LINGUISTIC DOCUMENTATION FOR THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: CASES, PROBLEMS, SOLUTIONS
LANGUAGE PLANNING IN TANZANIA

"Focus on Kiswahili"

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CONTENTS

Introduction. 1 - 4

PART I

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Which Language(s) and for what purposes? 5
1.1 Background Advances. 5
1.2 Planning alongside with the changes. 5
1.3 What actually do we mean by language planning? 7
1.4 The Early days of Language Planning in Tanzania Mainland. 9
1.4.1 Language Policy under the German Colonial Rule (1885-1918). 9
1.5 Kiswahili under the German Colonial Policy. 10
1.6 The Christian Missionaries and the Use of Kiswahili. 10
1.7 Islam and the spread of Kiswahili. 12
1.8 Changes in language policy in the later years of British Administration. 13
1.9 The Post-Colonial Education Policy. 14

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 The Standardization of the Swahili Language. 16
2.1 General Comment. 16
2.2 Work on Standardization during the Colonial Period. 16
2.2.1 The establishment of the Inter-Territorial (Kiswahili) Language Committee. 16
2.3 Transformation of the Inter-Territorial Language Committee. 25
2.4 A summary of Institutions in Tanzania which are associated with the Promotion of Kiswahili. 27

PART II

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Further on Language Engineering. 31
3.1 Kiswahili and new concepts. 32
3.1.1 Advances and Counter Advances. 32
3.1.2 How are new concepts met in Kiswahili. 34
3.2 The Language in Politics. 35
3.4 Language and Economics. 37
3.5 The Language in Education. 38
3.6 Can Kiswahili become the Language of instruction in Secondary Schools and Institutions of Higher Learning? 38
3.7 The Language and the Building of National Culture. 40
3.8 Kiswahili as a vehicle in the development of rural economy in Tanzania. 41

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Further on word formation. 43
4.1 Building words by using the Compounding device. 43
4.2 The adoption and adaptation of words from other languages but most from what I refer to as international vocabulary. 45
4.3 The Elasticity of the Swahili verb (Kunyambulika kwa tendo) as a useful device for word formation. 46
4.4 The Future of English and French in Tanzania. 48
4.5 The Future of the other indigenous African languages in Tanzania. 48

PART III

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 Suggestions on strategies. 50

Bibliography. 56
Introduction

The question of language planning as an essential component of an overall planning for a country's infrastructure is now realized as an important aspect in some of the developing nations. This awareness, is mostly due to the fact that times have changed and national priorities are no longer the same as they used to be when the developing nations were still under colonial powers.

However, it is important to note that, the conditions in the developing nations in the world are by no means homogeneous. For instance, the situation prevailing in Tanzania is not the same as those which can be found in Paraguay, Zaire, Uganda, Kenya or Zambia, despite the fact that there are a number of common problems. Tanzania for example has been subjected to two colonial powers, whereas countries like Uganda and Kenya have each only experienced the rule of one colonial government.

Each colonial government in Africa had its policy, a policy which directed the respective colonial governments in their choice of language or languages for use and for different purposes. The French colonial policy for instance was that of 'total assimilation', whereas the British practiced what we could call the policy of 'partial assimilation'.

But even in countries which were being administered by the same colonial government the policies varied depending on the different attitudes the colonial masters had on the different situations. For instance the way in which the British look at Kenya, was different from the way they looked at Tanzania Mainland then known as Tanganyika. The latter was a trusteeship territory and the former was their colony. Kenya was considered to be a place of permanent residence by the whitemen whereas in the former Tanganyika the British stay was transitional.

Besides, the linguistic situations in the developing countries are very varied. Some like Lesotho have one common language, whereas other countries are multilingual. And even in the state of multilingualism those countries differ considerably. Tanzania for instance has more mother tongues than any of the countries in East Africa.

Another difference concerns attitude. Some African countries are more tolerant of the African languages than others. In the context of Tanzania, the situation is that people are very tolerant to the numerous indigenous languages despite the fact that there is more drive and attention being given to the development and use of English and Kiswahili. This is not the case in other countries where difficulties have risen in the choice of national languages. In some African countries, which need no mention, the ethnic groups tend to give greater loyalty to their respective ethnic languages, and hence perpetuate tribal identity to an extent that national harmony is jeopardized. Such situations make the planning for the development of these languages at the national level rather complex and delicate, in the sense that the promotion of one particular language is politically seen as promoting dominance of the ethnic group which speaks that language over the other groups in the country. When such a situation prevails two things can happen, either adopt a foreign European language as the national language or official language or adopt several of the local languages in the country and make them national languages with equal status, and at the same time using a European language as the official language. In Zambia for example there

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are five national languages and equal attention is given in promoting them for practical use; and English besides being an official language, also acts as a powerful unifying factor. The use of a foreign European language for such purposes in such a situation has much to be desired.

In Tanzania, the matter is different and unique. The situation has always been referred to as 'fortunate'. That is, although there are over one hundred indigenous languages spoken all over the country, the presence of Kiswahili as a lingua franca has made a great difference. The government's choice of making Kiswahili the national language has caused no ill feeling among the people. It is a language which has no affiliation to any ethnic group, despite the fact that some scholars are not asserting that it belonged to a group (Shihabuddin Chiragzabin on 'Kiswahili na Wenyewe' which appeared in KISWAHILI, Journal of the Institute of Kiswahili Research, University of Dar-es-Salaam, pp. 48-53, March 1974). But as I said earlier, that the majority of the population have great tolerance and respect for the mother tongues, while at the same time accepting that Kiswahili has and is still playing an important role as a unifying force as well as an effective tool for nation-building.

Some African countries take a serious stand in the use of one or more African languages, while there are others who pay more attention to the use of the ex-colonial masters' language than they do to the African languages. Although Tanzania recognizes the invaluable role English and French play to the country, it has also decided to promote Kiswahili in all aspects so that it can perform a more effective role in nation-building. It is now widely used in the government's administration. Besides being an appropriate tool for cultural expression it is also a tool for economic, educational, social and political development.

The involvement of leadership in language planning is extremely essential if the implementation is to have some impetus. By leadership here I mean the recognition of the Head of State and his team in the government that the developing of an African language or languages is a resourceful exercise. Being the decision makers in government, the lack of their leadership and involvement in the promotion of the African languages, seems to me to be one of the most stumbling blocks whatever the situation may be, the formulation of a clear policy on language in an African country south of the Sahara is a matter which must receive priority.

Again as far as language policy is concerned, Tanzania has been in a very fortunate position, for throughout its political history, ever since the country was under colonial administration, there has been clear signs of conscious language planning. The effort being taken by the government in planning for language is a clear indication and understanding on their part that, though any living language has some natural ability to develop, yet if it is desired to serve as a common tool for government purposes, its course of development must be guided.

Sociolinguistics, which has emerged as an important constituent in the field of Applied Linguistics has much to be desired. More studies in sociolinguistics will provide the developing nations with some insight into the problem of language planning. This will in turn make the respective developing nations formulate more meaningful strategies for language development.

Having stressed so much on the heterogeneity of the condition in the developing countries, I wish now to address myself specifically to the subject of 'Language Planning' in Tanzania, focusing to the work which has been done and which is being done in Kiswahili. However, before I proceed, I wish to make one important point in order to avoid some misconceived ideas that other people might have, and which could lead them to misinterpret my motives which has lead me to write on the subject.
There is a feeling expressed by some language scholars that Tanzania is trying to do away with English. The Tanzania language policy is quite clear, and government has stated categorically that English will stay as one of the official languages in Tanzania, alongside with Kiswahili. There are good reasons for retaining English as one of the official languages, but one which probably summarises the whole question is the fact that, we (Tanzanians) as a nation, are members of the world family, it will be to our disadvantage if we do away with English. Economically, politically and educationally, we would deny ourselves of wider opportunities that we can share with other members of the world community. In short Tanzania cannot afford to isolate herself from the rest of the world. English by historical accident is a world and international language and Tanzania accepts the fact that it is a useful language. President Nyerere clarifying this point to a correspondent working for the British Newspaper 'the Times' of 9th Dec. 1974, said:

"Our ambition is to become bilingual in Kiswahili and English. We have no ambition to cut out English. In the primary schools Kiswahili is the medium of instruction but English is a subject taught. In the Secondary Schools English is the medium of education but Kiswahili continues to be taught as a subject.

Certainly at the University level English is going to continue as the language of education for a long time. Tanzanians would be very foolish if they rejected English. We are a small country. English and French are African languages and so all we have. It is a very useful language."

But equally important, is the fact that Tanzania as an independent nation, and one which knows best of its situation, is justified for encouraging wider use of Kiswahili for practical purposes; and cannot afford to let English undermine its usefulness as a tool in nation-building. Nor should English be made to stand in the way as far as work on the making of Kiswahili is concerned. We all know that English has an important international role to play, but the role of other African languages, Kiswahili included, must be respected. I do not think that point need be emphasized any further.

Though conditions in the developing countries are different, I am convinced that each country including Tanzania can learn from the experience of others. This is one of the reasons which has led me to decide to write on the subject of language planning. Again in order to avoid misunderstanding I have to make it clear that the information given here is not meant to be a model in any way for other countries to adopt, after all as I have already mentioned conditions in the developing nations vary. Nevertheless, if there are good ideas, it would not do any harm to adopt and adapt them accordingly. That is what I mean by sharing experience and knowledge.

May I also make it clear that, the views and facts I have put forward here are not to be taken as 'God's truth'. They are subject to challenge and discussion. However, theoretical discussions as an end in themselves mean very little to me, and are a waste of time and energy, especially in the context of the African developing situation. Theories of language must be put into meaningful application. Extravagance in language planning in developing Africa must be avoided, particularly now when the struggle for existence in Africa is a matter of 'life and death'.

G. A. MHINA.
PART I
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Which language(s) and for what purposes?

1.1 Background Advances

The concept of planning in the context of the developing nations, consciously implies that language has a part to play in the development of mankind. Man as a social animal lives in a complex society, and in developing the society in which he lives, something must be done to the language he uses, so that he can develop educationally, politically, culturally and economically. In this respect language is an important tool. (Ref. UNESCO reports on the use of the mother tongues - 1953, and of other meetings held in Yaounde in 1970, Dar-es-Salaam, 1972 and Bamako, 1974).

Secondly language planning implies choosing from a number of alternatives (Fishman 1969, 1972), and for any planning to be effective, it must be seen as a continuous process. This is because, conditions in any particular situation are not static, and this is much so in the developing countries. For any language planning to be up to date, it has to change with the times, otherwise the purpose of the language for which the plan has been set out would be lost.

Thirdly, language planning demands a co-ordinated effort. The decision makers and those who are expected to implement the plan have to work together. The lack of co-ordination always results in inefficiency, wastage of manpower and money, something which the developing nations cannot afford. Some sociolinguists like Fishman, Le Page, Whitley and Joan Rubin have carried out research in some developing nations, and at certain points have uncovered that some decisions on language choice or choices in those countries have been made without having taking into consideration some important factors. This is very much so especially in the choice of language for education. (Ref. Joan Rubin studies on the use of Spanish and Quechua in education in the Paraguay, and those done by Le Page on the teaching of English in the West Indies territories).

1.2 Planning alongside with the changes

The necessity for language planning in a multilingual situation like Tanzania, is more demanding than in a monolingual situation. Usually, there is the problem of choosing languages for different purposes - some for educational purposes, some for political, cultural and economical purposes. The situation in the developing countries is that, no single language can cater for all the needs. For that reason decisions have to be made on what languages are to be used, and for what purposes. And for that matter, a wise decision is always essential. This is where the problem lies. How does one come to the conclusion that one language is better than another for a particular purpose? Of course there are a number of factors which have to be taken into account. One language can be effective at one level and less effective at another. For instance in choosing a language for education, an understanding of the objectives of the overall educational policy is essential. What is the purpose of the education being provided by the particular country, for this in turn, is likely to determine the choice of the language to be used. To take a concrete example, since 1967, when Tanzania declared its policy of 'Education for Self Reliance', it was clearly stated that primary education must be regarded as being complete in itself. Before then, primary education meant preparing the pupils for secondary and higher education. In this particular case, whereby primary education was just seen as a preparation for post-primary education, the language of education that was being used in the primary schools was largely determined by the language policy for post-primary education, which in this case was English.
There was a time therefore, before the introduction of Education for Self-Reliance when English was given greater emphasis in the primary schools, both as a subject as well as a medium of instruction. In the rural areas, children started learning English in their third year in the primary school, and as a medium of instruction in the upper classes of the primary school. In the urban areas, many schools were English medium right from the first year of primary education.

The philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania, brought some change in the countries language policy for primary education. As I said earlier that primary education in the context of Education for Self-Reliance is complete in itself. The majority of the primary school pupils do not have the opportunity for secondary education because of limited facilities. So, insisting that they must be taught in English, a language that they will hardly make use of in their day to day life, would have been nothing more than depriving these pupils with knowledge which they could acquire easily through the medium Kiswahili, a language which they understand well.

Another reason which strengthens the argument in favour of adopting Kiswahili, as a medium of instruction is the fact that most of the primary school teachers have at the present moment low academic qualifications, and their knowledge of English is minimal. So the use of English as a medium of instruction in the primary schools was a strain both to the pupils and the teachers.

The situation in the secondary school is different. Officially until today the language of education is English, and Kiswahili largely remains as a subject except for Political Education. There are a number of reasons as to why Kiswahili has not been adopted as a medium of instruction even at this time when the language is widely used at the official level. First Tanzania is not yet self-sufficient in manpower. She still recruits teachers from other countries, and mostly from the English speaking world. Secondly at the present moment the bulk of the literature in the various subjects taught in these schools is in English. Thirdly, very little has been done to produce such materials in Kiswahili, and fourthly, even though work as started in producing such materials, there is yet the great problem caused by the shortage of manpower who could put that knowledge in Kiswahili, either by producing original work or through translations. Lastly, the economic resources are meagre to allow the country to invest in such an enterprise at the large scale.

All these are constraints one cannot ignore both in decision making as well as in the implementation of the language policy. The adequacy of Kiswahili as a language of education for post-primary education is a matter for serious discussion. It would not be wise at this juncture for me to jump to conclusions—time will tell.

Then there is the level whereby a nation has to express its own culture through language. After all the peoples languages is part of their culture. The need to use the appropriate language for expressing a nations culture in Africa is at the moment a matter of paramount importance.

African developing nations (this may not apply to all), feel very strongly that the revival of their cultures which have been destroyed by foreign influence, the development and preservation of them, can be carried out adequately and effectively by using the legitimate languages. (Ref: Reports of UNESCO meeting on the use of the mother tongue). The non-native scholars in African literature are trying hard to describe African oral tradition through the medium of a European language(s), but reading through their works, it is obvious that in doing so, they find themselves confronted with a number of translation problems. (Knappert J. on the Application of Swahili Poetry in Kiswahili, September, 1974, journal of the Institute of Kiswahili Research, University of Dar-es-Saleam).

If education in its widest sense is a matter for everybody, then in many African countries including Tanzania many people have had no opportunity of
receiving formal education. More than half of the people in the countries south of the Sahara are illiterate. In Tanzania, and equally true in most African developing countries, these people have a great role to play in nation-building. In order to make them participate effectively, there is need to make them literate. In what language(s) should we make them literate - the mother tongues or the European languages dominant in the respective countries? If the mother tongues are to be used, what would be the problems. These are not easy questions to answer, nevertheless language planning must try to answer them.

Every nation, be it a developed one or a developing one follows some kind of political ideology. As the majority of people in Africa, South of the Sahara neither speak nor understand the foreign language(s), it is obvious that to impose a foreign language for all practical purposes, would deprive the majority from understanding the political stand of their country. This may lead to lack or inefficient participation on their part, in the making of political decisions, and eventually this could lead to a situation, whereby, the masses have only to take orders from those in power.

The masses in the developing nations are great resources for economic development. Education towards economic development is important to them and their countries. The education has to be given in a language they understand. A foreign language such as English is useful so long as it can be used in the training of high level manpower, but when it comes to the dissemination of knowledge to the masses the use of the African Languages cannot be challenged.

Lastly there is the idea of developing some African languages for wider communication - i.e., as lingua franca. In the African context this has its problems which are brought about by the existence of different national policies.

So we see that the choice of a language for practical purposes in a highly multilingual situation in a developing nation, is not a simple matter as others may tend to think. It is a matter which to start with demands a first hand knowledge of the situations in question.

I.3 What actually do we mean by language planning

Having said that effective language planning in developing Africa demands a thorough knowledge of the situations, I wish to proceed on the planning work which had been done in the early days in Tanzania. But before doing so let me add to what I have already said in I.0, and I.2 above.

In the context of language planning, one has first of all to establish some notions related to language planning. According to Fishman, four notions come into play, which in turn can be grouped into two. These are:

1. The notion of a standard language
2. the notion of a written language
3. the notion of a national language and
4. the notion of official language.

The first two notions are usually linguistically defined whereas the last two often to do with attitude. Fishman's notions can be reduced as follows:

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Language Planning I

Policy decision on choice of language.
National
Official

Language Planning II

Language Engineering standardization
written language modernization

At this stage the language chosen would be in its early days of its development
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It is important to note that this distinction is not watertight.

There are therefore two main features in language, these being policy decision and the policy implementation. And having said so, we then ask ourselves, how does one come to policy decisions? In order to come to a policy decision the following must be put into consideration:

(i) What is the linguistic background - how many languages are spoken in the country and how are they related.

(ii) What attitudes do the people have on this languages.

(iii) What are the functions and use of these languages.

(iv) What is the economic situation of the country like.

(v) What is the political administration like - is it likely to promote the plan?

(vi) What is the education system like - and how far keeping pace with modern development? What are the learning and teaching costs?

(vii) What relationship the country has with others in the world and so on.

As for implementation of the policy, there must be a machinery, and the following questions would be relevant:

(i) What agencies whether government or private to implement the policy, and how do they co-ordinate their services in order to produce effective results?

(ii) How about the media-newspapers and the radio for instance. What language does it use?

(iii) Are there Examination Boards? - and if the answer is yes, how far does it encourage the development of the language?

(iv) At what age level in school does the teaching of the language start?

(v) What about manpower? Are there able trained people who would be in a position to advice on the development of the language.

(vi) There is the question of money, are there enough financial resources that can be invested in the implementation of the policy?

But in addition to policy decision and policy implementation there is another important component of planning which is evaluation. Without evaluation, it is difficult to assess the success or failure of the plan.

Planning looks into the past, present and the future, but not in the very far distant future. It is often very difficult to predict what is going to happen in the future. This means therefore that any planning would include a certain amount of uncertainty. That is why in order to minimize the scope of uncertainty, the planning must not cover a too long spell of time.

Generally, a fifteen years period, broken into five year periods is the trend on which Tanzania mainland bases its economic development plans. That is to say after every fifteen years of the overall fifteen year plan, review or evaluation of the plan takes place. From the experience of the first five years, what had been planned before could be changed or modified for the better. The development of language in the country is going through the same process, as
language planning for the economic infra-structure.

The next sections are going into language planning in Tanzania in the light of accepted notions which I have outlined already.

1.4. The early days of Language Planning in Tanzania Mainland

1.41. Language Policy under the German Colonial Rule (1885-1918)

Tanzania Mainland, by the Tanganyika came the Germans, after the treaty which partitioned Africa. In the central government the Germans used German. Most government documents and reports were written in German. The German language was however confined to matters of administration. There was in the early days an attempt to teach German as a second language but after weighing the social, educational and economic implications, the German colonial government, through the advice of the Home Government decided not to continue to teach it.

German colonization, unlike that of the British and the French, did not encourage the spread of their language. It is important to ask ourselves, what are these social, economic, political and educational implications, which had motivated them not to encourage the teaching of their language? Unless thorough research into this question is done, I am afraid the information we have is very scant - and therefore some of the arguments are based on assumptions. There are plenty of materials with substantial information on the German language policy in Tanzania Mainland during the German occupation period of the territory. These are in the custody of the national archives in Dar-es-Salaam, awaiting to be deciphered.

In spite of the fact that we have little information of the German language policy when they were administering the territory, it is possible to put forward some plausible arguments.

First, it is likely that the German authorities were overwhelmed by the great number of different vernaculars spoken in the country. But one interesting thing is that, because of the high degree of multilingualism that exists in the country, one could have expected the Germans to take advantage of this by introducing their language. After all they were the masters. Instead they decided the contrary. So from this we can deduce that there must have been other reasons behind their policy.

The development of any language, especially one which has not been committed to writing yet demands a substantial investment, if the objective of developing the language is to facilitate its use in a wide scale. The government concerned has to invest heavily in the training of manpower that will execute the policy. It has also to invest much of its financial resources in the making and promoting of teaching material in the language. One can confidently surmise that for any government, be it a colonial or national, would be attempting the impossible to try to develop all or even half of the numerous vernaculars as those spoken in Tanzania for wider use. The constraints are both economic and linguistic. There is no wonder the German colonial government decided that it was not an economical proposition to endeavour promoting the many vernacular. We have also to appreciate that during these times of colonization, focus was given to matters which were of direct advantage to the home government which ruled the territory.

Another plausible argument is that the Germans as masters had a rather different attitude from that of the French and British towards her subjects in the colonies. Whereas the French, in their colonies advocated a policy of almost total assimilation, and the British a policy of partial assimilation the Germans in their territories including Tanzania Mainland (then Tanganyika) pursued a policy of dissimulation. The rulers and the ruled had no common ground in their social life except during office hours, and only the few clerks and artisans were involved in this contact. Communication between the masters and the people was through middle men such as 'jumbes and Alidas, who were
officially installed for that purpose. This system seemed to work well. And for that reason, it is plausible to say, the German colonial administrators did not see an immediate need for introducing their language.

The Central Government in the territory was manned by Germans only with the help of very few artisans. Like the British, the Germans did not see the need to educate the masses beyond the minimum education they were providing. This could have been due to the fear that if they provided adequate education for the African, in no time they would be politically aware of their right to govern themselves - in analogy with the saying 'let sleeping dogs lie' whose equivalent in Kiswahili is 'Usimwamshel aliyelala, ukimwamsha utala weve'. However this argument is not as strong as the ones put forward earlier.

1.5 *Kiswahili under the German Colonial Policy*

As I have said above the Germans manned the Central Colonial Government in the territory, and therefore the use of German as the language for central administration created little problem. The problem however lay at the level of local administration. At this level the vernacular played an important role. A further problem however was the fact that, these vernaculars were not written. By this time the prospects of Kiswahili as a potential useful common language started to show good signs. The Germans did not hesitate to take advantage of this language. They encouraged its development and its use as a language of education and local government administration.

The choice of Kiswahili was obvious, for by then it was the only local language spoken in a wide area, but maybe much more important is the fact which I mentioned earlier that it belonged to no particular ethnic group. For this reason its being chosen as a common language caused no ill feeling among the various indigenous ethnic groups in the country.

Although the choice of making use of Kiswahili in education and administration was a political decision, we cannot rule out the great influence the missionaries had on colonial governments during those days. Missionaries, wherever they have worked in the world, have been great believers in the use of languages which are most understood by the people they wanted to convert into Christianity. From this standpoint we can conclude that the missionaries who worked in East Africa during the German rule in Tanzania Mainland must have preferred the use of African languages in education and their evangelical work to the use of any European language. Another point to bear in mind is the fact that education in the country during that time was in the hands of missionaries who came from different nationalities. Some were French, some British and some were Germans.

1.6 *The Christian Missionaries and the use of Kiswahili*

As I have said above, the missionaries came from France, Britain and Germany. There were the Benedictines from Germany and the Spiritans and White Fathers from France. Before the Germans occupied the territory, the missionaries used German and French respectively in their missionary administration. When the Germans took over the country, it was decided not to take any European language and that only Kiswahili was to be used as the vehicle for spreading education and Christianity to the Africans.

In the early days, the Christian missionaries were against the use of Kiswahili. They associated the language with Islam. Their being against it, was purely a move to avoid the influence of Islam.

However, the German colonial government forced almost every officer and every missionary to know Kiswahili. They had to pass a test in Kiswahili. Arrangements were made whereby the German missionaries and officers in the
government were taught the language. Some teaching took place in Germany, most in what is now East Berlin, and also in Tanzania Mainland after they had arrived in the country. It is also known that some Swahili scholars from the then Tan-ganyika were sent to Berlin where they worked together with some German Swahili scholars. Among the missionaries, the Spiritans were somehow reluctant to adopt Kiswahili.

It is important to note here that the attitude of the missionaries and the government on the use of the local languages was different. The missionaries were always in favour of the mother tongues, for the simple reason that the mother tongues were the ideal effective and appropriate tools in their work of spreading the word of God. The government on the other hand insisted on the use of Kiswahili. However, a compromise was reached. The missionaries were allowed to preach through the medium of the mother tongues, (and this still goes on even today in some areas in the country) but in schools they were not allowed to use the mother tongues but Kiswahili. The interesting thing however, is the fact that most of the church publications were in Kiswahili. This must have been to their realization that it was expensive for the same church to publish in the language of ever linguistic group they intended to convert to christianity.

In addition there is the obvious linguistic reason. At that time no orthography had been developed in these different languages to enable people to write in those languages. And as the decision was made to develop Kiswahili, the like-lihood of these languages being committed to writing seemed very remote right from the early days. Even the development of the Swahili orthography at that time was very much at its infancy stage.

The missionaries option to publish most of their publications in Kiswahili was a great factor which contributed to a smooth development of the language. Matters could have been different if they also resorted to producing publications in the numerous mother tongues. There is much to be said in favour of the German language policy which placed great emphasis in the use of one common language.

It must not be understood that the missionaries did not write anything in the mother tongue or about the mother tongues. They compiled grammars and simple dictionaries and word lists in some vernaculars. These were primarily meant to help the missionaries in learning those languages for missionary purposes. Except a few, most of these works have disappeared from the scene. The reason of their disappearance can be accouted to the attitude of the British rule on the African languages. They were deemed more or less worthless and because of that attitude no more work was carried out. It is also true to say that the works were put in print and could not be reprinted anymore. A few of those works accidentally found a place in the archives of mission centres. Those who put a lot of work in them and those who appreciated how valuable these publications were, made arrange-ments for their safe custody elsewhere outside the country. So it is possible to find copies of these books or publications in Government and mission archives and libraries in Europe but impossible to come across any in Tanzania itself. Some of these works had been destroyed, especially during transition periods, i.e. from German rule to British rule and British rule to African rule. The destruction was unconsciously done for the majority who came across such materials had no idea of their value.

It is now we start to be aware of the loss of this treasure. The value of these works both for pure linguistic, sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic studies at the present moment is highly desired. It seems we have no alternative except to start over again.
1.7 Islam and the Spread of Kiswahili

As I mentioned above, Kiswahili was associated with Islam by the Christian missionaries, and even today there are people who still think so, but they are a minority. Nevertheless, the fact that Kiswahili was associated with Islam is a matter that we cannot ignore when a discussion on the history of the spread of the language takes place. Because formal education had been associated with the activities of Christian missionaries, there is often very little said about the role played by Islam in the development of Kiswahili.

Kiswahili has two scripts - the Arabic script and the Roman script. Although the former is relatively used by the few who are proficient in it, it is important to know that this script is much older than the Roman one in the history of Kiswahili. The Roman script for Kiswahili started to be developed in the 1650s, when the first printing press was established in Zanzibar by the Universities Mission to Central Africa (U.M.C.A.).

Most traditional poems written by coastal people had been written in the Arabic script. For many years Swahili poetry as part of oral tradition had not been put in writing, and even today some of it is not written though it is sung or recited at occasions. The problem however is that, we have lost a substantial amount of this literature as many of those who know it very well have died and the knowledge has been buried with them. In this particular respect there is much to be said for the role the Arabic script played, for its use by the early Swahili scholars, not only has preserved some of this important traditional literature but also provides today with a fascinating area of research and study.

Some efforts are being made to collect these materials, and then transliterate and translate in the Roman script those which are worth translating. As the majority of the literate people are literate in the Roman script it is logical that more people would be able to take advantage of what these scholars have written in the Arabic script if their works are put into the Roman script. As far as collection of materials written in Arabic script as well as some written in Roman script, I wish to pay special tribute to J.A.T. Allen, a distinguished Swahili scholar, whose collection of old manuscripts are a great asset to the development of Kiswahili. This collection is now in the custody of the Institute of Kiswahili Research of the University of Dar-es-Salaam. Work has started in deciphering the content in these materials into Roman script. So far a book has already been published by the Institute from these materials, and further research is in progress. However I need to point out here that this work of transliterating and translating into the Roman script has been an ongoing activity for many years, especially in the field of traditional Swahili poetry.

While on the question of scripts, I would like to mention that in the early days of the German administration some official correspondence, especially from Akidas and Liwaliis was being carried in the Arabic script. This however created problems on the part of the German colonial masters. One District Commissioner who was stationed in Tanga from 1890-1892 is worth mentioning here. This man experienced great troubles in understanding letters written in the Arabic script. Because of that, he declared that all official correspondence at the local government level will have to be written in the Roman (Latin) script. This was adopted in 1899.

Though the influence of Arabic in Kiswahili is not entirely due to the spread of Islam as some of it is due to trade contact with the Arab world, we cannot however deny that the spread of Islam especially through the Koran schools made great numbers of Moslems in Tanzania literate in Kiswahili in the Arabic script. When we talk about illiteracy nowadays, we tend to think only in terms of literacy in the use of the Roman script. There are thousands of Tanzanians who in the context of the Roman alphabet are illiterate but who in the context of the Arabic script are literate, and some are even distinguished scholars.
I am not advocating that those who make use of the Arabic script should not struggle to be literate in the Roman script. To suggest so would be a retrogressive step for a decision had been made almost a hundred years ago that the script for standard Kiswahili was to be the Roman one. All that I wish to emphasize is that the spread of Islam, just like the spread of Christianity has contributed greatly to the development of the language. In spite of the fact that the teaching of Islam was recited in Arabic, all the interpretations of Islam were and still is done in Kiswahili, and needless to say a very sophisticated use of the language.

The use of Kiswahili as the language of interpretation in Islam teaching everywhere it took place is a major reason as to why anywhere where Islam has penetrated, most of its followers, both young and old are conversant with the language. In the remote areas they are more fluent in spoken Kiswahili than those who are followers of Christianity. This is because in some of the remote areas interpretation of the Bible had been going on in the vernaculars dominant in those areas.

It is also interesting to mention that, there is a clear distinction between the Kiswahili spoken by those who had gone through Moslem education and those who have been given general education in the normal formal school. The former's version is more influenced by the Arabic language, whereas the latter, which is the recognized standard, has reduced very much the Arabic characteristics. I say 'reduced' because this was consciously done in the process of standardization. We could even say that the latter version is more Bantu in character than the former.

Until today attitudes towards the two versions vary. In the context of the standard language especially for communicative purposes, the latter (the Bantuised) enjoys greater recognition all over the country. However, the speaker of the former, especially the scholars in this group look at the other version with sense of despondence. They look at it as a debased form of the true authentic form, that is the one they speak themselves. One of these prominent scholars has blended it and calls it 'Kiserihaali' meaning pertaining to government, i.e., the sort of Kiswahili which has been established through deliberate language planning, which was a government decision.

Despite the presence of these attitudes, it has to be pointed out that both groups recognized the importance of continuing with the work of standardizing the language mostly in the lines which have already been established by the early Swahili language planners. This does not mean that modification cannot be effected whenever desired. This allowance gives any critic the opportunity to put forward his views, and this is what happens in the discussions and activities that take place in the present day Swahili institutions. The whole situation is not seen as a tug-of-war but as one which gives room for co-operation. Because of right given for every organization in the countries to contribute, suggestions on language development pour into the language institutions from different institutions in the country as well as from individuals.

1.3 Change of language policy in the later years of British administration

During the German period, and the early years of the British rule, educational planning in the territory, was entirely for the Africans as the minority group did not constitute adequate numbers to warrant some consideration. In the later years of the British colonial administration however, there were sufficient numbers of European and Asian children. Planning for their education became necessary too.

A tripartite policy was introduced in education. There were separate schools for European, Asian and African children. These schools were staffed and provided with materials in accordance with the demands laid down in the aims and
objectives of the education being provided to the different groups. This was the time when secondary school education came into being in the country.

The European schools were there to prepare the children of the servants of the Imperial Government for further education in the United Kingdom. The British always regarded the Asians during their rule in Tanzania Mainland as their middle men in the colonial civil service. The education planned for them had to be of a standard that would satisfy the requirements of middle grade jobs in the government. As for the Africans, the objectives of providing them with education almost remained the same as it used to be in the early days, which was providing education for the purpose of getting auxiliary staff. In the colonial civil service in Tanzania Mainland there was a clear administrative hierarchy, the Europeans being the masters were at the top, then the Asians in the middle and the African right at the bottom.

This period is important in the history of language for education, for it is during this time when English had to come in as a language of education at a much greater scale than before. This was the real beginning of the competition between English and Kiswahili in the schools curriculum. Besides being the medium of instruction in all the three types of schools, English as a subject was also given far more time in the time-table than that given to Kiswahili - twelve hours a week of English as opposed to two hours of Kiswahili of week.

The position of English was reinforced by the weight given to it in the school certificate examinations, for a failure in the English language at that time meant no award of the Overseas Cambridge School Certificate regardless whether one passed with distinctions in other five or six subjects.

Employment policy also changed. Proficiency in the English language became the yardstick for employment and prosperity. Employment during that time meant white collar jobs. Selection of students into secondary schools was too highly based on their performance in English.

Kiswahili was not taught in both the European and Asian secondary schools. Its status in the government administration almost reversed. In the African secondary schools the attitude on the subject was more or less no different from the other schools. It had the least number of hours in the time-table as I have already said, and the teaching of the subject was assigned to very low academically qualified people most of whom were not trained to teach it. Some of those assigned to teach it were carpentry and agriculture instructors who actually were not trained teachers.

1.9 The Post colonial Education Policy.

One of the first changes which had to be made when the country became independent, was the integration of the three types of schools based on race. This was a political decision. Tanzania Mainland (Tanganyika) believe in the human rights of mankind, and opposed to institutions which perpetuates racism. (J.K. Nyerere (1967) in Education for Self-Reliance, published by Government Press, Dar-es-Salaam).

The language policy in the secondary schools remained more or less the same, after independence, English being given prominence in the curriculum. In 1967, when the Arisha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance came into being, there was a change of attitude towards English and Kiswahili. The change has come about because of the new emphasis given to objective reappraisal of the situation in Tanzania. The system which we had inherited from the British discarded the African values and the need to relate education so that it becomes meaningful to the society. This is well outlined in J.K. Nyereres booklets on the Arisha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance to which I wish to refer my readers.
If education has to serve the people and must respect the values of the society, then the roles of the two languages had to be looked at afresh. I have already discussed this in the introduction and therefore I do not wish to repeat it here again.

However, English still remains as the medium of instruction in most subjects. It is however no longer the determining factor in the award of the school certificate. The present policy has reversed the situation. A failure in Swahili in the National School Certificate Examination means no award of a full certificate, but a statement of results.

It is also worth mentioning here that the prestige and status of Swahili teaching has greatly changed when first Tanzania pulled out of the Overseas Cambridge School Certificate Examination, and then from the East African Examination Council. Swahili papers were drafted by scholars in Cambridge who were very traditional. For many years emphasis had been on translation questions. This in a way gave no motivation to the students and teachers to learn the language.

When the National School Certificate Examination was introduced in Tanzania, there was a fear from overseas examination bodies that the standard of examining the language was going to drop. The situation proved the contrary. The same bodies which expressed doubt endorsed after they had seen the papers that the standard was extremely high. And since then great stride has been made in the teaching of the subject in the primary and secondary schools, colleges and at the university.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 The standardization of the Swahili language

2.1 General Comment

Much has been written about the standard form of Kiswahili, but very little if any on the process of standardization itself.

Going through the old files of the former Inter-territorial (Kiswahili) Language Committee of East Africa, several of which are now in the hands of the Institute of Kiswahili Research at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, we can realize how consciously the colonial governments in the four territories (Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar) worked together in standardising Kiswahili not only for one country but for the whole of East Africa. This was a great foresight on the part of the colonial administration in East Africa.

It is not possible in this limited space to give all the details on process of standardization which took place during the early stages which continues to take place even at the present time. Standardization just like planning itself is a continuous process. Nevertheless, the description that follows would at least suffice as an example of the tremendous effort that had been put into this work in the past, and what is being done at present, through established institutions.

2.2 Work on standardization during the Colonial Period.

2.2.1 The establishment of the Inter-Territorial (Kiswahili) Language Committee

Kiswahili, compared with other local languages was spoken widely in East Africa. After the First Great War, Britain became the sole colonial government in the East African territories, and for this reason it was possible for the four territories to discuss matters which were of common interest to them, one of which was that of developing Kiswahili as a common African language for communication and education. The colonial governments, through the advice of their respective educational authorities decided to set up a language body which they called the Inter-Territorial (Kiswahili) Language Committee, whose terms of reference are well outlined in W.H. Whitley (1959). The major task of the Committee was that of standardizing the language - its orthography, vocabulary and grammar. It was given the responsibility to decide as what is standard and what was not standard. The standard Swahili dictionaries grammar books and many other tests which are in the market today receive an official endorsement before they were allowed to be used by the public, especially in the schools.

For many years the majority of its members were European Swahili scholars, most of them missionaries who worked for the different missionary societies, such as the C.M.S., U.M.C.A.,Methodist Church and the Catholic Church. I have deliberately decided to mention this in order to acknowledge the fact that the white men and the colonial governments in East Africa have contributed a great deal to the making of this language which today is the national pride of Tanzania as well as an asset of East Africa as a lingua franca. I suppose to a pride in Africa for those who believe that the African languages have a role in building Africa. The majority of the members being white men at that time was not a deliberate denial of the role of the East Africans, it was simply due to the fact that by that time very few Africans had the scholarly knowledge to be able to participate effectively in much of the work which demanded expert knowledge and experience. This could say was an unfortunate situation, for there are certain abnormalities especially in the orthography which could have been avoided if adequate native Swahili scholars were involved. There are claims by some scholars such as Mohamed Ali who advocate that much of the orthography has been distorted because either the Whitemen who were responsible for the work on orthography were not sure of what was the right thing or that they formulated some of the orthography for their
can advantage. That is to say those sounds which were difficult to them, had to be modified to accommodate easy pronunciation. It is true as you will see later that simplification of sounds and vocabulary was one aspect of the process, but this was not based on the above reason. It was purely a linguistic planning process which had to be taken into consideration the overall linguistic situation. The language has been developed primarily for use by the Africans and not by Europeans.

Any person or group of people devising an orthography must take into account a number of points if the orthography is to be useful later. These being:

(i) the orthography must cause the least problems to whoever is going to use it.

(ii) the wider it can be used the more useful it becomes.

(iii) the simpler it is the more effective it becomes in promoting learning of a language.

The maker of the Swahili orthography were very conscious of all those aspects, and in spite of a few shortcomings, the Swahili orthography is today among the most efficient orthographies in the world.

The process of simplification is illustrated in the elimination of certain letters representing difficult sounds to many speakers. These are sounds most in load words e.g.

- khabari becomes habari
- kheri becomes heri
- absante becomes asante

However, the kh is normally retained in personal names. There is a history behind it as to why it is retained in person names. By the time the Sultan of Zanzibar name started with Kh- and to change it would have amounted to an act of insubordination. There are person names which formally carried the Kh but nowadays the Kh is sometimes dropped. Such names are Hamidu, Hamis, Hamdain. Sometimes the Kh and h are in free variation.

In order to make an effective orthography, one must have a knowledge of the distinct sounds of the language for which he makes the orthography. As it is always difficult to have a one to one representation of the sounds and the alphabet letters, orthographers devise way of overcoming this difficulty. The ordinary typewriter does not have letters for some of these sounds in the key board. Kiswahili has a number of these sounds from the words it has borrowed from Arabic. Such sounds are ; ; ; ; ; ; and . In order to represent these sounds in the orthography the Swahili orthographers made use of the combination device. For instance:

- d + h as in chambani ambani in English chin
- t + h as in thammini menini in English eighty
- g + h as in ghavama amama in English cost/value
- k + h as in bakshishi in English tip
- a + h as in ajamba amba in English farm

Then there are words in other peoples speech are homophones as well as
homographs. That is they are pronounced the same and written in the same way, whereas they are supposed or should be different in the spoken and written language. In the speech of some native speakers of Kiswahili, the words harufu and kuwa each carries two meanings as follows:

- harufu: letter of the alphabet, bad smell
- kuwa: the verb to be, the verb grow

Though there aren’t many instances of this sort, yet the orthographers introduced new words which released each of the above words from one of the meanings through a process of introducing new letters sounds or delition. In the first word above for example the letter sound has been introduced in opposition to the sound so creating a new word herufi. This new word takes the first meaning which is the 'letter of the alphabet' and the word harufu retains its second meaning which is 'bad smell'.

In order to create a new word to take up one of the meaning of kuwa, a process of delition had to take place. The y was dropped, and the new word kua assumed the meaning to grow while.

However, there are words of a similar form and similar variation in pronunciation, in the speech of many Swahili speakers, but which have not gone through the same process. Two examples of such works are jua and ua. These are the standard forms but some native speakers, especially those of the coast pronounce them with a wa - hence jua and uwa respectively. This pronunciation is not considered standard and does not constitute new words with new meanings. Each of the two words has more than one meaning:

- jua: the sun, to know
- ua: flower, enclosure - usually backyard of a house, kill

There are several other words (homographs) in Kiswahili with several meanings, such as paa, kaa and taa. From this observation one cannot conclude that the standardizers were in consistent in applying their linguistic know how. It simply means that in any language there arises a time when for efficiency reasons, some words have to be relieved of their load, whereas others continue to have various meanings.

The decision to arrive at an agreed orthography in certain words was met after serious lengthy discussion. Some of these are still under debate despite the fact that they have been in use for many years now. The examples of words whose orthography had caused heated debates are: njie (native) nje (scorpion), mbwa (dog) and mbu (mosquito). In pronouncing them, there is a glottal top which precedes, which sounds like another n or m. In order to conform to the idea that we must write the language in the way in which it is pronounced, the purists advocate that the words should be written thus: njie, nje, mbwa and mbu. This point is still debated amongst Swahili scholars.

Another example which may seem simple to the readers but which caused heated argument over the years of the making of the orthography, was on the
orthographical letters to represent the sounds y and gy, now represented as follows in the standard orthography: y represented by ng as in ngoma (draw/dance) and gy represented by ng' as in ng'ombe (cow/cattle).

The debate was centered on the use of the apostrophe in ng'ombe and other words with that sound. Some of those who did not like the use of the apostrophe wanted the use of gy in the orthography. The problem of course was that the y is not in the keyboard of the conventional ordinary typewriters. However the dispute was settled and the distinction between ng and ng' remains and causes no problem at all.

Today, Kiswahili is said to have one of the language with a very efficient orthography. This has been achieved through conscious effort.

It took a long time to arrive at a workable orthography. The work started in the mid-twenties, and although the orthography has been in the use for many years now, it is not free from further discussion. There are areas of uncertainty. These are areas whereby the people are not sure of how to spell certain words. One of such examples is seen in the alternative ways of writing some of the words as single words at times, and at other times as double words. Eg.

mbalimbali mbali mbali
polepole pole pole
sawa sawa sawa sawa
yeyote ye yote
vile vile vile
kokote ko kote
e tc.

Kiswahili has come into contact with other languages in the country, most of which belong to the Bantu group. The Bantu speaker in the interior have the habit of inserting vowels between consonant clusters in words which are not present in the Bantu cluster inventory. The orthographers had also to consider this problem when they were working out the orthography especially in trying to provide an orthography which was not going to create a problem. So the spelling of a number of words, particularly those from Arabic had to be modified. Words like Khabari, khofo became habari and hofu in the standard orthography. Likewise words like tafsiti, tadhalii and bahashahi became tafsiri, tafachali and bahashahi in the standard form.

A language like Kiswahili which is used in a wide area has many varieties. Some of the varieties of Kiswahili have already been described by scholars like W. Whitely and Lambert.

One of the major tasks the Committee had to face was to make a decision as to which of the major dialects of Kiswahili was to be adopted as the standard. Here too, it was not a question of random selection. Some consideration on the linguistic, geographical, social and economic factors had to be brought into play. Finally after carefully organized discussions it was decided to adopt the Zanzibar dialect as the standard followed with some modification as I had explained above. The reasons which made them arrive at the decision were as follows:

(1) It was the dialect which was widely spoken.
(ii) Compared with other dialects like Ki-Lamu and Ki-Mvita, it has less Arabic characteristics, and therefore it was likely not to cause many problems both in standardizing it as well as in using it.

(iii) Its geographical position was such that it could spread in the interior with less difficulty. It had an open hinterland.

The adoption of the Zanzibar dialect was not the end of the standardization process. In fact it was the beginning and though the language has reached a well advanced stage the process is still in progress. There is no time in the history of the Swahili language as the present when its contact with other languages and the need to express modern concepts, has made the work on standardization more important than before.

The influx of new words into the language is tremendous. These words have to go through the process either by conscious introducing them in the language when the need arises, or by after they have come into the language in the natural way. The following are only a handful of such examples:

(i) demokrasi for democracy from English
(ii) koloni for colony " "
(iii) mkolonli for imperialist " "
(iv) protini for protein " "
(v) manowari for man-of-war " "
(vi) bepari for bepar (merchant capitalist) " Indian
(vii) mini for mini-skirt or dress " English
(viii) meksi for maxi-skirt or dress " "
(ix) nanasi for ananas (pineapple) " Portuguese
(x) meza for mesa (table) " "
(xi) mdarisi for mdaaris (lecturer) " Arabic
(xii) mahafali for makhifali (congregation) " "

The borrowing of words is not only limited to foreign languages like English, Arabic, and Portuguese. Borrowing also takes place from the other African local languages spoken in the country. Just like the other words from foreign languages the borrowed words from the African language have also to go through the standardization process. They must be approved as standard before they are put into official use. Below are a few examples:

(i) Haku for State House.
(ii) Bunge for Parliament/National Assembly.
(iii) Mbunge for Member of Parliament.
(iv) Bunge for Membership of Parliament.
(v) Nembo for Court of Arms.
One of the notable advantages of Kiswahili is in its ability to accommodate new words from other languages, and adopt or adapt them to suit its needs. In the making of any language, borrowing is a sensitive operation. It is likely to bring about opposition from the 'purists'. This is also the case in the development of Kiswahili. The advantage we have in Tanzania is that the institutions responsible for the work on standardization, namely the Swahili National Council, the Institute of Kiswahili Research and others have scholars who believe in purism as well as scholars who believe in borrowing as a natural tendency of any living language, and that when borrowing takes place, the end product could change the original shape of the word and sometimes its meaning.

In order to emphasize the point that since 1925, there has been constant planning for Kiswahili, I have decided to quote in full one of the very early discussions which took place in 1930 which have been taken from one of the files on standardization. This would give the readers a first hand information on how the work was being conducted. Several of the points I have already discussed in detail. Also, the quotation portrays the degree of co-operation amongst government, individuals, institutions and agencies, something which is extremely essential in language planning if the policy is to be put into practice. The full quotation is as follows:

"INTER- TERRITORIAL LANGUAGE COMMITTEE"
(Kenya, Tanganyika Territory, Uganda and Zanzibar.)

Resolutions of the Committee for the Standardization of the Swahili Language which sat at Dar-es-Salaam in October, 1925; which were subsequently confirmed by the Conference held in Mombasa in June 1928, subject to modifications in accordance with Resolutions taken at a meeting of the Inter-Territorial Language Committee which sat at Nairobi in April 1930.

Resolution No. 1. That the Zanzibar dialect with such modifications as may be required be adopted as the standard form of Swahili.

Resolution No. 2. That in deciding on the modifications, Bantu words be employed wherever possible, but due regard should be paid to Arabic words (and those of other foreign languages) which are established and have become part and parcel of the Swahili language.

(Note: Amended by the words in brackets at the Mombasa Conference.)

Resolution No. 3. That a permanent committee be appointed for the purposes of giving advice and encouragement in the preparation of literature and for revising any work before its publication.

Resolution No. 4. That the Governments and Missions of the four dependencies, Tanganyika Territory, Kenya Colony, Zanzibar (and Uganda) be asked to nominate representatives on this permanent committee, and that native representatives be included in their number.

(Note: Amended at the Mombasa Conference to include Uganda and Nyasaland, but the latter did not come into the scheme.)

Resolution No. 5. That the books referred to in Resolution No. 3 be the text books of schools and all literature other than periodicals and pamphlets of a local nature, and that the Missions also be invited to submit their religious publications for the purpose of language revision only. (That the work of selection of suitable texts should devolve on the main committee in co-operation with the Education Departments of the Dependencies concerned and that a permanent
sub-committee should be formed, who would be charged with the translation or
linguistic revision of the texts selected.
(Note: The words in brackets are a proposal made at the
Mombasa Conference.)

Resolution No. 6. That this committee as part of its functions should also
endeavour to revise or procure the revision of existing works before new editions
are published.

Resolution No. 7. That no peculiarities of local dialects be permitted to
influence the written or standardised Swahili. (It was recognised that
susceptibility to dialectic influence was an historical fact and that resistance of
such influences could only be held to mean the discouragement of gratuitous
importations.)
(Note: Words in brackets are from the Mombasa Conference
Report.)

Resolution No. 8. That for the purpose of simplification and uniformity and the
removal of the possibility of confusion it is suggested that the following
characters be employed:

dh for the hard voiced sound as in 'that'
th for the soft unvoiced sound as in 'thin'
gh for the guttural sound as in Arabic words as 'ghali'
ch for the ch sound as in 'church'
ng for the nasal sound as in 'singing'
h for the ordinary aspirate and also for the Arabic 'kh' except in the
case of proper names, when the 'kh' may be retained if the name is
usually spelt with 'kh' now.
(Note: the words voiced and unvoiced are substituted in place
of hard and soft in accordance with a suggestion by-
Prof. Meinhof at the Mombasa Conference. His suggestion
that diacritical marks be used to distinguish between
aspirated and unaspirated k, p and t was not adopted
vide Resolution No. 1 of the Inter-territorial Language
Committee.)

Resolution No. 9. That in certain words where 'y' is sometimes inserted between
two words through the influence of 'e' or 'i', such as 'mayayi' for 'mayai' and
'tembeya' for 'tembea', the 'y' be omitted. Similarly the tendency to insert 'w'
between 'o' or 'u' and another vowel be resisted, as in 'owa' for 'oa' and 'uma'
for 'ua'.

Resolution No. 10. That in the case of the relative, 'y' be retained in the
following instances:

Class 1. Nliye- tuliye- niendayi. tiendayi.
tuliye- (but tulo-) umendaye. (but tuendayi)
siye- aendaye.
liye (but pl. ndio.)

Class 11. (mto) ulio- pl. iliyo- (upitao) pl. ipitayo.
(ndio) pl. ndiyo.
Class III. Singular. iliyo- ijengwayo; ndiyo

Class V. (lilo) pl. yaliyo-; pl. yavujayo; pl. ndiyo.

Also when the preposition 'na' or 'si' is joined to the personal or class pronoun in the above classes:

Class I. Naye (pl. nao) siye (pl. sio)

Class II. (nao) pl. nayo. (sio) pl. sioy.

Class III. nayo (pl. nazo) siygo (pl. sizo)

Class V. (nalvo) pl. nayo. (silo) pl. siyo.

Also in the words 'siyo' meaning 'no' and 'ndiyo' 'yes'.

Resolution No. 11. That double consonants, that is duplication of the same consonant in the middle of words, are unnecessary and should be written as one only:- Basel, hata, shida, kila, hasa, bila, bere, ila, ilu, asubhi, mara etc.

(Note: Mombasa Conference considered that this matter might be left to the permanent Committee for decision. The Inter-territorial Language Committee decided to leave the resolution unaltered. vide Resolution No. 2).

Resolution No. 12. This resolution dealt with the spelling of words which are sometimes spelt in different ways, and contains examples, but as a list of these words is being circulated among the readers of the Inter-territorial Language Committee for consideration, the resolution is given here without the examples except where necessary:

That whenever possible the spelling of words should be simplified and fixed, and alternate spellings be avoided..... Words in common use but frequently spelt in different ways should retain the popular spelling ..... That where one word, having several meanings exists in two or more forms, difference of form should follow difference of meaning, thus in the use of 'harufu' and 'herufi' either of which can mean 'a smell' or 'letter of the alphabet', the use of 'harufu' should be restricted to 'a smell' and 'herufi' to 'a letter of the alphabet'..... That certain words which are sometimes used in Arabic form be Bantuised... but that words be retained which present no difficulty and are so commonly used in their form that to uproot them would be difficult....For the sake of simplicity, certain words which have double vowels (boonde, muungu etc...) but are pronounced with only one, should be spelt with only one...The guiding principles should be:-

(1) The Bantuisation of all Arabic and foreign words as far as possible;

(2) Fixing the spelling of all words with due regard to the commonest pronunciation, not necessarily the most correct form from the foreign point of view;

(3) The simplification of all words which have through more or less common usage become wrongly spelt; and,

(4) The establishing wherever possible of a distinction between words with two or more meanings.

(Note:-At the Mombasa Conference, it was felt that separate consideration should be given to the example shown in the resolution (which have been left out) as those questions arose.
Resolution No. 3 of the Inter-territorial Language Committee deals with this subject: "it was resolved that the Secretary be asked to prepare and circulate a list of words frequently spelt in different ways, giving the spelling as adopted by the Publication Committee of Tanganyika Territory; that this list be submitted first to the Readers for their criticism; that in cases where the readers are equally divided in their opinions as to the spelling to be adopted, the Secretary be authorised to have a casting vote".

Resolution No. 13. That the following and similar words, now frequently written as one, be written as two distinct words: ye yote, po pote, etc., vivi hivi, ule ule, etc., siku zote; but that when verbs are re-duplicated such as kuzunguka -zunguka, that the word be treated and written as one word only.

Resolution No. 14. That in deciding when 'L' and 'R' are to be used in the spelling of words, each word must be treated on its own merits, but that wherever possible 'L' should be retained because 'L' is more usually substituted for 'R' than 'R' for 'L'.

Resolution No. 15. That living things in the N class of nouns, such as ng'ombe, mbuzi, etc., be treated as being in the first class for forming their possessive pronouns, but that in the plural they must follow the rule of the N class. For the purpose of the verb and adjective, they follow the 1st class both in the singular and plural.

Singular: Ng'ombe wangu mkubwa anekwenda.
Plural: Ng'ombe zangu wakubwa wote wamekwenda.

The following names of relations, however, are exceptions and in possessive use the prefixes of the N class both in the singular and plural. Mama, Baba, adui, jirani, rafiki, etc., Singular: Baba yangu. Plural: Baba zangu.

Resolution No. 16. When a word can be used in more than one class one of which is the ma- class of nouns, the latter should be used to denote magnitude wherever possible.

Resolution No. 17. That a clear distinction should be established between the -nge- and -ngali- tenses, the former corresponding to 'If I should' or 'should I' and the latter to 'If I should have' or 'Had I'.

Resolution No. 18. That if permission could be obtained for their revision, the Exercise book and Handbook (grammar portion only) by Bishop Steere would be the most suitable for adoption as a standard grammar, and Madan's Dictionaries as a standard work.

2.3 **Transformation of the Inter-Territorial Language Committee.**

When the East African dependencies became independent the name of the institution was changed and became known as "the East African Swahili Committee" but its terms of reference remained more or less the same. However it became closely related with the University of East Africa as at certain times it has been under the directorship of the Head of the Linguistic and Language Department of Dar-es-Salaam.

In 1963/64 it was agreed to place the body under the aegis of the University College Dar-es-Salaam, which by then was a constituent college of the University of East Africa. The University of East Africa before it broke up into three
autonomous national universities, it comprised of the university colleges of Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania, Nairobi in Kenya and Makerere in Uganda.

The reasons behind the move to make the body part of the university are as follows:

(i) it will be in an academic atmosphere which provides conclusive facilities for scientific research work in language.

(ii) its researchers will have easy contact with other scholars who work at the university and other international linguists and scholars who pay frequent visits to the university.

(iii) the staff will also have access to other facilities available at the university such as accommodation, library facilities. Before it moved to the university campus it had very limited accommodation in the middle of the town whose rent was very high, and there were practically no reference books.

(iv) the funds for running the East African Swahili Committee were very meagre-usually obtained from subventions from Kenya and Tanzania. It was thought that by placing the institution under the auspices of the university, it would be easier to negotiate for more funds and hence expound the research activities.

(v) by being at the university the institution will be able to enjoy other university privileges, such as training of its staff through university funds or by using funds from external sources which are channelled through the university.

(vi) by being at the university the staff will be able to contribute to the teaching work and building of materials at the university both for teaching and further research.

The move was effected in 1964, and historically, it is a landmark in the history of the language, for the act of placing it under the umbrella of the highest seat of learning in East Africa was nothing less than a clear indication that the East Africa Governments run by the Africans themselves recognized the great need for further development plans for this language.

This time again its name changed and assumed the name of 'The Institute of Swahili Research' of the University of Dar-es-Salaam. Though the University of Dar-es-Salaam is a national institution, its objectives of developing the language are not limited to the political boundaries of Tanzania. The objectives remain the same as those of the defunct Inter-territorial Language Committee and the then East African Swahili Committee, with of course some modifications and emphasis in order to conform to changing conditions. The overall objective is to maintain the language in East Africa. For this reason the Institute of Swahili Research has representation in its Board from the three East African countries.

There are now moves to place the institute in firm lines under the East African Authority, make each of the East African countries contribute equally in terms of finance and manpower if possible. If the move materializes, the institute will be under the aegis of the East African Community. Negotiations are still in progress.

Lyndon Harris (in Fishman J. Ferguson C.A. and Das Gupta 1959) discussing the position of Kiswahili in East Africa is of the opinion that the failure
to form the long anticipated East African Federation is a blow to the great hopes on the development of Kiswahili as a strong language in East Africa. His point might be justified by the present move to strengthen the position of Kiswahili by placing it under the East African Community. However negotiations are still going on.

2.4 A Summary of Institutions in Tanzania which are Associated with the Promotion of Kiswahili.

Realizing that the work of developing the language covers a wide area, the government operates a policy which allows a certain amount of diversification in activities and approach through several established government and semi-government institutions. Through their constitutions, these bodies offer a common ground for co-operation and co-ordination, something which is much desired in a poor country like Tanzania which has opted to invest comparatively large sums of money for the development of the language. Later I will comment briefly on the co-ordination set up.

The organization does not place the institutions under one ministerial responsibility. The Ministry of National Education is responsible for all the active ties that have direct relation to the schools. It delegates the responsibilities to bodies like the Institute of Education which is responsible for curriculum development; the Examination Council which is responsible for the national public examination; and the Tanzania supplies which is responsible for the distribution of materials to schools.

The Ministry of National Education has as a directorate for Adult education, which in conjunction with the Institute of Adult Education takes care of Adult literacy work. The Institute of Adult Education which until recently was under the university, is now a parastatal organization under the Ministry of National Education. It is mainly concerned in "continuing education".

Besides, the Ministry of National Education, as the parent ministry of the University of Dar-es-Salaam, is responsible for the Institute of Swahili Research, the Departments of Kiswahili and Education. As I said earlier, the Institute of Swahili Research has assumed the responsibility of the former East African Swahili Committee. Though there are a few amendments to the constitution, the aims and objectives of the Institute remain almost the same as they were under the previous body. However, the Institute activities have greatly expanded. There are more demands for increasing research work and putting the research findings into practical use. The Institute is primarily concerned with standardization and promotion of the language. It maintains a close link with the other bodies associated with the development of the language. It does this by inviting representation in its bodies from the other established institutions like the National Swahili Council. The Institutes of Adult Education and Education, U.K.U.T.A. and officials from the Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Culture. The regular contacts through this kind of representation, first establishes the important concept of working together. Secondly it provides the opportunity for all the interested parties to air their views on the activities of the Institute. Thirdly, as the representatives come from active bodies which are also involved in the development of Kiswahili, it makes it possible for them to know what is done in the institute, and hence avoid areas of duplication.

Besides the Ministry of National Education, there is the Ministry of Culture and Youth, which is responsible for the National Swahili Council. The National Swahili Council was established by an act of Parliament in 1967. Before this Council became under this Ministry it was under the Ministry of National Education which by then incorporated a section of Culture and Youth. This was before Culture and Youth was established as a separate Ministry.
The Council has been given an overall responsibility to see to it that the language in all its aspects is being developed in the right lines. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is also playing a major role in promoting the language. It does this through the mass media and other official publications. The Ministry controls the Dar-es-Salaam Printing Press, which has always been a printing press which produces a number of materials in Kiswahili. However much more is done in broadcasting. Kiswahili has a national as well as a commercial programme run by Radio Tanzania. In both programmes, Kiswahili is the dominant language. Besides the station runs special programmes about the language and conducts radio lessons for schools. Most newspapers in the country use Kiswahili as the medium.

It is worthwhile mentioning here that the government and Swahili scholars are very particular about the use of standard Kiswahili, and because of this most of the language used in the mass media, though reflects minor divergencies from the norm, is in most cases the standard.

It would not be fair to say that the above mentioned are the only institutions that contribute to the building of the language. Other ministries and parastatal organisations are also playing a great part. Certain ministries have set up Committees specifically to deal with problems that arise in the use of the language. These Committees were set up as a direct result of a directive from the Prime Minister's Office which demanded that by 1st August 1974 wherever it was possible, whether in the Central or Regional Administration, and in other organisations, Kiswahili had to operate as the language of communication. The directive also said that all official designation in offices, road signs and other labels had to be written in Kiswahili. The activities of these committees have done a substantial work on different terminologies.

Besides the government supported bodies, there is UKUTA (Ustawi wa Kiswahili na Ushairi Tanzania). This is a voluntary body, run by distinguished local Swahili scholars. So far the Society's major contribution has been in the field of poetry. Its members have always been custodians of the rules of Swahili poetry, an area of the language which has a long traditional history. Anyone trying to disobey the recognized rules is likely to face some kind of confrontation from these scholars. The young emerging poets who have had the opportunity to be taught literature on Western lines, and who in a way wish to transfer their knowledge of poetic rules of English as a sign of creativeness on their part have met with great resistance. Whether they will break through in the future or not will largely depend on the future strength of their influence. They are not barred from writing in the style they wish, but just that their poetry is not considered poetry in terms of Swahili poetic rules.

It would be misleading to think that there is no creativity in Swahili poetry, for it is from this particular body (UKUTA) that a unique kind of poetry now commonly known as NGONJERA has emerged. Its founder was the first Chairman (Mathias Maya-Mpala).

Ngonjera recognized as a powerful tool of expression came into being during the early days of political awareness, but much so after the Arusha Declaration which brought about a new wave in political thinking in Tanzania.

The structure of 'Ngonjera' (the poem) is always in a dialogue form involving groups of people ranging from two to ten. The poems are recited and acted on the stage. Always the poems are recited at political meetings and other public occasions, and they always convey special messages to the public. Hence creativity is allowed but it must be within the established rules of Swahili poetry.
It would be too very unfair not to mention the work of the church and Moslem Institutions in this respect. The church has had a long history of active participation in the building of Kiswahili, and until today its members are co-operating with the other institutions in seeing to it that the language is developed. Some church denominations have their own presses (e.g. Nolanda Mission Press and Kipalanpala Catholic Press) and most of the materials including newspapers are produced in Kiswahili.
PART II

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Further on Language Engineering

After fifty years of conscious planning for Kiswahili, we can say that the language has entered a new era. Though the work of standardization is still in progress, the most important preoccupation of the Swahili development planners is to see that the language is developed to meet the increasing modern technological concepts.

Until today there are many linguists in the world who feel that it is impossible for the African languages to emerge as modern and scientific languages, and some even go further to suggest that, it is a waste of time to think of developing some of these languages for modern and scientific purposes, in the same lines the European languages have been developed. They even go further to say for example that to provide education to African children through the medium of an African language is denying those children and the people in general the opportunity to develop their intellect which is much desired for modern advancement. In simple straight forward language, they imply, and some even bluntly say that development in these countries will remain primitive so long as the use of the African languages prevail.

What I consider rather disturbing is the way in which wholesale conclusions, based on biased attitudes are allowed to come even from linguists and sociolinguists, who are aware of the many other situations which in the past, and some in the very near past, had similar problems and sometimes even more complex language problems, but whose languages today have been fully developed to cope with modern needs in those respective countries - North Korea, Bulgaria and Finland are a few of such countries.

Another disturbing issue is the fact that there exists a negative attitude amongst recognized international linguists when it comes to discussing plans of developing African languages for wider communications, and for meeting modern concepts. There is a feeling that if an African linguist or scholar strongly speaks in favour of the development of an African language he is by face value seriously taken to be an enemy of the international world languages now dominating the world. This is a very unfortunate situation, for instead of working together the well known linguists and the African linguists seem to work in different directions. Of course there are a few well known international linguists who have a positive attitude towards African languages, and some have already contributed towards the development of African languages. As far as Kiswahili is concerned, we have linguists like Wholf Whitely, Knappert, L. Harris, Edgar Polome and several others whose contribution to the development of the language cannot be underestimated. Even so, it is extremely important to point out that what is mostly demanded in the African situation, is not carrying out theoretical studies for their own sake. Theoretical studies must be transformed in practical utility. It is well a good for rich countries investing heavily on language surveys and research if the findings are going to serve a useful purpose in the countries where the researches or surveys are carried out. But the trend until now has not moved in that direction. Such studies have helped several experts to compile materials for use in institutions outside Africa. The national scholars of the countries where the surveys have taken place seem to benefit very little from the work which has been done. It is sad to say something like this, but at least it must be said by someone.
The African languages south of the Sahara are very many and the majority of them have not been developed at all. For this reason one can argue that the majority of them are unable to meet the demands of this modern world. But having said so, it would be unscientific for me to claim without empirical evidence that any of these languages is incapable of developing into a modern technological and scientific language in years to come. To say so would mean basing my conclusions on assumptions.

English has probably grown to be a very powerful modern language and few will quarrel with that. But anyone who has seriously studied the history of the English language would equally not disagree with the fact that there was a time when it was very impoverished - a time when it was inadequate to cater for many modern concepts of that time especially in the scientific and technological fields. For instance there was a time when English was considered inadequate as a language of law and medicine. There was too a time when the Central Government of Britain was conducted in a foreign language as English was not considered dignified in an administration conducted by autocrats. Indeed it is true that some of these foreign languages were imposed by colonizers but this does not rule out the argument about the English language at that time.

Most linguists who are aware of the history of the development of the English language know that a lot of work has gone into developing the English language through the centuries, and this conscious planning for the development of English is still in process despite the fact that it is one of the very powerful languages of the world. The English language has borrowed words from many languages including African languages, in order to meet new demands. The builders of the language also made use of internal resources of the language itself in the effort of getting new words. However, when one tries to argue that the same stages or approaches which have been used in making English a great language could be applied in developing other languages, the argument is received with contempt.

There are a few languages today south of the Sahara which are showing some promising signs that they can develop depending on the determination of the countries concerned, into modern languages which can meet scientific and technological demands. One of those is Kiswahili, which forms the focus of this place of work. In the rest of this Chapter, I am trying to show that the language, given the chance is capable of meeting the demands of modern concepts.

3.1 Kiswahili and new concepts

3.1.1 Advances and Counter Advances

For any living language the struggle to acquire new language in order to meet new demands is a natural phenomenon. The ability of any language to do so often depends on its potential power to grow. This includes its flexibility in adopting and adapting new words which come with new ideas or concepts. It would also depend on its internal resources which could allow a great amount of coinage to take place instead of depending on such resources from other languages.

Whitely (1959) writing on the shortcomings of using Kiswahili for modern concepts, singles out one particular example, and basing his argument on this example makes unsound linguistic generalisation. He argues that the effort to make Kiswahili cope with new modern concepts is almost meeting a dead end because the language does not have enough of its vocabulary to replace the existing ones which are in English for example. But in the first place did English for instance have its own vocabulary when it was faced with the same problem? Secondly he argues that because the language does not have adequate words the tendency is to overload some of the existing words. This example is based on the different
realisations of the word *uchumi* (Whitely 1959, Swahili - the Rise of a National Language).

His example is based on isolated factors which are not unique to Kiswahili for in any language there are words which have a low function load and others with high functional load. Therefore Whitely's argument is linguistically vulnerable.

First of all in the process of linguistic change, new words come into the language to cater for new concepts, and old ones either disappear because new words have replaced them or because the ideas or things they represent have become obsolete. In the process of change too, some words which might have specialized meaning could become general by acquiring other meanings besides the first one. Likewise some words which formerly had general and ordinary meaning could assume specialized meaning.

The argument which has been put forward cannot be used as a valid argument for the inability of a language to make new words for new concepts unless it is proved that the problem covers a wide spectrum in the language. Even in English, the language considered very adequate, there are words which have a very high functional load. The word *bill* in English is one of those words, and I here below outline just some of its meanings:

(i) slender or flat beak of some birds.
(ii) narrow headland.
(iii) point on the fluke of an anchor.
(iv) caress (figuratively used).
(v) weapon with a handle and curved blade.
(vi) hack (to bill someone).
(vii) draft of proposed legislation submitted to the Houses of Parliament.
(viii) amount rendered for goods or services.
(ix) menu (bill of fare)
(x) certificate of testifying to the health of a ship's crew before a voyage (bill of health)
(xi) official receipt given by a ship's captain for the cargo he carries (bill of loading)
(xii) list of numbered items describing the quantity of work to be done on a civil engineering or building contract (bill of quantities)
(xiii) be up to the standard required (fill the bill)
(xiv) announce by placards.

Such other words which can be used to counter the argument are mine, minister, bear, better and book.

Having said so, I am by no means underrating the problem faced by those concerned in language engineering in Kiswahili. All I am trying to say is that arguments based on generalisation are likely to be counter forces directed towards the development of some languages.

Another attitude which prevails in some of those concerned in building Kiswahili is one whereby there is insistence of substituting every terminology with a word in Kiswahili. This is attempting the impossible for in the history of language engineering it has never been possible to accomplish self-sufficiency in terminology in such a way. Most developed languages have adopted and adapted what is now commonly known as *international vocabulary*. Such vocabulary is no longer regarded as belonging to Greek, Arabic, English, French etc., despite the fact that their origins can be traced into these languages.
3.1.2 How are new concepts met in Kiswahili?

When there is demand to meet a new concept, a word or group of words would develop either naturally or through conscious formation whereby certain devices in building new words are used. There was for example a time when the aeroplane was unknown to the Swahili speaking people simply because it never existed in the environment of these people. It was a very strange object when they saw it for the first time. To them it had no name, but because the had to talk about it they associated it with a bird, and therefore called it Ndege Ulaya. Literally it means the bird of Europe (Ndege - bird and Ulaya - Europe). At the beginning 'aeroplane' has always been referred to as ndege ulaya, but nowadays it is even not necessary to add the qualifier ulaya, because the word ndege itself in the context of aviation means aeroplane.

Sometimes during the Great Wars, the Swahili speaking people saw for the first time in East Africa warships. By then the word met had already been adopted for the 'passenger ships'. But there was yet no name in Kiswahili for warships. They heard the white men calling these ships 'man-of-war'. As there was no equivalent object that they knew, and which they could have associated with these ships, as in the case of 'ndege-bird-aeroplane', it was decided to adopt and adapt the name man-of-war and hence the new word in Kiswahili became manowari.

Today the Swahili language has many words which have come into the language from different languages in this way. The following are a few examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word in Kiswahili</th>
<th>From English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>motokaa</td>
<td>motor-car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lori</td>
<td>lorry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baiskel</td>
<td>bicycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koti</td>
<td>coat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skuli</td>
<td>school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kariakoo (name of a certain area in Dar-es-Salaam)</td>
<td>Carriers Call (place where people who were carrying loads during the Great War camped)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penseli</td>
<td>pencil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pancha</td>
<td>puncture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bluu</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaji</td>
<td>a Judge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stet-hausi</td>
<td>state house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taili</td>
<td>tyre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daktari</td>
<td>doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarumbeta</td>
<td>trumpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demokrasi</td>
<td>democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>msoshalisti</td>
<td>a socialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtapta</td>
<td>interpreter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and many others.
Word in Kiswahili  From Arabic
Mwalimu (teacher) Maahim
masikiti (mosque) masjid
maghariki (West: Evening) megerebi
habari (news) xabaar
salaam (good news: a greeting) salaam
shukrani (thank you) sukran
mhadhara (lecture) m hadara
mdarisi (lecturer) m d rris

Kiswahili has about twenty five percent of its loan words from Arabic.

Word in Kiswahili  From German
shule schülle
hela hella

Words in Kiswahili  From Portuguese
nanasi ananas
meza mesa

The subject is so wide that one can write a whole book on it, however
the above example serves to illustrate the point I am trying to put across. This
process hasn't by all means come to an end. In order to meet the demand for a
scientific and technological language, Kiswahili is today absorbing a lot of new
words from other languages as well as from the 'international stock of vocabulary'.
The present moment is witnessing a tremendous development of the language towards
meeting the needs of this modern world. The next decade will prove whether the
language is fully capable of working its way up as a language of technology.

When we discuss the question of language engineering, we usually mean
the development of a language at all stages, so that it can serve as an effective
tool in different disciplines or walks of life. Africa is today undergoing great
educational, political, cultural and economic change. Languages are used as
vehicles in these different disciplines. In the sections that follow I will
discuss the role being played by Kiswahili in these disciplines, and at the same
time how development in these disciplines is affecting the growth of the language.
Each of the disciplines covers a wide area, and therefore the discussions that
follow are by no means exhaustive.

3.2 The Language in Politics

As a lingua franca, Kiswahili is a very powerful language of politics in
the country. Tanzania being a country of numerous mother tongues, the role of
Kiswahili as a unifying factor must be overemphasized.

Politics, just like any other discipline has its jargon. Since the time
of the struggle for political independence, Kiswahili has acquired very many
political terms. Political slogans for instance have been a characteristic fea-
ture, expressing certain concepts of intentions. For instance the word Uhuru,
meaning freedom was the first important TANU slogan. At the time politicians
greeted each other and other people by using the word 'Uhuru'. Public political
meetings started and ended with the slogan.
Immediately after independence there was a need to explain to the people that independence had to be accompanied by work - hence another slogan came into being. This was UHURU NA KAZI (Freedom and Work). The formulation of slogans and their use by itself can make an interesting field of research. It is a phenomenon which can give us an insight into how the Party and Government have consciously been planning for national building activities. In the history of Tanzania since the time of the struggle for political independence, slogans have been used as catalytic devices towards mobilization for action. Not very long ago when it was felt that there was a need to increase agriculture production, the slogan became Siasa ni Kilimo. Literally this would read as Politics is Agriculture, but what is actually meant by the slogan is "Emphasis must be on agriculture". In 1974 when the whole world was threatened by famine, in her effort to produce more food crops, Tanzania came up with the slogan 'KILIMO CHA KUFU NA KUFONA', meaning 'Cultivation for survival'.

At the time of the struggle for independence the following vocabulary emerged:

(i) mkololi for imperialist
(ii) makolori for colonies
(iii) demokrasi for democracy
(iv) umoja wa mataifa for United Nations
(v) haki za binadamu for Human Rights
(vi) kujitawala wengewe for self governing
(vii) fedheha for humiliation
(viii) kugandamizwa for to be oppressed

and many others. The items (iv - viii) show the use of common words in the language, but in the political context, they have acquired specialized meaning. The turning of common words in specialized language has helped the people to have no difficulty in understanding the political messages which were being passed onto them. This in a way proves that from its own resources, the language can build up terminology which will express the same concepts as those expressed by the use of the international political vocabulary. In the new dictionaries which are now in the process of being compiled, many new political terminology will be included. Occasionally some lists of political terms are printed in KISWAHILI, a Journal of the Institute of Swahili Research of the University of Dar-es-Salaam and HUCHA VENU a Journal of the National Swahili Council. There are also lists of political words for the syllabus on Political Education in the secondary schools. When the term 'African Socialism' started to be used by African Politicians, there was almost a worldwide objection to the term from some Western politicians and political scientists. They claimed that there was nothing like 'African Socialism' - and that socialism only can be described in terms of Marxism and Leninism. This objection as I can see it, seems to assume on the part of those objected to the use of the term 'African Socialism' that no more new thought on what socialism means can emerge. This is politics which is beyond my realm, but it is politics as a stimulus for the creation of political terminology which interests me.

Tanzania, in her effort to avoid undue fruitless argument on the use of the terms 'Socialism' and 'African Socialism' resorted to the adoption of the Swahili word UJAMAA which in the context of Tanzania, and what she believes to be African Socialism is very fitting. 'Ujamaa' then is recognized as a Tanzanian concept of socialism seems to have been accepted to be a different kind of socialism by even those who formerly expressed some objection in the use of the term 'African Socialism'. As the term Ujamaa is now widely used in international literature, it won't be wrong to say that this is a clear example whereby Kiswahili as a developing language has also contributed to political thought.
The following is a short list which represents only a handful of English words (international words) which have Swahili equivalents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kiswahili</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a socialist</td>
<td>msoshalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an imperialist</td>
<td>mkoloni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capitalist</td>
<td>bepara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capitalism</td>
<td>ubepari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feudalism</td>
<td>ubeberu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feudalist</td>
<td>beberu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>democracy</td>
<td>demokrasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaker (in Parliament)</td>
<td>spika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>budget</td>
<td>bajeti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>committee</td>
<td>kamati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>Bunge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
<td>Mbunge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership of Parliament</td>
<td>Ubunge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politics</td>
<td>siasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politician</td>
<td>mwanasiasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>court of arms</td>
<td>nembo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bill (before it becomes law)</td>
<td>mswaada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>sheria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person charge of treason</td>
<td>mnaini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a sitting (for Parliament or meeting)</td>
<td>kikao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those in favour (when taking a vote)</td>
<td>wasiofiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
<td>Rais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>Waziri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>election</td>
<td>uchaguzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vote (n)</td>
<td>kura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>counting votes</td>
<td>kuhesabu kura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spoilt votes</td>
<td>kura zilizoharibika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>represent</td>
<td>kuwasilisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Great Nations</td>
<td>Mataifa yenye Nguvu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador/High Commissioner</td>
<td>Balozi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embassy/High Commission</td>
<td>Ubalozi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diplomatic relation</td>
<td>uhusiuno wa kibalozi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4  The Language and Economics

Just as in the other disciplines, there is also a lot being done to cater for economic concepts. In Kiswahili we talk of 'Uhumu wa Nahi' (the country's economy), Nipango ya Uhumu (Economic planning), Mpango wa miaka
mikono mitambu (Five Year Plan). Here below more vocabulary in this field, which also represents very few of the now existing words in the field.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kiswahili</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uohimi</td>
<td>economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwanauchumi</td>
<td>an economist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raslimali</td>
<td>capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundi</td>
<td>cheque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karadha</td>
<td>premium bond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faida</td>
<td>interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasara</td>
<td>loss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deni</td>
<td>debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fedha za kigani</td>
<td>foreign currency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mkopo</td>
<td>loan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>msaada</td>
<td>aid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>msaada kutoka nchi ya nje</td>
<td>external aid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biashara</td>
<td>trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutoa (in Bank transaction)</td>
<td>to withdraw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuingiza (in Bank transaction)</td>
<td>to deposit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhasinu</td>
<td>barsar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pwana Fedha</td>
<td>a cashier/accountant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five years ago the College of Business in collaboration with the Institute of Swahili Research of the University of Dar-es-Salaam made up a list of terms in this field. Most of these terms would be included in the dictionaries which are now being compiled by the Institute of Kiswahili Research.

3.5 The Language in Education

As it has already been mentioned in the previous sections, Kiswahili has been used as a language for primary education since the time formal education was introduced. I have also given examples and explained how the standardization and promotion work which has previously been undertaken in order to make the language adequate for educational purposes. This work is still in progress, and the need to strengthen the language as a tool for primary education became eminent, when in 1967 the government declared Kiswahili as the sole medium of instruction in the primary schools, except in a few schools which serve children of expatriates and diplomats.

3.6 Can Kiswahili become the language of instruction in Secondary Schools and Institutions of Higher Learning?

The answer as far as I am concerned is Yes: No depending on how one looks at the issue. The policy states quite clearly that the medium of instruction in these institutions is English, but in practice both English and Kiswahili play an important role as vehicles for education both at the secondary school level and at the university of Dar-es-Salaam. Many teachers of different subjects in the secondary schools consciously make use of Kiswahili as a supplementary language of education. At certain times teacher reverts to the use of Kiswahili without
their being consciously aware. "In Form I and II, I use a lot of Kiswahili when I teach Mathematics, instead of sticking to the use of English. My experience is that through such an approach my students seem to understand my lessons better than when I stick to English", commented one teacher. This in fact is the reality of the situation whether it is accepted or not.

At one time when I was observing a university student conducting a practical science lesson in Form III, Ohon's law being the subject of the lesson, he only used English for a few minutes during his introduction. For the rest of the time the discussions went on in Kiswahili. This lapse into Kiswahili came naturally. Both the teacher and the students enjoyed the lesson. Everyone participated actively as they were using a language which they had no problem with. Of course during the discussion the 'international vocabulary' which included such words like amplifier, positive, negative, circuit and others were heard being used. I hope this was legitimate and I find no reason why such vocabulary should not be adopted and adapted into the Swahili language of science as the language continues to discover new ground in the field of science.

It is important to mention here that by government policy Kiswahili is the medium of instruction for Political Education in the secondary schools. The argument put forward is that the subject would better be understood in the national language. There had been no difficulty in implementing this policy because the teaching of the subject is supposed to be taught to the local teachers, whereas for the other subjects, expatriate teachers who are not familiar with Kiswahili still play an important part.

At the University of Dar-es-Salaam, linguistics is taught in Kiswahili in the Department of Kiswahili since July 1974. Despite some misgivings which were expressed before, both the teacher and the students are quite happy with the developments. Those who are familiar with the subject of Linguistics understand that it is one of the subjects which has a lot of intrinsic terminology. The Department produced some of this terminology into Kiswahili before the teaching in Kiswahili was introduced. However much more work on terminology is being done in the process of teaching. People have to face the problems in order for the solutions to the problems - and this is one of the positive approaches which the department has taken. It is a more practical approach than just talking about the problems in theoretical terms.

One might argue that after all it is legitimate to make use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in the department of Kiswahili, but the argument of using the language cannot be extended to other subjects. However I would prefer to leave that subject to the attention of my readers. But before I do so I would like too to bring to the attention of my readers that there is a substantial amount of teaching which goes on in Kiswahili, especially in discussion groups when particularly the groups concerned are composed of students who speak and understand the language. Most of the ideological classes in Development Studies which are conducted in the Institute of Development Studies at the University take place in Kiswahili.

It is likely that some of my readers, especially those against the use of this language in secondary schools and institutions of Higher Learning, would interpret my argument negatively. I have not here suggested that Kiswahili should take the place of English as a language of education, but it won't displease me if it did so in the areas where it can be used, especially in the secondary schools. However my task is to implement policy, and therefore the subject at the policy making level is outside my realm, and actually is not the primary point of my discussion. All I am trying to point out here is that the argument whether Kiswahili can be a language of education in the secondary schools and
higher institution seems to me not the problem, for it is already being used in certain areas in these institutions. What is important is to see how we can strengthen its position in these areas. As to its further use in other areas circumstances of the time will tell as the language develops, after all planning means choosing from available alternatives.

3.7 The Language and the Building of National Culture

The first valid question which is likely to be asked is - what is Tanzanian National Culture anyway? Is there really something which we can label 'Tanzanian National Culture' or 'Utamaduni wa Taifa la Tanzania' as we call it in Kiswahili?

The answer is simple, for, in the way in which we conceive the terms 'Western culture', 'European culture', 'American culture' and 'British culture', should be the same way in which we should interpret the term 'Tanzanian culture'. Western culture for instance will include European culture and American culture. British culture includes that of the English, Welsh, Irish and Scots, leave alone minor groups within those major groups.

In the discussion that follows, I will confine myself to the development of Tanzanian National culture which is predominantly African.

As it has been said and emphasized elsewhere, particularly at Unesco meeting that in the context of cultural development, the only legitimate languages are the local languages of those people whose culture is being expressed. (Unesco reports on meetings of experts on African languages - with special reference to their use in educational, cultural, economic and political development).

The argument is, in order to express the English culture well, the best tool for doing so lies in the use of the English language. I think this is a reasonable argument. Likewise the best tool for expressing the French, the Russian, the Arabic, the Indian and the African cultures are the respective languages spoken by the people that make those cultures. I have used the word best deliberately for, it is possible for me to talk about the English culture by using Kiswahili which my own language and which is an African language. But the fact is that it is not the best tool as there are occasions which cultural manifestations in English would be difficult to be expressed through Kiswahili. In Kiswahili for instance, it is acceptable to say Asante Karibu to a visitor at the time of his leaving after the guest has said Kwaheri (Goodbye). Literally it means 'Thank you, come near' (Thank you come in). In English when someone says Goodbye the reply is Goodbye. Of course the host can add please you call again. The English host does not say Thank you, come in.

In English words like silly, foolish and stupid can sometimes be applied loosely. For instance a son can say to his mother or father 'Don't be silly Mum', or 'Don't be stupid Dad' and so on, without causing an offence to his father and mother. In the Swahili standard dictionary the words silly, foolish and stupid are translated as mjinga, mpumbavu. These carry very strong derogatory meanings and the freedom of using them loosely is very limited. This is to say therefore, unless a Swahili speaking understands the English language and the English culture well, he is likely to be offended if someone says to him in English, 'Don't be silly'. To exemplify this, I remember during my secondary school days when we refused to attend English classes because the teacher who was an English lady, often used the words silly and stupid in the classroom whenever we made simple silly mistakes. She never understood that she was annoying us, what she actually meant is not what we thought. All that she meant is that, "I know you can do it, there is no reason why you can answer the question or why you can't get it right". It took us some time to get convinced that she did not feel that we were 'useless logs'. 
Having said about legitimacy of language in expressing cultural values, one could argue and say that both Kiswahili and English are not the legitimate tools for expressing Tanzanian culture, for the former though an African language does not belong to a particular ethnic group in the country, and the latter is a foreign European language. It is a sound argument of course, but the fact is that Kiswahili being an African language, and for that matter a member of the Bantu group which forms the majority of the languages in the country, is much nearer to them than English is. Kiswahili is made up of words and expressions from other African languages, and for that reason it is not difficult to express the different African Tanzania concepts of culture using Kiswahili.

However, this does not mean that there are no problems. The need for a more adequate language to express adequately the Tanzania culture which is in the flux of developing, research into oral tradition, one of the important activities of the Institute of Swahili Research is proving the validity of Kiswahili as an effective tool in the field. Kiswahili will have to accept some of the vocabulary from the local languages to be part of the language if it is to be a truly adequate language for the fast emerging Tanzanian National Culture. Such a move is likely to face opposition from the Swahili scholars who have a purist point of view. But to oppose the move would mean to limit the functional role of Kiswahili as an important tool in the development of Tanzanian culture. Kiswahili being a lingua franca, as well as the national language of the country, has a unique position in the building of the nation of Tanzania, a position unparalleled by another indigenous African language in the Sub-Saharan continent. Just as the English identify themselves with English and the French with the French language, the Tanzanians as a nation identify themselves with Kiswahili.

3.8 Kiswahili as a vehicle in the development of rural economy in Tanzania

Tanzania's economy is largely dependent on Agriculture. At the moment the exploitation of the land is in the hands of the peasant farmers, most of whom still use traditional ways of tilling the land. The government through formal training and literacy campaign, is trying to educate the people in modern methods in Agriculture. People are not only taught new ways of improving production, but also, through Health education, are taught to appreciate the human need for the right kind of food.

This is a tremendous task through the medium of Kiswahili, which is a common language understood by the majority of the people in the country it is now possible to educate many people in this field with less problems. Agriculture experts made use of this language in their advisory role. Book and newspapers on agriculture have been written in Kiswahili - some of them are simple enough to be understood by the semi-illiterates. The radio too has programmes aimed at educating the masses on agriculture. One cannot possibly envisage at this moment making use of English as a tool in educating the masses in this field.

The country has a few industries, and these are manned by people most of whom speak very little or no English. The only way of communicating with them is through Kiswahili. Any work orientation given to workers is conducted in Kiswahili.

The use of Kiswahili in industry is becoming more and more eminent especially in the small industries which the country is encouraging. The small industries are manned by people, most of whom do not speak or understand English. The government has set up an organisation whose role is to advise those who run these small industries. As most of those who run these industries do not speak English, the only effective medium being used is Kiswahili.
Needless to say adequacy of the language as a tool for communication in this field also needs developing, especially if the industries are to be run on modern economic lines.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Further on Word formation

The formation of new words to represent new concepts follows the same natural process through which most living languages undergo. Some words are formed without much conscious effort, but for others, conscious formation is necessary. Those words which are formed with less conscious effort are usually those whose source is the language itself. They become new words in the context of their acquiring new concepts. The word bunge for instance which today stands for the National Assembly or Parliament has acquired a high specialized restricted meaning than it had before. Before it was adopted, it merely meant a gathering of village elders who usually discussed matters concerning the welfare of the village people. More to that its use was confined to one particular ethnic group, and by its nature very informal. Today the word has acquired a formal meaning and raised status.

By way of derivation, we get from it the words: Mbunge (Member of Parliament), WaMbunge (Members of Parliament), Ubunge (Membership of Parliament).

There are other words which have been acquired from the local languages. So we have Ikulu (State House) and Nenbo (Court of Arms). It is hoped that more research into the indigenous languages would help to enrich the Swahili language in this way.

The word mrija is a common one in the standard Swahili vocabulary which means something that is used for sucking liquid from a container (e.g. a drinking straw). Not long ago, in a political speech when President Nyerere gave it a new meaning to express the concept of ‘exploitation’, he recalled the habit of some of the people of his home district, and also a habit used in other parts of the country whereby several people sit around a large pot drinking local brewed beer from the pot. They use long sucking straws – each person dipping his sucking straw in this one pot. The container is constantly being refilled when it is about to be empty. This drinking and refilling goes on until the source is dried. He associated this with the way in which some rich capitalist countries exploit the poor countries – sometimes several rich countries exploiting one poor country at the same time.

From that new concept, there are now common expressions in the language using the word mrija in that sense, such as Huyu ni mrija. This is an exploiter. Huyu mtu ana mrija mingi. This man has many ways or means of exploiting others.

Earlier on, I explained something about Ujamaa – African Socialism as conceived by Tanzania. The word jamaa, which is also a common standard word in Kiswahili means a relative. Nowadays it has acquired an additional meaning. For example Mjamaa means a Socialist, whose plural is WaJamaa. We have also the expression, Intubidi kufanya kazi kijamaa. We need to work together on socialistic lines.

4.1 Building words by using the Compounding device.

Using the language itself as a resource, many words are being formed through the compounding process. This process has been in play since the early days in the history of the language. The following are only a few examples of words which have been formed through compounding:
(a) Using *mwana* as a generative particle. Literally the word *mwana* means *child*

mwana + ndeni becomes *mwana+ndeni* a national or citizen
mwana + siasa " *mwana+siasa* a politician
mwana + uchumi " *mwana+uchumi* an economist
mwana + sheria " *mwana+sheria* a lawyer
mwana + kiji ji " *mwana+kijiji* member of a village
mwana + mpotevu " *mwana+mpotevu* the prodigal son
mwana + haramu " *mwana+haramu* illegitimate child
mwana + funzi " *mwana+funzi* a student/learner
mwana + anga " *mwana+anga* a pilot
mwana + jeshi " *mwana+jeshi* a soldier
mwana + mwali " *mwana+mwali* a virgin
mwana + mune " *mwana+mune* a male
mwana + mke " *mwana+mke* a female

(b) Using *Afisa* with other words:

Afisa + elimu becomes *Afisa+elimu* Education Officer
Afisa + kilimo " *Afisa+kilimo* Agriculture Officer
Afisa + mifugo " *Afisa-mifugo* Veterinary Officer
Afisa + tawala " *Afisa-tawala* Administrative Officer
Afisa + taaluma " *Afisa-taaluma* Academic Officer
Afisa + magereza " *Afisa-magereza* Prison Officer

* Some of the resulting words are hyphenated and some are not.

(c) Using *mpiga* with other words:

mpiga + simu becomes *mpiga+simu* telephonist or telegraphist
mpiga + kinanda " *mpiga-kinanda* a pianist or cordian
mpiga + kengele " *mpiga-kengele* a bell ringer
mpiga + ngoma " *mpiga-ngoma* a drummer
mpiga + maji " *mpiga+maji* a beer drinker (maji means water)

(d) Using *mpenda* with other words:

mpenda + makuu becomes *mpenda-makuu* a boastful person
mpenda + reha " *mpenda-reha* a liftist
mpenda + senema " *mpenda-senema* a film goer/lover
(e) Using mpika with other words:

mpika + chakula becomes mpika-chakula a cook
(mpisli)

mpika + majungu " mpika-majungu a newsmonger

* pika (verb) means cook

** All the words in (a), (c), (d), (e) are in singular with prefix \w/\w/ when they become plural the prefix is wa , e.g. mwananchi - wananchi; mpandemakum - wapenda makum. Those in (b) use me as Maafisalimi etc.

(f) Using nguvu

nguvu + (ya) + atomiki becomes Nguvu(ya)atomiki Atomic energy

nguvu + (ya) + umeme " Nguvu(ya)umeme electric

nguvu + (ya) + uvutana " Nguvu(ya)uvutano gravity

(g) Other combinations

kiona + mbali becomes kionambali television

kiona + wadudu " kionawadudu microscope

kiua + wadudu " kiuawadudu antibiotic

kiua + saumivu " kiuasaumivu pain killer

pete + mwaka " petemwaka annual ring (biological term)

gari + moshi (vehicle + smoke) " garimoshi train

pima + maji " pimamaji plumbing

kipima + joto " kipimajoto thermometer

kuteka + myara " kutekanyara to hijack

zima + moto " zimamoto fire brigade

nya(ngumi) + mbizi " nyambizi submarine

4.2 The adoption and adaptation of words from other languages but most from what I refer to as international vocabulary.

The formation of new words in Kiswahili, especially in the scientific field recognizes the fact that there are words which now belong to what is known as the international common stock of vocabulary. Whenever therefore it is considered unnecessary to translate a term into Kiswahili, especially when the term is adopted and adapted to conform to the Swahili spelling if necessary. The following are only a few examples:

protini for protein
biologia for biology
kemia for chemistry
kimia for chemical
fizikia for physics
bajeti for budget
lebu for laboratory
okajeni for oxygen
kwini for quinine
makanika for mechanic
nitrojeni for nitrogen
mooshalist for a socialist

4.3 The Elasticity of the Swahili verb (Kunyambulika kwa tendo) as a useful device for word formation

The Swahili verb stem is noted for its great power of elasticity. The following is an example showing the derivations from the verb stem - *pend*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words in Kiswahili</th>
<th>Translation in English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) penda</td>
<td>like or love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) kupendeka</td>
<td>to be liked or loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) pendelea</td>
<td>to favour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) pendeleo</td>
<td>favouritism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) pendelewa</td>
<td>to be favoured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) pendikeza</td>
<td>recommend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) kujipendekeza</td>
<td>to assert oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) pendikezo</td>
<td>a recommendation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ix) pendeza</td>
<td>look nice, make to like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(x) pendesha</td>
<td>cause to like or love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xi) pendo</td>
<td>love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xii) mpendwa</td>
<td>one loved or liked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. Mpendwa Mama - Dear Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xiii) pendelei as in hapendelei</td>
<td>he/she is not interested</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

New verbs coming into Kiswahili tend to be treated in the same way. The degree of elasticity of the verbs differ. Some have greater elasticity than others. The *ratiba* is a loan word from Arabic whose stem is - *ratib*. The following derivations from it are now common words in Kiswahili.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words in Kiswahili</th>
<th>Translation in English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) ratiba</td>
<td>time-table or programme of action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) kuratibu</td>
<td>to co-ordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) ratibu</td>
<td>co-ordinate (imperative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) uratibu</td>
<td>co-ordination - e.g. Uratibu wake simzuri. His co-ordination is not good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) mwratibu</td>
<td>co-ordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) wuratibu</td>
<td>co-ordinators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) ratibiki</td>
<td>that one which can be co-ordinated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) ratibisha</td>
<td>cause to co-ordinate.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What I am trying to illustrate here is that, Kiswahili, just like English or any other living language has its internal structural devices, which it makes use of, in assimilating new words from other languages which enter into it. In this limited space, it is not possible to go into further details of these devices.

When we talk of word engineering in the context of African languages, there seems to be a misconception among some linguists that, because the whole activity is associated with modern advanced knowledge, the only source for language engineering in the African languages is the 'international stock' which I mentioned earlier. The international vocabulary stock is one among many sources.

There are certain disciplines like medicine, physics, chemistry and engineering, whereby the use of the international recognized vocabulary is something desirable. Nevertheless, even here, the usefulness of the international vocabulary is limited to scholarly works. This sort of language is not functional when communication is at the level of the layman.

Here is a crude example but a very realistic one which illustrates the point I have just made. In Africa today, one of the big problems is poor health conditions among the masses. Most of the developing countries, Tanzania being one, have embarked on mass health education, often supported by Unesco and Unicef, operating under the auspices of the Health Departments of the Ministries of Health. In Tanzania there is a well organized machinery which allows the health educators to penetrate even into the remote areas in the rural areas. Most of the people the health education meet are illiterates or semi-illiterates. Though we cannot deny the good job that they do, there are however among the health educators who misuse the tool of their campaign — I mean the language. They make use of the international vocabulary which they obtained when they were themselves being taught the subject by specialists, when they talk to the illiterates and semi-illiterates. Hence one hears such expressions like: "Katika enco hili watoto wengi wanaungan ugonjwa wa Kwashiork". In this area many children suffer from Kwashiork; "Uhaifu mukubwa wa watoto unatikana na malnutrition". The poor health condition of the children is due to malnutrition.

The point I am trying to put forward here is that the words Kwashiork, malnutrition, disentry, mixed diet, protein vitamin C, antibiotic and many others used as they are in Kiswahili mean nothing to these poor illiterates and semi-illiterates. This means that sometimes the intended message does not go across to them. I am afraid to say that some of the people who make use of much inappropriate language in the context I have described are people whose intention is to show off that they know something. In doing so they go astray from the goals.

Let me take the teaching of Biology and Zoology to illustrate another point. These are disciplines, unlike Chemistry, medicine and physics, have much to depend on the environment in which the teaching takes place. In Biology for instance we scientifically refer to trees and animals in terms of flora and fauna. Every place in the world has animals and trees peculiar or unique to that environment and in most cases these are known by the local names given to them by the people living in that environment. If we are to insist that we should use the international scientific vocabulary in the teaching of these subjects at all levels, it is obvious that the subject would be much more difficult to understand than it would have been if the local terms or names of the animal and plant specie are used. I have personally the primary and secondary school situation here. Further research into this field will undoubtedly contribute to the subject of terminology in these disciplines.
Although earlier on I said that the use of international vocabulary in medicine is inevitable, this does not mean that we cannot discover new grounds whereby African languages can play a role. After all the same problem of language use as I have explained in the example of health educators equally apply in any discipline if the transfer of knowledge from the elite to the illiterate and semi-illiterate masses is to be effective.

The newly established Research Institute for traditional medicine, University of Dar-es-Salaam should be able to find an interesting challenge especially in the question of terminologies. Throughout their research, they will come across unique terms which are used by the traditional doctors - the commonly known in Western terminology as native medicine or black magic doctors. The terminology will not only include the current terms used by the native doctors for diseases and drugs, but will also have to include new terminologies which will be coined to cater for new discoveries. For instance if through their research they discover that the roots or barks of a certain tree can cure a certain disease, then there will be no reason why for instance the drug processed after using modern scientific techniques should not for instance assume the name of that tree or the name of that native doctor who is the source of the discovery. After all this is the normal practice in the discipline. This is exactly how the word quinine came into being. This point leads me to the next item I wish to discuss and that is the future of the English, French and other local languages in Tanzania.

4.4 The Future of English and French in Tanzania

As I have explained earlier, English in the context of Tanzania, is one of the languages of Africa and therefore it is there to stay, so long as we maintain that we live in a world community whose many people use English as the language of communication.

French is now being taught in selected secondary schools. The introduction of French as a subject in the school curriculum was primarily due to political consciousness. Africa is today divided into two major blocs - the so-called Monrovia and Casablanca. In plain language the French and English speaking countries. The demand for greater contact and co-operation has prompted the need to teach both English and French. Likewise in the French speaking African countries efforts are being made to teach English.

The growing demand for Kiswahili as the language of educational, culture political and economic development need not be interpreted as a way of doing away with the European languages. In fact at this moment when Kiswahili is mostly used, it is important that English as a second language should properly be taught so as to avoid a drastic fall in the standard of English used by Tanzanians. The recent language survey conducted in Tanzania whose one of its objectives was diverted towards language teaching including the teaching of English and French is an example which illustrates the country's understanding that the teaching of foreign European languages has a place in the educational system.

4.5 The Future of the other indigenous African languages in Tanzania

Many linguists are worried that some languages in Africa, especially those spoken by minority groups are almost in the verge of disappearing. This is true. They advocate that something must be done to them before they disappear completely.
As far as the question is concerned, Tanzania is no exception. Besides Kiswahili, there are over one hundred indigenous African languages spoken by about that number of different ethnic groups.

What should we do about them? This is the question we have already said that language planning means choosing from alternatives. In this particular situation the choice of developing one language was taken since 1925, and this fell on Kiswahili. The factors which have led to it being chosen are educational, political, social and economic. I have already discussed this in the previous sections, I therefore do not wish to repeat it here again. I would however emphasize the point that the choice of Kiswahili was due to the fact that economically and educationally it would have been very expensive to develop all the existing local languages for educational purposes, leave alone the fact that it would cost a fortune to embark on a programme of preserving all these languages before some of them become extinct.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that Tanzania pays great attention to the development of Kiswahili and not to the other local languages, its language policy provides the freedom to make use of these mother-tongues, for social and cultural purposes at the ethnic group level. These languages are important in their social setting, but the fact of life is that, Tanzania being a poor country can afford to develop all of them for wider communication and it would not be wise to advocate so. This is not a unique feature in the world, for even in a country like Britain a choice had to be made to develop English in the expense of other indigenous tongues like Gaelic and Welsh.

The importance given to the development of culture in Tanzania unconsciously contributes to the preservation and development of these various mother tongues. Many songs for example are sung in the mother tongues, and the interest being taken to preserve and promote folklore and material culture with original names, is something which keep these languages alive.

However much more important is the need to expand research work into these languages, Tanzania believes very strongly that a great deal of the development of Kiswahili as an effective tool for nation building cannot ignore the fact that its growth is largely dependent on the other African languages, for they are a great source. This is a factor recognized by the Swahili language institutions in the country, and that is why there is little opposition when new words from the other local languages are adopted in Kiswahili. It is worth mentioning here too that Kiswahili being a Bantu language has largely a Bantu vocabulary and almost a hundred percent Bantu syntax.
PART III

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 Suggestions on strategies

All along I have tried to highlight the strategies which had been employed by Tanzania with the co-operation of the other East African countries in bringing about the state of affairs in which the Swahili language is in today. Likewise I have tried to provide an insight into the present language organization as it exists in Tanzania. In addition to that I have tried to illustrate that, Kiswahili, given the opportunity has great potential capabilities which could make it an adequate modern language.

As I have already mentioned earlier, planning is a continuous process, it is therefore our duty to see to it that we keep on reviewing our strategies towards the work of developing the language in the light of new ideas and observations.

Thornburn (in Fishman J. 1972) writing on Cost-Benefit Analysis in Language Planning states that any planning is always directed towards a problem - or problems. It is not my intention to repeat again the reasons which had led to language planning since 1925 especially with special reference to Kiswahili, for I have already discussed this in the previous sections.

However, I wish to address myself to a general problem - being the need to see to it that language development plans are closely co-ordinated and strengthened wherever possible in order to bring about even more desirable results. For that reason my first suggestion is that both the policy language makers and those whose responsibility is to execute the policy must strengthen their ties of working together.

There is a great need to see to it that the policy makers who are generally politicians, make full use of their professional experts as their technical advisers before policy decisions are reached. A certain amount of consultation would in my opinion minimize a number of problems which could arise if such consultation does not take place. If the policy makers involve the experts at that stage, there would be at least a health link between the policy makers and the ones who are going to implement the policy. I am not saying that there is no co-operation at all between the politician policy makers and the implementers or experts, all I am saying is that there is a need to make sure that the two parties take genuine effort to strengthen their contact.

Having said so, I would like to be a bit more critical of the professionals a group of people to which I myself belong. Sometimes, if not often the professionals are given the opportunity to use their professional know-how as well as the freedom to advise but unfortunately fail to make full use of such an opportunity and freedom. I suppose some do not show keen interest and zeal in the work which they call their profession. And I suppose too that some tend to believe that their realm of work is not allowed to go beyond accepting to implement the policy only, and for that reason live with the idea that only the politicians have the right to the formulation of policy.

Politicians duty is to make policy decisions. But beyond the policy decisions the experts or professionals must come in. This is what the politicians believe. Sometimes rightly or wrongly, they cannot afford long consultations as to how policies should be executed - decisions on policy first and consultations on implementation later. It is therefore the responsibility of the experts or professionals to take over immediately a policy is made, and see to it that they plan for it. But in the same way I suggested that professionals should be involved in the prior discussion with the politicians before a conclusion is reached on a policy decision, the same approach must be used by the professionals during the
the time of their planning. They must make full consultation with the politicians. In other words both these people, the politician and the professional must co-ordinate as the captain and the pilot do in flying a plane.

As far as the politicians and the so called non-politicians are concerned, the Tanzania politician system provides a health area of co-operation, for there are no restrictions to participation in politics. By law, anybody, be he or she a politician by nature, a teacher, a farmer, a businessman, a civil servant, a local government officer, a policeman or a soldier has equal opportunity in political activities. The structure of the system is such that everyone is involved at one level or another. This is a phenomenon which does not exist in other African political systems which still believe that political matters are a concern of the politicians only. In such a case a civil servant, a policeman, or a soldier are not allowed to engage in politics. Their work is to implement and nothing else. Some of our people in Tanzania have still that hangover despite the freedom accorded to them to participate in politics. From this political standpoint there is a great opportunity for the two sides to meet (the professional politicians and non-politicians), at all levels. I cannot see any other opportunity as this whereby the professionals or experts have the open opportunity to influence change when they come face to face with the politicians in important decision making. The problem of contact between the politician as a policy maker and the experts could be summarized as being the inability at certain times to make use of what I consider to be an excellent democratic set up (I have used the term democratic in this context meaning the giving of the individual the freedom to speak. I am not interested in the unprofitable discussions on the dogmas that democracy exists only in a two or multi-party system regardless of whether the true virtues which make democracy are practised or not.)

The question of co-ordination should not just be at the high level. It is essential that it is extended throughout the system. The different institutions I have mentioned earlier must set up an effective machinery of co-operation.

The so-called experts must also co-operate with the laymen. The position of Kiswahili is very unique and it makes it very ridiculous to talk too much about the demarcation between experts and laymen in terms of western standards, for what in western standards are labelled laymen because they do not have paper qualifications, are in fact in the Swahili language some of the scholars in the language. I know this is a point which is familiar with the situation in East Africa, and is hard to understand. To them a scholar must be one who has a formal western education. Among the Swahili speakers there are 'paperless scholars' (this is my own coinage) who though have had little formal education are more scholarly than those who have had paper qualifications, who we wish to refer here to as 'paper scholars'.

In illustrating this point, I cannot resist mentioning the Institute of Swahili Research of the University of Dar-es-Salaam as a typical example of an institution which is experiencing this phenomenon. When in 1963/64 the Institute came into being it concentrated on the 'paper scholars', and for this reason it started to lack the dynamism it had. The last few years when recruitment of staff had been extended to include the 'paperless scholars' the Institute began to show life and dynamism. Up to date a lot of credit must be directed to the 'paperless scholars' who have demonstrated very well that, when given the opportunity they can effectively contribute to the course. But I think even more important than that is the way in which the Institute of Swahili Research has also demonstrated that some important achievement can be reached when the efforts and talents of both the 'paperless' and paper scholars are combined to fulfill a common goal.

Other linguists may find my argument which is in favour of demanding the involvement of 'paperless scholars' in scholarly work as being naive, traditional and conservative. But all I can say is that I am talking of a situation which I
know very well. What I advocate may not be relevant in other situations in other countries as far as language development goes, but in the development of the Swahili language, what I have said is to my opinion a progressive idea in the context of facing the task of developing the language. The reality of the fact is that one has to be scientific as well as pragmatic. To ignore full participation of the 'paperless scholars' amounts to nothing less than pure arrogance which conceals itself under the blanket of academic and professional snobishness, which in turn fosters antagonism between them and the 'paperless scholars'.

However some of the 'paperless scholars' have their own weaknesses and often show some kind of negative attitudes to the 'paper scholars' for no reason. These have equally to be condemned for they are a hindrance to development. Likewise if they wish to win the respect of the 'paper scholars', they have to accept to co-operate with them.

My term 'paperless scholars' may sound to other people rather delegatory, but if you have followed my argument then by now you must understand that I do not mean to be delegatory. As far as I am concerned a paper qualification is beneficial when it can prove to be a resource for the development of mankind and not as a mere label of one's arrogance which he or she uses in claiming that by virtue of his paper qualification he or she is more important than any other person in the community which he lives. We must not allow this to happen or to perpetuate if there are any signs of its existence.

The strategies of language planning are many, and the line one follows will depend on the objectives which have led the nation to the idea of language planning. As far as Kiswahili is concerned the overall national objective is to make Kiswahili an effective tool for nation-building.

The country being economically poor, it is important to see to it that whatever investment the Government makes towards the development of the language, it is carefully and wisely spent. In comparison with other African countries, Tanzania is investing substantially towards the building of this African language, because she strongly believes that in the circumstances in which Tanzania is, Kiswahili has been very resourceful, and undoubtedly will continue to be more resourceful to the country if it is further developed.

Whitely (in Fishman, J., Ferguson C.A. and Das Gupta (1968)) say that unless Tanzania is prepared to invest heavily every year as Turkey had done, one cannot expect marked change in developing Kiswahili as a modern language. The sum he quotes which Turkey had been investing every year is £30,000, which is roughly Tanzania shillings 600,000.

When Whitely wrote this, he only thought of one institution as being the sole institution concerned with the development of the language in Tanzania. This institution being the Institute of Swahili Research which was being run on a meagre budget at the time, whereas it was by tradition the body expected to contribute a lot to the development of Kiswahili. But as I have already mentioned before the implementation machinery for Kiswahili is diversified, and several institutions are financed by the government in order to work on the development of the language. The Ministry of National Education being the major implementing agency has to see that the language is developed adequately to meet educational needs. The Ministry of Culture and Youth through the National Council of Kiswahili is playing a role in seeing to it that the language is developed in all its aspects and especially to meet cultural needs. Then the Institute of Swahili Research, the Department of Kiswahili, the Department of Education and the Institute of Education at the University all have the task of doing research preparing materials and training of high level manpower in the field of Kiswahili.
In all these institutions and others the Government is investing substantially. The Institute of Swahili Research alone is now receiving over Tanzania Shillings 1,000,000, let alone other funds which the Institute gets from other international organizations like Unesco. The National Council of Swahili has been getting about 600,000 shillings every year. Hence there is no question that the country is showing it has a responsibility towards the development of the language. Through careful planning and effective co-ordination there is no reason why Tanzania should not earn even more than what she earns now from her investment into the language. This of course does not mean that there is no need for more funds. The work is a massive one and more and more funds are needed in order to continue with the work.

When I was discussing the question of scholars, I might have given the impression to others that I am not in favour of manpower training. That is far from it. There is a great demand for scientifically trained people in the field of language who can man our various institutions at all levels. The point I was making on the 'paperless' and the 'paper scholar' was an argument at another level explaining a different point, and therefore must not be confused with this one.

It is important that programmes such as those related to curricular at all levels be well formulated and co-ordinated. It is no good for the University for instance, to carry out highly theoretical studies which have no relevance to questions of immediate or long term problems which confront the country. Most of our language departments at the University of Dar-es-Salaam are preparing language teachers for secondary schools, Colleges of National Education as well as for adult literacy work. It is essential, therefore, that the University Authorities who are preparing the students for that work become familiar with what is going on in the secondary schools, Colleges of National Education and in Adult literacy work. What I am suggesting is that there might be a network of effective co-ordination if we are to reap the best results.

Research work must also be intensified at all levels and experimentation must be allowed wherever it is envisaged and it will promote knowledge.

Before I conclude, I would like to mention that our existing programmes have not seriously considered the question of evaluation. Evaluation is an essential and integral part of any planning and needs to be taken as a continuous process as planning is itself. It is important that critical revaluation of the planning is carried out if we are concerned with the effectiveness of what has been planned. The question of evaluation should not be limited to one section or level, it must take into account the entire system, starting from the policy making level right down to the people for whom the plan is intended. It should include assessment of the effectiveness of materials, teachers and the administrative structure. It must also include a cost-benefit analysis. It is only through evaluation that we can change or improve our programmes, as well as adjust ourselves in the light of new experience.

The question of language planning as related to developing nations like Tanzania is a very challenging as well as demanding. There is much yet that one can write on the subject and for that matter in more detail. For that reason I do not wish to claim or pretend to have exhausted the subject. I have not even started I feel. I would like to end by saying that I am an amateur in the field of sociolinguistics, and that I have yet a long way to go. It is my hope that, the famous sociolinguists of the world will not hesitate to join hands with Tanzania i; this massive task of developing Kiswahili not only as a national and official language of Tanzania but also
as an emerging dynamic African language south of the Sahara.

In my own words may I say:

The value of language is to its utility
The absence of utility in language
resembles the frozen sea whose
treasures are buried beneath the
heavy layers of ice and are of no
value to the progress of mankind as
they cannot be reached, however
valuable they might be.


15. Institute of Swahili Research, University of Dar-es-Salaam - Old files of the former inter-Territorial Language Committee.