

Watts, Richard J. (1991). *Power in Family Discourse* (Contributions to the sociology of language, 63). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kulikoyela Kahigi, Yared Kihore and Maarten Mous (eds.): *Lugha za Tanzania/Languages of Tanzania*. Leiden: Research School CNWS, 2000. 307 pp. EUR 24,96.

Lugha za Tanzania is a collection of papers dedicated to the late Professor Clement Maganga, former head of the Department for Kiswahili Research of Dar es Salaam University, who passed away in 1998. The twenty contributions together provide a tour d'horizon of international linguistic research concerned with languages spoken in Tanzania. They cover topics ranging from descriptive linguistics to theoretical syntax, from language contact to idiomaticity, and include languages from three language families present in Tanzania. The volume also stands out in that it includes papers in English and in Swahili, reflecting the important status of Swahili as a language of science and research. The twenty papers comprising the volume will briefly be discussed here one by one.

After a short biographical sketch of the life and work of Professor Maganga, H. Batibo opens the volume with a survey of the language situation and the current state of linguistic research in Tanzania. Batibo follows this with a second paper in which he presents his research on the phonology of Sukuma and Nyamwezi. He describes the role and extent of spirantization of plosives before high vowels in these two languages. The study is set in a historical-comparative perspective since Sukuma-Nyamwezi are taken as core languages of the Western Tanzanian languages which are, in contrast to most other North East Bantu languages, only marginally affected by spirantization. Batibo argues that in Sukuma-Nyamwezi spirantization is a fairly recent process and, furthermore, inactive in the present day languages since new lexical items are not spirantized. The loss of spirantization is attributed to the large external influence on the two languages in the recent past.

R. Besha's paper is concerned with relative clauses in Shambala. She illustrates the distinction between restrictive, non-restrictive and free relative clauses, and provides a detailed analysis of the first. Restrictive relative clauses in Shambala are of three morphological types; those formed with the concord and a post-verbal formative **-o**, those with concord and a pre-verbal **-e-**, and an analytic construction with an invariant marker **ndi-** which is followed by the concord plus **-o**. The first, **-o** type relative is found with dependent past tenses. The second relative form is found with zero tense marking, i.e., in the dependent present tense. The third type is associated with the future tense. By providing a phrase structure grammar fragment and a derivational algorithm, Besha shows that these three apparently rather distinct types can in fact be

generated from one underlying grammar fragment, by manipulating different derivational rules.

The following paper, by N. Gromova, provides an account of borrowings from local Bantu languages into Swahili such as **bunge**, ‘parliament’, from Ganda, Sukuma, and Nyamwezi, or **ikulu**, ‘government residence’, from Nyamwezi. After discussing the borrowing processes more generally, Gromova shows how borrowed words are assimilated on several linguistic levels. Thus, the class prefix of the Mwera class 5 noun **litepo** is dropped in the Swahili **tepo**, ‘clone’, in accordance with the Swahili noun class system. Semantically, the Haya word **ngeli**, ‘type, kind’ has been narrowed to ‘noun class’ in Swahili.

Kahigi’s paper is concerned with processes of vowel lengthening in Kisumbwa. The author distinguishes between phonological and morphophonological lengthening. The former includes vowel lengthening after gliding, in compensation for vowel elision, as a result of coalescence of identical vowels, and in interaction with nasal-consonant clusters. The latter includes the appearance of long vowels in the applied, causative, and perfect forms of mono-syllabic roots, and in the perfect form of poly-syllabic (usually more than two) roots (imbrication), as well as with vowel-initial bases following the first person singular object concord **-n-**. Kahigi develops a rule-based analysis of the facts, but has to assume two underlying vowels for all stems which have imbrication and do not end in **-l-** (which is subject to a circumscription rule), leaving, possibly, room for future research.

Y. Kihore’s contribution is an ethnographic and linguistic sketch of the Bahacha and the Kihacha language. The ethnographic part of the article describes the geography, history, and culture of the Bahacha, who live on the eastern shores of Lake Victoria, as well as their contact with their neighbours, in particular Luo speakers. The linguistic description includes notably a section on lexical structure, as well as remarks on syntax and borrowings.

The study by King’ei investigates Kenyan coastal dialects of Swahili and includes examples from areas such as noun prefixes, class shift, and agreement with animate class 9/10 nouns where the Kenyan dialects differ from other forms of Swahili. While the Kenyan data are based on informant judgements, the source of the other forms of Swahili, sometimes said to be ‘Standard Swahili’, sometimes Kiunguja, is, however, not made clear. This is all the more sad since the study is embedded in a larger argument which tries to contrast ‘native speakers’ (of Kenyan Swahili) with ‘non-native speakers’, and concludes that “coastal native Swahili speakers portray a strong disliking for the standard dialect” (87). This may be true as a statement of fact, but it does not clearly follow from the evidence presented.

N. Ligembe’s paper is the only paper on a Nilotic language. It investigates an aspect of Luo syntax, verb movement, from the perspective of a version of Chomskian syntax. Ligembe argues that the Luo verbs **bèt/bèdò**, ‘be’, and **sè**,

‘have’, are moved from their base position in VP to a higher inflectional projection where they acquire tense and agreement features. This view is mainly based on evidence from contraction of subject pronouns and *sè*, in analogy to auxiliary contraction in English as in, e.g., **you’ve**. It might be added though that an alternative analysis for Luo, though not for English, is to assume base generated agreement morphology and empty pronouns (i.e. pro-drop), in which case no contraction needs to be postulated.

The second paper on Sukuma is by B. Masele and addresses the area of tone. The author argues that different dialects have different tone rules, so that the analysis of the (idealized) (Proto-)Sukuma as a whole has often been found to be difficult. By providing an analysis of the tonal behaviour of nominal forms in one dialect, Jinakiiya, Masele shows that the tone rules of this dialect are readily analysable within autosegmental phonology, and that with increasing knowledge of the phonology of the dialects also an analysis of Proto-Sukuma tone can be provided, which properly distinguishes between data from different dialects, borrowings, and other mutual influence.

D. Massamba provides a grammatical sketch of Ci-Ruri verbal morphology. Specific traits of Ci-Ruri include a full paradigm of concords, distinguishing 19 noun classes, two morphological object concord slots, with a restriction on the order of the object concords (indirect object precedes direct object, except when the indirect object is first person singular), and both pre-initial and post-initial tense markers (i.e. occurring before or after the subject concord). The tense marker in the present continuous and habitual (with a suffix **-ag-**) tense are harmonic pre-initial vowels (except in the third person), which are somewhat reminiscent of pre-prefixes in infinitives. The “today’s past perfect” is marked by reduplication of the subject and tense markers of the perfect tense. The paper further offers a short discussion of negative tenses, and of the role of tone in inflection.

The paper by G. Mieke investigates the Swahili tense marker **-nga-** and its related forms in older Swahili. In Standard Swahili **-nge-** and **-ngali-** are often described as conditional tense markers (cf. Ashton 1947: 187). Mieke shows that the use in older texts of the corresponding forms, in particular **-nga-**, **-kinga-**, **-ngali-**, and **-ngawa-** is more varied, reflecting in various ways an original meaning of ‘how’ or ‘like’. The main functions of **-nga-/ngali-** in older Swahili are 1) as comparative copula in main or conditional clauses, 2) as concessive marker in subordinate clauses, and 3) as a marker of conditional sentences. In contrast to Standard Swahili, perfect marking, rather than a distinction between **-nge-** and **-ngali-**, is used in older Swahili to distinguish counter-factual (suppositional) conditions from those which can be fulfilled. Furthermore, in older Swahili **-ngali-** is only found in one, usually the matrix (apodosis) clause, rather than twice, in both protasis and apodosis, as in Standard Swahili.

The syntax of the reciprocal morpheme *-an-* in Kivunjo-Chaga is the topic of the paper by L. Moshi. Moshi argues that the reciprocal is not an extension like the causative, applicative, or passive, but rather that it is, despite its extension-like position in the verbal template, an argument of the verb which replaces a syntactic object similar to a morphological object marker. This claim is supported by examples showing the interaction of reciprocal and applicative, by a consideration of the thematic roles which can be suppressed in reciprocal constructions, as well as by the syntactic and semantic parallelism of reciprocal and reflexive marker (a related discussion is incidentally found in the following paper by Mous and Qorro with respect to Iraqw). While the argument is convincing, it would have been good, given more space, to have a more explicit statement as to the formal architecture relating syntax, semantics, and morphology in which the claim that the reciprocal morpheme is an object is embedded.

The paper by M. Mous and M. Qorro is similarly concerned with the relation between morpho-syntax and semantic interpretation. It discusses the middle voice derivation in the Cushitic language Iraqw, which is morphologically distinct from both reflexive/reciprocal and passive. After introducing the morpho-syntax of the middle, the authors show that the semantic domains expressed by the middle in Iraqw correspond well to the cross-linguistically established domains in Kemmer (1993) – with the notable exception of the auto-benefactive domain which in Iraqw is expressed by a distinct ventive marker – and that the core meaning of the middle can be described as ‘orientation towards the body’. They also show that the identical imperfective suffix can be regarded as the same, rather than a homophonous, suffix, where the middle meaning has been extended via ‘loss of control’ to ‘steady state’. This last observation meshes well with the aspectual restrictions on middles in English and German noted by among others, Roberts (1987) and Fagan (1992).

The next paper is by A. Mreta on the contact between Kigweno and Chasu, on the North Pare mountains. Kigweno is a member of the Chaga group but is strongly influenced by the distantly related Chasu (or, Asu), whose speakers have been in extended contact with Kigweno speakers who in turn tend to be bilingual in Kigweno and Chasu. Mreta provides an introduction to the history of the area, a summary of previous work on Kigweno, and an account of its classification with particular emphasis on its relation to other Chaga languages and to Chasu. The article also provides an inventory of Kigweno sounds. Curiously, there is another paper on Kigweno in the present volume (by Philippson and Nurse, discussed below), and both papers point out how little work has been done on Kigweno without, apparently, being aware of the others’ work despite ending up united in the same volume.

The paper by R. Mukama is concerned with an aspect of Swahili syntax, namely verbal elements acting as noun modifiers. She presents a number of ex-

amples where verbal bases, with or without overt marking, are used to modify nouns. The data range from infinitival nouns introduced by a preposition-like element (the ‘-a of relationship’), to verbal bases with deverbal derivational suffixes, to bare, underived verbal bases and those with verbal derivational morphology. These forms also vary as to the kind of nominal agreement morphology they take. On the other end of the scale, Mukama also takes subordinate clauses modifying NPs into consideration. While explicitly introduced as a descriptive study, the paper also includes some syntactic analyses, in particular of subordination.

C. Myers-Scotton’s paper investigates strategies of inserting English verbs into Bantu grammatical frames in code-switching. The approach taken is comparative, in that data from Swahili-English are compared with code-switching involving English and Zulu, Chichewa, Sotho and Shona. Myers-Scotton shows that despite similar morpho-phonological structure, the Bantu languages considered treat English verbs differently. They may be included in Swahili frames freely, combining with inflectional prefixes but without the final vowel. In the Southern Bantu languages it appears that English verbs are used with the final vowel retained, while Chichewa uses a specific ‘do’-construction when using English verbs. To explain these differences, the author considers an explanation at the level of abstract mental lexical entries as well as a socio-linguistic explanation, but concludes that currently more work is needed in this area.

D. Ngonyani develops further his GB approach to Kindendeule and Bantu syntax (cf. Ngonyani 1998), in this paper applied to VP ellipsis, a topic which continues to be important for linguistic theory (cf., e.g., Lappin and Benmamoun 1999). He argues that Bantu languages do exhibit VP ellipsis despite the fact that the verb in the elliptical sentence surfaces, in contrast to languages like English. This is explained by assuming V-to-I raising of the verbal head, so that the inflected verb is outside of the VP when VP ellipsis applies. The analysis of VP ellipsis has consequences for the analysis of VPs more generally, in particular for the analysis of multiple object constructions. The evidence from VP ellipsis, Ngonyani argues, lends support to a stacked VP analysis, rather than a ternary branching analysis.

G. Philippon and D. Nurse’s 50-page contribution “Gweno, a little known Bantu language of Northern Tanzania” alone makes this volume worth buying, since it almost qualifies as a descriptive grammatical sketch in its own right. Their sketch of Gweno gives a detailed overview of the language, with particular emphasis on the morphology, and includes a short text and a glossary. A particularly close discussion is devoted to the tense system which is based on five-way distinction of affirmative tenses and includes corresponding negative tenses, three aspectual distinctions, and a number of dependent tenses. This article, in addition to Mreta’s article discussed above, makes sure that Gweno is from now on a little less “little known”.

R. Samsom's paper takes a close look at idioms and idiomaticity with particular attention to the role of idioms in the teaching of Swahili as a foreign language, and the difficulties learners have when encountering idioms. The discussion is structured around three levels of analysis of idioms – lexical, grammatical, and discourse level, since on all of these idioms show specific characteristics. Using examples from Muhammed Said Abdulla's (1960) *Mzimu wa Watu wa Kale*, the author shows that idiomaticity is scalar, rather than absolute, and that expressions may be considered as idiomatic to varying degrees. In addition to their structural characteristics, and despite the difficulties which they may present to the second language learner, idioms most importantly provide valuable clues for a deeper understanding, not only of linguistic structure, but also of the culture of its speakers.

The final paper in the collection is I. Swilla's contribution on borrowing in Chindali, spoken in South West Tanzania. Chindali has a comparatively high number of borrowings from English, which have entered the language via Chindali speakers in Malawi. A number of every-day nouns, as well as part of the number system, are borrowings from English. During the last decades, borrowings from Swahili have increased, introducing new terms and on occasion replacing older borrowings from English, e.g., **kumi**, 'ten', replacing **teni**, or **ichijiko**, 'spoon', replacing **isupuni**. The paper discusses the assimilation processes found in both types of borrowings, and provides a socio-historical setting. The discussion of the papers above follows an alphabetical order, as is also found in the arrangement in the volume. It is tempting, however, to look for a more thematic grouping of the papers, which I will briefly do here.

Theoretically explicit or more formal models of linguistic analysis are used or implied in a number of papers, showing that this research strand is useful in the analysis of Tanzanian languages, which in turn provide valuable evidence for our understanding of linguistic knowledge. The papers of Besha, Ligembe, Masele, Moshi, Mous and Qorro, Mukama, and Ngonyani fall into this group, despite rather obvious differences with respect to explicitness and the choice of the particular formal apparatus.

Borrowing, language/dialect contact, and multilingualism are highly important topics, as evidenced by the number of papers concerned with one of these aspects, namely those by Goromova, King'ei, Masele, Mreta, Myers-Scotton, and Swilla. The high number of papers reflects partly the linguistic situation in Tanzania, but also the importance of language contact for current research, a proper appreciation of which can help solve outstanding problems (Masele), and also lead to a number of new research questions (Myers-Scotton). Not surprisingly, more traditional historical/comparative and descriptive approaches are also well represented in the volume. The papers by Batibo, Kahigi, Kihore, Massamba, Mieke, and Philippon and Nurse are all concerned with the description or comparative analysis of one or more languages. As mentioned

in several papers, a lot of descriptive work remains to be done in Tanzania, and the present volume actively contributes to making more descriptive facts available.

A final topic of interest when talking about the languages of Tanzania is of course Swahili. In addition to being the language of communication of four papers (Besha, Kahigi, Mukama, and Samsom), Swahili is the topic of six papers (Gromova, King'ei, Mieke, Mukama, Myers-Scotton, and Samsom) covering a range of specific topics among them. In conclusion, then, this volume brings together a number of papers on diverse topics, discussed from diverse approaches, which are united by their shared interest in the languages spoken in Tanzania and their scientific study. The collection is highly recommended reading for anybody interested in current research in African linguistics or the linguistic diversity found in Tanzania.

SOAS, London

LUTZ MARTEN

References

- Abdulla, Muhammed Said (1960). *Mzimu wa Watu wa Kale*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.
- Ashton, Evelyn O. (1947). *Swahili Grammar*. 2nd edition. London: Longman.
- Fagan, Sarah M.B. (1992). *The Syntax and Semantics of Middle Constructions: A study with special reference to German*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Kemmer, Suzanne (1993). *The Middle Voice*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lappin, Shalom & Elabbas Benmamoun (eds.) (1999). *Fragments: Studies in Ellipsis and Gapping*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ngonyani, Deo (1998). Towards a typology of applicatives in Bantu languages. In *Language History and Linguistic Description in Africa*, Ian Maddieson and Thomas J. Hinnebusch, eds., 249–258. Trenton, NJ: African World Press.
- Roberts, Ian G. (1987). *The Representation of Implicit and Dethematized Subjects*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Matthias Brenzinger (ed.): *Endangered Languages in Africa*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 1998. 284 pp. EUR 50,11.

This collection of papers is the proceedings of a symposium on endangered languages in Africa, which was held parallel to the second World Congress of African Linguistics in Leipzig, July 29 – August 1, 1997. In his introduction, the editor gives an overview of all the papers presented at that symposium including those that are not included in these proceedings. The collection contains eleven articles: Richard Hayward shows the need to describe endangered