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### Trends in the Use of Demonstratives in Some Swahili Written Texts

The aim of this study is to investigate the pattern of the recurrence and position of Swahili demonstrative, as actually found in some specimens of selected texts.

Linguistic components of a text are mutually linked by elements with a deictic function in order to achieve text cohesion. Deictic elements supply the reader with informations for a proper reading; they lead the reader to understand how the linguistic signs are interrelated.

A demonstrative is a deictic word<sup>1</sup> with the function of a definite determiner<sup>2</sup>. If it points out or indicates a person or a thing specifically it is called a 'demonstrative adjective'. It can also be used as a nominal, in which case it is called 'demonstrative pronoun'<sup>3</sup>. In the definition of

<sup>1</sup> «Deictic Word – A word, the function of which is to point out or specify an individual person, things or idea»: Hartman, R.R.K. and Stark, F.C., *Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, Applied Science Publishers, 1972.

<sup>2</sup> «Determiner – A word class, members of which function as – adjunct words in a – noun phrase. It may be any of the following types of word: 1) pre-article or noun phrase initiator such as all, both, half; 2) article or possessive such as the, a, an, my; 3) demonstrative such as this, that, these, those; 4) Words such as more, most, much ... which operate in – complementary distribution with articles; 5) numerals such as one, two ... . Some linguists extend this term to cover modifiers in verbal, adjectival and adverbial phrases, e.g. – modal auxiliaries and – intensifiers. Alternative term: determinative»: Hartman, op. cit.

«Determiner – An attribute of the type that normally precedes other attributes in the same expressions (the, this, that, any, no some, what, which, my, our, a, each, either, every, one) (Bloch and Trager); a generic expression for articles, possessives, demonstrative, etc. (Francis); a word indicating a noun (the, this, my) (Walsh); a word marking class 1 forms (nouns), which can be constituted for 'the' in the frame '(the) concert is good? (Kies); a limiting noun-modifier (a, either, some, whatever), possessive adjectives, possessive case forms, such as John's, and characteristically occurring before a descriptive adjective modifying the same noun (That big yellow house) see also Bounded noun, Marker»: Pei, M., *Glossary of Linguistic Terminology*, Columbia University Press, 1966.

<sup>3</sup> «Demonstrative. Words such as this, that, these, those, some, such, used to point

the word demonstrative the distinctive element is the function of determiner. If we look at the definition of the word 'determiner' we will note that it includes a series of elements with the function of deixis<sup>4</sup>. Both articles and demonstrative are included, together with other elements, in the main category of the 'determiners'.

Demonstratives are generally described as occurring in separate forms which indicate proximity or non-proximity, in time and space, of objects referred to by the speaker. Exact correspondence of the range of 'proximity' indicated by the demonstrative is of course unlikely to be obtained, as the effort to adapt the same terminology to the description of different languages easily leads to misconceptions. This is often the case with the analysis of African languages, where technical vocabulary still suffers from the initial comparative approach which, after having been undoubtedly productive at the beginning, may now be instead complicating the presentation of the language structure. As some authors have already stated, terms like 'verb', 'adjective', etc. hardly express the exact functions of disparate elements in the many African languages described to date<sup>5</sup>. Terminology inadequacy in the description of the Swahili language has been noted by Ashton<sup>6</sup>, who describes the consequences of the improper naming of parts such as 'adjectives', 'numerals', etc. The treatment of Swahili demonstrative also suffers from the inaccuracy of the technical terms used.

Like most of the Bantu languages, Swahili is said to have no article. This generally held view originates in the fact that, contrary to what is the case in many European languages, in Swahili there is no element which functions exclusively as an article. This does not imply that Swahili has

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out or indicate persons or things specifically. If used as – determiners they may be called Demonstrative Ajectives e.g. that book is mine, but if used as nominals they may be called Demonstrative Pronoun, e.g. in: That is right or these are they»: Hartman, *op. cit.*

«Demonstratif – Le demonstratif est un monème grammatical or (morphème) et appartient à un inventaire limité. On s'en sert pour désigner d'un manière précise la personne ou la chose évoquée à l'exclusion de toutes autres de la même espèce... les démonstratifs sont des signes ayant la propriété de faire un référence directe à l'environnement physique, référence pouvant être soulignée d'un geste qui montre. Dans une langue comme le français, la classe des démonstratifs est traditionnellement définie en extension (ce, cet ...) plus que par la fonction déictique puisque il peuvent avoir aussi une fonction anaforique»: Mounin, G., *Dictionnaire de la Linguistique. Sous la Direction de George Mounin*, Press Universitaire de France, Paris, 1974.

<sup>4</sup> «Deixis – The act of pointing out or indicating is a feature of such words as personal pronouns, I, he, you, etc., demonstrative pronouns such as this, that, relative such as who, which, etc. and particularly the definite article the»: Hartman, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Welmers, W.E., *African Language Structures*, University of California Press, 1973.

<sup>6</sup> Ashton, E.O., 'The Structure of a Bantu Language with Special Reference to Swahili: on Form and Function Through Bantu Eyes', *B.S.O.S.*, VII, 4, pp. 1111–1120. Ashton, E.O., 'The "Idea" Approach to Swahili', *B.S.O.S.*, VII, 4, 1935, pp. 837–859.

no determiners; determination in Swahili is achieved, beside other ways, through a peculiar use of the demonstrative.

Swahili demonstrative is formed by affixing to the morphemes LE and H a set of class concords, thus forming three series of demonstratives. According to grammars<sup>7</sup>, the LE series indicates non-proximity, the H series indicates proximity, and the H-O series, through the use of the -O of reference, indicates something already referred to by the speaker:

| cl    | LE        | H         | H-O         |
|-------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| 1/2   | yule/wale | huyu/hawa | huyo/hao    |
| 3/4   | ule/ile   | huu/hii   | huo/hiyo    |
| 5/6   | lile/yale | hili/haya | hilo/hayo   |
| 7/8   | kile/vile | hiki/hivi | hicho/hivyo |
| 9/10  | ile/zile  | hii/hizi  | hiyo/hizo   |
| 11/10 | ule/zile  | huu/hizi  | huo/hizo    |
| 15    | kule      | huku      | huko        |
| 16    | pale      | hapa      | hapo        |
| 17    | kule      | huku      | huko        |
| 18    | mle       | humu      | humo        |

These forms can either follow the noun, thus being considered adjectives, or they can stand alone, as pronouns. Most Swahili grammars describe the demonstrative as a word indicating primarily a distance in terms of space, that is the distance of the referred object from the speaker, a description which emphasizes the indication of the spatial distance in almost physical terms. A few grammars state that the LE form can also stand before a noun, its function in this case being somewhat similar to that of the English 'the' and not to 'this' or 'that', though the form remains the same<sup>8</sup>.

In his recent studies on Swahili demonstratives R.A. Leonard<sup>9</sup> postulated that the three forms of demonstratives are used not only to indicate distance but also as determiners, of which LE (the demonstrative which indicates distance) signals 'low deixis' and H (the demonstrative indicating proximity) signals 'high deixis', with H-O in the middle<sup>10</sup>. Leonard examined short passages from some modern works and realized

<sup>7</sup> The Swahili grammars consulted are listed in the bibliography.

<sup>8</sup> «The demonstrative form -le may either precede or follow the noun it qualifies. When it precedes the noun, its function corresponds to that of the definite article in English»: Ashton, E.E., *Swahili Grammar*, London, 1904, p. 59; see also Loogman, A., *Swahili Grammar and Syntax*, Duquesne University Press, Pittsburgh, 1965, pp. 66-69.

<sup>9</sup> Leonard, R.A., *The Semantic System of Deixis in Standard Swahili*, Ph. D. Thesis, Columbia Univ., 1982. Leonard, R.A., 'Swahili Demonstratives: Evaluating the Validity of Competing Semantic Hypothesis', *Studies in African Linguistics*, 16, 3, 1985, pp. 281-192.

<sup>10</sup> Leonard, *The Semantic System ...*, p. 44.

that the use of LE, H and H-O depended not on the distance between the speaker and the object he referred to, but on the emotional position of the speaker, who tended to use LE when he was less involved and H when he was emotionally involved. He then made a count, in three chapters of two novels, of the 'low and high deixis' finding that the low deixis forms were more frequent (16 LE) than the high ones (6 H)<sup>11</sup>. All the three forms were preferably used after the noun (22 as against 17), but while H was the less used one (only 6 times) and always following the noun, LE was the most used of all (26 times) and preferably preceding the noun (16 as against 10).

While Leonard analysis focused on the 'attention' hypothesis, Wilt<sup>12</sup> maintained that the 'proximity' approach, including not only spatial but also temporal, narrative and anaphoric distance, is the key concept for understanding a speakers's choice of Swahili demonstratives.

It is not easy to say whether a Swahili noun is determined or not. Besides other elements (such as possessives, etc.) which are currently included among the determiners, the noun can be followed by the adjective *-moja* (one), which could count as a sort of high indetermination, can be used alone, and can be preceded and followed by the three forms of demonstratives, which in some cases can even be used twice. This would account for some 14 possibilities, the degree of determination of each of which is very difficult to value. Beside that, Swahili has the possibility of referring to the object by inserting an object concord into the verb even when the object is expressly mentioned: Ex.: *Ninamwona mtu* (I see the man) where *ninamwona* is composed by *ni-* (cl. 1 subject concord: I), *-na-* (present tense marker), *-mw-* (cl. 1 object concord: him), *-ona* (verbal root: see). As one can see although the object is expressed (*mtu*: man) the verb bears a reference to the object by inserting an object concord as a way to point out specifically the object. In such a case one cannot say that *mtu* is not determined because it has no demonstrative; determination, in this case, is achieved through the insertion of the object concord in the preceding verb<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 19–20.

<sup>12</sup> Wilt, T., 'Discourse Distances and the Swahili Demonstratives', in: *Studies in African Linguistics*, 18, 1, 1987, pp. 81–95.

<sup>13</sup> «Direction of emphasis dictates the position of the noun object, and the use or omission of the object prefix. [...] *Umeleta chakula?* Have you brought (the) food? The important element here is the action, not the object. In replies to such question, no object is expressed. *Nimeleta Bwana*. I have brought (it), sir. (b) In statement or questions in which attention is directed to the object rather than to the action, the object prefix is used as well as the noun. [...] *Hamisi amekileta chakula?* Hamisi has brought the food. (which you asked for) [...] As the degree of definiteness to be conveyed is entirely dependent on the context, and

Any functional analysis which is based on the consideration of the context should in fact rely on the previous singling out of the Swahili deictic system. An analysis confined only to a statistical perspective could therefore be a starting point to evidence the possible patterns of occurrences in different kinds of texts, whatever being the context.

In order to find out whether there is any possible recurrent pattern in the choice and the use of the three forms of demonstratives, texts of various kinds have been selected and compared according to different criteria.

Texts for an amount of about 600 pages have been examined; the short ones have been checked throughout, the longer ones have been checked each ten pages.

Texts have firstly been considered as a whole and then grouped according to different criteria. A general counting on all the texts showed that the general trend of the frequency and position of the Swahili demonstrative is the following (see table 0.1):

The most commonly used form is H-O (1453), closely followed by LE (1200) and H (1160).

LE is mainly used before the noun (66%) while H and H-O are preferably used after the noun (78% and 73% respectively).

As the texts considered belong to different categories, in the attempt to find the possible recurrent patterns they have been grouped according to the following criteria: 1) Literary: It includes texts of various literary genres; 2) Diachronic: It includes texts of different ages; 3) Geographic: It includes texts from different areas.

### 1 – *Literary criterion.*

The idea is to compare creative versus non creative literature rather than comparing specific creative genres, in order to find out whether the creative element has influence on the text deixis represented by demonstratives.

Two main sections are provided here, in order to separate creative and non creative texts: 1.1 – Fiction: 1.1.1: Novels and Novelettes; 1.1.2: Short

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is further expressed by tone and gesture, the above principles must be regarded as very general in scope; isolated example in print may often bear more than one interpretation»;

P. 58: «The object prefix is generally used with noun objects of the Personal Classes when followed by a Possessive.

*Umemwona mpishi wangu?*            Have you seen my cook?

*Uliwaona wagonjwa wetu?*        Did you see our seek folk?

With nouns indication inanimate objects it may be used or omitted according to the degree of emphasis to be conveyed»: Ashton, 1904, pp. 44-45.

Stories. 1.2 – Non Fiction: 1.2.1: Newspapers and Magazines; 1.2.2: Scientific Publications.

1.1 – Fiction includes creative writing of contemporary authors only. Traditional stories have not been included for the sake of homogeneity, as there is no traditional counterpart for the Non Fiction section.

1.1.1 – Novels and Novelettes. This subsection includes writings from contemporary authors only, this genre being completely new in Swahili literature.

The most used form is LE (534), followed by H (354) and H–O (346). LE is used before the noun (58%) while H and H–O prefer the position after the noun (85% and 72% respectively).

1.1.2 – Short Stories. It includes contemporary writings only.

H–O (524) is the most used form, followed by LE (412) and H–O (371). LE is used mainly before the noun (74%), H is used after the noun (40%) and H–O is used after the noun slightly more than before it (52%).

1.2 – Non Fiction prose includes articles from daily and weekly magazines and from scientific publications:

1.2.1 – Linguistic Publication. This subsection includes journals as *Kiswahili*, a bilingual (English and Swahili) linguistic publication edited by the 'Institute of Kiswahili Research' in Dar es Salaam, and *Umma*, a bilingual journal of creative and critic literature also published in Dar (critical essays only have been considered).

The most used form is H–O (205), followed by H (169) and LE (42). LE is used evenly before or after the noun, while H and H–O are almost always used after the noun (93% and 95%).

1.2.2 – Newspapers and Magazines. This subsection includes articles from the most widespread Tanzanian newspapers, like *Kiongozi*, *Mzalendo* (*Kiongozi's* Sunday supplement), *Uhuru*, and from the monthly magazine *Wakati ni Huu*, all published in Dar.

The most used forms are H–O (338) and H (125), while LE is used only 8 times. All three forms of demonstratives are almost always used after the noun; H–O (99%), H (96%) and LE (27%).

The Newspapers section (*Kiongozi* and *Uhuru*) shows almost no use of the LE form (one case) and no use at all of the H and H–O forms before the noun, all being used after the noun. The preferred form is H–O (48 H–O (48 H–O as against 25 H and just 1 LE).

According to genres in the creative section there appears to be a preference to use the LE form before the noun in both subsections, while in non creative prose there is a marked tendency to prefer the H–O form and to use all the three forms after the noun. Whether these tendencies

can be ascribed to stylistic traits concerning the use of deictic elements in creative and non-creative prose, to the different ethnic origin of the writers, or to the influence of foreign languages (namely English) it is not incorrect to suppose an influence on Swahili writings<sup>14</sup> and, furthermore, there are no antecedent tradition with which to compare non creative prose (apart from Chronicle and Journey Accounts which cannot in any case be taken as a suitable counterpart to modern non creative prose).

An attempt to compare prose writings of different ages follows now, though also in this case problems of homogeneity arise.

## 2 – Diacronic criterion.

In this group texts from traditional literature are compared to modern ones. Attempt to compare homogeneous works has been made. Old collections of narrative folklore have been compared to short stories: 2.1 – Traditional Prose: 2.1.1 Traditional Narrative; 2.1.2 Journey Accounts; 2.1.3 Chronicle. 2.2 – Modern: 2.2.1 Short Stories.

2.1 – Beside the narrative genres, Journey Accounts and Chronicle have also been included in the Traditional Prose section, but they have been kept separated as a kind of non creative prose.

2.1.1 – Traditional Narrative. It includes a collection of stories both from the original Bantu folklore and from the borrowed Arabic tradition. Notwithstanding the difference of contents no differences in the narrative style there seem to be in the narration. They have therefore been examined together.

In this section the most used form is LE (109) followed by H (96) and H–O (26); LE is mainly used before the noun (73%) while H and H–O are used after the noun (96% and 26%).

2.1.2 – Journey Accounts. This section includes samples from two texts. Of real artistic value is the diary of Selim bin Abakari on his journey in Russia (safza). In *Tippu Tip* (tt) we have the account of the most famous slave trader of last century; it is more interesting as an historic than an artistic documentation<sup>15</sup>.

This section has no homogenous traits. tt prefers the H and H–O forms (26 and 11 as against 2 LE) and uses them mainly after the noun. safza prefers the LE form (17 as against 7 H and 1 H–O) and uses it mainly

<sup>14</sup> Bertoncini E., 'Some Non-standard Features in Modern Literary Swahili', *14<sup>th</sup> Conference on African Linguistics*, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 7–10 Apr. 1975.

<sup>15</sup> All subsequent references to authors and their writings are from: Bertoncini, E., *Profilo della Letteratura Swahili*, I.U.O., Napoli, 1985.



before the noun (82%).

2.1.3 – Chronicle. Only one item is included in this subsection. A very interesting text, *Habari za Wakilindi* is an historic chronicle of high literary value; the author, Abdallah bin Hemedi 'l-Ajjemi was of African origin but was educated at the Arabic culture. His writing, with its frequent repetitions of single words and dialogs, is very close to the oral narration, and his language, despite his Arabic education, is pure Swahili with very few borrowings from Arabic and many words from Shambala, Ziqua and Bondei.

The most used form is LE (56), followed by H (11) and H-O (2). LE and H are used mainly before the noun (95% and 64%), H-O is used after noun.

These results seem to strengthen the idea that the origin, or to be more correct the education, of the author, besides other elements, can influence the use of the demonstrative forms.

2.2 – Modern Narrative – Only short stories have been included here as traditional Swahili prose has no longer forms of narrative, except epics, which cannot be compared to modern narrative prose, and chronicles, which cannot be classified as creative.

2.2.1 – Short Stories. The stories included in this subsection are partly new creations, from the Zanzibarian writer Mohamed Suleiman Mohamed, and partly a remaking, some times with new themes, of traditional folklore, from the continental writer Ruhumbika.

The most used form is H-O (524), followed by LE (412) and H (371). LE is used mainly before the noun (74%), H is used after the noun (60%) and H-O is used after the noun slightly more than before it (52%).

Here again traits are not homogeneous. Though all are short stories some appear to prefer the LE form (the 29s and 30s are from the same Zanzibarian author, Mohamed S. Mohamed) and some appear to prefer the H-O form (those from Katalambulla and Ruhumbika, two continental writers). There is only one short story, (mm), which is not Ruhumbika's but from a young writer of the Kijita tribe, and it appears to prefer the LE form before the noun.

### 3 – *Geographic criterion.*

In this group works are arranged according to the authors area of origin, whether from the Continent or from the coast and islands, because of the linguistic situation in Tanzania.

Swahili in fact is the mother tongue only for a small area of Tanzania. Swahili is spoken as first language only on the islands and on the

section of the coast opposite the islands (apart from the traditional Kenyan Swahili area which is not considered here). It then became the lingua franca of East Africa because of the expansion of trading and for that reason was chosen to become the official language of Tanzania by the German colonialists. It is now the official language of Tanzania and the main medium of instruction, besides English (16). Thus Swahili is spoken as first language by those people living in the traditional Swahili area, while in the rest of Tanzania it is often an acquired second language. This situation is reflected in the writings at different levels. Authors coming from different areas show differences at the graphic level (different graphemes are due to the influence of the different Swahili dialects), at the lexical level (words of Bantu or Arabic origin are used according to whether the author comes from), at the stylistic level (writers from the original Swahili cultural area often display a higher sophisticated use of the language): 3.1. – Authors from the Continent: 3.1.1 Euphrase Kezilahabi; 3.1.2 Gabriel Ruhumbika; 3.1.3 Aniceti Kitereza; 3.1.4 F.H.H. Katalambulla. 3.2 – Authors from Zanzibar: 3.2.1 Muhammed Said Abdulla; 3.2.2 Muhamed S. Muhamed; 3.2.3 Said Ahmed Mohamed; 3.3 – Shaaban Robert.

Turning now to the various authors we have the following pattern:

3.1 – Authors from the Continent – These authors come from the same area, Ukerewe, a village on Lake Victoria.

3.1.1 – Euphrase Kezilahabi. He is the most pre-eminent contemporary Swahili writer, one of his main merits being the clearness and neatness of his language<sup>16</sup>.

He uses mainly H–O followed by H and LE and shows a strong preference for using LE before the noun (86%), while H–O and H are preferably used after the noun (65% and 90%).

3.1.2 – Gabriel Ruhumbika. He also comes from an area near by lake Victoria. He first started to write in English but then decided to turn to Swahili, which he uses in its standard form.

The most used form is H–O (406) followed by H (150) and LE (90). He uses LE mainly before the noun (80%). H–O before (54%) and H after the noun (69%).

3.1.3 – Aniceti Kitereza. This author has been deeply engaged in the preservation and transmission of local history and customs. Besides other works he wrote, in Kikerewe, the history of his life. When Swahili became the official language he rewrote his work in Kiswahili and finally got a publisher. His use of the language in fact bears the mark, phonetically, lexically and grammatically, of his mother tongue, Kikerewe.

<sup>16</sup> Whiteley, E.H., *Swahili. The Rise of a National Language*, London, 1969.

He prefers to use the LE form, followed by H–O and H at the same frequency (57% and 56%) but uses all the three forms before the noun.

3.1.4 – F. H. H. Katalambulla. This writer comes from Igalula, near by Tabora. He has been included here because he is the most representative of Swahili market literature. His stories in fact are generally police stories or love stories with no high artistic value.

The most used form is H (171), followed by LE and H–O. He shows the highest use of LE before the noun (91%), uses H almost evenly before or after the noun and H–O after the noun (70%).

3.2 – Authors from Zanzibar – Prose writing from the Tanzanian islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, besides the opposite coast, is probably the only one written by originally Swahili speaking writers, as this is the area where Swahili is the mother tongue.

3.2.1 – Muhammed Said Abdulla. He is a well known writer whose fame is based mainly on his setting aside the oral tradition rules in favor of the adoption of western narrative themes and styles.

The most used form is LE (89), followed by H–O and H (28 and 12). He uses LE almost indifferently before (49%) or after (51%) the noun, H and H–O preferably after the noun (83% and 61%).

3.2.2 – Mohamed Suleiman Muhamed. He is probably the most talented Swahili writer, one of his main quality being the ability with which he bends the language to match the different characters.

He mostly uses LE (327), followed by H (71) and H–O (43). He uses LE mainly before the noun (67%), H and H–O preferably after the noun (729 and 67%).

3.2.3 – Said Ahmed Mohamed. A very talented and versatile writer, he uses a high sophisticated language, the typical Swahili of Pemba, rich in imagery and colorful expressions.

LE is the most used form (25), followed by H and H–O. He uses LE and H–O almost indifferently before or after the noun, while H is used mainly after the noun (64%).

The following author is considered separately; he could in fact be seen as a kind of link between the traditional and modern prose and the continental and Zanzibarian prose.

3.3 – Shaaban Robert – Shaaban Robert was born in Vibambani, a locality along the coast of the Tanga province; his father was of the Yao tribe. He is one of the most important figure of the Swahili culture of this century. He can be considered as the linking chain between classic and contemporary Swahili literature, a kind of central reference point either for his area of origin (on the coast) than for the period of his writings

(between classic and modern).

He mainly uses the H form (68), followed by LE and H-O (63 and 38). He uses LE, H and H-O almost exclusively after the noun (89%, 100% and 97%).

Only authors of contemporary creative prose have been examined here as there are no news on traditional authors and on author of non creative prose (sec. 1.2). Grouping together authors from the Continent and authors from the islands and the coast, the pattern concerning demonstratives is the following:

Authors from the Continental area (Tab. 3.1) prefer mainly the use of H-O (568) followed by H and LE (300 and 252). They show almost the same tendency to use LE before the noun (69%), while H-O and H are preferably used after the noun (53% and 21%).

Authors of the Zanzibar area (Tab. 3.2) mainly use LE (441), followed by H (105) and H-O (85). They show a preference to use LE before the noun (63%), while H and H-O are preferably used after the noun (71% and 63%).

Authors from both areas show the same preference to use LE before the noun (Zanzibarian 59% and Continental 60%). The main difference in trends lies in the fact that while authors from the Zanzibar area mainly use the LE form (480 against 106 H and 89 H-O), authors from the Continental area prefer to use the H-O form (503 as against 278 LE and 273 H).

By the comparison of these data it is possible to trace the recurrent pattern of the use of demonstratives in the texts considered for analysis.

LE form is by far the most used in absolute in the Zanzibar area and is preferably placed before the noun in almost all sections according to genres (4 out of 5), according to authors (4 out of 7, 1 even) and areas. It is the preferred form in creative literature of the Zanzibarian area and it is mainly used before the noun, especially in classic prose as Traditional Narrative and Chronicle (79% and 96% respectively). It is the less used form in non creative prose, where is used after the noun, and in creative literature of continental area, where it is preferably used before the noun.

The H form is the most used one in Journey Accounts (but it is the main responsible for that). It is the less used form in modern creative texts, where it occurs mainly after the noun (84%), and in texts from Continental area. It is the preferred form by Katalambulla, who places it before the noun slightly more often than after it (51%), and also by Shaaban Robert, who places it only after the noun.

The H-O form is the most used one in non creative prose, where it has a 100% occurrence after the noun, and in the prose of the Continental area. It is preferably used after the noun, except by Ruhumbika

and Said Ahmed Mohamed who use this form just as frequently before as after the noun. It is the less used form in traditional texts and in the Zanzibar area.

The general tendency is to use the LE form in creative texts and the H and H-O form in non creative texts, besides the prevalent use of LE and H-O form in Zanzibar and the Continental area respectively. There seems to be a prevalence in the use of LE before the noun, while the H and H-O forms are preferably used after the noun.

From what said above it appears that the only form which is used according to the indications found in Swahili grammars is the H-O form, generally presented as the demonstrative indicating not distance but 'already mentioned'. It is in fact very much used in Newspapers and Magazines, where very short texts on a single subject, which is of course often 'already mentioned', are common.

Within this general trend some particular occurrences ought to be mentioned.

The LE form is used with nouns indicating places (*katikati ile Kaukasus...* in *Safari Yangu...*), before personal nouns (*Yule Mbega in Habari za Wakilindi*) and also with the personal pronoun (*Yeye huyu alikuwa mtu mmoja aitwaye Kirobo* in *Pwagu*, p. 25 by Mohamed S. Mohamed). The use of the demonstrative before personal nouns, besides being attested in traditional texts, seems to have a counterpart in the popular Tanzanian literature in English; in fact in at least one author<sup>17</sup> the use of the English demonstrative 'this' is found before personal nouns<sup>18</sup>.

Regarding H-O, the preferred form of non creative prose, especially Newspapers and Magazines, it is interesting to note that, of all the H-O occurring in a text, few are the nouns with which they occur. In mr, for example, on 12 H-O, 5 are used with the word *mkutano* and 3 with *viongozi*; in mmr, on 12 H-O, 6 are used with *mpango*; in mshe, on 22 H-O, 7 are used with *kitabu* and 4 with *mchezo*, and so on.

From the above found data, especially on creative literature, one could come to the conclusion that the LE form of demonstrative often has the same function of the English article; this conclusion would still be implying a reference to languages in which there is a distinction between demonstratives and articles. Swahili demonstrative in fact cannot always be considered as indicating primarily a distance; most of the times it is used to determine a noun and very often the position of the demonstrative in respect to the noun is an indication of the demonstrative different

<sup>17</sup> Agoro Anduru, *Temptation and Other Stories*, Press and Publicity Center, 1981.

<sup>18</sup> Ib.: 'this Upanga' p. 110; 'this Fatuma' p. 73, 78, 139; 'this Albert' p. 138.

function<sup>19</sup>. Swahili is a postponing SVO language, in which all defining elements follow the noun. Demonstratives should therefore stick to this rule and follow the noun as all other elements do. The attention to the position of the demonstratives in respect to the noun aims not to conclude that a demonstrative preceding a noun is an article and a demonstrative following a noun is an article and a demonstrative following a noun is a demonstrative, but rather to underline the different use of the demonstrative in the various prose forms and by the different writers. It is an attempt to identify a possible pattern of use due either to the different ethnic origin of the authors (most Swahili writers are bilingual and use Swahili as a second language) or to the different styles in their writings, whether classic or modern, or again if any western influence could be postulated to explain deviation from an established narrative standard.

Judging from the data there seems to be different tendencies for each of the three forms of demonstrative to be used either as a demonstrative or as determiner which can acquire various degrees of deixis. Although the use of demonstrative as determiner is long attested in Swahili writings (see the data of the Traditional Narrative section), grammars maintain a description which appears to be influenced by European languages structures in which articles and demonstratives are clearly differentiated, the process of derivation of articles from demonstratives having been completed long ago<sup>20</sup>. As Swahili has no separate forms for articles and demonstratives, the conclusion has been that Swahili has demonstratives but no articles. It seems instead that Swahili has an element which can function as both, the value of which is not always exactly valuable. For example, beside nouns followed by two demonstratives (two LE, two H or two H-O), which can be considered as a way of expressing high determination, I have come across cases of nouns preceded by two demonstratives<sup>21</sup>, and it is difficult in these cases to assign the exact shadow of determination. To sum up, one could say that although LE, H and H-O function both as demonstratives and determiners with different degree of deixis, grammars do not register adequately this practice of the Swahili writings.

<sup>19</sup> Bourquin, W., 'The use of the Demonstrative Pronoun in Xhosa', in: *African Studies*, vol. 8, 1949.

<sup>20</sup> The same happened in the Romance languages, where the article derived from the Latin demonstratives ILLE and IPSE. According to the form of the article in Romance languages one would think that ILLE was the most frequent form but the texts show that there has been a stage when they were used evenly, with IPSE sometime even prevailing over ILLE. Thus the demonstrative, initially following the noun, gradually came to precede the noun, thus acquiring its actual position and function as an article. see: Pavao Tekavčić. *Grammatica storica dell'Italiano*, Il Mulino, 1972.

<sup>21</sup> The occurrence of double demonstratives are indicated in the tables.

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(Letters in parentheses are the abridged form used to indicate the text.)

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Tab. 0.1 – General Counting<sup>22</sup>

|            | N LE | LE N | N H  | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|------------|------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|
| 1 – an     | 48/1 | 6    | 51   | –   | 33    | –     |
| 2 – anthol | 11   | 10   | 34   | 7   | 7     | –     |
| 3 – bb     | 49/3 | 28   | 50   | 6   | 47/1  | 10    |
| 4 – bw     | 6/3  | 27   | 25   | 8   | 83    | 61    |
| 5 – dk     | 2    | 18   | 33   | 10  | 63/1  | 84    |
| 6 – duf    | 3/2  | 44   | 40   | 2   | 25/6  | 10    |
| 7 – gn     | 21/1 | 8    | 9    | 5   | 23    | 17    |
| 8 – hab    | 3    | 53   | 4    | 7   | –     | 2     |
| 9 – habz   | –    | 7    | 7    | 1   | 6     | 3     |
| 10 – hal   | 4    | 14   | 1    | 2   | 5     | –     |
| 11 – hs    | 9    | 6    | 1    | –   | –     | 1     |
| 12 – k     | 16   | 52/2 | 8    | 10  | 6     | 6     |
| 13 – k78   | 9    | 4    | 84/1 | 8   | 49    | 6     |
| 14 – k782  | 4    | 16/2 | 20   | 1   | 38/1  | 4     |
| 15 – ka    | 4/3  | 4    | 2    | –   | 1     | –     |
| 16 – kg    | 15/1 | 31   | 1    | 2/1 | 7/1   | 8     |
| 17 – kioe  | –    | –    | 4    | –   | 5     | –     |
| 18 – kioh  | –    | –    | 3    | –   | 10    | –     |
| 19 – kioj  | 1    | 1    | 6    | –   | 33    | –     |
| 20 – kiok  | –    | –    | 1    | –   | 8     | –     |
| 21 – kiom  | –    | –    | 4    | –   | 5     | –     |
| 22 – kiou  | –    | –    | 12   | –   | 16    | –     |
| 23 – kiov  | –    | –    | 4    | –   | 8     | –     |
| 24 – kiovi | –    | –    | 17   | –   | 10    | –     |
| 25 – kpd   | 3    | 5    | 1    | 1   | 3     | –     |
| 26 – ku    | 6    | 6    | 2    | –   | –     | 1     |
| 27 – ky    | 12/1 | 39   | 6    | 3   | 2     | 2     |
| 28 – la    | 6    | 61   | 84   | 87  | 33/3  | 14    |
| 29 – m     | 3    | 13   | 5    | –   | 3     | –     |
| 30 – ma    | 9/3  | 6    | 1    | –   | 3     | –     |
| 31 – mai   | 4    | –    | 5    | –   | 1     | –     |
| 32 – mas   | 1    | –    | –    | –   | 14    | –     |
| 33 – mg    | –    | 25   | 1    | –   | –     | –     |
| 34 – mha   | –    | 1    | 6    | –   | 20    | –     |
| 35 – mka   | –    | –    | 1    | –   | 17    | –     |
| 36 – mkk   | 1    | –    | 5    | –   | 18    | –     |
| 37 – mkm   | 3    | 23   | 19/1 | 19  | 28/1  | 58/2  |
| 38 – mku   | 1    | –    | 2    | 2   | 20    | 1     |
| 39 – mm    | 3    | 38   | 5    | 5   | 12    | 30    |
| 40 – mma   | –    | –    | 2    | –   | 4     | –     |
| 41 – mmar  | –    | –    | 1    | –   | 12    | –     |
| 42 – mmt   | –    | –    | 15   | –   | 2     | –     |
| 43 – mra   | –    | –    | 1    | –   | 12    | –     |
| 44 – mse   | –    | –    | 4    | –   | 36    | –     |

<sup>22</sup> Numbers after the slash indicate the occurrence of double demonstratives.

|            | N LE  | LE N | N H  | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|------------|-------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|
| 45 - mshe  | -     | -    | 1    | -   | 22    | -     |
| 46 - msi   | -     | -    | -    | -   | 10    | -     |
| 47 - mvy   | -     | -    | 3    | -   | 10    | -     |
| 48 - mwb   | -     | -    | 3    | -   | 7     | -     |
| 49 - mwk   | 30    | 13   | 9    | -   | 10    | 3     |
| 50 - mwz   | -     | -    | 3    | 1   | 10    | -     |
| 51 - nr    | 11/1  | 34   | 12   | 1   | 1     | 1     |
| 52 - p     | 4/1   | 9    | 9    | 2   | 5     | -     |
| 53 - rm    | 6     | 22   | 36/1 | 2   | 19    | 11    |
| 54 - safza | 4     | 13   | 1    | 7   | 1     | -     |
| 55 - sk    | 17    | 57/1 | 53/1 | 18  | 68/4  | 22/2  |
| 56 - sya   | 4     | 18/1 | 1    | 2   | -     | -     |
| 57 - tt    | 1/2   | 11   | 20   | 6   | 8     | 3     |
| 58 - u     | 12/1  | 13   | 14   | 8   | 7     | 7     |
| 59 - uhu   | 1     | -    | 2    | -   | 9     | -     |
| 60 - ufa   | 1     | -    | 10   | 2   | 13/1  | -     |
| 61 - ug    | 11    | 19   | 34   | 7   | 1     | 1     |
| 62 - umaa  | -     | -    | 10   | -   | 17    | -     |
| 63 - umwa  | 2     | -    | 16   | 1   | 17    | -     |
| 64 - una   | 3     | -    | 8    | -   | 41    | -     |
| 65 - us    | 10    | 10   | 2    | 1   | 5     | -     |
| 66 - ute   | 2     | 1    | 9    | -   | 20    | -     |
| 67 - utub  | 4     | -    | 12   | -   | 3     | 1     |
| 68 - vh    | 6     | 11   | 2    | 1   | 1     | 2     |
| 69 - wai   | -     | -    | 10   | -   | 5     | -     |
| 70 - we    | -     | -    | 2    | -   | 6/1   | -     |
| 71 - wl    | 1     | -    | 2    | -   | 5     | 1     |
| 72 - wm    | 14    | 11   | -    | -   | 2     | 1     |
| 73 - wn    | 7     | 4    | 26/1 | 10  | 11    | 18    |
| 74 - wvi   | -     | -    | 6    | 2   | 2     | -     |
|            | 408   | 792  | 903  | 257 | 1064  | 389   |
| 1200 LE:   | N LE  |      | 34%  |     | LE N  | 66%   |
| 1160 H:    | N H   |      | 78%  |     | H N   | 22%   |
| 1453 H-O:  | N H-O |      | 73%  |     | H-O   | 27%   |

Tab. 1.1.1 – *Novels and Novelettes*

|                | N LE | LE N | N H  | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|----------------|------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|
| 4 – bb         | 49/3 | 28   | 50   | 6   | 47/1  | 10    |
| 14 – duf       | 3/2  | 44   | 40   | 2   | 25/6  | 10    |
| 15 – gn        | 21/1 | 8    | 9    | 5   | 23    | 17    |
| 16 – rm        | 6    | 22   | 36/1 | 2   | 19    | 11    |
| 27 – mwk       | 30   | 13   | 9    | –   | 10    | 3     |
| 28 – kg        | 5/1  | 31   | 1    | 2/1 | 7/1   | 8     |
| 31 – k         | 16   | 52/2 | 8    | 10  | 6     | 6     |
| 32 – nr        | 11/1 | 34   | 12   | 1   | 1     | 1     |
| 41 – u         | 12/1 | 13   | 14   | 8   | 7     | 7     |
| 46 – mai       | 4    | –    | 5    | –   | 1     | –     |
| 47 – utub      | 4    | –    | 12   | –   | 3     | 1     |
| 48 – an        | 48/1 | 6    | 51   | –   | 33    | –     |
| 52 – sk        | 17   | 57/1 | 53/1 | 18  | 68/4  | 22/2  |
|                | 236  | 311  | 302  | 55  | 262   | 98    |
| 534 LE: N LE   |      |      | 42%  |     | LE N  | 58%   |
| 354 H: N H     |      |      | 85%  |     | H N   | 15%   |
| 346 H-O: N H-O |      |      | 72%  |     | H-O N | 28%   |

Tab. 1.1.2 – *Short Stories*

|                | N LE | LE N | N H  | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|----------------|------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|
| 12 – la        | 6    | 61   | 84   | 87  | 33/3  | 14    |
| 29 – hs        | 9    | 6    | 1    | –   | –     | 1     |
| 29 – ka        | 4/3  | 4    | 2    | –   | 1     | –     |
| 29 – ma        | 9/3  | 6    | 1    | –   | 3     | –     |
| 29 – sya       | 4    | 18/1 | 1    | 2   | –     | –     |
| 30 – ku        | 6    | 6    | 2    | –   | –     | 1     |
| 30 – ky        | 12/1 | 39   | 6    | 3   | 2     | 2     |
| 30 – m         | 3    | 13   | 5    | –   | 3     | –     |
| 30 – p         | 4/1  | 9    | 9    | 2   | 5     | –     |
| 30 – us        | 10   | 10   | 2    | 1   | 5     | –     |
| 30 – vh        | 6    | 11   | 2    | 1   | 1     | 5     |
| 37 – bw        | 6/3  | 27   | 25   | 8   | 83    | 61    |
| 38 – dk        | 2    | 18   | 5    | 5   | 12    | 30    |
| 39 – mm        | 3    | 38   | 5    | 5   | 12    | 30    |
| 39 – wn        | 7    | 4    | 26/1 | 10  | 11    | 18    |
| 40 – mkm       | 3    | 23   | 19/1 | 19  | 28/1  | 58/2  |
| 51 – wm        | 14   | 11   | –    | –   | 2     | 1     |
|                | 108  | 304  | 223  | 148 | 252   | 272   |
| 412 LE: N LE   |      |      | 26%  |     | LE N  | 74%   |
| 371 H: N H     |      |      | 60%  |     | H N   | 40%   |
| 524 H-O: N H-O |      |      | 48%  |     | H-O N | 52%   |

Tab. 1.2.1 – *Linguistic Publications*

|                | N LE | LE N | N H  | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|----------------|------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|
| 6 – k782       | 4    | 16/2 | 20   | 1   | 38/1  | 4     |
| 8 – k78        | 9    | 4    | 84/1 | 8   | 49    | 6     |
| 21 – ufa       | 1    | –    | 10   | 2   | 13/1  | –     |
| 35 – umaa      | –    | –    | 10   | –   | 17    | –     |
| 43 – umwa      | 2    | –    | 16   | 1   | 17    | –     |
| 17 – una       | 3    | –    | 8    | –   | 41    | –     |
| 44 – ute       | 2    | 1    | 9    | –   | 20    | –     |
|                | 21   | 21   | 157  | 12  | 195   | 10    |
| 42 LE: N LE    |      |      | 50%  |     | LE N  | 50%   |
| 169 H: N H     |      |      | 93%  |     | H N   | 7%    |
| 205 H-O: N H-O |      |      | 95%  |     | H-O N | 5%    |

Tab. 1.2.2 – *Newspapers and Magazines*

|            | N LE | LE N | N H | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|------------|------|------|-----|-----|-------|-------|
| 2 – wai    | –    | –    | 10  | –   | 5     | –     |
| 5 – mas    | 1    | –    | –   | –   | 14    | –     |
| 7 – kioe   | –    | –    | 4   | –   | 5     | –     |
| 9 – mha    | –    | 1    | 6   | –   | 5     | –     |
| 10 – kioh  | –    | –    | 3   | –   | 10    | –     |
| 11 – kioj  | 1    | 1    | 6   | –   | 33    | –     |
| 13 – mka   | –    | –    | 1   | –   | 17    | –     |
| 18 – kiok  | –    | –    | 1   | 2   | 8     | –     |
| 19 – mku   | 1    | –    | 2   | 2   | 20    | 1     |
| 20 – mkk   | 1    | –    | 5   | –   | 18    | –     |
| 22 – mma   | –    | –    | 2   | –   | 4     | –     |
| 23 – kiom  | –    | –    | 4   | –   | 5     | –     |
| 24 – mmar  | –    | –    | 1   | –   | 12    | –     |
| 25 – we    | –    | –    | 2   | –   | 6/1   | –     |
| 26 – wl    | 1    | –    | 2   | –   | 5     | 1     |
| 33 – mmt   | –    | –    | 15  | –   | 2     | –     |
| 34 – uhu   | 1    | –    | 2   | –   | 9     | –     |
| 36 – mra   | –    | –    | 1   | –   | 12    | –     |
| 45 – mse   | –    | –    | 4   | –   | 36    | –     |
| 49 – mshe  | –    | –    | 1   | –   | 22    | –     |
| 53 – msi   | –    | –    | –   | –   | 10    | –     |
| 54 – kiou  | –    | –    | 12  | –   | 16    | –     |
| 55 – wvi   | –    | –    | 6   | 2   | 2     | –     |
| 57 – kiov  | –    | –    | 4   | –   | 8     | –     |
| 58 – kiovi | –    | –    | 17  | –   | 10    | –     |
| 59 – mvy   | –    | –    | 3   | –   | 10    | –     |
| 60 – mwz   | –    | –    | 3   | 1   | 10    | –     |
| 61 – mwb   | –    | –    | 3   | –   | 7     | –     |
|            | 6    | 2    | 120 | 5   | 336   | 2     |

|     |      |   |     |     |       |     |
|-----|------|---|-----|-----|-------|-----|
| 8   | LE:  | N | LE  | 75% | LE N  | 25% |
| 125 | H:   | N | H   | 96% | H N   | 4%  |
| 338 | H-O: | N | H-O | 99% | H-O N | 1%  |

Tab. 2.1.1 - *Traditional Narrative*

|            | N LE | LE N | N H | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|------------|------|------|-----|-----|-------|-------|
| 3 - anthol | 11   | 10   | 34  | 7   | 7     | -     |
| 50 - hal   | 4    | 14   | 1   | 2   | 5     | -     |
| 50 - kpd   | 3    | 5    | 1   | 1   | 3     | -     |
| 50 - mg    | -    | 25   | 1   | -   | -     | -     |
| 50 - ug    | 11   | 19   | 34  | 7   | 1     | 1     |
| 56 - habz  | -    | 7    | 7   | 1   | 6     | 3     |
|            | 29   | 80   | 78  | 18  | 22    | 4     |
| 109        | LE:  | N    | LE  | 27% | LE N  | 79%   |
| 96         | H:   | N    | H   | 81% | H N   | 19%   |
| 40         | H-O: | N    | H-O | 85% | H-O N | 15%   |

Tab. 2.1.2 - *Journey Accounts*

|            | N LE | LE N | N H | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|------------|------|------|-----|-----|-------|-------|
| 62 - tt    | 1/2  | 1    | 20  | 6   | 8     | 3     |
| 42 - safza | 4    | 13   | 1   | 7   | 1     | -     |
|            | 5    | 14   | 21  | 13  | 9     | 3     |
| 19         | LE:  | N    | LE  | 26% | LE N  | 74%   |
| 34         | H:   | N    | H   | 62% | H N   | 38%   |
| 12         | H-O: | N    | H-O | 75% | H-O N | 25%   |

Tab. 2.1.3 - *Chronicle*

|         | N LE | LE N | N H | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|---------|------|------|-----|-----|-------|-------|
| 1 - hab | 3    | 53   | 4   | 7   | -     | 2     |
|         | 3    | 53   | 4   | 7   | -     | 2     |
| 56      | LE:  | N    | LE  | 5%  | LE N  | 95%   |
| 11      | H:   | N    | H   | 36% | H N   | 64%   |
| 2       | H-O: | N    | H-O | 0%  | H-O N | 100%  |

Tab. 2.2.1 – *Short Stories*, see Tab. 1.1.2Tab. 3.1.1 – *Euphrase Kezilahabi*

|                | N LE | LE N | N H  | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|----------------|------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|
| 14 – duf       | 3/2  | 44   | 40   | 2   | 25/6  | 10    |
| 15 – gn        | 2/1  | 8    | 9    | 5   | 23    | 17    |
| 16 – rm        | 6    | 22   | 36/1 | 2   | 19    | 11    |
|                | 14   | 74   | 86   | 9   | 73    | 38    |
| 173 LE: N LE   |      |      | 14%  |     | LE N  | 86%   |
| 189 H: N H     |      |      | 90%  |     | H N   | 10%   |
| 216 H-O: N H-O |      |      | 65%  |     | H-O N | 34%   |

Tab. 3.1.2 – *Gabriel Ruhumbika*<sup>23</sup>

|                | N LE | LE N | N H  | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|----------------|------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|
| 37 – bw        | 6/3  | 27   | 25   | 8   | 83    | 61    |
| 38 – dk        | 2    | 18   | 33   | 10  | 63/1  | 84    |
| 39 – wn        | 7    | 4    | 26/1 | 10  | 11    | 18    |
| 40 – mkm       | 3    | 23   | 19/1 | 19  | 28/1  | 58/2  |
|                | 18   | 72   | 103  | 47  | 185   | 221   |
| 90 LE: N LE    |      |      | 20%  |     | LE N  | 80%   |
| 150 H: N H     |      |      | 69%  |     | H N   | 31%   |
| 406 H-O: N H-O |      |      | 46%  |     | H-O N | 54%   |

Tab. 3.1.3 – *Aniceti Kitereza*

|               | N LE | LE N | N H | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|---------------|------|------|-----|-----|-------|-------|
| 4 – bb        | 49/3 | 28   | 50  | 6   | 47/1  | 10    |
|               | 49   | 28   | 50  | 6   | 47    | 10    |
| 77 LE: N LE   |      |      | 64% |     | LE N  | 36%   |
| 56 H: N H     |      |      | 89% |     | H N   | 11%   |
| 57 H-O: N H-O |      |      | 82% |     | H-O N | 18%   |

<sup>23</sup> mm is not included here as Ruhumbika is only the publisher, the author being J. Katondo.



Tab. 3.1.4 – *Katalambulla F. H. H.*

|               | N LE | LE N | N H | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|---------------|------|------|-----|-----|-------|-------|
| 12 – la       | 6    | 61   | 84  | 87  | 33/3  | 14    |
|               | 6    | 61   | 84  | 87  | 33    | 14    |
| 67 LE: N LE   |      |      | 9%  |     | LE N  | 91%   |
| 171 H: N H    |      |      | 49% |     | H N   | 51%   |
| 47 H-O: N H-O |      |      | 70% |     | H-O N | 30%   |

Tab. 3.2.1 – *Muhammed Said Abdulla*

|               | N LE | LE N | N H | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|---------------|------|------|-----|-----|-------|-------|
| 27 – mwk      | 30   | 13   | 9   | –   | 10    | 3     |
| 28 – kg       | 15/1 | 31   | 1   | 2/1 | 7/1   | 8     |
|               | 45   | 44   | 10  | 2   | 17    | 11    |
| 89 LE: N LE   |      |      | 51% |     | LE N  | 49%   |
| 12 H: N H     |      |      | 83% |     | H N   | 17%   |
| 28 H-O: N H-O |      |      | 61% |     | H-O N | 39%   |

Tab. 3.2.2 – *Mohamed S. Mohamed*<sup>24</sup>

|               | N LE | LE N | N H | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|---------------|------|------|-----|-----|-------|-------|
| 29 – hs       | 9    | 6    | 1   | –   | –     | 1     |
| 29 – ka       | 4/3  | 4    | 2   | –   | 1     | –     |
| 29 – ma       | 9/3  | 6    | 1   | –   | 3     | –     |
| 29 – sya      | 4    | 18/1 | 1   | 2   | –     | –     |
| 30 – ku       | 6    | 6    | 2   | –   | –     | 1     |
| 30 – ky       | 12/1 | 39   | 6   | 3   | 2     | 2     |
| 30 – m        | 3    | 13   | 5   | –   | 3     | –     |
| 30 – p        | 4/1  | 9    | 9   | 2   | 5     | –     |
| 30 – us       | 10   | 10   | 2   | 1   | 5     | –     |
| 30 – vh       | 6    | 11   | 2   | 1   | 1     | 2     |
| 51 – wm       | 14   | 11   | –   | –   | 2     | 1     |
| 31 – k        | 16   | 52/2 | 8   | 10  | 6     | 6     |
| 32 – nr       | 11/1 | 34   | 12  | 1   | 1     | 1     |
|               | 108  | 219  | 51  | 20  | 29    | 14    |
| 327 LE: N LE  |      |      | 33% |     | LE N  | 67%   |
| 71 H: N H     |      |      | 72% |     | H N   | 28%   |
| 43 H-O: N H-O |      |      | 67% |     | H-O N | 33%   |

<sup>24</sup> This author signed some of his writings as Mohamed Suleman, some as Mohamed S. Mohamed and some an others as Suleiman M.; see n. 29, 30 and 51 respectively in the *Analyzed Texts* (see above).

Tab. 3.2.3 - *Said Ahmed Mohamed*

|               | N LE | LE N | N H | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|---------------|------|------|-----|-----|-------|-------|
| 41 - u        | 12/1 | 13   | 14  | 8   | 7     | 7     |
|               | 12   | 13   | 14  | 8   | 7     | 7     |
| 25 LE: N LE   |      |      | 48% |     | LE N  | 52%   |
| 22 H: N H     |      |      | 64% |     | H N   | 36%   |
| 14 H-O: N H-O |      |      | 50% |     | H-O N | 50%   |

Tab. 3.3 - *Shaaban Robert*

|               | N LE | LE N | N H  | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|---------------|------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|
| 46 - mai      | 4    | -    | 5    | -   | 1-    |       |
| 47 - utub     | 4    | -    | 12   | -   | 3     | 1     |
| 48 - an       | 48/1 | 6    | 51   | -   | 33    | -     |
|               | 56   | 6    | 68   | 37  | 1     |       |
| 62 LE: N LE   |      |      | 91%  |     | LE N  | 9%    |
| 68 H: N H     |      |      | 100% |     | H N   | 0%    |
| 38 H-O: N H-O |      |      | 97%  |     | H-O N | 3%    |

Tab. 3.1 - *Continental Area*

|                | N LE | LE N | N H  | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|----------------|------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|
| 4 - bb         | 49/3 | 28   | 50   | 6   | 47/1  | 10    |
| 14 - duf       | 3/2  | 44   | 40   | 2   | 25/6  | 10    |
| 15 - gn        | 2/1  | 8    | 9    | 5   | 23    | 17    |
| 16 - rm        | 6    | 22   | 36/1 | 2   | 19    | 11    |
| 37 - bw        | 6/3  | 27   | 25   | 8   | 83    | 61    |
| 38 - dk        | 2    | 18   | 33   | 10  | 63/1  | 84    |
| 39 - wn        | 7    | 4    | 26/1 | 10  | 11    | 18    |
| 40 - mkm       | 3    | 23   | 19/1 | 10  | 28/1  | 58/2  |
|                | 78   | 174  | 238  | 62  | 299   | 269   |
| 252 LE: N LE   |      |      | 31%  |     | LE N  | 69%   |
| 300 H: N H     |      |      | 79%  |     | H N   | 21%   |
| 568 H-O: N H-O |      |      | 53%  |     | H-O N | 47%   |

Tab. 3.2 - Zanzibar Area

|               | N LE | LE N | N H | H N | N H-O | H-O N |
|---------------|------|------|-----|-----|-------|-------|
| 25 - sya      | 4    | 18/1 | 1   | 2   | -     | -     |
| 27 - mwk      | 30   | 13   | 9   | -   | 10    | 3     |
| 28 - kg       | 15/1 | 31   | 1   | 2/1 | 7/1   | 8     |
| 29 - hs       | 9    | 6    | 1   | -   | -     | 1     |
| 29 - ka       | 4/3  | 4    | 2   | -   | 1     | -     |
| 29 - ma       | 9/3  | 6    | 1   | -   | 3     | -     |
| 30 - ku       | 6    | 6    | 2   | -   | -     | 1     |
| 30 - ky       | 12/1 | 39   | 6   | 3   | 2     | 2     |
| 30 - m        | 3    | 13   | 5   | -   | 3     | -     |
| 30 - p        | 4/1  | 9    | 9   | 2   | 5     | -     |
| 30 - us       | 10   | 10   | 2   | 1   | 5     | -     |
| 30 - vh       | 6    | 11   | 2   | 1   | 1     | 2     |
| 31 - k        | 16   | 52/2 | 8   | 10  | 6     | 6     |
| 32 - nr       | 11/1 | 34   | 12  | 1   | 1     | 1     |
| 41 - u        | 12/1 | 13   | 14  | 8   | 7     | 7     |
| 51 - wm       | 14   | 11   | -   | -   | 2     | 1     |
|               | 165  | 276  | 75  | 30  | 53    | 32    |
| 441 LE: N LE  |      |      | 37% |     | LE N  | 63%   |
| 105 H: N H    |      |      | 71% |     | H N   | 29%   |
| 85 H-O: N H-O |      |      | 62% |     | H-O N | 38%   |

## LIST OF THE ABBREVIATIONS OF THE ANALYZED TEXTS

|                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1 - an (48)     | 38 - mku (19)   |
| 2 - anthol (3)  | 39 - mm (39)    |
| 3 - bb (4)      | 40 - mma (22)   |
| 4 - bw (37)     | 41 - mmar (24)  |
| 5 - dk (38)     | 42 - mmat (33)  |
| 6 - duf (14)    | 43 - mra (36)   |
| 7 - gn (15)     | 44 - mse (45)   |
| 8 - hab (1)     | 45 - mshe (49)  |
| 9 - habz (56)   | 46 - msi (53)   |
| 10 - hal (50)   | 47 - mvy (59)   |
| 11 - hs (29)    | 48 - mwb (61)   |
| 12 - k (31)     | 49 - mwk (27)   |
| 13 - k78 (8)    | 50 - mwz (60)   |
| 14 - k782 (6)   | 51 - nr (32)    |
| 15 - ka (29)    | 52 - p (30)     |
| 16 - kg (28)    | 53 - rm (16)    |
| 17 - kioe (7)   | 54 - safza (42) |
| 18 - kioh (10)  | 55 - sk (52)    |
| 19 - kioj (11)  | 56 - sya (25)   |
| 20 - kiok (18)  | 57 - tt (62)    |
| 21 - kiom (23)  | 58 - u (41)     |
| 22 - kiou (54)  | 59 - uhu (34)   |
| 23 - kiov (57)  | 60 - ufa (21)   |
| 24 - kiovi (58) | 61 - ug (50)    |
| 25 - kpd (50)   | 62 - umaa (35)  |
| 26 - ku (30)    | 63 - umwa (43)  |
| 27 - ky (30)    | 64 - una (17)   |
| 28 - la (12)    | 65 - us (30)    |
| 29 - m (30)     | 66 - ute (44)   |
| 30 - ma (29)    | 67 - utub (47)  |
| 31 - mai (46)   | 68 - vh (30)    |
| 32 - mas (5)    | 69 - wai (2)    |
| 33 - mg (50)    | 70 - we (25)    |
| 34 - mha (9)    | 71 - wl (26)    |
| 35 - mka (13)   | 72 - wm (51)    |
| 36 - mkk (20)   | 73 - wn (39)    |
| 37 - mkm (40)   | 74 - wvi (55)   |

The numbers in parentheses refer to the texts listed in the *Analyzed Texts*.