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JARAWAN BANTU: NEW DATA AND ITS RELATION TO BANTU

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Wordlists from unpublished data of UKW, collected in the early 1990s

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TABLES

1. Introduction

The Jarawan Bantu languages have always been something of a poor relation to Bantu proper. Scattered across northern Cameroun and east-central Nigeria, they remain poorly documented and poorly characterised. The first record of Jarawan Bantu is Koelle (1854), whose Dṣārāwa probably corresponds to modern-day Bankal. Gowers (1907) has six wordlists of Jarawan Bantu (Bomborawa, Bankalawa, Gubawa, Jaku, Jarawa (kanna) and Wurkunawa) include in his survey of the largely Chadic languages of the Bauchi area. Strümpell (1910) has a wordlist of the Jarawan Bantu language Mboa, formerly spoken on the Cameroun/CAR border near Meiganga. Strümpell (1922) and Baudelaire (1944) are the only records of Nagumi, based around Natsari, SE of Garoua in northern Cameroun. Johnston (1919: 716 ff.) assigned the language recorded by Koelle to a ‘Central-Bauchi’ one of his ‘Semi-Bantu’ language groups. Thomas (1925, 1927) recognised the Bantu affinities of the Nigerian Jarawan Bantu languages, but Doke (1947) and Guthrie (1969-71) make no reference to Jarawan Bantu, and the latest reference book on Bantu also exclude it (Nurse & Philippson 2003). Some Jarawan Bantu languages are listed in the Benue-Congo Comparative wordlist (henceforth BCCW) (Williamson & Shimizu 1968; Williamson 1973) and a student questionnaire at the University of Ibadan in the early 1970s provided additional sketchy data on others.

Maddieson & Williamson (1975) represents the first attempt to synthesise this data on the position of these languages. Since that period, publications have been very limited. Kraft (1981), although principally concerned with Chadic, includes lengthy wordlists of Bankal and Jaku wordlist in a rather doubtful transcription. An M.A. thesis on Jar provides a phonological sketch and wordlist of one Jarawan lect. There is also the unpublished grammar and dictionary of Ira McBride (n.d. a,b) prepared in the 1920s and so far unpublished¹. Shimizu (1983) presented an overview of some nearly extinct lects in Bauchi State. This seems to have been a prelude to a lengthier, more data-oriented publication that has never appeared. Lukas and Gerhardt (1981) analyse some rather hastily collected data on Mbula, while Gerhardt (1982) published an analysis of some of this new(er) data and memorably named the Jarawan Bantu ‘the Bantu who turned back’. Gerhardt (1982) provides data on verbal extensions in Mama and Kantana. Recently, Ulrich Kleinwillinghöfer has made available a comparative wordlist of six Jarawan Bantu lects; Zaambo (Dukta), Bwazza, Mbula, Bile, Duguri and Kulung, collected in the early 1990s as part of the SFB 268. The availability of this data seems to be a good chance to re-evaluate the position of Jarawan Bantu in relation to Bantu. Each lexical entry is commented in a footnote.

The present situation regarding the classification of Jarawan Bantu languages remains highly unsatisfactory. They are generally regarded as Bantoid and a ‘higher node’. For example in ALCAM (1984) they are treated as co-ordinate with Tivoid, Ekoid, Grassfields and others. Williamson and Blench (2000) is a reprise of this view, with Jarawan splitting from a phylogenetic tree after Narrow Bantu but before Grassfields etc. This classification was frankly based on impressions rather than detailed argument, and, as this paper will argue, was misconceived.

There seem to be three possibilities;

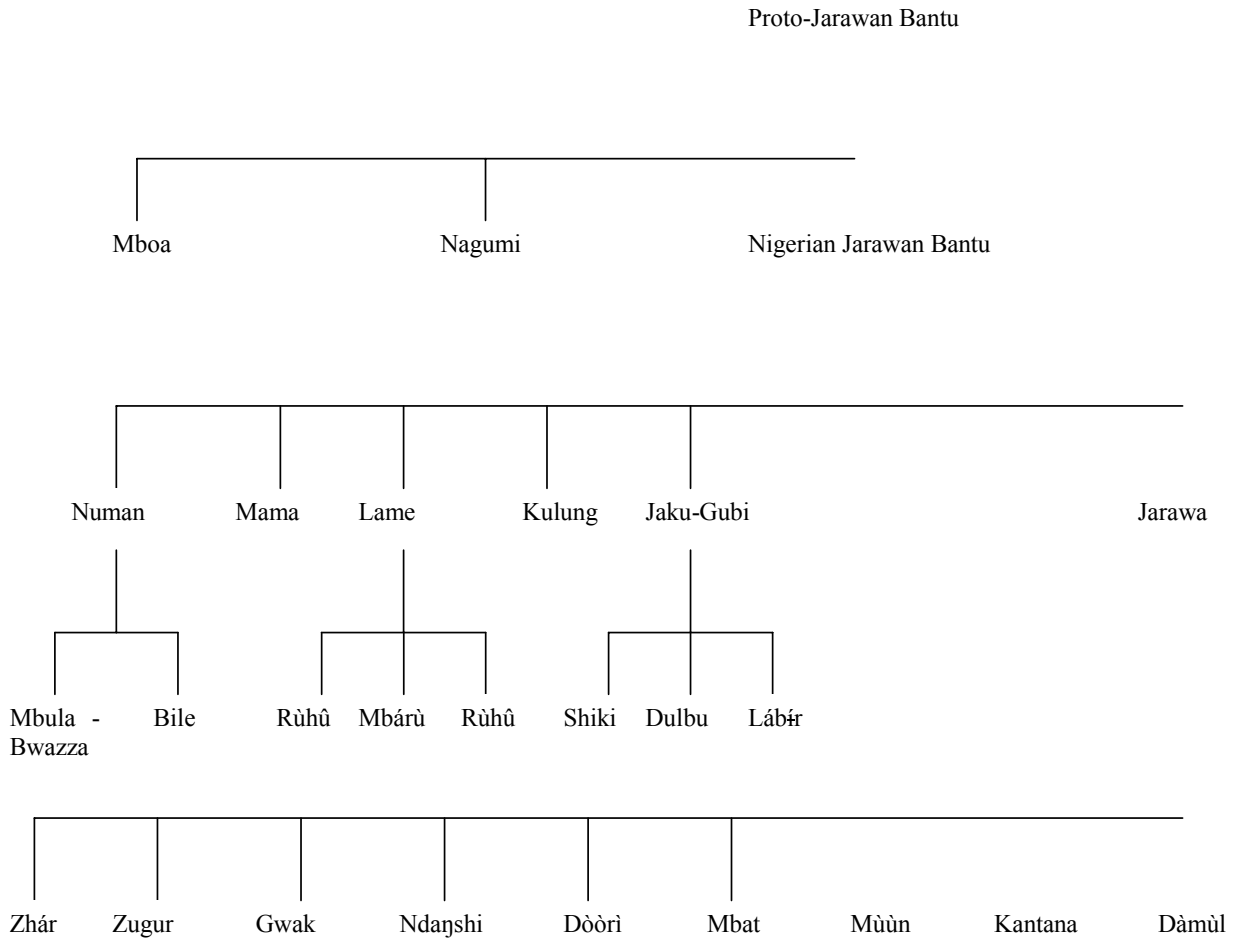
- a. Jarawan Bantu is part of A group
- b. PB is quite different from its conventional representation and more like proto-A
- c. Similarities between Jarawan Bantu and A are accidental or spurious

¹ Apparently an edition is in press edited by Ulrich Kleinwillinghöfer and Jörg Adelberger

2. Internal subgrouping of Jarawan Bantu

The most recent attempt at a revised internal subgrouping of Jarawan Bantu is Shimizu (1983) which follows Maddieson & Williamson (1975) adding improved ethnonyms and some new lects from the Bauchi area. This is as follows (Figure 1);

Figure 1. Jarawan Bantu



The exact correspondences between some of the names recorded by Shimizu and those in Maddieson & Williamson (1975) is not always clear, but;

Mbaru	=	Bambaro
Làbír	=	Jaku
Shiki	=	Gubi
Zhàr	=	Bankal

3. Sources of Jarawan Bantu lexis

One reason that Jarawan Bantu has never been welcomed into Bantu is that it does contain many manifestly non-Bantu lexemes, even for fundamental vocabulary items. This is presumably the result of its surprising journey from southern Cameroun to central Nigeria, apparently moving in small, mobile groups for reasons that are still unknown. Extensive bilingualism with speakers of Bantoid, Chadic and Adamawa languages has caused lexical replacement in many items.

Examples:

Chadic

Gloss Proto-Bantu Jarawan Bantu Chadic
Tongue

tongue	dími	lásó / alashia	lásúù	laasú / aláású	leesuŋ	lís(í)	lásá				
two	bàdɪ	rááp	ráp	ḃáárí	ḃaarí	ḃaarí	ḃaarí	ʃáɪ	mari	rap	

Adamawa

fish	n/c ²	n-ḡ / á-nji	nji / anji	n-ḡ / anǰí	nǰí / anǰí	nji	nshi (~ nji)
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Bantoid

water	n/c ³	múr	múru	mur	múru	yám	mu1, mur pínàŋ	múr
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3. Data

The paper therefore consists of a comparative table of this data, arranged alphabetically. Glosses from Jaku and Mama are added in separate columns.

Key to wordlists

Zaambo (Dukta);

Bwazza ;

Mbula ;

Bile ;

Duguri (coll. at Yankari) ;

Kulung

² This root is probably borrowed from Adamawa languages.

³ Cognates exist in Grassfields, e.g. Kom **mú**, Mambiloid e.g. Ndoro **mbura**, and throughout Cross River, although with no certain -r- in C₂ position.

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Gloss	PB	Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Kulung	Duguri	Làbír= Jaku	Zhar= Bankal
ash	tó ¹			tùp bèsà	tú	tú	túbú			lúllá	túb		
bark	n/c			kwàtì / akwàtàngùn	ngwata ngun	mbwí	ngoto			ngwóndéré ngùn, ngondòr	ngwaalí		
belly	bùmó ²			búmwám / ábumsú	bùm	bumû / abúmú	yóŋ			bùm	bùm		
bird	yùni			nyé1 / á-	nyé1 / a-	n-nyal / a-nyál	miyà / amíyà			múnyìlì / - gì	nyâl		
bite	dóm ³			númí	núm bân	nəmə	númó			númó	núm		
black	pínd ⁴			piiní	pínè	mə pəndí	píná			pínná	tóón		
blood	n/c			kêl / a-	nkila	nkílá	nkila			kilâ	kîl		
bone	n/c			múú / á-	múù	múú / a- múú	múú			múmú	muup		
breast	n/c			kùprà / ákùprìà	kúúrâ (= milk) / a-	kyúrá / a-	kíírá / a-			kyubra, kyubla	kiður		
burn	pí ⁵			màà píí	pî	piishì	pí			tón			
buy						kúr(ə̀nà)						kúr(ə̀ŋ)	kúr(ù̀m)

¹ No Bantu language appears to have b~p in the C₂ slot, and indeed elsewhere in Niger-Congo, there is usually a nasal. Nonetheless, some A group languages have two vowels, such as A31c **tue**.

² An example of the Jarawan Bantu V- prefix deletion rule. A64 has **ibumu**.

³ A62 and B languages have initial n- not d-.

⁴ B11a has **pund**, but A group languages usually weaken the initial p-.

⁵ PB glossed as ‘become burnt’. B11a has **py**.

⁶ This form might be cognate with PB **dòngòd**.

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Gloss	PB	Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Kulung	Duguri	Làbír= Jaku	Zhar= Bankal
<i>child</i>						mùná /àmúná			munu				
claw	jáda ⁷			kálbô / a- kál bià	kalábu	nkòwla / ankówla	kagla buŋ			nyáálí	nyáál		
cold	pód ⁸			pòlìpólíó	ḏwál	kpwalí	pɔɔɔ	polo		pwoɔɔ	fálán		
come	jìj ⁹			yóú; ì máá yù (he came)	yoŋ	yù	zû			yu	yu		
die	kú ¹⁰			lu	wú(u)	wú	wúú	wu		túló wéè	wum	yí wóŋ	
divide, share												gəb(əŋ)	gɛb(əm)
dog	bóá ¹¹			nva / á-nvá	mva / a-	mvwà / a-	mínàrà			mváà	nvó		
drink	nyó ¹²			nú !	nú	nú	nú			nú	nú		
dry	júm ¹³			yúmní	im nei	mə a ìmé	yunna	yumama		nyúmné	yómán	àyíməm	
ear	túi ¹⁴	mai	pědǒ	kíró / ákìrìà, ákìro	kəruù	kírú / a-	kiiruŋ		títí	kírí	kít		

⁷ The main Jarawan Bantu forms do not look cognate, but **nyáál** clearly resembles some B group forms, such as B75 **nyala**. The **kal-** forms in Jarawan Bantu must be a replacement from Adamawa.

⁸ Despite the CB form, most A-D languages have –l- or –r- in C₂ position. A group languages usually have f/h/v as C₁.

⁹ A24 has y- as the verbal stem.

¹⁰ A24 and other A languages have **wo** (Bulu **wúù**) etc. arguing that the weakened form was the original. Kulung **lu** is exceptional.

¹¹ B72a **mbva**, C15 **mvwa**.

¹² Some B languages, e.g. B75 have **nu**, but **ŋw** is most common in the A group.

¹³ B11a has **yom** but no Bantu forms seem to have the initial nasal. The Jarawan Bantu suffix –nV must be a verbal marker. **jum/jom** is common to Ekoid languages and Kom has **jum**. This appears to define Bantu plus Ekoid, although the form **wom** is more widespread.

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Gloss	PB	Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Kulung	Duguri	Làbír= Jaku	Zhar= Bankal
earth	n/c			ĩnzá1	nzâ1	ǎáanzá	nǎé			nzaali	nsáá1		
eat	dí ¹⁵			lí !	lí, lí dúmó, she nyámà	lí, lí ndúmò, lí nyamá, shan nyamá	lí, shéé nyámà	li	lya	lí, lí nkòg,~ línyèmè	lí		
egg	gí ¹⁶			kì / ákìingú	nkî	nkí / ankí	̀kì		̀kì	k ì	kî	kí	kì
<i>elephant</i>						̀zû						nzóyó	
eye	jícò ¹⁷	missi	mĩsò	míshí / ámisha	mésû(ù)	məsú / a- mósú	njúŋ		múfù	músú	més	mì-fí	
fat, grease	— ¹⁸			mùrú / á-	múúrúù	murú	múrúŋ	muru		múrúk	mut (mút)	mùdú	
feather	n/c			mbùr / á-	mbúrù	mbwí	mbuù			mbûr, mbû 1, mbûn	mbú		
fire	n/c			bèsà, búsà	bésá	bésá	gishe			béza	bìs		
fish	n/c ¹⁹			n-ǎ / á-nǎi	nǎi / anǎi	n-ǎ / nǎí /			̀zhí	nshi (~)	nǎi		

¹⁴ Kənswey (Bamessing) has **kətɔ** and similar forms occur in neighbouring languages. D62 has **ukutxwi**, E32a has **ęirwi**. This is inconclusive, since Kukele, Upper Cross, has **ko-tuo**.

¹⁵ Alternations of **li/di** are so common throughout Niger-Congo that this root is inconclusive.

¹⁶ Jarawan Bantu resembles forms in A group languages, which all have initial k-. There are several examples of a nasal prefix, A91, C36a, although prefixes are rather various. Bulu has **ǎci**, and Kenyang **nęci**, which provides the initial nasal.

¹⁷ The CB form is very remote from this, but in A group languages, the root is typically **-is** with prefixes d/m. Thus A74 **ɗis/mis**. Jarawan Bantu forms thus appear to reflect a plural ‘eyes’. This appears to be close to a common innovation since the final **-s** is confined to a very restricted group of languages.

¹⁸ Some A group languages, such as Tumblele, have **-múl** for ‘fat’.

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Gloss	PB	Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Kulung	Duguri	Làbír= Jaku	Zhar= Bankal
						anjí	anjíí			nji)			
five	tàànò ²⁰	s̄siän	t̄ĩnu	tòŋnú	tóŋnò	toŋnú	tóŋnó	tonnu		túŋnúŋ	tóón	túwun	
fly	n/c			lòò	ɖelèè	yalé	lɔja kuli			logã ɓɔɔŋ	lwá í gwòl, yí lwáám		
fry						káŋ(əná)						ká	ká(m)
foot	kàcà ²¹			kushi / a- kushi-a	kusû(ù)	kusú / akúsú	kusuŋ			zòŋ	kús (kwasa 'leg')		
four	nài ²²	ni	fade ²³	ííní	íínè	iiné	ííné			yííníŋ	yîŋ		
give	pá ²⁴			páám (me); pái (give him)	paayi (give him)	paam (give me)	pá		pa-	ŋaa	pàbà		pá(m)
grain	n/c			míshí / mishigwéí	məshí (mòshèt)	məsəgír	njí			nyíŋì			
guinea-						gàŋá						góŋ	gəŋ

¹⁹ This root is probably borrowed from Adamawa languages.

²⁰ Most Bantu attestations have a central vowel as in PB, but Ngwe has **i-tɔ́** and A83 has **ton**.

²¹ A complex word but one which shows that Jarawan Bantu can provide insights into the reconstruction of Bantu. **-kasa** shows up in groups C-K with the meaning ‘hand’ and only in L does the meaning ‘foot’ appear. The prefixes are typically **li-** in C group languages, but these seem to be deleted in Jarawan Bantu. Further problems arise because the evidence from Duguri makes it seem possible there are two related roots **#kusu** (foot) and **#kasa** (leg). A group languages often have a sequence of two back vowels, e.g. Nkong **ikòó**, as well as Grassfields. These languages do not retain a C₂ in position, but forms such as Fon **kfû** suggest original ***kufu**, cognate with Jarawan Bantu **kusu** roots.

²² Cf. Bamvele **ɲii**, Mokpe **yeni**.

²³ Apparently a loan from Chadic

²⁴ Mungaka, Limbum and several neighbouring languages have **fá**. The weakened form, **há**, is widespread in this region. However, **ŋa** also occurs, for example Mamənyan.

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Gloss	PB	Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Kulung	Duguri	Làbír= Jaku	Zhar= Bankal
fowl													
hair	n/c			nyôm / á-	nyâŋ	nnyáu	nyôŋ			nyôŋ	nyôŋ		
hand	bókò ²⁵			bwàm / abwiyà	bú	bù / àbú	buŋ			búg	ɓwa		
head	túè ²⁶	mo	mūrǒ	múrú / ámuríá	mùrù	kpámúrú / a-	murùŋ / ámurùŋ	ka:muru	ntú	muru	mut	múɗù	
hear	n/c ²⁷			óó	aó	aɔ	ógó			wógɔ̃	wa		
heart ²⁸	n/c			ɓààbúmú / ɓààbúmún	ɓaa bùm	kúm ɓáálú	kun nyan	dimu		sumbulé	ɓáál	bál	
horn	n/c			njépé / ánjépé	njemé (njamánda)	njawì / anjawì	njemé			njémè	njáb		
hot	pí ²⁹			áábəsa	kúlkúl	piiné	pí			wógñá, wógná	wáán		
kill	n/c ³⁰			wálí !	wálí	wali	wó nluo			gbáálá	wál		
knee	n/c			kùlám / á- kùlìà	nkúúnù	nkúúnù	nkúŋnú			kúlúŋ	kuŋu1		

²⁵ Cf. A46 **obo**, A74 **mbo**, A64 **ombogo**. The nasal suffixes in Jarawan Bantu probably reflect nasal prefixes in A group languages. However, this root is widespread in Niger-Congo and frozen nasal prefixes also occur in Mambiloid, for example.

²⁶ This form does not immediately seem to be cognate. However, the presence of –t- in the C₂ slot, later becoming –d- and then –r- in Jarawan lects, almost certainly reflects the Bantu root, although **mu-** prefixes only occur in D and E group languages. Further evidence that PB was actually something like **mu-tu** can be seen in Tikar **mu**, Meta **mətu** and Nkong **mɔ́**.

²⁷ No obvious Bantu reflex, but this is an extremely widespread Benue-Congo root.

²⁸ But see ‘liver’.

²⁹ B11a has **py-**, but most other languages have initial **β-**.

³⁰ However, Ekoid shows direct cognates, for example Balep **wól**, and Mambiloid Mambila Warwar **wula**, also in Upper and Lower Cross. Poorly represented in BCCW.

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Gloss	PB	Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Kulung	Duguri	Làbír= Jaku	Zhar= Bankal
know	màp, jíjìb ³¹			mààŋ óó	shi irì bàn	sələ́	yé́rí, yé_ré			shagə́ligí	da1		
leaf	n/c			mbùmbú / á-	mbú ngwún	mbúú ńgwún / a-	mbu giri			mbúgì	mbuk		
lie	n/c ³²			nóúŋ	nóŋò	noŋnó	nóŋá n_jè			nóŋ, nóŋó	núáŋ		
liver ³³	bàdì			kùkú ɓááli / kùkú	kum ɓáálù	ɓaabúm	kun nyé			ɓaali	bashá-lá bájì		
long	n/c			sapa sapa	sáwà	mə sawé	sàlà			sábna	má dilin		
man	bàgàdà ³⁴			bùnà / ábuná	ɓwaabùrà / abúránà	ɓwábùra / a- ɓwá /àɓwáana (LG)	ɓaabùrà / abuná			ɓààbèrà	ɓîd		
meat, flesh	nyàmà ³⁵			nyámá / á-	nyama	nyámá / a-	nyama			nyeme	nyâm		

³¹ Jarawan Bantu is rather diverse, so the cognacy of Bantu is uncertain. **mààŋ** may be compared to D54 **map**. Forms such as B85 **yip** may be cognate with Jarawan Bantu **yé_rí**.

³² BLR3 has no form resembling this one, although evidently such a reconstruction is warranted. Shu Pamən (Bamun) has **nũnú**, Mungaka has **ɲòŋɔ́**, Yemba has **nɔŋ**, linked very closely with the Jarawan Bantu forms.

³³ This is the same set of roots as ‘heart’ although sometimes with different qualifications.

³⁴ A highly unlikely PB form. The Jarawan Bantu forms are cognate with B group attestations such as B73c **baala**. The source of the **-buna** element is unclear.

³⁵ This root is extremely widespread in Niger-Congo and thus of limited value in determining the place of Jarawan Bantu. Nonetheless, it occurs in Mokpe **ɲámà**, Meta **-ɲám**, whereas many surrounding languages have a quite different root **#-bab**.

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Gloss	PB	Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Kulung	Duguri	Làbír= Jaku	Zhar= Bankal
moon	cúngè ³⁶			zòṅú / á- zòṅú	zoṅó	zoṅò	shiyeri			zuṅà	líáṅ		
mountain ³⁷				kòḍnù / á- kòḍnú	tha1	nkwánú, taalí	nkónòṅ			kónoṅ	yàb		
mouth	nùà ³⁸	mom	kūnǒ	kúnú / á kunia	kūn	kúnú / a-	kùṅ		kùnù	kūn	kún		
name	dùk ³⁹			lùlú / alùlú	lólù	lu1ú	lúlúṅ	lulu		lili (liili)	loye	njín	
neck	midò ⁴⁰			méélám / á meelsú	mélù	mèàlu /	me1			me1	mè1(1)		
new	—			bìshí	bəséí	mə bəshì	ma piiyo			píwé	pibi		
night	tíkù ⁴¹			badù	dù	dù	dú		(kù)dú	dúgú	dúk		
nose	júdù ⁴²	joi	lūtó	lúlí / á- lu1i-a	lu1ù	lonú / a- lónú	lúlúṅ			lúlú	dúṅú1		

³⁶ A group languages have initial **ts-**, which could easily be linked to the initial **z-** of Jarawan Bantu.

³⁷ See roots for ‘stone’ for #**tal-**

³⁸ Most Bantu roots have a central vowel in the stem, but some A languages have a back vowel, such as A74 **anyu**. Prefixes are highly variable in Bantu and the **kV-** prefix is occasionally attested, such as D28b **kanwa**.

³⁹ Some A group languages such as Shu Pamən have **lí**, Mungaka **líṅ**, which would account for forms such as Kulung **lili**. The PB reconstruction is a verb ‘to name’, and nominal forms such as **ndui** (B75) are relatively rare. B group languages appear to have a velar in C₂ position, so the source of Jarawan Bantu reduplication is unclear. The final nasal in **lúlúṅ** probably reflects the nasal prefix attested in Bantu. Kom **i-jín** suggests that a second root for ‘name’ reflected in Jaku is also present in Jarawan Bantu.

⁴⁰ The most widespread Bantu cognates are for the verb ‘to swallow’ with neck usually a different root. However, nominal forms appear in E group languages, such as E11 **ommiro**. However, neck/throat/swallow polysemy is common throughout Niger-Congo elsewhere and probably this is just an artefact of the data.

⁴¹ A widespread Niger-Congo root, usually of the form #**-tuk**. Despite the PB reconstruction, A62 has **bu-dugu**, which is likely to be virtually identical to the proto-Jarawan Bantu form.

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Gloss	PB	Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Kulung	Duguri	Làbír= Jaku	Zhar= Bankal
one	mòì ⁴³	motu	dara	mùshèt	móón	mɔ̀onì	baakó			móḡḡ	díḡ		
path	jìdà ⁴⁴			ngùjér / á-	tánjàrè	njá gùlà	nji njèrè	jere	zàadi	njéré	líim, bìs	n-dzér	
rain	búda ⁴⁵			mbùlò	mbulo	mmbulò	múrí kúlí			múr bùlò	mbúl		
red	?			mə bángí / áámə̀bàngá	bàḡà	mə banyé	baḡà		baa(ki)	ḡáḡná	baan		
root	dì ⁴⁶			zàḡḡḡn / á-	zaḡḡḡn / a-	ḡléérí / a-	mílí giri			mírḡḡe ḡḡn			
sand	—			sáálá / ámìssáálá	sáálá	nzaalí	nji sáláḡ			sasáala, zazáala	nsáál shìrà		
say ...	—			ìmáánà	naa	naà	wa ba			ná	sháp		
see	—			máá sīəní (I see it)	shín(í) ban	səné	shíná			gaba	són		
seed	bíád ⁴⁷			ḡe / mis ḡé / (mio ḡé)	jámè	ḡəllá / a-ḡəllá	zama			nyiy ḡé / è	ḡilí		

⁴² CB form very doubtful. B52 has **løyulu**, C53 **li-olo**, K31 **ili-yulu**. All these suggest a PB form something like **li-yulu**, collapsed to **lulu** in some Jarawan Bantu and **lili** elsewhere.

⁴³ Pinyin and related languages have **mó³ḡ**, and B44 (Lumbu) has **mweya**, providing evidence for a lost velar in C₂ position.

⁴⁴ The Jarawan Bantu forms are much compounded, but the essential element appears to be **#njere**. Cf. Mokpe **ḡḡ-njia**, and many forms similar to **manze**. The Duguri form **bis** looks as if it is cognate with a rare Bantoid root **#-bi**, attested in Kenyang, Tikar **mbi**, Somyev **bi**.

⁴⁵ Despite the CB form, Bantu languages almost inevitably have /r/. See A24 **mbua**, C32 **mbula**. The final back vowel is puzzling although this occurs very occasionally in other Bantu groups. It is possible that Jarawan Bantu operates a rule of back vowel harmonisation.

⁴⁶ Not entirely clear if this is cognate. Some forms of Bantu have **-li** and a **mo-** prefix. E51, for example is **mori**.

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Gloss	PB	Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Kulung	Duguri	Làbír= Jaku	Zhar= Bankal
sit	—			dòdò		do	díyò n jè		ri	dob ní dòbò	néh		
skin	gùbò ⁴⁸			ngùù / á-	ngu	ngúú	ngubûŋ	nku		lára	ngub	ngúbù	ngùp
sleep	dó ⁴⁹			tu lo	túló, nóŋ túló	ntúló	náŋ tùlò			túló	túlú		
smoke	n/c			lèèlé	yéló	(i)nyalí	nlele			yele	yál		
stand	jím ⁵⁰			shèmi	shémé	camé	táŋni kùsù			te l lígìrì	lwa jáám		
star	n/c			lépré / á mìsá lepre	nlèùrò	nléúró	muna shiyeri			debrè	tálíáŋ		
stone	tádè ⁵¹			tál / ámisə tál	thal / a- táálí	taalí / a-táálí	táálí	ta		taali	taal	tál	
sun	jùbà ⁵²			kèrà	pórí	pwarí	kaará			mísá	mús		
tail	kída ⁵³			ĩngèlìà / àmbùtíngìlìà	ngəlá	ngilé / angílé	ngíle			nghila	n jí l		

⁴⁷ The PB reconstruction is a verb and curiously, records only begin with the D group. D54 is **byal**. The presence of implosive ɓ is striking as this phoneme is not usually reconstructed for PB.

⁴⁸ In this case, Jarawan Bantu resembles A group very closely, see Mungaka **ŋ-gùb**².

⁴⁹ A31b has **tolo** and A62 **duno**.

⁵⁰ Surprisingly, no A group attestations but K41 has **ziman**, which justifies PB and explains this form.

⁵¹ Cf. Kenyang **n-tài**, and forms in Ekoid. Widespread in Bantu with forms such as C35b **etale** and usually assigned to noun-classes 5/6. No trace of the i- prefixes in Jarawan Bantu. It looks like there is a rule whereby V- prefixes in Bantu are deleted in Jarawan Bantu.

⁵² This form does not immediately look cognate, but A group cognates of this reconstruction have -ʃ- in C1 position, where -b- is given in the PB form. A24 has **lofa**, for example. No trace of the m- prefix though.

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Gloss	PB	Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Kulung	Duguri	Làbír= Jaku	Zhar= Bankal
ten	kúmi ⁵⁴	bō	lum	lúm	lúm	lúm	lúm	lum	lúm	lúm	lúm	lùm	
three	tátù ⁵⁵	sāi	taaru	tàarú	táarù	táaró	táaró		taatù	táarúm	táát		
tongue	dími ⁵⁶	tilémbi	laesso	lásó / alashia	lásúù	laasú / aláású	leesuŋ			lásá	lís(í)		
tooth	jínò ⁵⁷			mííní / á- miiní	míínú	miinú / amíínú	miiluŋ			míínú	míín	miyìn	
tree	kóni ⁵⁸			n-gwún / á- ngún	ńgwún	ungwuñ / angwún	ngúŋ / angúŋ	guni	mbini	ngún	ngún	ngùn	ngùn
two	bàdì ⁵⁹	bāi	bāli	rááp	ráp	baáarí	baarí	mari	baàarí	baarí	baarí	járí	
walk	gènd ⁶⁰			gìà	gyâ	gyá	gye			kyén kénè	ka		
water	n/c ⁶¹			múr	múró	mur	múró			mu1, mur pínàŋ	yám	múr	

⁵³ This is one item where Jarawan Bantu suggests that the PB reconstruction is quite wrong. A43a has **ɲwəl** and C83 **ɲgel**. Unless Jarawan Bantu is an A group language, PB must have had a shape more like this than the suggested form.

⁵⁴ Mokpe has **li-ome** (?) and A24 (Duala) has **ɗum**, although other Bantu forms usually begin with a velar. This is so exceptional as to provide excellent evidence for the position of Jarawan Bantu.

⁵⁵ A group languages have –l- in C₂ position, but no initial t-. t- occurs in B group and thenceforth. As in ‘two’ the long vowel in ‘three’ is exceptional for Jarawan Bantu.

⁵⁶ Perhaps not cognate as Bantu has no trace of either the central vowel or the final –s. Is this a loan from nearby Chadic?

⁵⁷ B group languages typically have m- prefixes, thus B75 (Mungaka) **minu**. A group prefixes are all **ɲ-**. This is one case where Jarawan Bantu does not resemble A group (which generally has #**soŋ**, a Grassfields root). Ekoid has comparable roots.

⁵⁸ ‘firewood’ in PB, e.g. Limbum **ɲ-gú**. BCCW records both ‘firewood’ and ‘tree’ in Jarawan Bantu and the root is identical. However, Bantu often records the common Niger-Congo root #**-ti** for ‘tree’. Group A languages have either lost the initial velar or have **g-**, e.g. Tumblele **əŋ-góŋ** ‘tree’.

⁵⁹ Forms such as Yemba **bar**, A74 **bae**, Nkong **bá’á** point to a proto-form #**bari**. The apparent vowel lengthening in Jarawan Bantu numerals is subsequent to the split from A group languages. The **rap** forms are borrowings from Chadic.

⁶⁰ Cf. D62 **gend**. Jarawan Bantu seems to have lost the final –d. Palatal forms exist, for example D61 **dzend**.

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Gloss	PB	Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Kulung	Duguri	Làbír= Jaku	Zhar= Bankal
white	pémb ⁶²			pwààshí	pwàsù	mə kpwashí	pɔsɔ			púbná	púp		
woman	máá ⁶³			màànà / á- mààná	mɓwáámá / amáána	mə ɓwámá / a māmá	ɓaàmà / amená	mamam		ɓámmá	máàm	máám	

⁶¹ Cognates exist in Grassfields, e.g. Kom **mú**, Mambiloid e.g. Ndoro **mbura**, and throughout Cross River, although with no certain -r- in C₂ position.

⁶² The PB form is glossed ‘shine, be white’. The changeable vowels in Jarawan Bantu are something of a mystery as are the forms with -S- in C₂ position, but presumably these are frozen verbal extensions attached to the simple verb root **pe-** ‘to be white’.

⁶³ PB form is glossed as ‘mother’. cf. Nkong **mwàá**, A33b **mama**. A final nasal is attested in many A group languages such as Yemba **məŋ**. The only evidence for the homorganic **mɓ-** is M63 **ɓa-ma**. Analysis is probably confused by different elicitation items, for example, BCCW has both ‘female’ and ‘woman’, but not ‘mother’.

4. Analysis

Jarawan Bantu languages are very close to one another and all are characterised by a fusing of the noun-stem to the prefix. Nonetheless, where a Bantu cognate can be identified, it does not resemble any PB forms, but rather the actual forms of A languages such as Bulu. If Jarawan Bantu is regarded as outside Bantu this creates a problem; why does it resemble A group languages? Surely it cannot have undergone parallel changes? It must have undergone the same changes. It therefore is best regarded as an offshoot of A.

The relation of Jarawan Bantu to Bantu proper then makes us question exactly what PB forms represent. Clearly you could not reach PB or CB through a reconstruction of A group languages. These are 'too eroded'. But is this because PB looked as the experts say it did and A group is simply highly reduced? This is a curious argument since almost all authors agree that the Bantu started out from the A group area and that therefore the A languages should represent PB in some way.

5. Conclusion

The conclusion drawn from this analysis is that Jarawan Bantu, despite its sometimes quirky appearance, is a member of the A group of Bantu languages, probably A42 and related. Several key lexical items reflect both the stems and prefixes of this group and are not found outside. The lack of geographical proximity of Jarawan Bantu to any A group languages suggests that this cannot be borrowing and must be evidence of their affiliation. The Jarawan Bantu set off northwards, encountering first Bantoid languages, notably, the Nyang languages, Tikar and Mambiloid.

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Appendix. Jarawan Bantu lexical items showing no consistency

The following lexical items were recorded as part of the Swadesh list, but either have no lexical consistency or no PB reconstruction. They are therefore included for information.

Nouns		Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Duguri	Kulung	Làbír= Jaku	Gingwak
cloud	?			ḃòró	ḃoorò	píná mbùlò	krinkindíŋ			n1aa gírí	1imba		
louse	n/c			gèlándùnu	nkəláári	gír1aandúnó / a- gír1áándúnó	gí1á dùlù			kwarkátà	nyí1í		
person ¹	—			kpóm pìiná / kpàná pìní	ḃwaa pínà / aḃwáá mpínèi	ḃwá mpəndé / a-	ḃa yòŋ / abayòŋ			ḃô / ḃíḃò	ḃwarí / ḃáámbùrùm		
Pronouns													
I	—			mìnà	mí	mîm	mmèn			mí	minám, mminám		
you	—			weanga	wéi	wé	wê			wû	yóó		
he	—			gbananga	yí	yi				yí	yí		
we	—			swaanga	sím	səm	súŋ		su	sú	súm		
you pl.	—			wunanga	wún	wún				wún	wún		
they	—			abwananga	íyá	yâ				ya	yá		
Verbs													
swim ²	n/c			túsô	paaləm	waxi waxo	tá mùrù			kwâ	wób múr		

¹ None of these resemble Bantu words for ‘person’ and seem all to refer to the root for ‘man’. Yemba Bafou II **piŋ** may be cognate with the Zaambo form, but related forms are scarce.

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Nouns		Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Duguri	Kulung	Làbír= Jaku	Gingwak
Numerals													
six	tándà ³	kõēnō	saesama	twàngármù	tóhnd war mòshèt	tóhnú mòshât	tópúró mwo			tóón sole mòk, tòh sole mòk	tó sám mòð		
seven ⁴	—	jindogmoge	tisbari	bángá rááp	tóhnd war rap	tóhnú baari	tòh báàri			kés táát	tó sáb bààrì		
eight ⁵	—	jindordoa	tistaro	twàngà táárú	tóhnd wat táárù	tóhnú táárú	tóm bitááró			késhíín	yínóníh		
nine	n/c ⁶	jindorsu	tisfade	twàngà ííní	tóhnd war íínè	tóhnú iiné	tómbi ííné			kestɔɔn	músú mógð lùm	fúyú	
100							wóró tóhno			lumí lùm, dárí	deri mógð, mál tònùnù		
Others													
all	n/c			bêb	báb	kat	kwá			káp	đóm		
big	n/c			ngé bààní	gúló	mə gúlé	kpám			má gulun	gúllá, bađiné		
full	n/c			máá lúmshí	límsé	lumshé	đúhso			wálan	lúmsóná		
good	n/c			bwàà jám	boro	mə bwané	boona			bwáđán	máánáh		

² Apparently a poor root in Jarawan Bantu as the forms do not look as if they are cognate with each other.

³ Jarawan Bantu seems to have no consistent form but to use 5 + 1.

⁴ Jarawan Bantu forms appear to be locally constructed and do not resemble the widespread A group and Grassfields #-**samba**.

⁵ Appears to have no common root in Jarawan Bantu or in Bantu.

⁶ The Jarawan Bantu forms appear to all be locally constructed or borrowed.

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Nouns		Mboa	Nagumi	Zaambo	Bwazza	Mbula	Bile	Mama	Mbaru	Duguri	Kulung	Làbír= Jaku	Gingwak	
green	n/d			pòllùsú	mbú b(w)ònú	mè kpàlí	laŋsa múrú				mbugũmbugũ			
many	—			búnúbùnùŋ	pás	kpém				yé bilim	búnná			
not	—			pàkàmbà	kaŋwa	páhàndàŋ	nyá			kaba	ḃólá, ḃórá			
round	n/c			ḃáŋshí	kára(à)	mə d̀ù̀ríhè	kilululu			gələn	kóré			
small	—			biti	kéwé	mə kyawé	fitòŋ			má gab	minyenáŋ, shíndòŋ (tiny)			
that	—			gára kpáángá	móo	múnò	mámógó			mamáákú	múkó			
this	—			gemanga	máá	máán	mámmá			míimi	mínì			
what?	n/c			màn célé	mána	manà	maŋ			manáá	némman			
who?	n/c			yà nílè	yana	yánà	yàŋ			ayanáá	nii yèn			
yellow	—			yùmní	réésán		leŋe			yám òr̀r̀	muré ḱí ngùbù			

⁷ A42 has **fol**. Initial p- is not common, but occurs in scattered cases, e.g. B11a **pɔn**, G42d **po**.