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Cushitic influence on East African cattle vocabulary: male animals

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Introduction

Aims

- Various cattle terms in EA Bantu languages are Cushitic in origin. Prominent examples are ndama ‘calf’ and maziwa ‘milk’ in Swahili and in many other Bantu languages of EA.
- Our aim is to trace Cushitic cattle terminology in Bantu languages: to determine when and where these words entered the predecessors of the current Bantu language groups, but also the further spread from Bantu language to another by checking which later developments were regular and irregular (sign for cross Bantu borrowing). In this we ultimately seek to trace the Bantu expansion within EA.
- Moreover, we hope to recover cultural change.

He-goat GULATA

We have only time to present the preliminary results on distinctive terms for male domestic animals.

Overview

- This is a Cushitic - Nilotic loan into numerous Bantu languages.
- Bantu forms mostly: **ngulati** ~ **ngulata** 'he-goat'
- Likely source:
- Tanzanian Cushitic (=ProtoWestRift-SouthCushitic): ***gwereta** ~ ***gwereti** (m) 'he-goat'

The source is Cushitic

- Wider Cushitic cognates:
 - Rendille **kelex** 'castrated he-goat'
 - Dasanach **kolli** 'he-goat'
 - Arbore **k'oll** 'cattle, wealth' (Hayward 1984:379)
 - Elmolo **kor-at** 'goat' (Heine 1980:207)
 - Yaaku **kollɛh** 'mature castrated goat'
 - Gawwada **qol-e** (pl) 'livestock (cattle, sheep and goats included)'
 - Diraytata **k'ol-d'a** 'goats, general'
 - Burji **kola** 'castrated ram'
 - Proto East Cushitic ***KOL**
- **but also** Proto-Nilotic (Dimmendaal): ***k-waRɔ** Transfer PEC > PN (?)

Source for final syllable **ta/ti**: South Nilotic

- Proto South Nilotic PSN: **-ɪta** singular suffix Rottland (1982:357-358):
Proto Kalenjin: **kwɛR** 'billy goat'
- Common Datooga:
 - Is-Dat: **gwaray-da** 'he-goat'
 - Ro-Dat: **qulai-da** 'he-goat'
 - Ba-Dat: **qwéráy-da** 'he-goat'
- Tanzanian Cushitic must have borrowed it from South Nilotic to account for the final syllable of ***gwereta**

- The Burunge form ends in **ti** while the shape of the word in the rest of Tanzanian Cushitic ends in **-ta** (or **-tu**).
- Some Bantu languages have final **i** while some have final **a**. Bantu F has final **-i** except for Nyaturu **-a** (and from Nyaturu into Rangii and into Mbugwe).

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Reflexes in Bantu zone F

- Sukuma/Nyamwezi **ngulyati** ‘he-goat’ LLL
(Palatalization of l in Sukuma-Nyamwezi cannot be explained)
- Ntuzu (Sukuma): **ngulyati** ‘he-goat’
- Sumbwa **ngulati**
- Nyilamba: **ngulaati** LLL
- Rimi-Nyaturu: **nguata** (loss of l)
- Rangi: **ngulaata** (u or ʊ) ‘he-goat’ LLL
- Mbugwe: **ngulata** LLL

CHAGA+

- Machame: **ngoleta~nguleta~ngululeta** ‘castrated ox or ram’
Mochi **nguleta** ‘castrated ox’ (Irregular consonants in comparative perspective. Chaga should have fu)
- Chasu: **ngulata** ‘castrated ram’
- + Kamba **ngulata** ‘he-goat’.
(only C. Kenyan language to have this root: from Chasu-Taveta.)

RUVU

- Luguru: **vulati** ‘he-goat’ (but **ti** should go to **s** in Luguru: late transfer)
- Nguungulu: **vulata** ‘he-goat’
- Zigua: **vulata** ‘he-goat’
- Shambaa: **fulata** (the consonant is regular)
- Bondei **vuata** (good correspondence within Seuta)
- Gogo: **mvuláti** ‘he-goat’ Rugemalira has **ivulati** ‘goat’.
- Safwa and Malela
(Mbeya-Corridor Zone M But not in the rest of Corridor Bantu)
- Malila: **vulisi** ‘he-goat’
- Safwa: **ivulisi** ‘he-goat’) <*i-guliti

Observations

- Complexity of Bantu to Bantu transfers (e.g. Malila; and others)
- $g > v$ is Bantu internal sound shift and points to early transfer and Bantu inheritance after transfer
- Most roots end in zone F end in *i*; in the rest in *a*: Different source?
- But some local exceptions Gogo ?> Malila+Safwa and Luguru. How to explain the final *i*?
- Some add a nasal noun class prefix. It is uncommon in Bantu borrowing to ADD noun class prefixes. This suggest long period of nativisation.

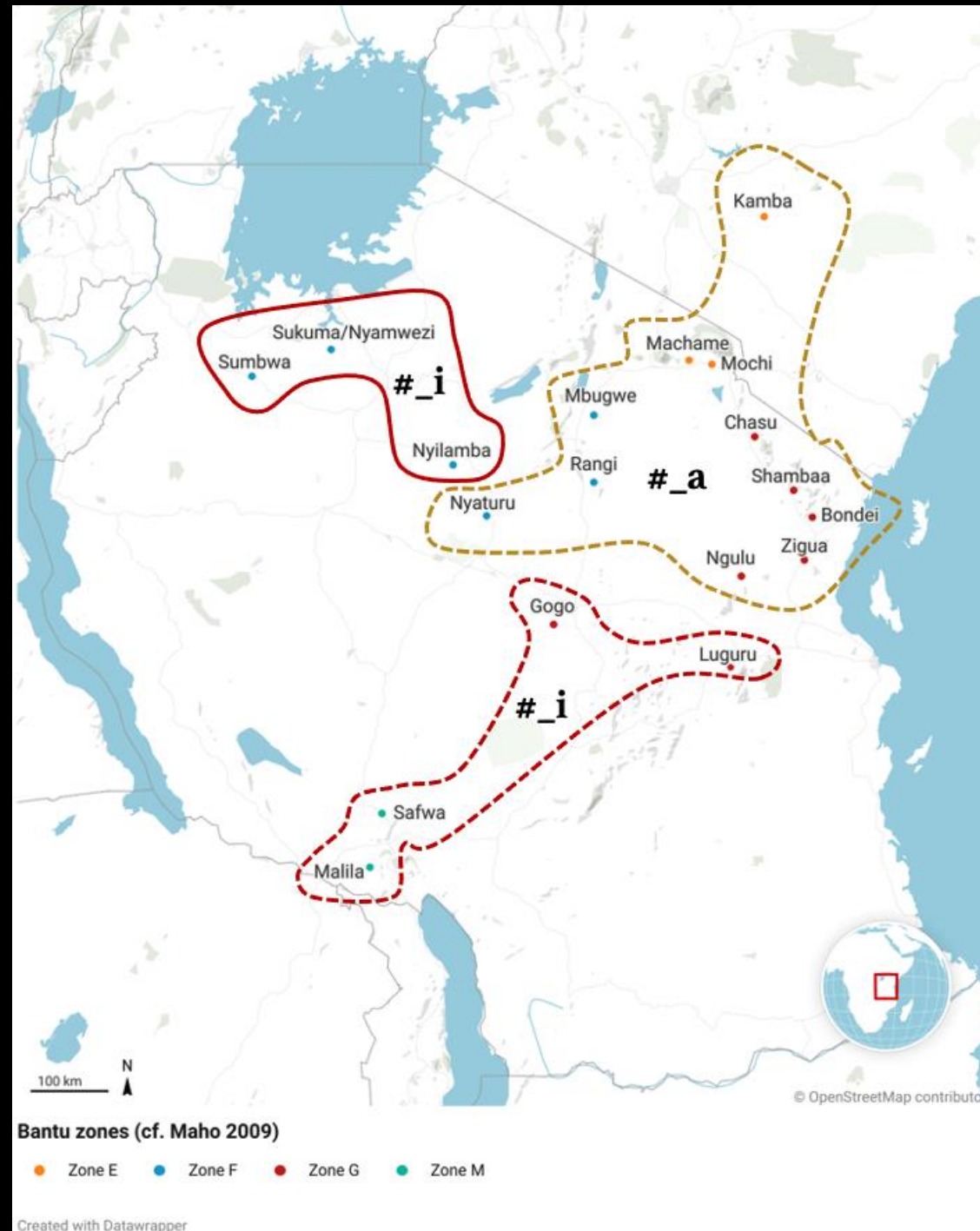
MAPS

g or v (>f) in C1



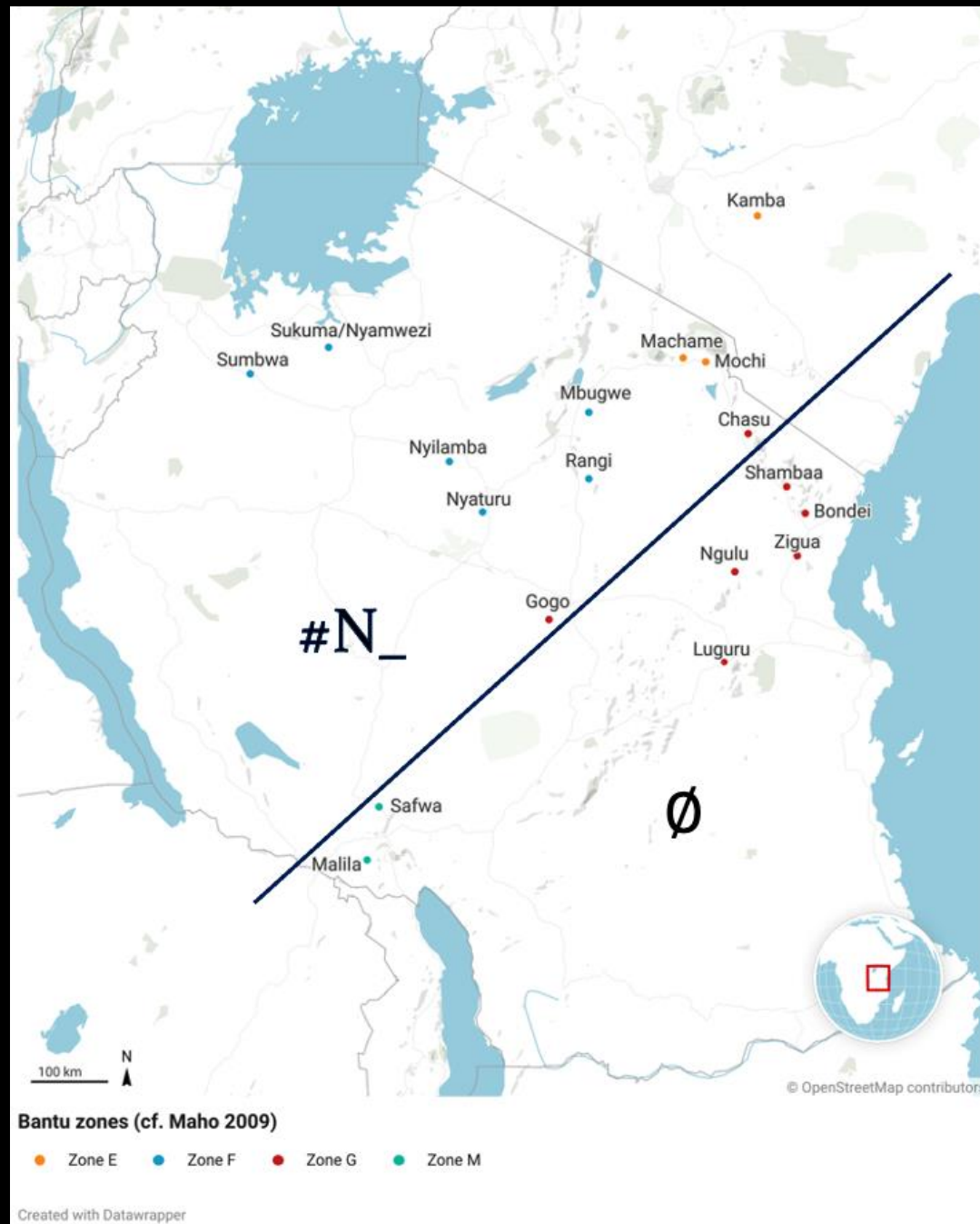
MAPS

Word-final l or a



MAPS

Initial nasal added or not



(Transfer into non-Bantu in EA)

- Sandawe **gwartha** ‘billy-goat’ (E&E 2002: 34). This is a loan from a WestRift language. The labiabalised **gw** points to Burunge but the ending **tha** does not.
- Kw’adza (in shift when data collected!) has various forms:
 - **afulatu** ‘he-goat’ This is likely to be a loan from Gogo **mvuláti** ‘he-goat’.
 - **gulata** ‘he-goat’.
- Also in Kuliak **kol** ‘billy-goat’, Hamar **qulí** ‘goat’ but without the third syllable: earlier and different transfer events

Conclusions for GULATA

- The proposed scenario is that this is a transfer from East Cushitic into Nilotic. Tanzanian (South) Cushitic acquired it later from South Nilotic with the final *ta* singulative reinterpreted as part of the stem. From TzSC it spread into Bantu languages presumably in separate occurrences but long time ago.
- It is distributed over zone F, and with **g** > **f** it is present in Seuta and Ruvu: Luguru, + Gogo, + South in Safwa and Malila. This change is regular for these groups. It must be relatively old because of presence of sound shifts and of distribution. Chaga has an irregular consonant. Kamba has it from Taveta/Pare. Malila from Gogo. Still some puzzles

(...)

- Two roots are reconstructed for PB: **bʊdɪ** HL 9/10 'goat' and **pòngó** LH 9/10 '(he-)goat' (G K L M N S) (BLR3-2609) similar to **pòngò** 'bushbuck' (A F G J). This is an indication the Bantu languages in contact may not have distinguished sex in goats lexically.

Ram - tulumé

This is an internal EA Bantu innovation.

Not Cushitic in origin

- Ehret (1998:325) claims from a South Cushitic root ***tud-** plus ***-Vm-** noun suffix. There is no such suffix. Only evidence is Kw'adza **tulungayo** 'ram' (unreliable)
- EA Bantu: Seuta: Zigula: **ndóròmè** 'ram', Shambaa: **dolome** 'he-goat'
- Giryama **turume** 'ram'
- Nyaturu: **ntulee** 'ram'
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Internal Bantu development

- This is possibly an internal Bantu development from X+dume for the male variant: **ntuCe-dume** > **-tulume**.
- This requires a source for the first element **tuCe**.
- A possibility is ***túgì** ‘domesticated animal’ + **dume** with $g > 0$.



BULL

3 different roots; Cushitic in origin and wide-spread in EA Bantu

Three Cushitic to Bantu transfers

- ***jeku** <P-TzC **yakwaa** ~ ***hikwaa** (n) 'cattle'
- ***yakamba + kamba(ku)** <P-TzC ***yaqamba** (m) 'big leading bull'
- ***jao** <P-TzC ***awu** (m) 'bull'

yakwaa ~ *hikwaa (n) 'cattle'

- Some cognates in Ethiopian Cushitic and Omotic: really Cushitic
- The Bantu roots have an initial stop j rather than y. Possibly due to class 9 ?
- Some of the Bantu attestations contain an ending –ana from 'child'

Bantu attestations

- CHAGA+: -ana a diminutive (from mw-ana ‘child’)
- Gweno **ndžekwáná** ‘gros taureau’,
- Asu **njekú** ‘taureau’, (**ndžekwana**) **njekwáná** ‘taureau’;
- Seuta-Ruvu:
- Shambaa **njékú** (type tonal HB) ‘taurillon, bull-calf’ or ‘bullock’ (next to **ŋkámákú**);
- Zigula **njeku**
Ngulu **jeku** ‘bull’
Gogo **nzêku** ‘ox’ (next to **nghambako** ‘bull’ (Rugemalira))
- F30
- Mbugwe **njaikó** 9/10 bull
- Rangi **njeiko**.
- (Swahili **njeku** ‘undersized bull’)

!Observations

- All Bantu roots denote male cattle, some young, some ox
- Bantu adaptations from:
 1. the initial consonant is a stop in the Bantu languages and a glide in TzC.
 2. the root vowel V1 is oscillating with i in TzC but consistently e in the Bantu languages. Suggesting one transfer event.
 3. It is consistently a male bovine in the Bantu languages but not in TzC (nor wider Cushitic)

Yaqaamba bull

- This is the shape in Proto TzCushitic for a ‘big bull’ also for a strong male leader.
- Widespread transfer into Bantu, and also Sandawe

Bantu attestations

- zone F
- Nyilamba: **nzágá(a)mba** HHL
 nyaturu: **njayamba**
- nyamwezi **nzagáámba.**' LHHL.h (9/10) and i-/ma-yagáámba
 sukuma **nzágamba** (also **yagambá**)
- Thagichu:
 Sonjo **njaghamba**
- Kikuyu **njámba** (with loss of intervocal velar voiced stop/fricative)
- Coast:
 Giryama **ndzagamba**

Variant? Kamba(ku) bull

- This is a variant of yaqamba, or is it an unrelated separate root?
- Argument for two separate roots: Nyaturu has **nkhembako** 'ram' vs **njaghamba** 'bull'. Alternatively, double loan and semantic differentiation.

One root

- Argument for variation of one and the same root
- Hadza has **ka(m)ba-ku** 'bull' and **-ku** is suffix in Hadza
- Sandawe **k'àmbà** 'bull'
- Although Hadza and Sandawe are unrelated, they share this root and show that the root is **kamba**. This could still be a loan from Cushitic with loss of the initial syllable **ya**. The ejective **k'** in Sandawe is not too far from the ejective uvular **q** in Tanzanian Cushitic
- All transfers into Bantu of this variant of the root contain the final **ku** rendering the root tri-syllabic where Bantu noun roots are rarely tri-syllabic. This suggests that the donor language had a final syllable/suffix **ku**. Hadza is unlikely as a donor due to socio-cultural considerations, or a Tanzanian Cushitic source that had final **-ku** masculine gender marker as is still the case in Kw'adza, pre=proto WestRift.

Attestations in Bantu

- Rangi **nkabaku**, bull ~ **kaba(n)ko**
Symbolically used for a war-leader, a knowledgeable man
- Gogo **kambaaku**
~ **nghambako** 'bull' (Rugemalira)
- Hehe (and others in HTS) **ili-kambaako**; also root for 'male'

!General observations on (ya)qamba(ku) ‘bull’

- The fact that Rangi has kabaku with the semantic associations of Cushitic yaqamba while the rest of F30 has **nJaGamba** suggests that this is indeed one and the same root.
- The root is widely spread but most likely at different times. An early spread of **yakamba-ku** while deleting the initial syllable into Hadza, Sandawe and a number of Bantu languages
- A later transfer of the **yaqamba** root into the Bantu zone F20-30 languages of Northern Central Tanzania. Early enough to develop an additional class 9/10 nasal.
- The **kamba** root has k in C1. The **yaqamba** transfer has **g** or **gh** in the Bantu languages corresponding to the Cushitic uvular ejective. Since Bantu languages do not have uvular sounds, nor ejectives, this adaptation to velar makes sense. The fricative is a commonly part of an affricate realization of Cushitic **q**. The initial consonant is voiced due to the initial nasal in Bantu and the second velar one is mostly voiced as well (inter-vocally)

! EA Bantu JAO from Tz Cushitic ʔawu (m) 'bull'

- Really Cushitic: P-East Cushitic *ʔawr 'big male animal'
(loss of the third radical in TzCushitic is recurrent)
- The receiving Bantu languages all put the word in class 9/10 and added a prefix *nji-* 9a, reduced in some languages. This addition is needed to allow for the initial palatal, whether pre-nasalised or not. There is no indication for an initial palatal in Cushitic.
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Bantu attestations

- Chaga+
- Siha, Rwa, Ng'uni, Mashami: **ɟau**
- Kiwoso **tɟau**
- Kahe **ndɜau**
- Gweno **ndɜàɣù**
- Dawida, Saghala **ndɜàù** 'taureau, bull'
- Asu **nzàò** 'taureau, mâle d'animal'
- Sabaki: Giryama **ndzao** 'bull'
- Thagichu:
- Kamba **nzao** (next to **ndɛwa**)
- Tharaka **ndyau** (next to **nd:ɛ:ɣwa**),
- Sonjo **njao** 'bull'

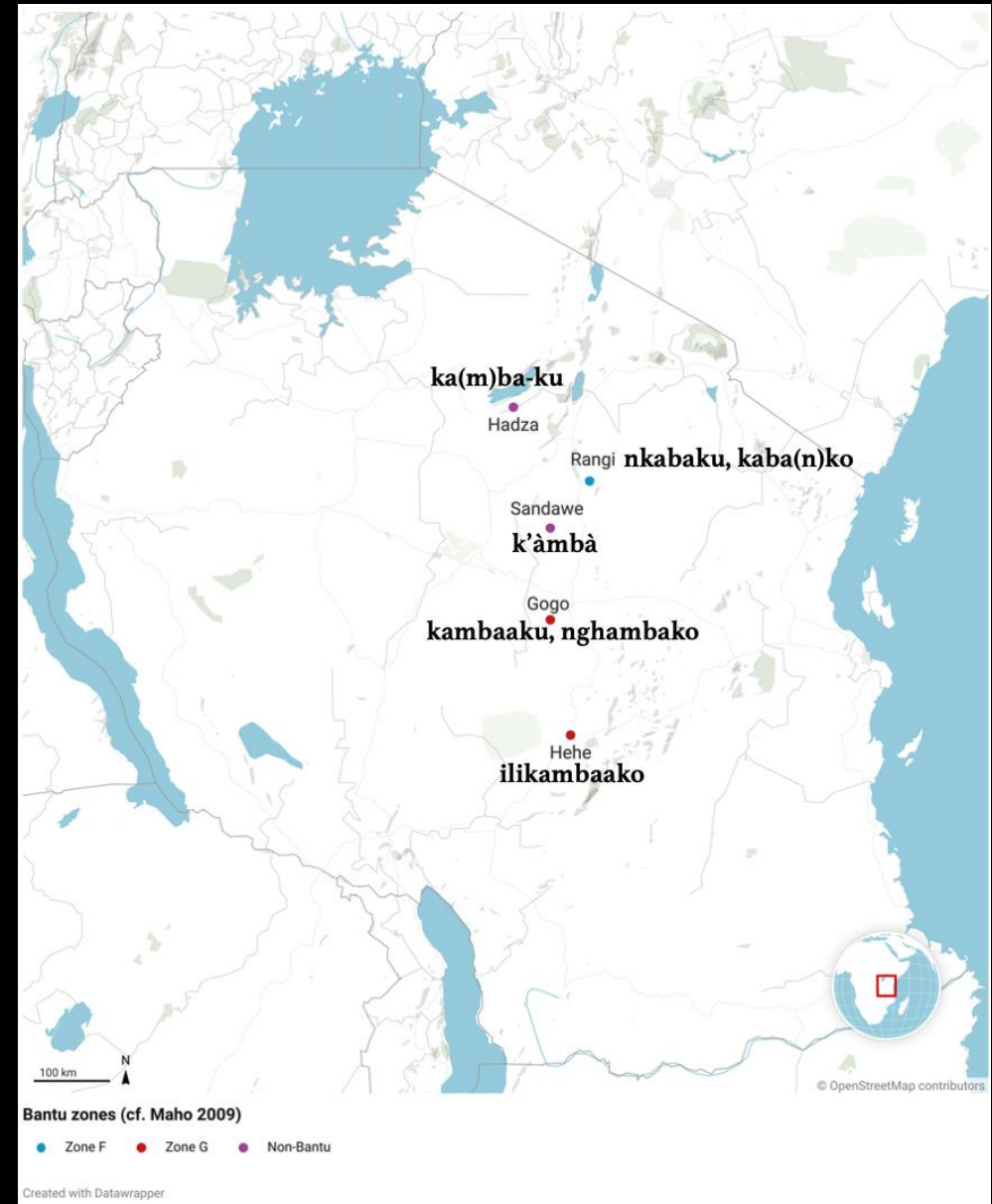
(Cushitic > non-Bantu)

- The root is also transferred from an East Cushitic source, probably Proto-West Omo-Tana into Proto-South Nilotic but this is a different development which does include final r or a reflex thereof.

Map of the bull
roots in EA
Bantu
JEKU



YAQAMBA



JAO



Discussion

- Recurrent innovation in EA Bantu languages for MALE domestic animal
- Either by borrowing from early-Tanzanian Cushitic (possibly then in Kenya East of Lake Victoria)
- Or by internal development
- NB A similar observation is probably valid for the earlier stage of Proto Interlacustrine Bantu (Schoenbrun) who has two words for male domestic animals reconstructed but both innovations:
 - 44 bull Proto-East Nyanza *-**gaini** from Kuliak ***gail**
 - 78 bull ProtoKivu ***pwizi** from older Bantu root *-**puldi** ‘male animal’ (not necessarily domestic) [not in BLR3]

Tanzanian Cushitic has separate male terms for all domestic animals. EA Bantu languages tend to show innovations of male domestic animals

- Why?

Speculation on motivation

1. Specific male terms important if breeding became important
2. Male animals used in trade
3. Or used for rituals

Specific meaning 'leading bull' suggest new herding practices?

Cattle as societal model suggest emergence of cultural importance of cattle

THANK YOU

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