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Research article

On the semantics of Tarifiyt verbs of seeing

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ABSTRACT

The Amazigh (aka Berber) language Tarifiyt has two different roots for 'to see', ẓr, and wǐ, which are in partial complementary distribution depending on the aspect of the verb. In this article, the exact distribution of these verb roots is discussed for one paticular variety of Tarifiyt, that spoken in and around the city of Nador. It is shown that there are two, partially overlapping, verbs, one 'to go/come and see', which is always expressed by ẓr, and the other a general 'see' verb, which uses the root wǐ in the Imperfective stems, and ẓr in the Aorist and Perfective stems. However, the distribution is more complicated than that, and in the negation of irrealis events, Imperfective ẓr can also be used with the general 'see' verb. Moreover, it is shown that the choice of the aspect in the general 'see' verb is different in its details from that of other verbs, something that it may share with other verbs of experience perception.

KEY WORDS: Tarifiyt, Amazigh linguistics, Berber linguistics, perception verbs, aspect and semantics

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1. Introduction

1.1 General information

Since the seminal article by Åke Viberg (VIBERG 1984),[1] perception verbs have been a major subject in the field of semantic typology (KOPTJEVSKAJA-TAMM 2008). Viberg's typology showed a common – although far from universal – distinction between experience perception verbs, such as 'to see', 'to hear', and activity perception verbs, such as 'to look', 'to listen'. Moreover, Viberg and following research point to a high degree of variation in the languages of the world regarding the semantic distinctions made between different types of perception (AIKHENVALD and STORCH 2013). Most studies highlighting differences with languages such as English have focused on systems that make less distinctions (e.g., recently VAN PUTTEN 2020). There are also systems where more distinctions are made. In such systems, aspectual factors may play a major role in the definition of these distinctions, a point that was made by WÄLCHLI (2016), and which will be argued for here concerning Nador Tarifiyt.

Tarifiyt is an Amazigh (aka as Berber) language spoken in north-eastern Morocco. While the language has been the subject of a large number of studies (among many others CHAMI 1979; CADI 1987; 2006; LAFKIOUI 2007; 2013; MOURIGH and KOSSMANN 2019), the semantics of perception verbs have not been studied in detail as far I am aware.[2] More in general, detailed analyses of the semantics of perception verbs in Amazigh languages are lacking. NAÏT ZERRAD (2018) provides an overview of the attested forms, but only gives little information about the semantic differences. Moreover, while Amazigh is blessed with a large number of high-quality dictionaries, they tend to be rather short in their definitions and explanations when it comes to verbs of perception.

In this article, I aim to analyze the uses of two verb roots expressing visual experience perception, **ẓar** (etc.) and **ttwařa** (etc.),[3] which have a particular distribution, that is related to aspect. First an overview of verbs of visual

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[1] I am deeply indebted to Khalid Mourigh for his expert feedback on an earlier draft of this article. I wish to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their highly pertinent and constructive criticism. Of course all errors and flaws in the argument are mine.

[2] Unfortunately, in my copy of the unpublished dictionary by SERHOUAL (2002), the relevant pages for both verbs are missing.

[3] Both roots are also well-attested in Amazigh languages other than Tarifiyt. Among the two, ẒR is the most wide-spread, and found all over Morocco, Algeria and Libya (NAÏT ZERRAD 2018: 155-156) The verb WŘ is less widely attested, but also occurs in Kabyle **wali**, and has cognates with more specialized semantics elsewhere (NAÏT ZERRAD 2018: 157-158).

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perception in Nador Tarifiyt will be provided (section 1.2), followed by a short presentation of the main uses of the aspects (section 1.3). After this, the main part (section 2) will be dedicated to a more detailed description of the use of these two verb roots in various aspectual contexts.

When referring to the two verb roots, I will use the abstract representation ẒR for **ẓar** and its various aspectual forms, and WŘ for **ttwařa** and its various aspectual forms.

The present study is based on a corpus of written texts consisting mainly of four sources. The first is the autobiography of Ɛali Amaziɣ (the writer's name of Ali Oulad Saddik), *Tudunin war itizɣen* (2012; 125 p.) (hence: AA); the second is a novel by the prolific prose writer Mohamed Bouzaggou: *Tudart dg under* (2015; 144 p.) (hence: MB), and the third source is the translation of the New Testament produced by DHIMH Multimedia, *Řexbar Aṣebḥan n Yeccu Lmasiḥ (Řɛahd n Jdid)* (2009; 480 p.) (hence: NT). While the use of translations can be problematic in this kind of study, I would not expect major differences in the use of 'see' verbs due to this. The fourth source consists of a corpus, compiled by the present author, containing about 120,000 words of readers' comments in Tarifiyt on articles in the online journals nadorcity.com and, to a lesser extent, segangan.net, mostly from 2009–2012.[4]

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[4] The transcriptions in AA and NT are cited in their original form, except that sentence-initial capitalization has been omitted; I have not corrected or homogenized their transcriptions, even in cases where this would have been easy. MB uses a similar system of transcription to that of AA and NT, but lacks consistency (e.g., writing **tezrid** in stead of **teẓṛid**). I have corrected MB's transcriptions where necessary, and adapted them to fit the system of AA and NT exactly. The citations from BEZZAZI and KOSSMANN (1997) and MOURIGH and KOSSMANN (2019) have been adapted to the transcription system of AA. Quotes from the nadorcity corpus are provided in their original form followed by an interpretation according to the transcription system of AA and NT. In these transcriptions, italicized elements are direct code switches from Arabic or other languages.

There is little use in providing a full morphological analysis of the forms in the examples; therefore no morphological boundaries are added. This is reflected in the glosses, which use the colon for any intra-word morphology. Only for verb inflection glossing is complete; nominal morphology is irrelevant to the argument in this paper, and will not be reflected in the glosses.

The transcription system of AA and NT is the one most commonly used in Tarifiyt writing. The most salient features are: <c> = IPA [ʃ]; <e> = IPA [ə]; <ḥ> = IPA [ħ]; <j> = IPA <ʒ>; <ɛ> = IPA [ʕ]. The general lenition of ungeminated stops ("spirantization") is not written. Except for <ḥ>, a dot below the letter indicates that the consonant is pharyngealized. One should note that, depending on the dialect, single **r** in coda position can be vocalized, which leads to pronunciations such as [ẓa(ː)] for **ẓar** (see LAFKIOUI 2007: 29–37 for details). In Nador Tarifiyt there is large-scale variation as to the presence or absence of **r** vocalization in this context. AA and NT write <r> for **r**

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These sources all represent the variety of Tarifiyt as spoken in and around Nador. Ɛali Amaziɣ belongs to the Iqeřɛiyen community, and grew up in a village that is now part of the city of Nador and Mohamed Bouzaggou is from the neighboring community of Ayt Sɛid. On the basis of certain linguistic features, the dialect of the Bible translation can also be identified as representing an Iqeřɛiyen or Ayt Sɛid variety (on dialect variation in Tarifiyt, see LAFKIOUI 2007). The nadorcity corpus is more heterogeneous, but the large majority of the posters seem to stem originally from the eastern half of the Rif (Iqeřɛiyen, Ayt Sɛid, Ikebdanen). Of course, where necessary, differences between the different sources will be taken into account.

1.2 Verbs of visual perception in Tarifiyt

Like other Amazigh languages, Tarifiyt distinguishes between verbs of activity perception and verbs of experience perception. There is one general verb of visual activity perception, **xzar ~ ɣzar** 'to look'. In other dialects of Tarifiyt other verb stems are used in this meaning, e.g. **sweḍ** in neighboring Ikebdanen, **qqel** in Ayt Iznasen, and **xemm, nnaḍur** in varieties more to the west and south (LAFKIOUI 2007: 277). In the present corpus, **xzar, ɣzar** is by far the most common form. The perceived object or person is normally constructed with the preposition **di** 'in', as shown in the following examples.

(1) uca   nxezzar   di   teffaḥ   d   lbanan.
    now   1P:look:IPV   in   apples   and   bananas
    'Then we looked (verb **xzar**) at (**di**) the apples and the bananas.' (AA 57)

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in coda position, while <ř> stands for a rhotic cognate to l in varieties like Ayt Iznasen. This ř is never vocalized and may have a slightly different phonetic realization from *r in non-coda contexts. For a short overview of the phonology of Nador Tarifiyt, see MOURIGH and KOSSMANN (2019: 21-24).

The following abbreviations are used:

Sources: AA = AMAZIɣ (2012); MB = BOUZAGGOU (2015); M&K = MOURIGH and KOSSMANN (2019); NT = DHIMH MULTIMEDIA (2009).

Glosses: ANP = Anaphoric deictic; AO = Aorist; DIST = Distal deictic; DO = Direct Object; IO = Indirect Object; IPV = Imperfective; IMPTV = Imperative; IRR = Irrealis; M = Masculine; NEG = preverbal negation marker; NEG2 = postverbal negation marker; NI = Negative Imperfective; NP = Negative Perfective; NP = Negative Perfective; P = Plural; PRED = Predicative particle; PRX = Proximal deictic; PTC = Participle (subject relative form); PV = Perfective; Q = Polar question marker; QA = presentative (and other uses): **aqqa, qa**; REL = Relative marker; S = Singular; VENT = Ventive (directional particle); WŘ = verb root **(tt)wařa**; ẒR = verb root **ẓar**.

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(2) xzareɣ   degg   iḍarn   inu.
    1S:look:PV   in   feet   my
    'I looked (verb **xzar**) at (**di**)[5] my feet.' (MB 86)

Another common verb of visual activity perception is **ssijj**,[6] which, according to SERHOUAL (2002: 520) may refer to taking a quick look (exx. (3), (4)), to looking down (ex. (5)), or to looking through a window (etc.) (ex. (6)). Some speakers only accept the furtive reading, but the dictionary and the data in the corpus suggest that the other two meanings also exist in the wider community. The perceived person or object is normally constructed with the preposition **x** 'on, concerning' (ex. (5)).

(3) deɣya   nnuffarɣ   degg   ijj   n   teɣmart.   (…)
    immediately   1S:hide:P   in   one   of   corner   (…)
    ssijjeɣ   ɛawed   ttwařix   tt   teqqim.
    1S:look:PV   again   1S:see(WŘ):IPV   3SF:DO   3S:F:sit:PV
    'I hid immediately in a corner (…) I took another quick look (verb **ssijj**) and saw that she had sat down.' (MB 98)

(4) Sijj   dd   xafi   waha   uca   tuyurd
    IMPTV:S:look:AOR   vent   on.me   just   then   2S:go:AOR
    'Just take a quick look at me (verb **ssijj**) and go.' (MB 47)

(5) aqqa   issijj   Arebbi   x   weydud   nnes.
    QA   3S:M:look:PV   God   on   people   his
    'The Lord has looked down (verb **ssijj**) upon his people.' (NT; Luke 7:16)

(6) uca   ssajjiɣ   zi   tbuxxict   n   řmeftaḥ   n   tewwuṛt
    then   1S:look:IPV   from   hole   of   key   of   door
    'Then I would look (verb **ssijj**) through the key hole of the door.' (AA 5)

In order to express visual experience perception, there are two verb roots, ẒR and WŘ. The perceived object or person is expressed by a Direct Object.

Tarifiyt verbs have different forms in different aspects, which are called aspectual stems. As shown in Table 1, ẒR occurs in all aspectual stems, while WŘ only occurs in Imperfective stems:

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[5] **Degg** is an allomorph of **di**, see MOURIGH and KOSSMANN (2019: 88).

[6] **Ssijj** (Imperative **sijj**) is originally a causative verb, but the underived form is not used in Tarifiyt. In other Amazigh languages, both the derived and the underived forms exist, e.g., Central Moroccan Tamazight **agg** 'to see from an elevated place', **ssigg** 'to look at' (TAÏFI 1991: 144).

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	ẒR	WŘ
Aorist	ẓar (< *ẓer)[7]	-
Perfective	ẓri ~ ẓra	-
	(vowels depending on subject marking)	
Negative Perfective (always combined with a negative preverbal particle)	ẓri	-
Imperfective	ẓarr (< *ẓerr)	ttwaŘa ~ twaŘa
Negative Imperfective (always combined with a negative preverbal particle)	ẓarr (< *ẓerr)	ttwiŘi ~ twiŘi

Table 1 – Aspectual stems of the two verb roots of visual experience perception

The form **ttwaŘa ~ twaŘa** can be interpreted as a verb stem **waŘa** preceded by the Imperfective prefix. The variation between **tt** and **t** ([t]) in **ttwaŘa** and **twaŘa** is a common feature of this prefix, due to an irregular process of degemination without spirantization occurring in some grammatical morphemes (MOURIGH and KOSSMANN 2019: 26).

Neither ẒR nor WŘ allow for an Imperative form. More in general, in Tarifiyt the concept 'to see' is never expressed in the Imperative. While this is different from languages like English, the absence of an Imperative form for an experience verb is not unexpected of course.

As one can see from Table 1, much of the paradigm is suppletive – ẒR providing the Aorist, Perfective, and Negative Perfective forms of the verb. Only in the Imperfective both verb stems occur. As will be shown below, Imperfective uses of ẒR are restricted to a small number of contexts, and most Imperfective meanings are expressed by means of WŘ.

1.3 A short overview of the aspectual system

As the difference between ẒR and WŘ is obviously related to aspect, it is necessary to provide a short overview of the main usages of the aspects in Tarifiyt.

I will refrain from a general definition of what each aspect means and concentrate on usages. The overview will perforce be incomplete and superficial, but I hope it will be sufficient for the discussion of the issues at stake later on (see also MOURIGH and KOSSMANN 2019: 111-115).

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[7] In Tarifiyt, schwa merges with **a** before **r**. The original schwa is confirmed by Ayt Iznasen Tarifiyt, which has not undergone this merger, and which has ẓer (Aorist) and ẓerr (Imperfective).

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The aspectual system consists of three major poles, largely corresponding to the different morphological stems. Imperatives will be left out of the discussion.

Perfective
Imperfective
ad + Aorist

In addition, it is possible to combine the preverbal particle **ad** with the Imperfective.

The Perfective appears in two major contexts. In the first place it is the most common form for dynamic, non-repetitive events set in the past. In the second place it is used to convey a state, regardless of the time frame. With most verbs, both interpretations are possible (CHAKER 1995). Verbs of volition (ex. (7)), cognition (ex. (8)), and mental state (ex. (9)) almost always function as stative verbs, and, as a consequence, mostly appear in the Perfective.[8]

(7) **ad   ggeɣ   min   xseɣ**
     IRR   1S:do:AO   what   1S:want:PV
     'I will do what I want.' (MB 5)

(8) **tessned   aryaz   a (…)?**
     2S:know:PV   man   PRX
     'Do you know this man (…)?' (AA 8)

(9) **ma   teggʷded   niɣ   a   eři ?**
     Q   2S:be.afraid:PV or   o   Ali
     'Are you afraid, Ali?' (AA 65)

The Imperfective is used for a large range of imperfective meanings. In the first place, it expresses repetition of the event, as found in habitual, iterative and distributive contexts, for example in (10) and (11), which are cited from a sermon.

(10) **lmanakir   i   teggen**
      sins   REL   3P:M:do:IPV

      war   tent   itegg   qaɛ   ḥedd
      NEG   3P:F:do 3S:M:do:NI entirely anyone
      'The sins they commit [habitually], nobody (else) commits them.' (Tariq ibn Ali, in M&K 171)

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[8] There is no objection to having them in the Imperfective, though, where they take habitual interpretation.

(11) tadfeɣ   ɣar   tḥuna
     1S:go.in:IPV   to   shops
     'I went to the shops (one by one).' (Tariq ibn Ali, in M&K 167)

In addition, the Imperfective is used as a progressive, as in example (12).

(12) weḷḷahma   tmenɣiɣ   akic,
     not.at.all   1S:fight:IPV   with.you

     qa   necc   tarzzuɣ   ac   řxir
     QA   I   1S:search:IPV   2S:M:IO   good
     'I swear I'm not arguing with you, I am only looking[9] for good things for you.' (Tariq ibn Ali, in M&K 176)

A simple Imperfective is normally not used to express continuous duration. Durativity is expressed by means of an auxiliary construction with **qqim** 'to sit, to stay' followed by an Imperfective (ex. (13)).

(13) qqimeɣ   ssawařeɣ   akis
     1S:stay:PV   1S:speak:IPV   with.him
     'I talked with him for some time.' (Tariq ibn Ali, in M&K 170)

Another way of expressing duration is by repeating the Imperfective (ex. (14)):

(14) lmuhimm,   nḍḍura   nḍḍura,
     anyway   1P:walk.around:IPV   1P:walk.around:IPV

     ařami   nufa   paṭrun
     until   1P:find:PV   boss
     'Anyway, we walked and we walked until we found the boss.' (Tariq ibn Ali, in M&K 168)

Ad is a preverbal particle that conveys that the event has not yet taken place; this will be called the irrealis context here.[10] It can express anything from a certain future to an injunction (ex. (15)). It is normally combined with the Aorist aspectual stem. In case the event is repetitive (habitual or iterative), it can also be combined with the Imperfective stem, as in **a dac ntic** 'we will always give you' in ex. (16).

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[9] **urzu** literally means 'to search'. It is often used in the sense of 'to look for', and, more generally 'to want'. In spite of often being translatable by English 'to look for', **urzu** is not a perception verb.

[10] The normal term in Amazigh linguistics is Non-real or Non-realized. As this may lead to confusion when speaking about negation, I will use Irrealis instead.

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(15) aṛwaḥ   a   neqqim   da
     come!   IRR   1P:sit:AO   here
     'Come, let's sit over here!' (Tariq ibn Ali, in M&K 170)

(16) a   dac   ntic   min   zi   ɣa   tɛiced
     IRR   2S:m:IO   1P:give:IPV   what   from   IRR   2S:live:AO
     'We will always give you what you will live by' (example sentence in M&K 113)

Ad + Aorist is very common in complement clauses, especially when the governing verb implies that the complement has not yet been realized (ex. (17); see KOSSMANN fc. for an analysis). It is also used after a number of subordinators expressing purpose, such as ḥima 'so that' (ex. (18)).

(17) **wi**   **ixsen**   **ad**   **iseɣ**   **iseřman**   **zzaywem?**
     who   PTC:want:PV   IRR   3S:M:buy:AO   fish   from.you
     'Who among you wants to buy fish?' (AA 71)

(18) **tteawan**   **tayyutc**   **nnes**
     3S:F:help:IPV   donkey   her

     ḥima   **a**   **xas**   **tehwen**   **taṛwa**
     so.that   IRR   on.her   3S:F:be.easy:AO   birth
     'She was helping her donkey in order to make giving birth easier for her.' (AA 12)

A special use of **ad** + Aorist, which is very common in longer descriptions, is the expression of habits, not unlike English phrases like 'and then I would take him to school' (ex. 19).

(19) **ijj**   **umuṛ**   **ad**   **beddeɣ**   **ijj**   **umuṛ**   **ad**   **uyureɣ.**
     one   time   IRR   1S:stand:AO   one   time   IRR   1S:go:AO
     'Sometimes I would stop and sometimes I would go.' (AA 123)

The situation in negative contexts deserves special consideration. Negations are mostly expressed by means of a preverbal particle **war**, often combined with a post-verbal particle (see LAFKIOUI 1996 for details). In addition, the verb selects a negative aspectual stem. There are two such stems, the Negative Perfective and the Negative Imperfective. The Negative Perfective is used in negative counterparts to affirmative sentences with a Perfective. The Negative Imperfective has two main uses: (1) it provides the negative counterpart to the affirmative Imperfective and (2) it provides the negative counterpart to affirmative **ad** + Aorist and **ad** + Imperfective, as illustrated in example (20). Thus, one common interpretation of **war** + Negative Imperfective is a negated future. The preverbal particle **ad** cannot occur in negations.

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(20) war   tt   qqaṛeɣ   uřa   i   yijjen.
     NEG   3S:F:DO 1S:say:NI even   to   one
     'I won't tell (it) anyone.' (AA 90)

Table 2 provides an overview of the uses of the main aspectual stems.

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE (always with **war**)
Perfective	> Dynamic non-repetitive event in the past	> Negated dynamic non-repetitive event in the past
	> State	> Negated state
Imperfective	> Progressive	> Negated progressive
	> Repetitive event (habitual, iterative)	> Negated repetitive event (habitual, iterative)
		> Negated irrealis event (future, injunction, etc.)
Ad + Aorist	> Irrealis event (future, injunction, etc.)	

Table 2 – Overview of the uses of the main aspectual stems

2. The two verb roots of visual experience in different aspectual contexts

Verbs of visual experience perception are special in Tarifiyt. In the first place, the existence of two different verb roots in the Imperfective begs the question as to how they differ in this context. In the second place, verbs of experience perception function differently when it comes to the use of the Imperfective, in a distribution that is reminiscent of Wälchli's difference between specific and non-specific verbs (WÄLCHLI 2016, see section 3.1).

2.1 Imperfective contexts

The discussion will start by contrasting the uses of WŘ and ẒR in contexts where one expects the (Negative) Imperfective. As shown above, Imperfective and Negative Imperfective are the only aspects where both verb roots appear. As affirmative contexts function differently from negative contexts, the two will be discussed seperately.

In affirmative imperfective contexts, ẒR is only used in one interpretation: 'go/come and see', often translatable as 'visit'. This usage does not appear in the corpus, but was confirmed by Khalid Mourigh (ex. (21)).

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(21) tẓarred   ḥasan?
     2S:see(ẒR):IPV Hassane
     'Do you often (go and) see Hassane?' (Khalid Mourigh p.c.)

In all other affirmative contexts, WŘ is used. In the first place it expresses the (in)ability to see, as illustrated in examples (22) and (23).

(22) i   mammec   igga   ittwařa   řexxu?
     and how   3S:M:do:PV 3S:M:see(WŘ):IPV now
     'And how can it be that he can see now?' (NT; John 9: 19)

(23) ařami wenni   tuɣa d   adarɣař d   agnaw
     until the.one PAST PRED blind   PRED mute

     idweř   issawař   u   ittwařa.
     3S:M:become:PV   3S:M:speak:IPV   and 3S:M:see(WŘ):IPV
     'Until the one that used to be blind and mute became able to speak and see.' (NT; Matthew 12:21)

It is also used when referring to habitual events of seeing without visiting, as in examples (24) to (27).

(24) faṛṛḥeɣ   xminni i   twařiɣ
     1S:be.happy:IPV   when   REL 1S:see(WŘ):IPV

     niɣ tesřiɣ   i   wenẓar yeccat
     or   1S:hear:IPV to   rain   3S:M:hit:IPV
     'I was always happy when I saw or heard the rain fall.' (AA 52)

(25) aqqa lmalakat   nsen   deg ijenwan
     QA   angels   their in   heaven

     aqqa řebda   ttwařant   tifras n   Baba.
     QA   always   3P:F:see(WŘ):IPV face   of my.father
     'Their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father.' (NT; Matthew 18: 10)

(26) < mara tfar7am khmi twaram chabab yadiya3 salmokhadirat >
     mařa tfarḥem   xmi   ttwařam   ccabab
     if   2P:M:be.happy:PV   when 2P:M:see(WŘ):IPV youth

     yeḍḍeyyaɛ   s   lmuxaḍirat
     3S:M:get.lost:IPV with   drugs
     'If you are happy when you see youth getting lost by drugs, (by God, bravo!)' (nadorcity.com 2/9/2009)

(27) < tora natwara a9artas ra di peliculas rakho natwarath mobachara >
     ttuɣa nettwařa   aqaṛtas   řa   di   *peliculas,*
     PAST   1P:see(WŘ):IPV   shooting even in   movies

     řexxu nettwařa   t   *mubacaṛa*
     now   1P:see(WŘ):IPV   3S:M:DO   live
     'We used to see shootings only in movies, now we see them live.' (nadorcity.com 21/8/2009)

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This may extend to a metaphorical use of WŘ in the sense of 'to consider', as is illustrated in examples (28) and (29).

(28) < lmkalakh itwara mara iwdan mkalkhin >
     lemqelleq   ittwařa   marra   iwdan   mqellqin
     sad.one   3S:M:see(WŘ):IPV   all   people   sad:P
     'One who is sad sees/considers all people sad.' (nadorcity.com; 26/12/2010)

(29) < datarika izi tganajad nech twarirchek hsen zi sami yousef. >
     d   ṭṭariqa   i   zi   ttɣennjed
     and   way   REL   from   2S:sing:IPV

     necc   ttwařiɣ   cek   ḥsen   zi   Sami   Yusef
     I   1S:see(WŘ):IPV   2S:M:DO   better   from   Sami   Yusuf
     'The way you sing I consider you better than Sami Yusuf.' (nadorcity.com
     15/6/2011)

Similarly, WŘ is used to refer to repeated events that are not necessarily habitual (ex. 30).

(30) ca   n   twařatin   twařiɣ   ca   n   řexyařat
     some   of   times   1S:see(WŘ):IPV   some   of   ghosts
     'Sometimes I would see some ghosts.' (AA 4)

A further context where the Imperfective is used is the expression of dynamic events that take place at the same moment as the speech event. With most verbs, this leads to a progressive reading (see 1.3, example 12 above). The verb 'to see' is constructed in the same way, and uses WŘ, as in examples (31) and (32).

(31) ttwařid   macina   ya   a   Eři?
     2S:see(WŘ):IPV   train   PRX   o   Ali
     'Do you see that train, Ali?' (AA 33)

(32) lkitab   i   da   tetwařam   zzatwem
     book   REL   here   2P:M:see(WŘ):IPV   before.you
     'The book that you see here before you.' (AA introduction)

This is also very common in metaphorical usage, where WŘ gets a cognitive interpretation like 'consider/understand' (exx. (33), (34) and (35)).

(33) < mamash twarid shak waaadje yameni etwaran maarra ewdan >
     mamec   ttwařid   cekk
     how   2S:see(WŘ):IPV   you

     wadji   amenni   i   ttwařan   marra   iwdan
     is.not   like.that   REL   3P:M:see(WŘ):IPV   all   people
     'The way you see this is not the way everybody sees it.' (nadorcity.com
     31/12/2010)

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(34) < mamach atwarir nach alhilal dijan fari9 yasan adyira >

mamec	ttwařiɣ	necc,
how	1S:see(WŘ):IPV	I

Al-Hilal	d	ijj	n	*fariq*
Al-Hilal	PRED	one	of	team

yessen	ad	yirar
3S:M:know:PV	IRR	3S:M:play:AO

'The way I see it, Al-Hilal is a team that knows how to play.' (nadorcity.com 1/2/2010)

(35) < Nech Twarigh Manaya Normal >

necc	ttwařiɣ	manay	a	*normal*
I	1S:see(WŘ):IPV	thing	PRX	*normal*

'I consider this normal.' (nadorcity.com 19/9/2009)

It is also found in the common expression **qa ttwařid** 'you see' (ex. (36)).

(36) < iwa 9atwarid allah ya7fad wach itajji 7ad trankir >

iwa	qa	ttwařid,	*ḷḷah*	*yeḥfeḍ,*
well	QA	2S:see(WŘ):IPV	*God*	*protect*

war	c	ittejji	ḥedd	trankiř
NEG	2S:M:DO	3S:M:leave:NI	anyone	calm

'Well, you see, God forbid, nobody leaves you in peace.' (nadorcity.com 10/1/2010)

At this point, there is a major difference between Nador Tarifyt and its neighbor to the east, Ayt Iznasen (Tafoghalt) – mostly considered part of the Tarifiyt continuum (LAFKIOUI 2013: 139-194 and other publications by the same author). Ayt Iznasen (Tafoghalt) does not use the verb WŘ, and only has the verb ẒR. In situations where the seeing is simultaneous with the speech event, Ayt Iznasen (Tafoghalt) uses the Perfective of ẒR (exx. (37) and (38)).

(37)

teẓṛid	takemmust	inni	dihat	di	lqent
2S:see(ẒR):PV	pouch	DIST	over.there	in	corner

awey	tet	d
IMPTV:S:bring:AO	3S:F:DO	VENT

'You see that pouch over there in the corner, bring it here.' (BEZZAZI and KOSSMANN 1997: 18)

(38)

teẓṛim	welmatwem
2P:M:see(ẒR):PV	your.sister

tus	d	tedjiwen
3S:F:come:PV	VENT	3S:F:be.satiated:PV

'You see that your sister has come here satiated.' (BEZZAZI and KOSSMANN 1997: 30)

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In negative contexts, the situation is more complicated. On the one hand, those negations that correspond to affirmative sentences with the Imperfective, have the same distribution of ẒR and WŘ as in affirmative contexts: ẒR is used in the negation of the 'go /come and see' interpretation, and WŘ is used elsewhere. Thus, (39) provides a negative counterpart to the 'ability to see' context (cf. exx. (22) and (23)), while (40) illustrates the use of WŘ in the negation of a situation where the seeing coincides with the speech event (cf. for its affirmative counterparts, exx. (31) and (32)).

(39) aqa   dewřeɣ   war   twiřiɣ
     QA   1S:become:PV NEG   1S:see(WŘ):NI

     isḍayř   ayi   řaẓ   nni   i   dayi.
     3S:M:make.blind:PV 1S:DO hunger ANP REL in.me
     'I have become unable to see, hunger has made me blind.' (AA 58)

(40) aqqa tt   zzati,   x   tqiccatt n   tinzar   inu.
     QA   3S:F:DO before.me on top   of   nose   my

     war   tet   ttwiřiɣ.
     NEG   3S:F:DO 1S:see(WŘ):NI
     'She is before me, on the top of my nose. I don't see her.' (MB 126)

However, **war** + Negative Imperfective is also used in a different context, *viz.* the (non-repetitive) irrealis – that is, the negated counterpart of **ad** + Aorist (see section 1.3, exx. (15-20) above). In this context, the Negative Imperfective of ẒR is used. This is illustrated in exx. (41) and (42).

(41) war dayi   tẓarrem
     NEG   1S:DO   2P:M:see(ẒR):NI

     ař   i   ɣa   tinim…
     until REL IRR   2P:M:say:AO
     'You will not see me until you say…' (NT; MATTHEW 23:39)

(42) drus n   řweqt   ɛad
     little of time   still

     uca   ddunnit war   dayi tẓarr   ɛad.
     then World   NEG   1S:DO 3S:F:see(ẒR):NI still
     'Just a little while and the world will not see me again.' (NT; John 14: 19)

The affirmative counterparts to these two sentences would have **ad** + Aorist: **a dayi tẓarm** in (41); **a dayi tẓar** in (42).

Summarizing, in affirmative forms of the Imperfective, WŘ is the default choice, both for repetitive (habitual, iterative), and for progressive uses. The verb ẒR only appears in the Imperfective in a specialized meaning, 'go/come and see'. In

negative sentences, there is a functional split between WŘ for negated repetitive and progressive events, and ẒR for negated irrealis events. This is summarized in Table 3 below.

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
Habitual and iterative 'see'	WŘ	WŘ
Progressive 'see'	WŘ	WŘ
Irrealis 'see' (non-repetitive)	(no use of Imperfectives)	ẒR
Repetitive (habitual, iterative) and progressive 'go/come and see'	ẒR	ẒR
Irrealis 'go/come and see' (non-repetitive)	(no use of Imperfectives)	ẒR

Table 3 – The distribution of ẒR and WŘ in contexts where Imperfectives are used

2.2 Irrealis contexts

When it comes to affirmative irrealis contexts, **ad** + ẒR is the default choice, as illustrated in examples (43) and (44).

(43) aw   dd   ad   ẓaṛeɣ   waha
     give!   VENT   IRR   1S:see(ẒR):AO   just
     'Give it here, I just want to see it.' (AA 100)

(44) mařa   war   ssinen   ad   ɣarn
     if   NEG   3P:M:know:NP   IRR   3P:M:read:AO

     a   t   ẓarn   waha
     IRR   3S:M:DO   3P:M:see(ẒR):AO   just
     'If they can't read, they will just see it.' (MB 53)

This includes complement clauses (ex. (45)) and clauses with purpose subordinations (ex. (46)).

(45) ggʷdeɣ   a   dayi   tẓar
     1S:be.afraid:PV IRR   1S:DO   3S:F:see(ẒR):AO

     xezzaṛɣ   dayes.
     1S:look:IPV   in.her
     'I was afraid that she would see me looking at her.' (MB 84)

(46) a   nṛaḥ   ɣar   sini   n   aṛṛuyu
     IRR   1P:go:AO   to   cinema of   Arroyo

     ḥima   a   nẓar   pirikula nni amirikanu
     so.that IRR 1P:see(ẒR):AO movie   ANP American
     'Let's go to the cinema of Arroyo in order to watch this American movie.' (AA 117)

However, when the irrealis event is about ability or repetition, **ad** + WŘ is used, as shown in examples (47) and (48) for ability to see, and in (49) for repetition.

(47) wenni war   izemmaren   ad   ittwařa.
     he.that NEG PTC:be.able:NI IRR   3S:M:see(WŘ):IPV
     'He who is not able to see.' (NT; Hebrews 11: 27)

(48) inna   as   udarɣař
     3S:M:say:PV 3S:IO   blind

     "(…) ḥima   ad   ttwařiɣ."
     (…)   so.that IRR   1S:see(WŘ):IPV
     'The blind man said: "(…) so that I may be able to see".' (NT; Mark 10: 51)

(49) war   xsent   ad   ttwařant
     NEG   3P:F:want:NP IRR 3P:F:see(WŘ):IPV

     waxxa   arẓment.
     even.though 3P:F:be.open:PV
     '[My eyes] didn't want to see, even though they were open.' (MB 108)

When used to express habitual events (see section 1.3, example (19)), the counterpart of **ad** + Aorist is **ad** + WŘ in the meaning 'to see' (exx. (50) and (51)). This is different from usages with other verbs, which have the Aorist after *ad* in this context.

(50) uca mkuř twařa ad   twařiɣ   buṭeyyeb
     then every time IRR   1S:see(WŘ):IPV Bouteyyeb

     ibedd   di   řweṣt   n   webrid
     3S:M:stand:PV in   middle of   road
     'Then time and again I would see Bouteyyeb standing in the middle of the road.' (AA 67)

(51) meřmi   mma   i   ɣars   beddeɣ
     when   ever   REL at.him 1S:stand:PV

     sdaffareɣ   as   tiṭṭawin
     1S:make.follow:IPV 3S:IO   eyes

     ataɣ ad   ttwařiɣ   mani   i   itawi.
     then IRR 1S:see(WŘ):IPV where REL 3S:M:carry:IPV
     'Whenever I would stand close to it [*scil.* the road], I followed it with my eyes and I would see where it went.' (BOUZAGGOU 2006: 3)

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As will be shown in section (2.5), Mohamed Bouzaggou has a special use of WŘ in the sense of 'really see' as opposed to a more superficial way of seeing. In such cases, WŘ can also appear after *ad* (ex. (52)].

(52) tiṭṭawin   inu   mmenḍarnt   id   di   ṭṭebsi   nni
      eyes   my   3PV:F:get.lost:PV VENT in   plate   ANP
      xezzarnt   di   min   war   ttwiřint
      3P:F:look:IPV   in   what   NEG   3P:F:see(WŘ):NI
      maḥend   ad   ttwařant   min   di   war   xezzarnt
      so.that   IRR   3P:F:see(WŘ):IPV   what   in   NEG   3P:F:look:NI
      'My eyes lost themselves in that plate and looked at what they did not see (WŘ) in order to see (**ad** + WŘ) what they didn't look at.' (MB 94)

Except for this latter usage, there seems to be a split between the use of **ad** + Aorist ẒR and **ad** + Imperfective WŘ, where irrealis contexts get ẒR and habitual/repetitive contexts get WŘ. This is similar to negative Imperfective contexts, where **war** + Negative Imperfective ẒR is used for the negated irrealis, while **war** + Negative Imperfective WŘ is used for the negation of repetitive events. This is summarized in Table 4 below.

	AFFIRMATIVE NON-'SEE'	AFFIRMATIVE 'SEE'	NEGATIVE NON-'SEE'	NEGATIVE 'SEE'
irrealis (non-repetitive)	**ad** + AO	**ad** + ẒR (A)	**war** + NI	**war** + ẒR (NI)
irrealis (repetitive)	**ad** + AO ~ **ad** + IPV	**ad** + WŘ (IPV)	**war** + NI	**war** + WŘ (NI)
habitual[11]	**ad** + AO	**ad** + WŘ (IPV)		

Table 4 – Distribution of WŘ and ẒR in contexts that have ad in affirmative sentences

In the meaning 'go/come and see', i.e. 'visit', the Imperfective of ẒR is used in all irrealis contexts, including habituals (Khalid Mourigh, p.c.).

2.3 Perfective contexts

The text corpus consists mainly of narrative texts, and the Perfective – the narrative aspect *par excellence* – is very frequent; as a result, we expect Perfective ẒR to be the form of choice in this context. When it comes to the use of Perfective ẒR versus (inherently Imperfective) WŘ, there exists an interesting

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[11] This row only lists those habitual expressions that have **ad** + Aorist with non-'see' verbs. For habitual expressions without **ad** using the Imperfective, see section 2.1.

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difference between on the one hand the translation of the New Testament, and on the other hand the novels by Ɛali Amaziɣ and Mohamed Bouzaggou. In the translation of the New Testament, by far the most used form in narratives is, indeed, Perfective ẒR. Cases with narrative WŘ are exceedingly rare in comparison to cases of Perfective ẒR. At this point the NT confirms our expectations on the basis of other verbs. The situation is different in the novels. Here, there does not seem to be a major difference in frequency between WŘ and Perfective ẒR.[12] This difference within the corpus could be dialectal – the example mentioned above of nearby Ayt Iznasen (Tafoghalt) shows that even within a small territory there may be important differences. However, my impression is that it is rather a matter of style. The narration in the New Testament (especially the Gospels) is a matter-of-fact historical account, which does not imply much personal involvement by the narrator. As a result, the narration – and especially its translation – may not explore all stylistic possibilities the language provides. On the other hand, the lively autobiographical narration by Ɛali Amaziɣ and the subtle literary works of Mohamed Bouzaggou provide room for a more varied style of narration. As a result, we see WŘ appear in contexts where, with other verbs, only the Perfective would be possible. Take for example (53) and (54) below:

(53) ict   twařa   necc   d   ḥusayen
     one   time   I   and   Housain
    netwařa   ijj   n   waṭṭas   n   tnuyam
    1P:see(WŘ):IPV   one   of   many   of   women.fetching.water
    'One time, Housain and I saw a great number of girls fetching water.' (AA 47)

(54) xzareɣ   awarn   ayi   twařiɣ   tt
    1S:look:PV   behind   1S:IO   1S:see(WŘ):IPV   3S:F:DO
    'I looked behind me and saw her.' (AA 23)

In example (53) WŘ expresses a single event, explicitly set in the past by ict twařa 'one time'. In (54), WŘ functions as a continuation to Perfective xzareɣ 'I looked'.

What stands out is that – different from most situations studied above – using Imperfective WŘ in narratives is a matter of choice. It is perfectly possible to have Perfective ẒR in most narrative contexts; but stylistically rich writers may

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[12] It should be noted that the autobiography of Ɛali Amaziɣ seems to make use of progressive Imperfectives in his story, as if the narration is describing something happening at that moment. This kind of historical present is uncommon in Tarifiyt narratives otherwise, and seems to be a particular feature of Ɛali Amaziɣ's style. In the following, only passages that are clearly not in this historical present – for example, because the other verbs are Perfectives – have been taken into consideration.

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choose WǍ in some cases. Thus in the following pair of almost identical sentences by the same writer, example (55) has ẒR while example (56) has WǍ. It should be noted that normally clauses subordinated by **meřmi (m)ma** 'whenever' take a Perfective, and the use of the Imperfective WǍ is therefore highly unexpected here.

(55) meřmi   ma   i   dayi   teẓra
     when   ever REL   1S:DO   3S:F:see(ẒR):PV

     ict   temɣart   zi   ḍḍcar   inu
     one   woman   from   village my

     a   dayi   dd   třaɣa
     IRR   1S:IO VENT   3S:F:call:AO
     'Whenever a certain woman from my village saw me, see called me.' (AA 101)

(56) uca   meřmi mma   i   dayi   tetwařa
     then   when ever REL   1S:DO   3S:F:see(WǍ):IPV

     temɣart   nni   a   dayi   dd   třaɣa.
     woman   ANP   IRR   1S:IO VENT   3S:F:call:AO
     'And then, whenever this woman saw me, she called me.' (AA 102)

It is of course difficult to make out a specific meaning on the basis of a corpus when there is stylistic variation, as both forms are acceptable in the same context. From the examples that I found, it seems that WǍ emphasizes that the experience of seeing took a certain amount of time. While Perfective ẒR is neutral as to duration, WǍ thus seems to convey an element of durativity. As a consequence, WǍ may imply some active choice of the experiencer to prolong the experience. The irrelevance of duration for Perfective ẒR fits well with the general semantics of the Perfective. The durational implications of using WǍ fits general ideas of what an imperfective should look like, but is different from the way that Tarifiyt expresses durativity in other types of verbs (see section 1.3).

The importance of duration is revealed by a strong tendency to use WǍ when it takes a clausal complement. Clausal complements of perception verbs are mostly constructed by means of a simple finite clause (KOSSMANN fc.). Especially when referring to actions, they imply a certain duration to the experience of seeing. This is illustrated in (57) (clausal complement: **ttarjijin**), (58) (clausal complement: **itazzeř**), and (59) (clausal complement: **yeccat**).

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(57) yesqar. uciɣ akides itnixsis.
3S:M:be.silent:PV 1S:feel:PV with.him 3S:M:sob:IPV

 twařiɣ   ancucen nnes   ttarjijin
 1S:see(WŘ):IPV lips   his   3P:M:tremble:IPV

 'He remained silent. I felt that he was sobbing. I saw his lips tremble.' (MB 68)

(58) xzareɣ dd ɣars twařiɣ   t
1S:look:PV VENT to.him 1S:see(WŘ):IPV 3S:M:DO

 itazzeř   dd ɣari
 3S:M:run:IPV VENT to.me

 'I looked in his direction and saw him run towards me.' (AA 106)

(59) ssijjeɣ zi řkaẓi n wexxam nneɣ,
1S:look:PV from window of room   our

 twařiɣ   anẓar yeccat.
 1S:see(WŘ):IPV rain 3S:M:hit:IPV

 'I looked through the window of our room and saw the rain fall.' (AA 51)

It should be stressed that, even in contexts where the experience of seeing undoubtedly has a certain duration, it is possible to use Perfective ẒR (ex. (60)). This includes sentences where a clausal complement is present, as in example (61) (clausal complement: **tessiridem**) and (62) (clausal complement: **yexs**).

(60) uca nřuḥ ɣar sini
then 1P:go:PV to   cinema

 neẓra   pirikula nni mirikanu.
 1P:see(ẒR):PV movie ANP American

 'Then we went to the cinema and watched that American movie.' (AA 81)

(61) ẓriɣ   kenniw di paraḍa
1S:see(ẒR):PV 2P:M:DO in station

 tessiridem   tunubinat niɣ lla?
 2P:M:wash:IPV cars   or no?

 'Didn't I see you at the station washing cars?' (AA 111)

(62) cekk teẓrid   ca n bnadem yexs   ticcect?
you 2S:see(ẒR):PV some of man   3S:M:want:PV louse

 'Have you ever seen a man who is in love with a louse?' (MB 74)

2.4 Some subordinated contexts

In constructions with subordinating conjunctions, Tarifiyt has strong tendencies as to the choice of the aspect. Almost all such constructions select either a Perfective, or **ad** + Aorist (MOURIGH and KOSSMANN 2019: 142-145).[13] Generally

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[13] The main exception is **xmi** (+ variants) 'when (non-past)', which selects either the Imperfective

speaking, this largely grammaticalized selection of aspects is also found with verbs of visual experience perception. However, one occasionally finds Imperfective WŘ, for example with **mařa** 'if' (exx. (63), (64)).

(63) uca   newjed   i   tazzřa
     then 1P:wait.for:PV to rope

     mařa ntwařa   aqeccar   nni yarsa.
     if   1P:see(WŘ):IPV bird.*spec* ANP 3S:M:be.sitting:PV
     'Then we would watch that rope whether we would see that *aqeccar* bird sitting there.' (AA 93)

(63) < bnadem mara yetwara yadjiss an familia togha thtalle9 adyini bismillah >
     bnadem mařa yetwařa   yedjis   n   familiya
     person if   3S:see(WŘ):IPV his.daughter of family

     ttuɣa ṭṭelleq   ad   yini   *bismillah*
     PAST   3S:F:be.divorced:PV IRR 3S:M:say:AO   *in.God's.name*
     'If a person sees that a girl in the family has been divorced, he will say "okay".' (nadorcity.com 26/3/2010)

2.5 ttwařa *meaning 'really seeing something', 'visually imaging something'*

Mohamed Bouzaggou sometimes contrasts Perfective ẒR with WŘ in one single passage. In such passages ẒR takes the sense of 'seeing something with one's eyes', while WŘ implies 'visually imagining something in one's mind'. Examples (65), (66) and (67) from Bouzaggou's work provide examples of this:

(65) ticcect inu war tt   ẓarreɣ   ca.
     louse   my   NEG 3S:F:DO 1S:see(ẒR):NI   NEG2

     a   tt   ttwařiɣ   waha. a
     IRR 3S:F:DO 1S:see(WŘ):IPV just   IRR

     a   tt   ttwařiɣ   mammec xseɣ   necc.
     IRR 3S:F:DO 1S:see(WŘ):IPV how   1S:want:PV I
     'I won't see (ẒR) my louse. I will just imagine (WŘ) her. I will imagine (WŘ) her the way I want.' (MB 64)

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or **ad** + Aorist (MOURIGH and KOSSMANN 2019: 144).

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(66) min z̞riɣ   z̞riɣ   t,
    what 1S:see(Z̞R):PV 1S:see(Z̞R):PV 3S:M:DO

    min war z̞riɣ   ttwař ix   t.
    what NEG 1S:see(Z̞R):NP 1S:see(WŘ):IPV 3S:M:DO
    'What I saw (Z̞R), I saw (Z̞R); what I didn't see (Z̞R), I imagined (WŘ).' (MB 108)

(67) d   manay   a   i   t   itejjan
    PRED thing   PRX REL 3S:M:DO PTC:leave:IPV

    yarexxu   i   tmuɣři
    3S:M:let.go:IPV   to   look

    a   tḍu   s   uswingem   nnes   ɣar   imucan
    IRR   3S:F:fly:AO   with   thought   his   to   places

    i   ittwařa   war   iz̞ri.
    REL   3S:M:see(WŘ):IPV NEG   3S:M:see(Z̞R):NP
    'This was what allowed him to loosen his look so that it could fly with his thoughts to the places that he imagined (WŘ) but didn't see (Z̞R).' (BOUZAGGOU 2006: 37)

In other cases in Bouzaggou's writing, Z̞R seems to convey a sense of simply seeing the object, while WŘ focuses on seeing as an emotionally consequential experience. Thus, in such passages, Z̞R is a short-lived inconsequential visual event, while WŘ implies 'to really see' something. This is illustrated in (68) and (69).

(68) xseɣ   a   cem   z̞arɣ.
    1S:want:PV   IRR   2S:F:DO   1S:see(Z̞R):AO

    a   cem   ttwařiɣ...
    IRR   2S:F:DO   1S:see(WŘ):IPV

    niɣ mařa walu   a   cem   ḥadiɣ.
    or   if   nothing IRR 2S:F:DO   1S:touch:AO
    'I want to see (Z̞R) you. To [really] see (WŘ) you... Or, if this is impossible, to touch you.' (MB 67)

(69) qaɛ   min   z̞riɣ   d   taḥenjart
    entirely what 1S:see(Z̞R):PV PRED   girl

    degg iɣzar   uřiři
    in   valley oleander

    war   tent   ittwiři   wuř   inu.
    NEG   3P:F:DO 3S:M:see(WŘ):NI heart   my
    'Every girl that I had seen (Z̞R) in Oleander Valley, my heart hadn't really seen (WŘ) them.' (MB 95)

This may be a specific choice of the author, which is, moreover, not followed consistently. Thus, in example (70), the 'to really see' reading seems to be conveyed by Z̞R.

(70) tuɣa   ttwařiɣ   tent
     PAST   1S:see(WŘ):IPV 3P:F:DO

maca   ɛemmars   war   tent   ẓriɣ   ař   řexxu
but   never   NEG   3P:F:DO   see(ẒR):NP   until now
'I used to see them (WŘ), but I had never [really] seen (ẒR) them until now.' (MB 76)

3. Conclusions and outlook

3.1 Conclusions

Based on the constructions studied above, one may formulate a number of conclusions.

In the first place, it is useful to distinguish two verbs with similar, but not identical, semantics. One of them is a verb meaning 'to come/go and see'. This is always expressed by means of the verb root ẒR, regardless the aspectual stem. The other is a verb meaning 'to see', which lacks the directional component of the first verb. Morphologically speaking, this general 'see' verb uses two suppletive verb roots in near-complementary distribution, ẒR for the Aorist, the Perfective, and the Negative Perfective; and WŘ for the Imperfective and the Negative Imperfective. As the verb root ẒR is used, both with the 'come/go and see' verb, and with the general 'see' verb, the two verbs are only different in the Imperfective stems.

However, in addition to this relatively simple morphological distribution of the verb roots ẒR and WŘ, there are a number of complications.

In the first place, the complementary distribution according to (morphological) verb stem in the 'see' verb is not perfect. There is one construction where the Imperfective of ẒR appears with this verb, *viz.* the negation of (non-repetitive) Irrealis events, which is expressed by means of the construction **war** + the Imperfective stem of ẒR. As a result, there is an opposition between negated (non-repetitive) irrealis events and negated imperfective events (such as habitual and iterative), not found with any other Nador Tarifiyt verb.

Moreover, it seems that the verb 'to see' – and probably also other experience perception verbs (see section 3.2 below) – has slightly different uses of the aspects than other verbs. The main differences that were discussed above are:

1) In non-'see' verbs, the construction **ad** + Aorist can be used in order to convey habits. In the 'see' verb, we always get a construction **ad** + Imperfective (WŘ) in corresponding contexts.

2) In contexts that denote a non-repetitive event in the past, the only choice with non-'see' verbs is the Perfective. With 'see' verbs, both the Perfective (ẒR) and the Imperfective (WŘ) occur in this context. It was argued above that the use of the Imperfective is a stylistic choice, which adds an element of duration, while the Perfective is possible both with durative, and with punctual events of visual experience. The use of a single Imperfective for duration (without repeating the verb or using an auxiliary) is rare, if not absent, outside perceptual verbs.

3) In contexts denoting an event where the moment of seeing coincides with the moment of enunciation, the 'see' verb uses the Imperfective (WŘ). This may be considered a sub-type of the progressive use of the Imperfective, well-known from non-'see' verbs. However, as the examples from neighboring Ayt Iznasen Tarifiyt show, other varieties make other choices at this point.

The situation found in Tarifiyt is reminiscent of the difference between 'specific' and 'non-specific' perception verbs, as explained in WÄLCHLI (2016). He writes about the situation in Baltic languages: "The Baltic languages, as other languages in Central, East, and Northern Europe, have specific perception verbs, which are a subtype of opportunistic perception verbs [that is, experience perception verbs, MK], for the expression of restricted exposure" (WÄLCHLI 2016: 53). Tarifiyt seems to have a similar split, but in this case the marked option in the opposition is rather the non-specific perception verb, WŘ, that is, a verb expressing longer exposure. The other member in the opposition, ẒR, is unmarked for specificity, and can express both situations with and without longer exposure.

3.2 Outlook: Other verbs of perception

The use of Imperfectives with visual experience perception verbs for expressing a certain duration to the exposure is also found with the auditory experience perception verb seř 'to hear'. Thus, in examples (71), (72), and (73), the Imperfectice ttesřa is used to emphasize that the experience of hearing was prolongated.

(71) tesřiɣ   i Jamil ɣar ideḥḥec   xafi.
     1S:hear:IPV to Jamil just 3S:M:laugh:IPV on.me
     'I heard how Jamil just laughed about me' (AA 63)

(72) tesřiɣ   ɣar wenẓar iccaten
     1S:hear:IPV to   rain   PTC:hit:IPV
     'I just heard the rain fall.' (AA 79)

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(73) uca   hwiɣ   dd
     then   1S:go.down:PV   VENT
     aked webrid   nni   d   taysirt,
     with   road   ANP   PRED downhill
     tesřiɣ   i   temɣart   nni   awarn   ayi
     1S:hear:IPV to   woman   ANP   behind 1SG:IO
     teqqaṛ   ayi
     3S:F:say:IPV   1S:IO
     'Then I went down that road downhill and heard that woman behind me say to me.'
     (AA 88)

The corpus is not very helpful for verbs of sensory experience, as the verb **aca** 'to feel' is mostly attested as an emotion verb rather than as a verb of perception. There is, however, no reason to assume that it functions different from 'to see' and 'to hear' at this point.

Thus it seems that the exceptional durative use of the Imperfective is a common feature of experiential sensory verbs.

3.3 Outlook: Dialectal variation

The present article only focuses on one variety of Tarifiyt. However, even within Tarifiyt, there are differences. One such case is Ayt Iznasen (Tafoghalt), a variety immediately to the east of Nador Tarifiyt. Here the only general verb is ẓer,[14] which is even used when expressing the ability to see, as illustrated in (74).

(74) a   yelli   ur   ẓeṛṛeɣ
    o   my.daugher NEG 1S:see(ẒR):NI
    'O my daughter, I can't see.' (BEZZAZI and KOSSMANN 1997: 104)

Moreover, as already shown above (section 2.1, exx. (37) and (38)), Ayt Iznasen (Tafoghalt) uses the Perfective of ẓer when the event of seeing is simultaneaous to the speech event.

Similarly, anecdotal information suggests that in some Tarifiyt varieties more to the west, which also have both ẒR and WŘ, the two verb roots do not have exactly the same distribution as in Nador (Khalid Mourigh p.c.).

Only a deeper investigation into these questions could shed light on the similarities and differences among the dialects of Tarifiyt.

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[14] There seem to be dialect differences within Ayt Iznasen as to this point. RENISIO (1932: 286) cites Ayt Iznasen **wala**, Imperfective **twala**. As the variety immediately to the north of Ayt Iznasen, Ikebdanen, makes ample use of **ttwala**, Renisio's data may reflect a more northern variety than the Tafoghalt variety represented in BEZZAZI and KOSSMANN (1997).

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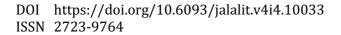*Research article*

Wh-question formation in Lokạạ

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses wh-questions in the Benue-Congo language, Lokạạ. The different strategies of wh-question formation are examined. It is observed that in addition to the ex-situ and in-situ strategies, the language allows partial wh-movement under embedded clauses. It is shown, however, that embedded questions in the language are formed via relativization. I argue that these wh-questions strategies involve wh-movement. Wh-subject questions in Lokạạ are fascinating as the absence of an overt subject triggers the subject relative clause tone on the verb. I further show that wh-phrases and focused constituents in the language are not in complementary distribution and argue that wh-phrases in the Lokạạ are not focused.

KEY WORDS: Lokạạ, wh-questions, partial wh-movement, non-focused wh-phrases, agreement

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1. Introduction

This paper presents a descriptive overview of wh-question formation in Lokạạ. Lokạạ exhibits different strategies of wh-question formation. There are the in-situ and ex-situ wh-constructions as well as partial wh-movement, where the wh-phrase is neither in-situ nor at the left edge of the matrix clause where it is interpreted but appears instead at an intermediate position following the complementizer. These three strategies are illustrated in (1):[1]

(1) a. ǹnẹ̀ẹ́ (má) Òmìnì ọ́-bálẹ̀ ò-bí Úbì ó-kạ́? *ex-situ*
         who MA Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ubi 1S-see
         'Who did Omini think that Ubi saw?'

     b. Òmìnì ọ́-bálẹ̀ ò-bí Úbì ó-kạ́ ǹnẹ̀ẹ́ (má)? *in-situ*
         Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ubi 1S-see who MA
         'Who did Omini think that Ubi saw?'

     c. Òmìnì ọ́-bálẹ̀ ò-bí ǹnẹ̀ẹ́ (má) Úbì ó-kạ́? *partial movement*
         Omini 1S-think 1S-that who MA Ubi 1S-see
         'Who did Omini think that Ubi saw?'

I explore the distribution of wh- in-situ and ex-situ in main and embedded clause, partial wh-movement and embedded (indirect) questions. In ex-situ questions, the wh-phrase moves to another position in the clause (1a). In-situ questions, on the other hand, do not involve movement of the wh-phrase (1b). The sentence in (1c) exemplifies partial wh-movement, where the wh-phrase moves to the edge of the embedded clause. I further examine islands and superiority as constraints on wh-question formation. These are structural conditions under which wh-movement is ungrammatical. I investigate the properties of these wh-constructions, and argue that wh-phrases in Lokạạ are not focused. Although there is a grammar on Lokạạ (IWARA 1982) not much has been done on the syntax of the language especially in the aspect of wh-constructions. This study will be a contribution to the little existing body of literature on the syntax of the language.

This paper is structured as follows: Section 2 provides a background on the grammar of Lokạạ. Section 3 discusses main clause wh-questions strategies, while Section 4 focuses on the different strategies in embedded complement clauses. Section 5 examines indirect questions. In Section 6, I investigate constraints on wh-question formation in the language with emphasis on island and superiority effects. Section 7 explores the nature of wh-subjects observed in

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[1] The data for the present study were provided by Ekwe Joy Offor and Patience Komommo Enang. I am grateful to them for their help and invaluable judgements.

the language, while Section 8 presents argument that demonstrate that wh-phrases in Lokạạ are not focused. Section 9 is the conclusion.

2. Background on Lokạạ

Lokạạ (ISO 639-3) is a member of the upper-cross branch of the Benue-Congo language (FARACLAS 1988, IWARA et al. 2003). The language is spoken by over two hundred thousand speakers (EBERHARD et al. 2023) in Yakurr local government area of Cross-River State, Nigeria. Its immediate neighbours are Legbo, Kohumono, Agoi, Asiga and Mbembe. There are five varieties of Lokạạ which are mutually intelligible (IWARA 1982). Unless indicated otherwise, the data in this paper are from the Ekuri dialect. With regards to the phonology of the language, Lokạạ operates a 2-tone system: high and low. Tones in Lokạạ have both lexical and grammatical functions. The language also attests short and long vowels. Long vowels are transcribed as double vowels. The contour tones on long vowels are not phonemic but rather a combination of phonemic low and high tones (IWARA et al. 2003). Lokạạ has eight vowels with two harmonic advanced tongue root (ATR) sets. There are neutral vowels, that is, vowels without harmonic counterparts, and the domain of harmony is the prosodic word (AKINLABI 2006).

Lokạạ has a noun class system and there are 14 noun classes (IWARA 1982). These are often indicated via prefixes on the root. But there are more than 14 prefixes. Class 1 nouns, for instance, are divided into 4 subclasses, and there are nouns with zero prefix. Below are some examples of nouns with their class prefixes.

(2) a. **ọ̀-nẹ̀n**   'person'   b. **yà-nẹ̀n**   'persons'
         1-person   2-person
     c. **lè-tú**   'head'   d. **à-tú**   'heads'
         3-head   4-head
     e. **kè-tí**   'tree'   f. **yè-tí**   'trees'
         5-tree   6-tree
     g. **è-bú**   'goat'   h. **m̀-bú**   'goats'
         7-goat   8-goat
     i. **kò-póó**   'cup'   j. **lú-jí**   'food'
         9-cup   10-food
     k. **lì-póó**   'cups'   l. **yì-nòn**   'chicken'
         11-cup   12-chicken
     m. **yò-jí**   'palm tree'   n. **ká-kóò**   'pig'
         13-palm.tree   14-pig

Lokạạ is an agreement-rich language (IWARA 1982; BAKER 2005, 2008). The overall nature of its agreement system makes it similar to Bantu languages.

There is agreement on verbs (except for imperatives and gerunds), adjectives, complementizers, etc., often indicated by subject agreement prefixes. The agreement morpheme undergoes ATR harmony triggered by the vowel quality of the root. The agreement prefix on the verb agrees with the subject in noun class (in gender and number), and the complementizer agrees with the matrix subject (BAKER 2005); cf. (3).

(3)　a.　Ami　n-tum　　　n-dam.
　　　　　I　　1SS-be.very　1SS-be.big
　　　　　'I am very big.' (BAKER 2008: 104)

　　　b.　Òmìnì　ọ́-bálẹ̀　　ò-bí　　Úbì　ó-kạ́　Ìsúá.
　　　　　Omini　1S-think　1S-that　Ubi　1S-see　Isu
　　　　　'Omini thinks that Ubi saw Isu.'

　　　c.　yà-dạ́m　yá-bálẹ̀bẹ̀　yà-bí　Úbì　ó-kạ́　Ìsúá.
　　　　　2-man　2S-think　　2S-that　Ubi　1S-see　Isu
　　　　　'The men think that Ubi saw Isu.'

Lokạạ usually has SVO word order but in negative and gerundive constructions, the object precedes the verb resulting in an SOV order as the data in (4) show (BAKER 2005, GÜLDEMANN 2007). The negative and gerundive markers are attached to the verb (4b-c). In the gerundive construction in (4c), the final verb jîì 'eat' is nominalized and has the gerundive affix **kè-**.

(4)　*Lokạạ word order* (BAKER 2005)
　　　a.　Úbì　ó-kpèèyì　　kò-póó.　　　　　　　　　　　*affirmative SVO*
　　　　　Ubi　1S-sell　　　9-cup
　　　　　'Ubi sold a cup.'

　　　b.　Úbì　kò-póó　òó-kpèèyì.　　　　　　　　　　　*negative SOV*
　　　　　Ubi　9-cup　　NEG.1S-sell
　　　　　'Ubi didn't sell a cup.'

　　　c.　Úbì　ó-kòòmá　ẹ́-sàu　kè-jîì.　　　　　　　　　*gerundive SOV*
　　　　　Ubi　1S-stop　　7-fish　GER-eat
　　　　　'Ubi stopped eating fish.'

BAKER (2005) notes that Lokạạ exhibits more head-initial properties, e.g., it attests prepositions; tense and aspect particles, as well as auxiliaries, come before the main verb; complementizers precede clauses (5).

(5)　a.　kạ́　ẹ̀-plá
　　　　　at　7-market
　　　　　'at the market'

b. ḿ-blà   má   m̀-pò
8-dog   DET   8-two
'the two dogs'

c. nẹ̀   ọ́-yàà
FUT   1S-happen
'It will happen.'

In ditransitive constructions, the goal object precedes the theme object as exemplified in (6).

(6)   Úbì   ó-kạ̀í   wẹ̀ẹ́n   lì-póó.
Ubi   1S-give   1.child   11-cup
Ubi gave the child cups.'

Certain adjuncts have a relatively free order in Lokạạ. Temporal adverbs can occur clause initially or clause finally in both affirmative and negative sentences (IWARA 1982). BAKER (2005) shows that this type of adverbs can either precede or follow the subject. Lokạạ is a pro-drop language, where the subject can be omitted if the reference is clear from the context. BAKER (2005) argues that overt subjects in the language are dislocated determiner phrases (DPs) adjoined to a clause. He submits that the dislocation is a side effect of rich agreement.

3. Main clause wh- in-situ and ex-situ

Lokạạ attests both in-situ and ex-situ wh-questions in main clauses for nearly all non-subject wh-interrogatives.[2] The example in (7a) is the baseline sentence. Sentences (7b-e) illustrate wh- ex-situ for simplex interrogative words, where the wh-phrase leaves a gap in the original base position. The equivalent of *when*, *why* and *how* involve complex wh-phrases (cf. IWARA 1982: 171ff). I do not consider these questions in the present study.

(7)   a.   Úbì   ó-kạ́   wẹ̀ẹ́n.
Ubi   1S-see   1.child
'Ubi saw the child.'

b.   ǹnẹ̀ẹ́   (má)   ò-kạ́   wẹ̀ẹ́n?
who   MA   1S-see   1.child
'Who saw the child?'

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[2] The wh-phrase **ǹnẹ̀ẹ́** 'who' is singular and has a plural counterpart **yábáàng** (IWARA 1982).

    c.   ǹnè̩é̩ (má)   Úbì   ó-ká̩?
        who   MA   Ubi   1S-see
        'Who did Ubi see?'

    d.   m̀bó̩ò̩ng (má)   Úbì   ó-ká̩?
        what   MA   Ubi   1S-see
        'What did Ubi see?'

    e.   dé̩è̩ndé̩ (má)   Úbì   ó-ká̩   wè̩é̩n?
        where   MA   Ubi   1S-see 1.child
        'Where did Ubi see the child?'

The examples in (8) illustrate that the simple non-subject wh-phrases can occur in-situ, where they can also be optionally followed by the element **má**. The data in (8c) shows that wh-adjunct can appear in-situ. The wh-object *what* when in-situ is realized as **bó̩ò̩ng** without the initial bilabial nasal consonant when it occurs ex-situ; cf. (7d) and (8b).[3]

(8)   a. **Úbì** **ó-ká̩**   **ǹnè̩é̩**   **(má)?**
         Ubi   1S-see   who   MA
         'Who did Ubi see?'

    b. **Úbì** **ó-ká̩**   **bó̩ò̩ng**   **(má)?**
         Ubi   1S-see   what   MA
         'What did Ubi see?'

    c. **Úbì** **ó-ká̩**   **wè̩é̩n**   **dé̩è̩ndé̩** **(má)?**
         Ubi   1S-see   1.child where   MA
         'Where did Ubi see the child?'

The table below shows the inventory of wh-expressions covered in this study.

ǹnè̩é̩	'who'
nè̩è̩	'who'
yábáàng	'who (PL)'
m̀bó̩ò̩ng	'what'
bó̩ò̩ng	'what'
dé̩è̩ndé̩	'where'

Table 1 – Wh-expressions in Lokạạ

As seen in Table 1, there are three variants of the wh-phrase 'who' and two for 'what', while 'where' has a single form. The focus of this section has been on simple main clauses and the wh-questions formation strategies that are allowed in them. The next section examines wh-questions with clausal embedding.

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[3] Notes that while the wh-phrase **ǹnè̩é̩** 'who' can be found in both in-situ and ex-situ contexts, the form **nè̩è̩** 'who' is found only in-situ (IWARA 1982).

4. Embedded clause wh- in-situ, ex-situ and partial wh-movement

In this section, I consider long-distance ex-situ wh-questions and wh- in-situ in embedded clauses. Wh-phrases that originates from embedded clauses may either occur in-situ, or ex-situ either occurring at the left edge of the matrix clause or they may involve partial wh-movement where they are moved to an intermediate position following the complementizer. The data in (9) illustrate ex-situ questions, where the wh-phrases are moved to the clause-initial position of the matrix clause. Example (9a) is the baseline declarative sentence, (9b) demonstrates embedded subject extraction, (9c-d) and for direct objects, and (9e) shows a wh-adjunct.

(9) a. Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ ò-bí Úbì ó-ká̩ wè̩é̩n.
   Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ubi 1S-see 1.child
   'Omini thinks that Ubi saw the child.'   *baseline*

   b. ǹnè̩é̩ (má) Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ ò-bí __ ó-ká̩ wè̩é̩n?
   who MA Omini 1S-think 1S-that   1S-see 1.child
   'Who did Omini think that saw the child?'   *embedded subject*

   c. ǹnè̩é̩ (má) Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ ò-bí Úbì ó-ká̩ __ ?
   who MA Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ubi 1S-see
   Who did Omini think that Ubi saw?'   *embedded object*

   d. m̀bọ́ọ̀ng (má) Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ ò-bí Úbì ó-ká̩ __ ?
   what MA Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ubi 1S-see
   'What did Omini think that Ubi saw?'   *embedded object*

   e. dé̩è̩ndé̩ (má) Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ ò-bí Úbì ó-ká̩ wè̩é̩n?
   where MA Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ubi 1S-see 1.child
   'Where did Omini think that Ubi saw the child?'   *embedded adjunct*

The in-situ interrogative strategy under embedded contexts is illustrated in (10).

(10) a. Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ ò-bí nè̩è̩ (má) ó-ká̩ wè̩é̩n?
    Omini 1S-think 1S-that who MA 1S-see 1.child
    'Who did Omini think that saw the child?'   *embedded subject*

   b. Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ ò-bí Úbì ó-ká̩ bọ́ọ̀ng (má)?
    Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ubi 1S-see what MA
    'What did Omini think that Ubi saw?'   *embedded object*

   c. Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ ò-bí Úbì ó-ká̩ wè̩é̩n dé̩è̩ndé̩ (má)?
    Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ubi 1S-see 1.child where MA
    'Where did Omini think that Ubi saw the child?'   *embedded adjunct*

Partial wh-movement with the wh-phrases surfacing at the right edge of the embedded complementizer is shown in (11). Empirical evidence for this partial

wh-movement in Lokạạ is that the wh-phrases **ǹnèẹ́** 'who' and **m̀bóọ̀ng** 'what' are the forms that we find in ex-situ contexts and not in in-situ contexts (cf. IWARA 1982:288).

(11) a. Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ ò-bí ǹnèẹ́ (má) Úbì ó-kạ́?
   Omini 1S-think 1S-that who MA Ubi 1S-see
   'Who did Omini think that Ubi saw?'   *embedded object*

   b. Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ ò-bí m̀bóọ̀ng (má) Úbì ó-kạ́?
   Omini 1S-think 1S-that what MA Ubi 1S-see
   'What did Omini think that Ubi saw?'   *embedded object*

   c. Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ ò-bí dé̩è̩ndé̩ (má) Úbì ó-kạ́ wè̩é̩n?
   Omini 1S-think 1S-that where MA Ubi 1S-see 1.child
   Where did Omini think that Ubi saw Isu?'   *embedded adjunct*

The data in (12) indicate that the three different strategies of wh-interrogative are not constrained by the depth of embedding. The examples involve two levels of embedding with (12a) illustrating 'full wh-movement', (12b) is in-situ and (12c) shows partial wh-movement.

(12) a. ǹnèẹ́ (má) Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ [ò-bí Ìkwọ́ ó-jạ̀yì [ò-bí ó-kạ́ wè̩é̩n]]?
   who MA Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ikwo 1S-say 1S-that 1S-see 1.child
   'Who did Omini think that Ikwo said saw the child?'   *ex-situ*

   b. Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ [ò-bí Ìkwọ́ ó-jạ̀yì [ò-bí Úbì ó-kạ́ ǹnèẹ́ (má)]]?
   Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ikwo 1S-say 1S-that Ubi 1S-see who MA
   Who did Omini think that Ikwo said that Ubi saw?'   *in-situ*

   c. Òmìnì ọ́-bálè̩ [ò-bí Ìkwọ́ ó-jạ̀yì [ò-bí ǹnèẹ́ (má) Úbì ó-kạ́]]?
   Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ikwo 1S-say 1S-that who MA Ubi 1S-see
   'Who did Omini think that Ikwo said that Ubi saw?'   *partial*

The wh-phrase corresponding to the subject of the second embedded clause surfaces at the left edge of the matrix clause in (12a). In (12b), the wh-phrase does not leave its original base position in the object position of the embedded clause. The sentence in (12c) indicates that this object wh-phrase that is in-situ in the deeply embedded clause in (12b) can partially move to the edge of the same clause.

5. Embedded (indirect) questions

Embedded questions are realized via relativization as illustrated in (13).[4] The relative clauses are introduced by a particle that agrees with the head noun that

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[4] The exception here is 'how', whose operation is unclear. I leave this for future research.

the relative clause modifies (IWARA 1982, BAKER 2008).[5] That the relativization strategy is used to express embedded questions has been reported for other languages, see among other AMAECHI and GEORGI (2019) for Igbo and TORRENCE and KANDYBOWICZ (2015) for Krachi. In Lokạạ, the verbs yìmákẹ́ 'to know' and bláú 'to ask' select for embedded questions. The examples in (13) and (14) illustrate these for the two verbs.

(13) a. ń-yìmákẹ́ ọ̀-nẹ̀n w-ạ́ ọ̀-ffì ẹ̀-blà má.
1SS -know 1-person 1-REL 1S-kill 7-dog DET
'I know who killed the dog.' (lit. 'I know the person that killed the dog.')

b. ń-yìmákẹ́ bòóng w-ạ́ áwẹ̀ẹ́n ọ́-ffì.
1SS-know thing 1-REL 1.child 1S-kill
'I know what the child killed.' (lit. 'I know the thing that the child killed.')

c. ń-yìmákẹ́ ké-béyì s-ạ́ wẹ̀ẹ́n ọ́-ffì ẹ̀-blà má.
1SS-know 5-time 5-REL 1.child 1S-kill 7-dog DET
'I know when the child killed the dog.' (lit. 'I know the time that the child killed the dog.')

d. ń-yìmákẹ́ à-pámà y-ạ́ wẹ̀ẹ́n ọ́-ffì ẹ̀-blà má.
1SS-know 4-place 4-REL 1.child 1S-kill 7-dog DET
'I know where the child killed the dog.' (lit. 'I know about the place that the child killed the dog.')

(14) a. ḿ-bláyí ọ̀-nẹ̀n w-ạ́ ọ̀-ffì ẹ̀-blà má.
1SS-ask 1-person 1-REL 1S-kill 7-dog DET
'I asked who killed the dog.' (lit. 'I asked about the person that killed the dog.')

b. ḿ-bláyí bòóng w-ạ́ wẹ̀ẹ́n ọ́-ffì.
1SS-ask thing 1-REL 1.child 1S-kill
'I asked what the child killed.' (lit. 'I asked about the thing that the child killed.')

c. ḿ-bláyí à-pámà y-ạ́ wẹ̀ẹ́n ọ́-ffì ẹ̀-blà má.
1SS-ask 4-place 4-REL 1.child 1S-kill 7-dog DET
'I asked where the child killed the dog.' (lit. 'I asked about the place that the child killed the dog.')

The verb bláú 'to ask' may combine with an embedded clause containing an ex-situ wh-phrase, but when this happens, we do not get an indirect question interpretation as it is with the relativization strategy exemplified in (14) but rather we have a direct question as illustrated in (15).

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[5] BAKER (2008: 119) notes that the particle that introduces relative clauses is not a relative marker as the same particle is also used in noun-noun modification constructions, which he argues do not involve operator movement.

(15) ḿ-bláyí,   ǹnèé   (má)   wèén   ó-ffì.
     1SS-ask   who   MA   1.child 1S-kill
     'I asked: 'What did the child kill?''

It is shown in this section that embedded wh-questions involve relativization. It is important to note that the verb **yìmákẹ́** 'to know' in declarative contexts takes the declarative complementizer **-bí** 'that', cf. (12). In interrogative contexts, the relative marker is found as exemplified in (13).

6. Constraints on wh-movement

In the previous sections, I have shown that Lokạạ has three wh-interrogative strategies: ex-situ, in-situ and partial movement. The issue that is being addressed in this section is whether these strategies involve movement or not, and how they are constrained. I show that the wh-interrogatives including wh-in-situ undergo covert movement in the language. Evidence for these is from island effects and superiority. This shows that there is no difference between covert and overt phrasal wh-movement in the cases of 'full movement' and partial movement.

6.1 Islands

ROSS's (1967) island-sensitivity, the structural condition under which wh-movement is licensed or not, is one of the classic diagnostics for syntactic movement. Based on Ross's islands for movement such as complex DP constraints, sentential subject constraints, and adjunct condition, I show that the three wh-strategies in Lokạạ show the properties that are diagnostics of movement as they are sensitive to all these islands and yield ungrammatical constructions. Even in the case of in-situ strategy, not moving the wh-phrase does not circumvent the island constraints. The examples in (16) to (18) demonstrate this.

Complex DP islands – relative clause

(16) a. Òmìnì ó-kạ́ wèén   [w-ạ́ ó-ffì   è-blà   má].
         Omini 1S-see 1.child 1-REL 1S-kill 7-dog   DET
         'Omini saw the child [that killed the dog].

     b. *m̀bóòng₍ (má) Òmìnì ó-kạ́   wèén   [w-ạ́   ó-ffì   __₍]?
         what   MA   Omini 1S-see 1.child 1-REL 1S-kill
         Lit: 'What did Omini saw the child [that killed __]?'   *ex-situ*

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c.   *Òmìnì   ńgwà   ó-kạ́   wẹ́ẹ́n   [w-ạ́   ọ́-fîì   bọ́ọ̀ng   (má)]?
         Omini   PRO   1S-see   1.child   1-REL   1S-kill   what   MA
         Lit: 'Omini saw the child [that killed what]?'   *in-situ*

d.   *Òmìnì   ó-kạ́   wẹ́ẹ́n   [w-ạ́   m̀bọ́ọ̀ng$_i$ (má)   ọ́-fîì   __$_i$]?
         Omini   1S-see   1.child   1-REL   what   MA   1S-kill
         Lit: 'What did Omini saw the child [that killed __]?'   *partial*

Sentential Subject Constraint

(17)   a.   [ázạ́ạ́   wẹ́ẹ́n   ọ́-fîì   è-blà   má]   ó-kpạ́n   nàm.
           that   1.child   1S-kill   7-dog   DET   1S-worry   me
           '[That the child killed the dog] worries me.'

      b.   *m̀bọ́ọ̀ng$_i$ (má)   [ázạ́ạ́   wẹ́ẹ́n   ọ́-fîì   __$_i$]   ó-kpạ́n   nàm?
           what   MA   that   1.child   1S-kill   1S-worry   me
           Lit: 'What did [that the child killed ___] worries me.'   *ex-situ*

      c.   *[ázạ́ạ́   wẹ́ẹ́n   ọ́-fîì   bọ́ọ̀ng   (má)]   ó-kpạ́n   nàm?
           that   1.child   1S-kill   what   MA   1S-worry   me
           Lit: '[That the child killed what] worries me.'   *in-situ*

Adjunct condition – *because* clause

(18)   a.   Úbì   ọ́-nọ́   yè-zọ́   [ọ̀gẹ́nà   Ìsú   ọ́-fîì   yì-nọ̀n].
           Ubi   1S-cook   6-yam   because   Isu   1S-kill   12-chicken
           'Ubi cooked yam [because Isu killed the chicken].'

      b.   *m̀bọ́ọ̀ng$_i$ (má)   Úbì   ọ́-nọ́   yè-zọ́   [ọ̀gẹ́nà   Ìsú   ọ́-fîì   __$_i$]?
           what   MA   Ubi   1S-cook   6-yam   because   Isu   1S-kill
           'What did Ubi cooked yam [before Isu killed __]?'   *ex-situ*

      c.   *Úbì   ọ́-nọ́   yè-zọ́   [ọ̀gẹ́nà   Ìsú   ọ́-fîì   bọ́ọ̀ng   (má)]?
           Ubi   1S-cook   6-yam   because   Isu   1S-kill   what   MA
           'Ubi cooked yam [before Isu killed what]?'   *in-situ*

      d.   *Úbì   ọ́-nọ́   yè-zọ́   [ọ̀gẹ́nà   m̀bọ́ọ̀ng$_i$ (má)   Ìsú   ọ́-fîì   __$_i$]?
           Ubi   1S-cook   6-yam   because   what   MA   Isu   1S-kill
           'What did Ubi cooked yam [before Isu killed __]?'   *partial*

Both ex-situ and in-situ wh-questions are islands for movement with regards to the complex DP islands illustrated with the relative clause in (16). Data (16b-c) indicate that movement either overt (ex-situ) or covert (in-situ) out of a relative clause in Lokạạ is blocked. The sentential subject constraint forbids wh-movement out of a sentential subject (17), while the adjunct condition does not allow for movement out of an adjunct phrase such as *because* clauses. Under the sentential subject constraint and the adjunct condition, it is important to note that the in-situ strategies are grammatical but only under an echo question

context. This means that the sentences cannot be used in an out-of-the-blue context with a genuine content question interpretation. Partial wh-movement inside an island is ungrammatical as the (d) examples in (16) and (18) show.

Coordinate structures in Lokạạ are sensitive to islands. The data in (19) illustrate this. The sentence in (19b) shows the ban on extraction of one of the conjuncts. Example (19c) illustrate in-situ wh-interrogative which is grammatical. The partial wh-movement in (19d) involving one of the conjuncts is illicit.

<u>Coordinate Structures</u>

(19) a. [Úbì   òbạ́   wẹ̀ẹ́n]   yá-kọ̀ì   ẹ́-plá.
        Ubi   and   child   2S-go   7-market
        'Ubi and the child went to the market.'

    b. *nnè̱ẹ́ᵢ   (má)   [Úbì   òbạ́   __ᵢ]   yá-kọ̀ì   ẹ́-plá?
        who   MA   Ubi   and   2S-go   7-market
        intended: 'Who and Ubi went to the market?'   *ex-situ*

    c. [Úbì   òbạ́   nnè̱ẹ́   (má)]   yá-kọ̀ì   ẹ́-plá?
        Ubi   and   who   MA   2S-go   7-market
        Lit.: 'Ubi and who went to the market?'   *in-situ*

    d. *Òmìnì   ọ́-bálè̱   ò-bí   nnè̱ẹ́ᵢ   (má)   [Úbì   òbạ́   __ᵢ]   yá-kọ̀ì   ẹ́-plá?
        Omini   1S-think   1S-that   who   MA   Ubi   and   2S-go   7-market
        Lit.: 'Omini think that who and Ubi went to the market?'   *partial*

Note that the word òbạ́ has both coordinative and comitative function in Lokạạ (AMAECHI 2022), but the structure of òbạ́ in (19) is coordination. This is because of the plural subject agreement attached to the verb. In the comitative usage with a meaning equivalent to 'Ubi went to the market with the child', the subject agreement is singular (20a). Furthermore, the prepositional phrase òbạ́ wẹ̀ẹ́n 'with the child' can be extraposed (20b) showing that it is performing a comitative function and it is an adjunct. But in a coordination structure, the two conjuncts cannot be separated in such manner. This is why the plural subject agreement is not licit in (20b).

(20) a. Úbì   òbạ́   wẹ̀ẹ́n   ọ́-kọ̀ì   ẹ́-plá.
        Ubi   with   1.child   1S-go   7-market
        'Ubi went to the market with the child.'
        #'Ubi and the child went to the market.'

    b. Úbì   ọ́-kọ̀ì   /   *yá-kọ̀ì   ẹ́-plá   òbạ́   wẹ̀ẹ́n.
        Ubi   1S-go   /   2S-go   7-market   with   1.child
        'Ubi went to the market with the child.'

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Subject DP coordination is used in (19) because with object coordination the distinction between the coordinative and comitative usage is not clear-cut. The example in (21) is ambiguous between these two interpretations.

(21) a. Úbì   ó-kạ́   [è̩-blà   òbạ́   yì-nò̩n].
         Ubi   1S-see 7-dog and   12-chicken
         'Ubi saw the dog and the chicken.'
         'Ubi saw the dog with the chicken.'

  b. m̀bó̩ò̩ng$_i$ (má) Úbì ó-kạ́   [__$_i$ òbạ́ yì-nò̩n]?
      what   MA   Ubi 1S-see   and 12-chicken
      Lit: 'What did Ubi see and the chicken?'
      Lit: 'What did Ubi see with the chicken?'

  c. ?m̀bó̩ò̩ng$_i$ (má) Úbì ó-kạ́ [è̩-blà   òbạ́   __$_i$]?
      what   MA   Ubi 1S-see 7-dog   and
      Lit: 'What did Ubi see the dog and?'
      Lit: 'What did Ubi see the dog with?'

  d. Úbì ó-kạ́ [bó̩ò̩ng (má)   òbạ́ yì-nò̩n]?
      Ubi 1S-see what   MA   and 12-chicken
      Lit: 'Ubi saw what and the chicken?'
      Lit: 'Ubi saw what with the chicken?'

  e. Úbì ó-kạ́ [è̩-blà   òbạ́ bó̩ò̩ng (má)]?
      Ubi 1S-see 7-dog   and   what   MA
      Lit: 'Ubi saw the dog and what?'
      Lit: 'Ubi saw the dog with what?'

The examples in (21b-e) illustrate extraction of the one of the object DPs in either the coordinative or comitative structure. Based on comitative meaning, the degraded sentence in (21c) could be the result of preposition stranding which is not allowed in the language (AMAECHI 2022). Also, note that the extraction of the object does not require any resumption in the original base position of the moved wh-phrase. Data (21b-c) illustrate the ex-situ strategy, while (21d-e) exemplifies the in-situ strategy.

6.2 Superiority effects

The so-called superiority effects have been observed in some languages such as English (22b), where in multiple wh-constructions one wh-phrase cannot be moved to the left over another wh-phrase (CHOMSKY 1977). The example (22a) where the wh-subject *who* precedes the wh-object *what* is grammatical but in (22b) in which case *what* is moved and precedes *who* is illicit in English. Thus, the data in (22a) show that English is a superiority-obeying language.

(22) a. Who saw what?

b. *What did who see?

The Lokaạ data presented in (23) show that the language does not manifest superiority effects, that is, it is superiority-violating. The example in (23b) shows that a wh-object can be moved to precede the wh-subject, and (23c) demonstrates that having an adjunct interrogative coming before the more superior subject wh-phrase is allowed. Note that the element **má** can occur in all three positions in the sentences below.

(23) a. ǹnèẹ́ (má) ó-káạ   bóọ̀ng (má) déẹ̀ndé (má)?
         who MA 1S-see what MA   where MA
         'Who saw what where?'

b. m̀bóọ̀ng (má) ǹnèẹ́ (má) ó-káạ   déẹ̀ndé (má)?
    what   MA who MA 1S-see where MA
    'What did who see where?'

c. déẹ̀ndé (má) ǹnèẹ́ (má) ó-káạ   bóọ̀ng (má)?
    where MA who MA 1S-see what MA
    'Where did who saw what?'

The lack of superiority effects is also observed in long-distance wh-movement. Consider the following data.

(24) a. á-bàló   à-bí   Ìsú ó-káạ   è-blà.
         2S-think 2S-that Isu 1S-see 7-dog
         'You think Isu saw the dog.'

b. ǹnèẹ́ (má) á-bàló   à-bí   __   ó-káạ   bóọ̀ng (má)?
    who MA 2S-think 2S-that   1S-see   what MA
    'Who do you think that saw what?'

c. m̀bóọ̀ng (má) á-bàló   à-bí   ǹnèẹ́ (má) ó-káạ?
    what   MA 2S-think 2S-that who MA 1S-see
    *'What do you think that who saw?'

The example in (24c) shows that the embedded object interrogative can be moved over the embedded subject wh-phrase. Similar data is being presented by ADESOLA (2005, 2006) to argue for the absence of superiority in Yoruba. Other African languages such as Akan (SAAH 1994), Krachi (TORRENCE and KANDYBOWICZ (2015), and Igbo (AMAECHI and GEORGI 2019) have been shown to exhibit superiority violations.

7. Matrix subject wh-questions

Matrix (local) subject wh-questions in Lokạạ seem to show some reflex of displacement. This is often indicated with changes in the verb form. For instance, in the examples provided above with the verb **kạ́** 'to see', the change is observed via the tonal overwriting on the verbal subject agreement prefix. In the declarative clause in (25a), the agreement prefix bears a high tone. However, in the corresponding example (25b) with subject wh-questions, the tone on the prefix changes to low.

(25) a. Úbì ó-kạ́   wẹ̀ẹ́n.
    Ubi 1S-see 1.child
    'Ubi saw the child.'

   b. ǹnẹ̀ẹ́ (má) ò-kạ́   wẹ̀ẹ́n?
    who   MA   1S-see 1.child
    'Who saw the child?'

It is particularly interesting to note that this tonal change is absent in non-subject wh-questions as the examples in (26) indicate. In (26a), we have wh-object and (26b) illustrates wh-adjunct. In both questions, the verb form is the same as that found in the declarative sentence in (25a).

(26) a. ǹnẹ̀ẹ́ (má) Úbì ó-kạ́?
    who   MA   Ubi 1S-see
    'Who did Ubi see?'

   b. dẹ́ẹ̀ndẹ́ (má) Úbì ó-kạ́   wẹ̀ẹ́n?
    where   MA   Ubi 1S-see 1.child
    'Where did Ubi see the child?'

Similarly, in the corresponding in-situ variants, where the wh-phrases are not moved to the clause-initial position, the declarative tone is found (27a). The same declarative verb tone is seen in long-distance displacement including extraction of the embedded subject. The relevant examples are shown in (27b-e).

(27) a. Úbì   ó-kạ́   bọ̀ọ̀ng (má)?
    Ubi   1S-see what   MA
    'What did Ubi see?'   *object in-situ*

   b. ǹnẹ̀ẹ́ (má) Òmìnì ọ́-bálẹ̀   ò-bí   __   ó-kạ́   wẹ̀ẹ́n?
    who   MA   Omini 1S-think 1S-that   1S-see 1.child
    'Who did Omini think that saw the child?'   *embedded subject*

  c. m̀bộọ̀ng (má) Òmìnì ọ́-bálẹ̀ ò-bí Úbì ó-kạ́?
    what MA Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ubi 1S-see
    'What did Omini think that Ubi saw?'   *embedded object*

  d. Òmìnì ọ́-bálẹ̀ ò-bí nẹ̀ẹ̀ (má) ó-kạ́ wẹ̀ẹ́n?
    Omini 1S-think 1S-that who MA 1S-see 1.child
    'Who did Omini think that saw Isu?'   *in-situ embedded subject*

  e. Òmìnì ọ́-bálẹ̀ ò-bí Úbì ó-kạ́ bộọ̀ng (má)?
    Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ubi 1S-see what MA
    'What did Omini think that Ubi saw?'   *in-situ embedded object*

This kind of tonal overwriting is similar to that found in subject relative clauses; cf. IWARA (1982: 231). Iwara refers to the verb form as relative clause type II.[6]

(28) a. ò-dạ́m ó-kạ́ wẹ̀ẹ́n.
    1-man 1S-see 1.child
    'The man saw the child.'

  b. ò-dạ́m w-ạ́ ò-kạ́ wẹ̀ẹ́n
    1-man 1-REL 1S-see 1.child
    'The man that saw the child.'

  c. wẹ̀ẹ́n w-ạ́ ò-dạ́m ó-kạ́
    1.child 1-REL 1-man 1S-see
    'The child that the man saw.'

At first glance this seems to be a case of matrix/local subject versus other arguments and adjuncts asymmetry in the language, but a closer look at the asymmetry suggests that we find this change to a low tone on the verb agreement prefix when there is no overt subject (25b). In other words, the absence of an overt subject triggers the subject relative clause tone. Empirical evidence for this is that in ex-situ non-subject wh-questions where there is no overt subject noun phrase, we see the low tone on the subject agreement prefix. IWARA (1982: 290) provides an account that the different verb forms are due to whether the wh-phrases are found in either ex-situ and in-situ contexts. This does not appear to be the case as we have already seen in examples (26-27) that the tone on the verb agreement prefix does not change in both the in-situ and ex-situ wh-questions as long as there is an overt subject in the clause.

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[6] See IWARA (1982: 231f) for the tonal changes with other classes of verbs such as disyllabic and trisyllabic verbs.

8. Lokạạ wh-phrases are not focused

This section considers the basic properties of wh-questions in Lokạạ and demonstrates that the wh-interrogatives in the language are not related to focus. A common feature in the three wh-question strategies exemplified in (1), and repeated here as (29), is the presence of the wh-phrase **ǹnẹ́ẹ́** 'what' in both in-situ and ex-situ cases.

(29) a. ǹnẹ́ẹ́ (má) Òmìnì ọ́-bálẹ̀ ò-bí Úbì ó-kạ́?
who MA Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ubi 1S-see
'Who did Omini think that Ubi saw?'   *ex-situ*

b. Òmìnì ọ́-bálẹ̀ ò-bí Úbì ó-kạ́ ǹnẹ́ẹ́ (má)?
Omini 1S-think 1S-that Ubi 1S-see who MA
'Who did Omini think that Ubi saw?'   *in-situ*

c. Òmìnì ọ́-bálẹ̀ ò-bí ǹnẹ́ẹ́ (má) Úbì ó-kạ́?
Omini 1S-think 1S-that who MA Ubi 1S-see
'Who did Omini think that Ubi saw?'   *partial movement*

The wh-phrase is optionally followed by the element **má**. There is evidence that demonstrate that this element is not a focus particle. First is that the element is not found in focus constructions in the language. Focused constituents are often displaced in the language and they occur at the left edge of the clause where they are immediately followed by a complementizer that agrees with the focused constituent. Consider the sentences in (30). The data show that focused expressions and wh- phrases do not follow the same syntactic path in Lokạạ.

(30) a. wẹ́ẹ́n ó-kạ́ kè-tí kạ́ ẹ́-plá.
1.child 1S-see 5-tree at 7-market
'The child saw the tree at the market.'   *baseline*

b. wẹ́ẹ́n ńgwà ó-kạ́ kè-tí kạ́ ẹ́-plá.
1.child 1.FOC 1S-see 5-tree at 7-market
'<u>The child</u> saw the tree at the market.'   *subject focus*

c. kè-tí ńsà̀ wẹ́ẹ́n ó-kạ́ kạ́ ẹ́-plá.
5-tree 5.FOC 1.child 1S-see at 7-market
'The child saw <u>the tree</u> at the market.'   *object focus*

d. kạ́ ẹ́-plá ńyà̀ wẹ́ẹ́n ó-kạ́ kè-tí.
at 7-market 7.FOC 1.child 1S-see 5-tree
'The child saw the tree <u>at the market</u>.'   *adjunct focus*

Another support for the argument that wh-phrases in Lokạạ are not focused comes from the presence of the element **má** in yes/no questions. Just like in wh-

questions, the element is also optional in yes/no questions and can co-occur with the final question particle ó, cf. (31).[7]

(31) a. wèè̩n   (má) ó̩-fíí   é̩-blà   ó?
         1.child   MA   1S-kill   7-dog   Q
         'Did the child kill the dog?'

     b. Úbì   (má)   ò-ká̩   Ísúá   (ó)?
         Ubi   MA   1S-see Isu   Q
         'Did Ubi see Isu?'

The exact nature of this **má** element in both kinds of questions is still unclear, I leave that for future research. The fact that similar question particles are found in both wh-questions and yes/no questions in some (unrelated) languages has been used to argue that wh-phrases are not inherently interrogative or focused (ABOH and PFAU 2006).

A further argument that wh-phrases in Lokạạ do not target the same focus position as focused constituents is that focused expressions and wh-phrases are not in complementary distribution. The data in (32) illustrate this point. The example in (32b-c) shows that we can have both the wh-phrase and the focused phrase in a single clause. In languages where the same specifier position is targeted by wh-phrases and focused constituent, these two elements are in complementary distribution where they occur to the left of the focus marker, especially in some Benue-Congo languages; see, for instance, ABOH (2004, 2007) for Gungbe and AMAECHI and GEORGI (2019) for Igbo.

(32) a. wè̩è̩n   ńgwà̩ ó-ká̩   kè-tí   ká̩ é̩-plá.
         1.child 1.FOC 1S-see   5-tree at   7-market
         '<u>The child</u> saw the tree at the market.'

     b. m̀bó̩ò̩ng   (má) wè̩è̩n   ńgwà̩ ó-ká̩   ká̩ é̩-plá?   m̀bó̩ò̩ng
         what   MA   1.child 1.FOC 1S-see at   7-market what
         'What did <u>the child</u> see at the market?'

     c. wè̩è̩n   ńgwà̩ m̀bó̩ò̩ng   (má) ó-ká̩   ká̩ é̩-plá?
         1.child 1.FOC what   MA   1S-see at   7-market
         'What did <u>the child</u> see at the market?'

Another argument that has been put forward for the distinction between focused and non-focused wh-phrases is that in question-answer pairs, focused wh-phrases require an answer containing a focused marked constituent but non-

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[7] The final question particle **ó** is also found in wh-questions for some speakers. One of my consultants reports that this is the case with older speakers.

focused wh-phrases do not seem to impose such a restriction on the answer (ABOH 2007:288). This is applicable to wh-questions in Lokạạ where there is no requirement for an answer to a wh-question to contain a focused marked constituent. Speakers note that an answer with focus morphology can be used by the addressee if a particular constituent in the answer is to be emphasized. Thus, to a question such as *Who saw the tree at the market?*, the answer without a focused expression would be that in (30a), and if the addressee wishes to focus the subject, the sentence in (30b) can be used.

An approach that can be put forward here is that of Aboh (2007) in assuming that non-focused wh-phrases are wh-phrases that occur in other positions than the focus position in a split complementizer phrase (CP) system (RIZZI 1997). Aboh posits that non-focused wh-phrases occur in various IP-internal positions. He proposes a projection FP (33), for instance, that is within the clausal left periphery, lower than FocP but higher than TP and whose specifier (Spec FP) may host non-focused wh-phrases (ABOH 2007:310).

(33) [FocP [Foc [FP non-foc wh ...[TP ...]]]]

It is worth noting that Baker (2005) reports that fronted wh-phrases in Lokạạ can be preceded or followed by the subject. He uses this free position of the subject to argue that they are dislocated (cf. Section 2). Consider the sentences in (34). Note that the questions below have a cleft structure.

(34) a. **Ó-dà̲   nnè̲é̲   ó̲ó̲bò̲l ó-wòy   té̲   ó̲-dé̲é̲   kò-póó**
       1AGR-be who   chief   1AGR-want SUBJ   1AGR-buy 11-cup
       'Who does the chief want to buy the cup?'

     b. **Ò̲bó̲ó̲l ó-dà̲   nnè̲é̲ ó-wò̲ò̲yì   té̲   ó̲-dé̲é̲   kò-póó**
       chief   1AGR-be who   1AGR-want SUBJ   1AGR-buy 11-cup
       'Who does the chief want to buy the cup?'   (BAKER 2005)

The free position of the subject does not affect the position of non-focused wh-phrases in Spec FP. The cases where the subject comes after the wh-phrase as in (34a) can be assumed to be instances of adjunction to CP, while cases such as (34b), where the subject precedes the wh-phrase are treated as adjunction of the subject to IP. The table below summarizes the differences between focus constructions and wh-questions in Lokạạ.

MARY AMAECHI
Wh-question formation in Lokạạ

	Wh-questions	Focus
Focus (agreement) morphology	✗	✓
Presence of question element **má**	✓	✗
Focused constituents in question-answer pairs	✗	–

Table 2 – Wh-questions versus focus in Lokạạ

All in all, the absence of focus morphology in wh-questions in Lokạạ, the presence of the same question particle in both wh-questions and yes/no questions, the non-mutual exclusivity of wh-phrases and focused constituents, and the absence of the requirement for non-focused constituents in question-answer pairs show that wh-questions in the language are not focused.

9. Conclusion

This paper has examined aspects of wh-interrogatives in Lokạạ with focus on the strategies of forming wh-questions in the language, and whether these strategies involve (wh-)movement or not. The data presented showed that Lokạạ attests ex-situ, in-situ and partial wh-movement. It is also shown that embedded questions are formed via relativization. An interesting asymmetry found between (matrix) subject wh-questions and other wh-questions attested in Lokạạ is further described, where the subject relative clause tone is triggered on the verb in the absence of an overt subject. While focus constructions and wh-questions have been claimed to have the same syntax in some African languages (SCHNEIDER-ZIOGA 2009, AMAECHI and GEORGI 2019), I provided evidence based on the absence of focus morphology in wh-questions in Lokạạ, the presence of the same question particle in both wh-questions and yes/no questions, the non-mutual exclusivity of wh-phrases and focused constituents, and the lack of the need for non-focused constituents in question-answer pairs to show that wh-questions and focus do not have the same syntax in the language.

Abbreviations
1/2/3/…14 = noun class; 1S/2S/3S…14S = noun class subject agreement; 1SS = first person singular subject agreement; AGR = agreement; DET = determiner; FOC = focus; FUT = future; GER = gerund; NEG = negative marker; PRO = pronominal; Q = question particle; REL = relative marker; SUBJ = subjunctive.

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Research article

A cultural-conceptual analysis of plant-related proverbs in Nzema

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ABSTRACT

Proverbs are wise sayings that are built from socio-cultural experiences, including natural phenomena and objects such as plants, animals, rivers, among others. This paper focuses on plant-proverbs in Nzema, and how the imagery of plants provides basis for conceptualising human behavioural principles in the Nzema society. In this paper, twenty plant-related proverbs are examined, highlighting their advisory contents in relation to crucial themes such as generosity, hard-work and perseverance, justice and fairness, carefulness, patience, cooperation, and avoidance of litigation among others. The paper shows that many didactics are concealed in Nzema proverbs that incorporate plants like pawpaw, orange, sugarcane, pepper, coconut, banana, palm fruits, and trees in general. Thus, the Nzema dwell on plant imagery in proverbs to convey various advisory messages to mitigate vices and to straighten the conduct of members within the culture. Data were obtained from primary and secondary sources. The paper relies on Cultural Conceptualisations (SHARIFIAN 2011, 2017) as the theoretical underpinning.

KEY WORDS: Nzema, proverbs, plant, imagery, cultural-conceptualisations

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1. Introduction

People who share a history, experience, belief and a geographical background develop a culture (WU 2019). The Nzema people, who are located in the Western Region of Ghana, speak a language that is also referred to as Nzema (ANNAN 1980, KWAW 2008). Nzema belongs to the Niger-Congo Kwa languages family. Besides its dominant speakers in the South-west part of the Western Region of Ghana, it is also spoken in some parts of La Côte d`Ivoire (KWESI 1992). According to the STATISTICAL SERVICE OF GHANA (2021), Nzema has a population of 342, 090 people. The Nzema area is predominantly agrarian; most of the Nzema population are farmers who engage in subsistence farming. Some of the people also depend on fishing for a livelihood since the Nzema land stretches along the coast.

The Nzema traditional worldview can be identified in some of the manifestations of oral literary genres, such as riddles, folktales, myths, and proverbs (KWESI 2007), most prominent one being their proverbs. The proverbs are crafted from socio-cultural experiences and from the features of creatures like plants, animals, rocks, rivers, and mountains among others (QUARM and KWESI 1998). Since farming is the primary occupation among the Nzema, most of their traditional proverbs incorporate the imagery of plant life in which many virtues and didactics are concealed.

Although some existing studies on Nzema proverbs (e.g., QUARM and KWESI 1998, NYAME and TOMEKYIN 2018, YAKUB 2019, YAKUB and OSEI 2020, YAKUB et al. 2021) are recognised, little attention has been paid to the exploration of plant imagery in proverbs. Thus, from a cultural-conceptual perspective, this paper looks at the mental relationship between plant behaviours and human characteristics as portrayed in Nzema proverbs. The paper aims to highlight the advisory significance of plant-related proverbs, and how the imagery of plants provides basis for conceptualising human behavioural principles in the Nzema society. To achieve this goal, our analysis focuses on proverbs that relate to pepper, coconut, pawpaw, lemon/orange, sugarcane, banana/plantain, palm fruits, specifically and trees in general. We examine how the Nzema rely on the attribution of these plants to offer advice to members on crucial virtues like generosity, hard-work and perseverance, justice and fairness, carefulness, patience, cooperation, and avoidance of litigation among others.

Two studies that examined plant-imagery in proverbs, and which are most relevant to our study are POP (2011) and PAREEK and TRIVEDI (2014). POP (2011) explored plant-related proverbs in English and Vietnamese and their teaching implications. The study, though somewhat limited in scope, tried to proportionately provide some general knowledge of plant metaphors in

proverbs and their implications in communicative activities in both languages. The author reported that some similarities exist in the metaphoric expressions of plants based on similar concepts and experiences of people from both English speakers and Vietnamese speakers. For instance, the English proverb *every rose has its thorn*, has an equivalent expression in Vietnamese, which states: *hongnao ma chang co gai* (POP 2011: 9)*.* These proverbs imply that 'no one is perfect', which is used to communicate an important fact about human nature.

PAREEK and TRIVEDI (2014) also examined common folk proverbs in relation to environment and plants in Rajasthan, India. The study sought to uncover how the people shared their lives with the flora and fauna available in their environment as reflected in their proverbial sayings. The authors obtained data through interviews with local villagers and tribal people of some villages. The study showed that some proverbs are invented and created in relation to plants in general. The study concluded that folk proverbs in Rajasthan are wisely 'coined' by deploying features of plants which tend to transmit information and project ideas that influence attitudes and behaviours of the Rajasthan people, as well as to provide entertainment. The current contribution provides further insights and deepens our understanding of the Nzema philosophical issues and worldview via proverbs. The study expands the frontiers of previous works by uncovering the symbolic-figurative functions of plants as concealed in proverbs among the Nzema.

Beyond the introductory section, the remainder of this paper is organised as follows: Section 2 deals with the concept and functions of proverbs. Section 3 highlights the methodology employed in carrying out the study. It looks at the sources, procedures and methods of data elicitation and how data were categorised for analysis. The section further provides an overview of the theoretical framework adopted for the study. Section 4 presents the data for analysis and discussion. Finally, we provide concluding remarks in Section 5.

2. Proverbs and functions

Proverbs are among the most widely used pieces of oral artistry, especially in Africa (HUSSEIN 2005). FINNEGAN (2012) describes proverbs as succinct expressions that serve as a rich source of imagery from which listeners can make more elaborate interpretations. Proverbs are sayings marked by 'shortness, sense and salt' which is distinguished by the popularly acceptance of truth tersely expressed in it (FINNEGAN 2012). OKPEHWO (1992) observes that, when people make speeches, they frequently resort to proverbs in order to add some wit or spice to their statements. This shows that a proverb serves as a rhetoric

device for the embellishment of speech (AGYEKUM 2012, MALEDO 2015). In the view of OKPEWHO (1992), a proverb is a piece of folk wisdom, expressed with terseness and charm. This implies that proverbs deal with some sort of economy in the choice of words for their constructions and that, they appeal to literary aesthetics in their expressions. As an oral genre, the proverb forms part of the cultural heritage of any given society which portrays everyday happenings among people of a given society (YAKUB 2019: 176). This observation corroborates BELFATMI's (2013) position that proverbs reflect all characteristics of particular cultural group; concerning their customs, traditions, beliefs, habits, democracy, and gender among others.

In addition to previous scholarship, other views have been put forward on the concept of proverb(s), highlighting most of its didactic functions and figurative metaphoric implications. MIEDER (2004: 24), for instance, perceives a proverb as "a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphoric, fixed and memorable form and which is handed down from generation to generation". This definition encompasses key elements that are prevalent in proverbs belonging to many languages and cultures. For example, FINNEGAN (2012) avers that proverbs abound in allusive and figurative implications. This position buttresses Mieder's observation; implying that proverbs have basic meanings from which further elaborations and metaphoric interpretations are made. From our perspective, proverbs can be described as concise figurative statements which mirror societal norms and philosophical principles of a people, used to make critical comments on essential issues. They are based on folk wisdom and observations, and are highly symbolic, which are transferred from older to younger generations.

Proverbs serve varied functions, especially in African traditional rhetoric. ANYACHEBELU (2019) notes that proverbs are not just mere utterances for entertainment or amusement; rather, they carry enormous authority and meanings with them. Hence, "proverbs are seen as rules of life, tools for sanctions, satire, praise, education and discipline" (see ANYACHEBELU 2019: 1). AGYEKUM (2012) proffers that proverbs function as salt in the soup, without which the soup does not acquire its maximum deliciousness. This suggests that proverbs are a rhetorical device which can 'spice' human communication. However, the communicative role of proverbs transcends the embellishment of language use. Proverbs perform other crucial functions including persuading, admonishing, rebuking and advising people to do what societies embrace and to refrain from immorality (OLUDARE 2017).

For instance, in reminding someone to desist from excessive friendship, the Akan (Fante) of Ghana employ a famous maxim related to the crab, which says:

anyɛnko dodow ntsi na kɔtɔ ennya tsir 'excessive friendship made the crab headless' (OWU-EWIE 2019: 37). In this expression, the headlessness of the crab is metaphorically likened to someone who loses a precious property as a result of excessive friendship. Reminding people on the virtue of obedience, the Nzema also say: **akɔlɛ ande soɛ-soɛ a ɔte kpatu-kpatu** 'if a fowl turns deaf ears to continuous sacking, it receives a knock and flies continuously' (QUARM and KWESI, 1998). This proverb is cited to inform an adamant person that failure to heed repeated advice leads to continuous adverse consequences. The proverb teaches that one who does not obey instructions can put him/herself into endless predicaments.

The Nzema also say: **akɔsea mɔɔ doale ɔ nli la lile abɛbɛ ɛzɔlɛ** 'the chick that follows its mother feeds on the thighs of a grasshopper' (YAKUB 2019: 187). This proverb calls for the need for people to heed advice and obey orders from authorities. The chick, following its mother (the hen), refers to not only a child, but implies that everyone must obey instructions from elders or authorities. The 'thighs of the grasshopper' on which the chick feeds for following its mother also represents the benefits that an obedient person is likely to gain. This proverb advocates the necessities of obedience. In section 4 of this paper, we provide into details, similar conceptual analysis of Nzema proverbs that deal with plant-imagery.

3. Data collection and methodology

Data for this qualitative study were obtained from primary and secondary sources. From the secondary source, we consulted a number of published works (literary texts in Nzema), such as *Nzema Mrɛlɛ nee bɛ Ngilenu* by QUARM and KWESI (1998). This is a compilation of some proverbs in Nzema. We found this material relevant because it contained most Nzema traditional proverbs, authored by competent native speakers and scholars. The other works that were consulted, both prose and drama, are KWAW (2012) and SOBOH-BLAY (2013) respectively. These books contained interesting story lines with profound incorporation of proverbs. While reading these materials, we focused on proverbial structures and wrote them down in a data collection notebook. In this endeavour, we made thorough scrutiny in search of proverbs concerning various kinds of plants and/or fruits. From this source, about thirty Nzema proverbs were hand-recorded.

The primary data involved a means of participant and nonparticipant observations. We attended some traditional gatherings and ceremonies such as marriage, funeral and arbitration to gather additional data, since these

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gatherings usually involved elders who used proverbs profusely in their communication. Having assembled about fifty proverbs in all, we purposively selected proverbs concerning trees and plants/crops/fruits such as coconut, oil palm, plantain, banana, orange, sugarcane, and pawpaw among others, out of the lot. Through semi-structured interviews, we crosschecked the data and sought clarifications from four native Nzema scholars who are traditional leaders and also competent in the use of proverbs. These informants comprised two males and two females, aged between sixty to seventy-five years who have had formal education up to the tertiary level. During the interviews, we interrogated the ethno-pragmatic interpretations of the selected proverbs in relation to the Nzema cultural conceptualisations. Introspections based on native speakers' intuitions are also significantly brought to bear on this study. Overall, twenty plant-related proverbs are used for the analysis. We categorised the proverbs based on 'connecting threads', in terms of themes and what they seek to communicate in common. The discussion focused on the symbolic functions and how plants imagery in the proverbs serves as basis to conceptualise and portray the Nzema traditional life.

The paper adopts the theoretical assumptions of Worldview Metaphors, also referred to as Cultural Conceptual Metaphors (SHARIFIAN 2017). This approach is a facet of Cultural Linguistics, a sub-branch of linguistics which explores the relationship between language, culture and conceptualisations. SHARIFIAN (2011) proposed and advanced the concept of Cultural Linguistics in a multidisciplinary perspective, using the term '*Cultural Conceptualisations*'; which he believes enables the members of a cultural group to think in one mind (see also SHARIFIAN 2003). AGYEKUM (2015: 90) seems to buttress Sharifian's position as he opines that, "conceptual metaphors are both universal and culture-specific". This suggests that a particular cultural group has the mandate and prerogative to institute their conceptual mappings which they can best conceive. In other words, the values, beliefs, experiences and the worldview of a people can determine the way they perceive their body and environment in terms of imagery and metaphoric realisations (SHARIFIAN 2005). Cultural linguistics is responsible for exploring features of language that have cultural basis (SHARIFIAN 2011, 2017). The framework employs three analytical tools such as 'cultural schema', 'cultural category' and 'cultural-conceptual' metaphor, which deals with culture-specific conceptions. The imageries that are contained in plant-proverbs among the Nzema are said to be culturally established. In this paper, therefore, we adopt '*Cultural Conceptual Metaphor*', one of the tenets of Cultural Conceptualisations and Language framework. The theory can fully help to describe and understand

the Nzema's culturally constructed perceptions and conceptions as depicted in their traditional proverbs related to plants.

4. Data and discussion

This section presents and discusses the data. We present the proverbs as in the Nzema language and provide appropriate literally glossing in English for analysis. The discussion throws light on the relevant themes (cultural values) that emerged.

4.1 Generosity (the need to be supportive in a society)

As part of their traditional philosophies, the Nzema frown at selfishness and personal interest. They cherish people who are kind and supportive, especially those who assist the poor and vulnerable in the society. People who are capable in one way or the other, but refuse to assist others to rise and make progress in life are not accorded much respect. The Nzema often rely on proverbs which incorporate the 'natural behaviour' and imagery of trees to advocate the virtue of generosity and the need for the rich to support the poor, as highlighted in examples 1 and 2:

(1) **Nyɛma   dua   baka nwo   na   ye-a-dwu   anwuma**
Creeping plant   wind   tree   around CONJ   3SG-EMPH-reach   top
'A tree supports a creeping plant before it can grow upright.'

(2) **Ɛ   nli   ara   de   aduoba zo   a   ɛ-n-li   amunli**
2SG   mother ward   sit   guava   top   PART 2SG-NEG-eat   unripe fruit
'If your maternal sibling climbs a guava tree, you should not eat the unripe fruits.'

In example (1), we can base our knowledge on the physical behaviour of creeping plants which erect upwards by 'moving' round a tree to arrive at the Nzema cultural belief that a 'wealthy person needs to assist an indigent or a vulnerable person in the society'. Based on Nzema cultural metaphors, in (1) **baka** 'tree' corresponds to a 'strong' and prosperous person, whereas **nyɛma** 'creeping plant' represents an incapable (vulnerable) or poor person in the society. Usually, any creeping plant cannot erect until it gets the opportunity to grow around a straighten plant (tree). Figuratively, we conceptualise that a vulnerable and less privileged person needs to be assisted by a stronger and wealthy person in order to also attain a convenient level in the hierarchy of life, for example, in terms of financial strength and education (knowledge). In (2), climbing, and for that matter sitting on a guava tree (with ripe fruits on top), symbolises someone who finds him/herself in any wealthy situation. One of our elderly informants pointed out that the proverb basically teaches one to be

responsible and take good care of his/her family members when one establishes well in an occupation and subsequently gets promoted. It implies that other people should have the opportunity to enjoy and benefit from one's prosperity. Another informant observed that the proverb in (2) rightly incorporates the phrase ɛ nli ara, 'your maternal sibling' to best achieve its communicative goal, because the Nzema practise a matrilineal system of inheritance (see also IBRAHIM et al. 2022: 35).

4.2 Unity and togetherness

Cooperation and collectiveness is another virtue that the Nzema highly embrace. For instance, there is a common expression among the Nzema that says, **twea ayile bengua ye sonla ko**, which means 'one person cannot put medication into the nostril of a dog'. This implies that any herculean or dangerous task should not be left on the shoulders of an individual. Other proverbs that capture the imagery of trees to communicate the essence of communalism are exemplified in 3 and 4:

(3)   **Baka   ko   die   anwoma   dedee   a   ɔ-bu**
      Tree   one   receive   wind   long time   PART   3SG-break
      'If a single tree serves as windbreak, it easily falls/uproots.'

(4)   **Baka   ko   kye   ɛ-n-gakyi   ɛhoayelɛ**
      Tree   one   alone   EMPH-NEG-turn   forest
      'Single tree cannot become forest.'

In Nzema folk metaphoric conceptualisations, as an informant pointed out, **baka ko** 'single tree' can represent an individual person who is left to perform a task alone as illustrated in examples (3) and (4). Thinking beyond the literal meaning of both proverbs, we can understand that many people are required to work hand-in-hand in order to achieve success in any endeavour. The proverb in (3) highlights the supremacy of collaborative work-done over individualism. It teaches us that one person cannot withstand the challenges, and so should not be left to shoulder the difficulties in performing a herculean task which is meant for a group of people to tackle. Just as a single tree that serves as windbreak easily falls, an individual who is overburdened can also die as a result of fatigue if he/she is made to undertake a difficult task alone. This proverb underscores a universally recognised maxim which says: 'united we stand divided we fall'. The proverb in (4) also creates a mental picture that reminds us that it takes a cluster of many trees; big and small, short and tall to form a forest. This implies that it takes a group of people to collectively constitute a clan/family in order to make meaningful contributions to achieve success. As one of our informants noted, the

Nzema usually resort to this proverb to indicate that a single person's decision can be an 'ill thought', as compared with any decision made by a multitude of people.

4.3 Vigilance and circumspection

The Nzema also believe in vigilance and the sense of being meticulous, especially in terms of making decisions and choices. People who are impulsive and do things haphazardly are frowned at. Proverb 5 is employed to entreat members to make informed decisions:

(5) Bɛ-nea   baka   ti   na   bɛ-a-hɔ   ɔ   bo   ayɛne
    2SG-look tree   top   CONJ 2SG-EMPH-go 3SG   under firewood
    'One must watch on top of a tree before trying to fetch firewood under it.'

In example (5), watching on top of a tree represents the act of assessing a particular situation critically. The proverb at the basic level means that a tree must be examined carefully whether it has 'dried branches' on top before one decides to obtain firewood from under it. If there are 'dried branches', then there is the likelihood that some can drop under the tree. As an informant highlighted, the import of the proverb points to the fact that a particular situation needs to be scrutinised carefully before a final decision or action is taken. In this proverb, a person is reminded on the need to evaluate the success or failure of an endeavour before undertaking it. Concerning their marriage practices, for instance, the Nzema do not randomly choose marriage partners; rather, as a crucial requirement, a man must investigate to ascertain whether or not there is chronic and deadly disease within a particular family before seeking a woman's hand in marriage. Likewise, the woman must find out about the background of the man. This proverb is suitably quoted in discourse to caution people not to be impulsive, but to inquire and assess past and present situations in order to make informed decisions.

4.4 Hard-work and perseverance

Industriousness, among other virtues, is held in high esteem among the Nzema, and so people who entertain indolence are disdained (IBRAHIM et al. 2022). The Nzema live by many adages that encourage members to be hard-working. In talking about the essence of making advanced effort before seeking any external support, for instance, the Nzema say: **saa ɛkyekye a yɛɛ bɛsoa wɔ a** 'if you tie your load adequately in advance, you can be supported to carry it' (YAKUB and OSEI 2020, IBRAHIM et al. 2022: 34). This witty statement tells us to take initial steps in doing our own work, which could later attract generous persons to come to our

aid. Another noteworthy Nzema proverb that captures the imagery of a tree to talk about the essence of hard-work is presented in 6 below:

(6) **Mɔɔ   fo   baka kpalɛ   la   yɛɛ   bɛ-pia   ye   a**
    COMP climb tree good   CDET FOC 3PL-push 3SG PART
    'It is the one who climbs a good tree that is encouraged to go higher.'

This proverb teaches the essence of hard-work and perseverance. In Nzema cultural conceptualisations, 'a good tree', as incorporated in example (6), refers to any tree that bears delicious edible fruits for human and/or animal consumption. Thus, climbing a good tree symbolises an attempt to perform a task that brings a productive outcome such as schooling, going through skilled training or learning a trade. The proverb teaches that people who make attempts to work hard must be motivated to succeed.

4.5 The need to be confident

In traditional Nzema society, people who easily despair in adversity are emboldened to be able to withstand hardships and unpleasant circumstances. The Nzema have culturally established adages that are employed in discourses to serve this purpose among others. One such expressions is **saa ɛdɛnla yɛ evinli a ɛnee ɔngile kɛ ɔle fuazinli** 'a dirty clothe must not be necessarily regarded as a rag' (KWESI 2007). The lesson ingrained in this adage is that one must always be self-motivated. It seeks to say that difficulties in life must not 'paralyse' a person's confidence and progress. The proverb in (7) specifically dwells on the image of a bent tree, which yet continues to survive, to admonish people who are not hopeful. The proverb says:

(7) **Baka kyea a   ɛnee   ɔ-tɛ-bule**
    Tree bent PART   then   3SG-NEG-break
    'A bent /crooked tree must not be considered as a broken tree.'

In (7), the need to be hopeful and self-confident in life is communicated. The challenges and misfortunes in life which do not make one enjoy 'smooth' or 'straightforward' life is conceptualised as a crooked tree that is not straightened. If a tree becomes crooked but not broken, one should not see it as broken. This implies that people should not give up in life when problems arise. The proverb actually entreats people not to despair in adversity.

4.6 The relevance of family heads and breadwinners

The Nzema believe that apart from parents who fend for their wards, the head of the entire clan, known as **Abusuakpanyinli**, is also supposed to live as a leader,

breadwinner and 'protector' whose absence can make his members insecure. When any mishap befalls such breadwinner, the dependents suffer eventually. Proverb 8 therefore shows the need for every family to have a responsible head/leader, and the fact that members of the family must have regard for the existence of such leader. The proverb reads as follows:

(8) **Baka kpole bu a n-loma bɔ asande**
Tree huge fall/break PART PL-bird become scattered
'When a big tree falls, birds become scattered and frustrated.'

In Nzema cultural metaphors, the fall of a big tree represents the demise of a great leader/parent/breadwinner, whereas birds that become scattered are likened to dependants who become homeless after losing a breadwinner or even when the breadwinner is indisposed. When a big tree falls/uproots, birds are adversely affected because they lose food and shelter. The proverb seeks to communicate that, dependants can go through many calamities in life when they lose a great/supportive leader who also serves as a breadwinner. Since the dependants look up to that leader for most of their conveniences in life, the demise of the leader largely renders them 'hopeless'; not having maximum assurance of living a comfortable life. The Nzema use this proverb to admonish members to recognise, respect and treat their family heads/breadwinners with care, since the absence of such breadwinners can make the dependants miserable.

4.7 Patience (avoiding rush in life)

A popular adage among the Nzema says: **saa abisa ɛtɛdwule zo a bɛnli**, which means 'the *Kundum* festival is never celebrated when the right time is not due'. This expression teaches the need to avoid rush, as no Nzema chief orders his subjects to celebrate the festival until in the month of September or beyond. Many other proverbs in Nzema draw on the nature of plants to stress the virtue of patience, some of which can be seen in (9-11) below:

(9) **Ɛ sa ɛ-n-do kane a ɛ-n-dende ɛ-n-de**
2SG hand NEG-reach *kane* PART 2SG-NEG-stretch EMPH-NEG-pluck
'If your hands can't reach the fruits of *kane*, do not rush to pluck it.'

(10) **Kukue ɛ-n-ga anwuma**
Coconut EMPH-NEG-remain top
'Dried coconut fruits do not remain in the sky.'

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(11) Dazia   ε-n-gulu   nu   ε-m-bolo
       Pepper   EMPH-NEG-all   together   EMPH-NEG-ripe
       'Pepper fruits (on the same plant) do not ripe simultaneously.'

Kane, as used in the proverb in (9), is a kind of creeping plant which rather bears fruits properly when the farmer provides a stake for the plant to grow up high. When **kane** bears its fruits on top, it becomes difficult for short people to harvest, unlike people who are tall. The proverb in (9) is therefore employed to inform people to desist from unnecessary haste in doing things which they are not capable of doing at a particular point in time. An interesting thing to note from the proverb in (10) is that, coconut fruits do not remain on top of the trees; they fall at the right time especially when they get dried. Here, an informant explained that we can base our conceptions on the physical attribution of the dried coconut fruits which eventually fall from the trees to understand that 'everything has its appropriate time to occur', and so there is no need to rush over achievements in life. The Nzema often cite these proverbs to inform people to be patient; not to expect success to come their ways overnight. The proverb in (11) also highlights the theme of individual difference. It teaches a person that success and blessings rain upon people individually at different moments. Pepper fruits, as deployed in the proverb, represent people who share a common background or relationship; such as belonging to the same family. Naturally, several fruits may be found on a particular pepper plant, however, these fruits may not ripe at the same time for harvesting. Crucially, the proverb makes us aware that even siblings of same parents may not succeed in life at the same time, and so there is the need for people to be patient with regard to achievements in life. The Nzema use this proverb to discourage the attitude of greed and unnecessary anxiousness for prosperity; since greed can compel one to think of dubious means to achieving wealth. Thus, this proverb, to a large extent, reminds us not to envy our colleagues, classmates and co-workers who may first become well-to-do in life.

4.8 Justice and fairness

The Nzema embrace justice and fairness. They think that people who misconduct themselves must be made to bear the repercussions of their own bad deeds and vice versa. A plant-related proverb that underscores this perception among the Nzema is examined in (12):

(12) Kekebetele   n-li   dazia   εm-maa   kεlεne   anloa   nu   εn-dwe   ye
       Lizard   NEG-eat   pepper   NEG-CAUS   frog   mouth   inside   NEG-hot   2SG
       'When the lizard eats pepper, the frog must not suffer the hotness of the pepper.'

In this example, 'eating pepper' is likened to 'doing something that can lead a person into trouble'. Here, the Nzema conceptualise 'hotness of the pepper' that may be experienced in the mouth as adverse consequences of a person's undesirable behaviour. Lizard is a reptile that lives on land. Frog/toad, on the other hand, is an amphibian that survives both in water and on land. This distinction, at least, points out that the two entities are not entirely the same. Therefore, the repercussions of one's wrongdoing or mismanagement in life should not be borne by the other. This teaches justice and fairness, which the Nzema society rightly cherishes. Upon further interrogation, an informant explained the implications of this proverb as follows: "the proverb does not necessarily say we should not share each other's concern. Instead, it reminds us not to extend one's punishment to affect other innocent people". The following proverb in (13) particularly talks against discrimination. It projects the Nzema philosophy of 'equal treatment', such as:

(13) Ɛ-kisa   konwo   a   anrɛɛ   kisa   bana
      2SG-stake banana PART   then   stake   plantain
      'If you provide a stake to support the banana, provide same to support the plantain.'

This proverb basically says that a farmer who provides a stake to support banana (to prevent it from falling), must also provide a stake to support plantain, since both can provide food for the farmer. In this proverb, banana and plantain represent people who share common features, such as people who share a close family relationship. A man's son and his nephew represent banana and plantain respectively, according to Nzema cultural metaphors. Among the Nzema, as an informant emphasised, a man's nieces and nephews (his sister's children in this case) are considered equally precious as his own sons and daughters. Every Nzema man is therefore expected to take good care of his own children including his nieces and nephews. He must not abandon the nieces and nephews and look after his children only, since he does not know who will become prosperous in future to take care of him at his old age. This is also because the Nzema practise matrilineal inheritance. In essence, matters concerning one's nephews and nieces are not undermined and taken for granted. Essentially, the proverb in (13) advises people against discrimination. The proverb tells us to be just, and to give equal treatment to persons of similar status.

4.9 Against litigation

The Nzema believe in tolerance and peaceful co-existence as key to promoting socio-cultural and economic growth and development. This is evidenced in a common expression among the people, which says: **edwɛkɛ biala ɛnle ɛkɛ mɔɔ**

bɛfa nrɛnlande bɛpɛ nu a; ɛnloanlɛ ala a bɛfa bɛka a 'there is no case that demands a cutlass to cut it; it is the mouth that is used to settle it'. This maxim seeks to communicate that 'simple misunderstandings' should be settled with ease. To this end, prolonged litigation among members in the society is highly detested. A noteworthy Nzema proverb that also advises people against litigation uses the imagery of banana fruits, such as follows:

(14) Bɛ-di   konwo   a   bɛ-n-gyia   dadeɛ
     2SG-eat banana PART   2SG-NEG-need   knife
     'Whoever eats banana fruit does not demand a sharp instrument (knife) to cut it.'

In this wise expression, banana is actually symbolic. The import of the proverb transcends the notion of eating banana that is depicted at the literal/basic level. Conceptually, the act of eating banana (which is very soft), is likened to having a 'minor' case (dispute) to settle. According to an informant, the sharp instrument (knife) used in the proverb can represent the law court, which is the most powerful organisation to resolve disputes. Unlike sugarcane, for example, banana (fruit) is very soft and easy to chew; therefore, whoever eats banana may not necessarily require a sharp instrument to cut it into pieces. This implies that we should not prolong matters that could be easily settled (see also YAKUB 2022a). The proverb tells us that, if a problem or misunderstanding between people is not so serious and difficult to deal with, just as in the case of eating banana, we should be able to 'cool our tempers' and settle the matter amicably. Among the Nzema, whenever there is confrontation between two parties, some elders (sometimes including the chief of the community) are made to sit and invite the two parties for arbitration (conflict resolution). This is done for peace to be restored. Thus, the proverb entreats us not to be litigants. We should not 'drag' a minor case until it reaches the law court.

4.10 Decent living

Living a decent life is very key to being appreciated in a society. People who behave satisfactorily, such as providing support to make others happy, can always have friends around them. The Nzema welcome this behaviour, which is concealed in a plant-related proverb that says:

(15) Kpakpa mɔɔ so ma felɛko la   baka ɛ-m-kpa   ɔ   bo
     Pawpaw COMP bear fruit sweet CDET tree EMPH-NEG-leave 3SG under
     'There is always a plucking stick under a pawpaw tree that bears delicious fruits.'

In (15), pawpaw tree that bears delicious fruits for people to enjoy is likened to a person (donor) who provides gifts (services) for people to be pleased. The stick

which is always found under the pawpaw tree also means that people regularly visit the pawpaw in search of its sweet fruits. This implies that beneficiaries appreciate and associate with benevolent donors. In other words, since a 'plucking stick' always exists under the pawpaw that produces sweet fruits, a person who is kind and behaves, always has people to socialise with him/her. This proverb stresses the benefits of generosity, indicating that people who 'give of' for others to enjoy are cherished.

4.11 Unpredictability of human intentions

Another Nzema proverb that uses the imagery of human head and pawpaw, touches on unpredictability of intentions. The proverb is presented as follows:

(16) **Etile   ɛ-n-le   kɛ   kpakpa**
     Head   EMPH-NEG-be   like   pawpaw
     'The human head is not like pawpaw.'

This proverb captures what CAESAR et al. (2022) describe as 'opposing metaphoric link' between pawpaw and the human head to drive home such point that the head is not easily divisible. Although the human head and pawpaw may have some resemblance, for instance, in terms of shape (roundness), some other characteristics make the two entities different. For example, pawpaw is a soft edible fruit that one can easily cut (open) to know what it contains. The human head, on the other hand, is not easily opened unless one decides to brutalise or kill another person (CAESAR et al. 2022). The Nzema use this witty expression to imply that a person cannot determine what others' intentions are, whether they have positive or negative mindset. The proverb thus reminds us to take precautions in life, and to beware of humans, since one is unable to detect any dubious plans that other people may harbour in their head.

4.12 Child upbringing

The Nzema frown at children who challenge the physical strength and intelligence of adults. Like in other diverse cultures, the Nzema child is not supposed to compete with the elderly (see YAKUB 2022b: 191). He/she is expected to be brought up to exhibit virtues of humility, obedience, respect and to operate within his/her boundaries. Children who lack these virtues usually have their parents to be blamed. A proverb that underscores the Nzema advocacy for proper child upbringing is indicated in (17):

(17) | Kakula | tu | bɛsea | na | ɔ-n-du | bɛtenle |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Child | uproot | small palm tree | CONJ | 3SG-NEG-uproot | big palm tree |

'A child must uproot young palm tree, but not to uproot a mature palm tree.'

Unlike mature palm trees, young palm trees have tiny roots which are not deeply grounded in the soil, making it easier for children (who have less physical strength) to uproot. In this proverb, 'children uprooting young palm tree' and 'not to uproot mature palm tree' communicates the fact that they should not get involved in matters beyond their capabilities, and should not intrude into adult conversations uninvited. In Nzema cultural context, a 'cultured' and properly trained child is expected to engage in issues concerning his/her peers, usually when it comes to matters of jokes (YAKUB 2022b). The advisory content of the proverb in (17) is parallel to what the Nzema say: **kakula bɔ ɛnlonkoɛ na ɔmbɔ ɛnwɔnra** 'a child must be responsible for breaking the shell of a snail, but not the shell of a tortoise' (see IBRAHIM et al. 2022: 25). The proverb offers advice to parents to desist from assigning herculean duties to children to perform.

4.13 Neglect and disregard for the needy/vulnerable

Sometimes, people abandon their relatives who are poor and less privileged. Some parents also deliberately reject their children and make them fend for themselves until the children become responsible adults. When such children become prosperous and responsible, however, the parents seek support from them. The Nzema frown at this attitude, and so they employ the proverb in (18) to rebuke people (parents) who have such behaviour. The proverb reads as follows:

(18) | Arɛlɛ | le | amunli | a | bɛ-m-bikye | nwo | ɔ-bolo | a | bɛ-di |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Palm fruit | COP | unripe | PART | 2SG-NEG-near | self | 3SG-ripe | PART | 3PL-eat |

'Unripe palm fruit is often rejected, but when it ripens, consumers rush over it.'

This proverb points at the fact that poor and less privileged people are marginalised and discriminated against. However, when such people become prosperous in life, their relatives among other people in the society turn to value and respect them; seeking their support at all times. In this witty statement, 'unripe palm fruit' and 'ripened palm fruit' conceptually represent needy/vulnerable person and wealthy person respectively. Consumers, who are said to rush over the ripened palm fruits, also represent relatives (parents) who seek support from the vulnerable people/children who become successful. The import of the proverb in (18), as an informant reported, is analogous to what the Nzema say: **ɛlɛ bie a bɛze wɔ** 'if you become wealthy, people begin to recognise

you and accord you respect indeed'. This proverb admonishes people who neglect others who are afflicted by poverty.

4.14 Temporality of life

The Nzema recognise that circumstances in life are not static. Sometimes, there is happiness, while other times come with various predicaments. With this in mind, the Nzema depend on the following proverbs ((19) and (20)) to advise people on the need to prepare for future inconveniences and how to adjust to such unpleasant situations. The proverbs say:

(19) **Akɛnla   ɛ-n-yɛ   fɛ   ɛ-n-dwula**
    sugarcane EMPH-NEG-make   sweet EMPH-NEG-finish
    'Sugarcane does not maintain its sweetness to the end.'
(20) **Akutue lɛ   ye   kenle yɛɛ   domunli lɛ   ye   kenle**
    Orange POSS 3SG day   CONJ lemon   POSS 3SG day
    'Orange has its day and lemon has its day.'

Proverbs (19) and (20) communicate that 'no condition is permanent'. In (19), the 'sweetness of sugarcane' is said to be temporal because the sugar content reduces as and when the consumer chews it close to the part that bears the leaves. This proverb implicates that the journey of life is not always enjoyable. Also, in example (20), we find that a lemon contains sour (bitter) juice, while an orange mostly has sweet juice. In Nzema cultural metaphors, lemon is likened to unpleasant situation, while orange represents a comfortable (enjoyable) situation (see also YAKUB and WIAFE-AKENTEN, forthcoming). Both proverbs underscore the Nzema perception that, in life, there are times for conveniences and other times where calamities can befall people. Through these proverbs, people are told to utilise their resources profitably in good times, since the situation can change for the worst.

5. Conclusion

Drawing on the Cultural Conceptualisations framework, the paper examined the advisory content of plant-related proverbs in Nzema, and how the imagery of plants provides basis for conceptualising human behavioural characteristics and principles in the Nzema society. It is shown that the Nzema 'craft' many proverbs from their immediate environmental greenery, and from their agricultural activities. The paper argued that many didactics are concealed in Nzema proverbs that incorporate plants like pepper, coconut, banana/plantain, orange/lemon, pawpaw, sugarcane, palm fruits, and trees in general; in relation to virtues such as generosity, hard-work and perseverance, justice and fairness,

carefulness, patience, cooperation, and avoidance of litigation among others. These proverbs reflect and justify aspects of Nzema socio-cultural philosophies. Hence, the Nzema dwell on plant-related proverbs to convey various advisory messages to mitigate vices and to straighten the conduct of members within the cultural milieu.

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Appendix

PROVERBS	LITERAL TRANSLATION	FIGURATIVE MEANING
1) Proverbs concerning trees in general		
i. **Nyɛma dua baka nwo zo na yeadwu anwuma.**	'A tree supports a creeping plant before the creeping plant can grow upright.'	*A capable (wealthy) person must assist the vulnerable (poor) to be prosperous in the society.*
ii **Ɛ nli ara de aduoba zo a ɛnli amunli.**	'If your maternal sibling climbs a guava tree, you should not eat unripe fruits.'	*Whoever secures any profitable job must let his/her relatives enjoy.*
iii. **Baka ko die anwoma dedee a ɔbu.**	'A single tree that serves as windbreak easily falls/uproots.'	*People should not overburden a single person in performing any herculean task.*
iv. **Baka ko kye ɛngakyi ɛhoayelɛ.**	'Single tree cannot become a forest.'	*People must unite and cooperate to form a formidable family.*
v. **Mɔɔ fo baka kpalɛ la yɛɛ bɛpia ye a.**	'It is the one who climbs a good tree that is encouraged to go higher.'	*Whoever attempts to do any hard-work must be encouraged*
vi. **Bɛnea baka ti zo na bɛahɔ ɔ bo ayɛne.**	'Look on top of a tree before fetching firewood under it.'	*One must consider a situation before he/she makes any decision (look before you leap).*
vii. **Baka kyea a ɛnee ɔtɛbule.**	'A bent /crooked tree must not be considered a broken tree.'	*One must not consider challenges in life as absolute failure of life*
viii. **Baka kpole bu a nloma bɔ asande.**	'When a big tree falls, birds become scattered and frustrated.'	*When a breadwinner passes on, dependants become miserable.*
2) Proverbs concerning palm tree/fruit		
i. **Kakula tu bɛsea na ɔndu betenle.**	'A child must uproot young palm tree, but not matured palm tree.'	*A child must not compete with the elderly (cut your coat according to your size).*
ii. **Arɛlɛ le amunli a nloma embikye nwolɛ na ɔbolo a yɛɛ bɛdi a.**	'Unripe palm fruits are often rejected; when they ripen, consumers rush over them.'	*The poor are often relegated, but when they become wealthy, people seek support from them.*

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A cultural-conceptual analysis of plant-related proverbs in Nzema

3) Proverbs concerning banana/plantain			
i.	Bɛdi konwo a bɛngyia dadeɛ.	'Whoever eats banana fruit does not demand a sharp instrument (knife) to cut it.'	*A less difficult issue/case must be settled easily without proceeding to court*
ii.	Ɛkisa konwo a anrɛɛ kisa bana.	'If you provide a stake to support banana, provide same to support plantain.	*One must give equal treatment to members of the same family.*
4) Proverb concerning coconut			
i.	Kukue ɛnga anwuma.	'Dried coconut fruits do not remain in the sky (they will surely fall).'	*Everything happens at its rightful time.*
5) Proverbs concerning pawpaw			
i.	Kpakpa mɔɔ so ma feleko la baka ɛmkpa ɔ bo.	'A plucking stick always exists under a pawpaw tree that bears delicious fruits.'	*Whoever lives a decent/satisfactory life always has people to associate with him/her.*
ii.	Etile ɛnle ke kpakpa	'The human head cannot be opened like pawpaw.'	*A person's intentions are not easily detected.*
6) Proverbs concerning pepper			
i.	Dazia ɛngulu nu ɛmbolo.	'Pepper fruits (found on the same plant) do not ripe simultaneously.'	*People (even twins) may not become successful in life at the same time.*
ii.	Kekebetele ɛnli dazia ɛmmaa kɛlɛne anloa anu ɛndwe ye	'When the lizard eats pepper, the frog must not suffer the hotness of the pepper.'	*One must not suffer the repercussions of other's misconduct.*
7) Proverb concerning sugarcace			
i.	Akɛnla ɛnyɛ fɛ ɛndwula.	'Sugarcane does not maintain its sweetness till the end.'	*No condition is permanent.*
8) Proverb concerning *kane*			
i.	Ɛ sa ɛndo kane a ɛndende ɛnde.	'If your hands cannot reach the fruits of *kane*, do not rush/struggle to pluck it.'	*One must not rush in life.*
9) Proverb concerning orange/lemon			
i.	Akutue lɛ ye kenle yɛɛ domunli lɛ ye kenle.	'Orange has its day and lemon has its day.'	*No condition is permanent.*

Iraqw personal names and naming practices: Some linguistic observations

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the use of names, their meaning and the naming system among speakers of Iraqw, a Southern Cushitic language spoken in Tanzania. This preliminary documentation of personal naming practices considers naming as an important socio-cultural aspect of Iraqw people: names are not arbitrary but rather have historical and cultural functions and meanings. Names offer significant insights into the socio-cultural, historical, political, and personal circumstances of pregnancy, the child's birth and family as well as environmental elements. The meanings of names reflect various activities and cultural practices in Iraqw. Further, namesaking is a common practice, whereby Iraqw name their children after the paternal ancestral names with the belief that ancestors may be near the child and protect it from all evils as well as recalling ancestors. The majority of personal names bear a high tone on the final syllable. Names are derived from ordinary nouns by marking high tone on this syllable. Moreover, they are derived from verbs, adjectives, and ideophones by using nominalising suffixes in addition to the final high tone. The majority of names are used to refer to both sexes, therefore the gender of the name cannot be determined by the gender of the noun from which the name is derived, rather, it can be determined by the sex of the referent. Contact with Datooga has resulted in heavy borrowing of Datooga names. Swahili, and recently Christianity too, have also influenced names and naming. The latter seems to strongly influence the semantics of names.

KEY WORDS: naming system, Iraqw, personal names, linguistic observations

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Iraqw personal names and naming practices: Some linguistic observations

1. Introduction

Every society in the world bestows names to new-born children as part of their personal identity. Personal naming is thus a universal cultural practice (CHAUKE 2015). Although universal, the systems of naming, the selection of names and meanings, as well as the interpretation of names, diverge greatly from one community to another. Differences can be traced to the motivations for names and name-giving. In African cultures, personal names and naming practices give significant insights into patterns of historical, political, and socio-cultural organisation of communities. Focusing on the Malawi context, MOYO (2012) asserts that naming systems in Africa typically reflect the socio-cultural and ideological beliefs of a particular society. Consequently, a name is a message by means of which the name-giver communicates to society through the name bearer. Personal names are not a mere label: they carry socio-cultural, circumstantial, historical, and environmental information. This is in line with MUTUNDA (2016), who argues that a name is like a document in which one can read the history, culture and heritage of the individual or the family in time and space. With regards to the name-giver in Africa, different ethnic groups exhibit disparities. For instance, in Sukuma (Tanzania), Akan (Ghana), Yoruba (Nigeria) cultures, the male parent is the name-giver (AKINNASO 1980, AGHYEKUM 2006, MANYASA 2008) while in Amharic (Ethiopia) culture, the responsibility for naming newborns often lies with the mother (MESSING 1974). This is to say that in African communities either a father or a mother bestows the name on a child. Additionally, naming is sometimes associated with a specific ceremony conducted after the birth of the child. This differs from one society to another.

The majority of African personal names provide an important component of African cultural identities and distinguish one member of the community from all others (AGYEKUM 2006). The name has a psychological role in establishing a person's identity, i.e., a name conveys the origin and meaning, the social and cultural experience which created them (GBENGA et al. 2018). Personal names depict how members of the community regard the name-bearer (LUSEKELO and MTENGA 2020). In other words, names reflect values, traditions, and events in people's lives. MASHIRI (1999) echoes this point that naming in African societies often reflects socio-cultural and ideological realities. In Zulu, VANSINA (1962) revealed that personal names were unique and meaningful, emerging from circumstances of the child's birth or the mother's pregnancy. Traditionally, the giving of a name to a child has significance within the larger family, clan, and community (SHIGINI, 2020). Meanwhile LUSEKELO and MTENGA (2020) articulate that the penetration of the Catholic Church, which prohibits the use of personal names in vernacular languages, eroded first names among the members of the

Chagaa community. Moreover, following the rise of Christianity and colonialism children are often given traditional names (those of the ancestors) as well as religious names (AREGA 2016). This study aims to examine the traditional naming system used by the Iraqw society. The focus is on personal names, a field of study referred to as anthroponomastics. In accordance with ALVAREZ-ALTMAN (1981), anthroponomastics studies are based on the theory that there is a strong interface between a language that is spoken by an ethnic group and their cultural norms. This study thus uses onomastics to comprehend the habitual community activities in relation to personal names and naming system among the Iraqw.

2. Methodology and sources of data

This qualitative study was conducted in Mbulu District in Manyara Region, Tanzania. Kweramusl and Gunyoda villages were selected for most of the data collection. Mbulu District is typical indigenous territory of the Iraqw community. The data were collected through elicitation, the researcher's introspection, and documentary review (registers). Elicitation involved 22 informants from the two villages. Informants were targeted based on criteria that they are native speakers of Iraqw who were born, raised and are still living in the study areas. Their selection also considers their knowledge and practices regarding Iraqw indigenous personal names and naming practice. The research was guided by questions that sought to uncover (a) the native personal names (including family and Iraqw clan names), (b) patterns of indigenous names, including gender patterning (female vs. male or both female and male names), (c) the person or persons who have the right or the responsibility of naming a child, (d) the time when a child receives their name, (e) who is involved in naming, and (f) socio-cultural practices and rituals associated with naming a child. In addition to the information provided by informants, the researcher draws on her own knowledge as an Iraqw mother-tongue speaker as well as a socially and culturally competent member of the group. Additionally, school, church, and village government registers provided a number of Iraqw personal names. The intention of the researcher was to collect only indigenous personal names and not modern religious names. Through the three techniques employed, the researcher collected about 1000 indigenous personal names which suffice for the purpose of this study. Personal names were coded and categorised based on a naming typology to be outlined below. These names might have included some items with Datooga etymology, as the two communities have had intensive contact for a long time. The following sections present naming practices, typology/sources of personal names, and linguistic aspects of Iraqw personal names as well as a conclusion.

3. Naming practice in the Iraqw community

Iraqw is a patriarchal society where the father or a male elder has absolute authority over the family group. Traditionally, the name-giver is a paternal grandfather, father and/or paternal grandmother, or mother. Traditionally, the name-giver is a paternal grandfather, paternal grandmother, father or mother. The role of giving names is fairly strictly limited to the paternal grandfather, the paternal grandmother, or the father. However, both the paternal grandmother and the mother should choose the name of the child from the paternal family or clan lineage, not otherwise. In rare cases, the mother takes the name-giver role by consulting old relatives of the child's father. The act of naming is based on paternal kin because children are given names from the father's clan lineage. Iraqw culture strictly does not allow children to be given names from the maternal clan lineage and no counterexamples have been found in the data. Children are strictly named after patrilineal ancestors such as paternal grandfathers, grandmothers, uncles, and aunts.

However, there is no systematic succession (no systematic order in which names are given) of names of paternal grandparents, uncles or aunts (who have passed away). A first baby boy can be named after the paternal grandfather and a baby girl inherits the paternal grandmother's name. This seems to mean that naming brings to life (replaces) the old people of the clan who have died long ago. It is improper for a child to inherit the name of a grandparent who is still alive. The practice therefore is that if the grandfather or grandmother is alive, the child is not called after him or her. The belief is that if the grandson or granddaughter is named after a living grandfather or grandmother (respectively), the older person may subsume the younger one. It is also believed that naming a child after someone still alive implies that one would wish that person dead; hence such names are avoided. If the child is indeed given the grandfather's or grandmother's name, one possibility is that the name is avoided, and another name is used instead. However, if the child is named after the grandparents who are still alive (traditionally taboo), a male child may be given the names **Akó** 'grandfather', **Akoniiná**, 'young grandfather', and **Akona/aáy**[1] 'grandfather's child', whereas **Amá** 'grandmother', **Amaniiná** 'young grandmother', and **Amna/aáya** 'grandmother's child' are expected for a female child, though no female with such names was found in the data. It is regrettable that **Amá**, **Amaniiná**, and **Amna/aáya**, which are all designated to be bestowed on female children, are exclusively given

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[1] We use the Iraqw orthography with the following sound correspondences: **hh** = [ħ], **/** = [ʕ], **'** = [ʔ], **sl** = [ɬ], and **tl** = [tɬ].

to male children. These names are not unique to certain clans but rather cut across all Iraqw clans. They were originated from women's avoidance of the names of their mother's in-laws. Thus, women's reference to their in-laws' names is one of the sources of personal names among the Iraqw.

Male children may also be named after paternal uncles while girls can inherit names of paternal aunts. Since children are named after people in the family who have died, with or without children (the latter either because they died too young or did not have children of their own) then the names of those who died without children are not lost and forgotten. For instance, my first daughter is named after her paternal aunt **Hhookí,** who passed away a long time ago. When elderly people visit their grown-up offspring, they always ask the names of the grandchildren to find out if any of the old and long-past family members have been remembered as a sign of love. Common naming practice among the Iraqw community involves naming their children after the paternal deceased relatives with the belief that ancestors may be near the child and protect him/her from all evils (i.e. fear of **gi'i** 'spirit of the dead'). It is sometimes believed that if ancestors' names are not given to a child, he/she may bring troubles and harms like sickness, abnormality, and death to family members, especially children. So, children are named after them in order to avoid such troubles. Children inherit ancestors' names as signs of respect, cherishing and commemorating them. Ancestors' names are used in order to preserve the paternal family and/or clan lineage names. The ancestral names should be taken from the stock of names of the male family's clan lineage as far back as can be remembered. That is, the family wishes the child to bear the name of outstanding members of the ancestors. The ancestral names should be taken from the stock of names of the male family's clan lineage as far back as can be remembered. That is, the family wishes the child to bear the name of prominent members of the ancestors in order to maintain and extend the clan of the male parents by copying and restoring the names of the paternal clan. However, in closely related languages Alagwa and Burunge, a child receives names from both the father's and the mother's sides, a system which might have been adapted from the Bantu Langi community. Generally, the practice of inheriting ancestors' names was not arbitrary. The choice and adaptation of particular names is based on criteria such as an ancestor's physical character, material possession, and behaviour. For instance, names of famous ancestors like chiefs, healers, or rich, hardworking people, are more highly favoured than names of those who are indolent, poor, bullies, sorcerers, blood shedders, mentally ill, etc.

If an ancestor of a new-born baby has a unisex name, a newborn of the opposite sex cannot receive that name to commemorate that (opposite-sex) ancestor. The

common practice is that a female child inherits the names of paternal female ancestors and likewise a male child inherits the names of paternal male ancestors; vice versa is not true. However, in unusual circumstances, a child can inherit the name of an ancestor of the opposite sex. This may happen when an infant experiences or exhibits unusual illnesses before acquiring their birth name, such as crying a lot, sleeplessness, frequent sickness and other complications. A healer is consulted to make a fortune-telling in order to find out the cause or source of the troubles. If the trouble is that the ancestral spirit needs its name to be inherited, then a child is given this name regardless of the sex. In this particular circumstance, a newborn can receive a name of the ancestor of the opposite sex. This is done before the child is given the **umuú do'** or **xwaante** 'birth name', because the Iraqw do not have the custom of changing names after a child receives their traditional birth/given name.

Regarding the appropriate day of naming a newborn, in Iraqw, children are named after the seventh day when the umbilical stump is healed (drops off). In other words, the ceremony takes place a few days after a newborn's navel has healed, which usually occurs from seven days after birth. Traditionally, it is a taboo to name a child before the birth. This waiting period guarantees that the family has proved the continued existence of the child. Traditionally, naming a child is allied with a ceremony called **umuú na/aay tsata** or **xwaantér na/aay** 'a ceremony of naming a child some days after birth'. The phrase **xwaantér na/aay** is composed of two nouns, **xwaante** 'soft porridge and other special foods for the mother during maternity' and **na/aay** 'child'. It is an evening gathering of neighbouring children and family members. This is the period when the mother is still convalescing and is helped by another woman (traditionally, her mother in-law, or female sibling on either side of the child's family, or any other female relative or neighbour) in the preparation of food for the child's mother (whole family, visitors), and in attending to other household chores. Normally, the helper moves to the house of the child's mother for a period of between a week to one month and more. This is referred to **xwaantér qaasár eér** or **xwaantér eér** 'she went to help (cook for) a woman who gave birth recently'. For this naming ceremony, the family of the newborn has to prepare a special dinner which is normally **na/amis** 'food made from a mixture of maize and beans' or **/aamu** 'food made from a mixture of maize and pumpkin' or **/amír /atlesi** *ugali* (stiff porridge made of pumpkin)' and special drinks like **chaayi** 'tea', **muqús** or **xwaantér biimbila** 'a kind of drink made by the mixture of maize flour, millet flour and water'. After the dinner, the children are given freedom to pronounce the child's names collectively or in turns. Children consider the time, circumstance, behaviour, physical appearance/morphology, and the like of the newborn, under the

guidance of the responsible family member. Usually, any responsible member of the family informs some children in advance of the name they want to give the child, and then the children are asked to name their fellow child. The children utter the name of the child as previously indicated, but sometimes new names may arise from those who have not been informed. On this occasion, children may give a child a name or nickname. Most often, nicknames are derived from behaviour, appearance, jokes, etc. The children are not the name-givers, but rather they utter the name of their fellow child as prior directed by the responsible family member mostly paternal grandparents. The interesting point is that the children utter the name ceremonially. It is in this ceremony that the child receives **umuú xwaante** (**umuú do'**), **soko'oomi**, and recently **umuú dini** 'religious name' (see next paragraph). However, it should be noted that not all children receive names through this type of gathering. In other words, the naming is also done by the family members or parents alone. Moreover, these days, this ceremony seems to be being abandoned.

Traditionally, there are two layers of names given to a newborn. The patterns of Iraqw personal names include the birth name **umuú xwaante** or **umuú do'** and **soko'oomi** '(poetic) name'. More recently, a third type, **umuú dini** has been added after the introduction of Christianity. **Umuú do'** is synonymous to **umuú xwaante** 'birth name'. This is because children normally possess two names: a birth or given name and a poetic or alternative name. Moreover, **umuú xwaante** is equivalent to **umuú do'** and is given to a child during the naming ceremony with the consent of the newborn's accountable family member. Furthermore, when informants were asked to tell their **umuú xwaante** or **umuú do'** they referred to the same name. However, they were able to tell the difference between **umuú xwaante** (**do'**) and **soko'oomi**, especially for those who have two traditional Iraqw names.

The core name of a child is his or her birth name, which is typically a family name or clan name. As an example, the birth name of my younger brother is **Sukum Hhaawu Margwet Sukum**, whereby **Sukum** is both his first name and surname, **Hhaawu** is a **sok'oomi**, and **Margwet** is his second name. Our clan is known by the name **Hhay Sukum**, 'Clan of Sukum.' **Sakri** is my first name, **Bura** is my **soko'oomi**, **Margwet** is my second name, and **Sukum** is my surname. Regrettably, none of my traditional names are used in official capacities. The second name is the **soko'oomi** 'poetic name', that is used by a mother to call her child in order to avoid the child's real name (**umuú do'** or **xwaante**) when the child is named after either her father-in-law or mother-in-law. This is because Iraqw women observe name avoidance especially of their in-laws; women are strictly not allowed to say their in-laws' names. To strengthen this kind of taboo of in-law name avoidance,

some fathers-in-law give a cow to their daughter-in-law, so that she doesn't say his names at any time or in any place. So, a child's mother uses **soko'oomi** as one of the strategies to avoid in-law names. Another strategy of avoidance is for a woman to use alternative or synonymous words for names that are similar to ordinary things. For example, if the name is **tluway** 'rain', or **buura** 'beer' a woman would avoid these names by using words like **baafay** 'drizzle, light rain' for **tluway** and **xuufo** 'drinking' for **buura**.

4. Typology of Iraqw personal names

Iraqw typically bestow names from the clan lineage and also on the basis of certain historical circumstances that surround the pregnancy, the birth of the child (including time and place), socio-cultural aspects of the family, their environment, the behaviour of the child, plants, and animals, objects, and famous people. This means that names are not just a haphazard label for identifying an individual person from others, but they portray certain meanings that reflect historical, socio-cultural and circumstantial properties of a name-bearer to the community. Thus, personal names reflect the language and culture of Iraqw though there are names from other cultures and languages that enter the system through contacts with Datooga, Swahili, Christianity, and Islam. The next section discusses the typology of Iraqw personal names.

4.1 Family or clan lineage names

Family or clan names are names that children inherit from the clan lineage stock of names of ancestors, as mentioned above. It is an Iraqw tradition to name children after the family name or the name of the clan, and especially after the dead ancestors of the child's father. Based on the data gathered there is no clear system for inheriting such names, but in some cases a first-born male child inherits his paternal grandfather's name and the first daughter takes the name of her father's mother. The belief of naming children after the names of dead people has started to be abandoned by some family members. In the course of data collection, I found some grandparents' names are inherited while they are still alive. This indicates that naming practices are changing as the Iraqw community abandon certain prohibitions previously regarded as taboo. During interviews, I also found a case where a grandfather named a child with his own name. Also, my mother's birth names were inherited by her two granddaughters.

Apart from being an Iraqw person, every individual belongs to a certain clan as a marker of identity in the society. This means that the clan name has been used as the only way to identify or distinguish individuals so that their clan affiliation can

be determined within Iraqi society. Usually, Iraqw people who have never met each other before start introducing each other by the personal name and then by the clan name. **Hhay** 'means people of, or clan of' for instance, **HHay Sukumu** 'clan of Sukum, people of Sukum'. In Iraqw There is a distinction between family (given) names and clan names, since the former may include a clan name, such as **Sukum** in **Sukum Margwet Sukum**, or names derived from other sources, such as circumstances, fauna, or flora, such as **Sakri** in **Sakri Margwet Sukum**, whereas this is not possible for family names. In this case, **Sakri** is a generic name that means 'helmeted guinea fowl'. The child is given one of the names in the family line or he is bestowed a name of the clan of a given family as a first name. I say 'he' because the name of the clan is used for a male child as a first name since Iraqw naming practice follows the paternal clan lineage. However, the female children belonging to that clan use the clan name as their surname (for identity purposes). The point I wish to make here, as far as personal naming is concerned, is that a male child can be given a name of the clan as **umuú do'** or **umuú xwaante** 'given name'. Regarding family names, there is no set of unique family names based on each clan in Iraqw; most family names cut across Iraqw clans. Family (given) names are mostly derived from diverse circumstances surrounding pregnancy and the child's birth. In other words, there are very few names that are special for a certain clan.

The Iraqw clan names point to stories of interethnic contact in the past. Historically, the Iraqw lost many people in the fight with the Datooga which took place between Kondoa and Hanangw when they were on their way to Mbulu (which is regarded as their homeland). This loss has an implication in the sense that many clans have ceased to exist as a consequence of many young men being killed in the war. The remaining clans are **Hhay Irqa**, **Hhay Tipe**, **Hhay Haymu**, and **Hhay Naman**. Strategically, since most men were killed after the Iraqw lost this battle to the Datooga, and many women lost their husbands, and there were few Iraqw men to marry Iraqw girls, outsiders were allowed to marry Iraqw women on the condition that children born would be Iraqw; hence, new clans were introduced by some servants (helpers) from other communities. It is said that the **Mandaá doó Bayo** clan originate from Ihansu (this clan is of rainmakers and chiefs), the **Sukum** clan from Sukuma, the **Matiya** from Maasai, the **Male** from Datooga, the **Tsaxara** from Rangi, the **Suule** from Shashi, and the **Loolo** from Mbugwe. Though the Hadzabe were in contact with the Iraqw, there is no clan name from this community. This is because the Hadzabe are unable to live outside their community as servants in other communities, though detailed investigation is needed to substantiate this claim. However, further investigation on the meaning and origin of each clan is needed.

Family names include **Akona/aáy, Burá, Ni/imá, Kwa/aáng'w, Amna/aáy, Tluwaáy, Amsí, Axweesó, Matlé, Tlatlaa/á,** just to mention a few. Some clans in Iraqw society have their own distinctive family names, some of which are derived from circumstances, such as **Hhando, Amí, Akona/aáy, Axweesó, Matlé,** etc. which are found across Iraqw clans. Despite the fact that some naming is after the paternal ancestral clan lineage, the sources of other Iraqw names are meaningful and can be traced back to day-to-day events/activities, historical events, the times of the day or seasons of the year, the baby's skin complexion (appearance, body morphology), circumstances during the pregnancy, and the state of affairs within the family. The name of a child must usually come from the 'stock' of names in the lineage, but among those names, a name which fits the circumstances is chosen. We will now look at each of these sources in turn. In some cases, the prerequisites for receiving an **umuú xwaante (do')** are the same as those for receiving a **soko'oomi** because they are all conferred upon a child at the naming ceremony. Nonetheless, the mother of the child should have a backup name that she may use as a coping strategy to avoid using their in-laws' names if she is unable to use both the **umuú xwaante** and **soko'oomi** of the child due to avoidance of in-law names.

4.2 Names from avoidance names

In Iraqw, it is a taboo for a married woman to say the names of her in-laws. A woman is required to avoid the names of her father and mother in-law, brothers of her father in-law and their wives, as well as paternal and maternal aunt, even if they are dead. However, at the same time, this community has a tradition of giving children the names of paternal grandfather and grandmother. If the child is indeed given the grandfather's or grandmother's name, or any other name that is avoided by the mother of the child, one option is that the name is not used, and instead the mother creates another name to use with that child. As a result of this taboo of in-laws' names, strategically, women created names such as **Akona/aáy, Amna/aáy, Akó, Amá, Amaniiná,** and **Akoniiná.** Four names in (1)-(4) have complex morpho-semantic significance, while two names **Amá** and **Akó** are morphologically simple as illustrated below.

(1) aako-   na/aay
     grandfather/old man   child
     'grandfather child'

(2) aama-   na/aay
     grandmother/old woman child
     'grandmother child'

(3) aako-   niina
     old man/grandfather   young
     'young brother of grandfather'

(4) aama-   niina
     old woman/grandmother   young
     'young sister of grandmother or wife of young brother of grandfather'

These names inform us that if the child is named after the grandfather or grandmother who is alive, the male child may be called **Akona/aáy**[M] 'grandfather/old man's child', or **Akó**[M] 'grandfather/old man', while **Amna/aáy**[M] 'grandmother/old woman's child' or **Amá**[M] 'grandmother or old woman' is for the female child as far as the meaning is concerned. Other names are **Am(a)niiná**[M] 'young grandmother (young wife of grandfather)' and **Akoniiná** 'young grandfather (young brother of the grandfather)'. This is to say that **Akoniiná**[M] is used for a male child named after the younger brother of his grandfather, while **Am(a)niiná**[M] is for a female child given the name of 'young grandfather's wife (as far as polygyny is concerned) or any wife of any younger brother of the grandfather'.

Based on the morphological and semantic properties, these names appear to be created as the result of women's avoidance of the names of in-laws (father, mother and others). Women used these names as one way to avoid the names of in-laws when children are named after their paternal grandparent's names. **Amna/aáý**[M], **Amaniiná**[M], and **Amá**[M] were used by the mother to avoid the name of the child who inherits a name from her mother in-law. These names can also be used by the father because he is supposed to avoid the names of his mother (children avoid names of their mother) and his mother-in-law. On the other hand, **Akona/aáy**[M], **Akoniiná**[M], and **Akó**[M] are used by the mother when the child is named after the father in-law. When a child is named after the paternal grandfather or grandmother, the child's mother looks for an alternative way or alternative name to call/refer to the respective child. Another strategy is the use of **soko'oomi** which seems to subsume the innovation of other names, and the constant use of **Akona/aáy**[M], **Akoniiná**[M], **Akó**[M], **Amna/aáy**[M], **Amaniiná**[M], and **Amá**[M] for avoidance purposes. Pragmatically, when inheriting the name from his grandfather or grandmother, the child is regarded in some way as a 'grandfather' or 'grandmother'. Thus, women's avoidance of in-laws is one of the sources of personal names among the Iraqw. Unfortunately, **Amna/aáy**[M], **Amaniiná**[M], and **Amá**[M] are no longer used to name female children. In other words, traditionally these were female names, but they are currently only given to male children. The reason for the functional shift of these names may be that people may not have known why women introduced these names (for reasons of avoidance). Other

causes may be the use of **soko'oomi** which has developed and became popular as another avoidance strategy for in-laws' names. Previously, **Soko'oomi** was used as an alternative name in case the mother avoided her in-laws' names. Tradition dictated that every child born was given **Soko'oomi**, whether or not they were called by their mother-in-law's name. The tendency is for the child to take both **ummú xwaante (do')** and **soko'oomi** of the grandfather or grandmother. For example, I was given the **umuú do'** of my grandmother, which is **Sakrí**, and her **soko'oomi** which is **Burá**. Thus, **soko'oomi** might have killed the creativity and innovation of names in avoiding names of their in-laws. For these reasons, these names became common/popular, while the ones used for female children came to be used for males. They are no longer used as avoidance names and instead are inherited by only male children. The introduction of religious names has become a new strategy to avoid the names of in-laws. For instance, my second daughter inherited my mother in-law's name **Matlé**, and we did not give her a **soko'oomi** because she has a religious name. So, I used her religious name to avoid her given name which is my mother in-law's name.

4.3 Times and periods of the day

Different times and/or periods of day considerably contributed to a number of personal names. Some Iraqw names were derived from the time of the day when the child is born. These names apply to both male and female newborns. For instance, **Matlé**[M/F] from **matlaatle** or **maatle** 'morning' refers to a child born in the morning, while **Mama(o)/ó**[M/F] is the name given to a child born during **maamu(o)/o** 'herding cattle in the morning around the homestead' or the related verb **maamuu/**. **Tlemaí**[M] after **tlemai** is for a child born between 9 and 10 in the morning - which means time to take the livestock from near the homestead to the fields for grazing. Similar to **Tlemaí**[M] is **Tlemú**[M] 'get up, sunrise' used for a male child born during the period when people wake up. A child born in **tlatla/angw**, i.e. between midday and 3pm, is named **Tlatlaa/á**[M/F]. **Tse/amá**[M/F] 'sunshine, midday sun, warmth', used to name children of both sexes. Moreover, **Axweesó**[M/F] is bestowed on a child born during **axweeso** - the period between 7 p.m. and 9 p.m. in the evening. **Axweeso** is the time older people talk about the events of the day and children are told stories. Similarly, children born after **axweeso**, between midnight and before cock crow, are named **Amsí**[M/F] after this period which is called **amsi**. Other names include **Daafí**[M/F] and **Daafáy**[M] derived from a verb **daaf** 'return cattle home from pasture' used to name a child born during the evening when cattle are returning home.

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SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
matlaatle[F]	'in the morning'	Matlé[M/F]
konkoomo[M]	'cock , 'time of the first cock-crow, dawn'	Koonkomó[M]
tleema'i[F] > tleemaa	'between 9 and 10 in the morning'	Tlema'í[M]
tlaaw	'sunrise, getting up, sun rising'	Tlemu[M]
tlatla/angw[M]	'between midday and 3pm'	Tlatlaa/á[M/F]
mamuu/ > mama/o[F]	'morning during herding cattle around the homestead'	Mamaa/ó[M/F]
axweeso[N]	'before or immediately after the dinner'	Axweesó[M/F]
amsi[F]	'midnight'	Amsí[M/F]
tse/ama[M]	'midday during the sunshine'	Tse/amá[M/F]
daaf > daafi[F]	'in the evening'	Daafí[M/F] Daafáy[M]
loo'a[F]	'sun, sunrise'	Lantá[F]
/awaak > /awaakukuu	'sun rising, sky is getting clear/white'	/Awaakí[M/F] >
yaahhi[F]	'getting dark'	Yahhí[M]
miislo[N]	'during moonshine'	Misláy[M]
haymu[F]	'a big star sight in the early morning before sunrise'	Hay(u)má[M]
loot > looto[F]	'milking, milking time'	Lootó[M]

Table 1 – Names derived from times and periods of the day

As can be seen in Table 1, the time or period of the day referred to here is a certain point of time or period such as morning, afternoon, time of moonshine, night etc. On the other hand, it may also be defined in terms of activities that usually take place at a certain point of time or period of the day. Such activities include the period of taking cattle outside for herding, milking cattle, returning cattle home for herding. **Daafí**, **Daafáy**, **Yahhí** are used to avoid **tsiindi**[F] 'sunset' while **Lantá**, and **/Awaakí** refer to dawn or sunrise. Only the poetic term, **lanta** which is analogous to **loo'a** 'sun', is used in naming female children. The sun is considered to be a goddess with female genitalia in Iraqw. **Boo/í** or **Boo/áy** 'darkness' are also used to name children born when it is getting dark or in the early morning when it is still dark. **Boo/áy** can also be given to a child born on the day when there is a gathering like a meeting, cattle market, etc., where in this context it refers to 'crowd of people'. The time when the sun is setting **tsiindi** or **tsiindo** 'sunset (red sky)' is believed to be the time of cursing. At this time of the day nobody is supposed to go to bed or to be asleep, according to the taboo observed among Iraqw. Thus, from this belief children are not named by terms referring to this period. This is to say that this taboo influences the choice of children's name referring to times or periods; alternative ordinary words for

naming children are used. The majority of names derived from the time of the day and associated activities are shared by both sexes.

4.4 Names derived from fauna

The analysis of personal names has also revealed that the Iraqw naming system involves deriving names from both domestic and wild animals. The Iraqw are an agro-pastoral community. Although these socio-economic activities are a source of food, income and socio-cultural prestige, they are also among providers of personal names. A number of names as shown in Table 2 are derived from the animals Iraqw keep as well as wild animals they encounter in their everyday life.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
naweét[F]	'name of a cow'	Naweét[M]
aara[N]	'goats, name of a cow'	Aará[M]
koonki[F]	'hen'	Koonkí[M]
koonkomo[M]	'cock, cock-crow'	Koonkomó[M]
qwandu[M]	'ram, male sheep'	Gwandú[M/F]
gurtu(a)[M]	'he-goat'	Gurtú[M] & Gurtí[M/F]
bee/i[F]	'female sheep'	Bee/i[M] & Bee/í[F]
awee[M]	'bulls'	Aweé[M/F]
bee/a[F]	'name of the female cow bought by selling bee/aang'w ('sheep')'	Bee/á[M]

Table 2 – Names derived from domestic animals

A number of names are used to name both sexes while some are restricted to one sex. For instance, **Bee/í** 'sheep' with high tone is strictly for males, while **Bee/i** 'sheep' with a low tone is for both sexes. This pattern is also evident in **Tluwaáy**[M] and **Tluway**[F] 'rain'. Tonality is not the distinctive feature elsewhere because names like **Gurtí**[M/F], and **Gwandú**[M/F] are named for both sexes while a high tone is maintained. The Iraqw draw names from domestic animals, like sheep, cows, goats, and fowl because these are the common valued domestic animals which remain important for them. Naming children after these animals illuminates the source of wealth and is also a means of teaching children the significance of animals, as a source of income, food, and manure (cf. SANE 2016), cultural prestige, and respect. The Iraqw house which does not have any of these domestic animals is less valued. These names seem to be a means of motivating Iraqw to keep domestic animals.

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A number of names are derived from the category of wild animals, as listed in Table 3:

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
baha[F]	'hyena'	Bahá[M/F]
du'uma[M]	'leopard'	Du'umá[M]
gwareehhi[F]	'dikdik'	Gwareehhí[M/F]
samti[F]	'porcupine'	Samtí[F]
umaali[F]	'hedgehog'	Umaalí[F]
hhawu[F]	'hyena'	Hhawú[M/F]
sare/a[F]	'buffalo'	Sare/á[M]
kwaa/áng'w[M]	'hare'	Kwaa/áng'w[M]
/awatu[M]	'monkey'	/Awatú[M]
diraáng'w[M]	'lion'	Diraáng'w[M]

Table 3 – Names derived from wild animals

Criteria for which names taken from wild animals are given to which sex is not predictable because names for all sizes of wild animals have been seen to be used for male children, while some other names are shared by both sexes. However, **Samtí**[F] 'porcupine' and **Umaalí**[F] 'hedgehog' are given to female children only, with no counter examples from the data for a male child. The sighting of, invasion, and damage caused by certain animals in the environment during the birth of the child is also considered. Morphological structure and appearance of the child could be another reason for the choice of the name. Names of various types of bird are significantly used for naming children as shown in Table 4.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
sakri[F]	'guinea fowl'	Sakrí[F]
kuuray[M]	'black kite, hawk'	Kuuráy[M]
tsir/i[F]	'bird'	Tsir/í[M]
sikáy[M]	'African fire finch'	Sikáy[M]
/aláy[M]	'bird-cattle egret (greyish bird with a red beak)'	/Aláy[M]
ma/ara[M]	'bird sp.'	Ma/ará[M]
hhooki[F]	'dove, pigeon'	Hhookí[F/M]
genang'w[M]	'swift, hawk'	Genángw[M]
sakweeli[F]	'ostrich'	Sakweelí[M]
xooyaangw[M]	'francolin bird'	Xooyaángw[M]

Table 4 – Names derived from birds

Names derived from this category are mostly used to name male children, and a few are shared by both sexes. Only **Sakrí**[F] is used for female children. Insects' names are given to children either according to their sighting, usefulness, or damage to the people and crops during the birth of the child. For instance, the

name **Seehhá**[M/F] 'tsetse flies' came to be used during the operation of clearing bushes in order to kill tsetse flies that harm people. This was introduced by the British colonial government in Tanzania around 1952 and 1954.

Commonly, the Iraqw people derive names of their children from animals due to specific reasons. Animals, especially domestic ones, are valued because they are a source of food, income, and are used in sacrifice (sheep, chickens). Other reasons could be the sighting and/or encountering of certain animals during the birth of the child. Sometimes naming after animals is due to the destruction or damage caused by a certain animal to the property, livestock or lives of people. For example, when a **diraang'w** 'lion' attacks or kills people, a **baha** 'hyena' cries, or attacks domestic animals, or **/awtú** 'monkey' invade crops. Moreover, naming children after animal names, especially certain domestic animals like **aara** 'goat', **bee/angw** 'sheep' or names of female cows like **naweét, qulá** etc., could be a way of giving thanks to God for blessings realized through the increase in the number of these animals or a way of motivating people to keep these animals. In Iraqw, names of female cows were a major source of names for children.

4.5 Names derived from flora

Names of plants species found in Iraqw area have significantly contributed to a number of personal names in Iraqw. Surrounding plant species are among the leading providers of names in Iraqw as illustrated in Table 5:

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
duraán[M]	'stalks, reeds, the name of the river'	Duurú[M]
hhaarí[F]	'grass with seeds that blow away when dry'	Hhaarí[M]
lomáy[M]	'tree sp. used to make sticks'	Lomáy[M]
naari[F]	'Acacia' (*Acacia xanthophloea*)	Naarí[M]
ombaáy[M]	'flower' (*Pavonia sp.*, *Hibiscus sp.*)	Ombáy[M]
siroóng[M]	'tree sp.'	Siroóng[M]
slarhhí[F]	'Carix, grass, papyrus'	Slarhhí[M]
wahaari[F] or wahaaru[M]	'Dombeya plant (for making sticks)' (*Dombeya sp.*)	Wahaaró[M] / Wahaarí[M]
gaara[F]	'forest'	Gaará[M]
tsiriimí[F]	'seeds with wings spread by winds (*Compositae sp.*)'	Tsiriimí[F]
qaresi[F]	'plant sp. (used for firewood)'	Qaresí[M]
baqaari[F]	'tree sp.'	Baqarí[M]
hhangaali[F]	'type of bushy tree (with yellow fruits when ripe)	Hhangaalí[M]
ti'ita[F]	'Ficus tree (often used as a meeting point)' (*Ficus thoningii, Ficus stuhlmanni*)	Ti'itá[M]
ufaaní[F]	Lippia plant (leaves are used as broom)' (*Lippia javanica*)	Ufaaní[M]

Table 5 – Names derived from flora

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Both singular **Waharó**[M] and plural **Waharí**[M] for 'Dombeya sp.' is used. The majority of the attested names drawn from the plants are male names, but very few like **Tsiriimí**[F] 'seeds with wings spread by winds (Compositae sp.)' are given to a female child. This name is derived from a type of small seed from a species of grass. The reason why the majority of names are used for male children might relate to the gendered division of labour. Men are often outdoors and women are indoors. This division of responsibility based on sex starts from the moment a child is born, whereby a male child is called **múk sla/a** 'of the bush/wild' while a female child is referred as **hhekuuse** or **hhekusa'o** 'who fetches water'. Other names like **Duurú** might have been derived from the place name **Durú**, famous for the cultivation of vegetables. This is a valley plain on the western side of Mount Guwaang'w in Mbulu town. This means that plant names are used to name people and places. Thus, plants as an environmental component are very useful for the Iraqw society who are agro-pastoral people. Plants provide foods (both wild plants and cultivated ones), pastures, herbs, building materials, places of rituals (forests), firewood, protective tools (shepherd's sticks), bows, sticks, arrows and other tools (handles of hoe, axes, knives,) etc. There is a strong relationship between people and the plants in their surroundings. As a result, these social-cultural, environmental, and economic values of plants have been realized by naming children using some names of ordinary plants.

4.6 Weather, time, and seasons of the year

Names of children are also derived from the time of the year, weather conditions or the season of the birth of the child as shown in Table 6. For example, a male child born during the humid period after the short rains and before the beans (grown during the short rains) begin to form pods is **Axwarí**[M]. **Axwari**[F] refers to the time of the year after the short rains and when the beans begin to flower. However, there are no specific names for a female child born during this period. Another name is **Doomú**[M], which is 'the period of long rains' called **doomu**[M]. A male child born during **tluway**[M] 'rain' is named **Tluwaáy**[M] while a female is named **Tluwáy**[F]. **Lawe'í**[M] is a name for a male child born during heavy rain which spreads from the west to east in Iraqw land. **Tsaqwaá**[M] means coldness or period of coldness and male children can be named after it. **Baa/í**[M] 'mud' which is usually found during **doomu** (a long rainy season) is given to a male child.

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SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
axwari[F]	'season characterised by hardship and food scarcity' (December-January)	Axwarí[M]
doomu[M]	'continuous long rain' (April-May)	Doomú[M]
tluway[M]	'rain'	Tluwáy[F]
laweei[F]	'heavy rain (west to east)'	Lawe'í[M]
tsaaqwa[F] > tsaqutamo[M]	'coldness period (especially July)'	Tsaqwá[M]
baa/i[F]	'mud'	Baa/í[M]
huunki[F]	'cloud'	Huunkí[M]
tsee/ama[M]	'sunny, hot season'	Tsee/amá[M/F]

Table 6 – Names from weather, time, and seasons

The majority of personal names here are for male children except **Tluway** 'rain' and **Tsee/amá**, which are attested to be used for both sexes. Names of months which are used to name persons are **axwaari** (**axwaarír hhoo'** 'December' and **axwaarír tlaakw** 'January'), **Doomu** (for April and May), and **Tswaaqwa** from **Tsaqutamo** 'July'. I would argue that personal names like /**Awakí** and **Boo/í** might have also be derived from **Doomuú boó/** 'April' or **Doomuú /awaák** 'May'.

Names of months which are not attested in the data of personal names are **Tlufuqa** 'February', **Huyaa'a** 'March', **Qu'a** 'June', **Tlambo/amo** 'August', **Tarqwaay** 'September' **Qadoó kahhár** 'October' and **Qadoó maár** 'November'. Rain and the different types of rain also provide names for Iraqw people. Formation of names from weather, time and seasons of the year is the indication that some environmental elements are sources of names in Iraqw.

4.7 Historical and political events

Historical events from which personal names have been derived include the invasion of the Iraqw land by insects like red locusts around 1935. Male children born during that period were often named **Ingí**[M] from **ingiigi**[F] which means 'locusts'. Moreover, drought and famine **qwari**[F] and **giyeét**[F], respectively, in the Iraqw area around 1948 resulted in names for male children **Qwarí**[M] and **Giyeét**[M] 'hunger, famine'. Additionally, children born during the campaigns to clear forests in order to eliminate **sehha**[F] 'tsetse fly', were named **Sehhá**[M/F]. The campaign took place during British colonial time which was around 1952 and 1954. Other events are war or conflict with their neighbouring communities (like Datooga and Maasai who are Iraqw's cattle raiders) or war at the global level, e.g., World Wars I and II resulted in male children born at that time to be named **Slaqwará**[M] from the word **slaqwara**[F] 'war, fighting, conflict, social unrest'. Since **uu'i**[F] 'cry of alarm' is a means of gathering or informing people for war, it is likely possible that children born during this social unrest were named **Uu'ó**[M] for male

and **Uu'í**[F] for female children. **Uu'i** is also used in other day-to-day events. Other names related to war are **Tseré** 'blood', **Lawaalá** 'spear', **Tsaxará** 'throwing of weapons', and **fi'iit** 'going to ambush or fight the enemy' just to mention a few. Other names are derived from international events, such as the name **Hitilá**[M] 'Hitler' for male children born during World War II. Also, male children were named **Keyá**[M] or **Kehá**[M] from K.A.R pronounced among the Iraqw community as a short form for the regiment formed in East Africa known as the King's African Rifles. **Fitá**[M] is derived from a Swahili word *vita* 'war' and was also used to name children. The name **Idí**[M] came to be used during the war between Tanzania and Iddi Amini Dada of Uganda. During the struggle for independence of Tanzania and particularly the attainment of **uhuru**[M] 'independence' in 1961, some male children were named **Uhurú**[M]. Other names commemorate famous politicians like **Kawaawá**[M], **Moí**[M], and **Nyereré**[M]. The source of **Moí**[M] could also be from an ordinary noun **mooyi**[F] 'pleasant smell'. These relate to political events, activities or figures as depicted in Table 7.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
ingiigi[F]	'locusts'	Ingí[M]
laqwara[M]	'war, fighting, conflict'	Slaqwará[M]
K.A.R	King's African Rifles	Keyá[M] and Kehá[M]
uu'i[F]	'cry of alarm for help/ambush'	Uu'ó[M] and Uu'i[F]
qwari[M]	'hunger'	Qwarí[M]
giyeét[F]	'famine'	Giyeét[M]
seehha[F]	'tsetse fly'	Sehhá[M/F]
lawala[F]	'spear'	Lawaalá[M]
tsere[F]	'blood'	Tseré[M]
tsaxar	'throw weapons'	Tsaxará[M]

Table 7 – Name from historical and political events

As seen in the names above, events from which Iraqw formed personal names are family, social, national, and international ones. Names are derived from events and/or from the names of people involved in such events. I have observed that mostly historical events were used to name male children except **Uu'í**[F]. One possible reason might be that many events (particularly relating to war) involved men more than women. Major events like war/social unrest, famine and politics have a great impact in any society. This impact is also felt in the choice of names.

4.8 Day-to-day events and/or activities

The Iraqw derive personal names from some day-to-day events and activities, such as when the child is born when there are **dahaye**[F], **dahayamo**[M], **dahayita'o**[F]

visitor(s) in the home; the male child may then be named **Dahayé**[M] and **Dahayá**[M]. A child born on the day of a wedding in the family is named **Sikuukú**[M/F] (Swahili for holiday), or **Duuxó**[M] 'wedding' for a boy, or **Daqaró**[M/F] 'skinning the slaughtered animal for wedding' or **Ni/imá**[M/F] 'dance' for a male or a female child. **Sikuukú**[M/F], which denotes all kind of ceremonies, is used for both sexes. **Nadá**[M/F] and **Nadé**[M/F] is used for both male and female children born on the day of an open cattle market in the village called *mnada*, a Swahili word for 'open market', whereby the nasal sound /m/ is dropped to simplify pronunciation. On the other hand, a child born when a mother goes to collect firewood is named **Migiré**[M/F] from the word **migír**[M] 'firewood'. The data below provide more examples of names and the event or activities from which they are formed.

Source	Meaning	Name
luuq > sluqoo[F]	'kill a big/dangerous animal'	Sluqó[M]
buura[F]	'beer'	Burá[M/F]
slaqwe[F]	'communal work (goes with local beer)'	Slaqwé[M]
tleeh	'make, build house'	Tlehhemá[M]
tlaaq	'cut tree for building house'	Tlaqá[M]
doosl	'cultivate, dig, farm'	Dooslá[M]
gadyeét[F]	'work'	Gajeé[M/F]
de'eem	'herd, tend livestock'	De'éng'w[M] / De'eemáy[M]
qadweé[F]	'women's prayer vigil outdoors -Datooga'	Qadweé[M]
fi'iit	'run/going to ambush/fight'	Fi'itá[M]
marmo[F]	'initiation for (girls)'	Marmó[M]
migiir > migír[F]	'to collect firewood'	Migiré[M]
qaali[F]	'decoration'	Qaalí[F]
daqaro[F]	'skinning an animal'	Daqaró[M/F]
kwaslema[F]	'council, meeting'	Kwasleemá[M]
maasay[M]	'medicine (general term)'	Maasáy[M]
sanka[F]	'make offering to dead'	Sanká[M]
mislay[M]	'magic, power for traditional healer'	Mislaáy[M]

Table 8 – Names derived from day-to-day events and/or activities

As seen in Table 8, common events and activities undertaken by the Iraqw provided them with words for naming their children. Iraqw are an agro-pastoral community, so their names also reflected mostly whatever they do and/or whatever happens in everyday life. Such activities include cultivation, herding, milking, building, collection of forest materials, general work, clearing bush, hunting, etc. Events are things like ceremonies, market day, cry for alarm, meetings, initiations, giving offerings and prayers, killing of dangerous animals, etc. So, names are formed from verbs (activities) and from ordinary nouns (events) as one way to honour those activities and/or events.

4.9 Place names and place of birth

Darmá[M] 'wilderness', **Sla/á**[M] 'bush', **Qaymó**[M] 'farm, field', **Loohí**[M/F] 'path' **Looháy**[M/F] 'migrate' represent a few examples of names from the place of birth, migration of the parents to that place, or when father visited (travelled), or a person/relative from that place visited the family at the time of the child's birth. Using the place where a child was born as a name has also introduced Swahili names. A male child born in hospital is sometimes named **Magangá**[M] derived from the Swahili word **mganga** 'doctor' but a girl is named **Yayá**[F] derived from the Swahili word **yaya** 'nurse'. **Sipltalí**[F/M] 'hospital' is given to both sexes. **Maganga** is also a Sukuma name, so it is therefore possible that it was also borrowed from the Sukuma as a result of the contact between the Iraqw and Sukuma people. Nowadays these borrowed personal names are quite common as shown in Table 9.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
darma[M]	'wilderness (large and far from domestic land)'	Darmá[M]
sla/a[F]	'bush'	Sla/á[M]
xaday[M]	'place with dense trees, groves, wood'	Xadáy[M]
qaymo[F]	'farm, field'	Qaymó[M]
deeli[F]	'fallow land, field left uncultivated for some years'	Deelí[M]
tango[F]	'place where there was a house'	Taango[M]
tsee/a[F]	'outside'	Tsee/a[M/F]
yaa'e[F]	'river', 'born near the river'	Yaa'é[M]
looh > loohi[F]	'path, way'	Loohí[M/F]
looh > loohay[M]	'move house, migrate'	Looháy[M]
tlawi[F]	'lake'	Tlawí[M]
tlooma[F]	'mount'	Tlomá[M]

Table 9 – Names derive form place of birth

Other personal names came from place names like villages, districts, regions and geographical names in order to remember a visit to or from these places, and maybe a birth of a child in that place. Hence, names like **Karató**[M], **Arushá**[M], **Marísh**[M], **Imborí**[F/M], **Imboru**[M], **Muuráy**[M], **Oliyaaní**[M] (Oldiani – famous for coffee cultivation in Karutu, Arusha Region), **Mbulumbulú**[M] (famous for wheat cultivation), **Moshí**[M/F], etc. Both native and non-native names for places significantly contributed to naming children among the Iraqw. Place names were used for two situations. The first was when a woman gave birth in that place and the second when a member of the family, especially the father, travelled to the place or a relative from that place visited the family with the newborn child, or when the mother was pregnant or during the birth of the child.

4.10 Behaviour, colour or morphology

Children are born with different skin appearances which at times may trigger a name choice. For example, a child born with a dark complexion is named **Boo/áy**[M] for a boy and **Boo/í**[M/F] for both sexes. **Boo/í**[M/F] is synonymous with **Bo/ó**[M]. The name is derived from the adjective **boo/** which means 'black' or 'dark'. When a child is between dark and light, it is named **Mehhí**[M/F] whether a boy or a girl. The name comes from the adjective **meehh** meaning 'mixed colour'. A light-skinned child may be named **/Awakí**[M/F] or **Da/atí**[M/F] or **Da/atá**[M] meaning 'white' or 'red' where **/Awakí**[M/F] comes from the adjective **/awaak** 'white' and **Da/atí**[M/F] or **Da/atá**[M] comes from **da/aat** 'red'. Both **/Awakí**[M/F] or **Da/atí**[M/F] are given to boys or girls, while **Da/atá**[M] is given to boys only. **Bifá**[F/M] comes from the adjective **biif** 'spotted colour for goats', **Hansa/aáy**[F/M] from the adjective **hansa/ay** 'a cow colour – white spot on the head'. Other names referring to colour are **Fara/áy**[F/M] 'cow colour term for a white spot on the head' and **Manyarí**[F] 'green' and **Kaláy**[M] 'spots'.

However, this does not mean the name depicts features of the bearer. The bearer does not always have such a colour (cow or goat colour like white, spotted, or mixed colour), because names attributing colour may also be inherited from ancestors of the patrilineal lineage or may be derived from the time of the day. It is taboo to use the ordinary name **tsiindo** 'evening' or **sagw loo'a** or **loo'a tleemu** 'sunrise'. In naming, a child born at these points of time is called **Daafi** or **Yahhii** 'evening', **Boo/i, Bo/o,** or **Boo/ay** 'evening' (getting dark) or early morning (but still dark) and **/Awaaki, Lanta,** 'sunrise'. **Lanta** poetically means 'sun'. Table 10 provides the derivations of personal names from colours.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
boo/a	'blackness, darkness, evening'	Boo/áy[M]
boo/	'black, dark, evening'	Boo/í[M/F]
meehh	'mixed colour for goats'	Mehhí[M/F]
awaak	'white, nice, clear'	/Awakí[M/F]
da/aat	'red'	Da/atá[M] & Da/atí[M/F]
biif	'spotted colour for goats'	Bifá[F/M]
fará/	'cow colour term for a white spot on the head'	Fara/áy[F]
hansa/ay	'a cow colour – white spot on the head'	Hansa/aáy[F]
manyari	'green'	Manyarí[F]
kalay	'spot'	Kaláy[M]

Table 10 – Names derived from colours

Other names that depict appearance or the morphology of a child are **Hhalahhaláy**[M] which comes from **hhalahhali** 'polydactyl (six fingers)'. It is given to a child with six fingers. **Yaqaambá**[M] from **yaqamba**[M] 'biggest male cow,

uncastrated bull' meaning 'strong' is used to name a male child. Most likely the child's appearance and morphology influence the selection of the name. However, not all children who receive one of these names necessarily present one of these morphological or appearance characteristics.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
hhalahhali[F]	'polydactyl (six fingers)'	Hhalahhaláy[M]
yaqamba[M]	'biggest male cow, uncastrated bull'	Yaqaambá[M]
naanga'	'to walk with difficulty because of weakness'	Naangalí[M]

Table 11 – Names from morphology/appearance

Other names derived from human (animal) body parts are **Muna** 'heart', **De'e** 'liver', **Kwahh(i)a** 'scapula', **Wakri** 'chin', **Daamo** 'moustache', etc. Although these names refer to the parts of the body, their choice may be influenced by what a pregnant woman preferred (usually very selective of foods) to eat during pregnancy. Pregnant women are usually given uncooked animal liver.

The behaviour of parents is reflected in names like **Harweerí**[M] 'wandering' form a verb **harweer** 'encircling', (wandering refers to behaviour of either mother or father but not the child). Other names are **Giisá**[F] 'etiquette' and **Hhawaáy**[M] 'one who wastes time, is idle' is derived from the verb **hhaw** or **hhawahhaw** 'be late, waste time, be idle'. It can be the behaviour of one of the child's parents or of the child during birth. It should be noted here that the behaviour of the bearer can be relevant for the naming choice, but most likely it is from the parents and their general manner. This is captured by the example names in Table 12.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
harweer	'wandering, encircling'	Harweerí[M]
gisiim	'etiquette, subdued behaviour (sign of respect for girls)'	Giisá[F]
hhaaw	'one who wastes time, idle'	Hhawaáy[M]
weem	'loitering, dawdling, roaming'	Weemá[M]

Table 12 – Names Derived from Behaviour

As seen above, names derived from behaviour, physical appearance or morphology of the child are adjectives (attribute colour) and adjectival nouns. Also, this typology of names shows that some names are shared by both female and male children, some are given to female children only like **Giisá**[F] 'etiquette' comes from **gisiim** 'subdue (for girls)' and some others for male children, e.g., **Yaqaamba** 'biggest male cow, uncastrated bull' and **Harweeri** 'wandering' is used for male children. This shows that the decision of which name should be given

only to a female child or only to a male child is based on the basic meaning of the relevant name.

4.12 State of affairs or conditions

Each family has affairs that are unique to it. These affairs may come to be known to the wider public from the way the family handles them. For example, it is believed among the Iraqw that sometimes pregnancy may last for much longer than the normal nine months. This state is known as **hootay**[M]. Male or female children born after such a long period of pregnancy may be named **Hootáy**[M/F]. Another name, **Hhando**[M/F], is given to a child of either sex whose father died before it was born. **Meetá**[M] is a name given to a male child who is born when the family has been bereaved and is under **meeta**[N], a condition in which they are not allowed to mix with other people. **Dawiité**[M] and **Daawiít**[M] derives from the verb **daawiit** 'have trouble' and is a name given to a male child born after the family has gone through a lot of trouble and annoyance. **Nangay**[M] is a name given to a baby boy whose mother died after it was born, from **nangw'aay** (lit. child-of-mother). Other names derived from conditions are **Baalí**[M] 'defeat', **Muuré**[M] 'shyness', **Nunuqá**[M/F] 'sweet', **Tuu'á**[M] from **tuu'a** 'corpse' or **tu'a** 'constipation', and **Baaytá**[M] 'apprehension' and **Ba/aata**[F/M] 'getting better (for a sick person)'. These states of affairs or conditions of a mother or father of the child or any member of the family can most likely influence the choice of the name for the newborn. They are commemorated by using names.

4.13 Contact-induced names

Data analysis has also confirmed that some of the personal names in this community are derived from the names of the neighbouring tribes. The Iraqw community do not live in isolation but have had contact and interaction for centuries with the Datooga, Maasai, Nyaturu, Ihanzu, Nyiramba, Hadzabe, and others. The Iraqw have a referent name for each of these communities as in Table 13.

LANGUAGE FAMILY	IRAQW NAME	MEANING
Nyaturu, Nyiramba, Ihansu (Bantu)	Mandaá /uwa	'west Bantu people'
Mbugwe (Bantu)	Mandaá da/aaw	'east Bantu people'
Barabaig (Nilotic)	Tara	Datooga, Barabaig
Maasai (Nilotic)	Duwaanqeéd	Maasai people
Hadzabe (Isolate)	Hagiite	Hadzabe people

Table 13 – Names derived from contact with neighbours

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As seen, the Bantu-speaking communities, Nyiramba, Nyaturu, and Ihanzu are collectively referred to as **Mandaá/uwa** 'west Bantu people' because they are geographically situated west of the Iraqw land. Mbugwe, who are found in the eastern part of Iraqw lands, are termed as **Mandaá da/aaw** 'eastern Bantu people'. The Nilotic communities Maasai are referred to as **Duwaanqeéd** while Datooga or Barabaig are **Tara,** and Hadzabe are called **Hagiite**. Thus, the Iraqw name their children after these reference names used for their neighbours as shown in Table 14.

NAME	MEANING
Mandá[M]	'Bantu people'
Mandáy[M/F]	'Bantu people'
Manimó[M]	'male Bantu'
Tará[M]	'Datooga people'
Tarmó[M]	'male Datooga'
Tarto'ó[F]	'female Datooga'
Duwanqeé[M].	'Maasai people'
Wachakí[F]	'Chagga people'

Table 14 – Names originating from names of neighbouring communities

As seen above, **Duwanqeé**[M] 'Maasai people' is used for male children; there are no counter examples for females in the data. This name is given during the war and raiding of cattle by Maasai. The name **Ero** for a male child might have been taken from the Maasai address term **ero**. Contact with Bungwe (**mandaá da/aaw** 'east Bantu people'), Nyaturu, Nyiramba, and Isanzu (**mandaá /uuwa** 'west Bantu people') results in names such as **Mandáy**[M/F], **Mandá**[M], and **Manimó**[M]. **Wachakí**[F] Chagga is not as well-known as the other neighbouring communities.

Iraqw and Datooga have been in close contact for many centuries. The Datooga are regarded as the good neighbours although they had fought and also used to steal cattle from the Iraqw. This interaction has led to intermarriage. As a result, there has been an exchange of some socio-cultural practices between the two communities, one, among others, being manifested in the exchange of personal names. There are a number of Datooga personal names adapted by the Iraqw and vice versa is also true. Although the exchange of names between these communities needs an independent study, this article attested names from Datooga such as **Tara** and **Tarmo** 'male Datooga', **Tarto'o** 'female Datooga'. Name exchange has been so extensive that one cannot always easily recognize Datooga personal names used by the Iraqw. Other Datooga names found in Iraqw are **Margweé**[M] 'kind of Datooga beer', **Baraán**[M/F] 'journey', **Muchú**[M/F] 'morning', **Salahoót**[M] 'twins', **Habiiyeé**[M] 'hyena'. However, this needs to be given its due attention in future studies.

Although Hadzabe are in contact with Iraqw, which made the two communities exchange products like spears, herbs (from the Hadzabe), and grains (from the Iraqw), the Iraqw did not use **Hagiite** 'Hadzabe' to name their children. Moreover, contact between African societies and foreign societies/nations through trade, missionary activities and colonization, brought foreign names into the stock of Iraqw personal names. This is shown in the list below, which are common names among the Iraqw. Personal names in Table 15 among others enter Iraqw via Swahili, the national language and regional lingua franca.

NAME	MEANING
Masoóng'[M]	*Wazungu* 'white men'
Angaaresí[M]	*Waingereza* 'English men'
Mihindí[M]	Hindi 'Indian man'
Sumarí[M]	'Somali'
Chiná[M]	'Chinese'

Table 15 – Names from contact with foreigners

Some children are named after Swahili personal names such as **Tabú**[F] derived from **taabu** 'troubles', **Juma'iné**[M] from the Swahili word *Jumanne* 'Tuesday', **Nadá**[F/M] from *mnada* 'cattle market day', **Kasí**[F/M] from *kazi* 'work' with the Iraqw synonym **Gajeé**[M/F], and **Kalamú**[M] from *kalamu* 'pen'. Other names are **Gafná**[M] from the English word 'governor', **Shawrí**[M] 'from *Bwana shauri* 'a district officer next to DC during colonial government', where the Iraqw synonym is **Kwaslemá**[M] 'case, affair, consult', **Karaní**[M] from *karani* 'clerk', **Safarí**[M] or **Safari**[F] from *safari* 'journey' (the Iraqw synonym is **Aaé**[M/F] derived from verb **aai** 'travel, journey').

Like Iraqw traditional names, these non-native personal names are used as a child's **umuú xwaante** 'birth or given name'. The choice of these names is triggered by the sighting (encountering) of a person from these communities, or by a visit by one of them to the family of the newborn, or by invasion of the village to steal cattle (or for any other reason) or when the mother gives birth to a child in the area where a certain community lives. Generally, it should be noted that varied (environmental elements, historical, socio-cultural, political, etc.) sources of names give the meaning of names. These meanings may or may not depict the feature or behaviour of the name bearer. Lexical meanings usually depict the origin of the name. People perhaps used these sources either to commemorate (for any reason), or for socio-cultural reasons. It is therefore worth arguing that people's surroundings, varied circumstances, family or societal, political affairs were very important in naming their newborns. Thus, a name is a referential meaning label for people, and there is a relationship between personal names and their meaning.

5. Some linguistic observations regarding personal names

This section offers highlights of some linguistic features, especially those featured in the course of this study. However, detailed analysis of linguistic properties of personal names needs to be given its due attention in future studies.

Iraqw personal names are formed from ordinary lexical items, mostly nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The formation process from nouns involves the placement of tone on the final vowel for the majority of nouns of different types as illustrated in Table 16.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
aama[F]	'old woman/grandmother'	**Amá**[F]
seehha[F]	'tsetse fly'	**Sehhá**[M/F]
yaa'e[F]	'river, leg'	**Yaa'é**[M]
maasay[M]	'medicine (general)'	**Maasáy**[M]
buura[F]	'beer'	**Burá**[M/F]
qwari[F]	'hunger'	**Qwarí**[M]
lawee'i[F]	'heavy rain, starting from west'	**Lawe'í**[M]
kwasleema[F]	'meeting, discussion'	**Kwasleemá**[M/F]

Table 16 – Names derived by a final high tone

However, for some names, the high final tone in source nouns is maintained as depicted in Table 17. In other words, if nouns end in a high tone, this high tone is maintained in the derived name.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
giyeét[F]	'famine'	**Giyeét**[M]
geeweé[F]	'disease, epidemic'	**Geeweé**[M]
gadyeét[F]	'work'	**Gajeé**[M]
/awatú[M]	'monkey'	**/Awatú**[M]
/antsí[F]	'cactus, fig tree'	**/Antsí**[M]

Table 17 – Names identical to source

An indirect relationship between high tones and definiteness or individuality has been observed (MOUS 1993: 83), and high tones can be used to derive names in Iraqw (MOUS 1993: 21). Furthermore, a number of personal nouns are formed from verbs and adjectives through nominalisation. This derivation manifests through morphophonological processes with different nominalizing suffixes and placement of the final high tone. Deverbal personal names are formed from varied day-to-day activities and/actions undertaken by Iraqw as shown in Table 18.

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SOURCE (VERB)	MEANING	NAME
fi'iit	'run to help'	Fi'itá[M]
xuuf	'drink beer'	Xuufó[M]
uu'	'cry for alarm'	Uu'í[F] or uu'ó[M]
baal	'defeat'	Baalí[M]
sii'	'refuse, reject'	Si'imá[M/F]
tleehh	'to do, to build'	Tlehhemá[M]
tlaaq	'cut, cut tree'	Tlaqá[M]
tlaaw	'get up, wake up'	Tleemú[M]
daaf	'return home from herding'	Dafí[M/F] / Dafáy[M]
deel	'remain fallow, remain, postpone'	Deelí[M]
slaa'	'want, like, love'	Sla'amá[M]
sluuq	'kill a big/dangerous animal'	Sluqó[M]

Table 18 – Names derived from verbs

These names are derived by using nominalising suffixes, such as **-a, -o, -i, -iima, -emu, -ema, -ama**. They also end with a final high vowel as a distinctive feature of Iraqw personal names. Moreover, some other personal names are formed from adjectives as listed in Table 19 below.

SOURCE (ADJECTIVE)	MEANING	NAME
boo/	'dark, black, darkness, blackness'	Boo/áy[M], Boo/o[M], Boo/í[M/F]
/awaak	'white, light, clear, nice'	/Awakí[M/F]
da/aat	'red'	Da/atá[M], Da/atí[M/F]
meehh	'mixed colour esp. goat's colour'	Mehhí[M/F]
biif	'spotted colour for goats'	Bifá[F/M]
fará/	'cow colour term for a white spot on the head'	Fara/áy[F/M]

Table 19 – Names derived from adjectives

The data above showed the derivation of personal names from adjectives by nominalising suffixes such as **-ay, -o, -i, -a**, and by adding final high tones. The name **Hhipú**[M] is derived from an ideophone **hhip** 'very black kind of colour'.

Based on the analysis of personal names from different sources discussed above, and from both core and derived ones, it is revealed that the unique property of the Iraqw personal names is the high tone marked on the final vowel. Another observation is that the gender of a noun is not predictable by its meaning in the sense that the gender of the noun is different from the sex of the referent and

words with a similar meaning can be of either gender as depicted in Table 20 below.

SOURCE (VERB)	MEANING	NAME
aama[F]	'old woman/grandmother'	Amá[F]
seehha[F]	'tsetse fly'	Sehhá[M/F]
yaa'e[F]	'river, leg'	Yaa'é[M]
buura[F]	'beer'	Burá[M/F]
qwari[F]	'hunger'	Qwarí[M]
lawee'i[F]	'heavy rain, starting from west'	Lawe'í[M]
tsee/ama[M]	'sunny, hot season'	Tsee/amá[M/F]
tluway[M]	'rain'	Tluway[F] &Tluwaáy[M]

Table 20 – Difference in gender between name and its source

As can be seen in (20), As can be seen in (20), there are ordinary feminine nouns which can be derived to make male names. However, some ordinary masculine nouns can be used to derive both male and female personal names. Although a number of the personal names are derived from ordinary nouns which specify gender, the gender of personal names is determined by form and meaning rather than the sex of the person. Gender reflects the sex of the person even if the names are identical or the same name is used for both male and female referents. This tells us that the formation of personal names from ordinary nouns does not consider the gender of the source noun as shown. Although the majority of personal names are used for both sexes, some are restricted to females while others are for male children only. The grammatical gender of the noun does not necessarily reflect the sex of the person to whom the name is given. A grammatically feminine noun can be used to name a male child and a grammatically masculine noun can be used to name a female child. Thus, names like **Axweesó, Nadé, Matlé** among others are grammatically masculine or feminine according to the gender of the person to whom they are given. A number of names are restricted to females such as **Umalí, Sakrí**, and/or male person like **Diráng'w, Du'umá, Duxó**, etc.

6. Conclusion

This article has addressed personal names and the practice of naming in Iraqw, a Southern Cushitic language of Tanzania. The analysis has revealed that, traditionally, a child is named by paternal kin because naming practice follows a patriarchal system. Naming is customarily accompanied by a ceremony. The paper has shown that names are not a mere label that distinguishes an individual from the rest of the members of the family or community; they instead have rich meanings in the worldview of the Iraqw. Names have indexical relationships to

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historical, political, socio-cultural meanings, and functions and places, activities, people, environmental elements, behaviour, morphology, and physical appearance of people. This implies that the act of naming actually describes the way names are bestowed to a newborn. Names commemorate important family, societal, national, and international historical events. They refer to language communities that have been in contact with the Iraqw for several centuries. This contact has significantly influenced Iraqw personal names through heavy borrowing from Datooga, a Nilotic language, and some from Swahili. Recently, Christianity has strongly influenced and continues to influence Iraqw naming practices, the pattern of names and traditional names to the extent that some families no longer give their newborn the traditional names. Iraqw personal names are morphophonologically derived from ordinary words including nouns, verbs, adjective, and ideophones. The derivational process involves placing a high tone on the final syllable. Nominalising suffixes together with high tone derive names from verbs, adjectives and ideophones. High tone on the final syllable is a distinctive feature of the Iraqw name. Most personal nouns do not distinguish the gender of the referent, because nouns of masculine or feminine gender can be used for both male and female children. In other words, the gender of the child does not determine the gender of the noun used as a noun.

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Notes and discussions

A history of Gurara Berber (Taznatit)

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1. Introduction

Taznatit is a variant of Tamazight, which belongs to the Afro-Asiatic family. It is one of the many Berber varieties spoken in Algeria.[1] It represents the major component of the identity of the inhabitants of the region of Gurara, in the south west of Algeria. The paper sheds light on this Berber variety from its early history to present day. The research will focus on three main distinct phases in the history of Taznatit in the region of Gurara. The first deals with the early history of Taznatit in the pre-colonial period, that is, from the settlement of the Berbers in Gurara to the arrival of the French by the early 1900. The second phase extends from the arrival of the French to the independence. The last phase examines the situation of Taznatit in the post-independence period within the context of the language policy in Algeria. This last phase is divided into two distinct sub-phases; the first covers the pre-Berber Spring period while the second is devoted to the changes introduced by the Algerian authority in dealing with the Berber identity issue as a reaction to the pressure of the Berber Cultural Movement.

2. Location and Origins of Gurara, People and Language

The region of Gurara is approximately located around the point 29° 15' latitude north and 0° 13' longitude east, at about 1,200 Km to the south of Algiers. It is

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[1] The Berber varieties spoken in Algeria are: Taqbaylit, Tashawit, Tamashaq, Taznatit, Tashelḥit n Boussemghoun, Tabeldite or Tashelḥit n Ouad Saoura, Taguergarent, Tasaḥlit, Tamzabit, Tamazight n Mitidja (Atlas of Blida), Tamazight n Tipaza (Shenwa), Ngussa, Kutama, among others. The Tamazight n At Snus is most likely not spoken anymore.

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limited by the Saharan Atlas in the north, the massive of Tadmait to the east and the Western Erg to the west, lying on over 86,000 square kilometers (see Map 1).

Map 1 – Le Gourara, Croquis de situation (BISSON 1999)

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2.1 The origins of Gurara

According to J. Bisson, the etymology of the word Gurara comes from the Arabic *qarara* "settlement" (BISSON 1999: 3190). Other sources indicate that Gurara comes from *grara*, the singular form of *grayer*, a location in the Sahara of Mauritania, and it refers to a hollow (basin) where water is gathered and land is green throughout the year (CAPOT-REY 1963). Leo Africanus and Ibn Khaldun used the Berber term *Tegurarin* (IBN KHALDUN 2001: 25, L'AFRICAIN 1981: 7) تكورارين to refer to the region of Gurara together with T'sabit and Tam-n-ṭiṭ, which were used to be departure points for the caravans involved in the Trans-Saharan trade with Sudan[2] centuries ago (BISSON 1999: 3188).

Recently, Mouloud Mammeri argued that there is a relationship between Tegurarin and the Berber word *tigurarin*, a feminine plural form of *agrur* meaning 'camp'. This hypothesis is close to the idea developed by Philippe MARÇAIS (1954) in his investigation in the region of M'zab, who argues that the term *Gurara* is derived from the Arabic word *qarara*. Another hypothesis indicates that *tigurarin* is the plural form of *tagrart*, a Berber word meaning 'camp'. This hypothesis agrees with the idea of Ibn Khaldun who says that the Zenata were nomadic people who through time became sedentary.

2.2 The Origins of the people of Gurara

It is hard to give a precise date as to the arrival of the first settlers in the region of Gurara because of the lack of archaeological evidence (GUILLERMOU 1993: 121-138). The absence of written tradition and the relative isolation of the region from the rest of the world generated controversial versions and hypotheses about the origins of the people of Gurara.

According to Alfred Georges Paul MARTIN (1908: 75-85), the region of Gurara would have been inhabited by black people in small scattered *qsour* (plural of *qsar,* a word used in the local dialect with the meaning of 'village') dominated by nomadic Berbers. Then two groups of migrants came to the region; the first, from Tingitania[3] came shortly before the Common Era; the second group came from Cyrenaica between the second and the fourth centuries.

A recent study by BELLIL (2003), who spent a few years in the region investigating in the origins of the people of Gurara, relying on the oral tradition (folk tales),

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[2] Sudan refers mainly to sub-Saharan West Africa, i.e. the area known as 'Bilad e-Takrur' and not corresponding with present-day Sudan.

[3] A Roman province located in northwestern Africa, in present-day Morocco.

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concluded the following: "The first settlers in the region were black people, then a Berber group known as the Gaetuli who arrived since antiquity, followed in the second century A.D. by the Jews who altogether constituted the Zenata tribes later". By the seventh century, a second wave of migrants of Jews arrived in the region (BELLIL 2000: 15-16). Then during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Gurara witnessed the arrival of the Arab tribes of Banu Sulaym and Banu Hilal (FAGE 1978: 166) who Arabized the Berber communities in the Sahara. Most of the northern and southern parts of Gurara were completely Arabized, particularly around present-day Aougrout. However, the *qsour* around Timimoun, the capital of Gurara, resisted to the changes brought by these Arab tribes.

According to Louise BRIGGS (1995), when the Muslim conquerors defeated the Queen of the Aures, Kahina by the end of the seventh century, some of her men joined the conquerors (converted into Islam), whereas the remaining part fled westwards to settle around the mountains of what is modern Oran. Because of the endless series of inter-tribal conflicts, the vanquished fled southward seeking peace and security to settle in the Sahara and establish the first Zenata settlement. The last wave of migrants to Gurara came by the early twentieth century with the establishment of the French colonial administration in the region. It included families from the north, which represented the native educated elite who worked as interpreters for the French administration and in education. Besides, families from tribes such as Šεanba, Zwa, Dwi Mniaε and Ulad ğrir coming respectively from Metlili, El Bayyadh and Saoura settled in the region. It is worth noting that all the settlers who came by the early twentieth century onward were Arabic-speaking people, which had significant linguistic influence on the region of Gurara. In fact, the evolution of Gurara Berber went through three distinct phases; the pre-colonial period, the colonial period and the post-colonial period.

3. The precolonial period

A detailed study by A.G.P. MARTIN (1908) shows the successive settlements of Arab tribes in the regions of Gurara and Tuat between 1053 and 1137. The Arab tribes Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaym who settled first in the area around Amguiden (about 150 kilometers to the north of Timimoun, then moved to the *qsour* inhabited by the Berbers (see Map 2). Subsequently, the peaceful conversion of the Berbers into Islam had a great impact on the local language. In fact, being the language of the Quran, Arabic was immediately adopted, and subsequent cultural integration followed through peaceful coexistence of Berbers and Arabs though predominant Arabic can be traced through the Ahellil lyrics which include about fifty percent of

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Arabic words. To conclude, it can be said that the pre-colonial period was characterized by a peaceful coexistence between Gurara Berber and Arabic.

Map 2 – Distribution of Arabic-speaking and Berber-speaking *qsour* in Gurara (BISSON 1957)

4. The colonial period

Coexistence between Arabs and Berbers continued despite the intrusion of French colonizing soldiers in the area whose preference to Berber and Darija at the expense of Arabic Fusḥa was well documented by Abul Qassim SAADALLAH (1998), who believed that French Administration's discriminatory attitudes towards classical Arabic (Fusḥa) was intended to lessen the latter's importance and usage

and eventually eradicate it while encouraging local vernacular languages. He wrote:

''حين سيطر الفرنسيون على الوضع في الجزائر بعد 1850 شجعوا اللهجات العربية و البربرية و الدارجة لإماتة الفصحى'' (SAADALLAH 1998: 20)

["When the French dominated Algeria in 1850, they encouraged Arabic dialects, Berber and vernacular Arabic to eliminate standard Arabic (fusḥa)" (translation by the author)]

From a socio-linguistic perspective, it was evident that the increase in the Berber population as indicated in the table below (following BISSON 1985) would sustain the colonizing intended objectives and colonial language policy. In the region of Gurara, the population knew a steady increase throughout the third quarter of the twentieth century.

YEAR	POPULATION
1952	25,177
1966	40,185
1977	50,933

Table 1 – Statistics on the population of Gurara (BISSON 1985)

Linguistically, the inhabitants of Gurara were predominantly Berber-speaking people from Zenata tribes. According to the census of 1950 – 1952 (MAMMERI et al. 1973), 15,402 were Berber-speaking people, which represents almost more than 61%. The percentage of Berber speakers was even higher in some remote villages like Taghouzi and Talmine. Taznatit, a type of Western Maghrib Berber (KOSSMANN 2020: 2-3), was obviously the predominant local language. Evidence of such prevailing language can be sustained by the toponomy of Gurara *qsour*.

The toponymy of the *qsour*[4] in Gurara is a sound argument of the Berber domination in this region for centuries. For example, in the north of Gurara most of the villages still keep Berber names: Tabelkoza, Tazliza, Taantas, Wadghagh, Tilaghmine, Timezlane, Tinjellet, T'gant, etc. Similarly, around Timimoun, there are: Aala-mellal, Am'zeggagh, Aghiat, Azekkour, Ighzer, At Said, Aghled, Tala,

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[4] Most of these names start with the prefixes *ta-* (feminine prefix) or *tin* expressing possession, i.e., 'belongs to'. The name of the capital of Gurara, Timimoun, is derived from Tin Mimoun: the area where Timimoun was founded belongs to a saint known as Mimoun. In the folk tales, it is said that Mimoun is the name of the Jewish saint who founded the capital of Gurara and therefore the city belongs to him.

Taoursit, T'mana, Tasfaout, etc. In the west of Gurara, there are: Ajdir, Taguelzi, Tink'ram, Taghouzi, Talmine, etc. In the south of Gurara, there are: Akbour, Ig'stan, Aourir, Toukki, Tiberghamine, Tinqline, etc. (see Map 2 above). Even the districts of ancient Timimoun bring Berber name such as: Tazeggaght, Taḥattayt, Aḥarrash, Akhbou-n-T'ghoni, al-Manjour, Tadmait, Tam'sloḥt, Arr'ḥ oubat, Ifli-n-bara, etc.

5. The post-colonial period

The post-colonial period is divided into two distinct phases. The first covers the two first decades after the independence of Algeria (1962-1980) during which official language policy put emphasis on the extensive use of Arabic to the detriment of Berber. The second phase began with the Berber Spring in 1980 and goes up to present time, during which officials had to reconsider language policy and culture.

5.1 The early post-colonial period (1962-1980)

Berber culture in the Gurara region in general was dictated by political and economic factors that caused its gradual decline until it almost disappeared, as it was the case in the area of Tuat where it has become extinct. Tamentit, Tittaf, Bufaddi, Ighil, Ikis and Ghermiannu stand as examples where only the toponymy of these villages remains a witness of their Berber origin.

Since the Algerian constitution of 1963 clearly defined the inherent founding principles of Algerian identity, Arabic and Islam, subsequently Berber and its cultural heritage were not considered important; no signs of promoting them had been officially initiated.

There is no doubt that this policy had serious consequences on the future of Berber in the region of Gurara as well as in the other Berber-speaking regions of Algeria. Furthermore, it can be argued that the negative attitude of the Berbers themselves towards Gurara Berber contributed to its decline. That is to say, the rate of using Berber among the family members as well as in public space was constantly decreasing. The local people justified this attitude towards their mother language by purely socio-economic factors. They believed that Arabic-speaking children could achieve better results at school. In other words, children from Arabic speaking families come to school with the advantage of speaking Arabic they acquired at home while those coming from Berber speaking families do not, which causes them delay compared to their classmates.

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Consequently, Arab speakers could have more and better access to employment opportunities than Berber speakers. Thus, Berbers did not see any benefits in learning their language. This situation continued until the 1980s which was marked as a turning point in the policy of the Algerian authority vis-à-vis the Berber culture in general and Tamazight in particular. After the Amazigh Spring known as *tafsut taberkant* (the Black Spring) in the Kabylie region in 1980, which had an impact on the Berber varieties throughout the country, the authority realized that it is time to reconsider their doctrine and policy with regard to Algerian identity. It should be noted that the great merit for this change in the authority's position on the issue of the Amazigh identity goes to Mouloud Mammeri who was the cause of the outbreak of the Amazigh Spring events.

5.1.1 The contribution of Mouloud Mammeri to Saving the Berber Culture in Gurara

Mouloud Mammeri is considered as one of the pillars of the Berber culture who left clear imprints in the field of academic research in several areas such as human studies, linguistics, literature and poetry. His efforts were not limited to the Kabylia region in northern Algeria, but rather to include other regions of the homeland that are rich with an ancient Berber heritage in particular. Gurara, which represents the geographical area of this research is one of these regions. Mouloud Mammeri's contributions in the resurrection and revival of the Berber heritage in Gurara were significant. His interest in Gurara Berber culture goes back to the early 1970s, when a British researcher came to Algeria to work on the *Bedwi* (nomadic) music in the Algerian Sahara. She asked Mouloud Mammeri, then Director of C.N.R.P.A.H. (*Centre National de Recherche Préhistorique, Anthropologique et Historique)* to help her collect some musical recordings from Saharan regions such as M'zab and Gurara. The Algerian authorities put at the disposal of the British researcher a driver guide and the musicologist Pierre Augier, a close friend of Mouloud Mammeri, to carry out her work. The driver put on some music, Ahellil chants from the region of Gurara, the music fascinated Pierre Augier who decided to take the tape to Mouloud Mammeri. The latter was amazed as the lyrics of the songs contained Berber vocabulary with unique music. He asked Pierre Augier to return to Gurara to record more of that music. When the latter returned to Algiers with the recordings, Mouloud Mammeri listened to them, became curious to know more about this music, and then he decided to go himself to the region to closely examine this heritage.

The first trip of Mouloud Mammeri to Gurara was in 1971. When he arrived in Timimoun, he met Moulay Slimane Timmi, who became his guide and close friend

during the seven years he spent there. Mouloud Mammeri undertook many researches on the Berber heritage in Gurara; one of the most outstanding of his works is the book *l'Ahellil du Gourara* that was published in Paris in 1984. The book comprises 50 poems in Gurara Berber, which he collected from the elders, from mouth to ear, during his visits to Gurara. It should be noted that Mouloud Maamri was pioneer in collecting, writing and codifying Ahellil poems. He estimated that a third of this heritage was lost, and that was, according to him, due to "rapid and decisive transformations in Algerian society that would have decisive effects on Ahellil" (MAMMERI 2003: 7-41).

As the poems were transmitted orally from one generation to another, they were subject to distortion and loss. Consequently, differences in the same poem can be found from one region to another. One wonders whether the orally transmitted Ahellil could have survived without Mammeri's achievements.

Mammeri was determined to recover remaining Ahellil heritage because it represented a firmly-rooted Berber identity in the Gurara region. His efforts were not fruitless for they pressed Algerian officials to reconsider the issue of Algerian identity.

5.2 The late post-colonial period

It should be noted that during the period from independence to the mid1990s little had been done with respect to Berber identity at the official level. However, from the mid-nineties onwards, the Algerian authorities took several measures in order to restore respect to Berber culture and promote Tamazight in all its varieties. In this context, for purely political reasons, by 1995 onwards local Berber languages had gradually been introduced in the mass media particularly the local radios throughout the country including that of Adrar, which covers the region of Gurara. Algeria was then passing through a critical period characterized by a violent wave of attacks by terrorists who called for the boycott of the presidential elections of November 16th, 1995; the authorities therefore resorted to Berber varieties in radio announcements for election purposes. In the Wilaya of Adrar, two Berber varieties, Taznatit and Tamashaq had been introduced in the local radio through programmes essentially destined to convince the Berber speaking-people to participate in the electoral process. However, after the presidential elections, programmes in Taznatit and Tamashaq were omitted therefrom. In 2005, the two Berber varieties were gradually reintroduced therein with a view to meeting the needs of the Berber-speaking communities in terms of news, culture and entertainment, etc.

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At the central level, a number of measures has been taken to preserve and promote Tamazight in Algeria, among which: the creation of the High Commission of Tamazight (H.C.A),[5] the establishment of a yearly festival of Ahellil in Timimoun, the classification of Ahellil as a world heritage for humanity by the UNESCO, the recognition of Tamazight as a national language and then an official language, the creation of the national centre for pedagogy and linguistics to teaching Tamazight, the establishment of the Algerian Academy of Tamazight, the orientation law on national education and the declaration of the Amazigh New Year's Day as a national holiday.

First, an academic institution (H.C.A) was officially created on May 27th, 1995 (J.O. RADP N°29 1995: 4-5)[6] whose main objectives are to protect the Berber identity and to promote teaching Tamazight in schools. Second, since 2006, a yearly festival of Ahellil has been organized in Timimoun to protect and promote this cultural heritage (J.O. RADP N°23 1995: 25). This step came after that Ahellil of Gurara had officially been classified by the UNESCO as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in Paris in November 25th, 2005. This recognition was followed by a heritage safeguarding campaign[7] aiming at:

- Ensuring the viability of the Ahellil of Gurara through activities including the establishment of a "Committee for the Safeguarding of the Ahellil of Gurara" (CSAG) to implement the plan;

- Encouraging transmission to younger generations by initiating them to Ahellil in Gurara schools and colleges;

- Organizing training workshops on Ahellil music, poetry and choreography; identifying Ahellil bearers and collecting their corpus;

- Organizing an annual festival (with a Jury and Awards) to promote the Ahellil;

- Creating a website and newsletter on Ahellil,[8] supported by production.

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[5] HCA: Le Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité.

[6] J.O. RADP refers to Journal Officiel de la République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire, meaning : the official journal of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.

[7] http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php

[8] The Committee of Ahellil has an official page on Facebook:
https://www. facebook.com/festivalahellil/

Third, the Algerian authority recognized Tamazight as a national language in 2002 and as an official language in 2016. In the Constitution of 2016, Article 4 states:

> "Tamazight est également langue national et officielle. L'Etat œuvre à sa promotion et à son développement dans toutes ses variétés linguistiques en usage sur le territoire national." (*Constitution de la République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire*, art. 4)

Fourth, in conformity with the preceding decisions it became obviously necessary to establish a national centre for pedagogy and linguistics to teaching Tamazight in 2003 (J.O. RADP N°76 2003: 5) whose missions are:

a) To design organizational devices and psycho-pedagogical strategies for the promotion and development of the teaching of Tamazight in all levels of the educational system.

b) To carry out any research or study in Tamazight in its linguistic varieties and their evaluations.

c) To participate in research initiated by national structures concerned, relating to Tamazight in its linguistic varieties.

d) To participate in the development of teacher training programs and their implementation by specialized institutions in the sectors concerned.

Fifth, Law 18-17 dated September 2nd, 2018 allows the establishment of the Algerian Academy of Tamazight (J.O. RADP N°54 2018: 14), composed of forty members including experts in linguistics and dialectology. Article 6 of the Law states:

> "In order to achieve the status of Tamazight as an official language, the Academy is responsible for meeting the necessary conditions. For this, it is responsible in particular for:
>
> - collecting the national corpus of Tamazight in all its linguistic varieties;
> - establishing a standardization of Tamazight at all levels of description and linguistic analysis;
> - establishing lists of neologisms and specialized lexicons by favouring convergence;
> - undertaking research work on Tamazight and to participate in the national research programme in its field of competence;
> - guaranteeing the accuracy of the interpretation and translation of notions and concepts in the specialized fields;

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- developing and editing a referential dictionary of Tamazight;
- contributing to the preservation of Amazigh intangible heritage, in particular through its digitization;
- encouraging any research and translation into Tamazight aiming at enriching and preserving the heritage related to the national memory;
- publishing the results of the work of the Academy in periodical reviews and publications and ensure their dissemination.

Sixth, the authority enacted law number 08-04 of January 23rd, 2008 on the orientation law on national education. Its Article 34 states that: "The teaching of Tamazight is introduced into the educational system to meet the demand expressed on the national territory." (J.O. RADP N°4 2008: 11) In the region of Gurara, teaching Tamazight in schools, which is optional like in the other regions in the country, started in 2015, in 11 primary schools with a total number of pupils estimated at 407 supervised by 6 teachers. This number rose in 2019 to 1766 pupils in primary schools and 2417 pupils in middle schools, all supervised by 8 teachers. (ABBOU 2020: 185) Although the statistics of Tamazight learners are trending upwards, teaching Tamazight in Gurara is facing two major obstacles. First, the school books are written in Taqbaylit but not in Taznatit and this generated discontent amongst the parents of the pupils. They argued that teaching Taqbaylit would result in the long term in the extinction of Taznatit and therefore the loss of the identity of the Berbers of Gurara. Second, the teachers of Tamazight use the Latin script and this makes learning Tamazight more difficult particularly among pupils in primary schools who are not familiar with the Latin script.

Seventh, the authority declared the Amazigh New Year's Day, *Amenzu n Yennayer* which corresponds to January 12th in the Gregorian calendar, a national holiday, in 2018. (J.O. RADP N°46 2018: 38) This decision has a positive impact on promoting the Berber culture, it strengthens cohesion amongst Berbers in the various regions of the homeland by showing similarities in the aspects of celebrating this event.

The previous national and international decisions and measures gave an impulse to Berber culture in general and to the Berber language varieties in particular. In the region of Gurara for instance, the Berbers became proud of their identity, and the use of Gurara Berber has been increasing among its speakers after most of them were reluctant to speak it. Furthermore, groups of Ahellil are now frequently invited to give concerts in wedding parties and in different celebrations. Also, Ahellil is now regularly broadcast on the local radio to satisfy the Berber-speaking

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people's demands. Moreover, this traditional music has recently been a centre of interest for many researchers, for instance, MAMMERI (1973, 1984, 2003, 2008), BELLIL (2000), and BOUTERFA (2007). Finally, it should be noted that at the University of Adrar, some students from Gurara have recently began to work on linguistic topics related to Gurara Berber, which will certainly help to promote it.

The events of the Kabylie region mentioned in 5.1 were not only an attempt to demand recognition of the Amazigh identity and its preservation from assimilation into the Arab-Islamic identity that the authority was betting on to preserve the unity of the Algerian people, but it was also a response to the winds of globalization that were working to obliterate identities and fuse the tongues, customs and traditions that distinguish peoples in a single form representing the Western identity. Nevertheless, the Berber Spring came mainly as a response to the authority's marginalization of the Berber culture and the attempt to obliterate the Berber identity.

As for the impact of Mouloud Mammeri's efforts on reviving and resurrecting the heritage of Ahellil in particular, and Berber culture in the Gurara region in general, it can be argued that the man who is nicknamed by the Gurari inhabitants as *dda l Mouloud,*[9] the savior of Ahellil, achieved the most important work ever done for the benefit of the Berber culture in Gurara. He came at the last moment and collected the poems of Ahellil by recording audio tapes from its masters as a first step, preserving it thus from being lost as it perishes and dies with the death of the elders. This achievement was the first of its kind as no poems of Ahellil were found in a written form except what was written on clay and wooden tablets for the sake of learning them by heart. This work formed the general framework for its subsequent registration as an immaterial world cultural heritage by the UNESCO. Furthermore, many schools of Ahellil are proud to teach children and the rising generations this authentic folk heritage.

6. Conclusion

It can be concluded that the contribution of Mouloud Mammeri to the Berber culture in the Gurara region was of great importance, and that the beginning of the seventies of the twentieth century was decisive for the fate of the Gurara Berber culture. The scientific field trips he made to the *qsour* of the region of Gurara was a turning point in the survival of Ahellil to our generation and its continuation for the future generations. Since Gurara Berber cannot be dissociated from this

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[9] *Dda* is a Berber word, meaning an old wise man.

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heritage, the Berber-speaking people in Gurara regained the sense of pride of their identity. These developments in addition to the events that took place in the Kabylia region known as the Amazigh Spring pressed the authority to review its policy towards the issue of the Amazigh identity. Consequently, decisions and laws have been introduced to restore respect for Amazigh culture and to promote its language in all its varieties. Perhaps, the most important of which are the inclusion of Tamazight in school curricula and its use in the visual, audio and written media. The region of Gurara has its share in that; Gurara Berber (Taznatit) is used in radio Adrar to broadcast programmes to meet the demands of the Berber-speaking people in Gurara. In the field of education, teaching Tamazight in the schools of Gurara had also been introduced, which is a significant achievement towards promoting it. However, it should be reminded that this process is facing a major problem that may lead to the reluctance of pupils to learn it, and thus to stop teaching it. The problem is that pupils are taught the Berber variety spoken in the Kabylia (Taqbaylit) but not Gurara Berber (Taznatit), which is rejected by the committees of the parents of pupils as they see it as a blurring of Gurara Berber. In my opinion, the solution lies in either teaching Tamazight in the local variety in each Berber-speaking region, and this requires important human and material means represented in preparing textbooks in the Berber variety of each region as well as training teachers in each Berber variety, or waiting for a standardized Berber with unified vocabulary and grammar on the part of the Algerian Academy of Tamazight, and this, in my opinion, will not happen in the near future.

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Review

Nico Nassenstein, *Swahili Proverbs from the Democratic Republic of the Congo.* Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2022, 136 pp. ISBN 9783896457448

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Nico Nassenstein's collection of sayings and proverbs presents four varieties of Congolese Swahili (DRC): Kivu, Bunia/Ituri Kingwana, Kisangani and Lubumbashi/Katanga. Besides the bibliography and a useful index of proverbs (classified for concepts), the book is divided into five parts, the first consists of the introduction and the collection of proverbs and the other four consist of the collection itself in the four Congolese regiolects. This volume follows logically Nassenstein's work on Congolese Swahili such as the 2015 monograph *Kisangani Swahili: Choices and Variation in a Multilingual Urban Space* or the 2016 monograph written with Paulin Baraka Bose *Kivu Swahili Texts and Grammar Notes.*

The book opens with an introduction divided into four paragraphs. In the first paragraph, the Author introduces us to the subject matter of his collection, namely proverbs as a genre and the linguistic focus of this collection. The first few pages are devoted to a discussion of the state of the art of both proverbs as a genre and classification (the Author also offers a brief discussion of Swahili terminology in this regard) and proverb collections in Swahili. In this section, the Author introduces one of the most interesting aspects of the book, namely the linguistic situation of Congolese Swahili varieties and, from a sociolinguistic perspective, the relationship of these varieties to each other (an aspect discussed in more detail below) and to coastal Swahili.

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The second paragraph is devoted to variations and classifications of Congolese Swahili. The Author offers a concise, but well-detailed and discussed, bibliography around the classification of Congolese Swahili, then goes on to describe the four regiolects of Congolese Swahili. In this section, the Author also elaborates the relationship between the varieties of Congolese Swahili, i.e. how and why one variety is felt to be more prestigious than another or how one variety has influenced another, as, for example, the case of the influence of Kivu Swahili on Bunia Swahili.

Kivu Swahili comprises two varieties, that of Bukavu and that of Goma — spoken by about 8-10 million speakers, mostly as a second language. Native speakers of Kivu Swahili live mostly in urban areas. Bunia Swahili or Ituri Kingwana is a variety of Swahili spoken in the northwest, in the province of Ituri, by almost two million speakers. This variety is mostly unintelligible to speakers of other varieties of Congolese Swahili, which is why speakers of Bunia Swahili tend to use Kivu Swahili in public conversation. The situation of Kisangani Swahili is very complex because this variety is mostly spoken in urban areas and in addition, it shares its prestige with Lingala. While Lingala[1] is mostly spoken in the neighbourhoods of Tshopo, Makiso and Magombo, Swahili is spoken in Kabondo, Lubunga and Kisangani. Kisangani Swahili is spoken by about three million people and unlike Kivu Swahili and Lubumbashi Swahili is more limited to the urban area. Lubumbashi Swahili, from the Katanga region, is also called Shaba or Copperbelt,[2]

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[1] The prestige of Lingala dates back to Mobutu's time, not only because of where the president came from, but because a significant part of his political action had profound cultural influences, not only indirectly, but also directly. He promoted Congolese music, for instance, which spread throughout much of Africa (see SALTER 2007) and this increased Lingala's prestige within the Democratic Republic of Congo. Nassenstein, however, rightly reminds us that the linguistic complexity of this area is also due to less recent historical reasons, such as Henry Morton Stanley's explorations, the slave trade and colonisation. The use and spread of Swahili in this area is intertwined with the slave trade and originated with the settlement of the first governor, Tippo Tip, in 1888. The place, in fact, was an important stopover in the slave trade before Belgian colonialism and marked the western periphery of the spread of Swahili, where it came into contact with the more widely spoken Bangala and Lingala languages.

[2] The Copperbelt is a region from central Zambia to the southeast of the Democratic Republic of Congo known for its rich copper deposits. From the discovery of copper ingots in Zimbabwe, it is hypothesised that in pre-colonial times (around the 16th century) there was trade contact between the Copperbelt region (possibly with the Luba empire) and the Mwene Mutapa empire. In 1906, the Union Minière du Haut Katanga was created to exploit the mines of Katanga. Thanks to the wealth generated by the mines, the situation between 1960 and 1963 led to the unilateral

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respectively because of its copper (*shaba*) wealth and the area (belt) rich in copper. It is the best-documented variety of Congolese Swahili. The Author here gives us an account of the vast production on this regiolect; it is a well-documented bibliography that includes as yet unpublished volumes and may be useful for anyone approaching this regiolect.

The description of these four regiolects also includes the state of the art on Swahili varieties in DRC, the bibliography considered is particularly rich. Less rich appears to be that of Bunia Swahili, not because of the Author's carelessness but because there are few studies on this regiolect. For this reason, Nassenstein's work in collecting sayings and proverbs in Bunia Swahili is even more important.

The description of DRC Swahili varieties continues with varieties of Congolese Swahili not strictly included in the four regiolects discussed above. For example, the Uvira-Fizi-Kalemie corridor, which has more similarities with standard Swahili than the Lubumbashi (south) and Kivu (north) varieties, or the varieties spoken in Kindu and Butembo, which lie on the border between the spheres of influence of two different regiolets. In this section, the Author describes several theories that account for these spheres of influence and how these can explain the rich variety and diversity of Congolese Swahili. This is done through two maps (p.25) that aid in understanding the spheres of influence of the four regiolets (m2) (it is a pity, however, that the other areas mentioned by the Author (such as Kindu, Uvira, Fizi, Kalemie) are not placed on the map, which would have helped the reader to position them more easily). This section is replete with sociolinguistic and historical considerations that explain the relationships of influence of the Congolese Swahili varieties on each other and concerning standard Swahili. In addition, the Author makes annotations regarding youth language in continuity with the Author's studies on youth language (see NASSENSTEIN and HOLLINGTON 2015, 2016 and 2017, NASSENSTEIN 2016).

The third and fourth paragraphs are considerably shorter. The third is a brief description of the genres present in the oral production of the four regiolects discussed in the previous paragraph and the other languages present in their area, thus also talking about other languages (such as the presence of Lingala and French in the Kisangani area) or their presence in other areas (such as the presence of Swahili in Lubumbashi in Kinshasa). The paragraph that closes the introduction is dedicated to the genesis and objectives of the book. It also discusses an important aspect: that of the proverbs index. Compared to collections

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declaration of independence of the State of Katanga, only two weeks after the proclamation of Congo's independence.

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of proverbs in standard Swahili, which are only collected in alphabetical order, Nassenstein's collection of proverbs in Congolese Swahili, although much more concise, offers a thematic index at the end of the book. The proverbs are classified into sixteen categories: age/respect, body/wellbeing, difficulty/problem, emotion, failure/loss/mistake, food/drink, life/death, love/sexuality, money/economy/ success, nature/animals, power/deity, progress/change/learning, social relation-ships, time, words/knowledge, work. This index is a fundamental tool for working on a corpus of proverbs and sayings. In other publications, some collections also have an analytical index, such as the collection of Shona proverbs by HAMUTYINEI and PLANGGER (1987), which is another extremely useful tool for finding one's way around richer corpora.

The other four sections of this book are dedicated to the collection of proverbs in the four varieties of Congolese Swahili: Kivu, Bunia, Kisangani and Lubumbashi respectively. One of the key aspects of this collection is that the Swahili proverbs of these four varieties contain not only proverbs from the textual tradition of coastal Swahili such as

> **Kinywa ya muzee inanuka, alakini akiseme bongo** (Kivu)
> 'The old man's mouth smells, but it never lies'
> **Kinya ya muzee nazinuka, mais inakalaka sema aki** (Bunia)
> 'The old man's mouth smells, but it always tells the truth'
>
> **Kinywa ya bazee inanuka alakini inasemeka kweli** (Kisangani)
> 'The elder's mouth smells but always tells the truth'
>
> **Mu kinywa ya muzee muko arufu lakini munasemaka ukweli** (Lubumbashi)
> 'It smells like an old man's mouth but it tells the truth'[3]

but they show a great richness that comes both from the creativity and local reworking of proverbs from standard Swahili, and from textual traditions to which these Congolese varieties are exposed (I refer here to other Bantu languages or French, whose genesis the Author traces).

By way of example, the proverbs below come from the Lingala *Kozelazela makomboso azángá mokila* and illustrates how some Congolese Swahili regiolects incorporate Lingala proverbs:

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[3] The translations of the proverbs are by Nassenstein. As for the Lubumbashi version of the proverb, I would have translated it differently: 'In the mouth of the old man there is a smell but the truth is told'.

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> **Kungoyangoya liacha sokomoto yenakosa mokila/mukila** (Bunia)
> 'The fact of waiting caused the gorilla to lack a tail'

> **Kungoyangoya liacha sokomoto yenakosa mokila/mukila** (Bunia)
> 'The fact of waiting caused the gorilla to lack a tail'

> **Kwa kuchunga zaidi sokomuntu alikosa mukila** (Lubumbashi)
> 'Waiting for too long, the chimp has missed out [on getting] a tail'

A further key aspect of the book is that this collection offers a very important insight into the popular thought and verbal art of this area, and on the process of negotiation among different languages and cultures with different varieties of Swahili, local languages, Lingala and French. Also very interesting are the annotations that trace a transmission and communication between the verbal arts, such as the conveyance of proverbs and sayings through music (including modern music), especially in Lingala. This demonstrates the vitality of the verbal arts and their ability to act across genres, beyond traditional/modern categorisations. All these aspects are described in these four sections through footnotes.

Although the Author should be credited for having collected such important material, the book is not without flaws. One of these consists of these important footnotes, which deserves a more extensive and systematic study; a comparative study between the different varieties of Congolese Swahili. I am sure that these studies will enrich the Author's detailed production and in the future, such material will be analysed in further publications by Nassenstein. Moreover, even if not fundamental in this book, it would be useful to maintain a distinction between proverbs and sayings. This is not to say that one should separate genres and categories, which, as stated above, are always crossed by the practice of speakers, but one should take into account that a particular stylistic construction could have an effect on the language and words used.

These few points in no way detract from the merit of Nico Nassenstein's collection. The book is a fundamental resource for those who wish to approach the verbal arts of the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo and for those who wish to deal with Swahili varieties.

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Review

Paul Newman, *A History of the Hausa Language. Reconstruction and Pathways to the Present.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022, xvi-234 pp. ISBN 9781009128070

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The goals and tasks of historical linguistics have remained unchanged since the reconstruction of the Indo-European languages, although the methods of reconstruction were greatly enriched when languages with no written tradition were included in the study of the past. The tool that gives credibility in such reconstructions is the comparative method, which helps to distinguish transformations that follow regular sound laws. Historical linguistics of African languages follows this tradition, but here the path of reconstruction is much longer, because confirmation of the results is not found in written testimonies, but in many mutually supporting reconstructions and other co-existing sources, including non-linguistic ones.

Many of the contributions to reconstruction relate to the Afroasiatic family and its Chadic group to which the Hausa language belongs. In this context, Paul Newman's *A History of the Hausa Language* may be regarded as a summary of the achievements in the study of the earlier stages of the Hausa language, compatible with the attempts to reconstruct Chadic, in which the Author was also involved (e.g. NEWMAN and MA 1966). At the same time, the publication is unique due to the scale of reconstruction of earlier stages of an African language which is based on regular changes and phonologically conditioned transformations. Although the work on the history of Hausa is (or was) carried out by Hausa scholars from various centers of African studies, the achievements presented in the book are largely the work of Paul Newman.

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General remarks

As the Author wrote in the Preface, the book was inspired by the classic *History of the English language* (BAUGH and CABLE 1993). This standard work in the field of historical studies explores the linguistic and cultural development of English, from the Middle Ages to the present day. However, the history of Hausa is presented in a different way than that of English, which is justified by the fact that there is still an even smaller set of forms from the past that could be related to the history of the society, especially since Hausa has no direct evidence of the language in the past. The book gives prominence to linguistic facts, giving them a synchronic synthesis from a diachronic perspective and focusing on the changes the language subsequently underwent. The main point of reference is Old Hausa. The symbol OH is used

> "to indicate the language as it existed at some early historical period. OH does not refer to any specific time; it simply designates the earliest stage of the language than we can identify for a particular phenomenon or feature even if we do not know exactly when that was" (p. 4)

The term 'Middle Hausa' is referred to "some time between OH and SH (Standard Hausa)" (p. 13), the latter one being a source of modern language examples.

The work summarizes the great achievements of Paul Newman in historical linguistics. Some other scholars who contributed to the description of the Hausa language and, more broadly, the Chadic languages, are also mentioned and their works are listed in the References. Words of tribute and appreciation for the contribution to research and inspiration to conduct them are addressed to Claude Gouffé (1926-2013) and Russell Schuh (1941-2016).

Transcription

The notation of Hausa examples is in accordance with the rules of Standard Hausa orthography. However, there are also some modifications to it, justified by the scholarly transcription purposes which refer to specific Hausa phonological contrasts and their historical context. The contrast between two R-s which is marginal in modern language but remains very significant in tracing the earlier stages of the language, is indicated by the use of the symbol ř for the rolled R and **r** for the flap R. On the other hand, the archiphoneme **N** has been distinguished to indicate a non-distinctive contrast between nasal consonants **m** and **n**, as in câ**N**. All Hausa citations are marked for tone and vowel length, but here the convention is slightly different from the well-established tradition maintained in Hausa-

related works. The length is indicated by double letters, for example **aa** (=**ā** more commonly used in other works). Even more significant is the modification of marking both H(igh) **á** and L(ow) **à** tones (**wúyàa** 'neck') and F(alling) **â** tone (**mâi** 'oil'), which is consistent with the system adopted for other African languages, but different from the one used in Hausa works, in which the high tone is unmarked (**màcè** 'woman', but **matuƙā** 'limit, utmost extreme'). These modifications make *A History of the Hausa Language* closer to the standards of historical descriptions within African linguistics (e.g. descriptions of Bantu tonal languages) and easier to do comparative research. Reconstructed forms, as is generally accepted, are marked with an asterisk, as in **giwan* 'elephant' (SH **gíiwáa**), **aɓa* 'chin' (SH **háɓàa**).

The content of the book

The book consists of seven chapters. After a short introductory chapter on the Hausa language and the history of its research, thematic chapters follow, the most extensive of which deal with phonology and morphology. They are followed by an analysis of the syntax, loanwords and the lexicon. This sequence and thematic scope of the chapters show the most important levels of historical analysis and the nature of reconstruction.

The chapter *Phonology* presents the current inventory first. The set of consonants is slightly modified from earlier findings that are known from descriptions of the language, including NEWMAN's reference grammar (2000). The palatalized labial (**fy**) is now considered a variant of /**f**/, following the ongoing rule **fy > f* which tends to eliminate /**fy**/, therefore **fyáacèe** (>) **fáacèe** 'blow one's nose'. The section *Historical inventory* discusses the degree of rooting of some consonants in the language (e.g. glottalized consonants **ɓ ɗ ƙ** are recognized as direct reflexes of Old Hausa consonants that derive from Proto-Chadic), the sources of synchronically new phonemes (/ ʼ / and /**h**/) and the contrasts developed through distributional restrictions (affecting the palatals **sh**, **c**, and **j**, sets of palatalized and labialized velars **ky**, **gy**, **ƙy** and **kw**, **gw**, **ƙw,** respectively, and two glides /**w**/ and /**y**/). The history of Hausa Rs and historical variants of Hausa nasals are also discussed from this perspective.

As for vowels, it is a five-vowel system at the synchronic level. In diachronic analysis, Paul Newman discusses the contrast of **i** and **u** and proposes a different interpretation of its loss (in some contexts) than previously accepted. He gives the assimilation rule responsible for the change **u** ->[i]/__**y**V in many words, but retains their status as contrastive vowels in vowel-initial words in Old Hausa. A conditioned sound change responsible for the development of the mid vowels **ee** and **oo** follows the earlier findings (NEWMAN 1979b). The current diphthongs [**ai**]

and [au] are also reconstructed for Old Hausa, but the processes affecting other diphthongs (***iu** and ***ui**) that disappeared are indicated as historical past.

The issues of tonality are discussed as a set of rules affecting two-tone system the result of which is the development of the third Falling tone. The Chapter ends by presenting a rigorous syllable structure that allows these syllables to be divided into heavy and light. Inference about the syllabic structure of OH is based on the significance of syllable weight as a shared variable throughout Chadic.

The chapter *Morphology* includes a presentation of nouns, pronouns and verbs and their derived and inflected forms. The current forms of affixes are given the historical interpretation, including morphophonological processes used in creating the relevant formatives. The affixes are divided into 'tone integrating' suffixes and non-integrating prefixes.

With regard to feminine nouns, a massive historical process of 'overt characterization' described in Newman's earlier works (NEWMAN 1979a) is quoted. It is shown that the inflectional feminine ending was added to words that were already feminine in gender, i.e. (fem.) ***túmkì** + -iya > (fem.) **túnkiyáa** 'sheep'. Many phonologically conditioned transformations are illustrated by the plural formatives which motivate the reconstruction of their earliest lexical shapes. For example, the reconstructed form of **zúucìyáa** 'heart' is ***zúktì** + **ìyáa** (fem.suffix), because the regular phonological changes yield the plural form **zúkàatáa**. Similarly, **búuzú** (<***búgzúu**), pl. **búgàjé**.

In the presentation of the plural nouns, Newman summarizes his detailed typology of morphological patterns, motivated by historical processes (NEWMAN 2000). At the same time, he rejects the thesis of the so-called internal -a plurals that are considered a diagnostic feature connecting Hausa (and Chadic) to other members of the Afroasiatic phylum. He recognizes 'internal -a' as "a component of segmental and suprasegmental templates" (p. 95), such as -aXe)^{HLH}, as in pl. **gúlàbée** 'streams' (sg. **gúlbíi**); **wúràarée** 'places' (sg. **wúríi**).

The section on pronouns focuses on showing the Chadic associations within the pronominal system. Comparative evidence from other Chadic languages indicates initial consonant **s** in the third person singular (**shi** in Hausa) as common heritage that can be traced back to OH and West Chadic. Similarly, the final **-n** on the plurals of pronouns is interpreted as a historical marker of pluralization.

Verbs are discussed in the context of their morphophonological categories known as 'grades'. For the modern Hausa, the Author presents in a new form his proposal for modification of the original PARSONS' classification (1960), earlier presented in the reference grammar (NEWMAN 2000). Retaining the seven basic grades

distinguished by Parsons along with the numbering assigned to them, he adds a special grade Ø to incorporate monosyllabic verbs in their basic form in the classification of the verbal system. An additional part extending the Parsons' system also applies to subgroups within grade 3, which include both archaic remnants of the earlier verb classes and historically recent innovations. The historical references of verb patterns are more akin to the frozen suffixes, which have remained as endings to many verbs. For example, the frozen suffix -kà (with an intrinsic Low tone) is a widely attested ending, as in ɗinkàa 'sew', yánkàa 'cut, slaughter', tàimákà 'help'. The use of Chadic evidence to reconstruct earlier stages of Hausa development is shown here using the grammatical categories of transitivity and intransitivity, in particular an instance of an Intransitive Copy Pronoun, a recapitulative (subject) pronoun following the intransitive verb, that has essentially disappeared in Hausa, but its vestiges were preserved (e.g. in the imperative jèe-ká / jèe-kí 'go [m/f]!). The Chapter *Morphology* devotes much space to Pluractionals in their frozen and active patterns which provide an opportunity to follow the morphophonological processes occurring as a result of transformations that are peculiar to the Hausa language.

The Chapter *Syntax - Grammar* presents the rules of Standard Hausa clausal patterns, tracing back to OH (or even to Afroasiatic) a category of gender and some syntactic markers, such as the genitive linker (-n/-ř/-n) or demonstrative sets indicating 'this/that'. The conjugation system is understood as a verbal sentence represented by a sequence of Subject + wsp (=weak subject pronoun) + TAM + VP. This section presents verbal paradigms in a different manner from the reference grammars. It focuses on reconstructible TAM markers and is based on contrastive pairs such as Completive and Preterite, Subjunctive and Aorist, Future$_1$ and Future$_2$. The continuous is not included in this reconstruction.

The description of the syntax applies to a large extent to the modern language and its structures developed at a relatively late stage, such as demonstratives, indirect object markers, reflexives and reciprocals, and prepositional phrases. One of the structures, i.e. the causative construction using the verb sâa 'to put, cause', was distinguished as "an old inherited formation" (p. 203). The available reconstructions offer little opportunity to create syntactical patterns of the earliest stages of the Hausa language. However, they enable the reconstruction of some grammatical morphemes (such as the -ka marker to indicate completive action that can be traced back to West Chadic), and most of all lexical means for coding systemic relations, which became the basis of present-day grammatical markers.

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The chapter *Loanwords* indicates the main sources of the enrichment of the Hausa lexicon by the incorporation of loanwords. The description includes Arabic borrowings, borrowings from neighboring African languages (Kanuri, Tuareg, Fulani, and Yoruba), as well as borrowings from English. The analysis of Hausa loanwords follows the phonological changes that have taken place over the centuries. Loanwords have affected the rules of palatalization from a general rule (as discussed below) to a part of regular morphological processes, therefore **tíkítì** 'ticket', pl. **tíkítóocíi**. Moreover, the rules of distribution and sequence of some phonemes were significantly changed under the influence of borrowings. The impact of Arabic has changed the phonemic status of the glottal stop / ʾ/ and /**h**/, as well as the rolled /**ř**/. Changes motivated by the incorporation of English loanwords into Hausa are significant in terms of syllable structure and final consonants. Many conclusions regarding the periodization of Hausa development can still be drawn from the analysis of loanwords that have been massively incorporated into the language as a result of cultural changes.

The final chapter, *Lexicon and Etymologies*, presents a portion of Hausa vocabulary, assumed to be "basic", that can be traced back to its Chadic roots. It shows both the archaic nature of this vocabulary, preserving ties to Proto-Chadic (Chadic *****ka**, Hausa **kâi** 'head'; Chadic *****fuɗə**, Hausa **húɗú** [**fúɗú**] 'four'), and its innovative character, distinguishing the Hausa lexicon from other Chadic languages (Chadic *****bətu**, Hausa **tòokáa**; Chadic *****am**, Hausa **rúwáa**). Reconstructed forms are presented as full words (including vowels) rather than as a consonantal skeleton identifying the root, which is characteristic of the Proto-Afroasiatic reconstructions and some alternative Proto-Chadic reconstructions. This is a new look at the Proto-Chadic reconstruction by presenting Chadic lexical retentions, such as Hausa **cí** 'eat' < Chadic *****ti**; Hausa **mútù** 'die' < Chadic *****mətə**. The earlier Proto-Chadic reconstructions of 'eat' and 'die', namely *****t-** and *****m-t** (NEWMAN and MA 1966: 234, 233), respectively, or *****twy** and *****mwt** (JUNGRAITHMAYR and IBRISZIMOW 1994: 56, 47), respectively, are no longer discussed.

To complete the account of the reconstruction of Hausa, 17 original etymologies are discussed to manifest the contact with other languages and historical events responsible for their development. Among them is the word **kàsúwáa** 'market' borrowed through Kanuri from the Arabic root *****suq**, and the word **bóokòo** (commonly said to be derived from English *book*) being an example of semantic derivation from a native Hausa word indicating deceit, trickery, etc. to a linguistic code of European (Western) education. These examples confirm linguistic reconstruction that is based on regular sound changes but also includes the culture-based adaptation of the linguistic forms.

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In the *Conclusion*, the Author summarizes some basic achievements that define the features of Old Hausa and these are the features recognized on the basis of sound laws and morphophonological rules. The lack of the indication of time depth in the reconstruction makes some forms (marked by asterisk) incompatible, as the original form of **nan**, which is ***neene** (p. 172), has no reference to the period for which the three vowels are reconstructed for Old Hausa (p. 56).

Sound laws and morphophonological rules

A History of the Hausa language does not provide a traditional reconstruction aimed at establishing characteristics of the proto-language and deriving from it the stages of language development up to its modern forms. It is from the language used today that the earliest forms of lexical and grammatical elements are reconstructed, using the methodology of internal reconstruction and comparative analysis with reference to dialect variation and common Chadic vocabulary. This approach seems to be more reliable and consistent with the type of data available. The credibility of this reconstruction is reinforced by references to regular transformations having the status of sound laws comparable to the well-known sound laws in European languages or morpho-phonological rules peculiar to Hausa.

The best-known sound change in Hausa, first described in 1927 by August Klingenheben, originally consisted of four separate rules, i.e. 1) *Velars > **w**; 2) *Coronals > **ř** (/l/ in Western Hausa); 3) *Labials > **w** (Eastern Hausa only); 4) *Nasals > **ŋ** (Eastern Hausa only). They came to be known collectively as Klingenheben's Law that has functioned for a long period of intensive studies on Hausa in a very general formulation. In *History of the Hausa Language* Paul Newman uses the modified version of these rules, redefined in his earlier work (NEWMAN 2004) by extending the conditional environment for all of these rules which in the original version relied on nothing else but the syllable-final position. Newman describes Klingenheben's Law as the historical behaviour of syllable-final consonants within a word. However, along with this extension the rule was redefined by the statement that reduplicative forms do not fall under the Klingenheben's Law, but they have their own distinct phonological rules, which Newman has labelled the *Law of Codas in Reduplication* (Lacore). This law is about producing a syllable-final consonant with an immediately following abutting consonant which assimilates to and becomes a geminate with the following consonant, e.g. **fiffikèe** < *fik-fikèe 'wing'; **búbbùgáa** < ***** búg-bùgáa (búgàa 'beat'). The rule specifies that the change to **ř** also affects sibilants /**s**/ and /**z**/, not only stops/affricates, e.g. **ɓàřɓáshíi** < * ɓàs-ɓáshíi 'crumbs'; **gířgìzáa** < * gíz-gìzáa 'shake'.

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The reinterpretation of the behaviour of syllable-final consonants is Paul Newman's important contribution to the methodology of historical research on Hausa and the particular reconstructions.

Another historical process that determines the results of reconstruction is palatalization, a general rule that automatically changes coronal obstruents when followed by a front vowel into their palatal counterparts, i.e. s, z, t -> sh, j, c, respectively. As a general rule of changing Hausa consonants when preceding i and e, it has been known for a long time from grammar descriptions (including the /d/ -> /j/ change, the /w/ -> /y/ change as well as the palatalization of velars k, g, ƙ in this context), but distinguishing the historical change from an active process and incorporating the specific features of this process into lexical reconstruction constitutes significant progress in the study of the history of the Hausa language.

Some Hausa historical rules were constructed in a comparative analysis, taking into account other Chadic languages and Proto-Chadic (PC) reconstructions, e.g. the *r > Y Rule that non-initial *r historically changes to Y, where Y represents /y/ or /i/depending on its position in the syllable (p. 34), therefore àikí 'send' < *arki (PC *rəkə), cf. also Hausa súuyàa 'frying', Karekare sùrú (*PC surə). Some of the rules apply to nasal consonants n and m. The contrast identified for OH, in present-day Hausa is often reduced to N, following the rules affecting the word-final and word internal syllable final position of nasals. With these recognized rules, internal reconstruction and comparative evidence provide grounds for tracing back the present forms to OH forms.

The tonal changes in the development of Hausa are discussed in the context of 'tone integrating' suffixes. One historical rule, namely the Low tone raising (LTR) rule, initially described by LEBEN (1971), has been redefined by changing the unconditioned rule to the rule having its contextually motivated variants.

Among the reconstruction paths, there are some phenomena that elude the rules of regular phonological transformations, such as metathesis (*saki > áskìi 'shaving') and the development of patterns in which formerly plural nouns have been lexicalized as singulars (ítàcée 'tree, wood' < = ícèe) and received a new plural form (pl. ítátúwàa).

Concluding remarks

A History of the Hausa Language is the first comprehensive work on the reconstruction of Hausa, one of the most important and most widely spoken languages in sub-Saharan Africa. Systematic and in-depth investigation into the

linguistic past complements and enriches the descriptive grammars and dictionaries.

The work is unique not only in the field of Hausa studies, but it is also an important contribution to all African studies and diachronic studies in general. Within African studies, it can be compared with a linguistic history of Swahili (NURSE and HINNEBUSH 1993) and other historical studies relating to languages without a written tradition. The reconstruction path includes sound laws and morphophonological rules, but the recognized rules also show that the processes on which the linguistic transformations were based are significantly different from the processes known from the history of Indo-European languages. The main difference is that transformations in Hausa may be interpreted as sound correspondences, but only when they are related to the structure of the syllable.

The book is written with great passion, it manifests the Author's fascination with language and his great experience in the historical analysis of Hausa. This emotional attitude which was already revealed in a separate article (NEWMAN 2014) can only be understood by those who have come to know the richness of the structural peculiarities of the Hausa language.

As the Author states, some questions are left answered. The present book is certainly an inspiration for further research on the history of Hausa and theoretical basis of reconstruction. It is hoped that, like BAUGH's *History of the English language*, first published in 1935, Newman's *A History of the Hausa Language* will also see its fifth edition, in which there will be many new discoveries about the past of the Hausa language.

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Paul Newman, *A History of the Hausa Language*

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