

Sergio Baldi

Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"

Arabic loans in some Nilotic-Saharan languages*

Abstract

Most of the people of coastal East Africa were ancestors of the modern Swahili. The occurrence of Swahili loans in unrelated neighbouring languages is quite frequent. The influence of Arabic loans, mainly via Swahili, was not confined to East Africa, or to Nilotic and Bantu languages (particularly Mijikenda and Pokomo), but also to Central African languages like Kikongo, Lingala up to the Sango. This is clear because Islam penetrated mainly and exclusively through Swahili speaking people and not directly from Arabic, so all the words dealing with the new religion, and which so abundantly arrived in West African languages, were not necessarily lent. In this paper, a research in progress is presented. It started one year ago by collecting Arabic loans in languages spoken in East and Central Africa. The main object of investigation is to organise a data base similar to what done for West Africa, using the same methodology. Up to now a few dictionaries and other sources on these languages have been consulted: Acholi, Ankole, Anywa, Ateso, Bari, Bemba, Bende, Dholuo, Kikamba, Kikongo, Kikuyu, Kiluba, Kiw'oso, Kuria, Lega, Lingala, Lomongo, Lotuxo, Luena, Luganda, Lunyankole, Lunyoro, Macua, Madi, Matengo, Ngombe, Pokomo, Pokot, Rendille, Shona, Swahili, Xhosa and Zande, but this article is dealing with Nilo-Saharan languages only.

Keywords

Nilotic-Saharan languages, Swahili, Arabic loans, Bantu languages.

1. Introduction

Towards the 10th century Islam had its foothold among the coastal peoples to begin with, mostly on islands such as Manda, Pemba and Zanzibar. Some Swahili histories suggest that Islam had been accepted long before

* This is a revised version of a paper presented at *12th Nilo-Saharan Linguistics colloquium 2015* (Nairobi, 1st-4th September 2015).

AD 900.¹ As early as the 12th century the first stone mosques were built. Some of the towns were now growing into city-states. Most of the people of these towns were ancestors of the modern Swahili. They were an East African people of the Bantu language. But there was a constant arrival of traders and settlers from across the seas, mainly from Oman and the Persian Gulf, who married local women and founded new families.

As it concerns other Bantu peoples, like Mijikenda² from Kenya coast, they have been in contact with Muslims at least since the 17th century. The first Mijikenda conversions to Islam occurred in the 18th century through the influence of neighbouring Swahili peoples. Early Mijikenda converts migrated to Swahili towns, thereby establishing a pattern of urban Islamization that kept Islam from spreading among the Mijikenda.

“By the middle of the 19th century, the cultural influence of Islam was evident among the Mijikenda, but few Mijikenda had become Muslim. This was due as much to an absence of proselytizing by Muslims as to the strength and integrity of Mijikenda society” (Sperling 1988: 2).

By the end of the 19th century, the Digo, the second largest spoken language of that group (Baldi 2015a), had already built several mosques, and educated Digo Muslims were teaching and actively proselytizing among their fellow Digo.

The situation of Islam has some features in common with that one in West Africa. In fact, in East Africa, there were Swahili speaking peoples who were the first to be Islamized, and their language was so strongly influenced by Arabic that, 30% of its lexicon is of Arabic origin.³ In West Africa different ethnic groups were converted to the new religion and their languages were the medium of spreading Arabic loans into other languages. So in East Africa the Arabic language influence was via Swahili only into the other local nearby speaking languages, whereas in West Africa it was direct or via other local languages.

¹ The *History of Pate* [reprinted in English translation in G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, *The East African Coast: Select Documents*, 1962: 241], for example, claims that a group of Syrian Muslims founded thirty-five towns along the Coast in AD 696, while the *History of Lamu* states that a Muslim city was founded on that island at about the same date (Davidson 1969: 90).

² Mijikenda is a 20th century name. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Mijikenda were known as the Nyika or Wanyika (= people of the Nyika), though most of them lived east of the Nyika proper. Sperling (1988: 29, footnote 81) says: “The name Mijikenda, meaning “nine towns” (nine = Swa. *kenda*; towns = Swa. *miji*) seems to have been first used in 1924 by the Digo of the nine villages immediately south of Mombasa, who adopted the name (in its Mijikenda form *Midzichenda*) to describe their newly-established Central Council. (Cf. Digo District, Station Diary, entry for 5th April 1924. KNA, DC/KWL/5/1.) The name was taken up by all the Mijikenda in the 1940s when the nine Mijikenda peoples came together to form the Mijikenda Union. Saidi Sulayman Mwangogo, Kilifi, 11/6/86.”

³ See Baldi (1988: 59, Table VI).

The influence of Arabic loans via Swahili was not confined to East Africa, mainly to Nilotic languages and some Bantu languages (particularly Mijikenda and Pokomo), but also to Central African languages such as Kikongo and Lingala up to the Sango.⁴ Of course in Kikongo, and more so in Lingala, the influence of Arabic was less important than that of Portuguese, which introduced many new words into these two languages. In the field of Nilotic languages the presence of Arabic loans via Swahili is quite remarkable in Acholi, Anywa, Bari, Dholuo, Lotuxo, Madi and Pokot. Regarding the semantic fields of loans, we realise that almost none deals with the Islamic religion except Ramadan, because the focus of borrowing was on everyday life. This is clear because the new religion penetrated mainly and exclusively through Swahili and not directly from Arabic. This means that all words dealing with the new religion, and which so abundantly arrived into the West African languages, were not necessarily borrowed.

Another difference between West African languages is related to the fact that in West Africa so many different peoples were converted to the new religion. Hence their languages were forced to receive so many loans, and in a few cases the Arabic loans via a local language to another, and not directly from Arabic: an example is the case of the word for *market*, which we find in some languages lent through the Kanuri *kasugu* in Hausa *kasuwa*, in Kotoko *gásə̀gbí*, etc.

As regards Arabic, we have also to ask ourselves which type of Arabic. At beginning, in West Africa, spoken Arabic (much more from Egypt than from Magrebinian dialects) became the main source for loans. Later on, classical/Koranic Arabic was the main source because, *mallam* were trying to use only Arabic from Koran (Hiskett 1965: 18–26). On the contrary, in Swahili there was the influence of classical Arabic and mainly of Omani Arabic dialects.

2. Arabic loanwords in East Africa

The principal objective of the investigation is to organize a data base similar to what done for West Africa, using the same methodology⁵. Up to now there were collected data by inter alia consulting dictionaries and other sources in more than some twenty languages, spoken in East Africa.

Below are given some of the entries more representative, as specimens, for what collected up to now⁶, in the shape exactly as they appear in the data base. The Arabic etymons, included French dictionaries, are quoted as well as the data for African languages as given by the single authors of the works. The

⁴ Where we can find more than 10 Arabic loans arrived through Swahili.

⁵ See Baldi (2008).

⁶ The work is styled as the previous dictionary (Baldi 2008) and with the same numeration of the Arabic entries.

number written in bold type in front of the Arabic quotation is the same of the previous publication on West Africa. The Swahili loan is quoted only when one of the Nilotic languages got the Arabic loan via Swahili.

On the examination of the material given in the Appendices we can get some conclusions, which are valid also for all material collected up to now in the Data Base:

- 1) Loans are connected to the daily life and they do not have any relation with the Islamic religion, except very exceptional occurrences, differently to what happened in West Africa;
- 2) Arabic influence was spread mainly through Swahili, even into coastal languages of Mijikenda group. This is quite clear, if we examine Arabic loans into Digo. The influence of Swahili in transmitting loans is strong also for words of different origin, i.e. Portuguese, Persian, Turkish, etc. (Baldi 2015b);
- 3) If classical/Koranic and Omani Arabic had an important role in the transmission of loans on the coast, we notice an influence of Sudanese Arabic mainly into Nilotic languages spoken in the north. This is evident analysing the loans phonetically and not only semantically;
- 4) The number of loans is quite large in many languages of East Africa;
- 5) Some loans probably were quite recent and arrived through Turkish soldiers brought by British in East Africa, e.g. *askari* ‘soldier’, *bunduki* ‘gun’, *risasi* ‘bullet’, etc.
- 6) Swahili was the only medium to spread Arabic loans, being inexistent the phenomenon of a transition from one language to another, as happened in West Africa, e.g. Ar. *qubba* ‘cupola; memorial shrine (esp., of a saint)’ > Fulfulde *hubbāre*, pl. *kubbāje* > Hausa *hubbārè*.

3. Conclusion

On the basis of the material collected, we can make some hypotheses, which are quite similar to that of West Africa. The Islamisation of East Africa’s hinterland, (excluding the Swahili people on the coast), is quite recent, and does not affect most of the territories. This implies that in the words related to religion, items in languages, which received Arabic loans via Swahili, are really few. In this respect, the situation is completely different from that of West Africa, where many people, speaking different languages, were converted at different times. Therefore the number of Arabic loans is limited only to words of everyday life and to some items which were not known before. For example: ‘bullet’, ‘flag’, ‘letter’, ‘paper’, ‘pen’, ‘rifle’, ‘snow’, ‘soap’, ‘trousers’; a few big numbers (‘one hundred’); unknown animals (‘horse’, ‘mule’), time (‘minute’, ‘hour’), and etc. As regards the field of religion we only find ‘Ramadan’,

‘Muslim’, ‘Satan’, and really a few others. This is quite understandable for the importance of these words in relation to Islam.

Here in detail are all the words concerning the Arabic loans found in the material collected. The loans are classified broadly according to Hallig and Wartburg’s methodology:

A. NATURE: arrack, (broad) beans, (native) brandy, (dried) bread, cat, cheese, coffee (also tree), dates, durra, garlic, gold, hashish, horse, Irish potatoes, lead, lemon, mule, onion, orange, paraffin, (cayenne and hot) pepper, perfume, pigeon, pineapple, poison, rice, silk, snow, soap, sugar, tea, wheat, whisky, zinc.

B. MAN AS A PHYSICAL BEING: appendicitis, bag, battery, bed, blanket, bowl, box, brakes, breakfast, bucket, buttons, (lying) chair, cup, curtains, diabetes, dish, doctor, (looking) glass, hammer, handkerchief, hat, helmet, horn (of band), hut, injection, kettle, lamp, latrine, lavatory, lunch, malaria, mat, match (fire stick), mattress, medicine, midwife, mirror, mug, needle, nurse, ointment, (surgical) operation, pocket, quinine, (tape) recorder, refrigerator, scissors, shoes, socks, spectacles, sunglass, (imported) syphilis, tent, (electric) torch, towel, treatment (for illness), trousers, trunk, umbrella, whistle.

C. MAN AS A SPIRITUAL BEING: chapter, church, devil, fasting, gospel, Islamic sharia (law), Muslim, pagan, prophet, Psalms, Ramadhan, religion, Satan, temple.

D. MAN AS A SOCIAL BEING: Arab, banquet, cemetery, gift, (old) man, prostitute, virgin, wedding-feast.

E. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICS: army, boat, book, bribe, caporal, car, carpenter, driver, ferry, flag, gun, judge, letter, mail, market, money, newspaper, office, officer (police, military, etc.), paper, pen, post office, pound (sterling), prime minister, poll-tax, prison, rifle, salary, sergeant, ship, shop, soldier, storey, streamer, tailor, taxi, teacher, telephone, tribunal, veranda, wage, witness.

F. NATURAL LAWS: colour, days of the week, gallon, half, hour, minute (time), numbers, pound (lb.), sweet, time, watch.

G. INTERJECTIONS AND PARTICLES: already, fine, immediately, okay, perhaps, possibly, ready.

References

- Baldi, S. 1988. *A first ethno-linguistic comparison of Arabic loanwords common to Hausa and Swahili*, Supplement n° 57 à *AION*, XXXVIII (4), 83 p.
- . 2008. *Dictionnaire des emprunts arabes dans les langues de l’Afrique de l’Ouest et en swahili*. Paris: Karthala.
- . 2015a. “Les emprunts arabes en digo via swahili”, *Faits de langue et société* 2015, N° 1 (Mélanges en l’honneur de Miloud Taïfi, éditées par Nadia Kaaouas & Mourad Mawhoub): 241–252.
- . 2015b. “Loans in Digo via Swahili”: 337–343 in *La lingua nella vita e la vita della lingua. Itinerari e percorsi degli studi berberi*. Miscellanea per il Centenario di studi berberi

- a “L’Orientale” di Napoli. Scritti in onore di Francesco Beguinot a cura di Anna Maria Di Tolla. (Studi Africanistici; Quaderni di Studi Berberi e Libico-berberi 4). Napoli 2015. Università degli Studi di Napoli: “L’Orientale”, Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo. 412 p.
- Blackings, M.J. 2000. *Madi-English Dictionary* (Languages of the World/Dictionaries 25). Munich: Lincom Europa, (abbreviated Bla).
- Crazzolaro, J.P. 1955². *A Study of the Acooli Language. Grammar and Vocabulary*. London: Oxford University Press for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures (abbreviated Cra).
- . 1978. *A Study of the Pokot (Suk) Language. Grammar and Vocabulary*. Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana (abbreviated Cra).
- Davidson, B. 1969. *A History of East and Central Africa to the Late Nineteenth Century*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.
- Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P. 1962. *The East African Coast. Select Documents from the first to the earlier nineteenth century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press.
- Gorman, T.P. (ed.). 1972. *A Glossary in English, Kiswahili, Kikuyu and Dholuo*. London: Cassell & Company (abbreviated Gor).
- Hallig, R. und W. von Wartburg. 1952. *Begriffssystem als Grundlage für die Lexikographie. Versuch eines Ordnungsschemas* (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin – Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst). Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Hiskett, Mervyn. 1965. “The Historical Background to the Naturalization of Arabic loan-words in Hausa”, *African Language Studies* vi: 18–26.
- Johnson, F. 1939. *A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary*. London, Oxford: Oxford University Press (abbreviated J).
- Jullien de Pommerol, P. 1999. *Dictionnaire arabe tchadien-français suivi d’un index français-arabe et d’un index des racines arabes*. Paris: Karthala, (abbreviated JdP).
- Kaye, A.S. 1986. *A Dictionary of Nigerian Arabic (Bibliotheca Afroasiatica, vol. 2)*. Malibu: Undena Publications.
- Kitching, A.L. 1915. *A Handbook of the Ateso Language*. London. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (abbreviated Kit).
- Knappert, J. 1999. “Loanwords in African Languages”. In: Rosalie Finlayson (ed.) *African Mosaic. A Festschrift for J.A. Mosaic*, pp. 203-220. Pretoria: Unisa Press.
- . 1972–1973. “The study of loan words in African languages”, *Afrika und Übersee*, LVI, 4: 283–308.
- Krapf, J.L. 1850. *Vocabulary of six East African languages: Kisuaheli, Kinika, Kikamba, Kipokomo, Kihiau, Kigalla*. Tübingen. Lud Fries Fues, x–64 p.
- Muratori, C. 1948. *English Bari-Lotuxo-Acoli Vocabulary*. Okaru: Catholic Mission Printing Press, (abbreviated Mu).
- Odonga, A. 2005. *Lwo-English Dictionary*. Kampala. Fountain Publishers (abbreviated Odo).
- Reh, M. (comp.) with the assistance of Sam A. Akwey and Cham U. Uriat. 1999. *Anywa-English and English-Anywa dictionary (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analyses and Documentation, Volume 14)*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag (abbreviated Reh).
- Roth-Laly, A. 1969–1971–1972. *Lexique des parlers arabes tchado-soudanais*. Paris. CNRS (abbreviated RL).
- Smith, I. and M.T. Ama. 2005. *Juba Arabic – English Dictionary. Kamuus ta Arabi Juba wa Ingilizi*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers (abbreviated S&A).
- Sperling, D.C. 1988. *The growth of Islam among the Mijikenda of the Kenya coast, 1826–1933*. Ph.D. degree, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Stafford, R.L. 1967. *An Elementary Luo Grammar with vocabularies*. Nairobi. Oxford University Press.

Wehr, H. 1966. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, edited by J. Milton Cowan. Wiesbaden-London. Otto Harrassowitz.

Zeltner, J.-Cl., H. Tourneux. 1986. *L'Arabe dans le bassin du Tchad. Le parler des Ulâd Eli*. Paris: Karthala (abbreviated Z&T).

Appendices

ibra *needle; shot, injection* (Wehr 1b; Daf 63) **5**

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	libirà	<i>needle</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	libira	<i>needle</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Odo	libira	<i>a needle</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	alibira	<i>needle</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	lǫbǫrà	<i>needle; syringe, injection</i>

ibrīq *pitcher, jug* (Wehr 2a) **6**

ʾibri:g *abreuvoir* (Z&T 129)

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	biinikà	<i>teapot</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Ateso</i> Kit	ebinika	<i>kettle</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Gor	birika	<i>kettle</i>
Odo	binika	<i>teapot, kettle</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Madi</i> Bla	binikà	<i>kettle</i>
<i>Swahili</i> J	birika	<i>kettle</i>

alf *thousand* (Wehr 23a) **81**

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	alip	<i>thousand</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	alip, alipan	<i>thousand</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Odo	alip	<i>thousand</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	alif	<i>thousand</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	álfũ	<i>thousand</i>
<i>Swahili</i> J	elfu	<i>thousand</i>

bukār *vapour* (Wehr 43b) **164**

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	mábúùr	<i>steamer</i>
Mu	babur	
<i>Bari</i> Mu	babur	<i>steamer</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Odo	mabur	<i>steamer, ship, boat</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	ababur, ababuri	<i>steamer</i>

busta *post office, mail post* (RL 50b)

234

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	bosta	<i>mail; post office</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	bosta	<i>mail; post office</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	abosta	<i>mail; post office</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	búsità / pósità / búsütà	<i>post; post office</i>

başal *onion* (Wehr 61b)

247

besel / **başal** *onion* (RL 51a–52a)

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	basala	<i>onion</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	basalatat, basala	<i>onion</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	abasyala, abasyalaaʼ	<i>onion</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	básālā	<i>onion</i>

baṭṭāriya *battery* (Wehr 62b)

249a

battariye / **batâtîr** *lampe de poche, torche électrique* (JdP 258a)

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	batariya	<i>battery; electric torch</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	batariya	<i>battery; electric torch</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	afattariya	<i>battery; electric torch</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	bâtârîfā	<i>torch</i>

baṭṭāniya *cover; blanket* (Wehr 64b)

260a

battâniye / **batâtîn** *couverture* (JdP 258a)

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	bâṭāniîā	<i>blanket (to cover over)</i>
Mu	bataniya	<i>couverture</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	bataniya	<i>couverture</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Odo	bataniya	<i>blanket</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	abattaniya	<i>couverture</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	bâtāniā	<i>blanket</i>

bunduqīya *fusil* (Wehr 77a)

317

bundūg *fusil* (RL 61a)**bundug** *fusil* (Z&T 121).

Knappert (1972–73 : 293, note 18) affirme: “La forme hausa *bindiga* vient d’un terme de la *Lingua franca* désignant le fusil *venediga*; ce mot, en portugais ou en espagnol, est la forme adjectivale de Venise, ancien port de transbordement d’armes à feu”. Le mot en luganda est un emprunt au swahili *bunduki*, “itself a loan from Turkish via Arabic. The origin of this word is the Greek *pontikòn*

(hazelnut), referring to the shape of a musket bullet. The Ganda form of the word can be explained by the “law of Meinhof”, which states that the first of two consecutive voiced pre-nasalized plosive consonants must become a nasal. The loss of the last syllable is already found in Luo *bunde*; the Nilotic languages prefer words of one or two syllables” (Knappert 1999: 209).

<i>Acoli</i>	Cra	mùdùku	<i>gun, rifle</i>
	Mu	mudukú	
<i>Dholuo</i>	Gor	bunde	<i>rifle</i>
	Odo	muduku	<i>gun, rifle; also called luduku, with the latter preferred</i>
<i>Kuria</i>	MMR	imbunduki / ibunduki	<i>gun</i>
<i>Dholuo</i>	Knappert	mbúnduk	<i>gun (via swahili)</i>
	1970		
<i>Madi</i>	Bla	mùndùkú / bündúki	<i>gun</i>
<i>Swahili</i>	J	bunduki ⁷	<i>gun, musket</i>

(*espagnol* bandera) **bandēra** *pennon, flag, banner* (Wehr 77a)

318

<i>Acholi</i>	Cra	bēérê	<i>flag</i>
	Mu	bērɔ, bēre	<i>banner, flag</i>
<i>Ateso</i>	Kit	emendera	<i>flag</i>
<i>Bari</i>	Mu	bēret, bēresi	<i>banner, flag</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i>	Mu	abēret	<i>banner, flag</i>

tibġ *tobacco* (Wehr 91a)

363a

tāba *tabac* (JdP 1155b)

<i>Acholi</i>	Cra	táà, tóbâ, tábâ	<i>tobacco</i>
<i>Bari</i>	Mu	taba	<i>tobacco</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i>	Mu	attaba, attabat	<i>tobacco</i>
<i>Pokot</i>	Cra	tápà	<i>tobacco (via Swahili)</i>

trimbîl / trimbîlât *automobile* (JdP 1220a)

374a

trombîl *automobile* (RT 1220a)

<i>Acholi</i>	Mu	trumbili	<i>automobile</i>
<i>Bari</i>	Mu	trumbili, trumbilyet	<i>automobile</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i>	Mu	attoromile	<i>automobile</i>
<i>Madi</i>	Bla	tùrùmbîli	<i>automobile</i>

⁷ Cf. Pokomo *bundutyi* “gun”.

gāz *gas* (Wehr 110a) **429a**
jās *pétrole, kérosène* (JdP 652b)

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	jas	<i>paraffin</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	jas	<i>paraffin</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	ajas	<i>paraffin</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	jāsì	<i>paraffin; fuel in general</i>

jaib *pocket* (Wehr 150b) **571**

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	jébà	<i>pocket</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	jeba	<i>pocket (in clothes)</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Odo	jepa / (sometimes) jeba	<i>pocket on a pair of trousers, coat or dress (via Swahili)</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	ajap	<i>pocket (in clothes)</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	jébà / jábà	<i>pocket</i>

ḥaqn *injection* (Wehr 194b) **680a**

ḥuqna *injection* (Wehr 194b)

hogna *injection, syringe* (S&A 112b)

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	ogúna	<i>injection</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	uguna	<i>injection</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	uguna	<i>injection</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	úgūnà	<i>syringe</i>

ḥakīm *wise; sage; doctor* (Wehr 196b) **686a**

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	àkîîm	<i>medical man, doctor</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	Akìm	<i>doctor</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	Akìm	<i>doctor</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	àkímù	<i>doctor, medical personnel</i>

ḥamām *dove, pigeon* (Wehr 204a) **706**

hamāmá *pet pigeon* (Kaye 37b)

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	àmáám	<i>dove</i>
Mu	amam	<i>domestic pigeon</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	amam	<i>domestic pigeon</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	amam	<i>domestic pigeon</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	àmámù	<i>dove</i>

dukkān *bench; store, shop* (Wehr 288b) **925**

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	dokà	<i>merchant's shop</i>
Mu	dukan	<i>shop</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Bari</i> Mu	dukan	<i>shop</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Gor	duka, dukni	<i>shop</i>
Odo	duka	<i>merchant shop</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	adukan	<i>shop</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	dùkànì	<i>shop</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Pokot</i> Cra	'dúkà	<i>shop</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Swahili</i> J	duka	<i>shop, stall</i>

dahab *gold* (Wehr 313b) **996****dahab** *gold (metal)* (JdP 352b, Kaye 23a)**dab, deheb** *gold* (RL 153a)

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	dab	<i>gold</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	dakap	<i>gold</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Gor	dhahabu	<i>gold</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	dá'bù	<i>gold</i>

raṣāṣ⁸ *lead; bullets* (Wehr 342b) **1083****raṣāṣa** *bullet* (Wehr 342b)

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	ràcààc	<i>ballet</i>
<i>Alur</i> Knappert 1972–1973: 297	risasi	<i>lead</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	rasas	<i>lead</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Odo	racac	<i>ballet</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	arryas	<i>lead</i>

as-sabt, pl. as-subūt *Saturday* (Wehr 393a), cf. Hébreu *sabbat* **1230**

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	sabit	<i>week</i>
<i>Ateso</i> Kit	Esabiti	<i>Sunday</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Odo	cabit	<i>Sunday</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	esabit, esabiti	<i>week</i>

sigāra *cigarette* (Wehr 397b) **1248a****sijāra / sajàyir** *cigarette, cigare* (JdP 1132a)

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	cigara	<i>cigarette</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	sigara	<i>cigarette</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	asijara [asigara]	<i>cigarette</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	sìgàrà	<i>cigarette</i>

⁸ Knappert 1972–1973: 297 gives: "... which is ultimately from Babylonian *ras.ās*".

sirwāl *trousers, pants* (Wehr 408b)

1282

sirwāl ~ **sruwāl** *pants, trousers* (Kaye 72a)

sarwāl *pantalón* (RL 222a)

<i>Acholi</i>	Cra	còròwáál	<i>trousers</i>
	Mu	wal	
	Mu	toroji	<i>trousers</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Dholuo</i>	Odo	curuwal	<i>pair of trousers</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Lotuxo</i>	Mu	accuruwal	<i>trousers</i>
<i>Madi</i>	Bla	sùrùwáli	<i>pair of shorts</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Pokot</i>	Cra	súrwal	<i>trousers, shorts</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Swahili</i>	J	suruali	<i>trousers</i>

sukkar *sugar* (Wehr 417b)

1314

In some languages, the word for “sugar” can also come from English *sugar*.

<i>Acholi</i>	Cra	cúkaàri	<i>sugar</i>
	Mu	cukari	
<i>Bari</i>	Mu	sukwar	<i>sugar</i>
<i>Dholuo</i>	Gor	sukari	<i>sugar</i>
	Odo	cukari	
<i>Lotuxo</i>	Mu	asukar	<i>sugar</i>
<i>Pokot</i>	Cra	sùkàarin	<i>sugar</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Swahili</i>	J	sukari	<i>sugar</i>

silk *thread; string* (Wehr 424a); *wire; telegraph line* (RL 230a)

1332

silik *fil de fer; grillage* (JdP 1133b)

<i>Acholi</i>	Cra	cīlì	<i>wire</i>
	Mu	silik	
<i>Bari</i>	Mu	asilik	<i>wire</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i>	Mu	cīlì	<i>wire</i>
<i>Madi</i>	Bla	síŋgì	<i>wire; wiring; bicycle spoke; animal trap</i>

mismār *nail* (Wehr 429b)

1355

musmâr / **masâmîr** *clou, pointe* (JdP 949b)

<i>Acholi</i>	Cra	mùcùmáár	<i>nail</i>
	Mu	mucumar	<i>nail</i>
<i>Bari</i>	Mu	musumar	<i>nail</i>
<i>Dholuo</i>	Odo	mucumar	<i>nail</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i>	Mu	agusumar	<i>nail</i>
<i>Madi</i>	Bla	mùsùmárì / lùsùmárì	<i>nail, for fixing</i>

sā^ca *while; hour; watch* (Wehr 441b)**1398**

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	càà	<i>watch; hour</i>
Mu	caa	<i>clock; hour; interval (of time); time; watch</i>
<i>anywa</i> Reh	càa	<i>watch; time</i>
<i>Ateso</i> Kit	esawa	<i>hour; clock, watch</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	saa, salan	<i>clock; hour; time (of the day); watch</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Gor	sa	<i>hour</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	asaa	<i>clock; hour</i>
	nasaa	<i>interval (of time)</i>
	asaa, asaxyen	<i>time (of the day); watch</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	sàà / sàwà	<i>time; hour; period; clock, watch; hour</i> <i>(used in telling time, when Arabic numerals are used)</i>
<i>Pokot</i> Cra	sàà	<i>watch, hour, time (via Swahili)</i>
<i>Swahili</i> J	saa	<i>hour; time</i>

sūq *market* (Wehr 443a)**1402****sûg** / **sawaga** *marché* (JdP 1144a)**sūg** *market* (Kaye 49b), **su:g** *marché* (Z&T 136)

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	cúùk	<i>market</i>
Mu	cuk	
<i>Bari</i> Mu	suk	<i>market</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Odo	cuk	<i>market</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	sókò / sû	<i>market (via Swahili)</i>
<i>Pokot</i> Cra	máak ^{ót}	<i>market (via Swahili)</i>
<i>Swahili</i> J	soko	<i>market</i>

šāy *tea* (Wehr 451a)**1420****šāhī** *tea* (RL 259b)**šāī** *tea* (RL 262a)

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	caài	<i>tea</i>
<i>Ateso</i> Kit	ecai	<i>tea</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	sayı	<i>tea</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Odo	cai	<i>tea</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	asyayı	<i>tea</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	cái / sái	<i>tea; (informal) bribe</i>

šāhid *witness* (Wehr 489b) **1525**

cāhid / **cuhūd** *témoin oculaire, présent(e)* (JdP 299b)

šāhèd *témoin* (RL 259a)

<i>Acholi</i>	Cra	càdèèn, cadì	<i>witness</i>
	Mu	cadèn	<i>witness</i>
<i>Bari</i>	Mu	kadirin-te	<i>witness</i>
<i>Dholuo</i>	Odo	cadèn	<i>witness, testimony</i>
<i>Madi</i>	Bla	sàdèni	<i>witness; alibi</i>
		sàdà	<i>certificate</i>
<i>Swahili</i>	J	shahidi	<i>witness, martyr</i>

šuwāl, šiwāl (*large*) *sack* (Wehr 491b) **1532**

cawâl / **cawâwîl** *sac* (JdP 335b)

šuwāl *sack* (Kaye 75b); **shuwa:l** *sac* (Z&T 154)

<i>Acholi</i>	Mu	cwal	<i>sack</i>
	Cra	kicàà (?)	<i>bag</i>
<i>Dholuo</i>	Odo	kicaa	<i>a bag</i>
<i>Bari</i>	Mu	suar	<i>sack</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i>	Mu	asual	<i>sack</i>

šābūn *soap* (Wehr 502a), loanword from Greek σάπων **1557**

<i>Acholi</i>	Cra	càbúùn	<i>soap</i>
	Mu	cabun	
<i>Ateso</i>	Kit	asabuni, esabuni	<i>soap</i>
<i>Bari</i>	Mu	söbun, söbunyön	<i>soap</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i>	Mu	asyebun	<i>soap</i>
<i>Madi</i>	Bla	sàbú	<i>(short for) soap</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Pokot</i>	Cra	sàpóniyón	<i>soap</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Swahili</i>	J	sabuni	<i>soap</i>

šahñ *dish, plate; phonograph record* (Wehr 505a) **1567**

<i>Acholi</i>	Cra	caan	<i>plate</i>
<i>Ateso</i>	Kit	asanit	<i>plate</i>
<i>Bari</i>	Mu	sani, saniat	<i>plate</i>
<i>Dholuo</i>	Gor	san	<i>plate</i>
	Odo	can / cwan / cuwan	
<i>Madi</i>	Bla	sàánì / sákānì	<i>plate</i>
		sákānì	<i>record album</i>

šafara v. *to whistle (bird, person)* (Wehr 517b) **1592**

saffar / yisaffir v. (II) *siffler* (JdP 1088b)

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	cufara	<i>whistle (of metal)</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	sufara	<i>whistle (of metal)</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	accɔfara	<i>whistle (of metal)</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	sùfárì	<i>whistle</i>

šandūq *box* (Wehr 526a) **1617**

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	càndúùk	<i>box; trunk</i>
Mu	canduku	
<i>Ateso</i> Kit	esaduku	<i>box</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	söntuk	<i>box; trunk</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Gor	sanduk	<i>box</i>
Odo	canduk	<i>a box, trunk</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	asennúk, asennuxi	<i>box; trunk</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	sàndúú / sàndúkù	<i>suitcase; box; briefcase; coffin</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Swahili</i> J	sanduku	<i>box, trunk, case</i>

‘arabiya *carriage, vehicle* (Wehr 601b) **1828a**

arabiye / arabât *grosse voiture, véhicule, camion* (JdP 178b)

arabiiya *voiture* (S&A 89b)

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	arabiya	<i>vehicle</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	arabiya	<i>vehicle</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	arabiya, arabiyaa’	<i>vehicle</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	àràbîâ	<i>car; vehicles in general</i>

‘askarî *military, army-* (in compounds) (Wehr 613a) **1862**

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	àcekèrè	<i>soldier</i>
	còrkaálí	
Mu	acekere	
<i>Bari</i> Mu	aseker	<i>soldier</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	ɔl’oseŋɛr, oseŋɛr	<i>soldier</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	àsékērè / àšìkárì	<i>soldier</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Pokot</i> Cra	sirkáaliyón	<i>soldier</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Swahili</i> J	askari	<i>soldier; guard, armed attendant</i>

miqaṣṣ, *pl. al-maqāṣṣ* (pair of) scissors (Wehr 766a) **2291**

magāṣṣ *ciseaux* (Z&T 126)

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	magac	<i>scissors</i>
<i>Ateso</i> Kit	amakasi	<i>scissors</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	magas	<i>scissors</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	màgàsì / màkàsì	<i>scissors</i>
<i>Pokot</i> Cra	màkàsò	<i>scissors</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Swahili</i> J	mkasi, makasi	<i>pair of scissors</i>

qahwa *coffee* (Wehr 795a) **2350**

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	gawa	<i>coffee</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	gawa	<i>coffee</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Gor	kahawa	<i>coffee</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	agawa	<i>coffee</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	gàwà / kàwà	<i>coffee</i>
<i>Pokot</i> Cra	káawèn	<i>coffee</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Swahili</i> J	kahawa	<i>coffee</i>

kibrīt *sulfur; matches* (Wehr 811a) **2391**

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	kibirit	<i>match (fire stick)</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	kibirit	<i>match (fire stick)</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Gor	kibrīt	<i>match</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	akibirit	<i>match (fire stick)</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	kibirīti / tibirīti	<i>matches; matchbox</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Pokot</i> Cra	kìpiriit ^ò	<i>match</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Swahili</i> J	kiberiti, kibiriti	<i>sulphur; match</i>

kitāb, *pl. kutub* *book* (Wehr 812b) **2396**

al-kitāb *Coran; Bible* (Wehr 812b)

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	kitabù	<i>book</i>
<i>Ateso</i> Kit	ekitabo	<i>book</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Gor	kitabù, kitape	<i>book</i>
Odo	kitabù	
<i>Madi</i> Bla	kìtá'bù	<i>book</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Swahili</i> J	kitabù	<i>book</i>

kursī *chair; throne* (Wehr 820a) **2415**

karâsi *chaise; envoyé du Sultan* (JdP 745b)

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	kuur(u)cùk	<i>lying chair</i>
Mu	kurcuk	<i>easy-chair</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	kursiʻ	<i>easy-chair</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Odo	kurucuk	<i>a chair for lying on</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	akursi	<i>easy-chair</i>

kanīsa *church* (Wehr 842b) **2486**

<i>Ateso</i> Kit	Ekanisa	<i>church</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	kanisa	<i>church</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Gor	kanisa, kanise	<i>church</i>
Odo	kanica	
<i>Madi</i> Bla	kānīsà	<i>church</i>
<i>Pokot</i> Cra	kānīsà	<i>church</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Swahili</i> J	kanisa	<i>church</i>

kūra *ball* (Wehr 845b) **2495**

<i>Acholi</i> Mu	kura	<i>ball; foot-ball</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	kura	<i>ball; foot-ball</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	akura	<i>ball; foot-ball</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	kùrà	<i>football, football match</i>

miʻa, *pl. miʻūn, miʻāt* *hundred* (Wehr 889b) **2584**

miya *cent, centaine, billet de cinq cents francs CFA* (JdP 864b)

mīya *hundred* (RL 476a)

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	miîâ	<i>hundred</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Bari</i> Mu	mia	<i>hundred</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Gor	miya	<i>hundred</i> (via Swahili)
Odo		
<i>Madi</i> Bla	miâ	<i>hundred</i>
<i>Swahili</i> J	mia <i>n. / adj.</i>	<i>hundred</i>
	miteen <i>n. / adj.</i>	<i>two hundred</i>

malīya, *pl. malāyā* (*Tunisian*) *garment of Bedouin women* (Wehr 924a) **2663**

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	màlayà	<i>harlot</i>
	mùlayà	<i>Europe; harlot</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Dholuo</i> Odo	malaya	<i>harlot, prostitute</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Madi</i> Bla	màlayà	<i>prostitute</i>

<i>Pokot</i> Cra	cè-màláyán	<i>prostitute</i> (via Swahili)
<i>Swahili</i> J	malaya	<i>a prostitute, either male or female</i> (<i>< Pers.</i>); <i>a short garment worn</i> <i>by some women</i>

niṣf, nuṣf *half* (Wehr 971a)

2748

nuss *half* (Kaye 62b)

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	nùcù	<i>half (a shilling)</i>
Mu	nucu	<i>half</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	nusu	<i>half</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Gor	nus, nuse	<i>half</i>
Odo	nucu	
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	nanus	<i>half</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	núsù / nùsù	<i>half</i>

nazzāra *binocular; telescope, spyglass; (pair of) eyeglasses* (Wehr 976b)

2754a

naddāra / naddârât *paire de lunettes* (JdP 981a)

nadaara *paire de lunettes* (S&A 135b)

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	maádaàrà	<i>miroir; (paire de) lunettes</i>
Mu	maddara	
<i>Bari</i> Mu	mandara	<i>miroir; (paire de) lunettes</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Odo	mandara	<i>looking glass</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	amannara	<i>miroir; (pair of) eyeglasses</i>

waraq *foliage, leaves; paper* (Wehr 1062a)

2917

waraqa *sheet of paper* (Wehr 1062b)

waragá *leaf; paper; leather amulet worn around the neck, containing excerpts from Koran* (Kaye 83a)

<i>Acholi</i> Cra	waragà	<i>paper, book, &c.</i>
<i>Bari</i> Mu	waraga, waragat	<i>card; card-board; paper</i>
<i>Dholuo</i> Odo	waraga	<i>paper, letter, epistle</i>
<i>Lotuxo</i> Mu	awaraga, awaragaa', agagar	<i>card; letter (written message); paper</i>
<i>Madi</i> Bla	wárāgà	<i>paper; newspaper; letter</i>