

The Historical Relation of Cigogo to Zone J Languages

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1. Introduction

Cigogo (Guthrie's G11) has been grouped with its eastern neighbors - Cikaguru, Sagara, and Luguru - and/or its southern neighbors - Kihehe and Kibena - at least since (Sir) Harry Johnston's extensive comparative study of Bantu (1919-1922). Guthrie (1967-1971) made it part of his zone G; Hinnebusch (1973) considers it part of Northeast Coast Bantu; Heine (1972) classifies it with its southern neighbors Kihehe and Kibena in his Gogo-Hehe group (11.914); Nurse and Philippson (1980) place it in West Ruvu, itself a sub-group of Greater Ruvu, a classification encompassing all of Guthrie's zone G except the G50 - G60 languages. Doubts about such a classification of Cigogo first surface in Hinnebusch (1981), where he states that "[t]he facts do not establish a clear-cut link with NEC languages..." (p. 60). Nevertheless, though he raises the issue of the ambiguous position of Cigogo with respect to the Northeast Coast languages, he offers no alternative classification and classifies it, albeit reluctantly, within the NEC group.

In this paper I wish to reconsider the historical position of Cigogo with respect to zone G and zone J languages (see Map 19). Specifically I argue that Cigogo was contiguous at one time with the southern *J* languages - Giha/Kirundi/Kinyarwanda (J61) and Ruhaya/Ruzinza (J22-23), and, moreover, that it should be considered to be genetically closest to these languages. Given these relations, it becomes apparent that the *F* languages represent an intrusive element in western Tanzania and arrived at a relatively more recent time than Cigogo.

2. Evidence for areal contact

Evidence for areal contact between Cigogo and the zone J languages can be found in phonological, morphological and lexical similarities. Though no single piece of evidence is, in itself, convincing proof of contact, the pieces taken together present a strong case for contiguity at an earlier time.

2.1 Phonological evidence

Phonological evidence supporting the contiguity hypothesis can be found in innovative changes from Proto-Bantu and in aberrant forms appearing in Cigogo and Kirundi/Kinyarwanda. Consider first the case of an aberrant /j/ appearing in Cigogo. From Johnston (1919) we find that one form of the words for "hundred" is *ijana*. In contrast, all zone G and F languages around Cigogo have *igana*. If we look to zone J, however, Johnston records the form *ijana* for "hundred" in Kinyarwanda/Kirundi (in current Kinyarwanda [*igana*]), and *ifana* in Ruzinza (see Map 1). For Kirundi/Kinyarwanda this *G > j (z currently) change represents a particular manifestation of a regular phenomenon occurring after the class 5 nominal prefix (reduced in J61 languages from *li-* to *i-*), as the examples in (1) attest.

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|----|----|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1) | a. | <i>i-gambo/ama-gambo</i> | "word/words" |
| | b. | <i>i-šano/ama-hano</i> | "misfortune/misfortunes" |
| 2) | a. | <i>i-zaBiro/ama-zaBiro</i> | "king's reception hut/s" |
| | b. | <i>umu-gaBe</i> | "king" |

In most instances the alternation has become regularized in favor of the fricative, as in (2). This spirantization/palatalization of [g] after the class 5 nominal prefix appears to be an innovation of the J61 languages, and does not, as far as I am aware, occur in any other eastern Bantu languages. It is surprising, then, to find this form occurring in Cigogo. The aberrant nature of this form suggests borrowing, and the only languages that could serve as the source are those in J61.

The reverse situation is found with the word "many". In most eastern Bantu languages the form is *-inggi*, but in Cigogo and Kirundi/Kinyarwanda we find *-inji* and *-infi*, respectively. According to Nurse (1979a:418), this change represents an innovation in Cigogo, though apparently not a completely regular one. In Kirundi/Kinyarwanda proto-Bantu *G became [z] only before close *i (*G > z/_i). But "many" has been reconstructed as having a non-close high vowel *i, as in *-YINGI (Guthrie 1971:20). Since *-infi* is an unexpected reflex of the reconstructed proto-form, borrowing appears to be the most likely source. Cigogo and Sangu (G 61) are the only

languages in the area with this form, suggesting that one of them - Cigogo - is the source (see Map 2).

A third aberrant form is found in a glide formation from PB *j. For the word 'ant', reconstructed as *-jegū (Meeussen 1969), Cigogo has *nYungu* where most other G languages have an alveolar or palatal fricative or affricate as a reflex of *j, as in Kaguru *sungusungu*, Shambala *cungu*, and Digo *tungu* (see Map 3). In other languages - Kihehe, Kesukuma and Kikuyu, for example - we find a velar stop as the stem-initial consonant. The only other languages to have a glide initial stem are the J20 languages Ruzinza and Ruhaya, J11 Runyankore, and the G20 cluster of Luguru, Kikami and Kikutu. Furthermore, Cigogo shares with the J languages not only the initial glide, but the prenasalized voiced velar stop (ŋ); thus, we find *nYuŋgu* and *enYanŋgo*, respectively.

Turn now to the verb "come", which illustrates an instance of phonological loss of a segment. In most eastern Bantu languages the form of this verb is some variant of *-iza*, with variation occurring in the form of the fricative. A few languages, however, have lost the initial vowel. While such a loss is certainly not uncommon phonologically, it is significant that the loss of this vowel correlates almost exactly with the distribution of palatalized forms of "hundred" and "many" discussed previously (compare Map 4 with Maps 1 and 2). These three innovations are of particular diagnostic value because they are so limited in their distribution and it is unlikely that all three innovations occurred independently in separated languages.

Several innovations of more widespread distribution also lend support to the claim of areal contact. Spirantization of the consonant [l] of the class 5 nominal prefix before vowel-initial stems, as in *ziso* "eye" rather than *liso*, occurs throughout much of zone G, but only in Kinyarwanda/Kirundi in zone J (see Map 5). The distribution of this change again suggests a link between J61 languages and zone G, particularly Cigogo.

Another innovation linking southern J languages with Cigogo and zone G is the spirantization of the consonant in the negative prefix *ti-*. In many of the zone G languages and a few of the zone J languages we find that *ti-* became *si-* in the first person singular only (see Map 6). In a few languages, among them Cigogo, this change spread throughout the system.

In sum, it seems unlikely that all of the phonological changes discussed here represent separate innovations on the part of J and G lan-

guages. If they were not separate innovations, then the simplest and most plausible explanation is that Cigogo and the zone J languages must have been contiguous at some time in the past.

2.2 Morphological evidence

Eastern Bantu languages are notorious for the immense variation exhibited in verbal morphology. In particular, tense/aspect morphology seems to vary from one dialect of a language to another. The occurrence of similar forms in the tense morphology, then, is highly indicative of a close link between languages. Three tense formatives in particular stand out in their restricted distributions. The first is the remote future formative. In Cigogo and Giha this formative is *-lo-*, and they are the only languages in east Africa to manifest this form. Neighboring languages, if they have a remote future formative with vowel [o], have *-zo-*, *-jo-*, or *-tso-*. Other languages have a general non-past formative *-o-* (see Map 7).

The second case involves the formative *-ka-*. Unlike the remote future formative just mentioned, *-ka-* occurs in a number of languages. However, it occurs with one of three temporal uses: 1) a remote past marker, 2) an intermediate or hesternal past marker, or 3) an habitual past "used to". From Map 8 it can be seen that its use as a remote past marker is almost exclusively limited to a string of zone J languages beginning with Ruzinza/Ruhaya in the south and moving northward. The sole exception is Cigogo, the only language outside zone J to employ *-ka-* in this way. Zone F languages and other zone G languages that have a *-ka-* formative employ it as a hesternal or intermediate past.

The final example of a tense formative concerns the distribution of the near future formative *-ra(:)*. This formative appears throughout much, if not all, of zone J (see Map 9). Outside of zone J it occurs in Shisumbwa, which is contiguous with Giha and Ruhaya/Ruzinza and heavily influenced by the former, and in Cigogo. It seems unlikely that Cigogo innovated independently of zone J or that all the intervening languages lost this formative.

In addition to the evidence for contact from verbal formatives, there is also evidence from locatives. Kirundi/Kinyarwanda exhibit an unusual alternation in the form a locative takes depending on the phonological form of the following noun. Thus, the locative for "in", "among" or "between" may be realized as *mu-* before nouns having an (underlying) augment (2), or as *muli* before nouns having no augment (3).

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| 2) a. | <i>mu kiyaga</i> | "in the lake" (Kinyarwanda) |
| b. | <i>mu Rwanda</i> | "in Rwanda" |
| 3) a. | <i>muli iniversite</i> | "in the university" |
| b. | <i>muli rubanda</i> | "among the people" |
| c. | <i>muli yombi</i> | "between both (hands)" |

In special cases both forms are possible with the same noun (4), though with some difference in meaning.

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|-------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 4) a. | <i>mu Ruhengeri</i> | "in the vicinity of Ruhengeri" |
| b. | <i>muli Ruhengeri</i> | "within the boundaries of Ruhengeri" |

According to Cordell (1941:40), Cigogo has both of these forms as well, *mu* meaning "in", "into", "on", and *muli* "in", "among", "between". Cordell gives no examples of these in use, but Nurse (1979b:73) lists what appear to be examples of these different forms (5), though he indicates no distinction in the meaning.

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|-------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 5) a. | <i>mwikolongo</i> | "in the river" (Cigogo) |
| b. | <i>mulikolongo</i> | "in the river" |

Though apparently not conditioned by morphological differences in nominal form as the Kirundi/Kinyarwanda alternation is, the Cigogo locative variants do appear to be similar in meaning to the Kirundi/Kinyarwanda forms. Since this kind of variation appears to be characteristic only of these languages and no others in the area, we have further evidence for a former link between them.

2.3 Lexical evidence

The distribution of many lexical items follows the same two patterns that have been observed for phonological and morphological elements, either an occurrence in *J61* and Cigogo (and possibly some neighbors) or

an occurrence in *J20* and Cigogo. Consider first several items that occur in *J61* and Cigogo. *Kidole* 'finger' (Map 10) and *-zehe* 'old' (Map 11) are found in various zone G languages, but only in Giha outside of zone G. The more commonly occurring forms for these words are *injala* and *-kuru*, respectively. *Kidole* and *-zehe* appear, ultimately, to be borrowings from Kiswahili which spread throughout much of the G area and only in the G area, with the sole exception of Giha. There is no historical reason for believing that Giha borrowed these words independently of Cigogo and other G languages.

Compare this situation with the words *indogosa / intogota* 'female goat' (Map 12), a Cushitic borrowing, and *kibanda* 'house' (Map 13), a borrowing from northern Kiswahili (Nurse, personal communication). Again we find a distribution in which Giha, in particular, has the same forms as Cigogo and other G languages. It is not terribly pertinent here where the borrowings came from, so long as the distribution of the words is nearly the same in each case. In fact, finding borrowings from two different sources with the same areal distribution represents stronger evidence for a contact situation. In effect, the nature of the relation depends on the pattern of distribution, not on the pattern's substrate.

Further lexical links between Cigogo and *J61* languages are found in the words for "mother", "axe", and "day". The most common forms of the word for "mother" in eastern Bantu languages appear to be *mama*, *mawe*, *nyina*, or *nyoko*. In Cigogo and Giha, however, we find Johnston listing *yiya* and *koiya*, respectively. The *ko-* is not surprising in Giha as we find it as the word for mother in Kirundi/Kinyarwanda (Map 14). In effect, the Giha term looks to be a combination of the words from both Kirundi/Kinyarwanda and Cigogo. The only other languages that have a comparable form are Kirimi, Irangi and Mbugwe, which have *iyō*.

The Proto-Bantu word for "axe" has been reconstructed by Guthrie (1967) and Meeussen (1969) as **-coka*. The reflex of this root *-suka-* has come to mean "hoe" in the *J61* languages. The new term for "axe" is *-senyo*, derived from Proto-Bantu **-ceng-* "cut". This innovation appears not only in *J61* languages, but also in *J20*, in Cigogo (as *-senyo*), and in Kaguru and Sagara (as *-hengō*) (see Map 15). While not an unlikely semantic shift for any language, the shift of the term from the action to the instrument appears to be quite restricted and suggests, in conjunction with the other lexical forms we have noted, a contact situation that permitted borrowing.

Lexical items can also be found that support a link between Cigogo and the *J20* languages, in particular Ruzinza. Terms for "day" and "blood" have a very similar distribution (see Maps 16 and 17, respectively). Both occur throughout much of zone J, excepting paradoxically Kirundi/Kinyarwanda. "Day" appears as *ekilo* in *J*, *ciro* in Cigogo and Kihehe. The term for "blood", another Cushitic borrowing, appears as *esagama* in *J20* languages and as *sakami* in the G languages. Intermediate between these forms are *zagami/sagami* in Kirimi and Irangi, respectively. In both instances the zone F languages separate what appears to have once been a dialect continuum. Table 1 below lists the phonological and lexical similarities previously mentioned that fall on either side of the zone F languages.

Gloss	Cigogo	Ruzinza	Ruhaya	Kinyarwanda/ Kirundi	Giha
hundred	igana/ijana	igana/ifana	igana	ijana/igana	igaa
many	-nji	-ngi	enggo	lnki/-infi	---
come	-za/-zala	-iza/-ija	-idza	-za	-za
eye	ziso	eliso/riifo	eliso	zifo/ejifo	ilinso
tooth	idzino	ilino/riino	elino	ezinyo/ilyino/ irinyo	idyenyol/ ilinyo
sun	idzua	izuwa/soba/ enzuwa	izowa	ezoba/izuwa	idzua/ izuwa
mother	yaya/yiya	mawe	maha/ mawe	ko/mawe/mama	koiya/ mama
old	-zehe	-gulusi	-gulusu/ -kuru	-kuru/-saza	-zehe
goat	mpeeni	embuzi	embuzi	empeni/impene	impene
female	mutogota	e.mwe/fiki	---	umuguma	indogosa
house	čibanda/ nyumba	ndyu/enzu	enzu	enzol/inzul/ inyumba	inzol/ ikibanda
blood	sakami	esagama	esagama	amaraso	---
day	kilo/ciro	ekilo/ omufana	ekilo/ omuzana	ezorro/umu(n)si	izuwa/ ikilo
brother (-hood)	ndugu/ lumbu	ilumbu/ umurumuna	omwaitu	umurumuna/ umukur/umusaza/ mwenetata	mwenewel/ musadza

Table 1. Lexical similarities linking Cigogo and zone J languages

2.4 Summary of evidence for areal contact

In the phonological, morphological and lexical items discussed in the preceding sections, we have seen two common patterns of distribution. In the first we find that languages of *J6l* share common characteristics with Cigogo (and frequently with other *G* languages), but not with the intervening *F* languages. In the second pattern we find *J20* languages sharing common characteristics with Cigogo. While any one of these shared features could represent mere coincidence, together they constitute a strong case for early contact between these languages, and subsequent separation as a result of an intrusive migration on the part of the *F* language speakers. The relationship of Cigogo to the southern *J* languages appears to be stronger than simple areal contact. In fact, morphological evidence suggests a close genetic affiliation as well.

3. Evidence for genetic affiliation

Morphological correspondences are generally considered to provide the surest means of identifying close genetic affiliation among languages (Hetzron 1976). In eastern Bantu languages, where verbal morphology - particularly tense formatives - vary widely in form and reference, resemblances in the system of tense formatives would appear to provide strong evidence of close genetic ties. We have already seen that Cigogo and the southern *J* languages share some tense morphology - *-lo-* "remote future" in Cigogo and Giha, *-ka-* "remote past" and *-la(:)* "near future" in Cigogo and Ruhaya. A comparison of the morphology of the tense systems of Cigogo, Ruhaya and Giha reveals a significant patterning of tense forms and temporal reference. In Table 2 are listed simple verbal constructions for the three languages with an approximation of their temporal meaning and usage.

	<u>Cigogo</u>	<u>Ruhaya</u>	<u>Giha</u>
Rm Fut	SP+a+la+RAD+a (SP+o+lo+RAD+a)	SP+li+RAD+a	SP+lo+RAD+a
Nr Fut	SP+la+RAD+a	SP+la:RA+a	SP+la:RAD+a
Im Fut	SP+ku+RAD+a	?	SP+a+li ku+RAD+a
Pr Ind	SP+ku+RAD+a	SP+Ø+RA+a	SP+la+RAD+a
Pr Con	SP+li+RA+a	ni+SP+Ø+RAD+a (SP+li ku+RAD+a)	SP+haye SP+Ø+RAD+a
Perf	SP+a+RAD+ile	SP+a+RAD+ile	SP+a+RAD+(y)e
"still"	SP+ka+li+RAD+a	SP+kYa+RAD+a	SP+ča:RAD+a
Im Pst	SP+Ø+RA+ile	SP+a+RAD+a (?)	SP+la+RAD+(y)e
Nr Pst	SP+a+RAD+a	SP+a+RAD+a	SP+a+RAD+(y)e
Rec Pst	SP+a+RAD+a	SP+Ø+RAD+ile	SP+a+RAD+(y)e
Int Pst		SP+a+RA+ile	
Rm Pst	SP+ka+RAD+a	SP+ka+RAD+ile	SP+a+la+RAD+(y)e

Table 2. Morphology of simple tense constructions

In the past tenses Cigogo and Ruhaya exhibit remarkable similarity in both the forms and their reference.

-a...a	near past
-Ø...ile	recentness
-ka...a	remote past

The form with *-a...a* refers to a time earlier in the day in both languages, while *-ka...a* refers to remoteness in time. A third form, *-Ø...ile*, occurs in both with the shared sense of recentness, either immediately or in some vague recent past in Cigogo, or in the past few days in Ruhaya. This interpretation is strengthened by similar tense forms occurring in Runyankore (J11), a language closely related to Ruhaya. Forms for the perfect/immediate past and recent past both have the canonical form SP+Ø+RAD+ire, illustrating the potential dual role of this particular form.

According to Nurse (1979b), Ruhaya has a fourth past expression - listed Table 2 as an intermediate past - one that is not found in either Cigogo or in Giha. However, this form is not described in either Betbeder and Jones (1949) or Hyman and Byarushengo (1984), so its status here remains questionable.

In forms expressing something we can vaguely refer to as "current relevance", Cigogo and Ruhaya have identical perfect constructions and very similar "still" constructions, sharing the formative *-ka-l-kyā-*. The present constructions at first glance appear to be quite different. But in looking at the alternative form of the present continuous in Ruhaya, we find a *-li-* occurring as part of a periphrastic construction, suggesting a possible link with the *-li-* formative in Cigogo.

	Cigogo	Ruhaya
present:	continuous	-li-
	indefinite	-ku-
		-Ø-

A similar construction is found in Giha, but for the immediate future rather than for the present continuous. Cigogo has the formative *-ku-*.

	Cigogo	Giha
immediate future:	-ku-	-li+ku-

Thus, for the PrCon we find a formative *-li-* in Cigogo corresponding to a periphrastic construction in Ruhaya, while for the ImFut we find the formative *-ku-* in Cigogo corresponding to a similar periphrastic construction in Giha. Since we have already seen evidence pointing to areal contact, it seems likely that Cigogo may have had a similar periphrastic

construction, but one which became further grammaticized in two different ways, influenced by the two languages immediately contiguous with it. Cigogo, like both Ruhaya and Giha, has periphrastic constructions involving a form of the verb "be" as auxiliary, either *-li* or *-wa*. In some constructions of the Cinyankwalo dialect of Cigogo (a dialect different from that illustrated in Table 1) the SP and/or T marker of the main verb is optionally deleted, as in (6).

- 6) a. *č(i-o-wa či-ku-vin-a* "We will be dancing (nr fut)"
SP-F-be SP-T-dance-FV
- b. *č(i-o-wa-vin-a* "We will be dancing (nr fut)"

A more striking example of the change from periphrastic to single expression is found in the form of the present continuous in this dialect (7). Either of the forms in (a) or (b) is acceptable, though preference is given to the (b) form and appears to be the one most commonly used.

- 7) a. *a-ku-wa ku-gon-a* "He is sleeping"
- b. *a-ku-wa-gon-a*

This dialect has used *-wa* rather than *-li* as the form of "be", but the principle involved is the same. That the form for "be" can also be deleted can be seen from the example in (8) of the remote future imperfect in which the remote future formatives *-a+la-* remain, but the *-wa* has been deleted.

- 8) *n-a-la n-gon-ile* "I will be sleeping"

Given this phenomenon in Cigogo, it does not seem implausible or unlikely that a one-time periphrastic construction with the *-li* form of "be" was reduced in two different ways thereby creating different temporal structures as noted in the PrCon and ImFut above.

In other future constructions we find that the Cigogo near future corresponds closely with both Ruhaya and Giha, lacking only the lengthened vowel of the tense formative. This is not unexpected since Cigogo

has no vowel length distinction. The remote future shows a similarity between Cigogo and Giha with the formative *-lo-*, a fact mentioned previously. According to Nurse's (1979b) informant, the Cigogo form in *-olo-* is becoming old-fashioned and is being replaced by *-ala-*. This change of vowels is of interest because it suggests that the basic form of a formative may remain more or less constant - VCV, for example - while the exact quality of the vowels may change. Many languages in the *G* group have a non-past or future formative in [ol]. This vowel appears to be an innovation, though it is not clear what the source may have been. Its appearance in Cigogo may reflect an influence of this vowel quality on the formative *-li-*, which is the formative for the remote future in Ruhaya/Ruzinza. Given the extent of shared tense morphology, a remote future *-li-* in both Cigogo and Ruhaya does not seem odd, particularly when compared with Kirundi/Kinyarwanda where we find remote future *-zo-* and *-za-*, respectively.

The extent of the similarity in the tense systems of Cigogo and Ruhaya points strongly to a close genetic affiliation between the two languages, closer than that between Cigogo and Giha. More particularly, this close resemblance in tense systems extends north from Ruhaya through the *J10* languages Runyankore and Lunyoro. The extensive similarity in verbal morphology suggests a dialect continuum from which Cigogo was eventually separated by the intrusion of the *F* languages. The extensive phonological, morphological and lexical similarities exhibited by Cigogo and Giha suggest that there was a lot of mutual interaction, perhaps greater than that between Cigogo and Ruhaya and/or Ruzinza.

4. Historical setting

Ehret (1984), following Nurse (1974), Nurse and Phillipson (1974) and Hinnebusch (1973), places the Wagogo (circa 1100 AD) along the Wami River among the Ruvu peoples. Subsequently they migrated further west presumably to their modern location in the area of Dodoma. If this were the case, then we would have a difficult time explaining the kinds of similarities noted above. Rather, the linguistic evidence and relevant oral histories combine to support a general placement of Cigogo in the area of the southern *J* languages today.

We have seen that Cigogo shares certain features with Giha, Kirundi/Kinyarwanda, Ruhaya and Ruzinza that it does not share with each of the others. These characteristics have been shown to be indicative of areal contact and, hence, suggest that Cigogo was in contact with all of these languages at some period in time. Since Cigogo is now separated from these languages by the zone F languages, the latter appear to represent an intrusive force in the region. Furthermore, it seems more likely that these languages "pushed" Cigogo to the southeast rather than moving all the southern J languages to the northwest.

Corroborating this view of Cigogo movement to the southwest is evidence presented in *Cattle and Kinship among the Gogo* (Rigby 1969). Rigby reports (p. 68-69) that the Manghala clan is considered to be the first Gogo clan in the area and that they came originally from the north/northwest, exactly where the linguistic evidence places them. I suggest, then, that Cigogo was previously located contiguous to the southern J languages in the approximate position indicated in Map 18.

5. Conclusion

The linguistic and historical evidence presented here strongly suggest both an areal and a close genetic relationship between Cigogo and the southern J languages. The evidence points, in particular, to a close genetic link between Cigogo and Ruhaya/Ruzinza. I propose, therefore, that Cigogo be reclassified as part of the J20 sub-group, which includes Ruhaya and Ruzinza among others.

If this analysis is correct, then the F languages represent a more recent incursion into this area and future research should be directed at determining the origins and direction of movement of this group. More importantly, the analysis suggests that we must take a more critical look at the standard, generally accepted classifications of these languages.

Notes

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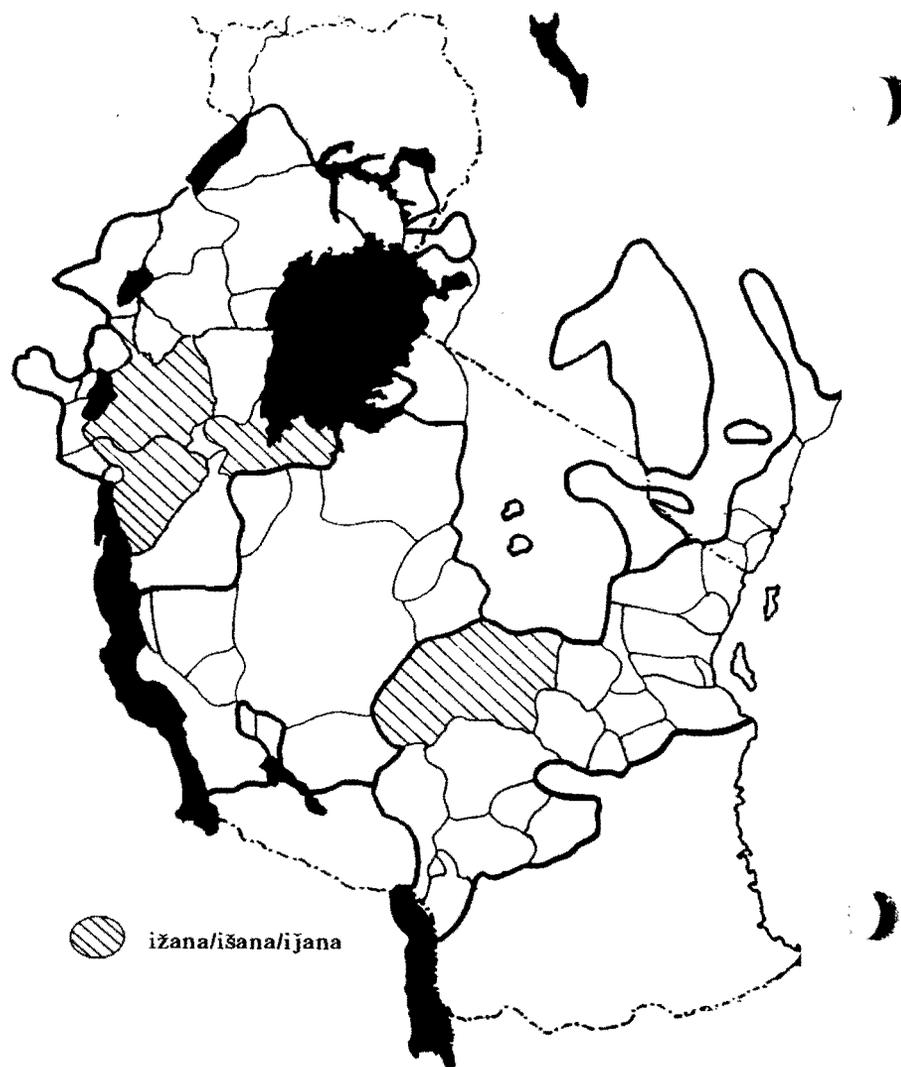
Résumé

Cigogo, langue bantoue de la Tanzanie, est classée G11 dans le système élaboré par M. Guthrie. Depuis lors d'autres auteurs - Heine (1972), Hinnebusch (1973), Nurse and Phillipson (1980), Ehret (1984) - ont maintenu cette relation proche entre le Cigogo et les langues bantoues à l'est ou au sud. Cependant, ces analyses sont inconclusives (Hinnebusch 1980). Selon les faits phonologiques, morphologiques et lexiques, nous proposons que le Cigogo est mieux considéré comme parenté aux langues de la zone J sud, c'est-à-dire, aux langues J22-23. Ces faits suggèrent de plus qu'il existait une situation de contact entre le Cigogo et les langues de J61 et J22-23. Ils laissent supposer que les langues de la zone F sont arrivées plus tard.

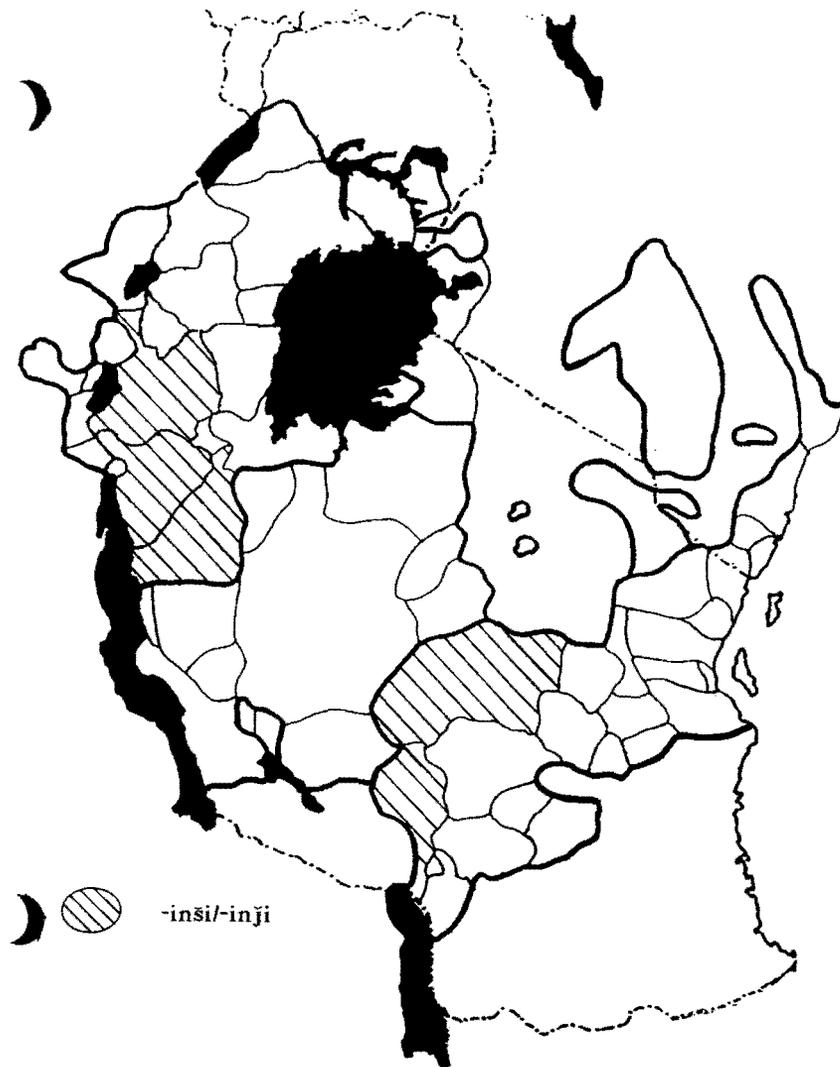
Zusammenfassung

Cigogo, eine Bantusprache in Tanzania, wurde von Guthrie als G11 klassifiziert. Seither haben andere Autoren - Heine (1972), Hinnebusch (1973), Nurse & Phillipson (1980), Ehret (1984) - diese enge Beziehung des Cigogo mit den östlich und südlich anschließenden Bantusprachen aufrecht erhalten. Diese Untersuchungen sind jedoch nicht schlüssig (Hinnebusch 1980). Im Hinblick auf die phonologischen, morphologischen und lexikalischen Tatsachen wird hier vorgeschlagen, daß das Cigogo besser als den Sprachen der südlichen Zone J, d.h. den Sprachen J22-23, verwandt zu betrachten ist.

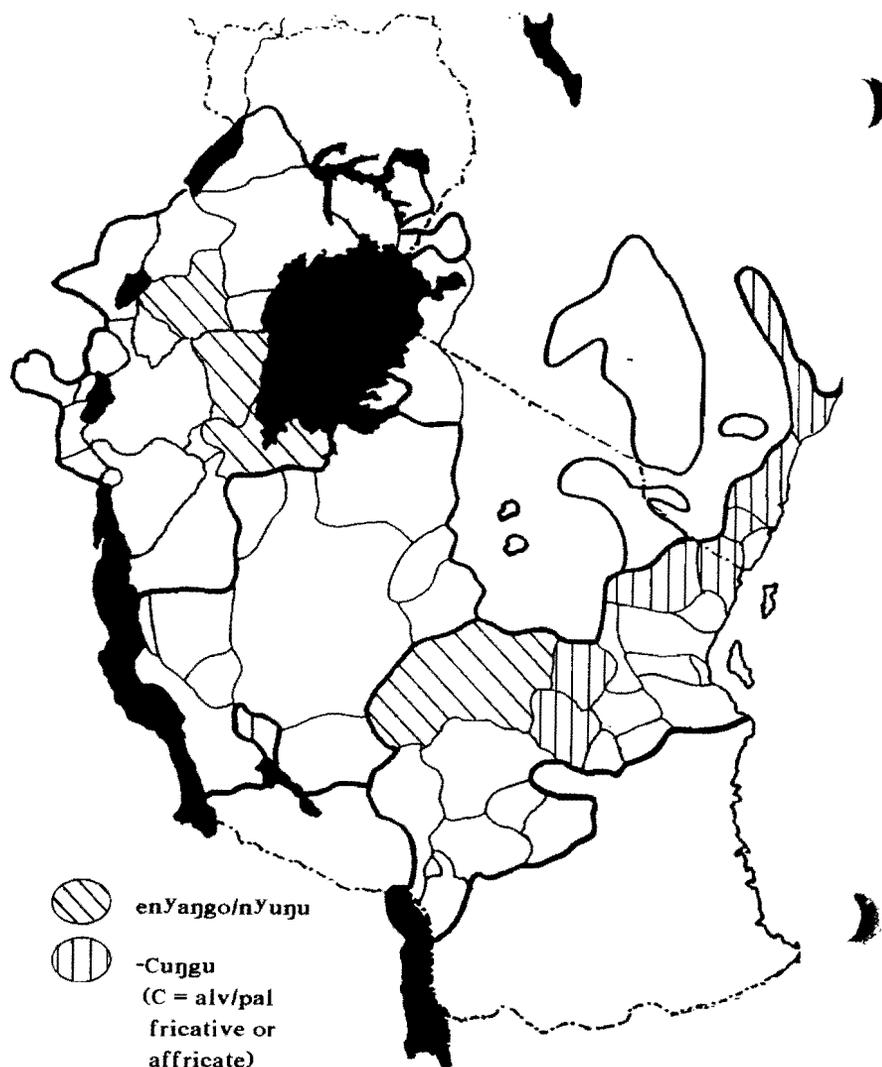
Diese Tatsachen legen weiterhin nahe, daß eine Kontaktsituation zwischen dem Cigogo und den Sprachen der Zone J61 und J22-23 bestand. Sie lassen vermuten, daß die Sprachen der Zone F erst später in diesem Gebiet eingetroffen sind.



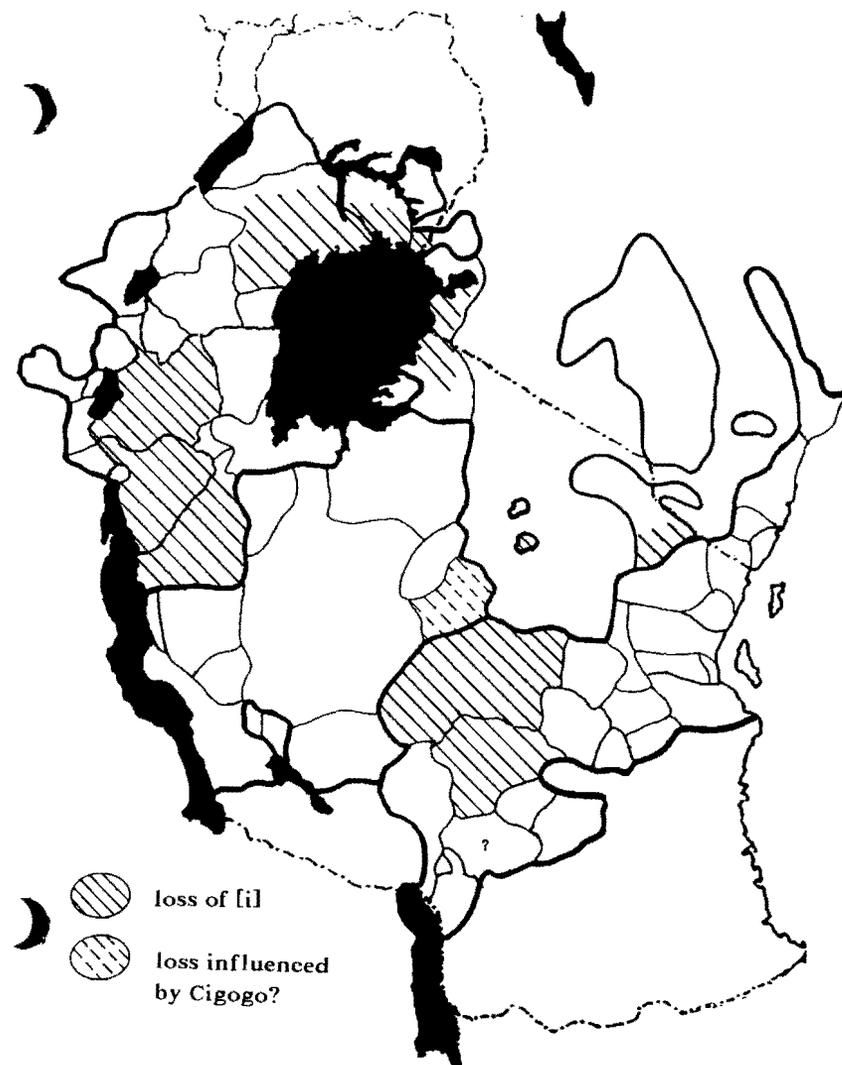
Map 1. Palatalization in igana 'hundred'



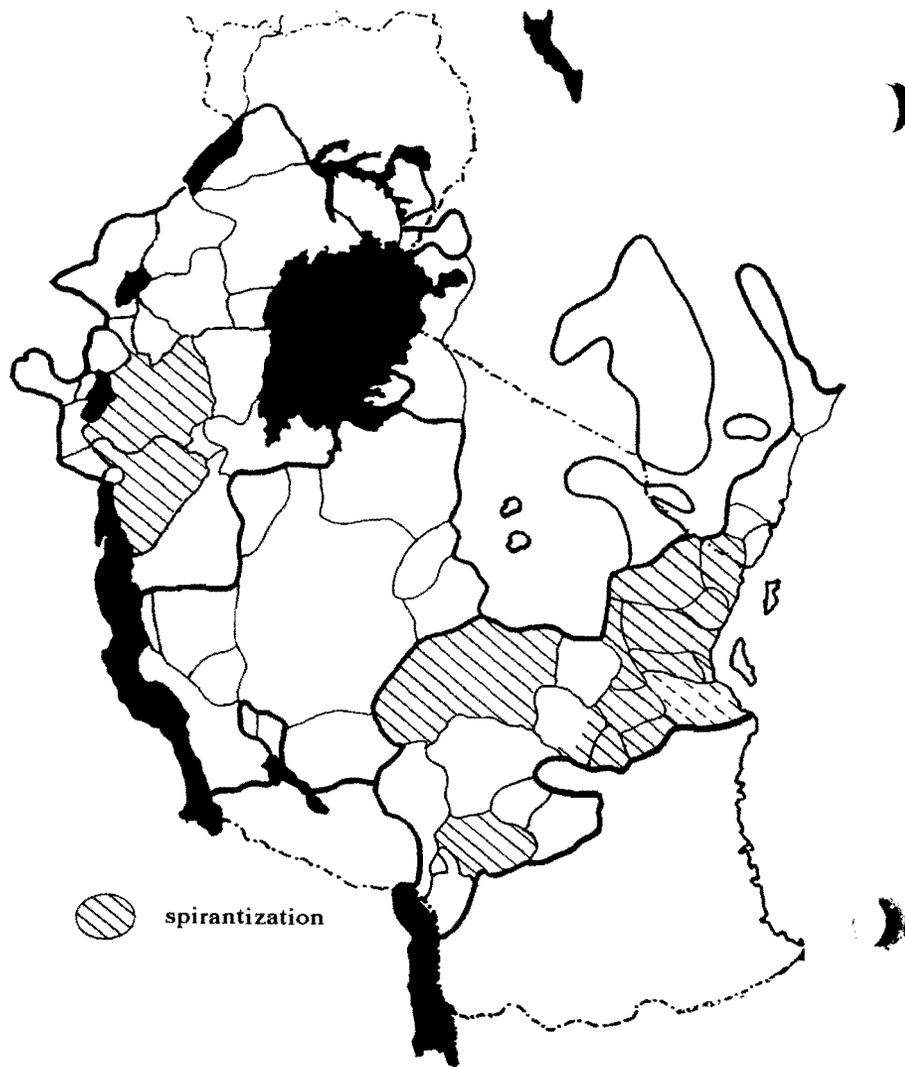
Map 2. Palatalization in -ingi 'many'



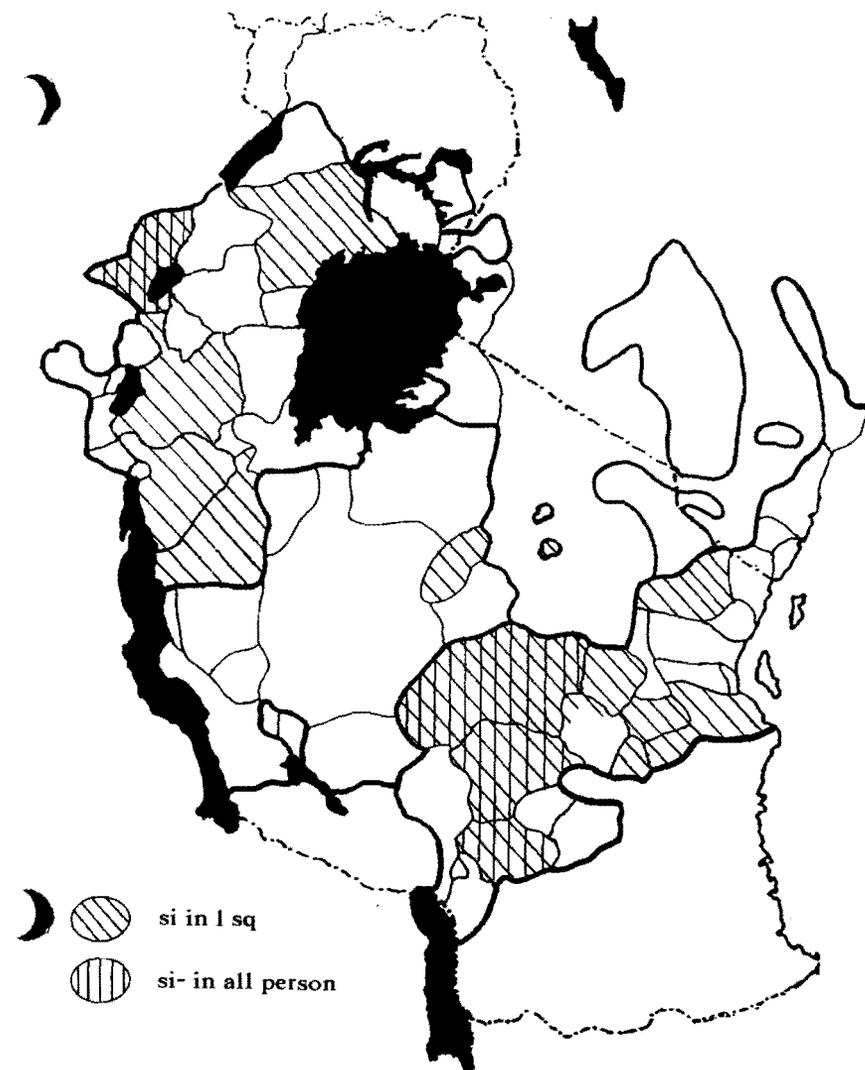
Map 3. Stem initial glide formation
in *-jegu 'ant'



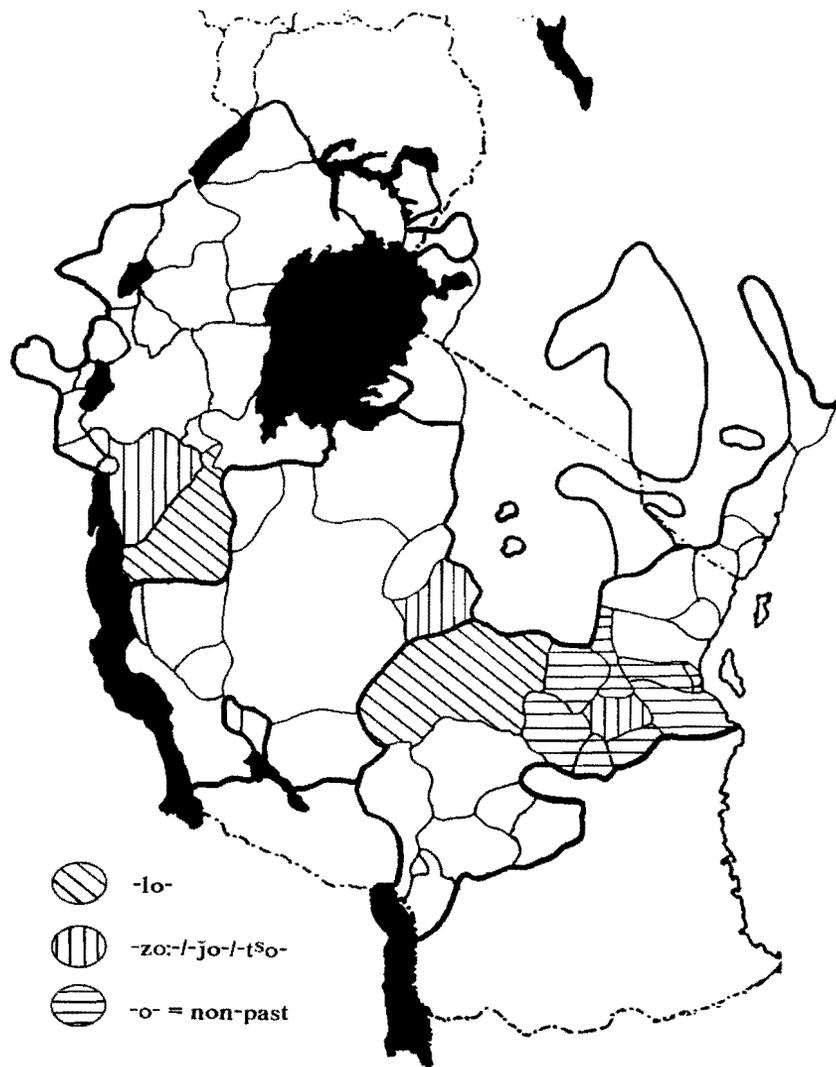
Map 4. Loss of initial [i] in -iza 'core'



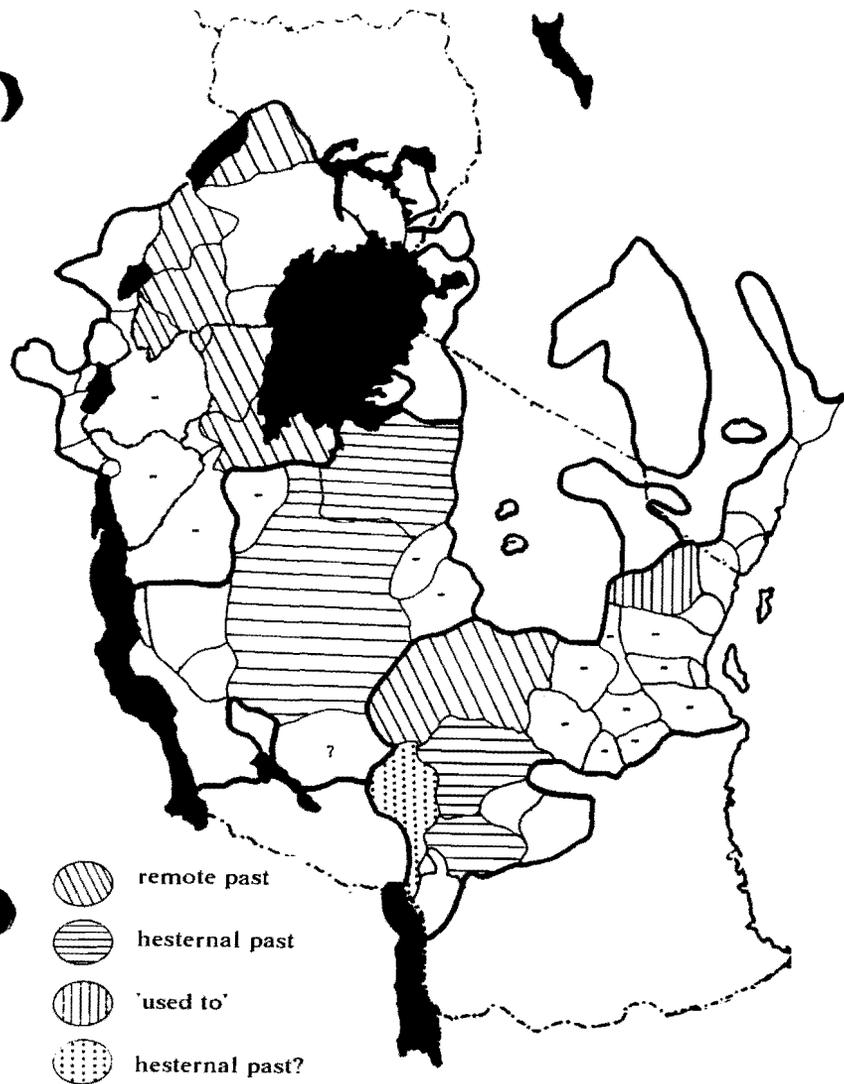
Map 5. Spirantization of [l] in cl 5 nominal prefix before i,-initial stem



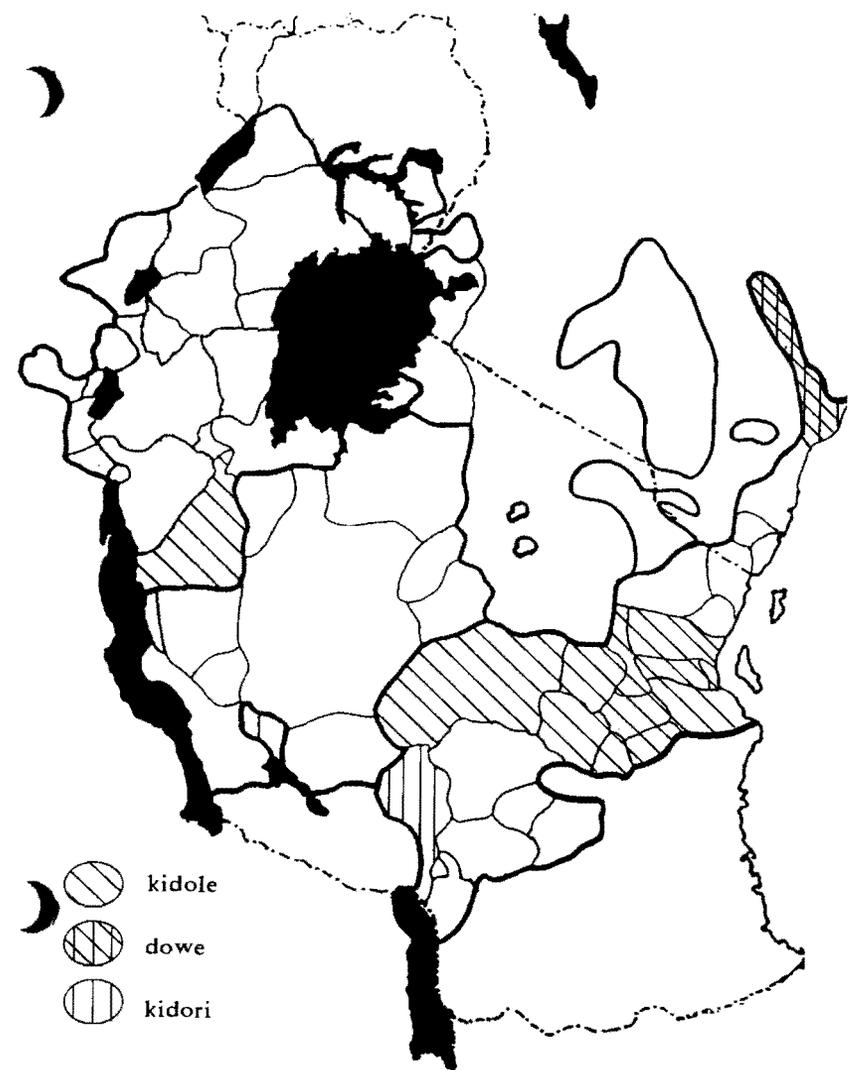
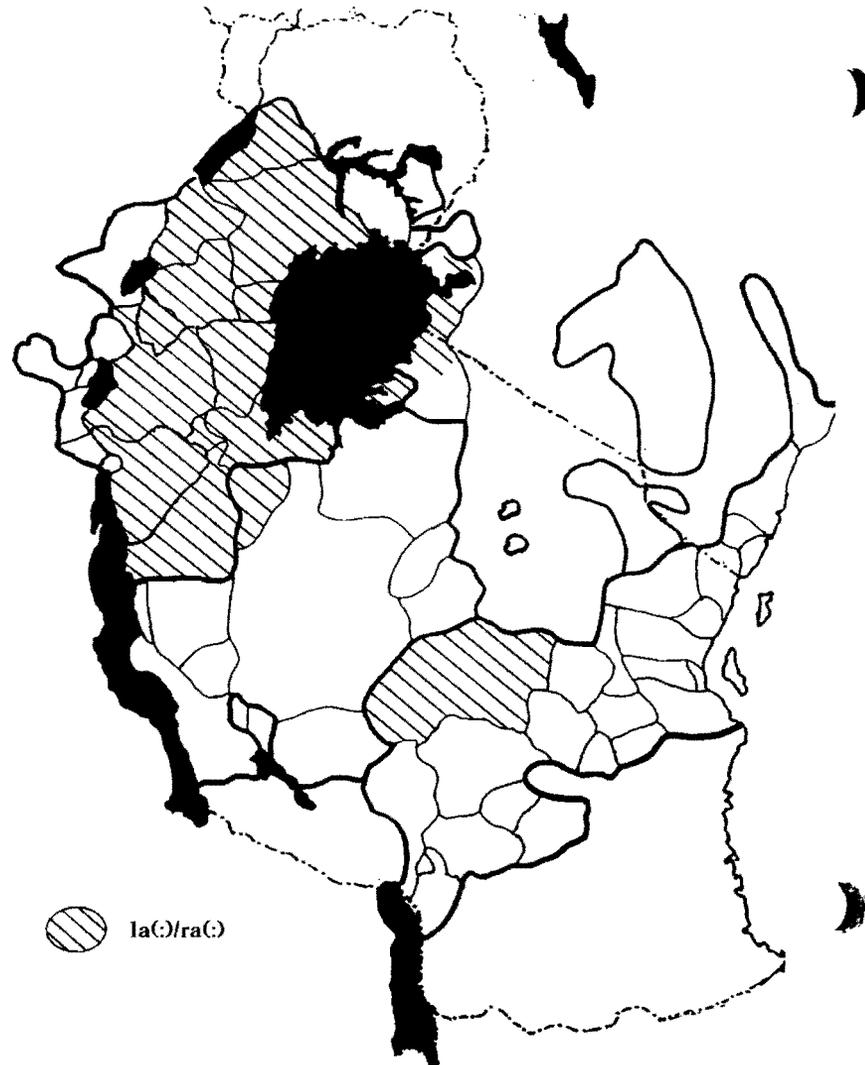
Map 6. Spirantization of negative prefix ti-

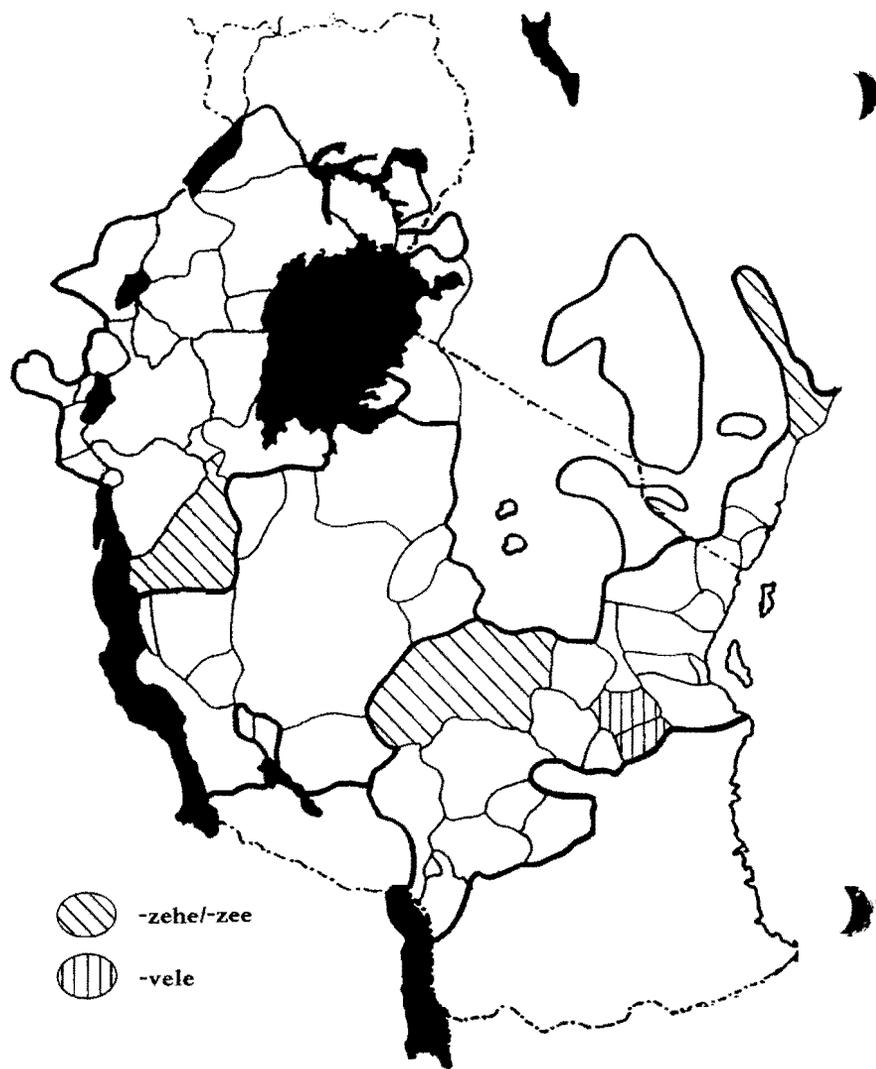


map 7. Tense formation in [o], primarily as remote future marker

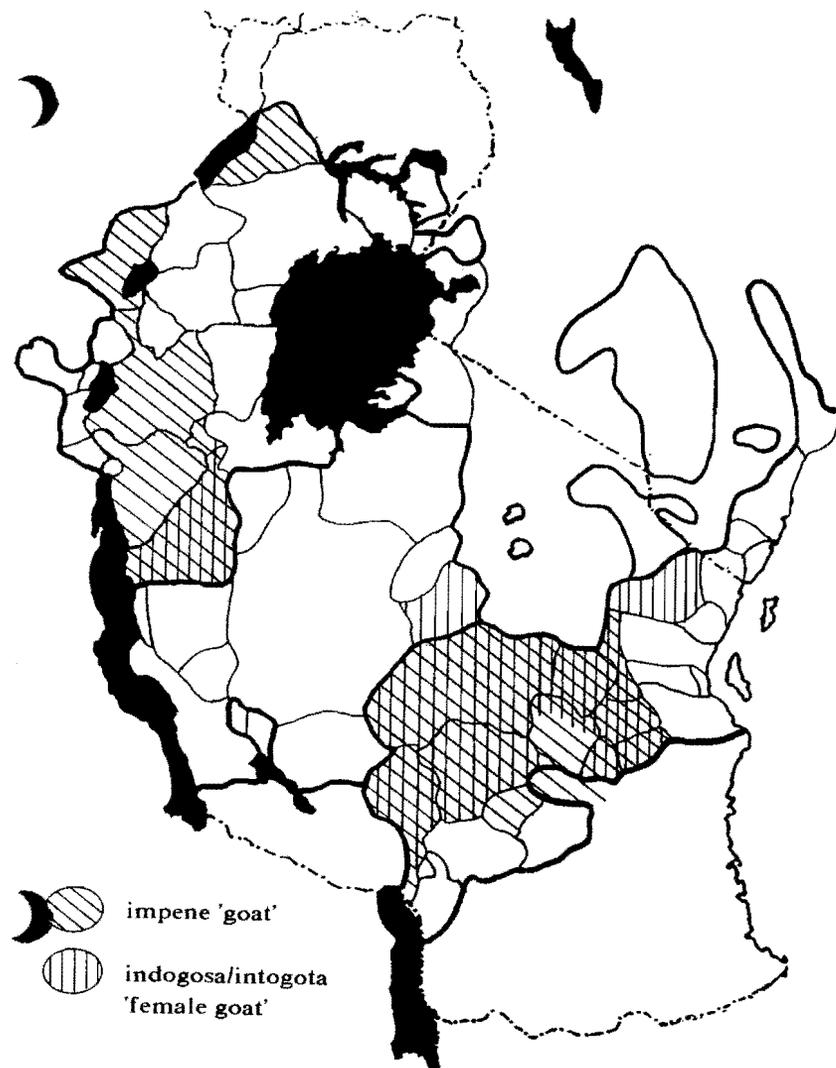


Map 8. Tense formative -ka-

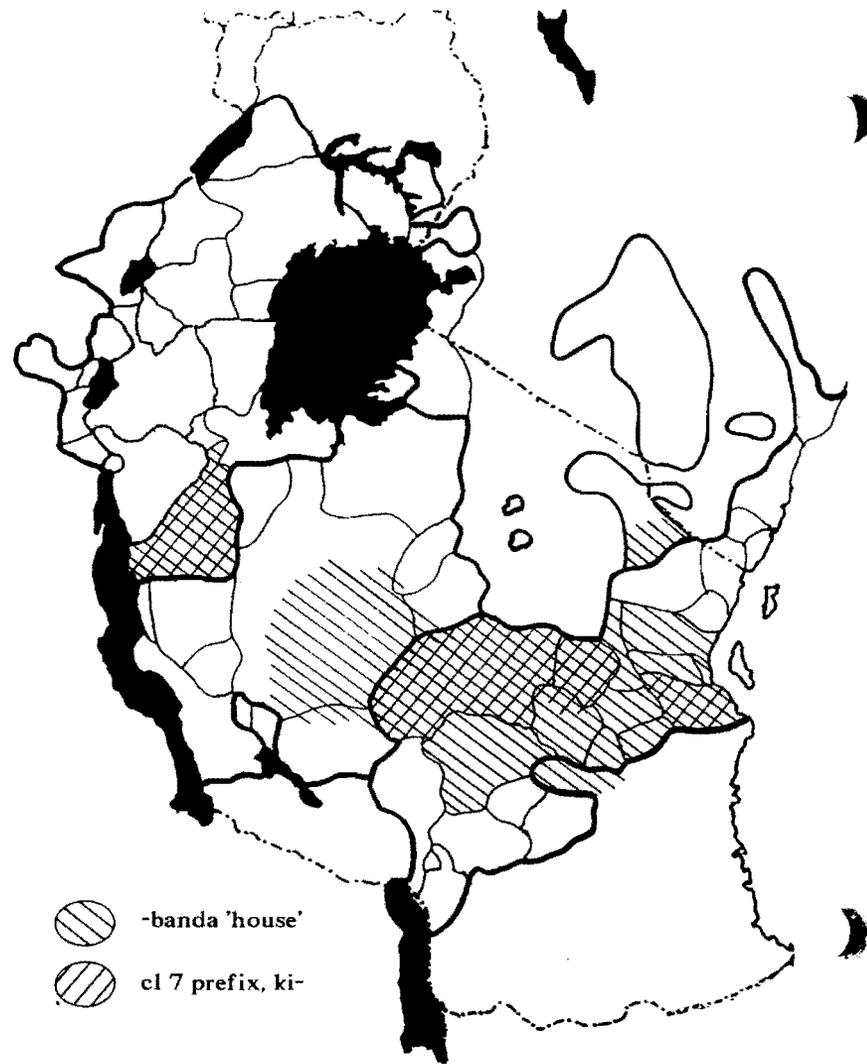




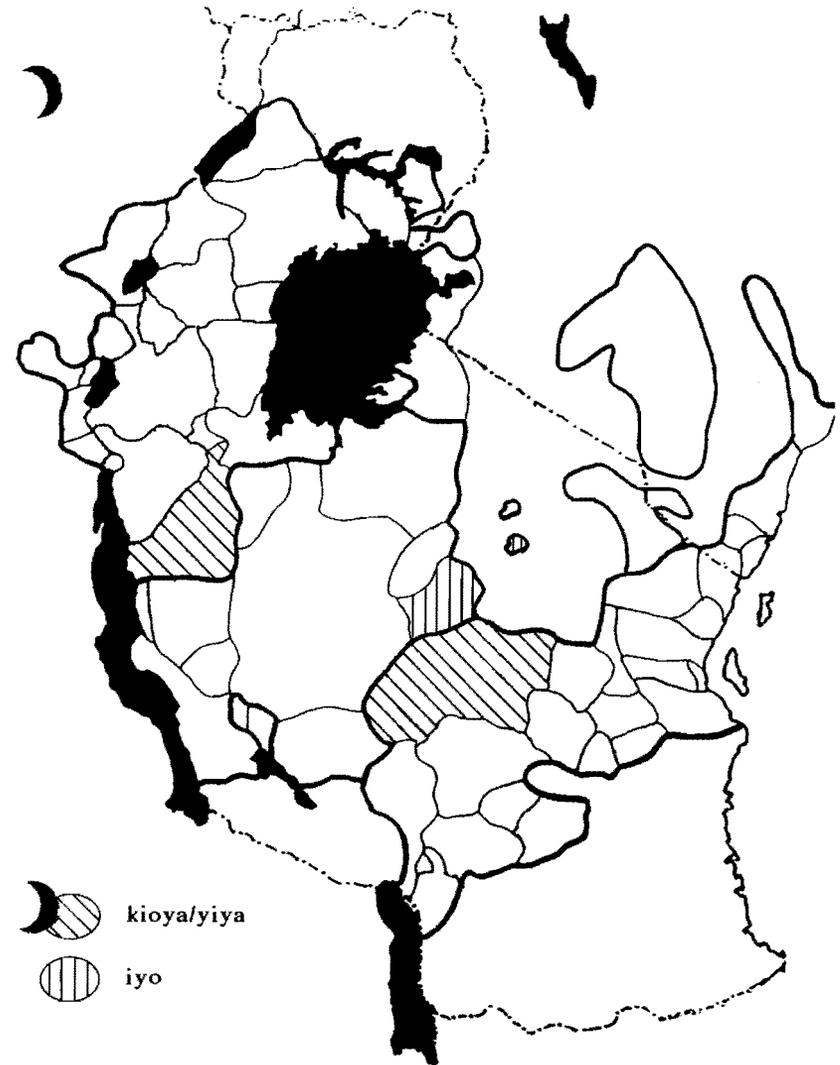
Map 11. Variant forms of -zehe 'old'
(borrowing from Kiswahili)



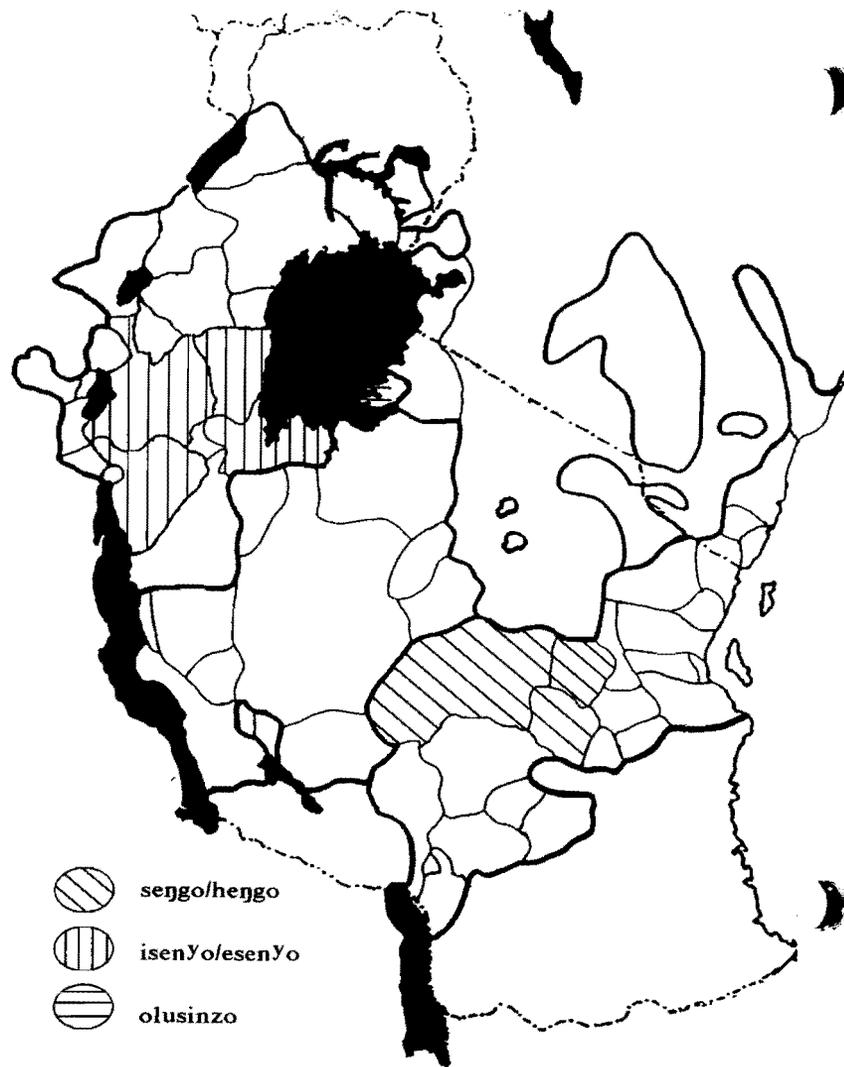
Map 12. Terms for 'goat' and 'female goat'
(Cushitic borrowings)



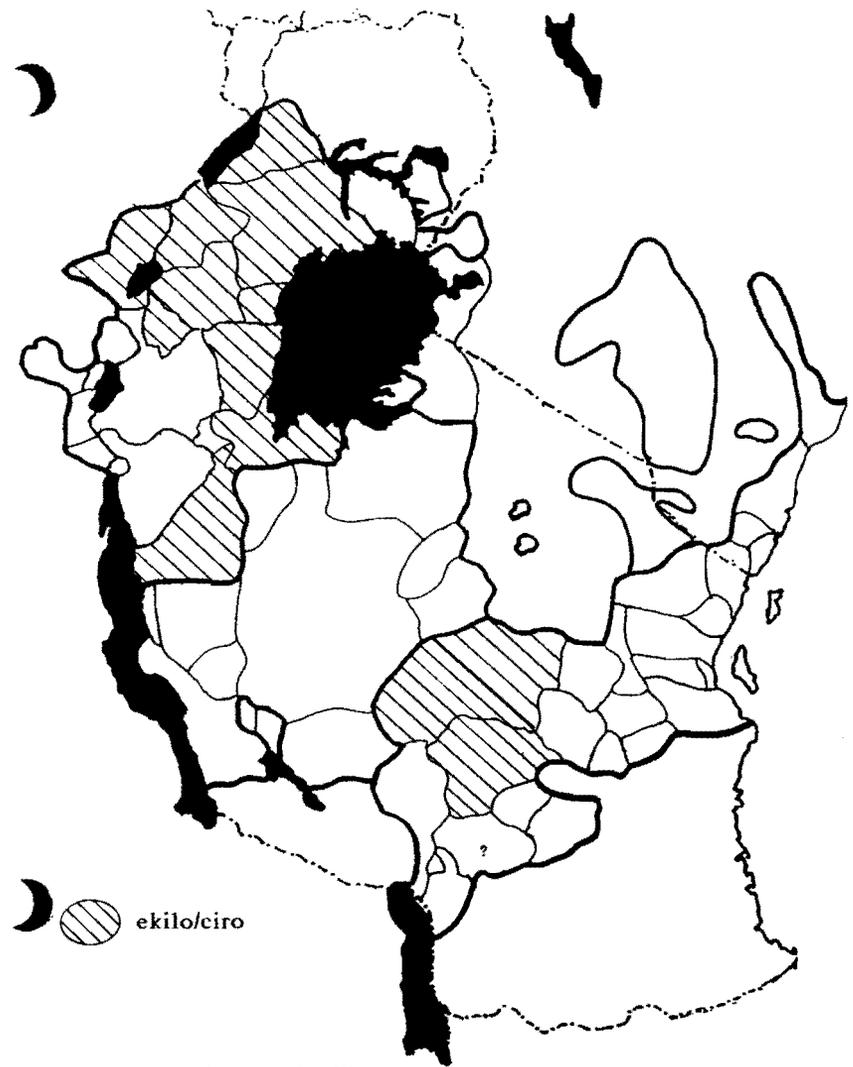
Map 13. Term for 'house'
 (Borrowing from northern Kiswahili,
 D. Nurse, personal communication)



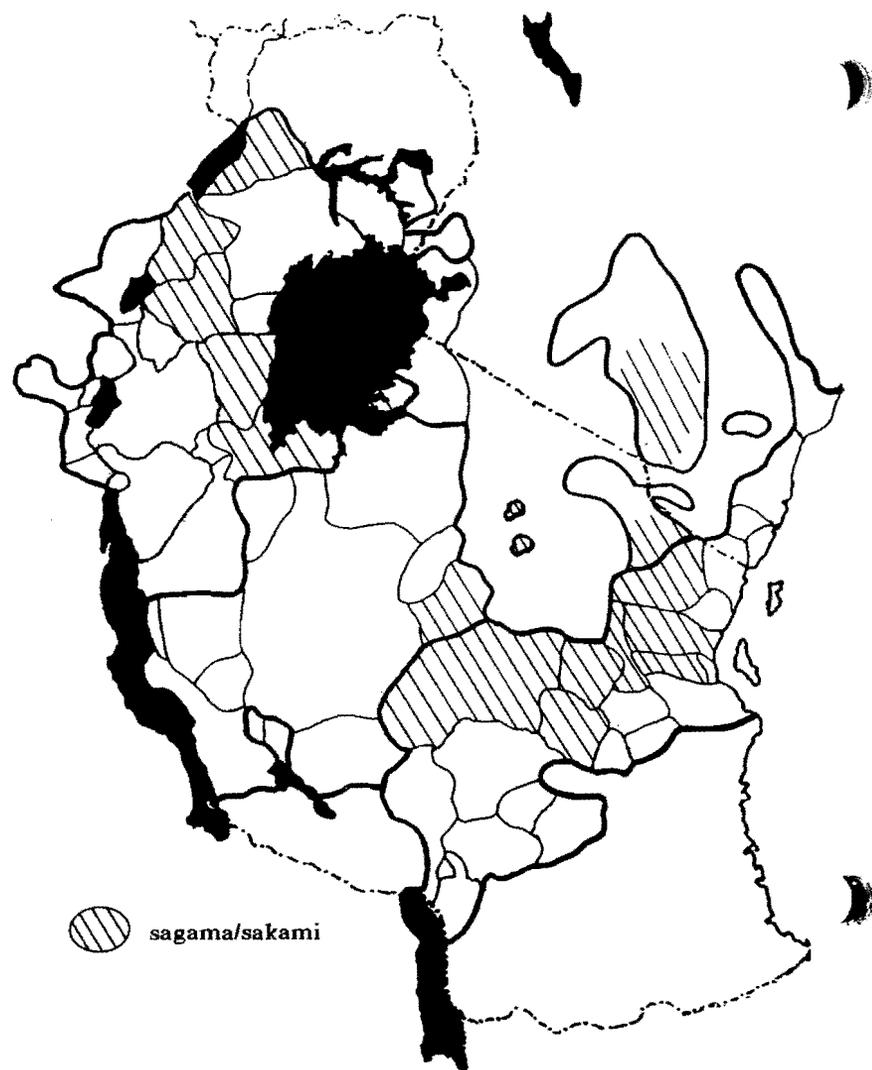
Map 14. Terms for 'mother'



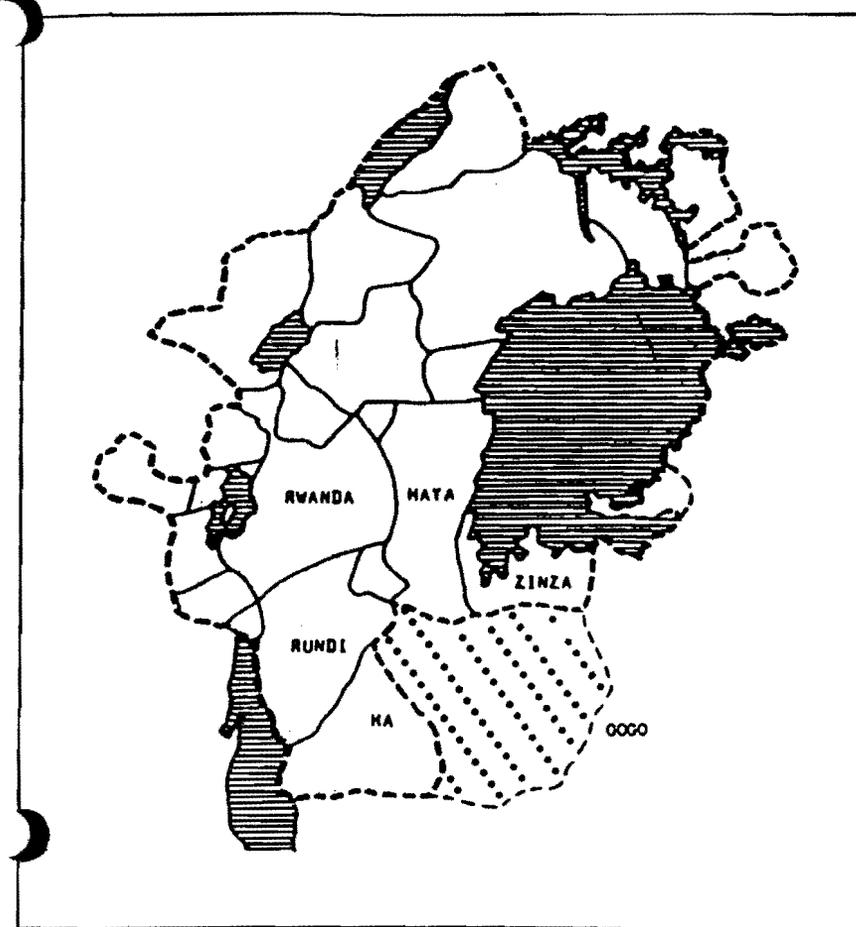
Map 15. Terms for 'axe'



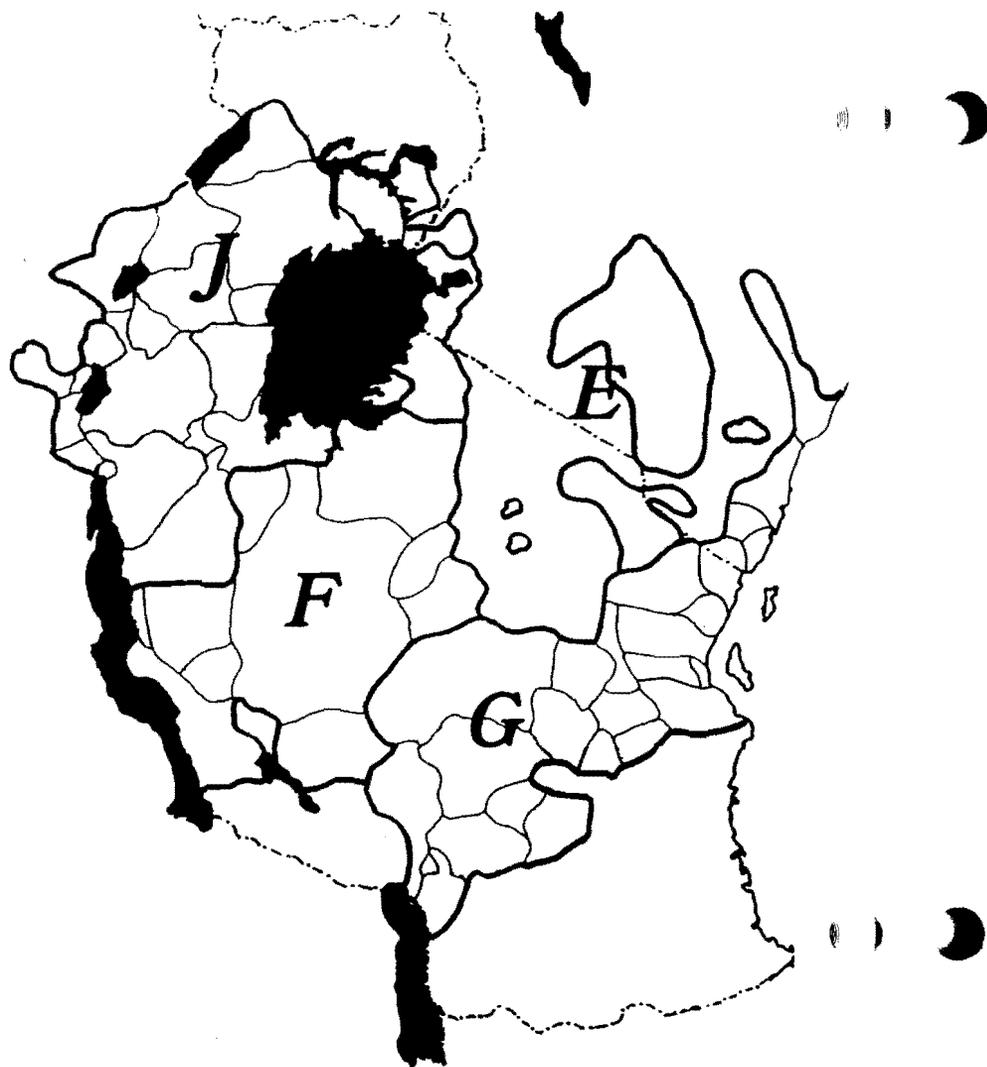
Map 16. Term for 'day'



Map 17. Term for 'blood'
(Cushitic borrowing)



Map 18. Suggested historical relationship of
Cigogo to Gih/kirundi and to
Ruhaya/Ruzinza



Map 19. Current zone classification
(Guthrie modified by the Tervuren
Lolemi project)