MA'A OR MBUGU

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1. Introduction.

Ma'a is often cited as an example of a mixed language. Sometimes the name Mbugu is used for the same language. Ma'á is the name they use themselves; Mbugu is how they are called by outsiders. The Mbugu people live scattered in the Usambara mountains in Tanzania, where the dominant language is Shambaa (Bantu). There are two varieties of the Mbugu language: A variety which is similar to the Bantu language Pare, called the 'normal' or 'high' Mbugu, and the mixed language that is referred to as the 'real' or 'inner' Mbugu which has a high number of non-Bantu lexical roots, but the same, Pare (Bantu) grammar. A significant part of the non-Bantu lexicon is Southern Cushitic. In the linguistic literature, the term Ma'a is sometimes used to refer to Inner Mbugu, as opposed to Mbugu for Normal Mbugu. I will use the terms Inner Mbugu and Normal Mbugu to stress the fact that the two are registers of one single language. The data and observations in this article are based on my own field research in 1991-3.

First, I present a few sentences in Inner Mbugu. The parts that would be different in Normal Mbugu are underlined, i.e. the roots that make the language mixed, or: the lexical replacements and candidates for Cushitic (or otherwise non-Bantu) origin[1].

hé-ló	mw-agirú	é-sé-we	kimwérí	dilaó	w-a	yá	i-dí
16-have	1-elder	1-call-PAS:PF	Kimweri	king	1-CON	this	5-land

lá   lusótó.   hé-<u>ló</u>   i-'azé   i-wé   áa-<u>sé</u>   va-<u>ma'á</u>   na   va-sitá
5:CON Lushoto 16-have 5-day 5-one 1:PST-call 2-Mbugu with 2-Shambaa

na   va-'ariyé   vá-<u>so</u>   vá-zé-m-hand-í-ya   ma-<u>gerú</u>   kú'u.
with 2-Pare   2:SBJ-go   2:SBJ-IT-O1-plant-APL-F   6-bananas his

íji   va-<u>ma'á</u>   vá-he-<u>hé</u>   twáí,   kwá   kubá   te-vé-<u>dúmú</u>-ye
now 6-Mbugu 2:PST-16-arrive   there, with reason NEG-2-want-APL:PF

va-<u>bó'i</u>   ká   nyamálo   ...
2:SBJ-make DEM2 work

'There was an elder called Kimweri, king of this land of Lushoto. On a certain day he called the Mbugu, Shambaa, and Pare people to go and plant his banana trees. Well, the Mbugu arrived there. Because they didn't want to do this work, ...'

2. The social context.

2.1. *Multilingualism and language acquisition.*

The two varieties of Mbugu are acquired as a first language. (Inner and Normal) Mbugu is the language used within the family. Most speakers have the ability to adjust to the other register. Mbugu children acquire Shambaa (the dominant Bantu language in the area) and Swahili (the national language) as well, before they start school. Pare people are able to understand the Normal Mbugu (the Mbugu variety of Pare), but they do recognise it as being different. Inner Mbugu, however, is considered incomprehensible and very difficult by the neighbours.

2.2. *Mixing of styles.*

In the average conversation among Mbugu, participants use both registers. In the following excerpts from a conversation in Inner Mbugu, among Inner Mbugu speakers, Normal Mbugu elements are frequent. They are underlined, Inner Mbugu elements are indicated by italics. The rest is common to both registers. K, W, I, Z refer to different participants in the conversation.

(1) Conversation in Inner Mbugu with code-mixing.

K: *ání* ní   mborá   nitété   jangu   já   uborá
     1S COP girl   1S:say:SBJV   10:mine 10:CON 14.2:girl
     'I was a girl, should I talk about my childhood.' (...)

W: ní   ku<u>vína</u>   bí   (IMb: *kuhlahla'a* 'to dance')
     COP 15:dance   only
     'Was it only dancing.' (...)

I: tem*ló*   ingí
     NEG:2P:have other
     'You have nothing more?'

Z: *háli* ya   ku*yó*
     other 9:CON 15:speak
     'More to say?'

In the conversation from which these excerpts were taken, all the demonstratives used were Inner Mbugu; the possessives were all Normal Mbugu except for *kú'u* 'her/his' (IMb) which was used once by person I. The pronouns that were used came both from Inner Mbugu (*ání* 'I' (IMb), 5 times, *kúné* 'you pl' (IMb), once) and from Normal Mbugu (*wé* 'you' (NMb), once, *unywí* 'you pl' (NMb), once).

2.3. *Geographical distribution, dialectal variation and clans.*

The Mbugu show traces of a different culture (cattle keeping) as compared to their Bantu neighbours. Facial characteristics and hair structure tend to be different too. At present, their neighbours are mainly Shambaa (Bantu), and Pare (Bantu) immigrants. Oral traditions of the Mbugu relate of an ultimate origin in Lukipia, which is Laikipia in Kenya and presently Masai (Nilotic)-area. Other traditions point to the Mbugwe-area (Northern Tanzania) as the land of origin. The resemblance of the name Mbugwe to Mbugu may play a role in these traditions. The Mbugwe speak a Bantu language that is quite different from both Pare and Shambaa and they neighbour the Iraqw (Southern Cushitic). The traditions agree on a period in the Pare mountains, a move to the Shambaa area (Usambara mountains) in two different routes: one direct from Pare passing Shume and one after a long detour into the Southern Masai plains and Handeni.

The Mbugu people live in three pockets in the Usambara mountains. No area in Usambara, however, is exclusively Mbugu. All Mbugu meet Shambaa people in their immediate environment. Most Mbugu have Pare neighbours as well. The areas show some dialect variation, e.g. Rangwi IMb *x* corresponds

to *h* or *k* in Magamba-Malibwi IMb; Bumbuli IMb has *de* 'cow, singular' next to *wa* 'cows, plural'; elsewhere *wa* refers to both singular and plural of 'cow'. The areas and their different settlement history and corresponding distribution of clans are summarised in the following table. The table is very schematic in that people from all clans are found in all areas. The variation in language proficiency is not only geographical but differs from individual to individual as well. In the column 'route', I give an indication of the settlement (oral) history, as I recorded them. More detail will be given below. Finally I indicate roughly where the Mbugu are in daily contact with Pare speakers.

(2)   Geography, clans, language proficiency and oral traditions

Area	Clan	Language	Route	Pare neighbours
Magamba	Londo	I+NMb	Handeni	few
Malibwi	Nhkandu	N+IMb	Shume	many
Rangwi	Ombeji	I+NMb	Magamba	many
	Gonja	NMb	Shume	many
Bumbuli	Nhkangwana	I+NMb	Handeni	no
	Lomboza	N+IMb	Malibwi	no

The Magamba-Malibwi area is one area only differentiated here to indicate a gradual difference in clan, register preference and Pare occurrence in the two extremes of this area, which is where the majority of the Mbugu live.

The Rangwi area (Fwizai) is a small pocket with two Mbugu clans among Shambaa and Pare neighbours. Formerly, the two clans did not intermarry with each other. People from the Gonja clan are not conversant in the Inner Mbugu register; the Ombeji are. The Ombeji constitute later arrivals in Rangwi from Magamba. The Nhkandu are said to have come through Shume before the Gonja.

The Bumbuli area has some small isolated pockets of Mbugu, most of whom are of the Nhkangwana clan. The Lomboza are later arrivals in Bumbuli from the Malibwi area. Very close to the Mbugu community in Bumbuli there is a small community of people of Zigua origin (i.e. from Handeni), who are now completely assimilated to Shambaa.

In addition to the Usambara mountains, groups of ethnic Mbugu live in the Pare mountains, specifically in Mbughwini (Northern Pare), Kisiwani and Muheza (Southern Pare), and in Changoko-Makanya in the plains near Lembeni. In these areas the Mbugu speak Pare. In no respect is their language different from Pare. There are no memories that their grandfathers spoke any other language, nor are there traces of a language other than Pare in songs, rituals, etc. The people are aware that their brothers and sisters in the Usambara mountains do have a language of their own and they assume that that language (Inner Mbugu) is the original language. The oral traditions of the Mbugu in Pare-area do not mention Lukipia as the ultimate origin at all, but they mention the Mbugwe area instead. From Mbugwe the Mbugu were chased by the Masai and from South Pare, in particular from Vudee, they fled again from the Masai, in all directions.

3.   The structure of Mbugu.

Since data on Ma'a-Mbugu are scarce I will present a sketchy overview of the grammar of the language. Where Inner Mbugu (IMb) or Ma'a and Normal Mbugu (NMb) or Mbugu differ this will be indicated. Statements that are not specified by any of these additions are valid for both registers. As such, this sketch may be considered as proof that the differences between the two registers are lexical and not grammatical.

3.1.   The phoneme inventory.

The following chart gives the consonants as they are spelled in this work. ' indicates a glottal stop. *ch*, *j* and *ny* are palatal stops, *sh* a palatal fricative. The voiced stops are often pronounced with implosion. *gh* is a voiced velar fricative; *x* is a voiceless velar fricative. *hl* is a voiceless lateral fricative. A *h* following a nasal indicates that the nasal is voiceless. The sequence nasal+stop indicates a prenasalised stop, unless separated by a hyphen, e.g. *m-b*. A nasal, spelled *n*, preceding a velar stop is always homorganic with the stop (so in fact *ng* is in fact [ŋg].

(3) The consonants of Inner and Normal Mbugu

p	t	ch	k	'
b	d	j	g	
f	s	sh	x	h
v	z		gh	
	l			
	r			
	hl			
	y		w	
m	n	ny	ŋ	
mb	nd		ng	
mhp	nht		nhk	
	nhx			

The consonants ', *hl*, *x* and *nhx* occur in the Inner Mbugu only and not in the Normal Mbugu.

There are five vowels, *i, e, a, o, u*. Tones are High, Low or Falling. Vowels without tone marks have a low tone. Syllabic nasals are always marked for tone.

3.2. The verb.

The verb stem is preceded by prefixes indicating negation, subject, TAM (tense, aspect, mood and the like), object including reflexive object, and direction ('itive'). Mostly in this order. Following the stem, the final vowel of the verb inflects for 'tense' too. However, verbs ending in a vowel other than *a* do not take such a final TAM marker. A similar situation can be found in Swahili where Arabic loan verbs ending in vowels other than *a* behave in the same way. In Inner Mbugu such verbs with no inflectional final vowel are numerous. Moreover, these verbs do not all end in *u, o, e,* or *i*; a substantial number of verb stems ending in *a* do not inflect the final vowel either. On the other hand, other verbs in Inner Mbugu ending in *a* do inflect for TAM. Notably derived verbs mostly end in an inflectional *-a*. In Normal Mbugu all verbs have a final inflectional vowel, i.e. end in *-a*. In the following examples, the subjunctive of the first series of verbs (Inner and Normal Mbugu) changes the final vowel into *e*; in the second series (all from Inner Mbugu) the final vowel *a* is invariable and does not inflect.

(4) Inflectional and invariable final vowel of the verb.

nívóke	'I should start'	*kuvóká*	'to start' (I+NMb)
nívwíje	'I should ask'	*kuvwíja*	'to ask' (I+NMb)
nijute	'I should pull'	*kujuta*	'to pull' (I+NMb)
nifíje	'I should finish'	*kufíja*	'to finish' (IMb)
níká'a	'I should take away'	*kuká'á*	'to take away' (IMb)
níhlá	'I should open'	*kuhlá*	'to open' (IMb)
níkwá	'I should build'	*kukwá*	'to build' (IMb)
níwáha	'I should drink'	*kuwáha*	'to drink' (IMb)

3.2.1. The subject and object concords.

The subject concords are obligatorily present and, for the third person, show the noun class of the subject. For noun classes, see 3.3.1. The subject concords containing *e* (i.e. class 2, 6, 12, 16) have that vowel for most tenses, but replace it by *a* in the subjunctive. The object concord is not obligatorily present. It indicates the noun class of an object that is understood or definite. The object concords differ minimally in form from the subject concords.

(5) Subject and Object concords on the verb of Inner and Normal Mbugu

	SC	OC
1.SG	*ni-*	*ni-*
2.SG	*u-*	*ku-*
1.PL	*tu-*	*tu-*
2.PL	*m-, mu-*	*mú-, m-*
1	*é-, á-*	*mù-, m-*
2	*vé-, vá-*	*vá-*
3	*ú-*	*ú-*
4	*í-*	*í-*
5	*lí-*	*lí-*
6	*é-, á-*	*á-*
7	*chí-*	*chí-*
8	*ví-*	*ví-*
9	*í-*	*í-*
10	*jí-*	*jí-*
11	*lú-*	*(l)ú-*
12	*ké-, ká-*	*ká-*
14.1	*vú-*	*vú-*
14.2	*ú-*	*ú-*

15	*kú-*	*kú-*
16	*hé-, há-*	*há-*

The subject and object concords are identical in Inner and Normal Mbugu and also nearly identical to Pare. The differences from Pare are: Mbugu has class 7 *chi-* where Pare has *ki-*. Mbugu has acquired an extra class, class 14.2, through loans from Swahili. Pare shows the same *e/a* alternation in subject concords.

3.2.2. The negation marker.

The negation marker *te-* precedes the subject concord which always carries a high tone after this marker. For the first person singular the negation marker and the subject concord are expressed in one morpheme, *sí-*. The negative subjunctive has another negative element, *si,* instead of *te,* which follows the subject concord instead of preceding it.

3.2.3. The TAM prefixes.

The TAM prefixes are largely monosyllabic prefixes of CV shape. Two have a long vowel and a falling contour tone; four are disyllabic. Inner and Normal Mbugu share the same set of TAM prefixes. The prefixes and their possible sources are the following (for meaning see 3.2.6):

(6)   TAM prefixes of Inner and Normal Mbugu, and of Shambaa, and Pare

Mbugu	Pare	Shambala
ta-	*ta-*	*ta-*
re-/ra-	*re-/ra-*	
á-		*a-*
áa-	*a-*	*áá-*
ée-	*e-*	*i-*
ze-	*ze-*	*ze-*
ne-	*ne-*	*ne-*
te-	*te-*	*té-*
ka-	*ka-*	*ka-*
kú-		
he-	*he-*	
túwa-		
chéri-	*cheri*	

ronga- ronga
mangá-

3.2.4. The TAM suffixes.

The final elements, together with the TAM formatives form the system of tenses. The following final elements are attested:

(7)   The inflectional verbal suffixes of Inner and Normal Mbugu

-è   subjunctive
-iye   past
-íye   negative past (for ALL verbs)
-é   negative
-á   negative
-áa   completive
-a   in all other 'tenses'

These final elements replace the inflectional final *-a* except for those verb roots in Inner Mbugu that end in an invariable non-inflectional vowel. An exception to the exception is the suffix *-íye* for 'negative past' which replaces those 'invariable' vowels as well. The negative suffixes are used in addition to the negative prefix for some of the tenses, see 3.2.6.

3.2.5. The itive prefixes.

Following the TAM prefix and preceding the object concord an extra marker can be added. This is either an itive marker indicating 'go and do something', or *na-* indicating indignation, e.g. *náanakúru* (IMb) 'I haven't cultivated yet?! (indignantly)', or *nikanakúru* (IMb) 'Why should I cultivate! (indignantly)'

(8)   The verbal itive prefixes in Inner and Normal Mbugu

za- Itive
ka- Itive
na- Indignation marker

Imperatives have the itive markers *ka-* and *sa-*, which are interchangeable. The marker *ka-* is the Swahili equivalent of the Mbugu *sa-*.

3.2.6. The paradigms of the tenses.

'Tenses' are a combination of one or more TAM prefixes and a TAM suffix. Where no suffix is indicated, the final vowel is *a* for those stems that do not end an invariable vowel (see above). The labels are not meant to be accurate semantic descriptions, V stands for verb stem, SC for the obligatory subject concord, H for a high tone on the following syllable. The following tenses have been attested so far.

(9)　The positive 'tenses' of Inner and Normal Mbugu

1.	SC-V	general present
2.	SC-H-V-è	subjunctive
3.	SC-ta-V	present continuous
4.	SC-re-V	continuous 1
5.	SC-ra-V	continuous 2
6.	SC-á-V	incidental
7.	SC-V-iye	past
8.	SC-áa-V	perfect
9.	SC-ée-V-íye	far past, finished
10.	SC-ze-V	past continuous
11.	SC-ne-V	future
12.	SC-te-V	consecutive, unfulfilled condition
13.	SC-ka-V	consecutive, pluperfect
14.	H-SC-kú-V	conditional
15.	SC-he-V	perfect conditional
16.	SC-túwá-V	habitual
17.	SC-chéri-V	present unfinished ('still')
18.	SC-ronga-V	past unfinished
19.	SC-mangá-V	hurry

The negative tenses.

Some negative tenses have a final element *-é, -íye,* or *-a.* The verbs in Inner Mbugu that do not take the inflectional final element do not take these tones either. In the negative past, however, all verbs take the final *-íye,* in addition to the negative prefix *te-.*

(10)　The negative tenses of Inner and Normal Mbugu

N1.	te-H-SC-V	negative present
N2.	te-H-SC-V-é	negative incidental

N3.	H-SC-si-V-é	negative subjunctive
N4.	te-H-SC-ta-V	negative present continuous
N5.	te-H-SC-re-V	negative progressive
N6.	te-H-SC-ze-V	negative past continuous
N7.	te-H-SC-ka-V-é	negative future
N8.	te-H-SC-na-V-á	not yet
N9.	te-H-SC-V-íye	negative past
N10.	te-SC-ée-V-íye	negative far past
N11.	te-H-SC-há-V-íye	negative Consecutive
N12.	te-H-SC-sée-V-íye	negative irrealis
N13.	te-túwa-V	negative Habitual
N14.	te-chéri-V	negative Present Unfinished
N15.	te-ronga-V	negative Past Unfinished

(11)　The positive tenses with combinations of tense markers

C1.	SC-ée-kú-V
C2.	SC-ée-kú-ta-V
C3.	SC-kú-ta-V
C4.	SC-kú-ne-V
C5.	SC-ku-tuwáá-V
C6.	SC-ée-ku-tuwáá-V
C7.	SC-ku-wáá-V
C8.	SC-áa-ra-V
C9.	SC-ée-te-V
C10.	SC-é-te-re-V
C11.	SC-te-ronga-V
C12.	SC-ka-há-V
C13.	SC-á-ta-V
C14.	SC-kú-ra-V
C15.	SC-ée-re-V
C16.	SC-ka-ta-V
C17.	SC-ku-ze-V
C18.	SC-ka-ra-V

(12)　The negative tenses with combinations of tense markers

NC1.	te-H-SC-ka-há-V-é
NC2.	H-SC-ku-séé-V-H or SC-ku-sa-V
NC3.	te-H-SC-ee-sée-V

3.2.7. Imperatives.

The imperative is formed by the stem and a L(L...L)H tone pattern imposed on it. The plural imperative has a suffix *-ni* which causes the tone of the preceding vowel to become high.

3.2.8. Verbal derivation.

Mbugu verbs can be derived through the following verbal derivational suffixes to the verb root:

(13)   The verbal derivational suffixes of Inner and Normal Mbugu

-ish-a	INTensifier, causative (I+NMb)
-ij-a	CauSative (I+NMb)
-ti	CauSative (IMb) (not productive)
-ri	CauSative (IMb) (not productive)
-i-a	APpLied (I+NMb)
-ik-a	STative (I+NMb)
-an-a	ReCiprocal (I+NMb)
-any-a	RC+CS (NMb)
-w-a	PaSsive (I+NMb)

The derivational suffixes do not have a fixed order when used in combination except that the passive is the final one. Some combinations of derivational suffixes are fixed, e.g. *-any* RC:CS. All productive derivational suffixes end in a consonant. After the derivational suffixes the inflectional final vowel is added, indicated by *-a*. The Inner Mbugu unproductive causatives *-ti* and *-ri* are an exception in this respect since they end in a vowel. These are also the only suffixes that are not common Bantu. Their origin is unclear. Other possible frozen causative derivational suffixes are: *-'a* in *gá'a* (IMb) 'to kill, extinguish', cf. *gá* (IMb) 'to die', *ká'a* (IMb) 'to put high, uncover', cf. *ká* (IMb) 'to get up, stand', and *-ku* in *kuhlúku* 'to drop' (IMb), cf. *kuhlú* 'to fall' (IMb).

3.3.   The nominal system.

Mbugu has a Bantu noun class system. Every noun falls into one of the 16 classes according to agreement phenomena in *inter alia* adjectives, connectives, subject and object marking in the verb. The classes are to a large extent overt because of the noun class prefixes. Class 9 and 10 contain

prefixless nouns, next to nouns with an initial nasal element. For class 1 too, there is a small subset of prefixless nouns. Class 1 and 3 have identical noun class prefixes, but differ in agreement. Classes form regular singular-plural pairs. The pair 1/2 contains only human beings. The conventional Bantu numbering is used. Class 14.1 is the regular reflex of proto Bantu class 14. Class 14.2 is an innovation from the Swahili reflex of proto Bantu class 14.

The noun class system is identical to that of Pare with the exception of Mbugu class 14.2 which does not occur in Pare. The class system differs from that of Shambala: Shambala has *wa* for class 2, no prefix for class 5, no class 11, no class 14.1 but a plural of 12 in 8, no class 14.2, and two additional locative classes.

Equivalent nouns are members of the same class in both varieties, Inner and Normal Mbugu.

(14)   Examples of noun classes in Inner and Normal Mbugu

Class	Mbugu/Pare		Subj	Obj	IMb	Source of IMb
1	*m-nhtu*	'person'	*é/á*	*mù*	*m-hé*	Iraqw (SC): *hee*
2	*va-nhtu*	'people'	*vé/vá*	*vá*	*va-hé*	id.
3	*m-kóno*	'arm'	*ú*	*ú*	*m-harégha*	Oromo (EC): *harka*
4	*mi-kóno*	'arms'	*í*	*í*	*mi-harégha*	id.
14.1	*vu-shó*	'face'	*vú*	*vú*	*vu-basá*	Origin unclear
6	*ma-shó*	'faces'	*é/á*	*á*	*ma-basá*	id.

3.3.1. The noun classes.

The noun class prefixes in their base form and the singular-plural pairings are presented in the following table. Every noun fits into one of these class pairs. There are derivational processes (Verb to Noun and Noun to Noun) that involve noun class membership. For example, the diminutive is formed by putting the noun into class 12/14.1; abstract nouns are formed by putting a noun in class 14.2; verbs are nominalized by putting them into class 15. Locative nominal expressions have class 16 agreement. One way of making nominal phrases locative is by prefixing the class 16 prefix *hé-* to the noun phrase. The sign + in the table indicates that the prefix is added to another noun prefix rather than replacing a noun prefix.

(15) Noun class prefixes and pairings in Inner and Normal Mbugu

1/2	*m - va*
3/4	*m - mi*
5/6	*i - ma*
7/8	*ki - vi*
9/10	*(n) - (n)*
11/10	*lu - n*
11/6+11	*lu - ma+lu*
12/14.1	*ka - vu*
14.1/6	*vu - ma*
14.2/6+14.2	*u - ma+u*
15/14.1	*ku - vu*
15/6	*ku - ma*
16	*hé+*

A number of words in Inner Mbugu have a detachable final element of which the most frequent one is *éno*. No difference in meaning could be detected. There is some geographical variation. Presumably, this is a relic of an Cushitic plural suffix, *-eno*, which is not productive in Mbugu.

(16) Variation within IMb regarding nominal ending *eno*

ikerí or *ikeréno* 'earring'
itambi or *itabéno* 'branch'
kishambi or *kishambéno* 'tail of sheep'
bughéno or *bughú* 'fear'

The same ending is present in the Inner Mbugu words: *ikindeno* 'banana tree', *mduduxéno* 'gourd for oil', *himéno* 'bird', *kidighéno* 'entry', *lu'iréno* 'sleep (noun)'.

3.3.2. Adjectives.

Adjectives agree in class with the noun that they modify. Essentially the agreement consists of the same prefix as the noun class prefix. The adjectival prefix of class 14.2 is deviant: *m-* instead of *u-* in nouns; the locative class 16 has *ha-* as an adjectival prefix. Again the system is identical to Pare.

(17) u-borá   m-tána   (NMb)
14.2-girl 14.2-good
'good girl-hood'

ka-wahá   ka-kuhló   (IMb)
12-knife   12-good
'a good knife'

3.3.3. Numerals.

The numerals 1 to 5 are adjectives because they show the same agreement as adjectives. Higher numerals have no agreement. They are not adjectives but invariable modifiers. Only the numerals 2-5 in IMb and NMb are unrelated. Numerals are placed after the noun.

(18) The adjectival numerals

we	1 (IMb)	*mwé*	1 (NMb)
nu	2 (IMb)	*irí*	2 (NMb)
kái	3 (IMb)	*tátu*	3 (NMb)
hái	4 (IMb)	*áne*	4 (NMb)
kói	5 (IMb)	*sáno*	5 (NMb)

The other numbers are invariable. In spontaneous speech the forms that are closest to Swahili, are used; i.e. *sitá* for 6, *saba* for 7, *ikúmi* for 10 and *mia* for 100. For 1000, there is only a Swahili loan.

(19) The invariable numerals

m-tandátu	6 (I+NMb) (unusual)
matezo	6 (rare)
sitá	6 (I+NMb) (Sw)
m-fungáte	7 (I+NMb) (unusual)
sabá	7 (I+NMb) (Sw)
m-náne	8 (I+NMb)
kendá	9 (I+NMb)
ikádo	10 (IMb)
ikúmi	10 (I+NMb) (Sw)
igana	100 (I+NMb)
mia	100 (I+NMb)
élfu or *álfu*	1000 (I+NMb) (Sw)

(20)   Compound numbers

ikádo na wé   11 (IMb)   *ikúmi na -mwé*   11 (NMb)

ikádo na nú   12 (IMb)   *ikúmi na -irí*   12 (NMb)

milongo minú   20 (IMb)

ikádo ka nú   20 (IMb)

milongo minú na kái   23 (IMb)

ikádo ká ikádo   100 (IMb)

mia nú   200 (I+NMb)   *magana mairi*   200 (NMb)

3.3.4. Demonstratives.

In both varieties the demonstratives distinguish three degrees of deixis. The demonstratives in Normal Mbugu are identical to Pare. In Inner Mbugu demonstratives show no agreement whereas in Normal Mbugu there is agreement. The Normal Mbugu demonstratives of first and second degree have an initial vowel that is identical to the vowel of the class agreement (PP or pronominal prefix) immediately following it and they have a high-low tone pattern superimposed on their disyllabic shape. The tones of the class agreement morphemes are high for most classes but low for classes 1, 4 and 9. This is reflected in the tonal behaviour of the demonstrative of the <u>third</u> degree. The demonstrative of the third degree consists of the pronominal prefix followed by *lá*; the demonstrative of the first degree consists of the pronominal prefix preceded by a copy of the vowel of the PP and a HL tone pattern superimposed on it; the demonstrative of the second degree consists of the same plus a vowel *o*.

(21)   The demonstratives for Normal Mbugu

class	PP	'this'	'that'	'yonder'
1	*ù*	*úu*	*úo*	*ulá*
2	*vá*	*áva*	*ávo*	*válá*
3	*ú*	*úu*	*úo*	*úlá*
4	*ì*	*íi*	*ío*	*ilá*
5	*lí*	*íli*	*ílo*	*líla*
6	*má*	*áma*	*áo*	*ála*
7	*chí*	*íchi*	*ícho*	*chílá*
8	*ví*	*ívi*	*ívyo*	*vílá*
9	*ì*	*íi*	*ío*	*ilá*
10	*jí*	*ýi*	*ýo*	*jílá*
11	*lú*	*úlu*	*úlo*	*lúlá*

12	*ká*	*áka*	*áko*	*kálá*
14.1	*vú*	*úvu*	*úvwo*	*vúlá*
14.2	*ú*	*úu*	*úo*	*úlá*
15	*kú*	*úku*	*úko*	*kúlá*
16	*há*	*áha*	*áho*	*hálá*

(22)   The demonstratives for Inner Mbugu

yá   *ká*   *hú*

this   that   yonder

The demonstratives in the locative class (16), *áha* 'this, 16' and *áho* 'this DEM2, 16' are used for 'here' and 'there' respectively.

Demonstratives as well as possessives and personal pronouns are a case in point of grammatical difference between Inner and Normal Mbugu. However, they do make the same three-way distinction in both registers, following the general Bantu pattern and different from the Cushitic pattern. The Inner Mbugu demonstratives agree in concept with the Normal Mbugu and the general Eastern Bantu pattern of distinguishing three degrees of deixis. Compare this to the Southern Cushitic languages Iraqw and Burunge that have a four-way distinction and to Eastern Cushitic Oromo that has a two-way distinction, as does Dahalo, which classification is disputed, Southern or Eastern Cushitic. The origin of the actual forms is difficult to establish. See the following table; the *k* element in Burunge, Dahalo and Oromo refers to the masculine gender of the head noun[2]

(23)   Demonstratives of IMb compared to Cushitic

IMb	Iraqw	Burunge	Dahalo	Oromo	
yá	*-í*	*hi-ng*	*kw-a*	*ka-na*	DEM1
ká	*-síng*	*hik-ee*	*k-u*	*suni*	DEM2
hú	*-qá'*	*hik-a'a*			DEM3
	-dá'	*hik-iri*			DEM4

3.3.5. Possessives.

Possessives follow the noun. They show no agreement in Inner Mbugu, when used as modifiers. In Normal Mbugu possessives show agreement with the

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2. Iraqw data are from Mous (1993), Burunge data are from Kiessling (1993), Dahalo data are from Tosco (1992) and Oromo data are from Stroomer (1987).

head noun and are identical to Pare. The possessives are:

(24) The possessives

	IMb	NMb
'my'	*ghó*	*PP-angú*
'your'	*ké*	*PP-akó*
'her/his'	*kú'u*	*PP-akwé*
'our'	*kánu*	*PP-etú*
'your'	*kághu*	*PP-enyú*
'their'	*kíni*	*PP-avó*

In Inner Mbugu, when possessives are used as the complement of a copula and when they follow a demonstrative, they do show agreement with the head noun.

(25) *ki-sima yá   ní   ki-kánu* (IMb)
7-well   this   is   7-our
'This well is ours'

(26) *ma-ginera yá   ma-ké* (IMb)
6-roots   DEM1   6-your
'These roots of yours.'

Possessive stems can be made into a locative noun of class 16, e.g. *hakánu* 'ours (our place)' (IMb).

The Inner Mbugu possessives again show a Bantu categorisation. There are no gender distinctions where Southern and Eastern Cushitic languages distinguish gender in second and/or third person. There are some resemblances with forms in Cushitic languages but it is not easy to establish a single source language for the Inner Mbugu possessives. I assume that the *k* that appears initially in most Inner Mbugu forms is related to the masculine gender marker *k* that occurs in many Cushitic languages. For the Southern Cushitic languages Iraqw and Burunge I have presented the independent possessive pronouns, because in these forms the *k* for masculine/neuter shows up. It is most probable that Inner Mbugu took words rather than suffixes from the Cushitic source; and the fact that these words already contain gender markers might explain why the Inner Mbugu possessives have no noun class agreement. I also give forms from two other Cushitic languages, Dahalo, and Oromo (Eastern Cushitic).

(27) Possessives in IMb compared to Cushitic

	IMb	Iraqw	Burunge	Dahalo	Oromo
'my'	*ghó*	*kwe-'ée'*	*kw-ay*	*'itts*	*k-iya*
'your'	*ké*	*k-ók*	*k-oogu*	*-ku'*	*k-ee*
'your fem.'			*k-oogi*	*-ki'*	
'her/his'	*kú'u*	*k-ós*	*k-osi*	*-su'*	*isaa*
'her'				*-si'*	*isii*
'our'	*kánu*	*ko-rén*	*k-oori*	*-nyi'*	
'your'	*kághu*	*ko-húng*	*k-ooguna*	*-kunu'*	*k-eesani*
'their'	*kíni*	*ko-'ín*	*k-oo'ina*	*-mamu'usu'*	*isaanii*

3.3.6. Other modifiers with a pronominal prefix.

The words for 'other', 'all' and 'which' in NMb take the pronominal prefix of table (21). The same holds for the word for 'any' which is common to IMb and NMb.

(28) Other modifiers with noun class agreement

class	PP	where *-hí* (NMb)	other *-ngí* (NMb)	all *-ose* (NMb)	any *-o-ós(e)* or *-ó-ose* (I+NMb)
1	*ù*	*uhí*	*ungí*	-	*wowóse*
2	*vá*	*váhí*	*vángí*	*vose*	*vovóse*
3	*ú*	*úhí*	*úngí*	-	*wowóse*
4	*i*	*ihí*	*ingí*	*yose*	*yoyóse*
5	*lí*	*líhí*	*língí*	-	*lolóse*
6	*á*	*áhí*	*ángí*	*ose*	*oóse*
7	*chí*	*chíhí*	*chingí*	-	*chochóse*
8	*ví*	*víhí*	*víngí*	*vyose*	*vyovyóse*
9	*i*	*ihí*	*ingí*	-	*yoyóse*
10	*jí*	*jíhí*	*jíngí*	*jose*	*jojóse*
11	*lú*	*lúhí*	*lúngí*	-	*lolóse*
12	*ká*	*káhí*	*kángí*	-	*kokóse*
14.1	*vú*	*vúhí*	*vúngí*	*vose*	*vovóse*
14.2	*ú*	*úhí*	*úngí*	-	*wowóse*
15	*kú*	*kúhí*	*kúngí*	-	*kokóse*
16	*há*	*háhí*		*hose*	

3.3.7. Invariant modifiers.

A number of modifiers show no agreement. These are the aforementioned numerals over 5 in IMb and NMb, the word *kuhame* 'black' in IMb, and, preceding the noun, the word *kíla* or *kíra* 'every' in IMb and NMb, a loan from Swahili, e.g. *kíla i'azé* 'every day' (IMb).

Furthermore, adjectives and verbs also have modifiers such as the clitic *sha* 'very' in IMb and NMb, e.g. *kuikaisha* 'to stay a lot' from *kuikaa* 'to stay' (NMb). The clitic *sha* is sometimes replaced by the Swahili loan *sana*. In addition there is the word *pere* 'completely' in NMb.

(29)   *maghangaghanga   ose   pere* (NMb)
        witchcraft   all   completely
        'all the witchcraft'

3.3.8. Personal pronouns.

The personal pronouns are used for emphasis only. Usually subject concord on the verb is sufficient. The Inner Mbugu third person singular pronoun is identical to the demonstrative, and the Normal Mbugu third person plural is identical to the demonstrative meaning 'far away'. The personal pronouns of Normal Mbugu are identical to Pare.

(30)   Personal pronouns

IMb	NMb	
ání	*mmí*	'I'
árí	*wé*	'you'
(h)ú	*yé*	'she/he'
níne or *nne*	*úswi*	'we'
kúné	*únywi*	'you'
(h)ú or *vó*	*vó* or *válá*	'they'

Personal pronouns in Inner Mbugu have the same distinctions as those of Normal Mbugu and differ in that respect from both Southern and Eastern Cushitic languages. The Cushitic languages display gender distinction in the second and/or third person singular. The form of the pronouns for first and second person resembles those found in Cushitic languages, and most of all Dahalo.

(31)   Personal pronouns of IMb compared to Cushitic

	Iraqw	Burunge	Dahalo		Oromo	IMb
1.SG	*'aníng*	*'ana*	*'anyi*	*'i*	*'ana*	*ání*
2.SG.M	*kúung*	*'ugu*	*'aata*	*ku*	*sii*	*árí*
2.SG.F	*kíing*	*'igi*		*ki*		
3.SG.M	*'inós*	*'ina*	*'udu*	*du*	*'isa*	*(h)ú*
3.SG.F			*'idi*	*di*	*'ishi*	
1.PL	*'atén*	*dandiray*	*nyanyi*	*ni*	*nuu*	*n(í)ne*
2.PL.M	*kuungá'*	*'unkuray*	*'atta*	*kunna*	*'iseni*	*kúné*
2.PL.F				*kinna*		
3.PL	*'ino'ín*	*'inay*	*'ummamu*	*inya*	*'isaani*	*(h)ú*

3.3.9. Substitutives: connectives and relative pronouns.

The connective represents a noun that is modified by another, following, noun. The represented noun may be present or implied. The connectives consist of the pronominal prefix whose vowel coalesces with the stem, *a*.

(32)   *ki-gí   yá   ní   ch-á shaba* (IMb)
        7-thing this is   7-CON copper
        'This thing is (made) of copper.'

(33)   *mbúji   y-a   mgheni   y-áa-fwá* (NMb)
        9:goat   9-CON guest   9-PST-die
        'The guest's goat has died.'

The relative pronouns consist of the same pronominal prefix and the vowel *ó*. They have a high tone for all classes. The relative pronouns differ from connectives in that they represent nouns that are modified by a verb.

The relative pronoun follows the head noun and precedes the verb of the relative clause. In this position it is optional. A relative clause without a relative pronoun is equally possible, i.e. just juxtaposed to the head noun.

(34)   *viaghú   vy-ó   ni-'á   ní   vi-kuhló* (IMb)
        food   8-REL 1S-eat COP 8-nice
        'The food that I eat is nice.'

(35)   *hódi   (h-ó)   tu-hó'o   ní   haé* (IMb)
        place (16-REL) 1P-go   COP far
        'The place (where) we are going to is far.'

The connectives and the relative pronouns are identical for both varieties and the connectives are identical to those of Pare; I have no data on Pare relative pronouns.

(36)   Connectives and Relative pronouns Inner and Normal Mbugu

Class	Connective	Relative
1	*wá*	*wó*
2	*vá*	*vó*
3	*wá*	*wó*
4	*yá*	*yó*
5	*lá*	*ló*
6	*á*	*ó*
7	*chá*	*chó*
8	*vyá*	*vyó*
9	*ya*	*yó*
10	*já*	*jó*
11	*lwá*	*lwó*
12	*ká*	*kó*
14.1	*vwá*	*vwó*
14.2	*wá*	*wó*
15	*kwá*	*kó*
16	*há*	*hó*

3.4.   *The lexicon.*

My choice not to analyse Inner Mbugu and Normal Mbugu as two languages but as one language with different registers has consequences for the lexicon. The lexicon in common contains many pairs of synonyms: an Inner Mbugu form and a Normal Mbugu form, both with the same meaning, that is to say that these pairs form real synonyms. Asking people for the counterpart in the other register generally gives identical results. In conversations, when people mix styles, the Inner Mbugu and Normal Mbugu forms of a lexical entry alternate, see *ingí* (NMb) 'other' and *háli* (Imb) 'other' in the conversation in 2.2.

Not only do the two members of a lexical pair share the same meaning, they also share other properties such as noun class membership. Since the noun class system is not a semantic classification, this equivalence in morphological categorization is in addition to the equivalence in meaning.

In the verbal system, Inner Mbugu verbs with the non-productive Inner-Mbugu causative suffix, have the productive Normal Mbugu causative

suffix in their equivalent Normal Mbugu form, e.g.

(37)   Parallel causatives in Inner and Normal Mbugu

húti (v CS) (IMb)	*zuja* (v CS) (NMb)	'to fill'
cf. *hú* (v) (IMb)	*zua* (v) (NMb)	'to be full'
gugulúti (v CS) (IMb)	*dindísha* (v CS) (NMb)	'to chase'
cf. *gugúlu* (v) (IMb)	*dindíka* (v) (NMb)	'to run'
hláti (v CS) (IMb)	*jughuja* (v CS) (NMb)	'to shut'
cf. *hlá* (v) (IMb)	*jughua* (v) (NMb)	'to open'
'akúti (v CS) (IMb)	*angaja* (v CS) (NMb)	'to sprout'
cf. *'aku* (v CS) (IMb)	*anga* (v) (NMb)	'to shine'

In short, many lexical entries have two forms (Inner and Normal Mbugu) with one meaning and one morphological classification. Individual speakers vary in their knowledge of Inner Mbugu forms. Younger speakers may know or use only the Normal Mbugu form of an entry, for which older people have an Inner Mbugu equivalent. The description of the lexicon should not only indicate which form belongs to which register, but also how common or how obscure the Inner Mbugu form is.

The distribution of paired lexical entries versus single lexical entries not only varies from individual to individual, rather certain semantic domains tend to have single entries only. One such domain is non-domestic animals (which are predominantly of Shambaa or Swahili origin).

The following generalizations can be made about the lexicon: Single entries have a Bantu origin, often Shambaa or Swahili. If a word is from Pare, it belongs to the Normal Mbugu register. If a word can be shown to be Cushitic (Southern or Eastern Cushitic) or Masai, it is Inner Mbugu, excluding the Cushitic loanwords in Pare. It should be noted that for many Inner Mbugu forms, the origin is not clear. Words containing *hl*, *x*, or ' are restricted to Inner Mbugu.

4.   The genesis of Inner Mbugu.

Several scenarios have been proposed to explain the genesis of Ma'a or Inner Mbugu. I will briefly discuss them one by one.

4.1.   *Bantuized Cushitic (Thomason and Kaufman).*

Thomason and Kaufman argue that Ma'a (Inner Mbugu) originated from a

Cushitic language that underwent massive borrowing from a Bantu language (Pare), (Thomason 1983; Thomason and Kaufman 1988). Ma'a exemplifies their highest scale of borrowing. Their reasoning is that the original language must have been Cushitic and cannot have been Bantu because a substantial part of the basic vocabulary of Ma'a (Inner Mbugu) is Cushitic. I object to using basic vocabulary as an argument in this case. Granted, the basic vocabulary does tend to have fewer loans as it is more resistant to loss, but, on the other hand, the Inner Mbugu situation is not one of loss of vocabulary but rather one of addition. In the basic vocabulary, the speakers have the choice between the two possibilities, an Inner Mbugu form or a Normal Mbugu form. One of the two is an addition.

4.2. Cushitisized Bantu (Möhlig).

Möhlig (1983:158-9) has proposed the opposite for the origin of Ma'a (Inner Mbugu), i.e. he sees Ma'a as Cushiticized Bantu. His argumentation too relies on general properties of language change. He argues that if grammar is borrowed then the lexicon must always have been borrowed first. Hence Ma'a must be Bantu. Thomason and Kaufman show that this general statement does not hold. Moreover, Ma'a does contain Bantu lexical material, so that lexical 'borrowings' to validate the possibility of grammatical borrowings are present.

4.3. U-Turn (Brenzinger).

Boretzky (1985) has proposed that the mixed language Anglo-Romani developed when Gypsies who lost most of their original language (Romani) at the expense of English consciously attempted to restore the original language. Thus we are left with a shift to English followed by an unsuccessful shift back to Romani. Brenzinger (1987) adopts this idea for Ma'a. The element of consciousness in the genesis of the mixed language is important in my view. The first shift, from Cushitic to Pare, is difficult to prove linguistically from the present-day material.

4.4. Code-switching (Myers-Scotton).

Myers-Scotton (1993:220-23) assumes that there was Cushitic (Matrix Language) - Bantu (Embedded Language) code-switching. At a certain point in time there was a swap in Matrix Language and that gave rise to Ma'a. I

agree that code-switching most probably was (and still is) omnipresent. In this respect Myers-Scotton's framework for code-switching is certainly a promising guideline for studying the structural aspects of language mixture in Inner Mbugu. The problems that I have with the scenario she proposes for Ma'a are three-fold: First, the first stage cannot be shown; secondly, it is hard to understand why other cases of code-switching did not lead to a mixed language; and thirdly, code-switching requires a positive attitude towards the languages that are involved (cf. Bakker 1992: 200), whereas for Ma'a a *negative* attitude towards Bantu languages/people seems to have been a force in its origin, that is, the function of Inner Mbugu is to demonstrate that the people are different from the others.

5. Conclusions.

In my opinion it is crucial that proficiency in Inner Mbugu (Ma'a) implies proficiency in Normal Mbugu. Since this is true for several mixed languages, I assume that it has always been like that for Mbugu. Inner Mbugu is a lexical register that was created by speakers of Normal Mbugu. They did this consciously and on purpose, to set themselves apart from their Bantu neighbours.

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CALLAHUAYA

Pieter Muysken

1. Introduction.

Callahuaya (also spelled Kallawaya, Callawaya) or Machaj Juyay 'language of the people, the family', is spoken in a region of northwest Bolivia, northeast of Lake Titicaca, by the older members of a group of 2000 itinerant healers, all male. The center of the Callahuaya healers, who also work in the capital La Paz and travel widely in South America, is Charazani.

2. Processes of genesis.

We can assume that probably the mixed language Callahuaya emerged at some point during the process of shift in the region from Puquina to Quechua. Puquina and Quechua belong to different families of Amerindian languages. The curing rituals required a secret language, while the increased radius of action of the curers (through the whole Quechua-speaking Andes) made a Quechua-based secret language desirable (so that to someone overhearing it would sound like Quechua). Callahuaya has a word for elements of Spanish origin where Aymara and Quechua have a borrowing. This suggests at least lexical elaboration during the Colonial or Republican periods. The group of healers is first mentioned in 1764. However, if most Quechua morphology is intact, while the Puquina lexicon is reduced and several other languages have contributed as well, this either suggests that original Quechua speakers invented Callahuaya, or that quechuization was well advanced when the language emerged. There has been some morphological restructuring.

3. Nature of the mixture and structure.

The language is a form of Quechua with a vocabulary drawn from different sources, mostly from the by now extinct language Puquina (?Maipuran), but also from Tacana (Pano-Tacanan). The basic features of the language are