Kiswahili through the Ages: The Question of Lexicon

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Abstract

Kiswahili has over the past several centuries grown from a community language to an international medium of communication. This is greatly atributed to trade, politics, religion and cultural interaction and exchange. These, among others, have over the ages been the chief rollers in Kiswahili's expansion and development. This means that apart from standardizing it, which was a deliberate effort, there has been no other effort to develop this vital African tongue comparable to the insurmountable effort that was expended to develop English and French, for example, even in the Swahili-speaking area of East and Central Africa. This work obviates Kiswahili's development over several centuries, including the final decades of the last Century (i.e. the 20th Century). It looks at its Kiswahili's detaroriation and argues that there is need for deliberate effort to develop the language.

Key Words: Kiswahili, Lexicon, Language, Future of Kiswahili

Introduction

Several centuries ago, Kiswahili was a language spoken by a handful of people along the coast of East Africa. The native speakers of this language were Bantu people who had crystalized into twelve closely related groups, commonly referred to as "tribes". In reality, although these so-called tribes were so closely related linguistically and culturally there were recognizable dialectical differentiation of their developing language. In those days, Swahili villages (or towns) used to be known by the names of the different "tribes". Outside these "towns", however, the entire Swahili land mass was referred to as Ngozi (Hichens, 1972). It is said that before the language of these people came to be popularly referred to as Kiswahili, it was known as Kingozi. This is understandable since, the native's land was refered to as Ngozi. It was therefore logical that the land of the native speakers be referred to as Kingozi.

There is ample evidence that Kingozi preceded Kiswahili in terms of reference, if not in all terms. No scholar in Kiswahili disputes the fact that Kingozi, obviously an antiquated form of Kiswahili, is the dialect used in several poems written centuries ago by the people mentioned here. As a matter of fact, Kingozi was used in composing and writing Swahili poetry even in quite recent times. Evidence to this is to be found in "Hamziyya", a landmark composition in all of Swahililand. This poem was written in

Kingozi, and as is the nature of this older version of Kiswahili, the piece is almost free of Arabic loan words (Hichens, 1972). This poem in particular, and Kingozi generally, may be regarded as evidence of Nurse and Spear's (1985) claim that Arabic words are a recent phenomenon in Kiswahili, having found inroads into this language not more than just two, three or four centuries ago.

Origin of Swahili

At this juncture, let us critically examine the term **Swahili.** This word could not have gained currency earlier than just a few centuries ago. Before then, the land that came to be called **Uswahilini** (which was located at the furthest end of today's north coastal Kenya) was known by the ancient name of Ngozi. The term Uswahilini was used for the first time in history by Ibn Battuta, an Arab geographer. This was in mid-fourteenth Century. Before this date, other Arab, Italian and Greek geographers and historians, among other peoples of disparate persuasions and scholarship who visited the East African Coast, never used this word in their writings. This could mean that the land of the Swahili people was then not yet known as Uswahilini, and their language was as yet to be referred to as Kiswahili.

It is of utmost significance to mention here that Battuta wrote some detailed explanation about the people he met at the coast in regard to their appearance, their attire, their food, their dwellings and architecture generally, and even the color of their skin (which he emphasized as being very black). He further had a word with regard to their behavior, religion, and their leaders. He did not fail to comment on the language, which he said was spoken proudly and with great oratorical skill. Nevertheless, he did not mention this language by its present name. As a matter of fact, he did not put a tag on the language whose manner of delivery impressed him so much. This may be another indication that it was not yet known by its current title.

Battuta was so meticulous in detailing what he saw and heard that he even managed to jot down a few words and expressions of the language he found people speaking in Swahililand. Among scores of words and expressions found in his diary were "***Mkono wa tembo***" and "***kisukari***". These are not only Swahili words; they are, in fact popular names of two types of bananas found and consumed by the people of present day Swahililand. That Battuta's ear caught these words so well as to enable him to write them down without making an error is not surprising. Bananas and fish, laid in table together, was the main diet of the Swahili then. This was the situation even a century earlier, as confirmed by Ibn Said, another Arab geographer/historian who visited the East African Coast before Battuta (Stigand, 1913).

Battuta did not find a significant presence of Arabs at the Coast; neither did he find people speaking Arabic or a language related to Arabic in any way. If he did, he would have said so, for a person with such a propensity to detail would surely not have skipped information of such significance. It must not be forgotten that Battuta was not only an Arab himself, but a fine scholar in addition. Surely if Kiswahili then had a

significant percentage of Arabic loan words as it does today, wouldn't this extraordinary man have noticed?

Before we overreach ourselves, let us, again, consider the related words, **Swahili** and **Uswahilini.** These words were decidedly not in use when Ibn Said visited the coast a century before Battuta. However, Uswahilini was used in reference to Swahililand in mid-fourteen Century (i.e. during Battuta's visit). Now, if the history of Swahililand is taken into consideration, it becomes obvious that the use of the term had a direct bearing on the advent and settlement of Arabs among Bantu Swahilis. Thirteenth Century (i.e. a century before Battuta's visit) is the date when Omani Arabs are known to have come to the present Swahili Coast and settled there. The first group of these Arabs were of the Nabhany clan, which is recorded to have settled among the Pate tribe of the Swahili in the course of that century.

The Nabhanys never used force against the Pate people. From the thirteenth century, these two peoples lived harmoniously together, each benefiting from the other and engaging in a great cultural exchange. Nonetheless, after some centuries, the Nabhanys took over the leadership of the Pate monarchy. Henceforth, they became overlords over the native Swahili somehow, as they themselves became Africanized (Swahilised). It is only after becoming masters over the land that they exerted great influence upon the Bantus. This is when the coastal Africans slowly became Arabised. With the elapsing of time, the Arab influence on the Africans got the better of the African influence on the Arabs. Thus far, it becomes clear that the people who gave the name Sahel (Arabic for "Coast") to the land that used to be known as Ngozi are these early Omani settlers. That the land came to be eventually referred to as Uswahilini instead of just "Sahel" is thanks to the weakening, though never dying, Bantu influence. After the baptism of Ngozi was consummated and the land was henceforth just Uswahilini, it was to be expected that all the people inhabiting the land (Arabs included) would be referred to as Waswahili (Swahili's), and their language Kiswahili (Swahili). Inasmuch as that was the case, it is quite understandable that one century after the arrival of the settlers, (i.e.when Battuta visited the Coast) the name Uswahilini had eclipsed the native term Ngozi even though the terms Waswahili and Kiswahili, denoting the original inhabitants and their language, were not in popular currency yet.

With the Arabs in power, their influence on the Africans expectedly became greater than that of the latter on the former, especially in relation to aspects of religion and culture generally. Nevertheless, for generations, the language (Kiswahili) appears to have miraculously escaped the great cultural changes enveloping Swahililand. This is evidenced by the entries in Battuta's diary which, apart from the word Uswahilini, little else indicates any significant influence from Arabic. To be precise, the rest of the listed words were mostly Bantu. This is a clear testament that the influence of Arabic on Kingozi (or Kiswahili for that matter) in the fourteenth century was negligible. Further evidence of this state of affairs is to be found in the writings of the same Arab geographer/historian who claimed that in a country bordering Swahililand to the north,

the inhabitants had already converted to the Islamic faith in great numbers, and that their leader spoke Arabic in addition to the native language of his land. This goes a long way to underline the fact that Battuta was a geographer/historian who was so much preoccupied with detailing information that he could not fail to notice Arabic words in Kiswahili, if at all this had already been one of its common features by then.

So far, we have at our disposal evidence to stake a similar claim to that of Nurse and Spear (1985), referred to above, to the effect that Arabic loan words must have found their place in modern Kiswahili only after Arabs (mainly from Oman) took over all leadership from the Africans, thus giving them the power to thoroughly influence the natives in matters of government, culture, religion and, eventually language. However, as stated above, the great influence of Arabic on Kiswahili came much later. The genesis of this invasion of Swahili language was literacy in Arabic. That is to say, when native Swahilis, after learning the Koran and Hadith from Arab-based ecclesiastical schools, started composing poems praising their newly acquired religion and the Prophet … that is when Arabic words found some ground in the Bantu tongue (then probably still referred to as Kingozi). It is then that the name Kingozi (denoting the language) was replaced with the Arabic-derived term Kiswahili. We date this metamorphosis from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. These are the centuries during which Arabs poured into the East African littoral, first in the scattered bands (earlier centuries), and then in great numbers (19th century onwards).

The Arabs are not solely responsible for the influx of Arabic words into Kiswahili, nonetheless. To a significant extent, many Arabic vocabulary items were initiated into this East African language by Africans (Ngozi people) themselves when they felt this great need to civilize themselves (civilization then meant to be like an Arab in every manner possible). Swahilis were desirous of being civilized in the Arab manner with the cultural commanding height being Islam.

In that regard, anybody wishing to be considered cultured was well on the way to achieving the coveted goal, if he strove and succeeded in attaining the select Arabic lexical items. It is that type of person who got the accolades for being articulate. Moreover, it was this type of person who was almost always lent an ear in Swahililand. Whatever came out of such a person's mouth was treated with great respect if not awe. This was because any type of rhetoric devoid of religious sophistication came to be regarded as hollow by the majority of Swahili. Hence the person who was able to spice his speech with a sprinkling of religious pearls was revered a great deal in all Swahililand, as its people steeped themselves deeper and deeper into Islam with the passage of years and centuries. This state of affairs finds a fitting comparison with the situation today whereby people who are in the habit of spicing their African speech with English expressions are regarded by their hearers and themselves as not only advanced in that manner, but actually civilized.

Standard Swahili

The main aims of standardizing Kiswahili during the third decade of 20th C were broadly as follows:

- To put into more advanced uses, a language that had already had the advantage of spreading far and wide in East and Central Africa (indeed a lingua franca); viz, as a tool of spreading the Christian religion, and as a language of instruction in schools.

- To, as much as possible, weed out the teeming Islamic (read Arabic) vocabulary items in it so that the standard (read purified) version of the language is exorcised of its inherent potential to subtly spread Islamic ideas. It is only after the successful purification that the language would have been rendered the best vehicle for spreading Christianity.

- To pick one dialect out of the many found scattered all along the East African coast, so that the chosen tongue might be deliberately and systematically developed. This developed dialect, with its enhanced lexicon, would be rich enough to relay sophisticated concepts, especially in the key area of (Western) education.

The standardization of Kiswahili, because it was spearheaded by Europeans particularly from Britain, had to tread in the footsteps of standardization of English, back in the motherland. In the East African context, this meant that the chosen dialect had to be that of the upper class "Swahilis" of Zanzibar town. This is the dialect that made sense to the standardizers since some work had already been done on it by fellow Europeans such as Bishop Steere and Madan. Inter alia, these two individuals had already prepared and published works such as grammar texts and dictionaries. However, since the upper class "Swahilis" of Zanzibar were invariably Arab settlers from Oman (who had not been Africanized considerably yet), the chosen tongue was heavily weighed with Arabic terminologies which were legitimized by its use in the published works of the luminaries in Kiswahili scholarship; who were, as already stated, almost exclusively Europeans. Other reasons as to why the dialect of Zanzibar town was favoured over the rest were as follows:

- The Europeans involved in the exercise of standardization believed in the leadership of the aristocracy. As such, the language spoken by the Swahili aristocracy had to be the chosen tongue.

- They somewhat arbitrarily decided that the chosen dialect ought to be palatable to the King (the Sultan) and those who assist him in state affairs. In the context of the chosen seat of standard Swahili (i.e. Zanzibar), all the important people in leadership positions were Arabs.

- There was this biased belief by standardizers, enthusiastically supported by the Zanzibar aristocracy, that the Sultan's dialect was superior to that of the native Swahilis of Zanzibar such as the Waunguja, Watumbatu, Wamakunduchi and Wahadimu, which were derisively and derogatorily referred to as "Kiswahili

cha Kishamba" (the upcountry Kiswahili of the peasants). This stereotype grossly heightened the chances of the Kiunguja (or Unguja dialect) spoken by the Sultan and his fellow Arab settlers being chosen albeit arbitrarily.

The choice of the Sultan's dialect as the basis of standard Swahili opened the floodgates to the unchecked invasion of the East African language by Arabic. Inasmuch as that was the trend, it is far from surprising that in a very short span of time, standard Swahili acquired more Arabic loan words than those sneaked into the language by the Arabs and even the Swahili people themselves over the centuries. It does thus appear obvious that the Europeans who standardized Kiswahili were hugely responsible for immensely Arabising it, to such an extent that it almost became a "foreign language" to native Swahili speakers.

Another unfortunate influence that standardization brought about is that English words such as "sistiza" (insist), skrubu (screw), futi (foot), buku (book), pozi (pause), spesheli (special), staili (style), pakia (pack), korti (court), jela (jail), simiti (cement), jaji (judge), laini (line) and a myriad of others were forced into the language quite unnecessarily. Furthermore, the standardizers did not seem to care as to whether the native speakers of the language supported the changes being made with regard to their language or not. Apparently, the standardizers did not see the need to involve native Swahilis in the exercise. And because Swahilis were, to the greatest extent, Moslems who were devoid of power, the will was lacking among the European standardizers to involve them in an undertaking of such immense significance to them.

There was also the problem of attitude. It may be observed that since the greatest majority of standardizers had this unfounded, lingering belief that Kiswahili was a mixture of Arabic (a civilized language, even if its native speakers were Mohammedans or followers of Mahomet) and Bantu (a primitive tongue), they had no problem accepting the many Arabic words found in the speech of the Arab aristocracy in Zanzibar town. And because of such a fixed attitude, nobody bothered to find out whether those Arabic terms had their synonyms in Bantu Kiswahili. This is confirmed by Ahmed Sheikh Nabhany (himself a Swahili Arab) among other Kiswahili scholars and researchers. Of utmost importance is that even though the standardizers did not object to the inclusion of many Arabic words in standard Swahili, a good number of which could not be found in the ordinary speech of native Swahilis, they decided it would be unwise to include many Bantu words (the unrefined source) in their refined tool. And since they did not want to admit that the other dialects were heavily Bantu, and thus sounding more like neighbouring Bantu languages such as Mijikenda, Pokomo and Zaramo, they must have felt that cramming their purified tool with many impure (Bantu) terminologies would be doing a great disservice to both the modified language and themselves. To them, the admixture of enforced Arabic and English loans gave the standard version of the language some much needed sophistication.

The short-term results of standardization conducted in the manner described above was that the standard version of Kiswahili that came out of the exercise alienated the native Swahilis, who promptly branded it "Kiswahili cha kizunguzungu" or "Kiswahili

cha kijingajinga" (i.e. "Europeanized Kiswahili" or "Silly Kiswahili). The repercussions are to be felt even today; so that to this day the type of Kiswahili that drily and prescriptively adheres to Standard Swahili "rules" is today derogatorily referred to as "Kiswahili ngeli" (i.e. dry Noun-class Kiswahili) by native speakers in some quarters.

On the other hand, the uncalled for inclusion of English words into Standard Swahili would prove to be the beginning of a new trend. Henceforth, English and no longer Arabic, would be the invading and uncontrollable force in Kiswahili's development. This new development was given impetus by the forcible replacement of indigenous African education by the all-conquering Western (English) education. Couple this with the fact that most of the teachers and missionaries in the early schools and churches were Europeans, and you have a frightening scenario whereby developing Kiswahili could not be viewed apart from including English words in its expanding lexicon. After all, one of the unstated responsibilities of these teachers and missionaries was to spread the proper form of Kiswahili (read Standard Swahili) all over their sphere of influence.

This expansion of English vocabulary within Kiswahili did not abet but was in fact accelerated with the passage of decades. The trend continued to such an extent that during the 1960s English words within Standard Swahili, even though still fewer than those of Arabic origin, were significantly impressive, percentagewise. This occurrence was so obviously noticeable that it did not fail to excite such Anglo-Saxon linguists as the venerable American Edgar Polome, who exclaimed that sooner rather than later, English would replace Arabic as the foremost donor to Kiswahili (in Whiteley, 1969). He appeared convinced about this contention, particularly since the new technological revolution, which started in Britain, made it impossible for other cultures and languages to resist the dominant Western Culture, and consequently, the English language.

This is the manner in which Kiswahili developed. Hitherto, English and even Arabic terminologies are still finding their way into Kiswahili in no mean manner. This situation is so advanced that native Swahilis who never went to school are more likely than not to be less well-versed in the language that is primarily based on their mother-tongue. Such people may only understand the language when the topics involved are ordinary day to day ones. However, once conversations or debates swift into topics covering education and current global trends and concerns, then the uneducated natives of the language would most invariably find themselves at a loss, notwithstanding the relationship between the standard dialect and their mother-tongue at large.

Development or Deterioration?
The picture painted above would be gloomy indeed, where there are no gains to be made out of it. Fortunately, though, this invention of Kiswahili by other languages has its own benefit. This is due to the fact that there is no single language on earth that has

all the necessary concepts to explain each and every phenomenon in the whole world let alone the vast universe at large. This is impossible since no language, so far, has spread across the expanse of the earth in its entirety. Furthermore, native speakers of any language can as yet claim to be found in every corner of the planet; humanity is still a state of flux.

For that matter, any given advancing speech community is forced to "borrow" terminologies from different communities around the world, and in particular those that it interacts with, so as to fill some special gaps in its linguistic repertoire. It is mainly in this manner that so-called international languages acquire their sophistication. This is how, for example, English expanded so fast and so pervasively. Indeed, it is an indisputable fact that the language leads in the number of known words in its staggering lexicon. It also leads in the number of languages all around the world that it has had to borrow vocabulary items from (McCrum et al, 1986). It is therefore, true that many English words are not native to the language; rather they originated from many languages, dead as well as living, the world over.

To be precise, only 20% of the entire vocabulary of the modern English is native English (i.e. Germanic/Anglo-Saxon (ibid)). The fact is that 80 per cent of the English words in currency are today mostly borrowed from other languages, Kiswahili included (ibid). This is the only way through which a modern advanced language can gain an international dimension … that is, borrowing. Hence, since Kiswahili is undisputedly an international language (even though of less expanse than English and other metropolitan languages), it has no otherwise than to develop in the manner of the more seasoned international languages.

The Need to Develop Kiswahili

That there is an urgent need to develop Kiswahili cannot be gainsaid. What may and should be debated is how this language ought to be developed. This question may be answered by considering how other international languages achieved their sophistication. At this juncture, we will consider the manner in which English was deliberately developed in the area of vocabulary.

Nabhany

Ahmed Sheikh Nabhany, already mentioned above, has utilized the interpretation method, for example, to create terms such as **upili** (secondary), **mangala** (microscope), **ndaki** (university), **uka** (ray), **malezi** (nursery: as in school) and several others. He has also combined two methods, namely interpretation and agglutination, to come up with his most successful word so far in terms of usage. This word is **runinga** and it means television. The word is a fusion of two words: **rununu** ((tele(phone) or sound from a far)) and **maninga** (eyes or vision). From each of the words, the first three letters were dropped after which the fusing was consummated to result in the novel and most fitting term **runinga**.

It is our contention that great progress can be made in the development of Kiswahili if prominent scholars in the area emulated Nabhany. This is not to say that Nabhany is the only Kiswahili enthusiast known to be using these methods to develop the language; far from it. Just consider, for example, the panelists of a famous radio programme "*Lugha Yetu*" (Our Tongue) who in the 1980's, under the leadership of the late **Professor Jay Kitsao**, were able to translate into Kiswahili the expression Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, coming up with **Ukosefu wa Kinga Mwilini,** and then create acronyms out of these words. They consequently agglutinated the acronyms U + Ki + Mwi, thus ending up with the word **UKIMWI,** which means AIDS. This word is the most successful of all ongoing developments in the language's vocabulary enhancement.

Similar development have been registered in Tanzania as well where renowed Kiswahili-based lexicographers at the Institute of Swahili Studies in Dar-es-Salaam University have come up with the term of **muundo-msingi** (Infrastructure) among many others. This term is quite appropriate in the context as a many among the rest of their creations. **Amara**, as used by Kenyans, suits the context even more appropriately, nevertheless. *Muundo-mbinu* has much more recently been developed by the Dar es Salaam team to replace the earlier word.

For a term to be created, to suit the users, and to fit appropriately in its intended use there has to be a great need in terms of the context of usage. The creator of any given term gets motivation from this great need; that is to say the creator has to find himself in a communication cul-de-sac at a moment when he so badly wants to relay some urgent information to an audience. This is almost always the case when the idea to be relayed has crossed his mind in the form of a language not native to him and his audience, but particularly when the concept has no native equivalent. This is the context in which Prof. Kimani Njogu of Twaweza Communications, Nairobi and formerly a Lecturer at Kenyatta University (Nairobi), one day found himself in in his graduate (Master's degree) class when he had to explain the concepts "absurd", "dialogism" and "deconstruction" in Kiswahili. After some embarrassing moments of getting stuck, the words **ubwege** (for absurd), **usemezo** (for dialogism) and **udenguzi** (deconstruction) literally popped out of his mouth, and the problem has been solved! To the relief of the Lecturer and his students, these new Kiswahili concepts made more sense than the English ones used previously in the Swahili class.

In this regard, logic leads us to accept that the words this former Lecturer created are the most appropriate in the context and hence we ought to accept them ourselves. It makes no sense whatsoever, to reject them on the ground that they were created by one individual and furthermore by sheer coincidence, instead of a panel of distinguished linguists or lexicographers. The example we gave earlier on how Shakespeare created the word "assassination", which gained universal acceptance, goes to prove that this kind of reasoning is not only faulty but, at a macro level retrogressive as well. As a matter of fact, evidence is rife which offers ample proof that new concepts in any language are more often than not created by individuals and not panels. The usability

of such created concepts is left to the discretion of the users to judge and make their informed choice.

Following in Nabhany's Footsteps

In my book *Kiswahili: Past, Present and Future Horizons (1998)*, I first recognized Nabhany's creativity and in that regard, do opine that his activities require emulation linguists and lexicographers in the area of Kiswahili. That is not the end of the story, however. In the same chapter of the book, I explain my own pioneering expressions in regard to how they were formulated and what they mean. I also go ahead and give some advice as to the methods that future enthusiasts could use to develop more novel concepts in various areas of the scholarship. In that chapter may be found the term **zutafindaki** (university) which I have proposed that it might be as a synonym to **ndaki** (varsity) Nabhany's word. The term **zutafindaki** is an agglutination of three known Kiswahili words namely: "*zuo*" (books), *utafiti* (research) and *kindakindaki* (thoroughly). "**Zutafundaki**" therefore means a place where books and research are thoroughly engaged in.

Other terminologies that I authored, and which are found in that book, are such as:

1. (a) **Tarakilishi** (currently known as kompyuta, even by experts in Kiswahili). This word is a result of an agglutination of the words mashine (machine), tarakimu (figures) and "akili" (brain). The broad interpretation is thus "a machine that computes like a (human) brain".

    (b) (i) **Tarakilisha** - Compute
        (ii) **Rakili** - also compute

2. **Uka-mraba** - (X-ray. "Uka" is a word authored by Nabhany meaning "ray" as in x ray of light)

3. **Sambao/tandao** -   Mass

4. (i) **Vutoti** -   Gravity
   (ii) **Uvutotishi** - Gravitation
   (iii) **Vutotika** - Gravitate

5. **Vukutoti/vukuti/ripukochi** - Volcano. The English loan word now in use is "volkeno".

6. **Ukiambile** - Supernatural

7. **Maonolimwengu** -   Worldview

8. **Kiunde/viunde** - "Human inventions" as against God's creatures and Creations **Kiumbe/viumbe**).

9. (i) **Usikawaida** - Extraordinary (in literary sense)

    (ii) **Ziyadawaida** - Extraordinary (in a literal sense). Also **Kivowaida**.

10. **Kutumbisha/kitumbi** - Cloning/a clone

The following words are not found in the book referred to above. This is mainly because I authored most of them after the book had already been published. There are some among them, however, which I cannot claim to have authored (i.e. they have been part of the Kiswahili's lexicon for ages) but whose proposed context of usage here is novel, and uniquely limited to narrowed-down specifications.

The lists below include both categories of vocabulary:

1. **Umenke/Menke**-(Gender). The words slipped into popular usage hitherto are "Jinsia" and "Uana". Nonetheless, "uana" was wrongly conceived as it neither means "sex" nor "gender". "Uana" may specifically be used in the context of two closely related things (or beings) whereby one is a smaller version of the other, emanates from it, or is its child. Examples of words in this category are:

Mwanadamu (child of Adam = human being), mwanambuzi (a young goat), mwanameza (a tiny table), mwana wa ndani (a narrow space within a grave where a corpse is placed), and so many others. The concept of "gender" is noticeably absent in all these words. "Jinsia" on the other hand, simply means "type of", and applied to living beings (including humans) it does include the concept of "sex".

2. (i) **Tarifalishi** – E-mail. From "taarifa" (information) and (via) "tarakilishi" (computer). Warakameme may also be used in this context. Nyarakameme is the plural of warakameme. Also baruameme may be used in the same context.

 (ii) **Tarifalisha** - E-mail (verb)

 (iii) **Biasharishi** - E-commerce/E-trade

3. **Vitumeme** - (Electronics). The sound (t) in this word is not aspirated. The words: "Vitu" and "Umeme" are combined after dropping the initial "u" of "umeme".

4. (i) **Kitumeme** – (Electronic devise). The (t) in this word, is not aspirated. Two words are combined: "Kitu" + "Umeme". "Kitu" = thing, whereas "umeme" means electric power.

 (ii) **Elimtumeme** - Electronics (as an area of study)

 (iii) **Sayansi ya Vitumeme** - Electronic Science

 (iv) **Uhandisi wa vitumeme -** Electronic Engineering

 (v) **Vimetushi** - Electrons

 (vi) **Kimetushi** - Electron

5. **Kistima** – (Electronic appliance). The word is formed by combining, "ki" – "which is a class marker in Kiswahili (singular) and "stima" which means electricity. Ki-Vi are singular-plural class markers for "things-things".

6. **Vistima** – (Electrical appliances). This word is formed out of a combination of "vi-", which is a plural (things) class marker and "stima" whose meaning is explained above.

7. **Shamsa** – Solar. This is an Arabic for "sun". Sun is "jua" in Kiswahili. Here the Arabic word is proposed as a technical term in the context, just as the word "video" was borrowed into the English language from Latin recently (McCrum et al, 1986).

8. **Kawi ya shamsa** – solar energy. "Kawi" = energy; "ya" = of. Also Juakawi or shamsakawi.

9. **Kamara** – Lunar. From the Arabic term "Kamar" meaning moon. Moon ni "mwezi" in Kiswahili.

10. **Mvuto wa kamara** – Lunar pull. "Mvuto" = pull; "wa" = of.

11. **Baraste ya Sayari** – Planetary orbit. "Baraste" = highway; "ya" = of; sayari = planet/planets.

12. **Barisi** – Orbit (verb)

13. **Ningala** – Telescope. A combination of two words authored by Nabhany: runinga and mangala.

14. (a) **Dara** – Challenge (verb). This word is not my creation but it is a term already in use in this context in Kiswahili.

    (b) **Kidaro** – slight or minor challenge (noun)

    (c) **Ndaro** – ordinary level challenge (noun)

    (d) **Daro** – great or major challenge (noun)

    (e) **Mdaraji** – the challenger

    (f) **Mdarwaji** – the challenged

    (g) **(ku)dariza** – challenging (as in a problem or a task).

Electronic Terminology

15. **Kichapishi** – keyboard

16. **Mulishi** – Monitor. Literally "a device that finds and mirrors something hidden".

17. **Kiwaa** – Screen (noun). From "waa" which means brighten.

18. **Kuwiza** – to screen ("Kung'aza" or "Kuwisha" may also be used in the same context as synonyms). From "kuwaa" meaning "to shine".

19. **Chuti** – Computer chord. (**Kiuti** may also be used). Literally "the conveyor of messages, or the "centre".

20. **Shemeretua** – remote control. ("Shemereshi" or "Kidhibiti" could also be used). From "shemere" (a controlling device) and "hatua" (a step apart).

21. (a) **Sakilishi** – Scanner. This word is a combination of the words "saka", meaning thoroughly search, and "tarakilishi" (computer) with the initially two syllables deleted. The fused word literally means "a computer searcher".

    (b) **Sakilisha** – Scan (verb). Literally "a scan using a sakilishi".

22. (a) **Sakima** – Memory. From Saki[ni] (get trapped inside) and [kwa]ma (get stuck).

(b) **Sakimisha** – Put into memory. From "sakima".

(c) Sakimu – Memorize. In ordinary Kiswahili, it also means, "settle".

23. **Kikumbi** – Computer disk. From "Ukumbi", which means a room or a hall where important deliberations take place. It also means debate.

24. **Thakala** – Hard disk. From the Arabic word "thakili", which means hard, difficult, or complicated.

25. (a) **Kuduma** – to access. "Kugwia" may also be used in the same context. Literally "to get hold of".

   (b) **Mdumo** – Access (noun). Also **dumo**

   (c) **Mgwio** – Access (noun). Also **gwio**.

   (d) Access denied – *Mdumo umekataliwa/umekanwa* (also *Dumo limekataliwa/kanwa*. OR *Mdumo haukukubaliwa/haukufaulu* (Also *Dumo halikukubaliwa/halikufaulu*. OR *mgwio haukukuduma/Mdumo haukugwia* OR *mdumo haukunasa/Mgwio haukunasa*.

26. **Kilekezi** – cursor. The words "kimete" or "kishale" may also be used in this context. Literally "a devise that shows the way."

27. (a) **Kurumeme** – Laser. Literally "the great electric flash-light".

   (b) **Ukameme** – Laser beam. Literally "the great electric ray of light".

28. (a) **Mtandanyavu** –internet. Literally "a thing that permits communication via computer". Also Mdahilishi.

   (b) **Dahalisha** – Communicate via internet. From "mdahalishi". Also dahilisha.

29. (a) **Nukununu** – Fax message. A fusion of runuru (=telephone message) + nukuu (copy). Rununu is Nabhany's term.

   (b) **Nukununishi** – Fax machine. Literally "a thing that copies telephone messages".

   (c) **Nukununisha** – Fax (verb). From "nukununishi".

30. **Kipanya** meme – computer mouse. Literally "a small mouse".

31. (a) **Nakilishi** – Photocopier. From the word "nakala" which means copy (noun). Literally "an object that copies".

   (b) **Kunakilisha** – to photocopy; from nakilisha, meaning copy with use of a nakilishi.

   (c) **Nakala** – the (photo) copy. This word is already in existence in Kiswahili.

32. **Tondomiza** – compact disk. The term **ngoimiza** may also be used as a synonym. Literally "a device that crams talk or songs undendingly".

33. **Kiyuweo** – Laptop. From the words "kiweo" (=lap) and iyu (=top). Also kijuweo.

34. **Kinanda cha tondomiza** – compact disk player. Also **kinanda cha ngoimiza**.

35. (a) **Kazama** – focus (verb). The [k] of **kazama** is unaspirated.

(b) **Kazamo** – focus (noun). The [k] of "**kazamo'** is aspirated.

In the same context, the term mkazamo may be used.

(c) **Kazamisha** – focus (verb) as in focusing a camera lens.

36. (a) **Denga** – construct. From "dengua" = deconstruct.

(b) (i) **Dengo** – construction

(ii) **Mdengo** – (type of) construction.

(iii) **Udenzi** – (manner of) construction.

(iv) **Mdenzi** – Constructor

(v) **Wadenzi** – Constructors.

37. (a) **Wavulishi** – The web. The word wavu means web or net.

(b) **Wavulishwa** – Relay messages via the web.

(c) **Wavulishwa** – (Messages) to be relayed via the web.

(d) **Wavu wa walimwengu wote** – (www) World Wide Web (www). Literally "the web, the world over".

(e) **Webpage** – gombowavu. Gombo = ukurasa = page.

(f) **Tovuti** – site. Literally "the inner core", or "the very centre" of information. The first [t] in the word tovuti is aspirated while the second one is not.

38. (a) **Vugulia** – Key in. Literally "open into".

(b) *Tomaso* – Key. Literally "The button pressed". The [t] in tomaso is aspirated. The term *toyfo* with an aspirated [t] may also be used in this context.

(c) *Tofya* – punch (verb) the key or button. In the same context, the word *topasa* may be used.

39. **Ngiza** – Enter. The term toma may be used in the same context.

40. **Tomarifu** – Log on. Literally "inform by putting in".

41. (a) **Usukanishi** – Network. Literally "something that interconnects". Also wavukazi may be used; or else UNGAMANISHI, Nabhany's word.

(b) **Kusukanisha** – Networking. Also wavukaza may be used; or else kuungamanisha, Nabhany's word.

(c) **Unganya** – Connect (as with the network).

(d) **Unganyo** – Connection.

42. **Lainini** – Online. Also the word **mstarini** may be used in this context.

43. (a) **Koda** – Code (noun). The [k] in koda is aspirated, Swahilised from English.

(b) **Kukoda** – to code (verb). Unaspirated [k] in both environments.

(c) **Kukodua** – to decode.

(d) **Kukodesha** – to codify.

(e) **Kukodeshwa** – to be codified.

(f) **Kukodewa** – to be coded for.

(g) **Kukodwa** – to be coded.

(h) **Kukodea** – to code for.

(i) **Kikodua** – decoder (device). Also kikodushi.

(j) **Mkodua** – decoder (person). Also mkodushi.

(k) **Toboa koda** – break the code (as in toboa siri). Also **fichua koda.**

(l) **Nambakoda** – code number.

44. (a) **Paranya** – Processing (verb). This is a word already in ordinary Kiswahili usage. Here it is particularized in this context.

(b) **Mparanyo** – Processing (noun). The manner.

(c) **Kuparanya** - to process.

(d) **Paranya** – process (verb)

(e) **Mparanyo** – process (noun). The process as it occurs.

(f) **Mparanyiko** – process (noun). The end process.

45. (a) **Runingisha** – to televise. From Nabhany's term Runinga meaning television.

(b) **Runingishwa** – to be televised. From the same source as above.

46. (a) **Televizisha** – to televise. Swahilization of the English term "televise".

(b) **Televisishwa** – to be televised. Directly related to the expression of "to be televised".

47. (a) **Ubwakameme** – Cyberspace. Literally "state of electronic space".

(b) **Bwakameluma** – Cybernetics. Literally "the expertise in the workings of cyberspace technology".

(c) **Bwakamemudu** – Cybernate. Literally "ability to control through knowledge of the above technology".

(d) **Bwakamtu** – Cyborg. Literally "a cyberspace person".

48. **Kikaragoshi** – Robot. From **kikaragosi** + **mashine**. Kikaragosi means a sycophant. Kikaragoshi means a machine that behaves like a sycophant. Also **karagoshi**.

49. **Kichipushi/Kichipuzi** –Microchip/chip. A device with the ability to makes things spring. Also **kichanushi/kichanuzi**, meaning a thing that is able to makes things blossom.

50. (a) **Mpunde** – Time. (the [p] is unaspirated). A moment in between which an event (or series of events) happens or fails to happen. Also **punde** as in **punde si punde**; meaning "within no time" or "in a split moment"

(b) **Punde** – Time (as in hour). Numerable moments.

(c) **Kichakato** - Second. A tick (as of sound).

51. (a) **Ndiakuu ya Mawasiliano** - Information Highway.

(b) **Ndiakuu Shadidi ya Mawasiliano** - Information superhighway.

52. (a) **Ardhi** - Globe. (aridhi)

(b) **Kitandaridhi** - Globalization

(c) **Utandaridhi** - Globalism

(d) **Kitandaridhi** - Global

(e) **Mtandaridhi** - Globalist

(f) **Tandaridhisha** - Globalize

(g) **Kiutandaridhi** - Globally

(h) **Global village** - Kijiji kitandaridhi

(i) **Ulimwengu ni kijiji kitandaridhi tu -**The world is just a global village

53. (a) **Tanuvuguti** - Generator

(b) **Tanuvuguta** - Generate

(c) **Tanuzorota** - Degenerate

54.(a) **Chandamizi** – Satellite**.** From **andama**, meaning "follow closely" or "lean on".

(b) **Vyandamizi** - Satellites

(c) **Bakuli la chandamizi -** Satellite dish.

55. **Biasharishi** - E-commerce

56. **Ngana -** Century. Also Karne from Arabic.

57. (a) **Charazichapa** – Typewriter. The "ch" in charazi is aspirated.

(b) **Charazo** – Typed figures. The "ch" in "charazo" is aspirated. The word "chapa" has the same meaning as "charazo". They are synonyms.

(c) **Charaza** - Type (verb). The "ch" in "charaza" is unaspirated. **Charaza** means the same as "piga chapa".

(d) **Mcharazi** -Typist

58. (a) **Charazalishi** - Printer

(b) **Charazalisha** -Print

59. **Kihasibu** - Calculator

60. (a) **Mego** -Byte (A unit of eight Bits of computer information)

(b) **Mamego** -Bytes

(c) **Megokuu** -Kilobyte (1,024 bytes)

(d) **Megogana** -Megabyte (1,048,576 bytes)

(e) **Megokikwi** -Gigabyte (1,024 megabytes)

61. (a) **Pangacharazo** -Typeset. The "p" in pangacharazo is unaspirated. The "ch" is aspirated.

    (b) **Mpangacharazo** -Typesetter. The "p" in this word is unaspirated. The "ch" is aspirated.

    (c) **Pangicharazi** -Typesetting machine.   The "p" in this word is aspirated. The "ch" is also aspirated.

62. (a) **Chembehai** - Living cell(s) as in living organism)

    (b) **Chembemfu** - Dead cell(s)

    (c) **Bayolojia ya Chembehai** - Cell Biology

63. (a) **Chemberithi** - Gene(s)

    (b) **Uhandisi wa Chemberithi** - Genetic Engineering

64. (a) **Mvano** - Tattoo (n)

    (v) **Vana**   - Tattoo (v)

The Web/Internet Jargon

1. (a) **Bwame** - Cyber

    (b) **Ubwamelifu** - Cybercrime

2. (a) **Kiolezi/kioleshi**   - Surf (noun)

    (b) **Kuolea –** also **kuolesha** - Surfing

    (c) **Mwoleza, Mwolesha** - Surfer

    (d) **Kuoleza/Kuolesha** -   Surf (verb)

3. (a) **Tuati (ku) pakuati**   -   Downloading (verb)

    (b) Pakuati (u) tuati -   Downloading (noun)

4. **Singidata** - Database

5. **Vialiki vya kipanya** -   Clicks of the mouse

6. **Kinusi/Vinusi** - (Programmes dubbed) Sniffers

7. (a) **Doya** - (These programmes) eavesdrop

    (b) **(ku)doya** - Eavesdropping (verb)

    (c) **Udozi** - Eavesdropping (noun)

8. **Nenopishi/nenopisi** - Password

9. **Sindika** -   Lock (on-line)

10. **Sindua** -   Unlock (on-line)

11. (a) **Kifaororo** -   Software (sing)

      Vifaororo   -   (plural)

    (b) **Kifaanyumu** -   Hardware (singular)

      Vifaanyumu -   (plural)

(c) **Kifauwezo**   -   Powerware

(d) **Kifabwerere**   -   Freeware

(e) **Kifashiriki**   -   Shareware

12. **Gombowavu**   -   Webpage

13. (a) **Tejesha**   -   Customize

(b) **Tejeshwa** -   customized

14. **Windo** -   Prey

15. (a) **Lenga**   -   Target (v)

(b) **Lengo**   -   Target (n)

16. **Mchanja** (Also **Mdoya** or **Mdoz**i/**or Mdusa**) -   Hacker

17. **Vuna data** -   Harvest data

18. **Ulinzi** -   Protection

19. **Msafara data**   -   Data traffic

20. **Vibanzi katika kinga/ngao** -   Chinks in the armor

21. **Pangilia Habari** -   Feed information

22. (a) **Kirusilishi**   -   Virus

(b) **Virusilishi**   -   Viruses

(c) **Kurusilisha**   -   Introduce a virus into a computer

Kurusilishwa   -   (passive voice)

23. Data paraganya (or data iliyoparaganywa) - Scrambled data

24. (a) **Kembakenga** -   (jifanyaja) Masquerade (v)

(b) **Mlembekenga** (**mjifanyaja**) -   Masquerade (n)

25. (a) **Unganisha**   -   Link (v)

(b) **Kiunganishi** -   Link (n)

(c) **Unganisho** -   Link (n)

(d) **Unganishati** -   Downlink

(e) **Unganishayu** -   Uplink

26. **Modemu** -   Modem (service)

27. (a) **Kuchanja** (or **kudusa**) -   To hack

(b) **Kuchanjwa** (or **kuduswa**) -   To be hacked

28. (a) **Usalama** -   Security

(b) **Mfumo wa usalama** -   security system

29. **Dowea** -   Peek (at somebody's computer)

30. (a) **Shambulia** -   Attack (v)

(b) **Shambulio** (or **shambulizi**) -   Attack (n)

31. **Laini** - Line
32. **Shina** - Trunk
33. P**rogiramu** - Programme
34. **Mbananzi/mharubu/harubu** - Saboteur
35. **Ochoma** (from ongoza chombo majini) - Navigate
36. (a)**Sakasaka** - Browse
    (b)**Kisakasaka** - Browser
37. **Kisifundi/visifundi** - Non-techie/techies
38. **Chimbikizi (ya mdahilishi) or mapokezi (ya mdahilishi**) - (Internet) Lore
39. **Ukurasa/gombo** - Page
40. (a)**Lamachuo** - Bookmark (n)
    (b)**Lamachuosha** - Bookmark (v)
41. **Kifundi** (**kistadi**) - Technical
42. **Kinafiki (kisihaki)** - Low-down
43. **Taarasha (taarifa rasmi ya habari)** - Bulletin
44. **Kavazi (aspirate k)** - Archive
45. **Kavazi ya singidata ya virusilishi -** Virus databse archive
46. **Ku(engaenga) -** Troll (through many sites)
47. **Unganisho la kichuuzi** - Vendor link
48. **Fuma ndipo** - Direct hit (v)

Names of Planets

ORIGIN BANTU	ORIGIN ARABIC	ORIGIN ENGLISH (GRECO-LATIN)
Yeyuzi (The melting metal)	Zaibaki (or Zebaki)	Mercury
Kombezi (Beautiful and shinning like a huge oyster shell, or cup)	Zuhura	Venus
Ntizi [or Tiatizi] (Mother of soil/or Countries)	Ardhi (or Duniya)	Earth
Ngeuzi (The red one)	Mirihi	Mars
Pwagizi (The huge and hostile one)	Mushtarii	Jupiter
Viringizi (The circled one)	Sartani	Saturn
Janizi (The green one)	Zohali	Uranus
Nilizi [or **Mbingizi**](The blue one)	Utaridi	Neptune
Upezi/Peozi (The one at the furthest horizon)	Kausi	Pluto

Vocabulary Related to Gender Issues
1. **Menke** (n-n Class) or **umenke** (u-n class) -   Gender
2. **Menke ya kisarufi** or **umenke wa kisarufi**   - Grammatical Gender
3. (a) **Nyazogande** (or **dhanagande**) **za kimenke** -   Gender stereotypes
   (b) **Wazogande** (or **dhanagande**)   - Stereotypes
   (c) **Nyazogande** (or **dhanagande**)   - Stereotypes
4. **Majukumu ya kimenke** - Gender roles
5. **Imani-jinsia** (or **mfumo-jinsia**) - Sexism
6. **Ujinsia** (state); **mjinsia** (person); **kijinsia** (manner) - Sexist
7. **Jinsia** (also **Ugono**) - Sex
8. **Majukumu ya kimenke** -   Sex roles
9. Approaches in gender analysis
   a)   **Mwelekeo lemelevu** (or **lemevu**) - Dominance approach
   b)   **Mwelekeo mpungufu** (or **mwelekeo punguani**) - Deficit approach
   c)   **Mwelekeo sitingamano** (also **mwelekeo tengano**) - Difference approach
   d)   **Mwelekeo ujadi** -   Cultural approach
10. **Ukiume** (or **ukikiume**)   - Masculinity
11. **Ukike** (or **ukikike**) - Femininity
12. **Mtazamo kike** (or **mfumo-kike**) -   Feminism
13. **Utazama-kike** (state); **mtazama-kike** or
    mwelemea-kike (person); **kutazama-kike** (manner) - Feminist
14. **Uungwana wa kauli** (or **uungwana wa uneni**) - Verbal hygiene
15. **Usawazisho wa kimenke**   - Gender equity
16. **Usawa wa kimenke** - Gender equality
17. **Uibua umenke** (or **ubainishi umenke**) - Gender display
18. **Utambulisho menke** - Gender identity
19. **Udenzi wa utambulisho menke** -   Construction of gender identity
20. **Mdahalo wa ki-jinsia-changamano** - Heterosexual discourse
21. **Mdahalo suluhivu** (or **mdahalo ruhusivu**)] - Permissive discourse
    OR **Mdahalo hewala** (or **mdahalo ruhusa**) - Permissive discourse.
22. **Ukitishaji menke** (or **uimarikishaji menke**) - Gender positioning
23. **Mdahalo menkeshwaji** (or **mdahalo menkeshwi-**   Gender discourse
24. **Ujanajike** or **ujike**   - Womanhood. Also **uke** (the sexual organ)
25. **Ujanadume** or **udume** - Manhood. Also **uume** (the sexual organ)

This is but a percentage of the work that I have been engaging myself in for a quite a number of years now. The main purpose of the work is to enrich Kiswahili, so that it gains the sophistication required by any vibrant modern language in order to relay the influx of ideas in this era of rapid information revolution. I reiterate that I owe the initial motivation to Nabhany. However, I at the same time recognize the efforts made by trained Kiswahili lexicographers, especially those based at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, who have been doing a lot of useful work, particularly in the area of linguistics. This group has even been able to prepare two very useful dictionaries this decade namely, A Dictionary of Technological Terms in Kiswahili and the latest bilingual English-Swahili Dictionary both of which are a milestone in Kiswahili's development.

It is my contention, nonetheless, that centralized development efforts may not be enough. Kiswahili needs to advance and it needs to do that fast. Central planning is so bureaucratic and hence so excessively slow in this pervasive revolutionary era of information technology. It may even be an obstacle in the global village that is our world today. It is, therefore, my sincere hope that fellow scholars and experts in our language (Kiswahili), will view my 'lone ranger' efforts not as presumptuous, but a worthwhile challenge that will excite more of such talents as manifested by Nabhany. In this manner, many people will venture into the field not only in the form of groups and panels but also individually. When this happens, the primary beneficiary will be Kiswahili, and through it, users of the language all over the globe. In any case, Kiswahili survival will depend on the ability of its users to articulate the myriad of concepts and ideas ignited by the great technological and cultural leaps of our times.

The Future of Kiswahili

That Kiswahili is today an international language is indisputable. For one, this is the only African language that may be heard broadcast in all the major radio stations in the world, including those of most of the developed countries. Furthermore, Kiswahili is studied as a subject in a good number of prestigious as well less well-known universities in the developed world. In this category, it is just one out of a select few continental languages that are thus privileged. This development alone has gained Kiswahili prestige and recognition if nothing else.

Kiswahili has made tremendous advances in the area of materials written in it. It may, in fact, be comfortably argued that this language leads all the indigenous African languages in this area. The recent trend is that even scholars well-schooled in the Western tradition are voluntarily opting to write in Kiswahili by the day, notwithstanding the fact that they are extremely well-versed in one way or another of the more prestigious metropolitan languages. As a matter of fact, there are a noticeable number of Western scholars who are known to have written either a thesis or a book (or two) in Kiswahili only. A case in point is Professor Anne Bierstekker of Michigan State University in the U.S.A (an American). Besides, there is considerable evidence which goes to show that more research has been conducted with regard to Kiswahili than that regarding any other African language. In addition to all that, Kiswahili is

spoken by more people than any other language in Africa excepting perhaps arguably Arabic, which is a non-native of the continent. The speakers referred to here include those who speak Kiswahili as a mother tongue, a second language, a third best language, and even a foreign language. These speakers are spread in more than ten African countries led by Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi and, to a lesser but significant extent, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (on the matter of nativity). All this goes to prove that Kiswahili is, indeed, an international language. Nevertheless, that is the prevailing situation, but how about the future? What is likely to happen?

Conclusion

In this work, it has been possible to obviate Kiswahili's development over several centuries, including the final decades of the last Century (i.e. the 20th Century). It is evident that in the course of the next century, the language is likely to register greater development rather than fizzle out of the face of the earth. Certainly, Kiswahili will not be among the thousands of languages that will sink into oblivion in the Twenty-first century. Even so, it is crystal clear that it badly requires deliberate efforts to enrich it at a faster pace than ever before. This is so that it acquires sophistication commensurate with the era's runaway technological developments. This is what experts in all vibrant modern languages are doing and, as such, Kiswahili scholars have no alternative but to swim with the current.

In that regard, every Kiswahili expert, poet, writer, lecturer, teacher, linguist and even university student, must feel obliged to participate in one way or another in developing the language. There must be a known pattern that ought to lead to that development, nonetheless. So far, the "plans" that have been pursued cannot be even called plans at all. These were not plans because, in the first place, they were rife with problems. In as much as this may be considered a fact, the language has had to depend on non-linguistic institutions in its development. To be precise, Kiswahili is greatly indebted to trade, politics, religion and cultural interaction and exchange. These, among others, have over the ages been the chief rollers in Kiswahili's expansion and development. In other words, apart from standardizing it, there has been no other deliberate effort to develop this vital African tongue comparable to the innumerable efforts made to develop English and French, for example, even in the Swahili-speaking area of East and Central Africa.

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