Fusion of related languages: the case of the Rangi and Mbugwe Bantu languages of Tanzania

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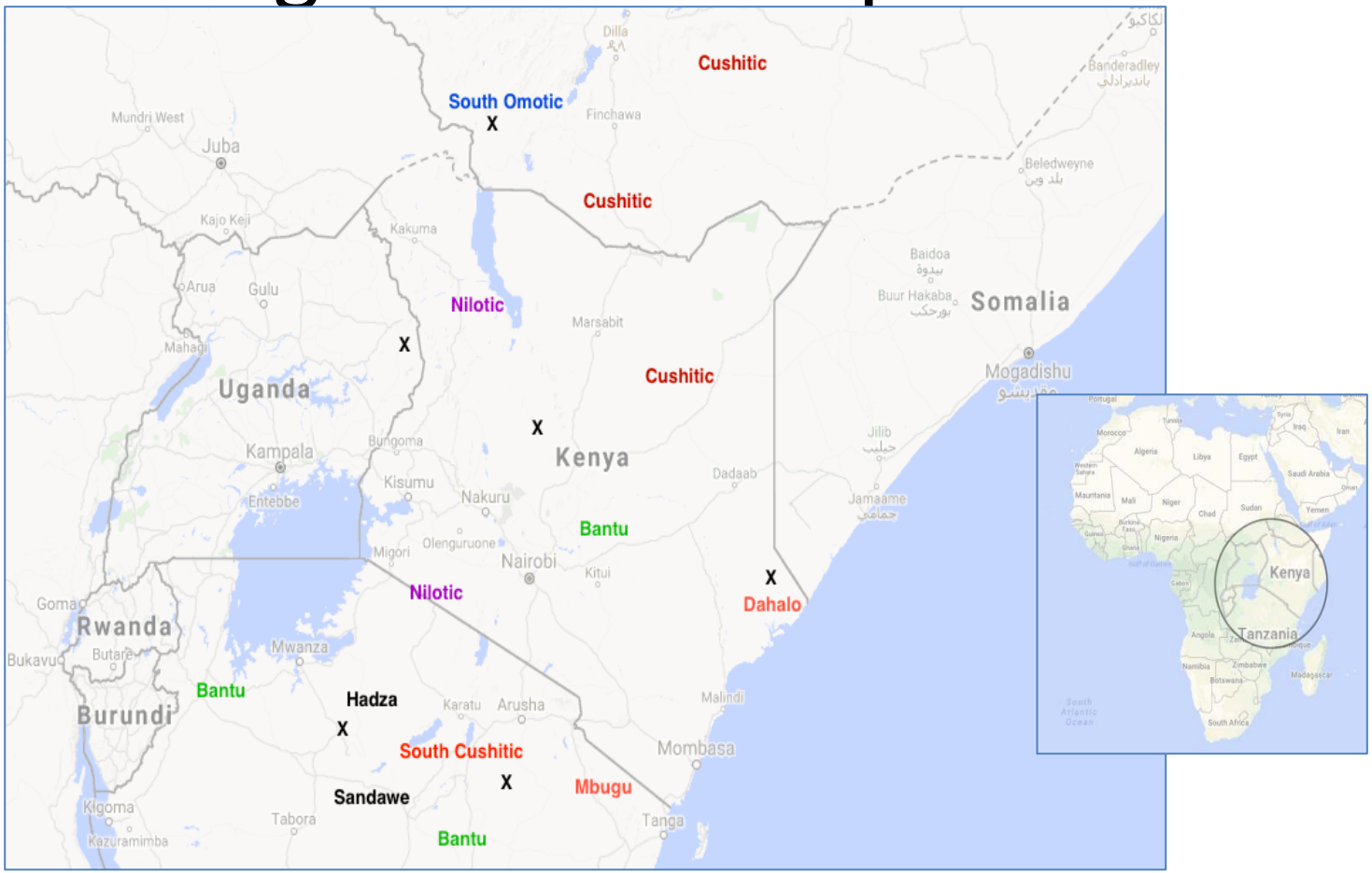
THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA PROJECT

1.Linguistic landscape of East Africa



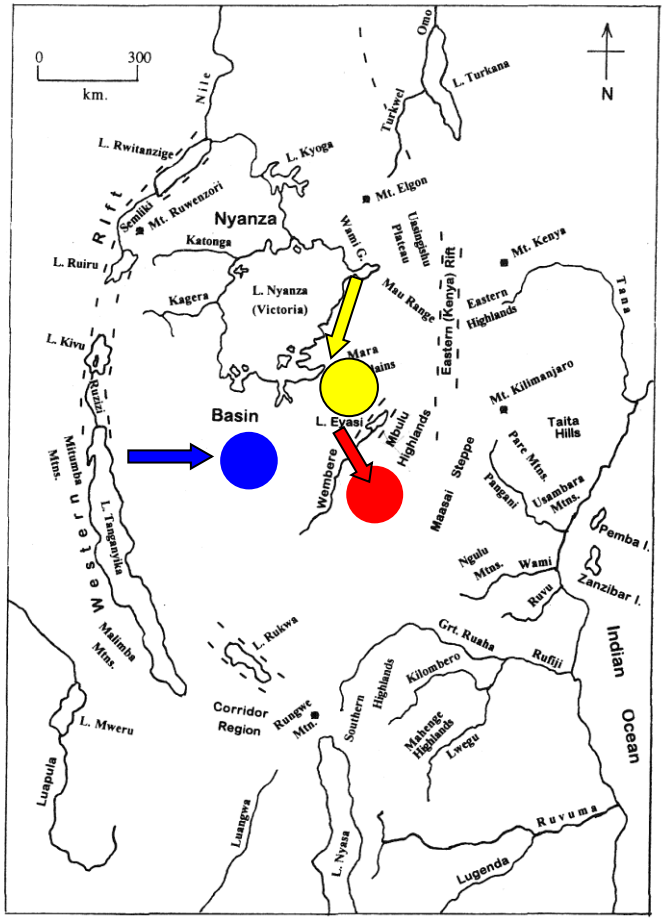
Aims of project

- Establish population movements into East Africa
- **Discover local cultural and economic contact and innovation**
- Collect evidence for earlier populations

School book view of EA history

- Southern Cushitic 4000 BP
  = Pastoral Savannah Neolithic culture
- Eastern Bantu 1500 BP
  = introduction of iron; pottery styles
- Southern Nilotic 1000 BP
  = Elmenteitan culture

Before these migrations: Hunter-gatherers; stone age culture; KhoiSan languages (Hadza and Sandawe)



Map 3. The geographical setting of the Early Classical Age

Cultures

- Eburran Industry (LSA)
  (=Kenyan Capsian)
  after Mt Ebura.
  Phases 1-5A,5B.
- Elmenteitan Industry. (Neolothic)
  after Lake Elmenteita.
- Highland Savanna Pastoral Neolithic
  (= Gumban A)

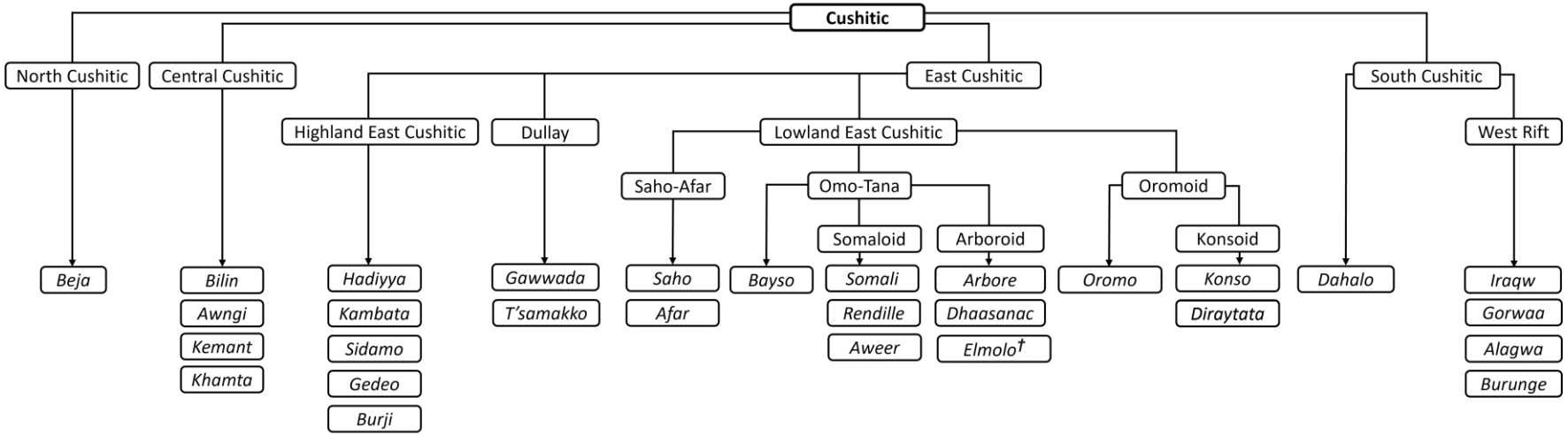
Linking Archaeology to Ling families

- "Considering the relative sequence of the entrance of Southern Cushitic prior to Southern Nilotic groups to highland East Africa, and their past and present geographic distributions, the Savanna Pastoral Neolithic and the Elmenteitan Neolithic probably correlate with Southern Cushitic- and Southern Nilotic-speaking peoples respectively." Proto-language|family

Linguistic history of East Africa project

- Reach new state-of the-art of EA linguistic history and AFTER the project discuss that with relevant other disciplines.
- Establish lexical and phonological reconstruction of Cushitic
- Re-examine the lexical influence of Cushitic on Bantu languages and what it tells us about cultural changes and in subsistence
- Details of the history of the big migrations into East Africa
  Several Cushitic movements into East Africa
- Reconstruct histories of contact
- Examine possibilities of unearthing earlier language families
- We are just over 2,5 years into a 4-year project

The Cushitic languages included in this study



[Beja][Central][East][South]

or

[Beja[Central][East[South]]]]

South part of East? One explanation

- Pre-Oromo influence on an existing South Cushitic speaking population in Central Tanzania.
- No memory of that in oral history
- No non-linguistic indications (yet)
- Not one but THREE Cushitic migrations into Tanzania: first; Dullay+Yaaku; pre-Oromo
- or the bluntness of Ockham's razor.

Some results

- Paper on **contact-induced retention** of lateral fricatives and lateral ejective affricates in Tanzanian Cushitic (Also in Hadza, Sandawe, **Kuliak**, ~~South-Nilotic~~; and contact-induced introduction in Davida-Bantu.
- Aasa and Kw'adza do not form a unit, and Kw'adza is in Tanzanian Cushitic (Iris Kruijsdijk)
- There is considerable contact between Kuliak (Uganda, isolated family) and Tanzanian Cushitic and Sandawe. (Rub)
- The Cushitic influence on Taita Bantu languages does not warrant posing two (or 3) former Cushitic languages but one (Sophie Mulder)
- Some claims on Cushitic lexical influence on Bantu are false: fungate does not come form faanqw but from funga (ga)te 'close middle' (hand counting)

On-going

- Is morphosyntactic innovation in Mbugwe and Rangi shared or parallel? (Giorgia Zantei)
- What is contact-induced change in kinship terminology in the Tanzanian Rift Valley (Marta Cestari)
- Can lexicon inform us about origin of HG languages: shift in language (assumed by linguists) or of economy (assumed by anthropologists) impoverished herders of hunters who shifted language (Dominique Loviscach)
- Reconstruction of lexical transfer of Cushitic into (groups of) Bantu languages (Christian and Maarten)
- Sandawe in contact (Franciscus)

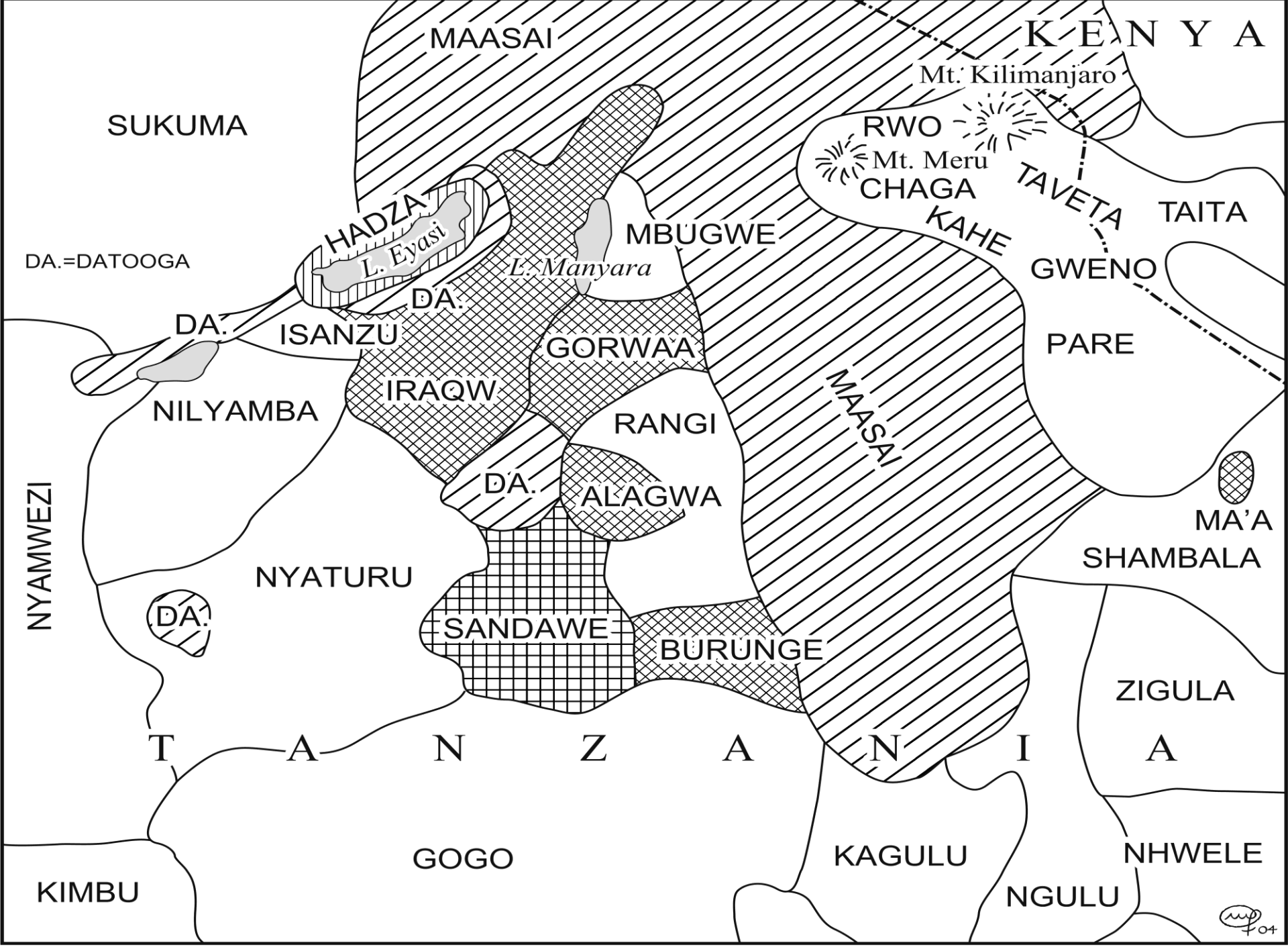
THE HISTORY OF RANGI AND MBUGWE, TWO BANTU ISLANDS

Languages of the Tanzanian Rift valley

- Long standing contact relations
- Four clearly related Cushitic languages. Lexically quite deviant from the rest of Cushitic and difficult to classify within Cushitic. Mixed farming and cattle
- Datooga closely related languages of mainly cattle nomads in high esteem in recent history; South Nilotic but earlier presence of South Nilotic

…

- Hadza Hunter Gatherers around Lake Eyasi with close contact with Bantu Ihanzu and Sukuma and Asimjeeg Datooga but earlier South Cushitic contacts
- Sandawe, another click language with genetic links to Khwe, long presence in area with history of hunter and gatherer
- Rangi and Mbugwe Bantu similar and different from other Bantu in the area
- Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Nyaturu, Nilamba, Ihanzu closely related Bantu languages
- Maasai (East Nilotic) cattle nomads late arrivals


MAASAI
K E N Y A
Mt. Kilimanjaro
SUKUMA
RWO
Mt. Meru
CHAGA
TAVETA
TAITA
KAHE
HADZA
L. Eyasi
MBUGWE
L. Manyara
GWENO
DA.=DATOOGA
DA.
DA.
ISANZU
GORWAA
PARE
IRAQW
NILYAMBA
RANGI
MAASAI
DA.
ALAGWA
MA'A
SHAMBALA
NYAMWEZI
NYATURU
DA.
SANDAWE
BURUNGE
ZIGULA
T A N Z A N I A
GOGO
KAGULU
NHWELE
KIMBU
NGULU

Complexities of Bantu spread in East Africa

- Ideally non-Bantu transfer into Bantu should give us insight into earlier contact and culture
- But it turns out challenging to show regular developments of borrowed elements
- Bantu-Bantu contact is rampant
- What are the mechanisms and how different: The case of Rangi and Mbugwe

Background

1. “Tribes are a colonial invention” and “Languages do not exist”
2. Historical linguistics as a historical science
3. Language contact and history

“Tribes are a colonial invention”

- Very true, as we will see in the case study,
- but languages existed and hence speech communities
- and the connection of a speech community to societal and cultural practices is crucial for historical linguistics to be a window to history
- Mechanisms of formation of speech communities as the way out

“Languages do not exist”

- They do, as an abstraction
- that we can’t do without that abstraction
- But indeed we need to keep in mind that it is an abstraction
- Not only used by researchers
- and named, not only by researchers
- Paradox of the reconstructable language names

Historical linguistics as history

- Linguistics is built on the principles of hard science of predictability and falsification
- Historical science tells a story as the most convincing scenario to convince the audience as jury
- Historical linguistics has the comparative method as hard evidence
- But comparative method provides “skeleton” of proto language only
- This complicates interdisciplinary exchange

Bantu linguistic history

- The reconstruction of proto Bantu
- extensive lexical reconstruction, but still work to do
- established sound laws
- extensive morphological reconstruction; but currently more synchronic comparative studies

Rangi and Mbugwe

- F33 and F34. Other F (Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Nyaturu) to their West
- Bantu zones are regional approximations of presumed genetic subgroups
- Sound developments always related to proto-Bantu.
- Speakers of both Rangi and Mbugwe consider both languages as closely related
- Both have only non-Bantu as neighbours currently

Names

Since my presentation is in English, I use “English” or international-scientific language names:

- Rangi = KiLangi (F33)
- Mbugwe = KeBʊwe (F34)

Classification controversy

- F30 or Chaga-Pare
- Nurse (& Hinnebush, & Philipsson) Rangi shares some sound laws wit Chaga-Pare

Masele (2001)

- … KeeMbuwe, KiiRangi, … display one specific lexical feature in common. Their lists of unique vocabulary which isolate them from the general stock of the Zone F group, whether invented or areal, are unusually long compared to the others.
- …F33 and F34 do not fit well within the remaining Zone F languages,
- … the behaviour of PB *d in F33 and F34 isolates them from Zone F
- … Zone F fuzziness is illustrated well by the extreme members of the zone which are not only clearly autonomous, but also do not belong there entirely as immediate sister languages to the core group. These non-members are …, F33 (KiiRaŋgi) and F34 (KeeMbuwe).

Stegen 2003

- A high number of double reflexes: lexical item entering the Rangi language at an early stage could have undergone different sound changes from an item entering later.
- I use Stegen and Masele's extensive studies as basis

Rangi Mbugwe

- Rangi and Mbugwe are considered to be closely related both by speakers and in the literature
- Masele (2001) “Although there is a lower count of shared uniquely created vocabulary between F33 and F34, there is reason to believe that these two are related genetically, supported by native speaker intuition”

Vocabulary

- Point of departure: Masele's lists of unique vocabulary (in relation to rest of zone F) for Rangi and for Mbugwe
- Review of these lists with speakers of both languages to establish whether they are truly unique or shared
- which is necessary second step after first collection by Masele

Rangi link to North

term	Rangi	Mbugwe	F31-32	other links
old person	mwòòsì	mokolo	mnyapaa	S. Pare, Taveta, Nyiha: mgosi Tharaka: mukuru; Wungu: unchikolo
return	kʊ̀fyʊ̀ʊ́kà kʊhendʊka	otaaloka [not in Rangi]	Nyaturu: suka Nyiramba: shooka	S. Pare: hunduka taaloka has no links

Mbugwe link to North

term	Rangi	Mbugwe	F31-32	other links
gazelle	vʊ̀dʊ̀ 'dikdik'	njɛ̀ɛ̀rá [not in Rangi]	mpaa	Mbugwe term: Tharaka: ncheere
heel (foot)	kìchínó	ntútúnyá [not in Rangi]	Nyaturu itinyinyo	Mbugwe term is closest to S. Pare tutunye; Rangi term to Kamba kitiino
heart	mʊ̀tìímà	ŋkólò [not in Rangi]	Nyiramba: nkolo; Nyaturu: nhkoo	The Rangi -tima root is PB and links to Uganda and Luguru. The Mbugwe kolo root is wide-spread and occurs in Tharaka, Kilimanjaro, Mara, F, etc.
palate	ilaka [not in Mbugwe]	kalákalá [not in Rangi]		Rangi term: Bondei: ulaka; Mbugwe term: S. Pare: ikarakara
old person	mwòòsì	mokolo	mnyapaa	S. Pare: mgosi (Taveta, Nyiha); Tharaka: mukuru; Wungu: u-nchi-kolo

Rangi link to East

term	Rangi	Mbugwe	F31-32	other links
frog	ìbùùlà	chòórà [not in Rangi]	ntoondo	Kami: bulwa; Kutu, Kwere: bula; Luguru butwa; Zaramo: bula (all Morogoro area)
palate	ilaka [not in Mbugwe]	kalákalá [not in Rangi]	lexemes different from these	Bondei: ulaka; S. Pare: ikarakara

(Differentiating Cushitic influences)

Term	Rangi	Mbugwe	F31-32	other links
dog	kʊrɪ (Cushitic)	díyó (<Maasai); kòrí 'wandering dog (despised)'	F31 & F32 both have mbwa as root	The Cushitic root is not present in the Tanzanian Cushitic languages; it is widespread in EA; Pare, Meru: *nguro*; Nguungulu: *kuli*; the Mbugwe word for normal 'dog' is a loan from Maasai, and the original *kori* developed a specialised meaning.
slave, servant	múrèrwà	mòsòómbà [not in Rangi]		both terms have no links in Tz Bantu. Mbugwe word is related to Iraqw masoomba 'male youth' but the shape seems Bantu and the direction could well be from Bantu if related to PB *-cómb 'transport, carry' with the caravan trade in mind.
bull	kàbáàkò 'fahali'	nyàámbà		The Mbugwe root is possibly from the (Cushitic?) areal root *njaghamba* (Nyaturu) with loss of in the intervocalic velar. The Rangi root is wide-spread in Tz.

Intermediate conclusions

- Attempting to be complete in etymologising the vocabulary is shear impossible
- All observations are clouded by the vast number of unaccounted lexicon
- Both Rangi and Mbugwe show links with Chaga-Pare in their vocabulary
- Rangi shows some links with Morogoro-Bondei area
- Both show some (but little) lexical connection to Bantu languages in the Mbeya area. Masele (2001: 441) assumes contact for Sukuma, Nyamwezi and discusses Bungu/Wungu (F25) now in that area.
- Rangi and Mbugwe show loans from different Cushitic languages. Mbugwe from Maasai.

Double reflexes

- Amalgamation of related speech communities results in different but relatable lexicon
- One resolution is application of sound correspondences to either of the competing lexemes
- This is not expected when the sounds are too far apart or not relatable after deletion
- Another resolution is dominance of one form with or without extension of meaning
- But if meanings are too far apart we get double lexical reflexes
- And conflicting sound correspondences

Rangi double reflexes

- duhu, tufu 'empty’
- -lewa, -rovi 'be drunk’
- lʊ-dìhì ‘string’, lʊ-wɪɪ ‘bowstring’
- lufyu, losho ‘knife’ in 19th century
- *-íitu* 1pl.excl | *-íiswe* 1pl.incl. (not in Mbugwe) Possibly double reflexes and differentiation: *-iswi* in F33-34; *-itu* cf. Pare – *etu*.

Differentiating sound laws

- can shared sound laws (or not) indicate Rangi and Mbugwe relatedness (or not)?
- in view of the early proposals for Rangi sharing sound laws with Chaga-Pare

Rangi shared with Chaga-Pare Nurse 1999

1. **t* > *c* before high vowels,
2. g-loss,
3. loss of **b* before round vowels and **b* > *v* elsewhere,
4. **p* > *f* before tense vowels (but no Spirantization otherwise),
5. **d* > *r* before tense vowels but **d* > *l* and *r* before non-tense vowels.
6. two forms of Class 10 as plural of Class 11 (Kilimanjaro-Taita, Langi)

No clear isoglosses for F30.

1. **Are these indeed shared with Chaga-Pare?**
2. **And shared with or different from rest of F30, F zone?**
3. **Shared by Rangi and Mbugwe?**
4. **What do exceptions tell us?**

t > c /__i, u (high close vowel)

Rangi	Mbugwe	PB	meaning	Swahili	Pare	Chaga	
mpìchí	mpítí	-pítì	hyena	fisi	(ibau)	(fisi)	Embe: mbiti; Zanaki: ehiti
ò-chíkʊ́	ò-tíkù	-tíkʊ̀	night	usiku	(kio)	(kio)	F32: utiku; Zanaki: obutiku
ɪchɪmu	timo		spear				
kì-chìkʊ̀	kètíkʊ̀	-tíkʊ̀	rainy season	ma-sika	ma-shíka	(kisie)	F32: gitiku; F31: kɛtiku

...

Rangi	Mbugwe	PB	meaning	Chaga	Pare	
ìchùùmbì	tùùmbí	-túmbí	seat	ki-chúmbí	-r*ika	Zanaki: ekitumbi
kɔ̀-chùmà	òtúmà	-túm-	sew, weave, knit	ku-chúma	ifuma	Zanaki: -tuma
kɔ̀-chwá màtì	otyá màtá	-tú-	spit	(ku-tufa malute)	(-ipucha maRa)	Zanaki; -twa amate F32: utia mate; F31: kwi-tia matɛ
kɔ̀-chúúŋgà	ò-túŋgà	túŋg-	tie	ku-chunga	ifunga	F32:u-tunga; F31: kwi-tuunga
ku-chula	ù-túlà		pound (grain)			
kɔ̀-chwà	ò-tyá		reap, harvest			

Observation

- The palatalisation of *t* to *c* before close high vowels *i* and *u* is indeed a sound change that Rangi shares with Pare
- and that is not shared with the F30 languages,
- nor with Mbugwe
- Palatalisation before close high *i* is very natural can could easily be a parallel independent change
- But before high close *u* less so

Loss of g intervocalically

Rangi	meaning	PB	Mbugwe	Pare	Chaga
tea	‘set trap’	teg		tegha	iRehia (V)
ntɪɪya	‘giraffe’	tʊɪga	ntooya	(hori)	ndwiya (B)
ìvɛ̀à	‘shoulder’	bègà	mavɛa/mavɛɛ	(kituro)	eewa (M)
mbɔ̀:	‘buffalo’	bògó	(nkɔlɔɔma)	mbogho	mboo (M)
ndɛ̀ɛ́	‘bird’	dègé	(mirɛ)		
ijɛ̀ɔ̀	‘tooth’	gègò	yaɔ		
kʊ̀-:lʊ̀	‘leg’	gʊ̀dʊ̀	ko-olo		
fíɔ́	‘kidney’	pígò	(nkoosankoosa)		
mʊtɛwɔ	‘trap’	tégò	mootejɔ ‘trap’		
lʊdìhì	bowstring	*-digi	lʊ̀ʊ̀wì		

...

Rangi	meaning	PB	Mbugwe
mbɔwa	‘vegetable’	bògà	(yoori)
ʊ́laha	‘kill’	búdag-	
sawʊ́lʊla	‘choose’	cààgud	
nɛ́ha	‘avoid’	dég	
rɛ́ɛra	‘become slack’	dègid	
láhja	‘show’	dàg	
lɔ́wa	‘bewitch’	dòg	lova
ndʑɔwu	‘elephant’	jògù	njɔu
táaha	‘get lost’	tág ‘lose’	
ndʊhʊ́	‘relative’	dʊgʊ	
ihi, ii	‘egg’	gɪ	yaae

Remarks

- *w* between round and non-round is taken to be transition
- *y* between front and non-front too
- sometimes *h* between vowels as hiatus resolution
- Rangi exceptions: *igwánda* 'shirt' <PB *ganda* 'cloth'?; -*gava* 'divide' (Swahili *gawa*)
- Mbugwe exceptions: *gaŋa* 'skull', *girira* 'bad.egg', *gu:gu* 'weed, maize leaf', *logaali* 'thorn', *mooga* 'group of calves', *gaamboda* 'shield'< Iraqw < Datooga, *gaala* 'ghala, barn' < Swahili, *mopagaani* 'pagan' < English, *mogaase* 'satan'

v reflex of intervocalic *g in Mbugwe

Mbugwe	Rangi	PB	meaning
-lova	-lowa	*-dog-	‘bewitch’
wʊ̀ʊ̀vá	kʊ̀-ʊ̀há	*-yó(ó)g-	‘wash, bathe’
	wòòwà	yóbà	fear

More v~w as reflex of *b.

Observations

- The F30 languages show some lenition of *g too,
- conditionally and often only lenited
- The total loss of *g in Rangi is in common with Kilimanjaro Bantu. Nurse (1979: 108) shows that in Chaga $g > \gamma$ and that "most of Chaga has in fact gone one step further and weakened the velar fricative to a glide or zero"
- Masele (2001:122): "This is one of the rare instances where a Rangi+Mbugwe common innovation can be postulated."
- but the reflex *v* occasionally in Mbugwe needs explanation
- given the tendencies to lenition in Nyaturu parallel developments cannot be ruled out

loss of **b* before round vowels and **b* > *v* elsewhere

Rangi	meaning	Seidel 1898	PB	Mbugwe
viri	second	wiri	bàdí	
ve, -veha	bad	weha	bíì	ve
kʊ-vyáálwa	born		-bíád-	ò-yáálwà
kevero ‘thigh of animal’	tigh			kivero

Exceptions where the b is retained as b, ß or v

Rangi	meaning	Seidel 1898	PB	Mbugwe
lobavá, ma-	wing	mabawa	-	baava
bɛɛndʊla	tear off',		-	-
bɪsɪ	'unripe'	ki-wisi	bɪcɪ	-
-vuuka	'rise up'		-	-
mavuri	'pubic hair'	-	-	
lwáávù, ndaavu	net (hunting)	loaau	-	lwaau
ßwòòŋgò	brain		bòngó	wòòŋgò
ìßùye	stone		-bʊ̀è	wèè

Remarks, observations

- Exception where **b* is completely lost in Rangi, *máásá*, and retained in Mbugwe, *màbásà* 'twin' (as in Sukuma) from PB **-pácà*
- Pare has *ß* as reflex of PB **b* which is realised as *v* after nasal, *mvu* 'wasp', and in South Pare (Mreta 1998, 2008).
- The oldest source, Seidel (1898), has *w*: *wiri* 'second' in Seidel (1898) is now *viri* (Kesby 1981); *weka* 'dress' in Seidel (1898) is now *-vika* in *-ivikira*. We assume *b > *w ~ ß > v for Rangi, and Mbugwe goes one step further in lenition in certain lexemes
- Nyiramba F31 and Nyaturu F32 show complete loss of PB **b* and hence this sound change is not decisive for teasing apart Chaga or F31-32 links for Rangi or Mbugwe.

p > f before high close vowels

P-lenition in F30

Masele & Nurse (2003:125)

	*pa	*pi	*pu	
F31	p	p	p	Nyilamba
F32	f	f	f	Nyaturu
F33	p	f	f	Rangi
F34	f	f	f	Mbugwe

P-lenition in Chaga+

Nurse (1999)

	*pa	*pi	*pu
Chaga	Ø/h	f	f
Pare	h	f	f
Saghala	Ø	f	f

Exceptions

There are also instances in Rangi of spirantization before non-high vowels (Stegen 2003).

Nyaturu F32 and Mbugwe have f as regular reflex of *p in all contexts.

Could these be through contact with Nyaturu or Mbugwe. Both seem possible.

Rangi ‘meaning’	proto Bantu	Nyaturu	Mbugwe
fĭıta ‘go to condole	-pıt -	fɛɛta	
fɔ́ta ‘fold’	-pɔt ‘twist’	fota ‘twist’	fota
ŋkʊ́fa ‘tick’	-kúpa	ŋkufa	nkoofa
-ɔ́fa ‘fear’	-jogʊp	-vova	ofa
-fála ‘rise moon’	-pad -	-	
-fákʊla ‘snatch’	-pakʊd -	-	
-fɛ́ɛsa ‘drill’	-pekıc -	-	

Developments: lexical replacement

Rangi	Mbugwe	ProtoBantu	meaning	Swahili	Pare	
lʊ̀-fyò	lò-shó	-píʊ́	knife	kisu	(kahandi)	Nyamwezi: lʊshʊ; Chaga: kishu, kyandu

The item for ‘knife’ actually has a variant *lusyo* in Rangi in its earliest attestations: Seidel has *lufyu*, *lusho* but later researchers (Nchimbi, Dunham, Stegen, Gibson) note *lʊ-fyɔ*. Double reflexes gradually dissolved with one winning rather than specialisation.

p > (f >) h in Rangi and Pare

Rangi	Mbugwe	ProtoBantu	meaning	Swahili	Pare	Chaga
mpèhò	mpéfò	pépò	cold, wind	baridi, upepo	mpeho (nkungu)	mbeo
kʊ̀hólà	òfólà	pód-	cool	kupona	ku-hóa	ifoo
mùhɪ́nì	mòfénè	pínì	handle	mpini	m̩híni	muni (other roots)
àhà	àfà		here	hapa	aha, hala	ya,
ìhùùhù	màfʊ́ʊ́fʊ́	pʊ̀ʊ̀pʊ̀	lung		(igóro)	(irindi)
ìtòhé	tófè	tòpè	mud	matope	(itonto)	(iposhi)
hɪ̀ɪ̀hɪ̀	fàùfè		near	karibu	hafuhi	kufii, hafui
kʊ̀rɪ̀hà	òrèfà	-dɪ̀p	pay	kulipa	ku-riha	(taa)
hààntʊ̀	fààntò	pàántʊ̀	place	mahali	hantu	ando
kʊ̀-kòpà	ò-kòfà	-kop-	borrow	kukopa	kopa	-koba

Observations

- *p > f > h
- Seidel (1898:432) has *kuhi*, but also once *kufi* ‘kurz’
- Rangi and Mbugwe have *f* < *p* before close high vowels like in Chaga-Pare but also Nyaturu has *f* as a regular reflex of *p*, but before any vowel.
- Cases of Rangi *f* before **non**-close-high vowels are possibly transfer from Nyaturu
- The *h* reflexes in Rangi are possibly due to a Pare stratum which is not shared with Mbugwe

Intermediate conclusions

1. **Are these indeed shared with Chaga-Pare?**
   For Rangi: t>c at least with Chaga; g>0 with Chaga, not Pare; *b ?; p>f yes
2. **And shared with rest of F30, F zone?**
   Not t>c; g>0 possibly next step of development on F30; R and Mb both different from F30 in fate of *b (lost in Nyaturu, Nyiramba); p>f/ _i,u shared with Nyaturu where it is global
3. **Shared by Rangi and Mbugwe?**
   Not t>c but Rangi possibly recent innovation; maybe g>0; fate of *b inconclusive; not p>f/_i,u
4. **What do exceptions tell us?**
   confirm lexical links to both Pare/Chaga (Rangi more than Mbugwe) and Nyaturu; and changes in last century in Rangi

Morphological criteria

From Stegen (2003), Dunham (2007), Nurse (1999)

1. i- reciprocal
2. 19 as plural diminutive
3. 2 plurals of 11
4. prenominal demonstrative Rangi, Shambaa, Mbugu
   Very common Bantu innovation; easily parallel development.
   Also in Swahili of the area in colonial times (Kieβling 1995).
5. Additional clause final negation: Rangi, Mbugwe and East Chaga
   too general as structural phenomenon

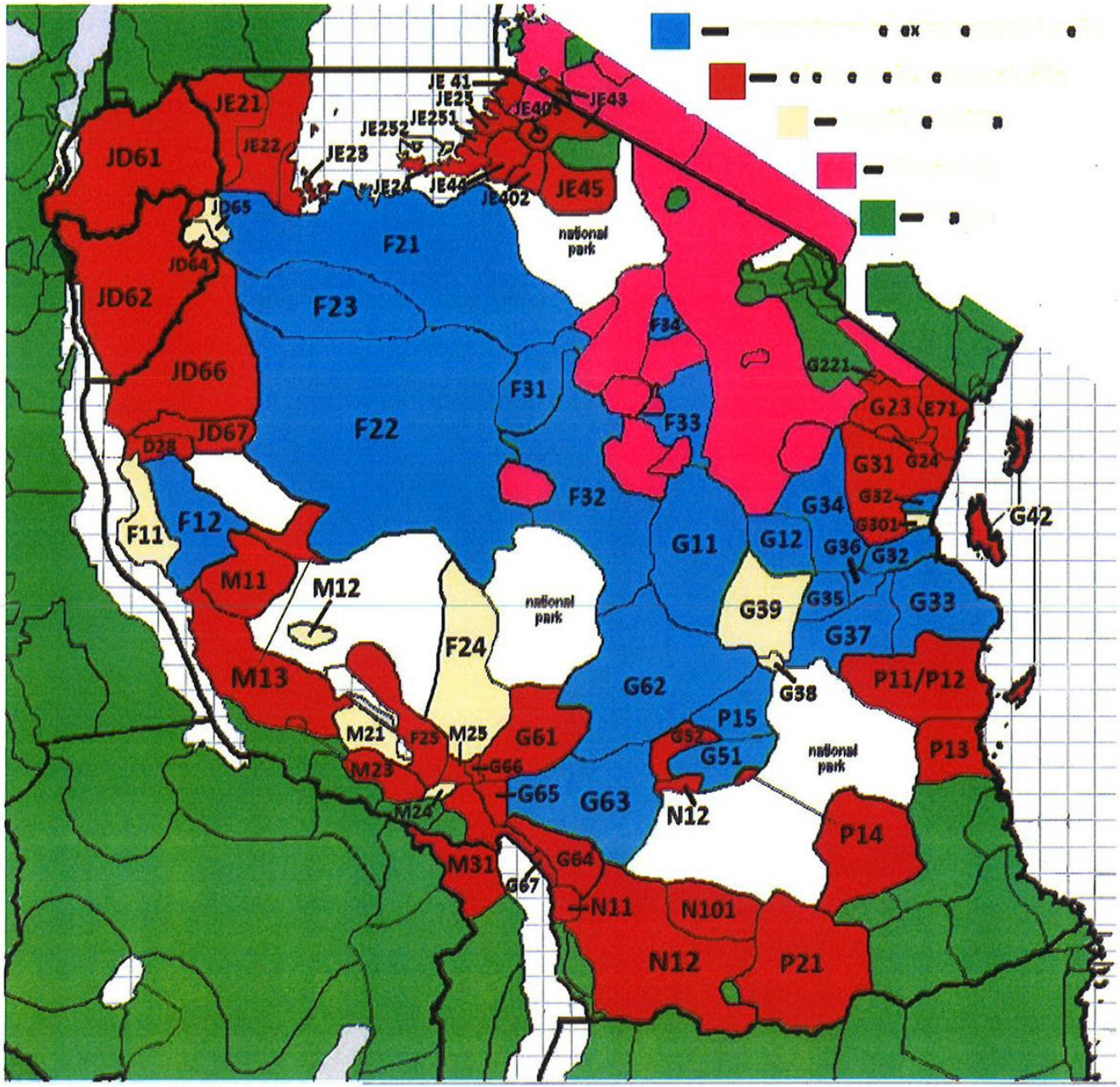
i- “infix” for reciprocal

- Rangi: “the reciprocal suffix *-an* has merged semantically with the reflexive marker *-í-*. This merger, (according to Nurse p.c.), is a geographically limited innovation shared with other Bantu F languages like Sukuma and Nyamwezi.” (Stegen 2002:139)
- Mbugwe: The reflexive/reciprocal object prefix *i-* is used instead of a reciprocal derivational extension (Mous 2004); the reflexive and reciprocal have merged as *é-* (Wilhelmsen 2018) (also in Kagulu *ki-* Petzell 2008: 88).

…

- Nyamwezi reflexive is *í-*; no productive reciprocal *-an*. (Maganga & Schadeberg 1992).
  Lexicon contains some natural reciprocal verbs with a lexicalised reflexive infix, *-ishíɲá* 'play', *-iyójá* 'quarrel'.
- Nyaturu *í-* is most common for reciprocal (and is also reflexive) (Olsen 1964: 158-9, 172-3)
- Not in Chaga, Pare, Taita,
  But also in Hehe. (Ngwasi 2021).
- This looked like a F-zone innovation and potential evidence for classification of Rangi and Mbugwe as F.

  But the phenomenon is more widespread in Tanzania, and not along the lake. See map from Aron Zahran's Gothenburg MA in next slide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national park
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M31
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G67
N11
N101
N12
P21
N12
P14
P15
G52
G51
national park
P13
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G38
G39
G11
G12
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G35
G37
G33
G34
G32
G301
G31
G24
G23
E71
G221
G42

19 *fi* plural of ka- for diminutives

- Rangi and Mbugwe 19 plural for diminutives *ka/fi*
- also other F30 languages Nyiramba and Nyaturu
- Nyiramba (Ittameier 1922-23:25) *phi̱*-, (*phy*-) plural dim. Additive prefixes
- Nyaturu *fi*- plural dim. *b̯i*-, *f̲i*- Dempwolff (1915); now *vi*- = class 8 Olsen (1964)
- the rest of F (Nyamwezi, Sukuma) has *ka*/*tu*) for diminutives.
- a quirk that is potentially insightful for subclassification.
- connect to other Bantu languages with this property: Luguru G35 and Hunde D51 (Maho 1999)
- Luguru: *ila* diminutive; pl: *pfi*- 19=8 (Mkude 1974)

…

Nearer: Mara-Bantu

Ikoma NTK (JE45) 19 e-hi-

Ngoreme NGQ (JE401) 19 e-hi-

Ikizu IKZ (JE402) 19: e-he-

as alternative for 12|13

(Wilhelmsen 2015:106; Aunio et al. 2019)

Kabwa, Simbiti, Kiroba (Oosterom 2019) and Zanaki have 12|8.

…

- 20th century sources for Rangi and Mbugwe do not report a plural of *ka*- 13 diminutive or report that there is none
- Seidel (1898) Dempwolff (1915-16:116-117) Berger 1930s in Akhavan-Zadjani (1990)
- Could this be a late development in Rangi and Mbugwe under Nyaturu or Nyiramba influence?

…

Further afield:

19 as a *special* plural diminutive is common in East Congo

This cross-Bantu uncommon diminutive class is actually present in East Congo and must be an early EA Bantu innovation which survived in Mara and F30 Bantu.

Two plurals of class 11

There are two forms of Class 10 as plural of Class 11 in Kilimanjaro-Taita and in Rangi (Nurse 1999)

Chaga: plural of 11: 10a ndʒo-; 10 N- for some words (Raum 1909:54)

Davida: lu-| cu- 10a or N- 10 (Philippson 1983: 178; Sakamoto 2003:14)

Sagala: lu- | cu- 10a or N- 10 (Woodward 1913/14:94)

- Rangi: 11/10 or 10 a (Dunham 2005:91-2)
  - 10 N-
  - 10a ndʒʊ-

cl. 11		cl. 10a	
lʊ-fyɔ	« couteau »	ndʒʊ-fyɔ	« couteaux »
lʊ-vʊ	« caméléon »	ndʒʊ-vʊ	« caméléons »
lʊ-(w)ʊlʊ	« colline »	ndʒʊ-(w)ʊlʊ	« collines »
lw-aavu	« filet, piège »	ndʒ-aavu	« filets, pièges »

- Mbugwe: No indication for *ndʒʊ*- 10a. All plurals of 11 are 10 N- (Mous 2004, Wilhelmsen 2018)
- Nyaturu has 11/10 or 11/6 (Olsen 1964:70), Verhoeven (n.d. early) mentions *ndu*- 10 as plural of 11.
- Nyiramba has *nzi* as plural of monosyllabic roots in 11 (no examples) (Johnson 1923). Other sources mention only class 10 N- for plurals of 11 (Ittameier 1922-23:25).
- Nyamwezi has 11/10 only (Maganga & Schadeberg 1992:61-62)

This looks like a shared innovation of Rangi (not Mbugwe) with Chaga and Taita but with apparent traces in Nyaturu, Nyiramba

Lexicon, sound laws, morphology

- Morphology less easily borrowed and more fundamental than lexicon. Or is this too general? Case for case
- i-reflexive developed by bilinguals?: Bilingual speakers who have i- for both reciprocal and reflexive in one of their languages and as reflexive in their other language can easily extend the reciprocal meaning to the reflexive in that language. If this happened for Rangi, the speakers of that other Bantu language copied this extended function of the reflexive.
- Class 10 plural allomorph not productive, in small subset, prone to loss. In lexical borrowing transfer of base, singular, with plural productive in recipient language.

…

- fi- plural for diminutives could be copied from new speakers especially when in need for a dedicated plural, only losing voicing of class 8 prefix vi-.
- Sound laws show regularity in lexical cognates; competing laws are reflex of different lexical links. In practice not always straightforward to know what is inherited and what borrowed.

Linguistic scenarios

- reflexive for reciprocal: joined innovation of Rangi and Mbugwe with F-zone (which is not a unit) or influence of bilingual Nyaturu speakers on both, together or separate.
- nju- 10a lexical link Rangi and Chaga or remnants in pockets Nyilamba, Nyaturu, Rangi; lost elsewhere
- 19 fi as plural diminutive retention in some of Mara-Bantu, Nyiramba, Nyaturu, Rangi. Possibly contact Mara and Nyiramba, Nyaturu. Possibly recent Nyaturu influence in Rangi and Mbugwe
- Sound laws and lexicon: shared cognates with Nyaturu, Chaga and Pare, but also a bit with Nguu-Bondei, others.

…

- Nyaturu and Chaga-Pare components in both Mbugwe and in Rangi , partly shared.
- Also strong influence of Rangi on Mbugwe and possibly reverse influence earlier.

Rangi Oral Traditions

- settlement in Kondoa area East of Haubi at escarpment with Maasai plains; Haubi, spread
- mention of Nguru, Nyaturu (Vaweno clan)
- of Burunge and Alagwa to become Rangi, their own clans
- Traditions of a northern origin
- Nyaturu and Nyiramba have traditions of origin near Lake Victoria

Oral history Rangi

- from West-Kilimanjaro
- cultivated sorghum and looked for warmer area
- stopped in northern Mbugwe (who were hunters); contact with Mbugwe resulted in similarity in language; Galapo-Bereko-Bolisa—etc.-Haubi. Contact with Burunge and Alagwa.
- Also traditions of origin from West

Mbugwe - Rangi

- tradition of visits to Lake Babati by Rangi for salt
- half of Mbugwe clans claim Rangi origin
- myth of people getting lost chasing the partridge bird (= *mbowe*)

Oral tradition Mbugwe

- Tanga > Upare > Kilimanjaro > Lake Manyara
- Resettled in 1966 in Sangaiwa Hills
- Rangi people continued

Vairwana original inhabitants

- Berger (1930s): There were some Mbugwe ~ Datooga biliguals and Suulee = Sashi = Ikizu
  - Not mentioned in Mbugwe oral history

(Berger & Kiessling 1998:175-176; Tomikawa 1979:20)

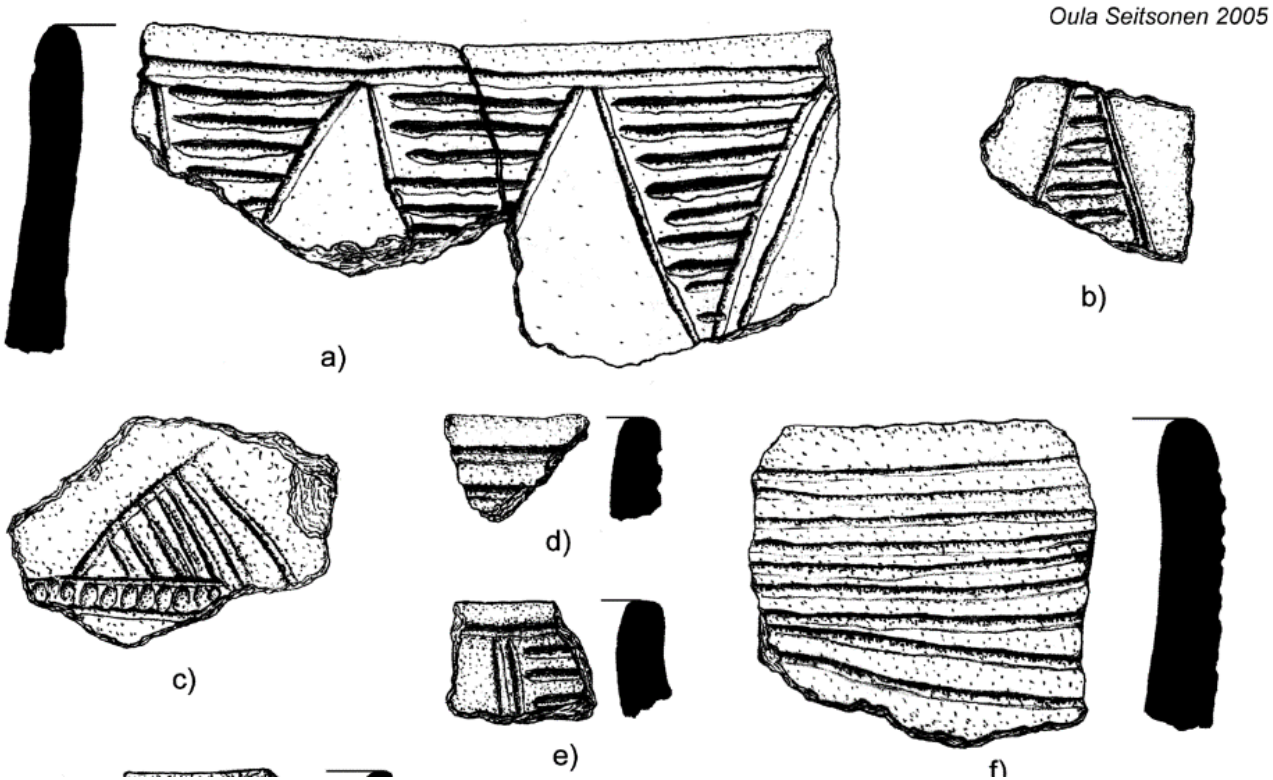
(Kesby 1981)

Mbugwe clan histories

- from the northern tip of Lake Manyara
- long and hostile contact with Maasai
- clan histories of 9-10 generations
- 18 clans with their origin songs
- 5 from Nyaturu/Nyisanzu origin; 9 clans from Rangi origin; 4 from Iraqw-Datooga origin
- original inhabitants Verwana, cultivators, were absorbed.

Mbugwe Archaeology

- Tana Tradition (6th & 7th century AD)



(Seitsonen & Laulumaa 2013: 52)

Archaeology

- Sangaiwe hills (800 AD)
  - House foundations
  - Iron smelting
  - Pottery
  - Grinding stones
- Verwana ~ Va-irwana

(Arlin 2011)

Names relevant?

- Is the reason that the Mbu**gwe** are mentioned in some of the oral histories of the Mbu**gu** solely to explain the similarity in name? Mbugw-eni in North Pare. *=eni* → locative; and Mbugo river north of Mbugwe (*go ~ gwe*)

or

- Is there a genuine link between these two people who carry the same name?

Clan origin tradition

- Vombe: from Kondoa
- Vanarya: Iraqw mixed with Barbaigs (Datooga).
- Vasweri: Barbaig (Datooga)
- Vasongo: Rangi
- Vaijavire and Vakimirya: Barabaig (Datooga)
- Vaijwa and Vaise: Masai.
- Vasalo and Vampome and Vakeve: Manka or Kota
- Varembo, Vafulu, Vachawa: Rangi
- Vasiro and Varembwa and Vadamba and Vanjare: Rangi

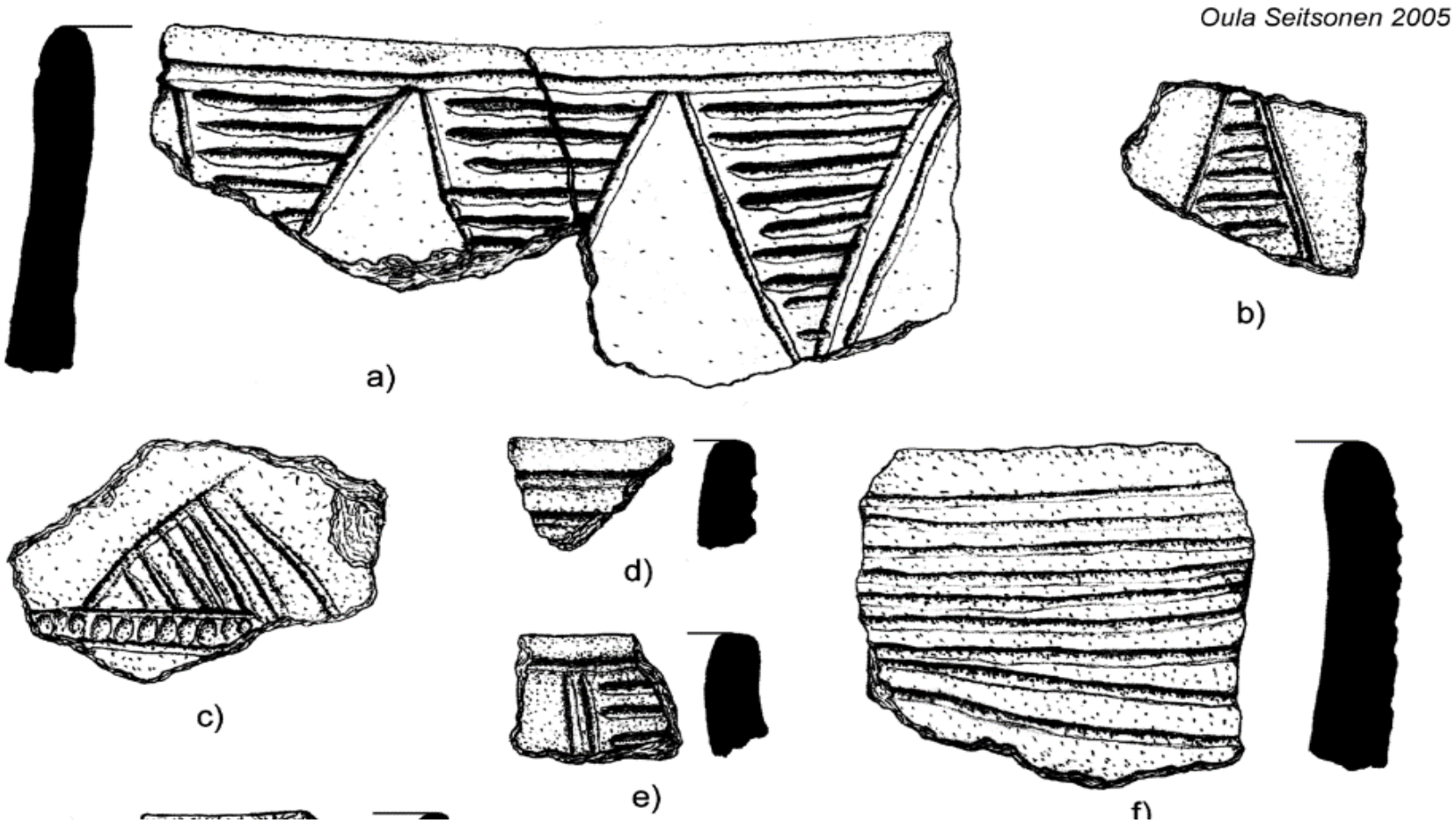
(Kassi 2003)

Summary of clan histories

- Mbugwe originate from three groups:
  - Rangi
  - Nyisanzu or Nyaturu
  - Barbaig and Iraqw
- All immigrants. Blend with Kerwana
- Mbugwe → 18 clans
- Rangi → 20 clans
- 12 common

(Kassi 2003)

Clan songs



Årlin (2011:72) on Mbugwe

…the Mbugwe never constituted an ethnic group,

they were a multitude of peoples amalgamated at various times,

speaking and altering the language of the dominant group,

so that it in turn becomes Kimbugwe.

… the diversity of the people denoted as Mbugwe,

Scenarios: Mbugwe

Mbugwe had a strong influx of Rangi speakers which a profound influence on lexicon. The Datooga, Maasai and Gorwaa speakers/clans that became part of the amalgamated ethnic unit had little influence. Nyaturu and Chaga or Pare are both strong components in the language. There was an original group of cultivators. Could these have been related to an earlier Bantu group? The danger in that hypothesis is that a large portion of the vocabulary is unique and no source found

Rangi

- Rangi too is an amalgamation of clans from different origins: Chaga or Pare plus Nyaturu, Alagwa and Burunge. Rangi and Alagwa are in the process of fusing in the current era. The grammatical consequences for Rangi are limited. The linguistic consequences are more imminent when the involved languages are relatively close and speakers can easily equate morphemes.

Summary and conclusions

- Linguistic and oral history scenarios reinforce each other's stories
- Ethnic units are dynamic and for related languages this can be shown in double reflexes of sounds, replacive borrowing, also in grammatical morphemes
- Lexical databases are still rather poor and there is a lot to do in finding etymologies

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Thank you

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