

Morphological Integration of Lexical Borrowings from Kiswahili into Chimalaba

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Abstract

This paper explores morphological strategies used to integrate lexical borrowings from Kiswahili into Chimalaba. The data were collected by Amani (2010) from a corpus of 169 lexical borrowings from Kiswahili into Chimalaba. The analysis was guided by Assimilation Theory, which holds that speakers assimilate borrowed words to the morphological habits of their languages. The findings indicate that the speakers of the recipient language do not fully integrate certain borrowed items; instead they adopt them with their foreign features intact. The findings further indicate that new sounds have been introduced into the recipient language, viz. /ʃ/, /z/ and /ʒ/, as a result of adopting loanwords from Kiswahili. Thus, the integration of Swahili loanwords has induced some changes in the structure of Chimalaba.

Keywords: *lexical borrowing, loanword integration, recipient language, source language*

Introduction

Kiswahili is a Bantu language spoken mainly in East and Central Africa. On the other hand, Chimalaba is a dialect of Chimakonde (P23), a language spoken in Tanzania and Mozambique (Kraal, 2005). The other dialects of Chimakonde are Chinnima, Chindonde and Chimatambwe (Kraal, *ibid.*). And the other languages found in the Yao Group P include Yao (P21) and Mwera (P22) (Guthrie, 1948, 1967-71). In Tanzania, Chimakonde is spoken in Mtwara Region, particularly in the districts of Newala, Tandahimba, Mtwara Rural, Mtwara Urban and Masasi (LOT, 2009). Chimalaba is spoken in Mtwara Rural.

Kiswahili and Chimalaba have been in contact with each other for hundreds of years (Kraal, 2005; Amani, 2010). Because of this, there has been massive borrowing of both lexical and structural features from Kiswahili into Chimalaba (Amani & Mreta, 2012).

This paper examines the morphological processes that lexical borrowings (nouns, verbs and adjectives) from Kiswahili undergo as they are integrated into Chimalaba. The main focus of the paper is on the morphological

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strategies that Chimalaba speakers use to integrate Swahili nouns, verbs, adjectives and modifiers into their language. For illustration purposes, the paper also presents old forms of Chimalaba words, which are from Chimakonde, of which it is a dialect.

Theoretical Considerations

This paper is guided by Assimilation Theory, which holds that speakers assimilate borrowed words to the morphological habits of their languages. This theory was originally developed in the field of sociological science by Park and Burgess (1924) and was used to explain the process of contact, interpenetration and fusion among groups of people. Park and Burgess (ibid.:735) define assimilation as “a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups and incorporate with them in a common cultural life.” Similarly, Bloomfield (1933), Heugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953) found that many languages which were in contact ended up inter influencing each other through borrowing. Again, the borrowed items were said to be systematically assimilated to the structure of the borrowing languages.

Findings of various studies have led many contact linguists to conclude that speakers of borrowing languages always employ certain predictable strategies to change the make-up of loanwords to fit into the systems of their own languages. Also, McMahon (1994) observes that the assimilation strategies that speakers employ are always not random. The table below illustrates how various Ethnic Community Languages (ECLs) in Tanzania have assimilated loanwords from Kiswahili to their systems.

Table 1: Examples of Swahili Loanwords which have been Integrated into ECLs

ECL	Integrated word	< Kiswahili	Gloss
Kihaya	omuhospitali	hospitali	<i>hospital</i>
Kibondei	bizaa	bidhaa	<i>goods</i>
Chimakonde	ibalúuwa	barua	<i>letter</i>
Chindali	ghwifí	wifí	<i>sister-in-law</i>
Chiyao	sidikáadi	serikali	<i>government</i>

Source: Amani (2010:32)

According to Von Coetsem (1988), loanwords undergo assimilation processes in recipient languages because, as many linguists (e.g. McMahon, 1994; Myers-Scotton, 2002) observe, linguistic borrowing is always structure preserving. However, as McMahon (1994) cautions, massive borrowing may bring about a certain degree of change in recipient languages.

Morphological assimilation is the aspect of Assimilation Theory used by this study. Assimilation Theory does not cover all linguistic assimilation processes.

In the present study, however, the theory is used as a general tool for investigation and analysis of loanwords because it shows that loanwords are normally modified to fit the morphological paradigms of borrowing languages.

Methodology

The data were collected by Amani (2010) from a corpus of 169 lexical borrowings from Kiswahili into Chimalaba. All 169 lexical borrowings were first classified into their respective categories, viz. nouns, verbs, adjectives and modifiers, and then analysed using the theory discussed above. Every loanword was analysed on the basis of its morphological make-up to see the extent to which it had undergone morphological modification.

The forms of the words, both old and new, were compared in order to establish the morphological changes the words had undergone. Then, the changes that had been identified in certain words were examined and “checked” in other words to see if they were regular. This was done because it is said that the strategies that speakers use to integrate loanwords into their languages are always predictable (McMahon, 1994; Myers-Scotton, 2002; Ngunga, 2002). Of 169 loanwords, 54 (29 nouns, 7 verbs, 15 adjectives and 3 modifiers) were found to have been morphologically modified to fit into Chimalaba.

The Structure of Kiswahili and Chimalaba

Before we present the actual processes of loanword integration, it is important to point out the similarities and differences between Chimalaba and Kiswahili. Both Kiswahili and Chimalaba are Bantu, and thus they have many similar features. Both are agglutinating languages, that is, morphemes in each language are joined concatenatively. Both have noun classes, into which nouns are grouped. Each noun class, in either language, is more or less associated with certain semantic characteristics. For example, there are classes for human beings, animals, artefacts and abstract concepts. Both have complex verbs whose verb phrases show the fullest extent of the agglutinating nature of word structure. The verbs are made up of roots which take various affixes. For instance, the typical affirmative form of a Swahili or Chimalaba verb consists of a subject marker, tense, aspect and mood marker(s) (TAM), an optional object marker, a verbal root and several optional verbal extensions (e.g. causative, passive, reciprocal), plus a final vowel that signals the indicative or subjunctive mood.

In both, all sentence constituents must agree with the verb in terms of the class and number of the noun prefix. Adnominals, that is, numbers, adjectives and other modifiers, must also agree with the head nouns they qualify. Both Kiswahili and Chimalaba have five vowels. They also have the canonical C(V) syllable structure, although Kiswahili has retained certain complex syllable structures in some of the words borrowed from Arabic.

Apart from the similarities mentioned above, there are significant differences between the two languages. Kiswahili uses stress, while Chimalaba uses tone. Besides, in Chimalaba, the penultimate vowel is long in almost all words while in Kiswahili the penultimate syllables of nearly all words is stressed. Finally, whereas Kiswahili has /h/, /ð/, /θ/, /r/ and /ʁ/, Chimalaba doesn't.

The Findings

It has been found that morphologically nouns, verbs and adjectives are not subjected to the same morphological processes of integration into Chimalaba. Each of them is integrated into the recipient language differently from the others, as demonstrated below.

Nouns

As in other Bantu languages, nouns in Chimalaba are divided into classes. Each class is normally associated with certain semantic characteristics. There are classes for human beings, animals, artefacts, abstract concepts, plants and the like, as the table below indicates.

Table 2: Chimalaba Noun Classes

Class	Nominal prefix	Example	Gloss	Semantic category
1 (SG) ¹	mu-	múu·nu	<i>person</i>	humans and occupations
2 (PL)	va-	váa·nu	<i>persons</i>	
3 (SG)	mu-, n-	n·náandi	<i>tree</i>	plants, names of trees, body parts
4 (PL)	mi-	mi·láandi	<i>trees</i>	
5 (SG)	li-	li·chúungwa	<i>orange</i>	fruits, body parts
6 (PL)	ma-	ma·chúungwa	<i>oranges</i>	
7 (SG)	chi-, ki-	chíinu	<i>thing</i>	objects, body parts, languages, things in general
8 (PL)	vi-	víinu	<i>things</i>	
9 (SG)	N	ngóoma	<i>drum</i>	animals, certain objects
10 (PL)	jiN, va	ji·ngóoma	<i>drums</i>	
11 (SG)	lu-	lu·páapa	<i>wing</i>	long or thin things
10 (PL)	ji-	ji·máapa	<i>wings</i>	
14	u-	u·wíimbo	<i>hair</i>	substances, mass, abstract things/ideas
15	ku-	ku·úulya	<i>to eat</i>	verbal infinitives
16	pa-	pa·áali	<i>(at) place</i>	locative
17	ku-	ku·káaya	<i>home</i>	locative
18	mu-	mu·cháanya	<i>above</i>	locative

¹ The following abbreviations have been used in this paper: ADJ = Adjective, CL = Class, CONC = Concordial Marker, ECLS = Ethnic Community Languages, FV = Final Vowel, IFN = Infinitive, LOT = Languages of Tanzania Project, N = Noun, PL = Plural, PROG = Progressive Aspect, RL = Recipient Language, SG = Singular, SL = Source Language, SM = Subject Marker, TAM = Tense Aspect Mood, V = Verb

All borrowed Swahili nouns which enter the Chimalaba lexicon must be integrated into one of the noun classes listed above so that they may be part of its lexicon. When a borrowed noun is integrated into one of the noun classes, singular or plural, its integration into another class is automatic. Chimalaba speakers employ the following strategies to integrate nouns borrowed from Kiswahili into their language.

Semantic Features of Borrowed Nouns

Most of the early studies on Bantu languages showed that nouns in Bantu languages were organized into noun classes according to the semantic fields to which they belonged. It was also thought that the organization of foreign words into noun classes was done according to the semantic features of the stems of the borrowed words (Ngunga, 2002). For example, if a foreign noun was related to humans, then it would be assigned to the class for humans in the host language, as the examples in (1) indicate. Of course, this is not the only criterion available (Ngunga, *ibid.*).

				Class
(1)	a.	libáata (< Kiswahili)	bata, N. <i>duck</i>	5
	b.	ligóogo (< Kiswahili)	gogo, N. <i>log</i>	5
	c.	mfalúume (< Kiswahili)	mfalme, N. <i>king</i>	1
	d.	mwíizi (< Kiswahili)	mwizi, N. <i>thief</i>	1

The examples above show that these nouns have been integrated into the noun classes according to their semantic features. However, there are overlaps in some cases. For example, the noun **ntúume** is assigned to class 3 and its plural **mitúume** to class 4, instead of being assigned to classes 1 and 2.

Phonetic Resemblance of Initial Sounds

As noted above, not all borrowed nouns can be placed into noun classes in the host language on the basis of their semantic features. This is corroborated by the findings of this study. For instance, Chimalaba speakers use phonetic similarities between the initial sounds of Swahili words and those of Chimalaba to assign them to noun classes. This can be seen in the following examples:

				Class
(2)	a.	cháama (< Kiswahili)	chama, N. <i>political party</i>	7
	b.	chúuo (< Kiswahili)	chuo, N. <i>college</i>	7
	c.	nzíizi (< Kiswahili)	mzizi, N. <i>root</i>	3
	d.	nsikíiti (< Kiswahili)	msikiti, N. <i>mosque</i>	3

The Chimakonde word for 'root' can be used to support this strategy. The word for 'root' is **luchíiya**, which is in class 11 (a class for long and thin things), but the Swahili loan **nzíizi** is not in class 11; instead, it is in class 3 (a class for

plants, body parts and names of trees). Thus, the loanword **mzizi** is assigned to class 3 because its initial sound is **m-** and the initial sound of the class 3 prefix in Chimalaba is **n-**. This makes us conclude that the integration of the above nouns is done on the basis of the phonetic similarity mentioned previously.

The Use of Classes 9 and 10

Some borrowed nouns are not integrated through the two strategies discussed above. This is because they have peculiar phonetic shapes and they do not have clear semantic features. Chimalaba, thus, regards all such nouns as not having noun class prefixes and assigns them to classes 9/10. These are the host classes for all borrowed nouns of this kind. The following examples illustrate this point:

				Class
(3)	a.	akíili (< Kiswahili)	akili N. <i>intellect</i>	9/10
	b.	díini (< Kiswahili)	dini, N. <i>religion</i>	9/10
	c.	náazi (< Kiswahili)	nazi, N. <i>coconut</i>	9/10
	d.	ngóozi (< Kiswahili)	ngozi, N. <i>skin</i>	9/10

Because these nouns do not have noun class prefixes, they do not display the morphological division between singular and plural. The singular and plural distinction is rather made using the agreement markers used in these nouns and in such words as verbs, adnominals and demonstratives, as illustrated below:

- (22) a. náazi **y**-áangu **i**-niyaíika ‘my coconut is lost’
- b. náazi **j**-áangu **ji**-niyaíika ‘my coconuts are lost’

Class Renewal

One of the interesting strategies that Chimalaba uses to integrate loanwords into its noun classes is noun class restructuring. Certain borrowed nouns with the noun class prefix **ki-** are adopted with their prefixes and are assigned to class 7 and their plural counterparts to class 8, whose noun class prefix is **vi-**. Put otherwise, the original noun class prefix **chi-** is not replaced by the prefix of the borrowed word; instead both are used, as example (4) indicates.

				Class
(4)	a.	k ibalúuwa/ v ibalúuwa	<i>paid labourer(s)</i>	7/8
	b.	k íti/ v íti	<i>chair/chairs</i>	7/8
	c.	k wáanja/ v wáanja	<i>open field/open fields</i>	7/8
	d.	k íisu/ v íisu	<i>knife/knives</i>	7/8

Perhaps the phenomenon illustrated above is indicative of the fact that the language is changing. In our data, there are words which are integrated into Chimalaba on the basis of the native noun class prefixes, as shown below:

					Class
(5)	a.	chibáanda	(< Kiswahili) kibanda,	N. <i>hut</i>	7
	b.	chikáapu	(< Kiswahili) kikapu,	N. <i>basket</i>	7
	c.	chitambáala	(< Kiswahili) kitambaa,	N. <i>piece of cloth</i>	7

This suggests that Swahili nouns with the prefix **chi-** are old while those which are adopted with the Swahili noun class **ki-** are new. This makes it possible for us to predict that in the long run Chimalaba will adopt the Swahili noun prefix **ki-** for class 7, and thereby replacing the native prefix **chi-**. Kiango (2005) makes a similar predication by saying that a language can lose any important linguistic information (i.e. original and authentic vocabulary or structural features) when it is in contact with another language for a long time and that this can lead to the disappearance of certain linguistic features.

Adoption of the Source Language Noun Class Prefixes

Chimalaba has integrated certain borrowed nouns into its system by adopting Swahili noun class prefixes. Most of the nouns that have been borrowed with their noun class prefixes are found in classes 5 and 9. Below are examples of the Swahili nouns which have been integrated into Chimalaba with their noun class prefixes:

					Class
(6)	a.	libáata	(< Kiswahili) bata,	N. <i>duck</i>	5
	b.	lichúungwa	(< Kiswahili) chungwa,	N. <i>orange</i>	5
	c.	lisikíio	(< Kiswahili) sikio,	N. <i>ear</i>	5
	d.	litóope	(< Kiswahili) tope,	N. <i>mud</i>	5

Some nouns are assigned to class 5 not on the basis of their semantic features, but based on the agreement marker which they take, notably **li-** which is used by the nouns that belong to class 5. This is illustrated below:

					Class
(7)	a.	bóomba	(< Kiswahili) bomba,	N. <i>pipe</i>	5
	b.	daláaja	(< Kiswahili) daraja,	N. <i>bridge</i>	5
	c.	fúungu	(< Kiswahili) fungu,	N. <i>heap, pile</i>	5

Therefore, there are two ways of integrating borrowed nouns into class 5 in Chimalaba, that is, using the Chimalaba noun class prefix **li-** and adoption of

the noun class prefixes found in Kiswahili. The second strategy is also used in integrating nouns into class 9, as the examples in (8) show:

						Class
(8) a.	ndóowa	[indóowa]	(< Kiswahili)	ndoa,	N. <i>marriage</i>	9
b.	ndíizi	[indíisi]	(< Kiswahili)	ndizi,	N. <i>banana</i>	9
c.	ndoáana	[indoáana]	(< Kiswahili)	ndoana,	N. <i>fishing hook</i>	9

The tendency noted above is supported by the literature. McMahon (1994), for example, notes that if bilingualism is high among speakers of a recipient language then the adoption of words from the source language with their original forms is likely to be high as well.

Verbs

Unlike nearly all borrowed nouns, all borrowed verbs are inflected. The morphology of the verb in Chimalaba, as in other Bantu languages, is complex. Indeed, the canonical form of the infinitive verb has the following structure: **ku-Root-a**, as shown below:

- (9) ku-lím-a
 INF-ROOT-FV
 'To cultivate'

The other morphemes (e.g. for tense, aspect, verb arguments) cluster around the verbal root, as illustrated below:

- (10) ni-n-ku-lím-a
 SM 1-PROG-INF-cultivate-FV
 'I am cultivating.'

The borrowed verbs which come into Chimalaba undergo morphological modifications: the prefixation of the infinitive **ku-** and the suffixation of **-a** to a verb. This is the adaptation process that Chimalaba uses to integrate borrowed verbs into its system. The borrowing of verbs is restricted to verbal roots or stems only. These roots or stems are regularized and follow the inflectional patterns of the host language. The verbs borrowed from Kiswahili lend themselves easily into the Chimalaba inflectional morphology because the two languages have similar verbal structures. The examples in (11) illustrate this point.

- (11) a. kutángááza (< Kiswahili) kutangaza, V. *to announce*
 b. kufúndíísha (< Kiswahili) kufundisha, V. *to teach*

In classifying lexical borrowing in Chiyao, Ngunga (2002) found that certain verbs from Kiswahili (all of Arabic origin) did not satisfy these two basic conditions when entering Chiyao as loanwords. In Chimalaba, too, such verbs satisfy only one of the two conditions, that is, the prefixation of the infinitive **ku-** on verbs, as demonstrated below:

- (12) a. kufútúúlu (< Kiswahili) kufuturu, V. *to eat food after fasting*
 b. kuswáali (< Kiswahili) kuswali, V. *to pray*
 c. kusáfíli (< Kiswahili) kusafiri, V. *to travel*
 d. kutúubu (< Kiswahili) kutubu, V. *to repent*

Therefore, Chimalaba does not fully integrate Swahili verbs like those above into its system.

Adjectives

Chimalaba uses two morphological strategies to integrate borrowed adjectives from Kiswahili into its system. It makes use of its inflectional morphology to accommodate adjectival stems (mostly stems of core adjectives) into its system. That is, noun class prefixes of relevant nouns are attached to the borrowed adjectives for agreement purposes, as demonstrated below:

- (13) a. mwáana n-**dógo** [The original Chimakonde word is -**dyóoko** or -
 1-child 1-CONC -small **dikidíiki**.]
 'small child'
 b. li-yáai li-**kúubwa** [The original Chimakonde word is **kulúungwa**.]
 5-egg 5-CONC-big
 'big egg'
 c. u-góonjwa m-**báaya** [The original Chimakonde word is -**nyáata**.]
 14-sickness 5-CONC-bad
 'bad sicknesses'

This strategy is also used to integrate three basic colour adjectives, namely black, white and red. This is illustrated below:

- (14) a. li-yanga lye-**úusi** [The original Chimakonde form is **lyá nadíimbi**.]
 5-stone 5-CONC-black
 'black stone'
 b. li-yanga lye-**úupe** [The original Chimakonde form is **lyá náahe**.]
 5-stone 5-CONC-white
 'white stone'
 c. liyanga lye-**kúundu** [The original Chimakonde form is **lyá nahúuvi**.]
 5-stone 5-CONC-red
 'red stone'

The language also uses associative markers in front of Swahili adjectives. This strategy is used in nominal forms which express adjectival concepts. By doing this, the language adopts adjectival concepts from Kiswahili as complete words, i.e. nominal forms. This strategy is used in integrating adjectival concepts that express green, yellow and blue colours. The examples in (15) illustrate the use of the strategy in question.

- (15) a. li-yáanga lyá **kijáani** [No Chimakonde equivalent.]
5-stone 5-CONC green
'green stone'
- b. li-yáanga lyá **njáano** [No Chimakonde equivalent.]
5-stone 5-CONC yellow
'yellow stone'
- c. li-yáanga lyá **bulúu** [No Chimakonde equivalent.]
5-stone 5-CONC blue
'blue stone'

Modifiers

In Chimalaba, modifiers like **v-éengi** 'many/much', **v-óote** 'all' and **ve-ngiine** 'other' behave in the same way as core adjectives. They are monosyllabic stems which are preceded by pronominal prefixes. The prefixes attached to these stems agree with the noun class prefixes of the nouns being modified, as illustrated below:

- (16) a. váa-nu v-**éengi** [The original Chimakonde word is -**óhe**.]
2-persons 2-CONC-many
'many persons'
- b. váa-nu v-**óote** [The original Chimakonde word is -**óóhe**.]
2-persons 2-CONC-all
'all persons'
- c. váa-nu ve-**ngiine** [The original Chimakonde word is -**nji**.]
2-persons 2-CONC-other
'other persons'

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated how Swahili loanwords, namely nouns, verbs, adjectives and modifiers, are integrated into Chimalaba. In particular, two issues relating to the morphological integration of Swahili loanwords into Chimalaba have been discussed. The first is that speakers of Chimalaba use certain predictable strategies to integrate loanwords into the system of their language. The strategies, in other words, are not random. This fact has been noted by McMahon (1994) who observes that speakers of a borrowing

language use predictable and systematic strategies to integrate loanwords into their languages. Van Coetsem (1988) points out that speakers of recipient languages do that in order to preserve the structure of their language. The second is that Chimalaba speakers adopt Swahili words with their features intact as a result of intense contact between their language and Kiswahili. McMahon (op.cit.) notes that to a certain extent this integration strategy affects the system of a recipient language (RL). It has been noted in this paper that the use of this strategy has resulted in the introduction of Swahili sounds, i.e. /f/, /z/ and /ʃ/, and the class seven prefix **ki-** into Chimalaba. Thus, the integration of Swahili loanwords into Chimalaba has induced the above changes in Chimalaba's structure.

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Appendix

Lexical Borrowings in Chimalaba (Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives and other Modifiers)

Noun				
No	Kiswahili	Chimalaba	Makonde Equivalent	Gloss
1.	akili	akíili	(di)jing'áano	<i>intellect</i>
2.	bata	libáata	libáata	<i>duck</i>
3.	bomba	bóomba	libóomba	<i>pipe</i>
4.	chama	cháama	cháama	<i>party</i>
5.	chuo	chúuo	chúuo	<i>college</i>
6.	chungwa	lichúungwa	lichúungwa	<i>orange</i>
7.	daraja	daláaja	lidaláaja	<i>ridge</i>
8.	dini	díini	díini	<i>religion</i>
9.	fungu	fúungu	litúunji, chíiha, (lifúungu)	<i>heap, pile, chump</i>
10.	gogo	ligóogo	ligóogo	<i>log</i>
11.	kibarua	kibalúua	chibalúua	<i>paid labour</i>
12.	kibanda	chibáanda	chibáanda	<i>hut</i>
13.	kikapu	chikáapu	chikáapu	<i>basket</i>
14.	kitambaa	chitámbáala	lipíindi (chitámbáala)	<i>kerchief, piece of cloth</i>
15.	kiti	kíiti	chitéeng'u (chíiti)	<i>chair</i>
16.	kisu	kíisu	chipúula	<i>knife</i>
17.	kiwanja	kiwáanja	chiláala (chiwáanja)	<i>open field, playing field</i>
18.	mfalme	mfalúume,	nkulúungwa (mfalúume)	<i>king</i>
19.	mzigo	nziigo	chitúuvi, chíiha	<i>load; luggage</i>
20.	mwizi	mwíizi	nkwíiva (mwíisi)	<i>thief</i>
21.	mzizi	nzíizi	luchíiya	<i>root</i>
22.	msikiti	nsikíiti	nsíkíiti	<i>mosque</i>
23.	nazi	náazi	náasi	<i>coconut</i>
24.	ndoa	ndóowa	ulóombi (indóowa)	<i>marriage</i>
25.	ndizi	ndíizi	ing'óowo (indíisi)	<i>banana</i>
26.	ndoana	ndoáana	indoáano	<i>fish hook</i>
27.	ngozi	ngóози	limbéende	<i>skin</i>
28.	sikio	lisikíio (kúutu)	likúutu	<i>ear</i>
29.	tope	litóope	litóope	<i>mud, mire</i>
Verb				
30.	lima	líima	líima	<i>cultivate</i>
31.	futuru	fútúulu	fútúulu	<i>eat food after fasting</i>
32.	tangaza	tángáaza	tángáasa	<i>announce</i>
33.	fundisha	fúndíisha	húúnda (fúndíisa)	<i>teach/educate</i>
34.	swali	swááli	swááli	<i>pray</i>
35.	safiri	sáfíili	whéena mwáanda	<i>travel</i>
36.	tubu	túúbu	túúbu	<i>repent</i>

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Adjective				
37.	-zuri	-zúuli	-kátapáala	<i>beautiful, good</i>
38.	-zito	-zíito/ -ídóopa	-ídóopa	<i>heavy</i>
39.	-vivu	-léemwa/ -viivu	-léemwa	<i>lazy</i>
40.	-gumu	-gúumu/-ónóopa	-nónóopa	<i>hard</i>
41.	-baya	-báaya	-nyáata	<i>bad, ugly</i>
42.	-kubwa	-kúulu/-kúubwa	-kúulu/-kúlúungwa	<i>big</i>
43.	-eusi	-éúusi	-díimba	<i>black</i>
44.	-eupe	-éúupe	-náahe	<i>white</i>
45.	-ekundu	-ékúndu	- nahúuvi	<i>red</i>
46.	-dogo	-dógo/-chúiki	-dyóoko, -díkidíiki	<i>small</i>
47.	-nene	-néene	-tumbúula	<i>large</i>
48.	-fupi	-fúupi	-hínjipáala	<i>short</i>
49.	kijani	kijáani	kijáani	<i>green</i>
50.	njano	njáano	njáano	<i>yellow</i>
51.	bluu	bulúú	bulúú	<i>blue</i>
Modifier				
52.	-ngine	-ngíine	-inji	<i>another</i>
53.	-ote	-óote	-óóhe	<i>all</i>
54.	-engi	-éengi	-óohe	<i>many</i>