AHMAD KIPACHA

THE BLASON POPULAIRE IN SWAHILI PAREMIA

Abstract: The stereotypes of self or others, *blasons populaires*, are hereby drawn from the Swahili paremic material spanning the years 1850-1950 along the East African coastal littoral. Specifically, I will focus on how the Swahili at that time verbally stereotyped others in particular their akin neighbors and immigrant foreigners. It seems that the Swahili employed proverbial invectives not only to malign peripheral sub-groups but also to humorously rebuke superior out-groups.

Keywords: Africa, blasons populaires, ethnic stereotypes, ethnonym, in-group, out-group, paremia, prejudice, Swahili, toponym

1.0 Introduction

Lindahl et al. (2000:103) in their copious work, consider "any form of verbal denigration of one group to another based on stereotypes, national character, ethnocentrism, xenophobia, misogyny, homophobia, prejudice, racism" as *blasons populaires*. This French-based term soared to its current international visibility after appearing in the magnum opus of the American paremiologist Archer Taylor's *The Proverb* (1931). And recently the Irish paremiologist, Mac Coinnigh (2013:5) has given us the gist of the term blason populaire, it is "nothing more than benign descriptions of the salient characteristics of a people or place, mere drollery based on interethnic or intercultural rivalry in society." His usage of the phrase "of a people or place" parallels the prominent sociological terms of *ethnonym*, i.e. an ethnic name ascribed to a people or group; and *toponym* i.e. a word associated with the name of a place. Nevertheless, though Roback (1944:251) was relevant enough to coin the term *ethnopaulism* out of the Greek root *ethnos* "national group" and *phaulism* "disparaging", it is position, in paremiological literature, is currently untenable. Of interest in the study of the blason populaire, as Jansen (1957) has earlier noted, is that a group may esoterically

stereotype itself (inwardly) or exoterically stereotype others (outwardly).

Evidence abound of the presence of blasons populaires in folkloric genres such as proverbs, proverbial expressions, songs, ethnic jokes, traditional phrases, riddles, nicknames etc (Taylor 1931, Jansen 1970, Koch 1994, Dundes 1995, Mieder 2004). This article mainly explores the presence of the blason populaire in the Swahili paremia.[1] The source material is from Taylor (1891), Steven (1981), Knappert (1997), and Wamitila (2001) and which were popular in 1850-1950 along what Mark Horton (1987) calls the Swahili "corridor."[2] In so doing, I hope to offer, for the first time, how the Swahili as in-group, exoterically stereotype out-groups.

2.0 The Blason Populaire and Group Stereotyping

The blason populaire tends to manifest itself either through self-stereotyping or stereotyping others on the bases of ethnicity or national origins, sexual orientation, gender disparity, religiosity, race, age, physical ability, economic status, linguistic deficiency or geographical location etc. (Dundes, 1965; Dürmüller (1982). To Dundes (1975), subgenres of the blason populaire are made up of ethnic slurs, prejudiced attitude and stereotype judgments. He considers ethnic slurs as part of the ethnic identity (Dundes 1971:202). But looking deeper at his demarcation of prejudiced attitude and stereotype judgments, we encounter the fact that stereotypes represent the shared over-simplified images of the in-group or out-group. Generally it is a "group bias" or "a false caricature" that is perpetuated by stereotypes (Lippman 1922, Dundes 1971, Druckman 1994).

Ample regional and international studies have exemplified what Lindahl et al. (2000:103) characterize as features of blasons populaires under stereotypical elements of (a) national character (b), ethnocentrism, (c) xenophobia (d) misogyny (e) homophobia (f) prejudice, (g) racism/race. Interestingly some Swahili scholars as well have also made their contributions on studies closely related to the *sine qua non* of the blason populaire. Ken Walibora (2012) in "Asian Others" criticizes his fellow Swahili literary writers who vilify their Asians characters to inflame xenophobic feelings against minority Asians; Katrina Thompson (2006) pinpoints the ethnocentric stereotype in Swahili comics in which the

mainstream Swahili morbidly poke fun of the minority speech communities who instead of conforming to congenial linguistic and cultural forms keep on adulterating and desecrating the standard norms. Impurity features became the idiosyncratic features of the speakers of Arabian Swahili, Hindi Swahili, Makonde Swahili and Masai Swahili; Inyani Simala (1998) critically analyses misogynic use of Swahili metaphors and how they denigrate and dehumanize Swahili women: "Women are to men what honey is to bees; juicy and delicious." His other extreme chauvinistic examples from Swahili metaphoric expressions likened women to rat, donkey, big basket, serpent, and even flowers and finally Carol Eastman (1986) has presented a case of jokes and humor in Siu, the northern variety of Swahili.

As can be noted none of these stereotypical works in Swahili have put to use the expanse paremic material so far available. Elsewhere, an astounding study of the blason populaire in the Irish paremic corpus by Marcas Mac Coinning (2013) is a convincing case worth emulating. However, unlike Mac Coining who largely scouted the provisional-based blason populaire from the Irish proverbial corpus, our study has found evidence of the intra-ethnic and intra-national blasons populaires from the Swahili paremic stock.

This study employed the dichotomous categorization of the in-group and the out-group stereotyping in which those who considered themselves as dominant at the centre tend to mock the weaker on the fringe. The in-group quite possibly stereotypes itself (esoteric), otherwise it is only "others" who are the main target of the exoteric stereotypes (Jansen 1965, Dundes 1971, Dürmüller (1982).

3.0 The Esoteric Forms of Blason Populaire in Swahili Paremia

Admittedly, there are only few noted cases of the Swahili stereotyping themselves. However, the use of the ethnonym *Mswahili* "the Swahili" in examples nos 1 and 2 offer interesting hints. In example no. 1 the Swahili are self-flattering as "blind lovers", paralleling Shakespeare's maxim of "love is blind." In example no 2, two ethnonyms are contrasted, the Nyamwezi are admired as "cold eyed" out group while the dominant Swahili self-ascribed as "blind lovers."

(1) *Mswahili akipenda chongo huita kengeza*
"When in love a Swahili will call a one eyed a cross one."

(2) *Chongo kwa Mnyamwezi kwa Mswahili rehema ya Mungu*
"It is a one eyed to a Nyamwezi but for a Swahili it is a blessing from God."

Although only two proverbs were found to exemplify self-image of the Swahili, Antweller's (2012:127) assures us that there is a close connection between a group self-identification and self-affirmation on one hand, and stereotypes of others on the other side. By stereotyping others, we eventually display our own self identity. Not only the dominant Swahili group displays its own character against the others, but also pinpoints who are their close allies as noted in example no. 3 that shows the link between the Unguja and the Pemba. Equally, example no. 4 emphasizes no inherent distinction between the Pemba and the Mrima dwellers. By analogy the Unguja, the Pemba and the Mrima are all a "band of brothers" through blood tie and shared culture.

(3) *Yaliyopo* ***Unguja*** *na* ***Pemba*** *yapo*
"What you find in Unguja you will also find in Pemba."

(4) *Yaliyo* ***Pemba*** *na* ***Mrima*** *yapo*
"What you find in Pemba you will also find in Mrima."

It is a stern reminder to outsiders that the three subgroups of the Swahili are a unified block all exhibiting similar outward manners and inner behaviors.

4.0 The Exoteric Forms of Blason Populaire in Swahili Paremia

As noted in § 3.0 only fragments of clues are provided in the paremic stock to account for the esoterically bantering of the in-group. However, vast proverbial material confirm the existence of intra-ethnic blason populaire and the intra-national blason populaire and we can even exclusively demarcate the toponymic blason populaire from the data.

4.1 Intra-ethnic Blasons Populaires in Swahili Paremia

The Swahili paremia material provides almost the entire geographical and cultural traits of the various sub groups, their Bantu neighbors along the Swahili "corridor. There is a clear demarcation of the ethnonyms and toponyms such as Pemba, Unguja, Mrima, Pate, Mombasa (Mvita), Bajuni (Gunya), Digo, Segeju, Chagga and Nyamwezi in the paremic stock. Despite the presence of linguistic and ethnic idiosyncratic features among these inter-ethnic groups, there is no evidence of admonishing each other by referring to the nature of their skin pigment, physiognomic features, misogynic biases, or homophobia. The punchlines, though most malicious, are mainly directed to the antisocial behaviors, local xenophobia and ridicule personality "disorder" by the out-group.

Series of pernicious stereotypes of out-groups are evident in examples nos. 5 to 6. Here the Bajuni, a sub group of the Swahili, the Chagga and the Digo are verbally maligned by the mainstream Swahili. The Bajuni and Chagga are painted as unsociable groups displaying disliked characters such as untrustworthy, greedy and faithlessness. Accusation of the Bajuni and the Chagga, who were prosperous merchants, were not out of envy or competition, but can be out of involvement in shoddy business deals with the in-group. More specific, the Bajuni might have drawn negative attention following their historical alliances with the Portuguese and Arabs against the Swahili. Their mercenary role to defend as well as assault Mombasa and Pate alongside the colonial masters in the 18th century is a legitimate warrant to attract tormenting slurs towards them (Strandes 1971:246).

(5) *Bajuni ana dhara hata akisali sala tano*
"A Bajuni is a dangerous person even if he/she prays five times a day."

(6) *Mchaga huahidi akavunja kiaga*
"Chagga promises and later breaks it."

Serious dehumanizing stereotypes are directed to the Digo in examples nos. 7, 8 and 9. They are branded as burdensome, as well as superstitious by the dominant Swahili. Such depiction has led to a damaging and denigrating prejudice against the entire Digo group by the Swahili. Worse still, the dominant Swahili

advise each other in example no. 9 on how to undo the jinx when encountering the Digo, the black cat in the neighborhood. Mieder (1993, 1997:472) proposes that additional studies need to be undertaken to explore how hateful proverbial invectives inflict harm on innocent people. Indeed, the prejudice against the Bajuni, the Chagga, and the Digo have so far reached the *consensus gentium* with a myriad of negative implications.

(7) *Mdigo mzigo*
"A Digo is a burden."[3]

(8) *Mdigo Mzito kama mzigo*
"A Digo is like a heavy load."

(9) *Mdigo mkanye akirudi, usimkanye aendapo mtagombana na safari*
"Rebuke a Digo when he comes back, don't rebuke him when he goes: you'll quarrel with each other the whole journey."

A further look into our paremic stereotypes shows that the dominant Swahili do not disparage other groups all of the time, sometime they are showing respect for their achievement or competence. Evidence in nos. 10 and 11 indicate that the Segeju and the Nyamwezi are admired by the dominant Swahili. However, to be admired and respected does not mean that the Swahili are fond of them or consider them "sociable." A group may be respected as competent but resented (Glick, 2002). The Segeju and the Nyamwezi are humorously lashed as "beast-for-nothing" Bantu neighbors. The Segeju are depicted as ferocious fighters who use two stones instead of just one in a catapult. However, it is recorded in the Swahili historiography that the Segeju were both raiders and slave collectors, and sometimes allied with the Portuguese against the Swahili (Gray 1950, Walsh 2013). Similarly, the Nyamwezi, nicknamed as "*the human courier*", were skilled caravan porters occupying crucial function in trade and transportation of ivory and slaves from the mainland to the ports of East Africa (Rockel 1977). To these days anyone given a tumultuous task or critical problem to solve on behalf of the group can jokingly be idolized as the Nyamwezi of the group.

(10) *Msegeju kumbwewe ya mawe mawili*
"A Segeju uses two stones in a catapult."

(11) *Mzigo mzito mpe mnyamwezi*
"Let a heavy load be carried by a *Nyamwezi*."

Other warm characterizations by the dominant Swahili are directed towards the neighboring Pemba in examples nos. 12 to 14. The mainstream Swahili are coaxing the Pemba as a megalomaniac group. The Pemba are painted with numerous narcissistic personality traits as they seem to display grandiose images in whatever things they do; from sewing a container to showing resilience to a little rain. Therefore the Swahili consider the Pemba competent and industrious yet unsociable.

(12) *Mpemba hashoni tomo dogo*
"A Pemba does not sew a small container."

(13) *Mpemba hakimbii mvua ndogo*
"A Pemba does not run away from a little rain."

(14) *Mpemba akipata gogo hanyii chini*
"When a Pemba finds a log he will never defecate on the surface."

As noted in this section almost all stereotypes target the groups on the fringe of the Swahili epicenter and hence abides to the central-periphery direction of stereotyping. These out-groups are Bajuni, Chagga, Digo, Segeju, Nyamwezi and Pemba. In front of the dominant in-group Swahili, these sub-groups exhibit anti-social behaviors and ridicule personality traits including faithlessness, untrustworthy or collective narcissism. None of these groups seem to be liked by the Swahili, hence local xenophobia is prevalent here. As the scale of the likability goes low so is the rise of negative stereotypes by the dominant Swahili. The Bajuni, the Chagga and the Digo are abhorred by the dominant Swahili hence craved as eerie, insidious and dull groups. The Swahili admires the Pemba as extravagance yet harrowing in their eyes.

4.2 Intra-national Blasons Populaires in Swahili Paremia

The Swahili have a long history of intermingling with such non-indigenous dwellers as Arabs, Persians, Indians, Portuguese,

Chinese, French, Germans, British and Malagasy and Oromo. Some Swahili paremia exhibit two major intra-national groups whose presence were the results of the Indian Ocean maritime trade and direct colonial occupation of East Africa during the period of 1850-1950. Although foreigners, especially the Omanite Sultanate, Portuguese, Germans and the British, physically imposed their own sense of nationalism and divided the Swahili world into national entities such as Zanzibar, Kenya, Tanganyika, Comoro, Somalia etc, no such division is vividly attested in Swahili paremia covering the years 1850-1950. Only two sovereign countries are mentioned in the Swahili paremic stock; *Mwingereza* "the British" and *Mmanga* "The Oman Arab or Manga-Arab", otherwise terms such as *Mzungu* "the Whiteman", Mwarabu "The Arab", and *Mhindi* "The Indians " are treated as umbrella ethnic terms. The Swahili and related Bantu groups have not considered themselves as part of a "banal" nation. The Arabs and the Indians have had the longest duration of contact with indigenous Swahili (that goes back to the 10th century) compared to Wazungu (Europeans).

Stereotypes directed to immigrant foreigners and colonizers are almost all exhibiting contempt against them to clearly reveal the historical tumultuous relation between the Swahili and their colonial masters. The Arabs and the British are branded as "destroyers" and "bulldozers" in examples nos. 15 and 16. The reasons are not far to find, Zanzibar and the mainland coast of East Africa Swahil fell to the Sultanate of Oman, Seyyid The Sultan had moved his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar in 1840. He established clove plantations and controlled the slave trade and gave the minority Arabs (Wamanga) and Indians (Khoja, Banyan) the fertile land in Pemba and on Unguja Island. Slavery brought social and economic menace and destabilized the once harmonized communal life. The Arabs and Indians became the target of slurs. The Swahili also suffered the colonial brunt by the Portuguese, Germans, and British. However, only the ethnonym *Waingereza* "the British" is clearly mentioned in example no. 16.

(15) *Mwarabu harabu*
"An Arab is a destroyer."

(16) *Mwingereza hutengeneza akakereza*
"A British tends to create at the same time destroys."

The Germans colonized East Africa between 1886-1918, but there is no direct mention of them in particular; the use of the ethnonym *Wadachi* "the Dutch" is absent in the paremic stock. Indirectly, in the paremic example no. 17, there is a mention of *Mzungu wa Reli* "lit. Whiteman of Railway" or "The Whiteman the builder or owner of a railway." Historically, the Germans were the first to engage locals in a forceful construction of the railway upcountry from the port of Tanga in 1893 (Ramaer (2009). The slurring expression *mbumbumbu* "ignorant person" was coined to refer to natives building railway who faced language barrier with their white masters. Such difficulty in communication became a target for a joking slur. Generally now any illiterate person is a *mbumbumbu*.

(17) *Mbumbumbu mzungu wa reli*
"A fool like a railway labourer."

The Swahili completely show dislike of the Arabs and the *Wazungu* through their anti-colonial stereotypes. They also intensely detest alien cultures and practices by all out-groups including the migrated Hindu-Banyan and the Indian-Khoja. The proverbial materials nos. 18-21 target the Hindu Banyan who are, though positively characterized as "skillful" in example no.18 and admired in no 21, yet stigmatized as unsociable, not "worth marrying" or sharing a neighborhood with as in nos. 19 and 20. The Swahili view the Banyan as blatantly evil in example no. 21 and make their "burial custom" in no 22 subject of a proverbial joke.

(18) *Baniani mbaya, kiatu chake dawa*
"An evil Indian, his shoe is a medicine."

(19) *Ukimtaka baniani umtake na ubinda wake*
"If you like a Banyan, you must like his loincloth too."

(20) *Ala ala jirani hata akiwa baniani*
"Thanks to God for the neighbour, even if he/she is a Banyan."

(21) *Adimika kama kaburi la baniani*
"Being lost like the cemetery of the Banyan."

Therefore the in-group Swahili admire the sly character of the Hindu Banyan but dislike what they consider as strange and "alien" cultural practices such as cremation and adorning of the sari outfits. Likewise, in example no. 22, the Manga-Arab are given credit for introducing the perfumery culture among the Swahili.[4]

(22) *Mfuatana na Mmanga hunukato*
"One who follows a Manga-Arab smells well."

More importantly, the Swahili as a dominant in-group emphasize the value of co-existence and good neighborhood. They accuse the Manga-Arabs and the Hindi -Khoja for conniving on their own enclave. Social isolation and their fraternizing attitude become the target of stereotypes and the emblem for sub-groups as evidenced in nos. 23 and 24. With low affinity to the main group, the adverse stereotypes are directed towards the out-groups.

(23) *Wahindi Khoja kwao kumoja*
"The Indian Khoja all come from the same area."

(24) *Waarabu wa Pemba hujuana kwa vilemba*
"The Arabs from Pemba are known to each other by their turbans."

Apparently, no racial slurs to victimize the minority groups on the bases of their race exist. But the unsociable groups were not tolerated, be they the Bantu relatives, akin sub-groups or foreign immigrants. The out-groups were mocked and jibed on the basis of their anti-social behaviors and social betrayal. According to Freyd (2012), social betrayal occurs when the people or institutions on which a person depends for survival significantly violate that person's trust or well-being. In the eyes of the Swahili the Sultanates, Indian merchants, the Segeju slave raiders, the Portuguese, the Germans and the British colonialists were all out-group perpetrators who have exerted physical and emotional abuse to the dominant Swahili to rationalize stereotypical bombardment from the in-group.

4.3 Toponymic Stereotypes in Swahili Paremia

Certain Swahili paremic blasons populaires are intertwined with toponyms. Pemba, Mrima, Unguja, India, Manga, Mombasa, Mvita, Pate and Nguu are all place names in our paremic

sources presumably each with "stories" behind them. The importance of using toponyms, as verbal picture, to historically reconstruct stories and historical events, in our case the events between 1850-1950 in the Swahili world, has long been addressed (see Tomalcheva, 1995:26-37).

I found three types of toponymic blasons populaires in my data: The first is what I call prudence toponyms. Four place names have been mentioned in the paremia; Pemba, Mombasa, also known as Mvita "a city of War", Mrima, and India. These towns are characterized as places full of vice and debauchery, a clear warning to newcomers. They are hedonistic spots marked with a lavish life style, culture decadence, pitfalls and even indecent attires. Examples are found in nos. 25-32 below:

(25) ***Pemba**, Peremba*
"Visit Pemba prudently."

(26) ***Pemba** peremba ukija na winda utarudi na kilemba*
"If you go to Pemba with a loincloth, you will come back with a turban."

(27) ***Mombasa** ukiwa na kitu anasa, kama huna mkasa*
"In Mombasa, you will be lured to squander if you have, still a disaster if you have nothing."

(28) ***Mvita** ina mambo tumbi tumbi*
"Mombasa has things in great quantities."

(29) ***Mvita** kwa mwenda pole, mwenda kwa haraka hukwaa dole*
"When in Mombasa go gently; being in a haste will hurt your toe."

(30) ***Mvita**, mji wa ndweo*
"Mombasa is a town of drunkenness."

(31) ***Mrima** nyarima, usipoliwa na nyani, utaliwa na kima*
"Mrima is a land of pitfalls: if not eaten by baboons, you will be eaten by monkeys."

(32) ***Hindi** ndiko kwenye nguo, na wendao tupu wako*
"India is where clothes are made but it's also the place nudists roam."

The second type of toponym harbours epic history of warfare. The reference is made here to the battles of Mvita, Pate and Nguu that have involved the Swahili and Bantu relatives. Blasons populaires in nos. 33 and 34 are depicting Pate and Nguu as memorable death spots. As for the term Mvita, this in itself was derived from the noun *vita* "war" and the toponym was coined out of the historical warfare between the Swahili and the Portuguese in the 17th and 18th centuries. Between 1807 and 1893 the area of Pate witnessed a ferrous battle among the three famous city-like states of Amu and Mombasa on one hand and Pate Island on the other (Pouwels 1991, Warner 1915:290). As for the toponym *Nguu*, this is only hinted at as the Ngulu gap during the First World War in which the Germans fought against the Allied Forces led by the British around Usambara in Tanga region in 1916:

(33) *Mwenda **Pate** harudi, kijacho ni kilio*
"One who goes to Pate returns not."

(34) *Mwenda **Nguu** kauyu*
"One who goes to Nguu returns not."

However, landmark calamities like local revolts in 1888-1890 and the Majimaji war (1905-1907) (see Wimmelbucker 2009:17) hardly appeared in all other voluminous Swahili paremic stock.

The third type of toponym heeds the call by Wolfgang Mieder (1984) to help in locating international variants of the proverbial expression "To carry owls to Athens." Unfortunately, I found only one case in the Swahili paremia as in no. 35 which suggests that it is superfluous to "Send dates from East Africa to Arabia-Manga":

(35) *Amerudisha tende **Manga***[5]
"S/he has sent back dates to Manga-Oman."

Noted in this subsection on the toponymic blason populaire, is first, that the majority of towns are being castigated for their despicable features. Others, as far as the calendar of Swahili is concerned, are vital anecdotes of historical warfare. And finally, the Swahili paremia also provides their equivalent of the infamous proverbial expression "To carry owls to Athens."

5.0 Discussion and Conclusion

Our analysis of blasons populaires throws light on the cultural history of the Swahili world. Of the paremia we quoted some are still popular and are part of the paremiological minimum of the Swahili and as such still form the basis of their cultural literacy. Our study has shown hallmarks of ethnocentrism, local xenophobia and denigration of "out-groups" with almost no signs of racism or misogyny. This appears to prove Druckman's (1994:7) statement that the Swahili "evoke biases in favor of their own group" and consider themselves as somehow better off and "civilized" compared to other closely related sub- groups and immigrant foreigners from Asia and Europe. Although much of the paremia we have collected have negative stereotypes, a few notable positive remarks are present as well. Surprisingly, very few proverbial slurs against *Wazungu* are found in this Swahili paremic genre. Wolfgang Mieder (1997:472) convincingly asserts that probably "there is a story behind every proverbs"; if so, it is equally right to suspect that there is a "story" behind every ethnonym and toponym in the paremic blasons populaires.

Notes:

[1] I have adopted the term *paremia* in the broader sense used by Zaikauskiae (2012) to denote all encompassing proverbs, proverbial phrases, aphorisms, sayings, maxims, literary quotations etc.

[2] The three former East African countries of Tanganyika, Kenya and Zanzibar share the Western Indian Ocean literally but under various rules including the Omanite sultanate, Germany East Africa, and the British Protectorate during 1850 to 1950.

[3] Several youngsters are slurring each other in Facebook, Twitters and Swahili blogs signifying the popularity of this saying.

[4] The Swahili adopted the culture of spraying their bodies or sprinkling their beds with rose water (*marashi*) and perfumes (*kaa*, *itiri* or *uturi*) from the Bahrain Islands in the Persian Gulf and India. Kaa is a sandalwood from the evergreen tree *santalum album* which yields an *ambar*-hued wood which when dry is very fragrant (Hichens, 1938:75).

[5] The word "**manga**" is a pejorative term referring to both the Arabia Peninsula and the immigrated Arabs from Oman to East Africa. In Zanzibar there is aplace called **Mangapwani** to mean "Arabian Shore." On the Mozambique coast the term *Maka* stands for *Manga* "Arabian Peninsula" to represent the

coastal communities affiliated with the Swahili-Arabic culture (see Schadeberg and Mucanheia, 2000 and also Nafla, 2013).

References:

Antweller, Christoph (2012). *Inclusive Humanism: Anthropological Basis for a Realistic Cosmopolitanism*. Taipei: National Taiwan University Press.

Druckman, Daniel (1994). Nationalism, Patriotism and Group Loyalty: A Psychological Perspective. *Mershon International Studies Review* 38 (1): 43-68.

Dundes, Alan (1965). *The Study of Folklore*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Dundes, Alan (1971). A Study of Ethnic Slurs: The Jew and the Polack in the United States. *Journal of American Folklore* 84 (332): 186–203.

Dundes, Alan (1975). Slurs International: Folk Comparisons of Ethnicity and National Character. *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 39: 15-34.

Dürmüller, Urs (1982). Folk Stereotypes and Sociolinguistics: Blason Populaire in the San Francisco Bay Area. *Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Berkeley, California: Berkeley Linguistics Society, pp. 572-585.

Eastman, Carol (1986). Expressing a Swahili Sense of Humor: Siu Jokes. *Research in African Literatures* 17 (4): 474-495.

Freyd, Jennifer (2012). *What is Betrayal Trauma Theory?* Retrieved [9 February 2014] from http://pages.uoregon.edu/dynamic/jjf/defineBT.html.

Gray, John (1950). Portuguese Records relating to the WaSegeju. *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 29: 85-97.

Glick, P (2002). Sacrificial Lambs Dressed in Wolves Clothing: Envious Prejudice, Ideology and Scapegoating of Jews, in L. Newman and R. Ember (eds), *Understanding Genocide: The Social Psychology of the Holocaust*, pp. 113-142. London: Oxford University Press.

Hichens, William (1938). Khabar al Lamu – A Chronicle of Lamu. *Bantu Studies* 12 (1): 1-33.

Horton, Mark (1987). The Swahili Corridor. *Scientific Americ*an 257 (3): 86-93.

Jansen, William (1957). A Culture's Stereotypes and Their Expression in Folk Clichés, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13: 184-200.

Knappert, Jan (1997). *Swahili Proverbs*. Burlington, Vermont: The University of Vermont.

Koch, Walter, ed. (1994). *Simple Forms An Encyclopedia of Simple Text: Types in Lore and Literature*. Bochum: Norbert Brockmeyer.

Lindahl, Carl, John McNamara, and John Lindow, eds. (2000). *Medieval Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO.

Lippman, Walter (1922). *Public Opinion*, New York: Macmillan.

Mac Coinnigh, Marcas (2013) The Blason Populaire: Slurs and Stereotypes in Irish Proverbial Material. *Folklore* (London) 124: 157-17.

Mieder, Wolfgang (1984). To carry owls to Athens. *Proverbium*, 1: 183-185.

Mieder, Wolfgang (1993). "The Only Good Indian Is a Dead Indian": History and Meaning of a Proverbial Stereotype. *Journal of American Folklore* 106: 38–60.

Mieder, Wolfgang (1997). Modern Paremiology in Retrospect and Prospect. *Paremia* 6: 399-416.

Mieder, Wolfgang (2004). *Proverbs A Handbook*. Westpoint, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Nafla, Kaharusi (2013) Identity and Belonging among Ethnic Return Migrants of Oman. *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflicts* (19 (4): 424-446.

Paredes, Américo (1970). Proverbs and Ethnic Stereotyping, *Proverbium* (15): 511-513.

Pouwels, Randall (1991). The Battle of Shella: The Climax of an Era and a Point of Departure in the Mid-History of the Kenya Coast. *Cahiers d'etudes Africaines* 31 (123): 363-389.

Ramaer, Roel (2009). *Gari la Moshi: Steam Locomotives of the East African Railways*. Malmö: Stenvalls.

Rockel, Stephen (1997). *Caravan Porters of the Nyika:* Labour, Culture and Society in Nineteenth Century Tanzania. Diss. University of Toronto.

Roback, Abraham (1944 [1979]). *A Dictionary of International Slurs (Ethnophaulisms) with A Supplementary Essay on Aspects of Ethnic Prejudice*. Waukesha, Wisconsin: Maledicta Press.

Scheven, Albert. (1981). *Swahili Proverbs*. Washington D.C.: University of America Press.

Simala, Inyani (1998). *Sexist Overtones in Kiswahili Female Metaphors: A Critical Analysis*. Addis Ababa: Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa.

Strandes, Justus (1971). *The Portuguese Period in East Africa*. Nairobi, Kenya: East Africa Literature Bureau.

Taylor, Archer (1931). *The Proverb*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Taylor, William (1891). *African Aphorisms: Saws from Swahililand*. London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

Thompson, Katrina (2006). The Stereotype in Tanzania[n] Comics: Swahili and the Ethnic Other. *International Journal of Comic Art* 82 (2): 228-247.

Tolmacheva, Marina (1995). Essays in Swahili Geographical Thought. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 42: 1-40.

Walibora, Ken (2012). The Asian "Other ." *Frontline* 29 (16): 11-24

Walsh, Martin (2012). The Segeju Complex? Linguistic Evidence from the Precolonial Making of the Mijikenda, in Rebecca Gerhart and Linda Giles (eds), *Contesting Identifies: The Mijikenda and their Neighbor in Kenyan Coastal Societies*. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press.

Wamitila, Kyallo (2001). *Kamusi ya Methali*. Dar es Salaam: Longhorn.

Warner, Alice (1915). Swahili History of Pate. *Journal of the African Society* 15: 278-297.

Wimmelbucker, Ludger (2009). *Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari (c.1869-1927). Swahili Lecturer and Author in Germany*. Dar es Salaam:Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
Zaikauskiene, Dalia (2012). *Lietuviu Paremijos XX-XXL a Sanduroje: tradicija ir inovacija*. Diss. Vilnius University.

Ahmad Kipacha
The School of Business Studies and Humanities
The Nelson Mandela African Institution of Science and Technology
P.O. Box 447 Arusha
Tanzania
E-mail: ahmadi.kipacha@nm-aist.ac.tz