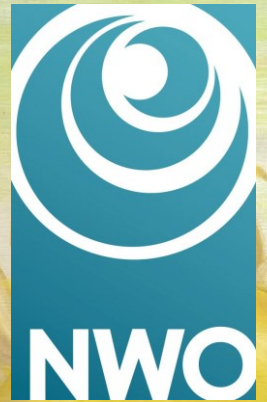


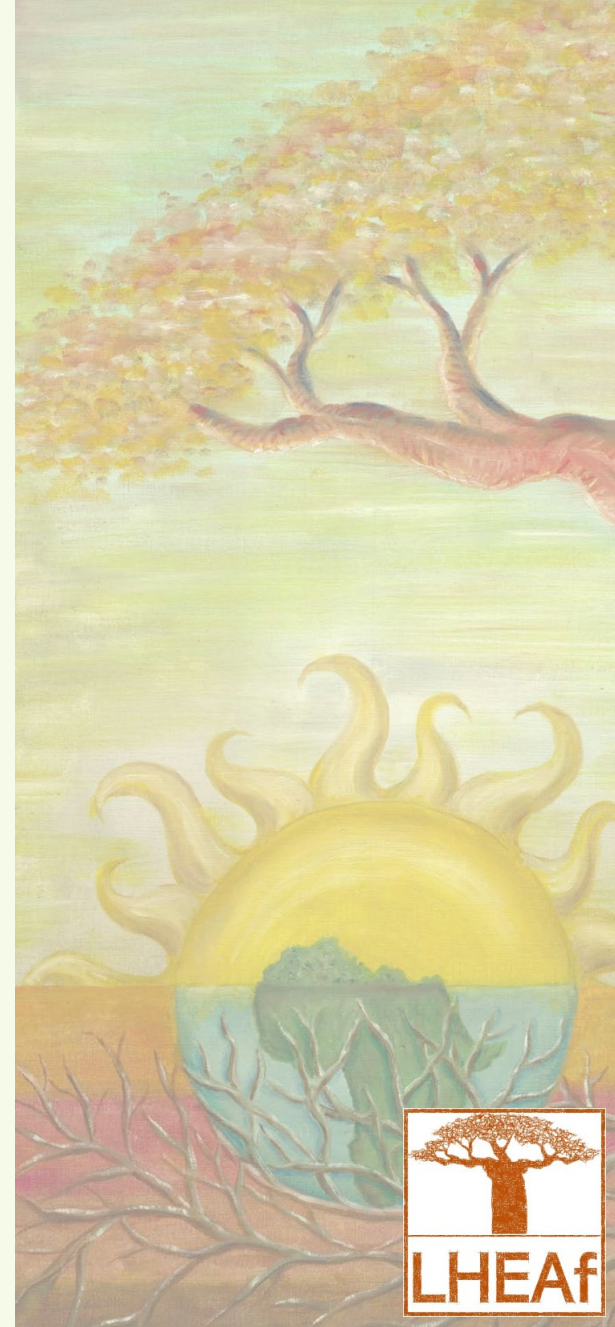
The Bantu Expansion in East Africa Through Contact

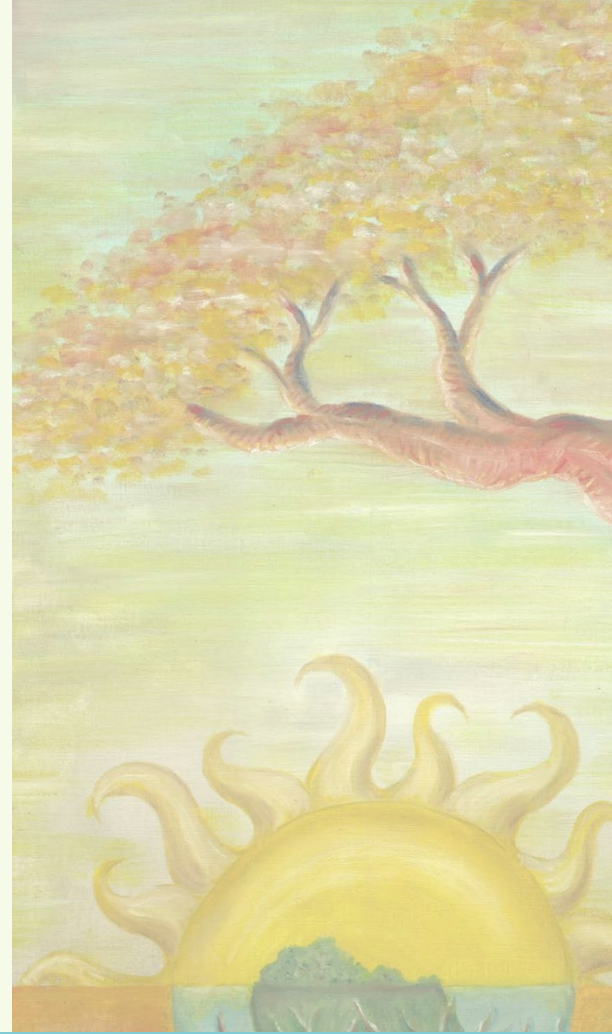
NINA VAN DER VLUGT (GHENT) & MAARTEN MOUS (LEIDEN)
LHEAF, 7 JUNE 2024



Focus

- We investigate the spread of the Bantu languages in East Africa by reconsidering Cushitic and Nilotic loans that have entered different groups of Bantu languages at different points in time and place.
 - Could this be an extra indication for subclassification in the spread of East African (EA) Bantu?
- We evaluate earlier proposals by Ehret building on Philippson (2013) and updating Cushitic and Nilotic links proposed by Nurse.





BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Linguistic landscape of East Africa

Cushitic

Pastoralist and agro-pastoralists.

WR: Iraqw, Gorwaa, Alagwa, Burunge in Tanzanian Rift Valley; Qwadza† (HG), Aasa† (HG) in Masai plains. Dahalo (HG) (click) in Kenya,
East Cushitic: Yaaku† (HG) in Kenya, Boni (HG),
Oromo: Borana, Orma, Waata, Rendille, Somali.

Nilotic

Pastoralists and agro-pastoralists.

South: Kalenjin group Mt Elgon+SE;
East: Turkana, Maasai;
West: Luo, Alur (not taken into account here)

Bantu

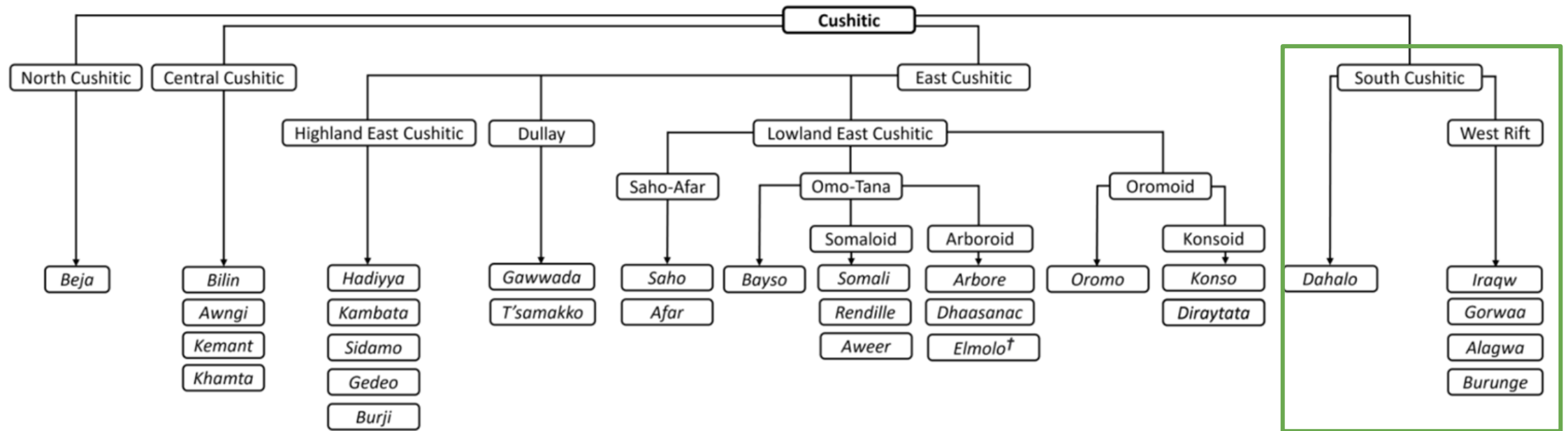
Agro-pastoralists.
Everywhere.

Eastern Bantu

East Nyanza,
Central Kenya Bantu, Langi-CHAGA,
NorthEast Coastal (NECB) including Sabaki, Ruvu;
Southern Highlands,
Corridor
Rufiji-Ruvuma



Cushitic languages



Nilotic languages

- Nilotic: – Eastern: – Bari: **Bari**
– Lotuxo-Maa: **Lotuho, Maasai**
– Teso-Turkana: **Teso, Turkana, Karamojong, Toposa**
- Southern: – Kalenjin: **Päkot, Nandi, Markweta**
– Tatoga: **Datooga, Omotik**
- Western: – Lwoo: – Northern: **Anywa, Päri, Shilluk**
– Southern: **Lango, Acholi**
– Dinka-Nuer: **Dinka, Nuer**

Bantu languages

▼ Narrow Bantu (578)

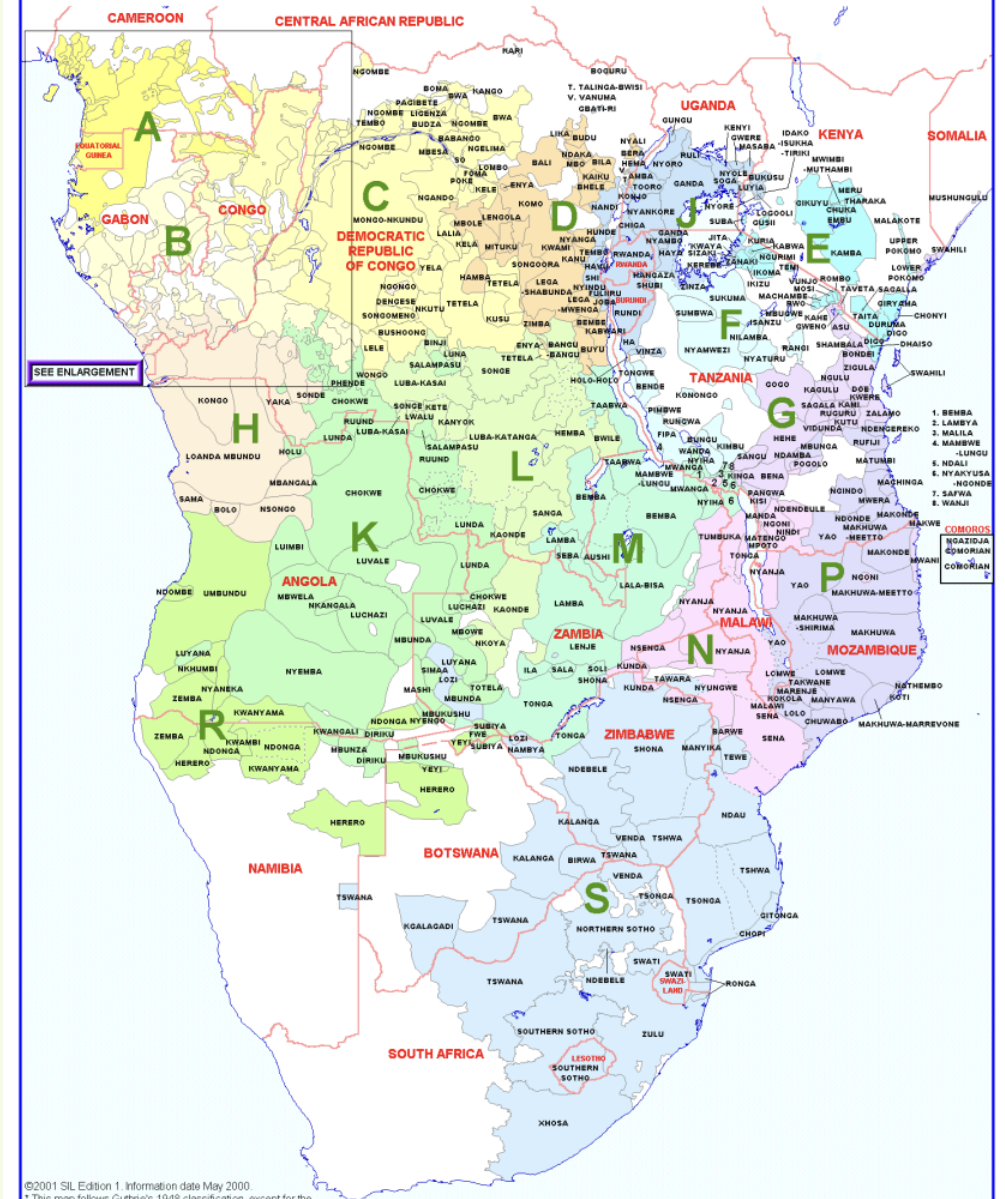
- ▶ Bantu A-B10-B20-B30 (75)
- ▶ Central-Western Bantu (218)

▼ East Bantu (256)

- ▶ Botatwe (10)
- ▶ Corridor Bantu (16)
- ▶ Greater Lega (13)
- ▶ Kilombero (2)
- ▶ Mbugwe-Langi (2)
- ▶ Northeast Savanna Bantu (134)
- ▶ North Mozambique Bantu (17)
- ▶ Nyaturu-Nilamba (3)
- ▶ Rufiji-Ruvuma (14)
- ▶ Sabi (8)
- ▶ Southern Bantu (27)
- ▶ Tumbuka-Sena-Nyanja (10)

The Bantu languages of Africa

Groupings based on Guthrie, 1948*



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* This map follows Guthrie's 1948 classification, except for the addition of zone J.

This map was created using software from Global Mapping International. Geography data is from Global Mapping System 1987.

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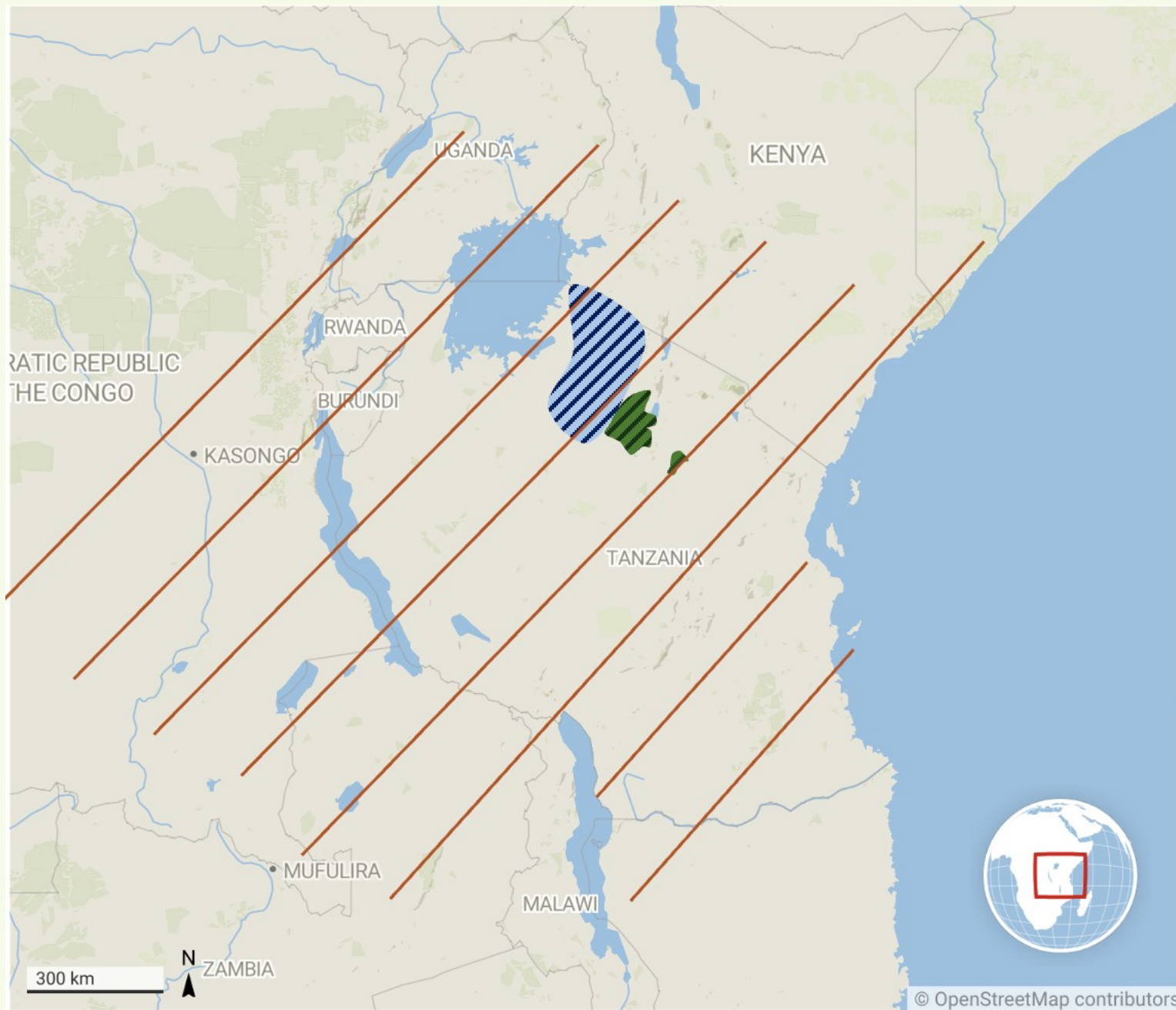
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Note: Dashed lines show overlap of language areas

South Cushitic

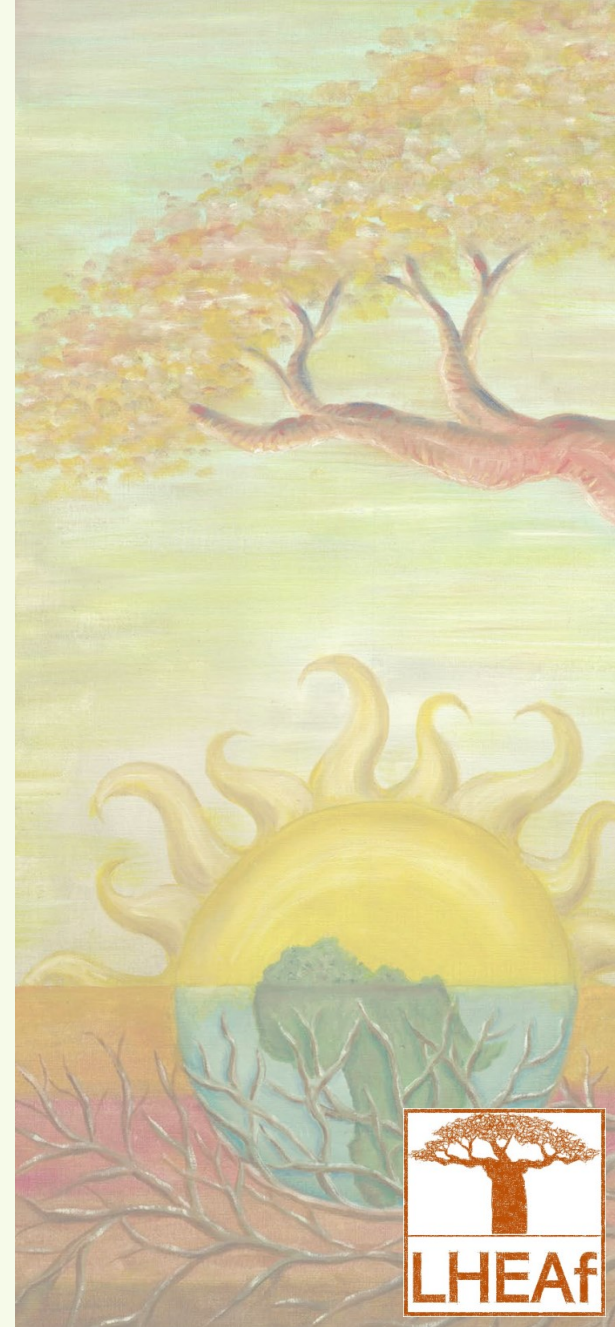
South Nilotic

East Bantu



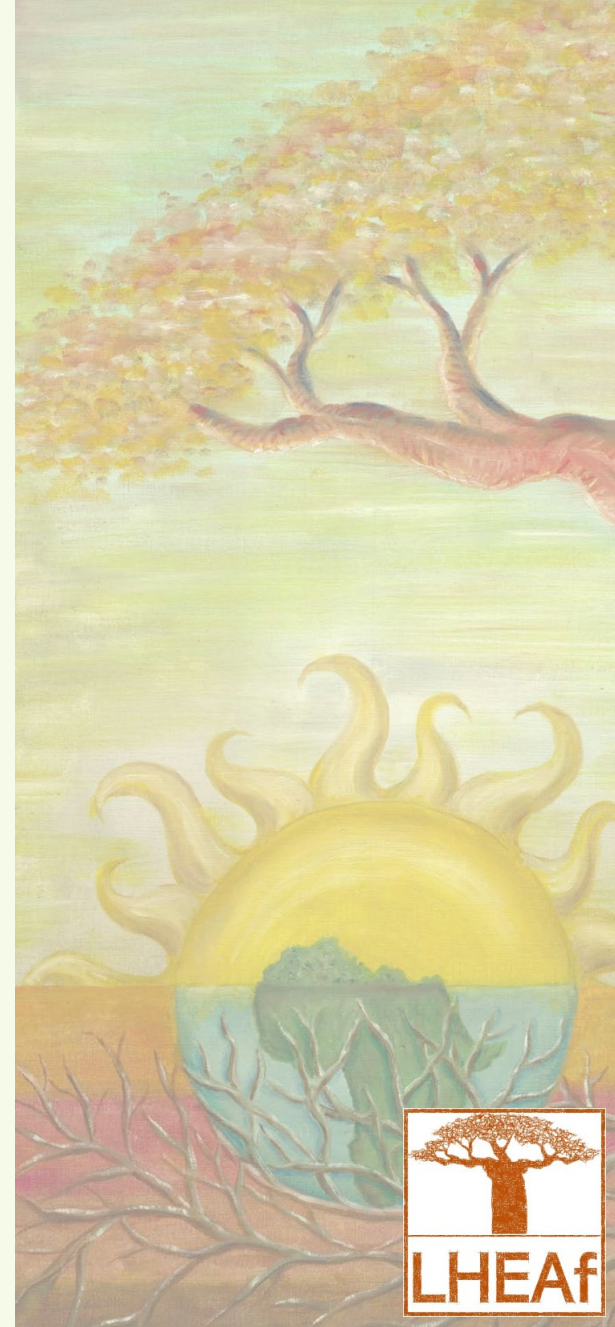
On the Bantu Expansion in East Africa

- Ehret's 1998 work on "An African Classical Age: Eastern and Southern Africa in world History, 1000 B.C.~A.D.~400."
 - Philippson (2013) gives a thorough review of this work.
- Nurse and Philippson 1980 give us a subclassification
 - Subclassification is the backdrop of our loan word research
- Grollemund et al. 2023: phylogenetic study and cognacy judgements



On the Bantu Expansion in East Africa

- Research within LHEAf suggests a late entry of Cushitic into Tanzania (contrary to Nurse 1988)
 - If South Cushitic was indeed late entering Tanzania, *then* deep loans cannot be the result of contact with now extinct local South Cushitic communities
 - This has big implications for the linguistic history and landscape of East Africa and potentially poses a problem for Cushitic loans in Bantu languages
- Can we work with this new assumption?
 - Different scenarios to account for the lexical contact that we see

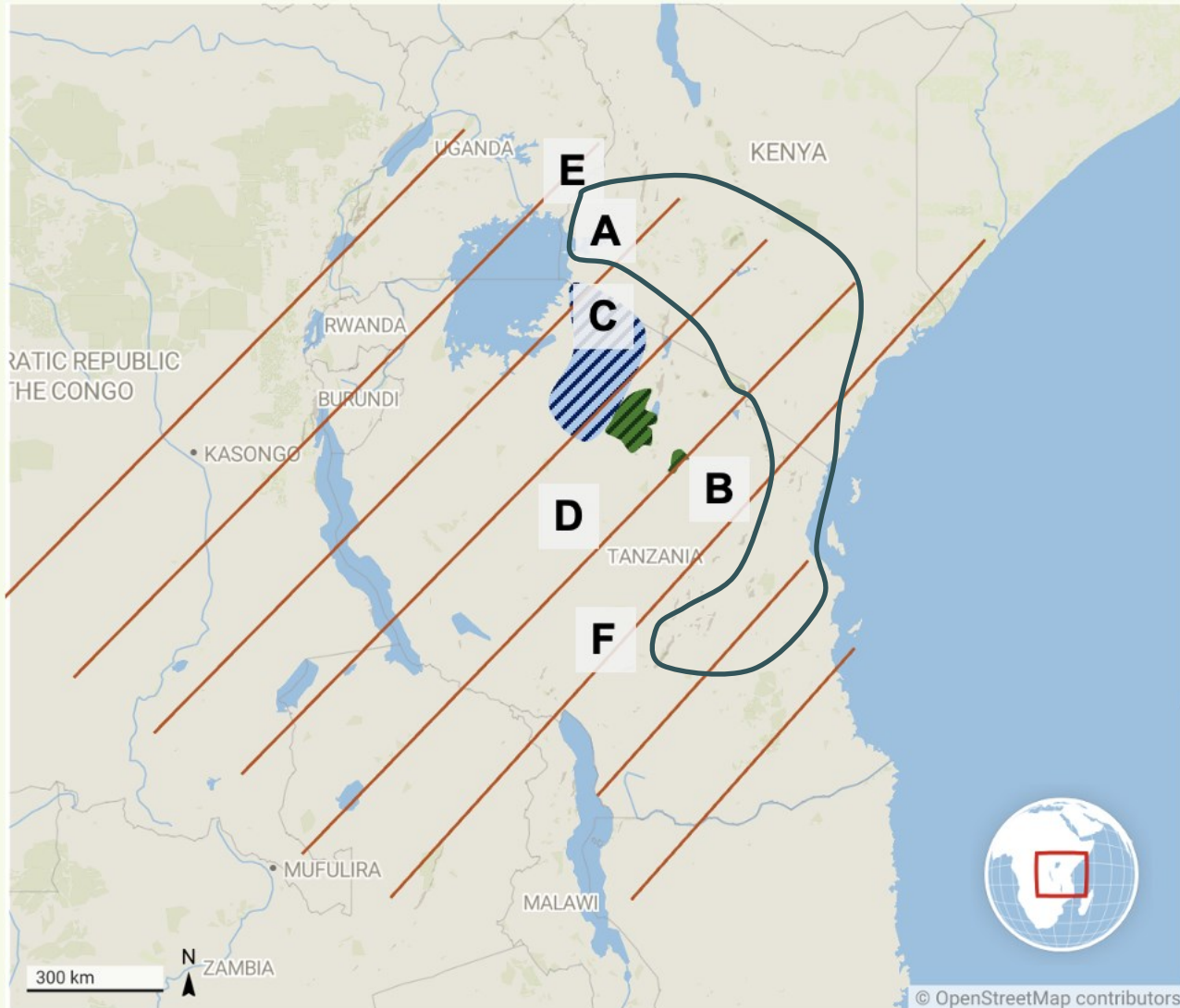


Scenarios

- A. East Nyanza with South Cushitic + South Nilotic filter
- B. Kilimanjaro-Taita-Pare mountain ranges and local South Cushitic (**Taita talk**)
- C. Semi/Tonjo: two layers of Cushitic loans (**Not yet studied**)
- D. The Tanzanian Rift Valley (cf. **Gibson and Mous to appear**)
- E. East Nyanza and late Kalenjin-Luhya and Mara contact (not elsewhere). Spread over spread (**Luhya talk**)
- F. Southern Tanzania Highlands Bantu & Corridor Bantu. No chain of links with A, no Cushitic and no Nilotic spoken there.

Scenarios

- A. **East Nyanza** with **South Cushitic** + **South Nilotic** filter
- B. **Kilimanjaro-Taita-Pare** mountain ranges and local **South Cushitic** (Taita talk)
- C. **Semi/Tonjo**: two layers of **Cushitic loans** (Not yet studied)
- D. The Tanzanian Rift Valley (cf. Gibson and Mous to appear)
- E. **East Nyanza** and late **Kalenjin-Luhya** and **Mara** contact (not elsewhere). Spread over spread (Luhya talk)
- F. **Southern Tanzania Highlands Bantu & Corridor Bantu**. **No chain of links with A, no Cushitic and no Nilotic** spoken there.



- A** Source of Cushitic-Nilotic lexicon
- B** Separate Cushitic source of Taita + Bantu
- C** Sonjo with late Gorwaa influence
- D** Late local influence of WR-languages and Datooga
- E** Second wave Bantu with later Kalenjin influence
- F** Cushitic/Nilotic loans that cannot be explained by the above => “Horizontal” spread or counterevidence



THE BANTU EXPANSION IN EAST AFRICA

Methodology

- Database > 700 entries based on the literature (Dominique Loviscach)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	1	root	meaning	ref	source	comments	bantu lgs	WW-file	scenario
					root)				
73	73	-kòló	sheep (also spread through Malawi across southern Zambia)	Ehret 1998:59; 305	ESh *bil 'goat' (for *bil > *bel-, *-pel- in this loanword set, see 'rhinoceros' and 'hyrax' above) (see also table 39A)	???	Kati (Kaskazi)	Y	
74	74	-sakata	monitor lizard (Yao)	Ehret 1998:59; 305	ESh: Rub: Soo sagat 'monitor lizard' (earlier Rub *sak'at-)		Rufiji-Ruvuma (Kaskazi)		
75	75	-belele	sheep (also spread through Malawi across southern Zambia)	Ehret 1998:59; 305	ESh *bil 'goat' (for *bil > *bel-, *-pel- in this loanword set, see 'rhinoceros' and 'hyrax' above) (see also table 39A)	Not in E2001	Rufiji-Ruvuma (Kaskazi)		
76	76	-pùlà	nose	Ehret 1998:59; 305	ESh(?) □ Cf. ESh (and PNS) *phur 'to blow'	innovations of uncertain or Bantu source	Southern Kaskazi		
77	77	-tùmbí	egg (also in Thagiicu of Upland)	Ehret 1998:59; 305	ESh(?) □ Source unknown, but has typical Bantu phonological structure	innovations of uncertain or Bantu source	Southern Kaskazi		

Methodology

- Database > 700 entries based on the literature (Dominique Loviscach)
- Majority of South Nilotic and South Cushitic origin
- +- 200 words
- Today: highlighting of case studies
- Word categories:

Domain	Example
Domestication of animals	Thorn fence, blood, sheep, calf, bull, ox
Agricultural terminology	Hoe, sorghum, pearl millet
Wild animals and hunt	Hunt, rhino, baboon, hare, hawk, wild animal
Kinship	Uncle, girl, stranger/guest
Other	Tattoo, raid, darkness, forge, lizard, beads

A.dana ‘forge’

- Two forms in Bantu:

- East Nyanza:

rany

khw-iranya

ohw-itanya

Bukusu JE3

Luhya JE32

Samialugwe JE34

- Other Bantu

(i)sana

u-tiana

ku-shana

syana

ku-yana

ku-syana

Mkuu E623

Nyaturu F32

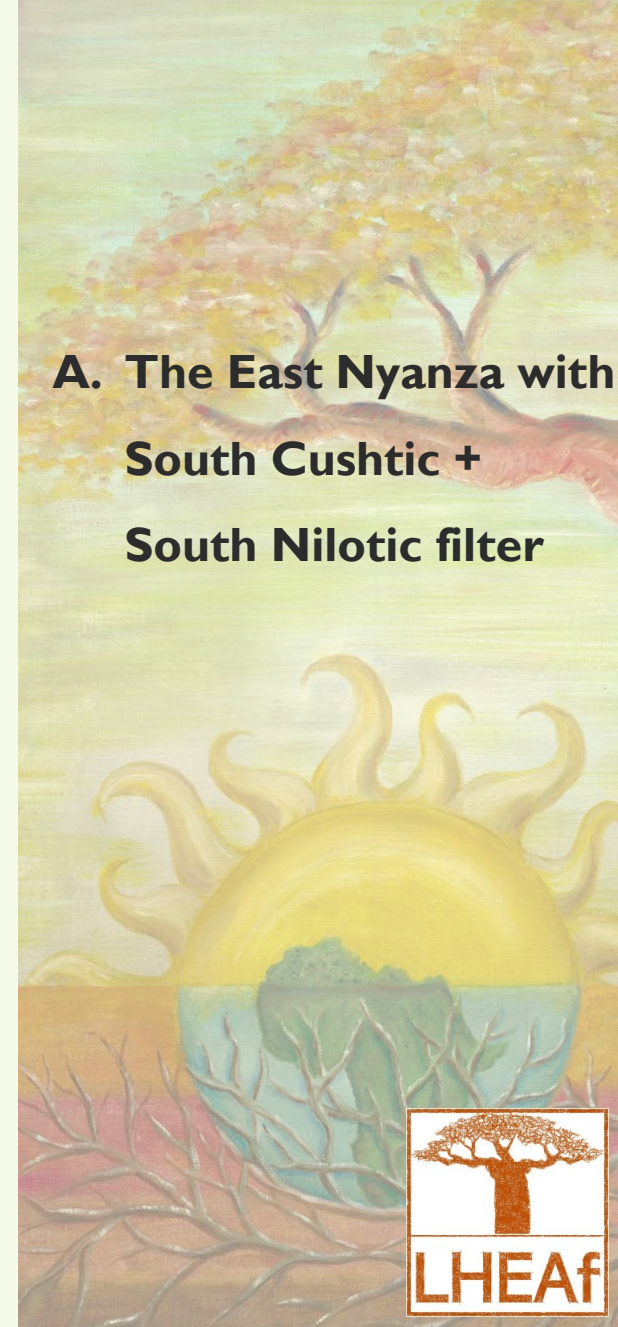
Sambaa G23

Bungu F25

Ndengeleko P11

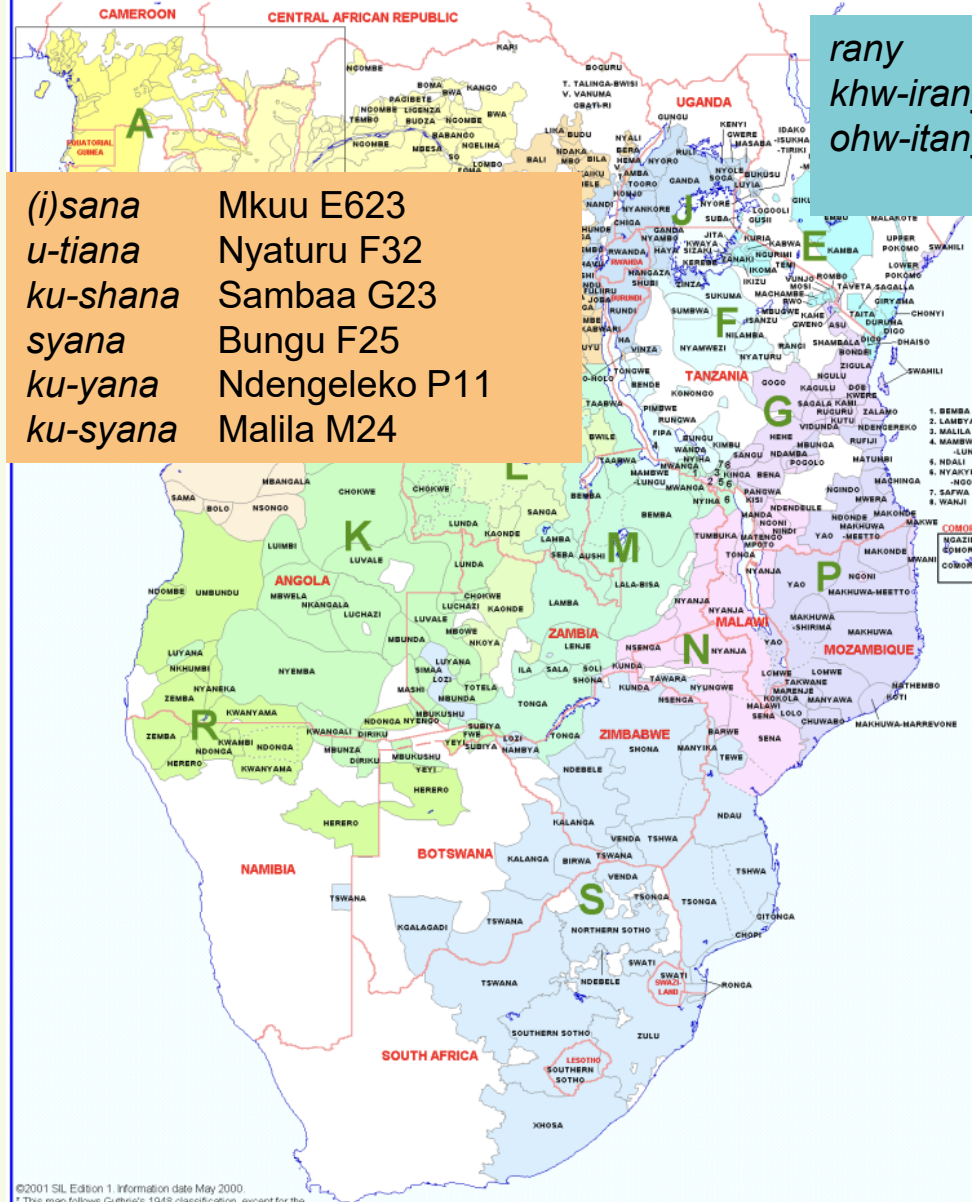
Malila M24

**A. The East Nyanza with
South Cushtic +
South Nilotic filter**



The Bantu languages of Africa

Groupings based on Guthrie, 1948*



(i)sana	Mkuu E623
u-tiana	Nyaturu F32
ku-shana	Sambaa G23
syana	Bungu F25
ku-yana	Ndengeleko P11
ku-syana	Malila M24

rany Bukusu JE3
 khw-iranya Luhya JE32
 ohw-itanya Samialugwe JE34

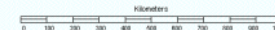
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Note: Dashed lines show overlap of language areas.


A.dana ‘forge’

- Two forms in Bantu:
 - East Nyanza:
Proto South Nilotic *ta:ny from West Omo-Tana
 - Other Bantu (cf. Guthrie 1967: 122)

73.65 The group of C.S. with the meaning ‘to forge (metal)’, which are displayed on Topogram 19, present what is apparently a relatively simple picture. They are

C.S.1861 ***-týd-** G(D:6)
C.S.403 ***-cúd-** (D:3)

C.S.1580 ***-pònd-** E(D: 0)
C.S.1743 ***-tján-** E(D: 3)



East Nyanza
rany Bukusu JE3
khw-iranya Luhya JE32
ohw-itanya Samialugwe JE34

Other Bantu
(i)sana Mkuu E623
ku-shana Sambaa G23
syana Bungu F25
ku-yana Ndengeleko P11
ku-syana Malila M24



~~-tian-~~, -tjan- forge Dv

C.S.1743 *-tján- forge E(D:3)

1743 The prehistory of the group of C.S. with this meaning is discussed in 73.65 in Part I.

E.64 -san-

G.23 -jan-

P.21 -syān-

E.74b -tjan-

M.23 -sxan-

P.25 -haan-

F.31 -tjan-

N.21 -sxan-

F.32 -hrjan-

P.12 -yan-

F.33 -tjan-

P.14 -hyan-

*

2.11

~~-tian-~~ ~~forger~~ forger

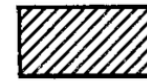
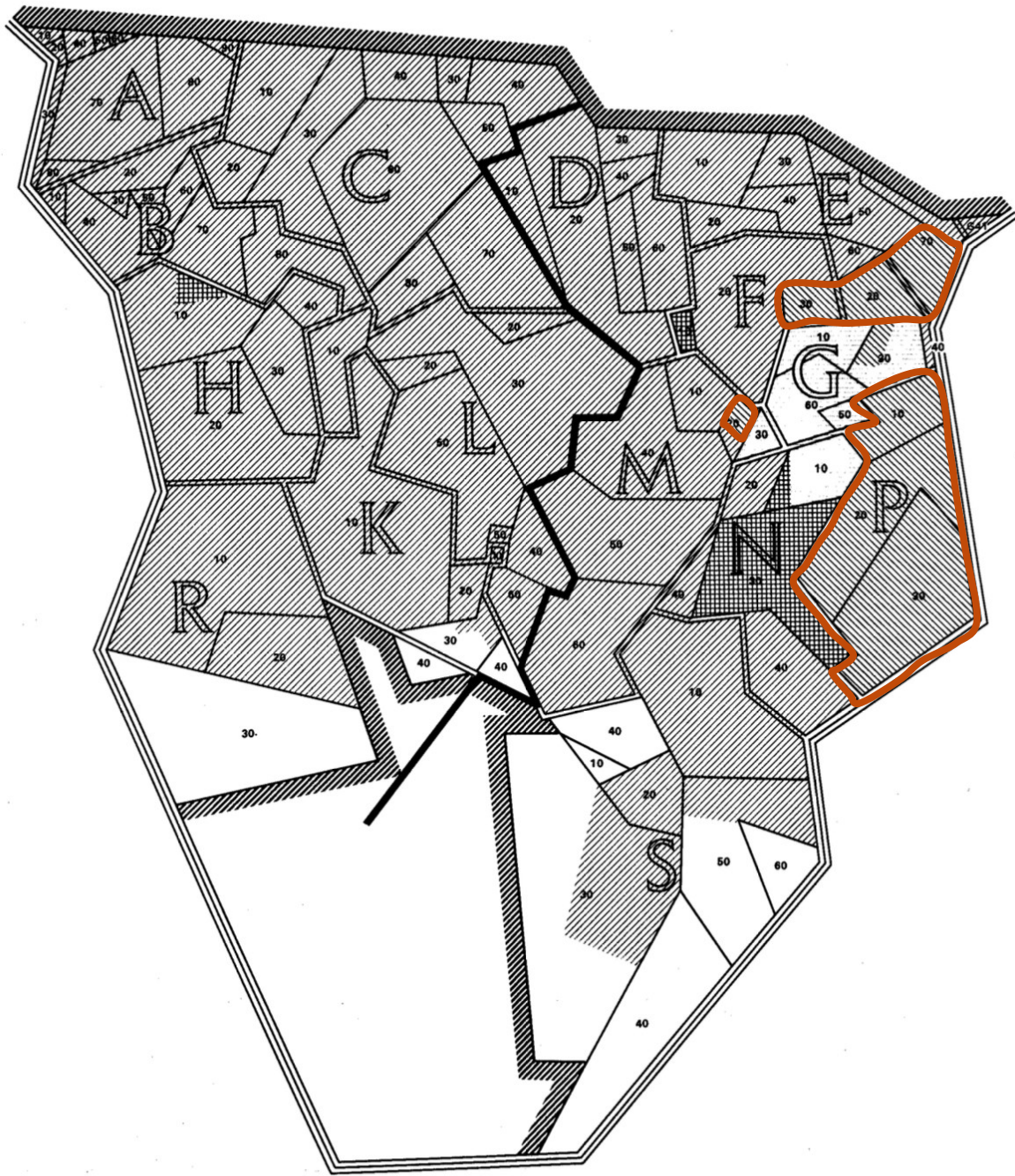
Swa. +U -sal-

+ -tjan-



LHEAf

A.dana 'to forge'



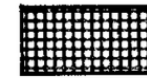
C.S. 1861 *-túd-



C.S. 1580 *-pònd-



C.S. 1743 *-tján-



C.S. 503 *-cúd-

“The existence of C.S. 1743 on the other hand suggests that a completely independent item to refer to the work of the smith emerge in the east. From the evidence displayed on the topogram it is at least possible to infer that *-TÚD- may have emerged so late in the Proto-Bantu period that it did not spread to the whole of PB-B, while *-TÍÁN- probably arose in part of PB-B, not necessarily to replace *-TÚD-, but through the acquisition of the skill of metal working from a quite distinct source (Guthrie 1967: 122)”

A.dana ‘forge’

- Relative chronology *-tían-
 - Must have been present *before* Bantu Spirantization happened in these languages
 - Check: to see if all languages with fricatives in CI actually underwent spirantization, or if they might have borrowed it from a language

Bantu Spirantization

The high vowels *i and *u would have caused preceding reconstructed Proto Bantu stops to turn into fricatives and affricates, cf:

PB *-díṃ > Nyamwezi
zimá

(Bastin & Schadeberg 2003, 1992;
Bostoen 2008)



A.dana ‘forge’

- Scenarios
 - The two forms are not related
 - East Nyanza = loan (Proto South Nilotic *ta:ny), other Bantu = innovation and similarity is coincidence.
 - The two forms are related
 - How do we explain the palatalization in C2 in East Nyanza if *tyan* is the origin?
 - Where does *-tian- come from?
 - South Nilotic *tany ‘to forge iron’ but Bantu Spirantization would require *tany > tyan
 - Ik (Kuliak) has *ityak* ‘forge, hammer’ but C2 is different

East Nyanza

rany Bukusu JE3
khw-iranya Luhya JE32
ohw-itanya Samialugwe
JE34

Other Bantu

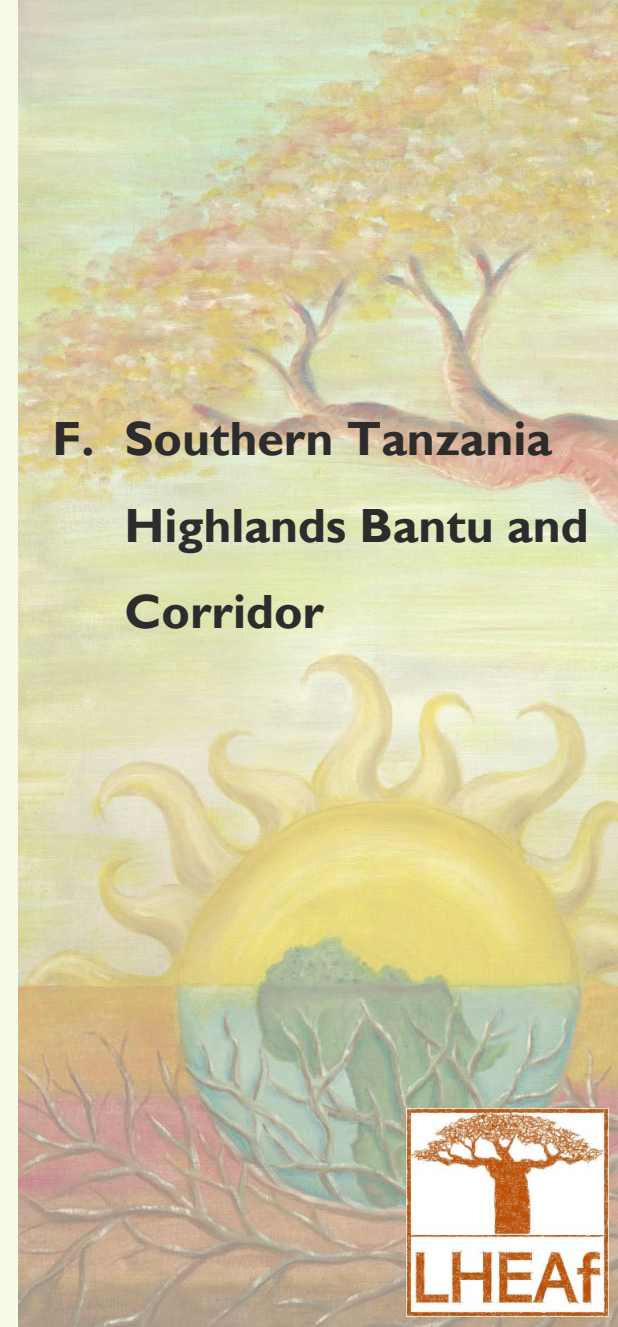
(i)sana Mkuu E623
u-tiana Nyaturu F32
ku-shana Sambaa G23
syana Bungu F25
ku-yana Ndengeleko P11
ku-syana Malila M24

F. *kolo-mo* 'hoe'

- The hoe is a new instrument; until a few generations ago Tanzanian Cushitic people used a wooden digging stick
- Peculiar distribution in Bantu
- 3 syllables



**F. Southern Tanzania
Highlands Bantu and
Corridor**



The distribution of 'hoe' in zone JE and M



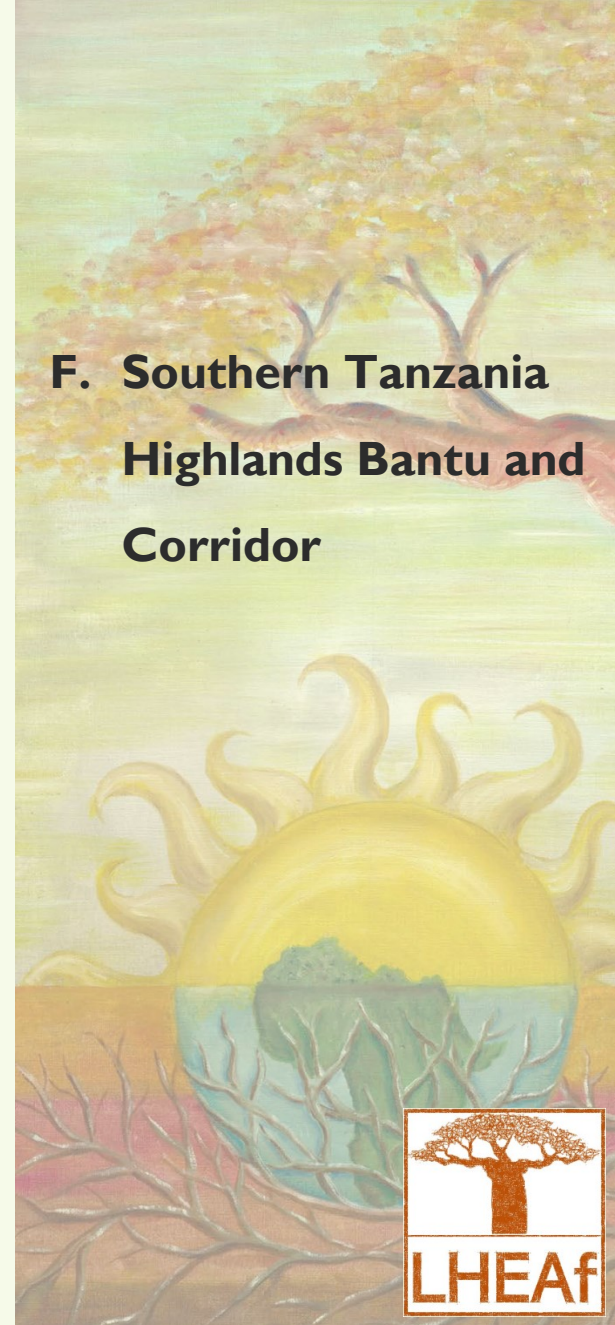
- akoromo (JE45)
- amukolo (M15)
- ekoromo (JE402)
- iinkolo (M13)
- mukolo (M14/5)



F. *kolo-mo* ‘hoe’

- Mara Bantu
 - *ekoromo* (Survey) JE402 Ikizu (Tanzanian Language)
 - *koromo* ‘traditional hoe’ JE402 Ikizu (Swangi 2008: 24)
 - *akoromo* JE45 Nata
- Tanzanian Cushitic
 - *kuru-moo* ‘hoe’
 - Cushitic singulative suffix -mo
 - Derived from *kooloo* ‘heel, ankle’ (cf. Proto East Omo-Tana *kal ‘ankle’, Burunge use the word for ‘ankle’ for ‘hoe’ and Sandawe borrowed as *kòlòó-ng* ‘hoe’)

F. Southern Tanzania
Highlands Bantu and
Corridor

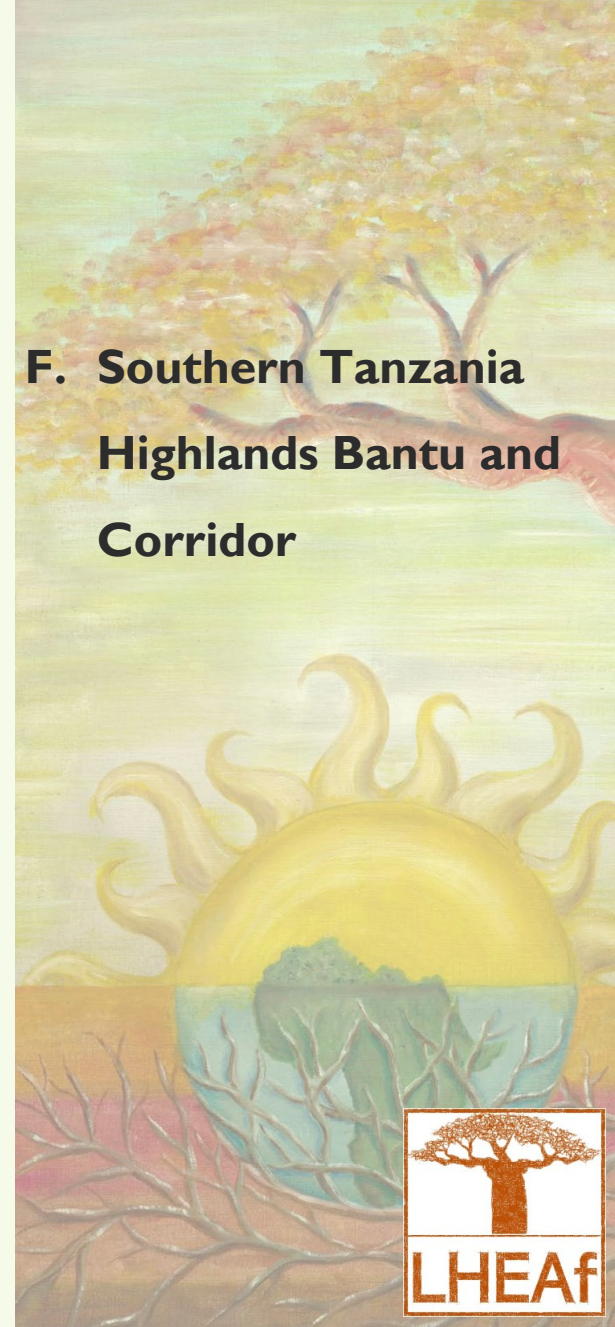


F. *kolo-mo* 'hoe'

However:

- No similar transfer of this root found outside Mara so far
- M10 Fipa-Mambwe
 - *iinkolo* M13 Fipa
 - *amukolo* M15 Mambwe
 - *mukolo* M14/15 Rungu

**F. Southern Tanzania
Highlands Bantu and
Corridor**



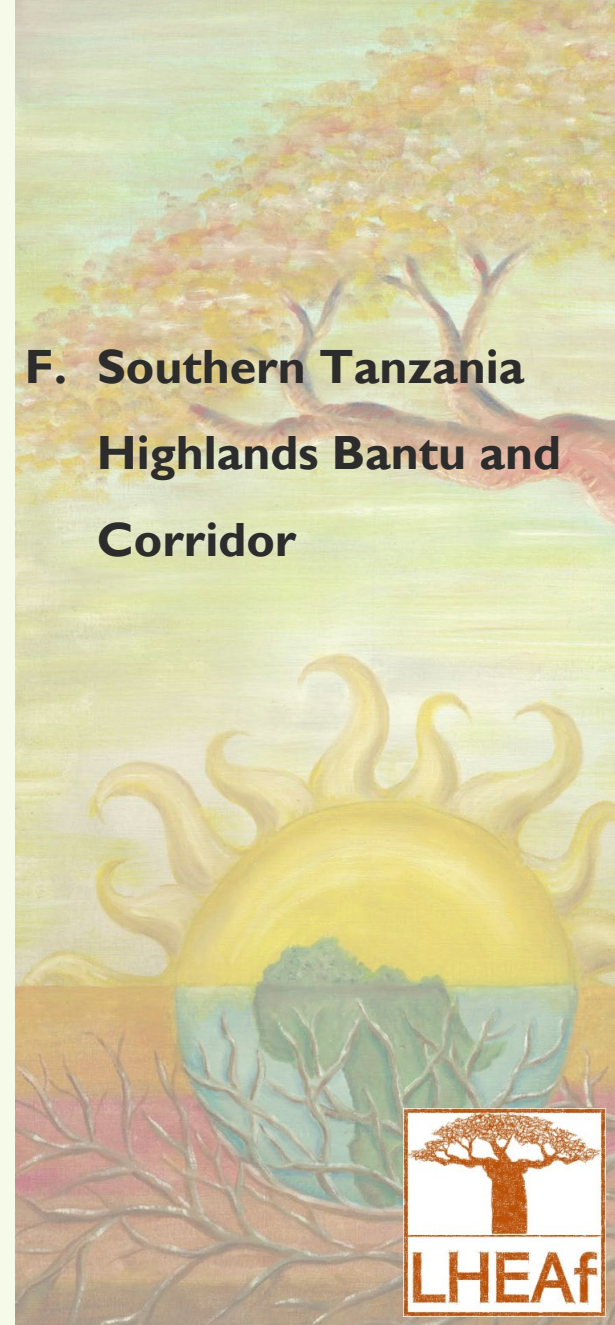
F. *kolo-mo* 'hoe'

However:

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- M10 Fipa-Mambwe
 - *iinkolo* M13 Fipa
 - *amukolo* M15 Mambwe
 - *mukolo* M14/15 Rungu

No suffix -mo!

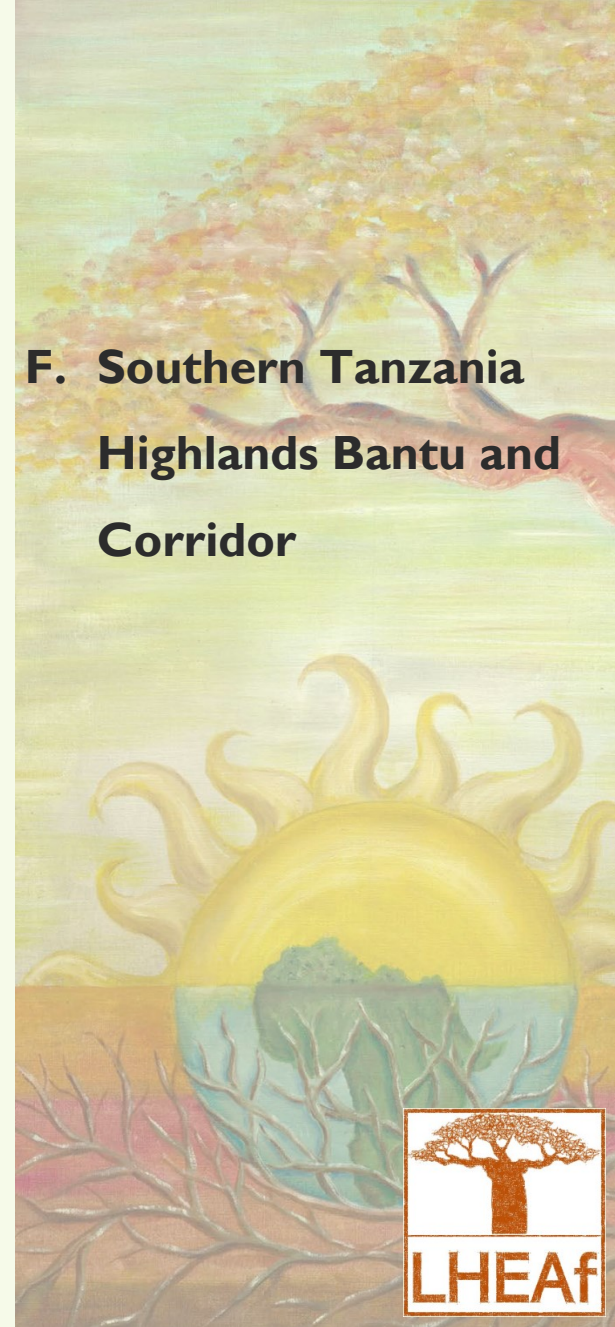
**F. Southern Tanzania
Highlands Bantu and
Corridor**



F. *kolo-mo* ‘hoe’

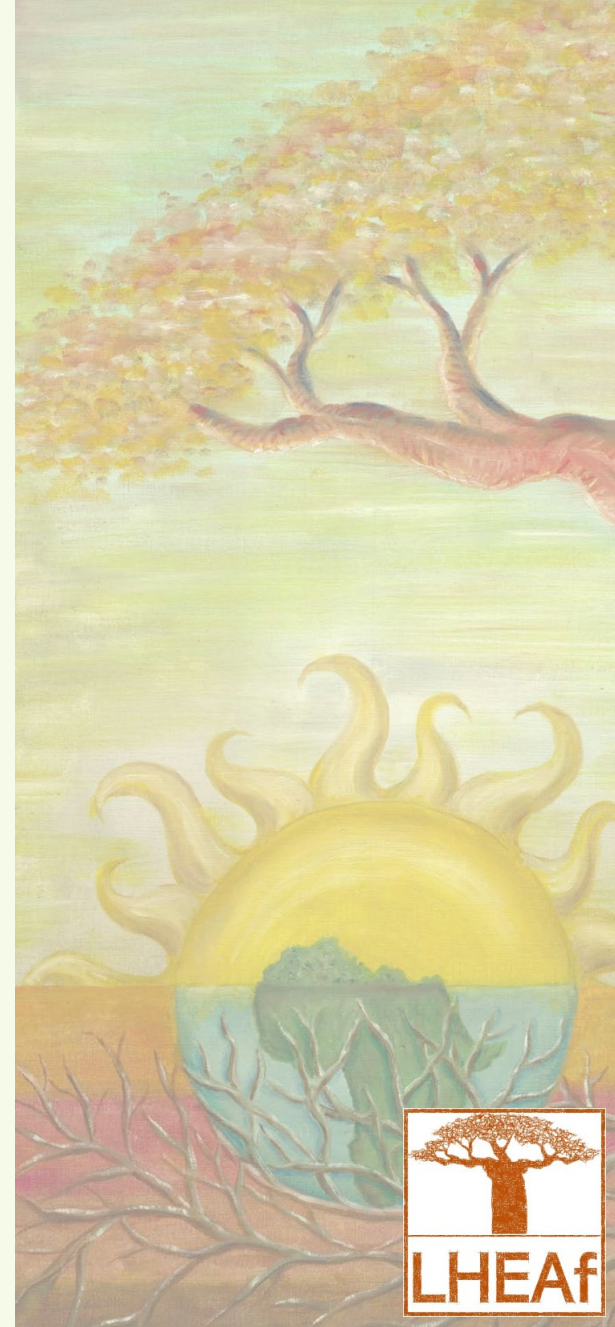
- Scenarios:
 - Lexical innovation in Fipa area based on Bantu internal source, spread into West Rift Cushitic through trade > addition of *-mo* > Mara Bantu
 - Mara Bantu borrowed from West Rift Cushitic, Fipa is an independent innovation based on a Bantu internal source such as: *kodUd ‘scrape’ CJKLMR (BLR3 1894), *kodUdo ‘digging tool’ in JLM (BLR3 7028) cf. 1875 *kod ‘work’ (BLR3 DFJ).
 - Similarity is coincidence
 - Why no spirantization?
 - Where would the innovation have come from?

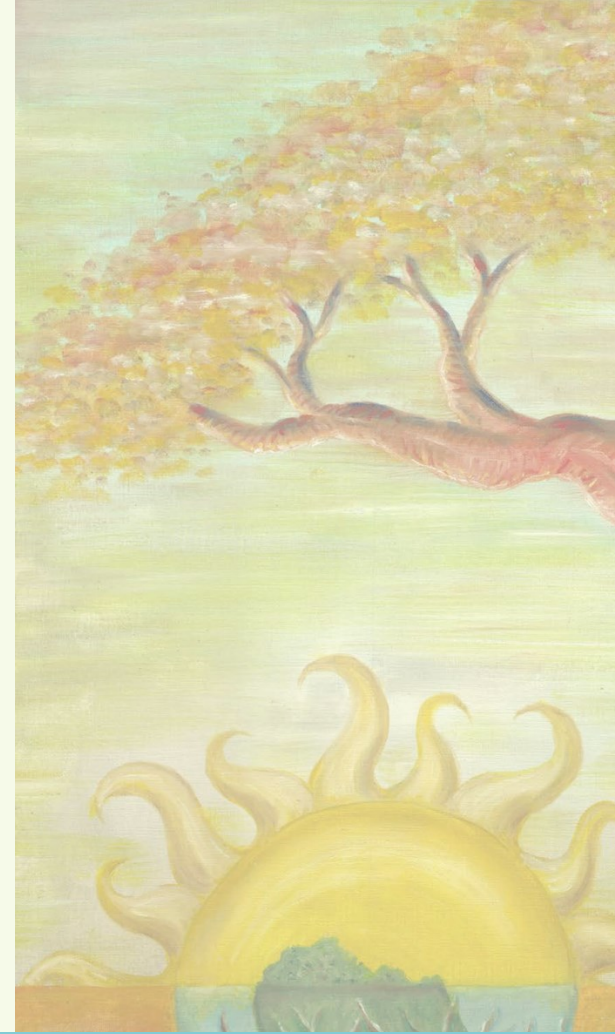
**F. Southern Tanzania
Highlands Bantu and
Corridor**



Generalizations

- For part of Cushitic loans, we can assume they were picked up in East Nyanza (scenario A) because of the wide distribution
- *If* we assume there were no early Cushitic people in East Africa, we need an explanation of the loans in Rufiji and South Tanzania (scenario F)
 - 'hoe' will only be a problem if the origin is Cushitic (but we are still checking Nilotic languages)

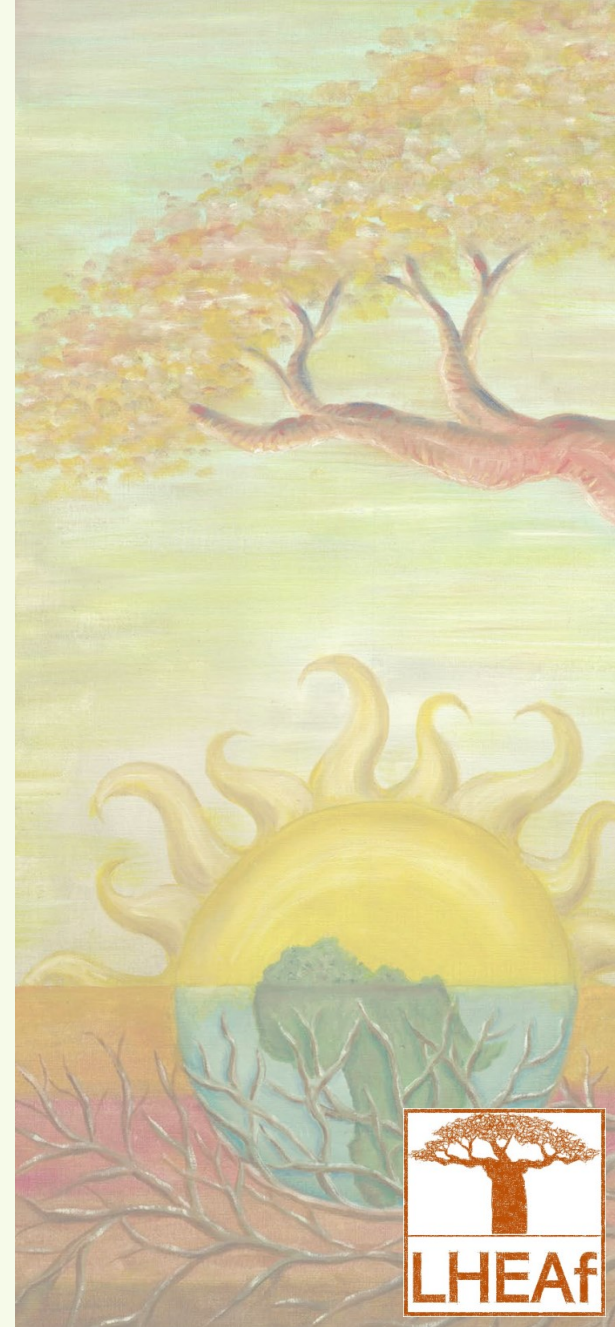




CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

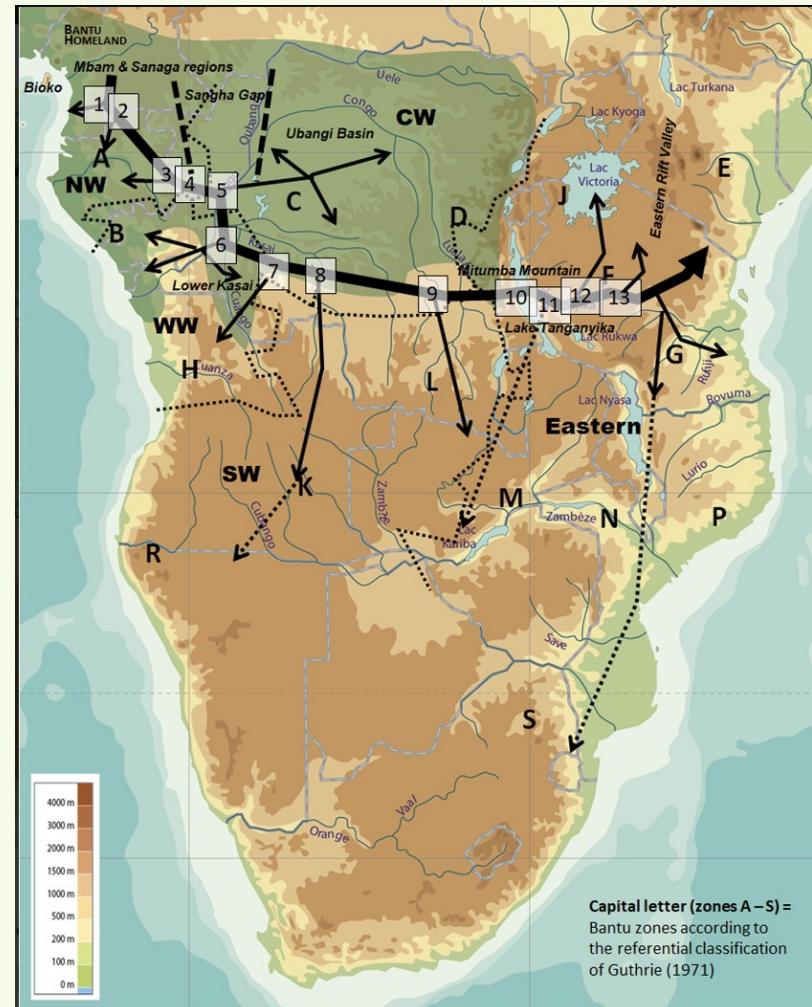
Challenges

- As we follow Ehret (1970, 1980), we have the same biases and limitations as he has
- Similarity in Bantu and intense contact with other Bantu languages (or multilingualism)
- Horizontal vs vertical transfer
- Words such as *de'em 'herd' (discussion point)
- How does it relate to earlier evidence, such as the proposal by Grollemund et al. (2023)?



Alternative proposal

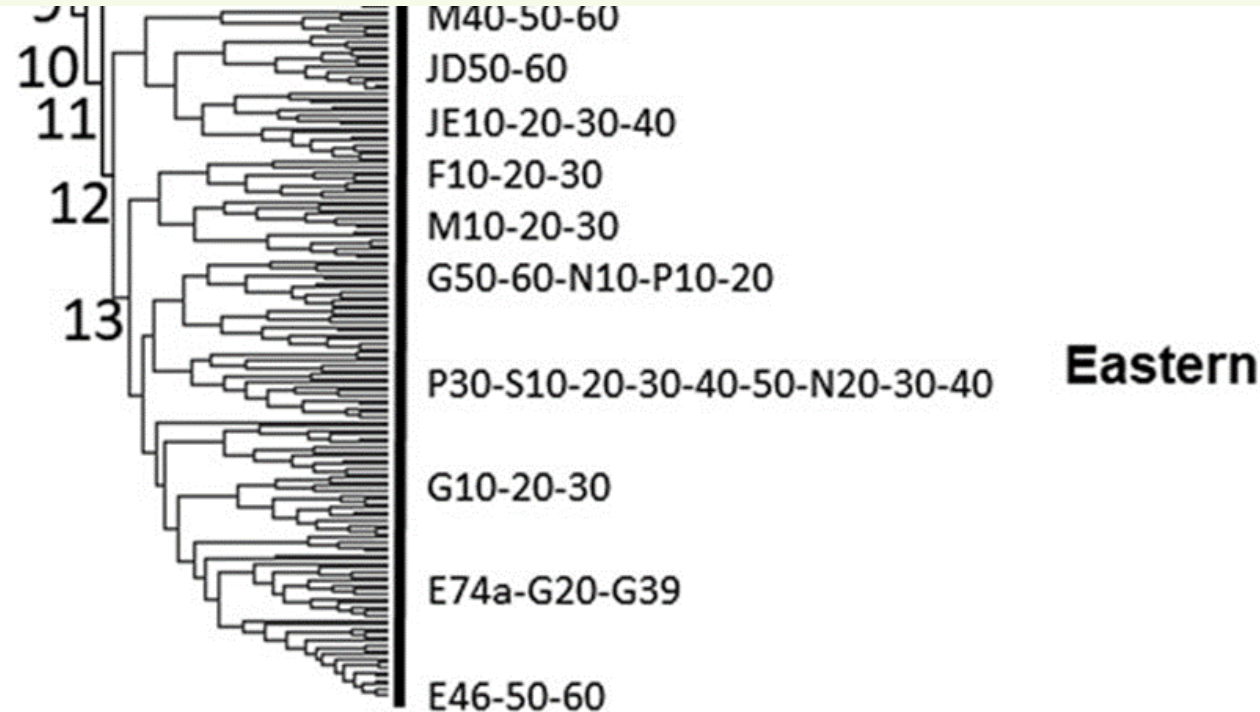
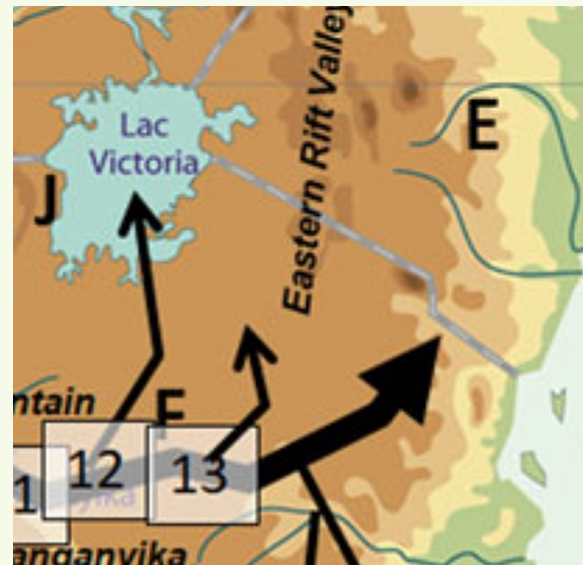
Grollemund et al. (2023) propose the following root into East Africa



Grollemund, Rebecca ; Schoenbrun, David ; Vansina, Jan 2023 Moving Histories: Bantu Language Expansions, Eclectic Economies, and Mobilities. *Journal of African history* 64(1):13-37



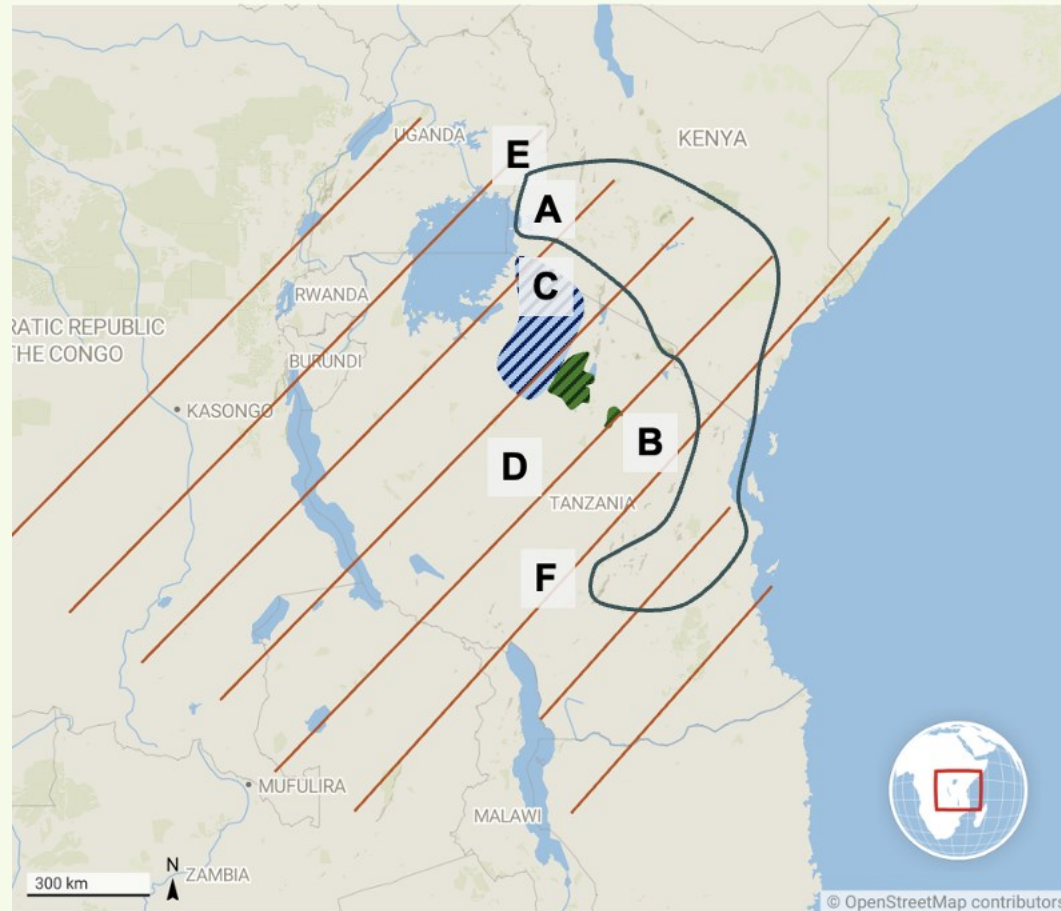
Alternative proposal



However, we run into the issue that it does not explain the Cushitic and Nilotic loan distribution in East Bantu languages.

Grollemund, Rebecca ; Schoenbrun, David ; Vansina, Jan 2023 Moving Histories: Bantu Language Expansions, Eclectic Economies, and Mobilities. *Journal of African history* 64(1):13-37





Created with Datawrapper

- A** Source of Cushitic-Nilotic lexicon
- B** Separate Cushitic source of Taita + Bantu
- C** Sonjo with late Gorwaa influence
- D** Late local influence of WR-languages and Datooga
- E** Second wave Bantu with later Kalenjin influence
- F** Cushitic/Nilotic loans that cannot be explained by the above => “Horizontal” spread or counterevidence

Discussion

- *Could Cushitic and Nilotic loans be an extra indication for subclassification in the spread of East African (EA) Bantu?*
 - The loans seem to be localized and restricted to certain subgroups. Sorting out vertical versus horizontal transfer remains difficult but sound changes and morphology has proven helpful.
- *We find Cushitic loan words at different places in East Africa. Can we work with this new assumption of late arrival of Cushitic people in Tanzania?*
 - Partially, although scenario F challenges the theory (but an early arrival in Tanzania brings its own issues)
- *What's next?* More words, to find tendencies and patterns of overlap.



Many thanks!

To the LHEAf team and to the audience, and especially to: Maud Devos, Dominique Loviscach, Derek Nurse, Gerard Philippson, Ahmed Sosal, and Aron Zahran

Discussion questions

- How do we explain words from scenario F that only occur in Southern Tanzania or further down where we do not find Cushitic or Nilotic today?
- Does a later arrival of Cushitic people in Tanzania give us a better explanation for what we find than an earlier arrival?
- What are the implications of assuming Cushitic people were late to enter Tanzania?
- (How) does multilingualism across Bantu subgroups affect loan words? Can loans be a valid additional criteria for subgrouping?

