

LEXICAL BORROWING IN AFRICA WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO OUTCOMES OF LANGUAGES IN CONTACTS IN TANZANIA ---- Amani Lusekelo

Lexical borrowing in Africa with special attention to outcomes of languages in contacts in Tanzania

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Abstract

This article provides the impact of contact of Bantu and non-Bantu languages of Tanzania. Much attention is paid to the dispersal of Swahili words into Hadzabe, Iraqw and Maasai; and exemplary cases of Bantu-to-Bantu contacts have been included. Findings indicate that a layer of Swahili and English words exist in many languages of South-Western Tanzania such as Nyakyusa, Nyamwanga, Ndali, among others. Along the coast of Tanzania, influence of Swahili lexis is massive in such languages as Maraba. The Bantu to non-bantu contacts yielded numerous loans across Greebergian language phylums in Tanzania as evidenced in, for example, Swahili loans in Burunge and Hadzabe. Findings demonstrate distinct mechanisms of incorporation of loans. In Cushitic and Nilotic languages such as Hadzabe, Iraqw and Maasai, gender marking is the primary mechanism of adaptation of Bantu loans whilst Bantu languages assign noun classifications to the loanwords from English and non-Bantu languages.

Keywords: Contact linguistics, Lexical borrowing, Bantu languages, Non-Bantu languages, Tanzania

Introduction

Tanzania is one of the interesting grounds for the research on the outcome of languages in contact because it contains all language phyla postulated by Greeberg (1963). These languages include Afro-asiatic, Khoisan, Niger-Congo and Nilo-Saharan. In the contemporary literatures for Tanzanian languages the results of the contact between Tanzanian languages have been reported (Kiessling 2001; Lusekelo 2013a; Mapunda & Rosendal 2015; Mous & Qorro 2009; Mreta & Amani 2012; Schadeberg 2009; Swilla 2008; Yoneda 2010, among others). Nonetheless, the formalisations of the patterns of lexical borrowing across language phylums have not yet been fully explored. This article, therefore, strives to provide the analysis of the trends of lexical borrowing across language phylums in Tanzania.

The choice of this topic is motivated by the seminal works on contact linguistics. Lexical borrowing is said to be an immediate effect of languages in contact (Dimmendaal 2011; Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009; Matras 2009; Thomason 2001). Other outcomes of contact languages include code-switching (Myers-Scotton 2006) and pidginization and creolization

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(Holm 2004; Todd 1974). This article contributes to the dispersal of the Bantu words into non-Bantu languages, with special attention to Swahili words in Hadzabe, Iraqw and Maasai. It also addresses issues related to Bantu-to-Bantu loanwords in languages such as Nyakyusa, Ndali, Makonde, Gogo and Hehe. The spread of non-Bantu words into Bantu languages is also discussed.

Layers of Swahili and English lexis: Exemplary cases of contact-induced lexical borrowing in Tanzanian languages

In the African context, languages come in contact in three strands. Consequently, each language has borrowed at least words from a neighbouring group, e.g. Swahili from Zaramo, a national language, e.g. Sukuma from Swahili, a language of ex-colonial masters, e.g. Swahili from German. Given this scenario, lexical borrowing has been the subject of research by many scholars in Tanzania. The result is that layers of lexicons from two donor languages manifest in many target languages of Tanzania.

A good example is offered in earlier publications (e.g. Krumm 1940; Zawawi 1979; Batibo 1996; Lodhi 2000) who paid attention to influence of Arabic (and other oriental languages) on the lexicon of Swahili. For instance, Krumm (1940) suggests that words of oriental original constitute between 20 and 25, depending of place of data collection. Another earlier publication by Gower (1952) focused on the contribution of an ex-colony language (English) to the lexicon of Swahili (the lingua franca of Tanzania). As a result, Swahili reveals co-existence of the Arabic layer of words with English words, as exemplified in (1).

(1)	ENGLISH	ARABIC	GLOSS
	poni	rehani	‘security, pawn’
	ripoti	taarifa	‘report’
	risiti	stakabadhi	‘receipt’
	skuli	chuo	‘school’
	wiki	juma	‘week’

The impact of Swahili in the Cushiti languages Burunge (Kiessling 2001) and Iraqw (Mous & Qorro 2009), as well as Bantu languages Ndali (Swilla 2008), Matengo (Yoneda 2010) and Chasu (Pare) spoken (Sebonde 2014) have been reported. However, borrowing from European languages is a common place because English is an official language of Tanzania (Tibategeza 2010). Layers of English and Swahili loans manifest in Ndali (Swilla 2008: 236), as shown in (2) below.

(2)	NDALI ₁	NDALI ₂	SWAHILI	GLOSS
	ingwhindo	indilisha	<i>dirisha</i>	‘window’
	ibhokoshi	isanduku	<i>sanduku</i>	‘box, suitcase’
	ukapu	ichikombe	<i>kikombe</i>	‘cup’
	isopo	sabhuni	<i>sabuni</i>	‘soap’
	ifiisi	anda	<i>ada</i>	‘school fees’

After the foregoing introductory remarks, the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 is envisaged to discuss the human activities which yield lexical borrowing across language phylums in Tanzania.

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2. Human activities leading to language contact and lexical borrowing

Five factors compel language contact in Tanzania. The main factor is migration and establishment of new settlements. In the course of human innovations and transformations, migration from one point to another had been common (Ehret 2011). Consequently, the change of settlements leads to contact of speakers of different languages. The contacts culminate into the exchange of linguistic materials such as lexical words (Matras 2009). This phenomenon is widespread in Tanzania.

For instance, the Maasai and Datooga are well known for nomadic (transhumance) pastoralism. In their quest for pastureland, they migrate with their animals into new zones. For instance, the Maasai migrated from northern Kenya through Arusha Region to Kilolo District in Iringa Region and Kilosa District in Morogoro Region (Payne 2012). Consequently, many Maasai speakers have come into contact with other languages. In the course of language contact, the Maasai have borrowed the word **ngwashin** ‘potatoes’ from Gikuyu language of Kenya. In addition, Maasai have borrowed a number of words from Kiswahili: **osuluale** ‘trousers’, **egarim** ‘car’ and **shule** ‘school’ (Lusekelo 2017a).

The Datooga are well known for nomadic pastoralism. Their movements in north western Tanzania enabled to discharge a number of loanwords into other languages of Tanzania. Batibo and Rottland (2001) found many place names with Datooga names such as **Sayu**. Loanwords such as **lagweenda** ‘ram’ are found in Bantu languages. Such loans related to animal husbandry are discussed in the subsequent sub-section.

The second factor is animal husbandry. In the history of diffusion of human activities, animal husbandry is one of the major contributing areas. Ehret (2011: 36) states clearly that “root words dealing with livestock raising have histories that include their having been borrowed from one language to another.” This is a testimony that livestock keeping could help to understand contact of African languages. Ehret (2011: 36) states clearly that “histories of this kind, of course, indicate the diffusion of the things or ideas from one early society or group of societies to another.” In Tanzania, livestock keeping yielded a number of loanwords across languages families

(3)	NYAKYUSA	SWAHILI	MAKONDE	CHIRUURI	CHIGOGO
COW	ing’ombe	ng’ombe	ing’ombe	ing’ombe	ng’ombe
BULL	ingambako	dume	lilume	lirume	ngambaku
CALF	ingwata	ndama	inembe	echinyara	---
BARREN COW	indaate	---	ntonga	insuunu	---
GOAT	imbene	mbuzi	imbudi	imbusi	mhene
BILLY GOAT	imbongo	dume	---	ikorowe	ivulati
SHEEP	ing’osi	kondoo	ing’andolo	litaama	ngolo

The spread of the terms **ng’ombe** ‘cow’ is an indication that communities speaking Bantu languages adopted animal husbandry. It appears that most languages from each zone have this term: Lake Corridor Nyakyusa, Lake Victoria Chiruuri, Western Tanzania: Chigogo, and Coastal Bantu: Swahili and Makonde. Similarities are apparent for terms BULL and GOAT which are **ngambako** ‘bull’ and **mbene/mhene** ‘goat’ in Chigogo and Nyakyusa. Such similarities manifest as **dume/lume/rume** ‘bull’ and **mbuzi/mbudi/mbusi** ‘goat’ in Chiruuri, Swahili and Makonde. The word SHEEP provides similarities between Swahili **kondoo**, Chigogo **ngolo**

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andMkonde ng'andolo. Contrary to Ehret (2011: 60), who found that the word **kondolo** 'a goat wether' is derived in some Tanzanian communities speaking Bantu languages, e.g. Chigogo. The data above shows that the **kondo(I)o** means 'a sheep' in Makonde and Swahili (Coastal Bantu).

In the Rift Valley area of northern Tanzania (Kiessling, Mous & Nurse 2008), Bantu and non-Bantu communities co-exist. The lexicon of languages in Rift Valley area these terms are captured in (4).

(4)		IRAQW	MAASAI	HADZABE	SUKUMA
	COW	yakwaa	engiteng'	atcekako	mbogoma
	BULL	awu	oloing'oni	<u>yak'amba</u>	<u>nzagamba</u>
	CALF	haqwa	olahe	<u>ndama</u>	<u>ndama</u>
	GOAT	<u>aara</u>	enkin	<u>álako</u>	mbuli
	BILLY GOAT	<u>gurta</u>	olorok	---	<u>ngulyati</u>
	SHEEP	bee/i	enkerr	púkúpukuko	ng'holo
	MALE SHEEP	---	olmeregesh	---	ng'ondi

The similar words tend to signal language contact. Thus, the word GOAT provides the words **aara** in Iraqw and **álako** in Hadzabe. This demonstrates borrowing from the agro-pastoral Iraqw to forager community Hadzbe. Again, the similarity between **yak'amba** 'bull' in Hadzabe and **nzagamba** 'bull' in Sukuma demonstrate borrowing from agro-pastoral Sukuma to hunter-gatherers Hadzabe.

Trade is the third factor of lexical borrowing due to language contact. The exchanges lexical entries between Arabic, ECLs, English, Persian and Swahili are a testimony of contacts of speakers of these languages. During the period between 700 and 1000, Persians (the SHIRAZ of East Africa) are famously known for their involvement in TRADING ACTIVITIES and not colonization of the East African coast (De vere Allan 1993). Most of them had settled permanently along the coast of East Africa particularly in Zanzibar even today. Their language's impact on Swahili through borrowing is noticed, as shown in (5). Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) point out that based on archeological and linguistic data reveal a few tokens derived from Persian during the first millennium C.E.

(5)	achali	'prickle'
	chai	'tea'
	kasa	'turtle'
	pamba	'cotton'
	pula	'steel'
	serikali	'government'

The period between 1000 and 1800 (Schadeberg 2009: 82) marked another area of consideration for the contacts of Tanzanians and Arabs mainly in MERCANTILE (TRADE) and WORSHIP (RELIGION). The contact between Arabs and speakers of coastal Swahili yielded lexical borrowing into Swahili. Such words as those given in (6) might have come into Swahili during this period of contact (Lodhi 2000; Mwita 2009; Schadeberg 2009).

(6)	bidhaa	'merchandise trade goods'
	idaba	'worship, religion'
	chuo	'Islamic school'
	hamsini	'fifty'

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hesabu	‘rewards count’
hiji	‘make a pilgrimage’
Kuran	‘Quran’
shekhe	‘sheikh, religious leader’
thamani	‘value’

In the literature for coastal city states, Islamic civilization is claimed to be the primary engagement of Arabs. Allan (1993) argues that both Persians and Arabs helped to spread the Islamic faith along the Tanzanian coastline. Consequently, most religious words in Swahili have affiliations with the Arabic lexicon.

Arabs were good at travelling and oceanic environments (Allan 1993). This means they have introduced a number of loans into the lexicon of Swahili (Schadeberg 2009). The loanwords such as **kaskazi** ‘northerly winds’, **bahari** ‘ocean, sea’ [< **bahr**], **bandari** ‘harbour, port’ and **mashariki** ‘east’ must have come from Arabic words. These words must have entered into Swahili vocabulary due to oceanic experiences of Arabs.

Fourth, colonisation factored in formulation of contact zones. In Tanzania, English-Swahili contacts strengthened during the British colonial rule between 1918 and 1961 because English was introduced as a colonial language when the British took over from the Germans. Whiteley (1969) states that English was used as a language of the government business and those who could use it were able to get employed by the British government. Also, the British rule used most of the resources to promote English through the school system. Furthermore, since English was so valued during this time, those few Tanzanians who went to school were eager to learn it for their personal gains (Whiteley 1969).

The contact between English and Swahili had never been in all domains of use of language rather it had been in specific contexts of language use. Gower (1952: 155) observes that ‘anyone seeking to record words that have been introduced into Kiswahili by borrowing from English, must search in those spheres where contact with European culture impinges most widely and affects large numbers of Africans.’ Therefore, the impact of English loan words is felt much in areas where Swahili speakers had contacts with Europeans who used English in their day-to-day executions of various responsibilities in Eastern Africa in general and Tanzania in particular. Some example words introduced are provided in (7).

(7)

mesenja	‘messenger’
gauni	‘gown’
meneja	‘manager, director’
daktari	‘doctor’
nesi	‘nurse’
motokaa	‘motorcar’
hospitali	‘hospital’
reli	‘railway’
sketi	‘skirt’
lori	‘lorry’
stesheni	‘station’
baiskeli	‘bicycle’

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On the basis of discussion in numerous sections of the chapter, it has become abundantly obvious that loanwords associated with colonisation fall into the semantic field (23) **the modern word**, as suggested in Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009). This claim does not rule out the possibilities of having loans in other semantic fields such as (6) **dressing and grooming** etc.

The fifth factor of lexical borrowing is languages in contact in education system of Tanzania. The introduction of western education and administrative structures had brought with them manners through which such projects were implemented. Some alien words entered into Swahili through formal schooling. Secondly, western medical care and health facilities which were provided mostly by missionaries and colonizers provided foreign words in Swahili. Gower (1952) claims that the area of infrastructure and transportation had been a fore front of contact between Europeans and Africans who spoke Swahili. Such environments as the harbours in Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar and Kilwa experience longer communications between speakers of English and Swahili as co-workers or passengers. Other transport areas like urban centres and points along railways and highways were affected most (Ibid). Lastly, Gower (1952) reports that in those days when Swahili people contacted Europeans, people speaking English had a different life style in terms of food and eating manners, dressing style, dancing ways and many other ways. Such a contact area brought into Swahili many words.

Some publications document of the new words in Swahili which result from modernization and science and technology. Petzell (2005: 88) talks of ‘fully adopted words like **data** ‘data’ with no visible degree of phonemic substitution even though the pronunciation has gone through a certain degree of Swahilisation.’ In addition, some loanwords turned into ordinary loanwords like **kompyuta** ‘computer’. Furthermore, Petzell (2005: 90) points out that ‘in daily speech, the English loanwords are used most of the time’, e.g. **modem** ‘modem’.

In Tanzanian Bantu, available data (Yoneda 2010; Lusekelo 2013; Mapunda & Rosendal 2015) reveal that contact zones include administrative structures, education sector, health facilities and transportation. Data provided in (8-10) involve Bantu languages Nyajyusa, Ngoni and Matengo which are spoken mainly in Mbeya and Ruvuma Regions in southern parts of Tanzania.

(8)	unsijala	‘messenger’	[Nyakyusa]
	ikipatala	‘hospital’	
	isukulu	‘school’	
	añanesi	‘nurses’	
(9)	mútúkaa	‘motorcar’	[Ngoni]
	ligali	‘car’	
	miwani	‘spectacles’	
	shati	‘shirt’	
	gazeti	‘newspaper’	
(10)	selia	‘law’	[Matengo]
	sule	‘school’	
	likalatasi	‘paper’	
	kasi	‘work’	
	habali	‘news’	

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hwali	‘cooked rice’
ligaseti	‘newspaper’
nsele	‘rice grain’
asabu	‘punishment’
baiskeli	‘bicycle’

The expansion of both English and Kiswahili into the interior of Tanzania emanated from the fact that both languages are official in the country (Batibo 1995; Petzell 2012). Consequently, their penetration into Tanzanian communities has several implications to the target languages. In section 4.3 below, individual cases that involve the impact of Swahili are examined in some detail.

3. The impact of Swahili into Tanzanian languages

The prevalence of Swahili loans in many Tanzanian languages is reported by Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) for Chingoni Bantu (11) and Uluochi (2014) for Nilotic Luo (12).

(11)	gazeti	< gazeti	‘newspaper’
	lishati	< shati	‘shirt’
	miwani	< miwani	‘glasses’
	simu	< simu	‘telephone’
	nywele	< nywele	‘hair’
(12)	bahasa	< bahasa	‘envelope’
	kibrit	< kiberiti	‘matchbox’
	ɔcɛɛ	< mchele	‘rice’
	ɔpira	< mpira	‘ball’
	san	< sahani	‘plate’

The southern parts of Tanzania, which are situated away from the Indian Ocean, have been hit by the wave of penetration of Kiswahili words. The Ngoni speaking people inhabit periphery districts of Songea Rural, Songea Urban, Mbinga and Namtumbo in Tanzania. However, penetration of Kiswahili words is apparent. Likewise, the speakers of Nilo-Saharan Luo, who inhabit Mara Region, obtain loanwords from Kiswahili.

The influence of Swahili on the coastal languages is immense. Most of Bantu-speaking communities have borrowed extensively from Swahili. Amani (2013) reports of the immense Kiswahili loans in Maraba dialect of Makonde language spoken in south-eastern Tanzania. The data in (13) provide basic vocabulary attested in the lexicon Maraba.

(13)	téena	< tena	‘again’
	linéeno	< nenó	‘word’
	liyáai	< yai	‘egg’
	sáana	< sana	‘very’
	káama	< kama	‘as, like’
	káanzu	< kanzu	‘casock’
	sháati	< shati	‘shirt’

According to Amani (2013), speakers of Malaba reside in villages scattered along the coast of Indian Ocean in Mtwara Rural and Lindi Rural districts in Tanzania. Close ties between Swahili and Malaba allows extensive borrowing from Swahili into Malaba. The grammatical words such as **téena** ‘again’ and **sáana** ‘as, like’ have been incorporated into Malaba. Likewise,

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a large number of nouns of Arabic origin, e.g. **káanzu** ‘cassock’ got adapted into the lexicon on Maraba.

The impact of Kiswahili is experienced because it is the lingua franca of the country. Also, the influence of Kiswahili in Tanzania is associated to education sector. In this section, the influence of Kiswahili is examined with regard to two selected language zones which are represented by sample languages: Lake Corridor languages namely Nyakyusa, Chindali, Kinyiha and Nyamwanga and Rift Valley languages such as Burunge, Iraqw, Hadzabe and Maasai.

The concentration of the impact surrounds five selected areas: semantic field (22) **religion and belief** (e.g. priest, church, padre etc.) as discussed in Lusekelo (2013a), semantic field (23) **modern world** (e.g. car, road, bicycle, bus, driver, lorry etc.) as suggested by Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009), semantic field (17) **cognition (modern education** - school, teacher, student, book, notebook etc.) as discussed in Lusekelo (2014), the nomenclature for **cereals and tubers** (semantic field (8) **agriculture and vegetation**) (e.g. maize, potatoes, rice etc.) as suggested by Lusekelo (2016), and architectural terms, i.e. semantic field (7) **the house**, as presented by Lusekelo (2017b).

The discussion herein obtains the basis from a few selected lexical items. The intent to choose some words stems from the need to represent some comparative guidelines related to languages in contact. Any need of detailed examinations of the consequences of languages in contact should consult specific references such as Swilla (2000, 2008), Kiessling (2001), Mous and Qorro (2009), Amani (2013), Lusekelo (2015b, 2016), and others.

3.1 The impact of Swahili on Bantu languages of the Lake Corridor

Many Kiswahili words are integrated in languages of Mbeya Region, as illustrated by Nyakyusa cases in (14).

(14)	ikitabu	< kitabu	‘book’	[Nyakyusa]
	igaseti	< gazeti	‘newspaper’	
	isagani	< sahani	‘plates’	
	iluka	< duka	‘shop, kiosk’	
	abasikali	< askari	‘police officer’	

The data in (14) represents some of the Swahili loans used by the Nyakyusa speakers. The Nyakyusa people inhabit Kyela and Rungwe districts which are located near the Malawian boarder, far south of the country. Nevertheless, Swahili words have penetrated into the language (Lusekelo 2014).

The label Lake Corridor languages are Nyakyusa, Nyiha, Lambya, Ndali and Nyamwanga as some of the tongues spoken in a vast geographical area situated between Lake Tanganyika (Tanzania and Zambia), Lake Rukwa in Tanzania and Lake Nyasa in Malawi and Tanzania. On the Tanzanian side, the Lake Corridor Bantu languages are spoken mainly in Mbeya and Rukwa Regions (Lusekelo 2016). Specifically, Rungwe, Ileje, Mbozi, Sumbawanga and Mbeya Districts formulate the hinterland of these languages (LOT 2009).

Irrespective of the areally dominance of these interior Bantu languages, the impact of Kiswahili is discussed with regard to selected semantic fields: semantic field (7) the house, semantic field (8) agriculture and vegetation, and semantic field (23) modern world. These semantic fields provide good data for the comparison of contacts between languages.

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The semantic field (7) called **the house** provides cases of additive and substitutive borrowing in Lake Corridor Bantu.

Many Bantu languages of Tanzania (e.g. Nyamwezi, Makonde, Ndali, Nyakyusa, Runyambo and Zanaki) have the alternative words for FIREPLACE which appear to be the word **jiko**, which is reconstructed to proto-Bantu (Lusekelo 2017b). However, in most cases the word **jiko** is used to mean kitchen rather than the traditional fireplace. It is plausible to argue here that the essence of the word **jiko** emanates from the Swahili word meaning kitchen rather than fireplace, hence a case of additive borrowing. However, the presence of the alternative words for FIREPLACE in these languages (e.g. **shikome** in Sukuma, **chiwuli** in Makonde, **ichooto** in Ndali, **pambembelo** in Nyakyusa and **amahéga** in Runyambo) represent a case of substitutive borrowing. It is argued herein that the word **jiko** is treated as additive loanword (because it is of Swahili origin incorporated into Bantu languages of Tanzania to entail a separate building for kitchen) but becomes substitutive loanword (because it is incorporated in Tanzanian Bantu languages and replaces native words).

Secondly, the word FIREPLACE obtains the labels **mafigwa** in Chigogo, **amahéga** in Runyambo and **amasiga** in Chiruuri. It will be plausible to argue that it is a loanword from Swahili word **mafiga** ‘cooking stone’. Within the realm of the theory of semantic change, it appears that semantic expansion is applied. The FIREPLACE and COOKING STONES are represented by one lexical entry, namely **-figa**. Perhaps a fascinating issue is associated with the borrowing of the term **ibaati** for the roof made of corrugated iron sheets in Runyambo. Nyakyusa and Ndali speakers have adjusted the essence of the word **ilata** for the roof made of corrugated iron sheets. Based on scholars on architecture science (Mattson 2009; Mwakyusa 2006), it is plausible to argue here that the borrowing associated with CORRUGATED IRON SHEETS is additive in nature because it introduces notion which was not traditionally available in Bantu-speaking communities. Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) and Lusekelo (2013) found that additive borrowing becomes common in case new concepts are introduced in Bantu communities.

Thirdly, in relation to PILLAR, Swahili loanwords for POLE are attested: **omulongoti** [**<mlingoti**] for Luzinza, **bilito** [**<fito**] in Kihehe and **senkéngé** [**<senyenge**] in Kisimbiti. Nonetheless, these words have been borrowed for the purpose of referring to ‘poles as building materials’ rather than a built pillar that becomes a central one mainly in the traditional **msonge** (but also in **tembe** and **banda** houses). Perhaps the building materials have been altered by the use of eucalyptus poles [**milingoti** in Swahili] instead of bamboo trees which were traditionally used (Lusekelo 2017b).

With regard to the names of cereals and tubers, many loanwords exist in Lake Corridor Bantu. The names are found in the realm of the semantic field (8) **agriculture and vegetation** (e.g. maize, rice, paddy, sweet potatoes etc.) (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009: 27). Lusekelo (2016) provides exemplary cases below.

	RICE	PEANUTS	MAIZE
Chindali:	umpunga [<mpunga]	amashabala	chilombe
Nyakyusa:	umpunga [<mpunga]	amasyabala	ifilombe
Nyiha:	umpunga [<mpunga]	imbalala	amangagu
Nyamwanga:	umpunga [<mpunga]	mbalala	visaka

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The word for RICE can be reconstructed to proto-Bantu, i.e. ***ponga** which manifests as **umupuunga** in Kindali but **umupunga** in Nyamwanga, Nyiha and Nyakyusa. Lusekelo (20016b) argues that this might also imply that rice/paddy had been a traditional crop in the area. Even in Malawi and Zambia, Nyanja-speakers call rice **mpunga**. Thus, no contact has yielded lexical borrowing for paddy/rice in the Lake Corridor.

Lusekelo (2016) reports that the names of peanuts in the Lake Corridor communities demonstrate a two-way diffusion pattern. On the one hand, the Malawian Kinyanja speakers refer to peanuts (groundnuts) as **nsawa**. With phonological and morphological differences, this is similar to the term **shabala/shabala** in Chindali and Nyakyusa. This entails that Tanzania-Malawi contact existed. On the other hand, the word **lupalala** ‘groundnuts’ is available in Kibemba. It means that Nyamwanga and Nyiha borrowed from Kibemba. Thus, this entails that Zambia-Tanzania contact existed.

The term **-lombe** in Lake Corridor zone yields a contradictory hypothesis. This name is attested in Kinyakyusa and Kindali but does not support contact situation apparent in the Lake Corridor. Lusekelo (2014) holds that speakers of Kinyakyusa and Kindali contacted people from the South, e.g. Kitumbuka, Kinyanja and Kibemba speakers from Malawi and Zambia. Nonetheless, the words for maize in these communities are **chingoma** in Tumbuka, **chimanga** in Kinyanja and **nyanje** in Bemba. The terms **amangagu** in Nyiha and **visaka** in Nyamwanga support the proposition that Lake Corridor Bantu languages had incorporated crop-names from Malawi and Zambia.

The semantic field religion and belief demonstrates a layer of Kiswahili and English loans. It appears that the impact of Kiswahili has come later because English loanwords occur in almost all languages of the Lake Corridor. With regard to the semantic field religion and belief (e.g. temple, church, priest etc.) (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009: 33), many loans occur in Lake Corridor Bantu. Swilla (2008) and Lusekelo (2014) argue that contemporary domination of Kiswahili warrants imposition of Kiswahili lexis which were initially taken by English loans, as exemplified below.

	ENGLISH	KISWAHILI
Chindali:	ukapu [< cup]	chikombe [< kikombe] ‘cup’
Nyakyusa:	ikyaliki [<church]	ilikanisa [< kanisa] ‘church’
Nyiha:	itembeli [< temple] ‘church’	likanisa [< kanisa] ‘church’
Nyamwanga:	padili [< padre] ‘priest’	emchungaji [< mchungaji] ‘priest’

The two layers of loanwords suggest vividly that contacts began between English and Bantu languages in the Lake Corridor. Wilson (1958) opines that the caravan slave trade did not penetrate deeper into Nyakyusa and Ndali areas. Consequently, Kiswahili loans such as **likanisa** ‘church’ came later. The earlier loanwords came from a European language because the British missionaries settled in Rungwe District sometime around 1882 (Wilson 1957; Walsh & Swilla 2001). They opened mission centres and schools hence loanwords such as **ikyaliki** ‘church’ and **isukulu** ‘school’ in most languages in Mbeya Region (Lusekelo 2014).

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Impact of Swahili on non-Bantu languages: Hadzabe, Iraqw and Maasai

Numerous loanwords occur in non-Bantu languages. Lusekelo (2017a) provides data for the Kiswahili loans in Hadzabe and Maasai. Some words appear in a Table below.

SEMANTIC FIELDS	ENGLISH	SWAHILI	HADZABE	MAASAI
AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION	farm	shamba	tosla (Iraqw)	olchambai
	potato	viazi	khandólo (Isanzu)	ngwashin (Gikuyu)
CLOTHING AND GROOMING	shirt	shati	shatiako	onchaati, enchatii
	trouser	suruali	sulualiya	osuluale
FORMAL EDUCATION	school	shule	shuleako	shule
	desk	dawati	dawatiya	odawati
MODERN HEALTH CARE	doctor	daktari	daktariya	moikuape (Maa)
	nurse	nesi	nesiako	enesi
HOUSING AND HOUSEHOLDS	building	majengo	majengopi?i	ijengoi
	office	ofisi	ofisiko	engoßisi
MODERN TRANSPORT	car	gari	galiko	egarim
	lorry	lori	loriya	olori
RELIGION (CHRISTIANITY)	priest	mchungaji	mchungeya	olasayani (Maa)
	church	kanisa	kanisako	kanisa

Nominal loans in Hadzabe and Maasai occur in the semantic fields of the *modern world* (schooling, healthcare and transportation), *religious and beliefs* (Christianity in particular), *clothing and grooming* (dresses and footwear), and *agriculture and vegetation* (mainly crops and food stuff).

New concepts such as motor vehicles are new inventions brought to the Maasai districts and Hadzabeland: hence new nouns derived from Swahili are used, e.g. to denote a car, the words **egarim** in Maasai and **galiko** in Hadzabe are used, both of which are based on Kiswahili **gari**. The same applies to terms related to teachers and schools in a formal (western) education institution, e.g. **imwalimuni** (teachers) and **engare eshule** (school children, pupils) in Maasai. The same is true for Hadzabe, in which loans for new objects for study materials are borrowed, e.g. **kitabuako** (book) **daftariya** (notebook).

Two terms are opaque for substitutive borrowing in one of these languages. There is a native word for the concept “table”, for which the term **enarra** is available. The Kiswahili word **emeeza** does also occur. Thus, Kiswahili word co-occurs with an indigenous Maasai word. The word *boma* is used in most of the literature about Maasai for a homestead (Lusekelo 2017a). The native word **engaji (enkaji)** is not preferred, except when reference is made to a house. Here, the word *boma* is replacing **engaji**, at least when contact with foreign researchers occurs.

The impact of Kiswahili on Cushitic languages is obvious. Most of the loanwords in the interior languages in Tanzania come from Kiswahili. The presence of Kiswahili words in non-

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Bantu languages spoken in northern Tanzania is apparent in the Cushitic language Iraqw. Perhaps a few exemplary cases provided below will substantiate this point.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (15) | impira (PL, FEM) | < mpira | ‘foot balls’ |
| | guruuwe (FEM) | < nguruwe | ‘domestic pig’ |
| | mikaate (SG, FEM) | < mkate | ‘bread’ |
| | mochele (FEM) | < mchele | ‘rice’ |
| | muhind-moo (SG, MASC) | < mhindi | ‘Indian person’ |

Iraqw is situated away from the Indian Ocean, the homeland of Swahili in Tanzania. The geographical location of Iraqw and Luo speakers in Tanzania is apparently well stipulated in LOT (2009). Most of the Iraqw people inhabit Babati, Hanang, Karatu and Mbulu districts in north-western Tanzania. The Luo speakers inhabit Musoma Rural and Tarime districts in northern Tanzania. The spread of Swahili words into the northern parts of the country is a result of education system which permits Swahili as MoI in public primary schools. In addition, in urban centres in Tanzania, Swahili formulates the main medium of communication between speakers of different ethnic backgrounds. It becomes easier for Iraqw and Luo to borrow words from Swahili which is the language of wider communication.

There are many Swahili loanwords in Iraqw because Swahili is a superior language in Tanzania. Mous and Qorro (2009) ascribe the many Swahili loans in Iraqw to the influence of Swahili in schools and as a lingua franca in the country. Likewise, Uluochi (2014) reports that the penetration of Swahili loans into Luo is partly a result of the teaching of Swahili in schools and the use of the language as a lingua franca in Kenya.

4. Integration strategies in Tanzanian languages

Some adaptation strategies are phonological in nature while others are morphological. Loanword adaptation at the phonological level is governed by sound system and syllable well-formedness in the recipient languages. Scholars such as Batibo (1996) and Swilla (2000) argue that since foreign words are borrowed from one language to another; in most cases the loans violate some constraints of sound system and syllable well-formedness in target languages. Naturally the recipient languages move fast to fix the problem by phonological adjustments (Thomason 2001; Matras 2009).

Incorporation of Swahili words in Tanzanian Bantu

Several mechanisms apply to incorporation of Kiswahili words into Tanzanian Bantu. First and foremost, Kiswahili has foreign sounds and syllables which are not available in many Tanzanian Bantu languages. The syllable structures and sound patterns were borrowed mainly from English as in **posta** ‘post office’ and **kioski** ‘kiosk’. The sound systems were borrowed from Persian and Arabic sounds such as /θ/ as in **thumuni** ‘cent’. When Kiswahili words such as those in (16-19) get integrated into other Bantu languages, three major adjustments take place.

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|
| (16) | nywele | < nywele | ‘hair’ | [Chingoni] |
| | mutúka | < motakaa | ‘motorcar’ | |
| | ligali | < gari | ‘car’ | |
| | shule | < shule | ‘school’ | |
| (17) | aBasikali | < askari | ‘police officers’ | [Nyakyusa] |

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	amakanisa	< makanisa	‘churches’	
	iselekali	< serikali	‘government’	
	isuluβali	< suruali	‘pair of trouser’	
(18)	chikombe	< kikombe	‘cup’	[Chindali]
	ikuula	< kura	‘vote’	
	sanduku	< sanduku	‘suitcase, box’	
	sita	< sita	‘six’	
	mujomba	< mjomba	‘maternal uncle’	
	ndighwani	< diwani	‘councillor’	
(19)	edáari	< dari	‘loft’	[Runyambo]
	ibaati	< bati	‘roof’	
	omuryângo	< mlango	‘door’	
	idirisa	< dirisha	‘window’	

The data above demonstrates the contact between Chingoni, Runyambo, Nyakyusa and Chindali with Kiswahili. Consequently, adjustment of Kiswahili words is mandatory. Firstly, at the phonological level, **vowel epenthesis** turns to be the main strategy for nativisation of Kiswahili words. Mwita (2009) talk of insertion of vowels to break disallowed vowel sequences. In Nyakyusa, the word **abasikali** ‘police officers’ obtained the vowel /i/ for the sequences **-sk-** in the word **askari** ‘police officer’. In another instance, insertion of the vowel /u/ in Chindali allows the noun **mjomba** ‘maternal uncle’ in Kiswahili to be **mujomba** ‘maternal uncle’ in Chindali. The Kiswahili word **mlango** ‘door’ manifest as **omuryângo** in Runyambo. This happens because of the insertion of the vowel /u/ in the noun class prefix.

In addition, the nominal loans are obtained from the national language. Swahili nouns such as **askari** ‘police officer’, **serikali** ‘government’ and **diwani** ‘councillor’ are Arabic by origin. They got transferred into Nyakyusa and Ndali through Kiswahili.

Secondly, change in **consonant features** is a common strategy for nativisation. Batibo (1996: 38) notes that this is by far the most common method of consonant cluster nativisation in Kiswahili, and many other Eastern Bantu languages. This happens because most syllable structures in Bantu languages are consonant~vowel (CV) hence disallowed consonantal sequences such as /s~k/ are adjusted through epenthesis. On the other hand, consonant sounds get affected during nativisation process. For instance, the words with alveolar trill /r/ change to lateral approximant /l/ in Nyakyusa and Chindali languages. This is shown by the nouns **ikuula** [< **kura**] ‘vote’ in Ndali and **abasikali** [< **askari**] ‘soldier’ in Nyakyusa. As for the consonantal sounds of prefixes in Ndali language, the palatal plosive /c/ replaces the velar plosive /k/ in Swahili, as illustrated by **chikombe** [< **kikombe**] ‘cup’. In Runyambo, the change of consonant features is from the lateral /l/ to the trill /r/ as in **omuryângo** ‘door’.

Thirdly, change in **auto-segmental features** is common. For instance, tone assignment and vowel length is attained for words such as **bati** vs. **ibaati** ‘roof’ in Runyambo. Some Kiswahili words obtain high tone as **dari** vs. **edáari** ‘loft’ and **dirisha** vs. **idirisa** ‘window’ in Runyambo. For the word **dirisha** vs. **idirisa** ‘window’, the sound /j/ in Kiswahili is adjusted to /s/ in Runyambo. Likewise, in Chingoni, the word **mutúka** [< **motakaa**] ‘car’ has obtained a high tone.

Fourthly, morphological changes are apparent in the data. With regard to **noun-class assignment strategy**, Kiswahili nouns which do not traditionally have noun classes get assigned

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to specific classes in Runyambo, Nyakyusa and Ndali. This is the case of **abasikali** ‘soldiers’ in Nyakyusa and **ndighwani** ‘councillor’ in Ndali. Both nouns are assigned to noun classes 1~2 which encompasses human names. Other borrowed nouns get assigned to respective noun classes on the basis of semantics and morphology of the nouns (Swilla 2000; Lusekelo 2013a). In fact, this is a common phenomenon across the Bantu family.

Lastly, **consonant cluster tolerance** is attested in some Bantu languages. Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) found Kiswahili nouns such as **nywele** ‘hair’ and **shule** ‘school’ are nativized in the lexicon of the Bantu language Ngoni around Songea Rural District. Likewise, Swilla (2008: 236) found many Kiswahili nouns e.g. **sanduku** ‘suitcase’, **sita** ‘six’ and **mwalimu** ‘teacher’ are nativized in the Bantu language Chindali in Mbeya Region without any changes. This phenomenon is common across Tanzanian Bantu.

At this juncture, it is obvious that Bantu languages reveal more or less similar integrated mechanisms of loanwords from Kiswahili. This happens because the structures of Bantu languages allow similar nativisation strategies. The differences manifest with the foreign words of Arabic origin which get transferred into Tanzanian Bantu through Kiswahili.

Assimilation of Bantu loans in non-Bantu languages

Bantu loanwords get integrated differently in non-Bantu Tanzanian languages. This happens because the structures of non-Bantu languages allow unique incorporation mechanisms for the loanwords from Bantu languages, mainly the national and official language Swahili. Apart from Swahili loans, obvious cases involve loans from areally majority language in Tanzania, e.g. Sukuma and Nyiramba Bantu words in Cushitic Burunge (Kiessling 2001; Mous & Qorro 2009), Nyisanzu Bantu words in Khoisan Hadzabe (Lusekelo 2017a), Swahili and Nyiramba Bantu words in Iraqw (Mous & Qorro 2009), and Swahili words in Nilotic Maasai. It becomes necessary, therefore, to provide a description of the adaptation strategies attested in these non-Bantu languages.

Many languages of the world tend to borrow many nouns and adjectives, and a few verbs and adverbs (Myers-Scotton 2006; Matras 2007). Haspelmath (2009: 37) found that loanwords are always words and they are normally unanalyzable units in the recipient language. In addition, ‘verbs are more difficult to borrow than nouns because they need more grammatical adaptation than nouns.’ Studies in non-Bantu languages have found that more nouns are incorporated into Burunge (Kiessling 2001), Iraqw (Mous & Qorro 2009) and Hadzabe (Lusekelo 2015a). The nativisation processes involve assigning loans into the structures available in the target languages. In the subsequent sub-sections, therefore, incorporation strategies for nouns are presented.

Impact of Bantu languages into in Cushitic languages

The impact of Bantu languages onto languages in Cushitic family is felt in the Rift Valley Area (Kiessling, Mous & Nurse 2008). This possibly happens because Bantu and Cushitic languages had co-existed in the area for more than two hundred years now. Lusekelo (2013b) found that the Bantu communities (Sukuma, Rangi, Nyisanzu and Nyaturu) settled in the area for about 400 years while Nilo-Saharan languages (Datooga and Maasai) inhabited the area for about three hundred years. These communities found the Hadzabe foraging in the area. The

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Afro-asiatic languages (Burunge and Iraqw) are new comers, perhaps settled in the area about 250 years ago.

Current research outputs (Mous & Qorro 2009; Lusekelo 2015b) found that Cushitic languages co-exist with many Bantu languages because the area has attracted many people from different ethnic backgrounds. Map 4.5.1 shows the distribution of Tanzanian languages in the Rift Valley area. In fact, estimates given in LOT (2009: 48) indicate that 71 percent of the speakers of the Cushitic language Iraqw inhabit Babati, Hanang and Mbulu districts in Manyara Region. Majority Bantu languages (Nyaturu, Nyiramba, Isanzu and Mbugwe) inhabit in this area. On the basis of LOT (2009: 12), almost 93 percent of the speakers of the Cushitic language Burunge inhabit Kondoa District in Dodoma Region. In the area, the majority languages include Rangi in the northern parts and Gogo in the southern areas. Bantu loans in Cushitic Iraqw come from Swahili, and a few loanwords come from Rangi and Mbugwe. In fact, 'the vast majority of loans is from Swahili (86%)' (Mous & Qorro 2009: 108).

At the level of phonology, it appears that integration of Bantu loans do not always take place, particularly Swahili loans. However, penultimate stress in Swahili is interpreted as a long vowel in Iraqw, hence **gunia** becomes **gunyáa** (F) 'bag', **kofia** turns to be **kofyáa** (F) 'hat, cap' and **sufuria** becomes **sufuriya** (F) 'pot'. With regard to consonants, the common phenomenon involves the fact that 'Iraqw does not have a voice opposition in fricatives, and Swahili /z/ is pronounced /s/ in loans, e.g. **gaseeti** from Swahili **gazeti** 'newspaper' (Mous & Qorro 2009: 114).

At morphological level, the adaptation of Swahili nouns takes major considerations of the gender and number system of Iraqw. The nativisation process is superficially morphological, though phonological changes are also attested. This is apparent for the words given in (20).

(20)	IRAQW	SWAHILI	GLOSS
	muhind-moo [M]	mhindi	'Indian person'
	yerman (N)	mjerumani	'German person(s)'
	muhogo [M]	mhogo	'cassava'
	mochele [F]	mchele	'rice'
	angamiiya [F]	ngamia	'camel'
	angaasi [F]	ngazi	'ladder'
	impiira [F]	mipira	'footballs'
	kutunguuru [F]	vitunguu	'onions'
	mikaate [M]	mkate	'bread'
	kitaabu [M]	kitabu	'book'

Basically, assignment of the Swahili loans to the number-gender system of Iraqw is obvious for each word. The gender system becomes transparent in nouns which are singular, e.g. **mhindmoo** [M] 'Indian person' and **askaarmoo** [M] 'soldier', but gets blurred in plural, e.g. **wahindi** [F] 'Indian persons' and **askáari** [F] 'soldiers'.

Generally, the data above does not provide any guideline towards phonological and morphological analysis. The noun classes in Swahili are totally ignored, as it is the case of **mkate** vs. **mikate** 'bread ~ breads' in Swahili become **mikaate** vs. **makaate** [F] 'bread ~ loaves of breads' in Iraqw. The words **mkasi** vs. **mikasi** 'pair of scissors ~ pairs of scissors' in Swahili become **makaasi** [F] 'scissors' in Iraqw (Mous & Qorro 2009: 117).

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Burunge, another Cushitic language of Tanzania, has borrowed from Swahili and Rangi. The loanwords are integrated into the lexicon of Burunge, which is a typical of Southern Cushitic in nature. The power of the Rangi people vests on more skills and efficiency in business which they establish in Burunge villages at Goima, Chemba and Mirambo (Kießling 2001: 215; LOT 2009: 13). Some loanwords in Burunge are provided in (21).

(21)	BURUNGE	SOURCE	DONOR	GLOSS
	kaasi	kazi	Swahili	‘work’
	baraasa	baraza	Swahili	‘council’
	funsaa [F]	funza	Swahili	‘jiggers’
	maarima’ing	mwalimu	Swahili	‘teacher’
	ndiisi [M]	ndizi	Swahili	‘bananas’
	naasi [F]	nazi	Swahili	‘coconuts’
	kalangimo [M]	nkalanga	Rangi	‘groundnuts’
	muhoogo [M]	muhogo	Rangi	‘cassava’
	mukaato	mkwato	Rangi	‘tongs, claws’
	dangwaa’ee	dangura	Rangi	‘knife’
	nyanyaa [F]	nyanya	Rangi	‘tomatoes’
	balasasu	balasa	Rangi	‘verandah’
	inkitatu	nkata	Rangi	‘calabash deeper’

At the phonological level, two striking differences are attested. One, Burunge phoneme inventory does not manifest voiceless and voiced fricatives sounds / Σ / and /z/ (Kießling 2001: 217). Consequently, most nouns with these sounds tend to be nativised into voiceless fricative /s/. Two, Burunge and Swahili have a 5-vowel system while Burunge has contrastive vowel length. Thus, most nouns tend to obtain long vowels in Burunge in place of penultimate in Bantu.

Morphological changes are apparent. As a case of Southern Cushitic languages, Burunge has a clear system of gender marking and number indication through suffixation. Therefore, Bantu loans are assigned into gender and number system of the Burunge. Kießling (2001: 219) demonstrates that the singular–plural pairings in Swahili and Rangi turn into singular and collective nouns in Burunge. Likewise, Bantu nouns obtain gender marking: feminine, masculine and neuter. Suffixation is the main mechanism for the indication of number in Burunge, e.g. **pambaa** [F] (collective base) ‘cotton plants’ vs. **pambimo** [M] (singulative) ‘a cotton plant’ and **funsaa** [F] (collective base) ‘jiggers’ vs. **funsiya** [F] (singulative) ‘a jigger’. The common number suffixes in the language are **-imo** for masculine singulative and **-iya** for feminine singulative.

The formulation of plurality adheres to the morphology of Burunge. Kießling (2001) report that Bantu loans which are masculine obtain plurality through suffixation of **-’ing** and **-’ee**. Feminine loans are pluralized by **-aCu**. This phenomenon is attested in the data, **balasa** ‘verandah’ vs. **balasasu** ‘verandahs’ and **dangway** ‘knife’ vs. **dangaa’ee** ‘knives’.

Impact of Swahili on Hadzabe and Maasai

The Maasai differentiate gender on the basis of socio-economic and sex parameters. Women amongst the Maasai people are accorded lower social status than men. Linguistically,

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grammatical genders in Maasai manifest in body height, body size, sharpness, biological differences, etc. (Payne 2012). Likewise, Woodburn (1982) found that the Hadzabe reveals absence of gender differentiations based on socio-economic powers because the structure of the Hadzabe society is inclined towards an egalitarian community, which practices communal sharing of natural property. Linguistically, Edenmyr (2004) and Sands (2013) found that gender realisation in the lexicon of Hadzabe is difficult to pin down. Given this scenario, this section discusses how gender differences manifest in Swahili loans in Hadzabe and Maasai.

The grammar of Swahili does not provide (grammatical) gender affixes; rather, it has nominal prefixes which account for concord within the noun phrase. In contrast, the grammars of Maasai and Hadzabe make use of affixes to designate masculine–feminine–neuter distinctions. Table 1 provides a summary of the three-way gender distinctions in Maasai and Hadzabe in singular and plural nouns.

Table 1: Gender Types and Gender Marking Elements in Hadzabe and Maasai

LANGUAGE	ELEMENTS	EXAMPLES	
MAASAI	<i>en-</i> (Feminine Singular)	<i>entító</i> (girl)	<i>enchán</i> (rainfall)
	<i>in-</i> (Feminine Plural)	<i>intító</i> (girls)	<i>imbúlát</i> (stomachs, intestines)
	<i>ol-</i> (Masculine Singular)	<i>olmorran</i> (boy)	<i>oldonyo</i> (mountain)
	<i>il-</i> (Masculine Plural)	<i>ilmorran</i> (boys)	<i>intúlele</i> (apples)
	<i>-∅</i> (Neuter)	<i>kopikop</i> (south)	<i>moikuape</i> (north)
HADZABE	<i>-ko</i> (Feminine Singular)	<i>niyeko</i> (sister)	<i>ndogáliko</i> (spider)
	<i>-be?e</i> (Feminine Plural)	<i>lugube?e</i> (arrows)	<i>obabe?e</i> (female babies)
	<i>-te</i> (Masculine Singular)	<i>ákhwete</i> (son)	<i>ilibate</i> (male baby)
	<i>-bi?i</i> (Masculine Plural)	<i>ndógebi?i</i> (loads)	<i>wa?abi?i</i> (boys)
	<i>-∅</i> (Neuter)	<i>sansako</i> (north)	<i>phúna</i> (east)

Shirtz and Payne (2013) found that Maasai has actual gender distinctions in nouns mainly in the singular nominal expressions. The gender-types in Maasai include femininity, which is indicated by the prefixes *en-* (with variant *e-*), and masculinity, indicated by the prefix *ol-* or *or-* (with the variant *o-*). Payne (2012: 60) found that in plural nominals, feminine gender is indicated by the prefixes *in-* and masculine gender is marked by the prefix *il-* or *ir-*. The gender for neuter nouns is unmarked in most cases.

Hadzabe has nominal genders by means of suffixation (Lusekelo 2017a). Hadzabe uses the suffix **-ko** to mark femininity and a default zero (*-∅*) suffix for masculinity in singular forms. The plural counterparts appear with suffixes **-be?e** for feminine gender and **-bi?i** for masculine gender. In Hadzabe, the default neuter gender is unmarked. Thus, any borrowed noun is adapted through gender assignment in Maasai and Hadzabe. Cases provided in Table 2 are illustrative of the insertion of the gender markers into Swahili borrowed nouns.

Table 2: Gender Types and Gender Marking Elements in Hadzabe and Maasai

LANGUAGES	FEMININE	MASCULINE	NEUTER
HADZABE	daftariako (notebook)	dawatiya (desk)	gazeti (newspaper)

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	galiko (car)	loriya (lorry)	mwalimu (teacher)
	kanisako (church, temple)	kalamuha (pencil)	wali (rice)
	karatasiako (paper)	rulaha (ruler)	mkanda'a (belt)
	mezako (table)	surualiya (trouser)	dreva'a (driver)
	nesiako (nurse)	mchungeya (priest)	kalamuha (pencil)
MAASAI	engitabu (book)	olori (lorry)	shule (school)
	edafutari (notebook)	obasi (bus)	shoo (toilet)
	emeeza (table)	onchaati (shirt)	sipitali (hospital)
	engaratasi (paper)	ormuhogo (cassava)	penseli (pencil)
	enesi (nurse)	irmaragi (beans)	muhele (rice)
	egarim (car)	omkanda (belt)	sugwari (sugar)

Lusekelo (2017a) argues that assignment of Swahili loans into Hadzabe adhere to gender marking. There are about 14 nouns whose gender-number marking suffix is **-ko**. Likewise, 16 foreign nouns obtain the masculine suffix whose reading is **-ya** or **-a?a**. A few nouns, about 7 in the list, obtain the neuter reading for Hadzabe. Lusekelo (2017a) argues that loans in Hadzabe split into two halves of genders, namely masculine and feminine. Similarly, about 22 nouns obtain feminine gender-number marking prefix which are **en-** and **in-** and the masculine gender-number marking prefixes, which are **ol-**, **or-** and **ir-**, occur in 16 nouns. Nine borrowed nouns are assigned neuter gender. It can be argued that there are more masculine nouns than feminine ones, and that only a few neuter nouns are attested in Maasai.

In some cases, gender assignment mechanisms in both Hadzabe and Maasai are unpredictable (Lusekelo 2017a). It is interesting to note from Table 3 that names for things of similar materials (nature) are assigned different genders. For example, while some paper-oriented, timber-oriented and machinery-related products receive the masculine gender (newspaper, lorry, bus, desk), other products of the same nature (book, notebook, car, table) become feminine in both Hadzabe and Maasai.

In other cases, gender assignment mechanisms are predictable because the findings indicate that masculine-feminine distinction is determined by biological sex. Common personal names are assigned either the masculine or feminine gender depending on the biological gender of the bearer. Table 3 categorises feminine and masculine genders in common nouns.

Table 3: Biological Gender Marking in Borrowed Nouns in Hadzabe and Maasai

HADZABE	MAASAI	SWAHILI	GLOSS
dereva'a	oderefai	dereva	driver
dakitariya	oldakitari	daktari	doctor
mwalimu	ormwalimui	mwalimu	teacher (male)
mwalimu	emwalimui	mwalimu	teacher (female)
nesiako	enesi	nesi, muuguzi	nurse

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Lusekelo (2017a) found that Swahili grammar has nominal prefixes used to designate singular-plural distinctions, e.g. **mwalimu–walimu** ‘teacher(s)’, **gari–magari** ‘car(s)’, **kitabu–vitabu** ‘book(s)’ etc. Grammars of Hadzabe and Maasai make use of affixes to designate gender and number distinctions. Thus, the assimilation of borrowed Swahili nouns is subject to gender-number assignment. The data in Table 4 demonstrate this adaptation mechanism.

Table 4: Integration of Plural Markers in Borrowed Nouns in Hadzabe and Maasai

HADZABE	MAASAI	SWAHILI	GLOSS
walimupi?i	imwalimuni	walimu	teachers
wanafunzi?e	ingera eshule	wanafunzi	pupils, school children
---	ibegii	mikebe	canisters
dawapi?i	---	dawa, madawa	drugs, medicines
begipe?e	ibegii	mabegi	bags
majengopi?i	ijengoi	majengo	buildings

Lusekelo (2017a) argues that data from school-children demonstrate how plurality is designated in Maasai and Hadzabe. The Maasai data make use of the proclitic **i-** and suffixes **-ni**, **-i** and **-n** to indicate plurality. Maasai has the proclitics *in-* (feminine) and *il-* (masculine) which mark plurality. Although there here are variants of these proclitics, **i-** is mainly used to mark plurality.

The same is true for Hadzabe children who adhere to number indication by drawing a distinction between plurality both feminine and masculine. The suffixes **-pe?e** and **-pi?i** are apparent in the data in Table 5. The former marks plurality for masculine nouns while the latter indicates plurality in feminine nouns. This is in the same spirit as Edenmyr (2004) who found that Hadzabe people use the forms **-pe?e** and **-pi?i** to indicate plural (masculine) and plural (feminine) respectively.

Conclusions

The primary contribution of this article had been on the influence of Arabic and English on the Bantu languages of Tanzania with special attention to Swahili. Again, in this article, I articulated the consequences of the contact between Bantu languages and non-Bantu languages of Tanzania. In the course of the discussion, much attention had been paid to the dispersal of Swahili words into the non-bantu of Khoisan Hadzabe, Cushitic Iraqw and Nilotic Maasai. In these languages, loans are assigned into different gender systems, namely masculine, feminine and neuter. With regard to exemplary cases of Bantu-to-Bantu contacts, Swahili words are apparently attested in interior languages such as Ngoni, Matengo, Nyakyusa and many more.

Since English and Swahili are the official languages of Tanzania, findings indicated that the layer of Swahili lexis and that English words co-exist in many languages of South-Western Tanzania, e.g. Nyakyusa, Nyamwanga, Ndali etc. Thus, Ndali has **ingwindo** [**<window:** English] and **idilisha** [**<dirisha:** Swahili] for window and Nyakyusa has **ikyaliki** [**<church:** English] and **ikanisa** [**<kanisa:** Swahili] for church. Findings also subatntiated that along the

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coast of Tanzania, influence of Swahili lexis is massive in such languages as Ndengereko and Maraba.

The Bantu to non-bantu contacts yielded numerous loans across Greebergian language phylums in Tanzania, e.g. Swahili loans in Burunge and Hadzabe. For such loans, findings demonstrate distinct mechanisms of their incorporation. In Cushitic and Nilotic languages such as Hadzabe, Iraqw and Maasai, gender marking is the primary mechanism of adaptation of Bantu loans. Thus, we have such words as **omukanda** (Masculine) [<**mkanda**: Swahili] ‘a belt’ and **egarim** (Feminine) [<**gari**: Swahili] ‘a car’ in Maasai. In Bantu languages, the noun classifications forms the main mechanism for integration of loanwords from English and non-Bantu languages.

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