

**A STUDY OF MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES IN  
“GĪTAMANYA” LUDLING AMONG KIEMBU SPEAKING YOUTH OF  
MANYATTA AREA, EMBU**

**BY**

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**DECLARATION**

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signature..... Date .....

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

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## **DEDICATION**

To

My Husband and best friend

Our lovely children, Liz, Mozart, Joy and Eric

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

The Grace of God has been indeed sufficient. All glory and praise be to Him for His unfailing love, provision and sustenance while I undertook my studies.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS**

<b>LP</b> –	Lexical Phonology
<b>LPR</b> –	Lexical Phonology Rules
<b>NLO</b> –	Natural Language Output
<b>LUDO</b> –	Ludling Output
// –	Underlying Representation
∅ –	Zero Morpheme
+ –	Morpheme Boundary
→	Realized as
<b>IPA</b> –	International Phonetic Alphabet
<b>σ</b> –	Syllable
<b>O</b> –	Onset
<b>C</b> –	Consonant
<b>V</b> –	Vowel
<b>R</b> –	Rhyme
<b>N</b> –	Nucleus
<b>CV</b> –	Consonant – Vowel

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Phonological Change:** A sound change that results in the addition, elimination or rearrangement of phonemes e.g. splits, Mergers
- Phonological Rules:** Rules that derive phonetic representations from underlying representations, accounting for alternations among allophones
- Phonology:** The component of a grammar made up of the elements and principles that determine sound patterns in a language
- Phonotactics:** The set of constraints on how consequences of segments pattern
- Ludling:** A system of manipulating spoken words to render them incomprehensible to the non-speaker. A language game also called secret language or argot. (a code)
- Gĩtamanya:** The Language under study: the ludling/argot/ language game or code
- Kiambu:** The language spoken by the people living in the Embu region
- Natural Language:** A human language as opposed to a constructed language.

## **ABSTRACT**

This study attempts to analyze a mixed code known as “Gĩtamanya” that is used by the Kĩembu – speaking youth of Manyatta area in Embu County. The code exhibits some differences from Kĩembu. Similar to other mixed codes or peer languages; Gĩtamanya appears to be used mainly as a marker of identity and maintenance of secrecy as Githiora (2002) observes about Sheng. The objectives of this study were to: investigate some aspects of Gĩtamanya phonology that are related to Kĩembu phonology, to identify and account for morphotactic adjustments on words from Kĩembu , Kiswahili and English in Gĩtamanya through Lexical Phonology Theory; and to examine the linguistic features of Gĩtamanya that make it unique and different from Kĩembu .

The study is based on Lexical Phonology Theory (LP). Lexical Phonology is best suited for this study as Mohanan (1982) claims that:

“Word games and codes such as Pig- Latin operate on lexical representations and that the forms thus created undergo post- lexical rules”.

This study seeks to examine the morphological and phonological treatment accorded the words borrowed from Kĩembu, Kiswahili and English in the process of adopting them into Gĩtamanya.

# **1 CHAPTER ONE**

## **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents preliminary information on the study. The chapter deals with such aspects as background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, hypothesis, justification of the study, scope and limitation, literature review and theoretical framework. Research methodology as well as data collection methods and analysis are also included in this chapter.

## **1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

### **1.2.1 BACKGROUND TO EMBU LANGUAGE AND THE CODE**

The mixed language under study is Gĩtamanya. The speech community associated with this code is the Embu youth of Manyatta, Kenya. The code exhibits some differences from Kĩembu .As is characteristic of mixed codes or peer languages,Gitamanya,is also used mainly as a marker of identity and maintenance of secrecy. According to Mwaniki (1974:40), the Embu are a Bantu speaking people living on the South Eastern slopes of Mount Kenya forest to the north. Guthrie (1967:103) in his ethnographic study classified Embu in Zone E group 50; Embu being E 52 together with Kikuyu, Kĩmeru, Kĩtharaka, Kikamba and Thagisu.

Kĩembu has three dialects according to Njeru (2010:2): Kiveti, spoken by people in Runyenjes and Kyeni areas , Kĩruguru spoken in the Northern parts of Embu close to Mt. Kenya Forest (Ĩrangĩ), Manyatta, Ngandori and Ngĩnda area and the Southern dialect which is spoken in Gaturi and in the lower parts of Embu near the border of Embu and Mbeere. The three dialects have phonological and lexical differences. The mixed code- Gĩtamanya- uses resources from Kĩruguru dialect, Kiswahili and in very rare cases from English.

Kĩembu acts as the matrix language in the sense that it provides the morphemes used in Gĩtamanya. This code makes use of lexical items from both Kĩembu and Kiswahili. It also borrows from English, albeit rarely. The words then undergo some “treatment” in the process of being incorporated into the code.

Thomason (2001:198) notes that mixed languages are created by bilinguals and arise “within a single social or ethnic group because of a desire, or perhaps even a need, for an in - group language”. Gĩtamanya is used among the Embu youth who have had massive exposure to Kiswahili in schools due to the Kenyan education system. Due to the genealogical relatedness between Kiswahili and Kĩembu the speakers tend to use more words from Kiswahili and less from English. At the same time there is widespread bilingualism involving Kĩembu and Kiswahili in the area and so it does not matter which word one uses- it will be understood anyway. The primary languages used by the Embu youth in Manyatta are Kĩembu and Kiswahili. Kiswahili is used as a medium of instructions in most schools around Manyatta area. One reason for this is that Kigari Teachers’ College is in the area and student teachers use the schools within and around the town for their teaching practice. The Schools have pupils drawn from other ethnic groups and as such Kiswahili is used as a medium of instruction. In addition, Kiswahili is also taught as a language/ subject at all levels of education in Kenya. Lexical borrowing is perhaps the most noticeable feature of Gĩtamanya with the main source of borrowing being Kiswahili. The words are then readily inserted into Kĩembu Morphology. The code then uses a set of consistent rules of transposition which are similar to the ones used in Verlan in France. Both names- Verlan and Gĩtamanya are as a result of metathesis:

L’eners → Versl’en pronounced as Verlan (Peters, 2006)  
Kimanyatta → Gĩtamanya

The following general principles usually apply to this code.

- i) The insertion of a sound sequence at specific points in the word
  - ii) The movement of a sound or sound sequences that would not otherwise occur in the regular languages non- disguised phonetic representations.
- These principles qualify the code to be a secret language.

### **1.2.2 BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM**

After living in Manyatta, Embu for the last twenty seven (27) years, the researcher observed that the youth tend to use Gĩtamanya instead of Kĩembu when communicating to each other and with an intention of achieving some level of secrecy especially in the presence of other older people. The researcher also observed that not much has been done in analyzing its linguistic structure despite its existence and widespread use.

O' Connor (1973: 273) notes that there are still hundreds and hundreds of unwritten languages in the world and that it is very desirable that they should be given written form, to the advantage of the users of the language and the linguist. Gĩtamanya is a spoken phenomenon and like other mixed codes or peer languages, Gĩtamanya appears to be used mainly as a marker of identity and maintenance of secrecy. Linguists have carried out research on such secret coded means which use a set of regular rules, usually that of transposition. The term Pig-Latin is used to describe them. However, the research problem addressed in this study was that, despite the existence of Gĩtamanya, little had been done to analyze its linguistic structure.

It is important to look at the available research on language games and look at their usefulness in in the study of phonology before we can start investigating Gitamanya since it is in itself a language game. A language game, according to Wikipedia, (also called secret language or ludling or argot) “is a system of manipulating spoken words to render them incomprehensible to the untrained

ear”. Some common examples are Pig-Latin; the Gibberish family, prevalent in the United States and Sweden; and Verlan, spoken in France.

Laycock (1972) coined the term “ludling” a combination of the Latin ludus “game” and lingua “language” for language games. This term will alternate with code and argot in this paper. According to Davis (1994:1980) a ludling refers to a “widespread language play phenomenon in which phonological forms of words are systematically altered so as to disguise what they are.” Gītamanya fits this definition. The most famous ludling is modern English Pig Latin, in which the word initial consonant or consonant cluster is moved to the end and the vowel [e] is added after it. Many languages have ludlings of different sorts.

Bagemihl (1995) divides ludlings into three types:

- (i) Affixing or infixing ludlings
- (ii) Templatic ludlings, in which the melodic portion of a standard language word is mapped onto a specified word-sized ludling template.
- (iii) Reversal ludlings

Reversal ludlings, involve many different possible types of operations such as total segment or syllable reversal, transposition (moving a peripheral constituent to the opposite end of the word), interchange (switching the first two or the last two syllables) false syllable reversal (syllable reversal with timing properties held constant) and so on. Bagemihl (1995:700).

Gītamanya lies in this last category of reversal ludlings and it is in the light of the above discussion that it has been deemed necessary to undertake a study of Gītamanya morphophonological processes.

### **1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

While Gĩtamanya has been around for some time, there has been no comprehensive, systematic investigation done to examine the linguistic features that make it unique and different from Kĩembu. There is need to examine the morphological and phonological treatment accorded the words borrowed from Kĩembu, Kiswahili and from English, (albeit rarely) in the process of adopting them into Gĩtamanya. Specifically, the study aims at examining the morphophonological processes that are at play in Gĩtamanya. It investigates the relevant environment of sound segments, surveying how the various segments influence each other in different environments.

Morphophonology is closely related to phonology and morphology. In order to have a comprehensive study of Gĩtamanya morphophonology, this study has explored some aspects of Kĩembu phonology and morphology in the next chapter.

This study focusses on an analysis of the mixed youth code. The research problem addressed in this study, however, is that despite the existence of Gĩtamanya little has been done to analyze its linguistic structure. Therefore, this study seeks to examine the morphophonological aspects of the ludling as it is used by the youth. Actually, this code presents a phenomenon of a new language as opposed to a dying language.

This study allows an in-depth analysis because Gĩtamanya is as a result of linguistic processes such as vocabulary manipulation. It is also rule - governed in that rules operate on a particular phonetic or phonological input by altering the sequence or ordering of sounds and / or nature with the consequence of producing new output.

To the best of this study's knowledge, as stated earlier, whereas elaborate studies have been conducted in the morphology and phonology of Kĩembu and its

dialects, no study has been done on Gĩtamanya in the area of morpho-phonemics. This study, therefore, attempts to fill this gap by undertaking a descriptive analysis of the ludling. The research problem of the present study stems from the premise that very little is known about Gĩtamanya.

#### **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

This research seeks to address the following questions:

1. What are the aspects of Gtamanya phonology that are related to Kĩembu phonology?
2. How can Morphophonotactical adjustments on words in Gĩtamanya be accounted for using Lexical Phonology?
3. What linguistic features are unique in Gĩtamanya as a mixed youth code

#### **1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

This study is guided by the following objectives:

1. To investigate aspects of Gĩtamanya phonology that are related to Kĩembu phonology.
2. To identify Morphophonotactical adjustments on words in Gĩtamanya using Lexical Phonology
3. To examine linguistic features that are unique in Gĩtamanya as a mixed youth code

#### **1.6 HYPOTHESES**

1. Some aspects of Gĩtamanya phonology are related to Kĩembu Phonology
2. Morphophonotactical adjustments on words in Gĩtamanya can be accounted for using lexical phonology
3. Gĩtamanya has unique linguistic features as a mixed youth code

## **1.7 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY**

Linguists are currently concerned about the question of dying languages. Gĩtamanya is a case of a new emerging language that requires to be analyzed and documented. This work, generally adds to information on languages in Kenya and specifically on Kĩembu as a dynamic and changing language. This study discusses the phonological and morphological aspects of Gĩtamanya. O'Connor (1973:273) notes that "there" are still hundreds and hundreds of unwritten languages in the world and that it is desirable that they should be given written form, to the advantage of the users of the "language and the linguist."

This research will then serve as a framework on which further study would build: studies on syntax, origin and currency of the language will be based on the findings of this work. In addition, this work exposes features of one of the Embu people's cultural items (their language). It will also inspire other linguists to develop interest in the code.

The fact that the morphophonology of this code has not been the subject of any in-depth and systematic analysis has made this a justifiable research problem in order to contribute to the maintenance of the oral language.

## **1.8 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS**

In this study, we limit ourselves to the discussion of Gĩtamanya morphophonology although a comprehensive study of a language would include a study of it's: phonology, morphology, and syntax, semantics and pragmatics and discourse structure. Our decision to limit this study to morpho-phonology is so as to give an in-depth analysis of the language. The study is synchronic and descriptive in nature and examines the language as it is spoken. Therefore it was not possible to explore its diachronic nature.

## 1.9 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section presents a review of the related literature. To the best of this study's knowledge, as earlier stated (sec. 1.2) no study has been done on Gĩtamanya. For this reason, and the fact that Gĩtamanya uses Kiambu phonology in the construction of its lexicon, this study reviews literature related to Kiambu first. Second, literature on language in general, mixed languages and language games/ludlings that have been studied earlier and relate to the focus of the current study is reviewed.

One of the existing works is a study by Mutahi (1997). In his study of sound change and classification of dialects of Mt Kenya, he discusses how Kiambu lost /p/ and acquired /v/ and he also discusses the phonological feature of prenasalization where sounds /m/ and /n/ are placed before the voice stops. His study on classification of dialects is based on sound change and phonological processes.

Although his study sets out to investigate Kiambu as a distinct language, he focuses on its phonological, morphological and lexical variation. Therefore, the study is important as literature for review.

Guthrie (1970) and Heine and Mohling (1980) in their classification of Bantu languages mention Kiambu and show how it relates to other Bantu languages. This study has used some knowledge from this work.

Mwaniki (1973 & 1971) provides this study with knowledge about the history and culture of the Embu people. This study is useful as it provides background into the Kiambu language and on matters concerning its classification.

Mberia (1993) explores Kitharaka segmental morphophonology, a work that examines the process that link the underlying and surface realizations of consonants and vowels in Kitharaka language. He discusses the rules that underlie

and govern the processes such as vowel coalescence. His work studies the behavior of segments in vocabulary borrowed from English and Kiswahili into Kitharaka. Although this work is not in Kiambu or Gĩtamanya, it is quite relevant to this study. We need to note that Mberia's study is on a language while the current study is on a language game. However, he notes that Kitharaka does not have an orthography, a phenomenon of the youth code as well.

Iribemwangi (2008) in his work on morphophonology of standard Kiswahili using Natural Generative Phonology, he notes that the theory

“...recognizes phonology and morphology as different entities; and proposes that marriage of the two in any study on sound change as the only way to give rise to a comprehensive theory of morphophonology.”

Although the current study uses Lexical Phonology, this work is relevant. However, it is noted that the study examines standard language as opposed to the youth code under study.

Akida (2000) addresses Luwanga morphophonemics using Generative Phonology. Lexical phonology is an offshoot of Generative Phonology. The theories have a lot in common. As quoted in Akida's work Hooper (1976:3) states that “in a generative grammar, linguistic competence is formalized in a stem of rules that determine the sound, meaning correspondence that a language uses”. The current study uses LP, a theory where phonological rules are allowed to have direct access to morphological information. Therefore Akida's work has relevance to this study.

Nyakundi (2010), in his study on a morphophonological process in Egesembesa Argot, uses LP theory, the theory used in this study. This study is quite relevant to our study. Egesembesa is a youth language based on the Ekegusii language which is a Bantu language like Kiambu. The syllable manipulation process identified in

Egesembesa among many other transformational processes are also found in Gĩtamanya. Egesembesa, however, differs with Gĩtamanya in many aspects; it uses the language and grammar of Ekegusii language, its lexicon is mainly from the same language (even the borrowed vocabulary is not directly to Egesembesa but the words are in Ekegusii as borrowed words) unlike Gĩtamanya that borrows directly from Kiswahili and English (words that are not in Kiambu). These are the main points of departure. However, this research contributed a lot in writing the current work.

Another work that is of importance to this study is *Language Contact; an introduction* by Thomason (2001). This work extensively discusses the aspect of mixed languages. She notes that

“Speakers have the ability to create a new lexicon and graft it onto pre-existing grammar...”

In fact, Gĩtamanya speakers display this ability. She further notes that, “this same ability underlies the secret languages invented by children (well, usually) by applying a simple distorting phonological rule in their native lexicon.” However, the current study does not agree with her idea of referring to mixed languages as “Bilingual mixed languages”, Gĩtamanya is more of a multilingual mixed language where three languages combine.

Matras and Baker (2003) describe mixed languages as;

” speech varieties that arise in bilingual speech settings as markers of ethnic separateness and that they combine structures inherited from different parent languages”.

Apart from the fact that the language under study is a marker of identity and not ethnic separateness, it combines structures inherited from Kiambu, Kiswahili and English. Therefore, the work provides relevant information to the current study.

Vakunta (2008) has researched on Camfranglais, a language mixture that has been advanced by urban youth in Cameroon. This urban youth language has a number of similarities with Gĩtamanya in terms of manipulation of lexical items from various Cameroonian and European languages. Koukega (2003) describes it as a composite language which resembles a pidgin in that it results from contact between several languages. Vakunta's work helps the current study posit that Gĩtamanya is not an isolated occurrence in Africa.

Just like the mixed code under study, Camfranglais speakers use various forms of word manipulation such as borrowing from various languages, coinage, elision, affixation, inversion and reduction of forms and reduplication to make their language unintelligible to outsiders. Similarly, Gĩtamanya uses some of these techniques of word formation.

Michel Lobe Ewane in an article titled "*Le Camfranglais, un cousin du Verlan?*" (1989) draws striking parallels between Camfranglais and Verlan, a slang language spoken by young people in the French Suburbs. The current study benefits from this article in terms of gaining insights in analyzing the Gĩtamanya data.

Laycock (1972:61) carries a section on a ludling and gives a definition, "A ludling is [...] the result of a transformation or series of transformations acting regularly or in an ordinary language text with the intention of altering the form but not the content of the original message, for the purpose of concealment or for comic effect". His work is important to this study as it provides us with a working definition of a ludling. The code under study qualifies to be called a ludling.

Peters (2006) in his thesis on variations of Verlan seeks to identify the Verlan words that do not follow the rules of transformation and whether there are any

rules or sub-rules that apply to the exceptions. Peters further notes that the morphology of ludlings is semantically empty as the elements added or changed do not add any meaning.

The current study made the same observation in Gītamanya. Peters has devoted a section (see 1.5) to syntax morphology and semantics of Verlan. The current study borrowed some phonological insight from him in the analysis of Gītamanya. Bagemihl (1989 and 1995) works were very helpful to the current study. Bagemihl (1989) observed that reversing games were tightly constrained in what moves and where it moves to. He further explains the movement of syllables in the games i.e. the manipulation of edge syllables, either switching two edge syllables around or transposing one of the edge syllable to the other edge.

Bagemihl (1995) presents this study with information on the types of ludlings. This was important as the current study was able to classify Gītamanya as a reversal ludling (see 1.1.2)

## **1.10 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **1.10.1 LEXICAL PHONOLOGY**

This study has phonological, and morphological aspects. Lexical phonology is adopted for this study as Mohanan (1982) recognized the Lexicon as a central component of the grammar which contains idiosyncratic properties of words and morphemes and regular word-formation and phonological rules.

Kaisse & Shaw (1985:1-2) note that;

“Lexical Phonology lays emphasis on the intricate relations between the morphological structure of a word and the way phonological rules apply to it”.

Lexical Phonology removes the use of phonological boundaries and makes use of the brackets supplied by syntax. They posit that, “If the lexicon is the repository of idiosyncratic information about morphemes, rules that refer to this information are themselves lexical, while rules applying outside the lexicon apply whenever their structural descriptions are met, across the board”.

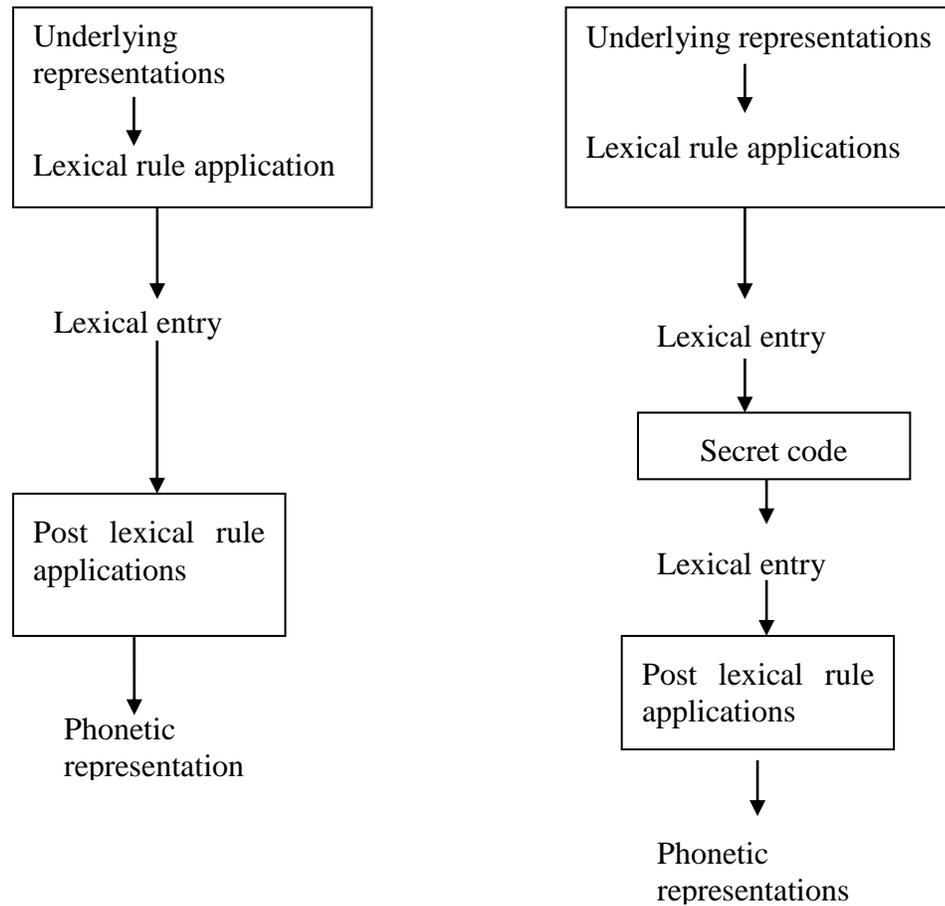
Lexical Phonology is best suited for this study as Mohanan (1982) claims that word games and codes such as Pig-Latin operate on lexical representations and that the forms thus created undergo post-lexical rules. In Lexical Phonology, phonological rules are allowed to have direct access to morphological information where each level is assigned a set of phonological and morphological rules, and every morphological process has potential to feed in a cyclic fashion the phonological rules of its level.

A secret code, such as Gĩtamanya, uses existing lexical items to form new ones such that an outsider does not identify the lexical items. According to Mohanan (1982:87); “A Secret Code language is one in which one or more rules (the code) have been added to the grammar of a natural language”. We may, then, think of Gĩtamanya in terms of the following equation:

$$\text{Gĩtamanya} = \text{Grammar of Kiambu} + \text{rule}$$

This shows that the code applies only after the application of lexical rules. Lexical phonology will adequately cater for this.

Using LP, the mode of the application of the secret code can be represented as follows:-



*Table 1: LP mode of application of the secret code*

Lexical Phonology is an Extended Model of Generative Phonology. LP has been arrived at through a combination of ideas and theories from independent researchers such as Siegel (1974) in Level Ordered Morphology. The basic assumptions of this theory are stipulated by Mohanan (1982).

There are a few things in this theory that are relevant to our area of study:

- LP theory deals much with level ordered- morphology whose basic insight is that derivational and inflectional processes of languages can be arranged in a series of levels.
- According to this theory each step of word formation process is tied to rules of a certain level.
- Within this approach it is assumed that the output of each word-formation process within the lexicon itself is accounted for by phonological rules of its level.
- At a lexicon level, such rules are referred to as Lexical Phonology Rules (LPR). In other words, phonological rules operate alongside morphology in the lexicon.

## **1.11 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

In this section the researcher explains how the research was conducted. It states the research design used, the area where the research was conducted, the research instruments used for data collection and data analysis procedures adopted.

### **1.11.1 RESEARCH DESIGN, INSTRUMENTATION AND PROCEDURES**

This design uses descriptive design which according to Kombo and Tromp(2006), is a description of the state of affairs as it exists while Orodho(2003) posits that it is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals. Our research used primary data that was collected through naturalistic observation technique and elicitation technique. We used a questionnaire as one of the data-gathering instruments as well as interviews with informants (Gĩtamanya speakers) using focused group discussions by bringing together a number of youth who speak the ludling. The researcher also collected data randomly from spontaneous conversations.

Snow balling came in handy because approaching the youth, who were initially unknown to the researcher was a bit difficult. It was also crucial for the researcher to build up a relationship with the speakers for them to allow the interaction and subsequent data collection sessions where we collected data through tape recordings of spontaneous speech (conversations). We came up with a representative sample from the target population.

Miles and Huberman (1994:27) observe that; “.. no study can include everything and a researcher cannot study everyone everywhere doing everything”. Thus this study opted to use judgmental sampling (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999) and not “networking procedure” (see Horath. 19985: Milroy, 1987). This entailed identifying in advance the target youth hence presupposed the type of respondents to be studied. In our case the study focused on selecting the youth who had been in Manyatta area since birth and also considered their age and social networks. (Mesthrie et al, 2000) looks at social networks as the formal and informal social relationships that individuals maintain with one another.

The researcher was careful not to pick the younger youth of school going age due to the fact that, this particular group has Sheng interference and hence will mix Sheng and Gĩtamanya in their communication. Actually, we selected people who were mainly of secondary school level of education but were out of school and in the informal sector. This also made it possible to access them easily as their work schedule is not as tight as the ones in formal engagements.

Initially, this research started with two young men, Danson Ndwiga, 30 years old, and James Gachoki, 27 years old, who the researcher felt fitted the specified category through their networks in the community. However, the sample size increased to about eight youth who agreed to focus group discussions. The two men, (Danson and James) became the contact persons and helped the researcher

to enter the close nit group and win the confidence and trust of the group. As (Milroy 1987:44) puts it the researcher was able to enter the “network” “as a friend of a friend” after explaining to them that the research was for linguistic analysis and that the topics of discussion were not relevant and that the information collected was to be used in writing an MA project.

The researcher informed the respondents that the data would be collected in form of;

- a) A questionnaire
- b) Tape recording of the conversations
- c) Interviews

To reduce the effect of the Observer’s Paradox, they were allowed to choose the topics of discussion after which they spent an hour recording and playing back the recordings so that they familiarized themselves with the process.

As for the interviews, the researcher used the focused group discussions and asked specific questions and as directly as Alison et al., (1998:183) advises researchers to do when using data elicitation interviews for direct elicitation of language forms. Questions such as “What is your word for this?” were asked and when more than one form was given, the researcher would follow with “which of the two is commonly used?” discussions were allowed as the researcher took notes of the forms.

The questionnaires were administered simultaneously to the group they were completed in one sitting. The exercise was done after explaining to the group what was required of them and then the questions were presented. The researcher was present and this ensured that the completion rate was a hundred percent. This is a concern raised by Wray A. et al (1998) in addition to the advantage of giving

all respondents the same information. The choice of spoken questionnaire in this research was closely tied up to general interview techniques.

### **1.11.2 DATA ANALYSIS.**

In the preliminary analysis, a data summary was made in terms of putting the data in written form. After the recording, the researcher would play back and make sure it was clear. The spoken language data that was collected needed to be transcribed and the questionnaire responses analyzed and information consolidated. The data needed to be consolidated in terms of;

- Source language,
- Gītamanya word
- Processes identified

Therefore, the research started with transcribing the data orthographically before the phonetic and phonemic transcriptions that were done in tables (see chapter 2, 2:1.1.) The second step was to organize the data and check for the morphological process present in the process of transferring the Natural Language Output to the Ludling Output.

### **1.11.3 CONCLUSION**

This chapter forms the core of the study. It deals with the specific aspects that generally guide this research. The background information gives the general idea the study seeks to fulfill and the research objectives, and questions that were based on the research topic. In this chapter available literature is reviewed and the rationale of the study gives the reason as to why the study should be undertaken. The scope and limitation to the study clearly explains what the research did and did not do in relation to other marginal areas. The research methodology is described and the theoretical framework guiding the research is articulated.

## **2 CHAPTER TWO**

### **A SURVEY OF KĪEMBU PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY**

#### **2.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS**

This is an introductory chapter that aims at laying a background for the research. It is a survey of the major aspects of Kĩembu phonology leading to the laying down of vowel and consonant phonemes. The syllable structure is also very important in analyzing the various sound changes that occur in Gĩtamanya and this has therefore been highlighted. This study needs a clear understanding of all the above (Kĩembu phonology and morphology) as it is what Gĩtamanya makes use of.

#### **2.2.KĪEMBU SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY**

Lexical phonology theory emphasizes on the relationship between the structure of a word morphologically and the way rules apply to it phonologically. As a matter of fact, to understand the morphology of a given language well, it is imperative to have a good grasp of that language's phonology. It is in view of this that this section on Kĩembu phonology has been deemed necessary.

Kĩembu phonemes fall into two categories; these are:

- (i) Vowels
- (ii) Consonants

##### **2.2.1 KĪEMBU VOWEL SYSTEM**

According to Mutahi (1977:118) Kĩembu vowel structure is very much like the proto Mt. Kenya vowel structure. It has a fourteen (14) vowel system; seven short vowels and seven corresponding long vowels.

##### **Description for the short vowels:**

- /i/ - high – front unrounded
- /e/ - mid- high front unrounded
- /ɛ / - mid – low front unrounded

- /ɔ/ - mid-low back rounded
- /a/ - mid – front unrounded
- /u/ - high-back rounded
- /o/ - mid-high rounded

These vowels, using the three features that are universally applied to the description of vowels, may be represented diagrammatically as follows:

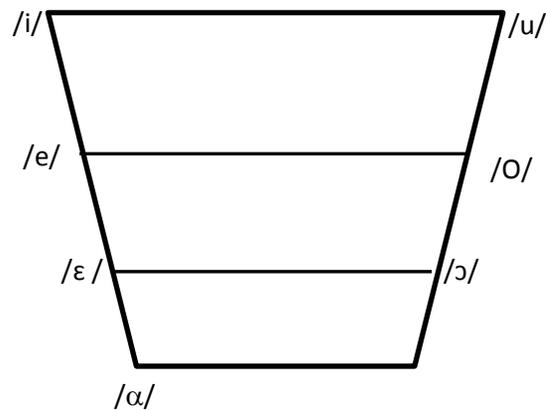


Table 2: Diagrammatical representation of Kĩembu vowels

IPA Symbol	Orthography	Example	Transcription	Gloss
i	I	thiĩ	/ðie/	‘go’
i:	ii	thiirĩ	/ð i:re/	“debt”
e	ĩ	rĩrĩ	/rere/	“has”
e:	ĩĩ	mĩrĩ	/me:re/	“bodies”
ɛ	e	tene	/ tɛnɛ/	‘early’
ɛ:	ee	keenga	/k ɛ <sup>n</sup> ga/	‘shine’
a	a	kwĩa	/kue a/	“to steal”
ɑ:	aa	nthaaka	/ <sup>n</sup> ð a:k a/	“play”
U	u	uga	/uga /	“say”
u:	uu	mũhuuri	/mu:ðuri/	“man”
O	ũ	rũyũ	/rojo/	“tomorrow”
o:	ũũ	ũũru	/o:ru/	“bad”
ɔ	o	Ritho	/riðɔ/	“eye”
ɔ:	oo	Kavoora	/k avɔ:ra/	“slowly”

*Table 3: Correspondence between Kĩembu vowel phonemes and Kĩembu orthography*

### 2.2.2 KĨEMBU CONSONANT SYSTEM

Kĩembu language has about seventeen (17) consonants. We have deliberately used the word “about” because according to Mutahi (1977:93) Kĩembu has seventeen consonants but he left out two consonants, <sup>n</sup>ð and <sup>n</sup>v which are significant in this study. The phonemic inventory is summarized in table 3 below. These sounds are classified according to the state of glottis, manner and place of articulation. The voiced sound is on the right hand side while their voiceless counterparts are on the left in each cell.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stop				<b>t</b>		<b>K</b>
Fricative		<b>v</b>	<b>ð</b>		<b>ʃ</b>	<b>ɣ</b>
Nasal	<b>m</b>			<b>n</b>	<b>ɲ</b>	<b>ŋ</b>
Pre-Nasal	<sup>m</sup> <b>b</b>	<sup>n</sup> <b>v</b>	<sup>n</sup> <b>ð</b>	<sup>n</sup> <b>d</b>	<sup>n</sup> <b>ʃ</b>	<sup>n</sup> <b>g</b>
Liquid				<b>r</b>		
Glide	<b>W</b>				<b>J</b>	

*Table 4: consonant sounds in Kĩembu.*

For further understanding of the consonant system, each constant is represented in IPA notation and in the Kĩembu orthography in Table 6 below. Paired with each

consonant are words from Kĩembu, followed by phonemic transcription and then gloss.

IPA	Orthography	Example	Transcription	Gloss
t	T	Tara	/t ara/	‘count’
k	K	Kaana	/ka:na/	‘child’
v	V	vaanga	/va: <sup>n</sup> ga/	‘arrange’
ð	Th	Metho	/mεðɔ/	“eyes”
<sup>n</sup> ð	nth	nthaka	/ <sup>n</sup> ðaka/	“young man”
ʃ	c	Ciūra	/ʃ iora/	“frogs”
g	g	gaconi	/ ɣaʃɔni/	“bird”
m	m	Manjĩ	/ma <sup>n</sup> je/	“water”
n	n	Nungu	/nu <sup>n</sup> gu/	“weevil”
ɲ	ny	Nyama	/ɲama/	“meat”
ɒ	ng’	ng’ombe	/ɲɔ <sup>m</sup> bε/	“cow”
<sup>m</sup> b	mb	mbombo	/ <sup>m</sup> bɔ <sup>m</sup> bɔ/	“pump”
<sup>n</sup> v	nv	Nvandi	/ <sup>n</sup> va <sup>n</sup> di/	“grasshopper”
<sup>n</sup> d	nd	Ndaĩ	/ <sup>n</sup> dae/	“riddle”
<sup>n</sup> ʃ	nj	njere	/ <sup>n</sup> ʃεε/	“calabash”
<sup>n</sup> g	ng	ngoro	/ <sup>n</sup> gɔɔ/	“heart”
r	r	ratha	/raða/	“shoot”
w	w	Wĩra	/wera/	“work”
j	y	yake	/jakε/	“his/hers”

*Table 5: Kĩembu consonant phonemes and Kĩembu orthography correspondence.*

### **2.2.3 KĪEMBU SYLLABLE STRUCTURE**

In any study on morphology, the syllable is an important component since morphophonology partly deals with pronunciation and language users pronounce sounds in groups known as syllables. Syllables are constructed by combining phonemes together in neighbouring environments and forming a pattern that is articulated as one. Every language has its own syllable structure and therefore any study on a language's morphophonology cannot ignore its syllable structure. This is due to the fact that when different phonemes are in neighbouring environments, sound changes usually occur.

Abercrombie (1967:74) notes that different languages make use of different ranges of patterns of syllable structure. Several definitions of a syllable have been provided by a number of linguists.

Crystal (1997) defines a syllable; "... as a unit of pronunciation typically larger than a single sound but smaller than a word'. He asserts that the understanding of the syllable structure of a language is important in the analysis of its phonology and that it involves combining sounds in distinct languages to produce distinctive sequences.

Katamba (1989) posits that; "the syllable is the basic element in relation to the possible sound combinations of a language". It is the syllable that dictates which sounds combine or do not combine in a given language.

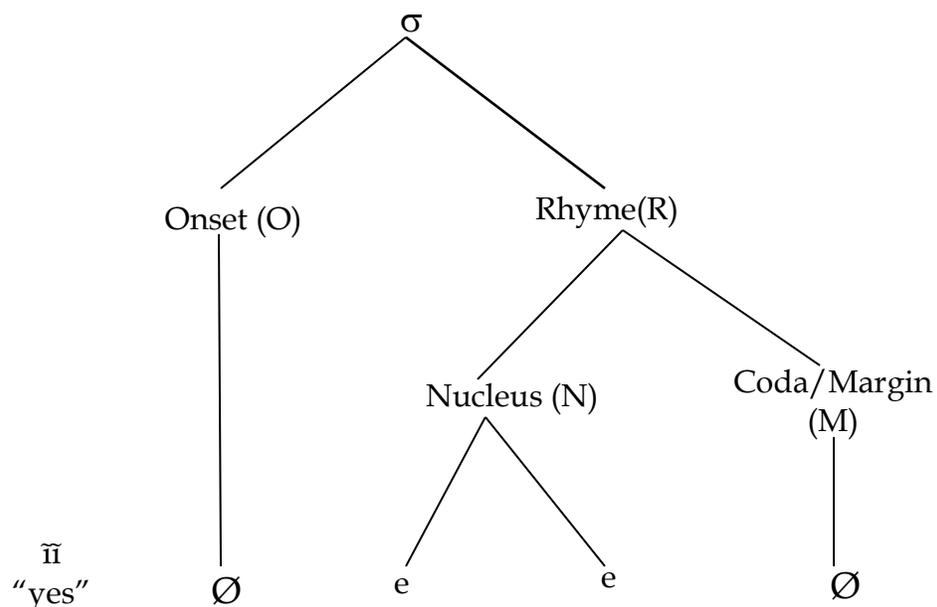
Radford et.al (2006) explain that different languages permit different kinds of syllables and native speakers of languages bring their knowledge of syllables and syllable structure, in their attempt to produce words from other languages. Gĩtamanya speakers bring their knowledge of the Kĩembu syllable structure in their attempt to produce words from Kiswahili and English.

According to Clements and Keyser (1983) the syllable is a three tiered structure that consists of a syllable node ( $\sigma$ ), a CV-tier and segmental tier which consists of bundles of distinctive features representing consonants and vowels.

The proponent of LP asserts that, a secret language is one in which one or more rules (the code) have been added to the grammar of a natural language so that the result becomes unintelligible to a speaker who doesn't know the code. The natural language in our case is Kĩembu. Another observation is that all secret codes operate on words and not on morphemes and again speech recognition involves the identification of the lexical representation of phonetic strings. It is in view of the above that an overview of Kĩembu syllable structure has been deemed necessary.

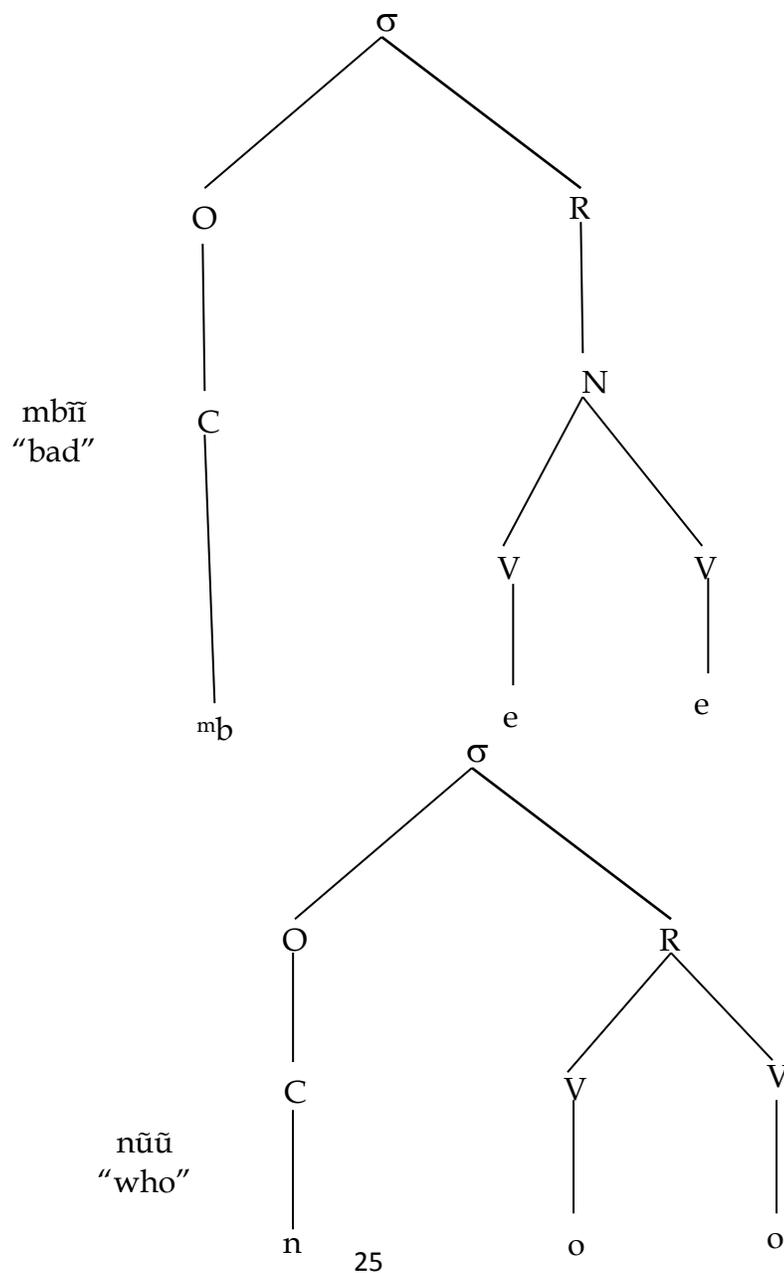
Structurally, the syllable consists of an optional consonantal onset followed by a rhyme. The rhyme consists of the obligatory nucleus followed by an optional margin or coda. The rhyme is the only obligatory constituent in a syllable as seen in example 1.

Example 1: *The obligatory constituent of the Kĩembu syllable*



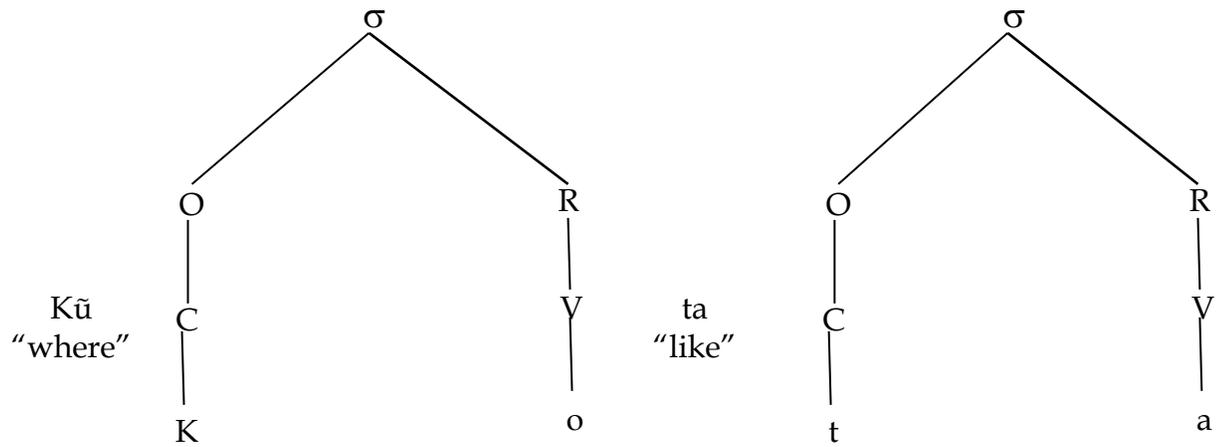
In Kĩembu, the obligatory constituent of the syllable is the nucleus and it's the head of the rhyme as shown above. Kĩembu syllables end in a vowel; hence it has open syllables as opposed to closed syllables that end in a consonant. Gĩtamanya words acquire the structure of Kĩembu syllable. Katamba (1989) defines open syllables as those ending in a vowel (CV) and closed syllables as ending in a consonant (CVC).

**Example 2:** *Kĩembu open syllables with long vowels*



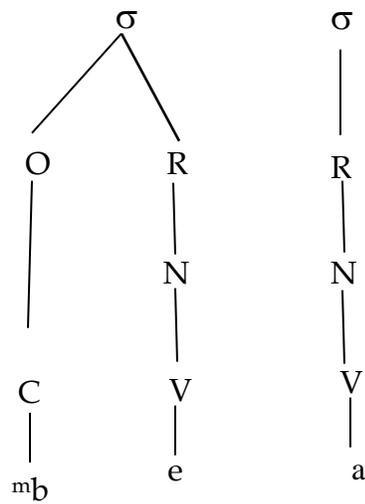
Kĩembu has open syllables with short vowels also as shown in example 3 below:

**Example 3:** *Kĩembu open syllable with short vowels*



Kĩembu has open syllables with diphthongs

**Example 4:** *Open syllable with diphthongs*



Kĩembu has the following syllable types:

- (i) V-syllables as in           ũka    / oka/   “come”
- (ii) VV-syllables as in       ĩĩ       /e: /     “yes”
- (iii) CV- syllables as in     tata    /tata/   “aunt”
- (iv) CVV-syllables as in     thaa   / ða: /   “watch”

This information on Kĩembu sound system is basic to this research since the alterations that operate on words in Gĩtamanya affect the sound combination rules. This is because it is a precedence-modifying ludling that operates at the level of syllables (Laycock, 1972).

It is noted that several linguistic processes occur at the level of the syllable. These processes affect the formal pattern (morphologically and therefore phonologically) of the natural language. Monosyllables, disyllables, trisyllables and polysyllables of the NLO undergo various transformations to achieve Gĩtamanya. In the tables below, this study shows lists of different types of syllables and the various processes that they undergo in achieving Gĩtamanya.

**(a) Monosyllables:**

NLO	Source language	LUDO	Gloss
ya	Kiembu/kiswahili	ya	‘of’
ile	Kiswahili	rei	‘that one’
ata	Kiswahili	taa	also
ya	Kĩembu/Kiswahili	ya	‘of’
ile	Kiswahili	rei	that one
hapa	Kiswahili	paa	‘here’
atia	Kĩembu	tĩa	what

iko	Kiswahili	koi	‘it is’
wa	Kĩembu	wa	‘of’
juu	Kiswahili	uju	‘up’
nĩ	Kĩembu	nĩ	it is
tue	Kĩembu	etu	we
cia	Kĩembu	cia	‘belonging to’
na	Kĩembu/Kiswahili	na	‘and’
ama	Kiswahili	maa	‘or’
kwa	Kiswahili	kwa	‘at’
gwa	Kĩembu	gwa	‘at’
nĩ	Kĩembu	nĩ	‘by’

For monosyllables, most forms remain intact and some monosyllables in Gitamanya are a product of initial vowel transfer or deletion in some cases, as in: ‘ama’ which becomes maa.

### (b) Disyllables

The changes affecting disyllables involve initial vowel transfer process where the initial vowels are put at the end of the word in question as in;

NLO	Source language	LUDO	Gloss
ata	Kiswahili	taa	‘also’
iga	Kĩembu	gai	‘keep’
iko	Kiswahili	koi	‘there is’
ama	Kiswahili	maa	‘or’

Other disyllables, undergo syllable ½ swop; the second syllables take the first position and vice versa.

<b>NLO</b>	<b>Source Language</b>	<b>LUDO</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
chief	English	fuci	‘chief’
rete	Kĩembu	tere	‘bring’
yako	Kiswahili	koya	‘yours’
yetu	Kiswahili	tuye	‘ours’
pale	Kiswahili	repa	‘there’
tupa	Kiswahili	patu	‘lose/discard’
dawa	Kiswahili	wanda	‘medicine’
watu	Kiswahili	tũwa	‘people’
kazi	Kiswahili	cika	‘work/job’
kila	Kiswahili	raki	‘every/’
siku	Kiswahili	kuci	‘day’
mũciĩ	Kĩembu	ciĩmũ	‘home’
kaũwa	Kĩembu	wakaũ	‘coffee’
ndigũ	Kĩembu	gũndi	‘bananas’
soko	Kiswahili	koco	‘market’
mũndũ	Kĩembu	ndũmũ	‘person’
nyũmba	Kĩembu	mbanyũ	‘house’
jana	Kiswahili	naja	yesterday

Some disyllables in the NLO become monosyllables in Gĩtamanya as a result of deletion of some phonemes as in;

<b>NLO</b>	<b>Source language</b>	<b>LUDO</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
hapa	Kiswahili	paa	‘here’
ile	Kiswahili	rei	‘that one’
itĩ	Kĩembu	tĩi	‘seats’
atĩa	Kĩembu	tĩa	‘what’
iko	Kiswahili	koi	‘there is’

## **CONCLUSION**

This chapter has presented the Kiembu phonemic inventory and the syllable structure. We have shown that Kiembu vowel system has seven (7) short vowels and their corresponding long vowels making fourteen (14) vowels. According to Mutahi (1983), a vowel length in Kiembu is a distinct feature. Hence the distinction between short and long vowels. Kiembu can be described as a seven-vowel system (Maringa (1987:22)

Kiembu Consonant Phonemes have been presented in this chapter where it has been demonstrated that Kiembu has nineteen (19) consonants. The consonant system consists of two glides, six pre-nasalized consonants among the consonants. This chapter also discusses the syllable structure of the Kiembu language. We have demonstrated that Kiembu has an open syllable structure which is also acquired by Gĩtamanya. Four syllable types have been identified:

### 3 CHAPTER THREE:

#### GĪTAMANYA PHONOLOGY

##### 3.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

According to Mohanan (1982:87); “a secret code language is one in which one or more rules (the code) have been added to the grammar of a natural language”. In our case our natural language is Kĩembu. A secret code creates new lexical items from existing ones. It is important to note, as earlier mentioned in the literature review, the most outstanding characteristic of Gitamanya is lexical borrowing displaying an aspect of code-switching and mixing. It draws from the lexicon of three languages (see section 1.2). In other words, Gĩtamanya has the grammar of Kĩembu but the lexicon of two other languages; Kiswahili and English. Actually, this is the reason why this research refers to it as a mixed language. For instance Gĩtamanya picks, *thendi/ðɛ<sup>n</sup>di/* from Kĩembu and changes it to *ndice /<sup>n</sup>difɛ /*

Lexical entry	→	secret code	→	lexical entry
Kĩembu				Gĩtamanya

It is important to note that lexical borrowing is the main feature of Gĩtamanya. These borrowed words are then injected into the Kĩembu morphology and phonology. There are other words borrowed from Kiswahili and English as earlier noted but they adapt to Kĩembu phonology that Gĩtamanya uses.

This chapter will look at some aspects of Gĩtamanya phonology, Vis a Vis the Kĩembu phonology concentrating on the major changes that occur when words are borrowed from other languages.

The chapter will be in three parts:-

- (i) Phonology of consonants
- (ii) Phonology of vowel
- (iii) Verbal Morphology

All this will be done with the purpose of exploring the sound adjustments that occur and how they relate with Kĩembu phonology. This chapter opens with a list of analysed Gitamanyā words showing various changes and adjustments on words from the natural languages that the code borrows from.

KIEMBU	KISWAHILI	ENGLISH	GĪTAMANYA	GLOSS	PROCESS
mwongia /muo <sup>n</sup> gia/			ngiamũ / <sup>n</sup> giamo/	‘woman’	/mua/ → /mo/ Syllable Inversion Vowel shortening
mũndũ /mo <sup>n</sup> do/	mtu		ndũmũ/tũmũ / <sup>n</sup> domo/tomo/	‘person’	Inversion Epenthesis
thoko /ðoko/	soko /soko/		koso /kofo/	‘market’	Syllable Inversion Substitution
cukuru /fukuru/	shule /jule/		kurusu/Recu /kuru <u>fu</u> /re <u>fu</u> /	‘school’	Syllable Inversion syllable Transposition
thendi /ðe <sup>n</sup> di/			ndice / <sup>n</sup> di <u>ʃ</u> ε/	‘money’	Substitution
mũgũnda /mo <u>yo</u> <sup>n</sup> da/			ndamũgũ / <sup>n</sup> damo <u>yo</u> /	‘shamba’	Syllable Transposition Substitution
		society	ticocai /ti <u>ʃ</u> <u>ɔ</u> fai/	‘society’	Syllable Transposition Replacement
vatereca /vate <u>re</u> ʃa/		fertilizer	cavaterε /ʃavate <u>re</u> ε/	‘fertilizer’	Syllable Transposition Substitution
gĩtĩ /yete/			tĩgĩ /te <u>y</u> e/	‘chair’	Substitution Syllable inversion
	kitu		tũkĩ /to <u>k</u> e/	‘thing’	Vowel substitution
		bed	ndimbe / <sup>n</sup> di <sup>m</sup> b ε/	‘bed’	Substitution Pre-nasalization
		gate /geit/	tingĩ /ti <sup>n</sup> ge/	‘gate’	Substitution Pre-nasalization

mbau			ũmba /o <sup>m</sup> ba/	‘timber’	Transposition
	choma		maco /mafɔ/	‘roast meat’	Consonant Substitution Syllable Inversion
	kitu		tũkĩ /toke/	‘thing’	Vowel Substitution Syllable Inversion
	kubwa /kuboa/		pwaku /puaku/	‘big’	Substitution Inversion
	nzuri /nzuri/		rĩmũcũ /remũcũ/	‘good’	Consonant Deletion Consonant Substitution Vowel Substitution
		big /big/	gimbi / ɣi <sup>m</sup> bi/	‘big’	Substitution Inversion
		ready	ndĩrĩ / <sup>n</sup> dere/	‘ready’	Pre-nasalization Consonant Substitution
	vunjika		kavunji /kavu <sup>n</sup> ji/	‘broken’	Syllable Transposition
	dogo	‘small’	gondo / ɣɔ <sup>n</sup> do/	‘small’	Syllable Inversion Pre-nasalization
goro			rogo /rɔɣɔ/	‘expensive’	Syllable Inversion
theru			ruthe /ruðe/	‘clean’	Syllable Inversion

*Table 6: Table of analyzed data*

### 3.2 PHONOLOGY OF CONSONANTS

This study has found that there are major consonantal changes that occur when words are borrowed from other languages (mainly Kĩembu, Kiswahili and English) into Gĩtamanya. Such changes result from substitution, insertion, deletion of consonants and prenasalization of some sounds like nasals.

### 3.2.1 CONSONANT SUBSTITUTION

Consonant substitution is one of the features of words in Gĩtamanya. This could be triggered by the fact that some phonemes are not found in the Kĩembu phonemes. A good example is the sound /l/ which is usually replaced by /r/.

Sound /z/ & /tʃ/ is also substituted by /ʃ/.

Sound /g/ is substituted by sound /ɣ/

Sound /f/ is substituted by sound /v/

#### Examples:

Gĩtamanya Word	Source word	Source language	Gloss
raku /raku/	kula /kula/	Kiswahili	‘eat’
puari /puari/	lipa /lipa/	Kiswahili	‘pay’
cavaterε /ʃavaterε/	fertilizer /fa:tliza/	English	‘fertilizer’
riavatha /riavaða/	afadhali /afaðali/	Kiswahili	‘it is better’
cika /ʃika/	kazi /kazi/	Kiswahili	‘work’
ciye /ʃije/	yes /jes/	English	‘yes’
cakapi /ʃakapi/	kabisa /kabisa/	Kiswahili	‘completely’

*Table 7: Consonant Substitution*

Another observation that this study has made is that Gĩtamanya will use some phonemes that are not in the Kĩembu inventory such as sound /P/ in words such as;

‘Mpwaku’ from ‘kubwa’ (kisw) probably because of ease of articulation after the syllable inversion process.

Another observation worth noting is the substitution of sound /b/ with sound /p/ in some words such as:-

Kabisa → sakapi  
 Mkubwa → mpwaku

While the substitution of other segments may be clearly explained (in terms of their non-existence in Kĩembu phonemic inventory, in the case above the substitution is not systematic since phoneme /p/ is not in the Kĩembu inventory. The substitution is not also consistent. In a word such as “lepa” from Kiswahili, “pale” the sound remains unchanged while in “rakapi” from kabila /b/ changes to /p/.

Gĩtamanya Word	Source Word	Source Lnguage	Gloss
/sakapi/	/kabisa/	Kiswahili	‘completely’
/puaku/	/kubua/	Kiswahili	‘big’
/lepa/	/pale/	Kiswahili	‘there’
/rakapi/	/kabila/	Kiswahili	‘tribe’

*Table 8: Inconsistency in substitution of some consonants.*

Sound /s/ and /p/ are not found in Kĩembu phonemic inventory and even when Kĩembu borrows words from Kiswahili with the same sounds, they are normally substituted by /ʃ/ or /ð/ and /V/ respectively

**Examples:**

Swahili word	Kĩembu	Gloss
soko /sokɔ/	thoko ðokɔ	“market”
sindano /si <sup>n</sup> danɔ	cindano /ʃindano/	“needle”
mpira /mpira/	mũvira /movira/	“ball”
mpango /mpa <sup>n</sup> gɔ/	/mũvango /mova <sup>n</sup> gɔ/	“plan”

*Table 9: Substitution in borrowed words*

In the lexical items above this study has only focused on consonant substitution although there is more than one process evident in the items.

**3.2.2 CONSONANT INSERTION**

Consonant insertion is a feature in a few lexical items in Gĩtamanya although not a very dominant one as compared to consonant substitution. This could further be explained by the fact that Kĩembu, whose phonology Gĩtamanya uses, prefers the use of vowels to consonants and also it has a preferred CVCV syllable structure. The process normally helps to avoid instances of double vowels.

<b>Gĩtamanya word</b>	<b>Source word</b>	<b>Source language</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
riangĩra /ria <sup>n</sup> gera/	angalia /a <sup>n</sup> galia/	Kiswahili	Look
mriambi /mria <sup>m</sup> bi/	mwambie /mua <sup>m</sup> bie/	Kiswahili	“tell him/her”

*Table 10: Consonant Insertion*

This work also noted that several sounds are pre-nasalised when the words are in Gĩtamanya whereas they are not normally so in the source languages. This could be attributed to the absence of some phonemes such as /d/ and /b/ in the Kiambu inventory. Examples below show prenasalisation:

<b>Gĩtamanya word</b>	<b>Source word</b>	<b>Source language</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
wanda /wa <sup>n</sup> da/	dawa /dawa/	Kiswahili	“medicine”
rũmbu /ro <sup>m</sup> bu	bro. /bro/	English	“brother”
njaka / <sup>n</sup> ɟaka/	kuja /ku <sup>n</sup> ɟa/	Kiswahili	“come”

*Table 11: Prenasalization*

### 3.2.3 CONSONANT DELETION

Consonant deletion is yet another phenomenon in Gĩtamanya. The deletion of /h/ for instance appears to be consistent perhaps due to the fact that Kĩembu phonemic inventory doesn't have this phoneme. It does not matter the position it occupies in a word-initial, medial or final.

Phoneme /s/ is also deleted in a word like

sasa → /aʃa/ thus /s/ → /ʃ/

This could also be a case of reduction of forms. Sasa gets reduced and results in one “heavy” syllable instead of two. One would also think it is an attempt to conceal the word as there would be no difference after syllable reversal.

Gĩtamanya word	Source word	Source language	Gloss
vioi /vioi/	hivyo	Kiswahili	“like that”
asa /aʃa/	sasa	Kiswahili	“now”
anapa /anapa/	hapana	Kiswahili	“no”
paa /pa:	hapa	Kiswahili	“here”
ondi /ɔ <sup>n</sup> di/	ndiyo	Kiswahili	“yes”
rĩmucu /remuʃu/	nzuri	Kiswahili	“good”

Table 12: Consonant Deletion

### 3.3 PHONOLOGY OF VOWELS

The two most prevalent processes in vowels are insertion and substitution in Gĩtamanya. There is no vowel deletion that has been identified in the huddling.

#### 3.3.1 VOWEL INSERTION

The process of vowel insertion is quite widespread in Gĩtamanya. In fact it is quite dominant and especially where there is a closed syllable in words that are borrowed from English; an example is the monosyllabic word ‘big’/big/ in Gĩtamanya realized as mbigi /<sup>m</sup>biyi/. In this word several processes occur but in this instance, we are interested in the insertion of /i/ to the end of the word so that it now becomes bisyllabic and syllable reversal is possible. This way the insertion impedes the occurrence of a closed syllable at the end of a word, which is not allowed in Gĩtamanya and again it enhances the CV structure such that the open syllable structure is realized throughout the word.

**Examples of vowel insertion include:**

Gĩtamanya word	Source word	Source language	Gloss
tũmũ /tomo/	mtu	Kiswahili	“person”
gimbi / ɣi <sup>m</sup> bi/	big	English	“big”
rũmbu /ro <sup>m</sup> bu/	bro	English	“brother”
rĩmusu /remu <sup>f</sup> u/	nzuri	Kiswahili	“good”
tasisi /tafi <sup>f</sup> i/	sister	English	“sister”
nimũge /nimo <sup>y</sup> e/	mgeni	Kiswahili	“visitor”
tiripo /tirip <sup>o</sup> /	report	English	“report”
puari /puari/	lipa	Kiswahili	“pay”

*Table 13: Vowel Insertion*

Given that Gĩtmanyā uses a phonology of a Bantu language, vowel insertion is a more understandable process. Bantu languages prefer the CVCV syllable structure and hence the need for this process.

### 3.3.2 VOWEL SUBSTITUTION

The substitution of vowels that is evident in Gĩtmanyā makes phonological sense in that most vowels replacing existing ones are as close as possible to the one being replaced in terms of distinctive features. In most cases, we find that a high vowel or a low vowel is replaced by a mid-vowel.

#### Examples:

Gĩtmanyā word	Source word	Source language	Changes	Gloss
tũwa /towa/	watu /watu/	Kiswahili	/u/→/o/	‘people’
ndaĩ /ⁿdæ/	enda /εⁿdæ/	Kisw.	/e/→/ɛ/	‘go’
kũragi /korayi/	kũgĩra /koyera/	Kĩembu	/e/→/i/	‘to get’
ngoya /ngɔja/	yangu	Kiswahili	/u/→/ɔ/	‘mine’
njaka /ⁿjækæ/	kuja /kuⁿjæ/	Kiswahili	/u/→/æ/	‘come’
ndareu /ⁿdæɾeu/	ũrenda orɛndæ	Kĩembu	/o/→/u/	‘you want’
ngiamũ /ⁿgiæmo/	muongia /muɔⁿgiæ/	Kĩembu	/uɔ/→/o/	‘woman’
njamũgũ /ⁿjæmoɣo/	mũgwanja /moɣoæⁿjæ/	Kĩembu	/oæ/→/o/	‘seven’
kokĩra /køkera/	kĩraũko /keræokɔ/	Kĩembu	/æo/→/a/	‘morning’
imiku /imiku/	ĩkũmi /ikomi/	Kĩembu	/e/→/i/ /o/→/u/	‘ten’

Table 14: Vowel Substitution

### 3.3.3 VOWEL COALESCENCE:

Vowel coalescence is a phonological process in which adjacent vowels cause each other to change. In this research vowel coalescence is used to refer to a phenomenon whereby a sequence of two vowels in a word that is being adapted to Gĩtamanya is replaced at the phonetic level by a third vowel different from each of them. Although it may be viewed as vowel substitution, it is better explained as vowel coalescence. According to Lass (1984:173) the output of a fusion is usually a “compromise” segment. This phenomenon can be illustrated in the example below:

“mwongia” /muɔ<sup>n</sup>gia/ is adapted into Gĩtamanya after syllable manipulation and is realized as /<sup>n</sup>giamo/. Thus diphthong /uɔ/ → /o/. This means a sequence of /u/ and /ɔ/ gives rise to /o/ after the syllable reversal for ease of articulation. In lexical phonology we could represent this in terms of the following equation;

$$\begin{array}{lcl} \text{Gĩtamanya} & = & \text{Grammar of Kĩembu} + \text{Syllable inversion} \\ /<sup>n</sup>giamo/ & & /muɔ<sup>n</sup>gia/ \quad \quad \quad \text{(rule)} \end{array}$$

The second element in the sequence controls backness, the first element height; but the height is assimilated by the second element moving ‘one step’ toward the height controller, the result being a single element combining the backness of one element and the (relative) height of the other (Lass:1984:173).

### 3.4 GĨTAMANYA VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

Like many Bantu languages, Kĩembu is an agglutinating language and hence Gĩtamanya equally takes the same form. As a result, many affixes are used and are evident in verbs. The verb is normally a key word in every Kĩembu sentence and as such, while all other word types (including nouns) may be deleted it is not possible to delete the verb. Otherwise if the verb is deleted in a sentence, the sentence loses its meaning. Actually there are many one word sentences in Kĩembu and in Gĩtamanya and the word is always a verb to which many affixes

are agglutinated to represent the different morphemes that may be necessary. The fact that Kĩembu is an agglutinating language plus the aspect of syllable manipulation process in Gĩtamanya, verbs have a relatively complex structure. An example of such “one word sentences” is:

Tũtingĩtetheka (Kĩembu)

Tũ+ti-ngĩ-teth-e-ka ‘we cannot be assisted’

Tũtingĩkatethe (Gĩtamanya)

Tũ+ti+ngĩ+ka-teth-e

This research has found it appropriate to have an overview of the verb structure since it is in the process of agglutination that some sound changes occur in Gĩtamanya words. These changes occur in all forms of Gĩtamanya verbs, whether in their infinitive forms, imperative forms or in their subjective forms. We shall present examples in these three forms and identify sound changes in the same:

**a) Imperative forms**

Gĩtamanya Verb	Source verb	Changes	Gloss
/ <sup>n</sup> dae/	/ε <sup>n</sup> da/	/ε/→/e/	“go”
/kuasu/	/tʃukua/	/tʃ/→/ʃ/	“take”/ “pick”
/kapεε/	/pεlεka/	/l/→/r/	“take to”

*Table 15: Imperative Forms*

**b) Infinitive forms**

Gītamanya Verb	Source verb	Changes	Gloss
/ku <sup>n</sup> dae/	/kuε <sup>n</sup> dae/	/ε/ → /e/	“to go”
/kuraka/	/kukula/	/l/ → /r/  /u/ → /a/	“to eat”

*Table 16: Imperative Forms*

**c) Subjunctive Forms**

Gītamanya Verb	Source Verb	Changes	Gloss
/tu <sup>n</sup> dae/	/tu+ε <sup>n</sup> dε/	/u/ → /o/  /ε/ → /e/	‘we go’
/tupatu/	/tu+tupε/	/ε/ → /a/	‘we discard’
/tu <sup>n</sup> dapε/	/tupa <sup>n</sup> dε/	/a/ → /ε/  /ε/ → /a/	‘we plant’

*Table 17: Subjunctive Forms*

From the above data it can be observed that sound changes occur in mall verbs in whichever form they may be and that Gītamanya uses verb prefixes depending on the need; whether it is a negation morph needed, a concordial prefix such as personal concords which represent the subject as in:

/tu<sup>n</sup>dae/ - ‘we go’

/mu<sup>n</sup>dae/ - you (two or more) go’

/u<sup>n</sup>dae/ - ‘you go’

/wa<sup>n</sup>dae/ - ‘they go’

### **3.5 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has looked at some aspects of Gĩtamanya phonology Vis a Vis the Kiambu phonology. The morphophonological processes have been explored under phonology of consonants, phonology of vowels and verbal morphology. Several processes have been identified, among them consonant deletion, insertion and substitution. This chapter has demonstrated the complex structure of verbs in Gĩtamanya and especially in relation to the process of affixation due to the agglutinative nature of the language.

## **4 CHAPTER FOUR**

### **GĪTAMANYA UNIQUE LINGUISTIC FEATURES**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS**

Bagemihl (1998) defines ludlings as;

“...those language games that differ in phonology, morphology or a combination of the two of the natural language (NL). This means that ludlings and NLS have identical lexicon but the output of each lexical entry in encrypted speech differs (in a predictable way as per new morphological and/or phonological requirements) from the output of the same item in unencrypted speech.”

It is important to note at this point that natural language outputs (NLOs) serve as the input to ludling formation. In other word, the NL grammar produces the NLO and then the ludling grammar acts on this form to yield ludling output (LO). Bagemihl further proposes that the ludling grammar is distinct from the natural language grammar and lexicon but largely parasitic on the same.

Following the above statements, we can then say Gītamanya, being a ludling, has a grammar that is distinct from the grammar of the NLS that it borrows from and its grammar is built from tools and materials from the natural languages. In this chapter we intend to identify the unique linguistic features that set Gītamanya apart from Kĩembu and Kiswahili. We shall identify ways that Gītamanya forms differ from the Kĩembu and Kiswahili forms and to some extent from English. Most of these have been identified and discussed in chapter three but this section will exemplify the features in contrasting them with features of the natural languages that contribute to forming the ludling.

#### **4.2 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES**

This study has noted that the words in Gītamanya are from Kĩembu, Kiswahili and English and phonologically adjusted to fit in trough rules and processes such

as insertion, deletion and substitution. Since Gĩtamanya has a wide range of borrowed lexicon not found in Kĩmbu, the processes start with making the borrowed lexicon conform to Kĩmbu rule structure before it can be ‘Gĩtamanyanised’.

This involves such processes as:

- a) Insertion of phonological material that is not present in the source language.

**Examples:**

Borrowed Lexicon (NLO)	Source Language	Ludling Output	Processes
Big	English	<sup>/m</sup> biyi/	Sound /b/ is prenasalized and /i/ is inserted after it to conform to the CV syllable structure
Angalia	Kiswahili	/ria <sup>n</sup> gera/	Insertion of /r/

*Table 18: Insertion of phonological material that is not present in the source language*

- b) Rearrangement of the sequence of elements in natural language output is modified. This mostly affects the syllables and sound segments in words.

Examples:

Natural Language Output	Gĩtamanya Output	Process
/ε <sup>n</sup> da/	/ <sup>n</sup> dae/	Exchanged the first and last syllable (metathesis)
/tutatupa/	/tutapatu/	Exchanged the final and penultimate syllable
/mapata/	/tamaja/	Moved the final syllable to the front

*Table 19: Modification of words from NLO*

- c) Substitution. This is the replacement of phonological material in natural language output with new phonological material. In Gĩtamanya, this is manifest more in borrowed lexicon from Kiswahili or English.

Examples:

Natural Language Output	Gĩtamanya Output	Process
/kufa/	/vaku/ ‘die’	Consonant /f/ is replaced with /v/
/dawa/	/wanda/ ‘medicine’	/d/ is replaced with a prenasalized sound / <sup>n</sup> d/

*Table 20: Borrowed Lexicon*

- d) Contraction. In contraction, phonological material from NLO is deleted. For instance, in cases where there is reduplication, one of the consonants is deleted.

Examples:

Natural Language Output	Gĩtamanya Output
/sasa/	/asa/ ‘now’
/ <sup>n</sup> di jɔ/	/ɔ <sup>n</sup> di/ ‘yes’
/hiv jɔ/	/viɔi/ ‘like that’

*Table 21: Reduction of forms*

### 4.3 MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES

Lexical phonology claims that (see sec 1.6) there is a symbiotic relationship between the rules that build the morphological structure of a word and the phonological rules responsible for the way a word is pronounced. Mathews (1991) sees morphology as a branch of linguistics concerned with the study of forms in different uses and constructions, while Todd (1987) calls it the study of morphemes which are the smallest significant units of grammar. Words are structurally made of morphemes. This research is interested in bringing out the morphological features of Gĩtamanya that are unique and different from the morphological features of Kĩembu and Kiswahili. Some of the words that are a subject of study in morphology enter a language through various channels.

Some of the sources of words in a language include derivation, inflection, compounding, borrowing, blending among others. Gĩtamanya is no different. Mohanan (1982:88) claim that ludlings always follow morphological operations and that “ludlings operate on words and not on morphemes”. He further notes that ludlings “are blind to internal structure of words”. It’s against this argument that this research wishes to base its discussion on morphological features of Gĩtamanya since Gĩtamanya’s morphological system is limited to the operations associated with reversing of syllables of natural language outputs (NLO).

The reversal of syllables and the fact that this process operates on words not morphemes leads us to concur with Mohanan’s claim that Gĩtamanya as a ludling

is blind to the internal construction of words. We could then observe that Gītamanya morphology is semantically empty because the elements that are influenced, added or altered do not add meaning, rather they indicate a unique register is being used to classify the speaker or hearer as belonging to a particular type of individuals (Bagemihl 1995:700) This section will look at the differences between Gītamanya morphology and the morphology of the natural languages in relations to affixation.

Verma and Krishnaswamy (1989:64) define affixes as bound morphemes and classified them into; prefixes (those that precede the base). A further classification puts affixes into two types; derivational and inflectional affixes in prefixes and suffixes but has no infixes. The fact that Kĩembu is an inflected language, then it means there are inflections for number, person, tense among others. This research has identified cases where the inflection morphemes (prefixes and suffixes) are moved in the syllable reversal process. This makes Gītamanya differ with Kĩembu and Kiswahili in that an affix is a prefix in Kiswahili and Kĩembu but a suffix in Gītamanya.

An example is the plural prefix depending on the noun class.

**Examples:**

Can be presented in a table to illustrate that Gītamanya does not recognize the internal structure of words in terms of affixation.

NLO

LUDO

Singular	Prural	Prefix	Singular	Prural
/moγu <sup>n</sup> gɔ/	/meγu <sup>n</sup> gɔ/	me-	/ <sup>n</sup> gɔmoγuɔ/	/ <sup>n</sup> gɔmeγuɔ/
Tusk	tusks		Tusk	tusks
/muɔ <sup>n</sup> gia/	/ɔ <sup>n</sup> gia/	o-	/ <sup>n</sup> giamuɔ/	/ <sup>n</sup> giaɔ/
/moγɛni/	/aγɛni/	a-	/nimoyɛ/	/niayɛ/
/ya ʃɔni/	/to ʃɔni/	to-	/niya ʃɔ/	/nito ʃɔ/

*Table 22: Affixation*

Affixes whose form is determined by morpho-phonemic rules undergo reversal together with the stems to which they attach. Part of Mohanan's original motivation for placing the ludling component after lexical phonology was that as the claimed; "all secret codes [...] operate on words, not on morphemes." (P.88). All that it means is, no ludling crucially takes place before a NL morphological operation such as affixation. Ludling conversion occurs after all other morphological operations. The same applies for Gītamanya as various reversal processes apply to fully inflected forms as shown above.

## **5 CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5.1 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

In this study, we have attempted to make an explicit (though not exhaustive) analysis of Gĩtamanya consonant and vowel morphophonemics. Throughout this study, we have endeavored to remain within the boundaries set by our objectives, which were:

1. To investigate aspects of Gĩtamanya's phonology that are related to Kĩembu phonology.
2. To identify morphophonotactical adjustments on words in Gĩtamanya using lexical phonology.
3. To examine linguistic features that are unique to Gĩtamanya as a mixed youth code.

This study has given a clear understanding of Kĩembu phonology and morphology that are related to Gĩtamanya phonology and morphology. This study has by large looked at processes like syllable inversion and transposition, consonant/vowel insertion, consonant/vowel substitution and deletion vowel coalescence and prenasalization.

At the phonological level, this study has established that Gĩtamanya uses the Kĩembu phonetics in addition to a few others, not in the phonetic inventory of Kĩembu such as /p/.

This study further noted that the syllable structure that Gĩtamanya prefers conforms to other Bantu languages' structure. Hence all borrowed words undergo certain processes like vowel insertion before the syllable manipulation. The number of syllables in a word determines what process is used to achieve Gĩtamanya Lexicon. This goes for all classes of words which conform to definite

distortion process involving either one of the following: syllable swop, syllable shift, inversion or transposition. Four syllable structures have been identified.

One of the aspects of Gītamanya phonology is the phonemic inventory and the syllable structure but has a CV structure.

Two-word types have been sampled at the morphological level. These are the nouns and verbs.

Using these word types the study has been able to illustrate that:

- i. The code is blind to the internal structure of words.
- ii. A natural language morphological operation precedes the code.
- iii. The inflectional prefix shows at the beginning of the code in verbs owing to the operation of a segment and/or syllable reversal.

The tool of description that was adopted for this study was lexical phonology which has been useful in bringing out the major phonological and morphological processes in the youth language. This is line with Mohanan's framework of Lexical Phonology that asserts that no secret code takes place before a natural language morphological operation such as affixation.

This study has established that Gītamanya has a morphological as well as a phonological structure and rules governing the process of syllable rearrangement and the sound changes that have been identified in both vowels and consonants.

Examples of these changes are:-

- a) Substitution
- b) Deletion
- c) Insertion

There are reasons for the motivation of the sound changes that have been identified. First, they are aimed at avoiding a double consonant cluster to prevent the occurrence of closed syllables and in the case of vowels; they obliterate the

occurrence of a vowel cluster. At other times, it is for ease of articulation but in most cases, they are an attempt at the realization of a CVCV syllable structure.

Finally, this study has established certain unique features. To begin with, it uses a phonetic inventory of another language. Second, Gĩtamanya code - mixes. Another linguistic feature is that it picks words with affixes from the natural language such as prefixes and makes them suffixes which confirm Mohanan's (1982) claim that secret codes/ludlings/language games do not recognize the internal structure of words.

## **5.2 CONCLUSION**

This study has studied the morphophonology of Gĩtamanya as a mixed youth language. It has analyzed the aspects of Gĩtamanya phonology in relation to the Kĩembu Phonology. It has also attempted to account for morphophonotactical adjustments on Gĩtamanya words using Lexical Phonology. The phonemic inventory will help in getting orthography for Gĩtamanya and lead to the oral code attaining a written form.

The analysis of vowel and consonant processes will help in understanding the code better and the findings of these analyses may be of help to someone attempting a diachronic study of Gĩtamanya. Again, for one who attempts a study of phonology on loaned/borrowed words as the code continues to grow and later as it moves towards stabilizing. In other words, this study lays a background for further research on the ludling. Further research on the code would be built on this study.

## **5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

While we cannot claim to have explored each and every aspect in our area of study, we hope that we have been able to shed some light on the phonological and morphological aspects of the ludling. Obviously, there is a lot more that we have

not attempted to do. We have not for instance, explored other linguistic areas such as syntax. Therefore, if research could be extended to other areas, it could contribute to a better understanding of this ludling. We also hope that this study can act as a stimulus for further exploration and detailed examination on the issues in our study and also on this barely described youth language.

This study suggests a diachronic study to establish how this code has been changing with time as the society keeps on .Areas of change may include; the education level for the speakers, exposure to other languages due to immigrants, improved living standards.

The exposure to other youth languages like Sheng and English could have infiltrated the youth language. Therefore, another area that could be of interest and a subject of study as we noted, is a contrastive study that would explore the unique linguistic features of Kenyan youth languages.

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**INDEX I**  
**QUESTIONNAIRE**

Age..... Years

How would you say the following statements in Gĩtamanya?

1. Gĩtanda kĩa ũma nĩ kĩnene.  
“Grandfather’s bed is big.”
2. Kĩvingo gĩa cukuru nĩ kiunĩku  
“The school’s gate is broken.”
3. Mũgeni nĩ rũnjĩ  
“A visitor is a river.”
4. Maembe mama nĩ matune  
“These mangoes are ripe.”
5. Metho ma ciũra matigiragia ng’ombe inyua manjĩ.  
“The eyes of frogs don’t prevent cows from drinking water.”
6. Njogu ndĩremagwa nĩ mĩguongo yayo.  
The elephant does not tire of carrying its tusks.
7. Gũtirĩ civu wĩngĩ mũndũ mũka tiga Murugi.  
“There’s no other lady chief apart from Murugi.”

## INDEX II

### A CONVERSATION BETWEEN DANSON NDWIGA (30 YEARS) AND JAMES GACHOKI (27 YEARS) ABOUT CURENT STATE OF COFFEE FARMING

GACHOKI: Ūranao namna tiripo cia miūrī wa wakaū?

“What is your take on coffee farming?”

NDWIGA: Rei wakaū ya tuye tutapatu

“This coffee of ours, we will abandon it.”

GACHOKI: Riangīra rei tūwa mo kūraku muraraku ndice. Rianga rei turiathu paa ciju, anapa tere ndise. Tūwa wa cika anapa koi ndice cia kupuari, Taa koya umekiaci vioi.

Check these people are just “eating” (spending) our money. Look at the ones we elected just the other day, they aren’t producing money. You have also heard that the workers have no money (salary).

NDWIGA: Rianga Viuka ticocai lepa icakwi patu ūmba sakapi

Check kaviu society is the worst hit by the crisis/ is completely run down.

GACHOKI: Wandaī ticocai kūrangi ndise, riangīra paa taa wanda cia kūravu wakau, anapa koi, savetere anapa koi.

The society not only has no money but also the pesticides for spraying the coffee and fertilizer are not available.

NDWIGA: Ondi, ukindaī kukuasu savatere lepa, mndaī tuwa tūta wa kunacai.

Yes, when you go for fertilizer, you need three people to sign for you.

Na unawajua? Tūwa anapa ndāi kukapere wakau lepa tisocai, wanakapere kwa rei tūmū arijaka paa uju.

And do you know? People are not taking their coffee to the society. They

are now selling to the man who came up here recently.

GACHOKI: Rei wa lepa uju, rei ūmūgīkū?

The one who lives up the hill, the kikuyu?

NDWIGA: Ondi, Ondi, rei nakiaci nī ūmūgīkū maa ni rakapi niga?

Rei tūwa wa cika watakato cika teo teo ma ile wakaū tutapatu.

Yes, yes, the one I hear is a Kikuyu or what tribe is he from?

All the workers will leave and we shall abandon the coffee farming.

GACHOKI: Rianga towato a kurucu maī ciīmū nī gūcako ndice. Laki kuci wanatwoenga nī gūcako ndice.

Look at the school children; they are at home for lack of fees. They are sent home every day and there's no money.

NDWIGA: Ciye, etu turiwaku tūnamatho na rei ndice cia wakau. Rianga asa ii.

Yes, we used to get fees from coffee in our times. What about now?

GACHOKI: Asa ii anapa koi ndice cia Wakau.

Now there's no money/income from coffee.

NDWIGA: Riavatha, kundapa gūndi, tūtingīka tethe na wakau

Its better to plant bananas; we won't help ourselves through coffee.

GACHOKI: Gūndi nĩ rĩmucu, babusa unacawe kapele kwa koso.

Bananas are good because you can take them to the market.

NDWIGA: Unacawe kawē kori wakau karakwe ni towato?

Can you cook coffee for children to eat?

GACHOKI: Anapa, ndūngĩkawē kori towato marake.

Riavatha kūndapa gūndi maa ndimai

Ũkararugi towato.

No, you can't cook coffee for the children to eat. Its better to plant  
bananas

or maize that you can cook for the children.

NDWIGA: Ondi, Ondi rĩmbu

Yes, yes brother

### INDEX III

#### SAMPLE SENTENCES RANDOMLY COLLECTED

1. Ninakata kunao tũmũ/ paa

Ninakata kunao tomo pa:

I want to see someone here.

2. Ananyava tukiniga?

What is he/she doing?

3. ceikamu alinyuaku mbote maja

ʃekiamu

Father drank beer yesterday

4. Tundaĩ cakani cicavĩ ya comui sakapi

/tu<sup>n</sup>dae sakani sisave ja somui sakapi

Lets attend the very last church service

5. Ndaĩ ukuasu tĩi, taa rei icakwi kavunji

/ndæ/ ukuasu tei ta rei isakui kavun<sup>n</sup>ji

Go and take chairs including those broken ones

6. Mirambi mumuari mpwaku akupani sikarata

Ujake mona kwa mbanyu ya ngoya

muri<sup>m</sup>bi mumuari mpuaku ja ngɔja

Tell the headteacher to give you papers and bring them to my house.

7. Tingĩ tuye ilivaku maja

ti<sup>n</sup>ge tuje ilivakunaja

Our dog died yesterday

## INDEX IV

### A CONVERSATION BETWEEN TWO COLLEGE STUDENTS

- STUDENT A:** Uramace t̄fa ciye?  
How are you doing my friend?
- STUDENT B:** R̄mucu naca ciye  
Quite well, my friend
- STUDENT A:** Wandaĩ piwa? Maa ũnjake koco t̄rake maco, wana mbote  
nĩ nginyi naca.  
  
Where are you going? Why don't you come to the shopping  
center, we eat roast meat. Beer is also in plenty.
- STUDENT B:** Nanyaki r̄kanga, nakata k̄riangira t̄wa ciĩmũ.  
I am off to Kangaru, I want to check on people at home.
- STUDENT A:** Ndareu ĩndũ ninjio  
What do you want in the evening?
- STUDENT B:** Anapa koi kata t̄kĩ  
I don't want anything