

PLANNED AND SPONTANEOUS VOCABULARY EXPANSION IN TANZANIAN KISWAHILI

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In this preliminary study, the relationship between planned vocabulary expansion, implemented by the Kiswahili development institutions, and spontaneous vocabulary expansion, which is seen in and through the media as well as in the case of individuals, are examined. Data were collected from *Mzalendo*, a weekly Kiswahili newspaper. A survey of Kiswahili dictionaries was conducted to check for the availability of identified vocabulary items and any possibility of synonyms. The analysis shows that spontaneous lexical development utilizes the same word-formation processes as those used by language developers, with the most productive processes being derivation, semantic expansion, and compounding. The study suggests, in fact, that spontaneous vocabulary development enriches the 'standard' language rather than 'polluting' it.

1. Introduction

In Tanzania, Kiswahili is the language of national and government business. About 10% of the population speak Kiswahili as a mother tongue. This population is found in traditionally Kiswahili speaking settlements along the coast and islands. About 90% of the population is bilingual in Kiswahili and a vernacular (Legere 1992, Mekacha 1993). The decision to use Kiswahili in all political and public business and as a medium of instruction in education meant that some deliberate efforts had to be made to develop the language. As Fishman (1977:37) has indicated, when a language moves into new functions for which it was not previously accepted or employed, its development becomes necessary.

Creating or developing vocabulary is part of a broader domain in language known as corpus planning. In turn, corpus planning belongs to a wider domain known as language planning. Language planning is defined as the methodical activity of regulating and improving existing languages and creating new regional, national, and international languages (Tauli 1968), or as an organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, usually done at the national level (Fishman 1975). Haugen's 1966 fourfold model, which was initially conceived as four stages of language development, i.e., steps from dialect to language, or from vernacular to standard, describes language planning as: (1) norm selection, (2) codification, (3) implementation, and (4) elaboration. Haugen 1983 divides the four stages into two major features: societal and linguistic. While norm selection and

implementation are primarily societal, and hence external to the language, codification (standardization procedure) and elaboration (terminological modernization and stylistic development) are primarily linguistic and hence internal to the language. Corpus planning is crucial to those languages like Kiswahili in which efforts to make them an effective means of communication for educational or other purposes entails speeding up language-development processes to catch up with developments in science and technology. Essentially, planned language development is seen in and through the activities of language-development institutions.

Besides planned modernization of the lexicon, there is unplanned modernization taking place alongside the planned. Y. Kachru 1989 refers to it as spontaneous language planning. This type of language planning is seen in and through the activities of the media, including the newspapers, radio, television, individuals, and non official agencies. In Kiswahili, the vitality of spontaneous planning is reflected in the substantial number of words entering the language by this means. In his discussion on standard languages, Mazrui 1980 notes, that such languages may originate as a product of spontaneous (unconscious process) or of deliberate (conscious) planning.

The present study purses two basic questions: Do both planned and spontaneous vocabulary expansion utilize different word formation processes in creating / developing vocabulary? Are the two practices, i.e., planned language development and spontaneous 'planning', competing practices, and if not, what is the relationship between them?

In this paper, the word 'vocabulary' is used interchangeably with 'term' and 'lexical item'. Strictly speaking, a term is a word used to denote a concept in a specialized field, such as medicine, law, mathematics, economics, or history, but as Tumbo-Masabo (1995:95) observes, the dividing line between terms and vocabulary may be very tenuous, especially when words that originate in the general lexicon are used in specialized fields. For example, *tabaka* is generally translated as 'layer' but in political and social studies, it is used for 'social class'. While spontaneously developed words in Kiswahili may be hybrids (words formed from English and Kiswahili elements, e.g., *taxibubu*, 'taxis operating without commercial licence'), we are concerned in this study with words formed from Kiswahili elements only.

2. Language policy and language planning in Tanzania

2.1 Tanzania language policy

According to Haugen 1983, language policy is a deliberate decision that gives a language a special status in the society. It is a decision made by people with high political and legal status and concerns the choice of languages to be used in different spheres controlled by the state, such as the parliament, schools, courts, etc. Since these institutions are national, language choice also concerns the choice of national and official languages. This definition of language policy is appropriate for the Tanzanian situation since, when we talk of language policy, we basically

mean the decision to use one language or another, in two major sectors: administration and education. In this section we discuss language policy after Tanzania's political independence.

Tanzania gained its independence from the British in 1961. Since that time language policy has always emphasized the use of two official languages, i.e., English and Kiswahili. However, the allocation of these languages has been changing overtime. Sometimes Kiswahili has been given high status over English, and sometimes it has been the opposite. Studies on Tanzanian language policy reveal three phases (Tumbo-Masabo & Mwansoko 1996). The first is the period before the Arusha Declaration (1961-67), when the country's ideology was capitalistic. Nyerere 1968 characterizes the Arusha Declaration as a resolution that radically changed the socio-economic and political policies of Tanzania by committing it to socialist ideology. For historical reasons, during this earlier period English continued to be the official language and Kiswahili gained high status when it was declared a national language in February 1963. English was used in those sectors where Kiswahili was deficient or not appropriate, such as in international communication and trade and international diplomacy. In education, Kiswahili continued to be a language of instruction in primary education while English was used in middle and higher levels of education.

The second phase is the period after the Arusha Declaration, i.e., 1967 to 1982. Tanzania declared it would follow the ideology of socialism and self reliance in February 1967. The use of Kiswahili continued to be emphasized in administration, politics, and education all over the country. However, the implementation of this policy faced serious problems with regard to higher education. One of the problems was that students experienced learning difficulties when English started to be used as a medium of instruction in secondary schools. The problem of language instruction in secondary and higher education reached a climax in the late 1970s. It was suggested by a special commission in 1982 that Kiswahili be used instead of English in secondary education and gradually at other levels of education. This proposal was, however, not accepted by the government.

The third phase is the period beginning from 1983 to date. Economically and politically, this is the transition period during which Tanzania started slowly changing to a capitalist system. The new language policy that goes with this ideology was made public by the government in 1983 (Hikimany 1985). According to this policy, Kiswahili has been allocated for use in social sectors and politics, primary education, and adult education. English, a language whose development in the country is sponsored by the British government, continues to be used in secondary and higher education, high court, and international communication. These differences in the allocation of language use seems to give English a high status as a language of modern development and at the same time stagnates the development of Kiswahili in higher education.

However, the percentage of Tanzanians who have any knowledge of English is estimated at 15%. This means that Kiswahili is the language of wider com-

munication. At the same time, the present situation with regard to language allocation does not affect the efforts of the language-development institutions .

2.2 A brief history of planned Kiswahili development

The history of planned Kiswahili development goes back to 1930 when an Inter-territorial Language Committee (henceforth, Committee) was established under the East African British colonial governments that included Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania (then Tanganyika and Zanzibar). Kiswahili has about 17 dialects spoken in the coastal region of the Indian Ocean, extending from southern Somalia to northern Mozambique, including the Comoro Islands. It is also spoken in the eastern region of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The two dialects competing to form the base for the standard language were Kiunguja , the dialect spoken in Zanzibar town, and Kimvita, the dialect of Mombasa, a Kenyan city (Fasold 1984). The Committee chose Kiunguja. One of the reasons in favor of Kiunguja was the fact that Kiswahili dialects spoken in the interior of Tanganyika were similar to Kiunguja. Kiswahili got to the interior as a result of old trading journeys. The Committee had the task of standardizing the orthography of the dialect, including word divisions, and also of coining new words for the various subjects taught in schools and for general social and administrative purposes. Specifically, the Committee was concerned more with written than with spoken language. The standardized dialect was for use in all East African countries.

In 1964, the Committee went through administrative changes that led to the establishment of the Institute of Kiswahili Research (IKR), an academic institution of the University of Dar es Salaam. The IKR was concerned with carrying out basic research on the language, especially, in literature and lexicography. By the University of Dar-es-Salaam Act of 1970, the IKR was transformed and given more responsibilities. Among them was that of carrying out of long-term research projects, such as the preparation and updating of the standard Kiswahili dictionary and other types of dictionaries of various levels, in relation to the modern development of the language (IKR, undated).

The original Committee was a policy-making body, thus, the change to an academic institution left matters unattended that required policy statements, such as the imprimatur. The power of issuing the imprimatur was granted to the National Kiswahili Council, which was established in 1967 to take care of matters related to policy. Therefore, while the IKR can propose new vocabulary according to societal needs, the work of authorizing their use is left to the Council (Tumbo-Masabo 1990).

3. Literature review

As shown above (2.2), in Tanzania, language-development institutions, including the National Kiswahili Council and the Institute of Kiswahili Research, have been entrusted to do basic research in the Kiswahili language in all its aspects including literature, syntax, phonology, morphology, and lexicography, and to promote the language. With regard to terminology and vocabulary in general, different word-formation processes have been employed. Tumbo-Masabo 1990 did a dia-

chronic and synchronic study of the development of mathematical terms. Using library sources and other written documents produced since 1930, she identified seven word-formation processes: derivation; adoption; combination; loan translation; acronymy/abbreviation; collocation; and semantic expansion (for words that already existed in the lexicon). Her findings show that derivation, a process that utilizes the rich morphology of Kiswahili, is the most productive.

Similar findings were obtained in the study of linguistics and literature terms developed for secondary education, teacher education, and university instruction by Mwansoko 1990b. In this study, Mwansoko recommends that the derivation process should be utilized more for developing terms. The recommendation aims at using transparent terms that can be easily assimilated by language users. It also aims at minimizing the use of loan words in the standard language. Kiswahili, like other languages that have been in contact with foreign cultures and languages, has for various reasons been forced to use loan words from the languages with which Tanzania has had political, technological, economic, or cultural contacts. Some of the languages from which vocabulary items have found their way into Kiswahili include Arabic, English, Persian, German, Portuguese, French, and Chinese (Mdee 1983, Chuwa 1988), e.g.,

		KISWAHILI	GLOSS
PORTUGUESE:	mesa	<i>meza</i>	'table'
	pera	<i>pera</i>	'guavar'
	caldeirinha	<i>kanderinya</i>	'tea- kettle'
HINDI:	pesa	<i>pesa</i>	'money'
	gari	<i>gari</i>	'car'
	bajia	<i>bajia</i>	'ground bean and pepper cake'
PERSIAN:	tund	<i>utundu</i>	'cunning'
ARABIC:	rafiq	<i>rafiki</i>	'friend'
ENGLISH:	shirt	<i>shati</i>	'shirt'
	chiefdom	<i>uchifu</i>	'chiefdom'

In another study, Mwansoko 1990a identifies some problems with work on terminology. One of them is the inadequacy of terms in various fields of learning. He observes that until 1981, for example, there were only 182 Kiswahili linguistic terms translated or coined on the bases of English linguistic terms, e.g.,

<i>isimu</i>	'linguistics'
<i>fonetiki</i>	'phonetics'
<i>prosodi</i>	'prosody'
<i>taaluma ya fonimu</i>	'phonemics'

This situation implies that the pace of terminology development does not match actual terminology requirements. Often the unavailability of a Kiswahili term forced the use of English terms. The problem is serious, particularly now that there is an ongoing debate on whether or not to use Kiswahili as a medium of instruc-

tion at all education levels in the country, including colleges. Currently, Kiswahili is a medium of instruction in primary education (grade 1-7) and in teacher-training colleges for primary school teachers. It is taught as a subject in secondary schools. At present, more linguistic terms have been created (cf. *Kamusi ya Isimu na Lugha, 1991* 'Standard Linguistic and Language Dictionary'), however, in other fields terms are still inadequate.

Hinnebusch 1979 deals with issues of terms in a register and new coinages. In his study he found that sometimes language usage deviates from planning. Often, language users prefer using their own terms for those words translated from other languages, over those listed in the standard translation booklists prepared by language developers. He gives examples of listed astronomical terms such as: *mchota maji* (literally, 'water bearer') for 'Aquarius' and *mpiga shabaha* (literally, 'shooter of the target') for 'Sagittarius' while a popular astrologer in East Africa uses *ndoo* (literally, 'bucket/pail') and *mshale* (literally, 'arrow') for Aquarius and Sagittarius, respectively. These findings provide evidence that acceptability of planned language development is not guaranteed. Further, his findings imply that language users participate in expanding the lexicon when inadequacies are experienced.

Mazrui 1980 assessed the acceptability of standard Kiswahili as a planned linguistic norm in the Old Town area of Mombasa, Kenya, whose native dialect is Kimvita (one of the Kiswahili dialects). The assessment was at both the macro and micro levels. At the macro level, the investigation dealt with native speakers' attitudes towards standard Kiswahili, which correlate with acceptability on the basis of both socio-psychological association (with factors like religion, ethnicity, education, and socio-economic status), and sociolinguistics factors (topic, interlocutors, and social domains of discourse), and how these relate to its suitability as a national linguistic norm.

At the micro level, the study attempted to determine the acceptability of specific linguistic features, such as the perfect-tense marker in its affirmative and negative usage, as it correlates with the acceptability of the whole. The findings show that standard Kiswahili is accepted among Kimvita speakers in certain domains, particularly the schools, but demonstrates low acceptability in other domains. This is an indication that language users tend to use a variety that best serves their communication needs.

Emenanjo's 1989 study claims that standard Igbo (a language in Nigeria) draws its strength from all Igbo dialects. The study examined the contribution of spontaneous lexical development to standard Igbo, and used data from newspapers, television, and other printed material. It was found that spontaneously developed lexical items were highly accepted. Further, a substantial number of terms developed spontaneously have found their way into the modern metalanguage of standard Igbo for linguistics (syntax) (29); education (30); economics (31); fire-arms (32); physics (weights and measures, 34); biology (35); linguistics (phonology, 36); architecture (37); and fashion (38).

Available studies on nonstandard vocabulary in Kiswahili are basically related to work in lexicography. Besha 1995 studied spontaneously developed newspaper vocabulary in various Kiswahili newspapers published in 1995. She discovered from the contexts that some identified vocabulary items were not totally new, but it was the case that language users have expanded their basic meaning. She suggested that such vocabulary items be recorded for future dictionaries. Similarly, Okombo 1995 examined the role of oral language, which according to him is the same as nonstandard language. He argued that the boundary between standard and non-standard is not very clear. He proposed that vocabulary from 'oral language' should be listed in the standard language dictionaries if that vocabulary is used by many Kiswahili speakers.

The present study expands on some issues discussed in Besha 1995 and Okombo 1995. It determines the role of spontaneous vocabulary development in solving some of the issues raised in other studies that have been cited, including the inadequacy of required vocabulary, the acceptability of terms, and dissemination strategies. Furthermore, the study intends to show the contribution that spontaneous lexical development makes with regard to the enrichment of the standard language.

4. The data

The study involved identifying spontaneously developed lexical items in political texts from the Kiswahili weekly newspaper *Mzalendo* from 1990-1995. Although there are many Kiswahili dailies and weeklies, this particular newspaper was the only one available for the study. Vocabulary were identified mainly from editorials, letters to the editor, interviews, and debates. Generally, because of the level of formality, it is expected that the vocabulary used in these columns is standard when compared to other columns, such as those devoted to leisure. This investigation also served to determine the extent of use of these lexical items in the formal language. Identification of lexical items was guided mostly by their recent usage in the language, and by my experience as a native speaker of Kiswahili. The choice of vocabulary in political discourse was motivated by the fact that political democratization in recent years has led to a high degree of political awareness and freedom of expression among people, hence their need to express themselves using vocabulary related to this field.

A survey of *Tafsiri Sanifu* (TS) #2, 1976, #3, 1978, and #5 1985 was carried out in search of spontaneous lexical creations. *Tafsiri Sanifu* #4 contains agriculture and animal husbandry translations, the vocabulary of which is not included in this study. *Tafsiri Sanifu* are standard translations for terms used in specialized fields, published and disseminated by the National Kiswahili Council. Also, a survey of Kiswahili dictionaries published before 1990 were surveyed. The purpose of both surveys was to check for the availability of identified terms and the possibility of synonyms. Both surveys were intended to reveal whether the identified lexical items are new, spontaneously developed items or had already existed in the language and only came into active use recently.

Processes used for creating spontaneously developed lexical items are discussed to determine any similarities with word-formation processes used by language developing institutions. Finally, a recently available Kiswahili dictionary was checked to determine the extent of the incorporation of spontaneously developed vocabulary in this recognized reference work.

5. Findings and discussions

5.1 Spontaneously developed lexical items identified in *Mzalendo*

From the editorial, debate, and interview columns in *Mzalendo*, more than twenty lexical items were identified (Appendix). Most of them appeared in the period beginning with 1993. This was the period when political democratization was developing in Tanzania. Prior to this, the country practiced one-party rule. This was also the period when many social, cultural and economic changes occurred, such as trade liberalization. Only one lexical item, *mfurukutwa* 'active opposition party member' started to appear in the newspaper in 1995. Since its establishment in 1977, the ruling party has been using *mkereketwa* for 'active party member'.

The identified vocabulary items *mfurukutwa* and *mkereketwa* have continued to be used regularly in columns of the newspaper throughout the period covered by the study. It is an assumption that the use of all identified lexical items in formal discourse in different social domains is an indication that speakers have accepted them as being part of the standard lexicon.

5.2 Survey of lexical items identified in *Tafsiri Sanifu* and Kiswahili dictionaries published before 1991

A survey of *TS* 2, 3, and 5 (the last in the series) shows that one lexical item *upinzani* 'opposition' is found in *TS* 2, 1976:10 and also in Temu 1971:11. Although the lexical item had existed previously, it was not in active use. The recent activation of this lexical item in social interactions and in newspapers could be said to be motivated by political opposition in the country. A similar explanation can be given for another lexical item, *sera* 'policy', which is available in *Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu* (KKS, 1981:304). Massamba 1995 reminds us about this characteristic of language use. He observes that it is not unusual for speakers to abandon the use of certain vocabulary items because they do not need them in their present day-to-day activities. If documented, such vocabulary items will remain in the dictionaries. It is interesting, however, to see the once 'dormant' vocabulary in the language returning to active use.

A lexical item *ukiritimba* 'monopoly' is not found in *TS* nor in *KKS*. However, 'monopolist' is listed in *TS* 3, 1978:7, and in *TS* 5, 1985:1 and the translation given for it is *umiliki* 'a property owner'. According to Kiswahili morphology, *umiliki* is thus expected to be the translation for 'monopoly'. By using *ukiritimba* instead of *umiliki*, Kiswahili speakers show resistance to using a lexical item created by language-development institutions. This observation is similar to that observed in Hinnebusch 1979. It can be concluded that most of the lexical items identified in the newspaper are not listed in the recognized reference materials developed by language-development institutions.

5.3 Processes of developing vocabulary items and their dissemination

There are some differences in the procedures for developing vocabulary items and disseminating them to the language users between language developing institutions and spontaneous lexical development. However, the data show that the processes of word formation are similar.

5.3.1 Word-formation processes

As mentioned above, the National Kiswahili Council deals with policy matters and the coordination of Kiswahili development activities in the country, while the Institute for Kiswahili Research is involved in language research. Generally, IKR develops vocabulary according to its planned research projects, and also according to the immediate vocabulary requirements of institutions or individuals, such as translators, agricultural extension officers, or health personnel. These people have been trained in English, but in order to communicate with the people they serve, they need to use appropriate Kiswahili vocabulary that is sometimes not available in dictionaries and other vocabulary lists. It could be argued that the unavailability of the needed vocabulary may result in having many synonyms in the language for some concepts that originate from other languages, if individuals will be developing their own Kiswahili equivalents freely.

IKR uses different word processes to develop terms that mostly originate from English. This is because Britain and other parts of the English-speaking world have usually been the source of knowledge, technology, and culture that Tanzania imports. The processes have been identified and discussed in Temu 1984 and Tumbo-Masabo 1990:

DERIVATION: a process of coining new words by affixing, e.g., *utaifishaji* 'nationalization', from *taifisha* 'nationalize'. Generally, Kiswahili forms most of its nouns by nominalizing verbs.

ADOPTION: the use of words from other languages and adapting them to Kiswahili phonology, e.g., *treni* 'train' (noun).

COMBINATION (COMPOUNDING): words or a group of words joined together, with or without connectors, form a term whereby each part maintains its identity, e.g., *elimu mimea* 'botany'; from *elimu* 'education/study' and *mimea* 'plants'.

LOAN TRANSLATION: a process of coining new terms by translating word-for-word from a foreign language. The word order respects Kiswahili rules, e.g., *sahani bapa* 'flat disk' from *sahani* 'plate/disk' and *bapa* 'flat'.

ACRONYMY/ABBREVIATION: the use of parts of words to form a new word, e.g., *kizigeu* 'coefficient' from *kizio* 'unit' and *gegeu* 'changeable'.

COLLOCATION: English terms translated into Kiswahili by compounding terms, but without using loan translation, e.g., the phrase 'one-to-one correspondence' which was translated into Kiswahili as *uhusiano wa kuambatika* from *uhusiano* 'relationship/correspondence', *wa* 'of' and *kuambatika* 'going together' in contrast to a loan translation of *uhusiano wa moja kwa moja*, which gives the idea of 'direct relationship'.

While IKR and other language-development institutions sit as committees of linguists and other language experts to discuss and create lexical items, spontaneous lexical development is done by individuals who need some vocabulary for various reasons, such as for translations and writing manuals.

The spontaneously developed vocabulary items found show that lexical items have been developed using the same word-formation processes as those being used by language developers. Most of the lexical items have been developed using the derivation process, beginning with the base verb that already exists in the language; e.g., *kuwekeza* 'to invest' is from *ku-* an infinitive marker, *-weka* 'put/keep' is the base verb, *-ez-* is a causative suffix. Another example is *ubinafsishaji* 'privatization', in which *u-* is an abstract noun prefix, *-binafsi-* 'self', *-ishi-* a causative suffix, and *-aji* a suffix showing that an action/event is done repetitively or regularly. Other items in the data that have been formed using the same process include: *kinyemela* 'secretly', *mkereketwa* 'active political party member', *kusambaratika* 'to disintegrate', *mfumuko wa bei* 'inflation', and *mizengwe* 'conspiracy'. These findings are similar to those found in Besha 1995. However, the passive voice in *mfurukutwa* 'opposition political party member' gives a different meaning from the targeted one. The correct form should have been *mfurukuta* translated as 'someone who is struggling to get out of confinement or a place where she/he is held by force'. The word *mfurukutwa* has already gained popularity and there is no possibility of changing it to *mfurukuta*.

The data also show the use of the compounding process and semantic expansion of the original meaning. The lexical item *changamoto* 'challenge' is from *changa* 'put together', e.g., firewood, and *moto* 'fire'. Another example is *kipaumbele* 'priority' from *kipau* 'bar' (e.g., bar of wood or steel), and *mbele* 'front'. The meaning of the word is 'something that is put on the front' which is close in meaning to 'priority'. The word *kuengua* 'to screen' has also been given an expanded meaning. According to Johnson 1939 the word *kuengua* means 'to remove cream or froth', but recently Kiswahili speakers also use the word with the meaning of 'screening/weeding out incompetent workers or politicians'. In the 1980s, the verb *kuchuja* 'to drain' was used with the same meaning. Today *kuengua* is more popular than *kuchuja*.

5.3.2 Dissemination of the new vocabulary

Dissemination of the newly developed terms is one of the problems experienced by language-development institutions. Usually, vocabulary lists, booklets, and dictionaries are disseminated to the public through bookstores. It has been observed that such materials remain unsold for a long time. There may be two explanations for this situation. One could be that the prices for the texts are too expensive for many people, or that many people do not read. The implication is that language-development institutions are challenged to work out effective dissemination strategies.

As the data show, words such as *ngwe* 'phase' have been popularized in the newspaper, although the word *awamu* exists, and it is also available in both *KKS* and *TS*. The point to be made here is that while there are problems of dis

semination for words created by language developers, spontaneously created vocabulary reaches language speakers quickly through newspapers and other means. I would suggest that language-development institutions work out possibilities of disseminating language information using newspapers and radio.

Some of the identified lexical items have been found in the *Swahili-English Dictionary* 1991. Unfortunately, it was the only bilingual dictionary published after 1990 available to me. The words identified include *changamoto* 'challenge', *ubadhirifu* 'misappropriation', *ukiritimba* 'monopoly', and *mkereketwa* 'active opposition political party member'. This is among the vocabulary items with high frequency of usage. However, one may argue that the vocabulary is listed in this particular dictionary because it has been compiled by an individual and not by a recognized language-development institution. A counterargument could be that generally, for some reasons including financial constraints, dictionaries compiled by institutions in Tanzania take a long time before they are published. If they had been published regularly, many of the lexical items identified could have been included in standard dictionaries. *Mkereketwa*, for example, is already in the manuscript for the revised edition of *KKS*. This also means that dictionary developers in the language-development institutions are getting input from the spontaneously developed vocabulary.

The fact that some spontaneously developed vocabulary is already listed in some recent dictionaries is an indication that such vocabulary is needed to fill the gaps in the standard language.

6. Conclusions and implications

This study was intended to examine the relationship that exists between planned and spontaneous lexical development. Data were collected from the only available Kiswahili newspaper, *Mzalendo*. The data have shown how spontaneously developed vocabulary is integrated into the standard language.

The analysis shows that spontaneous lexical development utilizes the same word-formation processes as those used by language developers, with the most productive processes being derivation, semantic expansion, and compounding. We have seen in only one instance that the vocabulary created using the derivation process constitutes a problem. This is because the infixation of a passive voice marker gives the word a different meaning from the one we think was logically intended by those who created the word. The discussion has also shown that sometimes, in formal contexts such as editorials and interviews, language users can choose to employ lexical items other than those created by official language developers. The relationship that exists between the two practices shows that language belongs to all its native speakers. Vocabulary expansion is, therefore, a responsibility of individuals in the society as well as of linguists and language experts in language-development institutions. This implies that the language developers in the language-development institutions do not have absolute power over language users as far as vocabulary expansion is concerned.

While spontaneous vocabulary development enriches the language, this phenomenon may result in the creation of many synonyms in the language that may later cause problems of inconsistency of their usage, particularly in specialized fields.

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APPENDIX

Spontaneously developed vocabulary items identified in *Mzalendo* 1991-95

<i>changamoto</i>	'challenge'
<i>kinyemela</i>	'secretly'
<i>kipaumbele</i>	'priority'
<i>kuengua</i>	'to screen'
<i>kung'atuka</i>	'to retire/voluntarily'
<i>kusambaratika</i>	'to disintegrate'
<i>kuwekeza</i>	'to invest'
<i>mfadhili</i>	'sponsor'
<i>mfumuko wa bei</i>	'inflation'
<i>mfurukutwa</i>	'active party member (opposition parties)'
<i>mihadarati</i>	'drugs, e.g., cocaine'
<i>mizengwe</i>	'conspiracy'
<i>mkereketwa</i>	'active party member (ruling party)'
<i>ngwe</i>	'phase'
<i>nyeti</i>	'sensitive'
<i>sera</i>	'policy'
<i>shinikizo</i>	'pressure'
<i>tapeli</i>	'a bogus person'
<i>ubadhirifu</i>	'misappropriation'
<i>ubinafsishaji</i>	'privatization'
<i>ukata</i>	'poverty'
<i>ukiritimba</i>	'monopoly'
<i>uzawa</i>	'citizenship by birth'