

Bantu influence on Tanzanian Cushitic

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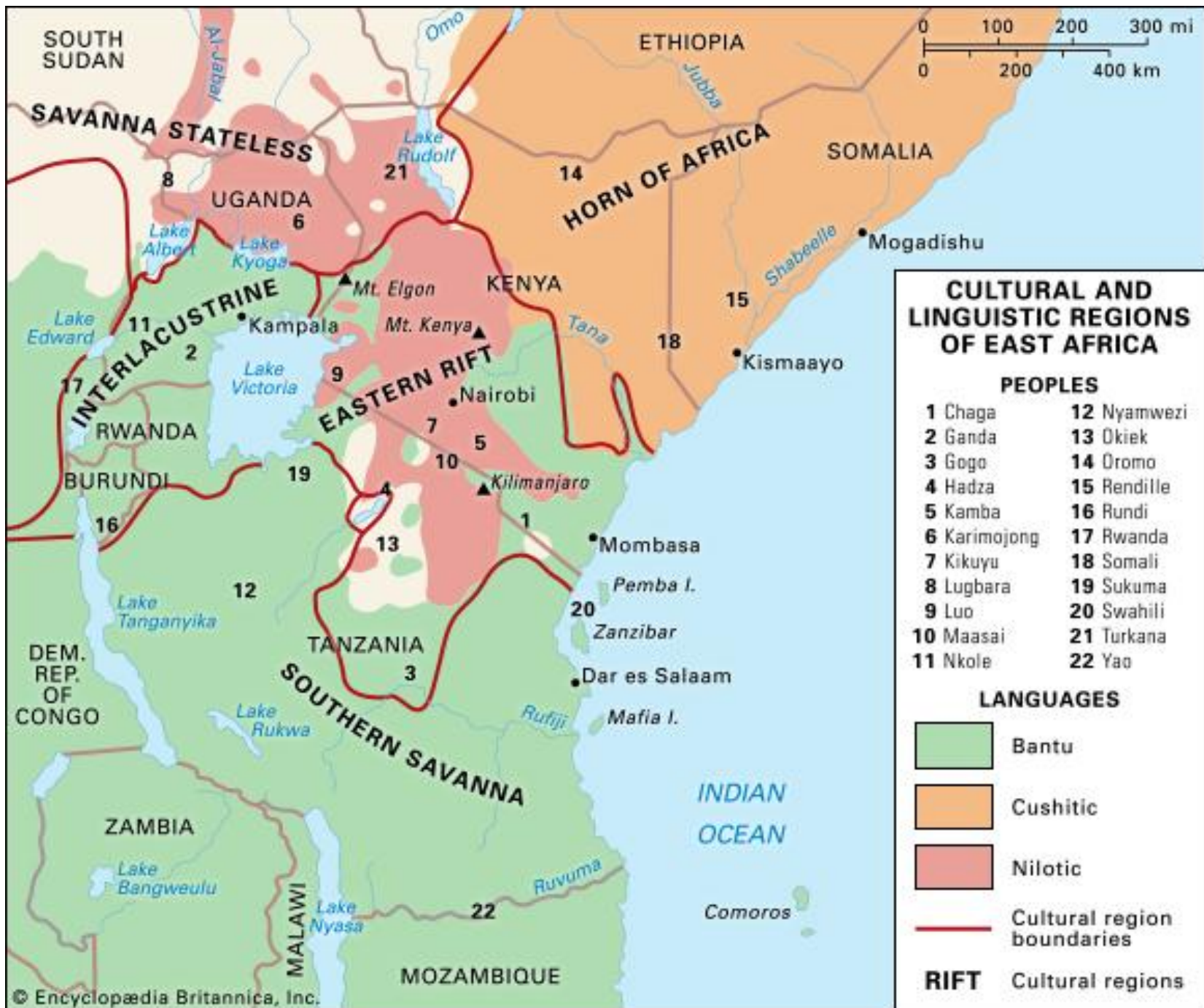


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Introduction

- Cushitic influence on Bantu vocabulary studied.
- Tanzanian Cushitic languages borrowing from Bantu languages
- early borrowings, before the colonial period.
- Time limitations (both preparation and presentation) only discuss 5 items and illustrate the challenges.
- basic and replacive rather than additive borrowing
- profound influence of some of the Bantu languages
- Tanzanian South Cushitic (?Kw'adza, Burunge, Alagwa, Gorwaa, Iraqw) entered Tanzania from East of Lake Victoria less than 1000 years ago and dispersed from Kondo. Map
- zone F (Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Nyaturu, Nyiramba, Nyihanzu, +) = one (problematic) subgroup
- Langi and Mbugwe part of a clade with Chaga and Taita.



Challenges

- Wide-spread words: (maternal) uncle
- Many possible sources: youths
- Bantu-Bantu contact: fish
- Limited distribution on both side: refuse
- Rare phoneme on one side: louse

(Maternal) uncle - universal

- *mamay* or *mame* all over East Africa across language families, multiple transfers
- Bantu lexicalisation “male mother” *maama+dumi* > *maamalami* > *maami* (Sukuma) Masele (2001:396), Schoenbrun (1997: 97)
- BLR3-2146 *mààmá* ‘(my)mother; (my) grandmother; (my) maternal aunt/uncle’ in 5 Regions NW SW Ce NE SE and 11 Zones A B C F H J K L M R S (= Guthrie #1282).
- also Nilotic. PSN **ma:m(a)* ‘Onkel MB’ (Rottland 1982:302); PK **maama* (Nandi and Tuken have a (remnant of) a suffix *-et*); GD: **maam-* (*mwá:may* 1, *mâ:mi* 3) Bajuta-Datooga has *mwá:may* just like in Tz Cush.
- pTzSC is **maamáy* (m) ‘uncle, mother's brother’ (KM2003)
- *mama* ‘maternal uncle’ is common across the world. Dravidian (Burrow and Emenau) and Proto-Malayic has *mama(-?)* (Adelaar 1985:84, 130).

‘youth,slave’ various sources possible

- Northern Tanzania: *somba* for ‘(male) youth, servant/slave’,
- Bantu and Tanzanian Cushitic languages;
- Including East-Nyanza Bantu (North Mara)
- Great Lakes: Schoenbrun (1997) compound with *sumba* ‘widow’ > Separate.
- Proto North West Rift South Cushitic: *masoombáa (f) ‘male youths, adolescents’ (Kiessling & Mous 2003)
- Two possible Bantu sources:
 - °-còòmbà ‘youth’ in F20-F30 = TzCushitic *masoomba ‘youth’
 - but the Bantu distribution of this root seems limited.
 - *-cómb ‘carry, transport’ (different vowel, different tone) [BLR3-6638 zones D F G J] ~ > ‘servant, slave’ NB caravan trade (Nyamwezi).
- NB: Masele also ‘slave, bond servant’ 727-28-29 in his Appendix: Mbugwe *mòsòòmbà*. This is the only language in his survey with this root for this meaning-entry.



- Both roots in Bantu languages of the area.
- The second also in East Nyanza Bantu.
- And Bukusu *omu-suumba* n unmarried man attached to the chief's village and in his service, bachelor, widower, slave, servant, celibate (Wasike & Marlo 2008) is a reflex of the first.
- The source for the Tanzanian Cushitic word is probably an earlier form ^o-còòmbà 'youth' of the Bantu F20-30 languages, but not Langi (which is part of the Chaga clade, Nurse and Philippson to appear). Alternatively, the source could be Sukuma+Nyamwezi F10 but given the geography contact needs to have been with Proto Tanzanian Cushitic, given the geography and known contact scenarios. In which case we need to explain the absence of the root in Burunge.

Fish + horizontal spread in Bantu

- ‘fish’ continuously innovated in Inland East-Africa.
- ‘fish’ is in many places a new phenomenon.
- no fish in the waters of the Tanzanian Rift valley “das abflussloses Gebiet”
- fish introduced in the Kondoia area by the mission around 1900 (Kesby 1986).
- two Bantu roots common in Tanzania *cómbá (BLR 659) and *cúí (BLR 751)
- both are present in the Tanzanian Rift valley.
- Rangi F33 has (had) *somba* (Seidel 1898) and Mbugwe F34 has *(n)síyé* . Nyaturu has *sóómbá*.
- Sumbwa F23, Kilongo F23 *mfwi*;
Kikonongo F22 *nswì ~nsomba*;
JinaKiiya F21, GinaNtuzu F21 *shI`*;
KiniLamba F31 Kinihanzu F31 *nsII*
Kimbu-South F24 *inshI*;
IciWuungu has *I`shwI`*
Mbugwe F34 *(n)síyé*.
- Iraqw and Gorwaa have PIRQ *siyóo for ‘fish’. From Mbugwe?

yellow *cúí;

indigo *cómbá

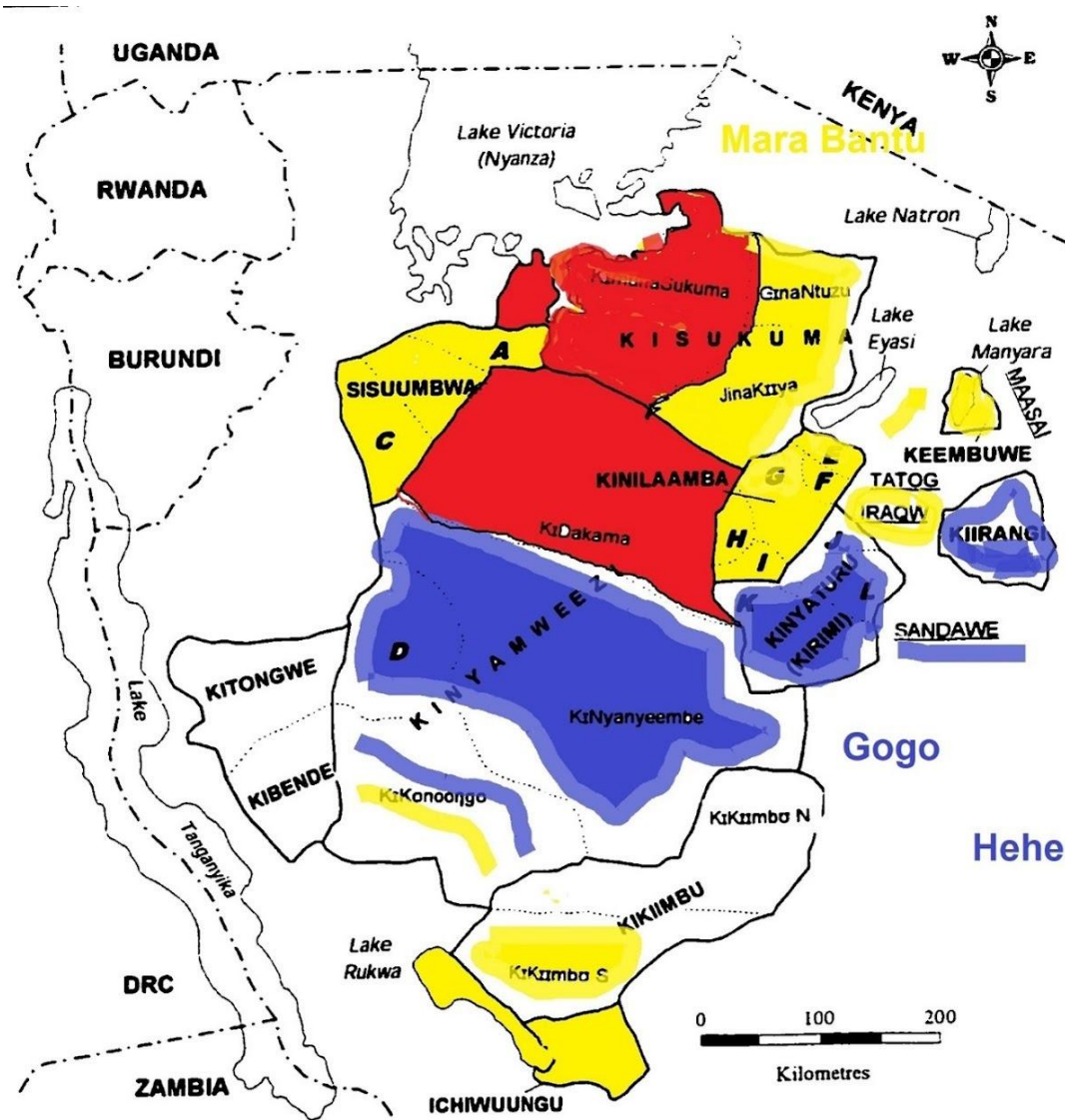
red ndiilo, (local innovation).

Kikonoongo-Nyamwezi has both roots, influence of its neighbour South KiKimbu.

ndiilo is shared between one Sukuma dialect and one neighbouring Nyamwezi dialect.

The Mara languages (North of the coloured area towards the border with Kenya and along the lake) have the *cúí root.

Gogo and Hehe in the right bottom corner of the map have *somba*.



A. KiLoongo	E. KiriHaanzu	J. GiRwana
B. SiYoombe	F. KiriAmbi	K. GiAhi
C. SiSiloombo	G. KiriLaamba C	L. YiriyaMuniriqanyi
D. SiGalagaanza	H. KiriMbuga	I. KiriUshoola

Legend	
SANDAWE	Non-Bantu Language
- - - -	International Boundary
—	Language Boundary
.....	Dialect / Variety Boundary

'refuse, deny' limited distribution in Bantu and in Cushitic

- ***crt** 'refuse' BLR3-6044 limited to zones F, G, M *c>s regular
- pTzSC *siʔ 'refuse' but only in TzSC.
- 1. pTzSC siʔit > Bantu sit
- 2. Bantu sit > TzSC siʔ-it > siʔ
- -it and -im competing imperfective suffixes but -im used with this root
- Bantu limited to EA Bantu but reconstruction based on Dempwolff (1916-17) = East Bantu
- long vowel in Nyiramba, Gogo and Kimbu may point to Cushitic source
- East Nyanza: -sit 'to hesitate, be reluctant' Cognate?

Distribution in EA Bantu

- F (but not in Sukuma-Nyamwezi)
- G11 Gogo
- sporadic in SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS
- most of Corridor NYIHA-SAFWA
- FURTHER SOUTH: (Makonde, Makwe, Mbia)
- not in North East Coastal Bantu

Jiggers, flea, louse: rare phoneme in C

- The CHAWA root for 'louse'/'flea' only in Sabaki Bantu (Swahili)
- similar to pTzSC *ichaabú in Tanzanian South Cushitic.
- far apart and not in contact.
- no candidates for a third source.
- Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:292,669) consider a Proto-Sabaki lexeme *ncaWa 'louse' as an innovation probably transferred from a Southern Cushitic source.
- The pTzC root is limited to Iraqw - Gorwaa ^{PIRQ}*'ichaabú (m) 'jiggers' and Kiessling and Mous suggest a transfer in the opposite direction, into Tanzanian Cushitic: "The West-Rift origin of this word, however, seems highly dubious for phonological as well as morphological and distributional reasons.
- TzSC marginal phoneme *ch;
TzSC initial *i looks very much like a Bantu prefix.
- can only be reconstructed for a **late** pIRQ stage No Contact.

The work in progress

ʔiingigi 'locusts' Gusii (East Nyanza) engige 'locust'
but not in surrounding Bantu

*kunu 'mortar' Gusii ekonu surrounding Bantu no
round vowel in V1

*ʔifeenda 'verandah' Sukuma ibindo. PB *b > f in
Luhya, Chaga,

*maysu 'pestle' nearby Nyiramba mwiisi; others
ituli

+ Langi > Alagwa Burunge: oday 'sorghum',
ʔiingowa 'baby sling'

Thank you



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