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**Contact induced change in Bena (G63) – A study of  
'swahilization' in a Tanzanian vernacular language**

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## **Abstract**

The aim of this study is to describe how Swahili is influencing the vocabulary of Bena (G63), one of the vernacular languages of Tanzania. The paper is written within the field of contact linguistics and relies on theories on how the linguistic outcome of the dis-empowered language is affected in an intense and unequal language contact situation. The investigation is primarily based on data collected from a field trip to the Bena speaking community in March 2012, supported by the Nordic Africa Institute. Several different methods of linguistic fieldwork were used in gathering the data.

The results show that the societal setting of Tanzania, where Swahili enjoys a much higher prestige than Bena, has rendered in a situation where Bena has been 'swahilized'. There is an extended set of loanwords in Bena borrowed from Swahili. These borrowings have started to influence the structure of the language as well. However, the investigation also shows that Bena speakers exhibit innovativeness in how they integrate loanwords. The vast bulk of adopted words seem to fill the function of expanding the vocabulary rather than to replace already existing terms. This reflects vitality still in Bena, despite the pressure from Swahili.

Keywords: African languages, Bantu, Bena, Swahili, contact linguistics, contact induced change, unequal bilingualism, 'swahilization', vocabulary, loanwords, borrowing

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ACP = Agreement prefix  
C = Consonant  
CL = Class  
CP-a = Connective Particle  
DEM = Demonstrative  
EXT = Extension  
FV = Final Vowel  
L1 = mother tongue  
L2= second acquired language  
LOC = Locative prefix  
NCP = Noun Class Prefix  
OM = Object Marker  
PrePx = Preprefix  
\*PB = Proto-Bantu  
REL = relative marker  
SG/PL = singular/plural  
SM = Subject Marker  
TA, TAM = Tense/Aspect, Tense/Aspect/Modus-marker  
V = Vowel  
1, 2, 3... = 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> person / number of a noun class

# 1. Introduction

The aim of this essay is to highlight and discuss the process of ‘swahilization’, i.e. Swahili influence, found in the lexicon of the vernacular language Bena spoken in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania.

After independence, political and institutional forces in Tanzania (<Tanganyika)<sup>1</sup> were gathered to disembark Swahili as *the* language, transferring the idea of monolingual nation-state as a key act of unifying nationalism (Legère 2010:51). As a result the more than 120 vernacular languages of Tanzania were ignored and even openly discouraged as tools of ‘tribalism’ (Lönneborg 1999:165; cf. Legère 2006:100; Ström 2009:229). The situation is by far the same today and consequently all language use within the public sphere is delimited to Swahili, whereas the use of the vernaculars are disempowered and, to some extent, even prohibited (Muzale & Rugemalira 2008:69).

This kind of social setting has caused a contact situation between Swahili and the vernaculars that is so intense and stratified in terms of power/status/prestige/influence that it is plausible to expect a high level of Swahili interference in them. There are reasons to believe that this ‘unequal bilingualism’ (Batibo 2005:92; Winford 2003:38) or process of ‘swahilization’ (Yoneda 2010), is leading to an impoverishment of these languages, a state of language decay that eventually will lead to language shift, which in turn cause language death. This is as great loss to the speakers themselves as to our common cultural heritage and ethno-botanical wealth of knowledge.

The intention here, given the circumstances presented above, is to find out how this affects a part of the outcome of linguistic use, namely the vocabulary, in one of these languages - Bena. Hence, the main focus will be on lexical loans<sup>2</sup> descending from Swahili and present in synchronic Bena. The belief is that there will be a high amount of borrowed words from Swahili in Bena, including formal words, basic words (cf. 3.2. and 5.2.4) as well as structural changes triggered by this. As a result, this essay will deal with inquiries concerning the number and the kind of lexical borrowing we find in Bena, both in regards to semantic

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<sup>1</sup> The name of the country changed after the unification with Zanzibar in 1964.

<sup>2</sup> The term ‘loan’ is used here in a rather tentative way, as it is problematic in such a bilingual setting found here (where entirely all members of the speakers community are fluent in Swahili) to actually decide what a ‘proper’ loan is in respect to code-switching and nonce borrowing (see a discussion under theoretical framework).

affiliation as well as word class belongings. Further, the treatment of these loans will be considered, i.e. *how* they are adapted and incorporated, both phonologically and morphologically but also lexically. As stated above, there is in a first instance an interconnection between an asymmetric language contact situation and the heavy borrowing into one language from the other one. In a second instance, this heavy borrowing entails a circumstance of wider structural interference (cf. Winford 2003:54). Some of these additional processes of grammatical change in Bena will briefly be analyzed here as well.

Extending the view from a Tanzanian/Bantuistic outlook, the expectation is also to provide some typological material for a wider understanding of the patterns and the processes of borrowing involved in this kind of ‘super-ordinate’<sup>3</sup> situation of language contact. Contact affects all languages of the world but certainly small, disempowered and potentially endangered languages like Bena. This supports the position of contact linguistics as an important part of field linguistics (Bower 2010:340). Several recent linguistic descriptions of Tanzanian vernaculars (e.g. Harjula 2004; Petzell 2008; Morrison 2011) mention Swahili intrusion, but do not deal with it extensively, for the obvious reason that their main aim is to capture the original structure and lexicon. This is an attempt to ‘turn the tables’ however, by exclusively directing the focus on these Swahili influences instead. However, due to the limited scope of this essay, it should not be seen as an exhaustive study, covering all traits among the configurations of contact induced change, but rather as a brief insight into some of the processes involved in a vernacular language in today’s Tanzania.

This paper will begin by offering a historical and social as well as linguistic background to the two languages in focus (i.e. Swahili and Bena) and the contextual setting of their contact situation. It will be followed by a presentation of theories concerning borrowing and a description of the methodologies that has been used for the present subject. The analysis will try to answer the questions discussed above, beginning with the integration of the loans, then moving on to describe their character while ending up in how they affect the structure. Lastly, a summary and some conclusive remarks will be mentioned before the references. Attached to this essay is an appendix with a map over the geographical diffusion of the Tanzanian languages, including Bena. The two 100 word lists of basic vocabulary (cf. 6.4) and some samples from the field work are additionally included here.

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<sup>3</sup> The term is from Batibo (2005:102).

## 2. Background

### 2.1 Previous studies

To start with, there is not an extended amount of previous studies on the Bena language or community. The works of Nyagava (1999) and Giblin (2004, 2005) concern the socio-historical background of Bena society. Included here are also Culwick (1935), an anthropological overview of the Bena people and Swartz (1968) dealing with kinship relations. Parks (1988) outlines the historical relationship of the wider community of Southern Highlands, where Bena is spoken. On the language of Bena, Priebusch's grammar with an attached word list (1935) has been consulted although it bundles together Bena and neighboring Hehe (the title is *Bena-Hehe Grammatik*). Two works on Bena by Nurse include a brief linguistic description (1979) and an outline of the diachronic evolution of the languages spoken in the Southern Highlands (1988). My own MA thesis (Bernander 2011) concerns Bena nominal morphology. The most crucial work is, however, Morrison's extensive thesis (2011), a thorough work dealing with all aspects of the grammar of Bena, including a sociolinguistic analysis. Some additional documents written in Bena or primarily containing Bena vocabulary will be accounted for under section 4.1.3.

On Swahili, on the other hand, there is more to choose from. In this study, apart from two works specifically dealing with the contact situation (see below), they comprise the lexicons of Johnson (1939) and TUKI<sup>4</sup> (1996). The works of Ashton (1944/69) and Polomé (1967) have also been accessed for insight into the grammatical structure.

Lastly, there are several studies related to the particular subject. Earlier studies of contact induced change in a Niger-Congo context include Thornell on Sango<sup>5</sup>, an Ngbandi-based creole, spoken in CAR (1995, 1997). In a specific Bantu perspective Rosendal (2011) as well as Petzell (2005) are concerned with borrowing within the semantic field of ICT, in relation to the languages Ikinyarwanda and Swahili respectively. Lodhi (2000) and Schadeberg (2009) also deal with loans in Swahili, the former primarily on items of Oriental origin and the latter in a more general sense. However, all these studies consider superior languages compared to Bena, in the joint meaning of number of speakers, distribution, political and institutionalized support and consequently status/power in society. From a position more equal to Bena, i.e. a

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<sup>4</sup> TUKI = *Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili* [Institute of Swahili research], University of Dar-es-Salaam.

<sup>5</sup> The glossonyms found here are the variants given by the respective authors.



Tanzanian vernacular influenced by Swahili, Mous & Qorro comprise an examination of the Cushitic language Iraqw (2009). A similar outlook is offered in Mekacha on Ekinata (1993), Swilla on Chindali (2000), Mkude on Luguru (2011) and Yoneda on Matengo (2010). These studies do, in addition, specifically deal with Bantu languages.

## 2.2 Background Bena

Bena is spoken in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, North East of Lake Malawi; roughly within the region that constitutes Njombe<sup>6</sup>. The number of speakers is estimated at around 600 000<sup>7</sup> (Muzale & Rugemalira 2008:79; Lewis 2009), which makes it a fairly big vernacular in the country<sup>8</sup>. The people are said to have lived in the area since 1200 AD (Nyangava 1999:51). The region is typified by a general affinity between the closely related neighboring languages, which has engaged people in a regional multi-lingual context (Park 1988:132,172; Giblin 2005:131; Nurse 1988:43: cf. Legère 2007:43). Hence, many Bena speakers are linguistically skilled in e.g. Hehe and the level of contact induced changes here are presumably high. One example is to respond to a greeting with *ale*, ‘good’, instead of *ongo*. Both utterances being equally common, the latter is considered a loan from Hehe. Even the ethnonym (either from the name of a common ancestor, or the practice of finger milling or panning salt)<sup>9</sup> used for distinguishing Bena speakers from their neighbors was not fully in practice until the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Nyangava 1999:24). In addition, the language has some loan words from Southern Cushitic in their vocabulary concerning flora and fauna, e.g. (*i*)*senga*, ‘cattle’, as Southern Cushitic speakers were the inhabitants of the area before the Bantu expansion (Nurse 1988:69). German and British/American missioning extended the lexicon of Bena with at least five loan words, e.g. *lefele* ‘spoon’ < Ger. ‘Löffel’ and *tembeli* ‘church’ < Eng. ‘temple’ (Morrison 2011:141)<sup>10</sup>.

## 2.3 Background Swahili

Swahili has developed along the shores of the Indian Ocean at a focal point of sailing and trading. It is, in the words of Schadeberg (2009:78), a “contact language *per excellence*”,

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<sup>6</sup> The regionalization of Njombe (former a district of Iringa region) is a process in the ongoing.

<sup>7</sup> However, these numbers complies more of a reference of ethnic belonging rather than actual fluency in the language.

<sup>8</sup> Bena is the 13<sup>th</sup> biggest vernacular in Tanzania according to Muzale & Rugemalira (2008:79).

<sup>9</sup> To be provided an ethnonym from outsiders based on a characteristic practice (if this is the case here) is not delimited only to Bena (cf. Becker 2010:97).

<sup>10</sup> Hence these are direct loans. Other loans inherited from English found in this study have passed through Swahili.

where cultural contacts (beyond the scope of an historical outline here) have boosted the lexicon with loans from Arabic, English, various Indian languages, Portuguese, Persian, Malagasy, Chinese, Turkish and German (Schadeberg 2009:86; Lodhi 2000: 49-127; Polomé 1967: 172-177). There are a few loans from other Tanzanian languages as well (Gromova 2000:43-50; Mbaabu 1985:45-47). The main borrowing of today originates from English, indeed the global provider of lexical extension on terms considering modernity, technology etc. (cf. Petzell 2005). The structure of the language is Bantu, with the exception of various Arabic intrusions including some phonemes and syntactical configurations as well as the adoption of certain consonant clusters not found in common Bantu (cf. 2.4 and Batibo 2009:97). Standardized Swahili is developed on the Unguja dialect. This research is based on standard Swahili.

## **2.4 Typological background**

Both Bena and Swahili are members of the Bantu language family (a sub-group of the Niger-Congo Phyla)<sup>11</sup>, which according to Nurse & Philipson is the biggest genetic cluster of languages in the world (2003:1). In Guthrie (1948; 1967/71) Bena and Swahili are classified within the same zone, the ‘G zone’, albeit within different groups. Swahili is subsumed within the G40’s (as G42) whereas Bena is incorporated within the G60’s (as G63). In the lexicostatistical classification by Nurse & Hinnebusch (1980) the groups ‘Sabaki’ and ‘Southern Highland’ fairly coincide with Guthrie’s G40 and G60 respectively. According to them, these groups share a lexical similarity of 32,75% (ibid.:35). In comparison with the statistics of those languages geographically based between them, Bena and Swahili seem to constitute two ends on a language continuum. Consequently the two languages share some mutual characteristics. These include a phonotax preferring open syllable constructions, pre-nasalized consonants and syllabic nasals, an agglutinative configuration with an extended gender (here forth referred to as Noun Class; NC) system and richly inflected and derived verbs, but a limited set of adjectives (Polomé 1967; Morrison 2011; Nurse & Philippon 2003:7-10). The lack of an extended amount of adjectives is in a wider sense typical for all Niger-Congo languages (Thornell 1997:181)<sup>12</sup>. However, borrowing has rendered an, from a Bantuistic perspective, extended adjective class in Swahili. Syntactically they are constituted

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<sup>11</sup> According to Bostoen (2004:132) the relation of Bantu to Niger-Congo can, in terms of genealogical affinity, be resembled with that of West-Scandinavian to Indo-European (!).

<sup>12</sup> It is the case for several other languages of the world as well. Adjectival concepts are expressed through verbs or other constructions instead.

in a similar manner, with e.g. SVO order. Thus, Bena and Swahili are quite closely related languages which would motivate the contact induced changes between them to be classified as nearly an ‘internal loan’ situation (cf. Lodhi 2000:29); this is, however, to some extent distorted by the distinctive socio-history of Swahili influencing its lexicon and structure. Further, internal grammaticalization processes have resulted in the dropping or modification of ‘traditional’ Bantu characteristics in Swahili including tone, preprefix and some verbal qualities (Schadeberg 2009:92; Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993)<sup>13</sup>. On the contrary, Bena prevails with an (actually) untypically rigorous and classical Bantu structure, including for e.g. 19 NC’s and 4 past/3 future tense markers (Nurse 1979; Morrison 2011). A very brief and non-exhaustive summary of the linguistic systems of the two languages follows below.

#### **2.4.1 The language structure of Bena and Swahili**

Table 1 and table 2 account for the phonemic inventory of the two languages. Orthographic variety is marked with parenthesis when differing from the IPA’s (see 4.3 for a discussion on the writing system used for Bena). As seen in table 1 the characteristics of the vowels are identical (a). Bena (1) does however distinguish between short (1.a) and long (1.b) vowels unlike Swahili (2). In some cases, due to borrowing and a regular sound change in Swahili where an inter-vocalic /l/ has been dropped, certain words contain two identical vowels that occur in sequence. These are, however, separate syllables, e.g. *makaa* [ma.ka.a] ‘coal’ < *makala* [ma.ka.la].

**Table 1. Vowels in Bena (1) and Swahili (2)**

<b>1.a)</b> i	u	<b>1.b)</b> i: (ii)	u: (uu)
ɛ (e)	ɔ (o)	ɛ: (ee)	ɔ: (oo)
a		a: (aa)	
<b>2.a)</b> i	u		
ɛ (e)	ɔ (o)		
a			

<sup>13</sup> There is, however no evidence of Swahili being exposed to creolization (Childs 2010:698).

There are more differences between the languages within the consonant paradigm, mainly due to the interdental and velar fricatives in Swahili borrowed from Arabic. There are some other differences as well, however. In the table, phonemes not considered as Bena are bolded; The Bena phoneme /ts/ which is not found in Swahili is underlined. In Swahili /l/ and /r/ are contrastive following inter-dialectal as well as external borrowing (Schadeburg 2009:89), whereas Bena has free allophonic variation in this instance but /l/ is the preferred orthographic representative. Many of the consonants can be pre-nasalized in both of the languages. For a wider outline of Bantu phonology cf. Maddieson (2003:15-41) and Hyman (2003:42-58).

**Table 2. A combined sketch of Swahili and Bena consonants**

	<b>Bilabial</b>	<b>Labio-dental</b>	<b>Interdental</b>	<b>Alveolar</b>	<b>Post-alveolar</b>	<b>Palatal</b>	<b>Velar</b>	<b>Gl-ottal</b>
<b>Plosive</b>	p b			t d			k g	
<b>Nasal</b>	m			n		ɲ(ny)	ŋ(ng)	
<b>Fricative</b>		f v	<b>θ(th) ð(dh)</b>	s	<b>ʃ(sh) ʒ(j)</b>		<b>ɣ(gh)</b>	h
<b>Affricate</b>				<u>ts(dz)</u>	<b>tʃ(ch)</b>			
<b>Trill</b>				<b>r</b>				
<b>Approx.</b>	w			l		j(y)		

The nominal morphology sketched in table 3 concerns the NC system and the various prefixes connected to it, i.e. the preprefix (PrePx), Nominal Class Prefix (NCP) and Agreement Class Prefix (ACP).

The presence or omission of the preprefix in Bena discourse is governed by specific rules of topicality and referentiality (cf. Morrison 2011:155-165). It is absent in Swahili.

The NCP is the constituent of a noun and it is placed directly on the stem. In particular classes, some associated words do not carry the prefix, i.e. class (CL) 6 in Swahili and CL 9/10 in both languages. CL1x refers to such a set of animate terms that do not take an ‘overt’ NCP. In Swahili this pattern continues with the term in plural (i.e. in CL2), while in Bena the NCP2 is added. The NCP also serves to show agreement on adjectives. The Agreement Class Prefix (ACP) shows class belonging on various other modifiers that agree with the noun. It is also the prefix used to mark concord on the verb (i.e. as subject marker, object marker and/or relative marker). The exception is CL 1 and 2 where the ACP is divided into person and number. As seen in the examples, one class serves as the singular/plural form of its neighbor. The exceptions are CL 11, 14 and 20 that take plural with other, non-neighboring classes.

Classes that do not take PL are CL 15 that constitutes verbs in their ‘nounish’ infinitive form and CL 16, 17, 18 that are used for locative expressions. Bena uses these for deriving nouns into the locative, while Swahili in this instance uses a suffix, *-ni*. Swahili lacks CL 12, 13 and 20.

**Table 3. The NC system with the various class prefixes of Bena and Swahili**

CI no.	BENA			SWAHILI			Bena example	Swahili example	Glosses
	PrePx	NCP	ACP	PrePx	NCP	ACP			
1.	u-	m(u)-	1. ndi- 2. u- 3. a-	-	m-	1. ni- 2. u- 3. a-	<i>muunu</i>	<i>mtu</i>	‘human being’
1x.	-“-	∅	-”-	-	∅	-“-	<i>∅-daada</i>	<i>∅-baba</i>	‘father’
2.	a-	va-	1. tu- 2.m/mu- 3. va-	-	wa-	1. tu- 2. m- 3. wa	<i>vaanu</i>	<i>watu</i>	‘human beings’
3.	u-	m(u)-	gu-	-	m-	u-	<i>mukoga</i>	<i>mtu</i>	‘river’
4.	i-	mi-	gi-	-	mi-	i-	<i>mikoga</i>	<i>mitu</i>	‘rivers’
5.	i-	li-	li-	-	∅-, ji-	li-	<i>lidzebele</i>	<i>∅-hindi</i>	‘corn’ (SG)
6.	a-	ma-	ga-	-	ma-	ya-	<i>madzebele</i>	<i>mahindi</i>	‘corn’ (PL)
7.	i-	hi-	hi-	-	ki-	ki-	<i>hiinu</i>	<i>kitu</i>	‘thing’
8.	i-	fi-	fi-	-	vi-	vi-	<i>viinu</i>	<i>vitu</i>	‘things’
9.	i-	N-/∅-	yi-	-	N- /∅-	i-	<i>singo</i>	<i>shingo</i>	‘neck’
10.	i-	N-/∅-	dzi-	-	N- /∅-	zi-	<i>singo</i>	<i>shingo</i>	‘necks’
11.	u-	lu-	lu-	-	u-	u-	<i>lukandzi</i>	<i>ukuta</i>	‘wall’
12.	a-	ha-	ha-	-	-		<i>hadege</i>	-	‘small bird’
13.	u-	tu-	tu-	-	-		<i>tudege</i>	-	‘small birds’
14.	u-	vu- /wu-	vu-/wu-	-	u-	u-	<i>vulaasi</i>	<i>ulanzi</i>	‘fermented sap’
15.	u-	hu-	hu-	-	ku-	ku-	<i>hukina</i>	<i>kupenda</i>	‘to love’
16.	a-	pa-	pa-	-	-	pa-	<i>pamukoga</i>	<i>mtoni</i>	‘at the river’
17.	u-	hu-	hu-	-	-	ku-	<i>humukoga</i>	<i>mtoni</i>	‘to the river’
18.	u-	m(u)-	m(u)-	-	-	m(u)-	<i>mumukoga</i>	<i>mtoni</i>	‘in the river’
20.	u-	gu-	gu-	-	-	-	<i>gudege</i>	-	‘big, bad bird’

In Bena, these classes are used for semantic derivations of words from other classes; in CL 12/13 (a SG/PL pair) words are derived into diminutive and in CL20<sup>14</sup> into augmentative as well as derogative. CL 11 and CL 14 have ‘collapsed’ in Swahili, in the sense that they take identical prefixes.

The examples in the table refer to the same word in both of the languages. This semantic correspondence with regard to class is not crystal clear in reality though. For an outline of semantic characteristics of the various classes and the problems with such a distribution, cf. Katamba (2003:114-119). For a general outline of Bantu nominal morphology see the rest of his chapter (ibid.:103-121).

The verbal paradigms of Bena and Swahili are made up of several morphemes attached to the verbal root as shown in the template below. Slots in brackets are optional. All slots can be used at the same time, however. Tense-Aspect (TA) refers to inflectional prefixes whereas extension (EXT) refers to derivational suffixes of the verbal root. Examples of such extensions that both languages share, are causative, stative and reciprocal. Mode (M) follows slightly different patterns not outlined here; the implementation of *-e* as a final vowel (FV) is a part of it though. In Bena, some additional TA-relations are expressed with the FV. Included among the FV’s are *-aga* and *-ile*, based on their function rather than on their shape. The subject maker (SM) and object marker (OM) refers to the subject and the object of the clause expressed with the ACP’s, as explained above. The relative particle occurs before the SM in Bena, while it occurs after the TA-marker in Swahili. Swahili can only take one TA-marker while Bena can take two simultaneously. For more information on the characteristics of the Bantu verbal paradigm see Schadeberg (2003a:71-89) and Nurse (2003:90-102).

**Table 4. The verbal template of Swahili and Bena (non-exhaustive)**

	(Pre-SM)	SM	TA <sub>1</sub>	(TA <sub>2</sub> )	(REL.)	(OM)	V	(EXT)	FV
SWAHILI	neg.	subj.-marker	TA	-	relative	obj.-marker	verbal root	extensions	final vowel
BENA	neg. or rel.	subj.-marker	tense-aspect	other TA	-	obj.-marker	verbal root	extensions	final vowel (including <i>-aga</i> , <i>-ile</i> )

<sup>14</sup> CL20 takes its PL form in CL6.

## 2.5 Contact between Bena and Swahili

The Swahili speakers' involvement as middle men in the caravan trade expansion into the inland of East Africa originally caused the spreading of the language as a lingua franca (Salim 1998: 85; cf. Lodhi 2000: 34; Mbaabu 1985:49). There are historical accounts of a caravan from Lindi passing through the Bena speaking area in 1858 (Nyagava 1999:96f). It is reasonable to believe, however, that an actual linguistic contact situation between the languages began with the emergence of colonizers in the mid 1890's and their use of Swahili as the language of political communication (including war!), administration and medium of instruction (MoI) in education (Whiteley 1969:59; Swartz 1968:42; cf. Swilla 2000:298; Mekacha 1993:74). Expanded agricultural activity was an important gateway into Swahili as well (Whiteley 1969:64). For the Bena speaking community it involved the establishment of farms in Njombe, but also labor migration to, in particular, sisal plantations along the coast (Giblin 2005:17, 109; cf. Mekacha 1993:75). Emerging business played its part too; not least the entry of Asian shop-keepers (Giblin 2005:17), selling their goods in Swahili resulting in the terminology of these to be incorporated into Bena discourse (cf. Mbaabu 1985:50). According to Culwick, Swahili was commonly mastered as a lingua franca by the Bena already in the 1930's (Culwick 1935:189; cf. Swartz 1968:42). It is not clear how extensive this state of bilingualism was however.

What *is* clear is that a much more intense contact situation between Swahili and Bena originates from after independence in 1961, when political and institutional forces in Tanzania (<Tanganyika) tried to enforce Swahili as the exclusive national language (Batibo 2009:92). Hence, the idea of a monolingual nation-state was proposed as an important ideological instrument and discourse fundament in promoting national integration and “re-enforc[ing] the sentiment of oneness” (Bamgbose 1990:16; cf. Batibo 2009:92; see Legère 2010:51 for an outline of important implementations of policies and institutions). Swahili was promoted as national and official language (Batibo 2009:93; Legère 2007:43) on the expense of the more than 120 vernacular languages of Tanzania which were marginalized and even openly discouraged as tools of dividing ‘tribalism’ (Lönneborg 1999:165; cf. Legère 2006:100; Ström 2009:229). The situation is by far the same today and consequently nearly all language use within the public sphere is enclosed to Swahili. This includes education, law enforcement, business, politics, mass media, literature, music as well as information and communication technology (ICT). Simultaneously the vernaculars are disempowered and the use of them is, to some extent, even prohibited (Muzale & Rugemalira 2008:69; Legère 2007:50-51). In 2007

the Cultural Act (*Sera ya Utamaduni*) was passed, which stated protection and enduring of the use of the vernaculars (Legère 2007:51). However, no institutionalized support or implementations followed in its path (ibid). Instead the use of English was further reinforced (!) (Duvilliers 2011:5).

The exception to Swahili hegemony is the aforementioned English. It constitutes the other official language of the nation-state and is formally the language of high court, higher education and international business (Morrison 2011:19). It also bestows a general sense of high prestige in society. The language stratification in Tanzania is as such actually ‘trifocal’ (Whiteley 1969:99; Batibo 2000:9; Batibo 2009: 89)<sup>15</sup>, or a ‘triglossia’ (Mkilifi 1972; cited in Batibo 2000:10). English is the main donor language into synchronic Swahili borrowing and it trickles through via Swahili into the vernaculars (Petzell 2005:86). English intrusion in these languages is thus primarily an indirect affair.

As outlined above, the contact situation between the vernaculars and Swahili is not only intense but also stratified in terms of power/status/prestige/influence. The language and speakers of Bena being part of Tanzanian society are obviously not an exception to this state of ‘marked’ or ‘unequal bilingualism’, in using the words of Batibo (2005:89; 2009:89). In her study of Bena speakers’ attitude to their own language, Morrison (2011:21-30) links the social aspects (especially the formal education system) to the speakers’ own claims of engaging in less and less communication using their L1 in a trans-generational downward spiral. Older speakers also regard Bena as having become ‘diluted’ in the speech of younger generations. Keeping in mind that this is a “perennial complaint across the world” (Bowern 2008:139), it nonetheless serves as a clear indicator of linguistic influence given the social setting. Yoneda’s study on Matengo (2010), approximating Bena linguistically, geographically and socially, confirms these inferences. Data from my informants indicates this as well.

### **3. Theoretical framework**

This study will rely on theories developed within the field of contact linguistics, described as a cross-disciplinary convergence of social sciences and linguistics (Winford 2003:6). It concerns all aspects involved in a contact situation between a ‘donor language’, i.e. the

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<sup>15</sup> A wider deviation on the role of English is beyond the scope of coverage here. Interested readers are referred to e.g. Legère (2010).



provider of code, in this case Swahili, versus a ‘recipient language’, i.e. the receiver of code, in this case Bena (the terms are from Haspelmath 2009:37). The primary concentration here will be on the linguistic outcome in speech (mainly on loanwords) based on a functional-typological perspective, essentially within Bantuistics<sup>16</sup>. However, as Weinreich crucially concluded (1953/1963:4): “the linguist who makes theories about language influence but neglects to account for the socio-cultural setting of the language contact leaves his [sic] study suspended, as it were, in midair”. The theoretical notion is thus bifocal: the societal setting explains, enlightens and provides a background for the structure of a language in use on the one hand, while the linguistic outcome on the other hand mirrors the structure of the society, as all gap-filling or expansion of domains are conditioned on societal development and contact. As there is a rather straggling set of theories concerning processes, kinds and functions of borrowing they will be presented in the relevant chapters. What will remain here in the following section is first a presentation of the requirements used in this essay for defining a loan. Secondly, the relation between the intensiveness of contact and the various degrees of linguistic outcome will be discussed, resulting in some assumptions for our particular contact situation.

### **3.1 Requirements for a loan**

In general, a loan is considered as a replication of a feature from the donor language to the recipient language (Haspelmath 2009:36)<sup>17</sup>. This encompasses several different kinds of incorporations, not necessarily as the result of an isolated word-to-word process. It can also constitute a hybrid of the donor language code and the recipient language code, or consist exclusively of the code of the recipient language but with an enhanced meaning inspired by a donor language. A suggestion on how to categorise these different loanwords, with regard to Swahili words in Bena, will be more thoroughly discussed in chapter 6.1. What we have to determine here however is how to distinguish *code-switching* from borrowing.

#### ***3.1.1 The difference between borrowing and code-switching***

Code-switching refers to the act of interchanging from one language to another in the middle of a conversation, highly common in a bi- or multilingual setting like the one found in Tanzania (Myers-Scotton 2006:242). In essence the difference between borrowing and code-

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<sup>16</sup> For a general outline of Bantu linguistics see Nurse & Philipson (2003).

<sup>17</sup> As discussed by many writers the terms ‘borrowing’ and ‘loan’ are quite misleading as the borrowed items never leave the donor language, nor is it ever returned from the recipient language.

switching<sup>18</sup> is that the latter is not a “[...] kind of contact induced language change but rather a kind of contact induced speech behavior” (Haspelmath 2009:40). Their mutual occurrence in discourse does however create the problem of singling out one from the other. There are four common criteria of defining what comprise a loan in opposition to code-switching (cf. Haspelmath 2009:40ff; Boyds, Andersson, Thornell 1997:260f; Lodhi 2000:26; Thornell 1995:165; 1997:98):

1. It is used by those who do not speak the donor language
2. It is contested in older written sources (i.e. diachronic stability).
3. It is fully integrated in the grammatical structure of the recipient language.
4. It is used frequently and regularly (i.e. synchronic stability)

However, the contextual setting of Bena, as for all vernaculars of Tanzania, severely complicates the use of these standards. First, almost the entire population is bilingual in Swahili (cf. 2.2), including elders<sup>19</sup> and small children. Secondly, there are few written documents in the language and those that do exist are seldom written by native speakers of Bena. Thirdly, Swahili and Bena are related and quite similar in their respective structure as outlined above. However, as we also noticed, there are some striking differences in the structure due to the historical background of Swahili. The main problem here is rather that the contact with Swahili is so heavy that the loans/code-switching in itself influences a restructuring of Bena especially in the phonological domains (see more below). Fourth, as there is a lack of extended documentation there is also the lack of extended sources of diachronic use, especially as some of these sources (including the New Testament from 1914) is seriously questioned as reliable (cf. Morrison 2011:12; Rev. Muhehwa, pers. comm. 17 March 2012). Nonetheless, as many documents as possible containing Bena language have

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<sup>18</sup> There is a variant of code-switching proposed, namely code-mixing. According to Lodhi (2000) the term comprise “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” (Lodhi 2000:26).

<sup>19</sup> The following anecdote given by M. Morrison (pers. comm. 3 Feb 2012) is quite significant in this matter: “I had a conversation with one old woman who told me that she never used Swahili and that she didn't know any Swahili at all. We had an entire conversation lasting 10 or 15 minutes about how she didn't know any Swahili and had never learned [it]...and our entire conversation was in Swahili (!)”.

been gathered for this study for referential and cross-checking purposes (they will be mentioned under section 4.1.3).

The case is further complicated as code-switching and loans are not discrete entities and thus in the middle of this continuum of frequency, there will be encounters of so called *nonce borrowings*, referred to as either code-switching of a single word (if the cup is half-empty) or an uncommon loan (if the cup is half-full). This study is ‘liberal’ in following the stance of the latter and considering nonce borrowing (or ‘lone words’) as actual borrowing. This has partly to do with methodological constraints that does not allow for comprehensive deductions based on aspects of frequency. Crucially, though, it relies on the empirically motivated notion found in Poplack, Sankoff, Miller (1988), stating that:

[...] code switching and borrowing remain distinct processes, *even at the level of the single word*. Whereas in code switching, the speaker alternates between one coherent grammar (and lexicon) and another, according to some predictable syntactic constraints on switch points, in borrowing only one grammatical system is brought into play. (Poplack, Sankoff, Miller 1988:93; my emphasis)

Hence, here nonce borrowings are considered as uncommon or idiosyncratic but integrated single words in the recipient language (cf. *ibid.*:57). Code-switching on the other hand involves multi-word fragments (Poplack & Meechan 1998:128) and is not integrated. Consequently, code-switching is excluded from this study. Due to the constraints on phonemic integration (see 5.1) and the relative syntactic conformity between the two languages, much emphasis has been put on morphological integration.

### **3.1.2 The problem of proto-Bantu (\*PB) cognates**

Being ‘liberal’ in accepting nonce borrowing, this study is ‘conservative’, however, to the extent that it does not consider words that cannot explicitly be proven to be loans given the criteria above. These include instances where words have proto-Bantu (\*PB) cognates and there is no confirmation of a loan situation. The case is the same with German/English loans found in the data that cannot be ruled out as originating from a process of direct linguistic contact. It is hard to evaluate the extent of these words present in the data. A rough estimation is about 20 to 30 words. An example of the former includes *paanga* ‘machete’ and of the latter *husibitali* ‘hospital’<sup>20</sup>. Possible loans from the adjacent languages have not been considered.

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<sup>20</sup> In Bena, this word is actually the object of further complications as it is probably exposed to initial sequence re-analysis (cf. 5.1.2), where the initial syllable is treated as the locative NCP17 and thus removed in its non-locative form rendering (*i*)*sibitali* (9/10). This is however a dubious case, not only

### 3.2 ‘Swahilization’ – Socio-cultural influence on the adoptability of loan words

It is generally perceived that to some extent grammatical factors, i.e. linguistic constraints to what is easier/more difficult to borrow, results in a ‘hierarchy of borrowability’ (Haspelmath 2009:35; Winford 2003:51; Field 2000:34). Hence, e.g., words from open word classes, fairly coinciding with content words, are considered easier to borrow than words from closed word classes, fairly coinciding with function words. Within open word classes nouns are especially easier to incorporate followed by adjectives and verbs.

According to Thomason & Kaufman (1988) this position alone is however not satisfactory as all borrowings are “conditioned in the first stance by social factors” (ibid.:36). As a consequence they suggest a ‘borrowing scale’ (table 5). It includes stages or phases of contact induced change implied by the level of socio-cultural pressure, including the degree of bilingualism of the recipient language community and the length of the contact (cf. Batibo 2005:89). The proposition is that the more intense the contact, the more contact induced change will be noticed in the recipient language.

**Table 5. The borrowing scale based on Thomason & Kaufman (1988:50, 74-76), Thomason (2001:70-71).**

CASUAL CONTACT	>	SLIGHTLY MORE INTENSE CONTACT	>	MORE INTENSE CONTACT	>	INTENSE CONTACT ‘Anything goes’
Moderate lexical borrowing	>	Increased lexical borrowing	>	Even additional lexical borrowing	>	Heavy lexical borrowing
Open word classes only		Function words: conjunctions + adverbial markers		More function words: adpositions + pronouns + low numerals		
Cultural concepts only		Still non-basic vocabulary only		Borrowing of basic vocabulary		
		Minor structural borrowing: -new phonemes (on loan words)		More structural borrowing: -loss or addition of syllable constraints -change in syntax of coordination and subordination -inflectional affixes		Heavy structural borrowing  Major typological changes

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due to the uncertainty around whether it descends directly from English or via Swahili but also as there are two forms of this in Swahili, the alternative one being *ispitali* (Lodhi 2000:129).

Thomason & Kaufman have, nonetheless, combined these social factors with the behavior of the linguist outcome, since a loan from the bottom of the borrowability hierarchy is interpreted as an indicator of a more intense language contact.

Included among the words considered least borrowable are those of the so called *basic vocabulary*<sup>21</sup>, lexemes perceived to be present inherently in all languages (cf. 6.4 for a wider treatment of this notion).

The scale begins with a situation of casual contact characterized by a modest set of borrowing of non-basic cultural terms from open word classes. With more intense contact an extended lexical borrowing will occur, including conjunctions and adverbial particles. In even more intense contact heavy lexical borrowing will follow including low numerals, pronouns and adpositions. Some of these loans will comprise basic vocabulary. The far-reaching borrowing of function words will in turn cause structural interference (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:50, 74-76; Thomason 2001:70-71; cf. Winford 2003:29; cf. Thornell 1997:97).

The various levels of contact are simultaneously measurements on the degree of language decay. Interference in a high stage of an intense, vertical contact situation of unequal or marked bilingualism implies progress towards a language shift as seen in the table (cf. Thornell 1997:19; cf. Batibo 2005:65, 88, 92; Winford 2003:33). In the contact situation of Swahili and other vernaculars, this process of linguistic interference due to intense contact has been referred to as ‘language suffocation’ (Batibo 2005:95f) or ‘swahilization’ (Yoneda 2010), where a “slow, almost surreptitious replacement of the language” (ibid.:147) is taking place.

Given the situation described above for Bena and Swahili and the notions presented here we can make some assumptions. Namely, that there is a situation of socio-cultural pressure between Swahili and Bena. This should result in a high degree of loan words, even present in the basic vocabulary and the closed word classes. As a result structural interference should be accounted for as well.

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<sup>21</sup> In some literature this phenomena is referred to as ‘core vocabulary’. This term is avoided here as it might be confused with the term ‘core borrowing’.

## 4. Method

### 4.1 Data collection

#### 4.1.1 Elicitation and audio recordings

The empirical data of this research was collected during a field trip in the month of March 2012, to the town of Njombe and the village of Ulembwe, roughly 20 km westwards from Njombe town. For the collection of necessary data, the method of elicitation from six informants (see more about them below) was employed. Elicitation involves an interview situation where various techniques are applied for drawing out specific language use from interviewees (i.e. the informants); in this case mostly through translations from closed questionnaires in Swahili (cf. Bower 2010:353). The questionnaires were based on a 500 word list (Aunio n.d.) extended with words that concern public activity and modernity from a ‘meaning list’, developed by Haspelmath and Tudor (2009:22-3), in order to capture both peripheral and basic vocabulary. Some selected sentences from a sentence list (Petzell 2008) were also used as well as a story specifically designed to catch various contact induced changes (founded on assumptions of borrowings from previous studies of Bena and other Tanzanian vernaculars). The process was transcribed by the author with a transcription system based on the Bena writing system (cf. 2.5; 4.3) to enable a dialogue with the informants. The sessions were recorded in uncompressed WAV format with a Zoom H1 which allowed for latter cross-checking of transcription and analysis with the help of the computer software Audacity<sup>22</sup>.

The technique of elicitation was, in addition, balanced by the method of audio recordings (later transcribed) of more ‘natural’ or less restricted speech, i.e. dialogues, storytelling and description of pictures. The pictures consisted of ten nouns, selected under the assumption that they would trigger interesting answers connected to inquiries of contact induced change (see appendix 3). The two methods combined provided both a more regular and comparable set of data as well as the possibility of reaching into the core of informal speech without the strains of translating from Swahili (for an account of this combinational approach cf. Labov 1984:32-33; Bower 2010:353). Due to the intermingling of topics and similar words showing up in various channels, as well as the amount of code-switching, the corpus ended up containing 856 types or individual lexemes (including idiomatic noun phrases).

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<sup>22</sup> Free to download at <http://audacity.sourceforge.net/download/>

#### **4.1.2 The informants and the metadata**

The informants emanated from previous contacts at the two Folk Development Colleges (FDC's) found in the area (Bernander 2011) and in extension members of their social network, i.e. 'snowball sampling' (cf. Bryman 2008:699). They all had some connection to the FDC's. The informants were not chosen on the condition of being particularly 'good' Bena speakers or similar (as generally regarded as important in descriptive work of endangered languages) as the purpose of this study was not to find as 'pure' Bena as possible but rather idiolects with a representative amount of Swahili influence in them. Nonetheless they had to fulfill some requirements. Hence, they had in common the characteristics of perceiving themselves as members of the Bena ethnic community as well as mother tongue (L1) speakers of Bena. Moreover, they were all bilingual in Swahili and lived in a social environment where this language is used frequently, crucially within the four walls of the colleges with its mixed setting of teachers (as well as other staff and pupils) originating from various areas and language communities of Tanzania<sup>23</sup>. To send graduated teachers to a part of the country different from their origin was (and still is) an official tactic by the Tanzanian government in unifying the nation. As a result, the obligatory language of communication is Swahili and it was even claimed to be prohibited to use Bena, or other vernacular languages for that matter, during work time for the staff/teachers<sup>24</sup>. Furthermore, all informants have experience of either living *with* (in the sense of the private sphere of the family) speakers with other L1's or living *in* another language community for an extended time of at least one year. Many of the informants claimed to master various other related languages in nearby communities. Some of them know English as well.

The informants vary in gender and age, from 26 to 56. The metadata (e.g. age, gender, level of education) of these informants was collected and documented with the help of a questionnaire based on Petzell (2008), with some small additions suggested by Bower (2008:59) and myself. It was, however, very problematic to find and generalize sociolinguistic features from such a small sample of speakers as various features connected to social conditions caused distortion. Individual initiative or presupposition played its part as well: some informants

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<sup>23</sup> With this said, there are still surprisingly many Bena speakers at the FDC's of Njombe and Ulembwe. According to my informants the cause of this is the chilly weather which makes teachers and staff from other parts of the country eager to move, providing the opportunity for Bena people to get a position in their home district (!).

<sup>24</sup> One of my informants claimed however that she used Bena when speaking with her colleague to prevent the principal (who is not a Bena speaker) from understanding what they were discussing (!).

deliberately tried to avoid Swahili terms whereas others did not. Depending on the technique in use (see above) a speaker could vary in his/her linguistic behavior as well. For example, one informant provided a more extensive amount of original Bena terms during elicitations than his fellows while he, at the same time, was the main code-switcher during the section of spontaneous speech. Nonetheless, some striking differences between the informants will be referred to throughout this text.

#### **4.1.3 Collection of written sources**

A set of word lists, grammars and other documents of Bena were consulted in an attempt to establish diachronic and synchronic written use. They include the entire set of titles concerning Bena found under section 2.1, as all of these to a greater or less extent include Bena words. In addition, the written sources used comprise the un-reviewed corpus accumulated from Morrison's research<sup>25</sup> as well as my own small corpus from my MA thesis, a description of livestock terminology (Greenway 1947) and a primer (Hongole 2010). Some newly produced leaflets in Bena were consulted as well (2008/11). They are manufactured by the Kukula Group, an informal association developed by members of the Lutheran church in Njombe cooperating with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) for the preservation and promoting of the Bena language. Lastly, a visit to the library at the mission station of Kidugala and the kind help of their librarian Mr Nyato rendered in various old documents in Bena. They include a small Bena-German dictionary with words beginning with 'a' (1913) and a minor grammar written in German (n.d) with handwritten corrections in Swedish (!), a collection of stories from the new and old testament including psalms (1935) and a catechesis (1953). The questioned New Testament (1914) was consulted as well. The degree of review and actual use of these documents has varied, based on assumptions concerning validity and the extent of loan words or original terms for loan words expected to be found.

#### **4.2 Processing of data**

The audio recordings were transcribed, translated and glossed with the help of one of my informants, Ms Mligo. All data was thoroughly checked and marked for loans and code-switching deriving from Swahili according to the criteria of loanwords presented in 3.1. Clear code-switching was in a later stage excluded. Suspected loans were further scrutinized and checked with the previously mentioned works from Johnson (1939), TUKI (1996), Lodhi

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<sup>25</sup> I am much grateful and indebted to her for sharing this corpus with me.



(2000) and Schadeberg (2009) as they all clearly state loanwords in Swahili, which in turn implies that they are loanwords when found in Bena. Lastly, a comparison with original \*PB roots in Nurse (1988) was undertaken to rule out certain words (on the basis that words found there are to be considered as ‘original’ Bena).

A great amount of the processing of data included consultations and personal communication, crucially with my informants and especially Ms Mligo. I am additionally indebted to Rev. Mwakupe and Rev. Muhehwa, both older Bena speakers, for their help. For their academic input I thank Dr Morrison, now at the University of Maryland, and Dr Upor at the University of Dar-es-Salaam who both have been and still are working on Bena. In the case of Swahili I am in a similar manner indebted to Prof. Lodhi at the University of Uppsala. These people most generously shared their views in response to some of my inquiries and obstacles present in the data and provided me with original Bena terminology and confirmations of Swahili loans.

#### **4.3 A note on the writing system (or the writing system as a loan)**

This study tries to follow the orthographic recommendations developed by the Kukula group, when not specifically noted or when IPA’s are used (see table 1 and 2 for an orthographic overview). As a consequence, all graphemes are analogous to those found in Swahili, in occurrence with several other vernacular languages of Tanzania<sup>26</sup>. The only exceptions concern the two phonemic concepts that Swahili lacks: the long vowels, marked by a reduplication of the grapheme, and the alveolar affricate, marked <dz>. Tone is not marked (and not dealt with in this paper<sup>27</sup>). Congenially, the orthography in Bena is *in itself* an example of a loan from Swahili (!). With this said, it should further be noted that Bena does not have a standardized spelling, particularly with regard to many of the recent loans dealt with here.

## **5. Results**

What follows is a presentation of the results that appeared after analyzing the data. The integration processes associated with Bena borrowing from Swahili will first be presented.

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<sup>26</sup> Examples include Ha (Harjula 2004:47) or Kwere (Möller 2010:4).

<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately it was beyond the scope of the study to take this in to account; but see Morrison (2011) for an extensive treatment of this phenomenon, where she also tentatively suggests a movement from a tonal to a stress-based system as a contact induced change from Swahili into Bena (ibid.:92).

The loanwords will then be further described with regard to number, characteristics and function and finally the structural influence they have caused.

## 5.1 Integration processes of Swahili loans

As outlined in 3.1.1, one crucial parameter in defining a loan is that it in some aspect has been adapted to fit within the linguistic framework of the recipient language.

There are several cases of when “analogy patterns become operative” (Weinreich 1953/63:58) as Swahili words are integrated into Bena. This is especially noticeable within the domain of morphology. The phonological adaption, which we will start with here, is quite ambiguous or irregular in this stance however.

### 5.1.1 Phonological integration

When looking at the Bena data it initially seems possible to deduce examples of phonological incorporation following the constraints connected to the difference of phoneme inventory (as seen in table 1 and 2) and phonotactics between the languages. There are several accounts of adapted words from Swahili where an alien phoneme in general is replaced with what can be regarded as the closest counterpart found in Bena (cf. Winford 2003:43). The most common circumstances include:

(1) Swahili	Bena	Ex. Swahili <sup>28</sup>	Ex. Bena	
/k/	> /h/ (non-root initially)	<i>kitabu</i>	> <i>hitaabu</i>	‘book’
		<i>siku</i>	> <i>sihu</i>	‘day’
/z/	> /s/	<i>meza</i>	> <i>mesa</i>	‘table’
/θ/ (<th>)	> /s/	<i>hadithi</i>	> <i>hadisi</i>	‘story’
/ð/ (<dh>)	> /s/	<i>adhabu</i>	> <i>asabu</i>	‘punishment’
/ɣ/ (<gh>)	> /g/	<i>lughu</i>	> <i>luuga</i>	‘language’

As seen Swahili /k/ is glottalized to /h/ when occurring ‘non-root initially’, i.e. root-medially and on prefixes (Morrison 2011:40)<sup>29</sup>. The glottalization is particularly noticeable with borrowed verbs in their infinitive form, i.e. prefixed with *ku-* (cf. table 3). An example is Swahili’s *ku-laani* ‘to condemn’ that becomes *hu-laana* in Bena.

As the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ is not present in the phonological framework of Bena it is devoiced to /s/. The interdental /θ, ð/ are displaced to /s/ as well due to the similar manner of

<sup>28</sup> All example words are in orthographic realization.

<sup>29</sup> This was the general pattern from my informants. It should however be noted that there are dialectal variations here; northern dialects (as well as the vast bulk of the written sources) uses /k/ indiscriminately, whereas the Southern dialect approximating the Pangwa speaking community uses /x/ (Morrison 2011:40; Nurse 1979; cf. Stirnimann 1983).

articulation and the alveolar position being the closest place of articulation. /ð/ is consequently both alveolarized and devoiced; i.e. /ð/ > /z/ > /s/. The velar fricative, i.e. /ɣ/, is the only phoneme consequently adapted. It is exclusively pronounced as [g], which is the common pronunciation for non-coastal and/or second language (L2) speakers of Swahili.

When it comes to phonotactics, the Swahili consonant clusters, e.g. in *sketi* ‘skirt’ (cf. Batibo 2009:97) are ‘stretched out’ to conform to the ‘skeletal syllabic structure’ (Swilla 2000:300) of CVCV (i.e. all syllables end with a vowel). This is done by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel in the similar shape of the adjacent vowel due to rules of vowel harmony. Hence, the example above is realized as *sekeeti* [sɛkɛ:ti]<sup>30</sup> in Bena after adaption. Furthermore, as in the case of other Bantu languages (cf. Schadeberg 2003b:158), Bena has treated double vowel sequences in some Swahili words as if they were inherited from the historical sound change of \*PB cognates outlined in chapter 2.5. In analogy with this, an inter-vocalic /l/ is inserted, e.g. *taa* > *tala* ‘lamp’ or *buluu* > *bululu* ‘blue’, despite the fact that these words are of non-Bantu origin (!).

Nonetheless, there are too many constraints and counter-examples in the data to fit these examples into a fixed and regular pattern. It is common for a linguistic society with this gradual shift to a prevailing bilingualism and competence in the L2 that such a phonemic ‘disintegration’ occurs, i.e. that a multiple set of different renditions of a loan word appears (Poplack, Sankoff, Miller 1988:70f). The most common disintegration is just simply that a word is not adapted. The Bena speakers are familiar with and able to pronounce all Swahili phonemes. This even includes the interdental fricatives, e.g. in the loan for ‘thirty’ *thelathini* /θɛlaθini/, which stands in contradiction to the popular attitude held that they are not even pronounced by Swahili bilinguals while speaking Swahili (e.g. in Schadeberg 2009:89)<sup>31</sup>.

Furthermore, there are some Swahili phonemes where the tactics of adaption shows intra- and inter-speaker variability. One example is the integration of the word *chai* /tʃai/ ‘tea’, where the phonetic substitution of /tʃ/ <ch> range from *dzaai* [tsa:i], *haai* [ha:i], *shaai* [ʃa:i] to just *chaai* or *chai* (see below). A similar case is the Swahili phoneme /dʒ/ <j> as in *kijiji* ‘village’, which is alternatively softened to a glide [j] <y> *hiyiyi* or alveolarized to [ts] <dz> *hidzidzi*. A

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<sup>30</sup> NB! In this example the non-root initial /k/ is kept.

<sup>31</sup> The only exception in my data was *gh* which was exclusively pronounced [g] and not [ɣ] as mentioned above.

variation easier to grasp, revolves around the post-alveolar /ʃ/, which is equally often pronounced [s] or left as it is (i.e. [ʃ]). Hence, *sheria* ('law') is pronounced as both [sɛlia] and [ʃɛlia]. A bold interpretation here is that this post-alveolar has internally evolved in Bena from a process where <hy> (/h/ + glide /j/) has developed into /ʃ/. One example is the connective or relational particle *-a* (CP-*a*) together with the ACP of CL7 /hi/, which in orthographic use is spelled <hya> (or <kya>) but is always pronounced [ʃa]<sup>32</sup>. The suggestion here is that in older loans, [ʃ] was replaced by [s], following the rule of the closest complement (as in common \*PB realizations, e.g. Swahili *shingo*, 'neck' vs. Bena *singo*). However, a re-introduction of /ʃ/ in these words has occurred as this phoneme has been, or is close of being, incorporated into the phoneme inventory of Bena,

The irregular situation is the same with the phonotax, where we additionally find the cross-case issue of the vowel lengthening procedure. The complexity is analogous with what has been argued by Yoneda (2010), namely that there is a tendency to integrate some Swahili loans by prolonging a vowel, in general the penultimate vowel due to it being the stress-bearer in Swahili (cf. Harjula 2004:63). One example is *baasi* (Be.) < *basi* (Sw.) 'bus'. In this case Bena speakers might use the vowel extension to avoid the two homonymous patterns of *basi* ('bus' vs. 'so, then, well') found in Swahili. Hence, *basi* in the meaning of the latter is pronounced with only a short vowel. At the same time there is a tendency of probably influenced by Swahili, to reduce the vowel length in original Bena words traditionally thought to carry this feature, e.g. *hudzumba/hudzuumba* [hutsu<sup>m</sup>ba/ hutsu:<sup>m</sup>ba] 'to jump, fly'. There is a complex state of in-betweenness here with even in-speaker variability and it is not possible to detect a general pattern in any one direction.

### **5.1.2 Morphological integration**

The morphological integration is, in relation to the phonological, more of a straight-forward process, producing many proper loans as well as loan-blends (cf. 6.1). The features visible in the adaption of nouns and numerals will be dealt with as they are the most striking. The integration processes outlined all concern the changes in class prefixation (cf. section 2.4 and table 3).

A more extensive outline of verbal integration is, however, omitted here. There are not many borrowed verbs in the data to start with (see table 7), and the vast bulk of them stand in their

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<sup>32</sup> This was also confirmed by R. Upor (pers. comm. 31 Mar 2012).

uninflected infinitive form. Moreover, there were no derivational extensions to draw any conclusions from in the data, probably because the two languages share an analogous set of the most common extension markers.

#### *Class prefix integration on nouns*

There are several processes observed under the category of class prefix integration, involving different prefixes and both corresponding as well as additive forms. To start with, nouns that lack an NCP (or have a zero morph) in Swahili often have one added in Bena. For CL1/2 we find for example *shahidi* ‘witness’ that becomes *m-sahidi* in Bena; here the NCP of CL1 *m(u)*-<sup>33</sup> is added to the word. In general though for this class pair the lexemes are often left as they are when denoting SG (i.e. CL1). When the meaning is in PL it is regularly given a prefix however, unlike in Swahili where the word is kept un-prefixed, as shown with *rafiki* below:

(2) Swahili		Bena		Swahili		Bena
(SG)				(PL)		
<i>rafiki</i>	>	<i>lafihi</i>		<i>rafiki</i>	>	<i>valafihi</i>
Ø- <i>rafiki</i>		Ø- <i>lafihi</i>		Ø- <i>rafiki</i>	>	va- <i>lafihi</i>
NCP1x-‘friend’	>	NCP1x-‘friend’		NCP2x-‘friend’		NCP2-‘friend’
friend		friend		friends		friends

This is a productive process as it allows separating homonyms; apparently it is not uncommon in other Bantu languages of Tanzania and/or as a substratum marker in Swahili of L2 speakers (R. Upor, pers. comm. 31 Mar 2012; cf. Harjula 2004:63).

The NCP5 (PB \**di-*) that has disappeared (or developed into a zero morph) in Swahili is re-introduced and regularly added in its shape of *li-* in Bena<sup>34</sup>, as seen in (3).

(3) Swahili		Bena		
<i>godoro</i>	>	<i>li-godolo</i>		‘madras’
<i>gazeti</i>	>	<i>li-gaseeti</i>		‘newspaper’
<i>garimoshi</i>	>	<i>li-galimoosi</i>		‘train’

The two ‘collapsed’ classes of Swahili (11 and 14; see 2.5) seems to be re-introduced into their respective NC- belonging when adapted into Bena, e.g. *waya* > *lwaaya* ‘wire’ and *uhuru* > *uvuhuru* ‘freedom’. An intriguing example here is *UKIMWI* ‘AIDS’, which is an acronym for *Ukosefu wa Kinga Mwilini* (lit.) ‘deficiency of the defense in the body’ (cf. Legère

<sup>33</sup> The /u/ is optional in Bena.

<sup>34</sup> One exception is *baasi* from a previous example.

2006:178). It is nonetheless fully incorporated as *vu-kimwi* (!)<sup>35</sup>, a proper CL14 word in Bena. The word is thus re-analyzed and treated as an ordinary noun with *-kimwi* as the stem and *u-* as an NCP-marker denoting some kind of a 'sickness' (which is a common semantic trait of CL14), rather than the inherently underlying *ukosefu* 'deficiency'.

The borrowed nouns are also incorporated in the locative system consisting of the three additive NCP's for the three locative classes, 16, 17, 18; e.g. *pa-balabala* 'on the road', *hu-balabala* 'to the road' and *m(u)-balabala* 'in the road', from Swahili *barabara* 'road'.

Noun loanwords seem to be indiscriminately incorporated into the three 'derivational classes' of Bena not found in Swahili (see 2.5); e.g. *falasi* 'horse' (CL 9/10) > *ha-falasi* 'small horse' (CL 12); *tu-falasi* 'small horses' (CL 13) and *gu-falasi* 'big, bad horse' (CL 20).

The pre-prefix (PrePx) is also indiscriminately applied onto all borrowed nouns, e.g.:

- (4a) *umama* < *mama* 'mother'  
 u-Ø-mama  
 PrePx1-NCP1x-'mother'
- (4b) *ifitaabu* < *vitabu* 'books'  
 i-fi-taabu  
 PrePx8-NCP8-'book'
- (4c) *ihwendela*<sup>36</sup>      *nisafali*<sup>37</sup>      *yahwe*  
 a-i-hwendela      na=i-safali      y-ahwe  
 3SG-TAM-'continue'      'with'=PrePx-'trip'      ACP-POSS.SG2  
 He/she continued with his/her trip

There are examples in the data of 'over-using' of this prefix. One example is the loan word *injini* 'engine' where the initial vowel /i/ does not coalesce with the PrePx9/10-marker and being deleted (or being re-analyzed as the PrePx9/10-marker) as expected. Rather it is attached to the whole word as a discrete morphophonological marker rendering in *?i-injini* (!). These kinds of hypercorrections suggests that the preprefix is perceived as a significant feature of Bena (confirmed by M. Morrison; pers. comm. 12 Feb 2012) and a most productive way to integrate a Swahili lexeme or to 'benalize' it.

<sup>35</sup> The original term used for this was *lugandaganda* created from the reduplicated verb *-ganda* 'become thin'. Reduplication marks intenseness in Bena.

<sup>36</sup> The subject marker coalesces with the TAM-marker in this case.

<sup>37</sup> Here the PrePx coalesce with the conjunction/associative preclitic *na* ('and/with').

In addition there are some examples found of initial sequence re-analysis, i.e. where the initial C(V) syllable in the stem is interpreted as an NCP. These include *risasi* ‘bullet’, CL 9/10 in Swahili. Its initial syllable is, due to the free allophonic variation of /l/ and /r/ in Bena, inferred as the NCP5 *li-* yielding corresponding agreement, preprefix particles and a so called ‘back formation’ of the PL form to *ma-sasi* (CL 6).

(5a)	Swahili (SG)		Bena (SG)	
	<i>risasi</i>	<i>moja</i>	<i>ilisasi</i>	<i>limwinga</i>
	Ø- <i>risasi</i>	N- <i>moja</i>	i- <i>li-sasi</i>	li- <i>mwinga</i>
	NCP9-‘bullet’	NCP9 <sup>38</sup> -‘one’	PrePx5-NCP5-‘bullet’	ACP5-‘one’
	one bullet		one bullet	
(5b)	Swahili (PL)		Bena (PL)	
	<i>risasi</i>	<i>mbili</i>	<i>amasasi</i>	<i>gavili</i>
	Ø- <i>risasi</i>	N- <i>pili</i>	a- <i>ma-sasi</i>	ga- <i>vili</i>
	NCP10-‘bullet’	NCP10-‘two’	PrePx6-NCP6-‘bullet’	ACP6-‘two’
	two bullets		two bullets	

Two other examples found in the data include *-hutuba* ‘make a speech, preach’ where the initial *hu-* is treated as the NCP15 (or the infinitive marker of this verb) and consequently dropped once inflected, e.g. *nditubile* ‘I made a speech’. In the other, i.e. *vita* ‘war’, the initial syllable is inferred as the NCP8 thus rendering agreement with the ACP8, e.g. *fiita fya hwanza*<sup>39</sup> ‘First World War’ (back formation to CL7 was not accounted for however; hence, despite the agreement of a PL class the speakers conceived of it as a single entity).

There is one example where the opposite occurs, i.e. when an affix is re-analyzed as part of the stem. This is the case with the word *msala* ‘bathroom/toilet’. In Swahili it is commonly derived with its locative suffix *-ni*, i.e. *msalani* ‘to/at/in the bathroom/toilet’. Here Bena speakers keep the locative suffix while adding the additive locative NCP onto the word, i.e. *hu-msalani* ‘to the toilet’ (CL17).

#### *Class prefix integration on numerals*

The only original numerals kept uninfluenced range from 1 to 5, whereas all other (higher) digits are Swahili loans in present-day Bena as seen in (6) (Swahili in bold). In constructions of higher numbers involving the digits 1-5 the equivalent Swahili terms are also used as seen in the same example:

<sup>38</sup> In this particular case, i.e. agreement on numerals, Swahili and Bena use different prefixes.

<sup>39</sup> *hwanza* ‘first’ is also a borrowing from Swahili (cf. 5.2.2). The original term for war is a polysemy patterning of *magoha* (derived from *mgoha* ‘spear’): ‘many spears’ > ‘many weapons’ > ‘war’.

(6)

1.	<i>-mwinga/-mwi</i>	‘one’	<i>kumi na moya</i>	‘eleven’ (i.e. ‘ten and one’)
2.	<i>-vili</i>	‘two’	<i>kumi na mbili</i>	‘twelve’ (i.e. ‘ten and two’)
3.	<i>-datu</i>	‘three’	<i>kumi na tatu</i>	‘thirteen’ ((i.e. ‘ten and three’)
4.	<i>-tayi</i>	‘four’	<i>kumi na (i)nne</i>	‘fourteen (i.e. ‘ten and four’)
5.	<i>-hanu</i>	‘five’	<i>kumi na tanu</i>	‘fifteen’ (i.e. ‘ten and five’)
6.	<i>sita</i>	‘six’		
7.	<i>saba</i>	‘seven’		
8.	<i>nane</i>	‘eight’		
9.	<i>tisa</i>	‘nine’		
10.	<i>kumi</i>	‘ten’		

One of my informants really endeavored to give me the ‘proper numerals’; which was in fact quite a telling episode as she had to come back two days later with the term for ‘nine’, *mugoondza*. Further, she gave the word *mbilima* for ‘hundred’ which denotes ‘thousand’ (the traditional term for ‘hundred’ is *ligana*). All other informants gave solely the Swahili terms.

The five first numerals are characterized by taking agreement while the higher digits traditionally are made up of fixed nouns and do not take agreement (this is common cross-linguistically in Bantu; cf. Maho 1999:105). Instead a copula construction with the ACP and the copula *-li* ‘is’ is used for connecting the numeral to other constituents of a clause. This syntactic construction is still seen when using the Swahili numerals, e.g. *vaanu vali sita* ‘six people’ (lit. ‘people they.are six’).

## 5.2 Lexical borrowing

### 5.2.1 A taxonomy of different kinds of borrowing

This taxonomy based on Haugen (1953:400-405), Weinreich (1953/63:47-53), Winford (2003:42-46) and Haspelmath (2009:38-40) is outlined here in table 6 in order to identify the different kinds of borrowing present. These various approaches can actually, in relation to the previous chapter, be viewed upon as the *lexical integration* of loanwords (cf. Weinreich 1953/63:53-56). To start with, *lexical borrowing* serves as the hyperonym that comprises any imitation or copying in the recipient language of some feature of the donor language. This term can subsequently be divided into *loanwords* and *loan shifts*. The definitional divergence between these two terms relies on the former being constituted on some kind of a morphemic basis whereas the latter are based on semantic notions. The former category was far more common in the data than the latter.



Additionally, these two categories can be further divided. Under the umbrella of loanwords we find so called *pure* or *ordinary loan words*, which consist of fully implemented lexemes, assimilated in the morphological system and to various extents the phonemic system of the recipient language. There is a large quantity of these found in Bena including the phonemically indefinite *themanini/semanini* ‘eighty’ (see 5.1). Further, we find *loan blends* that are mixtures or ‘hybrids’, where some morphemes are borrowed and some are inherent. They often originate from additional processes of morphological incorporation; in Bena e.g. the nominal derivations into new NC’s as *ha-bata* ‘duckling’ (CL12) from Swahili *bata* ‘duck’ (CL5).

**Table 6. A taxonomy of borrowing (the table structure based on Winford 2003:45; cf. Petzell 2005:89)**

Kind of borrowings from Swahili	Definition	Examples in Bena
<i>1. Loan words:</i>		
a. ‘Pure loan words’	Total morphemic incorporation of single/compound words	<i>bendela</i> ‘flag’
	Varying degrees of phonemic substitution	<i>selasini</i> / <i>selasini</i> / or <i>thelathini</i> / <i>θɛlaθini</i> / ‘thirty’
b. Loanblends	Combination of native and imported stem	
	Swahili stem + Bena affix	<i>habata</i> ‘duckling’
	Bena stem + Swahili affix	(absent in data)
	Swahili stem + Bena stem (compound)	<i>mala dzolofu</i> ‘often’
<i>2. Loanshifts</i>		
a. ‘Extensions’/ Semantic loans	Shift in the semantics of a Bena word under Swahili influence	<i>ndege</i> ‘airplane’
b. Loan translations (calques)	Combination of Bena morphemes in imitation of Swahili pattern	<i>humooto</i> ‘hell’
<b>Bena creations</b>		
a. Pure Bena creations	Innovative use of Bena words to express foreign concept	<i>hilongalonga</i> ‘telephone/radio’
b. Hybrid creations	Blends of Bena and Swahili morphemes to express foreign concepts	<i>muselihaali</i> ‘police/military’
c. Creations using only foreign morphemes	Combinations of foreign morphemes for new concepts	

Examples of words made up of a Bena stem and Swahili affix were not accounted for in the data. This can be an indication that Bena does not support this kind of structural influence, but it can also depend on the similarities between the two languages affecting the transparency of such affixes.

Within the group of loan shifts then, we find *semantic extensions* (or *semantic loans*), where a polysemic pattern is copied into the receiving language. One example is *magaanga* ‘stones’ that is extended to the meaning of ‘battery cells’ based on the similar pattern found in Swahili with *mawe*. Lastly, *loan translations* or *calques* encompass loans where each item in a loan is translated independently, e.g. in a compound. An example from Bena is *hu-mooto* from Swahili *moto-ni* ‘hell’ (lit. ‘fire-LOC.’) which is not a compound but nonetheless an item-for-item translation of the free morpheme *moto* ‘fire’ into *mooto* and the bound morpheme *-ni*, a locative suffix, to the equivalent locative prefix *hu-* of Bena.

In relation to this, the concept of creation has actually to be accounted for here as well. A creation is defined as “formations that were inspired by a foreign concept but whose structure is not patterned on its expression in any way” (Haspelmath 2009:39). Hence, *pure Bena creations* (see some examples under section 6.3.1) have no lexical connection with Swahili at all. The data does however contain one example of a creative word formation worth mentioning as it involves items *introduced* from Swahili, qualifying it as a so called *loan creation*. The item is *muselihaali* ‘police/soldier’. This is a borderline case between a *hybrid creation* and a *creation using only foreign morphemes* depending on whether the NCP1 *m(u)-* is considered to be the inherent class prefix or the analogous Swahili version. The lexeme is constructed on the Swahili word *serikali* ‘government’, but it is not present in Swahili. This creation is, however, not unheard of in other Tanzanian Bantu languages (A. Lodhi, pers. comm. 8 May 2012; R. Upor, pers. comm. 31 March 2012). However, Bena appears to be alone in modifying the semantic content of the word in this way, as other languages more regularly use it in the meaning of ‘government officer’ (i.e. <‘government person’ < NCP1 + ‘government’). Within that discourse the word in question rather qualifies itself as a loan blend. A possible explanation of the semantic interconnection in Bena is the historical background in the Iringa region (including the Bena speaking area) of several wars during the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, as well as the fierce implementation of the *Ujamaa* villagization during 1974 (Giblin 2005:264), where ‘persons of the government’ were understood as governmental forces. The word was only used by the older

informants and confirmed by R. Upor (pers. comm. 31/3 2012) and also in the word list of Morrison. The younger informants used the Swahili equivalents *polisi* and *askaali*.

### 5.2.2 Loans with regard to word classes

By taking all these different kind of loans from above into account (besides pure Bena creations of course) they constitute approximately 23% of the corpus of 856 single lexemes. When trying to map them in different word classes we find some additional information.

As seen in table 7, Bena appears to follow the hierarchy of borrowability (cf. 3.2) quite regularly. To begin with there are more content words than function words borrowed. There is a (strikingly) clear majority of nouns. This is common universally as it is “a simple fact that things and concepts are easily adopted across cultures” (Tadmor 2009:51). The nouns are followed by adjectives.

**Table 7. Swahili loanwords with regard to word classes**

WC	Ex.	NUMBER		% of total corpus (856 lexemes)
OPEN WC:s		158		18,5
Nouns	<i>sufulia</i> 'pot'		137	
Adjectives	<i>-safi</i> 'clean'		12	
Verbs	<i>hwandiha</i> 'write'		9	
CLOSED WC:s		39		4,5
Adverbs	<i>sana</i> 'very'		6	
Numerals	<i>elfu</i> 'thousand'		21	
Conjunctions	<i>maana</i> 'because'		4	
Multifunctionals	<i>bila (ya)</i> 'without'		8	
Interjections			0	
TOTAL		197		23

The adoption of many adjectives (and adjectival concepts) is potentially explained by the general small amount of words in this word class in Bantu languages (see 2.4). The Arabic influence that has boosted this word class in Swahili has indirectly continued into Bena, in an analogous pattern to other East African languages (cf. Lodhi 2000:100, 121). This seems to be the case for many of the adverbs as well. The low influence of verbs might be explained with the opposite way, i.e. the already thriving verbal paradigm of Bena.

Examples of conjunctions are *au* <au 'or' and *lahini* <lakini 'but'. The category of multifunctionals include words that vary in their function, e.g. *kabula (ya)* < *kabla (ya)* 'before'

and *hata* < *hata* ‘(not) even’ or ‘up to, until’ (cf. Lodhi 2000:112-113; Schadeberg 2009:92; section 5.3). Many words from the closed word classes function as ‘sentence-introducers’, e.g. *basi* < *basi* ‘so, then, well’. According to Mous (2009) this is not uncommon: “sentence introducers are often borrowed because they occur at an initial position where code-switching easily occurs and they serve the communicative purpose of an early and easily recognizable indication of attitude of the speakers toward the information to come” (ibid. 2009:111f).

Standing out here is the category of numerals traditionally seen as a closed word class. As mentioned in section 5.2.2, all Swahili numerals above ‘five’ are borrowed into Bena. Moreover, the ordinal *hwanza* ‘first’ < *kwanza* is also borrowed.

### **5.2.3 Cultural borrowing & core borrowing**

The semantic functions involved in borrowing are based on two socially motivated kinds of borrowings, namely *cultural borrowing* and *core borrowing* (cf. Haspelmath 2009:46; Myers-Scotton 2006:213-218). They can in turn be linked to Winford’s concepts of ‘need’ and ‘prestige’ (2003:37-38).

*Cultural borrowing* is used for the necessity (i.e. the *need*) of specifying an expanding domain of new (modern) concepts. Table 8 constitutes a summation in semantic fields based on the borrowed nouns found in the data. As seen, most of the semantic fields encompass modernity at least when first adopted. This is both in the sense of new objects, e.g. vehicles and domestic tools and the (re)structuring of the society, e.g. law enforcement and education. In addition, cultural borrowing from Swahili to Bena involves the introduction of useful ‘gap-fillers’ in the sense of a widening or differentiation within a semantic field. These gaps are often discovered through contact with and the experience of another language (cf. Mous 2009:112). Many of the borrowed words found in the semantic fields more associated with basic vocabulary, are of this kind. Examples include the incorporation of the holonym *suula* < *sura* ‘face’<sup>40</sup> or the hyponyms *hitaabu* < *kitabu* ‘book’ and *ibaluwa* < *barua* ‘letter’ of *haate*<sup>41</sup> (‘general written source’). The broadened color spectrum is also an example of this (see 6.4).

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<sup>40</sup> This word also carries a second meaning of ‘appearance’.

<sup>41</sup> It is possible that this word in itself is an (older) loan from Swahili *hati* (or *khati*) ‘written note, document, especially of an official, legal or formal kind’ (the English translation comes from Johnson 1939:130).

Within these fields there are however encounters of the second type, *core borrowing*, as well. Core borrowing refers to the act of incorporation of an item with a duplicated meaning of a word already existent in the recipient language (Myers-Scotton 2006:213-218; cf. Haspelmath 2009:46) and is presumed to be caused by underlying notions of prestige. Following this, some expressions live on side by side as synonyms, e.g. *higono* ‘day’ and the borrowed equivalent *sihu* (<*siku*), or *mbando* ‘very’ and *sana* (<*sana*). However, genuine synonyms are not common. Rather, the association of modernity/formality evolving around Swahili words encompasses core borrowings as well. Consequently a procedure of ‘semantic narrowing’ (Swilla 2000:303) occurs, in the sense that the use of the original Bena word comes to refer to traditional or informal aspects whereas the corresponding Swahili words indicate modernity or formality (ibid.; cf. Yoneda 2010:143; Mous 2009:111-112).

**Table 8. Nouns borrowed from Swahili divided into semantic fields**

<b>SEMANTIC FIELDS</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>TOTAL NUMBER</b>
NOUNS		137
Transportation (including vehicles)	<i>safaali</i> ‘trip’	19
Law and administration	<i>asabu</i> ‘punishment’	16
Domestic tools/sections of the house	<i>mukaasi</i> ‘pair of scissors’	15
Communication	<i>simu</i> ‘telephone’	11
Food/beverages	<i>kahawa</i> ‘coffee’	10
Written sources	<i>hitaabu</i> ‘book’	8
Religion and belief	<i>dini</i> ‘religion, faith’	7
Politics and nationalism	<i>wasili</i> ‘minister’	7
Time and place	<i>sala</i> ‘clock, hour’ <i>sehemu</i> ‘place, part’	4+2
Warfare	<i>silaha</i> ‘weapon’	6
Business and labor	<i>kaasi</i> ‘work’	6
Kinship and other relationships	<i>dada</i> ‘sister’	6
Diseases and medical care	<i>hidonge</i> ‘pills’	5
Body parts	<i>suula</i> ‘face’	4
Feelings and sensations	<i>bahati</i> ‘luck’	4
Animals	<i>falasi</i> ‘horse’	3
Education	<i>mwalimu</i> ‘teacher’	2
Clothing	<i>masweeta</i> ‘sweaters’	2

Thus, the loan *daava* < *dawa* refers to ‘modern or Western medicine’ whereas *mugoda* refers to ‘traditional or inherent medicine’ and *mugaanga* < *mganga* refers to a ‘modern or Western

doctor’ whereas *mlagudzi* refers to ‘a traditional or inherent doctor’; *mulyango* < *mlango* refers to a ‘(modern) door of wood’ whereas *lwiidzi* refers to a ‘(trad.) door made of reed’ and *hitaanda* < *kitanda* refers to a ‘(modern) bed made out of tree’ whereas *vulili* refers to a ‘(trad.) bed made out of ropes’. This distinction is even present in religion where e.g. *amasabahu* < *madhabahu* refers to the ‘altar’ in church<sup>42</sup> whereas *hitehelelo* refers to the ‘altar’ at sacred places linked with traditional/inherent religion (e.g. at Nyumbanitu; cf. Gibilin 2004:141; Nyagava 1999:48).

Another case of semantic narrowing is *-soma*. In Swahili it both denotes ‘reading’ and ‘studying’, whereas in Bena only the latter meaning is used while the use of the former is covered by the original Bena term *hwiimba*<sup>43</sup>. Here the polysemous pattern in the donor language is closed and only one meaning of the lexical structure is introduced in the recipient language.

It is hard from this study to establish instances of core borrowing rendering in a complete replacement of an original Bena term. A good candidate is some of the numeric terms denoting higher digits as accounted for above. The high influx of Swahili loans in this word class probably has its root in the significant role of the language, both historically and up to now, in the fields of education but even more crucially within business and monetary domains (cf. 2.4). Moreover, there are some creations and old(er) loans that are in grave danger of disappearing as will be accounted for below.

#### *Swahili loanwords overriding creations and old loans*

As mentioned by Haspelmath (2009:46) there is strictly speaking never a ‘need’ to borrow a word, as a language always possesses the possibility of creating its own names for new objects/concepts. For some of these cultural concepts, Bena speakers initially seemed to have created their own terms. These include *ludiniindi* for ‘bicycle’ and *toolingi/a*<sup>44</sup> ‘motorcar’ or ‘taxi’. Included here are also the semantic derivations of *mugooha* ‘spear’ coming to mean ‘weapons’ in general (including guns and other modern arms) and *hilingalonga* (derived from the verb *-longa* ‘to talk’) referring to both ‘telephone’ and ‘radio’<sup>45</sup>. These are however considered as archaic or old-fashioned in today’s Bena and equivalent expressions originating

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<sup>42</sup> All informants were Christians (Muslims not being particularly common in this area of Tanzania).

<sup>43</sup> Verbal roots that begin with a vowel coalesce with the NCP15 in Bena and stay so when inflected.

<sup>44</sup> The FV varies in the data following dialectal differences.

<sup>45</sup> Apparently it can be used for a very talkative person or ‘blabbermouth’ as well.

from Swahili are preferred, i.e. *baskeli* ‘bicycle’, *gaali* ‘car’, *silaha* ‘weapon’ and *simu* ‘telephone’/*ledio* ‘radio’.

Actually, fate seems to have befallen some (older) loans in this domain as well. Hence, *tembeli* for ‘church’ and *lefani* for ‘spoon’ introduced under chapter 2.2 are, for example, becoming replaced with *kanisa* (<*kanisa*) and *hiyiho/hijiho* (< *kijiko*) respectively.

#### *A ‘semantic dance’*

Sometimes words are caught in a complex inter-mingling of extension and narrowing, as in the example of the trio of words *malimo* and *madzengo* (indigenous Bena) and *makaasi*<sup>46</sup> (borrowed from Swahili) that all denote the concept of ‘work’ and are all used as a common greeting.

Initially *malimo* merely carried the denotation of ‘cultivation’. It came however later on to be modified to express ‘work’, as new kinds of labor were introduced, i.e. the occupations in churches/missions and at the plantations (in the region itself as well as by migration). The term *madzengo*, originally ‘construction’, seems to follow an analogous path. A bold interpretation is that the Swahili word *kazi*<sup>47</sup> adopted as *kaasi/makaasi* was introduced later and was initially used exclusively as a semantically narrowed cultural loan for ‘office work’ (cf. Yoneda 2010:143). Nowadays, however, the semantic distinctions have eroded and it is perfectly accepted to ask a farmer *makasi?* ‘how is work?’, as it is to ask, say, a priest or a teacher *malimo?* or *madzengo?*

#### **5.2.4 Loanwords in the basic vocabulary**

The basic vocabulary is the term used for what is believed to be not cultural-specific but rather universal words, present in all languages of the world. On account of this they are perceived as less borrowable, compared to cultural induced concepts (defined above). Consequently, a high percentage of borrowed terms found in the basic vocabulary are an indicator of a heavy contact situation as it indicates that “[...] even more non-basic items will have been borrowed as well” (Thomason 2001:72).

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<sup>46</sup> These nouns are preferred in CL6.

<sup>47</sup> This word stems from the \*PB verb *kukala/kukara* ‘to sit, sit down, settle, live’ and initially referred to the occupations or duties of a woman, i.e. the settled one in a hunter/gatherer community. Nowadays it nearly carries all the semantic weight of the English term ‘work’, e.g. ‘a work of art’ *kazi ya sanaa*; ‘this book is an important work’ *kitabu hiki ni kazi muhimu* (pers. comm. Lodhi 11 May 2012).

The problem with the notion of a basic vocabulary is that it has been quite unclear what it actually consists of. Thomason e.g. admits that it is a ‘vague concept’ and uses it quite tentatively (ibid.:72, 259). There are however two 100 word lists created for this specific notion (see appendix), applied here in an attempt to capture the influence from Swahili of the basic vocabulary of Bena. The first list constitutes the most famous and used representation of such a vocabulary, namely the word list of 100 lexemes created by Swadesh in the 1950’s<sup>48</sup>. Applying his list to the data, there are three (3) words inherited from Swahili found. They are *(i)ngosi* < *ngozi* ‘skin’, *hijani/hiyani* < *kijani* ‘green’ and *manjano/mandzano* < *manjano* ‘yellow’<sup>49</sup>. In Bena, *ngosi* seems to have been incorporated as a hyperonym for *ng’weembe*, *nyiiingo* ‘animal skin’ and *ngolya* ‘human skin’. Furthermore, the two color terms clearly serve as hyponyms as they enable a widening of the color spectra. This is a function found in other Tanzanian languages as well (e.g. Sukuma; Batibo 2009:94).

The Swadesh list has, however, been criticized by e.g. Tadmor, Haspelmath and Taylor (2010) for its lack of empirical foundation as it was actually shaped intuitively rather than on empirical support (ibid.:228). The aforementioned authors created their own basic word list of 100 items instead, called the ‘Jakarta-Leipzig list’. This can be seen as a revived Swadesh list based on quantitative data<sup>50</sup> and takes the features of resistance to borrowing, universality, simplicity and stability as hallmarks for a basic word (ibid.:238). By using their list it appears that one (1) word in the Bena basic vocabulary is inherited from Swahili, namely the abovementioned *ngosi*.

Thus, even in the basic vocabulary the few borrowed words present still appears to adhere to a functional concept of ‘gap-filling’ or satisfying a ‘need’ rather than core borrowing. With this said, however, there was firstly a tendency for younger generations in the study to replace some additional basic words with Swahili, i.e. *magoti* < *magoti* ‘knee’ (present in both of the lists) and *joto* ‘hot’ (only present in the Swadesh-list). Secondly, caution should be taken as

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<sup>48</sup> The 100 word list was a distilled variety of previously longer versions and it was originally used for stating genetic relationships (Thomason 2001:72; Tadmor, Haspelmath, Taylor 2010:228).

<sup>49</sup> The terms ‘green’ and ‘yellow’ are given by Priebusch (1935:128-129) as *nyasoli* (lit. ‘of/with grass’ > ‘grassy’) and *swelafu* respectively. These lexemes were however not accepted by any researcher or Bena speaker I have been in contact with. No one had heard the first. It is possible that it is an early calque of the Swahili equivalent - as it is analyzable in a similar manner - which did not gain a foothold in the Bena community. The second was said to rather carry the meaning of ‘dusty’ or ‘feeble’ and nothing else.

<sup>50</sup> The data came from 41 languages spread over various genealogical, geographical, typological and sociolinguistic parts of the world (Tadmor, Haspelmath, Taylor 2010:229).



there may be several lexemes existing in a grey area between these lists of merely 100 terms and terms which are exclusively defined as culturally specific.

### 5.3 A short note on structural borrowing

This topic deserves an essay of its own and will not be treated extensively here; some striking findings, in the sense that they are accounted for in other Bantu languages as well, will however be dealt with. Heavy borrowing is the cause of structural changes and there is no structural borrowing without lexical borrowing (cf. Winford 2003:29, 54). Within the sphere of phonology the high influx of Swahili phonemes in the Bena data has already been discussed. This is not uncommon for a bilingual society of this degree where people from early childhood have learned how to pronounce the foreign phonemes. Thus, even the interdentalals have paved their way into the speech behavior of the informants (especially visible in the numerals *thelathini* ‘thirty’ and *themanini* ‘eighty’).

Within the paradigm of morphophonology, there is a clear tendency for a shift to Swahili in the case of the 1<sup>st</sup> person SG object marker (OM). Traditionally in Bena the OM is marked with a so called homorganic nasal [N], i.e. a nasal that adapts itself to the adjoining consonant of the verb root<sup>51</sup>. Moreover, if the connected consonant is a voiceless plosive they will coalesce, as shown in the following examples (inflected into the subjunctive mode):

- (7a) *N-taang-e* > *-naange* ‘help me’  
 OM1SG-‘help’-FV-e
- (7b) *N-telehe* > *-nelehe* ‘cook for me’  
 OM1SG-‘cook’-FV-e

It seems more common today, however to use the constant syllable *ni-* of Swahili (in analogy with Luguru; Mkude 2011). The abovementioned examples are thus expressed as follows:

- (8a) *ni-taange* > *-nitaange* ‘help me’  
 OM1SG-‘help’-FV-e
- (8b) *ni-telehe* > *-nitelehe* ‘cook for me’  
 OM1SG-‘cook’-FV-e

With regard to the PrePx it is, in analogy with e.g. Luguru (ibid) and Kagulu (Petzell 2008:66) always omitted in connection with the modifier *kila* (<*kila*) as seen in (9b).

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<sup>51</sup> If the following verbal root begins with a vowel in Bena an epenthetic alveolar affricate *dz* [ts] will be inserted instead.

(9a) *pambele isihu ya havili ndihelela humgunda*  
           **i-sihu**  
       ‘then’   **PrePx9-‘day’**   ‘second’   ‘I went’   ‘to the plot’  
 Then the second day I went to the plot.

(9b) [...] *hwa sababu indonya yitoonya kila sihu*  
   **kila sihu**  
       ‘because’           ‘rain’   ‘it rained’   ‘every’   ‘day’  
 [...] because it rained every day.

This is possibly due to interaction between the original, indirect donor language Arabic and the direct donor language Swahili. As seen, *kila* appears before the head which is in opposition to other Bantu modifiers. This structural reversal originates from Arabic (cf. Ryding 2005:228) and it buttresses the Swahili influence of a non-prefixal shape.

Finally, Swahili has influenced the hypotactic structures in Bena. This is also due to an indirect loan from Arabic (and maybe to some extent English) where the presence of nominal clauses is more common compared to Bantu (Schadeberg 2009:92). The incorporated word *kabula (ya) <kabla (ya)* ‘before’ is a good example. This word may be used instead of the relative pronoun marker of the locative CL16 *pe-* ‘when’ as seen in (10b). Further it has triggered an alternative sentence structure with the more ‘nounish’ infinitive form instead of the original negated arrangement of the verb (10c):

(10a) *pesinavafiha pataali [...]*  
       pe-sina-va-fiha  
       REL16-NEG-3PL-‘get to’   ‘far’  
       before getting far [...]

(10b) *kabula sinavafiha pataali [...]*  
       kabula sina-va-fiha  
       ‘before’ NEG-3PL-‘get to’   ‘far’  
       before getting far [...]

(10c) *kabula ya hufiha pataali [...]*  
       kabula ya hu-fiha  
       ‘before’ CP-a NCP15-‘get to’   ‘far’  
       before getting far [...]

A similar pattern has been found in e.g. Matengo, Nyamwezi and Luya in Tanzania as well as Kikuyu and Taita in Kenya (Yoneda 2010:144; Lodhi 2000:105).

## 6. Is Bena Swahilized? Summary & conclusions

This essay was an attempt to mirror the influence of Swahili on Bena, one of the more than 120 vernacular languages spoken in Tanzania. The results show that the societal role of Swahili has a marked influence in the linguistic outcome of Bena.

An extended amount of vocabulary, 23%, originated from Swahili, including a not inconsiderable quantity of function words. The biggest incursion in a single part of speech is probably the numerals higher than five which have entirely been replaced with Swahili terminology. Furthermore, several phonemes as well as some structural rearrangements seem to have paved their way in together with the borrowed words. These are all indications of an intense and asymmetric relationship between the two languages.

On the other hand, Bena still displays an organic quality in the creativeness of integration of borrowed items, especially at the morphological level. We have seen a general tendency to add or reintroduce canonical Bantu characteristics to items where Swahili lacks these or has omitted them. Examples include the ‘stretched-out’ phonotax and the addition of prefixes, especially the pre-prefix. Moreover the words are semantically altered, often in the sense of being narrowed in their meaning.

The main reason for adopting words is founded on a functional approach rather than a prestige-based one, with the basic vocabulary left nearly un-touched. Thus, most of the words identified capture the need to fill gaps for cultural terms and widen semantic fields rather than replacing already existing words with Swahili equivalents.

In comparison to the borrowing scale outlined in table 5, the Bena-Swahili contact situation seems to be occurring somewhere between the level of ‘slightly more intense contact’ and ‘more intense contact’, since the contact induced changes follow all the requirements of the former while only to some extent the latter. The results of this study shows that Bena is not close to the last level of a full language shift, i.e. the ‘anything-goes’-condition of an ‘intense contact’-situation.

It should be remembered, however, that the conclusions outlined here are based on a limited set of data. Further studies should e.g. include a more quantitative approach involving a much larger corpus and groups from a bigger span of generations. Intuitively the process of ‘swahilization’ seems to be an ongoing process where younger generations involve more

Swahili terms in their speech. A more thorough study could however capture this better and also compare the older generations' linguistic behavior with the younger generations'. A broader study should in addition take prosodic characteristics into account, as well as the problem of \*PB roots. There is the risk that some core borrowings have not been exposed as they are hiding under a \*PB appearance.

In summary, Bena has been subject to heavy contact induced change due to the societal setting of Tanzanian society and the higher status given to Swahili. However, as these loans mostly expands the vocabulary and still are not widely affecting the structure of Bena there is no apparent major threat to the language through this specific channel.

Bena could still be 'saved' with a change in the official policies regarding the vernaculars of Tanzania, in terms of real action being taken. Offering the L1 as a subject in school should be included as one of the implementations. A continuing grass-root engagement like the Kukula group is also important, in order to raise the status of the language among the speakers themselves and to exert pressure on those in power.

That Swahili makes such a significant impact in the Bena language is one thing; the risk of parents not transpiring Bena to their offspring *at all*, is still a bigger threat to the survival of this language. As this study has shown, Bena is generally intact with a stable structure. A vocabulary where roughly a quarter is borrowed is not much in comparison with e.g. Swedish, where nearly half the vocabulary is inherited from German. The vitality of a language depends on the status given to it and resources invested in it.

Yes, Bena is 'swahilized', but it is still functional. The most fundamental action needed now is to ensure that there will be speakers of Bena left in two or three generation's time.

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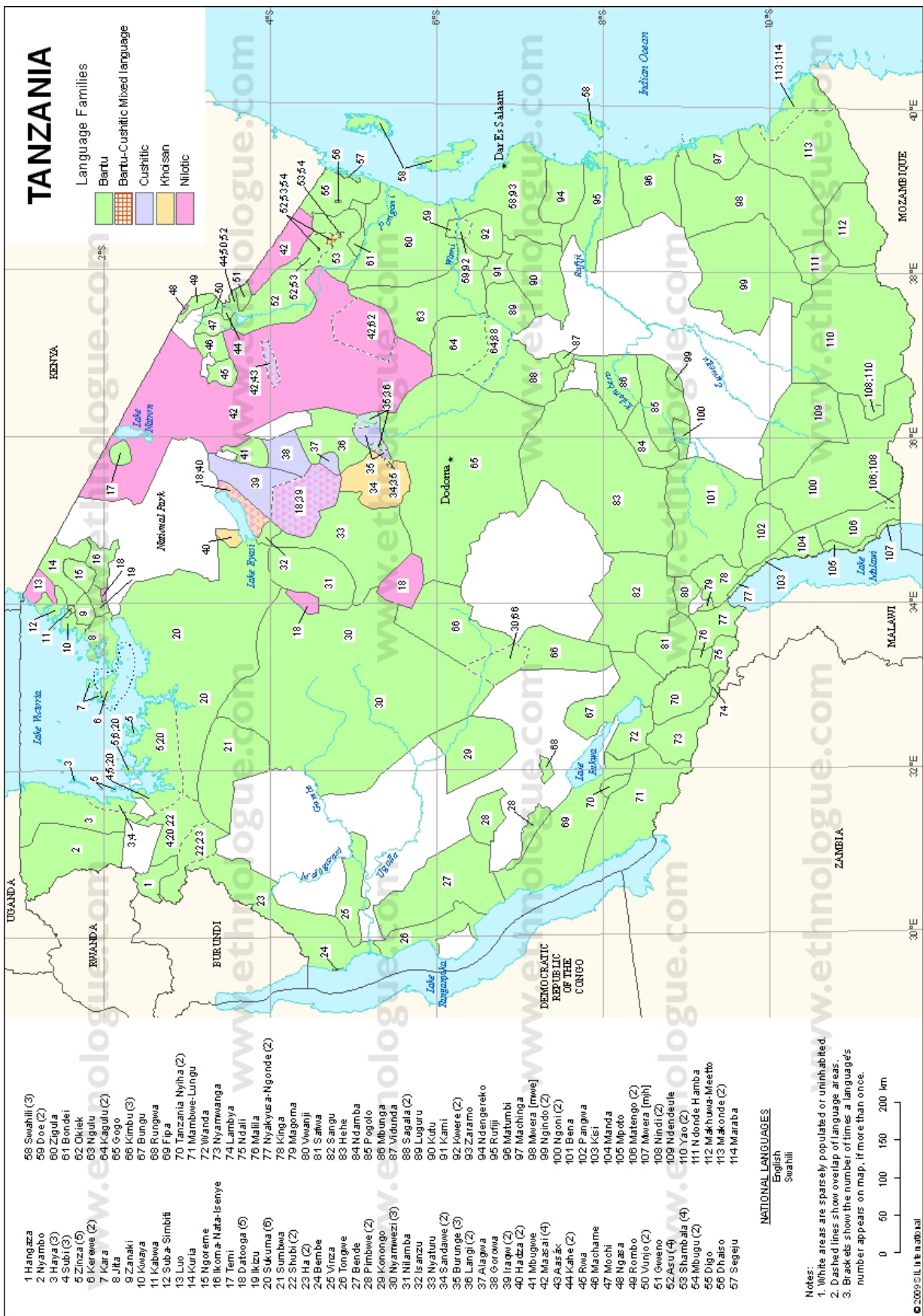
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APPENDIX 1. Language map of Tanzania (Lewis 2009); Bena = nr. 101



## APPENDIX 2. The Leipzig-Jakarta list and the Swadesh-list combined

(© Tadmor, Haspelmath, Tudor 2010)

The meanings on the Leipzig-Jakarta list can be broken down into the following categories (items also on the Swadesh list are shown in **boldface**):

natural phenomena	<i>water, fire, night, wind, rain, smoke, stone/rock, salt, sand, soil, ash, shade/shadow, star</i>
human body parts	<i>nose, mouth, tongue, eye, tooth, hair, ear, arm/hand, neck, breast, navel, liver, back, leg/foot, thigh, knee, skin/hide, flesh/meat, bone, blood</i>
animal and plant parts	<i>wing, horn, tail, egg, root, leaf, wood</i>
humans and animals	<i>child (descendant), fish, bird, dog, ant, fly, head louse</i>
cultural items	<i>house, name, rope</i>
properties	<i>old, new, big, small, long, wide, far, thick, good, red, black, heavy, sweet, bitter, hard</i>
actions	<i>go, come, run, fall, carry, take, eat, drink, cry/weep, tie, laugh, suck, hide, stand, bite, hit/beat, do/make, burn (intr.), blow, know, see, hear, give, say, crush/grind</i>
deictic/grammatical	<i>1SG pronoun, 2SG pronoun, 3SG pronoun, who?, what?, this, one, not, yesterday, in</i>

### Items on the Swadesh list but not on the Leipzig-Jakarta list

Item	Item	Item
<i>sit</i>	<i>sleep</i>	<i>bark</i>
<i>finger nail</i>	<i>white</i>	<i>walk</i>
<i>man</i>	<i>kill</i>	<i>swim</i>
<i>belly</i>	<i>many</i>	<i>seed</i>
<i>two</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>all</i>
<i>lie</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>tree</i>
<i>cloud</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>we</i>
<i>fly</i>	<i>dry</i>	<i>moon</i>
<i>head</i>	<i>grease</i>	<i>round</i>
<i>hot</i>	<i>heart</i>	<i>green</i>
<i>cold</i>	<i>yellow</i>	<i>person</i>
<i>feather</i>	<i>path</i>	
<i>full</i>	<i>die</i>	

### **APPENDIX 3. A list of elicitation pictures**

Due to copyright concerns, only a list describing the pictures is submitted here.

No. 1. Rabbit/hare

No. 2. Pinecorn

No. 3. Cap

No. 4. Teacher (a Tanzanian man in front of a desk writing with charcoal on a blackboard)

No. 5. Car (white Toyota, the usual kind found in Tanzania)

No. 6 A Bottle (of glass, no label)

No. 7. Chilipeppers

No. 8. The Tanzanian flag + its colours

No. 9. Books

No. 10. Rice (uncooked)

## APPENDIX 4 Gloss: Extract from ‘Food & Culture’ (Digna Mligo 12 March 2012)

Notes:

Loan words from Swahili are in bold.

In this particular context the informant pronounces ‘tea’ as [tʃai] while re-analysing the initial sequence as the NCP7.

The ambiguous beginnings in sentence (2), (3), (7) and (8) are probably some variant of a Swahili sentence introducer which has been omitted, with only the connective particle remaining.

The present tense marker *i-* coalesces with the adjacent subject marker.

Some verbs with extensions are exposed to imbrication (a kind of morphophonemic process of coalescence) when inflected in the past tense with the final vowel *-ile*. This affects the verbs ‘cook’ and ‘remove.from.heat’ as well although, as far as I know, they lack a (synchronic) un-derived counterpart.

- |     |               |                 |                     |              |            |                      |
|-----|---------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------|------------|----------------------|
| (1) | <i>Uneene</i> | <i>paluhela</i> | <i>pendilamwha,</i> | <i>ihinu</i> | <i>sha</i> | <b><i>hwanza</i></b> |
|     | u-neene       | pa-lu-hela      | pe-ndi-i-lamwh-a    | i-hi-nu      | hi-a       | hwanza               |
|     | PrePx1-       | LOC16-NCP11-    | REL16-1SG-TAM -     | PrePx7-      | ACP7-      | ‘first’              |
|     | 1SG.PERS.     | ‘morning’       | ‘wake up’- FV       | NCP7-        | CP-a       |                      |
|     |               |                 |                     | ‘thing’      |            |                      |

- |                   |                    |                   |                        |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| <i>ndifyagila</i> | <i>uluvaandza,</i> | <i>ndifyagila</i> | <b><i>ilijiho.</i></b> |
| ndi-i-fyag-il-a   | u-lu-vaandza       | ndi-i-fyag-il-a   | i-li-jiho              |
| 1SG-TAM -‘sweep’- | PrePx11-NCP11-     | 1SG-TAM -‘sweep’- | PrePx5-NCP5-           |
| EXT-FV            | ‘court’            | EXT-FV            | ‘kitchen’              |

The first thing I do when I wake up in the morning is to sweep the court and the kitchen.

- |     |                      |                         |                  |                 |                      |
|-----|----------------------|-------------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| (2) | <i>Ya ndifyagie</i>  | <b><i>i-li-jiho</i></b> | <i>ndivaanga</i> | <i>huteleha</i> | <b><i>ichai.</i></b> |
|     | ya ndi-i-fyag-il-ile | i-li-jiho               | ndi-i-vaang-a    | hu-teleh-a      | i-ch-ai              |
|     | CP- 1SG-TAM -        | PrePx5-NCP5             | 1SG-TAM -        | NCP15-          | PrePx7-              |
|     | a ‘sweep’-EXT- FV    | ‘kitchen’               | ‘start’- FV      | ‘cook’          | NCP7-‘tea’           |
- After I (have) swept the kitchen I start to cook breakfast (lit. ‘tea’).

- |     |                         |                     |              |                      |
|-----|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| (3) | <i>Ya nditelihe</i>     | <b><i>ichai</i></b> | <i>hila,</i> | <i>ya twinuywa.</i>  |
|     | ya ndi-i-teleh-ile      | i-ch-ai             | hi-la        | ya tu-i-nuyw-a       |
|     | CP-a 1SG-TAM -‘cook- FV | PrePx7-NCP7-‘tea’   | ACP7-DEM     | ? 1PL-TAM-‘drink’-FV |
- After I (have) cooked the tea, we drink it.

- |     |                 |                  |                 |                 |                  |
|-----|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (4) | <i>Pambele,</i> | <i>ndihelela</i> | <i>hudemula</i> | <i>imboga</i>   | <i>humgunda.</i> |
|     | pa-mbele        | ndi-i-helel-a    | hu-temul-a      | i-N-boga        | hu-m-gunda       |
|     | LOC16-          | 1SG- TAM -       | NCP15-          | PrePx10- NCP10- | LOC17-NCP3-      |
|     | ‘front’         | ‘go’- FV         | ‘search’        | ‘vegetables’    | ‘plot’           |
- Later, I go search for vegetables at the plot.

- (5) *Ndidziyaava*                      *imboga,*                      *ndipiluha.*  
 ndi-i-dzi-yaav-a                      i-N-boga                      ndi-i-piluh-a  
 1SG-TAM-OBJ10-‘pick’-FV    PrePx10-NCP10-‘vegetable’    1SG-TAM-‘return’-FV  
 I pick the vegetables, I return.
- (6) *Ndi-i-teleha*                      *imboga*                      *yaangu*                      *vunoofu,*  
 ndi-TAM-teleh-a    i-N-boga                      yi-angu                      vu-noofu  
 1SG-‘cook’-FV    PrePx9-NCP9-‘vegetable’    ACP9-POSS.1SG    NCP14-‘good’  
 I cook my vegetable(s) well.
- (7) *ndilunga*                      *na*                      *gamafuta.*  
 ndi-i-lung-a                      na                      ga-ma-futa  
 1SG-TAM-‘mix’-FV    ‘with’    PrePx6-NCP6-‘oil’  
 I mix (them) with oil.
- (8) *Ya ndilungile*                      *imboga*                      *ndikimula,*                      *ndiviha*                      *palubali.*  
 ya    ndi-lung-ile    i-N-boga                      ndi-i-kimul-a                      ndi-i-viha                      pa-lu-bali  
 CP- 1SG-                      PrePx9-NCP9-                      1SG-TAM-‘remove.    1SG-TAM-LOC16-  
 a    ‘unga’-FV                      ‘vegetable’                      from.heat’-FV                      ‘put’                      NCP11-‘side’  
 After I (have) mixed the vegetable(s) I remove (them) from the heat, I put (them)  
 aside.
- (9) *Ya ndikimwe*                      *ndivaanga*                      *huteleha*                      *wugali*  
 ya    ndi-kimul-ile                      ndi-i-vaang-a                      hu-teleha                      u-vu-gali  
 ‘after’ 1SG-                      1SG-TAM-                      NCP15-                      PrePx14-NCP14-‘corn  
                     ‘remove.from.heat’-FV                      ‘start’-FV                      ‘cook’                      porridge’  
 After I (have) removed (them) from the heat, I start to cook *ugali*.
- (10) *Ndikalafya*                      *isufulia*                      *yaangu.*  
 ndi-i-kalaf-i-a                      i-Ø-sufulia                      yi-angu  
 1SG-TAM-‘wash’-EXT-FV    PrePx9-NCP9-‘pot’    ACP9-1SG.POSS  
 I wash my pot.