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1
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(1)
Retroflexion in Somali Bantu Kizigua: Language Shift and a Contact-Induced Explanation to What Looks Like an Internally Motivated Sound Change

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(2) The problem

As discussed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988):

- Traditional bias among historical linguists against claims of change induced by language shift

Logical reason for bias:

- A completed shift means the language disappears
- Loss of key evidence about the structure of the language
- Hard to prove unless language continues to be spoken elsewhere and/or written documentation available

Yet, it may have happened more often historically than has been described.

So, important to examine cases in which there is sufficient evidence

(3) Presentation Focus

- Case study of shift-induced sound change
 - Both sociohistorical and linguistic evidence available
- Data
 - Target Language: Somali Bantu Kizigua (SBK, Bantu G-Zone)
 - Substratum Language: Chimwiini (Bantu G-Zone)

(4) Presentation Goals

- To show how the outcome of this case is an internally motivated pattern that is actually contact-induced
 - Change: alveolar NC > retroflex NC
- To show that genetic relatedness (Epps et al 2013, Law 2013) combined with the specific socio-historical circumstances made this possible
 - Both Chimwiini and Kizigua are Bantu G-Zone
 - History of migration (Tanzania → Somalia → US) and language shift (Other Bantu → Chimwiini → Kizigua)

(5) Criteria needed to prove interference through shift (Thomason & Kaufman 1988)

- (i) An identifiable substratum language whose speakers shifted to the target language
 - Chimwiini
- (ii) Information about its structure
 - Chimwiini has had retroflex NC for past several centuries (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993)
- (iii) Information about the target language before the shift
 - Tanzanian Kizigua lacks retroflex NC (Last 1885, Kisbey 1897, Kisbey 1906)
 - No evidence for development of retroflex NC in early 21st Century Tanzanian Kizigua (Mochiwa 2008)

(6) Notes on NC (Nasal + Consonant) Clusters

- Genetic feature found across Bantu languages
- Status controversial among Bantuists (see Hyman 2003)
 - Is it a single unit, two segments, a mora?
- Commonly transcribed as two segments
 - As in this presentation
 - But in Kizigua, behaves diachronically as a single unit

(7) nt > nɿ in Inherited Vocabulary

Tanzanian Kizigua (Kisbey 1906, Mochiwa 2008) ¹	Somali Bantu Kizigua (Consultant Work) ²	Gloss
mntu	mɿtu	‘person’
ntondo	nɿondɔ	‘star’
ntambo	(mwe)nɿambo	‘traveler’
ntembo	nɿtembo	‘elephant’
banti	bɿnɿi	‘door’
ntangulu	nɿtangulu	‘basket’

(8) nd > nɿ in Inherited Vocabulary

Tanzanian Kizigua (Kisbey 1906, Mochiwa 2008)	Somali Bantu Kizigua (Consultant Work)	Gloss
ndevu	nɿdevu	‘beard’
vundi	vundɿ	‘cloud’*
nkonde	honɿde / qonɿde	‘cultivated field’
tunda	tundɿ	‘fruit’
kindedi	cinɿdedi	‘correct’
kudanta	kudɿantɔ	‘to lie, to deceive’*
nkande	handɿde / qandɿde	‘food’

*Typo in LSA abstract: SBK form for ‘cloud’ has retroflex, but different vowels not typos

(9) Noun Class Prefix Alternation

SBK	Gloss
mɿtu m-tuhu	‘other person’ (Noun Class 1)
wanɿtu wa-tuhu	‘other people’ (Noun Class 2)
cinɿtu ci-tuhu	‘other thing’ (Noun Class 7)
vinɿtu vi-tuhu	‘other things’ (Noun Class 8)
/mbwa N-tuhu/ -> [mbwa nɿtuhu]	‘other dog’ (Noun Class 9)
/mbwa N-tuhu/ -> [mbwa nɿtuhu]	‘other dogs’ (Noun Class 10)

- Inherited alternation from TK (Kisbey 1897, Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993), but t → t^h / n _
- Similar alternation in Northern Swahili dialects (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993)

¹ Kisbey (1906) includes 3,500 words and is the most comprehensive source of vocabulary available on Tanzanian Kizigua.

² Consultant work began as part of a 4-month long Field Methods course and was subsequently supplemented with work with additional speakers in the Pittsburgh Somali Bantu community resulting in a lexicon of approximately 700 words.

(10) History of the Zigua (Eno and Eno 2007)

- 1840's: Famine and drought in (present-day) NE Tanzania
- Arab-Omani exploitation of many Bantu groups
- East African Slave Trade brought Zigua to coastal city of Brava
- 1865-1890: > 20,000 slaves escape and settle in a region called Gosha (now Southern Somalia)

(11) The Importance of Gosha

- Described as a “republic of free ex-slaves” (Declich 1995:96)
- Zigua leadership crucial (although also non-Zigua leaders)
- Isolated the Zigua from Somali invaders, making it possible for Kizigua to be maintained for 100+ years (Crevatin 1993)
- Created environment for Non-Zigua to learn Kizigua

(12) Two Major Groups in Contact in Gosha

1. Zigua
2. Mixed Group of
 - Indigenous Groups
 - Bantu: Bajuni, Pokomo
 - Cushitic: Oromo, Boni, Somali
 - Other fugitive slaves
 - All Bantu: Yao, Makua, Ngindo, Nyasa

(13) Sociolinguistic Division in Gosha in Early Years (Menkhaus 2003)

- The Zigua
 - All adults
 - Explains why Kizigua language maintained after 100+ years
 - Very strong loyalty to ancestral language/culture
- Other Bantu Slave Groups
 - Included some children
 - More likely able to acquire other languages
 - Did not pass their heritage languages to subsequent generations
- In the port of Brava (aka Barawa, Mwiini), (Henderson 2010)
 1. Chimwiini (dialect of Northern Swahili, see Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993) – regional lingua franca
 2. Af-Maay (Cushitic)
 3. Tunni Dialect of Somali (Cushitic)

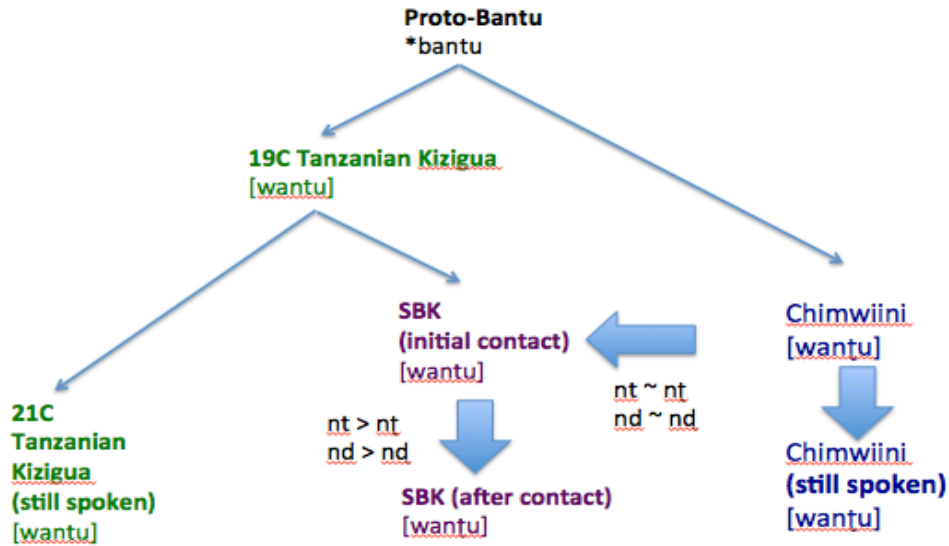
(14) Subsequent Generations in Gosha region

- The Zigua
 - Continued speaking Kizigua up to the present
- Other Bantu Groups
 - Initially spoke Chimwiini, Af-Maay, Tunni Somali
 - Today speak Af-Maay and Somali
- Intermarriage between two groups
 - Some Kizigua speakers today trace ancestry to more than one group

- Would have facilitated transfer of features from Chimwiini to Kizigua

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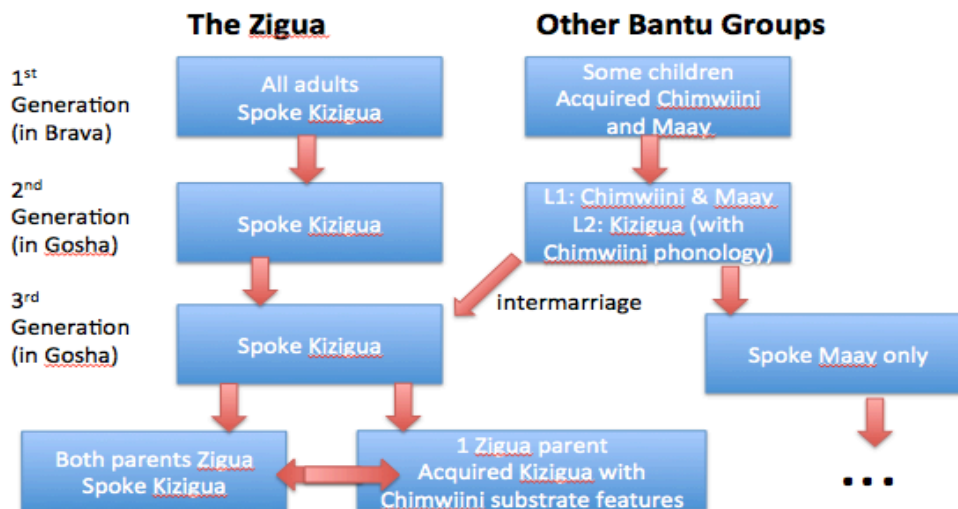
Shift-Induced Interference Between Genetically Related Languages



15

(16)

How /nt/ and /nd/ may have spread from Chimwiini to SBK



16

(17) Two Mechanisms for Contact-Induced Change

Following Thomason & Kaufman (1988)

- Borrowing
 - L1 speakers of a language influencing direction of change
- Shift-Induced Interference
 - L2 speakers of a language influencing development of language by introducing L1 features into the L2

(18) NC Cluster Correspondences

TK	Chimwiini ³	SBK	Gloss
nkonde	honɔ̃	honɔ̃ / qonɔ̃	'cultivated field'
-nkundu	-hu:ndu	-hundu	'red'
nkondo	nkondɔ̃	qondɔ̃	'war'
kenda	kendɔ̃	ceɔ̃	'nine'
matunda	matu:ndɔ̃	matundɔ̃	'fruit'
kintu	cinɔ̃	cinɔ̃	'thing'
mntu	munɔ̃	mnɔ̃	'person'
ntembo	(te:mbo)	nɔ̃tembo	'palm wine', 'elephant'
ntondo	(no:ta)	nɔ̃fondo	'star'
vundi	(iwi:ngu)	vundɔ̃	'cloud'

(19) Borrowing Scenario

- If all words with retroflex stops borrowed from Chimwiini
 - Why would some words with retroflexion in SBK lack cognates in Chimwiini?
 - Lexical diffusion?
 - Possible, but we also have socio-historical evidence for shift

(20) Shift scenario

- Chimwiini L1 speakers learned Kizigua as an L2 thereby introducing Chimwiini substrate features into Kizigua
- No need to explain lack of corresponding cognates with retroflexion in Chimwiini
 - Interlingual Identification (Weinreich 1953)
 - Kizigua [nt] and [nd] substituted as [nɔ̃] and [ndɔ̃]

(21) The Importance of Similarity in Contact

- Interlingual Substitution in L2 Acquisition of a Genetically Related Languages
 - L2 speakers able to exploit sound correspondences between L1 and L2
 - Ex: /nt/ in Kizigua pronounced as /nɔ̃/ among L1 Chimwiini speakers
 - nt > nɔ̃ and nd > ndɔ̃
 - Exceptionless
 - Affects all environments
 - Affects basic environments
- Neogrammarian Sound Change
 - nt > nɔ̃ and nd > ndɔ̃
 - Exceptionless

³ The Chimwiini data comes from combining Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993) and (Kisseberth and Abasheikh 2004). Original transcriptions have been converted to IPA.

- Affects all environments
- Affects native vocabulary
- SIMILAR STRUCTURAL OUTCOMES

(22) Conclusion

- This presentation
 - Showed a sound change with consistent diachronic correspondences restricted to inherited vocabulary
 - Presented socio-historical evidence for shift
 - Presented comparative linguistic data
 - Presented two possibilities (borrowing and shift)
 - Showed how shift can result in an outcome identical to what would be expected of an internally-motivated sound change
 - Raises questions: Are there other similar examples of shift? Or is the case of Somali Bantu Kizigua a unique one?

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7
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