

KISWAHILI LOANWORDS IN PAZANDE¹

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The greater part of Pazande speaking territory is located quite far away from the major swahilophone territories and most speakers of Zande have never been in close contact with speakers of Kiswahili. Only when Tippu Tip reached the north-east of present DR Congo and got a political position of power, the Zande came into contact with Kiswahili. This contact was not intense and there are so few Kiswahili loanwords in Zande, that this has never been a topic of research. The existence of such loanwords is, however, a matter of fact, e.g. *kiti* 'chair'. Some of the loanwords may have entered the language via Lingala or its variant Bangala.

1. Introduction

Kiswahili, one of the most important languages of the African continent, a vehicular which is used in large areas of East Africa and in the Congo basin, has been in contact with many other languages. It is well known, that the language has borrowed extensively from Arabic, and also from English and other languages. At the same time lexemes from Kiswahili, including words of Arabic origin (Baldi 2012) have been borrowed by primarily local African languages, which makes Swahili a major distributor of words of different linguistic origins. In given cases it may be difficult to decide whether a given language borrowed a specific loanword directly from Kiswahili or from third language which has functioned as intermediary of transfer.

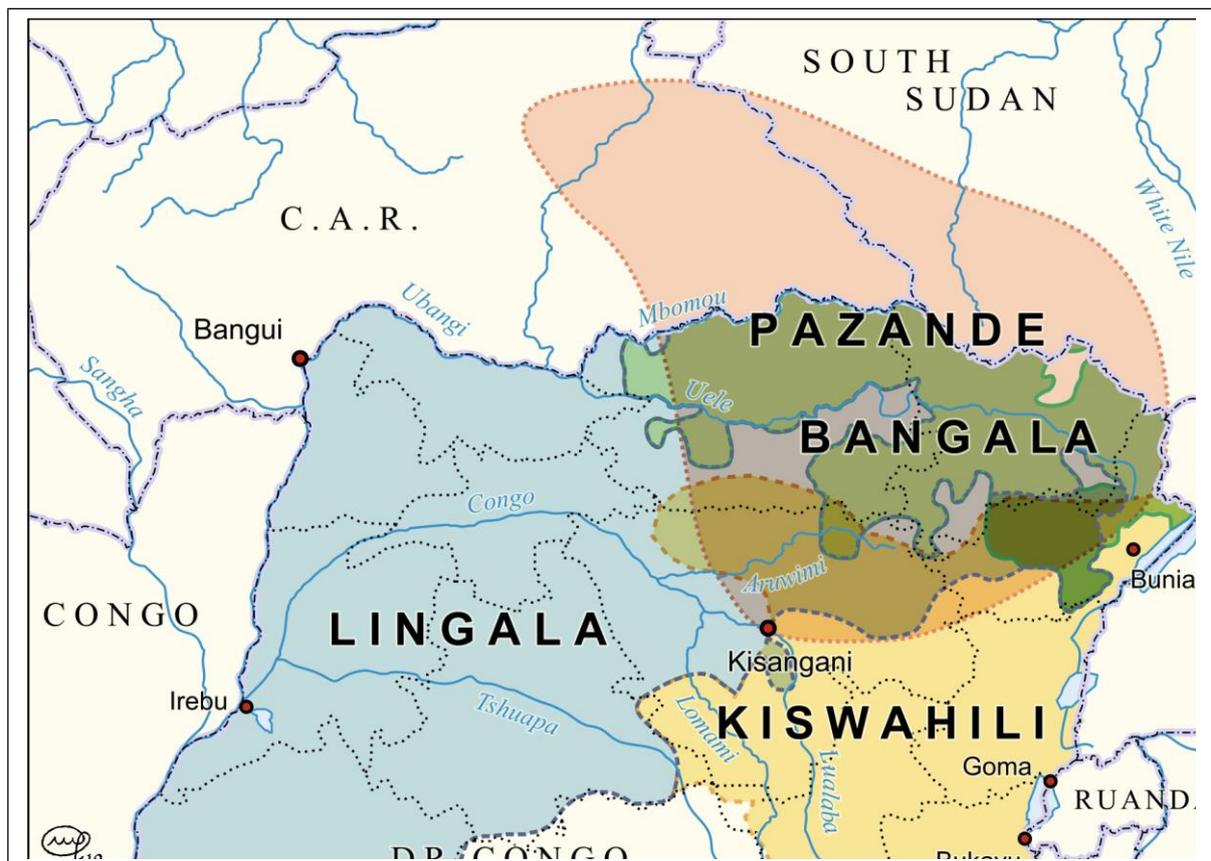
In Pazande², an Ubangian language spoken in the triangle South Sudan, Central African Republic (CAR) and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), there is a relatively short lists of words which are also found in Kiswahili. In DRC, both languages came in contact for the first time when Stanley crossed the continent following River Congo in 1874-1877. By the latest since 1884, when Tippu Tip reached Kisangani, established a residence, claimed the territory of eastern Congo for the Sultan of Zanzibar, and governed the surrounding area (from 1887 on

¹ We are grateful to Nico Nassenstein who invited us to contribute to this volume. To Germain Landi we owe thanks for discussing all examples and giving specific information on uses and connotations of specific terms which are rare and were not found in elicited texts nor in stories. We also express our deeply felt gratitude towards two anonymous reviewers, all weakness are, however, ours.

² 'Pazande' is the endonymic glossonym.

he did so as Gouverneur of the Stanley Falls District in the service of the King of Belgium), the southernmost Zande territories was quite probably in permanent contact with Kiswahili speaking traders. But language contact may have started even before 1876, when according to the Belgian Lieutenant Masui "the African-Arabs' occasional excursions ... had led them, in northward direction, up to the Aruwimi ..." (cit. in Meeuwis 2006: 117). Today Kiswahili is the most important language in the north, east and south of Kisangani, and here the Azande have

In the same time, Swahili came also into contact with Lingala, a contact which was far more intensive than with Zande, since Lingala, a lingua franca spreading from the area of Irebu at the mouth of the Ubangi River to the Mongala River, into the north and north-east of the Belgian Congo (Mufwene 2003), was promoted by Belgian colonial administration who wanted to make it the language of the Force Publique³ (Meeuwis 2006: 122). It was also promoted by Catholic and Protestant missionaries who made it the language of proselytization and of school education. The importance of Lingala as a vehicular language and its usefulness for their own purposes had been recognized by the Belgians, many of whom used it regularly to communicate with the local population.



³ The *Force Publique* was a paramilitary organization founded in 1885 as a kind of gendarmerie (*Force Publique* 1952: 35ff). It carried out the functions of a police and of an army.

Map1: Zande speaking area and areas of variants of Swahili spoken in DR Congo.

In colonial times and a few decades thereafter, Pazande was used in the Zande territories of South Sudan for religious services and in school education (Seri-Hersch 2017: 8) and DR Congo it was also used in schools (Degbe, pers. comm., March 2016), while in CAR only Sango was the language of educational and religious instruction. Zande texts from colonial times most probably do not reflect actually spoken language, but only forms and structures which speakers would accept as grammatically and lexically correct, i.e. without loanwords which could be avoided. Even today language consultants make efforts to present texts in an alleged pure variety of Pazande, devoid of loanwords.

As a result of the long contact of the two languages, a number of Kiswahili words have entered the language, but their number is low. For some of these, Kiswahili was only an intermediary medium of transfer which had borrowed the words from different European and other African languages or from Arabic before loaning some of them into Pazande.

In the present paper we want to discuss those words which speakers of Pazande in DR Congo consider loanwords from Kiswahili, first genuine Kiswahili words in Section 2, words of Arabic origin in Section three, and words of origin in European languages in Section 4. Conclusions are drawn in Section.⁵

1. Words of genuine Kiswahili origin

Several of the words from Swahili are used in DR Congo, CAR and South Sudan, while the use of others is restricted to two or only one of these countries. In DRC where the Swahili and Zande speaking areas overlap speakers have some intuition which words originate from Kiswahili, while in the other two countries they have no explanation or develop folk etymologies. Only few words are used in the three countries. Among these are two names for two types of furniture.

Some words from Swahili have been integrated into Pazande without significant phonological adaptation. The first is *kiti* 'chair, seat, stool', the noun class prefix (class 7) of which is reanalyzed as making part of the noun stem. In all three countries it is the usual denotation for such piece of seating furniture, but in CAR the synonym *gbege* is occasionally used (Landi, pers. comm. Sept. 2018).

The second word is *meza*, which originates quite probably in Portuguese *mesa* (Pasch 1996). Since this word has been borrowed into Kiswahili and into Lingala in the same form, *meza*, we cannot determine the source of the Zande form with certainty. The fricative of Portuguese *mesa* is voiced which explains the voiced form in Kiswahili and Lingala. This means that with regard to Pazande the source language of the form *meza* cannot be determined, and both are possible source languages of the form which is used in all three countries. In DRC, there is also a second form, *misa*, which is probably borrowed directly from Portuguese since there were many Portuguese traders in Congo from colonial times until the 7th decade of the 20th century⁴. *Misa*

⁴ Mobutu's political program of *authenticité* was followed, in 1973, by one called "Zairianization". Its aim was to expropriate farms, factories and businesses belonging to foreigners, not only Belgians, but also the Greek, Jewish and Pakistani traders who had dominated much of the country's small-scale commerce (French 1997).

was probably the direct source of the form used in South Sudan, *mbisa*, where the wordinitial bilabial plosive has been replaced by a prenasalized one. In CAR, *table*, a borrowing from French is heard quite often as a variant of *meza*.

The denotation for 'white person, European', *musungu*, has been borrowed directly from Kiswahili. While with regard to the variant *misa* of the of *meza*, intervocalic alveolar fricative /z/ has been devoiced only in South Sudan, with regard to the present term it was devoiced in the variants of DRC and CAR. This indicates that not East African Kiswahili *mu-zungu* was the direct source form, but a variant of Lingala spoken in the former Province Oriental. Witterwulghé (1909) in his dictionary of various languages of that area gives the form *mussungu* as equivalent of the so-called commercial language Lingala⁵ and also for Pazande of which the "ss" clearly shows that the pronunciation was voiceless. As is typical for borrowings, the word is interpreted as a monomorphemic unit: the prefix of Kiswahili noun class 1 is reanalyzed as the first syllable of the stem. Speakers of Pazande in DRC who have some knowledge of Kiswahili are aware of the origin of the word and of this loss of morphological function. The Zande in CAR who have little contact with Bantu languages developed a fascinating folk etymology which puts the word in a different historical context. According to this etymology *mu-sungu* is the lexicalized nominalization of the imperative *mo sungu* [mu sungu⁶] (2SG sit.IMPERF) 'you sit (down)'. The habit of protestant missionaries⁷ to offer a chair to their guests with the words *mo sungu* allegedly made this invitation a denotation for the missionaries themselves and for all Whites.

In CAR and DRC, *musungu* is the usual denotation for a white person, synonyms are *ba-we* (father fire) 'father of fire', alluding to the fire weapons of Europeans, a name not known in South Sudan. A second synonym is used in the three countries: *ba-remu* or *ba-ramu* (father coton) 'father of clothes'⁸ which also has the meaning 'civilized person, person covering the whole body with clothes, European, Arab'.

Nganzi is the denotation for 'bamboo', and constructions made out of it, such as ladders, roof structures, goat-pens and enclosures. Lagae & Vanden Plas (1925: 119) mention that it is found in the northern part of Zande territory, and Landi confirms the use of the term in CAR. Its use is not documented for South Sudan.

Matata denotes a 'difficult or complicated thing'. At least some speakers in DRC consider it a direct loan from Kiswahili where it means 'difficulty, trouble, emergency'. Nico Nassenstein assumes that it most likely a borrowing from Lingala (pers. comm., August 2018) which is confirmed by the translation/dictionary Lingala-English. His argument is that *matata*⁹ is not

⁵ Note that Stapleton (1914: 176) in one example of conversational sentences gives *mondele* as equivalent for 'European'.

⁶ The +ATR vowel harmony extends to the pronominal subject preceding the verb. Landi discusses this in his PhD thesis which is under progress.

⁷ The Catholic missionaries in CAR do not use Pazande but only Sango.

⁸ This equivalent is given by Landi. Gore & Gore (1952: 13) give 'cast, weave' as equivalent for *ba*, apparently having in mind the to-and-fro movement of a weaving shuttle. This analysis which may be doubted, since constructions of non-finite verbs and their objects are not lexicalized and used as denotations for agents. The homophonous noun *ba*, 'father, owner', is, however, frequently used as an agent marker.

⁹ By the latest since the Walt Disney's cartoon film *Hakuna Matata - Lion King* the expression *hakuna matata* has become well known in the Kiswahili speaking world and beyond (Mietzner 2018).

very frequent in standard Kiswahili where rather *shida* is used, this in East Africa and in the different variants used in DRC. In Lingala, the word is, however, very frequent. The fact that Stapleton (1914) does not list it in his Lingala dictionary, which has no entry 'problem' might indicate that the word was borrowed into Lingala only after Stapleton wrote his grammar. In CAR Sango has borrowed the *matata* from Lingala, but Pazande has not. In Pazande of South Sudan it is not documented.

The Zande who are agriculturalists and hunters, but who do not keep livestock denote cattle and sheep by borrowed words. The use of the Kiswahili word for 'cow', *ng'ombe*, is fairly rare in DRC, *bagara* being used instead. Of Arabic origin it may have directly borrowed from Fulfulde, language of the Fulbe herders which dominate milk and meat economy in the North-East of DRC (Cimwanga 2016). In CAR and South Sudan it is not known at all. In both countries the name *bagara*, a loan from Arabic, is used instead.

The name for 'sheep', *kandolo*, is used in all three countries. It goes back to the Kiswahili term *kandoo*, the long vowel of which results from a lost intervocalic /l/. Pazande of DRC may have borrowed the word from Kisangani Swahili which has the form *kandol(o)*, pl. *ba-kandol(o)* with optional deletion of the final vowel (Nassenstein 2015: 48) or, more likely, from Lingala *kandolo* (Edema 2016). The term has got a specific connotation in Pazande of CAR. Here, in religious texts of the Protestant churches¹⁰, *kandolo* is used with the notion 'lamb', while in colloquial speech it is used to denote a big sheep, a 'lamb' being called *wili kandolo* (child sheep) (Landi, pers. comm., Sept. 2018).

There are a number of other words, in which the long vowel of the standard Kiswahili form is replaced by two short vowels and an epenthetic liquid. The first is (*ki*)*tambala* 'headscarf'.¹¹ with the variant (*ki*)*tambula* which is used with or without the initial syllable *ki* and, denotation for the Kiswahili source is *kitambaa* 'fabric, material, cloth, napkin', of which the Congolese variant *kitambala* has only the notion 'headscarf' as in Pazande. In CAR Pazande the word is not frequently used, and Landi does not recall any person other than his mother using it, who did so only on few occasions with reference to her headscarf. The normal denotation for 'headscarf' is *salabiti* (Landi, pers. comm. Sept. 2018), a borrowing from Sango *sàràbeti*, the origin of which is French *serviette* (Bouquiaux et al. 1978: 297). In South Sudan *tambara* is not the Pazande term for a specific headwear for women as in the variants of DRC and CAR, but like the Kiswahili source term it denotes any kind of piece of useful cloth.

A second example is *tala* 'lamp' which in East African Kiswahili is called *taa*, but in Congo Swahili the form *tala* is found (Bastoen 1999: 56). The word is used in DRC and South Sudan (Gore & Gore 1952: 139), but it is not known in CAR (Landi, pers. comm., Sep. 2018).

Bilatu 'shoes' is the third example, a word which some speakers of Zande consider a borrowing from Kiswahili.¹² The prefix *bi-* which is not found in East African Kiswahili, where the equivalent of *bilatu* is called *kiatu*, and the liquid indicate that the term originates some

¹⁰ In all rural areas of CAR, Catholic Church uses Sango as liturgical language and for written information given to the local population. In urban centres, in particular in the capital Bangui, they use French as the second oral and as the first written language.

¹¹ Note that in standard Kiswahili the equivalent for 'headscarf' is *kitambaa cha kichwa* (Kamusi).

¹² Lagae & Vanden Plas (1925: 27) give the form *birato* for Pazande of present DR Congo, and the equivalent 'wooden sandals'. Their claim that the word is of Arabic origin, must be regarded as erroneous.

Congolese variant of Kiswahili, probably the variant spoken in Kivu (Nico Nassenstein, pers. comm., Aug. 2018), which has the noun class prefix *bi-* (Bose & Nassenstein 2016: <4>). Gore & Gore (1952: 19) document the term with regard to Pazande of South Sudan with the equivalent 'wooden clogs'. In CAR the word is apparently not known.

The denotation for 'bicycle', *kinga*, is used in DRC and in CAR, and in both countries the French name *vélo* is also used. There is no information whether it is also used in South Sudan. The word is not used in East African Swahili but is used in all variants of Congo Swahili and Lingala. It is derived from the English trade name *Kinga* (Gilman 1979: 106) which was re-analyzed as the designation for bicycles. Pazande has borrowed the term from Congo Kiswahili or Lingala, or from both. It is interesting to know that the form *kinga* is occasionally also used in Congolese French (HabariSalam 2007).

It is astonishing that some speakers erroneously trace back the denotation for 'goat', *meme*, to Kiswahili. The argument was that the name for the goats' bleating, called *ki-meme* in Congo Kiswahili¹³, gave rise to the name for the animals. While *meme* is not the term for 'goat' in Kiswahili, it is widespread in the non-Bantu languages of northern DRC and the CAR (Pasch 1986), hence it appears more likely that *meme* has been borrowed from the Congolese vernaculars. The prefix *ki-*, which in all variants of Kiswahili marks names of languages and adverbs of manner, was apparently applied to denote the crying of the respective animals.

Few loanwords from Kiswahili are apparently only used in DRC. Among these is *kilauli* which denotes a 'small drinking vessel used in particular for drinking strong alcohol'. Some Pazande speakers assume that it is derived from Congo-Kiswahili *bilauri*, a term which is also found in East Africa (Kamusi). *Kilauli* is apparently the diminutive of *bilauri*.¹⁴ Note that the word is not frequently used.

The only adverb of Kiswahili origin, *sesepi* or *sosopi* 'now, immediately' has its origin in east African Kiswahili *sasa hivi*. The Bangala equivalent *sasaipi* looks like a direct borrowing, which was reanalyzed monomorphematically. The close relation between Lingala and Bangala make it likely that the term entered Lingala and was morphologically adapted to the CVCV-structure, *sesepi*, before it was borrowed into Pazande.

2. Kiswahili words of Arabic origin

Kiswahili lexicon is fairly rich in borrowings from Arabic. When the language developed into a target language and a model for loanwords, the languages in contact not only borrowed genuine Kiswahili words, but also many words of Arabic origin.

In DRC the number words *sita* 'six' and *saba* 'seven', in pronunciation identical to the respective Kiswahili ones, are considered by most speakers of Pazande borrowings from that latter language, but they may as well have been borrowed via Bangala from where it was deliberately borrowed into Pazande of South Sudan by the Anglican missionaries (s. below). It is, however, also conceivable that they were borrowed from both languages and perhaps – in addition – also from Arabic, which until today is used by the countless Arabic traders in the

¹³ Note that in Kenya *Kimeme* is one of three terms to denote the offspring of goats, the other two being *kibui* and *kibuli* (Mutai 2015). But this is not likely to be the source of the forms in Congo Kiswahili.

¹⁴ In Pazande [l] and [r] are realizations of the same phoneme.

three countries. Direct influence from Arabic is the more likely since in the Azande Sultanates in the Aruwimi-Uelle district Arabic in the last decade of the 19th century kind of a diplomatic language for oral and written communication until 1912 (Luffin 2004: 149-155). The genuine Pazande equivalents for 'six' are *bisue beti*¹⁵ *sa* (5 on.top one) or *biswe ali he sa* (5 top thing one) and those for 'seven' are *biswe beti uwe* (5 on.top two) or *biswe ali yo uwe* (5 top there two)¹⁶ (Vanden Plas 1921: 88). In South Sudan the allegedly "cumbersome" genuine numerical system has been eradicated by the Anglican missionaries and replaced by a decimal system, a process in which the complex number words for 'six' and 'seven' were replaced by *sita* and *saba* from Bangala (Gore 1926: 43). In CAR *sita* and *saba* are only used in biblical text, while in colloquial speech *bisue boti sa* and *biswe boti we* respectively are used (Landi, pers. comm., Sept. 2018).

The name for coffee, *kawa* or *gawa* is used in all three countries. It was diffused not only via Kiswahili, where the equivalent has the form *kahawa*, but also via Lingala and Bangala and most probably also directly from Arabic to the local languages. In the two francophone countries *káfi* and *kafé* are also used.

The term *sanduku*, for 'box, suitcase', is used in all three countries. In DRC and in South Sudan it has *sanduki* as variant. In CAR it is often replaced by *valisi* or *varisi*, a loanword from French (Landi, pers. comm., Sep. 2018). The origin is Kiswahili, but it may have entered Pazande via Lingala.

With regard to its usage *kitabú* is quite interesting. While in Swahili it is the normal term for any kind of book, it appears to be restricted to religious texts in Zande. Landi recalls that as a young child the term was used in conversations about the catechism. In the title to the table of contents of the New Testament of 1952 (Vovo Ndika) the term, in its plural form *akitabu*, is used with reference to the four Gospels, the letters of Paul, Jakob, Peter and John, and the Revelation of John. It is furthermore used with reference to the five Books of Psalms. In the Old Testament of 1978 (Rosetta Stone) it is also used, e.g. *Gu bambata kitabú nga ga Mose* (DEF first book *nga*¹⁷ POSS M.) 'The first book of Mose'. It is noteworthy that neither the dictionary by the Catholic missionaries Lagae & Vanden Plas (1925) nor that by the Anglican missionaries Gore & Gore (1952), list the word in their dictionaries. In the modern translation of the Bible, the word is no longer found (Landi, pers. comm., Sep. 2018). In CAR, the borrowing from English, *buku*, is used as a synonym for the Bible. The normal word for 'book' is *waraga* which is derived from Arabic *وَرَق* 'letter, paper' (Sacleux 1939: 1017).

The word *sukali* or *sukari*, in South Sudan also *sukara* 'sugar', with stress or high tone on the second syllable indicates a borrowing from Kiswahili or from Lingala, where it is called *sukáli*. The pronunciation [súkèrè], frequently heard in CAR, makes a borrowing directly from Arabic, *سُكَّر*, more likely. French 'sucre' is also used, normally in the original pronunciation ['sykœ].

Rare, and apparently restricted to the Pazande speaking area in DRC is the greeting term *karibu* 'bonjour, approchez!' which goes back to Arabic *qarīb* (قَرِيب) (Sacleux 1939: 330)

¹⁵ The etymology of *beti*, *bati* or *boti* [bati] is not quite clear. It is most probably the lexicalization of the prepositional construction *ba ti* 'place on'.

¹⁶ The construction of the complex number words differs in the descriptions of Pazande, which indicates that they are not highly lexicalized and that individual speakers prefer different expressions for the additions.

¹⁷ *Nga* is used as a copula and to introduce attributes.

Tumbaku came originally from Arabic, *tunbāk*, or from Persian, *tambākū* (Haspelmath & Tadmor). In Kiswahili it is called *tumbako* or *tumbaku* (Sacleux 1939: 910).

3. Kiswahili words which originate in European languages

A number of words which Pazande borrowed from Kiswahili are not genuine Kiswahili words, but had been borrowed from European languages before. The first is *kopo* 'cup, mug' which originates in Portuguese (*copo*) or in English (*cup*) or in both languages. It is primarily used to designate European-type cups and mugs of industrial production. Local cups made of gourds which have the size of a bowl are called *inga* and while small ones which may serve as ladles or plates are called *wiri inga* (child gourd) (Landi, pers. comm. Sep. 2018).

A word which is ultimately of English origin is *kambi* 'camp' which in Kiswahili is also called *kambi*. (Sacleux 1939: 323). It is known in DRC, but not in CAR and apparently also not in South Sudan.

Kapitula is apparently the only word of French origin (*pantalon*) which has entered Pazande French via Kingwana (Sacleux 1939: 330) or Kivu-Kiswahili, where it is called *kaputula* until today (Nassenstein, pers. comm., Sep. 2018). *Kaputula* is also the form used in East Africa, with the variants *kaptula* and *kaptura*. Here the meaning is, however, 'shorts'. The prefix *ka-* (noun class 12), which in the borrowed form has been reanalyzed as part of the stem, indicates quite clearly that Kiswahili was the donor language. In CAR and South Sudan the word is not known.

There is, finally, also one word, *shule*, which came originally from German. It is known in Kiswahili of Tanzania, but not in DRC where people use rather *masomo*. Here, people know the word, however, from radio and TV. The word *shule* is not documented anywhere and might be remembered but not used. In CAR, the expression *dumo waraga* (house paper) or is used or the French word *école*, and in South Sudan, *sukúrù* which goes back to English *school*.

4. Conclusion

In DRC most speakers of Pazande have at least some knowledge of Kiswahili and they have an idea of which loanwords come from that language. A closer look shows, however, that direct Kiswahili origin is not frequent. Some words have more likely been borrowed via Lingala or Bangala¹⁸ which also has extensively borrowed from Kiswahili. With regard to those words from Kiswahili which are also found in Lingala a double etymology cannot be excluded.

Those lexemes from Kiswahili which are used in South Sudan or the CAR where Swahili is not understood, were most likely borrowed long ago, when Lingala, French and Arabic played a lesser role than today. In DR Congo the prestige of Kiswahili is declining and the language is no longer the major source of borrowings. Lingala's prestige is increasing and it has become the major African source of borrowings. French is a second source in the two franco-phone countries, and English in all three countries, in particular in South Sudan.

Abbreviations

¹⁸ It is a question of debate whether Bangala is to be classified as a variant or as a sister language of Lingala (Nico Nassenstein, pers. comm., August 2018). Motingea Meeuwis

CAR	Central African Republic
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DEF	definite marker
IMPERF	imperfective
POSS	possessive marker
2SG	2 nd person singular

Sources:

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