NEOLOGISMS IN IGIKURIA

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGES, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

2016
DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other university.

__________________________  __________________________
MARTIN MOKERERI MAGAIWA    DATE

This research project has been submitted for examination with our approval as the university supervisors.

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PROF. OKOTH OKOMBO           DATE

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DR. JANE WAMBUI              DATE
DEDICATION

To the love of my life, Jackline and loving daughter, Vanessa Martin. I also dedicate this work to my parents Anjelina Boke and Francis Magaiwa.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My deep gratitude goes to the Almighty God for giving me the grace to study. I had good health and the mental tenacity to embark on this epic journey from the start to the end. I will always honour Him in my work.

I would also want to give special appreciation to my darling, Jackline Murithi for her constant support and prayers. To my lovely daughter Vanessa who gave me reason to work even harder. May God bless you big for being a blessing in my life and my studies.

Special recognition goes to Mr. Antony Kimathi for being my host every time I appeared in the school for study. His constant encouragement and nights he pushed me to work made me achieve my dreams. God bless you.

To my parents, Francis Magaiwa and Angelina Boke who continue to inspire me in my studies. Thank you for your unrelenting support in prayers, material provision and constant advice. Without you I wouldn’t have completed this degree.

It would be a crime if I don’t acknowledge my classmates; Antony Muturi, Monica, Faith, Esther Opil, Awino Ogelo, Fredrick Gachanja, Tuva Konde, Okema Martin, Vincent, Onyango and many others who were very resourceful in the discussions we had in the lecture rooms. They added more value in my linguistic competence, especially due to their rich linguistic knowledge and backgrounds. This work is a crystallisation of the rich discussions we had and the deep consultation from my lecturers.

I would also want to thank my lecturers, especially Dr. Helga Shroe”da who was very resourceful in the field of pragmatics, and her inspiration for selection of this gamut of study. My sincere inspiration by Professor Okoth Okombo, Dr. Mukhwana, Professor Habwe, Dr. Zaja, Professor Lucia Omondi and others that I may not mention here due to constraints of space. To all, may God bless you.
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DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS/TERMS

**Standard** language is the language variety used by a group of people in their public discourse, and is seen as the best form of the language, apart from its various dialects that may manifest.

**Narrowing**-this is a type of semantic change by which the meaning of the word becomes less general or inclusive than its earlier meaning. It is also known as specialization or restriction.

**Broadening**-This is a type of semantic shift/change by which the meaning of a word becomes broader or more inclusive than its earlier meaning. The word is said to be generalizing or lexically extended.

**Approximation**-part of the broadening process

**Linguistic competence**-this refers to the ability of a speaker to use a language in its natural form as a native. One is described as competent if they know all the grammatical rules of the language.

**Absorbing language**-the language which assimilates the loan words and makes its sound and meaning conform to its morphological, phonological and semantic structure.

**Source language**-this is the language which donates or loans the word to another language

**Productivity**-refers to the ability of speakers to produce and understand new words

**Motivation** - refers to it as conditions which may lead to a certain linguistic form

**Neologism** – refers to newly formed lexical items/units or words in a language to apply to new notions, concepts and, or synthesize pre-existing concepts (make older terminology sound contemporary).

**Syntagm**- This is a string of constituents of the complex word and the transparency of its meanings

**Transparency** a term used to describe a situation where the meanings of two strings of words combining to form a complex word contribute to the overall meaning of the complex word formed.
Loaning refers to the acquisition of words from one language into another to denote concepts and ideas that may lack appropriate words in the absorbing language.

Nativization is the process by which a transplanted language becomes native to a people or place in terms pronunciation, semantic reference and its linguistic connotations.

Established word words are those which have become part of the norm, that is, item-familiar to a large enough sub-set of the speech community to make it worth listing in the reference works, (Bauer 2001:67).

Opacity- a term used to describe the variance of the meaning of words when individual meanings of words (joining together to form one word) do not cumulatively yield or add to the final meaning.

Social Media: computer-mediated technologies that allow individuals, companies, NGOs, governments and other organizations to view, create and share information, ideas, career interest, and other forms of expression via virtual communities e.g. Facebook, twitter, MySpace, Google, what Sapp etc.
ABSTRACT

This study is an investigation on Igikuria neologisms within the framework of Relevance theory as advanced by Wilson and Sperber (1995). The research is hinged on the research gap, that there is no recorded relevance theoretic account on the nature of Igikuria neologisms and need to understand the nature of Igikuria neologisms, and how Relevance theory accounts for their formation. Therefore, this research’s mandate is purely based on finding adequate description of Igikuria neologisms within the relevance theory. Research data was drawn from respondents from indigenous speakers in Ntimaru area of Kuria East Constituency. Data was also drawn from “Jesus movie” a translation into Igikuria, and used in this research. This research consists of four chapters, and begins with chapter one which gives a background to the Kuria people and the Igikuria language, a conception of the research problem, objectives for the research, rationale, theoretic framework and the methodology of research. Chapter two explores the nature of Igikuria neologisms by reviewing their salient features (sources, motivations, and productivity in the language). The chapter also discusses derivation, reduplication, borrowing and semantic extensions as processes involved in neologism formations. Chapter three is analytic in nature. It goes beyond the superficial outlook of neologisms and applies the RT in explaining how the various neologisms are interpreted. Ad hoc concepts of broadening and narrowing are undertaken, and RT used to explain how hearers interpret words involved. Chapter four reviews how our research objectives have been met through a discussion of findings of the research. This chapter concludes our investigation by giving a summary, conclusions, and recommendations for further research within the Igikuria language.
CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background to the Study

1.1.1 Introduction

This research has undertaken a pragmatic analysis of neologisms in the Igikuria language, within the framework of relevance theory (RT) as advanced by (Sperber & Wilson, 1995/2004). A study of neologisms necessitates us to understand the nature of neologisms and what they entail. Neologisms, as defined by The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms by Chris Baldick is, “a word or phrase newly invented or newly introduced into a language” (Baldick, 2001:169). Other scholars like Katie (2001:268) refer to neologisms as “… newly invented words”. These newly invented words are usually in continuous use. The widespread use of these words may lead to them being widely accepted into the speech community and become assimilated as part of the language thereby contributing to its growth.

1.1.2 Background of the Kuria Language

The Kuria language is majorly spoken by the abakuria people in Kenya and Tanzania. The abakuria are indigenous Bantu speakers spread along the Kenya and Tanzania border. They are believed to have originated from Misri, present day Egypt (Jens Finke, 2000-2003:2) and spread over to northern Tanzania, around Lake Victoria. It is here, that some spread to Kenya. Other theories hold that, they originated from Bantu cradle land in Katanga, Congo and spread over to the southwest of Lake Victoria in Tanzania and eventually to Kenya.

Guthrie (1967) cited in Mwita (2012:159) classifies Kuria as E43, that is, the third language in zone E, group 40. In this classification, Kuria is most closely related to Logooli (E41), Gusii (E42), Zanaki (E44), Nata (E45), Ngorimi and Simbiti. Studies by Nurse and
Philipppson (1980) indicate that igikuria “…is in the Lacustrine group of languages, in the subgroup of East Nyanza, where it is closely related to Ngorimi, Suba, Ikizu, Shasi, Zanaki and Nata” (Mwitaha, 2012:159). These close relationship( of the Kisii, the Abasuba and the Maragoli tribes) shown by historical studies e.g. Blue gecko foundation, (Jens Finke, 2000-2003), indicate that these communities had early contact before they cut links and spread to different areas. Consequently, they lost their language and each adopted different linguistic repertoire. Neologisms (new words) were formulated each according to their experiences with the communities they came into contact with, thus setting them as different ethnic groups over long periods of time.

The present day Kuria people found in Kenya and Tanzania are estimated at over 1 million. The Kenya 2009 national census estimated the population of Kuria to be about 256,086 in Kuria East and West districts, and over 301,000 countrywide (Kenya National Census, 2009). Records of Tanzania National census report 2006 indicate that the Kuria in Tanzania form majority of the Igikuria language speakers at a population of over 608,000 people by the year 2006. According to Kuria elders e.g. Mzee Fred Moherai, Francis Omokereri, Marwa Osinda and many others whom I consulted widely, this ethnic community is comprised of a number of subtribes, known as (Ibhiaro) majorly spread in Kenya and Tanzania. Among the kuria subtribes are, the abairege clan, abakiira, abagumbe, abanyabaasi (spread in Kenya), abakizu, abahunyaga, abanchari, abamera, abamoncha, abanchanake, abaisenye, abanata, abatatiro, abakwaya, abakirooba, abanyamongo, abatimbaru, abasweta, abanguirimi, abasimbiti and abakenye spread in Tanzania. The four clans (abairege, abanyabaasi, abakiira and abagumbe), in Kenya are also found in Tanzania. Some of the Tanzanian clans have undergone language degeneration and change in lexicon to an extent that they are now considered as distinct tribes e.g. the Sweta,
abakizu, abachanake and others that I won’t mention due to constrains of space. Of importance to note is the fact that most of these clans speak the Igikuria language, differing majorly on vocabulary and lexical terminologies. All the clans have a very high degree of mutual intelligibility, but clear differences can be drawn on their vocabulary and lexical variations. The Bairege sub-dialect, which is the specific object language of study, is spoken both in Kenya and Tanzania.

A study of neologisms will help determine how words are formed, used and understood in the Igikuria language. Peter Newmark defines neologisms as “newly come lexical or existing units that acquire a new sense” (Newmark 1988: 140). Similarly, the Oxford Dictionary of English (2003: 1179) illustrates a neologism as “a newly coined word or expression that may be in the process of entering common use, but has not yet been accepted into mainstream language”. These neologisms are created through a language’s natural word formation processes. Word formation processes differ depending on the nature of the language. The Igikuria language utilizes almost all word formation processes in its formation of new words. For example, *ebharabhara* ‘road’ borrows from Swahili *barabara*; *erhori* borrows from the English word ‘lorry’.

Bussman (1996) brings a new twist to the concept of neologisms. He defines a neologism as “a newly formed linguistic expression (word or phrase) that is recognized by at least part if not all of a language community as the way to denote a new object or state of affairs, be it in technology, industry, politics, culture or science”. These linguistic creations are present in Igikuria as it subscribes to the universality of growth of human languages. All these definitions contain one common notion; that of ‘creation of a new word/phrase/item’ that never existed in the linguistic repertoire of the absorbing community. It is therefore, logical to uphold that
neologisms entail formation of new lexical items/units or words to apply to new notions, concepts and, or synthesize pre-existing concepts (make older terminology sound contemporary). The newly formed words and phrases are usually used for new meanings of phrases, new things that have been created, especially in technological inventions, political conjugations and general encounter of things that never existed in the language of the specific speech community. We shall stick to this last definition of neologisms in this paper as it captures all the other definitions and covers our research comprehensively.

1.1.3 Theoretical basis of the research

This research is based on the Relevance Theory’s assumption that there is a total variation between the linguistically encoded meaning of an utterance and the speaker’s meaning. This gap is set off by the discrepancy between the meaning of a word and its meaning when the word is used in a specific context. The speaker’s meaning is thus dependent on context. We therefore, strive to delineate how the hearer bridges the gap (between the ordinary meaning of a word, and its meaning when used in a specific context) in order to achieve communication. Relevance theory is based on principles of effects and effort, and how the hearer(s) churn all this to achieve the intended communication. Our focus shall thence be focalized on explaining how neologisms are created in the Igikuria language, and how speakers of the language achieve mutual intelligibility for the intended communication.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Our pre-research observations reveal a peculiar scenario of active introduction of new words and other lexical items that were previously non-existent in the Igikuria language. For instance, technological inventions, political jargon, educational terms and the confluence of media effects and general language use in society have resulted in the introduction of neologisms
in the Kuria language. For instance, words like; * egetari-*‘steering wheel’, *ikibinyiiri-*‘mouse’ *emasine-*‘machine’ and *imbunduki-*‘gun’ are new words that have been created. While new words have been created, it is also important to note that some of the old Kuria words have taken new meanings e.g. *ekegabo* initially meant ‘a basket’, it’s now referent to ‘a useless fellow’. Similarly, *umurito* meant a ‘heavy person’, but now is common to mean ‘a big man/tycoon/politician that is rich and influential’. These observations point to active word formation processes such as borrowing, lexical extensions, derivations, semantic extensions etcetera.

A number of linguists have noted that languages in their productive impetus tend to create new words through such word formation processes. Scholars like Bauer, 2001: 67) note that neologism is a natural phenomenon of language responsible for its productivity. Kortmann (1999:58) supports this view in his argument that word formation processes are responsible for neologisms in languages. Locally, scholars who have studied neologisms include Aduda Kennedy (2013), “Relevance theoretical analysis of Dholuo neologisms”, Kinyanjui (2013), “Challenges of competing neologisms: A case of Kiswahili technical terminology” and Boke (2012) “The Morphological Changes of Borrowings from English to Kuria Language” using the Natural Generative Phonology (NGP) theoretical framework. Though Boke (2012) presents a near study to this, she only manages a veneer outlook into the whole gamut of neologisms in general.

So far, to the best of our knowledge, no one has studied Igikuria neologisms. In particular, there is no relevance-theoretic analysis of Igikuria neologisms which may help us understand their nature, how they are formed, their language specific properties and how language users interpret their meaning based on context(s) of use.
The absence of documented research in Igikuria neologisms and the need to understand how they are conceptualized in Igikuria language constitutes the research gap to be addressed in this study. The questions related to this research gap are outlined in section 1.3 below.

1.3 Research Questions

i. Which word formation processes are responsible for neologisms in Igikuria language?

ii. What role does context play in the formation of Igikuria neologisms?

iii. What role do the ad hoc concepts play in the formation of neologisms in Igikuria language?

iv. How does relevance theory account for meaning intended in Igikuria speakers?

1.4 Objectives

The overall objective of this study was to determine the nature of neologisms in Igikuria language. The specific objectives of the study were to:

i. Investigate the word formation processes responsible for Igikuria neologisms formation.

ii. Determine the role of context in the interpretation of Igikuria neologisms

iii. To determine the role of ad hoc concepts of broadening and narrowing in the interpretation of Igikuria neologisms

iv. Determine how RT accounts for meaning intended in Igikuria speakers.
1.5 Rationale / Justification

The nature of human languages is that it is highly productive. Productivity entails natural processes of word creation and lexicon pillaging. Neologisms (new word creations) are formulated to help in comprehensive communication in a speech community. It is these words that reflect changes that may occur in a language, i.e. whether a language is dying or growing (in what direction/manner). Accordingly, a study in Igikuria neologisms will enunciate and illustrate the nature of this language’s growth through neologism formation. The study will also reveal how the Igikuria language formulates words that never existed in the Igikuria repertoire. For instance, words on technological inventions, political jargon, and educational terms. A pragmatic analysis of Igikuria neologisms will help understand how communication is achieved in Igikuria language, especially in relation to the newly created words. Through this study, we hope to enrich studies in Igikuria language and build enough literature for scholars interested in Igikuria language and neologisms in general.

Various scholars and theorists have given their thoughts and interpretation of language formation, use and interpretations in general. Of particular case are Sperber and Wilson (1994/2004) on Relevance theory. Their main claim that human communication is geared towards maximization of relevance and that communication is context dependent can be tested in a study as this one. Therefore, this research shall provide a perfect opportunity to test this theoretical perspective and gauge its applicability in utterance interpretation.
1.6 Scope and Limitation

This study explores neologisms in Kuria language. Neologisms are plethoric and broad in nature. They could mean new creations of new words through the process of obtaining loan words from other languages, creations through coinage and natural generative morphology of languages, semantic shifts of words acquiring new meanings or even words produced due to language defects. Our focus on neologisms shall only be limited to those which are created by processes due to morphological alterations e.g. loaning, compounding, reduplication, derivation and those formed due to semantic change i.e. reversals, lexical extensions and semantic transfers.

This study was based on Igikuria neologisms. The Kuria language (though closely related) in general has many sub-clans which have distinct lexical and phonological differences. This study will only focus on the Bwirege dialect spoken in Ntimaru Division, Kuria East Sub-county in Migori County and on the borderline of Kenya and Tanzania, particularly in Mara province and Tarime District.

Our major descriptive tool in the pragmatic analysis of this study is RT (Relevance Theory). Our focus shall be crystalized on testing claims concerning the ad hoc concepts constructions. There are three major ad hoc concepts in the RT framework. We shall focus only on narrowing and broadening in the interpretation of neologisms in Kuria.
1.7 Literature Review

This review was divided into 3 parts. Part one examines a review on works that have been done on the Igikuria language. Part two explores general literature on neologisms in Igikuria language and finally part three reviews works on Relevance theory and general linguists’ conceptions on neologisms of languages.

1.7.1 Literature on Igikuria language

The Igikuria language is one of the Bantu languages which have very few studies. Studies that have been conducted in the language include Maroa (2012) “Morphophonemic processes in Igikuria”. Here, Maroa explores the sound changes in Igikuria phonemes and investigates the environment under which such changes occur. The paper also investigates the Igikuria phonology, morphology and sound adjustments that affect borrowed vocabulary into the Igikuria language. Though this work differs from our study in terms of the descriptive tool, it will play a crucial role in our reference in the study of neologisms in Igikuria.

Walker (2013) on “Comparative tense and aspect in the Mara bantu languages: Towards a linguistic history”, compares the comparative tense and aspect in the “…Ikizu (JE402, [ikz]), Ikoma (JE45, [ntk]), Kabwa (JE405, [cwa]), Simbiti (JE431, [ssc]), and Zanaki (JE44, [zak]) (Walker, (ibid):p.4).The study also provides a preliminary linguistic description of the TA (Tense aspect) systems of the Mara languages. Though this study may be unrelated to our study of neologisms, it will be of importance in the completeness sense of our study.

Tonology in Kuria”, analyses a tonal description of nouns in Kuria. The study focuses on the
tonal patterns of nouns in isolation and shows that the complex tonal alternations found in Kuria
nouns are predictable on the basis of a small inventory of tonal melodies made up of high and
low tones, together with a set of rules. Another study in the dialects of the Igikuria language is
“Agreement with Co-Joined arguments in Kuria” where they investigate how the Kuria language
solves the grammatical problem of agreeing with conjoined arguments.

A closely related study to this study is Boke (2012) “The Morphological Changes of
Borrowings from English to Kuria Language” using the Natural Generative Phonology (NGP)
theoretical framework. This study queries the phonological shape of the loan words and what
determines the choice of Kuria speakers to substitute, or delete incoming foreign segments. This
study is closely related to ours in the element of borrowing as a process of word formation in the
Igikuria language. Though this may be the case, the study differs from ours in terms of the
theoretical framework. It features the Natural Generative Phonology model while our study uses
the Relevance theory as the descriptive tool. It also narrows down to a single process of
borrowing as opposed to a wide array of processes of neologism formation in the Igikuria
language. The study will thus be of much value in delineating how borrowed words are fitted
into Igikuria neologisms.

1.7.2 Literature on Neologism in Igikuria language

Studies on neologisms in the Igikuria language are very few. Scholars who have studied the
Igikuria language tend to focus on the general description of the language. Boke (2012) studies
the morphological changes of borrowings from English to Kuria Language, but fails to bring out
the notion of neologism formation. The study focuses only on the phonological changes that occur as words transit from the English lexicon to the Igikuria language.

Holly Higgins (2012: 7), in a study of the Ikoma vowel harmony, quotes Mekacha (1993) to have studied a monograph discussing the sociolinguistic impact of Swahili on the use of the Nata language. The *abaikoma* and *abanata* are postulated as sub tribe of the *abakuria* people living in Tanzania. Therefore, the Kiswahili impact on the language is likely to affect and influence how neologisms are formed. Both studies will be of impactful reference in this study.

Another study is that of Kuria-English Dictionary (Muniko et al 1996). This is a translation of Kuria words into the English. This work will also be of great reference especially in highlighting words that have changed and assumed new meanings.

Other scholars who have studied neologisms are: Aduda Kennedy (2011), “Relevance theoretical analysis of Dholuo neologisms” and Kinyanjui (2013), “Challenges of competing neologisms: A case of Kiswahili technical terminology” where he presents a study on the challenges caused by competing neologisms in the development of Kiswahili technical terminology. Others like Kihara and Shroeder (2012) undertook a study of relevance-theoretical analysis of aspects of mchongoano and Maarten Janssen “Orthographic Neologisms: Selection Criteria and Semi-Automatic Detection”. These works will be helpful in unravelling how neologisms are espoused in the Igikuria language. They will be seminal in our reference and explanations of neologisms in this study.
1.7.3 Literature on Relevance Theory and ad hoc concepts

Theoretic analysis of neologisms entails use of a certain conceptual framework as a lens for analysing the research data. In this study, we shall use the relevance theory originally developed by Wilson and Sperber (1986) in the publication by the title, “Relevance: communication and cognition”, as quoted in (Aduda, 2013:18-19). The original study by Wilson and Sperber (1986) were augmented by new studies i.e. Sperber and Wilson (1995) post face to the second edition 19 of “Relevance: Communication and Cognition”, Carston (2000) “Explicature and Semantics”, and Wilson and Sperber (2002) “Truthfulness and Relevance”. The relevance theory is majorly based on two principles: the cognitive principle and the communicative principle. The cognitive principle holds that human communication is geared towards the maximisation of relevance, Wilson and Sperber (1995) as quoted in (Blakemore, 2002:63). The communicative principle, on the other hand, postulates that every act of overt communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance. The communicative principle, in general, implies that the most relevant means for communicating a proposition is not necessarily one which fully encodes all its constituents hence, the use of its fragmentary or sub-sentential utterances with missing constituents (Blakemore, 2002:65).

As Carston (1988, 1998, and 1999) has shown, the gap between linguistically encoded information and the explicit content of the utterance is not simply one that is bridged by the process of reference assignment and disambiguation. Wilson and Sperber (1981) claimed that while reference assignment and disambiguation yield 1(b) as interpreted for 1(a) below, most hearers will interpret it as expressing something much more specific, for example 1(c).

1(a) [Produced in a situation in John Smith is playing the violin] He plays very well
1(b) John smith plays some musical instrument very well

1(c) John Smith plays the violin very well

Examples from (Blakemore, 2002:p.66)

Carston has developed Wilson and Sperber’s view into what she calls semantic under-determinacy thesis Carston (1988, 1998, and 1999) as quoted in (Blakemore, 2002:66). Blakemore argues that, Carston has shown that the gap between the linguistically encoded properties of an utterance and the explicit content recovered is not only demonstrated by cases in which the hearer uses inferential process to enrich or build on the linguistically encoded representation, but also evident in utterances in which speakers use expressions to mean either something more restricted or something looser than their encoded meanings (Blakemore, 2002:66). Carston contends that these cases involve what Sperber and Wilson (1997) call the ad hoc concept formation i.e. they are understood to communicate a proposition which includes a concept that is derived by narrowing and/loosening a concept encoded by a lexical item. It is ‘ad hoc’ in that it has to be inferentially derived on, and for, the particular occasion of use), (Carston, 2010: 158)

Wilson and Sperber (2004) indicate that there is a one-to-many relation between lexically encoded concepts and the concepts they can be used to express and communicate. This view is supported by Carston, (2010: 160-162), who argues that words are taken to be a heterogeneous lot: some of them encode full-fledged concepts; some encode ‘pro- concepts’ or conceptually incomplete information while some encode procedural meaning (constraints on pragmatic inference). Sperber and Wilson (1998: 185) note that this category is itself very heterogeneous, Abstracting away from the important formal linguistic information (phonological and syntactic)
stored in lexical entries, what this means is that there is a simple mapping from lexical form to mental concept; the concept is completely unstructured and the lexical entry does not specify any further information about its content or semantic behaviour. The Relevance-Theoretic view of communication entails that the linguistic expression used provides only the addressee with skeletal evidence of the speaker’s intended meaning from which he can infer the communicator’s intentions, as expressed in (Aduda, 2013:19).

A study by Barsalou (1992) on experimental evidence on ad hoc concept shows that narrowing of terms varies across situations, individuals, and at times, and are strongly affected by discourse context and considerations of relevance. Aduda (ibid) further posits that Barsalou concluded that lexical items give access not to ready-made prototypes but to a vast array of encyclopaedic assumptions, with different subsets being selected ad hoc to determine the occasion specific interpretation of a word.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This research uses Relevance theory as a lens for interrogating the nature of Igikuria neologisms. Relevance theory was advanced by Sperber and Wilson in (1986), revisited in 1995. This theory of communication has its basis in human cognition. RT is hinged on two major assumptions. Assumptions in the first set relate to cognition and the second to communication. Relevance is defined here as a trade-off between effort and effects. Cognition is viewed as a matter of computations, overt mental representations, and human beings possess a “deductive device” which plays a central role in spontaneous inference (Allott, 2014: 6-9). Relevance, therefore, as a property of inputs to cognitive systems denotes that, an input is more relevant the more cognitive effects it yields, and less relevant the more effort it takes to process (Wilson & Sperber, 2004:609).
Kihara and Shroeder (2012:65-66) postulate that,

“…the theory is cognitive inferential and pragmatic in its nature and works on a cost-benefit basis for comprehension and interpretation. The information is transferred from speaker to hearer channelled through the cognitive principle of Relevance which makes the hearer to single out one possible interpretation as interpretation of communicated utterances, thoughts, gestures, perception, etc.”

The basic tenets underlying the theory as discussed here are: the notion of context, the principle of relevance for communication, (cognitive and communicative principles of relevance) and ad hoc concept constructions.

1.8.1 The cognitive Principle

Relevance theory is pegged on the underlying general principle called the Cognitive Principle since it refers to cognition in its entirety (Bruno, 2010: 20-21). According to Sperber and Wilson (1995:261), cognitive principle states “Human cognition tends to be geared to the maximisation of relevance”. Capone, Piparo, & Carapezza (Eds) 2016:1) note,

“…assumptions relating to cognition in general include the definition of relevance as a trade-off between effort and effects, and the claim that cognition tends to maximise relevance…”

This means that cognitive resources tend to be allocated to the processing of the most relevant inputs available, whether they originate from internal or external sources. Therefore, saying that human cognition is relevance-oriented is to say that our systems of perception, memory and inference have evolved in such a way that they automatically tend to allocate attention and processing resources to the most relevant inputs available, and to process them in a way that tends to maximise their relevance (PLIN 2002:Ch.3). It is our belief that Igikuria neologisms created follow similar heuristic(s), and it is due to this cognitive principle that they exist.
1.8.2 The communicative principle

The cognitive principle gives rise to the communicative principle. This is commonly referred to as the principle of relevance. This principle holds that, “Every act of ostensive communication communicates the presumption of its own optimal relevance” (Sperber & Wilson 1986: 158, 1995:260). The essence of this second principle is that an actor is implicitly asserting that simply by communicating something, she has something pertinent to communicate. Individuals in Igikuria language are guided by the need to communicate certain ideas or concepts in their formations of neologisms. This relevance is enough to guide the hearer towards the speaker’s meaning. Hearers will thus pay more attention to inputs (stimulus) that seem more relevant than alternative input available at the time. We therefore, conceptualize that Igikuria speakers use neologisms because they implicitly have pertinent issues to communicate. Due to this natural predisposition, hearers are able to infer meaning in a procedure as illustrated below.

![Stimulus ➔ context ➔ cognitive effects ➔ relevance](image)

The stimulus, in this case, an utterance connects with the context within the cognitive environment against which it is processed. The cognitive environment in this case works like a filter for the interpretation and understanding of the stimulus. This will then lead to the activation of the mind to derive cognitive effects which require some processing effort hence relevance. According to Wilson and Sperber, (1995:261) the communication process entailed in the relevance theoretic comprehension procedure follows that when constructing a hypothesis about a speaker’s meaning, the hearer takes the linguistically decoded meaning following a path of least effort in accessing contextual information, he enriches it at the explicit level and complements it at the implicit level until the resulting interpretation meets his expectations of
relevance, at which point, the hearer stops. At this juncture hearers of the utterances in Igikuria will have achieved the relevant interpretation.

1.8.2.1 The Notion of Context

This refers to a set of mentally-represented assumptions used in interpreting (or ‘processing’) a given item of information. Relevance in context means that new (or newly presented) information is relevant in a context when it interacts with the context to yield what are called cognitive effects. Therefore, cognitive effects refer to the whole process of churning/processing an input in a context in order to understand, the intended meaning.

1.8.3 Relevance theory and Ad hoc concepts

Following the dictates of lexical pragmatics, the meaning of a word in Igikuria that is communicated or intended by use of on a given occasion may be substantially different from the meaning assigned to it by the Igikuria language grammar. This raises the question on how do hearers manage to bridge the gap between the linguistically encoded meaning and the intended interpretation. Speakers, therefore, will need to bridge the gap between the linguistically encoded meaning and the intended interpretation by activating the encyclopaedic knowledge of the word adding it to the context and finally using it in comprehending utterances about the word.

When the linguistically encoded meaning of a word does not satisfy the expectation of relevance, hearers engage in the construction of ad hoc concepts which give rise to meanings that are slightly different from the one that is linguistically encoded (Aduda 2013:14). This act in itself will result to formation of neologisms. According to Wilson and Sperber (2004: 620), ad hoc concept construction is affected by a range of factors including context, accessibility of
encyclopaedic assumptions and consideration of relevance. This is why RT is poised to account for the ad hoc concept within the Igikuria language speakers. In fact Wilson and Sperber posit that ad hoc concept is triggered by the search for relevance. Ad hoc concept construction may result into an interpretation with a narrower denotation of a word or a broader denotation than the linguistically encoded meaning. According to Sperber and Wilson (2004: 617) ad hoc concept construction is triggered by the search for relevance. The hearer only stops at the interpretation that satisfies his expectations of relevance, because there should never be more than one.

1.8.4 Explicature and implicature distinction

The distinction between these two concepts is that;

“An explicature is a communicated logical form that has to be enriched through pragmatic means such as disambiguation, reference assignment, saturation, free enrichment and ad hoc constructions, while an implicature is solely derived through inferential processes”. (Carston, 2002, p. 377) as quoted in (Kihara & Shroeder 2012:66).

The comprehension process here is not demonstrative nor does it occur sequentially; it is an online process where the hypothesis about explicatures and implicatures (implicated premises and conclusions) is developed simultaneously against the cognitive environment and the expectations of the interlocutors. This distinction has an implication on the understanding of lexical items in Igikuria.

Contrary to the much held view that an explicature is equivalent to the literal meaning of a word, there are situations when what is expressed by use of a particular word is not exactly the meaning of the word given by its core semantics. An explicature entails the literal content of the expression uttered. Put in another way, an explicature is an elaborated form of the literal meaning. In this regard, pragmatic processors such as narrowing, approximation are viewed as
processes that contribute to the explicature i.e. they are all ways of filling in a framework provided by the literal sense. An implicature and logically independent of what the speaker actually says.

1.9 Hypotheses

i) That word formation processes such as derivation, compounding, reduplication semantic extension; reversals and borrowing are involved in the formation of igikuria neologisms.

ii) That the context of use plays a vital role in determining the meaning of Igikuria neologisms.

iii) That ad hoc concept of narrowing and broadening bring out the meaning of neologisms in the Igikuria language.

iv) That RT gives an adequate explanation on how neologisms are conceptualized in the Igikuria language.

1.10 Methodology

This part consists of two parts. Part one reviews the methods of data collection from the field. Part two deals with how data is organized for analysis.

1.10.1 Data collection

The data for this research was sourced from various respondents who speak *ikiirege* dialect, of the Kuria language. The research was conducted within Ntimaru division, in Kuria East constituency. This is where the target speech community of *Bwirege* dialect resides. Ntimaru Division is more of an urban settlement, rather than the surrounding villages. The selection of this area is due to the high number of learned people. This will make data acquisition
was easy to collect due to their ability to read and write. It is highly likely that these people have encountered new words in Kuria due to their exposure and interaction in the community.

40 people were selected through purposive sampling. Among these, 20 were female and 20 male. 20 people (either sex) were aged between age 20-40years, and another 20 were aged between 40-60years. This was informed by the fact that, those aged 40-60 years have had a long contact with the language and thus would help trace any change that may be experienced by those who are between 20-40years. We also assumed that those who have attained 20years and above and have been schooled, would be adequately competent in the Kuria language to provide appropriate alternatives of the Kuria translated words. The respondents were drawn from various fields of specialization.5 of them were teachers, 5 college/university students, 5 pastors, 5 administrators, 5 farmers, 5 drivers/matatu operators, 5 business people and 5 nurses/doctors. A key consideration was that all the respondents must have had ability to read and write in English and Kiswahili. This helped them fill the questionnaire forms. The number of respondents was equally distributed to avoid any bias that could be traced.

A questionnaire was designed and issued to the sampled population. The questionnaire has words in English, and the respondents were required to provide the Kuria equivalent of the words. The respondents were required to reveal their identity, age, profession and academic qualification. The researcher also listened to and watched ‘Jesus movie’ translation versions to the igikuria language. Personal introspection into the language was also utilised in some cases, and data compared from others views. This is because the media is the fastest in documenting changes in language through political recordings, educational publications, technological reviews and general descriptions of language. The social media was also used, especially the Facebook page, THE ABAKURIA (LET US UNITE AND CELEBRATE THE KURIA IN US), which had
insightful content on Igikuria language and culture. Some questions were poised on the page and people offered appropriate translations of words.

1.10.2 Data Analysis

The data collected was organized in a table form. An inventory was then created and data organized into its main sources and platforms. The data was further re-organized based on its morphological structure. This organization churned out the data and enabled it to be described in a more systematic manner. The Relevance theoretic analysis of the data was then conducted to account for its manifestation and how the Abakuria people are able to interpret the neologisms in the language.
CHAPTER TWO
NEOLOGISMS IN IGIKURIA LANGUAGE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the nature of neologisms in the Igikuria language speakers. It reviews their salient features within its speakers i.e. their source areas, motivation and their productivity within the language. Word formation processes in the language are also discussed, and finally an attempt at classifying the Igikuria neologisms (for easy analysis) is adopted towards the end of the chapter.

2.2 The Concept of Neologisms

The term neologism can be defined as new words that are in use in society, and are deemed to have been non-existent in the past. Neologisms are very important in the generative capacity of natural languages; “they are the elements that make languages living rather than dead…” and “are an indicative of language death” (Janssen Marten, 2008:75). Picone and Michael (1996), define a neologism as:

“All new word, morpheme or locution and any new meaning for a pre-existing word, morpheme or locution that appears in a language”

They proceed to argue that borrowing of words from English to French that constitute a new word, morpheme or locution is not only an Anglicism but also an accepted definition of a neologism. Likewise semantic extensions are also referred to as neologisms.

Other scholars like Peter Newmark (1988:40) quoted in Kinyanjui (2013); define neologisms as newly coined lexical units or existing lexical unit that acquires a new sense. In the
general reference to neologisms as new words or word combinations or phrases that appear in the language due to developments in social life, culture and technology, we also capture the semantic adoptions of words. This refers to new meanings that words adopt as society adapts to linguistic changes.

Neologisms are contrasted to nonce formations as captured in Fischer (1998) definition, quoted in Aduda (2011):

“A neologism is a word which has lost its status of nonce formation but is still one which is considered new by the majority of members of a speech community, Fischer (1998:3), while a nonce formation is a word which is created and used by a speaker who believes it to be new (Bauer 1983).

Aduda (2013:25) notes that, when a speaker is aware of having used or heard a word before, it ceases to be a nonce-formation within the speech community. This draws us to Bussmann’s definition of neologisms as, “newly formed linguistic expressions that are recognized by at least part if not all of a language community as the way to denote a new object or state of affairs (Bussman 1996: 324). The newly formed words or lexical items are found in education, technology, politics, mass media, industry, foreign influences and in scientific innovations. The new words are continuously used in society, and after being absorbed as part of the language, cease to be neologisms and form part of the language’s linguistic repertoire.

This study has adopted a neologism’s meaning to refer to newly formed lexical items/unit or words in the Igikuria language to apply to new notions, concepts and, or synthesize pre-existing concepts (make older terminology sound contemporary). These formed
concepts exist to fill the gap in a language which previously had no such reference. The new words are then nativized, used and after achieving homogenous use become part of the language.

2.2.1 Sources of Igikuria neologisms

The Igikuria language has many sources of neologisms. These neologisms can be classified under different categories, depending on their source and nature of formations. For instance, there are many neologisms formed from technology, social life, importation of words from other foreign languages and through linguistic changes due to cultural influences from outsiders as illustrated below, in figure 1.

Figure 1: Sources of Igikuria neologisms
2.2.1.1 Technology and Innovations Neologisms

Technology and innovations are major influencers on languages. Innovations and technological advancements result in creation of new things that never existed in the vocabulary of communities. These advancements may be in different fields. For instance, in communication sector there is development of computers and mobile communication gadgetry. These gadgets require names. The names given to these gadgets are creations that never existed in the language of the communities. In Igikuria language, the following words have been adopted and nativized to refer such kinds of inventions. *Ekombiuta, ekalikuleta, isimu yo koboko, iimeili, ikibiinyiri/"embeba ye ekombiuta"*, *ebasiwati, erabutobu, omotandawa, esetiraiti, iburututu, ikibooti, emubitiri, ibuusita* e.t.c.

The new creations in the Igikuria language have mostly been acquired from the English technological terms through borrowing, and subjected the words through morphological alterations. These alterations help in the process of nativization of the words, making them sound like the Igikuria language.

2.2.1.2 Imported Neologisms

These consist of words and phrases originating from another language. This could be because there are ideas and objects that have been introduced into the speech community but do not have equivalents in the Igikuria language. These can be illustrated by: *emasine, etaransifoma, okimwi, ingilasi, imbunduki, iguruneti, ekombiuta, esati, esenti, ibubulia*.

2.2.1.3 Social life neologisms

Aduda (2013:28) defines social life neologisms as, “lexical items that are created to describe new objects and concepts that affect the society’s way of life”. Most of the social life
neologisms are manifested in education, in religion, health sector and in general communication of new ideas or of concepts that have taken new meaning(s) due to change in society. Note that social life neologisms that are imported but are referred to by already existing words are also included here. These neologisms can be exemplified by the following: egetari, okobanga ubuiburi, ekegabo, eborabharara, isiro (enoti), omorokia (omohalimu).

2.2.1.4 Neologisms due to Linguistic Changes

These are neologisms that emerge as a result of change in the semantic references of terms in the Igikuria language. Meanings of words change to undertake the current underpinnings in the society thereby contributing to the number of new words used in the language. Examples of words in this category are: ekegabo, egento, ehomo, amatwe e.t.c

2.2.2 Motivation

The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary defines motivation as a factor that is “reason why somebody does something or behaves in a particular way” (p. 9631). Aduda (2011:28) refers to it as conditions which may lead to a certain linguistic form. Other linguists like Fischer (1996: 11) equate motivation to transparency of a word syntagm. Here, the word syntagm is defined by Crystal (1991) ‘A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics’ as a string of constituents of the complex word and the transparency of its meanings”. However, the degree of motivation is dependent on the simplicity of the syntagmatic analysis of the constituent of the complex word and the transparency of its meaning.

In cognitive linguistics, motivation is alluded to as a basic cognitive process. Quoting Lakoff (1987), Aduda (2011:29) contends that a lexical item that can be learnt, retrieved and produced more easily is said to be motivated. Due to the easiness to learn something that is
motivated than something that is arbitrary, motivation is said to be a central phenomenon in cognition. It is also easier to remember and use motivated knowledge than arbitrary knowledge (Lakoff 1987: 346).

Motivation is distinguished in forms of complete and incomplete motivation.

“Combination of linguistic signs like compounds and derivatives are totally motivated because they can be paraphrased by grammatical syntagms. This is not the case with forms such as blends and clips which are only partly motivated as they are compositions of parts of linguistics signs and cannot be dissolved into grammatical syntagms. On this basis, motivation can be taken to refer to the analyzability of grammatical syntagms”. (cf. Fischer 1996:15; Aduda 2013:29)

This study has elaborated on the complete morphological motivation as espoused in compounds and derivatives, while at the same time (though on rare cases in the Igikuria language) interrogating and laying bare any incomplete motivation in the formation of neologism in the language. Our focus is guided by the assumption that a neologism is morphologically motivated if it can be broken down into its morphological constituents and the meanings of its constituents reveal its meaning. If this is the case, that neologism will be perceived to be transparent because morphological motivation on the word-formation level corresponds to transparency (Fischer 1998: 13).

For instance, the word:

(Example 1) Okobanga ubuiburi ‘family planning’

This is a compound, made up of two words. The constituents of the words; okobanga ‘planning’ and ubuiburi ‘family/child bearing’ are meaningful on their own. The combination of their semantic reference guides one to arrive at the meaning of family planning. The word is thus said to be morphologically motivated as the constituent parts contributes to the overall meaning
of the word. In such a case, the word denotes increase in morphological motivation. Decrease in morphological motivation corresponds to the loss of transparency i.e. the constituent parts of the word cannot be divided to yield meaningful parts. Instead the word may be deemed lexicalized or merged. Merging is herein defined by Heine and Reh as “the meaning or function of two linguistic units merges into one new meaning/function which is different from that of the combined units” (Heine and Reh 1984: 44-45). The above example, cannot surpass as a case of increase in morphological motivation as the two words conjoined form one meaningful unit as a result of the meaning(s) from the constituents. When the constituent units result to a totally unrelated meaning, we say we have a case of decrease in morphological motivation in the words formed.

   e.g. (Example: 2) Biracha aratia ‘They come, he cracks’

   This word is made up of two words: biracha and aratia. In the case of increase in morphological motivation, the resultant meaning would have transparency. However, the meaning associated with biracha aratia is totally different from that of literal reference by the constituent syntagms. It is a noun which refers to a glutton who feeds from others sweat. Superficially, one could think it refers to ‘one who cracks things that bypass him’.

   Semantic motivation on the other hand relies on the common association of meaning. A word is said to be semantically motivated if their forms can be associated freely with others like in the case of metaphors and metonymies. Let us consider the following example;

   (Example 3). Egetari (something that swerves from place to place and moves you from place to place) ‘steering wheel’.
In example (3) the word *egetari* originally refers to ‘something that moves from place to place/swerves from place to place’. Therefore, for one to deduce the meaning of the word as currently understood in the Igikuria language, one has to draw a linkage between the original meaning and equate the meaning of the word, its properties and the function it serves in controlling a car, to arrive at the new meaning of the word. The word *egetari* is therefore semantically motivated. Another instance of semantic motivation is on the word, (Example 4). *ikibinyiri* ‘mouse’. The word *ikibinyiri* means or refers to something that is used to press or accessing a certain element that ought to be pressed. This meaning is thus semantically motivated. The semantic reference of the term is thus transferred from this term and used to refer to a mouse, as it is seen to have semantic relatedness in the function of the term. However, it is pertinent to note that the same item, ‘mouse’ is referred to by a calque as *embeba ye ekombiuta* ‘mouse of a computer’ in literal meaning.

### 2.2.3 Productivity

Bauer (1983:66) quoted in Aduda (2013) refers to productivity as “ability of speakers to produce and understand new words”. Productivity is mainly used to point out at rule governed word formation processes which are carried out by creation and understanding of new words. Bauer (2001), on “Morphological Productivity” contends that morphological productivity is concerned with the potentiality of new formations. He further argues that since it enquires on new formations, then there must be a possibility of existing forms of the words; lexemes or word forms, whereof the three words are used almost interchangeably. Bauer (1983:50) also hints that it is possible to discover whether or not something is new, and this implies that it can be compared with a list of formations which are not new ‘established”. This claim is also held by Van Santen that Productivity is manifested in the space between existing and the impossible.
(Van Santen, 1992:72) quoted in Bauer (2001). Accordingly, for new words or neologisms to be conceptualized, there must have been an existence of other forms that help make us aware of the new creations, how they are achieved and whether or not they are pegged on similar word formation processes.

We restrict our coverage to the first reference to ability of speakers to produce and understand new words. Productivity is often contrasted with creativity which is neither rule governed nor predictable. On the other hand, productivity is used to denote the rule governed word formation processes which are carried out by the creation and comprehension of new words. Peter Hohenhaus, quoted in Munat (Eds) (2007) refers to productivity as a strictly rule-governed process of lexical formations.

### 2.2.4 Creative Morphology

Creativity on the other hand is termed as a narrowly technical notational term with the meaning of a “process of conscious, even ingenious) creation that is not completely, rule governed productivity. Productivity allows native speakers to predictively produce an infinite number of words in their language while creativity allows them produce new words in a motivated but unpredicted manner (Aduda 2013:31). The number of words creatively created, therefore is of less magnitude as compared to those produced by natural productivity of a language. Creative Morphology includes shortenings, lexical phrases and combinations. Shortenings include: acronyms, blends and clippings while lexical phrases designate word formation types which occupy interim position between the word and syntactic phrase. The combinations are situated between the compound and the derivative: its constituents are called combining forms which represent bound lexical morphemes. Creative morphology is thus a term
used to denote word formation types other than compounding and derivation, both of which are considered to be the only productive word formation patterns (cf. Bauer 1983:66 ff.).

In this paper, we have interrogated words formed through the natural productive rules in languages i.e. through derivations and those formed through creativity in the Igikuria language.

2.2.5 Word Formation Processes in Igikuria

The Igikuria language as mentioned earlier makes use of a majority of word formation processes in the coinage of its neologisms. While neologisms entail formation of new words in a language to denote new concepts in technology, education, media and politics, our reference here shall also include semantic change of words (when old words in the language assume new meaning that is different from the initial/original meaning). We shall therefore focus strongly on word formation through productivity of the language (derivations, compounding) and those of creativity.

Plag (2003:13) quoted in Aduda (2013) defines word formation processes as the ways in which new complex words are built on the basis of other words or morphemes. The combinations are closely related with morphology. Nida (1962:1) defines morphology as the study of morphemes and their arrangements in forming words. Word formation processes are also defined as “the creation of new words” by the Dictionary of Applied Linguistics, (Richard et. al, 1990:321).

2.2.5.1 Derivation

According to O’Grady and Guzman (1996:144), derivation as a word formation process is achieved when a word is created where its meaning and/ or its category is different from its base by adding an affix. Bussmann (1996:50) defines derivation as a process of adding bound morphs
to already existing roots or stems to create new words of the same or different word classes. Therefore, derivation entails formation of new words by addition of affixes on existing words (stems/roots). This process is very common in neologism formation among Bantu speakers. It is also the process majorly used in Swahili noun classes (Ngeli) to form most of its words, and is also the most common word formation process according to (Temu 1984; Sager 1990 & Yule, 2006:57). It involves attachment of an affix(prefix or suffix) to the base of a word that has changed its category and is marked for tense, person, number, plurality, negation, passivization, referential and comparison of things).

It must be noted that derivation differs from inflection. Aduda (2013:33) quotes Bloomfield (1933:222) as stating that inflections are an out layer of the morphology of word formations while derivation is the inner layer i.e. inflections are added when all derivational processes are complete. As earlier indicated, the main purpose of the inflections is to express morphosyntactic categories (plurarity, tense, person) while derivational affixes function to make new words. Derivation may result to words changing or maintaining their classes. Class maintaining derivation process produce a new word but does not change the grammatical category of the base from which it is derived. Others change the word class of the stem. This is illustrated with (example 5, 6,7,8,9 and 10)

**Example 5: PRE**    \[ogo+sambaratuka(V) \rightarrow ogosamabaratuku(N)\]

**Example: 6**    \[Ege+ sambaratuku(sweet) [V] \rightarrow egesambaratuku(Adj./N) [sth. sweet]\]

(7):    \[Oko+many (know) [V] \rightarrow okomanya (N) [to know]\]

(8):    \[Oko+menya (live) [V] \rightarrow okomenya (N) [to live/ living]\]
(9):  **Omo+sensa (e) [INFL] (to winnow) [V]  →  omosense (N) [sand]**

(10):  **Omo+ramboka (u) [INFL] (to be hungry) [V]  →  omorambuku (N) [hunger stricken person]**

Some derivations are class maintaining, for instance in the formation of words like;

(11) mwiri (N)+osensema(N)  →  mwiriosensema (N)  [of Sensema]

(12) tata(N) +moke (N)  →  tatamoke(N)  [literally, my small father; uncle]

(13) Mama (N) +moke (N)  →  mamoke (N) [my aunt]

Gambarage (2007) notes that the Kuria,(Nata) language is highly agglutinative. It therefore follows that most of words formed in the language are through derivations. He further argues that words are formed by use of various morphemes which have several allomorphs, being agglutinated on stems to form new words. Gambarage (2007:86) cites, mu- and mo- allomorphs in the words;

/umukirisito/  →  [omo-kiri:sito]  ‘a Christian’

/umute/  →  [o-mote]  ‘a tree’

The Igikuria language mostly utilises vowels in the formation of new words through derivation. The process involves addition or deletion of the vowel sounds on the base words as exemplified in the word o-mote ‘tree’.
2.2.5.2 Motivation

Morphological motivation contributes to the transparency of derivatives. Recall, motivation of a neologism is tenable if that particular neologism can be broken down into its morphological constituents and the meanings of its constituents reveal its meaning. When the base form of a word resembles its derivatives it’s easy to associate their meaning. If the meanings of the derivative and the base cumulatively yield into one wholesome meaning, it’s said to be transparent. For instance, the (V) *ramboka* ‘to feel hungry’ is affixed with a prefix and a suffix to yield the noun, *omo-ramboko* ‘hunger’.

(14) ramboka(V) ➔ PRE{Omo-}rambok{-o}SUFF (N)‘Hunger’

In (14) the meaning of *omo-ramboko*, ‘hunger’, the derivatives (PRE & SUFF) have been used to nominalize the verb *ramboka* to *omoramboko*. Its components cumulatively yield the meaning of hunger. The derivatives have other semantic references which play a contributory role in bringing out the meaning of the word. These could include inflections on the word to denote, tense, plurality, singularity or negation. Derivation as a word formation process in Igikuria involves diverse prefixes and suffixes. The suffixes affixed on bases serve different functions (grammatical and semantic roles). In words like, (15) *omose* ‘sand’, the PRE *omo-* and SUFF {-e} have different semantic denotations. The base word is a verb *sensa* ‘to winnow’ which changes to *omose* i.e. *omo-sen-e* when all derivational processes of word formation are applied. Many words in Bantu languages and in this case Igikuria use derivation as the most productive word formation process e.g. *u-mu-kirisito* ‘a christian’; *i-meili* ‘e-mail’; *e-aibati* ‘i-pad’; *e-homo* ‘OMO’ and *eemubitiri* ‘MP3’.
A deeper analysis, reveals that the meaning of the affixes/derivatives and the base do not always correspond to the overall meaning acquired by the word i.e. they are opaque. These phenomena in (14) and (15) raise questions on how then do hearers understand intended meaning of these derived words. These questions inform the basis of this research. This research therefore enquires on how hearers are able to piece together these elements in order to come up with the intended meaning of the term as discussed in the next chapter.

2.2.5.3 Productivity

In his analysis of Dholuo speakers, Aduda (2013:37) contends that,

“Speakers use derivation process to generate uncountable new words to enable them express new phenomena and old ideas that have taken a new cultural context”.

Similarly, the same inclination seems to be the trend in the Igikuria language. New coinages are meant to facilitate expression of new ideas or build on the linguistic prowess of the language. Bauer 1999(b) quoted in Bauer (2001) argues that for further coinage to occur there has to be a need, a real or perceived gap in the speakers (perceived gap because need may arise out of a temporary memory failure or from ignorance of an established (as well as from the absence of any appropriate lexeme in the form of the language used), c.f Bolozky (1999:7) argument or contestation of lexical formation being semantically and concept driven. Remembering that productivity is all about potential to lead to new coinages, the process of derivation in Igikuria language assumes an amorphous form where several affixes can be affixed on roots/bases to yield an almost infinite number of lexical forms. For instance, the following prefixes in Igikuria yield quite a significant number of lexical forms i.e.

{eke-}/{ege-};{aka-}/{aga-}; {o-}; {iki-}/[igi]. Note that the paired prefixes are allomorphs and the forms manifest themselves depending on the nature of the base to which it is prefixed.
{eke-} ekerandi ‘guard’

Ekebayi ‘a small hoe for tilling millet’

Ekemosi ‘left-handed’

Ekebwe ‘fox’

Ekeemobo ‘of his tongue/language’

{ege-} egekombe ‘a cup’

egasuku ‘tin’

egesambaratuku ‘sweet’

egekomori ‘type of a tree’

egesamuuri ‘that which makes one sneeze’

{o-} omokereri ‘son/daughter of Mokereri- denoting ownership’

Omona ‘baby’

Omosense ‘sand’

Omorambuku ‘hungerstricken person’

{u-} umurisia ‘uncircumcised boy’

Umwiru ‘son-in-law’

Umwiseke igitinde ‘a lady virgin who has reached marriageable age’

{aga-} is a diminutive denoting smallness, (3rd P Sing. Pro)

Aganto ‘a small person’

Agake ‘a very small thing’

Agatocho ‘a small rabbit’

Agasambaratuku ‘a small thing that is sweet’

{aka-} is also a diminutive used pejoratively to denote the smallness of objects and beings.

As earlier stated, this is an allophone of the PRE that shows smallness. Its realisation is dependent on the nature of the base.
Akana ‘a small baby’
Akaburi ‘very small goat, often unhealthy one’
Akameno ‘a small dagaa’
Akarambuku ‘a very small, unhealthy person who is hunger-stricken’

{Igi-} / {iki-} similarly denotes smallness in a pejorative sense but not always.

Igisubati ‘badly portrayed daughter-in-law’
ikihita ‘entrance to a byre’

Igiseke ‘bad lady of a marriageable age’
ikihita ‘kind of a bird’

Igitumbe ‘a traditional stool’ (non-pejorative)
ikihita ‘that which sires/reproduces’

Igikuria ‘the Kuria language’ (non-pejorative)
ikihita ‘tail’

{ogo-} denotes bigness and is often used in a pejorative sense when it occurs in nouns. This prefix is also very productive in formation of adjectives win the language.

Ogora ‘a big from’

Ogosese ‘very big dog’

Ogona ‘very big baby’

Ogonto ‘very big person’

Productivity is clearly manifested in the manner in which different words in Igikuria are formulated through the derivational processes illustrated above. New coinages formed through derivation are illustrative of the potential of this language’s productivity.

2.2.5.4 Compounding

Compounding is a process of word formation that involves a combination of two free forms or words that have independent existence, (Katamba, 1993: 46). He further defines a
compound word as one that contains more than one free form. It is a process where by two bases which are words/root morphemes are combined to form a compound word. According to (Temu 1984 and Sager 1990) in some cases words belonging to the same word class are strung together to generate another word of the same category while others yield words belonging to a different word class. In Igikuria language, this phenomenon is exhibited in the manner discussed below.

Gambarage (2007:109) adopts a view that analyses compounds in the structure of A+B to generally refer to a “B-like kind of A” structure. The first is the head of the compound while the second is the modifier. The Igikuria has similar formation structure to that of Kinata. This is so because this paper adopts Kinata as a Kuria clan and that Kinata language spoken in Tanzania is a dialect of the Igikuria language. Here is an illustration of a few examples adopted from the Kuria language.

2.2.5.4.1 Verb-Noun Compounds

16 a) irihiringira-máβi  ‘dung beetle’ [roller of faeces]

b) ekmεra-ncόka  ‘kind of crane that eats snakes’

c) riβututuri-mánce  ‘cuckow’

d) Ιγιkanga-βáremi  ‘kind of lizard that scares farmers by running closer to their feet’

Source: Gambarage (2007:109)

Other examples include; 17a) irimera-bimano ‘swallower of lambs’, (b) kibora-bimori ‘sire of calves’ omokamona ‘daughter-in-law’, (c) chora-amang’o ‘picker of nuts’.
The Igikuria data we have illustrate that nouns formed in this manner are a rare occurrence. The verb stem (in bold) in the above compounds is prefixed with an augment, NPx.

### 2.2.5.4.2 Noun-Noun compounds

This type of neologism formation is not very common in the Igikuria language. Noun compounds formed here involve use of prefixes in nouns. The prefixed noun forms compound with other prefixed nouns to form a final word (ibid 2007:110). For example: *mwiri-osensema,* ‘one of sensema’s origins’. Noun-Noun compounds available here are mostly formed by the sa- and ṣa- prefixes. Examples are:

18 a) Nya-metwe-ena:né  ‘big snake with eight heads’ [mostly in Igikuria tales]

b) isa-koro-robi  ‘Robi’s father’

c) ṣa-koro-robi  ‘Robi’s mother’

Nouns in 18(b and c) are mostly manifested in Igikuria greetings. The prefixes sa- and ṣa- in some occurrences denote gender (sa- for males and ṣa- for females). In 18(a) the nouns retain the NPx but drop the augment (only in the Kinata dialect).

### 2.2.5.4.3 Noun-Adjective compounds

Examples of N-A compounds are:

19. a) ta:ta-moke  ‘young father’

b) mama:-moke  ‘young mother’

c) ta:ta-mokoro  ‘old father’
2.2.5.5 Motivation

Motivation, as earlier discussed contributes to the transparency of derivatives. The derivatives may form meaning from the string(s) of words which form the word. For instance, a consideration of the word in (11), herein repeated as (14), *mwiriosensema* ‘of sensema’s origin’ has its meaning being a derivative of the meanings of the two words. ‘mwiri’ means ‘of X’s origin; where X could denote someone, and in this case, this X is represented by *Sensema*. The meaning of the whole word is therefore cumulative consideration of the two syntagms. This word therefore achieves transparency. While this is the case, other words like (2), repeated here as (15) *biracha aratia* ‘referring to a glutton who feeds on other people’s sweat’ has no close association to the individual meanings of the word’s strands. As earlier stated, *biracha* ‘means, they come’ while *aratia* ‘means he cracks’. The two words have no close association to the final meaning associated or accorded to the word as a glutton. They are far apart. This is what we referred to lacking transparency. The core of this research is therefore to explain how hearers and speakers of the Igikuria language are able to assign meaning to words such as this, even though their constituent strands have no close meaning to the derived word.

2.2.5.6 Reduplication

This process does not appear to be very productive in Igikuria nouns. However, few nouns manifest a partial reduplication where the noun appears to have two CV sequences that are identical and which contain the ‘repetitive notion’ as a recurring element of meaning (N&P 2003: 79). Examples are:

20. a) *omokarakára* ‘castor oil plant’

b) *Iriβaβá* ‘wing’

c) *iriβaβajó* ‘pawpaw’
Almost all nouns in this language manifest a complete reduplication. Further examples that enunciate complete reduplication include the following in (21).

21. a) omoraisiraisi ‘real president’ abaraisiraisi ‘real president’
   b) ekehenehene ‘real true thing’ ibihenehene ‘real true things’
   c) iriguhaguhá ‘real bone’ amagühaguhá ‘real bones’ or ‘ordinary bones’

It is evident that the nouns in (a-c) manifest a complete reduplication. Complete reduplication as witnessed in the above examples serves a number of functions in the language. First, reduplicated elements denote realness, as illustrated by, omoraisiraisi, iriguhaguhá and ekehenehene. The Igikuria language also uses this feature to elaborate on emphasis or stress on certain elements. It is therefore, the responsibility of the hearer (listener) to decode (interpret) the meaning of the word depending on the context of the utterance. Decoding here will entail a distinctive interpretation of the lexical item, whether the word is used for emphasis or to express realness. Interpretation of this nature shall be reviewed in chapter three, where the Relevance theory shall be used as a lens to enquire how speakers and hearers in the Igikuria language are able to understand one another. It is also pertinent to note that, reduplication does not regularly occur in speech in the language because of its repetitive nature; often leading to redundancy. It is
thus frowned upon, only reserved to be used on special occasions calling for emphasis or to prove a point as one speaks.

2.2.5.7 Conversion
Conversion as a neologism formation process involves one part of speech converting to another part of speech, (Heather Marie Kosur, 2013:1, link http://www.brighthubeducation.com/esl-lesson-plans/59338-word-back-formation-list/. This is a word formation process in which one part of a grammatical form becomes a word for another grammatical form without changes to spelling or pronunciation. Igikuria language exhibit very few cases of this kind of word formation process. In fact, this process manifests itself majorly in foreign or loaned words. Let’s consider the case of the borrowed words like, [google, e-mail, Bluetooth]. These words connote nouns in the English language. Note that these words are technological terms, which have been loaned to the Igikuria language as calques (illustrated in section 2.2.5.9.1). The word, guguru (N) ‘google’ will refer to Google (N), just as is the case with its English counterpart Google Inc. The word could as well mean, the act of searching the internet using the Google Browser or Search Engine. Therefore, guguru (V) denotes a second meaning, that of searching the internet in Igikuria. These terms are easily understood by university and college students who participated in the research. It is often the case to hear young people use the phrase, Ndaya kuguguru egento nyaborebe ‘I am going to google something’.

According to Heather (2013), the noun e-mail appeared in English before the verb e-mail. A decade ago one would send an e-mail (N) as opposed to today where the e-mail (V) as in, [I will e-mail you today] is currently on greater frequency the most preferred word. The concept, similar to that of Google has been adopted into the Igikuria language, and it denotes exactly the same meaning. Despite the nativisation effort of making the word sound Kurialike, the words
have maintained their original phonology; *iimeli* ‘e-mail’. Adopting the same sentence above, we can replace the word *guguru* with *iimeli* and *Bluetooth* and achieve similar result, of cases where the words can change the parts of speech to denote different concepts i.e. *burututu* (*N*)/*burututu* (*V*), *iimeli*(*N*)/*iimeli*(*V*) and *guguru*(*N*)/*guguru*(*V*).

Conversion in Igikuria occurs exceptionally in cases involving derivational application on words. For instance, words like, *nabi* (*V*), ‘foretell’ and *nabi* (*N*) ‘prophecy’ denote conversion. The difference in their use is clearly visible in speech. The *nabi*(*N*) is added a prefix {e-} to describe it, as in *enabi*(*N*). This kind of structural change in the word is realisable only in speech, and depends on the syntactic patterning of the sentence in assumption of prefixes and suffixes. However, the overlying structure of the word maintains its spellings while at the same time changing the word class. Other examples are:

**Table 1: Conversion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word(Lexical term)</th>
<th>Prefix/suffix</th>
<th>Word Class</th>
<th>Realisation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nabi</td>
<td>{e-} enabi</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>e-nabi</td>
<td>Prophecy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Nabi</td>
<td>To prophesy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Becha</td>
<td>{o-becha}</td>
<td>Adj.</td>
<td>o-becha</td>
<td>Unsettled/restless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Becha</td>
<td>Become restless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komba</td>
<td>e-komba</td>
<td>Adj.</td>
<td>e-komba</td>
<td>Habit of drawing thick liquid e.g. porridge or licking it from a container</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Komba</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Komba</td>
<td>To lick and draw thick liquid from a container</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.5.8 Semantic transfer

Geoffrey Nunberg (1995:109-132) defines transfer of meaning as a linguistic mechanism that make it possible to use the same expression to refer to disjoint sorts of things. In Nunberg (2000:344), he further contends that this, “… process allows speakers to use an expression that denotes one property as the name of another property”. For transference of the meaning to occur, there must be some salient correspondence between the features of the first object and the second object. This resemblance permits reference of object 1 as the second object. Semantic transfer/change can be viewed through different prisms. These prisms will depend on the nature of the lexical item that is undergoing semantic change. Willem Hollman (2007) identifies sub classifications or dimensions of semantic transfer. We shall view these dimensions of change and review how the Igikuria language shifts its semantic references.

The first dimension is semantic change of lexical items to achieve a positive reference or a negative meaning. When the words achieve a positive meaning, this change is referred to as amelioration. The Igikuria language exhibits all these kinds of semantic shifts in light of its dynamism. For instance words like egento ‘something’ and embeebe ‘that which is bad’ assume pejoration and amelioration respective fully. Egento as shall be seen below used to have a positive meaning, ‘that of something’ (generally in a positive sense). The same word has slowly undergone semantic change and is now common to use it in a vulgar way, often used by teenagers (mostly 40 years and below) to refer to a way of asking for sex from a woman or a man. Embeebe on the other hand is ameliorated when it is used in phrasal expressions. For instance, it is common to hear people use the word as: Aheeeiyi oyo mbobebe araye hayo ‘Hey that person is very good at that’. The word here has been ameliorated to connote a positive reference. It is important to note that, even though the word is more increasingly being fused in a
positive manner, it is still widely used to refer to a bad (negative) thing especially with the older generation in the society.

The second dimension or traditional dimension is whether the item becomes broader or narrower e.g. the word “dog” in English has undergone generalisation widening or broadening. It now refers to any dog while as compared to its past in the Dutch. In Dutch, “dog” used to refer to an image of a great Dane or perhaps the kind of dog featured in the film “Turner and the Hooch” (Dog de Bordeaux) (Hollman, 2007:529). The broadening/generalisation as is the case in linguistics and other sciences involves grounding of several different terms for what is essentially the same thing. The Igikuria language has traces of broadening on the word like *ehomo* ‘omo’ which refers to any type of detergent or powdered soap used for washing clothes. To the Igikuria speakers the different brands of soap i.e. persil, ariel, sinlight e.t.c are different omos. The word has been broadened to generalize the reference of these soap brands. The opposite of this generalisation is specialisation (narrowing). In the Igikuria words such as *umunyui* ‘drinker’ and *entemi* ‘one that beats’ exhibit narrowing. The word *umunyui* ‘drinker’ connotes many meanings. One can interpret it as, one who drinks water, or drinks milk, drink alcohol or consumes of any liquid. However, the word has recent metamorphosed to strictly refer to drunkards who consume alcohol beyond the normal rates. *Entemi* ‘one that beats’ used to refer to someone who beats others, probably a wife barterer, witchcraft and or a player of a musical instrument. The word has been narrowed to only refer to a vicious witchcraft. *Egento* meant something of any kind in the general sense. However, the word has recently metamorphosed to refer to genitals in a more sexual orientation. It is well illustrated when an individual retorts something like; *Tang’a egento*
Literally the phrase means ‘Give me something’. Figuratively used among the youth the phrase will mean something like, ‘give me your genitals’ or in a more direct meaning it would mean one is asking to have sex with you. The semantic reference is thus that of a euphemised form of asking for sex with a person in the current Igikuria language. The word *egento* has therefore undergone narrowing to achieve a more specialized reference other than the general reference that the word initially had.

A third dimension is whether or not the items results from metaphors or metonymy. In metaphorical meaning changes, speakers perceive some sort of similarity between one concept (the source concept, S) and another concept (the target concept, T) and press the word for S into service to talk about (pg. 528). For the Igikuria speakers, metaphorical origins of words occur mostly in reference to people (nouns). Words like (22) *ekegabo* ‘a basket’; (23) *ekebwe* ‘a fox’; (24) *inyeente* ‘maggot’ and (25) *erori* ‘lorry’ are metaphorically used in the language to denote a totally different connotation from what they are known for in the Kuria language. For instance, *ekegabo* which literally means a ‘basket’ is metaphorically used to refer to a useless person, often one who does not make any effort in anything that they do. By suggesting one is *ekegabo* does not necessarily mean that one is really a basket i.e. [+handmade; -living; -human] in a literal sense but the use is figurative. The basis of this metaphor is some sort of similarity between the behaviour or qualities of a basket and a useless/lazy person who displays no effort or skill in whatever they do. Like a basket, which lies useless without any ability to move or serve a purpose on its own, a character is likened to it to achieve such a metaphorical allusion.

The comparison between the source (here; *ekegabo*) and the target (here: the person being referred to) is only partial. The reference does not in any case imply that the person being described would be a basket at any time. Second, the source is more “concrete” than the target.
The described persons who exhibit lack of skill and are lazy are much harder to identify objectively.

The other words ekebwe; inyente and erori follow similar metaphorical procedures in assuming semantic shift witnessed in the Igikuria language. For instance, if I refer to one as ekebwe ‘fox’, one will need to relate the meaning or qualities of ekebwe as understood in the Igikuria language and cultural orientation. Ekebwe is a fox (wild animal) which in the Kuria people is associated with dirt, owing to its massive defecation over one spot. Groups of foxes defecate at one place regularly leading to a heap of faeces. Therefore, when one is referred to as ekebwe then the connotation is that you are very dirty and dangerously stupid or foolhardy. Inyente ‘maggot’ also when metaphorically used to refer to someone would also mean filthy and unworthy of anything in then Igikuria linguistic repertoire.

The linguistic meaning of the words has therefore changed owing to the old or traditional reference. Initially, the words meant the literal meanings or the meanings glossed here-in, but due to the changes in society they have assumed the metaphorical meanings. However, the interpretation of these words must be confined within a specific context. The use of the same words may conjure or connote a totally different meaning as here-in discussed.

According to Willem Hollmann, (2007:529) metonymy involves some sort of connection between concepts, but in this case there is no similarity between them, but they are closely related in some other way. For example, because one is part of, or contains the other. The Igikuria language does not easily manifest metonymy on the superficial observation. However, it’s common to hear people use words like (26) inyumba ‘house’ to refer to family members of a person. Other words like,(27) egesaku door refers to all people of that particular lineage.
28) *Wae* refers to a person’s home (and in Igikuria this would only be complete with a wife and children). Therefore, using the term *wae, ‘his/her place’* which does not have physical resemblance or reference to this kind of set up, means that the word metonymical owing to use of part to refer to a whole family of wife and children in the Kuria set up.

### 2.2.5.9 Borrowing

Borrowing refers to the adoption of individual words or even large sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect (Hock and Joseph, 1996:253) quoted in Aduda (2013). Borrowing in the context of this research paper shall refer to incorporation of imported lexical items from other languages into the Igikuria language. Borrowing here-in into the Igikuria language is developed randomly by reviewing the origins of the words which have been adopted into the language. Words of Swahili, English and local languages shall form a valuable illustration on how borrowed words undergo morphophonemic alterations to fit into the Igikuria linguistic repertoire. Languages in their development or creative impetus borrow words for lack of an equivalent word in their language. For instance, some items (inventions, foreign concepts and influence from external contacts with the Kuria language speakers) has led to new word formations into their language.

Wardhaugh (2002:188) argues that apart from utilisation of elements already existing in the language, a new lexicon can also be adopted by borrowing from another language. This is exactly what the Igikuria language speakers experience or adopt as the language conforms to the changes in the society. The following table is an illustration of borrowed words in the Igikuria language.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borrowed Word</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Igikuria</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Computer Mouse</td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>Ikibiinyiri</em></td>
<td>Computer mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Shirt</td>
<td>English/Swahili</td>
<td><em>Esati</em></td>
<td>Shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Grenade/Gurunedi</td>
<td>English/Swahili</td>
<td><em>Iguruneti</em></td>
<td>Grenade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bunduki</td>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td><em>imbunduki</em></td>
<td>Gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Miwani</td>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td><em>Imewani</em></td>
<td>Spectacles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kitabu</td>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td><em>Egetabo</em></td>
<td>Book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bomu</td>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td><em>Ebhomu</em></td>
<td>Bomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ero</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
<td><em>Ero</em></td>
<td>Awakening greeting among men only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Omera</td>
<td>Dholuo</td>
<td><em>Omera</em></td>
<td>Introductory greeting for people of same age for males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Calculator</td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>Ekalikileta</em></td>
<td>Calculator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Pump</td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>Ebambo</em></td>
<td>Pump (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Bible</td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>ibubulia</em></td>
<td>Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Barabara</td>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td><em>Eharabhara</em></td>
<td>Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Computer</td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>Ekombyuta</em></td>
<td>Computer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Password</td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>Ebhaasiwati/ekehetero</em></td>
<td>Password</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Satellite</td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>Esetiraiti</em></td>
<td>Satellite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Cent</td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>esenti</em></td>
<td>Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Utandu</td>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td><em>orotandu</em></td>
<td>Web</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Kioo</td>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td><em>ikioho</em></td>
<td>Mirror</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.5.9.1 Calques

As part of word loaning, calquing is one of the ways of forming words in the language. Calque refers to loan translation of words or phrases borrowed from another language by literal, word for word, or root for root translation, (Wikipedia, 2016). Languages borrow words and translate them into the target language so as to nativize and own them. This happens when the language has no option of such words or names for the incoming lexical items. While this process involves semantic translation it does not include phonetic matching (i.e. retaining the approximate sound of the borrowed word through matching it with similar pre-existing word or morpheme in the target language). Let us consider (29) ‘red carpet’. This is a foreign concept which has an equivalent calque of, *ekabeti emberetu*. The word is translated word for word. There is no phonological resemblance between the borrowed concept and the manner in which it is pronounced in the absorbing language. However, there arise cases where the word could have resemblance in phonological realisations of words. This is especially the case in borrowing from local Bantu languages. Igikuria language has quite a number of calques in the language. Data in this research revealed that, this language resorts to calques in occasions where the loaned words have no alternative in the language or lack complete matching with the target language. The result is that speakers in the language adopt a direct (word for word translation of the borrowed words). For example, words like; (29) *ekabeti emeberetu* denote ‘red carpet’, (30) *embeba ye ekombiuta* ‘computer mouse’; (31) *okobanga ubuiburi* ‘family planning’ and (32) *itaransifoma* ‘transformer’. Data from this research exemplifies calques in the language to largely emanate from technological terms which have absolutely no previous referential term in Igikuria. Some of the terms include:
Table 3: Calques

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loaned Concept</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Calque in Igikuria</th>
<th>Gloss/Denotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mp4</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>eMp4</td>
<td>Mp4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mp3</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>eMp3</td>
<td>Mp3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-pod</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>ei-pod</td>
<td>i-pod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-pad</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>ei-pad</td>
<td>I-pad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Web/orotandu</td>
<td>Web</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-mail</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>limeli</td>
<td>e-mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile phone</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Isimu yo okoboko</td>
<td>Mobile phone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bluetooth</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Iburututu</td>
<td>Bluetooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukimwi</td>
<td>Kiswahili</td>
<td>okimwi</td>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbao</td>
<td>Kiswahili</td>
<td>Ichimbao</td>
<td>Timber</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.6 Types of Igikuria neologisms

There are a lot of different viewpoints concerning neologisms classifications when subjected to a study. Several authors have classified neologisms under different classes. L. A Haham, a Russian linguist, classifies neologisms by taking account of their semantics and structure. This classification is referred to as structural-semantic classification of neologism (In: Заботкина 1989: 7). E.V Rosen study on neologisms and aspects of lexicology, adopts structural classification of neologisms (Заботкина 1989: 7). He denotes neologisms as (a) words which occur in isolation, but can also be parts of new words (b) new morphemes, which appeared in the language (3) word that consists of already existing morphemes but in a new combination. It is possible to take into account the way neologisms are formed, thus possible to distinguish them as phonological, semantic, syntactic neologisms or borrowings. Aduda (2013:46-49) adopts Burnov and Muminov (1990) mode of classification of neologisms into root word neologisms, derived
neologisms and compounds. In this research, we adopt Teresa Cabres Castelv classification in analysis, as it captures a broad spectrum of neologisms as portrayed by our research data, and at the same time draws close morphological componential analysis of lexical items.

Teresa Cabre, in her book, “Terminology: Theory, Methods and application” identifies the following types of neologisms:

2.2.6.1 Types of neologisms

i. Neologisms in form-These kinds of neologisms in Igikuria language will include: derivations and compounds. The derived Igikuria neologisms have been discussed in section 2.2.5.1, and are illustrated by various examples. The RT analysis on these types of neologisms shall be focalized on compounds, as derivatives are closely related to compounds through addition of affixes.

ii. Functional neologisms including cases of lexicalisation of an inflected form and those formed by syntactic conversion

iii. Semantic neologisms, including 3 types of processes: broadening, narrowing or change of meaning of the base form.

iv. Borrowed neologisms which are true borrowings and loan translations
Conclusion

This chapter has so far discussed the nature of neologisms in the Igikuria language, based on their morphological structure, and highlighted the neologism and word formation processes. Derivation, compounding, reduplication and semantic transfer have been seen as major processes through which new words are formulated in the Igikuria language. The grouping of neologisms according to Cabre’s classification will be essential in ordering the data for analysis in chapter three.
CHAPTER THREE

RELEVANCE THEORETIC INTERPRETATION OF IGIKURIA NEOLOGISMS

3.0 Introduction

This chapter uses the Relevance theory in analysing the Igikuria neologisms. The notion of context and ad hoc concept of broadening and narrowing are discussed with a view of determining how they are involved in the interpretation of Igikuria neologisms. Context here-in is defined and upheld as a psychological construct of mentally represented propositions stored in the memory concepts. The ad hoc concepts as contrasted to the encoded (assigned by the grammar of a language) relies on the context to have meaning. This chapter in summary is specifically concerned with a lexical analysis of Igikuria lexical terms within the relevance theoretic framework.

This research set out to investigate the word formation processes in Igikuria language, and to use RT to try and explain their interpretation. It is thus hinged on the hypothesis that RT provides an adequate explanation on how neologisms are conceptualized in Igikuria. The hypothesis that ad hoc concepts of broadening and narrowing and bring out the meaning of Igikuria neologisms is also put to test in this chapter. We analyse Igikuria lexical terms using RT as the lens for accounting for how speakers of the language are able to understand one another. We adopt Cabre’s classification of neologisms into investigative cohorts of neologisms based on form, borrowed or loaned neologisms and functional neologisms. These groups are then structurally and thematically analysed to illustrate how RT accounts for their interpretation. We have analysed individual words, but sentences are sometimes used to aid in the explanation of terms.
3.1 Compound Neologisms

Igikuria neologisms are made up of two bases which are pronounced and realised as one word. The constituent bases sometimes exhibit different semantic denotations, but upon formation of a single form, the meaning of the word shifts to something different (of unrelated meaning). Gambarage (2007) upholds that Igikuria language forms compounds majorly by a combination lexical items of different word classes. For instance;

N+N → N,

V+N → N or Adj. +N → N cases manifests in the cases discussed in section 2.2.5.4 above. Focussing on the compound neologisms in the same section, we note that the combining bases assume different roles. The first noun combining with its second counterpart functions as the head of the compound and the second modifies it. Aduda (2013:66) highlights a similar case in Dholuo speakers’ neologisms. In Igikuria however, another aspect crops up in quite a conspicuous manner. Most of the compound words in Igikuria are formed by derived bases. There are cases where one of the bases maybe derived by affixing a PRE before the base. The base then combines with the second base to form one word. This is the case when noun- noun combinations occur. This phenomenon has been slightly espoused in chapter two in the example of *iri*iringiramabi ‘dung beetle’. Here the first noun *iri*iringira ‘one that pushes’ has a prefixed form of *{iri-}* added to the first base to derive or form *iri*iringira ‘one that pushes’. This can be illustrated as:

40) **i-ri-hingira +mabi** → **iri*iringiramabi** ‘one that pushes

faeces/dung’ [literal meaning]

PRE (SG; Adj; V=‘push’) + (N) ‘Faeces/dung’ [Actual meaning] → “dung beetle”
Other examples of this form may include words like, *ekemeranchoka* and *taatamoke*.

41) *e-ke-mera + nchoka* \rightarrow *ekemeranchoka* ‘swallower of snakes’

PRE {SING. 3rd Person Pro; V= ‘swallow’} + ‘snake’ \rightarrow ‘swallower of snakes’

(crane bird)

It is pertinent to note that this phenomenon is only unique and applies to noun-noun compounding in Igikuria. In (Adj.) + (N) combinations compounding, whole bases are used. Let’s consider (19a) repeated here as (42) *taatamoke* ‘young father, brother to your father’

*Taata + moke* \rightarrow *taatamoke* ‘young father’

‘father’ small{SING. Comp. Asp} ‘small father’

In 16a) repeated in this section as (40) *irihingiramabi* ‘dung beetle’ would literally mean ‘roller of faeces’. The linguistically encoded meaning of the lexical item forms the basis upon which its intended meaning is gauged. Therefore, for a hearer in native Igikuria to understand the referent ‘dungbeetle’, he/she has to base their cognitive analysis on their encyclopaedic knowledge of the term. For instance, the following encyclopaedic entries are associated with the term *irihingiramabi*.

*Irihingiramabi* [+Singular,

+insect,

-human

Dirty

Rolls faeces

*Used derisively/scornfully when used to refer to humans*]
Wilson and Sperber’s Relevance theory posits that in the interpretation of terms, comprehension is geared towards picking the most optimizing stimuli. Therefore, only the information that is made easily available by context is picked out and added to context for deriving the intended meaning. Here, in the utterance of *iriangingiramabi* as in the case like:

*Aka!tamaha iriangingiramabi*  ‘What! Look, there is a dung beetle’

The interpretation of the term *iriangingiramabi* will be dependent on the context. When one utters the statement, the most immediate and easily activated property is that of an insect-dung beetle. This is because in this context, the statement is a warning or an alert to watch the insect. The logical and literal meaning of the term, ‘roller of faeces’ which can then be extended to refer to a person in a derisive manner is left out. This is due to the fact that it will require a greater processing effort to retrieve this encyclopaedic entry than that of dung beetle in the context of the utterance.

It is also interesting to not how the same word *iriangingiramabi* can change its semantic reference based on change of context. In cases where the term is used to refer to humans, rather than an insect, ‘dung beetle’ the meaning would change to ‘a useless, dirty person, and one often referred in derision e.g. in a case of,

*Tatiga gonkooro obokangi ririangingiramabi*  ‘stop joking with me dung beetle!’

In this context, the same comprehension procedure is applied and the encyclopaedic knowledge on *iriangingiramabi* is retrieved. In this case, the easiest entry to be accessed is that of ‘a useless, dirty fellow and referred derisively’ that is evoked. This property is arrived to since the element being referred to has changed from being an insect in case II. This is metaphorical extension, (see section 2-semantic change) for detailed analysis. According to Wilson and
Sperber (1995) in Relevance theory, recovery of the expressed meaning ‘useless, dirty/derisively referred fellow’ is arrived at through “mutual adjustment of the content and context of the encoded concept until the resulting interpretation satisfy the expectations of relevance raised by the utterance” (Aduda 2013:69)

While our analysis of compound neologisms has so far viewed them as single words, we have not considered how two words (often of different meanings) combine to yield one meaning. We focus on (15) birachaaratia. This term’s discussion in section 2.2.5.4 denotes that biracha and aratia have no close meanings, but upon combination they yield one meaning of ‘a glutton who feeds on other people’s sweat’. This is manifestation of opacity since their meanings do not cumulatively yield or add to the final meaning. In this case, we resort to contextual interpretation of the term.

Hearers of the term will scan their mental lexicon on what they understand by the term biracha ‘they come’ and aratia ‘he cracks’ and elicit all the encyclopaedic entries on the term biracha aratia. These entries are:

- nut cracker

- One who cracks things

- squanderer

Upon this realisation, the hearer will rely on the context to give meaning to the constituents’ combinations. For instance, the hearer is likely to choose ‘squanderer/glutton’ other than the other two since it requires less processing effort to access it, and it fully meets the expectations of relevance of the hearer within that context of the utterance. Igikuria compound
neologisms have a complex face and their interpretation is based on a consideration of the meanings of their constituents while laying emphasis on the context of the utterance. Context is viewed here as almost being unalienable in the interpretation, especially on the verb-noun and Adj.-Noun compounds.

3.2 Borrowed Igikuria Neologisms

3.2.1 True Borrowings

Loaning refers to the acquisition of words from one language into another to denote concepts and ideas that may lack appropriate words in the absorbing language. In this case, loan words depict the new words that have been borrowed from other languages into the Igikuria language to denote concepts and ideas they express in these languages. Languages in their productive capacity borrow new words to express ideas and other linguistic references that may not be expressible in the native language’s vocabulary. This language borrows from different languages some concepts to name, especially technological terms which are foreign to the languages. Other concepts are also adopted to refer to foreign concepts that have been introduced to the abakuria people due to contact and linguistic interactions. Similar to Aduda’s description, the borrowing from other languages is done to fix lexical and semantic gaps that emerge as a result of the need to have a lexical term to describe new concepts and ideas that do not have native existence in the Igikuria linguistic repertoire.

Kinyanjui (2014:20) contends that “intercultural communication has resulted into implementation of vocabulary into the concerned languages”. Borrowed words are incorporated and integrated into the recipient language. Words which have been lent to the Igikuria language have undergone some morphophonemic changes to adopt a native flavour. This nativization
process may include changes in the phonemic realisation of words, often shifting their pronunciation to achieve native accents. Igikuria language just like most Bantu languages use a lot of vowels in nativization of foreign elements beginning in consonantal sounds e.g. esati ‘shirt’ adopts /e/ to nativize the pronunciation. Similarly emasine ‘machine’ and ekombiuta ‘computer’ take the initial /e/ to make them sound in a native-like tone, even though the words exhibit a phonological borrowing of the sound. The phonological and morphological adaptations are sanctioned by the nature of the language’s term. While other words will take single vowels, others will double or maintain the form of the word in their original form e.g. ero ‘an opening greeting remark for males’ from the Maasai word ‘ero’ has retained its form and meaning. Similarly omera from the Luo has the same form and meaning into the Igikuria language.

The following table shows how phonological borrowing occurs, and how the nativization process changes the word to a different realisation into the Igikuria language.

**Table 4: Nativisation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source word</th>
<th>Igikuria equivalent</th>
<th>Phonological change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Machine</td>
<td>Emasine</td>
<td>/e/-/s/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirt</td>
<td>Esati</td>
<td>/e/-/s/-/i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ero</td>
<td>Ero</td>
<td>-none-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omera</td>
<td>Omera</td>
<td>-none-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pump</td>
<td>Ebambo</td>
<td>/e/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barabara</td>
<td>Ebharabhara</td>
<td>/e/-/B/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cent</td>
<td>Esenti</td>
<td>/e/-/s/-/e/-/i/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Halspelmath et al. (2009: 90) quoted in Kinyanjui 2014 note that in morphological adaptations each of the major word classes (nouns, adjectives and verbs) has its characteristic paradigm upon which loanwords adapt. For example, in Kiswahili, the loanwords have to conform to the word classes (Ngeli) morphological rules.

**Table 5: Loan words in Kiswahili**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kiswahili</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Computer</td>
<td>Kompyuta</td>
<td>Nzuri</td>
<td>Nzuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>Daktari</td>
<td>Mwema</td>
<td>Wema</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Kinyanjui 2014:21)

The same conformation to a languages word class rule manifests itself in the nature of the morphological adaptations of borrowed words into the Igikuria language. For instance, the phonological changes above are occasioned by the covert undertakings of this word class category’s rules.

Our major concern at this moment is the linguistic meanings associated with loanwords. We are adequately informed to argue that borrowed words despite the fact that they denote the foreign concepts and ideas the still connote other senses (meanings) with time, after they get established. Established words are those which have become part of the norm, that is, item-familiar to a large enough sub-set of the speech community to make it worth listing in the reference works, (Bauer 2001:67). These new ideas that are connoted by borrowed words is as a result of lack of proper lexical item to refer to objects and ideas with which they share certain encyclopaedic properties.

Let’s focus on (43) *emasine* ‘machine’ and (44) *ebambo* ‘pump’. The word *emasine* borrowed from the English word ‘machine’ denotes a piece of equipment with moving parts that
is designed to do a particular job. This is a foreign concept to the Igikuria language as machines are not indigenous in the nature of the language’s vocabulary. When a speaker utters something like;

*Tang’a emasine noroki, ababisa mbabayoi!* ‘Give me a machine I show you, enemies are here!’

Note that in this context the word is used to mean a weapon, a gun to be precise. The speaker here does not necessarily specify then kind of weapon. The term is therefore an umbrella term for all types of guns and other machines (different from a gun). The reference of a gun as a machine in this context is a new term different from the concept denoted by the term *emasine*. Speakers of the language have broadened the meaning of the term *emasine* to incorporate ideas and concepts which share similar encyclopaedic entries to the borrowed word. For this case, following the tenets and dictates of RT, the encoded concept of *emasine* provides the following encyclopaedic entries.

*Emasine* ‘machine’ – has moving parts

- Has power

- Makes work easier than manual handling

- Operable

- Trigger able/can be switched on to start working

According to Wilson and Sperber, the hearer of this utterance in this situation takes the encoded concept together with its activated encyclopaedic entries highlighted and commences on an elaborate process of searching for the interpretation that will satisfy his/her expectations of relevance. Note that once the expectations of relevance is met, then the interpretations reached as optimal relevance is the climax for comprehension heuristics. This process of searching for
relevance is paired with mutual adjustment of context, content and cognitive effects. Strengthening of the cognitive effects leads to derivation of the meaning of the word as referring to “a gun” other than any ordinary machine. Context plays a vital role in establishing the meaning of the word *emasine* as ‘a gun’. It is important to note that gun here is not categorical of the type of gun, (whether a short gun, a pistol or a machine gun). It is a general term which denotes any of those—thus delving into the nitty-gritties is of less importance.

A gun is understood to belong to this ad hoc category. RT advances that when linguistically specified denotations are narrower to warrant the expected interpretations, they are broadened to satisfy expectations of relevance by the utterance. Therefore, this is a case of broadening of the encoded concept of machine to cover up for the ‘gun’ with similar encyclopaedic entries

Let’s consider case II, of *ebambo* ‘pump’

(44) *imukia ebambo otemere eng’ombe iriogo*  ‘Take a knapsack sprayer and spray the cow with medication’.

In (44), the word *ebambo* ‘pump’ encodes the concept of a pump which forms the basis of accessing the encyclopaedic entry of the term as-

- involves pumping

- used to spray

- releases pressure/inflates

- It is machine-like
Here, the hearer takes the encoded concept, ‘pump’ as a starting point, then guided by the expectation of relevance, as postulated by Wilson and Sperber in RT, he selects ‘pumps are used to spray and add them to the context of interpretation. The interpretation is thus taken to mean ‘a knapsack sprayer’ used to spray animals with insecticides to kill germs and pests. This term denotes many concepts which happen to share similar encyclopaedic properties. It denotes ‘a pressure pump’, ‘knapsack sprayer’ (in this case), water pump and ‘grease pump’ or any type of pump. The knapsack sprayer is thus understood to belong to this broader category with the properties involving pumping, and being used to spray to denote a broader category. Notice that here, the Igikuria speakers lack specific individualistic word for the term ‘knapsack sprayer’ and instead resort to broadening to denote it as ebambo ‘pump’. In Igikuria the word would therefore be used to refer to the three meanings since they share similar encyclopaedic properties.

### 3.2.2 Calques-Loan word translations

Let’s consider the calque (29) *ekabeti emberetu* ‘red carpet’ repeated here as (45). This concept of red carpet is foreign i.e. has no initial reference in Igikuria language. Speakers of Igikuria language have therefore to resort to direct translation of the word from the foreign language (source language) in order to capture the concept, see section 2.2.5.7.1. The translated calques are understood through a complex comprehension heuristic. According to RT, the hearer of the word, *ekabeti emberetu* is immediately absorbed in a search for relevance of the term. He/she is firstly engaged in deciphering what the term denotes at the first instance i.e. its encoded concept. The term ekabeti *emberetu* ‘red carpet’ denotes many encyclopaedic entries. For instance the term elicits the following encyclopaedic properties:
(45) *ekabeti emberetu* ‘red carpet’

‘Carpet’ ‘red’

-it is red

-it represents power

-used by presidents/VIPs on special occasions

-it is stepped on and placed on floors for the guests/VIPs to step on

To understand the meaning of the word as ‘a strip of red carpet laid on the ground for an important visitor to walk on when s/he visits, the hearer will get locked on the properties associated with it and select the single most relevant property. The property must be the most easily accessible property and one which elicits the most cognitive effects in the comprehension process. Other entries which are very difficult to retrieve thus require a greater processing effort are ignored or dropped. The relevant property is then augmented with context of utterance and the hearer’s expectations of relevance. If the hearers expectations of relevance is met and the denoted concept fits in the comprehension, the word *ekabeti emberetu* ‘red carpet’ is understood as a ‘strip of red carpet laid on the ground for an important visitor to walk on when they arrive’.

The case of (30) *embeba ye ekombiuta* ‘computer mouse’ follows the same comprehension procedure highlighted by RT. To begin with, hearers take the encoded concept of *embeba* ‘mouse’ and *ekombiuta* ‘computer’. The term *embeba* denotes the following encyclopaedic entries as:

(45) *embeba ye ekombiuta* ‘computer mouse’

‘Mouse’ PREP ‘of’ ‘computer’
The term computer evokes the following encyclopaedic properties:

- it is non-living
- it is an electronic machine
- it is fast/ supersonic
- operable
- It has components

The encyclopaedic entries of the loan translation are then used to derive the meaning of the term *embeba ye ekombiuta* by close associations. The property of the mouse as “small” is picked as the most appropriate due to its close resemblances to the computer mouse. The property has the closest resemblance to the computer mouse. The property of “an animal/living” is dropped as the hearer already has an entry of “non-living” being attributed to the computer as “an electronic machine” and based on the context of what is already known about a computer. The hearer therefore selects the following encyclopaedic entries i.e. “small”, “non-living” and “has components” to add them to the context (mentally represented knowledge) to augment the meaning derivation process. Therefore, the hearer perceives that, *embeba ye ekombiuta* is a computer component used for clicking (operating the computer). Its size is attributable to the fact that the mouse resembles a real mouse which is small, and physical appearance is close in relation.
It’s important to note that calques involve foreign concepts which initially never existed in the Igikuria language. The speakers (due to interactional communication) have borrowed the concepts into the language since they lack proper words for them. They resort to translations of the foreign concepts in a manner depicting word for word translation. Most of these terms are technological terms. For instance, (46) *mp4* ‘MP4’ and (47) *iimeli* ‘E-mail’ can be understood by hearers based on what they already know about the concepts. The hearer must have interacted with concepts for them to understand what these technological terms refer to. It was discovered that, even though most of the old generation informants gave equal translations to the term, few could easily identify with what the technological terms meant. The young informants (aged 40 and below) were able to tell what these terms meant, therefore contextually were easily placed to derive their interpretation than those who had little interaction with them.

### 3.3 Semantic Neologisms

This cluster of analysis includes three types of neologisms; those formed of broadening, narrowing or change of meaning of the base form. Section 2.2.5.6 has a detailed discussion on neologisms based on semantic transfers. Neologisms here-in are discussed on the same angling as proposed by Geofrey Nunberg (1995; 109-132) i.e. that neologisms formed on this basis involve using “…the same expression to refer to disjoint sorts of things”.

The Igikuria language has quite a number of neologisms formed through semantic transfers. In section 2.2.5.6 above, we have re-classified the neologisms of this type into three subsets for analysis. In this section, we shall discuss the neologisms formed through narrowing, broadening and lexical extensions.
3.3.1 Narrowing

This concept is part of the lexico-pragmatics theory (here-in) conceptualized as an ad hoc concept construction in the relevance theory. Narrowing is defined as the case where a word is used in a more specific sense than the encoded one, resulting in narrowing of the linguistically encoded concept. Narrowing as a process is achievable by prior acknowledgement that there is a gap between the sentence meaning assigned to a grammar and the speakers meaning conveyed on a particular occasion of use. Lexical items used in Igikuria may have a very divergent meaning with the encoded meaning of the term/word. Consider a case like:

(48) amatwe ‘leaves’

The word amatwe meant leaves in the language of Igikuria speakers. The term has however, assumed a new meaning of ‘money, in note form’. How this word is interpreted and understood involves a comprehension procedure involving a bridge of this existing gap.

To begin with, we note that, “…the gap between the concept encoded by a word and the concept expressed by use of the word provides the basic data for lexical pragmatics” (PLIN 2012:77). The concept is thought of as a heading or address in memory i.e. AMATWE which is a constituent of the conceptual representations of utterances or thoughts, thus the concept amatwe ‘leaves’ denotes a category of leaves and activates encyclopaedic knowledge which can be added to the context and used in comprehending utterances about leaves.

The term AMATWE ‘LEAVES’ may communicate slightly a different concept (tree leaves, tea leaves, money). However, when the word is used in an expression like:
Mwita na amatwe akurigi ‘Mwita is looking for leaves’ one would interpret the meaning of the word to refer to money. Our question of interest is how do hearers interpret the meaning of amatwe to refer to money? This is achieved through narrowing of the term to a specific reference, owing to the context of utterance. Narrowing would entail the concepts AMATWE ‘LEAVES’ being selected or narrowed to denote only a subset of leaves, and in this case ‘money’.

Neologisms in Igikuria formed through narrowing process of the denoted concepts may include a case like (48) amatwe. Most of these neologisms are social neologisms, which encompass a lot of narrowing and broadening concepts.

Let’s consider how RT accounts for interpretation of the meaning of this word (48) amatwe ‘leaves’ which is currently often used to refer to ‘money’. For the Igikuria speakers to interpret the meaning of the word, a number of comprehension heuristics have to come to play. First, the encoded concept ‘LEAVES’ acts like an address or map upon which the interpretation is pegged. AMATWE evokes many encyclopaedic entries. For instance; the hearer of the term is likely to associate it with the following properties:

- is flat
- Note-like
- has leaflets
- a part of a plant
- numerous/can be bundled in a bunch

For the interpretation of the term AMATWE to mean ‘money’ narrowing of the encoded concepts has to take place. Hearers’ assumptions of amatwe as flat and bundle-able and the
connection between it and the context/situation of utterance are combined in interpretation. By following the path of least effort in adding these assumptions to the context and looking for cognitive effects that satisfy the expectations of relevance, the hearer is likely to interpret *amatwe* ‘leaves’ as communicating a ‘money’ owing to the prior knowledge and stereotypes associated with the word. This meaning is achieved through narrowing of the encoded concept ‘AMATWE’ to refer to a single specific meaning of ‘money in note form’ by mutually adjusting context, content and cognitive effects in order to satisfy the expectations of relevance.

### 3.3.2 Lexical Broadening

Lexical broadening in the Igikuria language works in a similar manner to narrowing as discussed in section 3.3.1 above. Consider a case of (49) *ehomo* ‘type of washing soap/detergent in powder form’

This term which refers to a specific type or brand of soap, has been absorbed into the Igikuria language to denote all other types of soaps in powder form. Most speakers of the language are unable to differentiate between other brands like Aerial, Kleenex and Sunlight. Speakers have broadened the meaning of the word *ehomo* to refer to any of the brands. The concept encoded by the term *ehomo* ‘washing powder soap’ is very different from the meaning expressed by the term. The question of interest here is, how then do hearers of such words interpret them in the Igikuria language to mean so? The encoded concept *EHOMO ‘WASHING POWDER SOAP’* elicits encyclopaedic properties such as:

- it is in powder form
- used for washing
- it is a detergent
-dissolves in water
-cleans clothes brightly

Hearers of the term *EHOMO* ‘WASHING POWDER SOAP’ assume it as an ad hoc concept which refers to many things apart from the specific brand of powder soap. Leaving it unspecified presupposes that this term is amorphous in nature and can name a multiplicity of items, as long as they conform or share similar encyclopaedic properties to the encoded concept *EHOMO* ‘POWDER SOAP’. In this case, *EHOMO* an ad hoc concept, denotes many other types of powder soap apart from the OMO in specific reference. On this interpretation, the hearer will understand *ehomo* based on the interpretation of this ad hoc concept through the broadening of the term. The encyclopaedic knowledge of *‘ehomo’ powdered soap* elicits attributes of a powder soap, dissolves in water and is used for washing. Hearers of this term will automatically relate it to these encyclopaedic entries and extend their interpretation based on what prior knowledge they have about the word. Why would one interpret it to mean so?

By following the aspersions of the relevance theory by Wilson and sperber, we note that the encoded concept *EHOMO* will give access to a wide array of encyclopaedic assumptions about *ehomo* ‘powdered soap’, Therefore, a hearer of this statement is likely to have certain expectations of relevance based on past experience of the level and type of cognitive effects that *ehomo* ‘powdered soap’ refers to in current societal use of the word.

According to RT’s comprehension procedure, a hearer is compelled

“to follow a path of least effort in looking for the expected and type of cognitive effects, adding the most highly activated assumptions from his encyclopaedic entry for *EHOMO* to the context, and mutually adjusting explicit content, context and cognitive effects until he has enough effects to satisfy his expectations of relevance” (PLIN 2012:78).
The result will be an interpretation of *ehomo ‘powdered soap’* to express an ad hoc concept *EHOMO* denoting many other types of powdered soap, apart from one specific brand.

### 3.3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the interpretation of Igikuria neologisms based on Relevance theory as advanced by Wilson and Sperber (1995). We have in particular examined the role of context in the interpretation of Igikuria neologisms clustered in different subsets as; functional neologisms, borrowed neologisms, semantic neologisms and derived neologisms. We have treated context in this theoretic analysis as, mental propositions stored in the minds of the speaker in the form of encyclopaedic entries. Physical context is also an attribute used in achieving spreading account of memory to reach the ideal interpretation of a term by a combination of context, content and selection of the easily accessible encyclopaedic entry to achieve optimal relevance in understanding neologisms in Igikuria.

The role of ad hoc concept, especially broadening and narrowing has been achieved as part of the manner in which neologisms are understood in Igikuria. Data from Igikuria has revealed that understanding Igikuria neologisms involves expansion of linguistically encoded meaning of logical forms so as to denote broader categories of the entities under investigation; through a complex comprehension heuristic. We can therefore, adequately state that RT accounts for how Igikuria neologisms are understood as they are used in everyday language use.
CHAPTER FOUR
DISCUSSION ON FINDINGS, SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of this research in meeting the expectations of our objectives of study and validating our hypotheses as upheld in chapter one. It also provides a summary, conclusion and recommendations for further research. Here, we have summarised the findings of this research right from chapter one to chapter four, and revisited our research hypothesis and objectives to give concrete recommendations for further research within the topic of neologisms in Igikuria language.

4.2 Discussion

One of our major concerns in the objectives was to determine the word formation processes responsible for neologism formation in Igikuria language. Through our research data, we are able to show that derivation, reduplication, semantic extensions, borrowings and loan translations are responsible for neologism formations in the Igikuria language, as discussed in chapter two. We have also discovered that some words may be formed through different word formation processes to denote the same thing/object thus resulting to synonyms. For instance, the term *ikibinyiri* and *embeba ye ekombiuta* refer to one thing, ‘computer mouse’, even though the words are structurally different. While *ikibinyiri*, (which literally means ‘that which is used to press’) involves a great deal of description, *embeba ye ekombiuta* is more of a calque (loan translation i.e. a borrowed concept. However different the word formation process may be, the words created may refer to the same thing in Igikuria.
We have also noted that words borrowed into the Igikuria language are subjected to nativization procedures which make the words, either sound native through different morphological alterations. The Igikuria language utilises vowels in borrowed words to make them sound native, e.g. the words *e-mail, i-pad* are added other vowels /i: / and /el/ to sound familiar in the language, as in, *iimeri* ‘e-mail’ and *eibati* ‘i-pad’. It is interesting to see how nativisation takes place in the word *igicheti* ‘certificate’ through phonological resemblance. *Some* words created through borrowing, especially technology neologisms are easily identifiable with the young generation. The old folk’s interpretation of the items was difficulty owing to the fact that they have had less contact with new inventions and technological advancements.

The second objective of this enquiry was to determine how context influences the interpretation of neologisms in Igikuria language. Findings of this study have revealed that whether interpretation of the Igikuria neologisms is literal or loose, it relies on the nature of encyclopaedic entries selected. For the meaning of the lexical items to be understood in Igikuria, the context of the utterance has to be reviewed. We have explained that upon hearing an utterance, the hearers’ encyclopaedic entries of the word are activated. The hearer then follows a path of least effort in deriving one single criterion for interpretation of the concept. This is augmented by content and context plus the hearer’s expectations of relevance. Upon satisfaction of expectations of relevance, the hearer stops and interpretation is achieved. The interpretation of Igikuria neologisms relies on the context of utterance and the prior knowledge that hearers have in order to derive meanings of the words formed into the language. This analysis has been validated through adequate discussions in chapter three. Therefore, the proposition that context determines the interpretation of Igikuria neologisms has tested positive and the objective of study achieved.
Our third objective was to determine the role of ad hoc concept of broadening and narrowing in the interpretation of Igikuria neologisms. Using the empirical data *egento* ‘something’, *ehomo* ‘powdered soap’ we have given a detailed explanation on how the encoded concept gives a wide array of meanings leading to construction of broadening. Narrowing on the other hand is seen as a specialization and is analysed through lexical items like *amatwe* ‘leaves’ and *ukunywa* ‘drink’ narrowed to refer to money in note form and consume alcohol in large amounts respectively. The whole analysis points out to the fact that expanding the linguistic denotation of the encoded concept in such a way that it denotes a wide array of concepts is responsible for the ad hoc concept of broadening involved in comprehension of Igikuria neologisms; therefore we can categorically state that ad hoc concept of broadening and narrowing help bring out meanings of Igikuria neologisms.

Our last objective was to determine how RT accounts for meaning intended in Igikuria speakers. We have adequately given a relevance theoretic analysis of Igikuria neologisms and how hearers conceive meaning of the words. Through empirical data testing in this research in chapter 3, we have adequately given a relevance theoretic interpretation of Igikuria neologisms. So far from data analysed it is evident that RT provides an adequate explanation of Igikuria neologisms.

4.3 Summary

This research is an investigation of Igikuria neologisms within the framework of Relevance theory advanced by Wilson and Sperber (1995). We begin this research by an overview of the Igikuria language in the background to the study of this write-up. We highlighted our objectives and hypothesis that RT provides a comprehensive account of Igikuria neologisms, processes responsible for word formation in Igikuria and context’s role in their
interpretation. This was followed by the rationale for this study, scope and theoretical framework. Relevance theory was discussed in detail and its basic tenets highlighted and analysed in view of the coming analysis of Igikuria neologisms using RT in chapter 3. Literature review is also presented in the expository chapter which is organized into literature on Igikuria language in general and literature on Igikuria neologisms. This chapter ends with a detailed discussion of the methodology of this research.

Chapter two has dealt with morphological structure of Igikuria neologisms. We have reviewed the various processes through which Igikuria neologisms are formed and given a comprehensive analysis of the process by reviewing and interrogating other scholars’ arguments on word formations of natural languages. Towards the end of the chapter, we adopted Cabre’s classification of neologisms into neologisms of semantic change, borrowing and calques, functional neologisms and derivational neologisms. The classification forms the basis of investigative units in chapter three.

Chapter three provides an actual pragmatic analysis of Igikuria neologisms based on RT as the lens for analysis. An attempt to give detailed examination of how RT in general accounts for interpretation of Igikuria neologisms is given. The analysis of neologisms is stratified into Cabre’s classification and sampled individual words which are then discussed based on relevance theory. The ad hoc concepts of narrowing and broadening are also discussed by looking at what role they play in the interpretation of Igikuria neologisms. Chapter four presents a brief discussion of the findings of the research, as to how they have met the objectives of this research.
4.4 Conclusion

This research sought to test four hypotheses, arguably; how RT accounts for the interpretation of neologisms, role of context in interpretation of neologisms, processes involved in forming neologisms as derivation, reduplication, borrowing, compounding and semantic extensions and a general hypothesis that RT gives an elaborate explanation of how neologisms are conceptualized in the Igikuria language. This research has validated the hypotheses upheld at the beginning in the expository chapter.

4.5 Recommendations

Research on Igikuria language and in particular neologisms is very minimal as revealed in this paper. Very few scholars have embarked or studied this language before. We have also noted that the Igikuria language is sharply changing from its original indigenous form and is adopting new forms due to changes in technology and social set ups. We have used RT in explaining how neologisms are formulated and conceived in Igikuria language. It will be of good if a study is conducted to test whether other theories, like the conceptual metaphor theory, can account for the language’s change.

Relevance theory provides a detailed and satisfactory account of the interpretation of Igikuria neologisms. We are tempted to test whether this theory may provide adequate explanations for other aspects of the language, i.e. the syntactic patterning of the language. We therefore recommend a study on how RT may account for the syntactic structuring of the Igikuria language.
Other areas that researchers may find interest in may include: Relevance theoretic analysis of aspects like Irony and metaphors. We recommend a study in this area, within the language so as to draw clear differences that may exist on how RT accounts for the two concepts.
REFERENCES


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APPENDIX I: INTRODUCTORY LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI,

P.O BOX 30197,

NAIROBI.

5th July, 2016.

To: RESPONDENTS

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH DATA

Dear respondent, your attention is drawn to the above matter.

I am a postgraduate finalist student pursuing a Masters Degree in Linguistics at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting research for my final year project/thesis. My topic is Neologisms in Igikuria Language- a Relevance Theoretic Analysis.

In order to conclude this project, I am expected to collect data for my research. I therefore, kindly request you to fill this questionnaire. The information collected here will ONLY be used for purposes of this research, and will not be shared to any party.

Your cooperation will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

MARTIN MOKERERI MAGAIWA.
APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A: PERSONAL DETAILS

1. What is your gender?  MALE [  ]  FEMALE  [  ]

2. What is your age bracket?  20-40 YEARS [  ]  40-60YEARS [  ]

3. Indicate your highest professional qualification

   KCPE ___________  UNDERGRADUATE/DEGREE___________
   DIPLOMA_________  MASTERS  ___________OTHERS_________

4. What is your occupation?
   a) Teacher  [  ]
   b) Clergy  [  ]
   c) Administrator  [  ]
   d) College/university student  [  ]
   e) Doctor/health officer  [  ]
   f) Businessperson  [  ]
   g) Driver/matatu operator  [  ]
   h) Farmer  [  ]

SECTION B:

5. What is the Igikuria word for the following words?
   a) Computer………………………………………………………………………
   b) Calculator……………………………………………………………………
   c) Mobile phone…………………………………………………………………
   d) Machine………………………………………………………………………
   e) E-mail…………………………………………………………………………
   f) Pump……………………………………………………………………………
   g) Glass…………………………………………………………………………..
   h) Steering wheel………………………………………………………………
   i) Computer mouse……………………………………………………………

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6. Write the equivalent of the following paragraph in Igikuria language

Students at a boys’ boarding school burnt down seven of their 12 dormitories after their teachers refused to allow them to watch a football match on Television on Saturday night. The Itierio Boys High School students reacted in anger after learning that they would not be allowed to watch a game between Portugal and Croatia in the on-going championships, Euro 2016.
APPENDIX III: GEOGRAPHICAL MAP OF KURIA EAST
APPENDIX IV: MAP OF KURIA PEOPLE IN TANZANIA