Word in Swahili	Gloss	Word in Kipemba spoken by some adults and older adults in some parts of Pemba
<i>mwizi</i>	thief	<i>mwivi</i>
<i>ngozi</i>	skin	<i>ngovi</i>
<i>mzazi</i>	parent	<i>nvyazi</i>
<i>mjuzi</i>	Expert, skilled person, knower	<i>n'juvi</i>
<i>mzee</i>	Parent, ancestor, older adult	<i>nvyele</i>

From my observation, in Kipemba, /z/ corresponds in most cases to /v/; however, a limited number of nouns, not all, show the correspondence between /z/ and /v/. The /z/ and /v/ sound correspondence has also been reported by Hamad (2011) in his work on Kipemba and found that only a handful of nouns comply with the above sound correspondence. Owing to the nature of the correspondence, however, there is a need for a brief discussion relating to the above sound correspondence, which, in most cases, seems a sporadic change or correspondence rather than systematic. Take the example of '*mzazi*' and '*mzee*' – two nouns derived from the verb, '*zaa*' which in this area of Pemba corresponds to and is pronounced as '*vyaa*' (give birth) but on the other hand, '*mwizi*' and '*mjuzi*' come from verbs '*iba*' (steal) and '*jua*' (know) respectively. Interestingly, the two verbs, '*iba*' and '*jua*', unlike '*vyaa*' do not assume the /z/ -/v/ correspondence. This observation indicates that some of these correspondences represent some morphological change and, in some rare occasions, lexical as in the word '*ngozi*'. To be more precise, the examples given above are good evidence for either an old verb '-*vyaa*' or an old morphophonological rule of $z > v$ before nasal (although that is an odd rule). Nevertheless, since these are the only two examples for v-z at the front of the root/word I could find, the correspondences here look more lexical than morphological. The case of '*mwizi*' and '*mjuzi*' highlighted earlier are both deverbal nouns. However, I do not have many other similarly derived nouns to cross-check - but it looks like morphology plays a paramount role in the sound

correspondence here. These few examples are the only ones involving /z/ - /v/ correspondence in Kipemba. The rest of similar words do not exhibit this sound correspondence in Kipemba. In Chapter Six, I highlighted that in Kipemba, possessive forms, usually in truncated forms, are attached to the nouns they qualify. In other words, possessive forms appear in the suffix position in the noun. Still, most noticeably, the possessive forms containing z, such as *zako* ('your'), *zake* ('his/hers'), *zao* ('theirs'), *zenu* ('yours, plural') also change from z to v in Kipemba. The example (142) below illustrates the change from /z/ to /vy/ possessive verb forms. The examples show that apart from /z/ changing into /vy/ two possessive forms, second and third-person singular forms, *zake* and *zako* become truncated into *vye* and *vyo* and then appear as the verbal suffixes.

(142) Some verbal possessive forms that involve change between /z/ into /vy/ in Kipemba.

Phrase as spoken in other parts of Kipemba	Gloss	Poss. /z/ to /vy/	Phrase as spoken in Eastern parts of Pemba
<i>N'nda zangu</i>	I am going, myself.	<i>zangu - vyangu</i>	<i>n'nda vyangu</i>
<i>Aja zake</i>	'S/he is coming back herself.'	<i>zake - vye</i>	<i>ajavye</i>
<i>Waandika zako barua</i>	'You are writing a letter yourself.'	<i>zako - vyo</i>	<i>waandikavyo barua</i>
<i>Twafanya zetu kazi</i>	'We are working ourselves.'	<i>zetu - vyetu</i>	<i>twafanya vyetu kazi</i>
<i>Mwafaidi zenu mambo</i>	'You are enjoying things, yourselves.'	<i>zenu - vyenu</i>	<i>mwafaidi vyenu mambo</i>
<i>Wala zao raha</i>	'They are having fun, themselves.'	<i>zao - vyao</i>	<i>wala vyao raha</i>

7.2.6. Final vowel lengthening in the Utenzi zone.

Besides, their distinctive accent has long been mistaken for a variety of Kipemba of its own; the Kipemba speakers from the Utenzi zone tend to lengthen the final vowel of the last word in a phrase or sentence. This feature is found predominantly in Kojani island, Chwale, Madenjani, Shengejuu, Mwane, Kiwani, and neighbouring villages. The feature fades away at the peripheries of this zone in the paces such as Kiungoni, Shengejuu, Mashuga, Shangafu and Ole. Examples (143) to (145) below show the final vowel lengthening in the Utenzi zone.

(143) Kipemba (Kojani, KPN 2, Male, Child)

Na-kwamb-ia wa-ja pigw-a ku-n-chagu-li-wa-a-a-a-a! (Standard: *Ninakwambia unakuja pigwa. Umechaguliwa*)

'I am telling you; you are going to get the beatings. You have been chosen!'

(144) Kipemba (Chwale, KPN 2, Female, Youth)

Na-ka-a Chwale-e-e-e-e! (Standard: *Ninaka Chwale*)

'I live in Chwale.'

(145) Kipemba (Madenjani, KPN 2, Male, Adult)

Miye si-rikod- i- wa-a-a-a-a!

'I cannot be recorded.'

The final vowel lengthening in this area seems to occur in the last word of a sentence or a phrase, and it is mainly used for emphatic reasons. It is, therefore, worthwhile to note that not every word involves a final vowel lengthening, but the last word of sentences or phrases only applies. This feature is historically linked with the origins of the area's people. The name 'Utenzi' (the place for the bards) was perhaps derived from the tendency of a final vowel lengthening of the final words, making the users sound like they are singing a song or a poem when they speak.

7.2.7. The penultimate vowel lengthening: Wingwi -Micheweni peninsula zone.

Phonologically, the Wingwi-Micheweni peninsula is known for middle vowel lengthening in some words, particularly the last word in a phrase or a sentence. Middle vowel lengthening can be found frequently in Shumba N'jini village. The feature slightly fades as one moves further away from this village. The examples below were collected from Shumba N'jini and the greater Micheweni area. The lengthening becomes weaker as one heads further away from the inner circle of the zone where the Micheweni accent is more potent, in this case, Shumba N'jini.

(146) Kipemba (Shumba N'jini, KPN 3, Female, Youth)

Mw-a-tak-a pew- a (n'na-a-a-a-ni?) (Standard: *Mnataka kupewa na nani?*)

'Who is going to give you anything?'

(147) Kipemba (Micheweni, KPN 3, Female, Adult)

Fuat-a dad-e-yo u-ka-omb-e mu-u-u-u-u-ngu (Standard: *Fuata dada yako ukaombe mungu*)

'Follow in your sister's footsteps and seek God's blessings.'

7.2.8. The change of the final vowel /a/ into an /e/ in some kinship names

There is an unusual change of the final vowel /a/ to /e/ in some kinship names in the eastern zones, but most predominantly Utenzi (KPN 2), Wingwi- Micheweni Peninsula (KPN 3) and Tumbe zones (KPN 4). The names commonly affected by this change are *baba* (father), *mama* (mother), *dada* (sister), and *kaka* (brother), as shown below:

(148) Final vowels change from /a/ into /e/ in Kinship names. This Table represents the vowel changes occurring in the greater Wingwi - Micheweni (KPN 3) and Utenzi zone.

Word in Swahili	Word in Kipemba (Northeastern, especially Micheweni)	Vowel change
<i>baba</i>	<i>babe</i>	/a/ becomes /e/
<i>mama</i>	<i>mame</i>	/a/ becomes /e/
<i>dada</i>	<i>dade</i>	/a/ becomes /e/
<i>Kaka</i>	<i>kake</i>	/a/ becomes /e/

As noted in example (148) above, the changes in four kinship names are common in most parts of the Wingwi-Micheweni and some of the Utenzi zones. There are minor exceptions in the peripheral villages Micheweni zone, where, along with the Tumbe zone, the Table shows some slight change, as seen below:

(149) Final vowels change from /a/ into /e/ in some Kinship names outside Micheweni zone.

Word in Swahili	Word in Kipemba (Northeastern, especially Micheweni)	Vowel change
<i>baba</i>	<i>baba</i>	/a/ becomes /e/
<i>mama</i>	<i>mama</i>	/a/ becomes /e/
<i>dada</i>	<i>dada</i>	/a/ becomes /e/
<i>kaka</i>	<i>kake</i>	/a/ becomes /e/

Examples (148) and (149) above comparably present the data showing that the final vowel ending /e/ is probably the older form, probably from the possessive root -e- used in kinship

names in Kipemba. From the linguistic point of view, it seems that the kinship terms that retain the -e- form, probably from the possessive root, have been grammaticalised. In a more precise manner, -e- is a possessive structure, and the above forms underwent a grammaticalisation process along with possessive forms.

(150) Grammaticalisation of Possessive forms in some kinship names in Kipemba

Kinship name	Kinship name with possessive 'yake' (his/hers)	Gloss	Grammaticalisation (/a/ and /k/ are dropped from 'yake' to form 'ye')	Final Grammaticalised form (final /a/ in a noun assimilates with /e/)
<i>baba</i>	<i>baba yake</i>	his/her father	<i>babaye</i>	<i>babe</i>
<i>mama</i>	<i>mama yake</i>	his/her mother	<i>mamaye</i>	<i>mame</i>
<i>dada</i>	<i>dada yake</i>	his/her sister	<i>dadaye</i>	<i>dade</i>
<i>kaka</i>	<i>kaka yake</i>	his/her brother	<i>kakaye</i>	<i>kake</i>

Further to the discussion, what can be seen in example (150) occurred and still occurs predominantly in Micheweni areas, Utenzi zones and some southeast Pemba zones. Due to some linguistic factors, mainly and possibly historical factors, most of these words, except for *kake* ('brother') (see example 150), retain the final vowel /a/ and abandon the older final vowel ending /e/. Tumbe zones and most southeast zones of Pemba have exhibited this change significantly. It can also be noted that some parts of Utenzi, such as Kojani, Chwale, Kiwani and the greater Micheweni area, including Shumba N'jini, Maziwa Ng'ombe and Kiuyu M'buyuni, remain rather orthodox. Hence, most kinship terms stick with the final vowel ending /e/. However, the feature has become less popular among young, educated, and well-travelled Kipemba speakers from the above zones in recent years.

7.2.9. Zone-specific phonological features between North and South Pemba: validating the data and findings from the past studies.

This section refers to and responds to the findings from the past work of Siti Ali (2015) on variations between North and South Kipemba, as discussed in the literature review chapter earlier. In her study, Ali noted significant phonological differences between North and South Kipemba. Among the phonological differences noted were consonant, vowel, and semi-vowel contrasts between Kipemba spoken in the North and South. To replicate or further substantiate the findings of Ali's study, I developed a questionnaire, partly with words similar to those used by Ali and others, my own words that had a similar sound pattern as Ali's. The questionnaire was administered to adult males and females from the same villages Ali used to collect her data. The villages were Kangani, Muambe (Mwambe) and Chokocho (all N'koani East zone - KPS 7).

Compared with the data found in Ali's study earlier, when I did the same, the responses from the participants showed minimal lexical variations between Kipemba spoken in Pemba's Northern and Southern zones than what Ali had found (see Appendix 4 C). The lexical variation found between one place to another is more of stylistic (contextual) preferences between the users of one place and another rather than the difference per se. For example, almost all words Ali claimed to be used in the South are common in the North and the opposite. The word *kenua* (grin) used in the North corresponds to *kenya* (grin) in the South; both words are and can often be found in both South and North Pemba. This argument justifies that even though the findings show that there is outwardly a lot of lexical variation between North and South, the lexical variation we see in Kipemba is essentially for stylistic (contextual) reasons – the words used are usually replaced by their equivalent synonyms, mainly familiar to all speakers from around Pemba. The same findings apply to variations in vowels between the South and North, as shown in Appendix 4 C. The same applies to Ali's work on changing Semi vowels between North and South Kipemba speakers (see Appendix D). Ali argued that most words that contain a semi-vowel /w/, as in *bauwa* ('pee') in north Pemba, are pronounced with a semi-vowel /y/, as in *bauya* in South Pemba. However, when I administered the same questionnaire to the participants from the villages where Ali collected her data, the results showed no change in semi-vowels. From my data presented above, contrary to the earlier findings, I found that sound correspondence and variation, as seen above, vary only depending on the speakers, which means the variations we see here are more variations of linguistic idiosyncrasy than zone-specific linguistic features shared in a larger geographical area such as South or North Pemba.

7.2.10. Further discussion on zone-specific phonological features in Kipemba.

In this section, I examined and analysed zone-specific phonological features in Kipemba. The phonological data show that most old phonological features are found in the Northeast Pemba and, to a lesser degree, Southeast zones of Pemba. The data also reveal that linguistic zones such as Utenzi (KPN 2), Wingwi- Micheweni peninsula (KPN 3), Tumbe zones (KPN 4) and to a relatively lesser degree, Southeastern zones retain some old phonological features in Kipemba that are now rarely found in some other linguistic zones of Pemba. This section presented features such as:

- The post alveolar affricate /tʃ/ and post alveolar fricative /ʃ/ contrast.
- The /ch/ to /kj/ contrast
- The lateral /l/ to /ly/ contrast
- The glottal fricative /h/ to velar plosive //k/ contrast.
- The Alveolar fricative /z/ as Labio Dental Fricative /v/ contrast
- The Alveolar fricative /z/ as Labio Dental Fricative /v/ contrast
- Final vowel lengthening in the Utenzi zone.
- The penultimate vowel lengthening: Wingwi - Micheweni peninsula zone.
- The change of the final vowel /a/ into an /e/ in some kinship names

These phonological features are marginal across Pemba, apart from the Utenzi zone, where most speakers of all ages seem to be using them; elsewhere, these features are found predominantly among adult and elderly users. Historically, these features account for a few old phonological forms that remain active among Kipemba users of these linguistic zones. However, from the findings of this study, the use of these features is diminishing throughout Pemba because of increasing contacts, interaction, and schooling, among other factors that bring in new phonological features from Kiunguja and Standard Swahili into Kipemba, hence replacing the old ones. The data also show that, at present, only a few people from Northeastern Pemba zones, mainly adults and older people, use these phonological features in their speech.

7.3. Zone-specific morphosyntactic features in Kipemba.

In this section, I examine and analyse morphosyntactic features found in specific zones in Pemba. Among the features found to be zone specific to Kipemba are the uses of copula verbs, the old subjunctive forms *-le-* and the older affirmative and negative forms of verbs now rarely found among the Kipemba speakers of specific age groups and linguistic zones. In the discussion on old verb forms, I also refer to the stories, works of literature such as folk songs,

poetry, and histories and etymologies of place names in Pemba as narrated by my well-informed elderly consultants. I then discuss the findings supporting my argument with first-hand examples from the data I collected in Pemba.

7.3.1. Noun class agreements: Augmentative and diminutive forms in Kipemba

In most linguistic zones of Pemba, the Kipemba speakers exhibited unusual ways of expressing augmentative and diminutive references. In the traditional and now standard Swahili noun class system, augmentative classes 5 and 6 are usually marked by (\emptyset /MA or JI/MA). On the other hand, the diminutive classes 7 and 8 are marked by (KI/VI). However, the two classes are represented differently in most parts of Pemba, mainly East and some parts of West Pemba. In this section, I present the results of various forms of argumentative and diminutive references in Kipemba, starting with augmentative references below:

- **The augmentative class**

In Kipemba, augmentative class is not only formed with the usual classes 5 and 6, but it is formed by classes 3 and 4 and, in some cases, in combination with classes 5 and 6, and are marked by the nasal *n'*- for class 3 and *mi*- for the plural class 4 form. Interestingly, the class 3 and 4 augmentative forms affect noun classes 1 and 2, 5 and 6, 7 and 8, and 9 and 10. As highlighted earlier in chapter six earlier in some cases, Kipemba uses double augmentative prefixes – class 9 (*n*) and class 5 (*ji*) as shown in the example below.

(151)The augmentative forms for classes 1 – 2, 7 – 8 and 9 -10 in Kipemba

Word	Noun class	Gloss	Singular	Plural
<i>ntu</i>	1/2 – (m/wa)	person	<i>n'-ji-tu</i>	<i>mi-ji-tu</i>
<i>mbwa</i>	1/2 - (m/wa)	dog	<i>n'-ji-bwa</i>	<i>mi-ji-bwa</i>
<i>ng'ombe</i>	1/2 -(m/wa)	cow	<i>n'-gombe</i>	<i>mi-gombe</i>
<i>kichwa</i>	7/8 - (ki/vi)	head	<i>n'-ji-chwa</i>	<i>mi-ji-chwa</i>
<i>kisu</i>	7/8 – (ki/vi)	knife	<i>n'-ji-su</i>	<i>mi-ji-su</i>
<i>kibanda</i>	7/8 – (ki/vi)	hut	<i>n'-banda</i>	<i>mi-banda</i>
<i>shimo</i>	9/10 – (n class)	pit	<i>n'-shimo</i>	<i>mi-shimo</i>
<i>nyumba</i>	9/10 - (n class)	house	<i>n'-jumba</i>	<i>mi-jumba</i>
<i>chavu /shavu</i>	9/10 - (n class)	cheek	<i>n'-chavu/n'-shavu</i>	<i>mi-chavu/mishavu</i>

The examples above show that class 5 *-ji-* monosyllabic stem is retained in class 1 and 2 augmentative nouns. Nouns such as *n'tu* (*n'jitu*), *mbwa* (*n'jibwa*), *kisu* (*n'jisu*), among others,

apart from adding *-n'* singular and *-mi-* forms, they added a monosyllabic *-ji-* to complement the augmentative structure.

Apart from the above examples, there are some interesting findings on the formation of nouns from classes 5 and 6 with classes 3 and 4 in Kipemba, as shown in the example from a participant from Shumba N'jini (KPN3) below:

(152)Kipemba (Shumba N'jini, KPN 3, Child, Male)

Ama mi-ji kuvu-u-u-ta, (miji ile kuja-a-a-a. Ile m'miji kuto-o-o-o-ka)

ADV. truly 4-water INF-fast moving currents

'The seawater currents were, truly, moving fast, like of high tide, but it was, indeed, a low tide.'

As seen in (152) above, the word *maji* ('water'), which is in class 6, its augmentative form is marked by class 4 *mi-* (*miji*) a colossal mass of water) in this part of Pemba to express augmentative meaning. From the data I collected, the augmentative classes 3 and 4 in Kipemba apply to all other noun classes 1 to 10. Below are more original augmentative class 5 examples that have become classes 3 and 4 in Kipemba. It can be noted that these augmentative forms have a semantic role in the words they refer to. For example, class 3 and 4 *augmentative* markers may denote something huge but can also refer to something ugly, detested, or unpleasant in shape or look. Therefore, the augmentative words in the Tables below could mean one of the two – something enormous, hideous or both. It can be noted in all the examples given here, and afterwards, it is interesting that with monosyllabic such as *jiwe* and *jino* below, the *-ji* from class 5 is retained in the plural.

(153)The augmentative forms class 5 appearing as class 3 in Kipemba

Class 5 Noun	Gloss	Singular	Plural
<i>jiwe</i>	stone	<i>n'jiwe</i>	<i>mijiwe</i>
<i>gari</i>	car	<i>n'gari</i>	<i>migari</i>
<i>jengo</i>	building	<i>n'jengo</i>	<i>mijengo</i>
<i>jahazi</i>	dhow	<i>n'jahazi</i>	<i>mijahazi</i>
<i>tumbo</i>	stomach	<i>n'tumbo</i>	<i>mitumbo</i>
<i>pua</i>	nose	<i>n'pua</i>	<i>mipua</i>
<i>jino</i>	tooth	<i>n'jino</i>	<i>mijino</i>

These augmentative forms are prevalent among Kipemba speakers mainly found in the Eastern parts of Pemba, including the dominant zones of Utenzi (KPN 2), Wingwi - Micheweni peninsula (KPN 3) and Tumbe zone (KPN 4).

- **The diminutive class**

Unlike the classes used as augmentative markers, the diminutive markers in Kipemba remain the same as those from standard Swahili, class 7/8, KI -VI for singular and plural forms. However, the sense of diminutiveness remains semantically favourable if used with lexical class 7 and 8 nouns. If this class is used for other classes, it may denote more than smallness. For example, if the 'diminutive' class is used for inanimate nouns, it may denote smallness, the unpleasantness of shape or look, or both. On the one hand, if used with animate classes 1 and 2, it can mean smallness, unpleasantness, and, in most cases, may denote contempt, denigration or demeaning. The example below shows the diminutive forms of nouns from different noun classes in Kipemba. Like augmentative stems, the diminutive monosyllabic forms also retain -*ji-*.

(154)The Diminutive forms in Kipemba.

Word	Noun Class	Gloss	Singular	Plural
<i>bibi</i>	1/2 – (m/wa)	grandmother	<i>kibibi</i>	<i>vibibi</i>
<i>mbwa</i>	1/2 - (m/wa)	dog	<i>kijibwa</i>	<i>vijibwa</i>
<i>mkono</i>	3/4 – (m/mi)	hand/arm	<i>kikono</i>	<i>vikono</i>
<i>jiwe</i>	5/6 –(0/ma)	stone	<i>kijiwe</i>	<i>vijiwe</i>
<i>kichwa</i>	7/8 – (ki-vi)	head	<i>kijichwa</i>	<i>vijichwa</i>
<i>shimo</i>	9/10 – (n)	pit	<i>kishimo</i>	<i>vishimo</i>
<i>uso</i>	11 - (u)	face	<i>kijuso</i>	<i>vijuso</i>

7.3.1. Some distinctive adverbs, exclamations and ideophones in Kipemba

In this chapter and the previous two, I addressed some morphosyntactic features (including clitics) covered in Said's (2009) study “*Viangami katika Kipemba*”. The data I found show that Kipemba hoards a vast number of distinctive features of clitics in the form of adverbs, exclamations, and ideophones used only in Pemba or, to be more precise, some parts of Pemba especially and specifically, the Eastern parts of the island. The only notable difference between Said's and my study in the findings on clitics is the geographical area her study covered. For Said, most of the clitics covered in her study are found in a specific ward in the Utenzi zone. It nevertheless does not mention whether the clitics found in Utenzi zone are found elsewhere in Pemba, assuming, like many other previous researchers mentioned earlier, the authentic Kipemba dialect is only spoken in some areas of Pemba such as Utenzi and Micheweni. From the linguistic data collected throughout Pemba, I found that Kipemba's distinctive clitics that

Said argues were found in the Utenzi zone are prevalent in most parts of Pemba and are, indeed, predominant in the Eastern zones of the island. Since most of the description of clitics has been broadly covered in Said's study, in this section, I focus solely on unique adverbs, exclamations, and ideophones I found most peculiar and most prevalent in most parts of Pemba rather than a few ward-specific clitics. From the data I collected throughout Pemba, I concur with Said that the most distinctive Kipemba of adverbs and exclamations are used as clitics in Kipemba. From the findings of this study, the following adverbs and prepositions were noted as unique in Kipemba speech forms and are discussed at length here. Among the Kipemba distinctive forms covered here are:

(155) Some distinctive adverbs, exclamations, and prepositions in Kipemba.

Original form	Gloss	Adverb, exclamations in Shortened for
<i>hata</i>	until negating	<i>ta!</i>
<i>haya</i>	alright	<i>ha!</i>
<i>pia</i>	all of it	<i>pya!</i>
<i>kwamba</i>	that	<i>amba!</i>
<i>angalau</i>	at least	<i>nga!</i>
<i>to!</i>	feel good	<i>to!</i>
<i>mushkeli</i>	uncertainty	<i>keli</i>

- *Keli* ('maybe')

The word '*keli*' is probably the older form corresponding to *labda* or *pengine* in Standard Swahili. This structure is used in some parts of Pemba, especially in the Northeastern zones such as Wingwi, Micheweni, Tumbe and Utenzi. The excerpt of the conversation below illustrates the use of *keli* in Kipemba.

(156) Kipemba (Wingwi- Micheweni, KPN 3, Conversation)

Woman 1: (*Ha*) *li-le Manga li- n'- sibiw-a n'-ni?*
 EXCL 5-DEM 5. Omani Arab SM5- PERF beget – FV COP-what?
 'What exactly has begotten the Omani Arab man?'

Woman 2: (*Ta*) *si-ji! Keli li-n'-ku-py-a!*
 EXCL SM1.NEG- know ADV.maybe 5.SG- PERF- OBJ.1- burn-FV.
 'No idea at all! Maybe he got burnt.'

The two women were talking about the old Omani Arab with skin problems that looked like vitiligo sitting outside his home in a peri-urban village of Pandani, Wete zone. The two women

seemed unfamiliar with the symptom upon seeing the man's white patched skin. Since they did not know it was, perhaps, vitiligo, with uncertainty (expressed with *keli*) they thought the man might have burnt. Intriguingly, in their speech, two more forms, *ha* (*haya*) and *ta* (*hata*) exclamations markers were also used in the conversation, but what is more fascinating is the use of class 5 augmentative structures in describing a person who is, by default, a class 1 and 2 noun class. Contrary to the standard Swahili norms of noun class agreement, the women described the man as ‘*Manga*’ (Class 5) instead of ‘*Mmanga*’ (Class 1). Since the man (subject) is treated as a class 5 subject, the rest of the structure, including demonstratives (*lile*) and verbal prefixes (*li-*), had to conform to class 5 agreement. As discussed earlier, making class 1 nouns as class 5 has, in most cases, some unpleasant semantic connotations in Kipemba, and the ‘*Manga*’ (an Omani Arab) is not an exception. Historically, Omani Arabs are linked with the slave trade in Zanzibar and some allegedly atrocious treatment towards other local Africans. Speaking of them disparagingly with class 5 connotation, here is, perhaps, a projection of people's attitude towards Araba and their regimes in Zanzibar. According to this study, the speech forms discussed here are used broadly in Utenzi, Wingwi-Micheweni, and Tumbe and, to a lesser degree, the Southeastern zones of Pemba.

- **The affix *nga-* ('at least')**

Nga, corresponding to Standard Swahili *angalau* ('at least'), is another prominent feature in some parts of Kipemba. Sometimes, *-nga-* is used as a suffix (157) or an independent morphological unit (158).

(157) Kipemba (Micheweni, KPN 3, Male, Youth)

Ah! kama wa-jua-nga ku-ji-hami?
EXC! If SM2- know - at least INF- self-defence.
 'Oh! I wonder If you at least knew the basics of self-defence?'

(158) Kipemba (Tumbe, KPN 4, Female, Adult)

N'-gaiya-ni na-mi nga ki-hanu cha nazi ha-kun-e!
SM1-give- PL CONJ-me at least 7- piece of 9. Coconut SM1.SUBJ -grate
 'Give me the least of a half-piece of coconut to grate.'

The “*nga*” is also used in a prefix position, mainly if used with interrogative markers or quantifiers in some Kipemba linguistic zones.

(159) Kipemba (Minungwini, KPN 2, Female, Adult)

Jamaa mu-n'-pik-a nga'- ani?
2. Folks SM2 -PERF-cook- FV at least – something?
 'Folks, have you cooked at least something?'

These features can also be found sporadically in other southeast zones of Pemba.

- **The form *amba*** ('as said, say')

Another distinctive feature in Kipemba is *amba* as a lexical verb meaning 'say'. This differs from using a more grammaticalised form of *amba* as a relative marker or complementiser in Standard Swahili. These grammatical uses have developed from an old Swahili word, *kwamba* ('to say'), and this more lexical meaning has been retained in Kipemba, as seen in Kipemba's famous greeting "*Wambaje?*"

(160) Kipemba (General greetings)

Wa-amba-je?

SM2SG.PRES-say-what?

'What do you say? / How are you?'

In another grammaticalisation process in Kipemba, the word *kwamba* can be used without infinitival *ku-* simply as *amba*, retaining its original meaning, as in the example below.

(161) Kipemba (Wingwi, KPN 3, Male, Child)

Ly-a-ni-uwat-a

amba

'sore'!

SM5-PRES-OM1SG-trample-FV,

say

sorry!

'S/he tramples on (my foot with boots) and says, sorry!'

The use of *amba* in this context is commonly found in Utenzi, Wingwi-Micheweni, and Tumbe zones.

- *Pya!* (**all of it**), *Taa!* (**'excessively, too much**), and *to!* (**'feel good'**)

The above exclamations or ideophones are minor grammatical categories in Kipemba but have a considerable role in users' daily communication. The form *Pya!* Shows the degree of impact or effect caused by the action. It is used to mean 'all of it, as in the example below:

(162) Kipemba (Wingwi, KPN 3, Female, Adult)

N'-tak-a

vyaa!

n-si-uk-e

pya!

SM1SG.PRES-want

give birth

SM1SG-NEG-leave- SUBJ

all

'I want to continue breeding (children), so I do not die completely!'

In the above example, the lady pointed out that having more children makes someone immortal. When you have children, your name and family continue to live even when you are no more. That is why she said, "*nsiuke pya!*"- Which means I should not leave (the world) and be entirely forgotten because I leave no child behind. The expression *pya*, here, was used to mean 'all of me or completely'. This feature is predominant in the speech forms of adult female speakers, mainly from Eastern parts of Pemba.

Like previous phrases discussed in this section, Daulat Said (2009) first studied the expression, *Taa!* In her study on clitics in Kipemba. According to Said, these forms of clitics were found

in the Utenzi zone. However, this study found these forms used in most parts of Pemba, especially in the Eastern zones. The *Taa!* Is used emphatically to show the frequency of occurrence of an action. In English equivalent terms, it may mean 'extremely, excessively or repeatedly too much', as in the example below:

- (163) Kipemba (Utenzi, KPN 2, Male, Adult)
E-n-zing-a *taa!*
 SM1PST-OM1-search-FV a lot (so much)
 'S/he looked for him/her a lot/so much.'

The *Taa!* Of frequency is close to the temporal *ta* ('until'). It is used to show the time frame of the action. In Kipemba, the *ta* is used to show the result or outcome of the action.

- (164) Kipemba (Tumbe, KPN 4, Female, Youth)
N-e-chek-a (*ta*) *hi-gw-a!*
 SM1SG-PST-laugh-FV (until) SM1SG.PAST.CONT-fell-FV
 'I laughed until I fell.'

The last similar form is *-to!* Used mainly to show the sense of gratification of the doer of the action. It is used to express a sense of feeling good, mainly by adult female Kipemba users in most Eastern zones of Pemba. Its primary use is mainly sarcastic or ironic, used when the speaker is unhappy but helpless with the action done. In Kipemba, the *-to!* Is usually used in the suffix position. It is attached to the verb it qualifies, as in (165) below.

- (165) Kipemba (Utenzi, KPN 2, Female, Adult)
I-vunj-e *u-on-e-to!*
 SM9-break-SUBJ SM2SG-see- SUBJ-good/fine.
 'Break it so you can feel good/gratified.'

From the observation, the clitics used here are used mostly and widely for emphatic reasons. As can be seen, some of the clitics discussed here are unrelated, derived and shortened from a full word, mainly adverb, and some, their stem or root remain unclear. However, their use is highly distinctive to most users of Kipemba, most notably the users from the Eastern parts of the island who, according to this study, retained most old Kipemba linguistic features compared to those in the Western parts.

7.3.2. Copula Omission, Absence, or minimal use of the variable copula verb *ni-* in Southern Kipemba zones

The omission of the copula, also known as 'copula dropping', is a common phenomenon cross-linguistically (Pustet, 2003). Copula omission can be optional or compulsory. It can usually "occur with a restricted set of grammatical categories" (Gibson et al., 2019: 9). According to Pustet (2003), copula omissions may occur when both nouns and adjectives can be combined

with copula forms. As for Kipemba, copula omission is optional and occurs only in specific linguistic zones in Pemba. The variable copula verb form *-N-* ('is/am/are') is widely popular in North Kipemba speech forms. Still, according to the data I collected, this feature is either not used or used minimally and optionally in the South Pemba zones of Nkoani East (KPS 7) and Nkoani West (KPS 8) as in the examples below:

(166) Kipemba (Kengeja, KPS 7, Male, Adult)

Weye mwana-ngwa wa maalim X?
 SM1- 1. child- POSS 1. of 1. teacher X
 'Are you the child of teacher X?'

(167) Kipemba (Kengeja, KPS 7, Female, Child)

Yule X. Yule m-pole
 1. DEM X. 1. DEM 1- unwell (mentally)
 'That is X. That (X) is mentally unwell.'

Likewise, copula *-ni-* is also used minimally in the Nkoani west zone, as shown in examples (168) and (169) below:

(168) Kipemba (Nkoani town, KPS 8, Male, Youth)

Juisi zake yule mbaya z-a-wash-a!
 9. juice 9. POSS1.DEM bad SM.9 -PRES- hot- FV
 'His/her juices are not good; they are spicy!'

(169) Kipemba (Tironi, KPS 8, Interview Data, PUN 78)

Mu'ume wangu kwao Kilindi
 1.husband 1. POSS18.POSSPlace
 'My husband is originally from Kilindi.'

Copula *-ni-* is generally not widely used in Pemba's Nkoani East and West zones. The use of this structure is limited and sometimes absent in some users' speech form in this area compared to other parts of Pemba.

7.3.3. Kipemba past locative forms with verbs 'to be' and 'to have'

In some parts of Pemba, predominantly northeast, the past locative forms of *kuwa na* ('to have') and *kuwa* ('to be') are slightly different from those used in Standard Swahili and some western parts of Pemba as shown in the example below:

(170) *The past locative forms of Verbs 'to be' kuwa and 'to have' kuwa na in Kipemba.*

Verbs	Tensed Locative Class (Past) - PA-MU-KU			
	Western Pemba		Eastern Pemba (mainly North)	
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
To have ((there had been/not)	<i>kulikuwa na</i>	<i>hakwekuwa na</i>	<i>kwena</i>	<i>hakwena/hekwena</i>
	<i>palikuwa na</i>	<i>hapekuwa na</i>	<i>pena</i>	<i>hapena/hepena</i>
	<i>mulikuwa na</i>	<i>hamwekuwa na</i>	<i>mwena</i>	<i>hamwena/hemwena</i>
To be (there was/ was not)	<i>kulikuwa</i>	<i>hakwekuwa</i>	<i>kwekuwa</i>	<i>hakwekuwa/hekwekuwa</i>
	<i>palikuwa</i>	<i>hapekuwa</i>	<i>pekuwa</i>	<i>hapekuwa/hepekuwa</i>
	<i>mulikuwa</i>	<i>hamukuwa</i>	<i>mwekuwa</i>	<i>hamwekuwa/hemwekuwa</i>

Even though example (170) shows variations in past locative verbs “to be” and “to have” between West and East Pemba. The data show that the past tense *li-* is widely used in the Western parts, arguably due to the ongoing contact with Kiunguja and the influence of Standard Swahili through schooling. Past tense marker is rare and not so popular among the speakers from many parts of West Pemba. Conversely, this tense marker does not seem to be native to Kipemba. Its use is limited to linguistic constructions and geographical areas such as Western parts of Pemba. Besides locative forms, the past tense forms of verbs 'to have' and 'to be' change with personal pronouns and other noun classes in most, not all, linguistic zones of Pemba. However, these variations are too fluid to tell whether they are generic or zone-specific in Kipemba. Various forms of these verbs across noun classes are used interchangeably among the Kipemba speakers. In this area of study, amid the challenge of lack of time, space and sufficient data that remains unclear in terms of the zones they are used in, it still sounds like an interesting topic to explore further.

7.3.4. The suffixal interrogative forms in Kipemba

Interrogative forms are usually used with nouns or pronouns. However, in the Northeast and some parts of Southeast Pemba, an interrogative form *ni* is sometimes used as a verbal suffix.

(171) The use of interrogative form *ni-* in suffix position between East and West zones of Pemba

Verb	Western zones	Eastern zones	Gloss
<i>taka</i>	<i>wataka nini?</i>	<i>watakani?</i>	What do you want?
<i>zinga</i>	<i>mwazinga nini?</i>	<i>mwazingani?</i>	What are you looking for?
<i>fanya</i>	<i>twafanya nini?</i>	<i>twafanyani?</i>	What are we doing?
<i>Tongoa/sema</i>	<i>asema nini?</i>	<i>atongoani?</i>	What does s/he say?

Even though the data shows that the interrogative form *ni-* is used in the suffix position in most of the East Pemba zones, I also noted a few instances of their use in some West Pemba zones.

(172) Kipemba (N'zambaru Karimu, KPN 1, Female, Adult)

Wa-teg-uwa-ni?

SM2SG.PRES-dismount-PASS-what?

'What is it in the pot you dismount?'

7.3.5. Some unusual verb endings in Kipemba

Besides being agglutinating, Swahili is also an open-syllable language. It is an open syllable if words, including nouns and verbs, end with a vowel. Swahili verbs in different tense-aspect forms have specific vowel endings in affirmative and negative forms. Almost all Swahili affirmative verbs end with the vowel /a/ or vowels /e/, /i/ and /u/ for the loan verbs. The negative forms, depending on the tense-aspect form of a verb, may end with an /i/ for present and habitual forms or vowels /a/, /e/, /i/ and /u/. These features apply to other Swahili varieties, including Kipemba, but with some exceptions. In some linguistic zones, such as Utenzi (KPN 2) and Wingwi - Micheweni peninsula (KPN 3), some verbal endings, particularly in the affirmative perfective and present negative forms, have some unusual endings as in the example below:

(173) Kipemba (Madenjani, KPN 2, Male, Adult)

Si-rikod-iw-a

SM1SG.NEGrecord-PASS-FV

'I cannot be recorded.'

In example (173) above, the present negative form of the verb *sirikodiwa* is negated with an /a/ ending instead of the standard form ending /i/, which would be *sirikodiwi*. Before I proceed with further examples, it is worth highlighting that many users speak most forms found in the Eastern zones in Utenzi. Still, in other parts of Pemba, only adults and elderly people use them frequently. Further and similar examples to above, here in present form but with different subject pronouns, are given in the Table below.

(174) The use of interrogative form -ni- in suffix position between east and west zones of Pemba

Kipemba as spoken in the Western zones.			Kipemba as spoken in Northeastern zones (KPN 2, 3 and 4)		
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative	Gloss
<i>fanya</i> (do)	<i>afanya</i>	<i>hafanyi</i>	<i>afanya</i>	<i>hafanya</i>	s/he does/ not
<i>lala</i> (sleep)	<i>nalala</i>	<i>halali</i>	<i>nalala</i>	<i>silala</i>	I sleep /not
<i>piga</i> (hit)	<i>mwapiga</i>	<i>hamupigi</i>	<i>mwapiga</i>	<i>hamupiga</i>	You hit/ do not
<i>sema</i> (speak)	<i>twasema</i>	<i>hatusemi</i>	<i>twasema</i>	<i>hatusema</i>	We speak/ do not
<i>cheza</i> (play)	<i>wacheza</i>	<i>hawachezi</i>	<i>wacheza</i>	<i>hawacheza</i>	They play/ do not

Perfective forms also have some unusual verb endings that occur in affirmative forms only. These forms, again, are predominant among the adult and elderly speakers in the northeast zones of Pemba. This feature can also be seen occasionally among the older speakers from the Southeast zones.

(175) Kipemba (*Maziwa N'gombe*, KPN 3, Female, Elderly)
(M'baki) ka-ni-pat-i
 SM1.PERF-OM1SG-get-FV.
 'M'baki got me!'

(176) Kipemba (*Madenjani*, KPN 2, Male, Adult)
(Kuku) ka-t-i
 (1-chicken) SM1.PERF-lay_egg-FV.
 'Our chicken laid an egg'.

In addition to the above, I recorded an example like (177) below in Chambani (KPS 5), as seen below:

(177) Kipemba (*Chambani*, KPS 5, Female, Elderly)
Ka-t-i igi
 SM1PERF-lay an egg-FV.
 'My chicken laid an egg.'

When the verb ends with double vowels as in prepositional verb forms, the endings usually take the form of *-li-* as in the example below:

(178) Kipemba (Kojani, KPN 2, Child, Male)

“*Mule mwetu ‘mungili’ nyoka ‘tumuu’ kwa n’sumari m’mbamba*”

Mu-ngi-li

tu- mu- u

SM18-enter-APPL

SM1PL.PERF-kill-FV.

'The snake entered our house, and we killed it with an attenuated iron bar.'

From the example (178) above, two verb forms, *mungili* ('enter a place') and *tumuu* ('we killed'), have different vowel endings. The first part, *ngili* which corresponds to *ingia*, seems rather interesting here. It seems that *li-* here is an applicative suffix. Is the root not *-(i)ngila -*, so what is curious here is the final vowel in *-i*, but I think we have seen this above. The /u/ in *mu-u* looks like vowel copying. Some varieties of Swahili have a copy of the root vowel in some tenses; this instance could be one of those instances. However, to explain them, in this case, I want to refer to the stories on the etymological origins of two villages in Pemba.

Some unusual verb endings in Kipemba:

Evidence from the origins of the village names of Kiuyu (KPN 3) and Birikau (KPS 6) as told by native older consultants. In this sub-section, I relate the morphological characteristics of certain verb endings with the origins of place names that share the same morphosyntactic characteristics in Pemba. During my interviews with elderly consultants, I was keen to know the historical origins of the village names in Pemba. Among the names with vast and substantial morphological significance were Kiuyu village in Micheweni (Wingwi-Micheweni zone) and Birikau village, found further West of Chake Chake town (N'kumbuu zone, Chake Chake). According to my elderly consultants, one from Kiuyu and another from Birikau, the two villages' names were once verbs, not nouns. The name *Kiuyu* was derived from the verb *uya* ('come back, return'), and *ki-* is a diminutive noun class 7 prefix used here to refer to a person. The story of Kiuyu, as told by my consultant, began when an older woman left Kiuyu to look for a new but better place to live around the Micheweni area.

The older woman left for Micheweni village (in those days called Michawini). The name *Michawini* was derived from the word *uchawi* ('witchcraft'); hence, the name *Michawini* as it was meant a place full of witches and wizards. The class 4 prefix *mi-* in *Michawini* here has the morphological role of an augmentative marker in Kipemba. The old augmentative markers in Kipemba have been covered in an earlier sub-section of this chapter. To cut a long story short, the older woman found it difficult to cope with the life of Micheweni, and she returned

to Kiuyu. Upon seeing her, the people started saying, "*Kile kibibi Kiuyu!*" ('That elderly woman has returned/come back'). As for Birikau, derived from the verb *ua/uwa* ('kill'), the consultant here said there once lived a person called M'biri. One day, M'biri lost his temper and killed his fellow villagers instantly. The story of the murder began to spread via word of mouth, saying, "*Jama' M'biri kau'u*" ('Fellows, M'biri has killed someone'). Since then, the village where M'biri killed someone has been known as *Birikau*. From the data collected and the evidence presented earlier, I found that when the verb in perfective form involves vowels *a-*, *e-*, and *i-* in harmony, the verb ends with an *i-*. For the verbs that have an *o-* and *u-* in harmony, they retain the same vowel endings respectively, as summarised in the example below:

(179) Perfective verb ending forms in some Eastern zones of Pemba.

The verb in perfect form (2 nd person Singular)	Gloss	Vowel involved	Verb ending	Final Vowel
<i>kapata</i>	s/he got	a	<i>kapati</i>	i
<i>kapewa</i>	s/he was given	e	<i>kapewi</i>	i
<i>kapiga</i>	s/he hit	i	<i>kapigi</i>	i
<i>kapona</i>	s/he healed	o	<i>kapono</i>	o
<i>kauwa</i>	s/he killed	u	<i>kauu</i>	o
<i>kalala</i>	s/he slept	a	<i>kalali</i>	i

7.3.6. Zone-specific Tenses and Aspects in Kipemba

From the data collected in Pemba, I found that some tenses and aspects not originally from Kipemba are used in some parts, especially in the Western linguistic zones of Pemba. In my dialectological survey on tenses and aspects in Kipemba, I asked the respondents whether the sentences were in Kipemba (see appendix). The Tense and aspects survey questionnaire contained phrases and sentences from Standard Swahili and Kipemba. In response, less than 25% of the respondents agreed that perfective *me-*, *mesha-*, past *li-*, present *na-*, and habitual *hu-* are not typically from Kipemba. From my observation and interpretation, these tenses and aspect forms are used predominantly in Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. My linguistic data, however, show increased use of these tense and aspect markers in some parts of Pemba, such as N'koani West, Chake Chake and, to a lesser degree, Wete. In other words, these features were diffused and accommodated into the speech forms of Kipemba spoken in the major urban towns of Pemba and the vicinities. Interestingly, using the above tense-aspects forms is rare in

the Eastern parts of Pemba. From my observation, apart from the urban towns in the Western parts, these tense aspects forms are frequently used by well-travelled Pembans, youth, and educated Kipemba users elsewhere in Pemba. The examples (180), (181), (182), (183) and (184) below show the infrequent use of the tense-aspects forms from Kiunguja as accommodated into daily Kipemba use.

(180) Kipemba (Manyaga, KPS 8, Female, Elderly)

A-me-olew-a
SM1 -PERF-marry-FV.
'S/he is married.'

(181) Kipemba (Chake Chake, KPS 6, Male, Adult)

A-mesha-farik-i
SM1 -UNEXPPERF- die-FV.
'S/he has already died.'

(182) Kipemba (Makoongwe, KPS 8, Female, Adult)

N-li-kwend-a (*ntizama ntoto wa Ally*)
SM1SG- PAST-go-FV.
'I went.'

(183) Kipemba (Wete, KPN 1, Female, Adult)

M-na-fany-a *nini?*
SM2PL-PRES-do-FV what
'What are you doing?'

(184) Kipemba (Nkoani West, KPS 8, Male, Adult)

Hu-pit- a *a-pa!*
HAB-pass-FV DEM-16
'S/he usually passes here.'

Even though these structures can be found in Kipemba speech forms, they are rare and limited in their use in their specific linguistic zones and particular groups of people – well-travelled and educated ones from Pemba.

7.3.7. The -le- subjunctive form: the N'gongele phenomenon?

In Standard Swahili grammar and Kipemba, a subjunctive form is a form of the verb that can be used to express politeness. It is the most preferred polite form of speech used mainly in place of the lexical politeness marker *tafadhali* ('please') is used only on formal occasions in both Kipemba and Standard Swahili. The subjunctive form can often be used to give suggestions, directions, and instructions and politely ask for things. In Standard Swahili, forming a subjunctive form involves changing the final vowel /a/ into an /e/. For instance, the word *andika* ('write', imperative form) becomes *uandike* ('please write' or 'you should write')

when changed to the subjunctive form. In Kipemba, the subjunctive forms are, to a large extent, the same as in Standard Swahili. Nonetheless, in some linguistic zones, such as Utenzi (KPN 2), Wingwi- Micheweni peninsula (KPN 3), and parts of Nkoani East, some of the speakers use subjunctive forms endings *-le* instead of *-e*, presumably only when the (Standard) verb form ends in two vowels as in *mwambile* ('tell him/her') instead of the more standard form, *mwambie*. The *-le* subjunctive form came to my attention in the early 1990s when someone told me the story of the people of the Micheweni area, linguistically known as “the N'gongele” the name attributed to their frequent use of unusual *-le* subjunctive forms. The N'gongele people are found predominantly in the greater Micheweni area in villages such as Micheweni, Shumba N'jini, Kiuyu, Maziwa N'gombe, Kyupwe, Sebu dawa and N'jini Wingwi. Initially, I thought the use of *-le* was limited to some people and some verb structures only in this area. After conducting this study, I found that the *-le* subjunctive form applies to various verb forms beyond the 'N'gongele' phenomenon. The examples below illustrate the use of *-le* subjunctive forms in Utenzi and Wingwi -Micheweni zones and some parts of Nkoani East (KPS 7).

(185) Kipemba (Kojani, KPN 2, Female, Youth)

Huyu usintile. Twendeni tukagele!''

U-si-n'-ti-le

twendeni

tu-ka-ge-le

SM2SG-NEG-OM1SG-put -SBJV SM1PL-*go-PL* SM1PL-CONSEC– dispose-SBJV.

'Please do not put it in (here).

Let us dispose of the rubbish.'

Apart from Kojani island and the nearby villages in the Utenzi zone, where this feature is found among speakers from all age grades and genders, *-le* subjunctive forms are still used but rarely by some elderly speakers of the Micheweni zone.

(186) Kipemba (Wingwi, KPN 3, Male, Elderly)

Mw-a-mpi-le-ni

a-si-li-le

SM2SG-PRS-tell-SBJV-PLA

SM1-NEG-cry-SBJV.

'Tell him/her not to cry.'

Historically, the *-le* subjunctive form was likely prevalent in most parts of Pemba. This evidence can be corroborated by the etymologies and histories of villages in Pemba whose names contain an old subjunctive form ending in *-le*. According to my elderly consultants, one from N'gelema (KPS 6) and another from Ntambile (KPS 7) told me how the names of their villages were derived. Starting with N'gelema, the consultant narrates the story of slavery and wars in Zanzibar. During this time, people were forcefully caught, some forced into joining militia groups, and some were taken for some forms of slavery. When the Arab traders reached the village of N'gelema, there were no people. People had long run away and hid in the caves and forest in the suburbs of the village, fearing being caught. The story continues that one of

the local families- a mother and her children were hiding, but a baby was crying unceasingly. In fear of being caught, the elder brother told her mother, "*ma! n'gele ma n'toto!*" ('Mother, throw away the baby!'). Since then, the name N'gelema developed into a village known today by the same name. In Kipemba, the verb *geya/gea* is used instead of *tupa* ('throw away') in standard Swahili. So, instead of using the common subjunctive form, *n'gee/n'geye*, the child used the *-le* subjunctive form, *n'gele*. The same is true for "*N'tambile*", which came from a Swahili verb, *tamba* ('boast, show off'), as for *mtambie* or *ntambie*, spoken in Kipemba ('show him/her off'). These historical anecdotes on the linguistic origins of the place names shed light on the possibility that the *-le* subjunctive form was once a feature prevalent across Pemba. To conclude, the *-le* subjunctive we see in Kipemba here is the subjunctive *-e*, but in one instance of the *l-zero* alternation, as seen in e.g., *ingia* versus *ingilia*, *endea* vs. *endelea*, etc. In Standard Swahili, the historic */l/* comes out before extensions, but in Kipemba, it looks like it's coming out before *-e*. It can, therefore, be concluded that the *-le* subjunctive form seen prominently in Micheweni and Utenzi zones was perhaps an old feature that, despite the ongoing change, is still retained in some conservative parts of Pemba.

7.3.8. Further discussion on zone-specific morphosyntactic features in Kipemba.

In this section, I analysed and discussed zone-specific morphosyntactic features in Kipemba. From the findings presented here, it was noted that most old morphosyntactic forms of Kipemba are found predominantly in the northeast Pemba. In contrast, some forms are found occasionally in other parts of Pemba. It was also highlighted that most of these old features are found among older people over 55 in many places of Utenzi, Wingwi-Micheweni, Tumbe and some southeast Pemba zones. This study also found most of the old morphosyntactic features discussed here predominantly among the speakers of all age grades and genders in Shumba N'jini (Micheweni zone), Kojani Island, and the nearby villages in the Utenzi zone. Apart from Utenzi and some parts of Micheweni zones, these features are not popular among the native children and youth Kipemba speakers from other zones.

Intriguingly, despite the current zonal linguistic variations in Kipemba, historical evidence obtained from the place names in Pemba shows that old Kipemba forms were likely prevalent. Due to some linguistic and non-linguistic factors, the old Kipemba forms seem to diminish gradually in most linguistic zones, especially in the South and West of Pemba. Currently, the distinctive linguistic forms of Kipemba remain predominantly in Utenzi and Micheweni zones

and, to a varying degree, the Tumbe zone. The discussion on factors for the linguistic variation in Kipemba is covered in more detail in Chapter Nine.

7.4. Zone-specific lexical features in Kipemba

In chapter six, I discussed generic lexical features in Kipemba. My discussion and conclusion were based on the data from eight different lexical domains outlined in the introduction section of this chapter. The findings from the lexical domains above showed general similarities in the names of items from the domains above common and known by most speakers in Pemba. However, there are some variations in accent and the names of items used in one zone to another. From these variations, the study found that some words used in one place in Pemba may not be used in another area. Still, curiously, most of these words seemed familiar and well-understood by most speakers in Pemba.

Dirk Geeraerts (1993:80-1) classifies four kinds of variation based on terminological distinctions. The first is a semasiological variation involving a particular lexical item referring to distinct types of referents. In other words, semasiological variation is also "referred to as homonym" (Wanjiku 2018: 46). In Kipemba, I noted a few words that fall under this category, causing some form of lexical variation. However, I once thought of these words as homonyms, but in fact, they are more like metaphorical extensions. The examples show that almost all involve a concrete term and a second term, which is metaphorically related, interestingly, with specific connotations - negative or positive.






(187) Variations in the interpretation of the meaning of words in Kipemba.

Word	Gloss	Other metaphoric meanings and extensions		
<i>m'pole</i>	humble	humble	mentally sick	n/a
<i>kichaa</i> (also <i>mpumbavu</i>)	insane	crazy person	insane	hot chilli
<i>pweko</i>	jellyfish	jellyfish	ugly face	dumb person or imbecile
<i>tonga</i>	mangrove fruit	mangrove fruit	big head	a place
<i>n'jane</i>	widow/widower	widow or widower	unmarried young man	n/a
<i>kichwa</i>	head	head	passenger	a person
<i>ngoma</i>	drum	drum	HIV/AIDS	partner

The study found that the use of homonyms differs depending on the place, age, and gender of the users. For example, the word *mpole* ('mentally ill person') is used predominantly in Southern zones of Pemba. In Northern Pemba, people would say *mpumbavu* instead, a synonym of *mpole*, but *mpumbavu* is the harsher and more impolite form of the two forms. The word *kichaa* is used mainly by youths to refer to themselves and by adults and older adults to mean mentally ill person bluntly. As for the word “ngoma” which means a “drum” or music in context, is unfortunately misconceived for having HIV/AIDS, which I guess is like “facing the music” or consequences of your actions (usually, people believe only sexual “sinners” pay this price).

On the other hand, an onomasiology variation involves a referent or type of referent with various conceptually distinct lexical categories by name. The use of these lexical items is determined mainly by the speakers' age, sex, level of education and geographical background. In Kipemba, I found the names of seashells and sea creatures with exo-skeleton relevant to this lexical variation. The following examples show different names of seashells as called by the Kipemba users from different geographical coastal areas.

(188) Responses of seashells and creatures from across Pemba

Type of a Seashell	Linguistic zone/geographic area used
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Nyedi</i> (KPN 2) 2. <i>Nkwi</i> (KPN 2, 3 and 4) 3. <i>Karakacho</i> (KPS 7 and 8) 4. <i>Kijenge</i> (KPN 1 and 4)
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Kungungu</i> (KPN 3, 4) 2. <i>Chuwambwa</i> (KPN 1, 2) 3. <i>Churambwa</i> (KPN 2, KPS 7, 8)
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Kitana</i> (KPN 3) 2. <i>Shanuo</i> (KPN 2, 3, 4, KPS 7 and 8) 3. <i>Nyuo/Nyuuo</i> (KPN 1, 3) 4. <i>Fuma</i> (KPN 1 and 4)
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Nyamwanzi</i> (KPN 2, 3, 4) 2. <i>Nyawale</i> (KPN 1, 4 and KPS 7, 8) 3. <i>Simba</i> (KPN 2) 4. <i>Mwanyazi</i> (KPN 2, 3, 4) 5. <i>Nyangale</i> (KPN 1, 4)
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Doko</i> (KPN 2, 3, and 4) 2. <i>Kamba mawe</i> (KPN 2 and 3) 3. <i>Kitana</i> (KPN 1, KPS 7 and 8) 4. <i>Tandu</i> (KPN 1 and 2)

As stated in the introduction, the lexical variation domain contained eight thematic topics, including seashells and sea creatures with the exoskeleton. The names above show an instance of onomasiological variation in Kipemba. For instance, in picture one, the hermit crab is known by four names across Pemba. The hermit crab is known as *Kijenge* in Wete zone (KPN 1) and some parts of Tumbe, especially Makangale and Tondooni (KPN 4), *Nkwi* in Wingwi-Michewnei (KPN 3), *Nyedi* in Utenzi (KPN 2) and *Karakacho* in Nkoani East (KPS 7) and other southern zones. Each word means the same item but depends on geographical location, as said. In some parts, such as Makangale (KPN 4), Fundo (KPN 1), Wingwi-Micheweni (KPN 3) and Kojani (KPN 2), I found the names of shells differing by age and sex at some point.

Some of these names were obscene and offensive. It was, therefore, challenging to use them for members of a particular gender, such as girls, and some were inappropriate for boys. Likewise, some of the names of fish and other shells had the connotation of either male or female genitalia. These words, when found, tended to have more than one synonym in one linguistic area, which means the users had other words to choose from depending on their target audience or interlocutor. Their use was, therefore, limited to people of different sex groups. The same applies to the names of cash and food crops. In some parts like Utenzi, some names of food crops differed in terms of sex, with males using obscene names for food such as *matako si kijio* (butts is not for dinner) and so many more I do not wish to mention here. From my observation, most lexical variations covered in my eight thematic lexical categories in Kipemba are onomasiological. For example, there are variations in kinship names in Kipemba spoken in Eastern parts of Pemba and that spoken in most urban towns and places in the western zones of Pemba. The kinship words below show variation between Kipemba spoken in some Northeast and West Pemba and their standard Swahili equivalent.

(189) Variation in Kinship names between North and West Kipemba and Standard Swahili

Northeast zones	Western zones	Standard Swahili	Gloss
<i>kake</i>	<i>kaka</i>	<i>kaka</i>	brother
<i>chachi</i>	<i>shangazi</i>	<i>shangazi</i>	paternal aunt
<i>lahau</i>	<i>bankwe</i>	<i>bamkwe</i>	father-in-law
<i>nkazahau</i>	<i>mankwe</i>	<i>mamkwe</i>	mother-in-law
<i>muamu</i>	<i>shemegi</i>	<i>shemegi</i>	brother/sister-in-law
<i>nvyele</i>	<i>mzazi/mzee</i>	<i>mzazi/mzee</i>	parent/elderly

Interestingly, the words from the northeast column are believed to be distinctive old Kipemba forms once shared with old Swahili. These words are used, under limited circumstances, mainly in the Northeast zones of Pemba by adults and older adults. Children and youth use these words routinely in some parts, such as Kojani and Chwale in the Utenzi and Micheweni areas. Another intriguing observation is how Kipemba, spoken in the West urban and peri-urban towns of Pemba, is coming closer to Standard Swahili. Despite using words like Standard Swahili, over 90% of the urban and peri-urban speakers I interviewed knew the meaning of the words from the northeast column. The respondents could tell precisely where they are used in Pemba today. Besides the above thematic categories, nouns, and verbs distinctive to Kipemba are significant in identifying the vernacular, Kipemba. In my questionnaire, I presented some sentences and

words from Standard Swahili and some unique to Kipemba. I then asked the consultants to identify those words with their respective dialects. The results showed that 97% of Kipemba and non-Kipemba participants could identify Kipemba-specific words in the examples below (the list is not exhaustive).

(190) Distinctive Kipemba nouns and their Standard Swahili equivalent

Word in Kipemba	Standard Swahili	Gloss
<i>pashau</i>	<i>hashuo</i>	show off
<i>kihanu</i>	<i>kizio cha nazi</i>	piece of a coconut
<i>umbu</i>	<i>maharimu wa kike</i>	mahram
<i>unju</i>	<i>asubuhi</i>	morning
<i>mwiku</i>	<i>uporo</i>	previous day supper/left over
<i>mbuya</i>	<i>mpenzi</i>	lover
<i>n'chuchu</i>	<i>mpenzi wa kando au</i> <i>mchumba</i>	fiancé or partner
<i>mava</i>	<i>makaburi</i>	graveyard

The words from the Kipemba column above are common and widely understood by many Pembans throughout Pemba. In what I may call as “minor intra- Kipemba dialect variation”, some of these words, however, are only active in some specific linguistic zones, again predominantly in Northeastern parts of Pemba. In West zones, primarily urban and peri-urban towns, these words are becoming less popular, diminishing gradually in the Kipemba linguistic sphere. The same is true with distinctive verb forms in Kipemba, shown in the example below (the list is incomplete).

(191) Distinctive Kipemba verbs and their Standard Swahili equivalent

Word in Kipemba	Standard Swahili	Gloss
<i>fisa</i>	<i>peleka/sindikiza</i>	send, accompany
<i>chunza</i>	<i>tazama/angalia</i>	look, watch
<i>gwiya</i>	<i>shika/kamata</i>	catch, hold
<i>pisa</i>	<i>unguza</i>	burn
<i>dasa</i>	<i>gusa</i>	touch
<i>pongowa</i>	<i>zaa/jifungua</i>	give birth
<i>geleka</i>	<i>potea</i>	get lost
<i>zinga</i>	<i>tafuta</i>	find, search, pursue

Since most lexical variation in Kipemba is more onomasiological than formal and contextual, I do not want to cover the two remaining kinds of variation in this chapter. Instead, I focus on validating key findings and addressing assumptions raised by previous researchers on the lexical variations in Kipemba. Even though past studies have repetitively shown lexical differences between Kipemba spoken in one area and another, the lexical data I collected throughout Pemba could not explicitly show that these variations are zone-specific lexical features in Kipemba. As stated earlier, studies such as Juma (2011), Ismail Ali (2015) and Siti Ali (2015) have broadly outlined the lexical variations between Kipemba spoken in one area, village or ward and another. Having looked at the data and findings on lexical variations between South and North (S. Ali, 2015), Micheweni and Chake Chake (Ali, 2015), or Wete and Micheweni (Juma, 2011), compared to mine, I noted a few observations. First, most lexical differences outlined in the previous studies are synonyms or variation based on stylistic differences –usually used interchangeably by and between the speakers from South and North Pemba. From the findings here, no matter where the speaker lives, the choice of which word to use is more or less of an issue of free or idiolectal variation or simply, a matter of linguistic idiosyncrasy. People across Pemba are generally conversant and familiar with a broader range of lexical repertoires and differences used throughout Pemba. For example, Juma (2011: 57 - 67) presents the lexical differences between Kipemba spoken in the Micheweni area (not the whole zone) and Wete town. Although less than 30% of the words were specific to Micheweni, most were familiar to other speakers elsewhere in Pemba, though some of these participants claimed not to use the words at all.

Secondly, some lexical differences outlined here are individual, small groups, ward, and village level variations. For example, Siti Ali (2015:37) presents the lexical differences between South and North Pemba. The results were astonishingly different when I examined the exact words in the same areas where Ali collected the data. To validate Ali's data and findings, I cross-checked the data with my research consultants from three villages in the North: Muambe, Chokocho and Kangani. I compared the responses of the lexical items above from the South and North Pemba respondents. The results show that only 29% of the lexical items above were unfamiliar among the native Kipemba speakers from north Pemba (Micheweni area). Those words were *mdeke* ('boy's genitalia'), *bera* ('teen'), *bingu* ('forehead'), *bangwe* ('nap') and *daka* ('young coconut'). When I double-checked these five words with the speakers from other places of south Pemba, I found that the words were familiar to a section of speakers, but they are only used in Muambe village and Shamiani Island.

As stated in chapter two, the Muambe and Shamiani Islands are among the few places in south Pemba inhabited by the natives of Tumbatu and north Unguja. As for the remaining words, over 90% were familiar, understood, and used less frequently by speakers from North and South Pemba.

7.5. Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented, discussed, and analysed the data on zone-specific linguistic features in Kipemba in a broader expanse. The chapter concludes that some zones in Pemba have more significant zone-specific phonological variations than others. For instance, the study found distinctive Kipemba linguistic features in the Eastern zones of Pemba and, most notably, the Northeastern parts of Pemba. Linguistic zones such as Utenzi (KPN 2), Wingwi - Micheweni Peninsula (KPN 3), Tumbe (KPN 4) and Nkoani East (KPS 7) were found to retain most features distinctive to Kipemba and some from old Swahili. It is still being determined why the Eastern parts of Pemba have retained Kipemba's old forms. Other researchers, including Faki (2009), have previously cited factors relating to the lack of infrastructure and ease of mobility. A detailed account, analysis, and discussion of the factors for variation in Kipemba are covered in chapter eight.

From the data and the findings presented here, it is evident that older linguistic features of Kipemba are found predominantly in the Eastern part of Pemba as compared to the West. However, this should not be misconstrued and concluded that "a distinctive Kipemba dialect is spoken in the East zone of Pemba," as Whiteley (1958) and Hamad Juma (2018) previously

claimed. The linguistic evidence in chapters five, six and seven show that a distinctive Kipemba is spoken, in varying degrees, throughout Pemba. Still, older, distinctive linguistic features of Kipemba are found predominantly in the Eastern parts and, more specifically, the Northeast of Pemba. Similarly, the evidence in chapters five, six and seven confirms that Kipemba is a variety spoken comprehensibly with minor zone-specific variations throughout Pemba. This study disputes several previously held assumptions and theories on Kipemba, including Nurse and Spear's (1985:61) statement that Kipemba is a collection of a "number of subdialects spoken on Pemba Island". From the findings in chapters five, six and seven, Kipemba is a regional variety, not a collection of subdialects as once argued. Further, this study also rules out the theory that there is no Kipemba but various forms of "*Vipemba*" (various sub-dialects) as spoken on Pemba Island. The evidence presented in this chapter and the previous two chapters, five and six, also dismisses the theory that Kipemba is spoken all over Pemba except in the southern tip, as argued by Bryan (1959), Polomé (1967), Mohammed (2001) and recently, Siti Ali (2015). The data collected throughout Pemba confirms that Kipemba is spoken with minor variations in eight linguistic zones. Another significant finding noted in this chapter is that the old Kipemba linguistic features diminished gradually in the Kipemba linguistic sphere. While a substantial amount of Kipemba linguistic features seem to be conservatively preserved and retained in the Eastern zones of Pemba, the situation is different in the Western zones. The findings here show that some new linguistic features from prestigious Swahili varieties, such as Kiunguja and Standard Swahili, were found in some Kipemba speakers' speech forms in most Western Pemba zones. This concurs with the statement made by Polomé (1980:86) earlier that when Whiteley visited Pemba in 1958, "Swahili had replaced the local dialects in the island's Western half due to the influx of migrant workers from Zanzibar and the mainland in clove plantations". The evidence presented in this study shows that the linguistic structure of Kipemba is changing gradually, replacing most old distinctive forms with the new ones from Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. More absorbing, the study found that the old, distinctive Kipemba is becoming unpopular among Kipemba users across the island, especially in the Western zones of Pemba as once observed by Polomé and Whiteley. The influence and dominance of Kiunguja and Standard Swahili are imminent, especially in the West urban towns of Pemba and their vicinities. The increased contact and influence of Kiunguja and Standard Swahili could likely result in the diffusion of new features into Kipemba, culminating in the imminent probability of dialect levelling in Kipemba.

Chapter 8: Factors for Variation in Kipemba: Analysis and Discussion

8.1. Introduction

In Chapters Five, Six and Seven, I have analysed and discussed generic and zone-specific linguistic features in Kipemba – a regional variety of Swahili spoken on Pemba Island. The data shows that Kipemba is a regional variety spoken throughout Pemba with some variations across and throughout eight proposed linguistic zones. The data also show that Kipemba varies slightly phonologically, morpho-syntactically, and lexically across these eight linguistic zones. However, the data presented in the previous chapters found an increased variation between Kipemba spoken in Pemba's Western and Eastern zones. The study shows that new linguistic features from the neighbouring varieties, such as Kiunguja and Standard Swahili, and some, perhaps, a result of independent innovation without contact with other varieties, are diffused, and gradually accommodated into this area's Kipemba speech forms. The diffusion and accommodation of new linguistic features and many other factors have contributed to the linguistic variation in Kipemba.

This chapter examines, analyses, and documents the factors for variation in Kipemba. In this chapter, I argue that linguistic variation in Kipemba results from various geographical and social isolation factors. Some factors may directly or indirectly affect vocabulary, grammar, or phonology. Most studies on language variation have repeatedly emphasised that languages (and, in my interpretation, this includes varieties such as Kipemba) are heterogeneous. In this regard, I assume that the speech forms of various speakers, even those from small speech communities such as Kipemba, vary depending on internal and external factors. Chevrot et al. (2018: 680-1) argue that internal variation factors correlate with the speakers' speech production and perception. Chevrot et al. added that internal factors of variation might influence the speakers' phonology, grammar, lexicon, or pragmatics of the speaker's language, variety, or utterance. Chapters Five, Six and Seven of this study cover a detailed description of internal factors of variation. External factors of variation, on the other hand, according to various studies and sources, including Milroy (1987), Cheshire (2004), Ash (2004), Chambers (2006,) Fought (2006), and Coupland (2007), reflect and are linked to the speaker's regional background, sex and gender, ethnicity, status and network and context of speech. In this chapter, I relate some of these factors with linguistic variation in Kipemba, citing relevant examples from the first-hand Kipemba linguistic fieldwork data. In the following section, I explore the theoretical grounding and considerations of the factors for variation in Kipemba.

8.2. Towards Factors for Linguistic Variation in Kipemba: Theoretical Grounding and Considerations

In this analysis, I consider variation a social phenomenon that can be studied synchronically and diachronically. In my observation and analysis, the study of variation is mainly dependent on the speaker's social characteristics – an argument also supported by Trudgill (2000: 81), who argues that language varies depending on "the social characteristics such as gender, age, education, geographical location and the social context the speakers find themselves". In this chapter, I use the data collected throughout Pemba, including the evidence from place names discussed in Zubeir (2015) and folk literature to study the possible causes of variation in Kipemba. At some point in the past, it was assumed that there was less variation than at present. The variations we see today, as Labov suggests (2001:514), have been "introduced as the community expands and interacts with other varieties".

In my discussion, dialect contacts, interactions with other Swahili variety users, and some factors beyond linguistic spheres might have led to the variations and the introduction of new features in Kipemba. My choice of using Labovian variationist sociolinguistic approach and Eckert's concept of style, are suitable for the Kipemba study here because they both emphasise on the influence of social factors on linguistic variation. In the context of my study on Kipemba, these theories were useful and were applied in analysing how social characteristics, dialect contact, and historical settlement patterns contribute to linguistic variation, mirroring directly on Labov's focus on the interplay between social dynamics and language use in diverse sociolinguistic settings. According to Labov, "sociolinguistic variables enable speakers to say the same thing differently", with the variants being "identical in reference or truth value but opposed in their social and stylistic significance" (Labov 1972: 271). Besides, the sociocultural histories and contact of dialect zones were not overlooked in traditional dialectology. This discussion and analysis, therefore, borrowing from the theoretical considerations of traditional dialectology, acknowledges the role of dialect contact and people's settlement histories in studying linguistic variations. Carver (1998: 11) refers to dialectology as "a form of cultural geography", whilst McDavid (1946: 169) describes language as "a mirror of culture". From Carver's and McDavid's definitions, myriad social factors influenced speakers' use of specific linguistic forms. Discussing the "social forces" influencing linguistic variation, McDavid (1946: 169-171) refers to transportation (mobility and relocation), popular media, education, attitudes, social prestige, style-shifting, language contact and the distinction between urban and rural lifestyles as crucial factors for linguistic variation. In my observation, I, too, consider and relate

these factors to the linguistic variation in Kipemba. In the following section, I discuss and analyse the factors for linguistic variation, their influence and their impact on Kipemba. At the end of my analysis and discussion, I conclude that Kipemba, like other Swahili varieties, is but a heterogeneous, perpetually "evolving system that, due to its internal dynamics, contact with other language varieties, and their links with social organisation, which is itself evolving, is composite and multi-layered" (Laks, 2013:31-50). My discussion concludes that linguistic variation in Kipemba is a social phenomenon attributed to the speakers' or users' various social characteristics – some linguistic and some social.

8.3.Factors for Linguistic Variation in Kipemba

In this section, I examine, analyse and discuss some factors for variation in Kipemba, including speakers':

- Regional, geographical, historical, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds
- Sex, gender, styles of speech and context
- Age
- Urbanisation and modernisation
- Schooling, socioeconomic factors and the power of Standard Swahili
- Attitudes, ideologies, identity, and awareness
- Dialect contacts and interactions between Kipemba and other neighbouring varieties of Swahili.

8.3.1.Regional, Geographical, Historical, Ethnic and Cultural factors

For years, studies on variation have argued that geographic location and distance affect how people use language, resulting in the development of regional dialects (Holmes, 2008; Wardhaugh, 2006; Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015). Studies have indicated that geographic location plays a crucial role in language variation and the emergence of dialects – the speakers of the same group geographically apart are likely to use language differently (Omar and Alotaibi 2017: 220). In my research case, Kipemba is not a language per se but a regional variety of Swahili with a distinctive structure (grammatical features) and vocabulary with slight zonal variations within the vernacular differing considerably from other Swahili varieties depending on various factors, including the user's regional, geographical, historical, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Geographically, this study classified Kipemba into eight different linguistic zones based on the discernible differences in accents, structural features and

vocabulary. The study found that Kipemba speakers from across these eight linguistic zones use Kipemba in varying degrees. The findings here confirm Omar and Alotaibi's statement that the speakers of the same group who are geographically apart may, or are likely, to use the language differently. This study examined and analysed variations in phonology, morphosyntactic and lexical features in Kipemba. Some linguistic features were found to be generic to Kipemba, meaning they are prevalent across Pemba, and some are zone-specific – found only in particular geographical areas of Pemba.

The data from the questionnaires corroborates this evidence. In the questionnaire I asked the participants where the old, distinctive Kipemba is used or spoken in Pemba. The Table below presents a set of phrases from the old Kipemba or *Kipemba halisi (fyoko)* speech form believed by many to be spoken widely in the Northern and Eastern zones of Pemba.

Kipemba	Gloss
<i>Siyebu yapisa</i>	I do not want (it). It is burning hot.
<i>Nvyeleo kashauka?</i>	Has your parent left?
<i>Kanniuwata mpaka nateuka dole!</i>	S/he trampled on my foot until I broke my toe.
<i>Pesa in'geleka</i>	The money is lost
<i>Nfisa habauwe</i>	Accompany me to the loo. I need to pee.
<i>Wazinga utesi</i>	You are looking for trouble.
<i>Yuna pashau n'tu nke 'uyu</i>	This woman is pretentious.
<i>Kankorewa ni n'vyelewe</i>	Their parent told them off.
<i>Kankugwa nkadi</i>	S/he has fallen from a screw pine tree.
<i>Abesa/ambaje nyandu?</i>	How is the infant/baby?
<i>Keli inkupya</i>	Maybe, it is burnt
<i>Kunliwa nchechele</i>	You have lost your way; you are lost!

Table 8.1: Distinctive Kipemba Phrases and Sentences

When I administered the above questionnaire, first, I asked my participants if they understood the meaning of the phrases in Table 8.1 above. If the participants said "YES", I wanted to know whether they use the phrases in their daily communication and where they are commonly used in Pemba. If the response was "NO", which meant either they do not know or they know but no longer speak like this, I asked them for a variation of the phrases they use instead. Of the 16 consultants, 93% were familiar with the phrases, though the majority said they no longer or rarely use them in daily communication. When asked where in Pemba the speech forms are used predominantly, the same percentage agreed that those words are common in Eastern Pemba but are most popular in Northeast parts of Pemba, especially in Utenzi and Micheweni zones.

However, there are slight variations in how people would say those phrases in their geographical areas. Table 8.2 below shows variation between *Kipemba halisi* (spoken in the

North and some parts of Eastern Pemba), Kimjini, and Kibopwe, which is spoken mainly in urban and peri-urban zones of Pemba, and how the phrases would read in Standard Swahili.

(192) Variation between rural Kipemba, Urban and Kiunguja/standard Swahili

Column (A) <i>Kipemba halisi</i> (fyoko)/ Kishamba (Rural form, mainly Northeastern and Eastern)	Column (B) Kimjini-Bopwe (Urban-peri urban form)	Column (C) Kiunguja/ Standard Swahili
<i>Siyebu yapisa</i>	<i>Siitaki yaunguza/ siitaki imoto</i>	<i>Siitaki inaunguza/ Siitaki ni ya moto</i>
<i>N'vyeleo kashauka?</i>	<i>Nzee wako kashaondoka?</i>	<i>Mzee wako ameshaondoka</i>
<i>Kanniuwata mpaka nateuka dole!</i>	<i>Kan'nikanyaga mpaka nateuka kidole!</i>	<i>Amenikanyaga mpaka nimeteteruka kidole!</i>
<i>Pesa in'geleka</i>	<i>Pesa in'poteya</i>	<i>Pesa imepotea</i>
<i>N'fisa habauwe</i>	<i>M'peleka n'kakojowe</i>	<i>Nipeleke nikajisaidie</i>
<i>Wazinga utesi</i>	<i>Watafuta ugomvi/ wazinga ugomvi</i>	<i>Unatafuta ugomvi</i>
<i>Yuna pashau n'tu nke 'uyu</i>	<i>Ana hashuo mwanan'ke 'uyu</i>	<i>Ana hashuo mwanamke huyu</i>
<i>Kankorewa ni n'vyelewe</i>	<i>Kan'gombwa na n'zee wake</i>	<i>Amegombwa na mzee wake</i>
<i>Kan'kugwa n'kadi</i>	<i>Kana'anguka/ kaanguka n'kadi</i>	<i>Ameanguka mkadi</i>
<i>Abesa/ambaje nyandu?</i>	<i>N'toto hajambo?</i>	<i>Mtoto hajambo?</i>
<i>Keli in'kupyaa</i>	<i>Rabda inaunguwa!</i>	<i>Labda, imeungua!</i>
<i>Kun'liwa n'chechele!</i>	<i>Kun'potea njia!</i>	<i>Umepotea njia!</i>

In example (192), column (A) represents Kipemba speech forms spoken predominantly in the Northeastern and some Eastern zones of Pemba. Column (B) represents Kipemba spoken by most people in the Western zones, urban and peri-urban Pemba, and column (C) is Kiunguja and Standard Swahili variant of the phrases and sentences from columns A and B. As can be seen, each phrase represents variations in certain geographical regions or linguistic zones in Pemba. When comparing *Kipemba halisi* (also Kipemba *fyoko*, or loosely but generically, *Kishamba*) with *Kimjini* (Urban Kipemba), slight variations, mainly lexical, though a few structural, can be noted. From the data and my observation, it can be concluded that the rural Kipemba retains more old words such as *zinga* (search for), *kugwa* (fall), *uka* (leave), *kupyaa* (burn), and *korewa* (be told off), probably from old Swahili or other older Swahili varieties nearby. Despite the variation structurally, Kipemba cha Mjini, unlike Kipemba *fyoko*, has the most features in common with Kiunguja. For example, the use of nasal assimilation /N/ to represent nominal gender class 1 and 2, as in *ntoto* ('child') and the perfective form, as in *kunliwa* (you have been eaten) and *kumpotea* (you got lost) is found in both rural and urban Kipemba but not in Standard Swahili. Despite the similarities and differences, the most

intriguing observation here is that urban Kipemba shares the features of both rural Kipemba and Kiunguja. This observation indicates that urban Kipemba is undergoing structural changes due to geographical diffusion, resulting in accent and structural convergence between Kipemba, Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. The early signs of geographical diffusion in Kipemba are partly a result of gradual but increased contact and interactions between Kipemba users from the Western urban towns of Pemba and the users of Kiunguja. This theory confirms that Kipemba is a variety spoken, in varying degrees, throughout Pemba Island, even though the old, distinctive forms of Kipemba can be mainly found on the eastern parts of the island, as shown in the chart below.

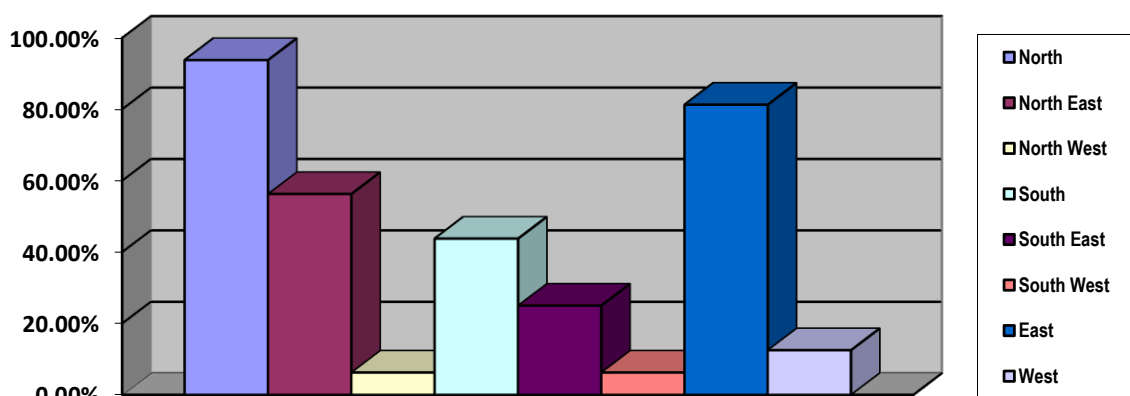


Figure 8.1: The percentage distribution of distinctive Kipemba use per geographical zone.

The chart above is representative of the current linguistic variation in Kipemba across eight Linguistic zones. As can be seen, the North and East Pemba records higher percentages of using Kipemba distinctive linguistic features than any other geographical parts of Pemba. The findings imply that distinctive Kipemba variety is spoken widely in Pemba's Eastern and Northern parts. The data here refers mainly to the Northeastern zones of Utenzi (KPN 2), Micheweni (KPN 3) and Tumbe (KPN4). Wete (KPN 1), Nkumbuu (KPS 6), and Nkoani West (KPS 8), which lies Northwest of Pemba and later, on the Southwest, show the lowest use of Kipemba distinctive features, perhaps due to the increased contacts and interaction, modernisation, and urbanisation in the area. In the later sections, I discuss the role of contact, modernisation, and urbanisation as factors for variation in Kipemba.

As well as the geographical variation above, historical, ethnic, and cultural factors were also central in shaping the linguistic variation in Kipemba. The data from this study shows that people from across eight linguistic zones of Pemba come from diverse, although related ethnic and cultural backgrounds and share a common history. In North Pemba, for instance, most

people claimed to share close historical, ethnic, and cultural ties with the people from the Middle East, Asia, coastal Kenya, and some parts of Tanzania's mainland. The people from Wete (KPN 1), Utenzi (KPN 2), Wingwi-Micheweni (KPN 3) and Tumbe (KPN 4) zones, meanwhile, claimed an ancestral lineage with Arabs, Digo, Zimba, Gunyas and other ethnic groups of coastal Kenya. The influence of coastal Kenya's ethnic and cultural background is more predominant in areas such as Shumba N'jini, Kiuyu, Maziwa Ng'ombe (Wingwi-Micheweni zone, KPN 3), and across Tumbe linguistic zone (KPN 4). Some linguistic features found in Kipemba spoken in these two zones were found to have features found in some Swahili dialects of coastal Kenya and parts of Tanga in mainland Tanzania. The findings here confirm that the variations in Kipemba are partly attributed to the factors relating to geographical propinquity, ethnicity, and historical-cultural affiliation between Kipemba users from certain zones and their neighbouring places. For example, the study found some subtle similarities between Swahili speech forms of Mombasa dialects and Kipemba used in the northern zones of Pemba, especially in the Tumbe and Micheweni zones. The use of the class 1 subject marker *yu-* as in *yuaja* ('s/he is coming') instead of *a-* (*aja*) is one of the features found in both Kipemba and Mombasa dialects. Apart from structural similarities, there are also slight lexical similarities between Kipemba and the dialects of Mombasa. Words such as *keti* ('sit down'), *ntepe* ('a type of fishing boat') and more are found in both Pemba and Mombasa because of the geographical, historical and cultural backgrounds of the speakers. The similarities shared with some Mombasa dialects found in this area (Wingwi-Micheweni zones) are rare or not nonexistent in the Kipemba speech forms of the South and Western zones of Pemba.

Apart from the Wingwi-Micheweni zone, the Utenzi zone is an interesting Kipemba linguistic studies and analysis area. The Kipemba accents spoken in this area are unique and distinctive, standing out from the other accents found in the other seven linguistic zones in Pemba. Geographically, the Utenzi zone is next to the Micheweni zone, but the variation gap between the two zones is audibly vast. Along with the geographical distance, the linguistic differences are partly related to the history and the origins of the people of specific zones. When I spoke with the people of Kojani they told me their origins could be traced from Lindi and Mtwara in mainland Tanzania. Unfortunately, perhaps due to time factors, there is no similarity in speech forms between the Kojanis, and their claimed ancestral origins of Lindi and Mtwara. Some Kojanis also claimed to have shared some Shirazi and coastal Kenya lineage roots. Linguistic features such as /k/ as in *kana* ('s/he does not have') instead of /h/ in *hana* used in some parts of Pemba, including Utenzi, were found in Tumbe (KPN4) and in some varieties of coastal Kenya. Likewise, the use of /kj/ as in *kyombo* ('vessel, utensil') instead of /tʃ/ as in *chombo*, /ʃ/

in *shaza* ('shells') instead of /tʃ/ in *chaza* are also some examples corroborating historical and cultural ties between Pembans and other ethnic groups such as those in Micheweni, Tumbe and some parts of coastal Kenya.

In South Pemba, the people's geographical location, ethnicity, history, and cultures differ from their Northern Pemba neighbours. In South Pemba, the geographical proximity between Tumbatu, Unguja Island and South Pemba helped ease the contact between the people from the two regions. The findings show that Nkoani East and West have been attractive settlements for farmers and migrant fishers from North Unguja and other parts of Zanzibar. This geographical proximity has led to the increased dialect contact and diffusion of new linguistic features from Kiunguja and, to a lesser extent, Kitumbatu into Kipemba.

Aside from the historical ties between the bordering regions discussed earlier, this study found that, due to geographical, ethnic, historical, and cultural reasons, people from different zones in Pemba have been moving freely and settling in other linguistic zones of Pemba. The study found increased interzonal linguistic features from the Utenzi zone (KPN 2) in some parts of the Tumbe zone (KPN 4) and the Nkamandume zone (KPS 6). Similarly, some linguistic features from Wingwi-Micheweni Peninsula (KPN 3) were also found in small parts of Nkoani East (KPS 7), Gando, and the small islands off Wete town in Wete linguistic zone (KPN 1). It is unclear whether these features were solely a result of contacts and diffusion or were old features of Kipemba that have always been there due to common inheritance. Since there is minimal to no contact and diffusion in Kipemba spoken in Northeastern parts of Pemba, it is more appealing that these factors resulted from common inheritance rather than diffusion and contact. Interzonal social mobility through marital intermingling and relocation has also played a paramount role in shaping the linguistic variations in Kipemba. The evidence of this can be traced from the early Tumbatu migration to Southeast Pemba. When Tumbatus came, they brought their families, but as they continued to integrate with the local Pembans, they began intermarrying. The Tumbatu- Pemba intermarriage led to the considerable reduction of Tumbatu linguistic features in Kipemba since Kitumbatu was assimilated into Kipemba – a variety used by most locals of Pemba. As highlighted earlier, Kipemba is spoken in eight varied zonal 'varieties' and uses a distinctive set of vocabulary. The variation in speech and specific vocabulary symbolises identity and a sense of group membership among the users of Kipemba as Pembans. As members of specific linguistic zones, they come from. Kipemba is a symbol of geographical, ethnic, historical, and cultural identity. Cox and Fletcher (2017) argued that 'the speech is an essential expression of group membership'. It plays a crucial role in a "symbolic representation of who the people are" (Cox and Fletcher 2017: 2). Hence, the

variation in accents, linguistic structure, and lexical repertoires in Kipemba reflect people's social and cultural history, including aspects of their native heritage vernacular, Kipemba.

a. Rural versus Urban Kipemba: New varieties or differences in accents?

In addition to the above analysis, it is also important to address the urban and rural Kipemba debate pioneered by Khamis (1984) and later supported by other local researchers, most notably Hamad (2011). According to Khamis and Hamad, the Kipemba of urban speakers, mainly referring to the Wete urban town of Kipemba, is similar to or close to Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. They both added that speech forms of the so-called urban Kipemba speakers were found to use the same tenses and aspects systems used in Standard Swahili. Nevertheless, from the various data sources I collected throughout Pemba, including the urban towns of Wete, Chake Chake and Nkoani West, I did not obtain sufficient evidence that confirms the similarity or closeness between the so-called urban Kipemba, Kiunguja and Standard Swahili, as once argued. Even though a handful of individuals used Kiunguja and Standard Swahili speech forms in some contexts, such as public offices, public places, and formal education institutions, it is not sufficient to conclude in favour of the Khamis and Hamad argument. Based on the differences in accents across the linguistic zones and the linguistic evidence from the data collected from three major urban towns in Pemba shows that the Kipemba from across eight linguistic zones is more similar morphosyntactically, phonologically and, to some degree, lexically to rural Kipemba as compared to Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. In other words, Kipemba from Western and Eastern parts of Pemba share more linguistic features than they do with Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. This statement and the following examples confirm that the urban version of Kipemba is similar and far from Kiunguja and Standard Swahili, despite the diffusion and accommodation of new linguistic features from the two neighbouring varieties into Kipemba. To demonstrate and put this in a more usable form, I present first-hand evidence from Chake Chake (KPS 5), Nkoani West (KPS 8) and Wete urban town (KPN 1). From the linguistic point of view, the examples here support the argument that there is no "urban Kipemba", but different urban Kipemba speech forms spoken in slight contrast from each other in the urban towns of Pemba.

(193)Kipemba (Nkoani West, KPS 8, Male, Adult)

<i>Jamaa,</i>	<i>mw- a-uliz-w-a</i>	<i>hali</i>	<i>uku</i>
<i>1-Folks/people</i>	<i>2.PL-PRES- ask-PASS-FV</i>	<i>9-condition</i>	<i>17-DEM</i>
<i>'Folks, someone is greeting you here.'</i>			

The same sentence in (193) above, if said in Kiunguja or Standard, would read, "*Jamani mnaulizwa huku*" which differs from the Kipemba version above. The Kiunguja and Standard

version uses *na-* present tense form, whereas Kipemba uses *a-* instead. Moreover, the Kiunguja demonstrative form retains *h-* as in '*huku*', whereas Kipemba drops it as in '*uku*' (here). This tendency also applies to examples (194) to (198) below, which confirms the argument that Kipemba spoken in urban areas is not the same as Kiunguja and Standard Swahili as has been repeatedly argued earlier.

(194) Kipemba (Nkoani West, KPS 8, Male, Adult)

Nakwambiya kankuja apa uyu!

Ka-n'-kuj-a

(Standard: *A-me-kuj-a*)

3. SG-PERF-come-FV

'I am telling you; this person has come here.'

The above sentence corresponds to Kiunguja, "*Nimekwambia amekuja hapa huyu*", with the *me-* perfect tense marker and *h-* in demonstrative form.

(195) Kipemba (Mwanamashungi, KPS 6, Male, Child)

Aduli kunliona lile au?

Ku-n-li-on-a

(Standard: *U-me-li-ona*)

2. SG-PERF-OM5-see-FV

'Abdul, have you seen that?'

As it can be noted above, in Kiunguja and Standard Swahili, the above sentences read, *Abdul umeliona lile au?*, with *me-* perfect form instead of *n-* used in Kipemba.

(196) Kipemba (Chake Chake town, KPS 6, Male, Child)

Naona apindisha ivi

A-pind-ish-a

(Standard: *A-na-pind-ish-a*)

3. SG.PRES – turn- CAUS -FV

'I see s/he is turning this way.'

This sentence would have read, *Ninaona anapindisha hivi* in Kiunguja and Standard Swahili.

(197) Kipemba (Wete town, KPN 1, Male, Child)

Wee, kun'nambiya nin'tiyee!

Ku- n' - n- amb-iy-a

(Standard: *U-me-ni-amb-i-a*)

2. SG- PERF-1.OBJ – tell – Prep- FV

'You told me to let him/her in.'

(198) Kipemba (Wete town, KPN 1, Female, Adult)

Mw-a-fany-a

mu-taka-vyo

(Standard: *m-na-fany-a m-taka-vyo*)

2. PL - PRES – do- FV 2.PL- want/wish- REL.7

'You are doing as you please/ wish.'

Analytically, the structure of examples (193) to (198) above and their variant forms from Kiunguja and Standard Swahili differ, which shows that the urban Kipemba speech forms are structurally not as like Kiunguja and Standard Swahili as previously argued. To cite specific cases in point for further explanation, see the examples (193) and (194) above, collected first-

hand from Nkoani town, where it has been repeatedly argued by previous scholars such as Mohammed (2001) and Ali (2015) that Kipemba is not spoken here or that Kipemba spoken here as it is for Kiunguja and the Standard Swahili. The morphology and the phonological structure of the sentences above are entirely Kipemba. From an analytical perspective, the examples above, it can be seen from example (193) that *na-* present tense in Standard Swahili corresponds to the Kipemba *a-* present forms in *mwautilizwa* ('you are asked'). Similarly, in example (194), the Kipemba perfect marker *N-* replaces the Kiunguja and Standard Swahili marker *me-*. Moreover, there is the deletion of /h/ in the demonstratives such as *hapa* and *huyu*. These words are usually pronounced in Kipemba as *apa* and *uyu*. These linguistic features are typically Kipemba and are not used in Standard Swahili or Kiunguja.

8.3.2. Gender, Styles of Speech, and Context

In pursuing gender-related linguistic variations, and from the data collected throughout Pemba, this study did not find significant variations between males and females. The slightest variations were more of the lexical repertoire and speech styles between males and females. Socio-culturally, Pemba is more of a conservative, patriarchal society where gender roles are clearly defined, and every member is bound to observe and adhere to them strictly. Regarding gender roles, males are expected to work outdoors and provide for the family. Their gender role is to work in the fields, workshops, and sea, looking after cattle and working on small business ventures - through these activities, they seek a living. Females, on the other hand, are traditionally home guardians; they do the cooking, and household chores, bear and look after children, gardening (horticulture), help on the farm (i.e., weeding and sowing), do onshore fishing such as shell collections, and other roles perceived as feminine. The division of gender roles seems partly to determine competence in a specific variety. For example, females were more conversant and richer lexically for household matters than males.

Meanwhile, females seemed more deficient, lexically, in male-dominated fields of expertise than males. For instance, when I asked school children to name household items and sea creatures with shells, girls were more conversant about these lexical items, and they listed more household items, especially those related to cooking, cleaning, and furniture. As for shells, girls named more off-shore seashells, whilst boys mentioned water-bound sea creatures. The gender differences here seem to be acquired from an early age. Traditionally, boys are trained and prepared to work with their male siblings, brothers, parents or relatives and girls with their female playmates and relatives. This form of parallel socialisation between girls and boys,

males and females and the assigned gender roles constitute one of the factors for gender-based variations in Kipemba.

Variation can also be viewed in differences in speech styles between males and females. My data shows that the speech of males and females differed across Pemba along different social parameters or dimensions of analysis. Referring to my observational data and the findings from the previous chapters, I found that males' and females' speech varies along the dimensions of:

- politeness,
- directness and indirectness of speech,
- conversational dominance,
- swearing and use of vulgar language,
- verbosity,
- Assertiveness and tentativeness of speech styles.

Various studies on language variation have highlighted that gender affects variation because it tends to influence the language choice between men and women – whose speech forms differ considerably to varying degrees. Various works of scholars, including Holmes (1992, 2013), Tannen (1993, 1994), Cameron (1998), Romaine (2003), Lakoff (2004), Eckert (2013), and DeFrancisco et al. (2013), have broadly explored the issue of gender and language use. From time to time, some of the works outlined here have maintained that men's language is more direct, non-standard, and aggressive than women. It is widely believed and accepted that women's language can be less harsh, emotional, and in most cases, standard. These findings, however, vary depending on the cultural context of the speakers and (or) the:

i) People to whom they speak - Female adults in Pemba tend to use harsher or more swear words when speaking with their children. On the contrary, males swear more to the people of the same age and children. The use of specific choices of words depends on the relationship of those involved in the conversation.

ii) The place or context the speakers find themselves in during the conversation; the social and geographical context determines the words speakers can use in Kipemba to some extent. Social events such as weddings, funerals, family meetings, parent meetings, and meetings at the marketplace influence how speakers speak in Kipemba.

The analysis of speech styles between males and females in Pemba revealed that several aspects are relevant for understanding gender differences in language:

- **Politeness**

From my observation, in Pemba, males and females use polite speech when they speak to the opposite gender, strangers, and people senior to them – age and status-wise (at work or home). When speaking to strangers and seniors, women were more polite and shy than men. Conversely, females were harsher and less polite when speaking to their children than their males' counterparts. The findings here concur that woman "use more conservative or polite language than men" (Beeching 2002: 38; Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet, 2003: 134). From my observation, it seems that both males and females can be either polite or impolite, depending on context. Example (199) below is from a woman speaking (rather churlishly) to her child. On the other hand, example (200) is a man speaking to another male colleague at a marketplace. The speakers spoke bluntly and somewhat impolitely with their subjects in both instances.

(199) Kipemba (Matale, KPN 6, Female, Adult)
Kanshiba chuzi zito la haragwe, nkiasi acheuwe.
'S/he is full of beans stew, s/he must burp!'

(200) Kipemba (Shangafu, KPN 2, Male, Adult)
Sheikh Hafidh hiyo kanzu kaibye pasi kwanza!
'Sheikh Hafidh, go iron that thobe first.'

- **Directness and indirectness of speech**

The data show that, in speech, women were more direct than males. From the findings, females used more direct statements, while males mainly used indirect speech. In some cases, adult females' speech seemed more aggressive, straightforward (avoid using euphemisms or idioms), and direct when speaking to children or minors than their adult male counterparts. Males were indirect in their speech, frequently using humour and jokes to impart or deliver 'strong' or grim messages or themes. In example (201) below, the female child warns another child whose clothes expose her private parts (female adults would do the same). For adult males, the experience shows that they tend to avoid using the word *uchi* ('genitals, nudity, pubic'), and in most cases, they opt for humour or euphemism. The same applies to a woman (see example 202, below) warning his brother from involving himself in practising black magic and allegedly harming innocent others.

(201) Kipemba (Kijichame, KPN 4, Female, Child)
Bibi we wakaa uchi!
'You are naked, my dear!'

(202) Kipemba (Fundo, KPN 1, Female, Youth)

Kama watumwa ukenda ukiekea watu mijini watu watakuuwa
'If you are sent to bewitch people, the people will kill you.'

The findings here challenge research on language and gender (e.g., Lakoff 1975, Oliveira 2010: 60), which asserts that women are more indirect and less assertive than men in their speech styles. Based on the evidence collected for this study, in Kipemba, women are more direct when they speak to other women or children but not the opposite.

- **Conversational dominance**

In Pemba's cultural context, which is partly Islamic and partly African, males and females rarely mix and interact. In some limited occasions and contexts, such as family meetings, and household and office work, males and females may mingle, communicate, and engage in discussion or arguments. Apart from these limited social contexts, most speech and communication in Kipemba occur between people of the same gender. Past studies found that men dominate conversations through interruptions and overlaps, especially when "men are talking to women" (Broadridge, 2003: 8). This is also observable in Pemba, where males are more dominant than females. Since I could not gather sufficient linguistic evidence to validate my observation, further studies are needed. In another observation, the study noted that females, on the other hand, were great listeners and turn-takers in social interaction and communication compared to males in Pemba. This observation is perhaps due to the patriarchal nature of the communities in Pemba, where women are culturally expected to be quieter than men. In recent times, however, gender roles have been changing gradually, with males and females assuming equality in their communicative roles. This study found that educated women and those with more exposure in terms of travel and interactions with other cultures were equally expressive as men. These findings are consistent with several previous studies, including Coates (1986: 99), Tannen (1996:176; 1994:636), Cameron (1998:271) and Coupland (2014:107).

- **Swearing and use of vulgar language**

A universally accepted assumption is that males are more prone to swearing and using vulgar language. However, in the context of Kipemba, this statement is subject to further discussion because the data collected from this study indicate mixed results. The research found that males and females use swearing and vulgar language in Pemba, depending on the context. Even though it is widely held that "men create and use slang more often" (Flexner, 1960: vii), in Pemba, both men and women use slang the same way, depending on the linguistic context. The main difference between the use of swear words and vulgar language, according to Lakoff (1975), is that while men use stronger expletives than women, women use politer versions such as *damn* and *oh dear* (Coates 1986:108). Whilst this is partly true in Pemba, the data I recently examined showed that males and females, depending on the context, used strong swear words and less harsh words depending on the subject and the person with whom they interacted. Women, for example, used stronger expletives in female-only interactions, especially at all-female initiation or wedding ceremonies, and when they expressed anger, especially to their children.

On the contrary, males used strong swear words when interacting with the same gender and age counterparts. In example (203), a woman uses the word *kunya* ('to relieve herself') to her child, which is next to vulgar in Kipemba's cultural context. In example (204), an adult male uses a solid swear word, *kuimya* ('for male, erection'), but in a more idiomatic or euphemistic form. The example (205), even harsher and vulgar, was from a woman scolding her child, addressing her as *nshenzi* ('moron, savage, barbarian'). Since the focus is on the stylistic aspect of the speech, I see no need to segment the examples here.

(203)Kipemba (N'kia wa Ng'ombe, KPN 4, Female, Adult)

Wenda wapi uko? Wenda kunya?"

"Where are you going? Are you going to poo?"

(204)Kipemba (Wingwi, KPN 3, Male Adult)

Basi kama haimyi ilikuwa atulievye!

'If he got erectile problems, he should keep calm (at home, not marry).'

(205)Kipemba (Gando, KPN 1, Female, Adult)

Terenka apo nshenzi weye!

'Get off! You barbarian!'

The example (205) above is quite interesting. It looks like /n/ in 'terenka' corresponds to Standard Swahili /m/ in 'teremka'. So, the /n/ - /m/ correspondence is found in grammatical

and lexical forms, which generally means a regular (phonological) sound correspondence in Kipemba.

- **Verbosity, Assertive and Tentative Styles**

Research, including that of Swacker (1975) and Tannen (1990), found that the idea of 'chatty' women is more of an exaggerated stereotype than a reality. From my observation, in Pemba, men talk more in the company of other male counterparts, and the same applies to females in their same-sex company. What might have been broadly misconstrued about women being branded "chatty", including the case of Pemba, is that they know more about the happenings at home and their neighbourhoods than men – a tendency attributed to men's absence from home in most hours of the day. Instead, men prefer to talk about work-related stories and experiences with male friends outside the home. What I found particularly intriguing in Pemba is that women seemed to have mastered a broader lexical repertoire of old and modern Kipemba words, synonyms, and antonyms than men. The findings are arguably contrary to the proposition of Lakoff's (1975) deficit theory of gender which assumes that women lack creativity in language compared to men. Lakoff's finding is slightly contrary to the case of Kipemba. The data from the questionnaire show that women hoarded a rich lexical repertoire of distinctive Kipemba vocabulary. For example, out of 16 (eight male and eight female) questionnaire consultants, most female participants seemed more conversant and knowledgeable of a broader range of old, Kipemba-specific words than men. Female consultants were twice more productive in their responses than those men when asked to list more Kipemba words and synonyms.

As for assertive and tentative styles, according to Lakoff (1977), being assertive or tentative has much more to do with the speaker's position in the societal hierarchy. In this aspect of my observation, I found that, in the Pemban society, males enjoy a dominant position. Nevertheless, in Pemba, in varying degrees and contexts, females are less expressive when expressing their points of view, and their speech is not as direct as males. In other words, females could be considered reticent to speak to strangers and their local male counterparts. In most cases, the females' speech styles were more tentative and polite when they spoke to adult males and strangers than males. Also, In Pemba, females were more expressive and direct when they spoke with their fellow females, children, and other subordinate subjects (from both genders) than males.

8.3.3.Age

Studies in sociolinguistics, including the works of Trudgill (2000), Labov (1984), Chambers (1995: 200-209), Britain and Cheshire (2003), Bailey (2002: 312-332), Tagliamonte (2012), Eckert (1997: 151-67) and Holmes (1992:173 -8, 216-17, 237 -39), have consistently highlighted that age plays a crucial role in language and linguistic variation. Holmes (2001:168) argues that a “relationship exists between a speaker's age and the use of a particular linguistic variety across age grades, such as children, adolescents”, and, in my case, adult, and elderly speakers. Age, according to Chambers (2003: 163), “plays an almost autocratic role in our social lives, and it follows in our linguistic development”. In this section, I analyse and examine linguistic variation in Kipemba across four loosely proposed age grades – childhood (children, including early adolescents), youth (including early adulthood), adulthood (adults) and elderly age (elderly). Along with age grading, on limited occasions, I also refer to the apparent time hypothesis, which assumes that an individual's vernacular does not change past the adolescence stage, adding that age-graded variation is often indicative of a linguistic change in progress (Bailey 2002: 312-332). My analysis concurs with Chambers' (2003: 166) theoretical proposition that a “person's speech is a reliable indicator of age”, from which the accent plays a considerable role across and throughout age grades.

- **Children's speech (includes early adolescence)**

As stated in the methodology chapter, this study involved school children and early adolescents between 9 and 14 years old. The data showed that Kipemba users of this age grade are transitioning between the Kipemba speech forms acquired in their preschool childhood age, at-home surroundings with playmates and the new speech forms after schooling. The Kipemba linguistic features found in this age group partly reflect the Kipemba speech forms used by the parents and the people around and across their neighbourhoods. On the other hand, the speech forms show some influence of standard Swahili due to ongoing formal schooling. The analysis of children and early adolescent data from across Pemba linguistic zones reflects the mixture of their local vernacular and the speech forms from the Standard Swahili used as a medium of instruction in schools. To corroborate my findings, I cite two examples of speech forms from two Northeastern linguistic zones of Utenzi (KPN 2) and Wingwi-Micheweni Peninsula (KPN 3). My decision to choose Utenzi and Micheweni lies in the confirmed findings that the two linguistic zones still preserve, to a large extent, the old, distinctive Kipemba speech forms more than any other linguistic zone in Pemba.

(206)Kipemba (Kojani, KPN 2, PUN 12, Interview Data)

“Alikuwapo madenge na nvyelewe na babaye. Sasa uyo madenge alikuwa nvyelewe kampika chakula, ela hawepika nchuzii. Akamwambia vipii, nenda kwa bibiyo ukaombe nchuzii. Asa akenda kwa bibiye, alipofika njiani pana mbwa kan'lala. Asa yule mbwa akibwen'ha akisema vipi; asa mie n'nda kwa bibi ukati wa kurudi n'ja pita vipi apa na pana mbwa? Asa akisema ahh n'japita ivyo ivyo. Akenda kwa bibiye akipewa ule nchuzi alipofika njiani akachukua lile jiwe kutampiga yule mbwa. Yule mbwa akibwen'ha, alipobwen'ha asa ule nchuzi ukimwagika. Kumwagika, akenda kwao . Alipokwenda kwao akiulizwa ni nvyelewe madenge n'chuzi uko wapi?”

My Translation

There once was Madenge and his mother and father. Now, this Madenge found her mother had cooked the food without curry. The mother told Madenge, go to your grandma and ask for the curry. Madenge agreed and went but saw a dog lying on the road. Madenge said, "I am going to the grandma, and a dog is barking here. How will I approach it on my way back home?" He then said I would pass whatever the situation was. He got the curry and, on the way back, he picked the stone to hit the dog. The dog barked, and in fear, Madenge spilt the curry. He went home, and her mother asked, "Where is the curry?"

Example (206) was collected on Kojani Island, the most linguistically conservative area of the Utenzi linguistic zone. The text above reflects the old, distinctive Kipemba speech form. The use of the character Madenge (a naughty boy, usually with a punkish hairstyle) instead of the locally prominent, perennial tricksters in the likes of Abunuwasi, rabbit, Zim, genies, and goblins in Kipemba folk tales is a point of intriguing discussion here. Madenge is a cartoonish caricature, a character in Tanzania's mainland modern folk literature who appeared in the then popular *Sani* magazine. Saidi Bawji and Nico Mbagha, the co-founders of the then-popular *Sani* magazine in 1978, created the character of Madenge.¹⁵ Other references by the same cartoonist are the infamous caricatures in the likes of Lodi Lofa, Pimbi, Kifimbo cheza, and Kipepe, who are also now the new dominant characters of modern Swahili folklore. The illustrations of the *Sani* magazine were done by Marco Tibasima - the Tanzanian cartoonist who illustrated several characters in the *Sani* magazine, including the legendary, Madenge. Madenge's appearance or introduction in Kipemba folktales was hence, an enormous surprise and an apparent indicator of the imminent influence and influx of foreign linguistic elements encroaching on Kipemba's cultural and linguistic space. To develop this discussion further, the interaction of new characters may among other things, mean older speech forms in Kipemba are not restricted to

¹⁵ The YouTube video about the founders of Sani magazine and the illustrator Marco Tibasima is available here https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=huvXZSh1_RQ

historically transmitted content, and they show that older speech forms are actively used and used to integrate modern, innovative content.

Besides Tanzania mainland-based characters in Kipemba folktales, returning to its linguistic implication, the text above shows a marginal number (4% out of every 100 spoken words) of new linguistic features from Standard Swahili (see underlined phrases). As it is for the introduction of the Madenge's character into Kipemba folktales, the new linguistic features from Kiunguja and Standard Swahili into Kipemba are likely a result of ongoing formal schooling, which stresses the use of Standard Swahili instead of Kipemba. For instance, a phrase, *alikuwepo* ('once, there was'), is typically a speech form from the Standard Swahili that had it not been for the influence of Standard Swahili, the phrase would have read as *eepo!*, in Kipemba instead. Another example is in locative question form, *uko wapi?* ('Where is it?'). In Kipemba, this phrase is *uwaa?* –The locative *-ko-* as in *uko* and interrogative affix *-pi-* in *wapi* are deleted. This phonological tendency involving a syllable's deletion is prevalent in Kipemba. Likewise, in Shumba N'jini, another conservative linguistic zone in the Wingwi -Micheweni zone, the speech forms of the school children also exhibited minimal linguistic features of Standard Swahili because of formal schooling as seen in example (207) below:

(207)Kipemba (Shumba N'jini, KPN 3, PUN 22B, Interview Data)

“*Watoto waliporudi sukuli walimuona ng'ombe, sa'a walipomuona ng'ombe walin'gwiya nkiya. Walipon'gwiya n'kiya sasa walifukuzwa walifukuzwaa taaa! Ta walipofika ule n'jitini wakipanda juu. Kisha walipomuona aki...walipomuona aukaa wakishuka!*”

My translation

When the children were coming back from school, they saw a bull, and they pulled its tail. The bull chased them and kept chasing them! When they reached the tree, they climbed it. When they saw the bull leaving, they climbed down.

The text in (207) above shows that Kipemba tense form *-e-* is abandoned and replaced by the Standard Swahili *li-* in most school children's speech – a tendency quite unfamiliar in Kipemba speech forms in this area, especially for adults and older people with no formal schooling. The underlined words *walimuona* ('they saw it'), *walin'gwiya* ('they took hold of the bull'), *walifukuzwa* ('they were chased') could read as *wemuona* (they saw him/her), *wen'gywiya* (they caught him/her), and *wefukuzwa* (they were chased), respectively in Kipemba. The use of past tense *li-* is minimal in Kipemba's speech forms. The *li-* tense marker is used sporadically for stylistic reasons or, perhaps, to fill the grammatical gap that could not be filled with Kipemba's past tense marker *e-*. Nevertheless, the increased use of *li-* past tense marker (and perfect tenses

-me-, in some cases) among school children in Pemba provides an early indication of the influence of Standard Swahili in Kipemba through schooling.

- *The Youth*

In Pemba, youths at this age grade are usually in their secondary and tertiary education levels, and some have started working. Youth experience increased mobility at this age through travel and interactions with people from diverse backgrounds. The sense of freedom acquired from this mobility allows young people to explore languages and varieties that may help them adapt to their environments, define their identity, and maintain relationships with their social networks. This study found that most youth, even those from conservative linguistic zones such as Utenzi and Wingwi-Micheweni, deliberately avoided using *Kipemba fyoko/halisi* in their speech. Instead, their speech was minimally characterised by some features from Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. Some educated youths used code mixing (Swahili-English), the trending slang, and spoke with an urban accent instead of their respective zonal accents. For slang, youths from across Pemba tend to use slang forms more frequently than Kipemba speakers of other age grades. Since slang is "so ephemeral" (Holmes 2013: 176), it diminishes as youth enters adulthood. Slang, in this regard, can be considered a reliable descriptor of a person's age. For instance, outdated slang (no longer trending) is widespread among early adult speakers. In this case, slang indicates the group membership and language used during youth. Slang such as *dingi* ('father'), *njagu* ('policeman'), *msela* ('chap'), and *noma* ('trouble') were some of the youth trending slangs of the 1990s and early 2000s. Apart from slang, this study found that the new linguistic features from Kiunguja and Standard Swahili are more prevalent among youths and early adult Kipemba speakers than in any other age grade in most linguistic zones of Pemba.

(208)Kipemba (Pandani, KPN 1, PUN 3, Interview data)

“Ah! ujuzi nlijifundisha mitaani tu apa kaka umo umo kuna fundi alinipa fani basi sikusomea wala nini. Nachonga makabati, vitandaa, dressing kila namna tu. Mambo ya furniture si unajua ndo fani zangu izo?”

My translation
Ah! I learnt my trade skills right in these streets, brother. There is a skilled man who taught me handily. I did not have to take lessons. I now make cupboards, beds, and dressing tables of various kinds. I think you know making furniture is my profession!

Apart from the example above, which reflects typical youth speech due to its closeness to urban Kipemba or Kiunguja, another text (209) below was recorded from youths in the Southeastern parts of Pemba. The speech forms in this area are closely similar to the old, distinctive Kipemba speech forms found in the northeastern zones of Pemba. Kipemba spoken by youths from this area resembles those from Northeastern parts of Pemba, where the speech forms are heavily characterised by "linguistic conservatism". Despite conservatism, the influence of Standard Swahili, though minimal, can still be seen in the speech forms of most youths and early adult Kipemba speakers.

(209) Kipemba (Kangani, KPS 7, PUN 54, Interview data)

Hisomaa, hisomaa masomo ya Kiarabu na Kiswahili. Nlipomaliza nkenda nkajiendeleza na shuhuli ndogo ndogo. Nkaa.. mwaka huu ndio nimeanza, uko katika Chuo Cha Kiislamu Pemba. Mmeanza ualimu.

My Translation

I was studying Arabic and Swahili. When I finished my studies, I went to do some small businesses. This year I have started studying at a Muslim college. I am training to be a teacher.

The text from (209) above shows a typical speech form of Kipemba as spoken by youths today. This includes, for example, using foreign words such as *furniture* instead of *samani and dressing (table)* instead of *meza ya vipodozi* ('cosmetics table', literally). The *-me-* perfect form, which is not a tense marker found in Kipemba as in examples (208) and (209), attests to the influence of schooling, contact and interactions through travel-related mobility. On the other hand, code-mixing is one of the speech forms found predominantly among youths from across eight linguistic zones in Pemba. The verbal structure in Kipemba verbs is also distinctive. During data collection, I recorded two examples in the Western and another from the Southeastern parts of Pemba. As said earlier, the speech forms of Western parts were found to diffuse and accommodate more linguistic features of Standard Swahili than the Eastern parts of Pemba. In comparison between the two examples above (208 and 209), example (208) uses more features of Standard Swahili than text (209). Below are the verbal structures from standard Swahili used by the speakers and their Kipemba equivalent forms?

(210) Variation in tense-aspect use between Kipemba youth users.

Standard Swahili used by Youth (mainly West zones)	Gloss	Corresponding Kipemba form as spoken elsewhere, especially Eastern zones
<i>nilijifundisha</i>	I taught myself	<i>nejifundisha</i>
<i>sikusomea</i>	I did not train to do this	<i>sesomea</i>
<i>unajua</i>	You know!	<i>wajua</i>
<i>unasema</i>	You say, something	<i>wasema</i>
<i>unataka</i>	You want, something	<i>wataka</i>

Slightly different from (208), the linguistic features of Kipemba predominantly characterise the text (209). The speaker uses Kipemba's past progressive form *hi-* as in *hisoma* ('I was studying') instead of *nikisoma* from Standard Swahili. In some cases, however, the speaker uses the *me-* perfect form as in *nimeanza* ('I have started') instead of *neanza*. From the findings of this study, perfect *me-* is a feature of Standard Swahili and other Swahili varieties not native and not used in Kipemba. To conclude, the findings on the variations in youths' speech forms indicate an ongoing process of linguistic change in Kipemba.

- **The Adults**

Studies on age-related variations, including the works of Tagliamonte (2012) and Eckert (1997), found that adults' and older people's speech forms are more conservative than those of children, adolescents, youths and early adults. The speech forms of adult speakers preserve and contain the features of language as spoken in the past. In the context of Kipemba, this study found that adult speakers can be effectively bi-dialectal depending on their educational background. They possess the knowledge of Kipemba, Kiunguja and the standard variety and can, in most cases, switch between them, at least partly. Depending on the context, adults demonstrate an elevated level of linguistic awareness and can quickly adapt their speech forms depending on the context in which they are involved. However, this study found that adults use less standard linguistic structures than youths, and unlike youths, adults refrain from using slang or may sporadically use outdated terms, loan words, and code-mixing in their speech. Old, distinctive Kipemba linguistic features are found more in this age group than in earlier grades. The text below is from the participant from Wambaa (KPS 8), an isolated peninsula on the west end of Nkoani's west zone. It is close to Nkoani town and Tironi village. According to this study, this zone

contains more linguistic features from Standard Swahili due to geographical diffusion, contacts, and interactions with Kiunguja and Standard Swahili.

(211)Kipemba (Wambaa, KPS 8, Adult, Male, Interview Data)

“Kwa hivyo baadaye, lakini wakafanikiwa kukwee..(leza) kupanda nti walifanikiwa kupanda nti ndo ng’o yule ng’ombe yule baadaye tena akapita hapo na wale vijana ikawa tayari washapata ile nusura ya ule nti waloupanda juu”. “Kwa hivyo tena, ng’ombe kakimbia mbali wale vijana wakaamua washuke sasa kwasababu ile hali wakaona ishakuwa salama kidogo kwaivo tena hapo na vijana nadhani washu(ka) wanakwenda zao hao lakini adabu hapa naona wameipata hapa kwahiyo wanaogopa hawa hahahaha!”

My translation:

Later, they successfully climbed the tree when the bull passed, and the boys had already climbed it. They were at the mercy of the tree they had climbed. Then the bull went away, and when the boys saw it was safe, they climbed down and went away, but they had learned their lesson the hard way (laughs)

The speaker in (211) above uses most features of Kiunguja and Standard Swahili in their speech. Nevertheless, some of Kipemba's distinctive linguistic features can still be found in his speech form, including:

- Nasal alternation: Like most Pembans, the speaker alters /m/ for /n/ as in *nti*, corresponding to Standard Swahili, *mti* ('tree'). The nasal alternation between /m/ and /n/ is one of the generic features of Kipemba. It occurs at phonological, morphological, and lexical levels.
- Code-switching and mixing: The speaker mixes Kiunguja and Standard Swahili verbal structures with Kipemba. Sometimes, the speaker uses the *-me-* perfect form as in *wameipata* ('they got it') instead of *wanaipata* used in Kipemba. The speaker also uses the *-ka-* form to replace the third person singular *-a-* and *-me-* perfective forms used in Standard Swahili. For instance, the speaker says *kakimbia* ('s/he/it ran away') instead of the Standard form, *amekimbia* or *kankimbia* (s/he ran away) in Kipemba. Using *-ka-* tense and the perfect *-me-* which in this example corresponds to Kipemba's perfect form *-n-*, is common in Kiunguja and old Swahili. Rarely this feature can also be found in Kipemba's speech forms.
- Conscious language choice: The text shows the speaker struggling to avoid using some old Kipemba speech forms – structures and vocabulary. In the text, the speaker spoke some incomplete words once s/he noticed they were inappropriate in the context of the interviewer. For instance, the speaker was about to say

wakafanikiwa kukweleza (they managed to climb). Still, after noticing the word *kukweleza* ('to climb') is from Kipemba, considering s/he was speaking to a stranger, s/he swapped it for the Standard form *kupanda* ('to climb'). This is a typical linguistic characteristic of adult Kipemba speakers, whose speech forms are characterised by bi-dialectalism, and situational awareness, which in turn prompt them to adjust their speech depending on the context of their communication. Even though Standard Swahili has influenced the speech forms in this area, the adults from across Pemba share many similar characteristics compatible with their age group membership and representative of their local vernacular – Kipemba.

- **Older people/senior citizens**

The older Kipemba speakers are more conservative, using more distinctive Kipemba forms than other age grades. The data shows that this age group retained most old, Kipemba distinctive linguistic features that can rarely be found among children, youths, and young adults in Kipemba. Older Kipemba speakers from across eight linguistic zones were, in varying degrees, found to use old, distinctive Kipemba grammatical structures and vocabulary in their speech. The text (211) below was recorded in the Wete zone, one of the areas that have accommodated new features from Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. Despite being influenced by Kiunguja and Standard Swahili, the speech forms of older people remain relatively unaffected.

(212) Kipemba (N'tambwe, KPN 1, Elderly, Male, Interview data)

“Kabila ni ya kidigo na siye tu wapemba. Siye wapemba tuna asili ya kiarabu, asijekudanganya n'tu yoyote. Na watu wa hapa watoka Eshia. Na mpemba yoyote ukisikia aitwa nshirazi basi ni mpemba. Ila ukiona ana kabila nyengine uyo siye, ata ukenda wapi!”

My Translation

The tribe is Digo, and we are the Pembans. We Pembans have Arab lineage, don't be fooled by anyone about this. The people from here (Pemba) came from Asia. So whenever a native Pembani identifies him/herself as of Shirazi lineage, s/he is, indeed, a Pembani, but if a Pembani has another tribe other than Pembani, he is not a Pembani at all.

The text (211) shows evidence of old Kipemba speech forms an older speaker from Wete zone uses. The speaker uses distinctive Kipemba personal pronoun forms – *siye* ('we, us') instead of *sisi*. A rare instance of substituting the copula *ni* with a personal pronoun (see Ashton, 1944), as in *siye tu Wapemba* instead of *sisi ni Wapemba* is also observable substituting the copula *ni* is a common feature in adults' speech forms but is still more prominent among older Kipemba speakers across Pemba.

8.3.4. Urbanisation and Modernisation

In Zanzibar, it is widely accepted that people who live in urban areas are modern, regardless of their social and geographical background. In the Swahili context, the term modernity has been a subject of heated but controversial debate covered widely by Caplan and Topan (2006) and Meier (2017). Scholars agree that 'modernity' is living new ways of life and veering from the traditional ways, the view perceived by many, including Saleh (2004:145-155) and a lengthy discussion by Thembi Mutch (2012) and Sarah Hillewaert (2016), as corrupting traditional norms and values of Swahili culture and civilisation. Some scholars in African Studies, such as Giuseppe Faldi et al. (2021:65), believe there can be urbanity without modernity in some African cities. In the case of Pemba and Zanzibar, generally, modernity (known as *usasa* or *uleo* in Swahili) and urbanity (*umji*), complement each other and, to many, are seen as synonymous, sometimes used interchangeably. Urbanity or *umji* involves living new ways of life that are notably polite or polished in manners, different from those of rural areas and sub-urban people. Ideally, modernity is, consequently, engulfed in the concept of urbanity. It involves living the ways more sophisticated and modern in society. Dressing style, speech ways and mannerisms, and household etiquette and lifestyle may account for modernity. As stated earlier, Pemba has three major urban towns – Nkoani West, Chake Chake and Wete. In Pemba, towns are inhabited by people who relocated from nearby rural or peri-urban areas. A few migrants also come for work or settlements from other parts of Tanzania. The Wete town, for example, is populated by people originally from Gando, N'tambwe, Bogowa, Finya, Kinyasini, and Pandani (KPN 1). It is also home to the people from Utenzi (KPN 2), Wingwi-Micheweni (KPN 3) and Tumbe (KPN 4) linguistic zones.

Similarly, Chake Chake and Nkoani West towns' inhabitants have come from the neighbouring rural linguistic zones such as Ole, Ndagoni, Weshu, N'jawiri, Matale, Kipapo, Birikau and other neighbouring villages. The cultural intermingling of people from diverse linguistic, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds in the urban towns of Pemba might, over time, have led to cultural assimilation and diffusion of new linguistic features from predominant, prestigious groups living in the area. Over time of interaction and mingling, cultural assimilation and linguistic diffusion may lead to accent and structural convergence in speech forms through increased contact and interactions. From my observation, I found that in Pemba, when people move to urban towns and cities and become "modernised", their speech forms also conform to those of the urban linguistic circle. The users develop new repertoires and networks different from their

local heritage speech ways. The terms *Kimjini* or *Kimji* and *Kishamba*, discussed in the previous chapters, are a product of urbanisation and modernisation.

The linguistic implication of urbanisation and modernisation is increased contact and interaction between people of diverse linguistic backgrounds. Increased contact has long been linked with the diffusion of new linguistic features from prestigious varieties, leading to the levelling of dialect differences between urban and rural speakers. Studies by D'Souza (1986) and Jeon (2018) found that urbanisation may also produce innovative features and norms in the dialects of younger speakers. In contrast, modernisation may result in language change, vocabulary being the most affected area. The data from this study show and confirm that urban Kipemba users have abandoned some distinctive Kipemba vocabulary and structure for Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. For example, the use of Kipemba vernacular tense-aspects markers such as *-e-* (past), *-hi-* (past progressive), *-a-* (present) are gradually being replaced by the Standard Swahili TAM markers *-li-*, *-ki-*, and *-na-* respectively, especially in the major Western towns of Pemba. Another example is that items made from clay (earthenware), old Kipemba kinship names, traditional food, and pastries and old Kipemba vocabulary (nouns and verbs) in Pemba's West urban towns are gradually being replaced or substituted with new item terminologies now made of metal, plastics and ceramics.

8.3.5. Schooling, Socioeconomic Factors and the Power of Standard Swahili

DeVine (2005), Gilbert (2010), Domhoff (2013) and Beeghley (2016) define social class as the grouping of people in a society based on socioeconomic factors such as wealth, income, education, and occupation. It is widely accepted that these factors influence a person's power and prestige in the social class hierarchy. Sociolinguists, however, believe a direct link exists between social class and language or variety chosen by speakers across the social strata. My study did not focus on socioeconomic class but on levels of education, which can be used to inform social class. I classified my participants' level of education based on at least three levels: educated, semi-educated and uneducated. The educated class includes the Kipemba users who completed secondary or tertiary levels of education. The less educated include the users who obtained a primary level of education and those still in the primary level of studies at the time of the research. This category includes primary school children and dropouts (youths, adults, and older adults) who have acquired basic literacy skills. Uneducated includes 8 out of 16 participants who did not obtain a formal education or home-schooling. The study found that educated people were better off economically and enjoyed greater power and status than the other groups.

The findings show that educated Kipemba speakers were more flexible and bi-dialectal than less educated and uneducated speakers. The educated users were competent in using their local vernaculars, Kiunguja and Standard Swahili and could switch and mix between Kipemba and other varieties. In addition, they demonstrated high levels of competence in understanding different accents of Kipemba and other varieties of Zanzibar clusters and even beyond, perhaps, due to formal schooling and travel. When I asked whether they use distinctive Kipemba speech forms in their daily communication, the educated users acknowledged their familiarity with the vernacular. Still, the majority admitted not using the local vernacular forms often in their speech. Some educated participants admitted that they no longer use Kipemba's distinctive forms because they are educated, hence, consider themselves modern. The same response applies to other educated participants from across Pemba, as illustrated by the educated Kipemba user from Tumbe (KPN 4)

(213) Kipemba (Tumbe, KPN 4, PUN 40, Interview Data)

Nilikuwa nazungunza hivyo, lakini sasa sisemi hivi kwa sababu nishasoma

'I used to speak like this, but not anymore because I am now educated.'

The speech forms of Kipemba users across three education levels vary depending on their context. For instance, educated users are believed to or at least try to use Standard Swahili at the workplace and at formal occasions or events. Here, I am rather pessimistic about fully confirming that the users use Standard Swahili because, from my observation, I did not encounter any participant who could fully speak Standard Swahili in its very sense. Every user is trying to speak a form of Swahili that sounds more like Kiunguja or Standard but with some noticeable effects of Kipemba in their speech forms. That educated users use features from the standard variety is also supported by Crystal and Ivic (2014), who argue that educated speakers use more linguistic features from the standard language or a variety. Crystal and Ivic add that the original dialect of the region is better preserved in the speech of the lower and less-educated classes. The study found that less educated Kipemba users primarily demonstrated some knowledge of Standard Swahili when prompted to present their responses in writing. The best example is when I asked the school children to write the words beginning with /m/ that in Kipemba are mainly nasalised with nasal assimilation in Kipemba. The table below shows a selection of the students' spoken and written words from across eight Kipemba linguistic zones.

(214) Variations between spoken and written words in Kipemba

Words as written in Standard Swahili	Spoken in Kipemba	Written in Kipemba
<i>mkate</i> ('bread')	<i>nkate</i>	<i>mkate</i>
<i>mlango</i> ('door')	<i>nlango</i>	<i>mlango</i>
<i>mchele</i> ('rice')	<i>nchele</i>	<i>mchele</i>
<i>msala</i> ('praying mat')	<i>n'sala</i>	<i>msala</i>
<i>mshumaa</i> ('candle')	<i>nshumaa</i>	<i>mshumaa</i>
<i>mnazi</i> ('coconut palm')	<i>nnazi</i>	<i>mnazi</i>
<i>mfuko</i> ('pocket, bag')	<i>nfuko</i>	<i>mfuko</i>

Example (214) shows that nasal assimilation of /m/ is prominent among Kipemba users. However, this feature is more prevalent in the spoken form of the vernacular and, more peculiarly, used by less educated and uneducated Kipemba users. Uneducated users, as this study can assume, have no basic literacy skills, so they can barely read or write. This user group tends to use non-standard forms of speech in Kipemba more than others. The educated Kipemba users had considerable influence over the speech forms of less educated and uneducated Kipemba users in their speech community. The findings align with Sodah's (2019:966), who argued that "people with good education and job opportunities influence low economic people to use highly regarded language".

8.3.6. Attitudes, Ideologies, Identity and Awareness

The topic of attitude, ideologies, identity, and awareness towards language has been explored in a broader expanse in the works of Baker (1992), Sallabank (2013), Kristiansen (2011), Githiora (2017), and Robert and Dan (2018). In addition to the previous works, I also consulted the works of Trudgill (2000), Romaine (2000), Labov (2001), Garrett (2006; 2010), and Mesthrie (2011) along with the recent works of Giles and Rakić (2014), Dragojevic (2017; 2020; 2021), Wamalwa (2020), and Juma and Atoni (2022) in studying the role of attitude ideologies and identity and awareness. My analysis of attitude towards Kipemba largely uses positive, neutral and negative attitude continuum while also, based on the nature of the

questions I asked, reflecting to Dragojevic (2021:61) attitude continuum (structure, value and sound). Language attitude is a "social phenomenon that involves creating opinions about other speakers by judging their speech" (Papuc, 2016: 3). Attitudes towards language are formed when speakers place varieties in a hierarchical order based upon social norms. Dragojevic (2017) suggests two cognitive processes reflected in language attitudes. The first is social categorisation, and the other is stereotyping. According to Dragojevic, social categorisation occurs when listeners use linguistic cues such as accents to infer speakers' social group membership(s). The linguistic zones represent social group membership in Pemba and may, in part or whole, be attributed to the speakers' stereotypic traits of their group membership(s). For instance, In Pemba, each zone based on distinctive speech forms identifies with its own identity. The assumed identity may symbolise the agreed group membership of the people based on their accents and inherent speech ways. The cases of Tondooni and Nkia wa Ng'ombe (KPN 4) and Muambe – Kisiwa Panza (KPS 7) are relevant cases in points where some people do not claim membership in the zones, they live in. When I inquired about their identity, in Muambe and Kisiwa Panza, people reported that they were not native Pembans. One elderly consultant from Muambe told me that the people of Muambe consider themselves Tumbatu and take exceptional pride in their cultural and linguistic identity in Pemba. They also consider the nearby villages, such as Nanguji and Kiwani Kengeja, as *Upembani* (the Pemban neighbourhood), assuming Muambe is not Pemba because of the high population of Tumbatus. This attitude tacitly implies that Muambe is a part of Tumbatu on Pemba Island. When I investigated the attitude of native Tumbatus towards Kipemba and Kitumbatu, the responses were mixed. Some respondents thought their Kitumbatu was better than Kipemba, and some thought the opposite.

The use of the vernacular between Tumbatus and Pembans in Pemba varies – the Tumbatus speak some form of Kipemba, sometimes in a Kitumbatu accent and with few Kitumbatu words. Some Tumbatus, such as the one in Mkaongwe (KPS 8), who is a retired military officer, retired and well-travelled, spoke Standard Swahili with some influence of Kitumbatu. Such attitudes and tendencies are likely due to the people's backgrounds and speech forms that differ from most speakers of their respective zones. Undoubtedly, "listeners can and do make excellent distinctions among varying degrees of accentedness," which may, in turn, influence their evaluations of speakers (Dragojevic 2017: 386; see also Brennan & Brennan, 1981a, 1981b). Kipemba speakers and the broader Zanzibar Swahili dialect cluster use linguistic cues, mainly speech forms and vocabulary, to identify and distinguish between Kipemba and speakers of other varieties. For instance, from the responses to the sentences written in a

questionnaire showing distinctive Kipemba speech forms to non-Kipemba speakers, over 90% of the participants could quickly tell that the sentences were typical Kipemba even though they did not comprehend their meanings. Likewise, when I used the same questionnaire with the research consultants from across eight Kipemba linguistic zones, over 90% were aware of the sentences, knew their meanings and agreed the sentences were from Kipemba spoken predominantly in Eastern and Northern parts of Pemba.

On the other hand, stereotyping involves attributing the speakers with stereotypic traits associated with those inferred group membership(s). In chapter two, I highlighted that other Swahili speakers consider Kipemba a less prestigious 'low' Swahili variety. The attitude appended to this variety is less favourable than other Swahili varieties of the Zanzibar cluster. Apart from Kiunguja Mjini, I noted that other Swahili varieties outside Zanzibar town are generally called *Kishamba* ('rural varieties'). However, in the context of Kipemba, the attitude is beyond the rural-urban dichotomy. Beyond its linguistic region, in Swahili East Africa, many perceive Kipemba unfavourably. During data collection, some Kipemba users reported being treated with derision and mockery when they spoke in Kipemba¹⁶. This attitude is primarily attributed to the historical marginalisation of Pemba and Pembans, who have been viewed with contempt for centuries by the Islands' authorities. In most commentary and literature, Pembans are depicted or stereotyped as backward and inward-looking, and so is their variety, Kipemba. Evidence of this can be seen from several mocking or derisive name-calls attributed to the Kipemba speakers. The names include *yakhe* (originally meaning 'my brother'), *ami* ('young maternal uncle'), *balahau* ('in-law') or *chachi* ('aunt') and Arnolds' (2002) account of the "shameless" (*Wasohaya*) being referred to as Pembans. Even though these names are considered funny or positive, outwardly, their covert connotation is not and not many Pembans are happy to be addressed as such. Perhaps, it is due to this language attitude-based stigma or discrimination that Pembans tend to switch their accents and mix between the varieties or, in most cases, adopt speech forms like or close to Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. During my fieldwork in Pemba, I asked one of my Kipemba participants why she would not speak in Kipemba, and she responded as below:

¹⁶ Nathalie Arnold's paper, 'Placing the Shameless: Approaching Poetry and the Politics of Pemban-ness in Zanzibar, 1995-2001,' is an excellent reference showing, though not in broader scope and depths, the stereotyping of the Pembans.

(215) Kipemba (Wingwi, KPN 3, Female, Youth)

“*Saa nyengine hadi tuseme kin’ji maana twaogopa chekwa!*”

My translation: 'Sometimes we have to speak in an urban accent (i.e., Kiunguja) because we are afraid of being laughed at or mocked!'

The statement from the participant above shows that the attitude towards Kipemba is generally unfavourable and even more when spoken in a rural accent.

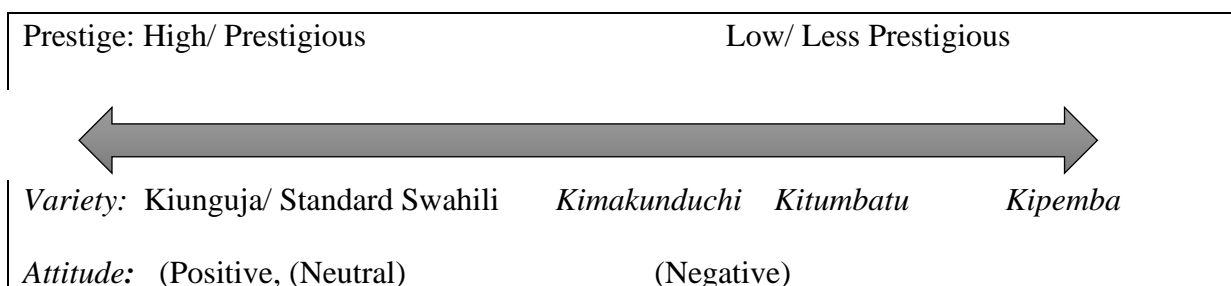


Figure 8.2: The language attitude continuum of the Zanzibar Swahili Dialect cluster

Apart from Kiunguja and the power of Standard Swahili over Kipemba, the attitude situation is even more complex from within Pemba and amongst the Kipemba users. As highlighted earlier, there are eight linguistic zones in Pemba, and stereotyping is more prominent than for Kiunguja and other variety speakers apart from Kipemba. In Pemba, the traditional classification of urban, peri-urban, and rural are primarily, at least partly, based on factors relating to language attitude. According to this classification, the urban places are geographically found in the Western part of Pemba, including Wete, Chake Chake and Nkoani West towns. The peri-urban area (known by most Pembans as *Bopwe*) is in the central parts of Pemba. The *Bopwe* zone lies between the rural and urban of the three major towns. In Wete zones, for example, the peri-urban areas include Piki, Ziواني, Mzambarauni, Kinyasini, and Mgogoni near Konde sub-town and their vicinities. In the Chake Chake area, peri-urban places include Meli Tano, Niyapi Kwale, Kizomwe, Pondeani, Mwanamashungi and the vicinity. In Nkoani West, places such as Mizingani, Mbuguani, and Manyaga qualify roughly as peri-urban places. Most, if not all, of Pemba's Eastern villages and towns are rural places.

Based on the participant's responses, the study found that the prestigious form of Kipemba is spoken in the peri-urban towns of Ziواني, Kisiwani kwa Binti Abeid and Piki in the Wete zone. Relating these with the attitudes, this study found that most Kipemba speakers from the Eastern zone are believed to speak *Kishamba* – a rural version of Kipemba, whereas those in towns are said to speak *Kimjini*. From the linguistic point of view, it is rather challenging to distinguish

between *Kimjini* and *Kishamba* in Pemba – the most discernible difference is the speech forms (phonological differences) and the lexical choices used between the two. The use and interpretation of the word *Kishamba* ('rural Kipemba') are also more complex than it is for *Kimjini* ('urban Kipemba'). The so-called *Kishamba* in Pemba is spoken mainly outside three town centres of Wete, Chake Chake and Nkoani West. Hence, it is more appropriate to address them in their plural form as *vishamba* ('several rural accents') instead of as a singular *Kishamba*. These are the speech forms found in all Eastern linguistic zones of Pemba, including Utenzi, Micheweni and Tumbe.

Referring to the Kipemba attitude continuum, this study found that apart from *Kishamba*, there is another sub-category within the *Kishamba* attitude continuum known locally as *Kipemba fyoko* or *Kipemba halisi*, ('the original or an uncompromised form of Kipemba'). *Kipemba fyoko*, or *halisi*, represents the speech form marked by an attitude label that Sallabank (2013) refers to as 'purism and correctness'. *Kipemba fyoko* or *halisi* has a complex, old, distinctive Kipemba vocabulary and structure and, as already noted, it is found predominantly in Utenzi (KPN 2), Wingwi-Micheweni peninsula (KPN 3), Tumbe (KPN 4) zones, and to a lesser degree, in some Southeastern zones of Pemba. Below is the Kipemba attitude continuum between urban, peri-urban, and rural speech forms.

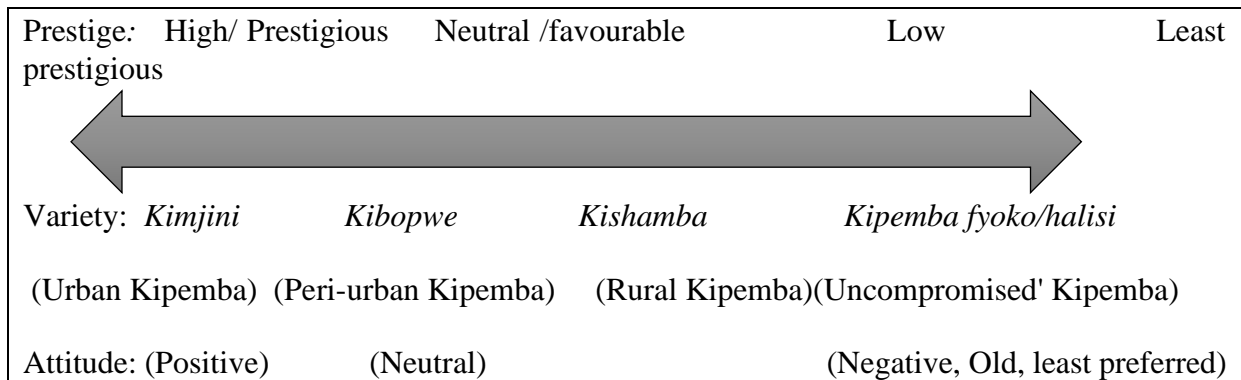


Figure 8.3: The attitude continuum of Kipemba in Pemba

The Kipemba-attitude continuum above suggests that Kipemba cha mjini is considered by most users as a positive (highly structured, highly valued and prestigious), hence preferred by users. In contrast, Kibopwe, is neutral (less structured, less valued and less prestigious) lying between high-prestigious but is still a favourable form of Kipemba from which urban users expect everyone else to use it as a barest expected minimum Standard Kipemba speech form. *Kishamba* or *vishamba* (to represent various rural varieties or speech forms), is marked as negative (least structured or outdated, least valued and low prestige) *Kipemba fyoko* or *halisi*, which is a variety seen as being the most conservative form of Kipemba, is considered the least prestigious form in the Kipemba attitude continuum. From my observation, I found that the

Kishamba and *Kipemba fyoko* or *halisi* speech forms are considered by many as 'authentic' and 'correct' forms of Kipemba even though they are still viewed with mockery and contempt by most Kipemba users from urban towns of Pemba. This study concludes that the differences in attitudes towards Kipemba urban-rural speech forms or varieties dichotomies highlight an ongoing process of accent convergence between urban Kipemba speech forms and the neighbouring superstrate varieties of Swahili, perhaps, due to the users' underlying attitudes towards the varieties they consider superior, favourable, and correct.

8.3.7. Dialect Contact and Interaction

The studies on dialect contact have been widely covered in various works, including, for example, Trudgill (1986), Britain (2003), Kerswill (2002, 2003), and Ihemere (2013). In this section, I refer to their ideas in line with the factors for variation in Kipemba. Several studies have linked contact with accommodation, diffusion and mobility (Britain 2003: 209 -215), convergence (Matras 2003: 66 -85), grammaticalisation (Heine and Kuteva 2003: 86-105; 2005), language shift (Hickey 2003: 149-150), borrowing (Winford 2003: 151-187), and code-switching (Gardener-Chloros 2003: 188-207). These factors sometimes appear as being separate, but I present and view them as correlated and, indeed, interdependent. In this section, I discuss the role of the factors above and examine their interconnectedness and role in shaping the current linguistic variation in Kipemba.

Contact and interaction are the two factors paramount in breeding the current linguistic variation in Kipemba. It is from contact and interaction where other factors such as accommodation, shift, borrowing, and convergence evolve and occur. Until the early 1990s, transport to and from Pemba and commuting within and across Pemba Island was an often seemingly insurmountable challenge. I want to reiterate that Pemba is a marginalised community, thus underdeveloped in all aspects of life, including transport and communication infrastructure. Up to the 1990s, there were roughly two 'main' roads – one from Wete to Konde and another from Wete to Chake Chake and Nkoani seaport. These roads were built during colonial times and did not pass through major rural towns and villages of Pemba, where over 50% of the population live. On top of limited infrastructure, public transport services were markedly minimal. In Pemba, few available public transport services were operating in a limited route schedule in the areas with primary road access. The lack of reliable transport discouraged and affected people's mobility considerably. During this time, it was a relatively complex challenge to commute swiftly and into Micheweni (KPN 3), Kangagani (KP2), and Chambani (KPN 7) and between the neighbouring Kipemba linguistic zones. The contact

between people from one place and another was then effectively limited. In addition to travelling within and across Pemba, it was also challenging for the people of Pemba to easily commute to Unguja Island, Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Mombasa during that time due to the limited access to the sea and air transport services. Economic factors such as lack of money and poor infrastructure were also decisive. Pembans, as Major Pearce once said, "Have had less opportunity than the Swahilis of Zanzibar or Mombasa of enlarging their understanding or views of life by contact with other races" (Pearce 1920: 320).

However, in the 21st century, the revolutionary Government of Zanzibar took deliberate measures to improve Pemba's transport and communication infrastructure. By the end of my fieldwork in the middle of 2021, Pemba had better roads and transport networks than ever. People from different linguistic zones in Pemba can now move freely from one place to another, thus enhancing contact and interaction. Dialect contact can be direct or indirect. Direct contact is in which 'speakers of one language turn up amid speakers of another (because of invasion, expulsion, emigration), and the second is where the contact is through the mediation of literature or nowadays television, radio, or the internet' (Hickey, 2010, also in Awal 2023:70). Through direct contact the Kipemba users are in direct contact with other Swahili speakers from other zones around Pemba. The accent traces from one linguistic zone can now be found from one zone to another. Most of the speech forms in South Pemba linguistic zones are, perhaps, the outcome of the interzonal contacts and interactions between the people from other Kipemba linguistic zones and some parts of Unguja Island.

Apart from language contact and interaction between the people of Pemba, there is increased contact between Pembans and their Unguja, Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Mombasa counterparts. The direct contact was for decades facilitated by perennial maritime journeys and economic activities of fishers from North Unguja to Pemba and reverse. Similar situations exist in North Pemba linguistics zones. For instance, the people of the Wete zone (KPN 1) have direct contact with Mombasa and Tanga through trade, fishing, and shared social and cultural ties. Likewise, the people of Nsuka, Tondooni and N'kia wa Ng'ombe have shared contacts with those from Utenzi (KPN 2) and Wingwi-Micheweni (KPN 3). They also have close contact with the people of Tanga and Mombasa, resulting in variations in distinctive speech forms and increased lexical borrowing between the varieties. Due to increased contact and interaction, some loan words from the neighbouring varieties are found in Kipemba spoken in these linguistic zones. It is well known that the structural influence of one language can lead to changes in the other. For example, *hela* and *shule* were originally German but later borrowed and adopted into mainland Swahili varieties. The words *hela* and *shule* were, for decades, unpopular in Zanzibar's

Kipemba and other Swahili dialects. However, these words have become part of Kipemba's lexical repertoire through language contact and interaction. On the other hand, the original Kipemba words, such as *yakhe* ('my brother'), *sebu* ('I do not want'), *balahau* ('father-in-law') and *ami* ('paternal uncle'), are now becoming familiar in Zanzibar and mainland Swahili varieties.

The studies referred to here have confirmed that the increased dialect contact may result in bilingualism or bi-dialectalism and code-mixing. Even though bi-dialectalism is the term already covered in detail in chapter two, it is worth highlighting that bi-dialectalism in Kipemba is arguably a result of language contact and interaction. This study found that bi-dialectalism has contributed tremendously to the already rich and expansive Kipemba lexical repertoire and pronunciation, thus leading to grammatical interference. Hickey (2010) argues that 'the essential difference is that for grammatical interference to occur, there must be a degree of bilingualism in the community. Otherwise, no speakers can transfer structures from a second language (or variety) into their mother tongue'. According to the findings of this study, it was found that the contact between Kipemba and other neighbouring Swahili varieties of the East African littoral is one of the natural sources of the current linguistic variations in pronunciation, grammatical structures, and vocabulary in Kipemba. In this regard, it can be deduced and concluded that variation in grammatical structure in Kipemba is, at least partly factors discussed earlier.

On the other hand, the current bi-dialectal situation in Kipemba may result from prolonged language contact with other Southern Swahili dialects, especially Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. This study found that recently increased language contact and interaction between Kipemba and Kiunguja, particularly, have led to geographical diffusion, pronunciation, and structural convergence in Kipemba. Structural convergence occurs where new grammatical features from Kiunguja and Standard Swahili are now found in Kipemba. The dialect convergence between Kiunguja is evident in Kipemba speech forms found in the Western zones, especially in the urban towns of Pemba. Dialect convergence may, in turn, result in regional dialect levelling, which in the words of Hinskens (1997:35), is 'the reduction in structural variation — of quantitative, internal variation and (either categorical or quantitative) differences between language varieties, say, dialects.' Hinskens adds that levelling, in this regard, can make (a) individual dialects more homogeneous and (b) different dialects more similar and, consequently, the overall system seems more homogeneous. The findings of this study provide an early indication of dialect levelling, which may lead to the reduction of variation in Kipemba as it converges with Kiunguja and Standard Swahili.

8.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored and analysed various factors for linguistic variation in Kipemba. The factors that play a crucial part in the current variation in Kipemba include regional background, geographical, historical, and cultural factors, sex and gender, age, attitudes, schooling, contact and interaction. While these factors were presented and discussed separately, they are interconnected. The role of dialect contacts and interaction is also paramount in shaping the linguistic variation in Kipemba. This study found that new linguistic features from the neighbouring varieties in contact are gradually diffused and accommodated into Kipemba through increased mobility-related contact and interaction. The geographical propinquity between Pemba and Unguja has been mentioned to have played a catalytic role in enhancing mobility between people, thus, facilitating geographical diffusion between Kipemba and the neighbouring but superstrate varieties such as Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. The influence of superstrate varieties on Kipemba is linked with the dialect and structural convergence of linguistic features found predominantly in the Western towns of Nkoani, Chake Chake and Wete in Pemba.

In addition to the above, studies have shown that throughout the 20th century, there was an increasing reference to the standardising influence of social and geographical mobility on the use of speech forms which diverged from standard features of a dialect area (e.g., McDavid 1946; Pederson 1965; Kurath 1972). According to Kurath (1972: 122-5), social and geographical diffusion of linguistic features is influenced by the contact and attitudes of the users. Kurath highlights the relevance of intercommunication and sociocultural boundaries (i.e., social networks) in studying linguistic variations. Kurath (1972: 125) also recognises the role of major urban centres in the diffusion of features into less dominant urban areas and between speakers of higher versus lower socioeconomic status. From my observation, Kurath's theoretical proposition concurs with the current linguistic situation in Pemba, where some new linguistic features from the neighbouring varieties in contact are diffused and accommodated into Kipemba. Due to increased contact, interaction and other social and geographical factors, the study found that the new linguistic features are gradually diffused and accommodated in Kipemba. The new linguistic features coming into Kipemba may lead to dialect convergence and regional dialect levelling. When levelling occurs, the speech forms between the speakers tend to converge linguistically' (Trudgill 1986a: 1- 4), leading to a new variety characterised by the absence of localised forms (a broader discussion on this is covered in Kerswill 2002: 680–689). Ultimately, the absence of localised forms makes the varieties in contact more

similar, leading to the loss of variation (Hinsken 1997: 36). Since Kipemba is facing an imminent danger of levelling, this study calls for exigent language documentation and preservation measures to save the endangered local vernacular. Among the measures I suggest for Kipemba dialect documentation and preservation includes comprehensive documentation (audio and video), community involvement through training programs and workshops, policy advocacy, research and collaboration, and effective educational initiatives.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1. Introduction

This study on linguistic variation in Kipemba cannot claim to be exhaustive but, it offers an in-depth, descriptive linguistic analysis of Kipemba - one of the four varieties of the Zanzibar Swahili cluster spoken on Pemba Island by around half a million people. Historically, Pemba has been subject to historical marginalisation, leaving it politically, socially, and economically side-lined and relatively under-developed compared to its sister island Unguja. A related side-effect has been, among other things, limited research, and scholarship about the island. Only a few scholars shed some light on Pemba and Kipemba in the last century. However, most of these studies have yet to specifically address the issues of linguistic variation in Kipemba per se. Early works on Pemba (some on Kipemba) were mainly by foreign scholars, including Sacleux (1909), Stigand (1915), Ingrams (1924, 1931), Whitely (1958), Bryan (1959) and Polomé (1968). There have been more recent works by local scholars such as Khamis (1984), Mshindo (1988), Nassor (1994), Mohamed (2010), and Juma (2011, 2018). Still, none offers a complete descriptive analysis of Kipemba and the possible zonal linguistic variations necessary to provide a broader picture of the linguistic situation in Pemba.

The limited extent to which Pemba has been studied means several vital questions and assumptions about Kipemba need some answers. Most crucially, whether Kipemba is one dialect with internal variations or a term to describe the different dialects of Swahili spoken in Pemba was also one of the addressed assumptions in this study. Meanwhile, some past studies argued that Kipemba is spoken in some parts of Pemba. In contrast, other studies concluded that Standard Swahili is taking over Kipemba. Some researchers assumed that Kipemba spoken in one rural or urban place is representative of all other rural or urban areas of Pemba. Likewise, scholars such as Mohamed (2001) and Ali (2015) assume that the Kipemba spoken in the Western and Southern tip of Pemba is similar to Kiunguja and, indeed, to Standard Swahili. Nevertheless, as discussed in the literature review section, this assumption was backed by insufficient linguistic evidence. In the words of Khamis (1984), most early scholars' assumptions about Kipemba were inherently impressionistic, unrealistic, and had some errors of generalisation. The best example of an error of generalisation is assuming that the form of Kipemba spoken in Micheweni (KPN 3) or Minungwini (KPN 2) is representative of Kipemba spoken in the North of Pemba and, correspondingly, that the Kipemba spoken in Muambe, Chokocho, and Kangani (KPS 7) represents the Kipemba of the south Pemba. Moreover, without sufficient linguistic evidence, it is equally faulty to hold that Kipemba spoken in one

rural or urban place is representative of other places. The same applies to the researchers who mistook differences in accents for sub-dialects or varieties of Kipemba. These limitations have for decades posed considerable challenges in understanding the reality of Pemba's linguistic situation. Earlier, my literature review section also noted that some works on Kipemba were dated, and some were only partially linguistic in orientation, containing history, literature, and general language notes. In some past studies, there were also issues with sampling designs, the selection of samples, and the geographical areas where the research took place. For instance, most linguistic studies on Kipemba were conducted in Northeast Pemba, loosely guided by the assumption that the native Kipemba vernacular is only spoken in this area. Contrary to the widely held views about this assumption, the findings of this study show that most old, distinctive Kipemba speech forms are predominantly found in this area. However, it should not be misconstrued that distinctive Kipemba speech forms are only prevalent in the Northeastern parts. The findings of this study confirm that Kipemba is spoken throughout Pemba with some variations in phonology, morphosyntax and lexical aspect; its use, according to this study, is changing gradually, especially in the Western parts of Pemba, due to increased contact and interactions with other superstrate varieties of Swahili.

This study aims to contribute in research and scholarship on Kipemba by filling the gaps left by the previous studies. Guided by the traditional linguistic dialectology and variationist approach, the study divided Pemba into eight Kipemba linguistic zones. The linguistic zones were classified based on geographical, linguistic and ethnohistorical criteria. Geographically, Kipemba was classified into North and South (I later added the East and West sides into the North and South geographical dichotomy). Here the eight linguistic zones were assigned code names such that, for example, "KP" means Kipemba and "N" or "S" show if the zone is in either the "North" or "South" of Pemba. The zones were later assigned the numbers 1 to 8; zones 1 to 4 are Northern, and 5 to 8 are Southern Kipemba linguistic zones. After a provisional division, linguistic criteria were used to identify the features shared between the proposed linguistic zones. I established the precise demarcation with linguistic criteria where certain linguistic features, such as variation in accents or speech form. These criteria also helped identify where the accents were strong and where they faded away to mark the end of a particular linguistic zone and the beginning of another. Finally, ethnic, and historical factors were used to name the locations as once known in the early historical sources. Historically, Pemba had five chiefdoms which later led to the development of a few other early human settlements. Historical sources reveal five chiefdoms in Pemba before the Portuguese invasion. These chiefdoms were Ukoma, Uungwana, Utenzi, Twaka and N'kumbuu. I named some

linguistic zones after these chiefdoms considering their historical and linguistic significance. The elders I spoke to reminded me to add three other linguistic zones previously absent in historical sources. The three new zones also added were Wingwi-Micheweni Peninsula, N'koani East and N'koani West, as listed below:

- i. The Wete zone Kipemba (KPN 1) - *Kipemba cha Wete* (also known as Uungwana)
- ii. The Utenzi zone Kipemba (KPN 2) - *Kipemba cha Ki-Utenzi*
- iii. The Micheweni zone Kipemba (KPN 3) - *Kipemba cha Wingwi-Micheweni*
- iv. The Tumbe zone Kipemba (KPN 4) - *Kipemba cha Ki-Tumbe* (also known as Twaka or Chwaka)
- v. The Nkamandume zone Kipemba (KPS 5) – *Kipemba cha N'kamandume* (also known as Ukoma)
- vi. The Nkumbuu zone Kipemba (KPS 6) – *Kipemba cha N'kumbuu*
- vii. The Nkoani East zone Kipemba (KPS 7) – *Kipemba cha N'koani Mashariki*
- viii. The Nkoani West zone Kipemba (KPS 8) – *Kipemba cha N'koani Magharibi*

After classifying, naming, and setting the demarcation of the accent or speech forms based linguistic boundaries, this study investigated three major research areas in Kipemba as shown below:

- a. The generic phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features (9.2)
- b. The zone-specific phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features (9.3), and
- c. The factors for the variation in Kipemba (9.4).

9.2. The generic phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features in Kipemba

Phonologically, the study found that Kipemba shares most linguistic features throughout all eight linguistic zones. The /m - n/ nasal alternation and assimilation is one of the most prominent phonological features among speakers of all age grades, genders, and geographical locations (rural and urban Pemba). The study found that most Kipemba speakers pronounce /m/ and /n/ depending on certain phonological conditions. For instance, /m/ remains the same if the sound preceding it are bilabial /p/, /b/, /n/ and /m/ as in *mpapai* ('papaya tree'), *mbwa* ('dog'), *nmazi* ('palm tree') and *mmasai* ('the Masai'). On the other hand, if /m/ is followed by any sound other than the bilabial, the underlying -n- (or /N/) assimilates as /m/. It was also noted that consonants of Arabic origins, such as /ð/, /x/, /ʃ/, /θ/ and /ɣ/, are not routinely used in Kipemba. Instead, they are replaced by /z/ for /x/ and /h/ for /ð/, whereas /ɣ/ and /sw/ are

replaced by /s/. In Kipemba phonological constructions, various phonological processes are involved. These processes include nasal assimilation, deletion from sound to the phrasal level, and nasalisation.

In the morphosyntactic aspect, Kipemba shares most morphosyntactic structures throughout eight Kipemba linguistic zones. Using some possessive pronouns in suffix position, demonstratives, relative forms, and the unusual possessive form *-ngwa-* ('someone's, somebody's) - unique to Kipemba - are examples of morphological features found across Pemba. The study found that although Kipemba shares a few tense and aspect forms with Standard Swahili, most of the tense and aspects are unique and distinctive to Kipemba used in specific context such schools and formal occasions. Additionally, the study investigated generic lexical features from eight lexical, thematic domains in Kipemba. The study found that Kipemba has an expansive repertoire of lexical items in the form of direct synonyms, hyponyms, metonyms, and polysemy. According to the findings, there is minimal variation between the lexical items listed above across Pemba. Even though there are slight variations between zones, over 80% of the words from the lexical domains above were familiar to most Kipemba speakers in every zone.

For further validation, the study also surveyed to determine the following:

- i.) Understanding or comprehension of Kipemba-specific phrases and words
- ii.) Whether people of that area (linguistic zone) use the Kipemba-specific phrases and words and the frequency of use
- iii.) Whether the individual participant from the linguistic zone uses the Kipemba-specific words and phrases, and
- iv.) Participants' perception of the geographical area where Kipemba-specific words and phrases are most used.

Vis-a-vis (i), the study found that an average of 90% of Kipemba speakers understood the meaning of the Kipemba-specific words and phrases compared to 13.8% of the speakers from other parts of Tanzania and Kenya. The highest percentage of understanding of Kipemba-specific words and phrases was 97% recorded in the Tumbe zone, and the lowest was 85% in Nkoani West. For non-Kipemba participants, the highest percentage score was 17%, recorded amongst the speakers of Zanzibar town and Tanga, while the lowest score was 10%, recorded among the Makunduchi speakers in Zanzibar. These scores are primarily attributable to factors relating to language contact and geography. The data also highlights an increasing language contact between the people of Zanzibar Islands, Tanga and those from Western and Southeastern parts of Pemba. Demographical data show that there are relatively large numbers

of native Pembans living in Tanga and Zanzibar towns than the contact between the Kipemba and the Makunduchi speakers.

Another exciting finding was whether the people of a particular zone use Kipemba-specific words and phrases, as in item (ii) above. Of 16 participants, 43% admitted to using Kipemba-specific words and phrases regularly, while 53% said they used them ‘sometimes’ or occasionally, depending on context. Over 80% of the participants who reported using Kipemba-specific words in their daily communication came from the Eastern zones of Pemba, and only 14% were from the western part of Pemba. When I wanted to know if the individual participant used Kipemba-specific words and phrases, as in (iii) above, the responses showed that 90% of the participants said, ‘sometimes’ or occasionally, and only 6% responded, ‘No’. The remaining 4% of the participants avoided this question for personal reasons. As for item (iv) above, 93% of the speakers pointed out that those words were prevalently used among the Kipemba speakers of the Northeast Pemba. Intriguingly, all the participants reported that the words were also familiar, though not necessarily in regular use, among the Kipemba speakers from Pemba’s east and Western zones.

9.3. The zone-specific phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features

The study investigated phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features found in specific linguistic zones of Pemba. The most distinctive phonological and morphosyntactic features were found in Pemba’s Northeast and Southeast zones. Except for Utenzi and, minimally, Micheweni zone, it was also found that the old Kipemba zone-specific linguistic features were mainly found to be used by adults and elderly speakers as opposed to school children and youth. The only place where all speakers used old and zone-specific Kipemba speech forms were Kojani Island in the Utenzi and Shumba N’jini in the Wingwi-Micheweni zones. In this zone, poor infrastructure has for year’s reduced geographical and social mobility resulting in reduced language contact and active social interaction with neighbouring Swahili speakers. This tendency may account for the area's distinctive zone-specific linguistic features. Besides language contact and social interactions, several other factors (c) are linked to linguistic variation in Kipemba. Factors such as language attitudes towards Kipemba and the Pembans, cultural assimilation, schooling and situational bi-dialectism are also crucial in driving linguistic variations in Kipemba.

9.2.Kipemba: a discussion on key assumptions

Apart from addressing the main research questions discussed above, this study attempted to find answers to the following assumptions and theories about Kipemba.

- Kipemba is a variety spoken with minor zone-specific variations, as propounded by some older and contemporary scholars.
- Kipemba is a collection of a ‘number of subdialects spoken on Pemba Island’ (Nurse and Spear 1985: 61)
- There is no Kipemba, but various forms or variants of Kipemba, as some scholars, including Arnolds (2016), argue.
- Standard Swahili is taking over Kipemba - once argued by Whiteley (1958) and supported by contemporary scholars of Kipemba such as Ali (2015) and Juma (2011, 2018)
- The distinctive Kipemba dialect is spoken in the East zone of Pemba, as Whiteley (1958) and Hamad Juma (2018) claimed.
- Kipemba is spoken all over Pemba except in the southern tip, as argued by Bryan (1959), Polomé (1967), Mohammed (2001) and recently, Siti Ali (2015)

Beginning with the assumption (a) above, based on the generic and zone-specific linguistic features in Kipemba, the study concludes that Kipemba is one variety of Swahili spoken in Pemba with minor linguistic variation in accent, phonology, morphology, and vocabulary. The linguistic evidence presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven outlined and described the features found among most Kipemba speakers from different linguistic zones of Pemba. There are, however, significant variations in accents found in eight different linguistic zones - four from the North and four from the South of Pemba. In some linguistic zones, especially Northeast Pemba, the accents are more distinctive than those spoken in the Northwest and Southwest Pemba. For example, the Utenzi accent is usually marked by final vowel lengthening, whereas the middle vowel lengthening is a feature native to the Wingwi - Micheweni zone accent. Tumbe zone, on the other hand, has no vowel lengthening in the speech forms, but their accent is unique and easily distinguishable from the rest of the other linguistic zones of Pemba. The Wete zone is hailed by many as the prestigious urban accent, usually confused with Kiunguja and, in some extreme cases, Standard Swahili. Based on the findings of this study, the urban accent of Wete is at par with Kiunguja, and Standard Swahili. Similar findings apply to all other urban accents of Chake Chake zones (KPS 5 and KPS 6) and the Nkoani West zone (KPS 8). Apart from accent variation, the phonology and morphology of most linguistic constructions in urban Pemba are similar to those in other linguistic zones. Referring to assumptions (b) and (c) above, this variation in accents found in different parts of Pemba was,

perhaps, previously mistaken for other distinct varieties or sub-dialects of Kipemba. This assumption was propounded and supported by Nurse and Spear (1985: 61) and later by Arnolds (2016).¹⁷ The linguistic evidence of this study, yet shows that Kipemba is not a collection of varieties or subdialects spoken in Pemba as such. Still, various Swahili spoken speech forms with internal variations of different degrees across the island.

That Kipemba is spoken across Pemba, except at the Southern tip of the Island, is an assumption supported by some local researchers. The main argument supporting this assumption is that some parts of South Pemba, specifically Nkoani West (KPS 8) and Nkoani East zone (KPS 7), have speech forms similar to Kitumbatu or Kiunguja. Nevertheless, this study shows that Kipemba is spoken on the Southern tip of Pemba Island, despite having some linguistic features close or similar to those of Swahili varieties spoken in North and urban Zanzibar. These linguistic features vary among immigrants and others who relocated to Pemba from Tumbatu, Tazari, Nungwi, and Mkwajuni, Northern parts of Zanzibar's Unguja Island. Places such as Nkoani town and Makoongwe island (KPS 8), Muambe (includes Shamiani Island) and Kisiwa Panza (KPS 7) are areas with large numbers of natives of North Unguja Island. The study also found the reduced use of Kipemba-specific speech forms among young, educated and well-travelled speakers from this area, possibly due to increased language contacts. Even though some people from parts of South Pemba exhibit some speech forms of the neighbouring Swahili varieties of Unguja Island, the evidence presented in this study shows that Kipemba is still spoken in south Pemba.

The assumption that Standard Swahili is taking over Kipemba was also explored. The advocates of this assumption argue that most Kipemba speakers of the South and those in Western parts of Pemba do not regularly use a distinctive Kipemba variety. Instead, they adopt new speech forms from Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. It is relevant to reiterate my earlier statement from chapter two that Pembans are arguably 'bi-dialectic'. In varying degrees, they can switch between Kipemba and a more innovative Kipemba speech form superficially similar to Kiunguja and Standard Swahili. However, from the evidence collected in Pemba, it is evident that the urban Kipemba speech form is not similar to Kiunguja and Standard Swahili as previously argued. The study also concludes that even though the urban Kipemba spoken in Wete, Chake Chake, and Nkoani are not similar, they share the many phonological and

¹⁷ Professor Arnolds gave an interview with the then Zaima online television and later with DW Swahili services. The interview is available at <https://www.dw.com/sw/mafungamano-ya-lahaja-ya-kipemba-na-utamaduni-wa-wapemba/av-36590610>. Zaima TV was then censored and shut down by the Islands' administration.

morphological structures. The study also found that new linguistic features are assimilated into urban Kipemba in the Western zones, perhaps due to the increased language contact facilitated by geographical and social mobility between the people of Unguja Island, Tanga, Dar es Salaam, Mombasa, and the people of Pemba.

The study also concludes that Kipemba-specific linguistic features gradually diminish among Kipemba users. The school children, youth, educated and well-travelled Kipemba users tend to use fewer Kipemba-specific words and structures than their older counterparts. During interviews, some speakers admitted to avoiding some Kipemba-specific forms because the participants claimed to be ‘educated’, ‘civilised’, or ‘developed’. Some speakers claimed that Kipemba-specific speech forms were old-fashioned, adding that only people from remote rural places and older adults opt to use them. Apart from language contact, the responses showed that schooling and attitude toward Kipemba play a paramount role in the gradual decline of its use among youth and children of Pemba. Beyond the attitude tied to rural-urban dichotomies, some new-generation Kipemba speakers consider those who regularly use the variety as rural, uneducated, inward-looking people with less exposure to the modern world.

The shrinking use of unique Kipemba-specific features is not only limited to specific groups of users; it also stretches across geographical zones. The findings show that most distinctive, old, Kipemba-specific features are found in the Northeast and sporadically in the Southeast zones of Pemba. Conversely, the new linguistic forms, such as tense-aspects markers and pronoun forms from Standard Swahili, are found occasionally in West Pemba zones. The use of perfective *-me-* and past tense marker *-li-* and untruncated pronoun forms were noted, especially in the Southwest zones of Pemba. The incoming linguistic features indicate that, at some point, superstrate Swahili varieties such as Kiunguja and Standard Swahili are perhaps, replacing distinctive Kipemba-specific linguistic features. This decline is likely a result of an enhanced geographical diffusion and dialect levelling happening mainly in the Western parts of Pemba. Levelling, according to Hinskens (1998: 36), ‘affects the differences between related varieties; it can lead to structural convergence towards surrounding’ non-standard varieties, in my case, as for Kiunguja, Kitumbatu, or Standard Swahili. Structural convergence may occur for non-standard and standard varieties; in this case, the Southeast Kipemba forms are affected by non-standard varieties such as Kitumbatu as well as Standard Swahili. The linguistic evidence from place names in Pemba shows that some unique features currently found in the Northeast zones of Pemba were once likely prevalent across the island. The retention of intervocalic /l/ in inflected verb forms. For instance, the unusual verbal ending forms and verbal

possessive suffix forms, found mainly in Utenzi and Micheweni zones today, are among the features believed to be generic to Kipemba sometime in the past. Studies by Siegel (1997: 128) and Hinskens (1998: 35) show that dialect levelling ‘may occur over several generations until a stable compromise dialect develops’. In this regard, dialect levelling may result in structural convergence, where Kipemba becomes stable but compromises variety due to the loss of its distinctive features. Convergence may result in Kipemba and other neighbouring Swahili varieties becoming similar. The study concludes that, over time, levelling may lead to the loss or elimination of unique linguistic features of Kipemba.

Since levelling is occurring in some parts of Pemba, considering Kipemba is a marginalised and under-documented variety, this study recommends immediate language documentation measures and initiatives to preserve the variety and its linguistic history.

9.4. Limitations of the study revisited.

Regardless of the findings, discussion and recommendations, the overall conduct of this study was not completely free from limitations and some transient setbacks. Among the setback limitations, the most common were research samples and selection, the need for more sample size for statistical measurements and the methods, instruments, and techniques used to collect the data. Starting with sampling design, as outlined in Chapter Four, I chose a stratified random sampling design to obtain a sample population that best represented the population of my study. My choice for this sampling design assumed it would confirm and assure that each group and subgroup of interest were appropriately represented, a decision which was, to some extent, a success. Equally, the choice of the sampling design led to two unfortunate problems. First, it required an arduous administrative effort to execute. I was required to follow and meet strict conditions, including accurately placing each member of the population being studied into strictly one sub-category or subpopulation. My research sources had previously warned me to be more vigilant with my choices and decisions when using random stratified sampling. For instance, if a member of the population qualifies for several subgroups, the possibility of them being chosen was higher than average. This choice may lead to sampling being the least representative of the population. Also, the sampling design meant that analysis was computationally more complex and time-consuming, which resulted in a delay in data processing and analysis.

Beyond the sampling design and selection, another limitation was the sample size selection for the study. The sample size was initially expected to involve 80 Kipemba-speaking participants

and 24 non-Kipemba speakers. This size included male and female, children, young, adult, and elderly participants. The number also included educated research consultants from across Pemba. In addition, about 116 students participated in the focus groups, interviews, and questionnaires. Additionally, observation data recorded around 600 first-hand spoken data entries from across gender and age-graded selection used in this research. Considering Pemba's demographic and geographical area, my sample size needed to be increased to obtain a more diverse linguistic data. However, this limitation was minimised by the number of participants and the data set from the linguistic observation notes. The data from observation covered a large area and a relatively sufficient sample size compared to interviews and questionnaires.

Regarding the methodology – instruments-related limitations, the methods, techniques, and instruments used in data collection were carefully chosen and proven effective for the study. Nonetheless, the methods, techniques and instruments were also not free from limitations in sampling and selection. For instance, I expected interviews and questionnaires to be effective techniques in collecting specific linguistic Kipemba data. However, most speakers did not speak readily in their local Kipemba vernacular during the interviews. This situation was perhaps because the interview context made the participants feel and act more formally than usual. As stated in Chapter Two, Pemba is a bi-dialectal linguistic community. Depending on the context, people usually switch their speech forms from the least favourable to the most favourable accent or variety. Therefore, despite the measures I took to minimise the challenge of bi-dialectalism during the interaction with the participants, some participants still switched to the more assimilated Kipemba speech forms or non-Kipemba speech forms during the interviews. Thus, much of the interview data I collected did not essentially reflect linguistic reality because many of the unique linguistic features representatives of the vernacular were probably missed or remained undetected. The questionnaire, like interviews, was also initially deemed an operative, cost-effective, and scalable instrument that guaranteed data accuracy. Because the questionnaire was administered in writing, considering the participants were mostly educated people and those with basic literacy knowledge, I believe some responses did not reflect the distinctive Kipemba speech forms. This is partly because, most educated participants wrote their responses in Standard Swahili as taught in schools than in Kipemba. Again, as a result, data from the questionnaire were only partially representative of Kipemba initially. An example of this can be seen in the questionnaire that assessed the pronunciation of /m/ and /n/ in Kipemba. When I asked the students to pronounce the words beginning with /m/, they pronounced the sound as /n/ in most phonological environments, but when prompted to write it down, most students wrote it with <m> instead of <n>.

9.5. The Contribution of the Study to the Research and Scholarship

Despite the shortcomings, this study adds substantially to the current field of African, Bantu, and Swahili linguistics, particularly with respect to the marginalised, understudied, and under-documented variety of Pemba. This study adds substantially to the lacuna in research and scholarship and the century old considerable dearth of documentary linguistic materials in Kipemba. It also offers the first systematic and in-depth descriptive analysis of generic and zone-specific features across and throughout Pemba and it is perhaps, the first systematic linguistic research work on Pemba involving participants from all social strata, geographical areas, and social and linguistic backgrounds. Besides its contribution to documenting generic and zone-specific linguistic features in Kipemba, the study addressed numerous factors responsible for linguistic variation in Kipemba. Most remarkably, after a meticulous analysis of the factors for variation in Kipemba, this study becomes the first to find that dialect levelling occurs in Kipemba. It warns that dialect levelling may gradually lead to dialect convergence culminating in the loss of the native vernacular if immediate language documentation measures and initiatives are not taken into action to preserve the variety. In addition to the above, the study offers a new dialect levelling model and the future of linguistic variation in Kipemba. With this breakthrough in new findings about Kipemba, this study plays a crucial role in calling for more attention given to Kipemba. Therefore, further linguistic research is expected to be directed to the study of Kipemba, thus minimising the perennial gaps of lack of systematic, in-depth descriptive analysis and linguistic documentation materials of the variety. It is also expected that more linguistic documents will be collected, processed and archived for future reference, further linguistic research and scholarship through language documentation and preservation measures and initiatives.

I have reiterated throughout this study that Kipemba and the people of Pemba have been subject to different regimes' perennial historical marginalisation. Marginalisation is not only one of the crucial factors culpable for Pemba's socioeconomic decline and neglect but also one of the paramount factors that thwarted significant progress in research and scholarship. The completion of this study brought the challenge of marginalisation to light; it is expected that the current administration of Zanzibar would take drastic measures to revisit, review and formulate socioeconomic, research and scholarship policies on Pemba and Zanzibar. This initiative may help open Pemba Island, which has been insular to the world for centuries, thus reducing the socioeconomics and research gap between Pemba and its sister island, Unguja.

The first proposed formulation and demarcation of Kipemba linguistic zones is another notable contribution of this study to linguistic research and scholarship. The literature review section highlighted that one of the significant limitations the previous studies encountered while researching Kipemba was the need for knowledge of linguistic boundaries of the variety. Due to the absence of clear linguistic isoglosses, most previous researchers mistook diverse Kipemba accents or speech forms for varieties of Kipemba. Some assumed the features found in a tiny geographical area are representative of another. This study examined the accent or speech forms similarities across Pemba and found at least eight distinct, conspicuous accents or speech forms of Kipemba. The accents were based on specific geographical zones that showed clear linguistic boundaries. The study confirms that these accents do not represent sub-varieties of Kipemba; they mark the beginning and the end of a particular linguistic zone. Therefore, classifying Kipemba into eight linguistic zones based on accents and choice of words used in each linguistic zone is a milestone that adds substantially to the research gap that has existed in Kipemba for centuries. Previously, the need for accurate classification of Kipemba zones was one of the critical challenges that led to contradicting, indistinct findings, and conclusions about Kipemba. With the new development and findings from the study, it is expected that the eight linguistic zones in Kipemba will act as a point of reference and a road map for future studies on Kipemba.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Consent Form for Research Participants (English Version – to be read and communicated in Swahili)

Project Title: Linguistic Variation in Kipemba

Researcher's Name: Yussuf Hamad

Please tick where appropriate (Y = YES, N=No)	Y	N
I have read and understood the project information sheet dated / /, or it has been read to me.		
I have been able to ask questions about the project.		
I agree to participate in the project and understand that taking part involves interviews and questionnaires.		
I agree that my interview is recorded using audio and video.		
I understand that I can refuse to answer questions.		
I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time by notifying the researcher/s involved, and I do not have to give any reasons why I no longer want to participate.		
I understand that my withdrawal or refusal to participate will not affect my relationship with the researcher and other parties involved.		
I understand that personal information collected about me that can identify me, such as my name or where I live, will not be shared beyond the research team.		
I understand that my information will be anonymised so that I cannot be identified in research publications etc.		
I agree to waive copyright and other intellectual property rights in the material I contribute to the project.		

Appendix 2 A: Fieldwork Research Participant Allocation & Identification form

Zonal Code	PUN	A/G Identification	Place /Locale	Remarks – Interviews and questionnaires were used
KPN1 - Wete (PUN 1-10)	1	MC	Kinyasini	
	2	FCT	Fundo	
	3	MY	Pandani	
	4	FY	Finya	
	5	MA	Kinyasini - Taifu	
	6	FA	Piki	
	7	ME	Ntambwe	
	8	FE	Ukunjwi	
	9	MCT	Gando	
	10	FCT	Utaani	
KPN2 - Utenzi (11 – 20)	11	MC	Minungwini	
	12	FCT	Kojani	
	13	MY	Chwale	
	14	FY	Kichockochwe	
	15	MA	Mchanga Mdogo	
	16	FA	Ole	
	17	ME	Kinyikani/Mashuga	
	18	FE	Kojani	
	19	MCT	Minungwini	
	20	FCT	Kangagani	
KPN 3 (21 – 30)	21	MC	Wingwi	
	22	FCT	S/Mjini	
	23	MY	Micheweni	
	24	FY	Sizini	
	25	MA	Kiuyu	
	26	FA	Maziwa Ng'ombe	
	27	ME	Shumba Mjini	
	28	FE	Kijichame	
	29	MCT	Wingwi	
	30	FCT	Micheweni	
KPN4 (31 – 40)	31	MC	Tumbe	
	32	FCT	Makangale	
	33	MY	Konde	
	34	FY	Tumbe	
	35	MA	Uwaani - Mamoja	
	36	FA	Mgogoni	
	37	ME	Nsuka	
	38	FE	S/Vyamboni	

	39	MCT	Kinowe	
	40	FCT	Tumbe	
KPS 5 - Nkamandume (41 – 50)	41	MC	Vitongoji	
	42	FCT	Chanjamjawiri	
	43	MY	Matale	
	44	FY	Pujini	
	45	MA	Chonga	
	46	FA	Mitamani	
	47	ME	Pujini/ Mkamandume	
	48	FE	Vitongoji	
	49	MCT	Furaha	
	50	FCT	Shamiani	
KPS 7 – Nkoani East (51 – 60)	51	MC	Ntambile	
	52	FCT	Kisiwa Panza	
	53	MY	Kengeja	
	54	FY	Kangani	
	55	MA	Chokocho	
	56	FA	Ukutini	
	57	ME	Mwambe /Muambe	Special case fieldwork observation area
	58	FE	Chambani	
	59	MCT	Kiwani	
	60	FCT	N’jimbini	
KPS 6 - Nkumbuu (61 – 70)	61	MC	Kwale	
	62	FC	Wesha	
	63	MY	Chake Chake Town	
	64	FY	Ziwani	
	65	MA	Ndagoni	
	66	FA	Wesha	
	67	ME	N’gelema	
	68	FE	Birikau	
	69	MI	Shamiani	
	70	FCT	Pondeani	
KPS8 – NKOANI WEST (71 – 80)	71	MC	Wambaa	
	72	FC	Ng’ombeni	
	73	MY	Jondeni	
	74	FY	Mbuguani	
	75	MA	Mbuyuni	
	76	FA	Mapinduzi	
	77	ME	Makoongwe island	

	78	FE	Tironi	
	79	MCT	Wambaa	
	80	FCT	Makombeni	
NKPS (PUN81 – 90)	81	M	Makunduchi	
	82	F	Makunduchi	
	83	M	Tumbatu	
	84	F	Tumbatu	
	85	M	Unguja Mjini	
	86	F	Unguja Mjini	
	87	M	Tanga	
	88	F	Tanga	
	89	M	Mombasa	
	90	F	Mombasa	

Appendix 2 B: Research Participants Allocation by Numbers

Zone	Total Participants	Children	Youth	Adults	Elderly	Consultant
Twaka/ Tumbe (KPN4)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Uungwana/ Wete (KPN1)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Utenzi (KPN2)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Nkumbuu (KPS 6)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Micheweni (KPN3)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Ukoma/ Nkaman dume (KPS5)	10	2	2	2	2	2

Mkoani East (KPS 7)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Mkoani West (KPS8)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Total	80	16	16	16	16	16

Appendix 2 C: Research Participants Gender identification

KPN 1 – Uungwana/ Wete

CHILDREN

1. Male – Kinyasini - (1)
2. Female – Fundo – (2)

YOUTH

1. Male – Pandani- (3)
2. Female – Finya (4)

ADULT

1. Male – Kinyasini – Taifu (5)
2. Female – Piki (6)

ELDERLY

1. Male – Ntambwe (7) (also Fundo, special interview)
2. Female - Ukunjwi (8)

CONSULTANT

1. Male – Gando (9)
2. Female – Utaani (10)

KPN 2 – Utenzi

CHILDREN

1. Male – Minungwini (11)
2. Female – Kojani (12)

YOUTH

1. Male – Chwale (13)
2. Female – Kichokochwe – (14)

ADULT

1. Male – Mchangamdogo (15)
2. Female – Ole(16)

ELDERLY

1. Male – Kinyikani/Mashuga (17)
2. Female - Kojani (18)

CONSULTANT

1. Male – Kiuyu Minungwini (19)
2. Female – Kangagani (20)

KPN3 – Micheweni

CHILDREN

1. Male – Wingwi - (21)
2. Female – Shumba Mjini - (22)

YOUTH

1. Male – Micheweni - (23)
2. Female – Sizini - (24)

ADULT

1. Male – Kiuyu - (25)
2. Female – Maziwa Ng'ombe – (26)

ELDERLY

1. Male – Shumba Mjini – (27)
2. Female – Kijichame - (28)

CONSULTANT

1. Male – Wingwi - (29)
2. Female – Micheweni – (30)

KPN 4 – Chwaka / Tumbe

CHILDREN

1. Male – Tumbe (31)
2. Female – Makangale - (32)

YOUTH

1. Male – Konde - (33)
2. Female – Tumbe - (34)

ADULT

1. Male – Uwaani – Mamoja (35)
2. Female – Mgogoni - (36)

ELDERLY

1. Male – Nsuka (37)
2. Female – Shumba Vyamboni (38)

CONSULTANT

1. Male – Kinowe - (39)
2. Female – Tumbe - (40)

KPS 5 – UKOMA/ NKAMANDUME CHILDREN

1. Male – Vitongoji - (41)
2. Female – Chanjan’jawiri (42)

YOUTH

1. Male – Matale - (43)
2. Female – Pujini - (44)

ADULT

1. Male – Chonga - (45)
2. Female – Mitamani - (46)

ELDERLY

1. Male – Pujini (47)
2. Female – Vitongoji - (48)

CONSULTANT

1. Male – Furaha - (49)
2. Female – Shamiani (50)

KPS 6 - Nkumbuu CHILDREN

1. Male – Kwale (61)
2. Female – Weshu (62)

YOUTH

1. Male – Chake Chake Town - (63)
2. Female – Ziwani (64)

ADULT

1. Male – Ndagoni (65)
2. Female – Weshu (66)

ELDERLY

1. Male – N'gelema (67)
2. Female – Birikau (68)

CONSULTANT

1. Male – Shamiani (69)
2. Female – Pondeani (70)

KPS 7 – MKOANI EAST

CHILDREN

1. Male – Ntambile (51)
2. Female – Kisiwa Panza (52)

YOUTH

1. Male – Kengeja (53)
2. Female – Kangani (54)

ADULT

1. Male – Chokocho - (55)
2. Female – Ukutini - (56)

ELDERLY

1. Male – Mwambe - (57)
2. Female – Chambani - (58)

CONSULTANT

1. Male – Kiwani (59)
2. Female – N'jimbini (60)

KPS 8 – MKOANI WEST

CHILDREN

1. Male – Wambaa - (71)
2. Female – Ng'ombeni (72)

YOUTH

1. Male – Wambaa(73)
2. Female – Jondeni - (74)

ADULT

1. Male – Wambaa - (75)
2. Female – Mapinduzi – (76)

ELDERLY

1. Male – Makoongwe (77)
2. Female – Tironi - (78)

CONSULTANT

1. Male – Wambaa - (79)
2. Female – Makombeni - (80)

Appendix 2 D: My Research Participants, according to age grades

Zone	Total Participants	Children	Youth	Adults	Elderly	Consultants
Twaka (KPN4)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Ungwana (KPN1)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Utenzi (KPN2)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Mkumbuu (KPS7)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Micheweni (KPN3)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Ukoma (KPS5)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Mkoani East (KPS6)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Mkoani West (KPS8)	10	2	2	2	2	2
Total	80	16	16	16	16	16

The number of Research Participants from Pemba according to Sex and Gender.

Zone	Male	Female
Wete (KPN 1)	5	5
Utenzi (KPN 2)	5	5
Micheweni (KPN 3)	5	5
Tumbe (KPN 4)	5	5
N'kamandume (KPS 5)	5	5
N'kumbuu (KPS 6)	5	5
N'koani East (KPS 7)	5	5
N'koani West (KPS 8)	5	5
Total	40	40

The Number of Research Participants from outside Pemba according to Sex and Gender.

Zonal Variety	Male	Female
Unguja Mjini	2	2
Tumbatu	2	2
Makunduchi	2	2
Tanga	2	2
Tanzania Mainland	2	2
Total	12	12

Appendix 2 E: Kipemba: sound contrast and lexical variation verification questionnaire

Part A. Consonant contrast between North and South Pemba

Question: How do people here call the following (*Watu wa hapa wanaitaje majina haya?*)

North	South	Meaning
<i>tunturi</i>		Type of fish
<i>birika</i>		Kettle
<i>bupuru</i>		Skull, coconut shell
<i>guwa</i>		Unattended farm
<i>kyano</i>		Platter
<i>vumbi</i>		Dust
<i>joma</i>		Rock
<i>repuleni</i>		Aeroplane
<i>zeme</i>		Cold (weather)
<i>dapia</i>		Jump (on a vehicle)
<i>vuga</i>		Disturb, annoy
<i>dukuwa</i>		Trim, nib, cut
<i>chachata</i>		Wash (clothes)
<i>kesa</i>		Stay awake
<i>shushuka</i>		Grow (from infancy)

<i>shonya</i>		Scold
<i>kovyoka</i>		Puke, vomit

Part B. Consonant contrast between North and South Pemba

Question: How do people here call the following (*Watu wa hapa wanaitaje majina haya?*)

North	South	Meaning
<i>tunduliza</i>		Save (in piggy banks)
<i>biriani</i>		Biriyani rice
<i>bunju</i>		Puffer fish
<i>gunya</i>		gnaw
<i>kyambo</i>		bait
<i>vunja</i>		Break, demolish
<i>jongoo</i>		millipede
<i>remba</i>		adorn
<i>zengwe</i>		Scandal, saga
<i>dakia</i>		Catch for, interrupt
<i>vunga</i>		Confuse, wrap up
<i>dumuwa</i>		Break into pieces, cut
<i>chachaga</i>		Walk on top of the delicate surface
<i>kenya</i>		Grin, smile
<i>shushumbi</i>		Pile (usually huge)
<i>shooko</i>		beans
<i>kongowa</i>		Break into pieces

A. Vowel Contrast between North and South Kipemba

Question: Question: How do people here call the following (*Watu wa hapa wanaitaje majina haya?*)

North	South	Meaning
<i>boje</i>		Swelling, bump
<i>vukuto</i>		Heat
<i>izia</i>		Nuisance
<i>egema</i>		Lean (on something)
<i>puma</i>		Breathe

B. Vowel Contrast between North and South Kipemba

Question: How do people here call the following (*Watu wa hapa wanaitaje majina haya?*)

North	South	Meaning
<i>boko</i>		A breadfruit flower
<i>vurugu</i>		chaos
<i>izara</i>		shame
<i>egesha</i>		Dock (verb for a ship)
<i>pumua</i>		breathe

3a. Semi vowel contrast between North and South Kipemba

Question: How do people here call the following (*Watu wa hapa wanaitaje majina haya?*)

North	South	Meaning
<i>bauwu</i>		<i>Pee</i>

<i>pwaa</i>		<i>Sea</i>
<i>tambuwa</i>		<i>Know, recognise</i>
<i>juwa</i>		<i>Know, sun</i>
<i>vuwa</i>		<i>To fish, to undress</i>

3b. Semi vowel contrast between North and South Kipemba

Question: How do people here call the following (*Watu wa hapa wanaitaje majina haya?*)

North	South	Meaning
<i>bakuwa</i>		<i>Smack, slap</i>
<i>pwaza</i>		<i>Boil, steam up</i>
<i>kohowa</i>		<i>Cough</i>
<i>kuwa</i>		<i>To be, grow</i>
<i>kaguwa</i>		<i>Inspect</i>

Appendix 2 F: Kipemba Tense-aspect questionnaire

Part A: Andika nambari za sentensi unazodhani ni za Kipemba halisi (Write the number of a sentence you think it is purely in Kipemba)

1. Ajavye
2. Anakuja zake
3. Anayekuja nnani?
4. Huja
5. Yuaja
6. Ekujavye
7. Alikuja zake
8. Atakujavye
9. Atakuja zake
10. Hitja
11. Nkija
12. Nikija
13. Akija, akaja
14. Kankuja

15. Kankuju
16. Kashakuja
17. Amekuja
18. Ameshakuja
19. Ekuwa kankuja
20. Alikuwa amekuja
21. Atakuwa kankuja
22. Ekuwa kankuja/kashakuja
23. Ekiuwa kila akija kisha akaja tena
24. Alikuwa kila akija kisha akaja tena
25. Engekuja
26. Angekuja
27. Akekuja
28. Angalikuja

Part B: Participants responses to (A) above

Sentence	KPN 1	KPN 2	KPN3	KPN 4	KPS 5	KPS 6	KPS 7	KPS 8
1.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
2.	-		-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
4.	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	-
5.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
6.	√	√	-	√	√	√	√	-
7.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
9.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
10.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

11.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
12.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13.	√	√	√	-	-	-	√	√
14.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
15.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16.	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	-
17.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
20.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21.	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	√
22.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
23.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
24.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25.	√	√	√	-	-	√	√	-
26.	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	√
27.	-	-	√	√	√	√	√	√
28.	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-

Part C: Identification of TAM sentences by numbers

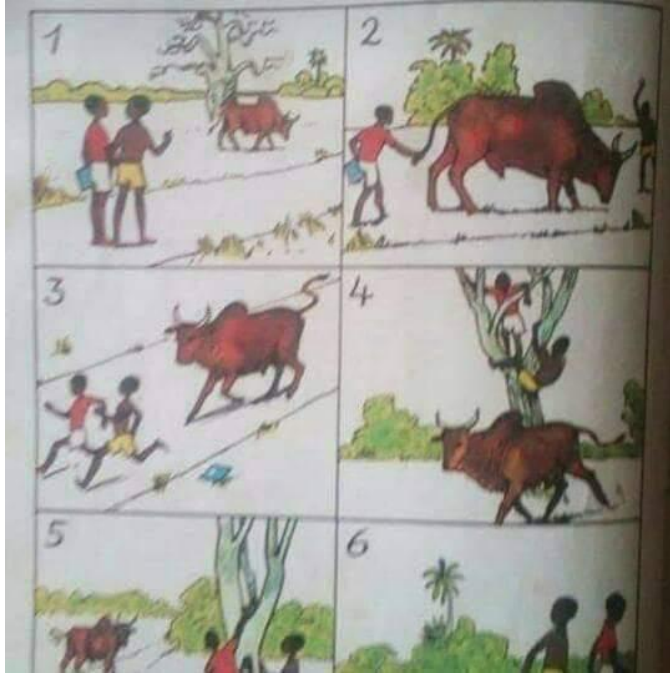
Sentence Number	Name of the TENSE -ASPECT Involved	Tense-Aspect Marker	Variety of Swahili for TAM
1.	Present	-a-	Kipemba
2.	Present /Continuous	-na-	Standard Swahili
3.	Past Tense	-na-	Kipemba
4.	Habitual	-hu-	Standard Swahili
5.	Present	-a-	Kipemba
6.	Past	-e-	Kipemba
7.	Past	-li-	Standard Swahili
8.	Future	-ta-	Kipemba/ Standard Swahili
9.	Future	-ta-	Standard Swahili

10.	Past Continuous	-hi-	Kipemba
11.	Situative and Narrative Past	-ki-	Kipemba/standard Swahili
12.	Situative	-ki-	Standard Swahili
13.	Narrative Past	-ki-, -ka-	Kipemba/ Standard Swahili
14.	Perfective -me-	-n-	Kipemba
15.	Perfective -me-	-na-	Kipemba
16.	Perfective -sha-	-sha-	Kipemba
17.	Perfective -me-	-me-	Standard Swahili
18.	Perfective anterior (-mesha-)	-mesha-	Standard Swahili
19.	Past Perfective	-e-; -n-	Kipemba
20.	Past Perfective	-li-, -me-	Standard Swahili
21.	Future Perfective	-ta-; -n-	Kipemba
22.	Past Perfective	-e-; -n-; -sha-	Kipemba
23.	Habitual Past Narrative	-e-; -ki-; -ka-	Kipemba
24.	Habitual Past Narrative	-li-; -ki-; -ka-	Kipemba
25.	Irrealis -Present	-nge-	Kipemba
26.	Irrealis - Present	-nge-	Standard Swahili
27.	Irrealis – Past	-ke-	Kipemba
28.	Irrealis - Past	-ngali-	Standard Swahili

Appendix 3 A: General Participants Questionnaire

Children

1. Simulia hadithi (za Paukwa pakawa)
2. Tamka maneno ya vitu hivi unaovyooona pichani (list given later below)
3. Angalia picha ifuatayo na simulia hadithi kuhusu picha hiyo.



Source: Kiswahili – Kitabu Cha Pili, SIDA, 1982 (Photo: Courtesy of Ministry of Education Zanzibar)

Youth and Adults

1. Tuambie unatoka wapi, umesoma/unasoma wapi na unajishughulisha na shughuli gani kwa sasa?
2. Tamka maneno ya vitu hivi unaovyooona pichani

Phonological data questionnaire: (This investigates how the sound /m/ is pronounced in Kipemba. It is assumed that /m/ is usually pronounced as /n/. The questionnaire also aims to discover the phonological environment underlying the contrast between /m/ and /n. in Kipemba.)

Taja majina ya vitu hivi kwa kuamka maneno hayo kwa sauti (Words/names to be spoken/pronounced loudly)

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Picha ya 1: Dog



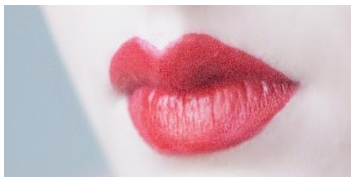
Published by Fatty Corgi (2020) <https://unsplash.com/photos/1QsQRkxnU6I>

Picha ya 2: Raw rice



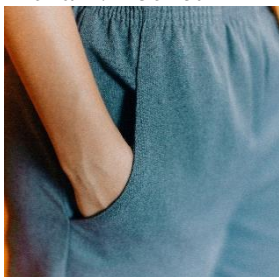
Published by Massimo Adami (2020) <https://unsplash.com/photos/sF5M0duT9hI>

Picha ya 3: Lips/mouth



Published by Ina Garbé (2018) <https://unsplash.com/photos/5OqvwZjxMo>

Picha 4: Pocket



Published by Frank Flores (2017) <https://unsplash.com/photos/eyFcZLLYvfA>

Picha ya 5: Banana tree



Published by Studio Kealaula (2020) <https://unsplash.com/photos/MXaQrrPRcpM>

Picha ya 6: Cassava (manioc)



Published by Loren Biser (2022) <https://unsplash.com/photos/vP5guwApg0g>

Picha ya 7: City



Published by Pedro Lastra (2016) https://unsplash.com/photos/Nyvq2juw4_o

Picha ya 8: Bread



Published by Charles Chen (2020) <https://unsplash.com/photos/w2ZFjDnUL3w>

Picha ya 9: Door



Published by Sophie Dale (2018) <https://unsplash.com/photos/dJycgkec2p0>

Picha ya 10: Moon



Published by Chuttersnap (2018) <https://unsplash.com/photos/pE8WW245aik>

Picha ya 11: Coconut tree



Published by Teodor Kudushev (2019) <https://unsplash.com/photos/wWjlfmxXPoE>

Picha ya 12: Ball



Published by Wesley Tingey (2019) <https://unsplash.com/photos/dKCKiC0BQtU>

Picha ya 13: Pillow



Published by Jude Infantini (2020) <https://unsplash.com/photos/gRZmKaFUpBM>

Picha ya 14: Praying mat



Published by Bimbingan Islam (2022) <https://unsplash.com/photos/vmO2vv4ICyk>

Picha ya 15: Candle



Published by Sixteen Miles Out (2020) https://unsplash.com/photos/3CA_-xcpulY

Picha ya 16: Rain



Published by Osman Rana (2018) <https://unsplash.com/photos/GXEZuWo5m4I>

Picha ya 17: Root



Published by Felix Mittemeier (2019) <https://unsplash.com/photos/Xk0DZSYv1ao>

3. Angalia picha ifuatayo na simulia hadithi kuhusu picha hiyo.

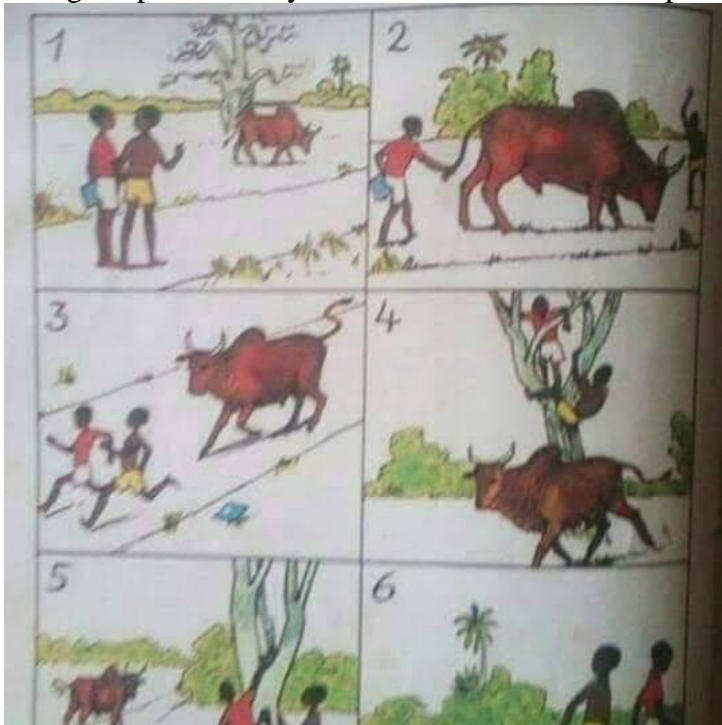


Photo: Courtesy of Ministry of Education Zanzibar (Source: Kiswahili – Kitabu Cha Pili, SIDA, 1982)

4. Ask follow-up questions based on the responses from question 1.

Elderly

1. Tuambie unatoka wapi, asili yako na ulikuwa unajushihuhulisha na shughuli gani?
2. Asili ya watu wa hapa ni wapi?
3. Watu wa hapa wajinshughulisha na nini hasa kimaisha?
4. Ask follow-up questions based on responses 1, 2, and 3.

Consultants

- i. Questionnaire for the Kipemba users Consultants

Namba ya Utambulisho: _____

Unapotoka: _____

Unapoishi: _____

SEHEMU YA KWANZA

1. Nini maana ya sentensi hizi? (Give the meaning of the sentences/ phrases below)

- Wauka lini?
- Siyebu yapisa!
- Mwazingani?
- Kanifise chooni
- Pesa yangu in'geleka
- Muhogo wa kupwaza
- N'gwilia 'uyu kuku wangu
- N'dasa, n'kutie adabu!
- Chunza uzuri usije haribu mambongwa!
- Nyumba in'kupya yote!
- Mie siviji mineno hiyo!
- Sebu tongoa tena!
- Sebu vyangu vugwa!
- Mpeni naye mwiku!
- Mwanao kashabaua
- Lin'kugwa jichwa buma/Lishakugwa jichwa buma!
- Ana pashau ntu nke 'uyu!
- Mwana kan'nifanyia titimiko 'uyu!
- L'yanuata ta habari halina!
- Kan'korewa ni m'vyelewe!
- Halina kitu l'yasema!
- Kwetu mwiku wa ndizi na kombe wagewa!
- Takupiga ukipwapwachika tena kitandani
- Kun'liwa n'sheshele!/Cheshele
- Kan'kuja mbwaga kuone!
- Habari za unju!
- Mwabesa au mwabesekewa?
- Mwambaje mbaje na wana?
- N'vyeleo hajambo?

- Je, kushananauka?
 - Sukari kanail'ya, mpaka kanaisoza/ Kanaiduta/Kanaimusu.
2. a) Watu wa hapa wasema hivi?
b.) Kama hawasemi hivi, wasemaje?
 3. Wewe wasema kama hivi: wakati mwengine au kawaida?
 4. Unafikiri ni watu wa wapi wanaosema kama hivi?

SEHEMU YA PILI

1. Unakumbuka maneno haya/Unayajua maana yake? (Do you know what do these words mean?)
 - a. Household ware (Vitu vya nyumbani)
 - Mwiko
 - Upawa
 - Sahani
 - Kikombe
 - Kibakuli
 - Sufuria
 - Nkungu
 - Gilasi
 - Kijiko
 - Majiko
 - Kibia
 - Kidoo
 - Hando
 - Kata
 - Upawa
 - Mwiko
 - b. Kinship terms (Maneno ya familia)
 - Mkwe
 - Shemegi
 - Mama

- Baba
 - Dada
 - Kake
 - Mjomba
 - Shangazi
 - Nkazahau
 - Lahau
 - Umbu
 - Mbuya
 - Mke
 - Chachi
 - Nchuchu
 - Nshikyana
 - Mvulyana
 - Nyandu
 - Ujusi
- c. Traditional Kipemba food, pastries, and delicacy (Vyakula vya asili ya Pemba)
- Nsambwija
 - Kikomba
 - Sheli
 - Muhogo
 - Ugali wa muhogo
 - Wali
 - Ndizi
 - Maharage
 - Vipopoo
 - Makopa
 - Makapushi
 - Mapapasi
 - Tenei
 - Shoshoni
 - Biye

Category 2: Farming Vocabulary (Msamiati wa Kilimo)

- a. Types/species of Cassava (Taja aina za mihogo unazofahamu)
- b. Types/species of Sweet potatoes (Taja aina za viazi unazozifahamu)
- c. Types/species of rice (Taja aina za mipunga unazozifahamu)
- d. Types/species of banana/plantain - (Taja aina ndizi unazozijua nje ya hizo hapo chini)
 - N'zuzu/izu
 - Nkono wa tembo
 - Pukusa
 - Kiguruwe
 - Kisukari
 - Boko
 - N'twike

Category 3: Fishing Vocabulary (Msamiati wa Uvuvi)

- a. Types of fishing methods (Taja aina nyengine za uvuvi unazozijua, kama zipo)
 - Nshipi
 - Juya
 - Jarife
 - Nyavu
 - Dema
 - Uzio
 - Bunduki/kuzamia
 - Utupa
- b. Fishing vessels (Taja vyombo vyengine vya uvuvi zaidi ya hivi, kama vipo?)
 - Ngalawa
 - Dau
 - Ntumbwi
 - Jahazi
 - Mashua
 - Boti
 - N'tori
- c. 10 common types/species of fish/sea species (Taja aina nyengine za samaki mnaotumia hapa)
 - Puju
 - Kangaja

- Tasi
- Pono/
- Kangu/
- Pote
- Bodo
- Chewa
- Changu
- Sehewa
- Jodari
- Pweza/ngizi
- Nguru
- Kirungu mpweke
- Kibua
- Kambare

Category 4: Flora and Fauna (Majina ya miti na Wanyama)

a. Common trees (Taja miti unayojua katika eneo lako zaidi yah ii hapa chini)

- Mpopoo
- Mpapindi
- Mnazi
- Mkadi
- Msanaka
- Muembe
- Mfenesi
- Msheli sheli
- Mkarafuu
- Mchikichi
- M'bura
- N'zambaru
- N'kekewa

b. Common animates – birds. (Taja majina ya ndege wengine zaidi ya hawa unayoyajua)

- Chozi muhogo
- Chozi Kijalimu
- Njiwa

- Teterere
 - Kunguru
 - Kweche
 - Nnana
 - Kwembe
 - Kuku
 - Bata
 - Koongo/Yange yange
 - Ninga
 - Furukombe/ koho
 - Salile
- c. Common insects, reptiles, and vertebrates (Je unawajua hawa, kwa majina haya? Taja aina nyengine za watambaachi unaowajua, kama wapo)
- Mjusi
 - Nzomba
 - Karakaka
 - Ukukwi
 - Gangawiya
 - Mwata
 - Kiuma mbuzi
 - Chamvi/Kiwavi

Category 6: a. Lete maana ya maneno haya (b) Yanatumika hapa kwenu?

Verbs (Vitenzi)

i. Ku-Chunza

ii. Ku- Uka

iii. Ku-Geya

iv. Ku-Pisa

v. Kubesa

vi. Ku-Zinga

vii. Kuzumbua

viii. Kushenga

ix. Kugotoa

x. Kudasa

xi. Kusoza

xii. Kuzunza
xiii. Kupogoa/kupogooa
xiv. Kutwawa
xv. Kulewalewa
xvi. Kugogomoa/gogomoka
xvii. Kituwa
xviii. Kunanuwa
xix. Kukopoa
xx. Kuotama/ Kuutama
xxi. Kupya/Kupisa
xxii. Kuvungiwa
xxiii. Kugosa
xxiv. Kuboboja
xxv. Kupwapwachika/kupwapwacha
xxvi. Kugeleka
xxvii. Kuawa/kuavya
xxviii. Kudumuka
xxix. Kufisa
xxx. Kugogwa
xxxi. Kusoza
xxxii. Kutema
xxxiii. Kutongowa
xxxiv. Kuvuata
xxxv. Kuvuika
xxxvi. Kuchusa
xxxvii. Kubananga
xxxviii. Kumusu
xxxix. Kugooka
xl. Kuzuzuka
xli. Kusagalika
xlii. Kukeketeka
xliii. Kupauwa (macho)
xliv. Ku-ng'aruza

xlv.Kubwabwarika

xlvi.Kufufurisha

xlvii.Kuseseteka

xlviii.Kudosa

lix.Kudusa

l.Kupongoa

li.Kuuya

lii.Kuhamanuka

liii.Kudukuka

liv.Kubanja

lv.Kudumba

lvi.Kukeleshi

lvii.Kunyapuka

lviii.Kuvuata

lix.Kuhodooka

lx.Kugozama

Nouns and other words (Nomino na maneno mengine)

i.Hamaku

ii.Nsungo

iii.Mava

iv.Kihanu

v.Sebu

vi.Unju

vii.Umbu

viii.Mbuya

ix.Amba

x.Mwiku

xi.Pashau

xii.Nkazahau

xiii.Chachi

xiv.Lahau

xv.Muamu

xvi.Wifi

- xvii.Mbaumbi
- xviii.Mwase
- xix.Mwozi mwenzagu
- xx.Nyandu
- xxi.Ugwe/kijugwe
- xxii.Unu
- xxiii.Ntema kuni
- xxiv.Kijio
- xxv.Kishuka
- xxvi.Kisusi
- xxvii.Kipa
- xxviii.Kandoro
- xxix.Kidinya
- xxx.Kipigi
- xxxi.Kamange
- xxxii.Ngegemea
- xxxiii.Peku
- xxxiv.Kichamo
- xxxv.Kibacha
- xxxvi.Kibia
- xxxvii.Kikaango
- xxxviii.Kinamia shozi
- xxxix.Makapushi
- xl.Vitogoo

2. Katika eneo leo, mnayaita hivi?
3. Kama ni “Hapana” hapo 2 juu, mnaita vipi vitu hivyo?
4. Ni maeneo ya wapi ya Pemba, maneno haya husikika/hutumika zaidi?

ii. Questionnaire for the Non-Kipemba Users Consultants

Namba ya Utambulisho: _____

Unapotoka: _____

Unapoishi: _____

Assessing the knowledge of old/typical Kipemba sentences, phrases, and expressions

Part A: Je, unafahamu maana ya sentensi hizi?

Sentensi	Ndio	Hapana
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1.Wauka lini? Mnavyosema kwenu:		
2.Siyebu yapisa! Mnavyosema kwenu:		
3.Mwazingani? Mnavyosema kwenu:		
4.Kanifise chooni Mnavyosema kwenu:		
5.Pesa yangu in'geleka Mnavyosema kwenu:		
6.Muhogo wa kupwaza Mnavyosema kwenu:		
7.N'gwiliya uyu kuku wangu Mnavyosema kwenu:		
8.N'dasa n'kutie adabu! Mnavyosema kwenu:		
9.Chunza uzuri usije haribu mambongwa! Mnavyosema kwenu:		
10.Nyumba in'kupya yote Mnavyosema kwenu:		
11.Miye siviji mineno iyo Mnavyosema kwenu:		
12.Sebu tongoa tena Mnavyosema kwenu:		
13.Sebu vyangu vugwa! Mnavyosema kwenu:		
14.Mpeni naye mwiku! Mnavyosema kwenu:		
15.Mwanao kashabaua Mnavyosema kwenu:		
16.Lin'kugwa Mnavyosema kwenu:		
17.Ana pashau n'tu n'ke uyu Mnavyosema kwenu:		
18.Mwana kann'ifanyia titimiko uyu Mnavyosema kwenu:		
19.Lyaniuata 'ta Habari halina Mnavyosema kwenu:		
20.Kan'korewa ni n'vyelewe Mnavyosema kwenu:		
21.Halina kitu lyasema! Mnavyosema kwenu:		
22.Kwetu mwiku wan dizi na kombe wagewa! Mnavyosema kwenu:		
23.Takupia ukipwapwachika tena kitandani Mnavyosema kwenu:		
24.Kun'liwa n'chechele Mnavyosema kwenu:		
25.Habari za unju?		

Mnavyosema kwenu:		
26.Mwabesa au mwabesekewa? Mnavyosema kwenu:		
27.Mwambajembaje na wana? Mnavyosema kwenu:		
28.N'vyeleo hajambo? Mnavyosema kwenu:		
29.Je, kushananauka? Mnavyosema kwenu:		
30.Sukari kanailya mpaka kanaisoza! Mnavyosema kwenu:		

Appendix 4A: Observation Notes

ZONE AND PLACE	DATA	GENDER	AGE
KPN 1 – WETE			
Finya	Ati azikwa micheweni? Kashazikwa	Male	Adult
Finya	Miye/mie nda wete	Male	Adult
Finya	Mwai ta vipi	Male	Adult
Fundo	Kama wa tumwa uke nda ukieka watu mi jini watu wa ta kuuwa	Female	Adult
Fundo	Maana dde tangu saa nlizoliansha linshindwa nkufanya kazi likamaliza	Female	Adult
Fundo	Nan'jua riziki jina le. Yuvipi? M'mweusi	Female	Child
Fundo	N'kwe kumpika n'chuzi umu ukanipa kidogo?	Male	Youth
Fundo	Si ndugu yangu yule n'dada 'angu	Female	Adult
Fundo	Tutakuogopa siku izi twasikia un'chawi n'toto.	Male	Adult
Fundo	Ule n'fuko umo? Ta siijui kanauchukua nani?	Male	Adult
Fundo	Waumwa nnini?	Female	Youth
Gando	Akaa wapi uyu	Male	Adult
Gando	Akwambia mama umpe chujiole	Male	Youth
Gando	Bibi yule kwani hashaondoka?	Female	Adult
Gando	Eka meza mbili na viti viwili	Male	Adult
Gando	jamani yan'kusanywa yamplekwa?	Female	Youth
Gando	Esoma na hamadi uyu	Female	Adult
Gando	Hashuole	Female	Adult
Gando	Hu one kwi	Male	Adult
Gando	Mabuku ya nini ayo? -	Female	Youth
Gando	Mibilingani aila	Female	Adult
Gando	Muungu echukuwa amanaye papo	Female	Adult
Gando	Mwenzangu wanikaba sana	Female	Youth
Gando	N'jomba n'gaiya pesa n' kanunue dawa	Male	Youth
Gando	Roho yakupa kunpa ntoto pesa ukamwambia ende dukani?-	Female	Adult
Gando	Si kuwa ntaka ruka voo	Male	Youth
Gando	Si nlikwambia juzi nda Shona sare	Female	Youth

Gando	Si wajua tena salimu wanfujaji siku zote	Male	Youth
Gando	Terenka apo nshenzi weye	Female	Adult
Gando	Waona ivo alivoila akaisogoneza	Female	Adult
Gando	Wee! Yaani mun'kaa kama watoto	Male	Youth
Gando	Weye n'la nani ?	Female	Youth
Gando	Weye n'wa kuzima gari?	Male	Adult
Gando	Weye ngoja zipelekwe pesa mun'rudishie	Female	Adult
Gando	Yule arisi yule. Kankaa na wizi ndani ya nyumba yee atakuwaje	Female	Adult
Kinyasini	Kumi na tano vintimia ivi	Male	Adult
Kinyasini	Ku nvisahau kwa utamu wa muwa	Male	Adult
Mzambarauni	Hajakaa ta dakika mbili akijitoKeza yule kakaake	Male	Adult
Mzambarauni	Weye waja apa tokea muda uo wamuweka?	Male	Adult
N'tambwe	Hiyo nkazi kidogo	Male	Adult
Ntambwe nkuu	Ali wanuka usitie wanangwa joto	Female	Adult
Ntambwe nkuu	Ha kwani ntivii ii?	Male	Adult
Ntambwe Nkuu	Huyu Zena mwanangu anikera kujililia kipumbavu hana ta kosa.	Female	Adult
Ntambwe Nkuu	Ngoja mpate nauli nende hamuone.	Male	Adult
Ntambwe nkuu	Watu washakwenda ntoni	Female	Adult
Ntambwe	Sasa ni ukati wa kubya tanu nakutafuta pesa tu.	Male	Adult
Nyali	Haya. Kwa sababu huyu ntoro mwenzangu aondoka	Female	Adult
Nyali	Ooh ntoto ooh nakuchombeza ulale.	Female	Adult
Nyali	Usintie ila! Ntawambia. Leo siwahi ntakwenda keshoo.	Female	Adult
Nyali	Wayiona madamu aya?	Female	Adult
Nzambarau Karim	Dakika hii moja kishaoza?	Female	Adult
Nzambarau Karim	Ha kitoweo chaoza muda uo.	Male	Adult
Nzambarau Karim	Mie huwa nafanya vile vijuisi hapata pesa	Female	Adult
Nzambarau Karim	Wateguwani?	Female	Adult
Nzambarau Karim	Weye kunletewa kitooyo mpaka kishaoza.	Male	Adult
Pandani	Mie siku izi rafiki zangu n'yoka tu	Male	Adult
Pandani	Naona munkuja kaa kisimani.	Male	Adult
Pandani	Nyoka hakutafuni kama hujankanyaga	Male	Adult
Ukunjwi	Azila izo kete	Male	Adult
Ukunjwi	Dude n'gumu	Female	Elderly
Ukunjwi	Hawafungikipo	Male	Youth
Ukunjwi	Naona kantoka huko miye nasema aja kaa kitako	Female	Youth
Ukunjwi	Nshapata pa kutia kichwa miguu yaning'inia	Female	Youth
Ukunjwi	Sekuwapo nekuwa junguni	Female	Adult
Ukunjwi	Weye washindwa nkid'de icho?	Male	Adult
Uondwe	Kwa honi iyo, kashakusikia uyuu	Female	Adult
Wete Mjini	Twaambiana! Umbeya ntu kanaumwa kankufa.	Female	Adult
Wete	Nasema taa wasengekuja maana ivyo anavyokula pempasi m'balaa	Male	Youth
Wete	Aje anipokonye aone, n'tampiga baoo .	Female	Youth

Wete	Muache uyo kajiroesha ta uko, ekuwa akichanja uko uyo.	Male	Adult
Wete	Njoo nikate pua iyo	Male	Adult
Wete	Simiye mpaka akwitaye.	Female	Youth
Wete	Mnafanya nini, hem ilo fyagio	Female	Adult
Wete	Akaa baba, wanfuata nani, wanfuata ntu nke uko.	Female	Adult
Wete	Umu, mpe Helen maji	Female	Adult
Wete	Musimpishe uyo, atajiju leo	Female	Adult
Wete	Nsinkere hajaja na jambo apa. Ntaka nkera kama nini	Female	Adult
Wete	Mie nna kijora changu kule nlichopewa juzi chanya rangi vibaya.	Female	Adult
Wete	Mukrim mwanangu usije ukatoka nje eeh?	Female	Adult
Wete	au wataka geuka sinimbi uzikwe na pesa?	Male	Adult
Wete	ikiaziniwa azana tu, n'nda zangu koga	Male	Child
Wete	n'watamu! Ha mule wapata nyama mule?	Male	Child
Wete	ha n'tu akisema kimoyo moyo ha wan'sikia?	Male	Child
Wete	wee kunnambiya yule nintiee	Male	Child
Wete	ha ilo geti linkufanya nini mpaka ulitie maji?	Male	Child
Wete	cha n'guu wa kulia ndiyo n'kizima cha n'guu wa kushoto ndio n'kibovuu	Male	Youth
Wete	n'nazo mbili n'napewa n'dula.	Male	Child
Wete	ukifurukuta utoe shin'ngi mia	Female	Adult
Wete	maa ntu akivuta bangi asa hajuulikani nakwambia ivi ivi	Male	Youth
Wete	Mwafanya mutakavyo hukoo, n'kujitosa tu.	Female	Adult
KPN 2 – UTENZI			
Chwale	Akenda Kesho afanya interview na machamizi. Achamia	Male	Adult
Chwale	Asema rohoye n'ngumuuu	Male	Youth
Chwale	Ka nekuwa sijakuona.	Male	Adult
Chwale	Kwani siyo ile garingwa ya Hamad Hassanii?	Male	Adult
Hindi	Simbali. Miye hapa hipaangalia kwa pua saa nane sifiki. kwa nguu	Male	Youth
Jojo	Kanchukuwa ngapi uyu.	Male	Child
Jojo	N'gaiya na iyo ya kipande	Male	Youth
Jojo	Sekuona ati! Ntaka kwambiaje	Female	Youth
Jojo	Shemegi ntaka mpiga uyu	Female	Child
Kangagani	Kamposa humiwa	Male	Youth
Kangagani	Kankuja nipa apa apa salasini	Female	Youth
Kangagani	Yule si kan'jitia kiburi la an'taabisha baba	Male	Adult
Kiungoni	Ha. Ngoja mie niulize ivi vitambaa	Male	Adult
Kiungoni	Hilo washalinyoa	Male	Youth
Kiungoni	Mzee Ali naona wanipungia nkono waja nipa jero nami nnywe uji.	Male	Youth
Kiungoni	Siku izi ngombe anywa maji tu	Male	Youth
Kiungoni	Twenzetu... walinda vitambaa?	Female	Youth

Kiungoni	Vyengine vishapigwa picha kabisa waona picha.	Female	Adult
Kiungonii	Viazi. Kiasi gani wataka?	Male	Adult
Kivuugo	Arudi tena. Yule kashaona vyo	Female	Adult
Kivuugo	Hayupo. Yu pandani.	Male	Youth
Kivuugo	Juzi nekuona wanipita pale. Nekuwa ndani ya gari.	Male	Youth
Kivuugo	Naillia chipsi hatulia. Kisha n'ja kwambia in'geleka	Male	Youth
Kivuugo	Ukintizama binti alawi si nrefu	Female	Adult
Kojani	Aaa hatuntambuwi	Female	Youth
Kojani	Ha weye hajira hilyo ni jiwe au ni iwe au nkijijiwe? Zinga iweee!	Male	Adult
Kojani	Huyu usintileeee. Twendeni tukageleeee!	Female	Youth
Kojani	Ika nkuavye	Female	Child
Kojani	Jina lyake sahihi mwantambuwa?	Male	Adult
Kojani	Ke leshi	Female	Youth
Kojani	Kusimamia majinavijiwa	Male	Child
Kojani	M'buku lya ani ili lya Geography?	Female	Youth
Kojani	Mule mwetu mungili nyoka tumuu kwa nsumari m'mbamba!	Male	Child
Kojani	Mwalimuu- kanpige yule. Apiga watuu	Female	Youth
Kojani	Mwanangwa wa lakishari alikimbia vyoo efika wahera ndogo	Male	Adult
Kojani	Nakwambia waja pigwa kunchaguliwaaaa	Male	Child
Kojani	Ohoo takugosa na jamaayo	Male	Adult
Kojani	Wa ja pigwa mapigi	Male	Child
Kojani	Weye usije andika kaa dondo. Ha kaa dondo atakwa niyani	Female	Child
Kojani	Weye wasemavyo maji yake mengi tu	Male	Adult
Kojani	Zinga iwe ukeleshii	Male	Child
Maangwi	Kwanza uyo yuajua kuwa uko nyuma kuna chombongwa	Male	Adult
Maangwi	Kyombo kuwa unakyo hakina shida Ati	Male	Elderly
Madenjani	Kuku wetu kati kati.	Male	Adult
Madenjani	Miye sirikodowa'a-	Male	Adult
Chwale	Nakaa Chwaleeeee	Female	Youth
Madenjani	Siye tuna mashaka. Kile kikwetu hatwebu kisema ati twaona haya	Male	Adult
Mashuga	Basi n'nda kwa shameni mara mojaa.	Male	Adult
Mashuga	Na huyu naye aitwa hamisi wa nsikimwe.	Male	Adult
Mashuga	Nkweli miye ni nzee wa zamani ela mpaka saa hivi zile akili zinkuwa zatoka	Male	Elderly
Mchanga mdogo	Ah uku hakukaliki ati. Ha nafika Uko ta uku hakutizama tena ?	Male	Adult
Mchanga mdogo	Eeeh babuye ndiye ageaye chano.	Male	Elderly
Mchanga mdogo	Kankuja tizamwa tu uku sukuli.	Male	Adult
Mchanga mdogo	Lakini uyo atembea uyo -	Male	Adult

Mchanga mdogo	Ni n'ndu! Shungwangwa! Mie nkiamua kusema kin'ji nasema	Female	Adult
Mchanga mdogo	Siye twasema chamo nnini?	Female	Adult
Minungwini	Ha sivyo uitwavyo? Nsikiti jumba.	Male	Child
Minungwini	Nantuma uyooo.Nawe kunpenjewa nkupiga.	Female	Adult
Minungwini	Tunkuja mapema eeh? Kila siku twacherewa	Female	Child
Mwane	Ha apo n'taka bya vipi? Ukaa! Uka hapa	Male	Child
Mwane	Machupi ataka fungwa	Female	Child
Mwane	N'taka tungule	Male	Child
Mwane	Ndige si mbali. N'dakka moja tu kushafika	Male	Child
Mwane	Si goli. Limpita n'nje	Male	Child
Ole	Haa Bi Maryam kunfaa zaidi	Male	Adult
Ole	Hifikiri labda kunaharibikiwa	Male	Adult
Ole	Huyo ni ntu wa ole haswa ta unguja hajendapo.	Male	Adult
Ole	In'noga! Apo ela siku mbili ntu nke arudi.	Female	Adult
Ole	Kashaowa lini	Male	Youth
Ole	Kwani kunaitwa apa weye?	Male	Youth
Ole	Mpisha miye	Female	Child
Ole	Napiga vyangu mbio tu	Female	Adult
Ole	Ntaka kuja uko uko kwako ntaka swali tu.	Male	Elderly
Ole	Sasa siku wajuwa nekuwa nkiongea na nani?	Male	Youth
Ole	Wayataka? Mabungo	Male	Child
Pembeni	Jinale aitwaje yule hamadi?	Male	Adult
Shangafu	Juma kashafusa	Male	Youth
Shangafu	Kanpata shingi mia nane	Male	Child
Shangafu	Kila siku wenda nj'ini watu wanywa soda. Siye hatuna uwezo wakunywa soda	Male	Adult
Shangafu	Kisu nkisu	Male	Youth
Shangafu	Mmmmm... kunfusa. Kunfusa weyee!	Male	Adult
Shangafu	Mmuongo hakupi	Female	Child
Shangafu	Sheikh hafidh hiyo kanzu kaibye pasi kwanzaaa	Male	Adult
Shengejuu	Akwambia hadi kipi? Ivi nvyaa soko	Male	Child
Shengejuu	Dawaye mmoja tu. ukija ukimpata kobe haaya!	Male	Adult
Shengejuu	Hamadi eeh. Nna. Shingi mia napata peasi? Enhe wapata!	Male	Youth
Shengejuu	N'wa buruhani hamadi	Male	Youth
Shengejuu	Ntaka chenji	Female	Child
Shengejuu	Ntu nke wa kojani kwa ngogo hunkosi ta siku moja. Ela usije nkuwa miba. Ukinkuwa miba hunaye-shengejuu	Male	Adult
Shengejuu	Sasa ndizi wapanga bei gani weye	Male	Elderly
Shengejuu	Ukimpata kobe naomba munipe.	Male	Adult
KPN 3 – WINGWI – MICHEWENI PENINSULA			
Kijichame bandale – Male, youth	We ukakaata tu apaa, moja kwa moja wakuta	Male	Youth
Kijichame	zishapachikwa vyo zile, na izo bomba zipachuliwe?	Female	Adult

Kijichame	aka! Kantiwa mihuri	Female	Child
Kijichame	Bibi weee wakaa uchi	Female	Child
Kijichame	Cha mwanzo nkizuri eeh?	Female	Youth
Kijichame	enhe ndicho icho chao kombongwa	Male	Youth
Kijichame	Haiwaki. Naona apa panaekwa ivi. Baba anacho kama ichi	Male	Child
Kijichame	haji saidi wee jipake ndudu tu apo	Female	Adult
Kijichame	hee baba apo pana ndudu apo pana utitiri	Male	Adult
Kijichame	Kieke apo. Ntu akija akikanyaga kikoreshewe icho icho	Female	Adult
Kijichame	Maaa, waitwa. Akwambia yuaja	Male	Child
Kijichame	Ochu wapachulie bomba zile pale- Sijui n'tatu, sijui ni nne	Male	Adult
Kijichame	Pachua icho kidogyoo	Male	Child
Kijichame	Weye usiniekee keleele, mwenzio yule pale halii	Female	Child
Micheweni	entumee, an'shinda nendeeze – Male, adult	Male	Adult
Micheweni	Ah kama wajuanga kujihami kwa n'kono wapukuchua wawili tu	Male	Youth
Micheweni	alikulya rungu, yani ile kujifanya ubaabe ubaabe	Male	Youth
Micheweni	Fuata dadeyo ukaombe muuungu	Female	Adult
Micheweni	Lete mineeno	Male	Youth
Micheweni	Usendetia pilipili	Male	Child
Micheweni	Watu wote watongoa maradhi uliyonayoo.	Female	Adult
Micheweni	Wawa shiiiiii wa? Usha, usha	Male	Child
Shumba Mjini	Ama miji kuvuuuuuta, miji ile kujaaaa. Ile m'miji kutooooooka	Male	Child
Shumba Mjini	Ha nviiii na mvuuuuu?	Female	Adult
Shumba Mjini	Mpa nami Bi Seme Makaaaaame	Male	Child
Shumba mjini	Musubiri tumalize kupika kwaaanza	Female	Adult
Shumba Mjini	Mwatakapewa n'naaanii?	Female	Youth
Shumba Mjini	N'je nkuone uuuko tu?	Female	Child
Shumba Mjini	Nasikia wanilyaani. Ha nlyaani nshafika	Male	Youth
Shumba Mjini	Samaki sijapaaaaata	Female	Adult
Shumba Mjini	Shehe niacha kwanza nlisha waatuu	Male	Adult
Shumba Mjini	Wankwenda chuma maembe waaaa?	Male	Child
Shumba Mjini	Zogo lya nini so paliwa, hwekulya?	Male	Youth
Sizini	Uyo mamengwa n'dogo siuzi	Male	Youth
Sizini	Ha kwani uyu n'naani, N'komboooo?	Male	Child
Sizini	Kake saa ngapi uko?	Male	Youth
Sizini	Kulikuwa kuna ganga huku mwanangu. Aaa Tumbe kun'vurugwa	Male	Adult
Sizini	Lakini kuna siku miye n'ja mpigiya simuu, m'mwamie	Male	Youth
Sizini	Mie nambiyani tu mukielekea mie nkatafute madokta kabisa	Female	Adult
Sizini	Na Omari Ahmada twanchukuwa	Male	Child

Sizini	Ta yee kashaogopa, Omari kashaogopa	Male	Child
Sizini	Wee kid'de changu.	Male	Child
Sizini	Wenda kidogo waipita asa spitali	Male	Child
Wingwi	Basi kama haimyi ilikuwa atulievye	Male	Adult
Wingwi	Gosa moto n'je n'chukuwe moto!	Male	Adult
Wingwi	Ha uo nlyango kunaufungua weye? Naona koma twaulizana	Female	Adult
Wingwi	Hujazowes mambo ya kutaniana na watu weye uke ntoto	Male	Youth
Wingwi	Kama heniona yeye Basi huyo muungungwa wa Omar kanniona	Male	Adult
Wingwi	Mie n'kwara lakini wao wanaolewa n'koho	Male	Adult
Wingwi	Mwambileni asilile	Male	Elderly
Wingwi	Mpe yee n'kononi takuwa kunkaa siku ngapi	Male	Adult
Wingwi	Ndavyoo mie sina pesa	Female	Adult
Wingwi	Yule ajifanya enda sukuli mapema pekeye!	Female	Child
KPN 4 - TUMBE			
Chimba	Aloo nakwambiya ntaka tano	Male	Youth
Chimba	Ha n'waachie	Female	Child
Chimba	Ha kwani miye nakwambia weye?	Female	Child
Chimba	He sharifa kumbe uku kushakuwa n'ji	Female	Child
Chimba	Kama muna midomo yenu amba kikombwe n'domo mufunge	Male	Child
Chimba	Naja nunua miye. Miye nshatowa hela. Acha achani	Male	Adult
Chimba	Ntu haswaliwi kashakufa swali nawe.	Male	Youth
Kinowe	Kupanda ndodo maanaye nkuchukiwa	Female	Adult
Kinowe	Weye wapenda sana kupanda n'dodo	Female	Adult
Konde	Hapa tulipo tunchoka tu taabani	Female	Youth
Makangale	Ah kushawiya? Kunfika nkiya?	Female	Adult
Makangale	Alikuwako mamangwa, babangwa na watotowe wawili.	Female	Child
Makangale	Baba yetu kashakuja	Female	Child
Makangale	Halima Muhammed hekuja	Female	Youth
Makangale	Hapo hapeeleweka tena. Inbidi hapo tun'nyamaza wee.	Male	Adult
Makangale	Ikawa alazwa kwenye kibanda cha kuku	Female	Child
Makangale	Kantuangusha. Kansema maneno	Male	Adult
Makangale	La aonja! Hii nyama n'tamu	Female	Child
Makangale	Ma n'ngie?	Female	Child
Makangale	Mamaake akampoka. Hii ukipokwa sikupi tena	Female	Child
Makangale	Nshachoka	Female	Child
Nkia wa Ng'ombe	Ngoja nkaziangalie umo ndani.	Female	Adult
Nkia wa Ng'ombe	Wenda wapi uko? Wenda kunya?	Female	Adult
Nkia wa Ngio	Weye wakaa waa?	Male	Child
Nkia wa Ngombe	Ah nifumuwa apa vyo sijalieka.	Female	Adult

Nkia wa Ngombe	Kwa huku utokeako ukipita nsikiti na sukuli ukiangalia tu utaliona bango.	Male	Adult
Nkia wa Ngombe	Lishafumiliwa vyo.	Female	Adult
Nkia wa Ngombe	Mwachezea jua tu we nani?	Female	Adult
Nkia wa Ngombe	Ukiingia pale skuli tu utayaona. Mie nilijualo hasa ni hapo.	Male	Adult
Nkia wa Ngombe	Usije kiona vile. Chenda mbio kile . Nkirefu.	Female	Child
Nkia wa Ng'ombe	Huyu ni ntu gani? Naona ni ntu n'geni	Female	Adult
Nsuka	Ao hawauki. Ndio Nyerere wa apa	Male	Adult
Nsuka	Huu n'wa shinani	Male	Youth
Shumba vyamboni	Aloo yuwapi uyu?	Male	Youth
Shumba Vyamboni	Ela maalim Seif wankwenda wao.	Male	Youth
Shumba Vyamboni	Ha kwani wanifunga jela	Male	Youth
Shumba Vyamboni	Kunniibiya! Ah mmwizi uyoo.	Male	Youth
Shumba Vyamboni	Na hiyo nayo yekufa eeh?	Male	Adult
Shumba Vyamboni	Ule nsafara unaghairika.	Male	Youth
Shumba Vyamboni	Usiku nzima hatulali mie na abaaa twakaa tukisinzia umo mabaoni	Male	Youth
Tondooni	Abdillahi njoo uniburute.	Male	Child
Tondooni	Iki kitaa kyote ntondooni	Male	Youth
Tondooni	Ile gariye	Female	Child
Tondooni	Nnani atwitaye	Female	Child
Tondooni	Nzaidu n'ngia uje tuvute	Male	Child
Tondooni	Twaita nnani	Female	Child
Tondooni	Twaitwa nnani	Female	Child
Tondooni	Yaja ayo machama	Male	Youth
Tumbe	Ilo koba la dagaa	Female	Adult
Tumbe	Jamaazo wote saizi hawapo wankwenda vyao mwani	Female	Elderly
Tumbe	Jana kanpakiwa asubuhi kanpigwa npunzi	Male	Adult
Tumbe	Sherry waitwa	Female	Child
Tumbe	Uka uko yahaya. Koba la baba lenda ivi	Female	Child
Tumbe	Waitwa m'babuyo	Female	Adult
KPS 5 – NKAMANDUME			
Chambani	Akenda asijulikane muntahawe	Female	Adult
Chambani	Basi nakwambiya huyo kuku wangu kati maigi maili asiyatamie	Female	Elderly
Chambani	Bi ntumwa hamadi chaka la kati	Female	Adult
Chanja Mjawiri	Nyote mwaweza. Mwasema.	Female	Adult
Chanja Mjawiri	Wakaa limani wangapi?	Female	Adult
Chanjaani	Nkate mmoja lete.	Male	Youth

Furaha	wewe, salama yako, kantoka ndani ya n' domo wa chewa	Male	Adult
Furaha	asema pweza yee kila siku yuala kwao	Male	Adult
Furaha	ati lakini yanga acheza na simba kwenye mazoezi anfunga asema nanfunga simba – male adult	Male	Adult
Furaha	babu palipokuwa mashabiki nampiga matatu fasta	Male	Youth
Furaha	Dole, gari yanfaa uyu	Male	Youth
Furaha	hadija kunkaa kitako hadija	Female	Child
Furaha	hatwendi asubuhi twenda saa saba	Male	Child
Furaha	kamwambie asema mama kesho apeleka mbegu, ijumamosi aanza kazi	Female	Adult
Furaha	Mwisho wa siku kanniibia memorikadi yangu .	Male	Youth
Furaha	tena ekuwa na mabingwa vo uyu. Afundishwa mmabingwa, mpeke yangu	Male	Youth
Matale	Asali siku atakayo	Male	Youth
Matale	Kanshiba chuzi zito la haragwe nkiasi acheuwe.	Female	Adult
Matale	Naona kankwenda siiya ghafla	Female	Adult
Matale	Ngaiya mia mbili hamsini hachukuwe sukari	Female	Adult
Matale	Ntaka mihogo	Female	Child
Matale	Sele yuwapi Bwan Juma	Female	Adult
Pujini	Asema yeye arikodi	Female	Youth
Pujini	Ataka lahaja za kimitaani maana dodo kashapata	Male	Adult
Pujini	Kitabu ekitupa. Ekigeya	Male	Elderly
Pujini	Ntaka kupeleka kwa ntu aliyekuwa kankaa na wazee	Male	Elderly
Pujini	Weye una hashuo. Kwani wataka tufanye nini?	Female	Child
Vitongoji	angalia, ntilia supu kama ipo niekee kama hamna niekee maharage.	Male	Adult
Vitongoji	apa kama ntakohoa utanambia n'nda zako nje.	Male	Adult
Vitongoji	ata nusuye hufiki, mpaka robo	Female	Adult
Vitongoji	ha kushannunua adui uyo halafu wenda mueka ndani ?	Male	Adult
Vitongoji	Kama dadayo	Male	Youth
Vitongoji	kama wenda n'jini wende pale ukapande gari	Male	Child
Vitongoji	Mie nshaliaonapo ela siliuji	Male	Child
Vitongoji	miye najua una roho mbaya sana weye.	Female	Adult
Vitongoji	N'kewe kashajifunguwa?	Male	Adult
Vitongoji	Nakohoa mbaya sasa n'ngesema nkajitie pale n'ngekufa	Male	Adult
Vitongoji	Nakwambia mwanangu jana kankwenda kiuyu.	Female	Elderly
Vitongoji	nameza mate pale hayendi kwa njaa	Male	Adult
Vitongoji	Pesa yangu impotea	Female	Elderly
Vitongoji	si mbali kwa n'guu tu.	Male	Child
Vitongoji	umuongo, nnakwambiya mwambie uyo akupe pesayo	Male	Child
Vitongoji	Wankamatwa wote kwa kesi ya kijinga.	Male	Adult

Vitongoji	winziwo wenda zao wale, winziwo washakwenda zao.	Male	Child
Vitongoji	n'duka lle pale linalotengenezwa lakini mwenyewe yule pale	Female	Youth
Wawi	akaletwa hajenda kichukuam kankwenda jipima voo, kansema havinfai	Male	Child
Wawi	huko machomane huku wawi	Female	Youth
Wawi	kaburile linjengwa na senyenge	Female	Adult
Wawi	leo hatwendi, leo alkhamisi	Female	Youth
Wawi	mbele uko wee fuata iyo njia tu	Male	Child
Wawi	Mie sijakaa vitongoji. Vitongoji n'ja nkisomesha	Female	Elderly
Wawi	ngoja n'nde nyumbani nkanchukulie kile kiatu	Male	Adult
Wawi	ntu kila siku wamuona pale barabarani hawamuulizi chochote	Male	Youth
Wawi	wanlijengea nlango kisha wannlijengea kama hozi	Male	Adult
Wawi	yulee kannipita na kanzu hapa endavye hivi	Male	Adult
Wawi	chuo cha kichangani kwa boriziki na kwa marehemu bit bitu issa	Male	Child
Wawi	nkaambia mie n'ndasafisha nyumba	Male	Youth
KPS 8 - MKOANI WEST			
Makombeni	Kam'bwa koto atoka damu	Male	Child
Makombeni	Kam'bwa koto la hapa kantoka damu	Male	Child
Makoongwe	Basishika hee ntaka sambusa	Female	Youth
Makoongwe	Chupa yekuwa uko	Female	Youth
Makoongwe	Hajakuansha alikuja yeye chumbani lakini pale ekuwa kashaanza kulia	Female	Adult
Makoongwe	Kahawa yanywewa jioni apa.	Male	Youth
Makoongwe	Maa nvuta pengine siku hizi nshaweza.	Female	Youth
Makoongwe	Mbona chai chupa inkuja chukuliwa	Female	Adult
Makoongwe	Mpa pesa	Female	Child
Makoongwe	Nkisjatoka skuli nanywa chai afu naoga nda zangu chuoni.	Female	Child
Makoongwe	Nlikwenda ntizama ntoto wa ally.	Female	Adult
Makoongwe	Nnamuona pale kanpakiwa kwenye gari	Female	Adult
Makoongwe	Nnaota mie au nnasikia? Kuwa da asha kanzaa.	Female	Adult
Makoongwe	Nsalimia n' jukuu wangu.	Female	Adult
Makoongwe	Ntaka kwenda kunywa chai	Female	Youth
Makoongwe	Ntaka nkija skuli nionane na maalim Omari	Female	Adult
Makoongwe	Yule mwenzio kwani kankwenda pwani?	Female	Adult
Manyaga	Yaanguka theluji apa usiku	Male	Adult
Manyaga	Ntaka ngoja npakiwe	Female	Child
Manyaga	Sasa basi miye nlipa basi nkibebe mpaka mbuguani	Male	Youth
Manyaga	Viboti vyatolewa vingi nahapasijasikiapo kuletwa apa.	Male	Adult
Mapinduzi	ChaChi n'geni wan'jua?	Male	Adult

Mapinduzi	Kanahamia apa kwa kuoa nke mwengine	Male	Adult
Mapinduzi	Ladu uayosema wajua weye yatengezwa kwa ntama	Male	Adult
Mapinduzi	Miaka ya mwisho mwisho nda nkinywa juisi pale	Male	Adult
Mapinduzi	Nakwambiya kankuja jana apa huyu	Male	Adult
Mapinduzi	Ntu aweza akaona b aba kafa zamai	Male	Adult
Mbuyuni	Nsubiri kiduchu	Male	Elderly
Mbuyuni	Nyie kachukuweni busati mwende mkakae Uko nyuma. Ngojani nwape ufunguo Male	Male	Adult
Mbuyuni	Yategemea. Kuna za shing hamsini na shing mia	Male	Child
Mkoani mjini	Jamaa mwaulizwa hali huku.	Male	Adult
Mkoani	aieke ukumbini tu apoo, au chumba cha ukumbini mwambie aeke chumba chaM Male	Male	Adult
Mkoani	aloo vuruga vuruga ntakakwenda bwakia kidogo	Male	Adult
Mkoani	Juice zake yule mbaya zawashaa. Mie jana nliacha	Male	Youth
Mkoani	Kunambiya ntu sita apo ondoka n'jomba Ali	Male	Youth
Mkoani	kwa iyo naona kama warka zishatengenezwa.	Male	Adult
Mkoani	naskia wanendelea mchakato	Male	Adult
Mkoani	Ta sijui mie nimesema nini	Female	Adult
Mkoani	wajionaje na hali?	Female	Adult
Mkoani	waondoka lini mie nta' viatu mieem viatu vyangu vishakuwa vyafa	Male	Youth
Mkoani	watu wote wastaarabu kule n'jinga mmie peke yanu	Female	Adult
Mkoani	weye saivi omba mung utu kwamba lisijefutwa jina lako	Male	Adult
Mkoani	nasikia zaendelea na nchakato vo izo pesa	Male	Adult
Mkoani	aloo wee ntu nke	Male	Adult
Ng'ombeni	Babu eeh kunpewa dakika moja	Female	Child
Tironi	Ataka aendeshe click asije kufa hajaendeshapo	Male	Youth
Tironi	Hamis kumpata ngapi?	Female	Child
Tironi	Kuna mmoja aitwa njia apa. Kwakuwa kanzaliwa apo njiani	Male	Youth
Tironi	Kuwa naanka Nna kazi fulani hiyo hapana	Male	Adult
Tironi	Kwa sababu adanganywa ni ule ujasho	Male	Adult
Tironi	Najishuku napata samanini	Female	Child
Wambaa	Ina maana mikate hawaidasi?	Male	Adult
Wambaa	Kankwenda nsikitini	Male	Child
Wambaa	Umvivu weye	Male	Adult
KPS 6 – NKUMBUU			
Birikau	Ah kuna n'dudu Uko	Male	Youth
Birikau	Asema ntakwenda nfufua n'ja kwa lile alilolipenda duniani	Male	Elderly
Birikau	Kashankimbia uyo aja zake aja fanya mauzi	Female	Adult
Birikau	Ntoto ni m'baya uyu. Una tosi mbili	Female	Adult

Birikau	Sokoni twatumia ilo banda apo lipo la maskani	Male	Elderly
Chake Chake	Giya siyo iyo babaangu iyo n'ya kuwasha	Male	Child
Chake Chake	Makame unabya ile.	Male	Child
Kipapo	Ali Idi si ntu wa kuchezea. Kantiwa gwaru	Female	Adult
Kipapo	Amini mungu nkikimbia haramu	Male	Youth
Kipapo	Kuna watu dunia nzima wanijua miye n'jenshindwe nweye?	Female	Youth
Kipapo	Kunaanka? Kunlala?	Female	Adult
Kipapo	Nvyombo tu ivi	Male	Child
Kipapo	Twahama	Female	Adult
Kipapo	Watu n'ji nzima wapoteza heshima kwa watu wawili-	Male	Adult
Kisiwani	Hadisi za uongo uongo? Si zote twazijua	Male	Child
Kisiwani	Huo ukati huo siye twehadisiwa nwazee wetu	Male	Adult
Kisiwani	Miye ni ntu wa kisiwani kabisa!	Male	Adult
Kwale, Chake	Basi lai nliache mpaka lipowe? Basi hutaki kula lai wataka kula maji	Female	Child
Kwale, Chake	Najua ha kiuyu sio kwetu Uko mamaangu atokako	Female	Child
Kwale, Chake	Watu kwani wenda api	Female	Child
Mavungwa	Nataka ninsitiri	Male	Adult
Mavungwa	Ntaka nkwambiye wende kwa boga ukaniposhe'e. Yule ntu nke nantaka	Male	Adult
Meli tano	Ha kwani miye anikera? Mie najua hii mbiasharaye	Male	Child
Meli tano	Mwambie nnda chukua kitooyo, aweza lala	Male	Child
Meli tano	Niachia rizwani.	Female	Child
Meli tano	Usije mwambia wacherewa	Female	Child
N'gelema	Nkatia muwa ukiupata	Male	Adult
N'gelema	Twenda shamba.	Male	Youth
Ndagoni	Akikubakuwa kofi tu ujuwe hapo n'pahalingwa uondoke.	Male	Adult
Ndagoni	Kankuja kupa mia tanoyo	Female	Adult
Ndagoni	Njo ukapakuwe husna	Female	Elderly
Ndagoni	Sheikh kankufa mwaka uu	Male	Adult
Ndagoni	Siku moja miye nekuwa hiumwa. Basi engia ndani naviatuvye.	Female	Adult
Ndagoni	Ta ishamaliza naambiwa ntowe pesangwa	Female	Adult
Piki	Maa,mamaa watu watubya makopo	Female	Child
Piki	Mwalimu,sabra apiga wenziwe vibao	Female	Child
Wesha	Angenigwiya	Male	Adult
Wesha	Basi miye nashuka weye kuntokea.	Female	Adult
Wesha	Hamujasikia nyie mwataka bakora sasa	Male	Adult
Wesha	Kankuja akasema kwa kuwa kansema tu	Male	Adult
Wesha	Leo nakuwa nzembe yaani pale nlipontuwa naja nchikuwa	Male	Adult
Wesha	Nna n'gonjwa na nshatumiwa pesa n'nde n'jini	Female	Adult
Wesha	Nyie watu wasoma uko.	Female	Child

Wesha	Saleh ekuja sema sigara si haramu kwa kuwa avuta	Male	Elderly
Wesha	Sekwambia weye ati	Male	Adult
Wesha	Yeye kankuwa nzembe. Mie napita pale nan'duru duru simuoni	Male	Adult
Wesha	Yule kule mwenziwe kankuja nchukuwa	Male	Child
Ziwani	Mmaji ayo si urojo. Twenzetu	Female	Adult
Ziwani	Mmoja aje apo. biasha sadi wan'jua ?	Female	Adult
Ziwani	Napigiwe uyo bosu mwenyewe. Ngoja ninsikilize	Female	Adult
Ziwani	Nlikuwa Nna kazi kiduchu nnakuja	Female	Adult
Ziwani	Nshakuja sana na nshalala siku nyingi	Female	Adult
Chake Chake	Aloo hebu nchenjishia ii shinngi alfu ii	Male	Adult
Chake Chake	Kwa iyo apite pale atumie matunda kidogo	Male	Adult
Chake Chake	Salumu anunua kambare nnamuona pale	Male	Adult
Chake Chake	akaniuliza vya ninii, nkamwambia	Female	Adult
Chake Chake	Njo njo njo jana sijakuona jana wekuwa wapi jana	Male	Adult
Chake Chake	Ntaka moja kama iyo unifanyie mpango namie niipate	Male	Youth
Chake Chake	Yaani iyo vispa kuna watu waliokuwa hawana uwapee	Male	Youth
Chake Chake	akisikia twapakaziana tu lazima usingizi utoke	Male	Adult
Chake Chake	mie yule kaja kampa chungwa akala	Male	Adult
Chake Chake	Juzi mmekwenda kule mmekwenda kula mafenesi	Female	Child
Chake Chake	Naona apindisha hivi	Male	Child
Chake Chake	kantolewa chuoni leo uyo, apigana na watuu	Female	Youth
Chake Chake	Mwanzo shin ngapi?	Female	Youth
Mwanamashungi	yaani ile baa si kama makes majeshi hawalipi, walipa kwa nguvu	Male	Adult
Mwanamashungi	ukinleteya usenge akupigisha vyura asubuhi mpaka jioni	Male	Youth
Mwanamashungi	hajanlipa atumia cheo chake , pesa kashapewa adhalilisha jeshi	Male	Youth
Mwanamashungi	apa apa wakaa apa apa ndio ufanye ivyo	Female	Adult
Mwanamashungi	na siye twapambana, hatuna kazi	Female	Adult
Mwanamashungi	aaaah bayou atoka damu, atoka damu wapi?	Male	Child
Mwanamashungi	nyiyee msirushe ivoo	Male	Child
Mwanamashungi	wee mie sendi tena kulee Said kimbua	Male	Child
Mwanamashungi	Abdul kunliona lile au, moja mpe luku	Male	Child
Chonga	jamaa apo asubuhi alimwambia iyo kadi tupe siye tukale wali	Male	Youth
Chonga	babu wee ebu mpe ratiba ya kesho kutwa	Male	Youth
Chonga	medi eeh. Miye nilikuja saa nne kule	Male	Adult
Chonga	lakini nasikia magarama alikwenda makoongwe babu yee na answari	Male	Adult
Chonga	yaani yee ndo aambiwa atoe kadi asende yee	Male	Adult
Chonga	babuali akwita jomba imu kule	Male	Child

Chonga	medi akwambia vipi, Watoto wadogo wafuata wali kama yee aliekuwa hautaki	Male	Child
Chonga	chonga ukitaka ujuwe kua kuna watu kuwe na wali, wakuta wengine mpaka waliokufa wafufuka	Male	Child
Chonga	miye wali siutaki n'nda zangu nyumbani tushapika	Male	Child
Chonga	Wenda chuoni warudi wbu nenda kule mule, miye naaja	Male	Child
Chonga	Arkam, leo ntaka ukanikunjie ntu golini, umpeleke, unrudishee	Male	Child
Chonga	Maa nataka wali wangu na nchuzi wangu	Female	Youth
Chonga	aa miye sijaingia mie nnakwenda angalia tu –	Female	Youth
Chanjan'jawiri	uyo ntu lakini ni wa apa apa. Ni wa apo kivumoni	Male	Adult
Chanjan'jawiri	wee si wanambia miye si ntu muume, mbona aliye ntu muume kankaa naye mwezi mmoja tu – Male	Male	Adult
Chanjan'jawiri	kaka ikisha ntaftia mavi ya punda emu kidogo	Male	Adult
Chanjan'jawiri	aa miye ntakaa kuwa ntakuwa na pampu izi za kawaida ndio ntakao	Male	Adult
Chanjan'jawiri	mpigie hamisi magrisi mwambie anifuata, sasa hivi tuondoke	Male	Adult
Chanjan'jawiri	mara ya pili, anicheka miye	Female	Youth
Chanjan'jawiri	afanya maksudi vo mamu vile	Female	Youth
Chanjan'jawiri	n'nda zangu nyumbani mwanicheka mwaona kama naanguka kweli	Female	Youth
Chanjan'jawiri	nkija nkizona miye usije sema nkupe ee	Male	Child
Chanjan'jawiri	Wallwahi ntaka wabya majiwe nyote	Female	Child
Chanjan'jawiri	Zuhura, mamu atoka mijino ukasema mmuhogo mmbovu	Female	Child
Chanjan'jawiri	Napita pale matangini, mumbu uliopo pale, maji tele, si haba, alhamdulillah –	Male	Youth
Chanjan'jawiri	Na itakuwa huwezu kusema using'oe ntu una njaa	Male	Adult
Chanjan'jawiri	yee engeondoa, engepunguza ushuru au akaondoa kaisa ushuru wa chakula, mwinyi kalefi – male adult	Male	Adult
Chanjan'jawiri	juzi alikuwa hakopeshi vo, ekuwa ukija hapa akukaushia	Female	Adult
Chanjan'jawiri	ata alipoona hekopeshwa na chanje awataka ama pesa aliitoa	Female	Adult
Chanjan'jawiri	ama ata la kusema helijua asema waitwa	Male	Adult
Chanjan'jawiri	a wallah leo nnalala ta naanka miguu yaniuma! Sijapata ta kutoka toka nkate	Female	Adult
Chanjan'jawiri	fanya zoezi na Watoto wachanganke	Female	Adult
Chonga	Muache akaee, riski ya ntu haii ntu	Female	Adult
Kizomwe	Za kuanka mwenzangu? Habari za asubuhi	Female	Adult
Kizomwe	nfulie naona mikono yapigana	Female	Adult
Kizomwe	Wazir twafa twafa	Male	Adult
Kizomwe	wee waona mapema bado	Male	Youth
Kizomwe	NNasema mapenat lazima tupewe	Male	Youth

Kizomwe	nnda kwetu	Female	Youth
Kizomwe	Wachagua wee una hashuo	Female	Youth
Kizomwe	oya wazingua mipasho weye	Male	Youth
Kizomwe	uyu kaka ako ana waume wangapi, Tanga kanaolewa	Male	Adult
Chanjaani	wee ni mmachawa mwenzangu hatugombani	Female	Adult
Chanjaani	baba kama sijapigiwa na kisiki simu yangu haiulizwi	Male	Youth
Chanjaani	nkutume mara moja kwa kidongo	Female	Youth
Chanjaani	Basi nitatafuta Tangawizi kama huna vitunguu somi	Female	Youth
Chanjaani	Ndugu yangu genge utaliuwa ilo acha kuhonga	Male	Youth
Chanjaani	Hawa nwakaidii hee waone	Male	Adult
KPS 7 – NKOANI EAST			
Chokocho	Ajitahidi kutoa pesa lakini n’fuko itakuwa un’vuja	Male	Youth
Chokocho	Akimaliza kuosha vyombo enda tuta nchanga	Female	Child
Chokocho	Miye ntaka nieke nguo zangu maana nsishone	Female	Adult
Chokocho	Mwalimu haji waitwa. Kule nje m’bihalima	Female	Youth
Chokocho	Ta sijuwi	Female	Child
Chokocho	Wagwa, sebu uka	Female	Child
Kangani	An’dala hizi pesazo	Male	Adult
Kangani	Ewachagua? -	Male	Elderly
Kangani	Huyo ntu nke akamuoe ntu nke ?	Male	Elderly
Kangani	Jana tunpata mvua usiku	Male	Adult
Kangani	Nemuona juzi ndani ya tv kankaa	Male	Adult
Kengeja	Haya mie nnda zangu	Male	Adult
Kengeja	Kashatoka huku	Male	Adult
Kengeja	Nyie munsafisha vyoo lini?	Male	Youth
Kengeja	Weye mwanangwa wa maalim X?	Male	Adult
Kengeja	Yule X. Yule mpole	Female	Child
Kisiwa Panza	Nngesema mpaka nkachoka apa	Male	Adult
Kisiwa Panza	Inkuwa tafarani tafarani. Jumatano watu waja eeh?	Male	Adult
Kisiwa Panza	Mwalimu Haji mpa kalamu yangu	Female	Adult
Kisiwa Panza	Nlikaa nkenda naambiwa vipi	Male	Adult
Kisiwa Panza	Siye tunchoka dhulumiwa hatwebu hangaishwa	Male	Youth
Kisiwa Panza	Tunkuwa mbuzi vikopo kid’de kidogo watiwa kikopo cha ndomo	Male	Youth
Kisiwa Panza	Wende ukaeke mawe muhogo wafukuliwa n’kuku-	Male	Elderly
Kiwani	Asema leo tuje au	Female	Youth
Kukuu	Kachukuwe baskeli ngwa	Male	Adult
Kukuu	Mie nakwambia ta sekuwa na habari nao	Male	Adult
Kukuu	Ndio subiri mie ntakuja muuliza	Male	Adult
Muambe	Enda waa	Female	Child
Muambe	Hebu tuke da tuu	Female	Youth
Muambe	Kanchaguliwa yule	Female	Child
Muambe	Miye sebu fatwa	Male	Youth
Muambe	Munkaa kama munaitwa nyiye apa	Female	Adult

Muambe	Muoneshe Raya	Female	Adult
Muambe	Niani anaye kalamu amuazime huyu	Female	Child
Muambe	Nyie mpole kanchomoka voo	Female	Child
Muambe	Shamba anayolima nduguyo ile ya Ali Vuai	Male	Adult
Muambe	Siye wangine tunaja jioni	Female	Child
Muambe	Ushasoza	Male	Child
Nanguji	Ha niavyani mie nshafufuka	Female	Elderly
Nanguji	Jamaa ntu akenda chukua paka unguja akanleta uku, akilia aweza lia Ka paka wa uku? -	Male	Elderly
Nanguji	Laiti mama samia si ntu nke, Basi n'gombea mwenza angekuwa Mwinyi	Male	Elderly
Nanguji	Mie hisema nyama vo kumbe miguu?	Male	Elderly
Nanguji	Tushakuwa na raisi ntu nke sasa.	Male	Elderly
Nzingani	N'zingani nekaa kidogo nekaa mwaka mmoja tu	Male	Adult
Nkanyageni	Akaa ngomani yatasini hao wanambia akaa na shangazi yake	Male	Adult
Nkanyageni	Avuta sigara kali	Male	Adult
Nkanyageni	Jamani nvipi?	Female	Adult
Ntambile	Kamwite ntoto wa ziwani aje akatuazimie kisu	Male	Adult
Ntambile	Kankuja tupiga	Female	Child
Ntambile	Narudi bya bobo na ao wa asubuhi	Female	Youth
Ntambile	Ndivyo ulivyokuwa ukitaka weye	Female	Youth
Ntambile	Si. Kankwenda pale tu	Female	Adult
Nzingani	Baadae mbele jamaa akaja baini ikawa aula	Male	Adult
Nzingani	Nnda zangu sasa ivi	Male	Adult

Appendix 4 B: Data from Kipemba folklore – tales, songs, po

Tales and dialogues

(Nyota ya Jaha)

Mtu 1: Basi nakwambiya jana neiyona nyota ya jaha.

Mtu 2: Ha' hweomba kwani?

Mtu 1: Nepabayaa!

Mtu 2: Ha' wewaa?

Mtu 1: Hinyaaa

Poetry

Kake Hamadi enambia n'jiunge na kyama, firoy!

Hamwambia Muungu hanoso, haloo!

Kaskazi kushatanda kiwingu, n'choo!¹⁸

Mpa hikyo kihando kyangu, na ndoo!

Hateke maji!

¹⁸ *N'choo* (spelt, *Mchoo* in Standard Swahili) is a season of light, shallow rain season between July and October on Pemba Island.

Songs

1. Gogo

Mama njoo uniushe gogo laja iloo, we!

Mwanangu usilie, sikiza nkwambie ndiko kuolewa uko, we!

2. Kake Saidi Makame

Kake Saidi Makame, n'tu si mbwa!

Ntu haachi n'jiwe kwa n'jingwa!

Elalia semedari nyumbaningwa!

Appendix 4 C: Variation in consonants between North and South Kipemba. No significant change in consonants was found.

North (Words)	Gloss (English)	South 1		South 3		South 5	
		Male Kangani	Female Kangani	Male Muambe	Female Muambe	Male Chokocho	Female Chokocho
<i>Tunturi</i>	type of fish	<i>tunturi</i>	<i>tunturi</i>	<i>tuturi</i>	<i>tuturi</i>	<i>Sansuri</i>	<i>Tunturi sunsuri</i>
<i>Birika</i>	kettle	<i>birika</i>	<i>birika</i>	<i>birika/bu li</i>	<i>birika/bu li</i>	<i>birika</i>	<i>birika</i>
<i>Bupuru</i>	skull/cocn onut shell	<i>bupuru</i>	<i>bupuru</i>	<i>bupuru</i>	<i>bupuru</i>	<i>bupuru</i>	<i>bupuru</i>
<i>guwa</i>	farmland	<i>buwa</i>	<i>buwa</i>	<i>buwa</i>	<i>buwa</i>	<i>buwa</i>	<i>buwa</i>
<i>Kyano Chano</i>	platter	<i>chano</i>	<i>chano</i>	<i>chano</i>	<i>chano</i>	<i>chano</i>	<i>chano</i>
<i>Vumbi</i>	dust	<i>vumbi</i>	<i>vumbi</i>	<i>vumbi</i>	<i>vumbi</i>	<i>vumbi</i>	<i>vumbi</i>
<i>Joma</i>	rock	<i>joma</i>	<i>joma</i>	<i>goma</i>	<i>goma</i>	<i>joma</i>	<i>joma</i>
<i>Ripuleni</i>	aeroplane	<i>ripuleni</i>	<i>ripuleni</i>	<i>ndege</i>	<i>ndege</i>	<i>ndege</i>	<i>ndege</i>
<i>Zeme</i>	cold	<i>zeme</i>	<i>zeme</i>	<i>baridi</i>	<i>baridi</i>	<i>zeme</i>	<i>zeme</i>
<i>Dapia</i>	jump and catch	<i>dapia</i>	<i>dapia</i>	<i>chwapia/ rukia</i>	<i>chwapia/ rukia</i>	<i>rukia</i>	<i>rukia</i>
<i>Vuga</i>	disturb, annoy	<i>kiogomw e</i>	<i>kiogomw e</i>	<i>kusumbu a</i>	<i>vunga</i>	<i>kuvuruga</i>	<i>kuvuruga</i>
<i>Dukuwa</i>	trim, nib, cut	<i>dukuwa</i>	<i>dukuwa</i>	<i>nyukuwa</i>	<i>nyukuwa</i>	<i>dukuwa</i>	<i>dukuwa</i>
<i>Chachata</i>	wash (clothes)	<i>chachata</i>	<i>chachata</i>	<i>kufua</i>	<i>kufua</i>	<i>chachata</i>	<i>chachata</i>
<i>Kesa</i>	stay awake	<i>kyesa</i>	<i>kyesa</i>	<i>kukesa</i>	<i>kukesa</i>	<i>kesha</i>	<i>kesha</i>
<i>Shushuka Chuchuka</i>	grow up (infants)	<i>chuchuk a</i>	<i>chuchuk a</i>	<i>kukuwa</i>	<i>kukuwa</i>	<i>chuchuka</i>	<i>chuchuka</i>
<i>Shonya</i>	scold	<i>fyonya</i>	<i>fyonya</i>	<i>shona</i>	<i>fyonya</i>	<i>fyonya</i>	<i>shonya</i>
<i>Kovyoka</i>	puke, vommit	<i>kovyoka</i>	<i>kovyoka</i>	<i>kutapika</i>	<i>kutapika</i>	<i>kovyoka</i>	<i>kovyoka</i>
<i>Tunduliza</i>	save (in piggy banks)	<i>dunduliz a</i>	<i>dunduliz a</i>	<i>kudundu liza</i>	<i>kudundu wiza</i>	<i>dundukiza</i>	<i>kudunduki za</i>
<i>Biriyani</i>	type of rice	<i>biriani</i>	<i>biriani</i>	<i>biriani</i>	<i>biriani</i>	<i>biriani</i>	<i>biriani</i>
<i>Bunju</i>	puffer fish	<i>bunju</i>	<i>bunju</i>	<i>bunju</i>	<i>bunju</i>	<i>bunju</i>	<i>bunju</i>

<i>Gunya</i>	gnaw	<i>bebenya</i>	<i>bebenya</i>	<i>benya</i>	<i>benya</i>	<i>gunya</i>	<i>gunya</i>
<i>Kyambo Chambo</i>	bait	<i>chambo</i>	<i>chambo</i>	<i>kiambo/c hambo</i>	<i>kiambo/c hambo</i>	<i>chambo</i>	<i>chambo</i>
<i>Vunja</i>	break, demolish	<i>vunja</i>	<i>vunja</i>	<i>vunja</i>	<i>kwanja</i>	<i>vunja</i>	<i>vunja</i>
<i>Jongoo</i>	millipede	<i>jongoo</i>	<i>jongoo</i>	<i>jongoo</i>	<i>jongoo</i>	<i>jongoo</i>	<i>jongoo</i>
<i>Remba</i>	adorn	<i>pura</i>	<i>pura</i>	<i>kujipamba</i>	<i>kujiremba</i>	<i>remba</i>	<i>remba</i>
<i>Zengwe</i>	scandal, saga	<i>kondo</i>	<i>kondo</i>	<i>sakata/b alaa</i>	<i>zengwe</i>	<i>zengwe</i>	<i>zengwe</i>
<i>Dakia</i>	catch for, interrupt	<i>dakia</i>	<i>dakia</i>	<i>kurukia</i>	<i>kurukia</i>	<i>dakia</i>	<i>dakia</i>
<i>Vunga</i>	confuse, wrap up	<i>vunga</i>	<i>vunga</i>	<i>kubabais ha</i>	<i>kudanganya</i>	<i>vunga</i>	<i>vunga</i>
<i>Dumuwa</i>	cut, break into pieces	<i>dumuwa</i>	<i>dumuwa</i>	<i>dumuwa/kata</i>	<i>dumuwa/kata</i>	<i>dumuwa</i>	<i>dumuwa/a</i>
<i>Chachaga</i>	walk-on something	<i>chachaga</i>	<i>chachaga</i>	<i>chachaga</i>	<i>kutembea</i>	<i>tataga</i>	<i>tataga</i>
<i>Kenya</i>	grin	<i>kenua</i>	<i>kenua</i>	<i>kenua/kenya</i>	<i>kenua/kenya</i>	<i>kenya</i>	<i>kenya</i>
<i>Shushumbi</i>	pile, heap	<i>shushumbi</i>	<i>shushumbi</i>	<i>shungu</i>	<i>chuchumbi</i>	<i>shushumbi</i>	<i>shushumbi</i>
<i>Shooko Choroko</i>	greengram (beans)	<i>choroko</i>	<i>choroko</i>	<i>choroko</i>	<i>choroko</i>	<i>chooko</i>	<i>chooko</i>
<i>Kongowa</i>	break apart (vehicle)	<i>kongoowa</i>	<i>kongoowa</i>	<i>kukatakata</i>	<i>kukatakata</i>	<i>kongoowa</i>	<i>kongoowa</i>

Appendix 4 D: Variation in vowels between South and North Pemba. No significant change in vowels was found.

North (Words)	Gloss (English)	South 1		South 2		South 3	
		Male Kangani	Female Kangani	Male Mwambe	Female Mwambe	Male - Chokocho	Female - Chokochoko
<i>boje</i>	swelling	<i>boje</i>	<i>boje</i>	<i>uvimbe</i>	<i>boje</i>	<i>boje</i>	<i>boje</i>
<i>vukuto</i>	heat	<i>vuke</i>	<i>vukuto</i>	<i>joto</i>	<i>joto</i>	<i>vuke</i>	<i>vuke</i>
<i>uzia</i>	nuisance	<i>uzia</i>	<i>uzia</i>	<i>sizia</i>	<i>ziba</i>	<i>uzia</i>	<i>uzia</i>
<i>egama egemea</i>	lean	<i>egemea</i>	<i>egemea</i>	<i>egemea</i>	<i>egemea</i>	<i>egemea</i>	<i>egemea</i>
<i>puma</i>	breathe heavily	<i>puma</i>	<i>puma</i>	<i>poma</i>	<i>poma</i>	<i>puma</i>	<i>puma</i>
<i>boko</i>	breadfruit flower	<i>bokoboko</i>	<i>bokoboko</i>	<i>bokoboko</i>	<i>bokoboko</i>	<i>bokoboko</i>	<i>bokoboko</i>

<i>vurugu</i>	chaos	<i>vurugu</i>	<i>vurugu</i>	<i>vurugu</i>	<i>zogo</i>	<i>vurugu</i>	<i>vurugu</i>
<i>izara</i>	shame	<i>izara</i>	<i>izara</i>	<i>haya</i>	<i>haya</i>	<i>izara</i>	<i>izara</i>
<i>egesha</i>	park	<i>egesha</i>	<i>egesha</i>	<i>egesha</i>	<i>egesha</i>	<i>egesha</i>	<i>egesha</i>
<i>pumua</i>	breathe in/out	<i>tuta</i>	<i>tuta</i>	<i>pumua</i>	<i>poma</i>	<i>pumua</i>	<i>tuta</i>

Appendix 4 E: Variation in semi-vowels between South and North Kipemba. No change in semi-vowels /w/ and /y/ was found.

North	Gloss	South 1	South 2	South 3	South 4	South 5	South 6
Words	English	Male Kangani	Female Kangani	Male Mwambe	Female Mwambe	Male Chokochoko	Female Chokochoko
<i>Bauwu bauwa</i>	pee	<i>bauwa</i>	<i>bauwa</i>	<i>bauwa</i>	<i>bauwa</i>	<i>bauwa</i>	<i>bauwa</i>
<i>pwaa</i>	ocean/ sea	<i>pwani</i>	<i>pwani</i>	<i>pwani</i>	<i>pwani</i>	<i>kame</i>	<i>kame</i>
<i>tambu wa</i>	recogn ise	<i>tambuwa</i>	<i>tambuwa</i>	<i>tambuwa</i>	<i>tambuwa</i>	<i>tambua</i>	<i>tambua</i>
<i>juwa</i>	sun/kn ow	<i>juwa</i>	<i>juwa</i>	<i>juwa</i>	<i>juwa</i>	<i>jua</i>	<i>jua</i>
<i>vuwa</i>	to fish	<i>vuwa</i>	<i>vuwa</i>	<i>vuwa</i>	<i>vuwa</i>	<i>vua</i>	<i>vua</i>
<i>bakuw a</i>	smack, slap	<i>bakuwa</i>	<i>bakuwa</i>	<i>bakuwa</i>	<i>bakuwa</i>	<i>bakua</i>	<i>bakua</i>
<i>pwaza</i>	boil	<i>chemsha/to kosa</i>	<i>chemsha/to kosa</i>	<i>pwaza/tok osa</i>	<i>pwaza/tok osa</i>	<i>chemsh a</i>	<i>chemsh a</i>
<i>kohow a</i>	cough	<i>kohowa</i>	<i>kohowa</i>	<i>kohowa</i>	<i>kohowa</i>	<i>kohoa</i>	<i>kohoa</i>
<i>kuwa</i>	grow	<i>kuwa</i>	<i>kuwa</i>	<i>kuwa</i>	<i>kuwa</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>kua</i>
<i>kaguw a</i>	inspect	<i>kaguwa</i>	<i>kaguwa</i>	<i>kaguwa</i>	<i>kaguwa</i>	<i>kagua</i>	<i>kagua</i>