

ENGLISH INFLUENCE ON KISWAHILI: THE VIEW OF LANGUAGE PURISTS

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Introduction

The focus of this paper is on the Anglicisation of Tanzanian Kiswahili and the different views Swahili purists have towards this process. I demonstrate how the structure of Kiswahili is anglicised particularly on the lexicon level. I show that both the official modernisation of Kiswahili (through language planning) and unofficial planning (spontaneously), inevitably leads to changes in the structure of the language.

Although Anglicisation is considered advantageous in contact linguistics, because it is a valuable tool of modernising languages, there are still conflicting views by Tanzanians on this phenomenon. A certain group of Kiswahili speakers, mainly educators, feel that Anglicisation is critical to the development of Kiswahili as a language of specialisation, the extension of vocabulary and the increased precision of the language. Others, like the purists, fear that the language is being 'flooded' with English words. They claim that the majority of Tanzanians, who are not conversant with English, have difficulty understanding the new terms. The minority perspective argues that Anglicisation should be avoided because it dilutes the purity of Kiswahili. While acknowledging the reality of these attitudes, I believe that the Anglicisation of Kiswahili is a natural development given the historical contact between the two languages.

While the modernisation of Kiswahili has positive results in that the language has been made capable of handling new ideas and experiencing new concepts, there have been significant consequences for the language structure. It is shown that (Mkude 1986, Kische 1995) the government's deliberate efforts to modernise the language have inevitably resulted in the Anglicisation of the lexicon. Changes in a language may be unconscious (natural) due to language contact situations but they may also be conscious or planned. But there is a tendency to overlook the contribution of the latter (i.e. language planning) in bringing about changes in a language. These sorts of processes should be accepted as part of the evolution of any common language. The data for this paper has been collected

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from various sources, such as official documents from the National Kiswahili Council, newspapers, magazines and from speech discourse.

Background

Kiswahili is one of the languages of wider communication (LWC) Fishman (1971) in Africa and is mainly spoken in the three countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania as well as in parts of Somalia, Mozambique, Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi, Zambia and some parts of Angola (Polome and Hill 1980). Approximately 100 million people speak Kiswahili. In Tanzania, Kiswahili is the national and official language and is spoken by 95% of the Tanzanian population as a second language (Scotton 1978). As an official language, it coexists with English. The latter functions as an auxiliary language mainly for purposes of international communication while Kiswahili remains the primary means of communication. In its capacity as an official language, Kiswahili serves as the medium of instruction in the primary schools and the Tanzanian government hopes to replace English with it at the secondary school and tertiary levels (Mtajuka 1986, Rubagumya 1990). Additionally, plans to make it the language of the Organisation of African Unity are underway. The decision to use Kiswahili as a working language in the union was passed by the Executive Council of Ministers of the Union and adopted by the Heads of State and Government of the member states of the Organisation in Durban, South Africa on 9th-11 July 2002. Kiswahili as an African language will be used in the meetings of the African Union together with Arabic, English, French, Portuguese and Spanish. This decision is stated in *Article 25* of the *Constitutive Act of African Union* page 15 of 11 July 2000. Presently the government of Tanzania is working on the modalities of implementation of this resolution.

Due to the importance of Kiswahili in colonial times as a symbol of political unity, cultural identity and authenticity, it is seen as a useful tool in fighting the post colonial mentality. Since 1961, when Tanzania achieved her independence, the Tanzanian government has struggled to ensure the standardisation of Kiswahili and to prevent its corruption by foreign influence (Whiteley 1968, Harris 1968). To carry out these tasks, the National Kiswahili Council - well known in Tanzania as BAKITA (Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa) - was formed by an act of parliament in August 1967 and was specifically designed to ensure that Kiswahili was being developed in accordance with the goals and aspirations of the Tanzania nation. Some of the functions of BAKITA are to do the following.

- Promote and encourage the high achievements of Kiswahili and to discourage its misuse

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- Emphasise and encourage correct and standard Kiswahili
- Promote the development and usage of the Kiswahili language throughout the United Republic of Tanzania and encourage the use of the Kiswahili language in conduct of official business and public life in general
- Cooperate with publishers in helping authors to write standard Kiswahili by making sure that all Kiswahili text books are actually examined before they are published

BAKITA is entrusted with the seal of approval with respect to language usage in Kiswahili textbooks.

Kiswahili became the language of instruction in all the primary schools in 1967. When Kiswahili was declared Tanzania's official language in 1962, it became the main medium of communication in the administrative, business and public sectors. These functions, which raised its status from L to H position, greatly increased its prestige (Rubagumya 1990, Schmeid 1985). According to Ferguson 1968 and, Wardhaugh 1990, the status of a language is raised when that language is officially recognised in all the functions. But a language may lose its status when the function of that language is reduced by, for instance, denying the use of that language in education. As a matter of fact the term status is a result of status planning which changes the function of a language or variety of a language and the rights of those who use it. These changes in the language policies lead to a great demand in more technical specific terminology and new styles of discourse. As far as language in education is concerned, the situation was further complicated by the announcement of the Arusha declaration in 1967, which became the blue print for Tanzanian African based socialism. This was the political document in which Tanzania's socialism, translated as *Ujamaa*, is based.

The changes in the government concerning language in education, combined with the new ideology, and making Kiswahili the national language, the language of the mass media and political organisation complicated the problem of terminology development. The demand in this area and other public and government sectors grew so much that it became necessary to modernise the language and to increase the stock of vocabulary. According to Cooper (1989:153) modernisation refers to the processes which permit a language to fulfil new communicative functions - either functions new to the community or functions formerly fulfilled in the community by another language. In simple terms language modernisation is language development. The process has two aspects: the expansion of the language by new words and expressions and the

development of new styles, genres and registers. Modernisation is undertaken when a language needs to expand its resources for the demands of a modern world, such as the development of new knowledge and technical development (e.g. the introduction of computer technology) which has led to the creation of new terms such as *tovuti* 'website, *rambaza* "surf"). Likewise, the modernisation of Kiswahili enables it to become an appropriate means of communication for the modern topics of discourse to meet the demands of the modern world such as the development of technology.

The National Kiswahili Council was charged with the task of developing the needed terminology. As such since its inception in 1967, the council has been coining new terminology to extend the use of Kiswahili to areas where it had not previously been used, (e.g., engineering, photography, politics, science, broadcasting) and in other spheres.

However, because Kiswahili was seen as a viable tool of mobilising the masses towards *Ujamaa* and the philosophy of self reliance (*Kujitegemea*), the Tanzanian government and Kiswahili speakers wanted to develop Kiswahili without disturbing the integrity and identity of the language. This was crucial if Kiswahili were to be a true symbol of the Tanzanian people. As such, in the years between 1961 and 1975 steps were taken to purify Kiswahili in order to develop it to the level of equivalence to English. Government leaders and language developers led large campaigns to sensitise and educate Kiswahili speakers on the proper use of Kiswahili instead of English. This lofty goal can be summarised in the following statement quoted in Whiteley (1968: 334).

Since the language has now become the national language we just do something to widen its scope so that it may be sufficiently useful in all government activities in schools and commercial circles. We want to rid the language of bad influence and to guide it along the proper road. We want to standardise its orthography and for all our people to learn it, speak and write proper grammatical Kiswahili.

These efforts to develop and modernise Kiswahili not only boosted Kiswahili but also meant that all official decisions relating to Kiswahili implemented by political and academic institutions such as the National Kiswahili Council and the Institute of Kiswahili Research at the University of Dar-es Salaam were seen as elements in the struggle against English. According to Batibo (1989), the years 1967 - 1975 were the hey-day for Kiswahili. Kiswahili and English were ideologically antagonistic. It is even reported (Mochiwa 1992) that speaking English in public was considered an indication of colonial mentality best known as *kasumba*. This negative attitude made things

difficult for the teaching of English in the early years of independence, which resulted in decline in the status that English had reached.

The Phenomenon of Languages in Contact

The influence of English on Kiswahili is a dynamic and undeniable fact, which can only be understood with reference to studies in language contact situations. According to studies in language contact (Weinreich 1959, Aichison 1985, Thomason & Kaufman 1988), languages in contact can affect each other leading to changes in the structure, phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, semantics as well as in their use. The term ‘interference’ or ‘linguistic transfer’ have been used to describe the process by which one language is influenced by another language. Linguistic interference in multilingual communities is a common phenomenon; it has also been noted (Weinreich 1959, Aichison, 1985, Viereck and Bald 1986, Thomason & Kaufman 1988) that there is no language which is immune to linguistic interference in language contact situations. The longer the contact, the greater is the interference. Lexical borrowing, semantic extensions, colloquialism, adoption of syntactic structures and code mixing are all aspects of linguistic transfer. Loan words are often the result of language in cultural contact and cultural interplay. As such lexical borrowing is not unique to Kiswahili and is only possible in situations of bilingualism or intensive diffusion of cultural elements. Where the contact has been between English and another language, the linguistic influence from English has been referred to as Anglicisation. Abundant data showing how various languages have been anglicised can be found in language contact studies (e.g. Kachru 1983, Viereck and Bald Wolfgang 1986). Thus the contact between English and Kiswahili for over 80 years has led to the Anglicisation of the language.

Observation based on language use and usage show that, Tanzanians frequently mix English with Kiswahili in their conversations. Code mixing (CM) and Code switching (CS) is very common in both written and in spoken modes. Lexical borrowing from English and loan translations is a feature of many Tanzanians and frequent in texts of all kinds (e.g., Kiswahili books, newspapers, magazines, etc.). Even the modernisation of Kiswahili in terms of code elaboration depends on English as a modernising source. This situation in which English is considered as a source of linguistic innovation and a modernising agent of Kiswahili have affected the structure of Kiswahili in various ways leading to the Anglicisation of the language as will be observed in the ongoing discussion.

Lexical Modernisation

The mechanisms used by Tanzania for modernising Kiswahili lexicon fall within the well-known universal patterns followed by languages in contact situations: borrowing, translation, word compounding, doublets, loan translation and neologism. I will explain these mechanisms in turn.

Borrowing

<i>eksrei</i>	x-ray
<i>Oksidisha</i>	oxidise
<i>Trekta</i>	tractor
<i>televisheni</i>	television
<i>teknologia</i>	technology
<i>sekretarieti</i>	secretariat
<i>anthropolojia</i>	anthropology
<i>Hospitali</i>	hospital
<i>kompyuta</i>	computer
<i>memoranda</i>	memorandum
<i>Piramidi</i>	pyramid
<i>Spika</i>	speaker
<i>Elektroni</i>	electron

As mentioned before a more interesting thing with respect to the coining of new terms is that English is the reference or source language for concepts to be rendered into Kiswahili. As noted by (Mkilifi 1990) the reliance on a foreign language for the enrichment of Kiswahili has a number of implications in that, the new terms sound somewhat alien to normal usage of a Kiswahili speaker. In order to maintain the purity of the Kiswahili language, the standardisation committee of BAKITA has established rules to control both the structure of the words and their integration into the grammatical system of Kiswahili. For instance, all borrowed words which get introduced into Kiswahili have to be assimilated or adapted (nativised) into the structure of the pattern of Kiswahili language orthography and phonology with the exception of proper names. The nativisation or assimilation of such words which are to be integrated into the Kiswahili phonotactic system involves various processes e.g., insertion of vowels, the replacement of non-Kiswahili sounds, change of accent as well as spelling pronunciation.

Furthermore, since - unlike English - Kiswahili is a language which disallows consonant clustering except in a few cases, borrowed words get nativised through the addition of epenthetic vowels and the simplification of the

disallowed consonant clusters. Simplification of the disallowed consonant clusters is accomplished through the deletion of one or more letters that form the cluster e.g., *ofisi* (office *ogani* (organ, *brasi*, (brass and *aloi* (alloy. Sometimes, instead of adding a vowel at the end of the word, the consonant is deleted as in *memoranda* (memorandum).

However, following and applying all the set rules to each borrowed word has been complicated for the following reasons. First, the degree of nativisation of the word to be integrated depends on where the borrowed word originates, i.e., whether it belongs to science or humanities. Normally, words from scientific fields are less assimilated in order to maintain the intertranslatability and the transparency properties required in this field. This tendency is in keeping with the demands of the International Organisation of Standardisation (ISO, that international vocabulary items like *computer* (kompyuta and other terms, e.g. *asprin* (aspirini, *oxygen* (oksijeni, *electron* (elektroni and terms in the technical and scientific fields, such words, should exhibit some similarities with the borrowed term by showing a high degree of agreement in spelling and meaning. Nonetheless, this transparency criteria is valid in so far as the official modernisation of terminology is concerned. When it comes to how the terms are pronounced the situation is different.

Pronunciation of an imported word may vary from one person to another despite the official pronunciation set by the language council. Some of the speakers will pronounce a word closely to the original sound of the English word (i.e. less assimilation with respect to Standard English and some will not (i.e. with more assimilation. The varying degrees in the pronunciation of a loan depend on a number of factors including the degree of bilingualism, age, and education, etc. Obviously, bilinguals who are more proficient in English tend to reproduce English loans more closely to their original pronunciation than less fluent bilinguals. For example, a fluent speaker of English will pronounce the loan clinic as *kliniki* with the stress put on the second syllable, as pronounced by the majority of native speakers. While a less educated person will show less assimilation of the item as *kliniki* or *kiliniki* as it appears in the official documents with the consonant cluster removed. It seems that, only those loans naturalised due to long contacts are the ones which are always fully integrated according to the Kiswahili phonological pattern e.g., blanket *blangéti* tobacco *tumbáku*, earings *heréni* etc. These words comprise the oldest loans found in the language and it is unusual for their pronunciation to vary.[†]

[†] According to Rene and Mysken (1978) the degree of integration of a loan is correlated to the time of borrowing of the loan term. Normally oldest loans show the greatest amount of integration in comparison to the most recent loans and can rarely be recognized or distinguished from the native

This mechanism has met opposition from some terminologists on the grounds that loan words derived in this way are cumbersome and repulsive because they sound too European. e.g., *barua elektroni* (e-mail or *faksi* (fax). They would prefer readily available equivalents, that is instead of *barua elektroni* for e-mail the term *barua pepe*, should be used. Likewise instead of the English loan *kompyuta*, the term *tarakilishi* should be enforced. However, these words after long use are now regarded as normal Kiswahili words and most of the population do not find them irritating.

Direct loans, because they sound too artificial are likely to be more perceptible and therefore less acceptable. This observation has caused Kiswahili purists to prefer borrowings from local Bantu languages. Terms originating from Bantu languages in Tanzania include: *ikulu* (state house from Kisukuma and *kitivo* (faculty from Kipare languages. A linguistic explanation raised by purists in favour of this method is that Bantu languages are close to Kiswahili and above all they are not foreign, that is, they are not Western. There is intensive research going on in Bantu languages to establish a data base for English loans (see Tumbo, 1989, Mwansoko, 1990).

Compounding

Compounding or loan blends is a device for creating terminology which in Kiswahili consists of two parts namely word compounding involving Kiswahili words only and word compounding involving Kiswahili and English words. The following examples are hybrids which have been formed by using English and Kiswahili. Part of the phonetic shape of the English word is imported and the remaining portion is substituted by a native morpheme. They include the following.

(i)

<i>ofisa utumishi</i>	personnel officer
<i>data ghafi</i>	raw data
<i>delta nyoofu</i>	estuarine delta
<i>gesi asilia</i>	natural gas
<i>mlinda goli</i>	goal defender
<i>spana kisanduku</i>	spana box
<i>pasi stima</i>	steam iron

terms. Therefore a word like tablets in this sentence *nimekula tablets* “I have taken some tablets” doesn’t fall in this category.

As can be observed, the order of these items is the same as in English. So are the following blends which have been formed by using English morphemes.

(ii)

<i>ofisi boi</i>	office boy
<i>posta masta</i>	post master
<i>fila geji</i>	filler gauge
<i>telephone opereta.</i>	telephone operator
<i>swichi bodi</i>	switchboard

Terminology formed in this way has also been criticised because they look too artificial to the Swahili speakers. This is because the structure of such terms tends to follow English word order more than the Swahili structure. This occurs when two nouns or a noun and an adjective are brought together to form a compound word. Swahili fans would prefer terms with minimal English as demonstrated in the previous example where only part of the word is in English and the rest is in Kiswahili.

The fact that we have borrowed words in Kiswahili which are based on English word order and some on Kiswahili is a sign of language variation and change in the language resulting from the process of language modernisation. Although lexicographers try to use Kiswahili's own material in forming words through this method, a large portion of the words have been formed by using foreign elements. This is an indication of how the lexicon of Kiswahili is being Anglicisation. Kiswahili used to have only one type of hybrid, Kiswahili compounded with Kiswahili. The urgent need to expand the vocabulary of Kiswahili has resulted in the introduction of another type of hybrid (Kiswahili + English) which are more productive. However, like the direct borrowing method, compounding is regarded as impure because of the English component, which is usually high.

Doublets

These entail the simultaneous use of both a native and foreign term. Examples include:

(i)

<i>opereta/mpokeasimu</i>	telephone operator
<i>glasi/birauli</i>	glass
<i>milenia/kikwi</i>	millennium
<i>shahada/digrii</i>	degree

<i>anatomia/elimumwili</i>	anatomy
<i>risiti/stakabadhi</i>	receipt
<i>utoshelevu/mafia/ matumizi</i>	utility
<i>tovuti/webu</i>	web

In cases where there exists an English and Kiswahili word, the preference is for the Kiswahili term. Usage of Kiswahili words is considered more patriotic by most Kiswahili purists. Therefore, instead of *dirgii* the term *shahada* would be utilised, *saratani* instead of *kansa* and other similar formations. Although this is not always the case, still Kiswahili speakers would rather use the English term for instance *feni* (fan in place of *pangabo*) because it is short and precise. The loans from English are more tolerable if the word is completely Swahilised in the phonological and morphological structure. Nonetheless, proponents of Kiswahili insist on language planners making use of methods which use Kiswahili material, as in the neologism technique. Neologisms, particularly the derivational method, which is looked upon as the best technique for preserving the dignity of the Kiswahili language. This is a technique in which the root of the Kiswahili term is expanded by inflecting it into various forms to get a new term to stand for the concept to be expressed in the original language. For example, the term register is rendered in Kiswahili as *kusajili* can be inflected to produce other variants, *usajilishaji* (registration), *msajili*, (msajili).

Furthermore, derivation is favoured by most terminologists, not because it is much simpler than the translation method but because its formation follows the historical process through which words were normally formed by expanding the existing root whether hypothetical or real (Mdee 1983). Therefore, it is recommended as the best mechanism for construing terms which are conceptually related without any meaning distortions of categorisation. Similar attitudes have been observed in the modernisation of Amharic and Hebrew terminology, where the members of the standardisation committees stressed that whenever possible new lexical items should be derived morphologically from stems already present in language (Fulas 1971, Fellman and Fishman 1977).

Apart from the derivational technique, the other method which has gained much support from Kiswahili purists is loan translations or calquing. This method is thought to be natural and logical, although many times it has proved to be a torture when equivalents are lacking and terminologists have to find ways to create totally new terms particularly in the fields of science and technology. Words formed in this way include, *uhafidhina* (conservatism), *hakimiliki*, (copyright), *bungua bongo* (brainstorming), *tabaka* (class) isimu (linguistics) and *utandawazi* (globalisation).

Although the standardisation committee insists that before borrowing terms from English, the members should first exhaust the potential terms available in Kiswahili and other Bantu languages, it has been difficult to avoid borrowing from English especially in coining terms in the scientific field for the following reasons. The council is frequently compelled to borrow from English to fill lexical gaps in the language whose equivalents are lacking in Kiswahili. Substantial evidence supports the claim that borrowing is motivated by the need to fill lexical gaps (Scotton and Okeju 1973, Kashoki 1978, Massonari, 1979). In their studies, Scotton and Okeju (1973) observed that most of the loans found in many East African languages are borrowed directly or indirectly from English for new objects and concepts e.g. *soda* (soda), *basi* (bus), *televisheni* (television), *kamera* (camera), *friji* (fridge). Furthermore, borrowing a word is attributed to other sociological factors such as the need for precision and to avoid long terms in Kiswahili. Such was the term *bajeti* (budget), which was imported to replace some linguistically insufficient Kiswahili words. Another example is *ripoti* (report), which is more formal than the original term *taarifa*, now restricted to either informational type of report often cited in bulletins or news.

The other reason has to do with the pragmatics of English, which lies in its significant role as a language of modernisation, scientific and technical development. Like most countries which are within the “outer circle”² and which are faced with the task of modernising their languages, Tanzania depends on English for technical terminology, especially in scientific discourse. Because English is considered the language of science throughout the world, Kiswahili has no choice except to follow the footsteps so that it is not left behind. Furthermore, the fact that many scientific fields are still taught and written about in English, it is practically impossible to mould a standard Kiswahili that is free from foreign influence.

Modernisation has motivated further instances of the nativisation of certain English words as new slang terms in Kiswahili used by many youths and teenagers. The nativisation of such items in Kiswahili is accomplished by

² Kachru B (1989:86) discussed the diffusion of English in terms of three concentric circles. The Inner Circle, which represents countries like U.S.A, Canada, New Zealand referred to as the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English. The outer circle represents the institutionalized native varieties where English is used as a second language. These are the regions, which have passed through extended periods of colonialization e.g., Tanzania, Nigeria, the Philippines and Malaysia. The expanded circle includes countries like Egypt, Japan, China, where English is a performance variety and as a foreign language.

different devices, including: the restriction of the semantic range of the borrowed item, and the expansion of the meaning or the change of meaning of the item e.g. *remote control* (remote control) *fresh*, (fresh) *deal* (deal) etc. The meaning of the word *remote control* has been expanded to include all actions which are conducted by a person away from his working station. While the term *fresh* is used to refer to anything which is well done, such as “kazi yake ni *fresh*” (his/her job is well done, also “jamaa yuko *fresh*” (the guy is physically fit meaning he is in good health), just to mention a few examples. Another word which is frequently used is *deal*. A *deal* may be a theft plan. Very recently the term has been used to refer to the relationship normally “sexual” existing between a girl and a boy. The fact that we have Kiswahili verbs with English morphology and sound patterns suggests that there are changes in progress in the direction of Anglicisation of the Kiswahili verb. The process has resulted in the development of what is known as *Kiswahili cha Mitaani* “Street Swahili.”

Modernisation at the Syntactic Level

Code-mixing of Kiswahili and English has influenced the structure of Kiswahili morphology, lexicon and syntax, resulting in the Anglicisation of the discourse. It is common place to hear utterances such as *atadefend lini?* (when is he going to defend ...?) *wamekwenda kuenjoy Slipway* (they went to enjoy themselves at the Slipway), *anaandika proposal yake* (s/he is writing her proposal). The existence of verbs with morphology and sound patterns as *kuenjoy*, “to enjoy” *kudedefend* “to defend” and free standing words like proposal, graduation and other structures which are not fully integrated into the structure of Kiswahili indicate that changes are taking place in the syntax of Kiswahili.

Code-mixing and code-switching - which is a common feature of multilingual speech communities like Tanzania - is motivated by a number of factors including the communicative function of the code, the communicative capacity of the code in terms of its adequacy in the modernisation, the situation and participants. In discourse code-mixing and code-switching indicates prestige, education, being urbane and sophisticated. It is also used to identify specific registers (e.g. journalism and advertising to name a few).

Literal Translations

The impact of English on the structure of Kiswahili syntax is also manifested in word order that diverges from the original norms of standard Kiswahili. There are cases of constructions which can be pointed out as conforming to English syntax while deviating from the Kiswahili usage. In most cases, English-based patterns are caused by translating directly from English. This state of affairs can

be observed in adaptations of borrowings of single words or phrases from English grammar. The pattern which sounds somewhat alien to the normal usage of a Swahili speaker has met a lot of criticism. The constructions below are among examples of such usage.

- (i) (a) “Shirika la nyumba la taifa (NHC) litapandisha kodi za nyumba... Mwenyekiti wa bodi ya wakurugenzi alisema.....” [The national housing cooperation will increase the rent...] the chairman of the board of directors said’

The normal order in Kiswahili is to start with the agent followed by the verb, and then the object, but not with the verb phrase preceding the subject, as manifested in this example. In Kiswahili the sentence should appear in this way.

- (b) Mwenyekiti wa bodi ya wakurugenzi alisema kuwa, shirika la taifa la nyumba (NHC) la taifa litapandisha kodi.

The tendency to start with the subordinate clause and thus to have it separated from the subject of the main verb is a characteristic of journalistic English which has been copied by Swahili journalists, marking the language register of Kiswahili journalism. Literal translations from English to Kiswahili are prevalent in the mass media, including radio and TV news. This is particularly so because the news from these stations come from foreign sources (e.g Reuters. The construction below is a typical example of such syntactic patterns found in mass media.

- (ii) (a) Kikundi cha Inkatha kimedai kuwa kimerudisha kwa serikali ya makaburu ya Afrika ya kusini \$90,000 [A group of inkatha has claimed to have returned to the colonial government of south Africa \$90,000]

Since Kiswahili preposition are analogous to those in English e. g. *kwa* “for”/with, ‘*na*’ “and” *ya* “of” there is a tendency to overuse these items instead of the normal applied form as follows.

- (b) Kikundi cha inkadha kimedai kuwa kitairudishia serekali ya makaburu...”

The excessive use of prepositions has led to long and tedious sentences that sound odd and substandard with respect to standard Kiswahili norms. Use of

passive structures based on English language is another case in point which show how the syntax of Kiswahili is anglicised.

- (iii) (a) Gazeti lililazimishwa kuacha kuchapishwa [the newspaper was forced to stop publication...]

As can be observed, the passive forms in the given examples are literal translations of their English counterparts. Although in English passive constructions in this manner of occurrence is correct, in Kiswahili such use has a tendency of resulting in ambiguities. If the English-based forms were replaced with Kiswahili stative forms would read as follows.

- (b) Ililazimu gazeti lisichapishwe. [it was necessary to stop publishing the magazine]

Below is a series of phrases and expressions collected from Kiswahili texts such as speeches, newspapers as well as radio broadcasting.

- (i) *Ndani ya kipindi* cha miezi sita [Within a period of six months]
(ii) Ukosefu wa fedha *umepelekea* walimu kunyimwa haki zao [Lack of funds has led to...]
(iii) *Mimi kama mwenyekiti* [I as the chairman]
(iv) *Kuwa mzigo* [to be a burden]
(vi) *Chini ya uenyekiti* [under the chairmanship]
(vii) Wananchi waliamua *kujipanga* vizuri wafanikiwe [the people decided to organise themselves]
(viii) Kuanzisha maeneo maalumu katika nchi *zinazozalisha wakimbizi* [to establish/set specific areas in countries which produce refugees...]
(ix) *Haikanushiki* kwamba uvutaji wa sigara au tumbaku huharakisha mchakato wa ...
[It is undeniable that smoking cigarette and tobacco increase the process of]
(x) Kwa sababu zisizoweza kuepukwa' [For reasons that cannot be avoided] instead of
'kwa sababu ambazo haziwezi kuepukika. or kwa sababu ambazo watu hawaezi kuziepuka.

Although these constructions may sound odd and, in some cases, can be totally misunderstood or understood with difficulty, this should be viewed as a healthy development in the modernisation of Kiswahili. Development of new styles for different forms of structures has led to the development of registers in advertising, journalism, science and sports, where English is used as the

language of reference for developing the new registers as indicated in the text extracted from sports news.

- (i) Simba itacheza na Ismail katika *ligi* ya Afrika.
- (ii) Pallsons wanajiandaa kwa *mechi* nyingine
- (iii) Matumla ameongelea umuhimu wa kuwa na *mapromota* wanaoaminika katika michezo yote.

The terms *ligi* from the English word ‘league’, *mechi*, (from ‘match’), *promota* (promoter) and others such as *peneti* (penalty), *golikiki* (goal kick), *kona* (corner) and the like, have made these words part and parcel of Kiswahili vocabulary in the sports register. This situation is an important development in the Tanzanian community because the process of Swahilisation through the use of local material is being complemented by the additional linguistic resources of English. Whereas before Kiswahili came into contact with English, the expansion of Kiswahili vocabulary and genre used linguistic sources from Kiswahili solely or with a mixture of Arabic. Infiltration of English linguistic items and stylistic devices should be considered as an innovation for achieving modernity.

The Influence of English

Phonologically, the modernisation of Kiswahili through lexical borrowings has automatically led to a significant change of the phonetic and orthographic systems. The data presented hence forth reveal that some loans have combinations of consonants particularly in mid-positions, resulting in CCV (CCC V shape: *Oksijeni* (oxygen), *elektroni* (electron), *anthropologia* (anthropologia), *eksirei* (x-ray), *sketi* (skirt), *sekretarieti* (secretariat), *spika* (speaker).

There are consonant clusters such as *sp*, *sk*, *pt*, *ks*, and *kn*. We also have closed syllables such as *elek-*, *sek-*, *anth-*. This situation shows clearly how the sequential rule in Kiswahili word order is being violated, suggesting changes in the language. Although it is a small percentage of the technical and medical terminology which exhibits these changes, they have significantly influenced the language complicating the syllable structure. However, due to prolonged use of these terms and many others of the same nature, this kind of orthography and pronunciation has been adopted in Kiswahili as normal; it suggests a change in the orthographic and phonological systems of Kiswahili. Thus it is argued that

the reliance on English as the main source of terminology expansion facilitates the addition of more clusters than African languages.

English has also affected the stress patterns of Kiswahili. The introduction of English loans has resulted in the adoption of English pronunciation alongside the Kiswahili ones. Due to English influence, stress shifts depending on the word and the way it is pronounced, instead of being realized on the penultimate syllable according to Kiswahili stress assignment, e.g. *sekretariéti* instead of *sekretárieti*, *kamishina* instead of *kamíshina*, *televishéni* instead of *televisheni*. The stress patterns of these loans are difficult to ignore. They are significant in order to maintain the identity of the borrowed words, since English stress is an essential part of the identity and integrity of the word.

The impact of English on Kiswahili is not only observed on the lexicon, due to language standardisation, but it pervades many areas where English language is dominant, e.g., newspapers, radio, public discourse, and in sports, advertisement registers. The influence of English in these domains manifests itself in the form of loan words, colloquialism, literal translation, and English-based idioms. It also takes place in the form of code-mixing and code-switching, where it has resulted in the development of new styles of discourse, new registers and styles which are employed in specific domains such as advertising, films, journalism, sports and business.

Attitudes Towards English

As pointed out earlier, the main goal of Tanzania was to establish standard Kiswahili that is free from foreign influence and which is based on the principles of socialism – *Ujamaa* - as propagated by the Tanzanian government. Because of this intention, Kiswahili purists like the native speakers of English who are critical about the non-standard English varieties, view anglicised terms in Kiswahili as “deficiencies” or “corruption” because they diverge from the norm of standard Kiswahili. These patriots insist that, bilinguals have to stick to one language when speaking and writing instead of mixing languages. The negative attitude towards mixing languages is attested to by the various measures which have been undertaken by the language council and other language developers. For instance, the standardisation and the grammar committee of the council are required to produce guidelines on the proper use of standard Kiswahili. These guidelines also forbid the unnecessary use of certain English borrowings in the newspapers, in literature and speeches of individuals especially in formal settings. I consider this as a narrow view of looking at how

language ought to be used because it restricts people in using language in a community.

More relaxed attitudes towards the use of English can be attributed to the shift in interest towards English versus Kiswahili, which the Tanzanian people have shown in the past ten years. Despite the fact that Kiswahili is a symbol of the nation, English is still held in high esteem particularly in this globalisation era where English being an international language is looked upon as the tool through which Tanzania would gain the socio-economic and educational benefits associated with globalisation. Parents take their children to English medium schools even though it is expensive because knowledge of English is considered a prerequisite to acquiring a good high-salaried job. Research conducted to investigate people's feelings towards the two languages (Schmied 1985, Rubagumya 1990, Qorro 2000) show there is a broad consensus on the importance of English for academic and international purposes. These same reasons have been advanced against the use of Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in secondary education where the medium of instruction is still English.

Such findings represent a striking difference from what was officially advanced in the national ideology in the early post-1967 years where English was associated with all the evils of colonialism and oppression. It is an undeniable fact that English is a valuable resource in the linguistic repertoire of Tanzanians. This situation suggests that as long as English continues to exist alongside Kiswahili, it will continue to frustrate the National Kiswahili Council efforts to establish pure Kiswahili. Some of the non-standard forms of morphology and syntax are gradually percolating into the language whether we want it or not. In spite of BAKITA's efforts to regulate the formal features of English in Kiswahili terminology and discourse, and the feelings of nationalism and puritanism among the native speakers of Kiswahili, Anglicisation of the terminology continues, resulting in language changes in through lexicon. Nevertheless, we should only welcome such innovations when we find they are necessary for stylistic purposes or variety. Language promoters must not succumb to alien structures without examining its own range of possibilities; instead they should take into consideration the broad terms of language present in our local languages. Kiswahili dialects are very rich in such broad development.

This study has important implications in both theoretical and applied linguistics, particularly in language planning issues. If English is important in developing Kiswahili and if modernisation causes a language to change its structure, then Tanzania has yet to see how these demands are reflected in the

language policies which are formulated in the country. Language planners, terminologists and educationists should be able to clearly specify the kind of linguistic resources for corpus planning which can be used in developing Kiswahili without influencing it. They should also be able to think about the role that needs to be assigned to English in developing terminology and be ready to accept the repercussions of using English in modernising Kiswahili. Furthermore, in spite of the vital role assumed by English in everyday life (i.e. the micro-level use and in the creation of new styles of discourse, Tanzanian language planners have not yet given this role serious consideration in their language planning activities because the planning models are “rigid” and unable to account for the national use of language and the people’s reaction to new words. This aspect of language planning is referred to as “identity planning” (Bangbose 1987:7).[§] Due to this situation, Tanzania’s effort in the activities of “invisible planning” manifested in the use of mixed languages (i.e., code-mixing and code-switching, the use of English loans and acceptance of English-based patterns have been frustrated to a considerable degree. It is high time for Tanzanian language planners to concentrate on both the macro-use of language (state level) as well as the micro-use of languages (everyday use) which tends to be invisible and to look for ways of integrating the two.

Conclusion

An attempt has been made to show that the contact between English and Kiswahili has resulted in important linguistic changes in Kiswahili. We have referred to these changes as the Anglicisation of Kiswahili. We demonstrated that the deliberate attempt by the National Kiswahili Council, a language policy implementer in conjunction with the Institute of Kiswahili Research, to modernise the language has been responsible for the planned changes particularly the changes at the lexical level. We argued that, as long as the modernisation of Kiswahili continues to rely on English, Anglicisation would persist.

The paper discussed how purists in Tanzania react towards these changes. We said that Kiswahili purists are worried about Kiswahili losing its dignity because it relies too much on English. To avoid this from happening they stress the necessity of using Kiswahili roots as the basis of language expansion when

³ This is the type of language planning that takes into account what would be more natural for speakers when they use the language. It requires that the present language-planning framework be flexible enough to handle variation and predict the direction of change. The problem has been noted in other African states too where English is an institutionalised variety.

standardising the language. In order to preserve the national character De-Anglicisation is looked upon as an important alternative to achieve this goal. De-Anglicisation of loans takes place through Swahilisation and Bantuisation of the phonetic system. At the same time, those members of the standardisation committee who feel the need to preserve the intertranslatability in science and technology advocate the use of English or internationally recognised roots as the basis for vocabulary expansion, particularly in technical registers. This group forms the majority of the terminology specialists who realise the pragmatic role of English as an international language and who are aware that loans from English have a modernising effect. These views imply that, in order for Tanzania not to be left behind in matters related to international advancement, modernisation of the Kiswahili lexicon should be based on English. It also suggests that the stock of Kiswahili vocabulary will continue to be highly Anglicisation in the future.

We also urged that as long as unplanned borrowing exists alongside planned modernisation, monitoring the penetration of foreign loans becomes relatively difficult to achieve. We see that the choice of one word over another is a matter of style influenced by the context and attitude of the user. Although the National Kiswahili Council is trying to minimise the use of code-mixing and the use of English loans in advertising, media, popular stories, and sports, the number of loan words seems to have continued to increase drastically. Indeed, this type of language situation is indicative of the inevitable influence of English in the structure of Kiswahili.

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