Katanga [in southern Congo-Kinshasa], say between 20th and 25th meridians west and between the 5th and 7th parallels south" (1971: 106). The reason for this location was because that is were he saw the least amount of linguistic diversity (see Guthrie 1967b: 98f). Nowadays nobody considers this to be a realistic argument. Instead an original homeland should be sought where the linguistic diversity is the highest, as Greenberg had done.153

When it comes to the dispersal of the Bantu languages, there is no single standard theory as of yet. All Bantuists nowadays agree that Proto-Bantu was spoken somewhere in the western and/or southern Cameroon some three to five thousand years ago. From there, the Bantu languages subsequently multiplied and spread into the areas where they are found today. There is agreement amongst scholars about the beginning (Proto-Bantu) and the end (modern languages), but not about what has happened in between (spread, dispersal, expansion).

Johnston (1922) and his contemporaries envisaged a rapid spread of people who invaded, conquered, and extinguished everything that came in their way, "swept the Bantu invaders, armed, it may be, with novel iron weapons out of Hamiticized aristocracy" (idem: 23).154 This view of a more or less forced movement of people eventually became referred to as 'the Bantu expansion'. Descriptions and explanations of this 'Bantu expansion' change most often referred to version stems from the mid-60's when Olive Olijve to synthesize the then known archaeological, anthropological and linguistic evidence. He outlined four stages of development (reproduced much of which was based on Guthrie’s (1962ab) ideas about development of Proto-Bantu. Says Oliver (1966:361): "the spread...expanded very rapidly indeed in order to have achieved such a wide dispersion along with such a small degree of linguistic divergence it "must have involved the substantial repopulation of half a continent" (362). The main cause for the 'Bantu expansion', as Oliver saw it, was the growth. Thus "the speakers of the Bantu languages grew in number rapidly than their rivals" (idem), which in turn was the result of a revolution" (idem: 363), in particular, through the introduction of wheat and barley.

Phillips (1977; 1985) and Huffman (1989) associate the Bantu languages/people with the spread of Iron Age culture as a particular, various forms of ceramic culture (specifically pottery work). Although general correlation between the spread of the Bantu languages and Iron Age culture in what is now Bantu Africa is almost a given, it is important to note that the information which is becoming available through current archaeological research is "oversimplification of the existing body of information which is becoming available through current archaeological research" (Phillips 1976: 65). As had Oliver (1966), Huffman (1976; 1977; 1983) set out to synthesize archaeological facts, in which the classifications by Heine (1973) and Heine, Oliev (1977) played an important role. Phillips's (1977: 65) "hypothesis of Bantu-speakers", which he believes took some 2,000 years to come to fruition (before 1,000 BCE), is reproduced in a simplified form in figure 122.

One of the more provocative view-points on the 'Bantu expansion' from Vansina (1979; 1980; 1994/1995; 1995ab), "Today this migration hypothesis is totally discredited, not only by new linguists but by the accumulation of archaeological evidence" (1995: 190). Also he synthesizes archaeological and linguistic facts. In his case, the linguistic comes from the Tervuren group in Belgium (see, for instance, Ba...