

Verbal extensions in Bantu * (the case of Swahili and Nyanwezi)

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1. Introduction, purpose and definition

This short paper attempts to provide an introductory description of the phenomenon of verbal extensions in Bantu languages with special reference to Swahili and Nyanwezi (Kiswahili and Kinya'ngwezi). My definition of the term 'verbal extension' is wider than just consisting of the concept of 'verbal derivation', and it includes "all the post-radical or pre-final elements of a verbal stem" as tackled by Mische (1989: 23).

One of my colleagues, Ahrenberg (1982), has discussed at length the question of verbal derivation in Swahili, analysing both Ashton (1944) and Polomé (1967). He also emphasises the tendency for derived verbs to develop special senses, but it is not within the scope of this brief paper to cover the wide field of idiomatic usage.

The comparison of verbal extensions is made here between Swahili and

* This study is based on a seminar paper presented at the Dept. of Asian and African Languages in December 1985, after field work conducted in June/July 1983 in a Nyanwezi speaking immigrant settlement near Kizimbani, Zanzibar. In the preparation of the paper I have freely used the phraseology of the authors consulted. The text would be over-loaded with redundant notes and quotations if I were to be particular about this practice. Hence references are given only where I have found it meaningful to do so.

E. Jonsson (1949) has been taken as the main source for the Nyanwezi material as it is the most widely used handbook by Scandinavians and easily available too. For Swahili, Ashton (1944) has been referred to for similar reasons. Additional data on Nyanwezi has been supplied by Mr Kidumla Kamagi Kidumla of Stockholm, a native speaker of Kinyang wezi; and the Swahili material has been verified personally by the present author as a native speaker of Kiunguja/Kiswahili. I would also like to extend my gratefulness to Professor Thilo Schadeberg (Leiden) for his very useful comments and my colleagues Mr Julian M. Kimaro (Tanzania) and Mr Mwandawiro Mghanga (Kenya) for much data on Chagga and Taita respectively. Some more data and comments were generously offered by members of the Comparingafric forum, especially Karen Yan Otterloo and Maddalena Toscano.

Nyanwezi mainly because Nyanwezi, the second largest ethnic language of Mainland Tanzania, has historically influenced Kiunguja (the basis of Standard Swahili) more than the other languages of eastern Africa have done. Many Wanyamwezi people embraced Islam quite early and assimilated with the coastal Muslims, participating more than the other inland groups in the Zanzibari/Swahili caravan trade, plantation economy and later also dairy farming. They have thus made a notable contribution to the development of the Swahili society and culture, both linguistically and materially.

2. Verbal extensions in Bantu languages

The following verbal extensions have been identified in Bantu languages by various authors of which Doke (1943) gives the longest list. The names of the verbal extensions are mostly taken from Doke.

2.1 Passive

This form indicates that the subject is acted upon by an agent. It is not treated in Bantu as a "voice" opposed merely to the "active". Apart from the Passive of the Simple, there are Passive forms of the Applied/Applicative/Prepositional, Contactive, Conversive/Inversive and Causative extensions. In Zulu even the Associative or Reciprocal extension has a Passive extension, e.g. *-bonana* (see one another) > *-bonanwa* (be seen mutually), and the Passive itself has a Reciprocal extension, e.g. *-bona* (see) > *-bonwa* (be seen) > *-bonwana* (be seen mutually); but very few verbs have these methods of formation and in such cases there are no apparent differences in meaning. The passive reciprocals and the reciprocal passives are used only with Class 17 (locative) markers, e.g. in Zulu (Doke 1963: 138): *Kuyazandwa lapha* (There is mutual hatred there), *Kwabonana emfuleni* (There was a seeing of one another at the river). This possibility occurs also in Kifuhiru (150), Nyanwezi and the neighbouring languages with certain restriction. Generally there is no semantic difference in the two variant forms of the passive.

The Passive is indicated by the post-radical/pre-final element (suffix) *-wa*, *-ewa*, *-iwa* or *-bwa*, and in a few cases by *-o*, e.g. in Chagga. Some Bantu languages are known to have lost the Passive form, instead, as in Ngala and Ngombe, the Stative extension with the suffix *-ama* is used.

2.2 Neuter

This form indicates an intransitive state or condition, or a capability. It is conveyed by the suffix *-ka*, *-ika* or *-eka*. In exceptional cases it appears as *-akala*

or *-ahala* in Zulu and Sotho respectively. It is also referred to as Stative by Ashton (1944: 214, 226). Additionally, *-ikana* and *-ekana* are used to form the Stative extension.

2.3 Applicative

This extension indicates that the action is applied on behalf of, towards or with regard to some object. Its post-radical element is *-ea*, *-ia*, *-ela*, *-ila*, *-ena* or *-ina* according to the established rules of vowel harmony and nasal stem. Frequently, this extension acquires a specialised meaning and is then lexicalised. In the conventional grammars, this form is called the Applicative, Applied or Prepositional. In Chagga *-iya* is affixed even to verbs ending in *-ua*, e.g. *-ondha* (take away) > *-ondhya* (take away from), *-vungua* (open) > *vunguya* (open for someone, open with something).

2.4 Causative

This extension indicates cause to do, or cause to be. Its post-radical element varies considerably from region to region in Bantu Africa. In the Causative forms, Carl Meinhof's Ur-Bantu **-a* occurs as *-esa*, *-isa*, *-esha*, *-isha*, *-eza* or *-iza* and *-sa*, *-sha* or *-za*. There are also less common but complicated forms with the original *-ya* suffix with labial and nasal stems, e.g. in Lamba *-ima* (get up) > *-inya* (raise), Swahili *-ona* (see) > *-onya* (warn), *-ogopa* (fear) > *-ogofya* (frighten). Other rare usages are Zulu *-lima* (plough) > *-linda* (help to plough), Swahili *-la* (eat) > *-lisha* (graze) and Taita *-ona* (see) > *-onya* (show). In Chagga there is an irregular *-ra* causative suffix, i.e. *-lala* (sleep) > *-lara* (cause to sleep), and in verbs loaned from Swahili the original *-sha* is retained, e.g. *-torosha* (to help someone to escape/elope). The most frequently used causative particles are *-sal-isa* and *-shal-isha* in eastern African Bantu languages.

2.5 Augmentative

This form conveys thoroughness, intensiveness, continuouness and/or persistence. Ashton (1944: 243-6) classifies the Intensive and the Durative as sub-categories of this form. These ideas are mutually exclusive, but are frequently complementary. The post-radical elements used here are identical to some of the Applied, Causative and Conversive forms.

2.6 Intensive

This form indicates intensity or quickness of action. The intensifying element is

generally the same as the Causative one but it does not contract as the latter does, e.g. Shona *-naka* (be good) > Causative *-nakisa/-natsa*, but Intensive *-nakisa* only. Whereas in Zulu, the Causative post-radical *-isa* is differentiated with the Intensive *-isisa*, e.g. *-buzza* (ask) > *-buzisisa* (ask insistently). At times the Applied or the Conversive forms are also used to express intensity.

2.7 Extensive

This form indicates that the action is extended in time or space, or repeated extensively. Extensiveness is expressed with Intransitive, Transitive and also Causative verbs, e.g. Lamba has in the Intransitive extension the elements *-aka*, *-aika* or *-auka*; in the Transitive *-ada*, *-aida* or *-aua*; and in the Causative *-asya*, *-aisyä* or *-ausya*.

This extension is sometimes called the Durative and is very similar to the Intensive form. The Applied and the Conversive forms are also used to express extension or duration.

2.8 Reciprocal

This form indicates that the action is reciprocated, done 'to one another'. Ashton calls this the Associative (Reciprocal). The usual post-radical element is *-na* or *-na*, e.g. Zulu *Ngilangana nomuntu* (I met with a person); compare with the Swahili equivalent: *Nilionana na mtu*.

In Lamba there are two Reciprocal forms, one denoting reciprocity between two bodies and the other denoting reciprocity among/between many/several bodies, e.g. *-lekana* (divide into two parts) and *-lekanyanya* (divide into many parts/units).

2.9 Associative

This form indicates two or more subjects associated in action. Its post-radical elements are *-akana*, *-ekana* and *-ikana*. Many Bantu languages employ the Reciprocal form to denote association. Sotho uses the form *-ahana*. Ashton calls this form the Stative or Neuter and distinguishes it from that which uses only the *-na* element, i.e. the Associative (Reciprocal).

2.10 Reversive

This form indicates an entire reversal of the action. Known also as the Conversive, this is still a regularly formed extension where there is a marked

shift in the rule of vowel harmony, i.e. the root-vowel *-e* is grouped with the vowels *-a*, *-i* and *-u*, and not with *-o*; thus it harmonises with the vowel *-u* of the Reversive post-radical instead of *-o*. The various suffixes are *-ua*, *-ula*, *-uhula*, *-oa*, *-ola*, *-olola* and the uncommon *-uza*.

The Intransitive extension (see also § 2.2) *-kal-ekal-ika*, etc., becomes *-ukal-uhkal-okal-oloka*, etc., e.g. Bamba *-funga* (fasten) > *-fungul-funguhla* (unfasten), and Swahili *-fungua* (fasten/shut) > *-fungua* (unfasten/open). Occasionally, these same particles are used to form the Repetitive extension which denotes a repeating or doing over again. This appears to be a subordinate idea to the Reversive, e.g. Lamba *-wyalala* (sow) > *-wyaluhla* (resow).

2.11 Perfective

This form indicates that an action has been carried on to completion or perfection. This form is in fact a Reduplication of the Applied element, e.g. *-elela* in Zulu, *-elela*, *-itila*, *-enena* and *-inina* in Lamba, and *-elea*, *-itila* in Swahili.

With monosyllabic stems, the post-radical is triplicated in some languages, e.g. Lamba *-fwa* (die) > *-filitila* (be annihilated). But in Swahili the triplicated form does not exist, e.g. *-fa* (die) > *-filla* (be annihilated, die out, become extinct), and it is intensified with the adverbial *mbali*, e.g. *Walifilla mbali* (They were completely annihilated).

2.12. Reduplication

Reduplication is a common phenomenon in Bantu languages and it is employed to form either a Frequentative or a Diminutive verb.

The Frequentative denotes that the action is done repeatedly, e.g. Swahili *-pigapiga* (strike repeatedly). In Lamba, the monosyllabic verbs are again triplicated, e.g. *-ya* (go) > *-yayayya* (go on and on and on).

The Diminutive denotes a diminution of the action or reduction of intensity, e.g. Zulu/Swahili *-bona-ona* (see) > *-bona-bona-ona-ona* (see somewhat). The Diminutive is also called the Subtractive.

2.13 Stative

This extension indicates position or posture, e.g. Lamba/Swahili *-fisa/-ficha* (hide) > *-fisama/-fichama* (be in hiding) and Lamba/Swahili *-inama* (be bending/bent). Doke (1943) calls this form Stative, whereas Ashton (1944) calls it Static. Ashton's Stative is the Neuter described above in § 2.2.

2.14 Contactive

This form expresses contact. Johnson (1939) uses the term Tenacious for this form. Its characteristic suffix is *-ata/-ta*. It is not always identified as a separate verb form in many Bantu languages, e.g. Lamba/Swahili *-fambata* (grasp), Zulu *-namatha* (stick, pierce).

2.15 Denominative

This form is made from nouns or adjectives, and though rare, a few verbs of this type usually occur in each Bantu language. The post-radical element here is *-pa* or *-mpa*; sometimes the longer forms *-para* or *-pada* are used, e.g.

Swahili: *-nene* (fat) > *-nenepa* (be/become fat)

-kali (fierce) > *-kariipa* (be angry), *-kariipia* (be angry at)

Lamba: *-ce* (small) > *-cepa* (be too small),

-tali (long) > *-talimpa* (be long)

Nyiba: *-kali* (sharp) > *-kalimpa* (be sharp), and the nasalised emphatic form *-kalimpa*

Zulu: *-ihoni* (shame) > *-hlonipha* (pay respect)

-khulu (big) > *-khuluphala* (be stout)

Herero: *-re* (long) > *-repara* (be long)

This form is referred to as Inceptive by Ashton (1944: 240).

2.16 Ideophonic extension

This term is used to describe verbs formed from ideophones¹ and they are sometimes called Deideophonic Verbs.

This verbal extension is very common in Bantu and relatively little work has been done on it. The most common formation is by the element *-ka* (Intransitive), *-lal-ral-na* (Transitive), *-sal-shal-zal-ja* (Causative, with bisyllabic ideophones), e.g. Lamba *-awu* (of crossing over, taking out) > *-awuka* (cross over) > the causative *-awusya* (take across). The equivalent Swahili forms are *-vuka* (go over) and *-vusha* (take across). In Zulu we get *-bithi* (of falling apart) > *-bithika* (knock apart) > *-bithiza* (scatter about), etc.

¹ Doke (1935: 118) defines an ideophone as "[a] vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word often onomatopoeic which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity."

2.17 Remarks

In the foregoing, I have identified altogether 16 verbal extensions in Bantu languages and given examples from the Southern African languages of Sotho and Tswana and the Central African Lamba group to which Bemba, the most widely spoken Bantu language in Zambia, belongs. A few isolated examples are taken from Nyiha (Malawi), Herero and Ndonga (Namibia), Chaga, Taita and Swahili.

In the next section, I shall try to treat morphologically each verbal extension in Swahili at some length and compare it with Nyanwezi in which all these extensions are not separately identified as it is the case with the other Bantu languages mentioned in this paper. In this respect, few Bantu languages are well documented and analysed.

3. Verbal extensions in Swahili and Nyanwezi: a comparison

The comparison of the major verbal extensions in Swahili and Nyanwezi in this section is based on Ashton (1944) and Jonsson (1949, revised 1954, in Swedish) which are the most widely used grammars of Swahili and Nyanwezi respectively. For Nyanwezi, Jonsson divides the verbal extensions into 8 groups ("Ätta grupper"), whereas Ashton mentions 11 main verbal extensions for Swahili.

	Jonsson (1949: 92)	Ashton's equivalents (1944: 214)
a.	Verbform med preposition	Applied (Prepositional)
b.	Neutrala former av verb	Stative (Neuter)
c.	Intensifierad verbform	Augmentative (Intensive, Durative)
d.	Kausala verbformer	Causative
e.	Reciprok och reflexiv form	Associative (Reciprocal)
f.	Verbform med omkastad mening	Conversive (Reversiv)
g.	Participiomerna	Applied (also Duke's Transitive?)
h.	Passiv verbform	Passive
i.	—	Stative
j.	—	Contactive (Tenacious)
k.	—	Inceptive
l.	—	Diminutive, Subtractive
m.	—	Deideophonic

Table 1. Verbal extensions listed by Jonsson (1949) and Ashton (1944)

3.2 The applicative/prepositional form

3.2.1. In Swahili, the characteristic post-radical elements are *-(l)ea* and *-(l)ia*, and in Nyanwezi they are *-ela* and *-ila*. The rules of vowel harmony are well illustrated here. For details, see Ashton (1944: 217) and Jonsson (1949: 92-3).

Swahili:	<i>-lima</i> (plough) > <i>-limia</i>
	<i>-soma</i> (read) > <i>-somea</i>
Nyanwezi:	<i>-lima</i> (plough) > <i>-limila</i>
	<i>-soma</i> (read) > <i>-somela</i>

3.2.2. Both the Swahili and Nyanwezi Applicative forms are used to express: a) to do to, for, or on behalf of someone, or to the benefit or detriment of someone or something; b) motion towards; c) purpose; d) finality or completeness; e) "why?" with the interrogative *nini?* or the enclitic *-ni*; and f) "of oneself, by oneself" with the reflexive *-ji-*.

The areas of usage of the Applicative form in Swahili and Nyanwezi are almost identical; the only exception appears to be in the use of the Reduplicated or Double Applicative form with the meaning "for" or "for the sake of" which does not occur in modern Swahili, e.g. Nyanwezi *Yesu watuchilia biswe* and Swahili *Yesu ametuifika (mbali)* (Jesus has died (away) for our sake).

3.2.3. The Reduplicated form is used in Swahili frequently to express finality or completeness, continuance of an action and persistence in carrying it out, e.g. *-shika* (hold) > *-shikilia* (hold on, hold on tightly, insist).

Ashton classifies this form as Augmentative (see § 3.10 below), in a few cases with the Causative element *-za*, e.g. *-tosha* (suffice) > *-toshelaza* (satisfy, be sufficient). The Double Applicative was rare in Nyanwezi, but it is increasingly used today because of the influence of Swahili.

3.2.4. In a few cases in both Swahili and Nyanwezi, the Applicative form conveys a Conversive meaning (see § 3.7.3), e.g. *-hama* (move away, emigrate) > *-hamia* (move into, immigrate), *-nuka* (smell bad) > *-nukia* (smell good).

3.3 The stative/neuter form

3.3.1. The characteristic post-radical stative element is *-ka* with the same principles of vowel harmony applying here as in the Applicative form. The secondary elements are *-eka*, *-ika*, *-leka* and *-lika*, e.g. Swahili *-fanya* (do) >

-fanyika (be done), *-sema* (say) > *-semeka* (be said), *-waa* (take) > *-twalika* (be taken), and *-tembea* (walk) > *-tembeleka* (be trodden).

3.3.2. In Nyanwezi the Neuter is built in 3 ways: a) Verbs with final *-la* have the Neuter post-radical *-ka*, e.g. *-kenagula* (destroy) > *-kenaguka* (be destroyed, break down); b) Verbs with the pre-final vowels *-a*, *-i* and *-u* take the final *-ika*, e.g. *-tina* (cut down/off) > *-tinika* (be cut off), and *-binza* (break off), > *-binzika* (be broken);² and c) Verbs with the stem vowel *-e* or *-o* has the final *-eka*, e.g. *-noma* (sweet) > *-nomya* (sweeten) > *-noneka* (be sweet/sweetened).

3.3.3. In Swahili the final *-la* has disappeared, and identical forms are in *-waka* (to burn, be burning), *-choka* (be tired), etc, where the simple forms *-wala* and *-chola* do not exist any longer.

3.3.4. Both the Swahili and Nyanwezi Neuter forms are used in the same way, i.e. to express state without reference to agency, and to express potentiality. In a few cases, potentiality in Swahili is expressed also by the suffix *-lika*, e.g. *-pasuka* (split/tear) > *-pasulika*; as in *Skati lake limepasuka* (Her skirt is split/tear) and *Kimbaa hiki hadifai, chapasuka rahisi* (This cloth is no good, it tears easily/It gets easily torn).

Furthermore, in about half a dozen cases, Swahili uses *-ikana* or *-ekana* with the potential meaning, e.g. *-para* (get) > *-paikana* (be available), *-ona* (see) > *-onekana* (be visible). These additional forms do not seem to occur in Nyanwezi, but are found in several other languages in eastern Africa, e.g. Taita *-paikana* (be available) and *-wonekana* (be seen/sighted).

3.4 The causative form

3.4.1. The earlier old Bantu Causative post-radical *-ya* has undergone assimilation with certain final consonants in the verb stem in Swahili, and to a lesser extent in Nyanwezi. However, in the Causatives of both languages, various forms of causation, obligation, intensity of action, force, permissive and compulsive ideas, etc., are intimately connected with the context. The following sound changes occur in the causative suffixes in Swahili:

p+ya > *fyā* *-ogopa* (fear) > *-ogofya* (frighten)

² The Augmentative/Extended form of *-binza* with the final *-gula* follows rule a) e.g. *-binzagula* (break into pieces) > *-binzaguka* (be broken into pieces).

t+ya > *s/sha* *-takata* (be clean) > *-takaza* (be clean)
-pata (get) > *-pasha* (give)
-pita (pass) > *-pisha* (let pass, make way)

k+ya > *sha* *-kumbuka* (remember) > *-kumbusha* (remind)

w+ya > *vyā* *-nawa* (wash hands) > *-nawya* (help to wash hands etc.)

-lewa (be drunk) > *-levya* (intoxicate)

n+ya > *nyā* *-ona* (see) > *-onyā* (warn)

l+ya > *za* *-lala* (sleep) > *-laza* (make sleep, lay)

2 vowels + *ya* > *za* *-jaa* (be full) > *-jaza* (fill) *-jaa* (fill)
-legea (be loose) > *-legeza* (loosen)

-tulia (be quiet) > *-tuliza* (console)

3.4.2. Some verbs with *-p-*, *-t-*, *-k-* and *-n-* take the particle *-isha* or *-iza*:

-lipa (pay) > *-lipishal-lipiza* (pay back, take revenge)

-kata (cut) > *-katishal-katiza* (interrupt)

-weka (keep/put) > *-wekeshā, -wekaza* (install)

-nena (say) > *-neshal-neneza* (force to speak)

The verbs *-pata* and *-pita* have also the variants *-patisha* and *-pitisha*; however, alternative forms have developed special meanings and usage,³ e.g. *-pasha moto* (heat, warm up something), *-pasha habari* (give/pass on news); *-pisha njia* (make way, let someone pass); *-pitisha sheria* (pass a law/decree). Similarly, from *-ona* (see) we get *-onyā* (warn) and *-oneshal-onyesha* (show).

3.4.3. Loaned nouns and adjectives also take the final *-isha* in the Swahili Causative, e.g.⁴

Arabic: *bahati* (luck, chance) > *-bahatisha* (guess, try one luck)
tayari (ready) > *-tayarisha* (make ready, prepare)

³ The question of the semantic values of the verbal extensions must be left to a separate paper.

⁴ For details on the extension of Arabic loan verbs see Lodhi (2000a: 115-120, 2000b). For the extension of Indic and Persian loan verbs, see Lodhi (2000a: 121).

English: *passi-pasi* (pass, noun/verb) > *-pasissha* (pass a law, make a pass in football)

Indic: *chapa/-chapa* (print, noun/verb) > *-chapisha* (print, publish)

Persian: *sefid/-sefidi* (white/whiten) > *-sefidisha* (have something whitened/polished/cleaned)

Swahili has also at least one double causative from the Arabic loan adverb *sawa* (properly) > *-sawaza* (put something properly) > *-sawazisha* (to balance, adjust, equate).

3.4.4. The Causative *-sa* occurs in Old Swahili, e.g. in the Kiambu dialect, where *-pita* (pass) > *-pisa*, and *-soma* (read) > *-somesa*. The Kiambu term *mapisi* (history, the past), and the rarely used *wapiseo* (ancestors), found in several northern Swahili dialects, are also derived from this verb.

3.4.5. In Nyanwezi, the assimilation of *-ya* is less marked and the Causative form is more easily derived than in Swahili, e.g. verbs with the final syllable *-ba*, *-da*, *-ha*, *-ma*, *-na*, *-pa* and *-ta* all take the suffix *-ya* in the place of the final *-a*, e.g.

-huba (lose ones way) > *-hubya* (make one lose the way, mislead)
-ganda (get thin) > *-gandya* (make thin)

-luha (suffer) > *-lubya* (victimise, make suffer)

-goma (strike, rebel) > *-gomya* (cause/lead rebellion/strike)

-noma (sweet) > *-nomya* (sweeten)

-lipa (pay) > *-lipyā* (cause to pay, demand)

-bita (pass) > *-biryā* (let pass, take round)

3.4.6. The post-radical *-ka* in Nyanwezi is realised as *-cha* or *-sha*, e.g.

-seka (laugh) > *-secha* (make someone laugh, amuse)

-daka (be angry/provoked) > *-dachā* (make angry, provoke)

3.4.7. The post-radicals *-ga* and *-la* are realised as *-ja*, e.g.

-oga (take a bath) > *-oja* (wash/bathe someone else)

-sanga (meet) > *-sanja* (unite)

-lala (sleep) > *-laja* (lay someone, put someone to sleep)

The Applicative forms in Nyanwezi also take the Causative *-ja*, e.g.

-ogela (swim) > *-ogeja* (row forward)

-lanela (refuse) > *-lameja* (forbid)

-pindila (go around) > *-pindilija* (surround)

-bitila (pass by) > *-bitija* (take something by passing some place)

-bitilila (go too far) > *-bitilija* (take something/someone too far away)

3.4.8. There are some rare Transitive/Causative formations in Nyanwezi, e.g.

Intransitive	Transitive	Causal (causality emphasised)
<i>-gwa</i> (fall)	<i>-gwisha</i> (fell)	<i>-gwishija</i> (fell down, cause to fell down, tear down)
<i>-gwa</i> (fall)	<i>-gwasha</i> (fell)	<i>-gwashija</i> (fell down, cause to fell down, tear down)
<i>-ng'wa</i> (drink)	<i>-ng'sha</i> (to water)	<i>-ng'wishija</i> (cause to be watered)

3.4.9. A very interesting use of the Causal *-isha* post-radical is with the Nyanwezi verbs 'to be' and 'to have' when expressing negation, e.g. *-gaya* (not to exist) > *-gayiwa* (to miss, not to have), *-gayisha* (undo, cause not to exist).

Ngayiwa nuzi ng'wifipa (I have no water in the container)

Minzi gagaya ng'wifipa (The water is not in the container)

Ngwana wagaya (There became/was born no child)

Nkina ng'wicha ng'wana (The woman got a miscarriage/The woman did not get a child)

Nkina wagayisha ng'wana munda (The woman forced the foetus out of the womb, i.e. she caused/made an abortion)

Mfumu wang'wisucha ng'wana (The medicine man caused a miscarriage/The medicine man caused the child not to be born)

3.4.10. The post-radical *-nza* is realised as *-nja* in the Nyanwezi Causative, e.g. *-shininza* (walk, wander) > *-shininja* (cause/force to go/move).

3.5 The static form

3.5.1. In Swahili, the post-radical *-na* expresses a stationary condition or one of inactivity. In a few cases, the simple form of the Static extension is archaic or has died out, e.g.

- funga (tie, bind, shut) > -fungama (be tied/bound in a fixed position)
- shika (hold) > -shikama (be held tightly)
- ina (bend, archaic) > -inama (scoop, bend down, be bent)
- zala (drown, archaic) > -zama (sink, drown, be immersed)
- talal-tira (look, archaic) > -tazamal-tizama (look at, gaze upon, examine)

3.5.2. More frequently, the Static *-ma* takes the Associative extension *-na*, the two particles together expressing a state of inter-dependence or inter-action, e.g. *-fungama* (be in a fixed position) > *-fungamana* (be interlaced, allied), and *-shikama* (be in a state of holding) > *-shikamana* (hold together tightly).

3.5.3. Jonsson does not identify this verbal extension in his study of Nyanwezi. Nevertheless, several entries in his verb-lists (p. 108-111) prove the fact that both the *-ma* and *-mana* post-radicals do exist in Nyanwezi, however uncommon they may be. The following verbs taken at random illustrate the occurrence of the Static forms in Nyanwezi:

- asama (gape, open ones mouth); cf. Swahili *-achama*
- eshema (be breathing)
- inama (bend down); cf. Swahili *-inama/-inamika*, keep oneself bent, be bent towards
- ipama (stumble)
- iduguma (be complaining)
- ikoma (be differing, be broken into parts)
- ikomanya (separate from, Causative of Associative-Static)
- ikomelega (take revenge, Causative-Applicative)
- ikomolega (make/be friends again, Causative-Conversive)
- umana (be fussy over something)
- umagana (be narrow-minded, be stubborn)

3.6 The contactive (tenacious) form

3.6.1. The post-radical *-ta* in this extension expresses contact and/or indicates 'a culmination, the final conclusion and settlement of a process' (Marcombes 1931: quoted by Ashton 1944: 237), e.g. Swahili *-kama* (squeeze) > *-kamata* (take hold of, arrest), and *-fumba* (shut/close e.g. a door) > *-fumbata* (enclose with hands/arms), *-kumba* (pull towards oneself) > *-kumbatal-kumbata* (embrace).

In a few cases, the simple forms of the Contactive verbs have been lost, e.g. *-ambata* (adhere to, stick to) < *-amba*, but > *-ambisa* (to glue/paste), and

-guruta (smoothen with a press, mangle clothes) < archaic **-gura* (stretch, straighten, lengthen).

3.6.2. In Nyanwezi this extension is uncommon, but it functions as in Swahili. In the few cases it occurs, its simple forms have been dropped out of usage, e.g. *-isha* > *-ishia* (get a cramp, be contracted, e.g. of a muscle), and *-ga* > *-iguta* (be satisfied with food, lit. be full/filled; cf. Swahili *-shiba*).

3.6.3. The enclitic *-to* sometimes used in Swahili is defined by Ashton (p. 158) as an adverbial, e.g. in the proverb *Ukitema kuni, temato!* (If you cut firewood, cut it well!, i.e. If you do something, do it well!). Thus *Naona raha* (I am enjoying) > *Naonato raha!* (I am enjoying very much!), and *Najurahi* (I am happy) > *Najurahito!* (I am extremely happy!).

The *-to* enclitic in Swahili is met with in poetry usually written in the northern dialects. It is probably derived from the Contactive *-ta* and is rarely used in modern Swahili. It is almost non-existent in Nyanwezi.

3.7 The converseive form

3.7.1. This form conveys the opposit meaning to that expressed in the root, and is also spoken of as the Reverseive. Here in Swahili, the general rules of vowel harmony have been modified so that the vowel *-e* of the stem of the simple form harmonises with the vowels *-a*, *-i* and *-u*, and not with *-o*, as is the case with the other extensions. The Converseive element here is the vowel *-o* or *-u* and appears as pre-final to *-a*, *-ka*, *-sha* and *-za*, i.e. the Converseive may appear in the Simple indicative, the Stative/Neuter and the Causative environments, e.g.

- tata (tangle, complicate) > *-tatao* (disentangle, unwind)
- funga (close, lock) > *-funguoa* (open, unlock)
- ziba (stop up, cork) > *-zibuoa* (uncork)
- tega (snare, entrap, catch) > *-teguo* (remove a snare, sprain)
- choma (pierce, prick) > *-chomoa* (extract, draw out)
- tanda (spread out) > *-tanduka* (become gathered up)
- angika (be suspended from above/on a wall) > *-anguka* (fall down)
- angisha (have something suspended up) > *-angusha* (fell down, let fall, throw down)

3.7.2. Nyanwezi employs the particles *-ola*, *-ula*, and sometimes *-ila*:

- tunga (bind together, imprison) > *-tungula* (unbind, make free)

-hamba (plant) > *-hambula* (uproot, draw up)
-zenga (build, construct) > *-zengula* (pull down, demolish); cf.

Swahili *-jenga*, and archaic *-jengua*

-inga (go out) > *-ingila* (go in, enter); cf. Swahili *-ingia*

-somba (bear, keep with oneself) > *-sombola* (give back, relate a story)

3.7.3. The suffixes *-ila* and *-la* in both Swahili and Nyanwezi are rarely found in the Conversive. In Swahili, however, it is unduly classified as a sub-category of the Applicative form (see § 3.2.4).

3.8 The inceptive form

3.8.1. This extension is resorted to in a few cases in Swahili to indicate a state entered upon, and it is expressed by the suffix *-pa*, e.g.

-ogopa (fear); cf. *woga* (cowardice), *mwoga* (coward), *mwogofu* (terrified person)

-nene (get fat, of persons); cf. *-nene* (thick, fat), *unene* (thickness, fatness)

-lapa (be gluttonous); cf. *-la* (eat), *mlafi* (greedy/gluttonous person), *mlafi* (gluttony)

3.8.2. The Inceptive extension does not seem to exist as a distinct form in Nyanwezi, but certain verbs suggest its existence in an assimilated state. The *-pa* suffix is rarely encountered, e.g.

-kogooha (fear, become frightened)

-liha (become long/high)

-liha (suffer)

-haba (be poor) > *-habipa* (become poor)

The plosive *-pa* is reduced to *-ha* in most cases through loss of the bilabial initial *-p-* in an intermediate aspirated form *-ph-* found in archaic speech.

3.9 The associative form

3.9.1. This form is generally called the Reciprocal, but in addition to reciprocity, its characteristic element *-na* expresses other aspects of association such as concerted action, interaction and inter-dependence or disassociation. Generally, the Associative of the Simple, Applicative or Causative forms expresses

reciprocity or concerted action, whereas the Associative of Static or Contactive expresses interaction and inter-dependence, e.g. in Swahili:

Simple: *-piga* (hit) > *-pigana* (fight)

Applicative: *-imbia* (sing to) > *-imbiana* (sing to one another)

Causative: *-pendeza* (please) > *-pendezana* (please one another)

Static: *-shikama* (be in a state of holding) > *-shikamana* (being in a state of holding together)

Contactive: *-ambata* (adhere to) > *-ambatana* (adhere/stick together)

Conversive: *-funuka* (become undone, of weaving/sewing, etc.)
-funukana (disperse, of pearls, beads, etc.)

3.9.2. Nyanwezi also uses the *-na* as its characteristic Associative element but less frequently than in Swahili. Thus *-lamba* (cheat) > *-lambana* (cheat one another), *-lumba* (thank) > *-lumbana* (thank one another), and *-kolwa* (hate) > *-kolwana* (hate one another).

3.9.3. With some verbs, instead of the extension *-na*, a phrasal construction with the reflexive marker *-i-* is employed in Nyanwezi, e.g. *-togwa* (love, like) > *-itogwa ng'wenekele* (love/like oneself) > *-itogwa benekele ne benekele* (love/like one another), and *kunula* (to hit) > *kwinula ng'wenekele* (to hit oneself) > *kwinula jenekele na jenekele* (to hit one another, to fight).

Interaction or Inter-dependence is clearly marked by the *-i-* (Swahili *-ji-*) reflexive in the Associative form, e.g. Nyanwezi *kuguna* (to help) > *kugunana* (to help one another), *kwigunana* (to help one another in a group), and *kwigunana benekele na benekele* (to help one another - 2 persons only). These forms are comparable to the Swahili *kusaidia*, *kusaidiana*, *kujisaidiana*, and *kujisaidiana wenyewe kwa wenyewe*, respectively.

3.10 The augmentative form

3.10.1. Augmentation in Swahili includes various degrees of thoroughness, intensiveness, continuosness and persistence. These ideas are mutually exclusive, but are frequently complementary. The post-radical elements used here are identical to some of the Applicative, Causative and Conversive forms.

3.10.2. In Swahili the following forms are encountered:

-epa (dodge) > *-epua* (remove)

-songa (press) > *-songoa* (press out, wring)

- nya (rain) > -nyesha (fall in torrents)
- nyamaa (be quiet) > -nyamaza (be very quiet, shut up)
- lia (kill) > -ilia (kill off, exterminate)
- potea (be lost) > -potelea (be lost for ever/completely)

The Augmentative implication (thoroughness, intensity, continuation, extension, persistence or duration) is dependent on the basic meaning of the root and the form of the verb which is extended, e.g. -sikia (hear) > -sikiza (listen) > -sikitiza (listen attentively).

3.10.3. In Nyanwezi, Augmentation is conveyed by the Conversive -gula and the Applicative -ila. The Causative particle is not used in this sense, e.g.

- binza (break) > -binzagula (break into pieces)
- tunga (bind) > -tungagula (bind tightly)
- koma (hammer/nail in) > -komagula (hammer/nail in hard)
- simba (dig) > -simbila (dig deep) > -simbilia (dig deep down); cf. Swahili -chimba > -chimbua and -chimbua (to dig deep into something, investigate thoroughly)
- suma (sew) > -sumila (sew on/up/together)

3.10.4. Sometimes both Nyanwezi and Swahili use Reduplication of the verb stem to convey Augmentation or Continuousness, e.g. Nyanwezi *kuyela* (to wander) > *kuyelayela* (to wander about/around), and Swahili *kuranga* (to wander) > *kurangaranga* (to loiter).

3.10.5. The complex suffix -aga commonly found in Eastern Bantu (but not in Swahili, except for in the Kingwana dialect of Swahili) expresses the "habitual" aspect or frequency, generally expressed in Swahili by the use of the *hu-* tense/aspect marker, e.g. Nyanwezi *kwendaga* (go) > *kwendaga* (often/usually go), and Swahili *kwendaga* (go) > *kuendaga* (often/usually go).

3.11 The subtractive form

3.11.1. Generally in Swahili a Subtractive meaning is implied by Reduplication of the verb (Ashton 1944: 316-317). We have seen the Augmentative function of Reduplication in the foregoing (see § 3.10.4) in both Swahili and Nyanwezi. It is not enough to give only the individual verbs and their extensions; complete contextual sentences would illustrate this better, e.g. Swahili *Alimpiga* (He hit her), *Alimpiga sana* (He hit her badly), *Alimpigipiga* (He hit her here and

there/several times), *Alimpigipiga tu* (He hit her only gently), and *Moto huju alidia kurwa:kucha* (This child whimpers day and night).

In Nyanwezi too the Reduplication of the verb form has both Augmentative and Subtractive implication depending on the context: *kulya* (to eat) > *kulyalya* (eat a little all the time), *kugema* (to try) > *kugemagema* (to try a little/not enough), and *kulima* (to plough/farm) > *kulimalima* (loosen the surface, scratch the soil).

With monosyllabic (short) verbs, in Swahili the whole infinitive form is repeated instead of only the verb root as is generally the rule, e.g. Swahili *kula* (to eat) > *kulakula* (to eat continuously, a little now and then, at short intervals), Nyanwezi *kulya* > *kulyalya*, and Taita *kuya* > *kuyigya*.

3.12 The passive form

3.12.1. Most Swahili and Nyanwezi verbs, in the Simple and derived forms (except for the Neuter/Stative and the Associative) may be put into the Passive, e.g. in Swahili:

Bantu roots with different vowel environments	-kata (cut)	-katwa
	-tia (put in)	-tiwa, -titiwa
	-waa (take)	-wawiwa
	-chukua (take away)	-chukuliwa
	-pokea (receive)	-pokewa, -pokelewa
	-ondoa (remove)	-ondolewa

Arabic loans	-dharau (neglect)	-dharauliwa
	-fikiri (think)	-fikiriwa
	-jibu (answer)	-jibiwa
	-sanahe (forgive)	-sanehewa

English loans	-rekodi (record)	-rekodiwa
	-rikodi (record)	-rikodiwa
	-repea (repair)	-repewa, -repelewa
	-rinia (renew)	-riniliwa
	-taipu (type)	-taipwiwa

The animate agent of a Passive is preceded by the conjunction *na*, whereas an implement/instrument is preceded by *kwa*, e.g. *Chakula kililwa na Juma* (The food was brought by Juma), and *Chakula kililwa kwa gari* (The food was brought by car). There are of course idiomatic exceptions, e.g. *Nilikwenda kwa*

gari (I went by car), and *Nilikwenda na gari* (I went by/with my own car).

Monosyllabic verbs generally take *-iwa* suffix, e.g. *-fa* (die) > *-fiwa* (be bereaved), and *-la* (eat) > *-liwa* (be eaten), but *-pa* (give) > *-pewa* (be given), *-pawa* in Old Swahili and its Northern dialects.

Occasionally in Swahili, a Passive idea is expressed by the Associative *-kana*, e.g. *-ona* (see) > *-onekana* (be seen).

3.12.2. The Passive in Nyanwezi has a different set of phonetic rules with almost no exception, e.g.

a > *wa*:

-mala (finish) > *-malwa*
-tula (hit) > *-tulwa*
-bona (see) > *-bonwa*

ya > *yiva*:

-haya (say) > *-hazyiwa*
-salya (pain, hurt) > *-salyiwa*
-igwaligwa (hear) > *-igiyiwa*

mba > *va*:

-lamba (deceive) > *-lamba*
-simba (dig) > *-simva*
-hamba (plant) > *-hamva*
-yomba (talk) > *-yomva*

ba > *bwa* > *wa*:

-koba (search) > *-kowa*
-iba (steal) > *-iwa*
-heba (overcome) > *-hewa*

ma > *ng'wa*:

-lima (plough) > *-ling'wa*
-tuma (send) > *-tung'wa*
-soma (read) > *-song'wa*
-lema (refuse) > *-leng'wa*
-ipama (colled) > *-ipang'wa*

Some of the Swahili equivalents are as follows:

Nyanwezi Swahili (Active > Passive)

-mala *-maliza* > *-malizwa*
-bona *-ona* > *-onekana* (no Passive in *-wa*)
-simba *-chimba* > *-chimbwa*

-yomba *-yumba* > *-yumbwa* (Old Swahili)
-iba *-iba* > *-ibiwa* (Passive of Simple *-iwa* uncommon)
-lima *-lima* > *-limwa*
-tuma *-tuma* > *-tumwa*
-soma *-soma* > *-somwa*

3.12.3. Nyanwezi allows a Passive extension of the Associative/Reciprocal and vice versa with plural subjects and transitive verbs. This is not possible in Swahili. Thus in Nyanwezi: *-bona* (see), *-bonwa* (be seen by someone), *-bonwana* (be seen by one another), *-bonana* (meet), and *-bonanwa* (meet and be seen by someone).

4. Conclusions

Verbal extensions are a phenomenon more complex than what it appears to be, and under its seemingly regular system of vowel harmony and assimilation, there are some complex modifications; and the post-radical elements in several cases have more than one implication, sometimes contradicting, e.g. the common Applicative element is used also to express the Conversive, or the Augmentative and the Subtractive; and the Conversive is also expressed by the post-radical elements of other forms.

Most of the verbal extension forms found in Bantu are encountered in both Swahili and Nyanwezi, though not always to a similar extent in equivalent forms. Swahili and Nyanwezi extensions are more similar than different. Nyanwezi, having less foreign influence and more Bantu word-stock than Swahili, naturally possesses a greater number of Simple forms, e.g. *-ina* (bend) and *-inga* (go out).

Verbal extensions in Swahili are well documented, analysed and described; whereas in the case of Nyanwezi, verbal derivations and extensions are not all identified or distinguished satisfactorily. Moreover, for both Swahili and Nyanwezi, more work needs to be done on the tendency of verbal extensions to develop special meanings, and this aspect needs to be described with complete and sensible contexts. The question of the productivity of derivation is again not fully answered. Ahrenberg, Ashton, Polome, Loogman and Miche have all dealt with the the problem in some way as far as Swahili is concerned, but much work is required for Nyanwezi. In this brief paper, the question of productivity of verbal derivation and their limits have been dealt with only marginally.

Furthermore, the traditional labels Applicative, Conversive, etc., do not describe well the meanings of the extension morphemes *-el-*, *-il-*, *-ul-*, *-sh-*, etc., and their semantic descriptions may not be correct. In a different kind of

Form	Bantu	Swahili	Nyamwezi
Simple	-a, -i	-a, -i, -u, -e	-a, -i
Passive	-wa, -iwa, -ewa, -ibwa	-iwa, -iwa, -ewa, -ibwa, -lewa	-wa, -yawa
Neuter/Stative	-akala, -ahala, -ikana, -ekana	-ka, -ika, -eka, -lika, -leka, -lika	-ka, -ika, -eka, -ika
Applicative/Prepositional	-ila, -ela, -ina, -ena	-ia, -ea, -ilia, -elea	-ila, -ela
Perfective	-ilia, -elela	-ilia, -elea	-ilia, -elea, -ilia, -elela
Causative	-ya, -isa, -isha, -iza, -esa, -esha, -eza, -sa, -sha, -za	-isha, -esha, -iza, -eza, -sha, -za, -ya, -sa	-ja, -ija, -eja, -cha, -sa, -sha, -isha, -ishija, -ija
Augmentative (Intensive, Durative, Extensive)	-isa, -isisa, -aka, -auka, -ahka, -ala, -aula, -aila, -asya, -ausya, -aisyā, reduplication	-ia, -oa, -za, -liza, -leza, reduplication	-gula, -ila, -ilia, reduplication
Reciprocal/Associative	-na, -ana, -akana, -ikana, -ekana	-na (refl. -ji-), -akana, -ikana, -ekana	-na (refl. -i-)
Conversive/Reversive	-ila, -ola, -ulula, -olola, -ua, -oa, -iza, -oza, -ika, -oka, -uhuka, -oloka	-ua, -oa, -ia	-ula, -ola, -ila
Static	-na	-na, -mana	-na, -mana
Contactive/Fenacious	-ia	-ia, -to	-ia
Denominative/Inceptive	-pa, -pala	-pa	-pa, -ipa
Ideophonic	-ka, -la, -ra, -na, -sa, -za, -sha, -ja	-f-, -m-, -k-, -ch-, -b-, -ng-, -g-, -mb-	
Subtractive	reduplication	reduplication	reduplication

Table 2. Post-radical elements of verbal extensions (given preliminary in descending order of frequency)

linguistic study, one may be interested in universal semantic categories, and may thus want to describe how such categories are expressed in a given language. Such a study demands solving a host of preliminary problems. The present paper investigates "verbal extensions" as a morphological and not a semantic category, though I believe the question of verbal derivation in Bantu needs to be addressed as syntactic and semantic categories.

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Pronominal syntax in Maputo Portuguese (Mozambique) from a comparative Creole and Bantu perspective

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1. Introduction

Portuguese is the ex-colonial language in Mozambique and remains the only official language of the country although it is spoken natively only by a few percent of the population (amounting to 16 million), who instead use one of the 20 or so Bantu languages spoken in Mozambique.

The capital Maputo was originally a Xironga-speaking area, but today the major Bantu language in the capital is Xichangana, which is also spoken in the neighbouring provinces of Gaza and Maputo. It should also be added that Xichangana is the language of the current political elite. Today it would seem that Xironga and Xichangana have fused into some kind of vehicular Tsonga in the capital, something which has been facilitated by the fact that these languages are very similar to each other.

However, Maputo is also inhabited by many people from all over the country, who fled to the capital during the civil war and have stayed on, often living in neighbourhoods with people from the same place of origin. This situation has turned Maputo into a linguistically very mixed space, where the use of Portuguese as a lingua franca is increasing. Today, Maputo Portuguese is still considered a non-native variety, e.g. in the large research project *Panorama do português oral de Maputo*, led by Perpêna Gonçalves and Christopher Stroud at the Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação/Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (INDE/JEM), during the 1990s, but it may begin to nativize quite rapidly in the future, similarly to what is happening to ex-colonial lingua francas spoken in other major African cities. As just mentioned, the number of L1 speakers is small: in the 1980 census it amounted to 1.2%, and in a later,

