

Swahili Loanwords and their Semantic Nativisations into African Languages

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Abstract: *Traditionally, contributions of loanwords to the morphology of most African languages are recognizable in terms of phoneme inventories, consonant clusters, and syllable structures. The present paper, however, articulates the semantic and pragmatic issues emanating from the Swahili loanwords into the morphology of most African languages in Tanzania. The focus is mainly on the influence of Swahili into the different semantic fields in ten Bantu languages in the country. Data of 500 lexical words is drawn from a sample of Bantu languages in the country. Formal interviews had also been conducted to decipher semantic and pragmatic inferences springing out of the usages of those loanwords in the respective speech communities. It is concluded that most semantic fields of loanwords include education, utensils and domestic tools, as well as health and medical care services. In addition, pragmatically, some loanwords divide communities according to their usages, e.g. in Ruhaya and Runyambo, the entries for church include ekerezia [*<ecclesia, ecclesiae Latin*] which is dominantly used for Roman Catholic churches while ekanisa [*<kanisa, Swahili*] is used by Lutheran churches.*

INTRODUCTION¹

A number of linguists have raised concerns on the different patterns in morphology of African languages which have been none existent in such languages before but have been accommodated in a course of time after lexical borrowing (see e.g. Scotton and Okeju, 1972 [Ateso, Nilo-Saharan]; Newman, 2000 [Hausa, Afro-Asiatic]; Swilla, 2000 [Chindali, Niger-Congo]; Batibo, 2002; Mwitwa, 2009; Shembuli, 2010 [Swahili, Niger-Congo]; among others). For instance, sequences not permitted in certain languages become nativized, e.g. Batibo (2002) mentions consonant cluster nativisation in Swahili. The present work studies loanwords listed in the lexicons and dictionaries for the Bantu languages which are published under *Languages of Tanzania (LOT) Project* of the University of Dar es Salaam. For comparative reasons, an extension of the findings on loanwords is provided based on data from dictionaries for Bantu languages which have been published elsewhere.

This contribution to this area would seem narrower and somehow less significant because numerous previous studies on borrowing in African languages focused on analyses of phonological and morphological changes that occur to those loanwords

¹ A portion of the materials presented in this article were read at the Language of Tanzania Project Workshop XIII. Thanks to participants for enlightening comments, especially Henry Muzale, Josephat Rugemalira and Adolf Kibigoya. I acknowledge encouragements received from Yared Kihore. The remaining shortcomings are my own problems.

that are being incorporated into the target language as a result of borrowing (see e.g. Hock and Joseph, 1996; Batibo and Rottland, 2001; Batibo, 2002; Mwita, 2009; Zivenge, 2009; Shembuli, 2010, among many others). To substantiate the significance of this work, it will be shown that the paper addresses issues which surround the schematized contributions offered in the various papers in the volume edited by Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009). In that volume, some semantic fields have been established and researchers have been fitting in the findings from different languages. More importantly, some contributions from African languages include: Schadeberg (2009) [Swahili], Mous and Qorro (2009) [Iraqw], and Awagana *et al.* (2009) [Hausa].

The true picture offered in that volume perhaps could be learnt from Iraqw language of Tanzania. It is learned that there are modern semantic fields associated with loanwords in this language. Some of the modern concepts offered as per donor languages are noted in what follows (only major donor languages are mentioned in order of the number of loanwords listed in Mous and Qorro (2009: 110): (i) *modern agriculture* [Swahili], *modern food and utensils* [Swahili], *modern instruments* [Swahili], *reading, writing and schooling* [Swahili], *modern medicine* [Swahili], *modern government* [Swahili], *domestic animals* [Datooga], and *modern dress* [Datooga]. Therefore, one would wonder whether such semantic features found in Iraqw do appear in the Swahili loanwords into Bantu languages of Tanzania as listed in the lexicons and dictionaries published under *Language of (LOT) Tanzania Project*. It should be noted right away that this is the main area that this study contributes to.

But before that, a number of previous studies pointed out that contact zones make the areas of lexical borrowings which in turn establish the semantic fields of the loanwords in question. For instance, in Swahili, Gower (1952) had longer observed that English is felt in western education and administration structures, e.g. *mesenja* ‘messenger’, western medical care and health facilities, e.g. *hospitali* ‘hospital’, infrastructure and transportation, e.g. *lori* ‘lorry’ etc. Another source, Modimakwane (2003), reports that in Setswana, English loanwords appear in semantic fields associated with social organisations and politics as the main area of contact and influence. The commonly used words include *phathi* ‘party’, *ofisi* ‘office’, *palamente* ‘parliament’ *khansela* ‘council’, *komiti* ‘committee’. One question to be answered here is: Do data from LOT publications offer insights to support the former or the latter, or have distinct picture(s)?

METHODOLOGY FOR THE PRESENT WORK

In order to offer best results, this work has utilized a total of 500 lexical loanwords from Swahili into Bantu languages of Tanzania as its sample words. This main sample-words are drawn from a section of only ten (10) Bantu languages in the country. In the present paper, the following published lexicons and dictionaries are utilized as sources of lexical loanwords: Rugemalira (2002) [Runyambo JE21], Massamba (2005) [Ciruuri JE253], Muzale (2006) [Ruhaya JE22], Mdee (2008) [Kijita JE25], Mochiwa (2008) [Zigula G31], and Rugemalira (2009) [Cigogo G11]. Other lexicons of Kikahe (Kahigi 2008), Kiikizo (Sewangi (2008), Chasu

G22 (Mreta 2008), and Luzinza JE23 (Rubanza 2008) are employed as sources of data.

Table 1: Selected Loanwords in Sample Bantu Languages of Tanzania

Swahili (TUKI 2001)	Runyambo (Rugeemalira 2002)	Kikahe (Kahigi 2008)	Ciruuri (Massamba 2005)	Cigogo (Rugemalira 2009)	English
askari	<i>omwiserukári</i>	<i>mwanajeshi</i>	<i>omusikare</i>	<i>musilikale</i>	soldier
bunduki	<i>embũndu</i>	<i>kibolobolo</i>	<i>imbundijo</i>	<i>huti</i>	gun
chai	<i>ecáaye</i>	---	<i>ecai</i>	---	tea
choo	<i>ecihoróoni</i>	---	<i>ecorooni</i>	<i>colo</i>	toilet
daktari	<i>mufúmu</i> <i>omuganga</i>	---	<i>mufumu</i>	---	doctor
gari, motokaa	<i>emótoka</i>	---	<i>imbirigiti</i>	---	car
kiatu	<i>eciráatwa</i>	<i>kyadu</i>	<i>ecilaato</i>	<i>cilato</i>	shoe
kanisa	<i>ekerezia</i>	<i>kanyisa</i>	<i>likanisa</i>	---	church
kijiko	<i>ecijiko</i>	<i>kiliko</i>	<i>ecijiko</i>	<i>cijiko</i>	spoon
kikombe	<i>ecikómbe</i>	<i>kikombee</i>	<i>ecikoombe</i>	---	cup
kitabu	<i>ecitabo</i>	---	<i>ecitabho</i>	<i>citabu</i>	book
mafuta	<i>amajúta</i>	<i>mafuda</i>	<i>mafuta</i>	---	oil
meza	<i>imééza</i>	<i>mesa</i>	<i>imeeja</i>	---	table
mkasi	<i>omukáasi</i>	<i>mkasi</i>	<i>imakasi</i>	<i>icetezo</i>	scissors
mkate	<i>omugaate</i>	<i>mkate</i>	<i>omukaate</i>	---	bread
mwalimu	<i>omwejesa</i>	---	---	<i>mwijiza</i>	teacher
mwanafunzi	<i>omwéji</i>	---	<i>omuigisi</i>	<i>mwijizwa</i>	pupil
mzungu	<i>omujũngu</i>	---	<i>omujungu</i>	---	whiteman
ndege	<i>endeje</i>	<i>luka</i>	<i>indege</i>	<i>ndeje</i>	aeroplane
nesi	---	---	<i>omurwaasya</i>	---	nurse
pilipili	<i>obusénda</i>	<i>kimwamwari</i>	<i>ipilipili</i>	---	pepper
sabuni	<i>esaabúuni</i>	<i>sabuni</i>	<i>isabhuni</i>	---	soap
sahani	<i>esaháani</i>	<i>kilambo</i>	<i>olutubha</i>	<i>ciya, ihani</i>	plate
shati	<i>esáati</i>	---	---	---	shirt
serikali	<i>kutwára</i>	<i>sirikali</i>	<i>isirikaali</i>	<i>silikale</i>	government
skuli, shule	<i>isomero, isuule</i>	<i>shule</i>	<i>isuule</i>	---	school
soko, gulio	<i>omujájaru</i>	<i>sangada</i>	<i>lisoko</i>	<i>isoko</i>	market
waya	<i>orwóma</i>	<i>waya</i>	<i>orukata</i>	---	wire
wembe	<i>akásyu</i>	<i>wembe</i>	<i>orugeembe</i>	<i>ciwembe</i>	razor

Although scholars on research methodology (Cresswell, 2007; Leedy and Ormrod, 2010) insist that a sample should be representative of the whole population, it should be noted that my language representation is highly skewed because from language of Tanzania project, I am working with only a sample of ten Bantu languages; whose classifications appear in Bantu zones G and JE only (Maho 2009). Geographically, the languages in these two zones are spoken mainly around Lake Victoria and Mount Kilimanjaro areas. Nonetheless, I am convinced that the findings from these languages could well be translated into the situated attested in other Bantu languages of Tanzania.

As a way of supplementing qualitative data used in this research (Cresswell, 2007; Leedy and Ormrod, 2010), a number of informal interviews² had also been

² I am grateful to Ruhaya and Runyambo speakers for discussing some issues presented in this work. Thanks are also due to many of my Nyakyusa discussants whom I contacted during my fields trips in

conducted to decipher semantic and pragmatic inferences springing out of the usages of those loanwords in the respective speech communities. The informal interviews were conducted with the native speakers of only a fraction of the sampled languages, namely Ruhaya, Runyambo and Kijita in Tanzania.

FINDINGS IN SAMPLED BANTU LANGUAGES

A section of the main data to be utilized in this article is captured in Table 1. Although only thirty (30) entries from four Bantu languages are presented herein this table, the sample languages reveal the presence of lexical loanwords in their lexicons. As illustrated in Table 1, a number of the loanwords are typically of Swahili origin.

DISCUSSIONS

General Picture of Loanwords

Taking borrowings from neighbouring languages aside because I have not been able to deal with such information, findings have been able to capture two source (donor) languages for the data presented in this work, namely Swahili and English. However, of these donor languages, Swahili rather than English loanwords dominate because only two entries are typically English loanwords. The rest of the entries seem to have entered into the Bantu languages through Swahili. Therefore, Swahili accounts for 95 percent of the loanwords into Tanzanian Bantu languages. Such process is also mentioned by other scholars (Kahigi, 2005; Mous and Qorro, 2009). It is my assumption that this phenomenon would have implications to the planners of the official language, education system, as well as the selection of the medium of instruction (MOI) in Tanzania. My main concern here is that Swahili is accommodated into Bantu languages of Tanzania rather than English thus Swahili would be the best choice for MOI in the country.

Secondly, borrowing seems to happen in some Bantu languages and not others within the country. There had been a number of entries attested in some sample languages which are not captured in other sample languages. This may have one vivid implication that may be such technical issues existed in the languages in question so there was no need for loanwords. This proposition, however, has to be taken into considerations with caution because specific semantic fields like *hospital*, *tractor*, *writing* etc. seem to be new to the Bantu languages therefore should be accompanied with loanwords.

Another important area worth discussing herein is about the collision of native lexical entries with their semantics against the foreign lexical entries with their meanings. The semantics revolving around the fields and the choice of loanwords is another area that gives some lexical entries which are quite interesting. For example, in Ruhaya, Runyambo and perhaps Ciruuri, the native word *omufumu* which is treated as *doctor* has its indigenous meaning as a *healer* or *traditional*

Rungwe and Kyela districts in Tanzania in 2007 and 2010. Also, I am grateful to USHEPiA under whose auspices research on Nyakyusa was made possible. For Setswana data which I collected between 2010 and 2012, I am grateful to Tebogo Matlapeng, Lesedi Bamponye, Oteng Maphane, and Doctor Obonye.

medicine person. Also, it has its counter part, *omuganga* for the modern medicine person (doctor). The loanword for a modern health and medical care person is *dakitali*. What I found in the source books is that such entries seem to fuse in meaning in some languages such as Runyambo, Ciruuri and Ruhaya. Another example is found in Ruhaya and Runyambo whereby the entries for *church* include *ekerezia* [*<ecclesia, ecclesiae [Noun, Singular, Feminine, Latin]*] which is dominantly used for Roman Catholic churches while *ekanisa* [*<kanisa, Swahili]* is used by Lutheran churches.

Moreover, there are differences in the semantic fields, i.e. some semantic fields which would be treated as new in some speech communities in Tanzania, they are typically accommodated by the existing words in other speech communities. Therefore, words which are recorded in bold in Table 2 mean that such words are native by origin hence these languages did not borrow word(s) to fill such semantic fields filled in other languages. Here we should use native-words for the notions like *olutubha* ‘plate’ and *huti* or *futi* ‘gun’ in Ciruuri, Cigogo and Zigula against loanwords such as *isaháani* ‘plate’ and *embundijo* ‘gun’ in Runyambo and Ciruuri. Such differences may entail that speech communities either employ native-words in accommodating new semantic fields or may opt to take loanwords to accommodate such new notions.

Lastly, some word categories seem to be prone to borrowing than others. For most Bantu languages, previous studies show that nominals (nouns and adjectives) are borrowed easily than verbs and adverbs (Zivenga, 2009). Borrowings present in the various languages covered in the volume edited by Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009) seem to involve several word categories, like verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs in languages like Dutch (see page 350).

Other literature also show that the Arabic influences into Hausa and Swahili brought in verbs like *sala* ‘pray’, *hiji* ‘make a pilgrimage’ *fahamoo* ‘understand’ etc. (Newman, 2000; Schadeberg, 2009). English has a fewer verbs into Hausa, e.g. *caja* ‘to charge, of a crime’ (Newman, 2000) and a fewer English verbs are borrowed into Swahili, e.g. *feli* ‘fail’ and *pasi* ‘pass’ (TUKI, 2001). Also, some Arabic adverbs are attested in Hausa and Swahili, e.g. *kama* ‘as, such as’. In our case, loanword captured in the lexicons and dictionaries seem to surround only one word category, namely nouns because about 99 percent of the loanwords are typically nouns.

Only two verbs, namely *to nurse* and *to teach/learn* seem to be captured by a foreign notion. One, this foreign notion is, anyway, captured by a native word *rwaasya* ‘to take care of the sick’ in languages like Ciruuri. Two, *iigisya* in Ciruuri and *ijiza* in Cigogo are employed for teaching. Nonetheless, it is the notions associated with nominalized *nursing* and *teaching* in Bantu languages which are utilized and not the verbal actions/situations.

Semantic Fields Found in the Sampled Data

In all the data presented in the introduction section above (and partly below), we find the following semantic fields (see Table 2 below). Such semantic fields reflect

not only the areas of contact between the speakers of Swahili language and the sample Bantu languages of Tanzania but also specialized fields that would require speakers of Tanzanian Bantu languages to employ Swahili in their communications. In addition, the findings pointed towards the fact that the most semantic fields which take a number of loanwords include education, utensils and domestic tools as well as health and medical care services. The following semantic fields which carry a good deal of loanwords include politics, business and food stuff.

Table 2: Semantic Fields for the Sampled data in LOT Publications

Semantic field	%	Runyambo	Ciruuri	Cigogo	English
Education	15	<i>ecitabo</i>	<i>ecitabho</i>	<i>citabu</i>	book
		<i>omwēji</i>	<i>omuigisi</i>	<i>mwijizwa</i>	pupil
		<i>isomero</i>	<i>isuule</i>	---	school
Utensils and Domestic Tools	15	<i>ecikōmbe</i>	<i>ecikoombe</i>		cup
		<i>omukáasi</i>	<i>imakasi</i>	<i>icetezo</i>	scissors
		<i>imééza</i>	<i>imeeja</i>	---	table
		<i>ecijũko</i>	<i>ecijiko</i>	<i>cijiko</i>	spoon
		<i>esaháani</i>	<i>olutubha</i>	<i>ciya, ihani</i>	plate
Health and Medical Care	12	---	---	---	hospital
		---	<i>omurwaasya</i>	---	nurse
		<i>akaho</i>	<i>ecisonono</i>	---	gonorrhoea
Social and Political Organizations	10	<i>kutwára</i>	<i>isirikaali</i>	<i>silikale</i>	government
		<i>omwiserukári</i>	<i>omusikare</i>	<i>musilikale</i>	soldier
		<i>embũndu</i>	<i>imbundijo</i>	<i>huti</i>	gun
		<i>orunjeréza</i>	<i>ecingereja</i>	---	English
Business	10	<i>omujáaro</i>	<i>lisoko</i>	<i>isoko</i>	market
		<i>amahéra/empíya</i>	<i>jiyera</i>	<i>pesa/sendi</i>	money
		<i>edúúka</i>	<i>liduuka</i>	---	shop
Food Staff	10	<i>amajúta</i>	<i>mafuta</i>	---	oil
		<i>ecáaye</i>	<i>ecai</i>	---	tea
		<i>obusēnda</i>	<i>ipilipili</i>	---	pepper
		<i>omugaate</i>	<i>omukaate</i>	---	bread
Modern Fashion	8	<i>esááti</i>	---	---	shirt
		<i>eciráatwa</i>	<i>ecilaato</i>	<i>cilato</i>	shoe
		---	<i>esurubhale</i>	<i>esuluwale</i>	trousers
Transport	8	<i>endeje</i>	<i>indege</i>	<i>ndeje</i>	aeroplane
		<i>emótoka</i>	<i>imbirigiti</i>	---	car
Other Socialisations	8	<i>ekerezia</i>	<i>likanisa</i>	---	church
		<i>omujũngu</i>	<i>omujungu</i>	---	Whiteman
		<i>orunjeréza</i>	<i>ecingereja</i>	---	English
Domestic	4	<i>esaabũuni</i>	<i>isabhuni</i>	---	soap
		<i>ecihoróoni</i>	<i>ecorooni</i>	<i>colo</i>	toilet

Comparative Analysis

Several facts have been deduced from the preceding data given in section about findings in the sampled Bantu languages and discussions offered in sections concerning general pictures of loanwords and semantics fields in the sampled data above. As an academic arena, it is informative, thus it is necessary to have a quick glance at data presented in other lexicons and dictionaries. This is the reason this

section is envisaged. Again, my language representation is highly skewed because I am working with only three Bantu languages, namely Nyakyusa [M31], Setswana [S31] and Shiyeyi [R41]. For this data, I am working with an estimate of about 110 loanwords from lexicons and dictionaries.

Table 3: Selected Loanwords in other Bantu Languages

English	Nyakyusa (Felberg 1996)	Setswana (Matumo 1993)	Shiyeyi (Lukusa 2002, 2009)
aeroplane	<i>indeghe</i>	---	<i>ubaroni</i>
book	<i>ikiitabu</i>	<i>dibuku</i>	<i>ibuka</i>
bread	<i>unkate</i>	<i>borôthô</i>	<i>wurotho</i>
car	<i>ighali</i>	<i>koloi, mmotokara</i>	<i>umutukara</i>
church	<i>ikyalili, itempeli, ikanisa</i>	<i>kêrêkê</i>	---
cup	<i>ikikombe</i>	<i>senwêlô</i>	---
doctor	<i>unganga</i>	<i>ngaka</i> [a healer]	<i>mupandzi, ing'anga</i>
gonorrhoea	<i>amasendo</i>	<i>matsabana</i>	---
government	<i>iselekali</i>	<i>goromêntê</i>	---
gun	<i>indusu</i>	<i>tlhòbòlò</i>	---
hospital	<i>ikipatala</i>	<i>sepetera</i>	<i>shipatera</i>
English	<i>ikisungu</i>	<i>enyelane, sekgua</i>	<i>shikhuwa</i>
market	<i>isoko</i>	<i>mmaraka</i>	---
money	<i>indalama, ihela</i>	<i>madi</i>	<i>maropa</i>
nurse	<i>unnesi</i>	<i>mooki</i>	---
oil	<i>amafuta</i>	<i>dirole</i>	<i>amazi</i>
pepper	<i>imbilipili</i>	<i>pepere</i>	---
plate	<i>isaghani</i>	<i>sejana</i>	---
pupils/students	<i>abasukulu</i>	<i>basekolo, basekole</i>	---
school	<i>isukulu</i>	<i>sekolo, sekole</i>	<i>shikwere</i>
scissors	<i>isisala</i>	<i>sekere</i>	---
soap	<i>isopo</i>	<i>sesepa</i>	
soldier	<i>unsikali</i>	<i>lesole</i>	
spoon	<i>isupuni</i>	<i>duso</i>	<i>katuwo</i>
table	<i>imesa</i>	<i>tafole</i> [<Afrikaans]	
tea	<i>ikyai</i>	---	---
teacher	<i>umanyisi, umwalimu</i>	<i>murura, titšhara</i>	---
toilet	<i>ikibusu</i>	<i>toilete</i>	---
tractor	<i>itelekita</i>	---	---
trousers	<i>isulubali</i>	<i>borokgwe</i>	---
Whiteman	<i>unsung</i>	<i>mokgua</i>	<i>mokhuwa</i>

One of the observations deduced from data in Table 3 above is about the loanwords in Nyakyusa. Words in Felberg (1996) and Swilla (2000) seem to show that borrowings into Nyakyusa seem to have come from English and Swahili. This

would be a less obvious trend in Tanzania whereby English loanwords into Nyakyusa are visible as Swahili ones. With regard to source languages, this is contrary to Kahigi (2005) in Sisumbwa but supporting Swilla (2000) in Chindali that borrowing is direct from English. Also, such English loanwords occur across semantic fields, e.g. *isopo* ‘soap’, *isukulu* ‘school’, *ikyaliki* ‘church’ etc. In the Bantu languages Setswana and Shiyeyi, English and Afrikaans are the major source languages. Loanwords in these languages come from English which comprise about 90 percent Afrikaans which makes about 10 percent of Setswana and Shiyeyi loanwords.

Another point vividly seen in data in Table 3 above indicates that it is not necessary that a minority language must borrow lexical items from a major national language. This is demonstrated by Shiyeyi, a minority language in Botswana, which has some direct borrowings from English rather than allowing lexical borrowing through Setswana, the national language in the country. For example, a lorry is *ulori*, a school is *shikwéré*, and army troops are *zikwatá* (Lukusa, 2009). In addition, these languages have a good deal of native words. This entails that these language did not borrow a word to fill such a semantic field observed in other languages. Moreover, all the loanwords captured in these dictionaries are nominals. This pointed towards the fact that nominals are prone to borrowing in sample Bantu languages.

On the issue of semantic fields, which is the focus of the present contribution, the situation seems similar because it is found that the following fields are attested in the three Bantu languages (Table 4).

Table 4: Semantic Fields in other Bantu Languages

Semantic field	Nyakyusa	Setswana	Shiyeyi	English
Education	<i>iitabu</i>	<i>dibuku</i>	<i>ibuka</i>	book
	<i>isukulu</i>	<i>sekolo</i>	<i>shikwere</i>	school
Utensils and Domestic Tools	<i>isagani</i>	<i>sejana</i>	---	plate
	<i>isupuni</i>	<i>duso</i>	<i>katuwo</i>	spoon
	<i>isisala</i>	<i>sekere</i>	---	scissors
Health and Medical Care	<i>ikipatala</i>	<i>sepetera</i>	<i>shipatera</i>	hospital
	<i>unnesi</i>	<i>mooki</i>	---	nurse
Social and Political Organizations	<i>iselikali</i>	<i>goromënté</i>	---	government
	<i>unsikali</i>	<i>lesole</i>	---	soldier
Business	<i>ihela</i>	<i>madi</i>	<i>maropa</i>	money
	<i>iluka</i>	<i>bènkêlê</i> [<Afrikaans] <i>sôpô</i> [<English]	<i>ibinkiri</i> [<Afrikaans]	shop
Food Staff	<i>amafuta</i>	<i>dirole</i>	<i>amazi</i>	oil
	<i>unkate</i>	<i>boróthó</i>	<i>wurotho</i>	bread
	<i>imbilipili</i>	<i>pepere</i>	---	pepper
Modern Fashion	<i>isyati</i>	<i>hèmpê</i> [< Afrikaans]	---	shirt
Transport	<i>igali</i>	<i>koloi, mmotokara</i>	<i>umutukara</i>	car
Other Socialisations	<i>ikyalili, ikanisa</i>	<i>kêrêkê</i>	---	church
	<i>unsungu</i>	<i>mokgua</i>	<i>mokhuwa</i>	whiteman
	<i>ikisungu</i>	<i>enyelane, sekgua</i>	<i>shikhuwa</i>	english
Domestic	<i>isopo</i>	<i>sesepa</i>	---	soap
	<i>ikibusu</i>	<i>toilete</i>	---	toilet

Additionally, unlike in Ruhaya and Runyambo speaking communities, for *church*, Nyakyusa has *ikanisa*, which is probably a new influence from Swahili and *ikyaliki* and *itempele* which are old loanwords from English. In fact, the former is used by the youth while the later is an arena of the elderly (see also Swilla, 2000). Nonetheless, there is no division of the churches based on these loanwords.

Furthermore, on semantic fields, data in Table 4 supports findings in Table 2 above. Modimakwane (2003: 48-50) reports that loanwords are used to refer to various human activities as well. Such words include technology, e.g. *metshine* ‘machine’ and *terena* ‘train’, human relations such as *ambasadora* ‘ambassador’, and economy, e.g. *kopere* ‘copper’. Further, Modimakwane (*ibid*) reports that, in discourse, some English loanwords are frequently used than others in Setswana. The frequently used words include: *phathi* ‘party’, *ofisi* ‘office’, *palamente* ‘parliament’, *khansela* ‘council’, *komiti* ‘committee’. The less used borrowings offered therein are: *mmaraka* ‘in the market’, *kholetshe* ‘college’ and *diphaephe* ‘pipes’. This informs us that the semantics of the contemporary English loanwords borrowed into Setswana surround the social organisations and politics as the main area of contact and influence.

CONCLUSIONS

Nativisation of the various words mentioned in the preceding sections offers a fascinating area for native speakers to decide whether such words belong to the language in question or not. On the one hand, a decision could be made basing on the Scotton and Okeju’s (1972: 370) two criteria drawn from Ateso language: (a) whether or not the loan conforms to Ateso **phonotactics** (i.e. occurrence and co-occurrence rules for Ateso sounds) and (b) whether or not the loanword is **inflected** as if it were a native Ateso word (i.e. nouns inflected with a gender prefix and some suffixal change to mark plurality, verbs inflected with personal and other relationship prefixes for tense/aspects as well as with suffixes which also indicate various other relationships). In this spirit, we would conclude therefore that *abasukulu* ‘pupils’ and *isopo* ‘soap’ are typically Nyakyusa nativized words. On the other hand, it is believed that the question of making a lexical word native is quite problematic to establish (Hock and Joseph, 1996). For example, during my stay on campus of the University of Botswana, the words *pepara* ‘paper’, *mokarateng* ‘in the card’, *silipára* ‘slippers’, *dinara* ‘dinner’, *ofisara* ‘officer’, *kasitomára* ‘customer’, *foroko* ‘folk’ and *difendára* ‘defender’ are a common place. However, all speakers of Setswana I asked recognize such words as **not native Setswana** rather borrowed from English and used with limited audience. But such words have received Setswana inflections such as the prefix *mo-* for class 18.

Also, most of these words do not appear in Matumo’s (1993) dictionary. These words end in the agentis nominaliser *-er* in English and they are transferred as so into Setswana. The questions on how much of such words will be nativized and for how long such a process will take remain to be answered. An enquiry was posed in the introduction section above: *One wonders whether such schematic features do appear in the loanwords listed in the lexicons and dictionaries published under Language of Tanzania Project*. As the main area that this paper contributes to, it becomes imperative to pin-point that the semantic fields represented across world

languages seem to be well captured in the works presented herein (see Table 3). The other two questions are also answered herein: do the trends reported in former works (e.g. Gower, 1952) differ from the present ones (e.g. Schadeberg, 2009)? The answer could be that the schemata and contact zones remain essential to date. However, the focus is on between the national languages like Swahili in Tanzania and Setswana in Botswana influencing minority languages like Runyambo, Kijita and Shiyeyi. The other question: do data from LOT publications offer insights to support the former or the latter, or have distinct picture(s)? The answer is that findings from comparisons made in this study support the claim that LOT publications offer enough evidence.

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