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Zoonímia Histórico-comparativa: Denominações dos antílopes em bantu
Lima Santiago, J. de

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Author: Lima Santiago J. de

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THESIS SUMMARY

This PhD research paper entitled: Historical-comparative Zoonymy: Denominations of the antelopes in Bantu, intends to analyze the possible cognates that designate some antelope species in the Bantu communities, in order to highlight the diachronic processes that derived the sets of the present reflexes.

The thesis is based on the basic principles of Historical-Comparative Linguistics (comparative method), which allow to reconstruct the common ancestral language of languages and/or dialects considered to be from the same linguistic family. Through a quantitative research, a large number of cognates was collected for a significant number of Bantu languages and/or dialects from the bibliographical collection of linguistics of the Royal Museum for Central Africa (RMCA).

The research also has a qualitative character, since it seeks to analyze and understand the recurrent linguistic phenomena in the studied natural languages. Approximately 174 themes which designate antelope species were identified from the datasets. Among them, 62 proposals come from the BLR (2003), 14 are suggested by Mouguiama & Hombert (2006) and approximately 98 themes are new.

In this way, the analyses carried out during the doctorate, significantly expanded the linguistic distribution of the themes already existing in the BLR (2003). This lexical enrichment also allowed to reinterpret and correct approximately 33 themes from the segmental/suprasegmental as well as the semantic point of view, including some forms suggested by the researchers Mouguiama and Hombert 2006 (cf. appendix 1: overview table of the protoforms).

In chapter (1) it is confirmed, from an onomasiological approach, that a significant number of themes denominate the same antelope species within

the Bantu region. These themes are true synonyms and possibly used in certain regions to designate the male and/or the female of some species. For example, in Kituba (H10) and in Emakhuwa (P31), according to the description of the authors, the substantives ‘nsese/nanshere’ < °°-céci/°°-cétu are used to designate the male of the *Philantomba monticola* species. In Songola (D24) the ‘̀nkábi’ substantive is the word for the *Tragelaphus spekii* male (cf. Ankei, 1986:247), while in Vungu (B403) the substantive ‘kaabi’ is the female of the ‘mbuundi’ antelope (cf. Mouguiama & Hombert 2006:45).

- The existence of several osculant themes is demonstrated, which present irregularities according to the diachronic origin of the phonemes, almost always in the position of C₁ (cf. *-júmbì (9132)/°°-cumbi ‘*Cephalophus nigrifrons*’; *-gùdòngù (4587)/*-kùdòngù (4692), and *-gabe (8828)/*-gabì (8829)/ °°-kabì ‘*Tragelaphus scriptus*’; *-jìbù (9149) ‘*Cephalophus sylvicator*’/°°-cìbù ‘*Cephalophus dorsalis*’).
- Certain osculant themes have been identified, which present segmental, suprasegmental and semantic irregularities (cf. *-pàmbì (8407) ‘*Cephalophus nigrifrons*’/*-bambi (8336) ‘*Sylvicapra grimmia*’; *-pòngò (6810) ‘*Tragelaphus scriptus*’/°°-bòngò ‘*Tragelaphus euryceros*’; *-bìndí (7211) ‘*Cephalophus callipygus*, *Cephalophus nigrifrons*’/°°-bìndí ‘*Cephalophus dorsalis*’). However, despite the semantic changes and irregularities regarding the origin of the C₁, it is believed that there is a common origin between them.
- Seemingly osculant themes, whose phonological evolutions of the phonemes cannot be traced back to the same common theme, have been demystified (cf. *-kudo (4684) ‘*Kobus ellipsiprymnus*’/°°-kido ‘*Tragelaphus strepsiceros*’; *-codongo (6993) ‘*Tragelaphus strepsiceros*’/*-kodongo (7023) ‘*Hippotragus equinus*’, *-tèngú 7710 (3) ‘*Hippotragus equinus*’/°°-pèngú ‘*Hippotragus equinus*’).
- Some hypotheses about the origin of some osculant themes are formulated (cf. *-búdúkú (4574)/°°-búdúgú/°°-céci/°°-cétu ‘*Philantomba monticola*’; *-gùdòngù 4587/*-kùdòngù 4692 ‘*Tragelaphus scriptus*’).

- Hypotheses are formulated about the proto-bantu origin of some themes, which present a linguistic distribution in almost all the Bantu area (cf. *-kudo (4684) ‘*Kobus ellipsiprymnus*’; *-bùdì 370 ‘*Tragelaphus spekii*’; *-cèpú (533) ‘*Taurotragus oryx*’; *-pókù (2601) ‘*Taurotragus oryx*’; *-gabe 8828 (5) and *-gòdòngò 4587 (5) ‘*Tragelaphus scriptus*’). Reflexes of these themes in languages outside Bantu were also found, with the exception of the *-pókù (2601).
- Themes have been identified only in the western part of the Bantu area (cf. *-kókó (3833) ‘*Tragelaphus scriptus*’; *-jùnà (9108) ‘*Tragelaphus euryceros*’; *-tucl (5269) ‘sort of aquatic antelope’; *-pàngá (8712) ‘*Tragelaphus euryceros*’).
- Themes have been identified only in the eastern part of the Bantu area (cf. *-kondi (6691) ‘*Alcelaphus buselaphus*’; *-tándadá (8576) ‘*Tragelaphus strepsiceros*’; *-tàmò (8220) ‘*Taurotragus oryx*’).
- It was found that there are themes with a regional linguistic distribution, which is justified by the restricted habitat of some species (cf. °-cépé ‘*Antidorcas marsupialis*’; °°-cábè, °°-bùjì ‘*Cephalophus callipygus*’; °-jumba ‘*Madoqua kirkii*’).
- Some names from African languages that are also found in Indo-European languages are highlighted (cf. *-kudo (4684), °-tòtònga ‘*Tragelaphus spekii*’; °-nyádà ‘*Tragelaphus angasi*’; °-pádanga ‘*Hippotragus niger*’; °-cécébe ‘*Damaliscus lunatus*’; *-pàdá (2355) ‘*Aepyceros melampus*’). In some cases the origin of the name is identified, for example the name ‘mpalanga: *Hippotragus niger*’ (°-pádanga) < from Kimbundu (H21) (cf. Serrote João Major 2015:14) and the substantive ‘inyala: *Tragelaphus angasi*’ (°-nyádà) < from Isizulu (S42) (cf. Daeleman 1980:108).
- It has been found that the semantic network between the concepts ‘meat, animal, bush, horn, savannah, wetland, antelope, hunting’ is very common in Bantu. This justifies the nominal derivation process from existing themes

already reconstructed by the BLR (2003), like for example the themes °-tope ‘sitatunga antelope’/reedbuck; *-bàbàdá (13) ‘*Tragelaphus scriptus*’; °°-bòngò ‘*Tragelaphus eurycerus*’; °°-cégé ‘*Cephalophus leucogaster*’ (cf. also in appendix *-nyàmà 3180 ‘animal, meat’ and *-gòmbè 1434 (1) ‘cow’).

In this chapter we have also highlighted some themes that present cases of reduplication, a phenomenon very common in Bantu, especially in zoonymy. Among the themes, it is shown that:

- In most cases a simple theme is found, which reinforces the reduplication status, except in the case of the themes °-cécébe ‘*Damaliscus lunatus*’; °-tùtùnga ‘*Tragelaphus spekei*’ and °-pedèdè ‘mountain reedbuck’.
- It is confirmed that the partial reduplication process of the S₁ is more productive than the reduplication of the S₂ (cf. *-bàbàdá (13) ‘*Tragelaphus scriptus*’; °-cécébe ‘*Damaliscus lunatus*’; °-tùtùnga ‘*Tragelaphus spekei*’). This is justified by the stability of the S₁, whereas the S₂ is susceptible to undergo phonological processes (loss/changes of phonemes).
- It has been observed that in most cases the reduplicated themes present semantic problems with respect to the simple themes, except in the case of the themes °-bàdá > *-bàbàdá ‘*Tragelaphus scriptus*’. Therefore, it is believed that some themes are lexical innovations, which are created from other forms already existent in the languages.
- In most cases the reduplicated themes present a tonal disturbance in relation to the theme of origin, except in the case of the theme *-bàbàdá (13) < *-bàdá (9672).
- In at least three cases has it been identified that reduplication clearly has a diminutive function (cf. °-púdùpúdù ‘*Raphicerus campestris*/*Raphicerus sharpei*’/*-gùdúdu ‘*Oreotragus oreotragus*’/°-kuúkuú ‘*Ourebia ourebi*’). In the other cases, reduplication purely has a lexical function.

- A case of thematic reduplication from the combination of the prefix of class 12/13 (ka-) with reduplication has been reported. This mechanism is generally used to denominate small animals (diminutive function). The combination of the 'kanga' morpheme with reduplication constitutes another well-known morphological feature in the Botatwe group (M60) languages, with the aim of reinforcing the diminutive function (Smith 1907:410) (cf. °-kuíkuí).

Concerning the semantics of the themes attested in this chapter, it was observed that in most cases the problems resulted from an error of species identification, mainly from data from linguistic sources (cf. for example the theme °-cénda '*Philantomba monticola*'; °-túndú '*Cephalophus silvicultor*'; *-kíá (1823) '*Sylvicapra grimmia*'; °-púnjà '*Raphicerus campestris/Raphicerus sharpei*'; *-cuada (4885) '*Nanger granti*'; °-pádanga '*Hippotragus niger*'). However, in some cases the semantic changes are justified by the fact that some antelope species are physically similar, belong to the same zoological classification and/or live in the same region. This is the case for example of the theme °-pùtì which denominates mostly the '*Sylvicapra grimmia*' gazelle, but in certain languages also denominates the '*Philantomba monticola*'. Both species belong to the same *Cephalophinae* family, are small and live in the southern region of the African continent.

In chapter (2) several themes have been identified from a semantic approach which present problems of scientific identification. Some processes of productive lexical creations in Bantu that trigger and/or in part justify the semantic changes have been identified, such as the metaphor, the metathesis and the semantic extension.

The primary identification of some themes allowed to understand the possible semantic motivations, just like the problems of polysemy, the semantic changes and/or identification errors.

In most cases, the semantic motivations are evident. This is the case for example of the themes °-dòngò 'sort of striped animal' and °-kéné 'sort of

striped herbivore'. These themes designate different antelope species and sometimes even animals belonging to other zoological categories, but who have the color of the fur in common (with stripes, spots, etc.).

- Themes are emphasized of which the semantic motivations are linked to behavioral characteristics and habitats of the species (cf. *-judı (5767) 'sort of aquatic antelope'/*-jóngò 9110 'sort of aquatic antelope', as for example the chevrotain, the kudu and the sitatunga).
- Other processes of lexical creations that could justify the semantic changes are demonstrated, such as metathesis in relation to the themes already existing in the BLR (2003). For example: °-budongo 'antelope species' /°-bongodo 'donkey, buffalo'; °-pèdèmbè 'antelope species' <*-pembede (7574) 'rhinoceros'; *-codongo '*Tragelaphus strepsiceros*'/°-congodo 'rhinoceros'.
- Some topics are highlighted that establish a direct and/or indirect formal and semantic relationship with verbs already reconstructed by the BLR (2003) (cf. *-bengeda (7657) '*Cephalophus leucogaster/Cephalophus callipygus*' <*-bèng (151) 'red being'; *-congo (6839) 'sort of kobus' <*-cong (670) 'sharpen to a point'; °-dòngò 'sort of striped animal' <*dòng (1120) 'to collect, to organize, to pack'; °-tóópè 'wetland antelope: sitatunga/reedbuck' <*-tòp 7305 'to dive, to be soaked').
- The semantic changes pointed out in this chapter have a relationship with the heterogeneity of the nominal class prefixes (cf. *-cókú (9106) '*Cephalophus dorsalis/Cephalophus silvicultor*'; *-cunu 4205 'antelope species'; °-kùmá 'antelope species').

In spite of the difficulty to retrace the primary meaning of the themes and to unveil the semantic motivations, some hypotheses and/or suggestions of meaning were formulated and revised, like for example (cf. *-judı (5767), *-kongomı (6862) 'species of *Alcelaphinae* antelope: gnou, hartbeest'; *-jóngò 9110, *-tuclı (5269) 'species of aquatic antelope').

Therefore, the topics discussed in this thesis, even if questionable on some segmental, suprasegmental and semantic aspects, serve as supporting material for the continuation of the research on the nomenclature of the antelopes. In addition the research contributes to the lexical enrichment of the proto-bantu as well as its historical implications.