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Territorial Structure of the Swahili Concept and Social Function of the Swahili Group

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There are large regional differences with regard to the concept of Swahili in East Africa. For example, a somewhat derogatory connotation is often attached to the word 'Swahili' in the coastal areas, while in the case of inland towns such as Ujiji, or developing societies such as Mangola, where there is a strong Swahili group consciousness, the word takes on a sense of superiority. The purpose of this paper is to clarify the structure of the confusing diversity and regional differentiation in the Swahili concept through a sociological analysis of the historical and regional development process of Swahili culture.

First, the regional difference in the Swahili concept clearly corresponds to the difference in the stages of Swahilization following the time sequence of the expansion of Swahili culture. Along with this expansion, the attributes characterizing Swahili are eliminated one by one. This structure is basically in accordance with the Arab-Swahili regional order which accompanied the inland expansion of the Arab-Swahili trade route in the nineteenth century, but its complexity increased in the twentieth century with the reorganization occasioned by the colonial regional order. In order to clarify this complexity, it is useful to analyze the kind of social group in which the historically evolved inland Swahilized peoples form social relationships with the various other groups in their area. In these inland regions, colonial policies made necessary the formation of multi-tribal urban and agricultural societies. The Swahilized peoples who had evolved out of the tribal societies became the central strata of these new social complexes, which adopted as their organizational principle the super-tribal "Swahili-ness" that was their common cultural base.

Finally, we may conclude that as the establishment of the regional order under colonial policies necessitated social relations between the inland Swahili and the genuine coastal Swahili, a confused diversification of the Swahili concept developed especially in the coastal area, which was the scene of the original formation of traditional Swahili culture.

INTRODUCTION

In a large number of publications on East African history, society, culture, language, etc., there have been discussions of the important social and cultural functions performed by the Swahili town, the Swahili people, the Swahili trader, the Swahili culture, the Swahili language, and so forth.

The word "Swahili" derives from the Arabic word "*Sahel*" (*pl. Sawāhil*) meaning "border" or "coast". In the fourteenth century travelog of Ibn Battuta, the term "*Sawāhil*" was used to denote the coastal area of East Africa, and according to his description, that region was already the scene of a flourishing town culture that was to develop into the present Swahili culture [IBN BATTUTA (tr. & ed. by Gibb) 1972: 379; FREEMAN-GRENVILLE 1962a: 27-32].

The word "Swahili", then, is generally used to indicate the people living in this Sawahil (coastal) area, as well as the culture they have developed and maintained, and the language they speak. In other words, we can recognize the tribal characteristics of a Bantu people whose blood became mixed with Arab and Persian stock in the trade centers of the East African Coast, who speak the Swahili language (*Kiswahili*) as their mother tongue, practice the Islamic faith, and are versed in the refined Swahili town culture (*Kiswahili*).¹⁾

We can recognize today the existence of coastal people who have all these characteristics, and who can therefore be considered "genuine Swahili". Due to the territorial expansion of the Swahili culture, however, we can recognize also the existence, in the present East African society, of inland people who are conscious of themselves as being Swahili, and are identified as such by other peoples. These inland Swahili include people who could hardly qualify for the name if the above mentioned "genuine Swahili" attributes, developed historically on the coast, were to be used as the criteria for establishing Swahili identity.

Southall has pointed out that "no categorical definition of Swahili Culture can be wholly satisfactory" [SOUTHALL 1966: 482]; it would not be easy here to seek a unified proposition for such a description. It is for this reason, too, that Prins and Salim have adopted the term "Swahili-speaking peoples" as a means of clarification.

Eastman's article, "Who are the Waswahili?", is an attempt to provide one solution to the given problem by using several questions to find out how the residents themselves identify the Swahili [EASTMAN 1971: 228-236]. This investigation was carried out during her linguistic field study of Swahili dialects on the East African coast. The basic criteria according to her understanding are as follows:

1. Religion: Muslim, Christian, other
2. Geographical origin: self or parents born on the coast, other
3. Name: Muslim, Christian, other
4. Educational background: Koranic School, Mission School, other

Using the above criteria, she attempts to show the Swahili distribution, from Muslim Arab Coastal Swahili to Non-Muslim Up-country Swahili, on a diagram ranging from *Mwarabu Safi* (pure Arab) to *Mwafrika Wa Bara* (Up-country African). Avoiding any final conclusion, however, she herself states that "...the question 'who are the Waswahili?' is by no means answered here. Perhaps a more extensive study setting out to deal with this particular question which would consider various linguistic

1) Classical definitions of the attributes of the coastal Swahili are found in the following writings: [ELIOT 1905: 112-118; STIGAND 1913: 115-116; PEARCE 1920: 235-252]. These definitions are basically valid for the present time as well.

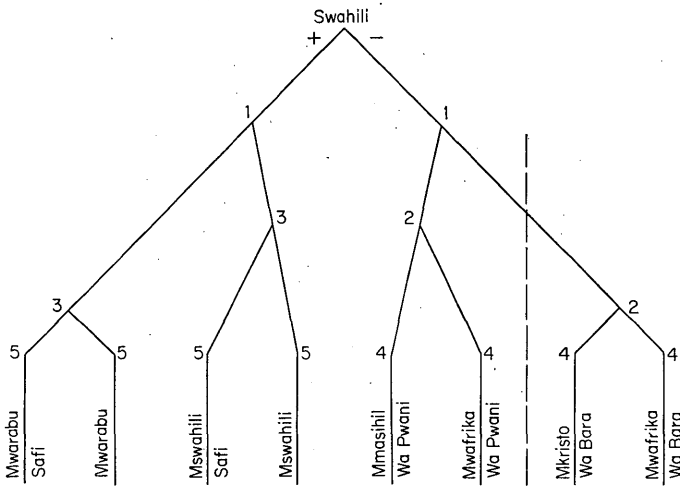


Figure 1. Swahili diagram by Eastman [EASTMAN 1971 : 231]

criteria as well as these attributal ones of ‘self’ and ‘others’ would be fruitful [EASTMAN 1971 : 235].

Several rebuttals and supplementary articles have appeared in response to Eastman’s proposal. Shariff writes as follows: “She asked many people in the street for the definition of Mswahili, as many have before her; however, one of the first things one notices, as Eastman has, is that to be Mswahili, just as to be an African, does not necessarily require one to belong to any particular ethnic group” [SHARIFF 1973 : 74], thus questioning Eastman’s simple research technique. Shariff’s criticism contains a fair degree of agreement, as seen in the following statement: “...living with Waswahili is perhaps a better way of understanding their way of life, their mentality and temperament, than any definition of them. Any attempt to define the Waswahili merely contrasting them with other races results in arbitrary, artificial and negative conclusions” [SHARIFF 1973 : 75].

It must be recognized, then, that the problem of “who are the Wa-swahili?” is not one that can be solved by a limited question-and-answer research technique. As indicated by Shariff in the expression “living with Waswahili”, the method that can be recognized as most effective is a long-term participant survey with mass observation, free talking in natural situations, etc.²⁾ By analyzing the free talking of residents in the frontier settlement of Mangola, Tanzania, Ishige has begun to point the way to an understanding of their conception of Swahili. This attempt, which includes insights gained through field work, has been quite successful [ISHIGE 1969 : 93-108].

In response to Eastman’s question, Arens has written “The Waswahili: the Social

2) Since Stigand’s time, this has been one of the methods used for explaining Swahili [STIGAND 1913 : 115-116].

History of an Ethnic Group”, in which he analyzes the social function performed by the idea of Swahili as “an organizational conception” in a single community made up of people of different origins [ARENS 1975a: 426–436]. This analysis is based on data regarding the recognition of Swahili according to the residents of his field location, Mto wa Mbu in northern Tanzania. He then proposes a “diachronic and sociological approach to the subject of ethnic grouping and identity” as an effective way to tackle this problem [ARENS 1975a: 31].

Around the same time as Eastman’s article, Madoshi put forth the following ten items as a basis for a tentative definition of Mswahili [MADOSHI 1971: 90–93]:

1. A person who is of Arab-African parentage.
2. A person who has moved to an urban centre and, usually, this person has abandoned many of the tribal organizations. He prefers talking Kiswahili to the tribal languages.
3. A person who has the sense of diplomacy in both speech and deed.
4. A person who is a cheat.
5. A Moslem.
6. A person from the coast, regardless of his tribe.
7. A person who lives in a town in a sector of which mostly Asians, and the spacious low density parts of the town which is occupied by European during the colonial time. (*sic*)
8. Any Tanzanian (or even Kenyan) who is full-blooded African, especially when contrasted with persons of European blood.
9. A non East African who has mastered and taken a liking to Kiswahili.
10. A person who has African features.

Madoshi stops with enumerating these items, but I think they form a list which expresses various aspects of the diversity of swahili consciousness. The concept of Swahili changed and became more complicated with the historical and territorial expansion of Swahili culture. Furthermore, as Prins states, “what is meant by a ‘Swahili’ depends entirely on the context” [PRINS 1961: 11].

In the light of the above discussion, it can be seen that we must exercise caution in choosing the structure of a context for the study of the “Swahili” concept. I think that if we trace the progress of Swahili territorial expansion from the coast to the inland areas during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we can adopt a structural view of the regional differences in Swahili consciousness following the time sequence of this territorial expansion of Swahili culture. It is this diversity, caused by Swahili expansion, which constitutes one of the most important characteristics of Swahili culture. From this standpoint, I tried in my articles of 1969 and 1974 to achieve a structural grasp of this Swahili diversity, understood as regional variation, in the light of Swahili historical development and territorial expansion [HINO 1969a: 4–28, 1974: 1–24].³⁾

3) [Hino 1969a: 4–28, 1974: 1–24].

The first of these articles was published in Japanese, and was based on my East African research data as well as written documents. This article exhibits the design that became

This was, so to speak, an attempt to observe the territorial structuralization process of Swahili culture by tracing the history of the formation, consolidation and expansion of this culture in East Africa. This method would correspond to the "diachronic approach" suggested by Arens.

1. THE TERRITORIAL STRUCTURE OF SWAHILI RECOGNITION

In the above-mentioned articles, I first divided the history of Swahili cultural development into four periods: the period of Swahili formation (8–15th centuries), the period of consolidation (16–17th centuries), the earlier period of Swahili expansion (Oman-Arab era, 18–19th centuries) and latter period of Swahili expansion (colonial period, 20th century). I placed special emphasis on the formation of inland Swahili groups during the latter period of expansion, and the movement of social contacts between the inland Swahili and the "genuine" coastal Swahili. In other words, I analyzed the process by which the Bantu peoples living in the vicinity of the Arab (Swahili) inland trade routes were Islamized, adopted Swahili culture, mastered the Swahili language, and thus began to call themselves Swahili and to be recognized as such by other peoples who had not yet gone through this process.

The contact during almost 2000 years between the Arab-Shirazi and the Bantu on the East African coast brought about the formation of Afro-Asiatic ethnic groups and the creation of Swahili culture as an Afro-Asiatic cultural complex of which these people became the bearers. This culture, which transcended tribal limits, consisted of elements such as an urban life style, Islamic faith, a "Swahili-like" life style, material culture, the Swahili language, and so on. Swahili culture moved inland along with the progressive inland expansion of Arab trade in the nineteenth century, a process that was further promoted in the twentieth century by the European colonial regime.

The course of the inland expansion of Swahili culture was as follows: (1) Coastal area—(2) Inland Arab trading towns—(3) Inland colonial towns—(4) Inland agricultural societies—(5) Inland pastoral societies. Another way of expressing this progression would be: Coastal area with Islamic majority—Inland area with Islamic majority—Inland area with Islamic minority—Non-Islamic inland area.

We can see clearly that there was a change in the content of Swahili recognition (i.e. in the meaning encompassed by the word 'Swahili') accompanying the inland expansion of 'Swahilization' along the route described above. That is, the special features which characterized the Swahili, or in other words the attributes which made up Swahili culture, fell off in the course of Swahili territorial expansion; while the meaning contained in the word 'Swahili' gradually lost its limited character and became more and more inclusive.

Among the various attributes which define the Swahili, I think the following would be the most basic:

the framework of part of the present report. The second article, published in English, contains the information found in the first article, as well as data collected during my research in the coastal area of Kenya in 1973–4.

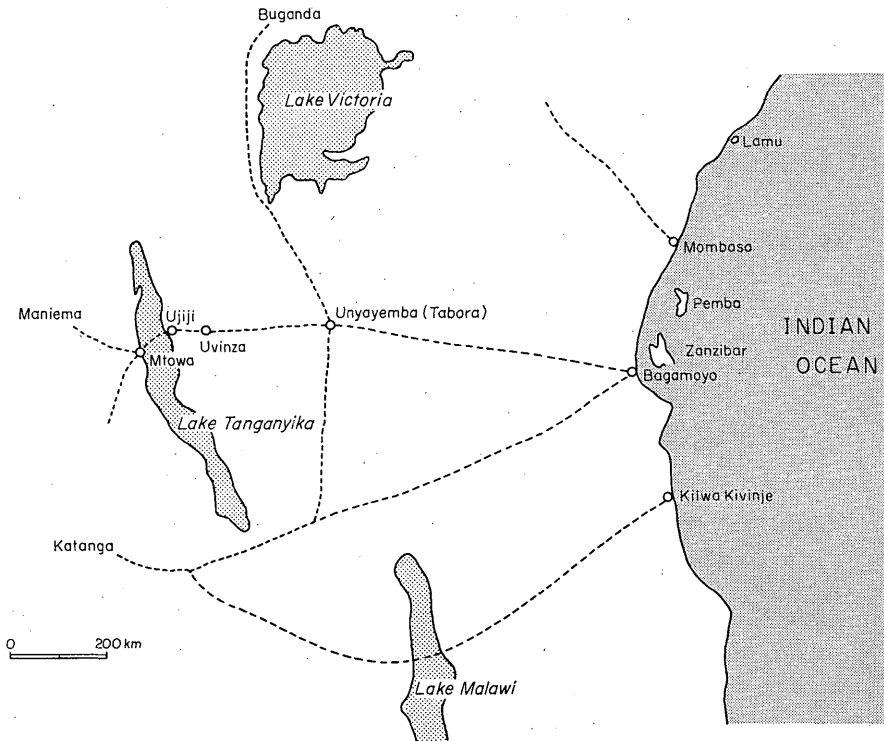


Figure 2. Main routes of Swahili-Arab inland trade

1. Racial Characteristics: Afro-Asiatic Africans as the people responsible for the formation of Swahili culture.
 2. Urban characteristics: the social characteristics of the coastal towns which gave rise to Swahili culture.
 3. Islamic faith: value system, world conception and law based on Islamic faith as an internal element defining Swahili culture.
 2. 'Swahili-like' life style: 'Swahili-like' modes of activity, arts, dress, alimentation, material culture, etc. as external elements defining Swahili culture.
 5. Swahili language: functions as a common interregional language and a practical means for the maintenance and transmission of Swahili culture.
- These various elements are structuralized within the one culture.

As illustrated in Figure 4, these structural elements of Swahili culture have fallen off one by one in the Swahili consciousness of the different regions along the course of the Swahili territorial expansion. That is to say, in the coastal regions the presence of all five elements is generally considered the necessary and sufficient condition for Swahili identity, while in the inland areas with an Islamic majority, the first element is unnecessary as long as the other four are present. Similarly, from the point of view of the Masai and Datoga pastoralists of the non-Islamic inland areas, in many cases any African who speaks fluent Swahili is recognized as Swahili, thus

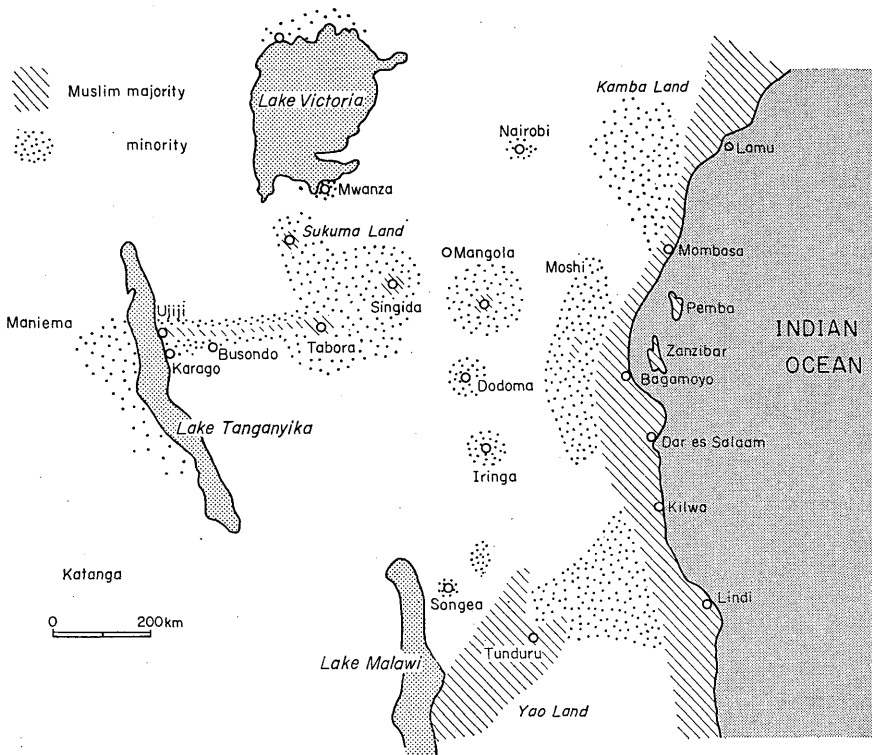


Figure 3. Distribution of Islam.

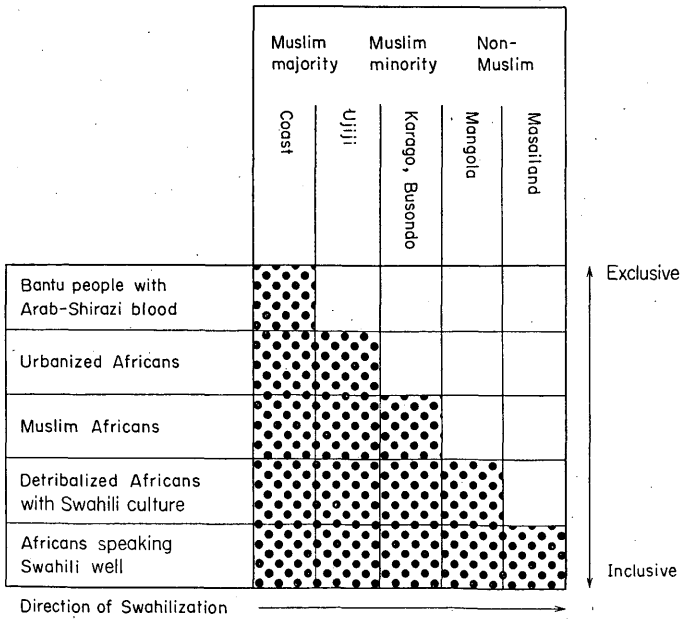


Figure 4. Territorial variation of Swahili identity

eliminating all but the fifth element as criteria. To put it differently, in the process of Swahili territorial expansion, the more peripheral elements of Swahili culture have spread to wider and wider areas.

At the same time, we can consider that as in the case of Swahili culture, each individual tribal culture is composed of structuralized cultural elements such as the following:

- 1) Racial characteristics (consanguinous relationships)
- 2) Tribal characteristics (territoriality, modes of production, social organization, environmental characteristics, etc.)
- 3) Tribal religion and mentality (internal elements regulating tribal life)
- 4) Tribal life style (external elements regulating tribal life, arts and crafts, dietary habits, material culture, etc.)
- 5) Tribal language

Swahilization affects first the peripheral areas of a culture, and gradually penetrates to its core. The members of the tribe become bilingual, using the Swahili language for regional communication and trade while at the same time retaining their tribal language for communication in daily life. Swahili dress and material culture are adopted and used along with those of the tribal culture. These developments are followed by Islamization. Within the framework of East African Swahilization, it is very difficult to carry out Islamization if the Swahili language is not spoken.

It can be said, then, that the territorial differences in Swahili consciousness are clearly differences in the stages of Swahilization following the time sequence of the territorial expansion of Swahili culture.

In the twentieth century, the territorial organization of the colonial system was superimposed onto the previously existing East African territorial organization that had accompanied the time sequence of the territorial expansion of Swahilization. This development resulted in both diversification and confusion. In the earlier stages of colonialization, the colonial power utilized the network opened up by Arab-Swahili trade, as well as the Arab-Swahili people themselves, in order to advance inland, thus in effect accelerating the process of Swahilization.⁴⁾

On the other hand, however, colonial social and economic development promoted transfers of population, with inland Swahilized people moving either to the region occupied by the "genuine" coastal Swahili, or to non-Islamic inland areas. As a result of these migrations, the diverse nature of Swahili recognition lost the territorially-based order that had accompanied the time sequence of Swahili development, and the situation became increasingly complicated.

In addition, as colonialization progressed, the cultural Europeanization process became authorized and inevitable. Among the Swahilized peoples, Europeanization occurred in the form of a diversification of life style; in other words, Swahili culture absorbed European culture, or adapted itself harmoniously to it. Subsequently, too, in areas where Swahilization was in process, Swahilization and Europeanization

4) Some examples of this are Yao [HOFMAYRE 1912: 6-7] and Digo [TRIMINGHAM 1964: 27].

expanded together in the form of a culturally adaptive combination.

In areas outside the limits of Swahilization, the advance of Europeanization predominated; but even here there was a supplementary occurrence of Swahilization elements. For example, it can be recognized that Islamization was progressing at the same time as Christianization in so-called colonial towns such as Arusha and Dodoma.

It can be said, then, that during the colonial period there was confusion on the one hand between the Arab-Swahili and colonial territorial orders; and that this complexity was further increased on the other hand by the concurrence of Swahilization and Europeanization.

In order to clarify this complicated situation, we must examine the nature of the social groups in which these historically Swahilized peoples relate socially to other groups. In other words, it is necessary to study the dynamic structure of the various groups associated with Swahili. The principal theory of the present paper is based on this kind of analysis, and corresponds to Arens' "sociological approach".

For a logical understanding of the situation, I shall first discuss the inland regions along the Arab-Swahili trade routes. These areas of Islamic majority or minority are the territory of the peoples who were the first in East Africa to form groups with a clear Swahili identity. Next, I shall deal with the inland non-Islamic regions, and finally, with the coastal Islamic regions.

2. SWAHILI AND REGIONAL SOCIETY

1) Inland Islamic Towns

THE CASE OF UJJI⁵⁾

Ujiji, on the shore of Lake Tanganyika, developed as an important transit settlement on the Arab-Swahili trade route.

The first inhabitants of the Ujiji area were the *Jiji*, a sub-tribe of the *Ha*, who lived in scattered villages as agriculturalists with cattle, goats and sheep. They were under the rule of a chief referred to as *Mwami*.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, peoples of Zairese origin from the opposite shore, such as the *Bwari*, *Nyakalamba*, and *Goma*, who lived by cultivating and fishing, came to the area in search of fish, and established several villages on the east shore of Lake Tanganyika.

For a long time the *Jiji* had been trading with their neighbours to the east, the *Vinza*, another sub-tribe of the *Ha*; from these people they obtained salt, which was produced in that area. This trade route from the east was connected to the route by which the *Nyamwezi* tribe of central Tanzania carried on trade with the coastal area. When the inland Arab-Swahili trade route opened up in the nineteenth century, this *Nyamwezi* route became part of it, and the trade route was extended from Ujiji to the Maniema region of Zaire on the opposite bank of the lake. Ujiji became the accumulation point for ivory, slaves and other merchandise transported from the Maniema region. Since Ujiji thus became the departure point for caravans transport-

5) For reports of my Ujiji research, see [HINO 1968b, 1968c, 1968d, 1969b, 1971a].

ing merchandise to the coast, Arab-Swahili traders began to settle there from about 1840, and opened a permanent market. Of the slaves brought from various tribal societies in the Maniema region, some were used as caravan porters and then sold as slaves upon arrival at the coast. For the remaining slaves, a settlement area was established at Kasimbo, 1.6 kilometers to the south of Ujiji, where they lived in agricultural villages while waiting to be passed on to the next caravan.

In the course of its urban development, Ujiji became the center of a regional society encompassing these various peoples, who brought agricultural produce, domestic animals and fish to sell at the Ujiji market. Through contact with the Arab-Swahili traders and the *Nyamwezi* traders, who were already Swahilized, the people of the area mastered the Swahili language, became familiar with Swahili culture, and embraced the Islamic faith. The first to become Islamized were the enslaved peoples from the Maniema region, who converted actively with the idea that in doing so they might become free men (*Waungwana*). In the case of the Zairese fishing and cultivating peoples, it is said that the younger generation accepted Islam first, in order to be released from the restraints of the traditional tribal customs. Next, the *Jiji* followed in the same course, and proceeded to move from the outlying areas to the city of Ujiji.⁶⁾ After the beginning of the colonial period, cash crops and fishery produce became the foundations of the Ujiji economy, and the town continued its urban development by adapting to a monetary economic system.

In present-day Ujiji, these people of three different tribal origins have become integrated into a Swahili group of Ujiji natives with a strong Swahili consciousness. Many of them come from families that have lived in Ujiji for several generations; they speak Swahili as their mother tongue, are versed in Swahili culture, practice Islam, and lead a refined life as town-dwellers.

The regional society that includes Ujiji also encompasses non-Swahili tribal societies such as the *Ha*, *Tongwe* and *Rundi*. Within the regional society, Ujiji is surrounded by these tribal societies. While it can be said that followers of Islam form a majority in Ujiji itself, they are in the minority population-wise within the regional society as a whole. In one sense, the Swahili group consciousness clearly takes form on the basis of the social relationship with the non-Swahili tribal groups of the surrounding areas. This consciousness includes an awareness of oppositions such as Islam versus non-Islam, urban society versus village society, tribally composite society versus individual tribal societies, etc.

In the past, the *Ha* had a powerful *Mwami*, and at certain times they put up opposition to Arab-Swahili trade; accordingly, with the exception of the *Jiji* and *Vinza* sub-tribes, these people did not become Swahilized. In the colonial period, however, with the penetration of a monetary economy, there was a breakdown of their traditional way of life based on a self-sufficient economy. In search of cash in-

6) It is said that when the White Fathers' Mission built a church near Kasimbo at the end of the nineteenth century, the people of Maniema origin living in Kasimbo disliked this development and emigrated en masse to Ujiji town [HINO 1968b: 62]. This was certainly a significant instance of population migration.

comes, these people came to live in the closest urban center, Ujiji, where they worked as low class manual labourers.⁷⁾ Christian missions appeared in the *Ha* region, which was outside the limits of Islamization, and a large number of these people converted to Christianity.

Along with the establishment of the European colonial system, people such as the *Chaga*, *Pare*, etc., who constituted a Christian-educated African elite class, took on posts as low-level government officials in Ujiji. They later took over the positions of the European administrators after independence. Forming the upper strata of Ujiji society, these officials hold important posts in district government offices, unions, schools, post offices, police agencies, hospitals, courts, etc.

In addition to the above groups, the population of Ujiji includes Arab traders who began to settle there in the middle of the nineteenth century, Indian traders who came after colonialization, and Europeans living in the outlying missions. The Swahili group in Ujiji seek in their Swahili identity a basis for their consciousness as the native residents forming the core of the Ujiji urban society, in contrast to the groups which came to settle there later. This consciousness is supported by their sense of superiority towards peoples such as the *Ha* and *Tongwe*, who either became Christians, converted at a later time to Islam, or remained pagans. Furthermore, they refer to the elite Africans, who came to take on various posts, with the term *Wageni* (visitors), as opposed to their own consciousness as *Wananchi* (natives). It is true that one can recognize a certain amount of disharmony among the *Jiji*, *Maniema*, and *Zairese* peoples who make up the Swahili group, a situation which I have analyzed in the past. When referring to themselves as opposed to the other classes of people, however, their sense of unity as the central core group begins to function, and they use the expression "*Sisi Waswahili...*" (We the Swahili people).

It takes a considerable amount of time for people who came later to Ujiji and converted to Islam to be fully recognized as members of the Swahili group. With regard to peoples such as the *Tongwe*, the *Bembe* fishing and cultivating people who came later from Zaire, and the late *Ha* converts to Islam, the attitude of the Swahili group contains elements such as the following:

1. Their Conversion to Islam is very recent.
2. They are not yet accustomed to urban life.
3. They have not yet thrown off their tribal customs and languages.

It can be clearly seen, therefore, that the Swahili criteria are considered to be Islamic faith, an urban life style, and the transcending of tribalism.

The people of various tribal origins who have gathered in Ujiji adopted Islam, became de-tribalized, and developed a consciousness of being different from the traditional tribal societies around them.

When they awoke to the fact of their homogeneity as an urban, Islamic people, it was natural that the principles for their new group organization should be based on

7) As the Swahilized residents of Ujiji were contemptuous of manual labour, all this type of work was shouldered by the *Ha* people, who were outsiders [HINO 1968b: 63].

the Swahili model with its connotations of superiority.

While they did not lose their consciousness of belonging to their respective tribes, their language for daily use was not the tribal one but Swahili. Swahili had become the first language of their children, and their grandchildren had forgotten the tribal language. There were an increasing number of marriages between Swahilized people of different tribal origins. In this way, the Swahili group of inland urban people linked by kinship ties took form as a clearly defined entity in its social relations with other groups.

2) Islamized Tribal Societies

THE CASE OF THE TONGWE⁸⁾

Busondo and Karago are two villages of the *Tongwe* tribe, who live to the south of Ujiji. Busondo is located in the highland about thirty kilometers south of Uvinza (a minor point on the Arab-Swahili trade route, about eighty kilometers east of Ujiji). Karago is located on Lake Tanganyika, about thirty kilometers south of Ujiji. In both of these villages, more than half the residents are Islamized; but the fact that many middle-aged men have names based on the two-name system, such as *Juma Mkaka*, *Amami Kibanda*, *Huseni Konjogoro*, etc., indicates that the Islamization took place in the generation of these men or their fathers.⁹⁾

The Islamization of these people took place as villagers travelled to and from Ujiji and Uvinza, or went to work in the Islamized areas. The people who consider themselves followers of Islam observe the Ramadan fast and the food restrictions, but there is no specific mosque, and few people perform the daily prayers properly. Although they wear clothing of the Swahili type,¹⁰⁾ they have continued their tribal way of life, using honey and millet beer for their assemblies and agricultural rituals. At present, administrative work is carried out by a village headman (*Mtendaji*) appointed by the government, but the traditional chief (*Mwami*) has a strong voice and enjoys the respect of the people. Incidentally, in 1965 the *Mwami* of Karago had converted to Islam only as a formality, and the *Mwami* of Busondo had not yet converted.

When the people of Busondo refer to the people of Karago, they make comments such as, "These days the people of Karago have become Swahili." "The people of Karago have stopped using the *Tongwe* greeting, and greet instead with the Swahili expression '*shikamoo*'¹¹⁾." They "have stopped using the *Tongwe* language and

8) My studies of Busondo and Karago were carried out for about two weeks each during my Tanzanian field work of 1964-66.

9) The Swahili use a two-name system, according to which each individual is called by his personal name plus his father's name. For example, in the case of *Juma Mkaka*, *Juma* (an Islamic name) would be the person's own name, and *Mkaka* (a *Tongwe* name) would be his father's name.

10) For a description of the costume culture of the Swahili in this region, see [HINO 1968d].

11) *Shikamoo*: a common salutation used by dependants to superiors, and young people to elders, formerly much used by slaves to masters. In full, *nashika miguu yako*, 'I hold your feet', as a sign of respect, reverence, or of inferiority, submission [JOHNSON 1939:

speak in Swahili instead.” “On festival days they eat *wali* (rice boiled in coconut oil, a common Swahili dish).” “They have become accustomed to the life in Ujiji, and have their own second houses there.” “They are sending their children to the Koranic school in Ujiji.” The Busondo people take changes of this nature to mean that the Karago people have become Swahili. The people of Karago, with their commercial life and cash incomes from fishing, are clearly in the process of adopting the urban life style typical of Ujiji.

Another point to be taken into account is the fact that the people of Busondo are all *Tongwe*, while the residents of Karago are a mixture of Zairese cultivating and fishing people, *Nyamwezi*, *Ha*, etc. in addition to *Tongwe*. The *Ha* people in Karago, like those in Ujiji, work as manual labourers. The Zairese cultivating and fishing people, like their counterparts in Ujiji, have adopted Swahili culture, as have the *Nyamwezi*. Thus one can begin to see in Karago a population complex reflecting the class structure of Ujiji. The *Tongwe* of Karago, too, have started to adopt Swahili culture.

Both Busondo and Karago are in the process of developing a common cultural foundation on which the Swahili and *Tongwe* cultures co-exist side by side. The tendency toward de-tribalization is stronger in Karago than in Busondo, due to the close relationship of the former with Ujiji.¹²⁾ Among the *Tongwe*, it is assumed that these converts to Islam, with their strong tendency toward de-tribalization, have become Swahili.

From the point of view of the *Tongwe*, the Swahili residents of Ujiji are of course all Swahili. The residents of Ujiji, however, do not unconditionally recognize the people of Karago, nor of course those of Busondo, as Swahili. They acknowledge as Swahili only those people who have lived in Ujiji for several generations, or who have graduated from an Ujiji Koranic School. There are many cases in which a person considers himself to be Swahili, while behind his back the Ujiji Swahili say, “That one has not really become Swahili.”

This kind of situation can be recognized also among the *Sukuma* converts to Islam, who were studied by Wazaki [WAZAKI 1969: 2]. As in the case of the *Tongwe*,

420]. The usual answer to this salutation is *Maharaba*. Incidentally, in the *Tongwe* salutation to elders, the young person kneels down and the elder answers by slowly clapping his hands.

12) My interpretation of the term “de-tribalization” is as follows: The movement of population from tribal societies to urban and plantation societies is demographically a reversible phenomenon, but from the cultural point of view it must clearly be seen as an irreversible phenomenon. It should be recognized, too, that even within the tribal societies this process brings about a gradual increase of members who, while basically depending on tribal modes of production and way of life, find it necessary at some time to participate in outside modes of production and way of life. I have used the term “de-tribalization” to denote this type of irreversible transformation. The term “de-tribalization” was utilized by Gluckman, who criticizes the tendency of previous British social anthropologists to treat the phenomenon as a slow process requiring a long period of time. He stresses that particularly when de-tribalization is related to an urban way of life, it can proceed quite rapidly [GLUCKMAN 1961: 69].

the Islamization of the *Sukuma* progressed while the tribal culture was basically retained. It may be said that as long as the tribal culture is maintained within a particular territory, Swahilization brings about cultural diversification without actually transforming the inhabitants into Swahili. When the *Sukuma* Moslems are asked if they are Swahili, they reply in the negative, adding that the Swahili are in the *madukani* (The word *maduka* is the plural of *duka* 'shop', and *-ni* is a suffix indicating a place; *madukani* is a place where there are several shops. In East Africa these are found for the most part along roadsides, and the people who live here engage in work connected with the shops.) There are some people among the Islamized *Sukuma* who live in shop areas or have travelled and been separated from the tribal environment for a long time; these people, who have removed themselves from tribal life (their word for this wandering is '*tembea*') are considered by their fellow tribesmen to be Swahili. As long as they live within the territory of the tribe, however, they are not recognized as a Swahili group. In the context of the Swahilization of a tribe, there may be a pluralistic consciousness of Swahili and non-Swahili; but this pluralism does not develop into a situation where there are two opposing groups.

3) Inland Non-Islamic Regions

THE EXAMPLE OF MANGOLA¹³⁾

The village of Mangola is located on the east side of Lake Eyasi in northern Tanzania. The regional society of Mangola comprises several tribes living together: Bantu agriculturalists, *Iraqw* agrico-pastoralists, *Datoga* pastoralists, and *Hatʒapi* hunters and gatherers.

The Bantu agriculturalists include people of a number of different tribal origins, such as *Sukuma*, *Nyaturu*, *Iramba*, *Isansu*, *Nyamwezi*, and *Chaga*. Although a few of these people are Christians, the greater part of them are Moslems, and there are three mosques in the village. These people strictly observe the Ramadan fast and the food restrictions, and there are many participants in the large Friday worship service, but the rules for daily worship are not very faithfully observed. There are a number of Islamic teachers (*Mwalimu*) who preside at weddings and funerals, and give Koranic instruction on request.

The Bantu districts of Mangola are developing societies, since it is only since about 1930 that the Bantu agriculturalists began to settle these newly-opened areas in non-Islamic territory. All the settlers have had the experience of "*tembea*", or wandering, from various parts of East Africa. Many of them came from Islamized tribal societies, and became "de-tribalized" Swahili in the course of their *tembea*, as described in the previous section. In Mangola these people have formed a Swahili group which has on the whole a strong Swahili consciousness. As this is a social group on the level of the tribal groups in Mangola, it can in this sense be referred to as the agriculturalist group.¹⁴⁾

13) Regarding the Mangola Swahili, see [WAZAKI 1966, 1969, 1970; and ISHIGE 1969].

14) As an illustration of this point, we have an example of a greeting made in Mangola on the occasion of a Tanzanian national holiday, as recorded by Wazaki: "*Sisi Waswahili*

As mentioned previously, the majority of these people are Moslems, but there are a number of Christians as well. In spite of differences in religion and tribal origin, these people have taken their common Swahili language and culture as an index by which to unite with each other in a Swahili group that can hold its own in the face of the other tribal groups. It can be seen, then, that Islamic faith is not considered an absolute condition for membership in a Swahili group at this level.

It is reported, however, that the Swahili group of Mangola comprehends also a consciousness of the narrower sense of Swahili; accordingly, they recognize a smaller group of Islamic Swahili as well as a larger Swahili group including Moslems and non-Moslems [ISHIGE 1969: 98]. The Swahili group in the narrower sense is involved in a relationship with Islamized tribal groups such as the *Sukuma*, *Iramba*, etc.

In this way, Moslems who have broken off from different tribal societies have been able to unite into an extra-tribal Islamic Swahili group in the pioneer society of Mangola. On the other hand, the Swahili in the broader sense comprise one regional group, the Bantu agriculturalists, within the Mangola regional society. On the level of regional society, there is no problem of whether or not the members of the group are Moslems, but only of their being Bantu agriculturalists. Within this group, they are linked by common cultural elements such as agricultural institutions, Swahili life style, and Swahili language.

The town of Mto wa Mbu, studied by Arens, is a case of the type of *madukani* referred to by Wazaki [ARENS 1973, 1975a, 1975b]. We find here an example of a regional society which includes the town dwellers as well as the surrounding *Iraqw* agrico-pastoralists and *Maasai* pastoralists. One difference is that because Mto wa Mbu is closer to *Chaga* territory than to Mangola, there is a clearly established relationship between this town and the Christianized (Europeanized) *Chaga*. Those *Chaga* living in Mangola have become either Islamized or at least Swahilized in the broader sense; these people live in the village as Swahili, and are included in the Swahili group. In the case of Mto wa Mbu, however, it seems that the *Chaga* are classified rather as one independent sub-group. Peoples such as the *Chaga* illustrate a different social phase, in that they are outside the range of Arab-Swahili cultural contact, and relate rather to tribes which have had contact with western European culture.

In any case, the Swahili groups in non-Islamic areas are gatherings of people coming from various tribal backgrounds. These people have not lost their sense of belonging to their original tribes, and have conserved elements of their tribal cultures in their present way of life. Within the regional society, however, where they live together with pastoral and agrico-pastoral peoples, they have found it necessary to consolidate themselves into an agriculturalist group. In this situation, there was nothing to serve as the core of their group consciousness except their common, extra-

tunatoa shukurani kwa siku kuu ya Jamuhuri ya Tanganyika, pamoja na WaIraqw na WaMangati wa Mangola." (We the Swahili people, together with the *Iraqw* and *Datoga* people, express our best wishes on this national holiday of the Republic of Tanganyika).
Note: '*Mangati*' is the Swahili appellation for the *Datoga*.

tribal "Swahili-ness". As in the case of Ujiji, Swahili culture functioned as the organizational principle of their new group. Arens' indication of "an organizational conception" is close to this idea. When all is said and done, the Swahili groups are essentially situational entities. For this reason, it is justifiable that people should give responses such as that reported by Wazaki, "Here I am Swahili, but when I return to *Sukuma* territory I am *Sukuma* [WAZAKI 1969: 2].

Be this as it may, however, the daily language of these people is Swahili, marriages between Swahili of different tribal origins increase as time goes on, and Swahili comes to be the mother tongue of children who grow up in this environment. From the point of view of the surrounding pastoralists and agrico-pastoralists, the members of the Swahili groups are all Swahili, even if differences among them are visible.

According to Tomikawa, traditional African society has a tribal basis, one principle of which is the tendency to classify groups of people with the "tribe" as the social unit [TOMIKAWA 1971: 122]. In this context, the Swahili group is clearly recognized as a quasi-tribal group by the surrounding pastoralists and agrico-pastoralists.

3. COASTAL SWAHILI

Lamu is a coastal Swahili city that was already flourishing by the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁾ According to the 1962 census, the total population of the Lamu District was 22,951, while the population of Lamu Township alone was 5,828. In 1969, these two figures became 22,401 and 7,403 respectively. The tribal breakdown of the population figures for Lamu District is as follows:

Census year:	1963	1969
<i>Bajun</i>	9,041	14,709
Arab	6,454	2,863
Swahili/Shirazi	1,528	537

According to the above figures, it would seem that a large change in population had taken place between the two years in question, but actually there was little movement of people during that time. The differences in the figures, therefore, can be considered the result of the changing consciousness of the people, as reflected in their reported tribal identities [GHAIKAN 1976: 79]. In other words, many people who prior to Kenyan independence reported themselves as Arabs, preferred after independence to consider themselves *Bajuni*. In the case of Lamu Township, one can recognize today a striking increase in the *Bajuni* population from Pate, Ndaui, Banadir Coast, etc., along with this changing consciousness.

Many of the Arabs in Lamu have Swahili as their mother tongue, but they understand Arabic as well, and are conscious of their Arab origin. With the exception of one group, however, the Arab consciousness is vague, and is based not on clear facts but on something indefinite from the distant past. This kind of vague consciousness of Arab origin, or Shirazi origin, can be found in the same way among

15) I collected the data on Lamu in the course of four months of field work carried out during 1973-4, and a three-weeks follow-up study in 1974. See also [ALLEN 1974; GHAIKAN 1975, 1976; MARTIN 1973; MARTIN & MARTIN 1973].

people who call themselves *Swahili*, *Shirazi*, *Bajuni*, or *Mijikenda*.

The group which is the exception to the above consists of Arabs of the family line of Oman, who have been living in Lamu for over a hundred years. These are people of the Oman Imamate which ruled over the coastal area from the eighteenth century on. They came to live in Lamu when that city concluded an alliance with Zanzibar. The other people who call themselves Arabs do not identify strongly with these Oman Arabs. The Oman Arabs use Swahili as their daily language, but many of them have Arabic as their mother tongue. With the changing generations, however, their mother tongue is in the process of changing to Swahili.

The people who are considered genuine Swahili in Lamu are those having the attributes of Arab or Shirazi origin, urban Swahili culture, Swahili language and Islamic faith. These people do not have a clear consciousness of being one united group. In answer to the question "*Wewe ni Mswahili?*" (Are you Swahili?), many of them now do not give a definitely negative answer. Yet their main concern is that they are *Bajuni*, *Mwamu* (people of Lamu), *Mshela* (people of Shela), *Mpate* (people of Pate), or *Mumvita* (people of Mombasa); or else *Mwarabu* (Arab) or *Mshirazi* (Shirazi), and so on. The former designations refer to their consciousness as Swahili "sub-groups", indicated by the place of origin, while the latter terms indicate a consciousness based on their vague ethnic origins.

One *Bajuni* informant said to me, "*Swahili ni lugha hasa*" (Swahili is essentially a language). In other words, according to his explanation, the "Waswahili" are people who speak Swahili as their mother tongue. By this definition, the *Oman-Arabs*, *Pokomo*, and *Giryama* people would not be included as Swahili. In the town of Lamu, there are people engaged in manual labour, such as unloaders, plantation workers and carriers, whom the Arabs and *Bajuni* refer to as "*Wametoka na watumwa*" (those who came from slaves). Among these people, there are some who run small shops or restaurants. Most of these people have lived in Lamu for several generations, and while their origin seems to be inland or coastal Bantu, they can not be clearly identified. Many of these people claim a Swahili self-consciousness, and make the statement, "I am a Swahili". They are Islamized, versed in Swahili culture, and speak Swahili as their mother tongue. From the point of view of the *Bajuni* and *Mwamu*, however, these people are freedmen engaged in manual labour, and cannot be considered Swahili. Although there are some among them who claim Arab descent, the *Bajuni* and *Mwamu* say they are lying.

Pearce gives a fairly concise description of the Swahili (or those called Swahili) of Zanzibar during the 1910's [PEARCE 1920: 235-252]. He lists the following conditions for being considered Swahili: 1) African descent 2) Swahili Language 3) originated from East African Littoral. He stresses that the Swahili are neither a race nor a nation, but that notwithstanding the heterogeneous nature of the component items mentioned above, they are unmistakably a people who have Swahili as their common mother tongue. He makes the following observation:

"In 1835 it was estimated that the population of Zanzibar town was 12,000, of whom two-thirds were slaves. The slaves have always been stated to have

been nonproductive, but at the same time many of the poorer Arabs took unto themselves negro wives and concubines, and thus to some degree maintained the mixed Swahili breed" [PEARCE 1920: 239].

The formation of Swahili culture and of the Swahili ethnic group took place, in my view, during the Swahili consolidation period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but it is clear that a great many half-breeds were added to this historical core group in the manner described above, and the boundary between these peoples has become indistinct.

Pearce draws attention also to two Swahili groups in Zanzibar which parallel the ambiguous Swahili group described above [PEARCE 1920: 248-252]. These groups, each of which has a clear group consciousness, are the *Wahadimu* and the *Watumbatu*.

"*Wahadimu*" is a word derived from the Arabic expression *hadim* (servant, slave). These people are of unclear origin, but they are considered to have been the earliest inhabitants of Zanzibar. They have a consciousness of kinship with the Shirazi, and Pearce believes they came to live in Zanzibar during the Shirazi colonial period of the seventh to twelfth centuries. They have a Sultan who is independent of the Oman Arab Sultan.

The *Watumbatu* are seen as people coming from the small island of Tumbatu to the north of Zanzibar, and they claim to be descended from the Shirazi chief. Outwardly they do not appear to be different from the other coastal Swahili, but they claim a distinction from the others on the basis of their Shirazi descent. They can be considered a Swahili sub-group.

The Tanzanian coastal city of Dar es Salaam¹⁶⁾ was formerly a Small Arab coastal settlement called Mzizima. Because it had a good natural harbour, the capital of German East Africa was built there; later it flourished as the capital of British Tanganyika, and then of independent Tanzania. Its present population exceeds 200,000. I do not know about the present situation, but according to the 1957 census which listed an overall population of 93,000, sixty per cent of the people were Moslems. According to Leslie, there are three groups which have a consciousness of being native citizens of Dar es Salaam: freed slaves of *Maniema* stock who had lived in Mzizima, the *Nyamwezi* who had coconut plantations in the area, and the *Zaramo*, who were the original inhabitants of this region [LESLIE 1963: 37-57].

The Swahili consciousness in Dar es Salaam is more flexible than that of Lamu and Zanzibar. As in Lamu, there are Swahili here whose main concern is that they are *Mwarabu*, *Mshirazi*, *Mwunguja* (people of Zanzibar), *Mhadimu*, *Mtumbatu*, *Mumvita*, etc. These people have a consciousness of an indistinct Arab or Shirazi origin, are Moslems, and speak Swahili as their mother tongue. They do not strongly deny that they are Swahili, but neither are they very amenable to this identification.

In addition to the above groups, there are a large number of people, such as the

16) This information on Dar es Salaam is based on Leslie, 1963, as well as on my own participant study carried out for forty days during my field work in Tanzania in 1964-6. See also [GILLMAN 1945; SUTTON 1971].

Nyamwezi, Zaramo, Maniema, etc, who call themselves Swahili. People with a strong Swahili group consciousness coming to Dar es Salaam from Ujiji and Tabora would naturally fit into this category. At present many of these people speak Swahili as their mother tongue, but there are some whose first language is the tribal one. In any case, they are a bilingual people, speaking both Swahili and the tribal languages. While the people in Lamu who call themselves Swahili have already lost their tribal consciousness, those in Dar es Salaam have a consciousness that combines a sense of loyalty to the *Nyamwezi, Zaramo*, etc. with the Swahili identity. The coastal Swahili do not recognize these people as being *Swahili hasa* (genuine Swahili), but a clear distinction is not made here as it is in Lamu.

Furthermore, the urban society of Dar es Salaam includes people of many different tribal origins who come from the various regions of Tanzania. Many of them are Swahilispeaking to begin with and fit immediately into the Swahili culture. These people appear, at least in outward appearance, to be recipients of Swahili. A characteristic of Dar es Salaam is that it is cited by Leslie's comment: "The attraction of the Islam in Dar es Salaam, as in the religion of the majority, and donning of a *Kanzu* is a simple but effective membership card enabling the country bumpkin to be accepted as a civilized man" [LESLIE 1963: 11]. While these people still have a sense of belonging to their tribe of origin, they hope in Dar es Salaam to be looked upon as Swahili.

It is natural that the Swahili consciousness in Dar es Salaam should display more of the character of a modern urban society than does that of Lamu. Lamu is a town of few comings and goings; and its population did not undergo an explosive increase even after the colonial period. Many of its residents know each other's faces, and, to some extent, recognize each other's origins. On the other hand, Dar es Salaam is a modern city with a large population and a very low frequency of mutual recognition among its residents. Accordingly, people can judge each other by outward appearances only. Even in Dar es Salaam, of course, there are urban extensions of tribal groups, as well as urban social groups based on the *Utani* relationship.¹⁷⁾ These groups do continue to perform various social functions, but at the same time an identification with Swahili culture, which is synonymous to East African urban culture, serves as a membership card in the larger context of the urban society.

As mentioned earlier, the groups of people concerned with Swahili consciousness in the coastal area can be divided roughly into four main categories:

First, there are the Swahili with Arab and Shirazi blood, whose exact ancestry became obscured during more than 1,500 years of coastal history. These people are mainly concerned with self-appellations such as *Mwarabu, Mshirazi, Mwunguja, Mwamu*, and *Bajuni*, or *Mhadimu* and *Mtumbatu*, etc., which indicate their racial or regional origins. Although they are members of the group which created Swahili culture, they do not particularly like to call themselves, or be called, Swahili. They

17) The expression *utani* refers to a situation where a few different tribal groups in an urban society enter into a particularly intimate social relationship with each other. In Dar es Salaam, the *Nyamwezi* have this type of relationship with the *Sukuma* and *Ndingo* [LESLIE 1963: 35-37].

traditionally look down upon the people of coastal or inland Bantu origin, who have become Swahilized in the coastal regions and at times call themselves *Waswahili*. It can be seen that they have a psychological resistance against being considered in the same category as this later breed of Swahili. For this reason, many of them tend to indicate their consciousness of Arab or Shirazi descent by declaring themselves to be *Mwarabu* or *Mshirazi*. This tendency often vacillates with changes in the social situation. Lofchie gives the example of how at the time of the social movement toward unification of the Arab community in Zanzibar during the 1920's, the Arab population of that city increased from 18,884 to 33,401 between 1924 and 1931, while the Swahili population decreased accordingly from 33,944 to 2,066 [LOFCHIE 1965: 74-75]. The same change is said to be reflected in the population figures of Lamu for these two census years. Lofchie analyses this change as follows:

"Swahilis were at most an extremely amorphous, atomistic body, united only by a vague consciousness of being Muslim Africans, or speaking the language for which they were named, and of having common ancestral origins along the East African Coast. This fragile unity was not reinforced by any mutuality of socio-economic interest, by any distinguishing cultural traditions and practices or by integrative political institutions. There were no clear boundaries differentiating the Swahilis from members of adjacent tribal communities. There was simply no outstanding reason for a Swahili to remain a Swahili" [LOFCHIE 1965: 75-76].

From a cultural point of view, these mixed-blooded Swahili could clearly be called *Swahili hasa* (genuine Swahili). They are a cumulative cultural group, so to speak, the descendents of people from a large number of different Bantu tribal groups who at some time in the past came to live on the coast, and who formed the Swahili culture through intermarriage and cultural contact with the Arabs and Shirazi. Prins describes them as follows:

"The name Swahili is not applied by the majority of natives themselves, nor does it often occur in an official tribal or administrative terminology...They themselves are far from homogeneous as far as descent or physique goes, but the culture shows a great deal of uniformity, and so do the history and language" [PRINS 1961: 12].

Another important point to note is that these people probably have never in a unified manner called themselves *Waswahili* (Swahili people). In other words, they have not had a Swahili consciousness of themselves as a whole, or as a form of self-identification to mark themselves off from the inland *Bantu* and the Arab traders. As mentioned previously, the term "*Swahili land*" occurs in the travel record of Ibn Battuta, but not a single mention of such a term can be found in Portuguese data. The word "*Swahili*" was basically a third person expression used to differentiate this coastal region from the Islamic world.¹⁸⁾ The people themselves probably had only

18) According to Nicholles, the Oman Arabs were calling the coastal area *Sawahil* in 1802, and Lt. Smee, who visited East Africa in 1811, recorded that the people living in the coastal area between the equator and Cape Delgado were called *Soowilees* [NICHOLLES 1971: 19 fn.]. Furthermore, Yajima states that from Arabic data it would appear that

a consciousness of belonging to their respective villages and towns, as indicated by the terms *Mwamu*, *Mpate*, *Mumvita*, etc. If there had been a common, unified consciousness among the Swahili, it would have been an Islamic one. In the coastal area, however, Islam had divided into various divergent sects, such as the orthodox Shafi'i, the Oman-Arab Ibadi, the Shirazi Shi'a, and several others. In the crisis of the Portuguese period, these sects had no choice but to unite with one another. We may consider also the "Bantuization" of Islamic culture that took place during this Swahili consolidation period. Trimmingham observes: "...the important aspect is that the invasion of a different form of Islam has no effect upon African Islam" [TRIMMINGHAM 1968: 79].

From the point of view of the coastal Bantu, Islamic civilization clearly appeared as a more refined world culture. Even if the Swahili did not have a unified group consciousness, they certainly felt that by adopting Islamic culture they themselves had become more civilized. This consciousness would be clearly reflected in their feeling of superiority toward the non-Islamized tribal peoples living in the coastal area. Historically, the genuine Swahili have probably had a sense of a sharp contrast between *ustaarabu* (civilized, Arab-style), referring to the Swahili, on the one hand, and *ushenzi* (savage), referring to the coastal and inland Bantu, on the other hand.¹⁹⁾

Whether the genuine Swahili approved or not, however, the Swahili culture they created was adopted as a superior mode of civilization by the inland and coastal Bantu. For this second group of would-be Swahili people coming from Bantu tribal societies, the genuine Swahili represented the true essence of Swahili, and were thus suitable objects with whom to identify. As indicated by Prins, these would-be Swahili were at the same time *Zaramo*, *Nyamwezi*, *Digo* etc. [PRINS 1961: 11]. In other words, they could be considered Swahilized *Zaramo*, *Nyamwezi*, and so forth.

As the Arab-Swahili trade settlements developed into the urban centres of regional societies, these *Bantu* peoples joined in the process and became the core residents of the new towns.

In the mass migrations of the colonial period, many of these middle class Swahili from inland towns moved to coastal towns. As far as they were concerned, the fact that they were Swahili was self-evident. The same attitude was held by members of Swahilized inland tribal societies who came to coastal cities as a result of "*tembea*" (wandering experience). These people have acquired the attributes of Islamic faith, Swahili life style, and a good command of the Swahili language; in these areas their culture does not differ essentially from the Swahili culture created on the coast.

Thirdly, there are people such as the labourers in Lamu who, having no longer any connection with their original Bantu groups, consider themselves Swahili and do not fit into any other category. We may say that Pearce, in mentioning Swahili in

the term *Sawahil* came about because to the Arabs, this entire area seemed to have the character of a common, united economic sphere [YAJIMA 1973: 9].

19) Allen takes this contrast as being one between *ungwana* (Urbanity, cultured behaviour, credit-worthiness) and *ushenzi* [ALLEN 1977: 6].

Zanzibar who are actively engaged in physical labour, is referring to people of this type [PEARCE 1920: 244].

Fourthly, there are people who outwardly fit into the urban Swahili culture while retaining their tribal culture and sense of loyalty to their tribal societies. Typical of this type are the people who have gathered in Dar es Salaam in search of jobs. When these people live in the city for a long period of time, they too acquire a genuine mastery of Swahili culture.

Because the entire coastal area is enveloped in Swahili culture, the "Swahili-ness" of the genuine Swahili is not a special characteristic marking them off from the other coastal residents. Swahili has already become here a common cultural foundation, and the structuralization by the various groups, such as Arabs, genuine Swahili of each city, and tribal peoples, proceeds within this framework.

Furthermore, even with regard to physical features, it is not easy to distinguish the genuine Swahili from the Swahilized *Bantu* peoples. Pearce makes the following observation:

"In appearance the Zanzibar Swahili is essentially African. He has the curly "wool" of the negro, and almost invariably possesses in full measure the facial characteristics of the African. The prominent forehead, the inexpressive eye, the small, well-placed ear, the beard, flattened nose, and the prognathous jaw are all his. His color is chocolate, but this feature, like others, naturally depends upon his descent and the amount alien blood in his veins" [PEARCE 1920: 239].

Although the genuine Swahili have often looked down upon the people from coastal and inland *Bantu* societies, and considered the people of the physical labourer class to be of slave origin (*Watumwa*), they cannot under present circumstances prevent these people from calling themselves Swahili. In the past their sense of superiority towards the *Bantu* was probably based on the ideas of Moslem versus pagan and *ustaarabu* (civilized) versus *ushenzi* (savage). Even though these peoples have become Islamized, this consciousness on the part of the genuine Swahili is not easily erased. Around the 1930's there was a saying among the coastal Swahili as follows: "*Mwerevu wa bara si mjinga wa pwani*" (An intellectual from the interior is not equal even to a fool on the coast [SAADA 1941: 22]).

On the coast, then, the word "Swahili" has come to be tinged with a somewhat contemptuous connotation. In this connection, Prins makes the following comment:

"...locally in Zanzibar, Lamu or elsewhere, hardly anybody likes to be called a Swahili himself, though people of higher social strata in any given community readily refer to their inferiors as Swahili. In other words, the term is essentially an epithet of reference and hence an important pointer; but it is hardly ever used for self-identification."

He adds this footnote: "This was not yet the case fifty years ago. (cf. A. Werner, *Enzykloradie des Islam*, Bd. III, 1934) [PRINS 1961: 11]. The genuine Swahili, who formed and developed Swahili culture on the coast over several centuries, are unwilling to be called by the term "Swahili", which has come to include connotations such as those mentioned above. It is due to this situation, too, that many of these

people consider the characteristics of a fairly light skin, a comparatively straight nose, literacy in Arabic, or a good understanding of Islam to be indices by which to identify themselves as Arab or Shirazi. It can be said also that there was no sufficiently strong foundation on which the genuine Swahili as a whole might have come together to form a group with a separate identity from that of the self-styled Swahili. In contrast to inland regions, then, the coast did not produce a united group based on Swahili consciousness.

Today, however, the structure of Swahili recognition in coastal East Africa after independence is clearly approaching a period of change. With the progress of nationalization and Africanization, there is a growing awareness of the importance of Swahili as the common cultural basis for these new countries. In nations such as Tanzania and Kenya, the genuine Swahili are beginning to lean toward an acknowledgement of their Swahili identity, where before they would have insisted on being considered Arab or Shirazi because of their descent from these groups.

Swahilization has performed a particularly vital function in the development of the national society of Tanzania, which was the center of the expansion of Swahili culture.

4. CONCLUSION

Before the advance of Europeanization that took place under the colonial system, the Swahilization process had already disseminated a super-tribal culture, language and way of thinking throughout a large portion of East Africa. It can be said that as a result of this situation the East Africans were able to create a cultural basis for harmonious adaptation in their contact with the European civilization which confronted them.

In this paper I have shown how Swahilized people from various tribal societies became the core of the new inland urban and rural societies necessitated by the colonial system. At the time, these people made their common Swahili cultural basis the central organizational principle of their new group, and built up a super-tribal body founded on Swahili consciousness. Meanwhile, the Islamized tribal societies provided a population whose diversified members could readily participate in and adapt to these new groups, while basically preserving their own tribal cultures.

The new groups perceived the difference between themselves and the various tribal groups of the regional society with a sense of superiority, based on the *ustaarabu-ushenzi* (civilized-uncivilized) comparison. In the dynamics of the new group's relationship with these surrounding tribal groups, this sense of superiority became actualized in the form of a clear group consciousness characterized by the expression "We the Swahili".

On the other hand, within the framework of the traditional tribe-based society characteristic of the surrounding tribal groups, the new Swahili group was looked upon as one quasi-tribal group, and functioned as such.

The regional structuralization of variations in Swahili consciousness proceeded essentially on the basis of the regional order along the course of the expanding Arab-

Swahili trade routes. In the process, the diffusion of Swahilization was accompanied by the progressive falling away of elements that had originally been intrinsic to the Swahili conception. Then in the colonial period, this regional order was thrown into confusion by the colonial territorial reorganization and migrations of population. In section III, I have analyzed how a confused diversification of Swahili consciousness occurred in the coastal area, where the formation of traditional Swahili culture had originally taken place.

It is my opinion, however, that this confusion led to a clarification of the important historical and social function performed by Swahili culture in the social development of East Africa. In other words, I think there was a feedback from the inland areas, where Swahili culture became diffused, to the coastal area where that culture had originated; and it is here that the meaning of Swahili as the foundation for national culture becomes clear.

The data for this article are based on my research materials up to 1974. The process of variation in Swahili consciousness that accompanied East African national social development is now entering a new phase. For example, we can observe a growing difference between Swahili consciousness in Kenya and in Tanzania. The problem of Swahili in the new African national societies must now be considered afresh with these developments in mind.

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