The Making of a Mixed Language

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The Making of a Mixed Language: The case of Ma'a/Mbugu
by Maarten Mous

The Making of a Mixed Language

The case of Ma'a/Mbugu

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables xi
List of Figures xiii
Acknowledgements xv
List of Abbreviations xvi
Map 1 of the relevant area of east Africa xviii
Map 2 of the Usambara area xix
1 Introduction 1
1.1 The people and their language 1
1.2 Earlier descriptions and history of Ma'á studies 2
1.3 Source of data, fieldwork 5
1.4 Areas of settlement of the Ma'á/Mbugu and clan affiliation 6
1.5 Multilingualism and language attitude 7
1.6 A sample of Mbugu language material 8
1.7 Properties of the parallel lexicon 10
1.8 New insights in this work 13
1.9 Organisation of this book 15
2 Historical and geographical background 17
2.1 Oral History 17
2.2 Historical information from the parallel lexicon 24
2.3 Usambara mountains: Shambaa, Seuta Bantu, Swahili 28
2.4 Maasai 31
2.5 Gorwaa and Mbugwe 32
2.6 Pare 33
2.7 The Taita connection 34
2.8 Old Kenyan Cushitic: Eastern Cushitic, Dahalo 37
2.9 Chronology through a study of lexical domains 41
2.10 Reconstructing the history: possible scenarios 44
3 Linguistic history 51
3.1 The issues and the debate 51
3.2 Absence of drastic recent linguistic developments 51
3.3 History of the lateral fricatives in Ma'á (Inner Mbugu) 52
3.4 Truncation rule 56
3.5 Remnants of non-Bantu grammar 58
3.6 Ma'á non-Bantu causatives 63

3.7 Non-Bantu nominal endings ... 68
3.8 Locatives and other non-Bantu frozen grammatical elements ... 71
3.9 The origin of function words ... 72
3.10 Shift or gradual bantuisation ... 74
3.11 Code-switching as a model for Ma'á ... 86
3.12 Mixed languages as a challenge to historical linguistics ... 87
4 Phonology ... 95
4.1 Consonants ... 95
4.2 Spirantisation in velars ... 97
4.3 Prenasalised obstruents ... 103
4.4 Vowels ... 103
4.5 Tone ... 104
4.6 Syllable structure ... 104
4.7 Word structure and phonotactics ... 107
5 The verb ... 111
5.1 Overview ... 111
5.1.1 Vowel coalescence, i-initial stems, and morphotonology ... 112
5.1.2 Subject and object prefixes ... 114
5.1.3 Other verbal prefixes, "tense" and polarity ... 115
5.1.4 Relative marker ... 117
5.1.5 The inflectional final vowel ... 117
5.1.6 The a/e alternation ... 119
5.1.7 Imperatives ... 121
5.1.8 Clitics ... 121
5.2 The "tenses" ... 121
5.3 Combinations of "tense" prefixes ... 137
5.4 The negative "tenses" ... 139
5.5 Copula and verbs "to be" ... 145
5.6 Verbal derivation ... 153
6 The noun ... 163
6.1 The noun class system ... 163
6.2 The morphophonology of the noun class prefixes ... 164
6.3 Noun class pairings ... 164
6.4 Derivation ... 171
6.5 Frozen suffixes ... 173
6.6 Question nouns ... 173
6.7 Names ... 173
7 Adjectives and other nominal modifiers ... 175
7.1 Adjectives ... 175
7.2 Genetive and relative pronouns ... 178
7.3 Possessives ... 179
7.4 Demonstratives ... 180

7.5 Quantifiers ... 181
8 Invariables or other words ... 183
8.1 Dependent invariables: Prepositions ... 183
8.2 Independent invariables ... 191
8.3 Independent personal pronouns ... 194
8.4 Higher numbers and other invariable modifiers ... 195
9 Notes on syntax, code-switching and texts ... 197
9.1 Syntax ... 197
9.2 Set sentences ... 198
9.3 Code-switching ... 199
9.4 A sample of code-switching ... 200
9.5 Texts ... 205
Notes ... 215
References ... 221
Appendix: Mbugu - English etymological lexicon ... 231
English index to the lexicon ... 299
Index ... 319

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Area, clans, and language preference 7
Table 1.2: Derivation of Inner Mbugu by dummy suffix 13
Table 2.1: Oral traditions, clans 22
Table 2.2: Ma'á words that share innovations with Iraqw/Gorwaa 24
Table 2.3: Archaic Inner Mbugu words 25
Table 2.4: Diversity of origins of Inner Mbugu words 27
Table 2.5: Some Shambaa words in (Normal) Mbugu 29
Table 2.6: Inner Mbugu words of possibly Zigua origin 30
Table 2.7: Inner Mbugu words of Maasai origin 32
Table 2.8: Some lexical evidence for the South Pare affiliation of Normal Mbugu ... 33
Table 2.9: Inner Mbugu words shared with Taita (Sagala) 36
Table 2.10: Oromo cognates in Inner Mbugu 38
Table 2.11: Inner Mbugu words linked to Dahalo 39
Table 2.12: Yaaku - Inner Mbugu lexical resemblances 40
Table 2.13: Sample of fauna vocabulary and its origin 42
Table 2.14: Mbugu banana terminology with sources for the NMb terms 43
Table 2.15: Ma'á (Inner Mbugu) goat/sheep vocabulary and its origin 44
Table 3.1: The development of the lateral fricative ɬ (hl) 53
Table 3.2: Surviving lateral fricatives 55
Table 3.3: Newly developed lateral fricatives 55
Table 3.4: Development of final é 57
Table 3.5: IMb causatives in -ti and their sources 64
Table 3.6: Ma'á words ending in ao 71
Table 3.7: Inner Mbugu demonstratives 72
Table 3.8: Maasai and Iraqw demonstratives 73
Table 3.9: Dahalo and Oromo demonstratives 73
Table 3.10: IMb personal pronouns and their Cushitic equivalents 74
Table 3.11: IMb possessives and their Cushitic equivalents 74
Table 3.12: Inner Mbugu Numerals and their origin 89
Table 4.1: Mbugu consonants 96
Table 4.2: (Near-)minimal pairs of l and r 97
Table 4.3: (Near-)minimal pairs of g and gh 98
Table 4.4: (Near-)minimal pairs k - x - h in Inner Mbugu 100
Table 4.5: (Dialect) variation between k - x - h in Inner Mbugu 101

Table 4.6: x>h in history 102
Table 4.7: "Restoration" of x > k 102
Table 4.8: Minimal pairs for tones. 104
Table 4.9: Possible tone patterns of tri-syllabic roots 104
Table 4.10: Examples of syllable structure 105
Table 4.11: Nasal + obstruent processes 107
Table 4.12: Tone patterns for disyllabic noun roots. 108
Table 4.13: Tone patterns for mono-syllabic noun roots 108
Table 4.14: Tone patterns for Normal Mbugu verb roots 109
Table 4.15: Tone patterns for Inner Mbugu verb roots 109
Table 5.1: Subject and object prefixes 115
Table 5.2: "Tense" prefixes 116
Table 5.3: Verbs with non-inflectional and inflectional final vowel a in IMb 118
Table 5.4: Inflectional final vowels 118
Table 5.5: The positive tenses 122
Table 5.6: Structure of the examples for each "tense" in the list 122
Table 5.7: Past tenses 125
Table 5.8: Expressions of negation in verbs 139
Table 5.9: Overview of verb forms with a negative pre-subject prefix te 141
Table 5.10: Overview of verb forms with a negative "tense" prefix sV 141
Table 5.11: The negative tenses with a negative pre-subject prefix te 144
Table 5.12: Copula and verbs "to be" and their functions 146
Table 5.13: Verbal derivational suffixes 154
Table 5.14: The forms of the intensive/causative -ish 155
Table 5.15: The forms of the causative -ij 156
Table 5.16: Applied extension 156
Table 5.17: Stative extension 158
Table 5.18: The reciprocal 158
Table 5.19: The extension -any 159
Table 5.20: The passive extension 160
Table 5.21: Applied-Passive extension 161
Table 6.1: Mbugu noun classes (N refers to a nasal element) 164
Table 6.2: Singular/plural pairs of noun classes 165
Table 6.3: Class pair 9/10 168
Table 6.4: Class 9a ∅, plural class 10a ∅ 169
Table 6.5: Class pair 11/10 169
Table 6.6: Class pair 11/6+11 170
Table 6.7: Noun class derivation 172
Table 6.8: Nominalisations 172
Table 7.1: All adjectives 176
Table 7.2: Genitive and relative pronouns 178
Table 7.3: Possessive stems 179

Table 7.4: Inner Mbugu demonstratives 180
Table 7.5: Normal Mbugu demonstratives 181
Table 7.6: Quantifiers 182
Table 8.1: kwa in fixed expression meaning 'because, why' 187
Table 8.2: Expressions with general locative use of chá 190
Table 8.3: Relative days 191
Table 8.4: Parts of the day 192
Table 8.5: Locative expressions 193
Table 8.6: Manner expressions 194
Table 8.7: Conjunction-like invariables 194
Table 8.8: Independent personal pronouns 195
Table 8.9: The invariable numerals 195
Table 8.10: Compound numbers 196
Table 9.1: Sequence of greetings (IMb) 198
Table 9.2: Sequence of greetings (NMb) 198

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Word category and origin in Inner Mbugu 26
Figure 2: The distribution over source languages for the Inner Mbugu lexicon 27

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1/2	noun class 1, plural 2
1PL	first person plural
1SG	first person singular
2	class 2
2SG	second person singular
adv	adverb
aj	adjective
Al	Alagwa
APL	applied
As	Aasáx
BE	to be
BGND	background
Bo	Bowe = Mbugwe
Bu	Burunge
Bum	Bumbuli
C.EXPEC	counter-expectational
C33	Copland 1933
Ch	Chaga
COND	conditional
COP	copula
CS	causative
CSEC	consecutive
D	dependent
D1	demonstrative of first degree
Dah	Dahalo
Dav	Davida
dem	demonstrative
DEM1	demonstrative of first degree
E	Ehret (1980)
EVI	evidential
EXPEC	expectational
F	(default) Final vowel
FUT	future
G	glide
G58	Green (1958)
Gw	Gweno
H	High tone
HAB	habitual
HERE	here
HORT	hortative
I+NMb	Inner and Normal Mbugu
ideo	ideophone
IMb	Inner Mbugu (Ma'á)
IMbA	Archaic Inner Mbugu
IMb-Bum	Inner Mbugu Bumbuli dialect
IMb-Ra	Inner Mbugu Rangwi dialect
INC	incidental
infl.vowel	inflectional (final) vowel
INT	intensifier, causative
int	interjection
inv	invariable
Ir	Iraqw
IT	itive (thither)
L	Low tone
M06	Meinhof (1906)
Ma	Maasai
N	nasal consonant
n	noun
NARR	narrative
NEG	negative
NMb	Normal Mbugu
np	Noun Phrase
num	numeral
obj	object
Or	Oromo
Pa	Pare, Chasu.

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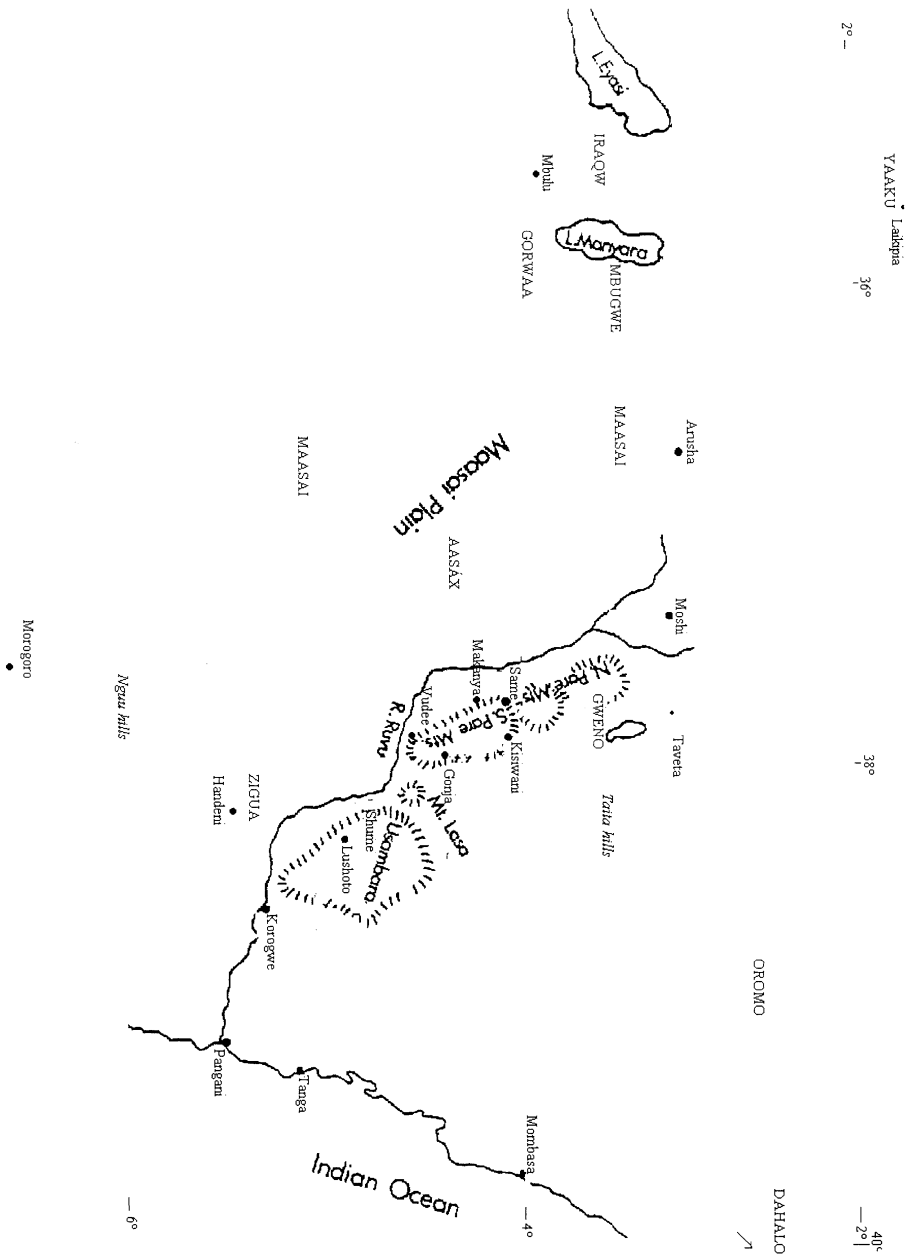
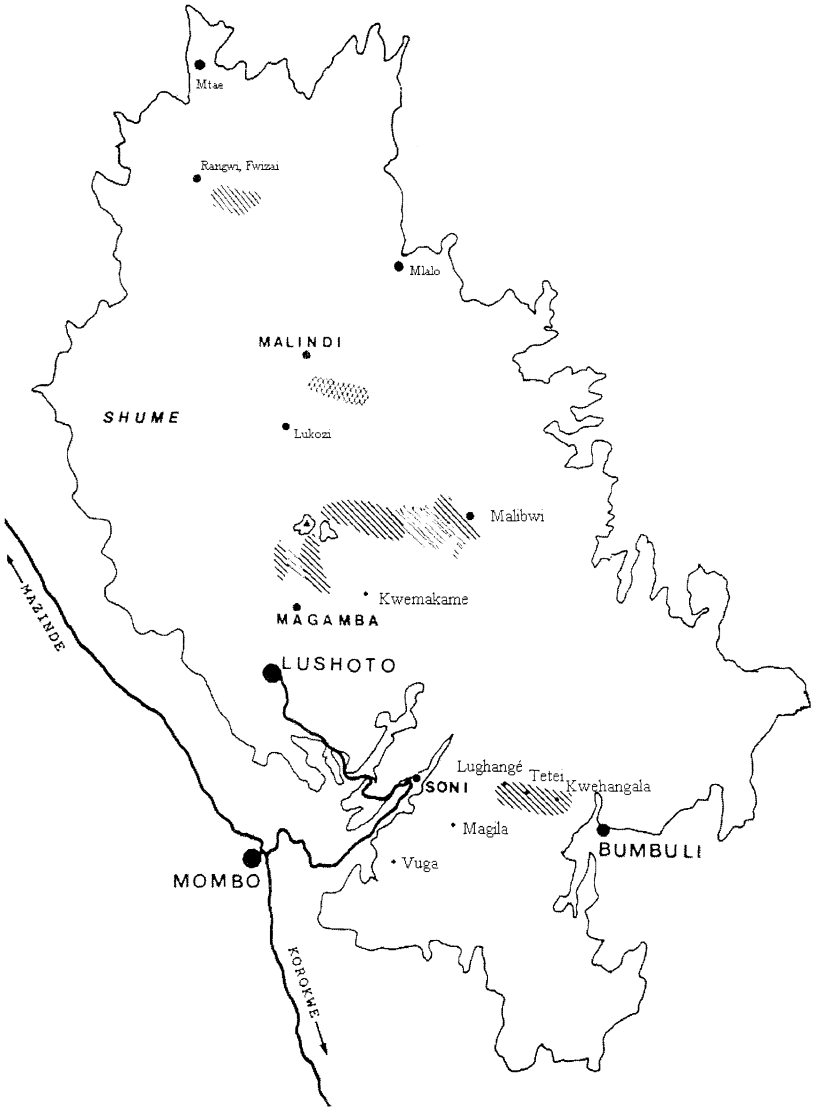
PAS	passive
PAST	past
PERF	perferct
PF	perfect
pl	plural
POS	possessive
poss	possessive
pro	pronoun
PST	past
Q	quenstion intonation
ques	question word
Qw	Qwadza
Ra	Rangwi
RC	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
S	subject
Sa	Sag(h)ala
sg	singular
Sh	Shamba(l)a
Som	Somali
SPEED	speed (immediate action)
ST	stative
STILL	still (unfinished action)
SUBJ	subjunctive
subj	subject
Sw	Swahili
T&B74	Tucker and Bryan (1974)
v	verb
v ap	verb with applied extension
v cs	verb causative extension
v ps	verb with passive extension
v rc	verb with reciprocal extension
v sp	verb with separative extension
v st	verb with stative extension
v:ap	verb with *lexicalised* applied extension, etc
WR	West Rift (Southern Cushitic)
Zi	Zigua = Zigula



Map 1: Map of the relevant area of East Africa
(Names of peoples are in capitals. Map after Brenzinger 1987.)



Map 2: Map of the Usambara area

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The people and their language

The Mbugu or Ma'á people live in the Usambara mountains in Tanzania. As a people, they speak two languages. However, one of the main conclusions of this book is that these two languages share one grammar and that the vocabulary is parallel. Thus, we are dealing with two languages that are intrinsically linked. The "normal" Mbugu language is very similar to the Bantu language Pare (also called Chasu) both in grammar and in lexicon. There are differences between "normal" Mbugu and Pare (Chasu) but whether these go beyond dialectal variation is difficult to ascertain. Pare speakers are able to understand Normal Mbugu, be it with some difficulty, but characterise it as deviant. I will present "normal" Mbugu and Pare (Chasu) as different but closely related languages. The "inner" Mbugu language (or Ma'á) has a lot of deviant lexical material which is partly Southern Cushitic in origin, while it does not differ in grammar from "normal" Mbugu; it is a parasite of Normal Mbugu. It is this variety that has made it to the linguistic literature as a typical example of a mixed language.

The double nature of the lexicon is also exemplified by the two autonyms for the people, *vaMbugu* in Normal Mbugu and *vaMa'á* in Inner Mbugu. Outsiders call the people *waMbugu*. The same roots with a different noun prefix are used by the speakers for the language (in both varieties), thus *kiMbugu* and *kiMa'á*. The varieties are distinguished by the speakers themselves only when discussing the differences. In that case they speak of "normal Mbugu/Ma'á" and "inner Mbugu/Ma'á" and I will use these designations, Normal Mbugu (NMb) and Inner Mbugu (IMb), for the two varieties, alongside the usage of the established name Ma'á for Inner Mbugu.

Following Tucker and Bryan (1974:191), Thomason and others have used the name Ma'á for the mixed variety and Mbugu for the plain Bantu variety. This usage has had the unfortunate effect that the intrinsic relationship between the two was played down. In fact, the above presentation of the state of affairs reflects the conclusions of my study and not the common opinion prevalent when I started my research. Tucker and Bryan talk of two subdivisions of a people of a single ethnic unit: the Mbugu speaking a Bantu language Mbugu, similar to Pare, and the Ma'á speaking "their original language, which consists of a non-Bantu substratum upon which a Bantu superstructure has been imposed" (Tucker and Bryan 1974:190). Both the synchronic and diachronic aspects of this view do not hold. By describing both languages in detail I show that they share one grammar and from this corrected view on the synchronic situation and a fresh extensive etymological study, I re-examine the historical conclusions that can be drawn. There is a logical possibility that what I view as a point that earlier researchers missed, i.e. the fact that there are two varieties and that these are interrelated, is in fact a relatively recent phenomenon and that the sociolinguistic situation earlier in the 20th century was markedly different from what it is now. I argue against this in section 3.2.

Culturally and physically the Mbugu people are clearly different from the other Bantu people in the Usambara mountains, i.e. the Shambaa, who are dominant in the area, and the Pare immigrants. Despite long term acculturation, cattle keeping is still associated with the Mbugu and banana culture with the Shambaa. The Mbugu also show differences in physiognomy and in hair structure. It is because of these differences that the tacit assumption is that once the Mbugu, or at least some of their forefathers, spoke a language that was not Bantu. Whether parts of such an earlier non-Bantu language can be traced in the present-day language is a matter of debate which is addressed in 3.5.

Like the Pare, the Mbugu are immigrants in the Usambara mountains. They too come from the Pare mountains where there are still place names such as *Mbughu-eni* (Mbugu-LOC) and where there are still people to be found who know that they are of Mbugu origin although in language and culture they are now indistinguishable from the dominant Pare. The resemblance of the Mbugu language to Pare, both in grammar and in lexicon, is a reflection of that earlier period of residence in the Pare area; presently the dominating surrounding language and the source of new borrowings is Shambaa.

The name Mbugu is not to be confused with Mbugwe.[1] Quite far from the Usambara and the Pare mountains, near Lake Manyara, at the other edge of the Maasai plains there is a small ethnic group whose language is called Mbugwe, or Bowe as the speakers say themselves. This language is closely related to Rangi (=Langi) and belongs to a different group of Bantu languages, cf. Nurse and Philippson (1975). Whether the similarity in name is a coincidence or not, is a question that will be addressed in 2.10.

1.2 Earlier descriptions and history of Ma'á studies

In this section I present a short history of Mbugu studies; Brenzinger (1987) contains a more detailed critical overview of studies on Mbugu. I also briefly discuss Shambaa and Pare studies. Mbugu studies started relatively early. The first publication containing Mbugu linguistic data dates from 1885 when Bishop Farler published a short word list. The list, which is phonetically difficult to interpret (see section 3.3), contains words from both Inner and Normal Mbugu without distinguishing them. Its historical value lies in the fact that it contains some archaic words such as the word for 'elephant'. Before him, others, such as Krapf (1858) and New (1873), had already mentioned the Mbugu as a deviant ethnic group among the Shambaa without giving linguistic material. Farler is very explicit in his observations on racial and cultural differences between the Mbugu and the Shambaa when he describes the Mbugu as follows: "They were spare in frame, features rather Semitic than Negroid, being thin and long in the face with thin lips, straight noses, not in the slightest degree patulous; for blacks, very good-looking, intelligent fellows. They have no traditions; they wear only skins; they do not cultivate, but live by breeding cattle". These were followed by similar observations by Johnston (1886), Baumann (1890, 1891) and Meyer (1890).

It was probably these reports that inspired the experienced Bantu-linguist, Carl Meinhof, to visit Usambara on his journey to East Africa; he published his short description of Mbugu (mostly Inner Mbugu) in 1906. He was the first to pay attention to the mixed nature of the lexicon and he pointed out its importance for historical linguistics, stressing that the Mbugu language presented a rare case in which the lexical roots

are apparently non-Bantu while they still take Bantu prefixes in many cases and claiming that this Bantuisation process shows how a language that belonged to one family can be restructured by encapsulation in a different grammar.[2] The prevalent opinion at that time was that the Mbugu were some sort of Maasai (Kwavi) and Meinhof gave the linguistic evidence for this Maasai link, but in addition he showed a Southern Cushitic connection in the cognates with Burunge, a language that he had studied on the same journey. According to him the oldest lexical layer was a West African language like Ewe. This 'wild' proposal was not followed up by any of his successors. Judging from the forms of certain words Meinhof probably worked on the Bumbuli dialect of (Inner) Mbugu; in fact he does mention the mission station in Bumbuli. His material is mainly from the Inner Mbugu lexicon, but sometimes from the Normal Mbugu lexicon and for some words he has both forms, e.g., 'rain' *mare* (IMb) and *mbua* (NMb). He did not, however, make mention of two varieties or two languages.

Before Meinhof, Lieutenant Storch had published a Mbugu word list containing only Inner Mbugu forms, but this publication, Storch (1895), in a way, did not play a role in the history of Mbugu studies because it was ignored by Meinhof and his successors. Storch was apparently unaware of Farler's wordlist since he makes no reference to it and this is not surprising since nothing in the title of the book that contains these data would alert the reader who is interested in Mbugu.[3] It is more surprising that the next author on the scene, Meinhof, and all subsequent authors, did not use Storch while making use of Farler. As a consequence we have two independent lexical sources of this early period but, unfortunately, for both the phonetic interpretation is not straightforward, see 3.3.

Copland (1933-34) published a short text in Inner Mbugu (only one Normal Mbugu word), which is, until the present work, the only published text available. The text does not deviate from the Magamba dialect of present-day Inner Mbugu.

Greenberg (1966)[=1955] classified Ma'á (Inner Mbugu) as a Southern Cushitic language without presentation of the evidence. I assume he considered Meinhof's Burunge cognates to be crucial, his Maasai cognates to be later borrowings and his West-African cognates to be speculation. Since Greenberg, the dominant opinion is that the original Mbugu language was Southern Cushitic.

Green (1958) gives some interesting ethnographic information and a very short sketch of the grammar. He also noted down a wordlist which was never published but was used by his successors, including myself. His view on the nature and history of the Inner Mbugu relies heavily on Meinhof.

Tucker and Bryan (1974) is based on fieldwork by Bryan in 1958 and by Tucker in 1965 in different places, mainly Magamba but partly with schoolchildren outside the area. This 20-page article is the most detailed account of the language thus far. Tucker and Bryan are the first to describe both Inner and Normal Mbugu and to distinguish these two, without, however, realising their intrinsic connection.

Whiteley (1960) reports that Ma'á is a counter-example to claims made by Hans Wolff and Joseph Greenberg that mixed languages in which entire subsystems come from completely different languages do not exist. Whiteley had done extensive fieldwork on Iraqw and apparently he had done also some fieldwork on Ma'á although he takes his Ma'á data from Green and Tucker and Bryan. He suggests a gradual adaptation from a Southern Cushitic language to a Bantu language.

Heine did fieldwork in the Mbugu area but he did not publish his data. Instead he discussed the problems that mixed languages such as Mbugu pose to language classification, related to the problem of primacy of morphology or lexicon in genetic relationships. Since Wolff (1965) had argued for more rigor in the use of terms such as genetic relationship, sub- and superstratum and "Mischsprache", Heine (1969) pointed out that Mbugu is a real mixed language.

Welmers (1966) discusses Ma'á in his influential introductory book to African linguistics. Goodman (1971) makes Ma'á known to the wider linguistic audience and specifically draws the attention of creolists to the "strange case of Mbugu". In his scenario there were two languages; one a Southern Cushitic language that adopted more and more Bantu words and secondly a Bantu language that adopted more and more words from a Southern Cushitic language. The two became more and more alike until they were little more than stylistic variants: Bantu and non-Bantu alternatives existed for a number of words, but gradually the non-Bantu forms were favoured, perhaps to make the language less comprehensible to the surrounding Bantu peoples. I will defend several elements of his analysis although my view on the interdependence of the stylistic variants is slightly different. Goodman argues that if Mbugu were merely a relexified Bantu language then the division of Bantu/non-Bantu vocabulary would be different and one would not expect, for example, that the lower numerals are non-Bantu (i.e. relexified) and the higher numerals still Bantu. In 3.12, I will argue that the construction of a parallel lexicon for identity and secrecy is indeed to be expected precisely there in the core vocabulary.

Besha, born in the area, also did fieldwork on Ma'á for her unpublished MA thesis. She is the first to pay attention to the fact that Inner Mbugu and Normal Mbugu words are interchangeable: "There are those Kimbughu [Normal Mbugu] words which are used side by side with Kimaa [Ma'á] words" (Besha 1974: 169).

Ehret did extensive research on Ma'á but his data are buried in the tables of his 1980 lexical and phonological reconstruction of Southern Cushitic. How a different synchronic analysis of the Ma'á language leads to a different approach of the reconstruction of Southern Cushitic is discussed in Mous (1996). Some of Ehret's etymologies are discussed in the etymological word list (Appendix) and his non-Bantu grammatical elements in section 3.5.

Thomason (1983) is a reaction against Greenberg's classification and a plea not to classify languages such as Ma'á for which the chain of transmission is broken. She emphasises the non-Bantu grammatical elements taken from Ehret and accepts both Greenberg's and Ehret's claim that the lexicon is of Cushitic origin.

In perhaps what can be regarded as a comparable case, Boretzky (1985) has proposed that the mixed language Anglo-Romani developed when gypsies who lost most of their original language (Romani) at the expense of English consciously attempted to restore the original language, i.e. shift plus unsuccessful shift back. Brenzinger (1987) adopts this idea for Ma'á, to which Sasse (1992) adds that "hybridisation" such as in Ma'á is a relexification of the target language after the shift had already taken place and when vocabulary of the abandoned language was still present. This vocabulary was inserted into the morphosyntactic frame of the target language. This work shows in greater detail how such a process developed.

Thomason, in Thomason and Kaufman (1988), sees Ma'á as a Cushitic language which is heavily bantuised (stage 6 on the borrowing scale), since the grammar

has been replaced by Bantu. "Enough is known about the history of the Ma'á speakers to establish firmly our claim that the mixture in this case resulted from borrowing in a situation of language maintenance, rather than from shift." Whether the knowledge about the history of the Ma'á speakers could possibly allow other interpretations is discussed in section 2.1.

There are no ethnographic or historical studies dedicated solely to the Mbugu. Mbugu is simply mentioned in those on the Shambaa and the Pare. Thus an ethno-historical study on Mbugu would be a most welcome addition to this linguistic-historical study and may prove indispensible in answering some of the research questions raised in this work.

The surrounding Bantu language Shambaa which is spoken all over the Usambara mountains but not outside this area, is relatively well described. There is an excellent grammar by the German missionary Röhl (1911) and an extensive dictionary by LangHeinrich (1921), which is not tone marked despite the fact that Röhl had dealt with tone in his grammar. My linguistic comparisons with Shambaa will be based primarily on these two sources; occasionally I will make use of more recent studies such as those by Besha (1989), Besha and Nurse (1979), and Odden (1982). On the historical and ethnographic side too, the Shambaa have fared better, with attention from the excellent historian Feierman (1974) and Winands (1962). There is some dialectal variation in Shambaa, for example, some areas show intervocalic deletion of *l*; hence the language and the people are referred to as Shambaa or Shambala. In the colonial period, Shambaa was used in schools, and material to learn to read and write Shambaa was available (see Besha 1989:1-7).

Pare, known by the speakers themselves as Chasu, is spoken on three mountain ranges north of the Usambaras, commonly referred to as South Pare, Mid Pare and North Pare. The dialectal variation within Pare is considerable. As stated before, Pare is very important for the study of Mbugu. Unfortunately, the state of linguistic description of Pare is far from satisfactory. The most important sources are the short description by the German missionary Kotz published in 1909, the articles by Kähler-Meyer on tone in 1962/63 and 1964, the book by Kagaya (1989), and the Ph.D. thesis by Abel Mreta (1998). The grammar by Kotz is not tone-marked although he did recognise the distinctive value of tone (p. 3) and it does not contain a vocabulary. Kähler-Meyer's articles are excellent but deal only with some aspects of grammar. Odden (1986) has used these articles as the basis for a phonological reanalysis. Kagaya (1989) contains vocabulary in the form of the standard Tokyo questionaire and a grammatical sketch. He used speakers from different dialects and noticed tonal differences between these dialects. My primary source for lexical data is an unpublished collection by Philippson (n.d.) because the tones from his dialect are closer to the ones that I noticed for Mbugu. Mreta (1998) is invaluable for an understanding of the tense/aspect system. The history of the Pare has been dealt with in great detail by the Tanzanian historian Kimambo (1969).

1.3 Source of data, fieldwork

This study is based on a series of three fieldwork periods of a few months each in the Usambara mountains in the years 1992-1993. The fieldwork was conducted in Swahili. I started in the Magamba area working on Ma'á (Inner Mbugu). First, I elicited short sentences and collected a few historical texts in Ma'á from several older

people in the Magamba area. On several occasions I was promised folktales in Ma'á but in the end I only got one such story from my main informant William Mboko. Later I travelled to the area to the east as people claimed that the Mbugu of that area had a preference for Normal Mbugu. It was then, when I used the same short sentences for elicitation, that the true relationship between the two varieties occured to me. There too I collected some texts in Normal Mɓugu, some of which turned out to be a mixture of Normal and Inner Mbugu. These texts are historical and cultural in nature and were based on interviews. I worked on the lexicon with a variety of speakers using the words that appeared in elicitation and in texts as a basis. During later fieldwork periods I visited the other Mbugu areas such as the Rangwi and the Bumbuli area. The nature of my fieldwork was by no means a dialect survey. It was only in the Magamba area that I worked with a variety of speakers and most variation is found in that area. The Magamba area is much bigger than Bumbuli and Rangwi. My fieldwork notebooks contain roughly 315 pages with material from elicitation, 200 pages of transcribed texts (transcribed with Mbugu speaking assistants) and 215 pages of lexical notes. I worked in Magamba with Dominicki Ndala, William Mboko, Raphael Mboko, Salimu Mavare, and specifically on texts with Joseph Mcharó Pius; Mr. and Mrs. Sabuni; Mrs. Mizighi, Mrs. Mkengwa, Mr. Ishika, and on the lexicon with Amina Mavare; in Malibwi with Shabani A. Kalutu, and on texts with Mzee Ishika and Mzee Salimu; in Rangwi with Mzee Abisai Madeghe, Yambazi Immanuel, Saidi Salimu and specifically on texts with William Alois, Joseph Singano; and in Bumbuli with Tito Musa Ishiki, and Saidi Mdoki Seamashi.

1.4 Areas of settlement of the Ma'á/Mbugu and clan affiliation

All Mbugu meet Shambaa people in their immediate environment and most Mbugu have Pare neighbours as well. The Mbugu mainly live in three pockets in the Usambara mountains. One encompasses the villages Rangwi, Fwizay, Emao, at the north-western edge of the mountains, which I will refer to collectively as the Rangwi area; a very small pocket consists of the villages Tetei, Magila, Lughangé and Kwehangala (=Mpaláì), all close to each other and situated between Soni and Bumbuli. I will call this area Bumbuli. The largest Mbugu population is to be found in an area roughly between Magamba and Malibwi, north of Lushoto, which I call the Magamba area. These areas can be seen in map 2. It is important to add that there is no area in the Usambaras which is exclusively inhabited by Mbugu.

Despite the relatively small numbers of Mbugu speakers in an area where distances are never more than a day's walk, the dialectal variation is substantial. This variation is phonological and lexical. The phonological variation is basically among the velar consonants *x*, *k* and *h*, see section 4.2. The lexical variation is in Inner Mbugu; the Bumbuli area shows more lexical differentiation when compared to the others. Here, for example, there is a distinction 'cow' versus 'cattle', *de* versus *wa*, reminiscent of Iraqw (Southern Cushitic) *hlee* versus *hikwa*, and a distinction between human and animal blood.

Apart from the dialectal variation, there is also variation in proficiency levels and in language preference for Inner Mbugu. In the Rangwi area there is a concentration of people who do not speak Inner Mbugu or Ma'á; in the Magamba area on the Malibwi side there is a preference for Normal Mbugu. These are also the areas where the concentration of Pare speakers is higher when compared to the other areas, but the

main conditioning factor behind this variation is clan affiliation. Thus, there is a correlation between clan affiliation, language preference and settlement. This correlation is not to be seen as absolute; obviously there is individual variation. The tendencies, however, are of potential interest for the reconstruction of the history and will be discussed in more detail in section 2.1. The following table summarises the correspondences in the distribution of clan, area, and language preference. The Magamba-Malibwi area is one area only differentiated here to indicate a gradual difference in clan and language preference. The order of IMb (Inner Mbugu) and NMb (Normal Mbugu) in the third column reflects my impression of language preference for the relevant area.

Area	Clan	Language
Magamba	Londo	IMb, NMb
Magamba-Malibwi	Nhkandu	NMb, IMb
Rangwi	Ombeji	IMb, NMb
Rangwi	Gonja	NMb
Bumbuli	Nhkangwana	IMb, NMb
Bumbuli	Lomboza	NMb, IMb

Table 1.1: Area, clans, and language preference

1.5 Multilingualism and language attitude

Apart from Mbugu, the children tend to learn three other languages before they go to school: Shambaa, Swahili and Pare. This order reflects the average degree of proficiency. Pare should be the easiest language for a Mbugu person to learn but it is also the least important one. The acquisition of Shambaa is inevitable in the area. Shambaa people reported to me that they can easily spot a Mbugu when he speaks Shambaa; they speak too slow, make no elisions and make mistakes in the tones. Communication between Mbugu and Shambaa is usually in Shambaa inspite of the neutral option of speaking Swahili. Shambaa people do not speak Mbugu.

Speakers of Inner Mbugu invariably also speak Normal Mbugu. A sociolinguistic survey among the Mbugu was carried out by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. They worked on the assumption that Inner Mbugu (Ma'á) and Normal Mbugu (Mbugu) are two different languages and one of their findings was that those who speak Inner Mbugu also speak Normal Mbugu but not always the other way around. In principle, it would be possible to find speakers who know only Inner Mbugu and not Normal Mbugu but these are either extremely rare or do not exist at all. One can speak Inner Mbugu by degree, i.e. the amount of parallel lexicon that one uses or that one is able to use varies from individual to individual. People who answered in the questionnaire that they do not speak Inner Mbugu, know too little (or nothing) of the extra lexicon, or are not confident enough about it to claim proficiency. The other way around, people who claim to know Inner Mbugu and not Normal Mbugu, seems to be rare. They will always know not only the Normal Mbugu grammar but also a considerable part of the vocabulary that is shared and felt to be Normal Mbugu. To know Inner Mbugu imperfectly or to know Normal Mbugu imperfectly is not symmetrical to the speakers because speakers would feel they know Inner Mbugu imperfectly if they do not know some elements of the Inner Mbugu lexicon; whereas the other way

around, if someone knows only an Inner Mbugu lexeme and not the Normal Mbugu parallel, this is not felt as knowing Normal Mbugu imperfectly. In Tetei in the Bumbuli area, where there are no Pare neighbours and where all Mbugu are confident Inner Mbugu users, children under ten years of age, just like their parents, had no trouble telling me which word is Inner Mbugu and which is Normal Mbugu and they could always give the Normal Mbugu counterpart of an Inner Mbugu word. Thus, even there, both varieties are acquired in early childhood.

The use of the Inner Mbugu (Ma'á) lexicon is by no means restricted and it is important to note that in many families Inner Mbugu (Ma'á) is the norm and switching to Normal Mbugu is a marked choice. In earlier works, I have used the term "register" for the parallel lexicon called Inner Mbugu or Ma'á. In Mous (2001a), I have called it an ethnoregister and although this captures the structural dependency of Inner Mbugu on Normal Mbugu and the parallelism in the lexicon, the term has its problems and I am now convinced that the use of the term is misleading for several reasons. First of all it should be mentioned that there are many speech situations, families, wards or villages in which Inner Mbugu or Ma'á is spoken as the unmarked choice, and some people only seldom use the basic "register" (Normal Mbugu). Obviously Inner Mbugu can and is used for all topics of conversation and it is as complete in its lexical range as Normal Mbugu. The term "register" refers to language use as a situationally defined variety, that is, as a marked choice and thus, a register in the strict sense has a restricted functional range (Ferguson 1994: 20, see also Biber 1994:51-53, for a discussion of the term register). Thus, given this definition it is not proper to call Inner nor Normal Mbugu "registers".

Mbugu people's attitude to and future expectations for their language (Inner or Normal) Mbugu are positive and confident. There is no breakdown in transmission and the children learn their parents' language. The language is not threatened by extinction in the near future. There is however a decline in the extent and knowledge of the Inner Mbugu lexicon among younger speakers, see section 2.2. The few grammaticalisation processes that can be observed derive from Normal Mbugu lexical forms and not from Inner Mbugu lexicon, see section 5.2.

1.6 A sample of Mbugu language material

In this section I present a short piece of a text in order to give a first impression of the Mbugu language and the differences and interrelatedness of Inner and Normal Mbugu. This short excerpt consists of the initial sentences from a short "historical" text that was narrated to me in the Inner Mbugu variety by William Mboko. All lexemes that belong to the Inner Mbugu parallel lexicon are marked in italics and their Normal Mbugu counterparts are indicated immediately above them. Replacing the lexemes in italic by those above them results in a Normal Mbugu text. Only for two lexemes the narrator used the Normal Mbugu form, *hand* 'plant' and *twai* 'there', where he could have used an Inner Mbugu form. This is typical for a story told in Inner Mbugu, that is, when one speaks Inner Mbugu, one does so maximally but seldom completely.

Sample text

1 hé -na m -zima é -tang -we kimwérí m- fumwa w-a
hé *-ló* mw -*agirú* é -*sé* -we kimwérí *dilaó* w-a
16 -have 1 -elder 1 -call -PAS:PF Kimweri king 1-CON

2 i-i i -sanga l-á lusótó.
yá i -*dí* l-á lusótó.
this 5 -land 5-CON Lushoto.

3 hé -na i -zuva i -mwe áa -tanga
hé *-ló* i -*'azé* i -*wé* áa -*sé*
16 -have 5 -day 5 -one 1:PST -call

4 va-mbugu na va -shamba na va -asu
va -*Ma'á* na va -*sitá* na va -*'ariyé*
2 -Mbugu with 2 -Shambaa with 2 -Pare

5 vá -vata vá -zé-m -*hl* -ía ma -diyo -ake
vá -*so* vá -zé-m -hand -ía ma -*gerú* *kú'u.*
2:SBJ -go 2:SBJ-IT-1 -plant -APL 6 -bananas his

6 íji va -mbugu v-á- he -fika *ila'í*
íji va -*Ma'á* v-á- he -*hé* twáí.
now 2 -Mbugu 2-PST-16 -arrive there

7 kwá kubá te-vé- kund -ye vá -ronga io ndima
kwá kubá te-vé- *dúmú* -ye vá -*bó'i* *ká* *nyamálo,*
with reason NEG-2- want -PF 2:SBJ -make DEM2 work.9

"There was an elder called Kimweri, king of this land of Lushoto. On a certain day he called the Mbugu, Shambaa, and Pare people to go and plant his banana trees. Well, the Mbugu arrived there. Because they didn't want to do this work, ... "

The continuation of the story recounts that the Mbugu planted the banana trees upside-down. Upon which the chief concluded that the Mbugu were stupid and useless and refrained from calling them for communal work from then on. The story illustrates both the fact that the surrounding people look down upon the Mbugu and that the Mbugu claim not to be bothered by this.

The lateral fricative *hl* in *vázémhlía* 'that they planted' in the fifth line of the sample text, and the glottal stop *'* in *va'ariyé* 'Pare' in the fourth line are sounds that are limited to the Inner Mbugu lexicon. The sample text, being the beginning of a story, does not show the richness in the tense system since the only "tenses" are the perfect (PF), the past (PST), the itive (IT), and the subjunctive (SBJ); the text also illustrates verbal derivation such as the passive (PAS) in the first line and the applied (APL) in the fourth line. The text already shows that parallel nouns are *grosso modo* in the same noun class, with the same noun class prefix, *dilao* or *mfumwa* 'king' in the first line being an exception. Function words are parallel too, see the demonstrative DEM2

in the last line, and 'his' in line five. Agreement is slightly different in Inner Mbugu: the demonstrative in the last line does not show agreement with the (following) head noun in Inner Mbugu but it does in Normal Mbugu; similarly, the possessive in line 5 shows agreement with the (preceding) head noun in Normal Mbugu, but for this particular noun class (class 6) the agreement morpheme is zero. Other function words are not parallel, such as the genitive pronoun glossed with CON in the first two lines, the multifunctional *na* glossed with 'with' in the third line and *kwa kuba* in the last line.

Note that the names in this text do not permit a choice between Inner and Normal Mbugu, a property which extends to all names.

The text illustrates that the Mbugu language consists of one structural system with two interrelated lexical systems and that the impact of the parallel lexicon, Inner Mbugu, is so far-reaching that one can tell a story without using lexical roots from the Normal Mbugu vocabulary.

1.7 Properties of the parallel lexicon

The grammatical differences between Inner Mbugu and Normal Mbugu are minimal. The two differ in terms of their the lexicon but these lexical differences involve core vocabulary and even closed sets of function words such as personal pronouns, possessives, demonstratives, etc. Ma'á or Inner Mbugu is in fact a parallel lexicon to the Bantu language (Normal) Mbugu. A parallel lexicon is the structure of (part of) a lexicon in which two word forms are on a par, that is, the two word forms share meaning, metaphorical extensions, and morphological properties such as noun class membership for nouns and predicate frame and derivational suffixes for verbs. The parallel sets are also coherent in the sense that speakers know to which of the sets a particular form belongs and consequently also when to use which form. The lexicon of Ma'á is parallel to that of Mbugu; in the sense that Ma'á forms are on a par with Mbugu forms sharing semantics and formal morphological properties. In (1.1) we give a few examples of not so common lexemes that have the same meaning in both languages. Both languages make the same semantic divisions of lexical domains, see (1.2) for the domain of 'getting up, leaving'. Some examples that the two languages show the same metaphorical extensions for the same lexemes are given in (1.3).

(1.1)

Ma'á	meaning	Mbugu	meaning
fíli	to go out of sight over the hill	*gongolóka*	to go out of sight over the hill
síbi	strain (beer)	*chumbua*	strain (beer)
'ihlé	unripe, bad	*vísí*	unripe, bad

(1.2)

Ma'á	meaning	Mbugu	meaning
ku-ká	to get up	*ku-vúka*	to get up
ku-dáha	to walk, to step	*ku-vata*	to walk, to step
ku-só	to leave, to go to	*ku-tónga*	to leave, to go to
ku-dóda	to go for a walk	*ku-anga*	to go for a walk

(1.3)

Ma'á	meaning	Mbugu	meaning
mxatú	tree, afterbirth	*mtí*	tree, afterbirth
hlúku	to drop, give birth	*gwisha*	to drop, give birth
hí	to sew, mould	*chuma*	to sew, mould

Parallel nouns by-and-large have the same noun class membership, (1.4); noun class membership is a formal morphological property that is not determined by the semantics of the noun.

(1.4)

Ma'á	meaning	Mbugu	meaning
mhé	person *class* 1	*mnhtu*	person *class* 1
vahé	people *class* 2	*vatu*	people *class* 2
mharégha	arm *class* 3	*mkóno*	arm *class* 3
miharégha	arms *class* 4	*mikóno*	arms *class* 4
vubasá	face *class* 14.1	*vushó*	face *class* 14.1
mabasá	faces *class* 6	*mashó*	faces *class* 6
lunábo	rib *class* 11	*luvaju*	rib, *class* 11
nábo	ribs *class* 10	*mbaju*	ribs *class* 10
lumuhlú	rope *class* 11	*luzíghi*	rope *class* 11
muhlú	ropes *class* 10	*ndíghi*	ropes *class* 10
lupaé	saliva, curse *class* 11	*luté*	saliva, curse *class* 11
mhpaé	saliva, curses *class* 10	*nyóté*	saliva, curses *class* 10
vuhuyé	sorrow *class* 14.1	*vukíva*	sorrow *class* 14.1

Verbal derivations are parallel in both languages and this is also true for lexicalised cases which contain frozen instances of causatives, *=ti*, *=ij*, and passives, *=w* ((1.5)). Parallel verbs have the same lexical aspect (*Aktionsart*) as is shown in (1.6) where the expression of the state of tiredness needs a past tense in both languages. Parallel verbs have the same argument structure, for example, the body part object of 'to break' in (1.7) and (1.8) is used without a possessive marker in both languages.

(1.5)

Ma'á		Mbugu	
ge=wa	to be opened, to be allowed to get married	*jughul=wa*	to be opened, to be allowed to get married
yó'=íja	accuse	*tét=íja*	accuse
'ú=ti	cure	*k=ija*	cure
sanúí=wa	be angry	*shin=wa*	be angry
makáhlú=wa	dream	*ósh=wa*	dream

(1.6)

Ma'á	Mbugu
n-áa-kwaha	*n-áa-ghata*
1SG-PST-tired	1SG-PST-tired
'I am tired'	'I am tired'

(1.7)

áa	*(-kú)*	*-pá*	*kusáme*	(IMb)
1:PST	-RFL	-break	15.leg.	

'He broke his leg.'

(1.8) *áa* *(-kú)* *-baha* *kughú* (NMb)
1:PST -RFL -break 15.leg
'He broke his leg.'

One of the important linguistic properties of lexical manipulation is that the replacing word has the same morpho-syntactic properties as the word it is replacing. Thus there is a strong tendency for parallel borrowings to have the same noun class, as Kunene observed for the *hlonipha* register of respect for in-laws by name avoidance, "It would seem, however, that an attempt is always made to employ a substitute noun (or coin one) in the same class as the one which is being replaced" (Kunene 1958: 167). In the following examples of Southern Sotho *hlonipha* supplied by Kunene, the replacing words from Afrikaans receive the appropriate noun class prefix, a class 5 CV noun class prefix *le* in these cases: *lehlanya* 'madman' is replaced by *lekopo* from Afrikaans *malkop*,[4] *lekhooa* 'white man' by *lebase* from *baas* 'boss', *litelu* 'beard' by *li-barete* from *baard*, *letsha* 'dam' by *letamo* from *dam* (Kunene 1958). In the Nyakyusa register of respect *ilí-paamba* (5/6) 'brick' is replaced by *i-tofali* from Swahili *tofali* and *i-sekema* (9/10) 'fever' is replaced by *i-homa* from Swahili *homa*, both with addition of a noun prefix *i-* to adapt to the Nyakyusa noun class (Kolbusa 1995). Similarly, in the argot of Yibir magicians among the Somali: *iftin* 'moon' is masculine just like Somali *dayax* 'moon', while *iftin* 'sun, rupee' is feminine just like Somali *qorrax* 'sun', both derived from *ifiin* (m) 'light, brilliancy'. The Arabic borrowing *albaqar* (f) 'cows' has the gender of the Somali equivalent(s) *lo'* or *sa* (f) and the loan *katowa* (m) 'mouth' has the gender of Somali *af* (m) 'mouth' (Banti 1997). This property of sharing the same noun class is a strong indication of lexical manipulation and this is a property of the Ma'á lexicon as evidenced in (1.4) above.

The study of Ma'á can be placed in the context of the wider phenomenon of parallel lexicon formation by looking at the processes that may lead to such a parallel lexicon. This is what I have done to some extent in Mous (2001a and b, to appear). Conscious parallel lexicon building or lexical manipulation occurs in many situations. Situations in which they occur are for example: registers of respect, taboo, argot of social groups, slang, urban youth languages, initiation languages, secret codes, and ritual languages. In all these cases we find the same morphosyntactic properties shared by the parallel lexis.

The strategies that have been used in the formation of Inner Mbugu are common strategies for conscious lexicon creation. These include borrowing from a wide range of languages (and into the appropriate noun class) (cf. Table 2.4), the use of archaic words as Inner Mbugu words (cf. section 2.2), truncation of a word while adding a dummy suffix vowel *e*, substitution by remarkable sounds, and metathesis. Other strategies that are used in conscious lexicon formation in situations of taboo include circumlocution and semantic extension. These are less apt for situations in which the purpose of the manipulation is not to avoid a word but to make a language that sounds different for identity purposes, as is the case for Ma'á.

A number of Inner Mbugu forms seem to be derived from the Normal Mbugu form by changing the final vowel to *e* and changing the tone pattern to L(L--L)H; cf. Table 1.2. Hypothetically, the IMb forms could be from another but related source language, but no such language could be identified. If we accept that one is derived

from the other, then the direction must be from Normal Mbugu to Inner Mbugu since the uniformity in form is in IMb.

IMb	NMb	meaning	source[5]
nhkungé	*nhkungú*	ankle	Sh: *nhkungu*
makalé	*makáá*	charcoal	Pa: *makáa*
ndaté	*ndata*	stick	Pa: mzátá
mzimé	*mzima*	old man	Pa: *mzíma*
mhiné	*mhini*	handle	Pa: *mhini*
mnyawé	*mnyáwu*	cat	Pa: *inywáwi*
nhkimé	*nhkíma*	monkey	Pa: *nhkíma*
kigingé	*kigíngí*	stump	Pa: *kigíngí*
ngilé	*ngilá*	bee	Origin unknown

Table 1.2: Derivation of Inner Mbugu by dummy suffix

Substitution of a consonant by a sound that is deviant from a Normal Mbugu point of view as a strategy to derive an Inner Mbugu word is observed in a restricted number of cases. A small number of Inner Mbugu words seem to be derived from their Normal Mbugu counterpart by changing *k* to glottal stop. Note that a glottal stop is characteristic of Inner Mbugu and such a change renders a word automatically recognisable as Ma'á. These cases are Inner Mbugu *muru'u* 'sweat' from Normal Mbugu (and Pare) *muruke*, and Inner Mbugu *ti'i* 'lift' from Normal Mbugu (and Pare) *tika*. The same change can be detected in the word *lá'a* 'wait' (IMb) from Iraqw/Gorwaa *lak-iit*. The most striking Ma'á sound, however, is the lateral fricative, *hl*, and in two cases Ma'á words seem to be derived from Normal Mbugu words by changing a consonant to the lateral fricative: *nhxwahlé* 'partridge' from Normal Mbugu (and Pare) *nhkwaré*; and *mhla'aré* 'funnel' from Normal Mbugu *mharé*.

Occasionally there seems to have been metathesis of a round vowel and *a*: *i-kádo* 'ten', cf. Oromo *kud'aani*, and *i-'alú* 'sheep', cf. Boraana-Oromo *(h)oolaa*. Consonant metathesis probably occurred in *makahlú* 'dream', cf. Dahalo *mílaak'-ani*, and *i-gerú* 'ripe banana', cf. Sonjo (Bantu) *e-rigo* or Kikuyu (Bantu) *i-rigo*. These latter examples could be instances of inversion of syllables which are known to occur in situations of lexical manipulation such as argot (see Niceforo 1912:160,162).[6]

1.8 New insights in this work

The aim of this work is first of all the presentation of new data. Earlier discussions of the mixed language Ma'á were based only on grammatical sketches such as Meinhof (1906), Green (1958), and Tucker and Bryan (1974). The major lexical source of Ma'á up till now has been Ehret (1980). It has, however, seldom been used as a source for the Ma'á lexicon since one has to unearth the Ma'á material from the reconstructions. The lack of data has been a major problem in the discussion about Ma'á. The earlier literature contains one short text in Ma'á, (Copland 1933-34). Yet it is only from texts that one can get a realistic picture of any deviant language manifestation. The Ma'á texts show for example that the extent of replacement of lexical roots is so extreme that this fact in itself is a major difference between Ma'á and other phenomena of a parallel lexicon such as argot, or even mixed Romani languages such as Anglo-Romani.

The second major issue of this study is the intrinsic relationship between the mixed language and the normal Bantu language. This relationship (common grammar and parallel lexicon) has escaped the attention of linguists because of the common abstraction to study a certain variety as a unit, i.e. the mixed language Inner Mbugu was studied separately from the normal Bantu language Mbugu. Subsequently the discussion has, understandably, always concentrated on the mixed variety. Some previous authors, however, had already hinted at a relationship between the two varieties. Tucker and Bryan, for example, mentioned that Ma'á "grammatically behaves like Mbugu", (Tucker and Bryan 1974:191). Their 1974 article was based on fieldwork by the two authors at different places and these circumstances prevented them from recognising the true nature of the relationship between Ma'á and Mbugu. Besha (1974:169) remarked "There are those Kimbughu words which are used side by side with Kimaa (sic) words. This happens when at one time an informant is asked about a certain word in Kimaa, and he gives a Kimaa word, but in speech uses another word, a Kimbughu word." She sees this as evidence of a trend to replace Ma'á words but she does not elaborate on this parallelism. Although all the other authors did mention the non-mixed variety, they did not pay much attention to the relationship between the two. Moreover, the names for the two varieties as used by linguists did not contribute to an understanding of their interrelationship, as was already mentioned above.

The third important contribution this books offers to Ma'á studies is the recognition of a variety of lexical sources of the Inner Mbugu (Ma'á) lexicon. Discussions of the special case of Ma'á were often based on a simplistic view of a "Cushitic lexicon" even if the presence of Bantu lexical material was acknowledged. I show in section 2.2 that there are several lexical sources. Two observations are of particular importance: One is the considerable contribution of Maasai, a Nilotic language, and the second one is the fact that there is more than one Cushitic source. The presence of Maasai material in Ma'á was already pointed out by Meinhof (1906) but its relevance was underplayed by subsequent authors or it was simply not considered. In addition, the recognition of more than one Cushitic source is vital for an understanding of the history of Ma'á. A number of the roots that I mark as "Old Kenyan Cushitic", the second and older Cushitic source, were proposed by Ehret as inherited Cushitic material even where he could find no cognates with Southern Cushitic languages but only with Eastern Cushitic languages (see his table B in Ehret 1980). I interpret the lexical items with Eastern Cushitic correspondences as a second Cushitic source different from the Southern Cushitic source. This is strongly supported by the fact that a number of Southern Cushitic roots in Inner Mbugu share the phonological innovations that characterise the recent subbranch of Iraqw and Gorwaa (see Table 2.2 and Mous 1996). The exact classificatory position of this second Cushitic source is difficult to establish for reasons discussed in section 3.1. The analysis of Inner Mbugu being a parallel lexicon to Normal Mbugu has its consequences for which lexical elements are investigated. A number of roots in Normal Mbugu are ultimately of Cushitic origin. Since the same loans are found in Pare and other Bantu languages of the area, the origin of these roots is not relevant for the history of Ma'á. Our first concern is to trace the extra roots of the parallel Inner Mbugu lexicon and not those of the Normal Mbugu lexicon.[7] Due to the parallel lexicon nature of the mixed language we cannot simply assume that Cushitic lexical material cannot be borrowed and must be inherited as Ehret seems to do.

A fourth novel insight is found in the correlations between clan settlement, language knowledge (Inner and Normal Mbugu or only Normal Mbugu), route of migration and dialect differences in Ma'á. The relevance of these correlations is discussed in section 2.1.

1.9 Organisation of this book

In Chapter 2, I discuss the historical processes in Inner Mbugu, taking evidence from the documented history, from the dialectal variation, and from the changes in form of transferred lexical material comparing the form in the source language with that in present day Mbugu. Using the analysis of the different lexical sources, as well as oral history, I discuss the most likely scenario of the migration history of the Mbugu people. In Chapter 3, I discuss the linguistic history. After stating the issues at stake and presenting the debate about the linguistic origin of Ma'á, I discuss the historical processes. The non-Bantu grammatical elements are examined as to their probable source. I also look at the question of which non-Bantu elements are remnants of the grammar of an earlier language and which are innovations and in doing so I attempt to find some syntactic and conceptual clues to an earlier language. This chapter is crucial in an evaluation of Thomason's ideas about the history of Inner Mbugu since remnants of Cushitic morphology are crucial for her thesis of gradual bantuisation. Chapters 4 to 9 contain a description of both Inner and Normal Mbugu at the same time showing that they have one common structure. All differences between Inner and Normal Mbugu are mentioned. Starting with phonology, the only difference is the restriction of certain sounds to words of the Inner Mbugu lexicon. Verbal morphology (Chapter 5) is the bulk of the description mainly because of the high number of distinctions in the inflectional domain of "tenses" of the verb, which are all shared by both languages. Nominal morphology, including the noun class system, is explained in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 deals with adjectives. Pronouns include demonstratives and possessives. These function words have double forms too, a Normal Mbugu and an Inner Mbugu form. They follow the Bantu pattern of distinctions, but there is a slight difference between Inner and Normal Mbugu in the agreement patterns. Chapter 8 presents the words that do not fall into any of the other word categories. Chapter 9 is a very brief introduction to the syntax, to standard expressions such as greetings, and to the structure of code-switching. It contains some sample texts. The lexicon is presented in the Appendix. The lexicon contains etymological evidence and candidate cognates. The task of establishing the source for Inner Mbugu lexemes has not been completed by far. The Appendix also contains an English index to the lexicon.

In the next chapter I go through the history of the Mbugu people as it can be reconstructed on the basis of an analysis of oral histories in combination with lexical evidence. This journey took me through the various places where the Mbugu are claimed to have been, in order to collect local versions of the oral histories and the necessary lexical comparative material where published sources on the relevant languages were insufficient.