

كيسواجلي

kiswāhili¹

Mtungaji: Ustadh Mau (Mahmoud Ahmad Abdulkadir), 2003

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
bismi llāhi arraḥmani arraḥīmi
bismillahi arrahmani arrahimi

- ١ كُنَيْمًا نِ مَكْوَكْ تَانِيَامَا حَتَ لِنِ
kunyamā ni mek^lūka 1b/a
kunyamaa nimechoka * t'anyamaa hata lini 1
I am weary of staying silent. For how much longer am I to remain dumb?
- وَنَنْغُ هُنِيْپُوْكَ كُوْأَنَ نَ تَمَانِ
wanangu huniepūka 1d/c
wanangu huniepuka * kuwaona natamani 1
My own children avoid me, though I long to see them.
- وَالْوَبَاكِ كُنِشِكَا سِوَنْغُ نِ وَ وَنْدَانِ
wālūbāki kunishika 1f/e
walobaki kunishika * siwangu ni wa wendani 1
And those who remain to embrace me are not my own, but are the offspring of others.
- مِمِ نِ مَوْتَنْدَانِ مَبُونُ هُنِيْجَ زِتَ
mimi ni mewaṭendāni 1h/g
mimi nimewatendani * mbona wanipija zita 1
What have I done to you? Why do you wage war on me?

- ٢ وَنَانْغُ مِمِ وَ دَمُ وَانَ وَ أُسْوَاغِلِنِ
wanāngu mimi wa ḍamu 2b/a
wanangu mimi wa damu * wana wa Uswahilini 2
My own flesh and blood, the children of Swahililand,
- أَصِلْ هَوْنَ هَامُ يَا كُنِيُوْ نِ نَانِ
aṣili hawana hāmu 2d/c
asili hawana hamu * ya kuniyuwa ni nani 2
are uninterested in knowing who I am,
- وَمَنْتِي قَوْمُ نَ وَ وَ مَجِرِنِ
wamenatīya qaumu 2f/e
wamenatia kaumu * na wana wa majirani 2
and have left me to other peoples, and to the children of neighbours.
- كُوسَ لَنْغُ كُوسَ غَانِ مَبُونُ هُنِيْجَ زِتَ
kūsa langu kūsa gāni 2h/g
kosa langu kosa gani * mbona hunipija zita 2
What kind of fault is my fault? [O my children] why do you continue waging war on me?

۳	مِم مَامُنْ سِتَاسَ	وَل سِن پُنْغُونِ
3b/a	mimi māmenu sitāsa	wala sina punguwani
3	<i>mimi mamenu sit'asa * wala sina punguwani</i>	
	<i>I am your mother and am not yet infertile, nor has my ability to reproduce diminished.</i>	
	نِ مَزَا وَ مَمْبَاسَ	نَ كُنْغَن زِسُونِ
3d/c	ni mezā wa mambāsa	na kungine zisiwani
3	<i>nimezaa wa Mambasa * na kungine zisiwani</i>	
	<i>I have given birth to children in Mambasa, and in the other islands [of the Swahili],</i>	
	نِز وَنَ سِيَّاسَ	نَ زِيُونْغُوَزِ وَدِنِ
3f/e	nize wana siyāsa	na ziyūngūzi waḍini
3	<i>nizee wanasiasa * na ziongozi wa dini</i>	
	<i>to politicians and to religious leaders,</i>	
	مَافُنْدِ وَ كُلِّ فَنِ	نَ مَاشُجَا وَ زَتِ
3h/g	māfundī wa kula fani	na māshujā wa ziṭa
3	<i>mafundi wa kula fani * na mashujaa wa zita</i>	
	<i>to craftsmen in every field, and to war heroes.</i>	

۴	نَدِم مَامَاكَ مُيَاكَ	بِي مَوْنُغْ عَثْمَانِ
4b/a	ndimi māmāke muyāka	piya mwengo 'athmāni
4	<i>ndimi mamake Muyaka² * pia Mwengo Athmani³</i>	
	<i>I am the mother of Bwana Muyaka, and of Mwengo Athmani also,</i>	
	نَ زَهْدِ كَذَلِكْ	نَ وَنْغِ وَاكْ وَنْدَانِ
4d/c	na zahidī kadhalika	na wengi wāke wendāni
4	<i>na Zahidi⁴ kadhalika * na wengi wake wendani</i>	
	<i>and of Zahidi too, and many of his contemporaries,</i>	
	عَالِي كُوتِ نَ مَتَاكَ	وَتِ مَبِوَا مُوَيِ قَرِنِ
4f/e	'ālī kūṭi na maṭāka	wote mbwā mūya qarini
4	<i>Ali Koti⁵ na Mataka⁶ * wote mbwa moya karini</i>	
	<i>Ali Koti and Mataka, all from just one century,</i>	
	وَلْتُوْكَ مَاْتُوْمَبُونِ	وَ كَوَا كَمَ نِيُوْ
4h/g	waliṭūka māṭūmbūni	wa kawā kama nīūṭa
4	<i>walitoka mtumboni * wakawaa kama nyota</i>	
	<i>they emerged from my womb, and shone like stars.</i>	

۵	اِنْكِشَافِ نَغَلِي	اُكِسُومَ نَ كِدَنِ
5b/a	inkishāfi ngaliya	ukisōme na kidani
5	<i>Inkishafi⁷ angalia * ukisome na kidani</i>	
	<i>Look at Inkishafi. Read it attentively</i>	
	نَدِيْوُ تَاكَأُوْ كُوْلِي	نِ كُوَامْبِيَاْ مُونْدَانِ
5d/c	ndipuu tākāpuu kweleya	ni kwāmbiyao mwendāni
5	<i>ndipo takapo kwelea * nikwambiyao mwendani</i>	
	<i>and then you will understand, my dear friend,</i>	

نَ تُونُغُ زِمَسَلِيَّ نَ هَزِفِ أَصِلَانِ
ni tūngo zimesaliya na hazifi aṣilāni 5f/e
ni t'ungo zimesalia * na hazifi asilani 5

what I am telling you. These verses are of enduring worth and will never die.

وَالْوَزِئْتَنَ نِ نَيَانِ نِ وَنَانُغُ وَالْوَيْتَ
wālūzītunga ni nyāni ni wanāngu wālūpita 5h/g
walozitunga ni nyani * ni wanangu walopita 5

Who were those who composed them? They were my children who have passed on.

نَ مَالِنُغَ وَ مُفِتَ نَ پِي كِرَاغُ دِنِ
na mālenga wa mvita na piya k'irāgu dīni 6b/a
na Malenga⁸ wa Mvita * na pia Chiraghudini⁹ 6

And the Bard of Mambasa, and Chiraghdin too,

نَيَايُو وَلِزِفُوتَ هَاوُكُكِرِ أُدُنِ
nyāyuu ūlizifuwata hāwakukiri uduni 6d/c
nyayo walizifuata * hawakukiri uduni 6

they followed in my footsteps, they did not submit to lower standards.

نُنَابَهَانِ هُتَتَ لَكِنِ هُفَلِيَانِ
nnābahāni huteta lakini hufaliyāni 6f/e
Nabahani¹⁰ huteta * lakini hufaliyani 6

al-Nabhany reproves, but to what effect?

نَدِي پُوكِ أَوْنَدَانِ إِنْعَا أَمَيْكَتَ
ndiye pweke uwandāni ingā ameikita 6h/g
ndiye pweke uwandani * ingawa ameikita 6

He remains alone in the field, yet he stays strong.

بَادُ كُزَا نَ وَزَ سِيَاكُومَ أُكِنُغُونِ
bādo kuzā na weza siyākūma ukingūni 7b/a
bado kuzaa naweza * siyakoma ukingoni 7

I am still able to give birth. I have not yet reached the limit,

لَكِنِ مُمْنِيُوزَ مُمَيْتُو فُونِ
lakini mumenipūza mumeitowa fuwoni 7d/c
lakini mumenipuuza * mumeitowa fuoni 7

but you have all despised me. You have left me high and dry,

وَنُغْنِ مَيْتُوكَزَ كُنِيَانُغِي كَانُونِ
wanginge meitūkeza kunipāngiya kānūni 7f/e
wanginge meitokeza * kunipangia kanuni 7

now others have come forward to regulate me,

مُسَمِيَاتِ كُبُونِ نِينِي مُلِيُونُوتَ
musamiyāti kubūni nyinyi mulipūniwata 7h/g
musamiati kubuni¹¹ * nyinyi muliponiwata 7

compiling standardized dictionaries.

كَنَغَلِي جَرِدَن	هَلِي كِسِكِيكَ	٨
kʲangaliya jariḍani	huliya kisikitika	8b/a
hulia kisikitika * changaliya jaridani		8
<i>I weep and lament when I look at the learned journals,</i>		
سَوَنَانُغُ نِ وَغْنِ	وَنُغِ وَنَاءُ أَنْدِكَ	
siwanāngu ni wageni	wengi wanau andika	8d/c
wengi wanaoandika * si wanangu ni wageni		8
<i>for many of those who contribute are not my children, they are strangers [to me].</i>		
وَيْكَ تُنُغُ نِ نِيَانِ	إِذَاعَانِ كَذَلِكْ	
wapeka tūngo ni nyāni	idhā'āni kadhalika	8f/e
idhaani kadhalika * wapeka t'ungo ni nyani		8
<i>It is much the same with the media. Who are the ones who send in their compositions?</i>		
لَيْكَ كُو مَبَا مَقِيَتَ	وَنُغِ هَاوَتُوكْ پَوَانِ	
likʲa kuwa mbwā mviṭa	wengi hāwatūk pwān	8h/g
wengi hawatoki p'wani * licha kuwa mbwa Mvita		8
<i>Many do not come from the coast, although they may have a Mambasa address.</i>		

زِسُومَشَوَاءُ شُلْنِ	أَنْغَلِي نَ زِتَابُ	٩
zisūmeshwao shuleni	angaliya na zitābu	9b/a
angalia na zitabu * zisumeshwao shuleni		9
<i>Look at the textbooks which are studied at our schools.</i>		
سِ سُوْدِ وَلَ سِ شَانِ	هَازَانْدِكُو نَ رَجَبُ	
si sūḍi wala si shāni	hāzāndikwi na rajabu	9d/c
hazandikwi na Rajabu * si Sudi wala si Shani		9
<i>They are written neither by Rajabu, nor by Sudi nor by Shani.</i>		
أَشِشِيُو سُكَانِ	نَجُورُغِ نَدِي كَتِبُ	
ashishiyeo sukāni	njūroge ndiye kaṭibu	9f/e
Njoroge ¹² ndiye katibu * ashishiyeo sukani		9
<i>The author is Njoroge, he is the helmsman.</i>		
نَاءُ نِيُومَ هُفُوتَ	كَارُ نَ وَاكْ وَندَانِ	
nao nyūma hufuwaṭa	kʲāro na wāke wendāni	9h/g
Charo ¹³ na wake wendani * nao nyuma hufuata		9
<i>Charo and his colleagues follow.</i>		

كَندَ هُرْدِ نَدِيَانِ	هُوَلِكُوَا كُونُغَمَانُ	١٠
kʲenda huruḍi ndiyāni	huwalikwā kūngamāno	10b/a
hualikwa kongamano * chenda huruḍi ndiani		10
<i>When I am invited to conferences, I turn back before I arrive.</i>		
كُو نِينِي سَوَانِ	هُوْنُ أَتْنُغُ مَنُو	
kuwa nyinyi siwaoni	huwona utungu mnuu	10d/c
huona utungu mno * kuwa nyinyi siwaoni		10
<i>I feel exceedingly bitter that I do not see you all there.</i>		

لَكِنْ نَتْنَدُ نَنْ	نَ هُزَامُ زِتَانِ	
lakini nitende nni	na huziama zitāni	10f/e
na huziama zitano ¹⁴ * lakini nitende nini		10
<i>I bite my fingers in frustration, but what can I do?</i>		
مَا مَنُ مُمِنَوَتَ	وَنَانُغُ مُمِيخِنِ	
māmenu mumeniwaṭa	wanāngu mumeikhini	10h/g
wanangu mumeihini * mamenu mumeniwata		10
<i>My children, you have missed your opportunity. You have abandoned your own mother.</i>		

كَتَغَلِي مِتَحَانِ	نَ هُلِي كُؤَا مَاتُوزِ	١١
k'angaliya mitihāni	na huliya kwā mātūzi	11b/a
na hulia kwa matozi * changaliya mitihani		11
<i>And I shed tears when I look at the results of the school exams.</i>		
نَ وَ كِسُومُ زَوْنِ	وَنَفُنْدِ وَ كِبُوزِ	
na wa kisūmu ziwani	wanafundi wa kibwezi	11d/c
wanafundi wa Kibwezi * na wa Kisumu ¹⁵ ziwani ¹⁶		11
<i>Students from Kibwezi, and from Kisumu by the lake,</i>		
وَلِيُوكُو كِلَلِنِ	نَدِي وَ نَاءُ بَارِزِ	
waliyūkuu kileleni	ndiwo wanao bārizi	11f/e
ndiwo wanao barizi * waliyukuu kileleni		11
<i>they are the ones who are ahead, who are at the top;</i>		
مُكُو تِنِ هُكُوكُوتَ	مُلُوتُوكَ كُوتَ پُوانِ	
mukuu ṭini hukūkūṭa	mulūtūka kweṭu pwāni	11h/g
mulotoka kwetu p'wani * muko t'ini hukokota ¹⁷		11
<i>and you, students from the coast, you lag far behind.</i>		

وَ أُزَمِلُ كُؤُنِ	وَفَانِيَاءُ أُتَفِتِ	١٢
wa uzamili k'uwoni	wafānyao utāfiti	12b/a
wafanyao utafiti * wa uzamili chuwoni		12
<i>Amongst those who are researching for degrees at the universities,</i>		
أَوْ هَوَپَاتِكَانِ	وَسَوَاهِلِ نِ كَاتِتِ	
aw hawapātikāni	waswāhili ni kātiti	12d/c
Waswahili ni katiti * au hawapatikani		12
<i>Swahili students are few or non-existent.</i>		
مُونِي مَاكُوسَ نِ نِيَانِ	نِ نِيَانِ نِ مَلَيْتِ	
mwenye mākūsa ni nyāni	ni nyāni ni mlaiti	12f/e
ni nyani ni mlaiti * mwenye makosa ni nyani		12
<i>Who is to be blamed? Whose fault is it?</i>		
مَعْنِ هَامُكُپَاتِ	مِمِ هَامُنِثَمِنِ	
mgine hāmukupāṭa	mimi hāmunithamini	12h/g
mimi hamunithamini * mngine hamukupata		12
<i>You esteem me not at all, yet you have not replaced me by another.</i>		

هِنَانُغُونْغَ مُيُونْ	كِوَسِكِي هُنِينْ	١٣
huniongūnga mūyūni	kiwasikiya hunīna	13b/a
kiwasikiya hunena * huniungonga moyoni		13
When I hear those who are not mother-tongue speakers speaking, I feel sick at heart.		
نَحْوُ نَ يُتَمَانِ	صَرْفَ هَكُنَ تَنْ	
naḥau na iṭamāni	ṣarfa hakuna ṭena	13d/c
sarufi hakuna tena * nahau naitamani		13
Inflection is no longer employed, while grammatical [Swahili] is what I desire!		
كَمْ مَشَايُو كَانَوَانِ	نَ حَتَ لَدَ هَيَانِ	
kama mashāpuu kānwāni	na ḥaṭa ladha hayāna	13f/e
na hata ladha hayana * kama mashapu kanwani		13
Even [their speech] is wanting in flavour, like a plug of tobacco in one's mouth.		
هُئِمْبَ أَوْ هُتَتَ	سِيْلُو هُنِنَانِ	
huimba aw huteta	sielewi hunenāni	13h/g
sielewi hunenani * huimba au huteta		13
I do not understand what they are saying. Are they singing? Are they complaining?		

أَيِ تَنْ دُنِيَانِ	لَو مِيَاكَ تَارُدِ	١٤
ay ṭena duniyāni	law muyāka tāruḍi	14b/a
lau Muyaka tarudi * ae tena duniani		14
Were Bwana Muyaka to return, were he to come back to the world,		
كُونَدَ مَحَكَمَانِ	مَوَانَانْغُ اِتْمَبِدِ	
kwenenda maḥakamāni	mwānāngu iṭambidi	14d/c
kwanangu itambidi * kwenenda mahakamani		14
it would be necessary, my child, for him to go to a court of law,		
وَنِيَوَاءُ يَقِينِ	أَيْتَ نَ مَشَهْدِ	
waniyuwao yaqīni	aete na mashahidi	14f/e
aete na mashahidi * waniyuwao yakini		14
and he would need to call witnesses who know me well,		
كُؤَا حَتِي كُؤِيَاتَ	نِيُوتَ مُونَدَ غِرَزَنِ	
kwā ḥaṭiya kuwapāṭa	nyūṭe mwende gerezani	14h/g
nyote mwende gerezani * kwa hatia kuwapata		14
and all of you would go to prison for the offence which you have committed against me.		

وَلَ هَامُونِ اِمَانِ	وَاللّٰهُ هَمُنَ غَيْرَ	١٥
wala hāmūna imāni	wallāhi hamuna gēra	15b/a
wallahi hamuna ghera * wala hamuna imani		15
Truly you have neither zeal nor self-confidence.		
كُؤَ هَمُنِثَمِينِ	هَمُنَ لَكُؤَكِرَ	
kuwa hamunithamini	hamuna lakuwakera	15d/c
hamuna la kuwakera * kuwa hamunithamini		15
It irritates you not at all that you do not esteem me.		

هَتَزُو أُوْنَدَانِ	مِمِ نِ كَامَ مِپِيرِ	
hutezewa uwandāni	mimi ni kāma mpiwiri	15f/e
mimi ni kama mpwira * hutezewa uwandani		15
<i>I am just like a ball in the play-ground,</i>		
نَ كُلِّ مُونِي كِيتَ	هِيَجُوا تَكْنَدِيَانِ	
na kula mwenye kupita	hipijwā tekendiyāna	15h/g
hipijwa teke ndiani * na kula mwenye kupita		15
<i>I am given a kick by anyone who passes by in the street.</i>		

وَاسُو وَنَعُ وَمَبُونِ	حَتَ كُونِي أُشَعِرِ	١٦
wāsuu wangu wamebūni	ḥaṭa kwenye usha'iri	16b/a
hata kwenye ushairi * waso wangu wamebuni		16
<i>Even in the field of Swahili prosody, those who are not mine have invented</i>		
كُؤَا كُؤَلَزِ وَغِنِ	زَلِزُ حُرُ بَحَارِ	
kwā kuwoleza wageni	zilizo ḥuru baḥāri	16d/c
zilizo huru bahari * kwa kuoleza wageni		16
<i>free verse, imitating foreigners.</i>		
سِ مَاشَعِرِ كِفَانِي	مِمِ هَايُو سِيَاكِرِ	
si māsha'iri kifani	mmi hāyuu siyākiri	16f/e
mimi hayo siyakiri * si mashairi kifani		16
<i>For myself, I cannot accept that. That is not Swahili poetry.</i>		
هَزُ نِ مَبْنُ زَا زَتَ	هَائُو نُوتَ نِ كُؤَا نَنْ	
hzo n mbnu zā zṭa	hāyuu yūt ni kwā nn	16h/g
hayo yote ni kwa nini * hizo ni mbinu za zita		16
<i>What is the point of it all? These are preparations for war.</i>		

هَيْنِ نِ عَجَابُ غَانِ	هَمَبُو مُونِيُو سِنَ	١٧
hini ni 'ajābu gāni	hambiwa mwenyewe sina	17b/a
hambiwa mwenyewe sina * hini ni ajabu gani		17
<i>I am told that I belong to nobody in particular. How extraordinary!</i>		
كَؤَا نِ تَانْدُ يَانْغَانِ	هُؤَا كَاكُؤَسَ شِنَ	
kāwa na ṭāndu yāngāni	huwae kākūsa shina	17d/c
huwae kakosa shina * kawa na tandu yangani		17
<i>How can I be rootless below ground and yet have branches above?</i>		
أَلُونَانْدِكِ نِ نْيَانِ	نْيَانِ أَلُونِپِ نِ	
alūnāndika ni nyāni	nyāni alūnipa ina	17f/e
nyani alonipa ina * alonandika ni nyani		17
<i>Who gave me my name? And who are they who wrote me down?</i>		
نِ وَپِ نَالِپُؤَاتِ	كِيُو سِ أُسْوَا حِلِنِ	
ni wapi nālīpūpāta	kiwa si uswāhilini	17h/g
kiwa si Uswahilini * ni wapi nalipopata		17
<i>If I do not hail from Swahililand, then whence do I come?</i>		

سِدَلِيلِ أَصِلَانِ كُو وَنْغِ هُنِنِنَ ١٨

sidalili asilāni kuwa wengi huninena 18b/a

kuwa wengi huninena * si dalili asilani 18

That many speak me, [Swahili], is not of itself proof of origins,

كِئِغْرِزَ هَامُونِ يَاكُو مُونِيُو سِنَ

kingereza hāmuwoni yākuwa mwenyewe sina 18d/c

yakuwa mwenyewe sina * Kiingereza hamuoni 18

or that I have no owner. What of the English language?

پَمْبَ زَبْ دُنِيَانِ هُنِنَوَا نَ وَنْغِ سَانِ

pembe zote duniyāni hunenwā na wengi sāna 18f/e

hunenwa na wengi sana * pembe zote duniani 18

It is spoken by very many, in all corners of the world,

مِزِي هَايُكَاثَا كِنَ نَ كَوَاءُ سِنَانِ

miziye haikukāta kina na kwao sināni 18h/g

kina na kwao sinani * miziye haikukata 18

yet the language remains firmly established in its homeland, its roots have not been severed.

Endnotes

1. From Abdulkadir and Frankl (2013).
2. Bwana Muyaka was the outstanding Swahili poet of 19th century Mombasa. After his death many of his verses were recalled by Mu'allim Sikujua Abdallah al-Batawi (died 1890) and transcribed with annotations by W.E. Taylor (1856-1927). After Taylor's death his papers were acquired by the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London.
3. Mwengo Athmani: this 18th century poet from Pate composed the *Utendi wa Tambuka* (*The Epic of Heraklios*).
4. Zahidi: see El-Maawy (1973).
5. Ali Koti of Pate: see S. Chiraghdin (1987, pp.31-7).
6. Bwana Mataka's full name is Muhammad bin Shee Mataka al-Famau (1825-1868). He was ruler of Siyu, as was his father. His mother was Mwana Kupona, famous for the poem of advice written to her daughter. Bwana Mataka died in Mombasa's fort while imprisoned by the Busa'idi.
7. The *Inkishafi*, according to W.E. Taylor (Stigand 1915, pp96-105), is "a great, if not the greatest, religious classic of [the Swahili-speaking peoples]". The poem, concerned with the decay of Pate (formerly a flourishing town in northern Swahililand), may remind some readers of Thomas Gray's *Elegy written in an English churchyard* (London 1751).
8. The Bard of Mambasa refers to Ustadh Ahmad Nassir Juma Bhalo, see S. Chiraghdin (1971).
9. Shihabdin Chiraghdin (1934-1976). See the biography by his daughter – L. Chiraghdin (2012).
10. In an unpublished commendation from 12 June 1974 J.W.T. Allen writes about Ahmad Sheikh Nabhany: "I am privileged to have a wide circle of friends and acquaintances among Swahili scholars of Swahili. I have some knowledge of their rating of themselves and I can name perhaps half a dozen (still living) who are always referred to as the most learned. To me they are walking dictionaries and mines of information and Ahmed is unquestionably one of them. He comes of a family of scholars whose discipline is as tough as any degree course in the world. They have no time for false scholarship or dilettantism. That this profound learning is almost wholly disregarded by those who have been highly educated in the western tradition affects almost everything written today in or about Swahili. When I want to know some word or something about Swahili, I do not go to professors, but to one of the *bingwa* known to me. One of these could give a much greater detail of assessment, but of course his opinion would not carry the weight of one who can put some totally irrelevant letters after his name". For a biography see Said (2012).
11. For almost a century the principal publisher of standardized Swahili dictionaries has been the Oxford University Press (OUP). Clearly OUP has to be profitable, and profitable is what, over the years, their dictionaries of standardized Swahili have been. However, if one considers excellence in research and scholarship not one of the OUP's standardized Swahili lexicons can begin to compare with the Oxford English Dictionary ('more than 600,000 words over a thousand years'). Fortunately for Swahili and for Swahili studies there exists the monumental *Dictionnaire swahili-français*, compiled by Charles Sacleux (Sacleux 1939). Sacleux's chef d'oeuvre ('unprecedented in historical depth, dialectological detail and philological knowledge') can now be accessed electronically, courtesy of *Swahili Forum* (uni-leipzig.de/~afrika/swafo/index.php/sacleux). Heartfelt thanks are due to Thilo Schadeberg and Ridder Samsom.
12. *njoroge*: a name representing those who have their origins in the East African interior (the *bara*).
13. *charo*: a name representing those who have their origins in the coastal hinterland (the *nyika*).
14. These words echo the words of the *Inkishafi*: "*wakauma zanda na kuiyuta*". Readers unfamiliar with this Swahili gesture of regret could consult Eastman and Omar (1985).
15. Kibwezi and Kisumu are places in the East African interior.
16. The lake is Lake Nyanza, also known as Lake Victoria.
17. Over the years young people on Lamu Island (and indeed elsewhere in northern Swahililand) have received a raw deal in their primary and secondary education. They have 'lagged far behind' their counterparts from the interior, and so Mother Swahili grieves for her marginalised children.

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