

**THE INFLUENCE OF SHENG AND NON-TARGET STRUCTURES ON
PERFORMANCE OF KISWAHILI COMPOSITION: A CASE STUDY OF
SELECTED SCHOOLS IN NAIROBI**

BY

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted to any other university for examination.

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the morphosyntactic errors in written Kiswahili that result from the influence of Sheng and non-target structures. The study attempts a morphosyntactic analysis of Sheng and non-target structure to determine their influence on Standard Kiswahili proficiency of form three learners. The main objective of the study was to identify the Sheng morphosyntactic structures, provide linguistic description and explore communication strategies used by learners in their attempt to attain linguistic competence. A detailed typology of these morphosyntactic deviations is given and their source and implications on the national examination discussed.

The study was guided by Interlanguage theory as proposed by Selinker (1972). Sheng morphosyntactic structures were analysed using the five successive steps of error analysis theoretical model of identification, description, explanation, evaluation and recommendation. The sample of the study consisted of 368 learners drawn from nine schools from the eight divisions of Nairobi County namely; Central, Dagoretti, Embakasi, Kasarani, Kibera, Makadara, Pumwani and Westlands

The sample population was obtained through purposeful and stratified sampling. The data comprised of oral and written compositions by form three students from nine schools. The scripts were marked and oral compositions transcribed. The errors obtained from the written and oral compositions and the identified errors attributable to Sheng interlanguage were analysed and categorized into five grammatical categories. Errors related to noun classes were also analysed and the correct Kiswahili Standard form given. The frequency and distribution of errors was determined subject to the five grammatical categories and in conformity with the objectives of the study.

Statistical distribution of Sheng morphosyntactic structures obtained from the corpus generated by the learners were presented. Manifestation of the psycholinguistic processes as put forward by Selinker was assessed in terms of their distribution and frequency. A brief comparative assessment of Sheng and pidgin was done to determine whether Sheng can be classified in the same category with pidgin.

On the basis of the findings of this study, Sheng morphosyntactic structures were found to be a prevalent feature in the written and oral compositions of form three learners. This is a major hindrance to the attainment of curriculum goals. The findings from the analysis revealed that

the oral and written form three compositions have various Sheng-related morphosyntactic errors that hinder the attainment of the objectives of the prescribed Kiswahili syllabus. In light of these findings, several recommendations were made, among them formulating school- based language policies that will encourage Standard Kiswahili proficiency.

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DEDICATION

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASS	Associative
CA	Contrastive Analysis Theory
COMPV	Copula verb
CL	Noun class
CVCV	Consonant, vowel, consonant, vowel
EA	Error analysis
EL	Embedded language
HL	Host language
IL	Interlanguage
L1	First language
ML	Matrix language
NTL	Non target language
PL	Plural
SL	Source language
TL	Target language
SIN	Singular
SK	Standard Kiswahili
HAB	Habitual marker
PAS	Past tense
PRE	present tense
AUG	Augmentative
DEM	Demonstrative
OB	Object
FUT	Future tense
REC	Reciprocal
POS	Possessive
PRO	Pronoun
LOC	Locative

AUX	Auxiliary
IP	Infinitive phrase
NEG	Negation
1	1 st person
2	2 nd person
3	3 rd person
VER	Verb
CON	Conjunction

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Kiswahili is learnt and taught as a second language (L2) in the multilingual and multiethnic setting of Kenya where indigenous languages show great linguistic diversity (Whiteley 1974). Kiswahili is compulsory at the primary and secondary school levels. It is examined at the end of the four-year secondary school course and is a key determinant in the course placement in the higher institutions of learning. Its teaching is based on a prescriptive syllabus.

Mbaabu and Nzuga (2003) state that the term Sheng is a blend of two words derived from Kiswahili and English. Kiswahili contributes *sh* while English contributes *eng* to form the term Sheng. Kaviti (2013) concurs with Mbaabu by saying that Sheng is a blended form derived from the compounds ‘Swahili and English. Three suggestions have been advanced to explain the origin of Sheng.

One claim suggests that Sheng emerged from a complex multilingual and multicultural situation coupled with housing problems that were prevalent in Nairobi’s middle class estates in the early 1970s. Mbaabu (2003: ii) supports this idea by arguing that Sheng was started by the urban youth as a secret code to communicate among themselves. Inadequate housing among the urban dwellers curtailed their freedom and personal privacy. This compelled the youth to take advantage of the multilingual situation to secretly pass messages amongst themselves while keeping the adults in the dark. Arguing from this perspective, Sheng is a code created by young people as a badge of identity, also designed to exclude adults. It is used as a shibboleth to distinguish those who belong to the group and those who do not. Its growth is attributed to the need by young people for an alternative *lingua franca*.

The second postulation was put forward by Abdulaziz and Osinde (1997). They claim that Sheng originated from the deviant behaviour of the youth living in the near-slum estates of Nairobi's Eastland's areas. Since the wider community did not approve of their behaviour, they devised a code of communication that was understandable only by its members, known as *wakora* in Kiswahili. This group conducted its illegal business under the immunity provided by Sheng's incomprehensibility among the other members of society.

The third suggestion was advanced by Brian Tetley (1984). He postulates that Sheng is an amalgamation of various Kenyan languages, brought about by a communication need by the ethnically heterogeneous urban youth. Kenya has roughly forty-two languages that are extensively used in various socio-cultural settings. This claim tends to classify Sheng under pidgin, an idea that has been disputed by several researchers.

Sheng has not attained the full status of a language due to the following deficiencies. It has no recognised dictionary or group of dictionaries, which embody standardized spelling. This is a resultant feature of its amorphous linguistic structure, it has no recognized record of grammatical forms and rules which guides its usage and it has no standard system of pronunciation.

Sheng has borrowed heavily from Kiswahili morphological and syntactical elements. However, its grammar is different from that of Standard Kiswahili as illustrated by the following example:

Atakamu

/a-ta-ka-mu/

He/She will come.

{*a-*}

a- is a personal pronoun morpheme in reference to the third person singular. {*ta-*}

ta- is a tense marker. *Kamu* is a verb root derived from the English lexeme – come. The English sound /k/, which manifests as c in English is not found in Kiswahili phonology and is therefore, substituted with /k/ in order to conform to the Kiswahili grammatical rules. A person who is not familiar with Kiswahili grammar can easily be convinced that *Atakamu* is a Kiswahili lexeme since the formulation does not contravene any Kiswahili grammatical or syllabic structure rules. Another characteristic of the Kiswahili pronoun of the third person singular is the absence of an overt marking that suggests morphological reference to masculinity or femininity. The Kiswahili morpheme {*a-*}

a- is an equivalent of *he* or *she* in English which clearly defines the gender of the subject. This is a clear compliance to Kiswahili phonology. Chai (2000) asserts that the Standard language is maintained through the elaboration of its functions. It inculcates literacy in that writing is easy and the rules of correctness are envisaged through the education system. It is from this point that we wish to present a brief historical background of Kiswahili in Kenya.

During the colonial era, African languages were placed second to English in the order of importance. Africans were taught a minimal grammar to serve the interests of the colonial administration. These included rendering manual, clerical, religious or technical services. Moreover, the administration went ahead to propose an educational system in which the language of instruction was vernacular. English was deemed too complex and sophisticated for Africans (Chimerah 1998) Africans reacted sharply to the enactment of vernacular schools and other restrictions. They, therefore, created the “independent schools,” where the medium of instruction was to be English. To them, the move by the colonial administration to use only vernacular in African schools was to maintain the local people in relative ignorance for better subservience to the British. The language conflict was born.

Shortly after Kenya joined the ranks of free nations, English was adopted as the Official Language and Kiswahili the *lingua franca*. Eleven years later, in 1974, Kiswahili became the national language. This meant that the language of instruction in all institutions of learning was to be English. However, in lower primary classes teaching could be done in Kiswahili in urban centres, or in indigenous languages in the rural settings.

In 1985, the Government of Kenya made Kiswahili a compulsory and examinable subject in secondary schools. The decision gave Kiswahili more or less the same status as English. As a result, students and teachers had to redouble their efforts to study Kiswahili. The subject received a boost after the enactment of the new constitution in August 2010, in which Kiswahili was elevated to the level of an official language alongside English Language. This leap reinforces the importance of Kiswahili in both the education and political arena.

It is a Bantu language that is spoken by an estimated fifty million people and is the most widely understood language in Africa after Arabic. It is used as a *lingua franca* by an ethnically diverse people living in East and Central Africa. The standard variety here means a superimposed variety of Kiswahili that serves as a national medium of discourse primarily in education, administration and science (Chai 2000:2). In the education system, it serves as a language of instruction in primary one to three in urban areas. It is taught as compulsory subject in both primary and secondary level. The standard form, however, is under threat from degeneration and encroachment from other languages in contact. This is done through juxtaposing its morphemes with those of a variety of host languages, as well as code mixing and code shifting which affect its standard.

Sheng morphosyntactic structures can highly affect the student's competence in Kiswahili, which is an examinable subject by the Kenya National Examination Council.

In this chapter, we have examined the various factors that contributed to the emergence of Sheng as postulated by various researchers. This study adopted the term errors as a departure from the standard norm.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In recent years, linguists and stake holders in the education sector have expressed concern over the falling standards of Kiswahili performance in the national examination, a view that was echoed by the then Minister of Education the late Mr. Mutula Kilonzo as he was releasing the 2012 Kenya Certificate of Secondary education results

While the use of Sheng as a communication code was initially confined to the urban environment, its use has spread to the rural areas due to increased social mobility and interaction. There are two varieties of urban youth codes, Sheng and Engsh. While Sheng bases its structure on grammatical structure on Kiswahili, Engsh matrix language is English. Sheng is however, more widespread while Engsh is confined to the affluent areas of Nairobi. This widespread use of Sheng has raised significant linguistic and pedagogical questions associated with the attainment of Kiswahili proficiency. Most of the linguistic difficulties of L2 learners that are brought about by the interference of L1 have been investigated, but the area of the influence of Sheng morphosyntactic structures on Standard Kiswahili remains unexplored. It is for this reason that the study sought to investigate the influence of morpho-syntactic structures of Sheng and non-target structures on Standard Kiswahili.

The widespread use of Sheng in the informal social contexts by urban youth as a communication code has been studied and elaborated by Osinde Ken (1986) who proposes possible sociolinguistic dynamics, which have contributed to its emergence. Some linguistic insights have been explained from the perspective of multilingual environments in which the origin and characteristics are discussed in relation to the diglossic relations among ethnic languages, Kiswahili and English.

Sociolinguistic studies in multilingual environment by Wardhaugh (1986), Farsold R. (1990), Pride and Holmes (1972) and others have identified code switching and code mixing as critical communicative phenomena in language contact situations.

The emergence of Sheng and its formation processes do not entirely fall within this framework although its origin is premised in the sociolinguistic domain. Other attempts to characterise Sheng have sought explanations from piginization and creolization processes in which linguistic features such as phonological, lexical and syntactic features of speech undergo simplification, modification and elaboration.

Closely related to sociolinguistic studies so far cited are learner- oriented studies of Ellis (1985), Hatch (1969), Adjemian C. (1976) and Torone (1977) and others who sought psycholinguistic explanations within second language acquisition theories into how learners acquire, control, modify and internalize linguistic data exposed to them. Studies seeking the characterization of Sheng from the sociolinguistic or psycholinguistic perspectives separately have given inadequate treatment to the phenomenon since the relationship between Sheng and the languages from which it is derived is not a simple one of language transfer.

It is worth noting that Kiswahili occupies an important place in the lives of Kenyans. Its sociological role and academic importance cannot be overlooked. According to Session Paper Number 1 of 2005, education is an investment in human capital and a key determinant of economic growth. World Bank Working Paper Number 101 (2007) further observed that secondary education and training is one of the key factors for increased economic growth and social development. It is a tool for economic growth. Given its importance on the overall grading in K.C.S.E (Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education), it is evident that Kiswahili exerts influence on the life of an individual as well as on the social development of a nation. Majority of the learners however, face challenges in the attainment of the minimum entry

grade to lucrative careers as evidenced by the following K.C.S.E results for the last five years.

Table 1: K.N.E.C Report on candidates' overall performance in Kiswahili, 2005-2009

MWAKA	KARATASI	WATAHINIWA	ALAMA YA JUU	ALAMAYA WASTANI	ALAMA TANGANISHO
2005	1	259,301	40	20.25	6.37
	2		80	34.04	10.61
	3		80	37.57	14.01
	Jumla		200	91.89	26.00
2006	1	241,272	40	15.31	7.68
	2		80	40.60	11.80
	3		80	48.48	14.63
	Jumla		200	104.39	29.00
2007	1	272,905	40	15.80	6.42
	2		80	32.22	11.91
	3		80	43.49	13.12
	Jumla		200	91.51	27.00
2008	1	304,314	40	14.20	7.18
	2		80	29.18	11.43
	3		80	31.17	13.64
	Jumla		200	74.55	32.25
2009	1	335,118	40	15.40	6.93
	2		80	29.03	11.96
	3		80	32.72	13.11
	Jumla		200	77.15	32.00

Source: K.N.E.C 2009, Examination Report.

Despite the efforts made to ensure the attainment of curriculum goals, pre-research observation has revealed that learners have continued to make grammatically Sheng- related errors that hinder their proficiency. The findings were corroborated by reports from the Kenya Examinations Council and print media.

The occurrence of Sheng morpho-syntactic structures in the Kiswahili interlanguage of learners and its obvious effect in the attainment of Kiswahili proficiency remains understudied in the existing literature. This study investigated the prevalence and nature of Sheng morphosyntactic structures in the Kiswahili formal expressions of learners and their effect on the attainment of curriculum goals. This was done within the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic parameters. An assessment of its effect on the performance of Kiswahili tests was done. The study was premised on the interlanguage theory and error analysis theory.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study was designed to address the following objectives:

1. To identify Sheng morphosyntactic structures in the composition of form three learners.
2. To provide a linguistic description of the identified Sheng-relate influences.
3. To explore the communication strategies used by learners and establish their relationship with the production of Sheng and non- target structures

The first objective was premised on the fact that few investigations have so far been carried out to identify and consequently describe the characteristics of Sheng related structures. This study applied Error Analysis procedure in which it is hypothesized that errors are systematic, consistent devices characteristic of the learners' linguistic system at a given stage of learning and therefore can be identified from the corpus of form three learners.

The second objective implies that by giving a linguistic description of the identified Sheng related structures, it will be plausible to determine the effect of their occurrence on the written composition of form three learner and Kiswahili language proficiency in general.

The third objective stipulates that there is some link, which needs to be investigated, between the communication strategies employed by the learners and the quality and quantity of Standard Kiswahili output.

This study recognises that learners experience problems in their written expressions because of superimposition of Sheng related morpho-syntactic structures. It is hoped that the linguistic challenges investigated in this study will be used to guide informed classroom practice and preparation of appropriate teaching material.

1.4 Hypotheses

Having provided an overview of pertinent issues of concern in which the problem of Sheng and non target structures in Standard Kiswahili are perceived, the considered working hypotheses for this study were as follows:

1. Sheng related structures are prevalent in the written composition of form three learners and are identifiable. Their characteristics differ significantly from those of Standard Kiswahili.
2. A considerable number of Sheng related errors made by students in their compositions are linguistically describable and they effect significantly the learners attempt to attain Standard Kiswahili proficiency.
3. Learners use communication strategies in order to bridge the linguistic gap created by inadequate input or sociological environment.

Learners whose written Kiswahili compositions have few Sheng related structures are perceived as approximating the target S.K. They were expected to rely on communication strategies that are directly related to the structures of Standard Kiswahili.

1.5 Rationale of the Study

This study can be justified on the grounds of its relevance to applied linguistics. Occurrence and frequency of nontargetlike Sheng- related morpho-syntactic structures in the Standard Kiswahili expressions of learners suggest that Sheng has lexico-semantic properties whose communicative reality should be investigated and described. This can only be done by critically examining the morphosyntactic structures of Sheng prevalent in Kiswahili corpus.

The fact that learners affix morphemes that are Sheng related to Kiswahili expressions raises an interesting question about active morphological processes in both Sheng and Kiswahili. According to the theories of language learning by Krashen (1982), Dulay H. & Burt M. (1974), Lightbrown (1985) and others, learners acquire language from the input they receive. They need comprehensible input in order to use the target language competently since as Robin (1964:223) puts it, the acquisition of the syntactic component constitutes an important aspect of grammar, which in turn facilitates communication and social interaction. Interference of Sheng and related non-target structures in Kiswahili syntax therefore has an effect on the communicative function of the learners' language.

In this regard, Kiswahili learners who have not been exposed to adequate comprehensible Kiswahili input will employ specific communication strategies in which Sheng- related morpho-syntactic structures feature prominently. Therefore, the study of the characteristics and nature of Sheng- related morpho-syntactic structures in Kiswahili constructions is important.

The study is also justified on pedagogical grounds since teachers of Kiswahili will benefit from a linguistic theory on teaching methods and resources that are available to them.

An in-depth investigation of the influence of Sheng and related structure on the written work of secondary school learners has not been done so far. In particular, no effort has been made to establish the role of Sheng in hindering effective pedagogical process. This study has provided concrete information on learner behaviour, an aspect of high utility to the teacher and educationists in general in the planning of pedagogical strategy. Ayot (1984) argues that a classroom teacher needs to identify problem areas by the use of evaluative tests. It is based on the results of that evaluation that pupils are graded and decisions made on the type of instructional practice to be employed. Studies, which have been done to investigate the morphosyntactic structures of Sheng in Kiswahili, are few. This study is, therefore, significant as it provides additional information to the understanding of difficulties experienced by learners whose linguistic environments are diverse. The findings of this study are expected to provide corrective feedback to language teaching practice.

Finally, practical investigation would contribute to the quest for solutions to the poor performance in Kiswahili language examinations in schools, and that it would present a worthwhile contribution to language teaching in Kenya, besides acting as a reference point to other researchers.

Error analysis procedure used in the data analysis is beneficial in determining remedial strategies since it identifies errors and gaps in the acquisition process, leading to improved performance.

Kiswahili plays a central role in the lives of Kenyans. It facilitates social interaction as well as to ensures upward mobility in the employment sector since entry to most tertiary and higher institutions requires a good pass in the Language. Having been elevated to the status of

an official language in the new constitution, the standards of Kiswahili need to be guarded. Through this study, practical and fact-oriented recommendations on pedagogical practices will be provided.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This investigation was essentially a synchronic study as it focused on present day use of Sheng-related non-target-like Kiswahili by learners. Youthful urban learners mainly use Sheng and its morphosyntactic structures are distinguishable from that of SK. However, increased social mobility and interaction due to improved infrastructure has witnessed increasing use of Sheng by the youth in the rural areas. Although the study focused on the urban learners as a major source of data, part of the data was collected from a sample of learners from peri-urban schools. The population therefore gave a representative sample of the Kenyan youth

As the statement of the problem shows, the study was limited to the investigation of morpho-syntactic structures of Sheng and related morphological processes which contribute to communicative effectiveness or non-effectiveness. The results from the study of the influence of morpho-syntactic structures of Sheng and related non-target structures on SK. may not be necessarily generalized to encompass other levels of language like phonology and semantics. Due to language dynamicity, what has been presented and analysed in this study is not exhaustive.

The study was conducted among form three students in nine secondary schools. The study limited its population to only one level-form three learners. Such a group offers an ideal population for study since it is relatively uniform. Some of the selected schools obtained their student population from within the district that the schools are located. Mixed schools were selected in order to overcome gender bias. Where it was not possible to get a mixed school of

the said category, a girls and a boy's school were purposely selected to constitute the data of the study. A case in point is Dagoretti Division where a girl's school and a boy's school were chosen. Purposeful sampling procedure was used to select the schools from each of the Nairobi County divisions namely: Central, Dagoretti, Embakasi, Kasarani, Kibera, Makadara, Pumwani, and Westlands. Nine teachers, one from each school provided information on Sheng prevalence and pattern of use among students through filling a questionnaire. The study addressed these parameters while retaining the objectives of the study.

1.7 Definition of Terms

Code The particular dialect or language that a person chooses to use on any occasion. Sheng is an example of a code used for communication.

Code mixing Juxtaposing elements from two or more languages or dialects. An example of code mixing is where Sheng users attach Kiswahili prefixes to an English lexeme to make it an acceptable Sheng word.

Code switching Alternating use of two or more codes in the same conversational event. Thus, code-switching is the use of more than one linguistic variety in a manner consistent with the syntax and phonology of each. Wardhaugh (1986) identifies two types of code switching:

- (i) Situational where language used changes according to situations of the conversant.
- (ii) Metaphorical code switching where a code changes depending on the formality or informality of the situation.

The two situations were not considered differently in this study.

Communication strategy Systematic attempt by the learners to express or decode meaning in the target language in situations where the appropriate target language rules have not been formed.

Copula verb A special type of verb that connects the subject of a sentence with the complement. Copular verb relates other elements of clause structure. Examples of copular verbs in Kiswahili are *ni*, *si*, and *ndi*. The following sentences demonstrate their usage:

1. Mwanafunzi *ni* mwerevu. /mw-anafunzi ni mw-erevu/
2. Kiatu hiki *si* changu. /ki-atu hi-ki si c h-angu/
3. Huyu *ndiye* aliyechaguliwa. /hu-yu ndi-ye a-li-ye-chagu-liw-
a/

Error Deviation from standard language norms. Consider the following Sheng example that deviates from the Standard Kiswahili:

Hizo ni uwongo. /hi-zo ni u-wongo/

The demonstrative *hizo* is an error in Standard Kiswahili.

Embedded language Other languages that only make lexical and phrasal contribution to the frame already set by the matrix language (Ogechi 2002).

First language One's native language or mother tongue.

Gender markers For the purpose of this study, the term is used to refer to the morpheme that refers to masculinity or femininity.

Interlanguage	A cohesive linguistic system that is distinct from both the source language and target language.
Learners	Form three students who provided the data for the study.
Matrix language	The dominant language that provides the grammatical frame of the second language or code. Kiswahili is the matrix language for Sheng. It is more active and frequently used.
Multilingual	Use of more than two languages. Sheng arose from a multilingual environment where its speakers are proficient in Kiswahili and mother tongue.
Pidgin	An emergent functionally and specialized linguistic variety which exhibits extensive simplification in its grammar. It arises as a medium of communication between speakers of different languages, characterized by grammatical structure and lexical content originating in differing sources, by unintelligibility to speakers of the source language and by stability. It emerges as a different system from that of its antecedent parent languages or lexifiers (Mazrui 2005)
Semantic shift	When a word acquires a different meaning while dropping the original meaning, or when it changes in the circumstances of its use (Makori 2011)
Sheng	A mixed code used by urban youth in communication and identity-formation. It is an evolving hybrid language which exhibits immeasurable creativity, innovativeness and coinages in its lexicon (Makori 2011)

Slang	A kind of a language occurring chiefly in casual speech, made up typically of short-lived coinages and figures of speech. It is a variety used by the lower classes of society marked by informal, casual and simplified linguistic expressions (Mazrui 2005).
Standardization	A deliberate attempt to prescribe norms to language users by removing variability and arriving at a variety that is superimposed on the users and stating that it is the correct way to use a language (Chai 2000). Any interference by Sheng structures is therefore in contravention of the rules and is regarded as non-target-like phrase or sentence.
Standard language	A dialect of language that has been given either legal or quasi-legal status. It is a superposed variety of a language which serves as a national medium of discourse primarily in education, administration and science (Byron 1976). It is usually taught in schools and is used in the media.
Stable code	Languages whose grammar and lexicon are stable. In this study, Kiswahili and English are stable codes while Sheng is considered as unstable code
Sociolect	A variety of language spoken by a group of people in a particular social class or age which is intended to serve a social purpose.
Source language	Lexifier language from which a language gets its lexicon. Sheng source languages include kikuyu, luo, English and Kamba among others.

Syllabus	A plan that states exactly what students should learn in a particular subject as stipulated by the curriculum.
Target language	A language that one learns in order to attain proficiency. The target language in the context of this study is Standard Kiswahili.
Teacher	For the purpose of this study, the term refers to a trained professional employed to guide and direct learning experiences of students in an educational institution.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

According to Mugenda & Mugenda (2003), conducting a literature review involves the systematic identification, location and analysis of documents containing information related to the research problem being investigated. In view of this statement, this section focuses on literature that was found relevant to the study. Views of various researchers are highlighted and similarities and differences to this research shown. Theories that guided this research because of symbiotic complementary relationship are also discussed.

Many researches have been done on Sheng in the last twenty years. Ogechi (2005) attests to this by saying that there are some areas that have not been attempted. Most of these researches focused on the origin of Sheng, its functions and its lexical formation processes: no study has been done so far to quantify the influence of Sheng morphosyntactic structures on performance in Kiswahili tests in secondary schools. As Miguda-Attyang (2003:39) puts it, if Sheng negatively influences Kiswahili and English, then it should be discouraged, and the best place to do this is in school.

With regard to Kiswahili, researches that have been carried out are those that have to do with instructional practices and the attitude of scholars towards Kiswahili. However, several researches have been carried out on second language acquisition. The most notable one is the study by Mwaniki (2001) which focused on the interlanguage of Kikuyu learners and which, like this study, employs error analysis technique. Mwaniki's study, however, focuses on aspects of English syntactic categories. This study adopted an interpretative approach whose underlying principle was to classify deviations in terms of psycholinguistic origin and to

analyse the resultant deviation structures that are Sheng related with a view to assessing their effects on Standard Kiswahili. The following section presents a review of literature on the study.

2.1 Literature on Sheng

In an attempt to put Sheng in its proper perspective, Mbaabu & Nzuga (2003) advance the view that Sheng derives its lexicon from all the languages used in Kenya regardless of whether they are of African, Asian or European origin. The following examples attest to this fact:

1. *Dwazi* means foolishness or stupidity (from Kiswahili word {*duwaa*}, which refers to a person, who is slow in grasping things or acting.)
2. *Baika* is used to name a tightly fitting short, originally worn by professional bicycle riders but currently worn by sportswomen and men (from the English word “*biker*” which means a person who rides a bicycle, especially a mountain bike)
3. *Saikoro* means old or outdated (from Luhya word *Musakhulu* which means *old man*).
4. *Buda* means boss or father (from the Asian word *Buddha* who is an ancient *sage* and *philosopher*).
5. *Alei* means ‘to go’ (from the French word *aller* meaning *to go*)
6. *Giringo* means stranger, intruder, non-member (from a Latin American word *gringo*, which means *a foreigner*).
7. *Thogs* means ‘your father’ (from a Kikuyu word *thoguo* meaning *your father*.)

Sheng grammar is different from that of Standard Kiswahili as illustrated in the following examples:

8. <i>Fathee</i>	<i>hizo</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>uwongo.</i>	
<i>/fathe:</i>	<i>hi-zo</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>u-wonjo/</i>	
<i>Father</i>	<i>cl.10- demonstrative</i>	<i>cop. is</i>	<i>lie</i>	
9. <i>Kibenje</i>	<i>kina</i>	<i>mamumu</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>sonyi.</i>
<i>/ki-ben]e</i>	<i>ki-na</i>	<i>ma-mumu</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>sony i: /</i>
<i>Lady's handbag</i>	<i>cl. 7-has</i>	<i>cl.6-money</i>	<i>cl.10-ass-for</i>	<i>police officer.</i>

The two sentences show that Standard Kiswahili noun markers are largely ignored in Sheng constructions. The following is also notable:

Example (1) */fathee/* is derived from the English noun father; */hizo/* is a demonstrative used in reference to the class ten nouns. This has been used in discord with *uwongo*, which is from class thirteen nouns.

Example (2) is constructed with morphemes from three sources: Kiswahili, Kikuyu and English. The word *kibenje* is a cl. 7 noun derived from the Kiswahili word *kibeti*. *Kina* is a Kiswahili infinitive verb compounded from {*ki*} - which is a class seven prefix and the root {*na*}. *Mamumu* is sourced from the Kikuyu word *kimumu* meaning numerous bank notes. The noun class four marker {*ma-*} (for plural) is affixed on *mumu* to imply plurality. The associative {*za*} (of) is sourced from Kiswahili. *Sonyi* is derived from an English word soldier. There is no concord between the possessed *mamumu* and the possessor *sonyi* of the noun phrase *mamumu za sonyi* (police officer's money). This is because the surface form of the associative *za* is for noun cl. 10 and, is, therefore, appropriate if the possessed *mamumu* is a cl. 10 noun. Such discords are a common characteristic of Sheng sentences.

Another important feature of Sheng manifests itself in morphological structures. Morphemes are fixed at the verb initial before juxtaposing the existing Kiswahili root with an English verb derivative.

The following examples testify to this fact.

10. *Atakamu*

/a-ta-kamu/

She/he will come

{a-} is a personal pronoun morpheme in references to the third person singular while {*ta*} is a tense marker. {-kamu} is a verb root derived from the English lexeme –come. The syllables of the verb come have been modified in order to conform to the rules of Kiswahili grammar. Mbaabu and Nzuga (2003) focussed on Sheng lexemes. They dispute claims that Sheng is a Creole on the ground that Sheng has no native speakers. The emergence of Sheng was not motivated by a need for a language of inter-group communication as does pidgins that give rise to Creole. Also, the vocabulary and grammar of Sheng cannot be described as simple. This is because Sheng speakers are competent in at least two languages, a mother tongue and either Kiswahili or English. Kaviti (2013) concurs with this view and states that it is the norm for city dwellers to have competence (in varying degree) of at least three languages – an ethnic language, Kiswahili and English.

These views enriched this study since the researcher engaged in research on language interference. The grammar and vocabulary that they describe as not so simple formed the researcher's main elements of analysis. In order to establish what Sheng is, it was important to refer to the socio- linguistic situation that preceded its emergence. The authors' preamble and collection of Sheng vocabulary was a valuable resource and has greatly benefited this

study. One of the shortcomings of Mbaabu and Nzuga's study is the brevity of the definitions given and its inclination to the semantic aspect of Sheng.

Miguda-Attyang, J. (2003), investigates the attitude of Sheng as an emerging language among the people of Nairobi. The study reveals that the attitude towards Sheng is largely negative. Sheng speakers are thought of as incompetent in both Kiswahili and English. Another very important observation that Miguda makes is that Kiswahili has a very important role as a national language and the lingua franca for the Kenyan population. Its role in unifying the forty two stable codes, Webb & Kembo-Sure (1992) in Kenya cannot be underscored. It is with the same concern that she mentions that Kiswahili is taught as a subject and pupils must pass in it at both primary and secondary school national examinations. The researcher's view calls for a practical step in the education sector. One such step is an in-depth examination of the effect of Sheng on Standard Kiswahili; and mother tongue interference. It is on the basis of this study that recommendations will be made on how to improve on the teaching and learning process. The point of divergence is that Miguda-Attyang's study is in the field of sociolinguistics whereas this study is in the field of applied linguistics.

Mazrui, A. (1990:179) poses a challenge by claiming that there are local variations based on the ethnically predominant group of the respective localities. The Sheng of predominantly Kikuyu Bahati, therefore, would be expected to have a higher proportion of Kikuyu linguistic items than, say, the Sheng spoken in Majengo, even though both are situated in Nairobi. The same trend of the predominant language contributing greatly to the linguistic items in Sheng, he says, would apply to the Sheng of the predominantly Luo location of Kaloleni or Makadara. In this study, the researcher's sample population is derived from the eight divisions of Nairobi County, which have different ethnic orientations. The population

therefore is a representative sample of the urban and peri-urban youth as well as areas of different language predominance.

The phonological and morphological studies that have been carried out concur that though Sheng borrows heavily from Kiswahili and sparingly from other local and foreign languages, it is modified to fit into Sheng morphosyntactic structure. The studies, according to Ogechi (2002), do not explicitly show how Sheng structure conforms to or differs from Kiswahili-type concord. He identifies other languages that fall in the same league with Sheng referring to them as urban youth languages. These are Iscamto and Tsotsitaal in South Africa, Indoubil in Ivory Coast, Pidgin English in Nigeria, Luyaaye in Uganda, Kiswakinge in Tanzania, Lingala ya Bayankee in Congo and Camfranglas in Cameroon, among others. He claims that some of these languages are used for wider communication besides their sociological function. Their fluidity, however, remains a big challenge even to researchers. Sheng is an unstable code just like the above mentioned codes. The idea of publishing in Sheng faces a lot of challenges since the rise of new lexemes will render the previous publications redundant. Nevertheless there are few publications that mainly targets the youth. A case in point is the Kwani publications. It starts in urban areas before spreading to rural areas. By the time it gets to the rural areas, further distortions and modifications will have been made. It is this view and the information on the historical development of Sheng that guided the researcher on the sample choice.

Bure, (2006) argues that there is need to connect with the young generation and with what the target audience understands best. If heeded, this argument can have negative effects on written and spoken Kiswahili since as Friedman and Rowl (1980) puts it, students come with different varieties of language due to their background.

In his study, Mazrui posits that Sheng has started developing its own peculiarities. Apart from the predominantly up-country Swahili features which pay no regard to nominal class concord, or which will not abide by the linguistic norm of usage, Sheng is acquiring its own identity (Mazrui 1995:176)

Although the views of the above-mentioned scholars are not directly related to this study, they play a significant role in providing background information and revealing the gaps that need to be filled.

2.2 Literature on Interlanguage and Error Analysis Theory

This study was guided by Interlanguage theory as proposed by Selinker (1972). The five successive steps of error analysis were used in the analysis. The term interlanguage was elaborated by Selinker (1972) as the separate linguistic system, which is hypothesizable from the observed output (target like and nontargetlike) of learners' attempted production of the target language. According to Selinker (1975:140), the learners' language need not correspond with the target language since its evolution manifests characteristic differences. He observed that this learner language is a dynamic variable and is constantly changing.

Nemser (1971b) and Dickerson (1975) studied the dynamic and variable characteristics of learner language and concluded that the observed continuity in change results to a series of interlocking systems. Elsewhere, Corder (1981:80) introduced the notion of developmental continuum while Bickerton (1975) and de-Camp (1971) have used the term 'linguistic continua' to refer to interlanguage as dynamic and variable. They suggest that the learner language should be viewed as being ordered, hierarchical and systematic.

Corder (1971b) and Selinker (1972) have indicated that learner language employs specific communication strategies, which correspond to those of natural languages. Pragmatic

approach takes into account a considerable number of issues, which do not generally receive much attention in the formal linguist's description of sentential syntax. It is clear that every day human interaction is characterized by the primary interactional rather than transactional use. Language is used to establish and maintain social relationships and to enhance peer solidarity. This is what Ekman and Friesen (1969) regards as interactional function. Sheng origin and development has a strong interactional rather than transactional attributes.

In this study, the use of Sheng related structures appears to be consistent with stipulations made by Corder P. and Selinker L. that focus on the active psycholinguistic processes of interlanguage. Dulay et al (1972) elaborate these processes as the subconscious process, which learners use to organise the language input according to the rules in order to construct, understand and generate sentences. This is what Dulay et al (1972) summarises as the creative construction hypothesis and it was relevant in guiding the investigation in this study. Kiswahili learners creatively construct meaningful Sheng related structures in which they communicate while generating new sentences. It was the objective of this study to identify the underlying morphological processes that underlie the production of Sheng- related morpho-syntactic structures.

The Sheng related structures that learners generate are a product of the social environment and their creative potential as well as the nature of the linguistic input. According to this theory, the multilingual environment provides a rich source of linguistic input and the learners creatively organise this input to generate meaningful sentences according to their needs. In this respect, Krashen (1981a) proposes what he terms as comprehensible input as an important aspect in the interaction process since it introduces communicative activities in the attainment of language proficiency.

By making use of insights and principles explicitly stated in the interlanguage theory , this study was able to provide principled explanations into the active Sheng formation process, which in turn guided approaches that can be applied in the teaching of Standard Kiswahili. The five successive steps of error analysis, namely, identification, description, explanation, evaluation and correction were used in analysing the data. This study employed the Error Analysis approach as espoused by Corder (1971)

Corder (1971) contends that error analysis is largely confined to the study of expressive errors, spoken or written. He suggests the above five steps in error analysis. Identification is the first stage, which has to do with correct recognition of error. This stage is purely a linguistic activity. Description of error is essentially a comparative process. The data to be compared are the erroneous forms and the correct forms. In this respect, Sheng interlanguage has been compared to the Standard Kiswahili and the areas of differences highlighted. Explanation of errors is about accounting for why and how errors come about. It is at this step that we determine the causes of errors by examining the communication strategies that the form three Kiswahili learners employ since explanation is largely the field of psycholinguistics. Evaluation is the effect of the explained errors. It is on the basis of evaluation that corrective measures are suggested.

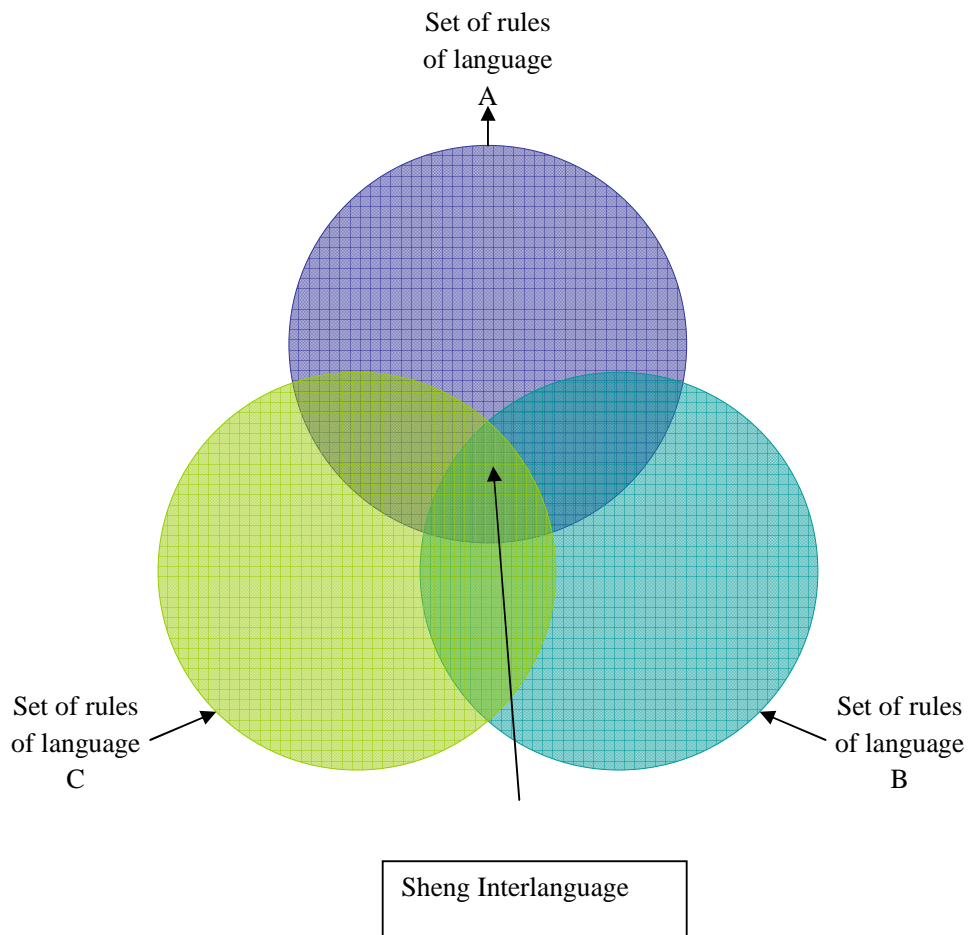
Error analysis sprang out of contrastive analysis theory. Between 1940s and 1960s, contrastive analyses were conducted, in which two languages were systematically compared. Researchers at that time were motivated by the prospect of being able to identify points of similarities and differences between native languages and target languages. They contrasted and compared two languages in order to establish the areas of similarities and differences (Lado, 1957; Lee, 1968).

Contrastive analysis was a more restrictive approach to error analysis. Its treatment of errors rested on comparison of the learner's native language and the target language. Researchers however, noticed that a great number of errors were not accounted for. This observation revealed a gap between theory and reality and set a podium for more comprehensive theories like Interlanguage Theory. This has brought the multiple origins of learner theory to our attention, a theory that has succeeded in elevating the status of errors from undesirability to the relatively special status of being research-worthy.

Richards (1971) contends that learner errors are of two types: those resulting from interference from the mother tongue which are referred to as interlingual errors and those which result from the process of learning and do not exhibit any influence from the first language. The latter are called intralingual. The second category of errors can be made by any learner, irrespective of his first language. Sheng related errors fall within the second category as they don't originate from first language interference.

Lado (1957) views the difference between two languages as constituting learning difficulties. Similarities were hypothesized to constitute ease in language learning. Corder (1981) refers to this interlanguage as transitional dialect in order to emphasize its dynamicity and variability. He postulates that any spontaneous speech intended by the speaker to communicate is meaningful, in the sense that it is systematic, regular and consequently is, in principle, describable in terms of a set of rules, that it has a grammar (Corder in Richards 1984). From his perspective, Sheng is a language of a social group. Corder refers to such codes as social dialects. Sheng was equated with what Corder refers to as idiolect, some sort of a mixture of dialects. The following diagram illustrates the formation of an idiolect, which is observable in Sheng usage:

Sheng Interlanguage Formation



(Adapted from Richards C. 1974:159)

From the diagram above, we can see that Sheng possesses features drawn from overlapping languages. Like any idiosyncratic dialect, Sheng grammar is unstable, the usual verification procedures required in the construction of a projective grammar are not readily available, and when they are available, they keep mutating. The following example of a Sheng noun attests to this fact:

The word for a girl has changed over time from *chic* to *dame* to *manzi* and finally to *totois*.

The point of divergence between what Corder refers to as idiolect and Sheng is that some of the rules required to account for them are particular to an individual.

Languages differ significantly in their form; meaning and grammatical structures however closely related they are.

In his attempt to elaborate the characteristics of interlanguage, Bourke J.M (1988) explains that interlanguage is characterized by idiosyncratic forms. These forms deviate from the target language norms. This is what has been regarded as non-target like constructions in this study. Selinker (1969) used the concept of interlanguage to refer to the linguistic system, which is hypothesize-able from the observed output of L2 attempted production of the target language norm and a dialect whose rules share characteristics of two or more languages. This is irrespective of whether these languages share rules or not. This is what Nemser (1971 b) regards as approximative system. He defines interlanguage as a deviant linguistic system employed by the learner in an attempt to attain proficiency in the target language. This approximative system varies in character in accordance with proficiency level (Richards 1974)

This study, like Selinker's, is focused on a multilingual environment. Another important feature of Selinker's observation is the communication strategies. These are ways in which the learner uses his linguistic resources to communicate. Corder (1967) suggested that linguists study the process of language acquisition and the various strategies that learners use. These strategies were of interest to this study since as Ravem (1968, 1970) put it, description and analysis of learning modalities and strategies will help in the development of teaching procedures that make optimal use of learning. Selinker (1972) terms the strategies as psychological processes, which are central to language learning. They involve simplification of TL in order to perform a wide range of communicative and expressive functions.

According to Wardhaugh (1986:56-60), these strategies involve reduction of morphology and syntax as well as omission of function words, copular and plural markers. It makes the target language easier to use. These processes are as discussed below.

2.3 Strategies of Communication

2.3.1 Language Transfer

Language transfer refers to the use of what the learner knows as a means of organising the target or second language data. The learners hypothesise the target language rules by drawing on the corresponding source language data and the previous knowledge comes in handy in tackling the task. The learner can add, delete, substitute, or transpose forms to make the TL more consistent with those of native or source languages. At times, a learner imports a native word or expression, untranslated, into his target language. Torone et al (1977) refers to this process as “language switch”

As P. Corder expresses it, this hypothesis is due to the similarities that languages share. This strategy was found to be the most common with Sheng users despite the fact that Sheng lexemes are drawn from a variety of source languages, some whose morphological systems differ significantly.

2.3.2 Transfer of Training

According to Selinker (1972), some rules, items and subsystems arise from identifiable items in training procedures. Teachers and particularly the young teachers can inadvertently impart defective rules or deviant constructions in their learners.

If a learner is taking part in formal instruction, some errors result from misunderstanding caused by faulty teaching or poor gradation of teaching items. As an example of this, Jack Richards (1974) suggests that many teachers or materials place special emphasis on the

present continuous form in English. Their purpose is to counteract the fact that if a learner possesses no equivalent of form in their mother tongue, they may be inclined to use it less frequently than they should.

This extra emphasis may have the undesired effect of making the learner overuse the continuous form, at the expense of the simple present. With regard to Sheng and Kiswahili, to reach a conclusion of this nature requires a very different data elicitation technique. It also calls for a lengthier period and an in-depth study of the learner's sociological environments.

2.3.3 Overgeneralization

Generalization is a fundamental learning strategy in all domains, not only in language. It covers instances where the learner produces a deviant structure based on his experience with other structures in the target language (Simotwo, 1992). The learner allocates items to categories and based on these categories; the learner constructs rules, which predict how the different items will behave. The partial mastery of the target language rules gives rise to items which reflect, not the structure of target language, but generalizations. The learner therefore applies rules of TL to inappropriate forms and contexts. This phenomenon may be evident in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon (Richard, 1970).

Overgeneralization reduces the necessity of concord, thus relieving the learner of considerable effort of learning the TL rules. This leads to a deviant structure. Most Sheng speakers use a prefix {*ma-*} to imply plurality in wrong contexts. {*ma-*} is a class six plural marker morpheme and therefore it should be prefixed on class six nouns. This rule is largely extended to other noun classes by Sheng speakers as demonstrated by their usage in Kiswahili compositions. This is due to wrong assumptions that a noun can always be made plural by adding a Kiswahili plural marker {*ma-*}.

According to William Littlewood (1984), sometimes these predictions are wrong due to the following reasons:

- (a) For some reasons, the rule does not apply to that particular item, even though the learner has allocated it to the appropriate category. The learner must therefore realise that there are exceptions to the general rule.
- (b) The item belongs to a different category, which is covered by another rule. The learner must, therefore, either reallocate the item to a different category, which he knows, or must construct a new category and rule.

In either case, the initial error was due to overgeneralization of the rule, which caused the wrong prediction.

2.3.4 Strategies of Second Language Learning

Second language learners construct rules from the data they encounter and gradually adapt and try to fit these rules to the target language system. The learner applies simplification of target language in order to perform a wide range of communicative functions. Jain (1969) points out that those learners reduce the target language system for the purpose of learning. If the reduction diverges widely from the target language, the learner's second language performance data are marked with errors of diverse kinds. He contends that reduction is best effected through generalization.

2.3.5 Strategies of Second Language Communication

This is a totality of the learner's performance. A speaker, when faced with some difficulty due to communicative ends outrunning communicative means, uses communication strategies. In such cases, the learner can adjust either the message or his communicative resources by adopting a risk avoidance strategy, or he can expand his communicative repertoire through a risk taking strategy. Faerch and Kasper (1983) while expounding on

communication strategies, agree that it is a potentially conscious plan for solving what an individual perceives as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal. The learner does this in an attempt to avoid making mistakes. This strategy manifests itself in the form of word coinage, approximation, circumlocution, literal translation, or language switch.

It was Corder (1967) who advocated the recognition of the importance of errors in language learning process. He suggested a shift from the study of teaching towards that of learning. According to Corder (1967:23), we interpret learners' errors as evidence that they are in the process of acquiring language and that for those who attempt to describe his knowledge of the language at any point in its development, it is the errors which provide the important evidence. Corder pointed out that the learner's errors are significant in three ways:

- (a) To the teacher – after a systematic analysis, he can determine the level of every learner and the knowledge that is still to be taught since they show the learner's progress.
- (b) To the researcher – they provide information about the way a language is learnt and acquired, what strategies and procedures the learner employs to discover the content of a new language.
- (c) To the learner – he can make hypothesis about the nature of the language he learns.

Corder points out that those errors are evidence of learning strategies employed by the learners. This study identified the strategies through the analysis of the errors that were made by the learners.

Selinker (1972:150) regards the errors as a device the learners use in order to learn. They are systematic and are a positive factor indicative of learner's level of language proficiency.

2.4 Literature on Testing as a Means of Evaluation

Testing is a formal way of asking questions to check whether the goals as specified in the curriculum have been achieved. Done objectively, it can serve as a method of evaluating understanding and as a basis of improving performance (Mcphillimy and Gordon, 1985). Claessen and Stephens (1986:150) made the following observation, which greatly benefited this research:

“Evaluation is a necessary, though controversial practice in language teaching. It is based on the results of evaluation that students are graded and decisions made on the next level of the educational ladder.”

This observation influenced the researcher to use a test and an oral task as an evaluating technique to assess whether students are making any progress in the realization of the stipulated curriculum goals.

Claessen and Stephen (1986) further agree that testing enables the teacher to monitor the learner’s progress on a day-to-day basis and assists him /her to discover the prevalent problems immediately. This enables the teacher to make adjustments in his/her teaching methods and to provide the necessary instructional assistance to the needy students. According to the two scholars, tests provide an opportunity to demonstrate the acquired skills using the target language to consolidate what the learners know. This exerts influence on the ongoing teaching and learning process.

Hann (1984), Peacock (1986), and Pearson (1981) all agree that writing is a productive skill. It is an activity that creates language outcome, a manifestation of language that enables students to formulate their thoughts and to reflect on what they mean. Going by these statements, it is evident that the importance of tests cannot be underrated. This explains why this study administered Kiswahili composition tests to the subjects.

Although the work cited does not specifically deal with morphosyntactic errors, they offer valuable insight into the process of second language learning and offer a theoretical base on which our study is founded. This study has benefited from the diversity of approach used by various researchers whose works we have cited.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, description of the characteristics of the population involved and methods of data elicitation are given. Steps taken in conducting the research are also provided. The primary research, which was the source of data, was conducted through the use of oral tests and written compositions. The research took a cross-sectional design since the linguistic environment of the selected Nairobi schools was relatively heterogeneous. This was important because the study was trying to establish the influence of Sheng morphosyntactic structures on Standard Kiswahili.

3.1 Research Design

The research consisted of both library and field research. The library research was aimed at reviewing literature about Sheng interlanguage and error analysis theories. Field research included a case study of secondary schools drawn from the eight divisions of Nairobi County and involved getting responses from secondary school language teachers through questionnaire, administering a Kiswahili written composition and oral tests to the subjects of the study. A pre-study research was done to collect a purely Sheng corpus. This was done in the domain of youth interaction, mainly during games in some of the targeted areas. The Sheng lexemes aided in the identification of sheng structures in the written composition of form three learners. Teachers of the respective schools who were in daily interaction with the students were able to positively identify Sheng structures. A Sheng dictionary by Ileri and Kibande (2003) aided in the identification process. The research took a cross-sectional design.

3.2 Target Population, Sampling and Sample Size

A purposeful sampling method was used to get a population of three hundred and sixty eight learners from nine schools. The schools were purposely selected from each of the Nairobi County divisions. This provided a population whose linguistic background is heterogeneous. The sample population was from three students from seven mixed secondary schools and two single gender schools (one boy and one girl school). Opinion about Sheng usage was sought from the eight Kiswahili language teachers from the respective schools. Form three students were the most appropriate since they were in the penultimate class, with only a couple of months before they could enter the terminal class where they were expected to show the level of proficiency attained in Standard Kiswahili after four years of learning it in high school.

Form three and four classes are looked upon as senior levels in the structure of 8-4-4 system of education. They receive intensive practice in all the three Kiswahili papers namely 102/1, 102/2 and 102/3. The intensity is evidenced by an increase in the number of lessons per week from five in the lower forms to six in form three and four. The class also coincides with the adolescence stage of maturation when the youths use Sheng extensively as a code of identity and adult exclusion.

The level of schooling and age are important variables because as Labov (1972) puts it, there is a notable difference in the linguistic behaviour between the ages and generations. Mixed schools were selected in order to overcome gender bias. In Dagoretti Division, one boy and one girl's school were purposely selected as the representative sample for the division. Stratified sampling method was used to select two students of average ability from the seven schools and one student from each of the single gender schools. This was done by the use of a merit sheet.

The Kiswahili teachers from each school assisted the researcher by providing the merit sheet and in the identification of the two average students who participated in the oral task. In multiple stream schools, a score sheet was used to select ten learners from the upper bracket, twenty learners from the middle bracket and ten learners from the lower bracket. The only problem faced was that in one of the schools, more students than the projected number wanted to participate in the study, apparently with the hope of monetary gain.

3.3 Data Collection Methods

Tests and a questionnaire were used as data elicitation techniques in this study. The test consisted of one essay question selected from a form four- level composition paper. This was done in order to ensure compliance with the objectives of teaching Kiswahili as prescribed in the 1992 Secondary School Syllabus. The composition question had been approved by the secondary school teachers who had received training in the marking of paper 102/1 during the pilot study. This was done to ensure that it conforms to the objectives of teaching at that level.

The test was administered in the student's respective classrooms and supervised by the respective Kiswahili teachers for fifty minutes. This is usually the approximate time allocated to each composition question by The Kenya National Examinations Council. The written production task was as follows:

Kwa maneno yasiyopungua 400, Kamilisha insha ifuatayo iliyotangulizwa:

Siku tuliyotarajia kwa hamu na ghamu ilikuwa imefika. Niliamka haraka haraka kama mwehu na....

(In not less than 400 words, complete the following composition:

The day I had longed for had finally arrived. I woke up hurriedly like a mad man....)

This type of composition belongs to the category that is regarded as creative writing (*Insha za Kiubunifu*) in the Secondary Schools Kiswahili Syllabus and is meant to test the creativity of the student beside the usual language proficiency and mastery of language rules.

The two average students were given five minutes each to give a description of qualities of a friend they love. The title of the oral task was as follows:

Rafiki nimpandaye (My dear friend)

The oral composition was recorded, coded and later transcribed. The reason for selecting a composition is because it is the best aspect of language testing that can reveal the students' competence in the target language. The two-language mode gauges the student's knowledge of grammar, vocabulary and registers. The test question was typed on an A4 paper. The supervising Kiswahili teachers were also asked to fill a questionnaire.

3.4 Research Procedure

The learners were issued with the question paper and instructed verbally to read the question keenly. They were given five minutes to read the instructions and the question. This was in order to ensure they understood the question well before commencing. Fifty minutes were allocated to the writing task. The test was administered in conditions similar to those in regular examinations and the supervising teacher was instructed to answer any question that the learners asked. They were also required to diffuse tension if the learners manifested any.

The oral production test was administered shortly after the writing task in a separate room. The two participating learners were given clear instructions. They were encouraged to ask questions if they had any and advised to talk in their natural manner since the results of the task would not be used to ridicule them. The same procedure was followed in all the schools.

The oral compositions were recorded in a tape and coded. The recorded data was later transcribed and subjected to the analysis procedures.

The last step of data collection was the interview schedule. Eighteen Kiswahili teachers from the respective schools were given a questionnaire each to fill. The purpose of the questionnaire was to seek the views of Kiswahili teachers who are in constant touch with the learners and whose views represent the real linguistic situation on the ground. The preference for questionnaire as an appropriate data collection technique was based on time being limited and at the convenience of the respondents since they were allowed to fill the questionnaires at their convenient time. A flexible deadline was set for them.

3.5 Data Analysis

After the expiry of the fifty minutes, the answer scripts were collected, marked and analysed according to Corder (1981) error analysis technique. The recorded narrative was transcribed and the Sheng interlanguage subjected to error analysis technique. Error analysis is essentially a methodological tool for diagnosis and evaluation of the language acquisition process. It follows definite steps of analysing empirical data (Corder 1973:253-294). These steps are outlined in Theo van Els and others (1984) as:

- (i) Identification – recognition of Sheng related errors.
- (ii) Description – comparing errors with the Standard form.
- (iii) Explanation – accounting for the errors in terms of their source.
- (iv) Evaluation – determination of the effect of these errors.
- (v) Prevention/Correction – giving recommendations.

The five successive steps provided the methodology for analysing how Sheng interlanguage structures interfere with competence in Kiswahili.

This method was selected because the study was based on interlanguage theory, which employs error analysis technique. The respective teachers and the researcher marked and rated learner's performance based on the total number of errors committed. The Sheng nontargetlike related structures were recorded under the following categories:

- (a) Tense markers
- (b) Concordial prefixes
- (c) Verbal and nominal extensions
- (d) Interrogatives
- (e) Auxiliaries

Errors from each category were recorded in columns and the frequency of their occurrence determined. The percentage of Sheng influence was calculated based on the total number of errors in each category. The following list of noun classes in Kiswahili was used in the identification of Sheng-related discord and non- target structures in the above grammatical categories:

TABLE 2**List of Noun Classes in Kiswahili**

Number	noun class	Examples
1	a	mtu, panya, ng'ombe
2	wa	watu, panya, ng'ombe
3	u	mti, mkono, mto
4	i	miti, mikono, mito
5	li	tunda, tawi, duka
6	ya	matunda, matawi, maduka
7	ki	kiti, kiatu, kijiko
8	vi	viti, viatu, vijiko
9	i	dawa, nguo, shule
10	zi	dawa, nguo, shule
11	u	ua, ukuta, uzi
12	zi	nyua, kuta, nyuzi
13	u	ukaidi, ukatili, udhalimu
14	u	ukaidi, ukatili, udhalimu
15	u	ugonjwa, uwele
16	ya	magonjwa, mawele
17	ya	mate, manukato, maziwa
18	ya	mate, manukato, maziwa
19	i	chai, asali,
20	i	chai, asali
21	ku	kucheza, kulala, kunywa
22	pa	panajengwa
23	ku	kunajengwa
24	mu	mnajengwa

(Adapted from Wamitila 2006)

Standard Kiswahili has twenty-four noun classes as seen above. Noun class system is a characteristic that is typical of Bantu languages. All nouns are divided into classes. The class of a noun is signalled by prefixes attached to the verbal or nominal stem. Possessive pronouns, demonstratives, verb object and object prefixes, and other sentence elements co-referential with the noun are assigned a prefix that co-indexes the class of a noun. The grammatical properties of one element in a sentence are determined by the referred noun. Failure to adhere to this principle, as does Sheng, causes a grammatical discord. According to Ud Deen (2005), this variety of Swahili (Sheng), has a reduced agreement system and a reduced noun class system compared with Standard Kiswahili that is taught in schools.

The results from the questionnaires were used as informative evidence in explaining some of the findings. The data obtained was analysed using descriptive statistics and presented in a tabular form. The data was then interpreted to meet the stated objectives.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter contains the analysis of the collected data and findings. The analysis will be presented in the sequence of the five successive steps of analysing empirical data in conformity with the error analysis technique. The first part contains the identified errors that are attributable to Sheng interlanguage. This was done by examining the learners' performance in the oral production tests. The frequency and distribution of errors was determined subject to the five grammatical categories stated in chapter three and in conformity with the objectives of the study.

The second part presents the statistical distribution of Sheng morphosyntactic structures obtained from the corpus generated by the learners. Tables, a graph and a pie chart were used to present qualitative data and the description of what is shown in the figures is provided. Manifestation of the five psycholinguistic processes as put forward by Selinker was assessed in terms of their distribution and frequency. This revealed how and to what extent the learners applied specific mechanisms such as generalizations and simplification in their attempt to attain proficiency in the target language. The following sample was derived from the oral task:

4.1 Oral Composition Test

Narrative sample A

Rafiki nimpendaye anaitwa Risper. Yeye ni *beste* yangu tu sana. Sisi hukaa na yeye *city*. Tuna *mainterest* the *same* na ndio maana tuko tu hivi (demonstrating with the use of hands). Yeye ni *dame poa na hujirespect*. Ni *dame* mzuri tena sana wa *ushow*. *Hajiachiliiachilii*

vile. *Aliclear* chuo last year lakini bado ni *beste* yangu. Sisi hufanya mambo mengi pamoja kama vile kwenda *church*. Pia *tunaendanga mabash*.

Nakumbuka kwanza siku moja tulikuwa tumeenda *bash* fulani na yeye naa ... *bash* ilikuwa poa, *ilidonjo*, yaani *ilishika tu sana*. *Tulibanjuka tu sana* na watu walikuwa *tu mob*. Ilipofika saa ya kwenda home niligundua kuwa doo yangu *imesanywa*. *Nililia tu sana* kwa sababu sikuwa na *ingine ya kunifikishanga* home. *Beste* yangu *aliniconsole* na kuniambia nisijali kwa sababu *atanisort*.

Tuliishia mtaa na akanilipia *motii* mpaka *home*. Sijui ningefanya nini kama sikuwa na rafiki kama yeye. Ni *beste* wa nguvu tu sana. Tukiwa pamoja sisi huwa na *stra kibao*. Kuna wakati *shothee* yake *alideady* na *paro* wangu wakanikubalia nimpeleke *shags*, *as in hata mapero* wetu wanajua sisi ni *mabeste*.

Tangua *akliye* chuo hatuonani mara nyingi, lakini nikienda *midi* lazima nimtafute tupige *stra*.

English Translation

My friend's name is Risper. She is a true friend and we live together in the city. We have common interests and that is why we are like this (demonstrating their closeness). She is a nice girl who respects herself. She is humble and morally upright. She completed her secondary education last year but she is still my friend. We do many things together such as going to church. We also go to parties together.

I remember one time when we had gone for a party and it was so interesting. There were many people and we really danced. When it was time to go home, I realized that my money had been stolen. I cried a lot because I did not have any money for bus fare. My friend consoled me and assured me that she will sort things out for me.

We left and she paid my bus fare. I do not know what I would have done if she was not with me. She is a friend indeed. We tell a lot of stories when we are together. At one time, her grandmother passed on and my parents allowed me to accompany her for burial in her grandmother's rural home. Even our parents know that we are friends. We do not meet often now that she is out of school but when I go for the half term break, I have to look for her so that we can share our experiences.

The correct Standard Kiswahili form of narrative sample A

Rafiki nimpendaye anaitwa Risper. Yeye ni rafiki wangu wa dhiti. Tunaishi naye mjini. Hulka zetu zinafanana sana (akionyesha ushabihiano wao kwa kutumia mikono). Yeye ni msichana mwema na anyejiheshimu. Hana maringo na pia hahusiani ovyo ovyo na wavulana kimapenzi. Alimaliza masomo yake ya shule ya upili mwaka uliopita lakini yeye bado ni rafiki yangu. Mambo tunayofanya pamoja ni kama vile kwenda kanisani. Pia huwa tunaenda karamuni pamoja.

Nakumbuka siku moja tuliyokuwa tumealikwa katika karamu fulani, karamu iliyofana sana. Walioalikwa walikuwa wengi na tulicheza densi sana. Ulipofika wakati wa kwenda nyumbani niligundua kuwa pesa zangu zimeibwa. Nililia sana kwa sababu sikuwa na hela zingine za kutumia kama nauli. Rafiki yangu aliniliwaza na kunihakikishia kuwa atanisaidia.

Tuliondoka kule na akanilipia nauli ya kwenda mpaka nyumbani. Sijui ningefanya nini kama sikuwa na rafiki kama yeye. Ni rafiki wa maana sana. Tunapokuwa pamoja huwa tunasimuliana visa vingi sana. Nyanyake alipoaga dunia, wazazi wangu waliniruhusu kwenda naye matangani. Hili ni dhihirisho kuwa hata wazazi wetu wanajua kuwa sisi ni marafiki wa chanda na pete. Tangu alipomaliza shule hatuonani mara nyingi, lakini nikienda nyumbani kwa likizo fupi lazima nimtafute ili tupige soga.

Narrative Sample B

Rafiki yangu anaitwa Peter. Yeye ni murio wa mi sana. Tumepitia mengi na yeye. Tulikuwa na yeye *raima* na mambo mengi tulikuwa tunayafanya pamoja. Baada ya mtihani yeye alipelekwa na wazazi wake *boarding* lakini *haikumbamba*. Aliniambia kuwa huko hakuna raha na alitaka kuja *day school*. Alianza *kuwachanganyia* *paro* wake eti chuo *hicho wasee huwekwa* na *maticha* na pia kuna *mahomo*. *Paro* wake walimtoa huko na akakuja *shuleni yetu*. Urafiki wetu *ulibamba* na tunasikilizana *tu sana*.

Wakati mwingine sisi tunaenda *mtaa* pamoja na ni *msee* mimi *hushow* kitu siwezi *show* mtu mwingine ... *as in* ni mtu wa maana sana. Ukimzoea yaani ... aah *ungependa*. Anakaa poa. *Anaishi ndani ya maji* yaani *hananga parasha mob, ameiva, ako juu*. Kimasomo ni *mchopi, mabuku tu ni zake*. Hizo *stori* zingine ako poa.

Nimewahi kumjaribu ili nione *venye* anaweza *duu* nikiwa kwa shida. Nilimwambia siku moja kuwa nitajiua kwa sababu *mapero* wangu wananitesa *tu sana*. Alijaribu kunishauri nisijitie kitanzi kwa sababu eehh ... Aliniambia hakuna mtu hana *maproblem* katika dunia hii. Vile *alinionea* vile watu wengine wana *mashida*, mimi niliamua kuacha. *Paro* wangu na wao wanajuana na pia hutembeleana. Tukiwa chuo sisi *tunachop* pamoja. Mchezo *yenye* tunapenda sana ni *ruj*, hiyo ni *rugby*. Kuna wakati nilikuwa *mrude* sana kwa walimu na yeye akanishauri niache hiyo tabia. *Ana stra tu kibao*. Wakati mwingi *si* huwa pamoja.

Nakumbuka kuna wakati mwingine tulienda *bash* pamoja lakini tukachelewa kurudi *home*. Tulipokuwa tunarudi tulikutana na *wasee wa mtaa wakatusakanyia kavangwe ka toja*. *Walituwekaweka na kutuambia tupotee*. Tangu siku hiyo tuliama hakuna *hepi*. Hayo ndio ninaweza kusema kuhusu *beste* yangu.

English Translation of Narrative B

My friend is known as Peter. He is a very close friend. We have gone through a lot. We used to be in the same primary school and we used

to do things together. After the primary school level, his parents took him to a boarding school but he did not get on well. He told me he was not happy there and wished to join a day school because the boarding school was boring. He lied to his parents that the teachers were beating them thoroughly and that there were incidences of homosexuality. His parents agreed to transfer him from there to our school. Our friendship intensified and we get along quite well.

We usually go for outings together and he is one person whom I tell things that I cannot tell anyone else ... because he is a very important person. If you get used to him ... you will get to like him. He lives well. He is humble and an introvert by nature. In studies, he is too studious. He is okay in all those other stories. I once put him to test because I wanted to know what he would do when I am in trouble. I told him that I wanted to commit suicide because my parents were mistreating me. He advised me not to attempt because eeh ... there is no single person in this world who has no problems. I pretended to have changed my mind about the idea.

Our parents are friends and they usually visit each other. We study together while at school and the game that we like most is rugby. He counselled me at one time when I was rude to the teachers. He has many stories and we are usually together.

I remember one time we had gone for a party. We got late in going back home and on our way home, we met with bad people who beat us up and took our money. From that time, we decided never to go out again. That is all I can say about my friend.

The correct Standard Kiswahili form of narrative B

Rafiki yangu anaitwa Peter. Yeye ni rafiki yangu sana. Tumepitia mengi pamoja. Tulikuwa na yeye katika shule ya msingi na mambo mengi tulikuwa tunayafanya pamoja. Baada ya mtihani wa darasa la nane alipelekwa na wazazi wake katika shule ya bwani lakini haikumfurahisha. Alinifahamisha kuwa kule hakuna raha na kwa

hivyo alitaka kujiunga na shule ya kutwa. Aliwadanganya wazazi wake kuwa huko wanafunzi huchapwa na walimu na wanafunzi wengi ni mabasha. Wazazi wake walimtoa huko na akaja katika shule yetu. Urafiki wetu ulizidi kuimarika na tunapendana sana.

Wakati mwingine sisi huenda kutembea pamoja. Ni mtu ambaye mimi huambia mambo ambayo siwezi kumwambia mtu mwingine. Ni mtu mwema na wa kupendeka. Ni mtulivu na hana mashauo. Anapenda kusoma sana. Nilimjaribu wakati mmoja ili nione analoweza kufanya nikiwa kwa shida. Nilimwambia kuwa nilitaka kujiua kwa sababu wazazi wangu wananitesa. Alinishauri nisifanye hivyo kwa kuwa hakuna mtu ambaye hana shida hapa duniani. Niliamua kuacha. Wazazi wetu pia ni marafiki na hutembeleana. Tukiwa shuleni sisi husoma pamoja. Mchezo ambao sisi hupenda sana ni mchezo wa raga. Kuna wakati nilikuwa mjeuri sana hasa kwa walimu lakini yeye alinishauri niache tabia hiyo. Wakati mwingi sisi huwa pamoja tukipiga soga.

Nakumbuka wakati mmoja tulikuwa tumeenda kwa karamu pamoja lakini tukachelewa kurudi nyumbani. Tulipokuwa tunarudi tulikutana na wezi walioniibia mkoba wangu wa pesa. Walituchapa na kutuamuru kuondoka. Tangu siku hiyo tuli amua hatutashiriki tena anasa. Hayo ndiyo ninayoweza kusema kuhusu rafiki yangu.

4.2 Examples of non–target like sentences obtained from the oral test

In this section, the common errors that were made by students were identified, described, and explained in conformity with the first three successive steps in error analysis approach, which this study adopted. Some of the sentences, phrases and words identified as having Sheng morphosyntactic structures were as follows:

<i>Sheng: 11.</i>	<i>Yeye</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>beste</i>	<i>yangu.</i>
	<i>/ jeje</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>beste</i>	<i>yanju/</i>
	<i>She/ he</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>friend</i>	<i>mine</i>

Beste is a Sheng word sourced from the English word *best*. It is used in Sheng construction to refer to a dear friend, probably to imply that the friend one has is chosen from among many and is, therefore, the best.

Standard Kiswahili: Yeye ni rafiki yangu.

Sheng: 12. Tuna mainerest sawa.
 /tu-na ma-interest sawa/
1st pl-has cl.6/16/17 -interest same.

The Kiswahili plural marker {*ma-*} has been juxtaposed with the word *interest* which has been sourced from English. The prefix {*ma-*} can be used as a nominal marker of class six, sixteen and seventeen nouns.

Standard Kiswahili: Tunashabihiana kwa mambo mengi.

Sheng: 13. Tunaendanga mabash.
 /tu-na-end-a-ŋa ma-ba- ʔ/
1st pl. pres-Go- Hab cl.6/16/17 party.

The suffix *nga* has been used as a habitual tense marker among the Sheng users. The correct morpheme for the habitual tense in Kiswahili is {*hu*} and not *nga*. *Bash* has been sourced from English. It is a colloquial term for a party.

S.K. habitual marker is usually a prefix and not a suffix as presented in Sheng constructions.

Standard Kiswahili: Huwa tunaenda kwa karamu.

Sheng: 14. Ilishika tu sana.
 /i-li-ʔ-ka tu sana/
Cl.4/9/19/20. pas. hold very much.

The word *shika* is a Kiswahili verb which means to hold. It has been used metaphorically to mean the party in reference was very interesting.

Standard Kiswahili: Ilifurahisha sana.

Sheng: 15. Doo yangu imesanywa.
/do: ja- ŋu i-me-sa-ŋ-w-a/
Money mine -cl.9/19/20. Past par-collected.

Doo has been sourced from the English ‘dough’, slang for money. In S.K. the word initial of the adjective *-ngu* should have been {za-}. The prefix {-i} attached to the verb should also have been {zi-} in order to have a concord between the noun *pesa* -referred to as *doo* and the verb *sanywa*.

Standard Kiswahili: Pesa zangu zilibwa.

Sheng: 16.

Sikuwa na pesa ingine ya kunifikisha homu.
/si-kuwa na pesa i-ŋine ya ku-ni-fik-i-ŋ-a homu/
Neg. 1st sin. be and cl.4//9/19/20. another money of cl.21.1st.sin.reach home.

The early morpheme in the adjective *-ingine* should have been {zi-} since *pesa* is a class ten noun. The noun *home* has been sourced from English

Standard Kiswahili: Sikuwa na pesa zingine za kunifikisha nyumbani.

Sheng: 17. Tuliishia mtaa.
/tu-li-i-ŋ-i-a m-ta:/
1st.pl.past- vanished cl. - estate

The word *ishia* is an equivalent of *vanish* and is not normally used to imply walking or going to town. In Sheng constructions it is used to imply going to a particular place.

Standard Kiswahili: Tulielekea mjini.

Sheng: 18. Alinisot.
/a-li-ni-sot/
1st.past.1st.sin.sort.

Sort is a verb sourced from English. When used with ‘something’, it means to deal with a problem successfully, or to organise somebody or something successfully. When used in the Sheng context, the word means helping one out of a problem.

Standard Kiswahili: Alinitatulia tatizo langu

*Sheng: 19. Yeye ni muriu wa mi.
/jeje ni muriu wa mi:/
Pro. 3rd sin-he cop.is manfriend of poss-mine.*

Muriu has been sourced from Kikuyu. The word means *son* and the word *mi* has been truncated from an English word “*mine*”.

Standard Kiswahili: Yeye ni mshirika wangu or Yeye ni rafiki yangu wa dhati.

*Sheng: 20. Tulikuwa na yeye raima.
/tu-li-kuwa na jeje raima/
1st pl. past -be with 3rd sin-him/her primary.*

All the words in the sentence are basically Kiswahili words apart from *raima* which has been coined from the English word “*primary*”.

Standard Kiswahili: Tulikuwa na yeye katika shule ya msingi.

*Sheng: 21. Alianza kuwachanganyia pero wake.
/a-li-anz-a ku-wa- tʰaŋa-i-a pero wa-ke/
1st sin.past.start cl.21. 3rd pl. mix parents his/hers.*

The surface morpheme for the word *kuwachanganyia* is Kiswahili but the intended meaning is not what is conveyed by the word. Its real meaning is mix but it has been used to imply cheat cheating. *Pero* is a truncated form of the word “*parents*”.

Standard Kiswahili: Alianza kuwadanganya wazazi wake.

Sheng: 22. Anaishi ndani ya maji.
 /a-na-i-ŋi ndani ya maŋi/
 2nd .sin-present live inside of water.

The surface structure is Kiswahili which means that the person lives under water but the intended meaning is different. The words are meant to describe a humble person.

Standard Kiswahili: *Yeye ni mnyenyekevu.*

Sheng: 23. Mabuku tu ni zake.
 /ma-buku tu ni za-ke/
 Aug.cl.6 -books only cop.is cl.10.h-is/hers

The morpheme {ma} is augmentative form in Standard Kiswahili. It has been however used in Sheng to show the extensiveness of his reading and the intensity of his/her love for books.

Standard Kiswahili: *Anapenda kusoma vitabu.*

Sheng: 24. Tunapenda mchezo wa ruj.
 /tu-na-pend-a m-tŋezo wa ru: ŋ/
 1st plu-pre- love cl.3- game of rugby

The word rugby has been truncated.

Standard Kiswahili: *Tunapenda mchezo wa raga.*

The following table presents the distribution of Sheng morphosyntactic structures that were identified from oral tasks. The total number of those errors in each school were calculated and the statistics given.

TABLE 3**Distribution of morphosyntactic errors in Kiswahili oral compositions in nine schools**

School	No. of learners	Total errors
A	2	12
B	2	14
C	2	16
D	2	24
E	2	11
F	2	12
G	2	13
H	2	15
I	2	28
Total	18	134
Grand mean	2	14.66

Column one contains letters that represent the coded school. As indicated in the second column, each school presented two students of average ability. They acted as a representative sample of that particular school. The total number of Sheng related errors is shown in column three irrespective of their origin or nature.

4.3 Classification of errors into syntactic categories

After identifying the errors as exemplified by the above oral test, the errors were classified into five syntactic categories. They were then described and where plausible, an explanation was given in compliance with the error analysis technique. These categories are as follows:

4.3.1 Tense Markers

In Standard Kiswahili, every indicative utterance contains a tense. A tense locates an event on the axis of time. It determines whether an event is present, past or future. On the other hand, aspect describes the ontology of events. It gives information on whether the event should be viewed as accomplished or unaccomplished, durative or non-durative, telic (having an end) or atelic, (Kearns 2000). In Kiswahili, the tense and aspect markers are important factors in the interpretation of the envisaged message (Cotini-Morava 1989; Kangethe 2002, 2003a).

As observed from the learner's corpus, Sheng is parasitic upon Kiswahili in so far as tense and aspect is concerned. This may be because of the fact that Kiswahili is the Sheng's matrix language.

Sheng uses the tense-aspect marker {-na-} over other tenses in describing future events. In S.K. grammar, {-na-} describes an event happening at speech time (Waihiga 1999; Mohammed 2001), but more recent studies point to more uses of {-na-} (Kangethe 2003b). Indeed, *na* can describe an event in the past or future when used as a Sheng tense marker. The morpheme {-li-} describes past events, among other things, while {-ta-} is used in reference to future events. This is a conflict between tenses. Consider the following example:

Sheng: 25. *U-na-ish-i-a* *lini?*
 /u-na-i ʔ-i-a li-ni/?
 2 *sin- you pre- vanish int.* *when?*

S.K. *Utaondoka lini?*

{-ta-} is a SK future tense marker. In the above Sheng construction, it has been substituted with {*na*} which is a present tense marker. *Ishia* is a S.K. verb which means to get finished. The verb has been used symbolically in Sheng to mean ones stay at the referred place has ended. The learner in this case has applied generalization as a second language learning

strategy through simplification of tense-aspect system by using {-na-} instead of {-ta-} or by replacing other tenses.

Sheng: 26. *Alinishoo* *anakamu.*
 /a-li-ni-ŋo: a-na-kamu/
 3rd.sin-past 1st sin -shoo 3rd sin- Pres- kamu

S.K. *Aliniambia angekuja.*

The tense marker {-na-} is never used in a reported speech to show an action that will be undertaken in future. The correct morpheme in such a case is {-nge-} and therefore the correct form should have been as shown above. Note also that the Sheng speakers use the verb *shoo* to mean *tell*. No explanation so far has been advanced to explain this shift in meaning.

Sheng: 27. *Tunaendanga* *chuo* *ngware.*
 /tu-na-nd-aŋ-a tŋ-uo ŋware/
 1 pl. us -pre-go hab. Cl.7 -school early

S.K. *Sisi huenda shuleni mapema.*

{-nga} is often used in Sheng construction as a marker of habitual tense. Traditionally, {-hu-} is used as a verbal prefix and as such an early morpheme. It is therefore, never used as a Suffix. The origin of {-nga-} is not clear, but it may have been sourced from one of the Bantu languages.

TABLE 4

The following table shows the S.K. tense-aspect markers

Tense morpheme	Meaning	Example in a sentence
{-li-}	Past	Tuli <u>l</u> enda karamuni.
{-hu-}	Habitual	Vijana <u>h</u> upenda kucheza densi.
{-na-}	Present	Mwalimu <u>a</u> nakula nyama
-{ta-}	Future	Mimi ni <u>t</u> amwambia aende.
{-me-}	Present Perfect	<u>A</u> metusimulia kisa kizuri.
{-nge-}	Conditional	<u>A</u> ngekuja ningemcharaza.
{-ngali-}	Conditional	<u>U</u> ngalimpata ungalifurahi.
{-ki-}	Conditional	Tu <u>k</u> imdanganya atakasirika.
{-a-}	Unmarked	Twaja nyumbani kukujulia hali.
{-ku-}	Negation, past	Shule ya bweni haikumfurahisha.
{-ja-}	Negation, present perfect	Mwanafunzi huyu hajasoma vizuri.

(Adapted from Ud Deen K. 2005)

TABLE 5

The following table shows the tense/aspect markers of Sheng

Tense morpheme	meaning	Example in a sentence
{-li-}	past	<i>Tulienda bash.</i>
{-nga-}	habitual	<i>Mayouth wanabanjukanga.</i>
{-na-}	present	<i>Bodi anamanga nofu.</i>
{-ta-}/{-na-}	future	<i>Mi nina/tamshow apotee.</i>
{-nge-}	conditional	<i>Angecome ningemuweka.</i>
{-ki-}	conditional	<i>Tukimchanganyishia atakonda.</i>
{-ku-}	negation, past	<i>Boarding haikumbamba.</i>
{-ja-}	negation, present perfect	<i>Mmbusi huyu hajasoma vipoa.</i>

4.3.1 Concordial Prefixes

Noun classes in Standard Kiswahili are partly defined by the formal marking of the class prefix and, in part, by the agreement markers that are affixed to other syntactical structures in the sentence. These structures are in the form of morphemes that are embedded on pronouns, possessives, verb stems, interrogatives, adjectives and adverbs. The grammatical properties of one element in the sentence are determined by those of another. The following table illustrates the Standard Kiswahili concordial prefixes.

TABLE 6

The Standard Kiswahili concordial prefixes

Noun class	Adjectival prefix	Pronominal prefix	Example of usage
a	{m-}	{m-}	<u>M</u> vulana <u>m</u> refu anakula.
wa	{wa-}	{wa-}	<u>W</u> avulana <u>w</u> arefu wanakula.
u	{m-}	{m-}	<u>M</u> ti <u>m</u> fupi umekatwa.
i	{mi-}	{mi-}	<u>M</u> iti <u>m</u> ifupi imekatwa.
li	Zero	Zero	Tunda bivu limeliwa.
ya	{ma-}	{ma-}	<u>Mat</u> unda <u>m</u> abivu yameliwa.
ki	{ki-}	{ki-}	<u>K</u> iti kibovu <u>k</u> imetupwa.
vi	{vi-}	{vi-}	<u>V</u> iti <u>v</u> ibovu vimetupwa.
i	Zero	Zero	Dawa kali imemezwa.
zi	Zero	Zero	Dawa kali zimemezwa.
u	{m-}	{u-}	<u>U</u> kuta <u>m</u> refu umebomolewa
zi	{-nd-}	{n-},{ k-}	Kuta <u>n</u> defu zimebomolewa
u	{mw-}	{u-}	<u>U</u> kaidi <u>m</u> wingi umeshutumiwa.
u	{mw-}	{u-}	<u>U</u> kaidi <u>m</u> wingi umeshutumiwa.
u	{ma-}	{u-}	<u>U</u> gonjwa <u>m</u> baya umegunduliwa.
ya	{ma-}	{ma-}	<u>M</u> agonjwa <u>m</u> abaya yamegunduliwa.
ya	{ma-}	{ma-}	<u>Mar</u> ashi <u>m</u> apya yanauzwa.
ya	{ma-}	{ma-}	<u>Mar</u> ashi <u>m</u> apya yanauzwa.
i	Zero	Zero	Chai moto imenywewa.
i	Zero	Zero	Chai moto imenywewa.
ku	{ku-}	{ku-}	<u>K</u> imba kuzuri <u>k</u> ulisifiwa.
pa	{pa-}	{pa-}	<u>P</u> ahali <u>p</u> ema panapendwa
ku	{ku-}	{ma-}	<u>M</u> ahali <u>k</u> wema kunapendwa.
mu	{mu-}	{ma-}	<u>M</u> ahali mumo mna joto.

Source: Kenya Secondary School Education Syllabus (1982)

As a norm, Kiswahili sentences have to conform to the above characteristics by taking the underlined prefixes depending on the class of the head noun. Subject and object are obligatory elements of clause structure in the sense that they are required for the complementation of the verb. Given the use of a particular verb in a particular sense, the sentence is incomplete or erroneous if one of these elements is omitted or wrongly placed.

The Sheng database collected was found to be in defiance of some of these rules. The following examples obtained from the written test attest to this fact:

Sheng : 28. *Chali* *mnoma*
 / tʰali m-noma/
 Cl.1- boy *cl.1- tough.*

S.K. *Mvulana hatari*

In Standard Kiswahili, the noun *chali*, which belongs to the class one nouns, should take a prefix {m-}. The plural of this noun phrase is:

Sheng: 29. *Ma-chali* *wa-noma*
 /ma- tʰali wa-noma/
 Cl. 6. Boys *cl.2. tough.*

S.K. *Wavulana hatari*

This does not comply with the rules of Standard Kiswahili since it should have been:

Wachali wanoma.

Noma, which means “tough” in Sheng, owes its origin from an artificial colonial currency, which was used in a certain sisal plantation and could not be spent outside this plantation. The currency was particular to this plantation because the administration wanted to confine

the workers in their respective working places. The workers hated the currency since it tied them to the plantation.

Sheng: 30. Kamanzi hako kalinilenga
 /ka-manzi ha-ko ka-li-ni-le-ŋa/
 Dim.cl. (extinct) inconsequential girl dem- that cl.
 (extinct) turned me down.

The noun marker *ka* in *kamanzi* is used as a pejorative dimunitization of the noun *manzi* (*girl*). *Ka* prefix is also used to give a derogatory meaning. The demonstrative *hako* and *ka* in the verb *kalinilenga* also serve the above-mentioned purpose in Sheng. This contravenes Kiswahili grammatical rules since it uses a noun marker that is nonexistent in Standard Kiswahili. Kiswahili expresses diminutive implication through noun class seven (*ki* in singular and *vi* in plural). The correct form in Standard Kiswahili should have been:

Kisichana hicho kilinipuuza.

{*Ki*} is dimunitization of the noun *msichana* (*girl*), so too is the demonstrative *hicho* and *ki* in the verb *puuza*

Sheng: 31. Aliendesha mdogomdogo a-ki-elekea kwa bash.
 /a-li-end-e-ŋ-a m-dogo-m-dogo a-ki-elekea kwa baŋ/
 cl. 1 . Drove cl.1. small cl.1 sin. Small cl.1. towards at party.

The word *mdogo* is only used in Standard Kiswahili as an adjective and not as an adverb as used in the above example. Reduplication of the word *mdogo mdogo* is only meant to emphasize the slowness. The prefix {*m*} in the ‘adverb’ *dogo* is only used with class one and three nouns. In terms of semantic categories, class one (a) nouns are classified as animates while class three (u) is a class of plants. The reduplicated construction is therefore a resultant feature of Sheng that is regarded as an error in Standard Kiswahili.

Sheng: 32. *Mimi* *ni* *m-noma* *tu* *sana.*
 /mimi *ni* *m-noma* *tu* *sana/*
 Pro.1. *is* *cl.1. tough* *just* *very.*

Nouns in Standard Kiswahili are classified according to the prefixes (*viambishi awali*) they take in a sentence or in a phrase. The noun typically functions as a subject, object and as complement in a prepositional phrase. Consider the following examples:

(a) *Mtoto* *alikunywa* *maziwa.*

(b) *Watoto* *walikunywa* *maziwa.*

The subject - *mtoto* and *watoto* - must always be used with the prefix {*a*} and {*wa*} respectively. This can only change if the subject is intended to communicate a pejorative sense in which case the prefix will be {*ki*} and {*vi*} in singular and plural respectively or augmentative in which case the singular will take the prefix {*li*} and the plural will take the prefix {*ya*}. The use of a different prefix in this kind of a situation initiates a discord. The following example was derived from an oral text:

Sheng: 33. *...na-penda* *maneno* *z-ake.*
 /na-pend-a *ma-neno* *z-ake/*
 Cl. 1. 1st-sin-like *cl.6/17/18 word* *cl.10his/her's*

Zake is a S.K. possessive used in reference to class ten nouns. In this context *zake* is used with a class five noun- *maneno*. The correct form should have been:

S.K. *...napenda maneno yake*

This instantiated a concord in Standard Kiswahili that was attributed to Sheng interference.

Demunitation was also found to be rampant among Sheng users. This was mainly common in reference to class one nouns, which refer to animate. The non-existing noun class agreement marker *ka* is placed as a word- initial in the possessive *kangu* and as a suffix in the

demonstratives *haka* as an indicator of the pejorative diminutive. This usage is obsolete and is only found among some Kenyan Bantu languages. Its appearance in the written and oral task was attributed to Sheng interference. It violates Standard Kiswahili grammar because it uses a noun class which is extinct in Standard Kiswahili.

Reduplication of the word *mdogo* in the phrase *aliendesha mdogomdogo kuelekea mahali pa sherehe* is only meant to emphasize the slowness. The prefix {*m*} in the adverb root-*dogo* is only used in connotation of singulars of animates (*ngeli ya A-WA*) and class 6 nouns (*ngeli ya U-I*). The reduplicative construction is therefore an error in Standard Kiswahili since it has been used as an adverb rather than an adjective. Another example of a discord associated with word order is apparent in the following example:

Sheng: 34. *Ni-li-muuliz-a ni aje a-na-zub pa-le.*
 /ni-li-mu-uliz-a ni aje a-na-zub pa-le/
 1. Pas.3. I ask cop. is int. how 3. perplexed loc. there.

The correct form should have been:

Nilimuuliza ni kwa nini anazubaa pale.

The Kiswahili word “*zubaa*” has been truncated, a characteristic that was found to be common in Sheng.

A discord was also apparent in the following examples:

Sheng : 35. *Hi-zo visanga zilijulikana.*
 /hi-zo vi-saŋa zi-li-ju-likan-a/
 Cl.10 dem. those cl.8 incidences cl.10 .past tense known.

The sentence has a noun *visanga* as its head. Since the noun has the *vi*-prefix for noun class eight, the correct agreement prefix on the preceding demonstrative *hizo* (those) should have

been hivyo (those) of noun class eight to comply with Standard Kiswahili rules. Instead, it is given a noun class ten prefix.

Visanga has been coined from a Standard Kiswahili word *visa*, which means incidences. The word has been inflected by adding a syllable (*nga*) which has no significant meaning in Sheng when used with a noun. In both the written and oral tasks, the habitual marker {hu-} was substituted with {-nga} which surfaces as the word end morpheme in Sheng constructions.

<i>Sheng: 36</i>	<i>Ananibaiyanga</i>	<i>hizo</i>	<i>mifegi.</i>
	<i>/a-na-ni-baija-ŋa</i>	<i>hi-zo</i>	<i>mi-fegi/</i>
	<i>Cl.1. 3rd he/she pr. is2nd.cl.1.1st buy hab. Cl.10 those cl.4 cigarretes.</i>		

The early morphemes are all sourced from Standard Kiswahili but the verb *baiya* is derived from an English word “*buy*” which has been modified to fit the Kiswahili type grammar. The morpheme {-nga} has been used in Sheng to imply habitually. The Standard Kiswahili surface morpheme of the demonstrative should be noun class four *hiyo* (that) and not the noun class ten-prefixed demonstrative *hizo*. The {mi-} prefix wrongly identifies the headword’s class as five. The correct term for the headword is *sigara* in Standard Kiswahili. *Fegi* is a derivative from an English slang *fag*, a word used for cigarette.

4.3.3 Verbal and Nominal Extension

The most common morphological structure of Sheng and the obtained non-target structures is the affixation of Kiswahili morphemes to roots that are derived from a variety of host languages. An example is the word *ma-thee* derived from the English word mother and */ma-shothee/* sourced from a Kikuyu word (*shosho*) meaning *grandmother*. {*ma-*} is derived from a Kiswahili class five plural marker. In this case, *mathee* and *shothee* have been inflected. This has been done by an extension of the vowel e to /e: /.

Another example that was used in the written task is *sonko*. Its origin can be traced to a Kiswahili word *Wazungu* meaning white people. Whereas in Standard Kiswahili the singular and plural morpheme should have been {m-} and {wa-} respectively, in Sheng the morpheme was substituted with zero morpheme in *sonko* and {ma-} in plural to form *masonko*. The voiced fricative /z/ was substituted with the voiceless /s/ possibly for ease of pronunciation as does /ng/ and /k/.

Another common characteristic of Sheng and in non-target structures is the affixation of an infinitive ‘to’ to roots from donor languages. The infinitive is manifested as an early morpheme {ku-} in Standard Kiswahili. Examples of words that were subjected to this phenomenon are:

Sheng: 37 *Kustei*
 /ku-sta: /
 to stay

Sheng: 38 *Kudans*
 /ku-dansi/

Kudans is used interchangeably with *kubanjuka* which is a synonym of *dansi*.

to dance

Sheng: 39 *Kudema*
 /ku-dema/
 to eat

Sheng: 40 *Kujipanga*ⁱ¹
 /ku- ʔi-pa-ŋa/
 To organise oneself up

Sheng: 41 *Kuchop*
 /ku- tʰop/
 To read hard

ⁱ¹ The term in Sheng means to sort oneself out.

Sheng: 42 *Kuchangamka*ⁱⁱ²
/ku-tʰa-ŋamk-a/
To hurry up

Although these verbs were assigned the right pronominal prefix of class twenty one nouns, the root word was borrowed from a variety of source languages. Where a Kiswahili word was used, the original semantic properties of the word were altered to give a totally different meaning. The word *kuchangamka* is a Kiswahili word, which means to become jovial or happy. When used as a Sheng lexeme, it meant to hurry up or to be fast in what one is doing.

Kujipanga is another example which loses its original meaning when used as a Sheng lexeme. In Standard Kiswahili, *kupanga* means to arrange. It was used in Sheng to imply getting oneself out of a fix. The acquisition of a new meaning renders the original Kiswahili meaning redundant in as long as it was used as a Sheng word.

The origin of the word *kudema* which means to eat in Sheng is unknown. *Kuchop* on the other hand was derived from the English word *chop* meaning to cut something into small pieces using a sharp object like a knife. The word gained some metaphorical meaning where reading and obtaining knowledge from books was equated to chopping up something with a sharp tool. In this case, semantic considerations override the syntactic.

Other words that attested to this inflectional pattern included nouns as can be seen in the following examples:

ii² The verb means to hurry up.

Sheng: 43	<i>Mathee</i> /ma-the: / Mother
Sheng: 44	<i>Bestee</i> /beste: / <i>A friend</i>
Sheng: 44	<i>Paroo</i> /paro: / <i>Parents</i>

4.3.4 Interrogatives

The interrogative word in a simple interrogative Sheng sentence takes up either the sentence final or the sentence initial (Ogechi 2005: 17). The following copula sentence was obtained from the oral test:

<i>Sheng: 45</i>	<i>Ni aje?</i> /ni a-ʔe/ <i>Ni vipi?</i>
------------------	--

This is a Sheng copula sentence. The speakers, in an attempt to simplify conversation can explain the absence of overt copula as an effort to ease conversation and comprehension. This also implies that the learner was using simplification as a communication strategy. This was found to be a common characteristic of Sheng. *Ni vipi* is a typical Sheng greeting. It has Kiswahili surface morpheme but defies Standard Kiswahili grammatical rules. Ideally, the interrogative sentence should have been used as an adjective such as in the phrase:

Ni viatu vipi?
Which shoes?

The morpheme {vi} that has been used as a word initial to form an interrogative *vipi* is a marker of class eight nouns and cannot be used with any other unless it is in a pejorative diminutive form.

The question can also be used as an adverb as in the following examples:

Sheng: 46 *Aliimba* *aje?*
 /a-li-imb-a a-ʔe/
 Aliimba *vipi?*
 Cl.1 he/she pas-sing int. how
 How did he/she sing?

Sheng: 47 *Alitembea* *aje?*
 /a-li-tembe-a a-ʔe/?
 Alitembea *vipi?*
 Cl.1 3rd - Him/her pas-walk int. how
 How did he/she walk?

The Morpheme {a} can represent a he or a she since Standard Kiswahili has no mark for gender distinction.

4.3.5 Auxiliaries

Auxiliary verbs are used to refer to the set of verbs subordinate to the main lexical verb (Mohammed 2001). In S.K, auxiliary verb accompany main verb to express a special aspect of an action denoted by the latter. These verbs are not used in the same way in Sheng. There are instances where Sheng omits a tense-aspect marker like in the following example:

Sheng: 48

Asha *niinvaite* *kwa* *bash* *yake.*
 /a- ʔa-ni-invaite kwa ba-ʔ ya-ke/
 sin.he/she aux ver.already cl.1. me invite *at* *party*
 his/hers.

S.K. Amekwisha kunialika kwenye karamu yake.

Note that Kiswahili lacks an overt gender marking. The above Sheng example complies with this characteristic. {*a*} is an embedded morpheme which can be used to represent a male or a female. *sha* is a remnant of an auxiliary verb *kwisha* (already) which refers to a state of existing or an action completed before the point in time indicated in the context. The tense marker {*me*} for present perfect is missing in the Sheng construction. This omission while describing present perfect events is almost systematic in Sheng discourse. The presence of {-*sha*-} appears sufficient to locate the event in question at a time prior to speech time.

Although the trend is more prevalent in Sheng, it has also been attested to in Kiswahili, especially the spoken form. It is, however, not correct in as far as Standard Kiswahili is concerned. This could be a case for cognitive efficiency- achieving optimal results with minimum effort (Ud Deen, 2005).

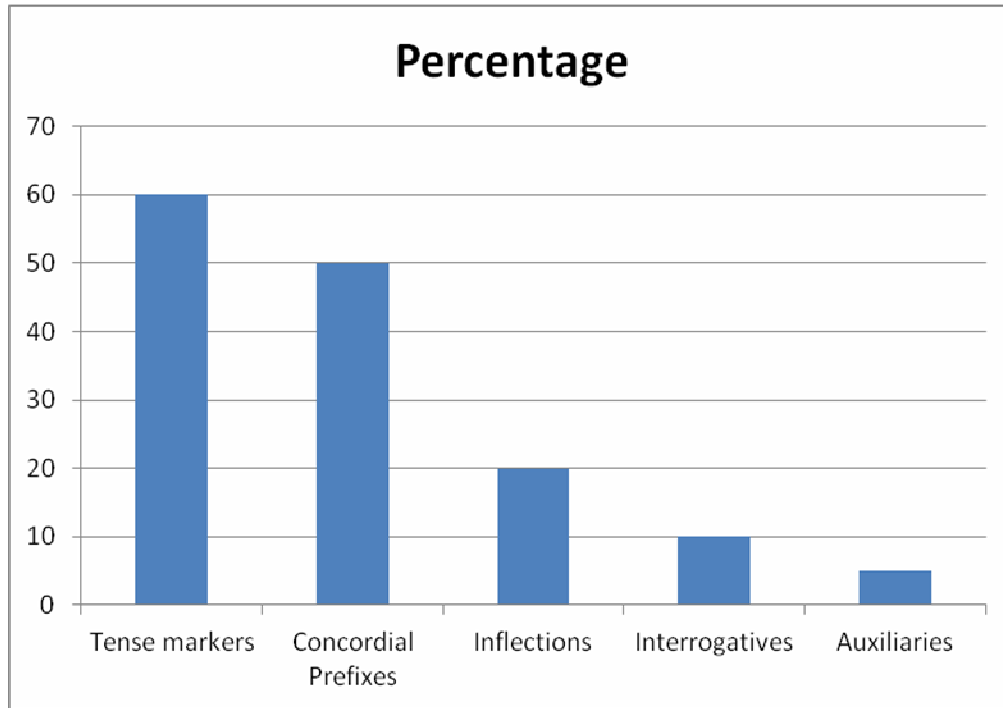
Invaite is a verb root sourced from English. No modification has been done on it and it has been used to perform the same semantic function as in English.

Bash is a Sheng lexeme, which means party and denotes the presence of a lot of good food and music.

The figure below is a graphical presentation of the frequency of the occurrence of the errors related to the five syntactic categories.

FIGURE 1

The Distribution of Sheng sentences in each of the syntactic categories



CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION AND PRESENTATION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter contains samples of written compositions and the identified errors that are attributable to Sheng interlanguage as obtained from the corpus generated by learners.

The common errors that were made by students were identified, described and explained in conformity with the first three successive steps in error analysis approach, which this study adopted. Tables, graphs and a pie chart were used to present quantitative data. Interpretation of the information that is presented in a graphical form and in the tables is also given. A transcription of the written composition was done in Kiswahili and its English translation provided.

5.1 Written Composition Tests

Sample A

Siku Njema Huonekana Asubuhi

Siku tuliyotarajia kwa hamu na ghamu ilikuwa imefika. Niliamka haraka haraka na kuelekea bafuni. Niliamka haraka haraka *nisihate*. Siku hiyo ambayo ilikuwa ni ya kuelekea *mwambao*. Hamu yangu ilikuwa ni kuogelea katika bahari *chumbi*. Tulijitayarisha sisi *wote*, wazazi wangu na ndugu *wenzangu*. *Tulipomalizana* na kila kitu kitakachojihusisha na safari yetu, baba alijitolea kwa maombi ya safari njema. Sisi *wote* tulikuwa na furaha sana.

Siku hiyo ilionekana itakuwa *jema* kama ilivyokuwa asubuhi. *Tulifunganya* virago *zetu* na kuanza kuambua nyayo *zetu* kuelekea kwenye *steni*. Hapo tulipoanza kutembea kakangu *Karis akaanza* kutusimulia *stori* moja ambayo kila mtu alifurahia.

Tulipofika kwenye *steni*, wazazi wetu walikata *tiket* mara moja na kisha tukajitosa kwa *ndae*. *Ndae* tuliosafiria ilikuwa ya *mastarehe* ambayo kila mtu alifurahia na kila mmoja *akaanza* kusinzia kwa sababu tulikuwa tumeamka *ngware* siku hiyo.

Punde si punde *ndae* ilianza safari kama saa kumi na moja asubuhi. Wakati huo ndio wakati tulikuwa tumezoea *kuamkanga* ili kutekeleza shughuli zetu za kila siku. Mimi wakati huo ulikuwa wa kujitayarisha kuelekea *chuo*. Kila *moja akaamka* na tukaanza kusemezana kuhusu safari yetu tuitarajiavyo. Tulisafiri kwa *masaa* saba hivi kisha tukawasili kenye mji mmoja unaitwa Mtito Andei. Tulishuka kutoka kwenye *ndae* ili tukipate chakula chetu na kukata kiu. Tulikula chakula kilikuwa *poa* sana na kisha safari yetu ikaendelea kama mpango. Baada ya *nda* kadhaa tuliwasili mjini Mombasa.

5.2 Examples of Non-target like Sentences from the Written Test

Sheng syntax or word order is not significantly different from Kiswahili syntax, but there are some notable divergences as shown by the following examples obtained from the composition:

Sheng: 49 *Hiyo* *ni* *finje* *nilikuwa* *nayo* *pekee.*
 /hi-jo ni finje ni-li-kuwa na-oj pekee/
 Dem- that *cop.ver-is* *fifty* *1.pas. have* *it* *only.*

In the above sentence, the relative pronouns *ambayo* (that which) has been omitted. This might be an influence from local African languages. It could also be interference from English. The word order does not follow the S.K. grammatical rules.

S.K. Hiyo ndiyo noti pekee ya shilingi hamsini ambayo nilikuwa nayo.

Sheng: 50 *Niliamka* *haraka* *haraka* *nisihate.*
 /ni-li-amk-a haraka haraka ni-si hate/
 cl.1.sin- I woke *adv. fast fast* *cl.1.sin. I-neg. left.*

S.K. Niliamka harakaharaka ili nisiachwe.

Sheng: 51 ...kuelekea mwambao.
 /ku- eleke-a mwambao/
 ...cop.verb. heading towards verb- Mombasa.

S.K. ... kuelekea Mombasa
Sheng: 52 Tulipomalizana na kila kitu ...
 /tu-li-po-mali-zan-a na kila ki-tu/
Iplu- us pas- rel-when ver. finish inf-rec. conj. with everything

Note that in S.K. the suffixation of the morpheme {-an-a} implies reciprocation and therefore involvement of two or more people. The ungrammaticality in this construction results from the lack of appropriate antecedent.

S.K. Tulipomaliza kufanya kila kitu.

Sheng: 53 Tulifunganya virago zetu
 /tu-li-fuŋ-a-a v-irago z-etu/.
1st plural- pas. tied cl. 5- load cl8- Adj. ours.

Class nine possessive prefix {za-} has been used to index a cl. 8 noun (*virago*). This is contravening the Standard Kiswahili grammatical rules. The Standard Kiswahili version of the above sentence is:

S.K. Tulifunga virago/mizigo vy/yetu.

Sheng: 54 Kariz a-ka-anz-a ku-tu-simulia stor i...
 /kariz: a-ka-anz-a ku-tu-simuli-a stori. /
Karis cl.1.3rd -started inf. to cl2-1st pl-tell us story.

Karis is a name of a person. The name, however, has been truncated to give it Sheng characteristics. The word story has been derived from an English verb story.

S.K. Kariuki akaanza kutusimulia kisa.

Sheng: 55 Tulipofika kwenye steni, wazazi
wetu walikata tiketi ...
 /tu-li-po-fik-a kwe-e steni, wa-zazi

w-etu wa-li-kat-a tiketi. /
1st pl. past. arrive at bus stop, cl.1.parents
adj. ours 3rd pl. cl.2.pas-cut ticket.

Steni and *tiketi* have been obtained from the English words bus stage and ticket respectively.

S.K. *Tulipofika kwenye kituo cha basi, wazazi wetu walilipa nauli.*

Sheng: 56 ... *tu-ka-ingia kwa ndae...*
 /tu-ka-inji-a kwa ndae/
 ...*1 plu-ten pas-got into vehicle*

The noun *ndae* refers to a *vehicle*. It has possibly been obtained from Hyundai, which is a renowned vehicle manufacturing company.

S.K. *Tuliingia ndani ya gari.*

Sheng: 57 *Ndae tuliosafiria ilikuwa ya mastarehe...*
 /ndae tu-li-o-safiri-a i-li-kuwa ya ma-
 starehe/
 Vehicle 1 plu-we pas. rel.pro- travel was cl6. Cl.8-pas.is cl.6.comfort.

The relative pronoun {-o-} has been wrongly used with a cl. 9noun vehicle. The correct morpheme should have been {-lo-}. *Starehe* on the other hand has a zero plural morpheme and therefore the prefix {-ma-} should have been absent.

S.K. *Gari tulilosafiria lilikuwa na starehe.*

Sheng: 58 ... *tulikuwa tumeamka ngware siku hiyo ...*
 /tu-li-kuwa tu-me-amk-a nware siku hi- jo/
 ...*3 pl-we pas.aux. were 3pl-we pre. Per-had woken early day that.*

Ngware is a Sheng term sourced from Kikuyu. It refers to a bird that wakes up early. It is metaphorically used in the Kikuyu context to refer to a person who wakes up early.

Sheng: 59 ...*tulikuwa tumezoea kuamkanga...*
 /tu-li-kuwa tu-me-zoe-a ku-amk-a-ŋa/

...cl.2.3rd plu- pa- aux. is cl.2-we pre.per was used waking hab.

The suffix {-nga-} is a Sheng habitual tense marker. The correct S.K. marker is {hu-} that surfaces as prefix and not as a suffix as it appears in the above example.

S.K. ...tulikuwa na mazoea ya kuamka/ sisi huamka

Sheng: 60 ...kujitayarisha kuelekea chuo...
 /ku-ji-tayari- ŋ-a ku-elieke-a tŋ-uo/
 ...cop.ver-prepare cop. cop. Ver-head cl.7-college...
 ...prepared oneself to head to college.

Chuo is a S.K. noun that refers to a college or a university. It cannot therefore be used to refer to a secondary school as it has been done in the above example. Note that Sheng users do not put distinctions between all the levels of education. They use the term *Chuo* to refer to any institution of learning, from the elementary level to the highest institution.

S.K. ...kujitayarisha kuelekea shuleni.

Sheng: 61 Tulisafiri kwa masaa saba ...
 /tu-li-safiri kwa ma-saa saba/
 cl.2.3rd plu-we pa- travel for cl.6-hours seven...

Saa is a cl. 9 noun which has a 0 plural marker. In the context, it has been given a cl. 16 plural marker. The S.K noun should have been *saa*. This is an application of a communication strategy referred to in this study as generalization.

S.K. Tulisafiri kwa muda wa saa saba....

Sheng: 62 Chakula kilikuwa poa sana ...
 /tŋ-akula ki-li-kuwa poa sana/
 Cl. 7- food cl. 7 -pas. is cool very.

Poa is a general term used by the Sheng users to refer to anything pleasant or good.

S.K. *Chakula kilikuwa kitamu sana....*

Sheng: 62 *Baada ya nda kadhaa...*

*/baada ya nda kaða: /
Prep- after of cl.9 -minutes several...*

The term *dakika* has been truncated to obtain a word *nda*.

S.K. *Baada ya dakika kadhaa....*

The Standard Kiswahili version of the above written composition should have been as follows:

Siku Njema Huonekana Asubuhi.

Siku niliyotarajia kwa hamu na ghamu ilikuwa imefika. Niliamka haraka haraka na kuelekea bafuni. Niliamka kwa haraka ili nisiachwe. Hiyo ilikuwa siku ya kusafiri kuelekea Mombasa. Hamu yangu ilikuwa kuogelea katika bahari yenye maji ya chumvi. Tulijitayarisha sote. Tulipotayarisha vyote vitakavyohitajika safarini, baba alijitolea kuomba kwa ajili ya safari. Sote tulijawa na furaha.

Siku yenyewe ilionekana kuwa njema. Tulifunga virago vyetu na kuanza kuambua nyayo zetu kuelekea kwenye kituo cha basi. Tulipoanza kutembea, kakangu Kariuki alianza kutusimulia kisa kimoja ambacho kilimfurahisha kila mmoja wetu. Tulipofika kwenye kituo cha basi wazazi wetu walilipa nauli na tukajitosa kwenye gari. Gari tulilosafiria lilikuwa la kustarehesha na lilimfurahisha kila mmoja wetu. Kila mtu alianza kusinzia kwa sababu tulikuwa tumeamka mapema siku hiyo.

Punde si punde gari lilianza safari mwendo wa saa kumi na moja alfajiri. Hizo ndizo saa ambazo tulikuwa tumezoea kuamka ili kuanza shughuli zetu za siku. Huo ndio wakati niliotumia kujitayarisha ili kuelekea shuleni. Kila mmoja aliamka. Tulianza kuzungumza kuhusu tuliyoyatarajia katika safari yetu. Tulisafiri kwa muda wa saa saba hivi kabla ya kuwasili kwenye mji mmoja uitwao Mtito Andei.

Tulishuka kutoka kwenye gari ili kupata chakula cha mchana na kuweza kukata kiu. Tulikula chakula kilichokuwa kitamu na kisha safari yetu ikaendelea kama ilivyopangwa. Baada ya dakika kadhaa tuliwasili mjini Mombasa.

Sample B

Siku tuliyotarajia kwa hamu na ghamu ilikuwa imefika. Niliamka harakaharaka kama mwehu na kuelekea bafuni. *Nilipiga koga* kwa haraka na kujianda bila kupoteza muda, ili nisichelewe kwani muda *haungojangi* yeyote. *Huu* ulikuwa kama ndoto kwangu, lakini ilibidi kuamini, kwani nilikuwa nimepita *poa* katika masomo yangu ya *uni* na tulikuwa tunaenda kupewa *cheti zetu* za kutuwezesha kupata kazi ambazo zilikuwa za ndoto zetu.

Hata kama wahenga walivyonena, mbio za sakafuni huishia ukingoni, nilizinduka kama gari la mashindano kuelekea huko shuleni, kwani nilikuwa na furaha hata kuliko mfalme, kwani kipendacho moyo ni dawa. Nilishukuru Mola kwa kuniwezesha kukamilisha ndoto *langu*, kwani wahenga hawakutuchana kwa mifupa ya ngisi waliponena ya kuwa Mola hamwachi mja wake. Pia niliwashukuru wazazi wangu kwa kunisaidia kimaisha kutatua *ndoto zangu* za maisha.

Katika *yuni* nilikuwa nimesomea kuwa daktari, kwa hicho ndicho niliona kuwa kingenifurahisha, kwani ningeokoa maisha ya waadhiriwa wengi hospitalini. Nilielekea kituoni mwa basi na *kutegea tegea* basi *iliwasili* na bila kupoteza muda niliingia na kuketi kitako huku nikisubiri kufika chuo ili nipewe cheti *ambalo nimekuwa* nikishughulikia kwa miaka *ine*. Kwani Mola astahili sifa.

Wengi walinidharau kwa kuwa tulikuwa *wasoti*. *Mi* sikufa moyo kwani nilijitahidi na kung'ang'ang'ang'ana na maisha *ka* mchwa, ili niweze kubadilisha maisha yangu. Ndipo niliamini kuwa Mungu *humsaidia mtu anayejisaidia*. Hapo basi pakatokea *jungu* mmoja aliyeona mateso yangu na kuniona kuwa na akili. Yeye ndio alinisomesha maisha yangu yote ya *uni*.

Nilipofika chuo nilipata sherehe la uwezo wetu ukiendelea, nilifurahi kwani nilifika salama salimin, kuwa ni bora kuchelewa kuliko kukosa. *Tulipatiwa cheti zetu za kufungulia maisha zetu za kibinafsi.* Baada ya hayo *tulisherekea* kwa mlo na *ziki* na wazazi wetu kwa ushindi wetu. Kwani hayo ndiyo siku nilikuwa *nimetegea* kupata cheti *yangu ile ingeniwezesha* kutatua ndoto yangu ya kuishi maisha *poa*.

Non-target like structures obtained from sample B.

Sheng: 63 *Nilipiga* *koga ...*
 /ni-li-pig-a *koga/*
 cl. 1.1st I pas- beat *koga.*

This is an idiom that is often used to refer to bathing by Sheng speakers.

S.K. *Nilioga*

Sheng: 64 *...muda* *haungojangi yeyote.*
 /muda ha-u-ŋa-a-ŋi je-j-ote/
 ...time neg- cl.11. *does not wait hab.* *anyone.*

Note that {-nga} and {-ngi} are Sheng’s habitual tense markers as discussed under oral task. As opposed to the S.K. where the habitual marker is used as a prefix, the morphemes are used as suffixes in Sheng.

S.K. *...muda hungoji yeyote.*

Sheng: 65 *...masomo* *yangu* *ya* *yuni.*
 /ma-somo ya-ŋu ja juni/
 ...cl. 16 -education *poss.cl.1-1st mine* *cl.16 -of* *university*

The Sheng lexeme *uni* has been sourced from English; however, it is truncated by Sheng users to obtain *uni*. This is the application of simplification as a communication strategy.

S.K. *...masomo yangu ya chuo kikuu.*

Sheng: 66 *Cheti* *zetu* *za...*
 /tʰ-ti z-etu za/
 Cl.7- certificates *poss.cl.10 -ours ass. for...*

Cheti is a cl.7 noun whose plural marker morpheme is {vy-}. To conform to S.K. grammatical rules, the possessive *zetu* should have been *vyetu* and the associative *za* should have been *vya*.

S.K. *Vyeti vyetu vya...*

Sheng: 67 ...na *kutegeategea* *basi...*
 /...na ku-teg-e-a-teg-e-a basi.../
 ...conj-and inf.ver- trap trap bus.

The verb *kutegeategea* is used in the Sheng context to imply waiting for something with a lot of expectation. This is a very different meaning from what is conveyed by the surface morpheme. *Kutegea* is a prepositional form of a verb *tega* in S.K. which means to trap.

S.K. ...na *kungojea basi...*

Sheng: 68 ...*kwa* *kuwa* *tulikuwa* *wasoti.*
 /kwa kuwa tu-li-kuwa wa-soti/
 ...because *aux-ver. is cl. 2.1 -pl-we pas-aux-is cl.1-pl-poor.*

S.K. ...*Kwa kuwa tulikuwa fukara.*

Sheng: 69 *Mi sikufa moyo...*
 /mi: si-ku-fa m-ojo/
 Cl. 1 -sin.I cl.1- neg-die heart.

Mi is a truncation of a personal pronoun *mimi* which refers to the first person singular. Truncation or aposcope is a common characteristic among Sheng users. In this case it involves a loss of a segment or segments at the end of the word. The syllable *mi* has been lost.

S.K. *Mimi sikufa moyo*

Sheng: 70 ...kung'ang'ang'ang'ana na maisha ka mchwa.
 /ku-ŋ'aŋa'-an-a-ŋ'aŋ'-an-a na maisha ka mtŋwa/
 ...cop-struggle struggle with cl.17-life like cl.1- ants.

The word *kama* -like in English has been truncated to form a new lexeme *ka*. The verb *ng'ang'ana* has been reduplicated. Reduplication is usually used by Sheng speakers to show emphasis or the intensity of an action.

S.K. *Kung'ang'ana na maisha kama mchwa.*

Sheng: 71 *Hapo basi pakatokea jungu mmoja...*
 /ha-po basi pa-ka-tok-e ŋuŋu m-moja/
 Loc- there then cl.22-pre.emerge inf. a white cl. 1-3rd one.

The noun *jungu* has been sourced from Kiswahili. The correct Kiswahili term for a white man is *mzungu*. This has been modified to suit the interest of Sheng speakers.

S.K. *Hapo basi pakatokea mzungu mmoja....*

Sheng: 72 *Tulipatiwa cheti zetu za kufungulia....*
 /tu-li-pat-iw-a tŋ-ti ze-tu za ku-fuŋu-li-a/
 1st plu-we pas-was given cl. 7-certificate cl.10 -pl.pos-ours cl. 10-ass- of opening.

Cheti is a cl. 4 noun. In the context of the above sentence the correct possessive adjective should have been *vyetu* and the associative should have been *vya* in Standard Kiswahili.

S.K. *Tulipewa vyeti vyetu vya kuanzishia maisha.*

Sheng: 73 ...maisha zetu za kibinafsi.
 /maiŋa ze-tu za ki-binafsi/
 cl. 16/17-life cl.10 pos-adj-ours cl. 10 ass- of personal.

S.K. ...maisha ya kila mtu kibinafsi.

Sheng: 74 ...tulisherekea kwa mlo na ziki....
 /tu-li-erekea kwa m-lo na ziki/
 ...cl. 2- we pas-celebrate art.-by cl.4-food and music.

Tulisherekea has a missing syllable *he*. The correct Standard Kiswahili verb is *kusherehekea*. Simplification strategy has been applied by the speaker by truncating it. *Ziki* has been sourced from S.K. word *Muziki* whose origin is English word *music*. It was modified in the above construction in order to show intensity. The early syllable (*mu*) has been deleted and unvoiced fricative /s/ replaced with a voiced /z/.

S.K. ...tulisherehekea kwa vyakula na muziki.

Sheng: 75 ...ndoto yangu ya kuishi maisha poa.
 /ndoto -a-ju ya ku-i-i mai-a poa/.
 ...cl.10 -dream cl.1- pos-mine art-of cop-living cl. 16-life
 cool.

Poa means good or pleasant in Sheng. In Standard Kiswahili, *poa* means cool. A shift in meaning may have originated from the English slang.

S.K. ...ndoto yangu ya kuishi maisha mazuri.

The Standard Kiswahili version of the above is as follows:

Siku tuliyotarajia kwa hamu na ghamu ilikuwa imefika. Niliamka harakaharaka kama mwehu na kuelekea bafuni. Nilioga kwa haraka na kujiandaa bila kupoteza muda wowote, kwani muda huwezi kungoja mtu yeyote. Hii ilikuwa kama ndoto kwangu lakini ilinibidi kuamini kwa sababu nilikuwa nimefanya vyema katika masomo yangu ya chuo kikuu, na huu ulikuwa wakati wa kukabidhiwa vyeti vyetu vya kutuwezesha kupata kazi tulizotumainia.

Niliamka haraka haraka na kujivurumisha kama gari la mashindano kuelekea shuleni licha ya wahenga kusema kuwa mbio za sakafuni

huishia ukingoni. Nilikuwa na furaha kushinda ya mfalme kwani kipendacho moyo ni dawa. Nilishukuru Mola kwa kuniwezesha kukamilisha masomo yangu. Kweli wahenga hawakutuchana kwa mifupa ya ngisi waliponena kuwa Mola hamwachi mja wake. Pia niliwashukuru wazazi wangu kwa kuniwezesha kutimiza ndoto yangu katika maisha.

Nilikuwa ninasomea taaluma ya utabibu katika chuo kikuu. Hiyo ndiyo ilikuwa furaha yangu kwa kuwa ningekoa maisha ya waathiriwa wa magonjwa mbalimbali katika hospitali. Nilielekea kwenye kituo cha basi ili kusubiri gari. Bila kupoteza muda niliingia kwenye gari na kuketi kitako huku nikisubiri kufika chuoni ili nitunukiwe cheti ambacho nilikuwa nikishughulikia kwa muda wa miaka minne. Kweli Mola astahili sifa. Wengi walitudharau kwa kuwa tulikuwa fukara. Sikufa moyo na nilijitahidi kama mchwa ili niweze kubadilisha maisha yangu. Hili lilinifanya kuamini kuwa Mungu hamwachi mja wake anayejitahidi. Palitokea mzungu mmoja aliyenifadhili kwa sababu ya werevu wangu. Yeye ndiye aliyenilipia karo yote ya chuo kikuu.

Nilipofika chuoni nilipata sherehe za mahafala zikiendelea. Nilifurahi kwa kuwa nilifika salama salimini. Nilijiliwaza kuwa ni bora kuchelewa kuliko kukosa. Tilitunukiwa vyeti vyetu vya kufungulia maisha. Baada ya hayo tulisherehekea ushindi wetu kwa karamu na muziki, sisi pamoja na wazazi wetu. Hiyo ndiyo siku niliyokuwa nimengoja kwa hamu kubwa kwa kuwa ningepata cheti ambacho kingeniwezesha kutimiza ndoto yangu ya kuishi maisha mazuri.

TABLE 7

The Distribution of morphosyntactic errors in Kiswahili written composition in nine schools

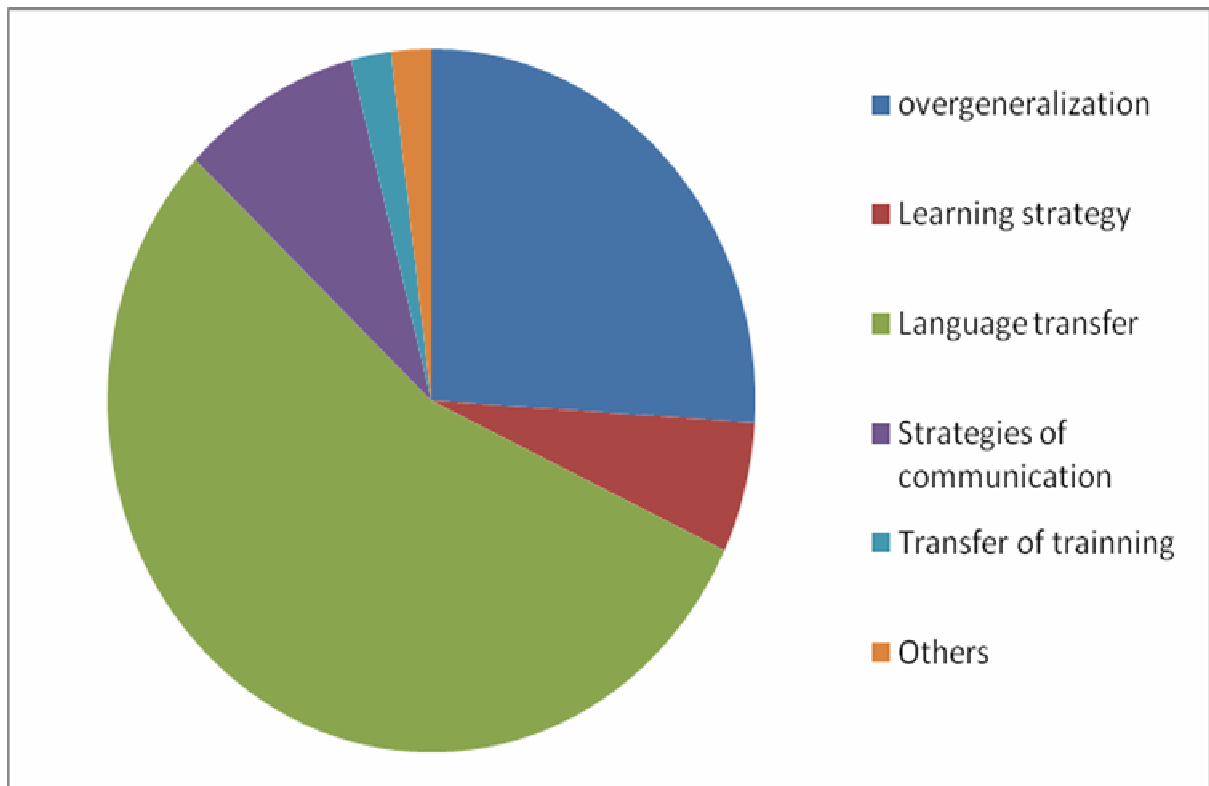
School	Number of students	Total No. of errors (Non-target structures)
A	41	407
B	31	372
C	52	572
D	38	468
E	41	369
F	34	374
G	44	440
H	39	468
I	48	528
Total	368	3998
Mean	41	444

The above table represents the analysis of the data obtained from the sampled population of form three learners from nine secondary schools. The first column represents the schools in which the data was obtained. The schools were code A-I. No particular attribute or pattern was used to code the schools. The second column contains the number of learners who participated in the writing task from each school. The third column presents the total number of non-target structures obtained from the written task in each school.

FIGURE 2

Illustration of the distribution of the five psycholinguistic processes

The following pie chart is an illustration of the psycholinguistic strategies that the learners used in their interlanguage.



The above pie chart shows the frequency of the five psycholinguistic processes. Language transfer was the most frequently applied strategy with a percentile frequency of 55%, followed by overgeneralization with a percentile frequency of 22%. Strategies of communication was third with 10%, learning strategy had a low of 8% followed by other unspecified strategies with a percentile frequency of 3% and finally transfer of training with 2 percent.

5.3 Analysis of grammatical errors related to noun classes

In this section, the actual grammatical errors related to noun classes, committed by learners, has been described. Under each error, a correct form is given. Errors are presented according to noun classes. Attempts have been made to explain some of the errors where it is plausible to do so.

Sheng has a reduced number of noun classes. The reduction of prefixes used in the concordial agreement between lexical categories in a sentence indicates a movement towards using fewer noun classes – especially for the plural –and thereby simplifying the noun class system. This is an application of communication strategy of simplification.

5.3.1 Errors in Cl. 1/2

This class is generally considered as the living class or animate class (Gichohi, 1999) It contains the names of living things and their Concordial agreement markers. In S.K. they are *a* in singular and *wa* in plural. For those nouns that have the same form both in singular and plural as those in class nine and ten, learners tended to use concordial agreement markers for cl.9 and 10. Learners seemed not to realize that such nouns belong to class1 and 2 semantically and due to their form, they treated them as nouns in cl.9 and 10. For example:

<i>Sheng: 76</i>	<i>Dogi</i>	<i>ile</i>	<i>ilibweka.</i>
	/dogi:	i-le	i-li-bweka/.
	Cl.1-dog	cl.9/19-that	cl.9/19-bark

S.K. *Mbwa yule alibweka*

That dog barked.

<i>Sheng: 77</i>	<i>Dogi</i>	<i>zile</i>	<i>zilibweka</i>
	/dogi:	zi-le	zi-li-bweka/
	Cl.2-dog	cl.10-dem-those	cl.10-pas.-bark

S.K.: *Mbwa wale walibweka*
 Cl.2-dog cl.2-those cl.2-pre-backs
 Those dogs were barking.

Nouns referring to human beings and which have cl.7 and 8 pronominal prefixes which are *ki* in singular and *vi* in plural were given concordial agreements for noun cl. 7 and 8 instead of those of cl.1 and 2. Such nouns belong to cl. 1 and 2 semantically and as such all prefixes should conform to that rule.

Sheng: 78 *Kiziwi kinatoki*
 /ki-ziwi ki-na-toki/
 Cl.7-deaf cl.7-pres-talk

S.K.

Kiziwi anaongea
 Cl.7-deaf-person cl.1-pres-talk
 A deaf person is talking.

Sheng: 79 *Viziwi vinatalki*
 /vi-ziwi vi-na-talki/
 Cl.8-deaf cl.8-pres-talk

S.K. *Viziwi wanaongea*
 Cl.8-deaf person cl.2-pres-talk
 Deaf people are walking.

Another error was when learners replaced the *Ki-* Prefix with *Mw-* on a human noun that has cl. 7 prefix. The idea here was an attempt to make such a noun to take the form of a majority of human nouns in cl.1. Examples are *mwalimu*, *mwanajeshi* and *mwokozi*.

Sheng: 80 *Mwongozi amejijaza.*
 /m-wongozi a-me- $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ i- $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ az-a/
 Cl.1-leader cl.1. 3rd -pas-part-work hard

Jaza is a Standard Kiswahili verb which means to fill. It is used in Sheng constructions to imply working hard on a particular task or putting on a feigned bravery.

S.K.

Kiongozi amejizatiti.

Cl.1-leader cl.1- 3rd pas-par-work hard

The person worked extremely hard.

Learners added a cl. 6 marker {*ma*} to a noun to make it plural in case of a noun that does not change in form whether in plural or singular. This was particularly so in animal nouns. This seems to be a tendency to provide a plural form of the noun and an influence from some Bantu languages that do not classify nouns that refer to human beings together with other living beings.

Sheng: 81.

Makondoo zilichinjwa

/ma-kondoo zi-li-tin-w-a/

Cl 6pl- Sheep cl.10- pas-slaughter.

Kondoo walichinjwa .

Sheng: 82.

Tulimanga makuku

/tu-li-maŋa ma-kuku/

Cl.1-us- pas-eat cl.6-chicken

Tulikula nyama nyingi za kuku.

Manga is a Sheng word which means to eat. Its source is unknown. *Kuku* on the other hand is a Standard Kiswahili noun for chicken. The error that has been committed is attaching a prefix *ma* on the noun *kuku* to act as a plural marker. *Kuku* is a cl. 1 noun which has a zero plural marker. The construction therefore goes against the Standard Kiswahili grammatical rules.

Sheng: 83.

Mabrathee walinishow niwangojee.

/ma-brathe: wa-li-ni- ŋo: ni-wa-ŋo -e:/

cl.6.brothers cl. 2 pas. ask . cl. 1. 1st I cl.2 3rd.them wait.

Kaka zangu waliniambia niwangoje.

Sheng: 84

Mango'mbe zilikulwa.

/ma-oŋ'mbe zi-li-ku-lw-a/
cl.6-cows cl. 10-pas-eat

Ng'ombe walichinjwa na nyama yao kuliwa.

The verb *kula* is a monosyllabic verb that takes the passive extension {-iw-}. The passive form was presented by learners as {-lw-} instead of {-iw-}. The above construction also implied that the cow was eaten whole without having been slaughtered. The construction is therefore erroneous. S.K. verbs are conjugated to obtain numerous meanings. Such is the case of {-liw-a} which is a monosyllabic verb and whose passive form was presented by learners as {-lw-a}

At the same time, learners went ahead to use class ten concordial agreement markers even after committing the error discussed above.

Sheng: 85

Makondoo zilichinjwa

/ma-kondo: zi-li-tɔn ɔ-w-a/
Cl.6-sheep cl.10-pas-slaughter

Kondoo is a class one/ two noun which does not change in form whether singular or plural. It has therefore been prefixed with a morpheme {*ma*} which is a class six plural marker thus initiating a discord.

S.K.

Kondoo walichinjwa

Cl. 2-Sheep cl.2-pas-slaughter

Sheep were slaughtered.

Sheng: 86

Madogi zilibweka usiku

/ma-dogi zi-li-bwek-a usiku/
Cl.6-dog cl.10-pas-bark cl.13-night

S.K.

Mbwa wa-li bweka usiku

Dog cl.2-pas-bark night

Dogs barked at night.

Another error was to add *ma* to cl. 2 nouns that have the same form in plural and singular with the aim of making them have a plural form. Under normal circumstances, these nouns have no plural marker. Human nouns however take a particle *kina/ akina* to denote plural.

<i>Sheng: 87</i>	a) <i>wamathee</i>	b) <i>masistee</i>
	a) /wa-mathe:/ Cl.2-mother	b) /ma-siste:/ cl.6-sisters
	S.K.	S.K.
	<i>Kina mama</i>	<i>kina dada</i>
	P/par mother	p/par Sister
	Mothers	Sisters

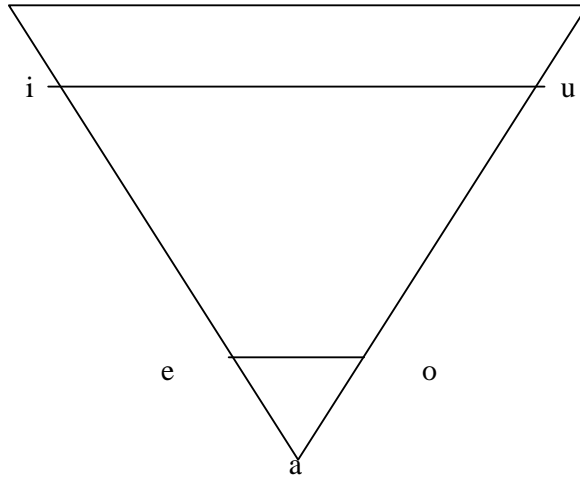
Sheng seems to have a prosodic pattern of its own. First, it prefers endings in /i/ and /e/, as in the above example of words borrowed from English *mother* and *sister* respectively. Generally, the endings in *i* and *e* give *Sheng* a clear pitch.

Other learners used the plural marker *wa-* for nouns whose plural marker is *we-*. For example:

<i>Sheng: 88</i>	<i>waizi walifinywa</i>	<i>naniga</i>	<i>mpaka waka-konfess.</i>
	/wa-izi wa-li-finy-w-a	naniga	mpaka wa-ka-konfes: /
	cl.2.thief cl.2pas.pressed	private part	pr.unti cl.2 pas.confess.
S.K.	<i>we-zi walifinywa</i>	<i>sehemu zao za siri</i>	<i>mpaka wakakiri makosa.</i>

Thieves' private parts were pressed so hard. This made them to confess what they had done.

The above error can be explained as follows: In Kiswahili /a/ is a lower vowel while /i/ is an upper vowel. When the two vowels come together, they are deleted and a close mid vowel /e/ takes their place. The above phenomenon is clearly seen from the following figure:



Kiswahili has five cardinal vowels. These are /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/ which can be described as follows:

/a/ open unrounded lower vowel.

/e/ open unrounded mid-front vowel.

/i/ high unrounded front vowel.

/o/ half rounded mid-back vowel.

/u/ high rounded back vowel.

Source: Mohammed, M. A. (2001:2)

Learners wishing to maintain cl. 2 marker on the noun do not follow this phonological requirement.

Another error was to use the concordial agreement marker for class three on the determiners:

<i>Sheng: 89</i>	<i>mtoi</i>	<i>ule</i>	<i>alilia</i>
	/m-toi	u-le	a-li-li-a/

Cl.1-child cl.3-that cl.1-pas-cry

S.K.

Mtoto yule alilia
Cl.1-child cl.1-that cl.1-pas-cry

That child was crying

Sheng: 90

Msae ule anaendanga church
/m-sae u-le a-na-end-a- ŋa t□u:t□/
Cl.1-old man cl.3-that cl.1-pres-go-hab church – loc.

S.K.

Mzee yule huenda kanisani
Cl.1-old.man cl.1- that cl.1-pres-go church-loc
That old man is goes to church.

Note that the verb *anaendanga* has been given a double tense marker namely the present continuous *{-na-}* and the Sheng habitual marker *{-nga}*.

The noun class marker for many nouns in class one is /m/ this is the same marker for nouns in cl.3. The difference is only notable on the agreement markers. In this case, learners did not distinguish nouns that belong to cl.1 on the basis of their noun markers. This explains the reason why learners used class three agreement markers on the determiner. This is a case of not distinguishing between mechanical and semantic classification of Kiswahili nouns.

Learners put /h/ to precede the cl. 3 marker on the determiner already discussed above. They did this perhaps to provide a syllable made up of consonant and a vowel.

Sheng: 91

Mtu ule alipanda ndae ya watu tano.
/m- tu u-le a-li-pand-a ndae ya wa-tu tano/.
Cl.1-person cl.3-that cl.1 –pas-clib vehicle of cl.2 -person Ø five

S.K.

M-tu yu-le aliabiri gari la watu watano.
cl.1-person cl.1-that cl.1-pas-board vehicle of cl.2-person cl.2-five.

That person boarded a five-seater vehicle.

In S.K., the numerical adjective {*tano*} should carry a prefix {*wa*} having been determined by the noun *watu* which is a cl. 2 noun. The learners simplified this by eliminating the prefix and adapting a zero morpheme on the numerical adjective {*tano*}. This is a characteristic of class ten nouns.

Learners used concordial agreement marker for cl. 9 on the possessives. This error is only in the singular form. Note that nouns in cl. 9 do not change in form whether singular or plural.

Sheng: 92 Bodi yetu anasomanga
/bodi y-etu a-na-som-a- ŋa/
Cl.1- teacher cl.2- our cl.1-pres-read-hab.

Note the double tense marker on the verb *anasomanga* (read). There is no marked distinction in Standard Kiswahili between reading and studying. The intended meaning can only be got from the context. Going by the above example; this is a characteristic that has also been adapted by Sheng speakers. *Bodi* is a word used in Sheng to refer to a teacher. Its origin is not unknown.

S.K.

Mwalimu wetu husoma
Cl.1-teacher cl.2-our cl.1-hab-read

Our teacher goes for studies.

Sheng: 92 Mtoi yao analianga
/m-toi j-ao a-na-li-aŋ/
Cl.1-child cl.9-of.them cl.1-pres-cry-har.

S.K.

Mtoto wao hulia
Cl.1-child cl.1-of.them cl.1-har-cry
Their child is crying.

To a lesser extent, a few learners used class four concordial agreement markers on the determiner for animal nouns that have the same form in singular and plural. This could be an influence from nouns that do not have a singular marker. Under normal circumstances, they will take cl. 5 concordial agreement markers when used in their singular form.

Sheng: 93 Samaki hiyo ilinuka vipoa.
/samaki hi- jo i-li-nuk-a vi-poa/
Cl.2-fish that-cl.4 cl.4.pas-smell cl.8- nice.

S.K.

Samaki hao walinukia vizuri.
Cl. 2- fish that- cl.2. cl.2-pas.smell cl.8-nice.
Those fish smelt nice.

In S.K, the noun fish has a common semantic feature with human beings. This is because they are all animate, hence acquiring the prefix {*wa*}. The learners did not distinguish a bad smell from a good smell. In S.K, *walinuka* refers to a foul smell while *walinukia* refers to a sweet smell. In this context the learner wanted to imply that the cooked fishes had a nice aroma.

Some learners added the class two agreement makers on quantifiers that do not take concordial agreement markers. The aim of the students was to maintain cl. 2 agreement marker {*wa-*}.

Sheng: 94 ...mastudent wasaba
/ma-student wa- saba/
...cl.6-students cl.2-seven

S.K.

...*wa-nafunzi* *saba*
 ...cl.2-student seven
 ...*seven students*.

Sheng: 95 *wa-nyama* *wa sita*
 /*wa-nyama* *wa- sita/*
 cl.2-animal cl.2-six

S.K.

wa-nyama *sita*
 cl.2-animal Ø. six
 Six animals.

{*Wa-*} is a concordial prefix which has been inappropriately applied as a plural marker. In Standard Kiswahili, the numerical adjective six does not take a prefix. It therefore should have been *sita*.

Other learners failed to put concordial agreement markers on quantifiers that required them. This was a case of not mastering those quantifiers that take agreement makers and those that do not.

Sheng: 96 *mtu* *tano*
 /*m-tu* Ø-*tano/*
 Cl.2-people Ø -*five*

S.K.

Wa-tu *wa-tano*
 Cl.2-people cl.2-five
 Five people.

Others added cl. 2 agreement markers on adjectives that do not require them. Cl.1 and 2 nouns are animates and therefore most descriptive adjectives take the {*m-*} and {*wa-*} prefix in singular and plural respectively. This rule does not however apply on borrowed words

since they do not follow a concept of agreement; hence the following nominal phrase construction is erroneous:

Sheng: 97 *mpleya* *msupaa*
 /m-pleja m-supaa: /
 cl.1.pleja cl.1.outstanding

S.K.

mchezaji \emptyset -*hodari*
 cl.1-player outstanding

An outstanding player.

Sheng: 98 *wa-playa* *wa-hodari*
 /wa-playa wa-hodari/
 cl.2 -player cl.2 -outstanding

S.K.

wa-chezaji \emptyset -*hodari*
 cl.2 -player outstanding

Outstanding players.

5.3.2 Errors in Cl. 3/4

Nouns that are found in this class are those that refer to inanimate things. They take a concordial prefix of {*u*} and {*i*} in singular and plural respectively. Learners used cl. 6 noun markers to indicate plural of some nouns in this class and at the same time maintained cl. 4 prefix, which is a plural marker, ending up with a noun that is double marked for plural:

Sheng: 99 *mamiti*
 /ma-mi-ti/
 Cl.6-cl.4-tree

S.K.

Mi-ti
 Cl.4-tree
 Trees

Sheng: 100 *magamu*
/ma-gamu/
Cl.6-game

S.K.

Michezo
Cl.4-game
Games

Other learners apart from committing the error mentioned above went on to use cl. 10 concordial agreement markers. Note that cl. 10 is composed of nouns in their plural form. It can be argued that the use of cl. 10 agreement makers was in a bid to provide plural agreement markers. The students ended up using the wrong ones:

<i>Sheng: 101</i>	<i>mamiguu</i>	<i>zangu</i>	<i>zinadunga</i>
	/ma-mi-gu:	z-anju	zi-na-duŋ-a/
	Cl.6.cl.4.leg	cl.10.my	cl.10.pre.ache

S.K.

<i>Miguu</i>	<i>yangu inauma</i>	
Cl.4-leg	cl.4-my	cl.4-pre-ache

My legs are aching.

Other learners tended to retain class three makers on the noun along with cl. 10 agreement markers. The learners were not sure of the plural marker on the noun, which is cl. 4 noun prefix, or perhaps thought that *muziki* (music) is in cl. 9.

<i>Sheng: 102</i>	<i>Muziki</i>	<i>zao</i>	<i>zinabamba</i>
	/mu-ziki	z-ao	zi-na-bamba/
	Cl.3.music	cl.10.of.them	cl.10.pre.make.happy

An upper vowel /u/ has been inserted after /m/. This has been from the English word music.

S.K.

<i>Miziki</i>	<i>yao</i>	<i>inafurahisha</i>
Cl.4-music	cl.4-of.them	cl.4-pres.make.happy

Their music makes one happy.

Learners used cl.4 markers on the noun cl. 7, but mixed class agreement markers with cl. 4 agreement markers. As you will notice from the example below, some cl. 4 agreement markers are the same as those of cl.9, hence, the reason why this type of error was committed.

<i>Sheng: 103</i>	<i>Misosi</i>	<i>hiyo</i>	<i>nyingine</i>	<i>ilifuata</i>
	/mi-sosi	hi-jo	nyingine	i-li-fuat-a/
	Cl.4-food	that-cl.4	cl.9-other	cl.4-past-follow

The head noun *misosi* has been completely divorced from its Standard Kiswahili equivalent which is *chakula* and which is a cl. 7 noun.

S.K.

<i>104</i>	<i>Mitihani</i>	<i>hiyo</i>	<i>mingine</i>	<i>ililetwa</i>
	/mi- tihani	hi-jo	mingine	i-li-let-w-a/
	Cl.4-exam	that-cl.9	cl.9-other	cl.9-past-bring

Those other exams followed.

Other learners failed to use cl. 4 agreement markers on numerals and interrogatives that qualify the head nouns, making such nouns to appear as nouns in cl.10.

<i>Sheng: 105</i>	<i>mi-ezi</i>	<i>tano</i>
	/mi-ezi	tano/
	Cl.4-month	five

S.K.

<i>Mi-ezi</i>	<i>mi-tano</i>
Cl.4-month	cl.4-five

Five months.

Sheng: 106 *Miaka* *ngapi?*
 /mi-aka ŋa-pi? /
 Cl.4-year how. many

S.K. *Miaka mingapi?*
 Cl.4-year cl.4-how.many
 How many years?

Some learners used class four concordial agreements even when the head noun was in singular form. They seemed not to have mastered when to use cl.3 or cl.4 noun prefix. It is also worth noting that class four concordial agreements are the same as those of cl. 9. It can, therefore, be argued that learners were treating nouns in cl. 3 as nouns in cl. 9. The difference is only observable in the concordial prefixes that are used in the two classes.

Sheng: 107 *Boli* *ile* *yangu* *imdedi*
 /boli i-le y-aju i-me-dedi: /
 Cl.3-ball cl.4/9-that cl.4/9-my cl.4/9-perf-torn

S.K.
 M-pira *u-le* *w-angu* *u-me-toboka.*
 Cl.3-ball cl.3-that cl.3-my cl.3-perf-perforated.
 The ball that belongs to me is torn.

5.3.3 Errors in Cl. 5/6

Nouns in this class take the {li-} and {ya} concordial prefixes. Errors collected in these classes were as follows:

Learners made nouns in cl. 6 to take cl. 10 concordial agreement markers. In doing so, they were trying to provide plural agreement markers but they ended up using the wrong ones.

Sheng: 108 *Maisha* *zao* *zinabamba*
 /ma-isha z-ao zi-na-bamba/
 Cl.17-life cl.10-of.them cl.10-good

S.K.

Maisha *yao* *ni mazuri*
 Cl.17-life cl.6-of-them cop. is cl.6-good
 They live a good life.

Other learners treated some nouns in cl.5 and cl.6 as though they belong to class nine and ten. These are nouns that are not marked in their singular form and whose plural is marked. The singular form was treated as a noun in cl. 9 and its plural form was treated as a noun in cl. 10. This could be attributed to inconsistencies in noun classification in Kiswahili, thus causing confusion between semantic and phonological classification of nouns:

Sheng 109 *kabila* *hiyo* *ilishambulia*
 /kabila hi- jo i-li-ambuli-a/
 Tribe that-cl.9 cl.9-past-attack

S.K. *Kabila* *hilo* *lilishambulia*
 Tribe that-cl.5 cl.5-past-attack
 That tribe attacked.

Sheng: 110 *kabila* *hizo* *zilishambuli*
 /kabila hi-zo zi-li-ambuli-a/
 Cl.5- tribe that-cl.10 cl.10-past-attack

S.K.

Makabila *hayo* *yalishambulia*
 Cl.6-tribe those-cl.6 cl.6-past-attack
 Those tribes attacked.

{*Kabila*} (Tribe) does not have a singular marker; this makes it to be treated like a cl. 10 by Sheng users.

Another error was where some learners used a noun in class six but used concordial agreement markers of class nine. This was especially so for collective and mass nouns:

Sheng: 111 *Matokeo* *iliparashwa* *jana*
 /ma-tokeo i -li-para-w-a jana/
 Cl.6-results cl.9-pas-announce yesterday

S.K.

Ma-tokeo *ya-li-tangazwa* *jana*
 Cl.6-results cl.6-past-announce yesterday
 Results were announced yesterday.

Some learners added cl. 6 markers to denote the plural form of the noun, where it was not required. Ordinarily, cl. 5 markers become redundant and forms part of the noun stem. Such nouns have to be learnt since they are not based on a rule, which always applies. Therefore, such mistakes can be attributed to learners' failure to have learnt such nouns or forgetting that they behave exceptionally in their plural form. Note that the plural marker is {*me-*} instead of default {*ma-*}. This is phonologically plausible in Kiswahili. /a/ is a lower vowel while /i/ is an upper vowel, when they come together they are deleted and a close-mid vowel /e/ takes their place.

Sheng: 112 *Mamimea* *b) mameno*
 /ma-mi-mea/ b) /ma-me-no/
 Cl.6-cl.4-plant Cl.6-cl.5-teeth

S.K.

Mi-mea *Me-no*
 Cl.4-plants cl.6-teeth
Cookers *Teeth*

<i>Ji-na</i>	<i>Ma-jina</i>
Cl.5-name	Cl.6-name
Name	Names

Sheng: 113.

Kimtu kilimanga sana.
 /ki-m-tu ki-li-maŋa sana/
 Cl.7.cl.1-person cl.7 pas-is eat a lot.
 The giant has eaten a lot

Note that Sheng speakers use the noun marker /ki/ to denote augmentive form. This is defiance of S.K. rules which marks the same with /ji/ for singular and /ma/ for plural.

<i>Ji-tu</i>	<i>ma-jitu</i>
Cl.5-giant	cl.6-giant

To a lesser extent, learners tended to use cl. 7n agreement markers. In this case learners were attempting to provide a singular agreement marker but ended up using the wrong one.

Sheng: 114

<i>Something</i>	<i>alifikanya</i>	<i>kilijamisha.</i>
/somethiŋ	a-li-ki-faŋa	ki-limŋam-iŋ-a/
Cl.5-thing	cl.1-pas-cl.7 (obj)-do	cl.7-pas-annoy

S.K.

<i>Ja-mbo</i>	<i>a-li-lo-fanya</i>	<i>li-li-udhi.</i>
Cl.5-thing	cl.1-past-cl.5(obj)-do	cl.5-past-annoy
What he did was annoying.		

5.3.4 Errors in Cl 7/8

All the nouns in this class are inanimate. They use agreement marker /ki/ and /v/i in singular and plural respectively. However, there are some nouns which take a pronominal maker {tŋ} in singular and {vj} in plural. This happens when they have a vowel stem. There are a number of nouns whose pronominal markers are /ki/ in singular and /vi/ in plural but belong

to class one and two due to their semantic attributes as discussed earlier in this chapter. Learners had a problem of identifying their semantic noun classes. There were a few instances when learners used cl. 6 markers to indicate plural and thus preceded the normal plural marker for class eight. This was a case of marking plural twice on the same noun. For example:

Sheng: 115. *Nipasie* *maviatu* *zangu*
 /ni-pasie ma-v-iatu za- ŋu/
 Cl. 1 1st sin. I- pass cl6-cl.8-shoe cl. 10-mine

S.K.

Ni-pitishie v-iatu vyangu
Sheng:116 *maviatu*
 /ma-v-iatu/
 Cl.6-cl.8-shoe

S.K.

Vi-atu
 Cl.8-shoes
 Shoes
Sheng: 117 *Kiziwi kilimshoo dust.*
 Ki-ziwi ki-li-m- ŋo: dust/
 Cl. 7- deaf cl.7-cond. cl.1(obj) show dust.

S.K.

Kiziwi huyo alimwonyesha cha mtema kuni.

Show dust is a Sheng idiom that is used to imply that the subject was taught a lesson, or has been made to undergo an unpleasant experience.

A second error that learners committed was to use cl. 9 and 10 concordial agreement markers for nouns in cl. 7 and 8.

Sheng: 118 *buku* *yangu* *ililost*

/buku y-a ŋu i-li-lost/
 Book cl.9-my cl.9-pas-lost

S.K.

Ki-tabu cha-ŋu ki-li-pote-a
 Cl.7-book cl.7-my cl.7-past-lost
 My book got lost.

Sheng: 119

Mabuku z-angu zi-li-losti
 /ma-buku z-a ŋu zi-li-losti/
 Cl.17-book cl.10-mine cl.10-pas-potea

S.K.

Vi-tabu vy-angu vi-li-potea
 Cl.8-book cl.8-my cl.8-past-lost
 My books got lost.

A third error was where learners used wrong agreement markers on possessives. In doing this, learners were attempting to maintain class seven agreement markers all through. As earlier stated, Sheng has a reduced number of noun classes. This is a conscious or unconscious application of the strategy of simplification. Under normal circumstances, when /ki/ is preceded by a vowel, it is palatalized to become {tʃ}

Sheng: 120

kiatu kiangu kimededi
 /ki-atu ki-aŋu ki-me-dedi/
 Cl.7-shoe cl.7-my cl.7-per.-torn

S.K.

Ki-atu cha-angu ki-me-raruka
 Cl.7-shoe cl.7-my cl.7-perf-torn
 My shoe is torn.

A fourth error is when nouns from cl.1 are put in the diminutive form. When this happens; they take the pronominal markers of cl.7 nouns. Learners used the obsolete marker *ka* to denote the same. This is a common phenomenon among Sheng speakers when referring to something that is inconsequential or when derogating.

Sheng: 121

Kakeki hako kalinibamba

/ka-keki ha-ko ka-li-ni-bamba/

Cl.obs- cake dem. cl.23 -that cl. obs. pas.cl.1 1st -please.

S.K.

Kikeki hicho kilinivutia.

That piece of cake was sweet.

Another error that the learners made was to use the agreement markers for either cl.1 or cl.3

for nouns in cl. 7 and 8. This was not however, a common error.

Sheng: 122

Kitabu ya Godi inatupress

/k-itabu ya Godi i-na-tu-pres: /

Cl.7-book ass. of God cl.11/cl.3-pre.-1stcl. -encourage

S.K.

Ki-tabu cha Mungu ki-na-tu-himiza

Cl.7-book ass. god cl.7-pres-1stcl.2(obj)-encourage

The Bible is encouraging us.

Other learners tended to use cl. 1, 3 and 9 agreement marker on adjectives. This was a case of

the learners' failure to remember that nouns in cl.7 maintain their agreement marker on all the

constituents of a sentence that they control:

Sheng: 123

Kindango mpya

/ki-ndango m-pja/

Cl.7-earring cl.1/3-new

S.K.

Kipini kipya

Cl.7-earring cl.7-new

A new earring.

Sheng: 124

Kitu mbaya

/ki-tu m-baya/
Cl.7-thing cl.1-bad

S.K.

Ki-tu ki-baya
Cl.7-thing cl.7-bad
A bad thing.

5.3.5 Errors in Cl. 9/10

Nouns in this class do not change in form, whether singular or plural. This can only be determined by the context within which the noun is used.

Some learners used cl.6 noun marker and its concordial agreement markers on nouns in cl.10 to imply plural form. They did this in a bid to provide a plural marker on the nouns which do not usually take a plural marker.

Sheng: 125 Mahao hizo zilijengwa before.
/ma-hao h-izo zi-li-je ŋ-w-a before/
Cl.6-house those-cl.10 cl.10 -past-built long. ago

S.K.

Nyumba hi-zo zi-li-jengwa zamani
Cl.10-house these-cl.10 cl.10-pas.-built long. ago
Those houses were constructed long time ago.

Some learners maintained the correct form of nouns in cl. 10 but used cl. 6 concordial agreement markers. The argument is as above, only that this time the error is only on agreement markers:

Sheng: 126 Ghasia yalikamu
/ Xasia ya-li-kamu/
Cl.10-skirmish cl.6-pas-come

S.K.

Ghasia zi-li-zuka

Cl.10.disturbance cl.10-pas-emerge

Skirmishes erupted

Other learners used the cl.6 markers on the noun only but maintained the cl.10 concordial agreement markers.

Sheng: 127

<i>Mashida</i>	<i>hizo</i>	<i>zao</i>	<i>zinaboo.</i>
/ma- ʔida	hi-zo	z-ao	zi-na-bo: /
Cl.6-problem	those-cl.10	cl.10-of.them	cl.10-pres-annoy

S.K.

<i>Shida</i>	<i>hi-zo</i>	<i>z-ao</i>	<i>zi-na-udhi</i>
Cl.10.problem	those-cl.10	cl.10-of.them	cl.10-pres-annoy

Their problems annoy.

Other learners used cl.5 and 11 concordial agreement markers for nouns in cl.9. Nouns found in cl.9 and 5 are in singular form. It can be argued that when a noun has no obvious noun class prefix, learners failed to identify which class they belong.

Sheng: 128

<i>kalamu</i>	<i>changu</i>	<i>kililost</i>
/kalamu	tʔ-a ŋu	ki-li-lost/
cl.9.pen	cl.7-my	cl.7-pas.lost

S.K.

<i>Kalamu</i>	<i>y-angu</i>	<i>i-li-potea</i>
cl.9.pen	cl.9-my	cl.9-pas.-lost

My pen was lost.

Some learners used cl. 11 and 13 concordial agreement markers for nouns found in cl. 9. The common characteristic with these nouns is that they have a /u/ pronominal prefix in their singular form, however, the cl. 11 nouns changes in plural to take a variety of prefixes. The cl.14 nouns maintain the /u/ prefix both in their singular and plural forms. It is also worth noting that *ngware*, (morning) and ‘*raha*’ (joy) are abstract nouns (as nouns in class

fourteen), and it can therefore be argued that learners were attempting to apply semantic criteria to noun classification:

Sheng: 129 *Ngware* *huo* *ulikuwa* *na njeve.*
 /ŋware hu-o u-li-kuwa na n̩eve/
 Cl.9.morning that-cl.3 cl.3 pas.aux. - being con.
 and cold.

S.K.

Asubuhi *hi-yo* *i-li-kuwa na* *baridi*
 Cl.9.morning this-cl.9 cl.9-with cold
 The morning is cold.

Asubuhi can be used as an adverb to present the dimension of time. In this context, *asubuhi*, referred to as *ngware* in Sheng has been used as a noun.

Sheng: 130 *Raha* *u-ka-m-chukua ma-juu juu*
 /raha u-ka-m- t̩uk-u-a ma-̩uu ̩uu/
 Joy cl.14-narr.past-cl.1 (obj)-take cl.6 up.

Juu has been given a cl.6 prefix {*ma*}. Reduplication of the word *juu* was used to show intensity.

S.K.

Raha *i-ka-m-chukua*
 Joy cl.9-narr.past-cl.1 (obj)-take
 She/he was overjoyed.

Other learners used cl. 3, 11 and 14 agreement markers for nouns in cl. 10

Sheng: 131. *Kumbukumbu ilipendekezwa*
 /kumbukumbu i-li-pend-eke-zw-a/
 Minutes cl.4-past-propose

S.K. *Kumbukumbu zilipendekezwa*
 Minutes cl.10-past-propose
 Minutes were proposed.

Another error that learners committed was to use cl. 4 concordial agreement markers on the quantifier *-ingi* (many) or substitute it with an English lexeme *mob* which is a numerical adjective used to describe a crowd.

Sheng: 132. *Mara* *mob*
 /mara mob/
 Cl.10.time many

S.K.

Mara *ny-ingi*
 Cl.10 cl.10-many
 Often

Sheng: 133 *ma njia* *mingi*
 /ma- nɔ̃ia m-i ŋi/
 Cl.6.cl.10.way cl.3-many

S.K.

Njia *ny-ingi*
 cl.10.way cl.10-many
 Many ways.

Form three learners used cl.6 concordial agreement markers for nouns in cl.10 particularly on verbs. This was a confusion of the plural agreement marker for nouns in cl. 10

Sheng: 134. *Mastarehe* *yamekamu*
 /ma-starehe ya-me-kamu/
 Cl.6.comfort cl.6-perf-come.

S.K.

Starehe *zi-me-kuja*
 Cl.10.comfort cl.10-per. is-come
 Comfort has come

Other learners tended to use cl. 6 concordial agreement markers for nouns in cl. 9, and which do not take a plural marker.

Sheng: 135. *Sahani* *kilidedi*
 /sahani ki-li-dedi/
 Cl.9.plate cl.7-past-break

S.K.

Sahani *i-li-vunjika*
 Cl.9.place cl.9-past-break
 A plate broke.

The word *dead* has been derived from the English lexeme *die* which is used to describe the loss of life of a living organism. Breaking of the plate is likened to loss of life probably because the plate was not going to be useful anymore.

Sheng: 136. *Karatasi* *ki-li-lost*
 /sahani ki-li-dedi/
 Cl.9.paper cl.7-past-lost

S.K.

Karatasi *ilipotea*
 Cl.9.paper cl.7-past-lost
 A paper got lost.

Karatasi in the context of the writing task was used to refer to a certificate.

Some collective nouns are only used in plural form, but learners used cl. 9 concordial agreement markers for such nouns:

Sheng: 136. *Doo* *yangu* *ilisanywa*
 /do: y-aŋu i-li-saŋw-a/

Cl.10.money cl.9-my cl.9-past-stolen

S.K.

Pesa *z-angu* *zi-li-ibwa*
cl.10.money cl.10-my cl.10-past-lost
My money got lost.

Sanywa is a S.K. verb which refers to the act of collecting or putting things together in a heap or bundle. Stealing has been equated with putting things together.

Other learners used cl. 1 and 3 agreement marker {*m-*} on adjectives only used for nouns in cl. 9. It is worth noting that nouns in class one and three are in singular form as nouns in cl.9e and twenty. Cl. 9 agreement markers were used for nouns in cl.1 and in cl.3 The only difference is manifested in the plurals of the two classes. Whereas in cl.1 the plural marker is {*wa-*}, the class three markers is {*mi-*}.

The learner in this case having failed to identify the right class for the noun {*habari*} assigns the descriptive adjective {-*zuri*} an agreement marker {*m-*} instead of {*n-*}.

Sheng: 137. *Habari* *mzuri*
/habari m-zuri /
Information cl.1/cl.3-good

S.K.

Habari *n-zuri*
Information cl.9-good
Good information.

Some learners used cl.11 agreement markers for nouns in cl.10

5.3.6 Errors in Cl.11/14

Nouns in cl. 11 and 14 were given cl. 9 concordial agreement markers. The common characteristic of nouns in these two classes is that their pronominal marker is {*u-*}. Cl. 14

nouns are however abstract nouns and their form remains the same in singular and in plural. Note that nouns found in cl. 11 and 14 are in singular form as those in cl.9. The learners failed to understand that sickness {U-gonjwa} belongs to noun cl.13 and therefore assigned it a concordial prefix {i-} which belongs to noun class nine.

Sheng: 138. *Usickness* *hatari* *ilikamu*
 /u-sickness hatari i-li-kamu/.
 Cl.14-disease dangerous cl.9-past-emerge

S.K.

U-gonjwa *hatari* *u-li-zuka*
 Cl.14-disease dangerous cl.14-past-emerge
 A dangerous disease emerged.

Sheng: 139 *Uuzaji* *haramu* *ya* *ngoma* *ina*
bruucha.
 /u: za ŋi haramu j-a ŋoma i-na bru: tŋ/
 cha/.
 Cl.14-selling illegal cl.9-of cl.3-musiccl.9-pres.have
 trouble

S.K.

Uuzaji *wa* *kanda ghushi za* *muziki una atiza*
 Illegal selling of pirated music is troubling.

Ngoma is a term used by Sheng speakers to refer to music. In S. K. *Ngoma* is a musical instrument known as drum in English.

A noun in cl. 14 was given a cl.16 sixteen plural marker {*ma*}.

Sheng: 140. *Maugonjwa* *zinazomtrable* *ni* *hatari.*
 /ma-u-gonŋwa zi-na-zo-m-trouble ni hatari/

Cl.6-disease cl.10-pres-cl.10 (rel)-3rdcl.1 (obj)-trouble cop.is
dangerous.

S.K.

Ma-gonjwa ya-na-yo-m-sumbua ni hatari.

Cl.16/18-disease cl.16/18-pres-cl.6(rel)-3rdcl.1(obj)-trouble are
dangerous.

The diseases that are troubling him/her are dangerous.

Other learners used cl. 6 markers on the nouns in cl. 11 to denote plural for abstract nouns that are not marked for plural. They went on to use cl. 10 agreement markers. They were not able to distinguish between those nouns that are marked for plural and those that are not.

Sheng: 141. Mauchaguzi ya ma-parliamentarians ya-li-
fanyika /ma-u- t̩aguzi y-a ma-parliamentarians ya-li-
fa-ŋik-a/

Cl.6-cl.14-election cl.6-of cl.6-parliamentarians cl.6-past-happen

S.K.

Uchaguzi wa wabunge uli
fanyika.

Cl.14-election cl.14-of cl.2-parliamentarians cl.14-past-
happen

The election of parliamentarians took place.

Learners made nouns in cl. 14 to lose the {u} marker in a bid to make it plural and went ahead to use cl. 10 concordial agreement markers. This makes their plural nouns share characteristics of nouns in cl.10. Learners seemed not able to distinguish those nouns in cl. 11 and 14 that lose the {u} marker to denote plural and find their plural in cl. 10, and those that find their plural form in cl. 14

Sheng: 142. Maugonjwa zinatibiwa
/ma-u-gonŋwa zi-na-tib-iw-a/

Cl. 6 disease cl.10-pres-treat

S.K.

Ma-gonjwa ya-na-tib-iw-a
Cl.6-disease cl.6-pres-treat
Diseases are being treated.

Some collective nouns in class thirteen and fourteen that do not have a plural form were assigned markers. Learners added on them class six marker and went ahead to use class six concordial agreement markers. They failed to understand that concordial prefixes are inconsistent and are therefore not determined solely by the form of the noun.

Sheng: 143. Maunga yalimwagika.
/ma-u-ŋa ya-li-mwag-ik-a/
Cl.6-cl.11-flour cl.6-pas-pour

S.K.

U-nga u-li-mwag-ik-a
Cl.11-flour cl.11-perf-pour
Flour has been poured.

Where a noun ought to lose cl. 11 marker {u-} to be in plural form and find its plural in class two and ten, learners added cl. 6 marker {ma-} and used cl.6 concordial agreement markers. This was a case of not knowing that count nouns in class eleven share the same characteristics with those of cl.10 in their plural form.

Sheng: 144. Maukuta yalibwagwa.
/ma-u-kuta ya-li-bwag-w-a/
Cl.6-cl.11-wall cl.6-past-bring.down

S.K.

Kuta zi-li-bomo-lew-a
Cl.10.wall cl.10-past-bring.down

Walls were brought down.

A noun that ought to take its plural in cl. 10 by losing its class eleven marker {*u*} was made to maintain that marker while it took class ten concordial agreement markers:

Sheng: 145. *Ubawa* *zake ni poa*
/u-bawa z - ake ni poa/
Cl.11-wing cl.10-of it cop. good

S.K.

M-bawa *z- ake* *zi-na-vuti-a.*
Cl.10.wing cl.10-of.it cl.10-pres-adj-attract
Its wings are attractive.

Other learners added class fourteen marker {*u*} to a noun found in cl. 14 that is not marked. In doing so, they were trying to make such a noun take the same prefix as other nouns in class fourteen.

Sheng: 146. *U wizi* *wa kusakanya*
/u -wizi wa ku-saka- \emptyset a/
Cl.14-theft ass. of pas. grabbing

S.K.

Wizi wa vitu
Theft of grabbing.
 \emptyset -theft

Sheng: 147. *U-erevu*
/u-erevu/
Cl.14-cleverness

S.K.

Werevu
 \emptyset -cleverness

Some learners used class sixteen agreement markers for nouns in class eleven. Note that nouns found in class sixteen are in singular form as those found in class eleven. Also singular forms of some nouns in class eleven and some nouns in cl. 13. are homonymous. This made the learners think that some nouns found in cl. 11. can be made into plural by being assigned a class six concordial prefix. At the same time they failed to realize that majority of the nouns in class eleven change in form when in plural. A case in point is *ukuta* } *na uz* which change to *kuta* and *nyuzi* in plural. *Wimbo* therefore should have changed to {*nyimbo*}.

Sheng: 148.

Wimbo ziliimbwa
 /wimbo zi-li-imb-w-a/
 Cl. 6 song cl.5-pas-sing

S.K.

Ny-imbo zi-li-imb-w-a
 Cl. 12 songs cl.12-past-sing
 Songs were sung.

Other learners removed the {*u-*} marker on some nouns and went ahead to use cl. 9 agreement markers, making such a noun to behave like a noun in its singular form:

Sheng: 149.

Panga yake ililosti.
 /panga y-ake i-li-losti/
 Sword cl.9-of.him/her cl.9-past-lost.

S.K.

U-panga w-ake u-li-pote-a
 Cl.11-sword cl.11-of.hi/her cl.11-past-lost
 His sword got lost.

5.3.7 Errors in Cl. 21

This class contains nouns that are derived from verbs. They are given an infinitive prefix {*ku*} to make them nouns. Nouns in this class have no plural form, but in an attempt to use them in a plural form, learners used class ten concordial agreement markers. Learners failed to understand that the prefixes have to agree with the head noun.

Sheng: 150.

<i>Kucheza</i>	<i>za tem</i>	<i>zinafurahisha</i>
/ku-ch tʰez-a	za- tem	zi-na-furahi-s ʔ-a/
Cl.15-play	cl.10-of.them	cl.10-pres-make.happy

S.K.

<i>Ku-cheza</i>	<i>kw-ao</i>	<i>ku-na-furahi-sh-a</i>
Cl.21-play	cl.21-of them	cl.21-pres-make.happy

Their playing is bringing joy.

In some instances, learners, used class nine concordial agreement markers for nouns in class fifteen.

Sheng: 151.

<i>Kucheka</i>	<i>hiyo</i>	<i>iliboo.</i>
/ku-cheka	hi- jo	i- li-bo: /
Cl.21-laugh	that-cl.4/9	cl.4/9-pres-annoy

S.K.

<i>Ku-cheka</i>	<i>hu-ko</i>	<i>ku-na-udhi</i>
Cl.21-laugh	that-cl.21	cl.21-pres-annoy

That laugh is annoying.

To a small extent, learners use a marker, shared by class three, eleven and fourteen on distal determiner *hu-o*.

Sheng: 152. *Kukosana* *huo*
 /ku-kosana hu-o/
 Inf-collide.with.one.another that-cl.11/14

S.K.

Ku-kosana *hu-ko*
 Inf-collide.with.one.another that-cl.21
 Those disagreements.

5.3.8 Errors in Cl.22/23/24

Learners made errors of mixing the concordial agreement makers of these classes when referring to the same place. Note that each class maker has a different meaning. Cl. 22. refers to a specific place, cl. 23 to a general place and class twenty four to an inside place. See the following examples:

Sheng: 153. *Pa-le* *ku-na* *siafu*
 /pale kuna siafu/
 Cl.22-there cl.23-with safari. ants

S.K.

Pa-le *pa- na* *siafu*
 Cl.22-there cl.22-with safari. ants
 In that specific place, there are safari ants.

Sheng: 154. *Kule* *mna* *mastudent*
 /ku-le m-na ma-student /
 Cl.23-there cl.24-with cl.6 -student

S.K.

Ku-le *ku-na* *wa-na-funzi*
 Cl.23-there cl.23-with cl.2-student
 In that general area there are students.

Sheng: 155. *Mle* *pana* *jumu*

/m-le	pa-na	ʔumu/
Cl.24-there	cl.22-with	-shoes

S.K.

<i>M -le</i>	<i>m-na</i>	<i>vi-atu</i>
Cl.24-there	cl.24-with	cl.8-shoe

There are shoes inside.

A second type of error that learners tended to make in all these locative classes was to use class four agreement markers on verbs. It is important to note that the only noun in this class, {*mahali*} (place) is used only in the singular form; hence, students had a tendency to use class four agreement marker, which is a singular marker. See the following examples:

Sheng: 156.

<i>Ha-po</i>	<i>kw-ao</i>	<i>i-li-kuwa</i>	<i>waa.</i>
/ha-po	kw-ao	i-li-kuwa	wa:/
There-cl.22	cl.23-of.them	cl.4-past-be	cl.8-war

S.K.

<i>Ha-po</i>	<i>p-ao</i>	<i>pa-li-kuwa</i>	<i>vi-ta.</i>
There-cl.22	cl.22-of.them	cl.22-past-be	cl.8-war

At their specific place there was war.

Sheng: 157.

<i>Tulikoishi</i>	<i>ilikuwa</i>	<i>faa</i>
/tu-li-ko-iʔi	i-li-kuwa	fa:/
cl.2. 2 nd we pas-cl.23 live	cl.4-past-be	far.

S.K.

<i>Tu-li-ko-ishi</i>	<i>ku-li-kuwa</i>	<i>mbali.</i>
cl.2. 2 nd -past-cl.23	cl.23-past-be	far.

The general place we lived was far.

Sheng: 158.

<i>Homu</i>	<i>ilikuwa</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>mahasol</i>
/homu	i-li-kuwa	na	ma-hasol/
Home-loc	cl.4-past-be	with	cl.6 problem

S.K.

Nyumba-ni m-li-kuwa na shida.

Home-loc cl.24-past-be with problem

There were problems in the home.

As attested by the identified Sheng structures in this study, the linguistic elements of Sheng are sporadically obtained from a variety of host languages and to some extent coined. It exhibits simplification in its grammar and has a reduced noun class system compared to the above S.K. noun classes.

Sheng has a reduced agreement pattern. Ud Deen (2005) observes that, *Kiswahili Sanifu* has a richer agreement system and a richer noun class system than ‘Nairobi Swahili’ -regarded as Sheng in this study. He claims that ‘Nairobi Swahili’ has nine noun classes. He argues that speakers of Nairobi Swahili, use a full set of agreement markers when referring to a subject of noun classes one and two (*a-*, *wa-*); and “for the other classes, {*i-*} and {*zi-*} are the agreement markers with *i-* being singular and *zi-* being plural. This argument is presented in the following table:

TABLE 8: Standard Kiswahili and Sheng agreement morphology

Noun class	Standard Swahili	Nairobi Swahili (Sheng)
1	a-	a-
2	wa-	wa-
3	u-	i-
4	i-	zi-
5	li	i-
6	ya-	Zi
7	ki-	i-
8	vi	Zi
9	i	i-
10	zi-	zi-
11	u-	-
15	ku-	-

Sheng speakers apply simplification strategy as seen in the reduction of noun classes.

It goes beyond morphological and syntactical concerns. It borrows its lexemes from virtually all languages that form its linguistic environment. Chimera, R. (1998:) puts this into perspective by stating that it is the enormous range and varied source of its vocabulary that makes Sheng a language of such unique vitality. Some of the words, however, are distorted in pronunciation, a characteristic that is meant to enhance secrecy among Sheng users or ease communication.

Like a pidgin, Sheng syntax is ruled by that of a matrix language, in this case, Kiswahili. The traits of Sheng include extensive borrowing, lexical and syllabic modification, and an

idiosyncratic sound system. This is also a common trait in pidgins and creoles. In the case of pidgin, the dominant language is known as a superstrate. This language contributes most of the vocabulary. An example is Papua Guinea where the superstrate language is English. The other minority languages that contribute to the pidgin are called substrate languages. This is comparable to the matrix language and embedded languages in the case of Sheng.

Pidgins arise when speakers of two or more distinct languages merge the grammar and vocabulary of the languages together. Typically, they borrow words and grammar from the source language. Pidgins are practical tools for people to communicate about what they need. Their grammar is therefore simplistic.

The analysis done in this study indicates clearly that Sheng adheres to Kiswahili phonological and morphemic system. However, it is neither a pidgin nor a Kiswahili dialect. More research needs to be done to establish the identity of Sheng. Sheng manifests some characteristics that make it different from pidgin. It is on the basis of these findings that this study regards Sheng as a unique linguistic system.

Pidgin has been defined as a simplified form of linguistic communication that is usually a mixture of two or more languages, has a rudimentary grammar and vocabulary expressing social relationships and personal attitude. Both characteristics are quite evident in the manner that Sheng is used. However, the pidgin hypothesis in the origin of Sheng is controversial, not only because the terms pidgin and creoles are controversial in the academy, but also because in the case of Sheng, it sprung up in areas where English and Swahili were already established as *lingua francas* and therefore there was no dire need for a compromise medium of communication, a view also shared by Mkangi (1985).

This is more the case, given the practice of code-switching and code-mixing that was and is still rampant in the urban centres. Indeed, the following example shows an instance of Kiswahili-English code-mixing as opposed to a pidgin

Sheng: 159 *A-li-ni-shoo* *ni-come.*
 /aliniŋ ʔo: nikamu/
 Cl. 1 3rd . *she/he pas.show* *cl.1 si. I come.*
 He/she told me to come

The prefixes {*a-li-ni*} are sourced from S.K. while *show* is an English verb. This is also the case with *ni* and *come*.

S.K. *Aliniambia nije.*

It is worth noting that since Sheng incorporates elements from different languages, a claim that it is a mere form of code switching is an understatement. It assumes that the speakers will be fluent in all of the languages involved in the switch and there is no evidence to show that Sheng speakers are also speakers of all the languages incorporated in Sheng. I would further submit that whereas Sheng is primarily an urban, youth communication code, code-switching is common across the age, gender and regional divides. In addition, code-switching does not have the same negative connotations that Sheng attracts. This was evidenced by the teachers' questionnaire in which they expressed their dislike for Sheng.

The vocabulary of a pidgin language is typically rudimentary with few synonyms. It has little ability to express subtle distinctions. In addition, there are usually no plurals. For example, according to Hawaii Pidgin, (Japanese-English pidgin spoken in Hawaii),

"Awl kain naim get"

Translation:

"It has several different names"

And

"Bat me-kam-taim, no, lito bit moa pei ap yo, no?"

Means

"But when I came, pay had gone up a little, hadn't it?"

Sheng on the other hand lacks the sophistication required to meet well- rounded communication demands. In his research, Mokaya Bosire (2002) established that Sheng borrows about 13% from English, 20% from Kiswahili and 67% from other sources. This is indicative of its deficiency. The grammar of pidgins is usually simplified. Subject and verb does not necessarily agree. It has a reduced tense/ aspect markers just like Sheng, but whereas some pidgin stabilizes with time and may evolve into a Creole, Sheng remains unstable.

Pidgins may fade out or one group may adapt the full language of the other group. If the various cultures continue to interact, the pidgins may develop into new language called creoles, which are independent languages with all the characteristics of natural languages, including grammar and adequate vocabularies. Sheng on its part undergoes constant metamorphosis and external influence. Its lexemes keep on changing with time in order to maintain secrecy among the users. The *Sheng* system renovates its lexicon almost every five years or so. For instance, the word for a hundred shillings mutated from *hando*, in the seventies, to *masai*, in the eighties, and finally to *soo* or *red* in the nineties. Likewise, the verb *to eat* changed, for the same periods, from *minya* to *sosi*, then to *dishi*, and finally to *dema*. This constant evolution of terms exemplifies Sheng's dynamism. Adjectives and adverbs have been changing too through time.

When a language borrows, it is mainly in the area of vocabulary. Languages evolve and rejuvenate themselves over time, if they do not wither and die altogether. New lexical terms emerge as the technological and scientific landscape evolves. Little wonder then, that lexical paradigms are said to be *open* to new additions (Martinet 1980).

5.4 The Future of Sheng

According to the findings of this research, Sheng will continue to be a big threat to Standard Kiswahili. This is because Sheng has diverse sources of its lexicon and syntax. This makes it to thrive despite the hostile societal environment that surrounds it. This is based on the response obtained from the teachers' questionnaire. Out of a population of 18 teachers, 17 of the respondents expressed a negative attitude towards Sheng. This position is justified by the fact that teachers are curriculum implementers and, therefore have the responsibility of ensuring that the standard variety is taught.

No language is self sufficient, and therefore, borrowing from the host languages is an old phenomenon .The main ambassadors of Sheng are young musicians and matatu touts who are quite enthusiastic about the code. Beside, radio stations that broadcast in Sheng are coming up. A case in point is Ghetto Radio 98.5 F.M., which captures a lot of attention from the youth. Young and creative writers who use Sheng in their art are also coming up. A case in point is Kwani publications. Sheng is also proving to be significant in the political arena since it is popular among the youth electorate, particularly in the slum areas. This is evidenced by Raphael Tujus' (one of Kenya's' presidential aspirant in the 2008 general elections) one minute presidential bid in Sheng through his website. He says:

“Saseni. Mimi naitwa Raphael Tuju au Rapho mkipenda. Natangaza kuvie hii seat ya press hapa Kenya. Najitolea kuwa presso juu nataka kutoa hii inchi yetu kutoka kwa siasa za tene na za ukabila. Kabila langu ni mkenya. Naelewa vipoa stori ya kuwamtoimles na kulelewa na wazazi wasio masonko....naelewa stori ya kudoze bila kumanga na kusota, nimepass through hii life so, naifeel...”(www.raphaeltuju.com)

The corporate world is also promoting Sheng usage through their advertisement. Examples of companies, which have embraced this approach, are Barclays Bank with *mkopo wa salo* and Kenya Commercial Bank with *Bankika na K.C.B.*

Sheng has no linguistic expert as does other languages and, therefore, the users do not wait for scholars to pass judgment on the efficacy of the borrowed lexemes and rules. This provides a platform for anybody who has picked lexical items from anywhere to use them and ultimately have them accommodated by the Sheng fraternity.

It is the view of the researcher that Sheng is not a pidgin and has no possibility of becoming one. Its amorphous nature remains a big hindrance to its attainment of the status of pidgin. Its emergence is also not prompted by a communicational need since the speakers have a common communicational code like Kiswahili.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The focus of this study was to identify and investigate the origin of Sheng morphosyntactic structures and demonstrate their influence on written Standard Kiswahili (SK). Since morphosyntactic Sheng-related structures have semantic attributes to communicative effectiveness or lack of it, we addressed these parameters while retaining the objective of the study.

In this chapter, some conclusions pertaining to the effect of Sheng morphosyntactic errors on S.K. are made. The implication of these errors on communication and the attainment of curriculum goals are also discussed. Suggestions regarding the solution to the problems are also made, and recommendation for further study given.

6.1 Conclusions

Sheng is an amalgamation of elements from various speech communities of Kenya. It is used in casual speech and is unstable and random. It uses the normal lexical expansion processes. It is used by the youth as their preferred code of communication and as a badge of social identity. It sources its lexical items from the various Kenyan and foreign languages. Sheng structure deviates from that of standard source languages namely, Kiswahili, English and other indigenous and foreign languages. Like other formal languages, Sheng uses the normal lexical expansion processes like coining, borrowing, clipping and reduplication to formulate new words. Indeed Kiswahili learners get Sheng input from diverse informal sources such as radio and television programmes that target the youth audience. A case in point is the Nation pullout Magazine that is sold alongside the Nation newspaper, one of widely read newspaper

in Kenya. Kiswahili acquired from these sources does not necessarily conform to acceptable norms of SK. It contributes additional variation to the Sheng interlanguage of the learners. This study revealed that the acquisition of proficiency is influenced by extra-pedagogical factors such as social mobility, increased use of print media, and the growth of pop culture particularly in urban centres, view that is collaborated by Mwaniki, I. N. (2001) study. This pattern of language use cannot be overlooked.

Sheng morphosyntactic structures are prevalent features in the written Kiswahili compositions of form three learners in Nairobi. The Kiswahili they use has many grammatical errors distributed across the five syntactic categories that were under investigation. Their occurrence was taken to imply that the governing rules of the target languageⁱⁱⁱ have not been fully acquired.³

There was a significant difference in Sheng forms from one locality to another. The sociolinguistic environment of the learners brought about this variation since the process of language learning is impacted upon by the surrounding society. This confirms the hypothesis, that the use of Sheng –related morphosyntactic structures is directly related to the quality of S.K. input and the sociolinguistic environment of the learner. The written Kiswahili compositions of Dagorreti Division had more Kikuyu-sourced lexical items than those of Kibera Division. Being conversant with the Kikuyu language, the researcher was able to identify such lexical items.

The learners produced much more target-like forms in the writing task than in the oral task where they were required to produce the language without prior planning. The settings were also less formal, given that this is one area that is not tested by the Kenya National Examinations Council. This may be because the writer had enough time while the speaker

iii The target language in this study is Kiswahili.

may purport to be under considerable pressure to keep on talking during the time allotted to him/her.

Deviations from the target norms were found to be more in specific syntactic categories. A big number of the sampled population had some problems with concordial markers, verbal and nominal extensions and generalization of plural markers. This trend, however, reduced substantially in the corpus of form three students from boarding secondary schools. Simplification, reduction of noun class and discord of the agreement markers were quite evident. The Sheng interlanguage of the subjects portrayed a varying degree of Sheng interference depending on their social and geographical backgrounds. The most common morphological structure of Sheng is the affixation of Kiswahili morphemes to roots that were drawn from local and foreign languages.

Inadequate exposure to Standard Kiswahili and the linguistic backgrounds of the learners make them to evolve communication strategies in which Sheng- formation processes play a major role. The process of assessment in a subject is essentially the process of determining to what extent the curriculum is realizing the educational objectives. Since oral communication in Kiswahili is not normally assessed at the national level, the realization of oral objectives in the curriculum may not be feasible. The increased number of errors in the oral composition attests to this fact.

6.2 Recommendations

Sheng- related errors have a linguistic as well as a sociological bearing. It is therefore important to take account of the linguistic environment that surrounds the students if any progress in the correction of Sheng-related errors is to be achieved. The educators should therefore discourage the learners from participating in the discourse that is likely to influence their language competence. As a *lingua franca* and bearing in mind its importance in the

political and commercial areas, Standard Kiswahili should be guarded against proliferation and interference of any nature. School administrators can come up with school based language policies where certain days of the week are dedicated to communicating in Kiswahili and the students made to conform to it. The Ministry of Education should encourage the culture of drama and speech competition in Standard Kiswahili in order to give the students opportunities for language practice and generally all stakeholders in the education sector should assist in ensuring that its usage is as stipulated in the syllabus. The knowledge of language form and structure, and the oral communication ability should be encouraged. It is worth noting that Standard Kiswahili is offered in approximately a hundred universities across the United States and is offered as a subject of study in prestigious universities such as Harvard and Yale (Rocha.1998). Therefore, its importance cannot be underscored.

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APPENDIX A

WRITTEN TASK

The following test was given to 40 students of form three from each of the selected schools in Nairobi.

Jina.....

Kidato.....

Shule.....

Muda: Dakika 50.

Kiswahili

Andika insha isiyopungua maneno mia mbili (200). Tanguliza insha yako kwa maneno haya:

Siku tuliyotarajia kwa hamu na ghamu ilikuwa imefika. Niliamka haraka haraka kama mwehu na kuelekea bafuni... (Endelea)

APPENDIX B:

ORAL TASK

The oral task given to two students from each school

Simulia kisa kifupi kuhusu rafiki umpendaye.

APPENDIX C

DIVISIONS

The sample area: The eight divisions of Nairobi Province where the data was collected

Central	Starehe
Dagoretti	Ruthimitu , Dagorreti
Embakasi	Embakasi
Kasarani	Githurai
Kibera	Kibera
Makadara	Makadara
Pumwani	Pumwani
Westland's	Kangemi

APPENDIX D

TEACHERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer the following questions fully and honestly by writing your responses in the spaces provided. The response you give shall be used for research purposes only. Your response will be kept strictly and confidentially.

1. What is the linguistic situation of the community that your school serves?

.....
.....

Do you think the sociolinguistic situation has any influence on the students' competence in Kiswahili? Explain.

.....
.....
.....

Do the learners use Sheng when they lack a Kiswahili term to explain their ideas? If so what is your position on Sheng usage by the students?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

There have been some frequent complaints about Kiswahili composition questions being poorly performed in our schools. What would you say are some of the reasons for the poor performance?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

From your own point of view, do you think Sheng usage has some influence on Kiswahili composition?

.....
.....
.....

What are some of the ways that you would use to curb the use of Sheng and how effective will they be in improving performance in Kiswahili composition test?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

2. How would you rank test as a mean of evaluation?

.....
.....

Is Sheng the main factor in the students Kiswahili composition poor performance?

.....
.....
.....

Should students be allowed to speak in Sheng while in school? Give reasons for your answer.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Do the speakers of Sheng perform well in Kiswahili?

.....

.....

APPENDIX E

SHENG LEXEMES OBTAINED DURING PILOT STUDY

A number of Sheng lexemes were collected during the pilot study. This was done to test the data elicitation instruments and also to have a Sheng data bank which would aid in identification of Sheng morphosyntactic structures. Sheng is presented in italics, Kiswahili is presented in normal font and English is presented in bold italics

Nagoz/ndura- Simu ***-phone***

Buda- baba***-father***

Masa- Mama***-mother***

Chopi- mtu mwerevu***-a clever person***

Fala- mtu mjinga***- an idiot***

Mshake- mtu mshamba***-a village fellow***

Mtoto/dame- msichana mrembo***- a beautiful girl***

Kapiengas- mtu mfupi***- a short person***

Swa- somo la Kiswahili***- Kiswahili subject***

Monster/nyoka- mwanafunzi wa kidato cha kwanza***- a form one student***

Ancestor- wanafunzi wa kidato cha nne***- a form four student***

Punch-Shilingi mia tano***- a five hundred shiling note***

Soo- shilingi mia moja***- a hundred shillings***

Hansa/finje-shilingi hamsini***- fifty shillings***

Mbao/blue –shilingi ishirini***- twenty shillings***

Tenga-shilingi elfu moja***- one thousand shillings***

Uwi-ukatili***-brutality***

1 metre- milioni moja***- one million shillings***

Fegi-sigara***- a cigarette***

Githaa-muda***- time***

Doo-pesa***- money***

Dema-mlo***- food***

Passee-pasta- a pastor
Kuwa maji-kulewa- to be drunk
Kusepa-kuondoka/kuanza safari- to start a journey
Kuwa kulozeno-kuwa kubaya- becoming bad
Kudampiwa-kuachwa- to be jilted
Kumada-kumaliza- to finish
Kudenka-kula- to eat
Kumanga- kula- to eat
Kusonora/amenisanya/ wamenitoka- kuiba-to steal
Kudunga-kuvalia- to wear
Kutei-kunywa pombe- to become drunk
Kutanto-kukumbuka- to remember
Iza-pole- slow
Haina ngoni-hana shida- with no problem
Daach-darasa- a class
Hakuna mbricha mob-hakuna shida- no problem
Kuzua-kukasirika- to get annoyed
Zi-kukata/lo! - to express refusal
Amekrezika-amepata tabia mbovu- to acquire bad habits
Kinde-shilingi kumi- ten shillings
Nduthi/Boko-pikipiki- a motor bike
Loba-fanya vibaya- to misbehave
Aradhe-shilingi mia mbili- two hundred shillings
Chapa-sura mbaya-ugliness
Kufanto-kukumbuka au kufikiri- to recall
Tene-kitambo-long ago
Mrui-mkatili- a brutal person
Mchiango/fek- kutoka china- a Chinese
Ndom-bangi- bhang

Denge/rasa/haga-makalio- buttocks

Poko-kahaba- a prostitute

Antirada-mtu asiyelewa- one who is slow in understanding

Muthe/mathafu-hesabu- Mathematics

Wagwaan-moja- one

Kunyita-kuelewa- to understand

Kukreki-kuwa wazimu- to become mad

Kuchana-kula miraa- to chew miraa

Kubafuliwa-kunyang'anywa msichana na mwanaume mwingine- to lose one's girlfriend to another man

Kukufia-kupenda mtu- to love

Kuchapa-kuzeeka- to get old

Mblenia-msichana ambaye si mrembo- a beautiful girl

Kubonda-kuzeeka- to become old

Mkidi-mtoto mdogo- a young child

Dendai/ndaranya/nguku/mamaa-msichana- a girl

Obb-mchokozi na mnyanganyi-a liar

Minya-pea- give

Nyuka-piga- beat

Njopa/sangweri-maasai- a Maasai

Sucnose-mtu anaye rina sana- A boastful person

Kori-shilingi tano- five shillings

Fomu-mpango- a plan

Oxymonon-mjinga- stupid person

System-shule- a school

Toka-ibia mtu- steal from a person

Mokoro-mzazi- parent

Kubanjuka-kukatika ngoma-to dance

Kurombosa-kutingisha kiuno (kike)- to shake one's waist

Kimahum-bila kujali- to be a don't

Guilty-pesa-money
Idhaaa-mpenzi hasaa wa kike- female lover
Buda-kijana anayeonekana mzee- a young perso who looks old
Kugenya-kufariki- to die
Nanga-msichana aliye na maringo-a boastful girl
Mengo-mtu aliye na kichwa kubwa- big headed
Ndulele-msichana aliyevutia-an attractive girl
Haina ile-hamna shida yoyote- no problem
Meda-chakula- food
Kuchora giza-kutofaulu- to be unsuccessful
Madoba-muziki wa zamani wenye asili ya Jamaika- classical music from jamaica
Gallis-mwanaume mwenye wapenzi wengi- a promiscuous man
Mandazi-chupi-innerwear
Zingiri-fala- a stupid person
Bonya-ogopa- fear
Sasua-ibia- steal from
Cobra-kiranja- a prefect
Morale-poa poa-jibu la salamu- greetings
Park-mahali mtu anaishi- ones abode
Toka kijiko-enda mbio-to run fast
Pumpum-mtu mnene- a plump person
Ferare-nauli- bus fare
Donda-utingo-matatu tout
Magoka/jabaa-miraa- miraa
Mazguembe-misuli ya miguu-mascular legs
Kutei-kulewa- to be drunk
Tenje/muste-radio- a radio
Ovondo-parachichi- ovacado
Ngware-mapema -early

Chelo-paja- thigh
Ndula/jumu-viatu- shoes
Ngepa-kofia- a cape
Tortoise-msichana- girl
Siaka-mbio-race
Karao/ponye/ngaira-polisi- a police officer
Gora-serekali- government
Ashara-shilingi kumi-ten shillings
Sulele-njema- good
Mututho-pombe- beer
Banju-katika- danse
Toja-suruali ndefu-trouser
Boller/sonko-tajiri- a rich person
Chizi-wazimu- madness
Para-uongo- a lie
Ng'athe-safi- pure
Raima- shule ya msingi- primary school
Skoni-mahali ambapo watu zaidi ya moja wana kaa-a group
Ngaza-kikundi cha watu wabaya- a gang
Aktia-kuiba- to steal
Kushangaza-kuibia mtu kitu- to steal from someone
Mhant-rafiki- a friend
Ocha-mashambani-rural home
Kuwaka-kulipwa- to be paid
Toi-pombe-liquor
Mchpda-hela- money
Ant dosi-kitu ambacho hakihitajiki shuleni- contraband
Waba-maji- water
Tiabe-chai-tea

Chop-kusoma- to study

Digaga-miwa- sugar cane

Ndoto-uchi- nude

Mohi-msichana- lady

Kutinga chuo-kufunga shule- to close school

Kuwahi-kupata kiu- to get something

Kuinua-kwenda mahali- to go to a place

Alei- kuondoka- to go

Kuhata mse-kumkosa mtu- long to meet a person

Mtaani-nyumbani- home

Nare-moto-fire

Mbleina-mjinga- a stupid person

Side mirror- nyonga- hips

Kujengwa-kupatiwa kitu kwa wingi- to have in abundance

Rende-watu wanao penda kutembea pamoja- friends who like walking together.

roda-kulewa- to get drunk

Ndov-elfu moja- one thousand shillings steal

Sakanya- iba-
