Additive and Substitutive Borrowing *against* Semantic Broadening and Narrowing in the Names of Architectural Structures in Tanzanian Bantu Languages

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Abstract

*The thrust of this paper lies on semantic changes associated with additive and substitutive borrowing in Bantu-speaking communities in Tanzania. Due to contact of languages, semantic differences of the terms related to architectural structures emanate. Apart from data from a few elderly native speakers, research was carried out with the help of undergraduate students of linguistics. Further linguistic materials analysed herein come from dictionaries and lexicons. Although retention of the proto-Bantu words are apparent, findings indicate that cases of additive borrowing are obvious for new concepts associated with new architectural structures. The additive Swahili names incorporated into Tanzanian Bantu tend to designate specific concepts associated with modern (contemporary) architectural senses such as **mulango** 'modern door' vs. **luigi** 'traditional entranceway'. Cases of substitutive borrowing are rare, as demonstrated by the Swahili word **dirisha** 'window' which replaces **chitonono** in Chimakonde, **echihúru** in Runyambo, **ilituulo** in Kinyakyusa etc.*

Keywords: Architectural Terms, Additive Borrowing, Onomastics, Semantic Changes, Substitutive Borrowing, Tanzanian Bantu

Introduction

Linguistic issues emanating from contact languages include additive and substitutive borrowing and semantic narrowing and broadening of both loanwords and native words. For Bantu communities, however, cases of substitutive borrowing are rare and in most instances involve semantic narrowing and broadening (Mapunda & Rosendal 2015). Most of the additive loanwords in Bantu languages of Tanzania come from Kiswahili (Sebonde 2014; Lusekelo 2013; Yoneda 2010) and surround semantic fields associated with 'agriculture and vegetation', 'modern world', 'modern healthcare', 'formal education' (Ibid). This paper aims to articulate penetration of Kiswahili lexis associated with architectural buildings in selected Bantu languages of Tanzania. Scholars in architectural science (e.g. Mwakyusa 2006; Mattsson 2009; Mosha 2011) found that there are old and contemporary architectural structures in individual ethnic groups in African. It is from this assumption that a connection of old and new lexis of Bantu-speaking communities is consummated.

Historicity of the lexis in African societies could not be exaggerated. Nurse (1997) argues that in African societies where most of the information is not written (but passed succinctly through oral channels), comparative examination of words (which are artifacts) yield good results. Nonetheless, narrations related to pottery and iron-smelting appear to be associated with sacredness, rituals and prohibitions (de Maret & Nsuka 1977; Bostoen 2007). For instance, Bostoen (2007: 178) found that 'in sub-Saharan Africa pottery is invested with great symbolic importance. The craft is surrounded with rituals and prohibitions and several steps in the production sequence serve as a metaphor for interpreting and acting upon certain facets of human experience.' In the theory of semantic change, metaphorization is a common phenomenon

(Bloomfield 1933; Traugott & Dasher 2002). Thus, the semantic change of onomastics surrounding old traditional architecture is investigated in this work. The ultimate goal is to demarcate additive borrowing from substitutive ones.

Architecture, Iron-Smelting and Pottery within the Realm of African Past

The architectural power of African societies is recognized based on the purposes of the houses built within a compound. Mwakyusa (2006) and Mosha (2011) report that in rural settlements in Africa, compounds comprised separate huts, each with a specific purpose in respect to social and cultural values for a family. Shapes of the African huts differed from one society to the other. Three architectural patterns are reported: *msonge*-structure, *tembe*-structure and *banda*-structure (Mwakyusa 2006).

Mosha (2011) found that the traditional Sukuma compound composed of *ibindo* (the main round house) (Figure 1), which is 'culturally considered by the local community to be the expression of man's power, worth and leadership capacity to his family and the society around him'. Usually, small ritual huts become part of the Sukuma compound (Mwakyusa 2006). Mattsson (2009, 14) reported that 'old traditional Chagga houses were built in a round formed as a beehive and they have no windows. The houses are made of wood and covered with grass' (see Figure 2). Mwakyusa (2006) has grouped such structures as *msonge*-type houses found amongst the Chagga (Mount Kilimanjaro area), Haya (Interacustrine area), Nyamwezi and Sukuma (Central Tanzania). Ten Raa (1970, 132) reports that the societies inhabiting central Tanzania have a *tembe*-type houses which have been originated from the Bantu-speaking communities (Figure 3). Ten Raa (1970) argues that the compounds for Datooga, Iraqw and Maasai appear

to resemble those of Gogo and Hehe. Amongst the Hehe, Gewald (2005) reported that at Dabaga there was a large two-roomed mud house, for the European inhabitants, and a number of *tembe* for the native askaris associated with the research station. It is known that a *tembe* is a flat-roofed house, such as are built in places where thatching and poles suitable for thatching are not obtainable (Ibid). Mwakyusa (2006) found the *tembe*-type of buildings to be scattered amongst the Gogo and Hehe (Central Tanzania).

The other communities practiced *banda* structures (Figure 4). Mwakyusa (2006), in his presentations of numerous housing styles of the ethnic groups in Tanzania, found that *banda* houses are found amongst the Zaramo and Kwere along the Coastline and Nyakyusa in Lake Corridor area.

Most African houses were thatched with green (and/or dry) grass. Nizarudin et al. (2011, 3) report that 'the green roofs helped in protecting the building against climatic condition […] the green roofs offered a good protection against heat and humidity or in short was an effective climate modulator.' It is reported further that 'there were some examples of grass roofs found in Tanzania, which were the Hehe house, the Mbulu house and the Gogo house.' (Ibid, 3). The Sukuma and Chagga houses above substantiate this claim because their roofs are made of thatch grass. This paper investigates the lexis of Tanzanian Bantu languages because the African past can be learned through comparison of lexical elements which occur across languages. Nurse (1997) argues that lexicostatistics favour a proper establishment of the relatedness of the African languages. Such relatedness is found in the terms associated with the making or creation of pottery artifacts. Bostoen (2007, 182) postulates the presence of the terms *mata* and *bʋmba* for 'to make pottery' in Lake Corridor languages ((Nurse 1988; Walsh & Swilla 2000; Lusekelo 2014) and

Interacustrine languages (Nurse & Muzale 1999) respectively. However, some of the languages have adjusted the meaning of the former to include 'to fill in cracks' in Nyakyusa (Tanzania/Malawi), 'to plaster' in Nyiha (Tanzania/Zambia) and 'to build' in Luba (DRC).

Another case which is used to describe interrelatedness of the African history involves iron-smelting. Blench (2006, 32) suggests that 'much the same is true of iron-working. Iron-working seems to develop first in sub-Saharan Africa in the middle of the first millennium BC, based on Taruga in Central Nigeria with rather earlier dates in the Sahara'. Though its direct implication to relatedness is limited (Ibid), iron-working has some terminologies which are found across Sub-Saharan Africa. De Maret and Nsuka (1977, 47) mention the proto-Bantu *geda* 'iron' with reflexes such as *élá* 'iron' and *gera* 'needle, pin, puncheon, barrel of tin'. Two other important words associated with iron-working in Bantu-speaking areas are *yúma* whose reflexes include the semantics of 'wealth', 'valuable things' and 'goods' (Ibid, 48) and *cúd* whose reflexes mean 'to forge' and/or 'black-smith' (Ibid, 49).

The Theory of Semantic Narrowing and Broadening in the Realm of Lexical Borrowing

According to the divisions suggested by Bloomfield (1933), the theory of semantic changes has numerous sub-branches, namely additive and substitutive loanwords and semantic broadening, narrowing and shift (Akidah 2013; Mapunda & Rosendal 2015). Within the theory, semantic broadening and narrowing capture facts related to changes of meanings of foreign words incorporated into a target language. On the one hand, some borrowed lexical items undergo semantic widening (expansion) in the sense that their meanings capture more information in the target language

than was the case in the source language. Akidah (2013, 10) uses the Kiswahili word *hati* (of Arabic origin) which initially meant 'handwriting, script, line' but today it means 'handwriting, script' and 'document'. Other borrowed words undergo semantic shift in that their former meanings change when they get incorporated in the target language, e.g. Kiswahili noun *tajiri* changed from 'businessman, merchant' to 'rich person' (Akidah 2013, 11). Since recent studies (e.g. Akidah 2013; Lusekelo 2013; Mapunda & Rosendal 2015) found that Swahili words undergo semantic broadening and narrowing once they are incorporated in Bantu languages of Tanzania, an examination of loanwords for architectural terms appears to be a welcome contribution to make.

With regard to borrowing, inventions of new concepts, ideas, objects and artifacts in donor languages lead to formulations of new nouns for such concepts, ideas, objects and artifacts in target languages (Haspelmath 2009; Lusekelo *forthcoming*).

Haspelmath (2009, 37) argues that 'loanwords are always words (i.e. lexemes) in the narrow sense, not lexical phrases, and they are normally unanalyzable units in the recipient language.' When such new nouns are transferred from donor languages to target languages, they may become additive or substitutive. Lusekelo (*forthcoming*) argues that additive loanwords relate to lexical words which capture new information in the target language while substitutive loanwords do tend to replace the existing words in a receiving language. The former loans penetrate into receiving languages without affecting negatively the existing lexicons while the later tend to push away some lexical entries in the target language. Additive borrowing tends to be used to cover new concepts in the modern world, e.g. *mutuka* 'motorcar' and *simu* 'telephone' in Ngoni which were borrowed from Kiswahili words *motokaa* and *simu* (Mapunda & Rosendal 2015, 188).

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Substitutive loans tend to replace native words, e.g. the word *nywele* 'hair' from Kiswahili has replaced three specialized words for hair in Ngoni: *nywili* 'all kinds of hair', *majunju* 'long and uncared for hair' and *mayela* 'pubic hair' (Ibid, 186). Since Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) found that additive borrowing is more common than substitutive borrowing in many languages of the world, this investigation wants to find out the amount of additive and substitutive borrowing for architectural terms.

The data for this research
In almost all architectural structures, nine (9) common terms might be apparent for similar parts-of-house, namely the roof (thatched or plastered by mud), pillar (the central pole, mainly vertical one and/or horizontal), the door and door frames (doorpost, vertical and horizontal) and house floor (plastered by mud or animal dung). The words fire and fireplace (located inside the house) are discussed in conjunction. The discussion about the semantics of individual names yields potential information about retention and expansion of nomenclature due to contacts of Bantu communities. Notice at this juncture that the word window is given special attention because it is reported that old traditional houses did not have windows (Mattson 2009). Lastly, the variations of names for the word loft (attic or ceiling board) are discussed at the end of this section.

        The survey of the above names begins with dictionaries for Bantu languages of Tanzania (sources: Rugemalira 2013, 2009, 2002; Botne 2008; Kahigi 2008; Mdee 2008; Mreta 208; Rubanza 2008; Sewangi 2008; Mwalonya et al. 2004; TUKI 2001; Felberg 1996). Apart from data gathered from Bantu dictionaries, native speakers of Kisukuma, Kizanaki, Kihehe, Kimeru, Kinyaturu and Kigogo contributed the linguistic materials examined in this

paper.[1] The focus of the analysis lies on the semantics of the Swahili loanwords into Tanzanian Bantu. The intent, as said, is to evaluate the semantic changes of such borrowed words as they manifest in target languages.

Findings

nguzo in Chidigo, chipanda in Chimakonde, ing'iingi in Kijita and enyómyo in Runyambo: Additive and Substitutive Borrowing vs. Semantic Narrowing and Broadening

Probably an analysis of the data on the name ROOF should begin. Table 1 has data which substantiate that Bantu huts have had roofs. In fact, Nizarudin et al. (2011) reported the utilization of green (thatched) roofs in the area. The pervasiveness of different names in the lexicons substantiate this claim, e.g. **-**sara in Kiikizo and Chiruuri, *oluswi* in Luzinza and Kijita etc.

Language	Zone	Terms	English Gloss	Alternative Meanings
Kikahe	E64	mwalo	roof	---
Digo	E73	chombo	one side of a roof	---
Nyamwezi	F22	nzelele	roof	---
Gogo	G11	itembe	roof	ihapa 'rafter'

Shambala	G23	haa	roof	---
Swahili	G42	paa	roof	---
Kihehe	G62	likang'a	roof	lwangiko 'roof'
Runyambo	JE21	omusakaaro	roof	ibaati 'roof'
Luzinza	JE23	oluswi	roof	---
Kijita	JE25	oluswi	roof	---
Ciruuri	JE253	orusara	roof	---
Kiikizo	JE402	ekesara	roof	---
Zanaki	JE44	erirongo	roof	---
Nyakyusa	M31	kubundu	on top of a house 'roof of corrugated iron sheets'	ilata 'roof of corrugated iron sheets'
Ndali	M301	akasale	thatched roof	---
Makonde	P23	chisweswe	roof	---

Table 1: *Names of the ROOF in selected Bantu languages of Tanzania*

Perhaps a fascinating issue is associated with the borrowing of the term *ibaati* for the roof made of corrugated iron sheets in Runyambo. Nyakyusa and Ndali speakers have adjusted the essence of the word *ilata* for the roof made of corrugated iron sheets. Based on scholars on architecture science (Mattson 2009; Mwakyusa 2006), it is plausible to argue here that the borrowing associated with corrugated iron sheets is additive in nature because it introduces notion which was not traditionally available in Bantu-speaking communities. Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) and Lusekelo (2013) found that additive borrowing becomes common in case new concepts are introduced in Bantu communities.

Comparative data for the pillar (central post) yield interesting facts. Perhaps we should begin with observations of data in Table 2 below.

Language	Zone	Terms	English Gloss
Kikahe	E64	kidi	pillar
Digo	E73	nguzo	pillar,
		boriti	main pole supporting the roof
Sukuma	F21	ng'hingi	pillar
Nyamwezi	F22	lusingi	pillar
Gogo	G11	ihapa	beam that supports the roof
Shambala	G23	nguzo	pillar
Swahili	G42	nguzo	pillar
Kihehe	G62	mgamba	pillar
Runyambo	JE21	enyómyo	pillar
Luzinza	JE23	enyomyo	house post
		enchinji	pillar
Kijita	JE25	ing'iingi	pillar
Ciruuri	JE253	ing'iingi	pillar
Kiikizo	JE402	ekesara	pole, roof
Kisimbiti	JE431	intímo	pillar
Zanaki	JE44	erimu	pillar
Ndali	M301	amaseengo	---
Makonde	P23	chipanda	pillar

Table 2: *Names of the PILLAR (central pole) in selected Bantu languages of Tanzania*

Basically two observations become apparent from the data in Table 2 above. Firstly, manifestation of this structure is robust in the data. The terminologies *-panda* and *-banda* are attested in Makonde and Nyakyusa respectively. In Interacustrine languages, the Bantu words *-nyomyo* and *-ng'iingi* are found. Notice some semantic narrowing attested for the later word: the Nyakyusa speakers have the word *-kiingi* for the pole used in the kraal while

the Ndali speakers have -*kiingi* for the leader of a dance (Felberg 1996; Botne 2008). Perhaps the theory of semantic broadening and narrowing allows a proper analysis of the data (section 4.2). It will be presented that the meaning of -*ng'iingi* or *lusingi* 'pillar' is transferred to another function, namely "pole to tie animals" in Nyakyusa.

Secondly, in relation to pillar, Swahili loanwords for pole are attested: *omulongoti* [<*mlingoti*] for Luzinza, *bilito* [<*fito*] in Kihehe and *senkénge* [<*senyenge*] in Kisimbiti. Nonetheless, these words have been borrowed for the purpose of referring to 'poles as building materials' rather than a built pillar that becomes a central one mainly in the traditional *msonge* (but also in *tembe* and *banda* houses). Perhaps the building materials have been altered by the use of eucalyptus poles [*milingoti* in Swahili] instead of bamboo trees which were traditionally used (Moshi 2011; Mattson 2009; Mwakyusa 2006).

The names for the word 'door' in Tanzanian Bantu languages are given in Table 3 below. The main fascinating issue is the pervasiveness of the words *mulango* which appear to have come from Swahili and *luigi,* which seems to be a native one. As far as contact linguistics is concerned, the word *mulango* appears to be an innovation, which is associated with the modern door, with shutters. In the literature for architecture (Mattson 2009; Mwakyusa 2006), old traditional huts in Bantu-speaking communities appear to lack door-shutters thus, the entrance was treated as an opening (doorway, entranceway), instead of a door with shutters. Based on semantic broadening and narrowing, there is specialization of terms. On the one hand, it is plausible to argue here that the word *mulango* is specifically used to designate a door with shutters in Bantu-speaking communities of Tanzania. Thus, this is an additive loanword whose meaning fills the gap of modern

door. On the other hand, the native word *luigi* or *ruige* in Chiruuri, Luzinza, Nyakyusa and Ndali has a referent to entranceway or a passage for getting into a traditional hut. This is a typical semantic narrowing case. The word *luigi* or *ruige* is pervasive because morphophonological similarities manifest in names such as *lwidi* in Makonde, *luvwi* in Chidigo, *luzizi* in Chigogo and *uvi* in Shambala. This word has undergone semantic narrowing in the sense that it refers to an old traditional door. Despite the variations, the word has undergone semantic narrowing across Tanzanian Bantu.

Language	Zone	Terms	English Gloss
Kikahe	E64	mongo	door
Digo	E73	luvwi	door, shutter
Sukuma	F21	lwigi	door
Nyamwezi	F22	mzigo	door
Gogo	G11	luzizi	door
Shambala	G23	uvi	door
Swahili	G42	mlango	door
Kihehe	G62	mlyango	door
Runyambo	JE21	omuryângo	door
Luzinza	JE23	lwigi	door
Kijita	JE25	mulyaango	door
Ciruuri	JE253	orwiigi	door
Kiikizo	JE402	uruige	door
Kisimbiti	JE431	ekesáku	door
Zanaki	JE44	ekiseku	door
Ndali	M301	ichiigi	door
Makonde	P23	lwidi	door

Table 3: *Names of DOOR in selected Bantu languages of Tanzania*

The other approach to such data surrounds substitutive borrowing in that the Swahili-oriented word, i.e. *mlango* 'door' is being replacing the native word *luigi* (or *ruigi*) 'door' in Digo, Makonde, Chiruuri and Gogo.

Another comparative issue arises with regard to the architectural term 'door post' in the Bantu languages. Firstly, in many societies which built *itembe-* and *msonge-*structures (e.g. Chigogo), the doorpost is not part of the traditional vocabulary. Secondly, names in *mugámba* Runyambo and *ing'iingi* in Chiruuri yield numerous semantic notations in other Bantu languages, as discussed in the next section.

Language	Zone	Terms	English Gloss
Digo	E73	mwimo	doorpost
Runyambo	JE21	omuziringíti	doorpost
Ciruuri	JE253	ing'iingi	doorpost
Kiikizo	JE402	rite	door bar
Nyakyusa	M31	---	---
Makonde	P23	lipandago	doorpost

Table 4: *Names of DOOR BAR or PILLAR across selected Bantu languages of Tanzania*

The same sources enlist names of the 'fireplace', as provided in Table 5 below. Scholars in architecture science found that old traditional houses tend to set aside a place specifically designated

for fireplace (Mosha 2011; Mattsson 2009). Maho (2005) reconstructs the term *jíko* for 'fireplace'.[2]

Language	Zone	Terms	English Gloss
Kikahe	E64	riko	kitchen
Digo	E73	dziko	fireplace, stove
Sukuma	F21	shikome	fireplace
Nyamwezi	F22	ijiko	kitchen
Gogo	G11	chikozo	fireplace
Shambala	G23	ziko	fireplace
Swahili	G42	jiko	kitchen, fireplace
Kihehe	G62	kikoso	fireplace
Runyambo	JE21	amahéga	fireplace
		ichumbiro	kitchen
		ijiko	kitchen
Luzinza	JE23	ichumbilo	kitchen
Kijita	JE25	ijiko	kitchen
Ciruuri	JE253	amasiga	fireplace
Kiikizo	JE402	ririko	kitchen
Kisimbiti	JE431	riíko	kitchen
Zanaki	JE44	eririko	fireplace
Nyakyusa	M31	ijhiko	fireplace, kitchen

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[2] While Guthrie (1967) reconstructed the terms *-**dido** and *-**moto** for FIRE in proto-Bantu, both proto-forms manifest in the reflexes across Tanzanian Bantu languages. Based on Nurse (1997), the amount of retention in these languages is higher for FIRE. This signifies the importance of FIRE in Bantu-speaking communities.

		pambembelo	fireplace
Ndali	M301	ichooto	fireplace
		ijiko	kitchen
Makonde	P23	chiwuli	fireplace
		lijiko	kitchen

Table 5: *Names of FIREPLACE in selected Bantu languages of Tanzania*

Two observations obtain in the data in Table 5 above. Firstly, in many Bantu languages of Tanzania (e.g. Nyamwezi, Makonde, Ndali, Nyakyusa, Runyambo and Zanaki) the alternative words for fireplace appear to be the word *jiko*, which is reconstructed to proto-Bantu. However, in most cases the word *jiko* is used to mean kitchen rather than the traditional fireplace. It is plausible to argue here that the essence of the word *jiko* emanates from the Swahili word meaning kitchen rather than fireplace, hence a case of additive borrowing.

However, the presence of the alternative words for fireplace in these languages (e.g. *shikome* in Sukuma, *chiwuli* in Makonde, *ichooto* in Ndali, *pambembelo* in Nyakyusa and *amahéga* in Runyambo) represent a case of substitutive borrowing. It is argued herein that the word *jiko* is treated as additive loanword (because it is of Swahili origin incorporated into Bantu languages of Tanzania to entail a separate building for kitchen) but becomes substitutive loanword (because it is incorporated in Tanzanian Bantu languages and replaces native words). Secondly, the word 'fireplace'obtains the labels *mafigwa* in Chigogo, *amahéga* in Runyambo and *amasiga* in Chiruuri. It will be plausible to argue that it is a loanword from Swahili word *mafiga* 'cooking stone'. Within the realm of the theory of semantic change, it appears that

semantic expansion is applied. The 'fireplace' and 'cooking stones' are represented by one lexical entry, namely *-figa*.

The words 'window' and 'floor' demonstrate issues related to consequences of language contact between Swahili speakers and speakers of other Bantu languages in Tanzania (Table 6). Two kinds of terms for window appear to manifest in the data, namely the native words such as *igele* in Nyamwezi, *chitonono* in Chimakonde, *echihúru* in Runyambo and *ilituulo* in Kinyakyusa which co-exist with the foreign word *lidilisha*, *idirísa* and *idilisya*, respectively. This is a kind of substitutive borrowing in which the former term is being replaced by the Swahili word *dirisha*. It should be noticed that the traditional label referred to a hole on the whole of a traditional house while the latter represents a window with shutters. In many other Bantu-speaking communities, an additive word *dirisha* is borrowed from Swahili.

Languages	Zones	Terms for Window	Terms for Floor
Kikahe	E64	kilanga 'window'	sakafu 'floor'
Nyamwezi	F22	igele 'window'	---
Gogo	G11	idilisya 'window'	---
Shambala	G23	diisha 'window'	---
Kihehe	G62	lidilisha 'window'	---
Kijita	JE25	lidilisia 'window'	isimiti, asi 'floor'
Luzinza	JE23	edirisa 'window'	---
Runyambo	JE21	idirísa, echihúru 'window'	empáama 'floor'
Chiruuri	JE253	lidirisya 'window'	asi 'floor'
Kisimbiti	JE431	ikirítoho 'window'	hánse 'floor'

Kinyakyusa 'floor'	M31	ilituulo, idilisya 'window'	ikipalo
Chindali	M301	amabwiindo 'windows'	---
Chimakonde	P23	chitonono, lidilisa 'window'	---

Table 6: *Names for WINDOW and FLOOR in selected Bantu languages of Tanzania*

The names for 'floor' substantiate that it had not been part of the architectures in the Bantu-speaking communities. The words *asi* in Chiruuri or *hánse* in Kisimbiti refer to the ground in the house rather than a built floor. The Swahili words *sakafu* in Kikahe and *isimiti* in Kijita have referents to the Swahili word *sakafu* and English loanword *cement*. These terms substantiate that Kiswahili brings additive loans into Bantu languages in Tanzania. Now the paper arrives at the end-part of this section. The word loft (garret, attic or ceiling board) provides the following words across selected Bantu languages.

Language	Zone	Terms	English Gloss	Alternative Meanings
Sukuma	F21	kaano	loft	---
Nyamwezi	F22	kano	loft	---
Kikahe	E64	kahi	loft	mwanya 'on the loft'
Digo	E73	dari	ceiling	---
Shambala	G23	taa	loft	---
Swahili	G42	dari	loft	---
Kihehe	G62	kigwitu	loft	---
Runyambo	JE21	edáari	loft	---
Luzinza	JE23	ilali	loft	---

Kijita	JE25	kumatengejo	loft	---
Ciruuri	JE253	libhiindo	loft	---
Kisimbiti	JE431	risésemi	loft	---
Nyakyusa	M31	ijhulu	loft	---
Ndali	M301	ijulu	loft	---
Makonde	P23	chitakaha	loft	likangala

Table 7: *Names of LOFT in selected Bantu languages of Tanzania*

Table 7 has data which divides twice, namely the traditional names such as *ijulu* in Chindali, *libhiindo* in Chiruuri and *chitakaha* in Chimakonde on the one hand and Swahili related term *dari* such as *edáari* in Runyambo and *ilali* in Luzinza. The former represents retention of the old architectural label while the latter signifies substitutive borrowing from coastal Bantu languages such as Swahili and Digo.

Discussions
In this section, attention is paid to two broad issues. Section 4.1 is devoted to the dispersal of the various names of architectural structures in the Bantu zones of Tanzania, as discussed in Lusekelo (2014). A single term called 'loft' is used as a case study. In section 4.2, another case of the word 'pillar' is used to delineate a boundary between additive and substitutive borrowing as well as semantic broadening and narrowing.

igulu and kano in Lake Corridor vs. dari and kai in Mount Kilimanjaro: Distribution of the Names of Architectural Structures in Tanzania
Research about Bantu lexis becomes fruitful when words are examined from the knowledge of individual speakers. Bostoen

(2007) is convinced that research amongst speakers of the present-day Bantu languages yield good indicators of the historical issues in Africa. Prior to this, Nurse (1997) suggested that the history of African can also be learned through the description of linguistic data based on lexicostatistics. It is in this line that the dispersal of terms of architectural structures, which is discussed hereunder, could be gathered from speakers of the selected languages.

A single term i.e. 'loft' is examined for this section. Findings point to groupings obtained on the basis of the housing-style. The Lake Corridor Bantu make use of the words -*kano* and -*gulu*, which help to divide the languages into two main clusters. On the one hand, in the Bantu communities in the northern areas of the Lake Corridor (Nurse 1988), specifically in Dodoma, Iringa, Morogoro and Njombe regions (LOT 2009), the word -*kano* is robust, as in Luguru [G35] *mkano*, Kihehe [G62] *ikano*, Bena [G63] *kukanu* etc. On the other hand, the south-western Lake Corridor languages (in Mbeya, Songwe and Rukwa regions) make use of the words *igulu* in Nyamwanga [M22], Nyiha [M23], and Safwa [M25] and *ijulu* for Nyakyusa [M31] and Ndali [M301]. The Lake Corridor Bantu had been said to build old traditional *banda*-structure (Mwakyusa 2006), which is likely to possess the loft.

Bantu languages in Mount Kilimanjaro area (ranging from Usambara and Pare mountains in Tanga and Kilimanjaro regions to Mount Meru in Arusha region, as per Nurse 1979 and LOT 2009) make use of the word *kahi* (or *kai*) for the 'loft', as in Kikahe and Digo respectively (see Table 7 above). In Chasu [G22], Kimeru [E621], Mashami [E621], Kimochi [E622] and Rombo [E623], the word *kai* is used. Mwakyusa (2006) and Mattson (2009) reported that Chagga, Pare and Meru [E621] speaking communities built *msonge*-structure, which is likely to set a structure of a loft.

With regard to the Interacustrine Bantu, division of three clusters is apparent herein (Nurse & Muzale 1999): Rutara group (Runyambo [JE21], Ruhaya [JE22] and Luzinza [JE23]), Mara languages (Kurya [JE43], Kisimbiti [JE431] and Zanaki [JE44]) and Suguti cluster (Kijita [JE25] and Chiruuri [JE253]). The obtainable names allow clustering. Swahili-oriented terms are used in Rutara languages such as *edáari* in Runyambo, *edali* in Ruhaya and *ilali* in Luzinza. The Mara dialects in eastern Bantu utilize the word *rongo/longo* such as *ilongo* in Kuria and *erirongo* in Zanaki. The Suguti group has different terms, such as *libhiindo* in Chiruuri and *kumatengejo* in Kijita. Mwakyusa (2006) reported that clans in these areas built *msonge*-structure, which perhaps had a loft.

The Central Tanzania societies include Bantu F languages, represented herein by Sukuma [F21], Nyamwezi [F22], Sumbwa [F23], Nilamba [F31] and Nyaturu (or Remi) [F32]. Mwakyusa (2006) found that these societies (Nyamwezi, Nyaturu and Sukuma) built *msonge*-structure which permitted a loft. Data at hand demonstrates usage of these words: *kaano* in Nyamwezi, *ihafa* in Nyaturu and *ilumbilo* in Sukuma.

ing'hingi in Sukuma vs. kikingi in Nyakyusa vs. kipfanda in Nyaturu vs. mgamba in Kihehe: Semantic Shift of Names of Architectural Structures

There are issues of semantic shift in the linguistic materials discussed in this paper. The word 'pillar' offers the best option to present such a matter. Its semantics shifted in some Tanzanian Bantu. There are Tanzanian Bantu which use *ing'ingi* for a pillar, e.g. Chiruuri and Kijita: *ing'iingi*, Sukuma: *ng'hingi* and Nyamwezi: *lusingi*. These words have referent to a vertical central pole in a hut which holds the roof. In Chiruuri, the same word is used to mean 'doorpost'. Such a meaning concerns semantic

broadening in the sense that the word obtains two referents. In Kijita, semantic broadening is attested for the same word which has referent to 'poles'. The word *ikikingi* in Nyakyusa has referent to a peg for tethering an animal in a kraal. In Nyaturu [F32], the word *ng'ingi* has referent to 'the horizontal central pole that holds the roof of the hut'. This case represents semantic shift in which the same word has referents to different objects. The words for 'pillar' are *imbanda* in Nyakyusa and *kipfanda* in Nyaturu.

The same notion is realized as *mgamba* 'pillar' in Kihehe and *muɣamba* 'pillar' in Nyaturu. However, the Runyambo speakers have the word *mugamba* for the doorpost and *enyómyo* for the pillar. Thus, semantic shift is realized by this word which has different referents in Kihehe, Nyaturu and Runyambo.

Such data has implications to the question of cognates in Bantu languages. Nurse (1997) argues that related languages will maintain cognates, though with some phonological differences. The data above does not provide justifications to cognates rather shows semantic changes across languages. Perhaps the metaphorical usage mentioned in Bostoen (2007) could justify the interpretation of data. The change in the referents might be associated with metaphorical use of the words. The data above indicate that though referents changed, the new ones have remained architectural structures.

Bloomfield (1933, 425) pointed out that 'in other instances the comparisons of related languages show different meanings of forms which we feel justified in viewing as cognates.' Perhaps the case of PILLAR affirms this theory of semantic changes. Traugott and Dasher (2002, 57) found that 'sometimes the root may undergo broadening in one language and narrowing in another.' The changes associated with related artifacts such as building materials in Tanzanian Bantu. In this case, Traugott and Dasher (2002, 57)

argue that 'almost all cases of narrowing and broadening, pejoration and amelioration are cases of metonymic change: shifts in use dependent on context.'

Conclusions

It is apparent now that the central gist of this paper had been on semantic changes associated with additive and substitutive borrowing in Bantu-speaking communities in Tanzania. The examination of the nomenclatures of specific architectural terminologies guided the discussion herein. As a way of offering two concluding remarks, issues of borrowing and semantic shift are presented.

Firstly, it is plausible to argue that most Bantu-speaking communities in Tanzania practiced architectural science which is related to *msonge, tembe* and *banda* houses. Following Nurse (1997), there is high rate of retention of native terms related to specific structures, namely 'roof', 'pillar' and 'fireplace'. Cases related to other terms provide evidence for additive and substitutive borrowing. Since the Bantu-speaking communities are dynamic, new words have been incorporated in order to accommodate new building structures. This is apparent for the words 'kitchen' (as a separate house), floor and roofs made of corrugated iron sheets. On the one hand, a specific case involves *mulango*, which is a loanword referring to modern (contemporary) door as opposed to *luigi*, whose referent is an entry or doorway. As it is the case in many instances, most of the loanwords which come from Swahili (Mapunda & Rosendal 2015; Sebonde 2014; Lusekelo 2013; Yoneda 2010) represent a typical case of additive borrowing. On the other hand, native words such as *chitonono* in Chimakonde, *echihúru* in Runyambo and *ilituulo* in Kinyakyusa co-occur with foreign words such as *lidilisha* or *eridirisa* in almost

all Bantu-speaking communities. This is a typical case of substitutive borrowing in which the former term is being replaced by the Kiswahili word *dirisha*.

Secondly, the other linguistic phenomenon discussed herein surrounds distribution of the terms in the various Bantu clusters. It has become apparent that each Bantu community appears to make use of a similar name across the family. This is the case of Rutara languages which make use of *dali/dari* for loft while Mara dialects use *longo/rongo* for the same. Likewise, the Lake Corridor languages from Mbeya cluster make use of *igulu/ijulu* while the Iringa cluster uses *kano*. Such data represented the retention of the names of architectural structures in communities which practiced *banda-* and *msonge*-structures. Nonetheless, such words are associated with semantic shift in some languages. The case of *ing'iingi* 'pillar' in Kijita and Chiruuri and *kikingi* 'peg for tethering an animal' in Nyakyusa substantiates. Here two different referents are denoted by the same word. This case is treated as semantic shift across Tanzanian Bantu.

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