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CONTACT-INDUCED LANGUAGE DIVERGENCE AND CONVERGENCE IN TANZANIA: FORMING NEW VARIETIES AS LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

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The language situation in Tanzania has changed greatly since the overwhelming spread of Swahili, the national language and one of the official languages of Tanzania. Previous studies have reported that Swahili has encroached on the domains of ethnic community languages (Legère 1992, Mekacha 1993, Yoneda 1996), and its linguistic influence can easily be recognized throughout the ethnic community languages of Tanzania, even in remote areas. This situation has been described as 'Swahilization' of ethnic community languages (Yoneda 2010) or 'language drift' (Brenzinger & Marten 2016), as opposed to a clear language shift. This study describes the influence of Swahili on Tanzanian ethnic community languages, presenting specific examples to substantiate the previous studies (e.g. Yoneda 2010, Marten & Petzell 2016, Rosendal & Mapunda 2017, among others). It shows that the language shift that Batibo (1992) expected has not taken place. Instead, people have kept their ethnic community languages, developing a new type of language use to enable meaning-making for the community in this changing world. The ongoing process in an ethnic community consists of Swahilization of their language, rather than its disappearance through a complete shift away from its use. In addition, the influence of language contact between Swahili and ethnic community languages is not a one-way effect; Swahili is also affected by the various ethnic community languages. As a result, each language is forced to undergo '-ization' by the other and their differences are, not only sociolinguistically but also structurally and lexically convergent.

1. Introduction

The language situation in Tanzania has changed greatly since the wide spread of Swahili, the national language and one of the official languages of Tanzania. Previous studies have reported that Swahili has encroached on the domains of ethnic community languages (Legère 1992, Mekacha 1993, Yoneda 1996), and the linguistic influence of Swahili can be easily recognized in ethnic community languages throughout Tanzania, even in remote areas. This situation has been described as 'Swahilization' of ethnic community languages (Yoneda 2010) or 'language drift' (Brenzinger & Marten 2016), as opposed to a clear language shift. This paper discusses the effects of Swahili diffusion on actual language use, with examples collected from a Matengo (N13)-speaking village in the Ruvuma region and a Bena (G63)-speaking village in the Njombe region, in the southern part of Tanzania. Moreover, this paper shows that the ethnic community languages also have a significant influence on Swahili, rather than there only being a one-way effect.

2. Swahili diffusion

Since independence, the Tanzanian government has demonstrated its political eagerness to establish Swahili, already a dominant language at the time, as the only language to symbolize national unity. Through the rise of nationalism and the spread of primary education, Swahili has successfully spread as a language of prestige all over the country. As Swahili has spread further into the domains of ethnic community languages, the language contact has resulted in a wide range of effects (Heine 1976, Polomé 1980, Legère 1992, Batibo 1992, Mekacha 1993, Yoneda 1996, Janson 2002, among others).

2.1 Traditional view of linguistic change: Diglossia to language shift

Tanzanian ethnic community languages are restricted in their domains of use. Consequently, they often show substantial contact effects, mainly from contact with Swahili; it has been reported that they are experiencing a greater or lesser degree of language shift and language endangerment. In the research done before 1980, it was said that the spread of Swahili was resulting in diglossia between ethnic community languages and Swahili (cf. Heine 1976, Polomé 1980); that the domains of each language were complementarily distributed. However, studies published in the 1990s reported that Swahili had already entered into the domains of ethnic community languages and started to displace them (Legère 1992, Mekacha 1993, Yoneda 1996), resulting in the end of the diglossic situation.

In a report published in 1992, Batibo projected the process of language shift in Tanzania according to the following model:

Phase I: ethnic community language monolingualism
Phase II: bilingualism with ethnic community language predominance
Phase III: bilingualism with L2 (Swahili) predominating
Phase IV: restricted use/competence in L1 (ethnic community language)
Phase V: L1 as substratum

He claimed that the majority of Tanzanian ethnic community languages were in Phase II, where the people "use their ethnic community languages in all family, village and intra-ethnic activities" (Batibo 1992: 90). However, only a few years later, other researchers suggested that Swahili was penetrating more deeply into the ethnic communities, and argued that most ethnic groups were in Phase III or even further along (Mekacha 1993, Yoneda 1996).

The influence of Swahili within Tanzanian society has continually and extensively increased, including in education, politics, mass media, and even the private sector. As argued by Batibo, this has created a state of 'unequal' or stratified bilingualism, in which Swahili represents a language with much higher social status than the ethnic community languages (Batibo 2005: 89). As a result, it has recently been argued that many of the approximately 120

languages in Tanzania are likely to lose many, or even all, of their speakers within the next generation or two (Janson 2002: 191).

Earlier studies suggested that Swahili had entered the domains of the ethnic community languages and seemed to be displacing them in a process of language shift, as modelled by Batibo. However, the current language situation which has been observed in contemporary studies reveals that the ethnic community languages are not following Batibo's scheme.

2.2 New trend: Swahilization of ethnic community languages

Though the contact situations between the ethnic community languages and Swahili are getting more and more intense as outlined above, there are very few studies reporting a complete 'shift' to Swahili. Instead, many studies have recently reported on Swahili's effect on the vocabulary and structure of ethnic community languages; leading to the development of distinct varieties of 'pure' and 'mixed' versions of these languages.

Yoneda (2010) reported from her research on the Matengo language, a middle-sized ethnic community language in Tanzania, that the influence of Swahili can be seen in areas such as grammar and phonology. According to her, the most remarkable influence is in the lexicon, as it is very common for people to use Swahili words to express meanings for which native words exist in Matengo. She further indicated that, while some speakers seemed to be using Swahili words as a result of unconscious codeswitching, most Swahili words are used consciously as 'loanwords' from Swahili: that is, as 'new Matengo words'. In this sense, what is taking place in Tanzania is better described as 'Swahilization' of ethnic community languages, rather than a clear 'language shift'.

Bernander (2012) has shown lexical influences from Swahili in the Bena language. He pointed out that 23% of the Bena vocabulary collected in his study originated from Swahili, including a not inconsiderable quantity of function words. He also intuitively noted that the process of 'Swahilization' seems to be ongoing, in that the younger generation involve more Swahili terms in their speech.

The study by Marten & Petzell (2016) shows a high degree of linguistic variation and to the development of distinct varieties of 'pure' and 'mixed' Kagulu with a comparison of three versions of the text – a recorded oral story, a transcribed version of it and, further, an edited version which features of pure Kagulu are edited in. Though their work was not designed to describe the effect of Swahili on the language, their study proves that Swahili influences are found at the lexical and grammatical level and that, in many cases, variant forms result from the adaption of Swahili forms.

Rosendal & Mapunda (2017) conducted research on the situation of the Ngoni language's contact with Swahili; they do not use the term 'Swahilization', but reveal that, even in remote

areas, the informants are not able to speak Ngoni without codeswitching with Swahili and borrowing quite a number of terms from Swahili.

From such studies, we note that the use of ethnic community languages is not shifting to the use of Swahili, but rather that Swahilized versions of these languages are being formed. However, though those studies have reported on contact induced language change in the ethnic community languages, each study had a focus on this subject and, as such, the evidence provided is largely segments of conversations or folk stories collected with instructions for the speaker to use their ethnic community languages. Also, Bernander (2012) and Rosendal & Mapunda (2017) obviously consider 'Swahilization' to be a process of language shift. However, our study does not predict the language shift in, at least, those languages dealt with in this study.

In this paper, we firstly provide specific examples of actual language use in one village, to complement the previous studies. Moreover, whereas previous studies mainly focused on the lexical and structural influence of Swahili on ethnic community languages, this study also contributes a discussion of the influence of ethnic community languages on Swahili, in a situation of language convergence induced by language contact.

3. Swahili influence on ethnic community languages

3.1 Loanwords and their influence

A *loanword* is defined, following Haspelmath (2009: 36), as "a word that at some point in the history of a language entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing"; they typically show various kinds of phonological and morphological adaptation. In contrast, *codeswitching* is generally defined as the use of more than one language within the same conversation (Myers-Scotton 1993, Trudgill 2003, among others). From these definitions, the terms seem to cover separate situations. However, in reality, language situations are more complicated, including the contact situation dealt with in this study. In the rural areas of Tanzania, most of the population is bilingual, in their ethnic community language and Swahili, and contact with Swahili is very prominent. Thus, codeswitching and borrowings cannot be taken as discrete entities but must rather be seen as a continuum. Even the non-conventional words that are well-adapted can be seen quite frequently, leading to it often being unclear if a given usage should be seen as the codeswitching of a single word[1] or as an uncommon borrowing. It should be noted that the

[1] There is a variant of codeswitching proposed, namely codemixing, in which "the process whereby speakers indulge in codeswitching between languages of such rapidity and density, even within sentences and phrases, that it is not really possible to say at any given time which language they are speaking" (Trudgill 2003: 23).

main purpose of this study is not to provide a clearer definition of these two terms but rather to show how difficult it is to describe the present situation within the scope of these terms.

Myers-Scotton (2006) divides loanwords into two categories: cultural and core borrowings. Cultural borrowings are words that fill gaps in the recipient language's store of words, because they stand for new objects or concepts previously unexplored in the language's culture (Myers-Scotton 2006: 212). In contrast, core borrowings are words that duplicate elements that already exist in the recipient language's word store (Myers-Scotton 2006: 217). In a similar characterization to this pairwise division, Yoneda (2010: 141) divided loanwords from Swahili into Matengo, an ethnic community language of Tanzania, into the following three groups:

Group 1: Loanwords representing completely new objects and concepts
Group 2: Loanwords describing objects or concepts that may not be completely new, but providing new expressions
Group 3: Loanwords coexisting with synonymous words of ethnic community languages

Group 1 loanwords, which provide a new object or concept, correspond to 'cultural borrowing'. As a natural result of the broad social changes taking place, even in rural areas in Tanzania, new objects and concepts are being introduced into the communities along with new words to express them; for example, newspapers, paper, cars, driving, and so on.

			[Swahili]	
(1)	ligasɛti	<	gazeti	'newspaper'
(2)	likalatasi	<	karatasi	'paper'
(3)	kuhɛndɛsa	<	kuendesha	'to drive'

The Swahili word *gazeti* in (1) is borrowed from English, and *karatasi* in (2) from Arabic. Swahili itself has borrowed a lot of words from Arabic, English and Oriental languages (Schadeberg 2009) for new concepts or objects; and in the above cases these new words for Swahili have also arrived in Matengo via Swahili. The number of loanwords in this group is huge, and given the ongoing modernization of societies in Tanzania, there is little doubt that this will increase further (Yoneda 2010).

Group 2 is another type of cultural borrowing. This group consists of new expressions for objects or concepts that are not themselves new to the Matengo society. For example, Matengo has words for the distinct actions of 'sweeping' and 'wiping', but no general term meaning 'to clean'. Thus, the loanword *kusapisa* 'to clean' in (4) has been borrowed from the Swahili

This study does not try to distinguish codeswitching and codemixing, as it is not its main purpose, and simply sticks to the term codeswitching as a cover term for both situations.

word *kusafisha*, and they are now used to complement each other. An opposing example is (5), where only a general term in Matengo had existed until loanwords were introduced to draw new distinctions. *Mponga* is the general term in Matengo for 'rice', originally used to denote a number of meanings: rice plants, rice grains, and cooked rice. However, these days, the Swahili loanwords *nsele* for 'rice grains,' and *hwali* for 'cooked rice' have come into common parlance.

			[Swahili]	
(4)	kusapisa	<	kusafisha	'to clean'
(5)	a. nsele	<	mchele	'rice grain'
	b. hwali	<	wali	'cooked rice'

[cf. Matengo original word]
mponga 'rice (rice plant, rice grain, cooked rice)'

Important loanwords in this group are function words, such as those shown in (6-8). Although pronouns or prepositions are not high in the hierarchy of borrowability, with many previous studies (e.g. Muysken 1981, Winford 2003, among others) claiming that the structuredness of classes of such words makes them highly resistant to borrowing, many words of this functional class are becoming even more deeply rooted in Matengo than content words. In the process of being borrowed, they cause the constructions or expressions of the language to change, as shown in (9).

			[Swahili]	
(6)	kabula	<	kabla	'before'
(7)	tangu	<	tangu	'from'
(8)	lakini	<	lakini	'but'

(9) a. [Original Matengo construction]
Maria a-a-n-longul-iti ku-bɛlakɛka
Maria SM_{3SG}-PST-OM_{1SG}-precede-PRF INF- be_born
'Maria preceded me to be born (Maria was born before me).'

b. [New construction, using the Swahili loanword]
Maria a-a-bɛlakɛk-iti kabula nɛnga
Maria SM_{3SG}-PST-be_born-PRF before 1SG
'Maria was born before me.'

Group 3 consists of loanwords for which a synonym exists in Matengo; 'core borrowings'.

	[Matengo]	[Loanword]		
(10)	kuboola	kupundisa	< kufundisha	'to teach'
(11)	ikakala	upipu	< uvivu	'laziness'
(12)	lihɛngu	kasi	< kazi	'work'

Some loanwords and their Matengo synonyms are differentiated by meaning. For example, the loanword *kasi,* meaning 'work' in (12), used to refer only to work performed in a workplace when it came into Matengo; in contrast the original Matengo word *lihɛngu* refers to housework, fieldwork, or any other work. Importantly, however, such differentiations are unclear and highly unstable, and the loanword from Swahili is almost always dominant; as a result, the original Matengo words regularly fade away.

As the Matengo examples above show, loanwords provide a strong motivation for, not only lexical change, but even phonological and structural change. When Matengo speakers borrow words from Swahili, they alter the sounds of the Swahili words to match the Matengo phonological system; for example, *kasi* developed from *kazi,* since Matengo does not have the sound [z]. Recently, however, loanwords have been increasingly used with no change in their pronunciation (Yoneda 2010), resulting in the introduction of new sounds into Matengo. Moreover, the loaned functional words in Group 2 cause changes in the structure of Matengo, leading it to become more Swahili-like, as mentioned above. As a result of these changes, a Swahilized-variety of Matengo has arisen. Matengo speakers refer to this variety as *Samatengo sa kisasa,* meaning 'Modern Matengo', distinguished from *Samatengo sa ndani,* meaning 'deep Matengo', which is considered the 'real' Matengo (Yoneda 2010: 147).

These phenomena, which we have exemplified above, are not unique to Matengo, but can be observed in many ethnic community languages in Tanzania (Kiango [2013] for Bondei, Bernander [2012] for Bena, Marten & Petzell [2016] for Kagulu, Rosendal & Mapunda [2017] for Ngoni, and others). In the following section, we will provide some examples of actual conversations and monologues in the Swahilized variety of an ethnic community language, 'Modern Bena'.

3.2 Examples from the Bena community[2]

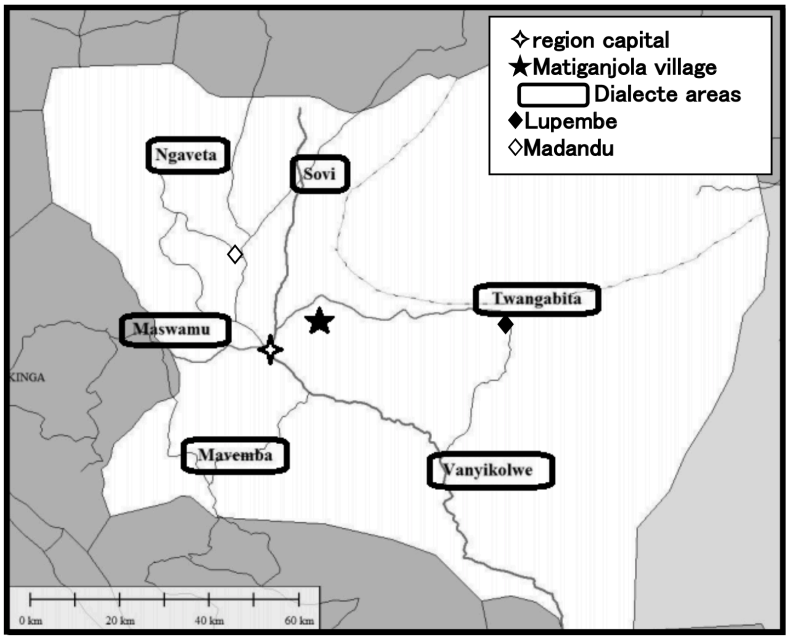
Bena is a Bantu language, classified as G63 by Guthrie (1948) and it is the 13th biggest ethnic community language in Tanzania according to Muzale & Rugemalira (2008: 79). Kutsukake (2018: 111) pointed out that people in the Bena-speaking community used their language more, at least in their own recognition, than the Ngoni-speaking community did theirs, so the situation can be expected to be comparable to what has been described by Rosendal & Mapunda (2017). Several other studies also deal with the Bena language. Morrison (2011) has written a reference grammar of Bena, which this paper hugely relied on, and has already pointed out the influence of Swahili on Bena. However, his study did not focus on the actual use of Bena in terms of its contact with Swahili. Bernander (2012) dealt with Swahilization of Bena and described the amount of words borrowed from Swahili into Bena. Although his

[2] To investigate actual Bena language use, fieldwork was conducted in a rural Bena-speaking village in the southern part of Tanzania in 2015-2016.

study successfully proves the influence of Swahili on Bena, it excludes codeswitching and mainly sees the lexical influences and adaptions into Bena.

The fieldwork was conducted in a village called Matiganjola, located around 25 km from the regional capital, Njombe city, as shown in Map 1. It was, in spite of this proximity, a rather remote area at the time of data collection because of the poor road network and lack of transport.

Map 1: Location of research site and Bena dialect areas



Morrison (2015) investigated dialectal variation in Bena and concluded that 6 variations could be considered as its dialects (shown in Map 1) but that it is impossible to draw clear-cut lines between them (Morrison 2015: 207). As Matiganjola is located the middle of those dialect areas, it is difficult to say which dialect exactly is spoken in the area; when the inhabitants were asked which dialect they spoke, they answered that it is what could be between the one spoken in Lupembe and the one in Madandu. Morrison noted that most people recognize these two as 'proper Bena'-speaking areas. For example, the orthographic <k> is pronounced as [h] in the Madandu area and, as shown in the examples below, it is pronounced mostly as [h] in Matigajola, but also sometimes as [k].

Example I is a part of a conversation between two young women. After the conversation, they confirmed that they were talking in Bena (indicating their perception of the language, irrespective of the evident mixing). Below, Bena words are shown in italics and Swahili words are shown in underline. In addition, the Swahili words integrated into Bena are shown underlined and in italics. Those pronounced using the phonology of Bena are in bold, those pronounced

using the consonants of Bena but with Swahili prosody[3] are not in bold. Sections where we could not hear clearly or grasp the meaning are marked as [unknown].

Example I: Conversation of two young women in their 20s

(13) D: *Yuve, muyáángu* doto, *i*-píndi *shíla*
2SG my_friend 1.younger_sister_of_twins AUG-period 7.DIS.DEM
Waa-ndi-wonelága ndému yaako. Kwa víle
$SM_{2SG}.P_4$-OM_{1SG}-see 1.friend 2SG.PSS for 6.DEM
ndáá-li ndí-li hela ngufu, **nîni?**
SM_{1SG}-COP SM_{1SG}.COP no power what
'You, my friend, my younger sister, nowadays you look down on me. It is when I am powerless or what?'

(14) E: Nawe *wa-li* **mkolóòfi** mbona? *Wa-li*
And.2SG SM_{2SG}.PST-COP 1.rude_person why SM_{2SG}.PST-COP
mtundu mno.
1.rude_person very
'You, why are you rude? You are so rude.'

(15) D: Ka, ka. Mbona *sindaa-li* mtundu
(interjection) why NEG.$SM_{1SG}.P_4$-COP 1.rude_person
ha-m-na. **Kátika** ni-fanye *ishí*
NEG-SM_{18}-COM in OM_{1SG}-do 7.PRO.DEM
u-hu-ni-tova u-ndi-gíte dééna hu-nyíle, kaa.
AUG-INF-OM_{1SG}-fight SM_{2SG}-OM_{1SG}-do thus INF-run (interjection)
'I am not rude, I am not. By making me do this to fight against me, then you run.'

(16) E: Si *waa-talága yúùve*.
NEG.COP $SM_{2SG}.P_4$PERS-begin 2SG
'You were the one who started, weren't you?'

[3] See for example kiburi: a Swahili word which follows Swahili phonology, *hibuli*: a Swahili word which has been partially adapted to Bena phonology (using consonants from Bena but still with Swahili prosody), ***hibúúli:*** a Swahili word which has been fully adapted to Bena phonology).

(17) D: *Nn!* *Ndi-helel'* *hwa* **máama,** *u-***mááma**
(interjection) SM_{1SG}-go for 1.mother AUG-1.mother
hu-táángil', *muyáángu*.
INF-help 1.my friend
'Oh, dear! I go to our mother and ask her to help me, my friend.'

(18) E: *A-wonaga* *twi*-[unknown], **ukwééli**
SM_{3SG}-see SM_{1PL}.FUT-[unknown] 11.truth.
'She always sees that we will [unknown] truth.'

(19) D: Jamani... *ndi-dzóve* *hwa* **báába,** baba *a-ndi-tigi*
(interjection) SM_{1SG}-say to 1.father 1.father SM_{3SG}-OM_{1SG}-say
[unknown] *mdesi.*
[unknown] 1.liar
'Oh no… I say to father, father says [unknown] a liar'

(20) E: *A-tigila* u-na *hibuli*.
SM_{3SG}-say SM_{2SG}-COM 5.arrogance
'Our father says you are arrogant.'

(21) D: Mbona *hibuli*, *ndáá-li* *helaa*!
why 5.arrogance SM_{1SG}.P_4-COP no
'Why arrogant, I was not!'

(22) E: *Wáá-li* u-na ***hibúúli.***
SM_{2SG}.P_4-COP SM_{2SG}-have 5.arrogance
'You were arrogant.'

(23) D: **Kúweli?**
really
'Really?'

(24) E: [unknown] *wa-talága* *yuuve.*
[unknown] SM_{2SG}.PST-begin 2SG
'[unknown] you are the one who started.'

(25) D: [unknown] *u-li* *mukomi* *wa* *néène?*
[unknown] SM_{2SG}-COP 1.friend of 1SG
'[unknown] you are my friend?'

(26) E: *Ha-nekú* *(lu)leenga.* *Wi-tala* *uhu-vemba* kabla
HOR-fetch 11.water SM_{2SG}.FUT-begin INF-cry before
[unknown]. *Ha-twí-udz'* baba hii [unknown].
[unknown] HOR-OM_{1PL}.PRES-ask father 9.DEM [unknown]
'(When you are told to) go and fetch water, you will start to cry before [unknown]. Ask father (about) this, [unknown].'

(27) D: Jamani, *yuvé* *veve* doto *yuve*
(interjection) 2SG 2SG 1.younger_sister_of_twins you
kulwa?
1.older_sister_of_twins
'Oh dear, you, are you a younger sister of twins or older?'

(28) E: Mimi ni dóto.
1SG COP 1.younger_sister_of_twins
'I (am) the younger one.'

(29) D: *Ah*, wewe **dóòto?**
(interjection) 2SG 1.younger_sister_of_twins
Lino i-na-maan-isha [unknown] kama ndoo *ndi-li*
Now SM_9-PRS-mean-CAUS [unknown] if yes SM_{1SG}-COP
Kulwa, [unknown] *u-ni-továga* *dééni*?
1.older_sister_of_twins [unknown] SM_{2SG}-OM_{1SG}-fight.HAB same
'Ah, you are the younger one? It means that [unknown] if I am the older one, [unknown] you always fight against me the same (like this)?'

As we can see, the conversation contains numerous Swahili words. There are some cases which may be clearly considered codeswitching, like *mimi ni* 'I am' in (28), since the copular construction of Bena appears frequently in the conversation. The conversation also contains Swahili functional words, which can be classified as Group 2 loanwords, such as *katika* 'in' in (15) and *kabla* 'before' in (26). Apart from these, the interpretation of the conversation also contains ambiguity, as some Swahili words could be considered loanwords in Group 3, with Bena synonyms such as *nini* 'what' in (13), *mama* 'mother' in (17), and *baba* 'father' in (19), or they could simply constitute codeswitching. In both cases, nearly half of the conversation consists of Swahili words. In spite of this, in the speakers' view they were talking in Bena, and someone listening to this conversation would agree that they were talking in Bena, because it is spoken with Bena prosody (such as tone and intonation). This transcription shows

just how many Swahili words have crept into a conversation perceived as 'Bena' by its speakers.

It is widely expected that this kind of language use is also prevalent in speech practices of younger generations, as they are more accepting of Swahili words and the 'new version' of the ethnic community language with Swahili borrowings. However, the following examples show that it is now the case even among the older generation.

The following examples II and III are monologues explaining how to cook *ugali*, a staple food usually made with corn flour. The participants were asked to speak only in the Bena language. Example II is an explanation made by a woman in her 60s, mostly in Swahili.

Example II: A Bena monologue of a woman in her 60s – Explaining how to cook *ugali*

(30) a. *Ndi-kaláv'* *lúleenga,* *ndi-fyaagili* *luváánza,* *ndi-fyagili* nyumba.
SM$_{1SG}$-fetch water SM$_{1SG}$-sweep 11.field SM$_{1SG}$-sweep 9.house
'I fetch water, and I sweep first, I sweep the house.'

b. *Ndi-*chemsh' *lúleenga,* *ndi-*teng' *i-*sufulia, *ndi-dzemha*
SM$_{1SG}$-boil 11.water SM$_{1SG}$-put AUG-9.pan SM$_{1SG}$-boil
ndi-teleh' *ndi-sang'* ugali, na-chukua maji .
SM$_{1SG}$-cook SM$_{1SG}$-stir *ugali* SM$_{1SG}$.PRS-take 6.water
'I boil water, I put a pan, I boil and take water.'

c. **Na-nááwa** na-kula.
SM$_{1SG}$.PRS-wash SM$_{1SG}$.PRS-eat
'You wash (your hands) and eat.'

There are many Group 3 loanwords from Swahili in this woman's monologue, that is, those loaned words for which synonyms exist in Bena. For example, *-chemha* (*-chemsha* in Swahili) in (30b) means 'boil', which is *-hiyeula* in Bena. This usage is phonologically interesting to investigate as *-chemsha* is loaned twice in (30b), with two differing pronunciations. It is once pronounced *-chemha*, with one of the two characteristically Swahili phonological features retained, but another time it is pronounced *-dzemha*, in full accordance with the Bena phonological system. Another type of loanword in Group 3 is one which, at least currently, has a difference in meaning between the Swahili word and their Bena equivalent. An example of this in (30a) is *nyumba* 'house'. *Nyumba* means 'house' in Swahili, and Bena has a word with a similar meaning, *kaya.* However, *nyumba* is being used to reference modern houses, built with concrete and a tin roof, while *kaya* is used for houses that are more traditional. Therefore, at least for now, the words are differentiated. However, as discussed in Section 3.1,

it is possible that this differentiation will be lost and soon *nyumba* will be used for any house. There is also an obvious mixing, *lulenga* and *maji* (30b), which mean 'water' in Bena and Swahili respectively.

Example III is a monologue, on the same topic as example II, by another woman in her 70s. After example II was recorded, this woman came to the first author and explained that the speaker in example II was just nervous about being recorded and had consequently confused Bena and Swahili. The woman then asked to be recorded herself and said she would do "much better" than the speaker in example II in the Bena language.

Example III: A Bena monologue of a woman in her 70s – Explaining how to cook *ugali*

(31) a. Yaani *li-li* *lya* *hu-lamúha,* *unéene* *pe* *ndí-vesa*
this_is SM_5-COP of INF-wake 1SG when SM_{1SG}-be

ndi-láámha, *ndi-fyáágili* nyumba, *ndi-kodz'* *móóto,*
SM_{1SG}-wake SM_{1SG}-sweep 9.house SM_{1SG}-make_fire 3.fire

ndi-púfy' *lúleenga* *lwa* *hu-púguha* *míího.*
SM_{1SG}-warm_up 11.water of INF-wash 6.eye

'I wake up, and when I wake up, I sweep the house, and make fire, and warm up some water to wash my face.'

b. *Pe* *ndi-púguiye,* *ndee* *hu-nywa* chai *ndi-teléhe* **cháái**
when SM_{1SG}-wash if INF-drink tea SM_{1SG}-cook 9.tea

ndí-nywa.
SM_{1SG}-drink

'When I have washed (my face), if to drink tea, I cook tea and drink it.'

c. *Ndi-vang'* *hu-teléhe* mboga.
SM_{1SG}-begin INF-cook 10.vegetables
'I begin to cook vegetables.'

d. *Ndi-telehe* **mbóóga,** *ndi-lúúnga* *ndi-vihilídz'* suhulia.
SM_{1SG}-cook 10.vegetables SM_{1SG}-stir SM_{1SG}-put_on_fire 9.pot
'I cook vegetables, I stir vegetables and put them on the fire.'

e. *Ndi-tekúl'* *wúútine* *ndi-tekul'* *mutééla* *ndi-húùpa*
SM1SG-use 14.flour SM1SG-use 3.wood_spoon SM1SG-reduce
ulúleenga *ndée* *lóólofu* *m-sufulia*.
11.water if 11.many LOC-pan
'I use flour and a wooden spoon and cut back some water if (it is too) much.'

f. *Ndí-sop'* *wúútine,* *ndi-vááng'* *hu-sáánga.*
SM1SG-put 14.flour SM1SG-begin INF-stir
'I put a lot of water in the pan and put flour, and begin to stir.'

g. *Ndi-sáánga* *ndi-sáánga,* *ndi-*geusa *ndí-sop'* *lúleenga.*
SM1SG-stir SM1SG-stir SM1SG-turn_over SM1SG-put 11.water
'I stir (and) turn it over (and) add water.'

h. *Lwi-vang'* *hu-lo-gota,* *pe* *uló-guite* *húno*
SM11-begin INF-OM11-boil when OM11-boil then
ndi-temúli **saháání.**
SM1SG-search 9.plate
'It (the water) starts to boil, when the water boils, then I look for a plate.'

i. Halafu tena *háángi* *ndi-sáánga,* *ndi-sáánga* *ndi-kaúla*
then again again SM1SG-stir SM1SG-stir SM1SG-serve_food
ndi-víha *pa-**méésa.***
SM1SG-put LOC-table
'Then I stir again, I stir (and) I dish it up and put the plate on the table.'

j. *Ndi-hóhol'* **mbóoga.**
SM1SG-serve_food 10.vegetables
'I serve some vegetables.'

k. *Ndi-tekuli* *bahuri* *ndi-hóholi* **mbóoga.**
SM1SG-be_ready 9.plate SM1SG-serve_food 10.vegetables
'I prepare some plate, then I serve vegetables.'

l. *Ti-kaláva* *máwoho* *ti-váánga* *uhú-liya.*
SM1PL-wash 6.hands SM1PL-begin INF-eat
'We wash hands and start to eat.'

Although this woman was arguably much better prepared to speak in a 'pure form' of Bena in her recording, she still included a certain number of Swahili words in her explanation. Moreover, she naturally used certain function words of Swahili origin, such as *halafu* and *tena* in (31i). Rosendal & Mapunda (2017: 471) note that nouns, adverbs, and adjectives, which are multifunctional, are frequently codeswitched but even in other parts of speech, like verbs and demonstratives, the effects of Swahili are also found. Examples from the Bena language supported their findings.

From these two examples, it may be inferred that the use of Swahilized versions of ethnic community languages spread widely and quickly, whether they are accepted as proper or not. The use of a Swahilized Bena has become more common than previous studies expected due to its spread into older generations.

3.3 Swahilization further ahead

From the conversation and monologues shown above, it is clear that the actual language use is full of mixing, despite what the language speakers themselves declared. At the same time, it can be said that the use of ethnic community languages is still significant, because people describe themselves as using them. This means that through bilingual use with Swahili, ethnic community languages can remain vital even if the languages themselves change under the influence of Swahili (cf. Yoneda 2010, Bernander 2012, Marten & Petzell 2016). This should be considered as a positive attitude from ethnic communities towards their language, which, Batibo (2005: 101) mentions, is the only way for a strong resistance to language shift to be possible. This perspective reinforces the view that language shift is not occurring.

Moreover, as mentioned in Section 2.2, the Swahilized version of a language is often considered a 'new variety' (Yoneda 2010: 147, Marten & Petzell 2016: 118-119). For example, Matengo people refer to their Swahilized version as 'modern Matengo' (*Samatengo sa kisasa*), while Kagulu speakers have also labelled a 'modern/mixed' variety. Even the elder population, who often do not see the new variety as genuine, are more likely to use the Swahilized version of the language, as shown in the monologues above. We have little doubt that this tendency is common in most of the Bantu languages of Tanzania.

4. Influence of ethnic community languages on Swahili

In Section 3 we discussed the influence of Swahili on ethnic community languages. However, the influences leading from the language contact between Swahili with ethnic community languages does not pass all one way; an influence of ethnic community languages on Swahili can also be observed. This section provides some examples of this influence of ethnic community languages on Swahili and discusses these new phenomena with emergent Swahili varieties.

4.1 Grammatical influence

While the influence of Swahili on ethnic community languages is most commonly seen in the lexicon, influence in the opposite direction, that is, of ethnic community languages on Swahili, is observed in morphology. Straight after independence, a number of words were borrowed into Swahili from ethnic community languages according to the policy of the Tanzania National Swahili Council for the enrichment of the Swahili vocabulary (Gromova 2000). This policy stated that new vocabulary should, as much as possible, come from Swahili or other Bantu languages before looking to other sources (Abdulaziz 1980: 161). Therefore, the influence of ethnic community languages on Swahili itself is not new, and was originally mostly lexical. However, a recent grammatical influence should be distinguished from those lexical borrowings made for the enrichment of Swahili during standardization.

The most well-known example of this grammatical influence is the diminutive (Mbaabu 1985, Myers-Scotton 1993, Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993, Kihore *et al.* 2001, Brenzinger & Marten 2016, Marten & Petzell 2016, among others). Diminutive classes, which have been reconstructed in Proto-Bantu, are classes 12 (singular) and 13 (plural), whose noun class prefixes are *ka-* and *tu-*, respectively. These diminutive prefixes are found in many Bantu languages, but not in standard Swahili; where classes 7 *ki-* and 8 *vi-* are used instead. However, *ka-* is often used,[4] even more often than *ki-*, in colloquial Swahili.

(32) a. [Standard Swahili]
ki-toto
NCP_7-child

b. [Colloquial Swahili]
ka-toto
NCP_{12}-child

'a small child'

cf. m-toto
NCP_1-child
'child'

[4] The plural *tu-* is not used as often as the singular *ka-*, although it can sometimes be heard. Example (33b) is interesting in this regard: The noun modifier appears with the singular *ka-*, although the head noun is class 2, that is, plural.

(33) a. [Standard Swahili]

Kwa	nini	Wa-japani	wa-dogo	wa-dogo?
for	what	NCP_2-Japanese	NCP_2-small	NCP_2-small

b. [Colloquial Swahili]

Kwa	nini	Wa-japani	***ka***-dogo	***ka***-dogo?
for	what	NCP_2-Japanese	NCP_{12}-small	NCP_{12}-small

'Why are Japanese people so small?'

The phenomenon of using *ka-* instead of *ki-* in Swahili has already been discussed in a range of studies (Mbaabu 1985, Myers-Scotton 1993, Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993, among others). These studies mentioned that there are some areal varieties in which *ka-* conveys a meaning smaller than *ki-* (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993: 346-347), or indicates 'smallness' (Myers-Scotton 1993: 103). Recently, however, *ka-* is not only seen in certain varieties or areal characteristics, but has become more widely used and accepted in colloquial Swahili (cf. Kihore *et al.* 2001, Brenzinger & Marten 2016, Marten & Petzell 2016).

The next example involves the noun modifiers *-ingi* 'many' and *-ingine* 'others, some'. According to the grammar of standard Swahili, these modifiers appear with the noun class prefix (NCP) agreeing with their head noun. However, in colloquial Swahili they often appear with the pronominal prefix (PP) instead of NCP, as shown in (34b).

(34) a. [Standard Swahili]

hadithi	ny-ingine
NCP_{10}.stories	NCP_{10}-other

b. [Colloquial Swahili]

hadithi	***z***-ingine
NCP_{10}.stories	PP_{10}-other

'other stories'

This presumably occurs because these modifiers appear in many Bantu languages, unlike standard Swahili, with the PP, not the NCP.

Another example is the expression of the habitual aspect. To express the habitual, a pre-final suffix *-ag-* is used in many Bantu languages. Although standard Swahili does not have this suffix, its wide occurrence in colloquial Swahili has been reported (Abe 2009, Rugemalira 2010); in place of the habitual prefix *hu-* of standard Swahili.

(35) a. [Standard Swahili]
Wa-nafunzi hu-som-a vi-tabu v-ingi.
NCP_2-students HAB-read-FV NCP_8-books NCP_8-many

b. [Colloquial Swahili]
Wa-nafunzi wa-na-som-ag-a vi-tabu v-ingi.
NCP_2-students SM_2-PRS-read-HAB-FV NCP_8-book NCP_8-many
'Students (habitually) read many books.'

(36) Tu-na-end-***ag***-a Dar es Salaam.
SM_{1PL}-PRS-go-HAB-FV Dar es Salaam
'We often go to Dar es Salaam.' (Abe 2009: 300)

(37) U-na-kul-ag-a wapi?
SM_{2SG}-PRS-eat-HAB-FV where
'Where do you usually eat?' (Rugemalira 2010: 232)

These morphological innovations are definitely due to the influence of ethnic community languages.

4.2 New areal varieties and a new colloquial Swahili

In the past, when people spoke of 'areal dialects of Swahili', they meant that which was spoken in original Swahili speaking areas: Zanzibar, Mombasa and other coastal areas. Nurse & Hinnebusch (1993) notated approximately 20 dialects, such as Mwiini, Tikuu, Makunduchi, Tumbatu, and others. Nowadays, 'areal varieties of Swahili' can mean varieties of 'the standard Swahili', which is itself one of the varieties of Swahili. Standard Swahili has spread widely and is used as a lingua franca by the people of more than a hundred different ethnic groups with different mother tongues. Consequently, many varieties of standard Swahili, such as 'Bena Swahili' or 'Matengo Swahili', have come into existence.

The occurrence of such areal varieties was already reported in a study conducted in the 1970s (Abdulaziz 1980), when Swahili diffusion had become very active. However, the more recent phenomenon consists not only of the expansion of areal varieties, but also (or even 'rather') of the development of mutual varieties; used among speakers across and beyond different areas and ethnic groups, especially in urban areas, such as Dar es Salaam.

It might be possible to consider these mixtures of morphemes as merely 'mistakes'; however, their occurrence is arguably far too common to be considered mistakes. It could be hypothesized that such mixing of non-Swahili morphemes in Swahili originally happened as 'mistakes', caused by insufficient proficiency in Swahili. However, if it were just a matter of performance ability, such language would have been 'improved' with the diffusion of Swahi-

li, and such 'mistakes' would then have been reduced. Instead of being reduced, this phenomenon has rather spread widely and been largely accepted among Tanzanian people.

Nowadays there are many young people in Dar es Salaam whose first language is Swahili regardless of their ethnic identity. Such "native speakers" of Swahili also use *-ag-* or *ka-*. It seems, therefore, that the recent phenomenon is not a co-existence of various varieties, but the occurrence of a new colloquial Swahili beyond a given area or ethnic group (cf. community variety, Brenzinger & Marten 2016). This is the same phenomenon which can be observed among the Bena varieties as reported by Mwalango (2017); in other words, what is happening here is not divergence but rather convergence (Gibson & Marten 2016). Unfortunately, the available examples only show recent colloquial Swahili and a full theoretical analysis can, therefore, not be achieved. Arguably due to the wide use of social networking services, such as Facebook or Twitter, this new colloquial Swahili variety, which transcends particular ethnic peoples and areas, seems to have become increasingly diffused and widely established.

5. Summary and conclusion

This study has shown the influence of Swahili on ethnic community languages, with specific examples that substantiate the previous studies in this area (e.g. Yoneda 2010, Bernander 2012, Marten & Petzell 2016, Rosendal & Mapunda 2017, among others). Whether consciously or unconsciously, Swahili words have freely penetrated into the daily speech of the ethnic community languages, which are now perceived as 'new varieties'. Although previous studies have characterized Swahilized versions of language use as mostly belonging to younger generations, it is now natural and unavoidable for speakers of the older generation.

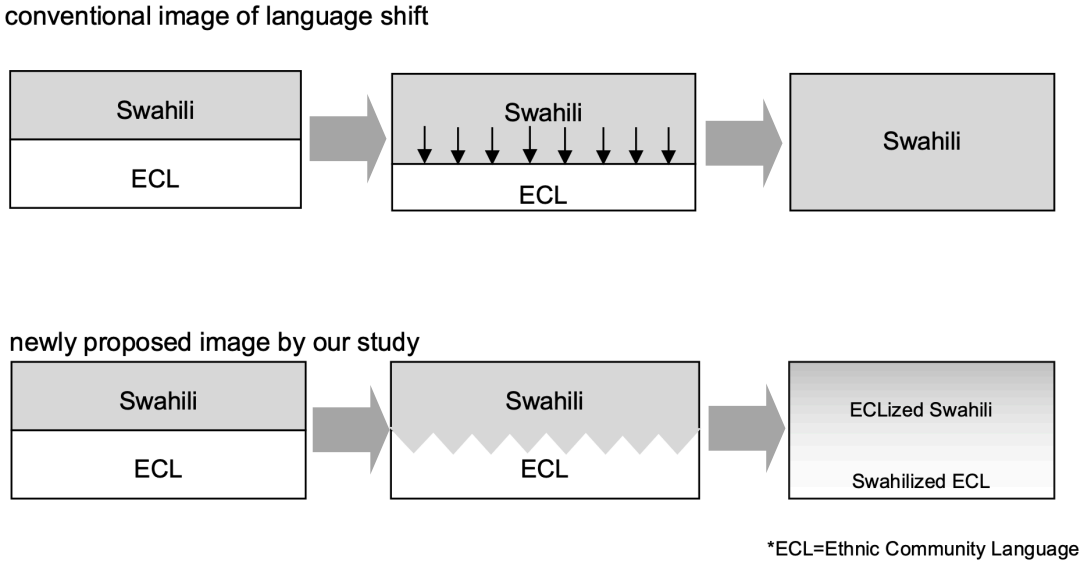
This study has also helped to show that the influence of language contact between ethnic community languages and Swahili in Tanzania can also be found in realizations of Swahili. Rather than simply constituting a one-way effect from Swahili onto the ethnic community language, the 'new colloquial Swahili' constitutes a shared version of Swahili, extending beyond particular ethnic groups. From this perspective, language contact has begun to result, not only in language divergence, but also in convergence (Gibson & Marten 2016).

More than 20 years have already passed since linguists started to warn that language shift could occur in most of the ethnic community languages in Tanzania. Although the use of Swahili has spread widely and people are more likely to use it, even in the domains where only ethnic community languages were formerly used, language shift has not occurred in precisely the way Batibo (1992) expected. Though the currently spoken ethnic community languages are full of Swahili words, speakers still consider themselves to be speaking their language, which they distinguish from Swahili. This means that the ethnic community language is being maintained in their recognition.

As Batibo (2005: 101) mentioned, "strong resistance to language shift is usually only possible if speakers have a positive attitude to their language and hold it in high regard". In Tanzania, there is no chance to learn ethnic community languages systematically and formally, as they have no institutional support. Furthermore, the contact situation is very heavy and it is difficult for people to keep their languages unaffected. However, people still maintain 'their language', even when the language itself changes far away from what it originally was. This study sees the situation in which languages are being changed but also 'maintained', as reflecting a positive attitude toward their languages. The process consists of Swahilization of an ethnic community language, rather than its loss through a complete shift away from its use. The interruption in language transmission is almost universally seen as a crucial diagnostic for language death, as Batibo (2005: 89) pointed out. However, as shown in this study, the young generation still consider themselves to be speaking in Bena (see example I). Arguably, there would be a greater chance for Swahili to creep into ethnic community languages if the socioeconomic situation remains unchanged in its hierarchy, but the communities will maintain their language to a lesser or greater extent. Indeed, it may be that the burden lies more on linguists than on the communities, to save a 'correct' form of the languages. The comparison and analysis of all versions of a text, undertaken by Marten & Petzell (2016), could be very helpful in this way.

In addition, Swahili is also affected by the contact between it and various ethnic community languages. As a result, each language is forced to undergo '-ization' by the other, and their differences become not only sociolinguistically, but also structurally and lexically, convergent. In other words, current language use of the Swahilized version of the ethnic community language and the 'ethnic-community-languagized' version of Swahili (see Fig. 1) are marked by bilingualism. Brenzinger & Marten (2016) explained this as 'language drift', which they distinguished from language shift.

Figure 1: Images of language situations induced by contact



On the other hand, 'translanguaging', which has attracted a great deal of attention recently, could be a theory applicable to analyzing the language use that this study describes. According to García & Wei (2014), translanguaging refers to the assumption that a linguistic repertoire can never be split into just one or another language. Consequently, bilingual speakers select meaning-making features and freely combine them to potentialize meaning-making, cognitive engagement, creativity, and criticality (García & Wei 2014: 42). Translanguaging also refers to the act of languaging between systems that have been described as separate and beyond them (García & Wei 2014: 42). If we take this theory into account, it is not appropriate to describe such language use as 'bilingualism' in the Swahilized version of the ethnic community language and/or the 'ethnic-community-languagized' version of Swahili.

Despite the different perspectives on, and names for, this phenomenon ('Swahilization', 'language drift' and 'translanguaging'), there is one result that all these terms reflect: Full language shift has not taken place and people have kept their ethnic community languages, forming a new type of language use to enable meaning-making for the whole community in this changing world. Though it is very easy to deprecate this newly emergent language use as a threat or as incorrect, which endangers the 'genuine' ethnic community language to which 'tradition' and 'culture' are attached (cf. Mwalango 2017, Rosendal & Mapunda 2017), this study views the phenomenon from a different perspective; as a potential way of language maintenance.

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