

## **A socio-linguistics Analysis of Semantic Changes in Sukuma Loanwords from Kiswahili Language**

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**Abstract:** The purpose of this paper is to account for the semantic changes of Swahili loanwords in Kisukuma language. The reason behind this analysis is that the existing studies have touched this topic not deeply, hence offering curtailed explanations of the phenomenon. Cognitive Grammar and Assimilation theory were used as the basis of analysis in the study. The former assumes that lexemes are not stable, thus they can have both core and peripheral senses while the latter assumes that the two different elements tend to get assimilated into the related elements. The study used a case study design whereby Sukuma language was the case. Four Sukuma informants from Ngudu District in Mwanza Region, Tanzania were selected purposively as they speak Kisukuma fluently. Then, fifty Swahili lexemes loaned to Kisukuma were collected. Semi-structured interviews, observations, introspection and critical documentary analysis were used as instruments for data. The study revealed that the Swahili loanwords in Kisukuma have undergone semantic changes technically known as generalization, specialization and shifting. Based on the findings, the study provided certain conclusions and corresponding recommendations.

**Keywords:** Loanwords, semantic generalization, semantic specialization, semantic shift.

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### **Introduction**

No language exists in isolation or without being influenced by other languages. Rather, as speakers of any language are constantly in contact with speakers of other languages, the lexicon of their language becomes enriched by borrowing words from other languages. Thus, the penetration of elements of one language into another is a result of interaction between languages. Borrowing is not a new concept in the linguistics literature and it has been under investigation for many decades (Haugen, 1950; Appel and Muysken, 1987; Myers-Scotton, 2006). It is argued that change in the semantic scopes of the loanwords is obvious in linguistic contexts. The lexemes borrowed from another language become reshaped to satisfy the contextual requirements of the native speakers in syntactic, semantic, phonetic, phonological and morphological aspects.

In Kisukuma language, Semantic changes caused either by integration of loanwords from other languages (e.g. English and Kiswahili) or by historical factors have not been studied deeply. Even the available literature on Kiswahili loanwords in Kisukuma offers inadequate explanations for these changes. For example, Luhende presents English data thought to be loanwords in Kisukuma e.g., *answer* (ansa), *boil* (boyili), *confess* (konfesi) to mention but a few. These data and others are hard to hear from Sukuma native speakers unless otherwise for the youths' analogy or/and casual speech. This attributes to lack complete information on the phenomena under discussion, which the current study addresses. In this context of research, Booth (2003) adds that solving a practical problem usually requires solving a research problem (Strauss & Corbin, 2008).

## Review of Literature

A language may acquire new words by borrowing from another language, referred to as Target Language (TL). Borrowing or linguistic borrowing is a phenomenon that is almost indispensable because no language is independent or rich enough to sustain itself without borrowing from another language. Being a phenomenon that is widespread across languages, borrowing attracts much attention from linguists. One of the aspects that make many linguists more interested in the topic is the way loanwords are adapted and/or the changes that they cause to the grammar of the recipient language once they are borrowed. In the semantic aspect, borrowing is associated with many changes that happen because of semantic integration. Kinyua (2016) points out that semantic integration is based on semantic generalization, semantic specialization and semantic shift. Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) add that there occurs loan shifting when an indigenous word acquires a foreign concept(s) or when there is loan translation. These scholars also inform that once in the TL, loanwords are reformed to suit its structure.

Luhende (2018) investigated the Lexical-Semantic and Morpho-Syntactic properties of English loanwords in Kisukuma language. The study was broader compared to the current one whose focus is specifically on changes in the semantic sense of Swahili loanwords in Kisukuma. Luhende used the broad framework of Generative Syntax with a specific focus on the Determiner Phrase hypothesis (Rauh, 2010; Carnie, 2013) and perspectives on the argument structure properties of the verb. That is, he employed the Determiner Phrase Hypothesis, which assumes that a Noun Phrase is dominated by a Determiner Phrase whose head is a functional category (Chomsky, 1995). Finally, the author used a sub-theory of generative syntax known as the Typological Approach. The approach assumes that languages differ greatly in their structural properties and that there are patterns which do not co-occur and are distributed haphazardly while at the same time there those which re-occur more regularly in certain languages and others which are not found in some languages at all (Croft, 2003; Katamba, 2006 in Luhende, 2018).

People can easily distinguish borrowed lexemes from the native ones in the recipient language (Winford, 2005) since languages differ in their Morphology, syntax, phonology and semantics. Due to differences between the SL and Target Language

(TL) in terms of their morphological, syntactic, phonological and semantic systems, loanwords are modified to suit the pronunciation constraints of the recipient language. For, example, the English lexeme 'deal' becomes 'dili' in the Kisukuma language as spoken mostly by young individuals. However, the semantics of the English lexeme 'deal' differs from that of the adapted in Sukuma SL. In the recipient language, the lexeme's semantic scope seems to have been modified.

Kinyua (2016) did a study on borrowing in Gikuyu. He argues that the status and history of colonization in Kenya as a British colony has made Gikuyu speakers borrow English lexical items extensively. The author investigated the mechanism of lexical borrowing, semantic change and semantic shift as well as social and psychological factors triggering borrowing.

Mous and Qorro (2009) examined loanwords in Iraqw, a Cushitic language spoken in Tanzania. These authors concentrated on nouns, adjectives, adverbs and functional words e.g. serikali (government), *shida* (problem) *msaada* (aid) and *viongozi* (leaders). The authors indicated that most of the loanwords are additive in the sense that they are borrowed to fill gaps in new concepts, objects, sports and games and certain phenomena due to technological development. According to their findings, the semantic field of modernity had a more loanwords compared to the semantic field of animals.

Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) investigated lexical borrowing in Ngoni language spoken in the Southern Highlands in the Northwestern part of Tanzania. Their focus was on how Kiswahili loanwords are adapted in Ngoni language. They paid special attention to semantic generalization, semantic specification and semantic shift. The authors argued that some loanwords are directly taken from Kiswahili to Ngoni speakers and others are borrowed from English via Kiswahili language. The authors further argued that semantic fields with a large number of loanwords include the modern world, the field of food and beverages and the field of clothing and grooming. Furthermore, loanwords are additive rather than substitutive; the former implies adding new meaning while the latter means borrowing the core or inherent vocabularies which are resistant to semantic shift.

Matras (2009) points out that when lexemes are borrowed, the speakers of the borrower language

modify their patterns as they use them in social interactions. The author argued that, speakers are more aware of the processes belonging to the first domain than those belonging to the second domain. This argument may have two outlooks. The first outlook is when the semantic sense of a lexeme is retained or when a lexeme is metonymic in nature. Metonym is the lexeme that has more than one meaning within the same domain. The second is when a lexeme acquires more senses than before (more than its original sense in the donor language) due the fact that the semantics of some lexemes become broader than they were before. That is why the current investigation was set to account for changes in the semantic scopes of loanwords in the lens of Cognitive Grammar Theory.

Loanwords do not get modified overnight; it takes time as the users keep using them in their language. That is why Hudson (1994) argued that a borrowed word is a general and traditional word used to describe the adoption into a language of a linguistic feature previously used in another. This means that speakers go on using the loanwords while adding some new features to them. The addition properties are motivated by simplification to meet communicative needs. The author points out that there are pure and adjusted borrowings. The former are borrowed lexemes integrated in the TL without being adjusted/ and the latter are those which have been modified/adjusted to fit the TL's system. The unadjusted lexemes are more likely to have different semantic senses unlike the adjusted ones. The current study investigates the semantic changes of the two forms of lexemes to see how the speakers of the recipient languages may assign different meanings to the borrowed lexemes.

Mahlangu (2016) studied loanwords from Afrikaans and English in isiNdebele, focusing on nouns, verbs, adjectives and conjunctions. The author traced the fields to which the loanwords belonged and found that they fell under four fields/domains: the socio-political domain, socio-economic domain, culture and religion. He explains such distribution to be a result of the influence of missionaries and settlers. He further reports that lexemes related with money, parliament, computers and sugar are new words introduced in isiNdebele as an artifact of social factors. The author also shows that, once lexemes (especially nouns) are borrowed, many of them are assigned to new word classes. The study by Mahlangu is very insightful but it does not offer useful information regarding the changes in the

semantics of loanwords because its focus is on language contact and change in the phonetics, phonology and morphology of the loanwords. To fill the gap, the current study deals with semantic changes of Swahili loanwords in Kisukuma.

In a study on how Kiswahili influenced Ngoni language, Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) found that borrowing may be additive and substitutive. The former refers to the phenomenon in which the lexeme adds meanings while the latter is the phenomenon in which the meanings of the word are reduced. According to their findings, some words are borrowed because their equivalents are non-existent in the lexicon of the recipient language (Ngoni) while others are borrowed even if their equivalents are existent. The latter tend to replace the native lexical items (their equivalents). However, additive borrowing and substitutive borrowing are not new concepts in the linguistics epoch just as changes in meaning as a result of borrowing is not a surprise to those who belong to the linguistics discipline. Changes in meaning and vocabulary excite people, thus non-linguists are fascinated as to why *bloody* and *bigger* are absent in Britain and not in America. These lexemes do not mean the same in the two places.

### **Theoretical Underpinning**

Cognitive Grammar theory and Assimilation Theory guided this study. The researcher gives more information on the two theories below:

#### **Cognitive Grammar Theory**

This study used the Cognitive Grammar theory, which was propounded by Langacker (1982). The theory has several assumptions. The major one is that language is inherently symbolic; thus, linguistic expressions stand for conceptualizations (Langacker, 1987; Taylor, 2002). Language provides speakers with a set of resources with which they can represent thoughts. In connection to the present study, the meanings of loanwords are not stable, thus the conceptualized meaning or alternative meanings of the Kisukuma loanwords fit in Cognitive Grammar Theory. When words are borrowed by a language, they bring with them some phonological, morphological and syntactic features that are not compatible with the recipient language's grammar. From this base, Cognitive Grammar Theory cannot handle such changes; as such the study selected Assimilation Theory.

## **Assimilation Theory**

Assimilation Theory assumes that linguistic forms from another language get assimilated to resemble the linguistic forms of the borrower language. Thus, when speakers of a certain language borrow lexemes from another language, they tend to assimilate them into forms that have phonological, morphological and syntactic behaviors, which approximate or are similar to those of the native words. This is a universal tendency, which linguists have been observing (Haugen (1950). The central assumption of this theory is that when speakers of a borrower language borrow lexemes from another, it often applies certain predictable strategies to change the make-up of the borrowed words to fit the system of the recipient language. This is done through loan adaptation, loan integration or loanword notarization, all of which are not done randomly (McMahon, (1994).

## **Methodology**

### **Design**

Research design is the structure of research, which holds all the elements in a research project together (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). The study employed the case study design to examine the semantic changes that Kiswahili loanwords in Kisukuma. Punch (2005) illustrates that typical cases include individuals, a role or occupation, organization, a policy, a community or even a country. Therefore, the researcher used Kisukuma natives as 'a case' in his investigating. The case study was appropriate because Sukuma natives were the focus under discussion.

### **Population and Sampling**

Population can be defined as the large group of individuals, objects or items from which samples are taken for measurement (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). Sukuma people from Ngudu District were the population of the study. Through snowball sampling procedures, the researcher selected four informants to secure semantic interpretation of the collected loanwords. The criteria considered in selecting these 4 informants were: (i) being born and raised in Sukuma land up to the 40 years, (ii) Sukuma language being one's first language and (iii) being a competent native speaker of Sukuma language.

### **Instruments**

The study used four instruments of data collection, namely: semi structured interview, introspection, observation and documentary review. The interview was conducted with the four Sukuma native

speakers to grasp the interpretations of the borrowed lexemes and any changes within the language itself. Introspection refers to the process of observing and reflecting on one's thoughts, feelings, motives, reasoning process and mental states with a view of determining the way in which these processes and states determine or influence behavior (Nunan, 1992). Furthermore, introspection is the use of language competence and interpretation of the native speaker. Thus, since the researcher is a native speaker of the language under study, he used his language competence in interpreting the collected loanwords. In order to control biasness resulting from introspection (intuition), the four (4) adult native speakers and the Sukuma Dictionary were consulted to confirm the well formedness of Sukuma lexemes.

Observation was another instrument used in data collection, there are two forms of observation, namely, participant observation and non-participant observation. The former is applied when the researcher participates in the discussion or activities while the latter is used when the researcher involved passively. The researcher used non-participant observation. He observed how some Swahili lexemes are used by Sukuma natives in different contexts such as in farms, marketplaces, mass media and naming new products of science and technology. The author found this method effective for collecting natural data. Thus, he used contexts such as market place and medical areas for more observation.

Documentary analysis was another instrument used. The dictionaries of English and Swahili were used too. Some lexemes were from English via Kiswahili or directly to Kisukuma language. Other documents that were reviewed include Luhende (2018), Matondo (2003) and the Sukuma Bible.

### **Validity and Reliability**

Reliability is a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results after repeated trials. Validity, on the other hand, is the accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences. In other words, validity is the degree to which results represent the phenomenon under the study. In this study, the researcher attained the reliability through data triangulation, the use of multiple sources of data. Validity was achieved by assuring the selected lexemes were well formed according to the Kisukuma linguistic system. The researcher achieved this through a prepared checklist and semi-

structured interview questions, which determined semantic changes of the lexemes' meanings they use in their daily.

### Data Treatment

During data analysis, the researcher coded, arranged and translated the loanwords into the target language for discerning either expansion, restriction or shifting of meaning of the given lexemes. The researcher did the exploration with the help of language users who had experiences in using Kisukuma language. Thus, the findings indicated different kinds of changes and shifts in the meanings of the Kiswahili lexemes in Kisukuma language with reference to the Cognitive Grammar Theory. The researcher applied the Haugen and Weinreich's (1950) 'Importation' and 'Substitution' approaches within the cover of the Assimilation Theory in analyzing the data. The former referred to no modification of senses to a borrowed word while the later implies the change or modification of senses of the borrowed lexemes. The researcher analyzed secondary data from previous studies by using a content analysis approach.

### Ethical Considerations

The researcher ensured all the informants received information on the purpose of the study before he asked them for their consent to take part in it. This was easy because the four native Sukuma informants were active and fearless in contributing during the discussion. Furthermore, the researcher ensured privacy, dignity and confidentiality. Respondents had the right to withdraw from the discussion at any time and the researcher did not disclose their names.

## Results and Discussion

**Research Question 1:** what are the semantic generalizations of the loanwords from Kiswahili language to Kisukuma language?

Semantic generalization takes place when a word acquires more meanings in the recipient language. The below are loanwords depicted from Kiswahili to Kisukuma language spoken in Northwestern Tanzania.

**Chupa:** The noun *Chupa* is one of the Swahili loanwords in Kisukuma language. Its meaning in Kiswahili is 'bottle' (of glass). In Kisukuma language, the word has been modified to *Chupá* to mean a thermos or bottle of water (be it plastic or non-plastic). Additionally, in the colloquial context, the

lexeme *Chupá* means a thin or skinny person. Therefore, the Sukuma speakers have extended the semantic scope of the lexeme *Chupa* such that it now has more interpretations in Kisukuma. This is consistent with the assumption of Cognitive Grammar Theory that lexemes have core and peripheral meanings just as the term *Chupá* has both core and peripheral meanings (Taylor, 1990, 2002, 2003). Here, the core meaning of *Chupá* is bottle (of glass) and the rest meanings are peripheral as in bottle of water and skinny person.

**Jembe** is another Kiswahili loanword found in Kisukuma. The word means 'hoe' in the source language. The Sukuma people articulate it as *igembe* (hoe), *Kagembe* (small hoe) *Ligembe* (big hoe). The Sukuma people have prefixed the word with-i- to make it adhere to the phonotactic constraints of Kisukuma language. Phonologically, this process is Prothesis, where a vowel is added at the beginning of a given word (Massamba, 2010). Semantically, Sukuma people have extended the word's meaning, making it to have several senses like hoe, hard worker, a beautiful girl (woman) or boy (man) and a strong person.

**Daktari:** The Swahili loaned noun *Daktari* was proven to have undergone semantic extension. This is another Swahili lexeme from the English word 'doctor.' In Kiswahili '*Daktari*' implies either doctor of philosophy or a medical doctor, i.e., a person who has received formal training for requirement satisfaction in a certain college, school or University. The Sukuma native speakers have adapted the term and they articulate it as '*dakita* or *udakitali*. They use it to refer to any person working in a hospital regardless of the category of their profession e.g. a nurse, a chemist and a pharmacist. This is nothing but semantic broadening or expansion of meaning. Such semantic expansion is schematized in Langacker's (1987) Cognitive Grammar Theory whose fundamental assumption is that lexemes have multiple senses.

**Bosi:** The Swahili noun *Bosi* is another word that was tested in the study and it seemed to have originated from the Dutch word *baas*' which means 'master.' This word began to appear in the form of 'boss' around 1806 in America as a version of 'master' as it was associated with slavery by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Currently, it is an English word, meaning 'a person who is in charge of other people, a person who exercises control or authority or one who supervises or directs workers.' In Kisukuma, the

word has been shaped and is pronounced as *Boosi*. The Sukuma speakers use it to denote its original sense but it has extra semantic senses: (i) a wealthy person even if he or she is a young one (ii) an administrator (iii) a wealthy person or a person who possesses a lot of cows, goats, ships, etc. even if she or he is a young one (Webster, 2023).

**Mzee:** The lexeme *Mzee* in Kiswahili means 'elder' or 'old person.' In Sukuma, it is adapted as '*Muzee*' with the insertion of 'u' vowel sound. The study noted that an old man in Kisukuma is called *Namhala* but speakers have adopted the term *Muzee* from the Kiswahili language even though it has its equivalent in their language. Therefore, Sukuma speakers use the term to communicate different semantic senses such as: (i) old man; (ii) rich man (without age consideration) of domestic animals; (iii) educated person and (iv) any friend or age mate in the psychological and anthropological context. Similar cases can be attested in different languages as in English noun *dog*, first it appeared with the specific meaning of (specific) powerful breed of dog, which was later expanded to include all breeds or races of dogs (Campbell, 2004).

**Daftari:** In the educational context, the Swahili loanword *Daftari* was attested in Kisukuma language. This is an Arabic word by origin, meaning 'notebook.' It was borrowed by Kisukuma via Kiswahili language. In Kiswahili, the term means 'an exercise book or notebook or register book.' The Sukuma speakers have been using the term as in *dafutali* or *idafuatali*. Here, there is an addition of /u/ and /l/ sounds to make people meet the phonotactics requirements of the language under discussion. It has to be noted that Kisukuma language has no /r/ consonant in its sound inventory, which is why the /r/ of Kiswahili is replaced by the lateral liquid /l/. Semantically, Sukuma natives use the term with two meanings: (i) text book and (ii) exercise book.

The changes from *Daftari* to *idafuatali* and from *Mzee* to *Muzee* resonate with the assumption of Assimilation Theory that when speakers borrow lexemes, they tend to adjust them so that they agree with the phonological, morphological and syntactic constraints of their languages (Haugen, 1950). However, the meaning of the term has acquired a wider range of semantic scopes or extensions of meaning as in (i) an exercise book (ii) book(s). On top of that, the two lexemes confirm the Cognitive Grammar Theory's prototype model as

one of the theoretical apparatuses of the theory. Therefore, categories, in general, have central and peripheral senses. In other words, the extended semantic scopes of these lexemes show central meaning (core) in the source language and peripheral meanings in the target language (Cruse, 1990).

**Research Question 2:** what are the semantic specializations of loanwords from Kiswahili language to Kisukuma language?

When a lexeme has more than one meaning or interpretation in the source language and then gets confined to a single sense or fewer senses in the target language, such a situation is known as 'narrowing or specialization.' In this study, the researcher identified some lexemes, which used to have a wider range of semantic scopes but their meanings have been narrowed in the recipient language as described below:

**Taa:** The noun *taa* was found as a loanword in Kisukuma language. The lexeme means 'lamp' (electric or non-electric) in Kiswahili language. In Kisukuma, it is pronounced as '*talá*'. Phonologically, there is intervocalic insertion of the lateral consonant /l/. Then, its meaning has been narrowed to 'non-electric lamp' only.

**Daraja:** The word '*daraja*' has several meanings in Kiswahili language as in (i) bridge, (ii) scores, (iii) hierarchy (arrangement of things) according to beauty e.g. rice and clothes in sales. In Kisukuma, it is adapted as *dalaja* and its semantic scope has been narrowed to 'bridge.' This example confirms with Crystal (1987), who is of the opinion that words can become more specialized in meaning.

**Gilasi:** Likewise *Gilasi* was attested as a Swahili loanword. Its origin is English language. In Kiswahili language, the term has several senses such as: (i) a hard, transparent material, (ii) a small drinking container made of thin material, (iii) glass window, glasshouse or glasses (spectacles). When the native speakers of Sukuma borrowed the word, they modified it to *gilasi* or *igilasi* and restricted its semantic scope to 'a drinking container.' With this finding, the study concurs with Fromkin (2003) who is of the opinion that such a situation is a kind of semantic restriction on a borrowed word.

**Pamba:** The word *pamba* is a Swahili word for cotton. The term has several semantic scopes in Kiswahili language including: (i) a kind of plant that produces cotton wool, which serves as raw

materials for production of clothes, (ii) good and smart clothes, used especially with youth when they wear new or good clothes. For example, they may say '*Piga Pamba twende*, meaning 'wear (good) clothes for us to move.' (iii) In the context of medicine, the lexeme 'pamba' is used by medical doctors to refer to the wool with which they put cotton wool or 'pamba' on wounded part of the body. When this lexeme was borrowed in Sukuma language, its articulation was modified to 'p<sup>h</sup>amba' or 'Bup<sup>h</sup>amba,' meaning 'cotton tree or cotton wool.' It must be noted that before the term was nativised in Kisukuma language, the native speakers of that language had their natural name for cotton wool or plant, which is 'Buluba.' Thus, it is said to have been borrowed around 1930s during the colonial administration (Richard, 1959).

**Gesi:** Gesi is also one of the lexeme established in the study. *Gesi* is a Swahili loanword that has its ultimate origin in English. It is an English word (gas) borrowed by Sukuma via Swahili. For Swahili speakers, the word 'gesi' has more semantic senses compared to what it has in English language. English speakers may use it to refer to a state that is neither solid nor liquid; a type of fuel for heating or (cooking) and a kind of air used for medical purposes to reduce pain. In Sukuma language, the lexeme's sense has been narrowed or restricted to the 'cooking gas' only.

**Shule:** The lexeme *Shule* originates from the German word *skule*, meaning a place where people can be organized in classes for learning. The word was borrowed by Kisukuma via Kiswahili language. In Kiswahili, the term has more than one sense e.g., any place where people can get education, being a place with buildings or a place with no building. However, Sukuma native speakers use the term *Shule* to mean (only) the place with buildings where people can be educated by teachers or instructors. This is an evidence that semantic narrowing takes place in natural languages. This is in accordance with the assimilation tool of analysis and the substitution approach (Weinreich, 1953) which presupposes modification of a lexeme's meaning and structure and/or replacement of a lexeme in the target language. Thus the consonant /k/ in German has been replaced or changed to the fricative glottal /h/ in Kiswahili language.

**Mtoto:** Another lexeme is *Mtoto*, a Kiswahili word, which has both core and peripheral senses such as a child less than five (5) years. Kiswahili speakers use

the word to denote beautiful girl. When the Sukuma speakers integrated the word *Mtoto* in their language, its meaning is restricted and remained with a single conception 'a child.' This is semantic specialization. The Haugen and Weinreich's (1950) 'Importation' approach, is justified in this example, whereby there is no any form of lexeme modification in spelling and articulation of the Kiswahili lexeme *Mtoto*.

**Ndege:** Another word is *Ndege*. This is a Swahili lexeme, which has more than one interpretations, such as (i) *aeroplane* and (ii) *birds*. However, when the word comes to Kisukuma language, the term is articulated as *indege*, (neutral), *lidege* (huge) and *kadege* (small) *aeroplane*. This word has one sense in Kisukuma meaning '*aeroplane*.' This shows that the senses of words borrowed from one language can be broadened depending on their form and context of use.

**Kiwanja:** The Kiswahili word *Kiwanja* is another term with several meanings in the language, including (i) a stadium for different games like football, netball, handball, volleyball, (ii) a plot for sale, where a living house can be built, (iii) a place for leisure, where people attend for watching movies, eating and drinking beer or local wine, especially on the weekend. The Swahili speakers use this term to mean a place for recreation. This is quite different from the way the Sukuma native speakers use it. First, the Sukuma people articulate it as *Buwanja*, where there is a change of /k/ to /B/. Then, they use it to mean a place for watching games such as football games.

**Mashine:** The word *Mashine* refers to a piece of equipment, powered by electricity, steam, gas or human power to perform certain tasks. The term has its origin in Indo-European languages. It seems to have come from the Greek '*makhana*' meaning 'device.' The word first appeared in English in around 1540 and was used to describe a structure of any kind. Its modern sense of 'a piece of equipment with lots of moving parts' emerged around 1670. However, in English, the term *Mashine* connotes different kinds of equipment such as milling machines, watering machines, drilling machines, pumping machines and dressing machines. The Sukuma people borrowed the term via Kiswahili language. In Kiswahili, it is written as *Mashine* but with the same semantic scope. In Kisukuma, it is pronounced *Mashini*, meaning equipment for milling and husking crops. The finding contradicts

with Luhende (2018), who contends that the term is used to mean only a 'train.' The premise of Luhende's contention is that, historically, machines were introduced along with the introduction of the train during the colonial epoch, which was used to transport materials and staff from production areas to manufacturing areas, thus it is from this base that Sukuma speakers narrowed the general sense of machine to refer to a train. One has to note that the railway in the Sukuma land passed not through all areas and, thus only 20% of the Sukuma speakers were aware of the trains due to their geographical location, and thus Luhende's argument does not hold water.

**Ufunguo:** The term *Ufunguo* is a Kiswahili word attested in the Kisukuma language, where it has several semantic senses. The first meaning is (i) a key – as an instrument used for opening and (ii) a way of understanding from people's minds as in 'education is a key for life.' In English language, the term was derived from *caæk* (Old English) to *keie* (Middle English). The word figuratively means serving to open, as a solution, as an explanation or one that opens. From this matter, Kiswahili has the same interpretation of the lexeme 'key.' However, after being taken to Sukuma language, the lexeme '*Lufungulo*' has narrowed its semantic scope to only a single sense, an *instrument for opening*. Along this, phonological adaptation took place after the lexeme was borrowed. The word underwent 'Prothesis', which involves adding a sound in the initial position of a word. However, prefix insertion is common in Bantu languages and is used to adapt nouns denoted with [Ø] class marker (Msuya & Mreta 2019). It must be noted that most of the insertions in Kisukuma language take place in the borrowed lexemes e.g., from either Kiswahili or English language, Apart from 'Prothesis', the consonant /l/ was inserted between vowels technically known as intervocalic vowel insertion.

**Research Question 3:** what are the semantic shifts of the loanwords from Kiswahili language to Kisukuma language?

Semantic shift is a phenomenon in which the original semantic sense of a particular word is lost and then the word starts to denote something other than what it denoted before. In the current study, some Swahili loanwords in Kisukuma were found with meanings other than their original meanings, i.e. they had undergone a semantic shift as their meanings in Kisukuma language are quite different

from their original meanings. The following are examples:

**Golikipa:** During observation, the author noted the word *golikipa*, an English word that Kiswahili speakers borrowed from the English word 'goalkeeper' and then modified it to *golikipa*. In Kisukuma language, the lexeme refers to an unemployed woman. Therefore, its meaning has shifted from 'goalkeeper' (a player who uses hands to stop the ball from entering his goal) to 'an unemployed woman who expects to be fed by manor men.' In other words, its sense has shifted from a positive one to a negative one.

**Unyo kwa unyo:** Simolar semantic shift was found with the Kiswahili saying '*Unyokwaunyo*' meaning 'face to face' but when this lexeme or saying is used by Sukuma people it is articulated as '*Lunyolunyo*' and its meaning becomes negative as it refers to the 'the secrete part of a woman.'

**Kunyonga:** The Swahili word *Kunyonga*, which means 'to commit suicide' has been taken into Sukuma language and it is practically used positively to mean 'driving.' When Kiswahili speakers use this word, it connotes negative sense but when used in Kisukuma, it connotes a positive sense. This situation is anchored in Rayevska (1979) who argued that such process is known as amelioration, pointing out that this semantic process takes place when words rise from humble beginnings to a position of greater importance. The author added that society often reverses itself over the course of time, and words once disapproved may become respectable while others that had social favor may lose it. Therefore, Sukuma native speakers positively use the term implying 'driving' either a car or bicycle. This supports the assumption of Cognitive Semantics that lexemes are flexible in conceptualization; they can change their manifestation semantically but not morphologically (Taylor, 1990, 2002).

**Chugachuga:** The Kiswahili lexeme *Chugachuga* means 'go there and here with fear.' It implies a situation whereby a person is psychologically stateless. However, after the word was borrowed to Kisukuma language, it acquired a negative sense. In Kisukuma language, the word *Chugachuga* which is articulated as *Nchuga* or *Nchugachuga* means sexing many times with one or many women. This is nothing but pejoration i.e. meaning change from positive to negative. Such negative conception has been triggered by emotive load that is involved in its

cultural operation of the native speakers. Such lining appears in Stern (1931) who argued that the pejorative developments are more emotive in character and that the causes triggering pejorative extensions are to be sought in circumstances when the user of the language finds one of the characteristics of the referent disadvantageous contemptible or ridiculous in their speech community.

**Penzi:** The Lexeme *penzi* or *mapenzi* meaning 'love' has a positive or neutral altitude in Kiswahili language culture but when used by Sukuma speakers as *p<sup>h</sup>enzi* or *amap<sup>h</sup>enzi*, it connotes negative meaning, which is related to sexual intercourse. This also involved the pejoration or degeneration semantic change, one in which the word takes a less positive or more negative evaluation in the minds of the users of the language (Campbell, 2004). In other words, semantic pejoration is the evaluative change from positive to negative senses. Within the same line of thinking, Grygiel and Klepanski (2007) stated that when we incorporate such terms as *amelioration* and pejoration, we do so with the explicit remarks that by nature are categories of value. In other words, such value stands for an extra linguistic phenomenon, which reflected in the semantics of the world. This means that human beings possess both peripheral and core semantics in their schemata, which simplifies cultural communication. Therefore, evaluating lexemes becomes part of their communicative facts.

### Conclusions of the Study

The study concludes that when some Kiswahili words enter in Kisukuma language, they tend to change their meanings. Therefore, the lexemes expand meanings compared with the meaning in the source language. The extension of semantic scopes of the loaned words can be metaphorical or metonymical in nature. While lexemes have more than one meaning in Kiswahili language, they tend to minimize or narrow their semantic scopes into one sense when borrowed in Kisukuma. Some loan words in Kisukuma from Kiswahili went through the degeneration process namely pejoration. Therefore, the sense of words take a less positive value. Likewise, some loan words in Kisukuma went through amelioration. Here the words changed from negative to positive value in Sukuma speech community.

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