ENGLISH LOANS IN SWAHILI NEWSPAPER FOOTBALL LANGUAGE

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Abstract

It has been inferred that to some extent some football terminologies tend to be cross-linguistic, stemming from the fact that many languages borrow football vocabulary from English. Thus within the field of football, the influence of English is significant. Football in Tanzania dates back to the 1920s and is becoming more and more prominent among other sports in Tanzania. Swahili football language is influenced by English in diverse ways. This paper seeks to investigate the strategies for expansion of Swahili vocabulary for the expression of football language in Tanzania by use of a corpus extracted from Swahili newspapers dated between 2006 and 2008. The data is representative of terms for player positions, football functionaries, and miscellaneous standard football related expressions and terminologies. The discussion focuses on the borrowing processes, the grammatical categories of loans items and loan types and how they fit into various linguistic phenomena of borrowing as spelt out in Winford (2003). The paper also addresses the question of standardization of borrowed football registers. Keywords: football_language, loans, borrowing, Swahili

1. Introduction

In the literature, studies have been undertaken on the influence of the English language on football terminologies in several languages (Lavric et al 2008). The areas that are addressed are several: while some works focus on data from radio reporting, others focus on data from newspaper reporting or live football commentaries. This phenomenon seems to be a global one, affecting many languages including African languages. Kachru (1986: 9) cited in Sepek (2008: 53) for instance states that the influence of English on world languages within the world of football is significant. It has also been posited that the borrowing of English vocabulary in the language of football is to some extent cross-linguistic (Sepek 2008: 53). He cites words such a 'football', 'goal' and 'shoot' as examples of words that are used by many languages in football broadcasts.

This influence of English seems to stem from several factors; the fact that the British lay claim to the emergence of the Football game; (although this fact is disputed by some schools of thought), the fact that Britain spearheads the promotion of international football; as well as the fact that English is a global language which has influenced many languages in the area of their socio-cultural and economic lives.

The most common word that is used for football in Swahili is **soka** 'soccer'. Also the word goal **goli** is borrowed, but it refers to the goalpost rather than a score and shoot is used on its own as a noun **shuti** 'shot'or with a verb as part of a phrasal verb **piga shuti** 'kick a shot'. Some of the player positions and functionaries and other terms that relate to football are also borrowed from English. A significant observation is that most borrowed words in the field of football are nouns. Another observation is the frequent use of expressions with inputs from both Swahili and English. Some are derived from direct translations, some by extension of meaning of existing words and others by loan translations. Where verbs such as scoring, defeating, drawing etc are concerned, pure Swahili equivalents are used.

It is observed that significant expansion of the Swahili language has been achieved through borrowing of football vocabulary and terminologies. Notable among these is the phenomenon that extends the meaning of existing words to cover new borrowed concepts and terms. Innovative ways have been employed to meet the need for language expansion to keep Swahili at breast with global trends and in this case, world football. Polomé (1980: 89) states that "as a society grows in complexity, the lexicon which expresses the various aspects of its activities expands using various devices provided by the language to create new lexical items." He goes on to discuss phenomena such as the expansion of the semantic field of existing words, through derivational processes and loan translation.

By the use of a data drawn from a corpus extracted from the sports pages of thirteen issues of Swahili Newspapers based in Tanzania, this paper seeks to contribute to the discourse on borrowing into Swahili by illustrating the various vocabulary expansion strategies that are adopted in Swahili newspaper football reporting as a result of the contact between Swahili and English.

2. Background to Football in Tanzania

Although football has been around for a long time, the first football club in Tanzania, *Taifa* Stars (the National Team) was established in 1930, and the interest of Tanzania in football has grown steadily over the years just as is the case around the globe. According to Trusuta (2007: 199), the game was first introduced to Tanganyika by English missionaries, Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) and

popularized in the 1920s by the alumni of the UMCA School at Zanzibar. During the same period the game was adopted and institutionalized as an extracurricular activity at local schools. *Taifa* Stars joined FIFA in 1964, an indication of Tanzania's growing interest in world football. The name of the national team itself (*Taifa* being the Swahili word for nation and Stars, a direct adoption from English) is an indication of the significance of English in anything football in Tanzania. Indeed in the case of the influence of English in Swahili football reporting, interesting observations are made. The Influence of English as mentioned above spans from the names of football clubs to player positions, and football functionaries.

Our data indicates that football clubs in Tanzania often adopt hybrid names made up of English and Swahili items, pure Swahili names or indeed pure English names as indicated in (Table 1) below.

Table 1: Names of Some Football Teams in Tanzania

Swahili	English	Hybrid: English and Swahili
	Coastal union	*Taifa* Stars (nation Stars)
Yanga		
Miembeni	Pan African	*Moro* United (Morogoro United)
Simba (lion)	Tanzania Prisons	*Ashanti* United
	KMKM (acronym)	*Zanzibar* Herns
*Toto Afrika (*Child Africa*)*		
Manyema	JKU (acronym)	*Mtimbwa* Sugar
Chipukizi (youngster)	AFC (acronym)	*Kagera* Sugar
Mundu		*Twiga* Stars (Giraffe Stars))
JKT Ruvu		Small *Simba* (small Lion)
Polisi *Morogoro* (Police Morogoro)		*Kilimanjaro* Stars
		Mapinduzi Stars (Revolutionary Stars)
Polisi *Dodoma (*Police *Dodoma)*		

Table 1 contains names of all football clubs found in our data. The names of these football teams and clubs are of three main types: some are pure Swahili, some are pure English and some are hybrid; made up of Swahili and English. The pure Swahili names are of various kinds including place names such as *Yanga*, *Manyemi*, *JKT Ruvu*, names of animals such as **Simba** 'lion' and several other nouns as listed in Table 1 above. The pure English names are often compound names or acronyms as

listed in Table 1 above. The hybrid names are mostly made up of Swahili place names and other nouns as modifiers and English nouns such as stars, sugar, and united as head nouns. These are terms that are adopted from international football team names. Interestingly, the word order in such compound names is usually English word order rather than Swahili. In Swahili the modifier comes after the head noun. Moreover, the Swahili rendition for such compounds would have made use of the genitival connector **-a**. *For* instance **Taifa** Stars would have been Stars **za Taifa**. Again even in instances where football club names are pure Swahili compounds, the genitival connector is not used as in **Toto Afrika** which normally would be rendered **Toto wa Afrika**. It is arguable that the English pattern is adopted for brevity and a catchy effect in imitation of English and European football club names such as Manchester United, Real Madrid.

3. The Concept of Borrowing

Indeed over the years various studies in the area of language contact, specifically borrowing have pointed to the fact that borrowing in general involves more than simply lifting lexical items from one language into another (Haugen 1950; Polomé 1980; Winford 2003). Various theories concerning the definition of borrowing or loans as well as the classification of borrowings and loans have been put forward in the literature. Sakel (2007:15) discusses the terms MAT and PAT borrowing to represent two broad types of borrowing. MAT (matter)-borrowing refers to the adopting of morphological material and its phonological shape from one language into another and PAT (pattern)-borrowing describes the case where only the patterns of the other language are replicated.

Petzell (2005) quite successfully discusses the expansion of Swahili vocabulary on ICT by the use of the categorization of loan types by Winford (2003). Similarly in this paper, an attempt is made to classify loanwords in the frame work of Winford (2003), which represents a more refined version of (Polomé's 1980) attempt at classifying the various types of loans adopted by the Swahili language for vocabulary expansion. A summary of Winford's classification will be outlined later, however only loan types that relate to our data will be the focus of the paper. In essence Winford (2003) attempts to throw some light on the more subtle contact induced vocabulary expansion.

4. The Corpus

The data for this paper is extracted from a corpus made up of about 2,877 tokens extracted from thirteen editions of three major Swahili dailies, *Mwananchi* (5 issues), *Mtanzania* (4 issues), *Nipashe* (1 issue) and single editions of three miscellaneous weekly sports newspapers, (*Dimba, Burudani* and *Raha*). The issues were randomly

chosen as obtaining consecutive issues was not possible. Editions dated between 2006 and 2008 were used in order to get a relatively current data that reflect the current situation.

The data extracted for the purpose of this study are of two categories; all pure lexical items borrowed from English, hybrid items and expressions and all Swahili words or expressions that were deemed to involve semantic extension of existing Swahili items and loan translations from English expressions related to football as well as Swahili verbs that are used singly or as part of phrases to describe actions in football matches such as scoring goals, losing, wining etc. were extracted. Only items and expressions which occurred at least twice were isolated for the purpose of our analysis. The rational is that for an expression to be considered fixed it must occur at least twice in the data. Two hundred and twenty-three (223) items and expressions which met this criterion were isolated for the study.

4.1   Semantic Scope of Loan Items

The borrowed items in our data are classified into four major semantic categories of football terminologies and vocabulary. The categories include player positions, football functionaries, standard technical expressions of the game as well as action verbs and verb phrases as indicated in the Tables 2 - 4 below.

Table 2: Player Positions

Swahili labels	Literal Translation	English Equivalents
kipa,	keeper	goal keeper
beki/(ma)	back	defender
winga	winger	winger
mshambuliaji/wa	attacker	striker
mlinzi /wa,	guardian/protector	defender
kiungo/vy	joint, junction	winger

Table 3: Functionaries of the Football Game

Swahili Labels	Literal Translation	English Equivalent
kocha/ma	coach	coach
kocha msaidizi	assistant coach	assistant coach
timu ya kifundi	team of skill/ skilful team	technical team
wachezaji wa akiba	players of reserve/reserved	reserve team
benchi	bench	bench

refa	arbitrator/ referee	referee
mwamuzi	decision maker	referee
benchi la ufundi	bench of technical	technical bench
nahodha	captain	captain

Table 4: Standard Technical Expressions

Swahili labels	Literal Translations	English Equivalent
msaada wa kifundi	assistance of technical	technical
mechi ya marudiano	match of repetition	return match
kipindi cha kwanza	first period	first-half
kipindi cha pili	second period	second-half
mapumziko	break	half-time
bao	score	goal
penati, penalti	penalty	penalty
hatua ya mtoano	step of knock out	knock-out stage
hatua ya makundi	step of groups	group stage

4.2   Grammatical Categories of Loan Vocabulary

Most of the items borrowed constitute nouns or nominal expressions. Relatively fewer verbs are borrowed and even fewer adjectives and adverbs are borrowed form English.

4.2.1   Nominal

As is to be expected, out of the 223 borrowed items isolated, 173 forming 77.6% are nominal. These are made up of single lexical items, some are compound nouns of a hybrid nature, made up of both Swahili items and borrowed items from English and some are phrasal.

a. Single Items

kocha	coach
ukocha	coaching
timu	team
ligi	league
kikosi	line up of players for a match
michuano	competition
shabiki	supporter

b. Noun phrases

ligi kuu	premier league
kadi nyekundu	red card
kadi njano	yellow card
raundi tatu	third round
wanasoka	footballers
mwanasoka bora	best player
nusu fainali	semi final
mlinda mlango	goalkeeper

c. Genitive phrases

raundi ya tatu	third round
kipindi cha kwanza	first half
ligi ya mabingwa	professional league
mchezo wa/mechi ya ufunguzi	opening match
kikosi cha kwanza	first line up of players
mechi ya marudiano	return match
benchi la ufundi	technical bench
kombe la dunia	world cup

4.2.3 Other Grammatical Categories

In our data, relatively few borrowed lexical verbs are found compared to nouns. There are 49 making up 22 % of all borrowed items. Matras (2007: 32) raises questions about conclusions arrived at on nouns being more borrowable than other grammatical categories simply based on the fact that nominal tokens occur in a corpus more frequently than other categories. Nevertheless, the possibility that such assumptions may indeed be the situation on the ground cannot be ruled out.

The outcome of this study is comparable to the case of borrowed football terminology in Croatia. The data of Pintarić (2008: 44) on borrowed football terms shows that of the 111 borrowed items from English, 80 were nouns while only 18 were verbs and 11 adjectives and also 2 adverbs. In the same data, of the borrowed football registers from German, the number of verbs (34) was about half that of nouns (64).

The only verb directly related to football that is borrowed directly from English in our data is **kupromoti** 'to promote', as in the promotion of football. The verb **kudili** 'to deal' as in to handle (the ball) well or pass (the ball) well, which is not usually related to English football, is the other direct lexical loan.

There are also phrasal verbs derived from an English noun plus a Swahili verb. In fact we came across a single occurrence of **kupas-ia mpira** 'to pass ball to', derived from the verb to pass. This rendition of the verb **pas-ia** is made up of a verb stem **pasi** and the applicative extension *-ia*. Some phrasal verbs are also formed with native verbs and pure loan nouns. In this case the noun forms of the English verbs are used with Swahili verbs. *-pasi* 'pass' (noun) is usually used with **-pa** 'give' or **-toa** 'give out' and **shuti** is used with **-piga** 'beat/hit' as phrasal verbs, that is **kupa pasi** 'give a pass' and **piga shuti** 'kick a shot'.

There are a few other hybrid phrasal verbs in the corpus, they are: **-pata kona** 'win a corner kick', **piga mechi** 'play a match'.

The apparent reason why verbs are rarely borrowed in Swahili football language is that Swahili has a very rich stock of verbs (many of course were borrowed from Arabic) so that the need to borrow does not arise often. Secondly, we also observe that a phenomenon of vocabulary expansion operates here. The meanings of already existing verbs are extended to cater for particular verbal expressions in football language. Of the 46 semantic extended items an unusual high percentage, 54%, constitute verbs. They are the only category of loan type that has more verbal items than nominal items. Of much significance is the 'goal scoring' expression. This is rendered in vivid and expressive ways depending on the manner in which the goal is scored and the kind of impression the writer wants to create in the reader's mind. This use of very expressive verbs in football language is not unique to Swahili at all, but is a general characteristic of football reporting or commentary in many languages. Anchimbe (2008: 134) cites examples of such expressive verbal expressions which may be interpreted differently outside the football context. Also Sepek (2008: 68) states that in Polish football reporting, "a win in football is most often expressed… with expressions like team A beat, battered, crushed, humiliated, submerged, sent down, shattered, sapped team B."

The data indicate that Swahili is no different when it comes to the act of describing such actions as scoring of goals. In our data the most neutral expression for the scoring act is **-funga bao** 'score a goal' (246 tokens), however, 'exotic' expressions such as **-saka bao** 'hunt down goal' (21 tokens), **-twaa** ' pick up/capture' (16 tokens), **-chapa** 'beat' (54), **piga hodi katika lango** (metaphoric) 'knock at the goalpost' are also used to describe the act of scoring.

The neutral expression for 'to lose' or 'to be defeated' is **kushindwa**, but here again the verbs **-sakwa** 'be hunted down' (18) and **-lambwa** 'be licked' (2 tokens) are also used to express defeat.

The only borrowed English adverbs isolated in our data are **rafu** 'rough', **kitimu** 'teamly' ie. 'using teamwork', and **kisoka** 'soccerly', or 'playing in a good soccer manner'. On the other hand it can be argued that these adverbs collocate with the Swahili verb **-cheza** 'play' to form phrasal verbs. Examples are: **cheza rafu** 'play roughly', **-cheza kitimu** 'play in a 'teamly' manner' and **-cheza kisoka** 'play in a 'soccerly' manner' (i.e. play good football). There are no borrowed adjectives in the data.

5. Phonological and Morphological Integration

Phonologically, all the pure English loans undergo some level of assimilation if the original English word does not already conform to the syllabic structure of Swahili, which is typically V or CV or C (syllabic consonant). Also all words in Swahili end with a vowel, so all borrowed items that originally end in consonants are made to conform by the addition of a vowel after the last consonant. The choice of vowel usually depends on the last vowel of the stem as well as the final consonant.

Again as Swahili nouns are subcategorised into what is described in the literature as various noun classes, which are distinguished by prefixes as well as to some extent the semantic properties of the noun since each noun class is roughly associated with some semantic features, each borrowed noun is assigned to a class. Irrespective of their semantic features, most borrowed nouns find their way into the noun class 5/6 or class 9/10. The reason is that a large number of nouns in class 5 have a null prefix and the same applies to class 9/10. Most borrowed words therefore are put in these classes purely for convenience sake rather than for their semantic properties. We observe that, almost invariably, the borrowed nouns which refer to animates are put in class five, and they take their plural from class 6 which has the prefix **ma-** as in:

kocha/makocha	coach(es)	**beki/mabeki**	defender(s)
kipa/makipa	goalkeeper(s)	**winga/mawinga**	winger(s)

Inanimate nouns also are put in classes 9/10, which have zero prefixes. As a result of the zero prefixes the nouns of both class 9 and 10 are identical, however they take different concords. Examples are:

benchi	bench(es)	**fainali**	finals
timu	team(s)	**mechi**	match(es)
ligi	league(s)	**pasi**	pass(es)

The verbs have also undergone some level of assimilation; 'promote' becomes **promoti**, 'pass' becomes **pasi** and also the adverb 'rough' becomes **rafu**.

It is worth mentioning that almost invariably Swahili transcription is used for all football expressions. However in some instances Swahili transcription is mixed up with English transcription, especially in the case of the names of football institutions and agencies. In the data, there are examples of such hybrid references like **Kombe la UEFA** 'UEFA Championship' **Kombe la Euro 2000** '2000 European championship', **Chama cha soka cha England** 'Football Association of England', **kalenda ya FIFA** 'FIFA calendar'. These are clear examples of codeswitching. While it is easy to understand the use of acronyms like UEFA, and FIFA as labels, it is difficult to understand why 'England' is used. The use of these English transcriptions could be as a result of the culling of football news from English sources, as well as familiarity with English terminology.

6. Strategies for Vocabulary Expansion within Winford's (2003) Classification of Lexical Contact Phenomena

In this section we turn our attention to strategies that have been adopted for expanding the Swahili language to include vocabulary for expressing football terminology and language. From our account so far, it is obvious that although the adoption of English words is one of the strategies for expansion, other strategies have been adopted. The various items and terminologies that do not constitute direct borrowings from English fall under Winford's classification of lexical contact phenomena (2003: 45).

Below is a chart, (Fig. 1) that shows the distribution of the 223 items used for the study representing the various loan types.

Figure 1:   Distribution of Loan Types
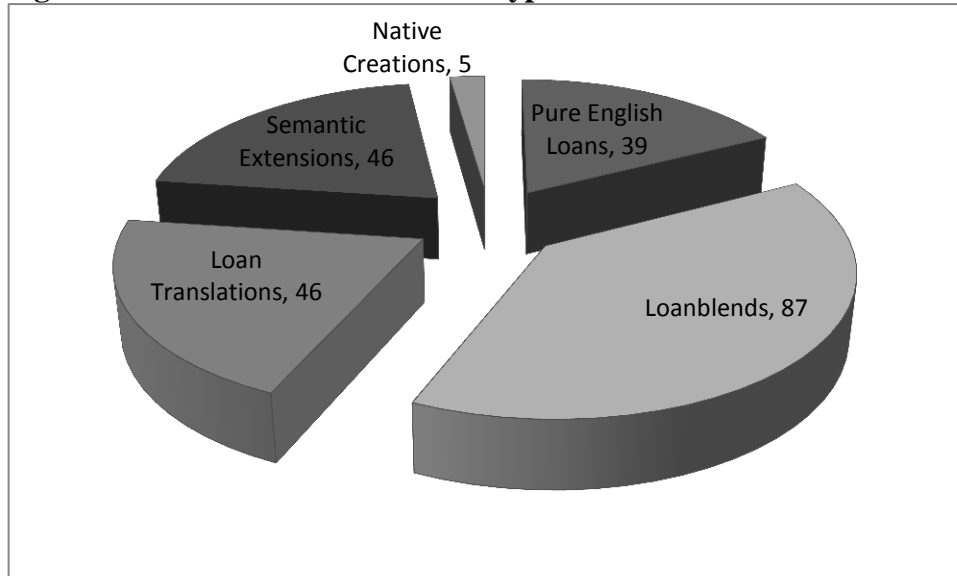
The statistics of the data indicate that in Swahili football language, Loanblends constitute the highest percent of English loans. They account for 39%, followed by Semantic Extensions and Loan translations constituting 21% each. The loan types with the lowest percentages are Pure English loans (17%) and Native Creations (2%). Native creations seem to be very rare not only in football loans but other areas such as ICT, as observed in Petzell (2005) and King'ei (1999). Contrary to what may be expected, pure loans constitute only 17% of all the items. Therefore it is arguable that loanblends, semantic extensions and loan translations are the most used strategies for vocabulary extension in Swahili football reporting. Also it is clear that adaption of pure English items is not the first option when it comes to borrowing.

Below is a summary of the classification along with a few examples of each loan type according to Winford's (2000) classification. Loan items in the corpus which are not cited in the paper are grouped according to loan type and added as appendices.

(1a) Lexical borrowings (two types)
a.   Loanwords
        Two types of Loanwords:
    i. *Pure loans* (total morpheme importation of single or compound words with varying degrees of phonemic substitution with possible semantic change)

      beki/ma   back
      benchi   bench

bodi	board
chalenji	challenge
chati	chart

Most of the pure loans are nouns. Only 2 out of the 39 pure loans are verbs and only one is an adverb. This is a strong indication that in Swahili Football language most direct English loans are nouns and that verbs are rarely borrowed as indicated in 4.2.1.

   ii. *Loanblends* (combination of native and imported morphemes; noun stem + imported affix or imported stem + native stem)

benchi la ufundi	[English verb + connector + Native Noun]	technical bench
kuwa fiti	[Native Verb +English Noun]	be fit
nyota wa soka	[Native Noun +connector + English Noun]	soccer star
piga shuti	[native verb + English noun]	kick a shot
shirikisho la soka la Afrika	[Native Noun +connector + English Noun + connector plus Native noun]	Confederation of African Football
soka la kulipwa	[English Noun +connector + Native verb]	professional soccer
mwanasoka/wa	[Native noun stem +English Noun]	footballer

   The structures of the loanblends in the data tend to be more complex than Winford's (2003) description. There is only one instant of a loanblend where the item is made up of a single word, **mwanasoka** 'footballer' which is made up of a native noun stem **mwana** 'child'and an English loan **soka** 'soccer'.

   The rest are of the various structures illustrated above. Many of the loanblends are actually loan translations that involve both native and English items. An example is **soka la kulipwa** 'paid soccer', that is the Swahili rendition for 'professional soccer'.

(1b)   Loanshifts /Coinages (loan meanings)

Two types of loanshifts:

   i. *Extensions* (shifts in the semantics of a native word under influence from a foreign word). This phenomenon is typical with verbs that express actions in the game

of football. As illustrated in Section 4.2.3, the meanings of native Swahili verbs are extended to cover certain actions and states in the football game. Other examples are

Swahili Noun	Literal Meaning	English Equivalent
chipukizi	shoot/sprout/youngster	emerging player
kulaza	cause to lie down	be defeated by goals
mlinzi	guardian, keeper, protector	defender
mzunguko	cycle/rotation/circuit	round
nahodha	captain	football team captain
nyota	star/fortune	Star (football)
mwamuzi	arbitrator/mediator	referee

ii. *Loan translations /calques* (combination of native morphemes in imitation of foreign pattern)

Swahili Expression	Literal Meaning	English Expression
hatua ya mtoano	step of take out	knockout stage
kiwango cha juu	level of high	upper division
kombe la dunia	cup of world	World Cup
kupanga matokeo	arrange result	to fix a match
kushuka daraja	descend a bridge	to descend to a lower division
kutetea ubingwa	defend championship	to defend championship
mabingwa ya ulaya	experts of Europe	European champions

The pure loan translations are similar in structure to the loanblends except that with loan translations, all words in the construction are native.

(2)   Native Creations (Use of native words to express foreign concepts)
Three types:
    i. *Purely Native Creations* (the innovative use of native words to express foreign concepts).

    These are mostly new items that have been derived from existing Swahili items to cover English terminologies in football.

Purely Native Creation	Tracking	English Equivalent
jifunga	Not in dictionary, score own goal	score own goal
shabiki/ma	Someone who likes something	a (soccer) fan
mshambuliaji/ wa	Not in dictionary, noun derived from **shambulia** 'attack'	striker
mfungaji/ wa	Not in dictionary scorer	goal scorer
shambulizi	Not in dictionary, noun derived from **shambulia** 'attack'	attack

Jifunga is made up of the Swahili reflexive marker **-ji-** and the verb stem **-funga** 'score', and therefore represents the expression 'score own goal'. **Shabiki** is listed as a colloquial word that has been recognised as a standard word in more recent dictionaries. **Mshambuliaji** and *shambulizi* are clearly derived from the Swahili verb **-shambulia** 'attack' by using appropriate prefix and suffixes with the verb root as per the rules of nominal derivation in Swahili.

There are no examples in the data of native creations involving hybrid creations and creations using only foreign morphemes.

7.   Creation of Choice through Borrowing

We note also that for a few English expressions, two Swahili renditions are used side by side. In such cases, often there exists a Swahili adaptation of the English word or expression and the other is usually the use of Swahili items with extended meanings. Table 5 below illustrates this.

Table 5: Pure English Loans and their Derived Native Counterparts

English origin	Swahili	English word/expression
droo	**sare**	draw
soka/mechi	**mchezo wa mpira**	soccer/football match
goli	**lango**	goal post
kipa, golikipa	**mlinda mlango**	goal keeper
raundi ya mbili	**duru la pili**	second round
staa/mastaa	**nyota**	star (i.e. football star)
mwanasoka	**mchezaji**	football player
winga	**kiungo**	winger
kocha	**mwamuzi**	coach

raundi	**mzunguko**	round
mfumu	**staili**	style

Sometimes where there is more than one label for a single item, they do not involve pure loans. For instance the word **shabiki** 'fan' is a native creation, but there is another label for the same word, **wapenzi wa soka** 'lovers of soccer'.

It must be noted also that sometimes there seem to be no one particular label for some football expressions or terms and the result is that several renditions exist side by side. For instance, **mechi ya kirafiki** 'friendly match' occurs ten times in the data, however **mechi zisizo za mashindano** 'non-competitive match' which has a similar meaning occurs twice. Similarly two renditions of 'African Cup of Nations' occur, **Kombe la Mataifa ya Afrika** 'cup of African nations' and **Mashindano ya Mataifa ya Afrika** 'competition of African nations'; **sare ya bila kufungana** 'goalless draw' and **sare ya kutofungano** 'goalless draw'.

This could pose a problem for lexicographers as to which label to accredit. King'ei (1999) discusses the problem of development and usage of technical terminology with emphasis on the Kenyan situation. He views the existence of two or more synonymous terms for a single item as a situation that creates confusion, especially if they are not harmonized and standardized (154-155). The reason for this situation could be the fact that these synonyms have not yet evolved fully. This certainly may account for the existence of more than one label for an item. Nevertheless there is the indication also that some of these synonyms have been standardized by the Institute of Kiswahili Research to exist side by side.

8. Borrowing and Standardization

Over the years in Tanzania there has been commitment to the standardization of vocabularies that get adopted by Swahili language. BAKITA (*Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa*) (National Swahili Council) was the first agency that was charged with the responsibility of ensuring the vocabulary expansion in all areas in order to keep the Swahili language abreast with globalisation, science and technology (Petzell 2005: 86; Legére 2006: 176). In fact the process of standardization of Swahili vocabulary can be traced back to 1929 when the then British colonial government set up the Inter-territorial (Swahili) Language Committee to undertake the initial task of standardizing the Swahili language (Whitely 1969). Since then the committee went through several evolutions which were marked by change of name and location until it was renamed Institute of Swahili Research (IKR) in 1970 and established as an institute of the then

newly established University of Dar es Salaam (Massamba 2005; Sewangi, 2007: 334). The IKR has over the years assumed the responsibility of expanding the Swahili language through borrowing and standardization of these and other borrowed words in the language. It has recently been renamed as the Institute of Kiswahili Studies.

Thus a large number of borrowed items are found in the current Swahili dictionaries, most of which are also published by IKR. In addition to Standard dictionaries, IKR also publishes lists of vocabularies of special areas such as linguistics, anatomy etc., from time to time as a way of publicising and promoting the use of these vocabularies by all and sundry. *Kiswahili* (68: 27-28) gives a list of about 17 different specialized Swahili dictionaries that the IKR has published between 1994 and 2006.

We observe that unlike in the case of many borrowed items in ICT such as **monita** 'monitor', **modemu** 'modem', **kasa** 'cursor' etc. reported in Petzell (2005), quite a number of the single item football terms are listed in the current Swahili dictionaries published by the IKR with the exception of the native creations listed in Section 6. It can be argued that over the years, new words that are used in Swahili newspaper reporting eventually find their way into the dictionary as standardized.

However, many items such as loan translations and loanblends involving several words are hardly found in the dictionary, although there is enough evidence that they have become fixed expressions. Perhaps the difficulty here is that they are made up of several words. Also for several words that constitute semantic extensions, their special usages in relation to football are not often listed in the dictionaries. Again, for some terms or expressions, there seem to be no fixed renditions.

9. Conclusion

The paper has attempted to illustrate that Swahili football language is significantly influenced by the English language through various strategies. It has demonstrated that all of the vocabulary expansion strategies outlined in Winford (2003) but two (hybrid creations and creation using foreign morphemes) have been employed in Swahili to expand the language for the expression of concepts and terms that relate to football. Native creations are rare in Swahili newspaper football language, because the process involves the actual creation of terminology, unlike pure loans which often do not involve any creation. Similarly, loan translations also involve mere translations of the English label. That notwithstanding, it is clear that these native creations are not entirely creations. In all the instances, it is possible to

trace a Swahili root in each term. What actually happens is that the existing nominal derivational processes of adding a prefix and a suffix to a root are used.

Most of the loanwords in football are nouns, because their adoption is motivated by the need to fill the gap for nominal items such as football terms, professions or player positions. In terms of standardization of borrowed items and terminology, although there is ample commitment to standardization, there is the need to step up standardization processes in order to include loanwords in current standard Swahili dictionaries.

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Mtanzania, Nov 3, 2006; Jan 21, 2008; Jan 23, 2008; Jan 26, 2008
Nipashe, Jan 26, 2008
Dimba, Oct 15-21, 2006
Raha, Nov 28, 2006
Burudani, Nov 2-8, 2006

APPENDIX 1

Pure English Loans	Frequency	English Gloss
festi 11	4	first eleven
jezi	4	jersey
kambi	7	camp
klabu	121	club
kona	3	corner
medali	5	medal
ofa	4	offer* (not listed in TUKI dictionary)
Olimpiki	6	Olympic
pointi	38	points
rekodi	7	record
seti	3	set
staili	5	style
Total Tokens	1145	

APPENDIX 2

Loanblends (blend of English/ Swahili items)	Frequency	English Expression
beba timu	2	carry the team
beki wa kati	2	central back
benchi la wachezaji wa akiba	2	reserve bench
chama cha soka	5	Football Association
eneo la goli	2	eighteen yard
kiki safi	2	a clean kick
kipa namba moja	3	number one goalkeeper
kocha mkuu	4	head coach
kocha msaidizi	4	assistant coach

kombe la chalenji	2	challenge cup
kombe la ligi	2	league trophy
kombe la mataifa la Afrika	21	African Cup of Nations
kombe la shirikisha la soka Afrika	2	Confederation of African Football Cup
kufuzu fainali	2	qualify for finals
kujenga timu	6	build a team
kupoteza mechi	2	lose a match
kuwa fiti	4	be fit
kuwa hazina ya timu	2	be a treasure of the team
kuwania kufuzu fainali	4	fight to qualify for finals
ligi ndogo	2	local league
ligi ya Hispania	3	Spanish league
ligi ya mabingwa ulaya	5	European champions' league
ligi ya mabingwa wa Afrika	2	African champions' league
ligi ya nyumbani	2	local league
ligi ya taifa	2	national league
michezo ya olimpiki	4	Olympic games
mechi ya kimataifa ya kirafiki	3	national friendly match
mechi ya nusu fainali	2	semi finals match
mechi ya raundi ya pili	2	second round match
mechi ya ufunguzi	2	opening match
mechi za kuwania kufuzu fainali za dunia	2	world cup finals qualifying match
mfumo wa soka	3	soccer style
mwanasoka	14	footballer
namba moja	3	number one
nusu fainali	8	semi finals
nyota wa soka	2	soccer star
ofa kabambe	4	great offer
pangua timu	3	dissolve team
pasi ndefu	5	long pass
pasi safi	6	clean pass
pasi za uhakika	2	confident pass
piga mechi	3	play a match
piga shuti	2	kick a shot
poteza mechi	2	lose a match

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raundi ya kwanza	2	first round
raundi ya mtoano	2	knockout round
rekodi za bora	5	best record
robo fainali	10	quarter finals
seti ya pili	4	second set
Shirikisho la soka	22	football association
Shirikisho la soka barani Afrika	5	Configuration of African Football
Shirikisho la soka la Afrika	9	Configuration of African Football
Shirikisho la soka la kimataifa	2	Federation of international Football Association
tiketi za msimu	2	season's ticket
Timu ya taifa	30	national team
Timu ya mchangani	2	mixed team
Timu ya nje	4	foreign team
Timu ya vijana	2	junior team
Tinga fainali	4	swing the finals
Toa pasi	2	give a pass
Uendeshaji wa timu	4	team management
Wapenzi wa soka	2	soccer lovers
Winga ya kulia	2	right winger
Total Tokens	430	

APPENDIX 3

Loan Translations	**frequency**	**English Terminologies**
bao la dakika za mwisho	2	last minute goal
bao la kuongoza	2	leading goal
bingwa mtetezi/wa	9	defending champion
dakika za mwisho	7	dying minutes
dakika za nyongeza	4	extra time
daraja la pili	2	second division
funga bao la ushindi	2	score a winning goal
fungia mabao	3	score goals for
hatua ya 10 bora	2	best ten stage
kinyan'ganyiro cha ubingwa	10	stiff competition for championship

kombe la taifa	5	national cup
kubamizwa mabao	2	be defeated by goals
kusaka wachezaji	3	buy / transfer players
kushuka daraja	3	to descend to a lower division
mabingwa ya ulaya	2	European champions
mashabiki ya raha	4	happy fans
mchezaji bora	3	best player
mchezaji bora namba moja	2	number one best player
mchezaji wa kimataifa	2	international player
mpira wa kichwa	3	head ball
pachika mabao	4	fix goals
wakati wa mapumziko	2	half-time
Total tokens	413	

APPENDIX 4

Semantic Extensions	**frequency**	**Original Swahili Meaning**	**Extended Meaning**
bingwa/ma	12	expert/specialist/	champion
chapa	50	beat, hit, strike	defeat by goals
kinda	4	a shoot/ young	youth
kipigo	19	blow/stroke/beating	defeat by goals
kiwango	2	level	division championship
kombe	9	cup (augmentative)	trophy
kuchapa	4	spoil, destroy	score
kucharaza	2	to do anything with vigour or skill or without a break	score
kuchomekwa	2	be stuck into/be inserted into/be stabbed/	be defeated by goals
kufunga	8	to score	score
kufungwa	7	to be score+ passive	be defeated by goals
kulala	3	lie down	score/ defeat
kulinda	4	protect/ defend/ guard	protect
kuokoa	6	save	save (ball)
kupanga	2	to arrange brotherhood	to arrange (a match)

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kupangwa	2	be arranged	arranged match
kupasha	3	cause to have/get something	warm up
kusaka	3	hunt down	defeat by goals
kutinga	30	swing	swing (ball into net)
kutwaa	2	to take/pick up/take over/capture/occupy	put ball in the net
kuvaa	3	put on	to score
kuwania	4	contest/compete/fight for	compete
lambwa	2	be licked	be defeated by goals
mapumziko	2	break/recess	half-time
mchezaji/wa	208	player	football player
msimu	2	season	football season
ongoza	6	lead guide	lead by goals
sakwa	18	to be hunt down	be defeated by goals
taji	41	crown	championship
tinga	5	swing	put ball in the net
tuzo	5	prize	trophy
twaa	16	to take/pick up/take over/capture/occupy	defeat by goals
ushambuliaji	5	attack	attack
vaana	4	embrace in a fight	compete
Total tokens	413		