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This is the final peer-reviewed author's accepted manuscript (postprint) of the following publication:

Published Version:

Rieger (2021). Multicultural Aspects of Name and Naming in a Postcolonial World. Cham : Palgrave Macmillan [10.1007/978-3-030-73186-1_15].

Availability:

This version is available at: <https://hdl.handle.net/11585/850737> since: 2022-02-01

Published:

DOI: http://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-73186-1_15

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(Article begins on next page)

Chapter 15. Multicultural Aspects of Name and Naming in a Postcolonial World

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1. Introduction

The importance of names was again brought to the world's attention when New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern announced that she would never speak the name of the Christchurch attacker: "He may have sought notoriety, but we in New Zealand will give him nothing, not even his name".¹ As stated by Valerie Alia (2007: 9), "[n]ame avoidance is a key expression of power relations and in some form or other appears to be common to all societies". Whether "names are seen as mere labels, as *representations* of people, or as *people*, they are always central in defining identity" (Alia 2007: 10, emphasis in the original). Furthermore, the Christchurch attack – like similar ones before it – was directed against open, *multicultural* societies. Multiculturality in societies is a complex and rather contentious concept, in particular with regard to the relationship between the majority population and (ethnic) minorities.² For the present chapter, the element *multi* in *multicultural* is conceived as "connectedness, interaction, and interweaving between the beliefs, practices, and lifestyles" (Rattansi 2011: 153) of culturally different groups. Similarly, *postcolonial* is a shifting concept, and the discussion of its multifaceted meaning would go far

¹ This was reported by several international media and relates to the terrorist attack in Christchurch on 15 March 2019, where at least 50 people were shot dead. Citation from SBS News: <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/he-is-a-terrorist-jacinda-ardern-refuses-to-speak-gunman-s-name> (accessed in March 2019).

² For an overview, see Rattansi (2011).

beyond the scope of this chapter.³ For present purposes, we will apply the term *postcolonial* in a mere chronological sense, i.e. it simply relates to the time after the end of (a given) period of colonial rule (see Stolz and Warnke 2015: 113). This chapter deals with former African colonies and, more specifically, Tanzania.

Within this spatiotemporal framework there are three major factors to be considered when discussing multiculturalism from a postcolonial point of view. Most obviously, there are the cultural legacies of colonialism and the ever-increasing effects of globalisation. The third factor is, perhaps, less noticeable because it has exerted its influence since the dawn of humankind, i.e. exchange between culturally diverse groups living in contact. This applies especially to African societies where cultural and linguistic diversity is still a predominant factor.

The first of two types of names that will be investigated in this chapter are *personal names*, taking the Swahili anthroponomasticon as an example of the interplay between African, Arabic-Islamic and European naming practices (section 2). From at least the eighth century onward, the coastal dwellers of East Africa assumed the role of economic and sociocultural intermediaries between the Indian Ocean littoral and the interior of Africa.⁴ The joint experiences “had helped knit together the people of the East African coast into a society with shared characteristics” (Getz 2013: 40). According to John Middleton, “[t]he population of the coast may be said to have become ‘Swahili’ by the eleventh century, with a general acceptance of Islam” (1992: 37).⁵ Christian

³ For an overview, see Young (2003), Götsche et al. (2017).

⁴ For a detailed description of this millennia-old intercontinental network see Sheriff (2010).

⁵ On the history and the present of Swahili society see: Caplan and Topan (2004), Glassman (2011), Middleton (1992), Sheriff (2002 [1987]). Interestingly, only Middleton (1992: 213n26 and 214n33) mentions *names* – very briefly –, and this only in the context of genealogy.

missionaries, on the other hand, arrived on the East African coast nearly a millennium after Islam, as harbingers first and companions then of European colonialism. Both Islam and Christianity demanded “Africans to despise and denounce their indigenous names at the time of baptism” (Lusekelo 2015: 59). Therefore, it comes to no surprise that “African indigenous, Biblical and Islamic names [...] are in use in East Africa today” (Zawawi 1993: 2).

Street names are the second name type discussed here, since they are an excellent example of one of the lasting effects of colonialisation which has recently gained in importance through globalisation.⁶ In fact, the very concept of street names was introduced by European colonisers. After independence, however, they were applied only partially since the orientation function of (Western) street names in Tanzania was – and probably still is – assumed by neighbourhood⁷ names, prominent buildings and usual whereabouts of known community members, whereas post office box numbers were used as postal addresses (see Rieger 2014). In recent times, however, official street naming has become part of the implementation of the National Postal Services Policy. Street names are also an important part of GPS-based systems. One of the first cities chosen for systematic street naming was Dar (es Salaam). Multicultural aspects of Dar’s street names are discussed in section 3. The chapter concludes with a – very brief – summary (section 4).

2. Personal names

In sub-Saharan Africa there are many and varied naming systems. “Nevertheless, it has been stated that there are a number of significant differences between African and European personal naming patterns, especially in the understanding of the concept of name. Two aspects seem to be

⁶ For a general overview on colonial legacies in African urban place naming see Bigon (2016).

⁷ In this chapter, the noun *neighbourhood* is used in a very general sense as opposed to the concept of *street*.

of special significance here: the *relationship between the name and the person*, and *name meaningfulness*” (Saarelma-Maunumaa 2003: 47, my emphasis).⁸ A consequence of the importance given to the connection between name and name bearer is that names are not only chosen but also *used* with special care and consideration. In some African societies this leads even to name avoidance or to “a ‘secret’ or ‘hidden’ name, which is considered to be the *real* name of the person but is almost never mentioned” (Saarelma-Maunumaa 2003: 49, my emphasis).

The trait of meaningfulness, on the other hand, implies that names “have a deep social significance and many names studied collectively express a world view, the *Weltanschauung* of the people” (Madubuike 1976: 13–14, emphasis in the original). Lusekelo (2015: 57) agrees that the “bestowing and essence of personal names in African societies bear important cultural contents whose readings provide, in many instances, direct interpretation and understanding of the central substances of the cultures”, and continues that in “African communities, names are elaborate linguistic structures, complex in semantic content, and are related to African value system [sic]” (Lusekelo 2015: 60).⁹ Nevertheless, Madubuike’s wording hints at the important fact that there is a difference between *meaning* and *significance*, the latter being deeply related to the sociocultural context that led to the choice of the name which may not be known to all members of the community.

In Swahili culture, too, there is the conviction that personal names play an important role in establishing one’s identity: “A name constructs a person” (Zawawi 1993: 6). Thus there are

⁸ The lasting significance of name meaningfulness is stressed by Clasberry (2012) throughout her study *Culture of Names in Africa*.

⁹ Musere and Odhiambo (1998: 2) attribute the importance of meaningfulness to the fact that “names have served as cultural history maps that depict milestone events in a family’s history, as well as depicting the needs, values, and concerns of Africans in the past and the present”.

manifold motives for choosing a name, the two most prominent of which are the belief that “when a child is named after another person he acquires his namesake’s good and bad qualities” (Zawawi 1993: 7), and the depiction of the circumstances of a child’s birth.¹⁰ Names like *Mwaka* ‘born in new year’ (female name from Swahili *mwaka* ‘year’) and *Ashur* ‘born in the first ten days of Muharram’¹¹ (male name) might record just the moment of the child’s birth, whereas *Taabu* (fem., from Swahili *taabu* ‘distress, trouble’) and *Sulubu* ‘tough’ (male, from the Swahili noun of Arabic origin *sulubu* ‘hard labour’) might allude to the difficult circumstances of the birth (see Zawawi 1993: 7). As stated by Zawawi (1993: 8–9), some names might even reveal “the general nature of the relationship of her or his family with those around them when the child is born or immediately prior to her or his birth”, e. g. *Chuki* (fem., from Swahili *chuki* ‘hatred’) and *Siwatu* ‘They are not people’ (fem., made up of the Swahili negative prefix *si-* ‘not’ and the plural noun *watu* ‘people’).

As already shown by some of the examples, the Arabic-Islamic influence on Swahili personal names appears in two ways. A number of names are directly linked to Islam, for example, feast days such as *Maulidi* ‘birthday of prophet Muhammad’ (fem./male name), important persons such as *Fatuma* ‘prophet Muhammad’s daughter’ and *Abubakar* ‘first Khalifa after the death of prophet Muhammad’, or general reference to religious values such as *Imani* ‘faith’ (fem.) and *Abdalla/Abdulla* ‘servant of god’ (male). Other names are influenced by the Arabic anthroponomasticon, such as *Jamila* ‘beautiful’ (fem.), *Aziza/Aziz* ‘precious’ (fem./male),

¹⁰ These naming motives – and the following – are found in other African societies, too. See, for example, Saarelna-Maunumaa (2003: 52–54), and Musere and Odhiambo (1998: 1–5). The latter is an overview of the most common naming motives, based on the analysis of more than 4,000 personal names from Southern and Equatorial Africa. A detailed discussion of – quite similar – naming motives in Nigerian-Ibibio culture can be found in Clasberry (2012: 25–70).

¹¹ *Muharram* is the first month of the Islamic calendar.

Salima/Saalim (*Saliim*) ‘safe’ (fem./male) and many others. An intuitive example of the integration of Islamic features into Swahili culture and language is the female name *Mwanaidi* derived from the Swahili noun *mwana* ‘child, offspring’ and *Idd* day, i.e. *‘Īd al-Fiṭr*, the end of Ramadan.¹²

The influence of Christianity on African names and naming practices commenced in the nineteenth century. As stated by Mandende (2009: iv), “the missionaries [...] came with the aim of colonizing Africa and discouraging Africans from following their own culture and traditions, which the missionaries regarded as paganism. They forced Africans to change their African personal names and replace them with European ones, especially if they wanted to attend mission schools or when they sought employment”.¹³ Following the European example, African Catholics favour names of canonised saints, Protestants biblical names (see Saarelma-Maunumaa 2003: 45; Seibicke 2008: 134–135).¹⁴ As elsewhere in the world, the name of the mother of Jesus, in Swahili *Maryam*, is still very popular, as is, for example, *Daudi*, the Swahili form of the biblical *David*. Names of – past and present – famous people are different insofar as they are chosen not because of their – by now often opaque – meaning but for the connotations they arouse. An interesting

¹² All examples and meanings are taken from the female and male name lists in Zawawi (1993: 39–74). Also due to Arabic influence is the use of *bin* ‘son of’ and *binti* ‘daughter of’, as in “Amina binti Muhammed bin Salim, Amina daughter of Muhammed son of Salim” (Zawawi 1993: 4). However, the extended form “is now used formally, as, for example, in passports or in marriage ceremonies” (Zawawi 1993: 4). In less formal contexts, Swahili full names comprise the given name and the name of the father and, sometimes, the name of the grandfather, as in the above example: *Amina Muhammed Salim*.

¹³ See also Saarelma-Maunumaa (2003: 57–60).

¹⁴ It should be borne in mind, however, that European names became fashionable for some and a sign of progress for others (see Saarelma-Maunumaa 2003: 58). At the same time, some Christian missions “encouraged the use of indigenous African names with Christian meanings” (Saarelma-Maunumaa 2003: 59).

example in this context is *Fidela/Fidel* (fem./male). It might be reasonably assumed that this name is not chosen nowadays for its religious meaning, i.e. ‘faith’ from Latin *fides*, but rather because of Fidel Castro. Cuba supported the African liberation struggle, and in a sense Fidel Castro could be said to represent Cuba’s role in the African independence movement.

In Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa, the choice of indigenous names became a manifesto of Independence, whereas since the 1990s “[n]ew and modern names keep surfacing all the time. These new names are acquired from neighbouring countries, from name books, or from television and cinema” (Zawawi 1993: 19). A further important source for new names is intermarriage (Zawawi 1993: 19). A good instance of the interplay between (African) meaningfulness and (European) form is the group of names which might be connected to parents’ attitudes and expectations. Alongside Swahili names such as *Furaha* (fem./male, from Kiswahili *furaha* ‘happiness, joy’), *Subira* (fem., from the Swahili noun of Arabic origin *subira* ‘patience’), *Karim* (male, from the Swahili adjective of Arabic origin *karimu* ‘generous’), there are fashionable Western names such as *Hope*, *Charity*, *Joy*, *Patience*, *Prudence*, *Grace* (see Zawawi 1993: 9).

Naming motives are changing, too. As in Western societies, aspects such as sound, uniqueness and, at the same time, trendiness are becoming more and more important. A recent list of Tanzanian girl names¹⁵ shows 26 – more or less traditional – Swahili names and 11 names of clear European origin. Even though the meaning is given for all 37 names, only 8 names are recommended specifically because of their meaning, whereas 12 names are on the list because they sound good: “It seems that more and more people also choose names which they find pleasant-sounding, which is a new phenomenon in African personal naming” (Saarelma-Maunumaa 2003: 64). Other naming

¹⁵ See: https://www.momjunction.com/articles/tanzanian-baby-names-with-their-meanings_00353098/#gref (accessed in March 2019).

motives are stylishness (5), unconventionality (5) and the possibility to create uniqueness by shortened forms (3). Most interesting is the case of *Nuru*: The “Swahili name *Nuru* is associated with the Muslim name *Noor* and means ‘light, or born during the day’. The elegance and resemblance to the name *Nora* makes it highly possible for a *crossover*”.¹⁶ According to the author of the list, *Grace* “is the most popular tanzanian [sic] name for girls”.¹⁷

In his recent study of the Hadzabe¹⁸ society, Lusekelo (2015) shows that neighbouring, culturally different, communities are an important source of non-traditional names: The “Hadzane speakers in Lake Eyasi area are in total contact with Swahili, Datooga, Isanzu, Iraqw and Iramba speakers on daily basis”¹⁹ (Lusekelo 2015: 11). Therefore, it is not surprising that, alongside names of Hadzabe origin, such as *Hotindiko*, the Hadzabe anthroponomasticon contains names from their direct neighbours, for example, *Kiliko* and *Kilii* (Isanzu), *Madulu* and *Ngemelo* (Sukuma)²⁰ (Lusekelo 2015: 83–84). There is a number of names from Swahili, the national language, too, which partly remain unaltered, for example, *Athumani*, *Maisha*, *Neema*. Others have been nativised; for example, *Chausiku* became *Shîkoko*, and *Mahindi* – *Mîndi* or *Mihindikoko* (Lusekelo 2015: 85). The same applies to Christian/English names which, according to Lusekelo (2015: 84), constitute the

¹⁶ Citation (my emphasis) taken from: see previous note.

¹⁷ Citation taken from: see note 15.

¹⁸ The Hadzabe are a very small group of people living in north-western Tanzania around Lake Eyasi with an estimated population of about 1,600 (see Lusekelo 2015: 15). A distinctive feature is their language which belongs to the Khoisan group. In Tanzania, this language is an isolate, since speakers of Khoisan languages live in particular in South and Southwest Africa.

¹⁹ Datooga, Swahili, Iramba and Isanzu are Bantu languages, whereas Iraqw pertains to the Cushitic language family.

²⁰ The Sukuma originate from the Mwanza and Shinyanga Regions south of Lake Victoria, and are “Tanzania’s largest ethnic group” (Ndembwike 2010: 36).

“majority of the Hadzabe names”. More or less unaltered forms are *Paulo*, *Kristina*, *Sofia* and *Katarina*, whereas *Kisinako* (< ‘Christina’), *Maliko* (< ‘Marco’) and *Yohana* (< ‘John’) are nativised versions. The regular exposition of the Hadzabe “to the national and international affairs at least through media” (Lusekelo 2015: 86) is evidenced by the presence of names such as *Nyerere*, *Obama* and the slightly nativised *Kahunda*²¹ (Lusekelo 2015: 86).

According to Saarelma-Maunumaa (2003: 154–157), the Ovambo in Namibia generally choose a traditional, meaningful name as temporary birth name which expresses gratitude or records events and circumstances linked to the child’s birth, whereas the “most important name, the ‘real’ name” (Saarelma-Maunumaa 2003: 157) is received at baptism: “It is a general expectation that a person has both a European and an [Ova]mbo name [...]. However, African names have become more popular lately, and they are more often used in everyday life” (Saarelma-Maunumaa 2003: 158). They are even accepted as baptismal names, “provided that their meanings are ‘good’, i.e. not derogatory” (Saarelma-Maunumaa 2003: 158).²² As a conclusion to her thorough study of the Ovambo naming system, Saarelma-Maunumaa (2003: 322) identifies Christianisation as the main change factor in the twentieth century; it did not just introduce new names, but “shattered the connection between personal name and cultural affinity” (Clasberry 2012: 15). At the end of the twentieth century, however, the post-independence personal naming of the Ovambo “was influenced by two major trends: Africanisation and Westernisation. African names continued to be fashionable, and especially among the [Ova]mbos living in Windhoek, names were increasingly borrowed from other ethnic groups too. As English was chosen as the only official language of the new republic, English names became popular as well” (Clasberry

²¹ Kenneth Kaunda was the first President of Zambia (1964–1991).

²² Negative or derogatory names are quite common in Africa as a means of safeguarding.

2012: 317). The close interplay between language policy and naming practices is confirmed with regard to Zulu society with isiZulu being by far the most – and proudly – spoken home language among the eleven official languages in South Africa. According to Lawson (2016: 189, emphasis in the original), the “*igama lesilungu* (European name) is regarded as a colonial imposition on the Zulu people, and is fast losing popularity”.

3. Street names in Dar es Salaam

Until recently also Tanzania’s de facto political centre,²³ the city of Dar es Salaam continues to be the country’s economic and cultural heart. Its beginnings date back to the 1860s when the then Sultan of Zanzibar decided to relocate his headquarters to the mainland. After his untimely death the new settlement fell into decay until it became the capital of German East Africa in 1891. According to Brennan and Burton (2007: 21), “[m]uch of Dar es Salaam’s economic activity in the 1890s revolved around major public works projects”, including road construction. When taking over the colony after World War I, the British maintained the town’s road layout and the habit of street naming, replacing, however, all German names. Postcolonial Tanzania retained – and changed to some extent – existing street names but, as already mentioned, *systematic* street naming only recently became a matter of national importance. In Dar, the first official Western-style address was issued in 2012. On that occasion, the then Tanzanian President Jakaya Kikwete twittered: “Anuani ya Makazi na Postikodi, Ikulu Dar es Salaam. Ofisi ya Rais, Ikulu., 1 Ocean Road., 11400 Dar es Salaam” [‘Residential address and postcode, State House Dar es Salaam.

²³ Back in 1973, Dodoma, lying in the country’s very centre, was designated capital city. Because of persistent budget concerns, the project was implemented only recently with all ministries expected to move from Dar to Dodoma by June 2019.

President’s office, State House., 1 Ocean Road., ...].²⁴ In this short text, two multicultural aspects in Tanzanian street naming practices are evident, i.e. the still widespread use of English classifiers and the persistence of English modifiers²⁵. More generally, the “history of Swahili language policy and language planning, since it came into full swing in the 1930s, has been dominated by a partly functional, partly symbolic opposition between Swahili and English” (Blommaert 2014: 53).

In this regard, Tanzanian commercial websites are a clear domain of English, with only few offering a Swahili version at all. Therefore, it comes to no surprise that even the key word *wasiliani nasi* ‘contact us’ leads to just a couple of addresses containing the Swahili classifiers *mtaa* (*wa*) ‘estate, neighbourhood, part of town, quarter (of a city), suburb, street (of)’²⁶ or *barabara* (*ya*) ‘highway, road, street, avenue (of)’²⁷. Consequently, commercial addresses in the *National Commercial Directory* (NCD)²⁸ generally use English classifiers such as *street, road, avenue* whereas the government-related part of NCD uses almost exclusively *mtaa* and *barabara*. It seems, however, that these apparently competing systems are giving birth to new forms as shown by the following examples: the harbour front of Dar has long been known by the name of *Kivukoni Front* which is also the usual form listed in the commercial part of the NCD. In the government-related part, however, one comes across *Barabara ya Kivukoni Front*. Similarly, *Old Bagamoyo Road* is given as *Barabara ya Old Bagamoyo*.

With regard to modifiers, 113 street names from three historical neighbourhoods were

²⁴ See: @jmkikwete, 15 September 2012 (my translation).

²⁵ In the present context, the term *classifier* denotes a toponymic constituent “which assigns the [named] geo-object to a given ontological category” (Stolz et al. 2018: 191), whereas modifiers are individualising elements. Together with (optional) classifiers, they form toponyms for specific geo-objects (see Stolz and Warnke 2018: 24–25).

²⁶ It should be noted that the noun *mtaa* stands for both the local neighbourhood and the Western street concept.

²⁷ Translations taken from: <https://africanlanguages.com/swahili/> (accessed in March 2019).

²⁸ See: <https://www.ncd.co.tz> (accessed in March 2019).

analysed²⁹: *Kivukoni*, commercial, administrative and touristic hotspot in the city centre (23 names); *Kariakoo*, in the early years conceived as “African neighbourhood” (21), and *Msasani*, once a traditional Swahili village, now popular with expats (69). Most of these names have a two-part structure consisting of a modifier and an English classifier, e.g. *Aly Khan Road*, *Ghana Street*. With respect to both points, there is a single exception. The name *Barabara ya Vumbi Dawasco* (Msasani) not only shows a Swahili classifier but also contains a complex mixed-language modifier made up of the Swahili noun *vumbi* ‘waste’ and the English-based (official) acronym *Dawasco*, i.e. ‘*Dar es Salaam* Water and Sewerage Authority’. Comparing the analysed modifiers, Kivukoni has, by far, the highest share of anthroponyms (roughly 43% of its names compared with 5% in Kariakoo and 29% in Msasani), all of which commemorate national (4), African (4) and international (2) personalities. Among them are Mirambo, “the most famous of Tanganyika’s nineteenth-century rulers” (Iliffe 1994 [1976]: 62), the national poet Shaaban Robert, the Independence-fighter Bibi Titi Mohamed, as well as the South African Inkosi Albert John Luthuli, the first African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. One of the international personalities honoured is Barack Obama. After his state visit in 2013, the aforementioned *Ocean Road* was renamed after the former US President. Another renaming in Kivukoni is an interesting case of cultural reappropriation. The British owned TANCOT company was located on Byatt Road, named after the first British governor of Tanganyika. Both, the TANCOT building and the street were renamed as *Pamba House* and *Pamba Road*, respectively, using the Swahili noun *pamba* ‘cotton’.

Kariakoo, by comparison, is characterised by a high number of *toponymic* modifiers (nearly 50% of the 21 names) and the near absence of anthroponymic elements (only 1). It also has the highest share of appellative modifiers which are, moreover, of Swahili origin only, e. g. two local tree names

²⁹ The corpus is based on the *Street Directory of Tanzania*: <https://tanzania-streets.openalfa.com> (accessed in March 2019).

(*Michikichi*, *Mkunguni*) and *Sikukuu* (deriving from the homonymic Swahili noun for ‘(public) holiday’). Another characterising feature is the presence of the only 3 ethnonymic modifiers found in the analysed corpus. As already mentioned, Kariakoo had been the “principal African residential area” (Brennan and Burton 2007: 32). Modifiers such as the nesonyms *Mafia* and *Pemba* as well as the ethnonyms *Nyamwesi*, *Sukuma* and *Swahili* may refer to the different origins of the (first) inhabitants. Some other ethnic group-related modifiers found among Dar street names are *Chagga*, *Wasomali*, *Wanyama* and *Wazaramo*. Interestingly, only the last three ones are Swahili. In fact, in Swahili, the prefixes *m-* (singular) and *wa-* (plural) indicate ‘person(s)’. Therefore, the Swahili form of the former should be, for example, *Waswahili*, *Wachagga*.

Msasani street names well represent the division’s two-fold identity. Here, we find the highest number of English modifiers in the corpus and the presence of (wealthy) expats is not only reflected in opulent houses surrounded by large gardens but also in street names such as *Slipway Road* and nearby *Yacht Club Road*. Oysterbay, a Msasani ward, even “acquired the colloquial name of Uzunguni, or place of the Europeans” (Brennan and Burton 2007: 31)³⁰. A characterising feature of Msasani is its location adjacent to two large bays, *ghuba* in Swahili. At the posh “slipway-side” we find the street name *Msasani Bay*, whereas the street leading to Coco Beach, which is very popular with locals, is called *Ghuba Road*. In fact, there is also a high number of modifiers derived from Swahili nouns, but the most striking feature is a multiple reference to the Zanzibar archipelago, the most important reference point for Swahili culture: *Abeid Karume Street* refers to the first president of Zanzibar after the 1964 revolution; *Ali Bin Said Road* refers to the fourth Sultan of Zanzibar (see Graham 2014: 145); *Chake Chake Road* to an important town on the island of Pemba; *Chole Road* to places related to the island of Mafia.

³⁰ In Swahili, a white person is called *mzungu*. The prefix *u-* means ‘land of’, the suffix *-ni* ‘in, at’.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to highlight the complex interplay between the cultural impact of (neo-)colonialism and the concurrent robustness of local cultures by means of the example of proper names. Drawing in particular from the Swahili onomasticon, it was shown that “the contact between [Arabic,] European and African naming systems has resulted in a dynamic synthesis, and [that] this process is still going on and creating new forms” (Saarelma-Maunumaa 2003: 63). The analysis of street names and naming practises, on the other side, highlighted the fact, that “Dar es Salaam is above all a site of juxtaposition between the local, the national, and the cosmopolitan. [...] Indeed it might be argued that [...] this late arrival on the East African coast is *the* contemporary exemplar of Swahili virtues of cosmopolitanism and cultural exchange” (Brennan and Burton 2007: 13, emphasis in the original).

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