ORIENTALIA ET AFRICANA GOTHOBURGENSIA

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Oriental Influences in Swahili

A Study in Language and Culture Contacts

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Abstract

Title: Oriental Influences in Swahili: A Study in Language and Culture Contacts
Author: Abdulaziz Yusuf Lodhi
University of Gothenburg, Department of Oriental and African Languages, African Linguistics Section.

Linking historical and linguistic sources, starting with a background survey of Swahili lexicon of Oriental origin, theories of language and culture contact and a history of such contacts in the Western Indian Ocean, this study attempts at presenting a description of Oriental influences in Eastern Africa.

The first part (Ch. 1-6) deals with the historical background of the Oriental contributors in East Africa (i.e. Arabians, Iranians, Indians, Turks, Indonesians and Chinese in descending order of importance). The study of Arabic linguistic elements is limited to an in-depth description of Arabic grammatical and structural loans in Swahili, which is followed by a sociological description of Persian and Indian descendants in East Africa and their influences in Swahili. A description of culinary influences from the Oriental contacts and a phonological analysis of Indic items concludes this part.

The second part (Ch. 7) consists of a cumulative, updated and annotated list of Persian, Indian, Turkish, Indonesian and Chinese loanwords in Swahili, with suggested alternative etymologies where necessary. This list includes a number of previously unidentified Oriental loans, corrected or additional definitions, and relevant linguistic or historical discussions.

The main conclusions drawn from the present study are: 1) that Oriental loans in Swahili are not satisfactorily documented, and further research is needed to assess their currency in the modern usage, and their socio-cultural importance in Eastern Africa; 2) that Oriental elements are of high frequency and are found in all areas of activity; 3) that contrary to earlier assumptions, Persian and Indic loans in Swahili occur also as verbs, adjectives and adverbs; 4) that most of the Indian loans in Swahili are from Cutchi/Sindhi and Gujarati, rather than from Hindi; 5) that traditional Swahili culture is an Afro-Oriental member of the North-Western Indian Ocean civilisation at large.

Keywords: Swahili, loanwords, borrowing, language contact, culture contact, Oriental influences, Arabic loans, grammatical loans, structural borrowing, Persian, Balochi, Indian languages, Turkish, Chinese, Indonesian.

And I must borrow every changing shape
To find expression
..... (T. S. Eliot, *Portrait of a Lady*)

Neither a borrower, nor a lender be
- - - -
This above all: To thine own self be true
(Shakespeare, *Hamlet*)

This thesis is presented in the rational spirit of Eliot,
not in the ideal spirit of Shakespeare!

Tena lazima niazime kila muundo mbadilifu
ili nipate kujieleza
..... (T. S. Eliot, *Portrait of a Lady*)

Usiwe mkopaji, wala si mkopeshaji
- - - -
Ni hayo tu: Uwe mkweli kwako nafsi yako mwenyewe
(Shakespeare, *Hamlet*)

Tasnifu hii imetayarishwa kwa fikra razini ya Eliot,
siyo kwa fikra udhanifu ya Shakespeare!

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Abbreviations

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb, adverbial
AL	Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi
Ar.	Arabic
Ba.	Bantu (languages adjacent to Swahili)
BK	Bernard Krumm (1940)
CR	Charles Rechenbach (1967)
CS	Charles Sacleux (1939)
Cut.	Cutchi/Sindhi
ELL	The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics (1994)
EOI	The Encyclopaedia of Islam (1960)
FJ	Frederick Johnson (1939)
Guj.	Gujarati
IEL	International Encyclopedia of Linguistics
Ind.	Indic languages (Cutchi, Gujarati, Hindi)
inf.	infinitive
interj.	interjection
JK	Jan Knappert (1983)
KA	KAMUSI ya Kiswahili Sanifu (1981)
KC	Kenya Coast usage
lit.	literally
LK	Ludwig Krapf (1882)
loc.	locative
neg.	negative
nml	the term is not marked as a loan
NP	noun phrase
nsl	no source language is given for the term
obj.	object
pc	personal communication with
Pers.	Persian
pl.	plural
R	rare
Sans.	Sanskrit
sing.	singular
Sw.	Swahili
TUKI	Institute of Kiswahili Research, Daressalaam
Turk.	Turkish
vb.	verb
VP	verb phrase
X	the term has fallen out of use
Z	Zanzibari usage
†	deceased

Table of Symbols and Transliteration

ā	long stressed a
ã	nasalized a
ē	long stressed e
ī	long stressed i
ō	long stressed o
ū	long stressed u
ɓ	voiced implosive bilabial stop
bʰ	voiced aspirated bilabial stop
p	unvoiced non-aspirated bilabial stop
pʰ	unvoiced aspirated bilabial stop
d̲	voiced dental stop
t̲	unvoiced dental stop
d̠	voiced alveolar stop
t	unvoiced alveolar stop
ɖ	voiced retroflex stop
ʈ	unvoiced retroflex stop
d̲ʰ	voiced dental aspirated stop
t̲ʰ	unvoiced dental aspirated stop
dʰ	voiced alveolar aspirated stop
tʰ	unvoiced alveolar aspirated stop
kʰ	aspirated velar stop
ḥ	pharyngal emphatic fricative, Arabic ح
s	emphatic Arabic ص
z	emphatic Arabic ظ
t	emphatic Arabic ط
ɾ̠	retroflex rhotic liquid
ɭ	retroflex lateral liquid
g	velar plosive stop
ɠ	velar implosive stop
ʄ	palatal implosive glide
ʄʰ	palatal plosive glide
č	unvoiced alveolar unaspirated affricate
čʰ	unvoiced alveolar aspirated affricate

š	unvoiced palato-alveolar fricative
ž	voiced palato-alveolar fricative
ð	dental voiced fricative
θ	dental unvoiced fricative
ɣ	uvular voiced fricative, Arabic غ
x	uvular unvoiced fricative, Arabic خ
ŋ	velar nasal
ɲ	palatal nasal
q	velar ejective, Arabic ق

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Many colleagues and friends, and many more informants and participants at several seminars, workshops and conferences in different countries have contributed their time and knowledge to the compilation of this work; however, some of them need particular mention: Professors Frithiof Rundgren, Nils Simonsson†, Dawood Monchizadeh†, Tryggve Kronholm†, Gunilla Gren-Eklund, Bo Utas, Associate Professors Eva Riad, Ruth Waldén, Bo Isaksson and Carina Jahani, Dr. Mahdali Khajeh-Najafi and Dr. Jafar Hassanpoor (all of Uppsala), Professor Jan Retsö (Gothenburg), Professor Jussi Aaro† and my supervisor during 1997-98 Professor Arvi Hurskainen (Helsinki), Professor Lars Hellan and Dr. Assibi A. Amidu (Trondheim), Professor Mohamed Hassan Abdulaziz (Nairobi), Professors Abdul Hussein M. Sheriff and Abdu Mtakuja Khamisi (Daressalaam), Professors Ernst Dammann and Gudrun Miehe (Marburg), Professor Said Ahmed Mohamed Khamis (Bayreuth), Professors Jayanti K. Patel (Ahmedabad), K. K. Virmani (Delhi), Vijay Gupta (New Delhi) and D. M. Joshi (Surat).

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1. Introduction

1.1. Aims and Scope

Swahili, a Bantu language, is the most widespread African language south of the Sahara, and about 32-40% of its current vocabulary is of non-Bantu origin (Bertoncini 1973, Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993, Bosha 1993). For obvious reasons, most of the earlier non-Bantu borrowings are from Persian and Arabic (the largest mother tongue in Africa) – Persian and Arabic are the Greek and Latin respectively of the languages of Muslims in many parts of Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe; and on the East African littoral the Swahili are a good example of an Afro-Islamic culture that has blended well Persian, Arab-Islamic, and western and southern Indian elements.

Arabic is by far the largest (Oriental) contributor to Swahili. Most of the recent loanwords in Swahili are from English, especially in the fields of modern education, science and technology, sports and modern entertainment. The lesser contributors to the Swahili lexicon are Persian, the Indo-Aryan languages (of Cutchi/Kachchi, Gujarati, Hindi, Sanskrit), Portuguese, Turkish, German and French in descending order of importance.

As far as the Arabic linguistic influence in Swahili is concerned, emphasis in this study has been laid on the aspect of grammar rather than lexicon. Arabic lexical items have been described and analysed by several writers from the middle of the twentieth century (Johnson 1939, Krumm 1940, Bosha 1993) but no researcher has paid much attention to the question of Arabic structural loans, or grammatical intrusion or interference, in Swahili. Therefore, the development of hypotactic structures, adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions in Swahili with the help of Arabic or mixed Bantu-Arabic constructions is described and analysed here. Many Arabic lexical and grammatical loans are further spread to other languages of Eastern Africa as indirect Arabic loans.

Most loanwords in Swahili from Persian, Arabic, English are well identified and documented, but about Indic loans the knowledge is rather limited and their source is usually traced to Hindi. It will be shown below that many Indic lexical loans in Swahili are not from Hindi or Gujarati but rather from Cutchi, an eastern dialect of Sindhi, which is seldom mentioned as an Indic contributor.

This study aims on the one hand at surveying the linguistic and cultural influence of the Asian/Oriental minorities in Eastern Africa, who came over the Indian Ocean over a period of more than two millennia, by identifying the Oriental loans in Swahili, and establishing their correct etymology. On the other hand this will also be a way of describing in short the history of the Persians, Arabs, Indians, Indonesians and Chinese in the region and assessing their cultural contribution.

Eastern Africans of Oriental/Asian origin (including those who identify themselves as Arabs and Shirazi in some social contexts) constitute about 1% of the total population of Eastern Africa. Their history, and economic

and intellectual efforts have been well-documented together with their earlier political involvement and dominant role vis à vis their later (political) isolation and significant marginalization. Government efforts to minimize their economic strength have often been described, but their linguistic and social/cultural importance to the societies of Eastern Africa has not been studied in satisfactory detail. This applies to all the Oriental donor groups and languages except for Arabs and Arabic, and it is particularly so in the case of the Indic languages, a major Oriental contributor.

For a variety of reasons people from different cultures, as individuals or groups, come in contact with one another and interact in various situations. Such contacts and interactions, their conditions and results, are frequently studied and described as culture diffusion, culture exchange, culture learning, or simply acculturation. One culture may influence another at abstract levels of religion, philosophy, ideology or legal code, and at concrete levels of technology, architecture, agriculture, food and clothing. A certain amount of word-borrowing would thus take place. At any level, transfer of learning (i.e. borrowing) depends on the conditions prevailing during the period of contact. To determine the period of culture contact and word-borrowing, their identification and directionality, and the quantity of culture learning between the two groups involved, we need to search for convincing evidence of the interaction, whether direct or indirect via a third group. A partial aim of this study is thus also to recognise loanwords as such evidence, and present a holistic view of the linguistic, historical and socio-economic aspects of the phenomenon of borrowing among the coastal societies of East Africa.

1.2. Methodology and analysis of data

In this work, I have attempted first to list all available Arabic grammatical loans and Persian and Indic lexical loans in Swahili from both documented sources, common literature and oral usage, and to define their precise meaning in Swahili. My data on oral usage was collecteded by fieldwork along coastal Kenya and Tanzania during several study visits, and also using the Swahili Data Base at the Department of Linguistics and the Department of Asian and African Studies in Helsinki, Finland, during June 1997. The fieldwork was conducted during June-July 1975, December-February 1978-79, December-January 1979-80, June-July 1981, 1983, 1987, 1991, December-January 1992-93, July-August 1994 and June-July 1998. A number of informants were involved in verifying the data during the different periods: several members of the staff of the Institute of Kiswahili Research/IKR (*Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili/TUKI*) in Daressalaam, and the Institute of Kiswahili and Foreign Languages/IKFL (*Taasisi ya Kiswahili na Lugha za Kigeni/TAKILUKI*) in Zanzibar; Sheikh Ismail Mohamed Lota†, Maalim Haji Chum, Mr. Feisal Saleh Mbamba†, Seyyid Omar Zahran El-Hajj†, Maalim Abdul Baki† and Maalim Ahmed Mgeni of

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This research is however also based on printed texts and manuscripts in the archives of the University of Daressalaam. Radio broadcasts from various stations in East Africa, the BBC and the Voice of America supplemented with the intensive debates of the Zanzinet network during the years 1996-97 have also been used as unpublished and oral sources. (See section 2.3 The Problems of using dictionaries.)

Since I embarked on my research in 1977, several prominant researchers of Swahili have published their findings related to this field, e.g. Zawawi (1979) on loaned nouns in Swahili, Knappert (1983) on Persian and Turkish loans in Swahili, Bertoncini (1985) on a quantitative analysis of Swahili vocabulary, Polomé (1987) on Indian loanwords in Swahili, Bosha (1993) on Arabic loans in Swahili and Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) on Swahili historical linguistics. This last work contains a wealth of data on the Sabaki group of North-Eastern Bantu languages, on Swahili and its dialects and a 68 pages long chapter on the question of loans in Swahili and problems connected with them.

Most of the Oriental loans in Swahili have been identified and documented by the major Swahili lexicographers, and in general I have accepted this; those which I have myself identified as loans, have been

singled out by their 'un-Bantu' (or foreign sounding) phonological structure and/or semantics, e.g. Arabic loans *taffiri* (to annoy) with a long /ff/, *tafrika* (be annoyed) with the consonantal combination /fr/, *hususan* (especially) with the Arabic suffix *-an*, *dhidi ya* (against) with the interdental /dh/, and Indic *gudulia* (jug) with the final syllable *-lia* which in Swahili is in fact a derivative suffix marking the applied form of a verb. In a few cases of Indic and Persian loans, I had previous knowledge of these from my close acquaintance with the Persian and Indian cultures, the Persian language and the Indian languages Cutchi/Sindhi, Gujarati, Hindi and Urdu spoken by the Indians of East Africa, e.g. *chakramu* (mad, crazy), *jira* (cumin seed) and *kotimiri* (coriander leaves). Other loans such as *karafuu* (cloves) and *tangawizi* (ginger) were originally singled out by me (following the suggestion of Dr. Ruth Walden, a specialist on Tamil studies at Uppsala University) because of their being tropical plants belonging to the South East Asian food complex, comparatively recently introduced in East Africa. Similarly, the Arabic loan *thaumu/thomu/thumu* (garlic) was identified as an indirect Chinese loan (Hasan 1978:93-95). Until the later part of the twentieth century, cloves, ginger, garlic and other products of the Asian food complex were unknown or unused by the non-Muslim coastal and inland peoples of East Africa, but they were important ingredients of the Muslim Swahili cuisine, which is a part of the Islamic Indian Ocean civilization; and the names of these items in the inland languages of East Africa are all derived from Swahili as indirect Oriental loans (see section 4.7). In the identification process, linguistic, phonological, semantic, botanical, historical, geographical, sociological and cultural-anthropological considerations have been taken.

In this study, little quantitative analysis of Oriental loans has been made. The interested reader is referred to Bertoncini (1973 and 1985), Zawawi (1979) and Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) for this type of data. Fieldwork during several visits to Zanzibar, Arusha, Bagamoyo, Daressalaam, Lindi, Morogoro, Moshi, Mtwara, Tanga, Mombasa and Nairobi also yielded a number of new or undocumented Indic items in use such as in the nominal phrase *maziwa moro* (unsweetened milk), *gadero* (ass, alcoholic) and *gabacholi* (swindler, corrupt person, swindling, corruption).

1.3. Arrangement

The first chapter of this study, the Introduction, deals with the aims and scope, arrangement of the text, methodology and analysis of data, and gives a survey of relevant sources and literature, as well as definitions of the terms used. Chapter 2 concentrates on the theoretical aspects of borrowing, loan phonology and foreign influence. In Chapter 3 I have tried to identify the problems associated with lexical borrowing in Swahili, its linguistic, cultural and historical implications, and the question of the Swahili culture

as an Afro-Oriental member of the western Indian Ocean civilization at large. Chapter 4 is devoted to a short history of the various Oriental donors during different politico-economic periods up to the present, their linguistic background, the present day situation of the Oriental languages in East Africa, and a description of the Swahili cuisine as a reflection of the Indian Ocean food culture. Chapter 5 deals primarily with the question of Arabic grammatical loans, or grammatical intrusion, since (reasonably) much has already been written on Arabic lexical items. Chapter 6 is an examination and analysis of the Indic loans in Swahili. This is followed by Chapter 7 which consists of a cumulative list of Persian, Indic, Turkish, Chinese and Indonesian/Malay lexical items with their meanings, documented sources and suggested etymologies. Finally, in summing up, Chapter 8 focuses on the socio-cultural aspects of the contributions of various peoples who came to *Uswahilini*, Swahililand, the Afro-Oriental coastal settlements of East Africa, over the Ocean and their interactions with the indigenous peoples.

In the present volume, section 4.3. on the historical background of Arabs, Arabic and the spread of Islam in Eastern Africa, is based on four previously published articles (Lodhi 1986a, 1986c, 1994a and 1994b); whereas section 4.5. dealing with the history and linguistic background of Asians in East Africa, is based on my Indology Seminars held in Uppsala during November 1986 and January 1987. Section 4.9. on Swahili food culture is based on a previously published paper (Lodhi 1982b) read at the Svetan Seminar on Food and Nutrition in Tanzania, Stockholm 27 March 1982). Section 5.2 is an updated version of one previously published article on the status of Arabic in East Africa (Lodhi 1986a). Section 5.4 is a rewritten and expanded version of another previously published article on the question of Arabic grammatical intrusion and structural loans in Swahili (Lodhi 1994b), specifically adverbs and adverbials, conjunctions, and prepositions and prepositional concepts. Section 6.2 on an analysis of Indic loans in Swahili is based on a previously published article (Lodhi 1982a). Section 7.2 includes a previously published list of Indic loans (Lodhi 1984a).

A general outline of Arabic grammatical influences in Swahili was originally presented in partial fulfilment of Ph.D. preparatory studies at a seminar at the Dept. of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, in Oct. 1990 under the title *Notes On Arabic Adverbs, Conjunctions and Prepositions In Swahili*. Findings on Arabic syntactic intrusion in Swahili were presented in the paper *From Paratax to Hypotax in Swahili – the Case of* '*kabla*' at the 22nd Annual Conference of African Linguistics, Nairobi, July 1991. A preliminary paper on the subject was published under the title "Arabic Grammatical Loans in the Languages of Eastern Africa" in *Working Pappers In Linguistics* No. 22 1994, pp. 60-74, Dept. of Linguistics, University of Trondheim, Norway. The preliminary findings on Arabic loan verbs and their extensions were presented at the 2nd World Congress of African Linguistics, Leipzig, July 1997; and a revised version of the paper was presented at a Guest Seminar in Daressalaam, June 1998. I am thankful

for the constructive criticism received from the participants of these gatherings, especially Professors Ragia Effat of Cairo, Mohamed Hassan Abdulaziz of Nairobi, Abdu Mtakuja Khamisi of Daressalaam and Sergio Baldi of Naples.

This work represents, as far as I know, the first systematic attempt, to collect and analyse, according to modern linguistic principles, some structural changes brought about by Arabic in Swahili, an inventory of Arabic grammatical loans in Swahili, and an inventory of Persian, Indic, Turkish, Chinese and Malay loanwords in Swahili; and as such it is not without shortcomings. This dissertation is not primarily concerned with the theories or methodology of linguistic and cultural borrowing in general or the processes of structural change, whether through foreign influence or through internal systemic causes; rather it is a survey of the cultural influences reflected by the loanwords with an inventory of the words. However, this being a sort of pioneer work in Swahili, I have given a short general survey of the phenomenon of linguistic borrowing and the theoretical aspects of language contact and methodology as expounded by various researchers in their writings which have been consulted here.

1.4. Survey of previous research and documentation

The following is a short survey and analysis of the few studies on Oriental loans in Swahili, some of which deal primarily with Arabic items. Generally, the dictionaries mark loanwords by an initial asterisk (*).

Ludwig Krapf (1882) is the first ever dictionary of the Swahili language, with a comprehensive grammar, and as such it has many shortcomings which can be expected of a sizable pioneering work compiled between 1845 and 1860. Understandably, Krapf does not mark loan entries but gives etymological information in most cases. He gives Arabic etymologies of most of the Arabic borrowings he collected, and he assigns Arabic source also to many non-Arabic items, e.g. Persian *shali* and *sambusa*. He leaves out many Indic loanwords such as *besera*, *bepari*, *chakramu*, *hando*, *kachala* and *kalasia*; but he includes *tambuu* and *topi*. The exclusion of items such as *kachara*/*kachala* does not necessarily imply that these items did not already exist in the Swahili lexicon. It is probable that they were not common in the usage of the speech community of Mombasa, the dialect of which Krapf studied and documented. Persian, Arabic and Indian influences were more common in Zanzibar and the Tanganyika coast during Krapf's stay in East Africa than they were along the Kenya coast. The omission of the words *karafuu* (cloves), *mkarafuu* (clove tree), *gundi* (gum copal) and *mtwana* (slave) from this dictionary further illustrates his overwhelming reliance on the northern dialects of the Kenya coast. During this period, cloves, ivory and gum were the most important items of export from

Zanzibar (Sheriff 1987:129), and slavery was still an integral part of the stratified Swahili society and culture, though soon to be abolished formally in 1890. About half of the slaves were employed on clove and other plantations of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba; around Mombasa, a quarter of them worked in the ports, gum cleaning workshops and oil mills, while a quarter were domestic servants in the coastal urban centres where there was the largest concentration of Swahili speakers and people of Oriental descent.

Krapf is more concerned about mentioning his own informants (i.e. his missionary contemporaries Erhardt, Rebmann, Sparhott and Steere) and the various Swahili dialects or neighbouring Bantu languages which also have the words he lists, rather than giving the correct etymological source. In this respect it is worth noting that refering to Krapf's Swahili dictionary of 1882, Binns (1925) quoted by Krumm (1940:32) states "I should think that nearly half of the words in this dictionary one hardly ever hears." But then both Binns and Krumm spent most of their missionary years in the interior, away from centres of Swahili language and culture on the coast! One of the few typographical errata met with is "*M'mugnunie*" (bottle gourd pumpkin *Lagenaria vulgaris*) which should read *mmumunye*.

A. C. Madan's English-Swahili Dictionary (1901) was the first of its kind, and followed by his Swahili-English Dictionary in 1903, reprinted in 1931. They are based on Krapf (1892), Bishop Edward Steer's *A Handbook of the Swahili Language as Spoken at Zanzibar* (1870) and Father Charles Sacleux's first lexicon *Dictionaire français-swahili* (1891). As such, it was a pioneering attempt at producing a British 'standard' Swahili lexicon before the official British standardization of Swahili of the 1920s. Quite a few of the shortcomings of his predecessors are repeated in this work, including the absence of very common items such as *kachala* and *karafuu* as in Krapf's dictionary. Madan also marks his loan entries with an asterisk. In his orthography, he does not properly distinguish between the Swahili inter-dentals /θ/ and /ð/ which are spelt as '*t*h' (with an Italic *t*) and 'th' (with a plain 't') respectively, and in this he is quite inconsistent, e.g. Swahili /ða'miri/ (conscience) is entered as /θa'miri/ and /θa'mani/ (value, price) is entered as /ða'mani/. However, he spells Swahili /ɣ/ as the current standard 'gh' (not as Sacleux's /R/), and mentions 21 items (plus their derivatives) with the Arabic loaned consonant /x/, e.g. *khabari* (news, information), *khafifu* (weak, of low quality), *khofu* (fear) and *khutuba* (speech, lecture). The /x/ has been reduced in Standard Swahili orthography to 'h' though it is a phoneme commonly used by native speakers of Swahili and frequently heard on the radio and television in Tanzania and Kenya. There are also a few errata such as "mmunina (a true believer, i.e. Mohammedan)" which should read *muumina*, *muuminina*, which are also entered by Johnson (1939). The current standard form is *muumini* (pl. *waumini*).

Carl Velten's *Suaheli-Deutsch* dictionary of 1910 was the first volume of *Suaheli-Wörterbuch* followed by his *Deutsch-Suaheli* in 1933. It is based on Krapf (1882), Carl G. Büttner's pioneering work in German, the *Wörterbuch der Suaheli-Sprache* (1891), Sacleux's *Français-Swahilii* (1891), and Madan (1901 and 1903). Velten includes almost all the Oriental items identified by his predecessors, and also many alternative forms, e.g. *chandarua/chendarua* (mosquito net, excluding the 'upcountry' form *chandalua*), *saruji/seruji* (cement) and *sermala/seramala* (carpenter, excluding the more common form *seremala*). He also includes a number of alternative items which are not Swahili, e.g. "karamfu, garafuu, garofuu" for *karafuu* (cloves, probably from the usage of Arab traders), and "samani, semani, samini" for *thamani* (value, probably from the usage of Zaramo speakers from the Daressalaam-Bagamoyo area). Contrary to many Swahili dictionary compilers, Velten gives more than 50 entries with the consonant (-)*kh*- instead of reducing it to a simple (-)*h*-. A couple of terms such as "Mdeutschi" (a German) have mistakenly crept in as 'upcountry' Swahili words probably from German usage; the swahilized forms *Wadoichi* and *Wadachi* were already in use at the turn of the century as witnessed by the epic about the German occupation of the Tanganyika coast *Utenzi wa Vita vya Wadachi kutamalaki Mrima* (el Buhriy 1955).

The *Standard Swahili-English Dictionary* by Frederick Johnson (1939) is based on Madan (1903), and he repeats many of Madan's shortcomings. Johnson's has been reprinted at least 35 times over the years without being revised or updated even once, and it is being persistently used as the point of departure for Swahili lexical studies. Up to this day, it continues to be the most frequently used dictionary; it has achieved sort of a 'Bible' status and therefore in this study it has been subjected to a more detailed analysis than the other dictionaries.

Johnson gives altogether 3006 loans (Zawawi 1979:37) of which 2534 items are listed as Arabic, 160 as Persian, 105 as Hindi, 135 as English, 59 as Portuguese, 14 Turkish, 3 German, 2 French, and 73 without etymology. Furthermore, 79 words are assigned double provenience. For the 105 Indic loans included, Johnson gives a definite source or suggests a possible source. Johnson's Indic entries may be classified as

a. Hindi: *ankra*, *aste*, *bajia*, *bali*, *bangili*, *banyani*, *bepari*, *binda*, etc.
b. suggested Hindi source: *Badala*, *(h)iliki*, *kalua*, *lilam*, *pesa*, etc.
c. suggested Hindi/Arabic source: *bati*
d. suggested Hindi/Persian source: *achari*, *tambuu*, etc.
e. suggested Hindi/Portuguese *source: almari*
f. suggested Persian/Portuguese source: *meza*
g. suggested Arabic source: *bindo*

Charles Sacleux (1939) also based his Swahili-French dictionary on Krapf (1882), Madan (1903), and his own fieldwork. Sacleux marks his loan

entries with a †. He gives almost all the loans as Johnson does, and adds some more; and on the whole, this dictionary is more extensive with much information on Swahili dialects. However, Sacleux includes also a number of items which are rarely found today.

Sacleux does not always mark an entry as a loan even though Krapf did so, e.g. *baniani* (Hindu) and *mangiri* (cross-piece for securing a cable, anchor or rope at the bow of a vessel); and he does not always give the foreign source after marking the loan with a †, e.g. *buchari* (large knife), *banduru* (bilge, ship's well) and *haluli* (purgative). As for giving or suggesting etymologies, Sacleux follows closely Johnson, and repeats a lot of Madan's errors as Johnson does, giving as indigenous/inherited words a number of loanwords, e.g. Portuguese *almaria* (embroidery) and Indic *jeta* (lazy/feckless person). Frequently he attempts to give multiple sources or traces the source through other languages, e.g. *bafta* (thin bleached calico) as Arabic < Hindi, or *bahati* (luck) as Arabic < Persian < Hindi. Some of his etymologies are certainly not correct, e.g. *golam/gulam* (slave) < Hindi (which is Persian), and *kachiri* (hotchpotch) < Bantu (which is Indic).

Bernard Krumm (1940) is a study of Oriental loans in Swahili based on Johnson and Sacleux. Krumm gives "Hindustani" and "Gujarati" etymologies of Indic loans, but compared to Johnson, Sacleux and Rechenbach, Krumm has fewer Indic entries, which can be seen from the list in the later part of this study. On page 136 he says, "When a word occurs in Persian and Hindustani, then I give Persian as the origin, as we may assume that Hindustani – being a mixed language – acquired the word from Persian." He however regrettably admitts that "he is not acquainted with the northern dialects of Swahili, and that he is not widely conversant with Indian languages" (p. 7, Note 1).

Of the about 1500 entries of loans listed by Krumm (not including derivatives with the prefixes *ki-*, *ku-*, *u-* and the suffix *-ji*), the overwhelming majority are Arabic loans; only 82 are listed as Persian loans, 10 as Hindustani, 5 as Gujarati, and 12 as "Indian" since, according to him, they are found both in Hindustani and Gujarati. Altogether 35 loans are claimed to have common Arabic-Persian origin; he leaves out *dini* (religion) and *diana* (theology), and 20 items are given common Indic-Persian origin. There are 18 loans of "unknown origin". Unfortunately, Krumm does not seem to know the excluding difference between 'Mohamedan' and 'Hindu' as he defines *khoja* as a "Mohamedan Hindu" – Mohamedan cannot be a Hindu, and vice versa; Mohamedan and Hindu are two completely different communities, unless by 'Hindu' Krumm means 'Indian'. Also he describes a Meman (a Sunni Hanafi Muslim trading community of Sindhi/Cutchi/Gujarati origin) as a "Shia sect of Hanafi rite" – Hanafi is a denomination within the Sunni school of Islam as opposed to the Shia school!

Karel F. Ružička (1953) is a good introduction to the question of both Oriental and European loans in Swahili, 22 pages long. However, he does not add much new material and repeats some of the shortcomings of his predecessors.

Hildegard Höftmann (1963), compiled with the assistance of Stephen Mhando, is the most used Swahili-German dictionary based on the materials of Krapf, Madan, Velten and Johnson (ibid. p. v). As such, Höftmann repeats (both the statements and also) the shortcomings of her predecessors, and marks also the loanwords, e.g. Arabic *-taali* (to exalt) is erroneously defined as "to learn" which is correctly called *-talii* (to learn through study visits or attending lessons given by scholars in different places). Moreover, bringing up to date the Swahili lexicon, she has generously included a large number of terms current in contemporary Swahili usage; some of these are met with in common use today and in Standard Swahili, whereas others are non-standard and/or are not met with in native Swahili usage. In the former category many modern English loans are included, e.g. *Atlantiki* (Atlantic), *atomiki* (atomic energy), *breki* (brakes), *burashi* (brush) and alternative forms from Mombasan and Zanzibari usage, while the latter category includes some 'arabisms', e.g. *Ajami* (Persia) and alternatives uncommon in today's usage, e.g. the *adawa* for *uadui* (enmity) and *taarifu* for *taarifa* (report, official statement). Regrettably, Höftmann includes alternative forms of many English and Oriental loans which belong to the usage of East Africans with native tongues other than Swahili, e.g. English > *pistola and *hafisi for *bastola* (pistol) and *afisi/ofisi* (office) respectivey, Portuguese *halmaria instead of *almaria* (cupboard), Arabic *atia, for *hatia* (guilt, violation), *aza for *waza* (think, reflect, meditate, conjecture), *wahadi for *ahadi* (promise, vow, agrrement), *hasharati for *asharati* (1. adultery, 2. immorality) and *hashiki for *ashiki* (passionate desire). In native and Standard Swahili, there are only a couple of cases of initial *a-* in Arabic loans becoming initial *ha-*, e.g. *arusi/harusi* (marriage, wedding), *alzeti/halzeti* (olive oil, erroneously used by non-native speakers of Swahili to mean any cooking oil), and *ha-* being reduced to *a-* as in Arabic *hebu/lebu* (Well then!, Come then!, I say, ...!), Arabic-Perian *Habedari/Abedari!* (Watch/Look out!); there is only one case of Arabic initial *wa-* being reduced to *a-* in loans in native Swahili, i.e. *wafiki/afiki* (be reconciled, reach a settlement), but Höftmann has several such non-native and non-Standard entries. However, this phenomenon does occur in several other languages of East Africa.

In the fourth revised edition of this dictionary published in 1989 (in cooperation with Irmtraud Herms) a number of non-Swahili alternatives given in the original edition of 1963 are excluded (e.g. *adawa, *afdhali and *hafisi), but not entries such as *atia, *pistola, *sawadi and *wahadi. It however contains many recent English loans (e.g. *bilioni* billion), Arabic loans (e.g. *hadhira* auditorium, *hojaji* questionaire) and indigenous derived

forms (e.g *kipimajoto* thermometer). Several Persian and Indic loans omitted in the earlier editions are also included here but only a few of these are marked as loans (e.g. *bepari* capitalist, *ubepari* capitalism); the unmarked entries include *iliki* (cardemon), *kachumbari* (sallad of tomatoes, onions, salt, chillies, lime or lemon juice) , *kotimiri* (coriander leaves), *masala* (curry powder) and *medani/midani* (field, battle-field). Some of these are included in the 16 pages long appendix.

Charles W. Rechenbach (1967) is based on Johnson, with starred loanword entries following the common practice. "The present dictionary has critically reappraised the entire word-stock of the language, modernising and augmenting from many sources. It brings the vocabulary up to date, including the fantastic developments since World War II" (ibid. p. v).

In a way, it is an updated version of Johnson that contains many new entries, many English loans, including some non-standard items (e.g. *komiti and *kompania, for *kamati* and *kampuni* respectively) and a few Oriental loans not included by Johnson, e.g. Persian *barasati* (multi-coloured woven fabric) and *dulabu* (steering wheel). He gives also a number of alternative items such as *fadha* ~ *fazaa, *fedheha* ~ *fedeha, *ghafi* ~ *gafi, *jahili* ~ *jahiri, *laghai* ~ *raghai ~ *ragai, *mzuhali* ~ *mzuhari, which are not found in the usage of first language speakers of Swahili. He omits words such as *zohalika*, *zohalisha*; and several times he gives wrong etymologies, e.g. English source for *suruali* (trousers, from Persian 'sarwāl'), Portuguese source for *kariakoo* (carrier corps, from English), Arabic source for *zelabia/zilabia* (sweet spiral-formed saffron-coloured cookie, from Indic 'jʰalēbi'); he gives a non-existent alternative *mrajis (registrar) to the common term *rais* (president); and he erroneously defines the Arabic loan *mufti* as "modern, elegant, fashionable, stylish (of clothes)" just as Johnson's wrong definition "superior, pleasing, elegant, of clothes". However, the English loan-verb *-rajisi* (to register) is occasionally used in Swahili as a synonym of the Arabic loan *-sajili*. The noun *mrajis* means only 'registrar' and is a synonym of *msajili* (see *KAMUSI* below). Rechenbach repeats most of Johnson's shortcomings. It appears Rechenbach did not have assistants who were traditional native speakers of Swahili, and thus a number of items from the Swahili usage of native speakers of other East African languages, including obvious misconceptions of Swahili, have been unduly included in his dictionary. For the Indic loans Rechenbach uses the abbreviation "Ind." which he defines as "Indian (Hindi, Gujerati, etc.)" and for other borrowed items he gives only the source language as Arabic, Persian, etc. He gives etymological infomation in only a few cases, and often it is the same as Johnson's etymology.

D. F. McCall (1969) is a detailed critique of Krumm (1940). This 46 pages long chapter by McCall is a pioneering effort "in the historical-linguistic study of Swahili" which gives "some insights into the general historical

development on the East African coast" (McCall 1969:62). (Further references to McCall are made in Chapter 2.)

Jan Knappert (1970) is a richly illustrated 11 page chapter on loanwords and cultural history of Africa, with emphasis on Swahili and other languages of Bantu Africa. Knappert discusses also the problem of identifying loans, warning us "that loanwords may suffer a great deal on their long journeys from language to language" (op. cit.:82). Some of his stated etymologies are not convincing, e.g. Swahili *ngarawa, ngalawa* (out-rigger) < Greek 'karabos', which is most probably from Indonesian *gadava.*

Sharifa Zawawi (1979) deals with many problems of grammar, loans, etymology, etc. in her Ph.D. thesis. She mentions only a couple of "Hindi" words. Some of her suggested Arabic etyma, e.g. for *moto* (fire) and *moyo* (heart) are definitely Bantu, and not "Indian Ocean Arabic" (op.cit. p. 124). Zawawi's work deals in detail with loaned nouns and their classification, particulary nouns of Arabic origin. Because of their near-total assimilation into Swahili, Zawawi argues that Arabic loans "should not be considered 'foreign' elements in Swahili simply on the basis of their etymology, since it is partly due to their adoption and adaptation into the Swahili language that morphological changes have occurred" (op.cit:140). Zawawi identifies as Arabic loans several words previously believed to be of Bantu origin, e.g. Arabic 'qūzi' (silk) > Swahili *uzi* (thread), and Arabic 'hufrā' (crack) > Swahili *ufa* (crack).

KAMUSI ya Kiswahili Sanifu (1981), is the official monolingual Swahili dictionary from the University of Daressalam. "It is the first Dictionary that encompasses the present state of standard Swahili, having a collection of nearly 20,000 headwords, with a total of not less than 50,000 vocabulary items" (Back cover). The *KAMUSI* does not mark loanwords at all, however, in a handful of cases, entries with three or more connotations are marked C or CH in the *KAMUSI* 'which separate words having different meanings and/or origins' (p. xii), and it includes almost all the Oriental items documented by Johnson and Sacleux above, and a number of other Oriental items not mentioned by them. In a number of cases the *KAMUSI* gives different or additional varieties of loans not given by Johnson, e.g. Johnson gives *kauri* (cowrie shell), the *KAMUSI* gives *kauri/kaure*, Johnson enters *majununi* (mad, crazy), the *KAMUSI* enters *majinuni*. It does not include for example Arabic *tawafa* (candle) given by Johnson, but Arabic *tawafu* (to die/dying, of a prophet) not given by Johnson. In very many instances, contrary to Johnson, the *KAMUSI* does not give cross-references between the root form and its derivatives, e.g. *jilisi* (to sit together) and *majilisi* (sitting, meeting), *kusudi, kusudia* (to intend) with several derivatives and the original loan *makusudi* (intension, intentionally), which are listed as separate independent entries.

The *KAMUSI* defines *mufti* correctly as 1. one with superior knowledge of especially Islamic *sharia* (law), one who can issue a *fatwa* (religious decree), 2. scholar, professor; 3. (adj.) attractive, stylish, fine. The third meaning is by extension, i.e. a highly placed person is attractively, expensively and/or stylishly dressed in fine clothes. However, this last meaning is found in the usage of native speakers of Swahili only as a simile, and it is not an accepted connotation of the term *mufti*. Both Johnson and Rechenbach claim English etymology of *mufti*; and also give only the third meaning given by the *KAMUSI*. Since Johnson and Rechenbach precede the *KAMUSI* by a number of years, the third definition of *mufti* has been erroneously included in the *KAMUSI* by those adhering to Standard Swahili. Throughout the history of compiling the *KAMUSI*, as has been generally the case with the standardization of Swahili and compilation of Swahili dictionaries and wordlists, a majority of the compilers and their lexicographical assistants were other than first speakers of Swahili, with inadequate personal experience of the traditional Swahili culture, and even less knowledge of Islam and the Oriental languages and cultures that have affected the Swahili civilization (see Mwasi et al. 1983).

Oriental items identified by me but not identified earlier as loans, together with loan items not included in the dictionaries of Johnson, Sacleux or Rechenbach, but found by me in Zanzibari and Mombasan usage, were submitted by me to compilers of the *KAMUSI* (1981) and a number of them are included in it. The items or definitions collected during my research, and some of which are included in the *KAMUSI*, are marked with AL in the list of Oriental loans other than Arabic in section 7.2.

K. K. Virmani (1982) is a short article of eight pages on Indian influences in the Swahili culture, containing short lists of altogether 57 words from "Indian languages" including many Persian (e.g. *jemadar* general, *kima* minced meat), some Arabic (e.g. *sahib* Sir) and Portuguese (*Ingreza* English). The etyma given by Virmani under the label of "Indian languages" are in fact Hindi words. Some of these have been borrowed into Swahili from specifically Cutchi and/or Gujarati which can be seen from the following (see the List in Chapter 7):

Swahili	Virmani's "Indian languages"	Cutchi/Gujarati
ankra	ank, ankre	ānkrā/ānkṛā (bill, invoice)
bajia	bhujia	bʰajiā/bʰajiā (fritters of beans, peas, etc.)
binda	bhindi	bʰinḳʰā/bʰinḳā (okra/lady-finger)
embe	aam	āmā/ambā (mango)
godoro	gudri	gāḏʰlō/gōḏʰrō (mattress)
kalasia	kalas	kaʂsiā/kaʂsiā (brass vessel, ca. ½ l)
papai	papeeta	papāi/pappai, papayyā (pawpaw)
sukari guru	gud	ɠuɽ/gōɽ (unrefined sugar)

Jan Knappert (1983) is a 33 pages long article, including a 20 pages long list of Persian and Turkish loans in Swahili. For many items he gives no specific source but "the writer's own lexical studies, based on Swahili literature and, later, fieldwork on the Kenya and Tanganyika coast in 1961-64, 1969 and 1973." Many of these items existed in my own vocabulary and they were also encountered during my own fieldwork for this thesis. Knappert states he has refrained from relying on etymologies of Johnson (1939), "which are so often erroneous that much time can be wasted looking for a word in the dictionary that is placed under its presumed but incorrect 'original' form. Indeed Johnson sometimes invented or composed Persian words that are not in Steingass (1892), which he evidently used" (op. cit.:113).

Knappert's list contains the largest number of Persian and Turkish items; however, for a number of items he gives both Persian and Urdu etymology, e.g. *babu* (grandfather), *bima* (insurance), *birinjali* (aubergine), *cheti* (note, certificate), *embe* (mango), or Persian and Hindi, e.g. *bangi* (marijuana) and *banduwara* (hatch), Persian and Arabic, e.g. *baraza* (council), *jebu* (woman's breast ornament), *suheli* (south, Canopus in the southern sky), Turkish and Urdu, e.g. *bunduki* (gun), Persian and Turkish, e.g. *fishangi* (cartridge), or Persian, Urdu and Sanskrit *pilipili* (pepper). Altogether 18 items related to shipbuilding and sailing given by Knappert as Persian loans in 1983 appear also in Nabhany's 217 quartrains long poem *Sambo ya Kiwandeo: The Ship of Lamu-Island*, published in 1979.

Arguing strongly against Persian etymology of for example Swahili *darabi* (rose apple) and *-dara* (to hold) on basis of similarity by coincidence, Knappert prematurely adds that "Apart from this, no Swahili verbs of Persian or Turkish origin have been found" (op. cit.:113). However, the current research provides contrary evidence.

Edgar C. Polomé (1987) is a ten pages long analysis of Indian loans in Swahili. This is a follow-up of his chapter on loans in Swahili included in his 'classical' study of Swahili published in 1967. Though he mentions Sindhi, Marathi and Gujarati as other possible Indic specific contributors, he almost consistently gives Hindi etyma, like his predecessors. (The 1958 Census of Zanzibar counted only one Marathi family in Zanzibar, and only the grandparents in this extenteded family, who were born in India, spoke Marathi with one another – the children and the grand children born in Zanzibar spoke Gujarati at home, with Cutchi and Swahili at play.)[1]

Salim K. Bakhressa (1992) is a "Swahili Dictionary of definition and usage" (Subtitle in English). It is a monolingual dictionary of current usage with about 9000 entries and 12000 sentences. Compared to the KAMUSI, about 90 entries between *-nyafua* and *nyofu-* are missing in this dictionary (p. 293). These include some words of high frequency such as *nyama*

[1] Information collected personally as an Enumerator in the 1958 Census of Zanzibar.

(meat), *nyani* (monkey), *nyanya* (tomato, maternal grandmother), *nyasi* (grass), *-nyesha* (to rain), *-nyenyekevu* (humble), *nyika* (bush, wilderness), *nyinyi* (you) and *-nyoa* (to shave).

Bakhressa does not give his entries as headwords, hence there are neither cross references nor derivations under the entries. This is a first ever Swahili dictionary of the type and by a native speaker. It contains many English loans in current usage. A number of common Oriental loans included by KAMUSI such as *amiri-jeshi*, *chokora*, *duriani*, *mkunazi* and *umalaya* are not included by Bakhressa. This may be because the dictionary is compiled for use particularly in the primary and secondary schools (of Kenya), and because a large number of Oriental loans which are of rather low frequency today are of little cultural importance to a majority of Kenyans. Almost a third of the edition of this dictionary has however been sold in Tanzania.[2]

Ibrahim Bosha (1993) is a trilingual Swahili-Arabic-English dictionary, a result of his doctoral research in Daressalaam. In almost all cases Bosha gives the correct Arabic source. However, he does not always relate the different loans having the common Arabic source. He even misses out some common words, e.g. *-abudu* (to worship), though he includes *ibada* (worship).

It is the most extensive work on Arabic loans in Swahili comprising more than 2240 entries including rare items such as *istiwai* (equator), *jazra* (island), *kipti* (Copt), *simsim* (sesame seeds) and alternative forms *idi/iddi* (Islamic holiday), *rutba/rutuba* (soil fertility), *sali/swali* (to pray to God) but not *hasa/hassa* (specially), *hata/hatta* (even, even so), or *safi/swafi* (clean, clear, bright), and Persian, Greek, Latin and Indic indirect loans via Arabic. He includes also more than 1100 extended forms of the verb entries. In this he is rather inconsistent, listing some extended forms as headwords such as the causative extension *-aibisha* (to disgrace) having the extension *-aibika* (be disgraced) instead of giving cross-references to *aibu* (disgrace) or giving both of them under the headword *aibu*. Other examples of extensions listed as headwords and taken at random are the stative *-bahatika* (be fortunate) and the causative *-bahatisha* (to take a chance), the stative *-fadhaika* (be disturbed, confused) and causative *-fadhaisha* (to disturb, confuse), the noun *haraka* (haste, hurry) and the causative *-harakisha* (urge, press on), and *kusudi* and *makusudi* (as with the *KAMUSI* above). At times he gives the cross reference only one way, e.g. *lukuki* (countless) is referred to *laki* (a hundred thousand) but not the other way round. He also omits derivatives of several headwords, for examples he gives *nadhifu* (neat, tidy) but not the causative extension *-nadhifisha* (to clean, to purify). Bosha also confuses the etymology of certain items, e.g. *msalihina* (devout, religious person) from the root *salihi* (of honorable, unblemished character) and *msalimina* (gentle, peaceful person) from the root *salamu* (greetings, good wishes) through the

[2] pc Manager of Oxford University Press, Daressalaam, June 1998.

stem *-salimu* (express good wishes). This is probably because the characteristic features of both *msalihina* and *msalimina* can be interpreted as equal – a gentle and peaceful person is also understood as being honorable and of unblemished character.

Bosha's indirect loans via Arabic comprise 30 Persian including three given also as Hindi: *bunduki* (gun), *chai* (tea), *laki* (hundred thousand), two only as Hindi: *afyuni* (opium), *tumbako* (tobacco), three Turkish: *afande* (Sir/Master), *baruti* (ammunition), *zahanati* (dispendary), three Sanskrit: *kafuri* (camphor), *kisukari* (diabetes), *sukari* (sugar), one Sanskrit/Latin: *jinsi/jinsia* (genus), one Latin: *dinari* (dinar), three Greek: *falsafa* (philosophy), *dirham* (drachma), *karatasi* (paper), one Aramaic: *kanisa* (church) and one Chinese: *mchai* (the tea plant). These are included by him as "They may nevertheless have been borrowed by Swahili through Arabic" (Bosha 1993:17). It will be seen later that the Turkish items have been borrowed through Persian, and *mchai* could impossibly be borrowed via Arabic since the consonant /č/ does not occur in the dialects of Arabic which have had contact with East Africa.

Some of the items marked as "rare" by Bosha, e.g. *-taslihi* (to fast, to abstain from eating and drinking), *-tawakali* (rely on God), *sarafa* (coins), *-stihizai* (dishonour), *tajamala* (embellishment), and *-tajamali* (embellish) are included in Johnson, Sacleux and the *KAMUSI* as standard items. Altogether Bosha's data (1993:32) shows that 44.3% of the vocabulary of Swahili is of Arabic origin. This closely tallies with an analysis of some randomly taken pages by me from different writings of Shaaban Robert, the 'Shakespeare' of Swahili, in November 1998 at a seminar in Trondheim, Norway, which showed that he used an average of 30% Oriental 'words' in his (secular) prose and 43% in his poems, all written in Standard Swahili.

Elena Bertoncini (1973) is a Swahili frequency list, the first of its kind in Swahili. It is an analysis of altogether 40,000 occurrences of 3700 roots in selected texts which have been presented by her according to the following breakdown (p. 302-303):

	Bantu	Oriental	European
Mean values in %	48.61	40.90	10.49
Ancient texts %	37.30	62.42	00.28
Modern literary texts %	53.49	42.18	04.33
Journalistic texts %	46.40	31.84	21.76
Miscellaneous contemporary texts %	51.01	36.03	12.96

Of the first 100 words in her frequency list, 84 are Bantu, 15 Oriental and only 1 European, i.e. *gazeti* (newspaper). Of the first 1000 words, 555 are Bantu, 367 Oriental and 78 European. The Oriental loans are not further classified specifically as Arabic, Indian, or Persian, nor are the European

words classified in such a manner. The first Indic word, viz. *gari* (vehicle, cart, car, wagon) has the rank 110. The high mean value (10.49%) of the European stock is because of the large number of English loaned nouns in journalistic and miscellaneous contemporary texts, in the fields of advertising, sports, medicine and modern science and technology used in the media. This study has a follow-up which throws more light on the subject (Bertoncini 1985).

According to Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:325-326), for the 100-word list (of basic words) the mean average for Swahili (including its dialects) is 81% inherited stock, 17% foreign/non-African, and local (Swahili dialects and neighbouring Bantu languages). For the 1000-word list, Unguja/Standard Swahili has 65.5% inherited, 22% loans, 2% Swahili-specific and 10% unknown. Though "it is remarkable, incidentally, that there are almost no identifiable Malagasy loans in Swahili" (op. cit.:332). However, I am inclined to propose that some items of this 'unknown' source could be Malagasy.

Comparison between the 100-word list and the 1000-word list for Swahili shows that "the proportion of inherited words drops, dramatically in the northern dialects, and less so for the southern dialects, south of Mombasa, and the proportion of foreign loans rises for both groups of dialects " (op. cit.:327). These two writers further claim that "Loans from neighbouring Bantu languages are most evident in the rural dialects of Zanzibar! The general level of lexical penetration of the dialects south of Mombasa by loans from neighbouring languages is almost identical to that of the mainland languages of the coastal group." ... The northern dialects ..."are closely adjacent and were relatively isolated, whereas the southerly dialects cover a wider stretch of coast and islands and were more open to neighbouring language communities" (op.cit.:326). The linguistic and cultural influence of a large number of slaves brought from the interior to the Swahili coast from Mombasa southwards over a long period of time and assimilated in the rural districts, especially of Unguja and Pemba islands, may be suggested here as the main reason for the clear evidence of more Bantu elements in the rural dialects of Unguja and Pemba, spoken in the plantation areas of Zanzibar and around Mombasa and the northern Tanganyika coast. A similar influence may be detected in the rural language use in the Comoros where a number of slaves were brought regularly from the East African interior.

Another study of borrowing in Swahili also worth special mention is Cassels (1984) on vowel intrusion (anaptyctic and paragogic vowels) in Arabic loans in Swahili, again almost exclusively in nouns. Imberg's two essays (1975, 1977) treat Arabic loans in Swahili in general and specifically in Swahili religious texts. Effat (1996) deals with semantic and syntactic aspects of modality in Arabic and compares it with Swahili. She presents a contrastive analysis with suggestions for learners/students of Arabic who have Swahili as their primary language. Another paper by Effat (1997) is on

aspects of culture in Arabic loans in Swahili. As for my own earlier studies, see section 1.3.

Generally, a number of Oriental loans are not identified or included in the sources consulted, even old ones, e.g. Indic *chila* (pancakes) and *jinjiroo* (anklet with small bells) and Portuguese *kaptani* (captain) and *komodori* (commodore, commander). Many loans are not directly from the source language but via a third language, e.g. English *noti* and *afisa* via Indic languages. A good example is the Swahili equivalent of English 'madam' or 'lady', *mamsab*, *memsab*, or *memsabu* (also used affectionately to refer to one's wife) which is borrowed from Hindustani, and it is an Anglo-Indian term of English-Arabic origin developed in British India, i.e. Anglo-Indian/Hindustani 'Madam-sahib' (a title originally used in India for wives of British colonial officers) > 'mem-sahib' > 'memsaab' > 'memsab'. The noun 'sahib/sahab' is an Arabic loan and in India it has connotations such as 'Sir', 'master' or 'ruler'.

In one, several or all of the above studies there are many omissions of commonly used Oriental loans such as Arabic *arbuni* (deposit, originally 25%), *-tafiri/-tafrisha* (to annoy), *tafrani* (annoyance, and adj. annoyed), *maakuli/maakulati* (food), *banati* (daughters), *maasuma* (innocent), *-saili* (to ask), *ratli/ratili* (a pound weight), or Indic *jangiri* (poacher), *chakramu* (mad, crazy), etc.

In many cases of Oriental loans documented and identified by lexicographers, a connotation has been ommitted in the definition, e.g. Johnson and the *KAMUSI* do not give *kashata* (confectionary of coconut flakes, ground nuts, sesame seeds) the extended meaning of 'diamond/lozenge shape', and *sambusa* (triangular pastry, pirogue/piroshki) the connotations 'triangle/triangular design/pattern'; or an author may give a completely different denotation from the others, e.g. Bosha erroneously defines Persian *roshani* as 'storey' instead of 'balcony, verandah'.

Johnson and Krumm do not always include the same words; for example Johnson does not enter *koja/khoja* (Indian Muslims of the Shia Ismaili or Ithnaasheri denomination), and Krumm does not include *bajia/badia* (fritters made of flour of beans/peas or hulled grain of mung beans). Some very common items such as the Swahili titles of address and honour such as *sheikh* (also *shehe*, *sheh*) and *ustaad* of Arabic and Persian origin respectively, are missing in Johnson, however he includes the non-Swahili *sheik and *sheki; he omits also dozens of items common in daily usage, e.g. *besar/bisar* (son of a concubine), *chila* (rice pancake), *insani* (human being), *panka* (fan, mudguard) and *vinjari* (double crossing).

From the above survey, it can been seen that 1) much has been written about Arabic loanwords, 2) even for Arabic and European borrowings, work remains to be done, and 3) as for Indic and other Oriental loans, there are few studies. Different compilers and their assistants have produced

dictionaries and wordlists for different audiences, for different purposes, and have had varying, and often insufficient, cultural background and language skills. Thus there are many shortcomings in the dictionaries, which however are sufficient for the comparative work undertaken here.

1.5. The problem of identifying loanwords in Swahili

The question, and indeed the problems, of identifying loanwords in a language has been discussed at length. The problem is aggravated in languages which do not have sufficiently long literary tradition to have synchronically documented (or documented at all) earlier loans. The range of formal and non-formal criteria for the identification of borrowings in Swahili is rather wide considering both the synchronic and diachronic conceptions of linguistic organization though the latter has limited use due to the paucity of (surviving) texts which are not older than about 400 years.

"The question of identification of loans is shown to be primarily a historical analysis" (Haugen 1950:231). Wilfred W. Whiteley, a respected scholar of Swahili studies, also supports this view adding that it is not only unimportant, but may even be impossible, to determine what words are borrowed, if the linguist is primarily concerned with discerning a corpus collected, during a particular period, or which is presumed to be in common use. He further argues that borrowings are "distinguished neither by their phonology nor their morphology from the stock of native items. Such borrowings or loans may be regarded as the legitimate interest of historical or sociological linguists rather than of those concerned with descriptive problems" (Whiteley 1967:125).

Myers-Scotton among others however also argues that a borrowed element can easily be distinguished by its frequency and availability in the general body of speakers of the host language, while embedded forms of language/code mixing cannot be easily identified. "Criteria relying on phonological, morphological, or syntactic integration are not reliable to distinguish borrowing" (Myers-Scotton 1987:70).

Nevertheless, a descriptive approach may be fruitful in identifying loans. These could be items which are not in complete accord with the structure of the language in question and which are regarded by its native speakers as 'foreign'. This approach however has the disadvantage of not being able to easily distinguish items which have undergone total assimilation and have been integrated into the phonetic and structural pattern of a language, and have been a common part of its stock for generations, even centuries.

On the other hand, there could be native items which sound foreign since they deviate in some way from the general pattern of the language. The structural irregularities in a language may lead one to wrongly identify such native items as loans. Zawawi (1979) for example mistakenly suggests Arabic etymology for the Swahili word *maji* (water) which is a very common Bantu term. "Word counts have shown that patterns vary in frequency from the extremely common to the extremely rare, with no absolute boundary

between the two. Patterns of high frequency are certain not to sound 'queer' to native speakers" (Haugen, 1950:29-30).

As Holden (1972:17) says, a considerable length of time may pass before a loanword is felt to belong to the native vocabulary of the language system. This is demonstrated for example also by Owrang for Persian, who states that "Native speakers do not necessarily recognise 'foreignness'; they recognise 'newness' and it is this 'newness' which is significant in a descriptive analysis. ....I will argue that when Persian speakers acquire a new lexical item (whether it is 'foreign' in origin or in fact an obscure old Persian root), they treat it differently from 'old words' when applying morpho-syntactic rules, and assume that it should be treated according to their generative rules. Most loans are not immediately assimilated and deforeignised. ....The established foreign words which are now widely used and not recognised as 'new' words by native speakers, were presumably treated as new words when they entered the language. To analyse the behaviour of these words in comparison with those which are new to native speakers can help to describe diachronic process of language by synchronic facts" (Owrang, 1981:59).

In this study of loans, wherever possible, dictionaries are used to identify 'foreign' and 'new' words. Few dictionaries however include data on borrowing, etymology, the social status of loans, etc. In the case of the lesser documented languages like Swahili, though having an appreciable length of literary tradion, the lexicographical data is only a few generations old as related earlier, the first ever Swahili (Swahili-English) dictionary was completed by L. Krapf in 1882; it was followed by A. C. Madan 1894 (English-Swahili) and 1903 (Swahili-English).

There are no infallible ways to discover loanwords; historical and synchronic considerations are both necessary, and must complement each other.

1.6. The problems of using Swahili dictionaries

Most vocabulary studies in Swahili are based on F. Johnson's *A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary* of 1939. Johnson does identify most of the loans in his dictionary, which is extensive for Arabic loans, but he does not pay much attention to the phonetic and grammatical forms of the original words. In my present study, Johnson was my point of departure, supplemented with Sacleux (1939) which is generally a more extensive work. Further, during the 23 years this research has been going on, almost all major Swahili dictionaries and a couple of thousand Swahili publications of a variety, together with a large body of Swahili newspapers and journals have been scrutinised.

All Swahili dictionaries reviewed have serious deficiencies – most of the Swahili poem collections contain pages of glossaries of items not found in any dictionary, e.g. Abedi (1953) and Lodhi (1986b). All later Swahili dictionaries are based on the pioneering lexicographical works of Krapf, Madan, Sacleux and Johnson, reproducing the shortcomings of these four,

with minor additions; and this is regrettably also true of the *KAMUSI*, the official monolingual dictionary of Standard Swahili (*Kiswahili Sanifu*) compiled by the Institute of Kiswahili Research in Daressalaam and published in 1981. This was demonstrated by a 30 pages long critique of the *KAMUSI* by James D. Mwasi, Augustin J. Kajigili and Peter S. Kirumbi in 1983.

The lexicographical problem in Swahili is more serious than in other literary languages because of clear differences between the impoverished written form of Swahili standardised by foreign colonial authorities (to be used primarily by Christian non-native speakers) and the rich spoken forms of the traditionally Muslim native-speakers whose syntax and vocabulary are much wider than what has been prescribed in the standard form (Mazrui and Shariff 1994).

P. J. Devlieger's findings about the Bantu languages of Zone L in the Congo region have almost universal application to the lexicographical problems in Africa:

"An examination of contemporary terminology as listed in dictionaries adds another dimension to our task. Unlike other media, such as television, newspapers, or magazines, dictionaries as communication devices capture a large time-depth because they solicit meanings on a higher abstraction level with the aim to explain and are intended to exist for longer periods. In some cases, changes of meaning over time are listed under different entries and in cases of revisions, meanings to the same may be added or subtracted. Ultimately, terms are added and subtracted, thus giving a testimony to changes in a language over time. The dictionaries on one hand have severe limitations because they were constructed by outsiders, mostly missionaries or colonial officers, who used vastly different methods of developing the dictionary and have different levels of training. The result is a set of materials that was well-intentioned but uneven in quality" (Devlieger 1998:55).

Though he deals here specifically with the question of 'disability' terms, there is reason enough to believe that Devlieger's conclusions would be true also for other registers of terminology and for many African languages.

Devlieger rightly argues that the absence of specialised vocabulary of socio-cultural nature, especially generic language, in contemporary African languages is partly due to the fact that they have not benefitted much from language exchange since "the tremendous import of ideas and practices, both during the colonial and post-colonial times, has mostly occured in the official languages .... Through the use of material that is preserved in language we can appreciate the history (of disablement) in time categories that are beyond the usual assumptions. Language can provide insight in a time-depth where no ethnographic information can be available" (1998:53).

In the words of Devlieger (1998:54), "African countries that use non-African languages in government, education and service development are not stimulated to reflect on their own language use.... these conditions explain that an interest in local language development has not been given due attention. The wealth of content and history that is embedded in African languages has not been explored. Such

exploration, however, should be of benefit to both African nations and understanding of the role of culture in defining (disability)," for example social and ethnic prejudices and relations.

My study of corpora other than dictionaries did lead to the discovery and identification of a few more Indian loanwords in the novels of Adam Shafi Adam, such as *puta* (cardboard, mill board) in *Kasri Ya Mwinyi Fuad* (1978), *karko* (pauper) and *chordho* (heavily drunk) in *Kuli* (1979), *natiki* (drama, play, theatre) used by Shaaban Robert in his *Wasifu wa Siti binti Saad* (1960), *godori* (thin mattress) in Sayyid Abdulla bin Nasir's *Al Inkishafi* (1926 ed. and trans. by W. Hichens) and *chordo* (unable to stand on ones own feet) in *Hadithi ya Bi Mahira* of Suleiman Omar Said Baalawy (1969); or alternative forms were gained from the corpus of Zanzinet (September 1996 - November 1997), e.g. two instances of *kichri* (1. hotchpotch, 2. mess, muddle) instead of *kichiri* by the lawyer/politician Ismail Jussa Ladhu of Zanzibar and the dentist Dr. Ali Yussuf of Copenhagen. All these words, together with a number of Persian items such as *chambuki* (whip) and *rumali* (kerchief) which are included by Knappert in his list of 1983, were also collected from oral usage and did exist in my own active vocabulary. As for the Arabic loans, several dozen items not found in Swahili dictionaries were identified just in the Zanzinet corpus. A study of Swahili poetry publications and Islamic writings would certainly yield several hundred Arabic items not included in any Swahili dictionary. Only one new Persian item was found in the daily press, viz. *kharubini* (microscope) suggested by a reader to distinguish it from the Persian loan *darubini* (telescope, microscope) (Daily News 23/10/82).

One of the aims of this research is to contribute to an improved study of Swahili lexicon and to future production of terminology registers and dictionaries.

1.7. Definitions

The term Swahili is used here both as the ethnonym of the people (originally of the East African coast) who traditionally speak what is generally accepted as the (Ki)Swahili language including all its dialects and sub-dialects, and the name of the language itself, as used by Prins (1965), Lodhi (1973), Nurse and Spear (1985), Middleton (1992), Allen (1993), and Mazrui and Shariff (1994). The adjective Swahili is used to mean 'pertaining to the Swahili-speaking people and their physical environment, society, culture, etc.' The term Swahililand referes to the coastal areas of East Africa where Swahili was and is traditionally spoken as the native tongue. Traditionally (from around the end of the first millenium), native or primary speakers of Swahili are Muslims, culturally oriented more towards the northwestern parts of the Indian Ocean and the Middle East, than the African interior.

Several million people may speak Swahili as their mother-tongue or primary language, and approximately 100 million use it as their lingua franca or operative language (such as official, national, intellectual, school, market, trade, port, railways, church, mosque, police, army, or hospital language). I distinguish the former as 'Swahili-speakers', and the latter as 'speakers of Swahili'.

The term 'Arab' generally referes to a person who speaks Arabic as her/his mother tongue. In the context of Eastern Africa, Arabs are also those who perceive themselves and/or identify themselves as Arab, whether they speak Arabic as their primary language or not. The variants of Arabic involved in this study are both classical/Koranic Arabic, and the dialects of the southern coasts of the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf area, which Zawawi (1979) aptly calls "Indian Ocean Arabic". The term Arabic is used here for the language without making any distinctions between the classical form and the various dialects of the Red Sea, Oman (Muscat, Dhofar, etc.), Yemen (Aden, Hadhramaut, Sokotra) and the Gulf region. The adjective Arabic is used to mean 'pertaining to the Arabic language or the Arabic-speaking people', whereas the term Arabian is used to mean 'pertaining to the Arabian Peninsula'.

In this study, the term Indic includes both the Indo-Aryan lexical elements and the few Dravidian items. Indic (languages) referred to here are Cutchi/Sindhi, Gujarati, Hindi/Urdu, Konkani, Marathi and Punjabi. I have generally refrained from using the term 'Indian' in connection with the languages of the Indian sub-continent. Indian is used here to mean 'pertaining to the Indian sub-continent', at times 'pertaining to colonial/imperial India', and later to 'the modern independent state of India after the Partition in 1947'. By Indians I mean people originating in the Indian sub-continent, as was the literary practice earlier; however, in literature from the post-1947 period concerning Indians in Eastern Africa, the term Asians is used as a rule to mean people from today's India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Maldives and Burma and/or their descendants in Eastern Africa.

Similarly, the narrow linguistic definition of the term 'Bantu' in this study includes the Swahili and other North-East coast languages of the Sabaki group of Bantu languages and some adjacent Bantu languages which have undergone common, or similar, sound shifts and changes. Bantu is also occasionally used here to refer to people speaking Bantu languages.

2. Theoretical Issues and Dynamics of Borrowing: Loanword Phonology and Foreign Influence

Borrowing "is concerned with the transfer of features from one language into another language" (Haugen 1992:197).

All languages undergo phonological, lexical and syntactic change, obeying language specific rules or rules of substantial universality. The changes are mostly regular and account for much of the development in any language. That part of a language which remains unaccounted for by sound laws may be 'borrowed' or be influenced by outside/foreign elements. The influence of one language on another is commonly described as the contribution of the former to the latter. It is generally termed 'borrowing' by the latter from the former. 'Loans' are mostly 'lexical items', generally known as 'lexical borrowings', or more commonly known as 'loanwords'. These metaphors, though misleading, since they imply temporary possession and repayment, have their equivalents in many languages e.g German 'Lehnwort' from which the English 'loanword' and the Swedish 'lånord' are translated.

Swahili does not use any of these metaphors, instead it has defining expressions such as *maneno yenye asili ya kigeni* (words of foreign origin) and *maneno yenye asili ya Kiarabu* (words of Arabic origin, Arabic loans). The Swahili 'loan-translation' of the internationally generally accepted term 'loanword' is *maneno ya kuazima* (borrowed words), or the compound *maneno-azima*. The latter expressions were opposed to by most of the participants of the First UNESCO Seminar of Swahili Writers in Daressalaam in 1980, and these terms have been subsequently discarded from Swahili usage.[3]

Borrowing on a large scale involves 'extended borrowing' of linguistic features other than just individual lexical items. This kind of extended borrowing is generally termed 'grammatical loans' or 'structural borrowing'. This does not imply development of 'pidgins' and 'creoles'; however, we may safely assert that borrowing is a universal feature of language, and all languages borrow from one another as a direct and natural consequence of contact between people speaking different languages and practising different cultures. A study of language contact is thus necessarily a parallel study of culture contact. The case of language contact between Swahili and Arabic is similar to several other cases of Muslim societies involving Arabic, e.g. Persian and other Iranian languages, in which obvious 'grammatical intrusion' has taken place, changing some grammatical patterns; it is thus more than just borrowing of grammatical forms.

[3] Information collected during the First UNESCO Seminar of Swahili Writers, TUKI, University of Daressalaam, July 1980.

'Loanwords' are usually contrasted with 'loan formations' (German 'Lehnbildungen'), which are terms and constructions resulting from foreign influence, and they have been variously classified into 'loan-translations', 'loan-transfers', 'loan-creations', 'loan-expressions', 'loan-meanings' and 'loan-syntax'. Haugen (1950 and 1953), a well known authority on the question of borrowing and loans, however, distinguishes only three kinds of loans, viz. 'loan words', 'loan blends' and 'loan shifts', according to the relation between morphemic importation and the substitution of native equivalents. Loan shifts include loan translations and also 'semantic borrowings'. Invariably, borrowing is also termed 'interference', classified either as 'phonic', 'grammatical' or 'lexical'.

A special aspect of borrowing (which is very demonstrative of closer language contact, common among bilinguals and trilinguals, the educated, and also immigrants in different contexts) is 'language switching' or 'code switching', whereby a speaker changes into another language. Studies on code switching usually deal with 'intrasentential' switches taking place within the boundaries of single sentences; and the phenomenon is also termed 'language mixing' or 'code mixing'. Code switching in East Africa is usually from other East African languages to Swahili or English (Myers-Scotton 1993), from Swahili and North Indian languages to English, and to a lesser extent between Swahili and Arabic, and Swahili and Balochi. Code mixing on the other hand is mixing of items from two or more languages when the speaker does not master the primary language of communication in a given situation, where a mixture of individual words or incomplete phrases and sentences occurs, instead of a shift between complete phrases and sentences from one language to another (Legére 1992, Fredriksson 1998).

Borrowings or loans occur between a 'donating language' (also called 'donor', 'source' or 'embedded language'), and one 'host language' (also called 'receiving', 'recepient' or 'matrix language'). It is a process that takes place between an 'intruding' or 'penetrating culture' and one 'recepient' or 'host culture', leading to different degrees of incorporation of elements of an embedded language (EL) in the matrix language (ML), and may be defined ideally as code switching or borrowing depending on the degree of integration. Boyd et al (1997:260-1) define these two types of language interaction as follows:

"BORROWING is ideally incorporation of EL material in ML discourse such that the EL material is (a) phonologically, (b) morphologically, and (c) syntactically integrated into the ML; and (d) use of the same EL material, integrated in similar ways, and occuring in similar contexts is widespread in the ML speech community, including among ML monolinguals, who may be unaware of its origins in EL. Furhermore, (e) borrowing is often limited to one lexeme.

CODESWITCHING is ideally incorporation of EL material in ML discourse such that the EL material is not (a) phonologically, (b) morphologically or (c)

syntactically integrated into ML. (That is, the phonology, morphology and syntax of the EL follows EL grammar, not ML grammar). Also, (d) no claims are made as to recurrence of switching in the wider community; and (e) codeswitching often involves longer stretches of speech in EL, but in a limiting case may also be applied to single words."

Code switching is thus a linguistic behaviour dependent on who the bilingual is talking to, or where and when, and about what; and it is not to be confused with borrowing (Crystal 1991:59-60).[4]

Loans may be single or independent items or they may be compounds. Uncompounded items and compounds adapted to native compounds are easy to recognise, trace and explain, whereas compounded items composed of both native and foreign elements may be difficult to recognise and are known as 'loanblends'. These include also derivatives and deverbatives produced by adding affixes which themselves may also be borrowed – new words/terms may thus be coined by analogy. Occasionally, this type of words are also called 'loanshifts' or 'calques'.[5]

A good example observed in Standard Swahili, borrowed from Kikuyu, is that of the Kenyan political slogan *Harambee*! which is from an earlier Swahili form *Halambee*! (quickly and forward, march ahead/forward) constructed by Arabic loan *halaa* + Swahili *mbele* with loss of the intervocalic /l/. The Arabic /l/ in the Nairobi variant of Swahili is converted to /r/ through the influence of Kikuyu, the mother tongue of the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, national father and first President of Kenya, who popularised this slogan.

There are hundreds of Arabic roots that have given rise to Swahili items, sometimes unrecognisable to the native Arabic speaker (Imberg 1974, Cassels 1984), e.g.

Arabic	>	Swahili
intihān		*mtihani/mitihani* (exam/exams)
		mtahini/mtahiniwa (examiner/examinee)
		kutahini/kutahiniwa (to examine/to be examined)
kitāb		*kitabu/vitabu* (book/books)
al walīi		*liwali/maliwali* (mayor/mayors)
wāhed wa ašarā		*hedashara* (eleven)
juhūd		*juhudi* (effort, endeavour, exertion, hard work)
ijtihād		*jitihada/jitihadi* (effort, endeavour, hard work)
		kujitahidi (to make an effort, try hard)
		kujitahidisha (to make great effort)
walad innās		*wadinasi* (freeman/men)

[4] For code switching and code mixing, see also Gumperz and Hymes 1972:Chs. 1, 17; Bolinger and Sears 1981:Ch. 7; Lyons 1977: Ch. 14, and Myers-Scotton 1993 which has particular emphasis on Eastern Africa.

[5] See Haugen 1992:197-200, and Heath 1994:383-94 for details.

Foreign pronunciation of a loanword is also referred to as 'codeshift'. In educated native Swahili it is commonly met with in connection with Arabic loans (and in a few cases in Indic loans), and it is at times frowned upon by non-native speakers of Swahili in East Africa as snobbish arabism.

Loans are deliberately resisted in several languages, e.g. generally in Icelandic, and specifically English loans in French. In the case of other languages such as Turkish and Hindi there have been concerted efforts to 'purify' or 'nationalise' their standard forms by removal of Arabic and Persian loans, which were usually of low frequency, belonged to the written language and were almost exclusively used by male speakers (Heyd 1954:97-107) In Swahili, established loans are preferred to newly coined loanblends, loanshifts, etc. For example, the English adaptation *televisheni* was taken by *Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa* (BAKITA/National Swahili Council in Tanzania), as a standard Swahili term instead of the loan translation *kiona-mbali* proposed by Maalim Shaaban Salim Komba of Radio Tanzania-Daressalaam. However, to avoid the obviously close similarity between *friji* (fridge, refrigerator) and *frizi/friza* (freezer), the abbreviated loan translation *jokofu* (*joko la barafu*, lit. oven of ice), also coined by Maalim Komba, was preferred to replace the popular *friza* which is still in use among those who know English.[6] The word *barafu* is borrowed from Persian.

Once borrowed or adapted, the loans become an integral part of the matrix language. Often the adaptation is incomplete and therefore it may add new sounds/phonemes to the repertoire of the recipient language. Loans may result in homonyms and synonyms. An example is the Swahili homonym *mbuni* (pl. *mbuni*) with a plosive aspirated /bʰ/ (1. ostrich, or 2. coffee beans); the word meaning 'coffee beans' is borrowed from Arabic. The word *mbuni* with an implosive /ɓ/ is also a homonym meaning 1. inventor (pl. *wabuni*) and 2. coffee plant (pl. *mibuni*). The latter word is also borrowed from Arabic, and it has the synonym *mkahawa* (pl. *mikahawa*) which also has the connotations of 'coffee-house', 'tea-house' or 'cafeteria'. Another example in Swahili is the alternatives *wali* and *wari* (virgin girls), contrasted with *wali* (cooked rice), and also *wari* from Indic 'wāl' (yard, unit of length).

Examples of synonyms in Swahili created by Arabic loans are plentiful and it would suffice to illustrate it here with an example from Polomé (1967:166).

> Mlinzi aliumizwa na mwombaji. (Purely Bantu construction)
> **Bawabu** ali**jeruhi**wa na **maski**ni. (With Arabic loans in **bold face**)

[6] Personal communication with Maalim Komba of Radio Tanzania/Daressalaam in July 1966 during an interview at the Chang'ombe TTC, Daressalaam.

The guard/doorkeeper was injured by the beggar.

Synonyms of this kind in literature as well as general usage may act as good indicators of the existence in the past of two ethnic or language groups in Swahili society during the period of assimilation when total integration had not taken place yet. In the case of the English language for example, Sir Walter Scott in his *Ivanhoe* lets the Jester make such a distinction between ox and beef, calf and veal, etc., suggesting dual language use in England of that time (McCall 1969:41).

The main reason for borrowing is the newly or gradually created need of a suitable term in the recipient language for some previously unknown object, idea, process or phenomenon. Sometimes words are borrowed simply because they are considered by the speakers to be prestigious or novel, especially if the speakers feel politically, technologically, socially, culturally or economically inferior to the speakers of the other languages they are exposed to (as has been the case in many anglophone, francophone, luzophone, arabophone, iranophone and swahiliphone countries in Asia and Africa where large numbers of people have at different times considered other dominant cultural or language groups as technologically advanced or superior). After *Uhuru*, Independence, in East Africa, hundreds of Arabic and English loans of low frequency were officially removed from Swahili usage, e.g. English *parliamenti* (parliament), *gavamenti* (government), *presidenti* (president), and Arabic *majlisi* (council), *siha* (health), *ziraa* (agriculture), *iktisadi* (economy/economics) in favour of the more popularly known 'internal loans' from other East African languages *Bunge* (Parliament) and *Ikulu* (State House), Persian loans *serikali* (government) and *baraza* (council), Arabic loans *Rais* (President) and *afya* (health), and native Swahili (or "inherited terms" as Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993 call them) *kilimo* (agriculture, from the verb *kulima*, to farm/plough/till) and *uchumi* (economy/economics from the verb *kuchuma*, to pick fruit, to earn). An 'internal loan' is a borrowing from a dialect of the borrowing language or from a language which belongs to the same branch or cluster as the borrowing language. In the case of Swahili, 'internal loans' as defined by BAKITA (National Swahili Council) include also borrowings from East African languages not related to Swahili, i.e. the Nilotic and Cushitic languages.

Loans may even cause native words and expressions to appear inadequate and gradually become redundant, e.g. Arabic *asali* (honey) and *samaki* (fish) replacing Bantu *uki* and *insi* respectively. Some items may be borrowed to distinguish nuances, e.g. in the Swahili usage of Zanzibar City, the Arabic loan *kitabu* means book in general or a book written/printed in the Arabic script or language, whereas the English loan *buku* implies a book written/printed in the Roman/Latin script and the contents of which are of a secular nature. The original Swahili word *chuo* for 'book' or 'school' has in modern Swahili acquired connotations of a special school, college,

university, etc. in different nouns and phrases, e.g. the locative *Chuoni* (the Koran School), *Chuo Cha Waalimu* (Teachers' Training College), *Chuo Cha Kilimo* (Agricultural College), *Chuo Kikuu* (University) and *mwanachuoni* (scholar).

"Words borrowed from one language into another are typically altered to conform to the phonological canons of the borrowing language, in ways that range from changes in individual segments to more global deformations of structure. Loan phonology is often quite revealing of the grammatical constraints and processes of the borrowing language. Complete systematicity is not to be expected, however, since loanwords may enter a language either through orthography or through pronunciation, they may be borrowed at different points in the history of a language; and they may be affected by such factors as the degree of bilingualism in the borrowing community, or the similarity of the loanword to taboo words in the recipient language. ... borrowing languages commonly enforce restrictions on possible word structure. .... also tend to translate the prosodic structure of the loanword into native prosodic configurations" (Broselow 1992:200-201).

The most common change effected in loans is obviously in pronunciation, usually by replacing single segments. This 'phoneme substitution' means applying restrictions on possible phonemes and their distribution by replacement or reduction of phonemes, e.g. in Swahili the Arabic personal male name /xɑ'mi:s ~ 'xɑ:mis/ is reproduced as /ha'mi:si/ and /muha'mmad/ as /mha'mmad/, /mha'ma:di/, or /ma'ma:di/, and most commonly spelt as {Mohamed} or {Mohammed}; similarly in many West African languages it is spelt as {Mamadu} or {Mamadou}, and {Mamdu} in the Indian languages Cutchi and Gujarati. The Arabic velar /q/ is reduced to Swahili unaspirated /k/, the back palatal or velar friucative /ɣ/ is reduced to /g/, and the interdentals /θ/ and /ð/ are reduced to /s/ and /z/ respectively when indirectly borrowed from Swahili into many other languages of Eastern Africa. The allophonic restrictions and similarities between the interacting languages also determine the form and pronunciation of the loan in the recipient tongue.

The choice of a replacement phoneme (a consonant, an anaptyctic or epenthetic vowel) may be determined by phonetic similarity or dissimilarity or rules of vowel harmony. This is quite evident in foreign loans in Swahili, and even more so in Swahili (direct and indirect) loans in the other languages of Eastern Africa, e.g. French 'champ' (field) > Omani Arabic 'šānba' > Swahili *shamba* (farm, plantation);[7] Persian 'pūlād' (steel) > Swahili (*chuma cha*) *pua* (with loss of intervocalic /l/ and final /d/; Chinese 'čung' (garlic) > Arabic 'θūn' > 'θaum' (Hasan 1978:95) > Swahili *thaumu*, *thomu*, *thumu* > *saumu*, *somu*, *sumu* in many other languages of Eastern

[7] Swahili *shamba* is then borrowed into Hadrami Arabic as šanba with the denotation of 'a small garden in the compound or backyard, or a small cultivated field' (Al-Aidaroos 1996, 1997, 1998).

Africa (Lodhi 1982d:93). In the Swahili usage of non-native speakers, the Arabic reduced loan *sumu* thus becomes a homonym of the original Swahili *sumu* (poison, something extremely bitter) and the Arabic reduced loan *saumu* becomes the homonym of the Arabic loan *saumu* (fast/fasting, avoiding food and drink). Other examples are Indic 'kačŕā' (rubbish) and 'čʰandarwā' (canopy, mosquito net) > Swahili *kachala*, *kachara* and *chandarua*, *chandalua* respectively; Arabic 'safr' (to/a travel) > Swahili *safari* (a travel) and *-safiri* (to travel); and English 'mud guard' > Swahili *madigadi* (sing. *digadi*), 'film' > *filam*, *filamu*, 'driver' > *draiva*, *dreva*, *dereva* and 'screw' > *skrubu*, *skurubu*, or *sukurubu* in many other languages of Eastern Africa.

Other less common features encountered in the process of borrowing are 'deletion of a consonant', e.g. loss of the Greek /p/ in the English pronunciation of words like 'psychology' and 'psychiatry', and 'metathesis' or 'reordering of segments', e.g. Spanish 'vanilla' > Swahili *lavani*, or Arabic 'ruhm' (pity) > Swahili *huruma* instead of *ruhuma. Incidentally, the forms *rehma* and *rehema* (mercy, compassion, used as girls' names too) also occur in Swahili along with the personal names Rahim (male), Rahima and Rahma (female), all derived from the same Arabic root.

Analysis of recasting of loans into shapes which are consistent with the phonological possibilities of the recipient language may explain or shed more light on the grammatical patterns of that language. "Thus loan phonology may provide evidence for the productivity of grammatical processes or constraints that are based on distributional facts, but that are not supported by alternations in the native vocabulary" (Broselow 1992:201). Swahili and other languages in Eastern Africa provide ample evidence in support of this possibility.

Phonological aspects of word-borrowing are often studied systematically and in detail (e.g. Josephs 1970 and Cassels 1984) but the socio-cultural aspects of the phenomenon are not dealt with as satisfactorily. A major reason for this may be "that not all of what is learned by one culture from another and not all of the process of word-borrowing are reflected in borrowed words" (Higa 1979:277).

Word-borrowing is not a random or unsystematic process as suggested by Gleason (1955). Several studies (e.g. Haugen 1950 and 1953, Higa 1970 and 1974) have convincingly shown that there are clear tendencies in the process of word-borrowing and the borrowed words themselves "which seem to indicate the directionality, content and amount of culture learning between two given cultures to a significant extent" (Higa 1979:278).

In studying loans it is essential to know about the history and the social relations of the different groups in contact, since contact necessarily leads to cultural change (Hoijer 1948); and this kind of study may lead to a better understanding of the historical and present day relations of communities

interacting with each other. This aspect is discussed at some length in section 3.3.[8]

[8] For a further discussion on lexical borrowing, lexical change and etymology, see Hock and Joseph (1996:253-317).

3. Loanwords in Swahili

3.1. Introduction

The peoples of the East African coastlands developed an Afro-Oriental maritime Swahili civilization which increasingly became dominated by descendants of those who came from across the Indian Ocean. By the end of the 1800s, numerous migrations and intensive and extensive culture contact had enabled the urban sections of the Swahili culture to be firmly based on compradorial mercantilism and feudalism. This chapter describes the Swahili culture as an Afro-Oriental member of the Muslim western Indian Ocean civilization at large. I have tried to identify the problems associated with lexical borrowings resulting from these contacts, and their linguistic, cultural and historical implications.[9]

3.2. The Swahili language and literature

3.2.1. Language. Swahili is the traditional mother tongue of the coastal peoples in East Africa from Mogadishu in the north in Somalia, southwards through Kenya and Tanzania to the northern shores of Mozambique, including all the islands (the Bajuni group in southern Somalia, the Lamu Archipelago in northern Kenya, the autonomous state of Zanzibar/Unguja and Pemba group, Mafia Island in Tanzania, and the Kerimba group in Mozambique). Fourteen dialects and several subdialects of Swahili are identified on the coast, and one inland dialect (Kingwana) in Eastern Congo, Burundi and Rwanda. Four closely related dialects of Comorian are spoken on the different islands of the Comoro group (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993).[10]

Swahili belongs to the Sabaki cluster of the North-Eastern branch of the Bantu sub-group of the Niger-Congo language family (Nurse and Spear 1985, Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993). It is now generally accepted by both linguists and historians (Mazrui and Shariff 1994, Allen 1993, Middleton 1992) that Swahili developed as an urban language during the middle of the first millenium AD and its position was strengthened by the early introduction of Islam along the coast. The Swahili civilization developed as an Afro-Muslim, mercantile culture with a string of agricultural and fishing communities, enriching its material culture and its 'biological stock' with contributions from all around the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the southern parts of the Red Sea. This is conspicuously evidenced in various degrees by the deeply rooted Islamic faith of the Sunni Shafiite school,

[9] There is an abundance of literature relating to section 3.2.1 of this chapter. I have freely used the phraseology of the original authors in compiling the text of this section, therefore I have refrained from redundant citing. A nine pages long Bibliography by John Kelly is included in the 1993 edition of Whiteley (1969), and the reader is referred to this and Polomé (1967:1-35) for further details.

[10] For a synopsis of Swahili grammar, see IEL 2:99-106.

literature, music, architecture, dress, cuisine, customs and traditions along the coasts of East Africa (Lodhi 1980b, 1982b, Lodhi and Westerlund 1994 and 1999).

Swahili appears to have been primarily a spoken language until well into this millenium since Arabic was the liturgical and literary language of the Muslim societies of the Indian Ocean. The earliest surviving Swahili document, which is in the Arabic script, is the 480 couplets long poem *Hamziyah* dated AD 1652, by Sheikh Aidarus bin Uthaima of Pate in Kenya, about the life of the Prophet Muhammad (Knappert 1979:22 and 102).

During the second half of the 18th century, Swahili slowly but surely penetrated into the interior of Eastern Africa to the great lakes, especially with the expansion of the caravan trade and traffic in slaves, with increased demand for ivory in the West and the demand for agricultural and domestic slaves due to the growth of plantations along the coast (Whiteley 1969). The growth of urban areas, ports and trade, plantation agriculture and the feudal lifestyle connected with it, all required increased and cheap labour.

In the 19th century, Arab, Swahili and local Bantu traders introduced and used Swahili further into Central Africa and in the Congo region. European Colonization, Christian missionary activity and increased Commerce (the 3 Cs advocated by the missionary explorer Dr. David Livingstone) further spread Swahili beyond the lakes as the lingua franca of east-central Africa, and numerous pidgin forms developed in different parts of this vast region. After World War I, the British felt the need for a standard variant of the language to be used in administration and education in their East African territories. Standardization of the written language was effectively carried out with the replacement of the traditional classical Arabic and Swahili-Arabic scripts by the Roman alphabet as the initial step. This was a process started in the 1850s by the first (German) missionary Ludwig Krapf in the service of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), who reduced the Kimvita dialect of Mombasa to a Roman orthographic system. By the turn of the century, more than a dozen grammars and dictionaries had been produced and the Bible translated into Swahili, one version of it being both in the Roman and Arabic script facing one another. [11]

Following World War I, political mobilization gained momentum with the spread of education and further growth of urban areas. Swahili became the vehicle of mass communication in Zanzibar, Tanganyika and Kenya where it was ultimately given the legal status of the National Language, competing with English as the second language and the language of higher learning, business and international communication. The leaders of all political parties were instrumental in bringing about this development (Whiteley 1969, Mbaabu 1985).

[11] For a history of Bible translations in Swahili see Knappert (1990) and Lindfors (1999); for the Swahili translations of the Koran see Lacunza-Balda (1997), and for Swahili translations of English fiction see Olsson (1998).

The standardization of Swahili was carried out by the British colonial Inter-Territorial Language Committee, later renamed the East African Swahili Committee, which ceased to exist in 1964 when it was transformed into the Institute of Kiswahili Research/IKR *(Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili/TUKI)* at the University College of Daressalaam, University of East Africa. The dissolution of the East African Community in the early 1970s created separate universities for the three member states of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. *TUKI* thus became a Tanzanian institution at the University of Daressalaam. Similar academic insititutions have since developed in Zanzibar City, Nairobi and Kampala. However, the work of coordinating the development of Swahili as a language of mass communication was taken over in Mainland Tanzania by the National Swahili Council (*Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa/BAKITA*) which has sister organizations in Zanzibar (*BAKIZA*), Kenya (*BAKIKE*) and Uganda (*BAKIU*). There are similar Swahili Language Committees in the republics of Comoro, Congo/Kinshasa, Burundi and Rwanda.

The basis of Standard Swahili (*Kiswahili Sanifu*) is the dialect of Kiunguja of Zanzibar City and western Unguja/Zanzibar island with features both from the Daressalaam area on the mainland opposite, and Mombasa on the southern coast of Kenya. But the ideological, social, economic and cultural differences between Kenya and Tanzania have determined a somewhat different development in the two countries even in the case of neologisms. A similar situation has developed in the Swahili dialect Kingwana, or 'Congo Swahili', which has borrowed much from French but little from Arabic and English (Polomé 1967:27-27, 166-176 and Whiteley 1973:5, 72-76). In the current Kenyan usage one finds *banki* (bank), *ledi* (lead) and *matatu* (city/town bus) vis à vis the Tanzanian forms *benki*, *risasi* and *daladala* respectively.[12]

With the spread of Swahili, many urban centres up-country have developed several inland social dialects among non-native speakers of Swahili in their inter-ethnic environment in and around the urban centres. The Swahili used here by the non-native speakers is to various degrees mixed with the local languages. This phenomenon is not borrowing since primary speakers of Swahili are not actively involved here, and almost no grammatical or lexical loans are added to the basic language of the native speakers of Swahili; the phenomenon is strictly that of code mixing, or code/language switching, which in the words of Rodolfo Jacobson (1998:51) is simply "conveying a broader message through bilingual intercourse."[13]

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[12] The Kenya Association of the Blinds uses the term *wasioona* (lit. those who do not see) for the blinds, whereas the Tanzanian Association of the Blinds uses *wapofu* (class 2 noun denoting humans in plural), and its sister association in Zanzibar correctly uses the term *vipofu* (class 8 noun) which has the nuance of being disabled.

[13] This present study is not concerned with the phenomenon of mixing of any Eastern African language or colonial/metropolitan language with Swahili by second or third language speakers

Code or language mixing/switching and code alternation with regard to Swahili is found in all parts of Eastern Africa, but to a lesser extent in Tanzania where Swahili has been the medium of instruction in the primary schools since 1960 and where the centre of the political culture, Daressalaam, was during the colonial period, and still is, in native Swahililand greatly influenced by its proximity to Zanzibar, the centre of political culture in the pre-colonial era. Language planning and development in Tanzania has enjoyed full participation of the state and party apparatus, regional and local authorities, and the native speakers, both experts and laymen, a situation not fully developed in Kenya where too Swahili is the national language, but where the political centre Nairobi lies in the heart of Kikuyuland, several hundred kilometers from the coast, and where during the colonial period English, the language of a sizeable European settler population, was present as a formidable rival to the spread of Swahili. This has probably been the major obstacle to efficient nationalization of Swahili in Kenya. Discussing at length the question of the 'nationalization' of Swahili in Kenya, Harries (1984:122) concludes: "The standard of competence (in Swahili) is only as high as the limited contact with first speakers of the language allows."

On the other hand, the role and status of East African languages other than Swahili (and English) is not either properly investigated or defined. Mkude (1979:11) justly states "While accepting that local languages are part of our cultural heritage, we have also to admit, very painfully, that there is simply no comfortable place for them in our vision of society." Msanjila (1990:46-54) addresses this issue at some length taking as his point of departure the 'centre-periphery' hypothesis of socio-politico-economic development framework advanced by Khubchandani (1983:99).

The present situation of Swahili in East Africa may best be described in the words of Khamis: "Swahili has since Independence made significant strides towards its being fully national and official language, but certainly a much more unfaultering language policy is needed to ensure its rightful development towards the realization of that goal. No such policy seems to be forthcoming, and regarding what has already been attained (that greatly contradicts with the present attitude, especially the contradiction between English and Swahili in Tanzania), one would hope that a proper language policy, and the one that will be favourable to Swahili, will be taken in the near future. Only when such an action has been taken, can we expect a brighter future for Swahili; not only in East Africa, but perhaps the whole world" (Khamis 1993:278-9).[14]

3.2.2. Literature. Modern Swahili literature, both prose, poetry and drama, is written in Standard Swahili based on the Kiunguja dialect of Zanzibar which has the largest number of native speakers. Classical literature in Swahili was written in the northern dialects of Lamu (Kiamu), Pate (Kipate) and

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of Swahili, or mixing of another langauge by first speakers of Swahili; the stated concern is only with genuine or defacto borrowing by primary/first/native speakers of Swahili.

[14] See Lodhi (1992) for language maintenance in the case of Swahili in Zanzibar in particular.

Mombasa (Kimvita) in Kenya (Allen 1961, Harries 1962, Knappert 1971 and 1967, Lodhi et al. 1974, Lodhi and Ahrenberg 1985, Mulokozi and Sengo 1995). In his review article on Abdulaziz (1974) and Knappert (1979), James Allen (1982) discusses at length the question of East African history and Swahili literature.

Most of the literary works of the period before 1890, when East Africa was finally colonised by the European powers, is poetry in bound and balanced *verse (mashairi ya vina*). This form is dominant even today. The Swahili metric forms are based on the number of syllables (*mizani*) in a stanza (*ubeti/baiti*) which may have 2, 3, 4, or 5 rhyming lines (*mistari/vipande*), with a caesura (*kituo/mkato*) usually in the long measure of 16 syllables per line. Many old poems, generally known as *tendi/tenzi*, are quite long, some epics having several thousand stanzas, such as *Utenzi wa Rasi l'ghuli* of Mgeni bin Faqihi (1979) which has 4584 quartrains; another famous work is *Chuo cha Herkali* (The Epic of Heraklios) which has 1728 quatrains. These poems are religious, didactic, narrative, historical and secular. The modern long poems deal with themes such as the German occupation of the Tanganyika coast, World War II, the Zanzibar Revolution and the Liberation of Mozambique.

Ngonjera are educational poems of rhyming verses, used as dramatic poetry, sometimes called 'the poetry of the Arusha Declaration' as it was used much in political campaigns during the 1960s and 70s. To sing *ngonjera* is to teach through poetry as Sheikh Mathiasi E. Mnyampala describes it in his poem *Ngonjera ni kitu gani*? (Mnyampala 1970:1).

Mashairi are topical poems in response to current events and are published in the Swahili dailies of Tanzania and Kenya. The Tanzanian morning paper *UHURU* as a rule has at least one full page of such poems, often composed as letters to the Editor. These poems may still be written in the Swahili-Arabic script if their contents are Islamic, and they may be circulated privately by the poet or her/his relatives and friends, though seldom published in the Swahili-Arabic script. Mashairi usually have stanzas of 4 lines of 12-16 syllables with the fourth line, or part of it, reappearing as the refrain (Lodhi et al. 1974:1-10, Knappert 1979:51-59).

The oldest surviving prose document in Swahili is a correspondence dated 1710-1711 in Kilwa, southern Tanzania, sent to the Portuguese governor in Goa in India, and it is preserved in the State Archives in Panjim in Goa. The Kilwa letters are in the Kimvita dialect, infused much with Arabisms, as was the literary norm of the period. Almost all the chronicles found along the East African littoral are in the Kiamu or Kimvita dialects. Today, the plain and poor lyrics of much pop music and TV shows, mostly written by non-native speakers of Swahili, are a major threat to (traditional) Swahili poetry which is increasingly becoming an academic subject instead of maintaing its cultural and artistic importance and its functions in entertainment and education of the young. Zhukov (1997) also stresses the importance of

classical works in Swahili for a better understanding of the literary history of Swahili and the East African coast.

Almost all prose in Swahili of the last 120 years is in the Kiunguja dialect of Zanzibar. Western literature has had much influence on the development of Swahili prose beginning with the translation of the Bible into Swahili and the production of textbooks for use in the mission and government schools (Knappert 1990, Olsson 1998, Lindfors 1999). During the post-Independence period, the late Julius K. Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania for a quarter of a century, was instrumental in the process of the rise of Swahili as a national language, as an educational language, as a political language and also as a literary language, through his many political publications and Swahili translations of Shakespeare (Lodhi 1974).

The production of short stories, novels and plays in Swahili is rather low, and several writers in East Africa prefer to write in English, primarily because they do not master Swahili that well.[15] However, during the 1970s, in the spirit of socialism, a number of historical and political plays were produced by Ebrahim Hussein and Penina Mhando Mlama, both of the University of Daressalaam.

The most widely read prose works in Swahili, and which are in the standard variant, are those of Shaaban Robert, e.g. his two utopias *Kufikirika* and *Kusadikika* (written in 1946-7 and 1948 respectively and first published by Thomas Nelson in 1951), and the first modern novel *Utubora Mkulima* (1968), published posthumously, which all have traces of the didactic and narrative elements of Swahili poetry (Gibbe 1980:2). In the prose of the modern period, i.e. after 1960, one finds themes such as the confrontation between the old and the new, traditional culture versus Western culture, colonial oppression and the struggle against it, etc. The post-Independence situation with corruption and alienated bureaucracy, etc. is described well especially by E. Kezilahabi (of Ukerewe island, Lake Victoria) in his novels, and Mohamed Said Abdulla (Zanzibar) has produced several detective novels with his Zanzibari counterparts of Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson (Ohly 1981). The other Swahili writers from Zanzibar, Mohamed Suleiman Mohamed, Ahmada Shafi Adam and Said Ahmed Mohamed (Khamis), need particular mention as narrators of conditions in Zanzibar dealing with political mobilization, feudalism, liberation, moral decay of the city, trade union activities and the urban proletariate; in very rich language they document part of the history of East Africa of the crucial years just before and after Independence (Lodhi 1982c:91-2, 1984b:105-8). The recent works of S. A. M. Khamis and M. S. Mohamed are psychological novels dealing with relations within the family, the plight of the woman, etc.

[15] This opinion was expressed by Ngugi Wa Thiongo, who himself has now gone over to writing in his mother tongue Kikuyu, and is having his works translated first in Swahili then in English. Personal communication with Ngugi about 10 years ago and also on 20.4.1999, in Uppsala.

The Bible needs particular mention in any description of modern Swahili literature since the history of modern Swahili prose literature starts with the translation of the Bible into Swahili. Up to 1950, approximately 400 titles of prose were produced in Swahili, almost all of them translated or written by Europeans, including a translation of the Koran. None of these publications were more pervasive and had more effect than the Bible. The few non-European writings in Swahili of this period exhibit striking parallels to the biblical narrative style, e.g. Samuel Sehoza's *Mwaka katika Minyororo* ('A Year in Chains', 1921) which has been suggested by Rollins (19859) as the progenitor of the Swahili novel.

Native Swahili speakers have lost much control over the development of their mother tongue and they have been politically marginalised, particularly in Kenya.[16] Their language has gained the status and prestige that other languages in East Africa with larger numbers of first speakers would like to enjoy for their own language. The very people who, like the colonialists before them, had once wanted to dismiss Swahili as 'a dialect of Arabic' or 'a bastard language', today take pride in learning and using it and call it their National Language. They claim Swahili does not belong to any ethnic group, and it belongs to all, a misconception upon which the dramatic and unexpected development and spread of modern Swahili is based.

3.3. Loanwords and History on the Swahili Coast

"The borrowing of words by one language from another is a well-recognised indicator of culture contact which specifies not only the provenience of the borrowing but also the nature of the culture contact" (McCall 1969:28). The degree or amount of culture contact is thus frequently measured through (quantitative) analysis of loanwords. Nonetheless, Lehmann (1970:2) for example recommends "that language (should) be used only as a diacritic, not a primary source of reconstruction of early culture." In reconstructing the evolution of language and culture contact, Fox (1995:326) expresses the view that "we can accept the method as a possible source of information, but must be cautious in interpreting the results in historical terms."

When loanwords in a language are categorised or classified, they can indicate attributes of the speakers of the donor language, their social, political and economic influence and importance, and also testify to differences between the recipient culture and the donating, intruding or penetrating culture.

"The peoples newly in contact may be from unrelated streams of culture and language, or they may be closely related in one or both of these areas but separated

[16] For deeper discussions on this see Mazrui and Shariff (1993), Allen (1993:240-262), and for Zanzibar see Lodhi (1992b).

long enough for innovation to have occurred. The time required for cultural evolution inevitably produces also some linguistic change. The difference between the two languages may be small or great .... The greater the cultural difference, the greater the linguistic difference is likely to be also, for the development of cultural innovation requires time, and the lapse of time inevitably sees linguistic change" (McCall 1969:32).

Contacts that took place on the East African littoral were from unrelated streams of culture and language – between Bantu/Swahili on the one hand and Cushitic, Arabic, Persian, Indian and Indonesian on the other hand. Despite the great dissimilarity of basic cultures and languages involved, in the beginning Swahili borrowed much from all these sources primarily because of the common maritime activities of the people involved, and later because of the common Muslim faith that came to dominate most of the interacting peoples of the northern and western Indian Ocean. On the other hand, the relative ease which phonological similarity lends to the process of borrowing, may be negated if the intruding culture is too dissimilar and/or too aggressive, as was the case of Portuguese influence in East Africa – Portuguese and Swahili are totally unrelated but their phonetic systems are in great accord (Tucker 1946:857, 1947:230). However, the violent aggression of the Portuguese and their Christian religion discouraged the Muslim Swahili from borrowing much from the intruding Portuguese 'un-believers' though they were in Swahililand for more than two centuries as the dominant power in the Indian Ocean.

There were probably more Portuguese loanwords in use in Swahili during the 16th and 17th centuries than those which survive and are identified today (Prata 1961:133-175). Portuguese loans, as English loans of this century, are swahilized with syllabic /a/, /i/ or /u/; diphthongs are reduced, and nasalization not transfered to Swahili. Further, in English loans in Swahili, the voiced fricative /ʒ/ is reduced to /ʃ/ as in *televisheni.* English loans in Swahili are based mostly on pronunciation (e.g. *kipilefti*, a 'Keep-left', traffic round-about, *saikolojia* psychology and *madigadi* mud-guard) and seldom on spelling (e.g. *kamera* camera); even the loan *malaria* is spelt in this international way but is frequently pronounced /ma'lerja/ or /me'lerja/ with penultimate stress. In Arabic loans in Swahili, the Arabic consonants /ḥ/ and /x/ are usually reduced to a simple /h/, and the Arabic interdentals /ð/ and /θ/ are occasionally reduced to /z/ and /s/ respectively. This reduction takes place as a rule in most Bantu languages of East Africa when Arabic items are indirectly loaned from Swahili. Nouns of Arabic origin are found in all noun classes in Swahili based on their semantic categorization such as human/animate, title, profession and abstract or concrete noun, or on phonetic basis, i.e. initial syllable (Zawawi 1979), e.g. *mwalimu* (pl. *waalimu, walimu*) Cl. 1-2, *mkasi* (pl. *mikasi*) Cl. 3-4, *rafiki* (pl. *marafiki*) Cl. 5-6, *kitabu* (pl. *vitabu*) Cl. 7-8, *binadamu* Cl. 9-10, and *uhuru* Cl. 11. Arabic broken plurals are also used in Swahili though not generally included

in the Swahili dictionaries and studies on loanwords in Swahili, e.g. *awlad* (children, offsprings), *as-haba* (friends, companions), *banati* (daughters), and *ahali* (kinsmen) (see sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3). Arabic loan verbs are found in all extended verb forms in Swahili and they come from different Arabic verb forms. See section 5.5 for details.

When a foreign language is the liturgical language of the host culture, or it enjoys prestige of some kind, special care is taken by the borrowing people to maintain the correct and original pronunciation. This explains why Arabic loans in Swahili have suffered only a minimum of transmogrification and most Arabic loanwords, and even customs, are easily recognisable in Eastern Africa. This is so to such an extent that early European visitors to East Africa misconceived that the Swahili spoken by the people on the coast was a dialect of Arabic, and it is misconceived so even today by many up-country East Africans who have poor competence in Swahili and almost no contact with traditional Swahili culture.[17]

There are often sizeable differences between loanwords and their original forms and meanings in the donor language, e.g. Indic 'āwārā' (vagabond) > Swahili *hawara* (paramour), Portuguese 'danguree' (dance hall) and 'garrissa' (garrison) > Swahili *danguro*, *danguroni* (brothel) and *gereza* (prison) respectively, English 'wireless' (radio or radio station) > Swahili *wailesi* (broadcasting mast, antenna). The various changes between the languages are a necessary "part of the mark of recognition of their relationship" (McCall 1969:36).

The Arabic word 'samn' (cooking fat) was first borrowed in Swahili as *samni*, and then through the process of 'dissimilation' it became *samli*. Through another process of 'misrepresentation', Arabic loans *bia* (sell) and *shara* (buy) were compounded to form the Swahili *biashara* (business, commerce). Other Swahili compounds with Arabic elements[18] such as ***usawazishaji wa irabu*** (vowel harmony, lit. balancing the vowels), ***mkabili shamsi*** (sunflower, i.e. that which faces the sun), ***rasilmali*** (capital) and ***rejareja*** (retail trade, from Ar. 'rajaʕa' to return)[19] would not be easily recognisable by an Arabic speaker since in Arabic their equivalent terms are quite different. There are also cases of 'opposition of meaning' whereby the Arabic loan *sakafu* (originally meaning ceiling) is defined in Swahili as both

[17] During the 1970s, several of my students at Uppsala University who had already been living and working in Eastern Africa for some years as Christian missionaries were convinced that there were no Swahili people as such and that the "islamised" people of the coast were "Arabs" and "half-Arabs", and the "islamised black Africans" were practising "the Arabic culture"! This misconception regrettably continues to survive in some circles. To date, there is no evidence to prove that Swahili developed as a pidgin and creole language, since "early Swahili was not a contact language" (Nurse1996:280).

[18] Arabic segments are given in bold face.

[19] *rejareja* is originally an adjective meaning returnable, i.e. in the expression *biashara ya rejareja* (retail trade), and the NP *kuuza kwa rejareja* (of selling retail), whereby goods were obtained by the retailer on the understanding that the items unsold may be returned to the producer or importer.

ceiling and floor as *sakafu ya chini* (the lower *sakafu*) and *sakafu ya juu* (the upper *sakafu*), since the ceiling of the lower/ground floor becomes the floor of the upper storey. The Arabic loan *shubaka* (window) on the other hand has acquired the connotations of 'niche in a wall, blind window, inbuilt cupboard or wardrobe, light-hole, port-hole' — window in Swahili is called *dirisha* which is a Persian loan. Other loans unrecognisable to the speaker of the donor language may have changed through the process of opposition of numbers, e.g. Arabic *sahaba, sahibu* (friend, companion, particularly of the Prophet Mohammed) gets the Swahili plurals *masahaba, masahibu*; the Arabic equivalent form here is the broken plural *as-haba*, used in Swahili only in religious contexts.

Sometimes sound and meaning may be quite similar in two languages, but the item in question may not be a loanword, e.g. Arabic 'mā'i' (water) and Swahili *maji, mayi, mai* (Zulu *amanzi*), or Persian 'buz' (goat) and Swahili *buzi, mbuzi* (Zulu *imbuzi*). The Zulu forms for example substantiate that the Standard Swahili *maji* and *mbuzi* are of Bantu origin. Similarities of this type are simply coincidental, and they are not Indian Ocean Arabic as suggested by Zawawi (1979). Fox (1995:314) convincingly argues that "If a term is found throughout the languages of the family, then it clearly may be regarded as original, and ascribed to the proto-language. We may also assume that, if a term is found in widely scattered areas, then it will also be original, these being relics of a previously widespread usage." Conversely, it may be argued that the Swahili word *binda* (loin cloth) is not of Bantu origin but of Indian origin since it is found only in Bantu languages immediately adjacent to Swahili which seem to have borrowed it from Swahili. Guthrie (1971) does not give any Proto-Bantu root meaning 'loin cloth' in his Indices. See *binda* in section 7.2.

In our attempt to understand the nature of the problems of borrowing, and how to solve them, we not only have to ask "What was borrowed?" and "From where? From whom?" but also "Under what circumstances did borrowing take place? And why? Who were the specific borrowers, and donors? How were the items borrowed? What is their frequency in the host language?" and finally "When did the borrowing occur?" We will not be able always to answer as satisfactorily particularly the last question as would generally be the case with the other questions. However, often we will find linguistic evidence, also in literature and orature, to suggest a plausible period of culture contact and word borrowing. Linguistic data can shed more light on the shadowy part of history, and linguistic scrutiny of historical texts can shed more light on linguistics. For example, in the Indic and Swahili usage of both the swahilized and non-swahilized Indians of the coast of East Africa, pigeon peas (known as kongo/gongo beans/peas in West Indies and North America) are called *barazi* (with aspirated /bʰ/), whereas in all the dialects of Swahili the form in use is *mbaazi* (also with aspirated /bʰ/) with a progressively assimilated initial /n/ in nouns of classes 9-10 and loss of the intervocalic /r/. Similarly, modern Swahili *chooko* (mung beans, called also *pojo* in Mombasa) are called *choroko* in coastal

Indian/Asian Swahili. The third example is the Swahili word *waanga* or *wanga* for starch or arrowroot (used in the preparation of *halua*, turkish delight or sweet meat) which is pronounced *waranga* by the Asians of the coast. The pronunciation of these three Swahili words by the Indian descendants of coastal East Africa tells us that these words were learnt by them before the Swahili language developed the phonetic rule of the loss of the intervocalic liquids /r/ and /l/, usually in the ultimate syllable, that the Indians on the coast started speaking Swahili and/or were settled on the Swahili coast before this phonetic change was effectively carried out, and that in the past pigeon peas, mung beans and arrowroot were items of trade between India and East Africa, and items of daily consumption. These phonetic changes took place some centuries ago. It has been suggested that this occurred "not too long before AD 1700, and was ongoing throughout the 18th century" (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993:104).[20]

The famous Moroccan traveller Ibn Batuta gives the Indic/Sanskrit word 'tanbul' as the Swahili for betel leaf or the Indian 'paan'.[21] The modern Swahili form of the word is *tambuu* with assimilated /n/ > /m/ preceding a labial, loss of intervocalic /l/ and addition of a final vowel. The form recorded by Batuta tells us that loss of the intervocalic /l/ had not taken place in the speech of the Swahili when he visited East Africa in AD 1331; however, since in the Arabic orthography, the /n/ preceding a labial is spelled as an /n/ but pronounced as /m/, regrettably we have no (written) evidence of this assimilation in Swahili at that time.

The Indic loans *karafuu* (cloves) and *tangawizi* (ginger) in Swahili are similarly important indicators. The Sanskrit 'karanfūl' was borrowed directly, swahilized to *karanfulu* and later reduced to *karafuu* – it is not an Arabic loan as given by Johnson (1939), nor is it a Greek word via Arabic as claimed by Sacleux (1939), Krumm (1940) and Bosha (1993). The Swahili form has developed through the same sound changes mentioned above – as a rule, /n/ in front of /f/, and the intervocalic liquid in the ultimate syllable are dropped and a final vowel is added. The word *karafuu* must also be as old a loan as *tambuu* since it is an ingredient of the Indian 'paan' and a common spice in the Indian Ocean cuisine.[22]

Swahili *tangawizi* is derived from Indic 'rangavira' (also 'šrangavera', 'šringavera'). The Swahili loan appears to have developed through several sound changes: *rangawira* > *rangawiri* > *rangawizi* > *tangawizi*. These sound changes are met with in many languages of East Africa (Guthrie

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[20] Also personal communication with T. Hinnebusch in Gainesville/Florida, March 1996, and D. Nurse in Leipzig/Germany, July 1997.

[21] *tambuu*, leaf of the betel plant, or a mixture of betel/areca nut (of areca palm) and sweet spices wrapped in the betel leaf, is chewed after a meal. It is called 'paan' in India and Pakistan and is used all around the Indian Ocean, mostly by people of Indian origin. During his three months long visit to East Africa, Batuta was often offered a *tambuu* after the meal he was invited to.

[22] See section 1.4 on Krapf (1882).

1967, Nurse and Spear 1985, Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993). Again we can surmise that *tangawizi* was borrowed, and it was an important spice in Swahililand, before these sound changes took place on the East Coast, since if it were a later or recent loan, the Swahili would have pronounced it as *rangawira or *shangawira. The spice name *tangawizi* thus can not be a Bantu word originally as given by Johnson (1939:452); and it is a spice rarely found in the cuisine of East Africans other than the Swahili and Asians.[23] Moreover, recent research has established that ginger belongs to the South-East Asian food complex.[24]

Looking at the loans, one soon finds out that they are prominent or more common in some categories or areas of activity such as legal or religious terms, handicraft and industry, architecture, commerce or poetry. For example, the English loans in Swahili are mostly in the fields of modern science, innovations and technology; and most of them are 'international' loans, i.e. they belong to registers of new coinage mostly in English, usually of Graeco-Latin, French or German origin, a common phenomenon today in most languages.

Many times a native term is used to name a foreign concept or object, or a foreign term replaces a native term because of greater prestige or economic importance. For example 'airplane' in Swahili is called *ndege*, originally meaning 'bird', and 'train' is called *garimoshi* (smoking wagon). We can compare these to the Amerindian equivalents of 'iron bird' and 'iron horse' respectively which were used in early Hollywood films about 'Cowboys and Indians'.

The Arabic loans *asali* (honey) and *samaki* (fish) in Swahili replaced the Bantu terms *uki* and *insi/isi* respectively because of their economic importance in the import-export trade of the coast. The words *uki* and *insi* do continue to exist in the northern dialects of Swahili parallel to the Arabic loans, and *Uki* also occurs as a male name.

Dried fish (*samaki wakavu*) was a major import commodity brought to East Africa from northern Somalia, southern Arabia and the Gulf region, e.g. *papa* shark, *nguru* kingfish, *ngonda* scavenger (*Lethrinus spp.* with, more than a dozen varieties, and other fish), and *bumbla* (Bombay duckfish, a delicacy from the western coast of India). The visitors were selling (Arabic) 'samak' (fish) to the Swahili. This dry fish was also reexported in large quantities by the Swahili to the interior, hence the word *samaki* is found also in the languages of all inland people who were trading partners of the coastal Swahili. Similarly, the Arabs were buying 'asal' (honey) from the Swahili who in turn were getting most of it from the people in the

[23] On Swahili cookery and food culture, see section 4.7, and Lodhi 1982b:77-80.

[24] For a deeper discusion on ginger, see Ruthström 1998:242-60. The English 'ginger', Swedish 'ingefära' and their equivalents in many languages in Europe are derived from the Indic word. It is also mentioned in the Koran as an item of luxury (The Holy Koran 76:7). The other spice mentioned in the Koran (76:5), also of Persian origin, is camphor ('k f r' in Arabic and *kafuri* in Swahili).

interior. Later from the middle of the 1700s the Swahilis, Arabs and Indians were also penetrating the interior themselves with their caravans and mixing Arabic with Swahili. Honey production and export were among the important activities connected with foreign trade in East Africa and the Arabic loan *asali* is used even by the Gogo, Kamba, Nyamwezi, Sukuma, the Nyika and Taita, all major producers of honey. In Swahili the honey producers are called *warina asali*, not *warina uki or *wauki as one might expect.

The English loan *supu* (soup) however, through a process of generalization, replaced the Swahili term *serwa* (of Arabic origin) not because of its higher social prestige or economic importance, but rather because it became an institutional meal or subcourse in the Police and Army canteens, prisons, hospitals and boarding schools. The word *serwa* has however, through a process of specialization, developed the specific connotation of 'broth/clear soup'. Replacement of vocabulary is a universal phenomenon; and basic words can be easily replaced "Since, however, the vocabulary of languages is highly susceptible to replacement by borrowing" (Fox 1995:281).

Sometimes the loanword is a slang expression or has a special history of its own. The Indic loan *kalua* is derived from Cutchi/Gujarati 'khārwā' (Indian salt workers who were also engaged in fishing and dry fish trade). In Swahili it has the connotations of 'boat boys' or Indian sailors on East African ships. Indian sailors in general in East Africa are called *badala* (pl. *mabadala*), and they were almost all Cutchi-speaking Muslims from the Cutch or Karachi region. *Badala* is a Cutchi Muslim caste, members of which are found spread in East Africa, working even in the inland ports and the railways.

The Arabic loan *uledi* (cabin boy, kitchen boy, originally on an Arabian sailing ship) is derived from the Arabic 'walad' (child, boy, son) in which, according to the Arabic phonetic rules, the short /a/ vowel following a /w/ or /l/ is produced as half open /ɛ/, hence Arabic /'wɛlɛd/ > Swahili *weledi* > *uledi*. The word *weledi* with this meaning is not identified by any writer on Arabic loans in Swahili. However, the form *waladi* meaning 'boy' or 'son' is included in the *KAMUSI* (1981), but not by Johnson (1939), nor Sacleux (1939).

The Swahili expression *alijojo* means 1) a kite blown away and lost (hence it is nobody's property and it eventually belongs to anyone who picks it up), and by analogy, 2) a divorced young woman (a derogatory reference to a woman who is assumed to be readily available as a temporary lover). According to both Sheikh Hamisi Akida of Daressalaam and the late Mzee Ismail Lota of Fumba/Miembeni in Zanzibar, the expression developed when towards the end of the last century some Gujarati speaking children were flying kites at the Maisara grounds (the former Cooper's Naval Institute) in Zanzibar, and one of their kites broke off and started flying away, the owner of the kite called his friend in Gujarati, 'Aree, jo jo!'

(You please, look, look!) or 'Ali, jo jo!' (Ali, please check where the kite falls!) The Swahili children on the field perceived this cry as *alijojo* and understood this as 'a kite which was lost and could be picked up by anyone'.[25]

Some slang expressions of foreign origin, as well as native origin, are shortlived for various reasons, primarily because of their limited social or regional use in time and space. The Gujarati loan *gadero* (donkey), a derogative term of reference by Hindus for alcoholics, was used in Zanzibar City in the 60s and 70s to refer to those who drank home-distilled alcohol which was illegally sold and consumed in dark hidden places. Similarly the Indic loanword *soo* (pl. *masoo*) for a hundred, pronounced as it is spelt in Indic languages and Swahili, was used in the Daressalaam area during the 60s and 70s for the new 100/- shillings notes. Another, more popular, name for the 100/- shillings note is the transfer term *masai* because one side of the note represents a Maasai warrior with his spear and cattle. Swahili slang is full of such tranfers and analogous terms (Polomé 1983/4:73-75). Some children even used *masai* as a plural form (meaning hundreds) and derived the singular form *sai* (hundred), getting a synonym for the standard term *mia* of Arabic origin.

Of the handful of French loans in Swahili, *shamba* is of very high frequency, is overloaded and has spread to many other languages of Eastern Africa that I have checked. The word *shamba* is derived from the French 'champ' (field, open space) via the 18th century Indian Ocean Arabic 'šānba' (plantation). The French cleared fields and introduced plantation agriculture with slave or contracted labour in Mauritius and Seychelles during the later part of the 1700s. The system was adopted by the Omanis and Swahilis along the coast and also at some inland centres such as Tabora, Kigoma and Ujiji in Tanganyika where much food for caravans was produced and stored (Sheriff 1987:186). From its original denotation of plantation in Swahili, *shamba* has developed connotations such as 'farm' and 'small holding', the locative plural *mashambani* meaning 'the countryside', the Class 1-2 noun *mshamba* (pl. *washamba*) meaning 'an uncultivated person', 'a country fool, simpleton'; the adjective *-a kishamba*

[25] Personal communication with Sheikh Hamisi Akida and Sheikh Ismail Lota in Daressalaam, 1975. Another interesting etymology provided by Sheikh Lota was for the old Swahili ethnonym Wangozi, the citizens of Ngozi/Ngovi, the Swahili kingdom of antiquity on the Kenya coast, and Kingozi/Kingovi, the parent language Old Swahili. According to Sheikh Lota, Wangozi/Wangovi were those who practiced male circumcision, and Kingozi/Kingovi was the name of their language. In his learned opinion, though *ngozi* and *ngovi* are synonyms, originally *ngozi* was skin or leather in general, but *ngovi* was specifically prepuce which has to be ritually removed and buried. He further believed that the Swahilis practised male circumcision already in pre-Islamic times. This etymology appears to be more convincing than that forwarded by Knappert (1979:73, 104, 107-8) that Kingozi was "parchment language", the language written on goatskin, and Wangozi were the people who spoke it and hence their urban centre came to be known as Ngozi!

derogatively meaning 'rural'; and *Kishamba* meaning 'unsophisticated speech'.

The French loan *shamba* appears also in the Swahili proverb *Jogoo la shamba haliwiki mjini!* (A country cock does not crow in town!). Its earlier tight formulation was *Jogoo la shambani, haliwiki mujini!* (Lodhi 1980a:86). We do not have to dive too deep into the dark waters of historical linguistics to conclude that this proverb must have developed after the French system of plantation agriculture was introduced in East Africa, i.e. towards the end of the 1700s, and that the dichotomy of the elite 'fine' town versus the 'uncouth' country upheld by an absentee feudal class thriving on squatters or slave labour was not a centuries-old phenomenon in East Africa as it is claimed by historians. Moreover, *shamba* does not occur in Swahili writings before the establishment of the Omani sultanate rule in 1821! Studies of such data in Swahili to list indicators of chronology in the history of the East Coast of Africa are grossly lacking. Krumm (1940) however argues, without any historical reference, that *shamba* is derived from the tribal name Shambala/Shambaa, "the people of the forest", in north-east Tanzania mainland. Krapf (1882:328) defines *shamba* as cultivated land distinct from *kiunga* which contains fruit trees.

The once common French borrowing *divai*, from French 'du vin' for imported wines and spirits, has almost disappeared from Swahili usage. The very widely spread international term 'alcohol', which is of Arabic origin, however does not exist in Swahili in spite of the very close proximity of the Swahili to the Arabic language and culture! The Arabic loan *khamra/hamra* for wine is occasionally heard in the arabised usage of the educated Muslim Swahili. The Arabic loan *hamira* in Swahili however denotes only 'yeast' or sour coconut milk used for fermentation. The common Portuguese loan *mvinyo* denotes 'bottled wine' and the native Swahili term *tembo* specifically means 'palm-wine', which is also used to ferment sweetened dough to make the *maandazi* doughnuts which are also called *hamri/khamri* (pl. *mahamri/makhamri*) along the coast in Kenya and Somalia. Distilled alcohol in Swahili is generally known as *ulevi* and an intoxicant or a drug as *kileo* (pl. *vileo*) which are all derived from the verb *kulewa* (to be intoxicated, drugged). It is also called *tende* (dates) as it was originally distilled from old dates and date syrup on the date plantations of Oman. In Swahili slang it has transfer synonyms such as *moshi* (smoke), *mvuke* (steam) and *gongo* (pole/stick to hold on to and raise or straighten oneself), and internal Bantu loans such as *kangara*.

As these examples show, a comparative study of loans or terms for related concepts or a narrow field of activity can tell us a lot about the culture history of a people and their interaction with others. This is corroborated well by Knappert (1970). In the foregoing, for example, we can discern that alcohol was not a trading item of the Oriental partners of the Swahili, that the French did deal with it, but their predecessors the Portuguese had already introduced bottled wine and even founded wine-

drinking houses (in Swahili called *vijumba hasara*, houses causing loss, Lodhi 1980a:89), and that the Swahili by tradition, though being Muslim, were not strangers to the practice of drinking wine.[26] Similarly, the other words treated earlier provide information about different aspects of Swahili history.

In his "Do Pygmies have a history?" Jan Vansina (1986, referred to by Devlieger 1998) addresses assumptions that lead in the direction of a timeless people; his question thus seeks to show meaning in historical contexts, in periods for which there exist few or no documents.[27] Similarly, one can ask "Do Swahili words, like words in other languages, have a history?" And if so, "What is their history?"

Linguistic data can to a great extent support, verify and expand historical accounts, and where there is insufficient documentation, the available and discernible linguistic data can provide useful and reliable historical information. For most of sub-Saharan Africa, a clear picture of the phenomenon of culture contact is undoubtedly dependent on linguistic research. In writing African history, one cannot avoid taking into consideration any available linguistic data of historical significance and that which can be discerned from an unbiased scrutiny and inter-disciplinary analysis of the languages involved. While studies of this type are common in the case of the Indo-European and Semitic languages, regrettably little has been done in this respect for African languages (Dalby 1970). However, much preliminary work has already been done on loanwords in Swahili, and on the history of Swahililand there is extensive literature easily available. One aim of the present work is to present information of this kind.

[26] Wine drinking and wine houses seem to be common in the ports of the Indian Ocean. A Tamil poem of the second century AD gives a good account of night life and wine-drinking in the southern Indian ports. There exists at least one old poem in Swahili praising wine, wine-drinking and the wine-tapper, supposed to have been composed by Fumo Liyongo himself, the legendary anacreon and national hero of the Swahili, who lived during the early Islamic period along the Kenya coast (Knappert 1979:68-69).

[27] I am indebted to Birgitta Jennische, Carolina Library, Uppsala University, for these references to Vansina (1986) and Devlieger (1998).

4. Historical, Linguistic and Cultural Background of Orientals in Eastern Africa

4.1. Introduction

Historians of the East African coast have had the tendency to view the Swahili coast as a *tabula rasa* onto which a lot of Asiatic influences have been super-imposed. This bias has painted a distorted historical picture of the East African coast, over-emphasising the Persian, Arab, Indian and the Far Eastern influences, and under-emphasising, or even ignoring, the geographical and cultural unity of the East African coastal civilization and the movement of Asian goods and ideas in the north-south direction along the littoral, and east-west direction into the interior, albeit as part of the North-Western Indian Ocean corridor. In this view of East African history, there is almost a total disregard of the other frontier of East Africa, viz. the interior or the hinterland – the historians' preoccupation being the ever-changing horizons of the Indian Ocean, the only frontier.

Few historians have succeeded in defining the African foundations on which the supposed Asiatic influences were impressed. A just model of medieval Swahili history and pre-colonial East African history should properly define the Eastern African Interior, the Coast, and Asia as three cultural and commercial regions, with the Coast as the active focal, or transient, region where the lateral Continental and Oceanic regions intersected and interacted through the somewhat orientalized coastalists.

Because of the stated linguistic purpose and limited historical focus of this thesis, the present chapter will deal primarily with the Asiatic/Oceanic region.[28]

4.2. The Swahili Coast And The Indian Ocean[29]

The earliest known document describing the East African coast is the much quoted *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, written by the Roman sailor Hippalus of Egypt who is believed to have visited East Africa in AD 45. The peoples of the northern Indian Ocean lands, together with the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and even of the Mediterranean and the China Sea, had rather intensive maritime contacts with the western Indian Ocean, i.e. with the East African coastal peoples, for more than a thousand years before the western Europeans headed by the Portuguese arrived from the Atlantic at the end of the 1400s (Nicolls 1971, Connag 1987, Allen 1993).

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[28] For an elaborate critique of the Asiatic bias in the historiography of the East African coast, see Amiji (1984).

[29] Allen (1993:21-37, 55-76, 193-212) describes in detail early settlements, early trade and trade routes, and early Islam among the Swahili, and poses provocative questions at the end of his very exhaustive work, which is his posthumously published 'thesis'; it is also a most convincing history of the Swahili peoples and their cultural origins, both material and non-material. See Prins (1967), Allen (1981) and Middleton (1992) for details on the cultural histrory and anthropology of the Swahili-speaking peoples.

Maritime and mercantile terminology in the languages of East Africa consists mostly of contributions from other languages of the Indian Ocean (Prins 1970, Baldi 1976).

The earliest peoples to trade in the Indian Ocean are believed to have been the dwellers of the city-states of the lower Tigris-Euphrates and those of the Indus River who might have ventured southwards to Eastern Africa with the help of the regular and reliable Monsoon winds (Coupland 1938, Chaudhuri 1990, Middleton 1992, Allen 1993).[30]

There is a good reason to believe that the Egyptians explored the east African coasts during the 5th to the 18th dynasty (ca. 2200-1500 B.C.) followed by the Phoenicians who controlled the Egyptian trade. Around 1000 B.C., the Sabaeans of southern Arabia controlled and regulated trade in the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, Sindh in India and East Africa. After the conquest of Egypt by Persia in 526 B.C., more Persian influence began to be felt in the Indian Ocean, especially after the famous 3rd Achaemenid ruler Darius who sent naval expeditions to the Indus, the Red Sea, across the desert westwards to the Nile, and probably to Eastern Africa. During the short Greek domination of Persia and the early Roman period, Greeks and Syrians became familiar with India, and indirectly Eastern Africa. Soon the Persians were again the dominating power in the northern and western Indian Ocean waterways. The classical Greek writers Agatharkides (2nd century BC) and Strabo (1st century AD), and later the Arab historians Al-Masudi (c. 915 AD), Al-Jahiz (c. 815 AD) and Al-Idrisi (c. 1150 AD) mention in their works the Swahili Coast and its commercial activities.

During all these periods, numerous trading posts and settlements of reasonable size were founded on the African coasts by the various peoples involved, and culturally related societies developed. South Arabian presence on the African shores increased with the diminishing influence of the Persians in the beginning of the Christian era. The Persians appeared again in the northwestern Indian Ocean in AD 570 to aid the south Arabian 'idol worshippers' and the Jews against the Christian Romans, extending their influence to the settlements on the Somali coast. Persian influence and their presence in the area subsided with the rise of Islam (when the waves of all kinds of development went mostly eastwards, westwards and northwards from Arabia). But in the tenth century AD, a large number of Arabic-speaking Muslims from Shiraz and Siraf in Persia fled to the Swahili Coast in East Africa under the leadership of the legendary sultan Hassan bin Ali who established dynastic rule along the Tanzania coast, the most famous and dominant centre being Kilwa starting AD 950 (Oliver and Mathew 1963, Chaudhuri 1990).[31] Several other subsequent large immigrations from Arabia and Persia in the north to East

[30] See Hourani (1995) and Ricks (1970) for details on seafaring in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

[31] On Shia influence, see Rizwi 1975; Freeman Grenville 1962.

Africa in the south took place because of floods, famine, epidemics or civil wars. The last, and probably the largest immigration from Arabia and Persia, combined this time, took place with the invasion of East Africa in the 1820s by the Omani ruler Seyyid Said bin Sultan Al-Busaidi. Today, most descendants of the Arabs and Iranians are defacto Swahilis; and Arab, Omani, Hadrami, Irani, Baluchi, Bahraini and at times Indian, etc. are ethnic terms of reference in narrow social contexts or they are used to identify agnatic descent or patrilineal group belonging (Middleton and Campbell 1965).

Seyyid Said, the political ruler and Imam (religious leader) of Oman during the first half of the 19th century, was a merchant prince, and among his favourite queens were an Indian princess who lived in Muscat and also a Persian princess who lived in Zanzibar for a period. As merchant princes, Seyyid Said and his successors were deeply involved in trade with India which had flourished for very long time (Nicolls 1971). The *Periplus* describes this flourishing trade and the trading places in Arabia, Persia, India and East Africa. In AD 400, Indian trading and settlements were well-established in Malaya and Indonesia (Polomé 1987:325). When Ibn Batuta of Tunisia visited East Africa in 1331, most of the coastal settlements around the Indian Ocean were Muslim and Arabic was their literary and commercial language. Ibn Batuta mentions a couple of Indic loanwords in use in East Africa during the 1330s (Hamdun and King 1975:1-22).

Though early Arabian and Syrian traders, including Jewish and Christian, sailed to India and Ceylon, and later Muslim Arabian traders settled in Malaya and Indonesia, trade between India and Swahililand developed early in the second millenium AD as almost an Indian monopoly – Indian merchant houses owned many sailing ships and few of their sailors were Africans. Arab, Persian and African ships had mixed crew. Much sailing between India and the south Arabian ports was also in Indian hands, whereas Arab and Persian merchants catered for the trade between the ports of the Red Sea and northern Persian Gulf; and Arab, Persian and Swahili catered for the direct trade between the south Arabian, Persian and the Swahili ports. Not coincidentally, the captain who piloted Vasco da Gama from East Africa to India in 1498 was a Muslim Cutchi Indian living in Malindi, Kenya (Gray 1962). [32]

The ancestors of the Malagasy of Madagascar moved westward from Indonesia, cutting across the ocean or following a northern route via India and later southwards to East Africa. These people must have come from non-Hindu and non-Buddist areas, and before the spread of Islam, which is substantiated by the absence of Hindu, Buddhist or Muslim features in their religion and culture, and also the absence of Indian or Persian words

[32] Haji Mohamed Rukn-al-din of Daybul in India, with the arabised surname al-Dabuli, was the puppet Sultan of Kilwa in 1506 (Allen 1993:245).

in their language. The small number of Arabic loans in modern Malagasy can be traced to the much later growth of Muslim communities in the northern and northwestern coastal areas of the island where the Arabic script was used until the beginning of the twentieth century (Munthe 1987). The Indonesians brought the outrigger *ngalawa* to East Africa and several fruits and vegetables (Jones 1971).

During about two centuries of Portuguese dominance in the Indian Ocean from around AD 1500, the Swahili coast was ravaged, its polities weakened and its people impoverished. After the definite ousting of the Portuguese in 1729 with the help of a fleet from Muscat in Oman, Omani Arab protectorate rule was established in all the major coastal settlements. The southern Arabian protectors became gradually swahilized (and africanised), contributing more Arabic features to the Swahili language and culture, and developed independent city and island states free from Muscat. Consequently, in 1817 Oman invaded East Africa with a rented fleet from Iran, and the East African coast became part of the Omani empire, later with its seat moved to Zanzibar in 1840. Arabic, Persian and Indian influences in East Africa thus increased and were consolidated tremendously during the first half of the 19th century. The Oman-Zanzibar sultanate lasted upto 1856 when after the death of Seyyid Said, Oman and East Africa were separated into two states with the help of the British in Bombay. The state of Zanzibar was gradually reduced by European colonization to its present size and became itself a British Protectorate in 1891 after the Heligoland Treaty signed between Britain and Germany (Gray 1962, Prins 1961, Bennett 1978). Zanzibar became independent in December 1963, and after a republican revolution a month later, it united with mainland Tanganyika in April 1964 to form the present United Republic of Tanzania (Lofchie 1964).

Seyyid Said invited Indian merchant houses to finance the expanding caravan trade with the interior of Eastern Africa, and to help him administer the state apparatus, especially the seaports and collect customs dues (Gray 1962). The largest concentration of Orientals (mainly Omani Arabs and northwest Indians) in East Africa, before the coming of the British and the Germans, was in Zanzibar City which was largely built with Indian money and by Indian artisans. The Indian settlers along the East African coast were mostly Muslim, both Sunni and Shia, from Sindh, Cutch and Gujarat (Sheriff 1987:148). Towards the end of the last century, the British brought from India to Kenya and Uganda tens of thousands of railway builders and workers who were joined by many more arriving as soldiers of the British India Army who defeated the Germans in Tanganyika during World War I. The British brought more educated Indians during the inter-war years to serve in their expanding colonial administration, the army, police, prisons, etc. (Bharati 1972, Lodhi et al 1979). Among the British Indians of the 1890s there was also a group of Gujarati-speaking Indian Parsee (Zoroastrians) who settled in Zanzibar,

built there the first Zoroastrian temple in Eastern Africa, and who were bureaucratically and socially placed with the British.[33] Almost all of the contracted arrivals from India were Punjabi-speaking Sikh, Hindus and Muslims, Gujarati-speaking Hindus and Muslims and Konkani-speaking Catholic Goans (Middleton and Campbell 1965). Most Cutchi and Sindhi speakers (mostly Muslim with a few Hindus belonging to the Banya and Bhatia castes) arrived on their own as was their age-old tradition. A few Konkani and Urdu-speaking Muslims of Goa (known in East Africa as Kukni) also immigrated independently and settled in different parts of East Africa.

Most of the Indian settlement during the British period beginning 1882 was in the interior away from Swahililand, the great majority of them were not Muslim, and their cultural contact with native Swahili-speakers was minimal. On the other hand, almost all of the early (pre-British) Indians settled in East Africa before European colonization were Muslim, their speech and culture contained a large number of Arabic and Persian elements comparable to those in Swahili, and they were settled along the coast. Many of them, usually and naturally men, intermarried with Arab, Swahili or other East Africans and were well integrated into the Swahili societies. Therefore, few linguistic or cultural influences in Swahili can be attributed to the later Indians of the British period (see section 4.5.7.). In 1891 for example, the first British primary school with Gujarati and English medium, with teachers imported from British India, opened in Zanzibar City for Indian children, was closed down after a few months as "no Indian child spoke any Indian language at home or at play" (Bennett 1978:172); and there was no Arabic-medium school in the country. Most of these Indians oriiginated in the non-British 'Native States' in Sindh and Cutch.

4.3. Arabs and Arabic in Eastern Africa

4.3.1. The early period. It has been claimed by many writers that Zanzibar was the political and Islamic cultural centre of Eastern Africa dominated by 'Arabs' (Coupland 1961, Gray 1962, Oliver and Mathew 1963, Prins 1967, Were and Wilson 1968/1984, Ogot and Kieran eds. 1968) and it has "too much history and too little geography".[34] The maritime handbook *Periplus* of the first century AD tells of an already ancient trading system between East Africa on the one hand and the Middle East, India and the Far East on

[33] The Parsees, though a very small minority, were also politically active. Mr. Rustam Sidhwa, a former Town Clerk, was an Afro-Shirazi Party leader, and Mr. Rati Bulsara, journalist and publisher of the leftist paper *Adal Insaf* was with the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and was for some time detained by the British together with the Marxist leader Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu. One of Rati Bulsara's nephews, Faridun (Fardi) Bulsara, later became famous as the British artist Freddie Mercury of the rock group Queen.

[34] Niwong 1984:24 quoting a speech by A. Y. Lodhi, 5-2-1984, Stockholm.

the other, made possible by the regular Monsoon winds, in which Arabic speaking peoples were involved. The trade was largely in ivory, tortoise-shell, rhinoceros horn, and later, gold, slaves, ambergris and crystal rock (Horton 1986 and 1987). People from southern Arabia, the Persian Gulf and India were familiar with Zanji-bar, the Black Coast, spoke the language of the natives and intermarried with them (Freeman Grenville 1962 and 1963, Alpers 1967, Chittick 1969, Masao and Mutoro 1988:586-615).

During the 7th to the 10th centuries, civil wars and natural catastrophies in Persia and Arabia caused several migrations to the East African coast. The most notable migration occured in AD 950 when Hassan Bin Ali, the Sultan of Shiraz in Persia, sailed with his six sons and followers and raised settlements on the East African coast and islands. This marked the beginning of the legendary Zenj or Zanj Empire dominated by Kilwa until the coming of the Portuguese in the beginning of the 16th century. The Zenj Empire was mercantile rather than political, consisting of more than 20 city states and islands, sometimes at war with one another.

Little is known of the period up to 1331 when Ibn Batuta visited East Africa, but traditions claim that the coastal settlements were of mixed African, Arab, Persian and Indian origin and of pre-Islamic times. Ibn Batuta was struck by their Muslim African character. However, the people of Tumbatu and Unguja islands still celebrate the pre-Islamic Persian Zoroastrian new year 'Nau Roz' (*Nairuzi* or *Mwaka Kogwa* in Swahili) and perform some rites connected with it. It is probable that the *Nairuzi* celebration was reintroduced in Zanzibar, or made popular there, with the fresh arrival of the Iranians in the 1820s (Gray 1955, Tominaga 1990, Allen 1993:245). However, the oldest functioning architectural evidence in East Africa is a mosque at Kizimkazi in the predominantly Shirazi part of southern Unguja dated AD 1107.

The southern parts of the island of Unguja were probably settled during the 5th or 6th century AD by people from the Tanzanian coast. Later from the 10th century onwards they were joined by fresh immigrants, at first directly from Persia and Arabia, and later from the coastal settlements in Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique. These later arrivals could have been of a mixed African-Persian-Arab stock and they consolidated the tradition of Persian or Shirazi origins of the peoples of Unguja, Pemba, Tumbatu and Mafia islands along the coast of Tanzania (Allen 1993).

At Unguja Ukuu, in the south-west of Unguja island, a centralised kingdom was established probably towards the end of the 10th century AD with its own system of local government at the village level. The ruler was a king (the *Mwinyi Mkuu*, the Great One) or a queen (*Mwana wa Mwana*, Daughter of the Daughter), but the administrative head was an appointed male minister, the *Diwani* (pl. *Madiwani*), whose office also tended to be hereditary.

On Tumbatu island, a similar situation existed. The Tumbatu people had spread to the northern parts of Unguja and southern Pemba with their ruler in Tumbatu. The rest of Pemba island was ruled by an elected triumvirate of *Madiwani*. When the Portuguese arrived in East Africa, they found an African sultan ruling at Unguja Ukuu. The Shangani peninsula in the west-central part of Unguja was a lesser port regularly visited by merchants from Asia. There were some Arab and Indian settlements (Jumbe 1979).

Vasco da Gama arrived in East Africa in 1498, and within ten years the Portuguese, with their superior weaponry and aggressive tactics, had subdued the warring cities. During the Portuguese period that followed, Shangani (today's Stone Town) grew into a non-African port with Arab, Persian and Indian residents ruled by a Portuguese garrison housed in a fort. After two centuries, an Omani fleet ousted the Portuguese in 1698 from their headquarters in Mombasa, Kenya, and from Kilwa and Pemba during the following year. The Portuguese regained Mombasa in 1727 only to lose it for good two years later. The retreat of the Portuguese to the Ruvuma river in the south (which today marks the border between Tanzania and Mozambique) was realised with help from Oman. Omani presence thus replaced the hitherto traditional artisto-theocracy consisting of the Sheikhs of Swahili-Yemeni origin. Omanis were appointed as governors and high officials in the army and administration. Shangani, or Zanzibar Town/City, was the last Portuguese stronghold to fall into Omani hands. With the fall of Zanzibar Town, the history of the East African Coast began to be written anew. Zanzibar Town achieved the status of an autonomous city state with an Omani governor; Arab, Persian and Indian settlement all along the coast increased thereafter.

Oman's domestic problems enabled the coastal towns and islands to enjoy virtual independence under the rule of well-established Omani families who became increasingly africanised. Mombasa gradually took the dominant role among them under the Mazrui family. In the meantime, the Yorubi dynasty of Oman (1711-44) was replaced by the Busaidi clan headed by Ahmad bin Said who died in 1784.

The Mazruis of Mombasa had not fully accepted the Busaidis of Oman. The local rulers of Pemba towns, the *Madiwani*, dominated by the Mazruis, in 1821 asked for Omani help in overthrowing the Mazrui governor in Pemba. In 1822, the Imam of Oman, Seyyid Said bin Sultan, conquered Pemba. In 1828 he led an expedition to Mombasa and finally took it in 1837 with a large Persian fleet of mercenaries from Iranian Baluchistan and bodyguards from Sindh and Cutch in India on whom he relied much after establishing himself as the sole ruler of Oman and Muscat. In 1840 Seyyid decided to move his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar Town to bring the whole East African littoral under his direct rule. Jaziratul-Khadhra (the Green Island, Unguja/Zanzibar) thus became an Arab Sultanate, the centre of an Omani East African empire.

4.3.2. The Omani Sultanate, 1831-1890. Seyyid Said and the British had fought together against pirates in the northern waters of the Indian Ocean to make them safer for the trading vessels to and from the Persian Gulf, India and the Far East. Britain had by this time colonized or brought under its influence most of India and was the dominant European power in the Indian Ocean. Seyyid Said had good contacts with the British. He introduced the clove plantation system in Zanzibar which he had copied from the French in Mauritius and Seychelles; he invited Indian financiers to settle in East Africa and encouraged the inland caravan trade going up to the lakes in central Africa. Soon the USA (1836), followed by Britain (1841), and later France and Germany, opened their diplomatic missions in Zanzibar. Seyyid Said established an impressive empire and a sphere of influence from the southern parts of the Persian Gulf to India, the Indian Ocean islands and far into the interior of Eastern Africa. It was during his reign, because of the systematic expansion of the clove plantations and other cash crops, that the slave trade was escalated and Zanzibar port became the slave market for East Africa (Ehret 1988:516-642). Many slaves passing through Zanzibar were however shipped to Asia to be sold as domestic slaves, soldiers, body-guards and concubines.

Before the coming of Seyyid Said to Zanzibar, the Omani settlement and rule in Zanzibar was limited to the port city. The Unguja/Hadimu and the Tumbatu kingdoms paid tribute to the Omani governor as they had done to the Portuguese. The Hadimu had moved their capital from Unguja Ukuu in south Unguja to the much safer inland town of Dunga in central Unguja. The western part of Unguja north of the port was uninhabited forest which the Omanis had already started occupying. Seyyid Said launched a full-scale occupation of the forest lands and the fertile areas adjacent to them and distributed them to his Omani followers and prominent Shirazi to start clove and coconut plantations (Lofchie 1964:44-46, Lodhi 1986c).

Seyyid Said soon came to be recognised by the European powers, especially Britain, as the Sultan of Oman and the East African Dominions. Zanzibar town and port became 'The Pearl of the Indian Ocean', and it was rather fancifully claimed that 'when the flute was played on Zanzibar, people danced along the lakes in the interior of Africa' (Lodhi et al 1979:56).[35]

When Seyyid Said died in 1856, leaving more than a dozen sons (of Arab, African, Indian, Persian and European mothers) as equal heirs to his throne, his dominions were divided between his eldest sons Majid (of Ethiopian mother) in Zanzibar, and Thwain (of Georgian mother) in Oman. This dual succession (called 'The Canning Award' after Lord Canning, the British Viceroy in India) marked the permanent political separation of East Africa and Oman, brought about with British intervention, making British interests in Zanzibar and East Africa paramount.

[35] "When one pipes in Zanzibar, they dance on the lakes" (Hollingsworth 1953:6).

During Seyyid Majid's time inland centres were started by Arabs, Swahilis and Indians at Tabora, Ujiji and Kigoma and the caravan trade began to approach what was later to be called Lake Victoria by the British explorer Speke. Majid ruled up to 1870 and was succeeded by his brother Barghash (also of Ethiopian mother) who ruled up till 1888.

Seyyid Barghash had lived in exile in Bombay for about five years where he developed a taste for Indian art, cuisine, music and architecture and was even married to an Indian wife. He brought the indigenous people of Unguja, the Tumbatu and Hadimu, under effective Omani rule especially after the death of the last local ruler, the heirless Mwinyi Mkuu of Dunga in central Zanzibar, in 1873. Around the same time, the *Madiwani* triumvirate rulership became defunct in Pemba, and the Tumbatu royal house came to a natural end with the death of the heirless queen Mwana Khadija. Barghash thus brought Unguja, Pemba and Tumbatu under his direct rule with the central government in Zanzibar Town. Under Barghash, Zanzibar enjoyed great opulence and international fame, and contacts with India and Britain increased because of his long exile in Bombay during the reign of Majid and his official visit to Britain.

However, in 1885 Barghash was forced by the Germans to relinquish a large part of his mainland territories. The 1886 Delimitation Treaty between Britain and Germany, signed without Barghash's acquiescence, further reduced the size of the Zanzibar Sultanate to a ten-mile wide coastal strip running from the river Tana in the north (in Kenya) to the river Ruvuma in the south, including the islands of Unguja, Pemba, Mafia, Lamu and the islets surrounding them. Beyond this coastal strip, the British and the Germans divided the lands among themselves creating British Kenya Colony and the German Tanganyika Protectorate (including the coastal strip). The Italians on their part colonised the ports of Somalia, the Belgians annexed the Zanzibar sphere of influence in Earstern Congo, and the French tightened their grip on Madagascar and the Comoro Islands.

Barghash was succeeded by two of his brothers and six other sultans who were all direct descendents of Seyyid Said (Bennett 1978). The last Sultan and constitutional monarch, Seyyid Jamshid, was deposed by a violent coup in January 1964 (Lofchie 1964).

4.3.3. The British Protectorate 1890-1963. Zanzibar became a British Protectorate in 1890 which was also the year of the signing of the Brussels Act which provided for the suppression of the slave trade and the importation of alcohol, ammunition and fire-arms into the Sultan's territories in East Africa. An international bureau run by the British was set up in Zanzibar in the same year to enforce the Act.

Since the first Anti-Slave Trade Treaty of 1832, the Morseby Treaty, international opinion against the East African slave trade had been mounting, and after a long confrontation with the European abolitionists and many threats from the British, Zanzibar signed a treaty on June 5, 1873, that finally

made the slave trade illegal in the Sultan's dominions. But the legal status of slavery, which was also an African institution, was not abolished in Zanzibar until 1909 (and 1904 in Kenya and 1919 in Tanganyika).

After 1890, slaves in Zanzibar could buy their freedom but few could afford to do so. In 1897, the British government in Zanzibar agreed to pay compensation to slave owners for manumission of male slaves while concubines were to become legal wives and their children legitimate heirs. Altogether 4278 slaves thus became free. The vagrancy laws (which demanded every inhabitant of the islands to have employment, home, etc.), intimidation from some slave owners and the wish among many slaves to retain the right to cultivate plots on plantations also hindered many from becoming free (Lodhi 1973:18-25). But the legal status of slavery was finally abolished in 1909 and compensation for freed slaves could not be paid after 1911. Formally, altogether 17,293 slaves were freed for a total of £32,502 as compensation to slave owners. No statistics were kept on the aged slaves or concubines and their children who automatically became free. In place of the closed slave market in Zanzibar Stone Town, Bishop E. Steere (who also wrote a comprehensive grammar of Swahili in 1870) built the large Anglican Cathedral in the midst of the Muslims (Lodhi et al 1979:64-66).

Contrary to the horrors associated with the slave trade, (particularly the Atlantic slave trade, and the brutal punishments inflicted on disobedient or runaway slaves on plantations in the Americas), slavery in East Africa is known to have been comparatively benign. A freed slave, *mhuru*, could rise to any position in the Swahili society. Of the six successive governors of Zanzibar (and the East African coast) appointed by Seyyid Said during his absence, two were ex-slaves of Ethiopian origin, Yaqut and Ambar. This may explain why no mass uprising by slaves occured in Zanzibar and, contrary to British, Arab and Indian fears, the emancipation of slaves did not result in lawlessness or the disruption of the plantation economy; in fact, during the years following the abolition of slavery, clove production rose and the prosperity of Zanzibar did not seriously decline (Salim 1972, Lodhi 1973).

However, this large presence of slaves and their descendants in the Swahili communities on the coast and the interior centres has left almost no traces of the numerous Bantu and Cushitic languages they spoke; this is probably because of the socio-cultural dynamics of Afro-Oriental systems of slavery and related institutions where the subservient strata of the society having foreign origin is effectively integrated culturally and linguistically. The integration is also easily facilitated by the Islamic religion and the social mobility inherent in the system. Whereas on the cultural side, slaves (most of whom were Bantu speakers) contributed to the wealth of Swahili culture a number of dances, wedding songs and customs connected with them, or they rejuvinated these.

After Abolition, the pattern of life on the plantations did not change substantially (Lodhi et al 1979:66-68). Slaves were emancipated but most of the plantations in Unguja remained the property of the Arabs and Indians, and

to some extent the Shirazi. The ex-slaves were thus landless and most of them became squatters gradually becoming assimilated in the general population and thus they cannot be distinguished anymore today. However, the squatter-landlord relationship based on the old slave-master system continued with varying degrees of bondage and attachment for more than half a century until January 1964 when the republican Revolution changed the social and economic equilibrium. Zanzibar was declared a People's Republic which emphasised its African character.[36]

The anti-Arab, anti-Persian and anti-Indian overtones of the early 1960s, which emphasized the 'africanness' of the coastal Swahili in general and the Zanzibaris in particular, were soon replaced by close contacts with Egypt, Algeria, India, Pakistan, China and Indonesia; and with the rise of the oil economies of the Gulf states, Malaysia and Indonesia, the development of Egypt, India, Pakistan and Turkey as industrial nations, and the Islamic Revolution in Iran, East Africa (and particularly Tanzania) has come even closer to the Orient.

4.4. Iranians and the Persian language in Eastern Africa

4.4.1. Persian, Bahraini and Balochi presence. The important role that Iranian influence has played in the development of the Swahili civilization and culture "preceded by several centuries the purely Arabic cultural predominance which began on c.1700" (Knappert 1983:112). This predominance was mainly from Hadramaut, Oman and the Persian Gulf area.

Iranian presence on the East African coast is ageold and much has been written and debated about Iranian cultural and linguistic influences and the identity of the legendary Shirazi people of Zanzibar and the East African coast. Even the term Zanzibar (alternatively Zangibar, Zanjibar, Zenjibar, Zinjibar, Zanj, Zenj and Zinj), originally referring to the Swahili coast, i.e. the coastlands of southern Somalia through Kenya and Tanzania to northern Mozambique, has been an issue and subject of much research and documentation, and it continues to be paid much attention even today (Akasheh and Izady 1997).[37] Some 19th century gravestones on Mafia Island

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[36] See Lodhi (1973) and Lodhi et al. (1979) for a detailed description of the institution of slavery in Zanzibar and its abolition in East Africa. See also Lofchie (1964) and Cooper (1977 and 1980).

[37] Ibn Batuta (1331) refers to the northern Swahili coast (Somalia and Kenya) as *sawahil* (pl. of *sahil* coast), and the southern coast (Tanzania and Mozambique) as *zunuj* (pl. of *zanj*), and adds "most of its people are *zunuj*, extremely dark" (Hamdun and King 1975:18). According to Hunwick (1970:102-8) the *zanji*, *zanjiyya*, *zanaji*, *zanajiyya* etc. were servile castes in the Mali and Songhay empires during the period 1400-1700. They included fishermen, boat keepers and their crews, domestic servants, bodyguards and blacksmiths along the Niger river in the sub-saharan region. See also Wansbrough 1970:97-99.

bear the name al-Shirazi (of/from Shiraz, or of Shirazi origin)) but "No Persian inscriptions have been found in East Africa" (Strandes 1973:145).

Most of the earlier Iranian influences in East Africa are from the Gulf region, the traders and settlers coming from both the Arabic and Persian speaking communities. There is much evidence of specifically Baloch (and a small number of Persian-speaking Bahraini) from the period after 1821, though Baloch speaking individuals and families might have arrived in East Africa and settled there in earlier times.

The exact number of Iranians, whether old settlers and their descendants or new arrivals during the last three decades, is difficult to ascertain since no census in Tanzania and Kenya takes into account such information. However, rather reliable statistics on speakers of different languages are known; but in the case of the Iranians, most of the 'older' group would be included in the category of 'speakers of Swahili as the first language'.

4.4.2. The Zanj and Shirazi. As seen earlier (in section 4.2), the Swahili coast was known to the navigators of antiquity in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf. With the advent of Islam, East Africa was linked properly with Arabia, Persia and indirectly India, with the settlement of Omanis in Zanzibar led by Prince Hamza in 695, and Arab fugitives from Mecca settled in Mogadisho in 740. After several minor migrations followed in 920 a group of rebel soldiers from Basra who established themselves as pirates in Socotra; their descendants later settled along the Somali coast. In 975 occurred the most notable migration in the region led by Ali bin Sultan al-Hassan, the legendary deposed ruler of Shiraz in Persia. These Persians settled in Mombasa (Kenya), Pemba (Zanzibar), Kilwa (Tanganyika) and Sofala (Mozambique), intermarried with the local people and founded several dynasties and more urban settlements during the centuries that followed. The descendants of the Persians and most of their subjects of mixed African, Arab, Persian and Indian origins identified themselves as Shirazi, a generic term used even today, especially in Zanzibar where a large majority of the people call themselves *Washirazi*. However, there is much ambiguity of Shirazi ethnicity (Allen 1993 *passim*) and its role in the history of East Africa in general and the post-World War II politics of Zanzibar in particular (Prins 1967, Ricks 1970, Spear 1984, Tominaga and Sheriff 1990).

The Iranians and Arabs called the East African coastlands Zangibar, the land of the Zanj, i.e. the Black Coast. The Shirazi 'colonization' (Chittik 1965) consolidated Islam making a formative contribution, both politically, economically and culturally, supplementing the Swahili language with the Arabic script thus supplying essential elements for forming a cultural unity along the coast which had many common denominators with other Muslim cultures of the Indian Ocean and the Middle East. This unity provided the Swahili/Shirazi with lucrative markets for their products. Trade was established with India and the Far East, and in 1071 and 1082 East African

emissaries were sent to China. Much later in 1415 a Chinese mission headed by an admiral of the Ming dynasty visited 'Zangistan' (Allen 1993:136-138 and section 4.7.1.).

4.4.3. The Baloch.[38] In 1821, the Sultan and Imam of Oman, Seyyid Said bin Sultan Al Busaidi hired an Iranian fleet to invade the island and port states of East Africa (see section 4.3.2.). The Iranian fleet leased by the Sultan of Oman consisted mostly of Baloch and Sindhi/Cutchi mercenaries with a few Arab, Persian and Pathan officers. Almost all of these, after their families had arrived from Iran, settled in the coastal towns, in or around the forts and the newly built camps, e.g. Saa-teeni outside Zanzibar City, Fort Jesus in Mombasa (the largest fortification in East Africa), and the Baloch cavallery in Zanzibar City at the site of the present Haile Selassie School.

With the expansion of Zanzibar trade and political influence in the interior of Tanganyika, Baloch squadrons were dispatched to Tabora in central Tanzania and Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika. In 1873, about half of the Sultan's 3000 Zanzibari troops engaged in the war in Unyanyembe in the interior against the Nyamwezi ruler Chief Mirambo were *Bulushi* (Baloch) and *Shihiri* (Hadrami) mercenaries. Some Baloch soldiers joined the trade caravans as guards and reached the Congo with the legendary trader Tippu Tip (Hamed bin Muhammad al-Murjebi, who is said to have had 1600 armed man in his caravans and depots, freemen and slaves, under his command). Tippu Tip became the first and only Zanzibari governor of the copper province of Katanga (the present Shaba Province) in Eastern Congo, and later he became the first Belgian governor of Katanga for a short time after the European Scramble of Africa was concluded in 1890.

The Baloch in East Africa are generally known as *Bulushi* (pl. *Mabulushi*), and almost all of them spoke Swahili at home until recently; nowadays, some of them speak a mixture of Balochi and Swahili. The early Baloch settlers frequently intermarried with other Muslims of East Africa of diverse ethnic origin and adopted Swahili as their home language, though it was common that Baloch households received 'fresh blood' from new arrivals from their old country, the Iranian Baluchistan. For many Bulushi in East Africa, their 'Baloch' identity was self-perceived, as for most of the 'Arabs' of East Africa – one was a Baloch because of one's patriline, even if one did not speak the Balochi language.

The process of Swahilization continued until early 1960s when political unrest in East Africa had already triggered a northward movement of the coastal Muslims to the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. This culminated in 1964-5 in the aftermath of the Zanzibar Revolution and the preferential system of Africanization in Kenya and Tanganyika when tens of thousands of East Africans, whose ancestors had come over the Indian Ocean generations ago, left East Africa for Europe, North America, the Middle

[38] See Lodhi (2000) for further details on the Balochi in East Africa.

East, Pakistan and India, many of those coming from the coastal towns settling in the Persian Gulf region.

4.4.4. The Bahraini. The Bahraini are called *Bahrani* (pl. *Mabahrani*) in East Africa. They were settled mostly in Zanzibar City and other major urban areas on the mainland where they worked as Imams of the Shia Imami (Ithnaasheri) community. Some of them with western education were employed in the civil service and a few were in private business. They were trilingual in Swahili, Persian and Arabic, and their younger generation spoke mostly Swahili at home. They were mainly endogamous which led to the much publicised half a dozen 'forced marriages' between Bahrani females and 'African' males in 1967.[39]

4.4.5. The linguistic and literary contribution of the Iranians. Many Persian words in Swahili have been borrowed through Arabic and the Indian languages. Since Persian was the literary language of the Baloch in East Africa, later replaced by Arabic and Swahili, no direct Balochi loanwords in East Africa have so far been identified. Indirectly, the Baloch (and Indian) soldiers introduced Perso-Turkic words into Swahili, mostly military terms, which are used all over East Africa today, e.g. *jemadari* (commander), *singe* (bayonet), *Afande!/Afendi!* (Yes sir!), *bunduki* (gun, rifle) and *Habedari!* (Attention!, from the Arabic-Persian *khabar-dar* (Be alert!, Watch your tongue!)

Quite a few of these Persian words were introduced in the Indo-Aryan languages after the Turkic-Mongol invasions of North India started by the slave king Amir Sakubtigin of Ghazni in AD 997. Some of these elements probably arrived in East Africa early during the advent of Islam in the eighth century and through the Shirazi period starting in the tenth century upto the Omani invasion of 1652, while other Persian and Turkish elements probably arrived and/or were more firmly established with the final invasion of Seyyid Said of Muscat in the 1820s when the Omani forces, both the fleet, the cavalry and the body-guard, were predominantly Iranian mercenaries from the Makran coast and Baluchistan, presumably all of whom were Sunni Muslims and had Persian as their literary language. The descendants of these people in East Africa are today almost completely swahilized.

The Bulushi might also have consolidated the use of certain Persian items already found in Swahili and East Africa but which were not that common earlier, e.g. *shali* (shawl), *cherehani* (sewing-machine, any machine with a pedal) and *karkhana*, *karakana* (factory, workshop). Other Persian items related to aristocratic and patrician lifestyle were probably imported or brought into common use by the Iranians who came to Zanzibar with one of

[39] Most of the Bahrani have now emmigrated to the Gulf states and the West. One of the Bahrani girls involved in the 'forced marriages', now settled in Denmark, was married to Dr. Salmin Amour, the current 'Shirazi' President of Zanzibar.

the queens of Seyyid Said, the Persian Princess Sheharzadeh, a daughter of Shah Muhammad Ali Mirza of Iran.

However, the scholarly contribution of the Iranian Baloch to the Swahili language and literature is considerable. The late Sheikh Shihabuddin Chiraghdin of Mombasa and the late Maalim Mohamed Kamal Khan of Daressalaam produced a number of Swahili essays and school books. Both these scholars were staunch advocates of adopting Swahili as the national language of Kenya. They were also the founding members of the Kenya Kiswahili Association. Kamal Khan was also active in several language and literature bodies in Tanzania before he moved back to Mombasa, his birthplace. Their colleague Nurjahan H. Zaidi was the first Swahili poet(ess) to be honoured with the Presidential Kenya Award for Literature in 1974.

Commenting on monorhymes and quatrains, Knappert (1979:35, 61) suggests certain Persian influence in Swahili in the development of rhyming long poems. "Swahili literary culture was inspired by Persian (and Indian) prototypes rather than Arabian ones" (Knappert 1979:59, Lodhi 1980a:101-102). There is also similarity of metric forms with Indonesian 'Pantun' and Spanish 'Copla' with two lines of metaphor (Knappert 1979:53-54).

4.4.6. The Iranians and their descendants in East Africa. East Africans of Iranian origin are normally Sunni Hanafi. There are no special Iranian mosques or community centres, but the Sunni Iranians usually gather at a particular Sunni mosque and socialize freely with other Sunni Muslims. The few Shia Iranians socialize more with the Asian Shia Ithnaasheria whose mosques and community centres they use. There are also occasional bulletins in Persian published by the recent Iranian immigrants in Tanzania, dealing with their social affairs such as news about weddings, births and deaths, and change of address and telephone numbers. And there is at least one Tanzanian of Iranian Baloch origin born in Iran, Mr. Aziz Rostam, who is a Member of Parliament.

4.4.7. Persian cultural influence in East Africa. The Persian cultural influence in East Africa has permeated through all aspects of life, just as the Arabian/Muslim influence. The port-cities of the Swahili in the past resembled the mercantile cities of the Gulf region with white buildings of coral stones "and large public spaces where poets and minstrels recited epics and poems in front of large audiences ... In 1498 when the Portuguese reached Zandj on their way to India, they were impressed by the size and cleanliness of the cities, the quality of the houses, the luxurious good taste with which they were decorated and the beauty and elegance of the women who were active participants in society" (*A view from the South* 1998:539). Every year each Swahili city elected a *Shaha* (poet laurate) and together they would select a *Shaha wa Shaha* (King of poets). Their cities were ruled by *Miri* (Princes, Emirs) who had *Waziri* (Minister, Vizier) to counsel them and *Diwani* (Councillors) to administer their *Sarikali* (government). Each city or town had its own

bandari (port) and *karkhana* (workshops, factories) for the manufacture of *sukari* (sugar), *puladi* (iron goods), etc.[40]

Though the Persians and other Iranians settling in East Africa during the early Islamic period were Sunni, there have been many Shia connections. Seyyid Rizvi (1975:84-88) convincingly argues for a strong Shia Ithnaasheri presence among the Swahili/Shirazi patricians whose numbers have undergone attrition due to the predominance of Sunni and Ibadhi groups, intermarriage and change of dynasties. There is documented evidence of this in for example *Utenzi wa Seyyidina Huseni bin Ali* (The Epic of the Lord Hussein son of Ali) by Hemedi Abdalla el-Buhri (Allen 1971) and *The Kilwa Chronicle* (Freeman-Grenville 1962).

4.4.8. Persian linguistic influence in East Africa. Apart from lexical borrowings, which include mostly nominals with a few verbs, adverbs and adjectives, no other Persian/Iranian linguistic influence can be traced in Swahili or other East African languages. However, Mpiranya (1995) claims that Persian influenced Swahili to such a great extent that Swahili lost tone distinctions which were simply replaced by the penultimate stress. Several Bantu languages of East Africa adjacent to Swahili do use stress, albeit together with tones or high pitch accent (Phillipson 1991 referred to by Piranya), and Swahili (with all its dialects) probably is the only language in the region to have completely lost the use of tones. Piranya unconvincingly argues (1995:16) "Accordingly, it appears probable that some bilingual speakers replaced tones by stress in their speech and their model was finally adopted by the whole community."

Other researchers have more convincingly stated that "the accent or tone systems differ considerably from one Bantu language to the other. Languages like Swahili, which appear to have originated as koinés, instead show an accent that is fixed on the next-to-last syllable of all words. The reason for this simplificatory development may have been that by dropping a feature which is idiosyncratically different from language to language, and by substituting in its stead a completely predictable feature, Swahili achieved a degree of deregionalizaion which made it more suitable as a koiné" (Hock and Joseph 1996:389).

There are also other arguments that counter Mpiranya's 'innovation hypothesis'. Firstly, though the Iranians, who settled in Swahili-speaking areas towards the end of the first millenium AD and later about 180 years ago, had Persian as their literary language, historical data tells us that few of them were Persian speaking since most of them came from the Arabic and Balochi-speaking regions of Iran, and when they first settled in East Africa after the coming of Islam, Arabic had already been established as the literary language of the Swahili communities. One can not thus assume that all or most of the 'Persians' had Persian as their primary language.

[40] See Alidina (1993) for an interesting description of the Persian influences in a day in the life of a Swahili gentleman. Alidina uses altogether 89 Persian loans in his text of only two magazine pages.

Mpiranya's hypothesis also assumes among other things that verbal extensions did not exist in Swahili before the coming of the Shirazi and that the Persians must have come in large numbers to affect deep-going and uniform changes in Swahili dialects over such an extensive geographical area as the Swahili coast. The Persian elements in Swahili are too few to support Mpiranya's conclusions. However, the 'innovation hypothesis' may have some validity as far as Arabic influences in Swahili are concerned (see Chapter 5).

Physical contact leading to bilingualism between Swahili-Arabic, Swahili-Persian, Swahili-Indian and to some extent Swahili-Portuguese would in any case be limited to a small proportion of the Swahili population, i.e. the rulers, traders and menial workers in the urban areas – a great majority of the population, which was rural, would not be influenced by the speech styles of the outsiders who were in so small numbers (and the Portuguese in particular lived isolated in even smaller numbers in their garrisons). Slaves were continuously being brought to the coast from the interior of East Africa and were employed in the households, small industries and farms and quickly assimilated into the Swahili society (Lodhi 1973 and 1992a). However, the peoples of the hinterland thus coming to the coast in numbers much larger than those of the Iranians or 'Persians' did not make substantial linguistic contribution to Swahili, not even stopping Swahili from losing tone distinctions which were characteristic in their own languages; instead they became swahilized.[41]

The process of Swahilization (and "Shirazization" as de Vere Allen calls it) was instrumental in the rise of the Great Shungwaya and its successor states, the centres of Swahili civilization (Allen 1993:136-164).[42] Assimilation and integration of the Swahili with various peoples from the interior of Eastern Africa would at least be as great quantitatively and qualitatively, if not greater, as with those who came from across the Ocean.

4.5. Indians and Indic languages in Eastern Africa

4.5.1. Historical background. When Ibn Batuta visited East Africa in 1331, he met an Afro-Oriental Islamic culture there. Regrettably he does not mention any specific Indian presence; but he does mention a couple of Indian linguistic and cultural elements still found among the Swahili coastal peoples, i.e. *tambuu* (betel leaves) and *popoo* (areca nuts).[43] Al Idrisi reports of some Indian settlement at the mouth of the Zambezi River around AD 1150. However, when Vasco da Gama arrived in East Africa in 1498, there

[41] In 1887, an estimated 23% of the populaton of coastal Kenya was slaves or their descendants (R. F. Morton 1976 quoted by F. Morton 1990:1).

[42] See Allen (1993:38-54) for details on the Shungwaya Complex.

[43] The etymology of the other Swahili word *popoo* ('fuful' in Arabic, and 'pupal' in Persian) reeorded by him has not been satisfactorily established yet.

was a notable presence of Indians there, and a Muslim Indian pilot (with the Cutchi title *Mālam* < Arabic 'mualim', 'maalim', and in modern Swahili *Mwalimu*) led the Portuguese from Malindi in Kenya to the Indian port of Kalikat. According to Freeman-Grenville (1962) the Portuguese mention some permanent Indian settlement on the Kenya coast and regular visits from India. Cooper (1974) also mentions existence of title deeds by Indians (Shia Muslims) on the Kenya coast in the 1500s. Atkins Hammerton, the first British Consul and Political Agent sent to Zanzibar in 1841 reported that the "Indian merchant class was indigenised" (Sheriff 1987:203, and Note 5 Ch. 6). This merchant class was an offshoot of the Indian merchants of Muscat who started arriving in Zanzibar in 1804, and by 1819 as noted by Captain Smee there were 214 Indian merchant houses in Zanzibar Town (Sheriff 1987:84). Almost all of these were from the kingdom of Cutch in northwest India. Still in the 1830s the capital city of Mandvi in Cutch, "before being superceded by Bombay, was the Indian port with the largest trade with East Africa" (Sheriff 1987:40 and Note 16 Ch. 3.).

Some Indian elements could have been borrowed into Swahili already before the Portuguese arrival in East Africa in 1498 when there was a notable presence of Indians on the Kenya coast, and some elements may have been borrowed during the Portuguese period up to the middle of the 1700s when there were many Indians in the Portuguese service. The Indian cultural influence in East Africa is later than the Iranian one, and Muslim India itself was under great Iranian impact with Farsi/Persian as the court language from the tenth century AD until the imposition of English after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-9 when the rest of the Moghul Empire was brought under the British flag.

After the Omani invasion and occupation of the East African coast beginning 1821, making Zanzibar Town the political and commercial capital of the whole region, Indian presence there increased tremendously and became extremely important. Seyyid Said, the Sultan of Oman and Zanzibar, because of his military, commercial and matrimonial ties with India, and close cooperation with the British in Bombay, encouraged Indian immigration to Oman and his possessions in East and Central Africa to finance the caravan trade with the interior and adminstration of the ports. By 1886 there were 6000 Indians in East Africa (Were and Wilson 1984:89). Indian pioneers were in the interior of Tangnyika and Uganda long before the Europeans, e.g. Musa Mzuri was in Tabora in 1825 (before Speke and Burton in 1860), and Alidina Visram established his business in Kampala in 1896, before British settlement there.

In Kenya and Uganda, the British railway building brought thousands of Indian workers, e.g. in 1895 there were 13, 000 Indians in Kenya (mostly Hindus and Sikhs); in 1891 there were 9000 Indians settled in Zanzibar, who were mostly Muslim and linguistically swahilized (Bennett 1978:172). Most of the indentured Indians in Kenya and Uganda returned to India at the completion of their contracts.

World War I brought the British India Army to Tanganyika to fight the Germans, and in its aftermath, several thousand Indians were brought to join the expanding British administration in East Africa. Most Indian merchants in Tanzania Mainland (Tanganyika) were, and still are, of Zanzibari origin, or they moved to the mainland areas after first settling in Zanzibar for a few years. Many of them from all over East Africa have later settled in Burundi, Rwanda, Congo, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe and other parts of southern Africa, and a few in the islands of the Comoros, Madagascar, Reunion, Seychelles and Mauritius. It is common even today that they have relatives spread in several of these countries since they continue to prefer to marry within their castes and clans of loose affiliation across international borders.[44]

After World War II, Asian population in East Africa doubled reaching the highest figures in 1961/62, around the Independence of Tanganyika: Kenya 177 000, Uganda 77 000, Tanganyika 88 000 and Zanzibar 20 000 (Census reports of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania). In November 1986, the Asian population in East (and Central) Africa was at its lowest, an estimated fall by half compared to the figures of 1961/62 (Africa South of the Sahara 1986). The latest figures published in 1998 are as follows: Kenya 89 185 (August 1989), Tanzania 75 015 (August 1967), Malawi 5 682 (1977); no such figures are available for Mozambique, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.[45]

4.5.2. Occupations of Asians. The Asians in East and Central Africa came as sailors, traders, financiers, soldiers, railway workers, technicians, administrators and also professionals such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, and skilled and semi-skilled craftsmen, and some even as farmers (cattle keepers, milkmen and market gardeners). At Independence in each country in East Africa, about a third of the officers in the armed forces were Asians. During the 1960s, the policies of Africanization of the civil service, the uniformed professions and the parastatals, reduced the gross over-representation of the Asians in these areas of occupation, e.g. in Kenya from 12% in 1961 to 8% in 1968; in Uganda from 2% in 1961 to 1.3% in 1968. Most Asians in East Africa are today involved in the private or parastatal sectors justifying the misconceived reference 'the Jews of East Africa'.[46]

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[44] See also Gangulee (1947) and Chattopadhayaya (1970).

[45] *Africa South of the Sahara 1999* and *Africa Review 1999*. For comparison, the number of "Arabs" for the same year were 41 595 in Kenya and 29 775 in Tanzania.

[46] Asians have been erroneously referred to as 'the Jews of East Africa' and compared with the Jews in Europe and the Middle East. A shop survey conducted by me in December 1978 in Daressalaam in the Kariakoo area, Uhuru Street, Independence/Samora Avenue and Morogoro Street, the major shopping quarters of Daressalaam, showed that 7 out of 10 Asian shopkeepers were first generation traders; their fathers and grandfathers had a variety of occupations other than trading. See also postings in NAMASKAR-AFRICANA-L forum during September-November 1998. For a recent balanced history of the Asians, see Gregory (1993).

Since Independence Asians have become more urbanised, particularly in Tanzania, thereby making way for the African indigenous petty bourgeouise to develop in the rural areas; but this caused serious problems in Tanzania where state involvement in replacing the Asian dominance led to the collapse of retail trade, distribution and the local transport systems. In Uganda, the summary expulsion of Asians led to a near-total collapse of the commercial and industrial infra-structure in the country.

4.5.3. Political involvement and treatment of Asians. A myth prevails that Asians in East Africa were politically docile, or unconscious, or uninvolved. Since about half of the Asians were not citizens of their country of residence, or even birth, they were legally barred from actively participating in local and party politics. Many Asian individuals and interest groups everywhere supported the freedom movements, at times very strongly, e.g. Makkhan Singh, the pioneer anti-colonialist agitator and trade unionist in Kenya, and Pio Gama Pinto who was with the Mau Mau guerillas in Kenya, the Madhwani (in Uganda), the Karimjee merchant houses (in Tanganyika and Zanzibar) and the Aga Khan Ismailis in general in all the territories; there were several Asian MPs, ministers and high state officials in each country, and it is even so today in Tanzania where, because of different historical and political developments, the Asians are much more politically, culturally and linguistically integrated.

Asians have been treated differently in the different countries of the region in the post-Independence period. In the extreme case of Uganda, both citizen and non-citizen Asians were expelled from the country. In Kenya with its history of racial and ethnic tension and conflicts there was much coercion of non-citizens with Africanization applied throughout the 1960s. In liberal Tanganyika there was a strive towards national integration with Africanization applied only for a few years to achieve racial parity in the civil service, the Police and the armed forces. In Zanzibar there was no definite policy for Asians though there were cases of persecution of Asian individual political opponents and sub-groups by Sheikh Karume during his dictatorial rule during 1964-72. In comparison, in central and southern Africa (except for in apartheid South Africa), Asians have generally experienced a tolerant attitude of the regimes.

Asians were not exactly, and are still not, "strangers in African society" as perceived by Jessica Kuper (1979). They were, and are to an extent, in the well-formulated words of Peter Nazareth, a Uganda Asian writer living in exile, ".... anxious about their future in the country, and foresaw the possibility of being scapegoats, or at least of being the victims of discrimination" (Nazareth 1972:55)[47]. He further clearly expresses the point of view of the East African rulers and the growing young political elite stating "Whereas the Asians were nonexistent politically, physically they were all too real. They were the

[47] I am obliged to Mr. Benegal Pereira (Namaskar-Africana-List) for references to J. Kuper and P. Nazareth.

customs and immigration officials, the desk clerks and managers, the shopkeepers, landlords, etc. There were African businessmen and landlords, but they were invisible. The Government's task was to turn the town of Damibia into visible African areas only speckled with Asians and Europeans" (ibid.). In Uganda, almost a total 'Asian vacuum' was created after their tumultuous expulsion in the early 1970s.

4.5.4. Asians – a false minority! Or many minorities! British sources document that a great majority of the Asians during the British period since the 1880s have come from Gujarat and Punjab, about a third of them being Muslim, and two thirds being Hindu, Sikh, Jain, Bhudhist and Christian. The only Parsee community with a temple was in Zanzibar City. Most of these have contacts with India or Pakistan. On the other hand, almost all Asians who have lost contact with their kins in India, and who claim that they have been in East Africa for five or more generations, maintain that their ancestors came mainly from Cutch/Sindh (and Gujarat). Most of them were Muslim, or they converted from Hinduism to Shia Islam after coming to East Africa.

They speak Gujarati, Punjabi, Urdu, Cutchi/Sindhi, Konkani (the language of the old kingdom of Konkan including the later colony of Goa), Hindi and Singalese as their home tongues. A lot of them in Zanzibar and the coastal towns speak Swahili at home, or a mixture of Swahili and Cutchi. On the whole the Hindu are divided along caste lines; the Sunni Muslim, despite intermarriage, were loosely re-grouped into Cutchi, Gujarati, Konkani and Punjabi speakers, which is noticeable to an extent even today; and the Cutchi/Sindhi-speaking Sunni Muslim were superficially organised into 'clans' based on their Hindu castes of many generations back. The Shia Muslim Asians belong to three different sects: the Imami Ithnaasheria, the Nizari Aga Khan Ismaili and the Musta'ali Bohra/Wohra.

The British encouraged the Asians to have their own separate 'community' schools, hospitals, dispensaries, cemeteries, sports clubs and scout troups, etc. This was partly to follow their language and religious needs, but it was also an integral part of the colonial policy of 'divide and rule'. However, Asians always used one another's communal educational and medical facilities, and in the post-Independence era it has not been difficult to turn such facilities into common public services supported by the state. Up to the mid-60s educational and health facilities initiated and developed by Asian investments and donations in the urban areas far out-numbered those of colonial administrations and western missions. It is generally accepted that such originally private Asian facilities functioned better than those completely controlled by the state or the municipalities, which is similar to the case of facilities and services offered today by Western NGOs and Christian missions with greater financial resources (Andersson-Brolin et al. 1991).

Asians in East and Central Africa today have a very high degree of social intercourse across their traditional religious, language and occupational barriers of Indian origin. This has increased in the face of external political threats, both British and African. The British practised their 'divide and rule' with separate segregating and discriminating educational and other facilities for the different 'races' and 'communities' in their African colonies, except in the Zanzibar Protectorate where such segregation did not exist. However, the various Indian 'communities' were 'encouraged' to maintain their own separate identities, and this has survived to some extent in the region. The White minority in Kenya constantly tried with some success to turn the Asians into a buffer between themselves and the Africans, as in South Africa, where apartheid was a unique suppressive system that separated Asians from the others but gave them some rights which were denied the African indigenous majority.

About the Uganda Asians, Kuper (1979:243-259) says: "The point has frequently been made that the Asian population of Uganda in no sense represented a community. 'Asian' was merely a racial category imposed upon several communities originating from the Indian subcontinent and broadly differentiated from one another by language, religion, and area of origin in India and Pakistan, with still further divisions according to caste or sect." And specifically on the Goans who were predominantly in government service, Kuper concludes: "From the point of view of class analysis, it can be argued that after independence they had more in common with African white-collar workers than with Asian traders."

Asians form less than 1% of the total population of the region, in spite of continued immigration from India and Pakistan, and Uganda returnees from the West, but they are an easily noticeable minority since they are concentrated in urban centres which after the exodus of Asians and Europeans in the 1960s no longer have non-African majority. Most Asians who left East and Central Africa migrated to the UK, USA, Canada and India. The bottom figures reached in 1986 gave an estimated total of about 250 000 in East, Central and Southern Africa (excluding the Republic of South Africa). Since around 1961, the number of Asians in tropical Africa has been reduced and it is estimated that it increases very slowly; in comparison, the number of 'Whites' is estimated to have more than quadrupled because of the increasing size of foreign aid agencies, NGOs, Christian missionary activities, establishment of multinationals and small businesses (particularly from southern Africa), and diplomatic missions.

4.5.5. Major Asian 'ethnic' groups in East Africa. The following Asian groups or 'castes' and 'communities' are found today in East Africa: [48]

[48] Some data on the caste system among the Asians of East Africa and the languages they speak was gathered from NAMASKAR discussion forum "Indians of East Africa; Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania" <NAMASKAR-AFRICANA-L@HOME.EASE.LSOFT.COM> during the first week of October 1998 in which the following members took active part: Benegal Pereira, Peter Nazareth, Rahul Patel, Ashul Shah, Ramnik Shah, Mario J. Afonso, Ish Tailor, Baqir Alloo, Rakesh Gadani, Mustafah Dhada, Ronald S. Edari, Jaffar Manek,

Cutchi/Sindhi/Swahili-speaking Muslim (Sunni) (Tanzania)
Cutchi-speaking Muslim (Sunni) (Kenya, Uganda)
Cutchi speaking Bhatia (Hindu)
Cutchi-speaking Leva Patel (Hindu)
Cutchi/Gujarati/Swahili-speaking Aga Khan Ismaili (Shia)
Cutchi/Gujarati/Swahili-speaking Ithnaasheri (Shia, also called Shinashri)
Gujarati-speaking Parsee (Zoroastrians of Iranian origin)
Gujarati-speaking Wohra/Bohra/Musta'ali/Dawoodi (Shia)
Gujarati-speaking Sunni Wohra/Patel (also called Surti)
Gujarati/Cutchi-speaking Banya/Wania (Hindu)
Gujarati/Cutchi-speaking Jain (also called Lohana/Luana)
Hindi-speaking Hindu
Konkani/Urdu-speaking Kukni Muslim (Sunni)
Konkani/English-speaking Goans (Catholics)
Marathi-speaking Maharashtri Brahmin
Punjabi-speaking Sikh
Punjabi/Urdu-speaking Muslim (Sunni and Shia),
Punjabi-speaking Hindu
Urdu-speaking Pathan (Sunni and Shia)
Sindhi-speaking Hindu

Gujarati and Cutchi Hindus and Jains have the following main castes called 'Jati': Banya (traders), Brahmin (priests), Bhoi-dharji (tailors), Dhobi (washermen), Gola-rana (workers, labourers, later craftsmen, and claim Rajput origin), Gowar (cattlekeepers/milkmen), Kanbi/Kurmi/Leva Patel (farmers), Kansara (tinsmiths), Kumbar (potters), Korhi/Koli (masons and builders), Lohar/Lohara (blacksmiths), Mochi (shoemakers), Patel (farmers, now traders, industrialists, bankers, clerks, etc.), Shah (merchants, etc.), Soni (gold/silversmiths), Suthar/Sutharia (carpenters), Warand (barbers).

Among the Cutchi/Sindhi and Gujarati Sunni Muslims the following main sub-groups called 'Jamaat' are represented: Badala or Kharwa (sailors, salt workers), Dhobi (washermen), Garana (farmers, now turned carpenters and builders), Guwar (cattlekeepers, milkmen, camel riders), Hajjam (barbers), Khatri (soldiers, originally high caste Kshatriya Rajputs from Sindh), Kumbar (potters, including Manyoti who came to Mombasa as soldiers), Kanbi/Kurmi/Patel (farmers), Loharwadha or Luwarwadha (blacksmiths, tinsmiths), Machiara (fishermen), Meman (merchants, originally Lohana or Luana of Sindh, most of whom converted to Islam in the middle of the 1400s and moved to Cutch in the 1600s), Sonara (gold, silversmiths), Sumra (originally high caste Kshatriya from Cutch) and Suthar (carpenters). The Badala/Kharwa, Dhobi, Garana, Guwar, Sumra and Suthar are collectively

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Tim de Mello, Karamjit Bharaj, Micky P. Soorae, Jeremy Brennan and myself. Some details on the Cutchi in Kenya were gathered from David Schaad (1994). Specifically on the Ismailis, see Daftary (1990) and Nanji (1974 and 1978).

also called 'Lashkri Jamaat' (Warrior Community), since they frequently worked temporarily as soldiers in different armies, and were in Swahili called *Sindikali*, the ferocious Sindhis. In Mombasa they are called 'Samatri Jamaat'. The 'Lashkri' and 'Samatri' claim they have 'foji' (military) origin. The Guwar have three clans, viz. Juneja, Nareja and Sameja. The term 'jamaat' is an Arabic loan.

Some Asians, both Hindu and Muslim, further observe an endogamous clan-like affiliation called 'atak' based on their 'gaam' (the original Indian village or town and districts the founders of their households came from), e.g. among the Cutchi/Sindhi Sunni Muslims of Zanzibar, Daressalaam and Mombasa, there are the Madhapuria Guwar (from Madhapur/Madhawpur), the Manyoti Kumbar (of Manyot), the Bhujpuria Kumbar (from Bhujpur/Bhojpur) and the Madiyar Kumbar and the Madiyar Hajjam (from Maddai/Mandvi, the old capital of Cutch). Many other sub-clan names (called 'atak' in Cutchi, Gujarati and Sindhi) such as Bachani, Betai, Gandai, Gundiyara, Halai and Kothari, derived from different place names in Cutch, Gujarat and Sindh, are also found among both Hindus and Muslims and are frequently used as surnames. This ethno-social self-identification in rather narrow contexts is similar to the different sub-groupings among the so called Arabs and some Swahilis of Zanzibar and the Kenya coast, e.g. Barwani (of Barwan), Jiddhawi (of Jeddah), Riyami (of Riyam) and Mkelle (of Mukalla). Among the Baloch and the Pathan, only loose agnatic clan affiliation exists, and they are not endogamous.

The Sikhs are again subdivided into Tharkan (craftsmen) and Jat (farmers). In Nairobi where there are two Sikh temples because of the large number of Sikhs there, the former go to the Ramgarhia Temple, while the latter to the Singh Sabha. But in other towns with smaller Sikh communities, such as in Arusha, Tanzania, "where there is only one temple the main concern lies with who exactly becomes the Chairman, a Tharkan or a Jat! Other issues affecting the community take a secondary role" (Micky P. Soorae, Namaskar 7-10-98). There are also two more small sub-groups of Sikh, viz. the Kuka (with Hindu practices) and the less rigid followers Sikh Dhobi (Washermen caste).

Among the Goans, there were also traces of Hindu castes such as tailors, fishermen and farmers, distinct from those with Portuguese admixture. These rather narrow distinctions among many Goans and other Asians have become blurred since Independence due to education and greater social mobility. Very few Asians in Eastern Africa are engaged today in the traditional occupations (based on the caste system) of their ancestors in India, but most of them continue to perceive themselves as belonging to loosely organised Jati (for non-Muslims) and Jamaat (for Muslims), few of which have any registration of members.

There is much intermarriage among Asian Sunni Muslims, and between them and other Muslim groups of diverse origins. Since Independence, this development has taken place mainly because of the anti-communalism

campaigns led from Zanzibar by Maulana Ahmadshah Qadiri Bukhari of Cutch who has been regularly visiting East Africa since the late 1950s, and the revival of Islam which exercises a unifying force on the Muslims.

As for the Hindu and Jain communities, jointly referred to in Swahili as *Baniani* (pl. *Mabaniani*), efforts were made in 1950s to reorganise them with the progress of the Arya-Samaj and the Brahma-Samaj movements to counteract the caste system, with some success among the Hindus in Tanzania. As for the different Shia groups, because of their somewhat insulatory and hierachical organization, there is less tendency for 'matrimonial' assimilation, except for the Ithnaasheri men who have always been intermarrying with wives from other Asian, Arab and African groups, increasing particularly the African and Arab features of their community and maintaining their Swahilization.

4.5.6. Language use and language shifts among Asians. Asians in East Africa regard themselves as North(west) Indians. Monolingualism is almost unknown among Asians in general. This phenomenon has two linguistc aspects, viz. multilingualism and diversity. The various subgroups of Asians however are not based on their community language, or 'nationality', but rather on their religious and denominational differences.

The term Hindustani is used often in this study (and commonly in previous research and documentation on the subject) to include both Hindi and Urdu which are cognate languages. It is probable that the 'Hindustani' loans in Swahili are mainly from Urdu and not from Hindi, as most of the early Indian immigrants to East Africa during the pre-colonial period appear to have been Muslims having first Sindhi and later Urdu, which are both heavily infused with Perso-Arabic elements, as their literary and religious languages.

The linguistic data collected in the 1967 Census (Kassam's 1971 Report, Polome and Hill 1980) gave a figure of 85 000 Asians living in Tanzania speaking five different Indo-Aryan languages, viz. Cutchi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Konkani and Urdu in descending order of numbers. About 40% of the Cutchi Sunnis, and almost all of the other Cutchi speakers (Shia Imami, Ismaili and Hindu), were literate in Gujarati, due to Gujarati medium primary schools they had attended; and most of the Asian Muslims of all denominations could read Koranic Arabic.

Kassam's unique survey of language use among the Asians of Daressalaam in 1970 (included in Polomé and Hill 1980) showed that they used Cutchi in 52%, Gujarati 14.5%, Swahili 7.3% and English 26% of the situations. The high frequency for English was a result of using English as a commercial and office working language. Some price tags and lists, and shop notices were in Gujarati, while both Gujarati and Hindi were used as written and printed languages. 13% of the Asians claimed they spoke Swahili at home; and according to the Tanzania Library Survey (Hill 1969), every tenth borrower in all the librariers of the country put together was

Asian. The Daressalaam survey may be taken as representative of the whole country.

The linguistic situation of Asians in Kenya is more complex – a majority of the Punjabi and Gujarati speakers left the country in the aftermath of Independence coupled with Africanization, reducing their numbers from 174 000 in 1962 to 57 000 in 1974. Gujarati (with Cutchi) was spoken by 70%, Punjabi 20%, English with Goan Konkani 10%, and tiny minorities spoke Sindhi, Marathi and Bengali (Neale 1974). Almost 75% of the Asians were settled in and around Mombasa and Nairobi. In Kenya, they normally speak four languages, i.e. community language, Hindustani, Swahili, and English; the last three are their links with Asians, Africans and Europeans respectively. In contrast in Tanzania, Gujarati rather than Hindustani is the main link with Asians, as a result of the language shift among the dominant Ismaili group, from Cutchi to Gujarati, after a firman (decree) from their religious leader the Aga Khan. This was also the case in Uganda where Gujarati was dominant because of the Gujarati-speaking Hindus, Jains and Shia Muslims.

Asians in East Africa, with English background in British India, (and Portuguese with some Latin in Goa), use Gujarati, Cutchi/Sindhi, Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu, Konkani and Bengali as regional vernaculars. Zoroastrian Parsee Gujaratis and Shia Wohra Gujaratis in India and East Africa speak their own subdialects of Gujarati which are both characterised by the replacement of the dental /t̪/ with the retroflex /ʈ/, and terminology specific to Zoroastrianism and Shia Islam respectively.

Asians also use Sanskrit, Ardhamagadhi Prakrit, Arabic, Persian/Farsi and Avestan as their liturgical languages. Earlier the Goans used also English with some Latin as their church language. Gujarati, Hindi and Urdu, occasionally with announcements and short sermons in Cutchi and Swahili are also being used in religious contexts. In Tanzania, the Sunni Asians increasingly use Swahili as their religious language. [49]

The Arya-samaj and Punjabi Hindu use Vedic for prayer with explanation in Hindi, and the Swami Narayan Gujarati Hindu use Gujarati for prayer.

Over the generations, the following language shifts have taken place among the Asians in East Africa:
Cutchi > Gujarati for Ismaili and Hindu Batia and Banya/Wania
Cutchi > Swahili for Sunni and Ithnaasheri
Konkani > English for Goan Catholics
Konkani > Urdu/Swahili for Kukni (Konkani Muslims)

[49] Fieldwork in Zanzibar and Daressalaam during December 1992-January 1993, July-August 1994 and June 1998 showed that several Indian Sunni Muslim wedding ceremonies were conducted completely in Swahili or Cutchi, Swahili with Cutchi or Urdu, one ceremony in Swahili with some Arabic, and one in Swahili with some English for the foreign guests. Verses from the Koran were recited during all these weddings in Arabic only. What Gabriele Sommer (1994:497) concludes for the language situation in northen Namibia, to a large extent holds also for the language shifts in East Africa.

Punjabi > Swahili for some assimilated Muslim Punjabi in Tanzania
Sindhi > Gujarati for Hindus
Sindhi > Cutchi for Muslims

The general language typology of the Asians is as follows:
a. regional Indic (Indo-Aryan) language at home, mixed with Swahili in many cases
b. classical languages (Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic) as religious languages
c. standard languages (Gujarati, Hindi, Urdu) for nursery/primary instruction, private correspondence, etc.

The case of Hindi/Urdu/Hindustani written forms is also complex: Punjabi Hindus use sanskritised Hindi in the Devanagari script; Punjabi Muslims use persianised Urdu in the Perso-Arabic Ajami script. Both these languages were mediums of instruction at the primary level during the colonial period in Kenya, while Gujarati was used during the first four classes in almost all Asian primary schools in Tanganyika, Uganda and in some schools in Zanzibar Town, and Gujarati Hindu institutions in Kenya. The Sikhs have gone over to the Gurumukhi script from the earlier Ajami script which today only the India-born dying generation of elders can read and write (Neale1974:72 and my own observation).

4.5.7. Transmission from Asians to Swahili speakers. Away from the coast, where a majority of the Asians lived after the 1880s, social contacts between Swahilis and Asians were minimal during the colonial period, especially in Kenya and Uganda. Hence Indian cultural and linguistic influences in Swahili cannot be attributed to the up-country and later Asians and those (non-Muslims) who did not share their religious conviction with the coastal Muslim Swahili. For Asians on Mainland Tanzania, "In their professional activities, the level and depth of contact with Africans was the greatest for the Ithnaasheries, the Sunnis and the Sikhs; it was lesser with the Ismailis and the Bohoras, and even more with the Hindus. The Goans kept aloof from the Africans, and the Parsees had practically no relation with them" (Polomé 1980:136). However, there were many cases of Asian men of different communities up-country married to African women, and some cases of Parsee men in Zanzibar who had embraced Islam and were married to non-Parsee Muslim wives of African-Arab descent.

In the post-Uhuru societies of East Africa many forces and undercurrents are at work which have broken the communal, tribal and racial barriers, for Asians and Muslims in general in Eastern Africa. Ghai (1969:103-6) wondered if this in the long run would lead to genuine social integration of the Asians. Certainly, today there is greater linguistic integration of both the Asians and Africans who increasingly use Swahili. Extensive and intensive linguistic integration of the Africans, linguistic nationalization or Swahilization, has taken place in East Africa. A similar development has

been noted for the Asians, showing that knowledge of Swahili has improved tremendously, and cases of Swahili "as a mixed language of Kuchi [Cutchi] verbal stems with Swahili morphemes (Polome 1980:135)" have become uncommon. [50]

4.5.8. Indian influences in the arts and architecture in East Africa. Indian influences on East African art, architecture, literature and music have not been given much attention by researchers; not even the most common Swahili, and East African, garment, the *khanga*, has been given its due recognition as an Indian contribution (see **khombi** in the List in section 7.2.).

The other main unnoticed Indian influence is in the genre of painting. Modern painting as an art in East Africa was introduced by Indian signwriters such as the retired wrestler Nura Pahelwan and the singer/actor Ramzan Natakio, both of Zanzibar, who mass-produced Indian motives on sheet glass to be put in frames on Indian and Swahili 'Zanzibar beds' which were also an important export item. Furniture of quality was almost exclusively produced in Indian workshops which however employed many Swahili and other African workers. The paintings usually had lilies and peacocks, a motive commonly found in Indian calendars which were very widespread in East Africa where almost every importer of any item had a single piece calendar printed for him in Surat or Bombay for free distribution to his major customers, relatives, friends and neighbours in East Africa. It was these calendars, and other colourful pictures in Hindu and Jainist homes depicting Indian mythology, which inspired Tingatinga, who was a domestic servant in a Hindu family for several years after his arrival from Mozambique at the age of sixteen, to create the famous art school named after him and copied all over East Africa.[51]

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[50] Field data collected during June-July 1983 included the following Cutchi creole Swahili sentences uttered by two Ithnaasheri ladies in the transit lounge at the Daressalaam Airport (Cutchi elements in bold face, Arabic elements in *Italics*): 1. **Bha** yako (a)nampenda *kama* **sago bapa** *wallahi*. (Your brother, i.e. my husband, loves him like a real father. Swahili verbal cluster + function words.) 2. **Nilo-piro** (i)**nachamke** *kama* **sacho hiro**. (The greenish-yellowish shade shines like a real diamond. Cutchi-Swahili verbal cluster.) In this variant of Swahili, Indic verbal stems and adjectives are frequently used.

[51] Together with Messr. Henry Blid and Christer Ågren of the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), I spent one whole afternoon of late December 1971 at the home of Tingatinga in Msasani/Daressalaam and interviewed him and his Zanzibar born wife (who wore the Muslim Swahili *buibui* veil) for the Swedish writer and journalist Elly Jannes who took notes; her daughter Elle Kari Højeberg took a number of photographs. To date, Jannes and Höjeberg have not published anything on Tingatinga.

According to Tingatinga, his paintings were mostly based on pictures and calendars with Hindu mythological figures and sequences which he had come across as a domestic servant in a practising Hindu family in Daressalaam. This was the only employment Tingatinga had after he arrived from Mozambique at the age of 16 until he started painting, which he was taught by his employer. Even the *Shetani*, the Devil (and other 'evil spirits') in his paintings, was given a black face after the Indian demon king Ravana. He admitted that in

In the field of architecture, Indian influence is also enormous in East Africa; one can see the striking resemblance of the urban apartment buildings in East African towns to those in the Indian sub-continent. Most of the major housing areas and schemes in East African towns were planned by Asian architects, or Asians employed by British firms. The coastal 'Arab' carved doors with brass knobs and other brass or copper details, and the Zanzibari wooden carved doors and chests with brass details, are also based on Indian carved doors and chests. In the old parts of the coastal towns one can see beautiful examples of Indian influences in the mansions – the doors, windows and the balconies hanging over the stores on the street level. The Old Dispensary in Zanzibar city, now restored, is a magnificent example of this kind of Indian architecture raised by artisans brought from India. The mosques with minarets of the Persian and Indian type are also a recent phenomenon from the later half of the 19th century introduced by Indians; Swahili mosques as a rule did not have a minaret, and those few which did, have a very simple and short minaret of the Hadrami type without stages. However, there is very little early archeological evidence of Indian style pottery, metalware or tomb-types in the region. The Gedi ruins in Kenya show traces of the characteristic pre-Muslim Indian architecture, the corbelled-out arches (Kirkman 1954:2-3).

Lewcock (1971) claims quite much archeological evidence of Indian influence in Swahili architecture which Allen places in the early 19th century because of the sudden influx of Indian merchants and capital during the Omani rule, and the popularity of Indian fashions and styles after Seyyid Barghash's stay in Bombay in the 1860s. Allen believes that "such cultural parallels from an earlier period are mostly between the Swahili world and the Deccan, where African mercenaries played a political role from the fourteenth century onwards, and parts of which were actually ruled by dynasties of African origin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many of these mercenaries and perhaps even some of the rulers may have stemmed from the Swahili coast, and some of the cultural parallels may result from innovations introduced from East Africa to the Indian sub-continent and not the other way round" (Allen 1993:245). The ethnonyms of some Afro-Indians (African descendants in India), i.e. 'Saheli' (Swahili), 'Shemali' (Somali) and 'Kafara' (Ar. 'kāfir', non-Muslim; Sw. *kafiri*, non-Muslims and those tribes who provided slaves to the Swahili coast, especially from Mozambique; 'kaffer' in southern African derogatory usage meaning 'negro') show that they do originate in Kenya/Tanzania, Somalia and Mozambique respectively (Lodhi 1992a:83-86 and Stone 1985:131-51). The Juma Masjid (the Great Friday Mosque) in

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all the paintings in his possession at that time, the devil was painted black, and not white as is the custom in Eastern Africa; and he had seen this in Indian films which he frequently went to see at the cinema houses. Several copies of one white bungalow with a peacock and stylised flowers were also copied from Indian calendars; the bungalow was first drawn after the school building of St. Joseph's Convent in Daressalaam. Furthermore, Tingatinga did not hide the fact that he was signing all the paintings produced by his relatives and friends in the workshop in the backyard of his house.

central Ahmedabad in Gujarat, was designed by an East African 'Sidi' and the beautiful and detailed stone masonary is also the work of African artisans.[52]

4.5.9. Indian contribution to linguistics, literature, music and drama in East Africa. There are only a handful of East Africans of Indian origin who write Swahili poetry, and none who writes prose fiction in Swahili. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century, there was very little Asian intellectual work conducted in East Africa, i.e. the Cutchi-speaking Alidina Somjee Lilani produced a Swahili grammar in Gujarati in 1890, and a Gujarati-speaking Parsee physician, Dr. A. Attani, wrote in Gujarati a history of Zanzibar, commissioned by the Karimjee Jivanjee family in 1911. In the generations born before the advent of World War II, there were only a couple of Asians who wrote poems and only a few of them are extant, viz. Ustaad Ismail Raghi of Tanga, and his nephew Ustaad Mitu (alias Ayoub Ahmed Ayoub Rangooni) of Zanzibar/Daressalaam and Ustaad Mohamoud Rajab Damodar of Ndagoni, Mafia Island – there are fragments of Raghi's poems/songs; one song by Ustaad Mitu, *Baba Pakistan*, recorded by the 'Umm Kulthum' of East Africa, the Swahili singer Siti binti Saad in the 1940s and rerecorded on video recently by Bi Kidude in Zanzibar;[53] Damodar's one surviving poem *Sabasaba 1964* is included by Saadani Abdul Kandoro, a founder member of TANU, in one of his collections (Kandoro 1972:127-129). Among the contemporary Swahili writers and poets, there are the prolific artist Ustaad Ahmad Nassir Juma Bhalo of Mombasa (whose paternal grandfather was a Cutchi Badala) and his cousin Ustaad Mohamed Bhalo the singer. Ahmed Nassir has published two poem collections (*Poems from Kenya*, 1966, with English translation, and several articles and cassette tapes of *Taarab* music (which is Swahili lyrics, and music influenced much by films from Cairo, Beirut and Bombay; some of the melodies are from Indian films, and a couple of songs are translated from Hindi with original Swahili melodies).

In 1955 in Mombasa, Mr. B. V. Trivedi, a Gujarati-speaking Hindu teacher, published a short *Gujarati-Swahili Shabdapothi (Gujarati-Swahili Dictionary)*. Dr. Farouk Topan of London (of the legendary Tharia Topan family in Zanzibar) has edited two Swahili poem collections on *Azimio la Arusha*, the Arusha Declaration, and written two Swahili satirical plays *(Mfalme Juha* 1971 based on a 13th century Gujarati poem '*Andheri Nagari Gandu Rajah*', and *Aliyeonja Pepo* 1973, and a number of articles on Swahili literature – it was he who introduced Swahili literature as a discipline at the University of Daressalaam in the late 1960s). Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi has published one poem collection (*Tafkira*, 1986) in Swahili and a number of poems in a couple of Swahili journals.

[52] Professor Jayanti K. Patel to A. Y. Lodhi, January 1991, Ahmedabad.

[53] For details on Siti and the Taarab tradition see A. A. Suleiman (1969) and Issa Mgana (1991).

Other Asian Swahili scholars of Indian origin are Maalim Jaafer Tejani (who was the first Director of the Institute of Kiswahili Research/IKR in Daressalaam, now settled in Oman), Muhsin M. R. Alidina, now settled in New York (who was with the IKR for more than 20 years, also as Director for some years), and Abdul Nanji of Daressalaam, also now settled in New York. The Bhalo cousins and Farouk Topan are of mixed Cutchi-Arab-African parentage. Tejani and Alidina are of Cutchi-Persian parentage; Nanji is of Cutchi-African parentage, and Lodhi is of Pathan-Cutchi/Sindhi--Burmese-Persian-Arab parentage.

During the 50s and 60s there was also in Daressalaam a Swahili scholar by the name Ibrahim Sardar of the Cutchi Sameja clan of Zanzibar. Sardar was Head of the Swahili Department of the Aga Khan Secondary School in Daressalaam. Aided by the Balochi Swahili scholar M. K. Khan, he was also the Swahili expert for all Aga Khan schools in Tanzania. His Swahili compendium was used in many secondary schools.[54]

Currently, there is a musical group of Cutchis from Mombasa (The Varda brothers and Co.) touring Kenya and Tanzania who have their own Swahili songs in their repertoire, together with Cutchi, Gujarati and Hindustani.

During the 30s, through to early 50s there was a theatrical group in Zanzibar organised by a North Indian Ustaad Shahjee and his close associate Ramzan Natakio (painter and sign-writer of Cutchi origin, who used to play female roles as there was no female in their group) that often visited Daressalaam, Mombasa and Tanga. Ustaad Ramzan, his younger brothers Bape and Jussi, and Ustaad Mitu were taught Indian music by Ustad Ismail Raghi of Tanga, who introduced live Indian music performances (in Mombasa, Tanga, Daressalaam and Zanzibar), and also the accordion (popularly called 'harmonium' in India and East Africa), which has now been replaced by the portable accordion in *Taarab* performances. Ramzan's group which had its repetoire in Cutchi, Gujarati, Hindustani and Swahili, was often assisted by Mitu playing the harmonium, tablas and singing 'gazals' in Urdu. Mitu in turn taught several others who formed their own orchestra under the leadership of Babu Ally (of the Cutchi/Swahili-speaking Turk family) of Zanzibar;[55] this group ceased to exist some time in the late 1960s after the exodus of Indians of Zanzibar. Sheriff (1987:107) includes a plate showing Indian street dancers in Zanzibar around the year 1860.

4.5.10. Cutchi in East Africa. Cutchi is one of the four recognised dialects of Sindhi, spoken mainly in the district of Cutch which today lies in the

[54] I had the honour of doing my teaching practice (in Swahili, African History and African Geography) with Sardar and Kamal Khan at the Aga Khan Secondary School (1966) and St. Xaviar Secondary School (1967) in Daressalaam.

[55] Information supplemented by Mr. Baqir Aloo, London, through the NAMASKAR-AFRICANA-L network, Oct 1998. Many Cutchi Sunni Muslim families in Tanzania and Kenya have saved a number of photographs of all these people.

western part of Gujarat, east of the desert stretches of the Indus river (Chatterji 1962:31-2, 349, IEL 3:129). In 1971, there were more than 471,000 speakers of Cutchi in Gujarat "and scattered in other states; also spoken in Kenya and Tanzania" (IEL 3:129). The name Cutchi is also spelled by various writers as Cuchi, Kachi, Kuchi, Katchi, Kacchi, Kachchi or Kautchy (ibid.). A Pakistani variant of Cutchi is also spoken by more that 50,000 in lower Sindh, and is referred to as Kachi Koli, Kuchikoli, Kachi, Kachchi, Katchi, Kohli, Kholi, Kolhi, Kori, Vagri, Vaghri, or Wagaria by different writers (IEL 1:243). According to Masica (1991:17) "Beyond the Gulf of Kutch, however, the language, Kachchi, is more closely related to Sindhi." Later on Masica describes Cutchi as the "language of Kutch (desert wilderness in far NW Gujarat); sometimes considered a dialect of SINDHI; cultural allegiance is to GUJARATI, which serves as written language" (Masica 1991:431). Here Masica appears to have overlooked the pre-Partition history of Cutch and Gujarat during the British colonial period and the exodus of Muslim Cutchi-speakers that started several generations ago; moreover, the Gujarati "cultural allegiance" in today's Cutch can be attributed also to Gujarati Hindu settlement in Cutch and the resulting Gujarati predominance in general during the last two centuries.

In East Africa, Cutchi has several sub-dialects, namely those of Sunni Muslims (heavily infused with Perso-Arabic and Swahili words and phrases), of Bhatia and Cutchi Banya/Wania Hindus (with much Gujarati intrusion) and of Shia Ismailis and Ithnaasheris (with both Perso-Arabic, Swahili and Gujarati influence). Along the Kenya coast, one finds a less Swahili-influenced form of Cutchi called *Kibadala* in Kimvita (Mombasa Swahili). It was the language of *Kalua*, the Indian sailors (belonging to the Sunni Muslim Badala and Kharwa castes) coming to East Africa during the Omani period.[56] *Kikumbaro* is a swahilized Cutchi form spoken as a mother tongue by Indian Sunni Muslims in Tanzania, with its base in Zanzibar Town and southern Unguja. The term *Kikumbaro* is derived from the Kumbar caste of potters of Cutch who beginning in the 1820s settled in the Ng'ambo area outside Zanzibar Town and the Hadimu/Shirazi villages of Makunduchi, Kizimkazi, Jembiani, Paje, Unguja Ukuu and Fumba in southern Zanzibar. They owned pottery workshops and limestone kilns and intermarried with the Hadimu/Shirazi. They introduced in East Africa a number of Asian fruits and vegetables (e.g. *embe za Muyuni*, a variant of the yellow Bombay mango growing in the south of Zanzibar island, and the 'apple mango' of Mombasa), and professional skills and small industries such as carpentry and metal work, building and construction, and had in the

[56] IEL 3:229 confuses this "Cutchi-Swahili: a Swahili-based creole spoken in Kenya by South Asians" with "Asian Swahili.". "Cutchi-Swahili" is a Cutchi-based Swahili creole, whereas "Asian Swahili" or *Kibabu* is a social dialect of ('broken') Swahili used by many Kenya and Uganda Asians, similar to the social dialect *Kisetla* 'Settler Swahili' or 'Kitchen Swahili' used by the European settlers in East Africa.

beginning virtual monopoly of rural retail trade and motor transport, particularly in Zanzibar and coastal and southern Tanganyika.

The Swahili forms of the Indic loans in the following list, for example, show that the source of the Indic loans here is most probably Cutchi, which also establishes Cutchi as an Indic contributor.

Swahili	Cutchi	Gujarati	English
bangili	'bangli'	'bangadi'	bangle, armlet
biri	'bīrī'	'bīdī'	cigarette
bofu	'fōfilō/fōfulō'	'fūgo'	baloon
chamburo	'čāmpro'	'čāmpdo'	tongs
chupri	'čupri/čopri'	'čōpdi'	book
fataki	'fatāki/fatākio'	'fatākdo'	fireworks
gabacholi	'gābāchōḏhi'	-------	swindling, cheating
gunia	'ɠuni'	'gūn'	jute sack
(sukari) guru	'ɠur'	'gōr'	brown raw sugar
jaribosi	'jarpōs'	'zari'	tinfoil, silverpaper
jinjiroo	'jānjrō/jānjar'	'zānzar'	bracelet with bells
nanga	'nangar'	'langar'	anchor
ndimu	'līmū'	'limbu'	lemon
sonara	'sonārā'	'sōnī'	goldsmith

The foregoing short list includes also a few indirect Persian loans (*nanga* and *ndimu*) borrowed via Cutchi.

4.6. Turkish contacts in Eastern Africa

4.6.1. Historical background. Historically there is relatively little Turkish influence on languages in East Africa, and what is found has arrived indirectly via speakers of Arabic, Persian and Indian languages. There are only about a dozen Turkish loanwords in Swahili; however, a few of them are of a rather high frequency, e.g. *bunduki* (gun), *baruti* (ammunition) and *mshikaki* (shishkebab). The Turkish influence in East Africa originates indirectly in the Ottoman armies which can be seen from the semantic field covered by Turkish loans in Swahili (Mbaabu 1985:40-41).

Parallel to the Portuguese expansion in the Indian Ocean at the beginning of the 1500s, the Ottoman Turks were also pushing their borders southwards. In 1517, the Turks conquered Egypt. Sailing south through the Red Sea, the Turks under the command of Mir Ali Bey entered the Indian Ocean and took Aden in 1547 and Muscat in 1581, followed by the other ports controlled by the Portuguese. By 1585 they had passed through Mogadisho, Barawa, Pate, Faza and Mombasa on the Swahili coast, looting the Portuguese possessions. Almost all Swahili city states became for a brief period vassals of *Sitambuli*, the Ottoman Sultan in Istanbul (Knappert

1979:10-13). Malindi, which had been visited by the Turks as early as 1542, remained however a Portuguese ally. The Turkish fleet, without Swahili support, was later defeated by the larger Portuguese forces in Mombasa when the Swahili settlements were suddenly attacked by the wandering warriors Zimba trekking from the south. This ended the direct involvement of the Turks in East African affairs (Were and Wilson 1987:18-21).

4.6.2. Turkish presence today. Today among the Arabs of the Gulf region and Oman and their descendants in Eastern Africa, 'Turki' appears as a personal name, ultimately becoming a surname. In one case in Zanzibar, it has become the surname of a family of Arab-Comorian origin. Another family of Cutchi/Sindhi origin in Zanzibar and Daressalaam has 'Turk' as their surname, which has recently been swahilized to 'Turki'. In this particular case, 'Turk' was a surname brought from India in the 1870s by a couple of soldiers in the Sultan's army, presumably showing Turkish descent which abounds in Muslim India. So far, no other evidence of Turkish settlement or descent has been found in any traditional Swahili community.

4.7 Chinese and Indonesian contacts with Eastern Africa

4.7.1. Chinese contacts. The Sung-Shih Annals of the Sung dynasty, compiled around AD 1345 and referring to the period 960-1279 are the earliest Chinese documents mentioning the Swahili coast. According to Sung-Shih, emissaries of the Amir-i-Amiran of Zangistan (the Prince of Princes of the Land of the Zanj, i.e. the Swahili coast) visited China in 1071 and 1082. Much later in 1415, a Chinese mission headed by an admiral of the Ming dynasty visited Zangistan (Allen 1993:136-138). Much chinaware from this period has been found at several sites in East Africa, especially in Unguja.

An earlier Chinese document dated 1225 describes Chao-Ju-Kua's visit to Somalia (Allen 1993:138). Local traditions in the Lamu archipelago claim a couple of instances of Chinese shipwrecks in the past after which the Chinese survivors were gradually assimilated into the Swahili society.

There are few loanwords in Swahili from China. The Chinese loans are most probably indirect loans via Indic e.g *chai* (tea), and Arabic, e.g. *thumu* (garlic) (Allen 1993:161, and Note 4).

4.7.2. Malayo-Indonesian contacts. Because of the greater physical presence of the Malayo-Indonesian peoples of Madagascar who started arriving in East Africa about 2000 years ago, the Swahili have borrowed more from Indonesian than from Chinese. There are no written records of these migrations but there is much living and archeological evidence (Allen 1993:63-69). The Indonesians brought the outrigger *ngarawa* or *ngalawa* and many fruits and vegetables to East Africa; some of these have typically

Indonesian sounding names, e.g. *birimbi* (the star fruit), *duriani* (the dorian) and *zambarau* (the purple java plum).

Greater indirect contacts with the Malayo-Indonesian world were developed during the Portuguese period when a number of other Indonesian products such as *viazi vitamu* (sweet potatoes) and *viazi vikuu* (yams) were introduced in East Africa together with several botanical items from Latin America such as *mpea* (avocado), *mlimao* (lemon) and *muhogo* (cassava, manioc). Malayan slave women were employed as 'dançadores' (dancers and servants) in the Portuguese wine-houses – hence the Indonesian loans *mmalaya* (prostitute, pl. *wamalaya*), *umalaya* (prostitution), and the Portuguese loan *danguroni* (brothel) in Swahili. The Indonesian loan *mmalaya* is much more common than its synonyms *kahaba/kahba* or *gahaba/gahba* of Arabic origin. The geographical name Malaya and the ethnomyn Malay in Swahili are realized as *Maleya* and *Mmaleya/Wamaleya* respectively.

4.8. Swahili cuisine as a reflection of the Indian Ocean food culture

In East Africa there is a tremendous variation of kitchen culture, food habits and raw materials for the imaginative cooks.[57] As an overall simplification, one describes generally the East and Central African staple food as *ugali* (gruel, porridge) with some *kitoweo* (sauce, gravy) or *mchuzi* (spiced curry), the *ugali* being of **mahindi** (< Ar./Ind., maize), **muhogo** (< SAm., cassava), *viazi vitamu* (sweet potatoes), *viazi vikuu* (yams), *mtama* (millets) or *ndizi* (bananas) and *mikono tembo* (plantains). This is similar to the West African 'fufu' and the southern African 'mealie', but of a much wider variety.

However, from the port of Mogadishu in Somalia in the north to the coastal settlements of northern Mozambique, the islands of the Comoros and coastal areas of northwestern Madagascar, the cuisine, rightly described as Swahili, is part of the Indian Ocean food culture; it is a complex blend of Arabian, Persian, Indian (from present day India, Pakistan, Srilanka and Bangladesh) and Indonesian dishes with several items, especially fritters with **kamba** (< Ar., prawns and shrimps), that remind of the Chinese and Japanese, albeit without pork or raw fish respectively.

The staple food among the Swahili is *wali* or **birinzi** (< Pers., boiled rice), usually boiled in *tui/tuwi*, coconut milk/cream obtained by grating the coconut and squeezing the *chicha* (flakes) which are then used for making **kashata** (< Ar., biscuits and cakes), *togwa* (light alcoholic drink), fillings for sweeet pastries called **sambusa** *tamu* (< Pers.), or used as chicken feed. *Wali* is eaten with *mchuzi*, a relish of different kinds of meat, **samaki** (< Ar., fish), *kuku* (chicken), sea-food, peas, beans and/or tropical vegetables of a

[57] The Oriental and Oceanic items are in **bold face**. When first mentioned, they are further marked in brackets as (< Ar.= Arabic), (< Pers. = Persian), (< Turk. = Turkish), (< Ind. = Indian), (< Ch. = Chinese), (< Port. = Portuguese), (< SAm. =South American Indian), and (< Sp. = Spanish). Purely Swahili terms are given in italics.

wide variety. Rice may be boiled without *tuwiltui* but together with fish, shrimps or boiled meat and is thus called **pilau** (< Pers.). Meat *pilau* is the *de facto* national dish of Tanzania and Kenya's Coast Province, usually of mutton or goat meat as is the custom in the Persian Gulf. In the past, beef *pilau* or **biriani** (< Pers.), a delicious white and **zafarani** (< Ar., saffron) coloured rice dish served with spicy meat sauce prepared with *maziwa ya kuganda* (yoghurt), deep-fried onions and potatoes, was the most common dish at weddings and other festivities in the coastal towns, and high quality rice was a major item of import in East Africa.

The coastal breakfast consists of white soft bread, *mkate wa* **boflo** (< Cut.) or **pau** (< Port., introduced by the Portuguese at the beginning of the 1500s) eaten with a relish of tropical peas or beans, usually *mbaazi* (chick peas) or *kunde* (small beans), cooked with *tui* the evening before, and some *mandazi* (round or triangular doughnuts fermented with *tembo*, palm-wine, or **hamira**, (< Ar., yeast). Other items found at breakfast, depending on the economic situtation of the family, are **chila** (< Cut., pancakes of rice flour), *mikate ya maji* (pancakes of wheat flour), *mikate ya kumimina* (steamed bread or cake of fermented rice flour dough), *vitumbua* (doughnuts of fermented rice flour), **chapati** (< Hindi/Punj., thin Indian loaves) or *mikate ya kusukuma*, *mikate ya* **ajemi** (< Ar., the small round Middle Eastern and North Indian bread commonly known in Indian restaurants around the world as 'tandoori' bread), a variety of *sembe/sima/uji mzito* (porridge), *uji* (thick or thin gruel, either salted or sugared), etc. Sweet milk **chai** (< Ch., tea, prepared in the Indian way and called **chai** *ya maziwa*), is drunk after all meals. *Kunywa chai* (to drink tea) means also 'to eat breakfast'. Often, soon after sunrise, **kahawa** (< Ar., coffee) is drunk by the elders after *Sala ya Alfajiri*, the first prayers before dawn.

Other breakfast, and also supper, items are *mikate ya mofa* (brown bread), *mikate ya chachu* (sour bread), boiled or fried eggs, and omelettes fried with onions and pieces of **pilipili** (< SAm. < Port., green or red chillies).

Lunch is usually the heaviest meal eaten between one and two in the afternoon. It consists of *mchuzi* of one or more kinds, with either *wali* (cooked rice), *wali wa mtama* (boiled millets), boiled **muhogo** (< SAm., cassava), yams, sweet potatoes, whole maize, **shelisheli** (< Fr., bread fruit, from the Seychelles), green bananas or plantains, all of which may also be prepared with meat or fish together with *tui* and served as separate dishes. With some kind of *mikate* (bread), two or more of these items make up the second course. The first course, if there is any, consists of pastries like **sambusa** (< Pers., piroshki or triangular samosa pastries of meat, chicken or tuna fish) or *mkate wa nyama*, a pie with two layers of dough. This pie is made of fried meat, onions and boiled eggs, or it is prepared with **kima** (< Pers., spiced minced meat and chopped onions). Sometimes a *mkate wa kima* (meat loaf) is served as a first course together with warm bread. In households with more Indian influence, **ladu** (< Ind., sweet balls), **mitokao** (< Ind., yellow coloured sweetened saffron rice) with **zabibu** (< Ar.,

raisins), **lozi** (< Ar., almonds), whole **iliki** (<Ar., cardamom) and **dalasini** (< Pers., whole cinamon) may be served as the first dish. An alternative to **mitokao** is the *tambi* or **sewa** (< Ind., vermicelly fried half brown with sugar) and sometimes *tambi ya* **malai** (< Ind., cream) eaten with cream, sultanas and crushed almonds or pistachio. Occasionally *bumbwi* (a light porridge of rice flour mixed with coconut flakes *chicha*, coconut cream *tui*, and sugar) is eaten by children.

All the dishes are highly spiced in the Asian manner, the most common ingredients being **tangawizi** (< Ind., ginger), **thumu/thomu** (< Ar. < Ch., garlic), **bizari** (< Ar., curry powder) of **kotmiri** (< Ind. coriander seeds), *manjano* or **hardali** (< Ind., turmeric), **jira** (< Ind., cumin), coriander leaves and tomatoes, and are accompanied with **chatini** (< Ind., chutneys) and **achari** (< Ind., pickles) of **embe** (< Ind., mango), **ndimu** (< Pers., lime), **birimbi** (< Malay, carambola, the Florida star fruit), **pilipili** (hot red chillies), **tangawizi** (ginger), **thumu** (garlic), **sambaro** (< Malay., pickle of raw **papai**, pawpaw), or **chatini** *ya nazi* (coconut chutney, a paste of grated coconut and hot chillies, salt and lime or lemon juice). Small quantities of powdered cinnamon, cardamom, *pilipili* **manga** (< Ar., black pepper from Manqa, i.e. Oman) and **karafuu** (< Sans, cloves) are used in sauces, whereas whole spices are used in preparing the different rice dishes so as not to discolour the rice.

The third course is usually one or more of a dozen *matunda* (fruits), either whole fruits or peeled and mixed as a fruit sallad, at times sugared a little, and even served with a little cream. A pudding made of rice flour called **firini** (< Pers., pudding) or **faluda** (< Pers.), a jelly of starch prepared with milk, **sukari** (< Ar. < Ind., sugar), and scented with **waridi** (< Ar., rose) or **pista** extract (< Ind./Pers. < Greek, pistachio), is served as dessert during the fasting month of Ramadhan when **naan** (< Pers., bread) or *mkate wa* **zafarani** (< Ar., Persian saffron bread and buns) is served when breaking the fast and eating **futari** (< Ar., the first meal of the day) at sunset. The rest of the **futari** and some fresh dish are eaten as the late night meal **daku** (< Ar.), during the fasting month. **Faluda** is served at other special occasions also. During Ramadhan, the ideal traditional food situation in wealthy families was half a dozen different items or dishes for each day of the month; and preferably they were not to be repeated during that month!

At lunch time one drinks water, juice or **sharubati** (< Ar., sherbet or fruit juice) or in the hot season *mtindi* (Indian 'lasi', diluted yoghurt, salted or sugared), *dafu* (drinking coconut), etc. Milk sherbet, **sharubati** *ya maziwa* which is sweetened milk with ice, flavoured with **lavani** (< Sp., vanilla) or **waridi** (< Ar., rose essence) and coloured with a tint of **pista** (pistachio) or *waridi* (rose) may be offered at weddings or circumcision ceremonies. In the evening one drinks **chai** (tea), **mchachai** (< Ch. **chai**, tea of lemon grass) or **chai** *ya maziwa* which may be brewed in milk only with crushed **iliki** (< Ind. cardamom). From the beginning of the long rains *Masika* in April up to

the end of July, **chai** ya **tangawizi** (ginger tea with powdered cardamom) is preferred in the evening.

A small quantity of **kachumbari** (< Ind., a sallad mixture of onions, tomatoes, cucumbers), with **kotimiri** (< Ind. coriander leaves), **limao** (< Port., lemon) or *ndimu* (< Pers., lime-juice) and **siki**, (< Pers., vinegar) is always present at lunch. Green or red **pilipili** (chillies) are eaten with food, or used as cooking ingredients, either fresh or dried and powdered. The *kabeji* (cabbage) and the *karoti* (carrot) were introduced in East Africa by Europeans towards the end of the nineteenth century, and spread in the region by Asians. Raw green vegetables were not consumed much by the Swahili as fresh *saladi* (sallad) in the European or Middle Eastern fashion; however, the white radish, **figili** (< Ar.), is a popular vegetable, both the leaves and the carrot-shaped white juicy root. Tea or coffee may be served immediately after lunch or after a short siesta.

The evening meal takes place between six and nine depending on the habit and size of the family. This dinner/supper consists of *uporo* (the remainder of the breakfast and lunch) and some freshly prepared supplements (which may also be bought ready-made from hawkers, stalls and restaurants or from families who sell such items at home, sometimes even on special order). The supplements are pastries, rolls, bread of a variety, pancakes, *bokoboko* which is a hash of beef and whole **ngano** (< Cut./Guj., wheat) eaten with **samli** (< Ar., ghee) or **siagi** (< Ar., butter) and **sukari** (sugar), fried crispy *samaki* (fish), *samaki wa kuchomwa* (smoked fish), *ngisi*, (smoked and fried squid) and *pweza* (octopus), **kababu** (< Pers., meat balls), **mshikaki** (< Turk., shish-kebab), *katilesi* (fried potato ball filled with spiced minced meat, deeped in egg and rolled in golden breadcrumbs), *katilesi za* **samaki** (fried balls of a mash of potato and fish dipped in egg), and different kinds of *uji* (gruel, either sugared, or prepared with bones with some meat on it). There is also *mkate wa gole* (a pancake containing minced meat, and fried on the under side and steamed on the upper side by covering) as an evening speciality. Tea is taken at supper also. Traditionally, many men drink their coffee out in the street with the coffee-seller; women may drink their coffee at home, either prepared by themselves or bought from the coffee-seller at the street corner.

East African coastal cookery is a complex art, which involves a wide variety of processes. Generally, there is more frying (*kukaanga*) than baking (*kuoka*) involved, hence the different pancakes and pastries; and frying preserves the food longer and protects it from going bad too soon in the tropical climate. The different rice dishes and those cooked with coconut cream are finally baked by embers on the lid of the pot. Oven baking demands access to much more fuel, and therefore the different cultures of the mainland region also have developed 'ash and embers' baking and steam baking instead. In the past it was common among many inland cultures to bake maize bread, cassava and other root crops by covering the food with hot ashes and embers. Many Swahili families would steam bake by putting

the dough, or meat-loaf, in a bowl which in turn is placed on a ring in a bigger vessel with a lid and some water and heated. This is how for example **barai** (< Ind.), beestings pudding, a delicious rare dish, is prepared from raw milk, or the curd of cows, and resembles the Swedish 'kalvdans'.

Meat is always boiled with plenty of ginger and garlic, and onions are used generously. The only traditional soups are the **serwa** (< Ar., thin soups of meat, fish, chicken, lentils, mungbeans, split chickpeas, etc.). In the past, young men in the coastal towns frequently went to **mkahawani** (< Ar., tea/coffee-houses) in the late afternoon after a walk on the strand to eat **serwa** *ya* **paya** (< Pers., soup of goat or sheep feet and head) or **serwa** *ya mifupa* (soup of bone marrow) which were considered to be aphrodisiac, *mbatata* (< Port., potatoes), also called *viazi* **ulaya** (< Ar. wilāyat, i.e. European potatoes) away from the coast, are used with different soups, curries and gravies, and preparing *katilesi* (fishballs of mixed fish and mashed potato, and potato balls filled with fried spiced minced meat).

Samaki (fish) is eaten more than meat as the Swahili are a maritime culture. Fish may be cooked with spices, fried or prepared with coconut cream. Dishes with *rojo* (a thick coconut cream) are called *kuku wa kupakaa* (chicken in coconut cream), **samaki** *wa kupakaa* (fish in coconut cream), etc. and are considered a special treat. Dried and smoked fish is also used widely. In the past, tons of dried fish such as *papa* (shark), *nguru* (kingfish), *ngonda* (scavenger), **bumbla** (< Ind., Bombay duckfish) and **sonia** (< Cut./Guj., dried prawns and shrimps) were imported from the northern trading partners of the Swahili in Somalia, Hadramaut and Socotra, the Gulf area and western India. This traffic has almost disappeared now with the death of the monsoon dhow trade.

Confectionaries include **kashata** (< Ar., cakes and biscuits) of *ufuta* (sesame seeds) and *njugu/karanga* (groundnuts/peanuts) prepared with melted brown sugar and **gundi** (< Cut., gum copal) in the Persian and North Indian fashion, ginger biscuits and a variety of *visheti* (sweet fritters). Fritters and doughnuts may be dipped in syrup, honey or melted sugar; *kaimati*, are small balls of wheat flour, fried and dipped in syrap or **asali** (< Ar., honey). Coconut flakes are also used to make **kashata** *ya nazi* (cakes of coconut with molasses) and *sambusa tamu* which is a pastry of grated coconut, sugared and spiced with anise and cardamom. A very common group of 'bitings' used any time of the day, is the Indian **bajia** (< Cut./Guj.) which are deep fried balls of flour of wheat, **adesi** (< Ar., lentils), **dengu** (< Pers., grams, chick peas), etc. Sometimes slices of **mbatata** (< Port. < Sam., potato), onions, green chillies, **biringani** (< Bengali, brinjal), **bamia** (< Ar., okra) or **binda** (< Cut./Guj., okra) and other tropical vegetables or shrimps are dipped in a dough of *kunde* (small beans) and other beans or **dengu** and fried in the Chinese fashion. **Bajia** are always eaten with some kind of **chatini** (chutney). Many families in towns (of both African and Oriental origins) even today make their living by frying **bajia** and other items and selling them at the doorstep, or through stalls and hawkers who go round to

schools, offices and workshops and the few parks and beach areas. Hawkers and stalls also sell roasted groundnuts (*njugu*, *karanga*), **bisi** (< Ind., popcorn), **makai** (<Ind. < Ar., roasted whole maize), juice of orange, **limao** (lemon), **ndimu** (lime), **nanasi** (< Port. < SAm., pineapple) and *muwa* (sugar cane), and even **genderi** (< Ind., pieces of peeled sugar cane) and **gubiti** (peppermint rocks of Persian and Indian origin).

Other delicacies prepared at home, but frequently bought from shops, are the previously named *bokoboko* and **halua** or **halwa** (< Ar., sweet meat or Turkish delight made of starch, butter and **sukari guru** < Cut., molasses), and varieties are made by adding sesame seeds, *korosho* (cashew nuts), **lozi** (< Ar. almonds) or **badamu** (Pers., almonds). **Halua** is usually served after religious ceremonies in the mosque or at home.

The "poor man's food" in Swahili is the *mseto* or **kichiri** (< Ind., hotchpotch) which is prepared by cooking *chenga* (broken rice of low quality) with **adesi** (< Ar.; split or whole lentils), *chooko* (mung beans) or *njegere* (peas) and eaten with some ghee and raw onions. The Muslim Asians serve it as the first meal after a funeral to demonstrate their sorrow. However, **kichiri**, like *ugali*, may be served as a "rich man's dish" when prepared with choice ingredients and served with plenty of butter and meat or fish. This hotchpotch, when made with seven different grains and meat, is called by the Indic amplicative form **kichiro** and is a popular dish among the Imami Ithnaasheris of the coast.

The foregoing is a somewhat exaggerated description of the Swahili cuisine if we compare it to the conditions today. However, these food traditions continue to exist, though on a smaller scale. The general impoverishment of the people, growth of towns and an increasing number of smaller households, growth of institutions, access to refrigerators, modern cookers, ovens, electric mixers, and also preserved and frozen foods, both locally produced and imported, have changed quite much the food habits and cooking processes of the Swahili and other East Africans. But many of the items mentioned above, which are of Oriental origin, have become common in the rest of East Africa. The existence of some of these dishes 700 years ago in East Africa, including various rice dishes with relishes of chicken, meat and sea food, and cooking bananas in coconut cream, are reported by Ibn Batuta in his travelogue (Hamdun and King 1975:15).[58] "The material civilization of the upper classes in the waning centuries of the Middle Ages was at least equal to that in most parts of Europe. It was in every way an Oriental, an Islamic civilization. Gold and silver ornaments were worn, ivory was exported in great quantities to India. Porcelain was imported from China and china bowls were used to decorate the mansions of the rich" (Knappert 1979:6).

[58] At the Kenya Evening organised during the Annual Conference of African Linguistics (ACAL July 1992) at the University of Nairobi, many of the items mentioned here were served as 'typical Kenyan stuff'.

4.9. Concluding remarks

Sheriff, commenting on Chaudhuri's second *magnum opus* of 1990 on the Indian Ocean, questions the limitation Chaudhuri imposes on East Africa as being in the periphery of the Indian Ocean, and that after having convincingly argued for a treatment of the "Indian Ocean as a cohesive world system based on common means of travel, movements of people, economic exchange, climate, and other historical forces" (Sheriff 1997b:2). The East African Swahili coast formed not only the western rim of the Indian Ocean but also the western part of its "bazaar nexus" that stretched from Zanzibar to Singapore, from long before the arrival of the Portuguese well into this century, and remnants of this compradorial system in East Africa still survive in Zanzibar, Mombasa and Daressalaam which continue to serve the huge hinterland with Asian commodities from Karachi, Bombay, Singapore and Hongkong, or European commodities for the past three decades mostly passing through the emporia in Dubai and Muscat. Sugata Bose (1996) has questioned both Asian and African scholars and historiographers for ignoring these continuities and unities that persist in the Indian Ocean trade system.

The civilizations of the northwestern Indian Ocean "were recognised by their respective members in their own time-frame to be separate and distinct from one another. The limits and boundaries were established at several levels of perceptions and often the structural unities and disunities lay below the level of collective awareness. People who ate rice, fish and the derivatives of the coconut, to take only one example, sharply distinguished themselves from those who lived on bread, meat and dairy products. This was a separation largely mapped by climate and geography onto social habits and traditions. But the rice-eating communities were themselves divided by language, religion, culture and ethnic identities" (Chaudhuri 1990:32-33). However, after the coming and spread of Islam, these divisions were blurred by the unifying force of the Islamic religion and the Arabic language during the 'Columbian' period with the penetration of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. Moreover, the trade connections developed during the Portuguese period "not only entailed an exchange of products between continents but also fostered by sea and river the spread of commodities which until then could only take place overland...." (Mota 1978:15).

"As an exercise in comparative economic and social history" of the Indian Ocean and to "locate the outer and inner limits of the different civilizations," Chaudhuri (1990:34) divides further his "two 'sets' of 'housing' and 'food' into 'sub-sets' and 'elements' associated with food habits, food production (techniques of rice growing), styles of housing, building materials and construction methods .... The outer limits of the two sets of 'food' and 'housing' are fixed in the first instance by the linguistic sense of the words, and in the second by the expression Indian Ocean."

Contrary to the claim in Chaudhuri (1990:36) that "In spite of its close connection with Islamic world, the indigenous African communities appear to have been structured by a historical logic separate and independent from the rest of the

Indian Ocean," the Swahili cuisine, for example, as described above, shows clearly that the Swahili people were and still are an integral part of the Indian Ocean chain of civilizations and the Indian Ocean food cultures, and in fact the most inclusive of all the cuisines found in the rim of the Indian Ocean, since the Swahili have blended well elements from the kitchens of the African, Middle Eastern/Islamic, Indian, Indonesian and Far Eastern members of the Indian Ocean food complex. This is clearly seen also in the Swahili history, language, literature, dress, architecture and music.

5. Arabic Loans in Swahili

5.1. Introduction.

Quite a lot has been written on the history of Arabic, Arabs and Islam in Eastern Africa, their influence on the peoples, languages and cultures of the region, and the status of Arabic and Islam there. Particular attention has been paid to the impact of Arabic on Swahili, the most widely spread indigenous African language south of the Sahara (Lodhi 1986a, 1986c, 1992b, 1994a, 1994b, Lodhi and Westerlund 1999). This chapter deals with the question of the status of Arabic in Eastern Africa, a few notes on Arabic lexical borrowings in Swahili, an inventory of Arabic structural loans and a short description of Arabic loan verbs in Swahili.

5.2. The Status of Arabic in Eastern Africa

The question of the status of Arabic in East Africa is raised here in view of the fact that it has minimal formal and academic recognition in spite of its historical predominance on the East African littoral and the Indian Ocean in general. Arabic has had an enormous impact on the languages spoken (especially) by the Muslims of the Indian Ocean rim and islands, and particularly on Swahili, the most widely-used literary indigenous language in Black Africa (Polomé 1967, Whiteley 1969, Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993).

In East Africa, Arabic has never been more important than it is today when Arabic items in Swahili are increasing and automatically loaned into most other languages of the region (Polomé 1980, Lodhi 1986a). Arabic items in Swahili are not properly documented nor satisfactorily analysed in spite of several existing studies in this field. (Krumm 1940, Ružička 1953, Imberg 1973 and 1977, Zawawi 1979, Cassels 1984, Bosha 1993).

Up to the conclusion of the Scramble for East Africa with the signing of the Heligoland Treaty in 1890 whereby the Sultanate of Zanzibar became a British Protectorate, Arabic had been the sole language of administration, commerce, diplomacy, education and liturgy in Muslim East Africa. Swahili however retained its rightful place as the literary language of the people. It gradually replaced Arabic in many fields during the 30 years of German occupation of Tanganyika; but after World War I, after the British takeover of Tanganyika, English was formally encouraged and spread there at the expense of both Arabic and Swahili.

Arabic was replaced in all formal contexts except for the following:

a) constitutionally, Arabic was the first official language of the Zanzibar Protectorate/Sultanate (including the Kenya Coastal Strip Protectorate), followed by English and Swahili in descending order of importance, up to the republican Revolution in January 1964 when the linguistic recognition became quite the opposite, i.e. Swahili, English and lastly Arabic;

b) The National Anthem of the Sultanate of Zanzibar was in Arabic;

c) Arabic was a compulsory subject at all Swahili-medium primary schools and the Muslim Academy which trained teachers of Arabic, Swahili and *Diana* (Islamic theology) – Arabic was the medium of instruction (up to Class 4) only at the Arabic-speaking Primary School at Vikokotoni in Zanzibar Town;
d) Arabic was offered as an option both at the Secondary, High School and Teacher Training levels.

Some Koran schools (*chuo/vyuo/kutab*), which were all private, also offered in the afternoon classes a minimum of instruction in Arabic to senior pupils who attended English or Gujarati medium primary schools in the morning and which did not have Arabic as a subject.

During the colonial educational expansion up to the middle of the 1920s in Zanzibar, the educational status of Arabic was drastically reduced. In 1910 for example, some government schools in the rural areas closed down because of lack of pupils. Most parents boycotted the schools because of the English medium of instruction from the first year of the primary school where Arabic was a compulsory subject, and Swahili was offered later as a subject, in the Roman script after the standardization of 1924. However, there was no demand from the parents to use Swahili as the medium of instruction in the schools of Zanzibar – they wanted Arabic, "the language of their Prophet" (Bennett 1978:229).[59]

According to a Zanzibar Government Report in 1939, 60% of the people in Unguja, and 35% in Pemba, were literate in Swahili in the Arabic script. However, the colonial government continued publishing its Swahili documents in the Roman script in spite of the fact that only 2% of Zanzibaris were literate in it (Bennett 1979:229).

After the Revolution, Arabic gradually disappeared from the school syllabuses in Zanzibar during the eight-year-long anti-intellectual reign of Sheikh Abeid Aman Karume, the first President of the Peoples' Republic of Zanzibar. The Muslim Academy was closed down and its functions partly incorporated with the Nkrumah Teachers College at Beit-el-Ras a few kilometers north of Zanzibar Town. Following the assassination of Sheikh Karume in 1972, through the personal incentive of his learned successor Al-hajj Aboud Jumbe, a great revival of Arabic was realised. Since 1980, it is again a compulsory subject from Class 3 at the primary level, though a number of secondary schools do not offer it for lack of teachers or teaching materials. It is not yet included in the current teacher training programmes; instead Arabic teachers are recruited through the Institute of Kiswahili and Foreign Languages (IKFL) which is an affiliate of the University of Daressalaam, and the recently founded Zanzibar University in central Unguja in which the former Islamic College (the re-established Muslim Academy) has been incorporated. Both these institutions provide training in

[59] Compare this with the case of the British primary school for Zanzibari children of Indian origin in 1891, end of section 4.2.

educational theory and practice. It is a compulsory subject at the Zanzibar University, whereas at the IKFL it is optional.

However, during the 1998 calendar year, 46 out of the 300 Diploma students at the IKFL had Arabic as their major subject. Despite this upswing in the status of Arabic in autonomous Zanzibar, there is no official statement defining its position. It has a de facto importance of its own as a language of religious transmission in a predominantly Islamic country (98% Muslim), and there are local and private plans to start Institutes of Islamic Studies in other parts of East Africa. An Islamic University similar to the one in Zanzibar, and having several secular disciplines, has been founded in Mbale, Uganda, to cater for the whole region.

On Mainland Tanzania with ca. 50% Muslim population (Kettani 1982), Arabic has its social status among the Muslims and is taught in the Koran schools as also in Kenya, but the teaching is mostly limited to 'parroting' the Koranic suras. A large proportion of the population of Eastern Africa (i.e. Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Komoro, Mozambique, Malawi, Rwanda, and Burundi) is Muslim with Arabic as the spiritual language (Kettani 1982).[60] Arabic is also the 'Latin' of Swahili, the main language in this vast region. Although about 42% of the Swahili vocabulary is of Arabic origin (Bosha 1993), Arabic is not offered at any level in the secular educational system of Mainland Tanzania (nor Kenya and Uganda), a system previously in the hands of numerous Christian Missions; neither is it included in the programmes of the Institute of Kiswahili Research (IKR), nor the Department of Kiswahili and African Languages at the University of Daressalaam. Only an extramural course is occasionally offered at the Institute of Adult Education in Daressalaam, but at the University of Daressalaam no graduate course in Arabic is offered.[61] At the IKR, no specialist is employed to work with Swahili manuscripts in the Arabic script, and very little progress has been made in this field.

However, Arabic loans are both important and popular. Some of the many hundreds of recent terms approved by the National Swahili Council are: *mhifadhina* (reactionary), *msamiati* (vocabulary), *wakala* (bill of ladding), *mwakilishi* (elected representative), *dhidi ya* (against), *thaura* (political revolution), *mpinga-thaura* (counter-revolutionary) and *harakati ya tabaka*

[60] Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs (JIMMA)Vol. IV 1982:1 & 2 contains five articles on Muslims in the region. Statistics on followers of different religions in Eastern Africa are notoriously unreliable. See also Lodhi and Westerlund (1999).

[61] During the 1960s, for a couple of terms only a short introductory course in Arabic was offered to Swahili language students. After the advent of the socialist/nationalist Arusha Declaration in 1967, some 'africanist' officials of the ruling party TANU at the University of Daressalaam branch, in their efforts to 'de-arabize' Tanzania, asked the President's Office to cancel Arabic courses from the curriculum, which was done without written authorization, and in spite of increasing contacts with the socialist Arabic-speaking countries. Information received from Dr. Bashbishi in Daressalaam in August 1968, and confirmed by Dr. Yared Kihore and Professsor Abdu M. Khamisi, 16 June 1998, Daressalaam.

(class struggle) (Bosha 1993). These contributions are by Swahili experts with Muslim background and knowledge of Arabic. Swahili lexicography necessitates at least a working knowledge of Arabic, especially when one does not have the Muslim background.[62]

The language typology in Tanzania Mainland shows that Arabic appears in bilingual, trilingual, quadrilingual and plurilingual situations – not in monolingual! Until about three decades ago Arabic appeared in some multilingual shop notices (together with English, Gujarati and Swahili). Arabic has completely disappeared from auctions and market places, and Arabisms such as *arbata-ashara* (fourteen), *khamso-ishirin* (twenty five) and *sitaa-alf* (six thousand) have been replaced by original Swahili or swahilized Arabic terms *kumi na nne*, *ishirini na tano* and *elfu sita* respectively. In the middle of the 1960s Arabic terms such as these were frequently used in the auctions just as Hindi/Urdu terms such as *do chai* (two teas) and *tiin kafi* (three coffees) were used in many restaurants. "The proportion of those who can read Arabic appears to drop slightly with increasing education from 4% at primary level to 2.8 % at secondary Form VI level. Many primary school children have also received instruction at Koranic schools but such schools have not traditionally fostered academic study in the way that Christian Mission schools have" (Hill 1980:223).

The status of Arabic in Kenya, with ca. 25% Muslim population (Kettani 1982), is similar to that in Tanzania Mainland, though on the Kenya coast, Arabic has more prestige which it has historically enjoyed through its geographical proximity and ethnic affinity to southern Arabia. In predominantly traditional Swahili societies of the Lamu archipelago and Malindi, Arabic is taught in some primary schools and many parents send their children to the Middle East for further studies. It is not uncommon to find Arabic as a second or third language in the Muslim families of the Kenya coast and among Muslims upcountry. Instruction in Arabic is given at numerous Koran schools run by about 120 Islamic Societies. The Kenya Muslim Association has plans to establish Muslim Secondary and High-schools with emphasis on Arabic and Islamic studies in Mombasa and Nairobi.

In Uganda with ca. 25% Muslim population (Kettani 1982), the situation of Arabic is rather similar to that in Kenya and Tanzania Mainland in that it has no official recognition. It is taught only at Koran schools and Islamic Institutes whose activities are coordinated by the Uganda Supreme Islamic Council which has established the Uganda Muslim University at Mbale, a joint project by the Uganda Government and the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). A major reason given by Muslim leaders (including two Presidents of Zanzibar, viz. Alhajj Aboud Jumbe and Dr. Salmin Amour) for the establishment of the Muslim Universities in Uganda and Zanzibar was that theological colleges and faculties at the established universities in East Africa

[62] See J. W. T. Allen (1945).

dealt only with Christian theology, missiology and history of Christianity, and peripherally traditional African religions, but not at all with Islam. However, at the turn of the 19th century, Arabic was important in the military camps in Uganda; Furley (1959:321) suggests poor knowledge of Arabic on the part of the British officers as one major reason for the mutiny in Uganda in 1897.

Malawi and Mozambique also have large Muslim minorities, ca. 20% and 30% respectively (Kettani 1982), but the Muslims are loosely organised and instruction in Arabic is almost non-existent. However, knowledge of the Arabic script is widespread. The Muslim clergy from these countries, as well as from Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire (with less than 5% Muslim population in all), usually receive their higher education in Tanzania, Kenya, or Uganda.

The Islamic Federal Republic of Comoro (the Comoro Islands) is wholly Muslim – the remaining fourth island in the Comorian archipelago, Mayotte/Maore, is almost wholly Muslim and continues to be a part of France. Komorian (*Shingazija/Shikomoro*) and Arabic are the national languages with French as the second language of the Islamic Federal Republic. Swahili is generally understood and both Shikomoro and Swahili are written in the Arabic script; however, recent linguistic development is pointing towards the spread of the Latin orthography, although the Republic is the only country in Bantu-speaking Africa which is a member of the Arab League since 1994 (Ben Ali 1983, Ottenheimer and Ottenheimer 1976).[63]

In Madagascar, despite several dozen Arabic loans in the Malagasy language which was earlier written in the Arabic script, Arabic as a language is almost non-existent with a dwindling Muslim population (Munthe 1984, Rajaonson 1980).[64]

The Swahili-Arabic script is still in use among the Muslims in private correspondence, poetry-writing and religious instruction, but there is no newspaper or bulletin issued in this script since 1963, although during 1969/70 the Bible Society in East Africa published in Nairobi the Swahili Bible in the Swahili-Arabic script printed in Stockholm for free distribution among old Christians and Muslims along the coast who were literate only in the Arabic script.

To the East Africans, Arabic is not only a foreign colonial language like English, it is also, unlike English, an integral part of the Swahili language, literature and culture in general. Most Arabic loans are not considered foreign

[63] pc Professors H. Ottenheimer and M. Ottenheimer, both of USA, in Stockholm, January 1997, H. Ottenheimer in Leipzig July 1997, and Dr. Djaffar Mmadi of Comoro in Uppsala, March 1997.

[64] Also pc Dr. Henry Rahaingoson, Eastern African Centre for Research in Oral Traditions and African National Languages (EACROTANAL), Zanzibar, May 1980.

because of their high frequency and commonness. In light of this fact, a positive change in the attitude to Arabic has been observed in recent years.

The efforts to encourage Swahilization in Tanzania and Kenya and limit borrowing from English – except for stabilised anglicizations like *kesi* (case), *kuripoti* (to report) – have increased drastically the number and frequency of both direct and indirect Arabic loans in East Africa, and in some cases even established English loans have been replaced with Arabic, Arabic-Bantu or purely Bantu elements in the fields of administration, law, mechanics and even Christian theology (*KAMUSI* 1981). In this section and sections 5.3.2., 5.3.3., 5.3.4. and 5.4.2., Swahili words of Arabic origin, or Arabic elements in swahilized words, are in **bold face**:

taarifa (report)	instead of	*ripoti*
mahakama (court)		*korti*
hakimu (judge)		*jaji*
nguvu ***farasi*** (horse power)		*hosipawa*
zuio (brakes)		*breki*
mfumbato (clutch)		*klachi*
mkurugenzi (director)		*direkta*
Mkuu wa Mkoa (Regional Commissioner)		*Rejino Kamishna*
Baba Mtakatifu (Pope, Holy Father)		*Papa*
waraka (epistle)		*epistola*

In the various sciences, the specialised terminologies have been greatly expanded with the help of Arabic loans such as ***-sharabu*** (absorb), ***kisharabio*** (absorbent), ***usharabu*** (absorption), ***ukabila*** (tribalism), ***utaifa*** (nationalism), ***kutaifisha*** (to nationalize), ***kuthibitisha*** (to probate), ***majaribio*** (probation, experiments), ***msamaha*** (amnesty), and ***hisabati*** (mathematics) (Maina 1987:1-3).

There are numerous new compounds with Arabic elements. Affixation with Arabic roots or reductions have given rise to specialised terminologies similar to the Greaco-Latin compounds in the European languages (Lodhi 1986a:260):

a. *mwana-**sheria*** (lawyer), *kibadili-mwendo* (cam) and ***nusu**-kipenyo* (radius)

b. ***dakuvu*** (fungicide), ***dabuibui*** (arachnicide), ***dadudu*** (insecticide), ***danyungu*** (nematicide), ***dakono*** (molluscicide), ***dagugu*** (herbicide), etc. The prefix ***da-*** here is from the Arabic loan *dawa* (drug, medicine, chemical)

c. ***elimunafsi*** (psychology)	previously	*saikolojia*
***elimu**viumbe* (zoology)		*zuolojia*
elimujamii (sociology)		*sosholojia*

***elimu**bantu* (bantuistics)	***taaluma** ya **lugha** za kibantu*
elimumadini (mineralogy)	***taaluma** ya **madini***
***elimu**mimea* (botany)	***taaluma** ya mimea*
etc.	

5.3. Arabic lexical loans in Swahili

5.3.1. Introduction. "The most visible sign of outside encroachment in Swahili is in lexis, and the largest identifiable set of borrowed lexis almost certainly stems from Omani Arabic in the last three centuries or so" (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993:321). Reinhardt (1894) has given an excellent description of this Omani Arabic dialect as spoken in East Africa during the peak years of Omani dominance there.

The most exhaustive study of Arabic loans in Swahili is by Bosha (1993), one of the few researchers on the subject who are native speakers of Arabic. The studies undertaken so far on the influence of Arabic and/or Arabic loans in Swahili have concentrated on the loans as such, and on suggesting etymologies of mostly nouns (Krapf 1882, Krumm 1932 and 1940, Zawawi 1979). Because of the existence of these works, a full study of Arabic nominal loans is not included in the present work. Relatively much has been written on the Swahili-Arabic script (e.g. Velten 1901, Allen 1945 and 1970, Polomé 1967, Imberg 1975). Those few who have attempted to give the etymologies of Arabic verbs have in some cases given the wrong Arabic verb form as the immediate source (e.g. Johnson 1939, Sacleux 1939). Arabic has 15 different verb forms (VF). Swahili has borrowed from several of these verb forms. Imberg (1975) has pointed out in his essay these shortcomings. McCall (1969) in his long article has analysed Krumm's classical work on Oriental loans from a sociological and historical perspective on borrowing.

5.3.2. Arabic nominal loans. A large number of Swahili nouns are derived from Arabic roots. A very common way of producing Swahili lexis is to borrow the various forms already existing in Arabic and swahilise them with an anaptyctic or epenthetic vowel (Polomé 1967:166-176, Cassels 1984), e.g.

hisabu/hesabu (counting, accounts) > *mahisabu* (figures),
> ***hisabati*** (mathematics)
haraka (hurry) , ***harakati*** (struggle)
safiri (to travel), ***msafiri*** (traveller), ***safari*** (a journey), *msafara* (caravan)
fikiri (to think), ***fikira/fikra*** (thought), ***fikara*** (worries), ***tafkira*** (reflections)

5.3.3. Arabic broken plurals. Arabic broken plurals are also found as loans in Swahili, though few in number, as synonyms of swahilized plurals, e.g.

Swahilized singular	Swahilized plural	Arabic broken plural loan
binti (daughter)	*mabinti*	***banati***
sahaba (companion)	*masahaba*	***as-haba*** (companion of the Prophet Muhammad)
sahibu (friend)	*masahibu*	***as-habu***
walad (child, boy)	*mawaladi*	***awlad***
	uladi (descendants)	

A small number of Arabic plurals also appear as singular nouns in Swahili and are pluralised as Bantu roots or stems, e.g. ***muhajirina***, ***mhajirina*** (refugee), ***mshirikina*** (one believing in superstition, magic, etc.) and ***mhifadhina*** (conservative). Alternatively, some singular Arabic nouns are treated as plural and singular forms are derived from them, e.g. from Arabic 'mismār' (nail, pin) > Swahili *misumari* (pl.) > *msumari* (sing.).

5.3.4. Arabic adjectives and adjectival phrases. "In Swahili there are few words which may be termed 'Adjectives'. There are, however, many ways of expressing an adjectival concept" (Ashton 1944:46).

Swahili adjectives of Arabic origin outnumber those of Bantu origin. Many of them are borrowed in the adjectival form whereas others are constructed or derived. Loans such as ***dhaifu*** (weak), ***ghali*** (expensive), ***huru*** (free), ***laini*** (soft), ***maskini*** (poor), ***nadhifu*** (pure), ***safi*** (clean) and about 50 more items belong to the first category. These are not inflected as is the case with the Bantu adjectives. Constructed or derived adjectives such as ***-aminifu*** (reliable, honest from the verb *kuamini* to believe in, to trust) and ***-badhirifu*** (extravagant, prodigal, from the verb *kubadhiri* to squander, to waste) belong to the second, lesser category. Others are constructed from nouns, e.g. ***fakiri*** (a pauper) > ***fukara*** (poor). However, numerous other adjectival concepts are expressed by phrases constructed with Arabic roots, e.g.

a. phrases based on the *-a* of relationship:
*mtu wa **haki*** (a just man) *-a* + noun
*maneno ya **kutibu*** (soothing words) *-a* + verb in the infinitive
*mlango wa **saba*** (the seventh door) *-a* + cardinal number
*nyumba za **zamani*** (old buildings) *-a* + adverb

b. participle phrases based on the *-o* of reference as a relative particle:
*gari **iliyoharibika*** (a broken-down car)
*vijana **wasalitikao*** (infatuated young people)

c. using the possessive particle *-enye* (having) + obj.:

(mtu) mwenye ***mali*** (one having wealth, a wealthy person)
mti mwenye ***maradhi*** (a tree having sickness, a sick tree)

d. using other nouns:
watu ***tajiri*** (rich people)
mtawala dhalimu (oppressive ruler)

A large number of these loans (together with other Oriental and European loans) have been borrowed from Swahili into many other languages of Eastern Africa as indirect loans (Mbaabu 1985:49-53).

5.4. Arabic Structural Loans in Swahili

5.4.1. Introduction. In this section I shall comment on Arabic grammatical or structural loans, specifically Arabic or Bantu-Arabic adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions and extension of Arabic loan verbs in Swahili.[65]

Minor structural influence from a prestigious literary language sometimes occurs through the written medium alone, without actual oral bilingualism among borrowing language speakers. However, the structural influence of classical Arabic on the languages of various Muslim peoples is somewhat different from the structural influence of Latin on the languages of various Christian peoples in Europe. The difference is caused by the fact that most Muslims also frequently hear spoken Arabic, at least being recited in numerous and regular religious services and ceremonies. For example in India, generally Hindu and uneducated Muslim speakers of Hindi/Urdu would use numerous Arabic loans without original Arabic phonemes, whereas educated Muslim speakers of Hindi/Urdu would use the same Arabic loans with the original Arabic phonemes, e.g. /z/ and /ʕ/, the emphatics /s/, /t/ and /z/ and the interdentals /θ/ and /ð/. A similar phenomenon exists in East Africa in the two different varieties of Swahili usage of Muslims and Christians where Arabic phonemes are closely reproduced by Muslim Swahili speakers. Many speakers of Turkish and several other Turkic languages of Central Asia treat Arabic loans similarly. Arabic has also caused minor syntactic changes in these languages. The Arabic coordinating conjunction 'wa' (and) realized in Turkish as 've' is frequently used as a hypotactic particle "where Turkic languages would otherwise normally use ..... parataxis" (Comrie 1981:48). This is very similar to the case in Swahili as given below.

Other prestigious languages with long (over two millennia of) tradition of influence are Sanskrit and Chinese which have brought about a number of structural changes through grammatical intrusion in the Dravidian languages of South India and Japanese respectively (Sridhar 1978:202-206). Sanskrit

[65] On the different scales of lexical and structural borrowing, see Ch. 4 Language Maintenance in Thomason and Kaufman (1988).

syntactic intrusion in Dravidian languages includes quantifiers, intensifiers, conjunctions and even derivational affixes, which is to an extent similar to the phenomenon of Arabic borrowings in general in for example Persian, Urdu and Swahili, the languages spoken primarily by Muslims. There is widespread evidence also of similar Spanish structural intrusion into Amerindian languages of Mexico and Latin America in general.

"Although the adoption of a handful of loanwords may be the most common manifestation of borrowing – especially in the modern world, where a few languages of international status provide all the technological vocabulary – extensive structural borrowing is more common than has generally been recognised" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:65).

Arabic loans appear in all word classes in Swahili. In many cases they appear as synonyms to Bantu lexical items; in some cases we find Bantu-Arabic phrases as function words; and in some cases the loans have replaced Bantu items. Moreover, items from all these word classes are today spreading further as indirect Arabic loans from Swahili to many Bantu and non-Bantu languages of Eastern Africa.

It is perhaps impossible to predict how and when structural borrowing will occur as factors affecting linguistic outcomes of contact situations are necessarily unpredictable. However, generally social factors such as the relative sizes of the groups in contact, their length and intensity of contact, and the degree of resulting bilingualism determine how, when and to what extent structural borrowing may take place. "The traditional prerequisite for Structural Borrowing .... is the existence of a bilingual group within the borrowing-language speaker population" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:66).

5.4.2. Arabic influenced hypotactic structures in Swahili. To illustrate the degree or extent of the influence of Arabic function words at different syntactic levels in Swahili, i.e. grammatical or structural loans, let us first look at the use of the Arabic loan ***kabla*** (< 'qabl') meaning 'before':

a. *Alirudi nyumbani **kabla** hajamaliza kazi.*
Lit.: He returned home before he has not finished work.
He returned home without finishing work.

The English sentence 'He returned home without finishing work' can also be realised in Swahili by using the relative construction *alipokuwa* (when he was) as

b. *Alirudi nyumbani alipokuwa hajamaliza kazi.* With *-po-* relative particle.

c. *Alirudi nyumbani **kabla** (ya) kumaliza kazi.* The gerund in English has the Swahili equivalent with the infinitive *kumaliza* (to finish):

d. **Alirudi nyumbani **kabla** alikuwa amemaliza kazi.*
Lit. He returned home before he had finished work.

is grammatically incorrect in Swahili. The negative construction *hajamaliza* of sentence b. is frequently replaced by a positive one in the usage of non-native speakers of Swahili. This is probably because of the influence of English, e.g.

d. *Alirudi	nyumbani	kabla	alikuwa	amemaliza	kazi.
/	/	/	\	/	/
He returned	home	before	he was	he has finished	work.
			\	/	
			he had finished (compound tense)		

Though sentence d. above is considered incorrect by native speakers of Swahili, whenever the sense is understood, constructions with the *-me-*tense (as in *amemaliza*) occur without the preterite construction with the *-li-*tense (as in *alikuwa*). In longer or narrative contexts, *-likuwa* is used initially to introduce the past perfect, e.g.

Alikuwa amepika chai nyingi, amekunywa vikombe vitatu, na amekaa dirishani akisoma kitabu chake.
She had made a lot of tea and (had) drunk three cups and was seated by the window reading her book.

The meaning expressed by the above English sentence 'He returned home without finishing work' may be expressed in the following various ways in Swahili:

1. *Alirudi nyumbani* He returned home	(paratax)	*hajamaliza kazi.* (lit.) he has not finished work.
2. *Alirudi nyumbani*	*kule/huko/hapo/pale* while/when	*hajamaliza kazi.*
3. *Alirudi nyumbani*	*(pale) ambapo* (then) when	*hajamaliza kazi.*
4. *Alirudi nyumbani*	***wakati** ule* at that time	*hajamaliza kazi.*
5. *Alirudi nyumbani*	***wakati** ambapo* at the time when	*hajamaliza kazi.*

6. *Alirudi nyumbani*	***wakati*** when/at the time	*hajamaliza kazi.*
7. *Alirudi nyumbani*	***kabla*** before	*hajamaliza kazi.*
8. *Alirudi nyumbani* He returned home	***kabla*** *ya* before	*kumaliza kazi.* finishing work.
9. *Alirudi nyumbani* He returned home	***kabla*** before	*kumaliza kazi.* finishing work.
10. *Alirudi nyumbani* He returned home	***bila*** *ya* without	*kumaliza kazi.* finishing work.
11. *Alirudi nyumbani* He returned home	***bila*** without	*kumaliza kazi.* finishing work.

Sentence 1. is paratactical, whereas all the others are hypotactical. In spoken Swahili, the paratax is marked by an ascending pitch contour, and after the terminal, the utterance continues at a low pitch level.

2. has Bantu locatives/demonstratives.
3. has Bantu locatives/demonstratives with *ambapo* relative.
4. has an Arabic noun with a Bantu demonstrative.
5. has an Arabic noun with a Bantu relative.
6. has an Arabic noun as a conjunction.
7. has an Arabic negative compound conjunction.
8. has an Arabic-Bantu negative phrase as a preposition followed by an infinitive.
9. has an Arabic negative preposition followed by an infinitive.
10. has an Arabic-Bantu negative preposition followed by an infinitive.
11. has an Arabic negative preposition followed by an infinitive.

There are four more possibilities using the Arabic '**ḥāl**' (state, condition):

12. *Alirudi nyumbani*	*ilihali*	*hajamaliza kazi.*
13. *Alirudi nyumbani*	*hali*	*hajamaliza kazi.*
14. *Alirudi nyumbani*	*na hali*	*hajamaliza kazi.*
15. *Alirudi nyumbani*	*na hali pale/huko*	*hajamaliza kazi.*

Sentences 12. - 15. all literally mean 'He returned home in the state (where/in which) he had not finished work.' Similar examples can be found

in the following Bantu languages of East Africa for which native informants were readily available:[66]

Chagga equivalents of Swahili sentences given above[67]:

1. *Nnalewuya kanyi*	(paratax)	*alammarisa kasi.*
2. *Nnalewuya kanyi*	*alya*	*nalammarisa kasi.*
4. *Nnalewuya kanyi*	*keri kilya*	*nalammarisa kasi.*
7. *Nnalewuya kanyi*	***kabla***	*nalammarisa kasi.*
9. *Nnalewuya kanyi*	***kabla***	*yemarisa kasi.*

Luyia equivalents[68]

1. *Yakalukha munyumba*	(paratax)	*nasili okhumala emilimo.*
2. *Yakalukha munyumba*	*aliya*	*nasili okhumala emilimo.*
5 *Yakalukha munyumba*	*esikha*	*nasili okhumala emilimo.*
7. *Yakalukha munyumba*	*imbeli*	*nasili okhumala emilimo.*
8. *Yakalukha munyumba*	*imbeli ya*	*nasili okhumala emilimo.*

In the speech of the younger generation of Luyia speakers, in Sentences 7. and 8., *imbeli* and *imbeli ya*, may be replaced by the Swahili *kabla* and *kabla ya* respectively. The Luyia '*imbeli*' and '*imbeli ya*' have the Swahili cognates *mbele* and *mbele ya* respectively, used in this context almost exclusively by non-native speakers of Swahili who have other Bantu mother tongues.

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[66] Information on the Chagga, Luyia, Ngoni/Nguni and the Nyamwezi-Sukuma group is collected from published sources given below. Approximate number of speakers for the languages were as follows in 1998: Chagga 1 million, Luyia 2.88 million, Ngoni 0.17 million and Nyamwezi-Sukuma 5.9 million (Grimes 1999).

Of the four Bantu languages taken for comparison here, the Nyamwezi-Sukuma cluster, extending from the southern shores of Lake Victoria to Central Tanzania, has a long-time contact with Islam and Arabic; whereas Chagga spoken in the Kilimanjaro Region in northern Tanzania and Ngoni in southern Tanzania have been exposed to Islam, Arabic and Swahili for only a few generations from the middle of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, Luyia lacks completely direct exposure to Islam and Arabic, and Swahili was introduced to the Luyia by the British towards the end of the nineteenth century. Less than one percent of the Luyia are Muslim, but Swahili is widely understood and used in Luya-speaking areas because of the Swahili mass media. For details on this see Whiteley (1974), Jungraithmayr and Möhlig (1980), Polomé and Hill (1980), and Grimes (1999).

[67] Sentence examples/equivalents for Chagga were provided by the native speaker Mr. Julian M. Kimaro.

[68] Sentence examples/equivalents for Luyia were provided by the native speaker Mr. Osore E. Ondusye.

Nyamwezi equivalents[69]

1. *Wasobwa kokaya*	(paratax)	*akamalile mlimo/milimo.*
2. *Wasobwa kokaya*	*aho/kono*	*akamalile mlimo/milimo.*
3. *Wasobwa kokaya*	*aho/kono*	*akali kumala milimo.*
5. *Wasobwa kokaya*	*matugo ago*	*wavage akamalile milimo.*
7. *Wasobwa kokaya*	*matugo uko/**kabla***	*akamalile milimo.*
9. *Wasobwa kokaya*	***kabla***	*kumala milimo.*

The Nyamwezi equivalent of the Swahili *halilihali* (12. - 15.) is '*hatali*', e.g. *Wasobwa kokaya hatali akamalile milimo.*

In the pluperfect, the Nyamwezi equivalent of Swahili Sentence b. at the beginning of this section is a variant of Sentence 5.:

Wasobwa kokaya (***kabla***) *wavage akamalile milimo.*

Swahili sentences 10. and 11. also have their equivalents in the above illustrated languages using the Swahili-Arabic loaned conjunctions *bila* and *bila ya* (without) followed by an infinitive or a 'verbal noun', e.g. in Nyamwezi:

10. *Wasobwa kokaya*	***bila** ya*	*kumala milimo.*
11. *Wasobwa kokaya*	***bila***	*kumala milimo.*

Nguni/Ngoni equivalents[70]

1. *Akiliwiki kunyumba*	(paratax)	*angamala lihengu.*
2. *Akiliwiki kunyumba*	*kula/akona*	*angamala lihengu.*
4. *Akiliwiki kunyumba*	*magono gala*	*angamala lihengu.*
6. *Akiliwiki kunyumba*	*magono*	*angamala lihengu.*

Swahili sentences 8., 9. and 10. with the infinitive have only one equivalent in Nguni: *Alikiwiki kunyumba akona kumala lihengu.* The equivalents of Swahili sentences 4. and 6. have the same construction.

The "intrusion" of Arabic 'qabl' in Swahili seems to have its origin in the following Arabic constructions which are near-equivalents of the Bantu-Swahili sentences given above:

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69 Sentence examples/equivalents for Nyamwezi were provided by the native speaker Mr. Kidumla Kamagi Kidumla.

70 Sentence examples/equivalents for Ngoni were provided by the native speaker Mrs. Dorothy Luambano-Borgå.

1. huwa ragaʕa ila d-dāri qabla ʕan yantahiya min ʕāmalihi.
2. huwa ʕāda ilā d-dāri qabla ʕan yantahiya min ʕamalihi.
3. huwa ʕāda ʕilā d-dāri qabla l-intihāʕi (qabla li-ntihāʕi) min ʕamalihi.
4. huwa ʕāda ʕ ilā d-dāri lammā ʕan intahā (ʕani ntahā) min ʕamalihi.
5. huwa ʕāda ʕilā d-dāri ʕindā l-intihāʕi (ʕinda li-ntihāʕi) min ʕamalihi.
6. huwa ʕāda ʕilā d-dāri dūna ʕan yantahiya min ʕamalihi.
7. huwa ʕāda ʕilā d-dāri bi-dūni l-intihāʕi (bi-dūni li-ntihāʕi) min ʕamalihi.

The Arabic sentence 3. is also considered to be a near-equivalent of the Swahili sentence 9., and Arabic 6. and 7. are given as translations of Swahili 10. which, although it uses the Arabic compound loan *bila* (bi + lā = with + no = without), has no exact equivalent in modern Arabic.[71]

The variety of similar constructions listed above in Swahili (and which are freely borrowed further as indirect loans by the other languages of Eastern Africa)[72] illustrate well the various steps in the process of borrowing and assimilation before the item is finally accepted. Hope (1971:610) vividly puts it as a "preliminary stage of fluctuation and experiment, qualified success and temporary rejection, during which the incoming word is subjected to the environment of the recipient language and measured against the template of formal conventions in the new idiom. The extraneous element enters upon what I should like to call the interim period."

5.4.3. Adverbs and adverbial concepts in Swahili. Amidu (1997) contends that Swahili adverbs and adverbials are basically noun phrases (NPs), and they should be analysed and described as such. In this section there is enough evidence to support his contention. "Bantu roots basically adverbial are comparatively few in Swahili" (Ashton 1944:158),

e.g.	*mno*	too, too much, extremely
	tu	only

and adverbial functions are expressed in various ways with the use of Bantu or Arabic-Bantu items:

1. by simple noun:

Alikufa usiku.	He died at night.
Waliijenga nyumba haraka.	They built the house quickly.

Bantu *usiku* night; Arabic *haraka* hurry.

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[71] The Arabic sentences have been provided by Mrs. Karima Feyli and tested with Dr. Zahid Alizi and Dr. Mahdali Khajeh Najafi, all at the Dept. of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University.

[72] I have checked Kikuyu with Mr. Alex Muigai and Taita with Mr. Mwandawiro Mghanga, both languages of Kenya, and have found similar tendencies of Arabic/Swahili intrusion as for Luyia.

2. by adverbial noun in the locative case with the suffix *-ni*:

Wamekwenda mjini.	They have gone to town.
Tulikwenda safarini.	We went on a journey.

From Bantu *mji* town; Arabic *safar* journey/travel. (See the post-position *-ni* below.)

3. by ideophones:

Ilisikilika tang'.	It sounded like a metal.

Bantu *tang'* metallic sound.

It is difficult to find Arabic influence in cases of this kind, however, there is in the phrase *kufa kibudu* (to die a natural death), a reshaped Ar. 'qabd' (afflicting gravely), with substitution of the Ba. adverbial prefix *ki-* for the Ar. initial radical *ka-* to indicate the manner (Polomé 1967:169).

4. by phrases introduced by the associative/prepositional *kwa* (with, by, etc.) and other Bantu prepositional constructions such as *katika* (in, at, through), *mpaka* (till, until, as far as), *tangu* (since), and *tokea* (from):

kwa uzuri (with Bantu noun)	nicely/beautifully (with niceness/beauty)
kwa akili (with Arabic noun)	intelligently (with intelligence)

5. by the enclitic *-to* to show intensity:

Naonato.	I see it well. (Bantu *-ona* see)
Nastareheto.	I enjoy most. (Arabic *-starehe* enjoy)

6. by nominal and pronominal Bantu and Arabic roots taking the following Bantu prefixes:

pa to express	definite place, time or direction
ku	indefinite place, time or direction
mu	withinness, ongoing process or direction
po	adverbial relation of definite place, time or direction
ko	adverbial relation of indefinite place, time or direction
mo	adverbial relation of withinness, process or direction
vi	manner
vyo	adverbial relation of manner, likeness, reason, cause or degree
ki	likeness, similarity
u	state

Examples:

Njoo hapa!	Come here! (with Bantu locative particle)
Nenda kule!	Go over there! (with Bantu locative particle)
Imo humu.	It is in here. (with Bantu locative particle)
Anasema vizuri.	She speaks well. (with Bantu root)
Wamevaa kizungu.	They are dressed like Europeans (with Bantu root)
Tulivaa kitaifa.	We put on the national dress. (with Arabic root; lit. We dressed nationally.)
Aliandika kwa uzuri.	She wrote beautifully. (with Bantu root)
Anasoma kwa ufasaha.	He reads elegantly. (with Arabic root)
Wamechora kwa umahiri.	They have drawn skillfully. (with Arabic root)

7. by Arabic loans, many of which are nouns, and Arabic-Bantu phrases used as adverbs and adverbials:

a. Of time

adhuhuri	at noon/midday
alfajiri	at dawn/daybreak
alasiri/laasiri	in the afternoon
asubuhi/usubuhi	in the morning
awali	in the beginning, at first, firstly
baadaye	afterwards, later
baadein	later
daima/daiman	continually, perpetually
halafu	afterwards, presently, later
hatima	finally, in the end
hatimaye	finally (contraction of *hatima yake* = at its end)
kabla	before (followed by *-ja-* aspect or infinitive, as seen earlier in section 5.4.2.)
karibuni	recently (also *hivi karibuni*)
magharibi	at sunset
mara/marra	immediately (preceding verbs)
mara moja	at once
marateni	twice
wa baada(hu)	and after that
wakati	when (followed by *-po-* adverbial construction)
zamani	long ago, formerly (This is a Pers. loan via Ar.),

e.g. *Niliomwona Rais (wakati) alipowasili mji wetu.*
I saw the President when he visited our town.

b. Of place

mahali/pahali, *kwahali*, *mwahali* (and *mahala*, *pahala*, *mwahala*), all derived from the Arabic loan 'mahall' meaning place, are followed by the locative constructions *po*, *ko* and *mo*, e.g.

Walijenga hospitali mahali walipofyeka msitu. (with *-po-* infix)
Walijenga hospitali mahali ambapo walifyeka msitu. (with *amba-*relative)
They built a hospital where they (had) cleared the forest.

When *wakati* (when) and *mahali* (where) are followed by the Arabic loans *kila/killa/kulla* (every), we get the adverbs 'whenever' and 'wherever' respectively; and *kila* + *po*-construction followed by a noun with the locative post-position *-ni* has reference to time only:

Kila kijiji walipofika, walimtembelea Jumbe. At every village they arrived, they visited the Chief.

Kila walipofika kijijini, walimtembelea Jumbe. Whenever they arrived in a/the village, they visited the Chief.

Kila mahali walipofika, walimtembelea Jumbe. Wherever (at every place) they arrived, they visited the Chief.

Kila wakati walipofika, walimtembelea Jumbe. Whenever (every time) they arrived (i.e. in the village), they visited the Chief.

Other Arabic adverbs of place or direction are:

magharibi	(in the) west, westward(s)
mashariki	(in the) east, eastward(s)
shemali	(in the) north, northward(s)
kusi(ni)	(in the) south, southward(s), the South Monsoon

c. Of manner, state and degree

abadi, *abadan*[73]	never (followed by a neg. construction)
afadhali	preferably, rather
aghali	dearly, expensively
(wa) aidha, aidhan	however
bure	freely, of free will; in vain; for nothing
ghafla, *ghafula*	abruptly, suddely
haba	very little
hadharani	publicly, in front of people
halisi	exactly (seldom used in this sense, but as an adj. meaning 'real/genuine/aboriginal')

[73] These are ultimately derived from Persian āpad (see section 7.2.).

hasa, hassa	especially, specially (also *hususa/hususan*)
hata, hatta	though, although, even, also
hata kidogo	not even a little/not at all (Ar.-Ba.)
hata hivyo	even so (Ar.-Ba.)
jinsi, ginsi	as, how (followed by a *-vyo*-adv. construction); see *kama).*[74]
kabisa	entirely, extremely; not at all (in a negative construction.)
kadamnasi	publicly, in public
kadhalika	in like manner
kadiri	as much as, as long as, etc. (followed by a *-vyo*-adverbial construction)
kadiri ya	according to (followed by an NP)
kama (vile)	such as, like, resembling, approximately (followed by a *-vyo*-adv. construction or an NP)
kama	as, how (followed by a *-vyo*-adv. construction or an NP; see *jinsi*)
karibu	almost, nearly
katu, kattu	never (with a negative VP construction)
kiasi	reasonably
kiasi cha	about, roughly, approximately
licha ya	let alone
licha ya kuwa	not only (that it is/was ...)
mahsusi, mahususi	especially (after an NP)
maksudi, makusudi	intentionally, with purpose
mathalan, mathalani	as an example, for example
minghairi	not to mention ...., let alone ....
nusra, nusura	about to happen/do (followed by a construction in the subjunctive)
sana	very, very much, thoroughly
sasa	now, presently, at present, these days
sawa	equally
sawasawa	properly
tabaan	of course
taibu	well, rightly, certainly, good, very well
takriba, takriban	almost, nearly
taratibu	carefully
thama, thamma	then, next, also, too, as well (also *thumma*)
yamkini, yumkini	possibly, probably
zaidi	more, increasingly
zaidi ya	more than
zaidi ya hayo	furthermore, moreover

[74] The Persian loan *namna* is also used similarly.

The noun *makusudi* is further treated as a plural of *kusudi* (intention) and the adverbial phrases *kwa kusudi* and *kwa makusudi* (intentionally) are also realised as synonyms of *makusudi*.

In many Swahili dictionaries, one or more of the following items belonging to different word classes are omitted though they are all commonly used by native Swahili speakers and other speakers of Swahili: *abadan* (never), *aidhan* (also, moreover), *daiman* (always), *hususan* (especially), *mathalan/mathalani* (as for example), *shukran* (Thank you), *tabaan* (of course), *takriban* (nearly, approximately), *wa baada* (and then), *wa baadahu* (and after that), *wa katabahu* (Yours sincerely, lit. And he who has written is ...). This may be because the foregoing are viewed by many non-native speakers of Swahili as arabisms because of their Arabic *-an* and *-hu* endings and the forward shift in accent. (And so far, most Swahili lexicographers and/or their assistants or informants have been non-Muslims or non-native speakers of Swahili, without much exposure to Arabic and Islam.)

d. Of affirmation, negation and interjection

La!	No!
Naam!	Yes!
Hasha!	Certainly not! By no means! Impossible!
Si hasha!	Certainly!
La haula!	God forbid!
Wallahi!	Really! By God!
Al hamdulillahi!	Praise be to God!, With the grace of God!
Inshallah!	If God wishes!
Afanaleik!	Bravo! (reduced from *afuan aleik*)
Astaghfurullah!	God forbid!
Toba!	Forgive me God!

e. Greetings

Asante/Ahsante!	Thank you!
Asanteni/Ahsanteni!	Thank you! (swahilized plural)
Ahsantum!	Thank you! (Arabic plural)
Asante sana!	Thank you very much!
Shukran!	Thank you!
Shukran jazilan!	Thank you very much!
Tafadhali!	Please!
Tafadhalini!	Please! (swahilized plural)
Salaam aleikum!	Peace be on you![75]

[75] This plural form is used even when greeting individuals; used also by Christians in general in Tanzania, and increasingly in Kenya. At a meeting in Stockholm on September 1, 1999, The President of Tanzania Mr. Benjamin Mkapa, and his Foreign Minister Mr. Jakaya Kikwete

Aleikum salaam!	Answer to *Salaam aleikum!*
Salama?	Are you well?
Salama!	I am fine!
Salkheir!	Good day!
Asakheir!	Let's hope for the better!)[76]
Sabalkheir!/Subalkheir!	Good morning!
Masalkheir!/Msalkheri!	Good afternoon/evening!
Alamsiki!	Good evening!
Maasalaam!	Goodbye!
Karibu!	Welcome!, Come in!
Karibuni!	Wecome!, Come in! (swahilized plural)
Kwaheri!	Goodbye! (Swahili-Arabic compound)
Kwaherini!	Goodbye! (swahilized plural)

Eid Mubarak!, *Idi Mbaraka!*, *Minal-ahidin!* and its respopnse *Minal-faizin!* are Arabic greetings used during the Eid/Idd celebrations after the Ramadhan month of fasting and Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca. We may also add here *Al hakir* (I/As for myself), *Wasalaam!* (With regards!) and the letter-ending *Wa billahi/min-allahi tawfik!* (lit. And salvation comes with the grace of God).

5.4.4. Conjunctions. In Swahili there are few Bantu words which are basically conjunctions (Ashton 1944:197), e.g. *na* (and/with) and *kwa*. However, there are different ways of joining words and sentences: by phrases based on *kwa*, by the aspect/tense forms *-ka-*, *-ki-*, *japo*, etc. and by Ar. loans. The Ar. and Ar.-Ba. coordinating conjunctions are:

hata	so, then, next
bila	without
tena	again, besides, furthermore, in addition
ama ... ama	either ... or
ama ... au	either ... or
wala ... wala	neither ... nor
wa	and (instead of *na* is found in earlier texts, poetry and educated or arabised speech)

wala may be followed by a negative VP both in the first and the second part of the sentence:

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greeted the audience with "Salaam-aleikum!" and got the response "Aleikum-salaam!" in unison; a majority of the audience were non-Muslim Tanzanians and Swedes.

[76] Used mostly ironically. During the last years of President Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume's repressive rule in Zanzibar, this greeting was forbidden since it was used by many to express dissatisfaction with Karume's regime (1964-72).

Wala hakuna maji, wala hakuna maziwa./Hakuna maji wala (hakuna) maziwa. There is no water, neither there is any milk./There is neither water nor milk.

bila, *hata*, *tena* and *wa* are conjunctions of addition whereas *ama* and *wala* express choice. There are a few more Arabic conjunctions which express contrast:

aidha, *wa aidha*, *aidhan*	further, moreover, next, then
bali	but rather, on the contrary
ila/illa	but, except, unless
ila tu	but only
lakini	but, nevertheless
maadam, *madam*, *midam(u)*	since (because)
madhali	since (because)
walakini	but, however

The conjunctions of interference or reason are:

(*kwa/ndiyo*) *maana/sababu* for, because, the reason being, since
(These are used as synonyms of the Bantu *kwa kuwa* and *kwani.*)

kabla	before (followed by a neg. *-ja*-construction in the perfect *-me*-tense, or an infinitive. See section 5.4.2 above.)
(kwa) maana	because
(kwa) sababu	because
kwa sababu ya	because of
kwa ajili ya	because of, for the sake of
kwa ajili ya hayo	whereof, and therefore

Subordinate conjunctions in Swahili of Arabic origin, or which are Arabic-Swahili compounds, are:

Of purpose	*ili* (*kwamba*) so that, in order that/to
Of condition	*kama* if, whether (synonym to Sw. *kwamba*, seldom used in this sense by native speakers of Sw.) *kama kwamba* as if (synonym to Sw. *kana kwamba*) *laiti* if only
Of mere introduction	*kama* that (synonym to Sw. *kwamba*, *ya kwamba*, *kuwa*, *ya kuwa*)

e.g. *Alisema kama/kwamba/kuwa atafika hapa kesho.*
Alisema (ya) kwamba/kuwa atafika hapa kesho.
He said that he will arrive here tomorrow.

5.4.5. Prepositions and prepositional concepts in Swahili. "In Swahili there are no Bantu words which are basically prepositions, but there are a few words based on the -a of Relationship which may be termed so" (Ashton 1944:195). They are *kwa* (at, by, by means of, for, from, through, to, with) and *na* (by, with). See 5.4.4. above.

The various subject pronouns + the *-a* of Relationship give us additionally the prepositions *cha*, *la*, *mwa*, *pa*, *vya*, *ya* and *za*. The particle *kwa* has in addition the restricted meaning of 'motion to or from a living being'; however this restriction is not observed in the Kingwana dialect of Swahili spoken in Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire where *kwa* is used as a general 'master preposition'. This is the case also with many other Bantu languages in Eastern Africa, native speakers of which tend to incorrectly use the *kwa* in Swahili.

Other constructed Swahili prepositions are *katika*, *kwenye*, *mwenye* and *penye*, that refer to both time and space, and occasionally process.

The post-position *-ni* puts the noun in the locative case, and also refers to place or direction to or from a place, e.g.

nyumbani	in/to/from the house, at home, etc. (Swahili noun + *-ni*)
darasani	in/to/from the classroom (Arabic noun + *-ni*)
maktabani	in/at/to/from the library (Arabic noun + *-ni*)

katika nyumba	in the house
katika darasa	in the classroom
katika maktaba	at/in the library

The preposition *katika* may be translated by different prepositions in English, including those denoting duration of time, such as 'during, whilst, in the act of'.

The Arabic and Arabic-Swahili prepositions are as follows:

kwa ajili ya	for the sake of
(kwa) habari ya	about, concerning
kwa maana ya	about, concerning; to mean (to say)
kwa sababu ya	because of
kwa ajili ya	for the sake of
baada ya	after
badala ya	instead of

bila (ya)	without
dhidi ya [11]	against, in opposition to
kabla ya	before (followed by an inf. or an NP in a pos. sentence)
karibu na/ya	near/close (to)
mahali pa	instead of
zaidi ya	more than
hadi	until
hata/hatta	till
kama	like, resembling, as, such as

The prepositions *baada ya* and *kabla ya* are used more often with reference to time, whereas their original Swahili equivalents *nyuma ya* and *mbele ya* respectively are used mosstly with reference to space.

Some of these Arabic loans can also be used with their Swahili possessive pronouns as follows:

baada yangu	after me
kabla yake	before her/him
karibu yetu	near (to) us
zaidi yako	more than you
kwa ajili yake	for her/his sake
mahali pao	in their place
badala yake	instead (of her/him/it/them)
kwa sababu yangu	because of me

In the Bantu languages of East Africa in general, many prepositional concepts are expressed with the use of the so called Prepositional or Applied Form where in English prepositions are used (Ashton 1944, Polomé 1967, Lodhi and Otterbrandt 1987, Lodhi 1985). Frequently in Swahili and neighbouring languages, these prepositional or applied verbs are derived from Arabic roots, e.g.

Watoto walituimbia nyimbo. The children sang songs to/for us.
kuimba (to sing), *kuimbia* (to sing to/for)

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[11] *dhidi ya* is absent in most Swahili dictionaries and grammars except for Rechenbach (1967) and Lodhi and Otterbrandt (1987); while in the *KAMUSI* (1982), the official mono-lingual Swahili dictionary from Daresalaam and in Bosha (1993), it appears only as a noun; and in Bakhressa (1992) it is entered as a noun but used as a preposition in his examples *Yeye siku zote ni dhidi yangu kazini*." (He is always against me at work.) and ".... *kupigana dhidi ya homa ya malaria*...." (to fight against malaria fever). Since *dhidi* is never used as a noun but only as a preposition in the form *dhidi ya*, lexicographically it should be entered as a preposition with the associative particle *ya*. One can certainly find a few more Arabic adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions in the Swahili theological writings of the late Sheikh Abdullah Saleh Farsy (the translator of the Holy Koran into Swahili and former Chief Kadhi of Zanzibar and Mombasa, Kenya) and his colleagues, but it is not within the scope of this study to scrutinize such rich and hitherto unstudied linguistic sources.

Simba amlimhurumia Panya. Lion showed pity on Mouse.
huruma (pity, compassion < Ar.), *kuhurumia* (to pity/have pity on)

The Swahili noun *huruma* is of Arabic origin (a metathetic form of *rehema* or *ruhuma*); and many prepositional verbs are derived also from adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs of Arabic origin, e.g.

safi/swafi	> *kusafisha*	> *kusafishia*
clean/clear	to clean/clear	to clean/clear with/for
kusafiri	> *kusafiria*	
to travel	to travel by	
kusafiri	> *kusafirisha*	> *kusafirishia*
	to transport/export	to transport/export by/with

A detailed description of this phenomenon is given in the following section.

5.5. Arabic loan verbs and their extension in Swahili
All Arabic loan verbs in Swahili are productive, i.e. they have one or more derivative or extended forms. There are no linguistic constraints met with in their extension, the only restrictions being semantic or logical.

a. Arabic loan verbs can be extended from nouns:

hesabu (accounts/accounting)
> -*hesabu* (to count)
> -*hesabia* (to count for/with)
> -*hesabika* (to be counted)
> -*hesabisha* (to cause to be counted)

This can be compared with the English noun/verb 'record' > Swahili *rekodi/rikodi* (a/to record).

Other examples of derivations from nouns formed from Arabic roots and taken randomly from *KAMUSI* (1981), are:

adabu (good manners)
> -*adibu* (to teach good manners)
> -*adibika* (to be good mannered)
> -*adibisha* (to make/force someone to learn good manners)

adhabu (punishment)
> *-adhibu* (to punish)
> *-adhibika* (to be punished)
> *-adhibisha* (to cause someone to be punished)

adili (righteous conduct)
> *-adilika* (to receive moral training)
> *-adilisha* (to teach good moral)

dhamira, *dhamiri* (real intention)
> *-dhamiri*, *-dhamiria* (to intend seriously)

fikara/*fikira* (thought)
> *-fikiri* (to think)
> *-fikiria* (to consider)
> *-fikirika* (to be conceivable)

hamasa (enthusiasm)
> *-hamasisha* (to encourage)

jeraha (wound, physical damage)
> *-jeruhi* (to wound)

safara/*safari* (caravan/journey)
> *-safiri* (to travel)
> *-safiria* (to travel by/with/through)
> *-safirisha* (to transport/export)

b. Derivations from Arabic adverbs are also possible:

zaidi (more)
> *-zidi* (to increase, intransitive)
> *-zidisha* (to increase, transitive; cf. the noun *ziada*)

makusudi (intentionally)
> *-kusudia* (to intend), from the swahilized singular form *kusudi*
> *-kusudisha* (to insinuate)

c. There are also some derivations from Arabic adjectives:

dhahiri (open/obvious)
> *-dhihirisha* (to show/demonstrate)
> *-dhihirika* (to be shown/disclosed)

bora (better)
< *-boresha* (to improve),
< *-boreka* (be improved)

fukara (poor)
< *-fukarisha* (impoverish),
< *-fukarika* (be impoverished)

imara (strong)
< *-imarisha* (to strengthen/fortify),
< *-imarika* (be strengthened)

safi (clean)
< *-safisha* (to clean),
< *-safishika* (be cleaned, become clean)

Arabic loans such as *dhahiri* and *bora* appear both as adjectives and adverbs in Swahili. Other loans appear as both adjectives and nouns, e.g.

dhalimu (tyrannical; a tyrant) (cf. swahilized synonyms/nouns *mdhalimu*, pl. *wadhalimu*)
> *-dhulumu* (to tyrannize)

tajiri (rich/wealthy; trader/employer, swahilized pl. *matajiri*)
-tajirika (to become wealthy)
>*-tajirisha* (to enrich)

The Arabic loanword *maskini* (poor; a pauper, beggar) giving rise to the verb *-maskinisha* (to impoverish), is one of the many recent derivatives met with in spoken Swahili, but they are not yet standardised by the National Swahili Council (BAKITA). Single word causative neologisms of this type instead of phrases abound in the language, especially in the modern usage which has to meet the increasing demands of modern technology, science and socio-politico-economic developments, e.g. *bora* (better, best) > *-boresha* (improve, first recorded use by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, the founder of BAKITA), *taifa* (nation) > *-taifisha* (to nationalize, first recorded use by Mohamed Abdulrahman Babu at a political meeting in Zanzibar in 1962), *Kiswahili* (Swahili) > *-swahilisha* (to swahilize, first recorded use by Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi at a guest seminar in Daressalaam 1978), *huru* (free) > *-hurisha* (to free/liberate, first recorded use by Sheikh Ali Muhsin at a political rally in Zanzibar in 1963), *hai* (alive) > *huisha* (to nurture/keep alive, first recorded use by the poet Abdillatif Abdalla during a lecture in Daressalaam, 1973), *-staafu* (to retire, intransitive) > *-staafisha* (to make someone retire, first recorded use by President Julius K. Nyerere during a talk in 1983). Similarly, all such derived verbs may have a passive form, e.g.

-taifishwa (to be nationalized), *-safishwa* (to be cleaned), *-boreshwa* (to be improved), *-staafishwa* (to be retired) and *-fukarishwa* (to be impoverished).

d. Swahili words may be derived from Arabic verbs in several ways. Some possibilities are:

ijitahad (Arabic Verb Form 8 Perfect)
Verb > verb > *-jitahidi* (to make an effort, to struggle)
Verb > noun > *jitahada* (effort, struggle)

ijtihad (Arabic Verb Form 8 Infinitive)
Verb > verb > *-jitihadi* (to struggle/try hard)
Verb > noun > *jitihadi/jitihada* (great effort, hard struggle)

Other patterns of verbal derivation from Arabic elements are:
imtihan (Arabic Verb Form 8 Infinitive)
Verb > noun > verb > *mtihani* (examination)
> *-tahini* (to examine)
> *-tahiniwa* (to be examined).

There are also several cases of swahilized verbs producing nouns: *-tahini* (to examine) > *mtahini* (examiner), *mtahiniwa* (examinee).

The Arabic root 'jahada' also produces in modern standard written Swahili the noun *juhudi* (efforts) and in colloquial Swahili the derivative verbs *-juhudia* (to make an extra effort) and *-juhudisha* (to help/make someone to try hard), again not standardised yet. The Swahili verb *-jitahidi* (to struggle, to make an effort) is wrongly extended by some non-native speakers of Swahili to produce a causative form in which the Ar. syllable *-ji-* is conceived to be the Swahili reflexive prefix, i.e. **-jitahidisha* as in the following Swahili sentence of my Chagga informant Mr. J. M. Kimaro, "*Anajitahidisha *mwenyewe kuendesha maisha, atawezaje kuwasaidia watoto wa kaka yake?* " (He himself is struggling hard to survive; how can he help the children of his elder brother?). The Swahili verb root *-jitahidi* has not yet been reduced to *-tahidi, and therefore the reduced causative verb *-tahidisha and the reflexive verb *-jitahidisha do not exist in the usage of first language speakers of Swahili. Among a flora of extensions of non-native and non-standard Swahili verbs of Arabic origin is the reflexive causative **-jibidiisha* (to force onself to make a great effort) derived from the noun *bidii* (effort, struggle), met with several times in the Swahili usage of the above informant, who like many other educated second language speakers of Swahili in East Africa could not distinguish between the very

common Arabic loans *ahadi* (promise in general) and *miadi* (promise of meeting with reference to a particular time and place). A hybrid form **mhadi* with the denotation of *miadi* was also met with in the Swahili usage of three Chagga speakers.

A couple of dozen Arabic verbs of different forms with the Arabic prefix *ta-* are also found in both written and spoken Swahili. Those of Verb Form 5 are also used as imperatives e.g. *Taaddab*!, *Taadabu!* (Watch your tongue!, Don't be impolite!) and *Tahadhari!* (Be careful!).

-taadabu (Verb Form 5)	to be polite (also *-adibu*, *-adibisha*)
-taadhimu (Verb Form 2)	to glorify (also *-adhimu*, *-adhimisha*)
-taakhari (Verb Form 2)	to delay (also *-akhirisha*/*-ahirisha*)
-tabaruku	to obtain/seek blessings (also *-bariki*)
-tafakari/*tafakuri*	to think, consider (also *-fikiri*)
-tafsiri	to translate (also *-fasiri*, and as noun, translation)
-tahadhari	to be careful/alert
-taharuki	to hurry (normally *-fanya haraka*, lit. to make haste)
-tahkiki	to inquire/edit (also *-hakiki*, *-hakikisha*, and as a noun also, inquiry, editing)
-taflisi	to go bankrupt (also *-filisi*, *-filisisha*, *-filisika*, and as a noun, bankruptcy)
Tafadhali!	Please!, Be nice! (extended to *-tafadhalisha*, *-tafadhalika*; cf. *Asante*, *Asanteni*, *Kwaheri*, *Kwaherini*, *Karibu*, *Karibuni*, etc. in section 5.4.3. §7.c.)
-tarakimu	to prepare figures/statistics (used also as a noun, figures, statistics). This loan also has synonyms, i.e. *-rakimu* (to calculate) and *rakamu* (arithmetical figure, final figure, sum-total)
-tathmini	to evaluate (also noun, i.e. evaluation, estimation)

There are also about twenty Swahili verbs formed from the Arabic Verb Form 10 (*istafaala*) with the Arabic prefix ***sta-***(stative):

-staajabu	to be astonished
-staafu	to retire
-staarabika	to be cultivated/cultured (< Ar. stʕā rab)
-staftahi	to eat breakfast (also noun)
-stahamali	to be patient, have patience (also *-stahimili*, *-himili*, also noun)

-stakabadhi	to hand over, submit someting to someone (also *kabidhi,* used also as the noun 'receipt')
-starehe	to enjoy (also noun)

5.6. Concluding remarks

Swahili and other Bantu languages of East Africa consulted for this part of the research show current examples of both paratactic and hypotatic constructions with conjunctions and prepositions. The hypotax is preferred in both literary and colloquial Swahili and in many other Bantu languages of Eastern Africa which borrow freely from Swahili. In all the three cases of structures with adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions, there is a marked tendency to first use Bantu constructions, followed by Arabic-Bantu phrases to be finally reduced to Arabic independent function words – this advanced use of Arabic loans simplifies Bantu syntax by reducing subordinate clauses to infinitive phrases, as in the use of *kabla* described above.

There is an abundance of Arabic grammatical or structural loans in Swahili, however, syntactic Arabic intrusion in Swahili is not a wide-spread phenomenon since it is limited to a few structures only in Swahili and other Bantu languages of the region, where no Arabic-based pidgin or creole variants, such as in the southern Sudan (Thomason 1996:125-172), have developed. Swahili borrowed three new vowel sequences (*ai*, *au*, *ei*) and several consonants (*th*, *dh*, *kh*, *gh*) and consonantal combinations (*st*, *sht*) from Arabic, "But Swahili had if anything a substrate relationship to Arabic, and all these features are simply borrowed" (Nurse 1996:280). Nurse (1996:291) further concludes:

"(iv) The structures of Swahili cannot be shown to result from significant linguistic contact between Arabic speakers and Bantu speakers.
(v) Even in later periods it cannot be shown that Arabic speakers played any direct role in restructuring Swahili. The Arabic contribution to Swahili dates mainly from the last four centuries and is primarily lexical, with a limited number of nonlexical features having been introduced via the lexis. Although many of the nineteenth-century plantations were owned by Arabs, and led to conditions in which pidgins could well have existed, Swahili would have been the target language, and direct Arabic presence was probably minimal."[78]

In the 1860s, at the peak of the period of plantation economy based on imported slave labour, the working class population in Zanzibar Town consisting of both "free Swahili and slaves" was so integrated socially and

[78] Compare this with Mpiranya's arguments in section 4.4.8.

linguistically that "it had become extremely difficult to make a distinction between them" (Sheriff 1987:149, referring to Menon 1978:43). Swahili was the target language of also the slave population, hence little 're-Bantuization' of Swahili took place in Zanzibar. It was in the interest of both the Arabic speakers and the Bantu speakers to maintain, or even develop further, the simplification of Swahili structures.

Though, among non-native speakers of Swahili, especially Christians and/or people away from the Swahili coast, there always has been a "tendency to use Bantu words which usually are cognate with the inland vernacular in which the Swahili speaker received his first education or with the Bantu languages which he currently uses in his narrow tribal circle" (Polomé 1967:166). There is no longer any conscious negative attitude developing towards Arabic elements of Swahili; on the contrary, Arabic continues to make important contributions to the development of the modern Swahili lexicon, and indirectly the lexicon of the other languages of Eastern Africa.

Arabic is unique in this respect since the other major contributor languages in East Africa which came from the Indian Ocean (Persian, Cutchi/Sindhi, Gujarati, English, and Portuguese) have contributed mostly nominals – there are less than 10 Standard Swahili verbs of English origin, and a few from the other contributor languages mentioned here, e.g. from Indic *kuchapa* (to print), with the applied form *kuchapia* and the causative *kuchapisha*, the rarely used Cutchi verbs *kupinya* (to gin/work with cotton) and *kujangia* (to whisk), the Indic imperatives *Aste!* (Slow down!), *Jao!* (Get lost!) and *Chup!/Chub!* (Quiet!, Shut up!), and the reduplicated adverb *aste-aste* (slowly, very slowly, carefully), from Persian *kusefidi* (to whiten, to polish) and the Arabic-Persian *Habedari!* (Look out!, from xabar-dār!), commonly found in Iran and the Indian sub-continent.

Swahili has borrowed very few adverbs, adjectives, conjunctions or prepositions from languages other than Arabic; and this phenomenon has not been thoroughly studied yet.

It would not be too sweeping a statement to suggest that in theory it is perfectly legitimate to use in Swahili any Arabic word of any word-class, because "Arabic is the 'Latin' of Swahili. And Persian was the 'Greek' in the past!"[79] However, it is English which is the largest contributor to Swahili today, but its contribution is limited to nominals belonging primarily to the fields of modern technology and science (Lodhi 1986a:256-260).

Many Muslim leaders and scholars in Eastern Africa consulted during this research believe that the future of Arabic appears to be bright with the growth and strengthening of Swahili and better educational facilities in the predominantly Muslim areas of East Africa. They also believe that reforming and reorganising the Koran schools (*chuo/vyuo*) would improve the quality of religious instruction as well as strengthen the position of Arabic. The now

[79] Lodhi (1994b:72) and M. H. Abdulaziz in his keynote address to the 2nd World Congress of African Linguistics, Leipzig, Aug., 1997.

stagnated Koran school system is the origin of the Islamic colleges and institutes, whether established with or without the medium of Arabic. The stagnation of the Koran schools and the *darsa/madarsa* (sessions connected with the Mosque) from the middle of the 1960s to the 1980s dealt a severe blow to the further growth of traditional Swahili poetry, intellectual exchange and scholarly production in the fields of *diana* (Islamic theology), philosophy, interpretation of the Islamic Sharia and Afro-Oriental herbal medicine. The future development of Swahili and Swahili institutions is closely associated with further progress of Islamic institutions and recognition of Arabic in Eastern Africa.

6. INDIC LOANS IN SWAHILI

6.1. Introduction

Indian influences in East Africa are complex and their history goes back probably to the middle of the first millenium of our time. In section 6.2., I give a phonological analysis of the Indic loans in Swahili and show how their pronunciation or meaning has changed, and to what extent one can distinguish the various Indic languages as specific contributors. Furthermore, it is not only purely Indic words that were brought to East Africa, but also Arabic, Persian, Portuguese and English words borrowed first in India were introduced in Swahili by Indians as indirect loans. Consequently, in this section I also give the distinguishing features of some of these indirect loans.

The Indic elements in Swahili are of three types, viz.

1. Purely Indic elements found in Indo-Aryan languages spoken by Indians in East Africa (Cutchi/Sindhi, Gujarati, Hindustani, Konkani, Punjabi, Urdu); for these specific Indic etymologies are suggested.

2. Iranian elements found in Indo-Aryan languages and Iranian languages (including Persian, Baluchi, Pashtu) spoken by Iranic speaking immigrants to the East African coast a) already in pre-Islamic times, b) after the Shirazi invasion of the middle of the tenth century, and c) after the Omani invasion of East Africa and settlement in the 1820s.

3. Indirect loans via Indic of English, Portuguese and other non-Indo-Iranian origins such as English *meli*, *skrubu*, and English-Arabic (Anglo-Indian) *mamsab/memsab*. Such loans are described and their specific etymologies are suggested in section 6.3.

6.2. Transfer phonology of Indic loans in Swahili

As related in section 3.3. and 4.5., most of the early Indians who settled on the coast of East Africa came from Cutchi/Sindhi and Gujarati areas; whereas among the later Indians of the colonial period who settled mostly in the interior of East Africa, there were many Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi speakers. The influence of these later Indians on the Swahili language and culture is thus not as strong nor deeply rooted as those of the earlier settlers, as described in section 4.5.

Cutchi (and Sindhi) has roughly the same loans from Arabic and Persian as Swahili has. This feature is shared also by other Indic languages spoken by Muslims; and Gujarati, Hindi and Punjabi are no exception to this. However, in the usage of Hindu, Sikh and Christian Indian speakers, many

Persian and Arabic loans in their respective languages have recently been replaced by Sanskrit words, both old terms and neologisms. The Gujarati lexicon common to Cutchi also presents difficulties in exactly determining the specific Indic source of some loans in Swahili.

a. Liquids, laterals and flaps. In the Bantu languages of Eastern Africa there are several "r-like" sounds and varieties of /l/ (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993), but in modern Swahili (both Standard Swahili and dialects) there is only one clear rolled /r/, distinguished from the clear /l/, which are allophones only in half a dozen cases showing dialect variation, e.g. *rowa/lowa* (to get wet), *tereza/teleza* (to slide down) and *randa/landa* (1. to loiter; 2. carpenters plane). In some languages in East Africa such as Kikuyu, there is no /l/, and in many languages such as Kinyamwezi and Kihaya there is no clear /r/ or /l/. These varieties of /r/ and /l/ are derived from proto-Bantu /*d/.

Similarly in the modern Indic languages of Cutchi/Sindhi (North-western Indo-Aryan), Gujarati, Hindi and Konkani (all three Central Indo-Aryan), there are many cases of /r/, /l/ and /d/ variation in cognates that distinguish one language, or dialect, from the others. In many cognates the Hindi retroflex /ɖ/ has the Gujarati retroflex /ɖ/ or /ɽ/ as equivalents, Hindi flapped /ɭ/ is realised as flapped /ɽ/, in Gujarati, and their Cutchi equivalents are sometimes retroflex /ɽ/, and frequently a clear /r/. I would therefore suggest specific Cutchi etymologies of Indic loans such as *kachara* (garbage) and *karai* (deep frying pan) since in the Cutchi forms they have a clear /r/, whereas the alternative form *kachala*, mostly used in the interior of East Africa away from the coastal Swahili, may have the specific Gujarati or Hindi etymology, or else the Cutchi clear /r/ is reproduced as /l/ because of the intereference of the local Bantu languages. For Swahili *bangili* (bangle) and *pakari* (tongs) I would also suggest Cutchi specific etymology since the Cutchi forms have a clear /l/ and a clear /r/ respectively, whereas the Gujarati and Hindi forms have a retroflex /ɖ/ in both cases.

"A retroflex flapped /ɭ/, contrasting with the ordinary /l/, is a prominent feature of Oriya, Marathi-Konkani, Gujarati .... It is absent from most other N[ew]I[ndo]A[ryan] languages, including most Hindi dialects, ... And from Sindhi, Kacchi, ... The retroflex flapped /ɽ/ is often taken as an allophone of /ɖ/, with which it often stands in complementary distribution: initial, geminate and postnasal for [ɖ]; intervocative, final, and before or after other consonants for [ɽ]. It has, however, come to contrast with [ɖ] in some environments in Punjabi .... Sindhi, ... in Modern Standard Hindi .... It may be or is reported as phonemic also in ...., various Western Hindi dialects. .... It remains subphonemic in Marathi, Gujarati, ..." (Masica 1991:97).

"All five sounds [ɖ, ɽ, ɭ, r, l] are closely related descriptively and also historically .... It should also be noted that /ɽ/ is present phonemically in some languages (Western Hindi, Sindhi, ...) that lack /ɭ/ and absent from some .... (Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati) that possess / ɭ/" (Masica 1991:98).

A few examples:

Indic[80] >	Swahili
'banglī' (armlet)	*bangili*, Cut. /l/ > Sw. /l/.
'bʰūmbʰlā' (Bombay duckfish)	*bumbla*, Ind. /l/ > Sw. /l/, or *bumbura*, Ind. /l/ > Sw. /r/.
'jʰīrā' (cumin seeds)	*jira*, Ind. /r/ > Sw. /r/.
'kačrā' (rubbish)	*kachara*, Cut. /r/ > Sw. /r/.
'kačɖā', 'kačṛā'	*kachala*, Guj./Hindi /ṛ ~ ɖ/ > Sw. /l/.

The initial Indic liquids /l/ or /r/ conform to the Swahili rule /n/ + /r/ or /l/ > /ndʰ/, e.g. 'limu' (lime) > *ndimu* in nominal classes 9-10.

b. Further, /w/ and /b/ are sometimes allophones in the Indic languages involved here as they are generally in the Bantu languages of the East African coast, but the phenomenon is not so common in Swahili itself. Masica (1991:88-89) discusses the problem of /p/ and / b/ in NIA; but in the Indic languages involved in East Africa /b/, /bʰ/ and /p/ occur in complementary distribution, e.g. Cutchi/Sindhi 'bāpā' (father), Gujarati/Hindi 'bāp', Cut. 'bhā' (brother), Gujurati/Hindi 'bhāi' (brother) and Cutchi/Gujarati/Hindi 'bāi' (sister), Cutchi/Gujarati 'pā' (a quarter, one fourth), Gujarati 'bā' (mother).

Swahili *bali* (ear-ring), *banyani* (Hindu, Jain), *bepari* (trader, capitalist), *bima* (insurance), *binda* (okra, ladies fingers), and *bindo* (loin cloth) are therefore most probably of Hindustani source (or Marathi/Konkani, Punjabi). These words in Cutchi and Gujarati have an initial /w/ instead of the /b/. It is possible that the /b/ form has been preferred in Swahili to avoid confusion with the original Swahili words *wali* (cooked rice), *wima* (straight, upright, verticle), *winda* (to hunt, prey), and *windo* (prey, hunting ground) respectively; or that they were borrowed after the original Swahili /b/ became /w/, as in Old Swahili *kubona* (to see) > Northern Dialects *kuwona* > Southern Dialects *kuona*. Alternatively, this sound change may have taken place not long after the borrowing, not affecting foreign items which had not been properly assimilated, and thereby enabling Swahili speakers to distinguish foreign words. This is through a process of 'innovation by interference' versus the normal process of 'internal innovation'. "Whenever a linguistic form falls outside the productive rules of grammar it becomes lexicalised" (Antilla 1972:151-2).

In some cases, the Indic bilabial unvoiced/unaspirated /p/ is reproduced as voiced /b/ in Swahili, e.g.:

[80] Forms commonly found in the three languages Cutchi, Gujarati and Hindi are given here as Ind. (Indic).

Cut. 'čāmprō' (small pliers, tongs) > Sw. *chamburo*, /p/ > Sw. /b/.
Ind. 'čup! ' (Quiet!, Shut up!) > Sw. *Chup!*, *Chub!*, /p/ > Sw. /p/ or /b/.

c. There is loss of aspiration in Ind. /bʰ/ and /kʰ/, unaspirated dental /t̲/ is realized as the unaspirated alveolar /t/, aspirated dental /d̲ʰ/ is reduced to unaspirated alveolar implosive /ɗ/, and aspirated retroflex /ʈʰ/ and /ɖʰ/ are reduced to unaspirated alveolar /t/ and /d/ respectively in loans, e.g.:

'beʈʰō' (sitting) > kibeto (small house of one floor), Ind. asp. retr. 'ʈʰ' > Sw. unasp. alv. /t/.
'bʰāng' (marijuana) > bangi, Ind. asp. 'bʰ' > Sw. impl. /ɓ/.
'bʰōi' (domestic servant) > boi, Cut./Guj. asp. 'bʰ' > Sw. impl. /ɓ/.
'buɖɖʰā/ (old man) > buda, Ind. geminated asp. retr. alv. 'ɖɖʰ' > unasp. impl. /ɗ/.
'd̲ʰōbi' (washerman) > dobi, Ind. asp. dent. 'd̲ʰ' > Sw. impl. /ɗ/.
'd̲ʰōt̲i' (white cotton sarong) > doti, Ind. asp. dent. 'd̲ʰ' > Sw. alv. impl. /ɗ/, and Ind. voiceless dent. 't̲' to Sw. voiceless alv. /t/.
'gʰōd̲ʰɽō' (mattress) > godoro, Guj. asp. dent. 'd̲ʰ' > Sw. alv. impl. /ɗ/, retr. 'ɽ' > Sw. clear /r/
'jʰōkʰam' (risk, responsibility) > jukumu, Ind. asp. 'kʰ' > Sw. unasp. /k/
'laʈʈʰī' (stick) > kileti (small stick), Ind. gem. asp. alv. retr. 'ʈʰ' to Sw. unasp. alv. /t/

d. The allophones /g/~/ɠ /and /dʒ/, common in East African Bantu, and southern Arabic, appear to have been loaned from Indic without any definite rule:

'gūnī' (jute, jute sack) > *gunialjunia*, Cut. /ɠ / > Sw. /ɠ / or /dʒ/
'sangar' (chain) > *sanjari*, Ind. /g/ > Sw. /dʒ/
'saṯrangī' (carpet of stripes of 7 colours) > *satarangi*, Ind. /g/ > Sw. /g/
'šaṯranjī' (chess) > *shatarangi*, *satarangi*, Ind. /dʒ/ > /g/ and /ʃ/ > Sw. /s/

e. The choice of final vowel in Indic loans in Swahili is according to established Swahili phonological rules, i.e. syllabic /u/ with labials, and /i/ with other consonants:

'čakkār' (full to the brim, drunk) > Sw. *chakari*
'čakram' (mad, crazy) > Sw. *chakramu*, *chakaramu*
'pakar' (pliers) > Sw. *pakari*
'sēʈʰ' (Indian merchant) > Sw. *seti*

But in the Indic imperative 'čup' > Swahili *Chub*!, no final vowel is added. This tendency is met with also in the Zanzibari usage in Indic words such as *chakar/chakkar* and *chakram*, and English loans such as *filam* (film) and *bom* (bomb) instead of the standard forms *filamu* and *bomu* respectively. Arabic *safari* (journey), *mauti* (death), English *skuli* (school) and *skati* (skirt), and German *Benzi* (Mercedes Benz), *mbenzi/wabenzi* (owner/owners of Mercedes Benz, i.e. the newly rich or highly placed bureaucrats) are good examples of it. However, through a process of reduction, the syllables /nia/ become /ɲa/ in the Swedish loan 'Skania' (lorries) swahilized to /skaɲa/.

f. In *ankra* (bill, invoice), *chakramu* and *kanchri* (brassiere, bra), *-kr-* and *-chr-* are rare consonant combinations in Swahili. *-kr-* is also found in the English loan *skrubu* (screw), or rather the *-skr-* combination. But many non-native speakers of Swahili insert a syllabising (anaptyctic or epenthetic vowel) *a*, *i* or *u*, e.g. *ankara*, *kanchiri*, *skurubu/sukurubu*.[81] In Swahili, the syllabic /i/ is the most common vowel resorted to in the process of borrowing not only Indic but other loans too.

g. Since sex-gender is absent in the coastal Bantu languages of East Africa, Swahili does not take into consideration the Indic suffixes for the various genders in Indic loans — -ō for singular masculine and neutral, -ī for singular feminine and -ā for the common plural. The suffix is included in the loanword but carries no meaning of its own in Swahili, e.g.

golo (black man) < Cut./Guj. masculine < Pers. 'ɣōlam' (serf/servant).
hando (copper vessel for fetching/storing water) < Cut./Guj. masculine.
jinjiroo (anklet with small bells) < Cut. masculine.
kalasia (brass mug/jar without handle) < Cut./Guj. plural.
kichiri (hotchpotch, untidy state of things/affairs) < Indic feminine.
zari (gold/silver thread, brocade) < Guj./Hind feminine < Pers.

However, both *godoro* (mattress) and *godori* (thin/fine mattress) occur in Swahili; *godoro* is singular masculine/neutral, whereas *godori* is singular feminine, or diminutive, from Gujarati 'gōḏhṛō' and 'gōḏhṛī' respectively.

6.3. Transmission of non-Indic words in East Africa through Indian languages

The peoples of the coastlands of present-day Pakistan and its hinterland of the Sindh area together with the Cutch peninsula east of the river Indus embraced Islam during the period AD 711-713 before the spread of Islam on

[81] The /b/ in *skrubu* is probably via the Indic form 'askrub' < English 'screw'. The older Swahili term for 'screw' is *parafujo*, which is a Portuguese loan.

the East African coast. Hence deeply rooted Islamic and Arabic cultural influences have a longer history in western India than in East Africa. Probably, Arabic items such as *duka* (shop) came into Swahili via Indian shopkeepers, as almost all the early shopkeepers, and most of the later ones, were Indians. Also Arabic items such as 'kiṯāb' (book) and 'kalam' (pen) which replaced Indo-Aryan usage in Muslim India, though introduced there by Arabs as direct Arabic loans, were probably spread in East Africa by Indians who imported and sold these items (including Islamic literature in Arabic). [82]

Similarly, it could be argued that some Portuguese items were borrowed by the Swahili after they had been incorporated in the Indic languages in contact with the Portuguese. Because of greater cultural contact and physical presence of the Portuguese in India than in East Africa, it is more probable that loans such as *kaptani* and *meza* may have been indianised first before being taken into Swahili, e.g.

Port.	>	Indic	>	Sw.	Eng.
armario		almāri		*almari*[83]	cupboard
bule		būlī		*buli*	teapot
kapitan		kaptān		*kaptani*	captain
pao		pāu		*pau*	loaf of bread

The Indic languages involed here are probably Konkani, Kannada, Oriya, Cutchi or the Gujarati dialects of the Portuguese enclaves of Daman and Diu. The Swahili nouns *kapteni* and *kepteni* (captain) are later direct English loans.

English also has a longer tradition in India than in East Africa as a colonial language with all its importance in administration, education, commerce and journalism. The Swahili forms of some of the English loans

[82] An oral tradition among the Sunni Muslim Hajjams and Kumbars of Cutch claims that they are of mixed Arab-Indian origin, and they trace their history to the Muslim/Arab invasion of Sindh led by Muhammad bin Qasim who brought the message of Islam to them in the year AD 711. Arab settlement on coastal Sindh and Cutch is pre-Islamic (Kureishi 1969:14). The caste name Hajjam (barber/hairdresser) is in fact an Arabic word, and the Hajjam caste are a Muslim people. The professional Hajjam is also a circumcist (for boys only) and the barber at the Islamic ritual 'akika' ceremony when a child is shaven for the first time. The Muslim Hajjam thus has a rather high social status in society, whereas a traditional Hindu Warand (barber/hairdresser) has little religious function and relatively low social status (Usman 1969). South Arabian male names Khamis and Juma (for boys born on Thursday and Friday respectively) and also the Cutchi name 'arbʰā' for Wednesday (< Arabic 'arbā' four, 'yawm-ul arbā' Wednesday, the fourth day of the Muslim week) are commonly found among Muslim Sindhi and Cutchi.

[83] The Portuguese loan *almari* is probably borrowed via Cutchi or Konkani. Similarly, Swahili *pau* (for white loaf/bread introduced by the Portuguese in the 1500s) may have been borrowed via Cutch or Konkani since until recently it was produced in the coastal towns exclusively in bakeries owned by Cutchi Muslims, Konkani Muslims (Kukni) or Konkani Catholics (Goans).

clearly reflect the phonetic changes these words have gone through on the Indian lips — the Swahili versions differ from the Indian versions mostly as far as the addition of the final vowel is concerned. In the direct English loans in Swahili, which are later, one can clearly see the influence of the native English pronunciation:

Eng.	Eng. Loan in Indic	Loan in Sw. via Indic	Loan in Sw. directly from Eng.
office	'afīs'	*afisi*	*ofisi*
officer	'afsar'	*afisa*	*ofisa*
doctor	'dāktar'	*daktari*	*dakta, *dokta
cup-board	kabāt	*kabati*	*kabadi
pound	pawan	*pawni, pauni*	*paundi
screw	askrūb/skrūb	*skrubu/skurubu*	*skruvu
man of war	manuwār manwar	*manuwari* *manwari*	*menowaa
chalk	ċāk	*chaki*	*choki
chocolate	čāklēt	*chakleti*[84]	*chokleti, *chokoleti*
hospital	ispiṯāl	*ispitali/spitali*	*hospitali*

Of the above list of direct English loans used in Swahili, only *ofisi*, *ofisa* and *hospitali* are included in Standard Swahili KAMUSI, and *chokoleti* is entered as an alternative. The other direct English loans (marked *) are in the other languages of East Africa and in the Swahili usage of non-native Swahili speakers. A few other indirect loans via Indic are included in the list in Chapter 7.

[84] Bakhressa (1992) gives only the form *chakleti*.

7. Oriental Loans (other than Arabic) in Swahili

When a foreign word falls by accident into the fountain of a language,
It will get driven around in there until it takes on that language's colour.
(Jacob Grimm)

7.1. Introduction

This chapter consists of a combined list of Persian, Indic, Turkish, Chinese and Indonesian elements in Swahili presented with short comments where needed. The list in 7.2 includes all the documented Oriental loans other than Arabic in Swahili, and also previously unidentified Oriental loans (Indic, Indonesian/Malay and Persian) in Swahili which were identified during this research. A few indirect English loans via Indian languages are also included here because of their historical importance. The main results and the conclusions that may be drawn are given in the last chapter.

Entries of loans are arranged in the following manner:

1. Loan entry, in brackets the plural form if it is a noun, or its word class if it is not a noun (vb., adj., adv., imp. for verb, adjective, adverb and imperative respectively). The sign (-) indicates a noun with zero plural. An R at the end of an entry or definition indicates that it occurs rarely, or that the item has now fallen out of use; however, these items may be found in the Swahili usage of Asians. Entries or definitions marked with a Z are mostly in Zanzibari usage in or outside Zanzibar, whereas items found mostly in the Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu and Pate areas are marked as KC (Kenya Coast).

2. Definitions are given as reported in the sources. Definitions or connotations marked with an X at the end are those items which neither my field work of more than 20 years nor my being a native speaker of Swahili has enabled me to verify. Additional connotations are entered here with their sources.

3. Sources which document the item as an Oriental loan: the main sources are given as LK (Krapf 1882), FJ (Johnson 1939), CS (Sacleaux 1939), BK (Krumm 1942), CR (Rechenbach 1967), KA (*KAMUSI* 1981) and JK (Knappert 1983); while minor sources are given as Nasir (1926), Robert (1960), Polomé (1967), Adam (1979), Nabhany (1979), Bakhressa (1992), etc. Terms recently coined and in use in the spoken mass media and political speeches, such as *ugabacholi* (corruption) and *Ukimwi* (Aids), but not recorded in published materials other than the press up to June 1994, together with other undocumented terms collected from oral sources (stories, songs, interviews) are given as AL (Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi). Some of these were also identified during the initial fieldwork before the monolingual *KAMUSI* was published in 1981. Most of these were submitted

by me to the compilers of KA for inclusion in the KA. Items which Johnson or others mark as loans but give **no source language** are marked here as "nsl". Borrowed items which are included by the different authours but **not marked** by them **as loans** are marked here as "nml".

Further, all items included in the *KAMUSI* (1981) are marked KA. The *KAMUSI* does not mark loans, nor does it give any etymological information, and it is not consistent in giving cross references either. KA simply means that the Oriental item is included in it as part of the standard Swahili lexicon. Definitions from KA are translated from Swahili into English by me.

For the Persian and Turkish items, the source JK is usually given first as Knappert's list of 1983, which is the most recent study of its kind, includes the largest number of Persian and Turkish items; all other sources are compared with JK. The etymology given here is normally that of JK, and I have verified JK's etyma and accepted them; where necessary it is supplemented with my own suggestion, and in some cases references (with page or word-root number) are given to the etymological dictionaries of Belsare (1904), Moin (1982), Steingass (1892) and Turner (1966, 1971, 1985).

4. The corresponding form in the donor language, in the transliteration system generally in use in studies of Oriental languages, is given as a plausible etymology. The sources LK, FJ, CS and BK give their Oriental etyma in the Arabic script for Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindi/Urdu. These are transcribed here by me. Alternative etymologies are given if I differ from the previous documentation. The meaning in the source language is given here in brackets. CR only marks the loanwords and mentions the source language without giving the etymology.

As for Indic loans, the main specific etymologies are given as Cut., Guj. for Cutchi and Gujarati respectively, or Hindi (Hindustani/Hindi/Urdu). Other abbreviations used here are Ar. (Arabic), Eng. (English), Pers. (Persian), Port. (Portuguese), SAm. (South American), Sw. (Swahili) and Turk. (Turkish). The term Hindustani instead of Hindi is used here sometimes since it is an earlier form of Hindi of which Urdu is a cognate.[1]

Because of poor access to Cutchi and Sindhi dictionaries and wordlists, for Cutchi and Sindhi etymologies I have relied mostly on my informants in East Africa who were native speakers of these languages; further, the Indic elements in Swahili have been verified by researchers in Bombay, Surat, Ahmedabad and Delhi in 1991.

5. A short discussion on the phonological and/or semantic development, or other facts of interest, follows where necessary and relevant.

[1] See Shackle and Snell (1990) for a good description of Hindi and Urdu. See also section 4.5.6.

7.2. List of Persian, Indic, Turkish, Indonesian and Chinese loans in Swahili

abadan (adv.) never, used only with negatives; **abadi** (adv.) ever, always, constantly.
FJ, CS, LK, BK < Ar.; CR nml.
Pers. āpad̲ (without foot/beginning) > Ar. abad̲an, abād̲i; cf. **azali**.

abaji (-, maabaji) a thousand million, R.
AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi abaj (a thousand million); cf. **karori**.

abedari, bedari (-) pully.
FJ, CR < Port.; CS < Ar.; BK < Pers.
Ar. al-bad̲ar (something round like a disc); cf. **habedari**.

achari, achali (-) pickles.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi & Pers.; LK nml; BK < Pers.; KA.
Guj./Hindi ačār (pickles).

adasi (-) fennel, R.
JK < Pers. adas (fennel). CS gives adasi for *adesi* (lentils) < Ar.
Pers. ad̲as (fennel).
The standard term is *mnanaa* < Ar. nanā' (fennel).

Afande!, Afandi!, Afendi!, Efendi! (interj.) My Lord!, Sir!, Master!
FJ, CR < Turk.; KA erroneously defines it also as 'sodomite' and as synonym of **basha**.
Pers. afend̲i < Turk. efend̲i (lord) < Greek afthentis; cf. **efendi**.

afyuni, afiyuni, afiuni (-) opium.
JK < Pers. afyūn; LK, FJ, CR, BK < Ar. < Sans.; CS < Hindi; KA.
Greek opion, diminutive of opos, "vegetable juice" (EOI:243); or Latin opium, via Ar. afyūn < Pers. (EI:594). The term, which was borrowed from Greek into Latin, appears to have entered Swahili either through Ar. or Pers.; in Cut./Guj./Hindi it is called aphīṇ /afīṇ; cf. **kasumba**.

Aghaa, Agha (Maaghaa, Maagha) 1. Lord; 2. reverend, Shia Muslim priest, Z.
JK < Pers. āγā ; AL.
Turk. < Mongolian, " 'elder brother' and invariably 'father, grandfather, uncle' in various Turkic languages and dialects; also 'elder sister' or 'princess' among the Mongols; ....in Ottoman Turkish 'landowner, master,

chief, senior government or military official' " (EOI:246); Mod. Turk. ākā (elder brother); cf. **kaka**.

alijojo (-) 1. a kite blown away and lost (hence nobody's property); 2. a divorced young woman who has temporary love affairs, Z.
AL; Bakhressa (1992) gives **arijojo**, **arijajo** as 1. lost kite, loss of a kite; and 2. bad behaviour, bad habits; KA gives the form **arijojo**, and erroneously gives the connotation 'doing something superficially, without following proper procedure', which seems to have developed from a confusion with the Swahili adverb *juu-juu* meaning superficially, e.g. *Alifanya juujuu/kijuujuu.* (He did it superficially.).
Guj. arē jʾō jʾō, or alī jʾō jʾō; see section 3.3.

almari (-) chest of drawers.
FJ < Hindi or Port. armário (cupboard); Bakhressa (1992) and KA erroneously defines it as 'drawer'.
Konkani or Guj. almari (chest of drawers) < Port.
Normally called *mtoto wa meza, dawati* or *saraka*.

almasi (-) diamond.
JK < Pers. almās; FJ, CR, CS, LK < Ar.; KA.
Ar. almās < al almās < Greek adamas (diamond).

ana see **anna**

anjiri (maanjiri, manjiri) fig, R.
JK < Pers. anjīr (fig); AL.
The standard term is *tini/matini*.

ankra (-) invoice, bill of sale, bill of lading.
CR defines it erroneously as "2. lable, ticket, 3. mortgage".
FJ, CR, CS, < Hindi; BK < Guj.; KA.
Cut. ānkrō/ānkrā (invoice/bill); cf. Guj. ānkdō/ānkdā, Hindi ank.

anna, ana (-) 1/16 of an Indian Rupee; 10 cents coin (4 *pesa*, East African Currency), R.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi ānā (4 paisā); Turner 1114.

arijajo, arijojo see **alijojo**

asa (-) mint, X.
JK < Pers. āsah (mint).

asmani see **asumani**

asmini, asumini (-) frangipane, jasmine, AL, KA.
FJ **yasmini**, CR **yasmini/yasimini/jasmin** < Ar.; JK **yasumini, yasamani** < Pers. yāsaman; LK "jasmini", CS "yasmin" < Pers. The form *Yasmin* is a female personal name in East Africa.
Pers. yāsmin.

Aste!, Aste-aste! (interj.) Slowly!, Carefully!; **aste-aste** (adv.) slowly, carefully.
FJ, CR < Hindi; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi āste (slow/slowly).

asumani, asmani (-) sky, sky blue colour, R.
JK < Pers. āsmāni (of the sky) < āsmān (sky); AL.
Not to be confused with the male name Asumani/Asmani which are variants of the Ar. name Athman/Athmani or Othman, Osman.

asumini see **asmini**

azali (adj.) eternal, without beginning.
FJ, CR, LK < Ar.
Pers. āsar (without head/beginning) > Ar. azal (eternal).

baba (mababa) father.
JK < Pers. bābā; FJ, LK nml; CS < Pers./Hindi/Ar.; KA.
This word, together with, **babu, chuchu, dada, kaka,** *mama/mma/ma* (mother) could be "nursery words" or "Lallwort" (Knappert 1983:119, 123).

babu (mababu) grandfather.
JK < Pers./Urdu bābū; FJ, LK < nml; CS < Hindi; KA.
Not to be confused with *babu* (kind, sort, class, used in commerce) < Ar. bāb; **cf. baba.**

Badala (Mabadala) Indian Muslim sailor/fisherman; **Kibadala** the Cut. dialect spoken by the Badala Indians in and around Mombasa and Daressalaam; the Sw. name for the Cut. language in Kenya. **cf. Kikumbaro.**
FJ, CR < Hindi. CR defines it as "name of an Indian sect."
Cut. bʰadālā is a Cut.-speaking Muslim caste of sailors; the Guj. word for sailor is 'kʰārwā' (salt-workers, who are also fishermen and sailors). Cut.-speaking Hindu fishermen and fishmongers and those trading on the waterfront are called 'bʰātia' in Cut. and Guj. **cf. khalasi, kalua, Batia**; see section 4.5.5.

badamu (-) almond (as in *halua-badamu* sweet-meat or Turkish delight made of starch, sugar, butter and almonds), Z.

JK < Pers. badām (almond); AL, KA.

badia see **bajia**

badinjani see **biringani**

bafta (-) white cotton cloth, thin bleached calico.
JK < Pers.; FJ < Ar./Pers.; LK, CR < Ar.; CS < Ar./Hindi < Pers.; BK Pers./Sans.; KA.
Pers. bāfta (woven cotton cloth); cf. Cut./Guj. bāstā.

baghala, bagala (-) Indian sailing vessel with a large square stern, high poop and long prow, (resembling the neck and head of a crane), R.
JK < Pers. bayalah; FJ < Pers. stern of a ship; LK nml; CS < Ar. large Indian boat; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi baglā (seagull). Belsare 833 defines it as 1. a crane, a stork, 2. Arabian merchant vessel; and he gives Ar. as the source language.
Not to be confused with the Ar. loan *baghala* (mule), normally called *punda kihongwe/kirongwe*.

baghami (-) careless person, simpleton, stupid.
FJ < Ar., KA.
Cut. beyami < Pers. bī yamī (without sadness/feelings).

bagia see **bajia**

bahaluli (-) spill, pipe light, X.
BK < Pers.; "Originally the name of a Persian court-jester."

bahameli, mahameli (-) velvet.
FJ, CR < Ar.; KA.
Cut. bʰakʰmal and Guj./Hindi makʰmal (velvet).

bahashishi, bakhshish(i) (-) tip, gift, prize.
JK, FJ, BK < Pers.; CS nsl; LK nml; KA.
Pers. bahšīš < bahšīdān (to give/bestow).

bahara (-) basilicum, X.
JK < Pers. bahār.
The standard term is *mrihani* < Ar. rihān.

bahati, bakhti (-) luck, good luck.
JK, FJ, LK, BK < Pers. baht (luck); CS < Ar./Pers./Hindi; KA.
Both variants are common.

bajia, badia, bagia (-) small fried cake/ball of ground beans/peas etc.
FJ, CR < Hindi; CS < Guj., KA.
Cut./Guj. bʰajiā (fritters); the Hindi equivalent is pakoḍā; Turner 9401.

bakhshish(i) see **bahashishi**

bakhti (-) see **bahati**

balari (-) chisel, R.
JK < Pers. ballār and adds it is doubtful etymology; CS nsl; AL, KA.

bale (adv.) yes, indeed, It's all right!, R.
JK < Pers. balē (Yes!, Indeed!); AL.

bali (-) ear-ring, R.
FJ, CR < Hindi; KA.
Hindi bāḷi (ear ring); cf. Guj. wāṛi; Turner 11407.
Now replaced by the Eng. loan *hereni/heleni* < *ereni/eleni* < ear ring.

balungi (mabalungi) pomelo; *balungi dogo* grapefruit; **mbalungi** (mibalungi) the pomelo tree.
JK, FJ, BK < Pers. bālang; CR < Hindi/Pers.; LK nml; CS < Hindi < Malay; KA.
Pers. balangu (pomelo).

bamia (mabamia) okra, ladyfingers.
JK < Pers. bāmiyah; FJ < Pers./Ar.; CS < Ar.; KA; cf. **binda**.
Pers. bāmiyah.

banagili, banagiri, banajili, banajiri see **bangili**

bandari (mabandari) port, harbour, wharf.
JK, FJ, LK, BK < Pers. bandar; CS < Ar./Hindi; KA.
KA also gives the connotation 'gifts given to employees by a merchant when he goes on a long journey'. These gifts were given at the port to servants accompanying the merchant to the ship; this connotation given by KA is simply an abbreviation of *zawadi/hadiya ya bandari* (gifts at the port).
Pers. bandar.

bandi (mabandi) band, tie, bandage, stitching, a row of stitches.
JK < Pers. band; FJ nml; LK nml "stitching"; CR, CS < Pers., Hindi or Balochi; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi bandʰī (band, stitching); Turner 9136.

banduru, banduwara, banduweira, banduwera, (-) ship's well, hatch to enter the hold/bilge for bailing out water, R.
JK < Pers./Hindi bundwārā; FJ < Pers.; LK nml; CS nsl; KA.
Pers. bun + dwara (bottom + door/entrance); *bundwara* > *banduwara*. Commonly called *falka* < Ar. fālka, or *hechi* < Eng. hatch.

bangaloo (mabangaloo) bungalow.
AL; CS gives *bangala* < Hindi.
Cut./Guj./Hindi banglā (palace, mansion, large house with a garden) < Bengali bangalā (a summer house, a country house), Belsare:824.

bangi (-) bhang, marijuana, cannabis; **mabangi** (pl.) a bhang smoker.
JK < Pers./Hindi bang; FJ, LK, CS < Hindi/Ar./Pers.; CR < Hindi; BK < Pers./Sans.; KA.
Sans. bʰangʰā > Middle and New Pers. bang, and Ar. banj (EOI:1014, EI:1/689).
The loan in Swahili is probably from Guj./Hindi bʰāng. In Swahili it describes all the three related plants, i.e. hemp (*Cannabis sativa* or *indica*), henbane (*Hyoseyamus niger* etc.) and jimsonweed (*Datura stramonium*); Turner 354; cf. **ganja, ganjo.**
Many plural nouns in Swahili, such as *mabangi* (a bhang addict), *majisu* (one who carries a long knife), *mapua* (one with a large or deformed nose) are used to describe characteristics of individuals.

bangili (-, mabangili) bangle, armlet, bracelet.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; CS gives also **banagili, bangli, bangiri,** KA.
Cut. bangli (bangle); Turner 9358.
The forms *banagiri, banajili, banajiri* are also found in FJ, CR, CS, but do not seem to be in use; they may belong to languages adjacent to Swahili.

Baniani (Mabaniani), **Banyani** (Mabanyani) 1. a Banyan, a Hindu of the merchant caste; 2. a Hindu or Jain; 3. Hindu banker, money lender. FJ etc. mistakenly define it as "Indian", which is **Mhindi** (Wahindi) in Swahili.
FJ, CR, CS, BK > Hindi; KA.
Hindi banyā (Hindu merchant caste); Turner 11233-34; see section 4.5.5.

barabar, barabara (adj. & adv.) right, correct, fair; quite right, exactly, properly; FJ gives a non-existent form *baraba* which is a typographical error repeated by CR & CS, and it should read *barabar*.
JK, FJ < Pers.; CR, CS < Pers./Hindi, LK nml; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi barābar < Pers. bar-ā-bar; Turner 9377(?).

barafu (-) ice; adj. as in *chakula barafu* (frozen food).
JK, FJ, CR, BK < Pers.; CS< Hindi, and gives also "braf"; KA.
Pers. barf/barfu (snow).

barai (-) bee-sting pudding, a delicious rare dish prepared by steaming raw milk, or the curd of cows, R.
AL.
Cut. barāi ('burnt' milk).

barange(ni), barangi (-) a sailing vessel of two colours.
FJ, CR < Pers.; KA.
Cut. barangī (of two colours); cf. Guj. bērangī, Hindi dʰō-rangī; Turner 6424; cf. **dorange**; see **rangi**.

barasi , balasi (-) leprosy.
FJ < Ar.; CS **baras** < Ar./Pers.
Etymology unknown; the disease is known in East Africa as *ukoma* which is not a loanword.

barasati, barsati (-) multicoloured woven fabric, R.
CR < Hindi; CS defines it as cotton goods from "Katch"; LK *kiberesati* (viberesati) nml "from India"; KA.
Cut. sat̲-bʰarat̲, or Guj. sāt̲-bʰarat̲ (embroidery of seven colours); probably metathesis in Ar. > barat̲-sat̲ > barasat̲ > Sw. *barasati*; Turner 13139.

baraste (-) bifurcation of a road, Z.
AL.
Cut. barast̲ā, Guj. berastā (two roads, cross roads, bifurcation).
This term is homonymous with *baraste* (-) tarmac road, FJ < Eng. ballast, KA.
In the 1950s in Zanzibar there was a half-finished road called Baraste Kipande (i.e. partly macadamised road), in the eastern Ng'ambo area, and there were several bifurcations and crossroads, with or without tarmac, referred to as *baraste*; up until 1966 the Mkokotoni-Nungwi bifurcation near Mkwajuni Primary School in the north of Zanzibar island was known as Baraste by the inhabitants of the then North Region.

barawai (-) a swallow.
FJ, BK < Pers.; LK nml; CS **mbaruway, mbaruwayu** nml.
Cf. **mbayuwayu**.

barawaji, barawani, barwani (-) 1. fabric with gold thread; 2. kerchief, mantilla (usually worn around the waist), R.
JK < Pers. barwān;.FJ, CS < Ar.; CR < Hindi; CS gives also **mbarawaji**; KA.
Pers. barwān (embroidered soft thin cloth).

baraza (mabaraza) hall for official reception, court, council, porch or platform outside a house; **-barizi** (vb.) to hold a reception, to meet and sit outside the house or on the balcony, AL, KA; **-bariziana** (reciprocal verb) to meet and sit outside one another's house, be on visiting terms, AL, KA; KA erroneously defines *-bariziana* also as 'to fight face to face'; **kibaraza** (vibaraza) small meeting places, usually in the open, under a tree or at a market place.
JK < Pers./Ar. barzān; FJ, LK < Ar.; CR nsl; BK < Ar./Pers.; CS < Ar./Hindi; KA.
Pers. barzān.

bari see **bori**

barida (-) mail, post, R.
JK < Pers. barīḏah; AL.

-barizi see **baraza**

-bariziana see **baraza**

barnuni, barununi (-) brocade, sewing silk, silk thread.
JK < Pers. barnūn (brocade), cf. **barawaji**.

barota (-, mabarota) diaper, R.
AL.
Cut. bārōtā (diaper).
Now replaced by the Eng. loan *nepi*.

barsati see **barasati**

baruti, barudi (-) gunpowder.
JK < Pers./Turk. barut; FJ, LK < Turk.; CS < Pers./Ar./Hindi; KA.
Pers. barut < Turk. barud, probably < Greek piritis.

barwani, barawani (-) see **barawaji**

bas, basi (conj.) well, and so, therefore; **Bas!, Basi!** (intr.) Enough!, That will do!, Very well!; **Bas?, Basi?** Is it enough? Will this do?
FJ, BK < Pers.; CR < Ar.; CS Ar./Hindi; KA.
Pers. bas (enough, sufficient).

basha (mabasha), **pasha** (mapasha) 1. king in play cards; 2. commander of a fleet; 3. sodomite, Z, KC.
JK < Pers./Turk. bādšāh; FJ < Pers.; CR < Turk. and he gives only mening 1.; KA.

Pers. bādšāh (king) shortened to bāšā in Ar.; pāšā is the Turk. form later borrowed into many European languages. The form *pasha* may have arrived in East Africa during the Turkish contacts in the 1540s and 1580s.

basi see **bas**

bata (mabata) duck.
FJ nml but he compares it to Ar. bata; BK < Pers.; CS Ar./Pers.; KA.
Cut. bātā/bātō, Guj. batak < Sans. varṭakā (duck), Belsare 827; see **batabata, batobato, batu**.

-bata, -batabata (vb.) walk flat-footed, waddle (like a duck); **-batua** (reversive form used as an intensive vb.) to waddle heavily.
FJ nml; KA.
Formed from **bata**.

batabata, batobato (-) flat or open (ground for dancing, flattened or levelled by stamping of feet); **-batabata** (adj.) flat, level.
FJ nml; KA.
Formed from **bata**.

batela (mabatela), **betela** (mabetela) a small Indian boat, sometimes with two sails.
FJ < Port. or Hindi; CR < Port. batel; CS < Guj., and he gives also the diminutive *kibetela*; BK bettil < Mehri dialect of Arabic; KA.
Belsare 827 defines it as "a native sailing vessel" < Port. or Eng. batelā.
Cut. badolā, Guj. bedolā (of two masts), or Port. batel (small boat).
Vessels with two or more sails were introduced in the Indian Ocean by the Portuguese and were soon copied by the Indians for faster long distance sailing to East Africa.

bati (mabati) sheet iron/tin, galvanised/corrugated iron.
FJ < Ar. or Hindi; CR, CS, LK nml; KA.
Hindi paṭi, Cut./Guj. paṭrī/paṭrō.

Batia (mabatia) a Cutchi and Gujarati Hindu caste engaged solely in trade in East Africa.
AL; CS defines them as "noble caste Hindu".
Cut./Guj. bʰātiyā.
Originally in India, the 'Bhatiya' were small traders on the bʰāt, i.e. beach and shore, Turner 9655; see section 4.5.5.

batobato see **batabata**

batu (mabatu) 1. flat-footed person; 2. Donald Duck, Z.

AL.
Formed from **bata**.

-batua (vb.) see **bata**

beberu (mabeberu) 1. he-goat; 2. strong man; 3. imperialist, dominating person; **-a kibeberu** (adj.) imperialistic; **ubeberu** imperialism.
FJ < Hindi; CR, CS < nml; KA.
Pers. bebr (leopard, tiger), Turk. bebur (leopard, panther, strong/powerful man), Hindi babar-šēr (big lion, strong/powerful man). The Swahili connotations are probably derived from the name of the first Mogul (Turkic-Mongol) Emperor of India, Babur. cf. Hindi bakrī (goat); Turner 12056.

bechaush see **bishaushi**

bedani, behedani (-) a kind of perfumed hair-oil.
JK, FJ, CR < Pers. behdāna; CS < Ar. and defines it as a female hair style; KA.
Pers. behd̲āna < beh-d̲āne s̲tan (seed of something).

bedari see **abedari**

behewa (mabehewa) 1. inner court, compound; 2. shed, store; 3. compartment on a train.
FJ, CR, CS, LK < Ar.; BK < Ar./Pers.; KA.
Ar. bahwa (veranda, balconey).

bekari (-) idle person, unemployed; **ubekari** unemployment, idleness, R AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi bēkār (without work), bēkārī (idleness, unemployment) < Pers. bēkār (inactive).

belua, beluwa (-) riot, insurrection, mutiny.
FJ; CR gives *beluwa* "much trouble, great confusion" < Hindi & Pers., FJ also gives **-beua** (to scom, disregard, treat in a disdainful manner) as a Bantu verb. BK erroneously traces **beluwa** (-) to *balaa* and KA traces it to *baa* (-) and *balaa* (-). *baa* is a contracted form of *balaa* (trouble, difficulty, damage, grief, calamity, plague or pest) as given by FJ who claims Ar. source; Belsare 832 also gives Ar. source; cf. **tandabelua, tantabelua**.
Cut. baṛwā, Guj baṛwā/balwā, Hindi baḷwā (riot, mutiny) < Ar. balwā; cf. Turner 9161.

bepari (mabepari) capitalist; **-a kibepari** (adj.) capitalistic; AL, KA also **ubepari** (-) capitalism.

CS, CR < Hindi; CR erroneously defines it as "rare" and "(dishonest) merchant, monopolist"; KA.
Cut./Guj. wepārī (merchant, trader).
These terms came in everday use with the new connotations during the political mobilisation of the 1950s, introduced by the late Marxist politician and journalist Mohamed Abdulrahman Babu of Zanzibar. President Julius K. Nyerere (1966), true to his socialist ideology and propaganda, translated Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* as *Mabepari wa Venisi* (Capitalists of Venice), instead of *Tajiri wa Venisi* (The Merchant of Venice) or *Matajiri wa Venisi* (Merchants of Venice) (pc J. K. Nyerere, 23/11-90 Uppsala, 10/5-96 Stockholm). These terms are surprisingly missing in Olderogge's Swahili-Russian dictionary of 1961 published in Leningrad, though he does include the English loans *mkomunisti* (communist) and *ukomunisti* (communisim) leaving out *msoshalisti* (socialist) and *usoshalisti* (socialism).

beramu (-) banner, flag.
JK < Pers. bēram (cloth); FJ < Port. beirame (thin soft cloth); LK < Ar., also diminutive **kiberamu**; CS gives only **kiberamu** nml; KA.
Pers. bayram (thin soft cloth).
The standard term is *bendera* < Port. bandeira (banner, flag).

besera (mabesera) poles/frame-work of a bed for hanging a mosquito net or canopy, usually in the phrase *kitanda cha besera* (bed with a top frame).
FJ, CR < Hindi; CS < Pers. & Hindi and "sont de fabrication indienne"; KA.
Guj./Hindi basirā; cf. **samadari**.

betela (-, mabetela) see **batela**.

bhalo (mabhalo) 1. spear; 2. brave fighter, R.
AL.
Cut./Guj. bʰālō (spear).
Knappert (1974:287) mentions it as the origin of the family name of the renowned Kenyan poet Ahmad Nassir Juma Bhalo < Urdu bʰālā, which is pronounced with a geminated or long /ll/ as /'bʰallo/. This geminated /ll/ in Cut. and Guj. means 'one who is blessed, one who has the grace of God'. Further, the Ar./Sw. male name Juma (Friday) is common among Cut./Sindhi Muslim Indians, but seldom used by other Indians.; see Footnote on Cutchis in section 6.3. Turner 9161, 9409.

bibi (mabibi) 1. lady, madam, mistress of a household; 2. grandmother; 3. wife; 4. Queen in a pack of cards, AL, KA; **bi** (abbr.) Princess, Lady, Madam, Mrs., Ms., Miss.
JK, FJ, CR, BK < Pers. bībī (lady, wife); CS < Pers./Hindi; LK < nml.; KA.
Pers. bībī (lady, wife).

bikari (-) compass for drawing.
FJ, CR; CS < Ar.; BK< Pers.; KA.
Ar. bikār (compass).

bilauri (-) crystal glass (vessel and material).
JK, CS < Pers. bilavur; FJ, LK < Ar.; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi bīlūr, bīlōr (crystal glass, name of the city in India where crystal glass was produced), or Pers. bolūr (crystal).

bilingani see **biringani**

bilula (-, mabilula) tap, turncock.
FJ, CR, CS > Ar.; BK < Pers.; LK nml; CS, KA give also **bulule**.
Pers. bīlūla, bīlūleh.

bima (-) insurance (policy).
FJ, LK, CR, CS < Hindi; BK < Sans.; JK < Pers./Urdu; KA.
Hindi/Urdu bīmā; cf. Cut./Guj. wīmā.

bimbashi (mabimbashi) naval officer, R.
JK < Pers./Turk. binbaši; colonel, naval commander; FJ < Turk. African NCO in the German East Africa Army; KA defines it as 'sergeant, and corporal (in the old military system).'
Turk. bin (thousand) and baš (heads) + poss. suff. **-i**, litt. head of a thousand (men); major (Redhouse 1994); cf. **ombasha**.

binda (mabinda) okra, ladyfingers; **mbinda** (mibinda) the okra plant (*Hibiscus esculentus)*; FJ, CR < Hindi; CS < Hindi & Guj. bʰīndal, bʰīndi; KA.
Cut./Guj. bʰīnɖʰā, cf. Hindi baingan; cf. **bamia**.

bindari (-) store in the stern of a ship, R.
JK < Pers. bindār; AL.
Guj./Hindi bʰanɖār (store).

bindo (mabindo), **winda** (-) loin cloth; **kibindo** (vibindo) diminutive of *bindo* foil of loin cloth for carrying money, tobacco.
FJ, CR CS nml; CS also **uwinda** nml and compares it to *-pinda* (to bend); CR nsl **ubinda** (-) "type of loincloth worn by Indian traders"; KA gives *kibindo, ubinda, uwinda.*
Guj. bindo, Cut. winɖʰo (pl. winɖʰā).
Guthrie 3:45 states that it is only found in other Bantu languages adjacent to Swahili, which suggests that in those languages it is borrowed from Swahili and it is not a proto-Bantu item.

biri (-) a thin cigarette rolled in tobacco leaf, a cigarillo, Z.
FJ, CR < Hindi; KA.
Cut. bīrī, Guj./Hindi bīḍī; Turner 12045.

biriani (-) a relish of meat/lamb/chicken with onions and spices cooked in yoghurt, eaten with fried saffron rice.
JK, FJ, CR < Pers. biryān; FJ calls it "same as *birinzi*" and "a kind of *pilau*"; LK nml; KA gives it as a synonym of **birinzi**, a rice and meat dish prepared with masala.
Pers. biryān, biryāni (a dish of spiced meat and saffron rice).

birika (mabirika) 1. large kettle; 2. large container of water.
FJ, CR, LK, CS < Ar. BK < Ar./Pers., KA.
Ar. birka (tank, cistern); cf. **buli**, **tangi**.

birimbi (mabirimbi) carambola, the Florida starfruit; **mbirimbi** (mibirimbi) the cucumber tree *Averrhoa bilimbi*.
FJ nml; CR < Port.; KA.
Malay mbirimbiri.

biringani (mabiringani), **bilingani** (mabilingani) aubergine, brinjal; **mbiringani** (mibiringani) the eggplant *Solanum melongena*.
FJ, CR < Ar.; BK < Pers./Ar.; CS *biringanya*, *bilinganya* < Pers.; KA gives also *bilinganyi*; JK gives **badinjan** < Pers. and **birinjali** < Urdu barinjal. The form *birinjali* is probably from the Anglo-Indian term 'brinjal' introduced in East Africa by the British from India.
Port. beringela/biringiela/bringella < Bengali baingāl (Hobson-Jobson 1986).

birinzi (-) a dish of spiced rice.
JK, FJ, CR < Pers.; CS < Pers./Hindi; BK < Ar.; LK nml; FJ, CR, KA give it as a synonym for **biriani**.
Pers. birinj.

bisbis, bisbisi, bisibisi (-) screw-driver.
FJ < Hindi or Eng. "brace piece"; CR < Hindi; K A.
Cut. ḍʰīspīs, Guj. dīspīs.

bishaushi (-) sergeant, African soldier in the German army in Tanganyika, R.
FJ, CR, BK < Turk.; KA; CS **bechaush** sergeant major in the German army, and **ubechaushi** the rank of *bechaush* < Turk.
This is probably a corruption of **shaushi** by analogy of **bimbashi**.

bisi (-) pop-corn; *-pigana ngumi kama njugu bisi* (fight intensively), AL.
FJ, CR < Ar.; AL, KA.
Cut. bisi (popped maize).

bisibisi see **bisbis**

boflo, bofulo see **bofu**

bofu (mabofu) rubber balloon; **kibofu** (vibofu) bladder, gland; *kibofu cha mate* salivary gland; **boflo, bofulo** (-) white soft bread (Mediterranean type loaf).
FJ, CR, CS, LK nml; Adam (1979:152); KA does not give the form **bofu**. None of the dictionaries relate **bofulo/boflo** to **bofu/kibofu** which are derived forms. Adam (1979:138) gives *boflo*; CR suggests also Port. source. Probably Cut. fōfilō, fōfulō (baloon) > *fofu* > *bofu*; cf. Guj. fūgō.

bohari (-, mabohari) grainstore, store-house, ware-house, large shop.
JK < Pers. buhārī (dry storage room) or < Pers./Ar buhār (smoke; smoke used for fumigating the store room and keeping it dry); FJ < Hindi; CR, CS < Ar., LK nml; KA.
Hindi bohār (store).

Bohora (Mabohora) Bohra/Wohra Shia (Musta'ali) Indian.
FJ, BK, CS nsl; CR < Hindi.
Hindi/Guj. bohārā (store-keeper); see section 4.5.5.

boi (maboi) domestic servant; **uboi** employment/work/status of a domestic servant.
FJ, CR, CS < Eng.
Cut./Guj. bʰōy (serf). There is a Gujarati Hindu tailors' caste called Bhoy-dharji in East Africa. In Cut. and Guj. the term has additional connotations of 'serf' and 'slave'. Despite its frequent occurrence in current Swahili, KA has removed it from standard usage because of its derogative connotations. (pc members of the KA committee, Daressalaam, June 1983); cf. **golo**.
The standard term is *mtumishi* (*wa nyumbani*).

boma (maboma) fortification, garrison; AL **-boma** (vb.) fortify, R; **-bomoa** (conversive vb.) and **-bomolea** (applicative vb.) demolish, bombard, destroy.
FJ, CR, CS, BK < Pers. bom; LK nml; KA. *-bomoa & bomolea* are entered by FJ, CR, CS, BK nml and as synonym of *pomoa* (standard Swahili *poromoa* to fall to ruins).
Pers. bom (stone hedge for defence, fortification), Moin 122.

bori (-, mabori) the fruit of the jujube tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), R.

FJ nml; Höftmann (1963) < Pers.
Guj. bōr; cf. **kunazi** which is the common term.

bori (-) a tube, thin pipe, clay ball of smoking pipe, R.
FJ, BK < Pers. būrī; CS Hindi/Pers.; LK nml; KA.
Pers. būrī (reed, thin pipe).

bori (-) large elephant tusks, R.
Höftmann (1963, 1989), AL **bari**. Sheriff (1987) gives 'buri', which could be the Anglicised form; KA elephant tusks. This word is confused with the Arabic loan *buri* (a small elephant tusk, just begining to grow, as defined by FJ).
Hindi/Punj. boṛī (big, large).

boza (-) liquor.
JK, CR < Pers. boza; FJ *buji* < Ar. buzi (beer); LK strong narcotic nml; CS < Hindi/Ar.; KA **buza, buzaa** (-) alcoholic drink made from honey.
Probably < Eng. booze < Dutch buizen (to take water, i.e. drink much).

buchari (-) a large knife, R
FJ, CR < Hindi; CS nsl.
Hindi bʰaṛī čʰuṛī (large knife) > Sw. *bachuri > *buchari* via metathesis.

buda (-) old man; **buda** (adj.) old (male person or animal).
AL; KA gives 1. very old man, 2. toothless person; 3. very old elephant with bad or broken tusks; Bakhressa (1992) defines it as 1. a toothless person; 2. an old man; 3. an old elephant.
Cut./Guj./Hindi buḍḍʰā (old man, old people); Turner 9271.
Buda/Budha is a common surname or first male name among the Cut. Sunni Muslims; a boy may be named after his paternal grandfather and would thus be referred to as buḍḍʰā. This is similar to the Sw. surname and male first name Babu (grandfather); the term *buda* is never used for females.

buli (-, mabuli) 1. tea-pot; 2. baby bottle, Z.
FJ, CR < Port.; CS, LK nml.
Cut. buli < Port. bule; cf. **birika**.

bulibuli, bulbuli (-) 1. nightingale, 2. sweetheart.
JK < Pers. bulbul; AL; CS nsl and KA additionally define it as a beautifully done white Swahili cap; and (adj.) lovely.
Pers. bulbul (nightingale).

bulule see **bilula**

bumbla, bumbra, bumbura (-) Bombay duck fish (dried).

FJ, CR < Hindi; CS nsl; KA does not specify it is 'dried' fish.
Cut./Guj./Marathi bʰumbʰlā (dried duck-fish).

bunduki gun, rifle.
JK < Pers./Turk./Urdu bunḍuk or Greek pontikos; FJ < Pers./Ar./Hindi; CR, CS, LK < Ar.
Turk. bunḍuk.

bungala (-) 1. Bengal, R; 2. of/from the Bengal (the red banana, also reddish rice and sugar cane originating in the Bengal), Z.
FJ, CR; CS nsl *bangala and erroneously gives also *bingili*, *bingiri* as alternatives, which are in fact variants of **bangili**; KA erroneously defines *ndizi bungala* as "thick banana"; LK nml "kind of rice".
Bengali/Cut./Guj./Hindi bangāṛā (the Bengal).
The original geographical name Bengal has now been replaced by the current official name Bangladesh.

bustani (mabustani) garden, park.
JK < Pers. būstān; FJ, CR < Pers. or Ar.; LK < Ar.
Pers. būstān (flower garden)

buza, buzaa see **boza**

chabuki (-) whip, R.
JK < Pers. čābūk; AL.

chachari (machachari) 1. mischievousness; 2. restlessness, excessive excitement; 3. (adj.) mischievous, restless; **uchachari** mischievousness.
FJ, CR nml, CS nsl and enters also the verb **-chacharika**; KA gives only the plural form *machachari* and the verbs **-chacharika**, **-chachatika** (to be excited), and **-chacharisha** (to excite); CR gives also the vb. *chachatika* and erroneously defines it as 1. tingle, sizzle; 2. insist, persist; 3. gesticulate; 4. run to and fro quickly; KA gives the plural form **machachari** (restlessness) which CS gives as adj. restless; AL **chanjari** (noun) and **-chanjari** (adj.).
Guj./Hindi čančar (shrewd, smart, cunning person).

-chacharika, -chachatika see **chachari**

chadari (-) a two-piece veil worn by Asian Muslim women, R.
JK < Pers. čadār; AL; CS and LK give **shadoro, shodoro** (-) nml and also define it as 2. thin black cloth for sewing a veil.
Cut./Guj./Hindi čādar < Pers. < čādōr.
The one-piece veil worn by Swahili women is called *buibui.*

chagarnati, jagarnati (-) bleached cotton cloth from India, tafeta cloth, R.

CR **chagernati** < Hindi; CS nml; AL.
Guj. jagannāṭʰī (fine white cotton cloth), Belsare 478.

chagina (-) bold/brave person.
FJ, CR nml; AL; CR gives also **jahina* (adj.) < Ar. (which may be a typographical error); CS **jagina** (adj. brave) and **ujagina** valiance nml; LK nml (adj. & noun); KA gives the variant **jagina**.
Guj./Hindi čʰagan (bold, brave).

chai (-) tea; **mchai** (michai) the tea plant; **mchachai** (michaichai) lemongrass used for brewing tea.
FJ < Hindi & Pers.; CR < Chinese & Ar.; LK nml; CS < Ar./Hindi; JK "Arabic has šāy, which cannot be the origin of the Swahili word, which therefore must have come from India or directly from Iran. Its ultimate origin is northern China: čā-ye, 'tea leaves'."
Cut./Guj. čāi < Hindi čāhi < Chinese čāh.

chakari (adv.) very drunk, drunk to a high degree, only in the expressions *kunywa chakari* (to be extremely drunk), *kuwa chakari/chakkar* (to be drunk to the point of swaying), AL.
FJ, CR nml; KA defines it simply as the adv. 'abnormally'.
Cut. čakkār, Guj./Hindi čikkār (full to the brim).

chakram, chakaramu (-) mad, insane person.
AL; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi čakram (crazy).

chaku (-) pen-knife, clasp-knife, R.
JK < Pers. čākū; AL.

chama (vyama) party, association, union, society.
BK < Pers. čamān; FJ, CR, CS nml; KA.
Pers. čamān (party of friends för feasting, entertinment, etc), Steingass 398.

chambuki (-) magnet, R.
JK < Pers. čumbak or Skr. čimbuk (magnet); AL.
Pers. čunbak.
Commonly called *sumaku* (magnet) and *usumaku* (magnetism). The Swahili form of the Persian loan seems to be a metathesis of vowels.

chamburo (-) small, flat-nosed pliers, tongs.
FJ, CR, CS, LK nml; LK gives **chambura** (pincers); KA.
Cut. čāmpro, Guj./Hindi čāmpḍo.

champal (-) (beach) sandals, Z.

AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi čampal.
Commonly called *kanda mbili.*

chana, chanuo, shana, shanuo (-) a comb; **-chaua/-chanua** (*nywele*) (vb.) to comb. JK, FJ < Pers. šānah; CR, LK nml; KA.
The most common form is **kitana** (a comb); the verbs **-tana** and **-tanua** are found in the northern dialects of Swahili.

chandarua (vyandarua), **chandalua** (vyandalua) mosquito net, canopy.
FJ, CR < Hindi; BK < Guj.; SC nml and gives also *shandarua, shandalu* (which seems to be an erratum); LK nml and describes it also as something "that protects against the sun"; KA.
Hindi čan̲darwā (canopy); cf. Cut./Guj. maČČʰardāni (mosquito net).
In East African settler English it is called 'shandaroa'; Wilson (1964:57) wrongly defines it as "tarpaulin" which is correctly called *turubali* < Eng.

chando (-) a dance in which the partners meet in the centre of the ring, and after dancing some steps they return to their places, each time using a different combination of steps and movements, R.
FJ, CR, CS nml; KA.
Guj./Hindi čān̲d (moon, ring, circle); or Cut./Guj.Hindi čʰan̲d (dancing steps).

chanjari (adj.) see **chachari**

chanjari (noun) see **sangari**

chapa (-) brand, model, print, edition; **-chapa, -chapisha, -piga chapa** (vb.) print, publish; **-chapa makofi** (vb.) hit hard with palm of hand, strike; **-chapa miguu** (vb.) tramp with foot, march quickly; **-chapua** (reversive form used as an intesive vb) strike hard; **mchapa** (wachapa), **mchapaji** (wachapaji), **mchapishaji** (wachapishaji) printer, publisher;
uchapaji (-) typography, printing; **uchapishaji** (-) publication, publishing.
FJ, LK < nml; CR, CS < Hindi; BK < Hindi & Pers.; JK < Pers. čāpa & Urdu čʰāpā; only Lodhi & Otterbrand (1973/1987) & KA give **-chapa** as a verb.
Cut./Guj./Hindi čʰāp (a brand, a model, a print); Cut. čʰāpinū, Guj. čʰāpwũ, Hindi čʰāpnā (to print).

chapakhana, chapkhana (-) printing press/house, R.
AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi čʰāp (print, printing) + Pers. khāneh (house).

Now replaced by the Standard Swahili *kiwanda cha kuchapisha* (workshop for printing). The second part in this compound, **khana**, is a Pers. word denoting place and is used in the Pers. loans **karkhana** (Zanzibari usage factory/workshop e.g. *karakhana ya soda* factory for soft-drinks, *karakhana ya taa* electric works, *chapakhana* printing press), **karakana** (standard Sw. workshop), and **charhani, cherehani** (sewing machine, any machine with a pedal). In East African English there is also 'gymkhana' (a gym, gymnastics or sports hall/club).

chapati (-) Indian flat bread either roasted or fried (tandoori).
JK defines it as "thin cake of unleavened batter" < Pers. čapātī, and continues, "This word is ultmately from Skr. carpatī 'flat bread'." AL.
Hindi/Punj. čapātī; cf. Cut. mānī, and Guj. rōtī.
This term was introduced in the interior of Kenya and Uganda by the Indian railway workers speaking Hindi and Punj. towards the end of the 19th century.

-chapisha see **chapa**

-chapua see **chapa**

charas (-) 1. an intoxicating preparation made from **bangi**; 2. addiction.
AL.
Cut./Guj. čaras, Guj./Hindi čaḍas.

charhani, charahani see **cherehani**

charo (-) 1. caravan, a company of travellers; 2. journey, safari, R; **mcharo** (wacharo) member of a caravan.
FJ, CR, CS, LK nml; KA.
Cut. čārō (a company of travellers); cf. Cut./Guj./Hindi čāl (walking, gait).
Commonly called *msafara*.

chatini (-) chutney.
CS < Hindi; AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi čatnī (chutney).

chauchau (-) 1. bribe; 2. corrupt person demanding bribes.
AL, KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi čabčab 1. to bite/chew, biting/chewing; 2. one who is always chewing/eating, metaphorically "consuming other people's property".

chausi, shaushi (-, machausi) commander, officer in charge., R.

JK sergeant; FJ corporal < Ar. < Turk.; JK < Pers./Turk. čavuš, and Pers. čāvuš; CR NCO, corporal <Turk.; CS gives *shauss, **shaushi**, *shawishi < Turk. čāvuš; BK gives *saush*, *shawishi*, *beshaush*, *ushaush* < Turk./Ar.; CS **chausi** nml, and *shaush*, *shawishi* < Turk.
Turk. čavuš, military commander (Clauson 1972:399); "This word occurs as čābiš in the oldest Turkic texts of the 8th century" (pc Larry Clerk, Mainz/Uppsala, Nov. 1999).

cheni (-) (with aspirated /tʃʰ/) blacksmith's chisel. Z.
AL.
Cut. čʰēni (blacksmith's chisel).

cherehani, **charahani** (-) sewing machine, machine with a pedal.
JK < Pers./Urdu čarkha; FJ, BK < Pers.; CS gives it as a synonym of **karkhana** < Ar./Hindi < Pers.; AL **charhani**; KA.
Pers. čarkʰān (machine with a pedal), cf. **chapakhana**, **karakhana**.

cherehe (-) steering wheel of a ship, KC.
BK, CR, JK < Pers. čarḫ; LK grindstone < Pers.; CS < Pers.; KA, Nabhany (1979).
Pers. čarḫ (wheel).

cheti (vyeti) chit, note, short letter, card, certificate.
FJ, CR, BK < Hindi; CS < Hindi < Eng.; LK nml; JK Pers. < čiththah & Urdu čiththī, and he adds "This is, of course, Eng. chit, chitty, ultimately from Skr. čitra." KA.
Cut. četʰtʰī; cf. Guj./Hindi čitʰtʰī.

chiku (-, machiku) the kiwi fruit; **mchiku** (michiku) the kiwi plant/tree.
AL.
Cut./Guj. čīkū.

chila (-, vila) pancakes of rice flour and coconut cream, Z.
AL.
Cut. čilā (pancake).
Pancakes of wheat flour and eggs are called *mikate ya maji*, or *pankeki in non-native Swahili usage; cf. **manda**.

chilamu see **shilamu**

chiraghi (-) lamp, torch, lantern, KC.
JK < Pers. čirāγ; AL; KA gives **siraji**, which is < Ar. sīrāj < Pers.
Pers. čirāγ (torch).
The common standard term is *mwenge*.

chiza (-) a pair of tweezers (for depilation), small tongs, R.
JK < Pers. čīzah; AL.

chokora (-, machokora), **chokra** (-) young boy, kitchen boy.
AL, KA; CR < Ar. and also defines it as "one who works at odd jobs, servant performing heavy duty/work" and confuses it with **chotara** "half-breed, mestizo"; CS confuses it with Hindi čāker (servant), and equates it with **boi** (domestic servant).
Cut./Guj. čʰōkrā (young boys).
The Cut. and Guj. speaking Asians in East Africa frequently use the abbreviated Cut. forms čʰōrō (pl. čʰōrā) and čʰōri (pl. čʰōriŭ) for 'kitchen boy' and 'kitchen girl' respectively.

choli see **chori**

chopi (-) extremely drunk person; *kuwa chopi* to be extremely drunk, litt. the alcohol is where his hat should be.
FJ, CR, CS, LK nml; CR gives also "crooked, lopsided, be lame, limp" (which may be results of being drunk or intoxicated); Adam (1979:200).
Cut./Guj./Hindi tōpī (cap, hat) > Sw. *chopi* through the northern Sw. dialects in which the /t/ is frequently reproduced as /tʃ/.

chora see **shura**

chordho (-) very drunk person; *kuwa chordho* to be very drunk.
CS gives *choridho* nml; AL; Adam (1979:200), Hashil (1999:26).
Cut. čard̲ʰyō, litt. 'a man who has been climbed', i.e. one in whom the alcohol has reached his head.

chori, choli (-) thief, robber.
AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi čōr (thief).
This word has been confusedly used as the second part of the compound **gabacholi**, which see below.

chotara (machotara) a person of mixed African-Asian, African-European or Asian-European descent.
JK "Although supposedly of Persian origin, this word has only been found in Urdu." < Urdu čhutahra. FJ, CR < Ar.; CR erroneously gives it as a synonym of **chokora**; CS defines it as a person of African-Indian parentage; KA.
Cut. čūtārā; cf. Guj. čūt-wārā, Hindi/Punj. čūt-wālā. Originally a vulgar Indian expression meaning 'offspring of the vagina' (which has now been replaced by čūtiyā in Cut./Guj./Hindi/Punj. in East Africa). The original

Indian meaning in East Africa (bastard, illegitimate child of mixed ethnic parentage etc.) has since long been replaced by the non-derogative Swahili meaning; and the current Asian pronunciation in East Africa is as in Swahili with an /o/ instead of the original /u/. New synonyms of *chotara* are the Eng. loan *hafukasti* (a half-caste) and the Congolese *shombe* (derived from the name of the Congolese leader Moise Tshombe who was of mixed African-European descent) which have a derogative connotation; cf. **nawara, sonara, waria**.

Chub! see **Chup**!

chuchu (machuchu) nipple, teat.
JK < Pers. čūčū; FJ < Hindi; CR, CS, LK nml; KA; **kichuchu** (vichuchu) small breast; AL, KA **-chuchuka** (vb.) to reach puberty (of girls); KA gives also secondary connotations by extension, i.e. 1. to grow in height and become tall; 2. to grow slowly and with difficulty; cf. **baba**.

Chup!, **Chub**! (interj.) Shut up!; Silence!
FJ nml, CS < Hindi; CR gives only the form *chub* nml, KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi čup.

chupri (-) packet of ('Rizla') cigarette paper (packed like a book). Z AL.
Cut. čupri/čōpri, Guj. čōpadi/čōpdi/čōpri (book).

daba (-, madaba) a small metal box, R.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; CR erroneously gives it also as a synonym of **debe** and as sheet metal; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi/Punj. ḍabbā (tin, metal box); cf. **debe**.

dabiri (madabiri) secretary, manager.
JK < Pers. ḏabīr; CS, KA give also **-dabiri** (vb.) to manage, organise; CS gives also the forms **dabiria** (applicative) and **dabiriana** (associative/reciprocal).

dabusa (-) cabin on a ship.
JK < Pers./Urdu ḏabūsā; AL.

dada (madada) elder sister.
JK, BK < Pers. ḏāḏā; FJ, CR, LK nml; CS < Ar.; KA; cf. **baba**.
Pers. ḏāḏā.

daftari (-, madaftari) 1. ledger, 2. desk.
JK, LK < Pers. dafter; FJ, CR < Ar.; BK < Ar./Pers.; CS < Pers./Hindi; KA.
Pers. ḏaftar < Greek diphtera.

dagla (-) a long ornamented coat, R.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; CS gives also *dagila* and KA gives also **degle**.
Cut./Guj./Hindi daglā (coat, robe).

dalasini (-) cinnamon; **mdalasini** (midalasini) the cinnamon tree.
JK, FJ, CR, BK < Pers. dār-e-čīnī (the Chinese tree); LK nml; CS gives also **darasini** < Ar./Hindi; KA gives only **mdalasini**; FJ mdalasini < Ar.
Pers. dār-e-čīnī, or Guj. dāl-čīn < Sans. dār-čīn (Chinese tree).

dalia (-) yellow powder used as make-up.
FJ, CR, CS < Ar.; Middleton (1993:220) says it is "imported from India"; LK nml; KA.
Cut./Guj. dāriā (peeled roasted chick peas). The yellow flour of dāriā mixed with turmeric was used as make-up.

dalki see **talki**

dama (-) game of draft.
BK < Pers. dām; FJ < Port.; CS < Ar. LK nml; KA.
Port. damas.

damani see **demani**

dandalo (-) the stick dance (a kind of dance where the dancers carry two short sticks to clap with), normally called *kirumbizi*, R.
FJ, CR nml, KA. KA also defines it erroneously as poles/posts for electric cables; CS gives **danda** (step in a ladder) nml.
Cut. dāndʰalō/dāndʰiyō (pl. dāndʰā, dāndʰiyā) Guj. dāndalō (pl. dāndalā), Hindi dandā (stick).

danedane (-) the carneval (to celebrate the birthday of the Agakhan), Z.
AL, KA also gives **danadana** (-) and (adv.) with rejoicing/celebration.
Cut. dʰandʰan (carnival, with the stick dance **dandalo**).

danga (-) stock of the anchor.
CS, LK nml *kudanga* (vb.) to take up carefully from water.
JK < Pers. dāngā.

-dara (vb.) to size, catch, arrest, X.
FJ < Pers. dār; CR touch, feel < Pers.

darabi (-, madarabi) rose apple; **mdarabi** (midarabi) the rose apple tree (*Eugenia jambosa*).

FJ, CR < Pers. dar-ab, "splendid tree"; CS < Ar.; LK nml; KA; see Knappert 1984:113 for his comment on *darabi*.
Pers. darabi (sweet-sour citrus fruit, bigger than an orange).

daradaki (-) T-shaped tool.
Nabhany (1979).
Pers. dārak (something T-shaped).

darasini see **dalasini**

dari (-) ceiling, attic.
JK, FJ < Pers.; BK nsl; KA.
Pers. dār.

darisha see **dirisha**

darubini, derubini, durubini, durbini (-) 1. binoculars; 2. microscope.
JK, FJ, CR, BK < Pers. dūr-bīn; CS < Ar./Hindi; LK nml and gives *durabini, derabini*; KA; cf. **harubini**.
Pers. dūr-bīn.

darwishi (madarwishi), **derwishi** (madarwishi) dervish, ascetic.
JK < Pers. darvīš; AL.

dasi (-) bolt rope sewn along the edges of a sail.
JK < Pers. & Urdu das; FJ, CR < Pers.; CS < Ar.; KA; Nabhany (1979).
Pers. das (bent stick or pole, bow); originally *dasi* was the upper edge of the triangular sail which was sewn on to a slightly bent pole.

dasturi, desturi (-) 1. bowsprit; 2. customs, traditions.
JK, FJ, LK < Pers. dastūr; CR < Ar.; BK < Pers./Ar.; Nabhany (1979); KA.
Pers. dastūr.

dasumali see **dusumali**

dawati (-) inkpot (and by extension the desk or drawer where the inkpot is kept); **kidawati** (vidawati) diminutive of *dawati*.
JK ink < Pers. dawāt; FJ writing desk < Ar.; CS < Ar./Hindi; KA drawer of a table.
Pers. dawāt (inkpot)

debe (madebe) 1. metal box, tin; 2. volume of 4 gallons.
FJ, CR, BK < Hindi, CS < Pers, KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi/Punj. ḍabbā (tin, metal box); cf. **daba**.

debwani, dibwani (-) silk cloth with embroidered red or brown stripes used as turban or sarong.
JK, FJ, BK < Pers.; CR < Ar.; LK nml but says it is "coloured cloth from India"; KA.
Pers. d̲ībā.

degi (madegi) large cooking vessel of copper.
AL.
Cut. dēg, Guj. d̲eg < Pers. d̲īg.

degle see **dagla**

demani, damani (-) 1. sheet, the rope controlling the mainsail; 2. leeward; 3. South Monsoon season from April to November; 4. The second half or the end of the South Monsoon winds from August to November.
JK, FJ, BK < Pers. d̲āman; CR < Ar.; CS < Hindi; LK nml; Nabhany (1979); KA.
Pers. d̲āman.

dengu (-) chick peas (*Cicer arietenum*); **mdengu** (midengu) the chick pea plant.
JK, FJ < Pers. d̲angu "kind of lentils"; LK nml and defines it as "peas from India"; CR defines it as lentils < Hindi; BK nml; CS nsl and defines as Indian beans used by Hindus; KA erroneously gives it as a synonym of *adesi* (green lentils).
Pers. d̲āngū (chick peas, soup of chick peas, 'bakalla' peas *Faba sativa*).

derubini see **darubini**

derwishi see **darwishi**

desturi see **dasturi**

diana (-) (Islamic) theology, religious knowledge.
AL.
Ar. d̲iānat̲ < Pers. d̲īn (religion); cf. **dini**.

dibaji (-) preface, foreward in a book; **udibaji** (-) decoration, ornamentation on a book cover.
BK, JK < Pers. d̲ībāčah; FJ, CR, LK < Ar.; CS < Ar./Pers.KA.; CR defines *udibaji* wrongly as elegance, refinement.
Pers. d̲ībāčah.

dini (-) religion.
FJ, CR, CS, LK < Ar.; BK< Pers.; LK < Ar.; CS < Ar./Hindi; KA.

Ar. d̲īn < Pers. d̲īn; cf. **diana**.

dirisha (madirisha), **darisha** (madirisha) window, porthole, stern port.
JK, FJ, CR, BK < Pers. d̲ariče; CS < Hindi < Pers.; LK nml; KA.
Pers. d̲ariče.

diwani (madiwani) 1. councillor; 2. collection of poems, essays.
JK, BK < Pers. d̲īwān; FJ, CR, CS, LK < Ar.; KA.
Pers. d̲īwān.

diwari (-) masonry, brickwork, R
JK < Pers. d̲īwār (wall); AL.
Commonly called *kuta*, *ukuta*.

dobi (madobi) washerman; **madobini** (pl. locative.) place where washermen do their laundry and dry it; AL, Issak (1999:146); **udobi** washerman's work/profession.
FJ, CR, CS, BK < Hindi; LK nml; KA.
Cut./Guj.Hindi d̲ʰōbī (washerman).

dohani (madohani) chimney.
BK < Pers. d̲uh̲ān; FJ, CR, CS, LK < Ar.; KA.
Pers. d̲uh̲ān.

dorange (-) a carpet of stripes of two colours.
AL.
Hindi d̲ʰō-rangī; Turner 10560; cf. **barange**, **rangi**.

doria (-) white muslin (cloth).
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; BK < Guj.; KA.
Cut. dōria (of threads) < dōra (thread), Guj. d̲ōrā.

doti (-) 1. white cotton sarong; 2. two yards of full width of cloth, or four yards of narrow width.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; BK < Pers.; LK nml and defines it only as cloth of four yards of length; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi d̲ʰoti (white sarong of 2 yards of length).

dowari (-) capstan, windlass (for hoisting sails etc.), R.
JK < Pers./Ar d̲awwār (capstan, windlass); AL.
Ar. d̲awwār; also called *bakara* < Ar.

dubwana (madubwana) monster, colossus, giant, huge person or animal.
FJ, CR < Hindi ?; CS nml; KA; Bakhressa (1992) defines it as an unusually large person or a thing. Bakhressa (1992) and KA also give **kidubwana**

(vidubwana), **kidubwasha** (vidubwasha) as a small thing without a name, a toy
Dubwana is a derogative/amplicative formed from the original Swahili word *mwana* > *bwana* > *dubwana*, and it is not a loanword.

dubwasha (madubwasha) 1. same as **dubwana**; 2. used euphemistically of things and sexual parts of the body, cf. **dude**; 3. loud (dull, reverberating sound); **kidubwasha** (vidubwasha) diminutive of *dubwasha*, same as **kidubwana**.
AL; CR < Hindi.
Derogative synonym of **dubwana**, and it is not a loan.

dude (madude) something worthless, also the diminutive forms **kidude** (vidude) and **mdude** (midude).
BK < Pers. dude; FJ, CR nsl; CS, LK nml; cf. **dubwana, dubwasha.**

duka (maduka) shop.
FJ, CR, LK < Ar.; CS < Ar., Pers., Hindi; BK < Ar. & Pers. < Aramaic.
Cut./Guj./Hindi dukān < Ar. dukkān, ultimately < Akkadian.

dukawala (madukawala) shopkeeper (used mostly in East African Eng.).
AL.
Hindi/Punj. dukān (shop) < Ar. + wālā (owner); cf. **duka**.

dulabu (-) steering wheel.
JK < Pers.; CR < Ar.; AL; KA defines it as spinning wheel.
Pers. dūlāb.

duriaui (maduriani), doriani (madoriani) the dorian fruit; **mduriani** (miduriani) the dorian tree *Durio zibethinus*.
FJ < Malay duri and erroneously equates with breadfruit, which is correctly called shelisheli, shesheli (< French Seychelles, i.e. the fruit from the Seychelles); CR < Malay, and wrongly defines it as "fruit of the breadfruit tree"; CS nml; KA also likens it to jackfruit.
Malay durian.

durubini, durbini see **darubini**

dusumali, dusamali (-) 1. silk handkerchief, scarf, 2. towel.
JK, FJ, CR, BK < Pers. dastmāl; LK < nml; KA.
Pers. dastmāl (piece of cloth).

efendi (maefendi) military officer or high official in the Sultan's administration in East Africa in the pre-colonial period.
BK native officer < Turk.; cf. **afande**.

Efendi! (interj.) see **Afande!**

embe (-, maembe) mango fruit; **mwembe** (miembe) mango tree.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi & Guj.; BK < Ar.; JK < Pers./Urdu; LK nml; KA.
Guj. āmbā; cf. Hindi ām, Cut. āmā.

ewani, iwani (-) hall, gate-porch.
JK < Pers. īwān; cf. Standard Swahili *uani*, *uwani* (enclosure, compound, courtyard, backyard).
Pers. eywān.

fahirisi, faharasa (-) list of contents, catalogue, index.
JK < Pers. fehrist; FJ, CR < Ar.; KA.
Pers. fehrist.

fairuzi see **feruzi**

faja (-) stable.
JK < Pers. pāgāh; FJ, CR < Ar.; BK < Ar./Pers.; LK nml; KA.
Pers. pāgāh (place to stand, i.e. where horses stand); probably via Arabic in which Persian /p/ and /g/ are changed to /f/ and /dʒ/ respectively.

faluda (-) 1. jelly (of starch), dish of sweet jelly, amidon; 2. jellyfish, AL.
FJ,CR < Ar.; FJ defines it as "gruel made of milk and maize flour"; CR defines it as "porridge made of corn/maize"; KA defines it only as "jelly"; CS < Ar., Pers.
Pers. fāludah, falude, palude (jelly).

fanusi (-) lantern, lighthouse.
JK < Pers. fānūs, or Greek pharos; FJ, CR, BK, LK < Ar.; KA.
Pers. fānūs.

farasahi (-) distance of ca. 5 km.
JK < Pers. farasah; LK < Ar.
Pers. farasah < Greek parasangos.

farisi (mafarisi) skilled artisan, craftsman.
JK < Pers. fārsī, fārisī (a Persian); FJ, CR < Ar.; FJ confuses it with the Ar. loan *farisi* fārris (skilled rider); CR also gives it as adj. skillful, expert, capable; **ufarisi** skill, capability, expertise; KA.
Pers. fārsī, fārisī (a Persian; and by extension, skilled as a Persian artisan).

farumani see **foromali**

fashini (-) rudder block.
FJ, CR < Pers.; LK nml; KA.
Pers. fā + šineh (opposite/other side + prow/stern of ship).

fataki (-) 1. gun cap; 2. crackers, small fire-works.
FJ, CR, CS, BK, LK < Ar.; CR also defines it as electric fuse; KA.
Cut. fatākio (fire cracker), cf. Guj. fatākḍō, Ar. fašfaš.

fatila (-) 1. wick, yarn for caulking boats, 2. fuse for ignition.
JK < Pers. fātilāh.

feleji, felegi (-) steel of high quality.
FJ, CR < Pers. pulād; LK nml; cf. **pua**.
Ar. falaj < Pers. pulād.

fenesi (mafenesi) jack-fruit, **mfenesi** (mifenesi) the jack-fruit tree.
FJ, CR < Hindi; BK, CS < Guj.; CR defines it wrongly as "durian" and "bread-fruit" which are in fact called *doriani* and *shelisheli* respectvely and are two different fruits; KA.
Cut./Guj. faṇas; cf. Hindi p'aṇas.

ferdausi, ferdawsi see **firdausi**

feruzi, firuzi, (-) turquoise, used also as a male name.
BK, JK < Pers. fīrōzah; FJ, CR < Ar.; AL **fairuzi, firozi**; KA.
Pers. fīrōzah.
All the variants of this word are used as male names.

finjani (mafinjani), **pingani** (-) porcelain dish, bowl, large teacup, ornamented cup, R.
JK < Pers. pingān, and < Pers./Ar finjān < Pers. pingān; AL.
Pers. pingān, Mod. Pers. fengān.

firdausi, firidausi (-) paradise.
JK < Pers./Ar firdawsi < Pers. pardéš; FJ, CR < Pers.; LK nsl; KA.
Ar. firdawsi < Pers. pardéš.
Normally called *peponi*.

firingi (-) matchlock.
JK < Pers. firing; AL.

firini, firni (-) custard pudding; *firini ya (unga wa) mchele* pudding of rice flour, R.
AL.
Cut. firni (pudding) < Pers. firni.

Wrongly called **faluda** by many. A manufacturer in Daressalaam also incorrectly lables custard pudding as **faluda**.

firozi see **feruzi**

firumani (-) firman, decree, order, official warrant.
JK < Pers. farman; AL.

firuzi see **feruzi**

fishangi (-) cartridge, R.
JK < Pers./Turk. fishang; AL.
Pers. fishang (cartridge).

foriti, foliti (-) a children's game.
AL, KA.
Cut./Guj. fōrīṭī (name of a children game).

foromali, formali, foromani, farumani (-) lateen sail, main sail.
JK < Pers. firmān, and Urdu pirmān or Sans. pramana; FJ, CR, BK < Ar.; LK nml; KA; Nabhany (1979) defines it as yard that carries the sail.
Pers. firmān (sail).

frasila, farasila (-) measure of weight of c:a 35 pounds.
FJ < Ar. or Eng.; CR, BK, CS < Ar.; KA.
Cut./Guj. frāslā (weight of ca. 35 pounds).

fudina, fudino (-) mint leaves (used in preparing meat pastries/delicacies), Z.
AL; JK **podina** < Pers. pōdinah, Mod. Pers. pūneh.
Cut./Guj. fūdīnā < Pers.
Commonly called *naana, nanaa* < Ar.

fuladi, puladi see **pua**

fuleki see **puleki**

fuludani (-) flower pot/vase, R.
AL.
Cut. ful/pʰul, Guj. fūl, Hindi pʰūl (flower) and Pers. dān (container) > Cut./Guj./Hindi fuldāni, pʰūldānī.

gabacholi (magabacholi) swindler, corrupt person, economic criminal, maffia; **ugabacholi** swindling, corruption, economic crime.
AL.

Cut. gʰābʰāčōḏʰī; originally a vulgar expression in Cut. meaning 'sexual intercourse with a calf' hence a forbidden act in law and tradition; by analogy any forbidden or illegal act such as bribing, cheating, smuggling, stealing, swindling and usurping; cf. **chori**.

gadero (magadero) an alcoholic, drunkard, R, Z.
AL.
Guj. gaḏʰeṛō (donkey, ass).

gadi, gudi (-) see **gati**

galawa see **ngarawa**

galolo see **golola**

gamti (-) 1. unbleached coarse cotton cloth; 2. unpolished rice, rice of low quality, R.
FJ nsl, CR, CS < Hindi; BK < Guj.; KA.
Cut., Guj. gāmtʰī (rural, belonging to the countryside, hence of coarse nature or low quality) < gām (village); cf. Hindi gāũ (village, town).

ganja, ganjo (-) Indian hemp, bhang, marijuana
AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi gānjā, Cut./Guj. gʰānjō (hemp); cf. **bangi**.

garduni (-) something revolving, a wheel, R.
AL.
Pers. gardūn; cf. **gurudumu**.

gari (-, magari) car, wagon, van, vehicle, cart, carriage; **kigari** (vigari) diminutive of *gari*, wheel barrow, trolly; *kigari cha mtoto* pram; **gariwala** (magariwala) charrioteer, coachman, R; **kijigari** (vijigari) minutive/derogative of **gari**, CR defines *kijigari* as scooter, 3-wheeler; AL.
JK < Pers./Hindi gʰāri; FJ, CR, KA, CS; CS gives also *gariwala, gariwan* < Sans. which seem to belong to the Swahili usage of Punjabi and Hindi speakers in Kenya and Uganda; LK nml and says it is "cart from India".
Cut./Guj./Hindi gʰādi and diminutive gʰaddi (cart, carriage, vehicle).

gati (-, magati) 1. embankment, pier; 2. docks, dockyard, wharf
FJ, CS < Hindi; CR gives **gudi, gadi** and also 3. pillar, support for holding a boat straight on the shore; LK nml and gives only the third meaning; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi gāt (embankment, pier); cf. **godi**.

gazi, gezi (-) rod for measuring depth of water, R; **-geza** (vb.) try on (a garment), take measurements for sewing a garment; **kigezo** (vigezo) pattern, measurements for making clothes, measuring rod or tape, normally calle *rula* < Eng. foot rule.
FJ, CR < Pers.; KA.
JK < Pers. gaz (cubit).

genderi (-, magenderi) peeled sugar-cane pieces.
AL, KA.
Cut. gandērī (peeled sugar cane).

-geza see **gazi**

ghulamu (-) boy, lad, youth.
FJ, CR, BK < Ar.
Ar. ɣulām < Pers. ɣōlām (servant, slave); cf. **golo**.
Ghulam is a common male name among the Shia Muslims (e.g. Ghulam-ali servant of Imam Ali and Ghulan-Hussein servant of Imam Hussein).

gilasi (-) drinking glass.
JK < Pers. gīlās. "Even if we assume that Sw. gilasi 'drinking glass' is from English, we may have to surmise that it came via Persian" (Knappert 1983:126).
Eng. glass.

Goa (Magoa), **Mgoa** (Wagoa) Christian Goan; Port. Indian subject; **Kigoa** Goanese dialect of Konkani spoken by the Christian Goans.
AL; CS nsl; CR < Hindi.
Konkani gōa (Goa); cf. **Kukni**.

godamu see **godoni**

godi, gadi, gudi (magodi, magadi, magudi) dockyard, R.
CS; BK < Pers. gad̲i; AL.
Sometimes confused with *mgodi* (gold/diamond/copper mine) borrowed from Eng. 'gold' via different Bantu languages of central and southern Africa.
Cut./Guj./Hindi gāt (embankment, pier); cf. **gati**.

godoni (-, magodoni) go-down, shed or store in a harbour; AL **godamu**, Z.
JK < Pers. gud̲ām.
The form *godoni* appears to be derived from the Anglo-Indian 'go-down' (warehouse) < Hindi gōd̲ām taken here from the usage of British settlers in Kenya.

godori (magodori) thin soft mattress; small mattress, R.
AL, Nassir (1939:74, written around 1820) has the form *majodori*.
Guj. gōḍ̱ʰrī feminine of gōḍ̱ʰrō (mattress); cf. Cut. gāḍ̱ʰlī.

godoro (magodoro) mattress.
FJ, CR < Hindi; BK < Hindi. & Guj.; LK nml; KA.
Guj. gōḍ̱ʰrō (mattress); cf. Cut. gāḍ̱ʰlō.

gole (magole) pellet/tablet of opium, chewing tobacco or medicine.
FJ, CR < Pers. and Hindi; CS < Hindi; CR < Pers. and erroneously defines it also as mucus, phlegm (probably because *gole* produces much saliva); KA.
Hindi/Marathi gōḷi, Cut./Guj. gōɽi (pellet, tablet).

goli (magoli) 1. female slave; 2. black/negroid woman, R.
AL.
Cut./Guj. gōlī (feminine of **golo**); cf. **ghulamu**.

golo (magolo) 1. slave, serf; 2. black/negroid man.
AL.
Cut. abbreviated form gōlō < Pers. ghōlām; cf. **ghulamu**, **goli**.

golola, gololo, galolo (-) cannon ball, large marbles, R.
AL.
Cut. amplicative galōlō (pl. galōlā) < Pers. gulūlah.

gololi (-, magololi) 1. marbles; 2. ball bearings; 3. glass ball to close bottles.
JK, FJ, CR < Pers. gulūlah; AL, KA.
Cut. feminine/diminutive galōlī (small glass or metal balls) < Pers. gulūlah.

goshi, joshi (-) tack of a sail, windward side; *kwenda joshi* to sail fast ahead, sail speedily with the wind; **joshi** (adv.) at a gallop, energetically, CR nml.
JK < Pers. gōš-e-bāḏ̱bān (ear of sail); FJ, CR < Ar.; LK nml; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi jʾōš (energy, force) < Pers. jūš (boiling, heat); cf. Cut. jʾōš-mē/jʾōš-sē, Guj. jʾōš-sāṯ̱ʾē and Hindi jʾōš-karkē (with force, energy, intensity).

goti (magoti) knee.
FJ, CR, SC, LK nml.
This word is found only in the Bantu languages adjacent to Swahili; it is probably from Guj. gōṇṭʾaṇ, gōṇṭʾ.

gubiti, gubeti (-) sweets made of melted sugar, peppermint rock/roll, lollipop.
JK, FJ, CR < Pers. kubītah; LK < nml; KA.
Pers. kubīde > Cut. gubīṭ.

gudi see **gati**

gulabi (magulabi) 1. litchee; the litchee fruit, *Nephelium lappasceum*; 2. pink colour; **mgulabi** (migulabi) litchee tree (also called *shokishoki* and *mshokishoki* respectively).
JK, FJ, CR < Pers. gul-āb; JK defines it also as rose apple; KA; cf. **darabi**.
Cut./Guj./Hindi gulābi (rose/pink cplour) < Pers. gul-āb (rose water).

gundi (-) gum, glue, rubber solution.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; BK nsl; KA.
Cut. gūnḍ; cf. Guj./Hindi gūndar (gum)

guni (-) carpeneter's rule, X.
BK < Pers.

gunia (magunia), **junia** (majunia) coarse bag or sack made of jute.
FJ, CR, CS, BK < Hindi; FJ, CR also give *guni* as sack of palm leaves for transporting dates (which seems to be from the Arabic usage in Hadramaut and Oman); LK nml also gives *guni* as "bag from India"; KA.
Cut. g̈ūṇī, Guj./Hindi g̈ūṇ (jute sack).

guru (-) as in *sukari guru* unrefined lump sugar, molasses.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; LK nml; KA.
Cut. g̈ur (unrefined sugar); Guj./Hindi gōṛ; cf. **sukari, shakari**.

gurudumu (magurudumu) wheel.
JK, FJ, CR, BK < Pers. gardūn; LK nml gives "gurutumu" which is not Swahili; KA; cf. **garduni.**

guwaro (maguwaro) Indian Muslim cattle keeper or milkman, the Guwar caste, Z.
AL.
Cut. guwār, Guj. gowāṛ (cattle keeper).

guzara (-, maguzara) barge, R.
JK < Pers. guzārā; AL.
Normally called *tishali* (which is of unknown origin).

gwaru (-, magwaru) the cluster beans; **mgwaru** (migwaru) cluster beans plant *Cyamopsis psoraloides*.

FJ nml, CR < Hindi; KA gives only *mgwaru*.
Cut./Guj. gwār.

Habedari! (interj.) Careful!, Take care!, Attention!, Be alert!
JK, FJ < Pers. habar-dār; KA.
Ar. ḥabr (knowledge) + Pers. dār (be with).
Sometimes heard as **abedari**.

hajjari see **hazari**

halesa (mahalesa), **halisa** (mahalisa) oar, R.
JK < Pers. halīsah; AL.
Commonly called *kafi* (*makafi*), *kafya* (*makafya*), *kasia* (*makasia*).

halimu (-) asparagus.
JK < Pers. halyūm.

haluari (-) plank (on ship), R.
JK < Pers. alwār, AL.

hamadi (-) possession, X.
BK < Pers.
Etymology unknown.

handaki (-) ditch.
FJ, CR, CS < Ar.; BK < Ar./Pers.; KA.
Ar. xandaq.

hando (-, mahando) a copper/brass vessel (with narrow opening at the top) for carrying/storing water.
FJ, CR, CS, < Hindi; BK < Guj.; KA.
Cut./Guj. hāndō; cf. Hindi hāndā.

hanjam (-) 1. untrustworthy person, one who unrightfully withholds things or information from others; 2. sexual desire/appetite; 3. false anger or annoyance.
AL; KA gives the form *hanjamu* with the two latter connotations.
Cut./Guj./Hindi hajam (digesting, and by analogy, swallowing, usurping, making false pretences to property etc.).

haragwe (maharagwe) (brown) broad beans, usually in the plural form; **mharagwe** (miharagwe) the bean plant.
JK "a type of beans < Pers. harqi, a kind of grain", FJ, CR < Pers. "a bean"; KA.
Pers. harqi (beans).

harita (maharita) soapberry; **mharita** (miharita) the soapberry tree.
FJ, CR < Ar.; KA gives only *mharita*.
Guj. hariṭ'ā, Cut. āriṭ'ā.

harubini, hurubini, kharubini (-) microscope, R.
AL.
Pers. hurde + bin (tiny + vision, close view), cf. **darubini**.

hawara (-, mahawara) mistress, paramour, lover, concubine; **uhawara** concubinage.
FJ, CR < Ar.; LK nml, and erroneously gives "catamite" which is correctly called *hanithi*.
Cut./Guj./Hindi āwārā (vagabond).

Haya! (interj.) Quick!, Quickly!, Be quick!, Come along!, Hurry up!
FJ, CR, CS < Ar.; BK < Pers./Ar.; LK nml; KA.
Ar. hayyā.

hazarangi see **huzurungi**

hazari (mahazari) a thousand, R.
JK < Pers./Urdu hazār; AL **hajjari**.
Pers./Hindi hazār, Cut./Guj. hajār and the emphatic form hajjār.

hindi (mahindi) grain of maize; **mahindi** (pl.) maize crop; **Mhindi** (Wahindi) Indian, Indo-Pakistani; **muhindi** (mihindi) maize plant; **Bara Hindi, Uhindi** the Indian sub-continent.
LK nml; FJ nsl and does not give any cross-references; CR < Ar.; AL, KA.
Ar. hindī < Sans. sindʻī (of/from the land of Sindhu or Indus River, i.e. India); cf. **makai**.

hori (-, mahori) a dug-out canoe; a wooden trough.
FJ, CR < Pers.; CS < Guj.; BK < Ar., gives the diminutive **kihori** (vihori) and defines it also as "creek"; KA.
Cut. hori, Guj. hoṛi/hoḷi, Hindi holi (canoe).
In the past in Zanzibar city before the bridges were built over the Creek to connect the Stone Town with the Ng'ambo (The Other Side) area on the main island of Unguja, *kihori* were the ferry points where canoes were available for crossing the Creek. Today, there are no bridges there, the Creek is reclaimed, but the Creek Road is still there dividing Zanzibar City into the Stone Town in the west and the Ng'ambo and Michenzani (Mandarin Trees) in the east. All sources consulted here give an additional connotation of 'manger or trough for feeding and watering animals' as used in the Bible. This meaning has been developed by the missionary Bible

translators. FJ gives Pers. and CR gives Port. source for this connotation. The connotation "creek" is derived from Ar. 'ẖur' probably from a southern Iraki dialect meaning a 'bay, inlet, creek, or a narrow passage in a swamp'.

hua, hula (-) Lesser red-eyed dove.
FJ, CR, CS, LK nml; KA.
Cut./Guj. hōlō (**pl.** hōlā), the /u/ in Sw. is probably through the influence of Ar.

huka (-), **hoko** (-) hookah, hukkah, smoking water pipe.
AL, KA.
Hindi/Punjabi/Marathi hukkā and Cut./Guj. hukkō.

hulia (-) fenugreek.
JK < Pers. hulyah.
In Zanzibari usage it is called **meti**.

hundi (-) draft, cheque, money order, bill of exchange.
FJ, CR, CS, BK < Hindi; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi hūndī (a promissory note).

hurubini (-) see **harubini**

huzurungi (-) of countless colours.
BK < Pers.; AL **hazarangi** (-).
Pers. hazār-rangi (of a thousand colours); not to be confused with *hudhurungi* (of yellow colour) < Ar.; cf. **rangi**.

ijasi (-) plum, prune, R.
JK < Pers. ijās, AL.

iliki, hiliki (-) cardamom; **mwiliki** (miiliki), **mhiliki** (mihiliki) the cardamom plant/tree.
FJ, CR, CS <Hindi; BK < Pers.; KA.
Hindi elāičī, Guj. elčī, Cut. ērāčī.

ispitali, spitali (-) hospital, Z.
AL.
Guj./Hindi ispiṯāl < Eng.

iwani see **ewani**

jaba (-) coat of mail, armour, R.
JK < Pers. jabah.
Commonly called **juba**.

jadhiba (-) 1. magnetism; 2. charisma.
JK < Pers. < Ar. jaẕībah. KA gives *jazba*, *jaziba*, *jadhba*, *jadhiba* and defines it as 'influence so strong on the mind that one forgets onself'.
Also called *usumaku*; cf. **chambuki**.

jagarnati see **chagarnati**

jagina (-) see **chagina**

jaha (-) 1. rank, dignity, honour, glory; 2. fortune, property.
JK, FJ < Pers. jāh, jāhah; LK < Ar.; KA.
Pers. jāh, jāhah.

jahani (-) the universe, world, R.
JK < Pers. jahān; AL.
Occasionally found in the female name Nur-jahan (Light of the Universe), of Perso-Arabic origin, after a Mogul empress of Delhi/Agra.

jahazi (majahazi) sailing vessel.
LK nml; FJ < Ar.; BK < Pers.; KA.
Pers. jahāz.

jahi (-) North Pole.
JK < Pers. jāh; LK nml.
Pers. jāh.

jamadari (majamadari) 1. cup-bearer; 2. major-domo, R.
JK < Pers. jāmḏār; AL; cf. **jemadari**.
Pers. jāmḏār (cup bearer)

jamanda (majamanda) round basket with cover; **kijamanda** (vijamanda) diminutive of *jamanda*.
JK, FJ < Pers. jāmaḏān; CR < Ar.; LK nml and gives only the rare diminutive *chamanda*; KA.
Pers. jāmeḏān (basket).

jambia, jembia (majambia) curved dagger (of the South Arabian type).
JK, FJ < Pers. jambīyah; BK < Ar.; LK nml; KA.
Pers. jambīyah.

jamdani, jama dani (-) flowered cloth, white brocade, R.
JK, FJ, BK < Pers. jāmḏānī.

jamisa (-) type of beans, X.

JK < Pers. jāmisah

jamvi (majamvi) mat of coarse material.
JK < Pers. zambīl; FJ < Pers./Ar.; LK nml; KA.
Pers. zanbīl; cf. **zambili**.

jando (majando) male initiation/circumcision rites; **jandoni** (majandoni) (loc.) camp/place for male initiation.
FJ, CR, CS nml; KA.
Cut. ɟaṇḍʰō (lit. He will give birth). The rites and ceremony introduced by the Cutchi *Badala* sailors along Kenya coast. This term was not found in other Bantu languages of East Africa until recently. See Eile (1990) for details on *jando*.

-jangia, -jangina (vb.) to whip, whisk, mix; **kijangio** (vijangio) a whip, whisk, R.
AL.
Cut. jʰangʰīnu (to whip, whisk).
Normally called *kukoroga* (to stir, whisk, mix).

jangili (majangili) poacher; **ujangili** poaching.
AL; Bakhressa (1992) and KA give only the form **jangili** (majangili); CS gives *jangaro "wild variety of rice" nml.
Cut./Guj./Hindi jʰangʰlī (wild, belonging to the jungle or wilderness) < jʰangʰal (forest with wild animals).
jangiri (majangiri) and **ujangiri** in the dialects of Zanzibar.

Jao! (interj.) Go!, Get lost!, R.
AL, Adam (1979:52).
Guj./Hindi jʰāō (Go!).

jaribosi (-) (coloured) tin-foil, silver/gold paper.
FJ, CR < Ar.; KA.
Cut. jʰarpōs < Pers. zar + baft (woven gold).

jasoti (-) R aluminium.
AL.
Cut./Guj. jʰasōt (aluminium).
During the first half of the twentieth century, the term *senti* was also used to mean aluminium. This meaning was derived from the first cents minted by the British for the Uganda Protectorate, which were made of aluminium. This was before cooking pots and other utensils made of aluminium became common in the interior of Eastern Africa. Aluminiun utensils were preceded

by copper/brass vessels from India, and later enamel ware imported from India, China, Britain and Germany.

jebu (-) woman's breast ornament, or worn under the chin, X.
JK < Pers./Ar jayb; FJ, CR < Hindi; LK nml "hangs on the chin"; KA.
Etymology unknown.

jelebi, zelabia (-) a spiral yellow-coloured sweet made of chick peas or wheat flour.
CR gives *chelebi* < Ar.; CS gives *jelebia, zalbia* < Ar.; KA.
Cut. jʰelēbī, Guj./Hindi jʰalēbī.

jemadari (majemadari), **jamadari** (majamadari) general, commanding officer; *Jemadari Mkuu* Commander-in-chief (of armed forces), military title of the President of Zanzibar; cf. *Amiri Jeshi* < Ar. amīr al jayš (commander of the army), military title of the President of Tanzania.
JK, BK < Pers. jam'dār; FJ < Pers./Hindi; LK nml; KA.
Ar. jamā'a (people) + Pers. dār (having/commanding).

jeta (-) lazy/feckless person.
FJ, CR < Hindi; FJ jāt "a tribe"; CS nml; KA.
Cut. jatt (lazy, feckless).

jeu (-) barley; R.
JK < Pers. jāu, white millet, which in fact is called *mtama* (*mweupe*) or **juwari**; AL.
Cut./Guj. jʰaw (barley).

jinjiroo (majinjiroo) anklet with small bells.
AL.
Cut. jʰinjʰriũ (small bells), Guj. jʰānjʰar, jʰānjʰariũ.
Normally called *njuga*.

jira (-) cumin seed (*Cuminum Cyminum*); also called *bizari nzima* (lit. whole spice); *binzari in non-native Swahili.
FJ, CR nml; KA also gives *bizari ndogo* (lit. small spice).
Cut./Guj./Hindi jʰīrā.
Several writers confuse this with caraway seed (*Carum Carvi*) which is *kisibiti* in Swahili < Ar. sibit.

jodori (majodori) see **godori**

johari (-) jewel, precious stone.

JK < Pers. gauhar "may have come to Swahili via Arabic." FJ, CR, LK < Ar.; CS < Ar./Hindi < Pers.; KA.
Ar. < Skr. jawāhar (see Gren-Eklund 1998:42).

joho (majoho) long, loose coat/robe.
BK< Pers./Ar./Turk.; FJ, CR < Ar.; CS <Ar. < Turk.; LK gives **jokho** and *juoho nml; cf. **juba**.
Ar. jux.

jora (-) a length of calico of c:a 30 yards.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; KA.
Cut. jʻōrā (roll of cloth of double length).

jore, jori, jozi (-) pair of shoes etc., pair in game of cards; name of a card game.
FJ, CR give only *jozi* < Ar. and confuse it with Ar. loan *jozi* meaning nut, kernel; CS nml; BK gives *jozi* < Ar.; KA gives also *cheuzi*.
Cut./Guj./Hindi jʻōṛī (a pair); the sound change /r/ > /z/ is common in East African Bantu languages.

joshi see **goshi**

juba (majuba) a long coat with collar, wide sleeves and open in front; cf. **jaba, joho**.
FJ, BK < Ar.; KA.
Pers. jabah.

jukumu (-) 1. danger, risk; 2. responsiblity.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; BK < Ar.; LK suggests an Amharic source; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi jʻōkham (danger, risk).

jungu (majungu) 1. jar; 2. large earthen cooking pot.
JK < Pers. jung; FJ, CR, LK nml., define it as "large pot" (amplicative form of *chungu* earthen pot).
Pers. jung.
The variant *chungu* (*ki+ungu*) appears to have been derived as a diminutive of the loan *jungu* (*ji+ungu*) in which *ji-* is later regarded as the amplicative prefix/marker of the noun class 5.

junia see **gunia**

juwari (-) white sorghum, normally *mtama mweupe*, R.
AL; Sheriff (1997:8); cf. **karachi**.
Cut./Guj./Hindi jʻuwār (sorghum).

kababu (-) meat ball, kebab/kebob.
AL, KA.
Cut./Guj. kabāb (meat ball) < Pers. kebāb (roasted meat).

kabati (-) cupboard, wardrobe.
FJ, CR, CS < Eng.; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi kabāt < Eng.; cf. *kabadi* in other languages of East Africa.
This loan, together with many other direct English loans, is not included in LK which may suggest that they either did not exist in Swahili during the 1860s or that they were not in common use; cf. **pataro**.

kabuli (-) north Indian yellow **pilau** (of Afghan/Kabul origin, a popular delicacy during Mogul times), R.
FJ, CR, CS < Ar.; KA gives the alternative form *kubuli* and as a homophone of the Ar. loan *kabuli* (acknowledgement).
Cut./Guj. < Hindi/Urdu kābūlī < Pashtu kābūlī (of Afghan/Kabul origin).

kachara (-), **kachala** (-) 1. rubbish; 2. (adj.) worthless, good-for-nothing.
CR < Ar.; AL, KA.
Cut. kačrā; Guj./Hindi kačŗā (rubbish, garbage).

kachiri see **kichiri**

kachumbari (-) sallad mixture of fresh onions, tomatoes, chillies, coriander leaves and cucumber.
FJ, CR < Hindi and erroneously define it as pickles; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi kačumbar (chopped vegetables), Belsare 196.

kafuri (-) camphor.
JK < Pers. kāfūr; FJ, LK < Ar.; BK < Sans.; KA.
This word has most probably arrived in East Africa through Arabic and with Islam. Also called **karafuu** *maiti*; see Koran 76:5.

kagazi (-) paper, R.
JK < Pers. kāgaz; AL.
Pers. kāgaz , and Hindi/Urdu kāgaz < Pers.

kaharabu (-) amber.
FJ, CR < Pers.; KA.
Pers. kahrubā (amber).

kaharubai (-) electricity, X.
JK < Pers. kahrubāī. He gives this as the literary form of **karabai** or **koroboi**, and defines it as "electric lamp".
Pers. kahrobāī, kahrubāī (electricity).

kaka (-, makaka) elder brother.
JK, FJ, CR, BK < Pers. kākā;, LK nml; KA; cf. **aghaa, baba.**

kaki, khaki (-) khaki drill (cloth); khaki shorts/trousers/uniform.
FJ, CR < Pers.; CS < Hindi via Ar. < Pers.; KA. CR erroneously defines it also as "kind of pastry made of rice-flour and sugar" which is correctly called *mikate ya kumimina*, and its dough is fermented with coconut cream.
Cut./Guj./Hindi kʰākʰī, kʰākī (cloth of ash colour) < Pers. kʰāq (ash).

kalafati, kalifati, kalufati, kalfati (-) caulking (of boats, ships).
JK < Pers. kalfat̲; FJ, CR, BK < Ar.; LK nml; KA.
Pers. kalfat̲.

kalai (-) tin (metal), R; **tia kalai** to tin brass/copper surfaces.
AL.
Cut./Guj. kalai (tinning of brass/copper); cf. **tindikali.**

kalasi (-, makalasi), **khalasi** (makhalasi) (Indian) sailor.
JK < Pers. khalāsī; LK "lascar ?"; AL; KA gives **kalasi** and wrongly defines it as 'a kind of sailing vessel'.
Pers. kʰalāsī (sailor) > Cut./Guj. kʰalāsī (sailor).
This word, like many others spelt with a simple <k>are often and correctly pronounced with an aspirated /kʰ/.

kalasia, karasia (-) small brass vessel with narrow neck and no handle (ca. half a litre in volume).
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; BK nsl;., LK nml; KA.
Cut. kaṛsiā, Guj. kaṛsiā/kaṛšiā (goblet, jug) < Sans. kalaš (water pot).

Kalasinga (Makalasinga) see **Singa, Singasinga**

kalibu (-) model, mould; **-kalibu** (vb) to model, to mould.
FJ, LK < Pers.; CR < Ar.; see.
Pers. kalbūd̲ (model, mould); cf. **kelubudi, -kelubidi.**

kalua (makalua) 1. Indian sailor/fisherman; 2. boat-boy.
FJ, CR suggest Hindi source. KA gives the form **karua**, and the first meaning, but wrongly equates it with the Indian Kumbar caste of potters.
Cut./Guj./Hindi kʰārwā (salt workers/miners, hence also fishermen, sailors and traders in dried fish, the production of which demands much salt) < Sans. kʰār (salt); section 4.5.5.

kamani (-) mainspring of a clock/watch/gramophone, spring.

JK, FJ, CR < Pers. kamānī; KA.

kamari (-) 1. belt, sash, cummerbund, R; 2. water-line, wale of a ship, R.
JK < Pers. kamar; AL.
Not to be confused with *kamari* < Ar. (gambling).

kamba (-) rope.
JK < Pers. kanabā (thread); FJ, CR < Ar.; LK nml; KA.
Pers. kanabā (thread).
Not to be confused with *kamba* < Ar. kanbā (shrimp, prawn, lobster).

kamuha (-) brocade, X.
JK < Pers. kamḫāh.

kana (-) small rudder or handle; ear on the steering wheel; cup handle/ear.
FJ < Hindi; CR < Port.; CS < Ar.; KA.
Cut. kan, Guj./Hindi kān (ear).

kanchiri (-) a sleeved breast-band; brassiere.
FJ, CR < Ar.; KA.
Guj. kāncri (brassiere).

kandagari (-) carving, engraving, sculpture.
JK < Pers. kandagārī.
Pers. kandakārī.

kande (-) (staple) food, AL.
FJ, CR 1) stores, supplies, provision for a journey, usully whole maize and millet grains; 2) a partcular dish of food cooked for New Year's day (Nairuzi) in which seven kinds of grain are included. (cf. **kichiro**); KA '1) food; 2) a dish of whole maize, beans and millets' and as a synonym of **pure**. Bakhressa (1992) also defines it as 1. food, and 2. synonym of **pure**; Polomé (1967:23); Farsy (1960:14) defines it as dishes of rice (*mchele*), beans (*kunde*), pigeon peas (*mbaazi*), bullrush millet (*mawele*), sorghum (*mtama*), simsim (*ufuta*)and groundnuts (*njugu*).
Probably Cut. kʰāḍʰā, kʰāḍʰējʰō, kʰēṇjʰō (food, provisions), Guj. kʰāẉānū.
All along the coast of East Africa, most of the suppliers of provisions to caravans and ships, and most owners of shops selling such supplies, were Cutchi speaking Muslims and Hindus. In the caravans and on board ships, the most common food was maize, beans and millets eaten with rice or bananas, cassava, sweet potatoes and yams. In Cutchi kʰāḍʰē-jʰō means also a feast, and kʰāḍʰē-mē (locative) means the place where a feast is arranged.

kandi (-) sugar, sugar-candy.
JK < Pers. kand, qand (candy, sweets).

kangeri (-) lace, embroidered ribbon, R.
AL.
Cut. kāngerī (lace).
Now replaced by the Eng. loan *lesi*.

kanji (-) 1. starch; 2. arrow root; 3. gruel, thin porridge drunk with sugar, or salt and black pepper.
FJ, CR, LK nml; BK < Hindi; KA.
Guj. kānjʰī (gruel, thin porridge).
Commonly called *wanga*, *waranga*.

kanju (-, makanju) cashew nuts, R; **mkanju** (mikanju) the cashew nut tree.
FJ, CR, CS <Hindi; LK nml; KA.
Cut. kājū, Guj. kājʰū < Port. acajou < SAm. The nasalization in Swahili is probably due to the explosive jʰ in Gujarati; Cutchi has implosive j.

kapani (-, makapani) scales, balance.
JK, FJ < Pers. kapān.
Pers. kopān (scales, balance).

kar, **kari** (-) ten million (abbreviation of **karori**); **kareini** (-) 20 million (two *kar/karori*, arabised form of *kar*, from the analogy of *alfein/elfeni* two thousand < Ar. *alfu* thousand); CS < Hindi < Sans.; LK erroneously gives "a million (Indian expression)".
For etymology, see **karori**.

karabai (-) pressure lamp, gas lamp.
FJ, CR < Ar.; KA.
This is probably from Eng. 'carbide lamp/torch'; cf. **kaharubai**, **koroboi**.

karachi (-) white sorghum from Sindh/Karachi and Cutch.
CS nsl but adds that it is from Cutch.
Sindhi karāči (geographical name).
Normally called *mtama mweupe* (white millet), cf. **juwari**.

karafuu (-) cloves; **mkarafuu** (mikarafuu) the clove tree.
FJ, CR < Ar.; CS < Ar. < Greek; BK < Greek; LK nml gives garofuu (which is not Swahili), and *karafuu maiti* (camphor); KA.
Sans. karanfūl (the karan flower/bud); cf. **kafuri**.

karagosi (-, makaragosi) 1. puppet; 2. Punch and Judy show, AL.
CR < Turk., AL, KA.
Turk. kara gűz (black eyes, name of the villain in a puppet show).

karai (-, makarai) deep-frying pan (with two handles), wok.
KA defines it also as a container for mortar/plaster, and water tub; the technical term for a mason's container for mortar is **tagari**. CR nml and defines it as "wash basin, fying pan".
Cut./Guj. kaṛāi (deep frying pan); cf. Cut. taṛāi, ṭaī (flat frying pan); cf. **tawa**.

karakana (makarakana), **karakhana** (makarakhana), **karkhana** (makarkhana), **karahana** (makarahana) factory, workshop.
JK, FJ < Pers. kār-ẖāna; BK *karhane* < Ar.; KA.
Pers. kār-ẖāna.

karakoni, korokoni (-, loc.) guardhouse, sentry-post; prison.
JK < Pers./Turk. karakol; FJ < Turk. kurkun; BK *karakol* < Ar./Turk.
Turk. karakol < Mongolian karagol, guard (pc Roberta Micalef and L. Clerk, Uppsala, Nov. 1999).
Probably from the Swahili locative form *karakolini* > *karakoni* > *korokoni* through regressive assimilation or vowel harmony.

karani (makarani) clerk, secretary.
JK < Pers. kārrān; FJ < Ar. or Pers.; BK, CR, LK < Ar.; KA.
Pers. kārrān.

karasia see **kalasia**

kareini see **kar, karori**

karela (-, makarela) the bitter vegetable *Momordica charantia*, **mkarela** (mikarela) the plant of the *karela*.
FJ, CR; CS < Hindi, Guj.; KA.
Cut. kārelā, Guj. kārelā, kārelũ

kariji (-) cabin, compartment (on board a ship), X.
JK < Pers. karīj.

karkasari (-) economizing.
AL; Sheriff (1987:105) defines it as "strict economy".
Cut./Guj. kar-kasar (economizing)

karko (makarko) pauper, bankrupt.
AL, Adam (1979:175), on p. 201 he defines it as "not having money".
Cut. kaṛko, Guj. kaḍko (pauper).
Commonly called *muflisi* < Ar. muflis.

karo (-) tax, R.

AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi kar (tax).
This word is confused with the original Swahili word *karo* (sitting < *kukaa* < *kukara/kukala to sit) which according to an old tradition is a fee or present a pupil is expected to give to his teacher (for sitting in front of him, i.e. attending classes); FJ, CR & KA define it thus. FJ & CR trace it to Ar. karāa (wages, salary).

karo (-) (with aspirated /kʰ/) anger, R
LK nml gives *karo* as "sudden anger, *wanifanyia karo mimi*, thou art angry with me." AL, KA. In modern standard Swahili it would be *Wanitolea ukali./Unanikaripia.* CR nml, defines it as "sudden fit of anger" and confuses it with *kano* (refusal) which is from the verb *-kana* (to refuse). In several Bantu languages of the Sabaki group, *-kari/-kali* (angry, fierce, sharp, intense etc.) appears as an adjective, and *-karipia* (to be angry with) as a verb in the applicative; but not *karo* as a noun, nor does the simple verb form *kara exist in Swahili with any of these senses; but the inceptive derived verb *-kalimpa* occurs in some languages such as in Nyiha. Traces of the Proto-Bantu root *kádì can be seen in many languages all over the Bantu speaking areas. Coincidentally, in Cut./Guj. kʰār is a noun and kʰārō is an adjective in the masculine singular.
Probably Cut./Sindhi/Guj. kʰār (anger); cf. **Sindikali**.
This word is homophonous with *karo* (gutter, sewage, with aspirated /kʰ/).

karori, kororì, kururi (-, makarori) a hundred **lakhi**, ten million.
AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi kaṛōṛ (ten million); cf. **kar, kari**.
The form *korori* is through vowel harmony or regressive assimilation, whereas *kururi* is the arabised form.

kasa (-) cup, goblet, cylinder X.
JK < Pers. kāsah.

kasa (-) (with aspirated /kʰ/) turtle.
FJ, CR < Pers.; LK nml; KA.
Pers. kāsah

kasabu (-) cloth of gold, brocade.
FJ, CR < Ar.; LK nml; CS < Ar./Hindi; KA.
Ar. qaṣab (cane, reed, the thin golden skin of a cane used for embroidering); cf. **kaṧhabi**.

kasai (-) butcher, R.
AL.

Cut./Guj./Hindi kasāi (butcher, slaughterer).

-kashabi (vb.) crush, squeeze out, press, R.
FJ, CR < Pers.
Pers. qašab < Ar. quṣab sukr (to press sugar cane); cf. **kasabu**.

kashida (-) embroidered shawl (us ually worn by Muslim clergy).
JK, FJ < Pers. kašīḏah (embroidery); KA.
Pers. kašīḏah.
Also called **shali**, and *kitambi* in the northern dialects.

kasumba (-) 1. opium; 2. hangover (after the night before), AL.
FJ nsl, CR < Hindi, BK< Guj.; KA.
Cut. kasumbʰā, Hindi kasumbā, Guj. kasumbō (opium); cf. **afyuni**.
The Swahili pronunciation is close to the Cutchi with an aspirated /bʰ/.

katani (-) linen, flax (in northern dialects), sisal (Standard Swahili).
JK < Pers. kattān; FJ, CR, BK, LK < Ar.; CR and KA give also **kitani** (-).
Pers. kaṯṯān (linen).

katara (-) (with aspirated /kʰ/) 1. old motor vehicle; 2. lorry, truck, bus.
FJ, CR < nml; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi kʰatārā (old, worn out vehicle or wagon).

katu (-) katechu, an essential ingredient of chewing betel.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; BK < Guj.; LK nml; KA.
Cut./Guj. kāṯʰō; cf. **tambuu**

kauri, kaure, kori (-) 1. cowrie shells, 2. porcelain.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; CR gives also *kaule*, KA defines it also as clay for making porcelain; cf. **sini**.
Cut./Guj./Hindi kaori, kōṛī, kōdī (shell, cowrie shell; in the past, used also as the smallest unit of money in Sindh, Cutch, Gujarat and Eastern Africa).

kazi (-) work.
BK < Pers.; FJ, CR, CS nml; KA.
Pers. kār (work, doing, activity) > Sw. *kari > *kazi*. Cf. BK 117 for a discussion on this term.

keimakamu (makeimakamu) 1. deputy, lieutenant.
JK < Pers./Turk. kaimakam.
Ar. qaīm + makamu > kaim il makam (deputy).

kelubudi (-) model, mould; **-kelubidi** (vb) to model, to mould, AL.

JK < Pers. kalbūd; cf. **kalibu**.

kengele (-) bell.
FJ, CR, CK, LK nml; BK < Pers. kingirī (?).
This word is found only in Bantu languages adjacent to Swahili. It is probably from Cut. gingrī > Sw. *gingiri/gingili/gengele > kengele; also called *njuga*.

kharubini (-) see **harubini**

Khoja (Makhoja), **Koja** (Makoja) Indian Shia Muslim (Ismaili and Imami Ithnaasheri).
BK < Pers./Hindi; AL.
Cut./Guj. kʰōjʰā < Pers. kʰwājʰā.
Not to be confused with *koja* (-) necklace, string of pearls.

khombi (-) a thin shawl of fine material, dyed red with black, white and yellow spots, used at weddings by the Cutchi and Sindhi, R.
Cut. kʰōmbʰi.
This is probably the origin of the Swahili *khanga*, the East African cloth which was originally spotted like the *kanga*, the East African speckled guinea-fowl. Khangas were originally imported from India.

kibaba (vibaba) a dry measure of ca. half a litre.
JF, CR < Ar.; BK < Pers.; LK nml *kebaba*; KA.
Cut./Guj. kibābā (a dry measure of ca. half a litre).

kibadala see **Badala**

kibaraza see **baraza**

kibatari (vibatari) small oil lamp.
FJ, CR < Pers. batil; KA.
Pers. batil (oil lamp).
The initial syllable *ki-* in the Sw. word is the singular noun prefix of Class 7.

kiberamu see **beramu**

kiberesati see **barasati**

kiberiti, kibiriti, kibriti (viberiti, vibiriti, vibriti) 1. sulphur; 2. matchbox, matchstick.
JK < Pers./Ar./Turk. gawgird, kibrit; FJ, CR, BK < Ar.; KA.
Ar. kibrit.

kibeto (adj.) (as in *nyumba ya kibeto*) a small house of only one/ground floor.
AL (several times on Radio Tanzania Daressalaam July 1974).
Cut./Guj. bēṭʰō gʰar (lit. sitting/seated house, i.e. of one floor).

kibindo see **bindo**

kibofu see **bofu**

kichiri, kichri (-) hotchpotch of broken rice and split millets or mung beans.
AL; CS nml and KA give **kachiri**.
Cut./Guj./Hindi kʰičṛī.

kichiro (-) R hotchpotch of seven choice grains served as a delicacy by Indian Muslims.
AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi kʰičṛō.

kichuchu see **chuchu**

kidebuli see **Udebuli**

kidubwana see **dubwana**

kidubwasha see **dubwasha**

kidude see **dude**

kigari see **gari**

kigezo see **-geza**

Kigoa see **Goa**

Kihindi, -a kihindi see **hindi**

kihori see **hori**

kijamanda see **jamanda**

kijangio see **-jangia**

kijigari see gari

kikamshi see **mkamshi**

Kikukni see **Kukni**

Kikumbaro see **Kumbaro**

kileti (vileti) 1. a small stick used for twisting in rope-making; 2. *vileti* (pl.) crutches.
FJ, CR, CS, LK nml, KA.
Cut./Hindi lattʰī, (stick; the Swahili word is in the diminutive form, i.e. a piece of a stick).

kima (-) minced meat; *mchuzi wa kima* Bolognese sauce.
FJ < Pers. & Hindi; CR < Pers.; KA.
Pers. kʰīmeh minced meat.
This term is almost non-existent in the Swahili usage of second or third language speakers; not to be confused with *kima* (-) monkey and *kima* (vima) < Ar. 1. price, value; 2. measure, stature, height.

kinanga, kinangiri see **nanga**

kinara (vinara) 1. embroidered edge/collar of a dress, seam, hem; embroidered band, ribbon; 2. shoreline, AL.
JK < Pers. kināṛ (edge); FJ, CR < Hindi; LK < Ar.; CS nml; Nabhany (1979) outer board of a ship; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi kinārā < Pers. kināṛ (edge, shoreline).

kipamba see **pamba**

kipatu see **patu**

kipilipili (adj.) peppery; *nywele za kipilipili* pepper corn or wooly/negroid hair.
FJ, CR < Pers.
Formed from **pilipili**.

kipuli (vipuli) crescent or flower shaped ear ornament.
FJ < Hindi; CR, CS, LK nml; KA defines it only as an ear ring (*heleni* which is an Eng. loan). In the oral usage and mass media the plural form *vipuli* means (small) spare parts, washers etc.
Cut./Hindi pʰulī (ear ring).

kirumizi (-) crimson colour.
JK < Pers. kẖirmīz; AL.

kishenzi (adv.) in a barbarous, savage, uncultured manner; **-a kishenzi** (adj.) barbarous, savage, uncultured.
LK nml; AL.
For etymology, see **mshenzi**, **zanji**.

Kishinashiri see **Shinashiri**

kishumishi (makishumishi), **kishimishi** (makishimishi) **kishmishi** (-) currant, raisin, Z.
JK < Pers. kišmiš; AL.
Normally called zabibu < Ar.

kitana see **-chana**

kitani see **katani**

kitara (vitara) 1. a short curved Indian sword, scimitar; 2. surgeon's knife.
JK < Pers.; FJ, CR < Hindi; LK nml; CS < Balochi; KA.
Pers. qid̲ārah > Cut./Guj./Hindi kit̲ār.

kitimiri see **kotmiri**

kizamani see **zamani**

kodi (-) rent, tax; **-kodisha** (vb.) let on hire, lease.
JK, BK < Pers. kōd̲; FJ < Pers./Hindi; KA.
Hindi kurhi (house-tax).

koho, kuhu (-) vulturine fish-eagle.
FJ < Hindi; CR < Ar.; KA.
Swahili *koho*; the variant *kuhu* is probably through the influence of Arabic in which Swahili /o/ is realised as /u/ both in the oral and written forms.
Etymology unknown.

Koja see **Khoja**

kombora (makombora) bomb.
FJ, CR, CS < Ar.; BK < Pers. h̲umbra.
Ar. qumbar.

kori see **kauri**

korija (makorija) a score/lot/bundle of 20 pieces of cloth etc.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; BK < Aden Ar.; KA.

Cut. kōrijā (bundles of 20).

koroboi (-) young boy/girl freed from slavery and staying at a Christian mission station, R.
FJ gives the reported Eng. source "call a boy" with two other non-Swahili connotations also: kind of rifle (having Eng. source), and a small lamp without chimney. This last meaning is commonly found among many non-Swahili East Africans and is often synonymously used with **karabai** the pressure lamp. CS gives *koroboy* < Eng. 'crew boy' and gives the more common Sw. alternative *mateka* (captive, prisoner of war, slave). During the anti-slavery and abolition campaigns, captives and slaves freed by the British were called *mateka* both by freemen and the freed persons themselves since they were considered to be captives of the British. Mbotela (1934 *passim*) uses this term throughout his famous autobiography when referring to his parents and others who were freed by the British. CR erroneously gives for *koroboi* < Eng. 1. muzzle loader, 2. small lamp.
Cut. kārō bʰōi, Guj. kāriō bʰōy (black servant/serf).

korori see **karori**

kosa (makosa) 1. mistake, a miss, error, fault, wrongdoing, sin.
BK < Pers. (?); FJ, CR, CS, LK nml; KA.
This is an inherited word, and not a loan.

koshi (-) leather shoe, slipper.
JK, FJ, CR < Pers. kawš; LK nml; KA.
Pers. kafš (slipper).

kotia, kotiya (-) a large fast sailing ship with two sails, R.
CS nml and adds it is from Cutch; BK < Guj.; KA.
Cut./Guj. kotya.

kotmiri, kitimiri, kutumiri (-) coriander leaves (*Coriandrum Sativum*).
AL; KA defines it just as a vegetable, and adds 'cooked with meat/fish to remove bad smell'.
Cut./Guj.kōtʰmīr.

Kukni (Makukni) Konkani/Marathi-speaking Indian Muslim (cf. **Goa**); **Kikukni** the Konkani language spoken by Muslims and Catholic Goans.
AL.
Cut./Guj. kukni < Marathi kōnkani (the Konkani language of southern Maharashtra and Goa, probably a dialect of Marathi).

kuli (makuli) port-worker, labourer, coolie; AL **ukuli** porterage.
FJ < Hindi & Eng.; CR < Hindi; CS Anglo-Hindi < Turk.

Hindi kūlī < Pers. < Turk.

Kumbaro (Makumbaro) 1. generally Sunni Indians of Zanzibar; 2. Sunni Indians of the Kumbar (potters) caste in East Africa; **Kikumbaro** the Cut. language in Tanzania (cf. **Kibadala**)
AL, Pascoe (1960:30).
Cut./Guj./Hindi kumbʰār (potter).

kunazi (makunazi) the Chinese date, the cherry-like small stone fruit of the jujube tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*); **mkunazi** (*mikunazi*) the jujube tree; **kikunazi** (vikunazi) clitoris (euphemistic).
FJ < Pers. kunaj; cf. **bori**.
Pers. kunaj.

kururi see **karori**

kutu (-) rust, oxidation.
FJ, CR nml; KA.
This word is found only in the Bantu languages adjacent to Swahili; it is probably from Cut. ket, kut; cf. Guj. kāt.

kutumiri see **kotmiri**

kuzi, kuza (-) pitcher.
JK < Pers. kūzah (jar with long neck); FJ < Ar.; CR nml; KA.
Pers. kūzeh < kūzah.

ladu (-) ball of sweet-meat, confection formed like a ball.
FJ, CR, CS, BK < Hindi; KA.
Guj. lādū, Cut./Hindi laddū.

laka (-) gum, lac.
BK < Pers.
Port. lacca (lac, varnish, polish)

lakhi, laki (-, malakhi) a hundred thousand; **lukuki** (-) countless, myriad.
FJ, CR, BK < Hindi; CS Pers. < Ar. < Hindi; KA.
Cut. lakʰkʰ, Guj./Hindi lākh. The long or geminated /kʰ/ in the pronunciation of many older Swahili speakers suggests that it is specifically borrowed from Cutchi. The form lukuki is from lukūk, the pluralised loan in Arabic.

landa see **randa**

lasi (-) 1. coarse silk, lint; 2. silkworm.
JK, FJ < Pers. lās (tusser), Moin 1111.

lazuari (-) lapis lazuli, azure, bright blue.
JK < Pers. **lāzward**.

lelam, lilam (-) auction, place of auction, R.
FJ, CR < Hindi; CS < Ar. but he does not define it in his Appendix; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi **līlām**.

lijamu, lijami, lujamu (-) bridle, rein.
JK, FJ < Pers. ligām; LK < Pers. horse's bit; KA.
Pers. ligām.

limau (malimau) lemon.
JK < Pers. lēmūn, and does not distinguish it from Swahili **ndimu** (lime); FJ < Hindi līmū; BK < Pers./Ar.; KA.
Port. limao < SAm.; cf. **ndimu**.

lipu (-) plaster (in building); **-piga lipu** to plaster.
FJ, CR < Hindi; KA.
Hindi lip, cf. Cut./Guj. lep.

lozia, lozina (-) sweet cake, almond cake.
JK < Pers. lawzinah, lawziyah.
Ar. lawz (almond), lawziyah (something made of almonds).

lukuki see **laki**

ma, mama, mma (-) mother.
JK < Pers. māmā; FJ, CR, LK nml; KA; cf. **baba**.

machachari see **chachari**

Madiba, Udiba the Maldive islands; **Mdiba** (Wadiba) Maldivian, of the Maldives.
AL; Allen (1993:169-172, 175-178).
Ar. mālḏibā (> Sw. madībā) < Maldivian mālḏʰvīpa (fish islands).

madobini see **dobi**

mahafali see **mahefili**

mahameli see **bahameli**

maharaji, maraji (-) 1. Hindu priest, Brahmin; 2. Hindu owner of restaurant where only Indian vegeterian food is served, Z.

AL.
Guj. māhrāj, Cut. mārāj (Brahmin, Hindu priest). In the past, the Hindu professional cooks and restaurant owners in East Africa were almost all of Gujarati Brahmin origin.

mahefili (-) 1. gathering of people to celebrate something; 2. music party, concert (usually during Sunni Muslim Asian wedding celebrations).
AL; KA gives **mahafali**.
Cut./Guj./Hindi mahefil, mehfil (gathering of people to celebrate something, music party) < Pers. mehfil (gathering of people) < Ar. mahfil (place of gathering).

majipesa see **pesa**

makai (-) roasted maize.
AL.
Ar. makkā > Cut./Guj. makāi (maize/corn from Mecca/Arabia).
Corn from Mecca, i.e. introduced by the Arabs to the Cut. and Guj. Indians who ate maize roasted and not cooked as the Swahili people did in the beginning; cf. **hindi**, **bisi**.

malai (-) 1. milk cream; 2. jelly in unripe drinking coconut.
AL; CS < Hindi malay; KA define it only as milk cream.
Cut./Guj./Hindi malāi (cream).

malaya see **mmalaya**

malbari (-) a kind of soft printed cotton shawl from the Malabar.
CS nml, AL.
Cut./Guj. malbārī (of/from the Malabar) < Marathi malābārī; cf. **pachori**, **putara**.

malidadi, **maridadi**, **mardadi** (adj.) 1. richly/well dressed, dandified; 2. rich, wealthy, R
JK < Pers. māl-dār (rich, wealthy); FJ < Ar./Pers.; CR, LK nml; KA.
Ar māl (wealth)+ Pers. dār (owner) > Pers. māldār (wealthy).

malmal see **melmel**

mama see **ma**

mamsab (-), **memsab** (-), **memsabu** (mamemsabu) Madam!, lady; used by African and Indian servants to refer to British (and other European) wives in colonial India and East Africa where the term no longer has this colonial

connotations. In current Swahili the term is of an adorative reference to ones own or somebody else's wife. In India it simply means 'Madam'.
FJ gives also *mamsahib* which is probably from Hindi/Punjabi mēm-sāhīb as used by Indian railway builders in Kenya at the turn of the century.
Abbreviated compound of Eng. madam and Ar. sahab, borrowed into Anglo-Indian and brought to East Africa. Despite its occurrence in current Swahili, KA has consciously removed it from its lexicon because of its colonial subservient connotation. (pc KA committee members, Daressalaam, June 1983).

manchan (-) scooner, small steamship.
AL.
Cut. manč'an, probably from the rolling of a small ship which makes one feel sick < man (mind), and č'an (fall). I have not been able to verify this in any dictionary.

manda (-) 1. rolled thin dough for stuffing and making pastries (e.g. **sambusa**, similar to the dough for making Chinese rolls); 2. baked small bread of rice flour.
FJ, CR, CS nml; FJ defines it as "a kind of bread made from rice flour", CR defines it as "pastry of rice flour and grated coconut", KA defines it as "egg-shaped rice bread". In Unguja Swahili fried round "dough-nuts" of rice flour fermented with coconut cream are called *vitumbua*, pancakes of rice flour are called **chila**, pancakes of wheat flour are called *mikate ya maji*, and those of wheat flour mixed with minced meat and chopped onions are called *mikate ya gole*.
Cut. māndʿā.

mani, manni (-) a weight of ca. 2 kilos.
FJ, CR < Ar.; BK < Pers. < Ar.
Cut./Guj./Hindi man.

maraji see **maharaji**

marijani, maarjani (-) coral, red semi-precious stone.
JK, BK < Pers. marjān; FJ, CR < Ar.; KA.
Pers. marjān.

masala (-) curry powder, mixture of spices for various dishes.
AL; Bakhressa (1992) erroneously defines it as red chilly powder; KA erroneously defines it as cumin powder.
Cut./Guj./Hindi/Punj. masālā (curry powder, spices).

mashenzini see **ushenzini, shenzi**

mashua (-) rowing boat.
FJ, CR, BK < Hindi; CS < Hindi & Ar.; KA.
Cut./Guj.maccʰwā (fishing boat) < Sans. maccʰā (fish).

masota (-) pot-holder of cloth/leather, oven gloves, R.
AL.
Cut. masōtā .

matayarisho see **tayari**

mbalungi see **balungi**

mbarawaji see **barawaji**

mbari (-) extended family, clan (also called *mlango*, door)
FJ, CR, CS nml, KA
Cut. ūmber, ūmbrō (doorstep, outlet, 'where one comes from'); cf. Cut. ag-ūmbʰrō (the front entrance/outlet, vagina) and pučʰ-ūmbʰrō (the rear entrance/outlet, anus).

mbaruway, mbaruwayu see **mbayuwayu**

mbayuwayu (-) a swallow, also called **barawai**.
JK < Pers. bāluwāyah; FJ, LK nml; KA.

mbilingani see **biringani**

mbinda see **binda**

mbura (-) the plum-like fruit of the **mbura** (mibura), the plum tree *Parinari curatellaefolium*.
JF, CR, CS nml, and do not give the fruit name; KA.
Cut./Hindi bʰūrā.

mbirimbi see **birimbi**

mchapa, mchapaji, mchapishaji see **chapa**

mcharo see **charo**

mchiku see **chiku**

mdalasini see **dalasini**

mdarabi see **darabi**

Mdebuli (Wadebuli) an inhabitant of the port of Daybul, India.
CS gives *mdebule*, *mdebure*, *mdibuli*; (Allen 1993:169).
For etymology, see **Udebuli**.

mdengu see **dengu**

Mdiba see **Madiba**

mdimu see **ndimu**

mdude see **dude**

mduriani see **duriani**

meli (-) steamer.
FJ, CR < Eng. mail; CR erroneously gives the connotations "cargo" and "imported goods"; KA.
Cut./Guj.Hindi mēl (steam ships which brought mail from England) < Eng. mail. The term is derived from the names of the early steamships that were carrying mail between Britain and the Indian Ocean ports and which were called Bombay Mail, Hongkong Mail etc.

melmel, **melimeli**, **malmal** (-) muslin, thin cotton cloth.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; KA. BK < Pers.
Cut./Guj./Hindi malmal.

Meman (-) Indian Memon; a Sunni Muslim Indian trading caste.
BK < Pers.; AL.
Ar. mu'min (Muslim, a believer). The name was adopted by a section of the Lohana/Luwana Indians of Sindh/Cutch and Gujarat when they converted to Islam in the 15th century; see section 4.5.5.

membei (-) cotton goods (of high quality) from Bombay, R.
FJ; Brode (1907) in Tippu Tip's autobigraphy of 1902 gives **mumbai**.
Marathi/Hindi mumbai. The term has now been replaced in Swahili by the Anglicised form *Bombei*.

memsab, **memsabu** see **mamsab**

meski see **miski**

meti (-) fenugreek.
AL.
Cut./Guj. mēṭʰī; cf. **hulia**.

meza (-) table (furniture).
Konkani/Cut./Guj. mēz < Port. mesa.
Almost all the early Indian carpenters in East Africa were from Cutch.

mfenesi see **fenesi**

mgwaru see **gwaru**

mharita see **harita**

Mhindi see **hindi**

mhuri see **muhuri**

miski, misiki, meski (-) musk.
FJ, CR < Ar.; BK < Ar./Pers./Turk.; KA.
Ar. misk.

mitokao, mitokau (-) sweet cooked and baked rice with saffron and raisins, R, Z.
AL, Lodhi (1986:59, 93).
Cut. miṭʰō (sweet) kʰāō (rice); cf. Guj./Hindi čāwal (rice).

mkakaya (mikakaya) the acacia tree, flamboyant.
JK, FJ < Pers. akākiya; KA.

mkamshi (mikamshi) a small wooden spoon, teaspoon, soup ladle (of wood); **kikamshi** (vikamshi) a little teaspoon.
LK nml; FJ, CR <Hindi; CS gives *mkamshe* nml; KA defines it as soup ladle.
Guj. čamčī, Cut. čəmčī < Pers. čamčeh.

mkanju see **kanju**

mkarafuu see **karafuu**

mkarela see **karela**

mkebe (mikebe) can, tin; **makebe** metal box, case.
FJ < Ar.; CR < Hindi.
Ar. mukaʂb.

mkunazi see **kunazi**

mma see **ma**

mmalaya (wamalaya), **malaya** (-) prostitute, whore; **umalaya** (-) prostitution.
FJ < Pers. balāya; CR < Ar.; KA.
Malay/Indonesian. The term is derived from the Malay/Indonesian women who were brought by the Portuguese from the East Indies to work in the Portuguese depots on the Swahili Coast. Also called *kahba*, *kahaba*, *gahba* < Ar.

mndimu, mdimu see **ndimu**

moro (adj.) as in *maziwa moro* unsweetened canned milk, R, Z.
AL.
Cut. mōrō (not sweet).

mpamba see **pamba**

mpapai, mpapayu see **papai**

mpatiari see **patiari**

msandarusi see **sandarusi**

mshenzi (washenzi), **shenzi** (mashenzi) barbarous, savage, uncivilized or uncultivated person; **kishenzi** (adv.) in a barbarous, savage, uncultured manner; **-a kishenzi** (adj.) barbarous, savage, uncultured.
FJ, CR < Pers. zanji; LK nml. Tippu Tip consistently uses this term in his autobiography to refer to those tribal people of the interior of East Africa with whom he was not on friendly terms (Murjebi 1958 passim); **ushenzi**, barbarity, savagery, uncouthness, paganism; AL and Mbotela (1934:65) **ushenzini** (mashenzini) (loc.) in the savage country, in the bush, in tribal lands or tribal culture.
Probably from Pers. zangī (dark-skinned); cf. **zanji**.

mshikaki (mishikaki, mishkaki) shishkebab.
FJ, CR, CS, LK < Ar.; CR, LK give also *mshakiki*; CS gives also the diminutive form *kishakiki*, X.
Turk. sik; see **shishi**.

Mshirazi (Washirazi) a major Swahili-speaking people of Unguja, Pemba and Tumbatu.
BK < Pers., AL.
This ethnonym appears in scores of historical, anthroplogical and political writings; see section 4.4.2.

msingu see **singu**

mstadi see **stadi**

mstafeli see **stafeli**

mstahivu see **stahi**

msukani see **sukani**

mtambuu see **tambuu**

muhindi see **hindi**

muhuri, mhuri (mihuri) seal, stamp.
JK < Pers. muhur; FJ < Ar.; KA.
Pers. mohr.

Mukhi, Muki (-) 1. Shia Muslim Indian merchant/moneylender; 2. (interj.) Sir!; synonym of **Set, Seti**.
BK < Hindi; AL; Adam (1979:52) gives also *mukki* and mistakenly uses the title for a Hindu merchant character in his novel.
Cut., Guj.mukʰkʰī.

mumiyani (-) 1. magic medicine, witchcraft, according to FJ, KA, AL it is supposed to have been made of human blood of kidnapped persons; 2. witch, AL.
JK, FJ, CR, BK < Pers. mumiyāī (wax, for mummifying corpses); LK nml mummy; KA further adds the connotation 'kidnappers who sell blood of their victims.'
Pers. mumiyāī.
The form *mumuyani* is probably in the locative meaning the place where corpses were mummified, and by extension the people who work there. Reports about the *mumiyani* appear in the Tanzanian press at almost regular intervals.

muraba (-) marmelad, jam, fruit preserve, R.
AL.
Guj. murabbā; not to be confused with *muraba*, *mraba* (square) < Ar.

mwembe see **embe**

mzandiki see **zandiki**

Mzanzibari see **Zanzibar**

mzingafuri, mzingefuri, mzingifuri see **zinjifuri**

naan (-) sweet saffron bread (eaten only during the fasting month of Ramadhan), Z.
AL.
Pers. nān (bread).

nachi (-) Indian dance, nautch.
AL, KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi nāč < Sans. nāṯya, nāṯyam.

nahodha (mahodha), **nakhuda** (-) captain, master of ship.
JK, CR < Pers. nāwhozā; FJ, LK < Ar.; KA; Nabhany (1979).
Pers. nāḫōdā, nāwḫodā, and Cut./Guj./Hindi nāk'ūḏā < Pers.

nai (-) flute.
JK < Pers. nāy; KA.

nairuzi, nauruzi, niruzi, neruzi, nerozi, naurozi (-) Swahili *Mwaka Kogwa* celebration.
JK, FJ,CR, CS< Pers. nawrūz (New Day, Spring Equinox, Iranian New Year); LK gives *neros*, *nerosi*; KA.
This day is not fixed in the Swahili calendar, and it moves backwards in relation to the Gregorian calendar (Gray 1955 passim, CS 637, 804).

nakama (-) unreliable person; (adj.) useless, worthless, R.
AL; Lodhi (1986:60, 93).
Cut./Guj./Hindi nakāmā < nā kāmā (without function, useless); cf. **nawara, waria.**

namadi (-) felt.
JK < Pers. nāmaḏ.

namna, namuna (-) sort, kind, manner, sample, brand, pattern, model; (adv.) as, how (followed by a *-vyo*-adverbial construction).
JK, FJ, CR, BK, CS < Pers. namūnah; LK < Ar.; KA
Pers. namūnah.

nanga, nangiri (-) anchor; **kinanga** (vinanga), **kinangiri** (vinangiri) small anchor.
FJ, CR, CS < Pers.; BK < Guj.; LK nml; KA; Nabhany (1979).
Cut. nangar < Pers. langar; cf. Guj./Hindi langar.

nankatai (-) biscuit/cookie made of semolina, Z.
AL.
Cut. nan-kʰatāi (name of a cookie).

nargisi (-) daffodil.
JK < Pers. nargīs; FJ, CR < Ar.; KA.
Pers. nargīs.

natiki (-) drama, theatre-play.
AL, KA mistakenly defines it as a synonym of **nachi**. Robert (1960:17, 68) defines it as play, drama, theatre.
Cut./Guj./Hindi nātak (play, drama).

naurozi, nauruzi see **nairuzi**

nawara (adj.) idle, inactive.
Lodhi 1986:53, 92.
Cut./Guj nawrā < nā wārā (lit. not with, i.e. not having anything to do, idle), cf. **nakama, chotara, sonara, waria.**

ndimu (-, mandimu) the lime fruit; **mndimu** (mindimu), **mdimu** (midimu) the lime tree *Citrus aurantifoli.*
JK < Pers. līmūn; FJ, CR < Pers. & Hindi; CS, LK nml; KA.
Pers. līmū > Cut.līmū, Sw. *n*-class marker + limu > *ndimu*; cf. Guj. līmbū, Hindi nīmbū, nībū. Pers., Cut., Guj, and Hindi do not distinguish between lime and lemon; cf. **limau.**

neli (-) a tube, thin pipe.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi.
Cut./Guj./Hindi nalī.

nerozi, neruzi see **nairuzi**

ngalawa see **ngarawa**

ngano, nganu (-) wheat.
JK < Pers. gandum or Urdu gēṇhūṇ; FJ, CR, LK nml; CS < Bengali ngam; KA.
Guj. gʰaū, Cut. gaū, Hindi gʰēhū.

ngarawa, ngalawa (-) an out-rigger with two wings.
FJ, CR, CS, LK nml; CS however states it is commonly found in the Comoro, Madagascar, Malaya, Melanesia, Polynesia and Ceylon. Knappert (1970:82) claims it is from Greek 'karabos'. LK and CR give also **galawa.**
Malagasy ngadava < Malay gadawa (one-winged sailing boat).

niruzi see **nairuzi**

nishai (-) 1. intoxicant; 2. intoxicated person; *ana nishai* or *yule nishai* (he is imagining, hallucinating, he is a liar).
AL.
Probably from Cut./Guj./Hindi našā (drunkenness, intoxication).

nishani (-) signal, emblem, medal, sign, mark, token.
JK, BK < Pers. nīšān; FJ, CR, CS < Ar.; KA.
Probably <Cut./Guj./Hindi nīšāni < Pers. nīšān.

njuti (-) shoes with strings.
FJ, CR < Hindi; KA.
Hindi jʰūṭī, small shoes (diminutive of jʰūṭā).

nokoa (manokoa), **nokora** (manokora) overseer, foreman.
JK, FJ < Pers. nawkar (servant); LK nml; KA.

noshada (-) salt of ammonia (chloride/nitrate).
JK < Pers. nawsadar.
Pers. nawšādōr.

noti (-) bank or treasury note, paper currency, 2. a note in music.
FJ, KA.
Though *noti* could be directly arrived from English, I would support its indirect etymology via Indic since British 'notes' had been in circulation for several generations in India before they were introduced (together with the British Indian currency) in East Africa in the 1880s with the colonisation of Kenya and Uganda; and in the beginning, paper money in East Africa was almost exclusively used by Indians.

ombasha, ombashi (-) corporal.
JK < Pers./Turk. onbasi; FJ, CR, CS, BK < Turk.
Turk. on (ten) + baš (heads) + poss. suff. -ī, lit. Head of ten (men); corporal (Redhouse 1994, Clauson 1972:856); cf. **bimbashi**.

pachori (-) thin shawl used as head dress, R, AL; also **pachuri, pacholi**.
CR, CS define it as a perfume from India, and also *vyungo vya mchele* spices to be cooked with rice, which I have not been able to confirm.
Hindi pačʰōḍī (shawl of fine material); cf. **malbari, putara**.

padeshaha (-) the emperor of Iran, or India.
JK, AL.
Pers. pādešāh (supreme ruler); cf. **shah**.

paja (mapaja) 1. thigh; 2. ham (of animal); also **upaja** (paja); **pajani** (loc.) lap, in the lap.
FJ, CR, LK, CS nml.
Pers. pājah (leg); cf **paya**.

pajama (-, mapajama) pyjama.
AL.
Hindi/Urdu pāyjāmā < Pers. pāy-jāmeh (covering for legs, thin loose trousers).
Through Anglo-Indian, the term has then spread to many languages of the world; cf. **paya**.

pajani see **paya**

pakari (-) tongs, pliers.
CR nml; AL, KA.
Cut. pakar, Guj. pakaḍ.

palani (-) pack-saddle.
JK < Pers. pālān.
Pers. pālān.

palita (-) roll of cotton or lint, cooton wool, wick.
JK < Pers. palīṯah.
Pers. palīṯah.

pamba (-) cotton; **mpamba** (mipamba) cotton plant; **kipamba** (vipamba), AL, KA **upamba** tuft/patch of cotton wool for medical application.
JK, FJ, CR, BK < Pers. panbah; KA.
Pers. panbah.

pampati (-) the Indian 'paan'.
AL.
Cut. panpatī, Guj. pān-paṭṭī; cf. **tambuu**.

panjihato (-) a very tall man (lit. five hands high), R.
AL.
Cut. panjᵛ-hatᵛō (of five hands). The late Ustaad Mitu, one of my informants, described Fumo Liyongo, the legendary Swahili national hero, as *panjihato*, 'he stood a head above all heads'.

panjimaro (-) 1. hero in a story of five exploits; 2. an adventurous person (in the Kimakunduchi/Kikae dialect).

AL; one of the 60 stories collected from oral tradition in southern Zanzibar and included in Tigiti S. Y. Sengo's unpublished Ph. D. thesis of 1985, Daressalaam, is about this character.
Cut. panjʰ-mārīō (one who has killed five times).

panka (-, mapanka) 1. a fan (aspirated /kh/); 2. mud-guard of a bicycle or vehicle; AL. **pankaboi** (mapankaboi) person who fans (in the past, ususally employed for the purpose); cf. **boi**, **sidiboi**.
AL; Bakhressa (1992), KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi pankʰā (fan); pankʰā bʰōy (servant who fans) < Sans. pankʰ (wing, something on the side)
Safari and Akida (1991) give Eng. 'fan' as *pangaboy*; Yunsheng and Gencai (1983:65) erroneously translate 'fan' as *pangaboi*; Adam (1979:202) defines *pankaboi* as both an electric fan and the air circulated by such a fan. Currently, the Eng. loan *feni* (previously used only in mechanical contexts) is more common. No written source gives the second meaning which is commonly expressed by the Eng. loan *madigadi*.

papai (mapapai) pawpaw fruit; **mpapai** (mipapai) the pawpaw tree.
FJ, CR, LK < Hindi; CS papay < Brazilian Tupi; BK < Hindi ambapaya; KA gives also *papayu*.
Cut./Guj./Hindi pappai < Spanish/Port. < Caribbean.

papuri (-, mapapuri) Indian popadum; this term is used wrongly as a synonym of **pure/puri** (fried thin bread), due to a confusion between Indic pāpaḍ and pūḍī.
FJ, KA, CS, BK < Hindi; BK also gives *papuli, *papali which I have not come across in native Swahili usage.
Cut./Guj./Hindi pāpaḍ (popadum).

para (-) cake of sesame seeds.
FJ < Hindi; CR nml; BK < Pers.; KA.
Etymology unknown. The common term is *ufuta*.

paratange, paratangi see **patangi**

parigara (-) a pair of compasses.
JK < Pers. pargār.

partange, partangi see **patangi**

paru (maparu) paste of opium or bhang mixed with sugar and chewed with betel leaves.
FJ, CR nml; KA.
Cut. por (little piece of a lump, layer).

patangi (-) a (paper) kite.
CR, CS < Hindi; CS also gives **partange**; **paratange**; Bakhressa (1992) gives also **pwitangia**; AL, KA.
Guj./Hindi patang (kite); cf. Cut. parāi.
Normally called *kishada*; cf. **paratange**, .**paratangi**, **partange**, **partangi**, **potangi**, **portange**, **portangi**, **purutangi**, **pwitangi**.

Patani (Mapatani) a Pathan of north India or a Punjabi Muslim (usually a soldier in East Africa).
AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi paṭʿān (an Afghan warrior tribe).

pataro (-) cupboard, wardrobe, R.
AL.
Cut./Guj. patārō (wardrobe).
Normally called **kabati**.

patasi (-) carpenter's chisel.
FJ, BK nsl, CR < Ar., CS gives diminutive *kipatasi* (vipatasi); KA.
Cut. patāsi, Cut./Guj. pʿaḍsī.

pati, **pachi** (-) dress, X.
CS< Hindi.
Etymology unknown.

patiari (mapatiari), **mpatiari** (wapatiara), **patiara** (mapatiara), **putiara** (-) thief, deceiver; **upatiara** (-) thievery, deception, X.
CS < Hindi;.
Hindi putiyār.

patu (mapatu), **upatu** (patu) 1. the gong; 2. wooden dish or tray; 3. gifts put on a wooden tray for the bridal pair, musicians, circumcist; 3. brass or silver box for keeping betel leaves and nuts; **kipatu** (vipatu) diminutive of *patu*.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; LK nml; KA gives only **upatu** (-).
Cut./Guj. pāt (round wooden tray) < Cut./Guj. pātiyā (wood, plank) and Cut. pātū (brass /silver box, especially for keeping **tambuu**, **popoo**, etc.).

pau (-) white bread/loaf of the Mediterranean type
CS < Hindi < Port.; AL.
Port. pão > Cut./Guj. pāu (loaf of bread); cf. **boflo**.

pauni, **pawli** (-) 1. a Pound Sterling; 2. a measure of gold or silver (weight of one gold Guinea, 10 grams).

FJ, CR,CS give it erroneously also as measure of pound weight which is correctly called *ratili, ratli* < Ar.
Cut./Guj. pawan, and diminutive pāwli < Eng. Pound (Sterling).

pauro (-, mapauro) shovel, spade.
AL.
Cut. pāwrō/pāwṛō, Guj. pāwḍō/pāwṛō (shovel).

pawli see **pauni**

paya (-, mapaya) 1. foundation of a building, Z; 2. legs of furniture, Z; 3. feet of animals for making soup, *serwa ya paya* soup of goat feet, Z.
AL.
Pers. pājah (foot), pāyah (leg); cf. **paja**; **pajama**.

pesa (-, mapesa) money, wealth, coins, 1/16 of a rupee, 1/40 of a shilling.
FJ < Hindi; CR < Port.; CS < Anglo-Indian < Port.; KA; **mapesa** (pl.) small money, coins; AL **majipesa** (amplicative pl.) great wealth.
Cut./Guj./Hindi paisā (money).

piala (-) 1. a small dish, bowl, cupel (used by gold/sivermiths), R; 2. wine glass, R.
JK < Pers. piyālah; AL.

pichi (-) screw.
JK < Pers. pīc.

pilau, pilao (-) pilaf, dish of rice and meat prepared with whole spices (cumin, black pepper, cinnamon, cardamom, ginger), onions, garlic and raisins. National dish in Tanzania.
JK, FJ, CR, BK, CS < Pers. pulāw, pilav; LK nml an Indian dish; CR gives also the non-Swahili form **bilau** < Pers.; KA; cf. **birinzi**.
Pers. pulāw, pilaw.

pilipili (-) pepper, chilly pepper.
JK, FJ, CR, BK < Pers. pilpil or Sans. pippal; LK nml.; KA.
This word is derived probably from a South American Indian language through the Spanish/Portuguese 'piripiri' to the languages of the Indian Ocean.

pingani see **finjani**

-pinya (vb) to work with cotton/wool/kapok; to gin cotton; **pinyaro** (mapinyaro) cotton ginner; one who makes mattresses and pillows, R.
AL.

Cut. piɲnū (to gin), piɲārō (ginner).

pipa (mapipa) barrel, oil drums.
FJ < Port./Hindi, CR < Port.; KA.
Port. pipa (barrel, large round container).

pipalwadi (-) the Banyan tree, R.
AL.
Guj./Hindi pipalwādi.
There is a street and a quarter in Stone Town, Zanzibar, called Pipalwadi.

piringi (-) copper plate.
JK < Pers. piring.

pishi (-) a measure of four *vibaba*, or about two litres.
BK < Pers.; FJ, CR, CS, LK nml; KA.
On the plantations in Zanzibar, cloves and other spices were measured in *pishi*, and the pickers were also paid by the *pishi*.
Etymology unknown; cf. **kibaba**.

pishori, pishore, peshore, peshori (-) a type of very high quality Pakistani rice originally from Peshawar, also called **pisori, pisore** in Mombasa.
Lodhi (1986:59, 93), AL, KA.
Cut./Guj. pišōri < Punj. pešāwarī (from Peshawar).
Pishori was a major import item in Zanzibar; its importation was later prohibited during the reign of President Karume 1964-72 to save export earnings. Bhalo (1974:128) laments the scarcity of this kind of rice in his poem *Pisore*.

pochi (-, mapochi) wrist-chain, bracelet, chain bangle.
FJ < Pers./Hindi; CR < Hindi; KA.
Cut. põči.; not to be confused with *pochi* (-) wallet < Eng. pouch.

pocho (-) weak in school studies, producing poor results at school, Z.
AL.
Cut./Guj. põčō (soft, weak).

podina see **fudina**

popoo (mapopoo) areca nut.
JK, FJ, CR < Pers. pūpal; CS < Ar./Hindi < Malagasy foroforo; LK nml; KA.
Malagasy foroforo < Malay/Indonesian; cf. **sopari**.
The Swahili form is derived from *poroporo > *poporo* > *popoo*.

portangi see **patangi**

-posha see **posho**

posho (maposho) 1. portion, daily or weekly portion/ration/allowance, 2. trifle, very little, a farthings worth of something; **-posha** (vb.) to ration, to supply daily or weekly ration of food/subsistence, maintenance to workers, labourers, sailors.
BK < Pers.; FJ, CR, CS nml.
French portion (daily or weekely portions rationed out to plantation workers). This term was probably introduced together with the other French loan *shamba* (plantation). See section 3.3.

potangi see **patangi**

pua (-), **pula** (-) steel, as in *chuma cha pua* (hard iron).
FJ, CR < Pers.; CS < Pers./Ar.; LK nml; KA; JK, AL also **fuladi**, **puladi**.
Pers. pulād; cf. **felegi**, **feleji**.
The Sw. form is a result of the loss of the final /d/ and the intervocalic /l/.
Not to be confused with *pua* (nose).

puleki, puluki, fuleki (-) spangle, tinsel ornament, paillette, glitter.
JK, FJ, CR < Pers. pūlak; CS nsl; LK nml; FJ gives also "scale of fish"; KA.
Cut. pʻūlēkī (tinsel) < Pers.

pure (mapure), **puri** (mapuri) deep-fried flat Indian cookies/small bread (usually of wheat flour spiced with cumin seeds).
AL; FJ and CR define it as "a dish made from maize and beans" which is found in the Kimvita dialect of Mombasa (Bakhressa 1992 defines it as a dish of maize, broad beans and small beans); KA gives it as a synonym of **kande**.
Cut. pūrī, Guj./Hindi pūḍī; cf. **papuri**.

puri (-) a small packet of local tobacco or bhang, Z.
AL.
Cut. purī, purīki, Guj. puḍikī/paḍkī (very small packet).

purutangi see **patangi**

puta (maputa) cardboard, millboard, pasteboard.
AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi puṭṭʻā (cardboard, that which covers the back < pūṭʻ back, back side).

putara (-) thin shawl used as head dress by women, R.

AL.
Cut. putārā (thin shawl); cf. **malbari**, **pachori**.

putiara see **patiari**

pwitangi, pwitangi see **patangi**

ramba (-) a cloth of coloured stripes.
FJ, CR < Malagasy; KA.
Malagasy ramba.

ramba (-) a fine leather-knife.
FJ, CR < Hindi; KA.
Hindi rambā.

ramfeli (maramfeli) the soursop fruit *Anona muricata*, usually called **stafeli** (*kubwa*), R.
AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi rāmfal (the fruit of the god Rama).

ramishi (-) singing, music, entertainment.
JK, FJ, CR < Pers. rāmis; FJ **-ramisi** (vb.) to enjoy, **ramsa** (-) place of enjoyment, a fair < Pers.; KA.

randa, landa (-) carpenter's plane.
JK, FJ, CR, CS, BK < Pers. randah; LK nml; KA; Nabhany (1979).

rangara see **rangi**

rangi (-) colour, paint; **rangirangi** (-) of many colours; **rangirangile** (adj.) 1. fickle, volatile; 2. gay, charming.
JK, LK < Pers. rang; FJ < Hindi/Pers.; CR < Hindi; CS < Ar./Hindi; BK < Pers. < Sans.; KA; BK gives *rangirangi* < Pers./Guj.; LK nml; AL **rangara** (adj.) transparent; cf. **barangeni, dorange, huzurungi, satarangi**.
This is an Indo-Iranian word, commonly found in Iranian and Indian languages.

rawandi (-) rhubarb.
JK < Pers. rāwand; AL.
Pers. rāwand.

rikshoo (marikshoo), **riksha, rikisha** (-) rickshaw, jinricksha.
BK < Japanese < Chinese.
Cut./Guj. rikšō and Hindi/Punj. rikšā < Japanese jin (man)+riki (power)+ sha (vehicle).

The *marikshoo*, derogatively called *punda-mtu* (human donkey), were banned in Zanzibar after the Revolution in 1964, and the rickshaw drivers were forcedly retired by the government.

roshani (-) balcony, verandah, projecting window.
FJ, CR, CS, BK, LK < Pers.; KA.
Pers. rōšani (light, brightness, hence where the light enters the room).

rumali (-) handkerchief, R.
JK < Pers. rūmāl, rumāli; AL.
Also called *leso* < Port.

rupi (-) beauty, shine; silver colour, R.
AL, Lodhi (1986:61, 94).
Cut./Guj./Hindi rūp (beauty), rūpā (silver).

rupia (-) a rupee.
FJ, CR, BK < Hindi; CS < Hindi & Pers.; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi rūpā (silver).

rupurupu (marupurupu) perquisites, extra income, privileges.
CR nml, gives only the plural form and defines it as "increase, extra compensation, discount, rebate"; KA.
Cut. rupō (silver, gifts of silver or gold given to the midwife or circumcist on top of the cash fee), Cut./Guj./Hindi rūpā (silver); cf. **rupi**, **rupia**.

safida, sefida (-) white lead, carbonate of lead; **safida** (adj.) white, R.
JK Pers. safīdah; AL.
For etymology, see **-safidi**.

-safidi (vb.) to make white, clear; **safidika** (stative verb) to be cleaned, whitened; **safidisha** (causative vb.) same as *safidi*; also via Ar. **tasifida** to clear, whiten; **usafidi** (-) whiteness, clearness, neatness;
FJ, CR, CS < Pers.; LK to clean < Pers. and confuses it with *safi* (clean) < Ar.; FJ, CR define *usafidi* only as cleanliness; AL.
Pers. sefi̲de (white); cf. *sawida* (blacken, blemish) < Ar. aswa̲d (black).

salubia (-) garden sage, salvia.
JK < Pers. salubīyah.

samadari (-) bed with poles and frame for hanging a canopy or mosquito net.
FJ, CR < Hindi; CS < Pers.; KA.
Cut./Guj. sāmān-dār (equipped bed) < Hindi < Pers.; cf. **besera**.

samani (-) implement, tool, furniture, equipment, parts of a machine.
CR, CS, FJ, BK < Hindi & Pers.; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi sāmān < Pers.

sambara (-) pickle of raw pawpaw fried with green chillies and mustard seeds.
AL.
Cut./Guj. sambārā < Malay/Indonesian sambal (hot chilly pickle).

sambo (-) sailing ship.
JK < Pers. sambuk; CS Malagasy sambu or Ar. sumbuk; KA; Nabhany (1979:88) "archaic"; AL **sambuk, sambuku, sambuki**.
Pers. sambuk; cf. Malay/Javanese sampan (a kind of small boat).

sambusa (-, masambusa), **semusa** (-) 1. samosa (Indian meat pastry); 2. triangular design/pattern, AL; *sambusa tamu* pastry of sweetened coconut flakes prepared with cardamom, AL.
CS < Ar./Hindi/Pers., BK < Ar. < Hindi/Pers.; FJ, CR < Pers.; JK "spiced meat in triangular pastry," < Pers. sanbusah; LK "small loaves eaten during Ramadan" nml; KA does not define the pastries as triangular in shape; none give the second connotation.
Ar. sanbūsā < Pers. sanbūsā; cf. Cut. sambūsā, Guj./Hindi/Urdu samōsā.

sandali (-) sandal.
JK < Pers. sandal; AL.
Pers. sandal.

sandali (-) sandalwood; **msandali** (misandali) the sandalwood tree.
FJ, CR < Ar.; CS < Ar./Hindi.; BK < Ar./Pers.; KA.
Ar. sandal < Sans. čandan.

sandarusi (-) gum copal; **msandarusi** (misandarusi) the gum copal tree *Trachylobium varucosum*.
FJ, CR < Ar.; CS < Ar./Hindi.; KA.
Ar. sandarūs < Pers. samgʰ darakʰt (sap from a tree).

sanduku (-) box, case, trunk.
JK < Pers. sanduk; FJ, CR < Ar.; CS < Ar./Hindi/Pers.; KA.
Pers. sanduk.

sangari, sanjari shangari, shingari (-) 1. chain (for anchor), metal chain; 2. (adv.) in file, column formation, in convoy; **chanjari** (vyanjari) diminutive of *sangari*.
JK < Pers. sangal; CR < Pers.; FJ < Pers./Ar.; CS < Ar.; LK nml; KA.
Cut./Guj. sangar < Pers. zanjir .

santuri, senturi (-) music box, gramophone.
JK < Pers. santuri; FJ, CR, CS < Ar.; BK < Pers.; KA.
Turk. santur.

sarahangi see **sarange**

sarai (-) inn, R.
JK < Pers. sarāy; AL.

saraji, saruji (-) saddle; AL **-saruji** (vb.) to saddle, ride.
JK, BK < Pers. sarj; FJ < Ar.; KA.
Pers. sārūj (saddle).
Not to be confused with *saruji* (cement, mortar) < Ar.

saraka (-) drawer of a chest of drawers.
JK, FJ < Pers. sarāčah; KA.

saramala, sarmala see **seremala**

Sarandiba see **Serandibu**

sarange (masarange), **sarangi** (masarangi), **sarahangi, serahangi, serange, serangi, serehangi** (-) ship's captain, commanding officer, second in command.
JK, FJ < Pers. sarhang; CS **suruhangi** < Hindi/Pers.; KA; Nabhany (1979).
Pers. sarhang.

sardari (masardari), **seredari** (maseridari) field-martial, commander in chief, R.
JK < Pers. sardār (head, leader, commander); AL.
Also loaned into Cut./Guj./Hindi/Urdu/Punj. sardār (used as a surname or title of honour) < Pers.; cf. *komodori* < Port. and *kamanda* < Eng.

sare (-) 1. Indian saree/sari; 2. uniform; **sare** (adv.) 1. *-vaa sare* wear uniform or similar clothes; 2. *-tokea sare* end a game in a draw.
FJ < Ar.; CR, CS nml; KA.
Cut. sārī, Guj./Hindi sāḍī.

saredani see **seredani**

sarmala, saramala see **seremala**

saruji see **saraji**

-saruji see **saraji**

sata (-) lees of coconut oil, X.
BK < Pers. sa̱ta; AL oil cake of copra (in the past used as fodder.for milk cows).
Etymology unknown.

sata (-) a kind of Indian sweet with crust of melted sugar.
AL.
Cut./Guj. sātā.

satarangi, satrangi (-) a soft mat of cotton threads of stripes of seven colours.
AL; KA gives *sataranj*, also as a homophone of **shataranji** game of chess.
Cut. sa̱t (seven) + rangī (coloured); cf. **rangi**.

sataranji, shataranji (-) chess; *bao la sataranji* chess board.
FJ < Ar., CS gives also *shatrangi*, *shatranje* <Ar < Pers. < Hindi; BK < Pers. & Ar.; KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi šē̱tranjʰī (game of chess).

satua (-) chance, possiblity.
CR nsl; AL, KA.
Cut./Guj./Hindi sā̱tʰ, sa̱tʰwā (assistance, support of someone to accomplish something).

savia see **sewa**

sefida see **safida, safidi**

sepahi, sipahi (-) 1. soldier, policeman, sepoy, R; 2. Indian soldier in the British India Army; R.
JK < Pers. sipāhī; AL.
Pers. sipāhī.
This word is commonly used in many Indic languages also.

serahange, serahangi see **sarange**

Serandibu (-) Ceylon, Sri Lanka.
JK < Pers. serandība; AL **Sirandiba, Sarandiba**, R.
Ar. siran̲dib < Singhalese < Sans. singhal-d̲vipā (island of lions).

serange, serangi see **sarange, sarangi**

serashi (-) muslin, women's thin veil material.

JK < Pers. sirās; AL.
Pers. sirās.

seredani, saredani (-) charcoal brazier.
JK, FJ, CR < Pers. sarādān; CS nsl; KA; Nabhany (1979) brazier, metal fireplace on board a ship.
Pers. surḫ-dāneh (a burner with embers); cf. **shilamu, sigiri**.

seredari see **sardari**

serehangi see **serange**

seremada (-) eternity.
LK < Pers. sarmal.
Pers. sar āmadī (of the first/highest degree)

seremala, sermala, saremala, saramala, sarmala (maseremala) carpenter.
JK, BK < Pers. sarmāl; FJ < Pers./Ar.; LK nml; CS < Malagasi soromala < Malay srimala, which appears to be loaned from Persian; KA.
Pers. sarmāl.

serikali, serkali, sarkali, sirkali (-) government, ruling authority.
JK, FJ, CR, BK < Pers. sarkār; CS Ar./Hindi < Pers.; LK nml.; KA
Pers. sar (head) +kār (activity) > Hindi/Guj. sarkār, Cut. serkār (ruler).

sermala see **seremala**

Set, Seti (-) Indian merchant/banker/moneylender, wealthy Indian, Z.
AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi sēṭʰ/šēṭʰ (merchant); cf. **Mukhi**.

setaha see **staha**

Seti see **Set**

sewa (-), **savia** (-) vermicelli (in Kenyan usage).
CS < Hindi, AL.
Guj./Hindi sēw, Cut. sēwrī.
Not found in Tanzanian usage; commonly called *tambi*.

shabashi (-) praise, applause, cheers.
JK < Pers. šādbāsī; AL and KA also **Shabbash**! (interj.) Bravo!, Well done!
Cut./Guj./Hindi šābbāšī (noun) and šābbāš (interj.) < Pers. šādbāsī.

shadoro see **chadari**

shafa (-) application, ointment, suppository.
JK < Pers. šāfah.
Pers. šāfā (heal).

shah (-), **shaha** (-) 1. king; 2. poet laurate.
JK, BK, LK < Pers. šāh; FJ, CR < Ar.; CS < Ar./Hindi < Pers.; KA; CR confuses it with *sheha* (chief of a village or part of a town) and *shehe* (Sheikh, ruler gentleman, elder, learned man, Muslim priest) < Ar.
Pers. šāh (ruler); cf. **padeshaha**.

shahabandari (-) chief port officer, Comptroller of Customs, R.
JK < Pers. šāh-e-bandar; AL.
Pers. šāh-e-bandar (ruler of a port); cf. **shah**.

shahari, sheheri (-) town, city, R; **-shahiri** (vb.) to rule (a town or city), R.
JK < Pers. šahr, and Cut./Guj. šahēr (town) < Pers.; AL.
Not to be confused with *shahari, shahri* (month) < Ar. šahar as in *shahri Ramadhani* (the fasting month of Ramadan).

shakari (-) brown sugar, R.
JK < Pers. šakar; AL.
Pers. < Sans. šakara; cf. **sukari guru**.

shali (-) shawl, like the Spanish *mantilla*.
JK < Pers. šāl; FJ, CR, LK < Ar.; CS < Ar./Pers./Hindi; KA.
Pers. šāl; cf. **shatoruma**.
This word is commonly found in Cut./Guj./Hindi/Urdu. Normally called *kitambi*.

shamu (-) dark, shining black colour.
JK < Pers. šām; AL dark-skinned.
Cut./Guj./Hindi šyam < Sans. šyam (dark skinned).
Not to be confused with Shamu (Syria) < Ar.

shana, shauuo see **chana**

shangari see **sangari**

shanuo see **chana**

shataranji see **sataranji**

shatoruma (-) scarf or kerchief tied around the waist.

JK she-camel < Pers. suturmādah; FJ, CR < Pers. "a shawl, ususally worn round the waist by Muhammadans and preachers and that type of person, Cashmere shawl"; CS < Ar.; KA.
Ar. šāl taruma (Cashmere shawl); cf. **shali**.

shaushi see **chausi**

sheheri see **shahari**

shenzi see **mshenzi**

shilamu, chilamu (-) 1. the stem of a hukkah/water-pipe; 2. a small char coal burner to keep tea/coffee warm; 3. spitoon, sputum cup.
FJ, CR, CS < Hindi; KA gives only the first definition.
Hindi čilam (stove); cf. **seredani, sigiri**.
The third meaning is from the Cut./Guj. word čilamčī (spitoon).

Shinashiri, Shinashri (Mashinashiri) Shia Ithna-asheri/Imami Muslim; **Kishinashiri** a Swahili creole influeenced by Cutchi, spoken by the Ithnaasheri Asians in East Africa.
AL.
Ar. iθnāʿašārī (a Twelver, one who follows only the first twelve Imams of the Shiite denomination).

shingari see **sangari**

shisha (-) sandglass, timeglass.
FJ, CR < Ar.; CS < Pers./Hindi; AL glass bottle, R.
Pers. šīšā (glass bottle).

shishi, shisi, shizi (-) wine made of palm, bambu shoots or cashew apple; LK nml, defines it as sweet dark palm wine of the best quality; AL, KA.
Cut./Guj šīšī (small bottle) < Pers. šīšā (bottle); this wine was stored in glass bottles to mature, it was not consumed within a day as ordinary palmwine.
Not to be confused with *sizi/masizi* (soot on cooking pots).

shishi (-) spit, skewer.
JK < Pers./Turk. šiš.
Old Turk. šiš, (spit, skewer, "related to tiš, tooth", Clauson 856, pc L. Clerk, Uppsala, Nov. 1999).

shodoro see **chadari**.

shokoa (-) forced labour, corvee.

JK < Pers. šakar; FJ, CR < Pers. šākār; LK *shogoa* nml.; KA.

shura (-) saltpetre.
JK, FJ, CR **chora** < Pers. šōrah; CS < Pers./Hindi; LK nml.
Pers. šurē.

shurua, surua (-) measles.
FJ, CR < Pers. s̲urh̲ar; CS < Hindi; KA.
Pers. s̲urh̲ark.

Sidi (Masidi) Afro-Indians, i.e. Indianised descendants of Africans in India, some of whom were later settled in east Africa; **Sidiboi** (-, Masidiboi) African crew member on a British warship, R.
AL; CR nsl; CS erroneously defines *sidiboi* as "Indian soldier in Sultan's army" and gives the etymology < Eng. Sindhi-Boy, i.e. servant from Sindh. CS has apparently confused this with **sindikali** (soldiers from Sindh in the Sultan's army).
Ar. s̲eyd̲ī (captive, prisoner of war sold away as a slave) > Cut. sīḍ̲ī & Guj. sīd̲ī (African mercenaries in Muslim India, Afro-Indians) + Cut./Guj. bʿōi (serf, servant); Lodhi 1992.
This term is frequently used in historical accounts about warfare and sailing in the Indian Ocean, a synonym of Anglo-Indian 'krumen' < Eng. crew man (Messages by Janet Eval on Nuafrica network list, 1997); cf. **boi**.

sigiri, sigri (-, masigiri) coal-cooker/stove.
AL.
Cut. sigrī; Guj. sigḍ̲ī (stove); cf. **seredani, shilamu**.

siik, sikhi (-) roasted minced meat on a skewer; also called *siik kababu*.
AL.
Pers. sikh < Turk. šiš; see **shishi**, Pers. šiš-kebāb (minced meat on skewer)

siki (-) vinegar.
JK, FJ < Pers. sirkah; LK < Ar.; JK, AL also **sirke**, R; KA.
Pers. sirkah.

silsil, silsili, silisili (-) chain for anchor, X.
CS < Ar./Pers./Hindi, KA.
Etymology unknown.
The common expression is *mnyororo wa nanga*.

sima (-) kind, sort.
JK < Pers. sima (similitude).
Not to be confused with *sima* (maize flour for making porridge).

simu, sim (-) telephone.
JK, FJ < Pers. sīm (wire); KA; AL *simu ya barua* telegraph, *barua ya simu* telegramme.
FJ, CR, CK, BK < Pers.
Pers. sim (metal thread, wire).

Sindikali (Masindikali) ferocious soldiers from Sindh employed in the Sultan's army in East Africa.
AL.
Abbreviation of *Sindi mkali* (the ferocious Sindhi).
For etymology, see **karo**, and section 4.5.5.

sineri see **soneri**

Singa (Masinga), **Singasinga** (Masingasinga) a Sikh Indian; **Kalasinga** (Makalasinga) previously derogative form of *Singa*.
AL, KA.
It is believed by many Asians (Namaskar 1998) that the term is derived from Kala Singh, a famous Sikh hunter who was in Masailand for a long period at the end of the 19th century.
Hindi/Punj. singʰ (lion, a common personal name and honorific in India, especially among the Sikh Punjabi).

singe (-) bayonet.
JK < Pers./Turk. süngü; FJ < Turk; KA.
Turk. süngü (Clauson 1972:834); "In the oldest Turkic texts of the 8th century süngü Lance, Spear" (pc L. Clerk, Uppsala, Nov. 1999).

singu (masingu) a green fibrous finger-like long vegetable; **msingu** (misingu) the singu plant.
AL.
Cut./Guj. singū.

sini (-) 1. China (in older texts); 2. porcelain (from China); **sinia** (masinia) a large plate, tray (from China).
FJ, CR, CS < Ar.; LK nml; BK < Pers.; KA defines *sini* only as the clay for making porcelain; CR gives also *Sini*, *Sina* as China < Ar.
Ar. s̲īn, s̲īnī (China, Chinese) < Sans. čīn, čīnī < Chinese čin (name of the Chin dynasty which united the lands which became China in the year 221 BC); cf. **kauri**.

siraji (-) lantern, torch.
FJ < Pers.; CR < Ar.; CS < Ar./Hindi/Pers.; KA.
Ar < Pers.; cf. **chiraghi**.

Sirandiba see **Serandibu**

sirke see **siki**

sitadi see **stadi**

sitahi, stahi see **staha**

Sitambuli (-) the Ottoman Emperor in Istanbul.
JK, AL.
Turk. istanbūl.
This term is used in Swahili poetry.

soli, sol (-) sergeant major (in the German army in East Africa).
JK, FJ, CR, BK, CS < Turk. solu; KA.
Turk. solu (left), Clauson 1972:824.

sonara (masonara) gold/silver-smith, jeweler.
FJ, CR, KA, CS < Hindi.
Cut. sōnārā < sōn+wārā (owning gold or working with gold), Guj./Hindi sōnī.; cf. **chotara, nawara, waria**.

soneri (-) gold colour; (adj.) golden.
CR, Höftmann (1989) give **sineri** < Hindi as gold/silver paper, tin foil, which is correctly called **jaribosi**
Cut. sōneri/sōnjʰō, Guj. sōneri/sōnānū (golden); cf. Hindi sunhalā, sunharā, swarṇim, swarṇmay.

soo (masoo) a hundred-shillings-note, R.
AL.
Cut./Guj./Hindi sō (hundred).

sopari (-) areca nuts.
AL.
Cut./Guj. sopāri; cf **popoo**.

stadi (adj.) expert, master (thief etc.).
FJ, CR **mstadi** (wastadi) < Ar.; LK **sitadi** < Ar.; CS < Ar. < Pers.; AL, KA; **usitadi, ustadi** (-) skill, expertise; AL **ustaad, ustad** (maustaad) title of honour (artist, master, maestro, professor, poet, musician, scholar); Z, KC.
JK < Pers. ustād.

stafeli (mastafeli) the custard apple (used both for the soursop *Anona muricata*, and the sweetsop *Anona squamosa*); **mstafeli** (mistafeli) the custard apple tree.

FJ, CR < Hindi; CR also erroneously defines it as cinnamon; CS < Hindi & Guj.; KA.
Cut/Guj sīt̲āfal, Guj./Hindi sīt̲āpʰal (the fruit of/for the godess Sita) cf. **ramfeli**.

staha, stahi, sitahi (-) respect, honour; **-stahi** (vb.) to respect, honour; **-stahivu** honourable, estimable; **mstahivu** (wastahivu) one who respects, honours; **ustahivu** (-) courtsey, respect, honour, reverence;
JK **setaha, sutaha** < Pers. sutuh; FJ< Pers.; CR < Ar; LK nml; KA.
Pers. sut̲uh (veneration).

suheli (-) south, Canopus in the southern sky.
JK, CS < Pers./Ar suhayl; CR, LK < Ar.; KA.
Ar. suhayl.

sukani (-) helmsman, steerman, quartermaster on a ship, R; **usukani** (-) steering wheel, rudder.
JK < Pers. sukkānī; FJ,CR, CS, LK < Ar.; LK steerman nml; KA gives *sukani* only as pl. of **usukani**; Nabhany (1979) gives 'rudder'.
Pers. sukkānī (helmsman) < sukkān (helm).
In the current usage it is **msukani** (wasukani) as entered by FJ, CR.

sukari (-) sugar; *sukari guru* molasses.
FJ, CR, CS, LK < Ar.; BK < Ar./Pers. < Sans., KA.
Ar. < Pers. < Sans. šakkara; cf. **guru, shakari**.

sumbara (-) whetting stone, tool for honing.
JK < Pers. sunbārah; AL.

sumbula (-) the zodiacal sign of Spica Virginis.
JK < Pers. sunbulah; AL.

sundusi (-) silken, brocaded cloth.
JK < Pers. sund̲usī; AL, KA.

surahi (-) flagon, large wine or honey bottle.
JK < Pers. surāhī; AL.

surati (-) a kind of loin cloth or sarong from Surat, India.
CS nml; AL.
Guj. sūrat̲ (the city of Surat), sūratī, sūrtī (of/from Surat).

suri (-) a cutter/cracker for cutting betel/areca nuts.
KA; CS < Ar./Hindi.
Cut. sūrī, Guj. sūḍ̲ī, Hindi šūḍ̲ī < Sans. šūṛī.

suruali, surwali (-) trousers; *surwali kipande* shorts.
JK < Pers. salwār; FJ, CR, BK, BK < Ar.; CS < Ar. & Hindi; KA.
Pers. šalwār.

surudi (-) singing, chanting, melody.
JK < Pers. surdud.

suruhangi see **sarange**

surukari (-) business, concern, occupation.
JK < Pers. surokār.
Pers. sarokār (main activity).

surunai (-) clarinet.
JK < Pers. sur-nāy.

surwali see **suruali**

sutaha see **staha**

suzani (-) quilt.
JK < Pers. sōzanī.

taba see **tawa**

tabariu (-) hatchet.
JK < Pers. tabar.

tafeta (-) silken/shining cloth, taffeta, gloss.
JK < Pers. tāftah; AL, Z.
Pers. tāftah (shining cloth).

tafusila (-) rich silken material.
JK < Pers. tafsīlah.

tagari (matagari) a container for mortar/plaster, Z.
AL.
Cut./Guj. tagārī.

tahati (-) board, bench.
JK < Pers. taht.

tako (matako) buttock; **kitako** (adv.) on the buttock.
FJ, CR, CK, LK nml; KA.

Probably Cut./Guj ḍʰēkō (buttock).

taji (-) crown.
JK < Pers. tāj; FJ, CR, LK < Ar.; CS < Ar./Pers./Hindi; KA.
Pers. tāj.

talki, telki (-) the quick ambling gait of a donkey; half walk - half run; *kwenda telki* to go at a trot, R.
FJ *telki*< Hindi ḍulki; CR < Ar., CS *delgi*, *delji* < Hindi; KA gives also *dalki*.
Cut./Guj./Hindi ḍʰaḍak, ḍʰaḍaki (sudden movement, galloping).

tamasha (-) spectacle.
JK < Pers. tamāsā, and also "entertainment, feast" which is by extension; FJ, CR, LK < Ar.; CS nml; KA.
Pers. ṭamāsā (spectacle).

tambuka (-) stirrup, leather ring for a foot.
JK < Pers. ṭambūkah.

tambura, tamburo (-) Persian/North Indian lute with four strings, a Turkish guitar, R.
JK < Pers./Urdu tamburāh; AL.
Guj. ṭambūrā (pl. of ṭambūrō) < Pers. < Ar. Belsare 580.
This term is used also as an euphemism for penis.

tambuu (matambuu) betel leaves, Indian paan; **mtambuu** (mitambuu) piper betel plant.
FJ, CR < Hindi/Pers., CS < Ar./Hind; BK < Hindi; CR also gives the non-Swahili *dhambuu; KA.
Guj. ṭambul, Hindi ṭanbul < Sans. ṭanbūl.
This word is mentioned by Ibn Batuta 1331 (see section 3.3); cf. **pampati**.

-tana, -tanua see **-chana**

tandabelua, tantabelua (-) strike, riot, mutiny, R.
CR < Hindi tanta; KA gives 'a state of confusion, complication, much bustle, hurry, medley and crowding' (which all cause annoyance) without a cross reference to *beluwa*.
Cut./Guj. ṭanṭ, ṭanṭō, Hindi ṭanṭā (quarrel) + Ar. balwā (unrest); cf. **beluwa**.

tandu (-) centipede.
JK spider < Pers. tandu (spider); FJ nsl but compares to Pers. tandu (spider); CR < Pers.; LK centipede; CS nml; KA.
Pers. ṭanandū, ṭandū.

tanduri (-) grilled roast meat.
JK < Pers. tannurī, and he adds "This no doubt arrived with the Indian roast chicken" (Knappert 1983:136).
This term is used by Asians and Europeans in East Africa with the same connotations as in British English for roasted meat/chicken etc. and the North Indian thin flat roasted bread; it is not found in Swahili usage in East Africa; cf. **tanuru**.

tangawizi (-) ginger; **mtangawizi** (mitangawizi) the ginger plant.
FJ, CR, CS nml; KA.
Sans. rangawira, (see section 3.3); cf. **zanjabil**.

tangi (matangi) tank.
FJ, CR, CS < Eng.
Pers. tankara, tankira (Steingass 329), Guj. tānki, tānku (Belsare 536), Cut. tānki, tāngi.

tantabelua see **tandabelua**

tanuru, tanuu, tanuri, tunuri (-) oven, kiln.
JK < Pers. tannūr and adds "This word is Koranic and probably came into Swahili through Arabic" (Knappert 1983:136); FJ, CR, CS, LK < Ar.; KA.
Ar. tannūr < Pers. tannūr (Steingass 331, Al-Firuzabadi 1952/1:395); cf. **tanduri**.

taraju (-) 1. scale of balance, platter, weight; 2. fig. equilibrium, harmony.
JK, FJ, CR, LK < Pers. tarāzū; AL also **tarazi** (-) melody, tune, R.
Pers. tarāzū (balance, harmoney).

tari (-) 1. a small drum; 2. a dance in exorcism rituals; 3. a warrior dance where men carry fighting sticks and swords.
JK string of an instrument < Pers. tār; FJ, CR < Pers. and give meanings 1., 2., and FJ "shaking and trembling"; LK defines it only as "a kind of drum" < Pers.; KA gives all the three connnotations.

taruma (-) 1. curved line, bow, bend; 2. supporting plank, pole.
BK < Ar./Pers.; CS nml.
Pers. tārumā.

-tasifida see **safidi**

tawa, taba (-) frying pan, skillet, R.
JK, FJ < Pers. tāwā, tābah; CR < Ar., CS < Ar./Hindi; AL *tawii, taii*, KA.
Pers. tābeh; Steingass Pers. tabeh, taweh, Moin 274.

Commonly called *kikaangio*.

tayari (adj.) ready, preparerd; **-tayarisha** to prepare, make ready; **matayarisho** (pl.) preparations; **utayari** (-) readiness.
JK < Pers. ṯayyār; FJ, CR < Pers./Hindi; CS < Ar./Hindi; LK nml; KA Pers. ṯayyār, Moin 1013.

tazaru (-) pheasant.
JK < Pers. ṯazaru.

teli (-) gold thread.
JK, FJ, CR < Pers. ṯili (gold); BK < Turk.; CS < Ar.; KA.
Pers. ṯili (gold), Moin 2229.

tezi (-) stern/poop of a ship.
JK, FJ, CR < Pers.ṯēzī (point, edge); CS nml; KA; Nabhany (1979).
Pers.ṯēzī (point, edge).

thaumu, thomu, thumu (-) garlic.
FJ gives also *tumu, *sumu < Ar. θawm; CR *thumu*, *saumu, *tumu < Ar.; CS *somu, *soumu; LK **thom** nml; BK **thumu** < Ar. θum.
Ar. θum, θawm < Chinese čung.
For a discussion on this, see Hasan (1974 *passim*) and Lodhi (1982:93).

tindikali (-) acid/boraz (for soldering).
JK < Pers. tinkāl; FJ < Pers./Hindi; CR < Per.; KA; cf. **kalai**.
Pers. ṯinkāl (acid).

tola (-) a measure of weighing gold/silver/herbal oils/perfumes, ca. 1/2 ounce or 14 gms.
FJ, KA, CR, CS < Hindi.
Cut./Guj./Hindi ṯōlā.

tofangi, tufangi (-) barrel of a gun, R.
JK < Pers. ṯufang; AL.

tumbako, tumbaku (-) tobacco; **mtumbako** (mitumbako) the tobacco plant.
JK < Pers. ṯumbāku; FJ, CR < Hindi; BK Haitian > Port. > Ar.; KA.
Guj./Konkani ṯamāku < Port. < Caribbean.

tumbu (-) metal hook for fastening a window, door bolt.
JK < Pers. ṯambah; LK catch, staple nml.
Pers. < ṯanba, Steingass 327 bar of a door.

tundabu (-) dissolving fluid, X.
JK < Pers. ṭund-āb
The etymology of this word is unknown; it is probably from Pers. ṭīzab (sharp water), Moin 321.

tunuri see **tanuru**

turbali, tnrubali (-) tarpaulin, oil cloth; *karatasi ya turbali* wax paper.
BK < Turk.; FJ, CR < Eng.; CS < nsl; KA gives also *turubai, tonobari.*
Eng. tarpaulin.

tutia (-) vitriol, zinc sulphate, antimony.
JK < Pers. ṭutīyā.

tutun (-) turkish tobacco, R.
BK < Turk.; AL **tutuni.**
Turk. tütün (tobacco prepared for smoking or chewing).

ubepari see **bepari**

ubeshaushi see **bishausi**

ubinda, winda see **bindo**

uboi see **boi**

uchachari see **chachari**

uchapaji see **chapa**

uchapishaji see **chapa**

udadisi (-) partnership.
CS > Pers. dādistan (?).
Etymology unknown.

Udebuli, Udebulini (-) ancient port city of Daybul; ancient west coast of India south of modern Bombay; **kidebuli** (adj.) of/from Daybul (Farsy 1960:60); **Mdebuli** (Wadebuli) a native of the Daybul coast of India.
AL, Farsy (1960:59).
Marathi ḍaybul.

Udiba see **Madiba**

udibaji see **dibaji**

udobi see **dobi**

ufarisi see **farisi**

Uhindi see **hindi**

ujagina see **chagina**

ujangiri see **jangiri**

ukuli see **kuli**

umalaya see **mmalaya**

upamba see **pamba**

upatiara see **patiara**

upatu see **patu**

usafidi see **-safidi**

ushenzi, ushenzini see **mshenzi**

usitadi, ustaad, ustad, ustadi, see **stadi**

ustahivu see **staha**

usukani see **sukani**

utayari see **tayari**

uwaria see **waria**

uwaziri see **waziri**

uwinda see **bindo, winda**

uzandiki see **zandiki**

vinjari (pl.) double crossing; *-tilia vinjari* to double-cross, cause obstacles (lit. to set out a net, small traps), Z, AL.
FJ < Ar.; CR, CS nsl enter it as a verb, to cruise about, be on the watch, esp. of ships, patrol around etc. These meanings have probably developed when

the British Navy was patrolling in East African waters to check ships carrying slaves, weapons and ammunition, enforcing the Bruxelles Agreement of 1882.
Guj. jʰāṛī, Cut. jārī (net). There is nasalization in the Swahili word probably because of the Guj. affricate /dʒ/ and the noun is allocated to classes 7/8 *kinjari/vinjari*.

wari (-) a measure of one yard, three feet.
FJ, CR < Pers. wār; CS gives also *ware, *wara, *wala < Eng. ward, BK < Pers.
Guj. wāl, Cut. wal.

waria (-, mawaria) skilled worker; **uwaria** (-) skill, workmanship.
FJ nml; CS < Hindi wala.
Cut. wārā, Guj. wāṛā, Hindi wālā (having something); cf. **chotara, nawara, sonara**.

wazi (adj.) open; **waziwazi** (adv.) openly, frankly.
JK < Pers. wāz; FJ < Ar. "or Bantu *vali*"; LK nml; KA.
Pers. wāz (open).

waziri (mawaziri) minister, vizir; **wizara** ministry; **uwaziri** office of a government minister.
FJ, CR < Ar; CS < Ar./Hindi; KA.
Pers. wazīr < Ar.

waziwazi see **wazi**

winda, ubinda (-) (manner of putting on a) loin cloth, R.
AL, Adam (1979:51).
Cut. wīndʰō (pl. wīndʰā); cf. **bindo**.

wizara see **waziri**

yahomo (adv.) as in *kwenda yahomo* (to sail freely with the wind from abaft; *Ya hom*! (interjection) Sail ahead!
AL, Nabhany (1979).
The etymology of this term is uncertain. It is commonly found in Ar., Pers., Cut., Guj. and several other languages of the Indian Ocean.

Yala yala! (interjection) Go on!, Come along! Hurry up!
BK < Pers.; AL.
Ar. yāla yāla! (Go on!, Come along!, Hurry up!).

yasmini, yasumini, yasamani see **asmini**

zabaki see **zebaki**

zabani (-) language, tongue, R.
JK < Pers. zabān; AL.

zaji (-) allum, copperas, proto sulphate of iron, green vitriol.
JK < Pers. zāj.

zalbia see **jelebi**

zamani, zama (-) era, epoch; **zamani** (adv.) long ago; **zamani/zama za** during the era/period/times of; **-a zamani** (adj.) old, of long ago; **kizamani** (adv.) in an earlier way, earlier; **-a kizamani** (adj.) old fashioned.
FJ, CR, CS, LK, BK < Ar.; KA.
Ar. zamān < Pers. zarwān (time).

zamba (-) quick silver, mercury, X.
JK < Pers. zanbah.
Pers. zanbah (iris flower), Moin 674; cf. **zebaki**.

zambarau (mazambarau), **zambarao** (mazambarao) 1. the purple Java plum; 2. purple colour.
FJ nsl; CR < Ar. and also adj. purple; CS < Ar. jumbū < Hindi šambalū; LK nml; KA.
Malay jambarāo.

zambili (-) basket of rough material.
JK < Pers. zanbīl; AL.
Pers. zanbīl; cf. **jamvi**.

zamburu (-) vice, princers, forceps.
JK < Pers./Hindi zambur.
Pers. zambur.

zandiki (mazandiki), **mzandiki** (wazandiki) hypocrite, pretender, liar.
JK < Pers. zandīk; JF, CR, CS < Ar.; BK defines it as heretic < Pers.; KA gives **-zandiki** (vb.) be a hypocrite; **uzandiki** (-) hypocricy.
Ar. zandīk < Pers. zand (follower of Zend); cf. **mzandiki, uzandiki**.

zangefuri see **zinjifuri**

zanjabili (-) ginger.
JK < Pers. zanjabīl; however, JK adds "Zanjabil is Koranic; the 'pure' Swahili word *tangawili* is based on the original Skr. śṛngavéra, cf. Sw. tanga

'sand' with its southern equivalent shanga." See Koran 76:7 and section 3.3; cf. **tangawizi**.

Zanji, Zenji, Zinji (-, Mazanji, Mazenji, Mazinji) inhabitant of the East African coast in precolonial times.
JK < Pers. zanjī (negro).
Pers. zangī (dark brown, colour of rust, dark-skinned or negroid person, African); see footnote on Ibn Batuta section 4.4.1.
Akasheh and Izady (1997:161-166) argue for a Kurdish etymology of the term zangī and claim it has arrived in East Africa indirectly through Persian; cf. **mshenzi, shenzi, ushenzi** and section 4.4.2.

Zanzibar 1. official name of the autonomous republic of Zanzibar; 2. non-Swahili name of the island of Unguja in Zanzibar; **Mzanzibari** (Wazanzibari), **Zinjibari** (-) inhabitant of Zanzibar.
Ar. zānjibār < Pers. zāngibār (the black coast); see **Zanji**.

zarambo (-) high quality spirit distilled from palmwine.
FJ, CR < Pers. zar-āb (golden water); CS nsl.
Pers. zar-āb.

zardo (-) curry, yellow curry powder.
CS < Pers/Hindi; AL.
Guj. zar̤dō, Cut. jʰar̤dʰō, Hindi/Urdu/Punj. zar̤dā < Pers. zar̤dā.

zari (-) gold/silver thread, braid, brocade.
JK, FJ, CR, BK < Pers.; CS < Pers./Hindi
Guj./Hindi zarī (gold/silver thread) < Pers. zar (gold); cf. Cut. jʰarī.

zarniki (-) arsenic.
CS < Ar./Hindi; KA defines it as rat poison; TUKI 1996:32 gives the Eng. loan *aseniki* <Latin < Greek < Syriac.
Ar. zarnīx < Syriac zarnig.

zawaridi (-) Java sparrow *Padda orizivora*.
JF, CR < Ar.; LK nml; BK < Pers. zawā gāri.
Ar. z̲awārid̲.

zebaki, zabaki (-) quick silver, mercury.
JK, BK < Pers. zēbaq; FJ, CR < Ar.; cf. **zamba**.
Pers. zēbaq.

zelabia see **jelebi**

Zenji see **Zanji**

zihari (-) bladder.
JK < Pers. zihār.
Pers. zihār, Moīn 567, part of stomach below the navel.

Zinji see **Zanji**

Zinjibari see **Zanzibar**

zinjifuri, zingefuri, zingifuri, zinjafuri, zinjifura (-) 1. cinnabar for making red ink; red ink, made from red lead oxide; 2. antiseptic liquid; **mzingafuri, mzingefuri, mzingifuri** the anatta plant *Bixa Alellana.*
JK < Pers. zinjafr, zinjifra; FJ < Ar.; CS *zangefuri*; LK **nml** *singefur*; KA.
Pers. zinjafr.

Zuhura (-) the planet Venus.
JK < Pers. zuhrah; FJ < Ar.; KA.
The forms Zuhura, Zuhra and Zohra are used as female names.
Pers. zuhrah, Moin 2:674.

zumaradi, zumaridi (-) emerald.
FJ, CR, BK < Pers; CS < Ar. zumurūd̲; KA.
Pers. zumarid̲.

znmbura (-) type of gun, rifle, X.
JK < Pers. zunbūrah.

8. Summary and Conclusions

No language, or culture, is an island! And "... languages are transmitted through social interaction and not through genetic inheritance" (Fox 1995:309).

In the post-modernist discussions on issues of language use and language development, Pauline M. Rosenau (1991:158) rightly concludes "Marxists deny language is autonomous by arguing that it is intertwined with ideology, class, context, and history. They contend that narrow post-modern focus on language reduces everything to discourse, and thus makes post-modernism frivolous and anti-political." The theory of 'acculturation' explains how different cultures influence each other. According to Hunter (1976) 'acculturation' is one kind of cultural change, specifically the processes and events which come from the configuration of two or more formerly separate and autonomous cultures. Cultural change usually brings about cultural borrowings (Bloomfield 1965:444, Heath 1994:393).

Oriental loans express various aspects of life in Eastern Africa: they describe religious ideas and practices, both Islamic and Christian, and are an essential part of the terminology of Islamic religious life and the Swahili Muslim culture. Oriental loans are found in all social aspects. They describe the Eastern African concept of time and telling time, and are met with in mathematics (counting, arithmetic, enumeration) and in many aspects of material culture (architecture, dress, food), art and music. Most basic educational, technological and scientific terms and paraphernalia (such as book, pen, paper, ink, desk) are borrowed from the Orient. In Swahili literature one finds much Islamic or Muslim and Oriental influence described in Arabic or Persian literary terms and imagery embedded with Middle Eastern tradition; and for obvious historical reasons Oriental loans abound in the realms of administration, commerce, law, poetry and politics.

Oriental loanwords, particularly Arabic loans, fall into all categories in Swahili, and cover all aspects of life in the Swahili society in particular, and the Eastern African region in general, as noted by Ružička (1953) and Effat (1997). The south Arabian contacts however refer particularly to parts of a ship and shipbuilding, more common among the northern Swahili who are geographically closer to the Hadramaut coast of Yemen and who have mixed very much with the Hadrami people. Emigration from the Swahili coast to the Persian Gulf region and Oman, immigration from Hadramaut and Iran to East Africa, and Arabian and Iranian integration with the Swahili people continues even today (Fuglesang 1994, Lodhi 2000). Contacts between various peoples of the north-western parts of the Indian Ocean are numerous, only in the second half of the twentieth century the movement of the people has been mainly from East Africa to western and south-western Asia. An estimated 250 000 East Africans and their descendants of diverse ethnic origins are today living and working in the Middle East (Sandberg 1994 and Lodhi 1986c).

The general level of culture contact can be determined to an appreciable extent from a study of the stratification of the vocabulary of the languages involved as Specht (1947 section 12:2 quoted by Fox 1995) suggests for reconstructing culture in language families. His "older layer" of vocabulary which is less productive and less regular includes mostly words without stem forming roots and having particular kinds of meanings (Fox 1995:323). This is assembled in five groups: 1. stars, time, the weather and the natural world, 2. animals and their products, 3. trees and plants, 4. parts of the body, 5. the family, home and tools. In Swahili, there are nine loanwords of Arabic origin pertaining to group 4. parts of the body (and body liquids): *balghamu/balaghamu* (phlegm), *damu* (blood), the alternatives *dhakari/zubu* (the male sexual organ, for the original Swahili taboo/vulgar terms *mboo/mboro* and several euphemisms), *fuadi* (heart, poetical term for the common *moyo/nyoyo*), *hedhi/hezi* (menses, menstruation blood/cycle), the synonyms *manii/shahawa* (semen/sperms) and *wajihi* (face); six Persian: *chuchu* (nipple), *kunazi/kikunazi* (clitoris), *paja* (thigh), *pajani* (lap), *paya* (foot, leg) and *zihari* (bladder, abdomen below the navel); and probably three Indic: *goti* (knee), *kibofu* (bladder, salivary gland) and *tako* (buttock). As for groups 1. and 5., most of the loanwords are of primarily Arabic, and secondarily of Persian and Indic origin, whereas in groups 2. and 3. many of them are of mixed oriental origin. Most of the neologisms of the last three decades in all types of registers of terminology are based on 'international' or European (Greaco-Latin, French or German) terms indirectly borrowed from English.

In this study, the research on the Arabic loans is restricted to grammatical or structural loans. Hitherto very little serious research has been conducted on the question of Arabic grammatical intrusion in Swahili, which is further spreading to the other languages of Eastern Africa. The presence of indirect Arabic grammatical loans via Swahili in five other major Bantu languages of East Africa (Chaga, Kikuyu, Luhiya, Ngoni and Nyamwezi) has been illustrated by a short comparative study of hypotactic structures in these languages. My contention is that such indirect influence is more widely spread, or is spreading throughout Eastern Africa, than what is shown by this limited comparison, not regarding the question of abundant Arabic indirect lexical borrowings in these languages. Nevertheless, my data tend to support the view that there is a general resistance to structural borrowing, and some linguistic patterns are borrowed to a greater extent, or with greater ease, than others. Whitney observed more than a century ago (1881:5-26) that nouns are most easily and commonly borrowed, followed by suffixes, inflections and finally individual sounds or sound combinations. Haugen also supports this view re-emphasising Whitney's statement that "Whatever is more formal or structural in character remains in that degree free from the intrusion of foreign material" (Whitney in Haugen 1950:224).

It would not be an exaggeration to state that a very large majority of the Asians in Eastern Africa indeed originate in what is today the Republic of India though quite a few of them, as a rule Muslim (with the exception of a few Sindhi-speaking Hindu families), claim their ancestors came originally from what is today Pakistan, or (for some Muslims) their political sympathies lie with Pakistan. All available linguistic and historical evidence however places their origins to western and north-western parts of modern India. Some of the few thousand Christian Indians of Konkani origin, generally known in East Africa as Goans, claim they are of mixed Indo-Portuguese origin, and some of them identify themselves as Portuguese.

Because of the North-east Monsoon the early Indian visitors to the Swahili coast most probably would have been from both the northern and southern parts of the western coast of India. Linguistic and caste evidence among the Indians of East Africa suggests that the early settlers from India were mostly from Sindh, Cutch, Kalikat, Konkan (mainly from the port city of Goa during the Portuguese period up to 1652) and later from Gujarat and Punjab during the British times. Indians on the coastal belt of Mozambique are also from these same regions of India, and many of them had (and have even today) relatives in the Tanzania coastal towns.

Hindi and Punjabi influences in East Africa can be traced to a much later period beginning during the last quarter of the 1800s in the interior of Kenya and Uganda when thousands of railway workers arrived there followed by the British India Army during the two World Wars and the resulting expansion of the British colonial administration and the legal, educational and health services in East Africa. Phonological and historical evidence points mostly to, chronologically, first Cutchi and then Gujarati etymologies of many Indic loanwords and the cultural influences they represent.

Hindi/Hindustani sources for Indic loans in Swahili are assumed by all writers consulted here, and they are in turn quoted by others. Krumm gives Gujarati etymology in only 5 cases. There is enough evidence to claim that most of the early Indians in East Africa came in fact from the 'native state' of the Kingdom of Cutch, and the ports of Gujarat and the Malabar Coast, especially those who came to Zanzibar and Mombasa. Cutchi/Sindhi and Gujarati rather than Hindi/Hindustani or Urdu may be suggested as major Indic contributors, and Cutchi as a major early Indic contributor. We also have to take into consideration Konkani and Punjabi, both Indo-Aryan languages which have commonly borrowed from Arabic, Persian and Turkish. The Konkani influence may be traced to the Portuguese period when Konkani-speaking Christian Goans served in the Portuguese fleet and garrisons in East Africa. Because of the greater physical presence of the Portuguese in Konkan/Goa than along the Swahili Coast, some Portuguese items are likely to have been borrowed first in Konkan and then in East Africa. The Punjabi and Hindi/Urdu influence is much later, from the 1880s when Punjabi and Hindi/Urdu speakers arrived in East Africa with the British.

In the later part of this research, about 280 Indic lexical loans have been identified, some of which are of rather high frequency and importance e.g. *embe* (mango), *bepari* (capitalist), *ubepar* (capitalism), *gar* (vehicle, wagon, car, cart), *bima* (insurance), *ankra* (bill/invoice), *hundi* (bank draft), *godoro* (mattress), *chandarua* (shandaroa, mosquito net), *jangiri* (poacher), *ujangiri* (poaching), and the currently overused Cutchi loan *gabacholi* (swindler, corrupt person) and its derivatives *ugabacholi* (corruption, swindling, tax evasion), *magabacholi* (swindlers, economic criminals) and the adjective *-a kigabacholi* describing any illegal activity in general.

As related earlier in section 1.4, Johnson (1939), the most widely used Swahili dictionary and which has been reprinted at least thirty-five times, includes altogether only 105 Indic loans for which the author gives a definite Indic source or suggests a possible Indic source. He further enters several items as non-Bantu but does not give or suggest any source language, e.g. for the Indic loans *gamti* and *gulabi*. He implies Bantu source to Indic items such as *bandi*, *chachari*, *chamburo*, *chup*, *gwaru*, *jando* and *tangawizi*. He also assigns other etymology (Arabic, English etc.) to several Indic items such as for *boi*, *fataki*, *kanchiri* and *karafuu*.

Johnson gives Hindustani (Hindi) source to all Indic items. In the course of this present research I have identified as Indic loans about 90 words given by Johnson and/or others as of Bantu or other non-Indic origin; and I have also found about 90 more Indic words (excluding place names and ethnonyms) in oral usage and different texts, not documented by any lexicographer before. Another 23 items entered only by *KAMUSI* have also been identified by me as Indic. Variants, or alternative forms, are not included in these figures. Historical data and phonological analysis generally favour Cutchi and Gujarati etymology in many of these cases. For example, I have identified *boi* as Cutchi/Gujarati 'bʰōy' (servant, serf) and *patasi* (carpenter's chisel) having the Cutchi origin 'patāsī' or Cutchi/Gujarati 'pʰaḍsī'. Further, my analysis has shown that about 65 Indic words are specifically of Cutchi/Sindhi origin, 16 Gujarati, three Bengali and only 10 Hindi/Urdu; about 190 words occur commonly in the Indic languages present in East Africa.

My present list in this thesis includes at least fourteen Swahili verbs of Persian origin (e.g. *kusafidi* to whiten/brighten, and *kuzandiki* to be a hypocrite) and five of Indian origin (e.g. *kuchapa* to print, and *kujangia* to whip/whisk), excluding extended verbs such as Persian *kubomoa* (to demolish, from the noun *boma* fortification) and Indic *chacharika* ~ *chachatika* (to be excited, from the noun *chachari*, excitement). Further, six Persian and three Indic adverbs have been identified; and there are also seven Persian and seven Indic adjectives, plus derived forms, and three interjections each from Persian and Indian languages. This study has shown altogether about 290 Persian loanwords and about 280 Indian, 16 Turkish, eight Malay or Indonesian, four Chinese and one Japanese in Swahili

excluding derivations. In addition, there are many words of Persian-Arabic origin (e.g. *Habedari!* Attention!), Persian-Indian (e.g. *fuludani* flower vase) and Arabic-Indian origin (e.g. *kareini* twenty million).

The 1000-word list of Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) showed a very small set of Indic loans in Swahili, found along the whole coast. "Its general phonological uniformity points to its fairly recent introduction into the language in the fields of trade, plants, food types, ornaments and kinship terms. In the dialects from Mombasa south, there is a particular set of items of Indian and Persian origin, some quite 'basic' (e.g. *goti* 'knee', *chuchu* 'nipple/breast', *paja* 'thigh'), which appear to centre on Pemba and Zanzibar" (op.cit.:329).

Persian and Indian words show a wide range of cultural activity, but they are prominent for maritime terms, tools, architecture, textiles and garments, and they generally depict the patrician life style of the urban Swahili upper class.

The lists of borrowed words in Swahili (and the languages of Eastern Africa in general) are extensive, whereas the lists of Swahili words (and Eastern African words in general) borrowed internationally by languages outside Eastern Africa are very limited, e.g. 'safari' (and by analogy 'seafari' and 'airfari' in East African English, and 'fiskfari', fishing safari, in current tourist Swedish), 'Uhuru' (Freedom, Independence), and 'jumbo' (large like an elephant, derived from *Jambo*, the Swahili name of the first elephant brought to the London Zoo). This indicates that perhaps Eastern African peoples need to reflect also upon what has been borrowed by others from their languages (and from them), and what they themselves have borrowed (and learnt) from the others, because "loanwords can function collectively as a mirror for the culture from whose language they are borrowed" (Higa 1979:290). As for Swahili and Indic loans from East Africa in the Hadrami variant of Arabic, Al-Aidaroos (1996, 1997 and 1998) has prepared three studies which describe one northward movement of East African influences in the western Indian Ocean.

Oriental and European cultures have both influenced Swahili society, a linguistic consequence of these influences has been cultural borrowings. Oriental items have been entering for more than two millennia now, and European items (other than a few Greek and Latin early indirect loans) started with the arrival of the Portuguese in 1498, but mostly in the second half of the twentieth century.

More plausible or reliable new etymologies of some already documented Oriental loans, and also loans previously unidentified, have been suggested. This enables us to appreciate the de facto socio-cultural impact of particularly the Indians in Eastern Africa and also justly attribute the specific cultural influence to particular donor Indian sub-groups – in the case of the linguistic borrowings, for example, it is the (Muslim) Cutchi-speaking Indians who are suggested as a major Indic contributor on historical and phonological grounds. I have tried to establish correct Indic

etymologies by historical and phonological analysis. A historical scrutiny of the various Indian communities in Eastern Africa and their socio-cultural background in India, with a view of the sociology of their 'communities' in East Africa, combined with a phonological analysis of the Indic loans in Swahili, is carried out to arrive at convincing results.

East Africans originating in Iran and the Indian sub-continent (modern Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) constitute less than one percent of the population of East Africa. Their economic and intellectual efforts have been well documented; their political involvement vis-à-vis later isolation has often been described, but their social/cultural importance has not been studied in satisfactory detail. Knowledge of Indic linguistic loans and cultural contribution is inadequate, and the source of Indic loans is frequently traced to Hindi, which is not correct to a large extent. Some of the Indic loans have very high frequency and so they are 'everyday words', e.g. *ankra*, *bepari*, *ubepari*, *bima*, *embe*, *gari*, *godoro*, *hundi*, *papai*, *serikali* and *ujangiri*. Some of them, e.g. *godoro*, appear in classical Swahili poetry such as the Al-Inkishafi of AD 1750 and some wedding songs.

The Persian and Indian contribution to the material culture of the Swahili, and the East Africans in general, can be appreciated from the list of Persian and Indic elements in Swahili (in the previous chapter). The Oriental influence on Swahili cookery is also immense and it has been described in section 4.8. These Oriental loans and cuisine influences are spreading deep into the heart of Africa, from the Indian Ocean to the Lakes, with the spread of the Swahili language and its urban mode of life.

This research has shown the interaction between the fields of linguistics and history in East Africa which is illustrated with examples of loans with reference to cultural history, and the use of linguistic data in providing historical information.

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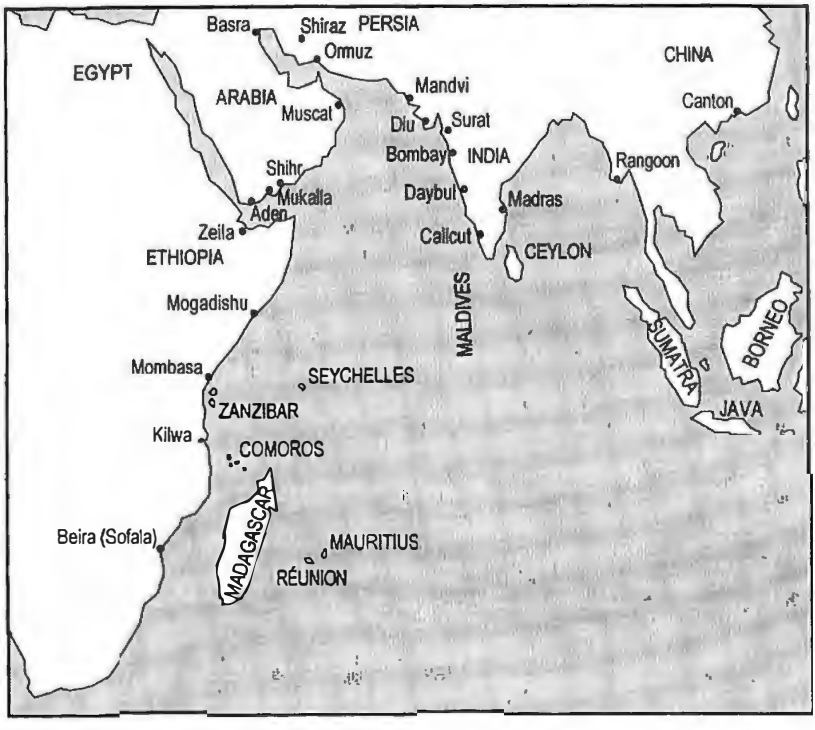
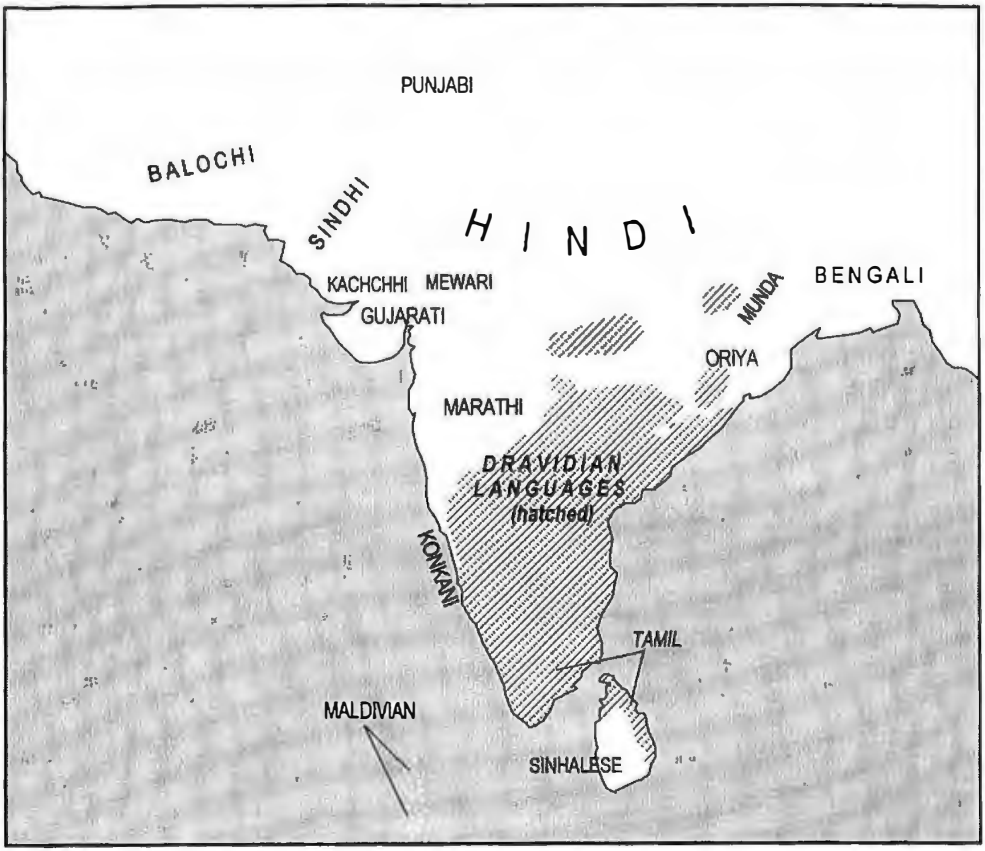


Map 1. Locations around the Indian Ocean

Map 2. Locations on the East African coast



Map 3. Language map of South Asia

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