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## ARTICLES

**SWAHILI: A DONOR LANGUAGE<sup>1</sup>**

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Swahili is one of the most studied African languages, as we can see from its very rich bibliographies (VAN SPAANDONCK 1965; MIONI 1967; BOUCNEAU 1987; BALDI 1991). Many studies have been published on all aspects of the language, some of them dealing with Arabic influence and loans. But one aspect, which has not been considered up to now, is the role of Swahili as a donor language in East and Central Africa, not only to other Bantu idioms, but also to other neighbouring languages belonging to different linguistic families.

This paper is intended to investigate the spread of these Swahili loans in neighbouring languages, which got so many loans from Swahili. The survey is based on the analysis of words from some Bantu languages such as: Gikuyu, Lingala, Luganda, Nyakyusa, Shona as well as from languages belonging to different linguistic groups: Acholi, Bari, Madi, Pokot, Rendille, etc.

In the list given here, there are some Swahili words, which were lent to some east African languages. Most of these words were loans, mainly from Arabic, via Swahili. These items coming from my data base are collected from dictionaries and some other material, I came in contact with during my researches. The work, considering the enormous amount of work in progress in the field of African languages, is just a preliminary inquiry in topics not so well investigated.

Here are some examples:

Swahili *alhamisi* [< Ar. *kamīs* (WEHR 262a) ‘Thursday’] ‘Thursday’ > Kuria *Aramisi* ‘Thursday’;

Swahili *almasi* [< Ar. *almās* (WEHR 24a) ‘diamond’] ‘a diamond’ > Nyakyusa *alumasí* ‘diamond’;

Swahili *askari* [< Ar. *‘askarī* (WEHR 613a) ‘military, army (in compounds)’] ‘soldier,

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Mrs Fatuma Tandika, *lettrice* for Swahili at the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”, for help and advice. Swahili words followed by an \* are given by her and not found in consulted dictionaries.

guard, armed attendant' > Gikuyu *thigari* 'soldiery, police; soldier, policeman; companionship, consorting together'; Madi *àsékērè/àsikàrì* 'soldier'; Pokot *sirkáaliyón* 'soldier'; Rendille *iskár* 'soldier(s); police; gamewarden(s). Refers to any uniformed officer(s) in a position of authority';

Swahili *askofu* [< Ar. *usquf* (WEHR 17a) 'bishop'] 'a bishop' > Nyakyusa *askofú* 'bishop';

Swahili *-badilisha* [< Ar. *badīl* (WEHR 46b) 'substitute, alternate'] v. 'to cause to change; to get changed' > Gikuyu *bandūrithia* v. 'to change, to alter, to get sth. changed, altered';

Swahili *bafta* [< Ar. *bafta* (WEHR 68a) 'calico, Indian cotton cloth'] 'a kind of thin bleached calico, used for lining garments' > Luganda *bafuta* 'calico';

Swahili *bahari* [< Ar. *baḥr* (WEHR 42b) 'sea'] 'sea, ocean' > Shona *bahari* 'sea';

Swahili *bahasha*<sup>2</sup> [< Tur.] '(1) an envelope (2) satchel, bag' > Madi *bàásà* 'envelope';

Swahili *baiyologi\*/biolojia* [< En.] 'biology' > Dholuo *baiyoloji*<sup>3</sup> 'biology';

Swahili *bakora* [< ? Ar. *baqqāriy* (FREYTAG: I, 142a) 'massif et solide (*bâton*), comme celui des bouviers'] 'a walking-stick, formerly one with a crooked handle' > Gikuyu *mbokora* 'walking-stick';

Swahili *bakshishi* [< Ar. *baḵšīš* 'tip, gratuity' (WEHR 43b)] 'gratuity, gift, dole, tip' > Gikuyu *mabacici* 'largess, free gift, sth. added over and above a transaction'; Madi *bàkàsisi* 'tip; reward';

Swahili *bakuli* [< Ar. *bāqūl* (DOZY: I, 104b) 'cruche de terre poreuse pour l'eau'] 'basin, any large deep dish' > Luganda *bbakuli* 'basin'; Madi *bàkūli* 'bowl'; Nyakyusa *ibakūli* 'bowl'; Pokot *bàkūli* 'bowl';

Swahili *bamia*<sup>4</sup> [< Ar. *bāmiya* (WEHR 40a) 'gumbo, okra (*Hibiscus esculentus* L.)'] 'okra, lady's fingers (*Abelmoschus esculentus*)' > Nyakyusa *ibamia* 'okra, lady's finger';

Swahili *barafu* [< Pers. *baraf*] 'ice' > Rendille *baraáfo* 'ice, snow';

Swahili *baraza* [< Ar. *barāza* (KAZIMIRSKI: I, 110a) 'champ, vaste plaine sans arbres'] 'place of public audience or reception' > Gikuyu *mbaratha* 'public meeting, council, audience (held by a Government official)'; Lingala *baraza/barza* 'véranda';

Swahili *baridi* [< Ar. *bārid* (WEHR 51b) 'cold; cool?'] 'cold, chill; wind, air' > ? Gikuyu *mūbariti* 'large tree (*Grevillea robusta*, gives deep shade)';

Swahili *barua* [< Ar. *barwa* (WEHR 56a) 'waste, scrap'] 'letter' > Gikuyu *marua* 'letter'; Luganda *bbāluwà* 'letter; note'; Madi *bàrúà* 'letter';

Swahili *baruti*<sup>5</sup> [< Ar. *bārūd* (WEHR 39a) 'saltpeter; gunpowder'] 'gunpowder' > Gikuyu *mbaruti* 'gunpowder'; Lingala *balúti* 'poudre noire explosive, plomb à fusil'; Nyakyusa *ibaluti* 'gunpowder';

Swahili *basi* [< En.] 'bus' > Dholuo *bac*<sup>6</sup> 'bus';

<sup>2</sup> The word is marked as a loan from Turkish by JOHNSON (1939: 24b).

<sup>3</sup> This loan could have arrived directly from English.

<sup>4</sup> JOHNSON (1939: 26b) suggests also a possible Persian origin.

<sup>5</sup> JOHNSON (1939: 20b) suggests a Turkish origin.

<sup>6</sup> This loan could have arrived directly from English.

Swahili *basi*<sup>7</sup> [< Ar. *bas* (ROTH-LALY 50b) ‘seulement; cela suffit’] conj. ‘(1) well (2) it is enough’ > Madi *bási* adv. ‘okay; fine; that’s enough’;

Swahili *bastola*<sup>8</sup> [< Port.] ‘a pistol’ > Luganda *bàsitoòla* ‘pistol’;

Swahili *bei* [< Ar. *baʿ* (WEHR 86b) ‘sale’] ‘price’ > Dholuo *bei/beyi* ‘price’;

Swahili *bikira* [< Ar. *bikr* (WEHR 70a) ‘first-born; virgin’] ‘a virgin’ > Acooli *bikira* ‘virgin’; Luganda *mùbiikira* ‘virgin, nun’, *mùnuubiikira* ‘nun’;

Swahili *bilauri* [< Ar. *ballūr*, *billaur* (WEHR 75b) ‘crystal; crystal glass, glass’] ‘glass, crystal; tumbler, wineglass’ > Gikuyu *mūraūni*, *mūraūri* ‘metal tumbler for drinking purposes’; Luganda *kirawuli* ‘lamp glass; tumbler’;

Swahili *bilingani* [< Ar. *bāḍinjān/baiḍinjān* (WEHR 38b) ‘aubergine’] ‘a dark purple vegetable, fruit of the egg plant, bringal, aubergine’ > Gikuyu *mbiringanya* ‘egg-plant, aubergine, brinjal’; Nyakyusa *ibilingania* ‘egg-plant, aubergine’;

Swahili *binzari/bizari* [< Ar. *bizr* (WEHR 57a) ‘spice’] ‘small seed such as pepper’ > Gikuyu *bitharī/bitharī* ‘curry powder’; Madi *binjārī* ‘curry powder’;

Swahili *birika* [< Ar. *ibrīq* (WEHR 2a) ‘pitcher, jug’] ‘kettle’ > Acooli *biinikà* ‘teapot’; Dholuo *birika/binika* ‘kettle, teapot’; Nyakyusa *ilibilika* ‘kettle, teapot, jug, reservoir, cistern, tank’;

Swahili *blanketi/blangeti* [< En.] ‘blanket’ > Dholuo *blan̄ket*<sup>9</sup> ‘blanket’; Madi *bàlànggiti* ‘blanket’;

Swahili *boi* [< En.] ‘a house servant’ > Dholuo *boyi*<sup>10</sup> ‘a houseboy’;

Swahili *brigedia* [< En.] ‘brigadier’ > Dholuo *birigedia*<sup>11</sup> ‘brigadier’;

Swahili *buku* [< En.] ‘book’ > Dholuo *buk*<sup>12</sup> ‘book’;

Swahili *bunduki*<sup>13</sup> [< Ar. *bunduqīya* (WEHR 77a) ‘gun’] ‘gun, rifle, musket’ > Gikuyu *bundūki*, *bindūki* ‘rifle, gun’; Luganda *mmūndu* ‘gun, rifle’;

Swahili *bure* a./adv. ‘useless; free; empty’ > Dholuo *bure* adv. ‘for nothing’;

Swahili *bushuti* [?] < Arabic *basāt*<sup>14</sup> ‘covering’] ‘a long cloak worn by some men, decorated with gold threadwork’ > Luganda *būsuuti* ‘Arab robe used by certain chiefs on ceremonial occasions’;

<sup>7</sup> JOHNSON (1939: 31a) suggests also a possible Persian origin.

<sup>8</sup> I think SACLEUX’ (1939: 98a) etymology from Portuguese is more reliable than that one given by JOHNSON (1939: 31a): “? the same word through Arabic”).

<sup>9</sup> This loan could have arrived directly from English.

<sup>10</sup> This loan could have arrived directly from English.

<sup>11</sup> This loan could have arrived directly from English.

<sup>12</sup> This loan could have arrived directly from English.

<sup>13</sup> KNAPPERT (1972–1973: 293, note 18) affirme: “La forme hausa *bindiga* vient d’un terme de la *Lingua franca* désignant le fusil *venediga*; ce mot, en portugais ou en espagnol, est la forme adjectivale de Venise, ancien port de transbordement d’armes à feu”. Le mot en luganda est un emprunt au swahili *bunduki*, “itself a loan from Turkish via Arabic. The origin of this word is the Greek *pontikōn* (hazelnut), referring to the shape of a musket bullet. The Ganda form of the word can be explained by the “law of Meinhof”, which states that the first of two consecutive voiced pre-nasalized plosive consonants must become a nasal. The loss of the last syllable is already found in Luo *bunde*; the Nilotic languages prefer words of one or two syllables” (KNAPPERT 1999: 209).

<sup>14</sup> It is JOHNSON’ s hypothesis (1939 : 43a).

- Swahili *buti* [< En.] ‘boot; trunk’ > Dholuo *buut*<sup>15</sup> ‘carvas shoes’;
- Swahili *chafu* a. ‘dirty’ > Rendille *chaáfo* ‘dirt’;
- Swahili *chai*<sup>16</sup> [< Ar. *šāy* (WEHR 451a) ‘tea’] ‘tea’ > Nyakyusa *ikyai* ‘tea’; Rendille *cháay* ‘tea’;
- Swahili *cherehani* [< Pers.] ‘sewing machine’ > Acooli *càrààn* ‘sewing machine’; Dholuo *caran* ‘sewing machine’;
- Swahili *choo* ‘water-closet, cess-pit’ > Rendille *chóow* ‘latrine, toilet (usually refers to an outside pit latrine)’;
- Swahili *chooni* ‘in the water-closet’ > Kuria *ichorooni* ‘latrine, lavatory’; Madi *sòróni* ‘excrement; latrine, lavatory’;
- Swahili *chotara*<sup>17</sup> [ ? < Ar.] ‘a half-breed person’ > Gikuyu *cotara* ‘half-caste’;
- Swahili *chungwa*, pl. *machungwa* ‘orange’ > Rendille *machuúnga* ‘orange (fruit)’;
- Swahili *chupa* [ ? < Ar.] ‘a bottle’ > Acooli *cupà* ‘bottle’; Ateso *ecupa* ‘bottle’; Dholuo *cupa* ‘bottle’; Rendille *chúbbà* ‘bottle’;
- Swahili *dakika* [< Ar. *daqīqa* (WEHR 288a) ‘minute (time unit)’] ‘a minute, the 60th part of an hour, but often used as any small division of time’ > Gikuyu *ndagīka*, *ndakinga* ‘a minute’; Luganda *ḍdakiika* ‘minute’; Madi *dákíkà* ‘minute; one minute; a moment’; Rendille *dekeéka* ‘minute’;
- Swahili *daktari* [< Ar. *duktūr*, pl. *dakātira* (WEHR 288b) ‘doctor’] ‘doctor of medicine’ > Madi *dàkitàrì* ‘medical personnel (doctors, nurses etc.); hospital; health centre, etc.’; Rendille *ilkitàrri* ‘doctor’;
- Swahili *daraja* [< Ar. *daraja* (WEHR 277a) ‘rank’] ‘step, set of steps, stairs, staircase, bridge; degree, rank, dignity, social station’ > Gikuyu *ndaraca* ‘bridge’; Pokot *tàràcà* ‘bridge’; Rendille *daraánja/daraáncha* ‘bridge; culvert (conduit for water pipe or drain under a road)’;
- Swahili *dawa* [< Ar. *dawā*’ (WEHR 304b) ‘remedy, medicament’] ‘medicine, medicament ; charm, talisman’ > Dholuo *dawa* ‘medicine’; Gikuyu *ndawa* ‘medicine, cure’; Rendille *ildáwa* ‘medicine, ointment; treatment (for illness)’;
- Swahili *debe* [< Hind.] ‘tin can, commonly of 4 gallons, such as those in which petrol and kerosene is imported and sold’ > Acooli *debe* ‘a metal vessel, tin can, pail’; Dholuo *debe* ‘tin can, pail, bucket’; Madi *dé’bè/ndé’bè* ‘a tin of about four gallons in size’;
- Swahili *dhahabu* [< Ar. *ḍahab* (WEHR 313b) ‘gold’] ‘gold’ > Acooli *dab* ‘gold’; Bari *dakap* ‘gold’; Dholuo *dhahabu* ‘gold’; Gikuyu *thahabu* ‘gold’; Luganda *zaabù* ‘gold’; Madi *dá’bò* ‘gold’; Nyakyusa *sahabu* ‘gold’; Rendille *dáhab* ‘gold’;
- Swahili *dini* [< Ar. *dīn* (WEHR 306a) ‘religion’] ‘religion, creed, worship’ > Dholuo *dini* ‘religion’; Gikuyu *ndini* ‘religion’; Kuria *idiini* ‘a religion, religious instructions’; Luganda *ḍdiini* ‘religion; creed’; Madi *dini* ‘religion’;

<sup>15</sup> This loan could have arrived directly from English.

<sup>16</sup> In Swahili the word according to JOHNSON (1939: 47b) is from Persian or Hindi.

<sup>17</sup> In Swahili the word itself could be a loan from Arabic *šatr* (WEHR 1966: 471b) ‘partition, division’, according to JOHNSON (1939: 61a), but according to SACLEUX (1939: 151a) it is from Hindoustani.

Swahili *dira* [< Ar. *dā'ira* (WEHR 301a) 'circle; compass'] 'a mariner's compass' > Luganda `ddiirā 'compass';

Swahili *dubu* [< Ar. *dubb* (WEHR 269b) 'bear'] 'bear' > Gikuyu *nduba* 'ours'; Luganda `ddubù 'ours';

Swahili *duka* [< Ar. *dukkān* (WEHR 288b) 'bench; store, shop'] 'shop, stall' > Acooli *dokà, dukan* 'merchant's shop'; Dholuo *duka* 'merchant shop'; Gikuyu *nduka, matuka* 'shop'; Madi *dòkànì* 'shop'; Pokot `dúkà 'shop'; Rendille *iltukáan/ildukáan* 'shop; store; trading post';

Swahili *elfu* [< Ar. *alf* (WEHR 23a) 'thousand'] n./a. 'a thousand' > Dholuo *alip* 'thousand'; Gikuyu *warubu* 'thousand'; Luena *élefu* 'thousand'; Rendille *álif/élif* 'thousand';

Swahili *faida* [< Ar. *fā'ida* (WEHR 735a) 'utility, benefit, profit, interest'] 'profit, gain, advantage, interest' > Gikuyu *baita* 'profit';

Swahili *-faransa* [< Ar. *faransā* (WEHR 710b) 'France'] a. 'French' > Gikuyu *Baranja* 'France';

Swahili *farasi* [< Ar. *faras* (WEHR 704b) 'horse'] 'horse' > Gikuyu *mbarathi* 'horse'; Lingala *farása* 'horse'; Luganda `mbalaàsi 'horse';

Swahili *fataki* [? < Arabic *fatq* (WEHR 695a) 'rip, cleft, fissure, slit, slash'] 'gun cap' > Lingala *fatáki* 'fusil à piston';

Swahili *fedha* [< Ar. *fiḏḏa* (WEHR 717a) 'silver'] 'silver; money, coin, cash-in general' > Gikuyu *betha* 'silver'; Luganda *ffeezà* 'silver'; Nyakyusa *fesa* 'silver';

Swahili *fereji* [< Ar. *farj* (WEHR 702a) 'opening, aperture, gap, breach; pudendum oth female, vulva'] 'a large ditch, channel' > Gikuyu *mūberethi* 'pipe, pipeline, tube';

Swahili *-fikiri* [< Ar. *fikr* (WEHR 724b) 'thinking'] v. 'think (about), ponder (over), meditate (upon), consider, reflect (about)' > Gikuyu *thikiri, bikiri* 'thoughts, meditations, brooding';

Swahili *fitina* [< Ar. *fitna* (WEHR 696a) 'intrigue; sedition, riot, discord, dissension'] 'discord, variance, antagonism, quarrelling, misunderstanding, mischief' > Gikuyu *bitina* 'false allegation, spite, conspiracy against a person, deliberate mischief; underhand dealing, discord, antagonism, mischief'; Madi *fitinà* 'envy, jealousy';

Swahili *frasila*<sup>18</sup> [? < Ar.] 'a measure of weight, about 35 lb.' > Luganda *fulààsira* 'frasila, measure of weight, about 35 lb.';

Swahili *fulana* [< En.] 'flannel; vest; T-shirt; sweater' > Madi *fàlàni, fòlàni, fènìlà* 'vest, flannel';

Swahili *-fungu* v. 'to fasten, to tie' > Luena *ku-fungu* v. 'fermer';

Swahili *galoni*\* [< En.] 'gallon' > Acooli *jolon* 'gallon'; Bari *jòlun, jòlunyön* 'gallon'; Lotuxo *ajvbn* 'gallon';

Swahili *gari* 'any vehicle on wheels' > Acooli *gaari* 'car, cycle'; Bari *gari* 'bicycle'; Dholuo *gari* 'bicycle'; Rendille *gaári* 'vehicle (of any kind); car, lorry, truck, buses';

Swahili *-geni* a. 'strange, foreign' > Kuria *-geni* a. 'strange, foreign';

<sup>18</sup> In Swahili the word itself could be a loan from (?) Arabic *faar* and *saah* i.e. a full basket, or perh. corruption of Eng. parcel, the commercial term.

Swahili *ghorofa/orofa* [< Ar. *ḡurfa* (WEHR 670b) ‘upstairs room, room on an upper floor’] ‘upper story, upper room’ > Gikuyu *ngorba* ‘store; upper rooms’; Luganda *ggòloòfa* ‘upper story, upstairs’;

Swahili *gunia* [< Hind. *kawn*] ‘a coarse bag or sack chiefly used for packing rice and grain, also the material from which it is made, sackcloth’ > Acoolì *gùnià* ‘sack’; Bari *guniya* ‘sack’; Madi *gùtià/gùnià* ‘a sack’;

Swahili *haki* [< Ar. *ḥaqq* (WEHR 192a) ‘one’s due; duty; right’] ‘justice, right, lawfulness’ > Kuria *ehaki* ‘justice, fairness; share, one’s due’;

Swahili *haradali* [< Ar. *ḥardal* (WEHR 234a) ‘mustard seeds; mustard’] ‘mustard’ > Gikuyu *karatarĩ* ‘(Bibl.) mustard seed’;

Swahili *hariri* [< Ar. *ḥarīr* (WEHR 165a) ‘silk’] ‘silk’ > Luganda *àliiri, liiri* ‘silk’;

Swahili *hatamu* [< Ar. *ḥatm* (WEHR 248a) ‘nose, muzzle (of an animal)’] ‘bride’ > Gikuyu *matamu* ‘bit, bridle, and reins’;

Swahili *hatari* [< Ar. *ḥatar* (WEHR 247a) ‘danger, peril; risk’] ‘danger, peril, risk’ > Kuria *-hataari* a. ‘dangerous’;

Swahili *haya!* [< Ar. *hayyā* interj. (WEHR 1041a) ‘up! come on! let’s go!’] int. ‘used to call to action or effort, Come on! Now then! Work away! Step out! Make haste!’ > Gikuyu *haya, heya* int. ‘expr. 1. surprise; there, didn’t I tell you so? 2. encouragement; well done! come on!’;

Swahili *hema* [< Ar. *ḥaima* (WEHR 269a) ‘tent’] ‘tent’ > Gikuyu *hema* ‘tent’; Lingala *yéma* ‘tent’; Luena *hèma* ‘tarpaulin’; Luganda *weemà* ‘tent’; Rendille *eéma* ‘tent’;

Swahili *hesabu, hisabu* [< Ar. *ḥisāb* (WEHR 176a) ‘arithmetic, reckoning’] ‘reckoning; arithmetic’ > Gikuyu *ithabu* ‘sum, bill, account; arithmetic’;

Swahili *hirizi* [< Ar. *ḥīrz* (WEHR 167b) ‘amulet’] ‘charm, amulet’ > Gikuyu *gĩthitũ* ‘amulet’; Luganda *èyirizi* ‘prayer-beads of Muslims; charm, amulet (*often in the form of beads*); phylacteries’;

Swahili *homa* [< Ar. *ḥumma* (WEHR 203b) ‘fever’] ‘fever, any sickness with a high temperature’ > Gikuyu *homa* ‘the common cold’;

Swahili *hukumu* [< Ar. *ḥukm* (WEHR 196a) ‘judgment, verdict; condemnation; power; government’] n./v. ‘judgement; give an official pronouncement (on)’ > Gikuyu *ũkũmũ* ‘sentence, verdict, judgement; insubordination; punishment, correction’;

Swahili *ijumaa* [< Ar. *jum‘a* (WEHR 135a) ‘Friday’] ‘Friday’ > Gikuyu *njuma* ‘Saturday’; Kuria *Ichumaa* ‘Friday’;

Swahili *Injili/Anjili* [< Ar. *injīl* (WEHR 30a) ‘gospel’] ‘the New Testament’ > Gikuyu *injiri* ‘gospel’; Luganda *Njiri* ‘Gospel’;

Swahili *jamhuri* [< Ar. *jumhūrīya* (WEHR 138a) ‘republic’] ‘a meeting; a republic’ > Kuria *Chamuhuri* ‘Republic Day (national holiday)’;

Swahili *jani*, pl. *majani* ‘leaf, blade of grass’ > Rendille *majjaáni* ‘tea-leaves’;

Swahili *jela* [< En.] ‘jail’ > Rendille *jeéla* ‘jail’;

Swahili *jeshi* [< Ar. *jaiš* (WEHR 150b) ‘army, troops’] ‘a great company, assemblage, host, troop, army’ > Nyakyusa *ilijesí* ‘army, military’;

- Swahili *joho* [< Ar. *jūk* (WEHR 146a) ‘broadcloth’] ‘woollen cloth’ > Luganda *jjòwó* ‘woollen material; flannel’;
- Swahili *Jumapili* ‘Sunday’ > Kuria *Chumabiiri* ‘Sunday’;
- Swahili *Jumatatu* ‘Monday’ > Kuria *Chumatatu* ‘Monday’;
- Swahili *Jumamosi* ‘Saturday’ > Kuria *Chumamosi* ‘Saturday’;
- Swahili *Jumanne* ‘Tuesday’ > Kuria *Chuma’inne* ‘Tuesday’;
- Swahili *Jumatano* ‘Wednesay’ > Kuria *Chumataano* ‘Wednesay’;
- Swahili *jumla* [< Ar. *jumla* (WEHR 137a) ‘totality’] ‘sum, total, a lot’ > Gikuyu *njamura* ‘wholesale; all together’;
- Swahili *juzi* ‘the day before yesterday’ > Luganda *jjuuzi* adv. ‘the day before yesterday; the other day’;
- Swahili *kabati* [< En. *cupboard*] ‘a cupboard, sideboard’ > Kuria *ekaabaati* ‘a cupboard’; Luena *kabádi* ‘garde-manger’;
- Swahili *kabila* [< Ar. *qabīla* (WEHR 741a) ‘tribe’] ‘tribe, clan’ > Gikuyu *kabira* ‘sort, kind, breed’;
- Swahili *kaburi* [< Ar. *qabr* (WEHR 738a) ‘tomb’] ‘grave, tomb’ > Dholuo *kaburini* ‘cemetery’; Gikuyu *kaburi* ‘graveyard’;
- Swahili *kahawa* [< Ar. *qahwa* (WEHR 795a) ‘coffee’] ‘coffee’ > Gikuyu *kahūa* ‘coffee; coffee plants’; Luganda *kaawà* ‘coffee’; Nyakyusa *ikahabwa* ‘coffee’; Pokot *káawèn* ‘coffee’; Rendille *gaáwo* ‘coffee’;
- Swahili *kalamu* [< Ar. *qalam*<sup>19</sup> (WEHR 788a) ‘pen’] ‘pen or pencil’ > Gikuyu *karamu* ‘pen, pencil’; Kuria *ekaraamu* ‘a pen or pencil’;
- Swahili *kamba* [ ? < Ar. *kinbār* (KAZIMIRSKI: II, 933b) ‘corde faite en fibres de cocotier’] ‘cord, rope (the most generic term)’ > Gikuyu *ikamba, kamba* ‘sisal tow; rope, cord’;
- Swahili *kanisa* [< Ar. *kanīsa* (WEHR 842b) ‘church’] ‘church’ > Kuria *ekanisa* ‘a church’; Luganda *kkànisa* ‘church’; Pokot *kànisa* ‘church’; Rendille *kanīssa* ‘church’;
- Swahili *karani* [< Ar. *qara’a* (WEHR 753a) v. ‘to recite; to read’] ‘clerk, secretary’ > Acooli *kàrààn* ‘clerk’; Bari *kawurōnit, kawurök* ‘clerk’; Luganda *kalàani* ‘clerk’;
- Swahili *karatasi* [< Ar. *qirṭās* (WEHR 757b) ‘paper’] ‘paper, a piece of paper’ > Dholuo *karatac* ‘a sheet of paper’; Gikuyu *karatahi* ‘paper’; Kuria *ekarataasi, iritarataasi* ‘paper, a piece of paper’; Kuria *ekarata* ‘a playing card’;
- Swahili *karibu* [< Ar. *qarīb* (WEHR 754b) ‘near (in place and time), nearby, close at hand; relative, relation’] n./adv./prep. ‘near relation, kinsman; near, close to; presently, shortly; nearly, almost, about’ > Luganda *kàribù* int. ‘Come in!’;
- Swahili *kasisi* [< Ar. *qissīs* (WEHR 762a) ‘priest, minister, pastor’] ‘priest’ > Gikuyu *mūgathithi* ‘priest, presbyter’;
- Swahili *kataa* [< Ar. *qiṭ’a* (WEHR 776b) ‘piece, fragment; part’] ‘a cutting, piece, part, portion, section, fraction’ > ? Gikuyu *gata* v. ‘cut’;

<sup>19</sup> The Arabic word itself is a loan from Greek *κάλαμος* ‘roseau; calame en roseau, stylet’, cf. latin *calamus* ‘roseau’ (BALDI 2008: 414, no. 2335).

Swahili *katani* [< Ar. *kattān* (*kittān*) (WEHR 815a) ‘linen’] ‘hemp, sisal fibre (*Agave sisalana*)’ > Gikuyu *gatani* ‘flax, linen’;

Swahili *kazi* ‘work’ > Luena *kāshi* ‘work’; Rendille *ilkaāssi* ‘1. work, employment  
2. a specific task, job’;

Swahili *kiasi* ‘the charge of a gun, cartridge’ > Luganda *èkyāsi* ‘cartridge’;

Swahili *kiberiti*, *kibiriti* [< Ar. *kibrīt* (WEHR 811a) ‘sulphur; matches’] ‘sulphur; a match’ > Luganda *kibiriiti* ‘sulphur; match’; Madi *kibirīti/tibirīti* ‘matches; matchbox’; Pokot *kipiriit<sup>o</sup>* ‘match’;

Swahili *kiboko* ‘whip’ > Acooli *kibògò* ‘whip of hippo skin’; Dholuo *kiboko* ‘a whip made from hippo hide’;

Swahili *kijiko*, dim. of *mwiko* ‘a spoon, or instrument resembling’ > Dholuo *kijiko* ‘a spoon’; Rendille *kucchúga* ‘spoon’;

Swahili *kikebe/mkebe* (SACLEUX 1939: 560b) ‘boîte ronde avec couvercle en calotte, en métal précieux’ > Acooli *gikebè* ‘small tin box (as for tobacco)’;

Swahili *kikombe* ‘a vessel scraped or hollowed out, and so dim. of *kombe*, a small dish, cup, basin, mug’ > Rendille *kokkóob/okkóob/kóob* ‘cup; mug’;

Swahili *kilabu* [< En.] ‘club’ > Madi *kùhúbù* ‘hotel’;

Swahili *kitabu* [< Ar. *kitāb*, pl. *kutub* (WEHR 812b) ‘book’] ‘book’ > Gikuyu *gĩtabu* ‘book; pamphlet, exercise- or notebook, magazine’; Luganda *kitabo* ‘book’; Madi *kítá’bù* ‘book’; Nyakyusa *ikitabu* ‘book’; Pokot *kitapu* ‘book’;

Swahili *kodi*<sup>20</sup> [? < Ar.] ‘rent, tax’ > Rendille *koóddi* ‘tax’;

Swahili *kofia* [< Ar. *kūfiya* (WEHR 846b) ‘kaffiyeh’] ‘cap, usu. a fez’ > Gikuyu *ngũbia*, *ngobia* ‘cap, hat; tilde, diacritical mark over vowel’;

Swahili *-koroga* v. ‘to stir, to mix by stirring’ > Rendille *koróga* ‘powdered milk’;

Swahili *koti* [< En. *coat*] ‘a coat, a jacket’ > Luena *kòtshi* ‘veston’;

Swahili *kura* [< Ar. *qaraʿa* v. (WEHR 757b) ‘to knock’ VIII ‘to vote’] ‘a lot, i.e. in casting lots’ > Gikuyu *kura* ‘vote’; Rendille *kúra* ‘election’;

Swahili *labda* [< Ar. *lā budda* (WEHR 44a) ‘it is necessary’] adv. ‘perhaps, it seems so, no doubt, probably, possibly’ > Acooli *búlê* adv. ‘perhaps, possibly; nearly’;

Swahili *laghai* a./v./n., *ragai*, *mlaghai* [< Ar. *rāga* (WEHR 368a) ‘to turn off’ (III) *rāwāga* ‘to deal in an underhanded, fraudulent manner, to dodge’] ‘deceitful, false, sly, dishonest’ > Gikuyu *raghai* ‘good-for-nothing, wastrel, scoundrel; (of a child) troublesome rascal; rubbish, worthless thing’;

Swahili *lami* ‘pitch, tar’ > Gikuyu *rami* ‘pitch, tar, and sometimes used for any dark viscous stuff’;

Swahili *lazima* [< Ar. *lazima* v. (WEHR 864b) ‘to attend; to be imperative’] ‘necessity, obligation, surety, bail, responsibility’ > Gikuyu *rathima*, in *wira wa* ~ ‘compulsory labour’;

<sup>20</sup> In Swahili the word itself could be a loan from? Hind. *kar* ‘tax or fee’ or from Pers. *kuud* ‘stack or heap of corn, i.e. as a tithe’ according to JOHNSON (1939: 215a), but I prefer SACLEUX’ hypothesis (1939: 429a).



Swahili *lozi* [< Ar. *lauz* (WEHR 883a) ‘almond(s)’] ‘an almond, fruit of the *mlozi*’ > Gikuyu *njothi* ‘nut, almond’;

Swahili *lulu* [< Ar. *lu’lu* (WEHR 852b) ‘pearls’] ‘pearl’ > Luganda *luùlu, èruùlu* ‘pearl’; Swahili *mafuta* ‘oil, fat, grease (of any kind)’ > Luganda *àmàfutà* ‘oil; petrol; paraffin; butter’;

Swahili *mahabusi* [< Ar. *maḥbūs* (WEHR 154a) ‘imprisoned; prisoner’] ‘a prisoner awaiting trial, and the place where such prisoners are kept’ > Gikuyu *mūmabuthu, mabuthu* ‘prisoner, convict, the accused’;

Swahili *malaika* [< Ar. *mal’ak*, pl. *malā’ika* (WEHR 922b) ‘angel’] ‘a messenger, an angel, a good spirit’ > Ateso *emalaika* ‘angel’; Dholuo *malaika, malaike* ‘angel’; Gikuyu *mūraika* ‘angel’; Luganda *màlayika* ‘angel’; Madi *màlāikā* ‘angel’;

Swahili *malaya* [< Ar. *malīya*, pl. *malāyā* (WEHR 924a) ‘(tun.) garment of Bedouin women’] ‘a prostitute, either male or female’ > Acooli *màlayà* ‘harlot’; Dholuo *malaya* ‘harlot, prostitute’; Luganda *màlaàyà* ‘harlot; banana on Entebe peninsula’; Pokot *cè-màláyán* ‘prostitute’;

Swahili *mali* [< Ar. *māl* (WEHR 931b) ‘goods; wealth; money; stock’] ‘property, goods, wealth, riches, possession’ > Luganda *mmaali* ‘possessions; money; wealth’; Shona *mari* ‘money (cash)’; Xhosa *imali* (? via Swahili) ‘money’;

Swahili *marashi* pl. ‘scent, liquid perfume’ > Rendille *miricchi* ‘perfume’;

Swahili *maskini* [< Ar. *miskīn* (WEHR 909b) ‘poor’] ‘a poor man, beggar’ > Rendille *mik-siin/miskīn* ‘poor person’;

Swahili *matana* ‘leprosy’ > Luganda *màtanà* ‘tuberculous leprosy’;

Swahili *mboga* ‘a large edible gourd’ > Rendille *imboóga* ‘1. vegetables 2. stew (can contain meat as well as vegetables)’;

Swahili *mchele* ‘rice’ > Luena *mutshèle* ‘riz’;

Swahili *mdalasini* [< Ar. *dārṣīny* (GHALEB: II, n° 17 468) ‘*Cinnamomum zeylanicum*’] ‘the cinnamon tree, *Cinnamomum zeylanicum*’ > Gikuyu *mūtarathini, ndarathini* ‘cinnamon’;

Swahili *merikebu* [< Ar. *markab* (WEHR 357a) ‘ship, boat, vessel’] ‘a ship, esp. of foreign construction, as contr. with the native vessel *chombo*’ > Gikuyu *merikebu, marikabu* ‘ship, steamer’; Luganda *màlèkebù* ‘ship’;

Swahili *meza* [< Port. *mesa* < Lat. *mēnsa*] ‘table’ > Acooli *mecà* ‘table; court fee’; Dholuo *meja* ‘table’; Gikuyu *metha* ‘table’; Kuria *emeesa* ‘a table’; Luganda *mmeezà* ‘table’; Madi *mézà* ‘table’; Nyakyusa *imeesa* ‘table’; Pokot *mesa* ‘table’; Somali *miis* ‘table’;

Swahili *mguu* ‘the leg – of man or any kind of living creature’ > Luena *mukulu* ‘jambe’;

Swahili *Mhindi* ‘a native of India’ > Rendille *Ilmoóndi/Moóndi* ‘Indian(s), Asian(s) (referring to Kenyans of Indian descent)’;

Swahili *mia* [< Ar. *mi’a*, pl. *mi’ūn, mi’āt* (WEHR 889b) ‘hundred’] n./a. ‘hundred’ > Acooli *miitá* ‘nut, almond’; Dholuo *miya* ‘hundred’; Kuria *mia* ‘one hundred’; Luena *mia* ‘hundred’;

Swahili *Misri* [< Ar. *miṣr*, (colloq.) *maṣr* (WEHR 911b) ‘Egypt; Cairo’] ‘Egypt’ > Luganda *Mūmisiri* ‘Egyptian’;

Swahili *miwani* [< Ar. *muʿāyana* (WEHR 663b) ‘view(ing), examination, survey(ing); inspection; surveillance’] ‘a pair of spectacles, eye-glasses’ > Gikuyu *mīwani* ‘spectacles, (eye)glasses’;

Swahili *mizani* [< Ar. *mīzān* (WEHR 1065b) ‘balance’] ‘balance; scales; clock, watch’ > Luganda *mīnzaani* ‘scales for weighing; spring balance’;

Swahili *mjumbe* ‘messenger, deputed person, delegate’ > Rendille *Mujuúmbe* ‘Member of Parliament’;

Swahili *mkasi, makasi* [< Ar. *miqāṣṣ*, pl. *al-maqāṣṣ* (WEHR 766a) ‘scissors’] ‘scissors’ > Gikuyu *magathĩ* ‘scissors, shears’; Lingala *makási* ‘ciseaux, cisailles’; Luganda *mākānsi* ‘scissors’; Pokot *mākásò* ‘scissors’;

Swahili *mkate* ‘a loaf, cake; bread’ > Acooli *mùgàṭi* ‘bread’; Ateso *emugati* ‘bread’; Dholuo *mugati* ‘bread’; Luena *mukáti*<sup>21</sup> ‘pain’; Pokot *mukátiyán* ‘bread’; Rendille *makaáte* ‘bread; chapati (crisp pancake)’;

Swahili *mkebe* [< Ar. *kūb* (WEHR 845a) ‘drinking glass’] ‘pot, can, canister, mug, a cigarette case’ > Gikuyu *mūkebe* ‘tin, tin-can’;

Swahili *mlimau*<sup>22</sup> [< Port. *limão*] ‘the lemon tree (*Citrus limonum*)’ > Luganda *òmùli-màwa* ‘lemon tree’;

Swahili *mpira* ‘a tree producing india-rubber; the substance india-rubber’ > Acooli *mùpirà* ‘flannel; india-rubber ball’; Nyakyusa *ipila* ‘rubber’; Pokot *mbirà* ‘rubber, rubber ball’; Rendille *imbira* ‘1. rubber or plastic object; plastic wire. 2. plastic containers. 3. balls’;

Swahili *mpunga* ‘the rice plant, *Oryza sativa*’ > Ateso *emupuga* ‘rice’;

Swahili *msalaba* [< Ar. *ṣalīb*, pl. *ṣulbān, ṣulub* (WEHR 521b) ‘cross’] ‘a cross, anything in the form of a cross’ > Gikuyu *mūtharaba* ‘cross (for crucifixion)’;

Swahili *mshahara* [< Ar. *mušāhara* (WEHR 490b) ‘monthly salary; pl. monthly payments, monthly allowances’] ‘monthly wages, regular salary’ > Gikuyu *mūcara* ‘wages, salary’; Pokot *misiárà* ‘payment, salary’; Rendille *macchaára* ‘salary, wage’;

Swahili *mshihiri* ‘an Arab from Sheher in South Arabia, usu. engaged in manual trades and labour, fishing, &c.’ > Gikuyu *mūcihiri* ‘Arab labourer from S. Arabia; half-breed’;

Swahili *mshumaa* [< Ar. *šamʿa, šamaʿa* (WEHR 486b) ‘(wax) candles’] ‘a candle’ > Gikuyu *mūcumaa* ‘candle’;

Swahili *msikiti* [< Ar. *masjid*<sup>23</sup> (WEHR 397b) ‘mosque’] ‘a mosque’ > Gikuyu *mūthigitibarĩ* ‘church building; mosque’; Luganda *mùzigiti* ‘mosque’;

<sup>21</sup> In Luena the loan has this particular meaning from the Swahili etymological sense of the word ‘something cut’.

<sup>22</sup> In Swahili the word itself is a loan from Persian and Hindustani *limau* according to JOHNSON (1939: 290b), but SACLEUX (1939: 572a) does not say anything more prudently.

<sup>23</sup> BALDI (2008: 238) observes: “Dialectal algérien **mesjed**, berbère mauritanien **msʿid lieu d’adoration, mosquée** (Nicolas: 127) où l’on constate la réduction du /j/. En swahili, il y a l’influence de l’arabe égyptien, où /j/ > /gʷ/”.

Swahili *mstari* [< Ar. *mīṣṭara* (WEHR 410a) ‘ruler; underlines’] ‘a line, a line ruled or marked, a row’ > Gikuyu *mūthitarĩ* ‘line, row’; Shona *mutsara* ‘line (? via Swahili)’;

Swahili *msumari* [< Ar. *mismār* (WEHR 429b) ‘nail’] ‘nail, large pin, or anything similar in appearance or use’ > Nyakyusa *unsūmalĩ* ‘nail’; Rendille *ussumāar* ‘metal nail (used in carpentry)’;

Swahili *msumeno* ‘saw’ > Madi *mūsūménĩ* ‘saw, for cutting’;

Swahili *mwalimu* [< Ar. *mu‘allim* (WEHR 637a) ‘teacher’] ‘a learned man, a teacher, a schoolmaster’ > Rendille *maalĩmo* ‘teacher’;

Swahili *mwarabu* [< Ar. *‘arab* (WEHR 601a) ‘Arab’] ‘Arab’ > Gikuyu *Mwarabu* ‘an Arab’; Luganda *Mūwalabũ* ‘Arab’; Nyakyusa *umwalabu* ‘Arab’;

Swahili *Mwislamu* [< Ar. *islām* (WEHR 426a) ‘the religion of Islam’] ‘a Muhammadan’ > Rendille *Mūsalam* ‘Muslim’;

Swahili *Myunani* [< Ar. *al-yūnān* (WEHR 1110b) ‘the Greeks; Greece’] ‘an ancient Greek’ > Luganda *Mūyonaàni* ‘a Greek’;

Swahili *Mzungu* ‘European’ > Gikuyu *Mūthūngũ* ‘European’; Luganda *-zūngu* a. ‘European’;

Swahili *nabii* [< Ar. *nabīy* (WEHR 941b) ‘prophet’] ‘a prophet, a preacher of righteousness, one who foretells the future’ > Gikuyu *mūnabii* ‘prophet’;

Swahili *nanasi* [< Pers.] ‘pineapple’ > Kuria *enaanaasi* ‘a pineapple’;

Swahili *nauli* [< Ar. *naulūn, nāwulūn* (WEHR 1012b) ‘freightage, freight’] n./v. ‘fare, charge for freight (or conveyance), passage money’ > Nyakyusa *inauli* ‘(e.g. bus) fare’;

Swahili *ndege* ‘a bird’ > Rendille *indége* ‘aeroplane’;

Swahili *ndururu*<sup>24</sup> ‘five cents’ > Rendille *in’duruuru* ‘Kenyan five-cent coin’;

Swahili *neni*, pl. *maneni* ‘a word, utterance’ > Luena *manéno* ‘discussion, dispute’;

Swahili *ngamia* ‘a camel’ > Ateso *egamira* ‘camel’; Gikuyu *ngamĩra* ‘camel’; Luganda *è`nyàmira* ‘camel’;

Swahili *nukta* [< Ar. *nuqṭa* (WEHR 993a) ‘point’] ‘a dot, point, mark, spot, vowel sign; a second (of time)’ > Luganda *`nnukùta* ‘letter of the alphabet’;

Swahili *nusu* [< Ar. *niṣf, nuf* (WEHR 971a) ‘half’] ‘a half, a part, a portion, a bit’ > Gikuyu *nuthu* ‘half; 50-cent piece; portion more or less than a half’; Kuria *enosu* ‘a half’; Luganda *`nnusu* ‘half’; Rendille *nyúus* ‘half’;

Swahili *nyundo* ‘a hammer’ > Rendille *nyuúindu* ‘hammer’;

Swahili *pamba* ‘cotton’ > Acooli *pamà* ‘cotton’;

Swahili *pesa* [< Port. *péso* < Lat. *pensum*] ‘a piece, the Indian quarter anna; money’; Gikuyu *rūbeca, mbeca* ‘(formerly of Indian and East African coinage) pice (now reckoned as 3 cents, in N.K. 4 cents); (cl. 10 only) money in general’; Luganda *`ppeesa*<sup>25</sup> ‘button; coin’; Madi *pésà* ‘money’;

<sup>24</sup> See BAKHRESSA 1992: 282a.

<sup>25</sup> KNAPPERT (1999: 206) says: “The Luganda word *èppeesa* (a button) is derived from Swahili *pesa* (a coin, money) via Hindustani from Portuguese *pesa*. The ultimate origin of the word is again Latin, i.e. *pensa* (a weight) from *pendere* (to hang). That the word has travelled to East Africa via India is proved by its shape: if it had come

Swahili *pilipili* [< Ar. *filfil* (WEHR 727a) ‘pepper’] ‘pepper; seeds and pods’ > Luganda ‘*ppiripiri* ‘pepper’; Madi *pilipili* ‘hot pepper’; Pokot *pilipil* ‘pepper’;

Swahili *-pima* v. ‘to measure, to weight’ > Luena *ku-píma* ‘mesurer’; Madi *ipĩmà* v. ‘to measure, to weigh etc.; to examine a patient; to time, to assess’;

Swahili *pipa* [< Port. *pípa* < Lat. volg. *pipa* from *pipare*] ‘cask, barrel, tub’ > Acooli *piipà* ‘barrel’; Dholuo *pipa* ‘barrel’; Gikuyu *ĩbuba* ‘barrel, drum’; Kikamba *ĩviva* ‘drum (oil, petrol)’;

Swahili *rahisi* [< Ar. *raqīs* (WEHR 332b) ‘low-priced’] a./v. ‘cheap, easy, light (in sense of easy)’ > Pokot *ràis* a. ‘cheap’;

Swahili *raia* [< Ar. *ra‘īya* (WEHR 346b) ‘subjects’] ‘a subject, e.g. of the king’ > Gikuyu *raiya* ‘citizen, civilian; subject’;

Swahili *rais*, *mrais* [< Ar. *ra‘īs* (WEHR 318a) ‘head; chief; president’] ‘president’ > Rendille *Raáyis* ‘President’;

Swahili *ratli*, *ratili* [< Ar. *raṭl* (WEHR 345a) ‘rotl, a weight’] ‘16 *wakia*, 1 lb.’ > Dholuo *ratili* ‘weight’; Gikuyu *ratiri* ‘pound weight; scales, balance’; Madi *ràtìlì/rètòlò* ‘pounds, the weight’;

Swahili *risasi*, *lisasi* [< Ar. *raṣās* (WEHR 342b) ‘lead; bullets’] ‘lead, solder, tin, bullet’ > Gikuyu *rithathi*, *rĩthathi* ‘bullet; ball-bearing; soldering-iron’; Luganda ‘*ssasi* ‘lead; solder; bullet’; Nyakyusa *ilísasi* ‘bullet’;

Swahili *robo* [< Ar. *rub<sup>c</sup>*, pl. *arbā<sup>c</sup>* (WEHR 322b) ‘quarter, fourth part; a dry measure’] ‘a fourth part, quarter’ > Gikuyu *warobo* ‘one shilling and 50 cents’;

Swahili *-roga* n./v. ‘to bewitch’ > Madi *irũgà* v. ‘to bewitch’;

Swahili *roho* [< Ar. *rūḥ* (WEHR 365a) ‘breath of life, soul; spirit (in all senses)’] ‘soul, spirit, life’ > Gikuyu *roho* ‘soul, spirit’;

Swahili *ruhusa*, *rukca* [< Ar. *rukṣa* (WEHR 332b) ‘permission; authorization; permit’] ‘authorisation, permission, liberté, congé’ > Dholuo *rukca* ‘a permission, absence from work’; Luganda *lukusà* ‘permission, leave’;

Swahili *rushwa* [< Ar. *rišwa*, *rušwa*, *rašwa* (WEHR 342a) ‘bribe’] ‘bribe’ > Nyakyusa *uluswa* ‘bribe’;

Swahili *saa* [< Ar. *sā‘a* (WEHR 441b) ‘while; hour; watch’] ‘an hour; time; watch, clock’ > Gikuyu *thaa* ‘clock, watch; hour’; Kuria *saa* -, ‘- o’clock’; Luganda ‘*ssaàwa* ‘hour; watch; clock; time of day’; Nyakyusa *isala* ‘hour, watch, clock’; Pokot *sàà* ‘watch, hour, time’;

Swahili *sabuni* [< Ar. *šābūn* (WEHR 502a) ‘soap’ (< Greek *σάπων*)] ‘soap’ > Gikuyu *thabuni* ‘soap; cake of soap’; Luganda ‘*ssà’bbuuni* ‘soap’; Madi *sàbú* ‘(short for) soap’; Pokot *sàpóniyón* ‘soap’; Rendille *saabbúun* ‘soap’;

Swahili *sadaka* [< Ar. *šadaqa* (WEHR 509a) ‘alms; charity; prescribed alms tax’] ‘a religious offering, sacrifice, alms, act of charity’ > Rendille *sadákha* (?) ‘libation (of milk)’;

Swahili *safari* [< Ar. *saffara* v. (WEHR 412b) (II) ‘to send on a journey’ (III) ‘to travel’]

directly from Portuguese, it would have been pronounced with a “z” instead of “s” – compare Swahili *meza* (table) via Portuguese *mesa* from Latin *mensa*. In Hindustani, this type of “z” is identified with the s- phoneme.”

‘a journey, voyage, expedition’ > Gikuyu *thabarĩ* ‘expedition with porters, expedition; party bound on an expedition; followers, retainers (e.g. of chief)’; Kuria *esabuari* ‘a safari, journey’; Luganda `ssà`ffaàli ‘journey; caravan of porters’; Madi *sâfâri* ‘journey’; Swahili *safina* [< Ar. *safīna* (WEHR 414a) ‘ship, vessel, boat’] ‘a ship, a vessel, Noah’s ark’ > Gikuyu *thabina* ‘Noah’s ark; ship’;

Swahili *sahani* [< Ar. *ṣaḥn* (WEHR 505a) ‘dish; plate; phonograph record’] ‘dish, plate’ > Gikuyu *thani* ‘plate, saucer’; Luena *disahányi* ‘assiette’; Luganda `ssàwàani, `ssaani, `ssòwàani ‘plate; dish’; Nyakyusa *isahani* ‘plate’; Rendille *saháni* ‘plate’;

Swahili *sahihi* [< Ar. *ṣaḥīḥ* (WEHR 503b) ‘veritable, real; authentic’] a./v. ‘attestation, guarantee, signature’ > Gikuyu *thahihi* ‘signature’;

Swahili *saini* [< En.] ‘signature’ > Dholuo *cai* ‘sign’;

Swahili *sajini* [< En.] ‘sergeant’ > Dholuo *cagin* ‘sergeant’;

Swahili *sajini-meja* [< En.] ‘sergeant-major’ > Dholuo *cagin meja* ‘sergeant-major’;

Swahili *sala* [< Ar. *ṣalāh* (WEHR 524a) ‘the official Islamic prayer ritual’] ‘prayer’ > Gikuyu *thara* ‘prayer, collect’; Luganda *-saàla* v.i. ‘pray in a set form, pray in Mohammedan way’;

Swahili *samaki* [< Ar. *samak* (WEHR 431a) ‘fish’] ‘fish’ > Gikuyu *thamaki* ‘fish’;

Swahili *samli* [? < Ar. *samm* (WEHR 431b) ‘clarified butter, cooking butter’] ‘ghee, native butter’ > Gikuyu *thamuri* ‘ghee, clarified butter’;

Swahili *sanduku* [< Ar. *ṣandūq* (WEHR 526a) ‘box’] ‘chest, box, trunk, case’ > Gikuyu *ithandūkū* ‘box, locker; suit-case’; Lingala *sandūku* ‘caisse, malle, coffre’; Luganda `ssanduũko ‘box; chest’; Madi *sàndũũ/sàndũkũ* ‘suitcase; box; briefcase; coffin’; Rendille *sandũukh* ‘large box, trunk (made of metal or wood, for storing or transporting goods)’;

Swahili *sayansi* [< En.] ‘science’ > Dholuo *cayanci* ‘science’;

Swahili *sementi\** [< En.] ‘cement’ > Rendille *simiti* ‘cement’;

Swahili *seng’enge* ‘fencing wire; barbed wire’ > Rendille *segeenge* ‘chain link fencing; chain link fence’;

Swahili *sentì* [< En.] ‘cent’ > Dholuo *cente* ‘cents, shilling’;

Swahili *Septemba* [< En.] ‘September’ > Dholuo *Ceptemba* ‘September’;

Swahili *serikali* [< Pers. ] ‘Government, public authority, an official’ > Ateso *eserikalet* ‘soldier’; Gikuyu *thirikari* ‘government’; Luganda *mùserikalè* ‘soldier’; Nyakyusa *isilikali* ‘government’; Rendille *sirgáal* ‘government’;

Swahili *setifiket\** [< En.] ‘certificate’ > Dholuo *cabidiket* ‘certificate, some people now call it *catipiket*’;

Swahili *shabaha, shebaha* [< Ar. *ṣabaḥ, ṣabḥ* (WEHR 451b) ‘shape; apparition; phantom’] ‘a target, aim; aim (with a weapon), sight (of a gun)’ > Gikuyu *cabaa* ‘shooting practice range; good shot, aim (in shooting)’; Luganda `ssà`bbaàwa ‘target; mark’;

Swahili *shahidi* [< Ar. *šāhid* (WEHR 489b) ‘witness’] ‘a witness, a martyr’ > Gikuyu *caĩri* ‘witness’;

Swahili *shati* [< En.] ‘shirt’ > Dholuo *cati* ‘shirt’;

- Swahili (-)*shauri* [< Ar. *šāwara* v. (WEHR 492a) (III) ‘to ask s.o.’s advice’] n./v. ‘plan; design; advice, counsel’ > Gikuyu *cauri* ‘affair, business; discussion, dispute’;
- Swahili *shayiri* [< Ar. *šā’ir* (WEHR 474a) ‘barley’] ‘barley’ > Gikuyu *cairi* ‘barley’; Luganda *è’ssàyiri* ‘barley’;
- Swahili *shemasi* [< Ar. *šammās* (WEHR 486a) ‘deacon’] ‘a deacon’ > Gikuyu *mūcemathi* ‘a deacon (of the Anglican Church)’;
- Swahili *shetani* [< Ar. *šaiṭān* (WEHR 497b) ‘Satan, devil’] ‘an evil spirit, demon, devil, Satan’ > Nyakyusa *setano* ‘Satan, devil’;
- Swahili *shuka* [? Ar.] ‘sheet’ > Acooli *cōka* ‘sheet’; Dholuo *cuka* ‘a sheet of cloth, a bed-sheet’;
- Swahili *sidiria* [< Ar. *šadrīya* (KAZIMIRSKI: I, 1319b) ‘veste, gilet; chemisette’] ‘a cloth worn by some women just below the breasts to support them, also called *kanchiri*’ > Nyakyusa *isindilila* ‘brassiere, bra’;
- Swahili *sigara*\* [< Ar. *sigāra* (WEHR 397b) ‘cigarette’] ‘a cigarette’ > Gikuyu *thigara* ‘cigarette’; Rendille *sigāra* ‘cigarette’;
- Swahili *sikukuu* ‘feast day’ > Rendille *sukuuku* ‘1. feast, celebration 2. (public) holidays’;
- Swahili *-silimisha* [< Ar. *aslama* (WEHR 425a) v. (IV) ‘to become a Muslim’] v. ‘make a Muhammadan’ > Gikuyu *thirimithia* v.t. ‘convert to Islam’;
- Swahili *simu* [< Pers.] ‘telegraph, telegraphic message’ > Dholuo *cim* ‘telephone, wireless, telegraph, fax, etc.’; Gikuyu *thimū* ‘telegram, telephone’; Madi *símò*<sup>26</sup> ‘telephone; telephone message’;
- Swahili *sindano* ‘a needle’ > Luena *shindányi* ‘aiguille’;
- Swahili *sinia* [< Ar. *šīnīya* ‘a large, round metal plate’] ‘tray’ > Madi *sēnià* ‘tray; roundabout’;
- Swahili *sita* [< Ar. *sitta* (WEHR 397a) ‘six’] n./a. ‘six’ > Gikuyu *thita* a. ‘only used in conjunction with *thaa* ‘clock, watch; hour’, q.v.’;
- Swahili *soko* [< Ar. *sūq* (WEHR 443a) ‘market’] ‘market’ > Gikuyu *thoko* ‘market, marketplace’; Kuria *esokoni* ‘a market’; Madi *sókò/sū* ‘market’; Pokot *máakót* ‘market’; Rendille *sókko* ‘market-place’;
- Swahili *soksi* [< En.] ‘sock’ > Dholuo *coksi*<sup>27</sup> ‘socks, stockings’;
- Swahili *-soma* v. ‘to read’ > Ateso *soma* v. tr. ‘to read’;
- Swahili *-staarabu* [< Ar. <sup>c</sup>*RB* v. (WEHR 601a) (II) ‘to Arabize; to translate into Arabic’ (X) ‘to become an Arab’] v./a. ‘be wise, be civilized’ > Gikuyu *ūthitarabu* ‘civilisation, culture’;
- Swahili *stampu* [< En.] > Dholuo *citam*<sup>28</sup> ‘stamp’;
- Swahili *stesheni* [< En.] > Dholuo *citecen*<sup>29</sup> ‘station’;

<sup>26</sup> Blackings marks the word as a loan from Arabic (*sic!*) in his dictionary.

<sup>27</sup> This loan could have arrived directly from English.

<sup>28</sup> This loan could have arrived directly from English.

<sup>29</sup> This loan could have arrived directly from English.

Swahili *sweta* [< En.] ‘sweater’ > Dholuo *cweta*<sup>30</sup> ‘sweater’;

Swahili *sufuria* [< Ar. *ṣufr* (WEHR 517b) ‘brass; money’; *ṣufrīya* (DOZY: I, 835b) ‘vase de cuivre, chaudron’] ‘metal cooking-pot - of copper or iron, sometimes of a very large size’ > Acooli *cùpùriià, cibìriià* ‘metal cooking pot’; Dholuo *cipuria, cibiria* ‘saucepan, metal cooking pot, usually of aluminium’; Gikuyu *thaburia, thuburia* ‘open metal cooking-pot, saucepan’; Rendille *subbúrya* ‘metal cooking pot, sufuria’;

Swahili *sukari* [< Ar. *sukkar* (WEHR 417b) ‘sugar’] ‘sugar’ > Gikuyu *cukari* ‘sugar’; Lingala *sukáli* ‘sugar; sucré; douceur’; Luganda `ssúkaàli ‘sugar’; Nyakyusa *isúkali* ‘sugar’; Pokot *sùkàarin* ‘sugar’;

Swahili *sumu* [< Ar. *samm*, pl. *samūm* (WEHR 427b) ‘poison’] n./v. ‘poison’ > Gikuyu *thumu* ‘(of snake or other wild animal) poison from a bite’;

Swahili *sura* [< Ar. *sūra* (WEHR 441a) ‘chapter of the Koran’] ‘a chapter of a book’ > Luganda `ssuula ‘chapter’;

Swahili *suruali* [< Ar. *sirwāl* (WEHR 408b) ‘trousers, pants’] ‘trousers’ > Acooli *còròwààl* ‘trousers’; Dholuo *curuwal* ‘a pair of trousers’; Gikuyu *thuruarĩ, thuraarĩ* ‘trousers, knickers’; Luganda `sseruwalè ‘trousers’; Pokot *súrwāl* ‘trousers, shorts’; Madi *sòrùwáli* ‘pair of shorts’; Nyakyusa *isúlúbali* ‘pants’;

Swahili *taa* ‘a lamp – of any kind’ > Acooli *tàwacà* ‘lamp’; Ateso *etala* ‘lamp’; Gikuyu *tawa/taa* ‘lantern, lamp’; Luganda *è ttaala* ‘lantern’; Nyakyusa *itala* ‘lamp’; Pokot *tàà* ‘lamp’; Rendille *táa* ‘lamp’;

Swahili *taji* [< Ar. *tāj* (WEHR 99a) ‘crown’] ‘a crown, coronet’ > Gikuyu *tanji* ‘crown’;

Swahili *-takatifu* a. ‘cleansed, clean, pure, holy’ > Luganda *-tàkàtifu* a. ‘holy’;

Swahili *talaka* [< Ar. *ṭalāq* (WEHR 567a) ‘divorce’] ‘divorce’ > Nyakyusa *italaka* ‘divorce’;

Swahili *tarehe* [< Ar. *ta’rīk* (WEHR 12b) ‘history’] ‘date, annals, chronicle, journal, history’ > Kuria *etarehe* ‘a date, day; (of a woman) menstrual date, periods’; *etariki* ‘date (of the month)’;

Swahili *theluji* [< Ar. *ṭalj*, pl. *ṭulūj* (WEHR 101b) ‘snow’] ‘snow’ > Gikuyu *therunji, tharunji* ‘snow’; Luganda `sserùji ‘snow’;

Swahili *thenashara* [< Ar. *itnā* ‘ašara’ (WEHR 108a) ‘twelve’] n./a. ‘twelve, for *kumi na mbili*’ > Gikuyu *thinacara* ‘6 a.m. or 6 p.m.’;

Swahili *-thubutu* [< Ar. *ṭubūt* (WEHR 101b) ‘constancy, immutability; certainty’] v. ‘have courage to’ > Gikuyu *thubuticia* v. ‘(of Anglican Church rite) confirm, hold confirmation service (via Swahili *tumbutisha*)’;

Swahili *tofali* [< Ar. *ṭufāl* (WEHR 562b) ‘potter’s clay; argil; loam’] ‘a brick, tile’ > Acooli *mùtáfali* ‘brick’; Gikuyu *itubari, iturubarĩ* ‘brick, cement block’;

Swahili *tunda*, pl. *matunda* ‘a fruit of any kind’ > Rendille *matuúnda/mutuúnda* ‘(single) fruit, (piece of) fruit’;

Swahili *ubani* [< Ar. *lubān* (WEHR 856b) ‘frankincense’] ‘frankincense’ > Gikuyu *ubani* ‘frankincense’;

<sup>30</sup> This loan could have arrived directly from English.

- Swahili *ubao* ‘a board, plank’ > Luena *lumbàw* ‘planche’;
- Swahili *ufunguo* ‘(1) act of opening; (2) a key’ > Acooli *kipfujà* ‘key’;
- Swahili *uji* ‘gruel or soup’ > Rendille *újji* ‘porridge’;
- Swahili *ukurasa* [< Ar. *kurrāsa* (WEHR 820b) ‘quire; booklet; notebook, copy book; fascicle (of a book)’] ‘sheet or strip of paper, leaf or page of a book’ > Gikuyu *ūkuratha* ‘page’;
- Swahili *Ulaya* [< Ar. *wilāya* (WEHR 1100b) ‘souveraineté; district administratif dirigé par un wail, wilaya (autrefois, du temps de l’empire ottoman), province’] ‘(1) a land, esp. if not further defined, Europe (2) a district, in this sense it is usually *wilaya*’ > Gikuyu *Rūraya*, *Uraya* ‘Europe’; Nyakyusa *iwilaja* ‘district’;
- Swahili *upawa* ‘a ladle made of coconut shell; *in gen.* (wooden) ladle’ > Luena *lupàwa* ‘cuillier’;
- Swahili *upepo* ‘wind, breeze’ > Luena *ku-pèpa* v. ‘souffler’;
- Swahili *ushuru* [< Ar. *‘uṣr*; pl *‘uṣūr* (WEHR 614a) ‘one tenth, tenth part; tithe’] ‘taxation, tax, customs duty, rate, rent’ > Luganda *bùsuùlu* ‘rent; ground-rent’;
- Swahili *uzi* ‘thread, cotton, string’ > Madi *úzi* ‘thread’;
- Swahili *wakati* [< Ar. *waqt* (WEHR 1087a) ‘time’] ‘time, season’ > Luganda *wàkàtí* adv. ‘in the middle; midway’;
- Swahili *wilaya* [< Ar. *wilāya* (WEHR 1100b) ‘sovereignty; administrative district headed by a vali, vilayet (formerly, under the Ottoman Empire), province’] ‘parish, district, province’ > Gikuyu *Rūraya*, *Uraya*<sup>31</sup> ‘Europe’; Nyakyusa *iwilaja* ‘district’;
- Swahili *wino*<sup>32</sup> [? < Ar.] ‘ink’ > Luganda *bwino* ‘ink’;
- Swahili *zabibu* [< Ar. *zabīb* (WEHR 372b) ‘raisins’] ‘raisin, grape’ > Gikuyu *thabibũ* ‘grape’; Luganda *mùzabbibũ* ‘vine; per ext. grape (via Swahili *mzabibu*)’;
- Swahili *zaburi* [< Ar. *zabūr* (WEHR 372b) ‘Psalms, Psalter’] ‘a psalm, the psalter’ > Luganda *zà`bbuli* ‘psalm’; Nyakyusa *sabuli* ‘psalm’;
- Swahili *zamu* [< Ar. *zām* (KAZIMIRSKI: I, 1029a) ‘quart (de toute chose)’] ‘properly, a six hours’ spell of work, or watching’ > Nyakyusa *isamú* ‘turn’;
- Swahili *zeituni* [< Ar. *zaitūn* (WEHR 388a) ‘olive tree; olive(s)’] ‘olive’ > Luganda *zzey-ituùni* ‘olive’;

This list of 268 Swahili words was quite productive in giving loans in a few East African languages. Among them we can see from Table I that the highest stock was formed by Arabic loans, followed by Bantu words and English loans.

Table 1

Arabic	? Arabic	Persian	Hindi	Turkish	English	Port.	Bantu
160	11	4	2	1	26	5	59

<sup>31</sup> The word is a loan from another Swahili word, *ulaya* ‘a land, esp. if not further defined, Europe; district’, which always comes from the same Arabic *wilāya* (WEHR 1966: 1100b).

<sup>32</sup> In Swahili the word itself is a loan from Arabic *wīn* (?) according to Johnson.



From Table II we can observe that the highest number of loans from Swahili is in Gikuyu, Luganda and Rendille, where the majority of items is concentrated.

Table 2

Languages	< Ar	< ? Ar	< Per	< Hindi	< Turk	< En	< Port	< Bantu	Total
Acooli	11	2	1	2		1	1	9	27
Ateso	1	1	1					5	8
Bari	2			1		1		1	5
Dholuo	16	2	2	1		19	2	5	47
Gikuyu	106	4	2				2	5	119
Lingala	7	1							8
Luena	4					2		11	17
Luganda	58	3	1				4	8	74
Madi	23		1	2	1	3	1	6	37
Nyakyusa	28		1		1		1	2	33
Pokot	18						1	3	22
Rendille	27	2	2			2		23	56
Shona	3								3
Xhosa	1								1

At last, if we analyze the material collected from a grammatical point of view, we can observe that most of Swahili loanwords are nouns. The verbs are very few: *-badilisha*; *-fikiri*; *-funga*; *-koroga*; *-pima*; *-roga*; *-silimisha*; *-soma*; *-thubutu* and two of them *-fikiri* and *-koroga* are no more verbs respectively in Gikuyu and Rendille.

As it regards the other aspects of grammar we have really few adjectives, *inter alia*, only the first two are still considered adjectives in the languages lent: *-geni*; *-takatifu*; *chafu*; *-faransa*; *bure*; *rahisi*; *sahihi*; *laghai*; and one item, respectively, as an adverb, *labda*, as a conjunction, *basi*, and as an interjection, *hayy*.

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