Abstract: The presence of Arabic loans in Swahili has not become subject of reliable corpus-based analyses so far. The influence of Arabic language on Swahili can be investigated in literary sources, but reference to whether writers are Muslims or not is essential for their differentiation. This article intends to investigate the presence of Arabic in contemporary prose texts written by Tanzanian authors from Zanzibar and from mainland. The electronic corpus has two sets, Tanzanian corpus and Zanzibarian corpus respectively which are almost equal in size. The reference list of Arabic loans has been extracted from two published sources. Using Concordance, a concordance software for text analysis, the frequency of words representing grammatical classes is tested. Differences in the two corpora have been indicated, as well as some shared occurrences of items of Arabic origin (mostly adverbs and conjunctions).

Keywords: Swahili, Arabic, loans

Introduction. The representation of Arabic loans in Swahili is either overestimated or underestimated, usually without any assessment based on reliable counting. On this topic there is just a couple of articles by Elena Bertoncini-Zúbková (1973; 1985), not to mention the one which is published in Italian and therefore not so accessible to a vast number of scholars. Statements on this subject

1 Special thanks to Flavia Aiello who revised the translations of the Swahili examples.
are generally based on intuitive assumptions rather than on attested data.

Apart from the above mentioned articles, the works on Swahili literature do not provide any checked information about the percentage of Arabic loans in Swahili texts. It is obvious that the influence of Arabic must be different in what it is or was produced by writers who were Muslims with a good knowledge of Arabic, maybe from Zanzibar, and by others who were not Muslims and living in the mainland. In this paper we will try to investigate the representation of Arabic loans in Swahili grammatical words as manifested in an ad hoc tailored corpus.

The data on Arabic loans. The reference list of Arabic loans has been extracted from two sources: 1) Baldi’s list of Arabic loan words in Swahili (Baldi 2008, from now on BL): it is a list of 1,880 items, each one of them has an indication of grammatical categories, source dictionary and the meaning in French. 2) Bertoncini-Zúbková’s work on Swahili frequency words (Bertoncini-Zúbková 1973, from now on BZL): it is a Swahili frequency list containing 1,143 entries, coming from 3,700 words extracted from a count of 40,000 occurrences found in 100 sources (ancient texts, modern literary texts, journalistic texts, miscellaneous texts). For each item, information about the grammatical category and the meaning in English is provided, along with the rank with respect to the general frequency and the frequency relevant for each set of text. Loan words, with indication of their origin, are marked in italics.

The corpus. This is a raw corpus made of Swahili creative contemporary prose texts published mainly during the second half of XX century (1960-2002).

This is quite homogeneous corpus consisting of 226,486 tokens which represent mainland Tanzanian writers’ texts and 186,355 tokens of Zanzibar writers’ texts. The two groups of texts contain 29,071 and 29,775 different words respectively. The corpus has been divided into two sets of texts, according to the authors’ origin (see References):
- Tanzanian Corpus (TC): it includes five works by four Tanzanian authors from mainland Tanzania,
- Zanzibarian Corpus (ZC): it includes six works by three Tanzanian authors from Zanzibar.

Attention was given to secure a comparable set of texts. In fact, the number of tokens differs in the two sets of texts, but the number of single words is quite similar; therefore, it was decided to maintain the selected texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Zanzibarian Corpus</td>
<td>(ZC)</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>59.239</td>
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The tool. The software used is *Concordance*, a powerful and flexible tool for text analysis that provides useful insight into electronic texts. It takes an electronic text as input and produces the list of appropriate words contained in the texts as output, along with giving the number of words, tokens, frequency and rank. It allows searching the context of each single token. It does not allow grammatical analysis, neither automatic morphological lemmatization nor syntax parsing. However, refined searches trough the use of REGEX (regular expressions) are possible.

The analysis. Considering that the corpus does not have labels that allow refined search and that *Concordance* does not have functions for parsing (neither morphological nor syntactical), it was decided to start the analysis with invariable items, divided according to the grammatical categories (parts of speech that they represent).

We have decided to restrict the analysis to grammatical words for two main reasons:

- the Swahili corpus is a raw corpus, i.e. the forms attested in the corpus have no labels and it makes looking for inflected forms impossible,
— the software used for text analysis is adapted to searching for words and concordances of invariable forms but has no parsing functions to search for possible variants of basic lemma (except for the case of REGEX which can produce acceptable results).

**Getting a list of grammatical items.** The first step was to extract the items labelled as grammatical items from the two lists. Some items were assigned more than one label. The set of labels used by the two source lists were quite homogenous. Nevertheless, some adaptations were needed (a. and adj. = adjective; int. and interj.\(^3\) = interjection; part., pr. and prep. = preposition). The label v.\(^4\) (verb) was not relevant for our data. The final list of labels that we use is as follows:

1. adj. adjective 5. int. interrogative
2. adv. adverb 6. interj. interjection
3. conj. conjunction 7. num. numeral
4. idiom. idiomatic 8. prep. preposition

The next step was to extract the grammatical items from the two lists and to assemble them together. The first rough result was the list BL composed of around 160 items and the list BZL of around 60 items.

Some adaptations were needed, and as a result, some items had to be excluded. Here are few examples: *ina* is commonly listed with adjectival forms, but in the corpus it was found only as a constituent of the predicate ‘to have’ (cl. 3 and 9 + *na*); *wa* was used only in expressions, not as an isolated item, e.g. *kadha wa kadha*; the same with *bi*, as it was found only as *Bi(bi)*, and *amin*, found only as *Idd Amin*.

**Graphic variants.** The items representing one grammatical category were put together and listed according to the alphabetical order. In the case of alternative forms, the main representation was selected. For example, among the two forms *makusudi* and *kusudi*...
the first one (makusudi) was put as basic item, but the frequency of the two was checked through the whole text. For some items (marhaba) also the variants not included in the list were checked. Some missing items have been added, as salala, masalala, msalale; masalkheri; minajili; minghairi. Items with labels referring to verbs and nouns have also been maintained.

Phrases badala ya, kadha wa kadha, semaa wa taa, lila na fila were searched as expressions and not as isolated items. Baada ya, baina ya and similiar have been searched and counted only as basic items (baada, baina respectively). Ambiguous items such as la, haya have been searched separately and marked with “!”.

Expressions were counted according to the basic item, for example kadha wa kadha representing the item kadha has 30 occurrences (ZC). As 7 expressions of kadha wa kadha make 14 occurrences, there are 16 isolated occurrences of this item.

In items accompanied by multiple labels, as -kabidhi which was marked as v./adj., the v. was not maintained. The sequence of the labels is the one adopted by the source (see Appendix 1).

The further step was to transform the previous list into a list suitable to be used in Concordance. This implies canceling labels and numbers, dividing the items according to the categories and listing graphic variants as separate items (see the list in Appendix 2).

By using the lists indicated in Appendix 2, the searches for each grammatical category were conducted separately in the two sections of the corpus. The results are listed in Tab. 1. to Tab. 6. The number in parenthesis indicates the amount of items included in each separate list. The number of words indicates single occurrences, the number of tokens indicates how many occurrences for each single word have been attested.
### Arabic adjectives

Tab. 1 – Arabic adjectives (83 items)
TC adjectives: words 41, tokens 1224, t/w 30
ZC adjectives: words 46, tokens 1096, t/w 24

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<th>Alphabetical order</th>
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<td>4. akali 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. aushi 1</td>
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<td>6. awali 40</td>
<td>6 aula 1</td>
</tr>
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<td>7. bora 56</td>
<td>7. awali 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. dhaifu 14</td>
<td>8. badiri 1</td>
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<td>10. bora 75</td>
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<td>fani 6</td>
<td>dhaifu 14</td>
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<td>duni 4</td>
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<td>hafifu 24</td>
<td>fasihi 2</td>
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<td>ghali 3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>huria 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kila 504</td>
<td>huru 11</td>
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</table>
Looking at the first 10 most frequent items, we observe that 9 are the same in TC an ZC. The only marked difference is in the use of *awali* – ‘originally, initially, early’ (40 in TC and 5 in ZC), e.g.: *awali* in ZC as -a awali (3):
1. *Ilikuwa vigumu vilevile, ingawa si kama mara ya awali.*
   ‘It was also difficult, although it was not like the first time.’

2. *Kwa mara ya awali tangu alipotoroka kwao Mbiju, alitanabahi jiu ya yale yaliyomfutu.*
   ‘For the first time since he fled Biju, he realized what he had forgotten.’

3. *Korja ya mishelisheli ilitamalaki kipande cha awali.*
   ‘About twenty breadfruit trees overhung from one side.’

(awali in ZC as pale awali)
4. *Mazungumzo baina ya huyu msichana na mzee, yalikuwa arefu kuliko pale awali.*
   ‘The conversation between the girl and the old man was longer than the previous one.’

awali in TC as -a awali (14)
5. *Wasiwasi ule wa awali ulikuwa umepotea kabisa.*
   ‘The previous concerns were gone.’

6. *[…] na hatimaye ukilipata mtu hukuona tofauti na yale ya awali!*
   ‘[…] and when you found it at last nobody noticed the difference with the first ones!’

awali in TC as hapo awali (11)
7. *[…] Ilionyesha wazi kwamba hapo awali ilikuwa na maji.*
   *[…] ‘Clearly showed that previously it had water.’*
Arabic adverbs

Tab. 2 – Arabic adverbs (53 items)
TC adverbs: words 35, tokens: 6375, t/w 182
ZC adverbs: words 35, token 4083, t/w 117

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<th>Alphabatical order</th>
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<tr>
<td>2. asubuhi 188</td>
<td>2. aghalabu 1 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. baada 694</td>
<td>3. aghlabu 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. baadaye 104</td>
<td>4. asubuhi 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. bado 339</td>
<td>5. baada 327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. bure 51</td>
<td>6. baadaye 117</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. daima 42</td>
<td>7. bado 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ghafla 135</td>
<td>8. bure 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. halafu 104</td>
<td>10. ghafla 103</td>
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</table>

Out of the first 10 most frequent items, 8 are the same, with a marked difference in the use of *sana* (TC 782 – ZC 162). Apart from following mainly verbal forms, *sana* in TC preferably follows adjectives (*-zuri* (46), *-kubwa* (40) and *-ingi* (39) as first cooccurrences), while in ZC it follows nouns (*nguvu* (8), *zamani* (4) and *-zuri* (4) as most frequent co-occurrences).

Samples of *sana* in TC

8. *Mwaka huu ulikuwa mwaka mzuri sana kwa wanakijiji hawa wa Bucho.*
   ‘This year was a great year for the villagers of Bucho.’

   ‘She was very young. And very good.’

10. *Nyumba ilikuwa kubwa sana kwa familia ya watatu kama ya Dennis.*
    ‘The house was too big for a family of three like the one of Dennis.’
11. *Ilikuwa ni kazi kubwa sana kulinda vifaa na vyombo vya watafiti na wataalamu wake.*
   ‘It was a very difficult task to protect the equipment and utensils of the researchers and professionals.’

   ‘Living room was big. It had a lot of pictures on the wall.’

13. *Nimekwisha sikia jina lako mara nyingi sana humu mjini.*
   ‘I have heard your name very often in the city.’

Samples of sana in ZC

14. *Na yeye mwenyewe akajitupa chini kwa nguvu sana,*
   ‘And he fell on the ground forcefully.’

15. *Alipokwisha funikwa, shetan akaanza kutika na kuzungusha kichwa kwa nguvu sana.*
   ‘When he was covered, the demon began to shake and turned his head forcefully.’

16. *[…]* *jumba bovu lililobomoka zamani sana.*
   ‘[…]* a dilapidated palace collapsed long ago*

17. *Sababu za kugoma sote tunazielewa, tumeshaelezana zamani; sana ni dharau, maonevu.*
   ‘The main reasons for the strike – we all knew it and we have already talked about – were the contempt and disrespect that we were showed.’

18. *Unaonaje tukipata nyumba nzuri sana… ?*
   ‘Don't you feel we got a very nice house..?’
## Arabic interjections

Tab. 3 – Arabic interjections (36)

<table>
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<th>Alphabetical order</th>
<th>Frequency order</th>
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<td>2. ala</td>
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<td>3. ashakum</td>
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<td>4. basi</td>
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<td>5. ebu 25</td>
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<td>5. hamadi</td>
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</table>

Within the first 10 items 7 are the same. A marked difference within these 7 items is in the use of variants:

**TC**

hebu 38, ebu 25 63
asante 34, ahsante 3 37

**ZC**

hebu 61, ebu 1 62
ahsante 10, asante 9 19

A marked difference between the two sources is also the quantitative use of *Ala*! ‘expression of annoyance’ (occurences of *ala* ‘instrument, scabbard’ have not been considered).
Ala! in TC

19. *Ala! Kumbe huyu ni Mheshimiwa Luhala!*
   ‘Hey! So this is Mr. Luhala!’

20. *Ala! Simama hapo ulipo! Sasa ninataka jambo moja tu!*
   ‘Hey! Stop where you are! Now I want only one thing!’

Ala! in ZC

21. *Ala, bado unakokota miguti?*
   ‘Hey, are you still dragging feet?’

22. *Ala, jamani huyu mtoto yuko wapi?*
   ‘Hey, this child’s friend, where is he?’

**Arabic numerals**

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</table>

Tab. 4 – Arabic numerals (30 items)

TC Numerals: words 15, tokens 391, t/w 27
ZC Numerals: words 12, tokens 261, t/w 22
Here also 8 out of the first 10 items are the same.
A check of the collocates of 4 first most frequent items gave the following results:

*Mia, sita, ishirini, saba in TC: shilingi mia; saa sita; miaka / milioni / mara / watu / magunia ishirini; saa / darasa / miaka saba*

*Mia, sita, saba, ishirini in ZC: shilingi, ngazi-mia, mia mia; miezi / miaka, saa sita; shilingi (elfu) ishirini*

23. *Tokea siku ile waliofika kileleni juu ya ngazi-mia tamaa ya Sewa ilianza kuchipua na kuchanua.*
   ‘Since the day they reached the peak over the hundred feet, the desire of Sewa started to sprout and bloom.’

With *mia mia* the meaning seems to be rather ‘exactly hundred’ than ‘about/around hundred’, e.g.:

   ‘On the way, he opened his wallet to look for what was left – three banknotes of one hundred shillings each and one of twenty.’

25. *Akathibitisha udhati wake kwa majani mawili ya shilingi mia mia.*
   ‘He proved his trustworthiness with two banknotes of a hundred shillings each.’

26. *Inspekta Fadhili ana hakika kwamba ukumbi huo aukuwa katika hali hiyo miezi sita nyuma.*
   ‘Inspector Fadhili is confident that the hall was not in the same state six months ago.’

28. Asili ya mzimu ule, kama asili ya mizimu yote inavyokuwa, hadithi yenye ncha saba. ‘The origin of that ghost, as the origin of all ghosts happens to be, is an endless story’

See also the expression *korja ya* ‘around twenty’ in sample 3.

**Arabic conjunctions**

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<th>Arabic conjunction</th>
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</tbody>
</table>
The table shows that 8 of the first most frequent 10 items are the same in the two sources. Looking at frequencies, we note much more occurrences of *kama* in TC than in ZC, whereas looking at colligates of *kama* we notice a higher co-occurrence of *kama si* in ZC (46) than in TC (18).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alphabetical order</th>
<th>Frequency order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanzanian corpus</td>
<td>Zanzibarian corpus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badala</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baina</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bila</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhusu</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bila</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhusu</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bila</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhusu</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same 4 items appeared in the two corpora, but with much higher use of *kuhusu* and *badala* in TC. As for *badala* and *baina* the almost only colligate is -ya in both corpora. As for *kuhusu*, in TC the most frequent colligates are demonstrative forms, whereas there is only
one co-occurrence with a demonstrative form in ZC (*kuhusu ile mvua*).

**Arabic idomatic expressions (3 items)**

*Kadha wa kadha; Lila na fila; Sema wa taa*

Only one item: *Kadha wa kadha*

TC idiomatic expressions: words 1, tokens 2 (only in Jozi)

ZC idiomatic expressions: words 1, tokens 7 (in Tata, Bwana Musa, Kiu)

29. *Aliusimamisha mchi katika kinu na kuuzungusha mara kadha wa kadha huku akimtazama mama yake*

   She took up a pestle in a mortar and turned it around and around several times as she looked at her mother’

30. *Hadija alisimama na kimbia nyimbo kadha wa kadha za taarabu.*

   ‘Khadija stood up and sang several *taarab* songs’

**La! Haya!**

The contexts of these items have been checked thoroughly in order to avoid ambiguity with *la* (cl. 5 of -a) and *haya* (cl. 6 of h-)

TC – La! 12 occurrences  ZC – La! 28 occurrences

TC - Haya! 18 occurrences  ZC – Haya! 29 occurrences

**Adjectivals with concords**

(7 items in BL: -anisi, -faransa, -fidhuli, -halifu, -halisi, -lainifu, -tatai).

A search for forms of the 7 lemma from BL, made with REGEX\(^5\), produced the following results:

ZC: lemma 2; words 4; tokens 13 (*kifaransa* 1; *kuhalifu* 1; *mhalifu* 6; *wahalifu* 5)

\(^5\) Regex search string used for retrieving adjectivals forms:

(m|mw|wa|w|m|mi|ji|j|ma|ka|ch|vi|vy|n|ny|mb|nd|ku|kw|pa)(anisi|faransa|fidhul|halifu|halisi|lainifu|tatai) (See App. 8)
In order to have a first idea of the representation of grammatical items of Arabic origin in Swahili a counter check was performed on some adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions of Bantu origins. The items have been extracted from the list by Bertoncini-Zúbková (1973). The results (see App. 65 and 6) are as follows:
Bantu grammatical items: 123
Arabic grammatical items: 60

**Bantu Adverbs – (pick list: 40 items – basic list: 31 items)**
In the case of adverbs, from a list of 40 items (some of which are inflected forms), this were the results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tab. 7 – Bantu adverbs – Frequency list – 40 items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TC: words: 39, tokens: 6591; ZC: words 39, tokens 5999</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tanzanian corpus</th>
<th>Zanzibarian corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.pale</td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.tu</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.hapa</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.juu</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.kisha</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.huku</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.kwanza</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.pamoja</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.pia</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.ndani</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chini</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nje</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbele</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwake</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kule</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyuma</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbalimbali</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jana</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pole</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwao</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbona</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.huku</td>
<td>659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.juu</td>
<td>644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.tu</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.pale</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.ndani</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.chini</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.mbele</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.kisha</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.hapa</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.nje</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyuma</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwake</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pamoja</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwanza</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pia</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pengine</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kule</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbona</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwao</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jana</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punde</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Within the first 10 most frequent items, 7 items are the same. An investigation on *hapa* produced *hapa na pale* as the most frequent sequence both in TC (17) and in ZC (9). As for *pale*, the most frequent colligates are:

**TC:** *pale kijijini* (22), *pale nje* (21), *pale mezani* (19), *pale mbele* and *pale pale* (17)

**ZC:** *pale pale* (29), *pale alipokuwa* (19) *pale chini* and *pane penye* (16)

The sequence *pale na* was not considered as it may belong to various syntagmatic constructions.
Bantu conjunctions – (pick list: 10 items – basic list: 9 items)

Tab. 8 – Bantu conjunctions frequency list (10 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tanzanian corpus</th>
<th>Zanzibarian corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>10154</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwamba</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>kuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuwa</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>kwamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwani</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>kwani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuliko</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>ingawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikiwa</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>kuliko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingawa</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>ikiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwapo</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>iwapo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ijapokuwa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>iwapo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same 9 items appear in both lists, except for one occurrence of *ijapokuwa* in TC (13 occ. in ZC) and only one occurrence of *ijapo* in ZC (in Kiu)

As for *kwamba* we have:
TC: co-occurrences of *ni kwamba* (79), V(verb form) *wazi kwamba* (69), *kama kwamba* (29); *kwamba alikuwa* (88), *kwamba ni* (47)
ZC: *kama kwamba* (30), *ni kwamba* (29); *kwamba alikuwa* (10), *kwamba* PP(personal pronouns) (20)

Bantu prepositions – (pick list: 8 items- basic list: 7 items)

Tab. 9 – Bantu prepositions frequency list (8 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tanzanian corpus</th>
<th>Zanzibarian corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kwa</td>
<td>4617</td>
<td>kwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katika</td>
<td>1406</td>
<td>katika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwenyeye</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>kwenyeye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutoka</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>mpaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangu</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>kutoka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mpaka</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>tokea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnamo</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>tangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokea</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>mnamo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We have the same 8 items in the two corpora, but their frequency is quite different (ex.: tangu TC 189, ZC 51; tokea TC 1, ZC 71)

ZC: tokea hapo (20)

Here is the only occurrence of tokea in TC:

31. Tazameni, hii adhabu yote tuliyoipata tokea jana hadi leo ni kwa sababu ya Sifuni.

‘Look, all this punishment we are getting since yeasterday is because of Sifuni’

Conclusive remarks

Here follows a summary of the results of the search for words (W) and tokens (T) of Bantu (B) and Arabic (A) origins in Tanzanian (TC) and Zanzibarian (ZC) Swahili corpora made of contemporary prose texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bantu</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TC W</td>
<td>ZC W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>5999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6591</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bantu</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TC W</td>
<td>ZC W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunctions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6929</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bantu</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TC W</td>
<td>ZC W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepositions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the occurrences of Bantu prepositions (8) double the occurrences of those of Arabic origins (4 and 5), the occurrences of
Bantu adverbs (39) are only slightly higher in number than the occurrences of adverbs of Arabic origins (35). As for conjunctions, the occurrences of items of Arabic origins (17 and 18) double the occurrences of those of Bantu origins (8).

From the above data we can state that, at least for adverbs and conjunctions, there is a significant representation of Arabic loans in Swahili contemporary prose texts. A first check of their distribution within Tanzanian and Zanzibarian corpora shows some differences in the use of some of the items. Although in most cases the first most frequent items do correspond, still there are differences in number of occurrences (see the cases of *sana* and *ala*!). Differences in the collocates of numerals also resulted in the marked differences in clausal patterns. Idiomatic expression were also found (*ncha saba* ‘countless’, ‘endless’; *korja ya* ‘around twenty’). Differences in the two corpora as for distribution of colligates of *kama* and *kuhusu* have also been detected.

The resulting data of this search and counting cannot be taken as a base for final statements concerning incidence or Arabic grammatical loans and differences between mainland and Zanzibarian Swahili. They can rather be seen as indicators of possible further research. Analysis of collocates and colligates in fact cannot be done by considering only quantitative data. Attentive consideration to sintagmatic and semantic elements must be conscientiously given. Such a detailed analysis of contexts requires long time and considerable manual work. The results of this first work can give hints as to where to search for gathering more data based on information which can lead to more relevant and reliable conclusions.

**References:**


Argondizzo (ed.), *Creativity and Innovation in Language Education*, Bern: Peter Lang Publishing.

**Corpus:**

**Tanzanian**
Kezilahabi, E., 1975, *Dunia uwanja wa fujo*, Nairobi: EALB.

**Zanzibarian**

**App. 1 List of grammatical items of Arabic origin from BL and BZL in grammatical order**

The following is the list of items from BL and BZL, according to grammatical order. Numbers in the rank column mark the items from BZL. Graphic variants have been considered together and listed according to alphabetical criterion (e.g. in the case of *makusudi, kusuki*, it has been decided to insert *makusudi* as first item; the frequency in fact will be checked through the search in the text). Items with labels referring also to verbs and nouns have been maintained. Ex.: *-kabidhi* was labeled as v./adj.; the v. is not maintained. In case of multiple labels the sequence is the one adopted by the author.
**Tab. 10 List of grammatical items of Arabic origin from BL and BZL, grammatical order, used as a base for searching in TC and ZC.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rank</th>
<th>item</th>
<th>gram.</th>
<th>glossa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>kila</td>
<td>adj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>a tisa</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>ninth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>anisi</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>pleasing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>faransa</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>fidhuli</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>arrogant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>halifu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>rebellious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>kabidhi</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>economical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>kaidi</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>obstinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>lainifu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>smooth; facile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>najisi</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>unclean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>safihi, safii</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>pure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>sharifu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>honourable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>stahili</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>merit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>tatai</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>cunning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>aali</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>adibu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>decorous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>adili</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>adimu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>akali</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>a few of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>aula</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>bahasa</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>cheap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>bora</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>excellent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>bulibuli</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>a white, embroidered school-cap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>dhahili</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>evident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>dhaifu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>dhalimu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>unjust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>duni</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>fani</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>worthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>fasaha, fasihi</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>elegance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>ghalī</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>scarce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>haba</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>little; rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>hafifu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>trifling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rank</td>
<td>item</td>
<td>gram.</td>
<td>glossa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>haramu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>forbidden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>hodari</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>able</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>hututu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>ina</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>certainly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>kamili</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>karimu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>liberal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>laghai</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>deceitful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>madhubuti</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>precise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>mahiri</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>skilful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>mahsusi</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>particular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>mahututu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>serious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>makeruhi,</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>offensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>makururuhi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>maridhawa</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>in abundance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>muhimu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>nadhifu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>nadra</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>uncommon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>nakawa</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>rahimu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>merciful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>rahisi</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>cheap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>raufu</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>gentle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>saghiri</td>
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<td>light</td>
</tr>
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<td>55.</td>
<td>sahihi</td>
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<td>true; signature</td>
</tr>
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<td>56.</td>
<td>salihi</td>
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<td>applied to various celestial phenomena and omens</td>
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<td>fauka</td>
<td>adv.</td>
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<td>foko</td>
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<td>halafa</td>
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<td>disobediently</td>
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<td>adv.</td>
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<td>adv.</td>
<td>quickly</td>
</tr>
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<td>adv.</td>
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<td>inshallah</td>
<td>adv.</td>
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<td>133 labda</td>
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<td>134 milele</td>
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</tr>
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<td>nomi</td>
<td>adv.</td>
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<td>nusura</td>
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<td>adv.</td>
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<td>sawia</td>
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</tr>
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<td>tashihili</td>
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<td>kadiri</td>
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<td>106 ama</td>
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</tr>
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<td>121.</td>
<td>69 au</td>
<td>conj.</td>
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</tr>
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<td>122.</td>
<td>127 bali</td>
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</tr>
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<td>123.</td>
<td>80 ili</td>
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<td>in order that</td>
</tr>
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<td>124.</td>
<td>10 kama</td>
<td>conj.</td>
<td>as, that, etc.</td>
</tr>
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<td>125.</td>
<td>42 lakini</td>
<td>conj.</td>
<td>but</td>
</tr>
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<td>maadam</td>
<td>conj.</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
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<td>127.</td>
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</tr>
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<td>mathalan, mazalani, methalan, methalan</td>
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</tr>
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<td>taraa</td>
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<td>131.</td>
<td>123 wa</td>
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<td>and</td>
</tr>
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<td>132.</td>
<td>waima, waina</td>
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</tr>
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<td>86 wala</td>
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<td>lila na fila</td>
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<td>semaa wa taa</td>
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<td>147.</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>ebu, hebu</td>
<td>inter.</td>
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<td>148.</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>inter.</td>
</tr>
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<td>149.</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>ahasante, ahsante, asante</td>
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<td>150.</td>
<td>ala!</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>expression of annoyance</td>
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<td>151.</td>
<td>alaala</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>immediately</td>
</tr>
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<td>152.</td>
<td>Alhamdulillahi!</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>Praise be to God!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153.</td>
<td>Amin</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>Amen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154.</td>
<td>ashakum</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>pardon me</td>
</tr>
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<td>155.</td>
<td>audhubillahi!</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>example of impatience</td>
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<td>156.</td>
<td>bismillahi</td>
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<td>157.</td>
<td>halahala</td>
<td>interj.</td>
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<td>158.</td>
<td>hamadi!</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>used when a person stumbles</td>
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<td>Hasha</td>
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<td>certainly not</td>
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<td>interj.</td>
<td>vulgar</td>
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<td>haya!</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>come on!</td>
</tr>
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<td>162.</td>
<td>hobe!</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>go!</td>
</tr>
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<td>163.</td>
<td>huss!</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>make less noise!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164.</td>
<td>labeka!</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>at your service!</td>
</tr>
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<td>165.</td>
<td>laiti!</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>oh that!</td>
</tr>
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<td>166.</td>
<td>lebeka!</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>at your service!</td>
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<td>167.</td>
<td>marahaba</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>used as a common rejoinder to the salute of an inferior</td>
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<td>ole</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>exclamation of woe</td>
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<td>sefule</td>
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<td>you vile person</td>
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<td>simile</td>
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<td>wallahi! wallai!</td>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>by God!</td>
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App. 2 Pick lists of grammatical items of Arabic origin, from BL and BZ

The pick list is based on Tab. 1. (242 items). The graphic variants have been separated for the sake of searching in the text with Concordance. In the countings, variants will be considered as single item.

2.1 Adjectives 83 items

1. ali                  10. anisi
2. adibu                11. aula
3. adili                12. aushi
4. adimu                13. awali
5. ajabu                14. badiri
6. ajib                 15. bahasa
7. ajibu                16. bahili
8. akali                17. bora
9. amini                18. bulibuli
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### 2.3 Conjunctions 28

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13. maadan  22. taraa
14. madhali  23. tena
15. mathalan  24. waima
16. mazalani  25. waina
17. methalan  26. wala
18. minajili  27. walakini
19. minghairi  28. yaani

2.4 Interjections 36 items
1. ahasante  20. labeka
2. ahsante  21. lahaulu
3. ala  22. laiti
4. alaal  23. lebeka
5. alhamdulillahi  24. marahaba
6. amin  25. marhaba
7. asante  26. masalala
8. ashakum  27. masalale
9. audhuhillahi  28. masalkheri
10. basi  29. naam
11. bismillahi  30. ole
12. ebu  31. salala
13. halahala  32. sefulu
14. hamadi  33. simile
15. hasha  34. wallahi
16. hashakum  35. wallai
17. hebu  36. yaa
18. hobe
19. huss

2.5 Numerals 30 items
1. arobaini  4. edashara
2. ashara  5. elfu
3. asherini  6. hamsa
7. hamsauishirini
8. hamsini
9. hamstashara
10. ishirini
11. mia
12. miteen
13. saba
14. sabaini
15. sabini
16. sita
17. sitashara
18. sitini
19. sumni
20. thelathini
21. theluthi
22. themani
23. themanini
24. themanya
25. themntashara
26. themuni
27. thumni
28. tisa
29. tisini
30. wahedi

2.6 Prepositions – 8 items
1. baghairi
2. fi
3. laula
4. min
5. badala
6. baina
7. bila
8. kuhusu

2.7 Idiomatic expressions list – 3 items
1. lila na fila
2. kadha wa kadha
3. semaa wa taa

2.8 Separate search : la! Haya!

App. 3 Grammatical items of Arabic origin found in Tanzanian and Zanzibarian corpus

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**App. 4 Full list of Bantu and Arabic grammatical items from E. Bertoncini list, ordered by rank**
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<td>hamsini</td>
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**App. 5 Pick list of Bantu grammatical items - From the list contained in E. Bertoncini’s work (App. 4; see References)**

Bantu grammatical items: 123.
Arabic grammatical items: 60.
5.1 Bantu adverbs pick list – 40 items
Duplicated items have not been inserted as separate form, except for polepole and pole; possessives in inflected locative forms (kwangu, etc.) have been listed separately.

polepole
pole
lini
hapa
huku
humu
pia
kwanza
mbalimbali
pamoja
tu
kwangu
kwetu
kwenu
kwake
kwako
kwao
kule
pale
mle
jana
kisha
mno
nje
pasipo
pengine
huenda
yapata
kandokando
kando
mbona
siyo
kienyeji
mapema
punde
juu
mbele
ndani
chini
nyuma

5.2 Bantu conjunctions pick list – 10 items

kwamba
kuwa
ingawa
kwani
ijapokuwa
ijapo
ikiwa
kuliko
iwapo
na
5.3 Bantu prepositions pick list – 8 items
mpaka
kwa
katika
tokea
tutoka
kwenyé
tangu
mnamo

App. 6 Lists of Bantu grammatical items found in TC and ZC courpus separated by categories

Tab. 11 Bantu adverbs – 31 items

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<td>adv.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>adv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>hapa/huku/humu</td>
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<td>pia</td>
<td>adv.</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>kwanza</td>
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<tr>
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<td>82</td>
<td>mbali(mbali)</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>pamoja</td>
<td>adv.</td>
</tr>
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<td>8</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>adv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>kwangu,...</td>
<td>adv.</td>
</tr>
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<td>103</td>
<td>kule/pale/mle</td>
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<td>jana</td>
<td>adv.</td>
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<td>105</td>
<td>kisha</td>
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<tr>
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<td>114</td>
<td>mno</td>
<td>adv.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>114</td>
<td>nje</td>
<td>adv.</td>
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<td>118</td>
<td>pasipo</td>
<td>adv.</td>
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**Tab. 13 Bantu numerals – 9 items**

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### Tab. 14 Bantu prepositions – 7 items

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### Tab. 15 Bantu pronouns – 12 items

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### Tab. 16 Bantu miscellanea

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