

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE
BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU
LANGUAGES

BY

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P R E F A C E

TO THE SECOND VOLUME

MY study of the Bantu languages of Africa commenced in 1881, in the Library of the British Museum, and was instigated by the project of accompanying the Earl of Mayo on an exploratory expedition in South West Africa—Angola and the countries south and east of the Kunene River. This expedition duly took place and was extended by me to the Upper Congo, thanks to the assistance offered by H. M. Stanley. My Bantu studies were continued with little intermission during the forty years which followed my first introduction into the mysteries of Tropical Africa. After the Oxford University Press had commenced the printing of the First Volume the Great War broke out, and seemed for a little while to check if not to frustrate the work. As a matter of fact it extended the scope of my research by bringing me into closer acquaintance with certain of the western Semi-Bantu languages through the presence in France of contingents of Senegambian troops. The knowledge gained induced me to embark on a more careful examination of this subsidiary group. The Colonial Office also about this time requested its officials in British West Africa to examine the Semi-Bantu languages of British Nigeria, South-west Tōgoland, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and communicate to me the results. An important discovery of two Bantu languages was made in the southern part of the Anglo-Egyptian province of Bahr-al-ghazal; and Mr. Northcote W. Thomas's researches revealed new and interesting forms of Semi-Bantu speech in the Cross River districts of Southern Nigeria.

The results of this additional knowledge will, I hope, be evident in the Second Volume now presented to the reading public. In my comparison of roots I have had considerably more material to draw on, especially in regard to the Semi-Bantu languages. These are now found to range—or to have ranged in the not far past—from 13° N. in Central Nigeria; while the Bantu tongues can be traced northward to about 6° N. in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Considerably more information concerning Hōma and Bañg-minda has now been obtained through Major Paul Larken and Captain White; and although there are still many deficiencies in our knowledge I think we are justified in adding to our previous classification of the Bantu Languages into four sections—Eastern,

Southern, South-western and North-western—a fifth division, the Northern, to include my Nos. 145 to 154. These in general are the Abábua tongues of the north-eastern extremity of the Congo basin, stretching south-eastward to the flanks of Ruwenzori and north-westward to the Upper Wele and the dividing line between the basin of the Nilé and that of the Mbomu affluent of the Wele-Mubañgi. We now find that two members (Hōma and Bañgminda) of the remarkable sub-group of Abábua tongues are spoken across the Sudan frontier, in the Tembura district, as far north as the sixth degree of N. Latitude.

Between the north-westernmost extension of the Northern division (languages 151 a and 151 b) and the resumption on the west of obvious Semi-Bantu languages, such as the Jara (No. 253) of Bauci (Eastern Nigeria), there is a gap of approximately 950 miles; and something like 1,400 miles between the Abábua Group and the Semi-Bantu or real Bantu of the Cross River-Cameroons. Was there once continuity of range for the Bantu and the Semi-Bantu, between the Victoria Nyanza on the east and the mouth of the Gambia on the west? I am inclined to think it possible; at any rate right across Central Africa from the Swahili Coast to Southern Nigeria. And in that case several thousand years ago, owing perchance to climatic changes and the spread of aridity, there was a great break-through of non-Bantu Negroes between the Upper Benue and the Bahr-al-ghazal.

There is a good deal to confirm this guess in the comparison of roots between the purest Bantu languages of the Victoria Nyanza; those of the Abábua country (Upper Wele to Upper Congo); the Jara and Munşi of the Bauci and Benue districts; and the North-western Bantu of the Cameroons.

Seeing the profound interest, in respect of this argument, of the Abábua languages (especially Nos. 151, 151 a, 151 b) it is to be regretted that we still know so little regarding their structure and grammar. Unfortunately the peoples speaking these Bantu tongues are fast giving them up for the acquisition of non-Bantu speech-forms like Zande, Sañgwo and Mañgbettu; or even of Bantu trade jargons such as Bañgala. But for the discernment of Dr. Cuthbert Christie and Major Larken we might even never have come to hear of survivals such as Hōma (151 a) and Bañgminda (151 b).

The discovery that Bása (256), a member of the Central Nigerian—the Kaduna Valley—Semi-Bantu languages, was once spoken as far north as the thirteenth degree N. of latitude is an important piece of testimony; coupled with this further evidence concerning the two Abábua languages Nos. 151 a and 151 b in the district of Tembura on either side of the Sue River. These Bahr-al-ghazal languages though separated by a space of from 150 to 200 miles from the southern Abábua tongues are so nearly like them that the accidental suggestion given by their enumeration of their being dialects of the south central Abábua language is not outrageous; though on further examination they may prove to be distinct languages either one from the other, or both alike from the speech I have numbered 151. Whether further research will prove that the

whole region of the Bahr-al-ghazal was once a Bantu province, while at the same time the Upper Nile regions to the east were likewise occupied by speakers of a Bantu mother tongue which originated the modern sections of the Eastern, Southern and South-western Bantu, I cannot say. There may be little or no evidence left to collect; but as a theory the existence of a continuous line of Bantu speech several thousand years ago from the confines of Southern Abyssinia on the east to the Upper Benue and the Semi-Bantu regions of Nigeria is by no means an impossibility.

I have been reproached for not bringing within the scope of these two volumes a group of languages in North-east Togo and the Kisi and Limba tongues of Sierra Leone. I have not disputed the possibility, the probability of these tongues and certain other groups of Central Nigeria, immediately east of the Niger and north of the Lower Benue, having a considerable Semi-Bantu basis. But they are so mixed with other elements as not to conform even to a greatly enlarged specification of Bantu features. Similarly, I can detect general resemblances to the Bantu and Semi-Bantu families in Ffulfulde, the widespread language of the great Ful people; in certain languages of the Volta basin; and in the Wolof of Senegal. But these resemblances are not more than might lie between the ancestral Finnish speech of Eastern Europe and North-west Asia and the mother tongue of the Aryan languages.

In another direction besides that of the Kisi, Limba, and North-east Togo languages I may be deemed recalcitrant to evidence in not enlarging my Bantu sphere of observation. In the hilly districts of Southern Kordofan there exists a group of prefix-using languages illustrated chiefly by Dr. and Mrs. Seligman¹. Mrs. Seligman kindly supplied me with a good deal of information, besides what had been printed in English and German. The supposed 'Bantu' character of these Kordofan languages had been conjectured or asserted by several German philologists, commencing with the discovery of the Tumale language in 1844-5 by Dr. Karl Tutschek². Much more material was collected in Kordofan in the years prior to the War of 1914-18 by Dr. Charles and Mrs. Seligman of the University of London, or more strictly speaking by Mrs. Seligman, who was travelling with her husband in Kordofan. This material fully illustrates the principal prefix-using languages of Kordofan, but does not (in my opinion) supply any sufficient evidence to permit of their being classified as Bantu or Semi-Bantu. Even in regard to the prefixes governing their noun-roots it seems to be rather the initial consonant of the prefix that changes from the singular to the plural form, than a prefix of consonant and vowel. In phonology as well as in all word-roots these Kordofan prefix

¹ *Note on the Languages of the Nubas of Southern Kordofan*, by Brenda Seligman, Band 1, Heft 3; 1910-11, Verlag von Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen). *Somatische Typen und Sprachgruppen in Kordofan, etc.*, von Bernhard Struck, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Jahrgang 1920-1, Heft 2-3.

² See *Bulletin der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, München*, 6-9 May, 1848. By Dr. Lorenz Tutschek.

languages present no resemblance to either Bantu or Semi-Bantu and I can therefore find no reason for including them in the survey of this book, or supposing them to be immediately connected with the problem of the Bantu languages and their origin.

The pleasant task follows of thanking those who have specially assisted me with material and advice in the preparation of this Second Volume. Shortly after the publication of the First Volume, I appealed to Viscount Milner at the Colonial Office in London to invoke the assistance of that Office in all parts of Africa where new Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages were likely to be found. A prompt response was made to this appeal, and the Governors and other administrators of our East and West African possessions or occupied territories were invited to circulate my vocabulary forms and urge those officials or officers under their command who had studied local languages to place their information at my disposal. Beginning with East Africa, I should like to mention the notes on the Yao language and its dialects furnished by Mr. Meredith Sanderson. In West Africa the contributions to our knowledge concerning the Semi-Bantu were really remarkable. Messrs. J. A. Bieneman and H. M. Brice-Smith of the Nigerian service contributed new and important information on the Gurmana, Kamuku, Bása, and Jara (Jarawa) languages of Central and Eastern Nigeria; Mr. E. T. Mansfield fully illustrated the interesting Semi-Bantu languages of South-west Tōgoland (Buem), Nos. 257, 258, 259, and 260; Mr. R. F. Honter (then Director of Education in Sierra Leone) compiled or directed the compilation of new vocabularies of Nos. 261, 262, 263, 264, and 266; and a good deal of fresh information was obtained regarding the dialects of the Fulup language (273), especially the notes on the Fulup of the Gambia estuary (273 c) through Captain E. Leese.

Outside official assistance, I should like to place on record my indebtedness to Archdeacon H. W. Woodward, the veteran explorer of the East African Bantu, who in addition to all the services recorded in my first volume furnished me with important additions such as a vocabulary of the hitherto unknown Kiṣaṣi (No. 8) of the south-east Victoria Nyanza, and much information regarding Kimawanda-Kidonde (33 a); to Miss Alice Werner of the School of Oriental Languages (East African Bantu generally); to Major Paul Larken of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan administration, who virtually discovered the Baṅgminda language (151 b) of the Southern Sudan and assisted with Dr. Cuthbert Christie, Captain White and others to establish the existence within the basin of the Bahr-al-ghazal of a group of Bantu languages belonging to this Northern section. The resident officials of the British South Africa Company have continued their assistance in making known the up-till-then unrecorded Bantu languages of the Western Zambezi basin; but in regard to South-West Africa generally few services rendered to my two volumes of this Study have been greater than those of Mr. W. J. B. Chapman of South-east Angola. This son of the great mid-nineteenth century explorer, James Chapman, has long been resident in Angola (since 1882) and for many years has studied its

peoples. Through him or through the American missionaries of Bihé and adjacent districts, with whom he corresponded, I have obtained valuable information as to the languages spread over the southern half of Angola, south of the Kwanza ; especially in the case of U-chokwe (No. 88—a vocabulary of which was furnished by the Rev. Merlin W. Ennis), and of Nos. 94 b, 94 c, 94 d, and 97.

Mons. Auguste Chevalier an official of many years' standing in the French Colonial service, whose botanical explorations of nearly all French West Africa and Indo-China are of world-wide celebrity, drew my attention in 1915 to the presence of Negro soldiery in France speaking Semi-Bantu languages of Senegambia, and secured for me full opportunities of studying their languages during the War ; Mr. Northcote W. Thomas, formerly of our Colonial service in West Africa, who has perhaps gone farther than any one else in studying the Semi-Bantu speech-forms, has helped me with the material for this volume as well as with the vocabularies in Volume I.

And last, but not least, among the recipients of my thanks comes Dr. Bernhard Struck of Leipzig, who before the War, and immediately after war ceased and postal communications were resumed, placed at my disposal his great knowledge of the Eastern and North-western Bantu languages. I especially owe to his information additional knowledge concerning Languages Nos. 200, 202, 203, 204 b, 204 c, 216, and 220 to 220 h, as well as many valuable suggestions as to Bantu phonology.

POLING,
April 1922.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

ERRATA ET ADDENDA TO THE FIRST VOLUME

SINCE the first volume was published nearly three years ago a considerable amount of additional material has been received, illustrating more especially Languages Nos. 8, 30, 88, 93-94 d, 151 b, 199, 200-204 c, 216, 220-220 h, 230-230 j, 232, 236, 252, 253, 254-6, 261, 263-4, 266, 273 c. Most of this new information has been utilized in the composition of the present volume. There remain, however, to be corrected certain additional errors in the text of the first volume. They are as follows :

Page 2, eighth line from top, for 'Mr. R. W. Hall' read 'the late R. N. Hall'.

Page 3, eleventh line from top, for 'ᵑᵛsa' read 'ᵑōsa'. Same correction fifteenth line from bottom on page 5.

Page 5, thirteenth line from bottom of last paragraph, for 'Lewis Grant's' read 'Lewis Grout's'.

Page 6, tenth line from bottom of last paragraph, for 'Ba-yeiyi' read 'Ba-yeiye'.

Page 7, fifteenth line from top, for *-ti* read *-li*.

Page 10, for 'Sudanese' read 'Sudanic', and tenth line from bottom, for 'C. Hermann' read 'C. Herrmann'.

Page 11, fourteenth line from top, after 'Lutheran' insert 'pastor and'.

Page 12, twenty-first line from top, for 'Dr. Eduard Sachau' read 'P. Hendle'; and on p. 791, par. 28, instead of 'Prof.' insert 'P. Hendle, edited by'.

Page 29, one line from bottom, for 'two hundred and seventy-six' read 'three hundred and sixty-six'.

Page 33, three lines from top, for 'consonantal' read 'substantival'.

Page 37, eight lines from top, after 'twenty-six' insert 'main'.

Page 378, and again on page 803. In the summary of titles at the commencement of the Vocabularies on p. 378, and again in the bibliography on p. 803, *Ki-yombe* or *Ci-luañgᵛ* should be numbered 102, *Ki-vili* or *Ki-vumbu* or *Lu-wumbu* (N. *Luañgᵛ*) 103, and *Ki-lumbᵛ* of *Máyumba* 103 a, conformably with the Vocabularies.

Page 792, par. 33, delete 'preliminary *Corrigenda et*'.

Page 798. In the paragraph numbered 76, the name 'Elmsley' should be spelt 'Elmslie'.

Page 815, twelfth line from bottom, for 'Sengalese' read 'Senegalese'.

ERRATA ET ADDENDA IN SECOND VOLUME

Page 6, seventh line from top, instead of 'W. C. ZAMBEZIA' read 'WEST CENTRAL ZAMBEZIA'. Add under Group X '94 c E-sele, 94 d Ci-leñge'.

Page 7, seventh and eighth lines from top, instead of '(102 a)' read '(103)', and in place of '(103)' read '(103 a)'.

Page 10, twenty-second line from top, instead of 'Malimba' read 'Ba-tañga' :

seventeenth line from bottom, add to '(204 a) Wuri, E-wori; (204 b) Mu-limba; (204 c) Poñgᵛ-soñgᵛ'

seventh line from bottom, add to '(212) Abᵛ' 'or Abō'.

Page 11, eighth line from top, add to '(220 a) Makā' '(220 b) Ndzem of Suañke; (220 c) Ndzimu of Lᵛmie; (220 d) Ndzimu of Sambambᵛ; (220 e) Ndzimu of Bumbon; (220 f) Ndzimu of Bᵛman; (220 g) Ndzimu of Lisel; (220 h) Mi-sañga of Tībundī.

Page 13, second line from top, instead of 'Jarawa' print 'Jara or Jarawa' :

ninth line from top, instead of '(Bale)' print '(Balé)' :

thirteenth line from top, add 'Mampa, Sherbro (North Bulom)' :

fourteenth line from top, delete 'Mampa' :

seventeenth line from top, delete 'Landᵛma' and insert 'Baga' :

eighteenth line, delete 'Baga' and insert 'Landᵛma' :

thirty-first line, insert after '(273)' 'Dyōla or' :

thirty-third line, add '(273 c) Fulup of *Gambia estuary*.

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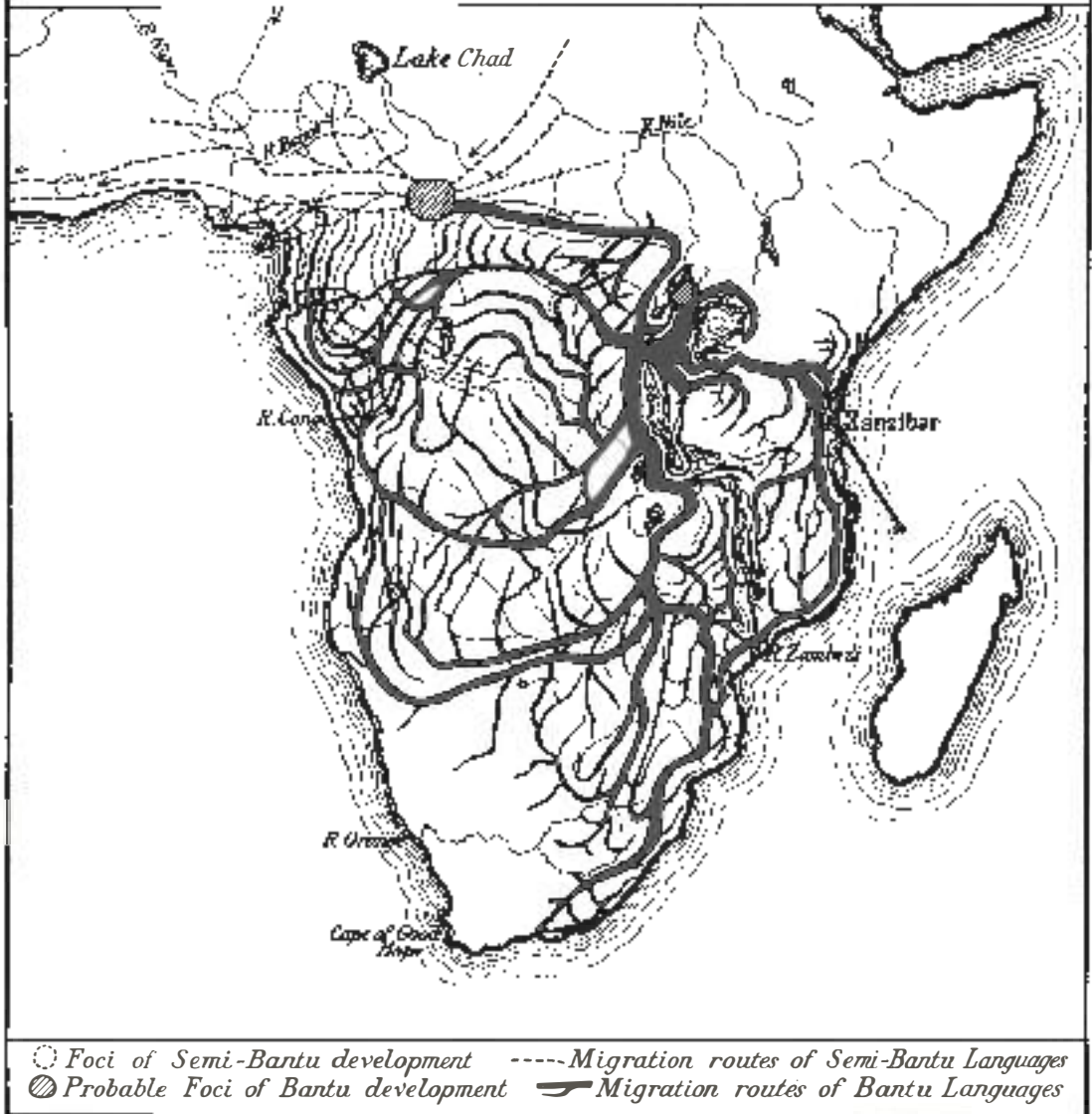
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BANTU & SEMI-BANTU LANGUAGES



CHAPTER I

THE ENUMERATION AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU LANGUAGES

IN the first volume of this work I set forth the problem of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages. After giving the history of research into these two closely allied families of African speech, and a general description of the main features of the Bantu languages, I presented to the reader an enumeration of all the known languages and dialects which could be brought under these twin titles. In most cases these tongues, ranging over the great central prolongation of Africa, the Nigerian Sudan, and forested West Africa, were illustrated by fairly copious vocabularies of substantives, numerals, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verb-roots, together with the prefixes and concords which are the most characteristic feature of these particular types of Negro language.

Having therefore first supplied my readers with all the available information germane to my purpose, I propose in this volume to attempt to interpret it for them; to complete my comparative study by distilling from this evidence the characteristic features of each of these tongues or Groups of tongues; and then by analyses of word-roots and syntax to exhibit their inter-relationships and to some extent their history. This work may enable the reader to decide (1) whether or not we can regard the Bantu languages and the Semi-Bantu as related in cousinship (perhaps further, in some cases, by inter-marriage), and as descended through thousands of years from one parent stock in the very heart of Africa; (2) to what extent the Bantu and Semi-Bantu are connected with other families and types of African speech, what phonology, word-roots, and syntactical ideas they share with other African language-groups; (3) whether to regard the Bantu and Semi-Bantu type of speech as indigenous or extraneous to Africa, wholly or in part, as regards its origin; (4) what share in its creation should be allotted to non-Negro or to Negroid races, intruding into Negro Africa from the north and north-east?

I may be able to solve the first of these propositions, but in all probability I shall have to leave Nos. 2, 3, and 4 to other investigators, who, however, may find these two volumes a starting-point for their comparisons.

This second volume of my work opens with seven chapters commenting on each of the Groups and Sub-groups, and on the individual languages of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu families. I proceed next to a comparative analysis (as between Bantu and Bantu, Bantu and Semi-Bantu) of the phonology, the word-roots, prefixes and concord-particles, numerals, pronouns and demonstratives, adjectives and adverbs; and finally of the verb-syntax. The chief point for the student of comparative philology to determine is whether I have proved my thesis, on, I admit, imperfect evidence: namely, that the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages are really related, and not examples of independent and convergent development; and that they have diverged from a stem common to both, which grew up in North-central Africa. I think myself I have done so, but would hope that in course of time, with a much closer research in Portuguese Guinea, Sierra Leone, Togo, and Central Nigeria, my theory, first adumbrated by Bleek and the West African missionary pioneers of the middle nineteenth century, may be far better supported by conclusive evidence.

For the sake of brevity and precision, in this volume, as in Volume I, the Groups of the Bantu languages are differentiated and indicated by a letter of the alphabet, or by doubled letters when the alphabet is exhausted; so that they need not always be cited by their lengthier topographical name. The

Groups of the Semi-Bantu are similarly labelled, except that they bear in addition the initials S-B. in brackets. The languages and dialects are numbered in exact correspondence with those in the vocabularies of Volume I, and will be referred to usually by their identifying numbers, the dialects of a main language bearing, in addition to their specific number, a distinguishing letter of the alphabet.

For convenience of reference (to avoid a constant harking back to Volume I) I append the following List of Groups and Sub-groups, Languages and Dialects referred to in these two volumes of the *Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*:

BANTU LANGUAGES

GROUP A. NYANZA.

SUB-GROUP A 1.

(1) Ūlu-konjō

SUB-GROUP A 2.

(2) Uru-nyōrō

(2 a) Ru-guñgu

(2 b) Ru-kyōpi

(2 c) Uru-tōrō (Ru-soñgōra, Ru-irō, &c.)

(2 d) Ūru-hima

(2 e) Uru-karagwe

(2 f) Uru-kerebe

(2 g) Lu-ziba (Lu-sinja, Ki-nyambū)

SUB-GROUP A 3.

(3) Uru-nya-ruanda

(3 a) Ki-rundi

(3 b) Ru-hā, Ru-tutsi (Tusi, Ki-jiji)

SUB-GROUP A 4.

(4) Lu-ganda

(4 a) Lu-sese

(4 b) Lu-sōga

SUB-GROUP A 5.

(5) Lu-nyara

(5 a) Lu-hañga, Lu-wañga (Lu-kabarasi, Lu-rimi, Lu-siñga *or* Kavirondō)

(6) Lu-masaba (Lu-sōkwia, Lu-gesu, Lu-giṣu)

(6 a) Lu-konde of North-west Elgon

SUB-GROUP A 6.

(7) Ki-guzii (Igi-zii, Ki-siñgiri) *or* Ki-suba (Kō-sōva)

(7 a) Ki-koria (Ki-sima, Ki-tende)

GROUP B. NYAMWEZI.

(8) Ki-ṣaṣi and Ki-rori

(9) North and North-east Nyamwezi (Ki-sukuma)

(9 a) North-west Nyamwezi (Ki-sumbwa)

(9 b) West Nyamwezi

(9 c) South and East Nyamwezi

(10) Ki-nyaturu (Ki-limi)

GROUP C. BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

(11) Ki-kuyu

(12) Kamba

(13) Pōkwōmō *or* Pfwōkwōmō

(14) Taita (Ki-dabida, Ki-sagala)

(15) Taveita

(16) Nika (Giryama, Duruma, Digō)

GROUP D. KILIMANJARO.

- (17) Caga
 - (17 a) Mɔʃi *or* Ki-mɔci
 - (17 b) Ki-siha *or* ʃira
 - (17 c) Ki-macame
 - (17 d) Ki-rombɔ
 - (17 e) Ki-meru
- (18) Pare-Gwenɔ
 - (18 a) Casu

GROUP E. USAMBARA.

- (19) ʃambala
 - (19 a) Bondei
- (20) Zigula
 - (20 a) Ŋguru
 - (20 b) Ki-dɔe
 - (20 c) Ki-kwere
 - (20 d) Ki-mrima (Lima)

GROUP F. SWAHILI.

- (21) Swahili (Ki-uñguja ; *also* Ki-xadimu, Ki-ñgɔzi)
 - (21 a) Ki-mvita
 - (21 b) Ki-amu
 - (21 c) Ki-siu *or* Ki-ɔzi
 - (21 d) Ki-pate
 - (21 e) Ki-tikuu (*or* Faza-Bajūn)
 - (21 f) Ki-wibu (Ki-merima *and* Ki-mgaw)
 - (21 g) Ki-ñgɔje
- (22) ʃi-añgazija (Great Komorɔ)
 - (22 a) Xi-nzuani (Johanna Island)

GROUP G. USAGARA-UGWGW.

- (23) Dzalamɔ
 - (23 a) Kami
 - (23 b) Ki-xutu
 - (23 c) Ki-ruguru
- (24) Ka-guru *and* North Sagara
 - (24 a) Itumba
 - (24 b) Kondɔa *or* Solwe
 - (24 c) Ziraha (Southern Sagara)
 - (24 d) Kwenyi
 - (24 e) Ŋkwifiya
 - (24 f) Ndunda
 - (24 g) Ŋgwila (the Sagara dialects from (c) to (g) are classified as Southern Sagara)
- (25) Gɔwɔ
- (26) Irañgi
 - (26 a) Ki-umbugwe

GROUP H. UPPER RUFUJI.

- (27) Hehe
- (28) Pɔgorɔ *and* Maheñge
- (29) Sañgɔ (Rōri, Safwa)
- (30) Bena
- (31) Gañgi
 - (31 a) Buñga

GROUP I. RUFUJI-RUVUMA.

- (32) Ki-matumbi
- (33) Mwera
 - (33 a) Ki-donde *or* Ki-mawanda
- (34) Makonde
 - (34 a) Mavia (Mabiha)

GROUP J. N. RUVUMA, N.E. NYASALAND.

- (35) Sutu (Manundi)
 - (35 a) Ki-mateñgω
- (36) Pañgwa
- (37) Kese *or* Kisi

GROUP K. UKINGA.

- (38) Kiñga

GROUP L. TANGANYIKA-BANGWEULU.

SUB-GROUP L 1.

- (39) Kabwari
 - (39 a) Kilega
- (40) Guha

SUB-GROUP L 2.

- (41) Tabwa
- (42) Bemba (Ki-emba)

SUB-GROUP L 3.

- (43) Luñgu
 - (43 a) Mambwe

SUB-GROUP L 4.

- (44) Bisa (Wisa)
 - (44 a) Bwzwa *or* Usi (Ba-ūsi)
 - (44 b) Lala-Lamba

SUB-GROUP L 5.

- (45) Fipa
- (46) Nya-luñgwa (Ruñgwa)

SUB-GROUP L 6.

- (47) Ci-namwañga

GROUP M. N.W. NYASA.

SUB-GROUP M 1.

- (48) Uñgu (Ici-wuñgu)
 - (48 a) Ki-manda
- (49) Iši-nyixa (Iši-wanda, Iši-wiwa)
- (50) Ici-wandia (Ici-rambia, Ici-ndali)

SUB-GROUP M 2.

- (51) Ikinyi-kiūsa (Nkonde)
 - (51 a) 'Mwamba' *or* Iki-kukwe

SUB-GROUP M 3.

- (52) Ci-heñga
 - (52 a) Ci-tumbuka *and* Ci-kamañga
- (53) Ci-toñga
 - (53 a) Ci-siska *or* Ci-sisya

GROUP N. YAŦ-ŦGINDŦ.

- (54) YaŦ
- (55) Ci-ŦgindŦ (North ŦgindŦ *and* South ŦgindŦ)
 - (55 a) Ci-mpŦŦ

GROUP O. MOÇAMBIQUE.

- (56) I-makua (Tulugu, ' Moçambique ')
 - (56 a) Northern Makua (MedŦ *or* MetŦ, Mbwabe)
 - (56 b) Lomwe (Western Makua)
- (57) I-cuabŦ *or* CuambŦ (' Quelimane ')

GROUP P. SOUTH NYASALAND.

- (58) Ci-mazarŦ (Ci-kunda *or* Ci-gunda)
 - (58 a) Ci-podzŦ
- (59) Ci-nyuŦgwi (' Tete ')
 - (59 a) Ci-sena
- (60) Ci-ambŦ (Ci-cinjiri)
- (61) Ci-nyanja (East Nyanja)
 - (61 a) Ci-mañanja (South Nyanja)
 - (61 b) Ci-peta (Maravi)
 - (61 c) Ci-cewa (West Nyanja)
- (62) Ci-nseŦga, SeŦga

GROUP Q. S. RHODESIA-PUNŦWE-SABI.

- (63) Ci-nyai (Ci-nyau *or* Loze) *and* Ci-nanswa
- (64) The Karaña Dialects (Ci-swina, Ŧuna, &c.)
 - (64 a) Ci-ndau (Va-ndau, ' SŦfala ')
- (65) Ci-teve
 - (65 a) Ci-tombŦji
- (66) RoŦgerŦ (BazarutŦ)
- (67) Ci-rue (' Vatus' *of* Burue *or* Barue)
- (68) MaŦañgana (' ShaŦgaan ', ' ChaŦgana ')

GROUP R. ŦENŦWE-RONŦA.

- (69) ŦeŦgwe (Southern ' Vatus ', ' Inhambane ')
- (70) CŦpi *or* Ŧitswa (ŦileŦge, HleŦgwe)
- (71) ThoŦga *or* RoŦga
 - (71 a) Bila (North RoŦga)
 - (71 b) HlaŦganu (N.W. RoŦga)
 - (71 c) JoŦga (West RoŦga)
 - (71 d) Ŧi-konde (South RoŦga *or* ' Maputa ')
 - (71 e) ŦilŦi (ŦwaluŦgŦ)
 - (71 f) Ŧi-gwamba

GROUP S. BECUANA-TRANSVAAL.

- (72) Ci-venda
- (73) Se-sùthŦ
 - (73 a) Se-pedi (Peli)
- (74) Se-cuana Dialects (Se-tlarŦ, Se-tlapiŦ, Se-rŦloŦ, Se-hurutse, Se-wañketsi, *and* Se-kwena)
 - (74 a) Se-mañgwatŦ
 - (74 b) Si-kŦlŦlŦ
 - (74 c) Njenji *or* Zinzi

GROUP T. ZULU-KAFIR.

- (75) ᵑᵑsa ('Kafir' Dialects)
 - (75 a) Zulu
 - (75 b) Swazi
 - (75 c) Tebele (Sindebele)
- (76) Gaza-Aṅᵑoni (N.E. Zulu)

GROUP U. W.C. ZAMBEZIA.

- (77) Lenje
- (78) Ila (Ci-ila, Ṣukulumbwe *or* Lumbu, *and* Ṣala)
- (79) Toṅga ('Batᵑka', Tᵑtela, Ndawe, Lima, Leya)
 - (79 a) Ciwe
- (80) Subia (Ṣubia)

GROUP V. WEST ZAMBEZIA.

- (81) Yeye (Makᵑba, Bakhᵑba)
- (82) Nyeṅᵑ (S. Luyi, 'Bampukuṣu')
- (83) Si-lūyi *or* 'Barotse'
 - (83 a) Si-kwaṅᵑwa

GROUP W. NORTH-WEST ZAMBEZIA.

- (84) Luena (Lu-ina) *or* Lubale
- (85) Mbunda
 - (85 a) Ka-luiana
- (86) Lu-jazi
 - (86 a) ṅgaṅᵑela
- (87) ṅkoya
 - (87 a) Mbwela
- (88) Kiᵑka (Kiᵑkwe, Cᵑkwe, Jok *or* Ci-bokwe)

GROUP X. SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

- (89) ᵑci-hererᵑ
 - (89 a) ᵑci-mbandieru
- (90) ᵑṣi-ndoṅga (ᵑtyi-ambᵑ)
- (91) Kuanyama
 - (91 a) Humbe
 - (91 b) Kuvale
- (92) ᵑlu-nyaneka
 - (92 a) Lu-ṅkumbi
- (93) Ndombe
 - (93 a) ᵑlu-korᵑka
- (94) U-mbundu (Nanᵑ)
 - (94 a) ᵑviye
 - (94 b) Sumbi

GROUP Y. ANᵑOLA.

- (95) Kisama (Mbwiyi, Sele, Kibala, Tunda)
- (96) Li-bᵑᵑ *or* Lu-bᵑlu (Ndulu, Haka)
- (97) Soṅᵑ
- (98) Ki-mbundu (Mbaka, Mbᵑndᵑ)
 - (98 a) ṅᵑᵑla
- (99) Mbamba (Mutemu, Haṅᵑu)

GROUP Z. KONGO.

- (100) Kiṣi-koṅw
- (100 a) Kiṣi-roṅw *or* Ki-soṅw
- (100 b) Ki-koṅw
- (101) Kakoṅw
- (102) Ki-yombe *or* Ci-luaṅw
- (102 a) Ki-vili *or* Ki-vumbu *or* Lu-wumbu (N. Luaṅg)
- (103) Ki-lumbw *of* Mayumba

GROUP AA. LUBA-LUNDA.

SUB-GROUP AA 1.

- (104) W. Luba *or* Lulua
- (104 a) Lu-kete
- (104 b) Lu-ṣilaṅge
- (104 c) N.W. Luba *or* Moyw
- (105) S. Luba *or* Ci-luba (Ci-samba, Ci-lubende, Ci-saṅga *of* Katanga)
- (105 a) Ka-honde (*of Northern Rhodesia*)
- (106) Eastern Luba *or* Ki-hemba
- (107) N. Luba *or* Luna-iṅkoṅw
- (108) N.E. Luba *or* Lu-soṅge (Ba-soṅge)
- (108 a) Beneki *or* N. Lu-soṅge

SUB-GROUP AA 2.

- (109) Ka-nywka *or* Tu-nywka
- (109 a) Tu-wanda
- (109 b) S.E. Ka-nywka (Ka-nyika) *or* Bondw

SUB-GROUP AA 3.

- (110) Lunda
- (110 a) Ma-bunda *or* S.E. Lunda
- (111) Western Lunda *or* Ruunda

GROUP BB. UPPER KWANGW.

- (112) Ṣinji *or* Ṣinṣi
- (112 a) Mi-nuṅgu
- (113) Hwɔw *or* Huṅgu
- (113 a) Tembw (Ba-tembw)
- (113 b) U-suku
- (114) U-mbaṅgala *or* I-mbaṅwɔla
- (114 a) Yoṅw
- (115) U-pindi *or* Kwese (Ki-kwese, U-kwese)
- (115 a) Ba-samba

GROUP CC. KWANGW-KASAI.

- (116) Yaka (Ba-yaka)
- (117) N. Yaka (Ma-iaka)
- (118) Ba-mbala
- (119) Huana (*or* Ba-huana)
- (120) Buma *or* Bɔma
- (120 a) Ki-bɔma *or* Ba-dima (E. Buma)
- (120 b) S. Buma
- (121) Ba-yanzi

GROUP DD. CENTRAL CONGO-LAND.

- (122) Pende
 - (122 a) Ba-bunda
- (123) Tu-koŋgɔ
- (124) ʃi-lele *or* ʋ-soŋge
 - (124 a) Ba-ŋgoŋgɔ (Wa-ŋgoŋgɔ)
 - (124 b) Ba-ŋgendi
- (125) Bu-ʃoŋgɔ *or* ' Ba-kuba '
 - (125 a) N. Bambala
- (126) Lumbila (*ancient* Bu-ʃoŋgɔ)
- (127) Mi-sumba
- (128) Lu-sambɔ
- (129) S. Ba-soŋgɔmenɔ Dialects
 - (129 a) N. Ba-soŋgɔmenɔ Dialect
- (130) Ba-ŋkutu (Ba-ŋkpfutu)
 - (130 a) Wa-ŋkutcu
- (131) Ba-tetela (Suŋgu *or* Lu-befu Dialect)
 - (131 a) Lu-kenye *or* N. Ba-tetela
- (132) ʋ-lemba
- (133) A-kela

SUB-GROUP DD I. MANYEMA.

- (134) ʃkusu (S. Manyema)
- (135) Ba-bili (N.W. Manyema)
- (136) Ba-kusu (N. Manyema)
- (137) Ba-mbɔle
- (138) Mɔ-leka

GROUP EE. MIDDLE LOMAMI.

- (139) Ki-tumba

GROUP FF. ELILA-LŪWA-LUALABA.

- (140) Nyaŋgwe (S.W. Ki-lega)
- (141) Genya
- (142) Mbaŋgɔbaŋgɔ (N.W. Ki-lega)
- (143) S. E. Ki-lega
- (144) N.E. Ki-lega *or* ' Balega '
 - (144 a) Ki-tembɔ

GROUP GG. RUWENZORI-SEMLIKI.

- (145) Kuamba
- (146) Lu-busese *or* Lu-bira
- (147) Ki-vamba

GROUP HH. UPPER ITURI.

- (148) Li-huku
 - (148 a) Ba-mbuttu
- (149) Ba-kiɔkwa, Ba-kwa, *or* Ba-lese
- (150) Ki-bira *or* Ba-kumu

GROUP II. ABABUA *or* WELE-ARUWIMI.

- (151) Ababua-M ω -beŋge (Central and South-central Dialects)
 - (151 a) H ω ma *of* Bahr-al-Ghazal
 - (151 b) Baŋgminda ¹
- (152) Ba-bati *or* M ω -bali (Western Ababua)
- (153) Ba-bali (South-eastern Ababua)
- (154) Ab ω bwa (North-eastern Ababua)

GROUP JJ. ARUWIMI-L ω MAMI.

- (155) Kele (L ω -kele)
 - (155 a) Li-f ω ma *or* L ω -kesu
 - (155 b) T ω p ω ke *or* T ω f ω ke
 - (155 c) Tu-rumbu (Ba-rumbu)
- (156) Bisia *or* B ω baŋga
- (157) S ω k ω *or* L ω -s ω k ω (*or* He-s ω)
- (158) Li-kaŋgaŋa

GROUP KK. NORTH CENTRAL CONGOLAND.

- (159) Abuja *or* Buja (Abaluki, B ω maŋgi)
 - (159 a) Bwela (Iriŋgi *or* Iliŋgi *or* Mam ω i)
- (160) Li-f ω t ω (U ρ ω t ω)
- (161) Ŋgombe (Li-ŋgombe) Dialects
- (162) L ω ω *or* Moŋg ω Dialects
- (163) J ω b ω
- (164) Ŋgala Dialects (B ω l ω ki, Maŋgala, Lubala, L ω i, &c.)
- (165) Saŋga Dialects *of* Lower Saŋga
- (166) Baŋgi (L ω -b ω -baŋgi) Dialects—L ω -nun ω , L ω -m ω ye, I-rebu, &c.
- (167) Mpama *or* B ω k ω te
 - (167 a) Ik ω k ω
- (168) Seŋgele
 - (168 a) Ba-tende
- (169) Wadia
- (170) Ntomba
- (171) Im ω ma
- (172) Lesa
- (173) Sakata (B ω bai)
- (174) Ba-tete (Ipaŋga, Acitu)

GROUP LL. KWA-KASAI-UPPER ω G ω WE (TEKE)

- (175) Ifumu *or* Ifuru (E. Teke)
- (176) Ki-mbun ω *or* Badi (S.E. Teke)
- (177) Ki-wumbu *or* Ewumu (S. Teke)
- (178) I-te ω *or* Teke proper (S.W. Teke)
- (179) Nteye *or* W. Teke
- (180) Mu-tsaya *or* N. Teke
- (181) Ba-mbete *or* N.E. Teke
- (182) Li-mbamba *or* Mbamba

¹ Additional to the vocabularies in Volume I, pp. 496–508. Discovered recently by Major Paul Larken in Southern Bahr-al-Ghazal.

GROUP MM. CENTRAL ΩGΩWE.

- (183) W. Kōta (Bakōta, Ωkōta, Mωṣebω)
- (184) Maṣaṅgō-Aṣira (Esira)
- (185) Kōta *or* E. Bakōta (Cake, Li-sake)
- (186) Kele, 'Bakalai' *or* Baṅgōmω (Baṅgwe)
- (187) Ωkande-Isōgω (Ṣibe, Ivea, Pinji)
 - (187 a) Mpōvi
- (188) Baboṅgō (Akwa, Waka)
- (189) Li-duma (A-duma, Ndumu, Ivili)
- (190) Njavi *or* Njabi

GROUP NN. ΩGΩWE-GABOON.

- (191) Nkōmi-Galwa
- (192) Ωruṅgu
- (193) Mpoṅgwe

GROUP OO. SPANISH GUINEA-WEST CAMEROONS.

SUB-GROUP OO 1.

- (194) (Ṣeke-Bulu (Ṣekiani)
- (195) Beṅga *or* Bieṅga (Mbuṣa-mbulu)
- (196) Nḡumbi *or* Kombe (N. Beṅga)
- (197) Ba-laṅgi *of* Great Bataṅga
- (198) Naka *or* Ba-puku (S. Ba-nōhω)
- (199) Ba-nōhω (Ba-nōkω, Malimba)

SUB-GROUP OO 2.

- (200) Mabea *or* Magbea
 - (200 a) Nḡumba (Mvumba)

SUB-GROUP OO 3.

- (201) Ba-siki (Bimbi, Banek')
- (202) Ba-kōkω (Yabakalaki)
- (203) Basā (Mbele, Mvela)
- (204) Duala
 - (204 a) Wuri
- (205) Isubu (Bimbia)
- (206) Ba-kwiri-Ba-mbōkω
- (207) Balue *or* W. Ba-kundu (Barondω-Bakasi)
- (208) Nḡōlω-Bataṅga (Murundω)
- (209) Ba-kundu (of the East)
- (210) Ba-rombi-Mboṅge

SUB-GROUP OO 4.

- (211) Boṅkeṅ
- (212) Abω

GROUP PP. MANENḡGUBA.

- (213) Baluṅ (Meloṅ)
 - (213 a) Buḡō
- (214) N-kōsi *or* Ba-kōsi
- (215) Ba-ṅgaṅte (Nḡōteṅ)

GROUP QQ. MIDDLE SANAGÁ.

- (216) Ba-ti (Ba-ceṅga)

GROUP RR. 'FANG'.

- (217) Yaūnde *or* Eūndu
- (218) Pañwe *or* 'Fañg'
(218 a) Makē
- (219) Bulu
(219 a) Ntum
- (220) Njiem, Ndzem, Zimu (Zamam)
(220 a) Makā

GROUP SS. KADEI-SAŅGA-LŪBAL.

- (221) Mbimu
- (222) Gundi *or* Ba-gundu
- (223) Pande
(223 a) Boñgiri
- (224) Pygmies' Dialects of Upper Sañga (Ba-yañga *or* Ba-yaka *of* Niumba), Ba-kwota 224 b, Bukoñgŵ 224 a
- (225) Kaka (*of* Salŵ)
(225 a) Kaka *of* Ngore

GROUP TT. FERNANDIAN.

- (226) Fernandian *or* Bube (*or* Ediya)
(226 a) Eastern *and* Southern Bube
(226 b) S.W. Bube

Languages Nos. 1 to 62 are considered to belong to the **Eastern Bantu**; 63 to 76 to **Southern Bantu**; 77 to 115 a to **South-western Bantu**; and 116 to 226 b to **North-western Bantu**. Nos. 227 to 274 are the

SEMI-BANTU LANGUAGES

GROUP A (S-B). THE CAMEROONS-CROSS RIVER LANGUAGES.

SUB-GROUP A 1 (S-B). THE CAMEROONS BORDERLAND.

- (227) Ekōi
(227 a) Akwa
(227 b) Eafeñ
(227 c) Injō *or* Itun
- (228) Atam *or* Nde
(228 a) Akparaboñ
(228 b) Agbaragba
- (229) N̄ki
(229 a) Ūsikon
(229 b) Dama
(229 c) Gayi
(229 d) Yakorŵ
(229 e) Alege
- (230) Mbudikum-Bamum and Dialects
(230 a) Bahom
(230 b) Bayoñ
(230 c) Bati
(230 d) Bakum
(230 e) Bagba

SUB-GROUP A 1 (S-B). THE CAMEROONS BORDERLAND—*continued*.

- (230f) Bali *or* Balu
- (230g) Bamum
- (230h) Mɔmenya
- (230i) Papiālī
- (230j) Payam
- (231) N̄gwala
- (232) Nsō *or* N̄ṣō
- (233) Mbe
- (234) Manyān
 - (234 a) Koñguañ
- (235) Indiki (Banyim)
- (236) Ba-fut
- (237) N-dob (M-burukem)
 - (237 a) Tumu
- (238) Olulɔmɔ
 - (238 a) Ikom

SUB-GROUP A 2 (S-B). CROSS RIVER.

- (239, 239 a) Ukele-N̄kōdō
 - (239 b) Okpōtō
- (240) Ediba-Ekuri-N̄kɔkōle
 - (240 a) N̄kpani
 - (240 b) Ugep
 - (240 c) N̄kɔkōle
- (241) Akunakuna
 - (241 a) Abini
 - (241 b) Umon *and* Ikɔ-morūt
 - (241 c) Akpet
- (242) Esɔpoñ-Arun
 - (242 a) Igbɔ-i-maban
 - (242 b) Asiga
- (243) Uyañga
- (244) K̄ōrōp *or* Ododōp
 - (244 a) Ōkōyoñ *or* Ōkonyoñ
- (245) Eñk
 - (245 a) Ibibiɔ Dialects (Kwō)
- (246) Uwet

GROUP B (S-B). N. CROSS RIVER.

- (247) Yala-Iñkum
 - (247 a) Yala
 - (247 b) Agala

GROUP C (S-B). S.W. BENUE.

- (248) Mun̄ṣi-Tivi

GROUP D (S-B). S. BENUE.

- (249) Afudu

GROUP E (S-B). CENTRAL BENUE.

- (250) Boritsū-Afiteñ
- (251) Mbarike

GROUP F (S-B). S.W. BAUCI.

- (252) Burum

GROUP G (S-B). CENTRAL BAUCI.

(253) Jarawa

GROUP H (S-B). CENTRAL NIGERIA: KADUNA BASIN.

(254) Gurumana

(255) Kamuku

(256) Bāsa

GROUP I (S-B). TŌGŌLAND.

(257) Lefana

(258) Santrōkōfi (Balé)

(259) Avatime (Kedea)

(260) Nyañgbō-Tafi

GROUP J (S-B). S. SIERRA LEONE.

(261) Bulom

(262) Mampa-Krim (South Bulom)

GROUP K (S-B). N.W. SIERRA LEONE.

(263) Temne

(264) Landōma

(265) Baga

GROUP L (S-B). NALU.

(266) Nalu

GROUP M (S-B). NORTH GUINEA.

SUB-GROUP M 1 (S-B).

(267) Biafada

(268) Pajade

SUB-GROUP M 2 (S-B).

(269) Kanyōp

(270) Pepel

(271) Sarar *or* Šadal

(272) Bōla

SUB-GROUP M 3 (S-B).

(273) Fulup *of* Karabane(273 a) Dyōla *of* Fōnyi(273 b) Filham *or* S.E. Fulup

GROUP N (S-B). UPPER GAMBIA.

(274) Kōnyāgi

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF THE BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU
LANGUAGES ILLUSTRATED IN VOLUME I

THE EAST AFRICAN BANTU
GROUP A: THE NYANZA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 1 to 7 a)

I HAVE divided Group A into six sub-groups ; but although there are marked differences between each of the sub-groups, they all form a single distinctive assemblage of allied languages, which have differentiated in course of time from one parent form. This ancestral Nyanza language was probably the most highly developed and typical form of Bantu speech, the model to which we nearly always hark back in seeking a standard by which to measure the fidelity to type of the other Bantu languages.

The descendants of this hypothetical Nyanza mother tongue are the most archaic of the living Bantu tongues. As regards primacy in archaism, there is almost equality of position between Lu-ganda (No. 4), the Masaba dialects (6), and Lu-konjɔ (1). But the variants of the Nyōrɔ and Ruanda species (2-2 g and 3-3 b) nearly vie with 4, 6, and 1 in retention of widespread, ancient, 'Nigerian' or Sudanic word-roots from the Proto-Bantu language, and of the most typically 'Bantu' syntax. It is interesting to observe in the analyses of word-roots given in this volume how frequently roots existing in Semi-Bantu languages reappear in Group A of the Bantu, but do not penetrate farther into the Bantu sphere. Evidently the languages of Group A represent one of the most ancient forms of Bantu speech, and have been established in their present habitat for a longer period than can be surmised in regard to the other Bantu groups. They seem to be the remains of the first great push eastward of the Bantu family when its representative speech-forms left their second home of development in the Bahr-al-Ghazal¹ and, checked from an advance due southward into Central Africa by the great wall of the Congo Forest, pursued a line of less resistance along the Congo-Nile water-parting, thus reaching the Mountain Nile and the shores of the Albert and Victoria Nyanzas. There is some evidence in place-names to show that their original range extended farther north than it does at the present day up the valley of the Mountain Nile. It is now limited northward by the junction of the Victoria Nile with the Albert Nyanza. It is probable also that Group A several hundred years ago extended its range much farther to the east of the Victoria Nyanza, almost as far eastward as the Kikuyu highlands. But both in the valley of the Mountain Nile, in the vicinity of Mount Elgon, and on the Nandi and Mau plateaus, the Nyanza Bantu were driven back to the great lakes by incessant invasions of Nilotic Negroes (speaking languages of the Acoli, 'Karamɔjɔ', Masai, Nandi, and Turkana types). Moreover, there must have been great race movements in the very heart of Africa between Eastern Nigeria and the Upper Nile basin which covered up the ancient Bantu tracks with populations vaguely classified as 'Sudanic', of which the Madi are an example. But on the fringe of, and even within the area of the Nyanza tongues,

¹ Probably the first area of Bantu evolution was in Eastern Nigeria ; and the second in the regions along the Congo-Nile water-parting.

in their westernmost range at the present day, there are little enclaves of isolated non-Bantu speech which it is not easy to place in the loose nexus of Sudanic languages, and which are fragments no doubt of the speech-forms in possession of Eastern Equatorial Africa before the Bantu invasion. Similar patches occur here and there in East Africa nearer to the coast, such as the **Mbugu**, **Mbuluñge**, and **Ngomwia**.

The Nyanza languages are at one and the same time, from their archaic features, their elaborate development and relative perfection as instruments for conveying thought and ideas, the most interesting group of the whole Bantu family. In respect to the last qualities, the only other Bantu language-groups that vie with them are those which contain the Swahili, Luba, Bemba, Zulu, Zambezi, Toñga, and Koñgø languages. Not only is Group A the most 'princely' type of Bantu language, but it contains the dialects of that remarkable Bantu aristocracy, typified by the Hima caste, the Bunyōrø, and Buganda dynasties.

But though in their far back Nigerian origin the Bantu and Semi-Bantu speech-families may have been formed or influenced by the impact of Mediterranean Man on the Sudanese and Forest Negroes, I do not think that Group A owes its origin in any way to the incoming of the Hima or Gala type of negroid into Eastern Equatorial Africa. These Bantu languages were already in existence and possibly not much less developed in structure when some two thousand years ago, or more or less, there wandered into Central Africa Hamitic pastoralists from the direction of Ethiopia and the White Nile.

Curiously enough, also, the languages of Group A are not only spoken by the red-skinned, cattle-keeping, fine-featured aristocrats of Central Africa, but by very low types (physically) of Forest Negro and Pygmy stock. The most archaic dialects of the Masaba language (No. 6) are the speech to-day of Negro tribes on the flanks of Mount Elgon, whose physical characteristics recall the Congo Pygmy. The inhabitants of the Cagwe Forest of Eastern Buganda are related to the Pygmies in facial features and stature. Dialects of the beautiful Ruanda speech are to-day the tongue of the Congo Pygmies in the North Tañganyika and Kivu forests.

As regards affinities with other forms of Bantu, the Nyanza group is most nearly related with that which follows it in my series (Group B, the Nyamwezi tongues), and next with Group H of the Upper Rufji basin, and with Group L (the Tañganyika-Bañgweulu); it further exhibits suggestive resemblances to the South-west Africa languages of Group X. The line of the Ituri-Ruwenzori forests is a somewhat abrupt demarcation of the western extension of the Nyanza Group, the most radical differences in structure and word-roots occurring between Group A and Groups GG and HH (the Ruwenzori-Semliki-Ituri languages). But as they exist at the present day side by side, in close juxtaposition, this recent contact has not been without its effect; for the influence of Group A can be traced in borrowed words in these otherwise very dissimilar tongues. A still greater influence has been exercised over the Bulega languages (Group FF).

The main characteristics of Group A as a whole, besides its primordial roots, the ancient form of its prefixes, and its highly developed syntax are: (1) its retention of the preprefixes, (2) the fulness of the prefixes—in one language exceeding in range that of any other Bantu speech, and possessing the whole recorded 19 class prefixes as well as those indicating sex or honorability which are without special concords.

The chief feature the members of Group A hold in common in their phonology is the dislike to the consonant *ɸ*, which is scarcely ever retained, except where it comes in contact with *n* or *m*. In some of the languages the dislike extends to other labials, *f* and *v*. This point is mainly noteworthy because it has affected so much the form of the 16th prefix **Pa**, which becomes most frequently **Ha**, but also **Wa** and **A**. This is the only direction in which the prefixes in Group A are not archaic. From the presence, however, of the initial syllable **Pa** in so many place-names in the Nilotic-Negro sphere of the Upper Nile Valley, north of the Albert Nyanza, it would seem as though at no very distant period the ancestral mother speech of Group A retained the oldest type of the principal locative prefix, and that the disuse of *ɸ* in the pronunciation of the seven languages into which the group has differentiated, has come about in comparatively recent times. But at the present day, so widely extended is (what I have called) the 'Ha-disease', that one has to travel from the territory of the Nyanza Group far to the south and south-east before one finds languages in which the *ɸ* labial has full play.

In their numerals the Nyanza Group of languages belong to East African rather than to West African

Bantu. The root-word for 'two' is in most cases **-biri**, though in Nos. 1 and 7 it is **-bere** or **-beri**. As regards the root for 'three', though the more universal type of **-tatu** appears in Nos. 3, 5, and 7, the preponderance is in favour of **-satu**. 'Six' is in most, but not all members of this group, indicated by the peculiar form **-kaga**. This only reappears elsewhere amongst the Nyamwezi, the Nyasa-Taŋganyika languages, and those of Groups EE, FF, and GG, which at some time or other must have been in contact with Nyanza influence. Side by side with the more universal **-onsi** root for 'all' (and its variant forms) appears the peculiar **-ona** in Nos. 2 and 4, which is only met with elsewhere (in varying shapes) in Group B, Groups I, J, and K, in one language of Group U (No. 80), and perhaps in the Fernandian (226 b), **-ena**, softened to **-ela**. An adjectival word-root, almost restricted to the Nyanza Group, is **-saja** for 'male' (possibly from a root meaning 'fat', 'stout').

ΩLU-KONJΩ (No. 1) is a particularly interesting type of Bantu language, and it is a pity that up to the time of publishing this book it has been studied by few other persons than myself.¹ If philological interest were to be the chief motive in missionary linguistic work (which, of course, it cannot be), or if those administering the government of Uganda had been more interested in ethnology, the Konjω tongue would ere now have been thoroughly illustrated by an exhaustive dictionary and grammar. But the Ba-konjω people are not very numerous. They inhabit the region between the southern half of Ruwenzori and the northern limit of the Kivu watershed, and extend to a slight extent over the mountain country on the north-eastern borders of the Belgian Congo. They are in the main a forest and mountain-dwelling tribe, but their language has so many primitive features suggestive of archaic Bantu that I commenced this work of comparison by placing it first on the list. Further acquaintance with the Nyanza group, however, makes it difficult to award the palm of primary archaism between Konjω (No. 1), Lu-ganda (No. 4), and Masaba (No. 6).

In its phonology Konjω does not go quite to the extremes of Nyōrω in its dislike of the consonant *ɸ*, though it adopts **Aha-** as the form of the 16th prefix. It has a tendency to indecision in regard to the pronunciation of *g*, ranging between *g*, *ɣ*, and *w*. It possesses all the prefixes down to 17, but shows no trace of Nos. 18 and 19, as in Lu-ganda and Masaba.

Its most remarkable feature in the prefixes is the form of the 10th, **Esi-**, **Esi-**, **Esian-**, **Esion-**, &c., with a concord of **en**, **esi**, **isi**, and **ω**. In this point it differs not only from all the other members of the Nyanza group, but still more markedly from North-western Bantu, against which it 'leans', so to speak, on the edge of the Congo Forest. It does not commonly use the 15th prefix (**Ku-**) for the infinitive of the verb, but the 5th (**Eri-**), a feature met with elsewhere slightly in Lu-ganda and markedly in Caga (No. 17), in the languages of Groups DD and EE on the Upper Congo (especially No. 157), in the South-west Cameroons (Nos. 198-9, 204, 205, 206, and 207), and in Efik (No. 245), a Semi-Bantu tongue.

The following are word-roots either peculiar to Konjω or interesting because of their far away relationships with the North-western or Southern Bantu, or even with the Semi-Bantu languages of Nigeria, Cameroons and Senegambia. I mark with an asterisk those which have no very clear relationships beyond Konjω, though a few of these may be recognized in the vocabularies of the other tongues of the Nyanza group:

-swa*, 'arrow'²; **-gerebe**, 'baboon' (also in No. 2 c); **-kamata***, 'banana' (75 b); **-kwole**, 'belly' (69, 71, 71 f, 74 b, 79, 89; 261, 263); **-isira***, 'belly' (this root reappears in No. 24); **-isūndi***, 'bird';

¹ Since these words were written, however, the British and Foreign Bible Society has published a translation of St. Mark's Gospel into Konjω (Lu-konjω), which greatly increases our knowledge of the language.

² Throughout this Review of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages, where a word-root seems either peculiar to or notably characteristic of a language, it will be marked by an asterisk, with the object of drawing attention to words chiefly of local vogue, which may not have formed part of the Proto-Bantu Vocabulary, and consequently may be relics of preceding unrelated language families, or signs of intrusive non-Bantu influence. The numbers in brackets, which follow a cited word, are the identification numerals of Bantu or Semi-Bantu languages possessing related word-roots. Those of the Bantu family are separated from the Semi-Bantu by a semi-colon. Up to the figure 226 b, the language is Bantu. From 227 to 274, Semi-Bantu.

-cuere*, 'brain'; **-rombe**, 'cold' (also in 147); **-de (Ende)**, 'cow, cattle' (2 to 7, 145-50); **-diwka***, 'crocodile' (perhaps allied to the **-wka** root for 'snake'); **-hondūe***, 'crocodile' (related to N.W. Bantu roots); **-hiñgi***, 'day' (2 a, 24; 240); **-seku**, 'door' (7 a, 43 a, 57, 58-61 b; 257); **-gedzie**, **-vezi**, **-idzai***, 'excrement'; **-saga***, 'fear' (226); **-rwtw***, 'finger' (140); **-here**, 'fish' (Nos. 3, 39 a, 51, 144, 193); **-suki***, 'forest' (80, 179-82, 193); **-faya**, 'he goat' (2, 146-9; and S-B); **-hañga**, 'God' (34, 2-3, 75, 187); **-wata**, 'grass' (2-2 d); **-libw***, 'heart'; **-sere**, 'hippo' (2 c, 17, 147; 230); **-seke**, 'iron' (104 c, 205-6, 209, &c.); **-bündū**, 'leg' (224, 35, 22, 28); **-tai**, 'milk' (2-4; 272); **-gesera***, **-esera***, 'moon'; **-eruka**, 'mountain' (2 c; 273); **Ituñke***, 'night'; **-sulu**, 'penis' (ç4, 136, 123, 18, 51; 218); **-sesa***, 'river'; **-penda**, 'path' (East Congo, S.W. Bantu); **-bwla**, 'sky'; **-vura**, 'sky' (157, 200; 274); **-hembw***, 'slave' (11, 61 a-b, 127, 134, 136, 160, 164; 229, 268, 274); **-hōrwa**, 'spirit' (61, 61 b (ghost), 75); **-guñunw**, 'star' (178; 244, 241b, 242, 243, 246); **-swoni**, 'tear' (allied to 'shame'); **-higura***, 'thief'; **-hiñga**, 'thigh'; **-gañga**, 'thing' (130, 131, 132, 145); **-sanwe**, 'toe' (49); **-tieka**, 'town' (56 a, 191, 161, 166; 227, 228, 269-72); **-hi**, 'war' (7 a, S.W. Bantu, Congo, Cameroons, Southern Bantu; and Semi-Bantu).

Amongst its numerals there is the original root **-guma**, **-wuma** for 'one', which has no analogy elsewhere in Bantu, but resembles the **Numa** in No. 267 of Senegambia, and perhaps the **-kima**, **-kekima** of 156, and the **-uma** root for 'thing'. The root **-bere**, **-were**, 'two', seems to be midway between the North-western Bantu **-bali** and the Eastern Bantu **-bili**. For 'six' there are two roots, **-kaga**, common to other members of the Nyanza group, and reappearing along the east side of Tañganyika almost as far south as the Nyasa watershed; and **-ndatu**, which is an abbreviated form of the widespread root **-tandatu**. 'One hundred' is rendered by the interesting form **Ngamagana**, which is a combination of both North-western and Eastern Bantu root-words, **-gama** and **-gana**.

In the personal pronouns of **KONJO** I have recorded the form **Tami** for 'thou' in the vocative, but I can find no confirmation of this elsewhere, and I do not, therefore, like to insist on it. In any case 'thou' is further represented by a form **Niwe**. At least one other of the substantive forms of the personal pronouns in Konjw are surmounted by the prefix **Ni**, viz. **Nibw**, 'they'.

KONJW has individual features in its verb-syntax, some of which reappear on the Nyasa-Tañganyika plateau. It makes an excessive use of the auxiliary verb 'to be' in forming its tenses, as well as of the conjunction, **Kandi** ('and', 'and so'). One form of the imperfect past is rendered by prefixing **Mu** to the nominative pronoun; and **-mu** as an infix for the same purpose occurs in No. 47 of the Nyasa-Tañganyika plateau.

In regard to its negative tenses the particle **Si** predominates as a prefix with the variants **Su**, **Sw** for the 2nd person singular (contractions of **Siwe**, 'not thou'). There are also the forms **Swsa**, **Susa**, used before the 2nd person singular of the imperative; **-ta** is used as an infix in the past, future, and substantive tenses; **Ereke** is the negative prefix to the infinitive (taking the place of **Eri** of the affirmative), and there is the negative verb **Ndisa** equivalent to 'cannot'. But a very interesting feature in the negative conjugation of Konjw is the termination **-ai**, which frequently (but not always) distinguishes the root of the verb in the present negative tense. This is equivalent to the **-i** negative termination of the present (and some other tenses) in so many of the Bantu languages, and seems to be a more archaic form. There is no pronominal particle **-ni**, as suffix to the 2nd person plural of the imperative, *nor has this form yet been traced in any language of the Nyanza group*, a curious deficiency, seeing its widespread use throughout the Bantu languages. Lastly may be mentioned as a characteristic of Konjw the prodigious length of many of its verb forms and of its compound substantives, so that these composite words sometimes stretch to eight or nine syllables. In this respect, and in the copiousness and wide range of its vocabulary, Konjw is one of the puzzles in linguistic psychology; for this highly organized, exceedingly complicated speech, which might well be the property of an intellectual people, is confined, at any rate at the present day, to a few tribes of nearly naked mountain-dwellers, virtually savages as compared with the adjoining semi-civilized Nyōrw peoples.

The **NYŌRŪ** language and sub-groups (2, 2 a-g) ranges over a considerable stretch of country from the north-eastern extremity of the Bantu domain (at the juncture of the Victoria Nile with Lake Albert), to the south-west corner of the Victoria Nyanza and the Bukerebe archipelago in the southern waters of

that great lake. This language, which with our present knowledge we divide into eight dialectal types, has been especially the speech adopted by the various branches of the aristocratic Hima type, in most cases the ruling people and cattle-keeping aristocracy of the Nyōrō tribes.

The chief phonetic peculiarities of the Nyōrō Sub-group are its dislike not only to the labial *ɸ*, but to *v* and *f*. *D*, when it occurs at the end of a verb-root, changes frequently to *z*. *R* is preferred to *l* generally, but easily interchanges with *d*, though there is a tendency in some dialects to pronounce the *r* with great emphasis and to suppress intervening vowels between two syllables beginning with *r*. In these dialects the excessive use of the trilled *r* is rather a characteristic of the Hima aristocracy, and less so of the more purely negro serf population.

The prefixes of the Nyōrō Sub-group extend to the locative No. 17, but the 10th prefix, except for its concord *ezi*, is virtually the same as No. 9. Noteworthy, however, as forms of the 9th prefix are the forms *Yi*- and *Gi*-, which are descended from the original *Gini*- type of this prefix. An interesting feature as regards No. 8 (*Ebi*-) is its use in a singular and collective sense, in which sense I have classified it as 8 a (*Bi*-). This gives us the clue to the way in which the diminutive prefix of the singular number, so prominent in North-western Bantu arose, taking first the form of *Bi*-, and then *Vi*-, *Fi*-, *Si*-, *I*- (see the chapter on the prefixes). *Bi*- was of course originally the plural of No. 7 (*Ki*-), but in most of the Nyanza tongues it came to be used in the collective sense meaning 'a few of', 'a little of' some substance, and in this way gradually passed into the condition of an independent singular prefix conveying a diminished or diminutive sense. The Nyōrō language in most of its dialects uses an honorific prefix, *A*-, especially employed in a vocative sense. The *Nya*- or feminine prefix is also present. The peculiar or remarkable word-roots in the Nyōrō dialects, other than those cited later for Guñgu, are as follows :

-*cañkwi* or -*cwañku*, 'axe' or 'adze' (61-61 c, 51, 71, 151 a); -*namenswa*, 'animal' (3, 81); -*emera**, 'animal'; -*sōrō*, 'animal' (4, 5 a, 74 b, 75); -*ri**, 'animal'; -*kuya**, 'ape' (195-9); -*galō*, 'arm' (also in Southern Bantu); -*kimara*, 'arrow' (Congo and Southern Bantu); -*gowe*, 'arrow' (S.E. Bantu); -*sinzō*, 'axe' (19, 20, 21-21 d); -*anzi*, 'axe' (4, 12); -*hisye**, 'banana'; -*gamu**, 'banana-tree'; -*kuñgu**, 'bird'; -*amba*, 'blood' (238); -*giñgō**, 'body'; -*kōma*, 'bow'; -*masa*, 'bull'; -*te*, 'cow'; -*remba*, 'cattle'; -*gō**, 'cattle'; -*nyorō*, 'chief'; -*tabari*, 'child'; -*šambia*, 'crocodile'; -*pyō*, 'crocodile' (145, 147); -*cwesi**, 'devil'; -*hara*, 'door'; -*deaba**, 'elephant'; -*tutorō*, 'excrement'; -*kise**, 'fear' (resemblance in No. 193); -*gere*, -*reñge*, 'foot' (S.E. Africa); -*turu**, 'ghost'; -*sabō*, 'he goat'; -*paya*, 'he goat' (146, 149; and S-B.); -*tondō*, -*tonda*, 'God'; -*gaba*, -*hañga*, 'God'; -*tajumba**, 'guinea-fowl'; -*curucumbi**, 'guinea-fowl'; -*garō*, -*galō*, 'hand' (147, 195, 198); -*satō*, 'hide' (related to forms in S.W. Bantu); -*guta*, 'hide' (related to forms in S.E. Bantu); -*koñgō-ijō*, 'heel'; -*konju*, -*funi**, 'hoe' (see also No. 239); -*sadzi*, 'hunger'; -*gwi*-, -*gwirerō**, -*gori*, 'husband'; -*pumi*, 'hyena'; -*zumura**, 'leopard'; -*dara*, 'leopard'; -*cuncu*, 'lion'; -*wadzi*, -*wazi**, 'magic'; -*harō**, 'magic' (146; and resemblances in Semi-Bantu); -*gisa**, -*hanō**, 'magic'; -*bazi**, 'medicine'; -*zorō*, 'full moon'; -*rika**, 'mountain' (resemblances in Nos. 1, 17; and in Semi-Bantu); -*suga**, 'mouth' (resemblances in Semi-Bantu); -*pambō*, -*nōnō*, 'finger-nail'; -*bara*, 'name' (rest of Nyanza Group; and Semi-Bantu); -*itumbi*, 'night' (4); -*šembe*, 'ox'; -*punu**, 'pig'; -*saru*, 'river' (Congo; and Semi-Bantu); -*ambu*, 'river' (S.W. Bantu and Cameroons); -*handā*, -*pandā*, 'road' (Congo); -*sura**, 'salt'; -*balega*, 'sheep'; -*satō*, 2 a, 'skin'; -*re*, 'sky'; -*viyame*, -*viyama**, 'sleep'; -*ika*, 'smoke' (Lu-ganda); -*ōjō*, -*ōzō**, 'son'; -*yanda*, 'son' (9 a, 9 c); -*tabani*, 'son' (4, 26, 21); -*zina*, 'song'; -*kulia*, 'spear'; -*ōmezi*, 'spirit'; -*beñgu**, 'stone'; -*bare*, -*bali*, 'stone' (Congoland); -*izi*, 'tear'; -*suma**, 'thief'; *Hati**, 'to-day'; -*bañgō*, 'tongue'; -*buga*, 'town' (Congo and Cameroons); -*rembō*, 'town' (S.W. Bantu and Congo); -*sali*, 'tree' (5, 6, 41, 73); -*roñgō*, 'twin' (Nyanza Group and East Congo); -*lemu*, 'war' (Congo and Cameroons); -*gamba**, 'war'; -*tuñga*, 'water'; -*eñgō*, 'well'; -*tuku*, 'white man'; -*wera*, 'white man' (70 and Congoland); -*tedzi*, 'woman'; -*šari*, 'firewood'.

In the Nyōrō pronouns it is only Nos. 2, 2 b, and 2 c that present the peculiar form *Nyōwe* for 'I'.¹ This is *Nge* in Guñgu, and *Inye*, *Ine* in 2 e, 2 f, and 2 g. The demonstratives are usually normal, but in 2 c there is evidence of the existence of the directive *n* (*ñ*, *m*). Adjectives are frequently in the form of adjectival verbs.

¹ *Nyōwe* is probably derived through the less divergent *Nzewe* found in 3 b (Rūha).

In the verbs of the Nyōrō language there is a tendency, rather more perhaps than in the other members of the Nyanza Group, for *u* to take the place of *a* as the terminal vowel of the root. As regards the suffix **-ire** in the simple past, this tends somewhat more than usual to fuse with the substance of the verb-root, so that it forms an inflexion rather than an agglutination. In the negative tenses the particle **ti** takes the place of **si**. **-ta-** is also employed as an infix. There is no change of the terminal **-a** to **-i** in the negative present tense, but an analogous change to **-e** takes place in the negative past and future. There is also an unexplained negative infix, **-duku-** or **-ruku-** in Nyōrō proper; and in the main form of Nyōrō, as well as in most of the dialects, there is a terminal negative verb **-busa** or **-bula**, which has a negative or nullifying effect on the verb-root, meaning generally 'in vain'. In No. 2 f-g there are negative prefixes usually employed only with substantives and numerals, **Nañgu-** or **Na-**.

RU-GUNGU (2 a) is the northernmost form of Nyōrō, and differs somewhat from the other dialects in its word-roots and its comparative disuse of preprefixes. It is the most northern type of Bantu speech at the present day in Eastern Equatorial Africa (excluding the Bahr-al-Ghazal region). Among its peculiar or remarkable word-roots may be cited **-kuyege**, 'termite', 'white ant'; **-nyōnigim***, 'crocodile'; **-sibbi***, 'grass'; **-sañga***, 'lake'; **-umwa***, 'leopard' (86, 109 b, 104 e); **-basia***, 'sleep'; **-sali**, 'tree' (5, 6, 41, 178); **Lamagw***, 'war' (perhaps the **-lemu** root of 2, 2 f, 9 a, 105, 145); **-yaga**, 'wind' (3, 4, 6, 5 a, 7, 9 c, 28, 40, 155 a).

In pronouns Ru-guñgu differs from Nos. 2, 2 b, 2 c, and 2 d in retaining the more archaic **Nge** for 'I' in place of the typically Nyōrō **Nyowe**.

RUANDA and its **RUNDI** and **HĀ** dialects (3-3 b), the remarkable Bantu language of the volcanic mountain, plateau, and lake region between the Uganda frontier and Tañganyika, is spoken alike by Pygmy and Forest Negro and aristocratic, tall-statured Hima races.¹ It contains a great number of peculiar or far related word-roots. Of these may be cited the following:

-tōrizw*, 'adze' or 'axe' (94, 106, 104); **-hōrōw***, 'axe'; **-tōzi***, 'ant'; **-jañgwe***, 'ape'; **-pundu***, 'baboon' (110); **-ūgwi***, **-agara***, 'banana'; **-anwa**, 'beard' (6, 6 a); **-sazi**, 'bee' (150, 129); **-zewa***, 'bird'; **-rasw**, 'blood' (5 a, 6, 6 a, 16); **-hettw**, 'bow' (9 c, 39, 211, 212; 234 and see 'arrow'); **-kekerw***, 'bow'; **-wañgw**, 'bow' (5, 5 a, 6, 151, 23, 162, 166; 230 c); **-tuza***, 'male breast' (from the **-fuba** root); **-suti***, 'brother'; **-rumuna***, 'brother'; **-masa***, 'bull' (2 f, 2 g); **-fizi***, 'bull'; **-ṣw**, 'cattle' (may be related to the Nyōrō word **-gōw**); **-tutsi***, 'chief'; **-tware**, 'chief' (39, 21 f, 27, 28, 35, 37, 38, 51); **Mama***, 'child'; **-tabi**, 'cloth' (Congo, Cameroons); **-hukw**, **-hugw***, 'country'; **-ka**, **-gabe**, 'cow'; **-ox** (35, 39, 65 a, 71 f, 75-6); **-ṣw***, 'cow'; **-yimara**, 'cow'; **-zorrw**, 'day' (7, 25, 45); **-ntaga***, 'day'; **-lembw**, 'door' (2 f, 40, 64, 69, 70, 190, 226; 266); **-dayi***, 'elephant'; **-hañga**, 'face' (17, 23, 23 a, 24, 86, 125); **-gimbw***, 'fat'; **-zigwa**, 'fat'; **-eñgwa***, 'fat'; **-tōki**, **-tōke**, 'finger'; **-canwa***, 'fire'; **-here**, 'fish' (No. 1 and East Congoland); **-bōga***, 'fish'; **-luñgu***, 'forest'; **-sake**, 'fowl' (58); **-haku**, 'girl' (199); **-seku**, 'goat' (56 b); **-sutwa***, 'he goat'; **-hebe***, 'he goat'; **-luñgu**, **-ruñgu**, 'God' (see roots for 'rain' and 'white man'); **-mana***, 'God'; **Waba***, 'grandparent'; **-hamba**, 'grass' (4, 26, 86 a, 118, 160); **-sakara***, 'guinea-fowl'; **-dōyi***, 'guinea-fowl'; **ṣi***, 'hand' (the **-pi** root of Bantu and Semi-Bantu); **-tōtōmye**, **-tōndōme***, 'hippo' (the **-tōmondō** root of Eastern Bantu); **-funi**, 'hoe' (2; 250); **-tsama***, 'honey'; **-sōnji***, 'hunger'; **-gabw***, 'husband' (8; 255); **-dumba***, 'hyena' (49, 50, 56, 56 b, 41, 42); **-rinda***, 'iron' (226 b, 11, 17, 89, and the **-lōnda** root); **-hompw***, 'knife' (248, 251); **-gōta***, 'knife' (191, 194); **-vw**, **-vu***, 'lake'; **-dzumula***, 'leopard' (2 c, 2 g, 17, 19, 23 to 38); **-sore**, 'man' (17); **-mana***, 'man' (also 'God', 273-4, and the **-ana** root); **-kembwa**, **-tambwa***, 'meat' (142; 253-4); **-camw***, 'mountain'; **-zōrōw***, 'night' (and 'full moon' in No. 2; also see Nos. 3 b, 26; and 261); **-gōra***, 'ox'; **-zōgw**, **-lōha**, 'palm wine'; **-ṣari***, 'sheep'; **-rere***, 'sky'; **-hutu**, 'slave' (75 c, 76); **-huñgu**, 'son' (32, 104; 229); **-huka**, **-puka***, 'spear' (168, 226; 240); **-zataza**, **-sata**, 'star' (11, 12, 81, 83, 146, 148, 155 a); **-wiye**, **-buye**, **wuyew***, 'stone'; **-lizw***, 'tail' (273); **-zige**,

¹ Father van der Burgh claims that an archaic dialect of Ruanda or Rundi may be reconstructed from words retained in folk-lore and ceremonies. This dialect is enumerated by me as 3 a (Old R.).

'tear' (4); **-bya**, 'testicle' (139); **-sambw***, 'thief' (69, 70, 71, 71 f; 254); **-sabwe***, 'thorn' (resemblance in 161); **-señge**, 'tooth' (54, 60, 90; 263); **-gwo**, 'town' (9); **-hombwe***, 'twins'; **-pañga***, 'twins'; **-terwo**, 'war' (4, 118, 121); **-sokwo**, 'well' (9a, Congo, Cameroons); **-vutsi***, 'witch' (245; 44, 53, 59, 62, 77); **-kōwa**, 'woman' (250, 256); **-wōga**, 'year' (also No. 1).

In its numerals Ruanda is remarkable for the possession of a peculiar form for 'seven', **-lindwi**, or **-ndwi**, which is further met with only in the adjoining language, No. 39. As regards its equivalent for 'ten', it presents the root **-loñgwo** or **-roñgwo**, which reappears over so much of the Eastern Bantu, and also occurs in S.W. Africa and in an altered form on the Upper Congo. **-loñgwo** or **-roñgwo** is the root-word for 'twins' in some of the Nyanza Group, and it would seem as though its signification of 'ten' arose from presenting the two fists (= five each) and calling them twins to express 'ten'. Ruanda likewise has the East African **-tandatu** for 'six', met with in Konjwo and a term of *particular interest*, because besides being characteristic of the Eastern and Southern Bantu fields, it reappears again in the extreme north-west of the Bantu range and in the adjoining Semi-Bantu tongues. As regards personal pronouns, Ruanda frequently adds a suffix, **-bwe** or **-we**, to the roots in their substantive form. Its demonstratives are normal, but in those of the third position ('that yonder') it employs the directive *n*.

The following points may be noted in the Ruanda verb. The infinitive prefix is not only **Uku-**, but also, in a secondary way, **Ku-za-**. There is *no* negative termination **-i** to the verb-root in the present tense. The preterite suffix **-ile** is only met with in the doubtful form, **-ye** or **-ije**, **-ze**, **-ise**, &c. It is more often simply **-e**, with numerous sympathetic changes of the last consonant of the verb-root—*r* into *z*, *l* into *s* or *ʃ*, *h* into *ts*, &c. The negative tenses are indicated by the use of **Si-** for the 1st person singular, and the infix **-ta-** for all persons. **Si-** becomes **N-ti-** in some dialects. There is a curious negative particle **Wi-** used for the 2nd person singular of the imperative, which becomes **Mwi-** for the 2nd person plural. There is an impersonal pronoun in the sense of the English 'there' or of the French 'on', used with the Ruanda verb, namely, **Ha-**, **H'**, which answers to the Swahili **Hu-**.

LU-GANDA (4), in some respects the most archaic of all the Bantu tongues when every consideration is duly weighed, has two distinct dialectal forms, and there may be others as yet undiscovered. These dialects are **LU-SESE** (4a), spoken in the Sese archipelago¹ in the north-west portion of the Victoria Nyanza, **LU-SŌGA** (4b), the speech of the Bu-soga province to the east of the nascent Victoria Nile. There is possibly a third distinct dialect, **LU-KENA**, spoken by clans of Bantu negroes inhabiting the marshy region to the north of Bu-soga as far as Lake Salisbury.² It may surprise some Bantu students to find Lu-soga classified merely as a dialect of Lu-ganda, but the present writer, who has studied the language in its home, has felt unable on existing data to accord it any completer distinction. Many word-roots which are thought to be distinctive of Lu-soga appear nevertheless in the more recondite and perhaps peasants' dialects of Lu-ganda, or are used in Lu-ganda with a slightly different application, so that they are differently placed in the dictionary.

One of the most important distinctions in **LU-SŌGA** is its form of the 16th prefix—**Ŧa-**, instead of **Awa-** (**Aga-**). But Lu-soga has not been studied to anything like the same extent as Lu-ganda, and when it is set forth as amply and as clearly, it may prove to be entitled to the rank of a distinct language rather than a dialect. Moreover, when Lu-kena of the great marshes to the north of Busoga is examined, it may be found to be so distinct from Lu-ganda, yet so affiliated with Lu-soga that it would have to be regarded as the type of a distinct language in the Nyanza group of which Lu-soga was an outlying dialect strongly impregnated with Lu-ganda influence.

The phonology of Lu-ganda, except for the dislike to *ʃ*, which is represented by *w* and not by *h* as in the other numbers of the group, has very primitive features and frequently employs *ɔ* in place of the

¹ Most of the Ba-sese have been exterminated by sleeping sickness since the author studied their dialect in 1900.

² The existence of this tribe or series of affiliated clans has been made known by the Rev. John Roscoe, who pronounced their language to be a Bantu dialect resembling Bu-soga. On further investigation it may turn out that Lu-kena is a distinct language of the Nyanza Group, or that instead of being a dialect of Lu-ganda (as an outlying variant of Lu-soga), it is more nearly connected with the Nyōro species, through Ru-guñgu.

more common *v* in word-roots, suggesting thereby that *b* may be the more ancient labial which has degenerated in the later forms of Bantu into *v* and *f*.

Lu-ganda, like the other members of the Nyanza Group, retains many interesting word-roots which show a connexion with the Semi-Bantu languages. Among its peculiar and far-related forms may be quoted the following:

-gya*, 'axe' or 'adze' (235); **-nañgazi***, 'axe' (39 a); **-kwołotw***, 'ant'; **-guye**, 'white ant' (11, 14, 2 a); **-dzike**, 'ape' (45, 103, 103 a, 150, 218, 194, 189, 193, &c.); **-sudde***, 'baboon' (133, and the **-gudu**, **-guli** root); **-tulira**, 'back' (56, 57, 59, 64, 77, 79, 140); **-bide***, (257), **-emw***, **-gwoḡw***, **-envu***, 'banana'; **-sale***, 'bow'; **-tegw**, 'bow' (228, 228 a, 240 c, 245); **-ligyi***, 'male breast' (14, 16); **-tabani**, 'brother'; **-bamvu***, 'canoe'; **Kapa***, 'cat'; **anda***, 'charcoal' (199); **-te** (En-te), 'cow', 'cattle' (1, 2-2 g, 5 b, 6, 7, 86, 69, 145-8, 150); **-nakw**, 'day' (S. and S.W. Bantu and Senegambia); **Sambwa**, 'devil' (5, 6, 9, 10, 51, 84, 86, 193); **-saww***, 'doctor' (9 b, 230); **-kwoidi***, 'dog' (11, 19, 20, 26); **-savu**, 'fat' (1, 2-2 d, 9 a, 109, 147); **-zigw**, 'fat' (3); **Kita**, 'father'; **Kawai***, 'fire'; **-pune***, 'fish' (5 b, 193); **-kwla***, 'forest', **-kampa***, 'forest' (3, 55, 56 b, 160; 256); **-gwañga**, 'fowl' (126); **-guna***, 'girl' (4 b); **Lubare***, 'God'; **-wumba***, 'God'; **-sambu***, 'grass' (3, 26, 160, 86 a, 210); **-kwofu**, 'guinea-fowl' (13); **-batu**, **-ratu***, 'hand' (198); **-mēmē***, 'heart'; **-anjw***, 'hide'; **-bisi**, 'honey'; **-ombe**, **-gombe**, 'horn' (see roots for 'cow', 'ox'. It is only in this sense that the widespread **-gombe** root survives in the Nyanza tongues); **-tagya**, 'hyena' (57-9, 64); **-taba***, 'lake' (9 b, 9 c, 26, 64); **-para***, 'leopard' (61 a, 56; 268); **-pōrwōgōma**, 'lion' (57)¹; **-sezi***, 'magic' (156); **-saja**, **-sada**, 'man, vir' (this term for 'man' or 'male' may be related to other roots meaning 'stout', 'fat', 'well set up'. It is spread throughout the Nyanza Group, and is virtually their monopoly); **-zira***, 'man' (23); **-salwa**, **-sarua**, 'meat'; **-mamba***, 'meat'; **-dagala***, **-sahw***, 'medicine'; **-guku***, 'monkey' (possibly the **-fugw**, **-buk** root of the Semi-Bantu); **-egabwōgabw***, 'moon'; **-zōba**, 'moon' (60, 155 c, 202); **-bala**, 'name' (2-2 g, 7); **-dira**, 'navel' (11); **-tumbi***, 'night'; **-nōma**, 'penis' (16, 21, 56 a, 84, 110 a; 242, 244); **-bidzi**, **-bidi***, 'pig' (5, 6, 7, 8); **-fō***, 'place'; **-kuba**, 'rain' (56; 259, 260, 271); **-pube***, 'rat'; **-mese**, 'rat' (56); **-iga**, 'river' (2 g, 9 a, 44, 160-1); **-bale**, 'river' (151, 166, 189, 187, 191); **-gudw**, 'road' (134, 136; 244); **-kubw***, 'road' (229); **-emu**, **-wemu**, 'shame' (35, 79); **-ddu**, 'slave' (1, 2-2 g, 3 b, 217); **-diga**, **-ziga**, **-riga**, 'sheep'; **-uka**, 'smoke' (2-2 g, 147, 176, 180); **-swōta***, 'snake'; **-lenzi**, 'son' (103); **-ugw**, **-igw***, 'stick'; **-azi**, 'stone'; **-ija**, **-inja***, 'stone' (45, 48); **-bale**, 'stone' (2-2 g, 6, 9, 147, 148, 81; 273); **-ziga**, 'tear' (2-2 f, 3, 5, 6, 120, 147, 219); **-jagi**, 'testicle' (94); **-sambi***, 'thigh' (12, 14, 9 a; 233); **-nulw***, 'toe'; **-talw***, 'war' (118, 121, 3, 27); **-zi**, **-gulw**, 'well' (2 g, 28); **-kiala**, 'wife'; **-bōna**, 'witch'; **-sezi**, 'witchcraft' (9 c).

The numerals in Lu-ganda and its dialects offer these points of interest. There is a root for 'one', **-dala**, in Lu-sōga which is specially prominent in the adjoining Masaba Sub-group of languages. It is one of the many root-words for 'finger'. 'Seven' is expressed by the West African root **-samba**, **-samvu**, which is evidently derived from an old root meaning 'hand' or 'five'. It was first applied to 'six' with the qualifying numeral 'one' added, and 'two' added in the case of 'seven' (see numerals in No. 89). Then other locutions were employed for 'six', and **-samba**, **-sambw** often stood alone for 'seven' without the added numeral 'two'. Lu-ganda has a recondite root for 'hundred', **-tufu**, which may be connected with the **-ntukw** of No. 160. Ordinarily the decades, hundreds, and thousands are indicated by varying prefixes applied to the root for 'ten'. 'One hundred thousand' and 'million' are, however, expressed by independent roots, without clear relationship in other Bantu tongues.

In the pronouns, any trace of using a **Mi** basis for the 1st person singular has disappeared, and all the forms for 'I', 'me', 'my' go back to an original **Nge**. In the 2nd person singular we have the archaic velar consonant, *g* (*k*), retained in the substantive form (**Gwe**); **-gwe** is also, from confusion of forms, the Lu-sōga equivalent of the possessive terminal in the 3rd person singular. In the substantive and terminal forms of the 1st person plural, *f* or *fw* takes the places of an older *s*, with *h*, maybe, as a transitional consonant. This tendency of **Swe** to become **Hwe** and **Fwe** is frequent in its recurrence in Bantu

¹ This is one of the most interesting enigmas in Bantu study. How is it that this peculiar term **-pōrwōgōma**, **-pōdōgōma** is shared between Lu-ganda (to the north-west of the Victoria Nyanza) and Cuambw at the mouth of the Zambezi, with apparently no connecting link?

and need not be regarded as a special feature of the Lu-ganda Sub-group. It occurs in many of the Eastern Bantu, in one of the Southern, three of the South-western, and three of the North-western Bantu. In the 2nd person plural, Lu-ganda excludes any form of **Nyu**, even as a terminal, and restricts itself to the **Mu**, **Mwe** types.

The Lu-ganda verb does not offer many singularities. It is richly developed, but not beyond the limits of the Bantu plan. The normal infinitival prefix is **Oku-**; but in a negative sense, 'Not to—', it is **Ūbu-**; and there is a tendency to regard **Eri-**, the 5th prefix, as also conveying a prepositional sense of 'to', 'towards'. (Note the same feature in Lu-konjō (No. 1) and elsewhere.) In the negatived present tense, the terminal **-a** does not change to **-i** or have **-i** added to it. But the terminal **-a** in the negatived future changes to **-e**. The preterite termination is **-ire** in Lu-sōga, but **-de** (for **-ide**) in Lu-ganda, besides **-ye**, **-i**, and the **-ise**, **-se**, **-ze**, **-dze**, **-idza** suffixes used less frequently in the Bantu languages to convey a past sense to the verb-root. Lu-ganda is rich in participial forms and Lu-sōga has a present participle (the English 'ing'), formed by adding to the root the **-ñga** suffix, so common elsewhere in the conveyance of a continuous or 'thorough sense. The other modifying terminals of the verb-root, which I have classified as 14 a to 14 j, are well represented in Lu-ganda and Lu-sōga, but the adjectival or qualitative sense is not conveyed by **-pa** or a derivative of **-pa**, but by the adjectival suffix **-vu** or **-fu**, which originally seems to have meant 'full of'. The negative particles are **Si-** for the 1st person singular, and **Ta-**, **T-** for the other pronouns, with an infix **-ta-** and a suffix **-ke**. In Lu-sōga there is a negative verb used before nouns, **Ezira**, equivalent to 'is not'. The sense of 'to be' is conveyed by **-ba** or **-va** and **-li**.

Several familiar verb-roots, common throughout the Bantu, are missing from Lu-ganda parlance, or only to be traced in derivatives. 'See', for example, is not rendered, except in Lu-sōga, by the familiar **·bōna**, but by **·laba** and **·lela** (cf. Nos. 2 e, 2 f, 2 g, 3, 44, 44 b, 71, 71 f, 73, 74, 82, 184; and 2-3, 5-7, 11, 14, 16, 17, and most of the Eastern Bantu). The root **·ikala** for 'sit' seems unknown, and for 'sleep' the root **·ebaka** (165, 187) almost takes the place of **·lala**, which has a restricted sense of 'settling down'. Lu-sōga retains some of the verb-roots lost in Lu-ganda.

In the **MASABA** or **KAVIRONDŪ** languages (Sub-group A 5) we find languages which, though united by underlying affinities, are markedly distinct from the sub-groups of Konjō, Nyōrō, Ruanda, and Lu-ganda. In phonology they differ by their tendency to change *k* into *s*, *ʃ* or *x*; and *ʃ* into *k* and *r*. In their prefixes they have the outstanding feature (in Lu-masaba, 6, and Lu-konde, 6 a, more especially) of preserving **Kumu-** or **Gumu-** as the full form of prefix 3; **Kimi-** or **Gimi-** for prefix 4; **Kama-** or **Gama-** as the fullest form of prefix 6; and **Kiki-**, **Bibi-**, **Lulu-**, **Bubu-**, **Kuku-**, **Gugu-** as the fullest forms of prefixes 7, 8, 8 a, 11, 14, 15, and 18. **Baba-** is also frequently met with as the full form of prefix 2. In these peculiarities, therefore, they seem more archaic than most other Bantu tongues, and as presenting us with an older, fuller form of prefixes and preprefixes combined than is met with elsewhere. As to **Gama-** for the 6th prefix, we meet with it again in No. 23 (Dzalamō), as **Yama** in No. 43 a, and in the concords of Nos. 54 and 80. This Masaba Sub-group also retains in use prominently a distinctive form of prefix 10 (**Eci-**, **Iti-**, **Etsi-**, &c.) which is practically non-existent in Sub-groups A 2, A 3, and A 4. Three of the languages of Sub-group A 5 possess the peculiar root for the numeral 'six', **sasaba** or **sesaba**, which reappears again as **sansaba** in No. 7 a. Lu-masaba and Lu-konde also retain a few word-roots only met with elsewhere amongst the Semi-Bantu; and the Kavirondō languages (5, 5 a) use the Old Bantu root **·gombe** for 'cow', 'ox', which is entirely absent in modern times from Sub-groups A 1, A 2, A 3, and A 4,¹ but which reappears again in Sub-group A 5: but they are unorthodox here and there in not possessing widespread Bantu roots for familiar objects.

In the **KAVIRONDŪ** dialects (5-5 a) there exist the following word-roots, amongst others, which seem to be of particular interest either as local peculiarities, but more often from their archaic character and their relationships with the Semi-Bantu:

·dukusi, 'ant' (70, 71-71 f); **·bim***, 'ape'; **·esere***, 'arrow' (56 and the **·sale**, **·sari** root); **·sene**,

¹ Except in the sense of 'horn', 'horned beast', in which it still lingers in Lu-ganda.

'baboon' (64, 64 a, 67, 69, 70, 71 f, 75); **-wuñgwi***, 'baboon' (57, 58, 59, 60, 103); **-temwa***, **-remwa***, 'banana'; **-oya***, 'beard'; **-nyasi***, 'beard'; **-lasiri***, 'blood' (resemblances in Nos. 3 and 16); **-iñgu***, 'bow' (common also to No. 6, 6a); **-duru***, 'female breast'; **-terwa***, 'brother'; **-ruxi***, **-rusi***, 'bull'; **-tañgana***, 'bull'; **-moñdɔ***, 'cat'; **-anda**, 'charcoal' (199); **-añga***, 'cloth' (62, 91, 94, 86, 109; 263); **-ombe**, 'cow', 'cattle' (it is necessary to notice the resumption of this last widespread Bantu root in Nos. 5, 5 a, because of its virtual absence from the western divisions of the Nyanza Sub-group); **-duasi***, 'cow'; **-lalɔ**, **-dalɔ***, 'day'; **-añgɔ***, 'day' (67, 85, 186; 248, 263, 264); **-sewi**, 'devil' (62, 64 a); **-buyu***, 'egg'; **-mɔni**, 'eye' (a term elsewhere generally applied to the pupil of the eye); **-kɔfu***, 'father'; **-ruma**, **-erɪ**, 'fear'; **-terre***, 'finger' (the **-dala**, **-sala** root); **-geke***, 'fish'; **-nyeni**, 'fish' (6, 104 c; 266); **-mali**, 'forest' (148); **-tsurru**, 'forest' (175, 176, 178, 180, 184; 251); **-menyui***, 'fowl'; **-xienu***, 'ghost'; Wlu-mbe, 'God' (66, 68); **-seru***, 'hide' (2-2 c, 73, 74, 87, 78, 124); **-ñu***, 'hyena'; **-xumba**, 'knee' (142); **-nani***, 'lion'; **-dũ**, 'lion' (228 b); **Sirxañga***, 'magic'¹; **-muwei***, **-mutana***, 'magic'; **-dete**, 'finger-nail' (see 161); **-ta** or **-ra**, 'name'; **-hei***, 'ox'; **-giruxi** or **-urusi***, 'ox'; **-dine**, 'penis' (6, 92 b, 150, 151 a; 227, 229, and the **-tɔni** root); **-wuzi**, 'pigeon' (12, and the **-guti**, **-kuti** root); **-alɔ**, 'river' (27, 102, 7 a, 2, 2 c); **-cara**, 'river' (2-2 c, and the **-cali**, **-dzari** root); **-gese***, 'sheep' (259, 266; 75, 6, 6 a); **-bɔtsɔ***, **-bɔswa**, 'sister'; **-hembexɔ**, 'spirit'; **-sũlũ**, 'planet', 'star' (178); **-kina**, **-gina***, 'stone'; **-sala***, 'stool'; **-basa**, **-basu**, **-wasɔ**, 'sun' (25, 26, and see roots for 'fire'); **-siñga**, 'tail' (23 a); **-sika**, 'tear' (120); **-xuwu***, 'thing'; **-dala***, **-tala**, 'town' (194, 221; 264); **-gidzi**, 'town'; **-fira**, 'witchcraft'; **-xanɔ***, 'woman' (60, 31 a).

The following is a selection of noteworthy Masaba word-roots (6, 6 a):

-tsui*, 'animal', 'wild beast'; **-sani***, 'animal'; **-gwa**, 'termite' (the **-swa** root); **-tõre**, **-dɔte**, **-dɔti**, 'banana' (139, 186, 193, 175, 178, 218, 209, 211, 212); **-nwanwa***, 'beard' (elsewhere in No. 3); **-sala**, 'beard' (166; 261); **-siriri**, 'bird' (63, 64-8; 274); **-unwa***, 'bull'; **-debe**, 'canoe' (13, 34, 75); **-koñkɔwɔ***, 'canoe'; **-eti**, 'child' (23 a, 44 b); **-gaire***, 'cloth'; **-rɔba**, 'country' (7, 104, 226); **-soñga***, 'cow' (Gala language and 23 b, 27, 30, 31, 36, 38, 48); **-kafu**, 'cow' (2 d, 3, 65 a); **-tixinyi***, 'day' (the **-tiku** root); **-sanje**, 'doctor' (19 a; 269); **-iñga**, 'egg' (21 e, 23, 32, 33 a); **-nawa***, 'fat' (255, 228 a, 254); **-neni**, **-enye**, **-yeni**, 'fish' (5 a, 104, 104 c; 266); **-toñgɔwɔ**, 'forest' (86, 94, 153); **-nani***, 'forest'; **-lalɔ***, 'ghost'; **-kyaba***, 'hand'; **-amberi**, 'hand' (87, 155, 153, 188, 130, 161); **-eñga**, 'lake' (2 a, 3 b, 5 a, 75 a, 100, 103, 189, 193, 194, 217); **-kiñgi**, **-giñgi**, 'hill' (34); **-mana***, 'honey' (7; 247); **-nyu***, 'hyena' (5, 92); **-sañga**, 'ivory' (4, 44 b, 52-4, 205, 209; 247); **-dumbu**, 'leg' (2, 19 a, 64-8); **-talanyi**, **-tɔlani**, 'lion' (2-3 b); **-lesi***, 'medicine' (155); **-tere***, 'finger-nail' (5, 5 a, 24, 226); **-nasu**, 'ox' (27; 254, 258, 261, 263); **-huma**, 'ox', 'cattle' (67, 75, 74 b, 120, 175, 178, 187, 194; 244, 259); **-same***, 'ox'; **-ti**, 'ox' (this root of the western sub-groups of the Nyanza tongues reappears in No. 6); **Kuhe**, 'ox' (69, 17, 73, 91, 92, 94); **-lusi***, 'parrot'; **Kwasiu***, 'parrot'; **-dine**, 'penis' (92 b, 150, 151 a; 227, 229); **-kese***, 'pig' (see word-roots for 'sheep', 5 a, 6, 6 a; and II, 12; 267, 268); **-uzi**, 'pigeon' (5 a, 7 a, 12, 83, 85, 89, 90, 94, 109, 139); **-luci**, 'river' (7, 40, 43, 130, 162; 237); **-xese**, **-kese**, **-hesi**, 'sheep' (259, 266); **-hafu**, 'skin' (121); **-demu**, 'snake' (166); **-soriri**, 'son' (25, 28); **-bale**, **-wari**, 'stone' (2-2 g, 4, 9 a, 147, 148, 81; 273); **-añga**, 'sun' (80, 182); **-munɔ**, 'sun-light'; **-āla***, 'thorn'; **Lunɔ**, 'to-day' (17, 51, 55, 89, 139); **-tete***, 'toe' (5 a); **-itɔwɔ**, 'town'; **-rimba**, 'town' (2 d, 27, 82-86, 114, 184); **-rɔñgɔwɔ**, 'tree' (70); **-sala**, 'tree' (41); **-sɔtɔ**, 'war' (211); **-higɔ**, 'year' (167).

The numerals of this Sub-group A 5 present the following points of interest: Besides the use of **-dala**, **-twera**, **-terwa**, **-dwera** for 'one' (already noted), the form for 'six' in 5 a and 6 is **-sasaba** or **-sesaba** (5 b and 6 a adopt the Lu-ganda **-kaga**). **-sasaba** recurs in No. 7 a and No. 8, but nowhere else among the Bantu or Semi-Bantu, though a slightly similar duplication of the **-sa** form of 'three' may be met with in the Cross River Semi-Bantu (227, 228, and 244). Possibly the **-sansaba**, **-sasaba** for 'six' may be the **-satu**, **-sasɔ** root for 'three' dualized by the **-ba** suffix. 'Ten', besides its **-kumi** equivalent, is indicated in 6 and 6 a by **-rundu** and **-roñgo**. The **-rundu** root seems to vary as **-tɔndɔ** in the word for 'hundred'. I can find no parallel form in the Bantu for **-rundu**, **-tɔndɔ** as a 'ten' root, except it be in the **-undaru** of

¹ Probably from the root **-xañga** (**-gañga**), with an honorific prefix, **Si**.

209 or the **-vundu**, **-vundw**, **-hundu**, **-fundu** of 134, 31 a, and 27 respectively. **-roñgw** of course is the **-roñgw**, **-loñgw**, **-ruñgw**, **-eñgw**, **-diñgw** of so many of the Eastern and South-western Bantu and of one of the Ababua languages (153), and perhaps one Semi-Bantu (249).

In the pronouns, this sub-group has distinguishing peculiarities. It entirely ignores the **Mi** element in the 1st person singular and exaggerates the palatalizing of the **Nge**, **Nje** alternative till the substantive form of 'I' becomes sibilated as **-sie**, **-se** or **-soyu**. The root for 'we' follows the Lu-ganda **-fwe** in substantive and terminal, and in the nominative particle transmutes the almost universal **Tu** into **Ku**, **Xu** from the tendency of an initial *t* to become a velar *k*. In the equivalents of 'ye', 'you', the **Nyu** and **Mu** elements alternate. 'All' is expressed not by the **-ōna** root as in Lu-ganda, but by the much commoner **-wsi**, **-ese** (**-onse**). In 5 a and 5 b **-wsi** is enforced by the emphatic **-pe** suffix, which also recurs in Nos. 54 and 63.

In their verbal syntax, the languages of Sub-group A 5 share the dislike of the other sub-groups of the Nyanza tongues—except Lu-konjw—to the negative inflexion of the terminal **-a** of the present tense (**-a** into **-i** or **-ai**). This change, however (as **-e**), may take place in a negated future. But they preserve the **-ire** preterite termination and also use in the Kavirondw languages an alternative **-ine**. In the case of the verb **-bwna**, 'to see', this **-ine** fuses inflexionally with the root and produces **-bwine** for the preterite (from **-bwnine**), 'saw', a form which occurs also in Lu-sōga and explains the **-wene** of the North-west Bantu. The negative particles differ as between the Kavirondw tongues (5, 5 b) and those of Elgon (6, 6 a). In the former they consist of a prefixed **Si-** (applicable to all persons) and a suffixed **-ta**, **-tawe**, **-ñga**. Nos. 6 and 6 a, on the other hand, besides an initial **Hi-**, which is probably derived from **Si-**, use a prefixial **Ha-** (from **Ka-**) and an infixial **-k'**, **-ka-**. Both branches of this sub-group possess a negative verb, **-bula**, 'to be lacking' (cf. the Swahili **-burre**), and No. 6, like Lu-ganda, gives a negative sense to the prefix **Bu-** where it is applied to an infinitive.

The forms for the auxiliary 'to be' are very interesting in this sub-group, or rather in the Kavirondw branch. Besides the widespread **Ni-**, **-li**, and **-ba**, they employ an extension of **-li**—**-liñgye**—analogous to the **-linji** of No. 47 and the **-liki**, **-reke**, **-leki** of Nos. 71, 71 f, 162, 166, 170; and further use **-du**, **-ru**, **-lu**, which are akin to similar forms in 44 b, 104, 186, 193, 211, 226; 245 and 246. But the most interesting equivalent of 'be' is the particle **-isi** or **-si**, *used affirmatively*. We are familiar with **-si** as a negative verb, 'not to be', 'is not'; but as an affirmative, 'is', 'was', it is rare, though its existence was presupposed by Bleek in one of his brilliant guesses, in order to account for the **-ise** element in the preterite suffixes of Bantu verbs. He conjectured that, like **-ile** from **-li**, it might be the variant of a **-si** root meaning 'be', 'was'. In this feature the Kavirondw languages (5-5 b) retain affinities with Nos. 83, 92 of S.W. Bantu, 157 of the Northern Congo, 195 of the South Cameroons, and Nos. 252 and 273 of the Semi-Bantu.

There is so much that is archaic and vestigial in this sub-group of the Kavirondw and West Elgon countries in the Uganda Protectorate that one cannot help regretting these remarkable Bantu languages have not been far more deeply studied while they were still uninfluenced by Lu-ganda and Swahili. The credit for their discovery (though Europeans had raced over their country twelve years previously) must be given to Mr. C. W. Hobley. The author of this book was the first to realize their peculiar features and importance, and after he had drawn attention to them, missionaries of the C.M.S. published a short grammar of Lu-masaba (No. 6), and translated the Gospels into this speech and into one dialect of Kavirondw (Lu-hañga). But a much deeper study, and a far more extensive vocabulary might still reveal many more archaisms, and further help to explain the relations between Bantu and Semi-Bantu and the original route followed by the ancestral Nyanza Bantu towards their present lands of settlement. Let us hope this much more complete research may yet be carried out before it is too late. These languages are fast disappearing.

KI-GUZII or **KI-SUBA**, **KI-KORIA**, **KI-SUNA**, and **KI-TENDE**. The languages forming this last Sub-group (A 6)—the East Victoria Nyanza languages—have only recently been discovered and pre-cised. A 6 is cut off from Sub-group A 5 by a wedge of Nilotic speech-forms, and similarly southward it may fail to connect with the Nyamwezi languages through the intrusion of tongues of Masai or Nandi

speech-family. Mr. Hopley, however, believes that it comes very near both in locality and type to the little known Ki-šasi and Ki-rōri (8 and 8 a), Bantu languages of the peninsula and coast-line of the South-east Victoria Nyanza. A phonetic peculiarity of Sub-group A 6 is the replacement of *i* by *e* in several of the prefixes and preprefixes, and in the 13th prefix of *a* by *e*. The 10th prefix is represented by **Ci, Cin**.

These dialects of the Eastern Victoria Nyanza coast-lands possess a number of word-roots peculiar to them or interesting from other points of view:

-cōke, 'termite', 'white ant' (11, 17 b); **-sinzi**, 'termite' (58, 59 a, 64, 64 a, 72, 78-9, 87, 141, 136, 162; 244); **-ge, -geki***, 'termite'; **-gwe, -gu***, 'arrow' (perhaps related to the **-vwi, -fwi** root); **-ñw***, **-cōre** (the **-guli, -kolwe** root in E. Bantu, Gaboon, Central Congo), **-gōge***, 'baboon' (the **-sōkw, -kōkw** root); **-gōmia***, 'banana' (140, 166, 167; 227, 228, 240, 244 a, 245, 246); **-nyōw***, 'beard'; **-ya***, 'beard'; **-kaya***, **-ka***, 'beard'; **-iñga**, 'blood' (9, 82-6, 88, 95, 98, 100-3, 114, 127, 131); **-mura**, 'brother' (56 a, b, 64); **Iri, Eri**, 'bull'; **-tunduru***, 'buttocks'; **-tañgō**, 'cat' (the **-zañgu, -jañgwa** root); **-kwōrō***, 'cat'; **-nda***, **-isia***, **-isiki***, 'chief'; **-rōwa**, 'country'; **-gugbwie***, 'crocodile' (56 b, 64, 57, 59, 90, 91); **-tera***, 'day'; **-gōrō**, 'day' (3, 25, 45, 162, 164, 166); **-swa***, 'devil' (18); **-sese***, 'dog'; **-siere***, 'door' (56 a, 182; 227, 229, 247); **-saku***, 'door' (the **-seku** root, 1 to 61 b); **Kōmera***, 'dream'; **-kōnu***, **-begete***, 'drum'; **-gina**, 'egg' (53, 61, 104; 239 b); **-bi**, 'excrement' (this root is specially cited here because it appears to be the most archaic form, obviously connected with the similar adjectival root meaning 'bad'); **-tinia***, 'fat' (198); **-ruka**, 'fear'; **-sanyi***, 'foot' or 'hand'; **-saka**, 'forest' (11, 12, 14, 16, 25, 26, 29, 56, 64, 72, 73, 77-9, 87, 193, 226); **-riri, -kira**, 'ghost' (23); **-subati***, 'girl' (7 a, 8; 255, 273); **-asai***, 'God'; **Rica***, 'God'; **-tukia***, 'hair'; **-ana**, 'honey' (6 a, 247); **-gu-cala***, 'horn'; **-tera***, 'horn'; **-ñiti***, 'hyena' (257; 107, and probably allied to **-piti** root); **-añaw***, 'hyena'; **-wunju***, 'island'; **-nyorō***, 'island'; **-giñga**, 'island' (the **-ciñga, -siñga** root); **-iri**, 'leopard' (42); **-kōba*** (119; 253), **-nenevu***, 'lips' (56, 156, 103, 120); **-kondō**, 'monkey' (17, 100 b; 271-2); **-kembō**, 'monkey' (4 b, 5, 58, 66, 100); **-tienyi***, 'moon' (see 178); **-guku**, 'mountain' (129, 130, 132, 207, 210, 212); **-tunwa**, 'mountain' (105); **-ta**, 'name' (273; 5, 11, 12, 64, 63); **-gaini***, 'ox' (see also 274); **-tañgana***, 'ox' (60); **-beci**, 'pig' (4-4 b, 5, 6, 8); **-ruma***, 'pigeon'; **-bura**, 'rain' (instanced to show the apparently primitive form of the root); **-woci, -weci, -dōci**, 'river' (6, 6 a, 40, 162; 237); **-saka***, 'river'; **-ōrō**, 'river' (16, 19, 20, 21-21 g, 22, 34 a, 56, 110, 195, 186; 257); **-ruxa***, 'sister'; **-isia**, **-risia**, 'son' (153; 268); **-gina**, 'stone'; **-basu, -basō**, 'sun' (5 a, 25, 26, and see 'fire'); **-riga**, 'tear' (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 120, 147); **-getia**, 'testicle' (73, 100, 101, 108, &c.); **-mbia, -bia**, 'testicles' (3, 26, 139, 150); **-gwatu***, 'thigh' (105); **-tumble***, 'tree' (129, 162, 218; 261); **-nyora, -nyorō**, 'urine' (226); **-sare**, 'twin' (126); **-hi, -gi***, 'war'; **-kuñgu**, 'wife', 'woman' (20 d, 32, 33, 34, 54, 193); **-kama***, 'wind' (8, 17, 18).

In its numerals the East Victoria Nyanza Sub-group reverts to the primeval **-mu, -mō** root for 'one'. No. 7 a agrees with the Masaba Sub-group in its form for 'six' (**-sansaba**), and with the Wu-nyamwezi Group and easternmost Bantu in its rendering of 'seven' (**-huñgati**). **-roñgō** is used indifferently with **-kumi** for 'ten'. In pronouns, in the root for 'all', in demonstratives it agrees with Sub-group A 5, except that the possessive case of the 1st person singular is **-ne** (see Nyamwezi languages), and there is no trace of *f* in the roots for the 1st person plural.

In using the **-du** root for 'to be' 7 and 7 a agree with Nos. 5 and 5 a, and with certain Congo Coast, Cameroons, and Semi-Bantu languages.

GROUP B: THE WU-NYAMWEZI LANGUAGES

(Nos. 8 to 10)

The languages numbered 8 and 8 a on my list (KI-SASI and KI-RŌRI) were, on the statements of German explorers, presumed by me in Volume I, to be outlying members of Group B, to resemble in fact

the Ki-sukuma dialect of Nyamwezi. Mr. C. W. Hobley had already expressed the opinion that Ki-ṣaṣi and Ki-rōri were much nearer allied to Nos. 7 and 7 a (Ki-guzii and Ki-koria), or intermediate between this last sub-group of the Nyanza tongues and the north-easternmost dialect of Nyamwezi (No. 9). He turned out to be right. A vocabulary received from Archdeacon H. W. Woodward early in 1920 shows Ki-ṣaṣi (No 8) to be nearly midway in affinities between the Sub-group A 6 of the Nyanza tongues and Group B of the Nyamwezi dialects or languages. It agrees, seemingly, with the majority of the members of Group B in not employing preprefixes, and with the Nyanza languages in its dislike to the consonant *ḥ*. The greater proportion of its features resemble those of Eastern Nyamwezi; but on the whole it is most nearly related in word-roots, especially in the more peculiar ones, to No. 7 a, Ki-koria, its nearest neighbour on the east coast of the Victoria Nyanza.

Among the word-roots remarkable in Ki-ṣaṣi for their far-away affinities or their peculiar character might be cited the following :

-sinaku*, 'biting ant'; **-serere**, 'white ant, termite' (100, 103, 175, 178, 189, 193); **-bwe**, 'arrow' (77-90, 125-8, 161); **-hazi**, 'axe' (105); **-guge***, 'ape, baboon'; **Ma-nyĩnga**, 'blood' (82-114); **Mu-hiri***, 'brother'; **Hiri***, 'bull'; **Ki-bwɔw**, **bi-bwɔw**, 'buttocks'; **Mw-anagwa***, 'chief'; **-ami**, 'chief' (77-90, 147-8, 193); **-gibw***, 'cloth'; **Ha-biri***, 'cow'; **Mu-mwisi**, 'daytime' (189; 259); **-sambwa**, 'devil' (84, 86); **-gabw***, 'doctor' (? related to root for 'husband'); **-seku**, 'doorway' (186); **-tomwa**, 'drum' (128, 144, 159, 160, 161, 200, 206); **-itiriga**, 'forest' (see the **-sika**, **-riki**, **-diko** root); **-kire**, 'frog' (17, 75, 101); **-kya**, 'girl', 'female' (17, 21 a, 43); **-gorwhe**, 'he goat' (14, 17; 255); **-subeni**, 'young female goat'; **-zazi**, 'grandparent, grandmother' (96; 259); **-aki**, 'grass' (11, 12, and the **-azi**, **-ahi** root); **-ñgoñw**, 'gun' (7); **Kōrw**, 'heart, spirit' (5, 7, 11, 14, 18, 26, 80, 117, 175-8); **-suguri**, 'heel' (7 a and S-B); **-sakwa**, 'hide, leather' (144); **-sũbe**, 'husband, male, man'; **-tarw**, 'lake, river' (2, 2 c); **-dwe**, 'lion' (5 b, 82, 83, 57; 228 b); **-zori**, 'maize' (2 to 2 g, 3, 4); **-kuna*** (?), 'monkey'; **-kundi**, 'navel' (1, 2, 2 g, 4, 9 c, 147, 159 a); **-eru**, 'nose' (149 and the **-uru** root); **-tañana**, 'ox' (7); **-ñari**, 'parrot'; **-zuñga**, 'penis' (14, 53, 89, 130-4, 155, 156, 160); **-bizi**, 'pig' (4-7); **-guti**, 'pigeon' (6, 7 a); **Ha-gilw**, 'place' (70, 73, 74); **-dugi**, 'rat' (273); **-sabi***, 'rhinoceros'; **-subati***, 'sister'; **-sarw**, 'sky'; **-gya***, 'slave'; **-timu**, 'spear' (1, 7 a, 11, 12, 26, 127, 141, 147); **-gina**, 'stone' (5, 7, 7 a); **-tumbi**, 'stool' (1, 9 c); **-gusuri**, 'tear'; **-nige**, 'testicles' (1, 4-7 a, 11); **-gilw**, 'thing' (64, 64 a, 71 f, 175-8); **Tabōri**, 'to-morrow'; **-sirondo**, 'urine' (58, 59, 64-75 c, 76); **-giha**, 'vein' (11, 12; 253, and the **-fipa** root); **-hi**, 'war' (1, 7 a, 83, 66-76; 236-7); **-gere**, 'source, spring' (161 a); **-kama**, 'wind' (7 a); **-numbu***, 'yam'.

Sasabā is the word for 'six' (5 a-7 a); **-huñgati** for 'seven' (cf. the **-puñgati**, **-fuñgati** of the East African Bantu. The root for 'thousand' is **Kikwi**, as in 17, 21, and 57 to 61 c. Among the adjectives there are the following noteworthy roots: **-amu**, 'black' (7, 7 a, 67-76, 213, 215, 216—the resemblance to 216 is striking); **-kya***, 'female, feminine'; **-zumu**, 'good' (2 f-3, 41-3 a); **-suhu**, 'little' (13, 92); **-tambi**, 'long' (64 a, 209); **-kũngu**, 'old' (94, 124, 136, 141, 204); **-kañgaru***, 'red'. Other features of Ki-ṣaṣi will be treated elsewhere in this volume.

Discounting Nos. 8 and 8 a for the time being, we are able to divide Group B into the Nyamwezi languages spoken in at least four main dialects (9 to 9 c); and the very distinct Ki-nyaturu language (10).

Several German and British students of Nyamwezi are of opinion that not four but six or seven dialects might be distinguished; but with all the extant material one can only segregate four main types, nor can one raise any one of these above the rank of a dialect: they obviously descend from one mother speech. The most aberrant and original of the four is West Nyamwezi (9 b). This dialect contains numerous noun-roots that can be traced through Congoland to Añgola or to the Cameroons and the Semi-Bantu, though to a lesser extent all the Nyamwezi dialects share this possession of archaic roots, their syntax, however, not being so archaic as that of the Nyanza tongues.

The term Nyamwezi (more often heard as Namwezi) means 'of the moon'. The initial **Nya-** or **Na-** is the 'mother' prefix which dwindles to a meaning of 'origin'; and **Mwezi** in most of the Eastern Bantu means 'moon'. Another part of the Nyamwezi country in the east is Wu-nya-nyembe, or 'land of hoes'. The 'district of the moon' seems to have been rather an old name applied to the plateau south of the Victoria Nyanza: it was at any rate vaguely known to the Portuguese two hundred years ago. What there can

have been in this vast and rather monotonous land between the southern approaches to the Victoria Nyanza, the east coast of Tañganyika, and the mountains of the Ruñgwa and Rufiji basins to call up such a simile as 'moon' is not clear.

I can well understand the Ruwenzori range, four hundred miles to the north-west being called 'the mountains of the moon', because its great shoulders, snowy white, with flecks of dark rock, are in some aspects singularly like a gigantic limb of the full moon. Perhaps Wu-nyamwezi, to the early Swahili-Arab pioneers of exploration, seemed well on the way to the Mountains of the Moon and thus received its name.

The Wa-nyamwezi of to-day do not recognize much community of origin, and style themselves only according to their tribe or clan: the Wa-sukuma, Wa-rwana, Wa-sumbwa, Ba-galaganza, Ba-vinza, Wa-bende, Ba-gala, Va-ximbu, Va-konoñgwa, Wa-nañkwila, and Wa-nyanyembe. There is considerable variation in their phonology, Western Nyamwezi (9 b) standing rather apart from rules that apply to the other three dialects. In these there is a tendency to drop the *y* after an *n*, where the *n* is palatalized in other tongues: thus **Nama** for **Nyama**. *H* often takes the place of *l*, *k*, or *g*, especially after *n*. *P* is replaced by *h*, except in a few roots. *K* before *i* may pass dialectally into *c*, *s*, *x*, or *h*. *B* is variable: sometimes being retained as an initial, sometimes becoming *v* or *w*.

There are slight traces of preprefixes in the western and north-western dialects, but ordinarily they are quite disused. All the 17 prefixes are present, and the 8 a prefix is occasionally met with. As in the languages of South Central Africa and the Makonde coast, it is a customary thing to superimpose one prefix on another: as **Li-mu-**; *pl.* **Ma-mi-**, **Ha-fi-**, &c. The 2nd prefix oscillates between **Ba-**, **Va-**, and **Wa-** (in Ki-nyaturu it is reduced to **A-**); the 7th between **Ki-**, **Ci-**, **Si-**, **Xi-**, and **Hi-**; and the 8th between **Vi-**, **Fi-**, **Si-**. (In Kinyaturu it is reduced to **I-**, except in its 8 a form.)

The numerals of the Nyamwezi Group include the **puñgati** root for 'seven' which is so characteristic of East Africa, but which extends north-eastward to the east coast of the Victoria Nyanza and south-westward to the neighbourhood of Lake Bañgweulu. The roots for 'six' are divided in allegiance between the **-kaga** of the Nyanza Group (in West Nyamwezi this takes an extended form, **-kawaga**, see also No. 46); the **-sasatu** of the north and north-east (in Nyamwezi reduced to **Sati**); and the **-tandatu** of East and South Africa. The whole group shares a root for 'thousand', **-humbi**, which may be related to the **-kombi** ('hundred') of 140, the **Yombe** ('ten') of 251, the **-ñkumbwa** ('hundred') of 230, and the **-komba** ('thousand') of 84 and 110 a.

The following are noteworthy noun-roots in the Nyamwezi dialects:

-pisu*, 'ants' (51); **-kuku**, 'baboon' (23, 147, 175, 178, and the **-sokw** root); **-kwo**, 'baboon' (2-2 d, 4, 6, 18 a, 27, 75 b); **-suna**, 'back' (46, 57, 12, 226); **-niñga**, 'blood' (7, 82-6, 88, 95, 98, 100-3, 114, 131); **-gondw***, 'body' (allied to the **-kondw**, **-kundu** root for 'buttocks'); **-hende**, **-findw**, 'buttocks' (2 g, 4 a, 7 g); **-gwna***, 'buttocks' (perhaps allied to the **-bwnw** root); **-goma**, 'canoe' (175; 230, 261, and the 'drum' root); **-hanya**, 'chief' (75, 84, 95-8, 134, 175); **Mtwana**, 'child'¹ (75-6); **-yanda**, 'child', 'son' (2 f, 54, 136, 142, 61 a, 101); **-dogwosa**, 'cow' (5 b); **-dimi**, 'devil, evil spirit' (the widespread **-dimu** root); **-huli** (**-puli**), 'elephant' (105, 155, 178); **-pulu**, 'forest' (35); **-hya***, 'girl'; **-nze**, **Li-nze**, 'God' (203; 236); **-kubi**, 'God' (148, 226; 237, 228, 230); **-walelw**, 'God' (98, 26, 4, 154, &c.)²; **-dima***, 'grass'; **-sasi**, 'hair' (2 g, 3; 258, 268, and the **-sisi** root); **-ego**, 'heart', 'spirit' (105, 42, 134); **-diri**, 'hide' (26); **-su**, **-zi**, 'house' (the widespread **-zu**, **-zw** root); **-tamw**, 'hunger' (14, 60; 247); **-dini**, 'iron' (227, 230, 236, 237); **-sowlw**, 'iron' (61-61 c, 127, 128); **-mwimpi***, 'island'; **-nowga***, 'ivory'; **-tawa**, **-hawa**, 'lake' (4, 21 (H.), 26, 64); **-lenzi**, 'man, vir' (103); **-nowgu**, 'man, vir' (146, 150; 263); **-sumba**, 'man, vir' (13, 78, 114, 141); **-manda***, 'meat'; **-fumu**, 'medicine' (230); **-ānda**, 'monkey' (14, 193); **-swozi**, 'mountain' (2-4 a, 51 a, 199, 211, 73); **-tanda**, 'mountain' (40, 100); **-noñga**, 'finger-nail' (48); **-dinhw***, 'paddle'; **-saha**, 'paddle' (**-kapa** root); **-sanza***, 'palm wine'; **-tumba**, **-humba**, 'pig' (23, 28, 94, and **-kumba** root); **-andi**, 'place' (the **Pa-ndu**, **Pa-ntu** root);

¹ **M-twana** for 'male child' is found only in 9 b. **Mw-ana** is the common word in all the Nyamwezi dialects. **-yanda** has more the meaning of 'son'. **M-twana** is noteworthy as corresponding with the similar word in the Zulu-Kafir Group, being probably of a different origin to the widespread **Mwana**, and really derived from **Muntu-ana**, 'a little man'.

² **-walelw** for 'God' is exactly matched in Ki-mbundu of Añgōla (98): a very extraordinary fact.

-bw-**iga**, 'river' (2 g, 4, 4 a, 44); -**sese**, -**sere**, 'slave' (56, 57; 263); -**bale**, 'stone' (147, 148, 2, 2 g, 4, 6; 273); -**emi**, -**limi**,¹ 'sun' (45, 176); -**tege**, 'thigh' (86; 240 c); -**puri**, 'town' (89; 238); -**ne**, 'urine' (21 e, 124-5, 127, 137, 150, 151, &c.); -**luku**, 'war' (25, 48-50, 195; 227, 244); -**huya**, 'war' (64; 267); -**sokw**, 'well' (3, 150, 187); -**inzi**, 'well' (16, 40, 41, 4); -**vimbi***, 'well'; -**fulw**, 'wind' (157, 218; 238); -**aga**, 'wind' (2-2 g, 3, 4, 5 a, 6, 7, 28, 40, 155 a); -**guñhu**, 'wind' (253; 15, 78, 142, 209); -**kima**, 'woman' (10, 27, 29, 48); -**niñga** (9 b), -**nhya** (9 c), 'woman' (217, 218; 229, 230); -**seki**, -**sieki**, 'woman' (11, 18); -**swezi**, 'witch' (4).

In the Nyamwezi pronouns there is a tendency for the *w* in the substantive root of the 2nd person singular to become *b*. This feature recurs in Nos. 18, 20, 27, in the South-west African and Central Congo-land Bantu. In two of the Nyamwezi dialects the *f* in 'we', 'us' replaces *s*, as in two Nyanza Sub-groups and many of the East African Bantu, in Nos. 101, 103 of the Congo coast and 200, 200 a, and 202. The nominative particle for 'we' in West Nyamwezi is sometimes **Ku**-, as in Nos. 10, 5, 5 a, 6, 6 a, 20 (**Ki**-) 14 (**Ki**-), 153 (**Kw**), and 259.

The verb in the Nyamwezi Group (including Ki-nyaturu) presents few abnormal or specific features. The 2nd person singular of the imperative is not the simple root of the verb, but the root with a suffix -**ga** or -**ja** (plural -**gi**, -**ge**, or -**ji**) added. The negative is usually rendered by a suffix -**ñw** (from an earlier -**ñgw**: see Nos. 40 and 245); or by a -**ka**-, -**ha**-, or -**ti**-, -**ta**- infix; also in 9 a by a -**ne** suffix (see Nos. 56, 59, 105).

KI-NYATURU (No. 10), though belonging to Group B is a very distinct language by itself, as will be seen by the comparison of the vocabularies. It differs from Nyamwezi by the loss of prefix 16 and perhaps 17, by the reduction of No. 2 to **A**-, of No. 8 to **E**-, and the possession of a peculiar form of 8 a—**Pi**-. In phonology, *t* is sometimes replaced by *k*, and this leads to the change of the normal Bantu **Tu**- ('we' as nominative prefix with the verb) to **Ku**-. The 'near' demonstrative 'this' is marked by the unusual form -**asw**.

We have no great acquaintance with the Ki-nyaturu vocabulary, which is a pity, as it promises to be very interesting. The following word-roots in it, however, may be noted for their peculiarity or their distant relationships:

Zagami, 'blood' (11, 2-2 g, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24-6, 56 b, 147); -**añgwe***, 'brains'; -**ñinya***, 'child'; -**saa***, 'cloth'; -**tupa***, 'pig'; -**anda***, 'slave'; -**guya***, 'thorn'.

GROUP C. THE BRITISH EAST AFRICA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 11 to 16)

Geographical proximity combined with some evidence of underlying affinity justify, on the whole, the formation and scope of this group, though it is an open question whether P₀wk₀w₀ (13) ought not preferably to be associated with the Zañgian or Swahili languages, and whether, leaving this out, Group C might not instead include No. 17, the Kilimánjar₀ dialects. But I have found the present composition of Group C to accord best with all the facts of the case.

KIKUYU (11) and **KAMBA** (12) are obviously related in origin more closely than either is to other members of the group, and Kikuyu has special affinities with the Kilimánjar₀ dialects, though these are now separated from the Kikuyu country by a band of sparsely inhabited country of Masai speech. The Taita dialects seem to be mainly two in number—Ki-**dabida** and Ki-**sagala**. Archdeacon H. W. Woodward instances a third from Mount Kasiyau (Ki-**siyau**). The name of 'Taita' seems to be an outside name applied to this type of language which, from its widespread use, it is convenient to retain. This language (14) of the Taita hills is a very remarkable one, retaining as it does so many Old Bantu roots not found in the adjacent speech-forms, but which reappear again in South-east Africa or far to the north-west

¹ This root is sometimes given as **Limi**, but examination of the language would seem to show that the root is really -**imi**, and that **L**' is a vestige of the **Li**- prefix.

among the Semi-Bantu. It is not markedly related to **Taveita** (No. 15), though one would imagine that the geographical or tribal names of **-dabida** and **Taveita** were of common origin, and both akin to 'Taita'. **Taveita** speech, No. 15 (confined to one small settlement near the south-eastern base of Kilimanjaro) is also very isolated in affinities in Group C, though it has nearer relationships with Kikuyu and Kamba than with Taita and Nika. **Pwokomwo** or **Pfwokomwo** has an obvious connexion—an ancient one—with Swahili, but it is more nearly related to Nika (No. 16). **Nika**, again, shows a certain affinity with the Kilimanjaro dialects, though they are separated from it by a broad belt of country. **Pwokomwo** may have been originally a Nika-like dialect on the Tana river, powerfully reacted on by the Swahili of the Lamu and Faza settlements. Under the general term of '**Nika**' I include the **Giryama**, **Duruma**, and **Digwo** dialects, which do not differ from each other more than in pronunciation, and in varying forms of pronouns and noun-roots.

Kikuyu is the most remarkable language of Group C. It has considerable dialectal variation, but according to the few authorities who have given it serious study, the only dialect which differs markedly from the average Kikuyu spoken in the highland district of that name is Meru (11 a) to the north-east of the northern slopes of Mount Kenya. It has seemed to the present writer that the basal root of the tribal name was **-kuyu** ('fish'),¹ for he has heard in the western part of the Kikuyu district the name for the language given as **I-kuyu** or **Gi-kuyu**, as though **I**, **Gi**, **Ki** were varying forms of a detachable prefix. Nevertheless, **-kikuyu** is generally recognized by the speakers of this language as the root-word for their tribe and country (**U-kikuyu**).

The Kikuyu (Gikuyu, Ikuyu) language, apart from other features, is interesting as being the first form of Bantu met with by the traveller who is proceeding eastwards from the coast-lands of the Victoria Nyanza towards the Indian Ocean. It is separated from the Bantu languages of the north-east and east basin of the Victoria Lake by a broad belt of forested plateau and Rift valley, inhabited evidently for a long time by Nilotic negroes and dwarfish hunters speaking Masai and Nandi languages. Eastwards of the Kikuyu highlands the A-kikuyu merge into the A-kamba, to whose language their own is most nearly allied, but otherwise they are almost isolated in the Bantu field, for they are surrounded by a belt of Masai, Gala, and Somali tribes, and separated from the Bantu of Kilimanjaro by long-established clans of Masai (almost superseded in the present day by European settlers). Their language, therefore, shows marked signs of isolation and locally developed peculiarities. Nevertheless, it is thoroughly Bantu, and the loan words from Nilotic speech are very few. There may be a residuum of roots in this language traceable to some pre-existing dwarfish people, known by tradition, and perhaps by surviving types in the Kikuyu people. These Pygmy hunters may have been connected in race with the Congo Pygmies, or they may have been vestiges of an ancient Bushman type. Kikuyu, however, does not betray the slightest approach to clicks in its phonology. Its pronunciation is chiefly remarkable for the prevalence of the dental **t̪**, pronounced like the English *tʰ* in 'think', and taking the place of an earlier *z*, *d*, and sometimes *s*. This more normal *z*, *d*, or *s* in place of **t̪** still characterizes the utterance in South-west Kikuyu. Another feature characterizing Kikuyu phonology is the preference for *r* over *d* and *l*, and there is a tendency to replace *k* by *g* or *ɣ*. There is the usual avoidance of *ʃ* characterizing so much of North-eastern Bantu. This dislike extends to *v* and *f* (virtually eliminated). In Kikuyu word-roots and prefixes *ʃ*, *v*, and *f* are replaced by *h* or *b*, or by a hiatus. *U* in the prefixes is often broadened into **wo**, and *i* into *e*.

As regards its prefixes Kikuyu, like all the other languages of Group C, with the exception of Taita, makes no use of preprefixes. Its 2nd prefix is reduced to **A**,² owing to a dislike of the initial labial, and for the same reason the 8th prefix is **I** and the 14th prefix **wo**, **U**. The 4th prefix often sounds as **Me**. The 5th prefix has a good deal of variation in form. It is **Ri**, **Di**, **I**, and apparently also **Gi**. Occasionally in the south-west of the Kikuyu field it sounds as **Li**. The 7th prefix may be **Ke** or **Ge** as well as **Ki** or **Gi**. The 10th prefix is occasionally represented by **Ci** or more rarely by **Si**. The 17th prefix **Mu** seems to be absent, but one of its concords, the suffix **-ini**, is present. A curious exception in the

¹ **-kuyu** also means 'fish' in Kamba. It may be a name or nickname associated with a forgotten tribal totem.

² This, however, may become **Wa** and **Ma** in connexion with the personal pronoun 'they' of Class 2.

allocation of plural to singular prefixes exists in the case of the word **Mwana**, and perhaps one or two other terms of relationship in which the plural, instead of being supplied by the 2nd prefix, is furnished by the 10th (**Ci-** or **Si-**).

Among the numerals there is the peculiar form **Guanja** for 'seven', which is only shared in any way by the neighbouring language of Kamba, where it is **Anza** or **Onza**. The roots for 'six' are either derived from the East African **-tandatu** or its ancient variant **-sansatu**, see Nos. 3, 9, 26, and 152. **Giri*** for 'thousand' seems a peculiar root. Among the adverbs, **-beni** for 'in', 'inside', recalls similar forms in the North-western Bantu.

The verb in Kikuyu offers some noteworthy features. Besides the vowel **-a**, the verb-root may terminate in **-e**, **-i**, **-o**, and **-u**, as in the North-western Bantu and the Semi-Bantu. The pronominal suffix **-ni** is applied to the 2nd person plural of the imperative as in the bulk of the Bantu languages (it is absent from the Nyanza Group). The negative particles are restricted mainly to a **ti** basis (**di**).

As regards terminal syllables to the verb-roots, the passive mood is represented by **-wō**, **-ō**, instead of the widespread **-wa**; and this offers a parallel to Caga (No. 17) and to the languages of the Western Congo, Gaboon, and Cameroons.

The following word-roots in Kikuyu are of special interest, either as being isolated in affinities or related to North-west Bantu or Semi-Bantu languages:

-amw*,¹ 'animal'; **-kw**, 'termite', 'white ant' (7, 17); **-guiya**, 'termite' (4, 14, 2 a); **-girriri**, 'ant' or 'white ant' (184, 189, 190, and the **-selele** root); **-tanda**, 'adze' (10, 64, 64 a, 65, 68); **-danūa**, **-banwa**, **-tsanwa***, 'axe' (110, 63, 64); **Nwōw***, **Nugu***, 'baboon'; **-buta**, 'back' (87); **-rigw***, 'banana' (14, 12, 15, 17, 18); **-ende**, **-hindi**, 'bone' (12, 14, 15, 78); **Tombw**, 'brains' (41, 42, 43, 44 b, 60, 62, 100-3); **-kereriw** or **-kerriw**, 'brains' (1); **-gōwō***, 'breast' (male) (119); **-ria***, 'breast' (male); **-ondw**, 'breast' (female) (14, 64 a); **-rata***, 'brother' (57, 72); **-jamba**, 'bull' (9 a, 9 c, 16, and the **-kambaku** root); **-degwa**, 'bull' (9, 20, 24 c, g, 25, 26); **-cuze**, 'buttocks' (156; 273); **-tina***, 'buttocks'; **-regw**, 'child' (100, and identical with the peculiar word-root for 'woman'); **Tama**, 'cloth'; **-ñgañgi**, 'crocodile' (12, 14, 15, 17, 210); **-sena***, 'country'; **Mori**, 'cow' (19, 20, 64); **Hiñgōw**, 'day' (240; 1, 2 d, 24); **-tinjire***, 'doctor' (78, 79); **-hui**, **-gwii**, **-kīi***, 'dog' (19, 20, 26, 4 a, 14, 16; 230); **Ngiti**, 'dog' (4 a, 12, 17, 18); **-rōmw***, 'door' (also **Tōme**) (12, 53, 61, 76); **-imbw**, **-hembī**, 'drum' (64, 159-61, 200, 184, 145, 146, 151, 156, 211, 204-5, 6); **-rua**, 'excrement' (205-9); **-eri**, 'face' (263, 250, 228; 40); **Ngōrōwōw**, 'fat'; **Nu**, 'father' (12); **-itigirra***, 'fear'; **-korora***, 'fear'; **-aki***, 'fire' (12); **-kuyu**, **Ki-uñguyw***, 'fish' (12); **-guluma***, 'fish' (14, 15); **-kinya***, 'foot' (12); **-kuā**, 'ghost' (228); **-regw***, 'girl'; **-beñgi**, 'he goat' (12, 15, 16, 94); **-gōma**, 'she goat' (2-2 f, 3, 9, 14, 15, 17, 18, &c.); **-soñua**, 'heel' (142: 269-72); **-tōwigōw**, 'heel' (254, 266); **-banwa**, 'hoe' (see 'adze', 110); **-tunw***, 'house' (12); **Naragu***, 'hunger'; **-kama***, 'iron' (104, 129 a; 243, 267); **-zimw**, 'leg' (12, 73 a, 147; 227); **-gare***, 'leopard' (15, 56 b, 142, 184); **-rōzi**, **-rōbi***, 'lion' (the **-gōzi**, **-kōsi** root); **-baiga**, 'medicine'; **-kōnyw**, 'navel' (12); **-lila**, 'navel' (4); **-jōhi**, 'palm wine' (3 b, 14, 217-9); **-sita***, 'penis' (101, 89; 228, and see 'tail'); **-dutura**, 'pigeon' (179, 176, 181, 182, 220); **-andi***, 'shoulder' (118, 218; 273, 264); **-rumbi**, 'sky' (17, 15, 44, 62, 66); **-tū**, 'sky' (12, 101; 257-8); **-dōgōw***, 'smoke'; **-raru***, 'snake' (38); **Nyamu-yabi***, 'snake' (151 a, 204, 205, 206); **-gōcu***, 'song' (73); **-umba**, 'song' (199, 54, 61, 64); **-suka**, 'song' (206); **-ronjw**, 'spear'; **-rama**, 'spear' (161); **Siyare**, 'stick' (235; 35); **-banju***, 'stick' (137, 2 f, 14, 162); **-higa**, 'stone' (12, 34 a, 49); **-bita**, 'tail' (12, 15, 18); **-tōmōi**, 'tail'; **Hekke**, 'testicle' (Nyanza Group and 41, 106); **-ziguma***, **-bugumu***, 'urine'; **-bara***, 'war' (212, 218, 219, 185-6, 189, 194, 200); **-gi***, **-e** (Rō-e), 'water'; **-regw***, 'woman' (18); **-hiki**, 'woman' (9-9 c); **-gurra**, 'woman' (3, 4, 9 a, 9 c, 37; 234); **-sii**, 'womb' (12, 21, 83, 84, 110; 244); **-uñgu**, 'womb' (41, 42, 54, and roots for 'woman'); **-mera**, 'year' (148 a).

KAMBA (12) is a particularly interesting Bantu language, evidently of considerable antiquity in its

¹ This is of course a variant of the widespread **-ama**. There is a tendency in Kikuyu substantives to change the terminal **-a** into **-ō**.

Some of the Kikuyu substantives have a suffix-like termination **-ine**, which does not appear to be part of the root.

present locality. Its word-roots are often reduced to monosyllables, and are sometimes so abbreviated that they are not easy to recognize in their affinities. Yet amongst its word-roots are some of the most archaic of the Bantu family, and a few which possess affinities with the Semi-Bantu. There does not seem to have been much borrowing from the Hamitic or Nilotic languages now bordering on the Kamba domain. There is undoubtedly much dialectal variation in Kamba, as may be seen by the alternative word-roots and prefix forms given in the vocabulary. But this is at present, from paucity of information, so ill-defined that I have not attempted to specify the separate Kamba dialects.

As regards its phonology, it shares with Kikuyu a liking for the lisping *ɔ*, and even uses the lower dental *ɖ*. *ɔ* may take the place of the more normal *c, s, t, l*, and even *v*, while *ɖ* replaces the *h* or *f* of neighbouring languages. Sometimes the *z* of Old Bantu may be expressed by *ɔ*. *L* is much disliked and *r* is unknown. *L* is either suppressed or represented by a hiatus in the pronunciation—a tendency which, starting from Kamba, is carried eastward to Zanzibar Swahili. *B* is not infrequently used instead of *v*, possibly an archaic feature; yet, except as an equivalent of *v* before *u*, *b* is disliked as an initial, and disappears entirely from the prefixes and the 3rd person plural pronoun. On the other hand, the *ɸ*, which is almost banished (except in conjunction with *n* (*m*)) as an initial in North-eastern Bantu, reasserts itself in Kamba and appears in the commonest form of the 16th prefix, **Pa-**, though this also has dialectal variations of **Va-**, **Wa-**. *L*, as in Kikuyu, is usually replaced by *t* (**-tumω**, a 'spear', instead of **-fumω**). As regards its prefixes, the 2nd is reduced to **A-** and the 8th prefix normally to **I-** (the concord to which is often **ic-**); but the 8th prefix may also take the forms of **Ci-**, **Ti-**, and **Si-**. The 11th prefix and the 14th are reduced to **U-**, the 16th prefix, as already noted, is **Pa-**, **Va-** or **Wa-**, and the 17th is represented only by the suffix **-ini**.

The following are the noteworthy word-roots in Kamba:

-añgi, 'axe' (2, 4); **Edina**, 'back' (9 b, 46, 57), 'behind'; **-iyu***, 'banana'; **-ñge**, **-aiū**, **-ñgetwa**, 'beard'; **-vindi**, 'bone' (11, 14, 15, 78); **-tuniω**, 'bow'; **-kati**, 'male breast' (267, 261, and the **-adi** root); **Nindu***, 'brother' (267); **-dzaω**, 'bull' (14, 16); **-tiimba**, 'buttocks' (14); **-ōma**, 'cow'¹; **-iti**, 'doctor' (105); **Swhi**, 'dog' (14; 237); **Ngiti**, 'dog' (11, 17, 18); **-ōmω**, 'door' (14 and the **-kōmω** root); **-ōbia**, 'door' (19, 23); **-bembī**, 'drum' (266; 55, 145, 146, 151, 156, 204-5, 211); **-vaa***, 'egg' (56 b); **Nu, Nau**, 'father' (26); **-kea***, 'fear'; **-adji** (11), **-kω** (21, 26, 151-4, 187), **-uki**, 'fire' (228); **-kuyu**, 'fish' (see 11); **-beka**, 'forest' (widespread **-saka** root); **-ebu**, 'forest' (249, 258); **-baika**, 'she goat' (19, 21, 51, 70); **Ume***, **Tsutsa***, 'grandparent' (259; 11); **-diku***, 'hair' (125, 207; 266); **-dei**, **-bāiyu**, 'heart' (134, 9 c; 234); **-jimbe**, 'heel' (14, 16); **-tunω**, 'house' (241; 26, 34 a); **Kiω***, 'iron'; **-vea**, 'ivory' (11, 19, 19 a, 17, 39, 120, 186, 187, 191); **-tumω**, 'leg' (11, 73 a, 147; 227); **-nyembω**, 'lion' (14, 16, 79); **-tuma***, 'milk'; **-beñga**, 'monkey' (25, 34); **-bew**, **-deu**, 'monkey' (204, 75, 100; 232; 14, 21 e); **-buī***, 'moon' (223; 271); **-gwa***, 'nail' (228, 229, 250; 120); **-waa**, 'nail' (120, 171 f); **-gunyu***, 'nail'; **Sietua, Dzitwa**, 'name' (63, 64, 7, 11); **-konyω**, 'navel' (11); **Tumanna***, 'night'; **-ulwi***, 'paddle'; **-būi**, **-vōi**, **-wūi**, 'pigeon' (5 a, 6, 6 a, 7 a, 89, 90, 94, 109, 139, 74); **-buma***, 'skin'; **dawa**, 'skin' (64 a, 68, 65 a, 125, 129, 131, 139, 159 a; 254; 226 b, 232; 105); **-lula***, 'skin'; **-tu**, 'sky' (Kikuyu and Semi-Bantu); **-uki**, 'smoke' (the **-uki**, **-uši** root); **Jasu***, 'smoke' (214; 229 e, 253); **-abi***, 'song' (84, 86; 228); **-bia**, **-via**, 'stone' (166); **-site**, **-ibi**, 'tail' (11, 15, 18); **-ee***, 'testicle'; **-ñgii**, **-ñgēēu***, 'thief' (263); **-veni***, 'thief' (104); **-ōnga**, 'thigh' (132); **-nyūa***, 'tongue'; **-gumba**, 'tongue' (2); **-umau***, 'urine'; **Ka-ω***, 'war' (see No. 27); **-beti**, 'wife' (23, 31, 38, 34, 67, 75-6); **-nω**, 'womb' (41, 42); **-bi**, 'womb' (11, 21, 83); **-vuni*** 'womb'.

POKOWO is, as already mentioned, a language which has given rise to much speculation as regards its affinities. In many of its word-roots and in some of its syntactical forms it has so striking a resemblance to Swahili that certain authorities consider it to be either a primitive form of that language, or at any rate a member of the Zaṅgian Group. It is certainly not a more primitive form of Swahili, as it shows

¹ This with related forms **-gōma** in neighbouring East African languages—a term which also sometimes means 'female goat' as well as 'female ox'—is interesting as evidencing apparently the existence far north in the Bantu field of the root for 'cattle' or 'cow', which reappears in the Zulu-Kafir **-kōmω**, a root which would seem to be quite distinct from **-gombe**, **-ombe**.

evidence of much greater wearing down in word-roots than is to be found in the Zanzibar and Southern Swahili dialects. It would rather appear to be, as already indicated, a relative of Nyika, with marked affinities also to Taveita and (in word-roots) to Kamba. It has, nevertheless, received a decided impress and infusion of Old Swahili from the Zañgian settlements near the mouth of the Tana river. The phonology of Pòkòwòw (or Pfòkòwòw, as the root-*d* is heard in some districts of the Tana river) bears resemblance to Kamba, more especially in the dislike to the consonant *l*. This is either suppressed or replaced by *y*, or even *c* and *j*. Rarely its place is taken by *r*. The *l* of Old Bantu becomes *k* or *ts* and *ʒs*. *P* has a tendency to pass into *pf* or *f*. *F*, on the other hand, is often retained, is occasionally dropped, or passes into *dz* or *ts*. The peculiar phonology of Pòkòwòw affects the forms of the prefixes. The 5th is frequently absent, and when present is represented by **Dzi-** or **Dz-**, with a concord **di**. But the **Vi-** of the 8th prefix is retained. [In mid-nineteenth century the 11th prefix was **Ro-** or **Ru-**]. The 12th prefix is **U-** instead of **Tu-**, but it is employed and not entirely forgotten as in Swahili. The 16th prefix is **Fa-** or **Pfa-**, and the 17th (**Mu-**) is present. As regards pronouns, Pòkòwòw has the root **Mi** for the 1st person singular, as occurs in so many of the tongues of the east coast. The nominative particle of the 2nd person singular is sometimes **Ku-**, and that of the 3rd person singular **Ka-**. In the demonstratives Pòkòwòw resembles Swahili and some of the languages farther south on the East Coast, in that it has introduced into its demonstratives the prefixes or particles **Hu-**, **Ha-**, **Hi-**. The negative particles are very catholic, as they include the forms **Si-**, **Ka-**, and **Ta-**.

The following are noteworthy word-roots in the Pòkòwòw vocabulary :

Zunde, 'ant' (64 a, 65, 65 a, 67, 68, 72, 104, 104 c); **Dzahe**, 'arrow' (the **-sale**, **-tari** root); **-berya**, 'axe' (64 a, 66; 263); **-siñgòw***, 'back'; **-ci**, 'body' (237, 237 b); **Bagwi**, 'breast' (male) (23, 25, 27, 51); **-zefe**, 'canoe' (6, 34, 75); **-sinzi**, 'charcoal' (79 and **-simbi** root, 44 b, 61 a, 64 a); **Hacu***, 'chief'; **-dòwe**, 'finger' (3 b, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 29); **Cwacòw***, 'feet' (in plural); **-kòma**, 'ghost' (16); **-òwò**, 'heart' (**-oyòw** root); **-lulu***, 'island'; **-kañga**, 'island' (235 and **-sañga**, **-cañga** root); **-dòze**, 'leopard' (75, 82); **-umbe**, 'man, vir' (9 c, 56-56 b, 57-9, 78, 114, 141, 198; 230); **Guba**, 'mountain' (150, 160, 164, 226; 228 a); **-sari***, 'name'; **-òti**, 'neck' (the **-gòti**, **-kòsi** root); **-anzi***, 'nostrils'; **Ciwa**, 'penis' (12, 17, 89, 100, 119, 121, 223, 178; 228); **-kwe***, 'pigeon'; **-dezi***, 'rat'; **-duru**, 'rat' (28, 43, 58 a, 195, 200, 205-6, 217-9; 250); **-dzana***, 'river' (211); **-tswa***, 'shame' (74 b, 80); **Rē**, 'sheep'; **Wante***, 'shield'; **-huma**, 'slave' (198-9, 204-6); **Yòha**, 'star' (108, 159, and the **-yòtòw**, **-zòtòw** roots); **-yòha**, 'star'; **-añga**, 'well' (2 g, 16, 195, 100 b); **-vutòw**, 'wind' (230; 16, 65, 217, 87).

TAITA¹ (No. 14) seems to consist in the main of two well-marked dialects, **Dabida** and **Sagala**, **-siyau**, spoken on adjoining hills of the Taita country, which lies some distance to the east of Kilimanjaròw. As the exact differences between these two dialects are uncertain, and as there is a third (**Ki-siyau**) or even a fourth dialect, I have put the word-roots all together without distinction of enumeration in the column numbered 14; the first word, where there is more than one, being the most commonly used, the second the form more restricted to **Ki-dabida**, and the remaining words belonging to **Ki-sagala** and its off-shoot, **Ki-siyau**. **Ki-siyau** is the speech of a small Taita colony settled near Magila in the north-east of **Sambala**.

Taita, it will be seen, in examining the vocabularies and the analyses, is a singularly interesting Bantu speech by reason of its far-reaching affinities and somewhat isolated position in Group C. It is not improbable that on the much closer examination it deserves it may be necessary to divide the tongue not into dialects, but into two or more distinct language forms. Undoubtedly the Taita hills have been for centuries a refuge of broken peoples, whose collocation may be only accidental and not due to original affinity in speech. These dialects, on the whole, are more related to Kikuyu, Kamba, and Taveita than to Pòkòwòw and Nika. The phonology, however, avoids the peculiarities of the two former. There is the North-east Bantu dislike to *ʃ*, and *l* frequently becomes *d* or *r*.² In its prefixes Taita shows traces of

¹ The origin and meaning of this district name is obscure. It dates from the time of Krapf and the writings of the early C.M.S. pioneers in East Africa, but seems not to be recognized locally.

² In the phonology of the **Ki-siyau** dialect *v* usually replaces Taita *w* and *b*, *γ* stands for *g*, *z* for *s*, *d* for *ʃ*, and *r* for an older *z*.

a **La-** prefix, a feature in which it resembles Nika. This **La-** prefix is associated here and elsewhere with 'time', distance', or 'place'. Taita also has, seemingly, a little-used honorific prefix, **Si-**, and in such an adverb as **Si-kati**, 'between', a puzzling locative prefix, **Si-**, the affinities of which escape me. There is a trace of preprefixes in No. 5 (**Iri, Izi-**). In the 10th prefix, especially where it acts as plural to the 11th, the vowel is sometimes **-u** instead of **-i**, a similar change of vowel occurring in some of the tongues of East Africa farther to the south. No doubt it owes something to the infection of the **u** in the 11th singular prefix. Thus the 10th prefix in Taita may be either **Nyu-** or **Cu-** when standing as plural to **Lu-**. Its pronominal particle can be both **ci** and **ri**. As regards pronouns, Taita has the **Mi** form of the 1st person singular as contrasted with the **Nye** of Nos. 11 and 12, and of so many of the North-eastern Bantu tongues, and in this respect resembles **Pokomw**, Taveita, and Nika, but the possessive particle for the 1st person singular is very peculiar—**pw** or **-pwa**, which may be connected with the **-kwa** of languages of 11 and 12. The nominative pronominal prefix of the 2nd person singular in Taita, as sometimes in **Pokomw**, is **Ku-** as well as **U-**. As an alternative root for 'all', it has the peculiar form **-putu**. Amongst the negative particles used with the verb is **Nde-**, a negative prefix which recurs on the Congo, in the Gaboon, in the Upper Sañga basin, and on the Cross River. There are related forms in Caga (No. 17) and a few East African tongues.

The following are the noteworthy noun-roots in the three **Taita** dialects—rather a large number, but the language is decidedly peculiar and far related :

-tyleha*, 'white ant, termite' (130, 131); **-zagu**, 'termite' (15, 17 c, e, 18; perhaps also 148); **Sōya**, 'termite' (17); **-rawa***, 'arrow'; **-riw***, 'arrow' (26, 64); **Sabaω***, 'baboon'; **-fuwe**, 'baboon' (13, 17); **-dembω** (159), **-rugω**, 'banana' (11, 15, 17, 18); **Zombi***, 'beard'; **-gafwa***, 'beard'; **Paga***, **Baga***, 'blood'; **Bi-gati**, 'blood' (the **-gazi** root); **-mbi**, 'body' (17, 100, 84, 92-4, 110, 131, 139); **-windi**, 'bone' (11, 12, 15, 78); **-dana**, 'bow' (16; 243); **Sukw***, 'brains' (226; 240, 259); **Lagaya***, 'breast, male' (4, 16); **-ωdω***, 'breast, female' (11, 64 a); **-jaw**, 'bull' (12, 16, 17, 18); **Šimba**, **-cimba**, 'buttocks' (12); **Tagω**, 'cow' (251, 253, 254, 231; 78); **Lavu***, 'day' (57; 273, 274); **-kinya**, 'devil' (271); **Cucu***, **Kwoci**, **Kwōsi***, 'dog'; **Gonda***, 'drum' (100, 166; 248); **-sikilω**, 'ear' (13, 15, 16, 18, 21-21 g, 22, 24 c-g, 27, 30; 253); **Saru**, 'excrement' (17, 18); **-deyω***, **-dee***, 'father'; **-ture***, 'fear' (15); **-guluma**, 'fish' (11, 15); **-lemba**, 'forest' (273, 273 b, 256; 226, 160-6, 55, 108); **-tima***, **-igau***, **Fwandi***, 'he goat'; **Ōrω**, **Hōrω**, 'he goat' (237, 230, 255; 120, 17, 18, 19); **-beni**, 'she goat' (1, 2 c, 3, 13, 16, 20 a, 23-4 f, 25-9, 31, 35-8, 55, 80-1, 148; 227, 269-72); **Ake**, 'grandparent' (the **-kaka** root, extending into Semi-Bantu); **-ridia**, 'hair' (57, 73, 74); **-oñgω**, 'head' (18, 149, 63, 191, 193); **-jimbe**, 'heel' (227; 12-6); **-fumvu**, **-fumbu**, 'hill' (17, 51, 146, 32, 35 a, 54); **-goluma**, 'hippopotamus' (91); **-garw***, 'house' (17 and the **-kara** root); **-taba***, 'hunger' (9 a, 34 a); **-dωguma***, 'man, vir' (9 c, 146, 150; 263, 187, 190); **-sawau**, 'monkey' (21 b-e, 204, 12, 56 a, 51, 75, &c.); **-akule**, 'finger-nail' (21 g, 58, 59 a, 49; 239 b, 273); **-suñga**, 'penis' (8, 130-3, 156, 160, 155, 89, &c.); **-riñgω**, 'pigeon' (140, 228); **-oda**, **-eda**, 'river' (39, 91, 105); **Bauru***, 'sheep'; **Hariñga***, 'sleep'; **-gω**, **-gōgω**, 'stone' (16; 230, 235); **-kōba**, **-komba**, 'tail' (161, 94, 73, 75 a-76); **-rensi**, 'tail' (124, 64, 17); **-bōri**, 'tear' (109 b, 128, 139); **-twyi***, 'thief'; **-sōki***, 'thief'; **-tiña***, 'thief'; **Bara**, 'thigh' (73); **-hega**, 'twin' (note resemblance to **-keya**, 166, **-fak**, 228, 229, and **-paga** in No. 32); **-uga**, 'vein' (19); **-ina**, 'well' (51, 83); **-bande**, 'firewood' (18); **-mu***, 'year' (? related to North-west Bantu **-vū**, **-bū**, **-mvu**).

The language of **TAVEITA** is restricted to an extremely small area—two or three villages in the forest along the banks of the little River Lumi, which flows into Lake Jipe. It has evidently been isolated there for some time by surrounding and constantly raiding bands of Nilotic Masai. At the same time it is remarkable how it differs from the near-by Kilimanjarω and Pare-Gwenω dialects and from the not far off Taita. Perhaps on the whole its relations are nearest with Taita. It shows also some connexion with Kikuyu, and the Usagara-Ugōgō languages far to the south, though these last are separated by a considerable belt of territory either uninhabited or peopled by non-Bantu tribes. Its prefixes are fairly normal, though the 16th still maintains **Hā-** instead of **Pa-**; it has a few peculiar noun-roots of its own, which are worth noting :

-sau, 'termite' (17 c, 17 e, 18, 14); -*regen*, -*ragiñ**, 'baboon'; -*diw*, 'banana' (see -*rigw*, 11); *Kwōw**, 'beard' (18); -*deu*, 'belly' (17); -*indi*, -*windi*, 'bone' (11, 12, 14, 78); -*bafu*, 'male breast' (17-18 and perhaps the -*bagwi*, -*baga* root); *Suke*, 'cloth' (19, 20, 24, 60); -*tere**, 'country'; -*gurw* (14, 18, 16, 19, 26, 29), -*baru*, 'dog' (17, 51, 29); -*beñge**, 'door'; *Fwle*, 'fear' (14; 273); -*guluma*, 'fish' (11, 14); -*zeñge*, 'he goat' (11, 12, 16, 94); -*gelele*, 'guinea-fowl' (16, 17, 18, 100, 136, 155, 62); -*dūwi**, 'hill', 'mountain'; -*gerere*, 'hippopotamus' (17, 18, 52, 53, 61, 1, 2 c, 147); *Baw*, 'hyena' (18, 19, 19 a, 23, 23 a); *Menya*, 'iron' (17, 18, 94; 238, 273, and root for 'to know'); -*dara**, 'island' (18, 80); -*keri*, 'leopard' (11, 56 b); -*kombwe*, 'finger-nail' (14, 16, 19, 20, 21 f, 23, 24, 25, 33 a, 34); -*furw*, 'river' (26, 38, 54, 58, 59, 65 a, 67, 71, 75-6, 126); -*zōrw*, 'slave' (18, 41, 140 b); -*siñga*, 'slave' (17, 26); -*wōhe**, 'sleep' (56, 63, 64-8, 72); -*tize*, 'tail'; -*ga*, -*ya*, 'thigh' (34, 54); -*sa*, 'thorn' (17); -*oñgw*, 'town' (17; 230; 211, 212, 214); -*guñgu*, 'wind' (253; 9 c, 78, 142, 209).

Among the numerals, the root *hinde*, *hindi* for 'thousand' should be noted.

The *NIKA* Sub-group, which contains some three or four local dialects—*Nika*, *Giryama*, *Duruma*, and *Digw*, was probably the original tongue of the Mombasa coast between the mouth of the Sabaki and the town of Tañga; but it was driven back a few miles inland by the Swahili settlements. It is quite distinct from Swahili (barring a few borrowed words), and perhaps belongs most naturally to Group C, where I have placed it, but it has affinities with *Caga* (No. 17) of Group D which cannot be overlooked. In its phonology there is a tendency for *t* to pass into *h* or else to be strongly aspirated (*th*), as in the Swahili dialects. In its prefixes the unusual plural of *Mi*- to the 5th prefix (*Ri*-, *Dzi*-) when the latter is used as an augmentative, should be noted; together with the tendency of the 8th prefix to become *Zi*-, and the existence of the 8 a variant, *Fi*- or *Vi*-. The 12th prefix is either absent or persists in the form of *U*-, and is thus plural to *Ka*-, but it may be altogether absent and the *U*- plural to *Ka*- may be identical with the 14th prefix, similarly employed as in Lu-ganda. There are traces of a *La*- prefix, especially in connexion with the locative 'where?' and the noun-root 'wind'. There are a number of peculiarities in the noun-roots not shared by surrounding languages. In the demonstratives the prefix *Hi*- is introduced. This, however, is invariable in form and does not harmonize with the vowel of the concord, as is the case with neighbouring languages, where it becomes *Hu*-, *Ha*-, *Hi*-.

The following are the noteworthy word-roots in the *Nika* dialects:

Mundu, 'axe' (21; 263 and the -*undw*, -*ondw* root); -*zu**, 'baboon'; -*tsoñgw**, 'bird' (2 g, 110; 230-230 g); -*latsw*, 'blood' (3, 5 a, 6, 6 a); -*swza** 'bone'; *Tana*, 'bow' (14; 243; 64); -*deme*, 'bowels' (27, 35, 37, 162; 239, 239 b, 240, 241, 255, 259, 260: see also 'womb'); *Laga*, 'breast, male' (4, 14); *Hombw*, 'breast, female' (19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 33 a, 69, 70, 98; 235, 248); -*dzagamba*, 'bull' (9 a, 9 c, 11); *Dalu*, 'canoe' (19, 19 a, 59, 70); *Gōma*, 'cow'; -*biñgu*, 'devil' (199); -*lubu**, 'dog'; *Kura*, 'dog' (14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 26); *Dia**, 'dog'; -*gulunya*, 'fat' (11, 20); *Bi**, 'father'; *Kumba*, 'fish' (14, 1, 9 c, 23 to 61 c); -*kōma*, 'ghost' (13; 228); -*deñge*, 'he goat' (11, 12, 15, 94); -*jimbe*, 'heel' (12, 14; 227); -*swa*, 'lake' (14 and the -*siwa* root); -*hasw**, 'medicine'; *Tshalu*, 'monkey' (161, 184; 237, 248, 264); -*bōgw*, 'penis' (64; also in Zulu); -*ambw**, 'pig'; -*nyau**, 'rat'; *I-la**, 'shame'; *Dzudzuri*, 'shoulder'; -*ira*, 'song'; -*agw**, -*ga*, 'thigh'; *Kita*, 'thorn' (92); *Kwōw**, 'tongue' (226); *La-vutw*, 'wind' (13, 65; 230); -*nyefu**, 'wind'; -*zi* (4, 9, 40, 75), -*leñgu*, 'well' (2 g, 195, 13); -*gōma*, 'woman' (39; 261); -*alw*, 'womb' (64 a, 75; 240 c).

GROUP D: THE KILIMANJARO LANGUAGES

(Nos. 17 and 18)

The *KILIMANJARO* or *CAGA*¹ dialects are sufficiently peculiar to be placed in a group by themselves, together with the speech of the *Gwenw* and *Pare* hills (18, 18 a), but they show, nevertheless, un-

¹ According to the German missionary J. Raum (whose *Versuch einer Grammatik der Dschaggasprache* was accidentally omitted from the Bibliography given in Volume I of this work), the name 'Caga' is not known locally among the Kilimanjarō peoples, but was a nickname anciently applied by the Swahili traders.

doubted affinities of a special kind with Kikuyu, Kamba, Taveita, Taita, and the Nika dialects of the coast.

The **CAGA** language (17) consists of the four or five dialects spoken along the southern flanks of the great Kilimanjaro volcano—stretching from Rombow on the south-east to Macame on the north-west; also of the related dialect of the adjoining volcano of Meru. **Pare-Gwenow** and **Casu** represent the two or more dialects of the Pare-Gwenow mountains, which, with the short interval of the Aruša and Gonja plains, connect the Kilimanjaro highlands with the Usambara plateau. The resemblance between the Caga dialects and those of Pare-Gwenow is not very close, not sufficient for the people to be mutually intelligible; it is, however, sufficient to justify our classing them together in one group.

The differences between the dialects of Caga are fairly discernible, especially between 17 d (Meru) and the speech of Kilimanjaro (17, 17 a-c); but the differences nevertheless are dialectal, and the general result of analysis is to show that they are only variants of one language species. In comparing a good many vocabularies privately collected for me by missionaries and officials in that neighbourhood, I have come to the conclusion that there are at most only four distinct dialects of Caga and not some six or more, as certain German authorities have maintained. There has been much more coming and going between the different Caga tribes since the German occupation of the country, and this may have tended to an averaging of the language.

In its phonology Caga exhibits a confusion of *d* and *r*, and even contains in some dialects a mingling of the two consonants which is pronounced *dr*, especially after *n*. *L* is liable to be confused with *n* or to be dropped as an initial before *o* or *u*. There is a dislike to *þ*. *K* is sometimes dropped before *u* or *o*, *g* becomes *h* or is dropped, *t* sometimes slides into *r* or changes into *d* or *h*. Considerable use of tones seems to be made in Caga for discriminating between word-roots which, though composed of identical consonants and vowels, have different or totally dissimilar meanings. Thus, according to Raum (p. 38 of his Caga grammar already mentioned in a footnote), the difference between **m̄di**, 'tree', and **m̄di**, 'medicine', is shown by pronouncing the vocalized *m* with a high or a low tone. There is further a third—a middle or level—tone.

The phonetic peculiarities of Caga are further shown in the prefixes. The 4th prefix in some dialects is **N-**. The 5th prefix in 17 a is usually heard as **Nyi-** or **Ni-**. The 7th prefix is sometimes heard as **Nki-**, it may also become **Si-**. The 8th prefix in one or two dialects is palatalized as **Si-**, in others retains the forms of **Fi-** or **Vi-**. The 10th prefix is usually identical with the 9th, but sometimes takes a *u* or *o* as its vowel (especially when acting as plural to No. 11) and appears as **Su-** or **Njo-**. The 5th prefix (**I-** or **Iri-**) is used for the infinitive of the verb instead of the far more customary **Ku-**. In this respect Caga resembles Konjow (No. 1) and a few of the North-west Bantu and Semi-Bantu tongues. This resemblance and relationship is further borne out by the retention of a number of archaic word-roots and by the form **gama** for 'hundred' (though the East African **gana** persists in some dialects as **hana**, &c.). In the pronouns the form **Si-** is occasionally used for the 1st person singular, both nominative and accusative; and as an honorary prefix completes the full form of the 2nd person singular. The nominative verbal prefix of the 2nd person singular is frequently **Ku-**, **Ki-**, or **Ko-**, and the terminal or possessive form of the same pronoun is **-fo**, **-fu**. The pronoun of the 3rd person singular in the full form has occasionally an honorific prefix of **Yi-**. There is much variation in the forms for 'we' as a nominative prefix, which may be in different dialects **Lo-**, **Lu-**, **Ta-**, **Ti-**, **Do-**, **Du-**. There is also a puzzling concord of **-to** for Classes 1, 3, and 10 in a demonstrative pronoun equivalent to 'that', which consists of the concord relativized and preceded by an initial **I-**. This initial **I-** may be akin to the **Hi-** signaled in Nika. There is an unusual concord **fu**, **fo** in use for the 3rd prefix.

The earliest German explorers of this neighbourhood eighty and seventy years ago wrote it down as 'Chaga' and 'Dschagga'; the British, who followed in their footsteps, heard it as 'Chaga'. I, arriving on the southern flanks of Kilimanjaro in 1884, was introduced to one tribe living round the scattered town of 'Mwasi' as the 'Wa-caga'. This tribe, under a celebrated chief, Mandara, certainly then called themselves the Wa-caga. J. Raum, in the book referred to, states that besides the evident Masai intermixture of the last two or three hundred years, and the legendary Pygmy forerunners of the Bantu invaders, some of the chiefs or ruling families of the Wa-caga are descended from a Swahili-Arab stock (the Wa-kilindini), who wandered inland from Mombasa two hundred years ago.

The Caga dialects are specially remarkable for possessing a great number of peculiar word-roots, without any obvious Bantu relationship, and a still greater number possessing undoubted affinities with the South-west and North-west Bantu languages, and even with the Semi-Bantu tongues. I have selected the following as being specially noteworthy in these respects :

-ndw*,¹ 'animal', 'wild beast'; **Faafu**, 'ant' (227); **-bwine***, 'ant'; **-sōra***, **-sawa***, 'termite' (14, 15); **-bale**, **-ale** (32, 104, 208), 'arrow'; **-fie***, 'baboon'; **-ruyu**, 'banana' (11, 14); **-šare**, **Nida***, 'banana'; **-gererw***, 'beard'; **-deu***, 'belly' (15); **Ki-te***, 'bird' (273); **-samu*** (273); **-sau**, 'blood' (132); **-bihu***, 'body'; **-imbi**, 'body' (14, 28, 34, 75-6, 84, 94, 100, 110, 131, 139); **-rara***, 'bow'; **-roñgwo**, **-loñgwo**, 'brain', 'skull' (the **-oñgwo** root, Nos. 1 to 229); **-beeta***, **-bota***, 'female breast' (151); **-šau**, 'bull' (12, 14, 16); **-rumo**, 'buttocks' (7, 134, 144); **-sia**, 'buttocks' (117; 244; 193); **-irarw***, **-ruaruw***, 'buttocks'; **-tulu**, 'buttocks' (49, 75; 273); **-harati***, 'canoe'; **-butu**, 'child' (83, 204); **-koku***, 'child'; **-wana**, 'child' (recalling the North-west Bantu root); **Swōri***, **Swaari***, **Setw***, 'cloth'; **-ruka***, 'country' (3; 273 and **-ika** root); **Mbe**, **-umbe**, **-gumbe**, 'cow' (variants of the **-gombe** root); **-nyañu**, 'crocodile' (11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 210); **-saniñ**, (16 and the **-sana** root), **-kōnu**, 'day' (27, 37, 35, 120); **-firi***,² **-yimw***, **-umw***, 'day'; **-ketw**, 'devil' (161, 176, 182); **-kite** (11, 12, 18), **-bara**, 'dog' (15, 29, 51); **-tiñgwo**, 'drum' (51, 100-3, 189; 263, 266); **-hi***, 'ear'; **-bōrw**, 'egg'; **-barwe***, 'egg'; **-gōjw***, 'egg' (29, 56; 247); **-rif***, **-dif***, **-tuf***, 'excrement' (the **-bi** root); **-rarw**, **-ala** (14, 18, 148), **-raši**, 'excrement'; **-nda***, **Sunya***, 'fat'; **-de**, **-dew**, **-deye**, 'father' (14, 18); **-ilai***, 'fear'; **Nni**, **-nū**, 'finger'; **-daina**, 'goat' (146); **Ōlw**, **Ōrw**, **Hōrw**, 'he goat' (14, 18, 120; 237, 255); **-gōlw**, 'she goat' (19, 61 a; 261); **Sawana***, 'she goat' (43 a, and perhaps related to the **-taba** root of North-west Bantu); **-weresi***, 'grass'; **-raña***, **-furu** (102, 161 a, 219), **-gelele** (15, 18, 16, 100, 136, 155), 'guinea-fowl'; **-lebōlw**, **-bōlebōlw**, 'gun' (15, 41, 73, 74, 74 b); **-rwe**, **-hwe**, **-dwe**, 'head'; **-tufw**, 'heel' (193; 238); **-bici**, 'hill' (186, 194; 271); **-ebe**, 'hoe' (the **-embe** root); **-bii** (155 c, 157), **-teñgwo** (192, 71 c), **-toñgwo** (188, 194), **-calw** (148; 229 b, 14, 110; 234), 'house'; **Sōtw***, 'hunger' (226 a); **-mi***, 'husband'; **-fulu**, **-rabulu**, 'hyena' (11, 81, 80, 54, 100, 131, 178, 44 b, 129); **-riñga**, 'iron' (2, 9, 11, 100); **-riki***, 'knee'; **Keri**, 'knee'; **-tendu**, **-dende**, 'leg' (18, 19, 39 a, 67, 78, 148, 75, 146, 156, 205, 206, &c.); **-basi***, 'leopard'; **-rumu**, **-gulamu** (2 e, 2 g, 3 b, 19, 23, 24-9, 38, 99, 114, 122), 'leopard'; **-ramu**, 'lips' (104); **Nsi**, 'meat' (151); **-sorw**, 'man, vir' (3; 243); **-lela***, **-ruwa***, 'milk'; **-gōwonda** (7, 100 b; 271-2), 'monkey'; **-nañgōywo**, 'monkey' (18, 178, 211; 246); **Subalw*** (13, 150, 146), 'mountain'; **-fumbu**, 'mountain' (14, 32, 34 a, 35, 54, 55); **-sari**, 'mountain' (118, 151 a, 159 a); **-rw**, 'mountain' (227, 259); **-fumbucu***, 'navel'; **-ube**, 'ox' (73, 91-4); **-rumbi**, 'penis' (155 a); **-beta**, 'pigeon' (15, 18); **-gyaha**, 'rat' (255); **-foñgwo**, 'river' (9, 86); **-edenyi**, 'river'; **Mura***, 'river'; **-bala**, 'salt' (248; 56 b); **-reeze***, 'shame'; **-anria***, 'sheep'; **-horima***, 'sheep'; **-fuama***, 'sister'; **-doñgwo***, 'skin' (14; 266; 67, 69, 71, 13, 58-61 c); **-buci**, **-fuši**, 'sky' (148, 155, 161, 163; 230, 246, 270); **-ruhu***, **-ruweu***, 'sky'; **-paka***, 'son' (270, 273-4); **-mana**, 'son' (75); **-sañgi***, 'son' (229; 104, 105; 269); **-bere***, 'spear' (110 a, 126, 48-50); **-ihw***, 'stone'; **-neñgeri***, 'sun'; **-ūi**, 'sun' (80, 156, 159, 164, 178-80, 182, 189, 223); **-desi**, **-hasi**, **-gasi***, 'tail' (18, 166); **-kuli**, 'tail' (140, 155 a, 164); **-cenyere***, **-šerere***, 'tear' (74, 73); **-dekere***, 'testicle' (155, 273); **-lañgwo***, 'thief' (18, 122); **-šwuwu**, 'thigh' (73, 103; 270); **-hamw**, **-faamw**, 'urine' (64 a, 75, 126, 44 b); **-hā***, **-rā***, 'water'; **-riñga**, 'water' (23 a, 24 c, g, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 51 a, 93); **-dimu** (73, 132), **-kuma** (7 a, 18), **-ratw***, **-tanu***, 'wind'; **-bōra**, 'woman' (200; 264); **-fele**, 'woman' (19-20, 24, 71, 104; 230, 274); **-humba**, 'woman' (32, 35, 54, 55, 61, 61 a; 263); **-nene***, 'womb'; **-rōlw**, **-rudw**, 'womb' (162).

Amongst numerals should be noted the West African form **-gama** for 'hundred'.

There is a feature in the Caga dialects not, I think, met with in other Bantu languages, that of intensifying the meaning of a verb-root, an adjective, or an adverb, by inserting a nasal **ñ** before the last syllable of the root. Thus, 'I was seeking'—**Ñga-siha**—is turned into 'I was seeking earnestly' by pronouncing the phrase **Ñga-siñha**; **a-luw**, 'he is sick', becomes **a-luñw**; **šindw šifoi**, 'many things—things many',

¹ This may be related to a form **-tw**, **-dw**, which would seem to stand for 'goat' or 'domestic animal', and which is generally met with in compound words such as **-dw-gōta**, **-dw-gōsa**, 'female goat'.

² Query: related to a root **-firie**, in East Congoland meaning 'Heavens'?

is stressed as **ṣindw sifoñi**, 'ever so many things'. The higher the voice rises on the vowel that precedes the *ñ*, the more exaggerated the stress. This again shows the value that attaches in Caga to the discriminating tones of the voice.

There are other peculiarities in this noteworthy group of the East African Bantu which will be mentioned in direct connexion with the discussion of the various parts of speech and their values in Bantu comparisons.

The **PARE-GWENŪ** group of dialects is chiefly known in regard to the central one of the three: **C-asu** (18 a). There are slight traces of preprefixes in Old **Ki-mpale**.¹ The prefixes in general are rather less peculiar than those in Caga, but the 3rd Class still has the unusual concord **fu**. In its pronouns Pare-GwenŪ has the **Ku**-nominative for the 2nd person singular and the **-fow** terminal. The full form of the 2nd person singular is the peculiar **Ibwe**, and still more divergent is **Isow** for 'he'. In the infinitive of the verb the prefix is the same as that of Caga, No. 5 (**I**).

GwenŪ (18), the language of UgwenŪ and the Pare hills, shares a good many of the peculiar roots of the KilimanjarŪ dialects, to which it is allied a little more than are **Ki-mpale** and **C-asu**. Amongst its noteworthy words may be enumerated:

Joww, **-ṣuve** (2, 2 d, 4, 6, 7 a, 9 c, 75 b, 14, 17), and **-fowoñgŵ*** for 'baboon'; **Koww***, 'beard'; **-denyi**, 'belly' (114); **-fura**, 'brains' (219; 238, 274); **-kombe***, 'breast, ♀'; **-bweca**, 'buttocks'; **Swi**, 'devil' (5 b, 7, 62, 64 a; 271); **Fari***, 'excrement' (14); **-wla***, 'finger'; **-hi**, 'hand' (the **-pi** root; 3, 22, 42, 44 b; 261, &c.); **-wñgŵ**, 'head' (14, 149, 69, 70, 191, &c.); **-huru**, 'house' (123 and **-bulu** root); **-buoñge***, 'husband'; **-batw**, 'hyena' (15, 19, 20, 23 a); **-dara**, 'island' (15); **-lula**, 'leopard' (153); **Fumbu**, 'mountain' (14, 17); **-cuni**, **-cunu**, 'penis' (1, 123, 126, 218); **-fonyi***, 'river'; **Rawa***, 'shame'; **-jwñi***, 'skin'; **-riw***, 'sleep'; **-bwañge**, 'son', 'boy' (20, 193; 255); **-gōra***, 'song'; **-bari***, 'sun' (261; 75); **-ñgwaṣi** (17, 166), **-sise**, 'tail' (12, 94, 160); **-rañgŵ**, 'thief' (17, 122); **-mañgŵ***, 'urine'; **-kuma**, 'wind' (7 a, 17); **-deku**, **-ceku**, 'woman' (9-9 c, 11); **Law**, 'woman' (261, 262, 266, 257, 239 b).

GROUP E: THE USAMBARA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 19 and 20 (with dialects 20 a to 20 d))

SAMBALA is perhaps the most characteristic language of this group. It is spoken on the lofty plateau of Usambara, and the closely-related dialect of **Bondei** is the speech of the lower, more level country at the foot of the Usambara plateau near the sea. In its prefixes **Ṣambala** resembles sufficiently closely the other main language of the group, **Zigula**, for them to be grouped together, though in **Zigula** there is some local variation. The form of Classes 1 and 3 is sometimes **ñu**- instead of **mu**-. There is considerable variation in Class 5, which besides being more commonly **Dzi**-, may also be **Ti**-, **T'**-, **Si**- or **Li**-. **ṣa** is present as the 8th prefix used in a singular sense. The 9th prefix is sometimes **Nyi**-, and the 10th, though often similar to that of the 9th, is occasionally heard as **Zi**- in the **Lima** dialect of the coast (20 d). The place of the 12th prefix is taken by the very peculiar **Wa**-, **Hwa**- or **Va**-, which is a diminutive-collective and plural to **Ka**-. The origin of this prefix is not clear. The 17th prefix **Umu**- or **Mu**- is present in Group E, though entirely absent from Group D and from all the languages of Group C, except **Nika** and **Powowow**. As regards pronouns **Bondei** (19 a) has an infrequently met with nominative prefix for the 1st person singular—**Ki**-. **Nguru** (20 a) has **Berewe** as the full form of the 2nd person singular. The **Zigula** language and dialects have **Ha**- or **Ka**- as the nominative of the 3rd person singular. For the nominative prefix of the 1st person plural **Zigula** has **Ki**- or **Ci**-. In these languages, also, the root for 'all' is sometimes extended to **-wseñi**, as in the **Nyanja** tongues (Group P). In demonstratives **Ṣambala**

¹ **-mpale** is the correct version of **-pare**, the Swahili corruption of the tribal name. **Ki-mpale** is nearly identical with **C-asu**.

has the peculiar prefixes **Su-**, **Sa-**, and **Si-** used in the forms for 'that' in front of the concord. This **Su-**, &c., is represented in Zigula by **Su-**, **Sa-**, **Si-**; and this prefix may be agnate with the **Hu-**, **Ha-**, **Hi-** of Groups C and F. Among the adverbs of Group E appears the form **-lañga** for 'up, above', which persists through so much of East Africa.

The following word-roots in **Sambala** and **Bondei** are noteworthy :

Hōya, 'axe' (20, 6, 5, 90); **Tonde** (14, 144, 147, 135); **Huti***, 'banana'; **Bōkw**, 'banana' (24, 43 a, 150-2, 149, 157); **-hōyω***, 'banana'; **-pōme**, 'blood' (56, 56 a); **-gōma**, 'cow' (the widespread **-gōma** root); **Mōli***, 'cow' (20 and 11 in the word **Mōri**, 'cow', 'heifer', or 'female calf'); **-bōmω***, 'crocodile'; **-kuli**, 'dog' (the **-gurω** root, 11-8, 26); **Tagi**, 'egg' (20, 34, 54, 57, 21); **-ndele**, 'girl' (24); **-dω-lōme**, 'he goat' (226; 269-72, 230); **-balika**, 'she goat' (12, 21); **-tω-γōta**, 'she goat' (3 b, 10, 20, 20 d, 23 a, 24, 25, 27, 29, 48, 64; 230, 237); **Fōwω**, 'grass' (83, 137, 150, 193, 198); **Futi**, 'gun' (East African Bantu generally, No. 2 e to 68 and 79); **-haya**, **-haga**, 'heel' (105 c, 20, 175; 274); **-vulu***, 'hippo'; **-vea**, **-feya**, 'horn' (the **-biga** root); **-njakω***, 'hyena' (56 b); **-sōmω***, 'iron'; **-lama***, 'iron' (20; 240 c, 243, 255; 104, 129 a; 267); **Tuni***, 'knife'; **-lindi**, 'leg' (39 a, 80, 84-6, 144, 78, 148, 17, 18); **-duma**, 'leopard' (23 to 38); **-ziyi**, 'medicine' (248); **-lala**, 'mother' (20, 105, 106); **-šamba***, 'sheep' (11, 70, 71; 227, 240); **-hōlō**, **-gōtō**, 'sheep' (9, 9 c, 20, 23 a, 24, 25-9, 225, 226; 256); **Babu**, 'skin' (6, 53, 44 b, 80, 81, 121; 255-6); **-lañga**, 'sky' (20 to 33 a, 61, 64; 266); **-puna***, 'slave' (257); **-zumω**, 'song' (39, 40, 53, 69, 71, 83, 121, 175); **-ila**, 'song' (16, 20, 23, 155); **-ōñga***, 'thigh' (132, 162, 12, 204); **-gudi*** (19 a), 'thigh'; **-ūge**, 'vein' (14); **-dōywa***, 'witchcraft'; **-tekeloi** (19 a), 'well' (184, 189, 190).

The following word-roots in **Zigula** are noteworthy or peculiar :

-hujū*, 'axe'; **Tonte**, **Tundwe**, **Tindi**, 'banana' (see No. 19); **Huti***, 'banana' (see 19); **-gōgōmi***, 'elephant'; **-gala**, 'fat' (191, 192, 193, 186, 100, 100 b, 166, 89, &c.); **-gulunya**, 'fat' (11-6); **-za**, 'foot'; **-kaka***, 'ghost' (193); **-gumi**, 'hand'; **-fumba**, 'hand' (216, 206); **-haga**, 'heel' (19); **-gumbō**, 'hunger' (24, 25, 162); **-nala**, 'mother' (19); **-ndele**, 'slave' (170, 25, 27, 30, 26 a, 26, 74); **Wambō**, 'thigh' (16, 92, 43, 43 a); **Kañgwa*** (20 d), 'wife'; **-vyele**, 'woman' (17, 19, 24, 71, 104; 230, 274).

Sambala is a very highly developed language, especially in the conjugation of the verb, which is adapted to express almost every phase of action.

GROUP F: THE ZANĠIAN LANGUAGES

(Nos. 21 and 22)

This group comprises chiefly the celebrated **SWAHILI** tongue, which bids fair to become the dominant language of trade and intercourse throughout East Central Africa, and indeed throughout all Central Africa from ocean to ocean between the Zambezi on the south and the Sudanese and Nilotic language frontiers on the north. It is undoubtedly the easiest to acquire of all African languages. Its phonology is harmonious and presents few difficulties to European articulation. A good deal of its vocabulary is derived from the Arabic of Southern and Eastern Arabia, Arabic broadened out and well supplied with definite vowel sounds. Nevertheless, though literary and polite Swahili has borrowed so much from Arabic, the language remains emphatically a form of Bantu speech without any outside influence whatever in its syntax, and it is possible still to speak Swahili without employing words that are not Bantu in origin. At the same time, when the Mswahili is anxious to express in one word a very complex concept of the white man's mind, he has recourse to Arabic; just as we in English have made up so many words of composite meaning from the Greek and Latin. Swahili in some ways is as a language the best induction into the Bantu system, though it has lost a few essential Bantu characteristics, such as the **-ile** termination of the preterite tense, two of the prefixes, and a few widespread word-roots.

At the present day Swahili is divided clearly into a number of distinct dialects, but these in the present writer's opinion, if vexatious sub-divisions are to be avoided, are only four in number for practical purposes. The average and most widespread type of Swahili is that characteristic of the Island of Zanzibar (Ki-uñguja),¹ which I have numbered 21. Ki-mvita of Mombasa (21 a) is a compromise between Ki-uñguja of Zanzibar (21) and the rather peculiar dialects spoken in the old settlements of Lamu and Pata and in the Witu sultanate (21 b, 21 c, 21 d). Ki-tikuu (21 e), spoken to the north of Lamu and along the southern Swahili coast and on the Juba river, is still more markedly peculiar and has been influenced no doubt by Pòkòwò and the other languages of Group C. This influence is also seen in Ki-amu, Ki-òzi, and Ki-pate (21 b to 21 d). Some authorities classify 21 b, 21 c, and 21 d separately, but really there is so little difference in word-roots and prefixes between these dialects that they can well be included in the same column and are mutually quite understandable. They, too, have been influenced by the languages of Group C, and certainly neither 21 a, 21 b, nor 21 e represent, as some writers have maintained, the more archaic form of Swahili. This, perhaps, is most clearly met with in 21 f and 21 g, the closely-related dialects of the southern Zanġian coast, and of the ancient Arab settlements on Moçambique territory. The dialect of Ki-wibu (21 f), best represented on the Portuguese island of Ibò, not far to the south of the Ruvuma river, is spoken with no very marked variation on Mafia Island (where the actual Zanzibar dialect is not preferred), and on the Mgaò coast, at Kilwa and Cape Delgado. Ordinary Zanzibar Swahili is probably the dialect of the Arab and Swahili settlements between Pañgani (opposite Pemba) and the mouth of the Rufiji. The dialect of Pemba differs slightly from the typical Swahili of Zanzibar. On Zanzibar Island itself, even, there are dialectal variations. First should be mentioned the Ki-ñgòzi or monstrous 'literary' language preserved by the eclectic at Zanzibar, as also perhaps on the Mombasa coast, and certainly both anciently and in modern times in the Lamu settlements to the north of the River Tana. Ki-ñgòzi is a very affected form of Swahili, containing many more words borrowed from the Arabic and a lack of Bantu syntax irritating to any one who has become enamoured of the logical clearness of expression in most Bantu languages. It is, in fact, an ancient precursor of the ugly 'bazaar Swahili' which is the form picked up by most Europeans in a hurry. How it could ever obtain vogue as a literary language, or even have been admired by European students, passes my comprehension. It is a jargon which I hope may soon be forgotten. Ki-hadimu (sometimes pronounced Ki-xadimu) is of much more legitimate interest. It is a local Zanzibar dialect confined to the north or north-west portion of Zanzibar and to a few adjoining islets. It is said by some to have been brought to the island by settlers who came from the direction of Pañgani, and by others to have been the original Swahili of Zanzibar when the island was first settled by Arabs.

Sir Richard Burton, I believe, was the first person to allude to the Wahadimu tribe or clan on the island of Zanzibar. The name, of course, is merely a Swahili softening of the Arab root Xādim (خادم), which in this locality means 'servant'. They were supposed to represent a remnant of the original negro or negroid population of Zanzibar before it was recolonized by the Maskat Arabs, who brought thither large numbers of slaves from the mainland and refounded—so to speak—the Swahili language from a Zanzibar centre. Bishop Steere made further references to the Wahadimu, but professed himself unable to give specimens of their dialect.

In 1915, through the kindness of Miss Alice Werner, I obtained from Miss Dora Abdy, of the Universities' Mission, Zanzibar, the following information (which I present in a summarized form) about the Wahadimu, together with a list of the more characteristic words of their dialect.

'The Wahadimu are said to be the original inhabitants of Zanzibar Island, but they are of different origin to the Wapemba. It is said that the Portuguese found Pemba an uninhabited island, and that they brought thither from the mainland some of the Wazigula and Wasegeju, who called themselves on arrival Wapembwa, "the deceived". They still (the Wapemba) pierce their ears and wear their clothes in the same way as the Wasegeju.'

'The Wahadimu originally came from the coast round about the native town of Windi. They were fishers by trade, and one day they were driven by storms to the west coast of Zanzibar Island. Finding

¹ Uñguja is the native name of Zanzibar Island.

it fruitful they settled along this bit of coast, calling it **Ṣaṅgani** or "in the sand". (The name **Ṣaṅgani** is still given to a certain quarter of Zanzibar town.) The **Wahadimu** then went back to the mainland, obtained wives, and resumed the colonization of Zanzibar.'

The vocabulary forwarded by Miss **Abdy** agrees in its essentials with my general vocabulary of Zanzibar Swahili (No. 21), and with some archaic words which I had collected myself. Her contribution arrived too late to be included in this vocabulary, which had already passed through the press; but most of the words are given in the *Addenda et Corrigenda*. They will also be found in the analyses of word-roots. Among the more important are:

'Axe', **Jeca** or **Yeca**; 'bird', **Ny-uni**; 'brother', **Dumbu**; 'chief', **Mw-inyi-mkuu**; 'child', **M-wana-kele**; 'cloth', **N-guyω**; 'dog', **Huṅgwe**; 'elephant', **N-dωvu**; 'foot', **M-guyu**; 'heart', **Mωa**; 'knee', **Futi**; 'knife', **Ki-fyω**; 'lake', **Bwawa**; 'lips', **Mi-yωmω**; 'mountain', **Ki-ṅgurima**; 'nose', **Puya**; 'rain', **M-vuya**; 'sheep', **Kondoyω**; 'shield', **ṅgayω**; 'sleep', **Dalia**; 'tobacco', **M-nōga**; 'tongue', **Ki-dimi**; 'town', **Kaye**; 'twin', **M-siwanda**; 'little', **-gigi**; 'black', **-eufi**; 'to dance', **-vinya**; 'to sleep', **-dalia**; 'to give', **-ka**; 'I', **Miye**; 'We', **Siye**; 'You', **Nyie**. The root for the demonstrative 'that' is **-dya, -lia**.

Otherwise the dialect conforms pretty closely to Zanzibar Swahili. About the only interesting phonetic feature that it displays is the replacing of *s* and *sy* by *f* or *fy* in at any rate two roots—**-fyω** for 'knife', and **-eufi** for 'black'. The last-named form reappears in Southern Swahili (21 f).

We do not know as yet the southern dialects of Swahili (21 f, 21 g) nearly as well as they deserve to be known from their inherent interest, but what record there is of their form shows them to be more archaic in word-roots and in prefixes than **Ki-uṅguja** and the northern forms of Swahili. It would therefore seem as though they represented the earliest form of the language put into such widespread use by the Arab settlers, traders, and rulers, and it is curious to note that this more archaic form of Swahili is associated with the southern, and not the northern, section of the Arab settlement on the East Coast of Africa. It may even have been—I have reason to think—the now extinct form of Swahili spoken at **Sofala**, south of the **Zambezi**. It would almost seem, if we are to explain this, that Arab or Semitic settlements were first formed on the southern **Zaṅgian** coast at **Kilwa**, opposite **Madagascar**, and south of the **Zambezi**, and that the Swahili language was then brought north by other Arab conquerors or settlers at a much later date and established at **Mombasa**, and thence northward to the **Tana** and **Juba** rivers. But these considerations again are modified when we come to look for the nearest relations to average Swahili in the interior of East Africa. On the whole, the nearest relationship between Group F (**Zaṅgian**) and the other groups, lies with Group E (**Ṣambala**). Yet there are features in which the **Ṣambala** Group has become very divergent, and there are no very close connexions between Swahili and **Dzalamω** (23) (for example), and the other languages of Groups G and H; and certainly (except for borrowed words) there is no close relationship between Southern Swahili (21 f-g) and the adjoining languages of Groups I, J, N, and O. Perhaps the safest assumption is that the parent form of Swahili is a very old Bantu language, even of some archaism in word-roots, which the Arabs or other Semitic colonizers of East Africa found in possession of the **Zaṅgian** coast between the **Paṅgani** and **Ruvuma** rivers some 1,800 years ago, and which they adopted as their medium of intercourse with the negroes of East Africa. In any case, the connexions of Swahili with the rest of Bantu Africa lie rather more with the coast region opposite Zanzibar than with the Bantu Group C, which some would designate as its parent. There remains the problem of the connexion between **Pωkωmω** and Swahili. **Pωkωmω** is quite a distinct language, and perhaps the balance of its affinities tips towards the languages of Group C, especially **Taveita**, **Taita**, and **Nika**. Yet it constantly recalls Swahili in its syntax and word-roots, and even in some features of its phonology (the dislike to *ʃ*). On the whole, it would seem to be a language of Group C, which at a comparatively early date was greatly influenced by Swahili through the Arab settlements round the estuary of the **Tana** river.

The phonology of Swahili varies a good deal between the different dialects. It is most primitive in those of the south, which I regard as the more archaic form of the language. Here, though *ʃ* generally passes into *r*, there is no suppression of this alveolar consonant, either as an initial or between vowels. This suppression is characteristic of Zanzibar and Northern Swahili. On the other hand Southernmost Swahili (21 g) converts the palatal *j* into a strong aspirate (*x*). The dialects of **Mombasa** and the **Lamu**

coast are distinguished from Zanzibar and Southern Swahili by the preference for *t* in place of *c*, while Zanzibar Swahili, on the other hand, goes to a similar extreme in using *c* where cognate languages employ *t* or *ʃ*. Northern and Central Swahili has a great liking for aspirating *t*, *ʃ*, *k* and some other consonants, or *t* and *d* may be pronounced in rather an alveolar fashion, somewhat after the style of the Arabic ط and ض.

In fact, the Swahili variations in the pronunciation of *t* (and to a lesser extent *d*) have been the delight of specialists and straw-splitters in philology, who have often puzzled and disheartened beginners by attempting to discriminate in their type between one kind of *t* (or *d*) and another. As a matter of fact, these shades of pronunciation are almost negligible as far as the main aims of philology are concerned, and intelligibility of speech. The practical student need only concern himself with the aspirated *th* and *tʰ*, according to the degree of aspiration. The same may be said about the aspirated *ʃ*. This aspiration of consonants (namely, following their enunciation by a slight gasp) is found in varying degrees in many North-east and South-east Bantu languages. It may be, as some have imagined, the vestige of an old click or a tendency to introduce clicking sounds into pronunciation, but it would more often seem in Swahili to be a rather irrational result of suppressing a nasal consonant before *ʃ* and *t*.

As regards prefixes, modern Swahili has sustained several losses. None of the Swahili dialects retain the preprefixes. In most of them there is no vestige of the original 10th prefix (**Zi-**), the **Ka-** prefix has fallen into complete disuse, and even more is this the case with **Tu-**. The 11th and the 14th prefixes are exactly alike, **Lu-** being reduced to **U-**, and **Bu-** to **U-**. On the other hand, **Pa-** is well sustained and much employed. In word-roots for nouns, adjectives, and verbs, Swahili has retained a good many archaic forms, but has lost a few that are of almost universal use.

There are not many peculiar word-roots in the main Swahili dialect of Zanzibar (Ki-uñguja, 21), and several of those cited below are found in the obscure Hadimu dialect:

Jeca, Yeka, 'axe' * (*Hadimu*); **-kaka**, 'brother' (23, 146, 164); **Jimbwa**, 'country'; **-tamba**, 'cow'; **-bulu**, 'crocodile' (23 a); **Huñgwe**, 'dog' (*Hadimu*); **-farika**, 'female goat' (related to forms in Groups C, D, and E); **-fundwa**, 'heel'; **Bwawa**, 'lake' (*Hadimu*); **Futi**, 'knee' (*Hadimu*); **-sagai**, 'spear'; **-kuke**, 'spear' (34); **-umvi**, 'salt' (16, 19 a, 23); **-tabale**, 'son' (2 f, 4, 26); **Tambwa***, 'testicle'; **-siwanda**, 'twin' (*Hadimu*); **-zazi**, 'womb'.

In the Ki-mvita or Mombasa dialect there are even fewer recondite or remarkable words, though some archaic Bantu terms are preserved which have been lost in the main stream of the language. In dialects 21 b-d there are the following roots not found in Zanzibar Swahili:

-nuna, 'brother'; **-dari**, 'breast'; **-vuli**, 'husband'; **Sumra, Sembra***, 'hyena'; **Ondwa**, 'knee'; **Tawau**, 'monkey'; **-miwa**, 'neck', 'throat'; **-sita***, 'road'; **Bau***, 'urine'; **-tati**, 'womb'.

In the dialect 21 e should be noted **-sita**, 'banana'; **Iñgi**, 'egg'; **-ōri**, 'fat'; **-tuka**, 'spirit'; **-nne**, 'urine'.

In the southern dialects of Swahili (21 f-g) more forms of archaic Bantu are preserved than in any of the others. Amongst the peculiar word-roots may be quoted:

-iñga, 'banana'; **-kunu**, 'canoe'; **Nundu**, 'forest'; **Rambe, Rume**, 'frog'; **-sima**, 'girl'; **-šambala**, 'hide'; **Tiba**, 'medicine'; **-añgwa**, 'mountain'; **-kole**, **-ombe**, 'finger-nail'; **Inti**, 'nose'; **-putiputi**, 'sheep'.

In pronouns Swahili is normal. In the conjugation of the verb, however, it has almost completely lost—in all its dialects apparently—the characteristic Bantu preterite, the termination **-ile**, though there are vestiges to show that this suffix existed in the ancestral language.¹

The name Komoro is, of course, simply the Portuguese corruption (Comoro) of a previous Arab name for this archipelago—Jazirāt-al-qamar, 'Islands of the Moon'. The dialects of the **KOMORU** Islands are somewhat closely interrelated, and together are treated by me as one language (No. 22); with

¹ It may be traced through the inflected forms in dialectal Swahili: **-lele**, 'slept', from **-lala**, 'sleep'; **-wene**, 'saw', from **-ōna**, 'see'; **-kee**, 'sat', from **-kaa**, 'sit'. See further the chapter on the Bantu verb.

two main types: **Si-añgaziya** of Great Komorø and **Xi-nzuani** of Johanna Island and Møhila (22 a). This language has such close resemblances to Swahili that it has been questioned whether its status is more than that of a dialect. It is obviously derived from Swahili, but Swahili of an archaic character, and it is probably many hundred years since it was transported from East Africa to the Komorø Islands. I think it may claim now to be considered a distinct language of the Zañgian Group.¹

Its phonology is characterized by a tendency to the passing of *k* into a palatal or a palatalized guttural, an aspirate, or even an *s*, of *t* into *r*, *ñ* into *ny*, *v* into *dz*, *sz* into *f*, *nd* into *ndr*, *g* into *d*.

Its prefixes differ in the following points from Swahili: the 4th, **Mi**-, is sometimes **Me**-; the 5th is more commonly in use as **Dzi**- or **Di**-; the 7th is **Si**-, **Xi**-, **Xi**-, or **Hi**- instead of **Ki**-; the 8th is **Zi**- and not **Vi**-; there are indications that the 10th subsists as **Zin**-, the 13th is present as **Ha**- or **Ka**-, the 14th is **U**- or **Vø**-, the 15th **Hu**-, **U**-, or **Gu**-, and the 16th **Wa**- or **Va**-.

The **KOMORØ** dialects, though many of their roots are greatly worn and reduced to monosyllables, yet retain some forms not met with in Swahili, and in one or two cases related to the Congo and N.W. Bantu. The following roots are therefore noteworthy:

-iba, **-bwa**, 'bone'; **Konzø**, 'bull'; **Nzu**, 'buttocks'; **-subiani***, 'devil'; **Sera**, 'devil' (64); **-haku***, 'day'; **-kiyø**, 'ear'; **Hala***, 'father'; **Fi**, 'fish'; **-karø**, **-harø**, 'forest'; **Pi***,² 'hand'; **Køwøwa***, 'heel'; **Dagø**, **Lagø**, 'house' (related to the widespread term in S.W. Africa, the Congo-Camerouns, and among the Semi-Bantu); **Guñgunø**, 'knee'; **-undu**, 'leg'; **-dũũ**, 'leg'; **Fũũ**, 'finger-nail'; **Tuntu**, 'navel'; **Vihø***, 'shoulder'; **-dema**, 'sleep' (168); **Bu**, 'sun'; **-šaya**, 'toe'; **-dzitsø**, 'well'; **-haza**, 'wife'; **-ša***, 'year'.

Among the peculiar numerals may be noted **-dzanvu**, 'five', **-oñgø**, **-iñgø**, **-ñgumi**, 'ten'. As regards pronouns, there are the exceptional forms **Isi**, **Ntsi** for 'I' (nominative prefix and substantive), **Isua**, 'he', **Tsawa**, 'they'. In the verb there is a relic of the preterite suffix **-ile** in the form of **-re**.

¹ This very interesting type of Zañgian speech is comparatively little known and badly illustrated. We have no definite grammar of it and scarcely possess sufficient material at the present day to decide on its exact relationships with Swahili or with other East African Bantu languages. All this bears so much on the scarcely known history of East Africa during the last two thousand years, that it is one of the most interesting avenues of Bantu research. Some word-roots in Komorø are akin to those still persisting in the Karaña language of Sofala (64 a), no doubt due to slaves from South-east Africa imported anciently by the Arabs who have dominated the Komorø archipelago from the beginning of the Christian era to the close of the nineteenth century.

² A word-root which is met with in East, in South Central Africa, on the Camerouns-Congo borderline, and far away westward in Sierra Leone.

CHAPTER III

THE EAST AFRICAN BANTU (*continued*)

GROUP G: THE USAGARA-UGUGU LANGUAGES

(Nos. 23 to 26a)

THIS group contains the **DZALAM** (23) on the southern Zañgian coast and the **KAMI**¹ (23 a), **KI-XUTU** (23 b), and **KI-RUGURU** (23 c) to the north and west of Uzaram; the Northern and Southern **SAGARA**² dialects (24 to 24 b, 24 c to 24 g); the **KI-GUGU** (25), **IRANGI** (26), and **KI-MBUGWE** (26 a) languages; which last carry us northward to that un-Bantu part of Eastern Africa, thinly peopled by semi-nomadic or isolated hill-tribes speaking languages that are either Nilotic (Masai-Nandi), unclassified, or of the Hottentot-Bushman type (Sandawi).

DZALAM long figured under the incorrect Zanzibar rendering of its name, 'Zaramo'. It is decidedly an interesting language, containing both peculiar and archaic features, and worthy of a much more minute study than it has even yet received, chiefly at the hands of German philologists. In its phonology, *t*, *k*, and *g* tend to become *h*, especially after *n* and *m*. It contains, in common with its **Kami** dialect, numerous roots that are rather strange to East Africa and are related closely or distantly to noun-roots in the South, South-west Bantu, in Congoland, Cameroons, or among the Semi-Bantu. Of such are:

-**humbi**, 'ant' (61-61 c, 14, 18); **Geñhe**, 'ant' (23 a, 151 a, 84, 98); **-hote**, 'arrow' (90, 91), and **-dumka***, 'arrow' (23 a); **Wañga**, 'bow' (3, 151, 162); **Tupe**, 'bowels' (73, 159); **-lotw**, 'brains' (33a, 54, 64; 242); **Kaka**, 'brother' (146, 164, 21, 38); **Magati**, 'brother' (157); **Kundu**, 'buttocks' (4 a, 75, 104, 187, 206); **-tupa***, 'buffalo' (153); **-nhufi**, 'bull' (33 a); **-undila***, 'child' (23 b); **-bulu**, 'crocodile' (21; 229, 250); **Gombw**, 'drum' (75; 244); **Fiñga**, 'egg' (6, 6 a, 21 c, 32, 33 a); **-anda***, 'finger' (**-ala** root); **Hulw**, 'forest' (17, 27, 33 a, 85, 4; 248); **-mkela**, **-kera**, 'ghost' (7, 64); **-gina***, 'grass' (230, 253); **-limbili***, 'hand'; **Kwembe**, 'hide' (53, 54, 71, 72, 73, 75, 82, 155, 156; 243); **-añga**, 'house' (100, 186; 273); **-bigalw**, 'husband' (**-bagala** root); **-dula***, **-hobwe***, 'hyena'; **-solw**, 'island' (86, 94); **-gwdwmi**, 'lion' (267, 268); **-nena***, 'navel'; **-anda**, **-tsanda**, 'river' (the **-anja** root); **-kondw**, 'road' (54, 83, 109, 142; 248); **-nyala**, 'shame' (58, 33 a, 61 a, 61 b, 64); **-kidzw**, 'shield' (90); **-hale***, 'son'; **-dia**, 'spirit' (94, 156, 199, 204); **-iñgw**, 'tail' (5 a); **Gumba**, 'toe' (32, 35); **-lulu**, 'town' (273; 94, 162, 179); **-rambw**, 'town' (6, 56, 95, 210, 218, 219); **-anzi**, 'woman' (20 d, 26, 38); **-piñga**, 'woman' (24 c-g, 31); **-pek***, 'firewood' (187); **-gondw***, 'yam'.

Dzalam retains the use of preprefixes, a feature that has almost disappeared since we left the consideration of the Nyanza Group (A). But these are not always the radical vowel of the prefix but the **I** which is so prominent in Ruanda (No. 3). The 6th prefix takes the unusual form of **Gama-**, only met with elsewhere in the Masaba Sub-group of the Nyanza tongues, and to a slight degree in No. 43 (Mambwe).

¹ A name possibly meaning 'slave'. It has that meaning in Sañgw (29).

² Sagara, or more strictly speaking Sagala, means 'brushwood', 'bush'. The *r* in the accepted version of so many of these East African tribal names is of course due to Arab influence, exercised through Swahili, and *l* is more correct.

There is the northern dislike to *ʒ*, so the 16th prefix becomes in both Dzalamω and Kami **Ha-** or **Ba-**. The 10th prefix is **Dzi-** or **Zi-**. In the pronouns, **Ku-** as nominative prefix for the 2nd person singular should be noted; also **Ka-** and **Ya-** for the 3rd person singular. This feature is likewise characteristic of all the members of Group G except Irañgi. In the numerals, the root **-loñgo** comes into force again for 'ten'. In the demonstratives answering to 'that' both Dzalamω and Kami continue the employment of a prefix beginning with **H-** (**He-**, **Hu-**, **Hi-**, &c.). In the conjugation of the verb may be noted the employment of the **-ile** (**-ire**) preterite suffix, suppressed in Swahili.

Kami agrees in most of these points with Dzalamω. Its personal pronouns are often preceded by **A-** in the full form. This occurs likewise with the demonstratives in lieu of the Swahili **Hu-**, **Ha-**, **He-**. The **Ki-xutu** and **Ki-ruguru** dialects are little known. All that is recorded of them goes to show that they resemble Kami.

The **SAGARA** dialects (24 to 24g) are about eight in number, and are divisible into two groups by their interrelationships: northern and southern. Of the former **Kaguru** is the best known and the most representative. The Sagara language contains fewer peculiar or far-related noun-roots than Dzalamω, though it shares some of those already instanced. Others are:

-lokw*, 'canoe'; **Luke, -ke***, 'cloth'; **Suku**, 'dog' (14); **-dɔsi**, 'face' (100, 101); **-ye***, **-yefu***, 'ghost'; **-cɔmi***, 'God'; **-boñgi**, 'iron' (84; 247); **Ñereza***, 'knife'; **-dafu***, 'ox' (26); **-se**, 'tail' (260; 18, 94, 160); **Bilw***, 'firewood'.

Preprefixes have disappeared, except in Class 5, and herein the strange form of **Igi-** occurs sometimes. There is the customary dislike to *ʒ*, and No. 16 is **Ha-** or **Ba-**. Classes 12 and 13 are missing. The demonstratives of the first position ('this', 'these') are preceded by **A-**. There is no trace of the demonstrative **Ha-**, **Hi-**, **Hu-**.

GΩGΩ (25) and **IRANGI** (26) stand much apart from the other members of Group G, Irañgi, however, being the most aberrant. **Gωgω** retains the objection to *ʒ*, and uses **Ha-** for the 16th prefix. It makes no use of preprefixes. Among its otherwise normal numeral roots is the curious form **-ijete** or **-ijeti** for 'two'. The following are peculiar noun-roots in **Gωgω**:

Kwlori*, 'father'; **-ceme***, 'forest'; **-tɔga***, 'heart'; **-zererω**, 'man, vir' (4, see 'son'); **-dusω***, 'paddle' (26); **-eñga**, 'river' (87 a); **-tari**, 'spear' (69, 70).

IRANGI shows traces of preprefixes, and in a measure restores the consonant *ʒ* to use. In its numerals it employs the unusual form **Salia** for 'five' in addition to the normal **-sano**, **-hano**. For 'six' it has **-sansatu** or **-sasatu**, thus resembling the Masaba dialects (6, 6 a). 'Ten' is **-fundika** (see Nos. 27, 30, 36, 31 a, 134, 6, 6 a) as well as **-kumi** and **-roñgo**. In the demonstratives the **Hu-**, **Ha-**, **Hi-** prefix is much employed (**Gωgω** only does this partially). In the verb-particles of Irañgi, the peculiar infix **-inam-** indicates the conditional mood. But it is mostly in the noun-roots that Irañgi has markedly individualistic features. A few of these may be cited:

Twaliti*, 'arm'; **Tūi***, 'baboon'; **Lekele***, 'back'; **-sigya***, 'back'; **Guvia***, 'belly'; **Zodie***, 'bird'; **-jororω***, 'breast ♀'; **-ina***, 'drum'; **-gúrirω***, 'face'; **Nani***, 'father'; **Sedia***, 'father'; **Kau***, 'fire'; **Balalω**, 'God' (9-9 c); **-guwati***, 'hair'; **Baiti***, 'head'; **Kwɔlω**, 'heart'; **-mberu***, 'hide'; **-diri***, 'hide' or 'skin'; **-sa**, 'iron'; **-taha**, 'monkey'; **-dida***, 'mouth'; **-ɔlω***, 'night'; **-luilya***, 'darkness', 'night'; **Saiti***, 'nose'; **-dafu**, 'ox'; **-rusω***, 'paddle'; **-vulω**, 'river'; **Sañgasω***, 'salt'; **-ndi**, 'sheep'; **-tawana**, 'son'; **-rañga***, 'stick'; **-asω**, **-ɔze**, **Cɔze***, 'sun'; **-bia**, 'testicles'; **Memba***, 'toe'; **Luwa***, **-wa**, 'tongue'; **-iletu**, 'woman' (104, 2 g; 257); **Nua***, 'water' (266); **-riñkazω***, 'well'; **-timoyω***, 'well'; **-hinja**, 'woman' (38).

Some of these strange words resemble forms met with in Congo, South-west Africa, Cameroons, or Semi-Bantu languages, but there remains a non-Bantu element—especially those roots with which a feminine suffix **-iti** or **-ti** is associated. Such words as these may have been borrowed from neighbouring languages of debased Hamitic stock, like Fiomí. Most of them only appear in the specimens of Irañgi written down by Mr. J. T. Last in his *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*, but one or two may be noted in the

records of German writers. The suffix **-ti** or **-iti** may be derived from a Gala feminine suffix. If these words are found to be excrement, then Irañgi cannot be said to contain much that is not Bantu, only to have preserved a number of roots which have elsewhere died out in Eastern Africa. **Ki-umbugwe** is a dialect of Irañgi. It is spoken in a few villages in one of the numerous Bantu 'oases' occurring in the arid country of salt lakes between the watershed of the Victoria Nyanza and that of the Indian Ocean.

GROUP H: THE UPPER RUFUJI LANGUAGES

(Nos. 27 to 31 a)

This group consists of **HEHE** (27), **PWGORW** or **MAHENGE** (28), **SANGW** (29), **BENA** (30), **GANGI** (31), and **BUNGA** (31 a). **HEHE** is the speech of a considerable tribe of warlike character who for several years contested the German claim to establish the white man's rule over the southern third of German East Africa. Before that they were known as the only Bantu people who ventured to fight the Masai in the open. As a matter of fact they stopped the Masai raids after cattle which were carrying that Nilotic race far down into East Africa. The Wa-hehe will still remain an important factor in East Africa to any European power that rules there.

In phonology, Hehe is orthodox Bantu, except for a tendency to convert *s* into *ʃ*. The language has slight affinities with Irañgi in several points, but it contains an unusual number of original noun-roots, or noun-roots not locally connected, but with affinities towards the tongues of S.W. Africa, the Congo basin, Cameroons, or the Semi-Bantu. Of these I will cite the following:

-puma*, 'baboon'; **-kabiya***, 'baboon'; **-ñgata***, 'back' (perhaps related to the **Gata** of 253); **Nuza***, 'beard'; **Danda**, 'blood' (48, 49); **-zege**, **-sege**, 'bone' (35, 38); **-zima***, 'bow'; **-wsola***, 'brains'; **-sikiro**, 'buffalo'; **-lyw***, **-windi***, **-pwgw***, 'canoe'; **-gala**, 'cold' (38); **-nyi***, 'country'; **-duzi***, 'drum'; **-pama***, 'fat'; **-duega***, **-hwewhe***, **-lotw** (126), 'fear'; **Temba**, 'fowl' (84-8, 100); **-gulwi**, 'God' (9c, 30, 38, 70); **Numbula**, 'heart' (51, 98); **-tanana***, 'hill'; **-gimirw***, 'hoe'; **Sakañga***, 'hyena'; **Segumbi***, 'hyena'; **-guñguli***, 'island'; **-waha***, 'man, vir'; **-gedege***, 'monkey'; **-kwmi**, 'moon' (193); **-leñgi***, 'moon' (253; 23 a-26, 30, 31 a); **-nerw**, 'nail'; **-duñgu**, 'navel' (34, 130, 157, 162, 182, 187, 189, 205-6); **-tawa***, 'name' (23-5, 29, 31, 38); **-tera***, 'paddle'; **-aha***, 'river'; **-gazi**, **-kazi**, 'road'; **-kuya**, 'road'; **-golya**, 'skin' (25, 56, 178); **-teka**, 'slave' (87, 235); **Mame***, 'son'; **-swamu***, 'son'; **-sala**, 'spear' (29, 70); **-he***, 'spirit'; **-ima**, 'thigh'; **-sitw**, 'town'; **nyawe**, 'twin' (259); **-riñga***, 'village'; **-galu***, 'war' (12, 28, 41; 251, 266); **-pera**, 'well'; **-gudwa** (87), **Ñala***, 'wind'; **-dzima**, 'woman' (9-9c, 10, 29, 48); **-kuma***, 'womb'; **-sagala**, 'firewood'.

The prefixes are mostly of the East African type, and are all represented down to No. 18, if the **Igu**-occurring before some substantives is rightly taken to be cognate with the augmentative **Gu**-prefix of the Nyanza Group. The 11th prefix is sometimes **Nw**-, and the 16th sometimes **Ba**- and **Ipa**-. This **I**-prefix reappears in the demonstrative pronouns of the first position and in the personal pronouns of the 3rd person. 'Thou' is rendered by **Bewe** and **Bee** as well as the commoner **Wewe**; and for the 2nd person plural a peculiar form, **Nyere**, is sometimes used. Among Hehe numerals may be noted the unrelated **-gonzi**, **-gonza** for 'nine', and the peculiar form **-tai** or **-tei** for 'four', which is only shared with Nos. 30, 31, 31 a, and perhaps one Semi-Bantu tongue; also the word **Imbirima** for 'thousand'. In the adverbs, we have the root **-mbele** for 'behind' evidently related to the **-bere**, **-bele**, &c., 'back', and in curious contrast of the similar root-word, **-mbele**, much more widely used for 'in front'. 'All' is represented by a very peculiar form which apparently is without relationship elsewhere in the Bantu field: **Mbe**- followed (after the intervening concord-particle) by **-li** or **-ri**, which apparently represents the verb-root 'be'. In the Hehe verb the 2nd person plural of the imperative is indicated by the suffix **-age**, **-añge**, and not by the widespread pronominal **-ni**, **-ini**.

PWGORW (28), which appears also to be the language of the Maheñge tribe, has some alliance with Hehe, and an occasional hint at a relationship with Groups I, J, and K. The prefixes are fully represented

down to No. 17. There is no trace of the 'Ha' disease in its phonology. It has rather a number of peculiar noun-roots:

-**bere**, 'back' (9, 24 c, 25, 27, 30, 31, 31 a, 35, 38, 58 a); -**poñgɔ***, -**boñgɔ***, 'bird' (16, 110); -**hondɔ**, 'bone' (65 a); -**seke**, 'bowels' (103); -**hundi**, 'cold' (44; 273); -**pala**, 'day' (261, 263); -**dewa***, 'devil'; -**ñañga** or -**ñaña**, 'dog' (34, 34 a); -**sawɔ**, 'dream' (226; 273); -**pepe**, 'ear' (54, 56 b); -**puekwɔ***, 'excrement'; -**kutu**, 'excrement' (38); -**jinci**, 'island' (44, 60); -**ripa**, 'monkey' (33 a); -**konci**, 'finger-nail' (38); -**tumbi**, 'pig' (9 c, 23, 94, 34, 118, &c.); -**eni***, 'river'; -**fuñgamɔ***, 'sheep'; -**papha**, 'skin' (34, 42, 43, 62, 19, 6, 53; 255, 256); -**kusi**, 'sky' (17, 148, 155, 161; 270); -**pɔwɔta**, 'sleep' (33 a, 89); -**gonja***, 'sleep' (79); -**sambɔ**, 'song' (32, 35, 104, 109; 248); -**dimi***, 'son'; -**gɔhwɔ**, 'spear' (19, 20, 24, 27, 33 a, 35, 37, 38, 55, 179, 180); -**luñgu**, 'spirit' (see 'God', 'rain'); -**jence**, 'sun' (43 a); -**kewa***, 'thief'; -**paja**, 'thigh' (21-3, 24, 34 a, 56 a, 90, 151, 226); -**sonthɔ**, 'thorn' (86); -**kali**, 'war' (41; 251); -**negu**, 'well' (190); -**sulu**, 'well' (88, 106, 175, 2 g, 4); -**liti**, 'wind' (206); -**yega**, 'wind' (2-2 g, 3, 4, 6, 5 a, 40); -**duñgɔ***, 'firewood'.

In the numerals we have a beginning (from the north southward) of that form **-cece** for 'four', which would seem to be of great ancience, and to have related roots in the Eastern Semi-Bantu, but to be specially prominent in the Bantu languages of the Ruvuma basin, Moçambique, and East Nyasaland. In the pronouns, the nominative prefix for the 2nd and 3rd person singular is respectively **Gu-** and **Ga-** or **Ka-**. The full form of the pronouns in the 1st and 2nd persons, singular and plural, is strengthened by the suffix **-ñga**, which is probably restrictive in meaning: 'I, myself', 'we, ourselves'. In the demonstrative of the first position **A-** is prefixed to all forms. In the **Pɔgorɔ** verb, the preterite termination is **-iti** (instead of the conventional **-ile**), but as in Hehe it is mainly employed in a relative sense rather than as a distinctly past tense—'I who dwelt'—rather than 'I dwelt'. The negative conjugation altogether discards the **Si-** or **Ka-** particles and is represented by a suffix, **-ndiri**, a prefix, **Na-**, an infix, **-na-**, and a negative verb, **-hera**.

SAÑGŪ (29) is probably one of the most interesting and archaic of the Bantu languages, but all too little is known about it and the tribes who use it. German writers and one or two British explorers of old time suggest that there is little difference between **Sañgɔ**, **Xi-rōri**, and **Ki-safwa**. So, also, I learnt from natives of the adjoining countries in 1889. But it is very desirable in Bantu studies that this point should be cleared up. Of **Sañgɔ** itself we have but meagre information, collected chiefly from German missionaries by Carl Meinhof; and in addition Stanley's vocabularies of **Sañgɔ** and **Rōri** and Last's information in his *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*. From these sources the **Sañgɔ** language is shown to possess a full set of prefixes, including No. 17, which retain their preprefixes to a considerable extent. Their form is influenced by the peculiarities of **Sañgɔ** phonology, in which we may note a tendency for **k** to deepen into **g** or more often to fade into **x**, **x**, or **h**. The vowel **u** sometimes narrows to **i**; thus we get **Ki-** as an infinitive prefix instead of **Ku-**; and **Xi-** instead of **Ki-** (No. 8). **T** is sometimes aspirated. In the 2nd and 14th of the prefixes the older forms **Aba-** and **Bu-** are occasionally preserved, instead of the looser-lipped **Awa-** and **Wu-**. The word-roots are of a more orthodox and archaic Bantu type than in the neighbouring tongues of the same group. I can discern—in our somewhat scanty glossary—only a few that are either peculiar to **Sañgɔ** or of obscure relationships:

-**kɔwɔ**, 'breast'; -**kida**, 'bull'; -**susu**, 'egg' (this last *may* be related to the Congo root **-susu** = 'fowl'); **Joñgwa**, 'elephant'; -**jenxa**, 'hunger'; **Tupiyɔ**, 'milk'; -**mirɔ**, 'mouth'; -**dimi**, 'son' (see 9-9 c); -**harara**, 'spear'.

In its numerals we have paraphrases for the decades after 'ten', which apparently mean 'stand up one man' (= 'twenty'); 'stand up one man above ten' (= 'thirty'); 'stand up two men' (= 'forty'), and so on. The pronouns are not peculiar, though **Mia** as an alternative form for 'I' should be noted. The demonstratives, so far, are unknown. 'All' is represented by **-ōna** (as well as **-ɔse**), which is reminiscent of Lu-ganda (No. 4). Though we have a fair amount of information regarding the conjugation of the **Sañgɔ** verb, nothing is known as to its negative particles.

BENA (30) and **GANGI** (31) are both languages that are very little known, only sufficient being

recorded to enable us to place them in this group,¹ their affinities being chiefly with Hehe and Pwogorw. Both have **Ku-** and **Ka-** as nominative prefixes for the pronouns of the 2nd and 3rd persons singular. **BUNGA** (31 a) is classified as a dialect of Gañgi, on the scanty information given in Last's *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*, and on a reference in a German work. It is described as a dialect of the invading Magwañgware Zulus (a branch of the Ba-ñgōni), but in reality nothing is known of it other than the few words collected by Last. As these contain such roots as **-ziūha**, 'child'; **-mundila**, 'head' (226?); **-sokwale**, 'tooth'; **-kahanw**, 'wife' (56 a); and the numerals **Weka**, 'one'; **Sōna**, 'two'; **-lila**, 'three', and **Fwanw**, 'nine', which cannot be recognized as Bantu, it is very important that the matter should be cleared up, if there are any Buñga-speaking people left since the war turmoil in East Africa. The remainder of the Buñga words conform closely to Gañgi.

GROUP I: THE LOWER RUFUJI-RUVUMA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 32 to 34 a)

This group consists of the very peculiar **KI-MATUMBI** (32) and its two scarcely known dialects, **KI-NDENGEREKW** (32 a) and **KI-RUFUJI** (32 b); of **MWERA** (33) and **KI-DONDE** (33 a); and of the better known **MAKONDE** (34) and **MAVIA** (34 a).

KI-MATUMBI in its phonology dislikes *s* and *z*, and even *h*, *v*, and *f*; so that initial sibilants which were first turned into aspirates are now unrepresented by any consonantal breathing: 'five' is **-anw**, and not **-hanw** or **-sanw**. In the prefixes there is an inclination—marked in other languages of this group—to turn **Mu-** of the 1st and 3rd prefixes into **N-**, **Nn-**, or **Mm-**. The last-named is usually the result of the collocation of *m* with *b* or *w*. *L* after *m* turns to *n*. The 2nd prefix is noteworthy, as it takes the classical form of **Aba-**, **Ab-**, or **Ba-** (as well as an occasional **A-**). **Ba-** is nowhere else met with on or near the East African coast from north to south until the Ci-ndau language is reached at Sofala (Beira). There is seemingly in Matumbi an honorific prefix **Ki-**² or **Kina-**, used in connexion with terms of relationship. In noun-roots, Ki-matumbi has some singular or recondite forms:

-sanja*, 'back'; **yega**, 'body' (35, 151; 229, 238); **-yome**, 'cat' (35, 54); **-lau***, 'child'; **-ima**, 'cold' (27, 205); **-pumbe***, 'dog'; **-sindw***, 'drum'; **-luñga**, 'drum' (100-3, 189; 266); **-buñgi**, 'face' (55; 263); **-konji**, 'finger' (see 'nail'); **-gela**, 'hoe' (35, 54; 253); **-bambe**, 'house' (4, 26, 217); **-ceñgw***, 'husband'; **-ntwete**, 'hyena' (28, 33 a); **-poşo***, 'medicine' (cf. Swahili 'ration'); **-wbw**, 'finger-nail' (22, 35, 37, 55, 157; 230, 251); **-bendw**, 'night', 'darkness' (12, 185, 214; 232, 235); **-pende**, 'shield' (13, 85, 86, 152; 263); **-ambw**, 'song' (28, 35, 104, 109; 248); **-kuya***, 'snake'; **-leñge**, 'spear' (80, 81, 87); **-twowa***, 'star'; **-libe** or **-dibe***, 'thing'; **Gumba**, 'toe' (23, 35); **Tseñgw**, 'town' (38, 108, 69, 165, 141); **-paga**, 'twin' (14, 166, 3; 230, 234); **-lwse**, 'well' (56 a); **-lwawa***, 'wife'; **-yumbw**, 'wife' or 'woman' (55, 17); **-lumbu**, 'bride', 'young woman' (see 'sister');³ **Anyu** or **-ancu**, 'firewood' (35, 55, 166, 184, 188, 190); **-deketu**, 'firewood' (151); **-saka***, 'year'.

In numerals it possesses the root **-cece** for 'four', and the attenuated **-anw** for 'five'. The infix **-kwa-** is an accusative particle for 'them', which seems to be restricted to this language. Matumbi in its pronouns possesses a still more remarkable infix, the accusative **-kunu-**, **-kum-**, or **-kuñ-** for the

¹ Since this passage was written, Herr Bernhard Struck informs me that a partial vocabulary of Bena was printed at Kidugala, German East Africa, in 1913.

² **Ki-** would seem to be akin to the honorific **Ki-**, **Ci-**, **Aki-** of the Yaow, Makua, and Seña languages. **Kina-**, however, which is applied as a plural to Matumbi nouns connected with persons or people, may be an independent word meaning 'clan', and related to the root **-ina** (with 'motherhood' as its fundamental idea) which appears in the well-known tribal prefix **Bena-** (literally **Ba-ina-**) in the central basin of the Congo, and which in Bemba (**Mu-ina**, plural **ba-ina**) stands for 'brother'. The **Kina-** prefix in Matumbi is exhibited in the following forms: **Mbuya**, 'a grandmother', in the plural is **Kina-mbuya**, 'a clan or class of grandmothers'. **Mbwigwa**, 'friend', becomes **Kina-mbwigwa**; **-tati** or **Ki-tati**, 'father', **Kina-tati**, 'fathers'. Sometimes the **Kina-** is shortened to **Ki-**, and it may even in addition carry the abbreviated form of the 2nd prefix, **A-**, as in **Aki-tati**, 'fathers'.

³ **-lumbu** in other Bantu tongues means 'sister'. In common with other roots meaning both 'sister' and 'spouse' it suggests that the original Bantu immigrants may have permitted brother and sister marriages.

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3rd person singular. This is reminiscent of old prefix forms for Class 1, such as **Kumu-** in Nos. 6 and 6 a. 'All' is rendered by the widespread **-ōte**, but also by the phrase **Omwiki**. The demonstrative pronouns of the first position are rendered rather peculiarly by a form which commences with the adjectival concord, then follows with the root of the substantive to be indicated, and closes with the pronominal particle of the class. Thus 'this maiden' is **M-minja-yu**, and 'this head' is **M-mtwe-gu**. In the adverbs of place there is the peculiar form **-bi** for 'in', and the still more difficult to account for **-būi**, 'not in'. A direct negative is expressed by **-tupu**, akin to the Swahili **-tupu**, 'bare', 'empty', a root we can trace in this negative sense to Central Congoland. The negative with the verb is chiefly rendered by a suffix, **-lili** or **-liri**, or by other suffixes, **-boi**, **-kwakw** (32 a), or by **-lili** combined with the **-ki-** and **-ka-** infixes, or by the infix **-na-**. The verb 'to be' is represented by the archaic **-ba** (instead of the East African **-wa**), and also by **-bi**. The pronominal particle-suffix for the 2nd person plural of the imperative is not the customary **-ni** but **-gi**. The preterite endings besides **-ile**, **-ine** are **-ike**, **-ite**, **-ige**, and **-i**. Otherwise the verbal forms are fairly normal; except that the infinitive sense of the verb may frequently be expressed by the verb-root alone, the apposition of the **Ku-** prefix turning the root more into a verbal noun or participle than into an infinitive.

In the negative phase of the verb Ki-matumbi differs markedly from its northern neighbours, but resembles Pwogor (28). There is apparently no trace left of the **Si-**, **Ta-**, or **Ka-** prefixes. The negation is expressed by the negative verbs **-kani** ('not to be willing', 'to refuse') and **-tupu** ('to be without'). Thus 'I have not' is **Nan-tupu**. In most tenses the negative is formed by the addition of the adverb **-lili** ('not') to the verbal form. Thus 'I sleep not' is **N-gonja-lili**; 'I see not' is **Mb-ōna-lili**; 'we do not stay' is **Tu-tama-lili**; 'thou goest not' is **Uy-enda-lili**. But in the conditional tense, formed by the infix **-ka-**, there is usually a negative sense. Thus **Nika-lika-ōna** may mean not only 'I might possibly see', but also 'I might not see'. The infix **-na-** instead of **-ka-** makes this negative sense stronger. The subjunctive is negated by prefixing the adverb **Kana-**, taken in this case to mean 'if—not', thus **Kana-ndye**, 'if I do not eat', **Kana-ni-linde**, 'if I do not wait'.

MWERA (33) is very little known; **KI-DONDE** or **KI-MAWANDA** (33 a) was not known at all at the time the first volume of this work was being prepared for the press, though I inserted some information about it in the Addenda. I had cited this last language as not more than a dialect of Ki-mwera on the surmise expressed by German missionaries. But in 1914-15, Archdeacon Woodward, of the Universities' Mission, when a prisoner in the hands of the Germans, collected for this work a vocabulary of 'Ki-mawanda'¹ in the region marked on the map as the 'Donde' country. This would seem in fact to be **Ki-donde**, and to be in all probability merely a dialect of Mwera perhaps a little infected by Swahili interpretation.

Of **Mwera** we only know the forms of the prefixes, a few noun-roots, the numerals, and the pronouns. The prefixes, so far as they are known, are of the usual East African type. Nos. 12 and 13 seem to be missing. It is to be noted in Mwera that an adjectival qualifying prefix **Yua-** is used for Class 1 which is a common feature in **Ya** (54) (example: **Yua-ñ-koñgwe**, 'a woman'). The root for the numeral 'four' is **-xexe**, and that for 'five' is **-anw** or **-ganw**. This last form arises from the dislike in this and other members of Group I to the sibilant *s*, which first becomes *h*, and then when the aspirant is in turn discarded drops out or hardens into *g*. A further example of this mutation may be seen in the Matumbi **-paga**, 'twin', derived from **-pasa** via **-paha**.

The full form of the personal pronouns is completed by a suffix **-yow**, which answers to the **-pō** in the neighbouring Makonde pronouns. The demonstratives of the first position are preceded by **A-**. 'All' is rendered by **-ōha**.

KI-DONDE or **KI-MAWANDA** (33 a) is related somewhat closely to Nos. 23, 23 a, 27, 28 (especially), 29, 31, 32, 35, and in a lesser degree to 34 and 58. The principal words of its vocabulary are given here, omitting those that agree with Mwera, or that are of very common Bantu type:

¹ **A-mawanda** merely means 'slaves' and is a contemptuous term applied to the Donde people.

Soñgole, 'adze' (Congoiland); **-hyōkwō**, 'ant' (1); **-mehe**, 'termite' (25, 27, 35, 38); **-sale**, 'arrow'; **Ny-abu***, 'baboon'; **Ñ-hōwōwō**, 'banana'; **N-devu**, 'beard'; **Lu-tubō**, 'belly'; **-lōpa**, 'blood' (22, 40-4, 51-72); **-fumō**, 'borassus palm' (28); **-lōtō**, 'brains' (23, 54, 64); **Tombō**, 'female breast' (16, 19, 20, 25-6); **Ñ-hufi**, 'bull' (23); **Hōlōwati***, 'cow'; **Mamba**, 'crocodile'; **Mayō***, 'day', 'daylight' (also 'morrow'); **M-zuka**, 'devil'; **Galū**, 'dog' (31, 35, 53, 61); **Nanta***, 'door'; **Fiñga**, 'egg' (32, 23, 23 a); **S-isō***, 'eye'; **Ki-hañga**, 'face' (3, 17, 23, 24, 86); **Ki-butu***, 'finger'; **Somba**, 'fish'; **Mu-hulō**, 'forest'; **Ki-bula**, 'frog'; **Sukulu**, 'grandfather' (35, 86, 94); **Lu-bihi**, 'grass'; **Mi-yani**, 'grass'; **Sugu**, 'ground-nut' (27); **Lu-wōhō**, 'hand'; **Ki-sugunhu**, 'heel' (28, 23, 21, 92); **Kupō**, 'hide' (51, 42, 125, 62, &c.); **-dunda**, 'hill' (35, 44 b, 61 a, 90, 89); **N-hōmontōwō**, 'hippopotamus'; **Gembe**, 'hoe'; **Petō***, 'horn'; **Nanda**, 'house'; **N-tōte**, 'hyena' (28, 32); **Fy-uma**, 'iron'; **Tiñghi**, 'island' (34, 75 a, &c.); **Findi**, 'knee' (23, 16, 19, 20); **Mw-ere**, 'knife'; **Lamba**, 'lake' (29, 38, 25, 9 c); **Duma**, 'leopard' (38); **Mu-lombe**, 'maize'; **Mu-nhu**, 'man'; **Ka-lipa**, 'monkey' (28); **Mw-etsi**, 'moon'; **Dunta, Dunda**, 'mountain'; **Ñ-kombe**, 'nail' (23, 24, 25); **U-gōsi**, 'neck'; **I-kilō**, 'night'; **Lu-kufu**, 'navel'; **M-pula**, 'nose'; **Kafi**, 'paddle'; **U-gimbi**, 'palm wine'; **Ñ-kwalu**, 'parrot' (19, 32, 35, 54); **Ñ-guruwe**, 'pig'; **Huwa**, 'pigeon' (23 a); **M-luñgu**, 'rain'; **M-pewa**, 'rat'; **Tupa**, 'rhinoceros' (23, 28, 43 a); **Lu-kemba**, 'river' (23, 32, 35); **N-dzila**, 'road'; **M-kere**, 'salt' (9 c, 21, 23, 40-61); **Ki-nyala**, 'shame' (23, 61); **Ñ-gondōwō**, 'sheep'; **Ki-kōpa**, 'shield' (28, 35, 54); **Yega**, 'shoulder'; **Lumba**, 'sister'; **Kiñgō**, 'skin'; **U-lañga**, 'sky' (19 a, 27, 31); **Mu-wanda**, 'slave' (10, 28, 32, 33, 35, 55, 94); **M-hōta**, 'sleep' (28, 89); **N-zōka**, 'snake'; **M-gōha**, 'spear' (23-8, 35-8); **N-tondwe**, 'star'; **Li-biki**, 'stick'; **Di-bwe**, 'stone'; **Ki-gōda**, 'stool'; **Tsuwa**, 'sun'; **Ma-hōtsi**, 'tears'; **Patsa**, 'thigh' (21-8, 56 a); **D-iba**, 'thorn'; **Lu-limi**, 'tongue'; **Li-tsinō**, 'tooth'; **Kai**, 'town'; **Di-biki**, 'tree'; **Ma-wila**, 'twins'; **Nu-tsitsi**, 'vein' (180, 200, and S-B.); **Ñ-kondō**, 'war'; **Lu-wanta**, 'well' (161 a); **Mw-ehe**, 'woman' (38, 23, 24, 31, 34); **Jombō***, 'yam'; **M-kunda***, 'zebra'.

The prefixes of Ki-mawanda appear to differ slightly from those of Ki-mwera. The 7th is **Ki-** (not **Xi-**); the 8th is **Fi-** as well as **Vi-**. There is some evidence to show that the 11th (**Lu-**) is sometimes heard as **Nu-**. The 16th is **Ha-**, not **Pa-**, the 2nd—ordinarily **Wa-**—may occasionally be reduced to **A-**, and the 17th is present as **M-**.

In the numerals there is no trace of the **-cece** root for 'four' which is found in most members of this and of more southern groups; instead the normal **-nne** is in use. Apparently **-kumi** has dropped out of use for 'ten', which is expressed by **-tanutanu** (five + five) and in the decades by **-lōñgō**. The personal pronouns exhibit the peculiarity of the prefix **He-** (**Heni, Hegwe, Hetwe, and Hemwe**) for the substantive forms of the 1st and 2nd persons singular and the 1st and 2nd plural. This feature only recurs elsewhere in Nos. 23 and 23 a (Dzalamō and Kami). If Archdeacon Woodward is rightly informed, the demonstrative suffixes (preceded by pronominal concord) are **-mwe** for 'this', **-waha** for 'that', and **-dya** for 'that yonder'. 'All' is **-ōse**, and not **-ōha**, as in Mwera.

The adjective roots worth citing for comparative purposes are:

-lema*, 'bad'; **-titu**, 'black'; **-mw-ehe**, 'female' (23, 24, 31, 34, 38); **-nōga**, 'good'; **-dōdi**, 'little'; **-bigalō**, 'male' ('husband') (23); **-n-tuñhu**, 'red' (23-38 and S-B.); **-tamu**, 'sick'; **-n-tseru**, 'white'. Among the adverbs: **M-hindi**, 'above' (28, 31 b); **Lōñgōdzi**, 'before' (29, 23, 23 a); **Ku-mgōñgō**, 'behind' (27); **Ka-behi**, 'here' and 'near' (32); **M-nanda***, 'inside'; **Bwantō**, 'plenty' (15, 18, 66, 70); **Hadya**, 'those'. **Tabule!** (**Ta-bule**) is the negative exclamation 'No!', but the verbal negative particles are not recorded. Among verb-roots, **-gula** = 'buy'; **-bawila***, 'cut'; **-yōwela**, 'dance'; **-cōla**, 'go' (163, 230); **-kōma**, 'kill'; **-hilika**, 'know' (110); **-kōlela**, 'love' (S-B., 90-9, 133); **-kaa**, 'sit'; **-asa**, 'sleep' (23, 190).

MAKONDE (34) and **MAVIA** (or **MABIHA**) 34 a¹ represent with only slight dialectal difference a

¹ Ki-makonde is spoken over a portion of the southern coast region of Zañgia—what was German East Africa—and in Northern Portuguese East Africa, on either side of the River Ruvuma in its lower course. South of the Ruvuma it merges into Ki-mavia, the language of the Wa-mavia or Ma-biha people, and its range extends southward as far as the River Mtepesi. On the actual coast, and especially on

well-marked language-type, long established in the basin of the Lower Ruvuma river. The phonology is characterized by a pronounced dislike to *z*, which is replaced by *d*. *S* also is disliked and *h* usually substituted for it; nevertheless *s* is substituted for *f* in the rendering of Old Bantu word-roots. *H* sometimes replaces *f* and *k*; and *hi* or *hy* is the rendering of an older *c* or *s*. *L* after *m* becomes *n*, and *p* or *b* following *m* are either suppressed or represented by a second *m*. *Mw* becomes *mm* or *ny*; *t* after *n* disappears or is resolved into *d* or *h*. *Nd* usually sounds as *n* only, and *ñk* as *ñ*.¹

There are no preprefixes, and the full tale of 17 prefixes is in use. The 3rd prefix is occasionally **Yu-** in Ki-biha. The form of the 10th prefix is **Lin-**, **Ndin-**, or **Din-**, derived from an older **Zin-**, owing to the dislike of the Makonde for *z*. The 14th prefix is sometimes heard as **Gw-**. There is a considerable proportion of peculiar or recondite noun-roots, the recondite being, as elsewhere in East Africa, interesting because of their North-west Bantu or Semi-Bantu affinities. Of such may be cited:

-cene, 'animal' (73, 74); -rinda*, 'beard'; -dambe, 'beard' (44 b, 52-3); -wañgwa, 'bone' (52, 53); -pepe, 'canoe' (75 a, 75 c, 6, 13; 227, 266); -diwoḡw, 'child' (compare the -ziũha of Buñga, 31 a); **Nunu**, 'child' (259, 260, 273); **Nawañga** or **Nawañga**, 'dog' (28); -dodw, 'foot' (191, 193, 13); -pañga, 'God' (1, 2-2 d, 3, 168, 187); **Nwanana***, 'God'; **Moria**, 'God' (?); **Dabala**, 'hide' (56 a, 56 b, 104, 144); -duli, 'house' (90, 91, 26, 188); -doba, 'hunger' (14); -nana*, 'hyena'; -wenwa*, 'ivory'; -balu*, 'leg'; -jeye*, 'lip'; -neñgwa*, 'monkey'; -hiyi, 'mother' (the **Iy** root); -ciñga, -cuñgwa, 'mountain' (54, 64; 274, &c.); -petumwa, 'pig' (the -tumba, -kumba root); -nōne*, 'slave'; -hyoñgwa*, 'snake'; -himw, 'song' (19 a, 39, 40, 53, 69, 71, 83, &c.); **Munya***, 'spear'; **Kuci**, 'spear' (21, 21 a-g); -hioñga, 'spear' (56, 78, 82-6, &c.); -nemba*, 'son' (267); -lawi*, 'stick'; -wia, 'stone' (11, 12, 49); -mayu*, 'sun'; -dula*, 'sun'; -mumba, 'testicles' (19, 13, 21, 22-3, 58, 59, 94, 100); -ya, 'thigh' (15, 54, 133); -nandi*, -landi*, 'tree' (7, 33, 54, 193); -mahi, 'woman' (from **Mu-kazi** by contraction); -koñgwe, 'woman'.

In the adjectives the -fu suffix is represented by -hu, and the adjectival root is often preceded by the -a ('of') particle, a proceeding carried much farther in Yaow (54). There is little to note in the numerals save the presence of the -cece root for 'four', and the prevalence of the quinary system of notation, as in the other members of the group. In the pronouns, the full form of the 1st and 2nd persons sing. and pl. is made by affixing -pa or -pw to the root. There is a peculiar rendering of the substantive form of the 2nd pers. sing.: **Wara-kw**. The 3rd pers. sing. is rendered by the rather unfamiliar **Nañe**, **Nanye**, &c., and in the plural by **Wanaño** or **Waya**. The 1st pers. pl. is **We-pa** or **Were-tu**, the **We-** of the former being no doubt derived from **Swe-** through an intermediate **Hwe-**, from which the aspirate has dropped.

The demonstrative of the first position has the prefix **A-** before some of the forms. Among the adverbial roots may be noted the isolated -hye, 'behind'. In the verb there seems to be no pronominal suffix for the 2nd pers. pl. imperative. The most used negative particle is derived from the **Si**, **Sa** stock (**Hi-**, **Hu-**, **Ha-**), though the infix -na- has also a negative sense.

GROUP J: THE NORTH RUVUMA-NORTH-EAST NYASALAND LANGUAGES

(Nos. 35 to 37)

The best known language of this group is rather uncertainly named—**SUTU**, **ZUTU** or **MANUNDI** (35). The former may turn out to be only a Zulu nickname meaning 'slave', imposed by the Bañgoni raiders or conquerors who until recently dwelt amongst the more or less helot Manundi population. Or

the islands of Ibw and at Cape Delgado, it is displaced by a dialect of Swahili illustrated by Bleek many years ago, and known as the Cape Delgado language or Ki-wibw. This is simply Swahili containing numerous Makonde or Mavia words.

¹ In the phonology of Makonde, and many of the neighbouring languages and dialects inland, is the dislike, already seen in Ki-matumbi, to an *l* or *m* following a labial consonant or the vowel *u*. Thus **Mu-landi**, 'a tree', becomes **M-nandi** (plural **Mi-landi**). *Mp* is usually reduced to *m* (**M-paka**, 'a cat', becomes **M-aka**; **M-pela**, 'rhinoceros', **M-ela**; **M-pula**, 'nose', **M-ula**. **Mw-anda**, 'a slave', becomes **Mm-anda**; **Mu-loñgwa**, 'a relation', **Mu-oñgwa**. Also **Mu-kasi**, 'a wife', becomes **Mm-ahi** (via **M-hahi**); **Mu-geni** or **Mu-yeni**, 'a stranger', turns to **Mn-yeni**, and **Mw-itu**, 'a forest', to **Mn-yitu**.

the right name for people and speech may be **MATENGO** (35 a), that being at any rate the name of a tribe and dialect of the Sutu people. The languages numbered by me 35 and 35 a are very interesting. They offer some resemblances to the peculiar Kiŋga of the next group, and sufficient affinities with **Paŋgwa** and **Kese** to be grouped with them. They have also borrowed many words from the conquering Baŋgoni, so that their vocabulary presents a deceptive resemblance to Zulu-Kafir (75). In their phonology there is still some dislike to *s* and a tendency to substitute an aspirate (*h*). The prefixes are fully represented down to No. 17 in Mateŋgo, but in Sutu No. 12 is apparently missing. Over the 8th prefix there is much local variation in pronunciation—**I**-, **Hi**-, **Vi**-. In the 9th prefix there are traces of an archaic form, **Yin**- (**Gini**-), and in the 10th, **Hy**- sometimes appears to be descended from an older **Sy**-. The 14th prefix is occasionally **Hw**-, answering to the **Gw**- of No. 34. Of the noun-roots the following are remarkable (several of them showing a relationship to Matumbi, Gindω, Yaω, and the South African Bantu):

·**ṭwoki**, 'banana' (compare Group A); ·**njwemba**, 'beard' (44 b, 52, 53, 55); ·**reme**, 'belly', 'womb' (16, 18, 27, 37, 24 c-g, 84, 104-6, 155 a, 189, 193, 204, 226; 23a-1, 239, 240, 241, 255, 258, 259, 266); **Higa**, 'body' (21 e, 32, 152; 229); ·**jege**, 'bone' (27, 38, 124-32; 273); ·**vimba**, 'breast, male' (114, 206, 208); ·**hyōmi**, 'cat' (32, 54); ·**tūa**, 'chief' (21 f, 27, 28, 37-8, 51; 227, 229); ·**ura**, 'cloth' (62, 63, 71, 76; 258, 273); ·**hya**, 'cloth' (75 b, 75, and the ·**jira**-, ·**kila** root); ·**ṭoli***, 'cow'; **Garω**, 'dog' (31, 33 a, 53, 61-61 c; 267, 272); ·**tesa**, 'forest' (54, 64, 86); ·**sati**, 'forest' (67, 76, 75); ·**fuki**, 'ghost' (14, 21 e, 27, 28, 51, 58-61 a); ·**wuta***, 'ghost'; ·**cundu**, 'guinea-fowl' (37, 55); ·**nyerω***, 'horn' (37); ·**tunuŋgu***, 'hyena' (54); ·**pundwa**, 'hyena' (53, 55); ·**lumba**, 'island' (35 a, 44 b, 52, 54, 61, 62, 76); ·**weza**, 'leg' (94, 226; 269); ·**bonjω**, 'lion' (38, 69, 64, 76); ·**suwu**, 'finger-nail' (22, 32, 55); ·**eñerω**, 'nose' (38, 79); ·**kawi**, 'ox' (39, 65 a, 71 f, 75-75 c, 76, 2 d, 3); ·**paŋgω**, 'pig' (75, 79); ·**kemba**, 'river' (32, 33 a, 28, 2-3); ·**hamu**, 'shame' (4, 79, 86, 109); ·**sutu**, 'slave' (3, 31 a, 75 c, 76, 15, 18); ·**kimω**, 'song' (34, 19 a, 39, 40, 53, 69, 71, 83, 121, 175; 273); ·**huŋgula**, 'thigh' (1, 132, 42, 43 a); **Gumba**, 'toe' (23, 32); ·**bumba**, 'woman' (17, 54, 55, 61, 61 a).

Among the numerals, 'four' is rendered by ·**cece** or ·**dzesi**. The ·**ŋga** suffix is attached to the full forms of the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns of the singular and plural; the substantive form of the 3rd person singular is **Mwene** (also met with in Gōgō and Kiŋga, 25, 38), with a plural in **Wene** ('they'). This feature recurs in Nos. 88, 98, 144; and 115, in South-west Africa. The demonstratives of the first position are preceded by **A**-. The verb is conjugated somewhat as in Ki-matumbi. The negative in the verb is indicated chiefly by a **Na**- or **Andi**- prefix, and by ·**kotōka**- and ·**ndeka**- as infixes.

Of **PAŊGWA** (36) and **KESE** (37) (or **Kisi**) comparatively little is known. The last-named language has only been transcribed by the author of this book. Kese is spoken on a small portion of the north-east coast of Lake Nyasa near its northernmost extremity. Paŋgwa is the speech of the mountains behind.¹ Both seem to be somewhat archaic in type. In the pronunciation of Paŋgwa *ϕ*, *t*, and *n* are frequently followed by aspiration (*ϕh*, *th*, *nh*). Paŋgwa has a full set of prefixes, including even the rare No. 18 (**Ugu**-),² and both languages preserve in use—Paŋgwa particularly—the preprefixes. In Classes 1 and 3 in Kese **Un**- is sometimes heard, as well as **Um**-—a feature in so many of the languages between Nyasa, Taŋganyika, and the East coast. In both Paŋgwa and Kese the classical **Aba**- re-appears for prefix No. 2, and in Kese this is also **Bω**-. The 9th prefix is sometimes **Ji**-, and the 10th prefix (**Dzi**-) is

¹ Ki-paŋgwa is spoken apparently on the eastern flanks of the Livingstone Mountains north-east of Lake Nyasa. It has dialects known as Mbejela and Lu-pembe; and was mentioned as a speech by J. T. Last early in the 'eighties, and more or less correctly located by him on his sketch-map, though he gives no specimen of it.

The sole authority down to the present date of the Ki-paŋgwa language is the article by the Rev. M. Klamroth, Mission Superintendent in Dar-es-Salaam, published in the *Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, Berlin, 1907.

² The 5th prefix, **Ili**-, is the ordinary augmentative prefix in this language, conveying the sense of 'bigness'. But the 18th prefix, **Ugu**-, as in Lu-ganda, conveys the idea of 'gigantic', 'monstrous'. Thus: if **Axa-nhu** be 'a little man', and **Ili-nhu** 'a tall man', **Ugu-nhu** means 'a great big lump of a fellow', 'a clumsy giant', and is rather an insulting term.

present in Paṅgwa but not in Kese. Both these languages of N.E. Nyasaland share some of the peculiar word-roots of Sutu already cited; in addition may be remarked in Paṅgwa and Kese the noun-roots:

·**cinji***, ·**jinji***, 'arrow'; ·**deme**, 'belly', 'womb'; ·**fifi**, 'hyena' (27 and ·**fisi** root); **Bondera**, 'hyena' (53, 55); ·**torome**, 'leopard' (122 and ·**duma** root); ·**thende**, 'medicine', 'tree' (32, 37, 56 a, 69, 70); ·**bweṅgwa***, 'monkey'; ·**soḵḵo**, 'river' (69, 100); ·**konji***, ·**gonji*** (37), 'tongue'; ·**behe**, 'tree' (23, 23 a, b, 24-5, 27, 28, 29, 35, 38, 51); ·**bawu**, 'wood, firewood' (21, 28, 51, 146, 21).

In the numerals, Paṅgwa retains the orthodox Bantu root for 'four'—**na**—but Kese employs the newer **cece**. Paṅgwa has ·**tanda** for 'six', and very peculiar paraphrases for 'seven' and 'eight'.¹ That for 'seven' resembles slightly the paraphrase in Kiṅga (No. 38). For 'ten' Paṅgwa has two terms, **Fundika** (see Nos. 26, 27, 30, and 31) and ·**dzigw** or **Kidzigw**, the latter being only paralleled in Kiṅga. Kese, on the other hand, has ·**ḵomi** or ·**ḵomi** for 'ten'. 'Two' in Kese is ·**were**, which resembles the ·**veli** of Kiṅga and seems in origin to be a compromise between the western ·**bali** and the eastern ·**bili**. 'Six' is the peculiar ·**lintanda** and 'seven', ·**limhanḵo**.

In pronouns Kese has the ·**ṅga** suffix added to the forms of 1st and 2nd persons. In Paṅgwa the root for 'all' is ·**onha**; in Kese, ·**ḵha** and ·**ḵsaka**. Nothing is known as to the Paṅgwa verb or method of forming the negative. In Kese the negative is indicated by a negative verb, ·**kana**, and by a ·**ri** suffix to the affirmative verb.

GROUP K: THE KIṄGA LANGUAGE

(No. 38)

The **KIṄGA** language is the speech of the Va-kiṅga, who have evidently dwelt for long isolated in a very mountainous country to the north of Lake Nyasa, the northern continuation of the Livingstone Mountains which culminates in Mount Ruṅwe (approximately 10,000 feet in height). The Vu-kiṅga country is bounded on the south-east by Vu-paṅgwa, on the south by the Awaṅkonde people and the Bakese, on the north by the Wasaṅgo and Wabena.

Eki-kiṅga—as it is probably called—is a language of very peculiar features, which requires to be constituted a group by itself, though it shows signs of relationship with Saṅgḵo and Mateṅgḵo. In its phonology may be noticed the abrupt substitution of *s* for the *f* and *v* of the original Bantu; *f*, indeed, is absent from the language: **Mafuta** becomes **Masuta**, though *v* is additionally prominent as a substitute for *w* and *b*. The root ·**ḵofu**, 'blind', is heard as ·**ḵosu**, and ·**balafu**, 'white', as ·**balasu**. The 8th prefix, in adjoining tongues, **Ivi-** or **Ifi-**, becomes **Isi-**. There is a slight inclination to use *b* in place of *ḵ*, though an original *b* always becomes *v*. *D* is preferred to *ḵ*, and *ṅ* sometimes takes the place of *g*. Prefixes are retained and are much in use and applied in the sense of a definite article.

Prefix No. 1 is **Umu-** or **Uṅ-**, **Un-**; and apparently the 1st prefix, as in Zulu and some other tongues, is occasionally shortened to **U-**, as **U-dada**, 'my father', but the plural in such cases is always **Ava-** (**Ava-dada**). The 3rd prefix takes the same forms. The 10th prefix usually differs from the 9th (**Eni-**, **Em-**, **E-**, &c.) only in employing the vowel **I-** instead of **E-**, (**Ini-**, &c.). There is, however, a form **Inz-**, which at first sight suggests a vestige of the archaic **Zi-**, but in reality is only an alveolar way of pro-

¹ The peculiar forms of the Paṅgwa numerals 'seven', 'eight', 'nine' and 'ten' should be noted. 'Seven' is **Heneka muhana** (**Muhana** means 'side'). **Heneka**, according to the Rev. M. Klamroth, means 'stand up' or 'rise alternately'—it is connected with counting on the fingers. 'Eight' is **Heneka ḵoha** (**Ḵoha** = 'everywhere'). 'Nine' is **Fundiki**, a term elsewhere applied to 'ten'. 'Ten' is sometimes called **Mabudi**, possibly the plural of an old word for 'five' (see **Abeti** in No. 154), but more frequently **Fundika ḵoha**. 'Eleven' has the special term of **Kidzigo**, applied in one or two other neighbouring tongues to 'ten'; and according to Herr Klamroth, the number 'twenty-two' is expressed by 'twice eleven' (**Kidzigo kavili**), and 'thirty-three' by 'three times eleven' (**Kidzigo kadatu**). The verb-root **neka** in the paraphrases for 'seven' and 'eight' offers a tantalizing resemblance to the words **Madaneka** and **Mananika** ('seven') in Nos. 148 and 148a.

nouncing **Iny-**. The full tale of 18 prefixes is present, including the 18th or 'gigantic' prefix—**Ugu-** or **Uyu-**.¹

As in some other Bantu tongues, **Kiŋga** employs a duplication of prefixes, as **Ekimunu** (Eki-mu-nu), instead of **Akanu** for 'the little man', and **Ava-lu-gwosi** for 'youths' (from the root **-gwosi**, 'a male').

Also noteworthy is the syllable **Nya-**, which would really seem to be of the same origin and general effect as the same prefix (**Na-**, **Nya-**) in the many other Bantu languages (compare Ruanda, Nyamwezi, &c.).² Thus from **Uluhala**, 'wisdom', is derived the phrase **U-nya-luhala**, literally 'possessing or generating wisdom', or 'the wise person'. From **Ulukola**, 'friendship', comes **Ava-nya-lukola**, 'friends', i. e. 'those-possessing-friendship'.

As regards concords in **Kiŋga**, the prepositional particle of the 1st prefix seems to have changed from *u-* to *v-* (*va* instead of *wa* and *va* changing to *ve*). The pronominal concords of the 3rd are **gu**, **qu**, or **yu**; of the 4th **gi** or **yi**; of the 6th **ga** or **ya**; of the 9th **ji**; and of the 10th **tsi**.

The proportion of peculiar or far-related noun-roots is considerable. The following are a few only out of the **Kiŋga** vocabulary:

-ñanu*, **-kanu***, 'animal'; **-dasω***, **-lasω***, 'arrow'; **-kele**, 'baboon' (178, 56, 61, 61 b, c); **-kisa**, 'blood' (87, and perhaps **-kila** root); **-hana**, **-ana**, 'body' (274); **-tsege**, 'bone' (27, 35); **-onde**, **yonde**, 'bow' (25, 54, 92, 94); **-hatsa**, 'brother' (3 b, 28; 230, 268); **-henza***, 'child'; **-lundω***, 'cloth' (42); **-salwa**, 'cloth' (10, 17, 41-4 b, 45, 61-2); **-tuñanya***, 'doctor'; **-neñgela***, 'drum'; **-kule**, 'drum' (167, 168, 217, 218, 219, 220); **-gatiŋga***, 'drum'; **-bulu**, 'ear' (51); **-kana**, 'egg' (44 b, 94, 56 b); **-tsuñgwa**, 'elephant' (29; 269, 271-2); **-daba**, 'excrement' (110, 121, 120, 94); **-kwutu**, 'excrement' (28); **-dwadω**, 'fear' (75 c, 76, 120); **-hanzi**, 'forest' (123-5); **-seveja***, 'heel'; **-palasa**, 'horn' (184); **-suga***, 'horn'; **-saka***, 'house' (73?); **-heve**, 'house' (27, 29; 273); **-dapω**, 'iron' (273 b; 41, 54, 24, 28, and perhaps allied to the **-tapa** root for 'to mine'); **-sōni**, 'leg' (109, 210); **-bonzu**, 'lion' (35, 69); **-tuğuva***, 'medicine', 'tree'; **-kilili**, 'monkey' (261); **-dugala**, 'mountain' (17); **-peñω**, 'nose' (79, 35); **-gide**, **-gwada**, 'ox' (29; 273); **-sula**, 'rain' (the **-vula** root); **-gasi**, 'river' (3, 3 b, 35); **-hulu**, 'river' (54, 59, 100, 104, 109, 186, 211); **-dalwe**, 'snake' (11, 105 a; 273, 274); **-swamba**, 'son' (27, 61 b, 70, 141; 241); **-saga**, 'stick' (35, 37, 55, 44, 77-8; 263); **-tula**, 'thorn' (65 a, 67, 68, 69); **-twinyω***, 'thorn'; **-jumba**, 'town' (91, 150); **-wehe**, 'wife' (23, 31, 24 c-g, 4, 34, 67, 75-6); **-sola***, 'wind'; **-enza**, **-henza**, 'woman' (20 d, 23, 26); **-hagala**, 'firewood', 'brushwood' (27, 35, 187).

In the numerals, **-pamatω** for 'one' does not resemble any other Bantu root; **-veli**, 'two', suggests a mid-way halt between the western **-bali** and the eastern **-bili**; **-cece** for 'four' is ignored and **-ni**, the more orthodox, is employed instead; 'six' is **-ntanato**; and 'seven' is the paraphrase **-lekela-ku-pamatω**, as to which I can offer no explanation, except that it resembles the Paŋgwa rendering and represents a recounting after 'six'. 'Eight' is the orthodox **-nana**, but 'nine'—**-budika-ku-pamatω**—rather suggests a form for 'ten-less-one' similar to the **-fundika** of neighbouring languages. 'Ten' itself appears to be represented by two words: **-tsigω** or an indeclinable **Kitsigω**; and **Un-devulω** or **-levulω**. The pronouns offer these points of interest: the full form of 'He' is **Umwene**, a form rather more characteristic of the South-western Bantu. 'We' is **Vwe**, derived from an earlier **Fwe**, and that in turn from **Hwe** and **Swe**. 'They' is **Avene**, an appropriate plural of the singular **Umwene**. The root **-ōni** for 'all' recalls the **-ōna** of Saŋgō and the Nyanza Group. There are rather curious features about the demonstratives of the second position ('that') best understood by a reference to the Vocabulary in Vol. I on p. 179. The demonstratives of the third position are preceded, as in some of the Southern Bantu, by **Ŋg-**. In the **Kiŋga** verb should be noted the negative infinitive prefix **Bako-**. The other negative particles used in conjugating the tenses are **Kita-**, **Na-**, **-ğa**, and **Jω-ğa**.

¹ According to the description of the *g* in this and many other **Kiŋga** syllables, it should be pronounced rather like the Arabic *g* than the gamma (*γ*). It is written by Wolff *ğ*.

² This syllable would really seem to be related to one of the root-words for 'mother', and to have been originally translatable as mother of such and such a quality or object, much as there are many locutions in Arabic made up with both the words for mother and father. It is worthy of remark that in Masai, Bari, and some others of the Nilotic languages of the Upper Nile and Eastern Equatorial Africa, **Na-** or **Nya-** is the feminine prefix and pronoun or concord particle.

GROUP L: THE TANGANYIKA-BANGWEULU LANGUAGES

(Nos. 39 to 47)

These, if one commences on the north with Ka-bwari, link on somewhat with the Nyanza languages (Group A), yet not very markedly. In fact, the affinities between Group A and Group L are rather more observable in the languages of South-west and South-east Tañganyika than in Ka-bwari.

With Ka-bwari, I have associated a form of Ki-lega as a subordinate dialect (39 a), because there is an undoubted connexion between the two; and at the time this group of vocabularies was compiled, nothing was known of the Group FF (Elila-Lowa) farther to the west. I assumed, therefore, with some excuse, that the easternmost form of Ki-lega was little more than a dialect of Ka-bwari. As a matter of fact, it is not. It is far more nearly related to Nos. 144 and 144 a. I have, however, let the vocabularies stand as originally compiled to show how Ka-bwari serves to link up Groups A and FF, and these again with the Tañganyika tongues.

Ka-bwari has obvious relationships with Guha, but is much less archaic in its features than Tabwa, Bemba, and Bisa. Guha, again, is a very interesting speech with peculiar features of its own. Tabwa and Bemba are closely allied and undoubtedly connect westward with the widespread group of Luba tongues. Luñgu and Mambwe only differ from one another dialectally, Luñgu being of the two the more archaic. Bisa, in various dialects, connects Bemba and Tabwa with Seña (No. 62) of the Luañgwa valley, and Lenje of the Upper Kafue basin: in short, with the languages of Zambezia. Luñgu and Mambwe are rather more related with Fipa, and Fipa again shows traces of affinity with the Nyanza tongues and the Nyamwezi Group. No. 46, Nyaluñgwa or Ruñgwa, is a very little known language, only recorded by J. T. Last in the form of a slight vocabulary. It has very interesting features, however, and clearly belongs to this Group L, though it exhibits relationships or borrowings from the Nyanza tongues. As to No. 47, Ci-namwañga, though the most eastern in its range, it is nearly related to Bemba, but in some points is akin to Fipa, Mambwe, and Ruñgwa. With regard to 44 a, Bwzwa or Usi (the westernmost of the group), spoken by the Ba-bwzwa or Ba-usi of the Bañgweulu basin, and possibly the islands of Lake Bañgweulu, it is, up to the present, quite unrecorded, but in the reports of travellers is stated to be no more than a dialect of Bisa. It is curious that the root -bwzwa means 'bush' or 'wild country' in the languages much farther to the east, between the north end of Lake Nyasa and the coast.

KA-BWARI (39), like Guha, has the northern dislike to the consonant *ʃ* and replaces it by *ʒ* in the 16th prefix and in many word-roots. It also dislikes *g*, unless preceded by *ʒ*, and supplies its place by a hiatus. It eschews preprefixes, but its prefix forms are tolerably archaic, and it has traces of the use of the -ana diminutive suffix, which seems to be absent from the other languages of this group. Its 13th prefix is sometimes Ke- instead of Ka-, and it has two honorific prefixes, Ba- and Bi-. In its numerals may be observed the unfamiliar form of Ndūi for 'seven'. This, however, shows a relationship with Ruanda (No. 3). In the Ki-lega word (39 a) for 'hundred' (Lu-kama) we see a North-west Bantu affinity not shared by Ka-bwari, which retains the East African -zana (-kana). With regard to pronouns, we have the unusual form of Anūe for 'thou', and in both Ka-bwari and Guha the pronouns 'we' and 'ye' are in their full form preceded by the plural prefix Be- (Ba-i), a West African feature.

It is difficult, with the paucity of information in hand, to distinguish clearly between what are the word-roots of the Ka-bwari language on the north-west coast of Tañganyika and those of the not distantly related Lega dialects on the watershed between Tañganyika and the basin of the Congo. The following, which I quote for their peculiar or far-related character, are for the most part more appertaining to the Ki-lega language (39 a), which has evidently interpenetrated the speech of the Ka-bwari people on the Tañganyika littoral:

-gama*, 'baboon'; -kundu, 'belly' (123, 125, 129, 130, 131, 144, 162; 268); -eitw, 'bow' (3, 3 a, 9 c, 186, 211, 212; 234, 232, 261); -ka*, 'brains'; -kese*, 'brains'; -tamba, 'brother' (135, 194; 273); -butwa*, 'brother'; -tuñgula, 'bull' (5 b); -kuma, 'buttocks' (7, 17, 134, 144); Numbi, 'chief' (76,

92, 170, 144, 164, 188); **-alaika**, 'child' (14, 24, 34, 41, 86, 105, 187); **-riū***, 'country' (39a); **-ga**, 'cow' (3, 3 b); **Kapa**,¹ 'donkey'; **-kinda**, 'door' (144); **-lile***, 'drum'; **-ayi**, 'egg' (19, 19a, 20, 21, 24, 54, 57); **-sai**, 'finger' (133, 135, 144, 159, 160, 161, 161 a, 162, 164, 143, 187, 190); **-vera**, 'fish' (3, 51, 144, 193); **-limba**, 'foot' (the **-tembi**, **-tambi** root); **Numbe***, 'forest'; **Ñuma**, 'girl' (see 'woman'); **-bezia**, 'God' (40, 88, 106, 109, 111, 122, 22; 230; 206-10; 227, 244, 245, 237); **Firie**, 'God' (see 'magic'); **-ambi**, 'God' (the **-ambi**, **-zambe** root of West Africa); **-basabasa**, 'hand' (226, 144, 151, 154); **-sava**, 'hide' (226 b, 144, 40, 44, 104, 105-6, 139); **-dabu**, 'house' (the widespread **-dabω** root); **-wabi***, 'knife'; **-laω***, 'magic'; **-kene***, 'monkey'; **-esū***, 'night'; **-ulu**, 'star' (92, 94); **-bimbi***, 'thigh'; **-bua**, 'town' (2, 4, 4 b, and the **-bōka** root of Cameroons, Congoland, and Togoland; 260); **Ñuma**, 'woman' (16, 118, and the **-kima** root).

GUHA (40), of the western Taṅganyika watershed, is an interesting speech, no doubt with some dialectal variation where it merges in the north into Ka-bwari, and in the south into Tabwa. Normal Guha makes practically no use of preprefixes. Its prefixes are of the orthodox kind (except that it shares the northern dislike to the consonant *ɸ*, and therefore has **Ha-** or **A-** instead of **Pa-**). The 3rd prefix is sometimes rendered by **N-** or **U-**. In its phonology *l* is sometimes substituted for *k*, and *g* for *v*, *k* for *f*, and *j* or *dʒ* for *z* or even *ɸ*. *ʌ* usually replaces *ŋg*, *mb* often becomes *m*, and an archaic *u* is occasionally rendered by *i*.

The following word-roots are notable :

-niegene, 'ant' (79, 18); **Tωlue**, 'baboon' (the **-kωlōe** root, 2 a to 105 and 148); **Kuja**, 'bone' (39 a, 41, and the **-kupa** root); **Kiṅgu***, 'brother'; **Ōme**, **Ñōme**, 'cow' (6, 12, 15, 19, 149, 175, 194; 259, and the **-kōmω** root); **-limba**, 'door' (2 f, 3, 64, 69, 70, 190); **Husi**, 'egg' (1, 2-2 g, 89, 147); **Merω***, 'face'; **-enyω**, 'fear' (42, 44, 44 b); **Naya***, **-nyaga***, 'ghost'; **-kisi**, 'ghost' (West Congoland and Aṅgōla); **-pakasi**, 'girl'; **-bejea**, 'God' (see form in No. 39); **-iswe**, 'hand' (perhaps the **-bisa**, **-pita** root); **-leṅga***, 'hide'; **-tenda**, 'hill' (142 and the **-tunda** root); **Sibω**, 'house' (80, 84, 86, 88-92, 104-10, 188, 222, 226; 248); **-dzese**, 'house' (41, 161; 229); **-palume**, 'husband'; **-duyi***, 'lake'; **-gōkω**, 'big lake' (41); **-tandω**, 'mountain' (9 b; 227; and **-tunda** root); **-nde***, 'rat'; **-iṅgi**, 'smoke' (83; 234; and the **-liṅga** root, 125 to 166); **-ṅgemω***, 'star'; **-legulu***, 'to-day'; **-gutu**, 'town' (41, 160, 89); **-luba**, 'war' (24, 58); **-ji**, 'well' (4, 9, 16, 75); **-bakaji**, **-pakasi**, 'woman' (evidently related to the peculiar form given above for 'husband', **-ba-**, **-pa-lume**); **-gatci***, 'yam'; **-mula**, 'year' (i. e. 'rains'); **-damwe***, 'zebra'.

The numerals are mostly of the East African type. Peculiar forms are **-lōwa** (besides the N.W. and S.W. Bantu **-sambω**) for 'seven' (also met with in 41, 44 b, 78, and 106); and that maid-of-all-work term, **-anda**,² for 'eight'. 'Nine is rendered either by the broken half of a paraphrase, **-habula** (from which no doubt the missing part is **-kumi**), which is shared by Nos. 42 and 106, and also by the word **Ki-tema**, prevalent elsewhere in the heart of the Congo basin. Guha also has two terms for 'one hundred—the East African **Zana** (**Kana**, **Gana**) and the N.W. Bantu **Kama**. In its pronouns, like Ka-bwari, it gives evidence also of N.W. Bantu affinities. The 2nd person singular is the archaic **Gue**, and the 3rd person singular the archaic **Gujω**, but the first and second pronouns of the plural, **Twe** and **Nyi**, are preceded by the prefix **Be-** (**Ba-i-**). There is nothing specially remarkable in the conjugation of the verb, except as regards the negative particles. These are **-si-**, **-zi-**, **-di-**. But there are also negative suffixes, **-kω**, **-ṅgω**, the latter of which is also used as the expletive 'No!', and recalls a similar term in the Nyamwezi Group.

TABWA (41) is one of the most interesting—and fortunately one of the best illustrated—languages of Group L. It makes no use of preprefixes, but in its phonology is typically melodious and 'Bantu'. As in so many other languages of South Central Africa, especially of the Congo basin and Zambezia, it frequently duplicates prefixes of diverse signification. Its noteworthy word-roots are as follows :

¹ Probably meaning originally the Okapi, which is much like it in appearance.

² A term which in the South-central Bantu is applied instead to 'one hundred' and to other numerical significations.

-**naω**, 'ant' (78, 79, 89, 110, 105 a); -**zimu**, 'bee' (42-5, 50, 52, 62); **Tompfwe**, 'brains' (11, 42-4 b, 60, 62, 100-3); -**kulω**, 'breast' (male) (2 f, 86, 90-8, 78, 79, 89, 105, 129, 139); -**nsañga***, 'brother'; -**pani***, 'buttocks'; -**putu**, 'buttocks' (42, 206; 242, 261); -**fiṭa**, 'charcoal' (42, 180, 179, 218); -**sumba**, 'chief' (44 b, 92, 184); -**sama**, 'cold'; -**teta**, 'egg' (110); -**kebu**, 'face' (106, 142); -**sabi**, 'fish' (105); -**kulu***, 'fish'; -**zwa**, 'ghost' (7, 43, 78, 75 c); -**nundwe***, 'girl'; -**pwata***, 'he goat' (perhaps 230; see roots for 'testicle', and cf. the **Fulata** of Groups C and E); -**kusi***, 'grass'; -**ωfwe**, 'hippo' (105); -**sesi**, 'house' (40, 161); -**sumpa**, 'hyena' (3, 49, 50, 42, 56); -**biza**, 'lake' (83, 226); -**lambe**, 'lake' (9 c, 23, 24, 25, 29, 33 a, 38, 45); -**mfuma***, 'leopard'; -**kalañga**, 'lion' (45); -**peñge***, 'monkey'; -**samω***, 'moon'; -**toñge***, 'oil palm'; -**twtwe**, 'penis' (73, 75 b, 131); -**kala**, 'penis' (42, 44, 49, 100, 106, 116); -**fwere**, 'sheep' (43, 43 a, 45; 252); -**tebe**, 'stool' (this is noted here as being one of the extensions southward of the Nyanza word-root for this concept, which also means 'throne'—Nos. 2-4, 9 b, c, 45, 105, 106, 148); -**puli**, 'testicle' (40, 56 b, 57, 91, 104, 105, 108, 120, 164); -**peke**, 'testicle' (106); -**ponda**, 'thief' (273; 73); -**tanta***, 'thigh'; -**dakai***, 'to-day'; -**kutu**, 'town' (160); -**pundu**, 'twins' (77; 229); -**lindi***, 'well'; -**tωbω***, 'well'; -**ela**, 'wind' (44, 52, 51, 94, 105 a, 178); -**koñgwe**, 'womb' (11, 7, 34, 33, 54); -**nyω**, 'womb' (12, 42, see words for 'wife', 'woman').

In its numerals may be noted -**lōba** for 'seven', **Fundi** for 'nine',¹ and -**nunu** for 'one hundred'. 'One hundred' is also expressed by a quaint paraphrase, '**Likumi na nzala**', or 'ten with hunger'. The pronouns are less archaic than those of Guha. In the root for 'we' (**Fwe**)*f*, as elsewhere in the Nyanza Group and in E. and S.E. Africa, takes the place of *s*, and the root **Fwe** sometimes tacks on the plural suffix -**ω**. In the conjugation of the verb the negative particles are numerous and interesting. Besides the orthodox **Si**-, **Ta**-, **Tω**-, and **Te**-, there are the negative prefix **Na**- and the negative suffixes -**fw** (recalling the Caga language of Kilimanjarω), and -**pa** (recurring much in Western Bantu).

As regards **BEMBA** (42), there is some doubt as to whether -**emba** (meaning 'lake') is not the original root of this tribal name. The people are often known as the Aw'emba or Ab'emba. Yet I have also heard the term Ki-bemba locally applied to their language. The name in any case probably originates with the meaning of Aba-emba, 'the people of the lake'. As the 'Awemba' they attained a certain degree of fame in written and unwritten African history during the nineteenth century, for they were a great raiding tribe that devastated for the purposes of the slave trade much of the region between Lakes Bañgweulu, Mweru, Tañganyika, and the Nyasa-Tañganyika plateau, reaching in their rule and tribal influence as far east as the sources of the Cambezi and the vicinity of Lake Nyasa. They were a people first described to us by Dr. Livingstone, whom they received with tolerable kindness in the 'sixties of the last century. Their language is somewhat nearly related to Bisa farther south, and no doubt 200 or 300 years ago the Awemba and Awisa or Ababisa were one people. The Bemba language has sometimes been instanced by me as singularly typical of Bantu perfection. It is less archaic, no doubt, than the languages of the Nyanza Group, but it is rather more typically Bantu in prefixes, phonology, and word-roots. As in Tabwa, there is no dislike to the *ɸ* labial, and the 16th prefix (**Apa**-) is in full use. Of its vocabulary I can only cite the following nouns as being any departure from the normal, while some of them are quoted for their archaic form:

-**nañgi**, 'ant' (2 e); -**paṣi**, 'bee' (150); -**pele***, 'bird'; -**puti**, 'buttocks' (206); -**cōna**, 'cat' (61 b); -**rundu**, 'cloth' (38); **Kombe**, 'cow'; -**ni**, 'egg' (268); -**ensω**, 'fear'; -**pi**, 'hand' (261, 262; 22, 18, 44 b); -**sofwe**, 'hippo'; -**buya**, 'hyena'; -**luñgu**, 'iron'; -**pula***, 'lake'; -**bwiri***, 'leopard'; -**kalamu**, 'lion' (267; 23); -**penje**, 'monkey'; -**imbu***, 'oil palm'; -**tondω**, 'palm wine'; -**roñgω**, 'parrot' (84, 94, 105, 111); -**pele**, 'pigeon' (39); -**mana**, 'river' (48, 13, 92); -**fumbω**, 'salt' (189); -**viala**, 'sister' (19); -**papa**, 'skin'; -**paṣi**, 'spirit' (apparently akin to the word-root meaning 'bee'); -**tōle**, 'testicle' (89; 241); -**gwampa**, 'testicle' (see 274 for curious correspondence); **Mu-nω**, 'thief'; **Pompwe**, 'thief' (62); -**tuñgu**, 'thigh' (204, 205); -**fwe**, 'well'; -**gulu***, 'witch'; -**panda***, 'witchcraft'; -**sañge**, 'woman' (258); -**nyω**, 'womb'.

¹ Recalling the **Fundika** for 'ten' farther to the east.

In its numerals it is fatiguingly discursive,¹ being very fond of paraphrases for 'six', 'seven', 'eight', and 'nine'. 'Eight' is a peculiar form—either **Kine** or **Konse-konse**. 'Nine' is either **Pabula** or **Fundi-lu-bali** (**-bali** being an alternative root for 'two' as in some other languages of this group). For 'hundred', as in Luŋgu and Mambwe, it has the vague numeral **-anda** or **-andω**, which, in the Bantu tongues of South Central Africa, stands sometimes for 'eight', sometimes for 'hundred'. In the full forms of its pronouns Bemba has a tendency, met with elsewhere, especially eastward, to add on the suffix **-wω** or **-bω** to the root. This may well have been plural in origin, but it seems to have been added afterwards to the pronouns of the singular number as a suffix of politeness. As regards verbal syntax it has, besides the orthodox negative particles, an infix **-i-** which is met with elsewhere in Nos. 3, 90, 91, 155, 161, 164, and 199. In the conjugation of the verb, Bemba is typically Bantu.

LUŊGU (43), as already observed, is more archaic in its features than the nearly-related **MAMBWE** (43 a), in that, amongst other things, it preserves preprefixes which are almost dropped in the Mambwe dialect. Both these languages have the peculiar concord of **-wi** for the first class. Both alike dislike the consonant *ɓ*, which therefore disappears from the 2nd prefix (**A-** or **Ya-**). The sixth prefix occasionally assumes the interesting form of **Yama-** which is reminiscent of the full form **Gama-** met with in the Zanzibar coast languages and in Sub-group A 5 of the Nyanza Group. The 10th prefix occasionally retains the form of **Zin-** or takes the peculiar shape of **Iñgi-**. There is an honorific 'father' prefix, **Si-**. In the numerals the dislike to *ɓ* reduces the form for 'two' to **Idi** or **Iri**. 'Seven' is very peculiar—**Kine-zu-wari** or **Kini-mbali**. This recalls the **Kine** for 'eight' in Bemba. It remains, however, at present without any explanation except that **-wari** or **-mbali** = the Western Bantu root for 'two'. As in Bemba, 'nine' is represented by **Fundi** or **Fundi-mbali**; and the curious thing in these paraphrases for 'seven' and 'nine' is the retention (despite the dislike to *ɓ*) of the West African **-bali** for 'two', though in direct allusion this is expressed by a variant of the East African root **-bili**. The same retention of **-bali** occurs in **Bemba** and **Ci-namwañga**.² In the pronouns we have in Luŋgu the form **Wi-** for the 3rd person singular, which recurs as a concord to Class 1 and as the demonstrative pronoun for the first class. Luŋgu exhibits the **-fwe** for 'we', which is ignored in Mambwe where the more archaic form **Sweswe** is maintained. Through the dislike to *ɓ* the 3rd person plural is truncated to **Aω** or even **ω**, and as a nominative particle to **Ha-** or **Ya-**. In its negative particles Mambwe has a peculiar **-mω** suffix, which gives a negative sense ('not he'—, 'not I') to the pronoun that precedes it.

The following are the noteworthy word-roots in **Luŋgu-Mambwe**:

Kalandu, 'ant' (35, 137); **-wanyi**, **-wani***, 'termite'; **-se**, 'axe' (194); **-sisi**, 'back' (50, 109); **-sila**, **-tundu**, 'back' (4, 45); **-fuka**, 'banana' (157); **-dilwa**, **-diliwa***, 'belly'; **-lapwa**, 'bow' (69); **-lupwa**, **-dupwa**, 'brother' (84); **-pambasi***, 'bull'; **-sañgalala**, 'daylight'; **-enza**, **-ensa**, 'egg'; **-tete**, 'fear'; **-gazω**, 'foot'; **Sawe**, 'he goat' (2 f); **-kufi**, 'hand' (21, 6, 6 a); **-kωtω**, 'head'; **-enzω***, 'heart'; **-kwera**, 'hide'; **-kambwe**, 'hippo' (104 c, also in 45); **-kalamba**, 'husband'; **-emba**, 'lake'; **-nañgu**, 'leopard'; **-mbωtω***, 'leopard'; **-sama**, 'lion' (89); **-onsi**, 'man', 'male' (18); **-sañgye**, 'monkey' (62; 234); **-sulu**, 'rat' (56 b); **-silya**, 'salt' (2); **-iye**, 'shoulder'; **-papa**, 'skin' (62); **-sanya**, 'sun' (2 b, 4, 48, 147); **-ransi**, 'sun' (28, 74); **-sinda**, 'tail'; **-tulu**, 'testicle' (48, 49, 50); **-pupu**, 'thief' (72); **-pamba**, 'thigh' (16, 20, 92); **-kandω**, 'toe'; **-sika**, 'war'; **-uza**, 'wind' (27, 87, 105 a); **-uke**, 'wife'; **-ki**, **-kyi**, 'woman'; **-diliwa**, 'womb'.

In the numerals, both in Luŋgu and Mambwe, I have already pointed out the presence of an alternative root for 'two'—**-wari** or **-bali**, used in compounds of numerals 'nine' and 'seven'. The rendering of 'nine' moreover—**Fundi**—recalls (as in Tabwa) the similar root (or **Fundika**) for 'nine' or 'ten' in the E.A. Bantu.

The **BISA** language (44-44 b), like the Bemba, is a very important one from a political point of view,

¹ This is the only tiresome feature in a language which excels nearly all the other members of the Bantu family in its melodious and simple phonology, the logic of its syntax, and immense range of its vocabulary. It is one of the most beautiful and expressive of the world's languages.

² And in No. 69 (Şeñgwe or Gi-toñga) of Inhambane in regard to 'twenty'.

as in various dialects it covers a good deal of Northern Rhodesia and the south-easternmost corner of the Belgian Congo. It is generally assumed by travellers in the last-named region that the **Bwzwa** or **Usi** dialects (44 a) spoken by the people inhabiting the islands of Lake Baŋgweulu and the region between Baŋgweulu and the Luapula river, are dialects of **Bisa**, and I have thus classified them, though no record of their words exists at present. The near connexion of **Bisa** (44) with the **Lala-Lamba** dialect (44 b) is evident by a comparison of the vocabularies. The only feature in the phonology of these harmonious tongues which needs a special reference is the indecision with which the consonant *b* is pronounced, so that it sounds to some ears like a *w*, while others hear it as *b* (a loose-lipped *b*). I have collected several **Bisa** or **Wisa** vocabularies myself, and have generally heard this labial as *b*. The late Mr. Madan, however, our greatest authority on the western forms of this language, inclined rather to *w*, but adopted the compromise of *w̄*. It is simply a case of the frequently repeated transition in Bantu between *b* and *w*. It is noteworthy that we very seldom meet with a change in the reverse direction, the hardening of an original *v* or *w* into *b* or *f* into *p*.

As regards the prefixes, it should be noted that in some dialects of **Bisa** the usual preprefix is displaced in favour of **E-**, which implies greater certainty and precision, meaning in a pronominal sense 'certainly he', 'certainly it'. The 15th prefix **Ku-** in its infinitival sense attached to the verb-root may have several additional prefixes stuck on to it to convey different shades and amplifications of meaning; so that in addition to **Ŭku-** it may be rendered **Ēku-**, **Muku-**, **Emuku-**, **Neku-**, **Ekulu-**, **Kuku-**.

The following are noteworthy word-roots in **Bisa** and its allied dialects, but very few are peculiar to this language:

-wen̄si*, **-weñsi***, 'termite'; **-embe**, **-emfu**, 'beard' (52, 53, 63, 109; 273); **-luwula***, 'blood'; **-tiwi***, 'male breast'; **-tontw̄**, 'cold' (62; 273); **-sañgalala***, 'charcoal'; **Simwe***, 'devil'; **-ni**, 'egg' (42; 268, 274, 269-72); **-sana**, 'egg' (38, 56 b, 94); **Kasa***, 'fat'; **-ensw̄**, 'fear' (40, 42); **-siele***, 'foot'; **-pañga***, **-yañga***, 'forest'; **-sumbi**, 'fowl' (84, 85, 88, 86, 110, 149); **-sakw̄***, 'hair'; **-pi**, 'hand' (3, 18, 22, 42, 192, 225; 243, 254, 261, 262); **-tiwi***, 'heart'; **-bata***, 'horn' (184); **-tw̄bw̄**, 'island' (148); **-balale***, 'leopard'; **-kense**, 'leopard' (141); **-yanda**, 'medicine' (77, 86, 98); **-kwakwa**, 'road' (64, 74 b); **-seu**, 'road' (65, 146); **-kw̄pe***, 'shame'; **-belele**, 'sheep' (35, 52-5, 61, 62, 77-82, 86-7 a, 120; 267, 270); **N̄ulu**, 'shield' (23 a, 24, 25, 51); **-ū** or **-mū***, 'sister'; **-wewe**, 'skin' (255-6; 19, 19 a, 53); **-pale**, 'skin' (34, 56 a); **-kumbi**, 'sky' (11, 17, 15, 62, 66); **Sinsila**, 'sleep' (12, 15, 16, 21-21 e, 25); **-sumbu**, 'spear' (110 a, and the **-rumbu** root of S. and E. Congoland); **-wañga**, 'star' (105); **-kolwa***, 'testicle'; **-so**, 'thigh' (17, 73; 270); **-tembwa**, 'twins' (86, 94); **-ame**, 'urine' (17, 64 a, 75, 126; 243); **-enda**, 'water' (41, 46, and perhaps the **-ndiba** root); **-pafu**, 'womb' (51 a, 73, 74); **-mita**, 'womb' (45); **-limika**, 'year' (23 a, 61 c, 62; recalling the **-limi**, 'sun', of certain East African Bantu).

In the numerals the quinary system has prevailed and displaces old root-words for 'six', 'seven', 'eight', and 'nine'. **Lala-Lamba**, however, still retains **-l̄owa** for 'seven', which has affinities with north-western members of Group L. 'One thousand' is represented by a root **-r̄w̄ba**, **-r̄w̄wa**, which may be no other than the word just mentioned for 'seven'. So often in the Bantu languages a somewhat indefinite root for any numeral above 'five' may be applied differently in one tribe or another, to 'seven', 'eight', 'one hundred', or 'one thousand'.

In its pronouns **Bisa** agrees pretty closely with **Bemba**, as also in its very orthodox verbal conjugations.

FIPA (45), which is perhaps met with in three distinct dialects—the main language; **Ki-pimbwe**; and 45 a, **S. Fipa**—stands rather apart from other members of this group except **Mambwe** (43 a) and **Nya-luñgwa** (46). It has no great originality in word-roots, but is rather peculiar in its phonology, and its numerals indicate more affinity with the East African and Nyanza Groups. **-kaga** and **-tandathu** stand for 'six', **-puñgate** for 'seven', and **Kenda** for 'nine'. In its phonology it is inclined to aspirate the *t*, making it *tʰ*. The southern dialects under **Mambwe** influence dislike the initial *b*, and turn it into *v*, or more commonly *y*. *B* sometimes changes to *f*, and *p* is frequently transmuted to *h*, and *f* to *s*, *m* to *n*. Consequently the 1st and 3rd prefixes are not infrequently rendered as **Un-** (preprefixes being much used) as well as **Um-**, the 2nd prefix varies between **Ba-**, **Va-**, **Aya-**, and **Ya-**, the 14th is more often **Vu-** than

Bu-, and the 16th is **Ha-**. **Iṣi-** ('father') is used as an honorific prefix. The only noun-roots with sufficient peculiarities to be specially cited are:

-thindi, 'back' (49, 226 b); **-lahwa**, 'bow' (49, 69); **-eki**, 'brother' (151, 179); **-anda**, 'day'; **-tirya***, 'elephant'; **Ikwa**, 'lake' (48); **-mana**, 'lake' (44); **-bwima***, 'leopard'; **-kalaṅga**, 'lion'; **-kiṅgi**, 'paddle' (162); **-huli**, 'pigeon'; **-fwere**, 'sheep'; **-lundwa***, 'song'; **Viṅga**, 'stone' (4, 48); **-thebe** (Nyanza Group), 'stool'; **Limi** (Nyamwezi Group), 'sun'.

In the verb may be noted **-ibwa**, **-ipwa**, passive suffix, reminiscent of the Nyanza and other northern and western groups.

The **LUNGWA** or **RUNGWA** (Nya-luṅwa) language (46) is inserted in this group because, in our scanty knowledge of it, it seems to have a nearer connexion with Fipa than with any other tongue, and on Fipa it certainly borders geographically. It is the language spoken on the west and north of that slowly drying up salt lake, Rukwa or Ruṅwa. Luṅwa shares with Fipa a relationship in its numerals to the Nyanza Group. For 'six' it presents us with the remarkable form **-kawaga**, which may be a more archaic rendering of the Nyanza **-kaga**. For 'seven' it has the Nyanza and Western Bantu **-samvu**. In its prefixes should be noted the tendency to employ **Ū-** or **U-** as a preprefix in the 9th class instead of **I-**. It retains **Zi-** as the 10th prefix, and apparently its phonology has no dislike to *ʃ*, since **Apa-** appears to be the form of the 16th prefix. It also uses **-ana** as a diminutive suffix. Amongst its word-roots may be cited: **-suna** (9 b 57, 226), 'back'; and **-ondw**, 'iron' (9 b, and Western Bantu).

CI-NAMWAṄGA (47) should really have been placed next to Bemba, with which it is evidently closely connected. But the Awa-namwaṅga people dwelling in the central part of the eastern edge of the Nyasa-Taṅganyika plateau near the sources of the Cambezi, have had rather a different history to the Awemba raiding tribes, though apparently they represent the farthest extension eastward of that people. In their peculiar form of the verb 'to be', **-linji**, they recall the **-liṅgye** in the same sense in the Kavirondw dialects (5 a), but other features in the verb are reminiscent of both Bisa and Bemba. The **-ana** diminutive suffix is used. **Si-** is a 'father' prefix, and **E-** is used as an honorific personal prefix or preprefix (see Bisa). The word-roots for the most part are similar to those of Bemba, but that for 'sun'—**-lanzi**—recalls the **-ransi** of Mambwe. In the numerals should be noted the alternative West African **-bali** for 'two' as seen in the curious paraphrases for 'seven' and 'nine'.

GROUP M: THE NORTH-WEST NYASA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 48 to 53 a)

This should be divided into three sub-groups, the first containing **Uṅgu**, **Nyixa**, and **Wandia** (Nos. 48, 49, and 50); the second, **Kiusa** or **Nkonde** and **Iki-kukwe** (51 to 51 a); and the third, **Heṅga** and **Toṅga** (52 to 53). But there are sufficient features in common, besides geographical proximity or continuity, to justify the inclusion of all these tongues in one group. The most outlying of its members would be the first on the list, No. 48—**UNGU** or **ICI-WUNGU**. This is spoken on the south-east shores of Lake Rukwa, and extends westward to the Unyixa country of the Nyasa-Taṅganyika plateau. **KI-MANDA** (48 a) is the name of an unrecorded dialect of Uṅgu, along the north-east shore of Lake Rukwa. Northwards the influence of Uṅgu speech extends until the Nyamwezi territory is entered. Uṅgu preserves the preprefixes, and retains most of the prefixes in their archaic forms, with the exception of No. 2, which is sometimes reduced to **A-**, and No. 10, which differs very little from No. 9, except that it is more usually **Inyi-** instead of **I-**. The form of the 8th prefix is not known to me, but I suspect it to be **Ivi-**. Hitherto the language has only been recorded by Mr. Last and myself, and I have not a full vocabulary of it. The only noun-roots I can signalize in No. 48 as being in any way remarkable are the following:

-dumbi, 'baboon' (103, 110, 204, 205, 209, 214; 248, 263); **-landa**, 'blood' (27, 49); **-doḵōlō***, 'crocodile' (49); **-ṵwe**, 'finger' (33, 50, 51, 55, 63; 259); **-tipa**, 'island' (12, and the **-siwa**, **-ziwa** root);

Ikwa, 'lake' (45); **-bwadzi***, 'monkey'; **-niñgwa**, 'finger-nail' (9); **-semba***, 'rain'; **-biriñga***, 'rat'; **-bana**, 'river' (41, 42, 44, 44 b, 62, 189, 187, 191, 4 b, 155, 166); **-eñgi**, 'sister' (105, 157); **-palala**, 'spear' (29, 49, 50, 126); **-fiñga**, 'stone' (4, 45); **-turu**, 'testicles' (43, 43 a, 49, 50); **-luwu**, 'war' (9, 9 c, 25, 49, 50, 195); **-cima**, 'wife' (9, 70, 226).

It shares with No. 46 the root **-kaga** for 'six', an affinity with the Nyanza Group of tongues. Little or nothing is known about its verb conjugation, and the only recorded form of the negative—**-ñw**—recalls a Nyamwezi feature.

With **IȘI-NYIXA** (49) are associated its northern dialects of **ICI-WANDA**¹ and **IȘI-WIWA**. Iși-nyixa has the following phonetic features requiring notice: a dislike to *k*, for which is substituted both *x* and *ñ*. *R* is usually preferred to *l*. *T* is often aspirated and *c* becomes *ɕ*. In common with its neighbour **ICI-WANDIA** (50), it preserves the preprefixes, and the prefix forms of the two languages are very similar, except that in the case of Ici-wandia *b* or *v* often survives instead of the looser *w* of Nyixa. In the same way Ici-wandia prefers the *k* and the *c* to the *ɕ*. The 8th prefix in Nyixa is sometimes **Ivw** instead of **Ivi**-. In Wandia it is more often **Bi**-. The **Zi**- form of the 10th prefix survives in some words. In Wandia also the 7th, 13th, and 15th prefixes are usually **Iki**-, **Aka**-, and **Uku**-. As regards numerals, Nyixa has the form **-wka** or **-wkω** for 'one', and the unusual **-fundisire** (with the plural prefix **Zi**-) for 'five'. 'Ten' is both **-kumi** and **-ɕumi**.

The peculiar word-roots are as follows:

-ere 'arrow' (56-56 b, 5, 133, and the **-sale** root); **-bwadyi**, 'baboon' (see **-bwadzi** for 'monkey' in 48); **-nanda**, 'blood' (27, 48); **-dabi***, 'bow'; **-duru**, 'buttocks' (17, 75 b); **-dωwōrω**, 'crocodile' (48); **-anda**, 'day' (43, 43 a, 45, 50, 192-4); **-thende***, 'dog'; **-thaya***, 'drum'; **-pama***, 'fat' (27; 227, 229); **-sanzω***, 'finger'; **-nziuñguri**, 'ghost' (50, 51); **-sepe**, 'hair' (94, 226); **-aya***, 'heart'; **-hañkari***, 'heel'; **-zumbi**, 'hyena' (3, 50, 41, 42); **-sumbi**, 'lake' (50, 51); **-zωwe**, 'leopard' (9, 9 c, 16, 21-21 g, 25, 35, 54, 55, 87); **-gamba**, 'mountain' (149, 150, 43 a, 45, 48, 51); **-zura***, 'finger-nail'; **-dzendze***, 'river' (53, 61 a, 87); **-veya***, 'salt'; **-gōra***, 'skin' (27, 43 a, 9, 211, 220; 235, 261); **-parara**, 'spear' (48, 29, 50); **-vwiga**, 'stone' (11); **-turu**, 'testicles' (48); **-cese**, 'thorn' (92, 136, 157, 160); **-miri**, 'tongue' (44 b, 193; 238, 240, 241, 250, 263); **-kwi***, **-kwe***, 'tree'; **-iși**, 'wife' (124).

As regards the demonstratives in Iși-nyixa may be noted the very interesting feature that the 'near' demonstrative ('these') as applied to nouns of the 6th class is **Gama**-, recalling the most archaic form of the 6th prefix. The demonstratives of the first position are simply the prefixes, with the exception of that of the 1st class, which is **Unu**-, but there is a form for 'that yonder', **-ninω**, or occasionally only **Ni**-, which is peculiar. This demonstrative is preceded in some cases by the concord (Wu-**ninω** for Class 1), but in others is both preceded and followed by concord (**Vi-ni-vi** for Class 8). As regards the verb, the verbal roots are much loaded with additional particles. There is a peculiar form of the 2nd person plural in the imperative, the verb-root being preceded by **Simu**-. The principal negative particle is **-ti**-, sometimes associated with the root **-li**- ('be'), but there is also a **-ta**- infix and a suffix **-ndali**.

ICI-WANDIA (50) has two well-marked dialects distinct from the main language: **Ici-rambia** and **Ici-ndali**, the last mentioned being spoken in the lovely mountain country of Bundali, perhaps the most desirable portion of German East Africa, immediately north of British Nyasaland. Ici-wandia, as already mentioned, has a more archaic phonology than Iși-nyixa, and this is manifest in the forms of the prefixes. It has a tendency to replace *u* or *w* after *b* by *ɣ*, and *ɣ* sometimes takes the place of a *g*. It has some peculiar or far-related word-roots not shared by other members of the group—such as **-kati** or **-kasi**, 'belly' (which may have some far-away relationship with roots in the Senegambian Semi-Bantu):

-sizi, 'back' (34, 43 a, 47); **-tuñgu**, 'buttocks' (53, 133, 75, 151, 153, 155); **-enza**, **-ensa**, 'egg' (54, 60, 64 a, 65, 68-71 f, 72, 75); **-mbūi**, 'hyena' (40-3 a, 39, 44-5, 52, 62, 85, 106, 139, 142, 144); **-ziera**, 'leo-

¹ Quite distinct from the Ici-wandia language (No. 50) farther to the south-east.

pard' (56 b); **-mbara**,¹ 'man, vir'; **-tɔzi**, 'pigeon' (151, 176); **-yemba***, 'sister'; **Muñɔ**, 'thief' (44 b, 42); **-sañgɔ**, 'thigh' (5 a, 6, 9 c, 75-75 b); **-uma**, 'thigh'² (105 a); **-sarara**, 'toe' (15, 16, 19, 54, 120; 263); **-kɔmɔ**, 'tree' (248; 218, 219, 178); **-rugu**, 'war' (9, 9 c, 25, 48, 195).

In the numerals **-eka**, **-ɔka** are noteworthy for 'one'; **-sanɔ**, 'five', is normal as compared to the **-fundisire** of Nyixa. But the cumbersome way of forming composite numerals (**-na-purwi-**) resembles the **-na-puru-** of Nyixa.

As regards the verbal conjugation, there seems to be a normal **-eni** termination for the 2nd person plural imperative; the infinitive prefix **Ku-** is often preceded by **Pa-**, and the negative particles **-ta-**, **-ti-** are like those of Nyixa.

In considering No. 51—**IKINYI-KIUSA**—more conveniently known as **ŊKONDE**,³ we are in the presence of one of the most peculiar and interesting of the Bantu languages, one which contains a considerable number of unrelated word-roots or roots which have far-away connexions: a speech, in fact, which has evidently long been isolated in its present head-quarters, the mountain region immediately north of the north end of Lake Nyasa. It seems to have a mountain dialect, **Mwamba**, **Sɔciri**, or **Iki-kukwe** (51 a).

In its phonology it has a preference for *s* over *z*, *f* over *v*. The *k* seldom or never degenerates into *c*. *R* and *ɽ* not infrequently take the place of *l*, especially before *u* or *ɔ*. *N* occasionally changes into *r* between two *a*'s. The preprefixes are fully retained and even enlarge the form of the concords; and the prefixes with their concords, are mostly archaic. The 1st and 3rd prefixes occasionally become **Un-**, the 2nd is equally **Aba-** or **Awa-**. The 10th prefix, however, is reduced to the form **I-**, though it has **si-** as its pronominal particle. The 11th prefix is sometimes **Udu-**, with a plural frequently in **Nyi-**, a form of the 10th prefix which is not often met with as plural to No. 9. Apparently the 18th prefix **Ugu-** persists in this language and has as plural No. 2 (**Aba-**). The **-ana** diminutive suffix is present and a good deal used. The 15th prefix, where it is applied to infinitives, is usually preceded by **Pa-**. The list of peculiar or far-related noun-roots is very long, only a selection can be quoted:

-gesa*, 'ant'; **-sewere***, 'ant'; **-bulika***, 'white ant'; **-pifwa***, 'arm' (see **-pita** roots for hand); **-ete***, 'arm'; **-koñgi**, **-goñgi***, 'arm' (249, 232, 263, 255; 182); **-tipuru**, 'arrow' (27, 141, 176, 20); **-duwañga**, 'axe' (249); **Kaki***, 'baboon'; **-bweñgi**, 'baboon' (5 a, 52, 57, 58-60, 100, 103); **Rɔmia*** or **-mia***, 'back'; **-gegɔ**, 'banana' (4, 11, 14, 15); **-jinja**, 'banana' (19 a, 20, 50); **-difu***, **-diali***, 'banana'; **-anda***, 'belly'; **-fundubili**, 'belly' (2 f, g, 3, 4, 103, 129, 131, 130, 132-4, 162, 189-90, 162, 147, 144; 268); **-dombōrɔ***, 'belly'; **-pindɔ**, 'bow' (21-21 g, 23-4 g, 25, 28, 32-5, 37, 55); **-suma***, 'brother' (94, 64, 67, 68, 72; 253); **-tañga**, 'buttocks' (104); **-wawɔ***, 'charcoal'; **-su**, 'country' (63, 66, 75-6, 84-8); **-kute***, 'cold' (56 b; 241; 184, 187); **-gɔlombe***, 'cow'⁴; **-gulila**, 'day' (7, 25, 45, 166); **-embe**, 'devil' (218, 219); **-nyagɔ***, 'doctor'; **-mbara**, 'dog'⁵; **-mbimbi**, 'drum' (135, 206; 232, 261); **-diñgara***, 'drum' (17, 32, 100-3, 189); **-buru**, 'ear' (38); **-fumbi**, 'egg' (11, 12, 35, 37, 52, 54, 55, 62, 72); **-sige***, 'eye'; **U-ñikɔ***, 'father'; **-ōbe**, 'finger' (48, 50, 55, 63); **-berere**, 'fish' (3, 39 a, 144, 193); **-siñgi**, 'forest' (86, 94, 69, 56 a, 61 a); **-suñgu**, 'girl' (44 b, 104, 105, 195, 199; 273);

¹ **-mbara** (Nya-mbara) is related to the **-mbala** of 51 and **-bala** of 189 and other forms in the Western Bantu, and to the **-mbara**, 'testicles', of No. 221.

² **-uma** (Ny-uma) is evidently the common root for 'back', 'behind', and probably refers to the back of the thigh.

³ The peoples speaking this language and its dialects were first made known to Europeans by the other coast populations of Lake Nyasa as the Awa-ñkonde, but it is not clear whether this term was one of local origin or not. The people themselves, at any rate near the coast of Lake Nyasa, used to the present writer the comprehensive term of Awanyi-kiusa. But this may have only been the name of a small tribe or clan. Farther inland they are known as the Awa-kukwe, and the dialect spoken by the Awa-kukwe is also known as Mwamba and Ci-sɔciri. Mwamba probably only means 'up above' or 'mountains', and Sɔciri may have much the same signification. In the first volume, Mwamba was wrongly spelt with a hyphen.

⁴ **-gɔlombe** is a combination of **-kɔlɔ** ('female') and **-ombe** ('cattle').

⁵ Evidently a word-root meaning 'manly', 'plucky': see word-roots for 'man, vir', and 'testicle'.

-**lindu**, 'girl' (77); -**beki***, 'she goat' (12, 70); -**bamba**, 'God' (55, 60, 61 a); -**dumbura**, 'heart' (38, 37, 27, 98); -**gupi**, 'hippo' (186, 203, 125); -**waga**, 'house' (54, 64 a, 65 a); -**idu***, 'house'; -**ndiṅṅω***, 'hyena'; -**patama***, 'hyena'; -**wōli**, -**bōli**, 'leopard' (150); -**mbala**, 'man', 'male' (50, 221, and Gaboon languages); -**kaṅgali***, 'man, vir'; -**seṅga**, 'milk' (75); **Kabukabu**, 'monkey' (70, 71 f, 73, 74, 75-75 c, 100, 211; 232, 251); **Salila***, 'monkey'; -**gamu**, 'name' (75); -**sinω***, 'penis' (18, 218, 123); -**pulω**, 'road' (193, 90, 56; 247); -**pusω***, 'road'; -**lambω***, 'salt'; -**tera***, 'shield'; -**pina***, 'slave' (19); -**gwegω**, 'spear' (248); -**gurω***, 'spear'; -**kōsa**, 'spear' (98); **Camba**, 'sun' (51 a, 69, 70, 71-71 f); -**swigara***, 'tail'; -**pepe**, 'tail' (156; 259); -**tuṅgu**, -**duṅgu**, 'testicles' (54, 52, 53, 37, 32, 28); -**dapatapa**, 'thigh' (96, 114; 271-2); -**labω**, 'to-morrow' (14, 25, 27, 28, 32, 35, 37, 38, 48, 50, 54, 104, 120; 230); -**aija**, 'town' (50); -**piki**, 'tree' (23-9, 35, 37, 38); -**giri***, 'tree'; -**ite***, -**iti***, 'war'; -**ina**, 'well' (14); -**berω**, 'wind' (41, 44, 52, 94, 105 a, 178); -**papirω**, 'womb' (73, 74); -**babu**, 'wood' (probably the origin of the widespread -**bau**, -**baω**, meaning 'plank' or 'piece of wood'); -**enja***, 'year'; -**sendze-were***, 'zebra'.

In the numerals we may note the alternative root -**beli** for 'two' as an approximation to the West African -**bali**. In the root for 'five' *s* gives place to an initial *h* (-**hanω**). For 'six', as well as the quinary system, the old root of -**tandatu** is preserved. For 'ten' and the decades, -**kumi** has virtually become extinct and is replaced by -**roṅṅω** or -**loṅṅω**. There is no independent root for 'one hundred'. In the pronouns the 2nd person singular is represented by the archaic **Ugwe**. The accusative infix for 'him' is sometimes -**n-** as well as -**m-**. As regards the demonstratives, those of the first position are just the pronominal particle, with the exception that the demonstrative for the 1st Class is **Ju-**. The demonstratives of the second position are the pronominal particle plus the preprefix (except that the demonstrative for No. 1 is **Uju-**). For the third position the pronouns of the first are doubled and relativized. For 'that', 'those yonder', there is the particle -**la**, preceded by the pronoun. As regards adjectives, 'female' is rendered (besides -**kazi**) by -**dindu**, a peculiar form which is also met with as -**rindu** in Iṣi-nyixa. The root for 'short', instead of being the almost universal -**fupi** in one form or another (which in the sense of 'near' does reappear in Ikinyi-kiusa as -**pipi**) is -**pimba**, and 'sick' is the unfamiliar -**bina**, apparently related to the root 'to dance', from the practice of obliging invalids to dance till they sweated.

As regards the verbal conjugation, Ikinyi-kiusa is normal, with the exception of the preference for **Paku-**, as an infinitive prefix, over **Uku-**. The suffixes for extending the sense of the verb-root are very full—almost typical. That for the passive is -**igwa** or -**ibwa**, as well as -**wa**. The negative particles are -**ti-** (-**di-**), -**ka-**, and -**ṅga-**, but there is also a peculiar suffix -**mma**, which is added to the pronoun, and somewhat recalls the -**mω** of Mambwā (43 a) used for the same purpose. There seems to be no -**ba** root for 'to be'; only the far-spread -**li**.

THE HENGA, TUMBUKA, AND TONGA SUB-GROUP

The boundaries of this sub-group are on the east the west coast of Lake Nyasa, on the west the line of parting between the watershed of Lake Nyasa and the Great Luaṅgwa river between the latitudes of 10° 30' and 12° 30', and on the south the little River Luaṅgwa, which flows into Lake Nyasa on the north of the Marimba district. On the west this group is much circumscribed by the intrusive 'Aṅgoni' with their Zulu dialect, and by the Baseṅga and Babisa of the great Luaṅgwa valley; so that the Atoṅga are now restricted to the narrow coast belt of Lake Nyasa, though the Batumbuka stretch westward along the valley of the Rukuru river almost to the Great Luaṅgwa.

CI-HENGA (52) is the language of the Nyika plateau north of the Rukuru river, and is spoken by the A-pōka, A-nyika, and A-heṅga. **CI-TUMBUKA** (52 a) is distinct as a dialect from Ci-heṅga, but Ci-**kamaṅga** on the Nyasa coast is difficult to separate dialectally from Tumbuka. **CI-TONGA** (53) is the language of the cheery, likable 'A-toṅga' of West Nyasaland, so long the friends of the white man and co-operators with him in the wars against the Arabs and the Mohammedan Yaōs, and in the industrial development of British Central Africa. The Wa-toṅga have enlisted almost in thousands in the British armed forces, though numerically quite a small tribe. They would have been exterminated in the latter

half of the nineteenth century by the Añgoni Zulus but for the intervention of British missionaries and British administrators. Though the tribal name 'Toñga' is widespread throughout Zambezia and South-east Africa, there is no special relationship between the three groups of Toñga languages. The northern dialect of Ci-toñga is Ci-siska or Ci-sisya (53 a).

In phonology the **Tumbuka** Sub-group, as this may be called for short, is noteworthy amongst the Bantu languages for permitting the unfamiliar collocation of a sibilant and a guttural without an intervening vowel, the combinations *sk*, *sx*, *sɣ*, *ʃk*, *ʃɣ* commonly occurring. But it would be found on comparing the words or syllables having this unfamiliar phonology with those of other Bantu languages, that the *k*, *x*, or *ɣ* really takes the place of an *i*, *y*, or palatal sound, so that *sɣ* becomes *sɣ*, *sk*, or *sx*, while the conjunction of the palatalized *ʃ* and *ɣ* with a guttural is equally possible. Thus we have **-siska** for **-sisya**, **-skuñku** for **-siuñgu**, **-sɣawa** for **-siawa** among the noun-roots, **-saska** ('buy') for **-sasya** in the verbs, and the **-isya** causative termination of the verb-root rendered **-iska**, **-izya**. This feature may not be observable to any marked degree in the vocabularies of selected words; it is more to be noted in place and tribal names and in extended or derived terms.

This sub-group, unlike the other members of Group M, entirely discards the use of preprefixes with the classificatory prefixes, though it makes full use of them as demonstratives. The 9th prefix is sometimes **Yi-**, and the 11th is normally **Ru-**, but in the south-east **Li-**, due to Nyanja influence.

The peculiar or noteworthy noun-roots in **Heñga** and **Tumbuka** are the following:

-ndundu, 'ant' (13, 50, 49, 104); **-vwe**, 'arrow' (15-9, 24 to 64, 77-90); **-bweñgɔ**, 'baboon' (see 51); **-kombere**, 'banana' (9 c-50, 54, 70-2, 136, 157, and S-B.); **-embe**, 'beard' (44 b, 109; 273); **-tupi**, 'body' (24, 60-1 c); **-wañgwa**, 'bone' (34); **-hene***, 'devil'; **-cewe***, 'dog'; **Sumbi**, 'egg' (11, 12, 35, 37, 51, 54, 55, 62, 72); **-gwere**, 'hippopotamus' (15, 17, 18, 61, 64); **-kama**, 'palm wine' (227; 2 a, 9 c, 23-4, 54-75 b); **-henehene***, 'pig'; **-tɔhwa***, 'road'; **Dazi**, 'sun' (242 b, 268; 73-4 b, 132, 28, 43 a, 100); **-toñgɔ**, 'testicles' (54, 37, 51, 32, 28, 126); **-ñkhuñgu**, 'thief' (55, 61-61 c); **-era**, 'wind' (41, 44, 51, 94, 105 a); **Bori**, 'zebra' (13, 14, 16, 12).

In **TOÑGA** and **SISKA**:

-erere, 'ant' (11, 26, 56, 56 a, 57, 58); **-ñkweri**, 'baboon' (38, 61-61 c); **-embi**, 'beard' (see 52); **-vavu***, 'body' (see 'skin'); **-wañga**, 'bone'; **-skuñku**, 'buttocks' (133, 151-5, 75, 50); **A-kw-eni**, 'chief' (62, and **-ene** root); **Garu**, 'dog' (31, 35, 33 a, 61-61 c; 267-72); **Pazi**, 'foot' (14, 61-61 b, 86; 247, 269, 272); **-oli**, 'fowl' (5 b; 273; 85, 105, &c.); **-gweri**, **-bweri**, 'hippo' (see 52); **-pundu**, 'hyena' (55, 35, 36, 77, 79); **-porɔkwɔwɔ**, 'iron' (the **-bɔwɔ**, **-bulu** root of Congoland); **-iga**, 'leg'; **-rubwi**, 'leopard' (17, 57-9, 61); **Fwiti**, 'magic' (44 b, 56, 58 a, 61, 62, 104, 144, 175, 193, &c.); **-kama**, 'palm wine' (see 52); **-ka**, 'penis' (120; 260; and **-kata** root); **-janca**, 'rat'; **-tɔwa**, 'road' (52); **-wavu**, 'skin' (19, 19 a, 6, 121, 80, 81, 44 b; 255-6); **-tambu**, 'sky' (56 b, 57-9, 61-61 c); **-siwa***, 'sleep'; **Dazi**, 'sun' (see 52); **-toñgo**, 'testicles' (see 52); **-ñkhuñgu**, 'thief' (55, 61-61 c); **-oli***, 'twins'; **-yao** 'yam' (28).

The numerals in Toñga contain these features of interest. 'Five' is rendered exclusively by **-konde** or **-khonde**; and **-kati** is an alternative root for 'ten'. (Query: 'middle', in counting, between a man's fingers and toes?) Heñga-Tumbuka also expresses 'five' by **-ñkonde**, but more usually by **-sanɔ**. All the full forms of the personal pronouns in Toñga are preceded by **Yi-**, and in Heñga by **I-**; except in the case of the 3rd person singular.

The demonstratives in Heñga (and Toñga is very similar) consist in the first position of the preprefix and prefix, in the second position of **-ra** or **-wa**, preceded by the pronominal particle, and in the third position of the infix **-en-** placed between the adjectival particle and the pronominal (Mw-en-iyu, 'that yonder', Class I; B-en-aba, 'those yonder', Class 2).

In the verb there is no **-ile** termination for the preterite; **-eñge**, as well as **-ni**, may be the pronominal suffix in the 2nd person plural of the imperative; the infinitival prefix may be **Paku-** as well as **Ku-**; and the negative particles in Heñga are **-ti-**, **-ta-**, **-kw**, and **-rivie**; in Tumbuka the same, but also **Si-**. In Toñga the negative particles are **Si-**, **Kuti-**, **-ca**, and **-livi**.

GROUP N: THE YAŴ AND NĠINDŴ LANGUAGES

The YAŴ and NĠINDŴ languages (54-55 a) are spoken over a long strip of Eastern Africa stretching from the vicinity of the Rūfiji river on the north to the confluence of the Ruŵ and the Shiré on the south, crossing the valley of the Upper Ruvuma. On the east the Yaŵ and NĠindŵ domain is bounded more or less by the Lujenda river—a name which is a Yaŵ word. On the west the use of Yaŵ extends into the Shiré highlands and to the south-east coasts of Lake Nyasa, but the actual coast belt of East Nyasa is occupied by Nyanja dialects as far north as the Portuguese-Zaŋgian frontier. Beyond that is spoken an interesting dialect of NĠindŵ—Ci-mpŵtŵ (55 a), which might perhaps be better described as a transition form between Yaŵ and NĠindŵ. Ci-mpŵtŵ also offers some resemblance to its limitrophe neighbour on the north, Ki-kese (37), a member of Group J. The Yaŵ-NĠindŵ Group has distinct affinities with Group O (the Makua), which bounds it on the east. The range of NĠindŵ is a kind of interpolation between the Makonde-Mwera Group on the east and Groups J and K on the west.

Amongst the noun-roots which are remarkable in YAŴ for peculiarity or relationships are the following :

-**pipi**, 'ant' (263; 218, 226 b); -**gumbi**, 'termite' (35, 61, 189, 190, 89, 159); -**likwi***, 'termite'; -**njece**, 'termite' (7 a, 34, 35 a, 55, 57, 58); -**mpamba**, 'arrow' (35, 55, 60, 199, 205); -**cimbŵ**, 'baboon' (61 b); -**nena**, 'belly' (15, 16, 21, 61 a, 94, 105, 73, 166, 155); -**wiru**, -**ilu**, 'body' (65, and the -**biri** root); -**kunji**, 'bow' (25, 38, 92, 94); -**tutu**, 'brains' (23, 33 a, 64; 241); -**kulugŵ**, 'brother' (63, 64 a, and the -**kulu** root); -**pwa**, -**pwaŋga**, 'brother' (81, and the -**paka**, -**paŋga** root); -**iŵme**, 'cat' (32, 35); -**guŋgwa**, 'canoe' (72, 198, 199, 204); -**teŋga**, 'chief', 'king' (253); -**kŵŵ**, 'cow', 'female animal' (2, 21, 35, 33 a, 51, 55, 72); -**sagamilŵ***, 'dream'; -**pikanilŵ**, 'ear' (60); -**ndanda**, 'egg' (60, 64 a, 71 f, 72, 73, 75-6, 84); -**umbi**, 'egg' (55, 62, 72, 73); -**koŋonda***, 'egg'; -**taji**, 'egg' (19, 20, 24, 57, 21); -**jele**, 'egg' (61, 61 b; 241-241 c, and the -**jira** root); -**nyi**, 'excrement' (the -**nya** root); -**kau**, 'foot' (56, 58-9; 232); -**sezŵ**, 'forest' (64, 94); -**gonde**, 'forest' (44, 105 a, 132, 134, 141, 155, 159, 162, &c.); -**sonda**, 'frog' (85, 86, 95, 96, 98, 102-3, 109, 114); -**Nja**, 'giraffe' (273-4); -**Tonde**, 'he goat' (61 a, 61 b, 79); -**buje**, 'grandfather' (28, 35, 56 a, 57-9, 61-61 b, 64, 155, 226); -**umbŵ**, 'hair' (34, 61 a); -**ndende**, 'heel' (17, 42, 44, 50, 51, 61-2, 64-76, 114, 123-4, 136-222; 267); -**kombwa**, 'hide' (53, 71-6, 82, 155, 156); -**leka***, 'hoe' (89?); -**sega**, 'honey' (61; 244); -**peŋga**, 'horn' (32, 56 a, 61, 86, 91-4, 98, 100, 104, 122); -**kome***, 'a large house'; -**wasa**, 'house' (51, 64 a, 65 a); -**sŵŵ***, 'a husband or wife'; -**tunu**, 'hyena' (80, 23); -**pala**, 'iron' (58 a, 61, 151 a); -**ruŋgŵ**, 'knee' (87, 87 a, 106, 108, 110, and S-B. 227 to 262); -**pula**, 'knife' (34, 35, 44 b, 55, 61, 80-1, and the -**kula** root of Congoland); -**koŋgŵŵ**, 'leg' (32, 28, 193); -**gŵmŵ***, -**jemŵ***, 'lip'; -**lagu**, 'medicine' (39 a); -**kama**, 'milk' (the widespread verb-root, 2 e to 178); -**tumba**, 'moon' (151, 151 a, 153, 154); -**cenje**, 'mountain' (34, 108, 128); -**kala-wesa**, 'finger-nail' (146); -**yalŵ**, 'penis' (218, 225); -**sulŵ**, 'river' (38, 58, 59, 100, 104, 109); -**jenda**, 'river' (155, 23); -**tala**, 'road' (56 b, 226; 253); -**kondŵ**, 'road' (23, 83); -**jete**, 'salt' (9 c, 21, 23, 33 a, 40, 41, 42-4, 45, 61-61 c); -**ŋgŵza**, 'sheep' (60-1 b, 75); -**koŵŵ***, 'shoulder'; -**pende**, 'skin' (92, 191-3); -**kunami***, 'skin'; -**iunde**, 'sky' (9 a, 9 c, 24, 25, 34, 207); -**canda**, 'son' (2 f, 9 a, 9 c, 136, 142); -**paŋga**, 'spear' (56-56 b, 193; 248, &c.); -**gaŋga**, 'stone' (27, 29, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 87; 267, 268); -**pwala***, 'testicle'; -**walŵ**, 'thigh' (14, 73); -**ciga**, 'thigh' (34, 133, 15); -**tefe**, 'town' (261, 263, 264; 225); -**wira**, 'twins' (28, 61, 67, 148, 178); -**tasi**, 'vein' (9 c, 100, 184; 235); -**buŋgŵ**, 'wind' (1, 2, 35, Central Congoland, 166, 184-94, &c.); -**koŋgwe**, 'woman' (*lit.* 'vagina') (7, 32, 33, 34, 193); -**bumba**, 'woman' (17, 32, 35, 55, 61, &c.); -**sasu**, 'firewood' (32, 35, 55, 184, 188, 190, 166).

These are some of the peculiar noun-roots in NĠINDŴ and MPŴTŴ :

-**njuemba**, 'beard' (35, 44 b, 52, 53); -**lemba**, 'child' (149, 195, 94, 84, 114); -**hāmbŵ**, 'drum' (111, 200; 266); -**wuŋgi**, 'face' (32; 263); -**uwu***, 'finger'; -**gonji**, 'finger' (32, 34, 38, 109, 121; 270); -**koŋŵŵ***, 'foot'; -**bamba**, 'God' (4, 51, 60, 61 a); -**Bwabu**, 'grandparent' (17, 21, 25); -**cundu**, 'guinea-fowl' (35, 37); -**duturu***, 'head'; -**ega**, 'hide' (263); -**mara***, 'horn'; -**khati***, 'house';

-vumbu*, 'iron'; -yuwa, 'knee' (32, 35; 270; 192, 193); Akwa*, 'mother'; -uhu, 'finger-nail' (22, 35, 37, 157); -dahi*, 'palm wine'; -kuka, 'river' (27, 29, 100, 69, 119, 121); -yumbŵ, 'wife' (32); -kigi, 'woman' (11); -bumba, 'woman' (35, 61, 17); Hānju, 'firewood' (32, 35, 166, 184, 188, 190).

Yaŵ, much more than NĠindŵ, is a Bantu language of peculiar and isolated developments. In its phonology it is remarkable for eschewing *h*, though *h* is markedly present in NĠindŵ, and possibly existed in the oldest form of Yaŵ, so much so that the tribal name was said, in its original form, to have been Hiawa, which became corrupted by the adjoining Nyasa peoples into Jawa—the Nyasa name for the Wa-yaŵ being still 'Ajawa'. To some European observers—especially those who wrote of the Yaŵ fifty years ago—the plural designation for this people amongst themselves sounded more like 'Wa-hyau' than anything else.¹ Nevertheless, the Wa-yaŵ of to-day profess to be quite unable to pronounce *h*, and in transcribing European words replace it by an *s*. *F* and *v* are still more completely and somewhat anciently eliminated, though in Northern Ci-nĠindŵ *f* and *v* exist occasionally in the form of the 8th prefix, but are more often transformed into *h*. In Yaŵ *f* becomes *s* or *w*, *v* becomes *w* or drops out altogether. There is no *z* in the ordinary pronunciation, though occasionally it appears in the south-west dialects through Nyasa influence. *Nz* becomes *s* in Yaŵ, *nj* in NĠindŵ. *K* before *i* and *e* usually softens into a *c*, except in the south-west dialect of Yaŵ. *S*, which is one of the favourite consonants in Yaŵ speech, frequently becomes *h* in NĠindŵ. (Ki-suwi, 'leopard', is in NĠindŵ, Ci-huwi or Li-huwi.) The Yaŵ reject the *r* for the *l*, but the Wa-nĠindŵ reverse the process. In Ci-mpŵŵ the phonetic processes halt half-way between Yaŵ and NĠindŵ.

There is no trace left in Yaŵ of the preprefixes, not even in the demonstrative pronouns, where their place is taken by that prefixial **A-** which is so marked a feature in Groups G, H, and I. On the other hand, NĠindŵ markedly, and Ci-mpŵŵ less so, retains the preprefixes in Classes 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16. In Yaŵ, the 5th prefix has the interesting adjectival concord of **gama-**, recalling the ancient form of the prefix still subsisting in the Masaba Sub-group of the Nyanza tongues. The 8th prefix is reduced to **I-**; the 9th and 10th are similar in form, though the 10th has its separate concord of **si**. In NĠindŵ and Mpŵŵ the 8th prefix is usually **Hi-**, but in Northern NĠindŵ **Fi-** and **Vi-**. The 9th prefix is occasionally **Jim-**. The 10th is the same in form as No. 9, but its concord is **hi**, derived from an earlier **si**, and that of course from a pristine **zi**. The 14th prefix—**U-** always in Yaŵ—is sometimes **Hu-** in Mpŵŵ and NĠindŵ. There also seem to be traces in NĠindŵ-Mpŵŵ of an ancient **La-** or 'time' prefix, without special concord. But before leaving the subject of Yaŵ-NĠindŵ prefixes we must consider their special 'honorific' developments. These are more exaggerated in Yaŵ than in NĠindŵ. In NĠindŵ the honorifics consist of the 'mother' prefix—**Na-**—occasionally combined with the 13th, **Ka-**. But the full form of the 13th prefix in NĠindŵ is sometimes employed by itself as an honorific, as it is in the Nyanza and Luba-Lunda Groups. In Yaŵ (and rarely in NĠindŵ) the 8th prefix—**Ki-** or **Ci-**—is an honorific, and, preceded by No. 2 (**A-**) it becomes ² **A-ki-**, **A-ci-**. The plural of this combination is **Wa-i-** (2+8). The **A-** seems to be an alternative form of No. 2, the more regular version of which is **Wa-**. But learners of Yaŵ are further confused by an honorific prefix which is heard as **Ce-** and **Ca-**, and which is also preceded sometimes by **A-**. This at first they take to be a corruption of No. 7; but in reality it appears to be a Yaŵ form of the 'father' prefix appearing in other Bantu languages as **Sa-**, **Se-**, **Si-**, or **Si-**. The 'mother' prefix **Na-** is common in Yaŵ, but without any feminine sense.

The formation of adjectives is complicated as compared to the normal Bantu speech—indeed, Yaŵ is

¹ 'Yaŵ' in Ci-toŋga (West Nyasaland), means 'yam', and it is just possible this may be related to the original of the tribal name of this remarkable conquering people.

² The simple **A-** (plural) prefix is of itself an honorific when employed in the singular sense; or has a meaning of tenderness or affection. Thus **A-tati** = 'father'; **A-maŵ**, 'mother'; **A-sŵnŵ**, 'wife', and **A-mwali**, 'girl'. The plural prefix to these **A-** nouns is **A-ca-**. Honorific prefixes are applied not merely and chiefly to personages, but to foreign implements or articles of trade which are held in special value or respect; or in semi-mockery to the males of beasts and birds. **Aca-** is often abbreviated to '**Ca-** and '**Ce-**, and is prefixed to the names of chiefs or Europeans, eventually answering to the English 'Mr.' In some cases, before applying a singular honorific prefix to a root, the 7th (**Ci-** or **Ki-**) prefix is first added; so that from -ene, 'possessor' or 'possessing', we first of all have **Mw-ene**, 'an owner', then **Ci-mw-ene**, 'a chief' or 'big owner', and finally, **A-ci-mw-ene** or **M-ci-mw-ene**, 'a big chief'.

difficult and clumsy in structure, though a melodious language in sound. 'A great man' instead of being *muntu mu-kulu*, as in so many Bantu languages, is *mundu ju-a-m-kuluṅgwa*, or 'man of bigness', in which *ju* is the concord particle, *a* the preposition 'of', and *m* stands for the adjectival particle, *-kuluṅgwa* being a lengthened form of the root *-kulu*. 'A great tree', instead of being *muti mu-kulu*, is *mtela wo-* (for *wa-u*) *-kuluṅgwa*; 'great trees' is not rendered by *miti mi-kulu* but *mitela j-a-mi-kuluṅgwa*. Other adjectives are formed of abstract nouns, preceded by the concord and preposition 'of' ('a man of goodness' = a good man): or by the use of the infinitive tense of a verb or a verbal adjective, combined with the concord particle of the governing noun and the prefixed preposition 'of' (*Mkalow-wa-ku-tema*, 'a knife of to be sharp', 'a sharp knife').

In the numerals, both in Yaṳ and ṅindṳ, we have that East African form for 'four'—*-cece*—which ranges through the land between Nyasa and the Indian Ocean, beginning in the north with Pṳgorṳ (28) and Gaṅgi (31) and extending south-east to the coast dialects of Makua, but not to the Lomwe (56 b) or to Cuambṳ (57). Curiously enough, this word-root seems to have an ancient, Semi-Bantu relationship. At any rate, 'four' in Jarawa of Bauci (253) is *Kes'* or *Kiṣ'*.

Another extremely far-related numeral in Old Yaṳ and in ṅindṳ, and perhaps Ci-mpṳṳ, is *-jila* or *-cira*, occasionally used for 'ten' or 'one hundred', but more often in a plural form (*Ma-jila*, *Ma-cira*) for 'twenty'. This is obviously related to the *-cila* of Fernando Pṳ (226), the *-cinda*, *-tinda* of North Congoland, and the *-hit*, *-hint*, or *-rina* of the Cameroons Semi-Bantu (235); perhaps, also, to the root *-cilu*, *-tilṳ*, 'foot', in the Luba languages (104 c, 105).

The numeration between 'five' and 'ten' is quinary, and the older forms for 'six', 'seven', 'eight', and 'nine', have disappeared. In the more northern dialects of Yaṳ the old root for 'hundred' (*-gana*), is preserved, but in South-east Nyasaland 'hundred' is represented by *Mwanda*—a numeral often used to express an indefinite number.

As regards the pronouns in Yaṳ, the full form of the personal pronouns has *-ju* or *-jṳ* as a suffix (*Neju*, *Gweju*, *Uweju*, *Umweju*, &c.). The 1st person plural in its full form has departed from ordinary standards: it is *Uwe*¹ (*Uweju*), but in its verbal particles it returns to the normal *Tu*. The sense of 'all' (*-ṳse*) is often clinched by adding the suffix *-pe* (*-ṳsepe*)—a suffix which appears and reappears through many of the Bantu languages, conveying a sense of completeness either as a negative or restrictive or affirmative particle (it is the Swahili *-pia*, West Nyasa Ci-toṅga *-pe*). In ṅindṳ the pronouns are normal, but in their full form take the *-ṅga* suffix—*Neṅga*, *Weṅga*, *Tweṅga*, &c., which originally conveyed the sense of 'only'—'I only', 'thou only', 'we only', &c.

The demonstratives in Yaṳ, as already mentioned, are in all the forms, save one, preceded by a prefixial *A-*, which takes the place of the varying preprefix. In this exception of the third position there is a form equivalent to what has been described in Heṅga (52): an infix—*-ele-*, preceded and followed by the concord particles. This does not seem to exist in ṅindṳ, nor is there in ṅindṳ the prefixial *A-*.

As regards the negative particles in the verb, the commonest in Yaṳ is *ṅga-* (*ṅge-*, *ṅgi-*, *ṅgu-*), with other syllables (*-na*, *-nu*, *-sa*, *-su*, &c.) occasionally added; also there are *-ka-* or *-ga-* infixes, extended sometimes to *-kasa-*, *-kaga-*; and *-ga* and *-je* suffixed. In ṅindṳ and Mpṳṳ there is a direct negative, *Lietu*—which recalls the form in No. 37 (*Dietu*!), there are the prefix *Ki-* for the 1st person singular, *-lietu* as a negative suffix, *ṅga-*, *-ṅga-*, *Ka-*, *-ka-* prefixes and infixes, *-naka-* (a Mpṳṳ infix), and *-tupu* a Mpṳṳ negative verb (see Nos. 32, 140, and Swahili *-tupu*, 'bare', 'empty', 'non-existent').

The verbal formations in Yaṳ are most elaborate and tedious in their piling up of syllables. The suffix *-ga* is often employed in the sense of continuation, 'to go on doing so'. A negative sense is given to some past tenses by changing the terminal *-a* into *-e*. Yaṳ has the *-ile* (*-ene*, *-ice*, *-ite*, &c.) preterite termination (*-menya*, 'strike', *-menyile*, 'struck'), and also conveys a preterite sense by changing the terminal *-a* of the root into *-e*. Besides the normal passive termination of the verb-root, *-wa*, there is the peculiar *-ilwa*. But the language, especially as developed in missionary literature, is so exceedingly complicated and elaborated in its verbal forms that it probably has no future before it as a widespread medium of intercourse, and is already giving way to types of Bantu speech easier of acquirement. There are some nineteen tenses of the verb, duplicated by an almost equal number of negative tenses.

¹ From *Suwe*, *Huwe*.

GROUP O: THE MAKUA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 56, 56 a, 56 b, and 57).

The **MAKUA** Group has long been noted as one of the most peculiar in its developments and the degree to which it departs from the Bantu norm. Its geographical range extends from the north of the Ruvuma river over the greater part of the Moçambique province southward to the northern half of the Zambezi delta. Its northernmost dialect is spoken on the Umbekuru river (Masasi district), behind the Makonde and Mwera languages. Eastward, the Makua Group reaches the sea coast of the Indian Ocean, except for a very narrow coast strip in the Kerimba country (immediately south of the Ruvuma), and Cape Delgado and the island of Ibo (Wibu), where there are ancient Swahili settlements. Also on the coast of Añgoşe, between Moçambique Island and Quelimane, there are Arab and Swahili settlements of long existence wherein is still spoken the Nğwji dialect of Swahili.

The Makua Group¹ may be divided into two principal languages—**MAKUA** and **CUAMBŌ** or **CUABŌ**. Makua (I-makua, as it is generally called) is again divisible into a number of dialects; those of **Masasi**, **Mbwabe**, and **Metŵ** or **Medŵ** on the north, **I-Makua** and **Tulugu** on the east, and **Lomwe** on the west. **Ci-cuambŵ** or **I-cuabŵ**, of the Quelimane district, is sufficiently distinct to be described as a separate language (No. 57).

Northern Makua does not differ so markedly from the southern and eastern dialects as Lomwe does from both.

The phonology of the Makua Group is remarkable for the following deviations from standard Bantu. There is a dislike to *n* before all other consonants except *r* or *y*. Thus from *nb* (*mb*), *nd*, *ng*, *nk*, *np* (*mp*), *nt*, *nz*, the *n* drops out; and **Kirambo**, 'country' or 'district', becomes **Elabŵ**; **Iñgombe**, 'cow', becomes **Iñōpe**; **Iñgŵnya**, 'crocodile', is **Egŵnya**; **Isomba**, 'fish', turns to **Ihōpa**; **Inyumba**, 'house', to **Enupa**. *D* is often (but not always) absent from Northern Makua, its place being taken by *t*, *c*, or *č*; but it is commoner in Southern Makua, and is a favoured consonant in Cuambŵ. The lisping consonants, *č* and *č̣*, enter a good deal into the phonology of the Makua Group, *č* in Makua, *č̣* in Cuambŵ. *K* replaces *s*, *f*, *b*, and *g*, in Makua, but is often eliminated from the beginning of a word-root or prefix. Thus the 15th prefix **Ku-** is simply **U-** throughout all the Makua Group, including Cuambŵ. An initial *p* becomes *v* or *b*, while an earlier Bantu *f* is changed to *k* or *h* (**Mafuta**, 'fat', becomes **Makura**). But *f* reappears in numerous Cuambŵ words. *V* in Makua is sometimes derived from an older *m*. With regard to gutturals and labials, there should be noted in Makua the *Gb* combination in certain primitive roots, recalling Sudanic phonology. Throughout Makua *t* is frequently changed into *r*, and more rarely to *c*, except where it represents an older *nd*. An original Bantu *n* changes often to *l*, and conversely a pristine *l* is frequently represented by *n*, especially as an initial. *S* is almost absent from the Makua Group, changing to *s*, *c*, or *h*; *z* in Cuambŵ usually becomes *d*. *T*, where it persists, is often pronounced explosively or with an aspiration, especially in Northern Makua. *R* is strongly trilled.

Makua contains a large number of noun-roots seemingly peculiar to itself, and not easily traceable in other Bantu tongues. **Cuambŵ** is less remarkable in this respect; but of the Makua dialects, **I-lomwe** is most noteworthy for its proportion of unrelated substantives. Those that are either far-related or peculiar in **Makua** (56, 56 a, 56 b) are the following:

-**tūi**, 'ant' (187, 74 b); **-cere**, **-vera***, 'termite' (35); **-tere***, 'arrow'; **Kŵole**, 'baboon' (2 a, 7, 12, 42-44 b, 50, 58, 59, 62, 64 a, 68, 75, 105, &c.); **-zōgŵ**, 'back' (23, 24 c, 30, 32, 193); **-duli**, 'back' (4, 57,

¹ The Makua dialects, owing to the slave trade with South Africa, early attracted the notice of philologists. The Dutch East India Company imported many Makua slaves from Moçambique into Cape Colony, and the British Government allowed the practice to continue for a few years after the British annexation of that region. Makua slaves were next sent to America, and some of them found their way (through British interference with the slave trade) to Sierra Leone, where Koelle wrote down their language about 1850 as 'Matatan'. A further history of our knowledge of the Makua language and its numerous dialects is given in the Bibliography of Vol. I.

59, 64, 77, 79, 140); **-nika** or **-niga***, 'banana' (164); **-rori**, 'beard' (155, 156-68); **-bwetu***, 'beard'; **-rugulu**, 'belly' (79, 74 b; 261, 263); **-pwame**, 'blood' (19, 19 a); **-rutu**, 'body' (83, 87-92, 120, 148, 157, 175-8, 189-90); **-dada***, 'body'; **-gwoḡw***, **-kwoḡw**, 'brains' (273); **-betw**, 'male breast' (73); **-kagaja**, 'male breast'; **-hande**, 'brother' (2, 4, 23, 69); **-lebale***, 'brother' (57, 58-60, 61-61 c, 4); **-rokoro*** (the **-kulu** root), **-hima***, **-muzi***, 'brother'; **-pulubu***, **-tada***, 'buffalo'; **-kutu**, 'buttocks'; **-bewe***, 'chief'; **-hima***, 'child'; **-pida***, 'cloth'; **-kudu***, 'cold' (51; 241); **-wani***, 'country' (56 a); **-kaku**, 'crocodile' (64); **-sepa**, 'devil' (84, 86, 44 b, 51, 4 a, b, 5-6 a, 9-10); **-nepa**, 'devil' (137, 151, 159); **-samla***, 'dog' (56 b); **-wiwi***, 'ear' (56 b); **-ywoce***, 'egg'; **-hala-ṣuṣw**, 'egg' (56 b-94, 29)¹; **-kumali***, 'elephant'; **-lesu**, 'fat' (134, 136, 208); **-cukula***, 'fear' (56 a); **-legwe**, 'finger' (258, 259); **-libue**, 'finger' (56 a) (the **-lembu** root); **-jisi***, 'finger' (56 a); **-punu**, 'finger' (250; 57-8 a, 59, 60); **-kawi**, 'foot' (54); **-takwa**, **-tapa**, 'forest' (7, 11, 12, 14, 16, 25, 26, 64, &c.); **-hiru**, 'forest' (the **-situ** root); **-nepa** (from **-lemba**), 'ghost' (see 'devil'); **-lobū**, 'he goat' (226; 269-72; see 'man'); **-cehu**, 'he goat' (56 b, 3); **Gbwui**, 'grandparent' (28, 32, 35, 54, 57-9, 61, 64, 155, 226); **-kololw***, 'guinea fowl'; **-karali***, 'hair'; **-tata**, **-taba**, 'hand' (222, 223, 224, 57); **-kuva***, 'head' (56 b; 267, 274); **-iṅgala***, 'heel' (56 b, 49); **-kataka**, 'hide' (184, 226 b); **-dabala**, 'hide' (34); **-pitu***, **-petu***, **-pwitu***, 'hippo'; **-ṅṣadu***, 'hoe'; **-ravw***, 'honey'; **-kalapa***, 'honey'; **-lopw***, 'husband' (13, 58, 91, 114); **-ikwe**, 'husband' (80); **Ku-jupa**, 'hyena' (3, 49, 50, 41, 42, 207); **-severe***, **Havara***, 'leopard' (50); **Keregere**, 'leopard' (15, 11, 142, 184); **-kaṅgu**, 'lion' (61, 176); **-atw**, 'lion' (57, 2 g; 259); **-dere**, 'lip' (156, 7 a, 103, 120); **-kwiri**, 'magic' (the **-fwiti** root, and 121, 120, 218, &c.); **-lopw**, **ligw**-, **-lobw**-, **loḡw**-, 'man, vir' (9 c, 13, 57-9, 78, 114, 141, 198; 230); **-rete**, 'medicine' (32, 37, 69, 70); **-pele**, 'milk'; **-ṣapwe**, 'monkey' (51, 70, 71 f, 73-5 c, &c.); **-karama***, 'monkey'; **Kotw**, 'monkey' (7, 7 a, 17, 100 b; 271-2); **-lagu***, 'mouth' (25); **-kata**, 'nail' (69); **-karu**, 'nail' (267-9); **-loḡw**, 'penis' (56 a, 4 a, 16, 21, 84, 110; 237); **-soṅkwe***, 'rain' (57); **Ṣuwa***, 'rain' (4; 259, 260, 271-2); **-mede**, 'rat' (4); **-silu**-, **-cili**-, 'rat' (13, 28, 43, 57-9, 98); **-lokw**, 'river' (225, 69, 24, 25); **-hici**, 'river' (the **-gezi** root); **-pirw**-, **-pitw**-, 'road' (51; 247); **-ka***-, **-ba***-, 'salt'; **-roḡgora**, 'sister' (58, 60-61 c, 62, 70, 57, &c.); **-bwsie**, 'sister' (56 b-100 b, 5, 5 a); **-rapala**, 'skin' (34, 44 b); **Tebe**, 'skin' (56 b, 12; 254; 90, 91, 94, 104-5, 142, 143, 151, 4, 4 a); **-kuli**, 'skin' (25, 27, 178, &c.); **-sare**, 'slave' (57, 9, 89; 263, 269); **-pwta***, 'slave'; **-loku**, 'slave' (71, 84-7, 103; 258-9, 270-2); **-ruba**, 'sleep' (254); **Kwve**, 'sleep' (63-8, 72, 91); **-rulu**, 'sleep' (the **-tulw** root); **-zibw***, 'song' (the **-imbw** root); **-vaga**-, **-vaka** (from **-paṅga**), 'spear' (54, 58 a, 95, 100, 193; 248); **Soṅga**, 'spear' (the **-koṅga** root, 11 to 259); **-kuluba**,² 'spirit' (1, 38, and see roots for 'God'); **-lugu**-, **-luku***-, 'stone'; **-bucwa***-, 'stone'; **-unla***-, 'tear'; **-baja**, 'thigh' (21-4, 28, 33 a, 90, 151, 226); **-pitw**-, 'toe' (131-4); **-kwoḡw**-, 'toe' (34, 54, 61, 71 f, 161); **-labw**-, **lagw**-, 'town' (161; 230, 228, 267; 191); **-gidzi***-, 'town'; **-toḡw**-, **-tegw**-, 'town' (6, 128, 132, 166-8; 234, 230, 273, 256, 258, 227; 1); **-nywzw**-, 'urine' (7, 7 a); **-ruca**, 'urine' (69, 71 f, and the **-tunda** root); **-sempfa**, 'vein' (9 c, 61 a, b, 73, 74, 75); **-luṣi**-, 'well' (32); **-parawe***-, 'well'; **-himi**-, 'well' (the **-sima** root, 11 to 274); **-gunya***-, **-guinya***-, 'white man'; **-takw***-, 'wind'; **-hanw** (-**nya-hanw**), 'woman, concubine' (31 a, 55, 60).

The proportion of peculiar word-roots in **Cuambw** (57) is not so great:

-cece, 'termite' (35, 56 a, 86); **-gugu**, 'termite' (187); **Boṅgwe**, 'baboon' (58-60, 5 a, 51, 100, 103); **Duni**, 'back' (9 b, 46, 12, 226); **-subw**-, 'belly' (81, 134 to 190 over much of Congoland); **-rugulu**-, 'belly' (the **-kulu**-, **-tuṅgulu** root); **-zonṣe***-, 'male breast'; **-ma***-, 'child' (56 a); **-kwoḡw**-, 'crocodile' (59, 90, 91, 161; 251); **Labw**-, 'daylight' (14; 274 and **loḡbu** root = 'to-day'); **-bunw**-, **-bunwe**-, 'finger' (56 b, 58-60; 242, 250); **Bibi**-, 'grandparent' (13, 21-21 g, 34, 41, 42); **-dada**-, 'hand' (222-4, 56 a); **-tika**-, 'hyena' (58 a, 59, 64, 65 a, 66, 69, 74, 75, 210, &c.); **-rugwe**-, 'leopard' (53, 58-9, 61-61 c); **Pwoḡwoma**-, 'lion' (4—this is one of the most interesting puzzles in Bantu philology. The word for 'lion' in Luganda is **Porogwoma**. Yet the two languages, Nos. 4 and 57, are more than 1,200 miles apart and have had no possible intercommunication; and the root does not occur elsewhere); **-andwe**-, 'lion' (56 b); **Seṅga**-, 'magic' (60, 61 a, 157, 134, 116; 261); **-le**-, **Male**-, 'magic' (59, 61 a, b, 161; 230); **-kaka**-,

¹ **-ṣuṣw** is reminiscent of the Congo and S.W. Africa **-susu** root for 'fowl'.

² Probably related to the **-gulube** root of E. Bantu.

'milk' (44, 44 b, 58-9, 61-2, 64, 64 a, 72); **Sondw**, 'penis' (27, 58, 59, 67, 75-75 c); **-nywkw**, 'pigeon'; **-kañga**, 'pigeon' (58, 59); **-zwegwe**, 'rain' (56 b); **-nanti**, 'sister' (65 a, 185); **-bare**, 'slave' (56; 263); **-lwbw**, 'thing' (178, and **-lwkw** root, 164-6, 175, 226); **Dabu-nw**, 'to-day' (see 'day', 14); **-zinda**, 'town' (59-61 a, 71, 223, 205, 209, 2 f); **-gwira**, 'twins' (28, 54, 61, 178); **-jiji***, 'vein'; **-iyena**, 'woman' (166; 243).

The chief singularity of this group consists in the much reduced and altered prefixes, some of which are not easily identified with the normal Bantu types. Cuambw in this respect is a little less changed than Makua; and of the three Makua dialects, I-lomwe is less aberrant in its prefix forms. Class 1 in Nos. 56, 56 a, 56 b contains, besides **Mu-** and **M-**, several honorific prefixes which will be described in the next paragraph. These are apparently absent from Cuambw. Amongst the concord particles for Class 1 in Makua is **bi**, in Cuambw **du**. Class 2, in all forms of Makua and in modern Cuambw, is reduced to **A-** (occasionally to **E-**), and includes the plural honorifics, which are preceded by **A-**. A concord of the 3rd prefix in Cuambw is **bu**. The 4th prefix in Makua (normally **Mi-**) is sometimes abbreviated to **N-**, and has the very peculiar concord of **ci**, perhaps derived from an archaic **gi**. The fifth in both Makua and Cuambw is **Ni-** or **N-**. In the last century it was still heard as **Li-** in Cuambw, and the Lomwe dialect (56 b) has retained it as **Li-** to this day. The 6th prefix in Makua has an unusual adjectival concord, **owa**. The 7th prefix in all three forms of Makua is reduced to **I-** or **E-**, though in a few words it is still heard as **Eki-**, **Ici-**, **Ey-**, but never has any distinctive concord. In Cuambw it is **Ci-** as well as **Ei-** and **I-**. The 8th prefix in Makua is scarcely distinct from the 7th, and can only be identified as **I-** or **Iy-**; sometimes it is wanting. But in Cuambw the 8th survives as **Vi-**. The 9th is often absent from Cuambw; where it is retained, it is **N-** or **Ny-**. In Makua it is **E-** or **I-** in most cases, and is, therefore, quite confused with the 7th. Occasionally it reveals itself as **In-** or **En-**. The 10th is **I-** or **E-**, like the 9th in Makua, but it has a definite concord **ci**. In Cuambw it is **Di-**, **Ti-**, **De-**, or **Re-**. In both languages the 11th, 12th, and 13th prefixes are missing, though in Makua—and especially in Lomwe—the 13th persists, attached to the noun-root, without concord or other plural than the apposed plural prefix of Class 2 (**A-**). Classes 14 and 15 are scarcely distinguishable from each other as **U-**, **W-**, **Wu-**, or **Ww-**.¹ The 16th is **Va-** in Makua, **Apa-**, **Pa-** or **Va-** in Cuambw. The 17th persists and is made some use of, being likewise regarded as a locative plural to the 16th. The **-ana** diminutive suffix is present in both languages and much used. There is also a 'mother prefix **Na-** in Makua, and **Nya-** or **Na-** in Cuambw, which, once applied, becomes inseparable from the noun-root, and takes **A+** as a plural prefix. It has no specially feminine meaning in these languages, but is rather a prefix conferring 'humanity' on the objects named. One other Makua prefix (not apparently found in Lomwe) should be mentioned, **Yw-**; plural **Cw-**. The **w** in this prefix may be the relative **w** which comes into so many demonstratives, or it may be a vestige of the 15th (infinitive) prefix, **Ku-**. As regards the **Y-** of the singular form, it could be derived from the 8th (**Ki-**), the 9th, or from an old 8a prefix (**Vi-**). But up to the present time the origin of this **Yw-**; plural **Cw-** (**Cw-** may be the 12th, **Tu-**) has not been established.

I cannot find any trace of honorific prefixes in Cuambw, but their presence in all three of the Makua dialects is very obvious and their character and origin are much the same as in Yaow, **Ngindw**, and **Nseñga** (62). In Makua they are not only applied to human beings, or as titles, but they are given in mock respect to animals or to specially prized objects, those of foreign introduction, for example.

Others are prefixed by **Mwa-** or **Mwan-** in the singular, and **Aši-** or **Aci-** in the plural, sometimes on top of ordinary prefixes. Thus **Mwa-m-uñku** means a 'caterpillar', and **M-uñku** is a noun of the 3rd class. **Aši-mi-uñku** is 'caterpillars', a noun originally of the fourth class to which **Aši-** has been prefixed. A 'brook' or 'small stream' is **Mwa-m-mwolkw**, plural **a-ši-mi-mwolkw**. Sometimes **Mwa-**; plural **a-ši** or **a-ci-**, is prefixed to the bare root; sometimes the vestige of a prefix intervenes. In almost all cases it conveys either an honorific or a kindly, diminutive sense. **Mwa-** is sometimes **Mwala** as well as **Mwan-**, and one would be disposed in any case to think that **Mwa-** is simply an abbreviation of **Mwana** ('child'). But the **-la** syllable is sometimes retained in the plural, as in 'fowl' or 'chicken' **Mwa-la-kū** (derived

¹ Nouns preceded by the 14th prefix—**U-** in the singular, often change the *a* of their terminal syllable into *w* in the plural: **U-rera**, 'goodness'; plural **ma-rerw**.

from E-ku); plural aci-la-kū; or in 'dog', as Mwa-la-pwa; plural aci-la-pwa. 'Child' is Mwan-hima; plural aci-hima. But though the singular prefix, **Mwa-**, **Mwan'**, or **Mwala-**, is easily explained (and its use is curiously paralleled in languages Nos. 70, 71, 59, 61, 103, 200; and 248), it is difficult to state the original meaning of **Aši-** or **Aci-** as a plural, especially in a diminutive sense. It cannot be, as in Yao, derived from the 2nd plus the 7th prefix, because it is used in a plural sense; it can scarcely be a pluralizing of the 'father' prefix—this, by the bye, lingers in Lomwe and perhaps in Imakua as **Se-**—because it is intended to be a diminutive. I am obliged to leave this enigma unsolved. Both the **Ka-** (13th) and the **Na-** ('mother') prefixes are used often in an honorific sense, but remain in both numbers fixed to the noun-root, marking the plural by prefixing **A-**. This diminished form of the 2nd prefix (**A-**) is further used honorifically both in singular and plural, especially in words indicating kinship. Examples of the foregoing conditions are: **Karirōle**, 'looking-glass'; **Nakuw**, 'Indian corn-cob'; pls. **a-karirōle** and **a-nakuw**; **A-muna**, 'grandfather'; **a-muna**, 'grandfathers'.

In numerals the Makua languages offer a form for 'one'—**Mōza**, **Mōka**—which is met with in Swahili, in the Tumbuka Group of West Nyasa (52 a), and in the easternmost dialect of the Nyanja Group, Cipodzō. **Peli**, an alternative root for 'two', is perhaps a compromise between **-bili** and **-bali**. The northern and eastern forms of Makua (not I-lomwe or Cuambō) share with Yao, Nḡindō, and the Rufiji-Ruvuma languages the peculiar **-cece** or **-jeṣe** for 'four'. The enumeration is quinary, as in Yao; the word for 'ten' in Eastern Makua is **Mlōgō** (ex **Muloṅgō**), but in the other Makua dialects and in Cuambō, it is **-kumi**. There is no single word for 'one hundred' in the Makua dialects, but **-zana** (from an older **-kana**) reappears in Cuambō, and this language has apparently an old Swahili word for 'one thousand'—**Cikwi**.

In the pronouns the 1st person is represented in the full form by the root **Mi-** (**Miō**, **Minyanō**), but its nominative particle is **Ki-** (derived from an older **Nḡi**), and **-ki-** is likewise its objective form. In Cuambō, however, the verbal nominative of the 1st person singular is **Di-**, **D-**, and the objective appears to be **-n-**. The possessive form of the 1st person singular is **-aga** or **-aka** (from an older **-aṅga**, **-aṅgu**). In the pronoun of the 2nd person singular in Makua there is nothing specially remarkable, except that its objective pronominal particle is **-hu-**, **-wu-**, or **-u-**, instead of **-ku-**. In Cuambō the 3rd person singular would appear to have the unusual nominative pronominal prefix of **Ba-**, **B-**, its objective infix being **-u-** instead of **-mu-**. The 1st person plural has been greatly changed in the Makua Group. Nowhere is there a trace of the consonant *t* or *s* about it. The full form is **Hiyānō**, **Hiyō**, or **Iyō**, which of course was originally **Siyanō**, &c. The verbal concords of this pronoun seem to have been originally **ti**, which decayed into **ri**, and that into **li**, and finally **ni**, and in this form only is it met with throughout the Makua Group at the present day, both in nominative and accusative. The 3rd person plural is little else than the vowel *a* with supplementary syllables, though in some forms the Old Bantu **Ba-** appears as **Ya-**. The root for 'all' is usually **-ōte**, but in Northern Makua it takes the remarkable form of **-oṅkea**, reminiscent of the South-east African Bantu and Zulu-Kafir.

There are peculiarities in the demonstratives necessitating notice. For those of the first position, both I-lomwe and Cuambō seem to use only the preprefix-cum-prefix (**Uyu** or **Udu**, **Ayō** or **Awa**), but in both Northern and Southern Makua the locative particle **-la**, usually associated only with demonstratives of the second and third positions ('that', 'that yonder') is employed for 'this', 'these'; while 'that', 'those' is indicated by **-le** preceded of course by the concord vowel. In addition, Northern Makua has an extended demonstrative of the third position, in which a somewhat varied form of the first demonstrative is preceded by the syllable **Pi-** or **Pu-** (with the inexplicable change to **Ti-** for nouns of the 1st and 2nd class). The forms of the demonstratives in Cuambō are very little known to us, and my suggestions are scarcely more than guesses.

The passive terminal suffix in Makua verbs appears to be **-ia**. That of Cuambō is not known. The preterite termination **-ile** is preserved in the form **-ele**, but is only used affirmatively in a relative sense. **Kirōele**—'I who went' (from **-rōa**, 'go'). In the negative, however, the **-ele** termination has the simple preterite sense. The negative particles in Makua are normally **Ka-**, **K'** (**Ku-**, **Ki-**) and **-hi-** (**-si-**); but the negative as applied to the 1st person singular is irregular—**Aki-**, **Agi-**. The **Ki-** negative prefix is sometimes heard as **Gi-**. There are also a **Ne-**, **Ni-** negative prefix, a **-na** negative infix, and a **-le** negative suffix. Ci-cuambō has apparently only one negative particle, a **Ka-** prefix, but probably there are others.

From the foregoing exposition it will be perceived that the Makua languages have a very distinctive and peculiar character of their own. They have evidently long been isolated in this bulge of the African continent between the Nyasa watershed and the Indian Ocean. Makualand (Moçambique) is only a few days' sail from the coast of Madagascar. It is surprising that the Malay peoples should have travelled right across the Indian Ocean from Java and Sumatra and yet have failed—apparently—to reach the African mainland. That they did not do so in any numbers is clear, from the absence of the Mongoloid type in East Africa. They did not even reach the Komorō Islands before the Arabs brought them there three to four hundred years ago. Nevertheless, in analyzing any non-Bantu noun-roots in Makua, it would be interesting to search for Malagasy affinities.

GROUP P: THE SOUTH NYASALAND LANGUAGES

(Nos. 58 to 62)

This is a group of much historical and political interest in Bantu Africa. It includes the languages spoken from the delta of the Zambezi inland, chiefly, but not entirely, along the northern bank of the Zambezi to some little distance beyond the Portuguese district of Tete, and thence northwards, including the basin of the Shiré river to Lake Nyasa.

The **NYANJA** dialects occupy the southern half of the Nyasa coast-lands and extend as far west as the basin of the Luaṅgwa. They are also spoken on the islands in the middle of Lake Nyasa and on some portions of the east coast of that lake. Their area of occupation was perhaps more extended formerly in Eastern Nyasaland, but they have been overlaid by the speech of the invading Yaṵ, and in South-east Nyasaland by an advance of the Lomwe section of the Makua Group.

The languages of Group P may be subdivided thus :

Nos. 58, 58 a, 59, and 59 a (Ci-mazarṵ, Ci-podzṵ, Ci-nyuṅgwe, and Ci-sena) form almost a sub-group by themselves. They represent the speech of the banks of the Zambezi river from the Cikarōṅga Falls, the Quebrabaço Rapids and the confluence of the Luiya-Kapṵci river, eastward to the Indian Ocean. No. 60, the **Cimbṵ** or Ci-cinjiri language of the eastern side of the Lower Shiré, has certain peculiarities, though it is very insufficiently known. The people who speak it are supposed to be descended in part from the terrible cannibal Jagas (the Va-kiṵṵ) who invaded Zambezia in the sixteenth century, and extended their raids as far to the north-east as Mombasa. There are a few word-roots in Cimbṵ which may support this theory. But it also contains other word-roots borrowed from Yaṵ, from Ci-nseṅga and from Group Q. Our knowledge of its grammar is so lacking that we are not able as yet finally to determine its status and relationships. The third sub-division of Group P would consist of the Nyanja dialects, of which at least four types can be distinguished. These are the Ci-nyanja of East Nyasaland, the Ci-mañanja of the Shiré highlands, the Ci-cewa of the south-west coast-lands of Lake Nyasa, and Ci-peta or Ci-maravi of the mountainous country to the south-west of Lake Nyasa and the regions immediately north of the Tete district. Farther west than this the South Nyasaland dialects merge into Ci-nseṅga (62), which is quite a distinct sub-group of Group P, and indeed is of rather uncertain affinities, being almost equally related to the Bisa and Bemba languages of Group L and the adjoining speech-forms of Group U. In some respects the southernmost languages of Group P are more archaic than those whose range extends farther to the north and east. Yet, on the whole, it is probable that the Nyanja languages were not only of common origin with those of Group Q, but proceeded to their present area of occupation through the country west and not east of Lake Nyasa, and especially down the valley of the Luaṅgwa river. They show some affinity with Ci-toṅga of West Nyasaland (53), but this, perhaps, is more in the nature of words and expressions interchanged.

Preprefixes play little part in these languages, and for practical purposes they may be regarded as absent, though there are traces of them in Class 9 and in the prepositional forms of Classes 16 and 17. Ci-nseṅga, however, differs from the other members of this group in this respect. In it preprefixes are frequently made use of in Classes 1, 2, 3, 6, 11, and 16. In all tongues of this group the practice of

super-adding prefixes to the root so that two or even three may be applied, is common, especially in Nseŋga. In Ci-mazarow and Ci-podzow (58, 58 a) the 11th and 12th prefixes seem to be missing. In 59 and 59 a these prefixes are either absent or but little used; in **Cimbw** also. In the **Nyanja** dialects the 13th prefix is well represented, but its plural, No. 12, is rare, and has changed from **Tu-** to **Ti-**. In Ci-nseŋga, however, all the prefixes down to 17 are well represented, except that No. 14 is only **U-**. This is its commonest form in the other members of the group, but in 59, 60, and in 61 b **Bu-** is also met with. The 8th prefix exhibits considerable variations, ranging from the orthodox **Bi-**, **Vi-**, and **Pi-** of 58, 58 a to the **Dzi-**, **Zi-** of East Nyasaland. In Ci-nyuŋwe and in Ci-peta it exhibits the transition forms of **Bzi-**, **Psi-**, or **Pfi-**. The 11th prefix, as already mentioned, is rather neglected. Where it is retained it not infrequently assumes the form of **Ri-** or **Li-**, and is fused with No. 5. In Ci-nseŋga, however, it can be **Du-** as well as **Ulu-** and **Ru-**. In Nos. 59, 59 a much use is made of the 'directive' *n*, and this, when applied to the 17th prefix, turns it into **Nghu-**. Honorific prefixes are made use of, and are either of the 'father' class or are the plural prefix No. 2, or both combined. **Na-** or **Nya-**, the 'mother' prefix, is present, except, perhaps, in Ci-nseŋga. There should also be noted in some of these tongues (especially Ci-mañanja) the preprefix or particle **I-** often applied to the pronominal and adverbial roots with the idea of emphasis. This feature recurs in Group Q and also in Group A, as well as in other widely separated forms of Bantu speech.

Except the tendency to palatalize the labial *b* and *p*, there is nothing very singular about the phonology of the South Nyasaland languages, which lack the roughness in pronunciation of Group Q. *Bv* and *pf* are frequent combinations; *ɕ* is preferred to *k* before *i* or an *e*, and both *z* and *s* are frequently reinforced by the alveolars *d* and *t*.

There is not a great number of noun-roots peculiar to the South Nyasaland languages, unless we instance those that are also shared by Groups Q, L, and T. Among the few that are noticeable in **CI-MAZAROW** and **CI-PODZOW** (58, 58 a) are:

-gɔdɔ, 'bone' (120, 21 f, 59, 60, 64 a, 69, 151 a); **Tɔnyɔ***, 'female breast'; **-pali***, 'bull'; **-runda**, 'country' (86); **-puŋga**, 'day' (see 'sky'); **Sa-penda**, 'doctor' (85, 86, 92-8, 105, 114, 161 a); **-iyanya***, 'doctor'; **-nta**, **Manta**, 'fear' (53, 57, 59-61 c); **-tavu**, 'foot' (255, 229; 17, 54, 56); **Sekese**, 'fowl' (3; 232); **-dzukwa**, 'ghost' (14, 21 e, 27, 28, 51, 61-61 b); **-sorɔ**, 'head' (60, 63-6, 68, 81); **-sinci**, 'honey' (75); **-taia**, **-daya**, 'hunger' (the **-zala** root); **Nkunu***, 'hyena'; **Para**, 'iron' (54, 61, 151 a); **-swaka**, 'man', 'manhood' (162, 64 a, 65 a); **Dendendi**, 'moon' (120, 7; 236); **-vumba**, 'rain' (the word for 'God' in No. 4 b); **Ciu**, 'rat' (43, 56 b, 57, 98); **Dɔgɔ**, 'rhinoceros' (56); **-ombasi**, 'river' (83, 42, 81, 205, 1); **-gɔw**, 'river' (38, 54, 59, 100, 104, 109, 186, 211); **Dɔwa**, 'shield' (64 a, 69, 78, 79, 168, 6); **Dipa**, 'spear' (210, 213, 67; 227, 242, 250); **-uŋkwa***, 'spirit'; **-tɔwɔwɔ**, 'testicles' (89; 253; 73, 42, 129 a, &c.); **-yanda***, 'thief'; **-mbasa***, 'witchcraft'; **Budu**, 'womb' (4, 75 b, 100, and see roots for 'belly').

In the **TETE** and **SENA** languages (59 and 59 a) should be noted:

Didi, 'male breast' (142, 157, and see roots for 'female breast', 64 a, 65, 67, 90, 92, 21 a); **-zuku**, 'female breast' (64, 90, 26); **-kondɔ***, 'canoe'; **-kɔkwɔ**, 'crocodile' (90, 91, 161); **-bɔni**, 'eye' (4 a, 5-6 a, 11, 16, 21, 44 b, 59, 75 a, 126); **Baya**, 'husband' (2-2 g, 4, 39 a, 40, 43 a, 77, 87, 107, 89, 91, 94, 104 c, &c.); **Tavare**, 'lake' (61 b, 89, 161, 164, &c.); **-pondorɔ**, 'lion' (35, 38, 64, 69, 76); **-le**, 'magic' (161, 61 a, b; 230); **-dende***, 'mother'; **-mazi**, 'river' (128); **-kurɔ**, 'river' (38, 54, 58, 100, 104, 109, 186, 211); **Dupa**, 'spear' (210, 213, 67; 227, 242, 250).

The noun-roots in **CIMBOW** (60) which might be singled out for comparison are the following:

-cirafu, 'ant' (5 a, 6, 15, 16, 17, 18-21 c, 24, 27, 28, 34, 38, 54-6 b, 100, 161, &c.); **-lanzi***, 'termite' (61 a, 78, 80); **-cafu***, 'arm' (? 250); **-pamba**, 'arrow' (2-3, 9 c, 16, 21, 148, 39, 48, 33, 54, 55, 199, 200, 203); **-gorubwa***, 'banana'; **-luma***, 'bee'; **Maŋganze**, **-ŋganze***, 'bow'; **Tompwe**, 'brains' (11, 42, 43, 41, 44, 62, 100-3); **-zamwe**, 'female breast' (63, 64, 72; 247); **-lamu**, 'cat' (35, 55, 76); **-fuka**, 'cloth' (15, 19, 24); **-fɔka**, 'devil' (13, 17, 21-21 d, e, 24, 27, 28, 33 a, 34, 35, 54, 55, 56 a, 59, 61 b, 66, 69; 255, &c.); **-kɔwa**, 'door' (64, 206, 214, 215, 208, 209, 213); **-tsutame***, 'elephant'; **-ŋgwenu***, 'excrement'; **-sali***, 'fire'; **Dzoye**, 'fowl' (94); **-jopilɔ***, 'guinea-fowl'; **-lema**, 'hunger' (247);

Lubvu, 'hyena' (254); **-fuzω**, 'iron' (226a); **-mbuku***, 'leopard'; **-janjama***, 'monkey'; **-toŋga**, 'ox' (7, 79); **-sōmω***, 'palm wine'; **Gudani***, 'pig'; **-alala***, 'road'; **-kwasa**, 'salt' (252); **-tunzi**, 'smoke' (41, 42, 45; 230).

Amongst the **CI-MANANJA** and **CI-NYANJA** (61-61 c) dialects we might record as peculiar or far-related:

-balame, 'bird' (56 b, 57-60); **-tupi**, 'body' (24, 52, 60); **-ruŋgω**, 'body' (57-9); **-pwa**, 'brother' (54, 58, 59); **-lundu***, 'chief'; **-saru, -caru**, 'cloth' (17, 38, 41-5, 62); **-sanu***, 'cold'; **Garu**, 'dog' (31, 35, 33 a, 53; 267, 272); **Dzira**, 'egg' (53, 54, 104; 239 b); **Dzimwe**, 'elephant' (the **-tembω, -jamba** root); **-nta**, 'fear' (53, 57-9); **-ntente**, 'fear' (43); **-ntenu**, 'fear'¹; **-soti***, 'she goat'; **Gōgō***, 'goat'; **Tonde**, 'he goat' (54, 79); **-pambe**, 'God' (4, 51, 55, 60); **Pombe***, 'hair'; **-kwetu**, 'hide' (43 a, 179); **-paŋgwe***, 'hippo'; **Gωω**, 'hoe' (121); **-seka**, 'honey' (54; 244); **-pala**, 'iron' (54, 58 a); **Tamanda***, 'lake'; **-ere**, 'magic' (**-le** root, 161, 57, 59); **-kwiru***, 'meat'; **-ŋkwala**, 'medicine' (44 b, 52, 59); **-kabadω***, **-dabω***, **-kamba***, 'finger-nail'; **-dudu***, 'pig' (75 a); **-paja***, 'place'; **-dulω***, 'salt' (2, 147, 226); **-nyarω, -nyazi**, 'shame' (23, 33 a, 58, 59, 63, 64, 75-75 b); **Pōulω***, 'sheep' (14, 100); **-pwi***, 'snake' (219); **-nyamata***, 'son' or 'youth' (90, 91); **-tuŋgω**, 'spear' (58, 64, 81, 87 a, 89); **-gamω***, 'spear'; **-pulumω**, 'testicles' (56 b, 57, 41, 120, 164); **-tōdzω***, 'testicles'; **-kuŋgu**, 'thief' (52, 53, 55); **-laka**, 'tongue' (2 f, 19, 24, 44 b, 75 a, 77-8, 85-6, 89-94, 101, 103, 105, 145, 146, 149, 150; 234); **-bumba**, 'woman' (35, 54, 55).

In **NSENGA** (62) there are very few peculiar words. We might, however, note:

Vuli for 'back' (2 a, the **-bunu** root; see also **-buli**, 56, **-suli**, &c.); **Mumbu***, 'banana'; **Zimω**, 'bee' (41-5, 50, 52, 62); **Tompwe**, 'brains' (see under No. 60); **Raŋgōzi***, 'brother'; **-kwa**, 'brother' (77, 89, 148); **-lisa**, 'brother' (69, 71); **-saza***, 'child'; **-ula** (35, 76), **-anza** (5, 5 a), 'cloth'; **Sawe**, 'devil' (149, 64 a, 5 b); **-gumbi**, 'egg' (11, 12, 35, 52, 54, 55, 72, 73); **-ezω***, 'fear'; **-mbwili***, 'hoe'; **-ceta**, 'monkey' (79); **-inza** (97), **-lōci***, 'rain'; **-rindie***, 'rat'; **-mana**, 'river' (41-4 b, 48); **-pompwe**, 'thief' (42, 44, 44 b).

In numerals the South Nyasaland Group introduces **-nomwe** for 'seven', **Sere** for 'eight', and **-femba** for 'nine', forms which, however, extend with variations into Group Q. In Ci-nyanja (61) should be noted the numerical root **Cila**, applied here in the sense of 'one hundred'. This root is also met with in Yao and Ngingdω, and far away in the north-west part of the Bantu field.

As regards pronouns, the **Mi** root of 'I' is retained in Nos. 58 and 58 a, but **Ne** reappears in all other members of Group P. All except Nseŋga (62) and Mazarω (58) have **Fe** (from an earlier **Fwe**, no doubt) as the root of the substantive form of 'we'. The nominative verbal prefix for 'we' in all except No. 58 and perhaps 58 a, is **Ti-** (in 58 it is **I-**). Nseŋga applies a terminal **-ω** to the substantive forms of the 1st and 2nd pronouns in singular and plural; akin, no doubt, to the **-bω, -wω** of Groups L and U. In the demonstratives the locative **-nω** suffix is made use of in Nos. 59, 61, and 62. Mazarω intercalates **-wene-** between two concords to express 'that', and 61, 61 a use **-mene-** for the same purpose.

There is nothing very noteworthy in the verb, the conjugation of which is very full and characteristically Bantu, except that in most of the tongues the prefix **Pa-** may precede the prefix **Ku-** in the infinitives of verbs. In regard to the negative particles in the verb, besides the common **Si, Sa** and **Ka** found in most of them, there is a prefixial **Ne-** in 59, a **-ki-** infix in 61, 61 a, 61 b, a negative suffix **-ribe** in 59, **-i, -tai**, or **-te** in 61, 61 a, and **-be** or **-ve** in all the members of this group, including Ci-nseŋga, and of **-je** and **-ye** in Nyanja and Ci-nseŋga. Ci-nseŋga has no **si** or **ka**, but it has negative prefixes **Nga-** and **Te-**, and negative infixes **-liye-**, **-liω-**. In 61-61 b the passive termination is **-idwa**, as well as **-wa** (see the **-ilwa** in No. 54).

¹ **-ntenu**, 'fear', evidently belongs to the widespread **-tina** root (Nos. 2 to 193 and 248).

CHAPTER IV

THE SOUTHERN BANTU

GROUP Q: THE SOUTHERN RHODESIA-PUNGWE-SABI LANGUAGES

(Nos. 63 to 68)

WHEN I first commenced the compilation of this work I was disposed to place the South Nyasaland languages in one group together with those of Southern Rhodesia and the coast-lands immediately south of the Lower Zambezi. But though there are affinities between the two, there is sufficient distinction to justify their separate grouping. I mention this in case in the earlier portion of the first volume contradictory statements are made which might puzzle the reader.

Group Q consists first of all of the **KARAÑA** dialects (64-64 a) and their near ally the **CI-NYAI** or **CI-NANSWA**¹ language of the north-western parts of Southern Rhodesia (63). Our knowledge of Ci-nyai is so scanty that we are hardly able to gauge the extent of its separate distinctiveness from average Karaña. I have only put it tentatively as a separate language. It seems to be so in the form in which it is still spoken, north of the Zambezi at Zumbô. It fills up the gap on both sides of the Middle Zambezi between the Maravi dialects of Ci-nyuñgwi (59), the Nseña language (62), and Toña (78). The Karaña dialects (64 and 64 a) are spoken throughout Maşunaland and much else of Southern Rhodesia and across the Portuguese East African territory south of the Zambezi to the Sofala coast. This 'Sofala' language is known as Ci-ndau (64a), but it is only a dialect of the main Karaña speech, which itself is subdivided into local dialects, sometimes known as Ci-swina or Ci-şuna. The name Karaña is spelt as it is nowadays pronounced. It was, however, written by the early Portuguese explorers Mω-caranga.² British explorers of the nineteenth century transcribed this word as Karanga or Kalaka, the latter being the Secuana rendering of the word. The original term was undoubtedly Karaña. The language is one of great antiquity and of marked individual peculiarities. It was one of the earliest of Bantu languages to be noted and written down by Europeans. The late Mr. R. N. Hall, who did so much to explore Zimbabwe, made for our assistance a collection of Karaña words, which he picked out of Portuguese records from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries. Allowing for carelessness in writing down on the part of Europeans not very anxious to get at the exact sound of a word, these early records of Karaña do not differ materially from the form of the language at the present day. This is one of numerous instances which might be quoted to show that once a Bantu language or a dialect is established in a definite form by a considerable body of people, it remains fixed for a long period and requires some great racial convulsion to alter it. Dialects or languages may be suddenly born, quite possibly as new species may suddenly come into existence by an abrupt variation from the parent stock or by hybridism. But once they have appeared in their definite individuality, they are liable to continue for generations and generations, with little alteration, even amongst savage peoples.

¹ Also known as Ci-nyau and Lwze.

² As will have been observed repeatedly in studying the relations between Portugal and the Bantu languages, it has been the custom of the Portuguese to name many an African tribe and clan with the singular appellation of a single man of that clan, and thus to confuse our ideas of Bantu roots by a constantly repeated Mo- or Mu- prefix.

In glancing at the phonology of the Karaña languages—Nos. 63, 64, and 64 a—several features are noteworthy, some of them suggesting affinity with the phonetic changes in the Zulu-Kafir Group. We observe a dislike to the combination *bw* when it is followed by a vowel, and a tendency for the second labial to become *g* or *γ*. In Ci-nyai an original *bw* is generally changed into *bg*. *Mu* or *mw* tends to transmute into *ñu*, *ñgu*, or *ñw*, either because of a dislike to the combination *mw* or because the tongue reverts to a more archaic combination. In Ci-nyai *l* is sometimes reinforced by *ɸ*, thus instead of the root **-tombu** (**-tumbω**) for ‘belly’, we have **-ptombu**. In all these tongues *k* or *g* may be replaced by *h*. **Bi-** or **by-** becomes palatalized as **zwi-**, **swi-**, **dzi-**. The Bantu *l* in Karaña (but not in Ci-nyai) passes into *r*, and *rw* or *ru* may become *rg*. An original *d* or *z* may change into *dz* or *j*. *B* often weakens into *v*, and less frequently into *w*, while the semi-vowel *w* following a consonant generally becomes—as already stated—*γ*. After *s*, *w* sometimes reinforces itself with a guttural, so that *sw* may be heard as *skw-*, *sx-*, *sγ-*.

In Ci-nyai there are only traces of preprefixes in Classes 9 and 14; in the Karaña dialects and Ci-ndau there are virtually no preprefixes, except in concords and demonstratives. The prefixes of Ci-nyai are little known, but we notice that the vowel *u* frequently becomes *ω*, no doubt in consequence of the influence of the Secuana dialects. The prefix of Class 1 is occasionally heard as **Nu-**, and of Class 3 as **Ñgu-**, **Gu-**. In the Karaña dialects the 2nd prefix is generally **Ba-**, and there is the same tendency to nasalize the 1st and 3rd prefixes as in Ci-nyai. The 8th prefix is **Zwi-** or **Dzi-**. In its singular form (the 8a prefix), the occurrence of which in this language is an interesting feature, it is **Swi-**. The 15th prefix is sometimes heard as **Gu-** or **Hu-**, and both the 14th and 15th occasionally degenerate into **U-**. All the prefix classes are represented in Karaña down to No. 17; the diminutive suffix **-ana** is present. There is a feminine or **Nya-** prefix; and **Ji-** (? No. 7) and **Wa-** are used as honorific prefixes, respectively in the singular and the plural.

Among the peculiar or remarkable word-roots in Nos. 63, 64, and 64 a are the following :

-tate*, ‘termite’; **-sebe**, **-sewe**, ‘arrow’ (65, 69, 110, 111, 89; 263); **-gōbe**, **-gōba**, ‘arrow’ (2 b, 7 a, 9 c, 11, 69, 70, 73; 255); **-riene**, ‘arrow’ (14); **-sakasa**, ‘arrow’ (63, 24, 153; 267-8); **-behura**, ‘axe’ (13, 66; 263); **-gudω**, **-gudu**, ‘baboon’ (64; 263; 5 a, 6 a, 12, 75, and **-kula**, **-kōlō** root to 191); **-tōtō***, ‘back’ (63, 11); **Hōbω**, **Kōbω**, **Hōva**, ‘banana’ (23 a, 24, 27-9, 32, 38, 56 b, 65-9, 75 a-6, 195, 198-9, 204, 226; 234); **-birutano***, ‘beard’ (64 a); **-buwu**, ‘wild beast’ (75; 257); **-širi**, **-ciri**, ‘bird’ (6 a, 65-8; 274, and the **-zila** root); **-siya**, ‘blood’ (64 a, 141, 194-5, 199, 204-11, and the **-kila** root to 263); **Gōdω**, ‘bone’ (21 f, 58-9, 60, 69, 120, 151 a); **-dade***, **-dantire***, ‘bow’ (64); **-ruru**, **-rupi**, **-ruvi**, **-ruzwi**, ‘brains’ (57, 65-8, 72, 80, 83, 90, 89, 91, 87, 87 a); **Gamu**, **Zamu**, **-samu**, ‘female breast’ (60, 72); **-zuku**, ‘female breast’ (26, 59, 90); **Hana**, **Gana**, ‘male breast’ (17, 66, 68); **-vanji**, ‘brother’ (64 a, 81, 83, 96, 97, 100, 114, 122-5, 127, 129, 146); **-rombala**, ‘brother’ (89, 84; 273, and the **-dumba**, **-dumbu** root); **Parapara***, ‘buffalo’ (63); **Sawa***, ‘buffalo’ (64 a); **-handira***, ‘bull’; **-gwa**, ‘canoe’ (228; 175); **-se***, ‘chief’ (64 a, may be the Arabic ‘sheikh’); **-cinda**, ‘chief’ (2 f, 32, 59); **Jira**, **Gira**, ‘cloth’ (266, 267; 65 a-9, 72, 75-75 b); **-guza**, ‘cloth’ (63, 35, 62, 76); **Candω***, ‘cold’; **-gambiŋga**, ‘crocodile’ (2-2 g); **-gagwe**, **-garhwe**, ‘crocodile’ (7, 56 b); **Sawe**, ‘devil’ (5 b, 62; 269, 271); **-cerω**, ‘devil’ (22); **-remba***, ‘doctor’ (really a root meaning ‘witch’, ‘magic’, 94 to 220); **-bōga***, ‘dog’ (64); **-gōni***, ‘door’; **-subω**, ‘door’ (58, 66, 117, 121, 175, 178); **-dumba***, ‘dream’ (64); **-zebe**, **-dzeve**, ‘ear’ (65, 65 a, 67-76, 86; 256, 254); **-zwa**, ‘ear’ (248); **-gere***, ‘ear’ (perhaps a misprint for **-zeve**); **-egw**, ‘eye’ (63, perhaps the **-isu** root); **-utōca***, ‘fear’ (64 a); **-hana***, ‘fear’; **-gumbω**, ‘foot’ (232); **-ñweya***, ‘ghost’; **Nunzwi**, **Dumbzi**, ‘goat’ (19; 230, 237); **-ari**, **-ñwali**, ‘God’ (151, 51, 56 b); **-rure***, ‘God’ (64 a); **-sorω**, ‘head’ (58 a, 59, 60, 65-8, 81); **-duŋga**, ‘heart’ (63, 110); **-dondoba***, ‘heel’; **-palame**, ‘hide’ (110); **-gwindi***, ‘hippo’; **-badza***, ‘hoe’; **-sōna***, ‘horn’; **-mōsa***, ‘house’ (63); **-basω**, ‘house’ (51, 54, 65 a); **-pere**, ‘hyena’ (72, 73, 74); **-maŋgura***, ‘iron’; **Gandwa**, **-gawa**, ‘lake’ (9 c, 21, 26); **Kamba**, ‘leopard’¹ (60, 65-9); **-umba**, **-cumba**, ‘lion’ (78, 86, 89, 92, 93); **Ninji***, ‘magic’; **-tombω**, ‘medicine’ (58, 59, 84, 88); **Hulo**, **Huro**, ‘neck’ (100 b, 66, 68, 165; 250); **-tsipa**,

¹ **Kamba** means ‘thief’ and is one of many instances of calling a dreaded beast or reptile by a nickname or paraphrase so as not to attract its attention.

'neck' (65-7); **Humba**, 'pig' (9c, 10, 23, 28, 44, 58-61 b, 65-70, 84-98, 118-67; 240, 242, 269-73); **-gora**, 'pigeon' (229, 251); **-ñgira**, 'river' (63, 2 b-2 f, 116, 118, 134, 159, 164); **-nyadzwo**, **-nyara**, 'shame' (58-61 b, 23, 33 a, 75-75 b); **-owa***, 'shame'; **-hwai**, **Guae**, **Gai**, 'sheep' (3; 273); **-bipitwo**, 'shoulder' (261); **Hama**, 'sister' (17, 65); **-diñga**, **-deñga**, 'sky' (19 a, 20, 23, 24, 27, 31, 33 a, 61); **-randa**, 'slave' (10, 28, 32, 71, 121); **-nabha***, 'slave'; **Wpe**, **Hwope**, **Hōpe**, 'sleep' (65-8, 72, 15, 91, 92, 56, 56 a); **-bata**, **-vata**, 'sleep' (2 a, 23, 33 a, 4, 165); **-lisa**, 'son' (103); **-ruywo***, **-iywo***, 'song'; **-ombwo**, 'song' (11, 199, 54, 61); **Tuñgw**, 'spear' (58, 61-61 b, 80, 81, 87, 87 a, 89); **-wisi**, **-ise**, **-swe**, **-swe**, **-skwi**, 'tail' (51; 274); **-irwo**, 'thing' (65-8, 70, 71-71 f, 73, 74, 109, 117, 175-8); **-dhla**, **-dza***, 'thigh'; **-wambe**, 'twins' (3, 110, 178, 86, 94, 139, 176); **-zana**, 'twins' (5, 6, 85 a); **-mbire**, 'twins' (28, 54, 57, 61, 65, 68, 75-75 b, 79, 80, 148, 178; 238); **-kamwo**, 'urine' (17, 75, 126; 243); **Gugwa**, 'war' (267); **-reñga**, 'war' (100, 101, 184, 190); **-rira**, 'water' (214); **-kiwa**, **-giwa**, 'white man' (75 c, 72, 73, 74, 74 b, 78-80, 87); **-rumbi**, 'white man' (75 b, 89, 90); **-wandwo**, 'wind' (217; 243; 104); **-weya**, 'wind' (58, 67, 71-71 f, 72, 74 b, 75-6, 28); **-bambara***, 'wind'; **Zwarwo**, 'womb' (240 c; 16, 75, 75 a).

These noun-roots of Karaña speech are remarkable for their archaic character, in some respects, and for their far-away relationships with the North-western Bantu, the Nyanza languages, and the Semi-Bantu. In numerals the chief features to be noted are: **Pwsa**, **Pwtsi**, or **Mwtse** for 'one'; **Tantato**, **Tanatu** for 'six'; **-nomwe** or **-noñgwe** for 'seven'; **-sere**, **-zere** for 'eight'; and **Fumba-ñge**, **Pfemba** for 'nine'.

The pronouns are noteworthy for the prefixing of **I-** to the full forms (this is **E-** in the plural in No. 63). The demonstrative pronouns in Karaña are as regards the first position ('this') so variable and peculiar that their features cannot be easily summarized and are best understood by reference to the vocabulary. In the verb the preterite termination **-ile** is virtually absent, only leaving slight inflexional traces in a few verbs. The negative particles in the verb are **-sa-**, **-si-**, **-to-**, **-siñga-**, and the prefixial **Ha-** or **A-**. In this way some approximation is made to the Zulu-Kafir Group. The passive termination to the verb-roots, besides the normal **-wa** (which often changes to **-ya**) is **-iwa**, **-xwa**, **-ixwa**, and **-gwa**.

The other languages which are provisionally associated with the Karaña tongues in Group Q are only known to us vaguely and imperfectly, and probably for the most part under titles that are not their real local designations. **Ci-teve** (65) and its dialect **Ci-tombwoji** (65 a), are spoken in the hilly country of the Sofala interior; **Rongerwo** (66) is the speech of the Bazarutwo coast and islands; **Ci-rue** (67), sometimes called 'Vatua', is spoken in the Goroñgwoza country, and **Ma-şañgane** (68) between the Middle Sabi river and the Limpwo on Portuguese territory. **Ci-rue** (67) seems to be much mixed with the Hozaland form of Zulu (No. 76) and is probably an amalgam between the dialect of the invading Zulu hordes and an indigenous speech, such as the Maşañgane language. It contains, however, a small number of peculiar words not found either in Zulu or in Karaña, and this is also the case with Maşañgane (68). A noteworthy feature in the phonology of **Ci-rue** is the substitution of *i* or *y* for *l*, a mutation (according to Bleek) to be met with also in the Tefula sub-dialect of Zulu.

The following are peculiar or far-related noun-roots in **CI-TEVE** and **CI-TOMBWOJI** (65, 65 a):

-şonza*, 'animal'; **-paca**, 'arrow' (15, 64 a, 69, 100, 109, 160, 162, 176-82, 185-7, 205, 206, 210-12); **Buire**, 'axe' (?-behura root); **-sure**, 'back' (56, 56 a, 57, 59, 62, 64, 79, 77, 140, 4, 43 a); **-puñgw**, 'beard' (138, 110); **-ve**, 'bee' (68, 191-2, 69 a, 70, 204, 209; 266); **-robzi**, 'brains' (57-72, 80, 83, 87, 89, 90, 91); **-pgere**, **-pwere**, 'child' (68, see also 'son' and 'male'); **-cira**, 'cloth' (64 and 68-75 b; 266, 267); **Gabe**, 'cow' (2 d, 3, 6, 39, 38, 71 f, 75 to 76); **Gwombwo**, 'crocodile' (64 a, 67); **Poñgw**, 'devil' (205-6); **Hwe**, 'fish' (56, 57, 64, 67-8, 72, 198, 199); **Soka**, 'foot' (63, 68); **-sora**, 'forest' (4; 248; 5, 175-8; 251); **Guaca**, 'forest' (179, 181, 182, 185, 190); **-fuba**, 'ghost' (5 a, 75 b, c); **-ñgejua***, **-ñguajwo***, 'ghost'; **Kokora**, 'heel' (22); **-paswo**, 'house' (54, 64 a); **Boñgw**, 'hyena' (68, 84-98, 100, 110, 134, 105, 106); **Simbi**, 'iron' (67, 71-71 f, 72, 74, 74 b, 75-80); **-cetwo***, 'island'; **Kamba**, 'leopard' (64 a, 66, 69, 60); **Jaha**, 'man, vir' (58, 59, 64 a, 70, 71, 162; see also 'son'); **-tede**, 'monkey' (see also 'baboon', 1, 2 c, 63, 64 a, 68, 145); **Dzipwo**, 'finger-nail' (225, 35, 35 a, 67, 75-6; see also 'finger', 230, and dialects); **-seu**, 'road' (44 b, 146); **-patwo***, 'road'; **-puizi**, 'sheep' (64 a, 13, 16, 22, 56, and **-buli**, **-budi** root, 1, 94-8, 110, 114, 140, 150; 237, 228, 268); **Hama***, 'sister'; **Hwope**, 'sleep' (56, 63, 64, 66, 68);

-utsi, 'smoke' (3, 6, 27, 35, 57, 64, 70-1 f, 72); **-sunzi**, 'tear' (**-sozi** root); **-zω**, **-zua**, 'thorn' (38, 67, 68, 69, 10, 150; 243); **Dutω**, 'wind' (13, 16, 226, 156, 204); **Kuma**, 'water' (68).

In No. 66:

Tare, 'arrow' (4, 5, 6 a, 13, 19, 20 a, 20, 21, 23, 28, 29, 33 a, 40, 56, 136); **-lubzi**, 'brains' (see under 65, 65 a); **-dωzω***, 'cloth'; **-sua**, 'door' (58, 64, 64 a, 117, 121, 175-8); **Dema**, 'ear' (69, ? 86); **-duala**, 'finger' (5, 226; 265; and the **-ωla**, **-dωle** root); **Vuli**, 'ghost' (15, 20, 21, 62, 39 a, and see 'wind'); **-lumbe**, 'God' (5, 68, 151 a); **Mañgera**, 'guinea-fowl' (67, 69-71 f, 75-6, 110); **-swλω**, 'head' (58 a-60, 63-5 a, 68, 81); **Vugω**, 'hippo' (the **-gubu** root); **Pudzi**, 'honey' (159-60, 164, 153); **-zua**, **Bizua**, 'horn' (61, 85, 205; 253); **Dukω**, 'hyena' (69, 74, 75, 210, 57-9, 64, 65 a); **-tundω**, 'island' (68, 69); **Gumbω**, 'leg' (2, 6, 6 a, 64, 68; 274); **Samba**, 'monkey' (4 b, 5, 7 a, 58, 100); **Hulω**, 'neck' (100 b, 63, 64 a, 68, 165); **-hombe**, 'sky' (11, 17, 15, 44, 62, 72); **-ba**, 'twins' (263).

In Nos. 67 and 68:

-kondω*, 'arrow' (68, see 'spear' and 'war'); **-paca**, 'arrow' (see 65, 65 a); **Beura**, 'axe' (13, 64 a; 247); **-dede**, 'baboon' (63, 64 a, 65); **-puñgω**, 'beard' (65, 65 a, 110, 138); **-pwerere**, 'child' (see 65); **Hia**, **Jira**, 'cloth' (see 65); **-zue**, 'country' (67, 51, 63, 75-6); **Gωmombω**, 'crocodile' (64, 65); **-tuta**, 'devil' (67, 100 b; 237, 261); **-vae***, 'door' (67); **-mbuyω***, 'drum'; **-zeve**, **-gibe**, 'ear' (63 to 86; and 256); **-phanda**, **-zanda**, 'egg' (54 to 72, 75-6, 84); **Saba**, 'fear' (67, 69-71 e, 73, 75-6); **Basω**, 'fire' (67, 5-5 b, 7, 26, 75, 76, 100-3, 110; 253); **-andzi**, 'fish' (67, 69, 70-1 f, 73-6); **Cati**, 'forest' (35, 69, 75-6); **-coiω**, 'ghost' (67, ? **-gλω** root); **-lumbe**, 'God' (68, 5, 66); **-pañgeya**, 'guinea-fowl' (67, see 66); **-nuē**, 'hair' (20 d, 21, 26, 40, 72, 75-6); **-khanda**, 'head' (67, 75-6); **-ciziω**, 'heart' (67, 1, 75-6); **Bωma**, 'hippopotamus' (69); **-iombe**, 'honey' (67, 69-71 f, 191-3); **Suzi**, 'honey' (68, 179, 75); **Pondω**, 'horn' (71, 71 f, 73, 75-6, 193); **-nji**, 'house' (9 c and **-ju**, **-zu** root); **-tsina**, 'island' (75 c, 178); **-lundω**, 'island' (68, 66, 69); **Doyω**, 'knee' (71-3, 75-6); **Gumbω**, 'leg' (2, 6 a, 64, 66); **-enze**, 'leg' (67, 4 a, 5 a, 64, 65, 69-71 e, 75-6); **-esa**, 'man, vir' (103); **Dzipiω**, 'finger-nail' (225, 35, 35 a, 65 a, 75-6); **Bizω**, 'name' (69, 71, 73-5; 245); **Kumdzi**, 'ox' (68, 69, 6, 74 b, 178; 259); **Kωmω**, 'ox', 'cattle' (67, 6, 15, 19, 40, 69-71 f, 73-6, 120, 194, 175, &c.); **-kaya**, 'palm wine' (76, 148); **-tondω**, 'penis' (67, 27, 57-9, 75-75 c); **-teta***, 'sister' (68, 226); **Datu**, 'sister' (67, 21, 21 a, 73, 75-6); **-toñgω**, 'sleep' (20, 23 a, 25, 64, 71 f, 73-6, 160, 224; 248); **-cabeia**, 'song' (67, the Zulu **-hlabele**, **-hlabelelω**); **-t'ibiω**, 'spear' (58, 59, 210; 242, &c.); **-ce**, 'stone' (75-6); **Tañga**, 'sun' (73, 75-76, 85, 86, 88, 90, 100, 119, 120, 123, 181; 265); **-nyambezi**, 'tear' (70, 75-75 c, 76); **-tω**, 'thing' (14, 58, 73, 75-6, 155, 186; 242, 259); **-imbi**, 'war' (66, 68-71, 75-6, 83); **Kuma**, 'water' (65); **Kuñkui***, 'witch' (67); **-fazi**, 'woman' (75-6); **-zuiω**, **-zuiia**, 'year' (? **-zulu**, 'heavens').

In numerals, Nos. 65, 65 a, 66, and 68 resemble more or less closely the Karaña types, but the numerals, like the adjectives of 67 (Ci-rue) approximate to Zulu. The pronouns of 65 to 68 are insufficiently known, but we might single out for notice certain peculiarities. In No. 66, the substantive pronouns of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons singular are preceded by **Ki**, as well as **I**, which—**Ki**—might be an honorific prefix. This feature also occurs in languages Nos. 81, 33 a, 17. The pronouns of 67 and 68 resemble those of Zulu-Kafir, except that in No. 67 there is the strange form of **-ki-ti** for 'us' (objective infix), and that the substantive pronoun of the 2nd person plural is represented by **Ioñgwe**, a word which has no relations and which may be due to an interpreter's error. 'All' in 67 is **-oñge**, and in 68 **-oñke**; in both cases a Zulu-Kafir feature.

GROUP R: THE ŞENGWE-RONGA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 69 to 71 f)

The tribal name **Toñga** hangs about this group in a most persistent fashion, even though we may hear it locally as **Thoñga**, **Roñga**, **Roñga**,¹ or **Joñga**.

The first language of the group—**ŞENGWE** of Inhambane (69)—is as often known as **GI-TONGA**. Evidently **-toñga** has played a great part as a clan name amongst the Bantu, and we are embarrassed

¹ In commencing this book I put a vertical accent over the initial *R* in the Roñga language of Delagoa

in classifying these languages by its constant reappearance. It is already difficult to differentiate in title between the Ci-toŋga of West Nyasaland (53) and the quite dissimilar Ci-toŋga of mid-Zambezia. Then we have the **·toŋga** of Amatoŋgaland, which lies to the south of Delagoa Bay. Similarly, there is another root-word cropping up amongst the languages or dialects of this group: **Ṣeŋgwe** (Hleŋgwe, Leŋge)—possibly meaning 'The people of the Banana'. And 'Vatua' is also a term frequently applied to this or that tribe from Goroŋwoza to Inhambane. It simply means 'dwarfs', 'Bushmen', and had a contemptuous meaning even when applied to tall Zulus. It originated, of course, with the ancient presence in the interior of real pygmy Bushmen, and was afterwards inherited by the Bantu tribes that absorbed and replaced those savages of the Stone Age. Very likely most of the languages or dialects between the Puŋgwe and the Sabi will require renaming when we are more fully acquainted with the people who speak them.

The **Ṣeŋgwe** language, which is called **Gi-toŋga** in the recently published translations of the Bible, is the same as the 'Inhambane' of Bleek and Peters, and words collected under the designation of 'Southern Vatua' come nearest to this type of speech. But in the collection given in my vocabulary we have no doubt the mingling of three distinct dialects spoken in the Inhambane¹ district of Portuguese S.E. Africa, the preponderating type being the language known locally as **Ṣeŋgwe**.

Ṣeŋgwe, like **Karaña**, is an exceedingly interesting Bantu language, because of its retention of archaic roots or its relationship in that respect with far distant Bantu languages. The noteworthy features in its phonology are the tendency of *g* to replace *k*, so that the 7th prefix is usually **Gi-**. In dialectal variations *h* and *ʃ* replace *k*, especially as an initial consonant. *ʃ* also takes the place of a more orthodox *s* and *ç*, while *j*, especially in the 10th prefix, ousts *z*. *R* replaces *t* as an initial. The palatalized **Bi-** of the 8th prefix becomes **Ṣi-**, **Bzi-**, or **Zi-**. *P* sometimes deepens into *b*, especially in the 16th prefix, while an original *b* may fade into a *w* or a *v*. Preprefixes have disappeared, except in connexion with the 9th and perhaps of the 17th prefix, which appears in the almost unique form of **Im-**. All the prefixes down to 17 seem to be represented, with the exception of Nos. 12 and 13, regarding which I have not been able to find any trace. The 16th prefix is either **Ba-** or **Va-**, but the original *ʃ* comes out in the concord, which is very often **pa-**. The 3rd prefix is sometimes **N-** and seems to be lacking in any adjectival concord **mu-**. The 10th prefix is well established in the form of **Ji-**.

Among the peculiar or remarkable noun-roots in 69 are the following :

·rambu, 'arm' (100 b, 155, 185-6; see 'bone'); **Rwkw***, 'arm'; **·deza***, 'back'; **·ane***, 'back', 'behind' (159, and **·sana** root); **·lidw**, 'beard' (70, 74); **·ombe**, **·lombe**, 'bee' (204, 209, 70, 191-2); **Kirre**, 'belly' (71, 89; 261; 1); **Nyambane**, **Nyanyane**, 'bird' (70-1 b); **·laww**, **·lahw**, 'bow' (43, 45, 49, 70); **·hembe***, 'bowels'; **Tsombw**, 'female breast' (16, 19, 24, 70, 98); **Kila**, 'cloth' (266, 267; 64-8, 72, 75 b); **·enda**, 'cloth' (1 to 3 a, 9-9 c, 24-9, 39-51, 70, 72, 189, 194, 220); **·rame**, 'cold' (41, 71, 74, 186); **·laŋga***, 'country'; **Tere***, 'cow'; **Gambw***, **Dambw**, 'day'; **·kuembw***, 'devil'; **·kene***, 'door' (56 a; 254); **·jebe**, **·zeve**, 'ear' (63-8, 70-6, 86; 256); **·dejeli***, 'ear'; **Dema***, 'ear' (66, 86); **·bwla***, 'eye'; **Gwe**, 'face' (44 b, 56 a-61 a, 64-6, 70-3); **Tsumbw***, 'fat'; **Nyai***, 'father'; **·ehe***, 'father'; **·taba**, **·caba**, 'fear' (67, 70-1 e, 73, 75 a-6); **·tiw**, **·tiu**, 'finger' (70-1 f; see 'nail', 75); **·janje**, **·canve**, 'fish' (67, 70-1 f, 73-6); **·kaga***, 'fish' (5, 193, 198; 245); **·pama***, 'foot'; **·ṣimbw***, **·sinya***, **·tsiŋga**, 'forest'; **·kabe***, 'forest'; **·kwati***, 'forest' (65 a, 67, 75-75 c); **Psete***, 'goat' (204); **Tilw**, 'God' (75, 75 a); **·tsuma***, 'God'; **·hugw***, 'head' (259, 260); **·pala***, 'head'; **·suŋgw**, **·huŋgw***, 'head'; **Ṣwkw**, 'head' (71-6, 186, 224; 232); **·bama**, 'hippo' (67); **·kwew**, 'horn' (70); **·nwna***, 'hunger'; **·hwoma**, **·ama**, 'husband' (100 b; 246); **Dugu**, 'hyena' (66, 74, 75, 210, and **·tika** root); **·kedzi**, **·kete**, 'iron' (70, 72, 75, 95); **·ruŋgw**, **·runzw**, 'island' (66, 68); **·onzw**, 'ivory' (11, 124, 126-

Bay to meet the views of its principal transcriber, Mons. Junod, who seemed to find in this *R* either an aspirated or a velar shaping. But as this author in his authoritative *Grammaire* reverted to an ordinary *r* I thought it better to follow him, especially as this consonant in the different Thoŋga dialects is heard as *rʃ*, *d*, *ʃ*, and perhaps *ʃ* or *ʃ*. It is in any case nothing but a variant of an older *t* or *d*.

¹ The *nh* in Portuguese = *ny* in phonetic spelling, and this geographical name should really be pronounced Inyambane. It means 'birds', 'river of birds', from the many sea birds on the sand banks of the Inhambane estuary.

62, 206); **Dzwo**, 'knee' (67, 71-6); **Dondu**, 'knee' (21 b, c, 34); **Pugumudi**, 'knee' (27, 35, 38, 24, 5 a, 6, 6 a, 64); **Bimbi***, 'sea', 'lake'; **-tandw***, 'leg'; **-mā**, 'man, vir'; **-kani**, 'medicine' (246); **-pisa**, 'milk' (35, 98, 53, 73 a); **-şwogw**, 'monkey' (64, 77, 83, 206); **-gima**, **-kima***, 'moon' (70); **-dende***, 'navel'¹; **Tomfu**, 'nose' (70-1 e); **Kuze** (6), **Hwbe**, 'ox' (91-4); **Añga**, 'palm wine' (164, 166-72, 144, 4, 5); **-tsuma**, 'rain' (70, 56; 259); **-jaji***, 'rain'; **-cwogw**, 'river' (37, 225); **-kwerw***, 'sister'; **-dwni***, 'sister'; **Şoñge***, 'skin' (71); **Cwgi**, 'skin' (108); **-cani**, 'sky' (34, 52, 37, 38; 265); **Pumbi**, 'slave' (129 a-32, 226, 70, 71); **-simw**, 'song' (19 a, 34, 39, 40, 53, 71, 83, 121); **-klare**, 'spear' (25, 27, 71, 73); **-windi***, 'stone'; **-dambw**, 'sun' (51 a, 70, 71); **-rwtw***, 'tail'; **Roñge***, 'tear'; **-kenzi**, 'testicles' (see No. 22); **-kamba**, 'thief' (3, 70-1 f); **Tombi**, 'thigh' (86, 89, 213); **-rw**, **-lw**, 'thing' (64-8, 70-1 f, 73, 74, 109, 117, 120, 175-8); **-kare***, 'thing'; **-tūa**, 'thorn' (64 a, 66, 68, 71, 73, 74); **-tihw**, **-tiu**, 'toe' (76); **-kwaha***, 'tooth'; **-dañga**, 'town' (141, 104, 108, 32, 224); **-şimbw***, **-tanda***, 'tree'; **-epe***, **-tuñga** (Congo^{land}), 'war'; **Lembe*** (and 71), **-gūa***, 'year'.

In the numerals Şeñgwe and its allies (66 and 70) are remarkable for the term **-bande**, which is used for 'five', though the original **-tanw**, **-şanw** is not entirely extinct. **Li-bande** is, however, the dominant form for this numeral. It is further remarkable that in the composite word for 'twenty' (**Ma-kum'bari**) in some dialects of Şeñgwe, the West African root for 'two' persists. One of the two roots for 'thousand' is **Kume-gama-zana**, which either contains the West African root **-gama** for 'ten' or 'one hundred', or reveals a trace of the old **Gama-** form of the 6th prefix. The pronouns offer nothing specially noteworthy except the form of the 1st person plural, in which *s* is replaced by *h* (**Hihi** instead of **Sisi**). The conjugation of the verb is normally Bantu. The negative particles in conjugation besides the **Ka-** prefix, the **-si-** infix, and the change of the terminal *a* of the root to *-i*, include another negative particle **-ñga-**, a prefix **Gima-** (with a meaning of 'never'), and a substantival or pronominal negative suffix **-mwaw**.

CWPI or **ŞI-TSWA** (70) (apparently also known as **Şi-leñge** or **Hleñgwe**),² is the varying name of the language in Portuguese S.E. Africa between Cape Corrientes and the mouth of the Limpopo. In many respects it approximates to Şeñgwe and is a connecting link between it and the Roñga dialects farther south. It may prove on further research to be nothing more than a dialect of Şeñgwe. It shares with it the peculiarity of **Li-handi** for 'five', which, like **Li-bande**, is derived from a root **-pande**. Its prefixes, however, accord rather more with Roñga.

Amongst the peculiar or far-related noun-roots of **Cwpi** may be cited:

-zañga, 'adze' or 'axe' (67-8, 87, 87 a, 96, 12, 61 a, 24, 25, 156; 274, &c.); **-hari**, 'animal, wild beast' (20); **-ceñge**, **-señge**, 'banana' (71); **Nombe**, 'bee' (204, 209, 69 a, 191, 192); **-nyana**, 'bird' (69, 71-71 f; 253); **-lasu**, 'bow' (69); **Cumbu**, 'female breast' (16, 19, 19 a, 20, 23-6, 33 a, 69, 98; 235, 248); **-oñga**, 'buttock' (151, 155, 75, 85, 133, 50); **-busw**, 'chief' (194); **-kwama**, 'chief' (254, 255; and the **-kama** root; perhaps also related to the **-kumu** root); **-diki***, 'devil'; **-guluvi**, 'devil' or 'god' (9 c, 27, 30, 38, 41, 45); **Timba**, 'door' (2 f, 3, 40, 64, 69, 126, 190, 226); **-dowe**, 'excrement' (38, 94, 120, 121); **-ombw**, 'face' (71-71 f); **-tavu**, 'fear' (67, 69, 71-71 e, 73, 75 a-6); **-tshiw**, 'finger' (69, 71-71 f, and see 'nail'); **-beha**, 'goat' (12); **-şuñgu**, 'head' (14, 18, 69); **-vulwa***, 'hippo'; **-lombe**, 'honey' (67, 69, 71-71 f, 191-3); **-kehaw**, 'horn' (69, 155 a); **-akori**, 'house' (24, 188, 133); **-kete**, 'iron' (69, 72, 75, 95); **-hwa**, 'milk' (85, 86); **-cima**, 'moon' (69, 193, 27); **-peke***, 'penis'; **Ñgana**, 'shame' (23, 64, 71 f); **-jaba**, 'son' (71, 75 b), **-jambi**, 'son' (38, 61 b, 141); **-dhandu***, 'song'; **-cari**, 'spear' (25, 27, 29, 69, 71-71 f, 73); **-roñgw**, 'tear' (69, 195); **-leñge**, 'thigh' (130, 5 a, 6, 50, 9 c, 75-75 b, 122; 263); **-lw**, 'thing' (64-8, 73, 74, 109, 117, 175-8); **-doñgw**, **-doñga**, 'tree' (131-3, 124); **-imbi**, 'war' (66-9, 71, 75 a, 76, 83; 236); **-dima***, 'white man'; **-tlwka**, 'white man' (2, 124-7, 155 a); **-hrima**, 'wife', 'woman' (226, 9-9 c, 10, 27, 29, 48). **Cwpi** also shares others of the Şeñgwe noun-roots previously cited.

¹ Perhaps connected with the Lower Zambezi root for 'mother'.

² 'Hleñgwe' is obviously a Gaza-Zulu pronunciation of **Ceñgwe** or **Şeñgwe**, and in common with **-leñgwe**, a tribal name may have been derived from **Ceñgwe** ('banana') in its original form, and particularly applied to the people speaking languages 69 and 70. H. Junod classes 'Hlengoue' as a Thoñga dialect (71 g), but on the other hand I opine that it is a form of 69 or 70.

The personal pronouns of Cwpi are in some cases preceded by a prefix **A-**, with the exception of the 3rd person singular. In all the languages of this group the root form of the 1st person plural is always **Hi-**, due to the change of the original *S* into an aspirate. The demonstratives of the first position are simply the pronominal concords; but the other demonstratives ('that', 'those') resemble those parts of speech in languages Nos. 23, 33, 54, &c., in that they are preceded by **A-**.

The conjugation of the verb has some peculiarities which differentiate it from both Şeṅgwe and Roṅga. The negative particles are **A-**, **-ṅga-**, **-si-**, and a suffix **-ambi**.

The **THONGA** or **RONGA** dialects, 71-71 f (sometimes spelt Roṅga to indicate an aspirated or peculiar pronunciation of the *r*; in reality the tribal name is the constantly reappearing 'Toṅga', fancifully pronounced) are, according to Junod and other local authorities, at least six in number; though it must be confessed that on such information as they offer this multiplication seems excessive. Too much account has been taken of slight local variations of pronunciation or use of word-roots. There are at any rate five dialects fairly well-established: **Roṅga** or **Thoṅga** of Delagoa Bay (71), **Şi-konde** (71 d), **Joṅga** (71 c), **Şi-loi** (or **Nwa-luṅṅw**) (71 e), and **Şi-gwamba** (71 f).¹ This last is the speech of the people once known as 'Knob-nosed Kaffirs' in the north-east part of the Transvaal.

In their phonology the Roṅga dialects exhibit a proclivity for clipping a terminal **-na** or **-ne** of its vowel, so that some words seem to end with the consonant *n*; and there is an increasing tendency towards the aspiration of consonants, such as almost amounts to a mania in modern Sesuthó, Secuana, and Zulu-Kafir. *B* in Roṅga frequently becomes *bh*, *k*, *kh*, *t*, *th*; and *p* simply *h*. In the northern dialects, as in the neighbouring Cwpi, *b* is often pronounced unexplosively almost as a *w*, the *w* of Group L. The *u* or *w* in Roṅga tends to become palatalized as *y*, especially when following a *b*. There is a varied and confusing pronunciation of *r*, which in one dialect is heard as the Polish *rz*, in another is almost *ř*, in a third is an obscure *d* or *t*, and in a fourth is an ordinary trilled *r*. Junod also insists on a palatal and a cerebral *r* (*ř*, *ř*). Further must be noted a disposition to palatalize *d* and *t* (*d*, *t*). When this is sufficiently marked, it is better to write it plainly *dy*, *ty*.

Noteworthy noun-roots in **Thoṅga-Roṅga** or its dialects are the following:

-kaula, 'axe' (75 a, 94); **-kōmu**, 'axe' (19 a, 61 a, 94); **Khuri, Khwiri**, 'belly or womb' (1, 69, 89; 261, 263); **-nyanya**, 'bird' (69, 70; 253); **-cene**, 'canoe' (271-3); **-kakafu***, 'canoe'; **-fuyw***, 'chief'; **-falw**, 'door' (74-5 c, 76, 89, 90-9, 100, 104-5, 109, 110, 142); **-anzwa***, 'door'; **Danda, Dandane**, 'drum' (90, 150; 237); **-tinti***, 'drum'; **-toya***, 'fear'; **-cabu, -caba**, 'fear' (67, 69, 70, 73, 75 a to 76); **-tiho**, 'finger' (69, 70); **-timu**, 'forest' (224; 253); **Kwembu**, 'God' (see 'devil', 69, 51, and **-nemba, -lemba** root); **-balesa*** 'gun' (probably derived from the old Portuguese word for 'cross-bow', *balesta* or *arbalesta*); **-papa**, 'hand' (77, 118); **-lombe**, 'honey' (67, 69, 70, 187, 204, 205, 209, 211); **-hlana***, 'neck' (71 f); **Namu**, 'neck' (71, 69, 70, 73-6; 228, 230); **Şirw**, 'penis' (51, 1, 123, 156, 219); **Hamba**, 'sheep' (11, 19, 19 a, 70; 227, 240); **-hloṅge**, 'skin' (67, 69); **-thēē** (from **-thēlē**), 'skin' (73, 74, 74 b; 263; 269-72); **-karawa***, 'slave' (89); **Dyaha**, 'son' (70, 75 b); **-tlhari**, 'spear' (27, 29, 25, 69, 70, 73; 270); **-cumu**, 'thing' (the **-uma, -kuma** root, 21 f, g to 219, and 227, 229, 238, 252); **-kujw-**, 'toe' (56 a, b, 101); **-tsindyā**, 'town' (57-61 a, 2 f, 205, 209, 223); **-baṅṅw***, **-baṅgu***, 'war'.

There are no traces of preprefixes except in Şi-roṅga (71) and its southern variant Şi-konde (71 d). This same dialect, Şi-konde, seems to have a curious form of the 1st prefix—**Amu-** instead of **Umu-**. In some forms of Roṅga the 2nd prefix is heard as the archaic **Baba-** (**Aba-** in Şi-konde). There is a tendency for the 3rd prefix (**Mu-**) to become **Nw-** or **N-** (**Amu-** in Şi-konde). The 5th prefix is occasionally heard as **Ti-** or **T'**. The 8th prefix is **Psi-**, **Bzi-**, **Swi-**, **Zwi-**, or **Si-**. The 9th is sometimes **Yin-**. The 10th is **Ti-** or **Tsi-**. The 11th is **Li-** or **Ri-**. Both the 12th and the 13th seem to be missing. The 16th is **Ha-** or **Aha-**. There is a masculine and honorific prefix **Şi-**. **Nwa-** (from 'Mwana') is also an honorific and qualitative prefix usually masculine in sense; **Wa-** (probably No. 2) is an honorific prefix likewise; **Mi-** is a feminine prefix of the singular number, of uncertain origin; and a **ṅya-** or **Na-** prefix is also present. There is a 'father' prefix, **Rara-**, answering to **Mi-**, the 'mother' prefix, and **-nyana** and

¹ The other dialects enumerated are 71 a. **Bila** and 71 b. **Hlaṅganu**.

-ana are diminutive suffixes. In regard to pronouns, Roŋga and its dialects offer some noteworthy features. The usual rendering of 'all' is **Hikwa-**, used as a prefix preceding the pronoun or concord and not as a suffix. This is a feature also found in Cwpi (**Hikwe-**), though the **-ose** suffix is more commonly used. As regards personal pronouns, the peculiar **-ene** for 'my' should be noted in Roŋga, and the **Ku-** nominative prefix for 'thou', and the **Awa-**, **Iwa-** nominatives for 'he'. In Ši-loi, the nominative verbal prefix for 'I' is **Nri-**, derived of course from **Ndi-**. In Ši-loi (71 e), also, some substantival forms of the pronouns have a suffix **-e** which is not easily explained, unless it is a contraction of the **-ne** found in adjoining tongues; but **-na** is also present. In Ši-gwamba a form **Vw-** for the substantival 'thou' resembles the **Vhw-** of Ci-venda. In Ši-gwamba, also, there is a terminal form for the pronoun 'him'—**ñw**, **-ñwe**—which maybe a nasalization of **-mw**, **-mwe**. The demonstratives in these Roŋga dialects stand out at once as remarkable in that they consist in the main of **Lw-**, **Lw-**, **La-**, **Le-** as a prefix, followed by the pronominal concord, or else as an infix preceded and followed by the concord. This feature is essentially characteristic of the Zulu-Kafir Group and scarcely exists in any other Bantu languages, though no doubt it is to be traced to an old locative prefix **La-** (**Le-**, **Lw-**) which occasionally appears adverbially in languages Nos. 14, 16, 130, 131-3, 134, 136, 140, 148, 151, 155-7, 160-2, 226; 237, 241. And of course as a suffix **-la**, **-le** in the demonstratives of the 2nd or 3rd positions it is extremely common.

In verbal forms Group R is fairly orthodox and typically Bantu. The **-ile** preterite termination is present with the variant **-iki** (**-eke**, **-ileke**) as well. The negative particles are more akin to those of the Zulu Group, though the particle **Si-** is retained with the meaning of 'not yet'.

GROUP S: THE BECUANA-TRANSVAAL LANGUAGES

(Nos. 72 to 74 c)

This famous and interesting group consists of the languages of the South-western Transvaal, Basutoland, and the South-eastern Orange Free State; of the Western and Northern Transvaal, of Bechuanaland, north of the Kimberley district, and away to Lake Ngami and the southern watershed of the Zambezi.

It was a group that began to attract attention from white explorers and missionaries more than a hundred years ago. The speakers of these languages were first referred to in the eighteenth century as 'Beetjuaan' by the Dutch Boer pioneers and the adventurous Scottish soldiers of fortune, who, in the service of the Netherlands East India Co., crossed the Lower and the Middle Orange river in pursuit of big game or of geographical knowledge. Such men, and the English and Scottish missionaries who came after, realized these facts about the native peoples of South Africa: that all along the East Coast littoral from Moçambique to Port Elizabeth in Cape Colony there were tall brown- or black-skinned Negroes of the Zulu type speaking cognate languages, but that the greater part of Cape Colony, of what is now the Orange Free State and Basutoland, was sparsely peopled by Hottentots in the west (and the valley of the Orange river) and by Bushmen elsewhere. The sterile Karu, the sandy deserts and stony plateaus north of these regions of habitable South Africa were either without inhabitants or at most were the domain of the stunted, yellow-skinned, click-using Bushman. Then came a rumour that you could get beyond this uninhabitable desert, and if you pushed far enough to the north-west, you came again to a country of tall black people (Damara—Ova-hererw), and if you crossed the Middle Orange river and held on for some hundred miles northward you also encountered true Negroes somewhat like the Kafirs. These, according to Kafir or Hottentot informants, were known as 'Bechuana'.

Now, until recent times the actual name 'Bechuana' (Be-cuana) was nowhere recognized as a national or even tribal name by the people now classified under that title. The use of **Be-** as a variant of **Ba-** is very rare in Cuana dialects, but seems to occur more frequently in ǀōsa (Kafir). As to the root **-cuana** (rendered by the old Dutch pioneers 'tjuaan')¹ there are many and bewildering derivations, any one of

¹ Some modern authorities prefer the spelling **-cwana**. **-coana** is due to Dutch influence. The Dutch of South Africa thrust *o* on this language because they pronounced *u* as *ü*.

which might seem appropriate. It may be derived from a real clan name among the Becuana peoples—**-tswana**—‘little lions’. I can not offer any fixed opinion now, after having uttered a good many in times past. The only point about the discussion worth taking hold of is that early in the nineteenth century a notable band of missionary pioneers, of whom Robert Moffat was the leader, wrote of a ‘Bechuana’ people and a Sechuana language; yet that until the beginning of this century none of the Cuana clans had recognized and adopted this general generic term; but that all do so now. Further, that the ‘Secuana’ language of grammars and dictionaries and of my vocabularies is a compound to a great extent of the speech of numerous clans, each, no doubt, verging on the distinctness of a dialect.

In the South-western Transvaal there dwelt at the beginning of the nineteenth century an important Cuana people known as the Ba-pèdi or Ba-pèli. They spoke a dialect of the main Cuana language not differing very much from the speech of the more western and northern clans—the Ba-tlhapiñ, the Ba-maŋgwato, the Ba-rolōñ and numerous other clans of the widespread Becuana stock. The Zulu invasions of the Western Transvaal more than a hundred years ago drove a large number of these Ba-pèdi and other clans or portions of clans into what is now Basutoland and the southern Orange Free State. To them also were joined helot Kafir clans and refugees from south of the Drakensberg. These Bantu invaders of the Switzerland of South Africa exterminated the Bushmen who were there before them, or took to wife the Bush-women. There was, perhaps, also a slight mixture with the Hottentots on the west of the Orange State. Through this intermixture, old and new, or through some other cause, the Basùthó or Basuto—as they came to be called—were lighter of skin (brown rather than black) than the Kafirs. It is possible, therefore, that their name—**-sutu** (meticulously spelt by specialists **-sotho** or **-sùthó**) may be derived from a Kafir adjective meaning ‘brown’, the lighter colour being due to the element of Bushman race. But there are as many derivations of **-sutu** or **-sùthó** as there are of **-cuana**. I cannot find any derivation sufficiently attested to proffer.¹

Se-pèdi was already a little different, no doubt, from the so-called Cuana standard speech, farther west and north. But when it was taken in hand first by the warrior people of Mōšes (Moshesh) and next by the French missionaries, it became, with many borrowings from Kafir, a distinctly different tongue from standard Se-cuana; differing enough, perhaps, to be considered a separate and a homogeneous language.

In this Group S, therefore, we have (1) **SE-SÙTHÓ** and **SE-PÈDI**; (2) **SE-CUANA**, the mingling of a number of as yet little realized dialects; (2 a) **SE-MANGWATÓ**, the speech of King Khama’s country; (2 b) the important language of the **MA-KÓLÓLÓ** (**SI-KÓLÓLÓ**); and (3) the **VENDA**, a language of the Northern Transvaal, sufficiently akin to the Cuana-Sùthó to be placed in the same group, but very distinct in every way from (1), (2) and their dialects.

It will be seen by glancing at the vocabularies that **Cuana-Sùthó** is a very peculiar and clearly demarkated type of Bantu language. Its phonology, the forms of its prefixes, give it a highly original aspect, an aspect which to some Bantu students has been misleading. It is not, as Father Torrend imagined, specially related to Makua. The resemblances in phonology are separately and locally developed. Judging by word-roots, numerals, pronouns, and verb-syntax, its nearest relationships, through Venda, are with Groups R and Q. [But Venda has also developed its own peculiarities, has lost common word-roots and retained others that are archaic but not shared by Cuana-Sùthó.] The fundamental Cuana speech first took shape in the country immediately south of the Lower Zambezi, alongside the ancestor of the Zulu-Kafir Group, and thence pushed its way south of the Karaña languages into the Western Transvaal and the vast regions of Bechuanaland. Its north-west migrations toward Nḡami and the Upper Zambezi only began in the eighteenth century, but missionary chronologists, working on native traditions and computing by the oral genealogies of clan-chiefs, date the Cuana settlement of Central South Africa back to the middle of the thirteenth century A. C.

Se-sùthó and Secuana offer many resemblances to Zulu-Kafir in word-roots, syntax, and development

¹ An excellent historical account of the forming of the ‘Basuto’ people is given by Sir Godfrey Lagden in his book *The Basuto* (London: Hutchinson, 1913); and by the Rev. D. F. Ellenberger (*History of the Basuto*. London: Caxton Co., 1912), though in the last instance it is only the quite modern history that is reliable.

of the sexual discrimination by suffix; but I think these affinities are either due to a comparatively ancient collocation of the two species (followed by a long separation) or else to a more or less conscious imitation of Zulu-Kafir by the Cuana-Sùthó tribes, which perhaps only began about a hundred and twenty years ago. Venda, which is probably more archaic than Cuana, has much less resemblance to Zulu-Kafir than the other members of its group.

We must not overlook a Central African strain in the Becuana-Transvaal languages, especially manifest in Cuana-Sùthó; a strain which is the result of a direct north to south migration, bringing across the Zambezi numerous word-concepts from Eastern and Southern Congoland, and even from the Semi-Bantu of the far north.¹ Perhaps these are the legacy of preceding Negro tribes of Eastern and Northern Bechuanaland whom the Cuana and Pèdi ancestral clans conquered and absorbed. With the existing Central and Western Zambezi languages the Becuana Group has no near or obvious relationship. Though now in contiguity they are widely different in speech, except, of course, for words recently borrowed the one from the other. Si-kòlolo is a modern compromise, only some sixty years old, and is no real guide to Cuana affinities.

The **VENDA**, **WENDA**, or **BENDA** language (Ci-venda) of the Northern Transvaal (Limpopo valley) is an interesting member of Group S, though not, perhaps, now we know it better, quite so peculiar in its features and isolated in its forms as was thought a few years ago by German philologists. Ci-venda in some respects is a more primitive, less specialized member of the Becuana language group, yet it lacks rather singularly a number of widespread Bantu roots which are well retained in Se-sùthó and Secuana.² It shares to some extent the peculiar phonology of the rest of the group, but does not carry this to the same extravagance, though very fond of aspirating consonants, more particularly labials. It makes no use of preprefixes, and amongst its prefixes should be noted—in contrast to Se-sùthó and Secuana—the clear distinction between the 5th—Li, Di-, and the 11th—Lu-. The 12th and the 13th are missing, but Ku-, which may or may not be a variant of No. 15, takes the place of the 13th as a diminutive prefix, a feature which is also met with in Southern Luba (105). There is some evidence that the 18th prefix. Gu-, is retained. The 8th prefix is the Zwi- or Bzi- of South-east Africa, and this is occasionally applied (No. 8 a) as a diminutive, whilst Gu. (No. 18) is an augmentative. The diminutive suffix, -ana, is present.

Rare or peculiar word-roots in Venda are as follows:

-kwea*, 'adze' (184, 189, 168, 175); **Thohoo**, 'baboon' (39-42, 64, 77, 79, 83, 84, 104 to 144); **Sambo**, 'bone' (69 to 76); **Damū***, 'male breast'; **Guñgwa**, 'canoe' (54, 198-204, 217); -enda, 'cloth' (1 to 70); -sila, 'cloth' (64-9; 266, 267); **Khoolomw***, 'cow'; **KhooVhe**, 'fish' (56 b, 63, 64-8, 198, 199); -runzi, 'ghost' (17, 61 c, 73 a); -fóli*, 'honey' (73); -gwedi, 'iron' (69, 70, 75, 95); -dambi, 'magic' (213, 95, 166, and -Jemba root); -liñgwo, 'magic' (75 b, 97, 191); -nywo*, 'penis'; -tomboo, 'sky' (11, 53, 58); **Phuli***, 'slave'; **KhooVhe**, 'sleep' (56, 64, 90, 92); -rwa, 'son' (73, 74, 76, and -twa root for 'dwarf'); -nthi*, 'spear'; **Tombw***, 'stone'; -ndwa, 'war' (the widespread **Jwa**, -rwa root, Nos. 2 f to 199; and 253).

Amongst peculiar numeral forms are **Thihi***, 'one'; **Tuñgula**, 'seven'.

The personal pronouns agree somewhat with those of the other members of Group S, except that the 2nd person plural is represented in its fullest form by **Inwi**, agreeing thus with some members of Group R, but differing widely from Se-sùthó and Secuana.³

The demonstratives of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th positions are very interesting in that they exhibit a particle **ho**, **ha**, **he**, elsewhere only found in Nos. 2, 13, 21, 25, and 64. Other features recall the demonstratives of Nos. 52 and 54.

¹ According to the Rev. D. F. Eilenberger, the Bafokeñ clan came from the west or north-west, and may have brought to the Cuana stock a contribution of word-roots from the Hererow Group or the Luyi.

² There are certain roots and features about Venda which suggest that at some much earlier period it may have been under Swahili influence. As the Northern Transvaal and Limpopo valley contain abundant remains of Zimbabwe-like ruins and evidence of ancient gold-mining—the Arab-Swahili merchant adventurers of the ninth to the fifteenth centuries A.C. may have been in contact with the ancestral Ba-venda.

³ Though most dialects of Secuana retain **Nye** for 'Ye'.

We are insufficiently supplied with information about the Venda verb, and especially about its negative particles, but the *-ile* preterite termination appears to be missing.

SE-PÈDI and SE-SÙTHÓ¹ are barely separable as dialects. Se-sùthó, as already related, would appear to be a language which only came into existence during the early part and middle of the nineteenth century. The Pèdi dialect of Cuana was brought into Basutoland by those people of Becuana stock who fled from the Western Transvaal into the mountains of that South African Switzerland (then scarcely inhabited by any race but a few Bushmen). The invasion of the Transvaal by Umsilikazi (Moselekatse) and other Zulu and Kafir raiders, was the cause of this movement. Similarly, to Basutoland there fled Kafir clans from what is now Natal. The two South African stocks mingled, the Becuana much preponderating, and the Se-sùthó language was formed on a Se-pèdi basis, being at most a dialect of Se-pèdi at the present day. Where it differs from the elder dialect is in a change of pronunciation, in the adoption of a number of Zulu or Kafir words (adapted to Cuana phonology), and some influence of the Bushman. The chief differences in phonology between Se-sùthó and Se-pèdi are the softening of the guttural *x* into *h*, *b* into *v*, *f* into *h*, the increasing use of an obscure guttural resembling most the Arabic *q*, and the adoption of a click from the Bushman, which is possibly the same as the Zulu *ç*. There has been an unconscious tendency of both the French and the British missionaries in Basutoland to develop and exaggerate idiosyncrasies of the language and to fix them into native literature. There is also some appreciable variation in the spelling of Se-sùthó between the French and English missionary societies, the French giving a more 'Secuana' complexion to the language in some directions. The native mind amongst the now increasingly educated Basuto appears to be capable of much word creation to express a host of new and varied concepts. These new word-roots are mostly born straight away, whether or not they are to any degree onomatopoeic, and are generally associated with those new guttural or click sounds towards which the South African native is becoming increasingly addicted, no doubt in an affectation of race-originality, so that each twenty-five years that may elapse finds a wider gulf between a dictionary of Se-pèdi and a dictionary of Se-sùthó.

At the same time, both these dialects (and no doubt other as yet unrecorded Cuana dialects still lingering in the Central Transvaal), are so closely akin to the Secuana group of tongues spoken west of the Upper Limpopo and north of the Orange river, that it is difficult to justify my having enumerated Se-sùthó-Se-pèdi as No. 73 and Secuana as 74, if this numeration implies that they are independent languages. All one can say in justification of the classification is that they were regarded as such by earlier writers, and that I followed these authorities before I had been able to go more deeply into the matter and have found it subsequently inconvenient to alter. Moreover, owing to the recent setting forth of Si-koolo, which represents what might be called an extreme of local development in Secuana, the two groups are wrenched somewhat farther apart; that is to say, that if you compare Si-koolo with Se-sùthó (though it is said to be derived more directly from Se-sùthó than from Se-cuana) you do find yourself in the presence of two distinct languages.

So far as information is available at present, the Se-cuana dialects most clearly distinguishable are first of all the standard Se-cuana spoken immediately west of the Transvaal and north of the 28th degree of South latitude (literary Se-cuana); secondly, Se-maṅgwato,² farther to the north and north-east (74 a); thirdly, 74 b, the Si-koolo of the Upper Zambezi; and fourthly, 74 c, Njenji or Zinzi, the northernmost form of Si-koolo. 74—the Se-cuana of books, which I understand is the Court language in King Khama's country—seems to be compounded of the speech of the Ba-tlaro, Ba-tlhapiñ, Ba-rōloñ, Ba-hurutse, Ba-waṅketsi, and Ba-kwena. Se-maṅgwato (74 a) is the common speech of Khama's country and the ṅgami basin, where it is known as Se-twana or Se-tswana. These statements are not made dogmatically, but are derived from the best information procurable. They may prove contradictory to the

¹ In spelling Se-sùthó thus I am endeavouring to give the exact local pronunciation of Sùthó natives. Other spellings are the conventional *-suto* and *-sotho*.

² We know very little really about Se-maṅgwato or Se-tswana, only the statements of missionaries and explorers that they differ but slightly from standard Se-cuana. Livingstone, in his MSS., supplies a few words.

statements of certain travellers, but those travellers have only written superficially on the subject and have had no special knowledge of Se-cuana dialects to enable them to discriminate. On the other hand, our actual knowledge of Se-cuana dialects, other than those converted into two literary languages, is so small that further information may oblige us to modify or extend this classification.

Se-sùthó and Se-cuana are politically equal in importance with the Zulu-Kafir dialects and are perhaps destined to live long as literary languages and the speech of at least a million natives of Transzambesian Africa. Yet, except in the Si-kwólów dialect, which by contact with the beautiful Zambesian languages, has taken on a very different complexion, the prevalence of either Se-cuana or Se-sùthó is to be regretted. The languages are cacophonous even beyond Zulu-Kafir (though they are nearly free from clicks), they require to make an increasing use of tones to compensate them for the reduction of their syllables, and the confusion of their corrupted phonology. In short: as regards easy and melodious pronunciation they differ widely from the almost universal Bantu standard.

The most striking feature in their phonology is the dislike which they have felt to the contact of *n* with *k* or *g*, *n* or *m* with *b*, *p*, *t*, or *d*, the exaggerated love of gutturals and of aspirated consonants, the sliding of *t* into *r*, of *nd* into *t*, of *z* into *d* (anciently), and next into *r*, *l*, or *t*¹; and the broadening of *u* into *ω*, and *i* into *e*. A terminal *-ni* is always resolved into a nasal *ñ*. Both *o* (frequently stressed as *ō*) and *ω* are in use, their application, however, somewhat varying with individual speakers. But there is further an indeterminate vowel which is neither exactly *ω* nor *u*—the nearest equivalent is *ō*.

In these languages there is a tendency to change the initial consonant of the noun-root as it passes from the singular to the plural form, especially where a labial or a palatal are concerned. Thus: **-tsωxω** may be the singular form of the root for 'arm', but the plural will be the more archaic **-vωxω**. The singular of the root for 'bone' is **-sapω**, and the plural **-rapω**. A *b* which is derived from an earlier *m*, becomes *p*. *P* itself as an initial invariably changes into *f* or *h*, and it may as easily permute with *x* as with *h*. The palatalized *bi* or *by* has long since passed into *zi*, and that into other permutations like *ri* and *li*. Se-cuana-Se-sùthó also shares the dislike of Zulu-Kafir to a *bw*, and changes it first into *pz*, *py* or *ps*, and later into *c*. *Mw*- frequently changes to *ñw*; *ny* becomes *n*. An Old Bantu *s* or *z* often becomes *r*, as in **Phiri**, 'hyena'; **Riri**, 'hair', and an earlier *z* also changes to *d*. *D* becomes *l* (as **Nweli** or **Kxweli**, 'moon'), from an older **-edi**, **-ezi**. As regards the gutturals, though *ñg* and *ñk* invariably pass into *k* or *kh* or *kx*, an original Bantu *k* may become *x* or *h*, or in very old roots have passed to *s* by an intermediate *c* or *s*. The *kx* combination which is much written about by Bleek, is softened in the more southern dialects into *kh* or *h* or *h*. In Se-sùthó, more than in Se-cuana, a former *t* (which no doubt has passed through a stage of *ts* or *c*) is subjected to much the same phonetic change as disfigures Zulu-Kafir, being pronounced *tl*, *xl*, or *xl* (in the far north perhaps *kl*). This also becomes *tlh* or *tl'*, and is therefore still further unpronounceable by Europeans. Indeed, this excessive aspiration of consonants or groups of consonants is becoming, if one may speak frankly, a positive nuisance, and instead of being discouraged by the missionary teachers, appears to be enhanced or exaggerated, until one might suppose at last that they were trying to deter beginners from learning Se-cuana or Se-sùthó. There would seem to be a revulsion against all this in Si-kwólów, which is striving more and more to simplify its consonants and make use of definite vowel sounds and thus render itself far more easily pronounceable by Europeans.

A long list could be composed, but it might needlessly occupy space, to show how strangely the root-words in the Se-cuana-Se-sùthó languages have been altered by the reduction of consonants, more especially the elimination of the nasal before a guttural, a dental, and a labial. Only a few instances need, therefore, be cited, as Bleek has so fully illustrated this phase, which is curiously reminiscent of Makua (though otherwise, contrary to Father Torrend's supposition, the two languages have no near connexion and do not derive from one another).

-maka, 'cat', comes from **-mañga** (an old East African Bantu word for the sea-coast, often applied to any strange or foreign product); **-rapω**, 'bone', from **-rambω**; **Naka**, 'doctor', from **-ñgañga**; **Kxaka**, 'guinea-fowl', from **Kañga**; **-atla** or **-ata**, 'hand', from **-anja** or **-anda**; **-rethe**, 'heel', from

¹ It is in Se-sùthó more especially that this alveolar, 'Polish' *l* (*ł*) is present in place of an ancient *z*; but it is often heard as *r*.

•tende; Pula, 'rain', from an older Mbula; Phiri, 'hyena', from Mfisi; -naka, 'horn', from -nyaŋga; and -xata, 'skull', from -kanda.

As already mentioned, there is an increasing liking for a sing-song pronunciation which most commonly rings the changes on two marked tones, indicated by the accents ` and ',¹ and the acquisition of these tones and perhaps others by a learner is necessary, because they are sometimes needed to distinguish between one word-root and another which in vowels and consonants are precisely the same though the meanings may be very different.

The result of the afore-described consonantal changes from the orthodox Bantu standard has been to give to Se-cuana-Se-sùthó an almost misleading particularity, so that at first sight or hearing, its word-roots appear to be scarcely Bantu or very divergent from the norm. As a matter of fact, however, when analyzed, the peculiar word-roots of these languages are comparatively few when due reservation is made for the quite recent inventions of the literary language and the pullulating wealth in words of the Se-sùthó dialect. From out of the vocabularies of Se-sùthó and Se-pèdi given in this book, we are only able to single out the following noun-roots as either quite peculiar to the dialect, or unrelated to those of neighbouring languages, or traceable in affinities to distant forms of Bantu or even Semi-Bantu. They are as follows:

-petlɔ, 'adze'; -pɔka, 'bee' (met with elsewhere in the West Zambezan and North Congo languages); -paia*, -vala* (and 273), -rɔpa*, 'belly'; -li*, -teli*, 'blood'; -kɔpe*, -phetha (75), 'bow'; -fexa*, 'male breast'; Kxɔlumɔ, 'buffalo' (211, 212); Kxɔt'ɔkɔ*, 'bull'; -alafi, 'doctor' (104, 75 a); -tlape*, 'dog'; -ñata, 'egg' (derived from an earlier -ñganda); -sepa, (54, 70, 75 a; 253), -thete*, 'excrement'; Phatɔ, 'face' (72, 74 b); -vɔifɔ, 'fear'; -ribi*, 'she goat'; Tlhɔbɔlɔ, 'gun' (see West Zambezia languages);² -phafu*, 'hunger'; -hali*, 'husband'; -keli*, 'island'; -lɔpa*, 'ivory'; Pɔunama, 'lips' (100, 199, 204); -ruli, 'shoulder' (56, 85, 136, 153); -ruwa*, 'slave'; -xɔkxɔ*, Keleli*, 'tear'; -lɔ, 'thing' (64, 117, 175, 178); -fate (273), -xlare (2 a, 5, 41), 'tree'; -liba, (deep) 'water';³ -fifa*, -lekɔ*, 'witch'; Tɔwɔ*, 'witchcraft' (209).

In Se-cūana, which shares most of the foregoing, the following additional noun-roots are worthy of notice:

-cedi*, -ɔka, 'animal' (64; 258); -pa, -ba, -bala, 'belly'; -kāmpha*, 'bow'; -kōrɔ, 'canoe' (75 c, 180); Kxai, 'cloth'; -didi, 'cold' (see roots for 'wind' in Nos. 206, 65, 164); -alahi, 'doctor'; -rɔpa, 'drum' (184, 200, 206, 159, &c.); Thùkwi, 'hyena' (69, 75); -ñòle*, 'knee'; Thipa, 'knife' (80); -ñau, 'leopard' (92; 255); Cuku, 'penis' (89, 159, 207, 222); -tlalɔ, 'skin'; -xɔdu*, 'thief'; -rɔpe (from -tombe), 'thigh' (69); Cwai, 'tobacco'.

In Si-kɔlɔlɔ the peculiar words are generally loans from the Upper or Central Zambezan languages, but there might be especially singled out for notice the following:

Fɔlɔfɔlɔ, 'animal' (75, 100); -caka, 'axe'; Pombwi, 'baboon' (78, 80); -kɔkɔtɔ, 'back' (58 a); -ba, -hɔlu, 'belly' (79); -kampha, 'bow'; -swele, 'female breast'; -rena*, 'chief' (and 73); -apalɔ*, 'cloth'; -utu*, 'foot' (and 73); -lombɔ, 'ghost' (63, 83); -zɔtɔ, 'heel' (56 a, 114, 61); -huma, 'hoe' (61, 73, 71 f); -tuñgwani*, 'hyena'; Sipi, 'iron' (75, 78); -ɔli, 'island' (83, 61 c); -ñgwele, 'knee' (73-4); Tipa, 'knife' (80); -lala*, 'neck'; Pulu, 'ox' (85, 72); -kwakwa, 'road' (64, 44); Swaba, 'shame' (80); -heta, 'shoulder'; -talɔ, 'skin' (73; 269; 71); -zazi, 'sun' (52, 53, 73, 132); -leta*, 'testicles'; -ʃɔli*, 'thief'; -ka*, 'thing'; -hèpè*, 'witchcraft'.

¹ Answering in music to . The musical tones in Se-cuana are treated exhaustively and accurately in *A Sechuana Reader*, by Daniel Jones and S. T. Plaatzje (University of London Press: London, 1916).

² Possibly the Ba-sùthó may have received their earliest ideas of a gun from the far north-west, from the Upper Zambezi rather than from Europeans in the south or on the east coast of Africa.

³ This is a very interesting penetration far to the south of the Zambezi of a root which is very archaic (-ndiba or -diba), and particularly characteristic of the N.W. Bantu.

In their numerals Se-sùthó-Se-cuana offer respectively the following peculiar forms :

-tIha, 'one' (derived from **-ca**, and therefore recalling forms in the Cameroons languages) ; **Tselela**, 'six' (besides the widespread **Thataro**, derived from **-tandatu**) ; **Li-šupa**, 'seven' ; **Se-nyane**, 'nine'.

The forms for the pronouns are not particularly archaic and approximate somewhat closely to those of the Zulu-Kafir Group, but a certain confusion is noticeable in modern Se-sùthó which has its parallel in European languages. The 1st person plural, especially in the possessive pronoun, is increasingly used for the 1st person singular, and similarly the 2nd person plural in its possessive takes the place of the 2nd person singular. The root for 'we' is **Re-**, which of course comes from an earlier **Te¹** and **Ti-**. By a still more curious confusion this **Re-** co-exists with **Ro-** and **Co-** in Se-cuana, forms derived direct from the Bantu **Tu**,² though **Re-** persists in the verbal particles, nominative and accusative. There is, therefore, a confusion in some of the Se-cuana dialects between **Rona**, 'we', and **Lona**, 'ye'. The **Lo-** in Se-cuana and Se-sùthó for the 2nd person plural is derived from an earlier **No-**, but there co-exists in Se-cuana-Se-sùthó the more archaic **Nye-** for this pronoun. The demonstratives of Sùthó-Cuana differ considerably from those of Venda, and still more pronouncedly from the demonstratives in Roŋga and in Zulu-Kafir. They are more normal and like those of the Nyanza and East African Groups. The locative suffixes **-no**, **-na**, **-ne**, and **-la** are in use, and there are no demonstrative prefixes or infixes.

As regards the verb, the **-ile** preterite termination is present (with variants, **-itse**, **-ere**, **-ye**, &c.), and in most other respects the verb is normally Bantu and more so than in Zulu-Kafir. The negative particles are **-xa-** or **-ha-**, **-se-**, **-sa-**, **-kake-**, &c. Se-cuana has a rather peculiar root for 'be', 'is', namely, **-nna**, which does not seem to be present in Se-sùthó unless as **-na** in a different sense.

The important variant or dialect of Se-cuana, **Si-kooloolo**, was originally a kind of compound of Northern Se-cuana and Se-sùthó spoken by the Makooloolo of the Western Zambezi valley. The Makooloolo, we learn from the works of Livingstone and other early pioneers in South Central Africa, were the remnants of a great Ba-sùthó clan which, under the impulse and impact of the raiding Zulus, passed as desperate raiders themselves through Bechuanaland and eventually came to a standstill—by this time conquerors—in the valley of the Western or Upper Zambezi. It is said that they had been preceded in that direction at the beginning of the nineteenth century by another great band of Bechuana conquerors derived chiefly from the Bahurutse tribe. These people had subdued the Aluyi people of the Upper Zambezi valley, and their name, under the corrupted form of Bwotse, had been given to the Luyi country. Sikooloolo, which in Livingstone's time no doubt was little else than a fusion of Se-sùthó and Se-cuana elements (retaining possibly a more archaic pronunciation and a few word-roots lost to modern Se-cuana and Se-sùthó), became in course of time much transfused with Luyi, Toŋga, and Tebele word-roots and prefix-forms. The influence of these melodious tongues softened and simplified the ugly gutturals and the aspirated consonants of Se-sùthó-Se-cuana. The tendency to consonantal endings of words was checked ; $\frac{h}{2}$ took the place of x , and the vowels regained their pristine Bantu simplicity. The validity of the **Ka-** prefix was restored and the **Tu-** prefix as its plural was no doubt borrowed from Toŋga. At the same time, though retaining the corrupt Se-cuana form of the 8th prefix (**Li-**), the older **Bi-** was reintroduced from one of the Zambezi languages.

Some of the more striking or peculiar noun-roots have already been quoted. In its numerals it renders 'three' by **-taloo** or **-laloo**, and reverts to the orthodox **-tanoo** for 'five' in lieu of the harsher **tl'anoo** of its parent. Amongst its pronouns might be noted **Mina**, 'ye', 'you', which differs notably from the Se-cuana-Se-sùthó and Zulu-Kafir forms, and resembles the version of this pronoun in **Copi** (70) and in **Nkoya** (87).³

Except, however, for these changes in pronunciation and in borrowings of prefixes and word-roots, **Sikooloolo** may still be described as a dialect of Se-cuana. It is, however, solidly established now as the main language of intercourse for the whole Western Zambezi basin, and each year that passes by it is more

¹ In Semaŋgawato 'we' seems to be **He**, perhaps coming from a former **Se**.

² In **Sikooloolo**, **Ro** has become **Lu**.

³ It is interesting to note that the form **Mina** for 'ye', 'you' is also met with in the Gaboon and Cameroons, chiefly in the Fang languages, Nos. 217 to 220, with also not very dissimilar words in Nos. 266 (**-min**) and 273 of the Semi-Bantu.

and more detached from the Se-cuana type. Probably it will survive and become an independent language of its own when cacophonous, highly complicated Se-cuana and Se-sùthó are giving way in competition with less difficult and more easily pronounced languages.

There is thought to be a further variant of the Se-cuana stock, an off-shoot of Sikólóló, or even earlier, of Se-hurutse in N-jenji or Zinzi, which I have classified as 74 c. This dialect, if not already extinct is or was spoken in the north-eastern part of the Rotse kingdom. The few words I insert in the vocabularies are derived from the work of Capello and Ivens, but I have gathered allusions to Njenji in the reports of other travellers. According to the Barotse (A-luyi) traditions, Njenji might be the remains of the Se-cuana speech of the Bahurutse, a Cuana clan who, about a hundred years ago, invaded North-west Zambezia and left their name 'Bwrotse' ('Barotseland') on the Luyi-Toña region subsequently conquered anew by Sebituāne, the great Sùthó raider-king, visited by Livingstone.

GROUP T: THE ZULU-KAFIR LANGUAGES

(Nos. 75 to 76)

This group was for long regarded as the Sanskrit of the Bantu, and no doubt in South African circles (where strangely little is known of Africa north of the Limpopo and Orange rivers), it still holds that position. In fact, for a long time it was thought by most writers on African ethnology that the Zulu-Kafir¹ peoples were *the* Bantu *par excellence*, and that they were altogether a different human type from the true Negro. All this, of course, was nonsense. The Zulus and the Kafirs (like the Be-cuana and Ba-sùthó) only differ from the other Bantu tribes of Africa in that they may contain, in individuals or in clans, distinct traces of a former intermixture with the Bushmen and Hottentots. Otherwise, they are compounded of the same racial strains—a blend between the Forest and the Nilotic Negro; the one with powerful torso, long arms, and short legs, and the other with tall physical stature, short arms, long legs, and a more refined profile. There is even a distinct reappearance of the Congo Pigmy type amongst some of the South African Bantu, in Swaziland, and far away in the mountains of Damaraland. Then, too, especially along the eastern side of the sub-continent, there are tantalizing, inexplicable indications of some ancient racial intermixture with the Hamite or Semite, some white-man or semi-white-man race coming from Galaland or Arabia. So far as skull form goes, indeed, this handsome quasi-white man type, 'Mediterranean Man', seems to have penetrated many thousands of years ago into South Africa, where he has left his remains in the now famous 'Strand-looper' skulls,² which convey suggestions of the Crô-magnon race of pre-historic Europe or of the generalized Hamite of Abyssinia. This non-Negro element is very obvious in the more aristocratic type of Zulu and Kafir, or amongst the Ba-karaña of Mashonaland, or again (though in that case it must have had a divergent origin) amongst the Ova-hereró of South-west Africa. And Livingstone himself remarked it amongst the peoples of South-west Congo-land. But in a general way the Zulu-Kafir is neither more nor less 'Bantu' in physical appearance than the peoples of Central Africa, though the infusion of Bushman blood is very noticeable amongst some of the helot tribes or clans in South Africa. Perhaps in a general way there is more Bushman intermixture with the Ba-sùthó-Be-cuana than there is with the Kafir and the Zulu, though it is the Zulu-Kafir people who have most imitated Bushman phonology in their clicks and some of their word-roots.

¹ I suppose it is hardly necessary to explain to readers that 'Kafir' is an altogether foreign term derived through the Dutch and Portuguese (Caffer, Cafre) from the Arabic 'Kafir', which means 'unbeliever'. The Swahili Arabs, after Islamizing most of the coast Negroes down to the Zambezi, found those to the south of Sofala so wholly intractable that they styled them 'Kafir' (*pl.* Kuñar). The Portuguese borrowed the term and it became gradually restricted to the Bantu clans west of Natal and south of the Drakensberg and Orange river. No other generic term exists except *çôsa*, which only applies to the language.

² See Vol. VIII of *The Annals of the South African Museum: The Stone Age in South Africa*, by Dr. L. Péringuey, Dr. F. C. Shruballs, and A. L. Du Toit.

There are two Zulu-Kafir *languages*, which I have numbered 75 and 76. 75 is sub-divisible into the Kafir dialects spoken westward of Natal, into Zulu (75 a), Swazi of Swaziland (75 b), and Sindebele (75 c)—the 'Matebele' dialect. The language which I have classed as 76 is the Zulu speech primarily of Gazaland in Portuguese S.E. Africa, but also virtually identical with the 'Añgoni' dialects implanted north of the Zambezi in West Nyasaland and adjoining portions of North Rhodesia and in North-east Nyasaland, in the southern part of what was German East Africa. The Kafir dialects which I have grouped under the clan name of **ᵑōsa**,¹ are sufficiently distinct from Zulu to be classed as a separate dialect but not as a separate language. An attempt is made sometimes to distinguish dialectally between orthodox **ᵑōsa**, **Baca**, **Feñgu**, and **Isi-pondw**. But it is difficult to determine these trifling differences. The Feñgu speech of the so-called 'Fiñgō' Kafirs occasionally exhibits greater approximation to the dialect of Swaziland (75 b), Pondw bears a resemblance to Zulu.

It is important, however, to note a special dialect both of **ᵑōsa** and Zulu, the use of which is restricted to women. This is known as **Isi-hlōnipa**, which means 'the language of having shame'. We know that in English, and in many European tongues, there are words which women prefer not to use but which men make free use of. This feeling extends much into Africa and is reinforced by the superstitious belief that if a woman uses a word identical with or similar to her husband's name or nickname, it will bring him ill-luck. It is evident that the influence of **Hlōnipa** is partial and not lasting. A fresh generation sweeps away much of the affectation and reverts to the original root-word. Nevertheless, **Isi-hlōnipa** is very interesting as a study because here and there it preserves amongst the speech of the women root-words of an archaic character which have been lost in the general or the literary language.

A diligent 'trying-out' might set up dialects of Zulu, distinctions between the speech of the chiefs and aristocracy and that of the serfs or of special clans. The Zulu spoken in Amatoñgaland is scarcely true Zulu at all. It either resembles the Zulu of Gazaland (76) or it actually slides into the **Konde** dialect of **Roñga** (71 d). The **Tebele** or **Si-ndebele** speech of Matebeleland,² though by now a separate speech with some archaic features, is only a variant of Zulu that has come into existence during the last hundred years. **Swazi**, on the other hand, is a very distinct variant of the Zulu-Kafir language which either retains archaic features lost by the others or has in its phonology pursued a path of its own. Perhaps it makes slightly less use of clicks than Zulu. Its most noteworthy feature, however, in phonology is the substitution of **E** for **A** in certain preprefixes and a splitting up of a simple *d* or *t* into *tf* or *dv*. Thus **Ama** becomes **Ema**; **-tumbu**, **-tfumbu**; and **-budw**, **-budvw**. This last curious development is well attested, but is not apparently shared by all the Swazi people. Some of them substitute for the *f* or the *v* an aspiration of the following vowel (**T'umbu** or **Thumbu**, **Bud'w** or **Budhw**). It is easily explained by the aspirate having become *f* or *v*. Swazi dislikes a *z* and substitutes *t* for it. It also has little or no trace of the **Pa-** (16th) prefix, and as a locative substitutes the unclassifiable **Nge-**. It is interesting to note in some adverbs that the locative prefix **E-** in Zulu (which *may* be derived from **Pe-**) becomes **We-** in Swazi.

A few additional words must be said about No. 76. Although something like a hundred years has separated them in tribal union, it really seems as though the dialects of the descendants of the **Bañgoni** raiders north of the Zambezi—even as far north as N.E. Nyasaland—and the language spoken by the Zulu aristocracy in Gazaland (Portuguese S.E. Africa) were really one and the same, with at most those differences derived from long dissociation and mutual borrowing of word-roots from adjacent languages. Probably No. 76 arose from the historical Zulu invasions of South-east Africa north of the **Limpōpō** in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; but on the other hand, Gazaland Zulu may represent a more northern stage of speech in the long journeys southward of the Zulu-Kafir ancestral peoples. Its

¹ Readers who can not be bothered to master the lateral click (like the sound made to urge on a horse) can simply call this tongue **Kōsa**, and pronounce it like the southern English 'coarser', without stressing the *oa* too much. **Kosa** was the earliest spelling of the name.

² **Tebele** is probably a **Se-sùthw** nickname for the Zulu raiders of the early nineteenth century, meaning 'those who strike with the fist' or 'strike thoroughly'. With the English passion for mis-spelling and mis-pronouncing—a perversity which gives us **Zambesi** instead of **Zambezi**, '**Beckyuanaland**' instead of **Bechuanaland**—we have long had **-tabele** thrust on us in our literature. It should be '**Matebele**' or '**Amandebele**', **-tebele** or **-ndebele**: never **-tabele** or **-tabili**.

phonetic changes from the Bantu standard¹ are not so marked, and it preserves a few archaic roots lost in the more southern dialects. These Gazaland Zulus bulked very largely in the public eye at the time when Mr. Rhodes was founding his Chartered Company and disputing with the Portuguese; while still earlier they came greatly into Portuguese annals as the 'Landins' (apparently a corruption of the clan name Umhlandine). From out of this Gazaland stock undoubtedly came those 'Añgoni' raiders² who, about a hundred years ago, crossed the Zambezi and carried terror and conquest wherever they went amongst the Nyasaland peoples.

Our information on the subject of this language (No. 76) is all too little; but such as I possess constrains me to class the Nyasaland dialects of 'Añgoni' under the same designation as applies to Gazaland Zulu, and to figure this speech as a distinct language from Zulu-Kafir. Further research should be undertaken into the interesting Ci-rüe language of Goroñgowa in Portuguese S.E. Africa, numbered by me 67. The resemblances between Ci-rüe and No. 76 are more evident than those between Ci-rüe and Zulu.

The most striking feature in the phonology of Group T is the existence of the Bushman-like clicks. These in Zulu-Kafir are usually regarded as of four distinct types: *Ḷ*, *Ḷ*, *Ḷ*, and *Ḷ*. They answer to the *c*, *q*, *q**c*, and *x* of South African spelling.³ The first (*Ḷ*) is described as 'dental', the second as alveolar, the third as palatal, and the fourth as lateral. Of these the third (*Ḷ*) is rare or seems to be confined mainly to Zulu and Se-sùthó. The three others are very common. It is noteworthy, also, that they are shared by No. 76—Gazaland or Añgoni Zulu; though in the Añgoni northern dialects, contact with the mellifluous languages of Central or East Africa has discouraged their use to a great extent. In Zulu the employment of clicks instead of diminishing is extending, through the same spirit of tribal self-assertion as may be met with in the Ba-sùthó. Whenever a present-day Zulu or even a Kafir wishes to coin a new word—and they are doing this on an immense scale—he nearly always introduces a click into it, either for onomatopœic reasons or because he thinks that swagger Zulu cannot be talked without a click; and as I have said once or twice before, missionary teachers seem almost to encourage instead of discouraging this tendency, and stuff their dictionaries in some cases with sheer nonsense words composed—I verily believe—only by their pupils and not in general circulation. In any case, this extravagant use of the Bushman clicks has tended to particularize the Zulu-Kafir Group and in many cases to disguise its Bantu relationships.

Whence the clicks arose is one of the unsolved Bantu problems. Were they borrowed by Zulu children from their Hottentot or Bushman mothers in the days of the early penetration of southernmost Africa by the Bantu? Or have they nothing to do with Bushman or Hottentot, but are independent inventions derived from plain Bantu gutturals or palatals, just as the languages of Groups S and T have in extravagance or slackness of pronunciation enlarged a primitive *t*, *c*, or *ʃ* into *thl*, *tl*, *hl*, *xl*, *kl*? Some of the clicks in Kafir and Zulu are affixed to archaic Bantu roots and take the place of a northern *k* or *g* or *t* or *c*. As far as my own researches go, and the opinions of others that I have been able to peruse, it is not easy to detect in Group T many distinct Bushman or Hottentot affinities in the root-words, even when these are associated with clicks—exception being made for actual borrowing of Bushman or Hottentot terms not assimilated into the language.

On the whole, I think we must conclude that the 'click-tendency' was acquired anciently from contiguous Bushman or Hottentot people, no doubt by the invading Bantu capturing numbers of Bush or Hottentot women and espousing them. The mothers would infect the pronunciation of their children with their own weird, half-simian phonetics, and perhaps are responsible for the infliction on the South African Bantu of these ugly sounds, and of the combinations *tl*, *thl*, and the excessive gasping aspiration of other consonants. The children having inherited the 'click-tendency' would turn into a click what had hitherto

¹ It is noteworthy that the *hl*, *xl* of Zulu-Kafir is either *ʃl* or even the more archaic *c*.

² *-ñgwni*, Ba-*ñgwni* was a well recognized tribal name in Gazaland.

³ It may be asked why on the one hand I do not adopt the simple South African Press equivalents (*c*, *q*, *q**c*, and *x*), or why, on the other hand, I am not content with Lepsius's and Bleek's suggestions of | for the dental (my *Ḷ*), ! for the alveolar or cerebral (*ʃ*), ‡ for the palatal (*Ḷ*), and || for the lateral (*Ḷ*). The answer is that *c*, *q*, and *x* are required and already adopted for world-wide consonantal utterances, and that |, !, ‡, and || are difficult and confusing to write.

been a guttural or a dental utterance. It is noteworthy that *n* before a click becomes *ñ* as it would before a guttural consonant.

There are two other features in Zulu-Kafir phonology which should be noted: (1) a tendency for an original initial *k* in Old Bantu to be transformed to *s*, without any trace of an intermediate *c* or *ç*;¹ and (2) the growing inclination to close words with a consonant, more especially an *n* or an *s*. Most of such terminations are still written **-ane** or **-ana**, **-si** or **-so**, but the character of the clipped vowel at the end is becoming uncertain and the vowel is often dropped. That this is a fairly old tendency we may realize by the Portuguese transcriptions of N.E. Zulu words in the eighteenth century.

In its prefixes the Zulu-Kafir tongue retains an archaic appearance, at any rate in the literary language. Preprefixes are present and much used, but the modern tendency is for the preprefixes to fuse with the prefixes and in some ways to replace them. Thus, for example, there has long been established in both ǒōsa (75) and Zulu a form of the 1st prefix which is simply **U-**, to which a plural **Ū-** corresponds (apparently a contraction of **Aba-** through an intermediate form **Awa-**), though the concord of the 1st prefix assumes, amongst other forms, that of **ñku-** or **ñgu-**. The 3rd prefix, similarly to the 1st, is sometimes abbreviated into **U-**, and the 4th prefix (**Imi-**) into **I-**. So also the 5th prefix is often heard as **I-** instead of the fuller **Ili-**, and the 9th (**In-**) is also **I-** before an initial consonant in the root. The 11th prefix (**Ulu-**) is frequently reduced to **U-**. The 12th is entirely missing. The 7th prefix (**Isi-**) is **Is'** (usually) before an *a*. The 13th prefix **Ka-** only survives adverbially, in connexion with numerals, the roots referring to time or space; and also as an honorific title. In addition to **Apa-** or **Pa-** (existing, however, as a prefix only in prepositions or adverbs) the 16th prefix may take the form of **Pe-**. The locative prefix **E-** is one of the puzzles of Zulu-Kafir and of some other Bantu languages. It occurs far away in the north and north-east as well as markedly amongst the languages of Group T. I have remarked elsewhere that it may be a reduction from **Pe-** through the Swaziland form **We-**. The Swazi dialect has another locative prefix which usually takes the place of No. 16, **Ngē-**. The 8th prefix in all the dialects of No. 75 is invariably **Izi-**, but in No. 76 it is generally **Vi-**, though possibly **Zi-** is used in Gazaland. It would seem as though the **Vi-** of No. 76 (Gaza-Ngōni) is directly borrowed from the North Nyasa languages. I doubt if it extends into the Southern Ngoni dialects in S.W. Nyasaland.

The noteworthy word-roots in Zulu-Kafir had better be attributed separately to the different dialects, but a good many of these here recorded as ǒōsa (No. 75) are shared by the Zulu-Kafir dialects.

The peculiar or noteworthy word-roots of ǒōsa are as follows:

-peñpe, 'adze' (82, 104, 109, 123); **-lō***, 'wild beast'; **-bulu**, 'wild beast' (100, 103); **-galō**, 'arm' (2 f); **-gōlō**, 'baboon' (44, 58, 68, 105); **-va***, 'back'; **-çōlō***, 'back' (73); **-cebe***, 'beard'; **-taka***, **-daka***, 'bird'; **-bende***, 'blood'; **-apeta**, 'bow' (73); **-pumbu***, 'bow'; **-dōpō** or **-çōpu**, 'brains' (67, 144); **-kaka**, 'male breast' (226; 259); **-oñga** (151, 155, 70), **-kafu***, **-pundu** (4 a, 9 c), **-bini** (200, 203), 'buttocks'; **-lahle**, 'charcoal' (64); **-sana***, **-sapō***, 'child'; **-nyōbe***, 'cloth'; **-gōdōlā***, **-banda***, 'cold'; **-ntwana***, 'child'; **-kōmō**, 'cow' (12, 15, 19, 67, 73, 120, 226, 194, &c.); **-mini**, 'day' (27, 35, 38, 86, 100, &c.); **-šōlōgu***, 'devil'; **-gçixa***, 'doctor'; **-gubu**, 'drum' (84); **-pupa***, 'dream'; **-basō**, 'fire' (67, 5, 100, 110; 253); **-londe***, 'ghost'; **-nyanya***, 'ghost'; **-tombi**, 'girl'; **-damba**, 'girl' (98, 100, 184); **-thipō**, 'God' (69); **-tlōkō**, 'head' (69, 71, 224; 232); **-papu***, 'heart'; **-pelō***, 'heart' (73); **-tliziyō**, 'heart' (1, 67); **-duli**, 'heel' (58, 59); **-kaba***, 'hoe'; **-guzi**, 'honey' (179, 68); **-çindi**, 'honey' (58, 59); **-dōda**, 'husband' (81, 73); **-çuka**, 'hyena' (20, 21); **-nyiti***, **-ñçiti**, 'iron' (69); **-çiti***, 'island'; **-bamba***, 'ivory'; **-çibi**, 'lake' (64, 118); **-dike***, 'lake'; **-tuñgō**, 'leg' (150; 261); **-damse***, 'lion'; **-lebe**, 'lip' (70, 195); **-bōvu**, 'lip' (100, 199); **-fō***, 'man'; **-duna**, 'man, vir' (71, 73); **-yeza***, 'medicine'; **-kau**, 'monkey' (51, 70, 73, 100; 239); **-taba**, 'mountain' (67, 69, 71, 72, 73); **-nyañga**, 'moon' (52, 67, 143); **-zipō**, 'nail' (35, 65 a, 67, 225); **-gama**, 'name' (51); **-bizō**, 'name' (67, 71, 73); **-kaba** (71, 76), **-bōnō***, 'navel'; **-kabi**, 'ox' (35, 65 a, 71); **-pini***, 'paddle'; **-hōbe***, 'pigeon'; **-buzi**, 'rat' (74; 259); **-tyuwa**, **-tyiwa**, 'salt' (213; 230); **-gūša**, 'sheep'

¹ Perhaps this is more marked in the languages of Groups R and S. A familiar example is **-sati** for **-kati** ('female'). ǒōsa, however, has **-sana** from **-kana** ('little child'). In Swazi, however, the original guttural is preserved as in **-gana** ('little child').

(54, 61); **-hau**, **Kawu** (related to the widespread **-gabu**), 'shield'; **K'aka***, 'shield'; **-gcalāba***, 'shoulder'; **-dade**, 'sister' (21); **-bagabaga***, 'sky'; **-kωbōka**, 'slave' (74, 137, 155); **-tuya***, 'sleep'; **-nunu***, 'snake'; **-kweñkwe***, 'son'; **-dulu**, 'song' (18); **-kontō**, 'spear' (35 to 69); **-kali***, **-yēle***, 'spear'; **-swazi***, 'stick'; **-gala***, **-ōta***, 'sun'; **-mbezi**, 'tear' (67, 70); **-sela***, **-oñgōza***, 'thief'; **-ini**, 'thing' (89, 94, 120 b, 160); **-wele**, 'twin' (79, 80; 266); **-camō**, **-kamō**, 'urine' (17, 64 a, 126); **-tabi***, **-fazwe***, 'war'; **-tombō***, 'well'; **-luñgu**, 'white man' (69, 71, 77, 105); **-gqwiya***, 'witch'; **-piñga***, 'sorcery'; **-hlati***, 'firewood'.

A good many of these words, as already pointed out, may appear in Zulu or in Zulu dialects, but on the whole they are more restricted to the Kafir dialects westward of Natal.

The following numeral roots in ṽōsa-Kafir should be noted:

-tandatu, 'six', linking Kafir with Se-cuana-Sūthō and the East African Bantu; **-peñpe**,¹ **-pabela***, 'seven'; **-bōpō**, **-b'ōzō**, 'eight'; also **-pōhloñgō** or **Tōba**¹ **mnwem-bini**, other roots for 'eight'; **-tōba**,¹ 'nine' (or **Tōba** **mnwem-nye**); **-kulu**, 'one hundred'; **-waka**, 'one thousand'.

The peculiar or noteworthy roots in Zulu, not always to be found in Kafir are:

-dibišelō*, 'arrow'; **-gaulō**, 'axe' (94, 71); **-ziñga**, 'baboon'; **-tibili***, **-tyweba***, 'buttocks'; **-pupō***, 'dream'; **-esaba**, 'fear' (67, 70, 73); **-čikiza***, 'girl'; **-beva**, 'he goat' (2, 21, 34, 60, 92, 105; 232); **-tunzi**, 'ghost' (61 c, 72, 17); **-hliziyo**, 'heart' (67); **-damañgu***, 'heart'; **-mañgō** (2 e, 21 f, 56, 94), **-tāba**, 'hill'; **-čingi**, 'island' (7 a, 34); **-dañgu**, 'lake' (184, 186, 217, 38); **-debe**, 'lip' (70, 195); **-lisa**, **-silisa***, 'man'; 'male' (67); **-kubalō***, 'medicine'; **-čala***, 'neck'; **-baṽō***, 'ox'; **-kōtōtō***, 'pig'; **-hlazō**, 'shame' (58, 63); **-yau**, 'shield'; **-hlombe** (27, 41, 76), **-deba***, 'shoulder'; **-čōbōka** (75), **-čili***, 'slave' (117, 146); **-nyana***, 'son'; **-gama**, 'song'; **-hubo**, 'song'; **-hlabelelō***, 'song' (67); **-yelelele***, **-čača***, 'spear'; **-cōba**, 'tail' (14, 73); **-mbezi**, 'tear' (67, 70); **-zu**, 'toe' (230-1); **-tyōbiñgō***, 'urine'; **-pi**, 'war' (66, 69, 70).

Noteworthy numerals are:

-tupa,¹ 'six'; **-kombisa*** or **-kombile**, **Iñkōta** or **Umkōti***, 'seven'; **Siya-ñgalo-mbili**, 'eight'; and **Siya-ñgalō-lunye**, 'nine'.²

The peculiar or remarkable roots in Swazi (75 b) are:

-ñdele, 'adze' (100 b); **-gubu** (86), **-tyōki***, 'bow' (76); **-tsula**, 'buttocks' (17, 49); **-gān***, 'child' (75 c); **-hiya**, 'cloth' (67, 35, 125); **-budza***, **-budvō***, **-b'ōda***, 'dream'; **-guñgu**, 'drum' (152-61); **-dami***, 'lake'; **-pimbō***, 'neck'; **-ñōmbe**, 'ox'; **-gwehla**, 'paddle' (103); **-ūñje***, 'pig'; **-gundu**, 'rat' (65 a); **-kañčō**, **-gwañčō**, 'road' (86); **-tswayi**, 'salt' (64, 73, 81); **-kapu**, 'shield' (see ṽōsa and Zulu); **-gōgō**, 'skin' (137); **-tulu**, 'sky'; **-gčili***, 'slave' (117, 146); **-zela***, 'sleep'; **-tṽutṽu**, 'smoke' (56 b, 187-218); **-sawa***, 'son'; **-kali***, 'spear'; **-kōbō***, 'spirit'; **-dugu**, 'stick' (248; 76); **-gbwe**, 'stone' (Northern Bantu); **-cisa***, 'sun'; **-šōba**, 'tail' (see Zulu); **-mbeti**, 'tear' (see Zulu); **-tw-**, 'toe' (230-1); **-hlahla**, 'tree' (5, 6, 41, 178, 74); **-jēlō**, 'well'; **-lumbi**, 'white man' (64, 89, 90); **-ñgōbōti** (4), **-hlapō***, 'womb'.

A peculiar numeral form in Swazi is **-sondō***, **-sontṽō***, 'seven'.

The Tebele language does not possess as apart from Zulu many peculiar noun-roots. Those worth remark are:

-dwañu*, 'baboon'; **-cōhi**, 'bow' (75 b, 73); **-kōlō**, 'canoe' (73, 180; 274); **-valō***, 'fear'; **-tendele***, 'guinea-fowl'; **-hleni***, 'island'; **-čamu**, 'knife' (44); **-kwilimbi**, 'pigeon' (77-83); **-zulu**, 'rain'; **-kiwa**, 'white man' (63, 64, 78, 80).

In numerals the root for 'six' is the same as in Kafir—**-tantatu**. **-nōnyē**, 'seven', is borrowed from the adjoining languages of South-east Africa. **-giti*** for 'one thousand' seems peculiar.

¹ **-peñpe** means 'axe', and **Tōba** is apparently related to the root **-tupa**, **-šupa**, **-tuba**, **-tōba**, **-lōba**, which with or without qualifying numerals appears for 6 and 7 in Zulu, Cuana, Central Congoland, Cameroons and even Group A of the Semi-Bantu.

² The paraphrases mean literally 'leave-fingers-two' (from 'ten'), and 'leave-finger-one'.

In No. 76, the **Gaza-Añgoni-Zulu** language, the noun-roots deserving of notice are :

-jenje, 'adze' (82, 104—which apparently answers to the Kafir **-ḡeñḡe**) ; **-ḡibicwɔw**, 'arrow' ; **-ñutu**, 'back' (73), **-ḡwamba***, 'canoe' (64) ; **-ura**, 'cloth' (35, 62, 63) ; **-ḡwa**, 'cold' ; **-ḡwara***, 'fear' ; **-basw**, 'fire' (see ḡōsa) ; **-dondw**, 'forest' (2 c, 40₂ 21 f, 64 a, 77) ; **-ḡwakw**, 'head' (69, 224) ; **-pañḡw***, 'hunger' ; **-ḡwela***, 'husband' ; **-ḡwzōñḡw***, 'lion' ; **-ḡwca***, 'monkey' ; **-ḡawa**, 'navel' (71, 75) ; **-sunduru***, 'neck' ; **-ñataw***, 'neck' ; **-fu***, **-cawa***, 'slave' ; **-duku** (75 b), **-swazi** (75), 'stick' ; **-cwawa**, 'tail' (75 a, 14) ; **-bafa**, 'thief' (57, 63, 69) ; **-puputw***, 'well'.

The pronouns of all the dialects of No. 75 and No. 76 resemble one another pretty closely. The full substantive form of the personal pronouns is rendered by adding **-na** to the pronominal particle. The nominative pronominal prefix for the 1st person singular is **Ndi-** in ḡōsa, as against **Ngi-** in Zulu, Swazi, and Añgoni, and **Ni-** in Tebele. In ḡōsa (75) the nominative pronominal particle of the 2nd person singular is sometimes **Ku-** (see Roñga (71)) ; but in the other languages or dialects of this group it is always **U-** (**Ú-** with the high tone). Similarly, in ḡōsa the nominative pronominal particle of the 3rd person singular is occasionally **Ka-**. In Zulu, besides **U-**, it (the 3rd person singular) is also **E-** and **Ku-**, as well as the customary **A-**. In No. 76 it is occasionally **I-**. The pronominal root of the 1st person plural in all these languages is **Ti-** or **Si-**, and not **Tu-** or **Su-**, except in the possessive suffix. But as a nominative prefix it is occasionally **Sw-** in Zulu. In the same way the root particle for the 2nd person plural has nearly always *i* for the vowel, except in the possessive, but **Nw-** instead of **Ni-** appears as a nominative prefix occasionally in Zulu. In Tebele the **Ni-** or **-ni-** of Zulu becomes sometimes **Li-** or **-li-**. In No. 76 the nominative prefix 'you' and 'ye' is **Mu-**, borrowed no doubt from its eastern and northern neighbours. In this language the objective infix for the 2nd person plural is **-wani-**. As regards the 3rd person plural, the nominative pronominal prefix is sometimes both **Be-** and **Bw-** in Zulu.

The root for 'all' is **-oñke** or **-oñge** (see 36, 56 a, 67, and 68). As regards demonstratives, attention should be drawn to a very marked feature of this group shared equally by the Roñga dialects (71 to 71 f), namely, the use of **Lw-**, **Le-**, **La-**, combined with the concord particles. The use of this locative prefix is not quite so marked in ḡōsa as in Zulu, where it also figures prominently in the adverbs, especially those for 'here' and 'there' (**Lapa**, **Lapw**, **La**). The directive **N-** (**N-**, **M-**) is also much used in the Zulu-Kafir demonstratives of the fourth or 'yonder' position.

In the use of verbal forms the Zulu-Kafir languages and dialects are richly developed, though some of this excessive wealth in conjugations and minute differentiation of meanings is possibly local and even literary. Generally speaking, the verb is normally Bantu in its developments. The **-ile** preterite suffix is much used. It may be reduced to **-e**, or go through the variants of **-ele**, **-ene**, **-ete**, **-eli**, **-iti**, or **-lwo** ; this last peculiar to the group. Much use is made of the particle **-be-** (related to the **-ba** root for the verb 'to be') in past and conditional tenses. There is a past indefinite participle formed with the suffix **-ywo**. The negative particles have undergone some degeneration. They consist of an **A-** prefix (which may descend from an original **Sa-** or **Ka-**), the use of the infix or suffix **ñga** ; **Musa-** is employed as a negative imperative prefix, and **-ka-** is an infix meaning 'yet', 'not yet'. As regards additional terminations to the verb-root for the modification of sense, that which I have numbered 14 i, the suffix **-pa**, implying 'quality', seems to be absent, as does the stative **-ma**.

The nearest affinities of the clearly marked Zulu-Kafir Group lie with Roñga, and after that with Karaña and the South Nyasaland Group (58 to 61). Traditionally, the area in which this speech was developed would appear to have been the hinterland of Sofala, namely, the coast regions south of the Lower Zambezi. The Cuana languages possibly sprang from the same ultimate source, but a good deal of their seeming affinities with Zulu-Kafir arise (I should think) from direct borrowing and the influence exerted by contiguity. Very few of the characteristic features (or, negatively, the characteristic absence of widespread roots or particles) of Zulu-Kafir extend to Cuana, though they may be traced to Roñga (71), and even to Karaña. The Zulu-Kafir dialects form a rather isolated Bantu Group, belonging to the East rather than the West African sections. Except that they retain the use of the preprefixes and of many typically Bantu features in the conjugation of the verb, they are more divergent from the Bantu mean than Groups Q, R, and S. Such chronology as can be founded on the genealogies of chiefs and oral legends

would date back their settlement in Kaffraria, Natal, and Zululand to the fourteenth century of the Christian era. Possibly the Zulu-Kafir language was formed several hundred years before the fourteenth century in the region south of the Lower Zambezi. Evidently it underwent considerable isolation from the fourteenth century onwards in the *impasse* formed by the Southern Ocean, the Lwobombw, and Drakensberg Mountains. On the west and north the country was inhabited by crafty and inimical Bushmen and by rather more civilized Hottentots, who before the days when they were ruined by the white man's diseases and alcohol were quite able to keep back the tall Kafirs from encroachment. Nevertheless, both in southernmost Africa and in that Gazaland through and from which the Zulu-Kafirs came, there was considerable intermarriage between Bantu raiders and Bush-women; and this, no doubt, was how clicks came to be adopted. Other peculiarities in Zulu-Kafir phonology (especially the ugly palatal lisp—*hl, xl, thl* for *c* or *ç*) seem to have originated earlier, before the invasion of South Africa, and to have been common to the ancestral forms of Groups Q, R, and S. From many Zulu customs and habits one might assume that the far-back ancestors of the Zulu-Kafir tribes had dwelt in Eastern Equatorial Africa, in proximity to some nomadic, cattle-keeping Nilotic people like the Masai, though there is absolutely no trace of Nilotic roots in their language. On the other hand, burrowing into this interesting speech—which for a variety of reasons always takes up more space than any other in a compendium of Bantu knowledge and theory—we find quite a number of Northern or North-western Bantu roots which do not appear in intervening tongues, though some of them may be found in the Nyanza Group. There are also points of resemblance between Zulu-Kafir and the Bantu languages of Eastern Congoland. But there is not any marked affinity between Group T and the modern speech-forms of the Central and Western Zambezi or with Ova-herero of Damaraland. Such peculiar word-roots as are shared between Groups U, V, and X and the Zulu-Kafir Group are equally found in Karaña, and seem due to a direct intercourse along the Zambezi valley between S.W. and S.E. Africa.

The Zulu-Kafir language first attracted the notice of intelligent European explorers in the middle of the eighteenth century. So far as I know, Sparman, the Swedish naturalist who accompanied the second exploring voyage of Captain Cook was the first writer to record a specimen of this southernmost Bantu language in print. Here is a transcript of what he published in 1776. The words are evidently of the *çõsa* dialect, but some of them are incorrectly written, and a few are due to a complete misapprehension. Owing to this want of precision it is impossible to take this record as a standard or to say to what extent *çõsa* has altered in the 150 years' interval of time:

One, Enje, enye.	Foot, Enjau (Unyaww).	A dead man, Ufile (simply: 'he died').
Two, -bini.	Head, Loko (Inhlokwo).	Ear, Sila (Sila is not easy to explain, unless it is a vestige of the Old Bantu root -sikila, traceable in East African Bantu).
Three, -tatu.	Water, Maasi (Amanzi).	A great thing, Entu enune (Intw = 'thing').
Four, Sumenini (a mistake for 'forty' possibly).	Milk, Amasi (Amabisi).	Little, Ncnane.
Five, -sanu.	Fire, Lilo (Wmulilw).	Knife, Sishatse (obsolete).
Six, Sinje (Sinye = 'one'), probably 'one' after 'five'.	Sun, Lilañga (Ililañga).	Copper, brass, Emsibe msopi.
Ten, Sumi.	Moon, Jañga (Inyañga).	Give more ↳ Ungeesa (perhaps related to the Swahili 'Oñgeza').
Hundred, Enkuku (? Iñkulu).	Rain, Evula.	To dance, Usino (Uku-sina).
Father, Bao.	Ox, Gomo (Iñkwomw).	Come here, Isat.
Mother, Mau (Umā).	Lion, Elepho (?).	To sleep, Gu-alala.
A man, Doda (Indwda).	Buffalo, Enjata (Inyati).	To waken, Vuka.
A woman, Ufasi.	Jackal, Pañgalio (?).	Far away, Kude.
Brothers, Emkulo.	Eland, -pofu (Impwfu).	
Friend, Eklobo.	Dog, Sesinja (possibly Inja , with old honorific masc. prefix, Sesi).	
Hand, Sansa (I-sanza).	Road, Usala, Eenzela (-sala may be related to the -dala , -tala of 56 b and 54; Eenzela may be an earlier form than the existing -dlela).	
Finger, Aène (Umunwe).		
Thumb, Umino.		
Arm, Enkomo (-kwomw).		
Thigh, Mulemse (Um-lenzi, 'leg').		

As regards the pronunciation of these words, Sparrman's *j* evidently stands for the English *y*.

After ɔōsa ('Kafir') the next dialect to be transcribed with ever-increasing accuracy was Zulu (75 a) in Natal and Zululand; then—*longo intervallo*—Tebele Zulu (Sindebele). Gazaland Zulu and the Añgoni forms of this branch in Nyasaland were first written down (more or less imperfectly) by the Portuguese in S.E. Africa, and the Scottish and German missionaries in Nyasaland. But the possibly interesting 'Kafir' dialects (Isi-pondō, Isi-bača, Isi-mfeñgu) remain virtually unknown, so far as published transcriptions are concerned; and the very distinct and important variety of Kafir speech—Isi-swazi—was only put on paper for the purposes of this book. An extension of research in all these directions might elucidate for us the history and the affinities of the South African Bantu.

CHAPTER V

THE SOUTH-WEST AND NORTH-WEST BANTU

GROUP U: THE WEST CENTRAL ZAMBEZIA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 77 to 80)

THIS Group is a very distinct one and closely inter-related, yet with affinities somewhat marked towards the Taṅganyika tongues (Tabwa and Bisa, especially, Lenje (77) acting as the link), and some approximation to the North-west Zambezia languages, and even those of South Congoland. There is also very often a leap to these West Central Zambebian languages from those of South-east Africa, which in the sequence of word-roots skips the intervening groups of Becuana and Zulu-Kafir.

In phonology Group U is liquid and characteristically Bantu, entirely avoiding the harsh or difficult collocation of consonants characteristic of Groups S and T. To a great extent this group has lost its pre-prefixes, yet the West Central Zambebian languages are very typically Bantu and retain a considerable number of archaic word-roots. All the prefixes are in familiar forms, except that the **Zi-** of the 10th prefix is absent in all but No. 79. The 8th prefix is sometimes **Bi-** in 78, but in the other members of the group it is **Ṣi-** or **Zi-**.

The peculiar or far-related word-roots are the following:

-nyolwzi*, 'animal', 80; **-taṣi***, 'arm', 78; **-kwome***, 'back', 78; **-puka**, 'bee', 80 (84-8, 110, 114, 109, 159, 161); **-da**, 'belly', 79 (1 to 74); **-bumbu**, **-bumba**, 'belly', 'abdomen', 78, 79 (83, 166); **-indi**, 'bone', 78 (11, 12, 14, 15); **-lubi**, 'brains', 80 (57, 64, 65, 66, 72, 83, 89, 90, 91); **-kwolw**, 'female breast', 78, 79 (29); **-enze***, 'bull', 79; **-sune***, 'bull', 77; **-hwile***, 'child', 80; **taṅga***, 'cow', 78; **-tali***, **-tale***, 'crocodile', 77, 79; **-tendele***, 'door', 78; **-kwa***, 'father', 78; **-tuta***, 'foot', 79; **-julu**, 'God', 79 (67); **-sawa***, 'honey', 78; **-sansa***, **-cansa***, 'horn', 77, 78; **-kwa**, 'husband', 80; **-suntwe***, 'hyena', 77, 79; **-bweṅga***, 'hyena', 78; **-bibw***, 'magic', 80; **-zane***, 'meat', 78; **-yanda***, 'medicine', 77; **-ndili***, 'milk', 77; **-ceta**, 'monkey', 79 (62); **-liswi***, 'mother', 79; **-hwalw***, **-gwalw***, 'mouth', 80; **-naṅgw**, 'nose', 78, 72 (152, 161, 223; 248); **-pemw**, 'nose', 79 (35, 38); **-swgw**, 'paddle', 79 (105); **-bwte***, 'palm wine', 79; **-kandi***, 'palm wine', 79; **-ntula***, 'pig', 79; **-kwakwa**, 'salt', 79; **-gweziw***, **-ezw***, 'shoulder', 79; **-kabi***, 'skin', 'hide', 80; **-paya**, 'skin', 77 (28, 42, 62); **-sa**, 'slave', 77; **-zike**, **-zike**, **Hik**, 'slave', 78, 79, 80 (27, 87, 217); **-tempw**, 'spear', 77 (131; 267); **-diṅga**, 'spear', 80 (87); **-kani***, 'star', 80; **-suti**, 'stick', 78 (250); **-nyaṅge**, 'sunlight', 80 (6, 182; 248; 164); **-tew***, **teu***, 'thief', 79, 78; **-sa***, 'thief', 80; **-wekw***, 'thigh', 77; **Ka-swalw**, 'thigh', 79 (120); **-swana**, **-jhwana***, **-zwna***, 'to-morrow', 77, 78, 79, 80; **-ziya***, 'tooth', 80; **-samw***, 'tree', 77, 78, 79, 80; **-sanzi***, 'tree', 78; **-pundu**, 'twins', 77 (41-4; 235); **-ṅga**, **-iṅga**, 'twins', 78, 79, (3); **-kala**, 'well', 77, 78, 79 (44 b, 161 a, 58, 59); **-luṅgu**, 'white man', 77 (105, 69, 71-2, 75); **-ina***, 'wife', 78; **-lelw***, 'wife', 79; **-kuṅku**, 'wind', 78 (9 c, 142, 209; 253); **-wv**, **-guwv**, 'wind', 77, 78, 79; **-huhw**, 'wind', 80 (11; 254); **-ṣadiw***, 'womb', 78.

In numerals the Subia root **-oṅke** for 'one' is rather interesting, as it may be related to the Old Bantu **-oṅke**, 'all'. The other numerals, not only in **Sūbia** but also in **Lenje** and **Ila**, are remarkable for the **w**, which is prefixed to the numeral. Thus we find the forms representing 'two', 'three', 'four', and 'five' to be **wabele**, **watatwe**, **wne**, **wsanwe**. 'Six', 'seven', 'eight', and 'nine' are expressed by paraphrases or by the quinary notation in all the tongues of Group U, except in **Ila**, where the **-sambw** of Damaraland, Congoland, Cameroons, and the Nyanza Groups appears in the word for 'six'. In **Ila**,

Lusele for 'eight' recalls a similar form in use in the Lower Zambezi languages. The Ila equivalent for 'nine' is peculiarly interesting. It is **Ifuka**, which is evidently near the original form of the West Central and North-west Bantu **-vua, -bua** (**Livuka, Libuka**).

In their pronouns the West Central Zambebian languages—except in the case of Ila—are prone to adopt the honorific suffix **-bω** in the substantival pronoun (**Ne-bω, We-bω**). In Ila and Subia the **-yu** concord of Class 1 is usually transmuted into **-zu** in the demonstratives. The directive *n* is commonly prefixed to the demonstratives of the third position.

In the verbal conjugation this group is particularly normal. In Nø. 77 the infinitive prefix is sometimes strengthened by **Mu-** (**Muku-**), and the negative particles are **Si-, Ta-, Te-,** and **-ta-**. The negative infinitive prefix is the clumsy **Kukaka-ku-**. In No. 78 the negative particles are **Si-, Ci-, Ta-, -uka-, -ka-, Ka-**; the passive termination of the verb-root is **-iwa**; and there is an interesting *negative* form of 'to be': **-ina**, 'not to be'. **I-** also serves as a special negative prefix before the numerous roots signifying 'be' in the affirmative sense. In No. 79 the passive termination is **-igwa**; **-kwe** is the negative, 'not to be'. In No. 80 the negative particles are **Ka-, Si-, Ke-,** and **-sa-**. All the languages of this group have a wealth of monosyllabic roots expressing 'to be'; both 77 and 80 have participial forms of the verb, lacking in 78 and 79. In 78 and 79 the exclamatory 'No'! is rendered by **Pe!** a Congoland root.

GROUP V: THE WESTERN ZAMBEZIA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 81 to 83)

The languages of Western Zambezia—the geographical term Barotseland almost covers them—are of considerable interest. The **YEYE** or **MAKŪBA** language first recorded by Livingstone as the speech of the northern shores and reedy islets of Lake Ngami, is said to be almost extinct in that region now, and to be replaced by dialects of Secuana. Our knowledge of it is very scanty, but is sufficient to show that it is more connected with the **LUYI** of Barotseland than with any other Bantu speech. So far, Livingstone's vocabulary of 1849 (or thereabouts) is our only authority, except the numerals and a few words added by Andersson. Livingstone's vocabulary was obviously written under Secuana influence and may therefore account for the similarity here and there in the prefix form to the Secuana Group. There are distinct signs of the retention of preprefixes in Classes 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, and 15. Nothing is known of the form of the 8th prefix, of the 16th or 17th. According to the authorities quoted there are features in Yeye pronunciation which suggest Bushman influence and the retention of click sounds, but such a fact is not very clearly indicated by the Yeye words they have inscribed. The *kl* combination met with here and there may be due to Secuana influence. Andersson seems to note a faucal guttural in Yeye which may be expressed by the Arab *q*.

NYENGŪ is apparently the speech of (amongst other tribes) the **Ba-mpukuſu**. It is sometimes called 'South Luyi'. Our vocabulary record of it is due to Livingstone's 'Banyenko' vocabulary, which shows its affinities with Luyi, and in a much less degree with Yeye.

SI-LUYI, the principal language of Barotseland,¹ is a particularly interesting speech. It has already several distinct dialects and is apparently spoken in its most archaic form on the western side of the Upper Zambezi. Preprefixes are present in most classes of nouns, but this trait is not so observable in the north-east dialects wherein they are generally dropped. The 2nd prefix has lost its *b* and is reduced in its fullest form to **Aa**. On the other hand, the Barotse have a dislike to *ϕ*, and the locative 16th prefix becomes **Ba-** or **Aba-**. The 8th prefix is reduced to **I-**, the 10th prefix is in the archaic and not common form of **Iti-**. This language contains so many interesting features in its structure and its vocabulary that

¹ 'Rotse' seems to be a contraction of *Hurutse*, which was the tribal designation of a Becuana clan said to have overrun and conquered Western Zambezia at the beginning of the nineteenth century. When they were followed up twenty or thirty years later by the Makōlōlō, they had already identified themselves with the A-luyi and other indigenes of Western Zambezia, whose language they had adopted. They made common cause against the southern invaders and somehow their name came to be identified with the country in a geographical sense, a land which should otherwise be called Uluyi.

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it is a pity it has hitherto been so insufficiently studied. Our sole knowledge of it to 1914 was limited to Livingstone's scanty vocabulary, supplemented by the more modern, accurate, and scientific studies of the missionary E. Jacottet; but Mons. Jacottet has never supplied us with a full vocabulary; only a grammatical analysis and a collection of folk-lore stories from which it is possible to deduce a portion of the vocabulary I am able to present to the readers of this book.

Quite recently, however, the officials of the British South Africa Company have come to my assistance and have supplied most of the words missing in Jacottet's collections. According to these officials, Siluyi or Sirotse is a dying language, fading away before the influence of Sikwōlōw (74 b), a Sesūthō dialect, imposed on the country by the Makwōlōw conquerors as the Court and administrative language. The nobler, more harmonious, expressive Siluyi speech has been abandoned in favour of this southern language.

Siluyi contains a number of word-roots interesting in their form from the point of view of the reconstruction of the Bantu mother-tongue. For instance, the word for 'chief' or 'king' is **M-bumu** (elsewhere **-fumu**), showing once again how *f* in modern Bantu has usually sprung from a pristine *b* or *ph*. The word for 'younger brother'—**M-ina**—contains the root of **-ina** = 'uterine', 'brother'. 'Belly' is **Li-pumo**, perhaps an older form of the widespread **-vumo**, just as 'beard' is **-lepo** and not **-levu**. The root for 'brains'—**-lui**—is a remarkable form, reappearing, however, in Subia (80), Mbunda (85), in Group X, and in North Congoland. Another peculiar root is **Ŋ-ōtō** for 'buffalo', though apparently **Iny-ati** co-exists. **Z** is disliked and constantly changed into **z**. Thus the old root **-bi**, 'excrement', has first of all become elsewhere in Zambezia **-bzi** and **-zi**, and in Luyi appears as **-ti** (**utu-ti**). **L-ito** or **L-itio** ('eye') takes the place of the widespread **L-iso**. The familiar **-futa** word-root for 'fat' or 'oil' seems to be entirely absent and its place is taken by **-ze** or **-iye**, derived from an older root **-ji** or **-dyi**, which is widespread over Western Bantu Africa. The root for 'ghost', **-lumba**, is interesting, as it occurs again after a considerable geographical interval in Western Congoland. As regards 'goat', the Old Bantu **-buzi** root seems to be completely lacking, as over so much of South-west Africa; though, together with the old northern word **-pene** it is found as an interesting survival in Yeye. In Nyeñgo and Luyi, however, as well as in the languages of West Central Zambezia, the root-word for 'goat' is **-poñgō**.¹ In Luyi also, as in Nyeñgō, we have the West African expression **-nyambe** (**-nyampi**) for 'God'. Yeye preserves the **-reja** (**U-reja** = God) of South Central Africa. The word for 'gun'—**-tu-bōlō** (**-tu-borō** in Yeye) is a form which apparently emanated originally from Añgōla and South-west Congoland, and was a variety of the **-bōlō** root.² In the extended form, **Intō-bōlō**, it makes its appearance in two of the West Central Zambebian languages. On the other hand, the old root for 'tree', **-ti**, seems to be completely lost from this group, except in the archaic Yeye.

Other noteworthy noun-roots in languages 81-3 are the following:

-gorōw, 'arm', 81 (104 c), **-kakara**, 81 (17; 251); **Ŋōtō***, 'buffalo', 83; **-ya***, **-ywandī***, 'chief', 83; **-teba**, 'ear', 83 (cf. Groups Q, R, S, and T); **-dambi**, 'elephant', 82 (Western Bantu; and 232); **-timaē***, 'fat', 82; **-suzō***, 'fat', 83; **-enješi**, 'fowl', 81; **-šusua**, 'fowl', 82 (56 b, 89-190); **-ampi**, 'God', 82, 83 (farthest extension southward of the widespread W. African root); **-šōrōw**, 'head', 81 (58 a, 68); **-šebōw***, 'hunger', 83; **Sene***, 'hyena', 82; **-puru**, **-porōw**, 'hyena', 81 (11, 17, 100, 178); **-tōw***, 'leopard', 82; **-dōw***, 'leopard', 83; **-de***, 'lion', 82, 83 (also **-di***); **-porōw**, 'lips', 81 (146, 117, 175, 190); **-tondōw***, 'medicine', 83; **-pōrōw***, 'mouth', 81; **-kubē***, 'palm wine', 81; **-gondōw**, 'road', 83 (23, 54, 109, 142); **-ene**, 'shame', 83 (79); **-klebe**, 'shield', 81 (possibly derived from Secuana); **-via**, 'slave', 81; **-peka**, 'slave', 82 (outlying forms of the widespread W. Africa **-pika** root); **Netē***, 'slave', 83; **Iñkōw**, 'smoke', 83 (40, 125); **-ebese**, 'son', 82 (78, 84); **-binji**, 'spear', 83 (104); **-riñga**, 'spear', 81 (58, 61, 64, 80, 87); **-kōw***, 'spirit', 82; **-weri**, 'stone', 81 (2 e, 6 a, 147); **-tuba***, 'testicle', 83; **-buyi***, 'thief', 83; **-lupi***, 'thigh', 83; **-imbōw**, 'town', 82 (see W.A. Bantu); **-dōpu***, 'twins', 83; **-kwina**, 'well', 83 (see Nos. 14 and 51).

¹ Subia has, however, **Im-pene**. **-poñgō** appears in Luyi as **Um-boñgō**, a word which elsewhere in Bantu occurs as the designation of the male goat or even ram.

² Meaning 'penis', 'tube', a long 'pod', or 'plantain' or 'bread'.

In numerals Group V belongs to the ‘-bili’ type as regards the word for ‘two’,¹ though Luyi occasionally diverges into *-eri*. Numeration from ‘five’ to ‘ten’ is elaborate and original in Yeye, ‘five’ being rendered by a paraphrase meaning ‘hand’, and ‘six’, ‘seven’, ‘eight’, and ‘nine’ by additions to the clumsy term for ‘five’. ‘Six’, ‘seven’, ‘eight’, and ‘nine’ are similarly indicated in Nyeñgo. In Luyi, however, for ‘six’, ‘seven’, and ‘eight’, we have apparently a lingering form of the ‘*Sambo*’ numeration. The word for ‘nine’, *-bati*, is isolated and peculiar. The Yeye root for ‘ten’, *-kωmiki*, is original, apparently an extension of the *-kumi* root. ‘Twenty’ is indicated in Yeye by a paraphrase which would seem to mean ‘the hands of two men’; while in Nyeñgo it is expressed by a quadrupling of ‘five’. In Luyi ‘hundred’ is rendered by that vague numeric term, *M-wanda*, which is applied in the Central African Bantu languages to so many purposes.

In Yeye the pronoun of the 1st person singular is preceded by an archaic particle *Ge*, which answers to the *Ki-* or *Ga-* of some other Bantu or Semi-Bantu tongues.

The negative particles used with the verb in Luyi are *Si-*, *Ka-* (*Kω-*), and *Sa-*; besides a special negative phrase *Ka—sa*, *Ka—isa*, meaning ‘there is not’, ‘there are not’. In negation Yeye seems to employ *Ka-*, *-se-*, and *-si-*, and to possess an impersonal negative prefix *Pa-*, a feature characteristic of South Nyasaland and a few Central Congoland and Gaboon languages. *Ka-* and *-se-* are the negative particles of Nyeñgo (82).

Besides the *-li* and *-ba* roots for ‘to be’, Luyi has the *Ni-* and *Ti-* (*T’-*) prefixes, which indicate ‘is’, ‘are’, as well as the negative *Ka-*, ‘is not’, ‘are not’.

GROUP W: THE NORTH-WEST ZAMBEZIA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 84 to 88)

This is a particularly interesting group which, until a year or so ago, was very little known to us. It is one that deserves to be fully explored, since it may explain some of the puzzles in Bantu origins and evolution. Although it remained down to such a short while ago one of the least examined areas of Bantu research, the languages it comprises became known to European explorers at a relatively early date, for it was through this region that some of the earliest Portuguese pioneers groped their way from Añgōla towards Moçambique, and that Livingstone traced the course of the affluents of the Upper Zambezi on his memorable journey from Cape Colony to Añgōla in the middle of the nineteenth century. One of these languages—*KIŌKŌ* (or *C-ŌKWE*), No. 88 on my list, was the speech of the celebrated ‘Jaggas’, the *Va-kiŌkŌ* or *Ba-jok*,² which in the early part of the sixteenth century were a warlike cannibal tribe residing in the far hinterland of Añgōla, in the mountain country in which lie the sources of the *KwañgŌ*, *Kasai*, and *Kwanza* rivers. We still know all too little about the grammar and vocabulary of what may prove to be a very interesting language, though I have added to the record given in the first volume. The other members of the group are *L UWENA* or *Luina* (84), which would seem to be identical with the *LUBALE* or *Lŵbale* of Livingstone, and to be spoken by the tribe sometimes recorded as *Va-lŵbale*; *MBUNDA* (85); *LUJAZI* (86), and *NKŌYA* (87), the last member of the group (No. 88) being the *KiŌkŌ* above referred to.

The Mbunda people have long been known to explorers, but no record of their language existed until

¹ This refers to the rival forms *-bali* and *-bili* for ‘two’, the former predominating in west and north-west, the latter in south, south central, and east of the Bantu field.

² This name may be akin to a root in Southern Luba, *-kibŵkwe*, meaning ‘hyena’. It is the ‘Quioco’ of the early Portuguese explorers. In the Lunda and Luba countries of the S.W. Congo basin this warlike, predatory people is known as *Ba-jok*. At their first uprising—when they swept irresistibly northwards over all Añgōla and the Western Congo, extending even into *LuañgŌ*, and at the same time surged southwards into the Zambezi basin, reached to the coast of the Indian Ocean and were only finally defeated at Mombasa—they were generally known as the *Jaggas* by the sixteenth-century Portuguese. *Jagga*, however, is not derived from *Jok*, but apparently from *-jaga*, a title of respect meaning ‘chieftain’ or ‘headman’. *KiŌkŌ* is mostly known now as *C-ŵkwe*, *Ci-ŵkŵ*, *Ci-bokwe*.

such was collected for me a short time ago by officials of the British South Africa Company and by the Rev. Edwin Smith. A dialect of Mbunda would appear to be the **Ka-luiana** (85 a) recorded by Capello and Ivens. Lujazi or **Łujazi** is only known to us through Livingstone's vocabulary. It seems to differ only dialectally from the **Ŋgaŋgela** of the Portuguese. Similarly, the **Ŋkōya** of northernmost Zambezia is closely related to **Mbwela** (87 a), which figures as 'Ambwela' in the records of the Portuguese.

The languages of Group W possess all the prefixes in more or less normal forms, but have virtually dropped the preprefixes. The 2nd prefix tends to become **Va-**. No. 8 a does not exist. No. 10 is always present and ranges in form between **Ji-**, **Gi-**, **Di-**, and **Ti-**. No. 15 (**Ku-**) is sometimes used as a diminutive with **Ma-** as plural. No. 16 is always **Ha-**. There are traces of the diminutive suffix **-ana**.

In the numerals it is to be noted that this group belongs to the Western Bantu, in that it employs the **-bali** root for 'two', though in **Ŋkōya** there is a trace of **-bele** and of **-beri** in one dialect of Lujazi. The pronouns of the group are insufficiently known, especially in the case of Nos. 87 and 88. In **Mbwela** (87 a) the full or substantial form of 'you' and 'they' is sometimes prefixed by **Ki-**. This feature—possibly borrowed—occurs also in **Njinji**, the alleged northernmost dialect of **Secuana** (74 c).

As regards noun-roots, the following are noteworthy either as peculiar forms, or for their distant affinities, especially with North-west and Northern Bantu: indeed, in that respect, this group is as interesting as Group X:

-mumi*, 'baboon', 86 b, 87; **-laŋga***, 'back', 86; **-mpati***, 'back', 86; **-puka**, 'bee', 84-8; **jila**, **-bila**, 'bird', 84-8 (89, 98, 110, 114; 237); **-bisi***, 'bird', 86; **-keta**, 'blood', 87 (38, 120-226); **-puji***, 'brains', 85; **-pakasa**, 'buffalo', 86, 84 (98-122, 175-90); **Nti**, 'bull', 86 (recalling the **-nte**, **-nti** of the Nyanza Group); **-nuŋgu***, 'charcoal', 86; **-lōlō**, 'chief', 88 (108); **-neki**, 'day', 84 (2, 4, 73, 94, 98; 267, 271, 273); **-tali**, **-tari**, 'dog', 85, 86 (175, 178); **-ima***, 'fire', 86; **-yena***, 'fire', 84; **-tija**, 'forest', 86 (35); **-sumbi**, **-bombi**, **-šumbi**, **-fumbi**, **-tumbi**, **-dumbi**, 'fowl', 84, 86, 85, 88 (110, 44 b, 149); **-demba**, 'fowl', 84, 86, 88 (27, 100); **-ari***, 'fowl', 86; **-kiši**, 'ghost', 87; **-pembe**, 'goat', 84-8 (109 b, 110, 111, 207, 210); **-ambe**, 'God'; **-luŋga**, 'God', 84, 86 (89-104 c); **-kambō**, 'hair', 84-8, 83 (97, 121; 248); **-panda***, 'hand', 86; **-pimbi**, 'heart', 88 (104, 121); **-boŋge**, 'heart', 85, 86; **-buŋgwe**, 'heart', 88 (92, 109, 110; 227); **-lumba***, 'heel', 85; **-swama**, 'hide', 84; **-luŋga**, 'husband', 84 (200); **-demba**, 'husband', 84; **-yala**, 'man', 'husband', 86 (162); **-seke**, 'island', 85 (120); **-lūi**, 'island', 86 (100 b, 189); **-šali**, 'lake', 85 (related to words for 'river', beginning **-zadi**, 100); **-geŋge**, 'lake', 84 (see 'river'); **-kela**, 'leg', 86 (157); **-tea***, 'leg', 86; **-supa**, 'leopard', 84; **-šumba**, 'leopard', 86 (159, 161); **-nyime**, 'lion', 85 (90, 89, 217); **-bunda**, 'meat', 86 (97, 113, 136); **-banda**, 'medicine', 86 (98); **-šwe***, 'milk', 85; **Šia***, 'milk', 86; **-hini**, 'milk', 86 (90, 92); **-puya**, **-buya**, 'monkey', 84, 85 (77, 105, 52); **-cinji***, 'navel', 84; **-ribō**, 'neck', 86 (206; 243); **-saŋgo**, 'paddle', 88 (110); **-gala**, 'pig', 86 (150); **-ombō** (from **-sumbu**), 'pig', 84, 85 (94, 97, 98, 118, 123-67); **-soŋge***, **-siŋgwe***, 'pig', 86, 87; **-tela**, **-tere***, 'pigeon', 84, 86; **-telya***, 'pigeon', 88; **-onti***, **-ondi**, 'rain', 85; **-ondzi***, 'rain', 86; **-eŋge**, **-geŋge**, 'river', 86, 87 a (25); **-kombwela***, 'road', 84; **-kyuámūa***, 'shame', 86; **-sinxe**, **-tyitse***, **-tsinzi***, 'shoulder', 86 (110); **-aka**, 'skin', 86 (55); **-sarō**, 'skin', 87 (2 a, 3); **-bike**, 'slave', 86 (27, 78, 79, 80, 157, 217); **-kosa**, 'sleep', 86; **-asō**, 'song', 84; **-asa**, 'song', 86 (12; 236); **-kweze**, **-keze**, 'son', 84, 86 (78, 82); **-ku**, **-kulu**, 'spirit', 86 (11, 14, 176, 121); **-ponte***, 'spirit', 86; **-lōlō**, 'stone', 84 (110); **-eya**, **-deya***, 'sun', 88 (34, 94-106); **-alwa***, 'sun', 86; **-paka***, 'thief', 86; **-kala**, 'thigh', 86 (94); **-kumba**, 'thing', 84 (162, 167, 168); **-kanda**, 'thing', 86 (96, 214); **-iŋge**, 'thing', 85 (193); **-uzantua**, 'thorn', 86 (28); **-hoŋgela**, 'thorn', 87; **-tsoŋgō**, 'thorn', 86 (94); **-nyesa**, 'toe', 87; **-naša**, 'toe', 85 (226); **-yerwe***, **-erwe***, 'tooth', 87 a; **-yewō***, 'tooth', 87; **-ketō**, 'town', 86 (140); **-buyu**, 'twins', 85 (151); **-jamba**, 'twins', 86 (44 b, 64, 94); **-buka***, 'white man', 86; **-juŋgō**,¹ 'white man', 88 (94, 98, 106, 114, 125); **-endi***, 'wife', 85; **-gyivu***,

¹ It is very interesting to find this root **-juŋgu**, **-juŋgō** (the East Bantu **-zuŋgu**) so far away from East Africa as **Aŋgōla** and North-west Zambezia. It is present in Eastern and Central Congoland, but there it has historically been introduced since Livingstone's day by the Swahili Arabs and by Stanley. But the root **-juŋgu**, &c., existed in **Aŋgōla** before Central Africa was penetrated by either white man or Arab coming from the East. I suggest it was picked up on the Lower Zambezi by the Jagas and brought back by them in their westward retreat.

'wife', 86; **-pwevo***, 'wife', 84, 85; **Pō***, 'wife', 86, 88; **-eñga***, 'wife', 84; **-ilu***, 'wind', 84; **Ponzi, Bonde, -honde, -undi, -hundzi**, 'wind', 85, 86 (104, 114, 118, 121); **-gundu**, 'wind', 87; **-gusa**, 'wind', 87 (27, 43 a); **-banda**, 'woman', 85 (110, 111); **-puebo***, 'woman', 86; **-buyama***, 'woman', 87; **-keno**, 'woman', 86 (31 a, 56 a, 60); **-tali***, 'wood', 85; **-tyiti***, 'wood', 86 (151); **-tiabo**, 'wood', 85 (148); **-tete**, 'wood', 84 (142).

Amongst interesting pronoun forms in this group should be mentioned the **Ngu-** nominative particle for 'I' (1st person singular) in No. 84, the **Mwene** for 'he' in No. 88, and the **Endi** for 'he' in No. 86 (Lujazi). This last is the farthest outlying form of the 'Yandi', so characteristic of the Congo basin.

Little is known of the verb in Nos. 85, 86, 87, and 88. In Luena (84) the pronominal suffix in the 2nd person plural of the imperative is **-enu**; there is the suffix **-ekw**, equivalent to the 'ing' termination in English; and the adverbial terminal syllables to the verb-root are very numerous. The verb 'to be' in Luena is not only represented by **-li** and **-va**, but also by **-pwa** and **-pu**, and, in the sense of 'dwelling', by **-twama**.

GROUP X: THE SOUTH-WEST AFRICA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 89 to 94)

This group may be clearly divided into two sub-groups: (1) The languages of Damaraland, South-west Africa (**HERERω** (89), **MBANDIERU** (89 a), **NDONGA** (90), **KUANYAMA** (91), and **HUMBE** (91 a)); and (2) the languages of South Añgōla—(**NYANEKA** and **LU-NKUMBI** (92 and 92 a), **KUVALE** (92 b), **NDOMBE** (93), **UMBUNDU** (94), **ω-VIYE** (94 a), and **SUMBI** (94 b)). A good deal is known about the **ωci-Hererω** language of the southern sub-group, but our knowledge of the forms north of the Kunene river and south of 11° 30' South latitude, is still scanty. **KORωKA** (93 a) of the Mossamedes coast may turn out to be a dialect of Bushman affinities. Nos. 91 a, **HUMBE**, 92 b, **KUVALE**, 93, **NDOMBE**, and 94 b, **SUMBI**, absent from the vocabularies, are described on pp. 779-80 of Vol. I.

In the phonology of Group X the most distinctive features are the excessive use of the vowel **ω**, the tendency in Hererω for **ǰ** and **ɔ** to replace **z**, while **ʃ** takes the place of an older **h**, and **h** of **s**. **S** and **z** are substituted for **f** and **v**. There seems to be in Hererω a peculiar **ǰ** (ǰ), pronounced with a velar accent like the Arabic ض. **B** is nearly always replaced by **v**, unless strengthened by **m**. **H** is sometimes pronounced **h** (Arabic ح); and in Kuanyama (91) **s** is everywhere transmuted to **h** and **f**; the reverse of the process which obtains in Hererω.

Group X is perhaps specially marked out as peculiar owing to its abuse—one might say=of the **ω** vowel in the preprefixes. This is met with in its most extreme form in **Hererω**, where, with the exception of the 5th prefix (**E-**, a contraction of **Eri-**), the preprefix in every case is **ω-**. In the other languages of the group, north of Hererω, the 2nd prefix in its full form, besides being **ωva-** is also **Aa-** or **A-**. In the more northern forms (Nyaneka and Umbundu) the 16th prefix is **Apa-** as well as **ωpω-**. The 8th may be **Ii-** as well as **Oi-**, and the 10th prefix may be **Ee-** as well as **ωω-**. There are traces of this tendency to the abuse of **ω** in the very little known Yeye language of Lake Nḡami. But this may be due to imported words from Damaraland or to the stupidity of Hererω interpreters. The point is one of some interest, because this group of South-west African languages is rather peculiar, and offers no clear indications of affinity with any one amongst the contiguous groups. Group X, or more especially the S.W. African Sub-group, must have been isolated for some time in order to acquire its peculiar features. On the north it marches with the Añgōla languages, but is quite distinct from them, though there is a fusion between the two types in the Sumbi dialect of Novo Redondo (94 b).

In some languages of Group X, the 4th and 8th, the 2nd and 6th prefixes are confounded by the tendency of **m** and **b** to change places. Thus **ωmi-** (4) may become **ωvi-**, **ωva-** (2) change to **ωma-**, while No. 6 (**ωma-**) becomes **ωva-** in Umbundu and **ωba-** in Ndombe (No. 93). The 10th prefix—**ωzω-** or **ωtω-** in Hererω softens to **ωlω-** and **ωnω-** in Nyaneka and **ωω-** in Ndoñga, and is more crisply rendered **Jω-** or **Yω-** in Kuvale (92 b).

As regards vocabulary, there is the unusual root for 'bird', **-dera**, **-zila**, which is shared by the languages of North-west Zambezia and the Kwaŋgwa and penetrates into Aŋgōla. **Hererō** and **Ndoŋga** have a peculiar root for 'blood', **-bundu**, **-binswi**, and the other languages of the group an equally peculiar form, **-honde** or **-sonde**. The root-word in the southern sub-group for 'brains', **-luvi**, is reminiscent of Groups U, V, and W, and reappears far to the north in the Central and North-east Congo basin. In the northern sub-group appears a root-word, **-banda** (also in Group W), for 'doctor', 'medicine man', which in connexion with 'priest', 'wonder-worker', is so prominent in the Nyanza and East Congoland Bantu. The root-word for 'elephant', **-jamba**, **-damba**, is met with over a great part of the Congo basin, and perhaps is akin to the **-dembo** or **-tembo** of East Africa. One of the words for 'God', **Kaluŋga**, connects this group (and Group W) with South Congoland and even the Nyasa regions. Some of the most peculiar and far-spread roots are found in the interesting Umbundu and Kuvale languages (94 and 92 b).

Noteworthy roots in Group X are the following :

-sele, 'adze', 93 (7, 187); **-nusi***, 'animal', 'wild beast', 94; **-hendi**, 'white ant', 91 a, 92 b (87, 141); **Dambala***, 'axe', 94; **-nevω**, 'axe', 94 (112 a; 273); **-tambω***, 'back', 89 (92 b); **-tundu***, 'body', 89; **-za**, 'brother', 89 (81); **-huva**, 'brother', 94 (51); **-geleŋge***, 'buffalo', 94; **-nūi**, 'bull', 94 (23); **-kinyi***, 'chief', 92; **-neki**, 'day', 94 (2 f, 4, 73, 84; 271, 273); **-liapu**, 'devil', 94 (259); **-bumba***, 'doctor', 92 (possibly related to the root for 'God', or **-wumba** (4), for 'woman',¹ 'wife', in E.A. Bantu); **-paŋge***, 'doctor', 89; **-sala**, 'egg', 94 (44 b); **-nine***, **-niña***, 'excrement', 94; **-gweli**, 'fear', 94 (120 a, 76; 273); **-wina***, 'finger', 94; **-dalu***, 'fire', 94 (220); **-ponde***, 'fish', 92 b; **-dera***, **-tera***, 'fowl', 89; **-vuvu**, 'fowl', 94; **-yuyi**, 'fowl', 94 (60); **-tupi***, **-upi***, 'he goat', 94 (243, &c.); **-kuru**, 'God', 89 (6, 9, 75 b, 104; 263); **-gwoŋya***, 'hair', 94; **Buŋga**, 'heart', 92 (85-8, 109, 110); **-paŋde***, 'heel', 89; **-inya***, 'hide', 92; **-yike***, 'hoe', 89; **-sima***, 'honey', 94 (3); **-petω**, 'horn', 92 b (2 g, 33 a, 35); **-malaŋka***, 'hyena', 92, 94 (98 a); **-buṣiki**, 'husband', 90 (162); **-diω***, 'husband', 92 b; **-fuka***, 'island', 94; **-galaŋga***, **-piti**, 'ivory', 92 b; **-khiki***, 'knife', 92; **-ṣana***, 'lake', 91; **-honju**, 'leopard', 94 (188); **-khapi**, 'leopard', 92 (74, 151; 255); **-baladi**, 'leopard', 92 b (44 b); **-nime***, 'lion', 90 (85); **-guli***, 'lion', 94; **-khurika***, 'lion', 92; **-dyai**, 'magic', 89 (probably related to the **-cawli** root in E.A. Bantu); **-nsūi***, 'milk', 90; **-ṣini***, 'milk', 91; **-h'ini**, 'milk', 90, 92; **-ndondi***, 'monkey', 92; **-kana***, 'moon', 90; **-hani***, 'moon', 91; **Sani***, **Sai***, 'moon', 93, 94 (168); **-dukw***, **-duku***, 'name', 92, 94 (253); **-gωbe**, **-hωve**, 'ox', 91, 92 (17, 69, 175); **-sowe**, 'ox', 94; **-khela***, 'palm wine', 92; **-bomba***, 'palm wine', 94; **-nufu***, 'penis', 91; **Tini**, 'penis', 92 b (5 a, 6, 150, 151 a; 227, 266); **-pinyω**, 'pig', 94 (2 g, 147); **-nenda***, 'pigeon', 94; **-pωhika**, 'place', 92 b (155 a, 161 a; 229); **-jule***, 'rain', 94; **-sima***, 'river', 90; **-sōna**, **-ṭōna**, **Fōna**, 'sheep', 90, 91 (211; 257); **-kandekisω***, 'shield', 90; **-keele-lifω***, 'shield', 91; **-tei***, 'shoulder', 94; **Kalaŋgω***, 'slave', 93; **Karere***, 'slave', 89; **Pōswi**, 'sleep', 90 (72, 56); **-ωfi**, 'sleep', 91; **Phōki**, 'sleep', 92; **-jelia***, 'spear', 94; **-suŋgω***, 'song', 94 (116, 118); **-kwenju***, 'son', 94; **Iŋgōna***, 'son', 92; **-mati**, 'son', 90, 91 (61, 61 a); **-uza**, 'son', 89 (98, 147); **-lulu**, 'spirit', 92 (178); **-ruru**, 'spirit', 89; **-lelembia***, 'spirit', 94; **-inyω***, **-enyω***, 'spirit', 89, 90, 91, 92; **-sisi**, 'spirit', 89, 90, (40); **-ḍeli**, 'spirit', 94 (156, 199, 204); **-sese**, 'tail', 94 (11, 12, 15, 17, 18, 24; 260)²; **-sumba***, 'tail', 94; **-handi***, 'tail', 94; **Khuka***, 'tear', 92; **-yaki**, 'testicles', 94 (4); **-ṭōni**, 'testicles', 89 (42, 58, 73; 253); **-tondω***, 'testicles', 91; **-buma**, 'testicles', 89 (160); **-ruŋga***, **-luŋga***, 'thief', 89, 91; **-fusi***, 'thief', 90; **-munu**, 'thief', 94 (42, 50); **-piaŋgu**, 'thief', 94; **-vaŋgω***, 'thigh', 89 (162); **-kalu***, 'thigh', 94 (86); **-payω**, 'thigh', 90 (21-8, 56 a); **-puka***, **-phuka***, 'thing', 94; **-ina**, **-na**, 'thing', 89, 94 (120 b, 160, 189); **-soŋgω**, 'thorn', 94 (86); **-kete**, 'thorn', 92 (16, 49, 136, 157); **-ŋgondω***, 'thorn', 89; **-mai***, 'toe', 94; **-ṣendyω***, 'tooth', 90; **-tula***, 'town', 94; **-mbω**, 'town', 94 (W.A. Bantu and 230); **-gambω***, 'town', 90 (38); **-umbω***, 'town', 91; **-ganda**,³ 'town', 89 (109, 152, 161); **-jamba**, 'twins', 94 (86); **-wi***, 'well', 89;

¹ So many women are skilled in medicine in Negro Africa.

² The root **-sese** has in some languages the meaning of 'tail', in a few others of 'virile member' or 'virility', and thence of 'husband' and 'father'.

³ Probably akin to the root **-ganda** (see No. 4), 'brotherhood'.

·**ωnω***, 'well', 94 (226 b); ·**tembω***, 'wife', 92, 94; ·**ku-pūa***, 'wife', 92 b; ·**liañgu***, 'witch', 94¹; ·**kumba**, 'woman', 92 b (17, 32, 35, 61 a); ·**cuva***, 'womb', 94; ·**nyamω***, 'year', 94; ·**ondω***, 'year', 89 (148).

As regards numerals, Hererω is remarkable for very full forms of those of Congoland type—'six', 'seven', and 'eight'—which are compounded of **Sambω** (apparently an alternative word-root for 'five'), plus 'one', 'two', and 'three' (**Hambo-u-mwe** = 'six', **Hambo-m-bari** = 'seven', **Hambo-ndatu** = 'eight').

It will also be noted that all the languages of Group X have the western form of the numeral for 'two', **-bari**, and sometimes the full root—**-ndatu**—for 'three'. This last seems to be archaic, and at the root of the East and South African and Semi-Bantu word for 'six'—**-tandatu** (**Ndatu-ndatu** = 3 + 3). **Ūṣi-ndoñga** presents us with a very peculiar **Ūmu-goi** or **Om-goyi** for 'nine'. **Nyaneka** and the other South Añgōla dialects have a special word-root for 'six' and 'seven'—**-pandu**. 'Ten' is represented in **Hererω**, **Ndoñga**, **Kuanyama** by the East and East Central African form, **-roñgo** or **-loñgo**. In the South Añgōla dialects, though apparently **-kūmi** still persists in one of them (92 a), the root for 'ten' is **-kwi** or **-kwīn**, which connects them in this respect with the Northern Añgōla and Kwañgō valley languages, as also does their word for 'four' (**-kwana**). The **Kuanyama** root for 'one hundred' is **-fele**, which becomes **-sele** and **-sere** farther south, and, like the analogous **Mw-andω** or **Mw-anda**, may be one of those vague numerals applied to quite different sums by different tribes. In this case it would be connected with the **-sere** ('eight') of the Lower and Central Zambezi.

Amongst the pronouns of this group the singular features are the **Me**, **M'**· nominative particle for 'I' in No. 89, and in the same language of **Ūete** or **Ete** for 'we', elsewhere met with in Nos. 200, 202, 227, and 252; the **Ngu**· nominative particle for 'I' in No. 94; the accusative infix for 'me' in No. 92—**-m**·, **-mb**·; and the form **Ūfie** for 'we' in No. 91. In this case, however, the *f* may (through *h*) only represent a more normal *s*. The terminal form of 'you' in Hererω (89) is noteworthy: it is **-mbu** (**-enu** = 'your'). In No. 94 it is **-ωbω**. This terminal accusative of the 2nd person plural recalls similar roots in Nos. 124, 230, 211, 226 b, 244, and 253.

As regards special peculiarities in the verb in Group X there might be noted the presence of most of the Bantu negative particles. **Ūci-hererω** has, in addition to **Hi**· (**Si**·) and **Ka**·, an **A**· negative prefix sometimes combined with a **-ha**· infix. The **Ha** infix or prefix is probably descended from an older **Sa** (which reappears in No. 92). **Umbundu** (94) has **La**· as an additional adverbial negative, recalling a similar feature in Nos. 17, 27, 49, 56, 114, 116-18, 119-31, 160, 226, 243, 251, &c. **Nyaneka** (92) also possesses several negative verbs, amongst which may be noted **Tupu** ('not to have', 'to be without') which is found in so many Eastern Bantu languages. In **Nyaneka** the passive termination added to word-roots is **-ikwa** (as well as **-iwa**, **-wa**), in which point it resembles the Añgōla languages.

In conclusion, it may be said that Group X is one of the most interesting and philologically important of the Bantu divisions.

The attention of those who are striving to unriddle the problems of Bantu history and origins is specially directed to this group, because of its many cases of affinity in word-roots with Northern Bantu (Nos. 145 to 154—notably Nos. 151 a and 151 b), North-west Bantu, and with Semi-Bantu. This affinity is most marked in No. 94.

GROUP Y: THE AÑGŌLA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 95 to 99)

The first three languages of this group—**KISAMA**, **LIBŌLŪ**, and **SONGŪ**, Nos. 95, 96, and 97—are the speech of comparatively uncivilized peoples, scarcely as yet fully subdued to Portuguese rule, after a Portuguese occupation of the coast for nearly four centuries. Nos. 95 and 96 are only known to us through the vocabularies collected by Koelle about sixty-seven years ago, and yet they offer such interesting

¹ See **-liapu**, 'devil', also 94.

features both in their likeness to the Añgōla language and in their difference from it that it is to be hoped they may yet be fully described before they become extinct, or merged into their more widely-spread sister, Kimbundu. Soñgō is the most interesting language of the three, as it exhibits archaic features in prefixes and preprefixes, phonology, and word-roots.¹ Group Y, however, is fairly homogeneous, and is easily distinguished both from the South-west African languages of Southern Añgōla and from the Koñgō Group on the north. Its affinities with both these are not specially marked; it is more nearly connected with its neighbours in the Kwañgō valley, and through them with Group W. It differs particularly from Group X in its neglect of preprefixes (except in Soñgō), and consequently in not sharing that abuse of the ω preprefix vowel which is so characteristic of Hererō and its congeners.

MBAMBA (99), the most north-easterly member of Group Y, approximates somewhat to the Koñgō dialects, but yet is closely allied to **ÑGŌLA**. This last is divisible into at least two distinct dialects—**KIMBUNDU** (98) and **ÑGŌLA** (98 a): **Ñgōla**, representing the older type of the language without words borrowed from the Portuguese, whilst Kimbundu is one of the classical Bantu tongues. It was first written down by Europeans about 1690, and during the nineteenth century became quite a literary language under the impulse of Portuguese half-castes. Yet its literature, its structure, and dialectal variations had to await effective and accurate illustration till the arrival in Añgōla about twenty-eight years ago of a Swiss-American medical missionary, Dr. Héli Chatelain, whose colleague, of much later date (the Rev. H. Withey), has been good enough to revise my Kimbundu-Ñgōla vocabularies.

The Añgōla languages in their phonology are remarkable for a dislike to *ʃ* as an initial, and in a lesser degree to *b*. *B* replaces an original *ʃ* in the locative particles connected with the 16th prefix, but ordinarily *b* is dropped as an initial, except where reinforced by *m*. *R* is prominent in use alongside *l*, and sometimes displaces an older *d*. An original initial *k* is frequently softened to *h* in Kimbundu and Ñgōla.

The Northern Añgōla languages retain no vestige of preprefixes, except here and there in Class 9 (where they so often persist, and in the demonstratives). The 2nd prefix has lost its ancient form of **Ba-** (and is consequently reduced to **A-**) everywhere, save in the Soñgō language on the borders of the Kwañgō basin. Here it is still preserved, together with other archaisms as may be seen by my example of modern Soñgō at the end of Volume I. There were, however, about fifty years ago or earlier (in the Portuguese transcription of tribal names) traces of **Ba-** persisting on the Sumbi side of Kisama. Similarly, the 8th or **Bi-** prefix has lost its initial *b*, except in Soñgō. The 10th prefix in Libōlō assumes the uncommon form of **Ni-**, and in Soñgō of **On-** and **Ō-**. The locative prefix **Pa-** becomes **Ba-** in the Kimbundu dialects, and **Ha-** in Mbamba (99), and Soñgō. There is no diminutive suffix **-ana**, and apparently no 'mother' prefix (**Na-**), but there is an indication here and there of a 'father' prefix, **Se-**.

Noteworthy noun-roots in languages 95-9:

-**umbwa**, 'termite'; -**ñgana***, 'ape' or 'baboon'; -**haši**, -**haži**, 'blood', 96-9 (a widespread root in East and South Africa); -**nañgu**, 'day', 98 (also in Nyanza, S.W., and S.A. Bantu, and in Semi-Bantu); -**kele**, 'fish', 98 (104, 114); -**beta***, 'hair', 95; -**sutō**, 'he goat', 98 (3, 61 a; 273); -**pumbulu**, 'heart', 98 (27, 37, 38, 51); -**sandera***, 'heel', 95; -**dima***, 'heel', 97; -**malañka**, 'hyena', 98 a (92, 94); -**tampa***, 'iron', 97; -**kate***, 'iron', 95 (75, 69); -**fekōla***, 'magic', 96; -**teka**, 'magic', 98 (167 a; 230); -**bunda**, 'meat', 97 (136, 86, 113); -**banda**, 'medicine', 98 (44, 86, 77); -**dukō**, 'name', 98 (92, 94); -**onde**, 'ox', 98 (89, 43); -**tende***, 'ox', 95; -**nja***, 'penis', 98; -**insa**, 'rain', 97 (62); -**gelu**, 'rat', 98 (57, 59); -**jinō***, 'shame', 98; -**ōs***, -**mōs***, 'son', 98; -**gaya***, 'spear', 96, 98 (75 a); -**sañgō***, 'spear', 95 (100); -**tuta***, 'spirit', 98; -**anda**, 'spirit', 98 (61 a, 100); -**lundu**, 'spirit', 98 (100, 103, 121; 273); -**tuba**, 'testicles'; -**goñgō***, 'twins', 98; -**fusi***, 'well', 98; -**gundō***, 'white man', 98 a; -**hunji***, 'wife', 98; -**kama**, 'wife', 98 (100 b, 101, 103; 227; 154); -**tembō***, 'wind', 98; -**leñge***, 'wind', 98; -**saje**, 'womb', 98 (21, 204).

¹ The Soñgō language of Central Añgōla is the most archaic of this group, and for that reason alone is of great importance in the philological study of the Bantu family. It is, therefore, to be hoped that before its original features have been effaced and lost by contact with Kimbundu and Umbundu it may be transcribed with accuracy and with a full vocabulary. The only nineteenth-century writer who alludes to Kisama, Libōlō, and Soñgō, besides Koelle, is Monteiro, who wrote in the 'seventies of the last century; but recent information has been sent me (1917) by Mr. W. J. Chapman (see pp. 780-1, Vol. I).

The widespread Congoland root for 'white man', **-ndele**, begins in Southern Añgōla in the Nyaneka and in N.W. Zambezia in Lujazi, and extends through Group Y over a great deal of the Congo basin and the Gaboon. I have traced it to the ancient root, **-ela**, meaning 'to be white'. But in the Añgōla language proper (98) the term generally used for 'white man' is **-juñgŵ** or **-joñgŵ** (cf. the Swahili **-zuñgu**), which I believe to be an early importation from South-east Africa, brought by the returning Jaga raiders of the sixteenth century.

The common Añgōla word for 'fowl' is 'the scratcher' (**Sanji**), but two other roots make their appearance in this group: the Congolese **Swsua** (**-susu**), and **-kŵwa**, which seems to be the farthest south of the N.W. Bantu **-kuba**. Two peculiar terms for 'head'—'hair', **-temba** or **-demba** and **-beta**, are worth noting. 'Goat' is rendered by **Hombŵ** (the Congoland **N-kombŵ**). 'Male', besides the orthodox **-lume**, is more often expressed by **-ala**, **-di-ala**. A word for 'slave'—**-bika** (**-pika**), met with as far south as Lake Nḡami, and found in Groups V and X, extends throughout much of the Congo basin as far north and west as the Gaboon. An interesting root **-iṣŵ**, **-izŵ**, **-iju** for 'tooth' in Group Y commences in the south with Luena (84), and extends to the Kwañgŵ (114, 110) and the Lower Kasai (118) and the Cameroons hinterland (225).

In the numerals of this group, there is a peculiar root for 'eight', **-nake**, which is also to be met with in the Kwañgŵ languages (Group BB), and in Lujazi (86). The other characteristic numeral root, **-kuini**, **-kuiñ**, **-kuyiñ** for 'ten' is, no doubt, only a corruption of **-kumi**, but it is shared by the northern members of Group X (Ncs. 92-4), by Western Lunda (111), by Umbaṅgala (114), Yanzi (121), and by Southern Luba (105).

It should also be noted that the Northern and Western Bantu root for 'ten' or 'hundred', **-kama**, has its farthest extension south-westward to the Añgōla Group, where it appears as **Hama** and **Kama**.

The dislike to explosive labial consonants in the Añgōla Group affects even the use of *w*; consequently, the older form, **Ewe**, 'thou', is now displaced by **Eye**. ('Thou' in Soñgŵ is **Iba**.) 'He' is represented by **Yu** in Mbamba (99), but in the other tongues by **Mwene**. The parallel to this in the plural is **Ene** (**Bene** in Soñgŵ) for 'they'. In the demonstratives of the first position ('this', 'these') there is in No. 95, and perhaps other members of the group, an **A-** prefix, which recalls the similar feature in the East African Bantu, in Kakoñgŵ, and in the Luba tongues. In Mbamba (99) **-ene** is used as a suffix for the demonstrative ('that yonder') of the third position.

In the Añgōla languages the verb is normally Bantu (and consequently 'East African') in most particulars. But this group seems to have lost the auxiliary verb-roots **-li** and **-ba** for 'to be', though they are present more or less in the languages of Groups W, Y, and Z. Their place is taken by **-ene** and **-kala**. The negative particle chiefly used is **Ki-** (in 95 **Ke-**) as a prefix; but in Libōlŵ (96), the negative prefix is **Mi-**, a form without a parallel elsewhere. **Ne-** was used as an adverbial negative particle in the old Nḡōla language.

GROUP Z: THE KONGŴ OR WEST CONGOLAND LANGUAGES

(Nos. 100 to 103)

This is divisible into two sub-groups: Z 1, the **SOUTHERN KONGŴ**, and Z 2, the **NORTHERN KONGŴ**. The Lower Congo river is almost a line of demarkation between them.

Both sub-groups attracted early in the history of Bantu Africa the attention of Europeans, mainly for the purposes of missionary propaganda. Southern Koñgŵ was first transcribed by Italians and Portuguese at the end of the sixteenth century. Kakoñgŵ or Northern Koñgŵ was studied by French missionaries in the eighteenth century.¹ The Southern Koñgŵ language, as it was written by Portuguese grammarians in the seventeenth century, does not differ very markedly—save in a few archaisms—from

¹ Further information is given on this head in the Bibliography and in the opening, historical chapter of Vol. I.

the Kĩṣi-koñgɔ of to-day ; but an exact comparison is not possible owing to the muddled and careless way in which its syllables were reduced to writing, and the almost complete misunderstanding of its Bantu syntax.

Both KİṢI-KONGŴ¹ (100) and KAKONGŴ (101) had been elaborately developed by the natives themselves without the influence of the white man, and Kĩṣi-koñgɔ especially may be looked on as one of the Bantu classical tongues, so flexible, so nicely ordered that, like Kimbundu, it could easily become the speech of a completely civilized people. Neither Northern nor Southern Koñgɔ offer marked affinities with the barbaric tongues behind them (Groups CC and LL), nor with the Gaboon languages on the northern coast (except to some degree with the anomalous Mpoñgwe). Perhaps, like the equally polished Añgõla Group, they are somewhat more related to the highly developed speech-forms of Southern and South-western Congoland. The aristocratic castes of the Koñgɔ and Kakoñgɔ peoples seem to have originated in successful hunters acquainted with the use of iron, who migrated to the Congo coast-lands from the direction of the Luba and Lunda countries, bringing, no doubt, the early form of their language with them.

There are really only three main dialects of Southern Koñgɔ speech, though each district has its peculiarities in word-roots and pronunciation. These three are the classical Ki-ṣi-koñgɔ (100) of São Salvador and Boma ; 100a, the Ki-suroñgɔ or Ki-soloñgɔ or Ki-sɔnyɔ of the coast district immediately south of the Congo estuary ; and the Ki-koñgɔ (100 b), of the inland districts between the River Iñkisi and Stanley Pool, including a narrow strip along the north bank of the opposite Congo river. Ki-koñgɔ embraces the speech of the Ba-sundi, Ba-bwendi, and Ba-sese, and differs from 100 and 100a in retaining more archaic forms of the prefixes and word-roots.

The divisions of the Northern Koñgɔ tongues are not quite so certain. These very interesting Bantu languages are by no means sufficiently illustrated, and the present writer confesses that from the material at his disposal (all that is published and some that has been privately collected) he is not certain that there is more than a dialectal difference between what he has classed as three languages (Nos. 101, 102, and 103). No. 101, KAKONGŴ, spoken chiefly in the district of Kabinda, evidently owes its title to an ancient period when the **Ka-** prefix in a diminutive or honorific sense still remained in use (it is virtually absent now from the whole group). KI- or CI-YOMBE (102), or the speech of Luañgɔ (the 'Loaño' of heretofore), has an inland dialect called Ki-vumbu or Lu-wumbu or KI-VILI (103). And lastly, there is the northernmost member of the Koñgɔ Group, KI-LUMBŴ (103a) of the Mayumba coast, which brings us northward to the verge of the Gaboon and Ūgɔwe languages. There may well be other dialects not known to me ; or it may be shown that all the tongues cited are but different dialects of the one main Northern Koñgɔ speech, the differences between which and Southern Koñgɔ are very clearly marked : in the form of the prefixes, in the pronouns, noun-roots, and verbs.

As regards phonology, in the south-western dialects of Z I (100 and 100a) there is a dislike to an

¹ A good deal of confusion and misunderstanding exist as to the word **-koñgɔ**, which is applied to a people, a language, and a great river. Originally **-koñgɔ** seems to have been a word-root meaning an iron spear. (See my book *George Grenfell and the Congo*.) It became a kind of totem of one or more conquering, hunting Congoland tribes who, with the prestige of iron weapons, imposed themselves as a kind of aristocracy on inferior West African savages. In time they created (say, between about the ninth and the twelfth century of this era) powerful native states to the north and south of the Lower Congo river, the principal of which was the kingdom of Koñgɔ, of which São Salvador (as the Portuguese renamed it) was the capital. The native names for the River Congo were **Nzadi** (whence the Portuguese Zaire) and **Mwanza**, and perhaps higher up **Kwañgu**. The general native name for the whole country was **E-koñgɔ**. The British exploring expeditions of a hundred years ago transferred the name of the kingdom to the river and called the Zaire the 'Congo'. Inland, nearer to Stanley Pool, the natives are content to name themselves generally **Ba-koñgɔ**, and their speech **Ki-koñgɔ** ; but nearer the coast they apply an honorific prefix (**Si-** or **Iṣi-**) to the root, and further affix to this the singular and plural class prefixes : thus, though the country is called simply **E-koñgɔ**, the people are **Eṣi-koñgɔ** (**A-iṣi-**), and the language is **Kĩṣi-koñgɔ**. Holman Bentley derives the prefix **Iṣi-** or **Si-** from a root (which he does not cite) meaning 'dweller' ; but I am inclined to regard it as an honorific prefix (which reappears in Central Congoland) related to the 'father' prefix of the Eastern Bantu. All the terms above given are sometimes overridden in linguistic works by **-ñōti**, **-ñōte**, which is a word in the coast dialects meaning 'black man'.

initial *ɸ* and *b* (as in Añgōla), especially in prefixes. *P*, unless protected by a preceding nasal, changes to *v*. The **Ba**-, **Bi**-, **Bu**- prefixes become in Kiṣi-koñgŵ **Wa**- or **A**-, **I**-, or **Yi**-, and **U**-; whereas in Ki-koñgŵ they often retain the earlier form. Throughout both Northern and Southern Koñgŵ *r* almost completely disappears and gives place to *d* or *l*. *N* as an initial replaces *m* when the prefix vowel is elided. In Northern Koñgŵ an initial *ɸ* sometimes changes to *f*, but an initial *b* is as much favoured and retained as it is discarded in the south. The palatalized *k* (**Ky**-) becomes *c* in the north, but *c* is quite absent from the speech of the south.

Preprefixes are present in both sub-groups, though they have a tendency to disappear in the modern Kiṣi-koñgŵ and Ki-koñgŵ dialects, especially in the last-named. Yet in Southern Koñgŵ they serve a distinct purpose as definite articles. They were much more noticeable in the language recorded by the Portuguese in the seventeenth century. They are present in a more partial yet more normal form (**U**-, **A**-, **I**-) in the Kakoñgŵ Sub-group, and are especially evident in the transcription of the Luañgŵ dialect by (?) the Abbé Proyart in 1772.¹ The preprefixes of Southern Koñgŵ (**Ū**-, **A**-, **E**-) dialects recall the 'ŵ' tendency in Group X, in that **Ū**- and not **A**- is the vowel that precedes the 6th and 16th prefixes, so that instead of **Ama**- and **Ava**- we have **Ūma**- and **Ūva**-. A noteworthy prefix in this group, especially in the southern sub-group, is that which I classify as 8a, namely, the 8th plural prefix (originally **Bi**-) used in a singular or collective sense as a diminutive. In Kiṣi-koñgŵ it is **Efi**, in Kakoñgŵ **Fi**-, and is the diminutive prefix of the language, replacing completely the orthodox **Ka**-. A reference to the vocabularies and to the comparative analyses of prefixes will show that 8a is met with in use in the Nyanza languages (Group A), in some of the East African Bantu, in South-west Africa, over the whole—nearly—of the Congo basin, over much of the Gaboon, the Cameroons, and in the language of Fernando Pô; as well as in some of the adjacent Semi-Bantu tongues. In the Koñgŵ Group its plural as a diminutive is No. 8—**Yi**- or **Bi**-.

In this group the 12th prefix—**Tu**-, is plural to **Lu**- (except in Northern Koñgŵ, where it is rare, and solely employed as a collective prefix), an arrangement only met with elsewhere in Nos. 159 and 168. The 13th prefix (**Ka**-), is nowadays virtually absent throughout the whole group, though there are more traces of its former use and frequency in Kakoñgŵ than in the southern sub-group. In Kakoñgŵ (Nos. 101 to 103), it must have acquired an honorific sense, and it is still used in personal and tribal names and in titles. **E**- (plural **Bi**-) in Northern Koñgŵ (where the 7th prefix is **Ki**- or **Ci**-) appears to descend *via* **Ke**- from **Ka**-; and not as in the Cameroons and inner Congo language from **Ki**- (**Ke**-). The locative prefix (16) is usually **Va**- in the south and **Fa**- in the north; in the east (Ki-koñgŵ) it becomes **Ga**-. (An analogous change occurs in Lusoga (4 b).)

Noteworthy noun-roots in languages 100-3:

-kewŵ*, 'ape', 100; **-zañga**, 'arrow', 100 (95); **-tŵta***, 'arrow', 100; **-sŵtŵ***, 'arrow', 101; **-nuanyi***, 'arrow', 103; **Ki-tali**, 'axe', 101 (literally 'the stone implement'—a relic of the Stone Age not far away in S.W. Africa); **-sansu***, 'banana', 100; **-viṣi**, **-beze**, 'bone', 100-3 (characteristic of Northern Congoland and Cameroons, and perhaps related to the East African **-piti**, **-fisi**, 'hyena'); **Tomfi**, **Tomfŵ**, **Tonzu**, 'brains', 100, 101-3 (11, 41, 42, 43, 44, 60, 62); **-bunji***, 'brother', 100; **-ma***, 'day', 100; **-teke**, 'devil'², 100 (70, 202); **-zizi***, 'face', 100; **Ma-ji**, **Ma-nzi**, 'fat', 'oil'; **-nuñga***, 'fire', 102; **-yembe**, 'fowl', 100 (84, 88, 27); **-nyumba***, 'ghost', 100; **-taba**, 'goat' (farthest south of this West and North Congoland root); **-saka**, 'goat', 100 b (3); **-pulu**, 'guinea-fowl', 102 (17); **Fonzi***, **Funzi***, 'guinea-fowl', 101, 102, 103; **-kŵbi***, 'heel', 103; **-satu**, 'hunger', 100 b, 101 (2 g, 17); **-nuni**, 'husband', 'male' (recalling the **-runi** of Senegambia, 263-5); **-envŵ***, 'hyena', 101; **-upi**, 'island', 100 b (86, 189); **-ñka***, 'island', 101; **-bete**, 'lake', 103 (166, 168); **-kumbu***, 'leopard', 103; **-lili**, 'lip', 103 (56, 156, 120); **-si**,³ 'man', 103; **-tŵkŵ***, 'man', 100; **-vumina***, 'milk', 100,

¹ My reference is to the remarkable manuscript vocabulary of Luañgŵ, now in the possession of the British Museum Library, which is anonymous, but may on internal evidence be provisionally attributed to the Abbé Proyart.

² Also meaning 'dwarf', 'idol', 'fetish'.

³ This root **-si** evidently means 'human being', 'person', and recurs constantly in connexion with the feminine adjective, in Eastern and South Bantu to mean 'woman', 'female'.

101 (232); **-zambu**, 'monkey', 100 (66); **Ngudi**, **Iṅguli**, 'mother', 100-3; **-zanza**, 'mountain', 100 (9 b, 40; 227); **-boṅgi***, 'nose', 100 b; **-kiela***, 'paddle', 103; **-wuṅgu***, 'shame', 100 b; **-komba***, 'sister', 101; **-tuti***, 'sky', 101; **-wayi**, 'slave', 100 (129, 148); **-ṭokw***, 'son', 100, 102; **-tauzi***, **-taudi***, 'son', 100; **-lese**, 'son', 103 (4, 64); **-puntsa***, 'spear', 100 b; **-lunzi**, 'spirit', 100, 103 (98, 121); **-manya**, 'stone', 101, 102 (a word ranging from Ovamboland in the south to the Cross river in the north, and related to the root **-manya**, 'knowledge'); **-teji**, 'sun', 100 (52, 53, 73, 132); **-pwozi***, 'sun', 100 b; **-saṅga**, 'tear', 100 (184, 189, 190); **-bubu**, 'thigh', 100 b, 101, 102 (274); **-vaku***, 'thing', 101 (109); **-saṅgara***, 'thing', 101, 102; **-kukw**, 'toe', 101 (56 a, 56 b, 71 f); **-bini***, 'tongue', 100; **-tandi***, 'tooth', 102; **-kwaṅgu***, 'water', 100; **-laṅgu***, 'water', 100, 101, 102 (237); **-sumpu***,¹ 'water', 100; **-kōkw***, 'water', 100 b; **-tonti***, 'water', 101; **-diṅga***, 'well', 100 (26); **-bamba**, 'white man', 103 (181; 268, 271); **-kama**, 'wife', 100 b, 101, 103 (98); **Siṅgi***, **Ṣoṅge***, 'witch', 100.

In numerals the **Koṅṅw** Group belongs to the Western Bantu '**-bali**' division, though this is not immediately obvious, for in most of the component languages the commonest expression for 'two' is **-wle** or **-ōle**. The oldest form is evidently the Kilumbw **-vali**, which through **-wali** (**-wadi**) becomes in dialects of later development **-wle**, **-ōle**, or **-ali**. The numeral 'four' is more often **-ya**, **-nya**, **-iyene** than **-na** and **-nai**; 'six' is most commonly **Sambu**²; 'seven' (with other variations) is **Sambu-adi**, or 'hand-two'. 'Ten' is the normal **-kumi**, except in the far north (103 a), where it becomes **-kōmi**.

In the decades after sixty (or even after forty) the recital of 'tens' gives place to the use of the 11th prefix, **Lu-** (**Lusambwadi** = 'seventy', literally, no doubt, 'the long seven'). **Kama** stands for 'one hundred' in the **Koṅṅw** Group as in **Aṅṅōla**.

In pronouns may be noted **Mwōw**, **Minu**, or **Menu** for 'I', which is a combination of the root **Me-** or **Mi-** (corrupted into **Mw-**) and **-nw**, a demonstrative particle meaning 'here', 'this'. The archaic **Gwegwe**, **ṅ-gwegwé**, 'thou', has become **ṅ-geye**, **N-jei** by the suppression of the labial. In the **Yandi**, **-andi**, **-endi** of the 3rd person singular (quite foreign to the adjoining **Aṅṅōla** Group) we have, reaching the west coast, a form which begins far away on the eastern limits of the Congo basin and at the sources of the Zambezi. The full forms of the nominatives 'we', 'ye', 'they' are pluralized by the prefixing of **Ba-** (**Ya-**), and become **Betw** (**Ba-itw**), 'we', **Benw**, 'you', and **Bau**, 'they' (**Babw**) [or **Yetw**, **Yenw**, and **Yau** in **Kiṣi-koṅṅw**]. In 101-3 the *f* (from *h*, from *s*) reappears in the root for 'we'—**Befu**, **Befw**.

In the whole group there is a tendency for the nominative particle of the 3rd person singular to be **Ka-**, **Ke-**, instead of **A-**, a feature met with also in Nos. 2 f, 13, 19 a, 20, 21 f, g, 22-30, 31, 75, 84, 135, 139, 159 and 160. In the **Koṅṅw** Group the **-akw** terminal, meaning 'thine', reappears. Elsewhere in South-west and South Central Africa it is completely absent, and is generally 'East African' in distribution. In Northern **Koṅṅw** demonstratives there is also to be remarked another East African feature (though it appears also in Groups Y and AA): the prefixing of **A-** to the pronominal concords to indicate 'this' or 'that'. In **Kiṣi-Koṅṅw** 'that' is expressed by infixing **-a-** between the adjectival and pronominal concords.

In the Southern **Koṅṅw** verb there is no trace of the pronominal suffix to the 2nd person plural of the imperative (**-ni**, **-nu**), though this is present in the **Aṅṅōla** Group and in Northern **Koṅṅw** (**-nu**). The infinitive prefix, **Ku-**, is usually absent from verbs in 101-3. Some of the verb-roots in 101-3 end in **-u** instead of the orthodox **-a**. The **-e** terminal vowel of the subjunctive is almost absent from Southern and quite absent from Northern **Koṅṅw**. The negative particles in Southern **Koṅṅw** are limited to **Ki-** (**Ke-**) and **-kw**, whereas in Northern **Koṅṅw** they are much more varied and include **Tsi-**, **-si-**, and combinations of **Ka**. The passive verb-root termination in both sub-groups, besides the normal **-wa** or **-iwa**, is also **-u** or **-w**, with (in the south) an **-wōw**, **-ūw** preterite.

¹ See the word **-sumbi**, 'lake', 'swamp' in Nos. 49, 50, 51.

² Elsewhere in this work it is suggested that the root **-sambw**, **-samba**, **Hambw**, or **Kambw** was an old alternative root for 'hand', and that when this root stands for 'six' it is a vestige of a lengthier paraphrase, which might have meant 'one hand and one' or 'one hand finishes'—ergo, when you reach 'six' you begin the second hand. **Sambw**, becoming the shortened term for 'six', 'seven' is often regarded as 'the second six', or 'one hand and two'.

GROUP AA: THE SOUTH CONGOLAND OR LUBA-LUNDA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 104 to 111)

This group must be sub-divided into three very distinct sub-groups: AA 1, **LUBA**; AA 2, **KANYŌKA**; and AA 3, **LUNDA**. It is even possible there may be added a fourth sub-group, that of the **KI-TUMBA** tongue, the 'Kitwa' or 'Bush', 'Pygmy' language of the Middle **Lŏmami**, which for the present I find it more convenient to regard as an independent Group (EE).

The **Luba-Lunda** languages are amongst the most remarkable of the Bantu family. Their range extends from Lake Mweru and the Upper Luapula on the east to Añgōla on the west; from Northern Zambezia to the Sañkuru and Middle Kasai. They are for the most part spoken by tribes that have reached to the highest levels of Bantu culture, artistic people like the Balua or Baluba and the Alunda. But they have also become the vehicle of the simple thoughts of Pygmies and of naked, primitive, forest folk or riverain cannibals. Still, on the whole, they must be regarded as associated with an ancient culture and a remarkable endemic civilization produced in South Central Congoland by the copper of Katañga and the invigorating hill-country climate of the mountains which divide the basins of the Zambezi and the Congo.

The Luba languages became dimly known to European philologists in the first half of the nineteenth century through the garbled vocabularies collected by Douville from Luba slaves in Añgōla. Koelle encountered slaves from South-west and South Central Congoland at Sierra Leone in about 1851, and from them transcribed two tongues which he named Kanyika and Ruunda. Koelle's 'Kanyika' would, from the geographical region he assigns to it, appear to be a south-eastern dialect of Kanyōka, which I have numbered 109 b. This may be also the **Ki-bondŏ** of later explorers, who further instance **Tu-wanda** (109 a) as another Kanyōka dialect more nearly resembling the northern type of the language so thoroughly illustrated in recent times by Père Auguste de Clercq. Koelle's **Ru-unda** I have classed as **WESTERN LUNDA** (111). It seems to be a distinct language from the Lunda of the Mwata Yanvŏ's kingdom, and from the **Ma-bunda** of northernmost Zambezia, 110 a. The root of the tribal name may be **-bunda**, **-unda**, and the **Ru-** or **Lu-** (**L-**) a language prefix. A dialect of Lunda has travelled by mid-nineteenth century conquests into British Central Africa south of Lake Mweru.

The western section of the widespread **LUBA** Sub-group, AA 1, which I have numbered 104, is divisible again into the very distinct **LU-KETE**¹ dialect, the **LU-SILANGE**, and the **MOYA** or N.W. Luba. The central type of the languages (104) is usually called **LULUA** (**-lua** and **-rua** are abbreviated renderings of the root **-luba**). **SOUTHERN LUBA** or **CI-LUBA** has many dialectal names (quoted elsewhere), and is the language of Katañga; but there is a distinct variant of Southern Luba, **KAHONDE** or **Kaonde** (105 a), spoken in northern Rhodesia. **EASTERN LUBA** bears the local name of **KI-HEMBA** (106); **NORTHERN LUBA** (107) is locally known as **LUNA-INKŌNGŌ**; and **NORTH-EASTERN LUBA** (108) as **LU-SONGE**, with a dialect (108 a) called **BENEKI**.

This group, together with the Tabwa Sub-group (L 2) of West Tañganyika (to which it is somewhat allied), exhibits Bantu phonology in its most melodious, Italian-like guise. There is, however, a growing tendency, especially in the outlying dialects, towards consonantal ending of words, generally on a palatal (**ɣ**) or a dental (**ʃ**). Whether the excessive consonantal endings, abruptness, and curtailed pronunciation of South-east Kanyōka (109 b) and of Western Lunda (111) are natural to these languages, or whether they are—as I surmise, due to Koelle's defective hearing, cannot be determined on my present stock of information.

With the exception of slight traces in Class 9, in one of the Luba dialects, and more distinct relics in

¹ The **Ba-kete** (the name means 'people of the arrow') seem to have been originally Forest Pygmy tribes conquered by the Baluba. Though they now speak a dialect of Luba (104 a), that dialect contains some peculiar word-roots, and there is a suggestion here and there of resemblance in these to the Pygmy dialects (188) of the **Ōgŏwe** basin.

Classes 1, 3, 4, and 9 of Western Lunda, there are no preprefixes whatever in the Luba-Lunda languages. Otherwise, this important group, especially in its Luba or northern sub-group (AA 1), retains a good many archaic and characteristic Bantu features. The prefixes in the Luba tongues (104 to 108) are of regular type and number, except that No. 10 is missing in its full form (**Zi**, &c.). The diminutive suffix **-ana** is occasionally used. There is no trace of the employment of 8 a as a singular diminutive prefix. In the south-western sub-group (AA 3)—almost a separate group—the Lunda dialects (110 to 111), the 2nd prefix has been abbreviated to **A-**, the 4th prefix occasionally assumes the form of **Nyi-**, the 8th is usually **I-**, and the 10th is fully represented by **Zi-**, **Ji-**, or **Si-**. The 12th prefix is sometimes **Cu-** in Lunda. It is interesting to note in South Luba that the 15th prefix, **Ku-**, has a slightly diminutive sense as in some N.W. Zambezi languages. The 16th* prefix ranges in form between **Pa-**, **Fa-**, and **Ha-** throughout the group, and is even **Bu-** in the more western dialects of Lunda that have been influenced by the Añgōla tongues. There are virtually no preprefixes in Kanyōka (109), but the concords assume in some phases a very peculiar form, being preceded by the vowel **i-** (**ima-**, **ika-**, **ibu**, **iku**, **iha**, &c.), a phase which reminds one of the Ruanda language of North Tañganyika.

Noteworthy noun-roots in languages 104-9:

-suna*, 'arrow', 109; **Sūi***, 'axe', 104, 108; **-soñgwi**, 'bee', 105 a; **-nyiñga***, 'day', 107; **-yewela***, 'devil', 105 a; **Fumbu***, **Pumbu***, **-humbu***, 'elephant', 104; **-vimu**, 'fat', 108 (194); **-ndw***, 'finger', 105; **-dicilu***, 'foot', 104 c (see word-roots for 'hand', 'foot', and 'twenty'); **-nyantilo***, 'foot', 105; **-ndūi***, 'foot', 108; **-pembe**, 'goat', 109, 110; **-šina***, 'goat', 104, 109 (126); **-paña***, 'he goat', 104 c; **-kulu**, 'God', 106 (6, 9, 75 a, 89); **-luñgu**, 'God', 104 c (cf. **-luñgu** root in E.A. Bantu); **-lwoh***, 'God', 104; **Yirie**, **-file**, 'God', 'doctor', 104 (cf. the **-fiti**, 'magic', of Nyasaland); **-simba***, 'heart', 108; **-pimbi**, 'heart', 104 (88, 121); **-uñgi**, 'heart', 109 (92, 110; 227); **-iñga***, 'heart', 104; **-kenkibu***, 'heel', 104 a; **-pwkwsw***, 'heel', 105 a (110); **-saka**, 'heel', 105 c (19, 20, 175; 274); **-gamba**, 'hippo', 104 c (43, 45); **-vuruyi***, 'hippo', 109; **-ilu***, 'hunger', 105; **-fiki***, 'iron', 104; **-halabu***,¹ 'leg', 109; **-mañga***, 'leopard', 109; **-koñgwalw***, 'leopard', 109; **-lumba***, 'monkey', 109; **-lwlw***, 'mother', 105, 106 (19); **-viele***, 'mother', 104 (see roots for 'woman' in E.A. Bantu); **-sa** (Ma-sā)*, 'nose', 108; **-supi***, **-suh***, 'paddle', 105, 106; **-pete***, 'paddle', 108; **-koyw**, 'palm wine', 105 (3, 217, 218, 219, 79); **Peşi***, 'rain', 108; **-landa**, 'rat', 109; **-efw**, **-ehw**, **-epw**, 'salt', 104-6 (134, 141, 184); **-tañgatañga***, 'shoulder', 109; **-lwlw***, 'snake', 105 a; **-tutu**, 'son', 105 (204, 205); **-bendi***, 'spear', 104 (83); **-beki***, 'stone', 107; **-tebi**, **-tewe**, 'stool', 105, 106 (see the Nyanza Group); **-pwle**, 'tear', 109 b (14, 128, 139); **-cima**, 'thief', 104 (118); **-ena**, 'thief', 104 (12, 128); **-kindi**, 'thigh', 108 (131); **-pwata**, 'thigh', 105 (7); **-haka**, 'thing', 109 (101); **-buye**, 'tooth', 105 (184; 274); **-twawa**, 'tooth', 105 (186); **-meñga***, 'town', 104; **-ganda**, 'town', 109 (89, 152, 161); **-tuñga**, 'town', 104 (166-8, 141, 69); **-luñgu**, 'white man', 105; **-juñgu**, 'white man', 106; **-kiliñga**, **-keleñge**, 'white man', 104 a, 105; **Senwe***, 'wind', 108; **-buki**, 'witch', 106 (3, 218, 219); **-kyenci**, 'witch', 107 (118); **-foñgw***, 'witch', 104; **-yembe**, **-embe**, 'witch', 105 a (161, 193, 207, 218, 219); **-ledi***, 'woman', 104 (26); **-sipi**, 'year', 107 (189).

Noteworthy noun-roots in languages 110, 110a and 111:

-zuñu, 'bird', 110 (2g, 16); **-lemu***, 'bow', 110; **-jal**, 'doctor', 111 (263, 267); **-telu***, 'ear', 110 a; **-teta**, 'egg', 110 (41); **-dama**, 'excrement', 110 (38); **-jacile**, 'foot', 110 (104 c); **-tikita***, 'forest', 110; **-sumbe**, 'fowl', 110 (44 b, 84, 86, 88, 149); **-silu**, 'girl', 110; **Nwona***, 'goat', 110; **-sema***, 'goat', 110; **-buñu**, 'heart', 110 (85, 88, 92, 109; 227); **-bukwsw***, 'heel', 110; **-pumuna***, 'heel', 110 a; **-batama***, 'hide', 110 (64); **-kuñgi***, **-kunji***, 'husband', 110, 111; **-tutu**, 'island', 110 (141; 273); **-laji***, 'magic', 110; **-kanju***, 'medicine', 110; **Minyi***, 'neck', 111; **-tunzw***, 'rat', 110; **-seta**, 'shame', 110; **-fela**, 'snake', 110 a (157; 273); **-bwbw***, 'snake', 110 (204); **-lembele***, 'spear', 110 (267); **-sawkwsw***, 'spear', 110; **-pale**, 'spear', 110 a (17, 126, 48, 50); **-lwlw**, 'stone', 110 (84, 226); **Nwodi***, **-wodi***, 'wife', 110 a (134); **-kindw***, 'wind', 110, 111; **-ñkōya**, 'witch', 110 (67); **-banda**, 'woman', 110, 111 (85).

¹ Rather a curious resemblance with the ḡōsa **-gčalāba**, 'shoulder'. **-halābu** more probably means 'thigh', and in Bantu there is often an interchange of terms between the upper and lower limbs.

As regards numerals, it is worthy of remark that the root-word for 'two' in the Luba Sub-group is the East African **-bili** (**-bidi**), but in Lunda (and one dialect of Kanyōka) is West African—**-adi**, **-yedi**, **-yaji**, and even **-yati**, and **-yat**. In some of the Luba dialects the vague numerical adjective **Mw-anda** serves to indicate both 'seven' and 'eight'. 'Nine' is represented in Luba by **Ki-tema**, but in Lunda by the Western Bantu **Di-vu**, which would seem to have its origin in some word like **I-fuka**, found in the Ila language. West Luba (104) has a peculiar root for 'seven', **-akunyi**. Lukete (104 a) calculates its 'nine', 'eight', 'seven' backwards from 'ten'—**Kōkwi-ōmu**, **Kōkwi-bidi**,¹ and **Kōkwi-setō**. The meaning of **Kōkwi-** is not clear. 'Ten' in Lukete is **Di-señ**, a form allied to the **Di-sañgi** of 107, which may have been borrowed from the Central Congoland Group. South Luba uses **Ki-kwi** for 'ten', as well as **-kumi**. West Lunda (111) has **-kunyi** instead of **-kumi**, and is, moreover, in its terms for 'four' and 'eight', related to the **Añgōla** and Upper **Kwañgō** Groups. North-east Luba (108) adds the suffix **-ñka** to the first four numeral roots.

Group AA agrees with the West African, South African, and East African sections of the Bantu in preferring **Me** and **Mi** as the basis of the pronoun 'I', though it retains **N-** (**Ndi**, **Nj-**, **Ny-**, **Ñgi-**, **Ni-**) as the initial consonant of the nominative particle of the 1st person singular. And in all but 110 and 111 (?), the accusative infix for 'me' is **-n-**, **-ni-**. In Lunda, however, for 'me' as accusative there is the exceptional form **-ñgu-**, a feature shared only by Nos. 34 and 94. In all members of the group, save Lunda, the labial consonant in 'thou' (**Wewe**, **Wuwu**, **Ove**, **Obe**) is well maintained and tends to be strengthened into **b** (**Obe**, &c.). But in Lunda, and probably in Western Lunda, it becomes a palatal **-y** (**Eye**); and in this resembles the tendency in **Añgōla** and Southern **Koñgō**. With the exception of 106, all Group AA uses **U-** for the nominative particle of 'he'. For the isolated pronoun 'he' ('she') No. 108 has both **Ena** and **Ande**, and 110 employs **Nandi**, but the rest use **Ye** as a basis. 105, 106, 108, 109 pluralize the form of the isolated 'we' by prefixing **Ba-** or **A-**. The objective particle for 'you' in 104 is the infix **-nu**. In 105 and 106 it is **-mi-** and **-imu-**; in North Luba (107) 'you' is the unusual **-nwa-**. In Lunda the substantive form of 'they' is rendered by **Ene**, **Ana**, or **Nau**, and the accusative particle for 'them' is reduced from **-ba-** to **-i-**. Kanyōka precedes all its infix accusative particles of the personal pronouns by **i** (**-iba-**, &c.), just as it does with those of the other classes. In the demonstratives should be noted that 104 and 105 prefix an **A-** to the pronominal particle for 'that', and that 104 uses **Ka-** before the doubled pronominal concord for 'that yonder'.

As regards the verb in this group, it is in general of a normal East African Bantu character. The modifying terminal syllables to be added to the verb-root are remarkably full in numbers and scope, but in Lunda the passive termination is lacking; in the other members of the group it is **-wa**, **-ibua**, or **-bua**. The pronominal suffix for the 2nd person plural of the imperative in 104 is **-i**; in 105, **-ai**; in 109, **-yi**; but in 110 and 111 (?) **-enu**. The preterite termination in **-ile** (&c.) is wanting in **Lulua-Luba** (104), but is present in 105, in 109, and 110. The subjunctive terminal vowel **-e** is absent from Kanyōka and rare in 105, but present in the other members of the group. Negative particles are mostly of the **Ka**, **Ki**, **Ci**, and **Kō** type, but **Ta-** makes its appearance in No. 108; **Ne-** is also used—adverbially in 105, and much use of **Pe** is made in Lunda, both as prefix and suffix. Lunda also tends to displace the use of the conventional negative particles, prefixes, and infixes by employing terminal negative phrases. In one of its dialects **Nu-** is a negative prefix (? adverbial). 104 has a negative verb, **-ena**, **-cena**, and No. 109 a similar form, **-ina**. There is also in Kanyōka (109) an assertive verbal particle: 'it is' (with emphasis)—**Ki-**.

It might be mentioned, in addition to the foregoing summary, that the **Luba** tongue, more especially those forms of it numbered 104, 105, and 106, is, with slight dialectal variations, known as a medium of trade and political intercourse between the **Kwañgō** river on the west and the verge of **Tañganyika** on the east, between the **Sañkuru** and **Kasai** on the north and Northern **Rhodesia** on the south. It is, perhaps, the easiest, simplest, most expressive and melodious of the Bantu languages, and is spoken by one of the most highly developed and artistic of the Bantu tribal congeries. These facts are emphasized in an admirable treatise, *The Luba-Sañga Grammar*, recently circulated in typescript. This book, which, I trust, will soon be printed, is by Mr. J. A. Clarke, of Koni Hill, **Katañga**.

¹ There is a remarkable parallel to this in the **Kōku-njiba** for 'eight' of 188, the **Pygmy** language of the **Gaboon**.

GROUP BB: THE UPPER KWANGŌ LANGUAGES

(Nos. 112 to 115 a)

These are still very insufficiently known. Indeed, when the first volume of this work was being compiled, the only member of this group that had been placed on record in a decisive manner was **UM-BANGALA** or **IM-BANGŌLA**¹ (114) of the Kasanji district. Uмбаṅgala, under the name of Kasanji, has been known since the publication of Koelle's vocabulary in the *Polyglotta Africana*. Further light was thrown on it at the end of the nineteenth century by the writings of Dr. Héli Chatelain. The existence of the other associated languages and dialects—112, **ŠINJI**; 112 a, **MINUNGU**; 113, **HŌLŌ**; 113 a, **TEMBŌ**; 113 b, **U-SUKU**; 114 a, **YONGŌ**; 115, **U-PINDI** (or **U-KWESE**); and 115 a, **U-SAMBA** or **KI-SAMBA**—and their affinities with Uмбаṅgala were only presumed by the author of this work in his arrangement of the Bantu languages by his reliance on the references and statements of Livingstone, Büchner, Torday, and Chatelain. Torday and Chatelain cited a word or two here and there to confirm their suppositions.

But when the greater part of the first volume was in print, I received from a correspondent in Aṅgōla vocabularies of 112 a, Minuṅgu, and 113, HŌlŌ, the principal words of which were inserted in the supplementary notes at the close of the vocabularies. [‘Minuṅgu’ seems a more correct spelling than ‘Minuṅw’.]

According to the information I have received, Yoṅw (114 a) is a northern dialect of Uмбаṅgala; Upindi or Ukwese and Usamba (Torday's ‘Basamba’) resemble Uмбаṅgala closely. Usuku (113 b) and TembŌ are mere dialects of HŌlŌ or Huṅgu (113); and Minuṅgu (112 a) and Šinji (112) are closely allied. The material given in regard to both Minuṅgu and HŌlŌ shows again how closely these languages conform to the Aṅgōla Group (Nos. 95 to 99); and were it not that they are as nearly related to Uмбаṅgala and to Lunda and Western Lunda (110, 111) I should have regretted my precipitancy in separating these Upper KwangŌ languages from Group Y. When we know all about them, we shall probably find they are transitional between the Lunda Sub-group on the east, the Yaka speech (Nos. 116, 117) on the north, the Aṅgōla tongues on the west, and the Kiŵkŵ and Nkoya (87, 88) on the south.

The following word-roots of Uмбаṅgala, HŌlŌ, and Minuṅgu might be cited for their special interest and affinities:

Jumba, ‘ant, white’, 113 (35, 54, 61, 98, 99); **-legela***, ‘arm’, 114; **Neŵ, Neiŵ**, ‘axe’, 112 a (94, 73 a, 74; 273); **-saṅgu**, ‘baboon’, 112 a (3, 103, 75 a); **Mimŵ***, ‘belly’, 112 a; **-dunji***, ‘belly’, 114 (18); **Puyŵ***, ‘body’, 112 a; **Puō**, ‘brother’, 112 a (54, 58–61 a, 75 b, 76; 243); **-twetwe***, ‘face’, 114; **-fuŵ**, ‘fish’, 112 a (2 d, 5 b, 100–3, 200); **-kele**, ‘fish’, 114 (3, 98 a, 104); **-tulu***, ‘forest’, 114; **-pimbi**, ‘heart’, 114 (88, 98); **-kunda***, ‘leopard’, 112 a; **-foi***, **-fu***, ‘meat’, 112 a; **-kŵma***, ‘meat’, 114; **-saba***, ‘medicine’, 114; **-ṅndŵ**, ‘paddle’, 114 (97); **-nŵga**, ‘rain’, 114 (106, 146, 193, 195); **Hihī***, ‘shoulder’, 112 a; **-tapi**, ‘spear’, 112 a (250, 227, 242; 213); **-tandi**, ‘stone’, 113; **-bibi**, ‘tear’, 113 (119); **-embŵ**, ‘town’, 114 (82–6, 95, 184, 2 d, 6).

Preprefixes in this group seem to be completely absent, save in Class 9. The 2nd prefix is **Ba-** in Nos. 112–112 a, **A-** or even **I-** in 114–115 a. The 6th prefix sometimes in the last-cited languages weakens to **A-**, as does the 8th to **I-** and **Yi-**. But the archaic form of the 8th, **Bi-**, is present in 112–113, and there are traces of a singular 8 a prefix—**Bi-**—in 112–112 a, and **Yi-** in 114. The 9th prefix in one or two words is **Ji-** in 112 a. All the Classes up to No. 17 are represented. The 14th prefix (usually heard as **U-**) is apparently chosen to be the prefix indicating ‘language’; so that we have ‘Uмбаṅgala’, ‘Uyoṅw’, ‘Upindi’, instead of **Ki-** or **Lu-**.

In pronouns, Uмбаṅgala has the unusual form of **ṅgu-** for the nominative prefix of ‘I’ (similarly to Nos. 84, 94, 157, 162, and 226). Nos. 112 a and 113 favour the labial in the substantive pronoun, ‘thou’, and, as in Soṅgo (97) harden the *w* into *b*—**Ibe** and **Iba**; instead of the palatalized **Eye**, **Aye** met with in

¹ **Imbaṅgala** or **Imbaṅgŵla** is more correctly the term applied by the tribe to the Bāṅgala people of the Upper Kwanza. When I was in that neighbourhood in 1882, I heard the word pronounced ‘Imbāṅgŵla’.

Umbaŋgala and Nḡōla, as well as in the Koŋḡ and Lunda Groups. In Group BB, however, as in Group X, the substantive form of 'he' is **Mwene** (see 25, 35, 38, 88, 98, and 74), and 'they' is similarly rendered by **Bene** (see also Nos. 35, 38, 45, 88, 120 a, 214, 125, and 126). The noteworthy numerals are **-wana**, 'four' (also in 111, 84, 86, 88, 92, and 95-9), and **-nake**, 'eight' (86, 88, 95-9, 111, 122). The negative particles with the verb are, in Umbaŋgala, **Lw** (see 116-22, 131, 160, 186, 226, 258), **A**, and the infix **-mu**, which last is very peculiar and recalls the **Mi** of No. 96, the **-mω** or **-mō** of 43 a; and of 236, 227, 232, and other Semi-Bantu languages. Among adverbs in Umbaŋgala that are unusual may be noted **Enyowhω** for 'there', which suggests the **Engowkω** of 194.

In leaving 115 a and the other languages of Group BB, we find ourselves quitting the domain of the South-west Bantu for that of the North-west Bantu. In West Central Africa, the contrast between the Bantu divisions is not so great, as there has been some intermingling. Nevertheless, the North-west division stands out distinctly from the three others by being much more corrupt, worn down, and in some cases tinged with the word-roots and phonology of the Semi-Bantu stock.

GROUP CC: THE KWANGŌ-KASAI GROUP

(Nos. 116 to 121)

Two forms of the **YAKA** language of the Middle and Lower Kwaŋḡ basin are given by E. Torday and Héli Chatelain respectively, but it is very difficult to find any resemblance between them which might justify their inclusion in the same group. **NORTHERN YAKA**—'Maiaka'—as written down by Héli Chatelain, seems much more related to the Ifumu or Teke languages of Group LL. If we ever get additional information in regard to these perishing dialects we may have to reconstitute this as well as other language groups in Congoland. For the time being, merely because both No. 116 and No. 117 are styled 'Yaka', and undoubtedly come from the Yaka country, I associate them together. As at present constituted, this group contains for the most part ancient, archaic, yet degenerate and much abbreviated Bantu languages. But it is an assemblage that has wide and far-reaching affinities, as the analyses of roots will show.

SOUTHERN YAKA (No. 116), as written down by Mr. Emil Torday, seems to be undoubtedly the language of the Yaka people within the watershed of the Lower Kwaŋḡ river; but **NORTHERN YAKA** (117), named 'Maiaka' by Héli Chatelain, is very dissimilar from Southern Yaka, and, indeed, from all the other languages of the Kwaŋḡ-Kasai Group to which it belongs geographically. It is much more reminiscent of the Buma or Teke dialects farther to the north-east and north-west: in fact, I should be inclined to place it with the Teke tongues but for the insistence of Dr. Chatelain that it was a language of the Yaka people. It may in reality turn out to be nothing more than a southern continuation of the little-known Teke language called Kiwumbu or Ewumu (see Vocabulary, No. 177). It is probably a connecting link between the two groups due to a mixture of populations, but its numerals certainly connect it with the Teke Group.

The **BA-YANZI** speech of Group CC (121) is of doubtful affinities, and has suggestions of nearer relationship with the **Lesā** (172) in the Lukenye Sub-group of Group KK (North Central Congoland). **Yanzi**, or the speech of the Ba-yanzi (an unsatisfactory name of vague application, but all that is offered at present by explorers), is a corrupt and worn-down Bantu tongue so far as we can judge it, from the scanty vocabulary which we owe to the indefatigable research of Mr. Torday; but its word-roots, like those of Buma and Yaka, are of wide and far-reaching affinities. The word **Yanzi** has had a very puzzling application. Apparently it was the cant term (said to mean 'flea') for 'bush' people, in use amongst the riverain Baŋgi and Nḡala tribes of the Western Equatorial Congo, especially in regard to the peoples living to the east of them. Somehow or other this seemed both to H. M. Stanley (in 1877) and to myself (in 1883) the correct designation of the Baŋgi people in particular, and was, therefore, adopted in those early times to indicate the language subsequently better known as **Lwōbaŋgi** or **Lwōbōbaŋgi**. Mr. Torday has found the name **Ba-yanzi** applied with some local insistence to certain tribes (speaking this very

interesting though worn-down Bantu language) between the Lukenye and the Lower Kasai, and likewise between the Lower Kasai and the Kwilu. I have, therefore, retained it to indicate this language.

SOUTHERN YAKA (116) and **BAMBALA** (118) are unquestionably allied, as are **HUANA** (119) and **YANZI** (121). But in **BUMA** or **BŪMA** (120, 120 a, 120 b) we have another problem. The dialects written down under that general name by Mr. Torday and myself differ so very widely. The words collected by me in 1883 from the Western Babuma, together with Koelle's 'Babuma', would seem, like Northern Yaka, to belong more nearly to the Teke Group. We can see, however, ranging through these Kwaŋgō-Kasai languages so many indications of affinity with the Teke speech of the Ūgōwé-Congo that we must assume them to have been (more or less) influenced by eastward migrations of Teke tribes across the Congo in past times. Huana is almost as abbreviated in its word-roots as Yanzi, and the substantives in both frequently dispense with the terminal vowel and end on a consonant. This tendency in pronunciation is met with to a lesser degree in Southern Yaka and in Buma, but not in Bambala.

Noteworthy noun-roots in languages 116-21 :

-**kaš***, 'arrow', 119; -**ganuta***, 'bee', 121; -**kum***, 'bird', 120; -**kyau***, 'brains', 120; -**tuna***, 'brains', 120 (Semi-Bantu); -**gwal***, 'fear', 120 a (75 c, 76, 94); -**γω***, 'finger', 120; **Ūlŵ**, 'he goat', 120 (14, 17, 18, and S-B.); -**pape**, 'hand', 118 (71); -**pim***, 'heart', 121 (88, 104); -**kwal***, 'heart', 120 (see words for 'fear'); -**gurr*** (Ni-gurr), 'hoe', 121; -**pai***, 'hunger', 118; -**firi***, 'iron', 120; -**seye**, 'island', 120 (85); -**šir***, 'lake', 121; -**inu**, 'leg', 117 (175-8); -**kūe**, 'lion', 117 (175-8); -**tia***, 'lips', 121; -**lili**, 'lips', 120 (56, 103, 256); -**kuŋga**, 'magic', 116 (134, 104 c); -**suyi**, 'moon', 117 (179, 180, 196, 109); -**dinduyŵ***, 'moon', 120 (note resemblance with root in Lower Zambezia languages); -**kumu**, 'mountain', 120 (64, 69); -**sele**, 'mountain', 118; -**šwel***, 'mountain', 119 (17; 273); **Mur***, 'neck', 120 (21 e, 148); -**pusa***, 'palm wine', 116; **Kum***, 'pigeon', 121; -**šiom**, 'pigeon', 120; **Kiv***, 'river', 120 (225); -**kindu***, 'salt', 116; -**pfula**, 'shame', 120 (175-8); -**andi**, 'shoulder', 118 (11, 218; 273, 264); -**pela**, 'skin', 118 (44 b); -**kapŵ**, 'skin', 121 (6, 80); -**dye**, 'sky', 121 (178); -**ŋgie**, -**ŋge**, 'sky', 120; -**gi**, 'sky', 119; -**kuŋga**, -**kuŋgŵ**, 'song', 116, 118 (94); -**jil***, 'son', 120; -**da***, 'spear', 120; -**kila**, 'spirit', 117; **Kul***, 'spirit', 121 (23 a, 175); -**lendöi***, 'spirit', 121; -**etŵ***, 'star', 118; -**šiop***, 'star', 120; -**bir***, 'star', 119; -**biel***, 'star', 121; -**ere**, 'star', 120 b (123, 124-5); -**yiri***, 'stone', 119; **Šia**, 'tear', 120 (2, 4, 6); -**tsumu***, 'testicles', 116; **Kŵba**, 'thigh', 116 (226, 63, 213); -**kaba**, 'thigh', 114; -**sanduk***, 'thigh', 119; -**silu***, 'thigh', 120; -**ina**, 'thing', 120 b (89, 94, 160, 189); -**bōra***, 'twins', 120; -**jia**, 'twins', 120 b (228, 259); -**tana***, 'war', 118; **Tan***, 'war', 121; -**ŋgandun***, 'white man', 120 (98); -**ŋgim***, 'witch', 120 (1); -**kedye***, 'witch', 121; -**konzi**, 'witch', 118 (107); -**ŋgit***, 'witch', 119; **Kŵsŵma***, 'woman', 118; -**sita***, 'womb', 118; -**fe***, 'firewood', 120; -**šia**, 'firewood', 121 (245; 186, 217, 218); -**dŵmŵ**, 'firewood', 118 (226); **Ŋgawa***, 'year' (literally, 'rains'), 120.

No. 118 has a peculiar root for 'all'—**akima**, which is related to the **kima** of 123 and the **ejima** of 110. Nos. 120 and 121 have **Banza** and **bance**, which seem to be without relationship in other tongues.

As regards demonstratives, the **Le-** ('this') of 120 recalls the similar prefix in the Zulu-Kafir tongues and the suffix (-**le**) in 122 and 226. The **-dese** suffix ('this') of 119 is peculiar. **Yei-**, in 118, seems to be a demonstrative prefix, 'this', for nouns of the 1st Class (see also 108).

In numerals Group CC has little homogeneity. 'Two' is represented by the East African **-vil** and **-bili** in 116 and 119. In a dialect of 116, however (apparently), there is also the West Koŋgō form, **-bŵle**; and **-ŵle** and **-buŵle** are the roots for 'two' in 117, while the **-bue** of 121 may be an abbreviation of the first of these. No. 118 has the Western Bantu **-bari**, **-bale**, and No. 120 the abbreviated **-pi**, which may either be a curtailing of **-bili** or be akin to the **-pe**, **-api** of the next Group (DD). The **-sera** for 'three' in 120 (which also has **-saru**) is very peculiar, but may be related to the **-setu** of 104 a. **-telu** is 'three' in 117, and **-tala** in 121. The other languages of the group have the normal **-tatu** and **-satu**. 'Four' is **-ya** in 116 (as in Koŋgō), **-na** in 117, **-gwana** in 118, **-wana** in 119 (akin to the **-wana**, **-kwana** of 84, 88, 92-9), **-nni** and **Iniy** in 120, and the peculiar **Anŵ** in 121. No. 121 has a very unusual perversion of the **-tanu** root for 'five'—**-tien**—which resembles the **-tenu** of 104 a, the **-tian** of 172, and the **-tuen**, **-jen**, **-cien**, **-zien**, and **-tiün** of the Semi-Bantu. **Senu** for 'six' in 117, and **Kŵwob** in 121, are inex-

GROUP CC: THE KWANGŌ-KASAI GROUP

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plicable; so also is the **Binin** of 119 (resembling a root for 'six' in 183—**Benai**). **Binin** may, however, like **Benai**, be an unusual combination of **Bi'-nin** = 'two-four'. **Tseme** for 'seven' in 116, and **Tsema** in 119, are isolated; so is **-sale** or **-san** in 120. The root **-phuomŋ** for 'eight' in 117 is almost identical with the **-pŋomŋ**, **-pŋomŋ** of the Teke languages (175-80), and is probably borrowed from them. **Mw-are** for 'twenty' in 120, and **Mŋ-pi** for the same numeral in 120a, point to a root **Mu-** for 'ten' (**-are** and **-pi** merely meaning 'twice').

The verb-forms are not known with any certainty in this group. But from our scanty information we deduce that the terminal vowel of the verb-root varies from the customary **-a**—especially in Nos. 119, 120, and 121—and becomes **-e**, **-i**, **-ö**, **-ŋ**, and **-u**, in addition to the pristine **-a**. The infinitive prefix in 120 may be **A-**, **U-**, or **Ō-**; and in 121, **Ma-**, **U-**, or **Ku-**. The negative particle with the verb is **Te-** in 119, **Lŋ-** in 116 and 119, **-lō** or **-lŋ** in 118, **-lŋ**, **-la**, **-le**, **Lŋ**, **La**, **Le-** in 120. There is also a **-we** negative suffix in 120, related to the **-ve**, **-pe** farther west and north-west.

The roots for the auxiliary, 'to be', are **-wene**, **-wena** in 118 (perhaps akin to the **-na**, **-ene**, **-ena** of the Koŋŋŋ and Aŋgŋla Groups); **-kel** and **-kien** in 119 and 121; and **-buma** in 120.

GROUP DD: THE CENTRAL CONGOLAND LANGUAGES OF THE LUANGE-LŌMAMI REGION

(Nos. 122 to 138)

Group DD is a very large one, extending over a considerable area of South Central Congoŋd. Our knowledge of these languages is scanty, and if it is ever enriched, we may require to sub-divide Group DD into several clearly marked sub-groups. **PENDE** or **BABUNDA** (122) has some affinity in its numerals and noun-roots with the Upper Kwaŋŋŋ or Aŋgŋla languages, and perhaps should properly be attached to one or other of those western groups. **TUKŌŋŋŋ**, its near neighbour, presents us with a characteristic feature of Group DD—the numeral root **-pe** (**A-pe**, **I-pe**) for 'two', a form which extends beyond this group into contiguous languages on the north and north-west, and seems to have been particularly developed in the Bantu tongues south of the Lower Saŋkuru, though present also in the North-west Bantu and in Groups A and B of the Semi-Bantu.

BUŌŋŋŋŋ or **BAKUBA**, which is closely related to **ŌILELE**, is particularly interesting as being the speech of the Baŋi-Buŋŋŋŋŋ people,¹ whose remarkable civilization has recently been displayed to us by the researches and the magnificent collections of Mr. Emil Torday. The **LUMBILA** or ancient Buŋŋŋŋŋŋ language, a scanty vocabulary of which we owe to Mr. Torday, is supposed to be a relic of the original non-Bantu tongue of the invading 'warriors of the iron spear' (**Bu-ŋŋŋŋŋ**). Lumbila has borrowed its numerals from the Bantu and a proportion of its word-roots, but there remains even in the scanty collection of words herein given, a residuum which appears to be non-Bantu, though its other affinities at present are almost undetermined. I have noticed a resemblance in two or three of the words to the Sara language of the Ōari basin, north of the Congo watershed. It is quite possible that the ancestors of the Buŋŋŋŋŋŋ came from the very heart of the Sudan, speaking one of the unclassified Sudanic languages; but they rapidly abandoned this in favour of a half-Bantu jargon, and finally adopted the corrupt Bantu speech of Central Congoŋd, which form of language they share at the present day with their neighbours, who on the north and west are emphatically Negroes and of inferior culture.² The Luba seem early in the history of Bantu Africa to have progressed far beyond their neighbours to the north, west, and south in the arts and crafts, and to have perfected also a particularly beautiful and expressive form of Bantu speech. Some have sought to connect this Luba civilization with the working of the copper-mines in

¹ **Baŋi** = 'fathers'; **Bu-ŋŋŋŋŋ** = the iron spear blade, which is an important emblem and a form of cash currency in East Central Congoŋd.

² Mr. Torday contends, however, that the **Buŋŋŋŋŋ**, though they may have actually been the introducers of iron weapons, were not in any way the inventors of the remarkable civilization they display at the present day, but borrowed it from the Luba people.

Katañga and the wealth derived therefrom. Certainly there would appear to have been a coming and going of trade between the Nyanza peoples and the regions as far south as Katañga; and there was also no doubt a prehistoric trade between the Nyanza Bantu and the races of the Egyptian Sudan. An interesting sub-group in this assemblage is that of the Manyema peoples (134 to 136). Bambøle and Møleka of the Lømami river near its junction with the main Congo seem to be related to the Manyema tongues. Of Møleka, however, we possess only a few words collected by the Rev. W. Stapleton.

In the phonology of Group DD we notice—carrying up our survey from the south—the tendency to replace *m* by *ð*, so that the 6th prefix (**Ma-**) becomes **Ba-** (in the **Manyema**, decaying further into **Wa-** and **A-**); and the farther north we proceed the more frequent is the substitution of **Bu-** or **Bø-** for **Mu-** or **Mø-**, and **Bi-** for **Mi-**; so that at last there is almost complete fusion in appearance and concords between the 1st, 3rd, and 14th, and the 4th and 8th prefixes. *K* tends to the development of a labial pronunciation, no doubt related to the *kʰ* and *gʰ* of the great Sudanic belt. Indeed, in these Central Congoland languages of Group DD we see beginning (so far as progress from the south northwards is concerned) the *kʰ* and *gʰ* which are so characteristic of Negro phonology between the Mountain Nile on the east and Senegambia on the west. In Group DD the pronunciation of *k* is often diphthonged or even triphthonged into *kʰf* or *kʰʰf*.

Throughout this group there are virtually no preprefixes. The **-ana** diminutive suffix is occasionally present, though rare. The locatives also depart much from the orthodox standard. No. 16, **Pa-**, is only met with in that form in the **Olemba** language. Elsewhere it tends to be replaced by **Na-** or **La-**, or even by **Ka-** or **Mi-**. This last may be derived from the locative **Mu-** (the 17th prefix), but this again is almost absent in that form from Group DD, and its place is taken by **Nu-** or **Lu-**. The 15th prefix, especially in its infinitival sense, frequently decays into **Ø-**.

There is an inclination (which becomes very marked as we enter the more northern and north-western parts of the Congoland basin) for the 13th prefix (**Ka-**) to be eliminated, its place being taken by the prefix I have classified as '8 a'.¹ The 10th prefix (**Zi-**) also passes out of existence, though its concord is occasionally preserved.

A very interesting member of this group is Bañkutu or Wañkucu (130 and 130a). Torday's vocabulary of this Central Congoland speech and that of the Rev. Father F. van Hove differ considerably. Torday's informant seems to have spoken the north-western dialect, and the natives interrogated by the Dutch missionary the south-eastern dialect of the Lusambø district. Bañkutu offers some resemblance to Lihuku of the south end of Lake Albert, especially in the prefix **E-** or **I-** with its plural **Di-**. **E-**, or **I-** in this combination has the concord **ki**, **ke**, but this concord, it is true, is also applied to No. 9 (**N-**). The infinitival prefix of verbs is not **Ku-** but **N-**, **Mi-**, or **Mb-**. **La-** takes the place of **Pa-** as a locative prefix, but as *n* and *l* permute frequently in this tongue the locative prefix is sometimes written **Na-**. Similarly **L-** takes the place of **N-** as the nominative verbal pronoun of the 1st person singular.

Amongst peculiar noun-roots which first occur in this group when the survey of the Bantu languages proceeds from south to north in West Central Africa, is **-furo** or **-pulu** for 'bird'.

Noteworthy noun-roots in languages 122–138:

-wehi*, 'arm', 132; **-møma**, 'banana', 135 (141); **-jeje***, **-jenje***, 'bee', 129; **-kalakanda***, 'belly', 138; **-køna***, 'blood', 133; **-sau**, 'blood', 132 (17); **-kañga**, 'body', 124; **-nyoñ***, 'bone', 125; **-keniñgi**, 'bone', 133 (140); **-luñgi***, 'brains', 133; **-cundu***, 'brains', 131; **-toñge**, 'male breast', 124 (57); **-dina***, 'buffalo', 125; **-anza***, 'country', 134; **-gombø***, 'doctor', 124, 125; **-løkwø**, 'ear', 126 (258); **-mañga**, 'face', 125 (3, 23, 86); **-api***, 'fat', 126; **-diswa**, **-liswø**, **-liswa**, 'fat', 134, 136 (56 b, 208); **-ba***, 'fat', 133; **Yøne**, **Yøni***, 'father', 134; **-aløtwø**, 'fear', 126 (27, 64 a); **-bew***, 'finger', 134; **-yimbi**, 'fire', 137 (155 c); **-nyaci**, 'foot', 126 (110); **-gwana**, 'fowl', 126 (4); **Sine**, 'goat', 126; **Nyøi**, 'God', 129 (232); **-tetela***, 'God', 132; **pwasa***, 'hair', 136; **-kucu**, 'hair', 135 (144); **-wøwø***, 'hair', 125; **Baka***, 'hair', 128; **-nya** (**Lu-nya**), 'hand', 130, 131 (274);

¹ Namely, the 8th prefix used in a diminutive and singular sense, and carrying with it as plural the 12th prefix, or more rarely the original 8th prefix, which in such case will have retained the more archaic form, while 8 a will have passed through the stages of **Vi-** and **Fi-** to **Si-**, **Si-**, and **I-**.

phalk*, 'hippo', 126; **-ge***, 'honey', 129 a; **-cedi***, 'hunger', 126; **-kutu**, 'island', 130 (219); **-baŋga**, 'lips', 128 (189); **-suŋga***, 'magic', 134; **Mi***, 'man', 126; **-kenda**, 'man, vir', 136 (142); **-punda**, 'meat', 136 (86, 97, 113); **Mbω**, 'mother', 132 (166, 187); **Mbwni**, 'mother', 134; **-taŋgu***, 'mother', 133; **-pope***, 'mountain', 129 a; **-baŋga***, 'mouth', 128; **-bωsω***, 'nail', 127; **-combila***, 'night', 129; **-si***, 'nose', 131; **-cute***, 'paddle', 131; **-tana**, 'palm wine', 127 (116, 118); **Ndi***, 'pig', 137; **Bimbi***, 'pig', 126; **-kuka**, 'pig', 125 (228, 229); **-panda***, 'pigeon', 131; **-kombi***, 'rain', 126; **-goŋgola***, 'river', 126; **Maki**, 'river', 128 (59); **Nitω***, 'road', 126; **Duli**, 'road', 137 (155 c, 157); **-wehω**, 'salt', 134 (104, 106, 184); **-baŋga***, 'shame', 137; **-pfula**, 'shame', 120 (175, 178); **-ωkwe***, 'shame', 127; **-tende***, 'shield', 132; **-ili***, **-ilu***, 'sister', 137; **-weya**, 'slave', 129 (see 100); **-cwenzi***, 'sleep', 123; **-dωa***, 'snake', 133; **-ša***, **-ca***, 'snake', 125; **-luyi***, 'snake', 131, 132; **-tamba**, 'spear', 131 (267); **-phala**, 'spear', 126 (48, 49, 50, 110a); **Limbi**, 'spear', 137 (110); **Kfula**, **Kfil**, 'spear', 129 (97); **-kōi**, 'spirit', 134; **-suŋgu***, 'spirit', 123; **-saŋgudi***, 'spirit', 129; **-temω***, 'star', 122; **-jekω**, 'star', 127 (139, 164; 253); **-taŋgi**, 'star', 132, 133 (84, 146, 187); **Šaši**, 'sun', 132 (52, 53, 73, 74 b); **-enše**, **-eš**, 'tail', 124 (14, 17); **-bōri**, 'tear', 128 (109 b, 139); **-pombω***, 'tear', 134; **-pōmi***, 'testicles', 125; **-lebe***, 'testicles', 128; **-ina**, 'thief', 128 (104); **-zaŋgi***, 'thief', 122 (18); **-koŋgω**, 'thigh', 132 (162, 204); **-iya**, 'thigh', 133 (187); **-neŋge**, 'thigh', 130 (70); **-kindi**, 'thigh', 131 (108); **-pumu***, 'thigh', 129; **-aŋgω***, 'thing', 130, 131; **-anja***, 'thing', 132 (145); **Sinde***, 'thing', 134; **-di***, 'thing', 124 (254, 261); **-aŋga***, 'tooth', 126; **Kwoci***, 'tooth', 130, 131; **-i**, **-yi**, 'town', 137; **-cari**, 'twins', 126 (7, 7 a); **-gelω***, **-geluki***, 'town', 130, 131; **-wayi***, 'urine', 134; **-ama**, 'urine', 126 (see 17, 64, and S.A. Bantu); **-kima***, 'war', 126; **Ketu***, 'war', 123; **-fuku**, 'well', 130 (3, 9 a, 150, 162); **-lōwa***, 'white man', 130; **-tōke**, **-cōke**, **-tōka**, 'white man', 124, 125, 126, 127 (2, 70); **Šide***, **-ši***, 'wife', 124; **-ōze**, 'wife', 134 (110 a); **-liemi***, 'wife', 125; **Kandu***, 'wife', 128; **-umu**, 'wind', 132 (17 c, 18); **-sea***, 'woman', 137; **-gama***, 'firewood', 126.

There is no general agreement in this heterogeneous group as to numerals; the evidence we have regarding the root for 'two' is very diverse. 122 (-yali) and 137 (-bali) are West African; 126 (-pene) and 127 (-bele) are Central African; 128 (-bili) is East African. Nos. 123, 124, 125, 126, 129, 133, 134, 136 have the abbreviated form, **-pe**, **-pi** (-bi), **-fe**, **-fi**, **-api**, which further departs from the normal types in the **-he**, **-hei**, and **-ahi** of 130, 131, 132. Thus these languages resemble No. 120 of the preceding group and Nos. 141, 148 a, 155 a, 162, 167, 170, 172, and the Semi-Bantu 230 and 234. The **-pindi** (129 a), **-pende** (129 a), **-phindi** (124), **-hende** (130), **-kendi** (131), with the eccentric **-kiti** of 134 and the **-ede** of 137, recall the **-fent**, **-fande** of 235. The **-fu** for 'two' of No. 124 is very exceptional, but it may be derived from the **-bue** (and this from **-bule**, **-bōle**) of 121. **-nake**, the root for 'four' in 122, reappears in Nos. 99 and 111, and also in the Semi-Bantu.

'Ten' in Nos. 123, 124, 126, 127 is some form of **-saŋgi**, **-seŋgi**, **-siŋgele**, **-ša**, and thus recalls similar roots not only in two Luba languages (104 c and 107), but still more remarkably in the distant 205 and 206 of the Cameroons coast. Another noteworthy point about Nos. 131, 132, 137 (and 141 of the next group) is the **-kama** for 'ten', which elsewhere is found in Nos. 220, 221, 224, 225, and 230; or is used for 'twenty' and 'one hundred' in West and North-west African Bantu. The **Betu** for 'ten' of No. 137 is probably a pluralized 'five', and resembles the word in Nos. 148, 154 (**A-beti**), 188 (**-bōta**), 216 (**Ba-bot**).

In the pronouns should be noted the nominative particle for 'thou', **Na-** (**A-** in 135) and the unusual infix objective for 'him', **-ndi-** in 135.

'All' in Nos. 126, 129, 129 a, 130, and 131 is **-ŋkuma**, **-ŋkfumo**, and is a local peculiarity, but may be connected with the **-ŋkom** of 234 and the **-bōmu** of 148. Peculiar, also, are the **-sammo** of 131 (230 has **-tcam**), the **-tubu** of 137, the **-kwami** of 124 and 125, the **-kima** of 123, the **-lōmω** of 133. The **-mwa** or **-amwa** of 134 and 136 recalls a similar form in No. 87.

In the demonstratives the South African **-le** appears in 122, but in the other members of the group there is a tendency to favour a suffixial **-ŋku**, **-ŋgω**, **-ŋkω**, and **-kunya** ('that'); this becomes an infix, **-ku-**, in 130, 131.

When we reach this loosely-strung Group DD, we find the verb-root more and more indifferent to the prescribed **-a** vowel termination, and frequently preferring **-e** and **-ω**. The infinitival prefix is the

normal **Ku-** (**Gu-**, **Wu-**, **U-**) in 122 to 125. In 126 it seems to be absent altogether. In 130 it is **N-**, **Mi-**, **Mbi-** (compare No. 162 a), and in 137, **Ū-** and **Ndŵ-** (see 155). The preterite termination **-ile** is apparently absent from this group, unless it survives in the **-i**, **-e** of 134, or has become perverted into the **-iki** of 137. As regards the negative particles, **Ka** in prefix or suffix is used in 124 and 125, and may, perhaps, be the **Ha** of 134 or persist in the **Ha-lŵ** of 131 and the **Ke-ma** of 132 and 133. The **Dŵ** (**Lŵ-**) of the Kwaŋgŵ basin recurs in No. 122; and **Pa-** is the favourite negative particle of 125, 129, and 137.

GROUP EE: THE MIDDLE LŴMAMI LANGUAGES

(No. 139)

This group at present contains only one language, **KI-TUMBA** (139), the speech on either bank of the Middle Lŵmami river. In all probability this language, when more is known of it, should be classed as an outlying member of the group of Luba tongues (AA). But as it is separated from them geographically by some distance, and also has very distinct characteristics of its own, I have retained it at present in a group by itself.

In the form of its prefixes it agrees closely with the Luba Group. In its word-roots it has a few peculiar forms, seemingly without relationship elsewhere: **-rime***, 'finger'; **-pacu***, 'moon' (see however Nos. 220, 221); **-cŵba***, 'heart'; **-eŵ***, 'mouth'. Other word-roots worth noting are: **-manu**, 'arrow' (6, 13, 14, 21, 28); **-cora**, 'spear' (51 a, 206; 263, 261); **-jekejeke**, 'star' (127, 164; 253); **-pia**, 'fire-wood' (195, 204, 121; 245).

Among the numerals may be noted the East African **-biri** for 'two'; **-naci**, 'four' (166; 254, 255, 274); **Cambombo**, 'six' (128, 137); **Cambo-biri**, 'seven'; **Mu-handa** or **Mw-anda**, 'eight'. In the pronouns there is the unusual form of **Ŵnŵ** for 'I', which appears also in the neighbouring languages, 140 and 141.

The nominative particle of 'thou' is **A-** (135, 175-8), 'He', substantival, is **We-** as in 140, 141, 77, 78, 79. The nominative particle of 'he' is **Ka-**. 'All' is rendered by the isolated form, **Concoi**. Little is known about its demonstratives: 'this' is apparently rendered by **-kiani** as a suffix, a form which may be related to the **-ani** of 74 b. Very little is recorded about the verb.

GROUP FF: THE ELILA-LŴWA-LUALABA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 140 to 144 a)

The **MBANGŴBANGŴ** (No. 142), the most interesting member of this group, is said now to be extinct, the entire tribe that spoke it in the North-west Bulega country having been wiped out by small-pox, sleeping sickness, and famine combined, at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Group FF borders westward and southward on the languages of the Manyema people (134-7). Its range extends up the course of the Lualaba-Congo to the former Arab town of Nyaŋgwe. It includes the speech of the aquatic tribes like the Ba-genya that live, or used to live, wholly in their canoes on the Lualaba's navigable stretches of open water between Nyaŋgwe and Ponthierville. Eastwards Group FF marches with the Taŋganyika languages of Group L (Nos. 39-41), and one of its members—No. 144—seems to have fused with the Kabwari language of North-west Taŋganyika and created an intermediate dialect, **Ki-lega** (39 a). Consequently, though Group FF belongs to the West African Bantu in a preponderance of features, it shares characteristics likewise of the East African division.

An interesting point about its phonology is the emergence of the Sudanic *gb*, *kʃ*, though this guttural-labial combination is probably akin to the *kʃ* so common in Group DD. Among the prefixes should be noticed the retention of Class 13, **Ka-**, as a diminutive, this prefix having almost entirely disappeared from the Central, Northern, and North-west Congoland languages. As to the locative prefixes, **Pa-** and **Mu-**, they are replaced—as elsewhere in Central Congoland—by **La-** and **Nu-**.

Noteworthy noun-roots are the following:

-cika*, 'banana', 142; **-siri***, 'bow', 140; **-ubu**, 'brains', 140 (67, 75); **-kese***, 'brains', 144;

-butwa*, 'brother', 144 (39 a); **-kita***, 'country', 144; **-kinda***, 'door', 144; **-cundi***, **-condi***, 'face', 141; **-rolo**, 'finger', 141 (1); **-limba***, 'foot', 144; **Kwasa***, 'fowl', 144; **Kalaka***, 'God', 140; **-kucu**, 'hair', 144 (135, 3, 37); **-laŋga***, 'heart', 142; **-sɔnyɔ**, 'heel', 142 (11); **-famisa***, 'hide', 142; **-bamba***, 'iron', 144; **-gomba**, 'knee', 142 (5); **-hela**, 'leopard', 142 (15, 184); **-tutu**, 'lips', 141 (150); **-genda**, 'man, vir', 142 (136); **-bɔga***, 'meat', 143; **-lokwɔ***, 'mountain', 140; **-tagwaira***, 'night', 141; **-ria***, 'night', 145; **-liye***, 'night', 146; **-riŋga**, 'pigeon', 140 (14); **-sombi**, 'son', 141 (61 b); **-ecɔ**, 'spirit', 144 (9 c); **-kwi**, **-kōi***, 'stone', 140; **-godi***, 'stone', 143; **-kōi***, 'tail', 140; **-kie***, 'tail', 141; **-dya**, 'thing', 140 (193); **-erɔ**, 'town', 140 (2 g, 17, 53, 86, 130); **Kuŋguru**, 'wind', 142 (9 c, 15, 78, 209); **-bɔsōi**, 'witchcraft', 141 (3, 204, 218); **-kunda**, 'witchcraft', 140 (222); **-tete**, 'firewood', 142 (84).

GROUP GG: THE RUWENZORI-SEMLIKI LANGUAGES

(Nos. 145 to 147)

Group GG includes the tongues spoken on the western flanks of Ruwenzori, on the Lower Semliki river, and between the Semliki valley and the sources and upper course of the Ituri and its affluents. Our knowledge of this group is scanty. If it were fuller it would assist in solving several Bantu problems. The group is in close juxtaposition with the archaic and highly developed Nyanza tongues. In fact, it is an actual neighbour of Ūlukonjɔ, which comes near to being the most archaic of all existing Bantu languages, and is the first on my list. By this juxtaposition **KUAMBA** (or **KU-AMBA**) has derived some word-roots and numerals, but even in Kuamba is seen the radical difference between the East and the West African Bantu. The West African word-root for 'belly' (**Sɔhɔ** or **Sɔpɔ**) and for 'bird' (**-buru**) appear, together with many other typical West African forms; and the phonology of this group exhibits the *kɸ* or the *gɸ* combination of guttural and labial. As I pointed out in my work *George Grenfell and the Congo*, we find on the western slopes of Ruwenzori and on the Upper Ituri word-roots which reappear in the far distant island of Fernando Pô, as well as in this and that speech-group of the intervening spaces. It is probable that the marked distinction between such closely adjoining groups as the Nyanza tongues (A) and those of Ruwenzori and the Semliki (GG) is explicable by the remarkable barrier of the Ituri-Ruwenzori forest belt which, until quite recently, has been an uninhabitable wedge driven into two great streams of Bantu migration.

No. 146, **LU-BUSESE** (or **LU-VIRA** or **LU-SESE** or **LU-SUMBURU**), is the language of little clans of Forest tribes west of the Semliki river, and not far from the south end of Lake Albert. **KI-VAMBA** (147) is recorded out of respect for Emin Pasha's memory, but it is doubtful whether it be not either a camp jargon between the real Kuamba and the speech of the Banyorɔ and Bakonjɔ, or the result of misunderstandings with lazy interpreters who, when at a loss for a word, supplied one from the neighbouring Nyanza tongues. If it is a real language, it represents a transitional form between the widely distinct Groups A and GG.

There is a trace of preprefixes in No. 145. The 13th prefix occurs (but rarely), and the 12th seems to be represented by **Di-**. **Ka-** seems to be used as a locative in place of **Mu-** (17, and see also the Semi-Bantu).

The 1st prefix in 145 (as in 148-50, 151-4) is often **A-**, especially in names of animals (plural, **Ba-**), but whether this is 'honorific', I cannot say.

Noteworthy word-roots in languages 145-7:

-dɔe, 'arrow', 145 (178, 225, 75); **-ake***, 'bull', 145; **-zabw***, 'canoe', 146; **-saketa***, 'buttocks', 145; **-alɔ***, 'cloth', 145; **-peyɔ**, 'crocodile', 145; **-pyɔ**, 'crocodile', 147 (2); **-tema**, 'ghost', 145, 147 (25—only a variant sense of the root **-tima** meaning 'heart', or, in some languages, 'spirit', 'soul'); **-daima**, 'goat' (see No. 17 c); **-garu**, 'hand', 147 (2, 75, 195, 198); **-bembula***, **-bembwa***, 'hippopotamus', 145, 146; **-sese***, 'husband', 147 (see words for 'father', 'penis', 'man', 'tail'); **-sume**, 'leg', 147 (12; 227); **-poŋgɔ**, 'leopard', 146 (73 a); **-bɔnɔ**, 'lips', 146 (161 a); **-gusia***, 'mountain',

145; **-ōna**, 'mountain', 147; **-bimba***, 'mountain', 146; **-vesi***, 'finger-nail', 146 (perhaps related to a root meaning 'bone'); **-beli**, 'rat', 146 (153; 261; 98); **-ziω**, 'road', 146 (65, 44 b); **-sa**, 'road', 146 (9 a); **-sura**, 'salt', 147 (2, 226, 61 a); **Savōla***, 'shield', 146; **Sikam***, 'sister', 146; **-daŋgale***, 'sleep', 147; **-soli**, 'star', 147 (5 a); **-salia***, 'star' 145; **Lube-isω**, 'tear', 145 (150); **-sōma**, 'thief', 145, 147 (2; 254; 104); **-añka**, 'thing', 145 (1, 130, 131, 132); **-pōbaω***, 'tree', 146; **-kakōbe***, 'twins', 146; **-sumbu**, 'wind', 146 (140, 151 a); **-hara**, 'witchcraft', 146 (121; 263); **-buna***, 'firewood', 146; **-rubuli***, 'year', 145.

In numerals, Nos. 145 and 146 belong to the West African division in that they have the **-bali** root for 'two' (**-bare**, 145; **-bala**, 146), though 147 follows the Nyanza tongues in using **-bili**; **-bili** (**-wiri**) is also more genuinely the root retained by No. 148, which exceeds Group GG in its West African and Semi-Bantu affinities. The root for 'six'—**Mkaga**—in 145 has evidently been borrowed from the Nyanza Group, as is also the case in 147. In 146, 'six' is represented by **Madya**, a form predominant in Groups HH and II, and imparted to or borrowed from Mundu (a Sudanic language) and Mbuba and Bambuttu. 'Seven' in 146 is **Laludu** or **Lalōdu**, and this word is shared by the neighbouring Sudanic Mbuba or Pygmy Bambuttu language. 'Nine' in 145 and 146 is **Subi**, **Subia**, **Sōbya**, an unrelated form, to which, however, some resemblance is shown (**Sipō**, **-jibω**, **Šibω**) in the far distant Semi-Bantu languages, 230 and 231. The most remarkable feature, however, in the numerals of Kuamba is the **Bwe-** or **Bwe-si** for 'twenty', and the fashion of counting decades after ten by 'twenties'. The terminal **-si** evidently stands for **-osi** or some other root meaning 'one', since 'forty' is **Bwe-bare** and 'sixty' **Bwe-saru**; 'eighty', **Bwe-ine**; and 'hundred', **Bwe-tanω**. This use of 'twenty' as an integer and a multiple is very common in the Semi-Bantu and in the neighbouring Sudanic languages.

The demonstratives of Group GG have unfortunately been little studied. They might prove very interesting in their affinities. All that I have recorded myself of 145 is **-musindi** for 'this' in Class 1; **-mendie** for 'that' (also 'he') in Class 1; **-mendulu** for 'this' in Class 3. The particle **-ndi** seems to be much in use as a vague demonstrative and to express the possessive case, 'of', 'it is'. It plays some part in the composition of the demonstratives I have quoted.

The pronouns of Kuamba and Lubusese (146) are distinctly West African in complexion. 'We' in 145 is **Besü**; 'ye' is **Miyω** or **Benu**; 'they' is **Bēω**. The possessive suffix for 'thou' is **-amωω**; for 'my' either **-amu** or **-ami**; for 'his' either **-ake** or **-ana**. The nominative and accusative verbal particle for 'we' seems to be **Ki-**, **-ki-** (probably derived from **ti**, and **ti** from **tu**); except when the negative sense is involved, and then the nominative particle of 'we' is **Bi-**, preceding the negative infix **-ki-**.

The negative in the verb is **Ki-**, **Ku-**, **Ka-** for the three persons singular; and **Bi-ki-**, **Bω-ku-**, **Ba-ka-** for the plural. **-mbe** is a negative suffix, added to give greater emphasis.

The root for 'all' in 145 is **Pōne**, a root with no relationships in the Bantu field, unless it be with the very distant 244 (**-bun**). The speakers of 145 and 146 are evidently peoples of ancient settlement amid the western and northern forests of Ruwenzori or the delta lands of the Semliki, where it enters Lake Albert. The non-Bantu elements of their very interesting languages may have been derived from pre-existing tribes of Sudanic speech.

GROUP HH: THE UPPER ITURI LANGUAGES

(Nos. 148 to 150)

The Upper Ituri languages are as tantalizing in their peculiarities, their non-Bantu, and Semi-Bantu relationships and the paucity of our knowledge about them, as the somewhat allied Groups GG and II. **LI-HUKU** or **LI-BVANUMA** (also called **Soŋgora** and **Banyari**—and none of these names can be shown to be specially applicable to No. 148)—I found to be spoken by a race of tall, well-made Negroes dwelling to the west of the Lower Semliki (near its inflow into Lake Albert) in the Mbōga or Tōba country, on the borders of the great Congo forest. A very similar language (148 a) was spoken by a section of the **Bambuttu** Pygmies of **Bōmili** and the **Nepōkω** river who were interrogated by Mr. G. B. Michell in 1907.

BA-KI(W)KWA or LU-LESE (149), the language of the non-Pygmy Ba-kiwka (or Bakwa or Balese)¹ of the Upper Ituri forest, is allied to 148; and KI-BIRA or BA-KUMU (150) farther south, between the Ituri, the Aruwimi, and the main Congo at Stanley Falls, may also be associated with this group for reasons of geographical propinquity, but without much evidence of special affinity. 148, 148a, and 149 should at any rate form one sub-group by themselves—a sub-group which offers marked affinities with Groups GG and II; while Ki-bira-Ba-kumu is placed in another sub-group and is in word-roots transitional between Kuamba, Li-huku, and the languages of Group JJ.²

Noteworthy word-roots in languages 148–50:

-kika*, 'ape', 150; -nikw, 'blood', 148 (230); -gwende*, 'buffalo', 150; -ñbω*, 'buttocks', 148; Kbalata*, 'buttocks', 150; Nariã*, 'devil', 148; Sawi, Sawe, 'devil', 149 (62, 64a, 5 b); -tara*, 'excrement', 148; -kamba*, 'fat', 150; -jaga*, 'finger', 150; -kerrω*, 'finger', 149 (175); -sanda, 'hippo', 150 (244); Tutu, 'lips', 150 (141); -mbi, 'man', 148, 148a (153; 230); -ku*, -gω*, 'man', 149; Nimbu*, 'meat', 149; -kupa, 'meat', 149 (114); -tepe*, 'monkey', 150; Ilu*, 'moon', 148, 148a; -eliã*, 'moon', 150; -burugwuru*, 'moon', 149; -kuba, 'mountain', 150 (160, 164, 226, 13); -mwni, 'mouth', 148 (73 a); -dari*, 'mouth', 149; Mirω, 'neck', 148 (21 e; 236; 120); -gaka, 'palm wine', 148 (67, 76); -zale, 'pig', 150 (86); -nembω, 'pig', 148 (16); Gbayu, 'slave', 148 (100, 129); Libesω, 'tear', 150; Beta*, 'testicle', 150; -kūw*, 'thorn', 150; -ñgbe, 'toe', 148 (18, 21, 136, 153); -nañgaka, 'tooth' 148 a; -ω (Bu-ω), 'tree', 149 (254); -kakarū*, 'tree', 148, 148a; -leu*, 'twins', 150; -tere*, 'urine', 148; Akkω*, 'water', 149; -tugu, 'well', 150 (162, 130, 3, 9 a); -ikω*, 'well', 148 a; Madü, 'witchcraft', 148; -tiñbω, 'firewood', 148 (see 85, and words for 'bow', 'stick'); -eru*, 'year', 148 a; -anda, -lañga, -rañga, 'year', 148 (273; 89, 51), 148 a (159, 160, 163; 253).

The points to be noted in the prefixes of this group are, in 148: Bu- instead of Mu- (in some cases) for the 3rd prefix; Ni- for the 4th; Ba- and even Bi- (Ba-i-) for the 6th (with the remarkable concord, ka from ga); that the 8th prefix is missing and has its place taken by Di-, which is probably the 12th. (Di-, which is rarely Du-, is plural to E-, I-, seemingly a form of the 8a prefix); that the 13th (Ka-) persists, though rare; and that the 16th is occasionally met with as Ba-. Mention should also be made of a prefix difficult to class: Ga-. It may be No. 13 (Ka-); or, but that it is used only in the singular number, it might be permissible to quote it as No. 19 (Aga-), met with in Luganda; but Aga- is a plural prefix. [There are indications of this Ga- prefix in some of the Semi-Bantu languages; it may be that which was formerly associated with the 'collective' Ma- as Gama, the oldest form of the 6th prefix.]

In 148, moreover, there is a distinct La- prefix (without concord, as always), used as a locative in place of Pa- (16). Another locative is Ka-, used for 'inwardness' instead of Mu- (17 and Semi-Bantu). In 149–50 the form of the 12th prefix is Ti- (which helps to identify the enigmatic Di- of 148); that of the 16th is Wa-, A- (see 151–4).

In the numerals, the -pe, -peni for 'two' of 148a recalls the Central Congoland tongues; the -letu for 'three' of 148 is reminiscent of certain variants of this root in the Cameroons. The -gena, -geni of 148, 150, and the -zinna, -sina of 149 and 150, suggest affinities with the -zina of 153, the -cene of 32, the -iyene of 103, and even the Iyen, Yin of 253 and (in composition) the -gen of 273. In 150 the root -mbunja or Ma-mbunja for 'five' is altogether peculiar and unmatched. 'Six' in 149–50 is the widespread Mutuba of Congoland and the Cameroons; but in 148 and 148a 'six' is represented by a puzzling pluralized root, Madia, Madianika, met with also in the Wele-Aruwimi languages (151–4) as Madya-a-moti, Ada, &c. Can this -dia be related to the Diata, 'six', in No. 188, the group of Pygmy dialects in the Gaboon? 149 has Ki-tanai for 'seven' which is a combination of the roots for 'three' and 'four'; but the root -ada, Madya- reappears in the paraphrases for 'seven' in 148–148a (as also in 151–4). In 148–148a, 'eight' is formed by pluralizing the root for 'four', resulting in Bagina, Ba-dyina. But 148a, the Ituri Forest Pygmy language, also has the peculiar form Vaga for 'eight'. 'Eight' in 149 is Kibbe;

¹ The Pygmy 'Balese' speak a Sudanic tongue. See p. 945 of my *Uganda Protectorate*.

² Increased knowledge may lead to No. 150 (Ki-bira) being more definitely associated with Kuamba (145). The Pygmy 'Ba-gbira' or Babira speak an unclassified Sudanic language (see *Uganda Protectorate*, p. 948). The root -bira -gbira in these tribal names merely means 'Forest', 'Forest people'.

'nine' in that language is **Elalɔ**, which may be a borrowing of the **Lalɔ** ('eight') of 146.¹ 'Ten' raises further enigmas in this group. In 148 it is both **Digi** and **Mine** or **Mene**.² The first form recalls the **Deku** ('fifteen') of 234 and the **Lekɔ** ('fifteen') of 228, the **-tsigɔ** of 38, the **-tugu** of 164, and the **-tuku** of 151, 157, 162; perhaps, also, the **Tiag** of 249. The other root, **Mene**, finds a curious parallel in the **Mene**, **Mini** of 206 on the Cameroons coast, a thousand miles away. 'Ten' in 149-50 is **Mukko**, **Mokɔ**, which may be a contraction of the **Mu-tukɔ** of the Northern Congo. No. 148 has a special word for 'eleven'—**Ba-itɔda**—and 'twelve'—**Ba-kumba**. Its root for 'hundred' is **-radi**, which resembles the **-tadi** of 254.

In the pronouns of Group HH may be noted several peculiar features. The objective infix for 'thee' in 148 is **-na-**, **-nɔ-**, which is like the **-nɔ** of 250 and 271. The nominative particle of the 1st person singular is **Ma-** or **Mu-**, reminiscent of Sudanic tongues. 'Thy' in 148 is **d-oñgɔ** (**d'**, **da-** apparently stands for a particle meaning 'of'). Now **-oñgɔ** for 'thy' is also met with in 199, and similar roots for this possessive pronoun or for the terminal form of 'thee' exist in Nos. 89, 204, 205, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 232, 236, 244, and 251; another point connecting the languages of the Albertine Rift valley and North-east Congoland with the West African Bantu and Semi-Bantu. 'His', or the terminal form of 'him', in 148 is **da-mu**, **-amu**, not a common feature in the Bantu languages; therefore it is interesting to see it matched in Nos. 31a, 195, 199, 204, 209, 213, 226. In 150 the nominative particle of 'we' is **Bi-**, similar to the **Bi-**, **Vi-**, **I-** of 202, 200, 205, 206, 217, 219, 220.

'All' is **-bom**, **-bɔmu** in 148, perhaps related to the **-bubu**, **-bɔbu** of 150 and 153. See also the Semi-Bantu 266 and 274, wherein the latest information makes it **-bom** and **-bum**. 'This', the first demonstrative, is indicated in 148 by the infixes **-te-**, **-tɔ-**, another remarkable link with the far west, as these particles (**te**, **tɔ**, **ti**) are used for the same purposes (as infixes, prefixes, or postfixes) in Nos. 199, 186, 195, 226, 207, 209, and 261.

The verb-root in this group may terminate in (besides **-a**) **-u**, **-i**, and **-ɔ**. There seems to be a vestige of a preterite termination in 148 (**-ene**, **-in'**). The root for 'be' in 148 is **-ki** and **Ni-**, **Ne-**. The negative particle in 148 is an infix, **-si-**; and in 150 a prefix—**Ki-**—generally supplemented by a suffix, **-ke**.

GROUP II: THE WELE-ARUWIMI LANGUAGES

(Nos. 151 to 154)

In the process of completing this work for publication it has more than once crossed my mind that I ought to have created for Groups GG, HH, II a special division, to be called the Northern Bantu, and to rank in distinctness with the other divisions of the Eastern, Southern, South-western, and North-western Bantu. Since the discovery of Nos. 151a and 151b in the southern part of the Bahr-al-ghazal province of the Sudan this conviction has been growing stronger, as to the separateness of these three groups, the northernmost members of which, though they belong to the Bantu family, have so many relations and resemblances with and to the Semi-Bantu of Eastern Nigeria and the Cross river basin. The nucleus and core of Group II are the **ABABUA**³ languages, spoken between the Wele and the Aruwimi

¹ Both may be taken from the **Lalɔ**, **Rarɔ** of Mbuba, an unclassified Sudanese speech of the Ituri forest.

² **-mene** means 'finger', 'fingers', in one or two Semi-Bantu languages.

³ It is not clear whether **A-bɔbwa** or **A-babūa** is the most correct name for this type of language, or whether these terms should be spelt as though the root were **-bɔbwa** (**-babūa**) or **-bwa** (**-būa**). But the real native appellations of these northernmost Bantu languages are very uncertain. It had long been suspected by me that the native languages along the Upper Wele and thence as far south as the Aruwimi belonged to the Bantu family, but the first person to prove the fact was Emil Torday, who collected vocabularies for me in 1907-8. Almost simultaneously an Austrian traveller, Dr. Franz Thonner, made the same discovery, and further light was thrown on the southern members of Group II by Mr. G. Babington Michell, then a British Consul on the Upper Congo.

The Ababua Group is disconnected across the Ituri basin from the allied Groups HH and GG, but fuses with Group JJ on the Lower Aruwimi. Otherwise, it is almost cut off from the nearest Bantu

rivers. From one to two hundred miles distant, northwards, are the outlying languages of the **HŌMA** and the **BAŊGMINDA** tribes, situated (with belts of Sudanic speech in between) in the southern part of the Bahr-al-ghazal (western Nile basin). **HŌMA** (Hōma, Hūma) was first reported in 1916 by Dr. Cuthbert Christy, whose imperfect vocabulary is given in Volume I. Since then I have had much fuller information from Lieut.-Col. Paul Larken, which has enabled me to discriminate a second Bantu language in this quarter, that of the **BAŊGMINDA** tribe, between the Upper Suē and the Yiba rivers, between North latitude 4° 30' and 5° 20'. I have numbered Hōma as 151 a and Baŋgminda as 151 b. Each of the two is really an independent tongue; but under the circumstances, as it would only have confused the readers to have given either of them an independent unoccupied number—say 275 or 276—I have ticketed them as though they were merely dialects of No. 151, the main Ababua speech, that which probably comes nearest to them in distance and affinity. They share so many roots and peculiarities with No. 151 that this procedure is not inconsistent with facts.

The present position of Hōma is on the west side of the River Suē, between the affluents Moŋgu and Dumō, sixty miles eastward of Tembura, between North latitudes 5° 30' and 6°. According to Lieut.-Col. Larken, the original home of the Hōma tribe was immediately south of the Baŋgminda, just within the Congo basin, south of Mount Baŋgenze. Some trouble drove them a good many years ago from this neighbourhood to the locality now defined. They are, therefore, far removed from any Bantu neighbours and are perhaps the most northerly situate of all the Bantu tongues. If this tradition is true, it disposes of the convenient theory that in their present abode they are vestiges of the hypothetical march of the original Bantu from Eastern Nigeria across the Šari basin to that of the Upper Nile and East Equatorial Africa. It may, therefore, be permissible to put the actual Bantu birthplace in the valley of the Upper Nile and conjecture that the Northern Bantu of to-day were once almost continuous in their distribution till they reached Eastern Nigeria and the Atlantic coast. Certainly the affinities on many points of the Ababua languages and Groups HH and GG, with the Cross river, the Benue, and Nigerian Semi-Bantu is remarkable, as are also the resemblances with Fernandian (226-226 b). But then, again, other affinities point to an ancient connexion with the ancestors of the Southern and South-western Bantu or of the Nyanza and some of the eastern groups.

No. 151, **ABABUA** proper—Central or South Central Ababua dialects— or (?) Li-Beŋge¹ (the 'Mobeŋge' of some explorers) was styled Baŋgba by the Rev. W. H. Stapleton; Li-beŋge by Franz Thonner. No. 152, **WESTERN ABABUA** of the Ba-bati (? Li-bati), is the Dundusana of

language-groups. It is separated from its outlying Hōma and Baŋgminda congeners by a broad inroad of unclassified, often mutually unrelated Sudanic tongues. Another of these Sudanic invasions—or on the contrary, vestiges of pre-Bantu speech—is met with on both sides of the Lualaba-Congo at Stanley Falls. This strip of little known forest country is partly peopled by Negroes speaking the unrelated Momvu-Mombutu-Mbuba language, the Maŋga or Wamaŋga, the Wapai, the Walamiŋgo, and (on the north) the Maŋgbettu and Mabode. They are probably—except, perhaps, the Wamaŋga—comparatively recent intruders who have driven a wedge between two anciently established sections of the Bantu. In the same way, to the north of the Upper Wele, we seem to have evidence of a great and long-continued Sudanic invasion following up an earlier Bantu settlement—peoples speaking languages of the Mundu, Bari, Madi, Makarka (Zande), Maŋgbettu, Pambia stocks—who have succeeded in overwhelming and nearly stamping out all preceding Bantu speech-forms, save the somewhat Sudanicized Hōma and Baŋgminda languages along the head-streams of the Suē river.

Along the Wele-Mubaŋgi main stream Bantu languages of Group II are supposed to cease in a westward extension at about the point where Wele and Bōmwokandi rivers join.

Yet perhaps previous travellers have failed to notice remnants of nearly submerged Bantu dialects between the Wele and the Mbōmu; on the map, at any rate, there are names of tribes which have a very Bantu complexion. Between the Wele and the Aruwimi and Rubi rivers, besides the languages cited and illustrated, there are other tribal names which may connote the existence of more dialects or languages of this group: in the north, near the Wele, the Ba-kaŋgo, the Bwopenbere, the Ba-buli, Ba-iejyu or Ba-ieu, the Balisi, Ba-ganji, Ba-banda, and the Ba-duda; in the south, near the Aruwimi or the Rubi-Itimbiri, there are the Baluali, the Ba-jande, the Magboro, Mabenja, Ba-gundu, Ba-lōhali, Popoie, Baŋgba, and Banalya.

¹ It is little more than an assumption of mine that the 'language' prefix in this group is **Li**. It seems likely to be so from certain indications and analogies.

Franz Thonner, the Mobati of others. No. 153 is **SOUTH-EASTERN ABABUA** or Li-bale, also recorded as Li-lese and Indekaru. No. 154 is **NORTH-EASTERN ABABUA** or **ABOBWA**. These, together with 151 a, **HÖMA**, and 151 b, **BANĠMINDA** of the Bahr-al-ghazal, seem to be the principal divisions of this group; though we may well suspect the existence of numerous other Ababua languages and dialects in the considerable extent of scarcely explored country between the northern bend of the Congo, the Aruwimi, the Rubi, and the Upper Wele-Mubañgi.

The phonology of Hōma (151 a) seems at first sight very aberrant, but that is due to the practice of turning prefixes to suffixes, and then in clipped pronunciation dropping the suffix vowel. Consequently many of the noun-roots appear to end in a consonant. But these terminal *ʃ*'s, *m*'s, *k*'s, *r*'s, *l*'s, when more clearly pronounced, become suffixes—**-pɔ** or **-bɔ**, **-mu**, **-ku** or **-gu**, **-ti**, **-ki** or **-gi**, **-ri**, **-lu** or **-rɔ**, &c. The obscure vowel *ö* in both Hōma and Bañgminda often replaces a Bantu *a*, *e*, or *o*.

An interesting feature in the Southern or Central Ababua languages is that they have retained the pre-prefixes, at any rate in the Classes 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 12 (?), and 16; but the vowel of the preprefix is not always the same as that of the prefix, a preference being shown for **A**-. Thus, in Nos. 151 and 153 c, we have **Ali**- for the 5th class instead of the normal **Ili**-; and in the 12th (?), **Aku**- instead of **Utu**-. In the few transcriptions of the Southern Ababua languages (151, 152, 153, 154) it is not easy to assign all the pre-prefixes to their normal Bantu classes. No. 1, **Um**-, **Un**- (with a concord, **nyu**), is easily identified, and its plural is No. 2, **Aba**-, **Abɔ**-, **Ba**-, **Bɔ**-. The 3rd is **Mɔ**-, **Ū**-; the 4th is **Me**-, **Mi**-; the 5th, **Ali**-, **Li**-, **Le**-, **Ri**-, **De**-, **E**-; the 6th, **Ama**-, **Amɔ**-, **Ma**-, with an occasional lapse into **Mɔ**-, **Ba**-, **Wa**-. The 7th prefix appears to be normally **I**- and **E**- (pl. **Bi**-, **Be**-), but there is also a puzzling **Ki**-, **Kbi**-, **Kb**-, which has its plural in **Ma**- and cannot (with the paucity of information in hand) be correctly classed—it may be No. 7, because a **Ma**- plural for 7 is not unknown elsewhere among the Bantu languages. The 8th prefix, I have already cited as **Bi**-, **Be**-. I cannot trace an 8a. The 9th is **In**- (**Im**-), **N**-, **N̄**-; but the place of the 10th as plural to 9 seems to be taken by an anomalous plural prefix, **Aku**-, **Kɔ**-, **Ku**-, **Akɔ**-. This may be a corruption of No. 12 (**Tu**-, **Tɔ**-, **Utu**-), since in one of the Ababua languages (153) the **Tu**-nominative particle of 'we', the 1st person plural, becomes **Kɔ**-, and several other initial *l*'s are changed to *k*. It might also be No. 15, pluralized, but No. 15 appears to become **Gu**- in this group and to be used only as a preposition. The 11th prefix, **Lu**-, has either disappeared or is only retained as **Ū**-. The 13th seems to be represented in **Ga**- or **Ka**-, but to have No. 2 for its plural. There is no trace of the 14th. The 16th may be identified as **Fa**-, **A**-, **Awa**-, **Ka-wa**-,¹ **Wa**-; and the 17th—so often wanting in these Congoland tongues—is actually present as **Mu**-, **M'**-. No. 151 has a (?) locative prefix, **Na**-, which does not seem to be the widespread **Na**- or 'mother' prefix, but a variant of the **La**- or **Da**- which is so common in the languages of East Congoland. There is another prefix in this group requiring notice: **Su**-. Sometimes this takes the place of the 7th. It may be akin to the root for 'all'—**-su**; it may be a variant of the 'father' prefix (**Se**-, **Sa**-, **Si**-); or it may be connected with a demonstrative root that is fairly widespread—**Su**-, **Sɔ**-, **Hɔ**-, **Hu**-. **Su**-, **Sɔ**-, **Si**-, and **Sa**- are frequently met with as both singular and plural prefixes through the Semi-Bantu, from the Cross river to Senegambia.

The Bañgminda language (151 b) of the Southern Bahr-al-ghazal] shows no sign of retaining pre-prefixes, but has preserved most of the prefixes, apparently, and uses them more than does the kindred tongue, Hōma (151 a). So far as I can identify the prefixes from a scanty vocabulary, they are:

No. 1. **Mu**-, **Mo**-, **Me**-, **Mi**-; 2. **Ba**-, **Bo**-, **Bɔ**-; 3. **Mu**-, **Mo**-, **Mɔ**-; 4. **Mi**-, **Me**-; 5. **I**-, **Yi**-, **Li**-; 6. **Ma**-, (?) **Ba**-; 7. ? **Si**-, ? **Ci**-, ? **Ki**-; 8. ? **Bi**-, **Ibi**-; 9. **N**- (**M**-), ? **Yi**- (the concord of No. 9 appears to be **gi**); 10. ?; 11. ?; 12. ?; 13. **Ka**-; 14. **Bu**-, **Bɔ**-; 15. **Ku**-.

There is also a fairly frequent form, **Ic**-, **Ica**-, **Ici**-, **Icɔ**-, which I cannot identify; also an occasional **Sia**-, **Bwe**-; and the 2nd prefix, **Ba**-, seems to be used occasionally in a 'singular' sense, and yet not to be an honorific. There is a slight suggestion that suffixes are sometimes *added* to the prefixes to classify the nouns.

This practice has become in the allied Hōma (151 a) as constant a feature as it is in Munši (248) and Jarawa (253). The use of the prefix is not lost in Hōma, but it is obviously disappearing. Sometimes

¹ This form is interesting for its combination with **Ka**- as a locative. See 145.

both prefix and suffix are attached to the noun-root: example, *Mo-ruñgu-m*, 'milk', or *Ma-ruñgw-ma*, 'breasts'. In quick pronunciation these suffixes lose their vowel, so that the word-root seems to end in a consonant—*-m*, *-k*, *-p*. But when distinctly heard, they are *-mu*, *-mω*, *-ba*, *-ri*, *-ki*, *-pi*, *-kω*, *-ku*, *-ra*, *-rω*, *-ti*, &c. The few prefixes that are retained appear to be *Mu*, *Mω*, *Mo*, *Ba*, *Me*, *Mi* (*Wa* seems to be an honorific), *Ma*, *Ki*, *Ny*, *Bω*, *Ku*. Owing to a misunderstanding of this principle of using a suffix rather than a prefix, the substantives of Hōma were in many cases wrongly presented in the printed vocabulary of 151 a given in the first volume. Not seldom the first syllable of the root was mistaken for a prefix, or the consonant of the suffix was affixed to the root.

All the noun-roots which appear in the more recent vocabularies of Hōma and Bañgminda are given in the comparisons of Bantu and Semi-Bantu noun-roots in Chapter X. I will only cite here those that offer interesting evidence of far-reaching affinities:

Ny-ama, 'animal, wild beast, meat' (a nearly universal Bantu word); *Bωgω-ru*, 'banana', 151 a, *Buga*, 151 b (see Nos. 19, 24, 149, 203, 43, 150, 157); *N-deli*, *N-dōri*, 'beard' (90, 91 a, 92, 94, 117, 124-5, 137, 144-51, 184, 186, 189, 190, 200, 206-10, 213, 238); *Sōpō*, *Sapa*, 'belly' (57, 156, 159, 161); *M-buru*, 'bird' (see Groups GG, EE, DD, CC); *N-zorω*, 'body', 151 a (261); *Mo-kwuwa*, 'bone', 151 b (105, 12c, 121, 136, &c.); *Mi-niga-mā-nu*, 'brother', 151 a (73, 91 a, 141, 157, 161); *Mi-eka-mā*, 'brother', 151 b (45); *N-zari*, *Zare*, 'buffalo' (a widespread Bantu root); *-pumω*, 'buttocks', 151 b (7, 144); *-tandi*, 'country', 151 a (5 a, 7 a, 94 b, 107, 146, 149); *Ni-om*, 'cow', 'cattle' (*-gombe* or *-gωmω* root?); *N-gwandi*, *N-gonde*, 'crocodile' (*-gandu* root throughout Western Bantu); *Mani-ki*, 'day, daylight', 151 a (2 f, 84, 94; 267, 269-73); *M'ωnω*, 'day', 151 b (17, 27, 3, 35, 37, 120); *-bom*, *-pωmω*, 'door' (12, 53, 61, 79, 124, 145-53); *N-zeki*, 'dream', 151 a (137, 154, 155); *-sumω*, 'dream', 151 b (67, 114, 151); *Li-m-bisω*, 'drum', 151 b (145-51, 204-6, 211); *-gura*, 'drum—wooden', 151 b (38, 167-8, 217-20; 238); *-to-k*, *-torω*, 'ear' (232, &c.); *-kari*, 'egg', 151 a (73, 207; 241); *-boñgω*, *-buñga*, 'elephant' (140-61); *-titi*, *-tita*, 'excrement' (73, 193; 230); *-sumω*, 'eye' (peculiar); *-sapa-k*, 'fat, oil', 151 a (1, 2 a, 4 b, 9 a, 109, 147); *-bisa*, 'fat', 151 b (see roots for 'milk', 'honey'); *-bañgu*, *-boñgi*, 'fear' (78, 100, 134, 166, 199, 204-12, 218, 219); *Ba-kundesī*, 'finger', 151 a (32-8, 55, 121; 270); *-zaga*, 'finger', 151 b (150); *-gusi*, *-gusō*, 'fire' (110-1, 226; 248); *-si*, *Ba-si*, *Bō-si*, 'fish' (the *-swi*, *-si* root); *-gurω*, 'foot', 151 a (the widespread *-gulu* root); *-para*, 'forest', 151 a (27, 150, 146); *-duñgo*, 'fowl', 151 a (161); *-tita*, 'grandparent' (192, 214; 230, 248, 254); *-ture*, 'God', 151 b (254); *-busu*, 'grass', 151 a (51, 59, 61-2, 146); *-duda*, 'ground', 151 b (145, and the *-dωdω*, *-tωlω* root); *A-wande*, *-gbwendī*, 'ground-nut' (Sudanic, but also 5, 5 a, 9, 200, 217, 219, and the *-penda* root); *-samu*, *-samω*, 'hair' (94, 145, 150); *-baku*, *Im-bōwa*, 'hand' (the widespread *-bōkω* root); *-poru-ku*, 'head', 151 a (261); *Mbu-kwari*, 'heart', 151 a (120); *-gunda*, 'heart', 151 b (161 a, 206); *-tindi-l*, 'heel', 151 a (Congoland, Cameroons, and S-B.); *-dikpe*, 'heel', 151 b (247, 254, 266); *-dupω*, 'hippo' (89, 148, 151, 153); *Kpañga*, *Gbañga*, 'horn' (32, 54, 56 a, 61, 92-8, 122, 218; 227, 234); *N-dab*, 'house', 151 a (nearly universal); *-baia*, 'house', 151 b (51); *-zara*, 'hunger' (universal); *Wa-me-bakpak*, 'husband', 'male', 151 a (27; 234); *-m-bia*, 'husband', 151 b (253); *-dili*, 'hyena', 151 a (20, and Sudanic); *-zege*, 'hyena', 151 b (4, 19, 57-64); *M-baku*, 'knife', 151 a (161); *-beki*, 'lake', 151 a (166-8); *-ñgba*, 'leg', 151 b (230, 247, 256, 258); *-kωpu*, 'leopard', 151 a (151; 230, 255, 256); *-bica*, *-busa*, 'leopard', 151 b (253); *-ñgure*, 'lion', 151 b (94, 117); *-limba*, 'magic', 'witchcraft' (98, 116, 145, 184-6, 190, 194-5, 205, 210); *-ñgbō*, 'man', 151 b (253, 261); *Timba*, 'moon', 54, 151-4, 226; 267; *-guñgu-ra*, 'mountain', 151 a (14, 23 a, 28, 100, 101, 114, 153-5, 167, 184); *-nōka*, 'lips', 'mouth', 151 b (145-50, 155, 164; 259); *Mu-nω*, 'mouth', 151 b (the widespread *-nω*, *-anω* root); *N-zagere*, 'finger-nail', 151 a (24, 226; 232); *-inω*, 'name' (nearly all Bantu); *-dakana*, 'name', 151 a (23-7, 29, 31, 38, 92-8; 274); *-kubu*, 'navel', 151 a (East and Central Congoland); *-subω*, 'navel', 151 b (45, 54); *-ciñgu*, *-kuñga*, 'neck' (widespread Bantu root); *-rupa*, 'night' (242); *-yurō*, *-rurō*, 'nose' (many Bantu languages); *-teñ*, 'penis', 151 a (5 a, 6, 6 a, 78-80, 92 b, 145, 150; 227); *Zu-kubere*, 'pig', 151 a (179, 180, 182, 189); *-buñgu*, 'pigeon', 151 a (92); *-diba*, 'rain', 151 a (228, 234, 235, 273, 274); *M-buō*, 'rain', 151 b (the *-bula* root); *-pōsi*, 'road', 151 a¹ (151, 152); *-putω*, 'road', 151 b (51, 56, 75 Hl., 90, 193; 247); *-kwō*, *kwōa*, 'salt' (the *-kwa*, *-ñgwa* root);

¹ Wrongly given as '*pensi*' in Vol. I.

THE SOUTH-WEST AND NORTH-WEST BANTU

Mose, 'shoulder', 151 b (21, 44, 61 a, b; 258); **Ŋ**-gubω, 'shield' (the widespread -guba root); **Ŋ**gwan-dam, 'sister' (83, 87, 94 b, 64 a); -borω, -porω, 'skin' (231, 235, 273); **K**iari, 'sky', 151 a; -kumba, 'sky', 151 b (44, 62); -rara, 'sleep', 151 b (193; 247, and the -lala root); -hiri, 'smoke', 151 a (145, 146, 150, 151, 153, 226, 194; 237); **Ŋ**-gamu, 'snake', 151 a (11, 204-6); Wa-mi-niki, 'son', 151 a (40, 51, 86, 88, 94, 100, 165); -römbö-, 'song', 151 a (11, 64, 199, 54, 61, 97, 113); -yimbω, 'song', 151 b (the universal -imbω root); -kuñgwa-ri, 'spear', 151 a (all Bantu, especially 84-6); Nye-ñgoti, 'star', 151 a (202-9); -tari, -tara, 'stone' (the -tadi root); -kunda, 'tail', 151 a (151, 186, 187, 193, 194, 200, 204-9, 214); -saba, 'tail', 151 b (73, 75 a, 75 b, 76); Bwe-sum, -soma, 'tear' (145, 150); -humbu, -kuñbω, 'testicles' (13, 19-23, 58, 59, 94, 100); -bari-, 'thigh', 151 a (73, 14); -aša, -biaša, 'thigh', 151 b (21-4, 28, 33 a, 56 a, 226); -kuba, -yūbω, 'thief' (-iba, -uba root); -tuma-, 'thing', 151 a (the -uma, -cuma root, and 64 a, 89, 92; 227, 228); -kūa- (the -kua root, and see 1-4, 7, 145-6, 200, &c.); -kumω, 'thorn', 151 b (158; 228); **Y**ōbi, 'to-day', 151 b (175-82; 273, 274); Bw-eni, 'toe', 151 a (57, 58, 59); **Z**aga, 'toe', 151 b (22, 164-8; 236); **K**ōbi, 'to-morrow', 151 b (148 a, 135); -deda-, 'tongue', 151 a (148, 151, 154; 239 b, 240 a, 242, 242 b, 244 a); -numω, 'tooth'; Mu-s, Mu-se, Mu-sω, 'tree' (96, 98, 194; 229, 241, 259, 260, 267); Wa-yabe, 'twins', 151 b (27; 259, 247); Ma-iñgim, **Ŋ**-gōñya, 'urine'; **D**iba, **D**ōba-, **I**bω, 'water' (the -diba, -liba root); -toru-, 'well, source', 151 a (92 b); Wa-me-kōri, 'wife', 151 a; -kōri, -keri, 'woman' (the -kari, -kati root); **Z**ina, 'womb', 151 b (243-4); -bumbö, 'wind', 151 a (140, 162, 153); -rañga-, 'year', 151 a (148 a, 159-63; 253); -bira-, 'year'—'rains', 151 a (6, 89, 90, 125-31, 137, 172, 176; 274).

Noteworthy noun-roots in languages 151-4 :

-hura, 'arrow', 153 (20, 97-122, 129-66); -bañgu*, 'arrow', 151; -tōλω, 'bow', 154; -torrω, 'bow', 151 a (156); -tōkafōka*, 'male breast', 151 a; -sunja*, 'brother', 153; -lañga*, 'crocodile', 151 (157); **T**undu, **D**andu-, 'face', 151 a (141); -suku, 'fat', 153 (162, 83, 3, 4); -tondω*, 'fat', 151, 152, 154; -su*, 'forest', 151; -kunji*, 'God', 154; **M**ōrum, 'God', 151 a (66, 68); -tuwa*, 'hair', 151; -ati*, -ate*, 'hair', 151, 152, 153, 154; -gbaha*, 151; -kamba, 'hand', 153 (87, 155); -kali*, -kwari, 'heart', 151 a (120); -ruga*, 'hoe', 151 a; -liye*, 'honey', 153; -wōti*, 'iron', 153; -gbutω*, 'lake', 151; -bōwōtω*, 'lake', 153; -lōle, 'leopard', 153 (18); -şenze, 'lips', 153; **K**bahu*, 'magic', 151; -mbi, 'man', 153 (230); **T**emba*, -timba*, -tembe*, 'moon', 151, 152, 153, 154; -saka, 'nail', 151 (208); -nañga, 'nose', 152 (78, 161; 223); **S**ōsω, 'pigeon', 151 (176); -nele*, 'rain', 151; -neri*, 'rain', 153; **B**illi, 'rat', 153 (146; 261); -pesi*, **B**esi*, 'road', 151; -posi, 'road', 151 a; **P**esi*, 'road', 152; -hambi*, 'road', 151, 153; -senze*, 'skin', 153; -rabu-, 'skin', 151 a; -galiki*, 'sky', 153; **a**ne* (**M**-ane), 'slave', 154; -işi, 'son', 153 (268); **K**baya*, -yaya*, 'tail', 151; -gamu*, 'tear', 151; -panji, 'thigh', 151 (56 a); -uma, 'thorn', 151 (228); -kbeñgbe, 'toe', 153 (148; 258); -sasū*, -sasω*, 'tongue', 153; -inja*, -enza*, 'tooth', 153; -gandu, 'town', 152 (89, 109, 161); -bañga*, 'tree', 153; -basu, -bahω, 'tree', 151 (146; 258); -pahω, 'tree', 153; -biye, 'twins', 151 (85); -pā*, 'well', 153; -tugu, 'well', 150; -kaba, 'wife', 154 (98, 100, 103; 227); -su-kiti, 'firewood', 151 (32, 86); -bumbω, 'wind', 153 (146, 140, 151 a).

The numerals in the outlying Hōma and Bañgminda languages do not differ markedly from those of the rest of this group, nor are they outside Bantu affinities. Hōma has (except in composition) a peculiar paraphrase for 'one': **A**-huma-tuka. All members of the group have the Western Bantu form for 'two', -bari, -bali, though in No. 152 there is also the peculiar -bau. **K**arω or **H**arω for 'three' in 153 may be from -tatω, -tatu, and suggests once again the dislike to an initial *t*, which turns **T**ω-, 'we', into **K**ω-. 'Three' in the rest of the group is -salu, -sarω. 'Four'—**I**kwañgani, **E**kwañgōni (151 a), **I**-kungōni (151 b), **K**wañgane, **K**weñgena, **K**wañgenya, **K**wañga, of 151 to 154, seems peculiar to this group, with perhaps a far-off affinity with the -kwa, **L**i-kwa of the Cameroons Semi-Bantu. 'Five' is the normal -sanu, -salu in 151; -buku in 153 (see -bōkω, -bok, -ubōō in the Cross river Semi-Bantu); and **B**u-muti **B**ōmutu, **Ŋ**gbōmōti, **B**u-mdu, **U**bō-mōti, -bu-mōti in 151 to 154. This paraphrase, apparently, is an abbreviation of the -bōkω, -buku root 'hand', plus the numeral 'one', i.e. 'hand-one' 'five'. No. 153 also retains a rare root for 'five'—**p**i, which is no doubt akin to the root -pī, meaning 'hand' or 'fingers', found in Nos. 22, 261, 254, &c. ... It seems also to be related to the **M**ōñgō-bi (i.e.

'one hand' of 188, and to the **-bida**, **-beda** of 267, and the **-bit**, **-bidi** of 274 (see also **-pita**, 'finger', of 125-36). There is also the mysterious root, **Ada**-, **Ade**-,¹ which appears to combine with the particles **-se**, **-esu**, **-nse**, **-nsi**, and a numeral superadded, to form 'six', 'seven', this may be related to the **Mada**-, **Madi**-, **Madia**-, **Madya**-, also used for the same purpose, and further present in Groups GG and HH. The **-dia** in this root suggests the **Diata** ('six') in the Pygmy language (188) of the Gaboon, and the **Madia**-, **Menje**- (in **Menje-iba**, 'seven') also in 188 (**Men**- is 'five' in 261); or the **Atena**, 'five', in 242. A very interesting form for 'six' in 152 is **Sasalu** (three+three), which corresponds almost exactly with the **-sesatu**-, **-sasato**-, **-sasatu**-, **-sansatu** of Nos. 3, 11, and 26. **Idju** for 'six' in No. 153 is supposed to mean simply 'one', namely, 'one' after 'five'. The **Mwambi**, 'eight', of 151 is a very common Congoland and Cameroons word. 'Ten' is rendered by the pluralized 'five', **Magbaku**-, **Ma-ba**-, **Ba** 151 a, 151 b, in 152, 153, and 154, by the Semi-Bantu **-pu**-, **-pue**-, **-puwe**-, **-p** of 151, by the not easily explained **Bikw** of 151, the Congoland **-tuku** of 151, and lastly by the **Jumi** of 151, which is a variant of the widespread **Kumi**. 'Eleven', 'twelve', &c., are rendered in 151 a by a terrifically long paraphrase into which the verb-root **-deze**-, **-reza** comes. There is a special term for 'fifteen' in 151 a, recalling the same feature in Fernandian and some Semi-Bantu tongues.

Our knowledge of Ababua pronouns and demonstratives is but slight, indeed the demonstratives are unrecorded. 'I' in the verbal nominative particle is **Ibai**- in 152. The **Öd** for the substantival form of 'he' in 152 is related to forms for 'he' found in Nos. 226 a, 226 b, 141, 205, 206, 2 f, 5 a, 22. **Kw**- for 'we' in 153 has been already cited. The root for 'all' in 153 is **-bawu**-, like the **-bubu** of 150. In 151 it is **Buwe**-. In 151, 152 it is **-su**-, **-susu**-, and in 154, **-zu** (see Nos. 92, 161 a, 209). Also **-duduk** in 151 b.

In the verb-root the terminal vowel is not always **-a**, but sometimes **-u**-, **-i**-, **-o**-, the orthodox preterite termination, **-ile**-, recurs in No. 154, if not elsewhere in the group. [In 153 the imperfect past is indicated by a rare form of inflexion: the radical vowel or vowels of the verb-root (*a, e, i*) change to *o*: thus, from the root **-mama**-, 'beat', is formed **Na-mamá-ge**-, 'I did beat', but **Na-mom-ge**-, 'I was beating'. The negative seems to be rendered in 151 by an exclamation, **Tiba!** and by a suffix, **-ba**; but in 154 by the **Ka**- prefix. In Hōma by the prefix **Ki**- and the suffix **-k**.

All these *dicta* are founded on very scanty material, not only in regard to Group II, but the two preceding groups of the Ituri and Ruwenzori languages. It is much to be feared, moreover, that further information for the study of perhaps the most interesting of the Bantu languages (from their affinities, position, and the light they might shed on Bantu origins) may never reach us. The war has not been without its repercussion on these border lands of the North-east Congo basin, which have displaced and shifted populations already scanty and menaced; and for at least ten years prior to 1914 the Forest tribes of the Upper Wele, Aruwimi, and Semliki were being displaced by more vigorous semi-civilized peoples introduced by the Arabs, the Belgians, and the British. The Baṅgala trade language in one direction, and Swahili in another, were taking the place of these ancient speech-forms in whose word-roots lies so much history of Bantu origins and migrations. Then, again, these isolated peoples of North-east Congoland lay rather off the track of great missionary societies. Their languages were the vernaculars of tribes not sufficiently numerous to attract propagandists. From the practical point of view, it would be little use translating Old or New Testament into Kuamba, Li-bali, Li-beṅge, or Li-bvanuma. Before these words—these pages of syntax or vocabulary, white with gaps, this appeal for research into the structure of the languages of Western Ruwenzori and the Lower Semliki of the Ituri forests and the Aruwimi-Wele—can reach the eye of some missionary or official who might make our deficit of knowledge a surplus, the most enigmatic of the Bantu languages may have ceased to exist or be merged in some hotch-potch of a trade jargon.

¹ Theorizing on this head is rendered additionally difficult by the forms of 'six', 'seven', 'eight', 'nine', 'eleven', 'twelve', 'fifteen', &c., in Hōma (151 a) and Baṅginda (151 b); forms discovered since Volume I was printed. In Hōma, 'six', 'seven', 'eight', and 'nine' are formed by adding **na-gesa** to the root for 'five' and following it by 'one', 'two', &c. The copula equivalent to **-na-gesa** in 151 b is **-akidi**-, **-akiri**-.

GROUP JJ: THE LANGUAGES OF THE ARUWIMI-LŌMAMI-CONGO CONFLUENCE

(Nos. 155 to 158)

This group of languages, spoken by stalwart riverain tribes west of the Stanley Falls region, is chiefly remarkable for including (geographically rather than by affinity) the very distinctive **HESŌ** or **SŌKŌ** language (157). **KELE** (155) also has features of peculiar interest about its verbs and verbal syntax, but neither it nor **BISIA** (156) is so singular in its numerals as **HESŌ**.¹ On reaching this group we notice again in the prefixes the decay of No. 7, which (except in **HesŌ**) has been reduced to **E-** and is only recognizable as '7' by concords and the possession of 8 as a plural. 8 a (**I-** or **Si-**) is in full force. There is a peculiar form, **Wi-**, **We-**, which in some cases seems to answer to 8 a; in others to be derived from **Ki-**, **Ke-**. The locative **Pa-** has entirely disappeared, and its function is represented by **Da-** or **La-** (No. 20). The 17th is wanting, but there are traces of the retention in this group of the East and South African locative suffix **-ni**.

HESŌ or **SŌKŌ** is at once remarkable for its phonology. In a region where harsh gutturals seem to be deprecated, and where *h* so often drops before the vowel in prefixes 7 and 15, **HesŌ** has generated a tendency to strong aspirates such as *h̄* or *x*. The **He-** prefix in **HesŌ**—a syllable which precedes so many word-roots and, according to the missionaries, should be more often pronounced as **Xe-**—would seem to be nothing more than a development from **Ke-**, **Ki-**, and to be the 7th prefix, with the customary plural **Bi-**. There is no 13th prefix, the 16th (**Pa-**) is doubtfully represented by an occasional **He-** in words with the locative sense, but is more commonly replaced by **La-**. This **La-** prefix has perhaps more than one origin, and appears to serve in a dual or plural capacity in some instances, especially in numerals such as **LabŌ** (10), which may be only a duplication of the root **-bŌ**, 'five' ('hand'). The 15th prefix usually descends to **Ō-** from an intermediary form, **HŌ-**. Its meaning and its application to the verb-root in the infinitive are often represented by the 5th prefix, **Li-**, a use not peculiar to **HesŌ**, but occurring in some of the Semi-Bantu, in the Cameroons-Gaboon, and even in the archaic **KonjŌ** (No. 1), wherein the prefix to indicate the infinitive mood of the verb is not **Ku-**, but **Edi-**, **Eri-**, **Li-**. On the other hand, in **HesŌ** there is no such tendency towards replacing *m* as an initial consonant in various prefixes by *h̄*, though this is a marked feature of the other languages in the Aruwimi-LŌmami Group. **HesŌ** contains many peculiar word-roots, a few of them archaic Bantu, some of them with no known relationships, unless it be amongst the contiguous Sudanic tongues such as Bamaŋga. **LI-KAŊGANA** (158) is an isolated dialect akin to **HesŌ** (found in a small patch of land on the north bank of the northernmost bend of the Congo), and only known to us through a few words collected by the Rev. William Forfeitt.

BISIA or **BŌBANGA** (156) (language prefix uncertain) seems to be spoken on the south bank of the Northern Congo, at or near to the LŌmami confluence, and a short distance up the LŌmami. Its nearest affinities are probably with the 155 group of 'Kele' dialects, but it also has connexions with **BambŌle** (137) and **MŌleka** (138). There seem to be only dialectal differences between **LŌ-KELE** (155), **LŌ-KUSU** or **LI-FŌMA** (155 a), **TŌPŌKE** (155 b), and **TURUMBU** (155 c).

Noteworthy word-roots in languages 155-8:

-aku*, 'banana', 155 c; **bŌlubŌlu**, 'brains', 156 (219); **BŌyu**, **Buyu**, 'father', 155 (226); **-imbe**, 'fire', 155 c (137); **-gŌluma***, 'girl', 155 a; **-samba**, 'hand', 155 (87, 153, 161, 130); **findi**, 'hand', 157 (165); **-kŌmŌ***, 'heel', 155; **-semba**, 'hunger', 155 c, 157 (162); **-bidi**, 'iron', 155 (120); **-etw**, 'iron', 155 (69, 70); **-yete***, 'island', 155; **Kakala***, 'lion', 155 a; **-lele**, 'lips', 155 (56, 103, 120); **FeŋgŌ**, 'magic', 157 (57, 61 a); **-sisa**, 'magic', 156 (2 g); **-debŌ**, 'moon', 156 (226 a); **-aba**, 'nose', 155 a; **-wase**, 'nose', 155 (108, 184, 190); **Dei**, 'pig', 155, 157 (137; 245); **-tuma***, 'rat', 157; **-dŌle**, 'road', 155 c, 157 (137); **-isisiŌ***, 'shame', 157; **-kelekele***, 'shoulder', 155 a, 157; **-tuke**, 'slave', 156;

¹ There is a doubt as to the right form of native designation of this speech. When first noted it was as the language of the **Ba-sŌkŌ** people. Later, it was averred that the correct name for this congeries of tribes was **Ba-sŌ**, and of the language **He-sŌ**.

-tūki, 'slave', 157 (87, 217, 218; 271); **-galaka***, 'sleep', 155; **-lilia**, 'smoke', 155 (161, 186); **-lidi**, 'smoke', 155 a; **-ele**, **-heli**, **-elō**, 'song', 155 (253); **-eñga**, 'son', 156; **-ineñge**, 'son', 155 (167, 170); **-dili**, 'spirit', 156 (94, 199, 204; also see 'wind'); **-gwelō***, 'tail', 156; **Kali**, 'tail', 155 a (137); **-kekele**, 'testicles', 155 (17; 273); **-sandu**, 'tree', 155 (137); **-iñgita***, 'white man', 156 (see words for 'witch'); **-isō**, 'witchcraft', 155 (204); **-kula**, 'wood', 156 (221).

Hesō (157) has more peculiarities in its numerals than Kele or Bisia. 'Two' is **-hwele**, **-hele**, and **-ele**. In the allied Likañgana it is **-yele**. In the other members of the group it is the ordinary West African **-bali** (**-bale**, **-wali**). 'Three' in 157 and 158 is the uncommon **-sasō**; in Bisia it is **-sala**. 'Four' is **-leka**, **-lea**, **-melia**, and Ke-**leka** in 157-8. The ordinary word for 'five' in Hesō is **Hō-mō**, **Huō-moi**, and in Likañgana **Hō-mō**; the **Hō-**, **Huō-** being a local mispronunciation of the **Bō-**, **Bōkō-** root. (In their abuse of the aspirate, the Ba-sō and Ba-kañgana people substitute it not only for *k*, but also for *m* and *b*. The 6th prefix is sometimes heard as **Ha-**.) But there are other roots for 'five' used in composition in No. 157, **Mbalō** and **Mbaitō**. The former of these resembles somewhat the **-bara**, **-wara** of 241. **Mbalō** and **Mbaitō** appear chiefly in the paraphrases for 'six' and 'seven', in Hesō—**Mbalō-moi** and **Mbaitō-hele**. 'Six' in Kele (155) is **Li-ambi**, a widely-related form, found also in the not far distant 136 and 137. But Hesō has a second term for 'six' which, with appropriate changes, is found in that language's renderings of 'seven', 'eight', and 'nine'. This is composed of a term for 'ten'—**Ū-lumbo** or **Ū-limbō**, followed by 'four', 'three', 'two', and 'one', according to the degree the paraphrased numeral is removed from 'ten'—rather a clumsy method of numeration. Thus, **Ū-lumbo-melia** (**-melia** is an unusual term for 'four') means 'ten-less-four'. 'Ten' in 157 is commonly **Labō**, and in 158, **Naabō**—the **-bō** root preceded by an unexplained prefix. Another term is **Bōkōlō** in 157, which might perhaps be rendered **Bō-kōlō**, 'big five'; and which suggests resemblances to similar roots for 'ten' in Groups HH, II, KK, and in Semi-Bantu. 'Twenty' both in Kele and in Likañgana has a special term, **-tinda** (**Li-tinda** or **Li-ntinda**). This has relationships with the **-jila**, **-jira**, **-cira** of Nos. 54 and 55, and with the **-tinda**, **-cinda** of 159, 160, with the **-cila** of 226 and other roots in the Cameroons Semi-Bantu.

In the pronouns of this group should be pointed out the nominative particle of the 1st person singular in No. 156: **Mbai-**, answering to the **Ibai-** of No. 152, and to the **Mba-** **Mb-** of Nos. 134, 137, 89, 34, 5, and 159. In 156, also, the infixial form of 'me' is **-mba-**. The nominative particle of 'I' in Hesō is usually **Le-**, and the terminal form of 'me' is **-hoi**. In 158, the latter is **-i**.

The 2nd person plural, 'ye', has an unfamiliar **Iwō** to represent it in 156; and the terminal pronoun, 'you', in 157 is **-ina** or **-ila**. 'All' is **-pe** in 155 b, and **-pe**, **-fe** in 157 (see also Nos. 54, 273, and 263). 'All' is **-totina** in 155 (see the **-tsina** of 175), and in 157 is **-kwatō**, for which I can find no next-of-kin.

The syntax of the verb has departed less from East African Bantu standards in Hesō than in many other languages of Congoland. As in Kele, the terminal vowel of the verb-root is not only **-a** but also **-ō** and **-e**. The infinitive prefix in 155 is **Ndō-**, **Ū-**, and **Ūka-**; in 157 it is **Hō-** or **Ū-**, which is only a local variant of **Ku-**. The Kele dialects have seemingly no preterite termination (**-ile**), and in 157 this is only represented by a vestige, **-i**. The negative particles in Kele are **-i-**, **-ti-**, **-tia-** (**ca**), **-ka-**, **-kō-**, **-ke**; in Hesō and Likañgana they are **-ti-**, **-di-**, **-ci-**, **-ta-**, **Sō-**.

It is to be hoped that the Likañgana language spoken to the west of the Basōkō district may receive much further investigation ere it completely disappears, as it is evidently less specialized than Hesō and serves to connect 157 with other members of Group JJ.

CHAPTER VI

THE NORTH-WESTERN BANTU

GROUP KK: THE NORTH CENTRAL CONGOLAND LANGUAGES

(Nos. 159 to 174)

THIS group of many languages extends over a wide area to the north and south of the Northern Congo from about the confluence of the Itimbiri and the upper waters of the Lwpori, Cuapa, Lomela on the east to the Lukenye river, the shores of Lake Leopold II, the Lower Saŋga river, and the Lower Mubaŋgi on the south and the west. So far, in all this vast extent of Equatorial Congoland, there has not been found a Bantu language which may not be brought within the general affinities of Group KK. Yet, when we come to know the whole of the North Central Congoland languages better, we shall probably be able to sub-divide them more definitely into a number of sub-groups. At present we can only surmise that Group KK contains the following sub-groups: KK 1, the **NGOMBE** languages (159, 159 a, 160, 161); KK 2, the **LWLW** or **MONGW** (162); KK 3, the **JWBW**; KK 4, the **LINGALA** (164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 168 a); and KK 5, the **LAKE LEOPOLD-LUKENYE** languages (169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174). Of course it may arise that in the very heart of Congoland, in the still only partially explored regions between the Lwpori and the Juapa, between the Juapa-Busira and the Lukenye, and again between the Lower Saŋga and the Lower Mubaŋgi there may be new groups or sub-groups of Bantu speech. These, if brought to light, may differ too widely from the type languages of the above list to be classed with them; there may even persist pockets and *enclaves* of non-Bantu languages in the dense forests between the Lwpori and the Lukenye, just as there are such in the northern scope of Group KK, actually on the Congo bank or inside the range of the **Ngombe** dialects. I can only deal with the question on the basis of our present knowledge, and so far no trace has been found in all this area of a language which cannot be brought within the definition of Group KK. Yet, as will have been seen from the almost blank character of ten of the illustrative vocabularies, Nos. 163 (**JWBW**), 165 (the **SANGA DIALECTS**), Nos. 167 and 167 a (**MPAMA** and **IKWKW**),¹ 168 a (**TENDE** or **TIENE**),¹ 169 (**WADIA**), 170 (**NTOMBA**), 171 (**IMWMA**), 172 (**LESA**), 173 (**SAKATA** or **BWBAI**), and 174 (**TETE** or **IPANGA** or **ACITU**) are very little known to us. Their existence, however, has been recorded by competent authorities—British and Belgian missionaries and explorers and Belgian administrators. And in each case, either the authority (if he has supplied no word-roots or only a few) has stated that such and such a language resembled some other known speech in Group KK. The journals of the great missionary explorer, George Grenfell, and the notes compiled by his colleague, Dr. Holman Bentley, have been of some service to me in fixing the names and character of these ten unrecorded languages and deciding their locality on the map. Grenfell, too, has added a line here and there, such as ‘dialect much like Baŋgi’ or ‘my boys from such and such a place on the Congo banks could just manage to understand the speech of these people’. Further knowledge of Nos. 167, 167 a, 168, 168 a, and 170 has recently been communicated to me by the Baptist missionaries (see pp. 782–4 of Vol. I).

The object of leaving blank spaces for whole languages in the vocabularies of Volume I is to show

¹ Nos. 167, 167 a, 168, and 168 a have since been nearly completed by Baptist missionaries (Revs. Scrivener and Stonelake), and the material is incorporated in this chapter and in my Analyses.

where our knowledge is lacking, as well as to place on record all that is known of Bantu and Semi-Bantu at the time of publication. Those who succeed me as workers in this field of linguistics can easily apply the added knowledge by filling up the blanks: until at last some copy of this book may afford a complete record of these prefix-governed languages of West, East, and Central Africa.

Group KK contains two very important forms of speech: **LŌLŌ** of the heart of Congoland (which almost ranges from Lake Leopold II eastward to the Lower Lōmami); and **ŊGALA** of the Northern Congo, which has given rise to the now famous 'Baṅgala' trade language. This is composed of the **Ŋgala** syntax and a considerable vocabulary derived from **Ŋgala**, **Baṅgi**, and **Ŋgombe** words, a sprinkling of **Nyam-nyam** (**Makarka**), and much borrowing from **Swahili**. Its use extends now all over North Central Congoland, east of Stanley Pool, and west of Stanley Falls, northwards to the **Mubaṅgi** and the frontier of the **Anglo-Egyptian Sudan**. It is an easy and harmonious tongue, sufficiently expressive, and is ousting and killing many recondite languages of great interest to the philologist.

ABUJA (159), **BWELA** (159 a), and **LI-FŌTŌ** or **PŌTŌ** (160) are closely allied with **Ŋgombe**. **LI-ŊGOMBE** (161) has a considerable yet scattered distribution, and is said to extend in patches (north of the Congo) from the Lower **Itimbiri** river to the Lower **Mubaṅgi**. Its principal home is, however, south of the Northern Congo's banks, between that lake-like river and the parallel-flowing **Lōpori**. **BANGI**, known locally as **Lōbō-baṅgi**, is also a riverain tongue spoken on and at no great distance from the banks of the Western Congo, between the confluence of the **Busira-Juapa** and the Congo on the north and **Bōlōbō** on the south.

MPAMA (167) and its dialect **I-KŌKŌ** (167 a) are closely allied to **Baṅgi**. The **SENGELE** language (168) and **KE-TIENE** (**Batende**, 168 a) seem to belong rather to the **Ŋgala** Sub-group (KK 4) than to the **Leopold-Lukenye** (KK 5).

Besides the list of principal languages already given as coming within this group, the names of numerous other tribes and possibly languages would be found marked on an ethnographic map of North Central Congoland: say the ethnographical map in the second volume of my book, *George Grenfell and the Congo*. It may be as well to enumerate these names in case they afford any clue to the seekers after unrecorded language-types in this region. Beginning on the north-east of this area, we have the name **Moṅgō** constantly recurring, but all specimens of **Moṅgō** dialects as yet recorded are simply examples or variants of the **Lōlō** language (No. 162). On the upper waters of the River **Busira-Juapa** are mentioned (by Grenfell and others) the **Ba-pōtō** and **Bayombe** and the **Lōsōka** language. An alternative name for **Ba-pōtō** is the word 'Batwa', a word which studs the map of Central Africa and is familiar to the Bantu student from the **Cameroons** to **Zululand**. It means, or meant originally, simply 'dwarfs', 'pygmies'.¹ These **Pygmy** (?) **Ba-pōtō** may be allied to the **Ba-putu** in the region between the **Busira** and the **Lōmela**, and the **Ba-putu** farther north between the **Lōpori** and the **Mariṅga** rivers; and it is just possible that all these **Ba-pōtō-Ba-putu** tribes may have linguistic kinship with the **Ba-pōtō** of the Northern Congo bank, whose language (161) is given in the vocabularies. The **Ba-kutu**, immediately south of the Middle **Busira**, may be a **Lōlō** tribe, or far-off relations of the **Ba-ṅkucu**, **Ba-ṅkutu** of a different language-group (DD—see No. 130). The **Ba-kutu** are also written down as 'Pygmies'. Then there is the **Ba-tamba** tribe on the Middle **Lōmela**, linguistic affinities quite unknown. Between the **Batamba** of the **Lōmela** and the peoples of the Upper **Lukenye** there is a white space on the map only filled in hypothetically with 'Ba-twa' ('Pygmies'). North of the Upper **Lukenye** we have the **Ba-vumbu**, the **Deṅgese**, the **Jaelima**, of whom nothing is known as to language; they may be members of Group **DD** in their speech-forms. The **Ba-ṅkundu** of the Lower **Busira** and of the **Momboyō** river seem to be only **Ba-lōlō** under another name, i.e. to speak a **Lōlō** dialect. The languages of the **Mpō**, the **Isoṅgō**, and the **Ndōlō** peoples are also said to be variants of **Lōlō**. The **Ba-yanzi** placed on the map just north and west of **Lake Leopold** may be a branch of the **Ba-yanzi** (121) of Group **CC**. The **Lō-tsakani** spoken on the west and east of **Lake Leopold II** is merely another **Lōlō** dialect spoken some three hundred and fifty miles west of **Moṅgō**. The **Ba-ṅgata**, north of the **Seṅgele** and **Ba-tiene** tribes, may speak a language similar to **Mpama**, but nothing

¹ Later, it had a secondary meaning, of 'aborigines' or 'predecessors', 'prior occupants', and as such might be applied to tribes of ordinary stature—'bush-people', 'forest people'.

is known of the supposedly Pygmy Bua and Bakuti people living to the east of the Ikōkō and of the Bañgi countries along the Equatorial Congo. The Mbala tribe north of the Lower Busira are said to have the same language (Lω-bala) as N̄gala. West of the Equatorial Congo and the riverain lands of the Ba-bañgi we have a congeries of Bantu tribes whose languages I have grouped somewhat despairingly under the general title of 'Sañga' (165). This numeral 165 would therefore cover—till we can further discriminate—the reported Ba-biñga, Bambū, Ba-sinde, Ba-sañga, Ba-mponde or Ba-npondω, the Boñga, Mbōši, and Ba-ntwoni dialects or languages spoken on either side of the Lower Sañga, and between the Sañga and the Lower Mubañgi. The Ba-loi of the Mubañgi-Congo confluence seems closely allied to the Ba-bañgi. The Ba-pōkω, N̄giri, Akula, Ba-loñgω or Doñgω, Ba-rumbe, Ba-nyembe, and Boñjω tribes of the Lower Mubañgi and the country inland of the great Bañgala tribe are said to speak dialects of N̄gombe. This western extension of No. 161, together with Abuja and Bwela (159 and 159 a) border on the non-Bantu (Sudanic) languages of the Banza, Mpombω (Mundu), Sañgω, Moñgwandī, and Ndoñga Groups. Ndoñga is a far-off relation of Bamañga, but has borrowed numerous Bantu word-roots. It is curious that all these non-Bantu tribes comprised within the great bend of the Mubañgi-Wele river should have Bantu tribal names and yet speak Sudanic tongues.

The languages of this group, which are the least corrupt and have kept nearest to the Bantu standard, are N̄GALA (164) and BAN̄GI (166). In Bañgi the concord of the 10th prefix is *Ii* or *di* (from an older *zi* or *ti*), although elsewhere this prefix has been almost effaced into conformity with No. 9. Throughout the whole group the 13th prefix is completely wanting, and the 15th never once appears as *Ku-*, but is usually reduced to *ω-*, except in N̄gombe and Lωω, where it is *Jω-*. The 7th prefix is monotonously *E-*, except in Ketiene (Batende, 168 a) and Lesa (172), where it is *Ki-* and *Ke-*, and an occasional appearance in other tongues as *Ye-*, *Yi-*, or *Ji-*. There are traces of the use of preprefixes in Nos. 159, 159 a, and in 164 and 166 the locative prefix (No. 16) is in form a little more akin to the original *Pa-*. Throughout the group the place of No. 17 (*Mu-*) is taken by *La-* (*Da-*, *Nda-*), or *Lω-*; but 'inwardness' is also indicated by a suffix, *-te*, *-tei-*, *-nti*, which is characteristic of North-west Bantu. Lωω (162) has, in common with the tongues of Groups DD, JJ and TT, a strong tendency to confuse *b* with *m* as an initial in the prefixes, and to prefer it to *m* in Classes 1, 3, 4, and 6.

Mpama (167), or more probably its dialect *I-kōkω*, differs from *Bañgi* and most members of the group by sometimes reducing the 1st and 3rd prefixes from *Mu-* to *U-*, *ω-*, *Un-*, the 2nd to *A-*, the 4th to *I-*, the 5th to *A-* and *Z-*, and the 6th to *A-*. Señgele, like Lωω, often substitutes *b* for *m* as an initial in the 1st, 3rd, and 6th prefixes, but the *m* is fully used in Ke-tiene (168 a) which, as already remarked, has the interesting peculiarity of retaining the older form of the 7th prefix in full use.

Noteworthy word-roots in languages 159-74 :

*-mekā**, 'banana', 164; *-sama*, 'beard', 165 (259); *-ūe**, 'blood', 165; *-basi**, 'bow', 164; *-ngoi*, 'chief', 172 (193; 273; 186); *-ketω*, 'devil', 161 (176, 17, 182); *-ñikwa*, 'excrement', 162 (60); *-uni**, 'fat', 161; *-suku*, 'fat', 162 (153, 83, 3, 4); *-lau*, 'fat', 168 (258); *-kinzi**, 'father', 166; *-bali*, 'fear', 166 (120, 94); *-ika**, 'fear', 164; *-bōta**, 'foot', 161; *-kundwa**, 'ghost', 166; *-kari**, 'ghost', 172; *-kaji**, 'ghost', 162 a; *-buya** (Ke-buya), 'God', 172; *-bulu*, 'guinea-fowl', 161 a (102, 17, 210); *-babu**, 'hair', 162; *-inda*, 'hand', 165 (157); *-mōju**, 'heel', 162; *-bōkω**, 'house', 165 (245); *-tondω**, 'house', 161 a; *-kembu*, 'hunger', 162 (20); *-ili** (ωm-ili), 'husband', 160; Bω-saka*, 'husband', 162; *-pekω**, 'iron', 168; *-pita**, 'iron', 159 a; *-kōti**, 'iron', 159 a; *-buni**, 'iron', 164; *-ipi**, 'iron', 166; *-buni**, 'knife', 159; *-beke*, 'lake', 166, 168 (103); *-gundi**, 'lips', 159 a; *-gōnω*, 'lips', 161 a (146); *-ete*, 'magic', 160; *-etω*, 'magic', 162 (61); *-zali*, 'moon', 168 (90-4); *-bōti*, 'mother', 166 (187); *-nō**, 'mountain', 161 a; Guba, 'mountain', 160, 164 (226); *-dende**, *-dendi**, 'finger-nail', 161; *-ladi**, 'finger-nail', 165; *-nañga*, 'nose', 161 (78, 152, 223; 248); *-ñgongω*, 'pig', 160, 161 (193); *-bale*, 'river', 166 (4 b, 189, 187, 191); *-poñgwe**, 'salt', 166; *-bōlu**, 'shame', 166; *-ñgēē*, 'sky', 165 (120, 119); *-londeli*, 'slave', 170 (20); *-poñgi**, 'sleep', 164; *-didi*, 'smoke', 161 (155 a); *-tumbu**, 'smoke', 159; *-jombele**, 'smoke', 164; *-dimbele**, 'smoke', 166; *Dzwa**, 'snake', 167; *-leñge*, 'son', 167, 170 (155, 4); *-siki**, 'spear', 168; *-nama*, 'spear', 161 (11 a); *-embω*, 'spirit', 161 (69); *-eli**, *-eti**, 'spirit', 172; *-ajekωlω*, 'star', 164 (127, 139; 253); *-keli*, 'stone', 162 (181, 182); *-bila*, 'stone', 166; *-dembe*, 'sun', 166 (70, 71, 51 a, 69); *-tiω*, 'sun', 168 (178: see also the S.A. Bantu

root **-tilω** for 'sky'); **-ñgoñgω***, 'tail', 162; **-kombω**, 'tail', 161 (14, 94); **-casi**, 'tail', 166 (17, 18); **-buma***, 'testicles', 160 (89); **Kωbω***, 'testicles', 166; **Foñgω**, 'thigh', 162 (237; 204); **-ina**, 'thing', 160 (89, 94, 120b, 189, 75); **-sanu**, 'thing', 159 (193); **-jube**, 'thorn', 161 a (228); **-tuka**, 'town', 166, 168 (1, 56; 234; 104); **-lekω**, 'town', 161 (191, 56; 267); **-wci***, 'town', 162; **-gandu**, 'town', 161; **-ñgandω**, 'town', 161 a (186, 89, 109); **-kutu**, 'town', 160 (40, 89); **-kωkω**, 'tree', 164 (223); **-kumu***, 'twins', 166; **-peya**, 'twins', 166 (14, 32); **-banda***, 'well', 161 a; **-tωkω**, 'well', 162 (187, 150, 3, 9 a); **-bunju***, 'white man', 161 a; **-laka**, 'wife', 168 (261; 202); **[-leli, -jele**, 'wind', 164 a (205, 41, 105 a); **-ñketa***, 'witch', 159; **Lωtω**, 'womb', 162 (17); **Kuku**, 'womb', 164 (51); **-yωkω***, 'firewood', 160; **-añga**, 'year', 159, 163 (148 a; 253); **-jiñgi***, 'year', 162; **-boñgω***, 'year', 166; **-lekω**, 'year', 167; **-dekω**, 'year', 162 (5, 6); **-bikω**, 'year', 167 (5, 5 a, 6).

The greater part of the material for filling up the vocabularies of **Mpama**, **Señgele**, and **Ke-tiene (Batende)** arrived too late to be included in more than the appendices to the first volume of this work. I give a selection of the more remarkable words in these tongues separately from other members of Group KK. The affinities of these noun-roots show how transitional are these three languages between Group KK and Group CC of the **Kwañgω-Kasai**, Group LL (the **Teke** languages) and Group MM of the **Central Uḡowe**:

-sieme*, 'ant', 167; **-nyωmω***, 'ant', 168 a; **-sumbu**, 'ape', 167 (48, 54, 61 b, 103, 204-5, 209; 229, 248, 263); **-dia**, 'ape', 168 a (187, 190, 195); **-kie**, 'axe', 168 a (235; 4, 11); **-zima**, 'back', 167 (184, 187, 194; 227, 228, 248); **-oñgω**, 'back', 168 a (1 to 220); **-ntela**, 'banana', 167 (162, 146); **-pωli***, 'beard', 167; **-kuni**, 'belly', 168 a (125, 120, 137; 244); **-wnyi**, 'bird', 167; **-nañω**, 'bow', 167 (271-213; 3, 23, 162, 166); **-sωkω**, 'brains', 167 (14, 226; 240, 259; 56, 56 a; 273); **-bωsi**, 'brother', 168 a (56); **-kobonñgω***, **-kobonza***, 'buffalo', 167; **-nω**, 'buttocks', 167 (2 a, 2 g, 89, 91, 210); **-kesi**, 'buttocks', 168 (156); **-gambala**, 'cat', 167-8 (120; 227); **-aka**, 'charcoal', 167 (217); **Duω**, 'day', 168 a; **-tibakω**, 'door', 167 (176, 179, 180, 181, 182, 189, 190); **-wωkω***, 'door', 168; **-kωle**, 'drum', 167-8 (38, 217-9, 220); **-ncimba**, 'elephant', 167 (the **-jamba**, **-dembω** root, Nos. 2 a and 19 to 162); **Tibi**, 'excrement', 168 a (the widespread **-bi**, **Tubi** root); **-dwω**, 'face', 168 (120); **-bωlω**, 'face' (83-6, 95-103, 226; 251, 261, 266, 273); **-batata**, 'face', 167 (151); **-uta**, 'fat, oil', 167 (the **-vuta** root); **-bōlu**, 'fear', 167 (15; 273); **-ba**, 'fire', 168 (119, 120, 175-82); **-keta**, 'ghost', 168 (7, 23, 64); **-dende**, 'girl', 167 (51, 77); **-bωli**, 'goat', 167; **-ele**, **-mpele**, 'husband', 167 (154, 156, 159, 164-6, 178, &c.); **-ñkωsω**, 'iron', 167 (226 a); **-peke**, 'iron', 168 (104 c, 205-6, 209; 242); **-fuω**, 'ivory', 168 a (185); **-leka**, 'lip', 167 (151, 159, 159 a, 160, 164, 226); **-lele**, 'lip', 168 (7 a, 56, 103, 120, 156); **Alem-wisi**, 'magic', 167 (39 a, and the **-lamba** and **-kisi** roots); **-lenemi***, 'magic', 168; **Nuka**, 'meat', 168 (226 b); **-eme**, 'medicine', 168 (73); **-gōnω**, 'moon', 168 (121, 124-32, 175, 200, 201, &c.); **-pωsω**, 'nail', 167 (127); **-ñkuti**, 'nail', 168 (14; 229); **-kie**, 'neck', 168 (4 a, 1, 2-2 f, 4); **-yi**, 'night', 167 (211, 214; 228); **-kombi**, 'parrot', 167 (155, 156); **-bila**, 'oil palm tree', 167 (155 c, 157, 159 a, 160, 161, 164, 166, 185-92, 193, 195, 204-6, 226); **-ana**, **Mana**, 'palm wine', 168 (141, 151, 155, 161, 170); **-lekω**, 'palm wine', 167 (162, 186, 189-90, 193; 235); **-kωtω**, 'penis', 167 (86, 124, 125, 127, 166, 223 a); **-kata**, 'penis', 168 (100, 106, 116, 41-4, 49); **-goya**, 'pig', 167 (the **-goya** root, 145 to 237); **-cōmi***, 'pig', 168; **-kωba**, 'pigeon', 168 (73); **-bete**, 'place', 168 (71, 104, 160, 190); **-pωli**, 'rain', 167 (261); **-bie**, 'road', 168 (263 and **-pita** root); **-leke***, 'salt', 167; **-ntei***, 'shame', 167; **-kuti**, 'shame', 168 a (189); **-yembe**, 'shield', 167 (27, 38, 13); **-nduka**, 'slave', 168 (84-7, 103, 56 a; 258, 259, 270-2); **-lale**, 'snake', 168 (11, 38; 273); **-seme**, 'snake', 167 (166); **-diti**, 'son', 'male', 168; **-lambi**, 'star', 167; **-kenzeke**, 'stone', 167 (162); **-vuna**, 'sun', 168 a (216; 244); **-kalwi**, 'tear', 167; **-yata***, 'tear', 168; **-ema**, 'thing', 167 (100, 103, 104, 114, 136, 137, 145, 148, 151, 156-7, 160); **-a**, 'thing', 168 (140, 193); **-njali**, 'toe', 167 (120; 263); **-ωbe**, 'town', 167; **Bōla**, 'town', 168 (104 to 190); **-bωkω**, 'town', 168 (159 a to 235, 260, and 2-4 b); **-lima**, 'twin', 167; **-keta**, 'twin', 168 (166); **-ntu**, 'vein', 168; **-embω**, 'wind', 167 (98); **-mpebe**, 'wind', 168 (100, 110, 120, 124, 151, 172, 186, 203; 240 c, &c.); **-kuti**, 'witchcraft', 168 (56-8); **-mwali**, 'woman', 167 (see roots for 'girl'—17 to 73 a); **-pomba**, 'woman', 167 (17, 32, 35, 54, 55, 61, 61 a; 263).

As regards numerals, Nos. 162, 167, 168, 170, and 172 use for 'two' respectively **-pe**, **-ape**, **-fe**, **-fi**, **-ipe**, **-pele**, **-pe**, which convicts them of affinity with Group DD to the south. 'Four' in 166 is **-nezi**,

reminiscent of **-naci** in 139 and of the Semi-Bantu. 'Five' in the Lesa language (172) is **-tia, -tian**, which recalls the **-tien** of 121, the **-tyani** of 193, and the **-tea** of 231. 'Six' in 172 is **Sambēw**, a contraction of **Sambenw**; in 159, 161 a, 167, and 168 it is **-samanw, H'amanw, -samalw**; in Nos. 162, 164, 166, and 170 it is **-toba, -tuba, -towa**—the 'thumb' root so widely spread through South Africa, Central, and East Congoland, the Gaboon, Cameroons, and Group A of the Semi-Bantu. The **-siami** for 'six' in 168 a recalls the forms in the Kwañgō-Kasai and Teke languages (CC and LL). 'Seven' is some form of **Sambo**, except in Nos. 168, 168 a, and 172, where it is **Nzomu, Ncami, and Assau**, which have departed rather markedly from their **Sambw** origin. 'Eight' in four of these languages (159, 160, 168 a, 172) is the orthodox **-nana**; in 167 it is **-nanali**; but in 168 it is **Nzom'bale** ('the second seven'). In 159, 162, 164, 166, 168, and 170 it is **-ambi, -wambi**, a root very common in the Gaboon and Cameroons. No. 166 has in composition a form for 'eight'—**-asi**—not easily matched in Bantu, but resembling the **Ase, Wase, and Kuas** of 260, 267, and 269-72. 'Ten' is usually or alternatively some such variant of **-kumi**, as **Jumi, Jumu, Dōmi, Li-kw (-kō, -ku)**; but 162 and 164 have (in composition) **-tugu, -tuku** (see Nos. 151, 157, 148, 249, and 38); 164 has **Kaṅgu** (for which I can find no nearer match than the **-saṅgi, -seṅge, -saka, &c.**, of Central Congoland and the Western Cameroons). In 161 there is a peculiar root for 'ten'—**-tete**—which is also met with in No. 152 and the Semi-Bantu. The **-kwa** of 166 is also similar to the **-kwō** of another Ababua language: 151. Lesa (172), has a second term for 'ten': **I-on** (pl. **Ma-on**). This may be kin to the **Di-on** of Fernando Pô (226 a); or both alike may be derived from an earlier **Di-kom, Di-kumi**. 'Twenty' sometimes has a special term in Group KK. In Nos. 159 and 160 it is **-tinda, -cinda**, which, like the **-tinda** of 155, 158, suggests an interesting connexion with the Fernandian language (226) on the one hand and South-east Africa on the other (54, 55). The **Mw-hei** of 159 is apparently derived from an unexplained but widespread **Mu-, Mw-** root¹ for 'ten', followed by **-hei**, 'two' (from **-pei, -pele**). This **Mw-** or **Bw-** root for 'ten' in the decades reappears in Ketiene, 168 a. **Ekata** for 'twenty' in No. 159 a seems to have no relations elsewhere. The root **-ṅgulu** in the Lwōw word for 'twenty' may be related to the **-kuru** root for 'ten' in Nos. 250 and 252. The **Bw-pele** of 162 reveals a **-bw** root for 'ten' and 'five' as in the **Ma-bw** of 152, 153, 199, &c. No. 160 has a special word for 'fifteen' (**Mōkwōw-moi**) similar to the **Bōkwōw-hōmōi** of No. 157. This latter rendering is not so abbreviated as to disguise its etymology: **Bw-kwōw-hw-** (for **bw-**) **-moi** means literally 'five-big' (or 'hand-big', i. e. 'ten') plus 'hand-one' ('five').

'All' is interpreted by a diversity of roots. **-sokw** and **-ncwōki** in 163 and 166; in 161 a, **-susu** (see 151, 152); in 166 it is also **-oncw**, which comes nearer to the orthodox **-onse, -onsw** (note the **Concoi** of 139). The **-ba, -ne-ba, -esi-ba** of 159, 159 a, and 160 is probably related to the **-pa** of 63, the **-pa, Apawa** of 21 g, the **Kba** of 155 b, &c. The **-susu** of 161 a is a link with the Ababua Group (151, 152).

In the pronouns, **Mba-, Mbi-** is the nominative particle of the 1st person singular with the verb, in Nos. 159, 159 a, 161. Elsewhere it recurs in Nos. 34, 89, 134, 137, 156, and in the Cameroons languages (Group OO). 'I' as nominative prefix becomes **La-** in 159, possibly a change from **Na-**; in 162 it is **Njw-**. The employment of an infix (**-n-, -m-**) for 'me' in the accusative case with the verb is a feature—almost universal in the East, South, and South-west Bantu, and of all the preceding groups—which comes to an end in this group KK. It is certainly met with in Nos. 162, 164, 166, but apparently not beyond that in the regions lying to the north-west *except* in No. 193. The nominative particle of 'he' is **Ka-** in 159, 159 a, and 160 (see East and South African languages and a few in East Congoland). The enclitic particle for 'him' in the languages of Group KK extends as far as No. 167; not after that, at any rate not beyond this group to the north-west, *except* in Nos. 198, 203, and 206. In 162 it is **-lw-**, from **-nw-**, and that presumably from an older **-mw-**. In such other tongues of this group as retain this infix it is usually **-mu-, -mw-**. The infix objective particle for 'us' occurs in Nos. 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, and 167; that for 'you' (**-ne-, -le-**) in 159 and 162; for 'them' in all the members of the group up to 167. It is usually **-ba-, -bw-**, but in 162 is **-la-** or **-ya-**. The substantive form of 'they' is **Baṅga** in 167 and **Baṅgōw** in 164, 166.

¹ This may be a contraction of **Mutu, Muntu**, 'man'; for although 'a man' in Bantu, usually stands for 'twenty' with his ten fingers and ten toes, the term nevertheless, illogically enough, does sometimes connote only 'ten', as though some tribes only counted by the fingers of the hands.

The uncommon or less common features in the demonstratives are the **-kω**, **-ka**, **-ku**, **-ki**, **-ke** suffixes in 160, the **-ñkω** of 162, the **-ikω** of 167 and 170; also the **-nωhω** of 160, 161, and the **-nωwω** of 164. The relationship of these forms is with Central Congoland (Group DD), the Gaboon, and Cameroons.

In the verb-forms of Group KK it might be noted that Nos. 159, 160, 161, 164, 166, and perhaps other North Congoland languages admit of verb-roots terminating in **-e** and **-ω** as well as **-a**. No. 162, only, seems to retain exclusively the **-a** terminal vowel. The preterite suffix, **-ile**, is extinct, except in 160 and 161, where it is reduced to **-i**. The infinitive prefix is **Ω** in 160, **Bω** in 161, **Jω** in 162, **Bω** in 164, **Nω** or blank (or with an infix, **-kω**) in 166; and is **M**, **N** in 168, 164, 166, 162a. Again the resemblances are with Central Congoland. In the negative particles, 159, 160, and 161 employ some form of **ci**, **ti**, **-iti** as prefix or suffix, **Te**, **-ta**, **-tω**, **-te** as prefix, infix, or suffix. 161 has also negative infixes, **-i**, **-li**, **-sa**; negative suffixes **-kini** and **-ke**, and negative prefixes or exclamations, **Pe**, **Pepe**, **Ye**. In 162 **Ci** serves as a negative prefix restricted to the 1st person singular (like the East African **Si**); **-fa** and **-nta** are negative infixes; **Te** is a negative prefix, reinforced by a negative suffix **-ke**. 164 is rich in negative particles. There are the infixes **-sω**, **-kω**, **-i**, **-akω**, **-kωmω**, **-alω**; the negative suffixes **-ka**, **-nya**, **-ke**, **-we**, **-bitu**; and the exclamatory **We!** answering to the Kongω **Ve!** **Ka** is present in 165 as a prefix. 166 has **Ω**, **Ŋga**, **Te** as negative prefixes; **-nde-ω** as an infix; and **-ka**, **-ke**, **-kω**, **-etω**, and **-te** as suffixes. 167 employs **-tω** as a negative infix, **-ke**, **-ye** as suffixes. 168 uses **Nta**, **Nte**, **Ntω** as prefixes and **-ye** as a negative suffix.

As regards the terminal syllables, added to vary the sense of the verb-root, they are most of them present in recognizable forms in this group. The infix implying 'self' in 164 is unusual—**-mi**-. The passive termination in No. 166 is the full form, **-ibwa**. The verb 'be' is **-iki**, **-ikama**, &c., in 160; **-dia**, **-di**, **-da** in 161; **-le**, **-ōle**, **-leki**, &c., and **-yala** in 162; **-be**, **-beki**, **-baka**, &c., and **-lō** in 164; and **-ñga**, **-liki**, **-zala** in 166. 162 has a negative verb, 'not to be' in **-fa**; and 164 in **-kω**.

On the whole, the nearest relationships of Group KK seem to be with the Central Congoland languages (DD) and with those of the South-west Cameroons (Group OO). They evidently arose in the main from the Central Congoland Group, and furnished a large contingent of immigrants due westward towards the Cameroons coast. They have no near kinship with either the Teke Group that follows on the list or with the West Koŋgω languages. There is a trace of some influence from the Ababua tongues and the intervening Group JJ.

GROUP LL: THE TEKE OR KWA-KASAI-UPPER ΩGΩWE LANGUAGES¹

(Nos. 175 to 182)

Group LL covers a somewhat wide field between the eastern bank of the Congo in its course between the confluence of the Kwa-Kasai and the south end of Stanley Pool on the east, and the watershed of the Ωgōwe on the west. Possibly it covers some of the land on the banks of the Kwa mouth of the great Kasai river, as well as the region immediately east of Stanley Pool. There is a clear-cut distinction observable at once between the Teke type of Bantu language and the speech-forms of the inner Congo basin on the one hand, or of the Congo coast (Group Z) on the other; though there are linking affinities between Teke and the languages along the Lower Kasai (Group CC), and the adjoining languages of the Ωgōwe basin (Group MM).

Some of the Teke dialects exhibit a tendency towards labializing the *k* into *kʷ*. In their phonology

¹ Much dispute has raged about the value and local application of the root Teke. It has been denied that it was recognized by any 'Teke' tribe as a national or tribal appellation. The different branches of the Negro tribes on the Kwa-Kasai, on the narrowed Congo river between Kwa-mouth and Stanley Pool, to the east and west of Stanley Pool, and in the basin of the Upper Ωgōwe call themselves (apparently) Bafumu or Bafuru, Bambuno, Babuma, Babadi, Bambali, Babāna, Awumu, Batiω, Bateω, Balali, Banteye, Batsaya, Bambete, and Babamba, as well as other names; but no one tribe calls itself or its congeners

the Teke peoples have a nasal consonant usually expressed by Europeans (curiously enough, without colusion) by *m̃*. [That is how I wrote it myself in 1883, before any form of Teke had been transcribed.] I seemed to hear it as an *m* pronounced with strong nasality; but subsequent research into this matter has led me to think that the sound may really be analyzed as *ñw*, and is probably derived from such a combination. There seems to be a tendency in this group to turn *m̃* into *m* or *m̃*. As in neighbouring language groups, there is a great inclination for permutation between *n* and *l*, *l* and *d*. Consequently, the verbal pronouns for 'we' and 'you', instead of being **Tu-**, **Ti-**, or **Di-**, and **Nu-** or **Ni-**, become respectively **Li-** and **Le-**. We also see beginning in this group (as we advance in our survey from south-east to north-west) a change of the normal terminal **-a** into **-ɔ**. Thus **N-gɔma**, 'drum', in some of the Teke languages is **N-ɔmɔ**.

There are faint traces of preprefixes in some of the Teke languages, more especially those of the north-eastern part of the Teke field (on the Equatorial Congo). In such, however, there is a tendency for the 6th prefix to be reduced to **A-**. There is no trace whatever of the **Zi-** form of the 10th prefix, and the 11th is assimilated with the 5th. The 12th prefix (**Tu-**), the 13th (**Ka-**), seem to be absent throughout. The 15th prefix is gradually losing its potency and importance and is sometimes reduced to **U-** in the infinitive sense. The 16th locative prefix is barely recognizable, except in connexion with adverbs. It is usually replaced by **Na-**, a substitution (**Nga-**, **ŋa-**, **Ga-**) not unknown elsewhere in widely separated parts of the Bantu field, as, for example, 100 b and 4 b and 75 b. On the other hand, the 17th prefix **Mu-** exists, though there is no indication of the **-ni** suffix, which reappears again much farther north. **Ab-** or **Ba-** seems to be an honorific prefix of respect preceding the names of chiefs, of parents, &c. Another honorific prefix is **Nga-**. No. 182 differs somewhat from the rest of the Teke Group in its prefixes and approaches 183 of Group MM.

Noteworthy word-roots in languages 175-82:

-buru, 'arrow', 176 (20, 27, 51, 141, 97; 257); **-dimɔw***, 'banana', 178; **-eɔ**, **-e**, 'brains', 175, 178 (120); **-bū***, 'canoe', 179; **-šwa***, 'canoe', 175; **-sɛnɔw***, 'crocodile', 178; **-kita**, 'devil', 176, **-kejɔw**, 'devil', 182 (17, 161); **-tɔli**, **-tɔle**, 'dog', 175, 178 (85, 86); **-wele***, 'dog', 178; **-lia***, 'face', 181; **Bunu***, 'father', 175; **-korigi***, 'finger', 175; **-kayu***, 'girl', 175; **-kañi***, 'heel', 176; **-tak**, 'heel', 175 (274); **-tamu**, **-tami**, 'heel', 181, 175 (58, 59); **-etu**, 'hide', 179 (61, 124); **-kara**, 'hippo', 176 (247); **-mpūa**, 'hippo', 178 (146); **-piri**, 'hoe', 178 (62); **Kusi**, 'honey', 179 (68, 75); **-liri***, 'horn', 178; **-tswakiri***, 'husband', 178; **-pieme***, 'iron', 182; **-gumi***, 'island', 178; **-wini**, 'lake', 175, 178 (193); **-kuru***, 'leopard', 178; **-gombulu***, 'lion', 175; **-kibi***, 'magic', 178; **-buru***, 'man, vir', 175; **Tuw***, 'meat', 175, 178; **-jūi**, 'moon', 176, 179, 180 (60); **-tiere**, 'moon', 178 (7); **-gɔme**, 'ox', 175; **-gɔmi**, 'ox', 178 (69, 91, 92, 94; 259; 120); **Zuzu**, 'pigeon', 176 (151); **-jejura**, **-jejure**, **-didura**, **-dudura**, 'pigeon', 179, 176, 181, 182 (11, 220); **-neñe**, 'shame', 175 (79, 83); **-pfuru**, **-pfurɔw**, 'shame', 175, 178 (120); **-dzuli**, 'skin', 178 (25, 56); **-dzi**, 'sky', 178 (120, 121, 119); **-kuma**, 'smoke', 176 (263, 248, 261); **-kɔɔw**, 'spirit', 176 (11, 14, 75, 86, 121); **-ɔɔw**, 'spirit', 178 (89, 92, 198); **-pfu**, 'spirit', 175, 178;

'Bateke'; unless Koelle's 'Banteye' still exist, and **-nteje**—as is probable—stands for **-nteke**. They were, however, known generically to the Bakoŋɔ of the Lower Congo as Bateke, and that name was adopted by Stanley and the first British missionaries who reached Stanley Pool and found themselves in contact with a series of tribes entirely distinct in language from the Koŋɔ dialects (100 to 103 a). A variant of **-teke** in Koŋɔ dialects was **-nseke** or **-ntsike**. This gave rise to the seventeenth-century Portuguese name for the tribes living beyond the Lower Congo cataracts, known to them vaguely through the reports of native traders and the journeys of a few adventurous missionaries. Various transcribed in Portuguese or Italian phonetics (see for details my *George Grenfell and the Congo*, p. 77), this tribal name amounted to A-ntsike or A-nseke. It and Koelle's 'Banteye', and the later Bateke were all seemingly derived from a contemptuous West Koŋɔ term for 'Pygmy', 'dwarf'. At the present day, French maps of the region between the Western Congo and the Ūgowe are studded with the tribal name 'Bateke', under which 'pygmées', 'nains' is sometimes written. The root **-teke** as often means 'idol' or some small fetish figure in human form. It derives simply from one of the many word-roots meaning 'little' (compare the **-tekete** of 104 a).

But 'Bateke' is now so well understood as comprising the tribes of one type of speech settled between the Kwa-Kasai, Stanley Pool, and the Upper Ūgowe that I prefer to retain it as the short appellation of Group LL.

Kira, 'spirit', 175 (117, 23 a); **-swēē**, 'star', 178 (137, 205); **-kele**, 'stone', 181, 182 (162); **-kunω**, 'stone', 176 (83, 106; 248); **-siω**, 'sun', 178 (168, perhaps also related to the **-tilω** root for 'sky'); **-sā**, **-tsāā**, 'tear', 175, 176; **-nōmi***, 'thigh', 178; **-bee***, 'town', 178; **-sumω**, 'tree', 178 (224, 50, 77, 78); **-sāyi**, 'tree', 175 (249, 274); **-tsarω**, 'tree', 178 (5, 6, 41, 73); **-were**, 'tree', 175 (273); **-ñkira**, 'twins', 178 (28, 54, 57, 61, 148, 120 b); **-bami**, **-bamba**, 'white man', 179-81, 182 (103, 123, 181, 187, 190); **-welω**, 'white man', 175 (2 g); **-bie***, **-biū***, 'white man', 178; **-puru***, 'white man', 175, 178; **-kila***, 'womb', 178; **-futu***, 'wood', 179.

The **KI-WUMBU** or **E-WUMU** language (177) from the south side of Stanley Pool was very little known at the time when the first volume of this work was in course of preparation. Only a few words of it had been supplied, and these, together with expressions of opinion from missionaries who were philologists, led me to class it as the South Teke language of the Teke Group. In this I was right, judging from the vocabulary since transmitted to me, though Ki-wumbu shows distinct influences in its noun-roots and pronouns of other languages in its vicinity not of the same group; especially Ki-koñgω (100 b), Yaka (116), and Buma (120). The following are the more interesting of its noun-roots, either for their peculiarity or their relationships:

Lumpe, 'white ants' (61 a, 98, 99); **Ngōdi**, 'back' (69, 74 a, 73, 76, 159 a; 246, 259); **Tomfi**, 'brains' (11, 41-4 b, 60, 62, 100-3); **-boyω**, 'brother' (120, 133); **-buma**, 'cat' (175); **-lele**, 'cloth' (98 a, 100-1, 118, 122, 124, 127, 200); **-didi**, 'cold' (4, 74, 131, 132, 178, 100-1—and see 'wind'); **-elω**, 'door' (71, 75, 76, 83, 89 to 100, 104, 105, 109, 142); **-vi**, 'door' (19, 20, 23, 39 to 144, 226; 229, 230, 234, 254); **-zōdi**, 'dream' (3 to 20, 86 to 103, 141 to 204); **-luñgu**, 'face' (89 to 166; 263); **-bidi**, 'fish' (20, 95 to 103, 107, 114, 116, 119); **-tañga**, 'forest' (62, 64 a, 110 a, 205, 86, 94, 61 a); **-kōtω**, 'frog' (118, 119, 180, 189, 190; 245, 256); **-pele**, 'ghost' (148); **-leñge**, 'grass' (100, 129, 131, 162); **-siñgini**, 'heel' (9, 13-16, 20-1 e, 23, 35, 41, 92, 100, 184); **-swama**, 'hide' (84); **-hama***, **-lama***, 'hill or mountain'; **-paka**, 'horn' (100-2, 153); **-soñgwei**, 'iron' (62, 100); **-ūdi**, 'island' (227; 74 b, 83, 87, 105 a); **Mpuñgi**, 'ivory' (100-3, 182, 184, 187, 193); **Zañga**, 'lake' (184, 186, 189, 195, 217, 75 a); **-kewa**, 'monkey' (100, 70, 71 f); **-kumbω**, 'name' (100, 123, 126, 131, 136, 161, 163, 167, 189); **-widi***, 'neck'; **-pimpa***, 'night'; **-bombω**, 'nose' (75, 78, 100 b, 116, 119, 121, 187, 191-3, 206, 226); **-gazi**, 'oil palm' (39, 40, 43, 104-6, 110, 116, 187); **-wembe**, 'pigeon' (4 b, 84, 96, 98, 100, 104 c, 110, 114, 116, 118, 191-5); **-tuti**, 'sky' (101); **-tonzu***, 'sleep'; **-bōlω***, 'son'; **-kuñgu**, 'song' (94, 118, 116); **-yω**, 'spear'; **Dumu**, 'spirit'; **-bwetōte**, 'star' (100, 102, 184); **Tedi**, 'sun' (100; 263-5, 268, 242 b; 52, 53, 73, and the **-tadi**, **-tali** root); **Ba**, 'tear'; **-tω**, **-taku**, 'thigh' (100 b; 249, 254); **-anzi**, 'vein' (9 c, 100, 184, 193, 226; 235); **-ite***, **-te***, 'well'; **-pira**, 'wind' (94, 41, 44, 51, 52, 105 a); **-ala***, 'yam'; **-biu***, 'yesterday'.

As regards numerals, the different languages of Group LL alternate between the **-bōle** and the **-bele** roots for 'two'. The Koñgω perversion of **-bole** (**-ōle**, **-ōle**) has penetrated here and beyond to the next Group MM. In 176, 178, 180, 181 we have **-bōle**, **-ōli**, **-muōli**, **-bōle**, and **-yōle**. But in 175, on the other hand, 'two' is **-wele**, **-yela**, in 179 and 182 it is **-ele**. A characteristic feature is the weakening of the root for 'three' from **-tatu** into **-tutu** (177), **-teru** or **-tiru**, a tendency also met with in the Aşañgω tongue to the north (184) and in the Buma dialects to the east (120-120 b). The most northern Teke tongue (182) shares the Koñgω root for 'four', **-ya**. Another distinct feature of the Teke Group (though it penetrates into the Ωgōwe languages and into those of the Lower Kasai and Kwañgω, and also appears in the Bantu and Semi-Bantu of the Cameroons) is **Mpwōmω** for 'eight'. The Central Teke dialects have in the pluralized decades a seemingly peculiar form: **A-kwa** ('tens'). But I think this will be found to be derived from **A-ku**, an abbreviation of **Ma-kumi**; to which is added the **-a** particle, meaning 'of', i. e. 'tens-of-three', **A-ku-a-i-tiru**. After 'seventy', however, this form is dropped and we revert in most Teke languages to **Liku** (which may be a contraction of **Li-kumi**, or an independent root for decades analogous to the **Dikω** of 130, &c.), followed by the word for the qualifying numeral. Thus 'seventy' may be **Li-ku-n-samω**. This also applies to 'eighty', but in 'ninety' we have another rather exceptional form, **Mu-bwa** or **U-bwa**. 'Twenty' in No. 182 is **Mω-kama**, an exceptional use of the **-kama** decimal root. There are indigenous roots for 'thousand' related to those of the Kwañgω-Kasai and the Northern Congo.

In the pronouns the Teke Group admits the addition of No. 2 plural prefix to the 1st and 2nd persons plural, a practice very common in Northern and North-western Bantu Groups. The substantive form of 'ye' is **Be**, **Bēē** (see Nos. 147, 186, 200, 229). The nominative particle for 'thou', with the verb, is **A**; for 'we' it is **Li** (no doubt from an earlier **Ti**); and for 'ye' there is the curious form **Le**, which may have come from **Ne**. **Kiwumbur** (177) has its form for 'they' (**Yau**) from **Koṅwo** (100), perhaps also its pluralized **Beto** and **Abenwo** for 'we' and 'ye'. 'All' is **ei**, **entwo**, **nswo**, **onsi**, **yue**, and **we** (the last is the East African **pe**).

In the verb, the terminal vowel of the root need not always be **a**, but is also **e**, **o**. The infinitive prefix is **U**, the preterite suffix is reduced from **-ile** to **-i**. The negative particles are the **Ka**, **U** (? from **Ku**), **Kali**-prefixes; and the **wo**, **iwo**, **we**, **ka**, **kw**, **ke** suffixes; also an infixal **ka**. The 'passive' terminal to the verb-root is the peculiar **ga**, **gwo**, or **gi**, and **ñi**, **ñwo** (for **ñgi**, **ñgwo**). The roots for 'be' are normal: **li** for 'existence' and **kala** for 'position'.

GROUP MM: THE CENTRAL ŪGŪWE LANGUAGES

(Nos. 183 to 190)

The languages of the central and north-eastern part of the Ūgŵewe basin are placed by me in one group, less from any marked evidence of underlying affinities than from geographical propinquity and default of positive evidence as to their inherent dissimilarity. Possibly the affinities of one or other of the **KŪTA** languages (183 or 185) may lie rather with the preceding **Teke** Group; and in regard to No. 188, the dialects or jargons spoken by the **Baboṅwo** Pygmies, one or other of these may prove to be so unconnected with the Central Ūgŵewe languages as to necessitate its being placed in a group by itself. But excepting the little known **Boṅwo** or **Ukwa** speech, the members of Group **MM**, however they may differ in phonology, are perhaps naturally associated with one another in origin, as well as in their present position on the map. According to Captain **M. R. Avelot**, who resided in this part of French West-Africa in the early part of the present century, the whole of this Ūgŵewe region and the **Gaboon** has undergone remarkable influxes and effluxes of Negro populations, resulting in incessant shifting of tribes and languages during the nineteenth century and opening of the twentieth. In the course of these invasions from the east, south, and north-east, some tribes and languages referred to fifty or eighty years ago are extinct or submerged. Yet **Avelot's** own records, and especially the researches of the French and American missionaries do not wholly confirm his statements as to the drastic changes which have taken place since—let us say—the 'sixties, when **Paul du Chaillu** first drew our attention to the Ūgŵewe basin.¹ In 1916, I received through **Monseigneur Le Roy**, Bishop of **Alinda**, a series of vocabularies of Group **MM**, which, with other notes supplied by him, show languages supposed to be extinct, or swamped with the speech of the invading **Pañwe**, still to exist, and to be recognizable in substance as the tongues referred to by mid-nineteenth century explorers.

Yet I confess to being somewhat uncertain as to my grouping and enumeration. I know very little about No. 183, which I have styled **WESTERN KŪTA**, and which may be the 'Yalimboṅwo'; the 'Mŵṣebŵ' (**Moshebo**), the 'Okota', or 'Bakota' of some explorers. It represents a settlement of **Kota** people not far from the coast of the **Gaboon**, south of the Ūgŵewe.

No. 184, **ASIRA** or **MAŠAṄŪ** (apparently the same language as the otherwise-styled **APŪŪŪ** and **ESIRA**) is now well-established by a full vocabulary transmitted to me by the Bishop of **Alinda**. Captain **Avelot** was of the opinion several years ago (in correspondence with me) that 185, his 'Okota de l'Est', was the same tongue as the 'Undaza' of **Koelle**, a theory not only rendered probable by its geographical position, but by the fact that one of its local dialects is known as 'Ndassa'. Apparently, also, it is the same speech as the **CAKE** or **LI-ŠAKE** of the Upper Ūgŵewe. I have given it the general title

¹ Captain **Avelot** is more in the right *north* of the Ūgŵewe, where the **Pañwe** clans have driven the older Bantu tribes to the coast belt.

of **EASTERN BAKŪTA**, influenced by Captain Avelot's opinion that there was a former unity between the tribes speaking languages 183 and 185, though they are now separated by a wide extent of territory and their languages do not offer a striking resemblance. **DI-KELE** of the Bakele or Bakalai peoples (No. 186) is the **NKELE** of Koelle's recording (from slaves at Sierra Leone) sixty-five years ago; about which time it was also attracting attention locally from the American missionaries of the Gaboon. The Bakele or Bakalai people at the present time are distributed in separate 'pockets' or locations both in the region of the Middle and of the Lower (estuarine) Ωgōwe. The three or four extant transcriptions of the language exhibit considerable dialectal variety, but rather in pronunciation than in word-roots. When an important 'Kele' tribe was discovered on the Northern Congo (see language No. 155) the tempting conclusion was jumped at by some writers that the Bakele of the Gaboon were an off-shoot from the Bakele of the Northern Congo. There is no proof of this in the respective languages, though, as already pointed out, there does seem to be a special affinity between the speech-forms of the Northern and north-eastern Congo and the Gaboon-Camerouns Bantu. No. 187 of my list is perhaps more correctly written down as 'ΩKANDE' rather than ΩKANDA. The former, at least, is the version of the name given by Père Raponda-Walker, who has furnished me with a vocabulary. Yet on the map the people speaking this language are sometimes styled 'Okanda' or Bakanda. [The O· is not a correct prefix, of course, for the language or the tribe; at best it is applicable to a single 'Kande' individual; but I adopt it as the name of the language because no other is ascertainable.]

MPŪVI (187 a) seems to be a distinct dialect of Ωkande; and the same may be the case with the speech of the **IŠŪGŪ**, **ŠIBE**, and **APINJI** tribes. No. 188 comprises the dialects or languages of the **BABŪNGŪ** or **AKWA** Pygmies in the Central Ωgōwe region. They are included in Group MM because of geographical propinquity. Our knowledge of them is so slight that we are unable to say decidedly whether they should or should not be classified separately. Some word-roots in No. 188 suggest affinities with the Semi-Bantu, and even the idea that the Baboñgō may represent a relic of Forest tribes in the Ωgōwe basin that originally spoke a non-Bantu or a Semi-Bantu language.

The chief root-names of these Pygmy forest peoples seem to be—or to have been—**-kwa** or **-kwa**, and **-boñgō**; and they are variously known as the Akwa, Ūaka, Bakwa, Baka, and Baboñgō. [**Ba-**, of course, or **A-** is only the plural prefix indicating the tribe. The language prefix is seldom ascertained by impatient explorers and often not elicited at all. In this group it is usually **Li-**.] Marche referred to these Pygmy dialects of the Ωgōwe as 'Ukoa' or 'Mboñgō'. The subject altogether of these barely-known speech-forms of the Middle Ωgōwe is one of the greatest interest in the field of Bantu research. It is to be feared, however, that in the tribal movements of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Baboñgō or Akwa dwarfs have completely disappeared; their forests have been cut down in the hunt for rubber; and the invading Pañwe have colonized many areas hitherto given up to the most primitive Negro types and the anthropoid apes.

The Baboñgō numerals: for 'one', **Mo-ñgō** or **Mo-ñkw** (as well as **-moi**); **-bōkw** and **-wuma** for 'two' (as well as **-iba** and **-bei**); **-tadi** for 'three' (compare the **-tad** of 216); **Koñgōli** or **Jima Boñgō** for 'four', **Moñgō-bi** (meaning, probably, 'one hand'); **Menje** (in composition) and **Jiw** for 'five'; **Diata** and **Samuna** for 'six'; **Nsima** or **Menje-iba** for 'seven'; **Kōku-njeba** for 'eight' (cf. 104 a); **Mo-ñkw nyolō-nšima** for 'nine'; and **-nšima**, **Nšuma** for 'ten' show the Baboñgō dialects to differ very markedly from the Bantu and even Semi-Bantu standards, in numerals as well as in other roots. Some of these equivalents for numerals may have been written down in error (especially those for 'four') and be due to a complete misunderstanding or mishearing; which is why one does not like to lay too much stress on either the resemblances or the differences between 188 and other Bantu or Semi-Bantu tongues. For instance, **Wuma** for 'two' may have meant something quite different. It bears a strange resemblance to a rare root for 'one', **-yuma**, **-wuma**, met with in Konjō of the Nyanza Group. Neither **Koñgōli** nor **Jima Boñgō** may have meant 'four'. **Moñgō-bi** (see 153) and **Menje** for 'five' are more probable; as also **Jiw**. **Samuna** for 'six' may have been borrowed from neighbouring tongues. **Diata** is perhaps an original word, and may be connected with forms in Group II. **Nsima** for 'seven' is very dubious: much more like one of the roots for 'ten' (**Nšuma**). The paraphrase for 'eight' reveals that in one dialect of the Baboñgō Sub-group there may be a root **Kōku** meaning 'ten', as well as **-koi**, **Mō-koi**. If so,

this corresponds very interestingly with the **Kwkw** of the Lukete language (104 a). The Bakete of Lubaland sometimes manifest a Pygmy strain in their composition, and in this term for 'ten' they may, like the Baboŋw, be retaining a vestige of some ancient Pygmy speech.

Our very scanty information as to the language of these Gaboon Pygmies is derived from the vocabularies jotted down many years ago by Paul du Chaillu and by Alfréd Marche. Though all are put here under one head (188), these fragments—coming, however, from one small area of forest country south of the Lower Ōgowe—probably represent two or even three distinct languages or jargons, all of which would seem to consist of an underlying basis of pre-Bantu or Semi-Bantu speech, sprinkled with Bantu word-roots in a corrupt and decaying form.

LI-DUMA or **NDUMU** (189)—often miscalled Aduma—is, after Mpoŋgwe (193), the principal trading language of the Gaboon, at any rate in the Ōgowe basin. **NJAVI** or **NJABI** (190) is a little-known language of the Upper Ōgowe regions which seems to be allied to **DUMA**.

In the phonology of this group there is nothing strikingly distinctive, save in the case of the **Dikele** language (186). In this the following points should be noted. There is a marked tendency, especially in the prefixes and the terminals, for ω or u to weaken into i ; thus **Mu**· becomes **Mi**·, **Bu**·, **Bi**·, and **Tu**·, **Li**· (l permuting frequently with l); **·tan** ω becomes **·tani**, and **·rar** ω , **·lali** or **·rale**. On the other hand, the 11th **Lu**· prefix deepens not merely into **L ω** · and **L \bar{o}** ·, but even into **La**·. This is also a feature in the phonology of the South Cameroons languages; but in estimating it regard should be had for the idiosyncrasies of the chief transcribers of these Gaboon-Cameroons languages. They were American missionaries who seemingly were not able to discriminate between the vowel a in 'father' and the a in 'all'. Their indication, therefore, of a as the vowel in the 11th or 12th prefixes (or in word-roots) must be received with caution: possibly they may have meant only that an o should be pronounced like a in 'all' and so many other English words. Another peculiarity of Dikele phonology is the presence of the dental \bar{d} or \bar{z} . This lisp, so far as analogy shows, replaces an original l ; l has passed into d , and d into \bar{z} or \bar{d} . It is not only uncertain from the transcriptions of missionaries whether the 'lh' of their Dikele orthography is intended to be pronounced \bar{z} or \bar{d} , but in one dialect, at least, there is no lisp; the substitute for l is either d or z .

The prefixes of Nos. 183, 185, 188, and 190 are very imperfectly known. In general it may be remarked of Group MM that the 7th prefix, as in North Central Congoland, tends to become reduced to **E**·, and in that form is confused sometimes with the relics of No. 13, though of this there are traces in Nos. 187 and 188, as **Ka**·, **Ke**·, **A**·. The 7th prefix, however, can appear as **Ge**·, **Ge**·, **Ke**·, **Gi**·,¹ or **Yi**·; or even as **A**·, **W**·, and **J**· (in 183 to 187). The 1st prefix is usually **Mu**· or **M ω** ·, and the **Mu**· may occasionally be denasalized as **Bu**· in Nos. 187-8; but it is seemingly never reduced to ω ·, as in Groups LL and NN. [The ω · in so many native names is borrowed from an Mpoŋgwe version.] In No. 190 **Mu**·, which elsewhere can be shortened to **M**·, is heard as **N**· in some words. The 2nd prefix, nearly always **Ba**·, occasionally weakens to **Ya**· and **A**· in 184 and 187. The 3rd prefix is occasionally met with as ω ·, **W ω** ·, **Gu**·, and **Wu**· (184, 186). The 5th prefix, the one most commonly applied to languages in this group, is **Di**· or **Li**·, **De**·, **Re**·, or **Le**·, **I**·, or **E**·. In some words of 187 (and 188?) it even seems to change to **Ti**·. In Nos. 184-6 the 6th prefix, **Ma**·, is sometimes denasalized as **Ba**·. The 8th may occasionally pass from **Bi**· into **Be**· and even **E**·. As 8a this prefix is popular¹ in Group MM as a diminutive, usually in the form **Vi**·, sometimes as **Ve**· (187), as **I**· and **Bi**· (187 a). In 189-90 it becomes, by palatalizing, **Si**·, with a plural in No. 8 (**Bi**·). Ordinarily the 10th prefix is entirely missing, its class being fused with that of 9. But in No. 187 it is present as **Di**·, **Dy**·, and **Ji**·, a very rare feature in the North-west Bantu. The 11th prefix is absent in 189-90, and reduced to ω · in 187. In 184 it is **Du**·, and in 183, 185-6 it is—as already mentioned—**La**·, **L \bar{o}** ·, **L ω** ·. The 12th prefix is present in 184-6 as **R ω** ·, **Ru**·, **L ω** ·, **L \bar{o}** ·, and even **La**·; in 187 it is **T ω** ·. In 189-90 it is absent, except for a few appearances (without concord) in the exceptional form of **S ω** ·. The form of the 15th prefix in this group is usually **Gu**·, **G ω** ·, **G ω** ·, and sometimes ω · or **W ω** ·. When attached to noun-roots its plural is the 4th prefix, **Mi**·. The 16th prefix makes an occasional appearance—mainly prepositional—as **Pe**·, **Pa**·, and **Va**·. There is no trace of the 17th prefix;

¹ Curiously enough, in No. 189, where the 8th prefix is usually **Gi**·, its concord particle is **si**.

except its suffix concord, **-ni** (187), but a locative, 'inward' **Te-** prefix is sometimes met with in 186. **Ti-** of the singular number serves as a prefix in 188 and perhaps 187, but its affinities and meaning are uncertain.

Noteworthy word-roots in languages 183-90:

-nywni, 'beard', 184 (7); **-unu***, 'bee', 185; **-buyi***, 'belly', 187; **-bɔma***, 'male breast', 187; **-busi***, 'cow', 184; **-sika**, 'excrement', 186 (220; 253); **-lɔme**, 'finger', 188 (141; 257); **-sakɔ**, 'fire', 188 (218, 219); **-bu***, **-bɔ***, 'fire', 187; **-cusu**, 'fowl', 190 (187, 189, 100, 166, 176, &c.); **-pɔtu**, **-bɔdɔ**, 'he goat', 186 (64, 195, and S-B.); **-sabi**, 'hand' (see 'finger'), 187 (6); **-yɔba***, 'hand', 186; **-tata***, 'head', 188; **-soŋguni***, 'heel', 184 (60, 56, &c.); **-kata**, 'hide', 184 (56); **-vala**, 'horn', 184 (38, 7); **-zagɔ***, 'iron', 187; **-dubi**, 'island', 189 (44 b, 85, 100 b, 148); **Magena**, 'leopard', 184 (142); **-ŋigonjɔ**, 'leopard', 188 (94; 230); **-basu***, 'lips', 184; **-veŋgi**, 'lips', 189 (128); **-nina**, 'lion', 186 (5); **-veva**, 'magic', 189 (73, 80); **-bunu**, **-bon**, 'man, vir', 186 (175); **-luma***, 'moon', 186; **-bɔti**, **-bɔta**, 'mother', 187 (166, 132, 134); **-kudi**, 'mountain', 189 (Nyanza languages and 195, 199); **-puma***, 'night', 186; **-pundu***, 'night', 189; **-basɔ**, 'nose', 184; **-basu**, 'nose', 190 (155, 108); **-tambila***, 'paddle', 186; **-duma***, 'palm wine', 186; **-bani**, 'river', 189 (4 b, 151, 166); **-kebu**, 'salt', 184 (104, 134); **-kutu***, 'shame', 189; **-butsuk**, 'smoke', 185 (227); **-alie***, **-alia***, 'smoke', 186; **-manda***, 'sun', 187; **-ipɔ***, **-imejɔ***, 'sun', 188; **Keiba***, 'tear', 187; **-caŋga**, 'tear', 184, 189, 190 (100); **-eyɔ**, 'thigh', 187 (77, 16); **-vava***, 'thing', 184; **-ela***, 'thing', 189; **-ina**, 189 (89, 94, 120 b, 160); **-savi**, **-sevi**, 'toe', 187, 190 (see 'finger', 133-64); **-sɔwa**, 'tooth', 186 (105); **Bei**, 'tooth', 184 (274); **-kɔti***, 'town', 188 (40, 41, 162); **-imbu**, 'town', 184 (2 a, 6, 114, 82-6, 94; 230); **-nanya***, 'tree', 188; **-isiba***, 'urine', 186; **-genye***, 'war', 187; **-niŋgɔ**, 'water', 193 (17, 18, 23 a-31, 51 a); **-terugu**, **-tegilu**, **-tehɔ**, 'well', 184, 189, 190 (see 19 a); **-tɔka**, 'well', 187 (162, 3, 9 a, 150); **-bamba**, 'white man', 187, 190 (103, 181); **Cakida**, 'firewood', 187 (27, 35, 38, 194); **-jika**, 'firewood', 186 (217, 218); **-zakɔ**, **-sakɔ**, 'firewood', 187 (54, probably identical with certain roots for 'fire', see 188); **-siŋi**, 'year', 189 (107).

Group MM has little homogeneity in its numerals. The root for 'one' is usually of the **-pɔkɔ**, **-bɔkɔ** type, met with elsewhere in Makua (56 a), in the languages of the Nyasa-Taŋganyika plateau, in the Cameroons, and the Semi-Bantu. 'Two' is represented by three types of root: **-ɔlɔ** (185), **-yɔle** (189), and **-ɔli** (190)—forms which have penetrated north from the Lower Congo; **-bani**, **-bali**, **-ba** (187, 183, 186); and **-bei** (184, 188). 'Three' is **-reru**, **-irerɔ** in No. 184. 'Five' is shortened to **-tai** in No. 187. 'Six' is rendered by the remarkable **Kambɔ** in 184; a root which may either be an older form of the widespread **Sambɔ**, or the initial *s* of **Sambɔ** may have passed through *ʃ* into the guttural consonant. The Western Kɔta language (183) translates 'six' by **Benai** ('two + four'—there is a similar form in No. 119). The other languages of the Group use the **Sambɔ** or **-tɔba** roots for 'six'. All of them, except 183, 187, and 188, use a form of **Sambɔ** for 'seven'; 188 has **Menje-iba** (five + two) or **Nɕima**; ¹ 183 and 187 have the isolated form, **Napɔ**. 'Eight' is represented in 183 by the widespread **-wambi** or **-ambi** root (prominent in Central Congoland and the Cameroons), but also by **Pwombɔ**, which recalls the forms in the Teke Group and a Kwaŋgɔ-Kasai language. 'Ten' in Group MM is represented by the root **-bom** (in plurals: see Nos. 194 to 213, and the root for 'all', in 148). In Nos. 183 and 187, 'ten' is expressed by **Jima**, **-ɕima**, **Jema**, **Nɕuma**, **Edjima**, a root met with also in Nos. 120 and 236. Though the **Nɕuma** of 188 suggests a link with **-kumi**, I rather fancy the **-jima** root for 'ten' is akin to a similar root meaning 'all' in 110, 118, 123, and another which implies 'whole', 'finish' (see **-zima**, 'whole', in Swahili). If so, this would again represent 'ten' by the phrase 'all'—i. e. 'all the fingers'. No. 188 also uses **-bɔta** for 'ten', a form suggesting kinship with the Ba-bot for 'ten' in the mysterious Bati language (No. 216).

'All' in Dikele has two renderings, **-tubɛ**, which has no clear affinities, unless with the **Tuta** of Ndzimu (220), and **-jɛɛɛ**, which is a variant of the widespread **-ɔte**, **-onse**, **-ense** root. 'All' in 184 is **-cu**, in 187 **-ecɔ**. The pronouns of Group MM exhibit a few noteworthy points. 'Thou' (substantival) in 184 is **Ndyau**, composed perhaps of **Ndi-**, a demonstrative, and **-au**. 'He', as well as 'they', in 187, is **Aŋgɔ**, a form nearly matched for the same pronoun in the Semi-Bantu, Nos. 244, 245. The **Ndi** for 'he' of Congoland reaches No. 184, but does not reappear again northwards till it crops out once more in

¹ This, as representative of 'seven', is very dubious.

the Semi-Bantu, 232. 'Ye' (substantival) in 186 is a pluralized 'thou', **Begwe**. Similar forms occur in Nos. 94, 117, 137, 176, and 226 b. The demonstratives in Group MM are usually the concord particles, with or without the suffixes **-nɔ**, **-nu**, **-na**, **-ne**, **-ene**. But 186 has a suffix **-ti**, akin, no doubt, to the **te**, **ti**, **di**, **ji** prefixes, infixes, or suffixes used demonstratively in Nos. 148, 195, 199, 225, 227, and 235.

The terminal vowel of the verb-root in this group, as in most North-western Bantu, may end in **-o**, **-ɔ**, **-e**, **-i**, as well as in **-a**. The infinitival prefix is only clearly known in Nos. 186 and 189; in the former it is **Pe-** (if used at all), in the latter **E-**. Dikele (186), however, usually prefers a suffix to a prefix to indicate the infinitive, and employs for this purpose the following terminal syllables: **-ḍa**, **-ḍɔ**, **-ḍe**.¹ The preterite terminal (**-ile**, in most Bantu languages) is usually reduced to **-i** where it is present at all in this group; but there is a fuller preterite termination in 186, **-ime**. The negative particles in 186 are **-ša**, **-tyi**, **Ša**, and **Dɔ**. In No. 189 they are **Ka**, **-ka**, and **-ve**.² The passive terminal of the verb-root in 186 is **-ia**, **-ie**, **-wa**, **-we**, **-kwe**, **-gwe**, **-jie**, &c.; but in the remainder of the group the passive is represented usually by a paraphrase in speech 'they saw me' instead of 'I am seen'. 186 and 189—possibly also 183, 184, 187—possess to some extent the other normal terminals of the Bantu verb-root, at any rate those I have marked 14 c and 14 d (applicative and causative).

The verb 'to be' in 186 is represented by the following roots: **-di**, **-le**, **-mbie**, **-be**, **-wu**, **-diya**; and in 189 **-be** (**Ebe** = 'to be'), **-li**, **-ni**; and by the negative **-ve**.

GROUP NN: THE ƆƆƆWE-GABOON LANGUAGES

(Nos. 191 to 193)

Group NN includes the **ŃKŌMI-GALWA** and **ORUŃGU** languages on the coast of the ƆƆƆwe delta and in the district immediately south of the delta, together with the isolated patches of MpoŃgwe on the coast of the Gaboon inlet. The most typical and peculiar language of this group is the **MPŌŃGWE**. 'MpoŃgwe' is said to be a native nickname misapplied to these people by the Portuguese which has ever since clung to them. Their original name for themselves seems to have been **Abuka**. Their language and its congeners are believed to be the outcome of a migration from the south, comparatively distant in time, but quite distinct from the north-east to south-west, the south-east to north-west, the east to west migrations from the Upper SaŃga or inner Congo basin which brought the other Bantu stocks into the Gaboon and the ƆƆƆwe basin.

MPŌŃGWE first became noted as a Bantu language and a trading *lingua franca* north of the ƆƆƆwe in the 'forties of the last century, through the settlement of the American missionaries at the Gaboon; and simultaneously a few of its words were being written down by the industrious Clarke who, from the lips of freed slaves at Fernando Pô, compiled so many brief but interesting extracts of West African speech. Koelle, about 1850, wrote down a vocabulary of OruŃgu from freed slaves at Sierra Leone. **ORUŃGU** (192) is so like **ŃKŌMI-GALWA** (191) that it may prove to be only a dialect of No. 191. **Ńkŏmi-Galwa** is the language which is spoken with dialectal variations by the **Ńkŏmi** and **Galwa** tribes of the ƆƆƆwe delta; the languages known as **IVILI** and **ADYUMBA** would seem to be only dialects of OruŃgu. But the whole question of Group NN requires much more light thrown on it by systematic modern studies of all its languages and dialects. Meanwhile, my suggested arrangement of it must be taken as tentative and subject to correction and modification. The Galwa speech was formerly alluded to by unscientific explorers as 'Gallois', which, though a nearly exact reproduction of the native name, according to popular French spelling and pronunciation, was most misleading to philologists, who naturally pronounced it as spelt and were puzzled by such an un-Bantu-like word ending in an *s*. **Ńkŏmi** also was rendered 'Commi' in the dark days of ignorant dealing with African questions.

¹ Equivalent, no doubt, to **-la**, **-lɔ**, **-le** elsewhere.

² Derived from **-pe**, **-pa**. In 186 **-ve** is represented by **-byā**.

In the phonology of Mpoŋgwe the eye of the expert will chiefly note the collocation of *n* and *l* in so many words (*-ninla*, for example). This rendering of an undecided alveolar consonant does not seem to spread much or to be noted in the other languages of the group, wherein the Mpoŋgwe *nl* is translated either into *l* or *n*. *L* in this group has a marked tendency towards changing into *n*, but the reverse process of *n* into *l*, so observable in the Fernandian Group (for example) is not apparent. An older Bantu *c* or *j* becomes in Mpoŋgwe *ty* or *z*, *ʒ*. The labial *b* is disliked as an initial in this group, especially in Mpoŋgwe, where it is replaced by *w* or *v*, or omitted. Nos. 191 and 192 are not quite so drastic in this respect. *P* also becomes *v*, and an original Bantu *t* changes to *r*.

Preprefixes persist in this group, though without definite purpose. Frequently they have fused with the prefix and reduced it to a mere vowel. Thus the 1st prefix is often heard as Ω- in 191, 192, and 193,¹ though it is also Om' in Mpoŋgwe, and Mω- in 191-2. The 2nd prefix in its fullest form is Awa-, but is often reduced in common parlance to A-; the third becomes Ω-, the 4th E-, the 5th I- or E-, the 6th A-, the 7th (nearly always) E-, the 11th Ω-, the 14th Ω-, and the 15th Ω-. The result is that in the superficial study of Mpoŋgwe (and less so of the two other members of the group) the prefixes seem to be mainly Ω-, E-, or I- in the singular and A-, E-, I- in the plural. The retention of an honorific singular prefix A- (the plural Ba- turned to that purpose, as in so many other Bantu languages) further confuses the distinctions of the classes and numbers. Examined, however, more carefully, it is seen that Group NN still retains relics of a pretty full prefix representation. The 1st prefix, as well as Om' or Mω- is also Nū-, Nw-, N-, Oñw-, Oñg', Onw-, as though in addition to the Mu- prefix there was also a remembrance of the Ngu- demonstrative so much associated with Classes 1 and 3 and providing its original preprefix. Thus, in this group, the 3rd prefix has actually lost the Mu- form and is generally heard (apart from the abbreviated Ω-) as Ωgu-, Ωhω-, Ωw-, Nw-, Onw-; and its concord is ñu (the concord of Class 1 being nū, wi, and om'). Class 2 in its fullest form is Awa-; it is also Wa- in Mpoŋgwe. Class 4 is Emi-, Imi-, Im', Mi-. Class 5 is Le-, Li-, Tsi- in Nos. 191-2 (besides I- and E-); but in Mpoŋgwe is Iny-—at its fullest—and I-; with a concord nyi. Class 6 is Ama-, Am', as well as A-; Class 7 is one of the worst treated. It is normally E-, but in a few words retains the older form of Ez', and has a concord in 191-2 of si and in Mpoŋgwe zi. The 8th Class in Nos. 191-2 preserves itself better than in 193: it is Be- and Bi-. But in Mpoŋgwe it has become palatalized as Yi- or Ny', with a yi concord. In Mpoŋgwe, however, there are traces of 8a in the form of Vi- (a singular diminutive). The 9th prefix usually has no preprefix and is the normal N-, N-, Ny-. Mpoŋgwe, however (I cannot trace it in 191-2), has retained the 10th prefix which is so rarely present in North-west Bantu, and presents it ordinarily as Si- or Si-, but also as I-). The 11th prefix persists in 191-3 in the attenuated form of Le-, though—as in Mpoŋgwe—it can be more often traced as Ω- and identified by its plural in Class.10 (in Mpoŋgwe, Si- or Si-). The 12th prefix is absent from my not very full records of Oruŋgu and Galwa, but can be found in a few Mpoŋgwe words as Or', Orω-. The 13th is no longer definitely used as a prefix, but in the form Ga- and Ka- has become attached to a few word-roots or is perhaps used in an adverbial sense. The 14th is just recognizable as Ωw- and Ω-, and the 15th, though often disguised as Ω-, is used a good deal in Mpoŋgwe as Ωgu-, Gu-, Gω-, and in Oruŋgu-Galwa as Hω-, with a plural in Mi-. The 16th is Va-; and, as already mentioned, there is an honorific prefix, A-. In some of the tribal names the -ana suffix would seem to linger in the form of -ani.

Noteworthy noun-roots in languages 191-3:

-vugima*, 'animal', 193; -suhul*, 'arrow', 192; -tugu, 'back', 193 (15, 23, 24 c, 30, 32, and E. Africa generally); -pā, 'bone', 192, 193 (166, 168, 176, 178, 187); [-puŋgu, 'brains', 193 (probably a variant of the widespread -oŋgω, -boŋgω root); Nge, 'male breast', 193; -niŋgela*, 'charcoal', 192; -ti, 'excrement', 193 (151, 226); -leve, 'foot', 193 (228, 273); -tsωtsω, 'foot', 191; -tyωziω, 'foot', 193; -cuju, 'foot', 191 (13, 73); -bisa, 'hand', 192 (225; 261); -leve, 'hand', 193 (cf. 'foot' and -lefe, 273); -nejiu*, 'head', 191; -bonju, -bontsω, 'head', 192; -tumbu, 'heel', 193 (85); -nembe*, -lembe*, 'honey', 191, 192, 193; -ziga*, 'house', 193; -kuata*, 'knife', 191; -kwara*, 'knife', 192; -beni,

¹ Whence the many tribal names beginning with Ω- (quite incorrectly), and derived from Mpoŋgwe interpreters.

'lake', 193 (175, 178); **-dia**, 'man', 193 (251); **-naka***, 'man', 191; **-naga***, 'man', 193; **-toñgω***, 'meat', 191; **-pele**, 'neck', 193 (226); **Goñgwe**, 'pig', 193 (160, 161); **-nōga**, 'river', 193 (114, 198, 146, 73); **-sai***, 'shame', 193; **-ya**, 'thing', 193; **-sāun**, 'thing', 193 (159); **Iñkwe**, 'thing', 193 (85); **-miene**, 'tongue', 193 (250); **-deke**, 'town', 191 (267, 227; 7; 230); **-tyeni***, 'witchcraft', 193.

The common form of the numeral 'one' in this group is **Mori** (the **Moti** of elsewhere). But in the paraphrases that express numerals between 'five' and 'ten' there are traces of another root for 'one' of interesting affinities with the Semi-Bantu and No. 148 a, the Pygmy language of the Ituri. This is the **Enoñ**, **Enō**, **Inō** of 191-2, and the **Inō**-, **-genu** of 193. These forms recall the **-yenω** of 241, the **-gōnω** of 148 a, the **-gon** of 241, the **Von** of 239, &c. 'Two' in this group exhibits the preference for *n* over *l*; it is **-bani**, **-vani** in 191-2, and **-ani**, **-hwani** in 193. 'Three' likewise shows the tendency of *t* either to crumble into *r*, or to be palatalized, for it is **-raro**, **-tsaro**, **-tsearu**, **-jearu**, **-tyarω**, and the more normal **-tarω**. 'Five' likewise is **-tyani**, **-tani**, as well as **-tanu**. 'Six' is a paraphrase of the **-tōba** root; 'seven' is rendered by 'six and one'; and 'nine' is 'one from ten'. 'Ten' is represented by variants of **-kumi**: **-gōmi**, **-xōmi**, **-gume**, **-hōmi**; but in 192 has the peculiar form of **E-hōmi-nω**, which probably arose from 'this ten here'. 'One hundred' is the widespread root, **-kama**.

It should be noted in the pronouns that the far-travelled **Ndi** root for 'he', though it has penetrated to the **Ωgowe**, is not to be found in Group NN, wherein the substantival and verbal forms of the 3rd person singular are **Ye**, **E-**, **-aye**, **-e**. 'We' (substantival) is expressed by the rather full form of **Azuwe**, **Azwe**. 'They', owing to the dislike to *h*, is **Wao** in Mpoñgwe, with the particles **Wi-** and **-ao**. An accusative pronominal infix, **-mi-**, for the first person singular, is preserved in Mpoñgwe.

The only noteworthy feature about the demonstratives is the **Me-** prefix, which in Mpongwe, and perhaps the rest of the group, precedes the forms for 'that'. 'All' is **-ōdu**, **-du** in Mpoñgwe, a root not easy to place, but which may after all descend from the **-onte**, **-onse**, **-ontω** stem.

The verb does not offer very remarkable or isolating features. The root may terminate in other vowels than **-a**; the infinitive prefix is normally No. 15 (**Gω-**), but also **Pa-** in 191, and **Yi-** in 193; the preterite terminal (No. 6) is **-i** or **-e**. The negative is expressed by stressing the first vowel in the verb-root, or by nasalizing the first consonant of the verb-root in the past tenses; also by the prefix **A-** (which may be derived from an older **Ka-**), and by an infix **-pa-**. The only terminal syllables that modify the verb-root which I have been able to trace are those of the passive (**-ω** and perhaps **-wa**), and Nos. 14 c, 14 d, and 14 g, with faint indications of 14 f.¹ The verb 'to be' is represented in its different senses of 'existing' and 'dwelling' by **-re**, **-are**, **-be-**, **Ne-**; by **-duana** (perhaps related to the **-du**, **-ru**, **-lu** of Nos. 5, 5 a, the **-lω**, **-nω** of 211 and 226, 246, and the **Dω-** of 186); and lastly, by an unexplained form, much used in modern times: **-pegaga**, **-vegagi**, **-vegigi**. A negative verb, 'not to be', exists in Mpoñgwe, **-ziene**, which recalls the form **-kien** in No. 121.

GROUP OO: THE SPANISH GUINEA-WEST CAMEROONS LANGUAGES

(Nos. 194 to 212)

This large group might be further sub-divided into the sub-groups: OO 1, the **BENGA** languages (Nos. 194 to 199); OO 2, the **NYON** languages (Nos. 200, 200 a, and 201); OO 3, the **LOWER SANAGÁ** languages (Nos. 202 and 203); OO 4, the **CAMEROONS** languages (Nos. 204 to 206); OO 5, the **RUMPI** languages (Nos. 207 to 210); and OO 6, the **MONGΩ** languages (211 and 212). They are named in their geographical order from south-west to north-east, but Sub-groups OO 1 and OO 4 are more akin to each other than either is to OO 2 (much influenced by the 'Fañg' languages of Group RR) or to OO 6, on which the adjacent Semi-Bantu speech-forms have had some effect.

This group of Bantu languages came somewhat early under the notice of Europeans. Some words of No. 206 (the language of Ambas or 'Amboises' Bay, below the great Cameroons mountain) were

¹ Respectively the applicative, causative, continuative, and reciprocal phases of the verb.

transcribed by Dutch trader-travellers late in the seventeenth century and repeated in a British collection of travels in 1732 (see Vol. I, p. 2). In 1840 Baptist missionaries from the West Indies and England began to settle on or to visit the Cameroons coast; and as early as 1842 one of the marvels of that remarkable body of missionaries, the Rev. Joseph Merrick (a West Indian man of colour), had printed a dictionary in two volumes of the Isubu language, a particularly interesting tongue (from its distant affinities and its archaisms), which is or was spoken on the very limited area of the Bimbia peninsula, between the estuary of the Cameroons (Wuri) river and the base of the Cameroons peak. I allude to Joseph Merrick as a 'marvel', because although his education was only obtained in Jamaica at a time when the Negroes were just emerging from slavery, he was well grounded in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and had ideas as to phonetic spelling and philological values much in advance of his day. The second volume of his fascinating work on the Isubu tongue has apparently been lost; at least there is only the first volume to be seen at the British Museum and in the library of the Baptist Missionary Society; but it is an invaluable study of a possibly vanished or submerged Bantu language, as was apparent at the time to that other genius in African linguistics, W. H. I. Bleek. It is difficult to realize that Merrick's dictionary was published as early as 1842, so modern is his treatment of the language, and so perceptive of Bantu features at that time but little understood. The Rev. John Clarke wrote down from freed slaves at Fernando Pô, between 1840 and 1845, short vocabularies of most of the languages of Group OO. The Rev. Alfred Saker in the 'fifties effectually studied and illustrated Duala, and gave glimpses of its neighbouring languages and dialects; and Koelle at Sierra Leone, between 1850 and 1884, had transcribed from released slaves Nos. 194, 204, and 205. So that at the beginning of intelligent, comparative work on the Bantu language family by Bleek and others, there existed much material in the north-westernmost Bantu on which to theorize.

The next marked advance in research came from the American missionaries in the Gaboon, who studied the Beña languages of Bataña in the 'sixties and 'seventies; then followed my own three years' residence and travels as a Vice-consul for the Cameroons in the 'eighties, during which I restudied the tongues already made known, and discovered others. Much of this research work, however, has remained unpublished till now, being always intended for this Comparative Study. The German occupation of the Cameroons greatly stimulated linguistic research, especially by German missionaries. The great Carl Meinhof made his *début*—I fancy—in this region. At any rate we owed to him between 1890 and 1899 numerous illustrations of the Cameroons Bantu. A great deal still remains to be done, even in the much-examined Duala (204), but notably in languages Nos. 194, 196, 197, 200, 201, 203, 205, 211, and 212.

From certain affinities in noun-roots and numerals one derives the impression that the Spanish Guinea-West Cameroons region was mainly 'Bantuized' by a direct invasion from the Northern Congo, across the Lower Mubañgi, and that the intervening area between the Cameroons coast and the Congo-Mubañgi confluence was at one time occupied by tribes of similar speech, but that at a later date these peoples of kindred languages were widely separated by great invasions of Sudanic populations, altogether unlike the Bantu in their parlance; or by Sudanicized Bantu such as the Pañwe (Fañg).

We commence our survey of this large Group OO¹ with the **SEKE** or **SEKIANI** (194) language of the Muni territory (Spanish Guinea). This seems also to bear the names of or to be nearly identical with **BULU** or **MBULU**² or **MBUŞA**. To this succeeds northwards **BENGA** or **BIENGA** (195) of Corisco Bay. **NGUMBI** or **KOMBE** and **BA-LANGI** (196 and 197) are little more than northern dialects of **BENGA** (198). Another local name for **NGUMBI** seems to be **NDŌWĪ**. The languages of the Bataña coast, **NAKA** or **BA-PUKU** (198), **BA-NŌHŌ** (**BA-NŌKŌ**) or 'BA-TANĠA' (199, 199 a), are also near allies of Beña, intermediate between it and Duala (204). These languages of the Bataña coast are, however, not enough known to be classed decisively. **MABEA** (**MAGBEA**) and **NGUMBA**

¹ The accuracy and applicability of none of the language-titles in Group OO is guaranteed. Somehow, when we leave the Congo to proceed north-westward it becomes increasingly difficult to ascertain the local name of a language, though easy enough to decide on the appellation of a tribe. Consequently, most of the titles of the components of Group OO are the names of tribes, or even of individuals, as may be noted from the reiteration of the prefixes **Ba-**, **M-**, **Bi-**, **Ma-**.

² Bulu is also the name of a widespread Fañg language.

(**MVUMBA**), Nos. 200, 200 a, are so strongly impregnated with Pañwe influence and so like the 'Fañg' languages in their phonology and their abbreviated roots that it is difficult to decide whether to retain them in Group OO or add them to Group RR; but on the whole their affinities seem to lie rather more with the West Cameroons languages; and apparently they are spoken by tribes who have dwelt long in the land they still inhabit and whose language has only recently been moulded by the influence of the Pañwe immigration. The same remarks apply equally to the sub-group of the Lower Sanagá, Nos. 201, 202, and 203, known as **BA-SIKI** (also called **BIMBI** and **BANEK**), **BA-KŪKŪ** or **YABAKALAKI**, and **BASĀ** (or **MVELA** or **MBELE**). **BASA** approximates in some points to **DUALA** (204), and **BA-SIKI** and **BA-KŪKŪ** are closely allied.

The **DUALA** language (204) is emphatically Bantu, and has apparently escaped that Semi-Bantu imprint which has left its mark so strongly on the Pañwe tongues, and on the Sanagá and the Nyoñ languages. **ISUBU** and **A-KWILE** or **BA-KWIRI** (205, 206),¹ which together represent the languages of the Cameroons mountain and its seaward slopes, are not far removed from Duala. **ISUBU**—a speech nearly extinct—is, as already stated, of extreme interest to students of the Bantu family, both for its retention of orthodox syntactical features and its archaic word-roots. The same remarks apply—but less pointedly—to **BALUE** (207), to **ŊGŪLŪ** (208), or to the eastern form of **BA-KUNDU** (209), and **BA-ROMBIMBONGŪ** (210). This **ROMBI** or **RUMPI** Sub-group is of additional interest because it abuts with some abruptness on Groups A and B of the Semi-Bantu, but is itself very distinctly of the Bantu family. The **BA-LUE** or **BA-RONDŪ** speech (207) of the North Cameroons coast at one time extended to—and perhaps is still spoken in—the Bakasí peninsula, which separates the Rio del Rey from the Calabar estuary. In this direction the Bantu have been pushed back by the Semi-Bantu Efik, and Akwa, and even by the Niger Delta tongues. **BONKEN** (211) and **ABŪ** (212) (properly, **ABŌ**) of the Moñgŵ valley (between the Moñgŵ river and the Maneñguba mountains), are outlying members of Group OO (Sub-group OO 6), which have been much in contact with and much affected by the Semi-Bantu languages of the north-east.

Since the first volume of this work was published and the greater part of this chapter was written, Professor Bernhard Struck, who has long been studying the Cameroons languages with attention, sent the author much additional information regard the languages of Group OO, which is incorporated in the following account or in the Analyses of Word-roots and Syntax. Professor Struck corrects me in an error concerning 'Malimba' as a dialect of No. 199 (Ba-nŵhŵ). 199a should be styled **BA-TANĠA** and be regarded as a northern dialect of Ba-nŵhŵ, reaching northwards along the Batañga coast to the mouth of the Sanagá river. North of the Sanagá it is replaced by **MU-LIMBA** (204 b), which is really a dialect of **DUALA**. There is a third dialect of Duala spoken on the borders of the Cameroons estuary, **PONĠO-SONĠO** (204 c). The **WURI** dialect (204 a) is locally styled **E-WORI**.

The following list of noteworthy noun-roots in languages #94-212 includes a number of words from vocabularies of Ba-tañga, Mabea, Ba-kŵkŵ, Basā, Wuri, Mu-limba, and Poñgo-Soñgo contributed by Professor Struck:

Nuga*, 'animal', 203; **Titŵ**, 'animal, meat', 195 (199, 200, 200 a, 202, 212, 217-19, 186); **-njuluku**, 'ant'—sometimes 'termite' (see the **Suluk** roots for 'white ant'), 194; **Sulug**, 'white ant', 202 (203, 204, 220, 79); **Kedi**, 'ant, termite', 195, 199 (204, 119, 157, 189, 86, 91); **-gilŵ**, 'ape, gorilla', 194 (200 a, 186, 220, 220 h); **-pambwe**, 'arrow', 199 (202, 204, 205, 211, 212, 148); **-ŝio**, 'arrow', 200 (110, 111); **-kŵbe**, **-kŵpe**, **-hube**, **-kfube**, **-kuba**, 'banana', 198 to 204 (226, 75 a, 75 b, 76, 65 to 69, 64); **-kwande**, 'banana', 200 (the **-konde** root); **-bomboñ**, **-bombŵ**, 'bee', 202, 204 a (217, 218, 219); **Ŋgeñge**, 'belly', 204 b, 209 (271-2); **-fambwe**, 'bow', 200 (191, 192, 100, and related to the **-pambwe** 'bow' or 'arrow' root); **-kañ**, **-kañga**, 'man's breast', 198, 199, 200, 204 to 209 (216; 227-31, 233); **Tŵl**, 'man's breast', 202-3 (26, 90 to 100, 111, 116 to 193); **-dayañ***, 'brother', 202; **Nyati**, 'buffalo', 199 a (the widespread root); **-sumbe***, 'buffalo', 210; **-nyulu***, 'buttocks', 204 b; **Gweb***, 'buttocks', 203; **-aa**, 'charcoal', 204 b (the widespread **-kala** root); **Sib-kalag***, 'charcoal', 203; **-handŵ**, 'charcoal', 199 (4, 5); **-kfuma**, 'chief', 200 (the **-fumu** root); **-pŵlŵ**, 'chief', 195, 199 (121); **-heb**, 'cold',

¹ Probably the correct rendering of Bakwiri is A-kwile.

203 (the **-pepe** root); **-lɔlɔkw***, 'cold', 204 b; **Iwa**, 'cold', 209 (76); **-gomb***, **-ombe**, **-kombe**, 'crocodile', 203, 204 b, 211 (100, 104 c, 214); **-kombat***, 'crocodile', 202; **Vun***, 'day, daylight', 200; **-enen***, 'day, daylight', 204 b; **Ngvue***, 'devil', 200; **-zeg**, 'devil', 202 (100); **-lelem**, **E-em**, **-dem**, **-demi**, 'dream', 202-3, 207, 212 (218, 220; 227); **-wa**, 'excrement', 205, 206 (162); **-teya***, 'fat', 198; **-vɔmɔ**, 'fat', 194 (108); **-funde***, 'fear', 200; **-ɔmu**, 'fire', 195 (86); **-ɔnu**, 'fire', 194; **-zwañ**, **-zañ**, 'fire', 201, 202 (217-19; 245); **Titi**, 'fish', 207, 212 (see the roots for 'flesh', 'meat', 'animal'); **-ɔbi**, 'fish', 203 (56 b, 63, 64-8; 249); **-bɔ**, 'foot', 194, 202 (186, 218-20, 225); **-pan**, 'forest', 202 (217-19, 150, 146); **-pfɔ**, **-pfɔa***, 'fowl', 200, 201 (may be connected with the **-kuba**, **-kɔba** root by the change from *k* to *f* which takes place in 200 and 202); **-lina***, 'ghost', 195 (193); **-kuke**, **-kuku**, 'ghost', 'spirit', 202, 203, 211 (14, 21 e, 28, 58, 61 a; see also 'devil'); **-hahi***, 'girl', 199; **-dɔhili***, 'girl', 204 a; **M-bɔdi**, 'goat', 199 a; **Kyele**, **-sele**, 'goat', 200, 204, 209 (94, 69; 232, 237; 217, 219; 253); **Kamad**, **Kamag**, 'goat', 202 (123, 125, 218, 219, 159, 161); **Kembe**, 'goat', 203 (164, and perhaps the **-pembe** root); **-ke**, 'goat', 208; **Beb-kembe**, 'he goat', 203 (20, 21, 34, 3, 61, 90-2, 105; 235, 248); **Sɔgwɔ**, 'grandparent', 203 (11, 86, and **Kɔkwɔ** root); **Teg**, 'ground', 203 (92, 135; 245, and the **-taka** root); **Kaŋga**, 'guinea-fowl', 199 a; **-bem**, 'guinea-fowl', 202 (214); **-guru**, 'guinea-fowl', 210 (254; 17, 102); **-vuañ**, 'hair', 200 (125, 220); **-wuñgɔ**, 'hand', 205 (225); **-ayiñ***, 'hand', 194; **-wumbi**, 'hand', 206 (20); **-kadu**, **-hadu**, 'hand', 195, 198 (2, 2 g, 5 a, 75, 147); **-lopɔ**, **-ɔpɔ**, 'head', 195, 204, 205, 206; **-buma***, 'heart', 210; **-titin**, 'heel', 202 (245 and the **-tindi** root); **-londi***, 'hippopotamus', 200, 201, 202; **-doñgo**, 'hill', 202; **-bag**, 'hoe', 202 (5, 6, 193, 217); **Twañ**, 'horn', 200; **-seba**, 'horn', 202; **-nya**, **-nyare***, 'husband', 208, 209; **-ke**, 'iron', 202; **-bom**, 'iron', 194; **-sɔka**, 'hyena', 210 (66, 69, 74, 75); **Kid-boñ**, 'knee', 203 (121 to 265); **-kuata**, 'knife', 194 (191-2); **-tfuma**, 'knife', 200; **-fañga***, 'leg', 208; **-ɔda**, 'leg', 204; **-bend**, 'leg', 203 (77 to 222); **-sinɔ***, 'leg', 211; **-lebu**, 'lips', 195 (75, 104); **-beb**, 'lips', 203; **-bondɔ**, 'lion', 203; **-git**, 'magic', 202; **-jimbili**, 'magic', 202; **-sañgɔ**, 'magic', 202; **-rɔbɔ**, 'magic', 209 (226); **-jeg**, 'magic', 203; **-mbā**, 'man', 194 (145); **-beba**, 'meat', 203; **-yɔbɔ**, 'medicine', 206; **-hɔdi**, **-kɔdi**, 'mountain', 195, 199, 211 (see Nyanza languages and 73, 51 a, and 226); **-sɔlɔ**, 'mouth', 204; **-sasa**, 'finger-nail', 208 (151); **-ɔl**, **-ɔw***, 'name', 203, 202; **-kwala**, 'neck, throat', 200 (80, 215); **-liwɔ**, 'neck', 206 (86); **-fiki***, 'nose', 208; **Gyuɛ**, 'penis', 200; **-sire***, 'pigeon', 208; **-nob**, **Lof**, **Lɔ**, 'rain', 203 (273, 228, 234-5, 229); **-beñ**, 'rain', 202 (228-34, and other Semi-Bantu languages); **-bɔw**, 'river', 202 (150, 151); **-ɔka**, 'river', 195 (114, 100 b, 193, 146, 56 a); **-señ**, 'road', 200 (245); **-luñji***, 'road', 211; **-solɔ**, 'shame', 204 (see root for 'mouth' in same language); **-tɔhɔ**, **-sɔka**, 'sheep', 200 a, 208, 214 (39 to 155); **-sika***, 'shield', 194; **Tut**, **-totok**, 'shoulder', 202 (254-6; 155, 164); **-kɔga**, 'skin', 202; **Li-lal**, 'sleep', 202 (the universal root **-lala**); **Fhita**, **Hida**, 'smoke', 202, 203 (194, 226); **-bū**, 'smoke', 203; **-bam**, **-vam**, 'snake', 202, 200 (70, 75, 193, 226); **-wañ**, 'snake', 200 (225); **Nyama-gbwawa**, 'snake', 204-6 (meaning 'long animal': see also Nos. 11, 151 a, 226); **-loñgɔ**, **-loñgi***, 'song', 204, 199 a; **-gɔsɔ***, 'song', 200; **-tuba**, 'spear', 210 (58, 59, 67, 213; 227, 255); **-lɔlɔ**, 'spear', 203; **-wolɔlɔ**, 'spirit', 198 (89, 92, 178, 11, 14); **-didi**, **-dii**, 'spirit', 199, 204 (94, 156, and see roots for 'wind'); **-ɔdi**, 'spirit', 205 (75 a, 116); **-ɔdot**, 'star', 203 (132 to 168); **-sɔwea**, 'star', 205 (32, 178); **-kek**, 'stick', 203; **-gog**, **-kok**, 'stone', 202, 203, 207, 212 (217 to 225, 149, 186); **Fhañga**, **-añga**, 'sun', 202, 203 (248; 166); **-peg**, 'tail', 202 (51, 156); **-bimbiɔdi***, 'tear', 199 a; **Bvindi**, 'testicles', 200; **-boñga**, **-puñga**, 'testicles', 195, 210 (166, 223); **-jio***, 'thief', 200; **-firi**, 'thief', 200 a (2 a, 226); **Y-ahi**, **b-ehi**, 'thing', 199 a; **-penyi***, 'thorn', 210; **Lɔ**, **-dɔ**, 'thorn', 203, 207 (153, 166); **-bɔmɔ***, 'tongue', 210; **Toñ**, 'tongue', 200 (230, 274); **-lemb**, 'tongue', 202, 203 (273); **Gia**, 'tooth', 200 a; **-lamba**, 'town', 210 (2 d, 23, 56, 218); **-buñgu***, 'tree', 196; **-hem**, 'tree', 203 (77-80); **-waha**, 'twins', 199 a; **-has**, 'twins', 203; **-pwaki**, 'twins', 210 (230, 234); **Wua***, 'twins', 200; **-nyali**, 'urine', 205, 206 (5 a, 6, 226); **-sanda**, 'urine', 194; **-sanji**, 'urine', 204, 207; **-hanja**, 'urine', 195 (253; 214); **Kɔlɔ**, 'war', 211 (6); **Wala**, 'war', 212 (218); **-emba**, 'war', 204 (2 c, 2 d, 60); **-wenji***, **-weñge***, 'war', 204; **Gwed**, 'war', 203; **-oñgɔ**, 'war', 206 (244, 248); **-duku**, 'water', 194 (225; 253); **-ɔsɔ***, 'water', 206; **-dzuwɔ**, 'water', 200; **-dañgɔ***, 'well', 195; **Toñgɔ**, 'well', 202; **-kafu**, 'white man', 207 (264, 268); **-boñgɔ**, 'white man', 206; **-ɔra**, 'wife', 200 (17, 18); **-taka**, 'wife', 202 (see Nos. 168, 252); **-tawa**, 'wife', 203; **-lana**, 'wife', 206 (263; 61 a, 21); **-amɔ**, 'wife', 210 (see **Kama**, a word for 'husband' or 'wife' in Nos. 100 b, 98, 101, 103; 227); **-pupe**, 'wind',

204; **-didi**, 'wind', 205 (164: see words for 'spirit'); **-guñgu**, 'wind', 209 (253; 15, 1, 2, 78, 142, 9c); **-wili***, 'wind', 206; **-bō**, 'witch', 212 (234); **-wusu**, 'witch', 204 (141, 155, 237); **-ndiga**, 'woman', 202; **-ra**, **-ura**, **-ōra**, 'woman', 200 (17, 18, 11; 263); **-tan**, 'woman', 212; **-nda**, 'woman', 201; **-rān**, **-alañ**, 'woman', 213 (251, 263; 25-38); **-sari**, 'womb', 204 (98, 21, 78); **-hiw**, 'firewood', 195 (related to words for 'fire'); **-wādi**, 'firewood', 204 (23-28); **-tūi**, 'firewood', 203; **-tu**, 'year', 209 (244a, 245); **La-ñkw**, 'yesterday', 202.

The prefixes in Group OO are typical of the tendencies of the North-west Bantu and somewhat similar to those of the Northern Congo. There are slight traces of preprefixes in Nos. 195, 196, 198, 200a, 205, 211, and 212. The 1st prefix is the normal **Mu**-, **Mw**-, or **M**-, in most cases with an occasional denasalization as **Bu**- and a concord which is sometimes **nu**, sometimes **ñw**, **ñ**, **nye**, and **bu**. Not infrequently the 1st prefix is attenuated into **N**- or **Ñ**-. The 2nd is normally **Ba**- (in Nos. 205 and 206 inclined to weaken into **Wa**- and even **A**-), but it may also be heard as **Be**-, **Bw**-, and **Bu**-. No. 3 is **U**- and even **Uku**¹ in 194 and 195, besides **Mw**- or **Mu**-; in Nos. 200, 201, and 202 the 3rd prefix is nearly always dropped (though sometimes retained as **Ñ**- and **M**-), but the nouns that have dropped it will express their plural by **Mi**-. **Mi**-, the 4th prefix, is much used (often as **Me**-); and as the 6th (**Ma**-) may be affected by proximate vowel influence and figure as **Me**- and **Mi**- (especially in 202), there is sometimes confusion between the 4th and 6th classes, to be disentangled by the concords which remain distinct. The 5th prefix assumes the strange form of **A**- in 200, 202, and 203, and of **C**-, **K**- in 203, besides more normal shapes derived from **Di**- and **Li**-. No. 7 is usually **E**- or **I**-, and the **E**- becomes **A**- in 195-8; but we get something a little more like the original form in 200 where it is **Gi**-, **Ji**-, and even **Ki**-. It is **Ki**-, **Ci**- in 208-10, **Ke**-, **Ki**- in 211 and 212, **C'**- in 207, and **J**-, **Dy**- in 205-6. In 201-2 it is sometimes dropped. The 8th and 9th prefixes are normal in type; the 8a prefix is present throughout this group in the forms **Vi**-, **Wi**-, **Fi**-, **I**-, **Fhi**- (202), **Hi**- (203), **Ve**-, and **We**-. The 10th prefix is everywhere the same as the 9th, but in 195 its concord **di** (and in 198 **ja**) reminds one of its missing form, **Zi**-. The 11th prefix, as elsewhere in the North-west Bantu, is scantily used, and is confused with No. 5 and even No. 14 (becoming **Di**-, **Li**-, **Ww**-, and **W**-). Duala preserves it as **Lw**-. The form **La**- in 194 reminds one of the frequency with which the early transcribers of the Gaboon and *Ōgōwe* languages felt themselves obliged to write **Lō**- as **La**-, and suggests that this was not always due to a confusion between **ō** and **a**, but to the actual mispronunciation of **Lu**- or **Lw**- as **La**-. Perhaps here we have the 20th **La**- or **Da**- surviving,² and confused with the 11th, which in Group OO is usually apt to be reduced to **W**- or **Li**-. The 12th prefix—present, though little used, in all this group (except in Nos. 200-3), and plural to No. 8a—ranges through the forms of **Rw**-, **Dw**-, **U**- (207-10), **Lw**-, **Lu**-, **Yu**-, **W**-, **Li**-, **Ji**-, **Ci**- (194), **Di**-, **Tyi**- (203), but in No. 195 is occasionally heard as **Ōtw**-. It can even take the form of **Vw**- in 199. The 13th prefix is extinct completely, save in No. 200, where there are slight traces of **Ka**-. The 14th, where it occurs, is normal (usually with a 4th Class plural); the 15th is found in a very archaic form in No. 195—**Ōku**-. It is **Ku**- occasionally in Nos. 211-12, and has a concord **-hw** in 199; but ordinarily it is reduced to **W**-, **U**-, **Wu**-, **Ww**-. In 202 it seems to be transformed to **Fhw**-. The 16th locative prefix is little used in this group and generally as a mere preposition, but it assumes interesting forms. In 194 it is both **Va**- and **E**- [if the **E**- locative prefix have not a different origin: in all probability it is derived from **Pe**- through **We**]. In Nos. 195 to 198 it is **Wa**- and **Va**-; in 200, **We**-; in 200a, **Pe**-, **Ōp**¹-, and **Pa**-; in 202, **Fha**-; in 203, **Ha**-; in 204, 205-6, **Wa**-, **Wu**-. It is both **Fa**- and **Wa**- in Nos. 207 to 210, and **We**-, **Wa**-, and **Fa**- in 211-12. The 17th prefix seems to have a relic of representation in the **Ōñ**- (meaning 'in' or 'on') of No. 205. Elsewhere in the group, the sense of inwardness (combined also with the demonstrative, 'here') is rendered by **Te**-. The diminutive **-ana** suffix persists as **-ana** in Nos. 205 to 210, and in 195 as **-ani**. In Nos. 202 and 203 there are two prefixes which are difficult to classify: **I**- or **Y**- singular with **Gw**- as plural (*gy*). Are they Nos. 8a and 12?)

The numeral roots in this group offer the following features worthy of note: 'One' is expressed by forms of **Mw**- and **-pwkw**, by the *Fude*, **-ada** roots; 'two' is always of the 'bali' branch, though its

¹ Reverting to the old demonstrative concord of **Mu**—**Gu** or **Ñgu**.

² In 202 the real **La**- prefix (No. 20) seems to occur with certain 'time' words such as 'yesterday' (**La-ñkw**).

form is sometimes shortened to **-wai**, **-ba**, **-be**, **-wa**, and even **-ā** (203, 207) or perverted as **-bake** and **-beke** in 206 and 210. 'Three', like 'two', can have its disyllabic root also abbreviated to **-ā** (203, 212) as well as to **-lā**, **-ya**, **-āā**, **-ha**, and **-yau** (202-3, 205-6). In 194 the terminal vowel is either dropped (**-taj'**) or weakened to **-i** (**-tasi**, **-tati**). The 'six' and 'seven' are usually of the normal West African **-twa** or **Sambw** roots. 'Eight' is rendered by **-ambi**, **-ombi**, or **-em**, except in 210 (where it is 'six + two'), and in 196, where it is represented by a form **Ebuwa**, which looks like a borrowing of a widespread root for 'nine' ('nine' in this language is 'eight + one', **Ebwa na bowkw**). 'Nine' is always of the **-buka** type, and in fact actually is **Buka** in No. 205, an instance of the original form of this root only met with elsewhere in the widely-separated 78 and 183. 'Ten' is expressed by forms of the **-kumi** root in most of these languages, even if an alternative expression is also employed: such as the **-undaru** (**Lundaru**), **-ndarw**, &c., of 209 and 208; the **Mu-** of 202-3, 204, 207, 211, 212 (see 120, 120a, 213-15); the **Mene** of 206 (see the word for 'ten' in No. 148), the **I-saka**, **-saki**, **-sai** of 205, 206 (which should be compared with the allied forms in Nos. 107, 104 a, 123, 124-7, 129), and the **-bum**, **-bom**, **Wōme**, **Wūm**, **Bwome**, **Bw-**, **Bu-** of 194, 195, 198, 200, and 212. Nos. 205, 206, 208, and 209 have borrowed from the Semi-Bantu the custom of counting by scores rather than by tens, and have a special root for 'twenty', **Dō**, **Dw**, or **Du**.

The widespread **Kama** for 'hundred' reappears in 199 a, 194, 195. Nos. 198, 199, 200, 204, 205, 206, and 211 have some form of **Buea** for 'hundred', which reappears in 226. **-bowkw** is the 'hundred' root favoured by the other members of the group. No. 200 has an indigenous root for 'thousand'—**Fure**, **Pfude**—which may be related to the word for 'one'. 202 and 203 have a root for 'thousand' which is peculiar—**-dun**. In Nos. 204, 204 b, 205, 206, and 211 'thousand' is **-kuri**, **-kuli**, **-kwli**, or **-kū**, which may very well be related to the **Giri**, **Kuli**, **Caru**, **Kuru**, **Hulu**, **Kwone**, **Kululu** of Nos. 11, 19, 59, 85, 88, 94, 98, 107, 178.

In the nominative particle of the 1st person singular, 'I', Group OO repeats its affinities with the North Central Congoland languages; for it uses for this pronoun **Mba**, **Mbi**-, and also **Mban-** (194 to 209) and thus resembles Nos. 34, 89, 134, 156, 159, 159 a, and 161. 194, however, also has **Mi-** for this particle and 207 uses **Ma**-, **Me**-. No. 111 has an unusual word for 'I' as a substantive pronoun: **Wañ**, recalling the **Yañ** of 252. 'Thee' as a terminal is expressed by **-añgw** (204, 205-6), **-oñgw** (199), and **-oñ**, **-yeñ** (210, 211, 212). Similar forms are found in Nos. 148, 214, 231, 233, and 240. 'He' as a substantive pronoun has two main equivalents: **Nye**, **Nyi** of 194, 200, 200 a, 207 (**Nyenu**)—matched in Nos. 34, 217, 218, 219, 220, 235, 237 j—and **Mō**, **Mw** in Nos. 195, 198, 199, 204, 206, 209, resembling the forms of the same pronoun in Nos. 1, 92, 167, 213, 214, 226, 237, and 237 j. No. 210 has the exceptional **Tawe** for 'he'. Group OO is also remarkable for retaining in No. 198, and perhaps in 205, 206, some of the infixes to express pronouns in the objective case: whereas these pronominal infixes with the verb are more or less completely absent from all language groups to the north-west of the Congo. This feature in Group OO is only—so far—to be traced in No. 198 and perhaps in Nos. 205, 206.¹

The substantive pronoun 'we' reverts to a root **Swe**, **Se** in the forms **Yese**, **Hwe**, **We** of 194, 195, 198, 199; and possibly the abbreviated **We** of 198 may explain (as a transition) the **Vi** of 200 and the **Fi** of 200a and 202. (Another equivalent of the 1st person plural in 200 is **Vide**.) Or the **Vi**, **Fi** may be derived from the plural prefix **Bi-** in the Duala word, **Bisw** (in 205-6, 209, **Iso**). In 209 'we' is **Isi**, in 207, 209, 212 it is **Bese**, **Base**; in 202, **Behe**; 203, **Bes'**; in 211, **Basu**; and in 210, **Balu**. As regards the nominative particle of 'we' there is great diversity. **Fi-** in 200, 202; **I-** in 198, 199, 205; **Di-** (of course from an earlier **Du-**, **Tu-**) in 203, 204, 206, 209; **Bi-** in 202; **Biš** in 207; **Ša-** in 207, 212; and **Basa-** in 211. 'Us' as an enclitic is found in 198, but in a 'substantive' form—**-we-**. As a suffix, 'us' or 'our' is of normal types, except in No. 210, where it is **-yeñ**, a form reminiscent of Group RR ('Fañg'): and in 211, where the **-āā** is obviously derived from **-asa** (also met with in the 'Fañg' languages). 'Ye' as a substantive pronoun in No. 200a is reduced to the prefix **Bi-**; in 200 (Mabea) it is **Mi**-, **Mine**, as a nominative in 202 it is **Mi**-, **Mini**. 'You' as an objective infix is preserved in 198 (**-nywe-**); as a suffix in 203 it seems to be **-nan**. 'They' is **Añga** in 205-6, and thus recalls the similar root in Nos. 164, 167,

¹ In 198, Naka, each pronoun has an accusative infix: **-mba-**, **-wwe-**, **-mō-**, **-we-**, **-nywe-**, **-bw-**.

187, 134, and 55. In 210 it is **Yeri**—an isolated type—and in 209 and 207, **Banu** and **Boniñ**, in which probably the second syllable represents a demonstrative suffix. No. 198, which preserves the use of most pronominal infixes for the objective case, uses **-bω-** for ‘them’. No. 194 has a suffixial form of ‘them’, **-iyane**, which finds no parallel elsewhere.

‘All’ is usually interpreted by some variant of the root **-onse** (especially in its weakened form of **-ese**). In 200 it is **-bia**, which answers to the **-pia**, **-pe**, **-pi** of 13, 21 to 21f, and 48. In Basā (203) there is an alternative form—**-sōna** and **-hōne** (**-sōne**) which may be related to the **-ōna**, **-ōna** of East Africa.

The demonstratives in this group represent a great variety of widespread roots. There is a **-kō**, **-cω**, or **-cu** suffix in 194, 209, and 207 (see 124, 131, 134, 130, 160, 162, 167, 170, 227, 244, 245, 226, 263, and 261. Nos. 198 and 195 use both for ‘this’ and ‘that’ a particle **-ka-**, which is preceded either by **E-** or **Te-**. This **-ka-** or **Ka-** is similar to a parallel demonstrative in 104, and the **E-** and **Te-** are probably locative prefixes. In 199 the nearer demonstratives are **Tω-** and **Te-**; and **Ta-** is the farther demonstrative in 210; a form probably akin to the **Ta-** prefix in No. 241. No. 200 has a demonstrative infix **-gina-**, without kinship as far as I can see. **Mω-** and **Nyi** in 210 and 201 are obviously roots for the 3rd person singular. **Sω-** in 212 is perhaps a far-off relation of the **Su-**, **Sω-**, **Hu-**, **Hω-**, **-sω**, **-asω** of East Africa. The **-lō** for ‘that’ in No. 194 has perhaps a common origin with the **-ru** of 245 and the **Lω-** prefix or infix of 71, 75, and 76. The **A-** demonstrative prefix of 212 corresponds with the **A-** of East Africa, South-west Africa, and Senegambia. The **-wara** suffix of 207 possibly contains the **wa** locative concord (Class 16) and the **-ra**, **-la** suffix of distance.

The verb in Group OO is remarkable for preserving a little more than in Groups LL, MM, and NN the modifying terminal syllables which can so materially alter the signification of the root. In most of these languages a passive can be formed in the customary Bantu fashion by a termination which ranges from **-kwe**, **-we**, **-weñgo**, **-udwe**, in 195, to **-be** in most of the others. Even 14 b (the second passive or intransitive, **-ika**) which was thought not to have reached or to have disappeared from the North-west Bantu is present in 195 and (more dubiously) in 207. The other terminals enumerated as 14 c, 14 d, 14 e, 14 f, 14 g, 14 h, and 14 j are present in one or other language of the group, most fully and unmistakably in No. 195. The verb-root may terminate in (besides **-a**) **-o**, **-ω**, **-u**, **-i**, and **-e**. The infinitive prefix in 195 is **ω-** (from **Ku-**) or **Ka-**; in 198–9, **I-**; in 201 by **ω-**; 202, **Li-**; in 203 it is **Ma-** or else is missing; in 204 by **ω-**, **E-**, **I-**, **Di-**; in 205–6, **Li-**, **Lu-**, and **ω-**; in 207, **ω-**, **Di-**, **Li-**.

The preterite terminal (No. 6 in the list of verb features) is **-indi** (as well as **-i**) in Nos. 195 and 199; it is **-eli**, **-edi**, **-iri**, **-di**, **-i** in 204; and **-i**, **-edi**, **-te**, **-eri** in 205, 206, 207.

The negative sense is applied to the verb conjugation by stressing the first vowel in the verb-root, by the use of infixes **-a-**, **-u-**, **-ha-**, by changing the terminal vowel of the verb-root to **-e**; and by the use of **-be**, a negative verb—‘not to be’. In 198–9 negation is implied by the use of infixes **-ima-**, **-ma-**, **-a-**, the **ma** particle being characteristic of the Semi-Bantu (and Sudanic) tongues. No. 204 uses normal Bantu negatives of the **si** and **tω**, **ta** type. Nos. 205–6 inclines to **sa**, **si** and **ku**, **kω**. 207 has **-ja-**, **-sa-**, **-si-**, and **-ka-**. Nos. 211 and 212 express their negation with **ta**, **tω**, and **ti** syllables.

The verb ‘to be’ in this group is very diversely rendered: by **-te**, **-ndi**, **-ñgite** in 195, expressions no doubt related to demonstrative roots; by **-jadi**, **-ja**, and **-diya** for ‘be’ in the sense of dwelling, all three of them derived from an archaic **-dikala**; by **-be**, **-ibe** and **-li**, **-di** (the widespread **-ba** and **-li** roots); by **-ta** (in a past sense, ‘was’); by **-weke** and **-yege** (perhaps connected with the Mpoñgwe **-pe-gagi**); by **-nω** and **-lω** (demonstratives) and by **-yω** and **-ayω**, which may also have had a demonstrative origin.

GROUP PP: THE MANENĠUBA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 213 to 215)

This very little-known group, spoken mainly in the mountainous district of the inner Cameroons known as Maneñguba, consists at present only of the **BALUN**, **BAFω** (213, 213 a), **N-KÖSI** (214), and **BA-NGANTE** or **NGÖTEN** (215) languages, as identified firstly from Koelle’s vocabularies written down

about 1852, and secondly from German researches of quite recent date, published between 1907 and 1914. We are on tolerably sure ground over Nos. 213, 213 a, and 214; but the identification of 215 (Bañgañte) with Koelle's Ngōteñ is a little hazardous. However, the language described by Koelle as Ngōteñ is clearly of the same group as Nos. 213 and 214, and Koelle's geographical indications would assign it to this Maneñguba district. From a little information supplied by recent German researches I am inclined to think that the -ñgōteñ root of Koelle's name and the -ñgāte or -ñgañte of German explorers are different hearings—with a long interval of time between—of the same tribal name.¹

The languages of Group PP are not widely separated from those of the Sub-group OO 6 in their noun-roots, prefixes, or numerals; yet in their word-roots generally and their phonology they are sufficiently peculiar and original to require classification apart as a separate group from the West Cameroons languages. They have evidently been much influenced by the contiguity of Semi-Bantu and Sudanic speech-forms and the imitative tendency to abbreviate words in pronunciation and to drop the terminal vowels as is done in the not far distant 'Fañg' Group.

Their noteworthy noun-roots are the following:

-**tōna**, 'monkey', 214; **Sal**, 'rat', 213 (220; 235); -**tiōxa**, 'sheep', 214 (200, 208); -**kexal***, 'shoulder', 214; **Kembel**, 'shoulder', 213 (100, 100 b, 119, 142; 229); **Koñ**, 'spear', 214 (100-235); -**lō***, 'spear', 213; -**pipeñ***, 'thigh', 213; -**peñ**, 'thigh', 214 (89); -**ran**, 'woman', 213 (263); -**alañ**, 'woman', 213.

The demonstratives in No. 214 consist of an occasional **A-** prefix (followed by the pronominal concord) and suffixes -**in**, -**ine**, -**ene**, and -**eda**; and give indications of relationships with the nearest group of the Semi-Bantu, and with other widely-dispersed Bantu groups.

The verb offers interesting features in 214. The nominative pronominal particles associated with it conform in general to Bantu standards, and there is no trace of other terminal vowels than -**a** to the verb-root. The infinitive prefix is usually absent or if present is **A-**. The preterite terminal syllable is -**e**, -**i**. The subjunctive with the terminal -**e** is used as a future; the future is also expressed by a strange method: the removal of the terminal vowel of the verb (-**e**, if in the subjunctive, or -**a**) and the placing of it before the initial consonant of the verb-root, so that the latter ends on a consonant. Thus if -**hōba** be the verb-root, in the future it becomes -**ehob** or -**ahob**. The negative is expressed by the apposition of suffixes: -**ke**, -**ka**, -**da**, -**sa**, and -**si** for present, past, future, and conditional moods; by an infix -**ke-**, and by changes in the stress on syllables and in the pronunciation or form of verbal pronominal nominative particles, &c. It should be noted also that -**sa** and -**ba** are negative forms of the verb 'to be'. The terminal syllables in No. 214 that modify the verb-root's meaning come under my classifying numerals 14 (passive—**ta**), 14 a, 14 c (-**na**), 14 d (-**ela**, -**ta**, -**ata**, -**ada**, -**la**), 14 f (-**tana**), and perhaps 14 g; but are not much like those of orthodox Bantu. [See Chapter on Verb.] The forms of the verb 'to be' are -**be** (which has special preterites, -**beda** or -**bera**, and -**mbe**) and -**de**; and there are two negative versions, -**sa** and -**ba**. The Bafō language, and perhaps Baluñ (213 and 213 a) have preterite terminals to verb-root, -**i** and -**ke**; and 213 a expresses both the future and the imperfect past by adding a -**k** or a -**ki** to the verb-root; besides practising inflexional changes in the verb-roots which are not easy to master and are quite 'un-Bantu'. The negation particles in 213 and 213 a seem to be **Si**, **Sia**, -**kō**, -**ka**, -**ō**, -**ω**, and an infix, -**ka-**; those of 215 are apparently similar.

GROUP QQ: THE MIDDLE SANAGÁ LANGUAGES

(Only includes at present No. 216)

The sole representative at present of Group QQ is the **BA-TI** or **BA-CENGA** language of an area uncertain in extent which lies mainly to the north of the middle course of the great Sanagá river, eastward of its junction with the Mbam. The exact name of this language we do not know; I call it by that

¹ Professor Struck is not in agreement with these views about the identity of Bañgañte with Ngōteñ. He considers them separate languages or dialects (see p. 172).

of the tribe—the Bati or Baceña people—to whom it is attributed. On the west of its range (which southwards does not seem to extend much beyond the south bank of the Sanagá) it may be conterminous with the languages of Group PP; to the south and south-east it is confronted by the 'Fañg languages of Group RR and by Semi-Bantu tongues, remarkable, like the Pañwe, for their monosyllabic words with consonantal endings. To the north, Bati or Baceña abuts on Sudanic languages seemingly without any Semi-Bantu affinities.

In contrast with the speech of Groups PP, RR, and the Semi-Bantu of Group A, No. 216 presents a more disyllabic or even trisyllabic type of Bantu language, and seems to have preserved traces of preprefixes. Yet it is very peculiar, even isolated, in its noun-roots and numerals, and some of these evince relationships with Semi-Bantu forms. It is much to be desired that our knowledge of Bati should be greatly increased beyond the fragmentary references of Carl Meinhof and Bernhard Struck¹ and one or two German cartographers. Unfortunately, the area inhabited by this Bantu tribe has been much fought over in the recent war, and the Bati or Baceña people may have become dispersed and effaced, linguistically. On the other hand, they may represent a knot of singularly interesting Bantu languages possessing numerous archaic features; and an extended knowledge of these may considerably enlarge or modify our theories regarding Bantu origins and ancient migrations. In any case No. 216 is so distinct from the adjoining Bantu languages as to justify its being placed in an independent group.

The following are a few of its peculiar or noteworthy word-roots:

Gila, 'arrow' (perhaps the **-kula**, **-fula** root); **-nima**, 'back' (the widespread **-nyuma**, **-uma** root); **-bomw**, 'belly' (the **-bumu** root); **-bane**, 'breast'; **-womene**, 'cloth'; **-babe**, 'crocodile' (235); **-tamba**, 'drum' (128, 144, 159, 160, 161, 200); **-tsw**, 'ear'; **-dahaña**, 'father'; **-ñaḡunzu**, 'grass'; **Kitō**, 'hair'; **-ombw***, 'hand'; **-gbwe***, 'head'; **-mpa**, 'house'; **-fū**, 'husband' (261); **-fe**, **-he**, 'moon' (S-B.); **A-tonḡw**, 'navel' (226 b, 22, and the **-tḡw**, **-tōdu** root); **-humba**, 'nose' (the **-ombw**, **Komba**, **Pumbw** root); **Ma-vombw**, 'palm wine'; **-tabe**, 'shoulder' (249—a very interesting affinity); **Im-bale**, 'slave' (226); **-gūna**, 'son' (244); **M-an-ga-sul**, 'son'; **-joñḡw**, 'spear' (the widespread **-oñga** root); **-nōnō**, 'toe'; **Añ-gion**, 'tooth'; **-luña**, 'village'; **Ō-gi**, 'firewood'; **Ō-butu**, 'yam'.

Of the prefixes, Classes 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, and 16 are either unrepresented or examples of them have not been collected. No. 3 is reduced to **Ū**, **Ō**; No. 4 to **E**; and No. 5 to **A**, **E**, **I**. The 7th is sometimes **Ge** and **Ye**, as well as **E**. The 9th, like the 1st, often retains the preprefix. It sometimes assumes the form of **Añḡ** and **Uñ**. The other prefixes resemble the usual North-west Bantu types.

The numerals from 'one' to 'five' are of orthodox type, 'one' especially, for its equivalent **Ūmḡosi** or **-mḡosi** might be matched in many parts of Bantu Africa. 'Two' does not seem to quite reach the **-bali** type, stopping short at **-ba**, which is sometimes duplicated as **-baba**. Another vocabulary gives us **-bi** for 'two'. 'Three' is **-latw** in composition, but **-tad** when only expressing 'three'; 'four' is **-ne** and **-na**; and 'five' is **-tanw**. 'Six' is simply 'three' pluralized—**Ba-latw** and **A-tatu**; 'seven' is 'six + one'; 'eight' assumes peculiar forms, **Belemān** and **Biōma**. 'Nine' is 'eight + one'; and 'ten' is a pluralized 'five' (I suspect)—**Babot**. It may be connected with the root **-bḡta**, which expresses 'ten' in some dialects of the Gaboon Pygmy language, No. 188. But Father Schœttl also records a word for 'ten'—**A-gum**, which answers to the orthodox Bantu **Di-kumi**.

GROUP RR: THE PAÑWE OR 'FAÑG' LANGUAGES

(Nos. 217 to 220 a)

This is a clearly-marked group, nowadays of considerable geographical area, filling up much of the space between the Sanagá valley on the north, the Bumba, Jā, and Saña rivers on the east, and the Cameroons and Gaboon coast-line. They were first signalized to the outside world by Bowdich, the

¹ Since the first volume was published Professor Struck has sent me a second vocabulary of **BA-TI** from notes by Father Schoettl, which is incorporated in this volume. It helps to confirm Meinhof's first account of the language.

English African explorer, who reported in 1819 the 'Faṅg' invasion of the Gaboon and gave these marauders the accurately pronounced name of 'Paamwe'—a spelling which comes very near the customary pronunciation. But this in later times was shortened to 'Faṅg' or 'Fan', and was rendered by the French as 'Pahouin'. The name is not easily explained. It is said to mean 'men' in the sense of *viri*; but this root-word in their language is usually **Fam**. The **PANWE** languages, as we now know them, may be separated very easily into four types: the **YAUNDE**, **EWONDŌ**, or **EUNDU** (217—the latter seems the correct name); the **PANWE** or **FANWE** (218); the **MAKE** dialect of Paṅwe (218a); the **BULU** (219) and **NTUM** (219a); the **N-DZIMU** (220), the **MAKĀ** (220a), and the seven other dialects of Ndzimu, some of which are almost divergent enough to be classed as independent languages.

No. 220 of this group seems best known generically as **N-DZIMU**, though in its rather wide range it passes through the varying names of **N-JIEM**, **N-DZEM**, **ZIMU**, **ZAMAM**, and **N-DZIME**. Professor Bernhard Struck, after studying the records of Father P. H. Nekes (*MS. Vocabulary of Makā*, 220 a), C. W. Koch (*Die Stämme des Bezirks Molundu*. 3. *Sprachliche Übersicht, Baessler-Archiv III*, Berlin, 1913), and Poutrin (*Notice linguistique d'après les vocabulaires et les documents recueillis par le Docteur Grivot: La Mission Cottet au Sud-Cameroun*, 1905-8, Paris, 1911) arrives at the conclusion that there are besides **N-DZIMU** proper (220), locally called '**N-JEM**' (a language spoken on the extreme Upper Jā river, and near the sources of the Nyoñ and Bumba), *eight* other dialects which he classifies as **MA-KA** (220 a), **N-DZEM** of Suañke (220 b), **N-DZIME** of Lomie (220 c), **N-DZIMU** of Sambambō (220 d), **BU-MBON** (220 e), **BO-MAM**—or **ZA-MAM** (220 f), **N-DZIMU** of Li-sel (220 g), and **MI-SANĜA** ('Saṅga-saṅga') of Tibundi (220 h). This list brings the range of the 'Faṅg' language-group eastward nearly to the Kadei river, to the Upper Saṅga stream, and to the Upper Nyoñ. Mi-saṅga, the easternmost of these dialects, shows some affinity with the little-known language cluster SS of the Kadei-Lobai region.

The Faṅg Group is characterized by the seeming brevity of its words, monosyllabic roots apparently prevailing; while there is also a tendency to drop the use of prefixes or contract them to a vowel or a consonant. This impression of abruptness arises from the habit of dropping the terminal vowel of a disyllabic root and ending the word on a consonant—usually *n*, *m*, *l*, *t*, *k*, *s*, or *ʃ*. But the lost vowel often reappears in composition. Monosyllabic roots, however, are occasionally given a terminal consonant foreign to their etymology: *k*, *g*, *l*, *n*, and *m*. And similarly this extraneous terminal—especially as a *k* or *g*—is often added to the verb-root in conjugation. A similar inclination to insist on a consonantal termination by adding a consonant to the last vowel of the root exists in the Hōma language (151 a) of the Bahr-al-ghazal, some words of which bear a superficial resemblance to those of the 'Faṅg' Group. The trait may be Sudanic and have travelled from an Eastern Nigerian centre to affect the divergent Groups II and RR of the Bantu and Groups A and B of the Semi-Bantu. There is a good deal of nasality in 'Faṅg' pronunciation, and the vowel sounds depart somewhat from Bantu clarity towards obscurity of utterance. *A* is often displaced in favour of *e*, *e* becomes *ö* in some mouths or dialects, and *ö* is preferred to *ω*.

As many of the monosyllabic words of the 'Faṅg' languages have grown to be identical in sound, though of very different import, tones have been imported into the pronunciation somewhat like those in the Secuana languages (Group SS), or those of the Semi-Bantu. In the 'Faṅg' Group they seem to be limited to ˆ and ˜. These tones are said to be more observable in No. 220.

Paṅwe (218 and 218a) and Misaṅga (220h) seem to be the least divergent members of Group RR from the Bantu standard; though even in Paṅwe several characteristic Bantu word-roots have been lost and their places supplied (seemingly) by loan words from the Semi-Bantu. Yet in spite of consonantal endings and great abbreviation in the roots, the 'Faṅg' languages are emphatically Bantu in their structure and substance. It is remarkable how frequently there turns up some word or phrase that recalls the Swahili of the East Coast, with the whole width of Central Africa between. **Metē**, 'saliva', is the Swahili **Mate**; **Ōkwal**, 'francolin', the Swahili **Nkwale**; **Kwōw**, a 'hen', a 'breeding female', the Swahili **Kwōw**; **-ze**, 'how', answers to the Swahili **-je**; **-ñāwe?** 'how many?' is the Swahili **-ñgapi**. There is also considerable correspondence in noun-roots, numerals, and prefixes with the Northern Congo, and an occasional suggestion of ancient community of descent with the Ababua languages (Group II). The

Faṅg peoples seem to have passed some centuries under Sudanic or Semi-Bantu influence in the region of the Upper Saṅgá, or perhaps between the eastern basin of the Upper Saṅgá and that of the north-west affluents of the Upper Saṅga and Kadei; and then to have descended in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on the forested country of South-west Cameroons and the coast-lands between the Saṅgá and the Ūgᵛwe, cutting athwart the people speaking languages of Group OO. The Ndzimu language (220 to 220h) of Group RR—it might be mentioned—grades into the tongues of Group SS of the Kadei-Lᵛbai; and yet offers resemblances to the Magbea, Siki, and Kᵛkᵛ languages (Nos. 200, 201, 202, and 203) of the South-west Cameroons, some three hundred and fifty miles west of the lands occupied by the Ndzimu tribes.

The following are noteworthy noun-roots in the 'Faṅg' languages (217 to 220 h):

Sigi, Sigi, Seki, -suku, 'ant' and 'termite', 218, 220; **Dzilᵛ, Jil**, 'ape, gorilla', 220 *and dialects* (186, 194, 200 a); **Bahele, -bae**, 'arrow', 220, 218 (104); **-ñgala***, 'arrow', 220; **-toli, Dolᵛ**, 'arrow', 220 *and dialects* (225); **Šōl, Šōlᵛ**, 'banana', 220 h, 227 (175, 178); **-gu**, 'bee', 220 h; **-juke***, 'bone', 220 b; **Gesᵛ**, 'bone', 220 h (the **-viši, -hesᵛ** root); **Ponjiᵛ**, 'bow', 220 h (92, 94); **N-dōlᵛ**, 'bow', 220 d (225); **Bᵛ, Bᵛl**, 'brains', 218, 219 (156; 274); **Bōnde***, 'brains', 220; **Bit, Bet**, 'man's breast', 220 *dialects* (194; 229); **Zōmō, Jamᵛ**, 'buffalo', 220 (221, 226; 232); **Dwan***, 'buffalo', 220 *dialects*; **-bōa***, 'buttocks', 220; **Goyᵛ***, 'buttocks', 220 *dial.*; **Gwos***, 'buttocks', 220 *dial.*; **-letᵛ**, 'canoe', 220 *dial.* (140); **-landi**, 'canoe', 220 *dial.* (193, 195); **-len**, 'canoe', 218 a (186, 193, 195); **-fuṅga**, 'canoe', 217 (200, 198-9, 204); **-nyōlᵛ***, 'cat', 220; **Dele**, 'cloth', 220 *dial.* (98 a, 100, 101, 118, 122, 124, 127, 200; 229); **-kan**, 'cloth', 220 (189, 192, 194; 228); **-tōp**, 'cloth', 219 (167 a, 162); **-wōmen***, 'cloth', 217; **Kat***, 'cloth', 220 *dial.*; **Dzwōna***, 'cow', 220 b; **Jōmᵛ**, 'cow, cattle', 220; **Gwet**, 'crocodile', 220 *dial.* (110); **-yiyem, -yeyem, -dem, -lim**, 'dream', 217 to 220 (202-3, 207, 212; 227); **-kul**, 'drum', 217-20 (200); **-gwale**, 'ear', 220 (248); **-sihe**, 'excrement', 220 (186; 253); **Me-gᵛwa**, 'fat', 220 (an interesting occurrence of the East African Bantu root, **Ma-futa, Ma-guta**); **-kab***, 'fear', 220 *dial.*; **Dalore**, 'fire', 220 (see 94); **Dudᵛ**, 'fire', 220 *dial.* (204, 225); **Kuta, Koda**, 'fire', 220 *dial.* (228 a, 229); **Kōlᵛ**, 'hen', 'fowl', 218 (see Swahili and East African Bantu roots for 'female animal', 'fowl'); **Kabat, Kabade**, 'goat', 217-19 (123, 125, 159, 161, 187, 201-2); **Tap, Tōbᵛ**, 'goat', 220 (the widespread **-taba** root from 100 b to 200, and 267-8); **-kele**, 'he goat', 217, 219 (200, 204, 209; 273); **-būt**, 'grass', 218, 219 (204-6); **-kuon, -konᵛ, -kundᵛ**, 'hide', 220 (194, 83, 85); **-ber, -bed**, 'house', 220 (150, 154, 151, 196, 155 c, 157); **-fam, Pfam**, 'husband', 217-19 (162, 201-3, 225; 263); **Kale**, 'husband, man', 220 *dial.* (the **-jara, -kala, -bakala** root, 85 to 189); **Pumbᵛ**, 'leg', 220 *dial.* (64, 67, 68, 19 a); **-mpebe**, 'meat', 220 (203; 228); **-lwūm**, 'moon', 220 e (186); **-pakoā, Bakᵛwa, Bakwa, Bekwa**, 'moon', 220 *dial.* (221, 139); **-ciu**, 'mountain', 220 (117, 175, 178); **-kneku***, 'mountain', 220 *dial.*; **Vwob**, 'mouth', 220 *dial.* (see roots for 'lips'); **-œ, -ūi**, 'name', 217-19 (202, 203, 212; 228); **-dukᵛ**, 'paddle', 220; **-yᵛog, -yok**, 'palm wine', 217-19 (79, 105, 3, 11); **-vel**, 'penis', 217-19 (78, 225); **N-sōt***, 'penis', 219 a; **-gugᵛ**, 'pig', 220 *dial.* (125; 228 a, 229); **-paba**, 'pigeon', 220 *dial.* (150, 160, 186, 200; 263); **Dudūa**, 'pigeon', 220 (11, 179, 176, 181, 182); **-san**, 'rat', 220 (213 and Semi-Bantu); **-sal**, 'salt', 220 (226 and the **-kele, -cele** root); **Dzam**, 'shoulder', 220 (117, 178, 180); **Ganᵛbᵛ**, 'sky', 220 *dial.* (228); **-tuga, -šūghā**, 'slave', 217, 218 (23-9, 79, 87, 156, 157, 192); **Kuom**, 'slave', 220 (198, 199, 204, 205); **Jubᵛ***, 'smoke', 220 *dial.*; **Vu-luku**, 'smoke', 220 *dial.* (229; 11); **Vu-laṅku**, 'smoke', 220 *dial.* (156); **-laku**, 'stone', 220, d, h (269-72, 274; 56); **Nesᵛ**, 'sun', 220 *dial.* (225 a); **Kēt**, 'tail', 220 *dial.*; **Bege***, 'tear', 217 (259); **-myen, Menᵛ**, 'to-morrow', 220 *dial.* (84, 85, 86, 88, 113, 187, 192, 193, 200; 236); **Gimu**, 'tongue', 220 *dial.* (225, 200); **-je, -jie**, 'tooth', 220 *dial.* (225); **-kwar**, 'town', 220 (200); **-lam**, 'town', 218, 219 (35, 56, 210); **-bal, -ban**, 'war', 218-19 (11, 185, 186, 189, 191, 194, 200, 212); **-yem, -lem**, 'witchcraft', 218, 219, 220 (105 a, 145, 151, 160, 161, 193, 204-9, 210, 214, 221-4); **Bomba**, 'wife', 220 *dial.* (35, 54, 55, 17, 61 a); **Pupu**, 'wind', 220 (151, 155, 44 b, 69, 195, 198, 207, 211-12, 225; 228); **-sig, -sik**, 'firewood', 217, 218 (61 b, 186); **Gᵛta**, 'firewood', 220 (221, 23 to 28, 156).

The 1st prefix in this group is sometimes **Mᵛ-**, and **M-**, but can also be **Ng'**, or reduced to **N-** and **Ū-** (with a concord **nyᵛ**). In the 2nd Class, the Faṅg languages avoid the **-a** sound of the 2nd prefix and pronounce it **Be-, B', Bᵛ-**, or **Bō-**. (There are rare exceptions in Paṅwe in favour of **Ba-**.) The 3rd

prefix is occasionally used as **N**, but is more often represented by a blank and its inherent presence only made known by the concord and by the plural **Mi**. The 5th prefix, besides appearing as **D'** and **Di**-, is also shortened into **Z**-, **J**-, **E**-, and **A**-. The 6th—**Ma**—is clipped to both **Me**- and **A**- with some roots or in some dialects: as **A**- it is the customary plural of No. 11 (**Ū**-) in Pañwe. The 7th is more frequently heard as **E**- or **A**-, but its older form is betrayed in the occasional **Hi**-, **Ji**-, **I**-, and **Zi**-. The 8th is **Bi**-; but 8a is also present as a diminutive and assumes the form of **Vi**-. Ordinarily the 10th prefix is simply the 9th in a plural sense; but in Yaunde (217), when the 10th is plural to the 11th (**Ū**- in all this group), it takes the form of **Le**-, which we may suppose came from an earlier **De**-, and that from **Ti**- or **Zi**-. The 12th prefix becomes **Lu**- (218), **Lw**-, or **L'**-, but is uncommon in use: generally as plural to 8a. No. 13 is entirely absent; No. 14 is normally **Bw**-, **Vu**-, and **Wu**-, but sometimes weakens to **Bi**- and **Ū**-. **Ū**- is the usual form of the 15th; and the **A**- which assumes sometimes the functions of the 15th Class may be derived from a common North-west Bantu corruption of the 5th, through **E**- (from **Edi**-). The 16th prefix—chiefly prepositional—is **Ha**-, **Va**-, or **We**-. The 17th, so rare in the North-west Bantu—persists as a preposition in the accustomed form of **Mu**-. There are locative suffixes **-te** and **-ti**, which also express the sense of 'inwardness'.

As regards numerals, the 'Fañg' Group uses the **-pɔkw** (**Mpok**, **Fo**, **Fok**) root for 'one' in Nos. 217, 218, 219; and in Nos. 220 and 220a a form **-yōri**, **-wōd**, which is apparently traceable to a **-mōti** root. 'Two' is **-be** or **-bei** in 217 and 218, **-bae** in 219, and **-ba**, **-mba** in 220. 'Three' has passed long ago from **-tatw** into **-lalw**, and that into **-lala**, **-lal'**, **-la**, and finally **-lē** in 220. 'Four' is quite orthodox as **-ne**, **-na**, **-nyi**, **-nyin**. 'Five' ranges between **-tana**, **-tan**, **-ten**. 'Six' throughout the group, save in No. 220, is based on the **'Sambw'** root; in the Ndzimu language, however, it is **Tobō**, **Tob**, **-jōb**, as in so many speech-forms of the North-west Bantu. 'Seven' (except in 220, where it is merely 'five + two')¹ is likewise based on **Sambw**, the **'Sambw-bali'** of so many of the Western Bantu tongues. 'Eight', as in Group OO, is derived from an **-ambi** root (**Mw-om**, **Nw-am**, &c.), and 'nine' comes from **-buka**, but after being reduced to **Ebu** has in Nos. 218, 219 reinforced itself by adding a terminal **l** (**Ebul**). 'Ten' is usually some form of **-wom** (**Makā**, No. 220 a, has **Dom**), which may either go back through **-gumu**, **-gumi**, **Di-om** to a **Di-kumi** origin; or it may be derived from the **-bom** root, which meant 'all'. In 220, 'ten' is represented by **Kam**, **Kame**, **Kamw** (from **Kama**) as it is in Groups DD, FF, SS, and in 230 and 231 of the Semi-Bantu. Curiously enough 'hundred' is **-kama** in Pañwe (218), and **Ntet** is 'ten' in 217, 219, and 220; both alike being original root-words for 'ten' used later to express this multiple of 'ten'. **Ntet**² for 'hundred' is shared by Nos. 211 and 213, possibly borrowed from the Fañg peoples, who in turn may have received the root from the Semi-Bantu.³ The root for both 'hundred' and 'thousand' in Ndzem (220 b) is **-tuku**, recalling the word for 'ten' in the Northern Congo languages, 151, 157, 162, and 164. 'Thousand' in Bulu (219) is **-kutu**, which is widespread all along the Northern Congo from near the Aruwimi confluence to that of the Mubañgi. Either the Fañg invaders of the South-west Cameroons were much in touch some centuries earlier with the Northern Congo, or else they took over North Congo roots for numerals and other concepts from the Gaboon-Cameroons tribes whom they crushed and absorbed.

In the pronouns of Group RR, the dual 'I and thou'—**Aba**—of 218 should be noted. The substantival root for the 3rd person singular is **Nye**, **Nyi**, a form present in Nos. 194, 200, 200a, and 207 of Group OO, but shared also by 229, 245 of the Semi-Bantu, and similar to the **Nanye**, **Nañe**, **Nahie** of the Makonde language (34) of East Africa. The **Mina**, **Mine** for 'ye' (substantival) is curiously similar to the substantive form of 'ye' in the South-east and South-west Bantu, and seems to have its origin in the Semi-Bantu of Nigeria; as though the **Mu**-, **Mi**- form of the 2nd person plural had for a long while run concurrently with the **Nu**-, **Ni**- which is adopted by the majority of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages. 'They' in Group RR is occasionally heard as **Ba**-, but mostly—like the allied 2nd prefix—

¹ In 220a 'seven' = **Tebel**, which seems derived from an older **Tanw** na bali. **Tebel** in other dialects of 220 is contracted to **Teve**. In the dialects 220 b to 220 h 'six', 'seven', 'eight', and 'nine' are simply 'five and one, two, three', &c.

² **Ntet** really means 'a bunch' in 218.

³ But it is met with as **-tete** (**Bw-tete**) in Nos. 152 and 161.

156 fights shy of the vowel *a* and prefers to be pronounced **Be**, **Bɔ**, or **Bō**. 'All' is **-se** (a reduction from the **-onse** root), which is also pronounced **-sö**, the *e* in the Fañg tongues so frequently changing to the more faucal vowel *ö*. In Ndzimu the **-se** becomes **-he**, and in one or more of the Ndzimu dialects there is an additional root for 'all': **Tuta**, which recalls the **-tube** of 186 and the **Twtina** of 155.

In the demonstratives an **E-** prefix is sometimes in use which may arise from the widespread **A-** of East and West Bantu. The demonstratives, so far as they are known, do not depart from Bantu standard forms, except in regard to an equivalent of 'that' in the Pañwe and Makē languages (218, 218 a). This is the suffix **-ayat**. Except in the **-owaci** of No. 226 I cannot find a resemblance to it in other Bantu forms.

In the verb, the 'Fañg' languages exhibit the following points of interest or peculiarity. The verb-root—usually disyllabic, but sometimes monosyllabic¹—may end in **-a**, **-e**, **-i**, **-o**, **-u**. There are vestiges of the original **Ku-** infinitival prefix in the form of **Ū-**, but more usually the infinitive is formed by prefixing **N-** and adding **-an** to the verb-root. Other infinitival prefixes (requiring no suffix to accompany them) are **E-** and **A-**. The **A-** is very likely a variant of the older **E-**, and both alike may be derived from an ancient **Edi-** or 5th prefix; the which occasionally accompanied the infinitive in widely separated parts of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Africa. The infinitive sense is also rendered by the **-ka**, **-ke**, **-ki**, and **-ña** suffixes, which really seem to be survivals of the terminal modifying syllables grouped by me in the verb syntax under the numeral 14.

The preterite termination (No. 6 in my category) seems to be **-i**, **-ene**, **-a**, and **-ye**. The negative particles throughout the group are mainly these: **Ke-**; **Te**, **T'**, **Tege-**; **-se**, **-si-**; **-ki**, **-iki**, **-kik**, **-siki**, **-yiki**, and **-dia**. Perhaps also **-fe** (the **-pe** of Group OO) may be used to clinch the absoluteness of the negative when negative verbs like **-si** or **-sa** are used.

The terminal syllables for modifying the verb-root represent the following categories: 14 (passive) **-ba**, **-ban**, **-be**, **-bɔ**, **-bu**, **-bi** (217); **-ba**, **-iba**, **-eba**, **Ba-** (218); **-ebe**, **-ya** (219); 14 b (second passive), **-i** (217); **-ia**, **-ika**, **-ike**, **-iki**, **-ha** (218); 14 c, **-ele**, **-ɔlɔ**, **-ila**, **-ela**, **-ea**, **-ile**, **-ita** (217, 218); 14 d, **-lu**, **-dɔ**, **-u**, **-a**, **-i** (217); 14 e, **-i** (217); 14 f, **-a**, **-ana** (218); **-an** (217). Other categories may also be represented in the verb-root suffixes, but the sense of these terminal syllables is often left so much in doubt by translaters that I hesitate to assign more than two or three with any certainty.

The auxiliary verb, 'to be', is expressed by variants of the original root **-ba** (**-mbe**, **-be**, **-ve**, **-tabe**, **-ñgabe**, **-mɔbe**, **-bi**), and by **-ne**, **-ni**; also in No. 218 by **-ntɔ** and **-ñge**; and by two forms, **-ñgaya** and **-kaya**, which recall the **-pe-gaga** of Mpoñgwe. Both 217 and 218 have negative verbs, 'not to be': **-siki** and **-si**; and the negative suffix, **-ikik** or **-kik**, is also an auxiliary verb.

GROUP SS: THE KADEI-SAŊGA-LOBAI LANGUAGES

(Nos. 221 to 225a)

Group SS, of quite recent discovery, contains—without much proof of their common affinity—the corrupt Bantu languages and dialects spoken (mainly by Pygmy tribes) in the basin of the Upper Saŋga, on part of the course of the Kadei affluent of the Saŋga;² and on the Lobai river. This last flows into the great Mubañgi, near where that mighty stream—the Wele in its upper course—ascended from the Congo has its navigability interrupted by the Zoñgɔ Falls. Therefore the limits of Group SS approach the region of the Western Mubañgi and constitute this group one of the outlying members of the Bantu congeries, bordering on unclassified Sudanic tongues that betray no affinities whatever with the Bantu family. These very little known but highly interesting Kadei-Saŋga-Lobai languages fall apparently into two sub-

¹ The disyllabic root is often reduced to a monosyllable, terminating in a consonant by the elision of the terminal vowel of the second syllable. But this vowel reappears in the syntax.

² The reader must not confuse the Saŋga tributary of the Congo with the Sanagá river of the Cameroons, though the two streams approach one another nearly in their upper courses.

groups. SS 1 comprises **GUNDI** or **BA-GUNDU** (222); **PANDE** (223) and **BONGIRI** (223 a); and SS 2 contains **MBIMU** (221); **BA-YAŊGA** or **BA-YAKA**, **BU-KONGŌ**, and **BA-KŌTA** (224, 224 a, 224 b—Pygmies' dialects on the Upper Saŋga); **KAKA** (225), and **KAKA** of Ngore (225 a). The first sub-group uses a form like **E-bŋfe**, **Bu-ope** for 'ten', while the second prefers **Kamŋ**, **Kamon**, **Kamu**, which scarcely differs from the **Kam**, **Kama** of Central Congoland and of the easternmost member of the 'Faŋg' Group. No. 224, however, seems to possess both forms for 'ten', and in other roots unites the two sub-groups. Really, however, we have such scant material to go on that theorizing about this group is somewhat futile. It will be admitted, however, that the vocabularies so far as they go are unusually interesting. They were discovered in the main by Dr. Ouzilleau of the French Colonial Service,¹ but the Kaka of Ngore (225 a) was also reached on the north by German investigators, whose work served to confirm that of Dr. Ouzilleau. The result is that we are assured of the existence of Bantu languages between the Western Mubaŋgi and the basin of the Upper Sanagá, where heretofore it was thought that there were only Sudanic forms of speech.

It will be seen that Nos. 221 to 225 a are Bantu languages, with affinities almost equally divided between Groups OO and RR of the Cameroons and Group KK of the North Central Congo. But they contain also some interesting roots of far-reaching relationships, and it is possible they may represent the relics of a very ancient Bantu invasion from the Šari-Benue-Mubaŋgi water-parting. This, in course of time, was reinforced by a much later incursion of Bantu speech from the Upper Congo and the East; but the Bantuizing of northernmost Congoland was rudely interrupted a few centuries ago by great Sudanic invasions. For some time past the Forest Negroes and Pygmies of the Upper Saŋgahave evidently been fighting a losing battle and have been much influenced in their speech by the vicinity and the pressure of the Sudanic peoples and languages on the north and north-east. From this direction Boŋgiri, Bakŋta, and Bayaŋga have borrowed such numerals as **Vue** or **Jeg** for 'five', **Gbe** for 'one', and **Leisi** for 'two'.

[†]oteworthy noun-roots in languages 221-5:

-**ndun***, 'bow', 225; -**badŋa**, 'cow', 225 (248); **Pŋe**, 'fire', 222 (232); **Baha***, 'fish', 221, 225; -**burru***, 'hair', 225; -**dzeli***, 'hand', 223; -**kuŋgi***, 'hand', 225; -**tanda**, -**tandŋ**, -**danda**, 'hand', 222, 223, 224 (2 b-21, 22, 58, 75, &c.); **Lese***, 'iron', 224; **Tiehe***, 'leg', 225; **Bŋi**, 'moon', 223 (12; 271); **Bakŋa**, 'moon', 221 (220, 139); **Butu**, 'moon', 223 a (149; 269); -**kiŋ**, 'river', 225 (possibly the -**kiv**' of 120 and the **Kivŋ**, **Kivu**, 'lake', of East Central Africa); -**dugu**, 'river', 225 (56 a, 146, and see 'water' in 253); **Hŋla**, 'sheep', 225 (9, 9 c, 23 a, 20, &c.); -**diagŋ***, 'sleep', 225; -**nyuŋge**, 'snake', 225 (200); **Mw-amwe***, 'son', 222; -**sŋsa**, 'sun', 222 (229); -**bara** (Mom-**bara**), 'testicles', 221 (see roots for 'man'); -**die**, 'tooth', 225 (220); **Dzapa**, 'town', 222; -**laŋŋŋ**, 'town', 224 (69, 141, 32, 108); **Dali**, **Jari**, 'town', 221, 225 (5, 194, 217, 220; 263, 267); -**ŋŋŋkŋ***, 'tree', 223; -**bakŋ**, 'tree', 222 (151, 153, 82, 86); **Duma**, 'tree', 224 (178); -**mbŋli***, 'urine', 224; -**bibŋ**, 'water', 221; -**dugu**, 'water', 225 (253; 194, &c.); **Meri***, 'wife', 225 (see words for 'mother', 226); -**lembŋ**, 'witch', 221-4 (see 105 a, 145, 151, &c.); -**kundu***, 'witchcraft', 222 (140); **Guda**, 'firewood', 221 (156, 220).

It is remarkable that the adjectives in this group appear to precede the nouns, an exceptional occurrence in Bantu.

In the numerals, 'one' is either the orthodox and far-reaching **-mŋti**, or a form which is akin to that most in vogue in Group OO—**-wŋŋ**, **-watŋ**. No. 223 a has borrowed **Gbe** from the adjoining Sudanic speech. The root for 'two' ranges from **-ba** to **-bali** by the intermediate forms **-bae**, **-baye**. 'Three' is sometimes rendered by the slipshod **-lali**, **-lalŋ** of the 'Faŋg' Group, but also by **-atŋ**, **-ata**, **-tati**. 'Five' can be **-tanŋ**, **-tani**, or **-anŋ**, but in composition it assumes other forms—**Jeg** and **Siŋga**—for which I can find no relations elsewhere. **Vue** for 'five' in some members of this group is borrowed from the neighbouring non-Bantu Mpombŋ. As a rule the numerals 'six', 'seven', 'eight', and 'nine' are expressed by 'five and one', 'five and two', &c. No. 223, however, has a version of the **Sambŋ** root for 'six'—**-amanŋ** (from **Samba-nu**). For 'ten' we have the orthodox **Jum** (Di-**kumi**) in No. 324—brought, Dr. Ouzilleau thinks, by the Baŋgala traders from the Congo—and the much rarer **-kamŋ**, **-kamon**. This seems to

¹ See *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*, Paris, 1911.

be originally a Sudanic word¹ applied to 'ten' and to 'tens' or to 'a hundred', and it is interesting to note that it has penetrated into the Central or Eastern Congoland Groups. It also makes its appearance in the word for 'twenty' in No. 221 (**Kamuba**, 'ten-twice'). The **Jwka** for 'ten' in No. 224 is probably derived from the Mpombw² **Jokpa**, **Njokwa**. The **Ebwfe**, **Bwpe**, **Buwope** of Nos. 222, 223, 223 a, and 224 is simply a further corruption of the 'five-two' of North-east and Northern Congoland. 'Twenty' in No. 222 is also represented by a N.E. Congoland phrase: **Mwtwpe**, 'man-two', due to the counting of the hands only, and not the feet, so that one man stood for 'ten'. The word for 'twenty' in one dialect of 224 is merely **Bwpe** pluralized, but I cannot explain the **Ma-kupe** for 'twenty' in another dialect of 224 or the **Dzazu** of No. 223.

As regards the pronouns of this group, they are little known, and the renderings I give are uncertain in accuracy. The substantive form of 'I' in No. 221 is stated to be **Bili**, which may be a mishearing of **Mbili** and be due to an **Mbi**³ base with the addition of **-li**, 'am'. In Nos. 222, 224, and 225 the substantive form of the first pronoun singular is based on a **Mi**, **Me** root. In No. 223, on the other hand, 'I' has an **N** basis (**Nei**, **Nge**). Except as regards No. 225, the other pronouns are too vaguely rendered to be worth discussion. But No. 225, considering its position on the borderland of the non-Bantu, is tolerably orthodox with its **Me**, **Ww**, **U**, for the three pronouns of the singular number, and **Da**, **Mu**, and **Wene** for those of the plural. Next to nothing is recorded of the verbs of this group, but the negative particles seem to be **A-**, **De-**, and **Ke-** prefixes, and **-we**, **-pww**, and **-kww** as negative suffixes. Owing to their position in West Central Africa north of the Equator, and to such indications of affinities as they give, not only with the 'Fang' Group but with the Semi-Bantu to the west and the Nyanza and Central Congoland Groups of Bantu, it is greatly to be desired that these tongues of the Upper Saṅga and Upper Lw̄bai should be thoroughly investigated before they are extinguished by movements of population and the spreading of the Baṅgala trade language.

GROUP TT: THE FERNANDIAN DIALECTS

(Nos. 226, 226 a, 226 b)

This group is confined to the indigenous speech of the Island of Fernando Pô ;⁴ an island which represents the north-westernmost range of the Bantu languages. Fernando Pô was probably colonized by Bantu-speaking immigrants at a comparatively remote period, who spoke an early type of Bantu language retaining widespread affinities with groups now very distant in geography, such as the Bantu languages of the Southern Bahr-al-ghazal. Proto-Fernandian was evidently a language much infused with Semi-Bantu influence. These Fernandian people were still in the Stone Age, or rather Pre-Metal Age, when their island was first discovered by the Portuguese. They even remained in this primitive stage of culture until the beginning of the nineteenth century. At this time, after the Napoleonic Wars were over, the British Admiralty made Fernando Pô for a few years one of their dépôts in attacking the slave trade, though it was theoretically a possession of Spain. [Spain had obtained the cession of the island from a nominal Portuguese sovereignty and had attempted to enslave the indigenous people, but their resistance tired her of such projects, and until the British made a settlement at the north end of the island, Fernando Pô was virtually left to its primitive natives.] When it is said that the Fernandians were still in the Stone Age, it implies that they were ignorant of the use of metal. There is not much trace of their having used stone implements or weapons. They resorted rather to even more primitive arts, the use of wood, horn, bone,

¹ **Xkan** and **Tkam** in Lw̄gw̄ne and **Kan** (in composition) in Maba—Sari basin south of Lake Chad and Wadai.

² Mpombw̄ is akin to the Mundu family of the Bahr-al-ghazal province.

³ **Mbi** for 'I' is met with in the Saṅgw̄ language of the Mubaṅgi basin.

⁴ This name is derived from Fernam-do-Pôo ('Ferdinand of the people') the supposed name of the Portuguese captain who first sighted the island about 1470.

and shell. Though so exceedingly backward in culture they did not—as I saw them in the early 'eighties—look a particularly savage or low type of Negro, and their language and the way they wielded it showed that they had inherited a considerable amount of mentality from their ancestors.

The native speech of Fernando Pô is usually nowadays called 'BUBE'. But this is not a satisfactory term, so I have resorted to the artificial name of **FERNANDIAN**. **Bube** is a corruption of $B\omega\text{-}\omega be$ (a denasalized version of **Mume**), which means 'a man', 'a male' in Northern Fernandian. An earlier name quoted for this tongue was **Ediya** (by its first exponent, the Rev. J. Clarke), but no one since has been able to obtain confirmation or explanation of this term.

The **Fernandian** tongue may be approximately divided into three principal dialectal types—that of the north part of the island from the north-west to the north-east corner; that of the east and south; and that of the south-western and west coasts. The last-named group is perhaps the least peculiar in its word-roots and its prefixes.

There is a very archaic flavour about this language. It would seem to be the result of a comparatively early Bantu race-movement, which, not content with reaching the Atlantic coast at the mouths of the great Cameroons rivers, saw the silhouette of the 10,000 feet high volcano of Fernando Pô on the western horizon and migrated thither to occupy the island. It is quite probable, however, that at this period (which may be 1,200, 1,500, or more years distant from the present day), there still remained stepping-stones of islands and rocks connecting the base of the Cameroons volcanoes with the slopes of the Fernando Pô craters. According to vague legends of the Fernandians, and even of the Cameroons people opposite, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions in past times destroyed this land-bridge or submerged these connecting islands which, many centuries ago, may have made the colonization of Fernando Pô possible to folk in a primitive stage of human culture.

Their language has evidently long been out of touch with the speech-forms of the mainland, though there are stories of occasional further colonizations of the south coast of the island in recent times by people who fled in canoes from the Duala region of the Cameroons. Perhaps this may account for the fact that the dialects of the south and south-west are a little less dissimilar from the Cameroons languages; or, on the other hand, these dialects may be of a more archaic nature and have retained word-roots lost elsewhere in the more frequented coasts nearer the mainland.

It will be noticed in Fernandian phonology that there exists a strongly aspirated h , in some words answering to \tilde{h} and even x . This aspirate seems in certain cases to proceed from an older \tilde{h} . Other characteristic features are the marked tendency for m to be replaced by b , the occasional change of b into ϕ , and the frequent transmutation of n into l . N , also, sometimes takes the place of m and vice versa. L changes readily to d , and d to l , r , or t . Consequently, it is actually the case in one or two words that **-ene** may become **-ete**. T again palatalizes readily into $\tilde{t}y$ and c ; k and ϕ fade into x or h . Until these transmutations of consonants are realized, etymology is difficult, and the language seems in its vocabulary to have departed very considerably from the Bantu standard; but when once they have been grasped (and this is rendered the easier by the retention in the different dialects of diverse forms) it will be found that it has not done so. On the contrary, **FERNANDIAN** has preserved in a very remarkable manner a number of Bantu roots only to be met with elsewhere in the south, the east, the centre, or north-centre of the Bantu field (especially in the Ababua Group II). It also contains word-roots still existing in the Semi-Bantu languages of the Cameroons hinterland.

In the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 9th, 12th, and 14th Classes, it has preserved the preprefixes, though these to a great extent have lost any particular signification as definite articles. Owing to the frequent denasalizing of m , which readily becomes b , great apparent confusion occurs in 226 and 226a between the 1st, 3rd, and 14th prefixes, all of which may be heard as **Bu-** or **B ω -**. Similarly, the 4th may become in some dialects **Be-** or **Bi-**, and the 6th be heard as **Ba-**. The 7th prefix is normally **E-**, but occasionally takes the form of **J'**, **He-**, or **Xe-**. The 8a prefix is very prominent in the language as a diminutive. In its fullest form it is **Esi-** or **Isi-**,¹ but it would seem in one or two words to retain its original type of **Bi-**. Its plural, though usually furnished by Class 12 (**Wtu-**), is occasionally No. 8 (**Bi-**). The 13th prefix, **Ka-**

¹ Presumably reaching this stage through the **Vi-**, **Fi-**, or **Si-** of North-west Bantu.

which has become nearly obsolete in the Central Congoland Group and quite absent in most of the North Central Congoland, Teke, *Ūgowe*, Gaboon, and Cameroons Groups, has not perished from **FERNANDIAN**, though it has lost its special concord and is only used in an adverbial sense with numerals, or as a class prefix is associated exclusively with a feminine or honorific signification. Sometimes it is heard as a disyllable: **Kahe-**, **Kaf'i-**, or **Kak'-**, and these instances may derive from an originally doubled form, **Kaka-**, or from **Ka-** apposed to **Ki-** (No. 7). As a 'sex' prefix it is matched by **Kw-** (or **Kom'**, **Kwomw-**) which stands for 'male'. **Kw-** or **Kom'** or **Kwomw-** employs the concords of Class 1. It indicates masculinity in the following noun-root, and is superimposed (as **Kw-**) on the ordinary prefix of the noun it is intended to qualify. There is no clear connexion between this 'male' prefix and the **Kw-** of Class 15, which last is only used adverbially or as a preposition (*Ū-*). I have suggested elsewhere that **Kw-** in Fernandian, which is sometimes **Kom'** and **Kwomw-**, may just possibly descend from the archaic Bantu form of the 1st and 3rd prefixes—**Gumu-**. On the other hand, **Kw-** may be derived from the **Gu-** ('gigantic') prefix, No. 18. The 16th prefix (**Pa-**) becomes **Xa-**, **Ha-**, and **A-**, but is only employed as a preposition. **La-** (No. 20) exists in Fernandian as a locative prefix, without concord.

Noteworthy noun-roots in languages 226–226 b :

-nna*, 'blood', 226; **-wba**, 'country', 226 (6, 7, 104); **-kōtō**, 'he goat', 226 (64 and S-B.); **Pōtōw**, **Pōtwe***, 'God', 226 (this root may even be related to the Old West African coast word for 'Portuguese', **-pōtōw**, **-pōtōw**, **-putōw**); **-sila**, 'head', 226 (31a); **-tata***, 'hide', 226 b; **-hōlōw**, 'hunger', 226 a (17); **-cine***, 'hunger', 226 a; **-ida***, **-dia***, 'knife', 226; **-pula**, 'leg', 226 (255); **-rōmwō**, 'magic', 226 (209); **-bōwā**, 'monkey', 226 (145; 268; 77, 85, 109); **-cupu***, 'monkey', 226 a; **-meri**, **-bēri**, **-bedi**, **-eri**, 'mother', 226 (see 'wife', 225); **-edi**, 'mountain', 226 (189, 199, &c.); **-gōwā**, **-ubā**, 'mountain', 226 (13, 150, 160, 164); **-ida***, 'finger-nail', 226; **-pehe**, 'neck', 226 (193); **Rilā***, 'neck', 226; **-bōkwō***, **-ōkwō***, 'ox', 226; **-kōpōw**, **-kōpōw**, 'ox', 226 (69, 92, 94); **-leka***, 'pigeon', 226; **-ninha***, 'salt', 226; **-sōlōw**, 'salt', 226 (probably derived from English word); **-cōdu**, **-cōru**, **Šōru**, **Šelu**, **Celu**, 'sheep', 226 (19, 19 a; 241; 24–8, 9, &c.); **-ondōw***, 'shoulder', 226; **-bakōw**, 'sky', 226 (75); **-ōkwō***, 'sky', 226 a; **Nōwō***, 'sky', 226; **-bese**, 'slave', 226 (216); **-cika**, **-sika**, 'spear', 226 (168; 242); **-uci**, 'son', 226 (153; 268); **-tōgi***, **-tōhi***, **-tōi***, 'sun', 226 (cf. **-rog**, **237**); **-ubā**, 'thigh', 226 (116; 251; 100 b); **-kwōlā***, **-kwōle***, 'thing', 226; **-ri***, **-riā***, 'thorn', 226; **-bebōw**, **-belōw**, 'tongue', 226 (229); **-tōlōw**, 'tongue', 226 (16); **-bāwō***, 'town', 226; **-riā***, 'town', 226; **-bōkwō***, 'twins', 226; **-nyera**, 'urine', 226 (see Nyanza Group and 205, 206, 199, 200); **-ōpōw***, 'war', 226; **-ōpē***, **-ōpē***, 'water', 226 (see roots for 'river' in 184, 187, 195, 204, 205, and 274); **-hōnyōw**, 'well', 226 b (94); **-pephōw***, 'white man', 226 (see 'spirit'); **-nōkē***, 'wind', 226 b; **-dūlu**, **-dūdu**, **-rudu**, 'wind', 226 (65, 65 a); **Rōmwō**, 'witchcraft', 226 a (209); **-gūā***, 'witchcraft', 226; **-cōkwō**, 'year', 226 (210).

In Fernandian the adjectives are sometimes placed before the noun they govern, and this practice is under certain conditions applied also to numerals. It is noteworthy that as regards adjectival roots, Fernandian is rather aberrant and fails to possess some that are most characteristic of the Bantu family. At the same time, here and there a root turns up that has very far-away and no very near relationships. Of such is **Di-ālā**, 'male', which recalls the Western Congo tongues, and **-lūnā**, 'old', characteristic also of Congoland and of Zulu and South-east Africa (where it means 'head-man' or 'male'); and **-lūwādī**, 'sick', a common root in the East and Central African Bantu.

The pronouns in Fernandian are normally Bantu, except, perhaps, one of the substantival forms for 'he'—**Ke**. This may be connected with the **Ka-** nominative for the 3rd person singular of frequent and sporadic occurrence, or with the terminal form of the same pronoun in the dative or genitive, **-kwē**. The usual substantival word for 'he' is **Ōlō** or **Ūlōw**, which is obviously related to the **Ūnōw**, **Nū**, **Ūdōw**, **Ūnu**, **Unu**, &c., of Nos. 2 f, 5 a, 22, 55, 141, 152, 205–6, and 261. Fernandian possesses both the common roots for the 2nd person plural: **Nōw** and **Mue**; perhaps they were coexistent in the parent speech of the Bantu thousands of years ago. It should, however, be noted that despite its retention of so many archaic features, Fernandian has lost entirely the ancient Bantu custom of expressing the objective pronoun with the verb by an infix form: its objective pronouns are always terminals.

'All' is expressed by a very common root, **-mā**, **-amā**, and **-kumā**,¹ besides (in 226 b) by **-elā**, **-lā** as

¹ Sometimes by denasalizing **-bā** and **-kubā**.

well. The **-ma** root may—I think—be matched in No. 162 of North Central Congoland, and **-kuma** is obviously the same form as the **-kima**, **-ñkuma**, &c., of Nos. 110, 118, 123, 126, 129, 130, 131, and 234. Perhaps **-ela** or **-la**—the *l* so often replacing an older *n*—has kinship with the **-ōna** of the Eastern Bantu. The demonstratives, besides much use of conjoined preprefix and prefix are usually for the first position formed by the **-le** and **-lɔ** suffixes, particles which may either be the **-le** and **-lɔ** of so many Bantu languages, central, east, and south, or, by the customary change of *n* to *l*, be the **-ne** and **-nɔ** locatives. In addition, for greater distance or emphasis, use is made of the suffixes **-icɔ** (see 207 and 208), **-ɔbua**, and **-ɔwaci**.

In the verbal roots, as in other features, the south-western dialect of Fernandian (226 b) seems less differentiated from the Bantu standard than the other dialects, there not being so much change of *n* into *l* or *m* into *b*. The verb-root may end in **-i**, **-ɔ**, **-e**, or **-m**, but the **-a** termination is far the most common.

The infinitive prefix is **Ū** (from an earlier **Kɔ**, **Ku**) and also **E**, which is more likely to be derived from the 5th than the 7th prefix. There is further an **Ala**, **Ale**, **A** prefix¹ used in some cases to express the infinitive or substantival sense of the verb. The preterite termination (**-ile**) is **-i**, **-rie**; and also **-si**. The terminal modifications of the simple root do not seem to be numerous. I can trace no passive. The applicative (14 c) is **-era** and the causative (14 d) is **-sa**, **-asa**. The auxiliary verb 'to be' is rendered by three roots, **-e** (cf. 10, 20, and 273), **-lɔ** (see Nos. 5, 5 a, 7, 186, 193, 211, and 259), and **-ka** (East and Central Bantu).

The negative particles used with the verb are **Te**, **Aci**; **-ci**, **-ta** (**-da** and **-ca**), **-e**, **-te** (**-de**), **-l'** (**-lɔ** or **-li**). There are also two negative prefixes, **La** and **Li**. The first may be the same as the **La** of South-west Africa (92, 94) or the **Na** which occurs in negative adverbs in 28, 35 a, 38, 51, 104, 107, and 129 a, or as an infix in 28, 32, 34, 56, 78, 141, &c. The second, **Li**, and the infixes **-li**, **-lɔ** perhaps answer to the forms in East Africa and the Kwaŋgɔ-Kasai basin.

¹ As in the 'Faŋg' Group.

CHAPTER VII

THE SEMI-BANTU LANGUAGES

THIS term was first used by myself in an article on the Bantu languages written for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, but it was almost indicated as appropriate by the phrases used in the writings of Koelle, Bleek, Barth, the Rev. Hugh Goldie, and other pioneers in African philology of the 'fifties and 'sixties in the last century. Indeed, still earlier than that period, in consequence of the British occupation of Sierra Leone and an inquiry by missionaries into the Bulom language (No. 261) and the researches of Tutschek into the speech-forms of Kordofan, there arose the idea that there might exist in the great Sudanic belt to the north of the equator prefix-using languages which would approximate in structure to the Zulu-Kafir, Koñgō, and Swahili types ('South African' was then the generic name given to the Bantu family).

In Koelle's *Polyglotta Africana* there were after-thoughts and additions to the long list of vocabularies, as some fresh slave from a new district arrived at Sierra Leone. For this and other reasons the arrangement of his vocabularies in the printed work is not sufficiently based on geographical propinquity or structural affinity. For instance, the Temne language of Sierra Leone (263) is numbered I. D. 2 in his list, and Landoma (265), little more than a dialect of Temne, is inserted at the other extremity of the list as No. XII. A. 5. Consequently, the inter- and extra-relationships of his hundred and seventy-eight languages were not so obvious to the readers of this valuable record as they would have been and are now when the geography and ethnography of Africa are thoroughly known.

Still, the resemblances in structure between Bulom, Temne, and the tongues of Portuguese Guinea on the one hand, and the Bantu languages on the other, were obvious even in Koelle's limited rendering of them; and far-sighted men like W. H. I. Bleek jumped to the conclusion sixty years ago, that there were several speech-groups in West Africa and Nigeria that were really outlying members of the Bantu family.

This, of course, was an over-statement of the case. The Semi-Bantu prefixial languages of Senegambia, Tōgōland, Nigeria, and the Cross river, are so estranged from the Bantu standard in their phonology, and in the adjustment of their prefixes, as to make it illogical to include them in the Bantu family. Their prefixes, though offering great resemblances—almost an identity in form, in most cases—with those of the Bantu, are yet so differently applied in correspondence as singular and plural and as class indicators as to make it difficult and in some cases impossible to fit them into the Bantu scheme.

There is also dissimilarity in the more important numerals, pronouns, adjective, and verb-roots; yet it will be more obvious now than before this book was published that the Semi-Bantu languages retain a syntax, together with noun-roots, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, and verbs which show a striking affinity with those of the Bantu. Their possession and employment of prefixes, preprefixes, suffixes, and in most cases of the concord particles; the syntax of their verbs; and even their phonology (despite the occasional tendency to consonantal terminations and abrupt collocation of consonants) almost force on the student the acceptance of the theory that the Semi-Bantu languages not only possess certain resemblances in common which constitute them a speech-family by themselves (though the connexion is of far greater tenuity than in the case of the Bantu), but that they have originated from sister forms of the tongue which became the parent of the Bantu languages. They are, in short, cousins in varying degrees of the Bantu

offspring. These remarks refer to all the groups in my list of Semi-Bantu languages except Group A of the Cameroons and the eastern basin of the Cross river. Of this, Sub-group A 1 may represent languages which descend more directly from the actual ancestor of the Bantu; or degenerate types of Bantu speech much influenced by the neighbouring Sudanic, Nigerian, or Semi-Bantu tongues.

The evidence collected in this work seems to point to the following theory as being the most plausible explanation of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu kinship and their present distribution: We are entitled to surmise that there arose thousands of years ago, perchance under the stimulus and influence of some Neolithic 'White man' permeation of the Sudan from the direction of North Africa or Egypt, a group of Negro languages in the Western and Central Sudan, which made much use of prefixes as classifiers and demonstratives, and knitted up the sentence into a cumbersome but logical expression of ideas through the 'concord' (i. e. pronominal or classifying particles employed to show which adjective belonged to which noun, which noun belonged to which verb or pronoun). The main stock from which such languages were derived may have had anciently a very wide extension through Southern Asia. It may have been associated much with the Negro sub-species of Man between Senegambia on the west and the Papuan and Melanesian islands on the east; stretching thus across Southern Arabia, Southern Persia, India, and Malaysia. We cannot overlook entirely the superficial resemblance in phonology between the languages of the Oceanic Negroes and those of Tropical Africa (especially of the great forest belt), more or less coincident with 10° north and south of the Equator.

But the main principles of the Bantu syntax and the instinct for dividing nouns into classes based on a quite different distinction from that of sex may have originated in the mind of some white or quasi-white people of the Mediterranean basin whose speech and cultus preceded in North Africa that of the Libyan-Berber, Egyptian, or Hamite-Ethiopian. Such a race of Neolithic, pre-Libyan colonists of North Africa may have been akin to the Pelasgian-Aegeans of Crete and of prehistoric Greece and Sicily; or it may have come from prehistoric Egypt or from Spain—though Basque *has not the slightest affinity* with the 'Class' language or with other speech-forms of Africa. The only language families outside Africa which offer the slightest affinity in any way with the Bantu tongues are the Sumerian and Dravidian Groups. The interrupted range of the Dravidian languages at the present day extends north-westward into Baluchistan. It is a plausible theory that the ancestral type of Dravidian language invaded India from the direction of the Persian Gulf. In very ancient times Proto-Dravidian speech may have spread into Syria, Egypt, and the Mediterranean coasts. But the resemblances between the Dravidian and Bantu language structures are so very faint that it is a waste of space discussing them here. The late Sir Richard Burton had a theory that the Sumerian speech of Mesopotamia exhibited an affinity with Bantu; the Rev. W. A. Crabbtree has been writing on this subject in the 1919 volume of the African Society's Journal. All we have any right to surmise is that the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages were created by the impact on the Negroes of the Central Sudan of a Mediterranean race speaking a language which preceded the advance of the Aryan, Hamitic, or Semitic tongues. Such early invaders of Tropical Africa from the direction of the north may have been the ancestors of the Ful people of Senegambia and Northern Nigeria.

This much appears to me quite certain, that the Hamitic languages came later into the field and have not influenced Bantu, Semi-Bantu, or Ful in the least—except, of course, in lending noun-roots where there has been much intercourse. After the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages were created somewhere in the heart of Africa there occurred a new invasion of Nigeria by Hamitic peoples—possibly Ethiopians and Libyans—and this brought the Hausa language into being with its strongly pronounced Hamitic features: perhaps, also Musgu of the Šari basin.

But prior to the Hamiticizing of the Nigerian Sudan—much of which may have taken place from the direction of Egypt rather than north to south across the Sahara—there had arisen during some early expansion of Neolithic civilization a great congeries of 'categorical', 'class', prefix-and-concord, or suffix-and-concord languages in the Western Sudan, between the Bahr-al-ghazal on the east and the Volta basin on the west, right across Central Nigeria. The early influence of such speech-forms may have spread into Kordofan, where prefixial languages still exist; to the extent that the change from singular to plural in the nouns is usually effected by substituting a different initial consonant, and that an initial adjectival concord may exist with the noun. But there seem to be no definite 'classes' of nouns, the plural is sometimes

formed by a suffix, and there is no pronominal concord. There is also a complete absence of any similarity in word-roots with Bantu or Semi-Bantu.¹

Consequently, the South Kordofan languages cannot be brought within the scope of this book. There are, however, many families of Sudanic languages which seem to have inherited Bantu or Semi-Bantu traits, though they lie outside the limitations and definitions of both families. Such, for example, are the Bamaṅga language and its congeners in Northern Congoland which use suffixes instead of prefixes, but have the system of the adjectival and pronominal concord. Such again are several of the Southern Nigerian Groups, from Ibo in the south to Nupe in the north; the Agni language family of the Gold and Ivory Coasts; one or two Tōgōland languages; some speech-forms imperfectly realized in the Benue and Kaduna basins; the Mundañ language of North Cameroons; the Kisi language of north-east Sierra Leone and the sources of the Niger; and the Limba speech of north-west Sierra Leone; besides, also, a great many scarcely recorded languages in Portuguese Guinea, that *Sentina gentium* of forested West Africa. The principle of the concord and one or two other Bantu features are present in Masai and several more groups of Nilotic Negro speech; may even be said to exist in the Hamitic, Semitic, and Aryan families, though their classes or categories are based on gender and neutrality. Word-roots obviously akin to those of the Bantu may be traced at intervals through the Negro languages of West Africa. Bantu phonology is not only characteristic of Bantu and to a lesser extent of Semi-Bantu, but of some of the Sudanic languages between the western basin of the Nile and the coast of Senegal. Prefixes are used in the Madi, the Maṅgbettu, and Zaṅde (Nyamnyam) families.

Outstanding also are the suggestions of Bantu affinities in the many classes of noun with singular and plural suffixes and concord-particles in the Ful language, and perhaps in its distant allies of the Mōle, Gurunsi, or Dagomba Group; and again in the Wolof of Senegal. There are even Bantu features and roots in the Hausa language sufficient to justify the speculation that the original Negro contribution towards that Hamiticized amalgam may have been of a Semi-Bantu type.

The presence of numeral-roots 'two', 'three', and 'four', which are of Bantu cast; and a number of substantival roots of Bantu complexion in many of the West African languages such as Hausa, Fula, Mōle, Ibo, Nupe, Kambali, Ham, Yasgua,² Gbari, Aṣanti, and other Agni tongues, and in the Kru Groups, seems to indicate an underlying Semi-Bantu element throughout Western Equatorial Africa. Yet the present isolation of the existing Semi-Bantu pockets (the Tōgōland Group, for example, is probably limited to an area of a hundred square miles) implies that after the Semi-Bantuizing of the whole forest belt of West Africa from the Upper Benue and the Niger delta to the estuary of the Gambia, there followed an incessant series of other Negro migrations and invasions, a continual turmoil of races which created new languages every few years, and thus swamped the Semi-Bantu of West and West Central Africa with the Wolof, Mañdiñgō, Senufō, Soñyai, Gurunsi (Mōle), Ful, Juku, Musgu, Hausa and Tibu-Kanuri speech-forms, besides many others which it would be inconvenient and unnecessary to catalogue. Moreover, it is not suggested that the Semi-Bantu was the first human speech to colonize West Africa. It must have been preceded by innumerable other forms of human utterance through thousands and thousands of years,

¹ The first of these prefixial Hill Kordofan languages to which attention was called was **Tumale** or **Yumale**. It was discovered by the Bavarian philologist, Dr. Lorenz Tutschek, in 1848, and located apparently in Kordofan. Little else was done in this direction until Mrs. Brenda Seligman took up the study of the hill languages of Southern Kordofan when accompanying her husband, Dr. Charles Seligman, in his ethnographical explorations of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Mrs. Seligman's description of the Kordofan prefix-using languages appeared in her treatise *Note on the Languages of the Nubas of Southern Kordofan*, which was published in *Sonderabdruck aus der Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen* at Berlin in 1910-11. In addition to this treatise, Mrs. Seligman kindly supplied me with manuscript information.

² **Yasgua** is a language recorded by Koelle from the Kaduna river basin, north of Kamuku and Basá (Nos. 255, 256). Yasgua employs a few prefixes to indicate singular and plural, and contains a few Bantu word-roots. When we know more of it it may have to be classified as Semi-Bantu. Its numerals are certainly of Bantu affinity. 'One', **Unyi**; 'two', **Mva**; 'three', **Ntad**; 'four', **Nna**; 'five', **Ntō**; 'ten', **Nkob**. The near-by **Ham** language has **Jini**, **Fali**, **Tat**, **Nañ**, **Tō** for the first five numerals, and **Kōwua** or **Kob** for 'ten'. Both languages are duodecimal in counting with independent roots for 'eleven' and 'twelve'. Mr. Northcote Thomas claims Semi-Bantu affinities for Yergum, another Central Nigerian tongue.

and some of these pre-Bantu types of speech probably still survive. Such may be the monosyllabic, tone-using languages of Southern Nigeria and Dahomé. Evidently these once extended over a wider area and have greatly affected the types of Bantu and Semi-Bantu found at the present day in the North-west Cameroons, the Cross river, and in Tōgōland. There are the Kru tongues, there is the Gōra language in Liberia, which may have been predecessors of the Bantu. Their few affinities in word-roots may be simply due to borrowing from the Semi-Bantu. There are speech-forms in the inner and outer parts of Portuguese Guinea and in French Senegambia not yet fully understood and classified, which might prove to be much more 'aboriginal' than Fulup or Konyāgi.

It is impossible, however, in the present work, to trace out fully these theories and the facts on which they are founded. The author has to confine himself to the consideration, in addition to the Bantu, of such types of Semi-Bantu languages as offer unquestionable affinities with the parent Bantu speech.

For this purpose we may sum up our speculations by assuming that, owing to some comparatively ancient 'White-man' interference with Eastern Nigeria, there arose in that region (just as Hausa grew up —no doubt with a certain abruptness—many centuries afterwards) a great compromise language of White-man syntax and Negro roots and pronunciation which divided its conception of substantives into a considerable number of categories not based on differences of sex in particular, but on other and perhaps somewhat fantastic considerations. This 'category' or class-distinguishing type of speech may have already been started in another area of White-man intervention; the original home of the Fula people in the Western Sudan. Then at a later date the first adumbration of the Bantu type diverged into two or three sister languages. One of the sisters became the Bantu mother tongue and radiated south-eastward, south-westward, and southward. Of the other daughters of the prefix-using parent (the Proto-Bantu speech), three perhaps remained more or less near the region where they were born and originated the Semi-Bantu Groups A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and H; and then by a series of extraordinary migrations westward, Groups I, J, K, L, M, and N. Or, all these groups of Semi-Bantu languages may have had but one mother (rather than grandmother) in Eastern Nigeria, and that mother have been sister to the Bantu parent.

The Bantu mother speech seems at first to have made an eastward-south-eastward rush from the north-eastern basin of the Benue, across the Šari, and along the Congo water-parting to the Mountain Nile and the Nyanzas,¹ but early in its history the Old Bantu divided into two distinct sub-families, one being the parent form of the Ababua languages (Group II), and the other of all the central, eastern, southern, western, and most of the north-western Bantu languages.

The Ababua Group seems to have attempted again and again to penetrate the wall of the great Congo forest in a western and southern direction, so that its influence finally reached not only to the Northern Congo but to the Ōgōwe basin, the Cameroons, Cross river watershed, and Fernando Pô.

The expansion of the Semi-Bantu languages over West Africa is, however, on a different basis from that of the universal Bantuizing of Central and South Africa. It would seem to have been a much more ancient race movement. At the present day the distribution of the true Semi-Bantu languages of Nigeria and forested West Africa is very scattered and discontinuous. Often these forms of Semi-Bantu speech are the prerogative of the most aboriginal-seeming peoples, though ever and again they are the property of some tribe like the Temne of superior, almost Negroid physique, cattle breeders, and with some degree of inherent civilization. The distribution of the West African Semi-Bantu languages is nowadays in pockets, and each, as a rule, only covers a small area, may even be restricted to a few villages.

Let us now consider the enumeration, distribution, and characteristic features of these groups more in detail:

¹ Others who speculate on Bantu origins think I am wrong in fixing on Eastern Nigeria as the Bantu birthplace, and would have it placed in the Nile valley, north of the Victoria Nyanza.

THE SEMI-BANTU LANGUAGE FAMILY

GROUP A (S-B.). CAMEROONS-CROSS RIVER LANGUAGES (Nos. 227-246).

Divided into two sub-groups, A 1 (S-B.), the languages of the Cameroons borderland, and A 2 (S-B.), of the Western Cross river.

GROUP B (S-B.). THE NORTHERN CROSS RIVER BASIN LANGUAGES (Nos. 247-247 b).

GROUP C (S-B.). SOUTH-WEST BENUE LANGUAGES (No. 248).

GROUP D (S-B.). SOUTHERN BENUE „ (No. 249).

GROUP E (S-B.). CENTRAL BENUE „ (Nos. 250-1).

GROUP F (S-B.). SOUTH-WEST BAUCI „ (No. 252).

GROUP G (S-B.). CENTRAL BAUCI „ (No. 253).

GROUP H (S-B.). CENTRAL NIGERIA (KADUNA BASIN) LANGUAGES (Nos. 254-6).

GROUP I (S-B.). TŌGWŌLAND LANGUAGES (Nos. 257-6c).

GROUP J (S-B.). SOUTH SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGES (Nos. 261-2).

GROUP K (S-B.). NORTH-WEST SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGES (Nos. 263-5).

GROUP L (S-B.). THE NALU LANGUAGE (No. 266).

GROUP M (S-B.). THE NORTH GUINEA LANGUAGES (Nos. 267-73).

Further sub-divided into M 1 (S-B.), the Jeba Sub-group ; M 2 (S-B.), the Bisao-Bolama Sub-group ; and M 3 (S-B.), the Dyōla Sub-group.

GROUP N (S-B.). THE UPPER GAMBIA LANGUAGES (No. 274).

At present only represented by Kōnyāgi (274).

In regard to GROUP A (S-B.), this was formerly divided by the author into two distinct groups of equal value, and undoubtedly it is composed of two or more very distinct elements. One of these is the real Bantu infusion from the Western Cameroons, which so permeates the languages of the first sub-group (Nos. 227 to 238) as to make them seem outlying members of the Bantu family. This is especially the case with **NDE** (228), **ŃKI** (229), the **MBUDIKUM** dialects (230), **MANYAN** (234), **NDIKI** (235), and **BAFUT** (236). But though doubtfully separable from the Bantu, the weight of their affinities inclines them on the whole to the Semi-Bantu. The second sub-group, A 2 (S-B.), which lies to the west and north of the Cameroons frontier, is much less 'Bantu' in type and exhibits the Semi-Bantu features more markedly.

The **EKŌI** or **EJAM** languages or dialects (227-227 c) are in some respects midway between the two sub-groups. So also are **ŌLULŌMŌ** (238), **AKUNAKUNA** (241), **UWET** and **EFIK** (246, 245). On the other hand, **UYANĠA** (243), **KORŌP** (244), **UKELE**, **ŃKODŌ**, and **OKPŌTŌ** (239, 239 a, 239 b), the **EDIBA-EKURE-ŃKOKŌLE** (240 to 240 c), and **ESŌPON-ARUN** (242) are markedly dissimilar in word-roots, prefixes, numerals, and pronouns from the Bantu. In this particular Uyaŋga, **ŃkodŌ**, **ŃkokŌle**, and **KorŌp** are the most peculiar. Uyaŋga and **ŃkokŌle** almost suggest the inclusion of a nucleus of some speech quite foreign to the Bantu and Semi-Bantu families which has fused with a Semi-Bantu element. These aberrant languages nevertheless have a full system of prefixes, though such prefixes may differ in their correspondence, arrangement, and form from those of the orthodox Bantu. The Efik language, again, together with its closely-related dialect of **IbibiŌ**, seems to be the result of a compromise between the **IbŌ** and other South Nigerian, non-Bantu tongues and an 'almost Bantu' language like **EkŌi** (227-227 c) or **Nde** (228). There is a decided Bantu element in Efik word-roots, but **Uwet** (246), the northern neighbour of Efik, is more typically Semi-Bantu. An interesting outlying speech is **OkpŌtŌ**, which was first brought to our notice by Mr. Northcote Thomas. It is sufficiently near in form to the **Ukele** language (239) to be enumerated as 239 b, though the small patch of country where it is spoken lies some 50 or 60 miles to the west of **Ukele** as an enclave in the **IbŌ** country. It is styled by Mr. Thomas 'OkpŌtŌ II', with the suggestion that **OkpŌtŌ I**, the speech of the **AkpŌtŌ** in the **Igara**

country to the south of the Lower Benue, is an allied language. I cannot find proof of this, but if it is the case, then it is an interesting extension of the Semi-Bantu in that direction.

The peculiar features of the phonology of these languages in both sub-groups of Group A (S-B.) are sufficiently common to them all to justify one in including them in the same group and to differentiate them at the same time from the true Bantu.

Although the harsher phonology of the Fañg, the Maneñguba, and the Middle Sanagá languages has prepared the student for a departure from Bantu standards of Italianate pronunciation, a glance at the vocabularies of the Semi-Bantu languages of this Cameroons-Cross river Group should convince him that he has a different family of African languages to deal with. The word-roots are so often clipped of their terminal vowel (the reappearance of which in composition or in dialects testifies to its former existence); and there is almost a preference for consonantal endings. Considerable nasality of utterance is present; nasal vowels and the nasal \tilde{n} are prominent features in the pronunciation, which is also rendered harsh by an occasional faucal gasp (ʔ) in place of k or g (especially in No. 230), by the juxtaposition of gutturals and alveolars— rk and dx —alveolars and labials— db —and gutturals and labials— gb and kp ; also by the frequent change of g into γ . Γ indeed is a very prominent consonant in the Semi-Bantu family, and x is nearly as frequently met with. T , especially as a terminal consonant, frequently replaces a Bantu s , and t is sometimes heard as though doubly pronounced; but it also passes readily into r and rr , both as a medial and a terminal. There is some tendency, more especially in Sub-group A 2, for initial and terminal n and m to become denasalized as d and b or ϕ . Examples of this practice are **-don** for **-non** ('bird'), **-dob** for **-dom** ('male'), **-yap** for **-yam** ('meat'). Or the process may be reversed; a t or d may change to n or an m to b . This is how **-nan** comes to stand for **-dat**, **-tat** ('three') in No. 244, and how the 6th prefix may take the form of **Ba**. \bar{O} is a common vowel sound, commoner than ω . It is so deeply uttered that in transcribing these tongues of the Cross river and North-west Cameroons, most English travellers incline to express this vowel by aw (as in 'bawl', 'paw'). This trait is also present in the $\Omega g\omega$ -Gaboon and Cameroons Bantu and explains why the American missionaries so often transcribed **L \bar{O}** as **L \bar{a}** . Another common vowel sound in Group A (S-B.)—indeed one that is characteristic of the whole Semi-Bantu family—is a , pronounced like the short English u in 'but', 'mud'; or like the average unaccented *alif* sound in Arabic (as in *Al*, the definite article). This a comes nearest in sound to a short or curt pronunciation of a ; but that it has in Semi-Bantu—as in modern English—some affinity with u (really with the diphthong *au*) is shown by its sometimes proceeding from a Bantu u . \mathcal{E} , \bar{o} , and \bar{u} are other intermediate, 'un-Italian' vowel sounds met with in Group A of the Semi-Bantu, and foreign to the normal Bantu pronunciation. It is interesting to note that where these sounds— \mathcal{E} , \bar{o} , u —most occur in real Bantu languages is in the Kwañgō-Kasai district and in the Fañg countries, where we are led from other evidence to postulate a former Semi-Bantu occupation or invasion.

Tones—as a rule only ` and '—are present in the utterance of some languages of Group A, especially Ekoi (227), and may have found their way into this group from the adjoining non-Bantu Nigērian languages where they are of great importance. Etymologically they count for very little in the Semi-Bantu of the Cameroons-Cross river, but they serve in speaking—notably in Ekoi—to differentiate between word-roots similar in vowels and consonants but different in meaning.

Perhaps the most noteworthy phonetic feature in Sub-group A 2 is the preference for the vowel u , and the reduction of many a diverse and disyllabic root to the monosyllables—*-um*, *-un*, *-uñ*, *-ut* *-up*. This induces a monotonous similarity in words as wearisome and confusing to the student as the *-bañ*, *-añ*, *-mañ*, *-fañ* of the Fañg languages or the *-tra*, *-atr* of Temne.

As regards prefixes, Sub-group A 1 of Group A (S-B.) departs on the whole less from Bantu standards than the second sub-group of the Cross river basin. Perhaps Nos. 227-227 c are the most defaced in their prefixes, Classes Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, or 14 being represented wholly or principally by vowels. These may result from the fusion of former preprefixes with the prefix; otherwise in Ekoi and its dialects there is no trace of preprefixes, except in Nos. 6 and 8 a. 8 a is present (**Fi**, **Ifi**, **Bi**) in 227, but Classes 12 and 13 are entirely absent. Class 1 is represented still by **M ω** or **M**, a feature which tends to disappear entirely from the Semi-Bantu; but Class 1 in Ekoi is also represented by the prefixes **Ne** and **Ni**, which may—like the Munşi **Oro**—bear a direct reference to 'man', **ne**, **ni** being roots indicating humanity in

this group. The 2nd prefix has lost the initial **B**· and also assumes the unusual form of **Ana**· (perhaps related to the 'children' root); but the concord—**aba**, **ab'**, **ba**·—testifies to its identity and further reveals the former presence of the preprefix. Classes 3 and 4 already begin (as in North-western Bantu) to exhibit an uncertainty of form and application which, as we proceed farther north and west, ends in their obliteration. In Ekoi, as in the other forms of Semi-Bantu speech, we notice an increasing indifference as to the fixed vowel of the prefix, especially in Classes 1, 2, 3, and 6. No. 3 may be **Mi**· as well as **Mω**·, No. 6 be **Mi**·, **Mu**·, **Mo**·, **Me**·, as well as **Ma**·. A peculiar feature of Class 10 is the employment of **O**·, **On**· as a plural prefix. This may have originated (as in South-west Africa) by the adoption of *o* instead of *i* as the preprefixial vowel in this class; and the resultant **On**· have been shortened in some words to **O**·.

In the other members of Sub-group A 1 the prefixes are more Bantu in character than in No. 227. Nos. 228, 230, 231, 234, 235 and their dialects retain traces of the preprefixes. In Nos. 228 and 235 Classes 1, 3, and 4 are more definitely represented than elsewhere among the Semi-Bantu. Class 2 in this sub-group seldom departs altogether from the '**Ba**·' standard, though in the No. 230-31 dialects it frequently adopts the upper labial *p* as its initial letter. It is sometimes confusable with No. 6, as the **Ma**· of that prefix may become denasalized as **Ba**·. No. 7 is fully represented as **Ki**·, **Ke**· in Nos. 229-229 e, 230-230 j, 231, 232, 233, 234, and 236, with occasional variations as **Gi**·, **Ji**·, and **He**·. No. 8 is commonly **Be**·, **Bi**·. 8a is present in most of this sub-group, except in 229, 233, and 237. It may assume the forms of **Pfu**·, **Fu**· in Nos. 230, 231, 234, 236; of **Si**· in 232; of **Si**·, **Se**·, and **He**· in 230, 231, and 234. Classes 11, 12, 13 are usually missing, but 11 is doubtfully present in 229 as **Li**·, and is found scantily in Nos. 230, 231, 234, 236, and 238 as **Rō**·, **Dō**·, **Rω**·, **Dω**·. No. 12 is present in 230-31-34 as **Ti**·, **Di**·, **De**·, and **Ke**· (with concord, **re**); in a much more recognizable form as **Tu**· and **Tω**· in 235, and as **Di**· and **De**· in 236-7. No. 13 exists as **Ka**· in 229-229 e, and may be the **He**·, **H'**· of 235 and the **Ja**· of 238. There is one instance of **Ka**· in the vocabulary of 236. No. 15, mainly or solely as a preposition and a locative, exists in Nos. 227-227 c, 228, 229-229 e, 330-1-4, 235 (**Hu**·), 236-7, and 238. No. 16, as a preposition and locative is **Fa**· in 227 and 228, **Pe**· and **Ba**· in 230-1. It is not identifiable in any other languages of this Group A (S-B.). The 20th prefix (**La**·, **Ra**·, **Da**·) appears occasionally in the categories of Classes 5 and 12 in Nos. 230 and 238. The main dialect (228) of Nde uses a plural prefix **to** a **Mu**· (Class 1) singular (as in **Muñkw**, 'ant'; **aliñkw**, 'ants') which is not explainable by Bantu standards; and the same dialect is also tending (no doubt under non-Bantu influence) to substitute a plural suffix for a plural prefix.

In Sub-group A 2 of the Semi-Bantu the prefixes depart more widely from the Bantu types in application to number (i. e. singular or plural) or to class. With the doubtful exceptions of Nos. 243 and 244 (in which **Mω**· and **Mu**· figure scantily among the many and diverse prefixes attributed by analogy to Class 1) the 1st prefix lacks the original **M**· in its composition. Equally difficult of identification in form are the 3rd and 4th prefixes, and although **Mi**· is fairly common and might represent the 4th, the sense in which it is used does not answer to that class.

Turning to Sub-group A 2, in Nos. 239-239a the prefixes are still somewhat Bantu in complexion. No. 5 is prominent and assumes a diversity of related forms beginning with **L**·, **D**·, **R**·, and **N**·. No. 7 is **Ki**·, and 8 **Be**·. 11 seems to be represented by **Ndω**·, **Lω**·, and **Lu**·. 14 and 15 are present. No. 239 b (**Okpōtō**) uses its prefixes less to indicate distinction between singular and plural, and its prefixes differ considerably from those in the allied dialects on the Cross river. In No. 6 Class, **Ma**· becomes **Ba**·. The 13th, **Ka**·, is present; also the 20th, **La**·. There is a **Kō**· (pl. **Ō**·) prefix not assignable easily to any Bantu class, unless it be Class 1.

In Nos. 240 to 240 c, a strange prefix is sometimes met with in Class 2: **Okpō**·; No. 6 is represented by **Wa**·; 7 by **Ke**·; 11 by **Lω**·, **Lu**·; 12 by **Li**·, **Di**·; and 13 by **Ka**·. The 20th prefix—**La**·—is present. Other prefixes contained in these languages are less easy to classify. **Ti**· appears most like No. 12, but seems to belong to Class 10. [This **Ti**· prefix we shall meet with elsewhere among the Semi-Bantu, especially in the composition of numerals.] Not easily assignable to Bantu classes are the prefixes of the singular number, **Hω**·, **Hu**·, **Hi**·; **Gwō**·, **Gω**·; **Nya**·: and of the plural, **La**·, **Li**·, **Di**·, **Na**·, **Nya**·, **Nye**·.

In Nos. 241 to 241 c there are few prefixes in use. The 1st (**Ū**·, **Wa**·) has a concord **gu**; the 4th prefix is present apparently as a plural to No. 3, the 20th may be represented by **Nda**·. The prefixes of

Nos. 242-242 b exhibit some peculiar forms. Besides the vague *Ū*'s and *A*'s, *I*'s and *E*'s there seems to be a distinct retention of the 4th plural prefix (*Mi*·); 7 is represented by *Ik*'·, *Oc*·, and *Ij*·, as well as by *Ki*·, *Ke*·, and *Ge*·; 8 by *Ip*·. *Is*· and *K*· are plural prefixes difficult to classify.

Nos. 243 and 244 have very numerous singular and plural prefixes, not clearly assignable to Bantu classes, and confused as to their singular or plural sense. The concords in 243 are often disyllabic. The equivalent of the 6th Class in 244 seems to be *Ba*·, *Abe*·, *A*·, *Mu*·, *Mi*·, and *Mw*·, and the prefix *Ma*· occupies the place and meaning of *Pa*· (No. 16) as a locative. The 17th prefix is represented by the suffixes *-n*·, *-tin*·, *-tiñ* meaning 'in'. Okoyoñ (244 a) has fewer prefixes than Koröp, but they are equally unassignable to Bantu classes; except *Abe*·, *Be*· (Koröp *Ba*·, *Be*·, *Bu*·, *Bo*·) which answers in meaning to No. 2.

The well-known Efik language (245) is poorly supplied with singular and plural prefixes. It rings the changes on *E*·, *I*·, *A*·, *O*·, and *U*· for the singular; with *Me*·, *I*·, *M*·, *Mō*·, and *N*· for the plural. But it has in addition lengthier forms which deal rather with the qualities of nouns, with action or agency; and these seem more definitely akin to Bantu types. They are: *Edi*·, *Eri*· (? No. 5), *Andi*·, *Mbu*· (? No. 14), *Eki*· (? No. 7), *Mbi*· (? No. 8), and *Mbω*·; with *Ndi*· (? No. 10) and *Mendi*· for plurals. In the allied Uwet language (246) the prefixes of the singular number are more numerous and Bantu-like; but those of the plural—so far as our very slender researches into this language go—are only three: *M*·, *Ba*·, and *Be*·.

In affinity of word-roots the languages of Sub-group A 1 (S-B.) are so closely related to the Bantu family that to quote all the instances to be gathered from my vocabularies would take up too much space. The reader who desires evidence on this point can get it for himself by studying my Analyses of Word-roots that follow on these Notes. Yet this same inquiry will also reveal in Sub-group A 1 (S-B.) the possession of a residuum of word-roots that can be traced far and wide to other groups of the Semi-Bantu.

The Bantu relationships of Sub-group A 2 (S-B.) are not so immediately apparent, but are established nevertheless in my Analyses. Some of the more interesting correspondences might be quoted here:

The noun-roots for 'animal'; 'arm' (the universal *-bok*·, *-bō*·, *-bω*·, *-buω*·); 'axe' (*-cuun*, 244); 'back' (*-fat*, 240 c: cf. *-pati*, *-mpati*, 86); 'bird'; 'blood' (*-nun*, 245); 'brains' (*-rurun*, 242: see East African Bantu); 'buttocks' (*Itak*, 245); 'cow', 'cattle' (*-om*·, *-fō*·, *-bām*·, *-bom*·, *-wum*·, &c., apparently allied to the *-gōmω* root); 'dog'; 'drum' (*-kōmmω*, 244); 'egg' (*-jira*, 239 b: see the roots for 'egg' in Nos. 53, 54, 61-61 c); 'elephant' (*-nyie*·, *-nyie*·, *-ni*, 239 a, 244, 241, 242—see also Nos. 227, 228, 23, 274, 251, and 254); 'fat'; 'father'; 'finger'; 'fire' (*-gon*, 241: see Nos. 188, 191-3); 'foot' (*-kut*, 245, 230: see Nos. 73, 74 b, 226; also *-kpat*, 244, 245: see Nos. 148, 146, 150, 34, 205, 89, &c.); 'fowl' (both main Bantu roots are represented: *-kō*, 239 b; *-xōxω*, 240; *-kogo*·, *-gō*·, *-hō*, 241; and *-kōwa*·, *-gōwa*, 241); 'goat' (*-bun*—for *-bul*—*-fon*·, *-bili*·, *-bū*·, *-fū*·, and *-būt*—this last of 245); 'knee' (*-rū*·, *-rum*·, *-dun*·, *-tun*·, *-doñ*·, &c., 241-5: cf. East and South Central Bantu); 'man', both 'person' and 'vir'; 'medicine'; 'monkey'; 'moon'; 'mouth'; 'name'; 'navel'; 'penis' (*-nom*·, *-num*, 243-4: see Nos. 4 b, 16, 21, 56 a, 84, 110 a); 'road'; 'shoulder' (*-fara*, 245: see Nos. 34, 178, 218); 'skin'; 'sky' (notably in the *-zōlω* of 239, related to many forms of the same root in East, South, and Central Bantu, including the tribal name Zulu); 'slave' (note especially the *-tek* of 240 c as compared with the *-taki* of Fernandian, 226); 'sleep' (relationships with 2 b, 22, 168); 'snake'; 'spear'; 'star' (East Bantu, and especially No. 1); 'stone'; 'sun'; 'thigh'; 'thing'; 'tongue' (note especially the *-dā*·, *Lelā*·, *Leda*·, *Lata*·, *-dak*·, *Dara*·, *Deda* of 239 b, 240 a, 242, 242 a, 242 b, 243, 244, and 244 a, and their resemblance to similar roots in 148, 148 a, 151, 151 a, 151 b, 153, and 154); 'tree'; 'urine'; 'vein'; 'war'; 'wind'; 'woman'; and 'firewood'.

In the numerals of both Sub-groups A 1 (S-B.) and A 2 (S-B.) there are considerable similarities with the Bantu as well as relationships with the other Semi-Bantu groups. This applies especially to the divers roots for 'one' (in which affinities again occur with the Ituri languages 148 and 148 a); 'two' (note especially the *-fent*·, *-fande* of No. 235 and its likeness to similar equivalents to 'two' in Central Congoland); 'three'; 'four'; 'five'; 'six'; 'seven'; 'eight'; 'nine'; 'ten'; 'twenty'; 'one hundred'. As regards 'four', while the *-ne*·, *-nai* root prevails, Nos. 231 and 233 use the forms *-kwa*·, *Gba*·, *-kea*·, *Gbe*·, and *-kue*·, which recall the *-kwa-ñgani* of 151 a, 151, 153, and 154. The root *-dayi*·, *-dai* for 'four' in 243 certainly offers a remarkable resemblance to the *-dai*·, *-tai*·, *-tei* of Nos. 31 a, 27, and 30, though the

intervening distance makes it more probable that this affinity is accidental, and that the *-dayi*, *-dai* of the Cross river languages is due to the interchange of an initial *n* with *d*. 'Five' has several distinct equivalents in this Group A (S-B.), all of them of Bantu relationships. The *-nan*, *-nen*, *-neñ* of 244 is another case of the interchange between the initial alveolar and nasal, resulting in the passing of *-tan*, *-tañ* into *-nān*, &c. Other variants of the Bantu *-tanu* may be seen in the *-tien*, *-cien*, *-zien*, *-san*, *-tuon*, *-ton*, &c., of the majority of members of the two sub-groups. The *-bō*, *-bok*, *-bω*, *-bōō* of 239, 240, and 241 are derived from the same word-roots for 'hand' as the similar forms in Nos. 141, 146, 148, 153, 151, 152, 154, 155, 157, 158, 223 a, and 224. The *-bara* or *-wara* of No. 241 finds a striking parallel in the *-balω* used by No. 157 of the North-east Congo.

'Six' is particularly interesting because of its Bantu affinities. First we have the *-tanda*, *-tandat* of 234, 234 a, and the *-lendarω*, *-tandarω*, *-renderu*, *-lendurω* of No. 235, which bear an unmistakable likeness to the *-tandatu* (an ancient doubling of the 'three' root) of Eastern and Southern Bantu. Then, in order of interest, may be cited other doublings of 'three'—*Esa-esa*, *-sa-k-sasa*, *-sa-k-sa*, *-sa-k-esa*, *-sa-ka-nsa*, *Kasa-asa*, *Asa-asa*, *-sa-ya-be-sa* of 227, 228, 237, which recall similar forms in Nos. 3, 11, 26, and 152. The *Be-ra-be-ra* of 228, 228 a is another doubling of 'three'. The *Nya-jiat* of 229 may be a pluralized 'three'. The *-swlu*, *-sorω* of 237 only so far offers a resemblance to the *Hωlω* of 259 (Tωgω-land). The 'thumb' root for 'six'—*-tupa*, *-tōba*—of Kafir, Swazi, Cuana, of Congoland and the Cameroons, is represented by the *-ntowa* of 230 and the less recognizable (except for intermediate types) *-tuyu*, *-tuhu*, *-ntu*, *-tωω*, *-tōkω*, *-ntuñfu* of the dialects grouped under 230 and of No. 233.

'Seven' in this Group A (S-B.) is frequently formed by combinations of 'four-and-three', 'six-and-one', 'five-and-two'; but is also expressed by *Samba*, *Sambe*, *Sambe*, *Sambia*—a common root for 'seven' in the Western and the Nyanza Bantu. In No. 228 we have the forms *-simma*, *-semma*, which strongly resemble the *-sima*, *-tsema*, *-tseme*, *-samu*, *Ntsama* of Nos. 188, 119, 116, 117, 178, &c. 'Eight' in Nos. 230-1, like 'seven', recalls forms associated with the Lower Kwañgω basin and the Gaboon (*Fωmω*, *-fā*, *-fō*, *-hom*, *-fum*, *Fωmi*, *-fam*, *-fama*, &c.—see Nos. 117, 175-80, 183, 189, 190). No. 244 has a peculiar local term: *Cañga-cañga*. The *Wωami* of Nos. 232-3 is related to the words for 'eight' in Central Congoland, and the Fañg Group. 'Nine' in Nos. 230-1 is represented by *-sipω*, *-jibω*, *Sibω*, which recalls other peculiar types in Nos. 145 and 146. Elsewhere in the group of the Cross river-Cameroons Semi-Bantu the equivalents of 'nine', when not based on addition (four-and-five) or on subtraction (ten-less-one) are derived from the *-fuka*, *-bua* root of the Western Bantu.

The numeral 'ten' in this group assumes most of the forms associated with the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages. In 227 and 228 it is *-fō*, *-wω*, *-bω*; in 229 *-gbω* and *-kpω*; in 231 *-vuω*. In 234 it is *Biū*, a somewhat inexplicable root which seems to be present also in Fernandian, and which may be related to the *Piu*, *Bihω*, *Bω*, *Yu*, *Jω* of 235. These forms are not found alone but coupled with *-har*, *-ar*, or *-hara*, a perversion of a root for 'two'—*-fare*. Consequently it would almost seem as if *Bihω*, *Biu* were one of the 'five' roots turned into 'ten' by the apposition of 'twice' (*-hara*, *-fare*). Another root for 'ten' in this group is *Diū*, *Siω*, *Jū*, *Sō*, *-jω*, *-ju*, *-hō* of Nos. 244, 244 a, 238, 240, and 230, and this in turn may be connected with the *-cuup*, *-daap* of 243, the *Bu-njup* of 246, the *Duup* of 245, the *Jop* of 239, 241, and 242 (also *-rop* and *-hop*), the *Sωbω* of 241, and *-sōva* of 240. These again find a relationship in the *-tōpe* of 222, but not elsewhere in the Bantu family. The *-jok* of 242 is evidently a relation of the *Jōka* in 224, another of the North-western Bantu languages on the verge of the Semi-Bantu domain; and this again may be related to a root for 'ten' in the Sudanic languages. The *-tade* of 235 and the *-tet*, *-tat* of 236 have far-away relationships with the root for 'ten' in Nos. 152 and 161 of North-east Congoland and No. 219 (Fañg). The *-jima*, *-sima* of 228 finds a match in similar forms in 120, 187, and 188. The *-kama* of Central and Eastern Congoland and of the Kadei and Upper Sañga, and the Eastern Fañg languages is represented by the *-gam*, *-cam*, *-yem* of 230. Finally, the universal *-kumi* root of the Bantu gives us the *-yom*, *-gom*, *Wom*, *Wum*, *-vum*, *Wuom*, *-gumi*, *-som* of the 230 group of dialects and of Nos. 232-2 and 237. Two or more roots for 'ten' may be present in the same language, one standing for 'ten' only and the others representing 'ten' in decades and in 'teens'.

'Eleven' is represented by one peculiar form in 230: *Ntsere*. The numeral 'fifteen' in this group as in the Fernandian language (226), is sometimes distinguished by a special root, the relationships of

which are not evident. Particular importance is attached to 'twenty', no doubt because in primitive counting by fingers and toes it represents a whole 'man'. In Nos. 227, 228, 229, 234, 235, 244 the practice (elsewhere common in the Semi-Bantu, and in Nos. 145, 205, 206, 208, 209, and 226 of the Bantu) is adopted of counting by scores, so that 'thirty' would be rendered 'twenty-and-ten'; 'forty', 'two-twenties', &c. In some languages of Group A (S.-B.) the ordinary decimal computation is resorted to, namely, plurals of 'ten'. There are special roots for 'twenty': **-ti**, **-ci**, **-si** in 227, 229 b, c, d, **Le-zi** in 229 e; **-rina** in 235, **-hint**, **-hit** in 235 (see Nos. 155, 158, 159, 160); **-yap** (240); **-lop**, **-rop**, **-nap**, **-nip**, **-daap**, **-dip**, **-nubw**, **-nau** in Nos. 240, 239, 242, 241, 246, 243, 245, and 246; **-nu** (De-nu) and **-du** (De-du) in 244 a (see Nos. 205, 206, 208, and 209). **Da-kaanu** (of 244) is a pluralized form that seemingly has no relationships; **-iten**, **-itan** (**Ne-iten**, **Ne-itan**) is another root difficult of explanation, almost suggesting in some shapes that it derives from 'four-fives'; it is met with in Nos. 228 and 242. The **Ge-kam** of 250 and **-kama** of 182—derived from the **-kama** root for 'ten' and 'hundred'—find their analogues in the **-cam** and **-sam**, which stand for 'twenty' in 228 and 227; perhaps, also, in the **-ram** of 228 and 228 a, and the **-jam**, **-jem**, **-jiam** of 229.

Not many languages in this group have simple roots for 'hundred'. This figure is usually 'five-twenties', 'ten-tens'. But the **Ngan** of 227 is interesting, as it seems to represent in this remote corner near the estuary of the Cross river the **-kana** of the Eastern and Southern Bantu. **Ikiē** for 'hundred' in 245 is an isolated form. The **Nku**, **Nkō**, **Nkumbw** of 230 may be related to the **-kombi** of 141. The **Ogot** (plural, **Igot**, **Igor**) of 241 is interesting, as it appears to be akin to the **-kwtw**, **-kutu** of North Central Congoland and the Cameroons; though this root is applied to 'one thousand' or any great number. In Nos. 228, 228 a, and 229 this **-gorw**, **-got** root answers in the singular to 'two hundred', and pluralized (**Be-got**) to 'four hundred'. As **Lw-god** in 227 it means 'five hundred'.

The roots for 'all' in Group A (S.-B.) do not contain one example of the widespread **-onse**, **-onte**, **-se** root. They are for the most part of the **-papa** type (though with the *ϕ* or *b* gutturalized; 228, however, has **-papa**), of the **-ma**, **-ñkuma**, **-cam**, and **-bum** types; and consequently evince relationships with North-east, Central, and Northern Congoland, Fernando Pò, and the Cameroons.

The pronouns of Group A (S.-B.) depart from the Bantu forms more particularly in the 1st and 2nd persons plural. The **Ut**, **Wod**, **Wut**, **Ud**, **Awul**, **Wurr** of Nos. 227, 228, and 238 exhibit interesting affinities with the far-away **Burum** (252) of South-west Bauci (Eastern Nigeria) and with the still more distant **Fulup** of Senegambia (273). The **U**, **Wu**, **Awu** in the formation of this pronoun is only a prefix, the real root being the alveolar consonant, *d*, *t*, *r*, or *l*, which has been shorn of its former vowel *u*. Similarly 'ye' in its substantive form is **Wun** in No. 238 (Olulwomw), but is clearly related to the **Ww-no** of Central Nigeria (259), the **Wu** being only a prefix. The more Bantu-like **Nyō** is retained by 228 a and has a nominative prefix **Nu**. Otherwise the pronoun of the 2nd person plural has altogether departed from Bantu standards in this group and offers such aberrant forms as **Ū**, **Ö**, **Pü**, **Mpuō** (230), **Mbufu** (245) **Afi** (243), **Be-eka** (234), and **Mbe** (244). The **Nyin** for 'we' in 245 seems to be borrowed from **Ibω**; the **Ba**, **Be** of 229 and 230 are vague plurals meaning 'multitude'; the **Opāk** and **Poy** of 230 may be related to roots for 'all'. The **Ibun** of 244 certainly is, though it is curiously like the **Bunw** for 'we' in 274 and the **Binw** of 220. **Afar** of 243 is difficult to connect with any Semi-Bantu or Bantu language unless it be with 210 (**Balu**) or 259 (**Balw**). As regards the 3rd person plural, most of the members of Group A (S.-B.) adhere to a Bantu type based on **Aba** or **Bw** (also **Mbe**). The most aberrant—so far as the imperfect record goes—are the dialects or languages grouped under the numeral 230. Here the substantive form of 'they' may be **Pop** or **Pa**, or reduced to the dulled vowels **Ö** or **Ē**.

The demonstratives in this group—so far as we know them—are suffixed to the noun, and usually preceded by a concord particle in agreement with the noun. In **Efik** (245) and **Manyañ** (234) the demonstrative of the first position is also a prefix (**Mu**, **Mo**), resembling that found in No. 210. **Efik** employs another demonstrative prefix, **E** (similar to that in 218). The demonstrative suffixes are **-di**, **-mi** in **Efik** (**-mi** is also present in 274); **-ūma**, **-omani** in 243; **-fa** (locative) in 228; **-kwu**, **-ki**, **-kwō**, **-kw** in 244 (see 160, 194—possibly locative); **-en**, **-ene**, **-en'une** of 230, 231, and 234 (a very common Bantu demonstrative suffix); and **-nyō**, **-nyō-gō**, **-njō**, **-ji** of 227, 228.

The construction of the verb-syntax has hitherto been so little recorded of the languages of Group A

(S-B.)—except in the case of Ekoi (227), Bamum-Banyaṅgi (230 g), and Efik (245)—that it is difficult to write thereon from the view-point of group characteristics. The verb-roots are monosyllabic and disyllabic,¹ their termination may be vocal or consonantal by the dropping of the vowel. The actual root is usually identical with the 2nd person singular of the imperative; an infinitive mood is sometimes defined with a prefix, which in No. 229 seems to be **Ko-** and in Efik is **Ndi-** affirmatively, and **Ku-** negatively. In some of the other languages it may be **E-**. The aorist or vague present tense (No. 5 in my list of clauses classifying the verb features) is usually formed by the simple combination of pronoun and root. There is apparently no trace of the preterite termination, **-ile** (my 6th clause). The other tenses are formed by particles prefixed to the nominative pronouns and by infixes; so far I have not found any suffixes as tense-particles. Efik has a verbal form something like a present participle or verbal noun, but also very near an infinitive. It is marked by prefixing **Eri-** to the root; but this **Eri-**, like the **Ndi-** of the infinitive, may only be another form of the 5th prefix, which in a few Bantu languages marks the infinitive. The modifying terminations affixed to the verb-root in the Bantu languages (which I have classified under the numeral 14) exist to a slight extent in Efik, where we have a passive in **-o**, **-ō**, **-ω**, a reflexive in **-a**, **-e**, **-ω**, **-ō**, and a reversive (14 e) in **-de** (**-are**, **-ade**, **-ore**, **-ere**, **-ōde**, **-ede**). But I cannot trace the deliberate and varying use of these terminals in any other language of the group (perhaps through paucity of knowledge), except as having once existed and subsequently become fused with the root.

The negative of the verb-action is formed as in Bantu by the addition of a prefix or infix, and less frequently of a suffix, infixes being the commonest method. These particles are usually of the 'ka' type, with its variants, **ki**, **ke**, **ku**, **ga**, **ge**, **gō**, **ya**, **ha**, **ho**, **hi**. The Bantu **si** is represented in Efik as **-si** or **-su** and in Indiki (235) as **-se-**. Perhaps allied to this is the **-de-** of 228. No. 230 g (Bamum-Banyaṅgi) has the Bantu **-ta-**, and a dialect of 228 has **-da-**; 230 i has **-daya-**, 237 a has a **-ba-** infix, and 232 a **Bω-** prefix (**Mbe-** in 233). No. 229 has a negative suffix in **-e**. The remainder of the negative particles are of the **Ma** type which is so characteristic of the Sudanic languages. This is found as a prefix in 230 c, 231, and as an infix in 230 f, 236, and as **-mō**, **-mω** in 227 and 236.

The auxiliary verb 'to be' is probably present in 228 as well as in 227, where it takes the forms of **-ki**, **-de**, and **-di**, with **Be-** as a negative prefixial verb. In Efik, 'be' is expressed by **-di** (answering to the Bantu **-li**); by **-du** (in the sense of existence—it corresponds with the **-du**, **-ru**, **-lu**, **-lo** root in Nos. 5, 5 a, 7, 44 b, 104, 186, 193, 211, 226, &c.); and by **-tie**, which last has the sense of the Bantu **-kala**, 'dwelling'.

While the Bantu affinities of this group are undoubted, its more attenuated relationship with the other Semi-Bantu Groups cannot be disputed, if similarity of noun-roots, numerals, and syntax are any guide. Such relations are most clearly marked with Group B (S-B.) (at present consisting of the one language, 247, and its dialects), with Group H of Central Nigeria, and Group C of the South-west Benue (Muṅṅi). But there is not one group of Semi-Bantu that is not represented in the analogies and resemblances of these languages of the Cameroons borderland and the Cross river basin. Of all the Bantu languages that come nearest to this Group A (S-B.) may be cited Bati of the Middle Sanagá (No. 216), the Faṅṅ Group, and Group SS of the Kadei and Upper Saṅga: perhaps, also, No. 188 of the Gaboon and the languages 118-21 of the Kwaṅṅ-Kasai, the Ababua (Group II), and the Nyanza languages (Group A).

Before leaving the consideration of the Semi-Bantu languages of the Northern Cameroons and Southern Cross river basin—those of Sub-group A 1 (S-B.) more especially—I might insert here a few remarks made on the vocabularies of the first volume by Herr Bernhard Struck, of Leipzig:

'Koelle's "Nḡoteñ" is not Baṅgañte, which you have numbered 215, but the dialect of a small tribe still called "Mane Nḡoteñ". It is, as you surmise, a Bantu language, and closely allied to the adjoining N-kosi (No. 214). The real "Baṅgañte" is a Semi-Bantu language or dialect belonging to the same group as Ba-mum (230 g), Bali (230 f), and Bayoñ (230 b). . . . The identity of your "Manyañ" (234) with Koelle's "Konguañ" (234 a), and the German "Banyaṅgi" has been recently proved by B. Ankermann in *Baessler-Archiv*, Beiheft VIII (1917), pp. 64-6. . . . Koelle's "Penin" (which is also the "Benin" of

¹ Sometimes they appear trisyllabic by the fusion with the ancient root of a forgotten modification-suffix. It is doubtful whether even among the true Bantu there is any really trisyllabic verb-root except through the adhesion of a suffix.

Kilham and Clarke) is not identical with your "Indiki" or "Ba-nyim" (235)—which is better styled "Ba-fia"—but is derived from a district known as "Binyeñ", situated on both sides of the Upper Wuri-Nkam ("Cameroons") river. Koelle's "Penin" is closely akin to the curious Ndem language discussed by Meinhof in *Z.D.M.G.* LXV (1911), pp. 214-6. This last-mentioned speech has an important bearing on the settlement of the difficult question of the Bantu-Semi-Bantu border-line. . . . Koelle's "Ndob" (your No. 237) is apparently the same language as that which is now styled "Tikar"':

After the first volume of these Bantu studies was published, Capt. L. Malcolm, employed militarily in the Cameroons, made some study of the **E-ɣap** language of Bagam, a little town-state of the Mbudikum-Bamum region of the Western Cameroons, near the River Nan. This speech may be identified with No. 230j on my list, which was styled by Koelle 'Pa'am'. Koelle, with his one failing in phonetics—that of most South Germans, a confusion between the upper and lower consonants—turned 'Baɣam' (as it was no doubt pronounced to him) into Pa'am.¹ Capt. Malcolm heard it as 'Bagam', and the name of its language was pronounced as E-ɣap, -ɣam, and -ɣap being variants of the same root. His notes on this speech of the Mbudikum cluster show Koelle's rendering of sixty to seventy years ago to be very correct. He gives a few additional words not in Koelle's collection:

Puω, 'arm'; Ndzop, 'back'; Nuω-ntse, 'beard'; Fo;op, 'belly'; Mbu, Mbop, 'body'; Ndzω, 'chest', 'breast'; N-nat, 'buffalo'; Foñ, 'chief'; Ndzē, 'cloth'; Fuω, 'cold'; Nωω-tse, 'daylight'; Ndzap, 'dream'; Pwω, 'egg'; I-zañ, 'face'; Tω'ωpωω, 'finger'; Mω'ω, 'fire'; Mo-ñgup, fowl'; Ω-krω, 'frog'; M-ve, 'goat'; Se, 'ground'; N-dap, 'house'; Duω, 'husband'; Mi'i, 'knife'; Ku'un, 'pig'; N-tsē, 'water'; Mi-ñgwi, 'woman'.

In numerals might be quoted: Mω'ok, 'one'; Kyet, 'three'; -kūa, 'four'; -tañ, 'five'; Vūe, 'ten'.

Pi'i is 'all'.

In verb-roots, -wat is 'cut'; -faa is 'give'; -iyat is 'sit'; and -gyie is 'sleep'.

An interesting feature about **E-ɣap** (230j) is that it is now written in a native character composed of about 350 syllabary letters, much after the plan of the Vai alphabet of Liberia. To explain this method of writing introduced about twenty years ago, it has been suggested that it is a direct imitation of the Vai syllabary,² introduced into what was then the German Cameroons by some Vai Negro of Liberia. But this improbable explanation is set aside by Capt. Malcolm in his article contributed to the *Journal of the African Society*: He shows it to have been the independent invention of the native chief of Bagam. The characters are distorted or fantastic adaptations of Roman capital letters; and, like the Vai types, they represent syllables.

GROUP B (S-B.): NORTHERN CROSS RIVER BASIN LANGUAGES

(Nos. 247 to 247b)

This group at present consists only of one language, the **YALA** or **INKUM**, divided, however, into three very distinct dialects: the **INKUM** of the Upper Cross river (247), found in a small patch north-west of the town of Ikom; the **YALA** (247a) of a much larger area due north of the Upper Cross river; and 247b, **AGALA**, far to the north-west of the Western Cross river, on the eastern verge of the Ibω domain. The last-mentioned dialect was first transcribed by Koelle in the 'fifties of the nineteenth century, and was rediscovered and located anew by Mr. Northcote Thomas a few years ago. The three forms of this language have evidently been separated for more than a hundred years. The least aberrant from Bantu standards is that which is spoken on the Upper Cross river, first transcribed by Mr. E. Dayrell in 1912.

Yala differs so considerably from the other Semi-Bantu of the Cross river basin that it must constitute

¹ In Koelle's transliteration γ (the English 'gh') is rendered by ɣ.

² See my book on 'Liberia', 2 vols.

a separate group by itself. It may happen that other languages like it will yet be found in the territory between the Lower Niger, the Benue, and the Northern Cross river.

In the prefixes of Yala the Bantu Classes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 14, 15, and 16 seem to be represented, No. 5 very prominently so. The remarkable feature about the last four—11, 14, 15, 16—is that they retain preprefixes.

Among the word-roots of distinctly Bantu affinities are:

Wō-bō, 'arm'; Ū-bari, 'arrow'; Li-gō, 'axe'; I-si, 'back'; Di-pū, 'belly'; Ūku-ōbō, 'bone'; Wō-ta, 'bow'; A-taku, 'buttocks'; -kwa, 'dog'; -geri, 'door'; Li-jugu, 'egg'; Ōla, 'fire'; Ugu, 'fowl'; Asi, 'grass'; I-ñiguerre, 'hair'; Lemme, 'hunger' (see No. 60); -yiaka, 'knife'; -ōsi, 'magic'; -kuk, 'pig'; -fu, 'rat'; Yenō, 'sun'; -para, 'testicle'; -iyin, 'tooth'; A-ya-pele, 'twins'; -dyip, 'vein'; and Lewu, 'war'.

Many of the roots are reduced to monosyllables which obscures their affinities. The two roots for 'elephant' are interesting in their relationship: -nyi, which is used in the eastern dialects of Yala, connects 247 with the languages of the Cross river basin and of the Southern and Central Benue and the far-away Gambia; and -dagba of 247 b is the same word as is used by No. 256 of Central Nigeria.

In its numerals Yala offers some decided peculiarities. The roots for 'one', 'two', 'three', 'four' are all of Bantu affinities, but 'five' is a puzzle: it is -rūō, -ruwō, -ruwa, -rua, according to dialect and position. This *may* be derived from the Cross river -ruon, -tuon. 'Six' is another difficulty. In the eastern dialects it is Erivi; in the western, Eri. I can find nothing like this word in any other Negro language; and it seems difficult to derive it from any combination of 'five and one', 'three and three'. 'Seven', 'eight', and 'nine' are obviously made up of 'five and two,—and three,—and four'; though the syllable representing 'five' is reduced to -ra-, -rō-. The root for 'ten', -gwō, -gwō, -gwo, may have Bantu relationships (see Nos. 150, 151, 228, 229). [The prefix before this root, be it remarked, is sometimes I- and sometimes Eli-; the latter, seemingly, representing another case of a retained preprefix, in Class 5.] 'Twenty' is Ūfu, in which the -fu may revert to the Semi-Bantu and Bantu -fō, -pō, -bō root for 'five' and 'ten'. But another word for 'twenty' in the western dialect of Yala is more complicated: Ūgurōfu. Is this composed of two roots, -guru (see Nos. 162, 250, 252) and -fu; or is it a root -rōfu, with the 15th preprefix and prefix?

The pronouns in Yala show no marked departure from Bantu types in the 1st and 2nd persons singular, and the 3rd person plural. The 3rd person singular is Anu, which recalls form in Nos. 2 f, 5 a, 22, 55, 205, &c.

The 1st and 2nd persons plural are peculiar—Alima and Aluwa. The former has the nominative particle Le-, which may derive from Te-, Ti-, and the objective and possessive terminals, -ilō, -elō, which again may proceed from an earlier -itō. But the 2nd person plural, Aluwa, in its terminals, -aluwa, -iwa has no Bantu affinities. The possessive form of the 3rd person plural is also aberrant—ame. The root for 'all'—-kpakpa, is allied to forms in Nos. 21 g, 63, 155 b, 207, 227, 228, and 244 a. Little is known of the demonstratives, but they seem to be chiefly the suffixes -lama, -ma, and these recall the demonstrative particles in 56, 72, &c., and 243, 261. Little is known of the verbal syntax. The usual negative particle with verb or adverb appears to be -ne and -ni, both of which can be paralleled in Bantu.

GROUP C (S-B.): THE SOUTH-WEST BENUE LANGUAGES

(No. 248)

This also is a group containing at present only one language, MUNSI or TIVI, which is so isolated in affinities that it cannot be classed with the other Semi-Bantu tongues of the Benue basin. It has long been agreed that 'Munsi' is a foreign name for this interesting people and language; so, no doubt, are

¹ There are traces of two distinct roots for 'two' in Yala: -kpā, -pā; and -pele: the latter only used in composition.

its variants, Mici, Miji, Mbici, and Beşi. Gbalω is another name applied by neighbouring peoples who knew the white man earlier. The true term, Tiwi or Tivi,¹ was written down by Koelle nearly seventy years ago, and is that now in use amongst the Munşi people. The 'outside' name, Munşi, is, however, so widely known that I have retained it.²

The phonology of Munşi is noteworthy for the excessive use of γ in place of an earlier k and g ; and an archaic b seldom persists unaltered: it becomes mb or v . Consonantal terminations are not so common as in Group A (S-B.), nor are the word-roots so frequently reduced to monosyllables.

Originally, Munşi seems to have had a nearly full set of Bantu prefixes, but in course of time some of these coalesced with the root, were obliterated, or reduced to the vowels **I-** and **A-**. Others, abbreviated to a mere consonant, became suffixes attached to the terminal vowel of the word-root, which in some cases was once again preceded by a prefix. The 2nd prefix (**Ba-**) has been nasalized and retained as **Mba-**. But it has also been confused with No. 14, and sometimes takes the form of **U-** or **Uv-**. It may also be met with as **Ve-**, and as a suffix becomes **-v**. The place of the 1st prefix (**Mu-**) is taken by an abbreviation of the root for 'person' or 'man'—**Or-**. This in the fuller form **Orω**,³ may descend from an archaic **Ōmu-ntu, -ōtω**, the t in **-ōtω** becoming r , as so often happens in these Negro languages. Class I, however, is also represented by **Wu-**, by **A-**, by **U-**, and even **Ngu-**, this last being, no doubt, a retention of the ancient preprefix of the class, which is also a demonstrative, in Munşi as elsewhere. The 3rd Class is very doubtfully represented by **Wu-** or **U-**; and the 4th by **I-**. The 5th prefix has become **I-**, and in that form is confounded with Nos. 7, 8, and 9. Through this confusion it has a strange concord, **ñgi**. The 6th prefix is **M-** without the vowel, or **A-** without the characteristic **M-**. Its identity is only revealed by its concords: **ma** and **ñga**. The 7th prefix is reduced to **I-**, but it has an identifying concord and suffix: **ki** and **-γ**. Its plural is likewise **I-**, and the identification of this with No. 8 is made possible by the suffix **-v** and the concord **mbi**. The 9th and 10th are very doubtfully present in the form of **I-**. I can find no trace of Nos. 11, 12, or 13. No. 14 is represented by a **-v** suffix and a concord **mbu**. Likewise No. 15 by a prefix **U-**, a suffix **-γ**, and a concord **ku**. [Its plural is **A-**—No. 6.] No. 16 can only be traced as a preposition in locatives in the form of **Ha-**.

An abbreviation of the root for 'child', **Wan-**⁴ or **Wuan-** (with a plural **Onōv-**) is used to form diminutives, a feature of the Bantu languages Nos. 56, 56 b, 59, 61, 70-71 b, 103, and 200.

Although the Munşi language is of an isolated type, the affinity of a large proportion of its noun-roots, adjective, and verb-roots with the Bantu family is shown in my Analyses, as also similar relationships with most of the other Semi-Bantu Groups, especially those of Groups A 2 (S-B.), B (S-B.), D (S-B.), E (S-B.), G (S-B.), and H (S-B.).

In the Munşi numerals, the Bantu affinities are very marked. The equivalent of 'two', usually **Hare** (sometimes **-kar'**), seems to be derived from a **-bari** form through an intermediate **-fari**, as occurs elsewhere (cf. Nos. 235, 250, 251). The forms for 'one', 'three', 'four', and 'five', are all Bantu in type. 'Six'—**Ataratar**, which is a duplication of the 'three' root, recalls the **-tandatu** and similar types of the Eastern Bantu and of the Cameroons borderland. The root for 'ten', (**puōkar** ('five-twice'; also simply **Puō**, **Puwe**, **Pūe**), recalls the similar form in Indiki (235), and the **Puō** part of it belongs to the widespread 'five' root which was derived from the word for 'fist', 'arm', 'hand'. I cannot, however, trace any relationships for the Munşi term for 'twenty'—**Ikundu**. Munşi counts by 'twenties' like so many of the Semi-Bantu languages.

The pronouns are akin to the Bantu type. The 1st person singular is always represented by some particle into which m enters as the leading consonant. There is no trace of n in this relation. The second and third pronouns singular and the plural pronouns can all be classed with Bantu roots. A feature to be

¹ Mba-tivi is what they call themselves, the **Mba-** prefix answering to the Bantu **Ba-**.

² So far as the history of the Munşi people can be traced, they seem to have originated north of the Benue and to have been pushed southward by other race movements in that region.

³ The actual plural form of **Orω** in Munşi is **Iorω**. As a prefix, **Or-**, its plural is **Mba-**. Thus, **Or-tesen** is 'a teacher'; **mba-tesen** = 'teachers'.

⁴ **Wan** is derived from **U-ana**, 'child' (the Bantu **Mw-ana**), and its plural **Onōv** is the ancient **Ba-ana**, reduced to **Onō**, with a plural suffix **-ba** that has decayed to a mere **-v** terminal.

noted in the substantive forms of the Munši pronouns is the prefix **Ka**,¹ allied to the **Ga**- present in the same capacity in Group H (S-B.), and in a slighter degree in the Bantu languages, Nos. 88, 90, and 100.

'All' is represented by **-ci**, a form which may be related to the **-cu** of 184, the **-ecw** of 187, **-tse** of 130, and the **-su** of the Ababua Group. The demonstratives are distinctly Bantu, except that we get no true representative of the 5th Class, which here is only represented by **Ngi**.

In the verb much use is made of the verbal noun, as for example 'I fear' is expressed by 'fear-to-my-body'; 'I want water', 'water-wanted-by-me'; 'I forget', 'thing-forgotten-by-me'; 'I love thee'; 'thou-good-my-heart'. And a participle or gerund is formed by adding **-en** to the verb-root (**-yem**, 'go'; **-yemen**, 'going'). There seems to be no infinitival prefix. The emphatic preterite is expressed by a suffix **-vω**. There is no trace of the Bantu **-ile** suffix. A 'continuous' sense of the verb-root may be given by adding **-n** to the root: **-va**, 'come'; **-van**, 'continually coming'. Or by changing the **a** or **o** of the verb-root to **e**: **-son**, 'beg'; **-sen**, 'frequent begging'.

The negative is formed by the suffixes **-ga**, **-ωga**, **-guga**, and—interestingly enough—also by using **De-** as negative prefix, especially in the infinitive sense of the verb. This **De-** means 'to leave off', and is probably an abbreviation of the **-leka** of Bantu.²

GROUP D (S-B.): THE SOUTHERN BENUE LANGUAGES

(No. 249)

This is at present another 'one language' group, containing only No. 249, the little-known **AFUDU** of Koelle's collection many years ago. One or two allusions in German exploratory linguistic work in the southern basin of the Benue lead one to believe that Afudu may rightly be located to the east of the Katsena-allah river, and some distance south of the Middle Benue. Perhaps it is one of a small cluster of Semi-Bantu languages lingering in that direction. It is necessary to constitute a separate group for Afudu on account of its isolated affinities and marked distinction from the other Semi-Bantu languages north and south of the middle course of the Benue.

The scantily known prefixes of Afudu seem to fall easily within the Bantu classes. Classes 1, 2, 5, 7, 8a, 9, 11, and 13³ are certainly represented; 3, 8, 12 less certainly. A large proportion of the recorded vocabulary shows both Bantu and Semi-Bantu affinities. The numerals on the whole are Bantu, though the root **-dō** for 'one' is peculiar. The first equivalent for 'ten', **-doñ**, may be related to the Bantu **-loñgo**; the other decimal roots, **-tiag** and **-ja** are not very dissimilar from the **-tsigω** of 38, **Dikω** of 130, and **-tuku**, 151, &c., or from the **-cam** of 230. 'Twenty' has no special root, and the counting in Afudu seems to be by tens and not by scores. The negative particle employed with the verb is a suffix, **-ke**.

GROUP E (S-B.): THE CENTRAL BENUE LANGUAGES

(Nos. 250, 251)

This group is framed to include the two very distinct speech-forms of Boritsū and Mbarike, both only known to us through Koelle's industry nearly seventy years ago.⁴ According to Koelle, an alternative name for Boritsū was Afiteñ. The habitat of the Negroes speaking Boritsū and Mbarike seems to lie north of the Middle Benue, just beyond the Juku belt, and does not extend into the Bauci hill country.

¹ **Ka-mω**, 'I'; **Ka-ωω**, 'thou'; **Ka-na**, 'he'; **Ka-se**, 'we'; **Ka-ne**, 'ye'; **Ka-ve**, 'they'.

² Further information regarding the verb in Munši is given in the African Society's Journal for 1917 by Mr. A. S. Judd.

³ The **Ka-** prefix is undoubtedly present in Afudu, and it probably answers to No. 13 in the Bantu list.

⁴ I have made many inquiries concerning Boritsū and Mbarike from the officers administering British

The prefixes answer to the Bantu categories, forms, and correspondence in singular and plural; more so, however, in Boritsü than in Mbarike. There is a trace of the preprefix in Class 9. A **Gu-** prefix is very common. This may be either No. 15 in Boritsü or No. 3 in Mbarike. It does not seem to answer to the 'gigantic' prefix of Luganda and other East African tongues classified as No. 18.

There is not much resemblance in word-roots between Boritsü and Mbarike; all that one can say is that they differ less from one another than they do from the other Semi-Bantu tongues, and the apparently close proximity of their range assists to justify their inclusion in the same group.

In the numerals the **Gien** ('one') of Boritsü seems related to forms in Nos. 241 and 240; the **·jɔ** of 251 may have some community of origin with the **·juu**, **Ujju** of the Ababua languages (Group II). 'Two' in 251 is **-fan**, and thus connects with the **-fande**, **-mban**, and **-pende** variants of **·bali** in Group A of the Semi-Bantu and the Bantu languages of Central Congoland. 'Four' in 250 is the peculiar **-ñgie**, and in 251 is **-njie**; 'five' is **-toñ** in 250 and **-tsoñ** in 251, and therefore approximates to the root for this numeral in 249, 252, and 253, and in the more distant 227, 228, 243, 245, 246, and 226. 'Ten' in 250 is **Kur**, an uncommon root that recurs in Burum (252), and which may be connected with the **Ngulu** of North Central Congoland (162). 'Ten' in 251 is even less assignable to Bantu or Semi-Bantu affinities: it is both **Ariyor** and **Yombe**. 'Twenty' in 250 (**Ge-kam**) employs the **-kam** root which is chiefly used elsewhere for 'ten' and 'hundred', though its answering to 'twenty' occurs in No. 182 of the Gaboon, and in 227, 228, and 229; and perhaps in an abbreviated form (**A-ja**) in 249. 'Twenty' in 251—**Ma-nukoñ**—seems peculiar to that language.

Very little is known about the pronouns of Group E (S-B.). The forms for 'I, me, my' do not depart from Bantu standards. The objective and possessive particles for 'thee, thy'—**-mu**, **-ɔnu**—in 250¹ are unlike the Bantu forms; but the **-afɔ** of 251 might come within the Bantu category.

Nothing is known of the demonstratives of this group, and very little of its verbal syntax. Some of the verb-roots are Bantu. The negative in 250 is formed by a suffix, **-gan**; in 251 by a suffix, **-we**.

GROUP F (S-B.): THE SOUTH-WEST BAUCI LANGUAGES

(No. 252)

At present this group consists only of **BURUM**² (252), a language which is only known to us by a translation into it of the Gospel of St. Mark. Though Burum is Semi-Bantu, it is so peculiar in many ways and has so slender an affinity with the other Semi-Bantu languages of the Benue basin (though bordering on two other groups) that it must perforce constitute a group by itself. Perhaps as the Benue basin, both north and south, is more completely explored in a linguistic sense, cognate tongues may be found in the western part of Bauci which may be allies of Burum. The word-roots of this language have suffered much from attrition; the majority end consonantly and are usually monosyllables. In some cases old prefixes have fused with the root, and a word of originally three syllables may be compressed into one. For instance, the word for 'blood', **Mi**, may well be contracted from an older **Ma-nyin** (see No. 251).

The use of prefixes is much restricted, though they—and the principle of the concord—are present. They are often so inseparable from the root in the singular, that the plural prefix has to be affixed to the root-*cum*-prefix of the singular number. The more or less separable prefixes that are used in the singular

Nigeria. All I can learn on going to press is that 'Mbarike' may be found in the speech of the 'Barrku' clan of the Nuñgu or Mama tribe in Nassarawa Province, west of Bauci. The Nuñgu use the duodecimal system of counting, but this does not appear in Koelle's vocabulary of Mbarike. 'Boritsü' is thought to be the speech of the Borot clan of the Yergum tribe.

¹ See Nos. 252, 253, 261, 263, 235, 234, 89 for other instances in which the pronominal particle of the 2nd person singular is **mɔ**, **mu**, or (rarely) **nu**.

² The people are called 'Burum-awa' by the Hausa.

appear to belong to the Bantu Classes, 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 14, and 20 (**Ra**). There is a prefix **Vu**, which seems to be independent of **Bu** (14). **Hw**- is a prefix not easy to identify and which tends to adhere to the root. The 20th prefix is in frequent use. The plural prefixes seem to be restricted to three, so far as our scanty knowledge goes: **Bi**- (which represents Classes 2 and 8); **Ni**- (possibly Class 4); and **I**.

An examination of the word-roots in Burum can leave no doubt as to its Bantu and Semi-Bantu affinities. Among the nouns there is the widespread **-ama** (**Nyama**, **Nama**) root for 'animal', 'meat'; **Sok**, 'bee', recalls the forms in the Nyanza Group, Eastern and South Central Bantu; **-bek**, 'body', is related to the word in 227, 228 a; **Gwa**-, 'brother', is represented in Nos. 44 b, 53, 54, 62, 70-3, 77, and 89; **Gu-nduñ**, 'ship, boat, canoe', belongs to the **-luñgu** root in 95-8, 100, 114, 153, 166; **Pwomw**, 'chief', is evidently the Bantu **Fumu**; **-rugu**, 'cloth or bark-cloth', resembles the word in 253 and the terms used for 'bark-cloth' in the Nyanza Group; **-pol**, 'day', and **-vwel**, 'devil', are both suggestive of Bantu roots which can be traced in my Analyses; **Yis**, 'eye', besides being a shortening of the Bantu **-isw**, is specially reminiscent of the forms in 216 and 253; **-yel**, 'face, forehead', is akin to the widespread Bantu **-eni**, **-yeni**; **Da**, 'father', **Kya**, 'fire', are Bantu roots; so also is **Kwara**, 'foot', though more restricted to 146, 148, and 150, languages of N.E. Congoland of Semi-Bantu proclivities (**Kwara** is also allied to the terms for 'foot' in 244, 244 a, 245). **I-hai**, 'forest', is perhaps related to the Bantu **-hati**; **Vwω**, 'hand', is the Bantu and Semi-Bantu **-bōkw**, **-bω**; the **-hwol** root in 'hill' may be the Bantu **-gulu**; **Lω**, 'house', recalls a similar root in 158 and in 246, 265, and 241; **-reb**, 'lake', is the Bantu **-diba** (Nos. 6 to 226); the **-ad** (**Mw-ad**) root in 'man' is found also in 243; **Nefñ**, 'mother', is met with in 250; **-kū** (**Ra-kū**), 'mountain', is probably derived from the Bantu **-gulu**; **-alak**, 'night', is not unlike other Semi-Bantu and Bantu forms; **Gw-oñ**, 'road', is the **-oñ** root of 263; the word for 'sheep', **Vyel**, is similar to the forms in the East Central Bantu, especially in Nos. 45 and 48; **Pol-gwō**, 'sister', is very like the A-pōdigō of 243; **-dem**, 'sleep', can be matched in 261 and other Semi-Bantu; **-om**, 'snake', is related to the **-bōmw**, **-vōm**, **-bōma** in 204, 218, and 100; **Yom**, 'thing', is derived from the Bantu root **-uma**; **Yunuñ**, 'to-day', recalls the term used in 73, 77, 92, 100, 205, 229, 61, 6 a, 17. **Nsi**, 'water', is widespread Bantu. The roots for 'wife', 'woman'—**Ha**, **Hwa**—may be connected with the **-ba**, **-a** of 254, 255, the **Wa** of 43, and the **Gwa**, **Kwa** of 240-2.

In the numerals, **-ak**, **Hw-ak**, 'one', seems to belong to the **-pōkw** series of Bantu, and **-niñ**, the other equivalent of 'one', resembles the **-ni**, **-nyi**, **-ini** of Bantu and Semi-Bantu; **-ba** and **-tat**, 'two' and 'three', do not need to have their Bantu character indicated; **-nas**, 'four', resembles the **-naši** of 254, 255, the **-naci** of 139, and **-nezi** of 166; **-tunuñ**, 'five', recalls the **-toñan** of 253 and the **-tun**, **-ton**, **-ruon**, **-tson**, **-tuen**, &c., of 250, 251, 243, 246, 249, 228, 227, 249. **Ntimiñ** for 'six' is at present inexplicable; **-tama**, 'seven', resembles the **Tsam**, **-sam**, **-tseme**, **-dzami**, &c., of 180, 175, 116, and 179. **Kuru** for 'ten' is the same root as the **-kur** of the neighbouring Boritsū language, and both may descend from a root like the **Ngulu** of 162.

In pronouns Burum further retains a resemblance to the avuncular Bantu. **Me** or **Ma**, **Hwω**, **Ye**: for 'I', 'thou', and 'he' are all of Bantu type. **Wod** for 'we' and **-od**, 'us'; **Yin**, 'you', and **N**- the nominative particle 'ye' recall the forms in 227, 228, 238, and 273. The substantive pronoun **Yen** for 'they' is very like the **Ene**, **Iene**, **Yeri** of 98, 99, 110, 120 a, and 210. The nominative particle of this pronoun, **Bi**-, **A**-, may well be derived from a Bantu **Ba**-. The root for 'all', **-mwa**, offers a striking analogy to the root for 'all' in 87, 134, 136, and 261. 'Good' is **-naka** in Burum and also in 64, 65, 65 a. Amongst the adverbs, **-gwoñ**, 'behind', shows a relationship with 132 to 139, 142, 199, and 25; the root for 'in, inside' (**Ji**, **Jin**) may be connected with the **Ti**, **Di**, **Tin** of 226, 227, 193, and 273; **Bayat**, 'near', is strikingly like the **Baka** of 195; and **Pyak**, 'many', may be connected with the **-yaga** of 9 c. Among the verb-roots that show kinship with other groups of the two families we might note **-wω**, 'go' (see 249); **-ki**, 'go' (226, 200, 228, 229); **-tig**, 'leave off', 'cease' (the Bantu **-tiga** and **-leka**); **-ku**, 'die' (Bantu and Semi-Bantu **-ku**, **-kwa**, **-fu**, **-fwa**); **-di**, 'see' (251, 259, 229); **-simi**, 'love, want' (1, 3, 9 a, 39, 259); **-ve**, 'came', 'come' (195, 204, 248, 198); **-dem**, 'sleep' (124 to 186, 45, 82); **-ri**, 'eat' (the Bantu **-li**, **-lia**, **-dia**); **-yer**, 'cut' (191, 192, 175).

The little we know of the Burum verb shows that it does not differ in its conjugation from the Bantu plan. Its most aberrant feature is in the method of forming the negative. This would seem to be by a

suffix, **-wet**. The passive termination of the verb-root is **-wɔ** (the Bantu **-wa**, **-ba**). The auxiliary verb, 'be', has three separate roots answering to present—**-si**; past—**-pol**; and future—**-sal**. There is also a root **-bi**, which is equivalent to the Bantu **-ba**.

GROUP G (S-B.): THE CENTRAL BAUCI LANGUAGES

(No. 253)

So far as present research goes, this group—the easternmost as yet discovered of the Semi-Bantu—only contains one language, **JARA** or **JARAWA** (253), which, according to Mr. Bieneman, has two main dialects: **Bununu** and **Zuñgur**. 'Jarawa' first appeared in print in 1854 (as 'Dşarawa'), when Koelle's *Polyglotta Africana* was published. Koelle had collected a vocabulary of it from a freed slave at Sierra Leone, and gave with his usual care and accuracy a definition of its geographical location taken down from natives before the country of Bauci had been visited by a European, and whilst the Benue river itself was only imperfectly known. After Koelle's transcription (which, of course, only gave a limited idea of the language, so many cardinal words and indications of syntax being omitted from his scheme of illustration), Jarawa remained for sixty years unnoticed and unprovocative of interest, though a glance at Koelle's *Polyglotta* would soon convince a student of African philology that in this speech of Central Bauci we had a language almost belonging to the Bantu family, part of the evidence in fact that the Bantu and Semi-Bantu originated in Nigeria. The Bantu character of this East Nigerian language excited my curiosity. I dared not rely solely on Koelle in founding any theories lest he should have been misled in the transcription or the geographical locality. It was necessary that Koelle should be confirmed and his researches extended. Consequently, I wrote out to the British Resident in the Bauci Province, who very kindly and promptly placed my appeal in the hands of one of his subordinates, Mr. Bieneman. Mr. Bieneman then furnished me with a much fuller vocabulary than Koelle's, which was most interestingly confirmative of Koelle, though at least sixty years must have elapsed between the transcriptions.¹ Koelle's record of the language exhibits some divergent features which may arise from his encountering a different dialect, and still more from the changes which have taken place in the speech after a lapse of sixty years. The re-discovery and accurate location of Jarawa on the one hand, and of the Hōma language in the Southern Bahr-al-ghazal on the other, are two important steps towards the linking up of Bantu and Semi-Bantu connexions with Eastern Nigeria. But it is quite possible that south of the Upper Benue and east of the Goñgola river there may still be Semi-Bantu languages awaiting discovery: the place-names certainly suggest this possibility. Meantime we are left with a tremendously wide gap between the northernmost Bantu languages of the Nyanza and Ababua Groups and their easternmost, outlying cousins of the Semi-Bantu; between the most archaic of the Bantu and the only region in Africa (the eastern basin of the Niger) wherein the Bantu family can find relationships. And the interest in this geographical problem is intensified when in an analysis of word-roots we find repeated evidence of special affinities between the archaic Nyanza and North-east Congoland Bantu and the Semi-Bantu speech-forms of the Cameroons—Cross river and Eastern Nigeria.

Jarawa, pronounced **Járawa**, may be only a Hausa term, like **Burum-awa** (**-awa** is a Hausa plural suffix). The correct name for the tribe and language is probably **Jara**. **Járawa** is so far distinct from Afudu south of the Benue, from **Burum**, **Mbarike**, and **Boritsü**, its not far distant neighbours to the west, and from **Munşi** or **Tivi**, or again from the **Kaduna** languages near the Middle Niger, as to necessitate its being placed in a separate group. It has, perhaps, more direct affinities with the Bantu type than any of these Nigerian Semi-Bantu languages, yet it exhibits a phonology which is alien to Bantu laws.

¹ Mr. Bieneman knew nothing of Koelle's previous transcription of sixty to seventy years ago, and the extent to which his work confirms Koelle is really remarkable, as many of the words are identical in spelling or in pronunciation. It is another proof of Koelle's accuracy.

Consonantal endings are common, and no dislike is shown to the abrupt collocation in composite words of *t* and *b*, *d* and *k*, and *l*, *k* and *z*, *s* and *b*, *x* and *d*, *l* and *b*, *r*, and *d*, *b* and *r*: all of which are abhorrent to the Bantu taste. *N* before *b* or *p* usually remains distinct as a nasal alveolar and seldom becomes *m*. Consonants can apparently be pronounced doubly, a practice which is rare in Bantu. The *l* sounds sometimes as though it were written *ll* at the beginning of words. There is the Semi-Bantu fondness for gutturals, the Sudanic *kʰ* and *gʰ* are prevalent; and there are obscure vowel-sounds unknown in pure Bantu—*a*, *ö*, and *ɨ* (sounded almost like *ψ*, midway between *ü* and *i*).¹

Like Munşi, it has evidently undergone in recent times a considerable change in syntax, possibly under the influence of Hausa, Kanuri, or Fula. Prefixes have become indissoluble from the roots to which they were attached in most cases, and their place in the syntax has been taken by suffixes. Nevertheless, they are sometimes detachable and sometimes employed as class or demonstrative prefixes. The following Bantu classes seem to be represented by these prefixes—detachable or non-detachable—I, 2, 3 (?), 6, 7, 8, 9, 13 (?), 14, 15 (?), 16, and 20. The **U-** and **Gu-** prefixes may belong to Class 3, or they may also represent a survival of Class 15. They seem to be akin to the **Gwō-** prefix found in Burum. The 6th prefix, **Ma-**, undoubtedly survives, but it is sometimes used as a prefix of singular number in the collective or abstract sense. The 20th prefix is represented by **Ta-** and **Da-**, and seems to answer to the **Ra-** of Burum. There is one suffix in the singular number **-an**, **-al**, the import of which has not been made clear by my informant, and there are a number of suffixes of plural signification which to a great extent take the place of the formerly used plural prefixes and usually determine the number of a noun-root to which they are affixed. These are **-ba**, **-baba**, **-bale**, belonging to Class 2; **-ya**, **-ea**, **-a**, **-ga**, which for the most part belong to Class 6; **-bi**, **-bibi**, representing, perhaps, both Classes 2 and 8; **-ni**, which may stand for Class 10 or Class 4; **-na**, which may be akin to the **Nya-**, **Na-** 'feminine' prefix in Bantu. Járawa, it should be added, still retains the principle of the concord.

The number of its word-roots that betray ancient Bantu affinities is considerable. I will quote some of them, indicating at the same time by the identifying numbers Járawa's connexions with other members of the Semi-Bantu family:

Kwat, 'adze' (184, 189, 168, 175); **-bib**, 'axe' (100, 184, 189; 263); **-sunsun**, 'ape' (227, 228, 229); **Bog**, 'arm' (nearly all Bantu); **Munʰ**, 'arrow' (226–226 b; 232); **Gata**, 'back' (27); **-yaba**, 'banana' (141, 149, 155); **Liri**, 'beard' (Camerouns and Nyanza Bantu); **Vum**, 'belly' (nearly all Bantu); **Nyel**, **Nyal**, 'bird' (251; 169, 70, 71); **Kil**, 'blood' (nearly all Western Bantu); **Yidi**, 'body' (allied to **-bili** in Bantu); **Mw-ūp**, 'bone' (belongs to **-fupa** root in Bantu); **Bōgwo**, 'brains' (see **-boñgwo** root in Bantu); **-buri**, 'female breast' (234, 230); **Yam**, 'brother' (251); **-rigi**, 'canoe' (267); **Kal**, 'charcoal' (nearly all Bantu); **-reñgan**, 'chief' (54); **Bente**, 'cloth' (255, 248); **-tax**, 'cloth' (135; 244); **Lugod**, **Lugut**, 'bark-cloth' (252; and Nyanza Group of Bantu); **-fwal**, 'cold' (176; 237; 83, 99, &c.); **-dag**, **-dak**, 'cow', 'ox', 'buffalo' (14; 251, 254; 78, &c.); **Gan**, 'crocodile' (Western Bantu); **-fwo**, **-vwo**, 'dog' (nearly all Bantu and several Semi-Bantu); **Lod**, **Lot**, 'dream' (nearly all Bantu); **-goam**, 'drum' (nearly all Bantu); **-di**, **-ti** (Ki-di, Ki-ti), 'ear' (related to the **-tu** root for 'head', 'ear' in Bantu and Semi-Bantu); **Ki**, 'egg' (nearly all Bantu); **-zugu**, 'elephant' (most of the Bantu languages); **Sip**, 'excrement' (220); **Ja-mai**, 'fat' (258); **Tadi**, **Tat**, 'father' (almost all Bantu); **Bes**, **Bäs**, 'fire' (67, 75, 76, 5, 5 b, 7, 26, 100, 100 b–103, 110, &c.); **Nsi**, **Nji**, 'fish' (nearly all Bantu); **-zum**, 'forest' (244); **Nğub**, **Ki-ūk**, 'fowl' (North-western, Eastern, and Southern Bantu); 230, 229, 232, 241, 241 a, 247; 227, 228, 230, 234, 235, 238, 240–240 c, 241, 248, 251, 257, 258, 259, 263, 271 among the Semi-Bantu); **-log**, **-llok**, 'frog' (186, 164, 130); **-hil**, **-pil**, **-kil**, 'goat' (the **-buli**, **-budi**, **-buzi** root in Bantu); **-gol**, **-yol**, 'God' (6, 9, 70, 75, 104–6; 263); **-kaya**, 'grandparent' (2 e to 210; 256); **-zal**, 'ground', 'country' (9, 162, 160; 274, 244 a); **-zog**, 'ground-nut' (5 to 168—the Bantu root **-zokwo**, **-jugu**); **Gañ**, 'guinea-fowl' (the Bantu root **-kañga**); **Nyoñ**, 'hair' (230, 236, 237, 257; 213–5, 208, 209, 55); **-buru**, 'hand' (218–9, 116); **-bali**, 'heart' (106, 127, 128, 104 c, 151 a); **Ta-kwot**, **-kwōde**, 'heel' (102, 101, 56 a, 114); **-gūp**, 'hide' (nearly all Bantu); **Din**, 'hill' (**-tunda** root in Bantu); **-get**, 'hoe' (32–5, 54, &c.); **-dā**, 'house' (the **-dabō**, **-dāgo** root in Bantu); **-balli**, 'house' (151, 154, 150, 196, 155 c, 157, 220); **-zal**, 'hunger' (the **-zala**, **-jala** root in

¹ See my *Phonetic Spelling*, Cambridge University Press.

Bantu); **-vuōl**, **-vwal**, 'iron' (26, 78-9, 124-6, 162, 130-4, 136; **-bual** in No. 271 far away in Portuguese Guinea); **-kuñal**, **-kuñgeli**, 'knee' (52, 53, 101-3); **-bag**, **-bak**, 'knife' (63, 151 a, 145, 146, 161, 162, 181, 191, 39 a, 150-3, &c.); **Kus**, **Kws**, 'leg' (73, 74; 239 b, 266, 268, 269-72, 273, &c.); **Nbit**, 'leopard' (42); **Bur**, 'magic' (151, 193, 218, 219; 227, 234, 236, 237, 259, 263, 271, 273, &c.); **-om**, **-oma**, 'man (person)' (187, 193, 194, 195); **Nyam**, 'meat' (the almost universal Bantu root); **Ki-bur**, 'milk' (9 c, 98; 230); **Lean**, **Leñ**, 'moon' (23 a, 24, 25-7, 30, 31 a, 194, 193; 273); **Nga**, **Ngi**, 'mother' (100, 191, 192; 245); **Kwān**, 'mountain' (228, 243, 246); **Kun**, 'mouth' (249); **Nyai**, 'finger-nail' (Bantu generally); **Lok**, 'name' (92, 94, 95); **Toñ**, **Tuñgi**, 'navel' (27, 34 to 208; 227, 230, 232, 234); **Duggi**, 'neck' (27, 56 b); **-mel**, 'neck' (193, 226; 228, 235); **Dog**, **Duk**, 'night' (related to the **-siku**, **-suku**, **-tugu** root in Bantu); **-sugi**, 'penis' (74, 89, 131, 134, 157, 159, 161, 207, 221; 258); **Guru-sunu**, 'pig' (represented in **-guru** and **-sunu** separately in the majority of Bantu languages up to 226; also found in 254, 255, and in Hausa, which seems to have borrowed the double root from the Semi-Bantu of Nigeria); **-vul**, **-ful**, 'rain' (nearly all Bantu); **-bab**, **-bap**, 'rat' (135, 140, 145, 150, 151, 159 a, 161; 230, 234); **Jar**, 'road' (**-jera**, **-jira** root of nearly all Bantu; or **-dala**, of 56 b, 54, 226); **-zañ**, **-sañ**, 'salt' (26, 191, 192, 193, 195-9); **N-zun**, 'shame' (the **-swani** root of nearly all Bantu); **-zur**, 'sheep' (226, 14, 24; 231); **-gob**, **-gūp**, 'skin' (nearly all Bantu); **Tondu-ali**, 'sky' (248; 9 a, 9 c); **Dēēn**, 'sky' (263, 267); **Biag**, **Beak**, 'slave' (23 to 215); **Tulu**, 'sleep' (widespread in Bantu); **-yal**, **-yel**, 'smoke' (247); **Yog**, **Ywook**, 'snake' (all Bantu); **Ngel**, 'song' (155; 238); **Kwañ**, 'spear' (the **-koñgw** root in Bantu); **Jakjak**, 'star' (127, 139, 164); **Tal**, 'stone' (the **-tare**, **-tadi** root in Bantu; 227, 228, 232, 234, 238, 240 b, 241, 242, 243, 254, 255); **Gas**, 'stone' (? 4); **Mes**, **Mus**, 'sun' (1, 26, 102, 140, 155, 157, &c.; 263); **-din**, 'tail'; **-rin**, 'tear' (228); **Jwani**, 'testicles' (78-80, 89, 58, 42, 129 a, 73); **Ngib**, 'thief' (nearly all Bantu); **Len**, **Lin**, 'to-day' (228; 139, 25, 32); **Lib**, **Lip**, 'to-morrow' (19, 20, 23 a, 26, 130-2); **Min**, 'tooth' (the **-inw** root of nearly all Bantu); **Lla**, **Lana**, 'town' (236); **Sañgat**, 'urine' (194, 195, 204, 207); **Sar**, 'vein' (27, 141, 155); **Kip**, 'vein' (11, 12, 13, 91, 42 to 105; 247); **-rog**, 'water' (194, 225); **Mam**, 'wife', 'woman' (125, 126, 35); **Guñg**, 'wind' (9 c, 15, 78, 142, 209); **Ngun**, 'firewood' (the universal **-kuni** root in Bantu); **Bi-añ**, 'year' (148 a, 159, 160-3); **Ma-nyunu**, **Menu**, 'yesterday', (100-3; 232, 248, 274).

In the numerals, 'one', 'two', and 'three' are obviously Bantu; 'four' is represented by two distinct roots, the latter of which is used in composition—**-yen**, **-yin**, **Nin**; and **Kes**, **Kiṣ**. **Kes** or **Kiṣ** really seems to belong to the parentage of that exceptional root for 'four', which is found in certain of the Eastern Bantu, ranging from 28 to 37, and from 54 to 56 a. 'Five' is **Toñ**, **Ton**, **Tōni**, and thus resembles the **'o'**, **'u'** roots for 'five' (variants of **-tanu**) found in Nos. 227, 228, 240 a, 243, 246, 250, 251, 252. 'Six' and 'seven' are combinations of 'five and one', 'five and two'; 'eight' is **Kes-nin** or **Kiṣ-en**, 'four plus four'; 'nine' is 'four and five'. 'Ten' is **Lum**, which seems likely to be an ancient contraction of **Li-kumi**, at any rate to be derived from the Bantu **-kumi** root. Counting of decades goes by scores, though Koelle has recorded a **Lum-bari** 'twice-ten' form for 'twenty'; but in modern Járawa, 'twenty' is **Hanya**, a root for which I can find no relations, unless it be with the **-kaanu** of 244. 'Hundred' is **Zañgu**, and may perhaps be connected with one of the Bantu roots for 'ten', **-kañgu**, **-sañgi**, **-ṣeñgi**, **-saka**, **-saki**, &c. (164, 107, 127, 129, 104 a, 124, 205, 206).

The pronouns in Járawa are Bantu in aspect. This is particularly the case in regard to the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of the singular and the 1st of the plural. The 2nd person plural, 'ye, you', is **Wun**, **wun-**, **-wu**, **-wun**, **-bun**, and offers a marked resemblance to the forms in use in other Semi-Bantu languages, Nos. 227, 228, 238, 259, and 274. The 3rd person plural is **Ya** in the substantive form and nominative particle (see Nos. 125, 126); and in the objective and possessive, **-be**, **-u**. It should be noted that in connexion with the possessive forms of the pronouns, Járawa employs a particle **la** prefixed to the pronominal root, which seems independent of the concord. Thus 'my' is **la-m**, 'thy' is **la-u** (**d-u**, **nd-u**), 'his' is **la-i**, 'our' is **la-su**, 'your' is **la-wun**, and 'their' is **la-u**. The possessive pronouns follow the noun they govern.

'All' is expressed by a root **Pöt**, which seems to have its nearest relations in languages Nos. 259 and 273.

The demonstratives, unlike the rule in the vast majority of Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages, precede the noun to which they refer; they are not used suffixially. They preserve some vestige of the

concord. So far as I can ascertain, they are now reduced to the following forms: For 'this, these', **Mimi-** or **Mimin-** in the singular, and **Bibi-** or **Bibin** in the plural. The terminal **-n** may be a vestige of the locative suffix (**-n**). For 'that, those', the expression seems to be **Makum-** in the singular and **Baku-**, **Bobaku-** in the plural. The **ku** element in these demonstratives may be related to that which appears in languages Nos. 131, 130, 124; and 263.

The following adjectival roots are interesting for their affinities:

-bib, 'bad' (149, 214; 227, 229 e, 228, 230); **-bigin**, 'bad' (230); **-pini**, 'black' (120 b, 175, 178, 179-81, 214, 213, 218; 232-3, 244); **Ewat**, **Bodden**, 'good' (32, 77, 98 to 225); **Gul**, **-gulu**, 'great' (nearly all Bantu); **-jin**, **Ma-jin**, 'great' (269-72); **-gab**, 'little' (21 g, 122); **-zari**, **-zar**, 'long' (the **-tali** section); **Bit**, 'male' (**-böri**, 254; **-vuri**, 49; **-ifur**, 250); **Kwal**, 'old' (the Bantu **-kwal**, **-kulu** root); **Gös**, 'old' (the **-gösi**, **-kösi** root—14, 19, 24, 26, 32, 123, 141); **Baŋgi**, 'red' (85, 86, 184, 189, 190; 230); **-dik**, 'short' (102, 75 b; 273); **Kwōnan**, 'sick' (217); **Fw**, **Fubi**, 'white' (136, 185, 187, 193, 194, 203, 152, 162, 61 a, 17, 35, 145; 237, &c.).

In its adverbs and prepositions, however, Járawa is disappointing in offering very few forms analogous to Bantu or Semi-Bantu roots. In the word **Pa-daku** for 'there' the Bantu locative, **Pa-** seems to linger.

The verb-roots, on the other hand, have widespread affinities in Bantu and Semi-Bantu. **-wola**, 'beat', belongs to a Bantu root, **-böla**, **-föla**, **-bula**, recorded from many Bantu languages, beginning with No. 12 and ending with 190; **-kur**, 'buy, sell', is the Bantu **-gula**; **-kasa**, 'cut' (see 9, 21, 21 e, 56 b, 61 a, 104-6, 189-90, 187; 235, &c.); **-bin**, 'dance'; **-wu**, 'die'; **-li**, 'eat'; **-pa**, **-pan**, 'give', are found in nearly all Bantu languages; **-bia**, **-be**, **-biar** for 'go' seem to have an affinity with the root in No. 254; **-dal**, 'know' (see 263); **-wwal**, **-wāl**, 'laugh' (212, 213, 131); **-rañ**, **-dag**, **-dok**, 'sit' (273); **-sin**, **-sene**, 'see' (72, 164; 267, 269); **-noñ**, 'sleep' (228, 224); and **-paka**, 'steal' (44, 44 b).

Unfortunately we know next to nothing about the conjugation of the verb. In the present tense, if not in the other tenses, there seems to be no nominative prefix for the pronouns; its place is taken by a suffix, though the substantive form of the pronoun is also used and is becoming a nominative in place of the lost prefix. Thus: 'I sleep' is **Noñ-ma**, not **Ma-noñ**; 'I sit' is **Rañ-ma**, not **Ma-rañ**; 'I love' is **Dayi-m**, not **Ma-dayi**. There is an analogous use of the verb in Munši (248) and apparently in Biafada (267). The infinitive prefix may be **Be-** (synonymous with a verb-root, 'to go'). Of the negative particles, there is a prefix **Ma-**; there are infixes **-sw-**, **-si-**; and a suffix, **-bara**.

GROUP H (S-B.): THE CENTRAL NIGERIA OR KADUNA RIVER LANGUAGES

(Nos. 254 to 256)

The three tongues which form this rather isolated group are **GURMANA** (254), **KAMUKU** (255) and **BASA** (256). The last of the three seems to be an intermediate speech between 254 and 255; but all three share numerous features and word-roots in common, and constitute a homogeneous group. For our knowledge of 255 and 256 we were solely indebted to Koelle down to 1920, when a full vocabulary of Kamuku and Gurmana was compiled for the purposes of this book by Mr. G. A. J. Bieneman (Nigeria Civil Service), the recent illustrator of Jara (253). Gurmana or 'Gurmani' was first written down by the Rev. W. P. Low, who contributed the vocabulary printed in Vol. I. It may chance that in the Kaduna basin or along the eastern bank of the Niger between the confluence of the Kaduna and that of the Sokotow there are other Semi-Bantu languages belonging to this group, and we may even discover Semi-Bantu speech-forms isolated in Yoruba, Borgu, or Dahomé which will connect Group H of Central Nigeria with Group I (S-B.) of South-west Tōgoland; or there may be in the north-western parts of the Bauci highlands outlying speech-forms of Group G (S-B.)—Jara—which serve to link up the Bauci Semi-Bantu with the tongues of the Kaduna basin. Mr. Bieneman states that the Gurmana of the Kaduna believe their tribe to have dwelt once as far to the north-east as the district of Daura (13° North latitude, near the border of the French Sudan); while the Kamuku tradition is that their far-back ancestors inhabited the Katsina

country which lies to the north-west of Kan ω (whereas Daura is due north), and is likewise not far from the 13th parallel. If such tribal traditions are true—they often are—this is a very interesting point in connexion with Bantu origins, for it would bring the area of Semi-Bantu languages very much farther north than any previous limits assigned to them. It would also lend a little more probability to a theory of the present writer that Hausa itself had a Semi-Bantu basis when this Negro speech was taken in hand some two thousand or more years ago by an invading people of Hamitic race and speech and converted into a great trade language with a Hamitic grammar and a sex-discrimination, and a Bantu-Sudanese phonology and vocabulary.

Group H (S-B.) in its word-roots has a distinct though distant affinity with the Semi-Bantu of the Cross river, notably the outlying 229 e, Alege; with Munši (248); Járawa (253); with Yala (247-247 b); and with the T ω g ω land Group, I (S-B.). There are less obvious relationships with Boritsü and Mbarike (250 and 251); with Temne and the other Semi-Bantu languages of Guinea. At the same time, Group H (S-B.) has many direct affinities with the Bantu. It retains roots that are characteristic of the Bantu family and are mostly lost in the other divisions of the Semi-Bantu. In its phonology, also, this Group H (S-B.) differs much from the Bauci, Munši, Benue, Cross river-Cameroons Groups in making more use of vowels and in not being so addicted to vowels of obscure and indistinct sound, such as *ö*, *ü*, and *a*.

There is no trace of deliberate preprefixes, but the prefixes are numerous and include almost every type in the Bantu syllabary, except **La-** or **Ra-**. But the allotment of the prefixes to classes or to singular or plural number scarcely corresponds with the Bantu plan; and it is difficult to trace out the system on which they are employed, especially when certain of the prefixes are used in a plural sense with some words and in a singular sense with others.

As additional knowledge of Gurmana and Kamuku has come to hand since the prefixes of this group were set forth in Vol. I, it may be as well to restate them, this time more definitely, together with such of their concords as are known. The concord is not only pronominal, but also adjectival, as in Bantu.

Prefixes, &c., in No. 254 :

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Bi-, Byi- (concord particle similar)	I-, E-, Mu- (the concord particle similar)
Wa-	Ša-
Ri-, Li-, Ni-, Yi-, Re-, I-, E- (concord particle usually li-)	A-, Ö-, Mu- (" ")
Ti-, Ci-	
A-	Ši- (" ")
U-	A- (" ")
Mi-	
Ö-, U-, ω-, O-	Ši-, E-, Mi- (" ")
Tu- (concord, tu-)	
Yi-, Eyi- (concord, yi)	Mu- (" ")
Mu- (concord, ga)	
Ma- (collective) (concord, ma-)	
Bu-, Bω-, Ba-, Ba-, Wu- (concord, bu)	A-, Ö-, I-, Mu- (" ")
Sω-, Sa-	Ši-
In-	Si- (" ")
Ka- (concord, ka-, ku-)	
Ku- (concord, ku-)	
Ke-, Ki-, Hi- (concord, ke-, ki-)	
Gu-	

In Kamuku and Basa (Nos. 255 and 256) :

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Bu-, Bω-, Wω-, Ba-, Be-	A-, I-, —
A-, Ō-	Ṣi-, Ṣe-, Ji-, Tω-
Ū-	Ye-, A-, Mu-
U-	Sa-, I-, A-, Mu-
E-	A-, Uñ-
Tu-	
Bi-	Ye-, E-, I-, Mω-
Mω-, Mu-, Ū-	A-
Ma- (collective)	
Le-, Li-; Re-, E-	A-, E-
Ku-, Ki-	Mo-
I-, E-	N-, U-, Mω-, Mu-, Ṣi-
N-	Mu-
Na-, Nu-	

Pa- seems to be used in a locative sense in Gurmana (254). Ma- is a singular and a collective prefix in 254, 255, but its place in 256 is taken by Ba-. Tu- is used in a collective sense sometimes, but its function seems to be that of the Bu- prefix in Bantu: to express an abstract sense.

The word-roots which are worth special notice for their affinities are as follows:

Nouns: -cammi, 'adze', 254 (82, 83); -mana, 'white ant'; Wamwa, 'ape', 254 (135); -nigya, Nija, 'arm', 254 (235; 114); -era, 'arrow' (146, 147); -gwaba, 'arrow', 255 (63, 64, 69, 70, 73, 9 c); E-apω, 'axe', 255 (263); -guba, 'axe', 255-6 (72, 74, 95, 98, 114, 89, 91-4, 100 b, 155 b, 156, 166, 180); Bi-nciami, 'axe', 254; -yapa, 'axe', 254 (92, 198, 226; 230); -taka, 'axe', 254 (157; 234); -ṣawo, 'axe', 255 (88, 110); N-gazi, 'baboon', 255; -baω, 'back', 254 (75, 75 a, 75 b-76, 214, 215); A-aba, 'back', 255; -yaba, 'banana', 254 (141, 149, 155, 164, 161 a, 187); -reru, 'beard', 254, 255 (the widespread Bantu root, Nos. 1 to 220); -sωa, -swōin, -sūi, 'bee', 255, 266 (the -uki, -suki, -sōka root for 'bee', and specially 134, 166, 125, 131-2, 159, 160, 162, 164; 232); -fubω, 'belly', 254 (2 f, 166, and Bantu generally; also 230, 269-72); -me (Ame), 'belly', 256 (241, 258, 260, and the -eme, -leme root in Bantu); Mu-ceñgω, 'belly', 255 (155, 209; 271-2); -nunu, -nōnω, 'bird', 254-5-6 (all Bantu); Mu-ran, 'body', 255 (94); Upω, -ūpa, -ūpω, 'bone', 254-5-6 (-fupa root in Bantu); -ta, -tōā, 'bow', 254-5 (all Bantu); Tu-fuura, 'brains', 254; Tu-kai, 'brains', 255; -ube, -gbā, -suwe, -suba, 'breast' (male and female), 255-6 (the -fuba root in Bantu); Yi-kwagun, 'breast', 254; Bi-ṣie, 'breast', 255; -yena, 'brother', 255 (235; and -ina root in Bantu); -cian, 'brother', 255; -tagu, 'brother', 256 (151, 164, 179, 193); -hañgu, 'brother', 256 (81, 83, 96, 97, 100, 114, 122, 25, 27, 129); -haci, -hanci, -höci, 'buffalo', 254, 255 (? -ati root in Bantu); -öri, 'bull', 254; -bwoi, 'bull', 255; -biyω, -mbi, 'buttocks', 255-6 (260); Mu-os, 'buttocks', 255; A-taun, 'buttocks', 254 (perhaps with -n suffix; the root is -tau); Hatω, -hatu, 'canoe', 254-6 (all Bantu); -añwa, 'cat', 254-5 (1, 2 to 2 e, 3, 4 a, 145, 148; 227, 245, 243, 244, 246); Renya, 'cat', 255; -bele, -bale, 'cat', 256 (144, 35); Tuwω, 'charcoal'; -gwāmma, -gwama, 'chief', 254, 255 (the -kama root in Nyanza Group of Bantu, &c.); Tu-hōbi, 'cold', 255; -tawω, 'cow', 254 (14; 251, 253); -na, -na'a, 'cow', 254, 255, 256 (263, 267, 245, 247); -wa, 'dog', 254-5-6 (all Bantu); -gañga, 'drum', 255-6 (248, 253); -täbbi, -jebi, 'ear', 254, 256 (63, 64, 65, 67, 68-70, 71-6, 86); -ñgi, -ñge, -ñje, 'egg', 254-6 (the -ki root in Bantu); -ni, 'elephant', 254 (274, 238, 239 a, 244, 242, 241, 247, 259); -dagba, 'elephant', 256 (2 c; 247 b, 266); Tannu, Tu'un, 'excrement'; -tunu, 'face', 256 (236, 273); -nibi, -newe, 'fat', 254-5 (228 a; 6); -ṣimi, 'fat', 256 (82; 240 a, 253); Baba, 'father', 255 (Baba root in Bantu); Ada, 'father', 256 (the -ta root in Bantu); Bi-ṣi, 'father', 254 (the -ṣi, -ṣe root in Bantu); I-tar, 'father', 255; Yasa, Wansa, 'fear', 254-5 (263; 226); -ra, -la, 'fire' (247, 250, 251; and the -ōta, -ōtω root in Bantu); -suwa, 'fish', 254 (155 c, 226, 192, 193, 198, 199); -yeñga, 'fish', 255 (14, 16, 17, 18, 189; 266, 268); -yici, 'forest', 254 (199, 200, 204, 205); -bōdwa, 'foot', 254 (161, 146, 148, 150, 205); -jegwa, 'frog', 254 (64 a; 268); -kundu, 'frog', 255 (250; 147, 85, 86, 195, 83, 95,

96, 98, 103, 114); **-kutu**, 'frog', 256 (98 a, 73, 118, 119, 180, 189, 190; 245); **Kuruñgu**, 'he goat', 254 (261, 255); **Upi**, 'he goat', 256 (229 e; 94, 226); **-kaka**, 'grandparent', 256 (2 e to 210; 253); **-ambe**, 'grass', 255 (3, 4, 26, 86 a, 27, &c.); **-ceñge**, 'ground', 'country', 254 (108, 128, 189); **-gwojia**, **-gwoſi**, 'ground-nut', 255-6 (253); **-yegwa**, 'guinea-fowl', 255 (206; 227); **-jiru**, 'hair', 254 (247 b; and the **-wiri** root in Bantu); **-pyena**, 'hand', 254 (22, 42, 44 b; 243, 261); **-tara**, **-ala**, 'hand', 255-6 (2, 64, 66, 68, 120, 123, 157; 263); **-cenyee**, 'hand', 255 (226); **-duge**, 'heel', 254 (266, 230); **-tañku**, 'heel', 255 (230, 268; 175); **-ſukuri**, 'heel', 256 (7 a, 39, 55); **-duban**, 'hide', 254 (4, 151, 153, 134, 226 b); **-ſawo**, 'hoe', 255 (206); **-hin**, 'horn' (273); **-agwo**, 'house', 254 (the **-dagwo**, **-dabwo** root in Bantu); **-mwōnu**, **-mōnwo**, 'house'; **-iimma**, **-lōma**, 'iron', 254-5 (1, 2-2 g, 3, 4-7a, 9, 10, 14-16, 19, 20, 20 d, 21-21 g, 22-5, 39, 48, 52, 55, 86, 140-3, 147, 162; 240 c); **-ñgu**, 'knee', 255 (-ñguñgu, **-guñgunwo** roots, and 22, 28 to 132); **-lule**, 'knee', 256 (161, 137, 148, 153; 271, 273); **-nunu**, 'knee', 254 (235, &c.); **-guſi**, 'knife', 256 (25, 44 b, 2, 7 a); **-gabi**, 'leopard', 255 (74, 92, 189, 151 a, 151; 230); **-nama**, 'leopard', 254 (248, 266; 17); **-oñgw**, 'leopard', 255 (the widespread **-ñgw**, **-ñgui** Bantu root); **-sanu**, 'lips', 254 (263); **-rambo**, 'lips', 255 (110 and the **-lumbo** root); **-nubwo**, **-nibu**, **-niwu**, Nubi, 'magic', 'medicine', 'witchcraft', 254, 255, 256 (119, 118, 105-6); **-hia**, 'magic', 255 (94, 120, 218; 258, 273); **-tu**, **-tō**, 'man', 256, 254 (-ntu root in Bantu); **-ga**, **-gabu**, 'man', 255 (3); **-sunda**, 'meat', 254, 256 (86, 97, 113, 136); **-nubu**, 'medicine' (206); **-suba**, 'milk', 255-6 (allied both to **-diba**, 'milk', and **-fuba**, 'chest, breast' roots in Bantu); **-iza**, 'name', 255; **-zuin**, 'name', 254; **-ziyi**, 'name', 254 (247); **-owu**, **-obu**, **-obi**, 'navel', 255-6 (the **-kwvu** root in Bantu from 5 a to 153); **-ogun**, 'navel', 254 (1, 2 b, 4, 147, 159 a); **-gita**, 'darkness', 'night', 255-6 (9 c, 16, 19, 21-21 g, 22, 26, 86); **-annu**, **-no**, 'nose', 255 (247, 257, 258); **Ny-ianwo**, 'nose', 256 (240 c); **Rereñgw**, 'paddle', 254 (151, 157; 245); **-tata**, **Ata**, 'penis', 254 (100, 116, 49, 41, 73, 131); **Gurusunu**, 'pig', 254, 255 (a Hausa word employed by Nos. 253, &c., in the form **Gurusunu**; but probably composed of two Bantu and Semi-Bantu roots conjoined, **-guru** and **-sunu**);¹ **-kam**, 'pig', 256 (247 b); **-kuku**, 'pigeon', 256 (5, 49, 119, 121, 153, 155, 162, 175; 229, 236); **-ſile**, **-ſila**, **-ſiru**, 'rain', 255-6, 254 (94); **-kusa**, 'rat', 256 (155, 43 a); **-hōta**, 'salt', 254; **-tama**, 'sheep', 255 (2-2 g, 3, 4 b, 145, 146, 147, 148, 220; 229, 244, 243, 246, 250, 251); **Rumaga**, 'sheep', 255 (186, 211, 218); **-gudwo**, 'sheep', 256 (19, 19 a, 25, 29, 27, 28, 9, 9 c, 24, 226; 235, 253); **-duba**, 'skin', 254 (4, 4 a, 64 a, 68, 65, 69, 90-4, 125, 129, 131, 132, 139, 151, 159 a, 226 b); **-waba**, **-awa**, 'skin', 255-6 (42, 43, 62, 28, 34, 19, 19 a, 53, 44 b, 77); **Tora**, 'sky', 254; **-zuba**, 'sky', 254 (7 to 230); **-zikwo**, 'sleep', 255; **-lue**, 'smoke', 255 (229 e); **-fiwo**, 'smoke', 254; **-hwaa**, **-hūa**, 'snake', 254, 255-6 (247; 204-6, 226); **-a**, **-wawo**, **-wo**, **-we**, 'son', 254-5, 256 (251); **-zañga**, **-zuñga**, 'song', 254 (110, 204); **-ila**, 'spear', 255 (129); **-gwab**, 'spear', 255 (4, 110 a); **-sanu**, 'spear', 256 (269-72); **-riñgice**, 'spirit', 254 (189, 206); **-kuta**, 'stick', 255 (32, 59, 19, 19 a, 23, 27, 29, 42, 62, 44 b; 273); **-bala**, 'stick', 256 (100 b, 144); **-ög**, 'stick', 255 (184, 193); **-tale**, **-tare**, **-tai**, 'stone', 255, 254, 256 (the widespread **-tadi**, **-tare** root in Bantu); **-ube**, 'stool', 255 (148, 43, 178, 226, and perhaps the **-tebe** root of Nyanza Bantu); **-hu**, **-hōhō**, 'sun', 254, 255 (157, 205-6, 226; 234); **-ana**, 'sun', 256 (2 b, 4, 69, 118, 134, 130, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 153, 159 a, 168; 247); **-tori**, **-toyi**, 'tail', 254, 255; **-iſa**, 'tear', 255 (120 and the **-sika** root); **-bura**, 'testicles', 254 (221; 247); **-inya**, 'testicles', 255; **-tō**, 'thigh', 254 (100 b; 249); **-ñuta**, **-ñute**, 'thigh', 255, 256 (227; 106); **-are**, **-aria**, 'to-day', 254 (25, 94); **-yeni**, 'to-day', 255 (248, 250; 228; 148, 12); **Beli**, **Bei**, 'to-morrow', 255-6 (248, 261); **-le**, 'tongue', 255 (230; 247, 261, 274); **-anya**, 'tongue', 255; **-ni**, **-nie**, **-nye**, 'tooth', 254-5-6 (248, 251, 257, 258, 259, 269-72, 273, 274); **-cefu**, **-jehwo**, 'town', 254, 255 (222; 228); **-ſogbo**, 'town', 256 (6, 56 a, 128, 132; 258, 269-72, 273); **-pyesa**, 'twins', 254 (the universal Bantu root, **-pasa**); **-gira**, 'twins', 255 (57, 28, 54, 61, 148, 178); **-masu**, 'urine', 254 (1 to 190); **-yiñga**, 'urine', 255 (244); **-ni**, 'vein', 256 (233, 228); **-nda**, 'vein', 255; **-ni**, 'water', 254-5-6 (238, 239 b, 240, 241, 244, 249); **-huga**, 'wind', 254 (1, 2, 11, 35, 54, 80, 147, 184, 189, 194; 229, 234, &c.); **-pyaya**, 'wind', 255 (2 to 7, 9 c, 28, 40, 147); **-tumbura**, 'womb, belly', 254 (see Bantu root, **-tumbu**, &c.); **-gapa**, 'yam', 254 (266).

In the root-forms of its adjectives and adverbs Group H (S-B.) has no very marked affinities with

¹ The fact that **Gurusunu** is borrowed from Hausa does not nullify this suggestion.

other groups of Semi-Bantu or with the Bantu languages. The only resemblances I can trace are the following:

-**ziri**, -**šili**, 'black', 254, 255 (228 a, 229); -**jemi**, -**sem**, -**šeme**, 'good', 254, 255-6 (11, 13, 21, 22, 52, 69, 109); -**tatw**, -**da**, 'great', 254, 255 (61 a, 52, 68); -**keda**, 'little', 254 (154, 151, 148 a; 230); -**kuji**, 'old', 255 (253; 14, 19, 24, 26, 133, 141); -**enye**, 'old', 256 (9 c); -**goma**, -**guma**, 'sick', 255, 256 (156, 165); -**jene**, 'white', 255 (57, 58, 59, 64, 65, 66, 69).

'Here' in 254 is **Pana**, and 'there' is **Pare**, **Fore**: the two former absolutely Bantu forms. The equivalent locative syllable in 255 is **Pi**.

Of the numerals, **Buka**,¹ 'one' (254), seems to be related through intervening types with the Bantu **Pokw** root; **Hĩ**, **Hia**, 'one', in 255 resembles the **Kya** of 212; **Inda** in 255 and -**de** for 'one' in 256 may have common origin with the -**de** of 226, the **Unde** of 244 a, the -**du** and -**dendeg** of 266, the -**da** of 217, the -**odi** of 244, and the **Ka-di** of 149, 150. The equivalents of 'two' in this group are much harder of explanation: **Nare** in 254, and -**ari**, -**ale** in composite numerals may be a relic of the Bantu -**bali**; -**ribu** in 254 may have some connexion with the -**bue** of 121 and the -**fu** of 124; the -**le**, -**lie**, -**dye** (**Wu-le**) of 255 offers at any rate a superficial resemblance to the -**ōle**, -**bōle**, -**oli** root of Nos. 100 to 121 and 176 to 190. The -**wi** root for 'two' in No. 256 may be connected with the Bantu -**wili**, -**bili**. 'Three' in Group H (S-B.) is the absolutely Bantu -**tatu**, -**tatw**. 'Four' is also the Bantu -**naši** (see 139, 166; 235, 252). 'Five' is Bantu in its varying forms, some of which are a great deal altered in composition; in 254 the root employed for 'five' alone is the abbreviated -**tna**,² -**etna**, but in composition with other numerals to form 'six', 'seven', 'eight', and 'nine' the quinary root is **Ceni**- or **Tan**-, **Tăn**-. In 255 it is **Ta**, **Taa**, but in composition **Tu**- and **Tun**- and **Tan**-. 256 uses **Tana** ordinarily for 'five', but in the words for 'six', 'seven', &c., this becomes **Tin**-, **Jen**-. The numerals between 'five' and 'ten' in all this group are not expressed by independent words but by combinations between 'five' and 'one', 'two', &c., though this is not at once apparent. 'Six' is **Cenihi** in 254, and may be resolved into **Ceni**, 'five', and -**hi**, a root meaning 'one', like the **Hia** of 255. Similarly, **Jihi**, 'six', in 256 is composed of **Ji**-, from **Jen**-, 'five', and -**hi**, 'one'. In the composition of 'seven', 'eight' and 'nine' there enters a syllable difficult of explanation, except it stand for 'and'. This is -**da**· (-**di**· in 256)³—**Tan-da-le**, 'five-and-two' (seven). In the make up of 'eight' this particle has either been omitted for harmony or it has fused with the first syllable of -**tatu**. Thus we have in the **Tandatu**, **Tundatw**, **Ndatu** of 254-5-6 for 'eight' exactly the same term as is employed for 'six' (derived from an ancient **Ndatu-ndatu**, 'three + three') in the East and South African Bantu and in Group A of the Semi-Bantu.

'Ten' in this Group H (S-B.) is -**pwa**, -**pwa**, -**pa**, and **Bu**-, and probably belongs to the 'hand' or -**boww** stock from which similarly Nos. 148 a, 151-4, 157-8, 166-8, 195, 222, 224, 227, 228, 230, 235, 248, 258, 259, 260, 263, 267, 26, and 274 derive their decimal number. With the doubtful exception of **Wōši** for 'twenty' in 256, there is no special term for a score and no counting by scores; the decades are simply 'twice ten', 'three times ten', and so on. The **Wōši** of 256 has probably been recorded by Koelle in error; it is more likely to mean 'hundred', a variant of the **Uši** in 254 which stands for 'hundred'. Consequently, if this assumption is correct, Group H (S-B.), like Group I (S-B.), departs from the Semi-Bantu custom of counting by scores instead of by decades. 'Hundred' in No. 254, besides **Uši** (for which, with **Wōši**, I can only find the doubtful relationship of -**wōke**, -**buki**, &c., in the Cameroons Bantu) is represented by the interesting root -**tadi**, which has several times been referred to as one among the many root-words for 'ten', being applied in some tongues to the decades, in No. 235 to 'twenty', and in Nos. 254, 211, 213, 219, 148, 86, 92, 94, 105, 55, and 61 (-**tet**-, -**tadi**-, -**radi**-, -**ta**-, -**ra**-, -**la**) to 'hundred'.

The pronouns of 256 are scarcely known, but those of 254 and 255 are not widely different from the Bantu forms. In No. 254, it is noteworthy that the roots of the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural are in their substantive form preceded by the particle **Ga**-, answering to the **Ka**- of 248

¹ According to Mr. Bieneman, the more correct form is **Bikā**, with a root -**kā** for 'one', in composition (254). In Kamuku, 'one' is sometimes **Iyā**.

² This was wrongly printed -**tua** (A-**tua**) in Vol. I.

³ The usual equivalent of 'and' is **ni**.

and the **He-** of 23 a, 33 a. In the 1st and 2nd persons singular and the 1st person plural the resemblance to Bantu is striking, but not so in the 3rd person, singular or plural, nor in the 2nd person plural. The forms for 'he, him, his' seem almost to have been borrowed from the Bantu roots for 'they, them, their'; though in 254 **Yu-** as a nominative particle and **-yu, -nyu** as suffixes recall Bantu forms. The plural of the 3rd person in 254 adopts the peculiar forms of **Akie, Ekia, Ööke**, and **-ga** for the substantive and objective, 'they, them'. The possessive alone is like the Bantu—**baba**. In 255, the roots for 'they', 'them', 'their' are **Hien, Hoin**, and **Ecie**. The roots **-hĩ, -hi, -tihi** for 'ye', 'you', 'your' have no Bantu relationship, but the nominative pronoun-prefix for 'ye' is **Yi-**. In 255, the one root for all phases of 'ye', 'you', 'your' is **Hin**. The demonstrative suffixes are quite Bantu—**-na, -nana, -n, -an** for 'this, these', and **-re, -rere, -ya, -iya** for 'that, those'.

In No. 254 the demonstratives are placed *after* substantives of the 1st and 2nd classes, but precede the nouns of the other classes; in No. 255 demonstratives always follow the noun.

The verb-roots and the syntax are imperfectly recorded. The following roots are worth citing for their relationships:

-huagw, 'beat', 254, recalls a root in 245; **-dewe**, 'beat', 256 (19 to 230; 274); **-ani**, 'come', 254 (229 e); **-sere**, 'cut', 254 (191, 192, 215, 73, 175-8, 26, 2 g); **-u, -uō, -wūi**, 'die', 254-5-6 (the Bantu **-fu, -ku**); **-ri, -re, -ria**, 'eat', 254 (all Bantu); **-ya**, 'eat', 256 (a variant of the original Bantu **-dia, -ya**); **-pana, -pōnu, -peni, -pūa**, 'give', 254-5-6 (the Bantu **-pa, pana**); **-bari**, 'go', 254 (perhaps allied to the root in 253); **-guw, -giw**, 'go', 255-6 (see 230); **-kwane**, 'kill', 254 (214); **-silan, -sila**, 'kill', 255-6 (12, 34); **-kura-gi, -kula-ni**, 'love', 255-6 (33 a, 71, 133, 194, 226; 228, 227); **-zumbi**, 'steal', 254 (85); **-marabun**, 'sleep', 254 (56, 73, 74, 87);¹ **-hundw**, 'sleep', 255 (263, 273); **-leji**, 'sleep', 255 (229 e); **-huñgwa**, 'sleep', 256 (11, 25, 160, 224); **-išin**, 'stand', 254 (230); **-isañge**, 'stand', 255 (253); **-şikani**, 'stand', 256 (90, 91, 2).

The construction of the verbal phrase—from the very little that is recorded by Koelle, the Rev. W. P. Low, and G. A. Bieneman—seems in this Group H (S-B.) to be on the Bantu model, and unlike the system existing in *Járawa* (253), wherein the nominative pronominal particle appears as a suffix and not a prefix. There are, apparently, additional terminal syllables in 255-6 (my clause 14-14 j) which modify the sense of the verb-root. The negative particles are seemingly **-za-** and **-ci** in 254; **-ba, -uba** in 255; and **-ma, -nda** in 256, information which guides us but little in determining the special affinities of this Central Nigerian Group. There is, apparently, a change of nominative prefix-form for the 1st singular pronoun—**M-** for some tenses, **Mu-** for others (in No. 254). The existence of an infinitive prefix is doubtful. If it is present it is either **Ta-** or **Te-**. **-tu** is a tense suffix. There are vowel changes in the verb-root to correspond with past tense and negation: thus, **-swa** = 'drink': **-se** = 'drank'; **-suw** = 'drink not'; **ria** = 'eat'; **-ree** = 'eat not'. In No. 255 the negative verb-root terminates in **-w**.

GROUP I (S-B.): THE SOUTH-WEST TŌGŌLAND LANGUAGES

(Nos. 257 to 260)

To this group one or two German linguistic explorers have attached the name of **BWEM** or **BWEME**, that being the native appellation of a district of South-west Tōgōland in the eastern basin of the Lower Volta river, in which are located the languages numbered 257 and 258.²

As already mentioned in the illustrative vocabularies, there are at least two languages in North-east Tōgōland—**BASARI** and **CAMBA**—which come very near to being Semi-Bantu, but perhaps cannot justly be brought within that category, having absorbed too many foreign elements in their vocabulary and construction. Nevertheless, their prefixes resemble those of Bantu and Semi-Bantu, and

¹ Derived from the root **-rabu**, 'sleep', 'dream', with **-ma-** prefix and **-n** suffix.

² Since the first volume of these studies was published, my knowledge of the Tōgōland Semi-Bantu has been largely increased. Through Major F. W. F. Jackson and Captain E. T. Mansfield, I have

especially the prefixes of the South-west Tōgōland languages (257–60). The Basari and Camba pronouns of the 1st person singular, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd plural have a Bantu cast; but of the numeral roots, only 'three' and 'four' have any resemblance to Bantu forms. The root for 'two' is **-le**, thus recalling a similar feature in No. 255. But a full vocabulary just received from Major F. W. F. Jackson confirms me in my impression that Basari and Camba have departed too widely from Bantu standards to be classed as 'Semi-Bantu'. The South-west Tōgōland languages are huddled together within a comparatively small area, but though they are linked by a similarity in phonology, and by geographical propinquity, they are not very closely allied in etymology of word-roots.

This group is susceptible of subdivision into two Sub-groups: I 1 (S-B.), the **BWEM** or **BWEME** languages (257, 258), and I 2 (S-B.), the Lower Volta languages (259, 260). According to native traditions, Sub-group I 1, or at any rate the **AVATIME** language (259), migrated eastward across the Lower Volta from a position it once occupied in the Gã hinterland, so that the present proximity of the two sub-groups may be an accident and not a sign of their near relationship.

The names by which these languages are known and recorded in our writings seem—as in so many other instances already mentioned—not to be native, inherent appellations, but foreign nicknames.

The Avatime, for example, though known to Europeans under that title since the 'seventies of the last century, are really the Kedeā-nye or Kedeā-me people, and are also cited by other members of the group as the **BA-TRAGBŌ**. The name **NYANGBŌ-TAFI** is compounded of two tribes speaking virtually the same tongue, known as the Nyañgbō and the Tafi by their neighbours; but in their own villages the Nyañgbō call themselves Batragbō. The native name of the Santrokōfi tribe is **BALĒ**.

The phonology of the group does not at first sight differ much from that of the average Bantu language, but there are combinations of consonants—*kl, kr, gl, tr, dr, bl, pl, vl*—quite opposed to Bantu canons, though there is often etymological proof that these collocations are due to the slipping out of a short vowel between the *k* and the *l*, the *ɸ* and the *l*, &c., and that this un-Bantulike feature in this group may be of recent development. There is considerable nasality of vowel pronunciation, but the vowels are usually of broad 'Italian' quality, and such sounds as *ö, a, or ü* seem to be absent. The roots tend to become monosyllabic either by dropping the second syllable or by the loss of the middle consonant and the fusing of the two vowels.¹ Sometimes it is the first vowel that is elided, as in **Glo**, 'six' (derived from **Gwlo**, **Hwlo**); in **Blw**, 'we' (from an older **Balw**); **-vla**, 'ten' (in composition), from an earlier form **-vula**, which in No. 257 is reduced to **-vu** (**Le-vu**) for the numeral 'ten', and to **-vla-** for 'decade', though it is also heard as **-vula**. Some use is made of the tones ` and / in conveying a distinction of meaning between roots.

The prefixes in these languages are numerous and for the most part assume forms similar to those of the Bantu family. In all four members of this group No. 2 prefix (**Ba-**, **Be-**) seems identical in form, meaning, and application with No. 2 in the Bantu list. No. 1 answers to the Bantu **Mu-** in signification, and, as in Bantu, Nos. 1 and 2 are chiefly connected with mankind and the larger beasts. But in prefix form No. 1 is chiefly **Ō-**, **Ū-** (**Nw-** in 260), and only in its concords (**nu**, **nw**) suggests any descent from the pristine **Ngumu**. The 5th prefix is Bantu in form (**Li-**, **Le-**, **Di-**, **Ni-**, &c.), but its plural (6) does not get nearer to the Bantu **Ma-** than **A-** and **Ba-**. In 257, 259, and 260, Nos. 7 and 8 (**Ki-**, **Ke-**; pl. **Bi-**, **Be-**) are Bantu in type. No. 10 in Nyañgbō-Tafi is **Si-**, **Ti-**, **Te-** and may correspond with the **Ti-**, **Te-** plural prefix in Group A (S-B.) of the Semi-Bantu and with the **Zi-**, **Ti-** of Bantu. There is a **Ka-** in these languages, sometimes a diminutive and sometimes both singular and plural, which may answer to the Bantu

received full vocabularies of the **Lefana**, **Santrokōfi** (**BalĒ**), **Avatime** (**Kedia** or **Kedeā**), and **Nyañgbō-Tafi** languages (Nos. 257, 258, 259, and 260). Their geographical distribution is pretty much that given on page 749 of Vol. I. Captain Mansfield adds these further particulars: 'The region where these languages are spoken is in the Misahöhe district. . . Lefana or Bwem and Santrokōfi are situated in the northern portion of the district; Avatime in the centre. Nyañgbō-Tafi forms two divisions, one situated on the eastern boundary of the Kpandu district, and another branch farther east at Agu. During the general migration from Nuacha, some two hundred years ago, the family split up and took up the positions above stated'.

¹ So often are the roots monosyllabic that it is not easy to trace with certainty their affinities with the disyllabic roots of the Bantu.

13th Class; there is a **Bu-**, **Bw-** in 259-60 that may be the Bantu 14th prefix; and throughout this group there is a **Ku-** (**Kw-**) prefix that fulfils much the same rôle as the 15th prefix in Bantu, even to being the infinitive prefix in the verb conjugation. In 259-60 the Bantu locative 16th prefix seems to be represented by **Fa-**, and the 17th by **Ni-**, **Ne-**, and **-me**, **-ni**. In 259-60 and possibly 257-8 there is a suffix **-bi** which is used as a diminutive and seems to correspond with the 8a prefix of the Bantu family and to be identical with a root meaning 'child'. The principle of the concord exists in these Tŏgŏland languages as fully as in Bantu; though only in No. 258 is the concord particle used infixially. I have already referred in the notes following the vocabularies of this group to the practice obtaining in Avatime (259) and perhaps also in Nyañgbŏ-Tafi of making compound names or nouns by retaining the prefix of the second of the two nouns and suppressing that of the first; as, for example, 'king's stool', **Li-kusigbŏ**, from **Ū-kusi**, 'king', and **Li-gbŏ**, 'stool'. In Nos. 259 and 260 much use of concord suffixes is made, in addition to prefixes, especially for emphasizing the difference between singular and plural.

Among the noun-roots that indicate affinities between Group I (S.-B.) and the Bantu and other Semi-Bantu languages are the following, to which I shall add separately the new words supplied by Major Jackson and Captain Mansfield:

Vugŏ, 'ape', 259 (151 a; 227; 94, 189); **-bŏ**, **O-nu-bŏ**, 'arm', 257 (the universal **-bŏkŏ** root of Bantu); **-bura-bi**, 'arrow', 257 (20, 141, 176, 153, and the **-fula**, **-kfula** root); **-tutŏ**, 'arrow', 257 (118, 119); **-tre**, 'arrow', 259 (56-56 b, 70); **-fe**, 'axe', 258 (243); **-lŏmā**, 'axe', 257 (3 b, 73); **-dŏzi**, 'baboon', 259; **-ma**, **-mma**, 'back' (the **-uma** root); **-bedie**, 'banana', 257 (4); **-tami**, 'beard', 259 (247; 168); **-bu**, 'bee', 259 (217, 218, 219); **-pŏ**, **-wŏ**, 'belly', 259, 257 (9 c, 12, 14-27, 57-9, 61, 73, 77, 109, 147, 194; 229, 247, 251); **-futu**, 'belly', 258 (4, 211, 218; 242); **-yame**, **-yeme**, 'belly', 260, 259 (16, 27, 37; 240, 239, 255, &c., and words for 'womb'); **-nsil**, 'bird', 258 (**-jila**, **-sila** root in Bantu); **-ŏtŏ**, **-siŏtŏ**, 'body', 258 (56, 83, 87, 89, 90, 120, 136, 149, 153, 157, 164-6, 175-8, 187, 189, 190, 194, 226; 248, 250, 261, &c.); **-kubi**, **-kufi**, **-hŏa**, 'bone', 257-60 (the **-fupa** root); **-ta**, 'bow', 257 (nearly all Bantu for 'bow' or 'gun'); **-yawī**, **-yaba**, 'bowels', 259, 260 (248, 259); **-tukpŏ**, 'brains', 259 (226, 14; 240); **-te**, 'breast', 'chest', 258 (98, 225, 157; 230); **-ñwa**, 'brother', 257 (252 and the **-kwa** root); **-nemi**, 'brother', 259 (150); **-dzya**, 'brother', 260 (230, 255); **-nŏbŏ**, 'cat', 259 (273); **-kusi**, 'chief', 259 (14, 15, 18 to 75 b: the **-gŏsi** root); **-nuvŏ**, 'child', 259-60 (162); **-di**, 'cloth', 257 (229); **-bula**, 'cloth', 258 (35, 62, 76, 71; 273); **-se**, **-si**, 'country', 259-60 (the **-si** root in Bantu); **-gume**, 'cow', 259 (the **-gŏma** root: 6, 12, 15, 19 to 76, 120, 226; 237, 238-46); **-le**, **-deke**, 'crocodile', 259-60 (152); **-mei**, 'day', 257 (33 a); **-muze**, 'daylight', 260 (the **-esi** root, and especially 23, 29, 51; 253); **-lekpŏ**, 'devil', 260 (94); **-wewe**, **-woewoe**, **-bu**, 'dog', 257, 258, 260 (the **-bwa** root in Bantu); **-pupŏ**, 'door', 259-60 (120; 250); **-yaku**, 'door', 257 (1, 2 a, 4, 7 a, 43 a, 57-61 b); **-tu**, **-tŏkŏ**, 'ear', 257-60 (the **-tu** root in Bantu, and specially 126; 248); **-dze**, 'egg', 259 (the **-ki** root in Bantu); **-bi**, 'excrement', 258 (the **-bi** root in Bantu and in 234, 240 c, 241); **-mui**, 'fat', 257 (228 a-244 a); **Tete**, **-ti**, 'father', 257-8 (the **-tata** root in Bantu); **-nūmi**, 'finger', 257 (139, 141, 188); **-woe**, 'finger', 260 (33, 48, 50, 55, 63; 256); **-tŏ**, 'fire', 258 (**-ŏtŏ** root); **-fu**, 'fire', 259-60 (120, 121, 187; 267); **-gba**, 'foot', 257 (146, 148, 150, 209; 244, 245, 247 a, 266); **-pŏ**, 'forest', 258 (249, 263); **-futu**, 'forest', 260 (240; 5, 98, 119, 120, 176, 180, and the **-sītu** root); **-kŏ**, **-kukŏ**, **-kŏkŏ**, 'fowl', 257-60 (the **-kuku** root in Bantu); **-pŏtrŏ**, 'frog', 257 (94; 263); **-se**, 'goat', 257 (249); **-wawa**, 'grandparent', 258 (3, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 42, 35, 38, 26; 230, 251, 257); **-hūi**, 'grass', 260 (1, 2 c-19, 39 a); **-kotŏwa**, 'ground-nut'; **-tŏnu**, 'guinea-fowl', 259 (157); **-ñuene**, **-ñuni**, 'hair' (the **-yuwiri** root in Bantu, and specially 208-9; 230, 236, 237, 253); **-sa**, **-sē**, 'hair', 258-60 (244, 241, 250); **Kŏnu**, **-nu**, 'hand', 257 (the **-kŏnŏ** root in Bantu); **-klise**, 'heel', 259 (248; 151, 90); **-ja**, **-jani**, **-sa**, 'husband', 257-8 (273, 274); **-nyime**, **-nyie**, 'husband', 259-60 (the **-nume**, **-lume** root); **-giti**, 'hyena', 257 (7 a, 107, and the **-fisi** root); **-gūdū**, 'hyena', 259 (43 a, 57, 84-6, 98, 99; 263); **-ñkŏ**, 'knee', 257 (255); **-sika**, 'knife', 257 (194, 3); **-nugu**, 'lips' and 'mouth', 259 (145, 146, 149, 151 a, 155 a; 230); **-hūi**, 'magic', 259 (204 and **-cawi** root); **-na**, 'man', 257 (204; 227, 249, 250, 267, 273); **-nŏ**, **-nŏ**, 259-60 (239 b, 241, 261); **-nana**, 'man, vir', 257 (3, 57, 59, 60, 61-61 b, 206; 273); **-noñku**, 'man, vir', 257 (9 c, 124, 214; 228); **-nyime**, 'man, vir', 259 (**-lume**, **-nume** root); **-nŏnye**, 'man, vir', 260 (69, 70, 71 f, 73, 74); **-vŏ**, **-fa**, **-wŏa**, 'medicine', 257-60 (230, 232, 233; 71 f); **-nye**, **-nya**, **-nugu**, **-lugbu**, 'mouth', 257-60 (all Bantu roots); **-fiŏ**, 'finger-nail', 257 (229); **-ñuŏwe**,

'finger-nail', 260 (27, 50-2); **-vokpɔ**, 'navel', 259 (98); **-lesi**, **-liši**, 'night', 259-60; **-sɔkɔsɔkɔ**, 'penis', 258 (74, 89, 131, 134, 140, 157, 159, 161, 164, 166, 204-6, 207, 221, 222; 253); **-ya'wi**, 'penis', 259; **-nyenye**, 'penis', 260 (226); **-tutu**, 'pigeon', 259 (32; 228, 230, 249); **-nantu**, **-kantu**, 'rain', 257-8 (85, 86; 227 c, 248); **-suba**, 'rain', 260 (4, 56, 69); **-fusu**, 'rat', 258 (74, 75 a, 111); **-kpɔfɔ**, 'rat', 258 (-puku root); **-kɔle** 'river', 258 (105, 121, &c.); **-nunsɔ**, 'shame', 258 (273); **-fɔnu**, **-hwɔnu**, 'sheep', 257 (91, 10, 211); **-fɔsɔ**, 'sheep', 258 (60, 61, 75, 51, 54); **-wesi**, **-bɔsi**, 'sheep', 259-60 (5 a, 6, 6 a, 37; 266); **-mampa**, 'shoulder', 257 (32, 108, 89); **-musi**, 'shoulder', 258 (21-21 e, 44, 61 a, b, 63, 64, 83); **-dǎ**, 'sister', 260 (21, 21 a, 75-75 b, 67); **-plekpa**, 'skin', 259 (55, 146; 263); **-fu**, 'sky', 259 (228, 230, 234, 236, 246, 249, 261); **-buene**, 'slave', 257 (19, 195); **-loñko**, 'slave', 258 (84, 85, 87, 86, 103); **-dɔkɔ**, 'slave', 259 (56 a, 71); **-lakpi**, 'snake', 257 (38); **-bi**, 'son', 259 (247 b, 267); **-kũ**, 'spear', 259 (the **-koñgɔ** root); **-kplɔ**, 'spear', 260 (the **-fula** root); **-ñũi**, 'star', 259 (134); **-bɔkũ**, 'stool', 257 (176, 206); **-fuɔ**, 'stone', 258 (17, 139; 230, 237); **-klǎ**, 'stone', 259 (246); **-hwe**, **-fi**, 'sun', 257-8 (228 a, 229 e); **-woe**, **-wũi**, 'sun', 259-60 (17, 80, 178, 180, 189, 198, 223, &c.); **-pi**, 'tail', 259 (51, 156); **-se**, 'tail', 260 (18, 24, 94, 151 a, 160); **-pɔsi**, **-kpɔtsɔ**, 'testicles', 259-60 (2-2 g); **-dɔ**, 'thing', 259-60 (-ntu root in Bantu); **-nyemi**, **-nemi**, 'tongue', 257, 259 (the **-limi** root); **-neke**, 'tongue', 260 (-laka root, 2 f to 150; 234); **-nyi**, **-nye**, **-ne**, 'tooth', 257-60 (248, 251, 254-5, 268 to 274); **-ji**, **-si**, **-se**, 'tree', 257-60 (the **-ti** root of Bantu); **-ni**, **-li**, 'water', 259, 260 (238, 239 b, 244, 240, 241, 254, 255); **-lɔku**, 'woman', 257 (11, 18; 239 b, 261); **-ledi**, 'woman', 'female', 257 (104, 26); **-kudi**, 'woman', 'wife', 257 (3, 3 b, 4, 9 a, 9 c, 11, 37; 234); **-sañkɔ**, 'woman', 'female', 258 (42); **-dze**, **Ka-dze**, 'woman', 259 (the Bantu **-ti**, **-bi**, **-zi** root, **-kati**, **-kati**, **-kazi**); **-leme**, 'womb', 258 (the **-leme** Bantu root for 'womb' and 'belly'); **-coeni**, 'firewood', 257 (the Bantu **-kuni** root).

The following are the additional noun-roots in **Lefana** (257) added to those given in Volume I :

A-lele, 'ant' (90, 91); **A-bɔbɔ**, 'termite' (259); **Kaku**¹, 'ape' or 'baboon'; **Kɔnu**, 'arm or hand' (the **-kɔnɔ** root of Bantu); **A-gya**^{*}, 'arrow'; **Kama**, 'back',¹ (78); **O-krotia**^{*}, 'banana'; **Wɔɔ-gyise**^{*}, 'beard'; **A-wiñ**^{*}, 'bee'; **Ka-fɔ**, 'belly' (the **-fu** root); **A-sɛ**, 'bird' (225, 230); **N-hugya**^{*}, 'blood'; **W-loñna**, 'body'; **Ka-gya-mi-ta**, 'bow' (the **-ta** root); **Ku-lilemũi**^{*}, 'brains'; **W-hwani**, 'brother' (118); **A-kɔ**^{*}, 'buffalo'; **Bɔ-vǎ**^{*}, 'bull'; **Ka-sɔma**, 'buttocks' (134); **W-kɔrɔ**, 'canoe' (180); **Katon-mbui**^{*}, 'cat'; **A-fe**, 'charcoal' (191, 218); **W-ga**, 'chief'; **O-namu**^{*}, 'child'; **Omma**^{*}, 'country'; **O-nañtwi**, 'cow', 'ox' (255, 256); **O-deñke**, 'crocodile' (152; 263); **Li-meyi**^{*}, 'day'; **Koyu** and **Ku-kpuidi**^{*}, 'devil', 'evil spirit' (193, 186, 100); **U-vɔne**^{*} and **Ku-vɔ-ɔ-blane**, 'doctor'; **A-kprewe**^{*}, 'dog'; **Ke-gbuta**, 'door' (248); **Le-nañgye**^{*}, 'dream'; **Li-bi**, 'drum' (217); **Le-vala**, 'egg' (159, 164, 94); **A-tfũ**^{*}, 'elephant'; **Le-kɛ**^{*}, 'excrement'; **A-nimi**, 'face' (162; 230); **Le-mueñ**^{*}, 'fat'; **Bɔ-yia**, 'fear'; **Le-nimi**, 'finger' or 'toe' (141); **W-gya**, 'fire' (148 a and the **-pya** root); **N-tuke-mɔ-lena**, 'fish'; **Le-kuñmbiɔ**^{*}, 'forest'; **A-kɔkɔ**, 'fowl' (the widespread **-kuku** root); **N-kpine**^{*}, 'ghost'; **N-leku-bi**^{*}, 'girl'; **Li-nɔ**^{*}, 'grass'; **A-katũa**^{*}, 'ground-nut'; **Ku-treyi**^{*}, 'guinea-fowl'; **Li-hwini**, 'hair' (6, and the **-wili**, **-wiri** root of Eastern Bantu); **N-tu**^{*}, 'heart'; **Ke-tɛti**, 'heel' (the **-tinti** root, 123 to 222; and also 189 and 267); **De-buɔ**, 'hide' (150); **Ka-biñkui**, 'hill' (149); **Ke-tu**^{*}, 'hippopotamus'; **N-hwɔ**^{*}, 'honey'; **Ka-duili**, 'house' (90, 91, 34 a); **Kɔ-kǎ**^{*}, 'hunger'; **W-gya**^{*}, 'husband'; **Le-bula**, 'iron' (26, 162, 78, 79, 124 to 136, 162); **Le-koñkɔli**, 'knee' (15, 22, 125; 253); **E-nyekuli**^{*}, 'lips'; **A-kɔla**, 'magic' (94, 96, 52); **A-tukɔ**, 'maize'; **N-kyuri**, 'man'; **W-gya**, 'man, vir' (the **-iala** in Western Bantu); **Le-na**^{*}, 'meat'; **Kɔ-buli**, 'moon' (12, 223; 269, 270, 272, 273); **Kɔ-bi** or **Kɔbi**, 'mountain'; **Le-nyi**, 'name' (245); **Le-ku**^{*}, 'navel'; **Li-mɔ**^{*}, 'neck'; **E-wuñ**, 'nose' (the **-puna**, **-punu**, **-pula** root of Bantu); **Nantwi**, 'ox'; **Bu-ilei**, 'paddle' (103); **O-yuku**, 'penis' (74, 89, 134, 157, 166, 204 to 222); **Ke-sũi**^{*}, 'place'; **I-mma**^{*}, 'salt'; **Kɔ-fa**^{*}, 'shame'; **O-foñkpañ**, 'shield'; **A-mañgba**, 'shoulder' (32, 108, 226); **O-nleku-bi**^{*}, 'sister'; **O-loñǎ**, 'skin' (17, 71, 40); **Kañya**, 'sky' (34, 37, 38, 52); **Tɛ**, 'sleep' (*perhaps* the **-toñgɔ** root); **N-bi**^{*}, 'son'; **Ō-nũ**^{*}, 'song'; **Le-tula**, 'spear' (155 a; 270); **N-te**^{*}, 'spirit'; **U-gyi**, 'stick'; **O-fɛ**^{*}, 'sun'; **O-kra**, 'tail' (? **-kila** root); **I-mi**^{*}, 'tear'; **A-gonbe**, 'testicles' (157 a; and the **-pumbu** root); **N-yũ**^{*}, 'thief'; **Li-buli**, 'thigh' (19 a, 56); **Le-la**, 'thing' (89, 94, 189); **Li-yũ**, 'thorn' (146, 200, 66, 195, 218, 219); **W-mũi**, 'to-day' (27 and the **-bũi** root of Group A); **Ku-madi**, 'to-morrow' (128); **Ku-gyee**^{*}, 'tree'; **N-ta**, 'twins'; **Kɔnɔ**^{*}, 'urine'; **Ka-noñko**^{*},

¹ In Vol. I **Kaku** is given erroneously as the equivalent of 'back'.

'vein'; Ke-p ω *, 'war'; U-leku, 'wife' (168; 252); Ū-fefe, 'wind' (the -pep ω root); Ūb ω -kpuine, 'witch' (67, 57); Ū-lalane*, 'witch'; U-leku, 'woman' (11, 18, 26, 104; 261); Ka-f \bar{o} , 'womb'; Le-kwañ, 'year' (161, 163); Ka-madi, 'yesterday' (189, 190, 157, 226; 230).

In the numerals of the new version (Jackson-Mansfield), Lefana has -wui for 'one'; I-ñine, 'four'; in addition to the roots given; and La-bowui for 'nine'. The plural forms of 'ten' are -vula, in preference to -vla. 'Hundred' is E-tianyō.

In the pronouns, Fula, rather than Fura, seems to be the right form of the 2nd person possessive; and, as already stated, the pronouns in the possessive case always precede the noun in Nos. 257, 259, and 260 (but not in No. 258). Wuna- is an alternative form with Nuna- for the 3rd person singular possessive. Bu- is used as well as B ω - for the 1st person plural nominative prefix; Bula- as well as Bura- for the 1st person plural possessive. Bi and not Ami is the substantive form of the 2nd person plural pronoun, 'ye'. There do not appear to be any pronominal infixes in Lefana, as there are in Santrokofi (258).

In the demonstratives, besides those already cited, there is the suffix -ni for 'that', and the invariable prefix Leni- for this demonstrative of the third position. The prefixial use of Le- in this respect recalls the same particle in Zulu and a few other Bantu tongues.

Amongst adjectival roots, besides those already given, we have:

-buie for 'bad'; Tont ω for 'black'; -inidi, 'good' (or -ini-); -endi or -en-, 'great'; -bii-, 'little'; -jōlō- or -jōlōlō-, 'long'; -nana and -gya-ni, 'male'; -noñ- or -noñ-ku, 'old'; -gyie-, -gyie-di, 'red'; -bu-, -bun-, -bun-di, 'rotten'; -krukui-, 'short'; -nwi-, 'sick'; -hwala-, 'white'.

Adjectives in Lefana seem when employed with a noun to take on suffixes which rather answer to the verb, 'to be', and imply 'it is'—red, white, good, &c. These suffixes are chiefly -di, -l ω , -ku, and -ni. Concord particles may also precede the adjectival root, though on this point there is some uncertainty. An adjectival root may be converted into an abstract noun by using the prefix Ūbu-. Example: Ūbu-ini-di = 'goodness'.

Among adverbs, additional to the list given in Volume I, are:

Kat ω , 'up, above, on top'; Asā, 'before'; Lemañkplō, 'behind'; Olōdi, 'below, down'; Ōjum, 'far'; Meni, 'here'; Nten, 'middle'; Bude, 'near'; Keyi, 'outside'; Um ω m ω and Pi, 'plenty'; Leem ω , 'there'; Wue?, 'where?'; Ūw ω !, 'no!'.

My former statement that there is no infinitive prefix to the verb ('to') is wrong. The infinitive prefix is Ku-.

Verb-roots new to my former list are:

b ω , -eb ω , 'come'; -ekr ω , 'cut'; -ahō, 'dance'; -te, 'give'; -du, 'kill'; -gyi, 'know'; -tōlō and -daya, 'leave off'; -wia, 'love'; -le and -kahō, 'sit, remain'; -nye, 'stand'; -yū, 'steal'.

The negative sense in the verb seems to be achieved in Lefana by the infixes -ta-, -te-, -la-, -le-.

In SANTROKŪFI (or Balé), 258, the newly-supplied or the amended noun-roots are as follows:

Ka-sakale*, 'ant'; Ba-bōbō*, 'termite'; K ω -ta, 'arrow' (see root for 'bow'); Kletia*, 'banana'; Wa-ke or Wake*, 'bee'; N-ton*, 'blood'; Wa-kas ω , 'bow' (206); Ū-sēē, 'brains' (144); Ū-bil ω , 'brother' (155); Le-tonbi, 'buffalo' (210); Le-poñkōbi*, 'bull'; K ω -k ω l ω , 'canoe' (180); Añ-lōvi*, 'cat'; A-kā, 'charcoal' (-kala root); Ū-bis ω *, 'child'; Ka-s ω *, 'country'; Nantsue (-sañk ω), 'cow, cattle'; A-boñsamu, 'devil'; Wewe, 'dog'; K ω -k ω l ω , 'door' (84, 155); Ku-kufu, 'door' (206-15); K ω -lafō, 'dream' (254, 255); Dibi, 'drum' (the -limbi root); Le-kōkō-fuō*, 'egg'; Toñ, 'elephant' (230, 232, 269, 271); Le-lape*, 'excrement'; A-nu, 'face'; Le-la, 'fat' (or Sie-lela) (92, 94, 119, 177-82); O-yeke*, 'fear'; Le-ne, 'finger' (the -nye root); Ū-toñ*, 'fire'; Se, Sina, 'fish' (256 and the -swi root); Ko-kpa, 'foot'; Le-p ω ku, 'forest' (57; 232, 274, 263; 76, 23-8); A-potōr ω , 'frog'; Kpi, 'ghost'; O-kla, 'ghost'; Ū-sañk ω -bi, 'girl'; Ka-bite, 'girl'; Ka-tiekpa, 'he goat'; P ω e, 'guinea-fowl'; Si-wini, 'hair' (the -wili root); Le-kpa-tikiti, 'heel'; Ku-kulōfōle, 'hide'; N-tu-kame-t ω , 'hippopotamus'; Le-wa, 'hoe' (186; 264, 260); Ba-wake, 'honey'; Di-tsuts ω *, 'horn'; Ka-p ω e, 'island'; Le-toñ-nye, 'ivory'; Le-f \bar{o} , 'lake'; Ū-p ω , 'lake'; Ka-kpatu, 'leg' (226, 34; 227, 269); O-kplele, 'leopard' (44 b, 153); Jata, 'lion' (267-8); A-nya-sibi, 'lips' (75-75 c); K ω -fa, 'magic';

Ω-tita, 'maize'; -suōtō, -ōtō*, 'man' (? the -ntu root); Kω-sa, 'man, vir' (2-6, 162); Ma-nyini, 'medicine' (234); Kuω, 'monkey'; Le-yōtω*, 'name'; Le-kō, 'navel'; Simō, Simrō, 'neck, throat' (230, 235, and the -tamω root); N-lōfō, 'oil palm'; Ka-yomfefe, 'paddle'; N-ta-fututu, 'palm wine'; A-kω, 'parrot'; A-bronuma, 'pigeon'; Ka-sieko, 'place'; Ka-tu, 'river' (the -tω root); Ka-kpe-abōsa, 'shield'; Ω-sañkω-bilω, 'sister'; Kω-lōkω, 'sky' (226 f); Ω-lanle, 'slave'; Se-tsyōsi, 'sleep' (79, 123, 86, 90-193); Kō-yō, 'smoke'; Ω-bi, 'son'; Ω-nu, 'song'; A-kplō, 'spear'; Ni-nuna, 'spirit' (162, 186, 193; 273); O-wōsω, 'stick'; Ku-fiñ, 'sun'; Ω-kan, 'tail' (244); N-numō*, 'tear'; N-tō-nile, 'testicles'; Ku-te, 'thigh'; Le-sa, 'thing' (200, 220; 228, 245); Si-wu, 'thorn'; O-kpla-lōmi, 'tongue' (the -limi root); N-tababi*, 'twins'; Kōsō, 'urine' (77, 98, 44 b, 21, 53, 61 b, &c.); Siku, 'vein' (73, 74, 175, 213; 228, &c.); Ka-kpe, 'war'; O-sōfō*, 'wife'; Olω-fōfōtō, 'womb' (4, 58); O-tu, O-tω, 'firewood' (see roots for 'fire'); Le-lēh, 'year'.

A second root for 'one' is -wiñ; for 'two' -nyō; for 'seven' Kuonsi. In the pronouns, Fō- is the nominative prefix of 'thou'; Nwō is a substantive form of the 3rd person singular, and Ω- is a verbal prefix, and -ñwō a terminal for the same person. Fe- is a verbal prefix for the 2nd person plural, and Be- for the 3rd person plural. Pete is an alternative root for 'all' (see Nos. 155 b, 157, 54; 253).

Among the adjectival roots not hitherto recorded are:

Kpile, 'bad' (229, and roots for 'black'); Wefe, 'black'; -sañkω*, 'female'; Yeke and Abe, 'fierce, sharp'; Sele, 'good' (68, 69, 28); Keke, 'little' (the widespread Bantu root); Jontsyrow, 'long' (34, 178); Suōtō, 'male' (5, 148, 142, 181, 151, 2); Nōfu, 'old'; Sēle, Sē, 'red' (130, 178); Lale, Elale, 'rotten'; Finyē, 'sick'.¹

In adverbs, Ωsi is 'above'; Fiye, 'before'; Sema, 'behind' (99, 184); Kasa, 'below'; Ωtsyω, 'far'; and Nfu, 'here'; Kamenini, 'in, inside'; Ninte, 'middle'; Ωkakω, 'near'; Kayi, 'outside'; and Kpao! 'no!': in addition to the forms already cited. The negative sense is conveyed to verb-phrases by Ni-, Ninyi-, in addition (seemingly) to Ta-, Tan-, and -lω-. The infinitive particle with the verb seems to be Ba-, and not Ku-, as was formerly stated.

The missing or alternative verb-roots in my vocabulary of the first volume are:

-pe, 'beat'; -bri, 'cut'; -tuñ, 'dance'; -tab, -te, 'give'; -tsyeñ, 'go'; -tōfω, 'know'; -bonbω, 'love'; -die, 'leave off'; -nyū, 'see'; -sie, 'sit, remain'; -tsyasi, 'sleep'; -yila, 'stand'.

AVATIME or KEDIA (259) and NYANGBΩ-TAFI (260) are shown by the latest information to be even more nearly related than was surmised by me in the first volume. Their new or alternative word-roots might be taken together, with what discrimination may be necessary by the citing of their identifying numbers:

Nyanyra, 'animal or wild beast'; Ma-kada, 'white ants' (91, 199); O-pōe, 'arrow' (161; 230, and the -fwi root); O-dōsi*, 'baboon'; Kω-riati, Kω-diate, 'banana' (259); O-tame, O-tōme, 'beard' (260; 165); Ke-lōlōē, 'bee' (155; 230); Ka-dzωbi, 'bird' (259); Ki-sudza, 'body' (259); Bω-nyō, 'bow' (260); Ka-kōme (232), A-mō, 'breast, male' (260); Adja, 'brother' (260); Ω-hwē, Ω-fe, 'buffalo' (259); E-pi, 'buffalo' (260); Li-gume-nyime, 'bull' (175, 180; 236, 259); Nencω-edze, 'bull' (260); A-mlōpe, 'buttocks' (259); Ke-tsereta, 'buttocks' (260); Ω-pupu, 'canoe' (260); A-fōe, 'charcoal'; A-nivω, 'child' (260); Ke-pōte, 'cloth' (260; 199); Te-yōyω, 'cold' (260); Ke-pi, 'country' (260); Nencoe, 'cow' (260); Ke-wi, Ke-lisasa, 'day' (260); A-bōsam, 'devil'; O-wa-bite, 'medicine man'; Bω-lala, 'dream' (260; root for 'sleep'); Ke-kukω-dze, 'egg'; Ō-nyi, be-nyi, 'elephant' (244, 246, 247, 251, 254, 274); I-mi, Li-mi, 'excrement' (259); Te-pē, 'excrement' (260; 212; 229); Ke-wōhu, 'eye'; Añ-ume, 'face' (259); Ba-me, 'face' (260); Lubω, 'fat' (260); Ke-pa, 'fish' (260); O-tsede, 'foot' (260; 194, 78, &c.); A-ye, 'forest' (260); A-dzōbōli, 'frog' (259); Ke-vōbω, 'frog' (260); O-kpω, E-kpu, 'ghost'; E-pidza, 'goat' (260); A-ya, 'God' (259); E-ṣōpω-kusi, 'grandparent' (260); Siwa, Tewa, 'grass'; Ka-ṣoe, 'guinea-fowl' (260); Te-kā, 'hair' (260); Ka-hokpω, 'hand' (260); Li-klididi, 'heel' (259); A-fok-peji, 'heel' (260); Kpω, Ki-tsu, 'hide'

¹ I cannot find any trace of the use of concord particles in No. 258, preceding the adjectival root and connecting the noun-class with the adjective.

A-**mɔmu**, 'hill' (259); Ke-**pemme**, 'house' (259; 217; 234); Bu-**vu**, 'house' (260); Ku-**fe**, 'hunger'; A-**nōe-nyime**, 'husband' (260); A-**gbōtɔwe**, 'hyena' (259); Ki-**kuisi**, 'knee' (260, 228 a); Ke-**tsereta**, 'leg' (260); E-**flete**, 'leopard'; Ki-**nike**, 'lip' (260); **Bɔwa**, 'magic' (260); O-**nuse**, 'magic' (260); A-**nye**, 'man, vir' (260, 273); O-**nyime**, 'man, vir' (259); Bo-**mōli**, 'milk' (260); **Wolɔe**, 'moon' (260); Ke-**wɔfōnu**, 'finger-nail' (260); Ka-**yiesi**, 'navel'; Li-**tum**, 'night' (259); Li-**nyi**, 'nose'; Bu-**skenu**, 'palm wine'; Ō-**ka**, 'penis', 259 (53, 120, 41, &c.); O-**sekɔ**, Ō-**zakɔ**, 'place'; O-**nipɔ**, 'river' (?-**diba** root); **Timpɔ**, 'road'; **Kiwi**, 'shame'; O-**fesi**, O-**pɔsi**, 'sheep' (?-**buzi** root); Li-**klui**, 'shield'; Li-**ñfuadɔ**, 'shoulder'; O-**wudɔ**, 'shoulder'; **Tsupi**, 'skin' (260; the **-kupa** root); Li-**funu**, 'sky' (259); Ō-**doñku**, 'slave' (260); Ō-**no-dzidzi**, 'slave' (260); **Ñua**, 'smoke' (259); I-**se**, 'smoke' (260; the Bantu root); Ō-**fofwe**, 'spirit'; Ō-**ñusě**, 'spirit'; Ki-**si**, 'stick' (the Bantu root); Ke-**klagbu**, 'stone'; **Pami**, 'tear'; E-**wōme**, 'tear'; Ku-**kli**, 'thigh'; O-**ɔwti**, 'thorn'; Ke-**tsede**, 'toe' (260); Tu-**hweebi**, Ta-**peyi**, 'twins' (151, 166); Si-**mlu**, 'urine'; Bo-**šōšō**, 'urine' (260; the Bantu root **-kɔjɔ**); **Djōsu-yiyi**, 'vein'; **Fɔfɔne**, **Yōfoi**, 'white man'; O-**sōsɔ**, 'witch'; A-**nwe**, **-dzini**, 'woman'; **Lime**, 'womb' (104-6, 155 a, 189, 193, 24, 35, &c.); Li-**kpo**, Ke-**pō**, 'womb'; Kī-**ku**, 'yam' (14, 181, 209; 263); Ki-**vū**, 'yesterday'.

Among the numerals, there are new forms for 'eight'—**Gow'la** and **Falě**; for 'nine'—**Fafilōe**, **Gotōle**, and **Ekita**; for 'ten'—**Liyōfɔ**; for 'fifty'—**Afeeti**, **A-hōtu**, and **Avitetu**; and for 'thousand'—**Akpi** and **Tōle**.

The additions to and alterations in the pronouns are not important enough to be referred to here; they are taken into account in the chapter dealing with the Bantu pronouns. In addition to the other adjectival roots given in the first volume may be cited the following:

-**tutu**, 'black' (260; 23 a-25, 51, 35-8); **-yi**, **-eyi**, 'female' (260); **-nyrā**, 'fierce'; **-keme**, 'great' (260; 85, 86, 141, 29, 122); **-tri**, 'great'; **-gblagbla**, 'great'; **-plui**, 'little'; **-bōbōle**, 'little'; **-kususu**, 'little' (21 b-d, 13, 105, 162); **-dzolōlō**, 'long'; **-fumu**, 'rotten'; **Fuli**, 'white' (273, 229 e, 232, 244 a).

In adverbial roots, Ni-**leme**, 'inside'; **Epa**, 'near'; **Lede**, 'outside', are noteworthy. In addition to those already quoted, there are the following negative infixes in the Nyañgbɔ verb: **-ge-**, **-te-**, and **-ti**.¹ There appears to be a second infinitive prefix in No. 260: **Tō** (as well as **Te-**). And in the same language there are the following verb-roots not hitherto recorded:

-**neme**, 'beat'; **-dzii**, 'buy'; **-tsa** and **-te**, 'cut'; **-ve**, 'go'; **-ti**, 'know' (the **-isi**, **-tyi**, **-dzi** root in Bantu); **-pe**, 'love'; **-siesi**, 'sit'; **-dzō**, 'stand'.

The following general observations may be made on the four languages of this group:

The numerals in the roots for 'two', 'five', 'six', 'seven', 'eight', 'nine', 'ten', and 'twenty' depart more or less markedly from Bantu standards. 'Two' in Nos. 257 and 258 is **-nyō**, **-nyɔ**, a root not to be found in any other Bantu or Semi-Bantu tongue; but in Nos. 259 and 260, the more Bantu-like **-wa**, **-ba** is retained. The root **-kū**, **-kuō** for 'six' (258) slightly resembles the **Kɔwob** of No. 121; and the **-glɔ**, **Hɔlɔ** for 'six' in 259-60 may have a connexion with the **-sɔlu** of 237. Most of the words for 'seven' simply mean 'six-and-one', but the **Mate** of 257 is an unmatched root, unless it be in the **Madiambali** of 153. The **Gene**, **Gegene** of 260 seems quite isolated. 'Eight' in Nos. 257, 258 is expressed by the pluralizing of the 'four' root (**-ne**) after the fashion in Bantu, but in Nos. 259 and 260 it is represented by **Gō'wa**, **Gow'la** (for which I can find no affinities) and by **Asē**. This last may be related to the very similar forms in Nos. 166, 267, 269-72. The roots for 'nine' are peculiar, though in **Laloñwi** we seem to have an echo of numeral roots in the Ituri and Ruwenzori Bantu (Nos. 146, 149). The equivalents for 'ten' mostly belong to the **-bɔ**, **-pɔ**, **-vɔ** group of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu; but in Nos. 257, 259, and 260 we find in composition a **-vɔ**, **-vita**, **-fita**, **-fa** root—prominent in the formation of the decades below 'fifty' which seems to have no Bantu relationships.² 'Fifty' is evidently an important stage in counting in this group, for in 257 and 260 it is marked by special terms: **Liti** and **Hōtu**. **Hōtu** seems to be made

¹ In Avatime (Kedia) the sense of the verbal phrase is negated: by changing the tones of the syllables in the affirmative phrase; by the employment of the infixes already cited; and by using negative suffixes, **-te**, **-didɔ**, &c.

² Unless there be any connexion with the **-de-vulɔ**, **-le-vulɔ** of No. 38.

use of to build up phrases to express 'hundred' and 'thousand', though 258 has a special term—**Kōlafā** (? 'fifty-twice')—to render 'hundred'; and **Kakpe**, 'thousand'.

The most remarkable features about the pronouns in Group I (S-B.) are that No. 258 uses pronominal *infixes* for the objective case with the verb (as in most Bantu tongues), and that in Nos. 257 and 259 the possessive pronouns *precede* the noun they govern. The personal pronouns of the singular number mostly resemble Bantu roots; and in the 2nd person plural we have forms like **Miō**, **Wōnō**, **Ami** (259, 260, and 257) which might also be brought within Bantu categories. The syllables **Ba**-, **Be**-, **Bō**-, moreover, hang about the nominative or substantive forms for 'they' (also expressed by **Ama**, **Ma**). The demonstrative particles usually follow the noun to which they refer. The roots for 'all' recall Bantu forms, especially in North Congoland. Very few of the adjectival roots resemble Bantu, except **ledi**, 'female' (257) (which has relationships with 91, 198-9, 49, &c.), **nyime**, 'male' (269—the Bantu **lume**), **kuku**, **kōkō**, 'old' (259-60). Nor do the adverbs recall Bantu roots particularly, except that **Ka**- seems often to have a locative and especially an 'inward' signification (see Nos. 145, 152; 227, 263), that 'in' or 'inwardness' are also indicated by **me**-, **mō**-, and **ni**-, that the particles **ku**, **kō**, **fō**, **fā** seem to be associated (as in Bantu) with location ('here' and 'there'), and that **-fe** in No. 258 stands for 'where' (the Bantu **-pi**).

In the verb, we should note that the infinitive prefix in Nos. 257 and 259 is **Ku**-, used as in Bantu. In 258 it is **Ba**-, in 260 **Te**-, **Tō**-. The negative particles, prefixal and infixal, are not unlike Bantu forms. The verb-roots give one little chance to trace outside affinities as they are mostly monosyllabic. The syntax of the verb, however, is on Bantu lines, though differing tones are employed in addition to variable particles, to discriminate between the tenses.

GROUP J (S-B.): THE SOUTHERN SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGES

(Nos. 261, 262)

The principal member of this group—so far as interest in linguistics goes—is **BULOM**,¹ the ancient language of the Sierra Leone peninsula and the shores of the Rokel estuary. When the promontory of Sierra Leone—a corruption of the Portuguese 'Serra Leão' or the Lion Mountain chain (from the reverberation of the thunder in its flanks)—was first visited by Europeans, its native name was Bulom-bel, or the Bulom country; and Bulom was the sole or dominant language, extending its range (with dialectal variation) from about the mouth of the Skarsis river, on the north-west, to that of the Sulima river on the south-east. The expansion of Mandiño tribes coastward, the similar progress of the Temne people, the general upset caused by the British settlement of thousands of freed slaves on the Sierra Leone peninsula and coast, gradually wore out the westernmost dialect of the Bulom tongue so that nowadays it is scarcely spoken near Freetown. In the slightly different forms of 'Mampa'² and 'Sherbro' it still persists as the language of the coast region between the Sierra Leone peninsula and Sherbro island. East of Sherbro it merges into **KRIM** or **SOUTH BULOM** (No. 262). This, which should really be called 'Kirim', is the language of south-eastern Sierra Leone, from Turner's peninsula for about thirty miles back into the interior and eastward as far as the Sulima river, which is near to the Liberian boundary.

Bulom was, perhaps, the first of the Semi-Bantu languages to come under the cognizance of European philologists. As early as 1814 it was transcribed by a missionary, the Rev. G. R. Nyländer, C.M.S. But he adopted the barbarous orthography then in vogue in British circles, and was clumsy in his rendering of word-roots. A much clearer insight into Northern Bulom and the 'Mampa' dialect was given by

¹ The original pronunciation seems to have been pretty near 'Bulom', but to-day the tendency is to pronounce it 'Bulām' or 'Bōlām'.

² 'Mampa' is said to be merely the Temne name for Bulom-speaking people. 'Sherbro' is a foreign word of unknown origin.

Koelle when he wrote down his vocabularies in the 'fifties of the last century. I have found his rendering as usual very correct, allowing for the changes which have taken place since it was written down. More than sixty years after Koelle, Mr. Northcote W. Thomas, a government ethnologist, recorded a number of Bulom sentences in his treatise on the languages of Sierra Leone, and described the pronunciation and use of prefixes with some care. Lastly, for the purposes of this book, Mr. R. F. Honter, Director of Education in Sierra Leone, filled up vocabularies of Bulom and Krim. He has corrected the present writer's association of Mampa with Krim and pronounced it to be a dialect of 261. **Kirim** seems to be the more correct native name for the Southern Bulom language which I have numbered 262. The Mampa and Sherbro dialects must, therefore, be classed as 261, **NORTHERN BULOM**.

Both Nos. 261 and 262 are partial to monosyllabic roots with consonantal endings and the clipping or slurring of terminal vowels, which sometimes reappear in the syntax. Tones ' and ' are sometimes used to convey different meanings to roots otherwise similar. The terminal *t* in Bulom often becomes a true dental *ḡ*. An original *t* is frequently frayed into *tr* and *ts*. *B* is sometimes aspirated or is heard as *gb*. *F* transmutes constantly with *h*. Among vowel sounds is the *a* so often met with in Semi-Bantu, though it does not appear much in the vocabularies recorded in my first volume, where it is represented by the *ǎ* as well as the *a*. *E* in Bulom sometimes changes to *ö*.

The prefixes of 261 and 262, as they are spoken to-day, had better be restated according to the information transmitted by Mr. Honter :

261		262	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Nō (a personal prefix)	A.	Ka, —	Ma.
U.		Kō, Ku, —	Si.
I.	Ñ.	I, Di, —	Mō.
A.		Yi.	Si.
	N, Ñ, M.	A, —	Ta.
	Si.		Li.
	Ti.	Ma. (collective)	
	I.	Mō.	
	Li.	I.	Ti, —
	A.		I.

It will be seen by this table that the prefixes in the singular, especially, are more numerous in Southern than in Northern Bulom, where they have gradually been passing out of use. In fact, in the modern speech of Mampa and Sherbro, the prefix is usually only employed to indicate the plural of nouns. Its former use in the singular is, however, shown by the concord which is still used with adjectives, and sometimes with numerals, though not with possessive pronouns.

The following word-roots show some degree of relationship between the Bulom languages and Bantu or other groups of Semi-Bantu, I have added several which were absent from the vocabularies in the first volume :

·kañk, 'white ant' (263, 244; 175-8); ·yihen, 'ape'; Pia, 'arm, hand' (22, 125; 268); ·kant, ·kant, 'arm' (50, 53, 61-2, 72, 76, 146; and perhaps 263); ·wiliñ, 'back' (9, 24 c, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 35, 38, 58 a, 137, 145-6—the ·bele root); ·bana, 'banana' (263, 274); Polot, 'banana' (263); ·sai, 'beard' (166); Gbagbak, 'beard'; ·lō, ·lō, 'bee' (155, 194; 227 c, 230, 234, 236, 237); ·kun, ·kunne, ·kur, 'belly' (1, 69, 79, 74 b, 71, 71 f, 89; 263, 267-9); Puma, 'a belly-full' (see the ·pumō, ·vumō root in Bantu); Jal, Jan, 'body' (120, 175, 178, 184-7, 195-9, 211, 213-20; 248, 250); Kere, Ken, 'bow' (3, 211, 214; 234, &c.); Nrun, 'brains' (120; 227, 228); Kite, Kit, Ket, 'man's breast, chest' (267); Pintre, Pente, Pentse, ·pihain, 'brother' (263; the ·pañgi root); ·tot, ·tot, 'buttocks' (273); Purre, 'buttocks' (41, 42, 206; 242); ·Wom, 'canoe' (·gōma root, and 69; 230, 232); ·kuta, 'cloth' (263); ·pok, 'country' (159, 160, 164, 107); ·nā, 'cow, ox' (245, 255, 256, 263, 267); ·kiū, 'crocodile' (247 b, 263); ·pal, 'day', 'sun' (252; 28); ·bimbi, 'drum' (51, 135; 242, 232); ·nūi, 'ear' (237, 266,

267, 273, 274); **-pel, -pil**, 'egg' (104); **-fol**, 'eye', 'face' (69, 226; 251, 266, 273); **Dyom**, 'fire' (217-9; 236, 243, 244, 269-72); **-yu**, 'fish' (127); **-peñ**, 'foot' (235, 243, 244); **Tɔfoi**, 'forest' (248); **-sok**, 'fowl' (the **-kuku** root and 263); **Upūe**, 'grass' (19, 83, 98); **-kantr**, 'ground-nut' (207, 209, 211-13; 263-4); **-diriñ**, 'hair' (14, 57, 73, 74, 74 b, 148); **-pia**, 'hand' (18, 22, 42, 44 b, 225; 243, 268); **Bul, Bol**, 'head' (69; 247); **Gbol**, 'heart' (100, 116; 247, 247 b); **-bentañ**, 'heel' (264); **-kil**, 'house' (26, 24, 188; 274); **-luñk**, 'knee' (28, 54, 87, 87 a; 227, 227 a, 228, 229, 241, 245, 250); **-soñla**, 'lion' (263); **-nɔ**, 'man' (239 b, 241, 242, 248, 259, 260, 268); **-pɔ**, 'man' (75; 253); **-vis**, 'meat' (100-3, 110, 114, 120, 151, 162, 176, 219); **-kil**, 'monkey' (38); **-pañ**, 'moon' (268, 271); **-roñ**, 'mountain' (204); **-sentañ**, 'finger-nail' (263); **Ilil**, 'name' (226 and **-ina** root); **Tumak**, 'neck' (69, 70, 75, 76; 229 e, 263); **Culu**, 'night' (3, 3 b, 36—the **-lɔ, -ilɔ, -kilɔ, -kolɔ** root); **Min**, 'nose' (227, 228); **-pal**, 'parrot'; **Com, Kom**, 'penis' (155 a); **-pyur, -per**, 'pig' (9, 41, 42, 43); **-porr**, 'rain' (the **-pula, -vula** root); **-bel**, 'rat' (146, 153; 263); **-şal**, 'river' (2, 2 c, 5 a, 125, 129 a, 162, 166, 168, 175, 176, 178, 190); **L-ɔñkɔbe**, 'sheep' (205-6, 207-9, 213; 248, 263); **Korr**, 'skin' (25, 26, 27, 178, 9, 49, 211, 220; 231, 235, 273); **Tuke**, 'sky' (perhaps allied to the **-suku, -tuku** root for 'day'); **Lul**, 'sleep' (75 b, 121; 252, 263); **-gbim**, 'smoke' (176; 248, 263); **-kirr**, 'snake'; **-sor**, 'spear' (51 a, 139, 206; 263, 268, 274); **-pe**, 'stone' (the **-bwe** root); **-pal**, 'sun' (18, 75, 120, 152); **Du, Duinɔ**, 'thief' (218; 228, 244); **Latañ**, 'thigh' (263); **-rik**, 'thing' (155-61, 164, 178, 186, 100-1; 263, 273); **Muliñ**, 'tongue' (230, 247, 255, 274); **-cañ**, 'tooth' (the **-soñga** root, and 126; 229); **Turrt**, 'town' (5, 5 a, 54, 221, 225; 263, 264); **-pem**, 'war' (60, 204, and **-imbi** root); **-men**, 'water' (226; 250, 262, 263, 264, 271-3); **Lā, Lak, Lakan**, 'wife, woman' (11, 18, 32, 168, 202-3, 207; 239 b, 257); **-tok**, 'wood' (38; 248, 249, 251, 265, 274); **-nen**, 'year' (258, 263).

In the numerals, **-bul** for 'one' in 261 seems to have no relationship elsewhere; but the **-mō** (Yi-mō) of 262 may go back to the **-mu, -mɔ** root in Bantu. The **-tiñ** or **-reñ** for 'two' suggests an affinity with the **-ruñge** of 267-8 and the **-rañ** of 263. **-ra** for 'three' may come from an earlier **-ta, -tatu**. 'Four' is **-hiol** or **-hion** and quite isolated. 'Five' is **-men** or **-mön** in North Bulom and (in composition) in South Bulom; but in the latter language the commoner form is **-nuen**, which may be akin to the **-nyen, -nyan** of 269-72. Between 'five' and 'ten' the numeration is quinary. 'Ten'—**Wañ**—may be related to the **Bañko** of 273 and the **Kañgu** of 164. Counting after the first decade is by twenties, and the roots for 'twenty'—**Koñhō, Koñōnɔ** (261) and **Yip-yam** (262)—seem quite peculiar.

The pronouns of Bulom have affinities of a vague kind with other Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages. **Yañ**, 'I', suggests a relationship with the Bantu root **-añga, -añgu**. The other forms of the first person singular are based on **-mi, -me, -m**. 'We' is represented by a root **Hi, Hī, He**, which, *h* standing for *s*, may be related to the **Si, Se** of Bantu. The nominative verbal particle of 'we' is **Yi, Yin**. 'Ye, you' has **Nō, Nɔ** as a basis. 'Thou, thee' is represented elementally by **Mō, Mu**; 'he, him' by **Wō**. 'They, them' has **Ha** as a basis, with a suggestion that it was earlier connected with the syllables **Ŋa** and **Pe**.

The objective pronominal particles may sometimes be used infixally between nominative pronoun and verb-root.

'All' is rendered by **-leñ, -gbi, and Kpele**.

The demonstrative particles are either those given in the first volume, or, additionally, **-yen, -ki, -dɔ, or -lɔ, -kōne, and -we**. They follow the noun. The possessive pronouns are in the modern speech followed by a suffixed demonstrative, **-le** or **-e**. The personal pronouns seem also to be preceded by a demonstrative, **Ha-** or **H'**.

The infinitive prefix for the verb-root was stated in the first volume to be **Hale-**; but in the modern language this seems to be shortened to **Hä**. In Nylander's *Grammar* there is a suggestion that the preterite of the verb was formed by a suffix **-re**, similarly to the **-ire, -ile** of Bantu. The passive voice seems to be indicated chiefly by prefixing or infixing the syllable **pe**, which is possibly akin to the Bantu **-ba, 'to be'**. Negation of the verb was effected in the older language of the early or middle nineteenth century by the prefixes, infixes, and suffixes instanced on p. 745 of the first volume. At the present day, however, there are additionally other forms of negation: a suffix **-ni** or **-n** in 261 and an infix **-ma-** in 262.

GROUP K (S-B.): THE NORTH-WEST SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGES.

(Nos. 263, 264, 265)

The **TEMNE** language is the leading member of this important group—important for political reasons, as well as for a somewhat isolated position among the Semi-Bantu tongues. **BAGA** (264) and **LANDŌMA** (265), until quite recently, were only known to us through Koelle's vocabularies of sixty years ago. (A vocabulary of Baga has since been compiled by Mr. R. F. Honter for the purposes of this book.) They do not differ from Temne much more than dialectally; but both represent a less specialized type of speech, of great interest because retaining word-roots and phonology of a more 'Bantu' complexion.

The older pronunciation of 'Temne' seems to have been more like Tɪmǎnɪ, with the accent on the first syllable; another version is Timne, but on the whole 'Temne' answers best to modern pronunciation. The Temne people are usually a fine-looking type of Negro, with slightly lighter skin-colour than the Bulom, Mende, or Susu peoples of the coast. They are cattle-keepers, and from their traditions would seem to have migrated from the east, at the back of the Forest belt, sending in front of them the Landŏma and Baga tribes of darker skin-tint, who have colonized the coast region of French Guinea, north-west of the Sierra Leone frontier. Probably the whole history of the West African Semi-Bantu has been a western and southern migration from Central and Eastern Nigeria behind the Forest belt of West Africa, across the open, park-like country wherein cattle may be kept and horses ridden. Here and there this westward migration has sent forth tribes that have pushed their way towards the coast. Such have been the Bwem or South-west Tŏgŏland tribes, and the Temne-Landŏma-Baga stock; which has reached the sea between Sierra Leone and Portuguese Guinea. In this last-named region, and in the Eastern Gambia basin, the Semi-Bantu have been the dominant linguistic group, and here we meet with the final effort in this direction of the original migration-impulse of Proto-Bantu culture.

Temne has, by some philologists, been denied a classification as Semi-Bantu, though its resemblances on broad lines to the Bantu family were deduced by Bleek and others after the publication of Koelle's *Polyglotta*. Its seeming dissimilarity from the Bantu type of speech arose partly from its peculiar phonology, which, as often happens in an African speech-group, has pushed a preference for certain consonants or combinations of consonants (as well as for monosyllabic utterance) to such a degree that the pedigree of word-roots is frequently unrecognizable. But not only is the syntax of Temne extraordinarily like that of the Bantu family (though the likeness may not extend to the actual particles used), but a considerable proportion of the substantival, pronominal, and numeral roots have decided Bantu affinities, as my subjoined lists will show. Moreover, there is a clear relationship in word-roots with Bulom and Mampa, with Nalu, even, and with the languages of Portuguese Guinea and the eastern basin of the Gambia.

As already remarked, both Landŏma and Baga are less extreme in specialization than Temne, and if they could be more completely studied would serve even better than they do in my version of Koelle's collections to connect Temne with the rest of the Semi-Bantu speech-forms, and with the Bantu family.

The phonology of Temne is noteworthy for its preference for consonantal root endings, this clipping of the original final vowel of the disyllabic root making it nearly as monosyllabic as Bulom, though this feature is disguised to the ear by a much greater use and abundance of prefixes. Among the vowels there is a growing tendency to dull and obscure sounds. *A* is especially prominent, and the short *e* tends towards *ö* or even the French unaccented *e* in 'le', 'petit'. Mr. Northcote Thomas describes also a vowel sound in Temne which apparently derives from *a* and answers somewhat to the English *ɪ* in 'pin', 'pill'. This is something between *ɪ* and *ü*, and is figured as *ψ* in my *Phonetic Spelling*. I have heard the same sound (like the Welsh *y*) in Koñyāgi (274) of the Upper Gambia.

The *ð* labial is not liked as an initial consonant in Temne, and it is, therefore, often replaced by *ɸ* or

w, or elided before *-a*, which is why it commences no prefix except in Baga.¹ An original *t* changes frequently to *ʒ*, *ʒs*, or *c* in the languages of this group. In the dialect or central type of the Temne language which was so copiously illustrated in Schlenker's *Dictionary and Grammar*, *t* becomes nearly always *tr*. It is curious that this pronunciation was not recorded by Koelle in his transcription of Temne in 1854, nor is it noticed by those who have written down the language in recent times. Either Schlenker's Temne was a special dialect, not since illustrated, or he was mistaken in his hearing of this slurred pronunciation which seems more nearly rendered by *ʒs*.

The prefixes in Temne retain preprefixes as definite articles, though these are simply the tonic vowel of the prefix and bear no sign of special kinship to the preprefixes in archaic Bantu. The terminal vowels of the prefixes have a tendency to pass from *i* through *e* into a short *a*; that is assuming the correctness of my identification of Temne prefixes with Bantu classes, a deduction based partly on the form of the concord. Assuming this identification to be just, we may say that the Temne Group dislikes *m* nearly as much as *b*, as an initial consonant in the prefixes. The Bantu **Umu**, **Mu** becomes **Ūwə**, **Wə**, **U**, though one of the concords of Class 1—**kə**, **koñ**—may be a remainder of the **Ŋgu** element in the Proto-Bantu **Ŋgumu** (full prefix of Classes 1 and 3). The 3rd prefix is simply **A** (with one of its concords in the form of **ñi**); the 4th **E**, **Ye**, **Eya**, **Ya** in its Baga and Temne forms, lacks altogether any trace of the Bantu **Mi**. Similarly, there is no trace of *b* in the 2nd, the 8th, or the 14th prefixes. Though the 5th prefix is occasionally **I**, and under some conditions has a concord of **ri**, **di**, or **tj**, its form mainly resembles the Bantu **Di**, **Li**, **Ri** in its alveolar consonant. The 6th (**Ama**, **Ma**) is very like the Bantu 6th in form. Occasionally it or its concord takes the form of **ña** (also **Na**), which recalls the Bantu **Ŋga**. The commonest form of No. 7—**Aka**—makes identification difficult with the corresponding Bantu class because of its change of the tonic vowel from *i* to *a*; though in one of its concords, **ki**, and in its Landoma version, **Ke**, we may have a clue to its ancient identity. The same thing occurs in the **n**, **ñ**, **ni** concords of No. 9 which, while **Iña**, **Aña**, **Añai**, **An** in Temne, can be simply **N** and **Ñ** in 264, 265. No. 10 is usually in Temne **Ata**, **Atra**, **Tra**, but in the other two languages of the group (as well as in Temne) it is **Tse**, **Ce**, **Se**, **S'**, and **S**, which is more reminiscent of the Bantu forms of No. 10. The 11th prefix (**Ru**, **Rə**) answers in form to the Bantu **Du**, **Lu**, but is only or mainly prepositional in Temne in the sense of 'to', 'at', and partly takes the place of **Ku**—as indeed it does in some of the Central Congo languages. No. 12 (**Tu**) seems to be entirely absent, unless it is represented by the **Ta**, **Tu** prefix which in 264 and 265 is used in the sense of No. 10. The 13th—**Kā**—persists only as a locative, meaning 'in'; a use found also in languages Nos. 145, 152, 217, 227, and 248. The 15th prefix (**Ku**) is absent; unless it lives in the 7th **Ka**, which takes its place with infinitives. The **Ū**, **Od** which I have put in its place as a locative may only be another form of No. 11. The 16th—**Apa**, **Pa**, resembles in sound the 16th prefix in orthodox Bantu, but not in sense. It is not a locative, and is used mainly as a plural, sometimes as a collective. It may be the survival of the Bantu **Aba**, with its *b* changed to *p*. There is another **Pa** prefix, but this is identical with a 'father' root and is used only as an honorific and masculine classifier; with a corresponding **Na** for the feminine and feminine honorific. Both come very near to furnishing Temne with sex distinctions, but, as in Bantu, the scheme is not carried through the syntax by means of corresponding concords and pronouns. **Ba**, which is denied any position akin to the 2nd prefix of Bantu, serves as a prefix (without corresponding concord) indicating 'children' in the singular number, with **A** for its plural. (This may be only a feature of Baga.¹) It is probably derived from a root traceable in the Sudanic families of speech, meaning 'child'. Finally, there is a change from singular to plural in nouns of the Temne Group which is no more than the change of the initial consonant—*d* to *s*, *w* to *c*, *k* to *ʒ*, leaving one in doubt as to whether it be a change of prefix or an inflexion of the root.²

The following is a selection of word-roots from Temne, Baga, and Landoma, which would seem to afford proof of the Semi-Bantu character of the Temne Group, apart from syntactical features; besides exhibiting its more distant affinities with the Bantu family. The word-roots below have been spelt—

¹ In Baga (264), **Ba** is a singular prefix associated with words for 'child', 'children', 'son'. **Ba** in Baga answers to **Wa** in Landoma and Temne.

² Example: **K-unt**; **t-unt**, 'charcoal'; **W-ir**; **c-ir**, 'goat'.

regards Temne—more in accord with the modern pronunciation, yet without attempting to follow every dialectal variation :

-loñk, 'arm' (235); **-bap**, 'axe' (41, 44 b, 52, 100, 157, 161; 253); **-ek**, 'beard' (227, 266); **-or**, **-kor**, 'belly' (261); **-cir**, **-tir**, 'blood' (perhaps the **-kila** root); **-banta**, 'bow' (73 a, 87, 101-3, 200-5, 109); **-wont**, **-want**, **-wenc**, 'brother' (261-2); **-bai**, **-be**, 'chief' (14, 187; 232, 240, 261); **-an**, 'child' (the **-ana** root); **-lent**, 'child'; **-fet**, 'child'; **-lotw**, 'cloth', 264 (14, 148); **-kwī**, 'crocodile' (261); **-sel**, 'crocodile'; **-rei**, 'day' (273); **-sok**, 'day' (**-suku**, **-siku** root); **-yañ**, 'day' (248; 5 a R.); **-jara**, 'doctor' (111; 267); **-suñga**, 'door' (232); **-kuma**, 'door' (206-15); **-mes**, 'egg' (139); **-rañk**, 'elephant' (271); **-nin**, 'excrement' (94); **-for**, 'eye' and sometimes 'face' (69; 261); **-ruñ**, 'face' (89, 90, 105 a, 125, 162, &c.); **-der**, **-er**, 'face' (250); **-gboñgw**, 'foot' (9, 9 c, 27, 55, 100); **-tswgw**, **-cōkw**, 'fowl' (the **-kuku** root); **-rombi**, 'he goat' (56, 193; 264); **-tof**, 'ground' (5, 7, 32, 37, 49, 55, 56, 104, 210, 214, &c.); **-bomp**, **-bump**, 'head' (192); **-būt**, **-būb**, 'heart' (100, 116; 247, 247 b, 261); **-tim**, 'heart', 264 (the Bantu **-tima**); **-benta**, 'heel' in 264 (261); **-tsala**, **-trala**, 'hoe' (249, 261, 267); **-ba**, 'hoe', 264 (186; 259, 260); **-set**, **-setb**, 'house' (267); **-nde**, 'house', 264 (142, 143, 144); **-lw**, 'house', 265 (241, 246, 252); **-wos**, 'husband' (the **-gwsī** root); **-sulugu**, 'hyena' (43 a); **-fat**, **-fats**, 'iron' (266); **-buñ**, 'knee' (121 to 225; 243, 255); **-rañk**, **-liñk**, 'leg' (4 a, 5 a, 64 a, 65, 69-71, 75, 150; 249, 267); **-tek**, **-tsēk**, 'leg', 264, 265 (225); **-soñala**, 'lion' (261); **-yari**, 'lion', 264-5 (1, 2, 3); **-fim**, **-fum**, **-fam**, 'man' (**-pami** root); **-kar**, 'monkey', 264 (184, 161; 237, 248); **-of**, 'moon' (229 e, 230, 245); **-roñ**, 'mountain' (204); **-santak**, **-santuk**, 'finger-nail' (261); **-es**, 'name' (245, 273); **-tewe**, 'name', 264 (38, 24-5); **-sok**, 'neck' (27, 226); **-bi**, 'night' (**-fine**, **-pine** root); **-kul**, 'nose' (**-ulw**, **-zulu**, **-pula** roots); **-na**, 'ox' (6 a; 254, 258, 261); **-runi**, 'penis' (5 a, 6, 6 a, 78, 79, 80, 92 b, 129, 145, 150; 227); **-lempe**, 'penis' 264 (155 a, 17 d); **-sop**, 'pig' (248 and **-sombw** root); **-pøgi**, 'pigeon' (74, 151 a; 261); **Der**, 'place' (4, 21-2, 25, 26, 34); **Kom**, **-om**, 'rain' (69, 161; 229, 243); **-bon**, 'river' (253); **Roñ**, 'road' (244, 252, 273); **-bia**, 'road' (148, 150, 153; 234 and **-pita** root); **-lōme** and **-loñgōme**, 'sheep' (261 and perhaps 205-6, 207-8-9, 213; 248); **-gañgasia**, 'sheep', 265 (266); **-kiñkila**, 'shoulder' (272); **-bantsa**, **-banca**, 'shoulder' (118, 218; 273); **-der**, 'skin' (71, 73, 74; 268, 269-72); **-zeka**, 'skin' (39, 40, 55, 146, 166); **-kuru**, 'sky', 264 (the **-guru**, **-zulu** root of Bantu); **-kanu**, 'sky', 265 (34, 37, 38, 52, 69); **-rant**, **-riana**, 'sky' (253, 267); **-tar**, **-tsar**, 'slave' (56, 57, 89, 71; 269); **-dira**, 'sleep' (75 b, 121, 184; 261); **-kimo**, 'smoke' (176; 248, 261); **-leñ**, **-len**, 'song' (273); **-gbasa**, 'spear' (266); **-sor**, 'spear' (51 a, 139, 206; 261, 268, 274); **Kos**, **-os**, 'star' (the **-ōtw**, **-twtw**, **-ōta**, and **-ywtw** roots, and specially Nos. 104 to 168; and 273); **-sar**, 'stone' (the **-tari** root in Bantu, and Nos. 253, 256); **-ret**, **Det**, **-et**, 'sun' (28, 43 a, 52, 53, 73, 74, 74 b, 100, 132; 242 b); **-teñ**, 'sun', 'sunlight' (2 f, 75, 67, 85, 86, 88, 90, 100-3, 119, 120, 123, 181); **-lañk**, 'thigh' (5 a, 6, 6 a, 9 c, 75; 261); **-non**, **-nañ**, 'to-day' (244, 261); **Megw**, **Mōkō**, 'to-day' (27, 131); **-sal**, 'toe' (2 g, 5, 7, 11, 16, 19, 50, 120, &c.); **-mer**, **-mir**, 'tongue' (193; 238, 240, 241, 250); **-sik**, **-sek**, 'tooth' (the **-gegw** root, and specially 2 f, 3, 4, 12, 16, 45, 90, 156, 193, &c.); **-petr**, **-pet**, 'town' (18, 96, 97, 98 a, 100, 108, 114, 119, &c.); **-dadi**, **-radi**, **-rare**, 'town' (261); **-tog**, **-tok**, 'tree' (261, &c.); **-bari**, **-biri**, 'twins' (remarkable roots, obviously from the **-bari** and **-biri** roots for 'two'; which are non-existent in the Semi-Bantu outside Group A (S-B.), but which may have been preserved in the sense of 'twins'); **-sōte**, **-sōbe**, 'urine' (273); **Danta**, **-ranta**, 'vein' (234, 271, 272); **-cim**, 'war' (2 e, 209, 210, 213, 215; 250); **-fa**, 'war' (11, 185, 186, 191, 194, 212, 218-19); **Mant**, **Mantr**; **Mants**, 'water' (the **-dzi**, **-nzi**, **Manzi** root); **-mun**, 'water' (261); **-lamp**, **-limp**, 'well' (42, 75, 217, 219); **-rani**, 'wife, woman' (206, 61 a, 21; 238); **-fef**, 'wind' (the **-pepw** root); **-ser**, 'witch' (121, 146, 5 a); **-bera**, 'woman' (17, 18); **-ren**, 'year' (258, 261).

There is only one noteworthy resemblance in adjectival roots, and that is **-fera**, 'white', which belongs to the Bantu series, **-ela**, **-era**, **-gera**, **-tela**.

The concord particles are employed with the adjectival roots just as they are in Bantu.

In the numerals there are some affinities that are worth noting. The **-in** root for 'one' resembles that in Nos. 230 and 252; **-rañ** for 'two' is altogether aberrant, though it offers some suggestion of resemblance to the **-tiñ**, **-reñ** of Bulom and Mampa; **-sas** for 'three' not only recalls one of the 'trinal' roots in No. 273, but still more so the **-satu** (sometimes **-sasw**) root in Bantu. The **-ñle**, **-ñere**, **-ñgele** root for 'four' (probably from an older **-ñgene**) is not very easily connected with the Bantu; though there are

some intermediate forms, such as the *.gena*, *.geni* of Nos. 148, 148 a, and 150.¹ 'Five' in the Temne Group seems to show its archaic Bantu form in the *tsan* of Landõma (265). In Baga and Landõma it is *-tamat*, *-tsamot*, which may be composed of two roots: *-tsa(n)* and *-mot*, i.e. 'five' (or 'fist'), 'one'; and this in turn may have been worn down into the Temne *-amāt*. 'Ten' is expressed in Temne and Baga by *-fatr*, *Tõ-fot*, and *-fats*, which quite possibly may be connected with the Bantu roots for 'ten' in Nos. 137, 148, 154, 188, 216, 226; and 259-60. There is a second word for 'ten' in Baga: *Ucõ*. In Landõma, 'ten' is *Pu*, a root probably belonging to the widespread *-bõkõ* series. The Temne word for 'hundred' is *Keme*, which is very like the Bantu *Kama*. The *-gba* (*Kāgba*) root for 'twenty' in Temne has no traceable affinities elsewhere. Its plural is *Tāgba*, and the Semi-Bantu custom of reckoning in scores seems to obtain in Temne; but not in Landõma or Baga. The word for 'twenty' (*Ka-reku-ma-rañ*) in Baga would seem to reveal the existence in composition of another root for 'ten', *-reku*, which may be akin to the *Dikõ*, *Liku*, *Digi*, *-tuku*, *-tsigõ* of Congoland Bantu and East Africa (see Nos. 130, 175-8, 148, 151, and 36, 38).

The Temne pronouns have somewhat more of a Bantu semblance than is the case with Bulom. Temne agrees with orthodox Bantu in employing for the objective pronoun with the verb an enclitic particle. That for the 1st person singular is *-mi-*, not the usual *-ni-* or *-n-* of Bantu. The remaining forms of 'I', 'me', 'my' are quite in conformity with Bantu. On the other hand, the root form of the 2nd person singular seems to go back to a type *Mu*, which is only met with in Bantu in No. 89, in Semi-Bantu in Nos. 235, 252, 253, 254-5, and 261, but occurs in some of the Sudanic languages of Central Africa. The 3rd person singular in its substantive form, *Konõ*, recalls the full form of the Bantu demonstrative *Ngunu*, *Ngunõ*, the *Ngu-* portion of which seems to lie at the base of the Bantu *Yu* root for 'he'.² The original root for 'we', 'us' in Temne seems to have been *Su*, which is altogether Bantu, and similarly for 'ye', 'you', *Nyu* or *Nu*. On the other hand, the *Ba* root has been altogether expunged from the forms of the 3rd person plural, and its replacer *Na* comes from an earlier *Nga*, another of the original Bantu demonstratives. (See also 261 and 110, and the *Añga*—from *Bañga*—of 205-6.)

The personal pronouns still remain unknown in Landõma, save for the slight indications in Koelle's vocabulary. In Baga they seem to be as follows, from latest information:

- 1st pers. sing. *Ina*, *Cimi*; *I-*, *In-*; *-me*, *-mi*.
- 2nd pers. sing. *Mana* (?), *Mun-*; *Mu-*; *-muno*; *-am*, *-amu*.
- 3rd pers. sing. *Añkon*; *En-*; *ko-*; *-kon*.
- 1st pers. plur. *Seno*; *Ša-*; *-usu*.
- 2nd pers. plur. *Nana*, *Niañ*; *Na-*; *-unu*.
- 3rd pers. plur. *Na*; *Na-*; *-ña*; *-on* (?).

'All' in Temne is *Be*, which recalls the *-pe*, *-be*, *-ba* of 27, 54, 155 b, 157, 159; and 273. In Baga it is *Fop*, as it is in 274, and this root seems akin to the *Popa* of 273, the *Fafap* of 246, and perhaps the *-bubu* of 150 and 151.

Demonstrative pronouns in Temne chiefly follow the noun in the phrase, as is the common practice in Bantu. The demonstrative suffixes *-we*, *-ne*, *-e*, *-eñ*, *-añ*, *-ci* are not foreign to Bantu categories; nor is the demonstrative prefix *Kõ-*. With regard to the locative particles (prefixial, mainly) in the adverbs, *Ra-* (Bantu *La-*), *Rõ-* (Bantu *Lõ-*), *Ka-*, 'in', *Nõ*, 'here', *Dia*, *Ria*, *De*, *Re*, 'there', *Õ-*, 'at', they serve to accentuate the Bantu affinities of Temne.

There is much about the conjugation of the Temne verb which reminds one of Bantu. The root of the verb may be monosyllabic or disyllabic, or in three syllables, if it is in a modified or extended sense. The root ordinarily terminates in a consonant, because it is obviously derived from a two-syllabled form, from which the terminal vowel has been dropped. When this terminal vowel is retained it is commonly *-a*, but also *-e* and *-õ*. The root of the verb is—as in Bantu—equivalent to the 2nd person singular of the imperative; the 2nd person plural of this mood is rendered (as in Bantu) also by the root to which a suffix

¹ Besides the *-iyene* of 103, the *-yen* of 253, the *-ñgie* of 250.

² See also for comparison the *Õnõ*, *Õnu* of 141 and 2 f, the *Unũ* of 22, the *Õnõ* of 205-6, and the *Won* of 261.

(**-nañ** or **-noñ**) is added, this suffix answering to the pronoun 'ye' (similarly to the Bantu **-ni**). There seems to be no preterite suffix equivalent to the Bantu **-ile**; the imperfect past, the perfect and pluperfect are indicated by infixes placed before the verb-root; and a suffix **-nañ** corresponds to some extent with the sense of indefiniteness in past action, though this **-nañ** is also used for the subjunctive. The subjunctive is further indicated by a **Ta-, Tse-, Tra-** prefix to the nominative pronoun. The conditional is formed by a **-ci-** or **-ta-, -tra-** infix and a **-nañ** suffix; also by a **Be-** prefix, or by changing the terminal vowel of the verb-root (if any) to **-i**, or adding that **-i** to the terminal consonant. The future is rendered by the insertion before the verb-root of single or double infixes. There are participles or gerunds made by prefixing **Ka-** (as in the infinitive) or **Ū-** (pl. **A-**), or using the root-word only, or the root-word with **-an** suffixed. The negative sense is conveyed in Temne by using **-ce-** as an infix before the verb-root, or **-he (-fe)** suffixed to the verb-root (**-he** or **-fe** probably answers to the Bantu **-pe**); in Landoma the negative particle is the suffix **-fe** (or infix **-fe-**); and in Baga the infix **-ki-** and the suffix **-fe**. In Temne there is a negative verb, **-kaši**, meaning 'is not', 'not to be', which recalls Bantu forms. There are suffixial syllables added to the verb-root to modify its simple sense exactly after the Bantu manner, and in some cases these suffixes resemble those in use in Bantu. I cannot find any trace of a passive terminal syllable. The passive mood is rendered by the actual sense of the verb-root, or by a paraphrase. The reflexive sense of the verb is indicated by a suffix (not an infix) **-ne** or **-nene**; the only parallel to the Bantu neuter termination (**-ika**) is the change of the terminal vowel of the verb to **-e**; but the applicative terminal, **-ia, -ena, -ana, -na, -ar, -ā** is not far removed from the typical **-ila, -ina** of the Bantu. The causative terminal is **-is, -as, -a, -ös** (in Bantu, **-isa, -iza, &c.**); the reversive is **-i, -e** (Bantu **-ula**); the reciprocal is **-ane, -nane**, and in an extended form with the applicative, **-arane, -arne, -rne**; the adverbial terminals are **-as, -at, -asa, -sa** (derived probably from the causative); and lastly, there is a qualitative form, **-i** or **-ba**, the latter of which answers to the Bantu **-pa**.

The auxiliary verb **-yi**, 'to be', corresponds, apparently, with the Bantu **-li**, and in the particles used in verb conjugation there are traces of a **-ba, -bō** form equivalent to the Bantu **-ba**.

These comparisons should be sufficient, I think, to support the assertion that the Temne, though highly specialized, belongs to the Semi-Bantu family. As regards word-root resemblances, we not only descry real though far-off affinities with the Bantu languages; but a less distant relationship with Bulom, Fulup, Manjakō, Bōla, Pepel, and Konyāgi; and there are even links—especially through Baga—with the very isolated Nalu. Fairly numerous, also, are the resemblances to Munši and the Cross river languages, to the Benue Semi-Bantu and to Group A (S-B.) of the Cameroons borderland. The word-root for 'ox', 'cow', 'cattle' connects Temne with Bulom, Tōgōland, and Central Nigerian Groups, showing probably the ancient origin of this form of Semi-Bantu to have lain in Nigeria, and indicating, likewise, its east-to-west direction of migration.

GROUP L (S-B.): THE NALU LANGUAGE

(No. 266)

I have thought it necessary to constitute a special group for this one language type which is found in the coast region of the southernmost part of Portuguese Guinea. It is unquestionably a Semi-Bantu language, and has distant affinities in word-roots with Konyāgi (274), with Temne (263), with Bulom (261-2), and with the other S-B. tongues of Portuguese Guinea; but it is strikingly unlike them all in the bulk of its vocabulary and in its numerals, though these last recall some of the Bantu features.

Bantu and Semi-Bantu affinities may be detected in the following noun-roots:

-fur, -fure, 'bird' (125-75; 267, and generally the **-pulu** root in Bantu); **-nyak**, 'blood' (269-72; 82-4, 88, 95, 98, 155); **-lax**, 'bowels' (155, 226; 273); **-fin**, 'buttocks' (200, 203, 226); **-bat, -bafē**, 'canoe'; **-jeñk**, 'charcoal' (237, 273); **-kidi**, 'cloth' (101; 261, 274); **-dunyi**, 'crocodile' (244); **-tek**, 'crocodile' (152; 259, 263, 267, 269-72); **-tok, -tok**, 'day' (the **-siku** root); **-let**,

'doctor' (273 and the **-laga** root in Bantu); **-lem**, 'door' (2 f, 3, 40; 269-72); **Nehω**, **-neau**, 'ear' (261, 267-8, 273-4); **-rebe**, 'elephant' (2 c; 247 b, 256); **-kiet**, 'eye' (239, 243, 250-1, 261, 270, 273 b); **-hol**, 'face' (83-4, 86, 95-8, 100-3, 226; 273); **-fi**, **-fie**, 'goat' (227, 230, 269-72, and the **-peni** root); **-lebu**, 'hair' (118, 168); **-faj**, 'iron' (263 and the **-kate** root in Bantu); **-bωba**, 'knee' (32, 55, 192-3, 220; 270); **-wut**, 'leg' (the **-kutu**, **-kωta** root); **Nyie**, 'man' (204; 227-8, 230, 241, 244, 248, 267); **-nyeni**, 'nose' (226; 234, 256, 267-8); **-den**, 'penis' (227; 150, 5 a, 6, 6 a, and the **-tōni** root); **-far**, 'pigeon' (39, 42; 267, 270); **-lak**, 'stone' (269-72, 273-4); **-lembe**, 'tongue' (269-72, 268, 273, and the **-limi**, **-leme** root); **Ba-fele**, 'twins' (75, 79, 80, 148, &c.); **-mbai**, wife, woman'.

When the first volume of this work was compiled the only record of Nalu at my disposal was the vocabulary in Koelle's *Polyglotta Africana*. According to this, Nalu employed nine or ten distinct prefixes in the singular. In the plural there were little more than two: **A-** and **Ba-**, with variants of **Ba-**—**Be-**, **Abe-**, **Abu-**. In the early part of 1920, I obtained through Mr. Honter, the Director of Education in Sierra Leone, a vocabulary of the Nalu language as it is spoken to-day in French and Portuguese Guinea. It was interesting to note, incidentally, that it was one more confirmation of Koelle's general accuracy, but there were changes, nevertheless, due either to difference of dialect or more likely to change in the tongue in the course of seventy years. There was no trace of the concord particle, with adjective, numeral, or verb; and the prefixes had fallen somewhat into disuse. Some of the roots had lost their terminal vowel. The **La-** singular prefix (plural, **Ba-**) was shown not to be specially feminine, but to take the place of the 1st prefix in Bantu and to be particularly associated with human beings—man, woman, child. Although **Ka-** and **Ku-** are not used as noun prefixes, they persist in an adverbial and perhaps prepositional sense.

The numerals in Nalu are on a markedly quinary basis. 'Ten' is merely 'five-twice' (**Te-bele**, or in modern parlance, **-tēble**); the real root for 'five' is **Te**, which simply means 'hand' or 'arm'. The numeral 'one' is added—**Te-dun**, **Te-du**, 'one hand'. 'Two' is represented by two very Bantu roots, **-bele** or **-bile**. The root of 'three' is apparently **-pat**, which may be connected with **-tatu**. 'Four' in modern diction is **Benañ**, in which the **Be-** may be an ancient prefix. With 'twenty' and the other decades we get evidently an old form of 'ten'—**Lafam**, but I have no clue to the relationships of this term. From its commencing with the 'personal' prefix it looks as though **Lafam** stood for 'man'.

The pronouns in this language are:

1st pers. sing.	Min.	N- ; -am , -mam ; -na (?); -m .
2nd pers. sing.	Yi.	E- ; Ma- (?); -mai .
3rd pers. sing.	Mω.	A- ; -ga-mω ; -mom .
1st pers. plur.	Bie.	Bie- ; -ga-bie .
2nd pers. plur.	Nen.	Nen- ; -min .
3rd pers. plur.	Bem.	Be- ; -bem .

'All' is **Bom**, which suggests resemblances with Nos. 148 and 273.

There seems to be no infinitive prefix with the verb, but on the other hand, an infinitive suffix, usually **-ta**. The verb is negated by a suffix, which in its simplest form is **-ha**. This appears sometimes as **-na-ha-de** or **-aha**.

GROUP M (S-B.): THE NORTH GUINEA LANGUAGES

(Nos. 267 to 273)

This important group, very nearly limited to Portuguese Guinea for its habitat, is distinctly subdivisible again into three sub-groups: M 1, the Jeba languages (267, 268); M 2, the Bisaw-Bōlama tongues; and M 3, the somewhat widespread Fulup or Dyōla, which in four—perhaps more—dialects extends from the south side of the Gambia estuary right across the hinterland of Portuguese Guinea to the Rio Grande, or did, at least, in Koelle's day.

The first sub-group of the southern bank of the Lower Jeba and perhaps the Jeba estuary, and also of the north-eastern frontier limits of Portuguese Guinea, where the Pajade ('People of the Sun') are mostly found, is of great interest to philologists because of the number of its roots which can be traced to Bantu origins or affinities. The phonology (as in the next Sub-group M 2) is decidedly more like that of the Bantu than is the case with the other Semi-Bantu Groups.

There is not a very close relationship between **BIAFADA** (267) and **PAJADE** (268), but they have more points of agreement with each other than with other neighbouring tongues.

Biafada makes use of a great many prefixes; **Pajade** appears to be more sparing in their employment, but although it seems also restricted in the number of classes, the forms of its prefixes are those common to Biafada, except that *ɸ* usually replaces *b* as an initial. The prefixes of this sub-group resemble in sound those of normal Bantu, but their use, arrangement as to number, class, and signification are quite different. The principle of the concord is in full force. As in Sub-group M 3, the prefixes of the first class in singular and plural are reserved for application to human beings only.

The following selection of noun-roots illustrates the affinities of this Sub-group M 1 (S.-B.) with Bantu and with other Semi-Bantu groups:¹

-buda, -beda, 'arm' (also 'hand' and 'five') (? 273); -meda, 'arrow' (2, 147; 273, 269-72); -saf, 'arrow' (13, 24, 26, 90, 91); -dira, 'axe'; -njiye, -siye, 'bee' (the -nyuki root); -jw, 'bee' (155, 194, 214; 227 c, 250, 234, 236, 237, 250, 261, 274); -kunt, 'belly' (2 f-g, 3, 4, 39, 51, 103, 123, 125, 129, 130, 131-4, 144, 147, 162, 189, 190); -nsudu, 'bird' (160 and the -pulu root; 266); -nɔune, 'bird' (the -uni, -nyuni root); -ade, 'blood' (108, 122, 128, 144; 274; and the -hasi, -azi, -gazi root); -kede, 'breast' (268 (12; 253, 261); -bili, 'breast ♀' (the -bele root); -kɔdɔ, 'brother', 267 (2 g, 3 to 73 a, 76, 104, 105 a, 141, 153, 179, &c.); and the -kuru, -kulu root in general); Ninda, 'brother', 267 (12, 157, 161); -jase, 'brother', 268 (3 b, 38; 230, 255); -regi, 'canoe' (253); Jañguma, 'cat' (1, 2, 2 c, 2 d, 3, 4 a, 9, 145, 148); -yama, -ñkama, 'chief' (1, 2, 2 a, 2 d, 2 c, 2 e-g, 4 a, 7 a, 11, 70, 146, 147; 254, 255); -nara, -na, 'cow' (245, 255-6, 261, 263); -nari, 'day', 267 (2 f, 4, 73, 84, 94, 98; 271, 273); -dyade, 'day', 268 (64 a, 73, 74, 74 b: see also 'sun'); -jarɔna, 'doctor' (111; 263); -jadu, -sadu, 'dog' (the Garu root in Eastern Bantu); -ba, 'dog', 268 (the -bwa root); Gu-mpuru, 'door' (100 b, 116, 161; 238); Dañe, 'drum' (71; 237, 249, 251); -nufa, -nɔfe, 'ear' (161; 237, 266, 273, 274); Nanya, -nine, 'egg' (42, 44 a, b; 271); -yōya, 'elephant' (-jɔwɔ root); -lugu, 'face', 267 (56, 120; 271; and perhaps the -ruñgu, -luñgu root); -jumu, 'face', 267 (59, 61 b, 139, 162; 253, 255); -sa, 'face' (also 'eye'), 268 (230, 237, and the -su, -sɔ root); Dyña, 'fat', 267 (the -futa root); -kam, 'fat', 268 (150; 240 a, 253); -karu, 'finger', 267 (2 a, 4, and the -kala, -zala root); -nyit, 'finger', 268 (227, &c.); Furu, 'fire', 267 (121, 222; 259); Yesa, 'fish', 267 (217-19; 274); -sañ, 'fish', 268 (111, 189; 244); -gali, 'foot', 268 (85, 194); Kida, 'forest', 267 (17, 32, 222, and possibly also the -bila root); -jua, -sua, 'fowl', 267 (56 b, 82, 90, 91, 92, 97, 100 b, &c.); -tɔti, 'frog', 267 (109, 137, 205; 229, 235); -tagɔ, 'frog', 268 (64, 64 a); -dahu, -ndafe, 'goat'; -nraba, -tabe, 'he goat' (-taba root); -dana, -dañ, 'God' (234); -side, 'grandfather' (259); -tia, 'ground-nut' (131; 257, 258); Lambɔ, 'hair' (83, 84, 85-8, 97, 121); -saj, 'hair', 268 (2 g, 3, 9 a); -ɔfa, -gafa, 'head' (56 b; 274); -tendye, -tenje, 'heel' (the -tende, -tindi root of Bantu, Nos. 1 to 222; 234, 245); -dañ, 'heel', 268 (230, 255); Jalɔ, 'hoe' (159 a; 249, 261, 263); -jama, 'hoe', 268 (the -temɔ root, 11, 82 to 180; 253); -sadi, -sari, 'house' (263); Pade, 'house', 268 (91, 92, 94, 98, 196; 247 a); -jamei, 'iron', 267 (11, 19, 20, 104; 240 c, 243); -tañka, -rañka, 'leg', 267 (4 a, 5 a, 64 a, 65, 69-71; 261, 263, &c.); -kore, 'leg', 268 (4, 6, 157, 186, 226; 235); -jeamu, -samu, 'leopard', 267 (104, 116; 273); mbarañ, 'leopard' (4 b, 44 b, 61 a, 149, 150); -gādama, -jadame, 'lion' (23, 51, 56, 56 a, 58, 59, 61 c, 62, 77, 79, 87, 106; 247 b); -sani, 'magic', 267 (2; 235, 238, 244, 246); -kunda, -nyini, 'magic', 268 (160, 162, 193; 273); -nya, 'man', 268 (204; 230, 250, 248, 266); -nū, 'man, vir', 268 (239 b, 241, 259, 260, 261); -ari, 'meat' (274); Burɔ, 'medicine, magic', 268 (151, 104, 175, 193, 218, 219; 230, 234, 236, 237, 253, 259, 271, 273); -degwa, 'monkey' (25, 27); -pura, 'monkey', 268 (77, 84, 85, 105, 145); -lampa, 'moon', 267 (156, 226, 226 b; 274; and the -temba root in Nos. 151, 151 a, 153, 154); Fa, 'moon', 268 (216; 238, 250,

¹ The first word-root cited is Biafada, and the second Pajade, unless otherwise stated. 'Pajade' is also pronounced 'Pa-dyade'.

261); **-haru, -ñkaru**, 'finger-nail', 267 (269; 153); **-fwoḥ**, 'finger-nail', 268 (239 b, 273); **-rōhō**, 'navel' (56 b, 57, 69, &c.); **-dumpe**, 'navel', 268 (38, 136; 244); **-jana, -dyene**, 'night' (see roots for 'yesterday'); **-gom**, 'nose' (186, 188; 242 b; and the **Hompfu, Tomvu** series); **-njini, -sini**, 'nose', 268 (226; 234, 256, 266); **Jōga, -sōga**, 'parrot' (71 f, 148, 178; 234); **Kasi, -hasi**, 'pig', 268 (6, 6 a); **-bale, -pōle**, 'pigeon' (266, 269); **-sina**, 'rain', 267 (254, 255); **-tiḥ**, 'rain', 268 (4 a, b; 269); **-luḥu**, 'rain', 268 (33 a, 34, 34 a, 58, 193, and the **-luṅgu** root for 'rain', 'sky', 'God'); **Fiali, Fear**, 'rat' (146, 153; 261, 263); **-kōli, -kore**, 'salt' (9 c, 21, 23, 33 a, 40, 41-5, 61 a); **-mpalela**, 'sheep', 'ram', 267 (35, 44 b, 52-5, 61, 62, 77-80, 82, 86, 87, 120; 269); **-pōde**, 'sheep', 268 (1, 13, 16, 22, 56, 64 a, 65, 94-6, 98, 110, 114, 140, 150; 228); **-mbahi, -fahi**, 'shoulder', 267 (166, 186, 198; 250; and the **-bega** root); **Kape**, 'shoulder', 268 (41, 42, 73; 249, 266); **Nyadu**, 'skin', 267 (61, 179); **-ndar**, 'skin', 268 (73, 74, 74 b; 263, 269-72); **-dana**, 'sky' (34, 52, 55, 69; 253, 263); **-samp**, 'slave', 268 (133, 151, 213; 229, 251, &c.); **-ju**, 'smoke', 267 (175; 257, 269-72); **-ji**, 'smoke', 268 (57, 121, 137, and the **-uṣi** root); **-lina, -rinne**, 'snake' (273, 274); **Nimba, Numbe, Numbi**, 'son', 'child', 267 (34, 43, 153, 193; 236, 251, 254); **Tambadi**, 'spear', 267 (77, 110, 131; 244); **Sori**, 'spear', 268 (139, 206; 261, 263, 274); **-dōkō, -lōkō**, 'stick' (4, 4 a, 4 b, 34 a, 75 b, 76, 199; 234, 237, 261, 263, 273); **-yaṅga, -aṅke**, 'stone' (27, 29, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 54, 87); **Tudyu, -rudyu**, 'stool' (72, 73, 74); **-nayı**, 'sun', 'day' (2 f, 14, 73, 84, 94; 271, 273); **-dyade**, 'sun', 'day', 268 (52, 53, 73, 74, 132; 263); **-laya**, 'thigh', 267 (9 c, 85, 97, 98, 109, 111, 114; 234, 240 c); **-tañkanyi**, 'thigh', 268 (5 a, 6, 9 c, 50, 75, 75 a, b, 100, 105, 106; 261, 263); **-kudi**, 'to-morrow', 267 (13, 90, 186; 243); **-dema, -leme**, 'tongue' (the **-limi** root, and specially Nos. 211, 218, 221; 237, 269-72); **-nye**, 'tooth', 268 (234, 247, 248, 255, 258, 269-73); **Daye**, 'town', 267 (191; 228); **Yare**, 'town', 268 (194, 217-20, 225; 273, 264); **-ri, -ru**, 'tree' (228, 273, and **-ti** root); **-usu, -wis**, 'vein' (109); **-guba**, 'war', 267 (64, 192, 193, 226); **-mbia**, 'water' (251); **-waye, -paki**, 'yesterday' (264).

The numeral roots do not display much affinity with those of the Bantu family.

Numa, 'one', may be related to the **-guma, -uma, -wuma** root of No. 1 and the **-kima** of 156 (through a supposititious **Nguma**); and **Muna**, 'one', also of 267, probably belongs to the great class of **Mu, Mw** roots. An additional root for 'one' in composition is **-ini** or **-kani**, reminding one of the similar forms in 148, 243, 240 c, 263. The **Bihe** or **-he** for 'two' in Biafada may be connected with the **-bili, -bele, -fe, -pe** roots for 'two' in the Bantu and Semi-Bantu, but the **-ñge, -ruñke** of Pajade is very difficult to connect with either of these families, unless it be with the Temne **-rañ** and the Bulom-Mampā **-reñ**. 'Three', which in its clearest expression seems to be **-jōu**, is equally irreconcilable. 'Four' is represented by a Bantu type: **-nehi, -ne**; 'five' by a word in Biafada, meaning 'hand' (**-bida, -beda, -buda**), and by the root **Ŋga, Ŋka, Ka** in Pajade. For this last I can find no relations. In 267 the numerals 'six' to 'nine' are expressed by distinct roots unconnected with 'five' in composition. 'Six' is **Mpagi, Mpaji** (the same in Nos. 269-72); 'seven', **Eṅganyi** and **Padyiṅgani**, is probably only a corruption of 'six-and-one'; 'eight' is a peculiar word, **Wase**, which seems to be allied to the **Kuās** of the neighbouring Kanyop (269) and to the **-asi** of No. 166 and the **Ase** of 260. For 'nine', **Luerubō** or **-erubō**, I cannot find affinities. 'Ten' in 257 is **Wa-pōhō**, and its **-pōhō** root seems one of the many forms of **-bōkō** ('hand'; 'five' pluralized). In 268 the numerals between five and ten are compositions: five-and-one, five-and-two, &c. 'Ten' in 268, **Bapō, Papō**, is more difficult to explain. It may be connected with another pluralized form of 'five', the **Ba-bot** of 216. Neither 267 nor 268 seems to follow the Semi-Bantu custom of counting in scores, but to prefer a decimal system: thus 'twenty' in both tongues is expressed by 'twice ten'.

Of their pronouns we have no records, save in the case of the 1st and 2nd person singular. The terminal form of 'me', 'I' in 267 seems to be **-limu** and **-gumu** when associated with the verb, and **-ma, -me** when in the possessive case. The **-limu, -gumu** of the 1st person singular reminds one of the **-imu, -amu** of 165 and 150, and of the **-limi** of 131. There seems to be a terminal form for 'thee' used as an objective with the verb: **-lime, -me**, which is similar to the **-me** of 269-72. The possessive suffix for 'thy', **-he**, may be related to the **-ha** of 235, or more likely to the **-gwe** root of Bantu, through **-hwe**. In No. 268 the forms of the 1st person singular seem to range between **Ma** and **Me**, with **-ñe** or **-ñge** for 'thou', 'thee'. 'Thee' as a terminal objective may be **-nde**. But our knowledge of the pronouns in this Jéba

Sub-group is so scanty that it is not worth while theorizing on Koelle's vocabularies only. Nothing is known of the demonstratives and very little of the verb. In 267 there would seem to be no nominative prefixal pronoun, but a pronominal suffix attached to the verb-root and tense particle (-*limu*, -*gumu*, for the 1st person singular).¹ No. 268, however, apparently conforms to the general Bantu arrangement of placing the nominative pronoun before the verb-root. The negative is expressed in 267 by a prefix *Gal-* and an infix, -*ma-*: in 268 by a prefix, *Ka-*.

Mr. Northcote Thomas recently called in question the affinities of the Biafada language with the Semi-Bantu and still more with the Bantu family on the strength of a change which sometimes takes place in the initial consonant of the noun-root when it passes from singular to plural. An example of this process is *Kasi*, 'pig'; plur. *ma-hasi*. Here, as in other cases, the initial *k* of the singular changes to *h* in the plural; similarly *t* changes to *r*, *b* to *w*, *r* to *l*, *n* to *r*, *f* to *ɸ*, *s* to *j*, *y*, and *ts*, and so on; the change generally being within related consonants. Similar changes—called by Mr. Thomas 'polarity', occur in Ful. But I fail to see why this feature makes affinity with Bantu or Semi-Bantu improbable. Such changes of consonant in the root occur in a few Bantu languages—markedly so in the Cuana Group S of Bantu, and here and there among the Semi-Bantu. In the matter of the numerals this sub-group shows but little kinship with other Semi-Bantu languages and still less with the Bantu. But in the noun-roots affinity is clearly indicated. On the other hand, we know next to nothing of the prefixes of Pajade or of the pronouns and verb-syntax of either tongue. It is a great pity we cannot have full information about these two languages before they become extinct, in order to determine their position conclusively.

The sub-group of the Portuguese Guinea languages, M 2, *Bisaw-Bw̄lama*, is—for the same reasons of Bantu affinities—an interesting one. It contains *KANYOP* or *MANJAK* (269), *PEPEL* (270), *BW̄LA* (271), and *SARAR* or *ṢADAL* (272). These are the languages of the coast of Portuguese Guinea (and of the islands nearest to the coast) between the estuaries of the Rivers Geba (Jeba) and Cacheu. The *Bijogw̄* speech of the Bisagos Archipelago, near by, is entirely different, and in no way connected with the Semi-Bantu family. *Kanyop*—the speech of the warlike *Manjakw̄* Negroes—and *Pepel* (a tribe often called by a Portuguese plural, 'Papeis')—are distinct languages; but *Bw̄la* and *Ṣadal* of the *Bisaw* coast have little more than dialectic difference one from another.

In its phonology, this Sub-group M 2 is not so Italianate as *Biafada* and *Pajade*; its words end more often consonantly, and *Pepel* more particularly dissolves its *t* into a harsh *rs* or *rɸ*. This is a feature met with elsewhere in the Semi-Bantu, notably in No. 232 of Group A (S-B.).

The prefixes of M 2 are numerous, though not so many as those employed by the *Jeba* languages (M 1). They recall the forms of Bantu prefixes and demonstratives, but there the resemblance ends, for there is no correspondence in meaning, or in the singular or plural number, except in the employment of *Ba-* in a sense answering to that of the Bantu Class 2.² This occurs in 270 and 271, perhaps also in 269. In 272 *Bi-* takes the place of *Ba-*. The concord seems to exist on Bantu lines.

The degree of word-root affinities in the substantives with Bantu is very marked; much more so than it is with any other of the Semi-Bantu Groups farther west than Group G (S-B.). On the other hand, not much affinity is observable in the few adjectival or verbal roots that are known. Unfortunately our knowledge of the pronouns in these interesting tongues is almost nil. The following selection of substantial roots, however, should confirm beyond any doubt the 'Semi-Bantu' position of this sub-group and the remarkable extent to which Proto-Bantu word-roots have penetrated from some Eastern Nigerian centre of development to the far-away coast of Portuguese Guinea. It will be noted by the identifying numerals³ that the affinities lie more especially with the *Nyanza*, *Lower Ruvuma*, *Gindw̄*, *Moçambique*, *Karaña*, *Inyambane*, *Cuana*, *Zulu*, *South Añgola*, *Koñgw̄*, *Northern Congo*, *Ababua*, *Ruwenzori*, *Cameroons*, *Cross river*, *Middle Benue*, *Bauci*, and *Togw̄land* languages.

¹ A similar feature occurs in *Járawa* (253, Group G (S-B.)).

² But *Ba-*, as in *Temne*, is chiefly used for words connected with children.

³ Where no identifying numeral is attached to the word-root itself, it may be taken to be common to the whole Sub-group M 2.

-nyine, -ñyen, -ñyan, 'arm', 270-2 (see 273 and roots for 'five' and 'ten'); -jag, 'arm', 269 (95-7-9, 100 b, 101, 114; 236); -nşañ, 'arrow', 271 (95, 100; 237, 273, and the -soñgw, -sañgw root); -meri, 'arrow', 272 (2, 146, 147; 267, 273); -nañin, 'arrow', 269 (151); -tewe, -tebe, 'axe', 73a, 74, 83, 198, 226; 230, 254); Kayiñ, Keñ, 'belly', 271-2 (209; 229 d); -pob, 'belly', 270 (166; 230, 254); -pas, 'belly', 269 (50; 229, 273); -kaş, 'bird' (108, 122, 123); -nyak, 'blood' (266; 155 and the -nyeñga root); -mua, -mωh, -mω, 'bone' (253); -kori, 'bow' (206, 214 a; 249); -jus, 'breast δ', 270 (273); -gij, -jenj, 271-2; 'breast δ' (12; 261, 267-8); -pil, -pial, -pel, -al, -el, 'breast φ' (-bele root); -maki, -maga, -maka, -magω, -simaga, 'brother' (23 a, 157, 161; 263-5, and the -pañgi root); -rsene, -tian, -ten, 'canoe', 270-2 (273; 71); -kata, 'cloth', 270, 272 (261, 263; 194, 62, and the -kanda, -enda root); -balafat, 'cloth', 271 (74 b, 124, 125, &c.); -yet, -iet, &c., 'cow, ox' (perhaps affiliated to the -ati root for 'buffalo'); -teke, -tek, -tiak, 'crocodile', 270-2 (259, 263, 266, 267; 152); -nak, 'day' (2 f, 4, 73, 84, 94, 98; 267, 273);¹ -şawe, -jai, 'devil', 'witchcraft', 271, 269 (5 b, 62, 64 a, and -cawi root);¹ -dişi, 'door', 271 (27, 34, 38, 41, 42, 44, 72, 111; 229 e); -laman, -lumω, 'door' (266); -bat, -wat, -badz, 'ear' (273); -nian, -nene, 'egg', 270-2 (267-8; 42, 44); -loñga, 269, -loñk, 271-2, 'elephant' (263; 29, 38); -kil, 'eye', 270 (86, 151 a, 186; 239, 240, 243, 266, 267, 273, and see roots for 'face'); -jug, -juk, 'face', 269, 271 (267 and -luñgu root); -ñkir, 270, -gera, 'fat', 269-72 (20 and the -gali root); -kon, -koanye, -konj, 'finger', 271-2, 269, 270 (32, 34, 37, 38, 55, 109, 121; 251); -duo, -dω, -rω, 'fire' (186, 201, 225, 218-19, 225; 251, 258); -tap, 'fish', 271-2 (105); -rik, 'fish', 270 (146; 255); -pent, -pein, 'foot', 272, 271; -fede, 'foot', 269 (14, 86, 127, 213; 251, 255, 261); -tat, -tsats, 'forest' (35, 67, 75, 76); -leke, 'forest', 270 (12, 72, 193, 194, 198, 208-9, 221, 225); -gok, -gog, -gωka, 'fowl', 269-72 (the -kuku, -gωkω root); -pei, -pe, 'goat', 269-72 (the -beki—51—and -peme, -pēē roots, especially in Nos. 1 to 81, 140; 227, 266); -rωu, -duωu, -dωu, 'he goat' (19, 56, 226; 230); -Gbate, Bate, 'God', 'sky' (the -basi, -wezi root, and especially Nos. 39-40, 88, 106, 122, 206 to 210; 227, 237, 245); Bursei (for Bute), 'God', 270 (85, 86); -tiam, -tiamu, -tem, 'grandparent' (265, 248); -bewω, 'grandmother' (34; 234, 237); -piat, 'ground-nut' (175-8; 247, 250, and -pinda root of Congoland, Gaboon, and Cameroons, and No. 230); -el (Wel, Wuel), -ele, 'hair' (the -wili, -nyu-ele root in East African Bantu, Congoland, and Nos. 247, 273); -pent, 'hand', 272 (86, 157, 165; 254, 263, and also related to similar root for 'foot'); -şon, -şoanye, 'heel' (11, 84, 142, 273); -mboñgo, -buñku, 'hoe' (162-7, 158, 214, and -koñgo root in North Congoland and Cameroons); -tω, -tō, -tωh, 'house', 269-72 (the -jω, -tu, -şω root); -gup, -kup, -kub, 'house', 270, 271 (128, 226 b, and perhaps the -umba root); -bual, -pol, 'iron' (253; 54, 58 a, 61 a, 151 a); -juhul, 269, -jul, 271, -jihul, 272, -jωjω, 270, 'knee' (69, 145, 148, 153, 161; 256, 273); -huba, 'knee', 270 (32, 55, 192-3, 220; 266); -wat, 'leg', 269 (135; 227, 266, and -pasω root); -got, -kot, 'leg', 271 (273, 239 b, 253, 268; 73, 74, 74 a, 74 b, and the -kωlω, -gorω root); -kats, 'leg', 272 (135; 227); -tsema, 'leg', 270 (11, 12, 89, 117, 147; 227); -ot, -wots, -wat, 'leopard' (237); -şiñka, 'leopard', 270 (90, 91, and the -simba root); -mugur, 'lion' (273); -bol, 'magic', 270 (151, 193, 218-9; 237, 236, 253, 263, 268, 273); -ient, -ent, -endz, 'man' (246 and perhaps the -ntu root); -iamat, -yamat, -yamadz, -yemunts, 'meat' (-ama, Nyama root); Bωnω, 'medicine' (the -burω root); Bu-kase, 'medicine', 272 (2, 2 e, 2 g, 16, 75, 155 a); -kon, -gon, 'monkey', 271-2 (7, 7 a, 17, 100 b; 244); Nana, Ne, -ni, -nen, 'mother' (Bantu roots); -tum, -tun, -tuñk, -tu, 'mouth' (the -dumbu, -rumbu, and perhaps the -luñgu root); -nyere, -nyeri, 'finger-nail' (the -ala, -yala root); -ñkuarω, 'finger-nail', 269 (12, 151, 153; 267); -nşuntoñ, -şinden, -suntan, 'navel' (1, 22, 69, 147, 159 a, 226 b; 227); -tsus, -tut, -dudz, 'neck' (273); -ñars, -ñot, -ñots, 'neck' (1, 2, 34, 41, 58, 76, 89, 99, 146; 235, 244); -rim, 'night', 270 (2, and the widespread -rima, -dima, -zima root; also 273); -ram, -dem, -dam, 'night', 269, 271-2 (variants of -rim); -es, -iz, 'nose', 269, 271-2 (the -basω root, and specially 108, 155, 155 a, 184, 190); -ihl, 'nose', 270 (the -ulu root and 153, 203; 239, &c.); -şimna, -semane, -simana, 'parrot' (243); -jifek, 'pig', 271 (251); -ñkumba, -ñkumbe, 'pig', 270, 272 (9, 44 to 70; 240, 242, 273); -bale, -balap, 'pigeon' (39, 42; 266, 267); -şωbal, 'rain', 271-2 (259; 56, 69); -ti, 'rain', 270 (4 a, b, 67; 268); -yars, -yat, 'rat', 270-1 (206, 226); -palalω, 'sheep', 270 (35, 44 b, 52 to 55, 61, 62, 77-80, 82, 86-87 a, 120; 267); -pobabω, 'sheep', 269 (210); -şima, 'sister' (248); -tel, -tila, 'skin' (73, 74, 74 b, 71; 263, 268);

¹ The widespread range of these two roots for 'day' and 'devil or witchcraft' is truly remarkable.

Gbate, Gbadzi, 'sky' (227, 237, 234, 244); **Burse (Bute)**, 'sky', 270 (17, 148, 155, 161, 163); **-gare**, 'slave', 269 (56, 57, 71, 89; 263); **-njok, -juok, -jux**, 270-2 (56 a, 71, 86, 103, 87; 258, 259, &c.); **-du, -ru**, 'smoke' (214; 229 e, 255, 267-8); **-pula**, 'snake', 271-2 (75 and **-pili** root); **-bat**, 'son', 271 (273); **-pōs**, 'son', 270 (263); **-fan**, 'son', 272 (67, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76); **-jañ**, 'son', 262 (17; and the **-soñgɔ**, **-soñga** root); **-bok, -buk**, 'son', 270 (17); **-jan**, 'spear', 271-2 (256); **-talɔ**, 'spear', 270 (25, 27, 69, 70, 73, 155 a); **-doñ**, 'stick', 271 (35 to 76, 166, 189, 193, 213-5, &c.); **-bena**, 'stick', 272 (87); **-ñol**, 'stick', 270 (27, 29, 62, 66, 68, 79, 80, 83); **-lag, -lak**, 'stone' (266, 273, 274); **-nɔ**, 'sun', 269, 270 (6 a, 118; 230-1, 247); **-gaba, -gawa**, 'thigh', 271-2 (51, 96, 114, 116); **-sōwō**, 'thigh', 270 (17, 73); **Priamd**, 269, **Pudemnt**, 272, **Pundiamont**, 271, **-remte**, 270, 'tongue' (237, 238, 266, 267, 268, and **-leme, -limi** root); **-nyi, -nyiñ, -ñiñ**, 'tooth', 270-2 (228, 234, 243, 244, 248, 251, 254, 255, 257, 258, 259, 268, 273, 274); **-sak**, 'town', 271-2 (56 a, 128, 132, 191; 228, 230, 267, 273); **Medz**, 'town', 270 (the **-ji** root); **-yōt**, 'war', 271-2 (the **-kondɔ** root); **-rseka (-teka)**, 'war', 270 (273); **Mel**, 'water', 271-2 (226; 261, 262, 273); **-nsop**, 'water', 270 (100); **-leg**, 'water', 269 (23 a; 237, and the **-leñga** root); **Nat (pl. bat)**, **Nyat, Nyadz, Nyas**, 'woman' (the **-kati** root); **-tok**, 'yam' (3, 9, 49, 50, 51, 148, 213; 230, 233, 248).

Numeral roots and their affinities:

-lɔle, -lɔñ, -lɔlɔ, -lalañ, 'one' (4 b, 5, 5 a, 6, 6 a, 13); **-tab, -taba**, 'two' (273); **-pugus**, 'two', 270 (quite peculiar); **-yant, -yent, jint, -ant**, 'three' (no clear relationships); **-bakr, -baker, &c.**, 'four' (273); **-nyan, -nyene, -nyen**, 'five' (244, 256: may be related to the Bantu **-tanɔ** root, also to a root in these Senegambian tongues for 'arm' and 'hand'); **-paji, -paji**, 'six' (267); 'seven' is ordinarily 'six and one', but 270 has a root **-jand**, for which I can find no definite relationship; 'eight' is usually an extension of 'four'—**Bagirei**—but 269 has a form **Kuās**, of which the root seems to be **-ās**, consequently resembling the root for 'eight' in Nos. 166; 260 and 267; 'nine' is indicated by a term **-nyañgalɔ**, **-nyeñgala**, which is probably 'ten-less-one'; 'ten' resembles 'five', and is probably the same root—**Inyan, -nyen, Si-nyane** (the form in 270, **U-nya-nawet**, may possibly mean 'five-twice'). There is a special term for 'eleven' in No. 272, **Dukena**. 'Twenty' is very interestingly represented by a special root, **ɣam**, in 271, which presents a remarkable affinity with the 'twenty' root in 182; 228, and 250; and answers undoubtedly to one of the Proto-Bantu roots for 'ten' or 'decade' which so often figures as 'hundred' in the Western Bantu, and less frequently as 'ten' and 'twenty'.

Very little is recorded about the pronouns. The forms for the 1st person singular are all of Bantu type. The objective terminal for 'thee' is **-nu**, which resembles the same pronoun in 250 and 253.

Scarcely any of the few verb-roots that are known show Bantu affinities, the exceptions being **-uene, -yene, -wen**, 'see' (which resembles the Western Bantu root), and **-re, -de**, 'eat'. The negative particles used with the verb are **Ma-, Mu-, and Mbars-** (for **Mbat-**), the last-named being only found in 270. These are not foreign to the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Groups, though more often met with in Sudanic languages.

The Sub-group M₃ contains, perhaps, only one distinct language—**FULUP** or **DYŌLA** (273)—but this is spoken in four, perhaps five, distinct dialects (273 a to 273 c). The name Fulup (recorded also as Flup, Filhol, Filhop, and Felup) has been used by the English since the latter part of the eighteenth century, but the Fulup people are known in British Gambia as 'Jōlas', and the French authorities have for long used 'Diola', 'Dyōla' to indicate all branches of the Fulup people and language. Koelle used the word 'Fulup' in his *Polyglotta* for the northern dialects and Filham (perhaps a variant of Filhop) for the southern branch, but at the same time recorded the alternative name, Jōla (D̄şōla). If the numeral 273 be given to the main language spoken in the district of Fōnyi (north of the Casamance river), 273 a must be applied to the Fulup or 'Diōla' of Karabane and the Cacheu river. 273 b indicates the easternmost dialect of Fulup, 'Filham', which, according to Koelle, was spoken in the interior of Portuguese Guinea between the Rivers Jeba and Grande. Lastly, since the first volume of these studies was printed, I received a vocabulary compiled by Captain E. Leese of the Fulup spoken at Bintang, some twenty miles south of the Lower Gambia. This Bintang dialect I have numbered 273 c. About the same time, Mr. Northcote Thomas received a vocabulary 'from the mouth of the Gambia'—presumably from Kombo—which he calls Ajamati. This seems to be closely related to 273 c, its near neighbour.

Mungo Park, it might be mentioned, wrote down a few words of some Fula dialect spoken near the

Gambia, somewhere about 1798. His record is remarkable, because among the numerals is *-saji* for 'three'. In all the modern dialects of Fulup, 'three' is *-fögi*, *-hödyi*, *-fegi*, *-fögö*. Possibly the *-saji* of Mungo Park may represent an older phase of this numeral.

The two northernmost dialects, 273 c of Bintang and the Ajamati instanced by Mr. Thomas, differ from the other branches of Fulup by using suffixes *as well as prefixes* with the noun-roots. Thus, in 273 c, we have :

Ka-inyen-aku, 'an arrow'; plur. *u-nyen-au*, 'arms'; *Fu-nagen-afu*, 'a bow'; *u-nagen-au*, 'bows'; *E-goñg-i*, 'a baboon'; *si-goñg-asu*, 'baboons'.

Mr. Thomas further detects in his Ajamati a change in the noun-root as between singular and plural (see his *Note on Ajamati (Diola)* in *Man (R. Anthro. Inst.)* for 1920. Except for this surrounding of the noun-root with both class prefix and class demonstrative suffix, Fulup of Bintang does not differ greatly from the standard language, 273.

The phonology of the Fulup language is less Italianate than that of Sub-groups M 1 and M 2. It possesses the broad vowels *ō*, *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ū*, and *ω*; but also the more obscure sounds, *ö*, *ü*, *a*, *ē*, and an *ž*, which almost approaches the accented *ȝ* of Welsh, the *ȝ* of Polish, or the *ž* (ж) of Rumanian and Russian. As the provenance of this last (a common feature also in the following language on my list, Konyāgi) seems to be from an older *i* it is better to spell it *ž* rather than to obtrude the symbol (*ψ*) which I invented for this 'pectoral' vowel (so common in the Slav languages).¹ *L* is a favourite consonant in Fulup and sounds occasionally like a Polish or Luso-Brazilian *ł*, so that the French missionaries are inclined to write it doubly—*ll*—even at the beginning of words. Also it is frequently aspirated as *hl* and *lh*, or pronounced *rl*. *X* is a common guttural, and *ñ* is preferred to *ñg* from which it descends: so that many word-roots beginning with *ñ* must be looked for in my comparative analysis under an initial *k* or *g*. There is much nasality in the pronunciation of vowels, especially *e* and *a*; and a marked tendency to palatalize consonants such as *d*, *t*, and *n*. Most of the word-roots end consonantly, but in some of them a faint *u* is heard after the terminal consonant. There is some permutation between gutturals and alveolars (*k* or *g* changing to *d*, *r*, *ž*). A Bantu *l* and *d* may become *ž* in Fulup or *vice versa*. A Bantu *s* becomes *h* and *f*.

There are nine or ten classes of prefixes in the singular number, but perhaps not more than five in all with a plural sense; though these are a little variable in form. Class 1 in the singular (**A-**, **An-**, or **Ö-**) is reserved for human beings or humanized animals; its corresponding plural being of four distinct types: **Ku-** (varying as **Ki-** or **Ka-**); **Buka-** (restricted to 'men'); **Ba-** (restricted to children);² but in No. 273 c employed as a plural to other noun-roots; and **Vu-**. The 9th singular prefix, **Ti-**, **Ta-** is a locative answering in that capacity to the **Ti-**, **Te-** locative particle in some of the Western Bantu and contiguous Semi-Bantu. There would seem further to be a 10th singular prefix **Fa-** (**Ha-**), also a locative, and answering evidently to the Bantu **Pa-**. **Ka-** is the infinitive prefix for verbs (see Nos. 195 and 263). Besides the prefixes acting as classifiers in the forming of nouns, there seem to be three suffixes of uncertain meaning: **-um** or **-num**; **-or** (**-ol**, **-l**); and **-el**, **-er**, or **-en**. These are probably derived from the similar terminals used—after the style of Bantu—to modify and extend the meanings of the verb-roots.

The principle of the concord—adjectival and pronominal—exists as in Bantu. The concord particle is not always in harmony with the noun prefix, especially in the case of the prefixes **Ba-** and **Ma-**, the concords of which are **bu** and **mu**. As in other Semi-Bantu languages, there is far more uncertainty in the vowels of these prefixes and pronouns than in Bantu; *a* and *o* in particular being easily permutable with *u*.

The following selection of substantive roots will serve to show the decided affinities of this sub-group both with the Bantu and other Semi-Bantu languages:

-nib, 'axe', 'adze' (73 a, 74, 83, 94; 230, 269-72); **-lol**, 'termite' (51, 64, 79, 144); **-nyen**, 'arm' (269-72); **-bokos**, 'arm' (probably the **-bōkō** root); **-ban**, 'arm' (214 a; 250, 264); **-tañ**, 'arrow' (237, 271); **-dyoñku**, 'arrow' (the **-soñgo** root, and specially 5 a, 9, 21 f, 25, 34, 35, 64 a, 69, 94, 98 a, 89, 193,

¹ See page 40 of my *Phonetic Spelling*, Cambridge University Press.

² This feature of **Ba-** as a 'children's' prefix, in singular or plural, is shared with Sub-group M 2 and with Temne and Baga (263, 264). In one dialect of Fulup (273 c), however, **Ba-** is often plural to **E-**.

&c.); **E-mera**, 'arrow' (2, 146, 147; 269-72); **-lempa, -lemf**, 'beard' (the **-devu** root); **-ad, -ar**, 'belly' (50, 73 a, 186; 242); **-šim, -sim, -isim**, 'blood' (17); **-nil**, 'body' (147; 253, &c.); **-wol**, 'bone' (232); **-gaka**, 'bone' (124, 129, 130-2, and the **-ika, -eka** root); **-hlaw, -lam**, 'bowels' (266); **-fes**, 'bowels' (186; 229, 269); **-kuku**, 'brains' (56, 56 a); **-šus, -šüs**, 'breast ð' (3; 235, 270); **-geñ, -giñ, -gan**, 'breast ð' (the **-kañga, -gañga** root, and specially 35, 70, 75, 76, 198, 216, 209; 227, 228, 230, 232, 236, 238); **Fi-el, -ihl**, 'breast ♀' (the **-bele** root); **-lam**, 'breast ♀' (72, 64, and the Semi-Bantu **La, Lan** roots for 'woman', or their 'female' prefix, as in 266); **-ti**, 'brother' (230, 260); **-tumba**, 'brother' (84 and the **-dumbu** root); **-dakoi**, 'buffalo' (249, 250, 253); **-baty, -bat**, 'buttocks' (64, 64 a, 189); **-tüüt**, 'buttocks' (17, 49, 50, 56; 261); **-sana**, 'canoe' (71; 271-2); **-dañgōne, -jañgon**, 'cat' (7 a, 1, 2, 2 c-e, 3, 4 a, 9, 145-8; 267-8); **-seho**, 'cat' (148); **-ta**, 'chief' (84, 110); **-nyil, -nyu**, 'child' (34); **-hul, -ful**, 'cloth' (35, 62, 63, 71, 76; 258); **-suk**, 'country' (the **-ikw, -tikw** root in Bantu); **-tonta**, 'cold' (44, 44 b, 62, 28); **-be**, 'cow' (229 e); **-om, -ō, -on**, 'crocodile' (the **-wona, -gwena** root, and specially Nos. 244, 244 a, 245); **-nak**, 'day' (the widespread Bantu root—**-naku**, &c.: see Nos. 84, 98; 267, 269-72); **-lai**, 'day, sun' (274); **-wats**, 'devil' (9 b, 42, 51); **-gun**, 'devil', 273 b (160, 193); **-lax**, 'doctor' (2 e, 2 f, 4, 44; 266, and **-laga** root); **-mbil**, 'door' (116, 137, 164; 234); **-sahut, -seüt**, 'dream' (28); **-gar, -gad**, 'drum' (230); **-ndum**, 'drum' (64, 159-61, 186; 232); **-nwo**, 'ear' (261, 266); **-keh, -ke**, 'egg' (the **-ki** root of Bantu); **-nyaba, -nab**, 'elephant' (2 c, 91, 162; 266); **-sau**, 'excrement' (227); **-šil, -kil**, 'eye' (151 a; 239, 243, 266, 267); **Bu-hl, Bu-la**, 'face' (83-4, 86, 226; 248, 249, 251, 261, 266); **-rin**, 'face' (228, 263); **-ita, -it**, 'fat' (**-futa** root of Bantu); **-dik**, 'fat' (235); **-kwli**, 'fear' (15, 94, 120); **-sik**, 'finger' (263); **-mbun**, 'fire' (242, 237; 188, 191, and the **-gwni** root); **-vol, -wol**, 'fish' (2 f, 2 g, 41; 229); **-hanum, -ken, -kednum**, 'foot' (194; 268); **-köt**, 'foot' (73, 74 b, 200, 208, 211, 224, 226; 228, 230, 235, 245); **-ramba, -hembra**, 'forest' (3, 4, 14, 55, 56, 84, 108, 160-6, 226); **-reñ**, 'forest' (215; 232); **-xulot, -lol**, 'fowl' (5 b, 21, 53, 85, 105-8, 143, 191-5; 231); **-mandyūk**, 'fowl' (probably referable to a simpler form, **-dyuk**, to which an ancient prefix may have adhered, **-dyuk** belonging to the **-cuku, -juku, -kuku** root); **-fol**, 'frog' (33 a, 130, 132-3, 136, 176; 253, 274); **-jamen, -dyamen**, 'goat' (123-5, 159, 161, 201; 234, 250); **Fafan**, 'grandparent' (the **-baba** root in Bantu, 3 to 258); **-tama**, 'ground' (14, 28, 184, 217; 245); **-of**, 'ground' (210, 214; 263 and the **-tōpe** root); **-kiu, -koi**, 'ground-nut' (253, 255); **-siña**, 'guinea-fowl' (228 a, 238, 245); **-al**, 'hair' (the **-ele** root); **-lefej, -lefe**, 'hand' (193); **-neñ**, 'hand' (the **-nyen** root for 'five', 'ten', 'arm', and 271-2); **-kwu, -kw**, 'head' (271-2 and the **-sorw, -solow** root); **-koñk**, 'heart' (85, 86, 88, 109, 110; 227); **-ton**, 'heel' (237, 271); **-bañ**, 'hide' (117, 120, 178, 193); **-reb, -rit**, 'hill' (144); **-tinti**, 'hill' (226; 253, 263); **-kau**, 'hippopotamus' (263); **-bara**, 'hoe' (159 a, 186; 259, 260, 261, 264); **-sin**, 'horn' (259 and the **-señgw** root); **-lup, -luf**, 'house' (134, 226 b; 270-1); **-añ, -hañk**, 'house' (23, 71 e, 100, 186); **-tefe**, 'house' (38, 27, 29); **-tyar**, 'hunger' (**-jala** root); **-tan**, 'husband' (257, 274); **-munduñw**, 'hyena' (35, 57, 105); **Manyi**, 'iron' (15, 17, 18, 94; 238); **-lapu**, 'iron' (24, 41, 54, and **-tapa**, 'to mine'); **-tama**, 'island' (230; 109); **-tuta**, 'island' (110, 145, and perhaps the **-lila, -lela** root); **-duhl, -dyür, -jul**, 'knee' (69, 148, 153, 161; 242, 256, 270-2); **-joñikum**, 'knee' (22, 28, 52, 110; 261-2 and the **-ruñgw** root); **Gats, Gots, Köt, Kwot**, 'leg' (73, 74; 227, 239 b, 266, 268, 272); **-ked, (-ked-num)**, 'leg' (86, 135, 157; 227); **-samai, -sama**, 'leopard' (104, 116; 267); **-gaj**, 'leopard' (237); **-ñeñ, -ñan**, 'lion' (5, 5 a, 186); **-ñera**, 'lion' (65, 192, 199, 204, 209); **-mükor**, 'lion' (269-72); **-pitum, -tum**, 'lips' (123, 125, 126, and the **-lwmw** root); **-bon**, 'magic'; **-medicine** (the **-burw** root); **-kan, An**, 'map'; **-person** (227, 240, 244, 249, 257, 261); **-ina, -nine, -neine**, 'man, vir'; **-husband** (227; 57, 59, 60, 69, 72, 73, 74); **-ihr, -ihl, -iñ**, 'milk' (74 b, 77, 86, 90, 92); **-lë, -lheñ, -hlen**, 'moon' (23 a, 24, 25-7, 30, 31 a, 194; 253); **-sil**, 'mountain' (118, 119); **-tum**, 'mouth' (15-18, 98, 133, 183-5, 194-8, 204, 212; 236, 271, and the **-lwmw** root); **-od, or, -hor, -kor**, 'finger-nail' (58, 59 a, 219; 239 b); **-res**, 'name' (263); **-lamox**, 'neck' (69, 70-3, 74-6; 261); **-mera**, 'neck, throat' (229 d, 249, 253); **Fwx, Fük**, 'night' (9, 9 a, 34-91, 100, 110, 112, 118, and the **-siku, -suku, -fuku** root in Bantu); **-lim**, 'darkness' (the **-lima, -dima, -zima** root); **-iti**, 'night' (184, 187, 226; 234, 246, 251); **-nyundw, -nyeñdu, -ñindu**, 'nose' (1, 2, 2 a to 2 g, 4, 9-9 c, 72); **-ven**, 'paddle' (75, 75 a); **-bondokw**, 'paddle' (3, 61, 61 c); **-nuk**, 'palm wine' (3 b, 168, 187); **-font, -hunt**, 'penis' (27, 41, 57-9, 67, 75-75 c, 141); **-kumba**, 'pig' (4 b, 9 c, 44 b, 58-61 b, 64 a, 67-70; 240; 242, 269-72); **-lub, -lup**, 'rain' (151 a, 207; 228, 234, 268, 274); **-tok**, 'river' (56 a, 114, 146,

193-5, 225; and the **-doŋga** root); **-löi**, 'river' (94, 184, 187, 193, 205, 226; 274); **-ruñ**, **-tin**, 'road' (244, 245, 263); **-sis**, 'salt' (135, 136, 139, 175; 235); **-baŋga**, 'shield' (184, 187, 190); **-ban**, **-band**, 'shoulder' (11, 118, 218; 264); **-fol**, **-pol**, **-puñgol**, 'skin' (9, 49, 211, 220; 231, 235, 261); **-megel**, **-mikel**, 'slave' (75 a-b, 117, 146, 175, 178); **-ñot**, 'sleep' (166; 274); **-kod**, **-kor**, 'smoke' (228); **-wela**, 'snake' (110 a, 157, and the **-pili** root); **-lan**, **-hlan**, 'snake' (38; 267-8, 274); **-mbaj**, 'son' (17; 271); **-kim**, 'song' (35, 34, 71, 126, 175, and the **-sumω** root); **-bai**, 'spear' (17, 110 a; 230); **-lun**, 'spirit' (98, 100, 103); **-ot**, **-ut**, 'star' (131, 134, 164-8; 263 and the **-totω** root); **-dyañeñe**, 'star' (151, 154, 191-3); **-gol**, 'stick' (19, 20, 32, 27, 29, 58, 59, 61 a, 66, 68, 74, 80, 83, 100; 271, &c.); **-nuk**, 'stick' (34 a, 75 b, 76; 234, 267); **-wal**, **-wöl-um**, 'stone' (the **-wale**, **-bale** root, Nos. 2 to 148); **-lañkin**, **-liñkin**, 'stone' (72, 132, 133; 266, 274, 269); **-nax**, **-nak**, 'sun', 'day' (see roots for 'day'); **-tai**, **-la**, 'sun' (the **-tali**, **Dadi** root); **-kikit**, **-kikör**, 'testicles' (17, 155); **-bunta**, 'thief' (41, 73); **-ax**, **-af**, 'thing' (109, 155 a, 161, 186; 263); **-gub**, 'thorn' (56 b, 161 a, 200); **-dind**, 'thorn' (103, 166, 168, 193, 184, 226; 228 a); **-giñk**, **-deñkun** (the **-iñga** root); **-dyom**, **-dyum**, 'to-morrow' (17, 18); **-rērup**, **-lelumf**, 'tongue' (? the **-limi**, **-leme** root); **-nyiiñ**, **-ñiiñ**, 'tooth' (248, 251, 254, 255, 257, 268, 270-2); **-lol**, 'town' (23 a, 162, 179; 247); **-suk**, **-zuku**, 'town' (6, 56 a, 128, 132; 256, 258, 269-72); **-bad**, **-bat**, **-böre**, 'tree' (73; 237); **-sur**, **-şur**, 'urine' (263); **-sil**, **-kil**, 'vein' (101-10, 157, 178, 189, 191, and **-kila** root for 'blood'); **-teya**, **-tik**, 'war' (45; 270); **-mel**, 'water' (261, 262, 271-3); **-kolö**, 'well' (4, 28, 88, 106, 175); **-sek**, **-sex**, 'wife' (18); **-hefa**, 'wind' (200, 219; 236, 240 c, 258, 263, and the **-pepω** root); **-sai**, 'witch, witchcraft' (from the **-cawi** root: see also roots for 'devil' in Nos. 269, 271); **-kará**, **-ara**, **-are**, 'woman', 'female' (from the **-kati**, **-kaza** root); **-yad**, 'wood' (40, 155); **-kama**, 'yam' (1, 57; 254, 255); **-kis**, 'yam' (94, 118, 156; 232, 251); **-dyandω**, 'year' (148); **-ken**, 'yesterday' (244 and the **-jana**, **-giana** root).

The numeral roots of Fulup do not present much evidence of Bantu affinities. The forms for 'two' — **-luba**, **-gawa**, **-kaba**, &c., are no doubt related to the **-taba** of 269-72, and like it may just possibly be connected with a **-ba**, **-bali** basis, to which other prefixes have adhered. 'Three' is expressed by three different roots which may be rendered as **-saji**; **-fegi** or **-föyi** or **-hödyi**; and **-fwat** (**-fwaten**). Of these, **-saji** is only recorded by Mungo Park, a hundred and twenty years ago. Assuming it to be correct, it is an interesting parallel to the **-sas** of Temne and the **-sasω** of 137 and 157; and it may have been one of the stages through which a Proto-Bantu **-satω** or **-sasω** passed to the modern **-hödyi**, **-födyi**, **-föyi**. I can find no clear Bantu relationships for the other numerals. 'Ten' — **-nyen**, **-ñen**, has its affinities with decimal and quinal roots in 269-72, 261, and 226, and with words meaning 'arm', 'hand', and 'fingers'. There are individual roots for 'eleven', **-tiñken**, and 'fifteen', **-kwat**, and as in the Fernandian and Cross river languages, 'fifteen' marks a distinct stage in the counting, 'sixteen' being 'fifteen-and-one'. 'Twenty' is indicated by word-roots meaning 'a man' or 'valid man' (**Öyi**) or by **Kabanan**, which it is easy to see means 'twice-ten'. Counting of decades, as in so many of the Semi-Bantu tongues, is by scores.

The pronouns of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd persons singular and of the 1st person plural are not unlike Bantu forms. This is especially the case with 'I', 'me', 'my', and the nominative particles of 'we'. The nominative particle for 'thou' (**Nu**) recalls the **-nω**, **-nu**, **-lu** for 'thee' of Nos. 234, 250, 253, and 269-72. Perhaps **Nu** may have been a root-particle of the 2nd singular pronoun anciently transferred to the 2nd plural; or *vice versa*, in some Semi-Bantu languages the **Nu** of the plural ('ye', 'you') may have been applied to the 2nd person singular. The equivalents of 'ye', 'you' and 'they', 'them' bear little resemblance to Bantu forms, except that the **Mu**, **Mi** of 'you' may be related to the **Mu**-type in Bantu.

'All' is indicated by a variety of roots—**Pe**, **Fe**, **Pōpa**, **Pus**, all of which have their kindred forms in Bantu, especially in Nos. 13, 21, 48, 54, 63, 150, 151, 153, 155 b, 157, 200; 228, 238, 247, 253, 259, 263, 264, and 274.

The only adjective with clear Bantu affinities is **-duñk**, 'red', which is obviously related to the similar root in 23, 23 a, 24, 25, 27, 29, 35, 38; 244. **-tog**, 'short', is like the root employed in Nos. 102 and 241. The concord is applied to adjectival roots as in Bantu. It is usually the same in form as the prefix of the governing substantive, except that in the case of the prefixes **Dyi**, **Ka**-, **Ba**-, **Ma**-, and **Ti**- the concord is

dyu-, ku-, bu-, mu-, and **tu-** before a substantive and **dy-, k-, b-, m-,** and **t-** before a vowel of the following word-root.

The demonstrative pronouns and so-called articles are the prefixes, plus an initial demonstrative *a* (such as occurs in so many Bantu languages), or with *a*, *e*, or *u* affixed to duplicated prefixes. In the demonstratives of the second position ('that, near at hand') the vowel *u* is employed as terminal vowel to the demonstrative.

There is no marked resemblance to the Bantu in verb-roots, but there is some approximation in the verbal syntax. The verb-roots terminate consonantly, probably by the ancient elimination of a final vowel which would have rendered them disyllabic. The imperative is not rendered by the simple verb-root in the 2nd person singular, but is the verb-root preceded in singular and plural by a pronoun. The infinitive prefix is **Ka-**, as (sometimes) in Temne and in one or two of the Western Bantu. The aorist is the root preceded by the pronoun, but the pronoun is prefaced by the particle **Di-** (**D'**, **Du-**) meaning 'and', similar in purpose to the **Ka-** of the narrative tense in some forms of Bantu. This narrative prefix to the verbal forms of the indicative mood recurs almost wearisomely in Fulup after the fashion of so many African languages, wherein an apposite idea for one means of expression has become an obsession in its indiscriminate application. The sense of 'past' is given to the verb-root by adding **-e**, **-en**, **-ene** equivalent to the Bantu **-ile**. The subjunctive may be rendered by the true aorist, viz., pronominal prefix and root, or by adding **-e** to this simple aorist form. Much use is made of participles composed chiefly with the verb 'to be'. The negative sense of the verb is effected by applying the suffix or infix **-ut**, or by using a negative verb 'is not' as a prefix, **Le-**, **Let-**, **La-**. The negated imperative is rendered by prefixing **Dyakum-** to the pronoun (**u**, or **dyi-**, **zi-**) preceding the root. There are terminal additions to the verb-root as in Bantu to modify or extend its meaning. A reflexive sense is imparted by adding **-ω**; a neutral by **-et**, **-iken**; an applicative by **-um**; causative by **-en**, **-ena**; reversive by **-ul** (recalling the Bantu **-ula**); reciprocal by **-or**; &c. Lastly, there are two categories in these terminals not present in Bantu (in that form): **-edit**, **-ati**, &c., with a privative meaning; and **-orut**, implying a 'not yet', a delayed action. The sense of 'to be' is rendered by the roots **-m**, **-mu**, **-men**, **-n**, **-ene**, **-ata**, **-te**, **-am**, **-an**, &c.; with a negative auxiliary verb, **-le**, **-let**, 'not to be'.

GROUP N (S-B.): THE UPPER GAMBIA LANGUAGES

(No. 274)

This last group on my list of Semi-Bantu languages is at present represented by only one exemplar—Konyāgi, spoken in the south-eastern watershed of the Upper Gambia. It is quite possible that when these regions of Northern Guinea have been more closely searched by expert ethnologists other Semi-Bantu speech-forms may be discovered allied to Konyāgi or connecting it with Fulup and Temne, or with the tongues of Portuguese Guinea. At present it occupies a very isolated position among the Semi-Bantu, though its right to inclusion in that family cannot be denied, nor its distant affinities with the Bantu overlooked.

In its phonology, Konyāgi departs considerably from the Bantu type. Its roots end most frequently in consonants, though in some cases a faint *u*, *a*, *e*, *i* can be heard after the terminal consonant, as though whispered. Such 'un-Bantu-like' collocations are met with as *rrk*, *rrm*; *n*, *d*, *t*, *m* are frequently doubled in pronunciation. There is some palatalizing of alveolars (*dy*, *ty*, *ny*), but not so much as in Fulup. The nasality is considerable in the vowel pronunciation. *R*, single or doubled, is a common consonant, and the alveolar *d* apparently interchanges with the dental *ḍ*. Gutturals enter much into the pronunciation, especially *γ* and *x*. Though the broad vowels are in use, the obscure and blurred vowels—*a*, *ū*, *ō*, *æ*, are commonly heard, together with the short sounds, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*. Still, with all these changes (which are rather capricious, dropped vowels in one version of a word reappearing in another, so that one sometimes hears

-zvel, 'cow', and at others, -zavel, -züvel), it is easy to deduce the descent of No. 274 from a language type like that of the Bantu, with disyllabic roots and an equal distribution of consonants and vowels.

Konyāgi is, of course, a prefix-using language, with the concord system. Its prefixes are seemingly much more varied in the singular than in the plural number, in which last sense I can only detect U. (with concord bu), Wa- (answering to the Bantu Ma-), Wi-, Wu-, Vi-, Vü-. The prefixes of the singular rather resemble those of Fulup. The locative prefixes seem to be chiefly Ga- (Ge-) or Ka-; perhaps also Da- or Ta-. Fa- appears as a locative prefix in one word, 'middle', but ordinarily Fa- (answering to a Semi-Bantu Pa-) seems to be a common singular prefix, allotted to roots that indicate 'male', 'men', 'children', and 'animals'. The noun-root may change in Konyāgi as between singular and plural, either in modifying its first consonant or tonic vowel, or in adding in the plural a vowel to the terminal consonant (for instance, I-taka, 'stone'; wa-raka, 'stones': I-muv, 'leg'; wa-guv, 'legs': Fu-mbak, 'finger'; wu-mbaki, 'fingers'). But taken as a whole the language adheres mainly to the Bantu rule of the unchangeable root.

Quite a number of substantive roots exhibit affinities with both Bantu and Semi-Bantu, as the following selection shows:

-züñ, 'adze', 'axe' (38; 237, 244, 245); Sañgan, 'large axe' (12, 61 a, 67, 68, 70, 96, 156); -uwiri, 'ant' (2 a, 21); -weri, 'arrow' (49, 149; 272); -yanā, 'baboon' (the -yani, -ani root); Nw-azu, 'bee' (42, 150, 226); -doñk, 'belly' (114); Sere, Sire, 'bird' (6 a, 63, 64, 64 a, 66, 68, and the -jila root); -zat, 'blood' (265); -mbana, 'body' (38); Ity-, 'bone' (214); Nñgan, 'bow' (230); Se-ful, 'brains' (18, 156, 219; 238); -ñak, 'male breast' (75 (F), 226; 251, 259); -bal, -wil, 'female breast' (-bele root); -ceron, 'brother' (58-9, 61 a-b); -dyēla, 'buffalo', (7, 7 a); O-ta, 'buttocks' (the -takw root); -kulu, 'canoe' (21 g, 73, 74, 75 c, 161 (old), 180); Yañgwan, 'cat' (1, 2-2 e, 3, 4 a, 7 a, 9, 145-8); -ttaf, -tab, 'child' (2, 75); -tcüd, 'cloth' (263, 266); -zavel, -züvel, -zvel, 'cow' (perhaps related to the -vyele, -veli root for 'female'); Nyāund, 'crocodile' (17; 244); -löbu, 'day' (2, 32, 38, 64, 141; 273); -wie, 'dog' (the -bwa root); -ñgañ, 'drum' (242, 253, 255, 256); -nuf, 'ear' (267-8); -nñn, 'egg' (267-8, 269-72); -nyi, 'elephant' (238, 239 a, 241-2, 244, 247, 251, 254, 259); -bint, 'excrement' (227, 228, 228 a, 229, 243); -iñgr, 'eye' (247, 259, 267, and the -kil, -sil root); Yi-ka, 'face' (254, 255, 256, 269-71); Wö-gu, 'fat' (the Ma-futa root); -wüyā, 'fear' (the -wga root); -mbak, -mbaki, 'finger' (236; 145); -gis, 'fish' (237); -vaire, -pari, 'foot' (89, 90-4, 53, 61); Fok, 'forest' (234, 237, 258, 263, and the -baga root); For, 'frog' (33 a, 132-3, 136, 176; 253); A-nañgwöllē, 'ghost' (49, 50, 51); -nañgal, 'goat' (110, 149, 64); Nwunna, Wunna, 'God', 'sky' (perhaps related to the -vula root for 'rain'); -ñgal, 'ground' (6, 62, 204-5; 257); -sæl, 'guinea-fowl' (62); -mmül, 'hair' (the -nyu-ele root); -rinya, 'hand' (130, 131; 226, and perhaps the Nyala root); -añgavu, 'head' (56 b; 267); -tyendye, 'heart' (193); -tak, -rak, 'heel' (19, 19 a, 20, 105 c); -mwu, 'hippopotamus' (the -mvubu root in Bantu); -guba, 'hoe' (61, 75, 75 a-c, 76; 235); -tyeri, 'house' (70, 133; 241, 261, 262); -was, 'lips' (184; 268, and the -basu root); -yāwi, 'magic' (the -cāwi root for 'sorcery', 'witch', 'devil' in Bantu and Semi-Bantu); An, -ana, 'man' (249, 257, 273); -can, -zanü, 'man, vir', 'husband' (261); -iyar, 'meat' (4; 267); -lō, 'medicine, doctor' (110, 164-5, 167-8); -mbilla, 'milk' (9 c; 250, 253, and the -bele root); -jān, 'monkey' (44, 44 b, 60, and perhaps the -ani, -yani root); -lepēra, 'moon' (156, 226, 226 a; 267); -kuña, 'mountain' (the -guñgu root); Was, 'mouth' (see 'lips'); -kadem, 'finger-nail' (the -kata root); -gñn, 'neck' (the -kiñgu, -siñgw root); -tyan, 'nose' (250); -ni, 'ox, cow' (247); -banaj, 'paddle' (273); -pol, 'penis' (the -bolo root); Fak, Faḡa, 'pigeon' (273); -rrēbi, 'rain' (234, 228); -wbe, 'river' (184, 187, 193-5, 198, 204-5, 226); -ñiri, 'salt' (the -kele, -cele root); -akwa, 'shield' (129, 130, 187); -ñikus, 'shoulder' (the -puzi, -fusi roots); -ñgan, 'skin, hide' (the -kanda root); Wñnna, 'sky' (1, 157, 200, and perhaps the -vula root for 'rain'); -rrāmbu, 'slave' (133, 166, 213; 268); -kwöd, 'sleep' (166, 200); -tyityi, 'smoke' (65 a, 161; 228, 230); Lannö, 'snake' (38; 267-8, 273); -sori, 'spear' (51 a, 139, 206; 263, 268); -hwōla, 'star' (147, 5 a); -diwkw, 'stick' (75 b, 76, 199; 234, 267, 273); -taka, -raka, 'stone' (266, 269-72, 273; 132-3); Fa-tax, 'sun' (100, 102; 263); -la'we, 'sun' (273 b); -gampa, 'testicles' (42); -mbüvu, 'thigh' (100 b, 102, 129, 226); Dol, 'to-day' (125, 129 a, 176-9, 180, 185, 189-90); -pare, 'toe' (253, 263, and -ala root); -tyan, 'to-morrow' (209, 215; 244 a and Jana root); Diña, 'tongue' (230, 247, 255, 261); Beyi, 'tooth' (184, 105); -ñāla,

'town' (I, 2 a, 3, 100 b, 110, 111, 148, 187-93; 267); **-ttay**, 'tree' (38, 82, 86, 175; 248, 249, 251, 265); **-tyä**, 'urine' (244); **Ngān**, **-eñkana**, 'vein' (120 b, 176, 187; 230, 232, 235); **Nwüt**, 'war' (269-72); **Wä-ñkā**, 'water' (176-82, 183, 185, 187; 249); **Ka-cemmu**, 'well, source' (the **-sima** root and 162); **-svel**, 'wife, woman' (17, 19, 20, 24, 71, 104; 230, 266); **-zalla**, 'wind' (28); **-yōka**, 'yam' (230, 233, 248, and the **-tuju** root); **Bōna**, 'year' (the **-fula**, **-vula**, 'recurring-rains' root: see 6, 90, 89, 125, 131, 137, 172, 176); **-yinō**, 'yesterday' (38, 52, 62; 244).

As regards the numerals, **-año** (**-diañgō**, **-riañō**), 'one' has Bantu affinities—see Nos. 43 a, 45, 139, 148 a, 188. The root **-xi** for 'two', however, is utterly dissimilar to any form in Bantu or Semi-Bantu, except those accidental coincidences derived from a **-bili** root. On the other hand, the root for 'three', **-rar**, is obviously the Bantu **-tatu**, and **-nay** for 'four' finds many Bantu congeners. **-bit**, **-bidi** for 'five' proceeds from a root meaning 'hand', and is akin to the words for 'five' in 153, 188, and 267, and to the **-pi**, **-pitō** root for 'hand'. The **Poyō**, **Pōgō**, **Fukō** for 'ten' almost certainly derives from the Bantu **-bōgō** root, used by Nos. 148 a, 150, 151 a, 152-4, 157, 158, 166, 168, 195; 228, 230, 248, 254, 267. There seems to be no special root for 'fifteen' as in other Guinea languages; and 'twenty' is represented by the paraphrase **Ane bum**, 'a man-whole'. After that the decadal counting prevails, not the vigesimal. There is a root for 'hundred', **Kēmē**, which is akin to the Bantu **Kama**, but which may have been borrowed in commerce from Temne. If not, it is a striking proof of the affinities between Kon-yāgi and Temne, and again with Bantu.

In the pronouns, that of the first person singular (**Ami**), in all its forms, is quite Bantu; the equivalents of 'thou', 'thee', 'thy' might also be derived from Proto-Bantu; but with the other pronouns the resemblances and affinities are much vaguer; except that the objective particle for 'us' (**-fu**) may be traced back to a common variant of the more archaic Bantu **Su** and **Tu**.

Fop for 'all' is closely allied to the Fulup **Pōpa**, and to similar forms in Bantu. The demonstratives seem to follow the noun; 'this' in the first position is **-mi**, and 'that' in the second position is **-di**.

It has not been possible to record much concerning verb-roots; and nothing has been ascertained about verbal syntax, save that the negative particle appears to be a suffix, **-la**.

Since the first volume was published, various critics have called in question my leaving out of the list of Semi-Bantu languages several tongues which seem to them to come within the definition of this family. Mr. Northcote Thomas insists on the right of **Limba** (in North-west Sierra Leone) to admittance within Semi-Bantu limits; one or two correspondents have suggested **Kisi**, of the north-east borders of Sierra Leone.

The uncertain position of **Basari** and **Camba** (North-east Tōgōland) has already been referred to. There is a Semi-Bantu flavour about **Yasgua**, **Ham**, and **Korō** of British Nigeria.

The best cases against my decision to leave such languages out of the Semi-Bantu list are made by Mr. Northcote Thomas on behalf of **Limba**, and by German philologists in connexion with **Basari** and **Camba**. With regard to these last, I have summed up my reasons for and against their inclusion on page 748 of the first volume, and no further information which has come to hand has caused me to change my opinion that while they are partly of Semi-Bantu texture, they have departed too much from Bantu standards to be classed as Semi-Bantu.

As concerns **Limba**, Mr. Thomas, who, together with Koelle seventy years ago, seems to have been one of the few students of this north-west Sierra Leone language, has put forward in *Man* (the 1919 volume) a plea for its being considered a Semi-Bantu language. He shows that though some of the nouns form their plurals by a suffixed **-i**, **-ni**, **-n**, **-en**, **-ei**, **-ui**, others—the greater number—distinguish between singular and plural by a change of prefix. The singular prefixes are **O-** or **Ū-** (the 'human' class); **Ku-**, **V-**, **W-**, **Fu-**; **K-**; **Hu-**; **I-**; and the plural prefixes are **Be-** ('human'); **Ba-**, **B-**; **Ma-**, **M-**; **Ta-**, **T-**. There is some degree of concord in the particles.

But there are scarcely any affinities in the noun-roots, in the numerals, pronouns, or verb-roots with the Bantu family or with Semi-Bantu languages, save in the cases where there has been borrowing or

interchange from Temne. The division of nouns into classes, the existence of the concord, the relegation of human beings to a special class, even the employment of prefixes to indicate singular and plural are features to be found in other West African and Sudanic languages not within the Bantu or Semi-Bantu families. In other words, these distinguishing characteristics require to be supplemented by further evidences of ancient affinity in the possession of word-roots in common before we can pronounce any of these West African forms of speech to belong to the very tenuous Semi-Bantu family.

There are word-roots common to the Bantu in a number of West and West Central African languages, but they are not accompanied by a resemblance in syntaxial features. We can only suppose that many West African forms of speech have originally been drawn from a Semi-Bantu stock (as indeed Hausa may have been); but that in the course of time they have been moulded by the impact of other language types until they have departed too widely from the Bantu character in phonology, in word-roots, and in grammatical structure to be considered Bantu or Semi-Bantu languages. To treat of such forms of speech on the Bantu border-line would extend the present work unduly. It might fitly form the subject of another treatise on the languages of the Sudan.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY OF THE BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU LANGUAGES

(1) PHONETICS

IN the first volume of this work, before setting forth the comparative vocabularies, I gave a brief illustration of the phonetic spelling employed in this book.¹ It is now advisable to deal more in detail with this as well as with the phonology or sound changes in these two families of African languages. The vowels, which may be distinguished as clear and separate sounds in these tongues, are the following—one might almost conceive of them as arranged in a circle, the first and last on the list being in juxtaposition :

ō pronounced like *aw* in the English word 'bawl' or *o* in 'store'. [This is a common rendering of the *o* in Italian and Portuguese, and perhaps was a sound inherited from the parent Latin.]

o, the short sound of *ō*, like *o* in 'not', 'folly', 'porridge'.

ö, a very rare sound in Bantu, but much commoner in Semi-Bantu. It represents (there is no need in these languages for a finer distinction) the sound of the English *u* in 'burn' or *i* in 'bird', the French *eu*, and the German *ü*.

¹ It has been objected recently by a professor of phonetics who has dealt with African languages, that it is absurd to explain African pronunciation by European, to cite English, French, or German words as analogies for the sounds issuing from a Negro's mouth and lips. With something like thirty-five years' experience of African utterance and some acquaintance with the leading European and Asiatic languages, I would submit that this is an unreasonable contention. Some Negro tribes or individuals are inclined to slur their words, just as is done amongst uneducated or careless English people. But, I hold, that in general their vowels and consonants can be exactly paralleled in some well-known European language or in one or other of the better known Semitic tongues. The question being looked into carefully, there can be no other answer to it. If English, French, or German equivalents of these African utterances are not close parallels, how is it that the simple and unconfused statements of pronunciation penned by the earlier philologists in African languages, such as Barth, Livingstone, Bishop Steere, Koelle, were sufficiently accurate as a guide to Europeans learning those languages? How has it been, for example, that I, basing my knowledge of many an African tongue on the indications given by predecessors, have been quickly and well understood by the natives when I addressed them according to the directions given? If their vocal sounds are so different from ours, how is it that almost every type of Negro from the Congo Pygmy and the Bushman to the most aristocratic type of Bantu or Fula, can speedily learn a European language, and after a short training pronounce it so well that he is qualified to serve as interpreter? I have met with an occasional Negro from South Africa or from America whose voice and utterance, if you closed your eyes, might seem to be that of an Englishman trained to speak at Oxford or Cambridge. Similarly, I have met with many a European who could speak an African language so well that he might, except for his outward form, pass as a native. Therefore, I would ask my readers to pass such peevish objections by, and to believe that most African sounds are to be paralleled in the pronunciation of well-known languages outside Africa. Naturally, proficiency in speaking an African tongue exactly as it is pronounced both in musical tones and in the value of consonants and vowels is only to be acquired by a parrot-like imitation of the natives. Nor is it to be expected that one native speaks as well as another. Some may be careless in utterance and very uncertain as to consonant or vowel. Others speak with a delightful precision, making their utterance easy of immediate transcription without question. For philological purposes, at any rate, my parallels are sufficiently just and my range of symbols sufficiently comprehensive.

\bar{a} , like a in the Southern English 'father', 'rather', and the average sound of the Continental a , especially as heard in French or Italian.

a . Simply, the shorter, less stressed form of \bar{a} ; and something like the terminal a in the Italian pronunciation of 'bella', 'mala'.

α . This symbol is usually employed in the alphabet authorized by the Indian Government to express the short sound of a as above; but it is better regarded as an equivalent for the English u in 'but', 'curry', 'hurry', 'mud', 'fun'. It is often cited as being the exact equivalent of the Arabic \lvert , when unstressed, especially in the definite article \lvert . In sound it comes so very near the unstressed a that it might be asked why a separate symbol is necessary, why it could not be represented by \bar{a} . But it is not quite the same. In the English language the u pronounced a often descends from a diphthong au , and is really a short way of pronouncing that diphthong. In English this a sound, therefore, imports some trace of the u vowel mixed with the unstressed a . And it would also appear to have the same history in some of the Semi-Bantu languages and to be indicative of a transition between a and u .

α . This diphthongal symbol is the generally-accepted but rather clumsy way of expressing a single vowel-sound, transitional between a and e . It represents the English a in 'hat', 'parry', 'dad'; also the sound of e in the common French pronunciation of 'femme'. It is the sound often given to the stressed \lvert in North African Arabic. It occurs but seldom in the Bantu and Semi-Bantu, and is generally due to a thicker pronunciation of the ordinary e .

e , \bar{e} , sounds like the \bar{e} in 'fête' or the English a in 'fate' or 'matrix'. It is also equivalent to the French \acute{e} .

\acute{e} . Like the English e in 'met', the first e in the French word 'cette'.

\ddot{e} . Really the short sound of a diphthong ea or $e\ddot{u}$, though as spoken it scarcely sounds more than a single vowel. It is practically the same sound as the first e in 'thereby', the ai in 'fairness', and the \ddot{e} in French 'mère'.

i , z . The ordinary Continental i in French, German, and Italian, and in the English word 'ravine' or ee in 'feet'. Very rarely is it heard otherwise in the Bantu languages, so that it is not necessary always to indicate the stress.

\acute{i} . This is the sound of the English i in 'hit', or y in 'very', 'happy', a sound not often met with in European languages. It occurs so seldom in the Bantu tongues that when it is necessary to discriminate it is indicated by \acute{i} .¹

\ddot{u} . The French u and the German \ddot{u} . A vowel sound of rare occurrence in either Bantu or Semi-Bantu, but met with on Kilimanjaro, in Central Congoland, in the Ruwenzori district, and amongst some of the Semi-Bantu languages.

u , \bar{u} . As in 'rule' or oo in 'fool', 'food'.

\ddot{u} . As in 'put', 'bull', or oo in 'foot'.

ω . This is a quasi-diphthongal sound of o in 'bone', or ow in 'bellow'. Under a strict phonetic analysis this vowel sound resolves itself into something like a diphthong of \ddot{ou} or ou , but usually the two sounds are so fused that it is altogether more appropriate to indicate it by a single symbol; and as this is the sound usually attributed to the Greek ω , that is the way in which it is indicated by most philologists. As mentioned elsewhere, it is so closely connected with \bar{o} , the first vowel of the series, that the two are almost interchangeable in African languages.

The consonants of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu may be thus distinguished (for convenience of pronunciation they are accompanied by the vowel a):

Labial-nasal, Ma. Ordinarily m is pronounced as in English, but in certain language-groups of the North-west Bantu field like the Teke (Group LL) m has such a nasal quality that it is surmounted by a \sim . [This rendering of it occurred independently to Dr. A. Sims, to myself, and to several French missionaries

¹ This short \acute{i} sound in the Western Semi-Bantu is occasionally so thickly pronounced as to resemble both the Welsh y and the Rumanian and Slavic \acute{i} , и , and y . I have in my *Treatise on Phonetic Spelling* (Cambridge University Press) represented this by the symbol ψ .

much about the same time—1883-6. All alike heard it as *m* mainly, but *m* pronounced so much through the nose that it verged on *ṁ*.]

Labial-explosives, Ba; Pa. Usually pronounced as in the English words 'bad' and 'pad'. The Bantu *b*, whilst more often precisely similar to the *b* in English and most European languages, occasionally, as in Spanish, vacillates between *b* and *v*, but more often between *b* and *w*.

Labial-contracted, Wa. The English *w* or consonantal *ṁ*. The *w* and the *b* being so easily confused in Bantu pronunciation, a special symbol has been used, *w̄*, by some philologists to express the *b* of South Central Bantu. In transcribing these South Central languages myself, from native utterance, I generally heard the *w̄* as *b*.

Labial-dental, Va; Fa. Equivalent to the English, French, or Italian *v* and *f*.

Lingual-dental, Ða; Ṭa. Pronounced respectively like the *th* in 'this' and *th* in 'think'; or like the modern Greek *ð* and *θ*.

Lingual-alveolar-explosives, Da; Ta. Equivalent to the ordinary pronunciation of *d* and *t* in English and most European languages.

Lingual-alveolar-explosive-velar, Ða; Ṭa. This symbol, *ḏ*, *ṭ*, represents the Arabic ض and ط. It is believed by certain transcribers of Eastern Equatorial and South-west Bantu languages that this velar utterance of the *d* and *t* met with in classical Arabic and perhaps some other Semitic languages, should be discriminated in the spelling of the tongues in question, especially where *ḏ* and *ṭ* follow an *n*. I have myself heard these languages spoken and have not detected anything very different or important in the pronunciation of the *d* and *t*. The discrimination is certainly without any philological importance, though it may be defended as an attempt to imitate accurately local pronunciation.

Lingual-alveolar, La. Ordinary English or European *l*.

Lingual-alveolar-velar, Ła. This is the Polish *ł*, and although no philologists have mentioned the fact, it may be heard very often in the pronunciation of Portuguese, especially by Brazilians. It occurs—or is thought to occur—in one South African Group of Bantu languages, and may, I think, be heard in some of the Western Semi-Bantu, such as Dyōla (273).

Lingual-alveolar-palatal, Ra. The English *r* in 'hurry', 'barrack'. Sometimes this *r* is much trilled or rattled like the *r* in Castilian, or in the provincial utterance of French (Parisian French pronounces its *r* almost always as *γ*, a trick which seems to have originated in Southern or Western Germany, to have spread to Danish and Norse, and thence to North-east England). The *r* is not so commonly used in Bantu languages as in Semi-Bantu, and it is doubtful whether it existed in the parent Bantu tongue, and did not arise subsequently as a variant of *l* or *d*. In most Bantu languages its pronunciation is precisely similar to that of the English *r* between two vowels, especially the double *r*. But in others, as already remarked, it is pronounced with a greater roll. Where this is very marked it is doubled by me or even stressed. In some of the Western Semi-Bantu, *r* is used as a vowel, as it is in the Eastern Aryan languages. This is also the case with unclassified Sudanic tongues bordering on the Nyanza and Ituri Groups of Bantu languages. I have nowhere heard amongst the Bantu any cerebral *r* such as is so common a feature in English dialects (*ʀ*), but I have heard something like it in the Semi-Bantu, but not sufficiently marked to be worth special indication.

Lingual-alveolar-sibilant, Za; Sa. Like the English *z* in 'zeal' or 'fuzzy' and the *s* in 'sap' and 'kiss'. I can detect no examples of the lingual-alveolar-sibilant-velar *Za* and *Ša* corresponding to the Arabic ط and ص, though I do not deny that this velar rendering of the sibilants may occur in one or two Bantu languages of the North-east; but its discrimination would be of no philological importance.

Lingual-palatal-sibilant, Ža; Ša; Ja; Ca. *ʃ* and *ʒ* are pronounced like the English *sh* and *zh* (*z* as in 'azure'); *j* like the English *j*, and *c* like the English *ch* or the Italian *c* before *e* and *i*. *J* and *C*, of course, are compound consonants really composed of a blending of *d* and *ʒ*, *t* and *ʃ*. But these blended consonants are so commonly in use and so intentionally single that it is more convenient to represent each by one symbol. Where, however, the sound is that of a double utterance (as in the Italian *-cci* or *-ggi*), I indicate it exactly as it is pronounced: *dj*, *tc*, or even *dʒ*, *tʃ*.

Lingual-palatal, Ya. The English consonantal *y*, the German or Italian *j*; which is *ȝ* employed consonantly.

Lingual-palatal-aspirate, X̄a. A palatalized form of *x*, transitional often between *x* and *ʃ*, equivalent in pronunciation to the modern sound of *ch* in most German dialects as a terminal (in 'ich') or before another consonant (as in 'fichte').

Lingual-palatal-nasal. N̄a. This is pronounced like the *ñg* in 'sing' or 'ringing' or 'ringer'; like the *ñg* in German. That is say, the use of the *ñg* where the *g* guttural is not carried on to the following vowel as it is in the place-name 'Bangor'. This is easy enough of pronunciation where it occurs in the middle of a word. It is only as an initial that it is boggled over by neophytes. It is a consonantal utterance particularly characteristic of African—and I believe also of Melanesian—languages, though it seems to originate generally from an *ñg* combination in which the *g* was fully pronounced.

Lingual-velar.¹ Ga; Ka. The *g* is always hard as in the English words 'gain', 'get', 'beg'; and *k* is pronounced as it is in most European languages.

Lingual-velar-faucal. Qa. This is equivalent to the Arabic ق, namely a *k* pronounced 'throatily' with some action of the uvula.

Lingual-velar-aspirate. Γa; Xa. Γ has very much the sound of the gamma in modern Greek. It is equivalent to the Arabic غ, and is often represented in English writing, old and modern, by *gh*. The French confuse this with the '*r grasseyé*' and spell it *rh*.

The *x* is employed by me as equivalent to the Greek χ, and expresses the *kh* in the haphazard transcription of Oriental words or the *ch* in the Scottish dialect of English, the *ch* as it is pronounced in most German words, the Spanish *j*, or the Dutch *g*. A familiar instance in our own tongue is 'loch'.

Aspirates. H'a; Ha. The first *h* is like an *h* uttered with a very extravagant aspiration and represents the Arabic ح. It is not an uncommon sound in Bantu. *H* itself is pronounced like the English and German aspirated *h* in such words as 'home' and 'heim', 'haha'.

Sometimes the aspiration of a vowel following a consonant is not sufficiently marked for an *h* to be inserted (though this, perhaps, is the more sensible proceeding). The aspiration is then indicated by the Greek aspirate mark '.

The gasp or hiatus, such as occurs between the terminal vowel of one word and the initial vowel of its successor when English is spoken punctiliously, or the equivalent of the Arabic *hamza* (ء), is represented by',²

The faucal accent applied to vowels—almost a guttural consonant and evidently related to γ—equivalent to the Arabic ع is represented by °. This accent is practically never met with in a Bantu language, occurs very doubtfully in the Semi-Bantu, but is present in Fula and in some of the Sudanic languages bordering on the Bantu.

The Zulu-Kaffir clicks, as already indicated, are represented by the C̣, ɓ, ɕ, and ɔ̣. They are explosive utterances. C̣ (the dental click) is formed by the tip of the tongue clicking against the gum between the two middle incisors; ɓ (the alveolar click) by the tip of the tongue clicking against the hard palate; ɕ (velar or palatal) by the action of the tongue nearer to the soft palate; and ɔ̣ (lateral) by a sideways action of the tongue against the molar teeth and cheek. There are, of course (or there are said

¹ Commonly called 'guttural', though pronounced more between back of tongue and velar palate than in the throat.

² The apostrophe, ', is made use of in spelling where a vowel has been elided in pronunciation, but where it exists, or may be thought to exist in more deliberately uttered versions of the word. There is a marked tendency towards abbreviation in some of the modern Bantu languages. The syllables of a word or of a succession of words may be run together in rapid speaking, but this effect is not ordinarily taken account of in a philological treatise; because when challenged to speak more precisely, the native would usually give the syllables their proper value and the separate words their distinction. Yet in comparing the rendering of South or East African Bantu by the untutored sportsman, soldier, or trader, and that which is given in the missionary's punctilious rendering of the language—based, of course, on trained hearing and a close understanding—one is often struck by the difference in the appearance of the words, the former rendering to a philologist being sometimes provocative of despair; just as our own English tongue, written phonetically from slang or cockney pronunciation, would seem a very different language to correctly written English or the speech of orators.

to be), divers other clicks uttered by the Bushman, but they are wellnigh impossible of definition and do not enter into the subject of this book. The first of the four Bantu clicks is represented in ordinary South African writing by *c*, the second by *q*, the third by *qc*, and the fourth by *x*. It is, however, not always certain whether *q* stands in Sesùthó for the palatal click or for the Arabic guttural ق (*q*). It is impossible in a work like this to adopt the *c*, *q*, *qc*, *x* rendering of the clicks in Negro languages, because these letters are required in universal phonetic spelling for well-known consonantal utterances. Neither is it easy to accept the somewhat clumsy symbols invented by Lepsius and others. Inasmuch, however, as all these click sounds seem to be related (at any rate in the Bantu languages) to palatal and velar consonants, I have invented four equivalents based on the form of the letter *c* (C, Ç, Ç, Ç).

Nasality of utterance is indicated (where it is not sufficiently plain to be represented by ñ) by the symbol ~. This feature is, of course, borrowed from the Portuguese. The 'tilde' in its original form is supposed to have been a loosely written *m* put over a vowel or a consonant to indicate nasality of pronunciation, or the semi-suppression of an *m* or *n*, a double *m* or a double *n*. The double *n* in Old Spanish (like the double *l*) was a clumsy method adopted for implying palatalization of the *n*. Two *n*'s were pronounced *ny*. Then the Spaniards wrote an abbreviated *n* or *m* over the single *n* and pronounced it *ny*. On the other hand, in Portuguese this mutilated *n* or *m* was used to indicate the nasality resulting from the suppression of an *n*. The ordinary *ão* of Portuguese terminations stands for *ano* or (by confusion) for *on*, *om*, and is pronounced as if it were written in vulgar English, 'owng'. Earlier still, it was pronounced *añw* or *oñ*. Very often in the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages (in the latter, nasality is more pronounced than in the Bantu) the nasal sound given to a vowel or a consonant is not sufficiently marked for the introduction of ñ, in which case the 'tilde' is alone applied to the vowel. For instance *Bã* is pronounced like *Bã* uttered through the nose. If American or provincial English were transcribed accurately and phonetically it would be studded with tildes.

The changes in tone where the 'musical' utterance of the Bantu language is so marked that it cannot be overlooked in transcription, are indicated by the accents ' and ` . A good many Bantu languages are uttered in a more or less sing-song manner, but the discrimination of these tones is of comparatively small importance in a work like this, which deals principally with the comparison of word-roots and syntaxial structure. Some Bantu languages are spoken in the monotonous fashion of English. All of us who have made any acquaintance with France realize directly we cross the Channel how different are the pitch of the voice and the varied tones of the syllables; so much so that if we on our return pronounced our own language in the same fashion, we should be laughed at. But while it is highly necessary to imitate these tones if you wish—almost an impossibility—to speak French so as to be mistaken for a Frenchman, the tones are of no importance in tracing the descent of the French language from its Latin, Gothic, German, or Keltic origins. Similarly, the presence of varied tones in the speaking of Bantu or Semi-Bantu languages is not generally necessary of record as bearing on the origin or affinities of the languages and dialects. At the same time, it might be observed that there is a great development of distinction of meaning by changing the tones applied to the syllables of a word in Secuana and Sesùthó, and even in Zulu-Kafir, Yaó (54), some of the East African and Zambeian Bantu. This practice becomes still more important of study in the Fañg languages (Group RR). Here, as amongst the monosyllabic tongues of Dahomé and the Niger delta, the arbitrary pitch of the voice is used a good deal to distinguish from each other syllables that in their consonants and vowels are precisely alike. These tone accents, therefore, may be used in transcribing some of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages, though I still do not think they have much bearing on the affinities of word-roots.

(2) PHONOLOGY

The typical pronunciation of the Bantu languages, as has already been pointed out, recalls irresistibly the sound of Tuscan Italian in the fullness and simplicity of the vowel sounds and the equal distribution of vowels and consonants. What is more important from the ethnological point of view is this pronunciation reminds philologists of the phonology of the Melanesian-tongues of Papuaasia and Melanesia. It would

almost seem as though this resemblance justified us in postulating the existence, at a comparatively remote period, of a great Negro race, with harmonious speech utterance, extending its range across the Equatorial zone from West Africa through India to Melanesia and the Pacific archipelagoes. The harmonious qualities of an average Bantu language are by no means peculiar to that language family in Africa; they are shared by a number of the Sudanic tongues, by one or two of the Nilotic languages, and by several groups of unclassified West African speech. But this Italian utterance is not fully shared by the Semi-Bantu, though there is some evidence to show that the Semi-Bantu languages in their original form were, like the Bantu, harmonious in the adjustment of vowels and consonants and in the vowel termination of words. A typical 'Bantu' phonology still subsists in Group I (S-B.) of the Semi-Bantu—the languages of South-west Togoaland. It is also met with scarcely diminished in Group H (S-B.), the Kaduna languages of Central Nigeria, and to nearly the same extent in the Sub-group M 1 (S-B.) of Portuguese Guinea.¹ A harsh pronunciation, the consonantal endings of words and their frequent shortening to monosyllables, as well as an excess of nasality, have contributed to make the sounds of the Cameroons and Cross river, and the East Nigerian forms of Semi-Bantu, very unlike the musical and easy utterance of the true Bantu languages. And these tendencies have greatly influenced a few Bantu Groups of the west or north-west: for instance, the Kwañgō-Kasai (Group CC) and some of the Central Congoland languages (123, 124, 125, 126, 130), Sub-groups OO 2 and OO 4, Groups PP, QQ, and RR of the Cameroons, especially the Fañg or Pañwe languages.

An outstanding feature in the parent Bantu language seems to have been a dislike to the juxtaposition without an intervening vowel of all consonants save those that were nasal (*m, n, ñ*) and those that were formed or partly formed by the lips (*b, w, v, p, and f*). A velar consonant—*k* or *g*—might precede a labial (making it *kw, gw, kf, gv, kp, gb, kb*); and a nasal could precede a labial, a dental, an alveolar, a palatal, or a velar consonant; an alveolar—*d* or *t*—might come before *s, z, f, g*; and any consonant might be followed by a *w, y, or h*. But such combinations as *kl, gl, kr, br, tr, fr, sr, pl, fl, sk, zg, ks, kt, gd, bd, pt, rs, ls, lt, rd, lb, rp, rk, rg, sn, sm, sp, sb, st, zd, tk*,² were and are characteristically un-Bantu.

There is scarcely any rule without its exceptions, and in languages 52 and 53 of West Nyasaland the very un-Bantu combination of *sk, sy, &c.*, actually does occur, derived from the collocation of *sy* and *zy*. In the Komoro Islands, on Kilimanjaro, on the Lower Zambezi, and in one or two North-western Bantu languages we may meet with the *dr* combination, which is due to a slurring of the *d*. In Southern Bantu, moreover, *bw* or *rw* tends to become *bg, by, rg*. Otherwise the rule sufficiently holds force for those who are even only superficially acquainted with the general trend of Bantu phonology to detect what is *not* Bantu from that which *is* by the sight of such forbidden conjunctions as *rk, rg, lk, dk, sk, zg, fk, bk, pt, bd, kt, &c.*

To a lesser extent the same rule seems to apply to the Semi-Bantu. In their case the superficial transcriber of careless hearing may put down un-Bantu consonantal combinations without detecting the attenuated vowel sounds that separate them. There are, however, a good many cases of *dr, tr*, occurring in some of the Semi-Bantu languages (such as Temne), but here it would seem from the Landoma and Baga dialects west of Temne that *tr* and *dr* in Temne are really as in Groups I (S-B.) and M (S-B.) recent changes from *ts* and *dz* which are very frequent Bantu combinations. In No. 230 and its dialects and No. 270 an original *t* often dissolves into *rs, rz*.

The vowels are in normal Bantu distinguished by their simple and sonorous quality, recalling the same feature in Italian. They are virtually limited to the following sounds: *ω, o, ō, a, ā, e, ē, ī, u, ū*. *Ō* is not a Bantu vowel, but is met with in some of the Semi-Bantu languages, and from them no doubt it has penetrated into a few Bantu groups such as, for instance, those of the Kwañgō-Kasai and the Fañg languages. It seems to proceed usually from a more primitive *e* or *a* sound. The *æ* as heard in the English words 'fat', 'dally', or the French 'femme', occurs occasionally—partly from slovenly pronunciation—in the Nyanza tongues; in South Central Africa; and in the North-west Bantu. The short *a* sound of the English *u* in 'but', 'hurry', is very frequently met with in the Semi-Bantu of the Cross

¹ Biafada (267) and Pajade (268).

² *tk* occurs sometimes in Semi-Bantu.

river-Camerouns and in the Semi-Bantu of Westernmost Africa. According to Schlenker it was commonly heard (as a modification of the ordinary *a*) in Temne; and the American missionaries seem to have recorded it as a short *a* in the West Luba language (104). Here, however, I think their hearing was influenced by American pronunciation, as other authorities on the Western Luba dialects do not allude to any shortening of the ordinary *a* of Bantu phonology. The French *u* (*ü*) occurs in the Kilimanjaro dialects and in those of Central Congoland, the Kwaŋgō-Kasai region, and markedly in the languages of Ruwenzori and the Ituri Forest.

The probabilities are that the original Bantu vowels were limited to *ā* (with its variant *ω*), *a*, *e*, *ī*, and *u*. *E* seems to have been amongst the original vowels, but many an *e* in modern Bantu is the result of a fusion between *a* and *i*. In numerous Bantu tongues there is a tendency for the unstressed *i* to become *e*, and an unstressed *u* to become *ω*. Although very definite and constant in pronunciation, there is no philological value in the distinction between *ā*, *o*, and *ω*.¹

The permutation of *a* and *e* is not frequent, yet it occurs.

Ordinarily a Bantu language is faithful to the pristine *a*, and it is a rare thing for the prefixes **Ba-**, **Ma-**, **Ka-**, and less rare for **Pa-** and **La-** to be pronounced **Be-**, **Me-**, **Ke-**, **Be-**, and **Le-**. It is rarer still—though it does occur—for an *e* to deepen into an *a*. There seems to have been an ancient permutability—very rare indeed in modern times—between *a* and *i*. It occurs occasionally that *a* changes into *ω* or *ā*, or *ā* or *ω* become *a*. The permutation of *e* and *i*, as already remarked, and of *ā*, *ω*, and *u* is very common. When *a* changes terminally into *u* or *ω*, or *vice versa*, it is generally due to the influence of a deliberately intended inflexion; and in some cases is connected with ‘relativity’ or ‘referring back’ to some complement in the sentence.²

As regards the permutation of consonants, *m* is occasionally interchangeable with *b* or *v*. This occurs more often in prefixes and particles than with noun-roots. It will be observed in the consideration of the prefixes that in certain language-groups **Ba-** becomes **Ma-**; but still more frequently that **Ma-** becomes **Ba-**, **Mi-** changes to **Bi-**, and **Mu-** to **Bu-**. (I do not know of any case in which **Bu-** becomes **Mu-**.) *B*, *w*, *v*, and *ɸ* are exceedingly permutable. In some languages it is difficult to decide, from the loose-lipped articulation, whether the speaker is using a *b* or a *w*, so much so, that a compromise consonant, *ɸ*, has been invented to express the ‘indeterminate labial’. *P* and *f* are easily confused, not only as initials—and it is in initial consonants that the greater variability occurs—but in the middle of word-roots. Also *v* and *f*, *v* and *ɸ*, *v* and *w*, *v* and *b*. The change of *b* into *ɸ* or *vice versa*, is less common, and yet does occur. Rarest of all do we find the familiar 2nd prefix **Ba-** becoming **Pa-**, but the 16th prefix **Pa-** in several language-groups becomes **Ba-**—as well as **Wa-**, **Va-**, and **Fa-**.³ The most surprising feature in Bantu phonology, perhaps, is the readiness with which labial consonants become velar, aspirate, dental, or alveolar. The change of *f*, *v* or *ɸ* into *t*, *s* and *z*, *d* and *t*—especially before the vowel *u*—is of quite common occurrence. Examples:

-pumbu (83), **-bumbu** (78), **-tfumbu** (75 b), **-tumbω** (21), **-subω** (from **-sumbω**, 57) = ‘belly’; **-fu**, **-bu**, **-vumω**, **-pumω** (many Bantu languages), **-su** (64, 75-6), **-zumω** (89) = ‘belly’; **-fumbi** (37, 51), **-sumbi** (52), **-tumbi** (11, 12) = ‘egg’; **-vuli** (21), **-zuli** (20), ‘ghost’, ‘shadow’; **-faka** (191), **-saka**, **-siaka** (194), **-saku** (100), ‘knife’.

The opposite change seldom or never occurs. That is to say, although by means of a transitional *h*

¹ It is important, of course, to acquire accurately the local values of these closely-related vowels; otherwise one’s speech may be too clearly that of the foreigner. For example, some of the missionaries in East Africa have never appreciated the fact that in many words which have been carelessly transcribed, the English *o* is pronounced *ā* and not *ω*. In most Swahili dialects the root **-ōte** (‘all’) is thus pronounced, and not **-ote**. But I cannot recall a single instance of the distinction between *ā* and *ω* being of *philological* importance in tracing the descent or affinities of a root. In some languages a preference for *ā* prevails over *ω*.

² As regards the dropping of vowels the most fleeting of sounds seems to be *u*, and next to it *i*. This is especially notable in the prefixes, most commonly after or before a nasal.

³ In North-west Bantu, or rather in the Group A (S-B.) bordering on the Camerouns Bantu, the 2nd prefix **Ba-** occasionally changes to **Pa-**. Much commoner is the change of the locative **Pa-**, **Pu-**, **Pω-** to **Ba-**, **Bu-**, **Bω-** (see South-western Bantu and some Congo tongues).

an *s* may be sometimes permuted to *f* (frequently so in No. 90), I can think of no instance of a *z* becoming *v*, a *d* becoming *v*, or a *t* becoming *f* or *þ*.

The change from *b* to *g*, *þ* to *k*, *w* to *ɣ*, *f* to *k*, is frequently met with, sometimes, no doubt, by the transitional combination of *kf*, *gb*, *kþ*, *gw*, *kw*, *ɣw*.¹ But I cannot recall well-proved instances of the converse process of *g* becoming *b*, a *k* changing to *þ*, though certainly *ɣ* seems to transform itself readily to *w*. It is observable that although *b* can so easily become a velar consonant—*g* or even *k*—*þ* does not seem to transmute to a velar but to an aspirate, *h*. The facility with which *þ* becomes *h* is met with throughout many of the Bantu Groups. It has produced what I have called the 'Ha disease', characterizing so much of Bantu Africa. Sometimes the process is arrived at by the medium of *f*, for *f* changes readily into an aspirate; sometimes there is no transition; one dialect may say **Pa** and its near neighbour says **Ha** without the incongruity attracting much local attention. Another dialect may drop the aspirate so that the letter *þ* disappears from the language altogether and the prefix **Pa** becomes **A**.

Possibly in the original Bantu there was no purely dental consonant *ʒ* or *ʒ̣*, though Bleek thought the original form of the 10th prefix might have been *ʒi-* to account for its subsequent modifications. But in quite a number of Bantu languages *ʒ* arises from *z*, *s*, *t*, *d*, or even *f* or *v*. *ʒ* is much less frequently met with. Both it and *ʒ̣* may be derived from the alveolar *l* as well as from *d* and *r*. *T* and *s* permute readily, often through the intermediate *ʒs*; the change of *d* to *z*, *z* to *d*, as well as *z* to *t*, is still more frequent. There is also some permutability between *z* and *r*, *z* and *g*, *z* and *ɣ*. *T* and *r*; *d* and *r*; *t*, *d*, and *l*; *r* and *l*; *l* and *n* are so frequently permutable that in the case of *t*, *d*, *r*, and *l* it is hardly necessary for the Bantu philologist to make any distinction. There are many instances of *l* becoming *n*, and others, not so numerous, of *n* becoming *l*. It occurs very rarely that *r* becomes *ɣ* and therefore permutes with *g* and *k*; *l* (and consequently *r* and even *d*) sometimes changes to *ɣ*, but the reverse process never takes place. *G* often glides into *ɣ*, and much more rarely *ny* hardens in *ŋg*. *ʒ* usually arises from a fusion between *n* and *g*. More rarely it may proceed from a simple *n*; and in some cases of the Semi-Bantu tongues it may represent an older *r* or *l* after passing through the *n* stage in utterance.

There is a tendency distributed pretty widely over the Bantu field for initial *t* to become *k* (examples: **Ku**-, 'we', instead of **Tu**- in Nos. 5, 5a, 6, 6a, 9b, 10, 153; **-tatu**, **-taraw**, 'three' in most Bantu languages is pronounced **-karaw** in No. 153; **-tawk** (136), **-tok** (273), 'lake, river', is elsewhere **-kawk** (41), **-gawk** (40); and for *þ* to change abruptly to *t* (**-pele**, 'pigeon', in Nos. 39 and 42 farther west becomes **-tela** and **-tere**). A great many similar instances will be noticed in the comparison of word-roots).

In a few languages of the East Coast and of South-west Africa I have used the symbols *ʒ̣* and *ʒ̣̣* to express a velar change in the pronunciation of these alveolar consonants which is perhaps fancifully detected and recorded by transcribers of these languages, especially in regard to *d* and *t* when they follow an *n*.

Personally, I have not detected this peculiarity in pronunciation when listening to the speech of the native tribes in East or South-west Africa, but I have attempted by this spelling to record the impression made on the hearing of competent philologists. In any case, this variation in the pronunciation of *d* and *t* is of no philological importance, but is restricted to a clan or locality. What is much commoner, however, and seems to vex a good deal the souls of certain transcribers of Bantu languages, is the palatalizing of the *d* and *t*. For most purposes, philological as well as accurate local pronunciation, this is most readily met by *ty*, *dy*, but where the sound is not quite so explicit, but more like what is heard in the terminal *t* of certain Russian words, I have indicated by a vertical accent on the *t* or *d*. Except in the case of those who like to push niceties of pronunciation to an extreme, the ordinary *dy*, *ty* transcription is sufficient.

The lightening of *g* to *k* is more common than the deepening of *k* into *g*, though both processes occur.

¹ The ease with which a velar consonant may become a labial utterance was also a feature of the Keltic and Italic Aryan tongues. A South Italian, trying to speak English, will pronounce 'woman' 'guman', and be unconscious of the fault. In Bantu there is sometimes a transition between velar and labial in the combinations *kf*, *gw*, *kw*, *hw*, and also *kþ* and *gb*. The two last do not penetrate southward far beyond the Cameroons, Gaboon, Northern Congo, and Ruwenzori, but they are characteristic of nearly all the Sudanic languages from the White Nile on the east to the Senegal on the west.

G and *γ* are almost indistinguishable in some languages, and philologically they count as one letter. *Γ* may also arise from *w* and very rarely from a palatalized *r*. *K* passes readily into *x*, and *h* and *g* likewise. *G* also weakens into *γ*. These velar consonants may further change to a hiatus (ʔ), and, as I have indicated several times in regard to the Zulu-Kafir Group, into clicks. Indeed, the clicks in Zulu-Kafir and Sesùthó appear to be more often derived from an extravagant pronunciation of velar consonants than from the absorption of Hottentot or Bushman word-roots.

The Arabic *q* (ق) is occasionally met with in Bantu tongues, and is generally due to a peculiar and local pronunciation of either *k* or *g*. It is very uncommon, however, but occurs in some of the Semi-Bantu languages, in which also a hiatus (ʔ) is much more frequent than in Bantu.

The use of the aspirate is very prominent in some Bantu languages, though I doubt if it had a place in the Bantu mother tongue. The aspirates *h*, *h̄*, *x*, *h̄*, always seem to be derived from other consonants, *h̄* from *p* or *f* (and even *m*), *t* and *s*, *k* and *g*; *x* and *h̄* from *k*. Another noteworthy feature in both Bantu and Semi-Bantu is the frequency and abruptness with which *k* can change to *s*, though the converse process hardly ever takes place, or at most in three or four instances where *s* passes into *h* and *h* hardens into *k*. One language may be using the form **Ki-** for the 7th prefix, and its near neighbour or one of its dialects may employ **Si-**, not always with the recorded transition of **Ci-**, **Xi-**, or **Hi-**. *G* nearly as frequently softens to *z*. There is also some permutation between *z* and *y*, *s* and *r*. *S* and *ρ*, of course, interchange so frequently that there is no philological distinction between them. *S* shows a great readiness to pass into *h*. Much more often does it become *ρ*, *ts*, or even *t* than it changes into *z*. Still, there is permutation between *s* and *z*, both ways. *S* through *ρ* becomes *c*; *s* through *z* becomes *j*; *j* and *c* are frequently permutable. *J* also comes directly from *d* or even from *t*. *T* and *c* constantly interchange, but *c* arises most frequently from a palatalized *k*; as *j* also from a palatalized *g*.

All these remarks regarding the permutation of consonants apply as much to the Semi-Bantu as to the Bantu family.

It will be noted that many of the archaic Bantu roots are disyllabic, while others are represented by a single syllable. I think it cannot be doubted that in the parent language which anciently gave birth to both Bantu and Semi-Bantu, the root structure was frequently in two syllables. Where there was a third it was due to reduplication or the tacking on of prefix or suffix. A proportion, at any rate, of the monosyllabic word-roots seems to be due to contraction, the fusion of an older two-syllabled form. On the other hand, some of the disyllabic are undoubtedly originated by the duplication and differentiation of syllables. We may imagine, for example, that most of the numerals were in their original utterance single syllables so far as the basis was concerned.

It will also be observed that many word-roots begin with a vowel, or the majority of their modern forms consist of a vowel, a consonant, and a terminal vowel. Yet a comparison of all the recorded forms often leads to the deduction that the oldest root of two syllables commenced with a consonant, very often a guttural. Carl Meinhof was struck with this feature and replaced the dubious or missing consonant by a gamma (*γ*). My own researches, however, lead me in restoring the missing consonant to greater definiteness; to a *g* instead of a *γ*, a *k* instead of an *x*, a labial instead of an aspirate.

CHAPTER IX

THE PREFIXES, SUFFIXES, AND CONCORDS CONNECTED WITH THE NOUN IN BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU

I FOLLOW the numeration and, in some respects, the arrangement instituted by Bleek in his unfinished *Comparative Grammar of the South African Languages*: though Bleek only recognized the first sixteen prefixes.

The Bantu and Semi-Bantu prefixes seem to have originated in a combination of *demonstrative* and *classifying* particles, both of which could be used in the parent Sudanic tongues as suffixes. The demonstrative particles, indeed, are frequently employed in a suffixial capacity at the present day.

The full form of the prefix in the most archaic Bantu languages is disyllabic, and consists of the generally detachable preprefix and of the prefix proper. The preprefix in its fullest development is identical with the pronoun or demonstrative of the class. The prefix, on the other hand, is primarily a classifier and is repeated in the adjectival concord. Sometimes the preprefixes, which are abbreviated pronouns and demonstratives, differ in form from the class prefix and adjectival concord; sometimes they agree. We therefore have two types of conjoined prefix and preprefix. The first includes Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, and 9, and the second the remainder of the 19 concordial Bantu prefixes.¹ In the second type of prefix (2, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, &c.) preprefix and prefix are identical in their original syllables: **Baba**, **Lili**, **Kiki**, and so on; but in Classes 1, 3, 4, 6, and 9 (in their fullest and most archaic form) the preprefix differs from the prefix. Thus the original form of the 1st and 3rd prefix was evidently **Ngumu**, or **Gumu**, of the 4th **Gimi**, of the 6th **Gama**, of the 9th **Gini**. In the case of the other prefixes the full form was simply a duplication of the original classifying syllable—**Baba**, **Lili** (or **Didi**), **Kiki**, **Bibi**, **Zizi** (or **Titi**),² **Lulu** (or **Dudu**), **Tutu**, **Kaka**, **Bubu**, **Kuku**, **Papa**, **Mumu**, **Gugu**, and **Gaga**. Sometimes, as in the case of Classes 1 and 3, there is a suggestion that the first syllable was preceded by an *n* **Ngu**, **Ngi**, **Mba**, **Ndu**, **Nki**, **Mbi**, and so on; but this is probably the 'directive *n*' which I describe in dealing with the demonstrative pronouns, intended only to reinforce the demonstrative character of the pronoun-prefix.

In the preprefixes of Classes 1, 3, 4, 6, and 9, therefore, we have pronominal particles which differ markedly from the classifying prefix—**Gu**—as compared with **Mu**, **Gi** with **Mi**, **Ga** with **Ma**, **Gi** with **Ni**. Although in their full form these preprefixes exist very rarely at the present day, and indeed have only recently been discovered, they appear much more fully and commonly as pronouns and demonstratives, and—except for adjectival purposes—constitute what is known as the corresponding *concord* of each noun. The *adjectival* concord—which is usually identical with the *class* prefix—completes the system.

In such of the Bantu languages as retain the preprefix-combined-with-the-prefix in one 'classifier-

¹ There are approximately thirty-one types of classifying prefix in the Bantu languages, most of which penetrate to the Semi-Bantu. But of these only nineteen possess corresponding concordial particles. I therefore call the first nineteen the 'concordial-prefixes'. The others (**La**, **Ta**, **Si**, **Na**, &c.) have not—at any rate in Bantu—any distinctive pronouns or adjectival prefixes.

² This presumed fullest form of No. 10 prefix is the only one of the series which is not found in any modern Bantu language. The nearest in actuality is **Iti**, **Izi**.

demonstrative', the preprefixes are nearly always reduced to a vowel—*u*, *i*, or *a*,¹ having lost their initial consonant, which only reappears in the pronoun or demonstrative. We should not, therefore, be able to assert the foregoing explanation were it not that fortunately in a few languages the full and original form of the preprefix is retained. This is especially the case in Sub-group A 5 of the Nyanza languages (Nos. 5, 5 a, 6, 6 a), and, as regards the 6th prefix, in Nos. 23 and 43 a. Here we may have *Kumu* or *Gumu* for the full form of the prefix in Classes 1² and 3, *Kimi* or *Gimi* for Class 4, *Gama* for Class 6, and *Gini* (*Yini*, *Yin*, &c.) for Class 9; as well as *Baba*, *Lili*, *Kiki*, *Bibi*, &c., for the full prefix form of the other classes.

The *adjectival concord* in such languages will be either a repetition of the *class* prefix only (*Mu*, *Ba*, *Mi*, *Li*, *Ma*, *Ni*, &c.) or the full form of preprefix and prefix (though this is comparatively rare). The adjectival form of the concord is the one generally used with the *numeral* roots. When there is a difference between the *pronominal* and the *adjectival* (or *class* prefix) particles, it is very seldom that the two are confused as concords in the archaic Bantu languages; a nice distinction being made between the *pronominal preprefix* and the *classifier* or *adjectival* prefix. Thus in a very archaic Bantu language we might have had such a sentence as this,

Umu-ntu umu-nene ñgu-nw gu-lila.

The man the - big this-here (i.e. 'this') he weeps.

The *pronominal concord* of the demonstrative or of the nominative pronoun would be *Gu*, and the *classifying* or *adjectival* prefix would be *Mu*; and the two would have been combined in the oldest form of the disyllabic prefix,³ *Gumu* (*Ngumu*, with 'directive *n*'). But these distinctions between pronominal and

¹ This vowel is nearly always the same as the tonic vowel of the prefix: *U* preceding *Mu*, *Lu*, *Bu*, *Tu*, *Ku*; *A* preceding *Ba*, *Ma*, *Ka*, *Pa*; and *I* preceding *Mi*, *Di*, *Ki*, *Ni*, *Zi*. But in No. 3 language (Ruanda), and still more so in 109 (Kanyōka), the preprefix is sometimes *I* throughout—*Imu*, *Iba*, *Imi*, *Ima*, &c.

² It is only by inference that we deduce this for the full form of prefix 1. It is not actually heard as *Gumu* or *Kumu* in any existent Bantu language, though it may be *Ngū*, *Gu* in some of the Semi-Bantu.

³ In addition to the example given above in theoretic archaic Bantu, I append passages which might be spoken in three languages of to-day: in Luganda (4), as an example of the correspondence of prefix and concords in a typical Bantu language; in Temne (263), a highly developed Semi-Bantu language of Sierra Leone; and Dyōla (273), the 'farthest-west' of the Semi-Bantu languages, spoken not many miles from the River Gambia. It will be noted how similar is the prefix-and-concord plan in both Bantu and Semi-Bantu.

Prefix and concords in Luganda (No. 4):

Aka-ntu aka-dugavu ka-nw aka-gude wansi ka-fanana ensanafu.

The little thing the black this-here which fell ground it resembles a biting-ant.

(i. e. This little black object which fell to the ground resembles a biting ant.)

Obu-wuka bubu-nw obu-buse bu-li bu-myufu; Ūbwō bu-li bu-senyufu.

The insects these-here which flew away they were they-red; those (insects) they-are they-grey.

(These insects which flew away were red-brown; those are grey.)

E (*E* stands for an older *Eri*)- *fumu eri-buze na-li-gula E-Meñgō. E-fumu lye nagula*

The spear which was lost I it bought at-Meñgō. The spear which I bought

te-ri-fananye liri-nw; li-eñkana li-wamvu wa? Li-eñkana bwe-li-ti.

not it-resembled this-this-one-here it-equals it-long where? It-equals as it like-this?

(I bought the spear which was lost at Meñgō. The spear I bought was not like this one. How long was it? As long as this?)

In the first of these sentences the governing prefix is *Aka* (No. 13). The adjectival concord is sometimes *aka*, sometimes *ka*, the particle before the demonstrative adverb, *nw* is *ka*. The pronoun before the verb-root is *ka* or *aka*. In the next passage the prefix is *Ūbu*, a plural (No. 14); and the adjectival and pronominal concords are *obu*, *bu*, and *bubu*. In the third sentence the governing prefix is the 5th, *E* or *Eri*; and the concords are *eri*, *li*, *li*, *ri*, *liri*, and *lye* or *li*.

Prefix and concords in Temne:

Ō-bai ō-we ō-bi ō-tem ō-fi; ña yōka-kō, ña-mañg-kō. Ka-bōma k'ōñ anw.

The-chief the-this the-black the-wise he-died they took-him, they-buried-him. The-grave the-his here.

(The governing prefix here is *Ū* or *Ō* which belongs to the 1st or 'human' Class. Its adjectival concord is *ō*, so also is its pronominal particle with the verb, in the nominative case. But its objective

adjectival concords disappear in most of the West and North-west Bantu, and the adjectival concord or class prefix predominates as a pronoun.

In the process of attrition the **Gu** of the 1st and 3rd Bantu prefixes has softened into **Wu**, **Yu**, and **U** or **W**. Similarly, the **Gi** of the 4th (**Gimi**) and 9th (**Gini**) Classes has dwindled into **Yi**, **I**, **E**; and the **Ga** of the 6th Class (**Gama**) has become **Pa**, **Ya**, **Ha**, and **A**.

As already mentioned, it is only in languages Nos. 5, 5 a, 6, 6 a, 23, and 43 a that any archaic forms of the prefixes persist. These presumed forms are set forth in the general description of the Bantu languages in my first volume. For more practical purposes the full forms of the prefixes in such **BANTU** languages as have kept nearest to the mother tongue, may be stated as follows:

Class 1. **Umu** (pronominal concord **gu**; adjectival concord **mu**); Class 2. **Aba** (**ba** both pronominal and adjectival); Class 3. **Gumu** (**gu** pronominal; **mu** adjectival); Class 4. **Imi** (**gi** pronominal; **mi** adjectival); Class 5. **Ili** or **Idi** (**li** or **di**, no distinction between pronominal and adjectival concord); Class 6. **Ama** (**ga** pronominal; **ma** adjectival); Class 7. **Iki** (**ki**); Classes 8 and 8 a. **Ibi** (**bi**); Class 9. **In** or **Ini**, **Iny** (**Im**, before labials) (**i**, **yi** pronominal; **ni**, **n'** adjectival); Class 10. **Izi**, **Iti**, or **Ibi**, **Izin**, **Itin**, **Ibin** (**zi**, **ti**, or **bi**—no distinction); Class 11. **Udu**, **Ulu** (**lu** or **du**); Class 12. **Utu** (**tu**); Class 13. **Aka** (**ka**); Class 14. **Ubu** (**bu**); Class 15. **Uku** (**ku**); Class 16. **Apa** (**pa**); Class 17. **Umu** (**mu**);¹ Class 18. **Ugu** (**gu**); Class 19. **Aga** (**ga**).

Other class prefixes which do not possess special concordial particles in Bantu (though Nos. 20, 21, 22, and 24 may do so in Semi-Bantu) are: Class 20. **La** or **Da**; Class 21. **Ta**; Class 22. **Ti** or **Te**; Class 23. **Si**, **Se**, or **Sa** (a 'father' or honorific prefix); Class 24. **Na** or **Nya** (a 'mother' or honorific prefix). Besides the other honorific prefixes formed simply by the application of a plural prefix to a noun-root in the singular number, other abbreviated word-roots are used prefixially as classifiers: **Mwa** (from **Mwana**, 'a child'; **Rara**, 'father' (honorific); **Nga**, **Ngana**, 'master' (honorific); [**Pa**, in Semi-Bantu, for 'father' (honorific); **Ba** or **Bi** (**Pa** or **Pi**), in the Western Semi-Bantu, as a 'children' prefix]; **Ka**, in Fernandian (226), as a feminine prefix; and **Ko**, **Komwo**, also of Fernandian, as a masculine prefix. All these types of prefix, except, perhaps, the 17th, are represented also in the Semi-Bantu languages. But not always with the Bantu meaning or application to singular or plural, diminution or augmentation of noun-root sense. Classes 21 and 22 only just appear (and not with certainty) within the Bantu limits; even then, more as prepositions or demonstratives than as the classifiers of nouns.

In addition to the list I have enumerated, there are certain particles like **Su**, **So** (**Su** and **So** are met with in No. 153); **Ku** and **Ko** as a plural prefix (see, however, Nos. 151-4); **O** or **U** (as a plural); **Ng**, **Nge**, **Ngu** (plural); **Fu** (singular); **Muñ**, **Buka**, **Masa** (all plurals); **Sa**, **Ša** (plural); **Ya** (plural); **Od** (singular); **Na**, **Na** (plural); **An** (singular); **Vu** (plural); **Ke** (plural); and **Okpo** (plural), present in divers forms of Semi-Bantu, which are not sufficiently identified with any Bantu form or application to be inserted in a definitive list of prefixes covering both the Bantu and Semi-Bantu families. Therefore they are omitted from the preceding statement. I felt at one time some hesitancy about admitting prefixes 18 (**Gu**) and 19 (**Ga**) to the list. Their employment is so rare; indeed No. 19 is only to be met with as a plural prefix, and plural to No. 18 in Luganda (4). **Gu**, a prefix indicating a gigantic or clumsy quality in the noun is present in Nos. 4, 6, 6 a (pl. **Gimi**), 27, 36, 38, 64, 65-8, and 72. Further,

pronominal particle and the terminal possessive pronoun of this Class 1 in Temne differs from the other concords by being **kō** or **-oñ**. This is because Class 1 in Temne, as in so many Bantu languages, bears traces of its descent from a prefixial form, **Gumu** or **Ngumu**, in which the first syllable **gu** represented the pronominal or demonstrative element, and the second the classifier, **mu**, from which the abbreviated **o** of Temne descends, just as its particles **kō** or **-oñ** come from **ñgu**, the archaic demonstrative of Class 1 in Proto-Bantu.)

Prefix and concords in Dyōla (273):

Fu-nuk **fu**-bak a-**fu** du **fu**-ruk f'-an **fu**-dak i-nōme **fō**.

The-stick the-long this and it-thick, it-which it-is good I-buy it.

(This long and thick stick which seems all right: I buy it.)

(**Fu** is the governing prefix—**Hu** in other dialects of Dyōla—Fulup. In contact with the vowels *o* or *a* of other particles it usually loses its distinctive vowel *u*.)

¹ With this Class 17, which is mainly prepositional and means 'in', 'inwardness', the suffix **-ni** of some quite different origin is frequently associated as a concord.

it may be related to the **Gu-** prefix in Nos. 250, 251, 267-8; or to the pronominal concord of prefixes 1 and 3. Similarly, **Ga-** (19) may be akin to the **Ga-** in **Gama-** (No. 6) or to the singular prefix **Ga-** in Nos. 148, 151-4, and to the **Gan-, Ga-** in Nos. 267-8.

Before showing to what extent the standard forms of the Bantu prefixes have been departed from, it is necessary to discuss their original meaning.

Classes 1 and 2 in the Bantu mother tongue and most of its descendants were restricted to 'humanity', to 'human beings'. This practice characterizes most of the Semi-Bantu as well. The **Gu-** pronominal element in the original **Gumu-** of Class 1 was possibly also a simple demonstrative or pronoun, 'he', 'that'. **Mu-** may have been identical with the root for 'one', as well as being a pronoun (generally in the objective case), 'he', 'him'. Or it may have meant 'man'. The root-**ntu** is nearly always associated with 'humanity', 'objects', 'things', 'place', but perhaps originally merely meant a prominent object in the field of vision. **Gu-mu-ntu**, or **Ngumuntu** in archaic Bantu may, therefore, have been equivalent to 'this-man-object'.

Class 2 is almost always the plural of Class 1; and the **Ba-** of the prefix may be related both to the **Ba-** plural pronoun, 'they', and to the **-ba** root of the numeral 'two'. It is a prefix which in the form of **Ba-** tends to disappear from the Semi-Bantu (except in the Groups A (S-B.), C (S-B.), D and E (S-B.), G (S-B.), and I (S-B.)); and in the Western Semi-Bantu **Ba-** is only applied to children. A supplementary use for Class 2 is very evident, but has only recently been traced out by myself. Class 2 may be used in a singular sense as an honorific. The Negroes who have spoken and developed the Bantu languages have had very much the same cast of mind as the European and the Asiatic. With them as with us, plurality in pronouns and nouns has been associated with dignity and honour. Just as the emperors and popes started the practice when speaking in their own person of using the plural pronoun 'we', and as it became more polite in addressing a person to say 'you' and not 'thou', so in the Bantu languages not only have the 1st and 2nd persons plural been employed by and for distinguished individuals, but the *plural* prefix of Class 2 has been added to noun-roots and names in the singular number to express honour, dignity, and respect.

Class 3 (**Mu-**) is so similar in its prefixes and concords to Class 1 that it may be the same in origin. It seems to have been restricted originally to upright, non-animal objects such as trees, and Class 4 (**Mi-**) was its plural. In the Semi-Bantu it seems to recur as **Gu-**, and its plural as **Gi-**, concords which remain associated with both classes in orthodox Bantu.

Class 5 (**Li-** or **Di-**) is of no very clear import when its average application is noted at the present day, but in more than any other sense it seems to be associated with large size, and in some of the Bantu languages is used to indicate large or even gigantic objects. But it has also a quite independent sense of direction as though the speaker were pointing at an object. Consequently, in a few Bantu and Semi-Bantu tongues it is used for the infinitive of verbs, and it seems in its origin to be almost identical with the particle **Ndi, Li, -le**, meaning 'is', 'it is', 'that is', 'that there'. In Nos. 1, 17, 18, 124-5, 131-3, 136, 157, 198-9, 204-6, 207, and 245 No. 5 (**Eri, Li, I, Ndi, Di-**) is not only the infinitive prefix, but also replaces **Ku** as a preposition 'to', 'at'. Perhaps the **Li-** prefix in its varying applications may have two or more independent origins. It is sometimes used as a 'language' prefix, but this may be either by derivation from or confusion with **Lu-** (No. 11).

Class 6 (**Ma-**) is invariably the plural of **Li-**, but it can also be used in a collective sense, and may thus indicate a noun of the singular number. (This is frequently the case in the Semi-Bantu.) **Ma-** is much associated with 'water' and other liquids, with assemblages of men, with tribes, herds of animals, crops and vegetables, and can have a 'gigantic' sense when it is purely the plural of **Li-**.

Class 7 (**Ki-**) has a diversity of meanings, but perhaps in the Bantu mother tongue meant 'a special kind of'—a sort of, something specialized or peculiar. In this way throughout Eastern Bantu Africa and even elsewhere in the Bantu field it is the 'language' prefix. **Ki-swahili** = the Swahili language. It is associated a good deal with the noun-root for 'thing', things in general, and special kinds of things. In No. 32, as **Ki-, Kina-**, it has an honorific sense, and similarly when associated with No. 2 prefix in **Yaω, Makua,** and **Ci-nseŋga**. Its almost invariable plural is the 8th prefix (**Bi-**), the few exceptions being in Class 6 (**Ma-**). The **Ki-** prefix sometimes replaces No. 13 (**Ka-**) as a diminutive.

No. 8, the **Bi-** prefix (the form of which is sometimes **Vi-**, **Fi-**, **Pi-**, **Wi-**, **I-**, **Bzi-**, **Zi-**, **Si-**, &c.) is in the first place the almost invariable plural of **Ki-**, and therefore shares in the meaning of **Ki-**; but it has had an even greater tendency to be used collectively in a diminutive sense, meaning originally 'a few of'. From this tendency has sprung the special sub-class of 8 a (**Bi-**, ranging through **Vi-**, **Fi-**, **Hi-**, **I-**, to **Si-** and **Si-**), which has been relegated to the singular number as a diminutive, chiefly in the North-west and West Central Bantu and a few of the Semi-Bantu.¹ I may ascribe to myself the credit of having traced out the connexion between 8 and 8 a. When missionaries were examining the languages of the Western Congo and the Gaboon they were puzzled over a prefix in the singular number—**Fi-** or **Vi-**—which denoted a diminutive sense. Because it was in the singular they could not derive it from the **Bi-** prefix, plural to **Ki-**. A similar prefix—**Si-**—was noted in Fernandian. Later on, I found a **Si-**, **Fi-**, or **I-** in languages of Eastern Congoland, and as it had the same plural (12th prefix) which occurred so often with **Vi-** or **Si-** in the N.W. Bantu, I ascribed it to the same origin. For a long time it was styled the 17th or the 20th prefix and thought to be additional to Bleek's scheme of enumeration. But when examining the languages of the Nyanza Group I noticed the recurring custom of using the plural prefix No. 8 (**Bi-**) in a collective and diminutive sense. This was the necessary clue. The original **Bi-** plural passes easily into a **Vi-**, **Hi-**, **Pi-**, **Fi-**, **Si-**, **Si-**, **I-** in the singular number, and as such penetrates even into the south-eastern forms of the Semi-Bantu. It takes to itself normally a plural in **Tu-** (**Tu-**, **Lw-**, **Rw-**), the 12th prefix; but sometimes, forgetting its own origin, invokes as a plural the 8th prefix, which is likewise plural to **Ki-**, the 7th. And in its plural sense, the 8th may have retained the form of **Bi-** while 8 a has passed through the labial consonants to the palatal or alveolar (**Si-** or **Si-**).

Class 9 (**In-**, **I-**, **E-**, **Iny-**, **N-**, **N-**, **Ng-**) does not seem originally associated with any special purpose or meaning, but is often used in connexion with animals. Its normal plural is Class 10 (**Zi-**, **Zin-**); but it may also be pluralized (especially in the Western Bantu) by No. 6 (**Ma-**).

Class 11 (**Lu-**, **Du**) originally seems to have had the sense of 'length', and in many Bantu languages at the present day when applied to a noun-root, gives it a meaning of length, of being drawn out. It is much associated with the root for 'tongue', and consequently often stands as the 'language' prefix (**Lu-ganda**, **Ru-nyorw**, &c.). For the same reason (the suggestion of length and continuity) it is frequently applied to the names of rivers or of tall men. Its plural may be in Classes 10, 6, or 12.

Class 12 (**Tu-**) has almost invariably a diminutive sense or a meaning of tenuity or continuation; consequently, in this direction, it is amongst the Western Bantu occasionally the plural of **Lu-** (in the sense of length). **Tu-** seems to be akin to a widespread and ancient Bantu root meaning 'little', which is extended in the form **-twa** to mean 'pigmy' or 'child', or is developed further into an adjective meaning 'little'. As a diminutive the prefix **Tu-** is commonly the plural of the principal singular diminutive prefix **Ka-**; or the plural of 8a (**Bi-**, **Fi-**, **Si-**) when it is used in the singular number. **Tu-**, however, may be a collective in some tongues, to mean a little quantity of such and such a thing; and in this direction almost assumes the position of a prefix in the singular number.²

Class 13 (**Ka-**), as already indicated, is often—preponderatingly—employed as a diminutive. But it seems to have been connected in its origin with a root meaning 'female', possibly an abbreviation of **Kati-**, and consequently it is a prefix which, not infrequently beginning with an affectionate sense, becomes an honorific. As an honorific it sometimes survives where its use as an ordinary prefix has been lost. It, therefore, enters very much into Bantu titles of kings and ministers, and in the honorific sense it may even pass to the opposite extreme from being a diminutive to becoming an augmentative prefix. As a diminutive its plural is ordinarily either **Tu-** or **Bi-**, but the 14th (**Bu-**) prefix is sometimes employed. The **Ka-** prefix is absent from almost all the Southern Bantu, the North Congoland, **Ōgōwe**, and Cameroons languages; but reappears in the Semi-Bantu of Group A.

¹ **-bi** is a diminutive suffix in some Semi-Bantu languages.

² It must be a prefix of great ancience in the ancestral Proto-Bantu, because it has become attached to the roots of some nouns indissolubly. Thus in a common word for 'sleep'—**Tulw**—which is even present in **Járawa** (No. 253), and in **Tubi**, **Tuvi**, 'excrement'. **Tulw** is derived from the abstract noun **-lw**, 'extension' (from **-la**, 'to extend'), and **Tulw** meant at first 'a little lying down'. **Tubi**, 'excrement', was the adjective **-bi** ('bad') and the **Tu-** plural: 'little bad things'.

The prefix of No. 14 Class (**Bu-**) is normally used in an abstract sense, and may be singular, plural, or collective. Thus if **Mu-ntu** means 'man', 'human being', **Bu-ntu** would mean 'humanity'. It often answers the purpose of the English suffix '-ness'; or, in geography, the sense of 'country', 'state'. **Mu-nōga** would mean 'a good (man)'; **Bu-nōga** would be an abstract noun, 'goodness'; **Mu-ganda**, a native of **Bu-ganda**; **-kali**, 'fierce', **Bu-kali**, 'fierceness'. This is its most common and useful application; but it is also a plural to **Ka-** in the Nyanza Group and in Nos. 237, 237 a in the Semi-Bantu.

Class 15 (**Ku-**) is the nearly universal infinitival prefix for the verb, and it has in most languages a prepositional meaning, 'to', 'towards'; it indicates a purpose, a verb, an action. But it has also been associated anciently with certain members of the body, especially with the arm (**Ku-bōkō**) and the ear (**Ku-tu**).¹

Class 16 (**Pa-**) is wholly associated with 'place', and is identical with a very common preposition meaning 'here', 'on', 'at'.

In archaic Bantu **Pa-ntu** means 'a place'; just as **Mu-ntu** means 'a human object', **Ki-ntu** a 'thing' or a 'sort of an object', **Lu-ntu** something very lengthy, **Ka-ntu** something very small, and **Bu-ntu** 'a crowd', 'humanity'.

Class 17 (**Mu-**), like Class 16, is much used in a prepositional sense. It means 'in', 'inside'. It is of the singular number, very seldom has a plural, and is practically unrepresented, except by concords in the Semi-Bantu.

Class 18 (**Gu-**) implies 'hugeness', something 'gigantic', 'brutal', 'overwhelming', 'excessively hard'. It is an augmentative in an ugly sense.

And Class 19 (**Ga-**) is its plural in Luganda (4); otherwise the plural applied to **Gu-** is usually **Mi-** (in the Masaba language prefix 18 is **Gugu-**; plural **Gimi-**).

Beyond these nineteen classes in the Bantu languages, there are prefixes not usually recognized as such because they have no distinctive concords, either pronominal or adjectival. There is No. 20 (**La-** or **Da-**)² which seems to have a locative meaning in place and sometimes in time. In the Central Congo-land languages it replaces **Pa-** (16), just as **Lō-** replaces **Mu-** (17). **La-** (**Da-**, **Na-**, **L'**) is present in Nos. 14, 16, 75 a, 75 c (as a demonstrative), 76, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 140, 148, 151, 155, 156, 157, 160-2, 226, 238, 241, 243, 244, 253. In 248 (Munşi) it is used in a relative sense.

No. 21 prefix **Ta-** (**Da-**) seems to be distinct from **La-** in origin, though it has a demonstrative meaning in 210 and 253.

No. 22, **Ti-**, **Te-** is a prefix usually associated, like Nos. 20 and 21, with place: indeed, its suffix **-te**, **-ti** frequently stands for 'in', 'here', in N.W. Bantu. But it is also sometimes a plural applied to 'ten' (225, 235). It is a singular prefix in No. 188. As a locative it is present in some form in Nos. 148, 160-2, 136, 186, 199-204, 217, 220, 273, 261.

The **Se-**, **Si-**, **Sa-**, **Ṣa-** 'father' prefix (No. 23) is employed either in the sense of 'male', 'fatherly', or as an honorific (for instance, if **-gañga** or **-ñgañga** be the root for 'wizard' or 'medicine-man', **Si-ñgañga** would mean 'doctor', i. e. 'Mr. doctor'). This 23rd prefix is often used in the South-eastern Bantu languages to mean 'Mr.' as a title. It has somewhat the same interpretation in Lu-ganda, only perhaps it is more important and honorific.³

The 24th prefix, **Nya-**, **Na-**, evidently meant originally 'mother', and in this feminine signification it may be an attenuated link with the Nilotic language family, wherein **Na-** is the feminine particle as

¹ **Mu-tu** means 'head', **Lu-tu**—the lengthy object—namely, 'body'.

² This varies as **Nda-**, **Ra-**, and **Na-**. In some tongues **La-** has a sense of 'inwardness', and may be connected with the root **-la** for 'bowels' or 'belly'. It is also allied to the root **-la** for 'length', and **-la** as a demonstrative suffix or prefix ('there', 'yonder'). There seems to be further, in two or three Bantu languages, a locative prefix **Ṣi-**, but this is of uncertain form and affinities, and like one or two other particles that might be cited as prefixes is perhaps only a preposition employed with certain nouns (see the vocabulary of Taita, No. 14).

³ **U-** is an honorific, perhaps 'father' prefix in No. 77. In Nos. 151-4 there is a **Su-** prefix of uncertain origin and meaning, which may be related to the **Se-**, **Si-**, **Sa-** group and be honorific in intention. This reappears as **Hō-**, **Hu-**, **Hi-** in No. 240, as **Su-**, **Sō-** in Nos. 254, 255. In Nos. 267 and 273 **Su-** and **Sa-**, **Si-** and **Su-** are plural and not honorific prefixes for the nouns of Class 3. This ancient **Su-** prefix may be connected with the **Su-**, **Si-**, **Sa-** demonstrative (**Hu-**, **Hi-**, **Ha-**) in some E. African Bantu.

contrasted with the Bantu **Ka-**. This feminine or 'mother' sense is very obvious in Group A, the Nyanza tongues. It also recurs in this relation in the Eastern, South-eastern, and South-western Bantu, and perhaps in the Semi-Bantu Temne (No. 263). Very often it is applied half mockingly to animals in the sense of 'mother-hyena', 'mother-goose', 'mother-porcupine'. In the form of **Nya-** this prefix seems to mean 'of' or 'concerning'. **Wu-nya-mwezi** 'land of the moon'. **Uru-nya-ruanda**, 'the language of the Ruanda country'. **Ka-** is a feminine prefix in No. 226. **Ko-** (**Kom-**, **Komwo-**) is a masculine prefix in No. 226.

Honorific prefixes are of frequent occurrence in Bantu and occur in Semi-Bantu. The commonest is No. 2, turned from a plural to a singular sense. As **Ba-**, **A-**, **Wa-**, **Awa-** it is used in Nos. 2 to 2 g, 39 (**Ba-** and **Bi-**), 54 (**A-**, **A-ci-**, **A-ca-**, **Wa-**), 55 (**A-**, **Aki-**), 56, 56 b (**A-**, **Aci-**, **Aši-**), 61-61 c, 62 (**A-**, **Awa-**, **A-si-**, **A-ci-**), 64, 64a, 65-8, 69-71 (**Wa-**, (sing.); **baba-**, (pl.)), 145, 148, 151-4, 160-1, 162, 164, 166, 175-80, 181-4, 187, 191-2-3, 216, 227, 228, 230, 239, 241, 244, 245, 246, 248, 250, 251, 254-5, 256, 259, 263 (**A-**, **Ba-**), 267, 271, 273. **Pa-** ('father') is a respectful prefix in No. 263; and **Rara-** (same meaning) in 70, 71-71 f. **Ngana-**, **Ng-** ('master') serves this purpose in Añgōla (98-9) and Teke (175-80). **Mwa-** (abbreviation of **Mwana-**) is a diminutive prefix in Makua (56-56 b), in Nos. 59, 61, 103, and 200. Allied forms from the same root (probably) are the **Wa-**, **Hwa-**, **Va-** (plural diminutive) in 19, 20-2 d, the **Nwa-** of 70, 71-71 f, and the **Wan-**, **Wuan-** (pl. **Onov-**) of 248, and **Won-** of 238. **M-** is a demonstrative prefix in 130; and **Mi-** is a feminine or 'mother' prefix in 70, 71-71 f.

It will be noted that, as a rule (with the exception of one or two distinct 'collectives'), these class prefixes of the Bantu are definitely singular or plural in their sense, and that there is a considerable degree of fixed correspondence between them, No. 2 being almost invariably plural to No. 1, No. 4 to No. 3, No. 6 to No. 5, No. 8 to No. 7, and No. 10 to No. 9. After the 11th prefix, however, there is more variability, [The 11th Class is always used in the singular. Its plural most frequently is No. 10, but also No. 6 and No. 12.] No. 6 very rarely is plural to Nos. 1 and 7, but often to Nos. 9 and 11. No. 4 may also be plural to No. 14 when the latter is used as a singular. Occasionally it is plural to No. 15 and to No. 18. No. 6 (**Ma-**) frequently pluralizes No. 14, and is the commonest plural of No. 15.¹ No. 8, in addition to being the faithful plural of No. 7, performs the same function very often for Nos. 13 and 8 a. The 10th prefix, by some confusion of ideas, occasionally pluralizes the 1st, but is usually restricted to rendering that service to Nos. 9 and 11.

The identification and the application of the class prefixes is often much disguised, save to the complete expert, by changes and confusion of their forms. Thus the 1st prefix (**Mu-**) in many Bantu languages is reduced to **M-**, and from **M-** to **N-**, and therefore tends to be confused with No. 9. It may also assume the form of **Nw-**, **Ngw-**, **Gu-**, either by a nasalization of the initial **M** or by confusion with the old pronominal concord **ngu** or **gu**. Class 2 (**Ba-**) in most East African Bantu becomes **Wa-** and **A-**, or even **Ya-**. It is very commonly **A-** in S.W. Africa, the Gaboon, and the Semi-Bantu. In 230 and dialects it is **Pa-**, **P'**, and there is a trace of **Pa-** in No. 261. **Va-** is a fairly common variant. In 94 it is confused with No. 6 and becomes **Ma-** (also in 259). The same tendency occurs in the pronouns of the class and of the 3rd person plural in the Kamba language (12) of East Africa, and in one or two other tongues where the labial *b* has been dropped. Its vowel *a* becomes *i* (**Bi-**) or *e* (**Be-**) in Nos. 74, 75, 137, 114, 213-15, 217-220, 226, 228-30, 232, 244, 248, 249, 257, 267, and 273. **Ba-** becomes **Bw-** or **Bu-** in 74, 75 (**W-**), 89 (**W-**) 148, 151-4, 194-8, 199, 200, 203, 208-9, 217-20, 221-5, 226, 228-30, 243, 241, 248 (**U-**), 267, and 273. Class 6 often assumes the form **Ba-** or **Va-** of Class 2 in Central Congoland, the Gaboon, Fernando Pô, South-west Africa, and where *m* has a tendency to be denasalized and pronounced as *b*. This change of *m* to *b* further confuses the prefixes of Classes 4 and 8, for **Mi-** of Class 4 becomes **Bi-** or **Vi-** (94, 129, 129 a, 130, 130 a, 131 (**We-**), 132-3, 136, 141, 155, 162, 168, 226); but in some languages (21 c, d, e, 59, 61 b, 88, 104, 110, 111, 159) it is palatalized into **Nji-**, **Nyi-**, or more rarely becomes **N-** or **Ni-** (17, 21 e, 28, 61 b, 100, 111). Class 3 sometimes loses its labial *m* and is reduced to **U-** (see language No. 167) or **Bu-**, and is therefore confused with Class 14. Like Class 1 also, it may be heard as **Nw-** or **Ngw-** or **Gw-**, by fusion with the pronominal concord, or similarly it (like its plural, Class 4) is reduced to **M-** or **N-**, and

¹ In the Semi-Bantu languages (such as 250, 251, 238, 273, and 227) **Ma-** is usually a prefix of the singular number. In the Teke tongues (175-8) **Ma-** can be used as a singular prefix with an augmentative meaning.

may, therefore, be confused with Class 9. The prefix of Class 5 varies normally between **Li**, **Ri**, **Di**, **Zi**, and **Dzi**, many speakers of Bantu languages not attaching much importance to the discrimination between these alveolar consonants. A common abbreviation is **I**. Occasionally the **Li** becomes **Ni**, **Ne**, **N**, and **Nyi**, as in Nos. 14, 17 a, 21 b, the Makua Group, and Nos. 129 a, 139, 150, 228, 230, 235, 237, 258, 267; and the **Di** is palatalized into **Dyi** and **Ji**, so that it becomes difficult to decide whether it is not Class 7 (which may pass through **Ci** into **Ji**); or it may appear to be a singular form of Classes 10 or 12, both of which may assume the form of **Ji** by a hardening of **Zi** or a palatalizing and thinning of **Tu**. Other and eccentric changes in form of the 5th prefix are: **Le**, **Re**, **De** (73, 74, 120, 121, 151-4, 166, 179, 180, 181-4, 189-92, 213-15, 226, 228-30, 244, 251, 254-5, 257-8-9); **E** (often contracted from **Eri**) (Nos. 28, 89-94, 100, 111, 149-50, 151-4, 188, 191-2, 211-12-16, 220, 227-30, 238, 241, 243); **Si** or **Ti** (Nos. 19, 20, 71-71 f, 192 (**Tsi**)); **Ti** (11); **Gi**, **Yi** (24, 70, 136, 141-3); **Ki**, **K'**, **Kbi** (151-4, 203); **Ndi** (59); **A**, **Ali** (151-4, 200, 203, 213-15, 216-20, 228-30); **Ra**, **Da**, **Ta**, **La** (263, 267).¹ The **Ma** of Class 6, as already shown, may, through denasalization, become **Ba** and **Va** or **Wa** (see Nos. 130, 131-4, 154, 156) or **Ha** (157, 158); but also it may be discarded in favour of the pronominal form **Nga** or **Ya** (derived from the original combination **Gama** or **Nga-ma**). This phase occurs only in Nos. 6, 6 a, 23, 43 a, 59, 61.

In Nos. 94, 120, 129 a, 131-4, 175-84, 192-3, 217-20, and in some of the Semi-Bantu **Ma** is reduced to **A**, and in that form might well be taken to be the 2nd prefix.

In Nos. 151-4 the vowel is apt to change to ω (**Am ω** , **M ω**); and this tendency becomes still more marked in Nos. 213-15, 216, and Group A of the Semi-Bantu (**Amu**, **Mu**, **M ω**). In the South-west Bantu—still more markedly in Nos. 194-8, 213, 217-25, and Class A of the Semi-Bantu, the tonic vowel weakens to **-e** or **-i**.

Ki, the 7th prefix, changes with the greatest readiness and abruptness from **Ki** to **Si**, sometimes scarcely seeming to pause at the intervening stages of **Ci**, **Ji**, or **Si**. More rarely it deepens into **Gi** or **Pi**, or becomes weakened as **Yi**, **Hi**, **Xi**, **Xi**, **I**, **E**. Its tonic vowel *i* becomes *e* in 7 a, 5 a, 73, 74, 82, 128, 132-6, 168, and many of the N.W. Bantu.

The 8th prefix has an even greater range of consonantal change. The original **Bi** easily becomes **Vi** and **Fi**; less frequently **Wi**, **Hi**, and **Pi**. Then palatalized through a scarcely-met-with stage of **Byi** it becomes **Bzi**, **Psi**, **Bzi**, **Psi**, **Si**, **Zwi**, **Zwi**, **Zi**, **Swi**, **Si**, **Ri**, **Li**, and even **Di** and **Ti**, besides the much commoner **Hi**, **Yi**, and **I**. All these permutations may be noted similarly in its functions as 8 a—a singular diminutive prefix. But curiously enough they are not always coincident, that is to say, 8 and 8 a do not necessarily assume the same form in the one language: the former may remain **Bi** when the latter has reached a divergence as great as **Fi** or **Si**.

Class 9, which was, perhaps, an original collocation of two separate prefixes, **Gi** and **Ni**, but which in its normal archaic form is **Ini**, may become **I**, **E**, **N**, **Nyi**, **Nji**, **N**, **Ng**.

The 10th prefix varies from its normal **Zi**, **Zin** to **Ti**, **Ti**, **Si**, **Si**, **Zi**, **Ji**, **Di**. In many languages, however, it loses the 1st **Zi** prefix altogether and is identical (except in concord) with its singular, No. 9. Sometimes, however, it assumes the form of **Ni** or **Ng**, whereas the 9th prefix in correspondence may be simply **N**.

The 11th prefix occasionally loses its initial **L** and becomes **U** (or this may result from an apocopa-tion of the full form **Ulu**) and in the more archaic tongues it is heard as **Du** or **Ndu**, Not infrequently it is **Ru**. Less commonly **Yu** and **Nu**.

The 12th prefix, which has a great tendency to disappear in modern speech, is usually faithful to its form **Tu**, but it may also change to **Ru** and **Du**, **L ω** , **L \bar{o}** , **Lu**, **Di**, **De**, **Ke**, **Cu**, **Ti**, **Ci**, **Ji**, and more rarely to **U**.

The 13th prefix, **Ka**, by a lightening of the guttural may become **Xa** and **Ha** (and thus may be confused with a rare change of the 6th prefix in N.E. Congoland, where **Ma** becomes **Ha**).

The 14th prefix, **Bu**, weakens into **Wu** and **U** and occasionally into **Vu**.²

¹ This last may, however, be the 20th prefix (**La**) taking the place of No. 5.

² In the Karaña dialects (64-64 a) it can become gutturalized as **B γ** , **Bgu**, or aspirated as **Hu**. In the Semi-Bantu it changes frequently to **Fu**, **Pu**, **Pfu**.

The 15th can change from the very common **Ku-** into **Xu-**, **Hu-**, **Gu-**, and **U-**.

The 16th, **Pa-**, is so frequently changed to **Ha-** that but for contrary evidence one might suppose **Ha-** to have been its original Bantu form. The change to **Fa-** is less common in actuality, though it must have occurred in the transition of **Pa-** to **Ha-**; **Va-** is more frequent and even **Wa-** and **A-**. The rare change into **Γa-** or **Ga-** takes place both in Lu-soga (4 a) and in Ki-koŋgō (100 b).

The 17th prefix, **Mu-**, very frequently drops its vowel and becomes **M-**, and in Central Congoland transmutes the **M** to **N**, and the **N** may even turn to **L** (**Lu-**). It may, perchance, figure as **Bu-** in some Fernando Pô words.

Besides consonantal changes in these prefixes there are the vowel permutations, chiefly from *u* to *ω* and *o* (**Mu-**, **Mω-**, **Mo-**, **Bu-**, **Bω-**, **Tu-**, **Tω-**, **Lu-**, **Lω-**, **Lō-**, **Ku-**, **Kω-**), and *i* to *e* (**Mi-**, **Me-**, **I-**, **E-**, **Ki-**, **Ke-**, **Li-**, **Le-**, **Di-**, **De-**, **Bi-**, **Be-**, **Ri-**, **Re-**). The terminal *a* of the other prefixes is seldom weakened, yet there are cases in S. and S.W. Africa and in the N.W. Bantu of the 2nd prefix **Ba-** (and in East Africa of its abbreviated form **A-**) becoming **B-** or **E-**. **Ma-**, the 6th prefix, very rarely is heard as **Me-** (194-8, 213-15, 217-25, 228-36, 245); and the 13th prefix in Nos. 7 and 7 a of the Nyanza tongues may become **Ke-**, and in Central and N.W. Congoland may pass through a stage of **Ke-** to **E-**. The 16th prefix, **Pa-**, changes, especially when in a more prepositional sense, to **Pe-**. This again may weaken into **We-** and may, perhaps, be the origin of the mysterious locative prefix **E-**, which is found in the Zulu-Kafir dialects, in Luganda, Koŋgō, and the N.W. Bantu. There is also a weakening of *u* into *i*, so that **Mu-** of the 1st and 3rd prefixes may become **Mi-**; **Bu-** of the 14th be changed to **Bi-**; and the **Lu-** of the 11th into **Li-**, **Le-**, and **Tu-** into **Ti-**. These last are much commoner changes than in the case of the 1st, 3rd, and 14th prefixes. It also happens very rarely that **Ku-** (15th prefix) becomes **Ki-** (29; 261).

Some prefixes, more than others, have a tendency to be dropped altogether without the otherwise archaic character of the language suffering. This occurs most frequently in Classes 5, 9, and 10, but very rarely or not at all in Classes 1, 2, 4, 6, 11, 12, and 14. When the prefix is dropped it may, nevertheless, be represented in the sentence by its pronominal and adjectival concords. Of course, if it passes out of use completely its concords disappear with it.

It is noteworthy how the individuality of the Bantu root has lasted in the main through thousands of years, despite all the importance given to prefixes. Of course, it happens sometimes that the prefix and the root fuse and the native speaker forgets the etymology of the word and applies a fresh prefix on top of the fused one. In some languages, however, the prefixes are consciously duplicated or even triplicated. To the root **-ti**, meaning 'tree' or 'stick', may first be added the normal **Mu-** prefix (**Muti**), then the diminutive **Ka-** (**Ka-muti**), and perhaps the collective **Bu-** (**Buka-muti**), 'a collection of small sticks'.

In addition to the prefixes, the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages frequently employ suffixes in classifying or qualifying the nouns. A **-la** suffix occasionally makes its appearance in both families, sometimes connected with demonstration, sometimes indicative of the plural number, but not as yet sufficiently illustrated for theorizing. There is, however, the comparatively common **-ana** diminutive—one should really be allowed to say, 'diminutizing'—suffix, which, though absent from the Nyanza and East African Groups is very characteristic of the Bantu generally, and penetrates north-westward to No. 226 (Fernandian), though seemingly not to the adjoining Semi-Bantu. There are traces of it in Temne (263). **-ana** varies in form as does the analogous verbal terminal (indicating reciprocal or diminishing action—14 f on my list, see Chapter XV), to which it is obviously allied. Besides **-ana** it may be **-ane** (73-6, 135, 139, and 263), **-ani** (194), **-anana** (72), **-ena** (90, 91), **-nyana** (71), **-ona**, **-gona** (89, 90, 91), **-kana** (83), **-zane**, **-zana** (67, 75-6, 80). It is sometimes sufficient as a suffix to convey its diminishing or affectionate meaning to the noun-root; at other times it has to be used in conjunction with the **Ka-** and **Tu-** prefixes. It is, of course, one with the original **-ana** root for 'child' (usually met with as **Mw-ana**, **M-ona**). In the Cuana-Sũthó and Ɔōsa-Zulu Groups in South Africa (Nos. 73 to 76), **-ana**, **-ane** has a feminine signification, and has really introduced a sex distinction into the syntax of those languages, being employed to give a feminine signification to nouns and adjectives.

In No. 200 the diminutive suffix is **-tua**, **-ntua**. In No. 259 it is **-bi**. Both are related to roots meaning 'child', 'dwarf'.

Another suffix to be mentioned is **-ni**, implying 'in', which is used generally in conjunction with the 17th prefix, **Mu-** (**Mu-nzuw** or **Mu-nzuw-ni**, 'in the house'—**-zuw** being a noun-root meaning 'house'—**Nda-ni** or **Mu-nda-ni**, 'in the belly'). In Járawa (253) there is a suffix in the singular number—**-an**, **-al**—of undefined import.¹ The other suffixes in Járawa are inverted plural prefixes.

The concord particles of Classes 1 and 2 will be further discussed in their capacity as pronouns, but in addition to what has already been said regarding the correspondence between the concord and the prefix, a few eccentric cases of non-correspondence in the Bantu languages (the Semi-Bantu teem with irregularities) might be referred to, such cases being beyond the range of mere variation in the form of the prefix. In Class 1 the unusual form of the concord may be **utw** in No. 83; **ye**, **yi**, **nye** in 64, 64 a, 75-6, 104-8, 186, 193, 200, 207, and 226; **imu** in 109; **nu** in 191-2, 199, 204; **ni**, **ne** in 213-15, 227; **ti** in 56-56 b; **du** in 56; **lw** in 162 (probably coming from an earlier **nu**); **aw'**, **ew'** in 213-15; **ve** in 38; and **ka** in 23 a. Class 2. **ja** in 90-1; **la** in 162. Class 3. **fu** in 17, 18; **di** in 23; **bu** in 57 and 139; **mbu** in 77 and 89; **imu** in 109. Class 4. **ntsi** in 75-75 c; **vi**, **mbi** in 89, 92-4, 95-9; **di**, **di** in 90, 91. Class 5. **gi** in 70-71 f; **nti** in 75-75 c; **-ndili**, **-ndeli** in 77, 79; **-ledi** in 78; **-nyi** in 193, 204; **ad'** in 213-15. Class 6. **gi** in 27; **wge** in 90, 91; **va** in 94; **wa** in 95-9, 130; **ima** in 109. Class 7 (no eccentric concord). Class 8. **di** in 130. Class 9. **zi** in 78; **ti**, **t'** in 83; **mi** in 87 a, 104-8, 109; **imu**, **wu** in 109; **k'**, **ka** in 130; **m** in 17; **jan'** in 34; **ntsi** in 75-75 c. Class 10. **esiw** in No. 1; **ti**, **ti** in 83, 85-7; **mbu** in 92-3; **vi** in 94; **ni** in 96; **mi** in 109; **bi** in 155. Class 11. **ilu** in 109; **gu**, **ugu** in 64, 64 a. Class 12. **u** in 13; **su** in 89; **itu** in 106, 109. Class 13. **ñka** in 78; **ñgu** in 89; **wke** in 90, 91; **-ika**, **ikw** in 106, 109. Class 14. **hūū** in 90, 91; **wmu** in 92, 93; **yu** in 94-9; **ibu** in 106-9; **gu** in 33; **vzω** in 73. Class 15. **iku** in 109. Class 16. **iha** in 109. Class 17. **imu** in 109; **vω** in 94; **ñghu** in 59.

We have now to consider the difficult question—difficult because of the paucity of our information—concerning the forms and significations of the prefixes and concords in the Semi-Bantu languages and their correspondence and comparison with those of the true Bantu Group.

The system of the concord—that is to say, the definite allocation to each class of noun of its corresponding pronominal, adjectival, and demonstrative particles—exists in nearly all the Semi-Bantu languages and is one reason for associating them in their origin with the Bantu. Yet degeneration has in some cases disguised the correspondence or made it so different to what obtains in the Bantu, that this imperfection (especially in the pronouns) is one of the distinguishing factors in enabling us to decide what is a Bantu and what is a Semi-Bantu language. Nevertheless, in the adjustment and fullness of the concord system, adjectival and pronominal, such Semi-Bantu Groups as those of Tōgōland, North-west Sierra Leone (Temne), and North Guinea (Dyōla) present striking analogies with the Bantu system. The use of concord particles preceding the roots of adjectives, numerals, possessive pronouns, demonstratives, and verbs may be traced in all the Semi-Bantu languages except Efik (245), and perhaps Nalu (266).

Many of the Semi-Bantu prefixes precisely resemble those of the Bantu, and yet have a different sense, or are attached differently to singular or plural. There are distinct traces of the preprefix in members of Group A (S-B.), in Classes 1, 2, 3, and 9; especially in Nos. 228, 230, and 235; in Group B (S-B.)—Nos. 247-247 b; and in Temne, Baga, and Landōma (263-5). In the Temne languages the preprefixial vowel is much in evidence. In the Semi-Bantu of Group G (S-B.) (Central Bauci), and the not far distant Munši (248), the Benue language of Group C (S-B.), there is an increasing tendency for the prefix to become a suffix. In the Járawa language (253) the prefixes have either disappeared or have become fused with the word-root, leaving their work to be effected by suffixes. The Nalu tongue (266) employs, in addition to its singular and plural prefixes; two suffixial vowels, *a* and *e*, to emphasize the plural of the noun-root. In modern Bulom (261) there is an abandonment of most of the prefixes recorded by Nyländer and Koelle respectively a hundred years and sixty years ago.

The correspondence in form and application between the Bantu and Semi-Bantu prefixes grows less and less as one proceeds westwards. In the Ekoi languages (227-227 c) the 1st Class (**Mu-**) is represented by **Mw-**, **M-**, but also by **N-**, **N̄-**, and the novel forms **N-** and **Ni-**. The 2nd Class (**Ba-**) is **A-** and **Ana-**, and only shows its affinities in the concord, **aba**. The existence of classes corresponding to Nos.

¹ There are traces of this in the 'Fañg' Group of Bantu languages (RR).

3 and 4 (as distinct from Nos. 1 and 6) is doubtful; even if they are retained in Ekoi, the speakers of these languages seem indifferent as to the form they adopt: **Mi-** may stand for the singular as well as for the plural. No. 5 prefix is doubtfully identifiable as **E-, I-,** or **Nji-**. There is no doubt about No. 6, which as **A-, M', Ma-,** &c., seems traceable to an archaic **Ama-** (its concord is **a**, which might point to an older **ga** as in Bantu). But No. 6 can also be **Mi-**, with that *insouciance* as to tonic vowels which so characterizes the Semi-Bantu languages; and in Ekoi **Ma-** (as in so many other Semi-Bantu tongues) is given indifferently a singular or collective sense as well as a plural. No. 7 prefix is represented by **E-**, with one of its two concords as **ji**; its plural is **Be-** (No. 8) not, however, often used. The 8a prefix is more apparent than 8. It even takes the oldest form of **Bi-**, as well as of **Ifi-** and **Fi-**. The 10th prefix either resembles the 9th (**N-, Ny-,** &c.) or assumes a peculiar form: **Ω-, On-**, the relationships of which are not apparent. Prefixes 11, 12, 13, and 14 are missing; 15 and 16 are only represented in prepositions, but in that capacity are of Bantu affinities (**Ku-** and **Fa-**). In the dialects of the Upper Cross river, grouped under the numeral 228, the prefixes have a much more Bantu appearance. The 5th prefix does not get nearer to the original **Di-** or **Li-** than **Ne-, Ni-**; the 6th prefix, besides **Ma-**, may be denasalized as **Ba-** or indifferently change its vowel and become **Mu-, Mω-,** and **Me-**; the 7th prefix is sometimes **Ege-** and **Eke-**; the 10th is occasionally **Ne-**; and a plural prefix, **Ali-**, is present in some of the dialects for which no Bantu parallel can be found. It should also be mentioned that **Nde** (228) replaces plural prefixes by a plural suffix: **-la**.

In the **Nki** languages (229 to 229e) the 1st and 3rd prefixes lose their initial **M**, but the 11th prefix seems to reappear as **Li-**; and the 13th, **Ka-**, so seldom met with north and west of the Congo, is certainly present, with a plural in **Bω-** (14) or in **E-** (? class). The 20th prefix (**Da-**) is present in some of the **Nki** languages.

The Mbudikum-Bali, &c., dialects and the **Ngwala** and **Manyañ** languages (230, 231, and 234-234a) also retain a decidedly Bantu 'cast' in their prefixes, but the 2nd, besides **Ab-, Ba-, Bu-,** and **Bi-**, is in some of them pronounced as **Pa-, Pe-, P',** and **Pω-**. Both the 3rd and the 4th are present (in 231, if not in the others). The 5th may be **Li-, Di-, Le-, De-,** as well as **Ni-, Ne-,** and **Ej'-**. The 6th, after the wont of the Semi-Bantu, varies as **Amu-, Mω-,** and **Mu-**, as well as **Ma-, Me-, Mi-,** and **Ba-**. The 7th is **Gi-** and **He-** as well as **Ki-, Ke-,** &c. The 8a prefix varies from **Vi-** to **Fu-, Pfu-, Si-, Se-,** and **He-**; and its plural seems to be of the 12th Class. The 11th prefix is more definite—like the Bantu—for it is **Rω-** and **Dω-** as well as **U-**, and has Class 6 as its plural. The forms of the supposed 12th Class are rather puzzling. They range from **Ti-, Di-, De-** to **Ke-**, with a concord in **re**. These may be derived from an earlier **Tu-**, or they may come from the 22nd or **Ti-, Te-** prefix met with in the numerals of Group A (S-B.). The 13th Class is missing from the prefixes of Nos. 230-1 and 234-234a. But 14, 15, 16, 20, and 24 are represented. Associated with No. 16 (as locative) is a suffix **-tsa**.

In **Nsō** and **Mbe** (232-3) nothing is known of the prefixes after No. 9, but those between 1 and 9 are of Bantu type. The 8a prefix is present as **Si-, Fi-,** or **Fu-**. **Indiki** (235) not only shows distinct traces of preprefixes (as does the neighbouring Bantu language of the **Bati** (216)), but retains the 1st and the 3rd prefixes in their Bantu shape. Whether it possesses No. 2 and No. 4 is not yet known. No. 5 is **Ne-, Ni-**, 6 varies between **Ma-, Mω-,** and **Mu-**; 10 seems to be represented by **Ti-**, a fact which, if confirmed, is interesting: otherwise this **Ti-** might be taken for the conjectural 22nd prefix. The 12th prefix, so rarely represented in the Semi-Bantu by **Tu-**, is present in that form, and is plural to **He-**; **H'**, which seems to be a vestige of the 13th (**Ka-**), inasmuch as the 7th is represented by **I-, Ye-**. The 15th is **Hu-**; and there is a **Na-** (24th?) prefix, which is applied to periods of time. It may, therefore, not be derived from the real **Na-** or 'mother' prefix, but be, as not infrequently occurs, a form of the **La-** (20th) prefix, through the common permutation of *l* and *n*.¹

In the **Bafut** and **Ndob** languages (236-237a) the 1st prefix is present in Bantu form, though it tends to be confused with **Ma-**; the 2nd (**Bω-, Be-, Ba-**) is in use, but the 3rd is either absent or takes the forms of 9, 1, and 6. The 4th is confused with the 6th, which last is protean in its guises: **Me-, Mi-, Ma-,** and

¹ Just as the **La-** feminine prefix of the westernmost Semi-Bantu may by a change of *n* to *l* be the Bantu 'mother' prefix, **Na-**.

Mω. The 11th prefix is present as **Rω.** and **Dω.**; with No. 6 for a plural. The 12th *may* be identified with a plural **Di.**, **De.** prefix (concord, **re**) and there is one instance in 236 of the **Ka.** prefix, in the word **Ka-fin**, 'iron'. The 15th prefix—**Ku.**, **Wu.**, **U.**—has a plural in No. 14 (**Bu.**, **Bω.**, &c.). Bafut has an honorific prefix in **A.** which is not specially identified with any Bantu Class.

Olulowmω (238) and Ikom (238 a) are the last languages of Sub-group A 1 (S-B.) possessing distinct signs of affinity with the North-western Bantu. This is to some extent evident in their prefixes, though already they show signs of divergence from Bantu standards in the direction of the neighbouring Sub-group A 2. The 1st prefix has lost its initial **M**; possibly the 4th is retained as **I.**, **Mi.** The 7th prefix is **Ke.** and has the 8th prefix (**Bi.**) as plural. There is an unexplained **Ja.** (? 20) singular prefix; **En.** may be No. 9; **Ma.** is a prefix of the singular number, and **Je.** in the plural may be derived from the **Di.**, **De.** corruption of the **Tu.** prefix (12).

Nos. 11, 14, and 15 are present, there is a plural prefix, **Ω.**, which seems to correspond with the abnormal form of No. 10 in Ekoi and the **Ō** of 239 b; and **Da.**, **Ra.**, the 20th prefix (which, as in other Semi-Bantu languages, seems to be a concordial prefix with a corresponding concord **la** or **ra**) is of the plural number. Another indefinite plural prefix is **M'**. There is a diminutive prefix in the singular, **Won.**, derived, of course, from a root meaning 'child', and answering to a similar diminutive in Nos. 248, 103, 200, 56, 59, 61, 70-71 f.

When we pass to Sub-group A 2 (S-B.) we find an increasing divergence from the Bantu scheme of prefixes. With the exceptions of Nos. 243 and 244 (and only rarely with them) the 1st prefix is **O.**, **Ω.**, **U.**, **A.**, **Kw.**, and has lost its initial **M**; and this applies also to the nearly extinct No. 3, where it can be identified. Akunakuna (241-241 c) has, however, retained **gu** as the concord of 1, and this serves in its identification. The 2nd prefix is present as **Ba.**, **A.**, **Wa.**, **Pa.**, **Bu.**, **Be.**, **Bω.** (with the additional eccentricities of **Ō.** and **Okpω.** in No. 240 c) in Nos. 239-239 b, 240-240 c, 241-241 c, 242-242 b, 243, 244-244 a, and 246. The 4th prefix as **Mi.**, **I.** may, perhaps, be traced in 241-241 c and 242-242 b (elsewhere it is either a singular prefix or is confused with No. 6). The 5th prefix as **E.**, **Ji.**, **Le.**, **Li.**, **De.**, **I.**, **Di.**, **Ne.** may be regarded as present in its Bantu capacity in Nos. 239-239 b, 240- (? 240 c), 241-241 c, 242-242 b, 243, 244-244 a, and perhaps 246.¹ The 6th prefix is indifferently **Ma.**, **Ba.**, **Wa.**, **A.**, **Me.**, **Mω.**, **M'** in all these languages. The 7th as **Ki.**, **Ke.** exists in No. 239 b (with a plural in **Be.**), in 240, in 242-242 b (as **Ik.**, **Oc.**, **Ij.**, **Ke.**, **Ki.**, **Ge.**; with a plural in **Ip.**), as **G'**, and **E.** in 243, as **Ke.**, **E.**, **Kω.** in 244-244 a, and as **Ki.** in 246. In all of these languages the 8th prefix seems to persist as plural to the 7th, generally in the forms of **Bi.** and **Be.**; but in 246, both **Ki.** and **Bi.** can be used indifferently in a singular or plural sense. The 9th and 10th prefixes in the forms of **N.** (**M.**), **I.**, **N.**, **Nye.**, seem to be present in all this Sub-group A 2 (S-B.) except in No. 243: In Nos. 240 c and 246 there is a **Ti.**, **Te.** plural prefix which, if not the surmised No. 22, may be an archaic form of 10. The 11th (as **Ndω.**, **Lω.**, **Lu.**, **Du.**, **Dō.**, **Dω.**) is present in Nos. 239-239 b, 240, 243, 244, and 246; the 12th may be doubtfully identified in the plural prefix **Li.**, **Di.**, **De.**, **Dij.**, used by Nos. 240 c, 243, and 246. The 13th, **Ka.**, persists in No. 239 b, in 240, perhaps in 242-242 b, certainly in Nos. 244-244 a (with a plural in **Bu.**). The 14th prefix (**Bu.**, **Bω.**) is used either as a singular or as a plural or both in all the tongues of Sub-group A 2 (S-B.) except in Nos. 242-242 b. The 15th is only met with in 239-239 b (**Ku.**, **Kω.**), 240, 244-244 a, and 246. (It does not seem to be employed as an infinitive prefix or to be much associated with locality.) The 16th prefix (still persisting as **Fa.** or **Ba.** in the Sub-group A 1 (S-B.)) is not found anywhere in the second sub-group. In Nos. 244-244 a its place as a locative is taken by **Ma.**. Neither is the Bantu No. 17, the 'in' prefix, found in these Cross river languages. Its place in Nos. 244-244 a is filled by the suffix **-n** (perhaps the Bantu **-ni**) and the **-tin**, **-tiñ**, also present in North-west Bantu. The 20th prefix, **La.**, **Nda.**, **Ja.**, **Na.**, **Da.**, in either a singular or a plural sense, is present in Nos. 238, 240 c, 241, 243, 244.

In connexion with this Cross river Sub-group there remain only to be indicated certain prefixes in the singular or plural which seem unconnected with the Bantu. There are the **Ne.**, **Ni.** (sing.) of Ekoi (227-227 c), the plural **Ω.**, **Ō.** of 227, 228 a, b, 238, 239 b, 240 c, 246; the singular **Pfu.**, **Fu.** of 230-2, 234, 236-7; the plural **Is'** of 242; and the singular **Gwω.**, **Gw.** of 240.

¹ In 246 **Di.**, **De.** is a plural and may really be a form of No. 12.

The prefixes of Efik, Ibibio, and Kwō (245-245 a) must be considered separately, though this speech of the Cross river estuary belongs to Sub-group A 2 (S-B.). Efik, no doubt under extraneous, non-Bantu influence, has largely disused prefixes as indications of singular and plural, and retains them more as classifiers and demonstratives. In the singular number we find the **A**-, **E**-, **I**-, **Ū**-, **U**-, **M**-, and **N**- prefixes, vague as to meaning and difficult to connect specially with any Bantu prefix; the plurals to these are **Me**- and **Mō**- (possibly the Bantu **Ma**-), **I**-, **M**-, and **N**-. But as demonstratives or classifying prefixes we have **Edi**-, **Eri**-, and **Andi**-, seemingly derived from the 5th Bantu prefix; **Eki**- and **Mbi** (the Bantu 7 and 8); and **Mbu**- or **Mbō**- (the Bantu 14). These last are pluralized by the inexplicable **Ndi**- and **Mendi**-.

The prefixes of Group B (S-B.)—Iñkum-Yala, Nos. 247-247 b—have decided Bantu affinities, though often reduced to a single vowel. Classes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 14, 15, and 16 seem to be represented, though sometimes only identifiable by their concords (in the case of Class 1, **nyō**, in the case of Class 2, **ba**). The 11th, 14th, 15th, and 16th retain an **Ū**- preprefix, but their resemblance to the Bantu is marked.

The prefixes of Munşi (248) are within the Bantu scheme, though in use they have fallen much into abeyance, and in some cases have coalesced with the root. The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, 14th, 15th, and 16th Bantu Classes are represented, even if sometimes only by a vowel, or they may be identified by a suffix or a concord. The concord of Class 1 is **ñgu**, **un**, and **u**; of Class 6, **ñga**, **ma**; of Class 7, **ki**; of 8, **mbi**; of 14, **mbu**; of 15, **ku**. There is a diminutive prefix, **Wan**-, derived from the root for 'child', similar to the form in Nos. 238, 103, 200, &c.

The Afudu language, No. 240, possesses (so far as we can judge from our very scanty information) the Bantu prefixes 1 (**Mu**-), 2, 3, 5, 7, 8 a (**Fi**-), 9, 11 (**Lu**-), and 13 (**Ka**-).

Borisü (250) has the 1st prefix (without the **M**- initial), the 2nd and 6th, the 7th and 8th (these last very positively, as **Gi**-, **Ge**-, **Ke**-, and **Be**-), the 9th, 14th, and 15th (**Gu**-).

Mbarike (251) has the 1st and 2nd poorly represented, perhaps the 3rd as **Gu**-, the 5th (**Le**-), 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th (**Lu**-), and 15th (**Ku**-).

The Burum language (252) apparently has a relic of No. 1 as **M**-, **Mw**-; a corruption of No. 2 (**Bi**-); an analogous prefix to the **Gu**- of Mbarike—**Gwō**-—which may answer to the unclassified **Gwō**- of No. 240, or to the Bantu 3rd or 18th Classes; a plural prefix **I**- or **Ni**-, which may be No. 4; the 5th prefix (**Ri**-); the 8th (**Bi**-); the 9th, the 14th (**Vu**-, **Bw**-); and the 20th (**Ra**-).

Járawa (253) of Central Bauci, like Munşi, has a modern tendency to discard the use of prefixes, but retains traces or the use of the following, most of them easily identifiable with the Bantu scheme: Nos. 1 (**M**-, **Mu**-, **Mō**-), 2 (**Ba**-), 6 (**Ma**-), 7 (**Gi**-, **Ki**-), 8 (**Bi**-), 9 (**N**-, **M**-, **Ny**-), 13 (**Ka**-), 14 (**Bō**-, **Bu**-), 15 (**Gu**-), and 16 (**Pa**-). In addition there are in the singular the **Da**- prefix (20), the **Ta**- (21), and the unidentifiable **Mi**- and **U**-. Its suffixes, besides the puzzling **-an** and **-al** in the singular, include representatives of the 2nd and 8th Classes: and the suffixes **-ya**-, **-ea**-, **-a**-, **-ga** (which may be connected with No. 6), **-ni** (with 10 or 4), **-bale**-, and **-na**-, which may be related to No. 24.

In the Group H (S-B.) of the Kaduna basin (Central Nigeria), we are confronted with a great number of prefixes—the majority of the singular number; which, though they include many a familiar Bantu form, such as **Mō**-, **Mu**-, **Na**-, **Bu**-, **Ba**-, **Ki**-, **Ka**-, **Ku**-, **Li**-, **Tu**-, and **Ma**-, are so differently applied in comparison with the Bantu custom that it is difficult to trace any correspondence. **Ši**-, **Še**-, **Ji**-, a common plural form, may have some origin in common with No. 10 (**Zi**-); and **Na**- correspond to the Bantu **Na**- (24); **Pa**- (a locative in Gurmana) to No. 16. There is a **Su**-, **Sō**- singular prefix which recalls a similar prefix in the Ababua Group II of Bantu.

In the Tōgōland Group I (S-B.), there is more correspondence with the Bantu system. The Bantu Classes 1 and 2 are represented, except that there is no **M**- initial to No. 1 (though there is a **ñu**, **ñō** concord in Lefana and Avatime). The Bantu 3rd prefix is in some way represented in Lefana by **Ku**-, **Kō**-, **Ke**-, which, however, also seems identical with the Bantu 15th, in that it is applied to the members of man's body. The 4th prefix is vaguely represented in 257 and 259-60 by **E**-, **I**- (with a concord sometimes **ne**), but in 258 by the non-Bantu **Si**-, **Se**-. The Bantu 5th prefix really seems to penetrate to this group, in the little altered forms of **Li**-, **Le**-, **Di**-, **Ni**-. The 6th is poorly represented by **A**-, **E**- (with concords **ya** and **na**). The 7th and 8th exist in Nos. 257, 259, and 260 (**Ki**- or **Ke**-, with a plural in **Bi**- or **Be**-); but

in No. 258 **Ku** takes the place of prefix 7, and prefix 8 is represented by **Ka** with a plural signification. **Ka** also appears in Nos. 259-60 to perform the functions of **Ki** as well as being in its proper place as No. 13 prefix. The 9th prefix is virtually missing. The place of No. 10 is taken in Lefana by **La**, **Le**, **Li** (? No. 20); in Santrōkōfi by **N**, **M**, **N̄** (with the incongruous concord of **be**); in Avatime and Nyañgbō-Tafi by **Si**, **Ti**, **Te** (which may really be the 22nd prefix). The 11th prefix is generally missing, save for a doubtful representation in the **O**, **U** of Lefana. The place of No. 12 is taken by **Ku**, **Ko** in Lefana and Avatime. No. 13 (**Ka**) is found in Lefana, in Avatime, and in Nyañgbō-Tafi; No. 14 (**Bō**, **Bu**) in Nyañgbō-Tafi only. The 15th prefix (**Ku**, **Ko**) is found in all the languages of this group and in Avatime is the infinitive prefix. **Te** (? 22nd prefix) plays that rôle in Nyañgbō-Tafi. The 16th prefix of the Bantu seems to appear as **Fa** in Nos. 259-60, with a concord *awa* or *aba*. The 17th locative prefix of the Bantu may, with its suffix **-ni**, bear some resemblance to the **-ni**, **-me**, **Ni**, **Ne** of 259-60. Both Lefana and Avatime-Nyañgbō-Tafi have a suffix **-bi** which conveys a diminutive sense to the noun-root. It is probably an inversion of the 8a prefix in Bantu. Other suffixes are also in use in this group; and mention has been made in the first volume of this work of the practice when two nouns occur in combination of placing the noun-root in the genitive case *first*, detaching the prefix of the second noun-root, and causing this to precede and govern the whole combination.

In addition to Nos. 257-60, there may be other Semi-Bantu languages in Tōgōland not yet revealed. Two forms of speech in N.E. Tōgōland, **BASARI** and **CAMBA**, are in an indeterminate position, like formerly Semi-Bantu tongues that have been grafted with strains of later-incoming languages. Basari and Camba use prefixes as well as suffixes, and in the prefixes (cited in the first volume) the Bantu Classes 1 and 2, perhaps 3 and 4, 5 and 6, 9, 14, and 15 are seemingly represented. There is also a plural prefix, **Te**, which may be No. 22.

In Bulom (261), according to the recent investigations of Mr. Northcote Thomas, prefixes are being gradually disused in favour of suffixes or are (in the singular) dropped altogether. The plural prefix **Si**, **Si** is becoming the preponderating prefixial sign of the plural. In South Bulom (Mampa or Krim—262) prefixes are more in use. Collating the work of Nyländer, Koelle, Northcote Thomas, with some notes of my own taken in Sierra Leone in 1907, I find that the earlier scheme of prefixes in Group J (S-B.) was that which was given in the first volume, and that it included a **Nō** prefix corresponding to No. 1 in Bantu, with a plural in **A**, **Anya**. This latter in some ways answered to Bantu No. 2. There were also a **U**, **Wō**, **Uñ** prefix with an **I** plural, analogous to Nos. 3 and 4; a **Li**, **Le**, **De** prefix which resembled the Bantu No. 5 (only with a plural in **Si** and not in **Ma**); a **Ma** plural prefix (as well as a **Ma** singular) which might be called No. 6; an **N** (**M**) prefix equivalent to No. 10; a **Ku**, **Ko** prefix answering as locative exactly to the Bantu 15; a **Ke** prefix in the singular of uncertain affinities; a **La** or **Da** singular prefix which may have been No. 20; a frequently used plural prefix **Si**, **Si**, and another plural prefix, **Ti**, **Te**, of the type I have tentatively numbered 22. This **Ti** or **Te** prefix as in Group A (S-B.) and in some of the North-western Bantu, also had a locative sense—'in', 'inside'. **La** and **Pō** were prefixes without concords indicating the feminine or masculine gender. The **La** may have been a denasalized version of the Bantu **Na**.

The Bantu affinities of the prefixes in Temne, Baga, and Landōma (Nos. 263-5) are not at first sight very striking, especially in Temne, because of the excessive affection displayed in that Group K (S-B.) of the Semi-Bantu for the vowels *æ* and *a*, for the nasal *ɲ* or nasalized vowel, and for the slurring, trilling or sibilation of the *z*, and especially the *t* that comes from an older *s* or *z*; also from the dislike in this group to an initial *ɔ*. The prefixes of Classes 1 and 2 are, as in Bantu, reserved almost entirely for human beings. Prefix No. 1 may originate from the Proto-Bantu **Ngumu**, though, as in so many of the Semi-Bantu, the *m* has been dropped in favour of *w*. Among the concords of this prefix are **kw** and **koñ**, which may indicate the former preprefix of **Gu**. The 2nd prefix is **A**, but more commonly **Ana** and **Aña**, which finds a parallel in Ekoi (227) and in Bulom (261-2). The 3rd, though of the singular number, seems identical with the 2nd. The 4th might possibly have some far-off connexion with the Bantu **Mi**, but its commonest form, **Ya**, has a dual rather than a plural sense in Temne. The 5th seems like a fusion of the Bantu 5th prefix with Nos. 20 and 21. Only in its concords and one of its diverse shapes (**I**) does it recall the 5th prefix of the Bantu; but it increases this resemblance by employing No. 6

(**Ama**, &c.) for its plural. In the same way the 7th prefix in Temne looks like a fusion between the Bantu 7th and 13th. The 8th prefix might possibly descend from a Proto-Bantu **Bi**. No. 9 might also have come from a Bantu type, while No. 10 in Temne and its allies seems to include an ancient 12th prefix (**Tu**) with a **Se**, **Sa** prefix, which may either be related to the **Se**, **Si** of so many Semi-Bantu tongues, or even to the Bantu **Zi**. The Bantu **Lu** (No. 11) seems to emerge in the Temne **Ru**, **Rw**, though this is little more than a preposition meaning 'to'. No. 14 (**Uwɔ**) seems to be the Bantu **Bu**. No. 15 is a puzzle. Its base is the syllable **Od**, and its meaning is that of a locative, 'to' or 'at' in the place of the Bantu **Ku**. Perhaps it is a divergent form of the 11th prefix. No. 16 in Temne resembles exactly the oldest form of 16 in Bantu—**Apa**—but it has no locative sense, is a plural or collective prefix. There is in No. 265 a **Ta** prefix which seems independent of the Temne 5th prefix and may be the one I have tentatively classified as 21. In that case it is found also in No. 253 and (as a demonstrative) in No. 210. But its plural in **Ma** rather tends to make it a divergent form of the Bantu 5th or 20th prefixes. This Temne Group also possesses three qualifying prefixes, apparently without special concord particles. These are: **Na**, a 'mother', a feminine, and honorific prefix (exactly answering to No. 24 in Bantu); **Ba**, a prefix applied to children, but perhaps descended from the Bantu **Ba**: and **Pa**, an honorific 'father' prefix.

In the aberrant Nalu Group L (S-B.), the plural, apart from or in addition to special prefixes, is indicated by adding a suffixial vowel (**-a** or **-e**) to the noun-root. In Koelle's vocabulary I can only trace one actual plural prefix, evidently the Bantu No. 2: **Be**, **Ba**, **Abu**, &c. The 1st prefix in Nalu (**Mw**, **Mu**, **Mi**, &c.) would seem to be identical with the 1st in Bantu, and the Bantu 7th and 9th to be equally represented. In addition, there seems to be a **Ba** prefix in the singular and a **La** or **La-m** prefix, with a specially feminine signification, which no doubt is, like the **La** in Bulom, a denasalized version of the **Na**, 'mother', prefix (No. 24) in Bantu.

Groups M and N (S-B.) seem, like the Bantu and most of the Semi-Bantu, to reserve Classes 1 and 2 for the inclusion chiefly of human beings. In Nos. 267 and 268 the prefixes of these two classes are **Ww**, **Wu** and **Bi**, **Bu**; in Nos. 269 to 272, **Wu**, **U**, **A**, &c., pluralized by **Ngu**, **Ngi**, &c.; in Nos. 273-273 b, **A**, **An**, **Ō**, pluralized by **Ku**, **Buka**, **Ba**, &c.; and in Konyāgi, 274, **U**, **A**, pluralized by **Wi** and perhaps by **Wa**. In 267 a **Mu** prefix exists in the singular; a **Mu** and a **Mon** in the Portuguese Guinea Sub-group (Nos. 269-72); likewise a **Mu**, **Mw**, &c., in Dyōla (273); but none of these seem agnate with the Bantu 1st prefix; if anything, with the Bantu No. 3. A **Gu** prefix in the singular and **Gu**, **Ngu** in the plural are met with respectively in Nos. 267-8 and 274, and in 269-72 and 273. One or other may be related to the **Gu** prefix in Mbarike (251), but Bantu analogies are not clear. Another very prominent prefix in all these North Guinea languages is **Fu**, **Pu**, **Hu** in the singular, which does not seem to be connected with the Bantu **Bu** (14th prefix), but which in the Group A (S-B.) seems almost to develop out of the **Fi** form of 8 a. **Bi**, **Be**, as a singular and a plural prefix, is met with in 267-8, in 269-72, in 273 (as a variant of **Bu**). There is a **Su** plural prefix in 267-8, 273, which may be akin to the **Su** in 151-4 (the Ababua Group of Bantu), or the **Su** (singular) in Nos. 254-5 of the Semi-Bantu. This, with the variant of **Si**, **Si**, reappears in No. 273. The **Lu** prefix of Bantu (No. 11) may be cognate with the **Ndu**, **Lu**, **Uru** of Nos. 267-8. The **Ngi** plural prefix in 269-72 may be connected with the **ngi** demonstrative of the 4th Class in Bantu. The Bantu 5th and 6th Classes certainly seem to find analogues in the **Di**, **Li**, **I**; plural, **Wa** of Konyāgi (274). A **Ma** plural prefix is found in 267 (very prominent) and in 274. A plural prefix which seems quite distinct from **Bu**, yet which offers no evidence of Bantu affinities, is **Vu**, found in Nos. 273, 274. There is a **Ka** singular prefix (varying as **Ke**, **Ga**, **Ge**, **Gan**) in 267, in 269-72, in 273 and 274, which in some ways answers to the 13th in the Bantu series and to the use of **Ka** in the Eastern Semi-Bantu, for in 273 it can be used prepositionally and as an infinitive prefix, and in 274 it has a locative sense. It is certainly remarkable that in both 273 and 274 there should be a locative prefix **Fa** (or **Ha**) which fulfils much the same functions as the Bantu **Pa**. In 267 there is a **La** prefix which may correspond to No. 20 in Bantu, so also may the **Ra**, **Rr**, **Da** prefix in Konyāgi (274). The **Ti**, **Ta** prefix in No. 273 is perhaps related to the **Ti**, **Te** of Bulom and the **-tiu**, **-te**, **-ti**, **-tei** suffix in Nos. 244, 160-1, 162, 163-8, 186, 199-204, 217-20.

CHAPTER X

THE NOUN IN BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU

THE noun in Bantu and Semi-Bantu, when fully caparisoned, consists of a detachable prefix, changing according to number (singular or plural) or quality ; of the virtually unchangeable noun-root ; and sometimes of a suffix. Or the prefix may be dispensed with, and a suffix take its place, either to modify or extend the meaning of the root or to act as a post position. Sometimes, when a prefix has fallen into disuse, the noun in either singular or plural may be simply the root-word and nothing more. These varying forms of the noun might be compared with similar phases in English : as 'owl' ; 'the owl' ; 'the owl-et' ; 'owl' being the root. Or, 'call', 'a call', 'a call-up'. But in seeking for inter-relationships between the different Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages and for resemblances between them and other forms of African speech, we naturally try to isolate the actual word-root from its varying, accidental prefixes and suffixes, and set it forth in its original simplicity.

Noun-roots, like adjective-, numeral-, and verb-roots in Bantu and Semi-Bantu, were originally both monosyllabic and disyllabic. All attempts to derive these language-families from an ancestral speech expressing its concepts in utterances of a single syllable have broken down before the entirety of the evidence collected. Nevertheless, the tendency in the North-west Bantu and in several groups of the Semi-Bantu is towards word-roots of a single syllable ; though, as a proportion of these begin and end on a consonant, it is easy by restoring the lost terminal vowel to show their disyllabic origin. Roots of three syllables are not uncommon, but they can nearly always be reduced to two syllables by detaching some incorporated prefix or affix.

The analysis of noun-roots that follows is, to me, the most interesting part of the whole research. It establishes even more than in the case of adjectives and verb-roots, and as much as in the study of the numerals, the relationship between the Bantu and the Semi-Bantu families (parallel to the relationship between the Hamitic and Semitic tongues) ; it reveals much locked up history and suggests many enigmas to be solved by further research.

The noun-roots given in the Analysis are taken from the vocabularies published in the first volume of this work, together with many others which have been added from later knowledge. As a rule there is a pretty close agreement between the presentation of these noun-roots in the Analysis and that of the vocabularies in the first volume. Where there is any difference in rendering, the later version in this volume must be taken as the more accurate. The noun-root is normally presented without prefix or suffix, the absence of these being indicated by a hyphen before or after the word. When it is difficult to present the root without its prefix, owing virtually to a fusion between the two, the word begins with a capital letter ; as also when no prefix is associated with the main root.

Noun-roots of obvious close affinity are only separated by commas ; those where the relationship is likely but not so certain, by semi-colons. Two sections of roots with a far-off kinship are usually placed in immediate succession. The figures identify the language to which the root belongs, and agree with the list at the commencement of this volume or in the vocabularies of the first volume. When a noun-root has indications of affinity in several different directions it may be repeated in quotation. Finally, attention is called by an asterisk to roots that are evidence of remarkable and far distant relationships, especially between Bantu and Semi-Bantu.

It is not intended in this summary of evidence as to the inter-relationships in noun-roots of these two speech families to instance every word quoted in the vocabularies, but only those roots which serve the

purposes of comparative philology. The greater part of the recorded words is given, but paraphrases, *except they indicate linguistic relationship or affinity*, are omitted, as well as mere freak names or nick-names which do not circulate beyond a particular tribe or dialect, and descriptive terms which are not the actual names of the concept, such, for example, as 'big mother' or 'big father' for 'grandparent', 'little woman' or 'female child' for 'girl', 'child of mother' or 'child of father' for 'brother'.

COMPARISON OF NOUN-ROOTS IN THE BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU LANGUAGES

NOTE.—*Roots remarkable for their widespread or distant relationships are marked by an asterisk.*

ADZE and AXE (HATCHET, CHOPPER)

- tanda* 11; -endω* 156; -anda* 160 162; -enda* 193; -du-mandí, -mandí 273; -mañen 273.
 -anzi* 2, -yanzi* 4; -añgi* 12.
 -baω, -bau 153 160 161; -aω 198, -au 226.
 -waiyüa, -wayüa 6, -waiyüwa, -yaiyüa 6a, -aiwa, -aiyüa 5 5a; Hoya 19; -paya* 131, -bew* 81 83, -bayω* 83 85, -baiω 86.
 -basa* 1, -baizi 2, -pasω* 2e, -bezω* 2f, -pasa*, -wase 3b, -badzi*, -baidi*, -pasa 4, -bajω* 4 19, -baci* 5, -bazω 8, -basa 6 9, -pasa 9 9a, -widzω* 24, -basω 32, -wedω*, -bedω 34, -basa 39, -bwacu* 39a, -bazω 41, -pasa 43 43a (and -patω), -vasω 44 44b, -patω, -pasa 45, -badzω, -badω 58 58a 59 (also -paza), -bazω 62, -bezω 64 64a, -badzω 64, -baja 64a, -bezω 64a, -pata* 66, -pada 69, -badω 72, -petlω 73 74, -palω* 74b, -panlω* 193, -bazω* 75a 75b, -bezω 77 78 79 80, -bew 81 83, -pasa, -basa 105; -banja 78; -kpataja* 228.
 -hendω* 10, -tanda* 11, -tendese 28, Tseudω* 64 64a, -tsen* 231; Santω* 64a; -gandω* 65 68; -endω* 156 159 161; Mundu* 16, Mu-ndu* 21, -munt* 263; -fhond 202; -wundω* 185 204; -vondω* 199, -fhond 202, -ondω* 205, -undu*, -ondω 206, -yundu* 209, -wondω* 211, -von 217 218 219, -hunt* 203, -sundu*, -sondω 155 155a, -hon, -hun 213 214 215, -hondω*-kω 157; -hfwiundi*, -hfundi* 207; -ndondi* 210; -londa* 39 104 104c 108 135 144, -onda* 141; -pondω* 161; -yondω, -rondω* 186; -onji* 186.
 -dambala 94.
 Dom 253; -tombe* 105; -sompω* 61a, -zombi*, -zumbi* 166, -ömbi 167, -gumbi* 153; -pompwe* 61a, -fumfwāā 178; -komba* 155c; -gembω* 86 98a, -gimbu* 84 85 86 (-gyimbu*), -dyimbu* 86a, -jimbu 88, -gimbω*, -gimbu 95 98 99, -jimpu*, -simpu* 97, -gimbu 129, -gimbω 114; -embe* 77 78 79 81, -sembe* 2e 9c 42, -zembe* 41 44 44b 75 75a 75b 76, -tembe* 87, -dembe* 87a, -gembe* 19 19a 20, -jembe* 19a, -jambe* 80 81 248, -jañ, -jam 230, -jam 232 233; -tanwa, -tsanwa 11; -hamba* 19a; -sembω* 137; -nyembe* 61a, -nyimbwe 58; -khava* 91a 92, Jaba* 198 226, -yapa* 254, -jā, -zab* 230; -tewe*, -tebe* 264-72, -lepe*, -lēpe 73a 74, -repe* 83; -nevω 94, -neiw, New 112a; -nib* 273; -cebω 139.
 -kwat* 253, -kwetu* 184, -kwete* 189, -kweti* 168, -kweru* 175, -kwiri* 178; Kwea* 72.
 -berya* 13, -behura* 64a, -beura* 66, -bera* 263; -buire 65a; -bre 242.
 -zire 7, -siri 187; -sele 93; -dira 267; -nir, -nira, -ned 273.
 -tadi*, -tale, -tali (meaning 'stone axe') 1b 101 103 177.
 -javiti 86c, -diavite* 94, -daibidi* 93, -dabedi* 151b.¹
 Iñgesi 151b.
 -desω 32, -dasω, -lasω 38; Gisω ('stone axe') 250.
 -takhω* 157, -teyω*, -tey* 234, -taka* 254; -tōkōli 189.
 -cōka* 19, -šōka* 21 21a, -sōka 21f, -šōka 23, -nuka 27, -suka* 1 3, -tōka* 12, -zōka 14 15,

¹ This correspondence is really remarkable. Nos. 94 and 93 are languages of Southern Añgōla; 151b is the Bañgminda language of the Southern Bahr-al-ghazal.

Tsoka 16, Šwoka 17, Zwoka* 18, -suka, -kōka*, -yuka* 39, -sōka, -šwoka 67 69, -yōga* 69, -caka* 74 b, -sua 94 b, -sōka 107 110 111, -saka* 140, -yuka 144, -kōka* 145, -suka 147, -lōka* 146, -nlōka* 71 f, -nlōga* 75 c, -ruka* 150, -kōkō* 160 164, -dyōkō* 194, -diōka* 186, -yōka* 208, -rōwa* 226 a 226 b; -fuk* 227, -fog* 228 (also -fok*, -fōke*, -fōgwala), -hok*, -hog 235, -šua* 127, -swa 162, -tua 251; -cō 129 a, -cōa* 130, -tō 263, -tō 159 a.

-ike 89, Yiku*, Geku* 119 119 b, Yiku 125, Yuku* 144.

-kwea 72; -khava 91; -kōa* 95, -kūa* 98, -kōa 114, -šua 127, -guba* 256, -kuva* 89 91 92 94; -kōba* 166, -kxōbō* 74, -kōbō 180, -kuō 181, -kōbe* 155 b 156; -kuya 90; -hoya 19 19 a 20; -buya 110; -kū 175 179, -kūū 176 178; -ubi 100 b; -gwak 217; -gwa 162 164 166 167; -gō 247.

-huju 20; Hoya 19.

-gya* 4; Ūiya 11; -kie* 168 a, -kia* 235; -ga 246; Jeca, Yeca 21 (H).

-kula, -kōla* 94; -kaula 71, -gaulō 75 a; -hōrō* 3; -sōlwa 106, -sol 109; -zire 7 7 a; -kuri* 245; -tō-kōre* 89, -tō-kōli* 189.

-urisa 92 b; -tō*-rizō 3, -tō* 159 a, -tō* 263, -cō* 129 a.

-bwa-cu 144; -bwa 170, -bya, -bga (-bwa) 63; -buwu 64 a; -buō 257.

Hazi 8; -bafi*, -bavi 41, -bawi* 44 b, -bavi* 52, -avu* 100; -aji 100; -phiva* 91 a, -pivi 100, 184, -pibi 189, -bib 253; -bap* 263, Papa 157, -papa, -papei 161; -yapa 254; -fe 258 243.

Nwōfañ 266.

-bō 155 155 a, -bōrō 155 c; -wōe, -wōi 259; -bōki 195.

-sūi 104 104 c 108.

-zunu* 38; Cuun* 244; -šwun* 248; -zūñ* 251 274; -soñ 237, -toñ 200.

Ninū 214 a.

-pake* 186 190, -pakwe* 194, Baku* 195, -ñbaka*, -ñgbaka 148 148 a; Ngwak* 217; -wagō* 23 a, -vega 27, -wagō* 28 32, -vagō* 35, -wagō 37 60; -pañgō* 2 2 a 2 d 2 c (-hañgu), -pañgu 122; -cwañku* 2 2 c, -cañkwi* 2 f, -duwañga* 51, -tuañ* 249, Mañgwa 151 a; ¹ -mañen 273; -kwañkwa* 61 b, -kwañgwa, -xwañgwa 61 61 a 61 c, -gwañgwa* 70, -gwa 162 164 166 167; -zeñga* 61 a, -tsañga* 67, 68, -zañga* 70, -bañga* 87 87 a, -añga* 96, -añgi* 12, -añgō*, -añgu* 156 (see 'arrow'), -sañgan* 274; -peñpe 75, -jenje 76, -eñgi* 82, -keñge* 104 109-123 130 131 132 133 134 136; -biñge 83; -señgō* 24, -heñgō* 24 c, -señgō 25; Soñgōle 33 a, -ñdele 75 b, -señgele 100 b; -beñgele 108; -palañga 45; -añkimi 78; -añkuye 147; -keñgu* 124 125; -koñgō 146; -kā 229 e.

-senyō 3, -senya 2 g, -sena 2 f; -sele 93.

-dzuma 3 b; -kōmō* 19 a, -gōma* 61 a, -kōmu* 71; -lōmā 257; -lōmela 73; -sōmō* 94; -sōbō* 141; -cebō 139; -semō* 58 60 (see also -temō, &c.); -kamō* 82, -samō* 83; -nciami, -cammi* 254; -šawō* 88 255, -sau* 110; -sō (Gisō) 250; -demu* 2, -temō* 16 23 (and -hemō*), -hemō 23 a, -temō 24 24 c 25, Nemō 27, -nemu, -temu 29, -temō* 40 41, -temō 44 b 48 52 53, -thcmō 49 50, -demō 48, -temō 61 a 61 b 62 64 142, -demō* 64, -temwa 110; -temi* 177; -danūa, -banōa, -tsanwa* 11; -tem* 228 a, Tyem 252, -lema* 110 144 155 b, -dima* 128, -remi* 191 192, -rem 193, -gema* 124 125; -gimirō 27.

-salu-me 80; -sau 112 a; -calō* 95, -kanō* 79, -kana* 78, -ganō* 60 64, -šanu* 64, -sanu 63; -gbōnō 151, -wōnō (Gōnō) 181.

-bale* 84, -phani* 126, -fane* 212, -ban* 240 c; -fali* 155, -pali* 138, -bar* 218; -wel* 218.

-kar 251; -kakara* 81, -aara* 17; -caria* 26.

-kasu 39 a; -saswa 162; -caha 26; -chaka 74 b.

-na-ñgazi 4.

-kuse 268.

-sinzō 2 f, -sezō 19 20 21 21 a 21 b 21 d, -sesō 88; -se 43 a, -sei 194.

-lalō 238.

¹ Mañgwa, Nañgwa are Sudanic terms (Bahr-al-ghazal).

ANIMAL, WILD BEAST (often synonymous with MEAT)

-ama* (almost universal, usually met with as *Nyama, Nyam'*, occasionally changed to -am ω (12), -amu*, or to -awa* (144), or shortened to -am* (227 248); or -nam* (245); or extended to -ama-na* (83 87), or -ama-zane*, -ama-zana (67 75 to 76)). In one of the Fernandian dialects (226) it is -aba.¹

-namenswa 2 f, -nyamaswa 3; -nyasia 81.

-nimi 254.

-emera (*Nyemera*) 2 2 a 2 c; -eare 69 71 71 f, -ara 69; -hari 70; -ri, -ari 2 f.

-nañgazi 4.

-na 257; Nak 266.

-ny ω lwi 80.

-sor ω * 2, -s ω l ω * 4 5 a; -f ω l ω * 74 b; -bulu* 75 100 103; -l ω * (*Isi-l ω*) 75 75 a 75 b.

-tsui 6; -situ* 118; -sit ω , -hitu*, -cit ω * 85 86; -fitu* 91; -tit ω * 161 195 199 200, Tidi 200, Tit' 201-2, -titi* 186; -tyityi* 186; -tsiri*, -tsit, -cit 218 219; -zit* 217; -kiri* 147; -biri 119.

-bisi 90 91 92, -biji 100 101.

-b ω weli* 166; -bel ω *, -wela* 100 162 226 a 226 b; -bubesi 75; -buwu 64 a.

-b ω ke 258; -k ω k ω 3 27 (and -ñ ω k ω), 32 35 a 44 b 54 61 100.

-muka*, -huka* 64 64 a -puka* 72, - ω ka* 73 74, -puka, 89; Nuga 203.

-ga 259; -bwa 170; -buwu 64 a, -bu ω 257.

-nusi 94.

-muni, -muna 161 104 c; -meny', -mene- 273.

-sani 6; -cene 34; -cedi 73 74.

-sun 227.

-hesaci 226.

-vugina 193 (? the Buguma of East Africa).

-ri 2 f; -dimu 9 a.

-romb ω 61 a 64 64 a.

-nd ω 17; -d ω d ω 72.

-kala 20; -hari 70.

-ñanu, -kanu 38.

-sem, -sem 263.

-sonza 65 a.

-vanda 72, -vanja 71 f.

-ndukureñ 273.

-bata (-batana) 73 a 74.

ANTS²

-sana*.fu, -sansa* 4, -sana*.k ω 7; -sisina* 27, -si \dot{s} i* 3 9 c, -si, -sia* 214, -sia ω * 206, -saw 204, -siañ 227, -siñe 234.

-afu* (*Liafu**) 5 a 6, *Sinaku* 8, -safu* 15, *Tsalafu** 16, *Safu* 17 18, *Faafu** 17, *Silafu** 19 20, -siafu* 21 21 a-e, -cia 23 a, *Siafu*, -fulafu* 24, -arafu* 27, *Salafu** 28, -jalahu* 34, -halasu* 38, -salaũ* 54, *Harahu* 55, -talaku* 56 a, *Talak ω* 56 b, -cirafu* 60, -sulubi* 78, -silibi 79, -salafu* 100, -siaku* 161; *Si \dot{g} we* 186, *Sigi*, -seki 218, -seg 203; -sakala 258.

¹ This word extends to Nos. 151 a and 151 b, and into the Sudanic and other language families bordering on Bantu, and often in its *Nyam'*, *Nyama* form with the 9th prefix (*Ni*). It is a common cry for 'meat', but the root is -ama, and in some Bantu languages it takes a different prefix. The termination -na, -zana in South Africa is simply a diminutive suffix.

² These word-roots generally apply to the real ants and not to the termites, though there is sometimes confusion in nomenclature in the winged forms of both. The ant most often referred to in these terms is the driver ant, one of the many plagues of Africa.

- taha*, -tafa* 273; -sawa* 20; -sewere* 51.
 -sesobw 226.
 -ondw 17.
 -koñgw 27; -nyoñgw, -oñgw 155 157; -goñgorw 37; -kwoñ, -kwon 193.
 -sumbe 255, -sombi* 159 160 161; -humbi* 23, -umbi* 35, -humbe* 104; -fumba* 134 136 162;
 -fom* 218; -soma* 206; -swana 200; -zimu 140; -sunu* 187, -tyunu* 195, -sason 202, -saww* 204
 207; -son* 203 217, -taww* 157; -dawni* 175.
 -dañgwe* 5; -sañgwa* 9 c.
 -weñgele 44 b, -wenşi 44 b; -ciñgwi* 94; -viñgw 89.
 -bwine 17.
 -naw* 41, -nyeu* 78, -new* 79, -nyeu* 89, -nzeu* 110, -nyewu* 105 a; -niegene 40; -nyenyene
 79; -nywnene 91; -nyinyiki 92; -nyiyō 228; ñini 259; -nyañu-nyañu 54.
 -mwemwe 85 a.
 -enene 90, -henene 91, Hedede 204 b; -lele 257; -en 247; Noñ 238; -nwna*, -nywna* 193;
 -nwnia* 100 101 103, Nwnw* 209; -nywnywkw* 156; -njono* 161 a; -mwnyw* 7; minyw 16,
 -ñwnyw* 23 a.
 -genzi* 151 a; Geñhe* 23 a; -kenyi* 84, -kenye*, -kinya* 98, Gwenya* 116; -sisi 8, -tsintsi*
 86, -ðende* 89; -jinji* 12 93 110 112 113 114 133, -jinje* 94, -sinji* 98, -finja* 98 a; -şindi* 104
 104 c; -bingi* 24; Zunde* 13, -sonde* 88 94 98 114, -sunji*, Sonzi* 64 a, Sundzi* 65, Sunji* 65 a,
 -sunzi* 67, -sunje* 68, -sunzi* 72; -suse* 226; -tunte* 104.
 -kei* 157, -kedi*, -kidi* 195 199, -ki 210, -ke 227; -kiri* 119 189 204; -sisi 8.
 -nemi, -temi 27; -sieme 167.
 -kami, -kaña 175 176 178, -kam 218.
 Akat 151 a; -kak 263; -aňk 263.
 -puka* 78,¹ -huķa* 80, -buka* 89 90 91 (and -huka*); -kupa* 105 a; -soki* 1; -su, -suku 220;
 -hywkw* 33 a; -hōka* 147; Kuk 151 a, -kō, -kwōōk* 228; -kokkoi* 243.
 -pazi*, -hazi* 2 2 e, -pazzi 2 c 2 d, -asi* 2 g, -pazi 4, -asi 5 39, -basi* 40, -pazi 41, -pasi* 42 43 a
 44 44 b 62 (and -pansi*), -paşi* 105, -bazi 142, -aci* 144; -bali* 141; -fuadzi 16.
 -mpwōmpwōw* 75 c, -pompwōw 75, -pompōw 75 a, -pfōw* 20.
 -pira 105 a; -uwiri* 274, -kwiri* 2 a, -girirri* 11, -gwirw 21; -ereri* 26, -erere 53, -nenele* 56
 56 a, -erere 57 58 58 a 61 61 a 61 b, -arere 59.
 -diru 92 b.
 -ambo* 11, -gambi* 189 190, -pamba* 32, -bamba* 54, -pamba 55, -bamba 76, -bambi 122 123;
 -lamba 9 c; -mbembe 97.
 Faafu* 17, -fap* 227; -bebe* 218, -bebu 226 b; -bōwa* 75 75 a; Kal-bōbōw 202, -pupu* 214, -pipi*
 54, -fifi* 263; Pisu 9.
 -pini 56 b; -tini* 9 c, -tilitili* 20; -tyunu* 193; -doni* 175; -guni* 94, -gunyu 11; Gwenya 116.
 -goloñgwōw* 16, -ñgulu, -ñguru* 51, -ñgulu* 146; -njulu*.ku 194; -kōli 153; -cula 226 b,
 -jōa 206.
 -geni 18; -niegene 40.
 -gugu* 12 58 59; -gugude* 69.
 -gihw 151; -pisu 9; -gesa 51; -nyegesi 51.
 -raku 11; Hakw 195; -njakw 145; -dōagu 12; -duñañgu 38.
 Dzuñgu* 13, Tsuñgu* 16, Cuñgu* 19 21, -tuñgu* 21 a 21 b 21 e, Suñgu* 21 f, g, -uñgu* 25, -suñgu*
 28, -hyuñgw* 35, -suñgwa* 48, -suñgu 53; -saluñgu 184, Sulug 202, Şuluk, -seg 203, Seleke 204;
 -sugba 151 b; -soñge 108, -coñge 139, -soñgani 110; -cañgōse 75 b.
 -nañgw* 2 e, -nyañgw 2 g, -nañgi* 42, -nyañgu* 44, -nyagw* 35; -naw* 41; -nayu* 44 b;
 Nyanyaw 61 a 61 b 62; -nyunyu 64; -nyinyiki 92.
 -nye 58 59; -nyemwe 43 a; -nyōmw 168 a; -nyam 234.

¹ See also 'bee'.

- zanzala 100 177; -tanda 148 205 206; -dende 89; -zunde* 13, -lunde* 13; -ndundu* 50 52, -dondwami* 49.
- tuta* 28 60, -tutuane* 67, -tfutfane* 75 b, -tutana 76.
- lume 86 a; -lunyora 273.
- sisi 8, -jinji* 12, -cici* 14 18, -biñgi* 24, -ce 28; -cico 230.
- karakara* 15, -kanakan* 244; -ara 18; -kalandu* 43 43a 45; -karw151a, -kalaw* 137, -halaw* 35.
- Nzerok 151 a.
- zigya 2.
- gege 23.
- fanuti 227.
- kwlwtw 4.
- gawi 259.
- nawe 5 a.
- añgala 32.
- kurondw 6.
- Turukli 253.
- twzi* 3; -zoww* 56; -dwdw* 58, -dzwdzw* 61 a, Tsotsa* 64 a, Cowswane*, Cowswani 74.
- sumbirw 14, -kimbirw 15, -kombirw 18; -tumbu 61 a, -tumbwi 61 61 c, -ntumbu 61 b, -humbi 23.
- dukusi 5; -sawkole 69, -sawkoti 70, -sukoti 71 71 e 71 f; -pwphwtw 73 73 a.
- tūi* 56, -rūi* 74 b, -sūi, -fūi* 187, -sūi 252.
- meya 32; -menyow 64.

TERMITES, WHITE ANTS¹

-swa* 2 2 c (-šwa) 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g 3 3 b 4 5 5 a 6 6 a (-gwa*) 9 9 c, -būa* 11, -twa, -tutu*, ūū* 12, -dzwa* 13, -etca*, -exa* 14, -tswa* 16, -šwa 19, -swa* 20; -cwa* 21, -twa* 21 a 21 b 21 e, -swa 21 f, g, 23 24 25 26, -huwa* 27, -sua 28 39, -jawa*, -sua* 40, -swa 41 42 44 44 b 48 49 50 51 53 61 a 61, -swe* 61 61 a 61 b 62, -swa 61 b 64 a (-šwa) 70, -hlwa* 71 f, -tywa* 72, -swa 73, -tlwa*, -thlwa 74, -twa 74 b, -tlwa 75, -hlwa 75 a 75 b 75 c, -swa 76 77 78 79, -twa* 83, -swa, -sua 84 85 (also -šwa- -hwa*) 88 89, -xwa* 90, -fa*, -fua 91 92, -swa 94 98 100 104 104 c 108 109 110, -sua 112 a, -swaswa 109 110, -swa 134 142 144, -tswa* 139, -tswa* 178, -icwa*, -cūa*, -ca 226; -nsu* 100, -suasu* 104, -swaswa* 109 110; Zwaba 255.

-sau* 15 17 c, -sawa* 17 e, -sau 18; -zagu* 14; -swhaha* 70; -sualala* 98; -sōra* 17; -soya* 14; -šwlila 156; -serere 8, -selele* 100 100 b 103 103 a, -sele* 160, -selija* 164, -selele 166, Hedede 204 b, -ciele* 167, -sieli 168 a, -siele 175, -tsele 178, -šieta* 186, -seleli, -celeli 184, -seleke* 186 204, -ceriri* 189-90, -giriri* 11, -šenela 125, -nyelele 195, -tyelele 193; -seleke* 204; -njuluku 194, -suluk 202, -šuluk* 203.

-sumuna 114.

-sinzi* 7, -cenje* 58, -cenyē, -cenši 59 a, -cenyē* 64, -cenje 64 a, -cenze 72, -jenji* 78 79, -sendi* 87, -hedi*, -sedi 91, -hendi 91 a 92 b, -enje* 141, -senza*, -seja* 162; -señge* 136; -suñga 39 a; -soñgina 141; -tiñge* 257.

-šwswani 124 125, -šwswadi* 130 131, -šwson 202.

-huweñsi 44; -hendi 91 a 92 b.

-segedi 187; -sigibem 218.

-onyi, -oni 43 43 a; -bundi 86, -bunji 94.

-usi 62, -kusw 155 157; -wuse 206.

¹ By using the term 'white ants' I am only quoting these insects by the name most applied to them in English. I do not wish to imply there is any affinity between the hymenopterous ants and the orthopterous termites; but, owing to their somewhat similar habits of life, these two very different types of insect are occasionally associated together in the native mind, and it will be found that some of the terms applied to true ants are applicable also to termites, and *vice versa*.

- balala* 155, -gwalala* 161, -gbaala* 161 a; Jara 252; -bulika 51; -fwila 100; -kula* 54, -kɔwɔ (Nama-ra-kɔwɔ*) 56 b; -ulu* 51 79, -juru* 64; -lulu* 144, -lol (Bu-lol)* 273.
- geñhe* 23 a; -keni* 17 d, -ñeñena* 32, -kenene 97, -kena* 105 106, -ena* 118; -kere* 35, -cere 56 a, -vera* 56; -ceše* 56 a, -weši* 56 b, -cece 57, -kezi* 86; -tei 264.
- talamena 98; mana 254.
- moma* 78 80; -muimui (cf. -mwemwe*, 'ant', No. 85) 263.
- mehe 25 27 33 a 35 38.
- lanzi 60 61 a 78 (-lanzi, -nanzi) 80; -nan 274.
- Tlyeha 14; -elea 130 131.
- kɔ 11, -kɔki 17 b, -cɔke 7; Jok 253.
- kuñ 227.
- gambi 189 190; -gumbi 35 54 61; Jumba 113; -humburi 89; -pumbuyi 159 159 a; -umbwa 98, -umba 99; -lomwe 61 a; Lumpe 177.
- pumbwe 164.
- pembele 100.
- luñgulu* 1, Duñgulu* 146 (ant).
- loñge* 138, -noñge* 144, -doñge* 164, -noñ* 267 268; Moñgɔ 151 a, Moñgwa 151 b; -morka 263.
- likwi 54.
- lagɔ* 148; -zagu* 14.
- hañgu 28; -kañk 261.
- mbiri-kɔta 145.
- baba 259; -bɔbɔ 257-8.
- kuyege 2 a 4, -kubebe 2; -geki, -ge 7 a; -zagu 14; -guye 4; -guiya 11; Soya 14; -aya 186.
- ce 5 a, -geki, -ge 7 a, -cece 34, -keke 35 a 93, -jece, -cece 54, -keke 55, -cece 57; -jeci 58, -yece 58 a; -etca 14; -dja 255.
- nyagɔnyagɔ 35, -nyaunyau 32, -nyamu, -amu 58; Nañ 253.
- gugu 57; -kūū 187.
- tate 63 64 a.
- aya 186, -anya 194.
- kwenda 4.

APE, BABOON¹

- sike* 2, -siki 2 d, -dzike*, -zike 4, -sike 45, -ziku* 103, -zige* 103 a, -sikɔ* 150, -seghe*, -seke 218, -seki* 194, -tsegi* 184, -cege 189, -tyege* 193; -tyigɔ*, -cegɔ* 193, -egɔ*, -gɔ 273; -kika* 150; Ntciy 184; -jie 200.
- bakɔ 5 a; Tɔwɔ 72; -sɔkɔ* 39 41 42, -sɔkɔ, -cɔkɔ* ('monkey', 'baboon') 64 64 a, -sɔkwe* ('baboon') 77, -sɔgwe, -sɔkwe 79, -jɔkɔ* 83, -sɔkɔ* 84 104 104 c 105, -sɔkwa* 106, -sɔkɔ 109 110 134 140 143 144; -lɔkɔ* 162; -gɔge* 7; -kuku* 9, -guku* 9 c, Nɔgɔ*, Nugu 11, -kɔkɔ* 23 147 175 178; Bɔku* 151 a, -buk*, -yok, -wok 227, Bog'om 252, -vugɔ* 259; Bɔgɔ 151 a, Bɔg 203; Pagi 203, -waki 204, -bagu* 248, -bagɔ* 250; -vɔvɔ* 94; -bubu* 189.
- wuñgwi* 5 a, -boñgwe* 57 58, -boñgwi 58 a, -boñgwe 59 60; -poñgi* 100, -puñgu* ('gorilla') 103; -bweñgi 51, -bweñgɔ 52; -ñguñga 88.
- pundu* 1 2 c 3 147; -bunji* 110; -penze, -mpenze (Ci-mpenze² = 'chimpanzi') 103; -buni 175; -budi 189; -pu, -pfu 228.

¹ In the Congo regions, where the range of the great anthropoid apes extends farthest to the south, there is obviously a confusion in the native mind between the chimpanzi and the larger baboons; and terms which may be applied by one tribe in the north to the chimpanzi or even the gorilla may be applied elsewhere to the mandrill and the other baboons. The native would probably draw the distinction chiefly by size, man-like habits, and shortness or absence of tail, on the one hand, and smaller size, agility, a more quadrupedal progression and a long tail on the other.

² This is the origin of our word 'chimpanzi', derived through the Portuguese from the Kakoñgɔ coast a hundred years ago.

- bin 244; -bim 5.
 -wamwa 254; -bwabwa 135.
 -wa, -wō, -waya*, -wō'ω 217 219, -waka* 218, -waka, -wake, -waki 204 205 206 209 210 214;
 -wakω 220; -gwa, -yua 200.
 -bala* 106, -gbara* 148; -bura* 145; -buya*, -puya (see also under 'monkey') 84 85 87 105;
 -ka-biya* 27; -kuya* 2 2 a 2 c, -kwia, -kwiya 195 198 199; -ñgiya 195.
 -wōtō* 263; -gudω*, -gudu 64; -guci 5 a; -guri 2 a, -xuru 6 a, -cōre 7, -guli*, -gula 12, -guli* 148;
 -kωlwe 44, Tωlue 40, -kōrωe, -korωwe 42, -kωlwe 43 43 a 44 44 b, -kōrωe 50, -kωle, -kωli 56 56 a,
 -kōrω 58 59, -kōlwe 62, -kōrω* 64 a, -kōlω 68, -gōlω* 75, -kōlwe, -korωwe 105; -kōla 106, -kula 189,
 -kuba, -giba, -gida 186, -gilω 194, -dzilω, Jil 220 h; -sōli 133; -sudde 4; -sali 178; -ñkweri*, -xweri,
 -kweli 53 61, -kele 38, -ñkwere* 61 b, -xweri 61 c; -kuω 258; -jōlω, -yōlω* 146.
 Konzω 151 a.
 -gerebe ('baboon') 1, -kerebe 2 c.
 -kōbe* 2 2 d 4 6 6 a; -guge 8, -gōge 7 a, -kōve* 9 c, -šuve* 18 a, -gōbiyane* 75 b; -kabiya* 27;
 -puya 85; Fu-ñgup* 214 a; Jōbω 18; Sabaw 14.
 -puma, -ūma 27; -mumi 86 b 87.
 -pombwi*, -pombω, -pombwe 74 b 78 80 83 105 a 100; -pompō 94 b; Kata-kpumbu 151 b, -dumbi*
 48; -cimbω 54 61 b; -umbu* 103; -pe-lumba 110; -sumbu* 167, -sombω* 204 205 209, -somb' 214;
 -jompō* 248 [Jōbω* 18]; -kumbusω, -kombusω 161 a 160 164 159; -gom 273; -gombe* 162; -sum
 227 228, -suum* 229; Gu-sunsun 253; -rumbu, -dumbu* 263, -dum 240, -tum 244, -yum, -um 243.
 -gama 39; -ñgana (Kiñgana) 98.
 -ani, -nyani* 7, -yani* 16, -adi 19 20 21 21 a, -ane 21 f, -ani 24 25, -jai 26, -yani 32 38 34 35 (and
 -jani) 37 38 (and -jani), -jani* 54, -yani 55 56 b 61 a-b, -ani 76; -bani 240 c; -šene* 5 5 a, -bvene* 64,
 -pfene* 64 a, -fene 67 69 70 (and -psene, -prylene*) 71 f, -cwenā* 73 a 74, -fene* 75 75 a-b; -kōni 73.
 -tiñ 261.
 -riya 253; -dia 168 a; -gina, -šia 187, -jiya 190, -giya 195, -dyina, -tyima 91 a, -cima 92 b, -dyima,
 -ima (see also 'monkey') 89 90 91 193 218, -šima 93; Demu 264; -ntcyi, 184, -nji 218 219; -nye 203,
 -nyie 220; -ñgi 217, -añgi 103.
 -jañgwe 3; -ziñga 75 a; -dwañu 75 c; -sañgu 112 a.
 -nyara, -narū 273; -daru 266.
 Nyabu 33 a.
 -nanambω 274.
 Fwe 13 14 (and Fuwe), -šuve 18 a, -fie 17 e, -fubi, -fuwe 17; -zu 16.
 -yip 227.
 -regeny', -ragiñ 15.
 -kaki 5 r; Kat 252.
 -kxatla 74 a.
 -eta (Bweta) 137; -eja 162.
 -tera* 1 2 c, -tede* 63, Dede* 64 a, -tede 65 65 a ('monkey'), -dede 68, -tera* 145; Dirω 64.
 -tūi 26, -tōi 130; -dōzi 259.
 -kewω 100.
 -ñω 7; Oñkω 92 b; -gō, -gōng', -gom 273.
 Fwoloñgω 18.

ARM

(The word for 'arm' is often equivalent to that for 'hand' and *vice versa*. The concept for 'arm' also is sometimes divided into 'fore-arm' from the elbow to the fingers, and 'upper-arm' from the shoulder to the elbow.)

-bōkω¹ 1 3, -wōkω* 2 g, 3 b, -bōkω* 7 a 8, -wōkω 9 a 9 b, -ōkω* 11, -wōkō, -ōkō, -ākō* 17, -wōkω

¹ This is one of the most widespread roots in Bantu and Semi-Bantu, and as it also means 'hand',

18 23 a 24 c 25 27, -**akw** 28, -**vaxw***, -**wakw**, -**akw** 29, -**wakw** 30 31, -**bakw** 32, -**wakw** 35, -**baxw** 36, -**wakw** 37, -**vakw** 38, -**bakw** 39 40 41, -**wakw** 42, -**bakw**, -**wakw** 44 44 b 51 52, -**bakw** 63 64 64 a, -**vukw*** 65, -**bakw** 65 a, -**akw** 66, -**ukw** 68, -**bakw**, **Rakw** 69, **Pakw*** 70, **Bakw** 71 71 e, **Vakw** 71 f, **Vakw*** 72, -**vaxw**, -**tsaxw*** 73, -**cōhw***, -**baxw*** 74, -**zohw***, -**safw*** 74 b, -**bakw** 75 a,¹ 78 79 (and -**bagw**) 80, -**kakw*** 82, -**akw** 81, -**bakw**, -**kakw** 83, -**wakw** 84, -**bakw** 85 87 86 (and -**vakw**), -**wakw** 88, -**akw** 89 90 91 92, -**hakw** 92 b 93 (-**kuakw**), -**akw** 94 100 100 b 101 (and -**kakw**) 102 103, -**aka** 94 b, -**akw*** (-**kuakw**) 95-96 97, -**kuaku*** and -**kwakw** 98, -**aku** 99, -**añgu***, -**jañgu*** 100 b, -**akw** or -**kakw** 101, -**bakw** 104 104 c 105 (and -**vakw**) 108 109 112 a 128, -**aku*** 114, -**a*** 120 121, -**w*** 117, -**akw**, -**yakw** 118, -**ak**, -**akw*** 120, -**ō** 123 124, -**w** 125, -**ō** 129, -**daww*** 130, -**w*** 131, -**o** 133, -**bw** 134 135 136, -**agw*** 137, -**w** 138, -**bw** 139, -**bakw** 141 (and -**baka**) 142, -**bō;w*** 143, -**bakw** 144 145, -**akw** 147, -**bakw** 150, -**bw**, -**baku** 151, -**bowa** 151 b, -**bw**, -**bakw** 152, **Bow** 155 b, **Bow** 155 c, -**w** 156, -**bakw** 159 159 a, -**waku** 160, -**bw** 161, -**bō*** (pl. **mōmō**) 161 a, -**wakw** 162, -**bakw** 164, -**bw** 165, -**bakw** 166 167, -**bow** 168, -**kakw**, -**eke** 168 a, -**w**, -**a**, -**aga** 175, -**w**, -**ōk** 176, -**kakw** 177, -**w** 178, -**ōyw** 179, **Kak'** 180, -**ōyw** 181 182, **Gogw** 184, **Bak** 185, -**bw** 186, -**gagw**, -**agw** 187, -**gagw**, -**agw** 189 190 191, -**yw** 192, -**gō** 193, -**bw** 194, -**bōa** 200, **Embowa** 151 b, **Ww** 201, **Wō** 203, -**ō**, -**ōkw** 206, -**akw** 208, -**kō** 209, -**uw** 217, -**w** 218 219, -**bōa** 220, -**bw** 221, **Bw**, **Bow** 223, -**bw** 224 225 226, -**bō** 226 b 227, -**bō**, -**bw** 228, -**ipu***, -**ipuyw***, -**pō**, -**bw**, -**bō**, -**pw**, -**pu**, -**bua*** 230, -**bw** 233, -**bō**, -**wuw** 234, -**bō**, -**bok*** 238 239 239 b 240 241 (**Gō-bō***) 242 (-**bok**, -**gbegbey***) 243 (-**bō**) 244 (-**buō**) 245 (**bok**) 247 (**Kō-bō**) 247, **Gu-bū**, -**bū** 250, -**juw** 251, **Vow** 252, **Bugu***, -**bagw**, **Bog** 253, -**agw**, -**yw** 255, -**bō** 257; -**bakw*** 273; -**bakw*** 151 a; -**ak***, -**iak** 236, -**jag*** 269 [-**aku** 114 98, &c.].

-**saw**, -**sa** 237.

-**wehi** 132; -**hwe** 259.

-**buda***, -**beda*** 267 268 (see roots for 'hand' and 'five'); -**pia** 261 262.

-**pifwa** 51.

-**gudum** 273.

-**kaa*** 83; -**kanda*** 146, -**anza*** 50 53, -**anja*** 61 61 c 62, -**andya*** 61 b, -**anda** 72, -**anja** 76, -**ansa** 77, -**anya*** 134; -**kasa*** 43 43 a 45, -**kasa***, -**gasa** 110 111, -**kant*** 261.

-**kondw** 148, -**ñgont** 263; -**koñ** 249; -**kañkae** 182; -**koñgi**, -**gongi** 51; **Juñ** 232; -**loñk** 263; -**donjie** 255; -**lañ** 235.

-**nyan***, -**nyen** 269 272 273 (usually identical with 'hand' or 'five'); -**nam** 203, -**nama** 204 217 235 (a word more often applied to 'thigh' or 'leg').

Kōnu 257, -**kōnw*** (often meaning 'fore-arm') 2 2 a 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 e 2 g 3 4 5, -**xōnw*** 5 a, -**kōnw** 6, -**xōnw** 6 a, -**kōnw** 7 9 9 c 10 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 19 a 20 20 d 21 21 a 21 b 21 e 21 f-g, -**hōnw*** 22, -**kōnw** 23 23 a 24 33 34 45 48, -**zōnw** 49, -**kōnw** 54, -**onw*** 56 56 a, -**onw** 56 b, -**onw** 57, -**gōnw*** 58, -**kōnw** 58 a, -**gōnw**, -**kōnw** 59, -**kōnw** 61 61 a 61 b 65 67, -**xōnw** 73, -**kōnw** 75 75 a, -**khōnw** 75 b, -**kōnw*** 77 78 79 84 89 104 c; -**nw*** (**Enw** and **Inw**) 195 198 199 211 212; -**kōla*** 104 c; -**gorw*** 81; **uta*** 259; -**koi** 232; -**ne** (**Kōne***) 258.

-**neka** 235; -**legela** 114; -**nigya**, **Nija** 254.

-**lende** 147; -**pinde**, -**findi** 157.

-**ete** 51; -**te** 266.

Inil 274,

-**tulw** 182.

-**gombw** 140; -**bombw*** 150, -**pombw*** 205; -**pambu*** 156; -**rumbu***-**kulw** 69;² **Hamba*** 100 b, -**siamba**, -**samba*** 155 185 186; -**Ambala** 255; -**kpapa** 222.

-**se** 88, -**pwasele** 98 a; **Wu-ere** 238.

it enters into the roots for the numerals 'five' and 'ten', It is usually preceded by the 15th prefix in the singular and the 6th in the plural, **uku-bakw** and **ama-bakw**, the prefixes being sometimes fused with the root.

¹ The root -**bakw** survives in Zulu in the words **Um-bakw**, 'elephant's trunk', **Ulu-bakw**, 'a long staff', 'long arm'. In Zulu and in some East African tongues it is an alternative root for 'penis', 'plantain', and 'elephant's trunk', &c.

² -**rambu**, -**rambw-kulu** means 'bone big'.

- sowa 237; -tsa 263.
 -galw* 2f 75 75a 75 b 75 c 76, -galu* 75 c; -wan* 214 a, -ban* 273; -pañ* 250; -man* 263 264;
 -anu*, Yana* 254.
 -eñki 98 a (Ka-~~l~~eñki); -enzika 150.
 Suñgurw 255.
 -cafu* 60; -rabu* 250; -ragba*.m 255; -dafañ* 266.
 Twaliti 26.
 -moluene 51.
 -tasi 78.

ARROW

- ambi* 2 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g (and -abi) 3 9 c 16, -ambe* 148; -embe* 16 21 21 a 21 b-d 21 e, -sembe* 22,
 -ambi* 39, -bi 40, -ambi* 48, -lembi* 79, -lembē* 83; -gumba* 16 19 a, -umba* 34; -dumka 23 a;
 -omba* 21 f, -nyomba* 94; -pamba* 33 54 55 60, -pambwe* 199, -mpa 200, -bamba, -pambw 202 203
 204, -pambu* 205; -bom 227; -kiam 266; Agya 257.

Cembeti 71 e.

Gweñgye 151 a.

- suñgu* 5 a, -kiñgw* 6, -soñga* 9 9 c, -tsoñga 21 f, -soñga 25, -sonyω* 27, -hyoñga* 34, -hoñga*
 35; -keñge* 39, -keñe 110; -soñga* 61 a; -tuñgi* 69, -soñgw* 94 96 98 a, -hoñgw* 89 91 92; -koñga*
 159, -koñgu 184, -koñgw* 190, -koñw* 194, -koñgw 195, -zoñgw* 193, -suñgu* 116 135 140; -dyonku*
 273; -heñgw* 91; -sañgw* 95; -zañga* 100; -sañ 237, -nsañ 271, -tañ 273.

- bube* 242, -bu* 251; -pwe 259; -bebeu* 250; -gwe*, -gū 7 7 a; -vwi*, -fwi* 15 16, -fe, -fi 17,
 -vwi 18, -uvi 19, -vi 24, -ūi, -wūi 26, -ifwa* (arrow head) 27, -vwi 41, -fwi 42, -vwi 43 43 a, -fue 44, -fwi
 44 b, -vwi 45 50, -vwe 52, -vwi 53, -vi 57, -bvi 58, -phina* 58 a, -bvi, -zeve* 59, -bvi 61 61 a 61 b, -vi
 61 c, -vwi 62, -vi 64, -fwi 77, -vhwi* 78, -vwi* 79, -zwi* 80, -vi* 81, -ivwi 84, -vi 87, -ivi* 88, -zi 89,
 -vi 90, -di* 125; -bwūi* 128, -vi* 142, -de 161, -nde 161 a.

-bau ('stick') 101.

-be 218; -bae 219.

-gwaba 254.

-korw 1; -esere* 5; -geta* 9 c, -ketw 40, -kyetw* 43 a, -kyetw 45, -cetw* 61 a; Kwit 252:

- kiri* 82, -kili* 85, -kiri, -kuvi* 86, -tyili 86 a, -kete* 104 108 109; -keti* 204; -ket* 203; -kyet*
 209; -kati* 207; -ketw* 105; -kiet* or -ket* 227 230 234; -šidi, -šiti* 108; -hwe* 23 a; -kuti* 90
 91; -ti 207; -tin 230; -tut, -tutu or -tutw* 118 119 257; -tre or -tse 259; -tsiri* 70; -lele 133; -le or
 -re 229; -tere* 56 56 b, -teri* 56 a, -ere 49; -teta* 92 b.

- sale* 4, -esere* 5, -sala* 6 a, Dzahe* 13, -šale* 19, -sale 20 a, -dali* 20, [-dalw 95], -šale 21, -sale
 23 28 33 a, -sari* 29 40, -tere* 56, Tare* 66, -sali* 136; -taw 75, Tōli 220; -selw* 83; -senw* 263;
 -dalw* 75; Dōlw 220, Dwlw* 225, -tsoli* 178; -dwe* 145; Cibiselw* 75 a, Cibicwlw* 76.

-swa 1.

-haneku 112 a.

-somw* 9 c, -soma 39 a, -soma* 139 143 144; -tōmi*, -tom 121 119 175 177 (-tōma*) 178.

-ta 101 189, -ra 254; -ila 255.

-dasw, -lasw 38.

-zanza 100 100 b.

-nuanyi 103.

-nyare 227.

-tōta 100; -sōtw 101; -hatu 64 a; -w or -u (Rw, Rū) 81.

-sie, -ci, -zyi, -ji 12.

- tsū 73 a, -cwi, -cu, -ci 74, -šw 74 b, -šw 83, -cu 82; -ku 89; -sw 150; -seu 110 111, -sehu 112 a;
 -hew 89; -señwe, -sewe 65, -sebe, -sewe 64 64 a, -sebe 69.

-senw 263; -suna 109; -guna 243.

-pitu* 131; -pi, -pio* 149 150 226 b.

-bale*, -ale 17 32, -bale* 104; -bahele* 220; -kwari 149; -wezi 274; -pali* (cf. 'axe') 208; -banω* 5, -wanω 5 a, -banω* 6, -wanω 6 a, Vanω 13, -wanω 14 21 a 21 b, -vanω* 21 e, -wanω* 28, -manu* 139, -ban 228; -vana* 248; -balma 263; -nana 88.

Bañgala 220; -bañgu 151; -bañile 270; -nañin 269.

-ñgen 231; Gwenyi 151 a.

-powa 89, -bwbω 120 125; -fω 230; -bom 227.

-kimara* 2, -mara* 147; -mala* 146; -mera* 273; -meda* 267; -meri* 272; -uñweri* 274.

-wasa 15, -paca 64 a 65 a 66 67; -banza 100 109, -pan 203, -banj 204, -banja 210, -banje 160, -banzi 180, -banjei 179 187, -banji 211, -banj 212, -banjiga 186, -wanja 205 206; -ant 263; [wasa* 15], -basa*, -basi, -base, -wase* 181 182 185, -baši* 162, -baše 176, -bazi 179.

-cinji, -jinji 37.

-vunja* 127; -puntsa* 100 b; -punza* 116; -punja 123; -wunja 124 125; -funji* 124 125; -bunji*; -fenja 157; -jiñga 90; -duinda 94 b; -unda* 98; -eñge 3, -eñgia 155 157.

-añgum 215; -ñgutakω 234.

-kondω 68.

-gowe* 2 b, -gū 7 7 a, -gwe 7, -gowe 9 c, -gūe, -gūi 11, Goba* 63, -gobe* 64, -gowe* 69, -gowe 70, -kωvω* 73; -guaba* 255.

Hosa 19 a; -towa 89; -sosa 98; -dwe 145.

Dzahe* 13; -sagi* 24; Caha 26; -saf* 268.

-davi*, -dai 90 91; -tai* 244 244 a.

-dyim 227; -dumka 23 a.

-dibulω* 27, -tipuru* 51; -powlω* 141, -buru* 176; Golwa 19 a; -fulω* 20, -fula* 97 99 112 a 114 122; -kfula* 130 132; -gfula 129 a; [Guna 243]; -kula* 129 135 138 162 164 166 (also -kora) 167 168 a; -hola* 151; -pe-kowlω* 126; -hura* 153; -buru* 176; -burabi 257; -shul 192.

-ria 14; Caria 26; -riene 64.

-sisā 229; Kesa 239 b.

-sagi 24; Sakasa 63; -saga 153; -saf 268.

-koyi 104; -swgi* 2 2 a 2 c; -swgω* 69; -cōki* 75 b, -cōkω* 75 c, -cōhi* 76, -šokwe* 186.

-sebe* 64, -seve* 64 a, -señwe, -sēwe* 65, -sebe 69, -seve* 70 71 f, -sevhe* 72, -seme* 73, -sewω* 73 a, -tswe 75 a.

-šobeta 24; -šω 83.

-kōkω 136 155 164; -kaka 206; Eya; 214 a.

-tegω (sometimes 'pitfall' and stake in pitfall or large arrow) 2 3 4 19.

-rawa 14.

-kuša 85; -kaš 119.

-manu 139.

Mon, Mun 253, -na (Munā) 226 a 226 b, -n (Mun') 232; -nana 88.

-nik 228.

-buk 240 c.

BACK, BACKBONE, BEHIND

-mma*, -ma* 252 257 258; -mo-bum* 273; -vuma* 134; -yuma*, -uma*, Nyuma* 2-2 g 3 3 b 4 5 5 a 6 6 a 9 a 9 c 10 14 15 16 17 (and -ima*) 18 21 d, -ima 21 e, -uma 21 f, g 24 25 26 29 34 35 42 (and -numa) 44 44 b 46 48 51-5, -ima 78 84 86, -nyima, -njima* 87 88, -ima 92 93 94 98 100 104 104 c (-ema) 110 112 a, -uma 105-7, -zima* 167, -uma* 191 193, -jima* 184, -gima* 187, -jime 194, -jem 227, -dyam, -njem, -nsum 228, -nsem* 228, -sem 234, -num, -nyim* 244, -jimi* 248, -nam, -ñam 242, -lam 240.

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-cika 142.

-dimw 178; -dembw 14.

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-mōma 135; -mama 141.

-sansu 100.

-lecw 258.

-krōtra 257.

-wunu 254.

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¹ -vugu is a widespread Sudanic root.

² The origin of the European word 'banana'.

-nana 273; Dzana 13; -ntani 266, -ten 264.
 -kamata* 1; -gamu* 2; -kakam* 214 a; -kamañga 75 b.
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-rebu* 4, -levu 4 a, -rebω 4 b, -revu* 5 5 a, -lefu* 6, -refu 6 a, -evu* 13, -revu 16, -devu 19 a 20 21 21 a 21 b 21 e (and -defu) 21 f-g 22, -debvu 23, -debfu 23 a, -levu 24, -devu 24 c-g 25 26, -defu 27, -lefu 28, -leu*, -deu* 28 32, -leu, -revu* 34, -deu 35, -refu 37, -levu 39, -lefu, -levu 41, -efu 42 44, -embe, -emfu* 44 b, -devu 48, -defu 49, -refu 50, -defu, -refu 51, -embe 52, -embi 53, -deū 54, -defu 55, -devu 57, -debvu, -devu 58 58 a 59 60 61 a 61 61 b 61 c, -devu 62, Dempfu* 63, -debvu, -devω 64 66, -revω 69, -lepfu, -defω 71, -lebvū 71 e 71 f 72 (and -debvu), -devu*, -levu 75 75 a 75 b 75 c, -refu 76, -levu 78, -levω 82, -lepω* 83, -evu 84, -levu 87, -evo*, -evu 88 89 100 104, -epe* 97; -devō 101 102, -lefω 103, -evu 104, -efω 105, -ebu 108, -evu 110 114, -embu* 109, -evu 110, -lef* 119; -li* 120, -evu 122, -epω* 128; -li 133, -efu 139, -kbeu* (= 'chin') 141, -jeva* 142, -lefu* 143, -devu* 176, -levω 177; -lemf*, -lempa* 273; -zeru 254, -reru 255, -deru* 1, -leju, -reju* 2, -redu*, -redju 2 a, -ledyu 2 b 2 c, -rezu* 2 d, -lezu 2 e, -lezu 2 f, -dedyu 2 g, -reru*, -deru* 7, -resa 8, -tesu* 9, -lezu 9 c, -teru, -deru, -reru 11, -dzera*, -reru 16, -gererω*, -leri* 17, [-liri* 253], -dezu 19, -lesu 38, -delu* 39 a, -lesi* 40, -lezu 43 43 a, -lezu, -rezu 45, -rori*, -reru 56, -rori 56 a, -reru 56 b, -lidω* 69, -letsu 70, -lelu, -telu* 73, Tedu* 74, -lesu 77, -lezu 79 80, -dezω 81, -jebi* 85, -jezi* or -ezi 86, -yezu* or -ezu 89, -yeswi* or -beswi 90, -jedi* 90, -dyeri 91 a 92, -njori 92 b, -jele* 94, -ezu 98, -ezω or -geri 98 a, -ediji* or -eci* 110, -ezu 112 a, -delu* 117, -lec* 121, -tenu* 123, -delu 124 125 (also -dele*), -elu 127 129, -esu 129 a, -ledu 130, -ledya*, -edu 131, -lecu* 132, -dedu 134, -tselu 135, -lelu* 137, -zelu 140 141, -telu 144, -delu 145 146, -rere 147, -lelu 148 150 151, Ndeli, -deri*, -dōri, 151 a, b, -lelu 153 175 178; Jede*, -jeli, -edu 186; -edu, -idu 184 187; -dzedi 189; -idu*, -edu 190; -lelu* 193, -helu 199 204 b, -zeli 200, -ye 203, -seru* 204, -jelu* 205, -jeli 206, -jei 207, -jeru 209, -jedi 210, -jelu, -šet* 211, -yee 212, -jer* 213, -seru 214, -zōl* 215, -sel* 218 219 220, Jeli 220 h, -tet* 238; -zurω 254; -liri 253; -edxω 230; -rori* 56; -hi 203, -li 120 133 164 (Wli); -lōle, -le (Lōle, Dōlōle*) 155 156 157 159 160 162 166 168, -lōlω* 168 a.

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 -cebe 75.
 -puñgω* 65 65 a 67 68; -iki-apuñga* 138; -zuñu 110.
 -busω 151 b; kusu 258.
 -sala* 6; -sali* 166; -ša 261.
 -tami* 259; -sama 165; -jemi* 247.
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 Zombi 14.
 -da 241, -dai 242.
 -sōfa 273.

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 -kóló 15 18; -pólí 167.
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BEE

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-due*, -dwi 155 194, -diū 214, Dyū 214 a, -ndyur' 250, -du* 237, -dó, -ló 230, -ru 236, -ndw 194, -ló* 261, -lóló 260, -jú* 268, -azu 274, -tu 227 c 234; -gu 220 h.

-dar 253; -ar, -ad, -adya 273.

-nop, -nóww 269-72; -naw 41 (also meaning 'ant'); -aw 205, -abw 211; -anw, -aw 206; -unu 185;

-nunufi 231.

-óme 266; -lombe*¹ 69 a, -nombe 70, -dombe*¹ 204 209, -ve 65 68; -nembe 191 192.

-ñe 230; Ni, Nyi 253; -ñgea 159 a; -bañge 146; -anji 105 a, -keñeñge 157; -bwiñgina 100; -wiñ

257.

-soñgwi 105 a; -doñ 241; -sūi 256, -súa, -swá 255, -swōin 254.

-pimpi 178.

-jeje, -jenje 129; -sazi* 3, -sizi* 150.

-zimu 41, -zimu 42, -zimu 43 43 a, -šimu 44, -simu 44 b, -zimu 45 50 52, -zimó 62; -sein 254 (probably akin to root meaning 'spirit').

-paši* 42, -pasi* 150 (akin to root meaning 'spirit'), -pasela* 226; -wazu* 274.

-kon 227, -kónw 228, -kuan 229, -kuā 229 e, Eyuñ-kōna 243; -kōkonw 238; -kwuñkwana,

-kókóni 240-240 c.

-mai, -me 263 264.

-fofoñ 217, -vufon, -vófom, -vóom 217 218 219; -bomboñ 202, -bomw 204 b.

¹ The coincidence of these roots—*lombe*, *nombe*, *dombi* in languages of North-westernmost and South-easternmost Bantu is one of the most remarkable in the whole series. The two groups of tongues cannot be much less than 2,500 miles apart.

-bu 259, -bulubulu 104; -pɔlɔ 186; -yumbula, -jumbula 100.
 -ganuta 121.
 -luma 60.
 -tōtō 239 b, -totoiyɔ 240.
 -rai 241 c.

BELLY, BOWELS, AND STOMACH¹

-gömbelɔ 9 c; -dombōrɔ 51 a; -humbɔ* 13 16 (and Tumbɔ), Tumbɔ* 19 20 21 21 a 21 b-d (and -cumbɔ), -cumbɔ* 21 e, -tumbɔ 21 f-g, -rumbɔ* 22, Tupe* 23, -tumbɔ 23 a, -tumbu 24, -tumbɔ 24 c-g, -tumbu 25, -tumbɔ 27 28, -tumbu 29, -tumbɔ 31, -dumbɔ*, -tumbu 32, -numbu 27, -tumbɔ 34 35 37, -tumbu 38, -tumbɔ 52 53 54 55, -rupɔ* 56 a, -rubɔ 56, -rupɔ 56 b, -subɔ* 57, -rumbɔ 58, -tumbɔ 59 60 61 61 a-c, -ptombu* 63, Dumbɔ 64 (and -numbū), -tumbɔ 64 a, Rumbɔ 69, Thumbu 72, Rum bu 70 71 f, -rumbɔ 72, -rɔpa 73, -tumbu 75 75 a, -tfumbu* 75 b, -tumbu 75 c, -tumbɔ* 76; -bumbu* 78, -bumba 79, -pumbu* 83, -bombɔ* 166.

-imba* (Bimba, Fimba) 16, Mimba 21 21 f, Imba*, Mimba 22 57 58 58 a 59 61 61 a-c 64 66 68 69 70; -pa 74, -ba 74 b, -mba* 250; Timba 97; Limbari 151 a; -hembe ('bowels') 69.

-pu* 9 c, -bu, -vū 12, -fū 14 18 19 19 a 20 22 a 24 27, -bū ('liver') 41, -fū 57 58 59, -pfu* 61 a-b, -su* 64, -susu 70, -bu 73, -su* 75 75 a-c, 76, -fu* 77 78 84 87 a 104 105 106 107 108 109 (and -fue), -hu 147, -vu 194, -huhu 195, -fō 229, -yu 238, -pu* 247, -su* 251, -bu* 251, -wɔ 257, -pɔ* 259; -huhu 195, -wuhu 198, -duhu 199; -fwɔ 2 f, -fwa 2 g, -fubɔ 254; -buyi 187; -wusi 186, -fusu 211, -wot* 242, -futu* 258, -butɔ* 4; -vus* 218; -fes 273, -fet 229; -vumɔ* 39, Gumɔ, -umɔ 40, -vumɔ 41, -fumɔ 42 44 44 b, -vumɔ 62, -fumɔ 77, -vumɔ 80, -vumɔ 82, -pumɔ* 83, -vumɔ* 87, -zumɔ* 89, -zimɔ*, -imɔ, -limɔ 86, -zimɔ 84, -jimu 88, -dimɔ* 91, -imɔ 92 94, -umɔ 92 b, -vimɔ* 94, -vumu 94 b, -fumɔ 95, -dimɔ* 97, -vumɔ* 98, -vumu 100 101 102 103, -vumɔ 110 111, -vumu 114 122, -phumu 124 125, -phuna 126, -vu 127, -dom 120, -jum 121, -simɔ 139, -zimi 140, -jumu 175, -vumu 177, -dumɔ 176, -fumu 184, -bumu* 186, -bum 191, -bumu 192 194, -bum 202 203 204 205 207 210 212 213 214 215 217 218 219, -pumu* 222 223 230 232 256, -pu* 247, -vām 223 230 (also -vuō), Bum 230 236, -jum 237, -bām, -pfām, -bañ 230, -fu 243, -vumu* 251, Bum, -vum* 253, Jim 252, -fō 257.

-mimɔ 112 a.

-buñga, -wuñga 205 206; -boñgɔ 142; -doñk 274.

-bɔbɔ* 166, -vuō 230, -fubɔ* 254, -pob* 270; Guvia 26; -gu 20.

-vok, -vog 242; Baɣu, -wayu 267.

-bunda* 2 f-g, -bondɔ 3, -bundu 4, -fundú-bili 51.

-bondɔ* 162, -vundu* 189 190; -pfunju 129 a, -fundu* 103 129, -kfundu* 131, -kfunju 132 135 134, -kunju* 162, -kunt* 268, -kundu* 39 123 125 129 130 (-kfundu) 144 (-kundu), -tundu* 147; -mbende 34. -kɔle* 1; -kirre 69; Khuri* 71, Khwiri 71 f, -kuni 168 a, -ihuri* 89, -kur* 261; -kor* 263; -kulu* 79; -hɔlu* 74 b; -rugulu* 56 57; -buru* 189; -bura, -būa 148; -kutu* 28 98 100.

-buyi 187.

-deu 15 17 (-dēu).

-tudi (pl. Ba-tudi) 253; -tō 241, -tū 240 c.

-denyi 18; -dunji 114; -ɔnyi 190; doñk 274.

-kalakanda 138.

-seke* 28; -sakasaka* 103; -tsatsa* 175; -aka* 189, -iya 187, -aya 190; -sandya* 86, -janja*, -jaja* 90 91 92 b.

-ceñgɔ 255; -ziñwa 110 a, -jiñgwa 84 100; -sañgɔ 155, -sañ 218, -lañgu, -lañgɔ 155 157; -doñk 274; -geñge 209, -kayin 272, -keñ 271; -koñ 229 d; -fuñ, -foñ, -fō 229 b, c, e 229; -buñga, -wuñga 205 206; -boñgɔ 142.

¹ There are usually in each language distinct word-roots to express the stomach, the outer aspect of the belly or abdomen, and the bowels within, but as the use of the principal word-roots may be indifferently applied to one or other of these concepts (the word for 'bowels' in one language meaning 'stomach' in another and 'abdomen' in a third), it is thought better to class them here altogether.

-deme*, -reme 16 27 (and -lemi) 35, -deme* 37, -eme, Teme* 239, Leme* 239 b, Deme* 240, Ime* 241, -eme*, -yame, -me 255 259, -yeme* 260; -tema 162, -tima 28 159 (see 'womb').

-mwi* (probably Mwi) 165 166 (also Mwe) 167 175, -moi*, Miei* (plur.) 179, Muei* 180, M-ei 181, Muw* 182, -moi*, -mioi 185 186 189, Mu-ω or Mō 200, Mo-ea* 204, -mea 208 209 213, Mω 222, Mon 221, Moi 223 224 (also Mweye*).

-ze 9 c, -je 255.

-subw* 57, -kωpu* 81, -sōpw* 134, -sōlw* or -sō 141, -sōhw*, -sōpw*, -tsōrw* 150, Sopo 151 b, -sōpw* or Opw 151, -sapw* 151 a, -sōpw, -ōpw 152 153 154, -sōlw* or Sōlw 155 156, Sōpw 156, -cōpw* 159, -tsofe* 159, Jōpw*, -sō 160, Sōpw 161, -sōbw or -sōfw* 162, -sō, -sōi 164, -cōbw 166 167, -sōbw 168, -sōfw 184, -sōpw* 190; Tupe* 23; -rōpa* 73.

Guvia 26.

-pas* 269, -fes* 273, -fet* 229; -kasi*, -kati 50; -ad, -yad*, -fad* 273; -ete*, -edē 186; -far*, -har 273, -fara* 242, -pala*, -vala* 73 a, -bala* 74 a; -or* 263-5.

-yaye, -yawe* 248; -yaba, -yawī* 259.

-ugbwe 241.

-duka 155, -luka 226; -rugulu (-tuñgulu) 56 57, -rukulu 56 b.

-bunda 2 f 2 g, -bondw 3, -bunda 4.

-da* (Inda, Amanda) 1, -da, -ra* 2 2 a 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 e 2 f, -nda 2 g, -dā 3 3 b 4 b 4, -dā, -la* 5 5 a 6 6 a 7 7 a 8, -ta, -la 9, -dā, -la 9 a 9 b 9 c 10, -dāā, -ra 11, -ā 12, -da, -la 14, -da 16, -ula 17, -nda 20 d 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25 27 30, -da 29, -yinda 31 a, -la 39 40 41 (and -da) 42 43 43 a 44, -da 44 b 45 46 48, -anda, -ra 49, -ra 50, -anda, -ra, -da 51, -ra 62 64 64 a (and -da-ne) 65 (-da-ne) 65 a 69, -den 71, -la 72 73 74 77 78 79 80 (and -da, -dida), -ra 81, -la 83 85 86 87, -ra 89, -la 92 94 97, -dia, -ria, -la 98, -dia 100, -lia 101, -nda, -la 104 105, -la 109, -ira, -ila 112 a, -la 117 119 120, -da 135 137 138 143, -ila 141, -la 144, -ra or -a 148, -ula 155, -da 157, -za* -kunda 162, -la* 175 178, -ya* 218, -ela, -ila 226, -ea, -ya*, -wa 227, -eja 199, -ja* 200, -ea 204, -la* (Bōla) 228 a; -hlaw, -lām 273; -lax* 266.

-isira* 1, Isile* 24; -dilwa* 43, -diliwa* 43 a; -dia 94 b.

-nana* 73; -na* 228; -nani* 155; -nene* 75 166; -nena* 15 16 21 54 61 a 104, -lena* 94; -nye 217, -nie 234.

Minep 214 a.

-kuna* 125, -kuni* 168 a; -tōna 235; -funi* 120, -funw 137; -gun* 244, -pon*, -bon 244; -bondw 162, -vundu 189 190; -kundu 39 to 144, &c. (see above).

Limbari 151 a.

BIRD

-nyōnyī*, -ōnyī*, -uni* 1 2, -ōni* 2 a, -ōnyī 2 b 2 c, 2 d 2 e, -ōni 2 f, -uni* 2 g, -ōni 3 3 a 4 b, -ōnyī 4, -yōni 5, -nōni 5 a, -ōni 6, -ūnyī 5 b, -enye 6, -ōnyī 6 a, -ōni 7 (and -ōnyī), -ōnyī 7 a 8, -ōni 9 9 a, -uni 9 b, -ōni 9 c, -nōni 10, -ōni 11, -uni 12 13, -ōnyī 14, -uni 16 21 a 21 b, -ōni 21 e, -uni 21 f-g, -ūnyī 22, -uni 27, -uni 29 30, -yuni 32 34 35 a, -nōni 39, -ōni, -nōni 40, -ōni 41 42, -ūnyī 43, -uni 43 a, -uni, -ñuni 44, -uni, -ōni 44 b 45 46, -nōni, -ōni 48, -yūnyī 49, -yuni 50, -juni 51, -yuni 52 53, -juni 54, -yuni 55, -nūni 56 56 a, -ōni, -ūni 62, -ōne 63, -ōni 67 68 69, -nyana 70, Nyanyana 71, -nyanya 71 f, -nōñi 72, Nōñ, Nony! 73 73 a 74, -ōni (Inyōni) 75 a 75 b 75 c, Nyōni 76, -yuni 77 79, -zune 78, -zuni 80, -ene or -ini (-nyini) 81, -yūnye or -yūnze 82, -ūnyī 83, -yōne 87, -nuni 100 101 102 103, -ūnyū 104, -ōni or -ōnyī 105 106 (also -uni), -ōnyī 108 109, -uni 116 118, -ūn* 119, -ōnyī 120 120 a, -bun 121, -nyinyī 128, -ōni 135, -ōli 137, -ūnyī 139, -zōni 140, -yōni 141, -ōni 142 143 (also -nyōni), -ōni or -uni 144 147, -ōli or -uli or -ōi 148, -ōla 151, -nōri* 153, -ōli or -ōle 155 157 164 167, -ōnyī 168 a, -nuni 166 175 176 177 178 179, -uēni 180, -ōe 181 182, -ōnyī 184, -ōdi 185, -nōni or -nōne 186, -ōni, -ōyī 187, -ōdi 189, -ōre 191, -ōni 192, -ōni or -ōni 193, -ōnu 194, -nōni 195 198, -nōni 199 200; -non 202, -nuni 203, -nōnw, -nōni 204, -nōni 205 206, -non or -nun 207, -nō 208, -nō 209, -non 210, -nō 211, -non 212 213 214 214 a 215, -ñgion 217, -non* 218 219 220 225, -nōdi* 226, -rōdi* 226 a, -nyōdi* 226 b, -non 227 228,

-nōnon 228 a, -nyuen 229 c, -ñwom 229, -nen or -nam 234, -yōnō, -ñon, -non 240, -non* 239 b, -nyi 236, -nun or -nan 232, -nōni 235, -doñ 243, -non 239 b 246, -nūen 245, -om 248, -ninon* 238, -nenon* 250, -noñ or -nyen* 251, Ninon 252, -nōmw or -nunu 254 255; -nyal, -nyel* 253; -nōune* 268; Nyanyane, Nyambane 69, -nyana 70, Nyanyana 71, -nyanya 71 f.

Siriri* 6 a, -siri* 63 64 a (and -ciri) 64, Ciri 65 65 a 67, Dziri 66, Ciri* 68, -sere*, -sire 274; -jila* 84, -bila* 85, -zira*, -zila, or -bela* 86 86 a, -jila 88, -dera* or -zera 89, -zila 90, -dila* 91, -ila 92, -dira 92 b, -jila 93 94, -šila 95 97, -sela 96, -zila or -jela 98, -jila 110 112 a 114 (-gila*), -diya* 149, -ile or -kile* 237, -sie* 258; -siriri 6 a; -sere 274; -sen, -siñ, -sañ, -señ, -soñ 230 231.

-pele 41; I-vē 261.

-pulu*, -phula 125 126 129, -pfulu or -fudu* 130 131, -furw, -fiula, -filu or -fulw 134, -pulu 136 138, -mbiri 141, -buru* 145, -bulu 146, Mburu* 151 a, b, -sum-bulu and -bem-bili 153, -bulu 156, -puru* or -furu* 159, -fulu* 160, -bulu 161, -fulu 162, -pulu 164 167 168, -fila 175, -fur*, -fure* 266; -nsudu* 267.

-palame 56 b, Balame 57 58, -barame 58 a, -balame 59 60 61 61 a 61 b 61 c.

-kafi 108; -zaji 122, -dzasi 123; -kaš 267-72.

-babu 149, -buba 154, -bu 150, -bui 151 154; -bamp 263.

-kum 120.

-kuñgu* 2 g, Tsoñgw 16, -zuñu* 110; -poñgw, -boñgw 28; -sañ, -soñ, -señ, -señ 230-230 j.

-itug 237; -sog 228; -tot 244; -lōkw 162.

-dege* 15 (and -deye), -dehe*, -lehe 17, -dēē, -lēē*, -te 17, -deye 18, -dege 19 19 a 20 20 d 21 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25, -dēē 26, -dege 27 31, -degi 31 a, -ehe 34, -dege 37 38, -tāka*, -dāka* 75 75 a, -deke* 124, -dek 125, -deke 127 129 a 131, -lekeke* 132, -deke 133, -leki 164, -leke 166, -deke* 167; (?) -balaka 177.

-bisi 86.

-lerw, -naroñ 229.

-na-keita, -kindu, -kinta* 273; Kite* 17; -fita* 273.

-isundi 1.

-sua, -suadu 273,

-zodie 26; -dzw, -dzwbi, -zwe 259 260.

-zewa 3 b.

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-kisa* 38; -siya* 64 a; -keba* 87; -kila* 120 121 124 125 129 130 134 136 137 (or -ila) 140, -kela 123, -kiya* 141, -gira* 145, -gila 146, -kiw* 150, -zila* 151, -zela 153 155, -kila 156, -gelw 157, -kile* 159 160, -kia* 161, -kila 164 168 175 176 177 178 179 180 (also -kele) 181 182 186 (and -kita, -kida) 189 191, -tcina*, -gina* 187, -tsina 192 193, -kiyw 194, -kiya* 195 198 199, -cie 200, -ke 203, -jel 203, -iya 204, -kia 205, -ija or -cia 206, -ki, -kia 202 207 208 209 210, -keya 211, -kē 212, -ki 213 214 (and -kei, -ke 214 a, -kie 215, -ki 217 218, -ci 219, -ciw 220, -kiw, -kia 220, -kiw* 225, -ila* 226 b, -ce, -tsi, -dse 228, -tsi, -tse, -si 230, -kil* 253, -hiw* 254, -hiē 255, -cir* 263.

-iñga* 7 7 a, -niñga 9, -nyinnga* 8, -nyeñka* 82, -nyinnga*, -nyeñga 83 84, -niñga 85 86, -yiñga, -nyeñga 88, -yeñga 95, -nyeñga 98, -eñga 100 101 102 103, -nyinnga 112 a, -yiñga* 114, -eñge 127, -eñga* 131, -ineka* 155.

-nyak* 266, -nyak 269-72; -nyin 251; Mi 252 (possibly contracted from Ma-nyi).

-loñgw* 162 164 166 167, -luñga 184, -yuñ, -uñ 227, -noñ, Nuñ 228 228 a, -loñ*, -roñ, -rō 229 229 e, -nuñ* 234, -nuñ* 245; -ñikoñ 261.

-luwula 44 b.

-lōpa* 23 23 a 33 a, -lōa 40, -lōpa 41 42 44 44 b, -rōpa 51, -dōpa 52 53, -lōwa 56 b, -lōwa, -lōpa 57 58, -rōpa 58 a, -lōpa 59, -rōpa 62, -lōpa 63, -rōpa 64 64 a 67, -lōpa 66 68 69, Nōha 70, -lōfha* 72.

-lōwa 77, -lōa 78 79, -laha 80, -rōpa 81, -lōha* 142, -mōha 157, -lōpw*, -lōfw 159 (this word is sometimes given as meaning 'body').

-kata 69.

-še, -sise 242; -sasi* 1, -sani 4 a, -sai 4, -gazi* 9 a 9 c, -asi* 13, -gati 14, -azi 28 32 (and -ai, -ahi), -adi 34, -azi, -ahi 35, -azi 37, -si 39 39 a, -azi 43 43 a 45, -yazi 50, -azi, -asi 54, -asi, -ahi 55, -gasi 60, -azi 61 61 a 61 b 61 c, -gaze 65, Gazi 65 a, -gati 71 71 f, -ali 73, -adi, -ali 74, -tsadi 74, -gazi* 75 75 a,

-gati 75 b, -gazi 75 c 76 (and -gari), -haši* 96 97 98 (or -hazi) 99, -aši 104 105 107, -ase 108, -aži 109 110 111, -haci* 122, -aži* 128 144, -ade* 268; -zat* 274; Džwsi, Jwsu 259.

-siya 64 a.

-rasw* 3, -latsw* 16 (and -ladzω); -lasiri* 5 a 6 6 a, -lai 92 b.

-sere 7 a; -teli 73 a.

-bende* 75; -bindu or -vindu* 89, -binswi* 90 (in 137 this root means 'body').

-danda 27, -landa 48, -nanda 49.

-honde* 91 92, -sonde* 86 94.

-zwsu 259; Jwsu, Dziwsu 260 (possibly this word-root really means 'tear').

-šu 185; -tω 258; -kō 257.

Baga, Paga 14; -waŋga 5; -baŋgi 139; Baŋgwa 151 b.

-amba* 2 f, -ambwe*, -ambe* 248.

-balami 138.¹

-kwna 133; -gana 267; -nam 232; -nna 226.

-pome* 19, -p'ome 19 a, -pome* 56 56 a.

-sagama* or -sámaga 2 2 a 2 c, -sagama 2 b 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g.

-zagami* 10, Sakame, -bakame* 11 12 (and -dakami), -sakame 15, Tsakame* 18, Sakami 19, Sakame 20, Sakami 24 24 c-g 25, Ságami 26, -kame* 56 b, -sagama* 147; -samu 17.

-sau* 17; -salu* 132.

-fiem 249.

-sim or -šim 273; -samu 17.

-nikw 148, -nitw 230.

-ue 165; -mwi 234; -būi 243.

-bwab, -pfwab, -fa 236 237; -tωaba 254.

Iyi 238, Be-yi 239, Be-nyi 239 b, -ji 240, -yi 242, -yip 245.

Bugurru 151 a; Me-gerim 151 a.

-ruk 245.

BODY

-biri* 1 2 2 a 2 b 2 c 2 d, -wili* 2 e, -biri 2 g 3 (and -wiri), -wiri 3 b, -biri 4 5 5 a 6 6 a 7 (and -vere*), -viri 7 a, -biri 8, edi* 9, -wili 9 c, -iri, -wi, -wili 12, -wi, -ili, -li 14; -uri 15, -iri 16, -ili, -bili 17, -wiri 18, -ili, -wili 19, -ili 19 a, -wili 20 21 (and -ili) 21 a, -wiliwili, -ili 21 b, -vili 21 e, -wiri 21 f-g, -wili 24 24 c-g 25 (and -wiri), -vile 27, -ili 28, -wili, -vili 29, -iri 34, -vili 35, -bili 36, -bere* 37, -biri 39, -bili 40 41, -wiri 42, -idi 43, -ili 43 a, -wiri 44, -wili 44 b, -wiri 48 49 50, -biri 51, -wiru*, -ilu 54, -biri 55, -wiri 62, -bili 63, -biri 64, -hūiri 64 a, -virw* 65, -uiri 65 a 67, -mire* 66, -bire 68, -irri*, -irre, -vili 69, -idi 70, -iri 71, -eri (Mmeri) 71 f, -vili 72, -vele, -mele* 73, -beli*, -mele 74, -bili 74 b, -bili* 75 75 a 75 b 75 c, -biri 76, -wili 77, -bili 79, -biri 80 81, -iri 82 83, -bila 85, -bela 86, -ila 97 99, -bidi* 104, -wiji* 105 a, -bibi 107 108, -ila* 114, -kole* 129 a, -bili 142 144, -bωlw* (?) 146, -viri* 147, -biji* 227, -kpiye* 247, Yidi* 253; -nil 273.

-rutu* 56 56 a, -ωtw* 83 226 (Ωbutw, Ωlωtw*), -utu 83 87, -rutu* 87 a, -útu 89 90 91 92, -tω, -ta, Nitu* 100, Nitu, Nyitu 101 102 103 177, -jitu*, -gitu 105, -nieta 109, -uru 120, -njiw* 136, Nditu* 148, -zorw 151 a, -ωtw 153, Ndωtw* 157, Njw* 164, -zwtw* 166, -uru 175 176 178, -yuru 184, -yulu, -uli, -ωlw 186, -ωlw, -ōtō 187, -utu, -ωtw 189 190, -ucw 194, -ωlw 195 198, -jw* 199, -ōli, -ū 202-3, -ulw, -ωlw 204 205, -uw 206, -urw 209, -ulw* 211, -ωl*, -ōl, -ū 213 214 217 218 219 -ul, -ω 220, -lōtw, -lwtw* 226; -uyw or Yurw* 248, Yor*, -or* 250, -ōtw* 258; -dyał*, Jal 261, -jan 262; Nzorw 151 a, Iporw 151 b.

-cimba* 28; -wimba 34, -zimba 75 75 a, -timba 75 b, -zimba 75 c 76, -dimba* 131 139, -jimba 84 88, -timba 92 93 94, žimba or -jumba 110; -vimbu 100; -mbi 14, -imbi 17; -bū, -bōp 230 j.

-gondw 9 a; -tundu 89, -bundu 124 125; -bindu 137 155; -bulu 150; -bihi 17; -puyw 112 a.

-kuku 161 206, -kuk' 214 a, -kōku 207, -ku 210, -kō 229.

¹ Probably due to a clerical error, the real equivalent being 'bird'.

- som 241; -komba 155, -omba 138, -kōba 141 144, -kubak 151 a, -kuba 187 191 (also -kuva), -kuwa 193 203, -kuba 204 211; Kpa 243; -aba 254.
 -vavu 53 (see 'skin').
 -jw, -yow 226; -sũ 259; -sudza 259.
 -bia 21 e; -yega 32, Higa 35, -iya 229; Ekpa 238.
 -tega 151.
 -te 212; -di (Nedi) 230.
 -ci 13, -ji 228 230, -ki (Beki) 228 a, Begye 227; -bek 252; Bet 266.
 -hana, -ana 38; -mbana 274; -ran 255.
 -nā 230; -ne 228; -loñna 257.
 -kañga 124; -eñge 156 168; -eke 160; -eket 244; -giñgwo 2 f; -yuñgi 134, -oñgi 162; -nūgū 57, -nuñgu 58, -nuñgwo 58 a 59, -luñgwo 61, -ruñgwo 61 b; -su 259.
 -tufi* 24, -tupi* 52 60 61 a 61 b 61 c.
 -dada 56 b.
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BONE

- kuha* 1, -gufwa, -gufa 2 2 a 2 c, -guffa 2 d, -gufwa 2 e 2 f, -gufa* 2 g, -gufwa 3 (and -gufa and -guha 3 a) 4, -gwa, -guha, -uga 7, -guha 7 a 8, -kuha 9, -guha 9 c, -fufa 13, -fūw, -fua, -fuha 17, -γūa 18, -vuha 19 19 a 20, -fupa* 21 to 21 e, -iba, -bwa 22, Guha 23 a, -guha 24, -fupa 24 c-g, -fupa 25 28, -upa 32, -fupa* 35 37, -fua 39, -kuha* 39 a, -kuja, -kudza 40, -kuza, -fupa 41, -fupa 42 43 43 a 44 44 b 48 49 50 51, -upa 54, -hupa, -fupa 55, -kuva 56 56 a (-kuwa), -kuwa 56 b, -kuva 57, -fupa 61, -pfupa 61 a 61 b, Fupa 61 c 62 63, -pfupa 64, Fupa 64 a 65 66 67 68, -tupa* 75 a, -fuwā 77 78 79, -fuha 80, -fōpa 82, -fōba* 83, -fuhwa 84, -biya* 85, Tea, -tsiha* 86, -fupa 87, -fuaha 88, -tupa 89, -sipa* 90, -kipa* 91, -khipa 92, -cipa 92 b, -kepa* 94, -hiba 94 b, -kia 97, -fōba 95 96 97, -fuba* 98, -fua 99, -fuba, -fufa, -kuha 104, -kupa* 105, -fupa 106, -kuha, -fōa 109, -fupa, -fwaha 110 111, -fua 112 a, -fōa 114, -pfa 116, -kua, -kwa 120 121, -fōa 122, -fufa 131, -fwa 134; -kuwa* 136, -kua 137, -ipa* 139, -kwa 141, -fuga 142, -fupa 143, -kuha 144, -kue 145 147, -kua 146, Lüw 148, -kuw 150, -ku 151 a, -kue, -kuwa 151, Mω-kwuwa 151 b, -kuwω 153, -kwa, -kba 155 156, -hwe 157, -kūa 159 160 161 164, -kwa 166 (also -fa) 167 168, -fa 176, -fwa 177, -pfa 178, -epa* -pa 187 192 193, -zīa, -yie 200, -uha*, -ūa 226, -kup*, -kip, -kab, -kuōbō, -kubō* 238 227-8, -gup*, -yup, -yap 234, -guw, -kue, Gu 230 236, -wob, -wuob 236 237, -yuha* 235, -keb, -kǎp 228, -kuwi* 244, -kup (Ekekup*) 228 a, -kpω 245, -kuehe, -kōhe 248, -kuw*², -kaw' 251, -kup* 249 252, Mob, Mωup 253, -unpω, -ūpa, -ūpω 254 255 -kubi* 257, -kufi* 258, -hwa 259, -pā* 261, Pak 262.
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 -hondō 28, -pondō 65 a.
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·viṣi*,¹ ·visi, ·wisi, ·vezi, ·hisi 100; ·vesi, ·beze 101 103, ·wse 138, Vesi 146, ·wese 162, ·vese 165, ·wei 175, ·wuezi, ·wezi 179 180, ·weziw 176, ·visi 184 189 190, ·veṣa, ·esa, ·yesa 186, ·wizi 191, ·weṣw 194, ·vehe* 195, ·wehe* 199, ·fneh' 202, Hes', ·si 203, ·wese, ·wehe 204, ·wese, ·fes' 205 206 207 208 209 211 212, ·hei 213, ·hit 214, ·fes' 214 a, ·heig 215, ·fes*, ·vös, ·ves 217 218 219, Jihe 220, Gesw 220 h; Ity' 274.

BOW

·ta* 1, ·tta* 2, ·ta 2 a 2 b, ·tta 2 c, ·ta 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g, ·tta 4 b, ·rra, ·ta 5 a 5 b, ·ta 7 7 a 8 9 9 a 9 c 10, ·ttá, ·ta, ·taa 11 11 a, ·ta 12, ·ha 13, ·dana 14, ·ta 15, ·ha, Tana 16, ·ha, ·rara 17, ·ra 18, ·ta 19 19 a 20 21 21 a 21 b, d (and ·ca), ·ca 21 e, ·ta 21 f, ·tā 22 23 24, ·wuta 29, ·ta (Buta) 39 a 40 41 42 44 44 b 45 48 50 52 53 55, ·ura 56, ·ra 56 a, ·ra, ·ura 56 b 57 (and ·wura), ·ta, ·ra, ·ura 58, ·ta 58 a, ·ta, ·ra, ·ura 59, ·ta 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62 63 64 64 a (·buta) 65 65 a 66 67 (Huta) 68, ·rra (Hurra) 69, ·ra 71 f 72 73 74, ·ta 74 b 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 89 90 91 92 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 127 128 129 130 to 136 142 143 147 175 176 178 to 182, ·vita* 184, ·ta 187, ·vuta, ·tata 189, ·ta 190 247 (Wō-tā*), ·da, ·ta* 248, ·ta* 251 254 255; ·untwā 254; ·tag, ·teak* 253; ·tē (Ntē) 186, ·te 194, ·le 237, ·re (Bō-re) 229; ·torrw 151 a, ·towl 154, ·toli 156, ·rw (Bō-rw); ·dade 64; ·dan-tire 64; ·kuta 166.²

·wji* 97, ·kōsi* 206 214 a, ·kōti* 249, ·kōri* 272; ·ñgōw 210, ·gola 220 b; ·powl, ·fowl 141; ·dibulw 27.

Dōligō 238; ·dōlw 220 d.

·hettw* 3, ·hetw 3 a 9 c, ·eitw 39; ·keti* 211 212, ·ket* (Nket) 234, ·kere*, ke, ken 261 262, ·kekerw 3; ·ebe 186, ·ele 214; Kente 232; Bw-endi 207; ·pindi 21, ·p'indi 21 a, ·pindi 21 b-d, ·pinde 21 g 23 23 a, ·pindi 24 c-g 25 28, ·pinde 32 33, ·pindi 34 35, ·pende 37, ·pindw 51, ·pindi 55.

·ñgi (Mañgi) 146; Mañge 150; ·ji (Ka-ji) 229; ·iñgu 5, ·iñgw 5 a, ·iñgu 6 (and ·iñgw) 6 a; ·wañgw 3, ·bañgu 151, ·wañga 23; ·ñgañgu 162 166, ·nañw; ·ñane 269; ·ñwak 230; ·ñadu, ·ñade 267-8; Wuañ 230; ·gan 274; ·guā 230 c, ·gaā 230; Gbañ 252.

·gara (Iñgara) 216; ·nyañgara 56 a.

·ran 243, ·dana 14, Tana 16; ·nana 88.

·nduñ 225.

·goñ, ·gon 230, ·yuom 236.

·kōkw 155 157 159 160.

·bi (Bw-bi) 148; ·pia 176, ·pira, ·pirw 226.

·dabi 49; ·tibu 100, ·tebu 145; ·dibulw 27; ·timbw 161 a, ·tiñbw 159 164; ·tegw 4; ·vebw 240.

·gwe 21 e.

·pumbu 75; ·tambu 161; ·tamulw 71; ·fumba 100; ·pamba 191 192; ·fambwe 200, ·pambw, ·pambu 202 204; ·khampha 74; ·gyamita 257.

·kōma 2 f.

·binza 100; ·banji, ·banja, ·pan 200 203 204 205 209; ·ponjiw 220 h; ·petha 73 a, ·peta 75; ·bantra, ·bantsa, ·banta 263-4; ·pandw 87; ·fan, ·pan, bañ 101 102 103, ·beñ 217 218 219 220.

Koñge 92 b; ·kañgi 100; ·ñgi 146, ·mañgi 150; ·ji 229.

·mañganze 60.

·naye 189; ·ñaja 269; ·nya 246 259; ·ñane 271-2, ·nañw 167; ·nageñ, ·nadeñ 273.

·ik 227; ·neg, ·nik, ·lek 228 228 a, ·nek 240 c; ·tika 245; ·tegw 4; ·wteha 151 b.

·basi 164.

·sale 4; ·talek 247 a.

·siri 140; ·niri 227; ·firi 266.

·tywki 75 b, ·cōhi 76; ·yuk 242.

¹ ? Allied to ·fisi, 'hyena'.

² This ·ta root for 'bow' is identical with the ·ta verb-root meaning 'strike', 'kill', 'war'.

- gūbu* 75 b, -kwbw* 239 b, -khwpu* 86, -kwe 73; -rop 229 e; -gabelw 75 c, -dibityelw 75 a 75 c.
 -kunje 25, -yonde, -onde 38, -kunji 54, -khondyi 92, -honji 94 112 a.
 -koyw 240.
 -lemu 110.
 -tumw 12.
 -zima 27; -nyima 94 b.
 -lapwa 43 43 a, -lahwa 45; -dabi 49; -lavw, -lahw 69, -lasu 70.
 -ciwca (?) 151 b.

BRAINS

- oñgw* (-bwoñgw, -boñgw, -woñgw, &c.) 1 2 2 a 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 e 2 f 3 4 5 5 a 6 6 a 7 7 a 8 9 9 a 9 c 12
 14 (and -boñgw) 15 16, -roñgw 17, -oñgw 19 19 a 20 21 to 21 f-g, -boñgw 23 a, -oñgw 24 24 c-g, -oñgoñgw
 27, -oñgw 28 32 35 37 38 40 41 43 a 48 49 50 51 52 53, -woñgw 54 55, -oñgw 57 58 (and -oñw) 58 a 59 61 61 a
 61 b 61 c 62 69, -oñga 70, -oñgwe 71 f, -oñgw 71 f, -wkw, -vwkw 73 73 a, -bwkw 74, -oñgw 77 78 79 84 86 88
 92 94 (also -oñw) 97 98, -oñgwa 99, -oñgw, -oñw 104 105 106 107 108, -oñkw 109, -oñgw, -oñw, -hoñgw 110
 112 a 128 129 130 132 134, -oñge 136, -oñga 137, -eñge 140, -oñgw, -soñgw 141, -oñgw 142 145, -goñgw*
 147, -oñgw (-doñgw) 146, -oñgw 150, -loñgw 151 154, -boñgup* 151 a, -ñgoñgw* 155, -oñgw 156, -ondw
 157, -oñgw, -oñgoñgw 159 160 161 162 164 166, -oñe 186, -ronju 184, -onjw 189 190, -oñgwe 194, -oñgu
 195, -pūñgu 193, -oñgw 199, -oñ, -añ 200, Poñ, -oña 203, -oñga* 204 205 206 207 208 209, -oñ 211,
 -wne 212, -oñ 214, -woñ* 214 a, Bw 218, Bw 219, -onde 220, -ron 227 229, -boñ* 229; Bōgw* 253.
 -añgwe 10.
 -puñgu 193; -phanuñgu 126; -luñgi 133; -nyinñgi 168.
 -tombw* 11, -tompwe 42 43, -tomfwe 41, Tōmpwe 44, Tompwe 44 b 60 62, Tomfi*, Tomfw,
 Tonzu 100-3, Tomfi* 177.
 -pambu 75; -bombw 139; -bemble 264; -ombi 210; -bop 244.
 -bwlubwlu 156; Bw 219; Burum 252.
 -rohi* 57, -rupi, -ruzwi 64, -wabzi 65 65 a 67, -lubzi 66, -rubzi 68, -luvhi 72, -ruvi 64 a, -lui 80 83
 90, -ruvi 89, -luvi* 91; -ful* 274; -fura* 18, -fūlō* 238; -puji 85; -yu 86; -lui, -ruyi 87 87 a; -ubu
 144; K'wbw 67, -cwpa, -cwpu 75, -cwpa 75 a, Cō'pa, -cōpa 75 b 76, Cwpa 75 c.
 -kyau 120; -ew, -e 175 178.
 -cundu 131.
 -gōrw 148; -cuere 1; -hule 262; -berebere 228.
 -kerriw, -kereriw 11.
 -tw 127; -tōkw* 226, -tukpw* 259; Sukw* 14; -sōkw* 167, -juok* 240; -gōgw* 56, -kōkw 56 a,
 -kūkū* 273.
 -kumu 260.
 -lotw 23 33 a; -tutu 54, -ruru* 64; -dudu 151 b; -rurun* 242.¹
 -di 228, -re (-berebere) 228.
 -tuna 120; -ron 227 229; -run 261; -jon, -wōn 243; -funra 254.
 -nō 234; ñof 273.
 -rimba 254.
 -fit 263.
 -kese 39 a 144.
 -wsola 27.
 -kā 39; -kaī 255.
 -wū 247.

¹ All this group is related to the Sudanic Dudu (Zande, &c.).

BREAST, MALE (or CHEST)

·kuba* 1, ·fuba* 2 2 c 2 d, ·fupa 2 e, ·fuba 2 f 2 g, ·tuza 3, ·fuba 4 6 6 a, ·kuba 7 7 a, ·huba 8, ·kuwa 9 9 c, Fua 16, ·fua 19 19 a, ·fuwa 20, ·fua 21 21 a 21 f, ·fuba 22, ·fa 24, ·kua 26, ·kūa (in beasts) 27, ·fua 28, ·fula 29, ·uba 32, ·huwa 34, ·fuba 36, ·fūa 37, ·fuba 41 42, ·fua 43 43 a 44, ·fuwa 44 b, ·fua 45 48 49 50 52, ·kua 58, ·kua, ·fua 59 ·fua 61, ·pfua 61 a 61 b, ·fua 61 c 62, ·fuba 64, ·fūa 64 a 67 69, ·fuba 70 71, ·fuva 71 f, ·xuba, ·fuva (73a), ·huba 74, ·fūba 74 b 75* 75 a 75 b 75 c, ·fuwa 76, ·zuba 80, ·dzuva 81, ·kuba* 150 151, ·ūpa* 161 a, ·guba 164; ·ube* 255; ·bupa*, ·pupa 161; ·kwa-gun 254.

·sabw 254.

·gbā 256.

·tivi 28, ·tiwi 44 b.

·ton 235; ·toŋge 124; ·zonŋe 57; Nge 193; ·luñ 250.

·tɔkafɔka 151 a; ·sɔka 86.

·top 251.

·korw* 2 f, ·kulw* 41, [·kōlw 92 b], ·tulw* 86 90, ·hulw* 91, ·thulw 91 a, ·tulu 92, ·tulw 94 b, ·ulw 94 95 96 97 98, ·tulu* 100, ·julu 111, ·tuli 116, ·tulu 112 a 117 122 123 124 125 127 129 130 131 132 133 134, ·tɔlw, ·tu 137 159 160 162 164 165 (·ndondw) 166 167 168 175 176 177 178 179, ·ulu 180 181 182, ·tulu 184, ·tɔlu* 185, ·tōyw, ·tɔdɔw, ·tɔlw, ·tɔbi 186, ·tɔnw 187, ·tulu 189 190, ·tulw* 191, ·tɔnw* 192 193, Tɔl', ·tɔlw* 202 203 211 212 213 214 215, Tɔw 214 a, Tui, Tōi 218 219; ·kɔlw* 78 79, ·kōlw 92 b, ·kōrw* 89; ·kudi 105, ·kuli 129, ·kuri 139, ·fure, ·pfurue 200.

·ari* 39 89, ·ali 40, ·adi* 104 (also ·aje, ·ade) 105 108 109, Mari 118, ·ali* 128, ·ri, Kuri 139, ari* 135 140 144; ·dari* 21 21 a 21 b 21 e; ·ala* 17; Hana, Gana 63 64, ·ana* 66 68.

·ñalw 266.

Didi* 59, ·titi* 142; ·tele 157; ·teta 98 99.

·tin 157; ·senyi 267.

Kati* 12; Sāti* 83; ·kede* 267; ·kit* 261; ·sie 255; ·gidi, ·gij* 270 271; ·jenj 272; Gei 252; ·gelli 253; Kigl, Jigl 253; ·kwɔw 156; ·ñgitu ('body') 105; Nitu 230; ·nete 94; ·pɔtu 152; ·wat 234; ·kbɔte 151; ·betw 56; ·peta 73; Bit, Bet, Bil 220.

·ñgava 89; ·keɓ 229, ·keem 229; ·kăpătr, ·kăbăts 263.

·sɔka 86.

·ñak* 274; ·aka* 226; Nge 193; ·ka, Nka 251; ·kaka* 75 (F), ·kakw* 259, ·kagaja* 56; ·kaŋga*, ·haŋga, ·aŋga 198 199 204 205 206 209, ·kañ 200 230 232, ·kaña 230 236, ·ñgañ 238, ·gaŋga* 35, ·gañ* 227 228 230 273, ·gbā 256; ·aŋgu* 216; ·vaŋgile 248; ·huan, ·han 248; ·gañ*, ·geñ, ·giñ 273; ·jenj 272.

·ñgoŋw 118, ·goŋga 195, ·kuñ 244; ·kun 253, ·gɔnw 11, ·ñgɔni 119.

·konta 240.

·gɔ 232; ·kwɔw* 124 126 206, ·kuku* 9 a 141 152 155 217; ·kuɕu (Ta-kuɕu) 230; ·jus 270; ·tuza 3, ·ɕuɕ, ·sūs 273.

·tima ('heart') 21 34 54, ·rima 56 56 a 57 59 60 (·tima-nzi), ·tima 61 b; ·temu* 225; Damu* 72; ·tem* 228; ·tew 230; ·te 258.

·ria 11 a.

Kia 230; Kayi, ·yi 257; Gei 252.

·ligyi 4; Lagaya 14; Laga 16.

Ha-mbuŋgi 85; ·poñ, ·pü 230.

Bagwi 13, ·mbaga, ·na-mbaga 23 23 a 25, ·mbaga 27, Pambaga 38, Pa-mbaya 51.

·bafu 15 17 18; ·pambw 88; ·banju 161; ·buambw 110; ·camba, ·amba 77 78; ·bembe 114, ·embi 206, ·kembe 208; ·vimba 35.

·fexa 73, ·phexa 73 a; ·beza 143, ·beji, ·beci 194; ·asa, ·ese 263-4.

·fandw 136; ·banda 147.

·bɔma 187; ·kɔma 237; ·hɔme 259.

·tsorontw 231.

BREAST, FEMALE

·bere* 1, ·were 2 2 a (and veri), ·bere 2 b, ·were 2 c, ·bere 2 d, ·vere 2 e, ·bere 2 f 2 g, ·were 3, ·wele 3 b, ·bere 4, ·were 5 5 a, ·bēle, ·bele 6, ·bere 6 a 7 8, ·wele 9 9 a 9 c, Wēē 13, ·wele 14, ·ere 16, ·vele, ·wehe 17, ·wele 21 a, Ve, Vēē 21 b-c, ·wele 21 f-g, Bele 22, ·were, ·wele 27, ·wele 28 29, ·bele 32, ·wele 34 35, ·bele 36, ·were 37, ·vele 38, Bele 39 40, ·bere 41 42, ·ede 43, ·were 44, ·wele 44 b, ·bele 45, ·were 48 49 50 51 52, ·wee 53, ·wele 54, ·were 55, ·bele 56, ·pēle 56 a, ·wele, ·ele 56 b, ·bere 57, Bere or Bē 58 58 a 59 61 a, ·wele 61, Bere 61 b, ·were 61 c, Bele 71, ·tsele, ·vele 73, ·tsele, ·bele 74, ·sweli 74 b, ·bēle 75, ·bele* 75 a 75 b 75 c, ·wele 76, ·wele 77, ·bele ('udder') 78, ·vere 81, ·ele 83, ·vele 84, ·bele 85, ·bele, ·bere 87 87 a, ·vere, ·vele, ·ele 86 88 89 91 92 94 95 96 97 98 99 (also ·ele and ·bele), ·yeni* 100 101, ·bene* 103, ·bele or ·vele 104 105 106 107 108 109, ·yele* 110 111, ·biele 112 a, ·bele 114, ·bielū 117, ·bil' 119, ·biela* 120, ·hie 121, ·wele 131 132 133 134 135 136, ·bele 141 143 144 145 146 147 148, ·bere 150, ·bele, ·bene 151, I·beru 151 b, ·yele 155, ·wele 156, ·wele, ·bele 159 160 164 166 167 168, ·byenω* 175, ·biela 176, ·biene 178, ·biele 179, ·bēle 180, ·biele 181 182, ·beni 184, ·bele 185, ·bete* or ·bedre 186, ·bene 187, ·belω 189 191 (·beru 151 b), ·bwene 192, ·wene 193, ·medi* 194, ·be 195 199, ·bel 200, ·be, ·beli, ·bel 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209, ·betu* 210, ·be 211 212 213, ·bi 214, ·be 215 217, ·bane 216, ·bei 218, ·be 219, ·bel* 220, ·bele*, ·belω* 226, ·be 227, ·ben* 228, ·bei 229, ·boñ, ·buω 230, ·bur 234, ·buin, ·boñ, ·bun 230, ·be 236, ·be 239 b 240, ·bei 241, ·bai, ·bap 242, ·bai 244, ·me 250, ·bian 251, ·buri 253, ·ben* 266, ·bili 267, Pial*, Pel, Pil 269-72, ·fiel*, ·el*, ·ihl, ·il 273; ·bāl*, ·wil* 274; Vasal 252.

·kωω 29 78 79.

·duru 5 a; ·jororω 26.

Didi* 59, Diti 64 a 65 65 a 67, ·dete, ·tete 90 92; ·titi* 21 a 142,

·beeta 17, ·bωta* 17, ·kbωte* 151.

·zuku* 59 64, ·sωgω* 90; ·kuku* 161; susu 26.

·pebr 268.

·bū 21 b.

·subω, ·sabω 254; ·suba, ·suwe 255.

·hombω* 16, ·tombω* 19 19 a 20 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25 26 33 a; Tsombω* 69, ·cumbu* 70.

·homba* 98; ·tumbω* 248, ·rumbω* 235.

·kombe 18.

·ion 237; ·in (Wuin) 232.

·tωnyω 58.

·nyi 257, ·nye 258.

mωa, ·mō 259; Umω 261.

·zamwe* 60; Gamu 63, ·zamu, ·samu* 64, Damu* 72, ·lam* 273; Amme 247, ·me 250.

·ruñgω 151 a.

·ondω 11; ·ωdω 14; Dundu 64 a.

Ziwa 21 62.

·susu 26.

BROTHER ¹

(Very often the word means SISTER also, with or without the adjective 'feminine'. Paraphrases such as 'our child', 'little male', not always given.)

·ene (Bene*) 2, ·ene 3 3 a, ·ina* (Omwana-wa-ina) 5, ·ine 9 a, ·inai 12, ·ene 16, ·ene 19 20, ·ine

¹ In many of the Bantu languages there is a distinction between 'elder brother' and 'younger brother'; much more respect in nomenclature being paid to the elder brother, who is often designated simply by the word-root 'kulu' or 'great'. As, however, there is sometimes a confusion in the application of terms, I give here without discrimination all the single roots (not paraphrases) that apply to 'brother', many of them including not necessarily a sense of uterine relationship, but of kinship such as might be understood

41, ina 83, -ena 104, -ina 106, -ina 142 143 144, -na- 146, -ina 198, -nyina* (and -nyanya) 2, (Mwā-) nyina 4, -nyina 42, -ina 43 43 a 44 45 (-nina), -ninu 49, -ina 51, -ena 73, -nna 74, -na (Umna), -nina* 75 75 b 75 c, -ne 75 a 75 c, -nina 76, -nina 78, -nyina 79, -hela* 110; -haina 92 b; -yena* 255; -ninda 267; -nuna 38; -namam 151 a¹; -tine 159.

-nyanya* 2, -nya* 73 a.

-nana* 168 175 176 209.

-hara* 1 3, -hela* 110, -telw 178; -fera* 230 (also -faru, -fōla, -fuda), -fur* 232, -fena, -bena 235, -yena 255; -benawi 37; -mela 186.

-nake 141, -naike 91 a, -naka 73, -niga 151 a.

-wa, -w- 44 b, -ku 53, -pwa- 54, -kwa- 62 70 71 71 f, Wa- 73, -kwa 77 89, Gwa 252, -ñwa 257.

-kyani 116, -kuni 118 139 160 162; -kuna 64 a, -kxōwō 74, -kune 168, -añkune 136, -guni, -gini 237; -ki 145 146, -si 153, -jimi 164, -limi 166, -dimi 167 168 (sister); Nyumi 253.

-rumuna 3; -ru 11; -runa 14; -zuna 9 9 a, -suna 9 c, -vuna 20, -nuna 21 b, -vuna 24, -nuñuna 27 29 30 31 a, Nuna 32, -zuña 50, -nūgūna 51, -nuñuna 52, Nuñguna 63, -nuñuna 64, -nukuna 64 a.

-niga 151 a.

Sibweni 61 b.

-dugi 7, -dugu 9 c 13, -dū 15, -dugu 16, -dehe 17, du 18, -dugu 19 19 a 20 20 d 21 21 a 21 b 21 e (-dū, dugu), -duye, -dūi 21 f-g, -dugu 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25, -kūū 26, -dugu, -uñu, -uñgu, -uñgōni 34, -kulugw 54, -lukw- 63, -nuku- 64 a; -diagu 69, Yuku- 148, -dugu, -duku 140, -ruku 149; -rōkorō 56; -dekō 151, -degō 164 193, -eki 45; -eka 151 b; -teye 179; -tagu 256; -nege 175; -leñge 86, -deñge 90 91 92 95 96 98; -dayañ 202.

-lupwa*, -lupwa 43; -pwa*, -pwañga 54, -pwa* 58 59 61 61 b; -kwa* 62 77 89; Gwa* 252.

-fō 75 b 76, -pō, -digō 243, -puō 112 a.

-dumbu*, -lumbu 2 g 9 b 9 c 10 19 21 (H) 24 c-g 25 26 27 45 (Ilumbu*) 48, -dumbwa* 84, -rumbi* 89, -lumbi 92 b, -tumba* 273; rombala 64; -dembi 194; -tamba 39 135 (see words for 'sister').

-terwa 5 a.

-kulu,² -kuru* 2 g 3 16 (-kulu) 19 20, -kulu 23, Se-gulu 23 a, -kulu 24 c-g, -kōwō 29, -gōwō, -kulu 31, -ku 53, -kulu, -kulu-gw 54, -rō-korō, -rō-gorō 56, -kuru* 64, -rurō 65, -xōwō 73 a, -xōwōli 74, -hulū- 74 b, -kulu 75 a, -kuru* 76, -kulu 79 83 91 92 100 104, -kōrō 105 a, -kulu 137, -kōwō* 141 153, -wōwō, -hōwō* 155, -kōdō* 267, -kōtu 179; -kōta 94 95 96 97 98 114 180; Bōtu 254; -dōdō 23 24 c-g, -tō 45, -rurō 65; -hiri 8.

-kaka 21 23 146; -kaja 164; -hatsa 38.

-kana 166; -tana 76.

-yaya* 86, -yayi 87 a, -yaya 99 100 103 109 111 114, Iya 119, Iboya 120, -boyō 177, Iya 121, Goya 133, Yeye* 135, -eya 141, -yapa 149, -yebi 164 166 167, Ya 175, Yaa 178, -yañ 203, Yeye* 206, -yō 220, -yam 253; -nyam 251.

-bake* 157 161, -baki*, -bagi 263 264 265, -paka 168; -wōka 242; -pwa', -pwañga 54; -vanji 64 a; -pañga 81, Hañgu 256, -bañge 83, -pañgi 96 97 100 114 (-panji) 122 124 125 127 (-vañgi) 129 146 (Vañkyi), -maki* 269; -simaga, -magw 270-2; -pati 78; -pami 131 132 134; -palañga 94; Mañgile 134, Mañgō, Mañgwete, Mañgwa 156 157; Manyañgwe, -mañgō 186; Hañgu 256; -kiñgu 40.

Magati 23 a.

-loñgō* (meaning generally 'kinship' rather than 'uterine brotherhood') 27, -noñgō, -loñgō 34, -doñgō, -loñgō 35 54, -doñgō, -loñgō 55, -rogōrō 56, Droñgō 58, -loñgō 61 61 a 61 c, -loñgō 69, Noñgō* 70, -loñgō* 105 a;³ -soñgō 84; -nsanga 41; -sunja 153.

by cousin, or even spiritual kinship such as brotherhood in the clan or by the exchange of blood. Very often the term for 'brother' is connected with the term for 'uterus' or for 'mother'. Once or twice the word for 'brother' also means 'spouse' (-kasa).

¹ -nina, -nyina really means 'mother'; words like -namam (151 a) are literally 'child (of) mother'. -ina, though much associated with -nina, implies blood-brotherhood, uterine relationship, and in a wider sense 'clan' and 'tribe'.

² Usually reserved for 'elder brother' and simply the root for 'big'.

³ Means generally 'brotherhood' through the same father but not the same mother.

- sia, -jira 58 59 61 a, -jila, -gila 61 b; -cerōn 274; -dia 230, -dzia 260, -dja 255; -ti, -li, -lina, -linw 273; -tine 159.
- niga 151 a, -ninga 157 161; Ninda* 267; Nindu* 12.
- lisa 62, -zisa 69, -disa 71, -isela 74 b; -nesa 234.
- sada, -saza* 3 b, -haca 28, -hwaca* 28, -atsa, -hatsa* 38; -ja 255.
- sase* 230, -jase* 268; -sawe 236; -cizi 78.
- kele 155; -kemi 123; Ngebe 180; -akbee 151.
- bale 57, -lebale 56, -bali 58 58 a 59 60, -bale 61 61 a, -bare 61, -bali 61 b; -bare 61 c; -ωban 240; -tabani 4.
- Bolω, Boli 151; Malō 238; Mbōnie 194; Bombω 210.
- tamba 39 a 135; -tumba 273; -ta 139 144 155; -tadi 151, Dadi 153.
- komba 101 103; -huva 94; -suma 51; -kōma 64 64 a, -kōmω 67, -kōma 68, -kōma- 72; -yumi 253.
- bwembwa 85; -bwe 175 148; Si-bweni 61 b.
- bunji 100; -bōsi 168 a.
- pintre, Pente 261 262; -want, -wantr 263, -wont 264, -wenc 264, -pihain 262.
- sunja 153.
- butwa 144 39 a; Pwetω 88.
- suti 3 a.
- tonga 126, -tungani 155.
- Dōni 66; -dōmi 186, -dō 186.
- niw 128; -nō 17; Munū 64.
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- zalū- 75 75 b 75 c; -za (Mōza-) 81 89; -muzi 56; -bōsi 168 a.
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- rangwzi 62.
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- nōci 94 b.
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·kwa 69 (bull); ·gaw 211 212 214 a; ·bulu 133; ·furu 238; ·budi 106 204; ·pulubu 26 b;
Kxwɣ 73 73 a.

·fuñ, ·fa, Fuon, ·foñ, ·poñ 227 228 230 232 234 239 244, ·puñ 228 a; Guñ-un 252.

·ban 263; Dwan 220; ·tonbi 258.

·kwoñɣ, ·kwoñz 167.

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·ninyam 228 a 229.

·Ñōt 83; ·noci 94 b.

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·dina 125.

·wima 94.

Tibi 153, Sib 214; ·tupa 23; ·tuō 240.

Tak, Tik, Yik 261 262.

·tada 56.

Sawa 64 a.

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·poñɣ 28 61 61 a.

Bwä 257; ·bawa 70, ·baw 72, Pwɣ, Phwɣ 73 73 a, Pōō 74, ·paw 73 74 b (see 'buffalo').

·cende 44 44 b, 77 78 ('scrotum').

·pali 58; Bori, Ööri 254, ·bwōi 255.

·handira 64.

·kida 29; ·gide 38; ·hiri 8.

·enze 79.

Nti, ·nti* 86; ¹ Öbe* 235.

Konzw* 22, ·kunzi 35, ·hunzi 64, ·kūzi 71, ·kunzi 75 75 a, ·kunti 75 b, ·kunzi* 75 c, ·gundi* 83.

·duezu 89, ·tsueswi 90, ·hūedi q1, ·tw'ei 92.

·nhufi 23, ·ñhufi 33 a; ·nūi 94.

Tule 19; Duna 70; ·sune 77; ·jin 273.

·tuali 255.

·ake 145.

·jeku, ·yeku 9, ·jeka 20, ·zeku 24 c-g, ·jeku 25 26; ·degwa 11; ·dzaw 12, ·jaw 14, ·dzaw 16, ·sau 17, ·saw 18.

¹ An interesting root, as it may be a survival far to the south-west of an old word meaning 'cattle', male or female, which in the Nyanza tongues is retained for 'cow', 'oxen', 'domestic cattle'.

Kxwtokw 73 a; ·kɔkw 100.

·kɔnw, ·hɔnw 64, ·kɔnw 64 a, ·kɔla 69.

·masa 2 f 2 g 3 a; Mus 252.

·kas 269-72.

·wɔsa, Nwɔsa 49.

·ūnwa 6.

·muna 250.

Iri 5 b, Eri 7; Hiri 8.

·fizi 3.

·ruxi 5, ·su-rusi 5 a.

Taŋgana 5 b; ·tuŋgula 39.

·zagamba 9 a 9 c, ·jāmba 11, ·dzagamba 16, ·kambaku* 19 19 a, ·xambaku 24, ·khambaku 24 c-g, ·kambaku, ·kabakw 25, ·ñambakwa 27, ·Khambaku 29, ·kambaku 35 50, ·kambakw 37, ·ambakw 38; Pambasi 43 a, ·kambaku 50, ·gambaku 51, ·kambaku 54, ·kambakw* 55.

Saŋga 13, Seŋga 23 b 24 c-g 30 31.

Fahali (Arab) 21 21 b-d 21 e.

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·takw* 1 2 f 3 4, ·dakw 5, ·daxw 5 a, ·taxw 6, ·takw 6 a 9 12, ·hakw 13, ·takw 15, Hakw, ·takw 16, ·dakw 17, ·ndikw 18, Takw 19, ·takw 20 21 to 21 f-g (except 21 e, which has ·cakw), Dakw 23 a, ·takw 24 24 c-g, ·dakw 25, ·takw 26, dakw 27, ·takw 28 32 34 35, ·daxw 36, ·dakw 37 38, ·takw 39 40 41 42 43 44 44 b 45 48 52 54 55, ·raw 57, ·rō 56 b, ·rakw, ·ragw 58, ·takw 58 a 59 60 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62 64 (and Dakw) 65 65 a 66 67 68, ·rakw 69, ·taku 70, ·caku, ·thaku 71, ·jakw 71 f, ·rahw, ·rahu 72, ·raw, ·raxw 73, ·saxw, ·raxw 74, ·takw 76 77 78 79 80 83 84 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 98 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 110 112 a 116 118, ·atw 119, ·tak* 121, ·tuka* 128, ·sakw* 136, ·takw 139 140 141, ·tau* 155, ·taka 162, ·taw* 175, ·ragu* 184, ·tagu* 190, ·taw 189, ·ra 193, ·ta 227 228, ·tak 245, ·taku* 247; ·taūn 254; ·sa 263, ·tā* 274; ·tw (Matw, Ketw) 119 120; ·kutu* 56 56 a, ·kōtō, ·kōti* 166; ·putu 41 42; ·tɔkw, ·sɔkw 123 124 125 126 127, ·cɔkw 130 131 132, ·tɔkw 137, ·sɔkw 160 162 164, ·tuggi 253, ·tɔw 178; ·sɔsw 211, ·susu 214; ·zu 22; Gwos 220; ·ws 255.

·batu 64, ·bata 64 a; ·badi 189; ·baty', ·bat' 273.

·skuñku (·syuñku) 53; ·soŋgwa, ·hoŋga* 151 153, ·soŋga* 155, ·oŋga* 70 75 85; ·fuŋga 133; ·fukpai 243; ·fuka 142; ·luka 164; ·teŋga* 104, ·taŋga* 51; ·tuŋgu 50; ·tuggi 253.

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·gɔna 9 c.

·uma 7, ·rumw 17; ·kɔma 134, ·kuma 39 a 144; I-pumw 151 b; ·sōma 257.

·bombi 186, ·bumbu 194; ·rōpa (from ·romba) 73 a; ·rumbu 273 c.

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·nufu 91, ·nusw 89 90.

·tulu* 17, ·duru* 49; ·tsula 75 b.

·kɔlw 61 a, ·kukulu 157; Nkalulu 103; ·kū 228 a.

·tina 11; ·sini 226; ·sien 244; ·siele 117.

·sia 17; ·sa 263.

·saketa 145.

·kalerw (allied to ·kala, 'sit?') 1; ·kalulu 103; ·kaleŋge 161 a; ·galiba 240; ·ala 186; ·kelā 238.

·irarw 87; ·ruaruw 17.

-tulira 4.
 -nerr, -net 234; -tsereta 260.
 -kafu 75.
 -kbalata 150.
 -cuze* 11, -zunze* 156; Nunzi 63; -tüt* 273, -tot* 261; -tulu 17, -duru 49.
 -putu* 41, -puti 42, -fute* 206, -wot 242, -purre* 261; -kutu* 56.
 -tibili 75 a, -bini 75.
 -pi 260, -mbi 254, -biyw 254 [Binyw 2 a 2 g]; -gbik 262.
 -pani 41.
 -nyw*, Binyw 2 a 2 g,¹ -nywkw* 155 b, -nw 167, -nu 210; Nzu 22; -nyulu 204 a.
 -ñbw 148; -bwa, -bōa 220.
 -mlw, -mlōpe 259.
 -nam, -nap 228 229.
 -dip, -rip 227.
 -tiimba 12, Šimba, -cimba 14.
 -tyweba 75 a; Gweb 203.
 -bweca 18.
 Goyw 220.

CANOE²

-atw* 1 2 2 a 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g 3 3 a 4, -arw 5, -atu 5 b, -alw, -arw 5 a, -atw 7 7 a 8 9 9 a 9 c 28,
 -watw 29, -atw, -yatu 35, -atw 37 39 40 41 42 43 43 a 44 44 b, -athw 45, -atw 48 49 50 51, -atu 52 53 54
 55, -atw 60 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62 64, -arw, Tarrw 69, -aru, Tarw 70, -atu 71, -acw 71 f, -atw 77 78 79 80
 87 92 93 94 97 98 99 101 102 103 104 105 106 107, -atu 108, -atw 109 110 111 112 a 114, -varu 117, -at'
 119, -arw, -atw 120 122 123, -atu 124, -atu, -atw 125 127 128 129 130 131 133 134 136 137 139 141 142
 144 146 151 152 153 155 156 157 159 160 161 162 164 166 167 168, -ati 168 a, -ōrw, -aru 175, -atu, -fatw
 176, -atu 177, -aru 178, -atw 181 182, -atu 184, -alu 185, -ali, -ale 186, Warw, -arw 191 192 193, -aci,
 -adz', -aj' 194, -alw 195 198, -ōlw 199, -ali 200, -ā 203, -wlw 204, -ōlw 205, -alu, -aw 206, -ā 207, -arw
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-teo; 230; -regi 267; -girgi, -jirigi 253.

-jūi 234, -ji 237.

-zut, -siet 241.

-pañ 230, -pañ 231.

-tian* 271, -ten 272; -sana* 273; -cene* 71.

-bwti (perhaps the English word 'boat') 210.

-lwkw 24; -pwgw 27.

-luñgu* 94 b 95, -loñgu* 96, -luñgu, -luñgw, -doñgw* 98, -luñgu 100 114, -loñgw* 153, -luñgwe*,
 -eñgw 166; -nduñ*, Gu-nduñ 252.

-boñgw, -buñgu 148 187 189 202; -beñgi, -yeñge 198.

-tañgi 135; -liñga* 145; -lenji, -lenje 186 194, -lende 193 195, -len 218, -lindi 184 190; -landi 220;
 windi 27.

-kondw 59.

-guñgwa* 54 72, -kuñga* 198 199 203 204; -kuñgi 149; -fuñga* 200 217.

-koñkwlw 6; -kwkw* 150, -kuku 149, -hw 156, -hu 259; -kuk* 238, -kpok* 240; -kpuga* 243.

¹ Nyw, 'anus', is a very widespread Bantu root, and is connected with -nya, 'to evacuate', 'to rain', 'to expel a foetus from the uterus', and consequently 'mother', as opposed to -kazi, -kati, 'the woman'.

² These roots are sometimes applied to 'boats'.

- kunu* 21 g, -korω* 73 74, -kωlω* 75 c, -kurω* 180, -korω 257, -kωlω 258, -kulu* 274; -ñgōle, -ñgōla 161 a (Old).
Kuruñgbωgω, Kuruñgba¹ 151 a, b.
 -phula 126; -bil 263; -bu 179, -wū 247; -pupu 260; -pi 262.
 -dōlu 161.
 -lela 140; -yelω 188; -lyω 27.
 -bamvu 4; Mbafe* 266; -pepe* 34; -kepe* 75 a 75 c; -kpwi, -kpee* 227 228, -kpe 229; -gba 228, -gwa 63 64; -gwamba 76; -ωpe 198; -debe, -dēbē* 6 6 a, -zefe 13.
 -swa 175; -tsω 248; -zabω 146.
Mašūa (probably Arabic) 21 21 e 21 f, g, -ateā, -adia, **Mwadia** (probably Arabic) 56 56 b 57 58 58 a 59.
 -kakafu 71 f.
 -galawa* 9 a 9 c 12 15 16 17 (and -gilawa*) 21 21 a 21 b 21 e 54, -kalawa* 56 56 a 61 a (-galawa) -garaba 64 a 65, -ñgalabawa* 66, Galaba* 68, -galawa 69.
 -harati 17.
 -gōma*² 9 c, -kumu* 175, -kom* 230, -kōmi* 232; -wom* 261; -kumbe* 65 a 67, -kombe* 75, -kumbi 75 a, -khumbi 75 b, -kumbi* 76, -cumbi* 132, -tumbwi* 20 21 21 a 21 b-d, -cumbwi 21 e, -tumbwi 21 f, -tumbi 26 33, -humbwi 23 23 a; -rumba, -lumba 151 152; -omba* 14 58 59; **Monbom** 69.

CAT³

- paka*, -baka 2 f, -kapa 4, -yaga 6, -paka 11, -baka 12, -paka 16 17 21 21 a 21 b-d 21 e, **Maka** 21 f, g, -paha 22, -paka 27 29 (and -haka, -maka), -aka 34, -phaxa 36, -paka 41 42 44 b 56 a 57, -bhaka, -phaka 58, -phaka 58 a, -paka 59 61 61 a 61 b 64 a, -paka 65, -baka 66 68, -paka 71, **Phaha** 72, **Phaxa** 73, **Phaxe** 74, -paka 75 75 a 76 105 (-paka, -baka) 106 125 128 131 140 141 (-paa) 155 (-faka, -paka, -paa*).*
 -na-maṅga* 35 37, -maṅga* 52, -maṅge (Une-maṅge) 64, **Maṅgwē** 65 a 67, -maṅga 69, -maṅga 71 f, -maṅge 72, -maka 73 73 a, **Bāngu*** 151 a, -paṅgω* 166, -maṅga* 167, -maṅgoi 79; -aṅgwa* 227 245, -aṅwa* 243 244 246 254 255, -aṅgwan* 274; -jaṅgω* 1, -jaṅgu 2 2 c, -zaṅgu 2 d 2 e, -jaṅgwi 3, -jaṅgwa 4 a, -auṅgu, -zaṅgu* 9, -taṅgω 7 a, -daṅgōne*, jaṅgon 273 273 e, -yaṅgwan* 274, -jaṅgwa 145 148, -jaṅguma* 267-8, -daṅguma* 273 a; -eṅga* 232; -oṅga* 70 228 a 229, -aṅga* 238.
Nboṅgω 151 a.
 -inja 34 a 56 a; -siṅgi* 193 198 199 200 203 204 (-siñ) 209 211 (-siṅkala, -siṅge) 212 (-siñ) 213 214 (-señ) 215 (-siñ) 217 (-siṅga) 218 (-siṅg) 219 (-siṅgi*); -siki* 148; -sehω 273.
 -simba*⁴ 2 f 5 5 a 7, **Tsimba** 70, -fimba 91, -simba 97, -cimfa 98, -cimba* 226.
Dara 151 b.
 -ambara* 227; -gampama* 120, -gambala* 167 168.
 -era 39 a 144; -bele, -bale 256; **Male** 220.
 -cugu 7; -jusi* 6, -zusi* 6 a, -siuzi* 28; **Tlōli*** 73; -dlōzi* 75 a, -cuci 184, -jōci 187, -juci 190.
 -bisi 86.
 -lamu 35, -mlamω 55, -lamu 60 76; **Šalum** 252.

¹ A common Sudanic word is **Kuruñgba**.

² Probably like the related roots, derived from a word meaning 'hollow tree', 'trough', 'drum'.

³ The equivalents for this are only given when they indicate a special name for the domestic cat or for the closely allied forms of wild cat which may be associated in the natives' minds with the domestic cat type; in short, indigenous Bantu words for a feline more or less representing the cat type in its domestic form or its nearly allied wild species. Words obviously of European origin are excluded, as also paraphrases or vague terms meaning 'the animal'. The domestic cat was a stranger to Negro Africa until brought there from India, Portugal, Holland, England. Sometimes it was termed 'the (thing from) the coast', 'the animal'; sometimes named after the closely allied bush cats.

⁴ This word is often applied in East Africa to 'lion' and other larger forms of cat other than the domestic cat.

- kan^ω* 28, -kanu* 56; -ganiu* 175 176, -ganioñ* 178; -samanya 177; -kandem 247.
 -kondok^ω 157 159 160 161 164; -kbondok^ω 161 a.
 -mond^ω 5.
 -a^ω*, -am^ω 2 g, -awu* 3, -aw^ω 3 a, -yayu 4, -yai 4 b, -yayu 8, -aw^ω 9 a, -aw 9 b, -yawa* 9 c, -au 10,
 -ih^ω 11, -nyaw^ω* 14, -nyawi 15, -au 16, -nyau 18, -nyaw 19 19 a, nyau 20 23, -nyaw 23 a 24 25 26,
 Nyau 27, -nyaw 30, -nyau 32, -nyavu* 38, -nyab^ω* 39, Nyavu 40, Nyau 43 43 a, -nyaw 46 48, -nyawu
 49 50, -nyaru 51, -wawi 76, -nyawa* 230, Nyaw^ω* 236.
 -nufuk, -nuhluk 273; -n^ωb^ω 259.
 -turu, -tul^ω 3; -tulwa 24.
 -ruaru 11; -niaru 51; -nyōl^ω 220; -kwadu 56; Madu, Māt'u 75 b.
 -kwōr^ω 7.
 -fuatani 13.
 -kite 17 (see 'dog').
 -ñg^ωbe (Ci-ma-ñg^ωbe) 64 a.
 -y^ωmē (Li-y^ωme) 32, -hy^ωmi 35, -i^ωme 54; -um^ωsa 264.
 -dale 269-72.
 -buyali 35; -buyaw 52 53, -buyari 55, -bwiya^ω 61, -buyaw 62.
 -enye 60.
 -sue 88 91 a,
 Sumbwe 42.
 -buma 177, Buma 175.
 C^ωna 42, Ty^ωna 44, C^ωna 44 b 61 b 62.
 -l^ω, -ñl^ōvi 258; -n^ωbwe 259.
 -mensi 41; Mūs, M^ωs 253.
 -hae 56 b.
 -b^ωd^hla 75 a.

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- kara* 2 2 c 2 d 2 f 3 8, -kala* 9 9 a 9 b 9 c, -kara 11, -kaa 12, -aka 14, -kala 15 16, -kaa 17 19, -kala
 19 a, -kaa 21 to 21 e, -kala 21 f, g 24 25 26 27 28 38, -xala 36, -kala 43 a 45 54 56 56 a 56 b 57 58 61,
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 -kiri*, -kie 230 234, -kē 230; -Il 272; -jol 270.
 -findi 205, -pindi 208; -wein 266.
 -simba* 44 b, -tsimbe 61 a, -simbi 64 a, -simbi* 77 78; -sinzi* 13, -sizi* 79; -šišui 250;
 -tsewe 229.
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 -siñga 237; -jeñk 266; -gek, -dek 273.
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 Mw-ka'ama 151 b.

CHIEF, KING

·kumw^{*} 1, ·fumu^{*} 1 2 2 c 2 e 2 f 2 g, ·pfumu^{*} 3, ·fumw^{*} 3 a, ·fumu^{*} 4 5 a 9 9 a (·fumw) 9 c, ·tunia^{*} 12 16, ·fumwa, ·fumu 15, ·fumwa 18 19 20, Umu 34 a, ·fumu 41 42, ·fumw 43 a 44 44 b, ·fumu 50 51 52 53, ·fumw 55, Fumu 57 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 a 61 b, ·fumw 61 c, Fumu 62 69, ·fumw (·fuma) 71, ·fumw ('wealth') 73, ·fum'ahali (= 'female chief', 'queen') 73, ·foww 80 82, ·bumu^{*} 83, ·fumu 98 99 100 101 to 109 116 117 118 119, ·kumu^{*} 120, ·fum 121 122, ·kumu 123 124 125, ·fumw 126, ·kumu 127, ·pumu^{*} 128, ·pumu^{*}, ·kfumu^{*}, ·kfumi 129, ·pfumu 133, ·kumu 136, ·kimi^{*} 137, ·fumu 140, ·kumu 151 152 153, ·kuma 151 b, ·koww 156, ·kumi 157, ·kumw 159 161, ·kuma^{*} 163, ·kumu 167 168 170, ·fumu 175 176 177 179, ·kumu 181 185 186 (also Pumu^{*}), ·fumu 184, ·kumu 187 189 190, ·pfuma 200, ·vumu^{*} 216, ·kuma 217 218, ·kukuma^{*} 217, ·kum, ·kukume^{*} 219, Kumu 220, ·kum^{*} 232 236 238.
 ·kama^{*} 1 2 a 2 d, ·kamwa^{*} 2 2 c, ·kama 2 e-g 4 a 7 a 146 147, ·ñkama^{*} 268, ·yama^{*} 267; ·maga 148; ·koww 70; ·zamaki, ·bamaki 11; ·ame^{*}, ·ami 3 4 5 5 a 6 6 a 7 9 a 8 77 78 79, ·ā 90; Gwom 252, ·guama^{*}, ·gwamma 254 255; ·lami 193, ·lemi 2; ·temi 27; ·fem 266; Tamanw 220.
 ·kuluñgwa 34; ·loñga (Kaloñga) 44 b, ·roñgw 64.
 Ñkana^{*}, Nana, ·gana 84 95 96 98 134, ·hanya^{*} 9, Ngan- (honorific prefix) 175-6, ·mkani^{*} 75; ·hona^{*} 89; ·foni 209; ·kōni 28.
 ·duna' (probably related to an adjectival root meaning 'old') 72 75 a 76.
 ·falūme 21 21 f, g, ·faūme 21 a 21 b-d, ·falume 21 e; ·sanum 273 b; ·mfan 273 c.
 ·ene^{*} 43 43 a, ·ene, ·wene 45 48 49 (and ·mwene), ·kweni 53, ·kōni 28, ·mwene 54 56 a 56 b, ·ini, ·ni (Jini; vini) 58, ·kweni 62, ·ene 64, Muni 69, ·ene (Mwene) 80 85 86 87 92 98 (·ene, Mani); ·ani 105 109; ·ana, ·ene^{*} 110.
 ·rena 74 b 73; ·reñgan 253.
 ·na (Munã) 9 a, ·nani 193, ·nene, ·neni 161 183, ·nen 228 a 235; ·non 241.
 ·umbe (Zumbe, Jumbe) 19 19 a 20 20 d, Jumbe 21 23 a 32 (and Yumbe), ·yumbe 33 45.
 ·swma 94, ·swba 98 112 a; ·suwale 227 d; ·yamba, ·amba 90 91, Mambw 18 57 59, Bambw 61 63 64 64 a, Mambw 65 65 a 68, Lamba^{*} 68 93; ·lum, 76, ·lombe^{*} 92 170, ·lombi^{*} 164 188, ·numbi^{*} 39 a 144, ·sumba^{*} 41 44 b; ·homba^{*} 92, ·domba^{*}, ·dumba^{*} 184.
 ·temi 2 g 9 c 10 20 25 26, ·teme 25; ·rembwe 61 a.
 ·kañgw, ·kañga 134; ·kuñgu 2 135; ·kaka 100, ·ka 258; Hacu 13; ·kata^{*} 155, ·kate^{*} 81; ·ata^{*} (Mwata) 84 110 (also ·anta^{*}), ·ata^{*} 273; Mw-adi 98 100.
 ·eke 21 g; ·jaka 88; ·kulaka 162; ·paka 162; ·pañgiyi 195; ·aka, ·aya 273, ·ya 83; ·anagwa 8.
 ·foka 155, ·bwaga 183, Wga 186, Mwaga 187 191 192 (Wḡa, Wra) 193 (Wga).
 ·aka, ·aya 273; ·ya 83.
 ·konji, ·kunji 160 164 166 167 (·kondi).
 ·gws^{*} 14 15 18 24, ·kws^{*} 35, ·hws^{*} 64, Hws 66, Hwse 67 69 71 72 f, Khws 72, Kxws 73, ·kxws 74, ·kws, ·kws' 75, ·kwzi, ·kws' 75 a 75 c 76, ·kws^{*} 75 b 80, ·kusi^{*} 259.
 ·kuru^{*} 6, ·kūū 21, ·kwlw^{*} 40 41, ·kulu^{*} 61 75 b 84 92 94 97 98 100, ·kolwe^{*} 105, ·kwlw 136 141 142 162, ·kuru^{*} 178; ·bul' 121, ·pwlw 195 199.

¹ The original meaning of this root seems to have been 'doctor', 'wise man', 'magician'; but it also stands for 'spear' in some languages. The meaning 'doctor' especially applies to it in Nos. 1 to 9 c.

- fuy^o 71.
 .kinyi 92.
 -k^ota 137 141 155 (also -kata) 155 c.
 -goi (Moñgoi) 172; N^gowe 193; -hawa 25; -gawe 186; ^owi, ^oyi, Ei 273.
 Hacu 13.
 -kaleñge, -keleñge 104 107 (-kyeleñge) 109 130 140.
 -k^ok^o 180, -k^og^o 175; -tuku, -cuku 226; -lugu 27.
 -isia, -isiki 7; -se 64 64 a; -sio 271; -ti 217; -ce 191; -hlei 269-72, -di 207, -li 208, -lia 83.
 -tutsi 3.
 -ju 120 161; -tui, -tue 227; -t^ua 35; -t^o 229; -ton, -tun 228; -tinu 100; -t^olu* 194, -t^ol^o* 248;
 -t^ore* 120; -t^ofi 155; -zuri* 14; -vieri, -zere 16; -for, -forde 243.
 -l^ol^o 88 108.
 Dar-kuan 269.
 -hlei 270.
 -lopwe, -l^ohwe 105 106 134 (-l^owe) 39 a 144 (-l^ohwe).
 Mañge, Mañgi 17 18; -wañgi, -wanji 131 132; -ywandu 83; -yañgi 209; -nañga 164; Nagwa
 151 a, -koñga* 144; -kuñgu* 4, -suñgu* 90, -huñgu* 91; -suñgati* 26 a.
 -teñga 54; -reñgan, -reñan 253; -sañgaf 274.
 -sale* 73; -salie* 145; -sami 175.
 -hinda* 2f; -nda 7; -pind^o* 32, -sinda* 59, -cinda* 64 64 a.
 -buye 61 a; -fuy^o 71.
 -b^aā* 14; -ba* 232, Bai* 263, Pai* 187; Paba* 235; Bara* 89; Pira 178, -bira, -bila 225; -bit^o
 2 2 d; Bali* 166, -varr* 239, -vai* 240, -vera*, -fat 242; -bele 141, -bei 152, -b^ole 210; -gbe 237;
 -bewe 56 56 a.
 -bon* 203, -buañ 204, -b^oañ 237, -boñ, -foñ 211 212, -f^o 230 234, -f^o, -fuon* 230, -fon 232, -bon
 244, -boñ* 245; -gbun* 240.
 -bus^o 70; -b^ocu 194.
 bwana 62 (probably the Swahili-Arab 'Bwana', 'master').
 -lundu 61 a.
 -nyor^o 2.
 -tware 3, -twale 39; -t^owa^o 21f; -twa 27, -t^ua 28, -twa 35 37 38 51.
 -deva 9 a, -dewa 23, -dema, -dewa 23 a, -dewa 24, -deva 38.

CHILD. (This word often connotes 'SON')

-ana* (usually Mwana, a combination of prefix and root which in the Western Bantu field and amongst
 the Semi-Bantu often becomes M^ona), -ana 1 2 2 a 2b 2c 2 d 2 e to 16, -ana, -^ona* 17, -ana 18 to 22 23
 to 26 27 to 32 (also -fwana 31 a) 34 35 36 37 38 39 39 a 40 42 43 43 a 44 44 b 45 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55
 56 56 a (and Mwala- as a prefix) 56 b 57 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62 64 (-ñwana, -ana) 64 a 65 a 66
 (-anana*) 69 (-anana) 70, -ana 71 71 f 72 73 73 a 74 75 (-sana*, dimin. from an older Kana) 77 78 79 80
 83 84 87 88 91 91 a (-^ona, -ana) 92 97 (-^ona, -ana) 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 a
 (-^ona, -ana) 116 117 118 119 120 121 123 124 125 128 129 135 139 141 142 143 144 148 152 155 156 158
 159 160 161 164 166 167 (N^gana*) 168 175 176 178 181 182 184 185 186 187 189 191 192 193 194 195 198
 199 200 203 204 a 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 (-ana, -ani) 217 220 228 (-an) 229 (Wu-an)
 230 (-ana, -an) 235 237 236 (-an^oa) 238 (^owon*) 239 (Wan*) 244 (Gwen*, Kw-ana*), -ane* 248 249,
 -ane* 263; -na*, -^ona* 81 86 88 89 (-na) 90 (-n^ona*) 91 92 (-^ona) 94 (-^ola*) 98 (-^ona, -ana) 110 (-^ona,
 -na, -ana) 114 (-on', -an') 122 (-^ona) 130 (-^ona, -ana) 131 132 (-^ona) 133 134 136 (^o-^ona*; ba-^ona)
 137 157 162 187 193 (-^o*) , -^ona* 194 199 204 (-na, -^oñ, -^oñ, -^oñ) 217 (Man; boñ) 218 219 (-n, -^ona,
 -^on^o) 226 (-^ola, -^ona, -^olai, -^oni) 227 (-on, -^oni, -^ona) 228 230 234 235, -^owon* 238 253 (Mun), -yen
 245, -eñ 246, Gwen 244 a; Gwagwani* 240; N^gwañwa* 242; -ñinya 10; -siani* 5 a; -ina* 121 165
 225; -na 9 a, -nana* 81, -nanana* 69, -nane 139; -nam 257; -fana* 67 (probably from -f^o-ana, 'a

little mortal'), **-gan*** 75 b, **-gane*** 75 c; **-vena*** 89; **-ntwana*** (Mu-ntu-ana = little person) 9 b 75 75 a 75 b 75 c 76 (75 b also has **-tfwana***); **-anake** (= 'child-little') 14 24, **-anyace*** 34, **-anike*** 41, **-alaike** 39 a, **-anike** 51, **-anike** 77, **-anice** 78, **-anuke** 83 85, **-anuñke** 87 a, **-anike** 86 105, **-manihe** 94 b, **-anuke** 105, **-wanañki*** 187; **Miniki*** 151 a.

Moñgɔ 217; **Mañga** 223; **Muñke** 230, **Mañku** 231; **-yanda*** 9 a, **-anda*** 61 a, **-anza*** 101, **-ansɔ*** 78; **-hiant*** 261.

-eti 6; **-keli** 23 a; **-ice** 44 b; **-keke*** 1, **-keremeki** 2 g, **-kexe** 6, **-cece*** 6 a, **-keke** 9 b, **-ci** 12, **-teke** 19 a 20, **-keke** 46 51, **-cece** 62 64 77, **-keke** 82, **-nyike** 84, **-keke** 85, **-ace** 89, **-ke**, **-ike** 145, **-eki** 146, **-ki** 150 151, **-i** 152, **-isi** 153, **-mi*** 154, **-keke*** 221, **-exi*** 230, **-sie** 231, **-kekele***, **-ke** 230; **-kebe*** 19, **-gebe*** 189; **Wege** 242 b; **Kwe-** 244; **-gi-riki** 248.

-leke, **-leki** 100; **-regɔ** 11, **-siki** 19.

-kɔku 17, **-kukɔ** 85.

-lemba* (Ki-lemba) 55; **-kemba*** 84 114, **-kembe** 92, **-sembe** 94; **-keremeki** 2 g, **-kerembe** 149; **-embe***, **De-embe** 195.

-kenyeñge 183; **-eñge** 204, **-keñge** 205, **-keñgele** 206, **-deñge** 98 a, **-leñge** 170 183 223 224; **-yeñgbɔ** 151 b; **-kalañga** 110; **-duñ** 250.

-henza, **-enza** 38; **-hiant** 261, **Ciantɔ**, **-hant** 262.

-tendi 104; **-tere** 225; **-ledi** 126; **-lent** 264.

-rumbe 193, **-numbe** 267.

Nunu 34; **-nyu**, **-nyie** 273 b 273; **-nɔju** 162; **-nuvɔ**, **-nivɔ** 259 260.

-ne 252.

-yi 259; **-yawɛ**, **-yau** 255; **-lau** (Alau) 32; **-sapɔ** (probably from **-kapɔ**) 75.

-tabari 2 g; **-ttaf**, **-tab** 274.

-ba, **-bar** 250; **-baa** 254; **-bayɔ** 127; **-bi*** 258; **-bia*** 178, **-bua*** 230; **-pwerere** (probably from an earlier **-pwa**) 68, **-pgere** 65.

-rori 241.

-bɔkɔɔ 223, **-bɔgɔ**, **-buk** 269-72.

-tɔ* 4, **-hɔhɔ*** (**-tɔtɔ**) 16, **-mdɔni** 18, **-dɔdɔ*** 20, **-tɔtɔ*** 21 21 a 21 f, **-dɔdɔ*** 23 24 23 c-g 25, **-dudia** 26.

-hɔ, **-ɔ** 255; **-bisɔ** 258.

-butu* 17; **-ntw-** (**-ntwana**) 75; **-pututu*** 83; **-kutu*** 206; **-utu*** 204.

-fet, **-het** 263 264; **-kata** (**-mukata**) 87.

-gurru 240.

-usi, **-nusi** 94; **-asini** 222; **-azi** 118.

-halɔ 2 a.

-zale* 78, **-sali*** 186; **-hale*** 23, **-ali*** 24 27.

-tsā 22; **-saza** 62.

-jañ 269.

Māma 3.

-amɔ 236; **-nam**, **-namu** 257.

-hima 56 a, **-ima** 57.

-ziūha 31 a; **-diɔgɔ** 34.

-hwile 80; **-hwe** 252.

-undila 23 b.

-dzezerɔ 25, **-zererɔ** 28; **-pwerɛ** 64 a, **-bhyere** 64.

-fou 266.

CLOTH (COVERING, GARMENT, BLANKET, and sometimes SKIN-CLOTHING and BARK-CLOTH)¹

-gubw* 5 a 6 6 a, -gobw 7, -gibw* 7 a 8, -gutw* 9 c, -guw 11, -gua 12, -guw, -guww 13 14 15 16; -guww 17 18 19 a, -guw 21 to 21 f (but 21 e has -guvw), -guww 23, -guw 23 a, -guw 28, -gubw* 32, -guw 33, -guww, -guwu 35, -goww 37, -guvw 39 a, -guww 44 b 52, -guw 54, -guww 55, -guw 56, -kuw 56 a 56 b, Guw 57, -guw 58 58 a 59 (and -kuw), Guvw 64 a, Guw 65, -guw (Uñguw) 68, -ñguw 69, -guvu 71 f, Kwvw* 73 a, -kubō 74, -gubw 75 75 a 75 b 75 c, -guww 77, -gubw* 78 79 80,² -guu, -guyu 89, -guw, -guww 90, -guw 91 92, -gubu 98, -guw 136 143 144, -kw 186 a, -gōi 184 187 190 191 192 193 195, -gw 194, -kuw* 255; -kumbw* 254; -jōwi, -jōa, -jebi 269 273; -goye* 2 2 c, -goyi* 2 a, -gōye 4, -goi 184 187 190 191 192 195, -godye*, -gedye* 186, -goyu* 194; -boi 238.

Dōba*, -deba 243; -luba* 78, -lua* 226; Lugod, Lugut* 253, -rugu*, Rugum* 252; Ru-buku* ('bark-cloth') 2 b, -vugw* 2 a, -bugw* 2 g 4, -bugu* 9 c 146 148.

-kōba* 214, -kaba 159; -kapulana 71.

-kwa ('bark-cloth') 77; -ñwa 228; -kw 175 176 178.

-kondu 248, -hondw 130 131; -konde 192; -kandwge 225; -kanda* 194, -kan 220, -gan 228; Nanza* 62; -janda* 189; -senda* 168; -enda* 1 2 d 2 e 2 f, -endw 2 g, -enda 3 3 a 9 9 a 9 c 24 25 26 27 29 39 40 41 43 a 45 48 49 50 51 69 70 72; -pande 231.

-tunda 273 c; -lundw 38, -rundu 42, -rōtw 71; -ruta 148; -lotw 263-4; -puta 166; -kuta* 261; Tcūd* 274; -kutu* 101; -kidi* 266; -kōta* 263; -kata* 270 272.

-borw 248, -woru 234, -ori 200, -bōti 199, -bōti, -bod' 202-4, -pōte 260; -bōw 178; -ōmene 216, -wō-men 217, -fō 227, bō 228.

-kōzi 2 c.

-dōzw 66; -zōzw 256.

Turuk, Torup, Turup 151 a.

Swaari, Sōori* 17, Sōori, -sori 18; Sāā 10; -salwa 38; -sarw* 45, -sarū* 43 a -salu 41 42 43 44 44 b 62, -sarū 61 a, -carū 61, -sarū 61 b 61 c; -setw 17; -sa 259; -alw* 145.

-seketa 45.

-bari* 100, -batw, -bat' 202-4, -bati* 210, -baie 191 203, -biete* 255, -batu* 211 212 214, -watu* 204 205 206 207; -bala* 124 125; -apalw* 74 b; -balafat* 271; -pele* 237; -pe 123; -era* 43 a; -kw-bela* 83; -pida* 56.

-tōbw* 167 a, -tuhū* 131; -tau 160, -tō 162 218; -tōp* 219; -tabbi 3; -tama 11.

-taku* 135; -ta* 244; Matax* 253.

-salwa 38; -sāā 10.

-lamba* 104 107 164 166 167, -ramba* 151, -damba* 186, -namba* 193 195 198 199, -lambw* 128 143 155 156; -ambi* 85.

-nyōbe 75; -gombe 149 151 153, -kombe 186; -pombw 142; -gomsa 219.

-papi 209; -pekow 130 132 135; -wepw 129.

-kuñka 90, -kunha 91; -vuñga 109 110; -joñgw 145, -boñgw 146 149 150; -foñ 237 j.

-añga* 5 5 a; -anza* 62; -tañga* 94 b 97, -hañga* 91, -nañga* 94 86; -tsañk*, -trañk 263; -zañga* 109; -diñga 124; -señja* 161.

-tanda* 1 2 2 c; -tende* 103; -den 234; -pande 28; Bente 253, -biete 255, -nte 248.

-sanji 105; -ji 230; -di 257; -zi 217; -sia* 125; -hya* 35, Hia* 67, Hiya* 75 b; -sō (Kisō) 245.

-hina 84 88, -ina 85 110 112 a; Guni* 19 19 a, -gōna* 26, -gune* 256.

-pfim 232.

-dele, -ndele, -lele* 98 a 100 101 118 122 124 127 177 200, -de 229; -di 257; -lulu 104 105 106.

-puši 116 118 (-pušu) 119; -piu 120, -pwi 121.

-gaire* 6; -kidi* 266, -gir* 267, Jira* 64 64 a (and Gira), -cira 65 a, Hia 67, Jira 68, -kila* 69,

¹ There is usually a distinct word-root for 'bark-cloth' which seldom corresponds with the root used for 'cotton clothing' or 'blanket' or 'dressed skin'.

² In this language (Subia) Iñgubw means 'skin-cover', and the word for 'cotton cloth' is Isila.

Sila 72; -çiya* 75, -hiya* 75 b, -hya 35; -ura* 35, -yula, -ula* 62, -guza* 63, -ura* (Nyura) 76; -pula* 71, -bula* 258, -ful*, -hul* 273.

-kxai 74; -ke 24.

-omene 216.

Suke 15, Suke 19, Suke 20; Luke 24; -fuka 60.

Zegie 151 b.

COLD (often synonymous with 'WIND', 'AIR', 'DRY SEASON')

-behw* 1 2 2c 2d 2e 2f 3 3 b, -peww* 4, -behw 8, -pepw* 21, Behw 23 23 a 24 25, -ehw (-mehw) 29 34, -pepw*, -bepw 35, -pekww, -pehw 39 39 a, -behw 40, -pepw 41 42 43 a 44 44 b 51, -bepw 54 55, -piw* 56 a, -pepw 61 62, -mepw 64 64 a, Pibw* 69, -behw, Pehw 70, -fefw*, Phephw 72, Phefw 73, -pepw* 75, -peyw 77 78 79, -pepa, -pipw* 81, -bebw 83, -bepera* 89, -piw 118, -pie, -piw 120 125, -fiw 127, -piw 129 130, -pehw 131 135, -pew, -piw 136, -phiw 137, -pew 140 141, -pekww 144, -piw, -pew 151, -pewa 151 b, -fiw 155, -piw 156, -fiw 157, -piw 160 161 (and -pehw) 162 164, -peu 165, -piw 166 167 168, -pie 168 a, -piw 175 178 179 180, -pew 185, -yebye, -vebi* 186, -piu 189, -feu 191, -fwi 193, -vevu* 195, -weu 199, -yiw, -yohw 200, -fhe 202, -heb 203, -wew 206, -veb*, -fue 227, -vie 218, -fue 230, -beb* 237, -fe 264; -fw 232, -piawe* 243, -hu* 248; -fwal 253; -fum, -fuomw 230, -womw 194, -wofw 258.

-riria* 56, -ria*, -riha 73; Gir 267.

-şak, Jajax 266; -talala 36; -celele 44 b; Zizira 61 a, Zizila 61; -gawwala 75.

-gala* 27, -kala*, -ala 38; -tara* 89, -talala 90 92, -kakala* 94, -talala* 97 98, -telele, -talala* 104 105 106 110; -yululu 206.

-dohwore 248; -tutu 63, -ruru 73 a, -rurun 250; -rw 255, -lw 259; -yō 257; -lwlwkw 204.

Nali, Naraka 208; -tanan 235; -sanu 61 a.

-zuere 193; -enene 258; -amini 181, -emina 228.

-kute 51; -kudu* 56 b; Yut* 241.

-fwal*, Pwan 253; -powlw*, -bōla* 83, -hōla* 99, -fula* 176, Fulog* 237; -kwōl* 182, -kalw 141, -wle 184, -hōdi 153, -wōli* 200; -wci 184; -kute 51; -zōdi 187, -titi* 4, -didi* 74 177, -cici* 131 132; -dzili* 178, -wji, -jiji*, -wsi, -wze, -wse 100 101 102 103; -dyi 274; -sini, -sile, -silhe 226; -si 244, -şū, -sw 190, -jw 218, -ju 232; -jōwi, -jebi 273; -hōbi 254.

-wba 24.

Sisimw 27; -ima 32.

-tuema 86.

-rame* 69, -rami* 71 71 f 74, -leme* 186, -lem* 256; -sime 205; -ima 32; -sama 41; Sumal 252.

-rombi 1, -rumbi 147; -bambi 94 98; -buñge 166.

-kaza*, -kazi* 75 a 75 c, -kati* 75 b; -gañji 143, -gazi* 142; -ñkesa 133; -keta* 193.

-any' (Bwany') 124.

-señgi 83.

-keyi 191 192, -ke 236.

Ñgw 204; Ñgwi 205, -gw, -hw 211 212 213 214 215.

-kon 229; -kena 227.

-kwansi 234.

-jimsur 251.

Iwa 209; Liqwa 76.

-iaga* 2 g, Bfega* 23 a, -riha*, -rexa* 73 a; -sika* 75, -şika 84, -sika 85 a 86, -bika 85 86, -cika* 88 104 105 106 108 109 110, -şika 112 a, -cika 128 129 139 143; -cōka 226; -şak 266; -log* 237;

-duku* 194, -dyuk* 227.

-patu 151 a.

Yut. Yurr 253.

-banda 75; Candw 64.

-hundi* 28; -tontw* 44 44 b, -tontwle* 62; -tutu* 63, -tonta*, -tont* 273; Noñk 273; -trañk, -tsañk 263.

COUNTRY (sometimes equivalent to 'EARTH', 'GROUND')

·si* 2 2c 2d 2e 2g, 3 3b 4, ·bi 12, Dži 13, ·ci 14, Tsi 16, ·si 19 19a, ·si 20, ·ci 21, ·ti* 21a 21b-d 21e, ·ti, ·di* 21 f-g, ·si 22 23 23a 24 25 26, ·hi* (Inhi) 29 (-iñhyi) 36 (Inyhi), ·ñi (-ki*) 38, ·zi 40, ·si 43a 48 49 50 54; ·fa-tshe, ·ha-tshe, ·ce, ·tse 73 74, ·ziw* 57, ·zue* 67, ·zwe* 75 75a, ·ve (Live*) 75 b, ·zwe* 75 c 76, ·si* 77, ·si 78, ·si 79, ·se 81, ·hi, ·ye, ·ti 89, ·si, ·se 98, ·si, ·si, ·ti 100 101 102 103, ·isi 112 a, ·se 120, ·se, ·ki* 141, ·zi* 150, ·ji* 153, ·se 155, ·ki 156, ·se, ·si 162 164 166, ·ce, ·ci, ·he 167, ·se 168, ·sie, ·ci, ·tsie 175, ·si 177, ·tye 193, ·he, ·hiki 195, ·si*, ·njiki 186, ·nji 194, ·si 217, ·ci* 226, ·ah'i 230, ·sie* 229, ·se* 228, ·se, ·si* 259 260; ·tsindi 200; ·tina 151; ·ri (Muri) 144; ·nyi 27.

·sena 11.

Porori, Fururi 11.

·su* 51, ·vu 63, ·zue* 67, ·zwe 75 to 76, ·ve* 75 b; ·fuci, ·futi 84 85, ·fute, ·huti 86 88, ·veze 89, ·kuti 89 90.

·tere 15.

·suk*, ·dyögi* 273, ·sokw 104; ·ziw* 57, ·ikw* (Idzikw; ·maikw) 58, Tigu* 58 a, Dzikw, ·ikw 59, ·ikw 61 61a 61 b 61 c 70 71 71 f, ·ika* 63, ·iga, ·ika 64 64 a (Nyika*) 65 65 a 66 68, Tikw* 69.

·hatshe 74; ·heke 92, ·feka 94, ·seke 135; ·señge* 139 144, ·ceñge* 188 254, ·tseñge* 190, ·keñge* 155; ·kañga 136; ·pañga 42 43 43 a; ·sañga* 14 15 17 18, ·sañgw 72; ·kuñgu* 146 148; ·goñgw* 7, ·koñgw* 11, ·loñgw* 93 184, ·moñgw 187, ·roñgw* 92, ·roñga*, ·tuñga 83 87, ·ruñga* 24, ·luñga* 38, ·tuña* 110, ·dionga* 82, ·loñga* 193; ·lañga* 69; ·doñ*, ·loñ 203 211 212 213 214, ·yoñ* 218 219, Toñge 255; ·noñwami 257.

Jimbo 21; ·yambw 21; ·lambw 32 34; ·sambw 43 a.

·kombw, ·kumbu 202 204 205 209, ·kom 207, ·kwomw or ·komwa 131 139, ·kwami 210, ·kumi, ·wimbe 206; ·kōni 201; ·kin 273, ·tomba* 198 199; ·tof 263; ·gemba 157; ·tem* 230; ·nam* 217; ·tambw* 28, ·rambw* 54, ·lābw* 56, ·lapw* 56 b.

·fam, ·pam 227 228.

·drunda, ·runda 58, ·nonda 86, ·tanda 104, ·kanda 80 141, ·ganda 110, ·gandu, ·ñgondw 161, ·banda 149; Bata-ndik 151 a; ·bata 107; ·para 146; ·bala*, ·wala* 5 a 7, ·bara* 7 a, ·bala 94 b, ·balw* 39, ·barw* 144; ·wala 142; ·ñal* 274; ·zal* 253; ·frō 238; ·kara* 148; ·kā 200; ·kaya 34 a.

·alw* 2 a 2 f 4 5 5 a, ·arw (or ·alw*) 6, ·arw* 6 a 8, ·alw 9 9 a 9 c 16 41 42, ·alu 44, ·alw 44 b, ·arw 45, ·aru 52 53, ·alu* 62.

·elu* 134, ·du 150; ·alw, ·balw* 143, ·arw* 145 148.

·wani 56 a.

·rowa* 6, ·rowa* 7, ·laww* 104, ·wba* 226.

·ruka 17; ·hukw*, ·hugw* 3.

·pok* 261; ·bowka*, ·buka* 159 160 164, ·bowkw* 107, ·bog 203; ·sokw* 104.

·kita 141.

·pañga 42 43 43 a, ·penje 186.

·taka 1 3 60, Naha 73 74 b, ·taka 147; ·tek 227.

·kulu 164, ·kul 220.

·anza 134.

·wunta 243.

·lima 28, Nima 32 35, ·dema 37, ·dima 55.

·fuma 69.

·riū 39 a,

Cap 252; ·kepi 260.

Duda 151 b.

COW (also CATTLE in general)

-gombe* 2 d (ancient term) 3, -ñombe* 4, -ombe, -ñombe* 5 5 a 7 (and -kombe*), -ombe 7 a 9 9 a 9 b 9 c 11 12, -gombe* 13, -ombe 14 15 16, -mbe*, -ube*, -umbe, -ombe, -gumbe 17, -umbe, -ñombe 18, -ombe 19 a 20 (Ñombe) 20 d 21 21 a 21 b-d 21 e 22 23 23 a 24 25 26 (and -gombe), -ombe, -gombe 28, -ombe 29 30 31 31 a 34 35 37 39 a, -ōme 40, -gombe 41, -ombe 42 (also -kombe), -ombè 43 43 a 44 44 b 45 46 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55, -ōpe*, -ñōpe* 56 56 a, -ombe 56 b 57 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62 64, -gombe 64 a, -umbe 64 a, ombe 65, Gombe 66 68 70 (Ñombe*), -ve* (Li-vē) 73 a, -nombe* (Hl.) 75, -ñombe* 75 b, -ombe* 77 78, -gombe 79, -ombe 80, -gombe, -kombe 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90, -gōbe 91, -gombe 92 94 95, -ombe 96, -gombe 97 98 100 101 102, -ombe 103, -gombe or -gombi 104, -ombe 105 106, -gombe or -ombè 109 110 111 (or -ompa*), -gombe 112 a 114, -guom* 120, Numbi* 125, -gombe 130 134 139 144 159, Niom 151 a; -gombw* 166; -gome* 175, -gombe 177, -gomi* 178 (or -gomi); -goñgwe* 188; -gɔlombe* 51; -gɔ 2 e.

-huma* 6, -ōma* 12, Goma* 15 19, -ōme* 40, -kɔmɔ* 67, Hɔmɔ* 69, Hɔmu* 70 71, Hɔmɔ 71 f, Kxɔmɔ* 73 74, -kumɔ 74 b, -kōmɔ, -kɔmɔ* 75 75 a 75 b 75 c 76, Guom* 120, -kɔmɔ*, -gɔmɔ* 226, -juɔmɔ*, -jɔme* 194; -gōpɔ*, -kɔpɔ* 226; -kuma* 149; -gome* 175, -jōma* 187, -jōmɔ 220, -jom 237, -fom 238, -om 239 240, -fom 241, -bām 242, -bom 243, -wum 244, -ām 246, -gume* 259.

-simbe* 266; -remba* 2 g; -tamba 21; -embe* 204; -mbi* 200 (these words mean 'horned cattle' in general); -be 273.

-soñga* 6 (in Gala, Sañga = 'ox'); -poñ, -fō, -hoñ, -foñ* 227 230 (also Fuōn*) 234 236, -boñ 232, -poñ 229, -foñ* 228, -fañ 230, -bañ 120.

-buguma*¹ (really a breeding beast, but often applied to 'cow' as well as to domestic animals of other types),² -buguma 2 c, -bɔgɔma* 9 c, -ōma 12, Goma* 16 19, -buguma 19 20 20 d 23 23 a 24 25 27 29, -buyuma* 38; Vugina 193.

-bɔkɔ 159, -ɔkɔ 226, -haukɔ (probably intended for -hokɔ) 226.

-busi 184; -biri 8.

Mori 51, Mɔli 19 20; -tɔli 35.

-gɔ*,³ -kɔ* 21 (breeding animal); -ñkoru* 35, -gɔl'ombe* 51, -korɔ* 55, -kɔlɔ* 54, Khulu* 72, Kɔlɔmɔ* 72; Hɔlɔwati* 33 a.

Kxañwa 73.

-mɔu 64.

Hɔbɔ* 69; -ka* 3 3 b, -ga (Ŋga) 39 (see 'ox'); -gabe, gɔbe, -gabɔ* 2 d, -gabe* 3 65 a; -kafu*, -xafu 6 6 a; Kuhe 6; -zavel, -zūvel, -zvel 274.

-aka* (Nyaka) 198 199, -aga* 200 202, -aya 203, -aka 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215, -aga* 217 239; -na'a 254; Tagɔ* 14, -taɔɔ* 254, -tañ* (Etañ) 231, -dak', -dah'* 251, -dag, Ndak* 253, -taɔɔ 254; -tañga* 78.

-tam* 249; -am* 244 a 246; -dama* (heifer) 36 43 a 50 51.

-jali* ('buffalo') 90 91, -cati 125, -zari 149, -kale* 150, -kali 153, -zali* 158 159 160, -jale 161, -kal'a* 175, -aj 185, -ate* 186 189 191, -are 192, -cati* 125, -ari 193, -ati 195, -ar 218, -jie 237, -ia 230, -are* 235, -ara* 267, -iet, -yit, -it 269-72; -iya 160, -ia 230.

-de* 1, -te (Ente*) 2 2 a 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g 4, -ti 6 a, -nti* (bull) 86, -ri* 5 b 7, -te* 145 146 147 148 150; -tui 151; -ki* 150; -tiñera 230; Tere 69.

-jindi, -jeñde, -gindi* 94, -dyindi, -gyindi 86.

-duasi 5 b, -dɔgɔsa 9 c.

-liɔti 83.

-yimara (see 'bull') 3.

¹ ? derived from -guma, -komɔ, with bu- prefixed?

² Gala words are Saa and Sañga.

³ Kɔlɔ is an equivalent in the northern forms of Swahili.

·pi (Api) 229 e ; ·be 271-273 b ; ·biri 8.

Soŋga 6 ; Seŋga 23 b 27 30 (Iseŋga) 31 36 38 48.¹

·sɔ 3¹ ; Dzwōna 220 b.

·badwa 225 ; Bwa 248.

Yana 247 ; ·na'a 254, ·nā 255 256 261 262 263 268 ; ·nañ 245 ; ·nara 267 ; Nyi 252 ; ·nañtwi 257, ·nantsue 258, ·nencōe 260.

CROCODILE²

·hondūe* 1 ; ·ñandu* 39 a 44 b, ·gandu* 83 84 85 87 88, ·gandw 86, ·ganzu 88, ·gandu 89 92 94, ·kandw 95, Nandw 96, ·gandu 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 108 109, ·ganju 110 111, ·gandu 112 a 114, Gwan, ·gandw, ·ganw 120 122, ·kwente*, ·kweti 123, ·konde* 124 125, ·gandu 127 128, ·konde 129 130 131 132 133, ·gandu 137 139 140 142 144, ·gonde* 146 151 155, Nḡwandi* 151 a, ·gandu 159, ·gonde 151 b 160 161 162 166, ·konde 167, ·ganu* 175 176, ·gani 179, ·gana 180, ·gandw 181 182, ·gandu 184, ·gandi 185, ·ganji, ·gande 186, ·gandu, ·gandw 189 191 192 193, ·ganji 194, ·gandw 195 196 199 200 201 202 203 204 (also ·aṅgadu) 205 206 207 208 209, ·gande 207, ·gandu 211 213, Nḡan 214 217 218 219, ·gandu 220 h, ·gandi 221, ·gandu 222 223 224, ·kandi* 225 230.

·gan, ·gai 230 236 237 232, Gan* 253 ; ·ṅaṅgi* 11, ·nyaṅgi 12, ·ṅaṅga* 14, nyane, ·nyañ 15, ·nyañu, ·nyañi, ·nyañ, ·nyañ 17, ·nyaña 18, ·gaṅge* 210 ; ·yoñ 234 ; ·uñ 244 ; Nya-und 274.

·gwna* 3 a, ·gwnya* 4, ·gwena* 5 5 a, ·gwina 5 b, ·gwnya* 6, ·gwna, ·oīna* 7 7 a, ·wena* 8 9, ·gwina* 9 a 9 c, ·guena 13, ·kuena* 16, ·gwena* 21 21 b-d 21 e, ·gwnya 21 f-g, ·wena, ·ena 23, ·gwena, ·kwena 28 32, ·wena 34, ·gwina 35 37, ·wena 39, ·gwenūa 39 a, ·wena 40, ·hwena 41, ·wena 42, ·gwena 43 43 a, ·wena 44, ·gwena 45, ·wina 50, ·gwina 51, ·wina 52, ·ñwona 53, ·gwena, ·gwnya 54, ·wina 55, ·gwnya 56, ·wnya, ·kwnya 56 a, ·wnya 56 b, ·wona 58 58 a 59, Nḡnantondw 60, ·wona (Nḡna) 61 61 a 61 b 61 c, ·wena 62, ·gwena 63 64 a 65 65 a 66 68, ·gwenya, ·gwna 69 70, ·gwenya 71 f 72, ·kwena 73 74, ·gwenya* 75 to 75 c 76, ·gwena, ·wena 77 78 80 134 135 136 141 (Gbwna*), ·gwenwa 144, ·nywongim 2 a ; ·jeni 148, ·zene 153, ·gwnw* 168, Nḡwone* 175, ·gwene* 176, ·gōne 177, ·wene 178 ; ·on, ·ō, ·om 273-273 b.

·kamba* 100 104 c ; ·mamba* 2 e 14 16 19 19 a 20 21 21 a 25 26 27 (and ·pamba) 28 33 a, M'amba 61, ·gambiṅga 64, ·bamba, ·mamba* 167, ·gwampa* 224 ; ·mbumba 126 ; ·ombe, ·mbe 204 238, ·rembe 34 ; ·kombat' 202, ·gomb' 203, ·kombe 211 212, ·om, ·ō 273 ; ·kap, ·jab, nyep, ·yip* 227 230 ; Jep, Dyep* 241 242.

·babe* 216, ·bap* 235, ·ab 228 ; ·wawa* 162 ; ·ba* 255 ; ·gbanep* 228, ṅgbalep* 238 ; ·ban 220.

·sambia 2, ·sambia 2 c 2 d, ·sambi 2 f, ·sambi 2 g ; ·gambiṅga 64.

·dwsanja 206.

·gwmombw 64 a 65 67.

·ñke 258 ; ·deñke 257, ·leñke 258 ; ·deke* 259, ·le 259 ; ·diki* 152, ·teke 263, ·tek 266, ·jasiyi 267, ·teke, ·tek, ·tiak 269-72 ; ·feke 266.

·weidi 110, ·weli 105 a ; Gwet 220.

·futw 263 ; ·vu 254, ·vō 255.

·laṅga 151 157.

·diwka (? allied to ·wka, 'snake') 1.

·kaku 56 b ; ·gāgwe, ·gaywe* 64 ; ·kōkō 57 59 90 91, ·gugbwie* 7 ; ·kōkō-e-dua* 161 (old) ; ·kōsw 251 ; ·kwi* 162 164 166 167, ·kwli* 159, ·kōli-kōli* 161 a, ·kōla* 150 ; ·kuri* 229, ·kur* 250, ·kwi 263 ; ·kiū 261 ; ·kū 247 b.

·tale, ·tali ('the long') 77 79.

·sōñw 178 ; Gu-tsañ 252.

·tagaram 243, ·taran 240.

¹ Gala words are Saa and Saṅga.

² A distinction is made on the Upper Congo between the dangerous crocodile (*Crocodilus niloticus*)—usually termed ·kōli or ·kōkō—and the fish-eating *C. cataphractus* (·ṅgōnde).

- * -py^ω* 2, -pey^ω* 145, -pi^ω* 147.
 -tema, -fatema 268.
 -ωn, -ō, -om* 273-273 b; -uoñ* 244 a, -uñ, -yuñ* 244 246; -dunyi 266; **Fiom**, **Fi-um*** 245; **Bωmω*** 19 a.
 -bulu 21, -buru 23 a; -futω 263.
 -dω;ōlω 48, -dωworω 49.

DAY, DAYLIGHT¹

[**-siku***—the most widespread root for ‘day’—very often means ‘night’, and also the day and night of twenty-four hours. It is generally a reference to time rather than to ‘light’ or ‘darkness’, but not always.]

(-sok 263), -fuku* 6, -tixinyi* 6, -tixini* 6 a, -tukω* 7, -siku* 7 a 8 9 9 a 9 c, -tiku* 10, -tuku 11 12, -iku* 13 (also -sikahi*), -tuku 14, **Tsiku*** 16, **Suku*** 17, **Siku** 19 19 a 20 21 21 a 21 b-d 21 e, **Sikω** 21 f-g 23 23 a 26, -haku 22, -siku 28 29 36, -sū 39 39 a, -sigi* 40, -siku 41, -siku 42, -siku 44 44 b 48 51 52, -hiū* 56, -huku* 56 a, -hiū 56 b, **Siku** 57, **Tsiku**, **Siku** 58 59 60, -siku 61 61 a, **Tsiku** 61 b, **Siku** 61 c 62, **Sikω** 65 69 (and **Tsigū**), -siku 70, 71 71 f, -suku, -tsukω 75, -suku 75 a 75 b 75 c, -siku 76, -siku 77 78, -huka* 89, -suiku* 90, -fiku* 91, -nyuku 92 b, -tuku, -fuku* 104 105 106 108 109, -cikω* 110, -fuku* 118, -suku 122, -tukω 127, -fuku 128, -cu* 131 132, -tuku 133, -su* 134, -cu 135, -cω 136, -tuvu* 137, -tew* 139, -fuku 142 143, -su 144, -iti* (for -iki) 151, -tuku 153, -cω 155, -siω* 156, -su 161, -siω 168 (also -tiω*), **Tsu**, **Tsugu*** 175, -suu* 176, -tiū 177, -tsu 178, **Aṣu*** 186, **Cufu**, **Ṣufu*** 184, -cugu 189 190, -tyugu* 193, -hoku 226, **Higu*** 240, **Tug** 252, -sok 263, **Gok** 266; -atsag 235; -cu 194, -hū 199, -hui 195, -fu 200, -su, -sui 204, -su 205 206, -ti 213, -i* 214, -te* 215, -u*, **Mu** 218, -hō, **Mōhō*** 220; **Duω*** 168 a; -fu, -fω* 227, -si, -tsu, -cu 230, -tu, **Sui**, -tω 232, -ṣω 229, -ti 243, -su 250 251, -hu 254, -hōhō 255.

-fω, -pω 228; -pωṣ 235; -ωfi 207; **Mfin**, -fen 227 228; -firi 17 18.

-tu, -utu,² -butu 123 124 125 141 148 159 159 a 160; **Mot** 236.

-rω (**Kirω***, -irω) 1 2 2 a 2 c 2 d, -lω* 2 e 2 g 3 b, **Jω** 4, -rω 4 a, -lalω, -dalω* 5, -dalω 5 a, -ilω*, -irω 25, -irω 27, -lω 77, -lu 121, -lω 162 201 202-3, -lu 218 219, -lω, -lue* 226 a 226 b 229, -rω 250, -ṣilω* 129; -ṣulu, -ṣu 124 125 130; -zorrω* 3; -zωlω* 239.

-dā* 186; -lia* 145, -lie* 273, -die* 230; **Leje** 240; -le*, -li 258 259; -ri*, -firi 17; -re (**Kere***) 147; -dia* 230; -lai* 273; -rei* 263.

-nyiṅga 107.

Higu 240; -hiṅgi 1, **Haṅgwe** 2 d, **Hiṅgω** 11, -giṅgω 24; -puṅga (‘sky’) 58.

-nyor* 234; -zorrω* 3; **Nurωmu** 237; -gōrω* 7, -ṅguru* 25, -ṅgulω* 45, -gulila 51, -kωlω* 162 164, -kωli* 166; -keli 203 212; -pol* 252; -pal* 261.

-kωnu* 17, -gωnω* 27 35 37; -ωnω, **Mω-ωnω** 151 b; -kun* 120; -pun 214; -run 229; -sonjω 206. -nana 256.

-yimω, -umω 17; -ma 100.

Labω* 57, **Lavu*** 14, -lōbu* 274; -ra-dob* 273; -urωmu 237; -lumbu* 39 a, -lumbω, -lombu, -lumbu* 100 101 102 103 116 119 144; -lombe* 172; -kumbi 84 92 94 b; -luṅgu 28.

-yi 258, -nji 83, -ci 104 c, -ce 229, -je 240; -kindi 140.

-mayω 33 a, -mei, -meyi 257.

-naku* 2 f, -nakω* 4, -nakω (time, occasion) 173, -neki* 84, -teke, -neke* 94, -naṅgu* 98, -niki 151 a, -nayi* 267, -nak* 269-72, -nak, -nax* 273; **Haku** 22; -yakat 266:

-kōkω 210.

-gwe 239 b, -kwe 244; -wwe 259; -bia 202.

¹ There is sometimes, but not always, a distinction between ‘day’ and ‘daylight’, and ‘daylight’ may often coincide with the word for ‘sun’ or for ‘sky’. On the other hand, the word for ‘day’ as a period of time may be equally used for ‘night’.

² Probably this root is a change from -uku, -huku, -suku, -siku.

·sosi* 134 148, ·switi 148 a; ·gwozi* 234.

·sati* 64 a, ·tsatsi* 73 74, ·zazi 74 b; Gasi 252; ·dyade* 268.

·teza 7; ·lisasa 260.

The word-roots that follow refer rather more to 'daylight' than a period of time, though this does not always follow, as the native might count by 'daylights'.

·sana* 2, ·zana 2 e, ·sana 2 f, ·šana 2 g, ·sana 4, ·benia* 11 12, ·canya* 23 a, ·sanya 43 a, Inyā 187; ·tsana* 16, ·saniñ 17, ·cana 21, ·tana* 21 a, ·sanya* 43 a, ·sana 53, ·tana 56, ·bana 56 a, ·tana 56 b 57 58, ·sana 61 61 b 61 c 84, ·ana 87 a 110, ·slana* 76, ·tanya* 94, ·tenya* 89 90 91 92, ·te 105, ·tena* 87; ·wana 256.

·tlha* 74, ·sa, ·so, ·hlā* 73 75 75 a 75 b, ·za 78, ·ca 141, ·ša 161 163, ·isa 166, ·hwa 195, ·wa 198, ·a 199 200, ·sa* 211, ·sale* 214, ·sa* 218; ·tañ 251, Tañga* 67, ·laña* 75 c, ·tañgwa* 85 88, ·tañe 186; ·ntaga* 3; ·ntali 135.

·añgō 5 a (R.), ·yañge 248, ·yañ 263; ·añ 264; ·anya 95 96 97 98 114; Nya- 67, ·nya 104 111, Inyā 187, ·nya 204 205 206 209; ·enja 193; ·ya 234; ·ija 101; ·pa-wenye 120.

·esi*, ·ise 1, ·si, ·nsi 3, ·ūsi 3 b, ·osi 6, ·iši 9 c, ·wi 11, ·si 15 18, ·ši 19, ·si 20 23 (Umu-si; imi-si) 23 a 26, ·isa 27, ·mu-nsi 29, ·hi 34 35, ·mō-si 51, ·usi 54, ·ūhi 55, ·sí 64, ·se (Nya-mase) 66, ·si* 72, ·sē 73, ·tsatsi, ·tsi* 74, ·so* 75, ·se 81, ·si 82, ·isi 101 102, ·ise 155, ·se 155 157, ·ši 189, ·hwi 195, ·ese 205 208; ·so* 167, ·os, ·o* 217, ·sa 218, ·s, ·ōs 219, ·mes 253, ·mei 257; Mus* 253; ·muze* 259; ·wasō 5 a; ·sikati* 58 a, Tsikari* 70.

·nyi* 27, ·mini* 35, ·mu-nyi* 38, Nyene 73 a, ·mini* 75, ·ene 86, ·ini* 100, ·ina* 167 170, ·i, Mui 179 180 181, Mue 182 189, Bwiny' 213 214; ·ane (Ma-muane) 146.

·anda* 43 43 a 45 49 50.

·manda 192, ·hwanda 193, ·mandō* 194.

·zōba* 2, ·zūwa 3 b, ·jua, ·ruba 14, Zuwa 20, ·juwa 24, ·jua 28, ·suba, ·tsōba 32, ·dūa 34, ·suwa 35, ·tsuva 38, ·zuba 39, ·ijuva 40, ·kōba 41, ·sōva 44, ·suwa 44 b, ·suka 52, ·ūwa 54 55 (and ·cuwa), ·cūa 56 a, ·suwa 62, ·zuba 64 64 a (and ·zuva), zua 65 a 68 Dyuvha 72, ·sua 77, ·zuba 78 79 80, ·ywa 83, ·yuva 89, ·zua 98, ·uwa 105, ·iba 107, ·zua 114, ·tsua 117, Loba 141, Juwa* 144, ·yu 185, ·uō 200, ·live* 226 b; ·radob* 273; Ulōbu* 274.

Limi 9 c, ·dime 14.

Ligwe 239 b.

·firi 17 18.

·pala* 28, ·pal* 261 263.

·sañgalala 43 a.

Gambō 69, Dambō 69.

DEVIL, EVIL SPIRIT¹

·suka* 13, ·sukō, ·sukwa 17, ·zōka* 21 21 a (and ·hōka*), ·zuka 21 b-d, ·buka* 21 e, ·suu, ·sōka 24 27, ·zuka 33 a, ·hōka 28 34 35, ·sōka 54, ·hōka 35, ·sōka 56 a; Gōgō* 60, ·kōka* 109 31 a, ·kōkō* 228 a, ·ōka* 255, Kōkal* 253; ·tsōka* 61 b, Tsa-ndukwa* 59, ·fōka* 60, ·fukwa* 66 69; ·kuku* 184 198 235, ·kukwe* 193, ·kuki* 186, ·kuci* 181; ·kuji*, ·kudi 106; ·kuyi* 180, ·kwiyi 100, ·kuwe 9; ·ku 168, ·gu 207, ·goi 189; ·fu 177.

·kōpa* 226 a, ·kōfa* 258.

·pfumō 230; ·kumbō, ·kuwō 248.

·kinya 14; ·funya 30.

·kinda 193; ·kundu 160; ·gun 273.

·kahaba 29.

¹ There is often a special word for a 'spirit of evil', which is distinct from 'sorcery' or 'fetish', 'soul' and 'ghost', from 'God' and from 'goblin', though sometimes all these ideas interchange in the use of a root.

- ñkala*** 42, -**kakala*** 172, -**gala*** 189, -**gale*** 186, -**kali*** 209, -**eli** 210, -**kadi*** 100 213, -**kale*** 214; -**ketw*** 17, -**keta*** 161, -**kita*** 176; ¹ -**kejw*** 182; -**edy** 121.
 ·-**kiši*** 98 104, -**kisi*** 31 40 45; -**ise*** 238.
 -**cwesi** 2 2 c 2 d.
 -**kon**, **Akom** 218; -**kwō** 228, -**kuwω** 248, -**wu** 234, -**awω*** 230; -**gawω*** 9 b; -**sawω*** 4.
 -**kwale*** 17, -**kwati** 29; -**kwane*** 228; -**kinya** 14, -**kanya** 271.
 -**limu*** 1, -**zimu*** 2 2 e 2 f 9 b, -**dimi*** 9 c, -**imω** 12, -**rumu*** 17, -**zimwi*** 21 a, -**dzimu*** 23 a, -**zimu** 24 25, -**dima**, -**rima** 39, -**zizimu** 45, -**zimu** 48 50 57 58, -**dzimu** 59, -**zimu** 61 61 a 61 b, -**zimω** 65 a, **Simwe*** 44 b, -**zimu**, -**zimω** 79 81; -**dimu** 107, -**limω*** 145 155, -**rimu*** 166, -**rimω*** 226, -**dem***, -**dep** 230, -**dam** 237, -**rem*** 229.
 -**kwama** 11, -**kwama** 16.
 -**łoki*** 104 116 118, -**rok*** 123, -**łoki*** 124 125 127, -**łosi*** 128, -**łoki*** 129 131, -**łoka*** 132, -**łoki*** 133 134, -**łoyi*** 139, -**łoki** 159, -**łoka** 162, -**łoki** 164 172, -**łow*** 178, -**tugu*** 243; -**şwłogu*** 75; -**lekpω** 259; -**liapa** 94.
 -**diki*** 70; -**teke*** ('idol') 100; -**zeg** 202.
 -**lulu** 92 94; -**lua**, -**luω** 119 120.
 -**tuta** 67; -**duyi** 100 b; -**dubi** 101; -**rut** 237; -**titti** 261.
 -**pfundi** 200; -**bindi** 103.
 -**sambwa*** 4 a 4 b 5 5 a 6 6 a 8 9 a 9 b 10; -**kuembω** 69; -**hamba**, -**samba*** 84 86 88, -**ambe*** 193, -**bambω** 192 193; -**simwe** 44 b; -**embe** 51; -**şepa*** 56 (from -**semba**); -**nepa*** (from -**nemba**) 56 a 56 b; -**limba***, -**lemba*** 137 151 159.
 -**subiani** 22.
 -**kumbω*** 248, -**jumbi*** 185, -**jop** 248, -**sumbu*** 150, -**sumbi*** 114, -**sumui*** 154, -**somwe*** 134; -**lom** 235; -**nyumba** 100; -**tombwala** 100; -**guñba*** 253.
 -**mandwa*** 2 g, -**bandwa** 3, -**mandwa** 3 b, -**banda** 42, -**wānda** 44 44 b 52 61 c, -**bandu*** 64; -**enda** 157; -**banjoñ** 266.
 -**biñgu** 16.
 -**weñgwa** 199.
 -**tuñga*** 9 c; -**huñgu*** 15, -**kuñgu*** 23 24 c 31; -**roñgω*** 37, -**luñgu*** 38, -**luñgω*** 68, -**poñgω** 65.
 -**diki** 70; -**diñgi** 189; -**ñgi** 204, -**oñgi** 205 206; -**şañgi** 104; -**şiñga** 126.
 -**sa*** 226 230, -**za*** 234; -**sewi*** 5 b, -**swa** 7, -**swi** 18, -**şawi*** 62, -**şawe*** 64 a; -**şawe*** 271; -**zabula** 75, -**jai*** 269, -**dewa** 28.
 -**gulu*** 41, **Ńulu** 45, -**guluvi*** 70.
 -**jili** 153; -**gilen** 253.
 -**fiti*** 58 a; -**vilye** 106; -**fici*** 162.
 -**vwel** 252; -**yewela** 105 a.
 -**hene** 52.
 -**behω*** 9, -**bebw** 12, -**behω** 14, -**pepω** 16 19 19 a 20 21, -**bepω** 32, -**peve*** 100 b; -**be** (Gabe; babe) 148 a; -**bu** 259.
 -**ntu** 24.
 -**tsū**, -**ñgotsū** 251; -**roñşoñ** 263; -**santeñ** 274.
 -**kerfi**, -**krifi** 263; -**kers'** 270.
Naria 148.
 -**wats** 273; -**pasa** 9 b, -**pasi** 42, -**basi** 51.
 -**mahl** 273.
Lubare 4.
 -**sera** 22, -**cerω** 64.
 -**wa** (Ki-wa) 43 43 a 49 (**Işiwa**).
 -**şaşi**, -**caici** 64 a.

See also -**keta** roots for 'ghost', 'magic', 'witch', and even 'twins'.

DOCTOR, MEDICINE-MAN¹

-gañga* 4, -hañgana 13, -gañga 14 15 16, -añga, -gañga 17; -yañga 19, -gañga 21 21 a 23 23 a 24
 25 26 (-añga), -gañga 28 32 33 a 35 36, -ñañga 41, -nañga, -ñañga 42 42 43 a 44 44 b, -ñañga*
 45, -ñañga 51 52 53, -ñaka* 56 56 a, -ñañga 57, Ñañka 58, -gañga 59, -nañga (Si-) 61 61 a 61 b 61 c,
 -gañga 62, -ñañga 64, -nyañga* 69, Ñañga 70 71 71 f 72, Ñaka* 73 74, Ñaki 74 b, -añgi* 75, -añga*
 75 a 75 b, -aña* 75 c, -añga* 76, -gañga 77 78, -añga 80 81 82 83, -gañga 89 90 95 100 101 102 103, -añga
 105, -kañga* 106, -gañga 108 109 110, -gāā* 117, -ga* 120, -gañga 120 129 140 159 160 161 162 (also
 -kañga*), 164 166 167 168, -kañga 172, -ga, -āga* 175 176 178 179, -gañga* 180 181 184, -gā, -gaña
 186, -gañga 187 189, -yañga 191, -gañga 192 193 194 (Ñgaña) 199, -gañgañ 200 205, -gañga* 206
 Ñgam*.pol 213, Ñgañ, Ñgeñgan* 218, Gañ 227, Jañ 230, Gañ* 234, Nga, -gañga* 230, -ña 232;
 Kak 253; -geñge* 2 g.
 -sanje 6, -sañgi 19 a; -kanya 269; -iyanya 58.
 -pañge 89; I-kpāka 151 b.
 -nyagw 51,
 -kumw 1, -fumu 2 2 c 2 e 2 f 2 g, -pfumu 3, -fumu 3 b, -fumu 4, -fumw 5 a 9 a, -fumu 9 c, -fumw 39.
 -mandwa* 3; -penda* (Sa-) 58, -banda* 85 86 92 94 96 97 98, -winda 94 b, -wandi* 105, -banda
 112 a 114, -pandi* 161 a.
 -buki* 84 88, -huki* 104, -puka* 104, Bwaka, -waka 255, -bugi* 189, -bui* 154, -bu 198; -buri, -buli
 237, -burw 236 (see Medicine).
 -bumba 92; -bwolomba 263; -beme 215; -bwomi-bwoma 253.
 -saww 4, -gabu 8, -gaww 9 b ('devil'), -gbwawa 228; -aww ('devil') 230; -yawate 182; -wa 256.
 -pene, -pena* 269-72; -hene* (devil) 52; -muene* 235.
 -jal* 111, -jara* 263, -jarwana* 267; -jande* 268; -sanje* 6; -ya 226; -iyanya 58; -nyata 247 b.
 -jifa 273.
 -gombw 124 125.
 -waka 255, -twaka 104; -dwoji 116; -lw 166, -lw*, -lwa* 274; -tugu 256; Vilwa*, Viló* 273.
 -let 266; -lax* 273; -laguza* 2 e 2 f, -daruza* 3, -laguri 4 9 c 16, -lagula, -laguzi 23, -lagutsi
 23 a, -lagusi 27, -lagūa 32, -lagutsi* 38, -laye 44.
 -dapi* 104.
 -alafi* (Mwalafi) 73, -alahi* 74 b, -elapi* 75 a.
 -iti 12; -kiši 88; -vei 73; -vidie 105.
 -nisi 75;² -sendesi 77, -šidiši 78, -silisi 79; -binjiri 11; -wizi (from -izi, 'to know') 25.
 Meri, Mali, Muli 151 a
 -sontena 273; -son 252.
 -tuñanya 38, -yanya 58.
 -gulukana 56.
 -reimba 64 a.

¹ Very often identical with 'magician' or even with 'devil', 'spirit', 'ghost'; but as a rule Bantu and Semi-Bantu Negroes distinguish between the *medicine-man* who on the whole works good magic and has to do with essences from trees and plants, and medicines; and the *sorcerer* who uses his powers for evil purposes. A third meaning is that of the *priest* of religion, who may or may not be identical with the *medicine-man*, but is quite distinct from the *sorcerer* or worker of evil magic. Sometimes the word-root is that for 'chief', 'king' — *kumu*, *fumu*.

² Apparently distinct from *Isanūse*, which is a paraphrase = 'he who smells out'.

DOG

·bwa* 1 2, ·bweni* 2 a, ·bwa 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g 3 3 b 4 5 5 a 6 6 a, ·fwa*, ·bwa 8 9, ·bwa 9 a 9 b
 9 c 10 13 16 20 20 d 21 to 21 f-g 22 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25 27, ·bwawa* 28, ·bwa 29 30 31 32 34 35 36 37
 (and ·wa) 38, ·bwa 39 40 41 42 43 43 a (Simbwa) 44 44 b, ·vwa, ·bwa (Isimbwa) 45, ·bwa (Umbwa)
 46, ·bwa 48 49 50 51 52 a 54 55 (and ·wa, ·kawa) 56 (Mwala-bwa), ·pwa 56 a 56 b, ·bwa 57 58 58 a 59
 60 62, ·bga* 63, ·bha* 64, ·bwa, ·bɣa* 64 a, ·bga 65 65 a, ·bwa 66, ·dja* 67 68, Gia* (Giana), ·bwa,
 ·bgwa* 69, ·bywa* 70, ·bɣa* 71 71 f, ·bwa, ·bɣa, ·bɣa 72, ·pɣa*, ·pya* 73, ·ca, ·psa* 74, ·ja* 75 to
 75 c 76, ·bwa* 77 78 79 80 81 83, ·wa 84 87 88 89, ·bwa 89 90 91 92 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103
 104 105 106 107 108, ·bu 109, ·bwa, ·wa 110 111 114 116, ·vwa 117, ·bwa 118 119 120, ·va 120, ·bwa 121
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 133, ·bwa 134 135 136 137 139 140, ·gba* 141, ·bwa 142 143 144 145 146 147, ·va, ·fa* 148, ·bu* 149, ·bω*
 150, ·ve*, ·bāā* 151, Umba* 151 a, ·voya 151 b, ·va 153, ·ve 154, ·bwa 158 159 160 161 162 164 166 167,
 wa 168 175 178, ·bwa 177, ·pfwa, ·pfa 179 180 181 182, ·bia* 186, ·fa*, ·jwa* 187, ·vua* 190, ·bwa,
 ·bea 191, ·bwa 192 193 194 (also ·bue*) 195 196 197 198, ·bω* 199, ·pi*, ·bi, ·pfuω* 200, ·bu* 201 202,
 ·biω* 203, ·bω* 204, ·bwa 204 205 206, ·biω 207, ·fa 208, ·bwea* 209, ·bwa 211 212, ·bua, 213, ·wa*
 ·bwe, ·bie 214, ·bwa 215 216, ·fu*, ·funfu* 217, ·vu* 218 219, ·pie*, ·bue 220, ·bie 225, ·pwa, ·bua, ·bwa*
 226, ·wō 228, ·ñgwō* 203 228 a, ·vω, ·fu, ·vuω 230, ·ū 234, ·kūākuē* 229 e, ·pfa, ·va* 242, ·gba* 238,
 ·vi* 237, ·bi*, ·bog* 232, ·bi 229, ·bwa* 239, ·bwa* 239 b, ·bia 241, ·pfa, ·va 242, ·ja, ·fa 240, ·gbe 236,
 ·pia* 234, [wie* 274], ·bia*, ·bua, ·bwa, ·kwa* 244 245 246, ·kwa 247, ·wa 248 255 (also ·wawa),
 ·wewe* 257, Vu 252, ·fω, ·vω* 253, ·fω 254, ·bω 250, ·pu* 251, ·wωe* 258, ·ba* 267, ·wie 274; ·mu
 235, ·mudyω 228; ·kibu* 178.

·bara* 17 51, ·baru* 15, ·barusi 29; ·galω* 31, Garω* 35, Galu* 33 a, Garu* 53 61 61 a 61 b 61 c;
 ·sadu*, ·iadu* 267 272.

·gurω* 14 15 18, ·kurω, ·kura 16; ·kūi, Hūi, Gwii 11, Kuli* 19 19 a 20 26; ·koidi* 4 a;
 ·kōrōwa 29.

·ñgu 230.

·kōidi 4 a, Sōhi* 12; Kōci*, Kōɕi 14; Cucu* 14; Suku* 24; ·jōi 237; ·jω 227; ·xω 230.

·joŋgi 210.

·bulu, ·mbulu* ('wild dog') 44 b; ·bol* ·boz, ·bos, ·burɕ* 269 to 272.

·bondω* 126 159; ·burundω 159; Mon 230, Mudyω* 228, Mondi* 185; ·bwandi*, ·bwendi*
 184 185 188 189; ·bweni* 2 a; ·andri* 230; ·tran, ·tsien, ·tin, ·tan 263-4; ·thende ('female') 49;
 ·en, ·sien 273.

·bwa 64.

·tali, ·tari* 85 86; ·tōli, ·tōle* 175 178.

·lubu 16; ·drōbi 259; ·tlape 73.

Tumoi 261.

·wele 178; ·wie 251; ·bete 266; ·bet'a 75.

·cewe 52.

·sese* 7 7 a; ·peke* 73, ·heke* 74.

Kōidi* 4 a; ·giti* 11 12, ·kite*, ·ite 17 18.

Dia 16 (Digω dialect).

·dyaba, ·aba 273.

·pumbe 32.

Huñgwe 21 (H.).

·kōkω 20; Cucu 14; Suku 24.

·samla 56 b.

·nai 273.

·ñaña, ·ñaña 28; Nawaña 34, Nawaña 34 a; ·gañganya, ·gañginya 159.

DOOR, DOORWAY¹

-lañgɔ* 2e, -liañgɔ* 2f, -riañgɔ 3, -liañgɔ 4, -riañgɔ 5a 6 6a, -liañgɔ 9, -jañgɔ* 13 14 (and -nyañgɔ), -riañgɔ 16, -oñgɔ, -añgɔ 17 18, lañgɔ 19a 20, -lañgɔ, -añgɔ 21, -lañgɔ 21a 21 b-d 21e, -riañgɔ 21 f-g, -añgɔ 22, -lañgɔ 23a 24 25, -riañgɔ 26, -lyañgɔ 27, -liañgɔ 28, -nyañgɔ*, -liañgɔ 32, -lyañgɔ, -diañgɔ* 35, -diañgɔ 37 38, Nañgwa, -añgwa* 34, -añgɔ 39, -jiañgɔ 40, -lyañgɔ 41, -liañgɔ 44 44b, -riañgɔ 49 50 52, -lañgɔ 54, -diañgɔ 55, -lakɔ 56a, -lakɔ, -lagɔ 56b, -lagu 57, -liañgɔ 62, -anzwa* 71 f, -liakɔ* 73, -yakɔ 74, -nyañgɔ 75 75a 75b, -añgɔ 76, -liañgɔ 77, -diañgɔ 78, -liañgɔ 79, -diañgɔ 80, -lañgɔ 141, -liañgɔ 147, -dyuñ*-kurɔ 273; -añgɔ-tyeri* 274; -hiñgɔ* 92; -hlañgɔ, -sañgɔ* 75, -sañgɔ 76.

-ba 227, -gba 255; -bɔ, -mbu 228; -umbi 237, -ombe, -ombi 195 199 200 (also -mbe, -be) 204 210; -bei 119 194; -ɔbia* 12, -uvi* 19 19a 20, -ivi 23, Ruvi 64a, -bi*, -vi 39 41, wi, -bi 42, -wi 44b, -vi 66 68 104 105 106 107 108 135 139 144 177 230 234, -fi* 229, -bi* 254, -be 140, -ve 141, -be* 217 218 219 220 226; -suɔ 58, -sabɔ* 64, -suɔɔ 64a, -sua* 66, -zuvɔ* 117, -jub* 121, -ju 120, -pfu* 120, [-pupɔ* 259 260], -dzubu* 175 178, -juu 176, -bvuu* 178; -tibakɔ* 167, -jubugɔ* 176, -jiwikɔ* 179, -sidikɔ 122, -tsibikɔ* 180, -diwigi* 181, Kejiwek* 182, -dibugu* 189; -dibeke*, -bei* 194; -kuja 185; -dseka 186; -ju 231.

-keri* 227 229, -geri* 247, -siere* 7, -tyeri 274; -jela* 182, -jele* 56a; -kene 69; -dzaw 58; -suɔ 58 58a 59 65 65a, -sua 67 68.

-kora 56 56a; -kɔɔ 258.

-jɔɔ, -kɔɔ, -zilɔ 84; -jibeli* 164; -bele* 137, -bili* 234, -mbil* 273, -wale* 118; -vule* 116, -fulu* 100b; -mpuru* 267, -gbulu* 161, -gbuda* 248; -falɔ* 71, -cwalɔ* 74, -kwɔɔ 74b, -valɔ* 75 to 75c, -varɔ* 76; -hera* 2f, -hala* 87a, -pana 87; -elu* 83, -velɔ* 91 94, -verɔ* 89, -yelɔ*, -elɔ 90 95 96, -elu 97 98 99, -elɔ 100, -belɔ, -belu* 104, -velu 105, -belɔ 109, -zelu* 110, -belɔ 142, -elɔ* 177.

-bundi 92, -gundi 94; -bunju 228, -hundɔ 248.

-kinda 39a 144; Nanta* 33a; -anzwa* 71.

-tendele 78; -kene 69; -dene 226; -zin 230; -rente, -yente 261-2.

-sima 236; Dema 238 246; -tem, -tam 243.

-dawi 227.

-kɔka, -kɔga 202, 203; -kɔwa* 60, -kɔba* 64, -kɔwa* 206 214 215 208, -kɔba* 209 213; -kufu 258; -gwopɔ* 247b; -kɔ 213, -ɔhwa, -ɔfa 206.

-gwor-i-sɔ 254.

-seku* 18, -sekɔ* 43a 57, -zigɔ* 2a 4, -saku* 7a, -zigɔ* 9 9a 9b 9c, -tsekɔ* 58, -sekɔ* 59, -tsekɔ* 60 61a, b, -cekɔ* 61; -yaku 257.

-pigi*, -higi 2 2c (and -yigi) 2d, -uyi*, -nyuyi 1, -ugi* 2e, -igi* 2g, -ūgi 3, -igi, -gi 4, -iki*, -jiki 5, -igi 5a 8, -ge 7, -gi 9c, Rigi 11, -igi, -iyi 48 51; -gugi* 184 189, -huge* 192, -gugɔ 193, -kuke 127 130 131 134 136 162 166 187, -kuki* 125 129, -kɔke 125, -kok' 124b 234, -kwik' 123, -kfuki* 129 130, -kpuki* 132 133; -kuku* 145 150; -iji* 24; -ivi* 23, -vi 39, -bi 41, -wi, -bi 42, -wi 44b, -vi* 67 68; -tsi* 6 6a, -sie, -sieri 7, -izi* 27, -iji* 24, -idi*, -jidi* 34, -itsi* 38, -izi 41, -inzi* 42, -insi 44, -si 44b, -thi 72, -diti* 111, -disi*, -nisi 229e, -disi* 271.

-jisɔ 111; -jasɔ 79; -sasa 43 43a 44b 62 77; -za 230.

-nik 235; -negen 273.

-kureke* 159, -kukereke 159 164, -kukeleke 160, -kugere* 242, -gere* 247; -kuse 148.

-tutu 155 157; -abitɔ 83; -ihɔ 90.

-vita* 9b 9c, -pitɔ* 86 88, -witɔ 95, -pitɔ, -bitɔ 97, -bitu 96 97 98, -vitu*. 100 101 102 103, -pitu 112a, -bitu 114; -gbuta 257; -yeta 255; -bati 69; -vael (? -vale) 67.

¹ Paraphrases like 'mouth of house', when very obvious, are omitted; at the same time that was no doubt the origin of most of the trisyllabic roots. Sometimes the same word-root covers both 'door' and the door-space or opening, at other times there are different words for both meanings.

- rare 263.
 -baka 211, -waka 212; -kwakwa 256; -wɔkwɔ 168; -wañ 213; -beñge 15.
 -kañ 263; -tañga 50 54; -suñga 263.
 -samɔ 76.
 -rɔmɔ, Tɔme 11, -ɔmɔ* 12, -kɔmɔ* 53 61 61 a, b, c, -kɔmɔ* 79, -kum* 124; -pume*, -pumi 145
 146 151 152 153, -bɔme* 151 a; -pɔmɔ 151 b, -pũ 250, -pupɔ 259; -tum* 244; -fomfol 261, -ombe,
 -mbe, -ombi 195; -pumbana 192, -tumbi* 126; -limba* 40, -lembɔ* 2 f 3; -dimba* 64 69, -timba*
 70, Timbi* 190; -tambɔ 226; -lem* 266; -laman 269 272; -lumɔ 270; -nalamba 85.
 -sun 232; -su 233, -su 162, -suw 57.
 -sidikw 122; -riduk 252.
 -kene 69, -ñgana 254; N̄ga-tyeri 274; -gɔni 64.
 -gonte 230; N̄anta 33 a.

DREAM¹

- dɔwɔ* 1 2 (and -rɔwɔ) 2 c 2 d, -rɔwɔ* 2 f, -dɔwɔ 2 g 3 3 a 4, -dɔwɔ 5, -lorɔ* 5 a, -dɔrre 5 a (R.),
 -rɔwɔ* 6, -lɔwɔ* 6 a, -rɔwɔ 8 9, -lɔwɔ* 9 c, -rɔwɔ, -rɔwɔ 11, -ɔwɔ, -dɔwɔ 12, -dɔhwɔ 13, -dɔdɔw*, -lɔwɔsɔ 14,
 -dɔwɔ 15, -dɔhwɔ, -lɔwɔ 16, -lɔdɔwɔ, -ɔwɔ* 17, -dɔrɔ 18, -dɔwɔ 19 21 21 a 21 b-d, -dɔwɔ 21 e, -dɔwɔ* 23,
 -jɔwɔ 24, -dɔwɔ, -lɔwɔ 27 28 29 32 34 35, -lɔwɔ 36, -rɔwɔ 37, -jɔwɔ, -lɔwɔ 39 39 a, -lɔwɔ 41, -rɔwɔ, -lɔwɔ
 42 43, -dɔwɔ 43 a, -cɔwɔ, -dɔwɔ 44, -cɔwɔ, -lɔwɔ 44 b, -rɔwɔ 45, -rɔwɔ 48 49 50, -jɔwɔ 51, -rɔwɔ 52, -rɔwɔ
 53, -lɔwɔ 56 56 a (and -lɔhwɔ), -rɔwɔ 56 b, -rɔwɔ 57, -dɔwɔ 58, -rɔwɔ 58 a, -dɔwɔ 59 60, -lɔwɔ 61 61 a,
 -dɔwɔ 61 b 61 c, Rɔwɔ 64, Rɔwɔ 64 a, -cɔwɔ 62, -rɔwɔ 65, -lɔwɔ 66, -lɔwɔ 68, -lɔwɔ 69, -lɔhwɔ 70, Nɔrɔw,
 -lɔrɔw 71 71 f, -lorɔw 72 73, -lɔwɔ, -lɔrɔ 74, -lɔwɔ 77 78 79 80 84, -rɔwɔ 89, -zɔwɔ, Hoi 97, -lɔwɔ 99, -dɔwɔ
 100 101, -lɔwɔ 104 105, -dɔwɔ 109, -lɔwɔ 110, -jur* 120, -dɔwɔ 134, -dɔwɔ 136, -rɔwɔ 139 140, -lɔwɔ 142
 144, -rɔwɔ 147, -rɔwɔ 148, -lɔwɔ 159 160, -nɔwɔ* 161 a, -dɔwɔ 162, -rɔwɔ 164, -lɔwɔ 166, -ɔwɔ 168,
 -luɔrɔ 175 178, -luɔwɔ 181 182, -dɔwɔ* 184, -dɔwɔ 187, 189, -dɔwɔ 190, -ɔwɔ, -ɔwɔ 194, -ɔwɔ* 195 205 206
 209 211, -rau 244, Lɔd* 253; -zɔwɔ* 3, Sɔwɔ* 19 19 a (and -jɔwɔ) 20, -dzɔwɔ*, -dyɔwɔ, -zɔwɔ*, -dyɔwɔ
 86, -jɔwɔ* 89 90, -jɔwɔ* 91, -dyɔwɔ* 92, -jɔwɔ 94 b; -zɔwɔ, -zɔwɔ* 98 99, -dɔwɔ* 100, -dɔwɔ 100 b,
 -dɔwɔ* 1, -dɔwɔ* 2 a, -dɔwɔ* 17, -dɔwɔ 102 103, -jɔwɔ 141, -jɔwɔ 144, -dɔwɔ 145 146, -jɔwɔ 161,
 -dɔwɔ* 166, -zɔwɔ 168 175, -dɔwɔ 176, -zɔwɔ 177, -zɔwɔ 178, -dɔwɔ 189 204, -yɔwɔ* 227, -nɔrre* 247, -nɔ
 234, Dɔwɔ* 238, Nod* 228 b, Lɔd, Lot* 253; -hɔt, -ɔt, -sa-hut, -se-ɔt 273; -sɔwɔ 261; -pɔwɔ 28.
 -jiu, -jonjiu 230; -dyondi 92 b.
 -rɔkwɔ 73, -tɔñgɔ* 76, -tɔwɔ* 153; -tɔñgɔ*, -tɔñgya 124 125, -tondia 127.
 -dimu* 129, -deme* 186, -lelem 202, -em 203, -dem* 207, -demi* 212 218, -lim* 220, -dem* 227;
 -yiyem* 217 219, -yeyem 219; -dama* 200.
 -re (Ma-re) 263; -rip, Wo-rip, W'-erp 263-4; -huri 266.
 -kɔmera 7; Hɔpe 65 a.
 -dumba 64; -tɔmɔ 67; -huma* 151, -zuma* 114; -sũmɔ 151 b.
 -sawɔ* 28; -sahut, -seũt 273; -sebi* 226, -semia* 226, -sema* 155 157.
 -sai 137, -saki 155 164; Nzeki 151 a; -sagamilɔ 54.
 -ilɔ 40, -lɔ 41 -ilinu 193; -ilu, -lu, Ilɔ; -tulɔ 57 58 61 a, -torɔ 73 74 104 107 122 123 125, Tɔwɔ
 128, D'ɔw 129, Dɔw-lɔ 131 132 133, -nɔw 234; -lela 259 (most of the words in this paragraph mean 'sleep')-
 -etyi 186.
 N̄gwi 252.
 -labɔwɔ* 255, -alabɔw, -rabu, -rabɔw* 254-6, -lafɔ 258; -sawɔ* 28; Ke-rebu 274.
 -ranju 228; -nan 228; -nañgye 257.
 Wau 151 a, -bap 229; -pupa 75, -pupa, -pupɔ 75 a 76.
 -budza, -bɔwɔ, -budvɔ 75 b.
 -kesɔ 210.
 Ma-hɔwka ('devils') 55.

¹ The verb-root from which the most common substantive is formed is -lɔwɔ, -lɔwɔ.

DRUM

-goma*¹ 1 2 2 a 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g 3 3 a, -oma 4, -goma 4 b, -oma 5 5 a 6 (and -goma) 6 a 7, -goma 7 a, -oma 9, -goma (dance) 9 a, -oma, -goma 9 c, -goma 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 19 a 20 21 21 a to 21 g 23 23 a 24 25 28 32 35 (and -oma), -ōma 37, -oma, -goma* 39, -oma 40 41 42, -goma 43 43 a, -oma 44 44 b, -goma 45, -ñoma 48 50, -goma 51, Noma 52 53, -goma 54 56, -koma 56 a 56 b, Noma 57 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62, -goma 63 64 64 a 65 65 a 66 68 69 70 71 f 72, Koma 73, -goma* (song with drum) 75 75 a, -goma 77 78 80 83 (also -uma) 85 87 88 89 91 92 93, -oma 94 95 96 97 98 100 103 104 105 106 107 108 109, -goma 110, -am*, Nam* 111, -goma 114, -oma* 117, -goma* 118 119 120 (also -goma) 121 122, -kom 123, -goma 124, -goma 125, -kama* 126, -goma 127 129 (also -goma), -goma 131 132 133, -goma 134 135, -goma 139, -goma 140, -goma 144, -goma 147, -goma 159 162 164 166, -goma, Noma, -oma, -uoma, -oma 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 185, -jum*, -dumu* 186 (-ndum* 273), -ñgom, -goma* 191 192 193, -goma*, -goma 194 195, -gom' 202, -goma 187 199 204, -gomi 200 210, -ñgom 207, -goma 208 209, -gam* 213, -gom 215 217, -kom 220, -gom 225, -kam 227, -keom*, -kem* 230, -kom 236, -gum 237, -jum*, -gom 232, -kom, -gom 235, -kam 229 228, -koma* 244, -goma* 253; -yāma* 254, -jeme 172; -ima 247 b.

-kunu 7.

-tamba 216, -tambe* 266; -tomwa 8, -tumba* 128 144, -dumba* 64 159 160 161, -ndum* 273, -duamba* 200; -imba* 11; -hāmba 55; -ropa* (from -romba*), -lupa* 74 74 b, -lomba* 184, -lomba* 206, -lo 229; -tu, -tum* 230; -rembe*, -lembe* 145 146 151, -sembe* 151 156, -señbe 264, hemb* 11, -bembe* 12, -limbe* 211, -limbi* 204 205, Limbis 151 b, -jimbi 206, -jim-bin 232; -mombulon 271; -wum 244; -pimpi* 135; -bimbi* 261, -mbimbi* 51; -papom 251; -gomba 23; -gubu 75 75 a; -nyumbuy 67, -numburu 76; -tumbula* 75 b.

-sindw 32.

Gonda 14; -tunda 90; -ondw 100; -tinti 71; -lende 150, -len 263, -gende 166; -han 273; -gbande 248; -ben 250, -bin 242 244 252; Dandane* 71, -dan* 237; -tañ* 249 251, -dañe* 267.

-be 217, -bae 219; -bi 257 258; -biba 148; -vu 259; -buy 67 (Zi-nyumbuy).

-bulu* 155, -budi* 100; -kidi 100; -kule* 38, -kole* 167, -kolw*, -kol' 168, -kul* 217 218 219 220; -grō (from -gūrō) 238; -gura 151 b; -fuli* 200; -fun* 243.

-lile 39 a.

-kita* 172, -keat*, -kat* 230; -gad*, -gar* 273; -gutu 160; begete 7 a.

-ku 202 203; -kō, -kā 230 234; -gubu* 75, -kuvu* 84; -kōkw 235; -gbw 243; -kuka 164 166.

-leñ* 263; -tiñg* 17; -luñga* 32; -diñgara* 51; -duñgu* 100 101 102 103 189; -doñ*, -lō 229 229 e; -duñu* 266; Dudu 151 a; -guñgu* 75 b, -kuñu* 75 c, -guñgu* 152 156 157 161; -soñgu* 155; -gañga* 242 248 253 255 256, -ñgañ* 274; -gatiñga 38.

-neñgela 38.

-ya 250.

-thaya 49; -gaija* 147; -gēya* 151 a.

-je 247.

-dweye 172.

-tek 212; -tew 214.

-gḃere 228; -kpiri, -kpera 227; -vwala 109.

-biti, -bitiñ 263.

-phw 137.

-if 273.

-ina 26.

-duzi, -dusi 27; -turri 228 a.

¹ This root may also mean 'hollow tree', 'trough', 'canoe'.

EAR

·tu*¹ (Kutu) 2 a 2 b 2 d, ·kutwe*, ·twe* 1 2 c, ·tu-itu* 2 c, ·tu 2 e, ·tui* 2 f, ·twi 2 g, ·tu 3, ·twi 3 a, ·tu, ·tɔ 4, ·tui 4 a 5, ·ruī* 5 a, ·tu, ·ru 6, ·tu 6 a, ·utu*, ·ɔtɔ* 7, ·tui 7 a 8, ·tu 9, ·twe 9 a 9 b, ·twi 9 c, ·twe 10, ·tu, ·tɔ 11, ·tu 12, ·du* 14 17 (also ·rūī*), ·rwi 18, ·twi 19 19 a, ·twe 20, ·itwe* 20 d, ·twi 23, ·twe, ·twi 23 a, ·twe 24 24 c-g, ·twe, ·tu (Ikutu*) 25, ·tu 26, ·twi 27, ·kutu 28, ·twe 29, ·gu-twe* 31, ·ku-tu 32 33 34 (·tu) 35 37 38, ·twi, ·tūi 39 39 a, ·tū 40, ·twi 41 42 43 43 a, ·twe 44, ·twi 44 b 45, ·twe 46 48, ·twi 49, ·tu (Ikutu) 50 51 52 (Kutu) 53 (or Gutu), ·kutu 55, ·aru* 56 56 a (and ·naru) 56 b 57 58 (Baru; maru*), Kutu 58 a 59 (and Barɔ*), ·kutu, ·khutu 61 61 a, Kutu 61 b 61 c, ·twe, ·atu, ·tu 62, ·twi 64, ·kutu* (behind the ear) 75 a, ·twi, Kutwi 77 78 79 80, Kɔti*, Kuti 81, ·tue 82, ·twi 83, ·twitwi, 83 84, ·itwi 85, ·twitwi, ·twe 86 88, ·tu 87, ·twe 88, ·tui 89, ·tsūi* 90, ·tūi, ·tūi 91 92 (·twi) 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 (also ·tue), ·tu 100 101 102 103, ·tu, ·cu 104, ·twi 105 106, ·cu* 107, ·tu, ·ce* 108, ·tɔ, ·tu, ·ti 109, ·cu 110 111, Kuti 112 a, ·twe, ·tu 114, ·tui 116, ·tsui 117, ·jwe 118, ·ti 119 120 (also ·jue and ·twi), ·cue 121, ·ci 122, ·tɔ 123, Tui 124, ·tuni*, ·tɔ 125, ·toi 127, ·tu 128, ·tui 129 130 131 132 134, ·cwe 135, ·toi 136, ·tuyi* 137, ·gwi* 139, ·tui 140, ·tu 141, ·tui 142 143 144 (and ·swe*), ·toi 145 146, ·tue 147, ·cwe, ·cwi 148, ·tu, ·toi 149, ·tui, ·kiu 150, ·teu 151, ·tok 151 a, ·torɔ 151 b, ·toi 152 153 (and ·tewu), ·teu* and ·twe 154, ·toi 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 164 166 168 (also ·atu*), ·lui 165, ·cwi 175 176 (and ·jue), ·ti 177, ·tswi 178, ·jue 179, ·jui and ·tu 180, ·jue 181, ·tue 182, ·loi 183, ·ru, ·rɔ, ·arɔ* 184, ·loi 185, ·ale*, Wɔle*, ·ɔre* 186, ·atɔ*, ·ruī, ·itu, ·tɔli* 187, ·aru 188, ·cui 189, ·tue 191, ·royi* 192, ·tugwe* 190, ·roi 193, ·tɔ 194, ·tɔ 195, ·tɔ, ·tɔi 198 199, ·lɔa, ·luɔ*, ·lɔ 200, ·ɔ, ·wɔ 202 203, Tui, ·loi 204, ·tu 205 206, ·uif 207, ·toi 208, ·tu 209, ·ti 210, ·atɔ 211, ·tɔ, ·wɔe 212, ·tui 213, ·tu 214, ·tɔ 215, ·tsɔ 216, ·lɔɔ 217, ·lɔ 218 219 221, ·tui, ·teu 223, ·lui, ·lɔye 224, ·tɔ, ·lɔ 225, ·tɔ, ·tɔ, ·tu* 226, ·tuñ, ·toñ* 227, ·tu 234, ·toñ, ·tud*, ·tot, ·duñ, ·tu, ·tum* 230, ·ti 236, ·loñe 236 a, ·tor, ·toñe 232, ·ru 235, ·toñ 229, ·tuñ, ·toñ 228 238, ·tɔyɔ, ·tɔy* 248, ·tok 151 a, ·tuñ, ·toñ 240, ·ruñ 243, ·rɔ* 247, ·tuñ 250, ·toñ 251, Foñ, ·toñ 252, ·to* 249, ·tu* 257 259.

Sikiɔ 13, ·sikiɔ 14, ·sikiɔ 15, ·sikiɔ 16, ·sikiɔ 18, ·hi 17 a, ·sikiɔ 21 21 a (and Šikiɔ), Sikizi, Sikiti 21 b-d, ·sikiɔ 21 e, Sikirɔ 21 f, ·silɔ 21 g, Šisɔ, Kiyɔ 22, ·sikiɔ 24 c-g, ·sikiɔ 27, ·sikiɔ 30; Kit, Kidi 253.

·pepe* 28; ·wivi* 54 56 b; ·zebe* 63 64 (and ·zeve*), ·dzeve* 64 a, Zeve* 65 65 a 67, ·gibe* 68, ·zeve, Dzeve 69 70, ·dhlebe 71, ·dlebe 71 f, ·deve 72, Tseve 73, Tsɛbe 74, Zebe 74 b, ·dlɛbe, ·jlebe* 75, ·dlebe 75 a, ·dhlebe 75 b, ·dlebe 75 c, ·slewe, ·jew* 76, ·teba* 86; ·cebbe, ·jebi*, ·tombe 256, ·tābbi* 254; Dema 66 69, ·teba 86.

·dejeli 69; ·telu 110 a.

·lañs, ·leñas 263.

·dyañ 273.

·nufa, ·nɔfe* 267 268, ·nuf* 274; ·nɔ* 273; ·nūi* 261, ·nyu*, ·yu 237; ·neau*, ·nehɔ 266; ·nuñ

244.

·lɔkɔ* 126; ·tɔkɔ* 258; Tao-k* 151 a.

·ɔs, ·was 273; ·wat, ·bat, ·bars, ·badz 269-72.

·gwa 248; ·zwa 64 a.

·bulu 38, ·buru 51.

·pikanilɔ 54, ·pilikanilɔ 60.

·kyima 151 b.

·gere 64; ·dejeli 69.

¹ This principal root for 'ear' (which is present in the Sudanic languages) is only a variant of the root for 'head' (Mu-tu, Mu-twe) and perhaps for 'person' (·ntu). It is, however, chiefly associated with the 15th prefix (Ku-), which in some cases fuses with the root.

EGG

-ye, -yi* 1, -gi* 3 3 a 4, -gyi 4 a, -ki* 5, -gi 5 b 6, -ge, -gina 7, -ige* 7 a, -gi, -ki 8 9, -gi 9 c, -yi 10, -ji* 13 -gi 14 15 16 (and ji, -di), -yayi* 21, Yai* 21 a, li 21 b-d, -i* 21 f-g, Yai, -i 26, -gi 28, -i 34, -ye 39, -ayi 39 a, -uji 40, -yi 41 48, -dyi 49, -yøce*, -wce, -wci* 56 56 a 56 b, -zai, -dzai* 58 58 a 59, -zae* 63, -zai 64, -he 73, -e, -yi 74 74 b, -i 77 78, -ji 79, -yi 80, -ki 83, -ñgi 87, -i, -yi 89 90 91, -yiyi 92, -yaki 94 b, -ake*, Yake 95, -aki* 96 97 98, -kake*, -yaye, -yake 98 a, -ai 99, -aki, -ki 100 103 104 105 106 107, -ke 105 a, -i, -yi 108 109 110, 111, -yai 114, -ki 116 118 (and -kiri) 119, -kile 120, -kie 121, -i 122 123 (also -kiri), -kili* 124, -kele* 125, -kili 127, -i 128, -kili 129, -ki 130 (also -kele), -kiri 131, -kili 132 133, -kire 134, -ye 135, -kele 136, -i 137, -yeyā 140, -ye 141, -gi 142 143, -ayi 144, -ke 145 146, -kiri 148, -ke* 150, -e 151, -se* 153 155 156, -kei, -ke 157, -kiu* 159, -ke 160, -keli 162, -kei 164 166, -kile 168, -bi* 175, -ke 176 177, -bi 178, -be* 179, -bi 180, -be 181 182, -ki 184, -bi 185, -aki, -ki 186, -ge, -ake 187, -kei 189 190, -keye 191, -ke, -kō 192, -ki 193, -ke 194 195, -se 198, -ki 200 202, -tye 203, -ei 204, -ke 205, -eu, -ei 206, -ke 208 209, -ki 210 213 214, -ke 211 212, -kie 215, -ki 217 218, -ci 219 220, -je 225, -yeyu* 226, -ji, -gyi 227, -ci, -ki 234, -ek 236, -ge 237, -tse, -ci 229, -ji, -jin, -ki 228, -ci 238, -kiñ 244, -ji, -zi, -ke* 247 b 248, -tse 250, -ki* 251, -ge 249, -gi 252, -ki 253, -ñgi 254, -ñge, -nje 255 256, -dze 259, -e, -ke, -keh* 273.

Tagi 19 19 a 20 24, -ayi 39 a, -taji 54, -zai 57; -yai 21.

-gina* 7, Zia* 53; -jele* 54; Dzira* 61 a 61 b 61 c, Zila* 61, Dzela* 61 b, -jira* 239 b,¹ -kela* 104; -pil*, -pel 261.

-vaa 12, -vala 257, -hala* 56 b, -cae, -tsae* 73; -kari 151 a, -ari* 207, Sari, Cari, Sere* 241-241 c; -sala, -saela* 94, -sana* 44 b, -kana* 38.

-gwojw, -gwojw* 17; -sasu* 29; ² -yøce* 56; -hala-sušw* 56 b; ² -jugu* 247.

-ju 226, -jw, -cw 101 102; -kō 151 a; -tō 161; -lō 125; -onnw, -ōñd 235; -enw 108.

-nian, -nene*, -jenye 269-72; -nanya 267; -nine* 268, -nin* 274; -ni, -ini* 42, -ni* 44 a 44 b.

-sien 244; -gina 7.

-koñonda 54.

-bunda, -vunda 85 86 88, -unda 88; -dunti 243; -bum, -bō, -boñ, -buw 230 231, -wum, -bom 232; -w 237; -buyu 5 a; Pob 230.

-mes 263; -maši 139.

-cukwa 229.

-enza, -ensa* 43 43 a, enza 50; -danda* 54 60, -zanda* 64 a 65 65 a, -anda 66, -phanda 67, Zanda 68, Danza 69, -andza 69, -danda, -anda 70, -andya* 71 71 f, -ñata 73, -ganda, -kanda* 72, -çanda, -tyanda* 75 75 c 76, -çanda, -çanda* 75 a, -çandz'a 75 b, -landa* 84.

-bórw, -barwe, -bore 17, -bore 18.

-hūi* 1, -huri* 2 2 a, -huli* 2 c, -huri 2 d, -huli 2 e 2 f 2 g (and -uri) -hūi* 89, -hōli* 147; -husi 40; -heu 226.

-nyiri 266.

-tumbi*² 11 12, -humbi* 35, -fumbi* 37 51, -sumbi* 52, -umbi* 54, -humbi 55, -gumbi* 62,

Gumbā* 72, Kxōpa* 73.

-ñga (Mañga) 152; -iñga 6, -iñgu 6 a, -iñgi 21 e, Fiñga 23 23 a, -piñga 32, Fiñga 33 a; -gañkha, -gañga 25, -kañga 27, -xañxa 29, -kaña 30, -kañga 35, -xañha 36; -kana 38.

-kyima 151 b.

-teta 110 41.

¹ A most remarkable correspondence between Nyasaland languages and those of the Western Cross river on the verge of the Niger-Benue basin.

² Compare words for 'fowl'.

ELEPHANT

-zawu* 1, -jɔɔw* 2, -zuzw, -jejaw 2 a, -jawu 2 b, -zaww* 2 d, -sawdzw* 2 e, -zawzu 2 f, -jawu, -yudyu 2 g, -zawu* 3, -sawu 3 a, -jawu* 4, -jawbu* 4 a, -dawu* 4 b, -jawfu* 5 5 a (and -dzawfu), -dawfu, -tsawfu 6, -giawfu, -dzawfu 6 a, -jawbu 7, -jawgu, -c'ugu 7 a, -zugu 8, -zawfu* 9 a 9 c, -jawgu 11, -zaw 12, -dzawfu 13, Cawu, -jawu 14, -zawu, -zawu 15, -dzawu 16, -sawfu, -dawfu, -jawfu 17 18, Sawu 19 a, -dawu* 21 21 a 21 b-d 21 e, -zawfu 25, -jawu 26, -zawu 29 39, -dzawfu 30, -jawu, 39 a, -awgi 40, -zawu 41, -sawfu 42, Zawu 43 43 a, Sawfu 44 44 b, -zawu 45 48 49, -zawfu 50, -sawfu, -sawu 51, Zawu 52, -jawu 53, Dawu 57 58 (and -taw), -zaw 58 a, -zawu 59, -jawu 61, -jawvu 61 a 61 b 61 c, -zawu 62, -zawu 64, -jawu 64 a, Dzaw 65 65 a, Zaw 66, -jaww 67, Djaw 68, Jaww, -jaww, -saww 69, -zawfu 70, -dlawfu* 71 71 e 71 f, -dawu* 72, Tlawu* 73 74, Tawu* 74 b, -dlawu, -jawu* 75, -dhlawu 75 b, -kubu* 75 c, -sawfu* 76, -sawfu 77, -zawu 78 79 80, -jaww 81, -dawu* 83, -bawu* 87, -dawu 87 a, -dyawu, -djawu 89, -zaw* 100, -dzawu* 101, -zaw, -dzaw 103, -zewu* 104, -zawfu 105, -zawu 106, -gefu* 108, -zawu 109, -zawfu, -zawfu* 110, -zaw, -zaw* 111, -zaw* 116, -zaw 117, -dzaww* 118, -jaw 119, -zaw, -jaww 120 121, -djok* 123, -jaww 124 125 127 129 (also -jokfu*), -jobvu* 130, -jaw*, -jaw* 131, -sawfu 132, -jawu 133, -com* 134, -zawu 135, -jawu 136, -jaw 141, -zawu 142, -zawfu 143, -jawu 144, -dzawu 147, -jaw* 148, -jawu, -jaww 155, -sawu 157, -jawu 162 (also -toi*), -jawu 164 165, -zawu 166 167, -zaw 168, -zaw 175, -jaw, -jaww, -jaww 176, -zaww 177, -zaw 178, -tsaww*, -jawu* 179 180, -jaw* 181, -jɔɔw 182, -tsaw* 184, -jɔɔku 185, -jɔɔki, -saw, -zaw 186, -jaww, -dɔɔw, -tsaww, -jawu 187 189 191 192 193, -ɔɔku 194 195, -yawu 196, -jɔɔku 198, -jawu 199, -jaw*, -saw, -saw* 200, -saw, -zaw 201, -zaw 202, -jaww, -jaw 203 205 206 207 208 209, -jeku* 210, -jawu 211 212, -jawu 215, -saw, -jaw 216, -saw 213, -saw, -saw 214, -saw, -saw 217, -zaw, -zaw 218, -zaw 219, -zaw, -zaw, -zaww 220, -jaww 221 222 223 224, -jawu* 225, -jok* 227, -jog, -jok 228, -saw, Sok 229, -saw 230, -jok 236, -saw, -saw 235, -zawu* 253, -yɔɔw* 267, -yawu* 270.

Jaww* 29, -tsaww* 38; -laww* 269, -laww* 271 272; -ttu 257, Toñ 258; -rañk* 263-4.

-rebe* 266; -dagba* 247 b 256; -deaba*, -daba* 2 c; -tembaw* 19, -thembaw 19 a, -tembaw 20, Tembaw 21, -embaw, -embu 21 f-g, -hembaw 23 23 a, -thembaw 24, -dembaw 25, -dembwe, -dembaw 27, -tembaw 28, -dembaw, -tembaw 32, -dembaw 33, -embaw, -tembaw 34, -dembaw 35 37 54 55, -tebbaw, -tebbaw* 56, -tebbaw* 56 a 56 b, -dembaw* 60, Dzimwe* 61 a [-ncimba* 167], -dambi* 82, -jamba* 84 85, -yamba*, -gyamba 86 88, -dyamba* 89 90, -jaba* 91, -dyamba 92, -samba 94 b, -jamba 94 95 96 97, -zamba, -zambi, -tsamba* 98 100 101, -zamba* 112 a 114, -dyambe 122, -kamba* 126, -damba* 159, -n'amba 162, -ncimba 167; -tam, -san 232; -dagba 247 b 256, -zeañ 230; -rañk 263, -laww 269, -laww 271-2; -nab, -nyaba 273.

-fumbu, -humbu, -pumbu 104.

Mbiem 239; Gbin 252.

-buñgu* 140 145, -boñgu 146, -buñgu 149 150 151, -boñgu 151 a 152, -buñga 151 b, -buñgu 153, -boñgu 156, -buñgu 160, -boñgu* 161; -bañ 263.

-puli, -huli* 9 9 c, -paw* 105, -baw 155, -puli* 178; Nola, Nore 248; -sili 266.

Bawwala 126, Bawwala 164; -kulu 137.

-suen 230 c, -cen, -suen 230; -ten 237, -san 232.

-tu 257, -tw 258.

-nyu* 274, -nyu, -nyu* 238 239 a 244, -ni or -nyu* 241, -nyu 242, -nyu*, -nyuñ 247 247 b, -ni 254, -nyu 259 260; -yawu* 240; -ndr* 250; -nji 251.

Inya-bale 240 c.

-di 243; -sili 266.

-dayi 3 (old R.).

-tirya 45.

-faw 249.

-giwa 255.

-weiwaw 268.

-gawwami 20.

-kumali 56 b.

-tsutame 60.

-pi 261.

EXCREMENT

-zi* 2, -bi*¹ 2 a, -izi* 2 c, -zi 2 d 2 e 2 g 3 (and -se), -vi* 3 b, -zi 4, -di* 4 a, -fwi* 5 5 a (and -fi*) 6 6 a, -bi, -vi* 7 7 a 8, -fwi 9, -fi 9 c, -i 11, -ii* 12, -fi 13, -vi 14 15 16, -fi 17 (and -rifi, -tufi*, &c.), -rifi 18, -vi 19 20 21 21 a 21 b-d, -bi 21 e, -bvi* 21 f-g, -dzi 22, -vi 23, -ve 23 a, -vi 24 25, -pi, -fi* 27, -fi 28, -i 32, -wi, -vi 34, -fi, -hi 35, -fi 37, -vi, -bi 39, -ivi* 40, -vi 41, -fi 42, -vi 43 43 a, -fi 44 44 b, -vi 48 49, -mvi 50, -fi 51, -vi 52 53, -i 54, -hi 55, -vi 56 56 a, -pi* 56 b, -ri 57, -bvi 58 58 a, -bzi* 59, -vi 61, -bzi 61 a 61 b, -vi 61 c 62, -zwi* 64, -vi 64 a, -ji* 65, -bzi 65 a, -bze* 66, -bvi 67 68, -ve (-dowe*) 70, -bi 74, -tu-vi*, -tu-we 75, -vi* 75 a, -tu-vi 75 b 75 c, -si* 77, -zi 78, -ziu* 79, -uzi* 80, -tuti* 83, -zi, -bi* 85, -zi 86, -ji 88, -ze 89, -zi 90, -tudi, -di* 91, -tundi 92 b, Tuji 97, -ji 98, -vi*, -wif* 100 101 102 103, -fi, -invi, -fita 104, -vi, -wifwi* 105, -fi 106 108, -vi 109, -zi 110, -tuji 112 a, -fi 116, -ji 118, -pi* 119, -tsub* 120, -si 122, -pi 123, -bi, -b* 124, -mbi, -pi 125, -bei 126, -bi* 127 128, -mi* 129 130 131 132 133 [247], -i 134, -mu* 136, -bi* 137 139 140 141, -vi 142, -bi 144, -i 145, -i, Tui* 151 153, -toi, Toi, Toyi*, -bi 155, -mbi* 157, -bi 159, -i 160, -bi 161 164 166 (also -ei) 168 (Tibi*) 175 176 177 178 187 189 195 199, -rufi* 184 [see 17 and 18], -bui, -bwie* 200, -bi 202 203 204 207 210, -be 212, -bi* 218 219, -pi* 234, -bi* 240 c 241 258, -mi 259; -mbu 189, -bu* 214, -buñ 227 228 a 229, -biñ* 227 228, Viñ 252, -fin* 243, -bint* 274; -bilw 84; -yu, Ew 150 153, -yö 200.

-gedzie, -vezi, -idzai* 1.

Tib 121; Tsub 120; -tupa 94; -daba* 38; -dowe 70.

-thete* 73; -etiti 151 a, -etita 151 b, -titi* 151; -ti* 193; -re* 226, -zet*, -za 230; Wat 273.

-tutorw 2 c.

-puekw 28.

-tawk* 64, -tawk*, -lawk 83 85, -duku* 211.

Tuñ, Tu-nnu, Tu-un, Tu-unwi 254-6.

-niña*, -nine* 94, -nin* 263; -nyi* 54; -nya* 75 (verbal noun Uku-nya in ɔōsa; almost univer-
sal as verb—'defecate'—in Bantu), -nyō* 194 (Binyō); -jō 238.

-ñgwenu 60; -ñkwa 162.

-wa 205 206; -lwa* 206 209, -rua* 11.

-daba* 38; -dowe 70; -dama* 110; -sam* 227; -san* 273; -can 266.

-saru 14; -rarw 17; -ala 17; Fari 18; -tara 148.

-raşi 17.

-şika 186; -şihe 220; Şip 253.

-kutu.28, -kwutu 38.

-cimba* 54 61 a 69 70 71 f 72, -sepa* 73 74, -simba* 75 a 75 b 76; Şip* 253; -simi 259; -cin 261-2; -kë 257.

EYE

-isw* 1, -işw 2, -isw 2 a 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g (and -işw), -işw, -şw, -ciw 3, -nsw 3 b, -isw 4 5 b 6 a 7 7 a 8 9 9 a, -insw, -isw 9 b, -isw 9 c, -hw 10, -zw, -tw* 11, -tw 12, -idzw 13, -isw, -izw 14, -isw 15, -itsw, -dzw 16, -isw 17 18, -işw 19 19 a, -isw 20 20 d, -icw*, -cw 21, -itw*, -tw 21 a 21 b-d 21 e, -işw, -şw 21 f-g, -itsw 22, -isw 23 23 a, -gîsw 24 (and -isw), -ihw, -isw 24 c-g, -isw 25 26, -ihw 27, -isw 28, -ihw 29 30, -ihw, -esw 31 31 a, -gw, -iñgw 32, -ihw 33, Sisw 33 a 34 35 36 37 38, -isw 39 40, -nsw 41 42 43 43 a, -insw 44, -isw 44 b, -isw, -insw 45, -isw 46, -nsw 48, -insw 49 50, -isw 51 (and -sw) 52, -isu 53, -isw 54, -ihu 55, -itw 56, -ibw 56 a, -itu 56 b, -intw, -itw 57, -isw 58 58 a 59 60 (Dzisw) 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62 (and -nsw), -egw* 63, -isw 64, -jîşw, -jîsw* 64 a, -isw (Jisw) 65 65 a, -isw (Dzisw) 66, -icw 67, 68, -işw 69, -isw 70,

¹ This is the original form of the commonest and 'plainest-spoken' word-root for 'excrement'. It is interesting to note that it seems identical with the adjectival root -bi, meaning 'bad', as though the Proto-Bantu, though naked and still in the Stone Age, had some glimmering of sanitary ideas. -bi and its variants are mostly associated with the diminutive plural prefix, Tu.

-ihlw 71 71 f, -itw, -isw 72, -isw 73, -itlhw* 74, -itw 74 b, -ihlw*, -isw* 75 75 a 75 b 75 c, -isw 76, -nsw 77 78 79, -iřw 79 80 81, -biw 82, -itw, -itw, -iyw 83, -isw, -sw 84, -iřw 85 86, -ihw 87, -esw 88, -ehw, -eřw 89 90, -iřw 91 91 a, -ihw 92, -isw 93 94 95 96 97, -asu 94 b, -isu 98, -esu 99, -isu, -izw 100, -esu 101 102 103 104, -nsw 105, -isu 106 107 108 109, -isu, -isw, -isw, -ise, -se 110, -izu 111, -isw 112, -isw, -esw 114, -isu 116, -ziw 117, -esw 118, -es' 119, -iũ, -iřu 120, -iy', -iř' 121, -esw 122, -iř 123, -iři 124, -isu 125, -isw 127, -cw 128, -iřu 129 (also -cu), -su 130, -su, -isw, -sw 131 132 133, -cu, -řiu 134, -isw 135 136 137, -cw 139, -isw 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 150, -iřu, -ihw 151, -isu 152, -ihw, -isu, -iřw 153 154 155 156 157 (-isw) 159 160 161 162, -iu 164, -isw 165 166, -iyw 167, -isw 168, -iu*, Dziu 175, -isu 176, -isi 177, Dziu 178, -iřw 179, -izw 180, -isu 181, -iz* 182, -icw 183, -iřw 184, -izw 185, -iři 186, -ncw, -isw, -iřw 187, -isw 188, -iřw 190, -isu 189, -njue, -ncw 191, -ntsw 192, -ntyw 193, -izi, -isi 94, -ihō 195, -isw 196, -ihw 198, -iw 199, -i 200 203, -is 201, -ih' 202, -iř 203, -isw 204, 205 206, -iř 207, -isw 208 209, -ise 210, -isw 211, -ise 212, -iř, -i, -ek* 213, -ix* 214, -i, -is 215, -gisw 216 (Yis* 252), -is 217, -is, -it* 218, -is 219, -ihw 220 (and -is), -i 221, -iw 222 223 224 (also -isw), -isi, -ihĩ 225, -iř' 235, -s', -yis' 252, -s, -ssi 253; -iřā 256; -cwkw*, -kwk, -jwk* 226; -ñwñhũ 260; -wōhũ 260.

-it*, -ut*, -ure* 227; -tset, -tse, -tsek, -tseyw*, -i, -e, -ta 230, -et*, -err, -es, -āk* 234, -it* 236,

-et, -ed 237, -āt, -et, err 228 228 b; -zi 229 e, -ze 232, -ji, -ci 229, -di 231, -řie 248, -ji 249, -gi 250, -ře 254, -řie, -ři 255, Mōs', Mes', Mussi 253; -yi 247 b; -sa 268; -gas, -kasi* 269-72.

-sumw 151 a-b.

-yw 233.

-jiel*, -jen* 239, Dzen* 239 b, Jennō* 238, Sienw*, Jen, Je 240, Itienci*, Dien*, Den* 242, -cien* 243 [the foregoing forms are related to a root -eni for 'face' and to a secondary root -ene, 'to see'], -kiet, -ciet 266; -kil, -řil* 270 273 273 b;¹ Ru-sul* 151 a; -iňgr* 274; -gira* 267, -kpiri* 247, -ñbi* 259.

-mōni* 4 a 5 5 a 6 6 a, -mōne ('eyelid') 11, -bōni ('pupil') 16 21 44 b 59, Bwla 69, -bōnw 75 a, -mōnyi* 126.

-bwla* 69, -fol* 261, -fōr* 263; Hol, -hon, -un 261-2.

-eu 244; -egw 63.

-sige 51.

Mimu, Memu 230.

-numì 257, -nũ 258; -ñwñhũ 260.

-yip 251.

FACE (sometimes also FOREHEAD)

-su*² 1, -sw* 2 2 a 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 e, -syw 2 f, -sw 3 b, -sw, -isw 4 4 b, -sw 6 a (and -siw*), -siw* 7 7 a, -sw 8, -řu 9, -řiw* 9 a, -iřu*, -řu 9 c, -ziw, -biw* 11, -biw 12, -sw 13, -řu 14, -uřw* 15, Usu* 16, -sw 20, -sw, -usw 21 21 a to 21 e, -sw 21 f-g 22, -su, -isw 25, -sw 27 28, -ehw* 29, -inyw* 32, -ehw* 34, -ihw 35, -sw 37, esw 39, -ensw* 41 42, -sw 43, -nsw 43 a, -insw* 44 44 b 48 49 50, -sw 51 52, -su 53, -syw, -esw 54, -itw* 56 56 a 56 b, -etw* (Wm-etw-ni) 57, -usw* 58, -tsw, -sw 61 61 a, -dzw 61 b, -sw 61 c, -nsw 62, -nřw (Imanzw) 64, -su (Busu) 64 a, -sw 67, -isw 68, -sw-ni 70, -sw 71, -isw 71 e 75 75 a 75 b 75 c 76, -řu 77 78, -syu 79, -su 80, -esu, Bunzu* 99 [-dōsi* 24 c-g, -yujĩ* 56], -se, Ndōse*, -luse*, -luze 100, Bundzu* 100 b, -bunzi* 75, -bunzi* 75 b, -su, -dunze* 101, -su 104, -ez* 109, -esu 111, Bunzu 116, -buř*, -ř* 119, -su 120 (also -bu*, -bi*), -siu* 121, -su 123, -řu 124, -sw 127, -siw 137, -esw 140, -isw 145, -usw 146, -insw 147, -su 148, -esw 150, -wsw 152, -siw 157, -usw 159, -su 161, -cw 166, -bwi*, -bwiu*, -řu 175, -su 176 178, -boyw* 179 180, -uřu 181 182, -su (Usu) 184, -usu 185, -wře, -řili* 186, -zw, -wsw 187, -uřu 189 190, -iũ 191, -zw, -řue 192, -zw, -ziw 193, -su 194, -wřw 195 198 199, -su, -řu 202 203, -sw 204 205 206, -su 207, -sw 208 209 210 211, -su 212, -řw 213 (also -bw, -bws) 214, -řyw 215, -usw 216, -su 217 218 219, -sw*, -pōcw* 226, -wci, -wsi 227 228, Bōsw* 228 a, Bwřu* 229, -se, -ge, -ju, -sa, -ja 230, -eři* 234, -ju 236, -t*, -břu,

¹ The Gala (Hamitic) root for 'eye' is -il.

² Obviously more than one of the words for 'face' are variants of noun-roots meaning 'eyes'.

·sa 237-268; ·ši, ·ješi* 232, ·se 235, ·su* 229, ·si 228, ·siri 248, ·jue 249, Musu*, ·su* 253, Fhus'ka 254, Busek* 255, ·pus'ga 256; ·sisō* 238; ·gbisa, ·gbwisa 151 b.

·tu* 258 260.

·dōsi* 24 c-g.

·ha-tlōkw, ·tlhōkw 74.

·kas 269-72.

·fatuw* 72, Phatw*, ·fata 73, Pata* 74 b; ·pala*, ·pala-sω 27, ·bala* 73 [-hol* 266], ·hωw* 83 84, ·ala 85, ·pala*, ·ωw, ·jilw 86 [-ol, ·uhl* 273], ·pala 87 92 94 97, ·pωw 95 96 98, ·pala 99, ·pωw*, ·bulu* 100 101 103, ·bωw* 168, ·pulu* 226, ·wor* 251, ·fol*, Tōle, ·hōle, ·fōle, ·hon-an 261 262, ·hol* 266, ·uhl*, ·ol* 273, ·pala* 104 107 108, ·hala, ·mpala* 109, ·pala 110 111 114 122 128, ·bala 144, ·bata* 151 [-batata* 167], ·pa, ·mpa 182, ·bale* 186; ·pā 200; ·kala* 162; ·gurirw* 26; Lωw* 85; ·julu* 248, ·tsur* 249.

·er* 263; Ta-wer* 250; ·eri* 11; Merw* 40; ·biri, ·bere* 228.

·jilw* 86, ·sili* 186, ·kilh*, ·kil* 270 273 (see roots for 'eye').

·dum 253, ·tum 255, ·jumu 267; Fumda 24; ·huma 88, ·kuma 59; ·pumi 61 b; ·pimw 139; ·limw 162; ·memu 230; ·nimi, ·nōmi 257; ·amu 17 18; ·bami 193.

·jenta 230; ·jujen 230.

·hañga 3, ·sañgu 17, ·añga 23, ·hañga 23 a 24 86, ·mañga 125.

·jug* 269, ·juk* 271; ·yika* 274; ·lugu* 267; ·dui 120, ·dwω 167; ·ruñgu*, ·luñgu 89 90, ·luñgi, ·ruñgi* 105 a, ·loñgi 125 129 a, ·luñgi 129 130 131 (also ·lunji) 132 133 134, ·loñgi* 136 156, ·luñgi* 162, ·leñge 160 164 (also ·loñgi), ·lañga 165, ·loñgi 166, ·luñgi, ·duñgi* 177, ·don, ·dun 228, ·ruñ* 263, ·rin 273; ·di 243.

·eni* 4 a, ·enyi* 4, ·ene 19 19 a, ·cenyē 21 g, ·eni 28 34, ·ene 39 a, ·kiene 40, ·eni 51, ·nyi 103, ·eni* 144, ·zeni, ·yeni* 193; ·yel* 252.

·mōni 5 5 a 6.

·tama 102 110 (also ·hama) 125; ·tamba 194, ·ambe 200.

·ombw 70 71 71 f, ·bombw 94 b-c, ·ombe, ·ombw 220-220 h.

·buñ 263; ·buñgi 32, ·wuñgi 55.

Bu-ibw 220; ·buw 229; ·kebu 41, ·kebw 106, ·ebw 142; ·pōg 235; ·bake 38.

·kōpe 44 b, ·kōve, ·kōwe 56 a, ·kōve 56 b, ·kōpe 57 58, ·khōpe 58 a, ·kōpe 59 61 a, Hōpe 64 a 65 a, Kōpe 65, Hōpe 66, Gōe 69, Kōhe 70, Khōfe 72, ·xōfe 73; ·ñume 259.

·neka 126.

·nuku, ·nukw 155 157; ·ruk 235, ·dik 273, ·sek 245.

·cundi, ·condi 141; Tundu-k, Tundu-ku 151 a; ·don, ·dun 236, ·tunu 256, ·tu 258 259; ·rin 273.

·liā 181.

·zizi 100.

·twetwe 114.

·gúriw 26.

·ñgbwisa 151 b.

FAT, OIL

·guta*¹ 1, ·gita* 2, ·vutta*, ·futa* 2 c, ·zita* 2 d, ·zuta* 2 e 2 f, ·dyuta* 2 g, ·vuta* 3 3 b, ·futa, ·buta* 4, ·futa 5, ·furra* 5 a, ·futa 6 6 a, ·guta 7 8, ·kuta* 9, ·futa 9 a, ·guta 9 c, ·futa, ·guta 11, ·ūta* 12, ·fuha 13, ·vuta, ·vuda* 14, ·futa 15, ·fūha* 16, ·fuha, ·fura, ·fuda 17, ·fura 18, ·vuta 19 19 a 20, ·futa 21 21 a 21 b-d, ·fuca 21 e, ·futa 21 f-g, ·vuta 23, ·bvuta* 23 a, ·futa 24 25, ·kuta 26, ·futa 27 28, ·futha 29, ·uta 32, ·huta 34, ·futa, ·huta* 35, ·futha 36, ·futa 37, ·suta 38, ·futa 39, ·kuta 39 a, ·kita* 40, ·futa 41 42 43 43 a 44 44 b 45 48 50 51 52 53, ·ūta 54, ·huta 55, ·kura* 56 56 a 56 b 57 58, ·futa 58 a 59 60 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62 64 64 a 66 68, ·fura 69, ·fura, ·fuha* 70 71 71 f, ·pfura 72, ·fura, ·xura* 73,

¹ This ·futa, ·guta, ·buta, ·kūta root is particularly interesting as showing the ease with which *f*, *h*, *g*, *b*, *t*, and *r*, *u* and *i* permute in Bantu and Semi-Bantu.

-hura 74, -fula* 74 b, -futa* 75 75 a, -futs'a* 75 b, -futa 76 77 78 80, -šuta* 81 (cream), -futa 87, -zura, -dura* 89, -futa 105, -wala* 120, -uta 124 125, -kuta 127, -uta 129, -ta* 130 131 132, -kuta 135, -ita* 139, -kit* 140, -kuta 141, -futa 143, -kuta 144, -zuta 145, -jita* 148, -ita 155, -uta 159 160 161 162 167, -da* 180, -twa*, Mutwa 194, -vule, -vula* 195, -ule, -ula 199, -wure* 200, -uta 204, -ula 205, -uja, -vuja* 206, -ula 210, -gwa* 220, -utw 225, -ita, -a* (Amā) 226, -fut* 231, Mūt, Mwada 253, -fo, -wat 234, -gwat, -gud* 230, -waw 236, -wū 237, -gurs, -yut* 232, -kud, -kot* 229, -ku 227 228 244, -fū 243, -ku 247, Dyūa* 267, -ñikir* 271, -ita* 273, -gu 274.

-ori (Mori) 21 e.

-zi, -dze 81, -bi*-mae 82, -ze, -ati*, -iye 83, -ji, -zi 84, -bi 85, -zi, -bi, -ye, -bi* 86, -de, de* 87, -ji* 88, -gazi*, -be 89, -adi* 91, -lela* 92 94, Uva-i 94 c, -asi* 94, -ji 98 99 100 (also -si, -aji), -gazi*, -dzui 100 b, -nzi 101 103, Maš' 109, -ji 114 116, -le* 117, -ji 118, -lil* 119, -re, -li*, -ji 120, -su, -zi, -dze 121 (also -e, -me), -ji 122, -ali 164 166 (also -cali), -li* 175, -le 168 a 176, -li 178, -ri 179, -li 181, -le 182, -ši 184, -di 185, -li, -ale 168 a 186, -di* 189 190, -li* 211, -l, -ōl (Mōl) 213 214 215; Mai, -mai 258 253; -ne 239 b 244.

-gala* 20, -hare, -gali* 191, -hali 192, -gali* 193; -ya 261.

-zigwa 3, -zigwa 4.

-lesu* 56 b, -diswa, -liswa, -liswa* 134 136, -swa, Mwsa* 208.

-inyi, -nyi 104 105 106 107 110 (also -nzi) 128 250; -uni 161; -nji 228; -nnoi 228 a, Nwye 244 a, -wi, Nwi 244, -muñ, -mueñ 257.

-nibi 254, -nuvi 228 a, -newe*, -nebe 255; -nawa* 6.

-ñgorwaw 11, -gulunya 16 20.

-nawaw* 23, -nawā 43 a 61 a 73 75, -nawā* 75 a, -nuna* 106, -nawā 141, -nawaw 145 146, -nawā 151, -nawaw* 153 206; -nom 246; -nammō 226.

-vimu* 108, -vwaw* 194, -fom* 227 228, -hō 230, -fō 234; -mu (-kumū*) 259, -emw 108; -fuñ 229; -fañ 227; -fiām, -fuam* 229; -pama* 27 49; -buan 217; -poñgw* 160 162 164, -voñga 184, -voñgw* 190 195 199, -fhoñ, -hoñ 202-3, -woñgi 204 205, -foñ 207, -wō 209, -fon, -hoñ* 211 212 214, -woñe 186, -woñ* 217, voñ, -bon 218 219.

-eñgwa 3 (R.); -kwi, -gwe, -kuai 261-2.

-ani, -nyani 142, -ane 155; -ena 148, -ina 137, -ila 141, -ina 151 155, -ima 155 155 c, -ila 157; -yiñe 228; Nail 252.

-sawu 1, -šaju 2, -savu 2 a, -sāzu 2 c, -sadzu 2 d, -savu 4 b 9 a, -sabi 109, -sabw 147; -daww 75 c; -salu 175; Sapa-k 151 a; -api 126; -šedi 125, -sadi 123, -asade 187.

-kasa 44 b.

-gala 20; Mala 238; -gera 271-2; -ñikir' 270; Ñgorwaw 11.

-šimi 255.

-tinia 7 7 a; Sunya 17.

-suzw 83; -suku 153 162; -zigwa 3, -zigwa 4; -sek 245, -ruk 235, -dik 273; -yak 242.

-ep 244, Bw-ep, -ep 252; -ndup 251.

geyum 248; -teya 198; -tinia 7; -liya 261.

-lau 168, -lō 258; -rw 263.

-ba 133; -be 239 b; -bō 260.

-gimbw 3; Tsumbw 69.

-kamba* 150, -kam* 268; -gemi* 240 a; Jamai* 253.

-nda, Kanda 17.

-dan 245; -tondw 151 154; -tōla 101; -twtw 166; -tom, -top 273; Pa-tamut 151 a; -bimae 82; Ja-mai 253; -gemi 240 a; -šimi 256.

-bisa, -biša, -bica 151 b; wec 266.

FATHER

Tata* 1 2 2 a 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g, Data*, Tata, Ra 3, Data 3 b, Kita,¹ Tata 4, Tata, Tate 8 9 b, Tata 9 c 10, Atsa* 12, Tate* 19 19 a 20, Tata 20 d, Hala* 22, Tata, Thatha 23, Tate 23 a, Tata 24 c-g 26, Dada, Dade* 27, Tati* 28, Dada 29 30, Tata 31, Tate 31 a 32 (and -tati), Tata 34, Atati 35, -dada 38, Tata 39 39 a 40 (and Tutu) 41 42 43 a 44, Tata, Wata, Bata* 44 b, Itata* 45, Tate 46, -tai* 48, Tata 51, -tati 54 55, Titi* 56, -tata (ancestors) 56 a, Tate 61 61 a, Tate, Tete* 61 b, -tate 61 c, Watā 62, Udade* 64, Tati 70, Tata 71 (also Rořū- : see 231), Tati 71 f, Rara, Hara*, -tata 73, Hara, Rara*, -ra, Rrā, Hare 74, -datē 74 b, Tata, Tate 77 78 79, Tayω*, Danda* 80, Tati, Tate 81 82 83, Tata 84, Tate 85 86 (and Tata) 87, -tata 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 97 98 99 100 101 102 103, Tatu* 104, Tata 105 106, Tete* 107, Tatu 108, Tata, Tatu 110, Tadω 111, Tada 114, Tata 116, Tara 117, Tata 118, Ta' 119, Tata 120, Atar* 121, Tata 122 124 125 127 128 129, Tapa* 132, Utata 139, Tata 140 141 144 147 163 165 (also Tayω), Tata 168 a, Tara 175 176, Tata 177, Tara 178, Tata 179 180 181 182 183 184 (and Tai) 185, -ta 186, Teita, Teta, Tetē 187, Tata 189, Tatω 190, Ririω*, Tata 191, Rera* 192 193 (also Ta), Tata 194, Ta 200, Ita, Tita, Tae, Tada 202 203, Tete, Tite, Ti 204, Teta 205, Tate 206, Tata 207 209 212, Tate 213, Tete, Tite, Ta 214 215, Tata 218, Atat' 219, Tara 217 218 219, D'a, Da, -dā 220 223, Taω* 224, -ta, -te, -je 226, -ta 227, -ta 228 229, Te'a, Teta, Taya 230, Tara, Toru* 231, Tata 232, -ta 234, Teta 236, Tite*, Jie, Kie* 237, -ita 243, Dede* 239, Ara 239 b, Ata 240, Tete 244, Tete 244 a, Ata 246, Ete 245, Tere, Tiri 248, Tada, Tati, Tat 253, Da 252, I-tat 255, Ada, I-tat 256, -ti 257, Tete*, Te 258, -ka 259.

-se*, -sa* 1, -se, -si*, Sω* 2, -se, -sω 2 c 2 d, -se 2 e 2 f (and -sω), -se, -sω 2 g, Sω, -se 3, Sa-, Se-, Se-bω 4, -sa, -sie, -sω 9 a, Tω, -ti, -iti* 11, -si* 13, -deyω, -dee* 14, -de, -deω, -die, -deye* 17, -diω, -die* 18, -iřω, -iře 19, -isω* 19 a, -isω, -ise 20, řa-* 21 (old), řω-* 21 e, řa- 21 g, -sedia 26, Isω, Ise 27, -sω 28, -hesω* 29, Iřō, Isa-, řsω 39, Sω, Se 40, Sω, Wisω, Wise, Se, Si- 41, Wisω, Wisi 42, Sω, Isi 43 a, Wisi 44 44 b (and Wisω), -sω (Ugu-sω), -ise (Ugw'ise*) 51, -ese (Wese*) 54, Titi* 56, -titi*, -biriti 56 a, Se-, Sa- 58 59, Tsa-, řa-, řa- 61 61 a, Aw-isi*, An-sω* 62, Iře, Se-, Ji-* 64 a, -yise*, -yihlω*, -sω* 75 75 a 75 b 75 c, Isω, Ise 76, Isω, Iři 77, Usω, Uře, Uřa 78 79 (also Wisi, Si), -si, -se, -sa, -su, Ise 80, řa-řgwe*, -tω-, Sitω 83 83 a, -se, -sω, -si 84, -hω, -he, -hi, řsω, ře 89 90 91 92 93, -sω, Isia, Se 94 94 b, Se 97, Sω, Se 98 99, Kise*, Ese-, řa- 100, -isω, řa, ř' 104, Sa, řsω, -se-, ři 105, Ise, řa, řsω, ři 106, řa, ře, ř' 114, řsω 123 126, řa 135, ře 136, Cω 139, ře, řsω 141 142, řō, řa, řša 144, -tω 148, -se, -hω 158, řa, řa 159 160 161, -se 162, A- 164, řa 166 167 183, řa-, ři- 186, řa- 194, řa- 195 199, řō- 200, -sa-ře 202, řa 204, řō-, řa- 205, řese* 206 208, řa- 209 214 (also řō-), řuω, řia* 217, řsa, řyita 218, řsa 219, řaři (my father) 218, řa-řgu, řag, řyařwa 220-220 h ; řo 221, -je 226, -se 227, -sω 228 235, -nci 229, -je 229 e, -ji 250, -tse, ři 251 256, -sin, -hli 269-72.

Baba* 2 b 5 j a, řāpā* 6 6 a, Bawa* 9, Baba 9 a 9 b, řa-, řava, řawa* 9 c, Baba 11 13, řa 14, řa-, řapa, řawe- 15, řa, řa-, řa-, řa-, ři-* 16, řa 17, řava*, řapā 18 18 a, řa 21 21 a 21 b-d 21 e, řa 21 f-g, řa, řa-, řa- 22, řa 23 a 24 25, řa 34, řa 57 58 59, řaω* 64, řa 64 a, řa 73, -řawω 75, -řa 75 a 75 b (and řa) 75 c, řa 76, řa 96 (also -řwa), řa 97, řa 98, řa 125, řa 129 a 131, řa 133, řa 137, řa 146, -řa 149, -řa 150, -řa 151, řa 151 a-b, -řa, -řa 153 154, řa 159, -řa 162, A- 164, řa 167 168, řa, řa 195 198, -řa 222, řa 230, řa 232, řa 255, řa 261, řa, řa 263, řa*, -řa 266, řa, řa 267, řa* 269, řa, -řa, -řa 273.

Palea 64 ; řa 22.

-řa 273.

řa' 267.

řa 263 ; -řa 259-60.

-řa 166 ; -nci 229 ; -cemω 226 ; -řa 263.

-řa, -řa 244.

řa, řa 134.

¹ Note honorific prefix, ři-.

Bunu 175; Bɔyu* Buyu 155, -bɔyē*, Bɔ 226, -mōye*, -ye 226; Woi* 240 c.

-ɔga 230; ɔka 259; Sɔga 25.

-kwa 78.

Nu 11, Nau, Nū 12.

Nani, Nanikɔ 26; Uñkɔ 51.

-deyɔ, -dee 14, -de, -deɔ, -deye 17.

Kɔlori 25; Khɔtsi 72; -kɔfu 5 5 a.

Nyaie 69.

FEAR

-ɔba 8, -ɔwa* 9 9 a 9 c, -ɔva* 11, ɔga* 13, -ɔwa, -ɔga 14, -ɔga 16, -wū, -ɔwu, -hɔwa* 17, -ɔwwa-ha 18, ɔga 19, -ɔga 19 a 20, -ɔga 21 21 f-g, -wɔga* 23 24 25, -ɔga 28 32, -ɔpa* 34, -ɔga 35 37, -ɔba* 39 39 a, -ɔyɔ- 45, -ɔpa 44 b, -ɔwa 48, -ɔga 49, -ɔɔa 50, -ɔga 51, -ɔfi* 52, -ɔpa* 53, -ɔga 54, -ɔva 56 56 b 57, -yɔpa, Gɔpa* 58 58 a 59, -ɔpa* 61 61 a 61 b, -ɔpa, -ɔwa 62, -ɔfhɔ* 72, -voifɔ, -voifa* 73, Poihō, Boiha 74, -oyi* (Uk'oyika) 75, -wɔwa* 77, Bɔwa* 78, -iɔwa 79, ɔva, ɔma* 86, -ɔma 88 89 92 97 98, Vumi 100, Bɔma* 101 103, ɔwa 104, -ɔma 110 112 a, -om 116, -ɔma 118, -om 121, -ɔma 122, -ɔmɔ 124, -ɔma 125, -ɔmɔ 127, -ɔma 129 a 130 131 132, -pɔw 133, (?) Kima* 136, -ɔha 137, -ɔba 139, -ɔma 140, -ɔwa 141, -ɔba 144, -ɔwa 155, -bɔbɔ* 161, -ɔmɔ* 168, ɔ, ɔbɔ, ɔgɔ 175, ɔmɔ 176, -ɔma 177, Umɔ 178, Wɔma 184, Wɔmɔ 187, -ɔmɔ 189 190, -bɔbɔ* 193, Webɔ 194; -ñguba 151 a, -uba 204, Wup' 253, ɔbi 206, -ɔa, -kue 220, -wüga, -wüya* 274; -kɔma* 228; -ɔkɔ 145; -puba* 78; -puma* 199; -fup* 227 228 229 (also -fum), Ny-ip, -ip 252, -fu 259; -sɔmɔ* 164; -sumba*, -humba 94-94 c; -samba 159.

-ñgũngum 159; -ñgõngɔma 164; -oñga* 100; -kuñga* 3; Boñgɔ* 166; -eñ 186; -oñgɔ* 195 199 204 205 209, -oñgi 134 151 b 203 210, -woñ* 202 207 218 219, -oñ 211 212 214; Bañga* 151 155 157, -añga 160, Bañga 161 162; Bañgup*, -Bañguba 151 a; -kab 220.

-tina* 2, -tinyiri (?) -tinya) 2 a, -tina 2 c 2 d 2 e 2 f, -tini 2 g, -tina 3 3 b, -tia, -ti, -tisa* 4, -ti 5, -rri 5 a 6 (and -ria), -ti 6 a 7, -timwa* 9 c, -binye 12, -tiša, -tišɔ, -tya, -caji 21, -ca 21 a 21 b-d 21 e (and -cɔ), -tinɔ 41, -tina* 44 b, -tenu* 61 a, -tiha* 63, -tia 65 65 a 66 68; -toya 71, -tia 77, -tiya 80, -cila 83, -tina 87, -tira, -ta 89, -tila* 90, -tilɔ 91, -tila 100 b, -tina 141 142, -tia 153 193, -te 234, -cia* 248.

-eri 5 a (R.); -enyɔ 40; -ensɔ 42 44 44 b.

-kise 2; -kete 193; -tete 43 43 a, -tente 61 b.

-kea 12; -keke 94 b.

Fɔle* 15; -bɔlu 167; -kɔli* 273; -ture* 14.

-ɔyi- 75, -ɔyi, -ɔyɔ 105, -hɔ 108, -ɔyi 109; -yia 257; -yeke 258.

-alɔtɔ* 126, -lɔtɔ* 27; -utɔca 64 a.

-funde 200.

-ezɔ 62; -yasa 254; Wansa 255; Nesa 263; Sa, Šaha*, Sasa 226; Sari 226; -saga* 1; Saba* 67; -caba* 69, -tavu* 70, -tava* 70, -cabu, -caba* 71 71 e, -cavɔ 71 f, Tsabɔ 73, -esaba 75 a 75 b 75 c, -sawa* 76.

-nidi 125.

Amarra* 217; Ebera 243; -korora 11.

-manta 53, Măta* 57, Manta* 58 59 60 61 61 a 61 b, Mantha 61 c.

-ika 164; -ruka 7.

-dum* 119, -diem 237; -ruma* 5 a.

-itigirra 11; -tik 228 a.

-ilai 17.

-duega 27.

-dwadɔ 38; -valɔ* 75 c; -gwara* 76; -gweli* 94, gwal' 120; -bali* 166; -kuat 262.

-hwehwe 27.

-cukula 56 a.

-hana 64; -haya 266.

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-kumɔ*² 1 2 2 b 2 c 2 d, -kumu 2 e 2 g, -kumwe 3, -kumu 3 b, -kumɔ 4, -kumu 109 199; Bimu 220.

Kwen 252; -ñwoñ* 242, -fou* 250; -punu* 56 b, -bunɔ* 57 58 58 a, -bunu* 59, -pfunya* 60, -bonzi* (thumb) 75.

-legwe* 56; -nebi* 258; -ulabi* 259; -libue* 56 a.

-kōmbi 21 g; Gumba 23 32, -kombi 34 a, -wumba 35.

-lam* 229 e; -libue* 56 a; -lembu* 95 97 98, -lembɔ* 100 103 107 109 116, -liemu* 117, -dembe* 118, -lim* 119, -lembɔ, -nembɔ 124, -neme* 123 125, -dembu 129, -lembɔ 129 a, -liemɔ* 175 176, -lembɔ 177, -limu 178, -lemi 179, -leam* 180, -liemi 181 182, -lembu, -lembɔ 184 185 189, -numbɔ* 225, -buembu* 230.

-wina 94; -menɔ* 191 192, -menu* 193, -nɔnen 216, -mene* 227; Mini* 151 a.

-bew 134.

-rime 139; -nume* (? 'thumb') 141, -numi*, -nimi 257, -lɔme* 188.

-koñɔ* 34, -koñgɔ* (thumb) 54, -kɔkɔ* 56 56 a; -soñgɔ* 126; -oñgɔ* 187 a, -oñgon* 191, -oñ 207; -iñgɔ, -biñgɔ 165; -penjɔ 198 199, -pendu 199; -ñguɔ, -añgu 237; -sañga* 155, -sañgala* 197; -taña* 251; -sen* 263; -siñk* 273 b; -sik, -sex 273.

-nbala* 253; -ñgara* 248; -kala* 155, -keli, -kele 155 c 157; -zala* 101 102 103 120, -ala* 104 105 109 128, -ara 2 2 d 2 f 2 g, -ala 4 4 a 4 b 5 5 a, -wala, -ala 6 6 a (and -jala), -ara 7 7 a 8, -ala* 9 9 c, -ara 11, -ā 12, -ala 14, -cāā 15, -ala 16, -ɔla 18 19 19 a, -yāā, -jāā 21 e, -ala 21 f-g, -a 22, -ala 23 a 25 26 27 28 34 42, -ara 45, -ala 54, -ata (thumb) 56 a, -ara 59 a, -ala 61 61 a, -ava 61 b 61 c 147; -anda* 23; -caru* 267; -galɔ*, Kalɔ 2 a, -galɔ* 4; -dala* 5; -terre* 5 a; -duala* (Tun. pl.) 66; -dale* 226; -lar* 265; -dɔle* 3 b, -dɔwe 13, -ɔla 18, Dɔle 20, -dɔle 21 21 a 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25, -dori* 29; -sala* 159, -sāl* 263, -sen 264, -salei* 187; -dadoi* 243; -se 156, -sei 159 164 165 167 168, -cei 166; -se 130 164, -sai 39 a 133 135 144 159 160, -sapi 161 a, -sai 162 164, -sayi 143, -savi 187, -sevi 190, -sape 161; -sani 139; -sanzɔ 49; -sū 261.

-anda 21 a 21 b-d 23.

-zaga 151 b, -jaga 150; -ak 236; -zigu 149; -zika 150.

-tɔki 3, -tɔke 3 b.

-buka* 145; -bɔkɔ* 145 146; ³ -mbaki* 274.

-konj 270, -kundesi 151 a, -kontsi, -konji* 32, -konje, -kondzi 34, -konji, -gongi 37, -konze, -ñonze 38, -gonji* 55, -kanje* 121; -kɔnyi* 109; -kon* 271-2, -kɔanye* 269; -kin 251.

-ndɔ 105; -tue 226; -rɔtɔ 1, -rɔɔ 140.

-tiɔ, -tiū 69, -tsihɔ 70, -tihɔ 71 71 f.

¹ Some of the roots here given may be missing as applied to 'finger' in the vocabularies in Vol. I, through accidental omission. But in that case they will be found opposite 'toe'.

² The root -kumu, -kumɔ often means 'thumb'.

³ Compare roots for 'hand' and 'five'.

- te 266.
 -jisi 56.
 -pita¹ 125 130 131, -hita 130, -ṣita 131, -hita 132, -pita 134 136.
 -butu 33 a.
 beṅṅbe, -kbeṅṅbe 148 153.
 -ḡw 120; -ḡwe 33; -ḡwe 48; -ḡwe 50 51 (and -we, -ḡbe), -uwu 55, -ṅḡwe 63.
 -wwe 259; -fwa, -fā 256, -vwavwa 254, -bobwa, -vwa 255, -wwe 260.
 -tuḡw 230; -tupa (thumb)¹ 75 75 b, -tupu 230; -sḡw, -ṣieḡw 230; -sibw, -simbw, -tumbw 230
 -buembu 230.
 -kerrw 149; -korigi 175.

FIRE

-rirw* 1 2, -lirw* 2 a, -rrw 2b 2c 2d, -lilw* 2 e 2f, -riru 2g, -rirw 3, -lilw* 3b 4 5, -rirw 5a 6, -lirw 6a, -rirw, -rerw 7 7 a 8, -lirw 9 a, -lilw 9b 9c, -lirw 41, -rirw 42 44, -lilw 44b, -rirw 45, -lilw 48, -rirw 49, -lu* (Mulu) 56 b, -lilw 62, -rirw 64 a 65 65 a 66 68, Dziru, -dziru, -delw, -nilw* 69, -dilw, -dilu* 70, -dyilw 71, -jilw, -rilw 71 f, -lilw 72, -lelw, -lilw, -ollw* 73 73 a, -lelw* 74, -lilw* 75 75 a 75 b 75 c, -lilw 77, -dilw 78, -lilw 79, -dilw 80, -girw*, -dirw, -ndirw 81, -lelw, -lilw 83, -dilw, -njilw 87 87 a, -rirw 89, -lilw 90 91, -rirw 92 b, -dilu 94 104, Ilu-hia 94 c, -rirw, -dilw 105, -jilw 106, -dilu 107 108 109, -lelw 142, -lilw 143, -rirw 144, -lirw 147; Didi* 204, Dite* 225; -iji* (Bu-iji) 82; -lw 108, -alu 106.

Diun 244, Diu 236, Hiu 235; Dū 186 225, Dudw, Dū 220-220 f, -dūa* 218, -dōen* 218, -duan* 217 219, -tuan* 217, -ḡwan* 201, Dūūn* 243, -rua* 251, Dūa* 271, -ḡw* 270 272; -ddōx* (Waddōx) 274; Dyom* 261; -tsuñ, -suñ 250; -zañ, -zan 202.

-uki* 12, -aki 11, -adjī 12, -ōk, -ōḡw*, -ō 228; -ḡgusi, ḡgusō 151 a-b.

-kw (meaning 'hearth') 12 21, Kau 26, -gu, -kegu 151, Su-ku, Sḡ-ku, -eku 153, -gu 154, -kw 187 187 a, -ḡw 234, -ḡw, -ō 228; -yu, -ya 183, -ū (Du; pl. Mu) 186, -ḡw 195; -ḡe 249.

-ḡwni* (probably meaning 'firewood' originally), -ḡwni, -xwni 191, -ḡwni, -kwni 192, -ḡwni, -kwni 193, -ḡwni* 188, -ḡun* 227 228 (also -ḡom), -wun 237, -kūn 238, -ḡom 241; -mbun* 273; -kpwnun* 242. -ḡwe 157; -ḡuit 232; -fikut 228, -ṅkōt 228 a; -kere 229 e.

-fu 259; -furu* 267; -bw 120, -bu, -bw 187; -bi 184; -buri* 121; Bu-mara* 221 225; -pūe* 222, -vui 232; -ṣue* 110, ṣihe, Sie 220; -kua* 229.

-ōtw*, -ōta* (this last is the verb-root meaning 'to burn', 'to heat', 'to warm') 2g 2f, -ōta (to warm) 3, -ōta 4, -ōtw 9 9 b 9 c 10, -ōhw 13, -ḡw, -ōda 14, -ōtw 15, -ōhw 16, -ōhw, -ōḡw*, -rw* 17, -oru* 18, -ōtw 19 20 21 21 a 21 b-d, -ōcw 21 e, -ōtw 21 f-g, -ōrw 22, -ōtw 23 24 25 26 27 to 32, 34 35 37 38 43 43 a, -ōthw 45, -ōtw 46 48 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 (-ōrw) 56 a 56 b, -ōtw 57 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62 63 64 64 a 70 (-ōha, -ōta), -ōtye 71, -ōtw 72, -ōta* 75 75 a, -ōtw, -ōta* 109, -zw, -zu, -jw 134, -ōsa* 137, -sa* 141 145 146 149 150, -ta* 151 153, Tsa-ḡguṣ 151 a, -sa 155 156, -isa 159, -sa 160 161, -ca 162, -twe* 167 168, -jw* 186, -ṣōtw* 187, -ōteli* (verb) 204, -w, -ui 213, -ū 214, ? Kōda, Kuta 220 a, -ōsw*, -isw, -rw, -ōrw, -ḡwsḡw, -ṣisw, -sa, &c., 226, Wusu*, Usu* 248, -ḡgusi, -ḡgusō 151 a-b, -ḡsi 110, -ḡsi 111; Ōla* 247, -la 250, Ura* 254, Ōra* 255; -tw* 258, -rw* 270, -rua 251, -dua 271, -ḡw 272.

-wai* (Kawai) 4 [Kya* 252], -ia, -iya* (Kaia, Tuiya) 39 39 a 40, -hya* 84, -iya 85, -hia, -ca, -ya 86, -hia, -gia* 88, -pia* 91 a 92 93 94 b, -wia 95, -bia* 96 97, -iha 97, -pia, -bia, -ya 98, -via, -ya 100, -hia, -fia, -iya, -pia 104, -nya, -pia 105, -iya, -hia 109, -ya (Kaya) 112 a, -hia 114, Tū (from Tuyu) 119, Ti-ya* 120, Cūa 122, Tia* 123, -teya, Tu, Ti 124, Iya, Iw, Tiya, Ti 125, Eyw 126, -via* 127, -pia* 128, Iya 129, -ya 129 a 130 131 (also -ṅgo-ya), -wa 132 133 135 136, -pia 139, -ya 140 141 143 144 (also -ija), -eya 164 166, -ya 183, -vi, -bi* (Rōbi, Ruvi) 184, -ia, -dya, -ya 186, -pyu, -piw*, -peja, -wei, -ei 193, -yō 195, -ea 196, -eya 198, -ea, -ei 199, -ie, -ea 200, -e, -ia, -ye 203, -ea 204, -ia 205, -uya 206, -ui 207, -ya 208, -ēa 209, -ie 210, -ya 211, Fe 212, -dzea, -jea 216, -ya 223 224 256, Kya 252; -nya 223 224, -nyw 185.

¹ Probably retained in a large number of West Bantu languages in the root-word for 'six', -twba, meaning the thumb of the second hand after the first five fingers had been counted.

-yena 84.
 -ima 86; - ω mu 195; - \bar{o} nu 194; Dyom, Jem, Jamda 261 262.
 -yimbi 137, -imbe 155 c.
 -bas ω^* 67 75 (Ubas ω) 76; -basa, -basu, -was ω^* (sun heat) 5-5 b 7, -as ω^* (sun heat) 26, -bazu*
 100, -bawu 100 b, -bazu 101 102 103 (also -bas ω); -kas ω^* 110; Bes, Bäs* 253.
 Mba, Mbaa 119 120 167 ('gun') 168 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182; Ba ω 116 118 189 (and -bagu)
 190; -wai (Kawai) 4; -waa 25.
 -gyara 148, -dya, -gya 148 a, -gyä 257, -kala, -ka 150 151 161; -kañ 245 246; -zañ 202; -canwa 3 b.
 -sali (Nansali) 60.
 -dalu 94; -dalore 220.
 -sak ω 188; -sik 218 219; - \bar{s} ihe 220.
 -nuñga 102.
 -nukus 268.
 Hiü 235.
 -met, -met ω a 266.
 Nantr, -ants 263.

FISH

-süi, -swe* 1, -cüi* 2, -tüi* 2 a, -cu* 2 b 2 c, -tchu, -fu* 2 d, -fwi* 2 e 2 f 3, -fū 3, -vüi, -siwi* 3 b,
 -fwi 4, -nswe, -nswi 7 7 a, \bar{S} i* 9, -fwi 9 a, Dzwi 13, Swi, Dzüi 16, Fi* 19, -si*, -jisi 21 b, c, d, e, -süi
 21 f-g, Fi 22, -zwi 27, -swi 29 34 39 43 43 a 44 44 b 45 48 49 50 51, Hwe* 65 65 a, -h ω be* 64 a 66 67 68,
 h \bar{o} be, \bar{y} öbe* 64, Kh ω vhe* 72 [- \bar{o} bi 203, Hue 204 a], -swi 77 78 79 80, - \bar{s} we 81, -bi* 82, -di* 83, - \bar{s} i 84,
 -bi 85, -tsi, -si 86, - \bar{s} i 87 88, -hi* 89 90 92, - \bar{s} i 91, -si, -bisi* 94, - \bar{s} i 97 110, -süi 117, - \bar{s} i 118, -jue, -tu* 120,
 -cu 121, - \bar{s} ui 122 123 124, -n \bar{s} i, \bar{S} ui 125, - \bar{s} ipa* 128 [-suwa 254], - \bar{s} i, - \bar{s} e 129 130 131, -sui 137, -fi, -fe 141,
 -se 132 142, -si 133, -se 134, -swi 135, -se 136, -sui 144, -su 145, -sui 147, -üsü 146, -siwe 148, -si, Basi,
 -Ba \bar{s} * 151 a-b, -swi 155, -suwe 155 c [-suwa* 254], -cu 156, -swi 157, -cu 159, -su 160, -sui 161
 162, -su 164, -cu 166, -se 167, -ci 170, -cwi 175 176 (also -jue), -tswi 178, -jue 179, Jui 180 181 182,
 -sui 185, \bar{S} ie 186, -cui 189 190, -jue 191, -tsue 192, -tyuwe* 193, Huwi* 198, Huwe* 199 [cf. 64 a 66],
 K ω -h' 202, K ω - \bar{s} i 203, \bar{S} ui 204, -sui 205 210, Cui 216, Su 214 220 221, -ue 223, \bar{S} ue 224, -cua, -cue, \bar{S} ue,
 Cwe* 226, -si 227 228 a, - \bar{s} u, -z ω , -sa, - \bar{s} we 230 231, - \bar{s} i 234, -su 231, \bar{S} u, Z ω 233, S \bar{u} 235* S \bar{u} * 248, -ts \bar{e}
 250, N \bar{s} i, Nji 253, Suwa 254; -fu 2 d 3 100, -pfu* 100 b, -fu, -f ω 101, -fu 103, -su, -si 108, -fu ω 112 a,
 -f ω , -fu 200.

[-födi* 243]; -bebu* 211; -bib* 249; -bab* 228; [-föbi* 243]; -yebe* 247; -sabi* 41, -sawi,
 -savi* 105¹; -tap* 271.

-bi \bar{s} i, -bisi* 20 94 95 96, -biji* 98 100, -bizi* 100 b, -bisi 103, -wi \bar{s} i 107, -bi \bar{s} i 114, -bizi 116, -birr
 119, -bidi* 177; -gisi* 237, -gis* 274.

-tiñmane 238.

-sañganyi* 111; -sañkimi* 244; -sañ* 268; -sans ω 225 a; -zañga* 189; -jaka* 195, -yaka*
 198, -yak* 245; -yesa* 267; -guas 217, K ω s 218 219; -g \bar{e} s* 274; -geke* 5; -kaga* 69; -wak* 251;
 -baha 221, Baa 225; -b ω ga 3; -kpa 259.

Titi 207 212.

-uñguy ω , -kuyu 11, -kuyu 12; -ku \bar{e} 229 e; -yu 261; -nyu 127; -nyinyi 104; -nine 104 c; -nyeni
 5 a 6, -ñeni, -nyenye 6, -neñi 6 a; -leñe 266; -yeñga 255.

-guluma 11 14 15.

-pune* 4, -vua*, -mvüa 5 b; -fu \bar{o} 112 a; -vuna* 193; -geana, -gyenna, -gena 256; -kwem 244.

Mama 146.

-aneb 228; Yip 262.

¹ A very interesting root, probably much more widely-spread formerly than now, and the root-word of many a river-name: as Ka-sabi (the name of the great Kasai, at its source), Sabi (the river of Gazaland).

-tap 271-2; -lop 263.
 -ligi* 146; -rik* 270; -rega* 255; -tok 252.
 -belela 94 b, -kele* 98 a 104 114; -here* 3, -vera* 39 a, -berere* 51, -vera* 144, -vere* 193;
 -kore 229; -bale* 240; -wol* , -vol* 273; -furu* 2 f 2 g; -kulu* 41.
 -kuñga 14, -kumba 14 16, -kuñga 17 18.
 -sumbi* 1, -somba* 9 c 23 25 (and -comba*) 26 27 28, -omba* 32, Somba* 33 a, -hiomba* 34,
 -somba, -homba 35, -somba 37 38 52 53 54, -gumba* 51, -gomba* 59, -homba* 55, -hoba* 56, -hopa
 56 a, -homba 56 b, -oba 57, -somba 58 58 a 59 60 61 a, -comba 61 61 b 61 c; -hōbe*, -yōbe 64, Hōbe
 64 a, Hōe 65 65 a, -hōbe 67 68, -khōvhe 72, Huwi* 198, Huwe* 199; -tōbi* 56 b; Lōbe* 63.
 -ponde 92 b.
 -sonji* 184; -dondi* 208 209, -don* 213, -ton* 214, -don 215; -andzi, -candzi* 67, -janje, -canve*
 69, Tsanzi* 70, -hlampfi* 71 71 f, -xlapi* 73, Tlhapi* 74, -hlanzi, -tlanzi* 75, hlanzi 75 a, -hlanti
 75 b, hlanzi 75 c, -sanzi* 76; -lasi 94 c; -amp*, -ambi* 194; -sawi*,¹ -savi 105, -sabi* 41; tap 271.

FOOT

(This root often includes the meaning of 'foot-sole' and also of 'lower leg'. Occasionally, too, it is confounded with the meaning of 'heel'.)

-gulu* 1 2 a 2 c, -guru* 2 f 3 b, -kulu* 5, -gulu 5 b 9 a, -guru 8, -gurru, -guru 11, Kuu, Guu* 12, -guu 13,
 -gū, -yu 15, Gulu, Gū 16, -wōō* 17, -gulu 20 a, -guu, -guyu 21, -ulu* 21 f 21 g, -dūū*, -ndrū 22, -gulu 23 24
 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 34, -guru, -gulu 35, -ulu 41, -guru 40, -gulu 48, -ulu, -uru 87, -ulu 88, -kulu 100
 102 103, -kōō* 106, -kulu 125 131, -kuru 134, -hōlu* 139, -gulu 143, -ke-gu 145, Gurō-kō, Gorup*
 151 a, -guru 153, -kulu 175 177, -ulō, -lō 192, -kō, -kōō 202 203, -ku 207 -kōō 211, -kō 212, -kul, -kule,
 -ku, -kui, -kō 213, -ku 214, -kō 215, -kol 217, -kō 220, -kōō 224, -kol' 225, -korō* 235; -kora* 208, -kōla
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¹ A very interesting root, probably much more widely-spread formerly than now, and the root-word of many a river-name: as Ka-sabi (the name of the great Kasai, at its source), Sabi (the river of Gazaland).

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-sumbi*¹ 44 b 84 85 88, -tombi*, -šumbi 86, -fumbi, -tumbi* 85, -sumbe 110 112 a, -dumbi* 149; -sun 250; -demba* 84 86 88, -temba* 27 112 a; -yembe* 100.

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-nsu 229; Sua 230.

-idūe 57, -cidwe 58 59.

¹ See 'egg'.

-bud* 214; -bula* 33 a; -pule* 130, -puli 132 133, -pule 136; -fol* 273, For* 274; -dzobwli 259; -faraw, -bwapal 269; -kōrw* 176; Forab* 253.

-nyotw 35; -swtaw 98 a; -ketu 73; -kwotw* 118 119 177 180 189 190; -kwot* 245; -kutu* 256; -kundu* 255; -kondeu 250; -guende 147; -junda 85, -jinda, -dyunda 86, Jonda, -onda 195, -sonda 54, -ñundu 83, -sundu* 95, -zundw 96, -zundu, -sundw 98, -zondw 102, -zundu* 103, -zont' 109, -zondw 114; -bondw* 104, -bonde 203, -pon 213 214, -bon 215; -bom 261.

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-loñge 130, -roñge 191 192 193; -noñga 86 94; -log, Dollok 253; -nawnye 125, -ronyi 56; Toñgw 248.

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-taca 64; -dhlandhla* 75 a; -lanša* 184.

-tamsw 249; -zab' 111; -kwam 120; -uma 155 a; -kum 251; -sume 89; -fima 91 a; -nywama 28; -rowe 18, -rume 21 f 21 g.

-rambe 21 f 21 g, -ambe 194; -swamba 100; -dimba 104 109.

-kabe 218, -kawi 208, -kuwe 206; -kuyen 266.

-sepe 130, -sipi 131.

-iya 90; -nyala 175 176 179 185 191 192, -nyāā 187; -nyiea 206; -nyianw 235.

-ndalali 12.

I-kurrica 151 b.

GHOST

(Wraith of a deceased person, a meaning usually distinct from 'soul', 'spirit', or 'life', and sometimes confused with 'devil', 'witchcraft'.)

-limu* 1, -zimu* 2 2 c 2 d (also -zummw*) 2 d, -simu, -zimu 2 g 3 3 b 4, -dimu* 4 a, -xienu* 5, -zienu*, -xienu 5 a, -zimu 9 g c, -rumu* 17, -zimu 19 19 a 23 39 43, -simu 44, -zimu 45 46 49 50 54 (or -simu), -zimw 57, -zimu 58, Dzimu 58 a, -zimu 59 61, -dzimu 64 64 a, -limw* 73, -dimw 74, -šimu 77, -zimu 78 81, -jimw 84, -zimw 86, -jimw 88, -cima 105, -dimu 107, -jim 120, -dimi 125, -dimw 129, -dyimu 129 a, -limw 145 155 159 160, -jimu 162, -limu, -cimw 164, -limw 166 167, -jimi 172, -dimw 199, -dimu 204, -limu 205, -limw 206 (also -mw), -dimu 209 212, -dim 220, -rimw* 226; -ndem 266.

-lina 195.

-rombw* 63, -lumbe* (God) 66, -lombw* 74 b, -lumba* 83, -dumba* 85 94, -zumbi* 97 98, -vumbi* 122; -duma 151; -ruww 254.

-pepw* 14 19 19 a 21, -pe 27, -pepw 38, -bepw 90, -hepw 91, -phepw 92; -tebw* 100; -fwefwe*, -kpw, -kpu 259 260.

-banda, -wanda 44 b 52 53 55 62 79 105; -hande 92, -sande 94; -tanda 110; -enda 157; -banši, -manse 227.

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- oŋga 129; -veŋgwa 194; -woŋgi 210; Guŋgba 253; -suŋgu 123; -luŋgu 23 36, -roŋgw 37; -nsi-uŋguri 49 50, -siuŋguru 51; -naŋgwölle 274.
- suka* (meaning sometimes 'devil') 14, -buka* 21 e, -soka* 27, -hoka 28, -fuki 35, -siuka 51, -dzukwa* 58 61 a, -zukwa, -dukuyu 59; -dzɔdɔgwɔ* 51 61 b; -horɔga (spirit) 1.
- cucu 184, -kuke, -kugi 202 203, -kuku 204 b 211, -gu 214; -yik, -ik 273; -kuā 11; -kwane 228.
- kani 244; -xienu 5.
- kari 172, -kaji 162 a.
- kaka 20.
- kum 228, -koma 13 16.
- kundwa 166.
- hɔlɔ* 9 c, -gɔlɔ* 14, -gulu* 41, -gɔ 12, -ku, -kulu* 86 86 a; -mo-gbula* 263; -coiɔ* 67 (from -cɔlɔ).
- giliɔ* 17; -kuli* 39 a; -purepür 273; -vuri* 15, -zuli* 20, -vuli 21, -vwili 62, -vuli 66 68; -vwel 252; -hullu 256; -zuti* 69; -kwiri 59; -kpi 258; -kpine 257; Beri 263; -küi 189, -kuyi* 190; -bije 243.
- guluvi* ('God') 70 (see 'God').
- wuta 35 a.
- pasi 41 42 43 43 a 44 44 b; -patika 65 a.
- jɔzi* 21, -dhlɔzi* ('witchcraft') 75 a, -slɔzi* 76; -ɔsi* 247.
- kisi ('witchcraft') 40, -kiši 87 88.
- swa* 7, -zwa* 41, -za 43; -kazwa* 78; -tuhwa* 75 c.
- ñweya 64; -ñgejua, -ñgwajɔ 65; -yiya 75 b; -cinya 78.
- torɔba 151 b; -turu 2, -tunu 2 f; -rinji 17, -tunzi 61 c, -runzi 72, -tunzi 75 a, -tunti 75 b; londe 75.
- tisinziɔ 66.
- ye, Mūye 24, -yefu 24 c-g.
- ɔyɔ 4 28 64, -cɔiɔ 67, -ɔya 70 71 f.
- kon 217 218 219.
- kɔbɔ 75 b 75 c; -fuba 65; -fwa, -fua 5 a.
- tombɔla 100.
- nyumba 100.
- nyi 12; -nje 17 18; -rinji 17; -runzi 72; -nzi-uŋgiri 49.
- nyanya 75.
- Naya, -nyaga 40.
- tima 25, -tema 146 147 (see 'heart').
- deñe-deñ 214, -tentem 228 a 238.
- lalu 6; -lulu 94 b.
- riri 7; -dele, -ndele 91 a.
- kira 7, -mkela, -kera 23; -erɔ 64; -keta 168.
- beri 148; -pele 177; -purepür 273; -borekiü 151 a.
- pɔmul 261.
- xienü 5.

GIRAFFE

- tuiga* 2 2 a 2 e 2 f 2 g, -tuga* 4, -twiga* 8 9 9 a, -hwiga* 9 c, -dwiga* 11, -dia, -duya* 12, -diga* 14, -dea* 5, -tiya*, -tia 16, -dia 17, -deya* 19, -twiga 20 21, -tiga 21 a, -tia 21 b, Civa* 21 e, -hwiva* 23, Twiga 23 a, -dwiga 24, -twiga 25, Tuia 26, Twiga 41, -twiya 43 a, -dwika 55, -swiza* 64.
- hutlwa*, -huhlu 71, Thuhlɔ, Thutwa*, Thutɔ 73, Thutlɔwa*, Tutwa 74, -cɔwa* 75, -tudhla* 75 c, -tutwa* 78 79; -tata 56 a.
- nɔhuda 75.
- dondɔ* 86; -dünduru, -ündulu* 27; -cunju* 55.

-duli 86 91 92 94; -wili, -wili 17.
 -swama 64.
 -Aburu 5 a.
 -Nyala 273.
 Injw 274; -ja (Nja) 54.¹
 Caŋgewa 5.
 Lumbadi 151 a; -base 91 a, -bahe 92.

GIRL

(‘Virgin’, ‘young, unmarried woman’; omitting phrases too clearly indicating ‘little woman’, ‘female child’.)

-isiki* 2 2 e, -siki* 2 g, -išiki, -iseke* 7, -şeki 9, -sikani* 35, -ensikana* 58, -sikana 61 a 64, -swana* 64 b, -sidzana* 72, -setsana 74, -sisana 74 a, Çikiza* 75 a, -şika* 104, -jike* 106, -ciki* 107, -cia 121, -seka 141, -iseke* 147, -seka* 146 149 155 c 156 157 160 161, -cikw* 162, -siga* 175, -zie* 200, -sesa* 186, -sesw* 194, -şesa* 193.
 -twgw* 25, -sukw, -fukw* 89 90 91, -fikw 91 a, -hikw* -ena 92 93, -fekw* 94; -bik 260; -pwku* 162; -haku 34.
 -soŋga* 104, -soŋgwa 105; -suŋgu* 44 b 51; -suŋgata* 273; -subati 7 7 a; -toŋgw 195 199, -twgw 25.
 -hwbuta*, -hebwt 255; -subati* 7.
 -zinda* 21, -hinzā* 24 c 24 f 25, -hinja* 26 55, -hinza 27 30 31, -ginda* 35, -hiŋga 28, -minja, -binja, -inja* 32, -enza 38; -kenji* 70; -kunzu 70; -leŋge 166; -ceŋgu 28; -kunde* 155 a, -gonde* 164, -ŋgon, -gond* 202 203, -gondele, -gondedi 204 205, -gonde* 209, -gonda* 216, -gon* 214 218 220, -kond*, -kon 213, -gondw* 204 206, -gondwki* 209; Nwon 252.
 -nda, -da 267; -dele, -ndeke 19 20, -dere 24; -dwhili 204 b.
 [-wew 256]; -wir’ 11, -biri 70, -bite 259; -vele 19; -peni 116; -gwle 23 23 a, -gwli 24 31, -kōli 151 a, -kwli 166, -gwle 234; -bōri 18, -buli 44, -buru 57; -hōra 70; -iraw 56 a: -aruka 27; -hara* 2 f 4 a, -wala* 4, -hala 5 b 9 a 9 c; Ma-ndara 64, -handara 64 a; -ali* 17 21 21 a, -ari 26, -ali 28 44, 44 b, -wali* 54, -ali 58 61 61 a, 161 a, -ale 73 73 a, -mwali* 167; Yarinya 253.
 -hahi 199.
 -haku 34; -kayu 175; -kikew 178.
 -kenu 97.
 -kya 8, -hya 9 c; -yaya 111; -mayi 70; -mweye 44 b 77; -mia 221; -amai 222.
 -kwbya 3, -kwbwa 3 a, -kwwa 3 b, -ikowe 9 a; -rwa 74.
 -emba 88, -bā, -mbā 200 251.
 -simbi* 44 b, -tsimba 61 a, -simbe 62, -thepa* 73, -şimbe, -simbi 78 79, -şimpe 83, -tsimbe 86, -dembi* 186, -dim* 250; -tombi* 75 75 a, -tfombi 75 b, -tombi 75 c, -tombe, -tomba* 76, -tombw* 187; -lumba* 98, -domba* 75, -dumba* 100 101 102; Numba* 184, -kumba*, -kumbi 103, Hombe* 94.
 -donda 82, -onda 251; -lindu-, -dindu* 51, -lindu* 77; -dende 167; -nundwe 41.
 -banda 85 110.
 -guna 4 b; Numa 39.
 -gwoluma 155 a.
 -dzana 16, -jana 21 21 a, -yana 21 e; -tsana (Montsana), -nyana 73.
 -kwa 46; -wta 226; -hōra 70.
 -şilu 110.
 -simā 21 f.
 -pakasi 40.
 -kwi 259.
 -regw 11.
 -gamin-i-fai 266.

¹ The Njā in Yao (54) is probably related to the Dia of the Twiga group.

GOAT

(In a general sense, but referring more particularly to the female.)

-buri*, -buli* 1, -buzi* 2, -buli 2 a, -buzi 2 b, -buze* 2 c, -buzi 2 d e 2 f 2 g 4, -budi* 4 a, -buzi 5 5 a, -buri 5 b, -buzi, -buri 6, -buzi, -busi 6 a, -bōri, -buri 7 7 a 8, -būi 10, -buli, -puri, -pudi* 9, -buzi 9 a 9 b 9 c (also -buli), -buri, -bōri 11, -būi 12 13, -buzi, -buri 14, -buji*, -buzi 16, -buru*, -buri 17 18 (and -buzi) 19 19 a 20 20 d 21 21 a 21 b (and -buti*), -buti 21 e, -buzi 21 f 22, -buli 26, -buri 25, -buzi 28 30, -buhi 31 a, -būi 32, -budi 34, -buhi 35 a, -uzi 39, -buci* 39 a, -uji*, -buzi 40, -buzi 41 42 43 43 a 44, -busi 44 b, -buli 45, -buzi 46 48 49 50 52 53 54, -buhi, -buri 56, -puri 56 a 56 b, -buzi 57 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62, -puzi* 63, -budzi 64, -buji, -busi 64 a, -budzi 65 65 a 67, -buji 68, -buti*, -bute* 69 71 71 f, -budzi 72, -puli 73 74 (and -pudi), -puzi 75 75 a, -buti* 75 b, -buzi 75 c 76, -puli 81, -buzi, -buiši* 104, -buše, -buji 105, -buzi 106, -buši 107, 108, -buji, -buza*, -buzi 109, -budi 124 125 (and -buli), -bōdi 126, -bōli 127, -buji 128, -buli, -buji 129, -budi, -bude 130 131, -buji 132, -bōdi 134, -buli 135, -ōli 136, -bōre, -buzi 139, -bōle, -buri 141, -buzi 142 143, -buci 144, -buli 147 149 150, -budi, -bōli 166 167, -būi* 178, -bōli, -buli, -bōdō*, -pōtu* 186, -bōdi 188, -bōni* 191 192 193, -bōdi 195 199, -buli 198, -buri, -bōdi 204, -bōli 205 206, -bōdi 209 211, -bul, -bot 213, -pot, -bod 214, -bot 215, -būi, -buni* 216, -būi, -bwe 227, -bi, -vi, -fu, -bi, -pi, -vi 229 e 230, -būi 232, -uiñ 235, -bō, -bu 229 238, -bun, -būi 228 228 a, -fon* 243, -bun* 244 244 a, -bü* 245 (and -bot); -gbeu 247 b, -vō, -kpōbe 248; Bese, -se* 249 257; -kile* 237, -kil 253, -pil*, -bil, -bāl 239, -bili* 239 b, Wir* 263, -bu 240, -bān, -bon, -ben 241, -fū, -vuñ 242; Vyol 252; Gbiliñ 261-2.

-biyō 254; -pija*, -pidza 259-60.

-se, Bese 257; -tie 258.

-beki 51; -baika 12; -beha 70; Ike 208.

-bene* 1, -penne* 2 c, -peni*, -pene, -hene 3, -pene* 3 b, -pee* 13, -beni 14, -pee 16, -peni 20 a, -hene, -pene 23, -pheni 23 a, -peni 23 b 24 24 c-f 25, -ene, -eeni, -pene 27, -ene 28 30, -heni, -peeni, -meni 29, -peni 31, -ene 35 37 38 55, -pene* 80 81 140, -be* 227, -bi, -vi, -pi 230, -pi, -fin, -in 255-6, -fi, -fie*, -fim 266, -pei, -pe* 269-72.

-fa 230.

• Men, Man* 234; Emeñ 250; -jamen, -dyamen*, -jagmen 273 273 b; -medi*, Kamedi* 123 125, Kamag, Kamad* 201 202, -kabat, -kabade* 219, Kambedi* 159, Kambeli*, Gambeli, Kambebi* 161, -kambi 164, Kembe* 203 212.

-sabw* 2 f ('he goat'), Subeni 8, Sawana* 17 d, sawe 43 a; -taba* 100 b, -tab* 119, -taga 120 121, -tā 133, -taba 137 159 159 a, -tawa* 160, -ta, -taba 162 164 166 168 175 176 177, 178, -tawa 179 181 182, -taba 183, -tava 184, -taba 184 185, -kaba*, -taba, -tava 187 187 a 188, Laba*, Taba 189, Tava 190, -tabw 194, -tomba* 195, -taba 196 198, -tomba, -taba 199; -tō* 200; Kabat* 217, Kaba* 218, Kabal, Kabade* 219; -tap* 220; Tōbw 220; -nraba*, -tābe* (indicating generally 'he goat') 267 268; -dahu 267, -ndafe* 268.

-dōw*-gōsa 3 b 10, -dōw* 19, -tōw*-gōta, -tōw-ōta 19 19 a 20 20 d 23 a 24 25, Lōw*-gōta 27 29, Lu*-gōta 48, -ōta 61 a; -vuta 66; -pōtu 186; Du*-mbzi 64, Nu*-nswi 64, -dōw*-lōwe 19 (he goat); -dzō*, -dō 230, -di 236, -lōw* 237.

-sōti 61 a; -psete 69; -sele 204; -kyele 200; -kile 237, -kil' 253 241; -šina 104 109, Sine 126.

-sema 110.

-pembe 84 86 88 109 b 110 111; -peñge 207 210; -bembza¹ 64; Kembe 203 212.

-poñgw*, -boñgw 27 28 29 30 35, -oñgw* 38, -poñgw 48 49 70, -boñgw* 51 77 78 79 82 83 85, -poñgw 87, -pondw 87 a, -bōkw* 58 59 162, -pok* 236, -pog* 237; -buñu* 110; -mū 259.

-nduñ 230, -doñ 232, Tun 214; -din 246; -on 251; -daina 17 c, -daima 146.

-buguma, -vuguma ('female' or 'breeding animal', applied also to 'cows') 2 2 f, -guma 3 9, -gōma

¹ A rather doubtful form.

II 14, -yoma 15, -homa 17, -yoma 18, -buguma 19 a 20 20 b 24 c-f, 30 31 35 38 147; *Vugina** 193; -kinu* 229.

-ñgombw*, -kombw 89 90 91, -khombw 92, -hombw 94 95 96 97 98 (also -kombw), -kombw 100 101 102 103 112 a 113 114 116 118 119 122 178; *Ngw*- 234.

Nwña 110; -nañgal 274; -mañga 149.

-ya 255, -eyw, -yogw 256, -yw 254.

Gogw 61 61 a.

-sawe* 43 a, -sawana* 17 c; -saka* 100 b, -seku* 3; -jeww* 247; -dahu* 267; -dafe* 268.

-baka 12, -balika 19, -farika 21.

Gw 17 19, -kw (‘female’, ‘breeding animal’ = Swahili -kww) 61 a; -kuluñ 261.

-ir 263.

-ke (Ike) 208.

-meme* 145 146 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 c 157 158 159 (see ‘sheep’).

HE GOAT

-gbere* 248, -bare* 243; -bera* 2; -hebe 3; -bebelu* 20, *Beberu** 21 21 a 21 b, *Mefim-bebar** 266; -bebehu 34, -beva* 75 a, -pema* 60, -pepe* 61 90 91 92 105, *Beb*' 203, -bewe* 232; -baeb* 235, -gbefi* 228, -gbewe*, -gbere 248.

-ekpa, *Egpw* 205, *Egbu* 208; *Yokw* 206.

Bū 176; -pue 234.

-seku* 3; -cehu* 56 b; -jehel, -gekel 273 c, -dikil 273.

-sabw* 2 f; -sawe 43 a; -sa-mban 1; *Subeni* (female) 8.

-paña 104 c.

-pale, -pala* 214 215; -faya* 1, -paya* 2 2 f 2 g 146, -pai* 148, -pabai* 149, -pfiya* 230; -bop 230; -pūe 234.

-pumbwe* 41, -pumbu 104, -pumbwe 105, -pumbū 106, -humbu* 109.

-kambaka 28, -ñambakw 30; *Gam* 252; -zamba 84 86, -yambe 86; -jembwe 79.

-kw-lombe* 193, -rombi* 264; -lobu* 56; -twbw* 226.

-ribi 73 (she goat); -tupi*, -upi 94; -pi 229 e 255; -tukpa 257 258 259.

-lobu* 56; -twbw 226; -diwu, -rwu, -dōu* 269-72; -dō* 230, -dō*.lome 19; -di-, -di 236; -lw 237; *Ūlw** 120, *Ōrw**, *Hōrw** 14, *Ūlw*, *Ōrw*, *Hōrw* 17, *Ōrw* 18; -arugu* 255.

-bwdw*, -pwtu* 186, -bwd' 195; -bwcw* 64, -fot*, -for* 230; -pwata 41; -wte 229; -tutu 204, -tutuwe 205, -tōr 213; -tūi 97 113, -tuli 145 147; -sutw 97 98 112 a, -sutwa 3; -swti 61 a (sometimes also meaning ‘breeding animal’); -suh 273; -kōtw 226; -gwatgwatw 64, -gwatkwatw 64 a; *Kuju* 88.

-gulati 3 a 9 9 a 9 c 10, -fulata 19 19 a 20, -bulata 20 a 24 f 25, -vulata 20 23 a, *Fulata* 24 24 c-f, -vulata 31, -vuta 67; -pwata 41; *Ngadata* 24 c-f (equivalent also to ‘female’).

-kak 244, -ak 235; -yañk 263.

-igau 14.

-tima 14.

Fwandi 14.

Fizi 3.

*Tonde** 54 61 a 61 b (and *Donde*), -donta* 79; -twana 274.

-beñgi 11 12, -zeñge 15, -deñge 16; -seleñge 94; -sele 204 209; -kele 217 219.

-poñgw* 61 69 75 75 a 76, -boñgwe 70, *Moñgw* 78, *Mboñgw* 82, -buñu, -huñgw* 110, -koñkw 227;

Phwk, *Thwk* 73, -phōkō 74; -mbwka* 184.

Nuñ 241; *Noñgw* 64; *Ku-ruñgu* 254; *Kuluñ* (female) 261.

Gw 8.

GOD

Nyambi* 39 a, -ampi* 82, -ambe* 83 87, Zambi 88, -ambi 95 96 97, -ambi, -tsambi* 98 99 100 101 102 103, -cembi* 107, -zambi* 110 112 a, -sambi 114, -zami* 117, -zambi 118 120, -dzampi 123, Jambi 124, Cambe, Jambi, Cembe 125, -zambu* 127, -yambi 144, -amwañga* 145, -ambe* 166 167, -zami* 175, -jambi 176, -zambi* 177, -dzamω* 178, -jami 179, -jama 180, -jambi 181 182, -ambi 184 187, -sambi 185 186 (also -yambie), -jambi 189, -nyambi 190, -jambe 191 192, -ambia* 193, -ambe 194 195, -jambe 198, -ambi 199, -zambi 200 202, -ambe 203 204, -amā* 213 214 215, Samba, Inyambω* 217, Zam, -am* 218, Zambe 219, -dam* 227 234.

-mbe* (Wlu-mbe) 5; -wumba* 4; -bamba* 51 55, -pambe 60 61 a; -lumbe* 66 68¹; Mo-rum*¹ 151 a; Wlim 229 e.

-zakomba 162; -kwembu 71 f

-zapama 153; -kpabi 227 229, -kpi 250; -papuan 251.

-pañga 34; -hañga 1 2 2 b 2 c 2 d 3; -hlañga, -tlañga 75; -tañ 234; -añgi (Wañgi) 168; -aṅga 187.

-luñga*, Kaluñga 84 86, Karuñga* 89, Luñga 90 91 94 98, Kaluña* 104 c; -ruñgu¹ 3, -luñgu* 3 b 9 9 b 9 c, -uñgu* 10, -luñgu 12, -uñgu 13, -luñgu 14 16 19 19 a 20 20 d, -uñgu 21, -ñgu 21 a, -uñgu 21 b-d 21 e, -luñgu 21 f 21 g, -uñgu 22 23 (also -luñgu), -luñgu 23 a 24 24 c-f 25 26 (also -uñgu) 27 28 29 30 31, -nũngu 32 34, -luñgu, -duñgu* 35, -ruñgω* 37, -lañgu* 41, -luñgu 42 43 a, -ruñgu 48 49 50 52 53, -luñgu 54, -luku* 56 56 a, -lugω 57, -luñgu, -ruñgu 58, -luñgu 58 a, -ruñgω 59, -luñgu 61 61 a 61 b, -ruñgu 64 a, -luñgω 65 65 a, -luñgulu* 69, -luñgu* 76.

Uñguluve* 38, -uñguluwe 9 c, Ngulwi* 27, Nrui, Ngurui*, Nguluwe 30, Nguluvi 70.

-koñgω 160 161 (Akoñgω 161 a), Soñgω 164, -oñgiu 230; -dana, -dañ 267 268, -tañ 234; -toñga, Katoñga, Bantoñga 86; Buñgu 137, Bω-boñ 229.

Kωgōl*, Kωyōl 253; -kuru* 6, -kulu 9; -zi-mgu*² 22; -kulu-kumba 70; Uñkulukulu* 75 a, -kulu* 75 b, -kuru* 89, -kulu 104 106, -kuri* 148, -kuru* 263.³

-vula 23 b ('rain'), -ula 134.

-ala* 151, -ara* 51; -ari, -ñwali* 64; -hale* 56 b; -bale*, Lubare* 4; -bali* 154, -balω* 24, -balalω* 26, -walelω* 98, -welelω* 9 a, -walelω* 9 c⁴; Uere 6; -ari* 64, Tari 25.

Gbate* 271; -halañ 266; -rure 64 a; Tura 254.

-julu ('sky') 79, -pe-zuiω 67; Gilω 256.

-bũ 249; Mawu 259; -burω 227 229 238; -borekiũ 151 a.

-asai 7; -bwozi* (Šabwozi) 85 86; Kabezja*-mpuñgu 39, Kabejea*-mpuñgu 40; Mawezi* 88 106, -weja*, -weza, Maweja 109, -wwoesi* 111, Maweze* 122; -enyiezi* 21, -ezi* 22, Esi* 230; -basi*, Wbasi 206, Awasi* 207, -wase* 208 209, -basi* 210 227 244 245, Awazi* 237; -bate*, Gbate 269-72.

Rica* 7; Lezi* 40, Leza* 41, -lesa* 42, -leza 43 43 a, -lesa 44 44 b, -leza 45, -lezi 61 a, Reza, Leza ('thunder') 62, Lesa, Leza 77 78 79 80, -reja* 81, Leza* 105.

-tilω 69, -tipω 75 a, -thipω 75; -biti 90, -ti, Diti 258.

-kete 150, Keta 159.

-kai, -gai 11 12 (derived from Masai).

-ya 257 258.

-yañza 162, -banza 164, -banja 159 161, -banda 129, -ban 235.

Pωtω, Pωtwe 226.

¹ See words for 'white man'.

² 'Person-big'.

³ The common possession of -kuru, -kulu as a root for 'God' by Temne (263) and by so many Bantu languages is certainly noteworthy.

⁴ It is extraordinary that such a peculiar term for God as -balalω, -walelω, -welelω should be shared by languages as wide apart as Kimbundu of Añgōla (98), Nyamwezi (9 a, 9 c), and Irañgi (26).

- uta (Ciuta, Cuuta)¹ 61 b 61 c, -uta (Ciuta) 161 a; -buta 228.
 Firie 39.
 Tura 254, -ture 151 b.
 -dimu*, -rimu* 56 b, -limo* 63, -dzimu 64 72, -limo 73, -dimo 74, -limo* 75 c; -jim* 120; Olim* 229 e; -tsuma (= 'rain') 69.
 -ondw, -wundw 248; -tondw 2, Katonda 2 a 4.
 -kunji 154.
 Nwona 34.
 Rica 7; Mω-ria 34.
 -mana 3; -ban, -mban 235.
 Emits ('sky') 273.
 Sukw, -suku 86 88 92 a (and Huku) 94 95 96.
 -roba* (Ka-) 2 g, -uwa, -uba* (Eri-) 5 a 7, -oba 7 a 8, -dzuwa* 9 b, -uva 9 c, -zuwa 15, -ruva, -ruwa 17, Ruwa, Suva 18, -dzuwa 46, -zuwa 48, -duba* 136, -loba* 198 199 204 205 206 211, Lw 202, -wb, Yob*, -ob 213 214, Lupe*, Rube, Dupe, Kube* 226; -ekob* 230, -sob* 237, -sowō*, -sōwō 238, -subei* 148; -kubi* 9 9a, -kuba* 9 c; Loba-ñ-gonde (literally, 'sun', 'moon') 211, Lō-ñ-gon' (ditto) 212.
 -yoi (Nyoi) 129 232 (and Nuye).
 -ñgi 203, -nze (Linze) 9 a; -ji 236.
 Sa-ñgudi 129.
 -nyenye 230.
 -mumu 6 a.
 -buya (Ke-buya) 172 (probably meaning 'grandfather').
 -baga 2 d 2 e 2 g; -mbok 236.
 Foi 261.
 Cōmi 24.
 -kiši ('fetish') 134.
 -loh 104; Ohw 255, Ohu 254 (meaning 'sun').
 -tetela (Ma-) 132.
 Kalaka 140.
 Lugaba 2 d (compare -dugala, 'mountain', 38).
 Dagwi 252.
 Nwunna 274.

GRANDPARENT

(Male or female, excluding composite words that too obviously mean 'big father' or 'big mother'. When there is a specially masculine or feminine sense attached to the root it is indicated by a distinct reference.)

-kaka* (generally 'grandfather') 2 e 2 f, -ake* 14, -kaka 78, -kapa* 77, -kaka* 84 88 100 (also Kayi), -kaya, -kaka 100b 101 102 103, -kaku* 104, -kaka 105 109, -ñaka 111, -kake 116 118 119, -kaya* 120, -kaka 168, -kaga* 175 176, -kaka 177, -kaa 178, -kaya 179 (also -kaga), -kaka 180, -kaya 181, -kaga 182, -kaga 184, -gaga* 189, -kaga 190, -gaka 210, -kaya*, Kāggi*, Kaxea, Kuggi 253, -kaka* 256; -kas*, -kara 263.

-guku* 2 e 2 f, -kw 3, -kuka* 6 6a, -kuku 8, -guku 9 9a 9c, -guka* 11, -eku* 17, Kōkw* 18, -gugu* 21 e, -yuju* 24, -kōka* 21, -kuku* 24 27 38, -guku 39, -kuku 41 43a 44, -gwa 63, Kūw 69, -kōkw-ana 70, -kōkwana 71 71 f, -kōkw, -kuku 73 73a, -kuku 74, -kōkw* 75a, -gōgw 75 b 76, -kōkw, -kuku, -kukw 83 84 86 88 92 94 95 97 98 99 (-kukulu), -kuku 112 a, -kugu* 114, -guku 144, -kōkw 162, Nyo-ñkōkw 167, -kōgō 185, -kōkw 187 189, Ngw 194, -kōkw 214, -kukw* 228, -kōw* 220 226; -kaw* 273; Sōgw 203, -sōku 249.

¹ Probably meaning 'rainbow'.

Nyenyā ('grandmother') 51, Nyiñka 104, Neñgwa 100 b, Nañga 120 b, Nuñgwe 192, Nyun 200, -nun 264; Nyakw 83, -nya 273, Nyokw 250.

Nana 257.

Zazi ('grandmother') 8, Yaye ('grandmother') 13, Weya 19, Yiya* 25, Iya 134, Yiyi, Yaji* 144, Iye, Ije 226, Yeye* 232.

-dzi 230, Tsitsi*, Dzedze*, -dze 259, Itsenitse 251; -side 267; -šuiē 259; Cwocw* ('grandmother') 11, Tsutsa* 12 ('grandmother'), Cau-je 13; -zee 21; Zabua-je 13; Tsawe ('grandfather') 16, -ite* 227; Dūi 129; -du 230; -tina 213; -tem* 265, -tiamu*, -tem* 269-72.

-tere*-tamōn 248, -tere*-teta 230, Tete*-mpea 214, Teta* 230, Rere* 192, Wtata* 159; -tita 151 a-b.

Fafan* 273; Babu* 17, Baba* 19 20, Babu 21 21 a 21 b-d 25, Baba 26, Bwabu* 55, Pape* ('grandmother') 27, -papa* ('grandmother') 35 38, -wawa* 258 p, -waba* 3, -wawa* 14, -wawe* 16, Hawe* 16, Wau* 19 20, Awa.* 42.

-bai 121; -babe 234, -bewa* 237, -beww 271; -afw 98; Bibi* 13 21 ('grandmother') 21 e 21 f 21 g 57, Wiwi* 34, Vi- 41, Fi.* 42; -ben, -gben 261-2.

Ampa* 273, Tā-mpa* 213 215; -sambi 26, -hamba* 27, -bamba* 118, -bam*, -bamba* 186 194 195 199 200, -hambe* 204, -bamba*, -bambe 205 206, -vamba* 217 218; -embw 86 a 160; -kambw 78 105.

-buyi* 28, -buya* ('grandmother') 32 35 56 a, -buje* 54, -buiya* 57, -buya* 58 59, Gbwūi* 56, -buye 61 61 a, -buyw, -buye 61 b, -buya 64 64 a, Bōyu, Buyu* 155, Bōye* 226; -bwswe 193.

-gww 24, -kuli 40, Khwōw 61 a, Khulu 72, -kxwōw, xōwōxōw 73, -kulu 75 a, Sukulu¹ 33 a, -ku (Suku), -kulu, Šu-kulu 85 86, Sekulu 91 a 94; -kuluha 109; -ñgw 248; Šwōw 203; -šwōw 260.

-kanwōmi, Kemi 134.

-anwōfanw 273; Fafan 273; Dyahan ('grandmother') 273.

Mama* ('grandmother') 9 c 263 267, Mamei* 26, Mame* 186 194; Mau* 28; Ume ('grandfather') 12; -muna 56 a; Yom ('grandfather') 261; Lam ('grandmother') 261.

GRASS

-ani* 13 15 16 20, -jani* 21 21 a, -yani* 21 b-d, -ani 21 e-g, -jani 23, -yani 33 a, -ani 39 42, -sani* 44, -cani* 44 b, -ani 57, -cani 62 64 a, -cane 67, -anje*, -enji* 65 65 a, -anye*, Sinya 69, -anyi 71, -anye 71 f, -nyane* 73 a, -tyani* 75 75 a 75 b 75 c, -cani* 76, -ani 77 78 79, -ane 80, -nye 82, -anyi 104, -ani 105, -anyi 106, -an' 119 120, -men 121, -yani* 140 159, -jani 160 161, -tana 168, -ani, -anli* 193, -ani* 194; -jeen*, -gween 243.

-yan* 236, -yanzi* 2, -nyasi* 2 c, -nyadzi* 2 d 2 e, -nansi* 2 f, -nyasi 2 g, -atsi* 3, -nyasi 5 5 a 6 6 a, -nyanzi, -nyanse 7, -nyanke* 7 a, -asi* 14 15 16 17, -ansi 80, -asi 20 21 21 a, -nyei 32, -ahi* 34 35, -asi 37 38 40, -nyasi 54 55, -nyahi 55, -laši* 56, -nyasi 56 a, -nasi 56 b, -nyase 58 58 a, -asi 59, -nyazi 60, -asi- 69, -asi 70, -atsi 72, -ase 89; -šan* 229; Sanza* 43 a, -hanza* 25; -handw 88.

-sojw* 2 c; -swa* 9, -swa* 9 c, -isw* 51, -isu 51; -ūdzu* 59 61 a, -uju* 61, -udzu 61 b 61 c; Busu 151 a; -zu, -šwa* 62, -swa, -hwa, -hwōva, -swiswi 64, -swa 64 a, -nsua 68, -isu 77, -izu* 78, -ezu, -izyu 79, -izu 80, -dzwōdzw*, -šodzw 81, -hwōzu, -šotu* 89; -izi*, -ibi 90, -idi* 91, -tw 127 128; -šui 130; -iša* 186, -sā 211 212; -budza 146; -sōte* 48, -sōre* 49, -swote 43 43 a 50; -kwōta 75; -sw 161; -swsa* 104 c, -swsw* 108 109; -kwōw 178; -cōwō* 176; -swōw, -swōnu* 105 134, -swōlu* 146 147, -soru* 151 a, -swōli* 27; -hwōli 91 a; -sele 109; N-tu 266.

-bice* 108, -viji* 132, -biši* 139, -wese* 193; -kusi 41; -git 273; -dīl 274; -titi*, -cici* 100 101 102 103 104 124, -tete* 125, -cici* 132 133, -sesi 135; -tete* 2 2 c; -tate* 66.

-bu-rara* 2 c; -weresi 17 e; -rari* 11, -ra 17 18; -ari, -nyari* 24; -lela* 226; -lelikwa 226; ram 244; -samere 145; -eren 263; Bale 220; Kar 253.

¹ Su-kū, Šu-kulu, &c., really means 'father-great'.

- ila 84 85 86 87 (and -ira 87 a); -ilu 162, -eru 209, -lɔ 104 c, -ɔ 218; -log 217; -ddɔ 4; -wuru, -ulu 204, -wule 205 206; -vun 253; -huluhulu 91; -but 218 219; Puluk 261.
- mbū (Simbū) 189, -nembu 136, -yombɔ 105; -jumbu 210, -jombia 94; -embɔ* 160, -ambɔ* 86 a, -ambu 88, -hamba* 3, -sambu* 4, -sambi* 26, -bamba 118; -ambe 255.
- Ɔwɔw* 19, -ɔpɔ, -ɔpu* 83, -yɔbu* 137; -subi* 4, -sibbi 2 a, -sɔbe* 150 167, -sɔbe* 166, -ɔve, -rɔve, -tɔve* 193 198; Upūe* 261; -bɔa 98; Babe 234.
- ge* (Boge) 151, Mage* 230.
- fugɔ* 148, -sukɔ, -suku* 94 104 110, -suki* 1 2 c, -ʃuki* 19, -suku 39 a; -subi*, -suwi 4, -sūi* 5 b, -hūi 259 260; -gugu 21 c, -yuju 24; -kukwɔ* 228, -kɔkɔ* 84 214, -kɔka* 21, -kɔki 203, -gɔa* 63, -kūwɔ* 69, -kɔwɔ* 178 220 226; -kaw 273.
- dzog-bi 259.
- wata 1 2 2 d; -cadya 129, -diadya 100.
- havu* 195; -ʃaba* 207; -naba 254; -saka 2 a; -sara 9 a.
- wañ 227; -mañgala 141, -bañgala 155; -tañgu 12; -yañ*, -añ 73, -yañu, -dyañu* 74, -añgu* 86 94 97 (also -oñgu) 98 99, -hañgɔ* 92 b, -añga 100, -añgu 104 114, -añgɔ* 116; -ñgañga 227.
- luñgu-luñgu, -duñgu-luñgu 141.
- Jwañgi 74 b, Cwiñgi 155, Biñgi 157; -keñgi 11, -leñge 100 129 177, -reñge 131 162; -enye 142; -njenjie 161 a.
- siñga 184 187 189 190; -sinda 100 a 109, -ʃinde 100 104; -gbindi 151.
- dima 9 c.
- nyaki 8, -yeki, -yaki, -yagi 11, -eki, -igi 12, -iki 21 b, -bihi 33 a; -teka 52 53, -ka 120 200 202, Kai 203, -nda 75; -tahu 110 a; -tɔhɔ 248; -baga 23 a.
- boñgɔ 153, -hoñgɔ, -boñgɔ 199, -huñgu 200; -puñga 104 c; Soñ 252.
- lie 175 178; -jia, -je 227; Tewa, Siwa 259 260; Sefa, -fa, -fafu 258.
- jilik 219.
- menja 131.
- win* 230; -gina* 23 a; -vun* 253; Kinde 151 b; -ñgunzu 216.

GROUND

(The root sometimes refers to 'soil', 'earth', and even 'country', and not unfrequently is identical with the root meaning 'down', 'below'. Roots for 'clay', 'mud', 'sand', and 'rock' are usually quite distinct, as also is the concept for 'place'.)

- si*, -nsi 1 2 2 c 2 d, -zi 2 e (also -ñki*), -si 2 g 3 (also -nsi), -zi 3 b, -nsi 4, -si 5 a, -nse* 7 7 a, -si 9, -nsi 9 a 9 b, -si, -ci, -zi 9 c, -ñgi* 10, -ci, -bi*, -isi 11, -ndi*, -nti* 12, Tsi, Dzi* 13, -si 14, Tsi 16, -si 17, -ʃi 18 19 19 a, -si 20 20 d, -ci 21, -ti 21 a-g, -si 22 23 23 a 24 25 26, -nyi* 27, -zi 28, -sisi 35, -ñi* 38, -nsi 43 a 44 44 b 45 53 62 (and -si) 65 65 a, -nzi 67, -si 68, -nse 69, -ce 73, -si, -ce (-fasi*, -hace*) 74 b 74, -ʃi 77 78, -nse, -nsi 79, -nsi 80, -ʃe 81, -ezi* 82, -nji* 83, -ʃi 84, -ibi 85, -ese, -ntsi, -zi 86, -hi 89, -vi, -wi* 90, -hi 92, -fi 91 a, -si 94, -ʃi 98 100 103, -nʃi 104, -si 105 106 117 (-ʃi), -kec* 125, -ci* 133, -cie 139, -ci 160, -se 161, -si, -kije* 162, -ce 166, -se 167, -sie 175, -ci 177, -tsie 178, -ʃi 186, -tye 193, -sei 194, He 195, -ʃi 198, He 195 199, Si, Tsi 200, -si 204 205 206 (and -se) 207, -se 212 (and -si) 214, -zi 216, -te 220 h, -si 217 218 219 227 (and -ʃi) 229, -sisi* 228, -ce 238, -se* 257.
- fɔ* (meaning also 'below', 'on the ground') 2, -fɔwɔ* 2 f, -pɔwɔ* 3, -bue* 40', -vū* 43, -fu* 51, -vu 63 64 64 a, -vɔ 66, -fu 70, -vū 72, -bū* 73 74, -vhu 78, -de-vu 79, -vu 80 81, -vɔ 82, -mbu, -pu* 83, -vu 84, -bu 85, -vɔ, -bu 86, -mvu 87, -vu 88, -du* 91, -vu 97, -pɔ 98; -vɔ, -vu 110, -vu 122, -bu 127, -vu 142, -fɔb 266; -ūa 64 a, -bua* 157, -bɔwɔ* 187, -bɔa* 220; -mbi 164; -gbum 261.
- lima 35.
- lɔba* 5, -rɔba 5 a, -lɔba 6, -rɔba 6 a, -zɔba* 7, -rɔba 8, -lɔba¹ 39 41, -lɔbɔ* 104, -laba* 109,

¹ -tɔpi and -lɔba, -laba in numerous East African Bantu languages has the meaning of 'mud', 'clay'. Compare also the Gala Laf.

·*ɔba** 226, ·*dɔwɔ** 210, ·*dɔb** 214; ·*tɔpi** 32, ·*dɔpi** 37, ·*tɔpe** 49, ·*dupi* 55, ·*tɔpe* 56, ·*tɔ* 62 202, ·*tof** 263; ·*mof** 273; ·*toyi* 243; ·*dɔi* 6 a, ·*dɔe*, ·*dɔw* 14; ·*yoi* 136, ·*ɔi* 193; ·*yɔ* 159.

·*ɔkw* 107; ·*kbɔtɔ* 161, ·*kwɔtu* 163; ·*bɔtu* 168.

·*rɔta** 62; ·*tɔw** 88 94 b 100, ·*tɔtu** 101, ·*tɔw* 102 103 118, ·*mɔw** 130, ·*dɔdɔ** 145 150 151 (also ·*dɔti*) 153 164 165, ·*duda* 151 b, ·*tɔw** 167 172 177, ·*tɔrɔ** 178, ·*tɔw** 189 190, ·*tɔkw** 226, ·*Dɔdot** 246; ·*sɔ* 245.

·*taka** 1 2 2 a 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g 3 4 54 55, ·*taya* 56 b, ·*taka* 57, ·*kaka**, ·*taka*; ·*raga** 58, ·*taka* 58 a, ·*kaka*, ·*taka* 59, ·*taka* 60 61 a 61 61 b, ·*daka** 75 75 a, ·*taka** 148, ·*tak** 245, Teg 203; ·*ʃakw*, ·*ʃukw* 79, ·*seka** 94 b, ·*cok* 218; ·*kuki* 3 b; ·*ak* 234; ·*java** 203; ·*ʃa* 211, ·*ca* 230; ·*sawa** 69, ·*saba** 71 71 f, ·*hlaba** 75, ·*hlaba-ti* 75 a, ·*hlaba* 75 b 75 c.

·*saŋga** 14, ·*haŋga* 27 28; ·*seŋga** 108, Tseŋga* 128, ·*ceŋge** 189 254; ·*sece** 64, ·*seke** 86 a 110 135 (also ·*teke*), ·*ʃeke** 141, ·*heke** 92; ·*aŋgadi*, ·*nyaŋgadu* 204 c.

·*koŋgw* 7 a; Ruŋga* 11, ·*loŋgw** 19, ·*doŋgw**, ·*loŋgw* 27, ·*luŋga** 38, ·*loŋgw* 41, ·*roŋgw* 48, ·*oŋgw* 50, ·*Doŋgw**¹ 52; ·*Toŋgw* 255.

·*penje* 186,² ·*penda* 191 192.

·*tandik*, Tanduk 151 a; ·*tindi* 198; ·*tie* 6 a, Teɔ 12, ·*theo* 73 73 a.

·*salu** 9, ·*seli** 162, ·*cali** 160; Nzal* 253, ·*ŋgāl** 274; ·*san** 244 a; ·*tan* 245; ·*tama*, ·*famu* 273; ·*nam* 217; ·*lambw** 14; ·*tambu** 28, ·*tamba** 184.

·*mwɔw* 6; ·*alɔ* 62 257, ·*nyaŋgalɔ* 205; ·*nya* 206; ·*aŋgaru**, ·*aŋgadi* 204, ·*ŋgal** 274; Vwel 252, ·*nele* 137, Nyele 155, ·*nyele* 204 c, ·*nyere* 209; Minye 211, Mene 200; ·*neya* 248; Le 261.

Ke 244, ·*kete* 129 130 131 132, ·*kec*' 125, ·*keci* 134, ·*kije* 162; ·*tete* 140, ·*teri* 11, ·*tere* 15; ·*kili** 164 166; ·*sidi** 42, ·*sili** 43 a 44 b.

·*kanda* 78; ·*konda* 170; ·*bondɔ* 159; ·*lundɔ* 41, ·*dunda* 98 a.

·*fuci* 88.

·*waŋgwa* 19; ·*wani* 56 a.

·*yiŋkam* 273; ·*rika** 17, ·*ika** 79 92; ·*aʃapika* 186.

GROUND-NUT

·*jugu** 5 11, ·*zu** 12, ·*jugu* 13, ·*dzugu*, ·*jugu* 14, ·*dzugu* 16, ·*jugu* 19, Sugu 19 a, ·*jugu* 20 21, ·*dūū** 21 a, ·*jugu* 21 b-d, ·*tɔkw** 21 e, ·*zūgū* 23, ·*zūgūdu** 25, ·*zugu* 27, Sugu 33 a, ·*zuzu** 39, ·*jugua** 40, ·*jugu* 55, ·*zuŋgw** 64 a 65 a, ·*duŋgw**·*mani* 67, ·*duhu** 72, Tlūū*, Tūū* 73, ·*zuku** 118, ·*zu** 119, ·*dju* 120 b, ·*zu* 122, ·*cɔ* 123, ·*juk**, ·*su** 124, ·*cɔ* 125, ·*jɔ* 127, ·*sɔkw** 159, ·*suku** 162, ·*ɔkw** 164, ·*zɔkw** 166 168, ·*yu*, ·*ju* 175 176, ·*zu* 178, ·*jūi*, ·*fu* 227, ·*ndiū* 236, ·*zɔg** 253; ·*ŋgwɔw** 27; ·*vɔ* 200.

·*dhlubu** 75 75 a; ·*gupa**, ·*guba* 94 100 116, ·*gube** 151, ·*guba** 159 161, ·*gūa** 160, ·*guba* 164.

·*Guje** 253, ·*gɔjia** 255, ·*gɔʃi** 256; ·*kūi** 273.

·*tɔw**, ·*Kɔtwɔ* 258, ·*tɔbɔ** 204, ·*tɔwi** 205 235, Tɔbi* 22, ·*tabi*, ·*tapi* 88; ·*ɔba* 3, ·*ɔbe** 145; ·*nyɔbwɔ** 2 2 d, ·*nyɔbw** 3, ·*nyɔbwɔ* 4, ·*uwebwɔ* 4, ·*yɔbe** 32, ·*dɔa**, ·*lɔa* 131.

·*doŋgw** 79 80 83, ·*doŋ** 213 214 215, ·*uluŋ** 265; ·*Lɔnzɔ**, ·*Lunzɔ* 114; ·*nzɔ* 230.

·*Kalaŋga* 2 e 9 a, ·*Halaŋga* 9 c 23, ·*ŋgalaŋga* 27, ·*kalaŋga* 42.

·*Maŋga* 69; ·*baŋgan* 227; ·*yaŋ*, ·*jaŋ*, ·*biaŋ* 230; ·*bansaŋ* 245, ·*bantsan* 229 244.

·*bande* 5 5 a 7, ·*hande* 9; Awande 151 a³, ·*gbwendi* 151 b; ·*nanda* 108 125 129 (also ·*ndanda*) 131 129 (also ·*nanda*); ·*wondɔ** 217, Ūne 203, ·*wōne* 218, ·*wōndɔ* 219, ·*wōn* 220, ·*wonde*, ·*wunde* 200; ·*ʃondzɔ*, ·*Jonzɔ**; ·*soŋgw* 126; ·*suŋgat* 232; ·*ōinje* 254; ·*gōjia* 255, ·*gɔʃi* 256; ·*gondi** 207, ·*gondɔ** 209, ·*gundɔ** 213, ·*gond** 211 212; ·*kantr**, ·*kentir*, ·*kente* 261-2 261, ·*kand** 263, ·*kan** 264.

·*kwɔlima* 266.

¹ A common word-root for 'clay'.

² Compare the ·*nje* root for 'outside'.

³ See also ·*benda*, ·*penda* root. ·*wande* is Sudanic (Zande, &c.).

- kere* 2 c; -tere* 120, -terr* 121; Jagare* 148; -ikesi, -jeresi 234; -tesa 32 34 (or -teca); -gisi 213; -zi (Lizi) 259; -tia 267.
- mbele 104 128.
- dombe 92.
- futha 45.
- furre* 227 b 238, -fri* 229, -firi* 228, -wiri* 60; -mburu*-nzi 61 c; Nya-biru 8.
- Gurru 151 a.
- pi 175 178, -vi 247, -fi, -pfi 250 251; -piat 271; -pinda 100 101 103, -penda 182, Fenda, -winda, -pinda 184, -penda 186 187, -pinda 190, -bindi 109, -pena 179, -wene, -pene 180, -benda 186 187 191 193 194 195 198¹, -binda 200; -pira, -pire 230; -he 248.
- sōrw 2 g; -yeñgōra 81.
- tia 267; -siama 42, -siawa 44 b 50, -siawara 51, -siawa, Syawa 52, -jama 54, -ziama 62; -sama 105, -seme 126; -ema 3, -emu 77, -emw 64 78; -lima 39 a; -nyemu 87, -nyumu, -nyimu 105 a, 106 110, -nyimw 111, -nyōme 69, -numi 70; Nyemba 63.
- idw* 4, -yitw 6; -ekw* 56 b, -elw* 84 85 86.
- anza 3 71 f; Mañga 69.
- Yaba 252; -rawi* 28 37, -lawi* 35, -rawi*² 55, -tabelle* 76, -tabi*, -tapi 88, -ta 120, -raba 256; -nduwi 56, -ndawi* 56 b, -ndūwi 57 58, -ndūi 58 a 59 (-ndwe, also -ndūwi), -duwe 64 a, -dūe 65, -ndōim 67 68; -katua 257, -kōtōwa 258.
- balala 43 43 a 44 48 49, -barara 53, -balala 61.
- tesa 54, -teša 56 a, -tedza 61 a, -teza 61, -teza, -tentsa 61 b.
- toñga-mani 75 b.
- ren 232.
- Sirigbwendi 151 b.

GUINEA-FOWL

- gañga* 1, -kañga* 2 d 2 f 3, -xañga*, -khañga* 5 5 a 6 (also -kañga), -kañga 6 a 7 7 a 8 9 a, Hañga* 9 c, -kañga 11, -gañga 12 14 15 16 (also -kañga) 17 (also -raña*), -añga* 18, -kañga 19, -khañga 19 a, -kañga 20 21 21 a 21 b-g 22, Nañga*, -gañga, -kañga 27, -khañga 28, -xañga 29, -kañga 32, -ñañga 34, -kañga 39, -gañga, -lañga* 39 a, Kaña 40, -kañga 41 42 43 43 a 44 44 b 45, -khañga 48, -xañga 49, -kañga 50 51 52 53 54, -kaga* 56, 56 b, -kaka* 56 a, -kaga* 57, -kañga 58 58 a 59 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62, -hañga* 64 64 a 65 65 a, Khañga 72, Kzaka* 73 74, -kañga 77 78 79 80, -ñañga 83, -kañga 84 85 87 88, -gañga 89 90, -kañga 91, -khañga 92 93, -kañga 97, -hañga 94 98, -kañgala 104, -kañga 105 106 108 109 110 (and -kañge) 113 114 116 118, -kā 119 120 121, -kañga 122 123, -kañgala* 124 (and Gala*), -kañga, -kañgala 125, -kañga 127, -kañge 128, -kañga 129 130 131 (and -lañga), Nañga 132, -añgala* 133, -kañga 135 139 140 141 142, -gañgi, -lañgi* 144, -kañga 145, -añga 148, -kañga 150, -kañge 151, -kañga 151 a-b 168, -kā 175, -kāā* 176, -kañga 184, -kaña 186 187 189 190 195, -kaña 194, -kañga 199 204, -kañge 206, -kañg' 213, -kan 218, Sañga* 230, -kañ 229, Gañ* 253; -kwañ 203; Mañgera* 66 69, Pañgeya* 67; -hañgela* 70, Mañgela 71 f, -pañgele* 75 75 a 75 b, Pañgea, Ngera-76; -bañala* 110.
- gelele* 15 17 18, -kelele* 16 100, -kele* 136 155; -celwe 62; -sal* 274; -sakara* 3; Gala* 124.
- kolōw 56 a, -kōlōw 56 b.³
- keme 162 164 166 167, -cem 264; -bem 202 203, -bembe 214, -fe 247.
- curucumbi 2 g; -tajumba 2, -jumba 2 a, -tajumba 2 c.
- Fonzi, Funzi 101 102 103.
- samak 261.

¹ -wande is Sudanic (Zande, &c.).

² ? Maravi (old name for S.W. Nyasaland) = 'land of ground-nuts'.

³ Perhaps allied to Gala *Sōlōw*.

-fut, -afut* 228; -pulu* 102, -bulu* 161 a, -furu* 17; -guru* 210; -kuregɔ 254; -koroŋgɔ 134.
 -boŋgɔ 159 160.
 -rondɔ 193; -cundu 35 37 55.
 -tendele 75 c.
 -intɔmɔ 126.
 -ñko; 234; -kɔw 13, -kɔfu 4.
 -tɔnu 259; -sɔna 157; -siña 273, -sioñ 245.
 -ewe 161; -kpai 205, -ekwai 206, -kpwa 207, -gwa 214, -ikwa 227; -kwañ 203; -yegwa 255;
 -iyɔgɔ 256.
 -bwela 137.
 -nyii 228; -siña, -siñi- 273; -giñ 228 a; -yiŋgɔ 238; Jigin 252.
 -dōyi 3 (R.); -sɔe 260; Pɔe 258; -treyi 257.
 -ziba 143.
 -mbasa 153.
 -jɔpɪlɔ 60.

GUN

Buta, -ta* 41, -ta-pikɔ 56 b, -ta 84, -ūta* 85, -ta* 86 88 92 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 103 104 105
 109 110 111 112 113 120 122 124 166 168 175 176 179 180 181 184 190, -tata 226, -ta* 257, -tɔ 259.
 -huti* 2 e, -vuti*, -buūti* 12, Futi* 19 19 a 20 23 a, Hute* 27, Huti 28, -ūti* 34, Huti 35, -futi 41
 42, -putu* 43 43 a, -futi 44 44 b, Funti* 52, Futi 53, Uti 54, Huti 55, -buti 56, -pwiti* 56 a, -puti 56 b,
 Futi 57 58 58 a 59 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62, -pfuti* 64, -futi 64 a 65 65 a, -vuti 66, -futi 68, Futi 77, -futi 79;
 Putu* 108, Butu* 139.
 -pɔlɔpɔlɔ* 15¹ 17 (also -lebɔlɔ*, -bɔlebɔlɔ, -alɔlɔ) 41 (Kipɔlɔpɔlɔ), Tlhɔbɔlɔ* 73, Tlhɔbɔlɔ
 74; Tɔbɔlɔ* 74 b, -tɔbɔlɔ 78 79 80, -bōrɔ* (Tu-bōrɔ) 81, -bōlɔ 83, -tɔbōrɔ 87 (?).
 -bɔōye 144, -bɔvye 39 a.
 -bila 56 b; -balesa 71.²
 -bari, -mbari* 89, -bali* (Bu-) 137 151 155 (-bale, -bali); -jali*, -sɔle 186, -sadi* 185, -jali 187,
 -jare 189 191 192, -jali 193, -jiale 194, -gadi* 198 199 203, -gari* 204, -gadi 211, -gale 212 216, -gal*
 217, -zali* 218, -gal* 225, -gar* 235.
 -kele 100.
 -tuli 140.
 -kañ* 230; -gaŋgɔ* 2 2 c 145 146 148; -guŋgɔ 7, -goŋgɔ 8; -bwoŋgɔ 136; -bwoŋge 143, -woŋge
 134, -oŋge 131; -pañ, -bañ 236 237; -baŋgɔ 153.
 -bamɔ 67 69, -bamu 70, -bamɔ 71 f, -bamu 72 75 a 75 b 76.
 -bundu* 1 3, -undu 4* 6 (also -rundu), -bundu* 147; -gundu* 151; -gun 227 228; -gɔ 234;
 Di-uñ, Di-oñ 244; -rondɔ* 5 5 a, -rundu* 6, -londɔ* 6 a, -rondɔ 7; -pandɔ 87.
 -dyembɔ 89 90, -embɔ 200.
 -pɔpɔ 73, -baw 161 a; Umpū, -bɔbɔ 75, -pɔbɔ 75 c; -mbumbu 130, -mumbu 131.
 -fumbeñ, -pumbeñ 273.
 -benye 69.
 -komba 205 206, -kumba, -kumbe 207 208 209 210 213 214 215; -kɔba 141.
 -kuma 132 133 258; -gɔma, Kiŋgɔma 104 123 125 127 129.
 -kūa, -kwa 228 229.
 -kwasa 105.

¹ The root here seems to be -bɔlɔ, -bōrɔ, meaning 'tube', allied to the root for 'penis', 'banana', 'plantain', 'sting'.

² Query: from old Portuguese *balesta* (modern, *besta*)—crossbow. The Ba-roŋga were amongst the earliest Bantu tribes visited by the Portuguese on the S.E. African coast.

-pesω* 105; -pisa* 69.
 -sanu 100 b.
 -cinja, -ciŋga 11 12 (also -siŋga).
 -yuit 232.
 -fwefwe 79.
 -piŋkar 263,¹ -biŋgar 266.

-bundu 1 2 d, -duku 2 a, -bunduziω 2 f, -bundudzi 2 g, -bundu 3, -undu 4 6 (also -rundu), -nducω 9, -nduzi 9 c, -bunduki 14,² Bundukui 16, Bwindiki 18, Bunduci 13, Bunduki 21-21 e, Bonduki 21 f, Mudugwe 21 g, Buduki 22; Bunduki 23, Bundiki 24, Bunduki 25, -ndusu 37, Bundusi 39, Bunduki 40, Mundusi 45, Bundusi 48 49, -undusi 50, -dusω 51, Bunduk 151 a, -bondωki 164, -bundu 147, -burka, -biriga 248, Binduya, Bindiga 252 253 254, Bundeya, Budeŋgω 255.

HAIR³ (OF HEAD)

-yuwire*,⁴ -suwere*, -ziwiri* 1, -viri* 4, -swiri 3 a, -fwiri 5, -zuele 8, -zwiri, -zuile, -yuile 9, -nyele* 9 b, -dwili*, -zuile 9 c, -dwile*, -dwili 10, -juere* 11 (also -cuere*, -juri*), -jire*-hu 247 b, -ere-fu 247 a, -cire* 248, -wii* 13, -sisiri* 14, -ere 16, -fuli*, -fili* 17, -seri* 18, Fili* 19 19 a, -vili, -fili 20, -nyuele 20 d, -wele 21, -ele 21 a, -ee 21 b-e, -uli, -uiri 21 f-g, -vili 23 23 a 24 (and -juile), -vuile 24 c-g 25 (and -viri), Nyweri 26, Fwili 27, Vuire 28, -fuile 29, -vuile, -fwili 30 31, Nywili 32, -jwiri 35, -juwili 38, -vũire 39, Nyuwele 40, Lu-vwili 41, Nyele 43 43 a 46, -yui 45, -nyere 48, -yuwere 51, -juile 55, -nũe 67, -mwele 72, -nwele, -nwẽle 75, -nwele 75 a 75 b 75 c 76, [Nyere-fu 247 a], -nyele, Nwele, Nyuwele 106 (also -nyuene*) 108 (and -eneye*), -nwene 105, -nyunyi* 107, -nywanyi*, -nywanyiω* 104, Be-nye* 126, -uiri 139, -weli 144, -wele 157, -vule 219, -hwini, -wini 257-8; -nyuwoñ, -woñ 194, Nyω 204, Nyu 210, -nyω 211, -nyuñ 213 214 215, Nyũ, Nyot, -niot* 227, -nu 227 b, -nyωta, -nye, -nyuñ, -nuñ 230, -nyω 237, Nuñ, Nyωu* 232, Tuin, Hueñ*, 235 Nin 244, Nyu, Nu, -lu 228; -dyukin 251, Nyoñ 253, -ñuene* 257, -ñuni 258; -el, -ele, -yele* 269-72, -guere*, -ere 247, -jirω* 254; -al* 273; -mũl, -immũl 274; Li 240 c.

-juŋgu* 55; -nyuŋga*, -uŋga 208 209, Nyuñ, Nuñ 230 236 237, Nyoñ* 253; -ñuni 258; -vuañ, -wañ 200, Fhoñ, Hoñ 202, -wũ 203, -oñ 204 c.

punyu 123, Phũ 124.

-sakω 44 b.

-soki* 2, -ske or -sōke 2 a 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g, -sōke*, -zōke 2 e, -sōke 4 a, -tsōtsi* 3, -swi, -sũi, -sũ 5 a, -swui* 6 a, -tukia* 7 7 a, -zwi 12, -ũi 15, -dzũi 16 17, -ji 17, -jũi, -zui 18, -suki 39 a, -suki, -susu 77 78, -susu* 79, -suki 80, -sisi* 41 42 44 44 b 45 (&c.), -zizi, -siši, -saiši 81, Hōki* 82, -eũki, -susu, -ñuki 83, -huki 87, Huiki 91, -huki 92 93, -fukω 94, -fufu*, -tũtũ* 90, -dudu* 69, -suki 100 102 104 105 106, -suki, -suiki 109 110 (also -viji), -siki* 111, Gōkōsi* 116, -fu 117, -siω, -fu, -fω 120, -vũ 127, -pu, -fu 129 130, -vu, -wu 131, -uω 132, -bvu 133, -fu 134, Vuzi* 63 64, Vudzi* 64 a, Vuzi 65 65 a, Vudzi

¹ From the Portuguese *Espingarda*.

² From the Arab *bunduq*, which is a form of the Arab name for 'Venice' (Venedig—from Veneticum—became Bandig, Bunduq in Mediterranean Arabic in medieval times). An improved type of firearm was manufactured at Venice and spread thence by commerce through the Eastern Mediterranean, thus reaching the Arabs of North and East Africa, who applied to the new weapon the name of 'Venice'. The word is very interesting, as it has penetrated Negro Africa from several directions. It is now the chief root for 'gun' throughout East Africa wherever the Zanzibar traders have penetrated, but it is also here and there the word for 'gun' in the Central and Western Sudan and in parts of the Congo basin, coming thither from Moorish Africa.

³ There is usually quite a distinction in word-roots between the hair of the head and the hair or pile of the body, and even distinct word-roots for hair on different parts of the body and for the hair of other mammals distinct from man. The word-roots here given apply almost exclusively to head hair, yet there is occasionally a root that answers to both meanings.

⁴ This series of roots is possibly composed of two concepts: Nyu- or Fu- and -wili, -wele.

66 68 72, -viot* 218, Sugi* 137, -suki 139 144, -sookw 147, -sue 152, -swe 155 156, -sui 159 -swe 160, -swi, -swe 161, -swi 164, -šūe 165, -swe 166, -cwe 167, -fu 168 a 175, -fω 176, -fu 177 178 179 180, -pfu, -pu 181 182, -sui 185, -šoi, -siw 186, -coge 187, -sooge 187 a, -cuye 188, -dzugi* 189, -šugi, -cugi* 190, -tue 192, -rue, -tue 193; -jie 238; Hōwe* 195, -owe, Hōwe 198 199, Sōwe* 205 206; -šigi* 211.

-šasi* 2 g 3 (also -satsi), -sasi 9 a, -saj* 268; -sisi* 41 42 44 44 b 45 49 50 52 53, -ēhe, -ihi* 56 b; -titi* 57, -titi, -sisi 58 58 a, -titi, -tsisi 59, Tsitsi 60 61 a, Cici* 61, Tsitsi, Tsise 61 b, Sitsi 61 c, Sisi 62 64, -sise 69, -sisi 70 71 71 f, -riri* 73, -riri 74, -lili* 74 b, -šaiši*, -šiši, -zizi 81, -dyise, -kise 89, -hici 92 b, -šiši 105 106, -kisi* 212, -jiji*, -sit* 214, -sisa, Izisara* 242, -jie, Cire* 248, -gi, -je 229; -sa 258, -saj*, -ei, -wei 268; -sie, -sii 226, Sin-isien 241, -siin 244 a, -sen 250, -sē 259, -sili, -sil* 217 218 219 220, -sila* 226; -sala 153; Delō* 238, -jirō* 254; -jeletw 239; -hinde, -hinje 255; -sunzu 3, -yunzu 35, -junju 37; Kucu 135 144; Kitw 216.

-tōw 239; Tot 252; -tsōli 162, -duri 148; -diriñ 261; -ndi 148 a; -diu* 125; -di 207; -diku* 12; -lewu, -lehu 266.

-ridia 14, -riti 57, -titi 57, -riri 73 74, -lili 74 b; -diriñ 261.

-temba 96, -demba 98 99 114.

-wimbw 34, -umbu, -umbw 54, -pombe 61 a.

-ambw* 83, -kambu* 84, -gambu 85, -gambw, -kambw, -kambu 86 88, -kampu 97, -kā 116 118 119, -ka, Mω-kambun 121, -kā 260, Gambw* 267; -sikamw 145; -ki-samw 150; -samw 151 b, Samorw 151 a; -same 94; -simw 146.

-gwene* 247; -cune, -tsune* 6, -zune, -cuni* 6 a; -kun* 121; -fon 263; -gōnya 94 97; -gonyw 113.

-sepe* 49, -sive* 94; -supa* 226; -guwa*-ti 26; -dupu* 118; -ibw 168.

-wōa 125, -vuañ 200, -pua 220; -ōasa, -pōasa 136.

-babu 162.

-burru 225.

-pi 259.

-diñ 243 261; -diriñ 261; -leñgi, -leñge, -lenje 100 101, -leñgie 102, -leñge 103; -loñgw 186; -oñgi 166; -siñga 86 a; -jiñga 94 b; -sañga 122; -nañga, -mañga 184; -mane 234.

Baka 128.

-beta 95; -mbita 97 113; Kitw 216.

-karali 56, -karari 56 a.

-ati, -ate 151 152, -ete, -ate 154.

-ya 259.

-tuwatuwa 151.

-ntan 249.

-miok 234, -miot 227.

HAND¹

-wōkw* 3 b, -bōkw* 8 9 a, -wōkw 9 b, -vōkw* 9 c, -ōkw 11 12 17 23 a 24 25 28, -wōkw 29 30 31, -bōkw 32, -wōkw 35, -vōkw 38, -bōkw 39 a 41 51, -wōkw 51 a 55, -bōkw 63 64, -bōhw* 73 (Le-bōhw), -bōkw (elephant's trunk) 75 a, -bōkw, -wōkw, -ōkw, -kōkw 83 84, -vōkw 86, -bōkw 87, -ōkw, -wōkw 92, -kōkw 94 b, -ōkw, -mōkw* 97 98, Kōkw*, Wkw 100 101, -akw* 102, -ōkw 103, -bōkw 106 108, -ōk* 111, -ō* (Kuω) 117, -ōkw 118, -gō* 122, -bōkw 127 128, -ō 129, -wō* 130 131, -lōw* 134, -ōgw* 137, -ōkw 139 141 144, -gu* 145, -bō 151 153 154, -baku 151 a, -bōku, -bōkw 153, -wōkw 160, -bō 161, -ōkw 162, -bōkw 164, -bōw 168, -bō 186, -kōkw* 177 183, -gōgw* 187, -xō*, -ōhw 191, -hō 192, -bō* 196, Imbōwa 151 b, -bō, -bōa* 200, -ō 201, -à* 203, -bu 210, -bō, -ombw* 216, -wuω* 217, -ō 218 219, -bō 220 227, -bō, -bō, -bōk* 228, -kpō*, -bō, -bō, -pō, -pu, -bōa* 230, -wō 232, -bō, -wuω 234, Kōbō* 238,

¹ This concept often applies equally to 'arm' and 'forearm', but generally is quite distinct from 'fingers', though occasionally it is indicated by a plural term derived from one of the roots for 'finger'.

-bō, -buō 244, -bω, -bωk 245, -wue*, Ku-ewe 248, -bū 250, -wu 251, -bω 251, Kpω 259. [See also roots for 'arm', 'five', and 'ten'.]

-ik 247 b.

-yōba 186; -kyaba 6.

-kōfu, -gōfu* 6 6a, -kōfi* 21,¹ -kōfi 37, -kufi* 43 53, -xōhe* 74; -zōhω* 74 b; -hokpω 260.

-gbaha* 151; -papa* 71; -paka* 77; -bacω* 226, -batu* 2 g 4; -basabasa* 39 a 144, -base* 154; -begi* 153; -peke*, -ke* 92, -ke 89 91 213 214, -ki 120, -si 3 247, -he, -hi 11 17 18, -kaa* 83, -kā 94 149 205, -a* 206, -ka 207 210 211 212 213 214 215; -kala* 5; -kai 181 182; -kaci* 129, -kaki* 149, -kaka* 132, -haka* 82 90, -gaha* 89, -khasa 91 a; -caga*, -caha 63, -jaga* 150; -tega 266; -kakω* 150, -kaka* 166 167 184 185 187 188 189 190 192; -kōkω 183, -gōgω 187.

-taši 78; -ntafu 267.

-batu, -ratu* 4, -hadu* 198.

-kama* 109; -tsam* 251, -sama* 234; -som 229; -lama* 88, -lam* 230, -ram* 236, -rab* 228; -jeme* 228, -jim 252, -jima* 248; -tem* 229; -demω* 237; Lame*.reka 239 b.

-leve* 193, -lefe, lefej* 273.

-limbili 23.

-pape 118, -papa 71; -paka 77.

-iswe* 40; -bisa* 192, -pita* 225, -piada* 243, -pia* 261, -pi*, -vi* 22, -pi* 42 44 b, -hi* 18, -si* 3;

-pyena* 254.

-te 266; -trā, -tsa, -dza 263; -tara 255; -watala 157.

-arr* (Biarr) 123, -ara* 2, -ara* (Nyara, Manyara) 64 a 65, -ala 66 68, -zala* 120, U-ala* 256;

-kwa 229; -swa 237; -nya (Lu-nya*) 130 131; -rinya* 274; -nye (Menye)² 226.

-galω, -garω* 2 2 g, -galω 5 a, -garu* 147, -kadu* 195, -hadu* 198.

Twaliti 26.

-dzeli 223.

-mundila 31 a.

-ōla 226, -ula 259-60; -kule 218 219, -kuri 116, -ūi 14; -buru (Mod-buru) 253.

-nwe (finger) 41.

-gumi³ 20; -tyome 193; -bumu 151.

-ayiñ 194.

-kuñgi 225; -wuñgω 205.

-kamba* 87 88 153; -emba* 188; -samba* 155⁴; -amberi* 6; -tambe* 130; -damba*, -dambu* 161; -ombω 216; -fumba 20; -pfunya 60; -wumbi 206.

-kyaba 6, -sabi 187.

-tsug 250.

-nañen* 271, -nañi* 272, -neñ*, -nyen- 273-273 e (see -nyen* root for 'arm' and 'ten'), -cenyē 255.

-inda* 165, -findi* 157; -fon* 263; -pent* 270; -panda* 86; -tanda* 222, -danda* 224, -tandω* 223; -tara* 255, -tata* 56, -tāba*, -tā 56 a, -tata 56 b, -dada*, -nāda, -anda 57, -tañga 21, -cañga 21 e, -ganza* 1, -ganja* 2 2 a, -ganza 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 f, -ganya* 2 g, -ganza 3 3 b, -ganja 4, -kala* 5,

-sanyi* 7 7 a, -kanza* 9, -ganza 9 a, -kasa* 9 b, -ganza, -ganda* 9 c, -nta* 12, -gandza 16, -gasa, -yasa* 19 19 a 20, -ganja 21, -canja* 21 f, Sanza* 22, -ganza 23 23 a, -ganji 24, Ganza, Ganya 25, -ganza 27, -gaza 28, -ganja 29 32, -anda, -ianja* 34, -ganja 35 36, -yanza 38, -anzanza* 39, -zanza 41, -anja* 39 a, -kasa 43 a 46, -sanza 44 44 b, -gānza 45, -yaza* 48, -anza 49, -kasa 50, -anja 51, -manja 52, -gasa, -gaza 54, -ganja 55, -sanja 56, -đanba, Danta, -anta 58, Dzanja, -anja 58 a 59 (and -anta) 60 61 61 a, 61 b 61 c, -anzanza 62, -ansa 64, -anja 65 a, Sanja 67, -anja 69, -anza 70, -andla* 71 f, -anda 72, -atla*;

¹ This group of roots often means 'fist'.

² Meaning 'fingers'.

³ Compare with roots for 'ten', 'hundred'.

⁴ This word-root is important because of the frequent appearance of the root -samba in numerals from 'five' onwards.

-ata* 73, -atla 74, -anthla, -andla 75, -andhla* 75 a, -hlanza*, -anza, -andhla 75 b, -andhla 75 c, -anja* 76, -ansa 77, -janza* 79, -anza 80, -anja 81, -janza 83, -kandeka* 85, -ā 89, -kanda* 92 94 95 (also -kunda) 96 97, -kandaji* 100, -kanda, -tandω 100 b, -kanda 101 103, -anza, -aza 104, -kasa, -kasala* 105 106, -anca 107, -nza 108, -kasa 110, -kanta, -kunda 114, -banza* 116, -kanje* 121, -kanyi* 168 a, -kai, -khenwa* 120, -kes, -keṣ* 119, -kasi, -kaṣi* 124 125, -kata 133, -sansa 135, -kasa 136, -kasi 140, -kasa 141, -gaza 142, -ganda 143, -caṅga* 144, -ganda 146, -konda 148 a, -kanzika* 149, -anza-gum* 151 a, -gasa 155, -yanja 155 c, -kanja, -kanza 159, -kata 160*162 164, -kanza, -kata 166 167, -kanji 186, -gandaka* 187, -gandω 193, -kadu 195, -kanja, -hadu 198 199, -ā, -anj 200; -kala* 204, -ala, -ā, -wala*, -wla 226, -ade 204 c; -ja, -ka 227; -ak 236; -kat*, -kara 235; -uala* 255, ula*, -ula-kpω 259.

-kωνω* 2 2 a 2 c 2 d 2 e 4 5 b 7 7 a 9 c 10 13 14 15 16, -kωνu* 17, -kωνω* 18 19 20 20 d 21 21 a 21 b 21 d 21 e 21 f 21 g 22 (also -hωνω*) 23 24 26 31 a 34 45, -xωνω, -hωνω 73, -kω, -kωνi* (meaning 'fist') 144, -ku 211, -koñi* 249, -kωνu*, -nu 257; -nūe* ('fingers') 1, -nω* 199 251, -nu* 257, -ne* 258; -konde* 20; -konjω* 151, -konju* 186 194, -konjω* 208 209 (also -kωνyω*), -kunja* 210, -konji* 186 221; Eba-kon* 240 c, -fon* 263; -kωtω* 14 226; -gωsω*, -gωs' 251.

HEAD

-twe* 1 2, -tūe* 2 a, -twe 2 b 2 c 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g 3 3 a 4 5, -rwe* 5 a, -twe 5 b 6 6 a 7, -tui* 7 a (also -tu*), -twe 8 9 9 a 9 b 9 c 10, -tūe 11 12, -jwa* 13, -twe 15, -tswa* 16, -dω*, -rwe*, -hwe*, -dwe 17, -rwi, -rue 18, -twi* 19 19 a 20 (also -twe), -twe 20 d, -cwa* 21, -twa* 21 a 21 b 21 c 21 d 22 e, -sūa* 21 f, -ṣwa* 21 g, -tswa 22, -twi 23 23 a (and -twe), -twe 24 24 c-g 25 26 27, -tui 28, -thwe 29, -mutwe 30 31, -twe 32 34 (and -tu), -twe, -tu 35, -twe 36, -tu 37, -twe 38 39, Tue 40 42, -twe 41 43 43 a 44 44 b 45 46 48, -twe 49, -tū 50 51 52 53, -twi 54, -twe 55, -rω 56, -rru, -ru 56 a 56 b 57 58, -tu 61 61 a 61 b 61 c, -twe 62, -twi 77 78 79 80, -twe 82, -twi, -tu 83, -twe 84 85 86 87 88, -uru 89, -tse* 90, -twe 91 92, -twi 94, -ntue 95 96, -twe 97 98, -tu 100 101 102 103 104 (and -twe) 105, -twi 106, -cwe 107, -twe, -cwa*, Kicwa 108, -tu 109, -twe, -tω 110, -ωj*, -j, Umωj, -Imej* (probably an abbreviation of Umωjwe) 111, -twe 113 114 116, -cwe 117, -tu 118, -tciu* 119, -tywe*, -tu 120, -tue 121, -tω 122, -cwe 123 124 125, -tyue 127, -twe 128, -ωte, -twe 129 130 131, -te* 132, -ca* 133, -twe 134, -tω 136, -twe 137, -tue 140, -cwe 141 142, -twi 133, -ω* 149 150, -ui, -ωω* 151, -orω* (Morω) 151 a, -ωω* 152, -ru, -lu, -li 153, -oi 154, -tω 155, -cwe 155 c, -tu 156, -toi* 157, -tω, -tu, -ritu* 159 160, -lu, -lω* 161, -tsu*, -ca 162, -tω 164, -tu 166 167 168, -cwe 175, -cwi 176, -swi 177, -tswe 178, -tsūe 179 180, -jue 181, -tue 182, -lu, -ru* 183 184 185, -lie* 186, -jwe, -cwe, -ṣω 187, -ru 188, -cwe 189, -ṣwe 190, -te 194, -lω, -ωω 195 196 197 198 199 200, -tω, -ntω 200, -rω 206, -ō 207, -rω 208 209, -ō, -ū 210, -lω 211, -ō 212, -lω, -lu 213 214 215 217, -tō, -nω 218, -tō* 219, -lō 220, -nω, -lω 221, -lω 222, -tu 223, -tω 225, -twe, -cue* 226, -ci*, -si 227, -ti* 234, -tωω*, -tω, -tsw, -tu 230 236 238 239 240, -tōi* 241, -sōi 242, -tω, -tωk*, -tωu* 232, -rω 235, -lω 243, -tiωu* 248, -zu* 251, -tω 252; Mwot', Mudi*, Muti* 253; -ṣui 249.

Ṣωkω* 69, -hlōkω* 71 71 f, Thōhω* 72, Hlōhω, Xlōkω 73 73 a, Tlhōxω 74, -tōhω 74 b, -tlōkω*, -klōkω 75, -hlōkω 75 a-c, -ṣōkω* 76, -sōkω* 224, -tōk* 232, -tōya* 232; -gōkω* 186; -hugwω* 69; -tukpω* 259 260.

-sōrω*¹ 58 a 59, -sōlω* 60, -sōrω 63 64 64 a 65 65 a, -sōlω 66, -sorω 68, -ṣorω* 81; -poru- 151 a; -ωω 204 c.

-kωu*, -gωu 271-2, -kωu*, -kω, -kō 273, -ki, -kiki 266.

-kωtω 43 a.

-don 241 a-b.

-duturu 55.

Mō 151 b; A (pl. mō) 203; -ñō 202; -oñgω 14 18, -moñgω 149; -poñgorω 63; -suñgω 69, -ṣuñgu 70; -wonjω 191 193, -bonju, -bontsω 192; -bump 264, -bomp 263.

-ωnω, -nω 244.

-hen, -hene 269-70.

¹ See Nyamwezi word for 'one'.

- ɔpɔ** 195 204 205, -**ɔpɔ** 206; -**fu** (**Lefū**) 247; -**pol**, -**bol**, -**bul** 261; -**pala** 69; -**poru** 151 b.
 -**kuva*** 56 b; -**ɔfa***, -**gafa** 267, -**aŋgafu***, -**gavu*** 274.
 -**gbwe** 216.
 -**tata** (**Ti-tata**) 188; **Leta** 239 b.
 -**ndila*** 31 a (**Ci-mū**); -**sila*** 226; -**ɕi** 228 229, -**si** 258; -**tse** 250; -**ki**, -**kiki** 266; -**hihi**, -**hie**, -**hihyu**
 254 255 256.
 -**nejū** 191.
Balti 26.
Khanda 67, -**kanda** 75 75 a 75 b 75 c 76.

HEART¹

- tima***, -**tema***, -**tummɔ*** 1, -**tima**, -**tuma*** 2, -**tima** 2 a 2 b, -**tummɔ*** 2 c, -**tima** 2 c 2 d, -**tuma**,
 -**tima** 2 e, -**tima** 2 f 2 g (also -**irima***) 3 3 b 4, -**teme*** 7, -**tima** ('liver') 9 b, -**tima** 9 c, -**hima*** ('liver') 17,
 -**tima** 21 21 f 24 27 30 32 34 35 36 ('liver') 37 ('liver') 38 ('liver') 39 40 41 42 43 ('liver') 43 a 44 44 b 45
 ('liver') 53 54 55, -**rima*** 56 56 a 56 b 57, -**drima***, -**rima** 58 58 a, -**tima** 59 60 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62, -**tima**
 82, -**cima*** 83 84, -**tima** 86 87 89 90 91 92 93 94, -**ɕima*** 98, -**cima** 99 100 (also -**tima**) 101 103 104, -**tima**
 105, -**cima** 106 107 108 109 110 (also -**ɕima**) 114, -**tyima*** 118, -**cima** 122, **Tim**' 123, -**tima** 124 125 127
 129 131 132 133, -**tema** 136, -**tima** 137 140, -**tema** 141, -**ntima*** 142, -**tima** 144, -**lema*** 145, -**lima** 146,
 -**tema** 147, -**tuma*** 148, -**lema**, -**ɔma*** 153, -**tema** 155 157 159 160, -**lema** 161, -**tema** 162 164, -**lima** 165,
 -**tima** 175, -**rima** 184, -**lema** 186, -**tema** 187 189, -**tima** 190, -**rema** 193, -**temɔ*** 194, -**lema** 195 198 199
 200, -**lima** 200 a, -**lema** 204 205, -**ema*** 206, -**em*** 207, -**lema** 109, **Nema*** 211, -**lem** 213 214, -**tema** 216,
 -**nem** 217, -**lem** 218 219 220, -**teba***, -**tema*** 226, -**timɔ*** 228, -**tem** 229, -**tim**, -**nimi**, -**ti** 228 228 a, -**tim***
 242, -**sim**, -**ɕuma*** 248; -**tim*** 264; -**gem**, -**ñem** 203; -**msin**, -**nsin**, -**sin** 244; -**ti** 248.
 -**cempia** 241 c; -**simba** 108; -**pimbi** 88 104, -**pim** 121; -**pumbulu*** 98; **Numbula*** 27, -**dumbura***
 37, -**numbula*** 38, -**dumbura**, -**dumburu*** 51.
 -**koñk**' 273; -**boñge*** 85 86, -**buñgwe***, -**buñge** 88, -**buñga*** 92, -**buñgo** 92 b, -**uñgi*** 109, **Poñ** 252;
 -**buñu**, -**cuñu**, -**duñgɔ*** 110; -**duñga*** 63; -**buñi*** 227, -**biñi** 227; -**iñga** 104; -**huna** 254; -**buma** 210.
 -**tu** 257 258; -**iru** 255.
 -**papu** 75.
 -**lañga** 142; -**tañgan** 243.
 -**ɕamañgu** 75 a.
 -**konduli** 240 c, -**kondi** 193, -**tyondɔ** 193, -**tyendye** 274; -**tsɔnet** 230; -**kon** 228, -**koñk** 273;
 -**gbondɔ** 150, -**gunda** 151 b, -**gonda** 161 a, -**bundu** 100 116, -**wundu**, -**undu** 206; -**zundu** 97 99;
 -**but** 263; -**kpɔtu**, -**kbɔtɔ**, -**pɔ** 247-247 b, -**sɔtɔ** 132; -**tu** (**ɔtu**, -**situ**) 258.
 -**enzɔ** 43 43 a 45.
 -**ɔkwɔ** 130 156 162 166 167; -**dikɔ** 134; -**tɔga** 25; **tey** 234; -**dei**, -**ɕaiyu** 12.
 -**egɔ** 9 c (also 'spirit').
 -**wɔga** 228.
 -**gwa** 248; -**kwal** 120; **Bu-kali** 151 a, **Mbukwari** 151 a.
 -**balā** 106; -**bali** 127 253, -**ali** 128; -**yele** 133; -**ade**, -**ari** 104 c.
Gbol* 261; -**ɔxɔlɔ*** 5, -**kɔrɔ*** 7, 7 a 8, -**gɔrɔ** 11, -**gɔ** 12, -**gɔlɔ** 14, -**gɔrɔ** 15, -**gɔ** 17, -**gɔw**, -**gɔlɔ**
 18, -**kɔlɔ*** 26, -**kulɔ** 80, -**kɔlɔ** 117 175 176 177 178, -**kɔlu** 120, -**culu**, -**ɕulu** 129 a.
Birɔ, -**bilɔ*** 69, -**bilu*** 70 71 71 f 72, **Pelɔ*** 73 74, -**pilu*** 74 b, -**pelɔ*** 75.
 -**gbal**, **Ubol** 261.
 -**libɔ*** 1; **Cizilɔ*** 67, -**tliziyɔ*** 75, -**hliziyɔ*** 75 a, -**hlitiyɔ** 75 b, -**hliziyɔ** 75 c, **Sizilɔ*** 76; -**dzi** 259,
 -**tse** 230; -**i** (pl. -**ē**) 104.

* ¹ The root-words for 'heart' sometimes also apply to 'soul', 'life', 'chest', 'breast-bone', and also to 'liver'. Not infrequently a root-word which has ceased to mean 'heart' still survives under the meaning of 'liver'.

-tiwi 44 b; -tu 257-8.
 -aya 49.
 -na (Una) 259; -ny', -nya 273.
 -meme 4, Mim* 202.
 -coba 139.
 -sigir 273.
 -saw 256; -ōyω* 5 a 6 6 a 9 9 b 9 c, -ωcω* 13, -ōyω 16 19 19 a 20 21 (also -ωa*) 21 a 21 b 21 c 21 d
 21 e 21 g, -uyω*, -ω 22, -oyω 23 23 a 24 26 28, -weω* (Umweyω) 42, -oyω 48, -aya* 49, -oyω 50 52 64
 64 a 65 65 a 66 68, -inyω* 69, -ōyω 77, -ωzω* 78, -ōyω 79 81 83 100, -onyω* 102, -oyω 104, -ew* 105;
 -egω* 9 c; -weω (Umweω) 42.

HEEL

(Other than 'back of foot' or other paraphrase.)

-šukuri*, -šikori 256, -sinzirω* 1 2 2 a 2 c, -tsintsinω* 2 d, -sinsinyω* 2 e 2 f, -tsintsinω 3,
 -sinzirω 4, -sirω 5, -sisirω* 5 a, -sisōrω* 5 a (R.), -tiŋgirω* 7 7 a, -sugurω* 7 a, -suguri 8, -šigina* 9,
 -šiginω, -šinsila* 9 c, -tinyω*, -dinyω* 12, -sikinω, -siginω 13 15 16, -sinanω* 17, -šiginω 20 21 21 a
 21 b (and -šinŋinω), -siŋginω 21 e, Tsinzoni* 22, -siginyω 23, -segeyu* 23 a, -sinyagirω* 24,
 -siŋganω* 27, -sokunω* 28, -sugunhu* 33 a, -ŋginω 32, -hiŋginω 34, -hiŋgini 35, -sindagωlω*,
 -sindagulu* 40, -siŋginω, -sinzilω 41, -sisilω 44 b (see 5 a), -diŋginya* 48, -cinω* 63, -tsitsinu (see 3),
 -tsinω 64, -sisinindω*, -šinindω 64 a, -sisindω 65 a, -dimindω* 68, -cinidω* 69, -sisilω 77 (see 5 a),
 -sizina* 80, -sitω 83 (see 5), -tsintsinyω 86, -šišidi 87, Šindinω 87 a, -šijinω 88, -fiŋnywa* 91,
 -fininike 91 a, -hiŋginω 92 (see 23 and 34), Siŋgini, Siŋgiyi 100, -sinsinω, -sinsirω 105 (see 4), -tina
 136 (see 63), -simbirω* 146, Ecenω 176 (see 63), -siŋgini 177, Itsinω 178, -soŋguni 184 (see 28 33 a);
 -sugurω* 7 a, -sukulu* 39, -sukururω 55, -šukuri*, -šikori 256; -sulω* 106, -sulu 108 128; -kikili* 120,
 -gikili* 194, -kikindi* 195, -tyili* 186, -tilini* 57, -tiri, -bili 58, -tiri 59; -duli* 75; -kitiyi* 189,
 -kitigi 190, -kitikω 180, -tikiti 258; -klise* 259; -sedu*, -sendu* 17, -tende* 42, -tunta* 43 43 a,
 -tende 44 44 b 50 51, -ndende 54, -ndende 61 a, -tende 50 61 a 61 b 61 c 62, -hende 64, -rendze 66,
 -renza* 69, -hende 70, -renje 71 71 f, -rethe* 72 73, -rēti 74, -tende 75 75 a, -tsendze* 75 b, -tende 75 c
 76, -sende* 97 98 114, -tinti* 123, -tindi, -cinji* 124, -kiŋge*, -cici* 125, -cinji 127 129 a 130, -tsiŋgi*
 129, -siŋgiriki* 130, -cindi 133, -tindi 136, -winzi* 140, -tindi 141 145, -tiŋgere* 147, -tindilindi 148,
 -tindi 151, Tindili 151 a, -tindi 153 155 159 160, -linji* 161, -tindi 164 166 167 186, -cindi, Tsindi 200,
 Tindi, -titin 202, -tiŋgili 203 204 205 (also -tindere), -tindele 206, -tinde 208, -tin 214, -tinde 217, -tin
 220, -tinde 222, -lindini 234, -ditiŋ 245, -tendye*, -tenje, -tenye 267 (see 44 71 75 b).
 -suguri 8; -dugeten* 266; Duduge* 254; -tōgigω* 11; Dudugul 253; Dikpe 151 b; -kitiki
 168; -tsinēge, -tyinigi 218; -timikeli 219; -tulikpω 247; -tsiri-gbω 247 b; -teeti 257, -tikiti 258,
 -klididi 259.
 -kiš 248; -tsi, -zi 230 (also -dihe), -si 228 236, -sehi 249, -se 89, -šisi*, -isi 90, -šēši*, -anšēši 96,
 -saši 126, -siše* 151; -cigi 228 a; -tibi-kat 238.
 -kaŋi 176; -banω 243.
 -kaŋkanye 104; Soŋgōnikω* 60, -koŋgon* 109, -koŋgōnu* 61 b, -soŋguni* 184, -koŋgōiw 2;
 -gōgwinω 56, -kōkwinyω 56 a, -gugunω 57; -gunyu 6 6 a; -gunu 52; -kunya 84; -nyunyu 21 f;
 -sōnyω 142; -soŋua 11; -šon, -sōanye 269-72; -tōn 273.
 -kan 244; -gande 236, -gindin 237; -pandē 89; -sandēra 95.
 -haŋkari 49; -taŋku 255.
 -iŋgala 56 b.
 -jimbe 12, Jimbe 14, -imbe 16, -jem 227; -ja 234.
 -keŋkibu 104 a; -keku 229.
 -seveja 38.
 -dondōba 64.
 -ira 254.

- nyau 67 (perhaps mistake for 'sole of foot').
 -duge 254; -juku* 230; -tsuru 139; -sɔkɔ* 150; -saka* 105 c; -haya 19, -haga* 19 a 20; -tak* 175 274.
 -kata* 165, -kato* 61; -katalo* 25.
 -kotsa 56, -kɔtɔkɔtɔ 56 a, -kɔtɔ 114; -zɔtɔ 74 b; -kɔda 101, -kɔde 102; -kondakonda 226;
 Ta-kwot-kwōde 253.
 -kɔ 228; -kɔmɔ 155.
 -koruwa 22; -kɔkɔra 65.
 -benta 264, -bentañ 261, Bintihā 261, -binteña 262; -tañ* 230, -tañku* 255, -dañ* 268; -tak, -tami* 175, -tamu* 181; -tavu* 58 59.
 -dondōba 64; -ton 273, -ʃon 271, Tontoñ 237, -tuñgi 157, -tingi-liñgi 199, -tiñgili 204 c; -taleñgi 7; -jiñ, -jir 232, -ruñ 250.
 -tu (Gutu) 251; -tɔgigɔ 11; -tutunye 18; -dudugul 253; -duge 254; -dōjō 273 c; -tufɔ 17;
 -tumbu 193; -lumba 85.
 -kɔbi 103.
 -pɔkɔsɔ 105 a; -bukɔnɔ 110; -bɔini 179.
 -pumuna 110 a.
 -fundɔ 21; -sondɔ 58 a.
 -mɔju 162.
 -dip*, -up, -ip 227 228, -tibi* 238; -tufɔ* 17; -dima 97.
 Na- 234.
 -wa 228.
 -ñgɔliñgɔli 53; -bilibili 39 a 144, -pɔlepɔle* 98; -pɔl'anjunj* 111; -porɔ* 134, -pɔa* 141;
 -bula* 175; -ira 254; -bombɔlɔ 137; -bo 209, -bu 210; -bo, -boo 211 212; Gin-bwol 252.
 -batka 263; -bitik 263; -tɔk 264.

HIDE

(Dressed or undressed skin of a beast.)¹

- gɔba* 1, -gɔzi* 2 2 a, -kɔva* 9 c, -ɔwa* 11, -gɔzi* 21 21 a 21 b 21 c 21 d, -gɔbi* 21 e, -gɔzi 22, -kupɔ* 33 a, -gubɔ* 51, -guɔ* 61 a, -gɔɔ* 81, -kɔpa*, -kɔpa* 61 a 61 b, -kupɔ 62, -gubɔ 64, -kɔva 89 92, Kiba* 98, -ibari* 99, -pɔkɔ* 123, Huku* 124, -kufu*, -wɔkɔ* 125, -kupɔ 33 a 42, Kupu 88, -kɔpɔ 126, -gɔvɔ* 127, -hɔwa* 129, -kubu 129 a, -kɔha* 130, -kɔwa, -ɔwa 131, -gugu* 137, -gɔzi* 140, -kɔba 141, -kɔbɔ 168 175 176 178, -kɔwɔw 179, -gōbō 187, -kuba 192, -hobɔ 199, -yɔbɔ* 204, -kɔbɔ 205, -yɔwɔ, -ɔwɔ 206, -kɔbɔ 209, -gɔb*, -kɔb 214, -kɔb 217, -kō 218, -gu 227, -yof* 235, -kūūp*, -yup 244, Nɔgup* 253; -bɔgɔ 150.
 -kanda* 2 g 3 b, -anjɔ* 4, -kanda* 41 42, -ganda* 45, -kanda 51, -kata*-ka 56, -ganda* 64, -kanda 77 78 79, -kundu* 83, -konde* 85, -kanda 86 100 101 103 110, -kana* 180, -konda* 186, -kanja* 189, -kanda 190; -kondɔ* 194 195, -kuon, -kɔnɔ, -kundɔ 220-220 h.
 -banda* 193; -bana* 117 178, -ban (Kaban, Keban) 120 121; -bañ* 273; -mbandwa 92 93 94, -mbansua 90, -mbadwa 91; -pasa 63.
 -kataka 56; -kata 184 264, -katba 264; -tata 226 b.
 Sorɔ-musi 151 a.
 -guta* 2, -kɔta* 20, -guguta* 64, -kɔtɔ* 162, -kutu* 164, -kɔtɔ 166; -tɔ 83 204, -rɔ 248, Lɔtɔ 226; -kwetu* 61, -kwera* 43 a, -etu* 179.
 -rɔñgɔ 14, -dɔñgɔ 17; -tiñgɔ 16; -giñgɔ 15, -kiñgɔ 19 19 a 20, -iñgɔ 13, -giñgi 9 c, -kuñ 266; -leñga 40; -dañga 256; -reka 263.
 -gɔgɔ* 75, -gōgɔ 75 b, -kɔkɔ 75 c, -kɔkɔ*, -kɔsɔ* 149 166, -kɔgɔ 202, -kɔkɔ* 203; -cɔki* 139; -hɔw 252.

¹ Sometimes given the same term as 'human skin', but as a rule the two concepts are separately named.

² From -gɔvi, the Nyorɔ Group turning all v's into z.

Rai 261.

-foñgol 273.

-kwole* 12, -kuri* 200; -gulu 61.

Kwembe* 23 23 a, -kumba 53, -kombwa* 54, -khumba* 71, -kumba* 72, -kxopa 73, -kumba 75
75 a 76, -komba* 82 155 156; -tumba 83; -tembe 58 59; -um, -wom 243.

-diba* 4, -dipa* 151 153; -duban 254, -plekpa 259; Debye* 64; -dikwa 91, -zikwa* 90; -kwa* 45,
-kpa* 245; -paya 77; -aye 83, -pa* (Wsi-pa) 90 91.

Soma 151 b, -soba* 226 b; -sava* 39 a, -saba*, -sewa 144, -sewa* 40 44 b, -hewe*, Dehwe 64 a,
-tehe 71, -seba* 104, -seva 105, -sewa 106 139; -sapusapu* 226; -sakwa 8; -kabi 80 81; -hafu* 6
6 a; -babu* 19 a; -bapa* 28, -papa* 41 42 43 a 44 51 62 73; Yap 262.

Dabala 34, -dabala 56 a, -sabala 56 b.

-sato* 2 2 a 2 c; -seru* 5; -tlalo* 73 74, -salo* 78, -saroo* 87, -selo* 124; -sa 136; -etu 179.

-kabi (usually 'ox-hide' and akin to widespread root for 'ox', 'cattle') 80 81.

-šambala 21 f.

-lambu 85 88.

-swama 84 177.

-pati 97.

-batama 110; -palame 64.

Lewo 132; Lwoa 134; -wewi 105 a.

-hu (-pu) 2 2 b 2 d 2 e 2 g 9 a, -ū (Lū) 39; -pusu* 133 160 161, -poo* 161 a, -fwo* 162; -buru
146; -pi 259 260; -pirri 2 b; -mberu 26; -buwo 257; -hwo 252.

-diri 9 9 c 26.

-hlonze 75; -senze, -nsenze 153.

-famisa 142.

-joni, Šoni 17 18; -ani 1, -ahi 2 f; -cani, -kyani 146 147.

-inya 92.

-ega 55; -reka, -rega 263; -teka 255.

-ñgeteñ 219.

HILL

(Often distinct from 'mountain', sometimes meaning only 'mound' or 'ant-hill'.)

-tunda* 9 c 20 23 a 24 c-g 25 29 31, -dunda* 33 a 35, -tunta* 44 b, -tunda 61 a, -dunda 61 b, Duntwo*
64 a, -lundu* 74 b, Thwota* 74, -lundu 77 79 83 85 88, -lonta* 83, -lunda 90, -lundu 94 97 98, -dunda 89,
-tunda 86 90 91, -vhundu* 72, -punda* 104 a, -tunda 109; -londe* 100; -kundi 130, -kondi 136, -konde
141; -hinta 226; Din 253; -cen*, -ten 263; -tint, -tinti* 273; -rit 273; -tenda* 40, -tonda 142.

-kuna 139; -kena 147, -cen 263; -bina 82; -tuni 90; -kuna 104; -kone 214; -kuli* 120 200, -koli
161 a, -kodi* 187, -kudi 189, -kuri* 190, -kodi 195, -wodi* 198, -hodi 199, -koli 205, -oli, -uri* 206,
-koi* 217, -ko, -kwi, -kukur 218, -ko 229; -gūi*, -gwe 227; -gun 228; -guru* 2 g, -kulu* 5 a, -guru 8,
-gulu* 9 c, -kwilo* 24, -gulu 40, -dyuri* 70, -ñgulu*, -ñguru 85, -ru, -uru* 89, -ulu 94, -culu* 105, -kolo*
168, -hulo* 226 b; -hwo 252; -ku 252.

-gonyo 69; -goñgo* 2 f 9 23 23 a 25 28 92, -koñkwo* 91 a, -oñgo* 100 103 143 144, -guñgorwo*
151 a, -guñgu* 153 155, -goñgo 162 164, -koñgo* 167, -koñgu 184; -giñgi, -kiñgi 6 6 a; -ciñga 34;
-kik 261; -keka 162 166; -kitikiga 175; -beka* 186, -bekwo* 194, -bikwo* 271; -bici* 17.

-puñgo 97 107; -doñgo 202 204, -duñgo 204, -ruñgo 209, -dugu 28; -tyuñga 70; (W)ogwo 255.

-wañga* 2 e, -vañga* 2 g, -año* 21 f, -ago* 56, -akwo 56 a, -agwo 56 b, -mañgo* 75 a, -año* 94;
Gañgará 151 b, -nyeñga 109; -beñgete 166; -biñgui 257.

-tanana 27; -tenda* 40, -tanda* 142; Ganza 71 f; -zanza* 100 b; -vanda 91.

-gomo, -komo 64; -momo 259.

-bomb' 203; -gomba 153; Nomba 193; -amba* 43 a 51, 151, -ambu* 149 150; -fumbu*, -fumvu
14; -bimba* 51, -bimba 146; -rimbi 39 a 144; -tumbi 32 35 a 54, -dumbi 61 b; -reb 273.

- rima 11, -ima 12, -lima 14, -rima 16, -lima 19 19a 20 21 21a-e, -drima 21 g, -lima 22, -rima 34, -lima 44, -rima 56 a.
 -hama 177 (and -lama); Sama 256.
 -pili* 41, -piri* 42, -pili 44 b, -piri 45 58 59 61 61 a, -pili 62, -pili 77, -pidi* 78, -pili 84, -biri* 86, -pidi, -piji 87 87 a, -filu* 91, -pidi* 105 106 110; -bin 244 a.
 -guba* 13, -uba* 39, -kopa* 161.
 -tava* 72, Thavana 73, T'aba 74, -taba 75 a 75 b (and -tsaba) 75 c, -ntawa 76; -twari 254.
 -kiū 176 178.
 -duwi 15; -duli 75 75 a 76; -dubulu 100, -tubu 94 b.
 -bara 2; -bōla 83; -bōe 80; -cōe 81; -cwa 1, -swa 2 4 ('ant-hill').
 -ōwō 160.
 -sōzi 2 c 3, -sōsyi 3 b, -sōzi 4, -sōsi 9 b.
 -tokpa 259.
 -piaba 260.
 Dagagi 151 a.

HIPPOPOTAMUS

- jubu* 2, -vuvu* 2a 2c, -zubu* 2d, -fubu*, -subu* 2e, -zubu 2f, -yubu*, -jubw 2g, -vubu 3, -vuvu 3b, -vubu 4, -bubu* 4a, -fubu 5 5a, -fuw 5a (R.), -fubu 6 6a, -fubu, -gubw*, -gubu 7 7a 8, -guwu 9, -gubu 9a, -guw* 11 12, -guu* 13, Vuw, -guw 14, Wuu, -fu 16, -vulu* 19 20, Fuw 27, Huhu* 28, -fubw 36, Nuvu*, -guvu 39 39a, -igi* 40, -vubu 41, -vuvu 42, -vuu 43 a, -vuu, -vubu 44 44 b, -fu 45, -vuu 48, -vuwu 49 50, -fuwu, -fubu, -gupi* 51, -vū 58 a 59 61 a, -vuu 61, -vū 61 b 61 c 62 (also -vuu), -vubu 64, -vō, -vuhu 64 a, -vu 65, -vuw 65 a, Vugw* 66, -vuw 68 69, -vulwa* 70, -pfubu* 71, -pfuvu 71 f, -vuvu 72, Kuvu* 73 74, -vubu 75 75 a 75 b 75 c, Fuwu 77, -vhubwe* 78, -vuvu 79 80, -vōwō 81, -vu 82, -bu, -buu 83, -guvu 84, -gubu 85, -gueve*, -gebe*, -gōwō 86, -vubu 87, -guvu 88, -duu* 89, -geve* 92 93 94, -guvu, -guvw 94 b 97 98, -guvu, -gufu 100 101, -vubu 103, -guvu, -uvu 104, -kufu 104 c, -vubu 106, Fubu 108, -guvu 110, -gufu 116 118, Ngub 119, -gub 120 121, -guvu 122, -gubu 123, -gibw* 124, -giw*, -gupu 125, -giw, -giu 129, -guwu 130, -guw 131, -geww 132, -gvuō 133, -guw 134, -guvu 135, -guwō 136, -gugu* 137, Fibu* 139, -gubw 141, -gōbw 142, -gufwa 143, -guvu 144, -dūbw* 148, Ngu, Nguu, Nguhu, Nguya* 155, Nguw 157, -gubu, -guu 159 160 161, -gube 161 a, -guu 162 164 166, -guwu 168, -vubu 175 176 177, -fubu 184, -gubi 186, -gubu 187 189, -guvu 190, -guwu 193, -gubu 194 195, -wu 200, -gubi 203, -gubu 204, -guwu 205 206, -gubu 209, -kubu 211, -gū 212, -gub* 217, -gup 218 219 (-gupi 51), Kubu 220, -gubu* 222 223 224, Imwū* 274; Zugu 253; -gufwa* 143, -ōfwe* 41, Tšōfwe* 42, -ōfi* 91 a, -ōfwe, -ōvi, -ōvwi 105, -ōve 109 b; -tōbe* 120; -dupa* 151, Dupw* 151 a-b, -dupw* 153, -dūbw* 148.¹
 -bōkw (Ki-) 16, -boñkh 19 a, -boñkw 20, -bōkw 21 21 a 21 b-d 21 e.
 -tōndōme 3, -tōtōmye 3 a (old Rundi), -tōmōmbw* 9 a 9 c, -dōmōndw* 9 c, Tōmōndw* 21, Namōndw 21 f, -tōmōndw 23, -hōmōndw 23 a, -tōmōndw 24 25, Lumōndw, -tūmōndw 27, -hōmōntw 33 a, -dōmōndw 28 32 35 37, Namōndw 34, -tōmōmbw, -tōmōndw 45, -dūmōndw 51, -dōmōndw 55, Tōmōndw 56, Tomōdōw 57, Tōmōndw 58, Dōmōndw* 60.
 -pitu 56 a, -petu, -pwitu 56 b; -tū 257 258.
 -sešē 230; -sere 1 2 c 147; -gidi 6; -gerere* 15, -gerre, -gere 17, -gerere 18; -gwere* 52, -bwere -gweri 53; -gwele* 61; -gwindi 64; -gōlwōla 91; -gōluma 14.
 -gamba* 104 c; -kambwe* 43 45; Yam 253.
 Oñgantu (? 'big object') 89; Ni-ñguatt 230.
 -santem* 244 245; -sanda* 150; -renda- 273 c.
 -ni 254; -menyi 259.
 -kara 176; -ka 263; -kw 266; -kau 273.

¹ These four last words may be derived from Zande (Sudanic).

Bākora 12.

-pañgwe (ḁ) 61 a.

-phalk' 126.

vuruyi 109.

-bembwa 145, -bembula 146; -mpua 178.

-londi 200 201, -londi 202.

Bōma 67, -bama 69; Piom 261, Pōem 262.

-am 246.

-zok-a-mejim 218; Dzi-mati 221; Ki-mati 225; Bi-ni bi-mani 254, Bi-hi-man' 255. (These words mean 'elephant-water'. In numerous other Bantu languages, especially of the north-west, 'hippopotamus' is expressed by 'water-elephant'. It is this terminology which has so frequently started the legend amongst travellers that there is an undiscovered species of water-elephant.)

HOE

(There is often an affinity in root-words between 'hoe' and 'axe'.)

-gembe* 2 e 2 g 3 3 b 8 9 c 10 11, -embe 12, -gembe 14, -embe 16 17, -ebe* 17 b, -jembe* 18, -gembe 19 a, Jembe, Gembe 21, Jembe 21 a, Yembe 21 e-g, -gembe 23 23 a, -yembe 24, -jembe 32, -gembe 33 a, -yembe 34, -simba* 58, -hipa* 56 56 a, -iba* 57, Dzembe, -lembe* 72, -amba* 78, -pamba 81, -jamba* 83, -tampa 97, -yembe* 136 141 151, -gembe* 153, -wembe, -yembe, -lembe 155, -pieme 181, -pembe* 185, -pianje 186, -pembe 192 192.

-kumbi 4; -kumburu 29, -kumbulω 38, -kumbulu 51.

-gimirω 27.

-temω* 82 84 85 86 88 90 91 92 94 95 96 98 (and -temu), -temwa* 110, -banwa* 11, -temω 114, -demω* 118, Tim* 119, Tem 120, -temω 122, -lema* 155 b, 156, -temi* 168, -temω 175 176 177 (-temi, -teme) 178, Temi 179, Tem' 180; Dom 253; -jama* 268.

-se 43 a 44 44 b, -seṣeri 56 b, -dzedze 61 a, -se 77; -señgω, -dzeñgω 100 101 102 103, Tseñga 116.

-koñgω* 154 157 158 (-kboñgω*) 160 161, -oñgω* 162 164 166 167, -guñgu* 189, -yoñ 227, -koñ 236 237; -mboñgω*, -buñku 269-72; -luñgu 130, J-ωñ 203, -yoñgu 208, Nyuñgu 209 210, Gioñ 213 215, Ji-ōñ, Juñ, -buñ 214; Joñgor*, Yoñorω 235.

-hun* 250, -funi* 2 3 a; Ron 252.

-dyandω, -jantω 273.

-konju 2 g.

-gurr* (Nigurr) 121; Gωω (from -gorω*, -gωω*) 61.

-palω* 159 a; -pā 186; -pā 260, -ba 259 264; -bara* 273; -kara* 261, -tsala, -trala* 263; -jalω* 267 (-jama 268); -tar* (Ka-tar) 249.¹

-ṣawω* 255; -kaw* 83; -baω* 199 204, -bag 202, -bakω* 255 206 (also -sakω) 209, -bak* 217 218, -bagu* 5, -baṣω* 6 6 a.

-juyu 182; -jωkot 266.

-bōga 193; -guba* 274, -kuba* 75 75 a-c, -ṣuwa* 76; -gewe* 256; -kaba* 75; -kōwe* 235.

-suka* 1, -fuka* 2 2 f-g, -suka 3 9 c, -fuka 9 a, -cuka*, -huka* 28, -suka 62 70; -sō 203; -ruga* 151 a (Mu-ruga); -dok* 245; -dōhale* 248; -rω 228, -ru 251; -ñōake 258.

-kasu* 39 a 40 41 42 43 61 61 a, -kahω* 87, -kasu 88 104 105 106 109 110 111, -ṣu 123 124 125, -asω* 142, -kasu* 144, -kesω*, -ṣω 232; -gōsa 159; -kōsω* 162.

-fese* 162; Kwece* 76; -ivete* 89; -get* 253; -gela 32, -gera 35, -jela 54; -keri 266; -el 264.

-nṣadu 56.

-sōt, -sō, -sōfa, -swt 230, -sō, -sω 232; Sor, Swar 253.

¹ Related to roots meaning 'iron'.

- ñkōma 61, -kōmu 71 f, -xōma, -hōma 73 73 a, -xōma 74, -huma 74 b; -bōma 101 b.
 -ñwami 257.
 -nō 234.
 -ben 229.
 -piri 178; -mbwili 62.
 -badza 64 64 a.
 -yike 89; -leka 54.

HONEY

- ukyi* 1, -ōki* 2 2 a, -ōci* 2 c 2 d, -ōki* 2 e 2 f, -odzi* 2 g, -uki 3, -ōki 3 b, -ši* 5 5 a, -xi* 6, -ci* 6 a, -sie*, -ke* 7, -ke 7 a, -uki 8, -ki 9, -ōši 9 a, -ki 9 c, -ōki, -ke 11, -ki 12, -ci 13, -ki 14 15, -ci 16, -uki 17, -ki 18 19, -ōki 19 a, -ki, -ci 20, -uki 23 24, -uci 25, -ōki 26, -uki 27, -juki* 28, -usi* 32, -uci 34 35, -uki 37, -ōke 38, -uki 39 40 41 (and -iki), -uci 42, Ugyi* 43, Uki 43 a, -uci 44 44 b, -uuci*, -uki 45, -uci 48, -ūši 49, -uci 50, -uki 51, -uci 52 53 55 57 (and Ui, W-uyi*), -nūi* 56 b, Uwi 58, Uci 59, -uci 60 61 61 a 61 b, Uici 61 c, Uci 62 64 64 a 65 65 a, Pudzi* 66, Suzi*, -uci 68, -ci 72, -ōse* 73 74, -ōzi 74 b, -usi, -uzi 75, -usi, -ōsi, -uju* 75 a 75 b, -ōsi 75 c, Uci 76, -uki, -uci 77 78 (and -ici), -uci 79 80, -ike 83, -uci 84 85, -uki, 85 a 86, -ūši, Uīši 87, -uci 88, -utkyi*, -vuci, -tyi, -ici 89, -ūši 90 91, -uci 92 b, -iki* 92, -igi* 93, -iki 94 95 96 98, -īši 97, -iki, -uci, -dzi, -zi 100, -ōse 101, -nzi 103, -iki, -ici 104, -uki 105 106 107, -ika* 109, -uce, -ōki, -uci 110 111, -iki 118, -uyi 120, -ōye 120 b, -uki 122, -ui 123, -oyā* 124, -ōwe, -oi 125, -uki 128, -gubwi* 130, -uki 134, -ōki 135, -ōe 136, -buke* 140, -ōke 141, -ōki 142, -uki 144, -ōki 145, -ōki 147, -bōkō* 148, -uki 150, -oi 151, -zok 151 a, We, Wei, Boyi, Bōe 155, Bōhe 157, Bōe 160, -oe 164 166 (and Zōke), -ōki 168, -ui, -uō 175, -yū 176, -nugi* 177, -ubi 178, -ōye 181, Buya 184 (see 124), -ūi 184 185, -ōiō 186, -ui 189 190, -yi, Bōyi 195, Bōi 198, Bwi 204, -we 203, -yu 207, -yoi 208, -ju 214, -ōē 217, -ui, -i, -uwi 218 219, -ōe 219, -ōi 222, Bwe 226, Nyui 225, -khu*, -tyu* 227, -wu 236, -oe, -sui* 244, -sui* 256, -gō 220; -wōki* (Bōwō) 205, Bō, Wu* 206, -u 210, -bu* 259; -blō 258.

Obōm* 187, Ombō* 204 205 209 211, -om* 212; -iombe* 67, -lombe* 69 70 71 71 f; -nōwō, -nop 269-72.

-dōme 243; -dō 194, -dū*, -dō*, -lō* 230, -du* 232 237, -rō* 235, -tō 240, -du*, Nyedu 248, -lō*, -silō 261; -rut 233 236; -rog 253.

-tōli 72, -tīwī 73; -buli 159, -pule 159 a, -buli 160, -pōli 164; -pudzi 66; -le (Male) 120, -ge 129 a, -ne 244; -ni 253; -liye, -buliye 153; -lia 267; -hurō 257,

-kalapa 56 b.

-tsaliō 248; -dzañgali 146; -dar 253.

-kōlō* 129; -kud* 229; -kōna* 182, -kōnō* 186 194 228, -kōkōna 238, -kōkon 240, -kwuñ, -kwama* 240, -kwana* 200, -kwam* 220 229 228.

-mana 6 a, -ana 7; -yanō 247.

-sōa 255; -sawa 78; -sega* 54, -seka* 61, -saja* 244; -esō 256; -se, -sa 264.

-dedji 274.

Tsama 3; -sima 94.

-kum, -hum 273; M-om 266.

-ta* (Mata) 58 a, -ita* (Meita)¹ 139, Mica* 230.

-bisa 151 b, -bisi 4; -kusi* 179; Suzi* 68; -guzi* 75.

Pudzi* 66, -pōki* 161; -paku* 162, -pakō 166; -fukafaka* 254; -wake 258.

-ya 184; -eyō 162, -eya 167.

-iombe 67, -lombe 69 70 71 71 f, -nembe, -lembe 191 192 193.

-werr, -wōre 234; Bareli 151 a.

-asali (Arabic) 21-21 e, Ansali 21 f-g.

-ravō 56, -raō 56 a.

-sinci* 58 59; -cindi* 75.

Tiñye 268.

¹ Really the same root as -fufa, 'oil'. The term 'oil' is not infrequently applied as part of a paraphrase ('oil of bees') to 'honey' in the North-western Bantu languages. In 151 b the same thing occurs, the root -bisa meaning both 'oil' and 'honey'. Elsewhere -bisi stands for 'sweet milk'.

HORN

-bije* 240 c; -iga* 4 b, -ika* 5 5 a (also -bega*), -iga, -ika, -jiga* 6 6 a (also -tsiga*), -ega 9 c, -bia*, -biga* 11, -heha* 11, -bia 12, -vea, -feya* 19, -fēa 19 a, Dia, -iya* 39, -iya 39 a, -ega* 40, -ica* 77, -iya 78, -ija 79, -zia*, -iya 80, -ia* 82, -ia, -iya, -nya* 83, -nya 89, -iya 90, -ega, -eba* 142, -iya 144, -deka* 145, -beka* 146, -dika* 150, -geka* 151, -jeka* 159, -kaka* 159 a, -eka, -jeka 160 161, -seke* 162, Bea* 226, -nyek*, -miek* 227; -nyi 238; -yik* 244, Iha* 254; -suga 38.

-sin* 273; -siā*, -siya, -ša 259; -se 257; -siñga* 81, -señgω* 41 42 44 44 b, -señgwe* 52 53, -señgω 54 62, -señgω 78, -señgu 84, -señgω 87, -señgwa 108, -señgω 105 106, -señgu 104, -señgω 109, -señge 109 b, -señgω 110 (also -señu, -se), -sige* 120, -siki* 103, -seke* 125, -siki 124, -seme* 123 125, Tseñgω* 128, -seke, -ciki* 129 130 131 132 (-siki) 133 (-seke), -señgwa 134, -seke 136, -sea 137, -ceñgwa* 139, -seke 141 155 (also -seka) 162 164 166 167 168; -siemω* 175, -simω* 178, -eñgω* 193.

-peñga* 32 54 56 a, -weñgwa* 54, -peñga 61, -biñga* 86 88 91 (also -viñga*, -yiñga) 92 93 94 97 98, -piñga* 122; -piñgi* 100 104; -boñgwe 116, -boñgω 118 119; Kpañga, Pañga* 151 a, Gbañga 151 b,¹ -bañ 218 227 234; Toñ 203, Toñgω 204, Toñ 207, -toñgω 209, Toñ 211, -toñgω 216, Toñ 217, -tō 220, -dō, -tu;u 230, -tuum 229; -taña 228.

Nyañga* 21 f-g, Nyoñga* 22, -nyaka* 56 56 a 56 b 57, -nyañka* 58, -nyañga 58 a 59 60 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62 64 64 a 65 65 a 68, -nañga* 69 72, -naka* 73 74.

-lek 261-2, -laka* 186, -nlā* 200, -nlak* 218 219; Nduk 245; -luk 264.

-len, -leli 263.

-ciwa* 61, -zua* 66, -tiba* 85, -teba* 86, -hiba 94 c, -šeiba* 104, -seba* 202 204, -sewa* 205, -seba 206, -seb* 214; Kwew* 69, Kehω* 70; -gwep* 228 a; -jop² 253, -jap 253.

-tandala 43 a; Nandadalala 60; -šansa 77, -canza 78.

-lomba 97; -gombe*³ 4; -hembe* 1 2, -hembi* 2 a, -hembe 2 c-f, -embe* 2 g, -hembe 3 3 b 4 a, -embe 4 b, -hembe 8 9, -pembe* 9 a, -hembe -pembe 9 c, -pembe 13, -embe, -bembe* 14, -hembe 15, -phembe 16, -be, -mbe, -embe, -hembe, -bembe 17, -embe 18 20, -pembe 21-21 e, -pombe* 24, -hembe 23 23 a 24, -embe 25, -pembe 27 32 34 35 43 43 a, -hembe 45, -pembe 48 49 50 51 (and -bembe), -embω* 79, -dyembω* 89, -sembω* 127, -pamba* 94, -pembe* 105 140, -hembe 147, -cembω* 166 189, -cembu* 190, -simbω* 187, -sembwe* 194; -sem 266; -bomba 195.

-pi 242, -bi 243; -fe 227, -pera* 2 g; -petω* 33 a 92 b⁴, -tera 7 a; -erω*, -nyerω 35 37.

-gela 98 a 99; -gu, -cala 7 7 a; -kule* 2, -kuli 2 c, -goli* 28; -olwa, -golwa* 44; -kωlω* 162, -kōrω* 210; -bωlω*, -bōlω* 226; -budi* 103; -bua 120.

-suga 38.

-ji (Leji) 247.

-husu, -pusu 106.

-pondω* 67, -monza 69, -hondω* 71, -honjω* 71 f, -phōtω* 73, -pondω* 75 75 a 75 b (and -pondvω) 75 c 76, -pondω* 193; -hin 254 255.

-liri 178; -miri 274; -mara 55; bata 44 b; -vala 184.

-kwew 69, Kehω 70; -kau 155 a; -kaka 157 159 a; Kagω 256.

-paka* 100 (see 'buffalo'), -pōkω 100 101 102, -paka* 177, -pakala* 153, -bakara* 148.

-palasa 38; -cala 7; -vala 184; -bata 44 b.

-sōna 64; -tsutsω 258.

¹ Gbañga is Sudanic; see 'ivory'.

² Gafa = 'horn' in Gala.

³ Evidently the same root as -gombe, 'ox'.

⁴ -petω is one of the most striking instances of widely-separated, identical roots, seeing that at languages 33 a and 92 b are separated by all the breadth of Central Africa.

HOUSE

-ju* 2 2 b 2 c (and -zu*), -zw* 2 d, -zu* 2 e-g (also -dyu*), -ju, -jw, -zu, -zw 3 3 b, -ju 4, -du* 4 b, -zu 5 a 6 (and -tsu*), -tsu, -ju, -su* 9 c, -zi* 9 c, -tunw* 11 12, -cuw* (small hut) 27, -zu 39, -sibw* 40, -idu* 51 a, -djw*, -ji 67, -jw 69, -dlu* 71, -dhlu* 71 f, -du* 72, -tlu, -tw 73, -tlw 74, -du 74 b, -thlu, -dlu 75, -dhlu 75 a 75 b 75 c, -slu* 76, -zubw* 80, -ju 81, -duw* 82, -dw 83, -zuvw* 84, -jwbw* 85, -jubw*, -jwbw, -zuvw 86, -zuw, -zuw 88, -dyivw*, -dyuvw, -dyuw 89 90 91 b 92, -juw 92 b 93, -jw 94, -nzw* 95 96 97 98, -zw, -dzw 100 101 102 103, -subu*, -zubw 104, -zuw, -zubw, -zibw* 105, -šibw* 106, -cibw* 107, -šibw, Jibu*, -nzu 108, -subu, -zub' 109, -kubw* 110, -zuw 112 a, -nzu, -nzw 114 116 117 118 119 120 121 (and -ndzw) 122, -ju 132, -du, -saww* 39 144, -saww* 148, Indu* 149 150 153, -zw, -dzw 168 a 175 176 177 178 179 180, -jw 181 182, -šubu 188, -jw 189, -šw, -djō 190, -tw, -dw 200, -dabu* 222, Jw 221, Tu 225, -jwbw*, -cibw*, -cwbw 226, -ju, -dyw, -gyw 227, -jw, -jō 228, -ju 228 b, -su 229 c, -ju 229 e, -tō 238, -tuw, -toñ 240, -tō 242 b, -rrō 243, -siū*, -yoww*, -yob* 248, -tsū 250, -sok 251, -tō 249, -tw, -tō 257, -tw, -twh*, -tō 269-72.

-dzese, -zese* 40, -sesi* 41, -zi 9 c; -isi* 161, -se* (Ki-še) 229.

-set*, -seb 263, -sadi*, -sari* 267; -khati 55; -ad 214; -pade* 268, -pata* 91 92 94, -bata* 98; -ta 256, -wta 110; -ra 87; -lal 121, -ala 101, -aja 161; -ale (247 a).

-khati 55; -tsuāli 90, -tuāli 91; -duli 34; -duili 257; -gwari* 150, -gbale* 151, N̄bali* 154, -badi* 196, -balli* 241; -bele* 155 c 157, -ber*', -bed 220; -bii* 17.

-mara* 239 b.

Dō* 241; -lw*, -elw 264 265, -rō* (Erō) 246, Lw* 252; -huru* (usually, together with the following word-roots, meaning a 'square house') 18, -puru* 123, -bulu*, -bula* 124 125 129, -bwulu* 130, Luju, Ludu* (pl. Welu*) 131 132, -vulu* 134, -ulu, -bulu 136; -bele, -ede 137, -biri 139, -bebii 17; -wōw*, -lw (Bōwōw; halw) 158; -uli, -ulu* 162, -wulu* -bulu* 168, -reru 193, Bwla* 167, -bwa* 206; -kwla* 24, -kula* 188; -kil* 261 262; -tyeri 274; -kwere 133; -akori 70; -tuda 218; -culw 26; -duli 34 a; -duna 241; tunw 12.

-garw* 14, -calw* 17; -kara* 148, -ka 148 a, -karr*, -kat* 234; -tala* 110; Šale* 229 b.

-kaka 94; -kā 2 4; -kaya* 9 a 19 19 a 23 (and Kaye*), -kai* 27, -kaya* 70 71, Hae 73, Gae* 74, Kaya* 75 a 75 75 c 76.

-saka* 38; -akori 70; -akw* 73.

-ziga 193; Duk 252.

Dagw*, Lagw* 22 (this, and the words that follow, usually mean a 'long house'), -akw* 73, -dabw* 91, -dakw* (probably meaning 'roof') 109, -zaww* 111, -dakw* 134, -dabw* 135, -dakw 137, -dabu 139, -dabu, -labu 39 a 144, -dabw 145, -tabw* 146, -dabw 150, -dab* (Ndab) 151 a, -dakw, -daku* 155 156 159 160 161 162 164 166 167 183, -dagu 184, -dakw 185 187 (also -daka), -dabe* 186, Naww*, Nayw* 191, Nagw* 192 193, -dabw 195, -dabu 198, -dabw 199, -daww, -dohw*, -dw 200, -dab, -da, -dabw 201 203 204 205 (-dawu) 206, -dā 207, -daww 208, -dabw 209, -dā 210 211, -dau 212, -dab 213 214 215, -dā, -dap 217 218 219, -jab*, -dzab, -dya 220 a 220 c; d [-tefe* 273], -dakw* 223, -dā, -dab 230, Nā 236, Ndaw* 232, Nab 233, Nda 253, -agw* 254, -yw 258.

-teñgw*, -toñgw* 17; -dyañgw* 71 e; -deñga* 162; -šeñga* 198; -keñge 155; -heñge 31 a, -doñgu* 188; Toñw* 194; -añga* 23; -bañga* 100, -bañ* 166; -añ* 273, -hañk* 273; -goñgwe 76.

-tondw 161 a.

-ubana, -umōnw 255 256; -mwanu 254.

-bem 217; -mem 235; -ama 126; Ma, Fuma 224; -wamba 4; -khambi 26; -ambe, -bambe 32; Lōm, Lum, Lōmw* 134, -lombe* 94, -lumbu*, -embu 98 99 100, Dumba, Lomba*, Lōwōmba* 141, -lombe* 162, -lumba* 193, -lumbu* 206; -tumba* 167 a; -kumbu* 110, -kombw* 111; -jimbw* 127, -gibu* 128; -somwa* (a 'round house') 134; -šom 229 d; -luba* 226 b; -lup*, -luf* 273 b; -gup, -kup 270 271; Aiba 187; -pe, -pá, -pi 259, -fa 258, -kpi 250; -umba* 1 2 a 2 c, -mba* 2, -ūmba (meaning 'hut') 3, -umba (this and all the following words, as well as some of the preceding allied roots, generally imply 'a house with clay walls', either round or rectangular), 4 5 6 a 7 7 a 8 9 9 a 9 b (and -sumba*) 9 c 10 11 12 13 14 15 16, -mba, -uba, -umba 17, -umba 18 19 19 a 20 21-21 g 22 23 b 24 24 c-g 25 26 27,

-jumbe* 27, -umba 28, -jumbi* 30, -umba, -yumba 30 32 33 35 36 37 38, -umba 45 46 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 (and -jumba) 55, -upa 56 56 a, Mpa, -mba 56 b, -uba, -umba 57, -umpa*, -umba 58 a 59 60 61 61 a 61 b 61 c, -gomba* 63, Imba, Umba 64 64 a (and Mba), -umba 65 66 68 69 (-uba, -omba), -umba 70, Vumba* 72 (clay walls), -vɔpa, -tɔɔpa* (derived from -umba) 73, -sumba* 77, -umbɔ* 91 92, Nyumba 140, -umba 147, -rumbɔ* 149, -gomba, -ñgumbe* 167, -jumbu* ('nest') 199, Dumbu* ('nest') 204; -tyom, -xom, -com* 242; -pa, Mpa 216; -pemme 259.

-banda* 3 b, -vanza* 9 c, -anda* 14 15, -banda 16 18, Nanda* 20 20 d, -banda* ('hut') 21, -banda, -ganda, -ɣwanda, -nanda* 23, Nanda 23 a 24 (also -banda), -anda, -ñanda 24 c-g, Nanda, -banda 25, -anda 27, Nanda 31 33 a, Nande, -nandi 34, Nanda 35, -ganda*, -tanda* 41, -anda* 42 43, -ganda* 43 a, Nanda 44 44 b (and Nanda), -ganda 45, -banda 61, -banja 61 a, Nanda 62, pande* 75; -yende*, -ende 142 143, -kende* 144, -ende* 264.

-nū (Li-nu), ɔpunu, &c., 247, -non, -nuō 244, -nuō 244 a; -nie 237; -na 236.

-bɔkɔ 165, -bok 245; -kɔ 117; -gō 241 c.

Baya 151 b; -waga* 51; -wasa* 54; -basɔ* 64 a, -pasɔ* 65 a; -mɔʂa 63; -pa, Mpa 216.

-heve* 38; -tefe* 273; Tembe*, Tembi 27 29; -ëb, -ebɔ 220 c.

-bunɔ 11 12; Linū 247.

-kɔme 54.

Guon, -gwun 239.

-kuk, -kukūa 266.

-ta 256.

HUNGER

-zala*, -jera* 1, -jara* 2, -zala 2 a, -jala* 2 b, -jara 2 c, -zara 2 d, -zala 2 e, -zara 2 f, -jara 2 g, -zala 3 b, -jara 4, -dala* 4 b, -jala 5, -zala 5 a 6 (and -jara), -jara, -tsala* 6 a, -jala, -jara 7, -cara* 7 a, -jaa 8, -zala 9, -zaa 12, -za 13, -jala 14, -zaa 15, -dzala 16, -ja 17 18, Sala 19 19 a 20, -jaa* 21, -daa* 21 a-d-e, -yela* 21 f-g, -zala 23 23 a 25, -jala 26, -sala*, -sale 27, -jala 28, -zala 29 30, -jara 32, -dala 34, -jara 35 37, -jala 36, -zala 38 39, -ala* 40, -zala 41, -sala 42, -zala 43 43 a 45, -sala 44 44 b, -zala 48 49 50, -jara, -dzara 51, -jara 52, -jā 53, Sala 54, -jara 55, -dala 56, -bala 56 a, -tala 56 b, Dala 57, -taia* 58, -dā, -daya* 58 a, -jala 59 61 61 a 61 b 61 c, -jara 62, -zara 64, -jara 64 a, -zara 65 65 a, Zala 66, -jara 67, Jala 68 69, -zala 70, -dlala* 71 71 e 71 f, -dala 72, Tlala* 73 74, Tala 74 b, -dlala* 75 75 a 75 b 75 c, -sala* 77, -zala 78 79 80, -jara 81, -zala 84, -dala 85, -jala 85 a 86, -bala, -dara 87 87 a, -zala 88, -dyara 89 90, -jala 91, -dyala 92, -jala 93 94, -zala 98 100 101 103, -sala 104, -jala 105, -zala 106, -cala 107, -zala 109 110 116 119 120, -jal* 121, -zala 122, -dzala 123, -jala 124 125, -zala 127, -gyala* 123, -dyala 129, -zal* 130, -jala 131 132, Dyala 133, -jala 134, -zala 135 136 (and -gala*), -zala 139 140 142, -jala 141 144, -jā 145, -dzala 146, -jera* 147, -tara 148, Nzā 150, Jala, -zihala* 151, Nzara 151 a, -zala 153 156, -jala 159 160, -ja 161, -jala 164, -zala 166 168 175 176 177 178, -zala 184, -zyaba* 186, -jaa 187, -jala 189 190, -jana* 193, -jā 194 195, -jala 198, -jale 199, -za 200, -zal, -jala 202 203, -jal 204, -dyai 204 a, -jaw 205 206, -ja 207 209, -je 210, -jala 211, -ja, -je 213, -sā, -se 214, -zañ 217 218, -zan* 219, -sa 220, -ze 218, -zae* 219, -cala* 226, -jae*, -gyae 227, -cie, -zi 230, -sæ* 234, -jan* 228, Je 248, Nzal* 253, -tyar* 273; -jō 243.

Dōr 263.

-ka 258.

-sadzi 2 g; -sonji 3; -satu* 100 b 101; -sɔtɔ* 17; -hɔlɔ 226 a.

-soñ 229, -ncoñ 228; Bioñ 245.

-ilu 105.

Naragu 11.

-gumbɔ* 20; -cumbi 24, -kombe 25; -kembu* 162; -ʂebɔ 83; -semba 155 c 157; ʂimbu 256.

-jeñxa 29.

-sige* 137, -sie*, -sihe 155, -siye 154 a, -cie*, -zi 230; -cine 226 a; Je 248.

-cedi 126; -yet 266.

-tamɔ 9 a; -taba 14; -dɔba 34 a.

-lema* 60; -lemme* 247; -ome 266; -mepe 94 c.
 -ñgwo 244, -ñmō 238.
 -pai 118; -pe 260; -hwe 259; -phāfu 73.
 -nde 274.
 -rik 261.
 -byūa 243.
 -nōna 69.
 -mwuna 254; -murra 254; Mina 256.
 -pañgwa 76; Vyoñ 252.

HUSBAND

(See also Man, vir.).

-rume* 11 12 (and -umiu*), -dō-gume* 14, -lume* 16, -mi* 17, -lume 19 19 a 20, -ume* 21 21 a-d, -lume 24, -umi 25, -lume 26, -palume* 40, -lume 41 44 44 b, -dume* 51, -lume 62, -rumi, -rume 64 64 a, -lume 77, -umu*,¹ -bumu*¹ 83, -fumu*¹ 87, -lume 85, -rume-ndu 89, -nume*, -lume 98, -num' 100, Nuni* 101 102 103, -lumi 104, -lume 105, -lume, -luma, -ruma* 106, -lume 117, -lüm 119, -lume 120 133, -ome* 136, -rume 139, -ome 141, -lume 142 144, -omw* 152, -lome 155 159 a 160, -omi 161 162, -loi, -lomi 164, -lomi 167 170, -lumi 175 177, -lume 176, -lumi 184, -lumw, -dumw* 186, -lumi 189, -nōmi 193, Dōmw* 194, Mōmi 195 199, -lom, -dum, -lum 203, -ōma, -ōmeyw 204 204 b, -ōma 206, -lumw 211, -nom, -nōme, -yom 217, Nw, Nōm, -dom, -tum 220 a, -ome*, -ōmanw* 226 a-b, -reme* 235, -nyime* 259; Nimama* 227 a; -umbe* 13, -dombe* 114; -ombw* 58, -nyumbw* 91, -lōpw' 56 a (from -lumbw); -sube 8.

-ina, -in, -neine (Ain) 273.

-hōma* 69; -ama* 69, -kama* 100 b; Uduñ-kam* 246; Pam 201 202, -pfam, -fam 217 218 219.

-kalamba 43 a; -demba 84; Kale-nomona, Kale-bombe 220 b-d.

-kasa*, -kasa- 23 a, -kaza 23 100; -kata* 71; -aha* 70, -ata* 105; -tan* 273; -ja, -jāni* 257, -sa 258, -zanu* 274.

-šeidya 2 g, -sadjā 4, -satsōwe 5 a (R.); -saka 162; -sandu 84.

-sese 147 (see roots for 'father').

-bušiki 90; Bōsaka 162; -tswakiri 178.

-ili (Ūmili) 160.

-vuli 21 c; -gōri 2 g; -ori, -ōri 254; -gui 148 a; -gwi-rarw 2 c; -zererw 24 c-g; -fu 216; -pō, -pō-kan 261.

-bākpak 151 a; Ba* (Ba-rw = 'thy husband') 2, Ba- (Ba-ni = 'my husband'), Barw (= 'thy') 2 f-g, Ba- (Baze = 'my', Balw = 'thy', Bawe = 'her husband') 4, Pa* 40, Iya 43 a (for I-ba), Ba*, Be 77; Vareke* 89, Valeki* 91; Veya* 94; Bi 104, Bā* 104 c, Baya* 59 87 107; Ibe 39 a 144; -hali 73, -yala, -iala 86 97 112 a, -bali* 154, -peli* 156, -pele 159, -ele, -mpele* 164 166 167, -ala* 162, -bali 164 166, Balw*, Bali 178, Bala-ga* 175, -balaya 179, -balaka* 180, Bagala* 188, -bala 189, -bai* 195, -bai, -ba* 226, -be* 245; Bit 253; Mbia 151 b; -bigalw* 23; Buga 255.

-lōbw 146, -ōkw, -lōkw 150, -mōgw 187, -mōga 190.

-sōnw, sōnw-gw 54; -zanū 274.

-nya 208, -nyare 209.

-nōna* 69, -nuna 71 71 f, -una 72, -nōna* 74, -una 74 b, Nuni* 101-3.

-tōta* 73, -dōda 75, -dōda 75 a, -dvdōds'a 75 b, -dōda, -dwela 76, -rora* 81; Bōlw 256.

-muna 58, -mūna 56 b 58 61-61 b.

-gabū* 255, -gabw* 3; -bigalw 23 33 a.

-luñga* 84 88, -nuñ 200, Uduñ.* 246; -kuñgi 110, -kunji 111; -bu-ōnge 18; -ceñgw 32.

-kwa- 80; -ikwe- 56 b.

-wos* 263; -gōsi* 19 19 a 20; Rwas 252.

-diw, -diū 92 b.

-eiami 94 b.

¹ Probably not a variant of -lume, but derived from the -fumu root meaning 'chief', 'lord', 'master'.

HYENA

-piti* 1, -pisi* 2, -pici* 2 a, -pisi 2 b-c, -pidzi* 2 d, -pehe 2 c, -bidzi 2 e, -birwe* 2 f, -pisi 2 g, -pyisi 3, -fisi* 3 3 b, -pisi, -piti 4 4 b, -fusi*, -fisi 5 a, Hiti 8, -piti 9, -fisi 9 a, -biti*, -viti*, -witi* 9 c, Hiti* 11, -biti 12, Fisi 13, -bisi, -fisi 14, Fisi 16 17 (and Sisi*), Fisi 19 19 a 20 21 21 a, Pisi 21 b-e, Fizi* 21 f-g, -fisi, -fiši 24, -visi*, Biti 25, Pici 26, Fifi*¹ 27, Fisi 29, -fifi 36, -viti 45, -bisi 48, Pesi* 60, Fisi, Fici 61 61 a 61 b 61 c, Pisi 67, Misi* 69, -hisi 71 71 e 71 f, -pisi 75 75 a 75 b 75 c, -pisi 140, Piti 145 146 147 148, -bussi* 256 (formed from the Gbari language); -giti* 257, -ñiti* 7 a; -kitu* 107; Keše 255.

-pere* 64, Bere 64 a, Phele 72, Phiri* 73 (and -firi*) 74.

-fulu* 11 17, Ra-bulu* 17, -bulu* 100 131 178, -bɔɔɔ* 44 b 129, -pōrɔ, -puru* 81; -tunu* 54, -tuu* (for -tulu, ex -fulu) 80; -gɔɔwe* 105 a; -dula* 23 23 a; -dilili* 20; Dili* 151 a.

-ñguli* 84 85 86 (also -ñgari) 88 97 112 a, -guḍi* 98 99; -duyuru* 120; -sɔkɔta 42, -sugutu* 43 a, -gudu* 57, -gùdú* 259; -sulugu* 263.

-bala* 128; -batɔ* 18, Baw* 15, Bau 19 19 a, Baw 20, Bau 23 a.

-sew* 108 125, -ceu 139; -siwi*, -diwi 83 83 a, -sai 151; -jō 195, -njop* 207; -zupa*, -jupa* 56.

-buya 42; -bwa 167.

-bubi 176 178; -kimbɔ*, -mbɔ* 85, -kimbui*, Kimbwi, -cimbwe, -mbwe* 39 39 a 40 41 42 43 43 a, -mbwi 44 44 b 45, -mbüi 50, -mbwe 52, -mbwe, -mbwi 62 86 105; -tambwe 87, -mbwi* 106 139 142 143 144; -kiɔ 153; -bombɔ 150; -dumba* 3, Zumbi* 49 50, -zupa*, -jupa* 56-56 b, -sumpa* 41 42, -gumbi* 27, -gumbwa* 101.

Hɔbwe 23 a; -bɔkwe, -mbɔkɔwe 105.

Lubvu* 60; -ruwɔ*, -ruwa 254; -rum, Mu-rum 252; -enɔ 101; ñwɔ 228; -ñu 5; -ñkunu, -ñkunɔ 58.

Ñguñgi 253; -hunyu 92; -buñgu* 84 88 89 90 91 92 94 94 b 98 100; -munduño* 273; -muñgunu* 57; -tuñgwa* 74 b, -tunuñgu* 35, -muñgu* 105 106, -boñgɔ* 65 65 a 68, -buñgɔ* 110 134, -buñgulu* 164, -gumbulu 166; -sumpa* 41 42, -zumbi* 50, -gumbwa* 101; -segumbi* 27, -bweña 78.

-ñgugwa 20 21; -ñū (Ciñu) 5; -nyu 6 6 a; -hunyu 92.

Dukɔ* 66, Dugɔ* 69; Thukwi* 74; -ɕuka* 75; -sɔka* 210; -tuñgwani* 74 b; -tika* 57 58 a 59 64 65 a; -tagya* 4; -njakɔ*, Ndzaku* 19 19 a; -japūa* 56 b; -zege 151 b.

-gɔjine (Masai) 15.

Ine 274.

-añɔ 7.

Sakaña 27; -galaña 92; -malaña 94 98 a.

Vumuōt 253.

Sumra, Sumurwa 21 b-d 21 e, Sembra 21 b-d.

-pundu* 53 55; -pundwa* 35, Bondera 36, Suntwe* 77 79; Zondɔ* 83; -doñkate 149.

Ntɔte 28 32 33 a.

Sene 82; Ině 274.

-pumi 2 g.

-koi (? leopard) 159 160 161.

-ndiñgɔ 51; -niñgi 94 c.

-patama 51.

-tunu 54 (and -tunuñgu; see 35).

-nana 34.

Ci-nya-ma-kwaza 88.

¹ Fifi = the striped hyena in Hehe.

IRON

-ela,¹ -com-'bela* 3 b, -bia*, -wia* 5 a 6, -zia* 14; -gera* 11, -era* 13, -geala* 40, -ela 41, -eala 42 43, -era 43 a, -ela 44 44 b 45, -era 48, -jera* 49, -era 50 51, -ela 62, -gwedi* 72, -ela 77 78, -ira* 81, -elw 82, -ela 90, -vela* 91, -vera 92, -vela* 94, -ela 105, Fwele* 104 c, Cea*, Ce-eya 141, -gela* 142, -yeli* 166, -ye 168, -elw* 175, -ele 178, -djei 185, -hei 199, -ēē, Hē 200, -ye 204, Eleoñ* 235; -ser* 251; -sene* 227, -se 234; -ša 232, -sa 26; -gurra* 274.

-sēke* 1; -sei* 198; -djei* 185; -yeka* 104 t, -ke, -eke* 202 205 206 (and -yeki*) 209; -kei 195 203 204, -kē 211, -ki 212, -ke 213, -kei, -ki 214, -ke 215, -kye 217 218, -ce 219; -zagw 187; -baya 242; -peke* 168 a, -pekω 168; -ω (-kiω) 12.

-siŋga* 2, -sinza* 9 9 c, -riŋga* 17, -seŋgwa* 100 (also -zeŋgω); -saŋga* 11; -seŋgω* 62; -soŋgwei* 177.

-simbi*, -simbi 64 a 65 65 a 67 71 71 e 71 f, Tsimbi* 72, Cipi*, Tscipi 74, Sipi 74 b, -tsimbi* 75, -simbi* 75 a, 75 b 75 c 76 78 80; -sambule 256.

-enya* (menya) 15, -inya, -enya 17 18, -manya* 94, -man* 238, -manyi*, Mainyi* 273.²

-rinda* 3 a; Lunda* (pl. Manda) 226 b; Kanda* 101, -sanda* 125, -dyandya* 132, -tenda* 89; -banda* 104, -benda* 161, -bende* 159 161 a 164, -pindi* 166, -fin* 236; -banja* 184 186; -bonda* 151; -ondw* 9 b 46, -ondw*, -londw* 82 83, -ondw 87, -undu 103, -londa* 105 106 108 109, -londw 111, Don 116, Dondw* 118, -don 119, -dōny' 121; -tendw* 131; -ronda* 139; Kondw* 146; -mondw 150; -zondw* 166.

-rinda 3 a, -ria 14; -reŋga 11, -riŋga 17.

-nyiti, -ñciti 75; -bidi* 155; -pita* 159 a; -firi* 120; -fin 231.

-kōti 159 a, -woti 153.

Pubim 220; -pupu* 244, -wωwω* 154; -kωhω* 220, -yōγω* 248; -bωhω* 223.

Jωbu*, Yubw 186, Yωbu 194, Yωbe* 224; -kubw* 85 86, -ωbω* 191.

-lapū* 273 b, -tapw* 41 54, -dapw* 24; -debi* 28; -zagw 187.

-kωkω* 56 b 208 210, -kō 148, -dōkω* 148; -yoyω* 248; Ijo-γ (pl. Ijo-ν) 248.

-bwtω* 223, -putw* 176; -pita 159 a; -etw 155.

-kete, -kedzi 69, -kete* 70, -gwedi* 72, -ñciti* 75; -kete 94 b, -kate* 95; -fats*, -fatr, -ωtrw, -ωtsω* 263; -faj* 266.

-kañkω 83; -aŋga 191 192 193; -h'ah'u, -ah'u, -au 226; Kuŋgwari 151 a; -kuŋga* 227, -kuŋge* 247, -kuŋa 229 228; -kuŋgu* 84, -kuŋu* 110, -kōña*, -kōa* 228; -boŋgi 24.

-maŋgura 64.

-keŋge* 132, -keñ* 207; -nyeŋge* 26.

-bijeñ 247 a.

-konjw* 224, -gunjw* 121; -kuanye 226 a.

-ñkωsw* 167, -kusu* 226 a; -fuzw* 60.

-bwsa 258, -sa 26, -ša 232.

-solw* 9 c; -tsulw* 61 a, -culw* 61, -sulw 61 b, -tsuru 61 c, -tōlw* 127, -tuli*.ma 128; -bvula* 26; -bulw* 78 79, -buri* 123, -bulu* 124, -porw*-kōtw 53, -bōlw* 125 126 162, -bulu* 130 131 133 (also -lulu), Lulu*, -ulu, -vulu*, -bulu* 134 135, -ōlw, -bōlw* 136, -bula 257, -buāl 271, -vōal*, -vuol 253; -dilu 184, -la 259; -pala* 54, -para* 58 a, -pala* 61; -bali* 151 a.

-pieme 182; Byem 220; -jamei 267; -kama* 11, -ama* 104, -amwe* 104, -amu* 129 a, -ām* 243;

Dyam 252.

-ūmma* 254, -lōma* 255, -lama* 19 19 a, -rama* 20; -lamw* 240 c.

-gōma* 162; -ōma* 1 2 2 a 2 c 2 d, -dzōma* 2 e, -ōma* 2 f-g, -cuma*, -uma* 3, -dzuma* 3 b, -uma

¹ The -ela, -gera, -bela root may be connected with the -era, -ela, -ezi root for 'to be white', 'to glitter'.

² A very interesting root, partly because it may be connected with the -manya root for 'knowledge', and because it is shared between the North-eastern and the South-western Bantu and by the westernmost of the Semi-Bantu.

4 5, -cuma 5 b, -uma 6 6 a 7, -ɔma 7 a 8, -uma 9 9 b-c 10, -ɔma 9 a, -uma 14 15 16 20 d 21-21 g 22 23
 23 a 24 24 c-g 25 39, -cuma 48 52 55, -yuma 56 56 a, -uma 140 143, -ɔma* 147, -uha 157; -sɔmɔ* 19.
 -vumbu 55.
 -bom 194; -bamba 144; -tampa 97.
 -buni 164.
 -ipi 166; -debi 28.
 -fiki 104; -suka 110, -tuka 155; -dɔkɔ 148.
 -luŋgu 42.
 -kwa 227, -kwak 245; -gua 145, -gwa 150, -gwe 151, -gbwe 154.
 -poi 268.
 -buāl* 271, -pol* 272, -vɔal*, -vuol*, -val* 253, -bali* 151 a; -kale* 39 a, -kara 151 b, -ŋgwari
 151 a; -pala* 54, -para* 58 a, -pala* 61 a.
 -tä 232.
 -sene* 227, -tuna* 227; -tin*, -tu, -tun*, Tena*, Tin 230, -tiɔ 231, -tine* 236, -lini* 237, -dini*
 9 c; -tū 261.
 -na (Kana) 249; -nañ 250; -tañ 233.
 Lese 224.
 Kara 151 b, -kale 39 a; -tale*¹ 2 4, -thali* 53, -tale 57, -tali 58, -tale 59, Dare* 63, -dari 64, -fare
 64 a 66 68, -rale 72, -rale, -rala 73, -tali 76, -tali, -tale 77 78, -tari* 81, -tale* 82, -tare 86, -tali, -tale 88
 94 97, -tadi*, -tari 98 100, -tali 101 102 103, -tadi* 110 112 a (-tali) 114 (also -tali), -tari 122, -kale*
 143 144, -tali 176 179, -tele* 180, -talu* 181, -tali 189 190; -dala* 222.²

ISLAND

-rwa* 2 d 3, -rira* 3 b, -silwa* 9 b, -silwa* 9 c, -rua* 17, -luwa* 19 20, Kilwa, -sirua* 21 f, Kilwa,
 -lwa, -silwa 21 g, -riwa*, -iwa 26, -rwa 53, -lwa 54 55 56 b, -lwa 61 61 b, -ŋirwa*, -ŋirwa 64 a, -lwa
 78, -sua 79, -verua* 89; -kila 144.
 -biwa* 12, -uwa* 14, -iwa, -siwa* 16 19 21 21 a-e, -iwa 26, -siwa 42, -tipa* 48, -suwa* 57, sua*
 58 58 a 59, -ciwi* 64 65 a, -sia* 104 c, -siwa, -ziwa* 134, -sia* 176, -siga* 217 218; -zik 252; -isi, -si
 44 b 61 a; -suɔ* 227; -ceya, -eya 141, -waia 228.
 -tɔbɔ* 44 b; -ñɔpe 85; -lui 86, -ludi 92 b, -ūpi* 100 b, -dubi* 189; -jɔba* 148.
 -lulu 13; -tuli* 145, -tula* 226, -cula* 226 a; -tuta 273; -hlala 71 f; -rira* 3 b, -lila* 39, -kila*
 39 a, -lela* 40, -lira* 41; -rira 42, -dila* 43, -lila 43 a, -lela 151, -ila 125, -sera* 45, -kisira* 56, -cidila*
 104 c; -da 80, -dara 15 18.
 -phɔle* 61 c; -bul* 218; -bōla 264; -kurr* 227, -kuli* 83, -kuji* 87 105 a; -keli* 73; -udi* 177;
 -kɔlɔ* 86 94 97; -sōlɔ* 23; -ɔli* 74 b, -cɔli* 85, -kɔlɔ 97 112 a.
 -kutu* 130, -kot* 219; -çiti 75.
 -sumbu* 62; -sambɔ* 77 79, -tumbu 103; -tomba 91 a, -tamba* 109, -tama* 273, -zam* 230.
 -lumba* 35 a, -rumba* 44, -sumbu* 44 b, -rumba* 52 54 61, -lumba* 61 a, -rumba* 61 b 76.
 -soŋga* 208 209, -suŋgwe* 147, -tuŋgu*, -tuŋu 84 88, -tuŋgɔ* 110, -suŋgɔ* 51; -luŋgu* 60,
 -ruŋgɔ* 69 (and -runzɔ), -ruŋgu* 70; -guŋguli 27.
 -wunju* 7; -hɔnyu* 28.
 -mwimpi 9 c.
 -ciŋga* 9, -itsiŋga*, -tsiŋga 1, -ziŋgā* 2, -siŋga* 2 a, -zinga 2 c 2 f 2 g, -siŋga 4, -diŋga* 4 b,
 -siŋga 5, -ciŋga 5 a, -siŋga 6 6 a 8 146, -giŋga* 7 a; -cuŋga* 11, -iŋga* 17, Tiŋghi 33 a, -tiŋgwe* 34;
 -çiŋgi* 75 a; -tiŋgi 56 a; -sika 166; -tsina 67, -hleni 75 c, -siŋɔ* 178, -soŋga* 208 209; -saŋga* 94 b

¹ This root also means 'stone', 'long', and 'far'.

² This may again connect the root with the East African Bantu word for 'hard' (-dala).

98 100 104 105 106 136 141 153 155 157 159 160 161 166, -sañga* 162; -tañga* 72; -kañga* 13; -tl'ake* 74; -hleñga* 75; -yañga* 164, -kañ* 235; -riñgitia 17; -jinci* 28; -sinziri* 44; -ntenserezia 50, -syenğesisi* 51, -senjerere* 60; Nyiñgi* 184; -neñge* 186 187, Neñgi 190, Neñge 193-194 195.

-tuta* 273, -tutu* 110, -titi* 141; -çiti 75; -cetω 65; -yete* 155.

-feyē 212.

-nyin 218; -ñgena 102.

-ndindi* 62; -enda 199, -inde* 200; ωn, ωn 202 203, -yundi, -yondi 204 204 c 205 206 211;

-tundω 66, -lundω 68, -runzω 69.

-gunda 60.

-nyorω* 7.¹

-fuka 94; -bok 207.

-ñka 101.

-gumi 178.

-seke* 85, -seye* 120; -zik 252.

IVORY²

-sañga* 4 6 6 a; -nyañga* 44 b 52 53 54, -nyaga* 56, Nyaka 56 a, -yaka 56 b, Nyaka 57, Nyañga 58 58 a 59 61 61 a 61 b 61 c 62 64 64 a 65 a 66 68, -nañga* 69 72, -naka 74, -nyañga* 79 80 85, -bañga* 39 a 104 106 108 128 131 (also -wañga*), -wañga* 134 135 137, -hañga* 144, -kbañga* 151, -fanda 155, -bañgw* 195 198 199 204, -añgw* 205, -añga* 209, -bañg* 213, -bañ* 217 218 219 227 234, -pañ* 235; -zabar-añgu* 216; -tsañka, -trañka*, -tañka 263; -peñga* 54, -biñga* 84 86 92 94; -boñgwa* 130; -puñgi* 100 101 103 177, -puñgu* 182, Fuñgi* 184, Puñge* 187, -punji* 193, -pfu 180, -fu 120; -buñgu 151 b; -oñgw*, -gwoñgw* 11, -oñgw* 124 125, -onjw* 126 133 157 162; -pondw* 66, 75 a 75 c, -pondvω 75 b, -onzw* 69, -ondw* 206; -soña 211, -son 212, -şon 213, -şω 214, -şontsω 215.

-tsiñgw* 178.

-piti 92 b.

-huli 9, -puli, -huli 9 c, Buri 21; -bali 25.

-poba* 100; -bua* 185; -fuw* 168 a; -şua, -şue, -siw 200; -suba 151 a; -buazw 88.

Nyina 44; -nyirine 259.

-hia* 11, -vea* 12, Fea* 19 19 a, -be 17, -e 120, -ia 39 207; -ziya* 80, -ica* 77, -iya* 83; -seba*, -sieba* 186, -ceba* 187 189, -seba*, -sewa 191, -şeww, -şebw* 194, Siw, Siebw 220 b to 220 h; -şemw* 176.

-yω 89; -zo 212 a; -gωw 159, -gωlu 160 164, -ñgōlo 161 a.

-jegu* 15, -hehw 17, -yegw* 18, -keku* 161, -gege* 193, Giw* 215; -sik*, -sek 264; Ma-ñ-n-jog 203.

-nōga 9.

-nōlia 9 c.

-numω 151 a-b.

-pōkw 6 a; -paka 178; -pakala 153.

-dun 250.

-kumbi 9 a; -komba-kazi 110; -lōpa (from -lomba) 73; -lamba 141; -bamba 75.

-yama 123.

-wenwa 34; -pana 122.

-pembe* 13 21-21 e, -embe 14, -phembe 16, -embe, -mbe, -hembe* 23 23 a 26, -pembe 27 32 37 43,

-hembe 45, -pembe 48 49 50, -bembe 51; bamba* 75; -peme* 175.

-sede 267; -fet 266.

¹ Perhaps connected with the tribal name, Nyorω.

² Word-roots identical with 'tooth', 'horn' of 'elephant' are mostly avoided as needless repetition. The -puñgi root in Congo and Cameroons is related to the North Bantu word for elephant—-buñgu.

KNEE

-vivi* 2 a, -zui 2 e, -zwi* 2 f, -dyui* 2 g, -vi, -bvi* 3, -dzūi, -zūi 3 b, -si 4 o, -bvivi*, -bwi 4 4 a, -vū* 4 b, -cwi 9, -vwi 9 a, -swi*, -zū 9 c, -yu*, -yi 12, -hi 13, -zwi 19, -vūi 39, -zwi 49, -bvi 64, -dvi 64 a, -ve 65, -bvi 65 a, Gogw-bvi 66 68, -zwi, -vhwī* 78 79 80, -dzi, dza 81, -ive* (Dive) 125.

-ru* 1, -ju* 2, -ju, -zō* 2 c, -zō 2 d, -ru 7 7 a 11 (and -rū), -lū 8, -ri* -dru* 17, Dü* 128, Jue* 129 131, -zu* 140 143, -du* 238 239 b 241; -inu* 2 d, -nue* 82, -nūe, -nwi 83, -nu 104, -nwi* 106, -na*, -n', Cina, Din' 109, -lu* 127, -nūe 134, -lu* 135, -lwi* 136, -luli* 137, Nūi* 139, -lu 141 144, Kulu 145, Kuli 146, Kuru* 147, Kurw 151 a, Lulu 148 153, -lwi, -ūli 155 156 157, -duli*, -ludi, -uli 161, -nu* (Dinu) 210, -du, -lu, -du-kōw* 226; -nōwu* 247; -ru*, -du 236 237, -dūi*, -ñue 232 233, -nu, -nyu* 248; -ninw 235, -nunu* 254; Dzōw* 69; -lule* 256, -jul*, -juhul*, -jihul, -jōjw* 270-2, -duhl*, -dyür, -jul* 273; -dāndān 240; -dudun, -dudumi, -duduñ 242; -ruñg*, -luñg* 54, -nuñg*, -noñg* 87 87 a, -niñg*, -nuñg* 106, -nyuñgu 108, -nuñguna*, -nuñu* 110, -ruñ, -luñ* 227, -duñ 227 a, -tson 228, -ruñ, -loñ 229, -roñ 228, -rū 241, -rum 244, -dun, -tun 244, -doñ 245, -nuñ 250, -noñe, Nion 249, -joñ-kun* 273, -luñk, -loñk* 261 262; -guñguno*, Guñguni 22, -nuñgunu* 28, -noñg, -nuñgu 87 87 a, -koñko 44, -koñgwan* 52, -gōñgwan 53, -gōñonw 61, -koñgwan 61 b-c, -koñkw 62, Kuñgunu 100, Kuñgulu* 101 102 103, -ñguñgu* 132, -oñgōñg 205 206, -eñg 133; -kuñal, Kuñgeli* 253; -ñkw 257; -ñgu* 255; -koñkōli 257.

-boñ 121, -boñg* 122, -moñg* 123, -bwañg* 124, -boñg 130 141 152 155 a 155 c, -oñg*, -yoñg 159 (also -boñg) 160 162 164 165, -bwoñg* 166, -boñg 167 185, -boñ, -boñe 186, -boñg 177 187 189 190 191, -bōñw 194, -boñg 195 198 199, -boñ 200 202 203, -boñg 204, -oñgōñg* 205 206, -boñ 207, -woñg 208, -boñg 209, -boñ 211 212 213, -buboñ, -bubō 214, -boñ 215 217 218 219, -boñg* 225, -buñ 243, -oñgu*, Uñgwi, Uñg 255, -ñkw 257, -buñ* 265; -pañ 268.

-ondw 21 b-d, -bondw, -bōdw 57, -bondw 58 58 a 59 60 61 a, -bondw, -ondw 61 b; -gonjw 21 e; -lundi 34, -dondu 69, Dundu, -undu 70.

-indi 16, -ndi, Ndi 17, -di 18 20, Vpdi 19 20, Vinti 19 a, Vindi 23, Findi 33 a, fundw* 51; -gund* 235; -kunci, -kunji 258.

-gōna* 63 72; -puna* 95 97 98 99 114; -pumuna, -pōmunu 98; -bombōw 61.

-bōba* 266; -puwa* 192, -vuva*, -puva 193, -bōa* 220, -huba* 270, -yuwa* 32 55, -yugwa* 35; -wu 263; -kw 274.

-fugamilw* 27, -fugamisw* 35, -sugamilw* 38, Figameru* 24, -sikamw, -sigamw 5 a 6 6 a; -pfugama* (kneel) 64; -pu-gumudi* 69; -ñgumw 88; -gumu* 267; -buw, -bōa*, -bō* 116 120 168, -bōw* 175, -buw* 176 178 179 180 181 182, -bōa* 220; -buli 84 85, -bure, -bwū 86.

Doyw* 67, Dzōw* 69, Tsōw* 71, Cōw 71 f, -dōw* 72, Kxuru, -tōw* 73, -dōw* 75 75 a, -d'ōw 75 b, -dōw 75 c, -dorw* 76; -ñwle* 73 74, -ñgwele* 74 b; -kbalī* 151; Keri* 17.

-aku 150, -ekw 195, -etw 230.

-riki 17; rōki 151 a.

-keri 17.

Futi 21 (H.); -kuta* 56, -gōta* 56, -kuba 56 a, -kuta 56 b; guha* 248; Gōte* 21, -gōti* 21 a; -kōtulu 184, -kōtōlō* 193; -kōyōte* 230, -kwot 252.

-gōkorw* 14, -kuñgurw* 15; -kōla* 43 43 a, -kokōla* 48, -kōkora* 50, -gōkora* 56, -kōkōla* 62, -gōkore 64 a, -kurw 151 a, -gōrōw* 89, -gōw* 90 91 92 94 96 97 112 a; -sōgōw* (Konsōgōw) 100 b; -nyōw 86; -ñgōjw 79; -nkōsw 100 b; gōgōw 67 68; -añgōw 94 c.

Doyw 67; -tōkw, -tukuta, -tukog 230.

-kufi, -kōfi* 105, -kufi 41 42 (or -kōfi) 44 b, -kunci 258; -kwije 230; -kūisi 260.

-tijin 251.

-klamase 259.

-si 40.

-micw 151 b (Ici-micw).

-nen, -nan 234; -nunu 254; -tenu 250.

-rum, -dim 244; -zumba* 5, -gomba* 142.

KNIFE

·ele* 9c 9b 23, ·ere 23 a 25, ·peni* 35, ·pene 42, ·beni* 56 b 57 58, ·peni 58 a 59, ·beni 60, ·peni 61 61 a 61 b, ·ele 39, ·ele, ·hete* 40, ·ere* 33 a 41, ·ele 42 43, ·ere 43 a 44, ·ele 44 b, ·ere 45, ·ëla*, ·mëla* 75, ·uele*, ·ele 83 90, ·bele* 100 101 103, ·ele 104, ·hete 40, ·pete* 105 106 108 128 139, ·beheti* 142, ·ete* 143, ·hele, ·kele*, ·ele 109, ·bel* 116, ·biele* 117, ·biele, ·pel', ·pale* 120, ·bili* 121, ·beli 124, ·ele 127, 190, ·biele 164, ·bieli 166, ·feli* 168, ·biele 175 176 177 178, ·biere 179 180, ·biele 182, ·beci* 184, ·bedi* 185, ·beidi* 188, ·bedi 189, ·beri* 190, ·jeli* 193, ·biende 202, ·bei* 232, N̄gbe, ·be, ·pe 229, ·he 259; ·helw* 94.

·pa* 186,¹ ·paa* 198, ·hā 213, ·pā 214 215; ·paka* 63 110, Mbaku* 151, ·baka* 161, ·phaka*, ·faka* 73, ·vaka* 162, Baya* 181, ·faka* 191, Faga 264, Fege 266, ·baw* 39 a 144, ·bau 135, ·bakw* 145 146, ·bagw* 150, ·baw 151, ·bakw 153, Bā 252, Bāg*, Bāk 253, ·ba 220, ·bakw 220b-220h, ·fekw 160; ·bew 141, ·bahu 139; ·pavw 195; ·mage* 23 a, ·magi 24, Maje 25, ·mage 27 28, Magi 29, Maje 33, Mage* 38, ·mai 44 b, ·magi 51, ·maje 52, ·mayi 53, ·maje* 54; Swaka* 192, Swaka 193, ·siaka 194, Haka* 198 199; ·yiaka* 247, ·liaka 157; ·bañga* 17 64, ·pañga* 19 64 64 a 65 65 a 66 68 72 (and Phañga, Bañga, ·fañga*) 79; ·man* 250; ·kamañga 48.

·saku* 100, ·šake, Sakwe* 186, Saka* 194, ·sake* 226; ·sei 244 a; ·sika* 257; ·sañkali 257; ·dagala 14; ·diga* 3.

·pɔkw* 78, ·ɔkw 82 84 85, ·pɔkw 86 87 88, ·mɔkw 91 a 92 b, ·ɔkw 93, ·ɔku 94, ·pɔkw 94 c 95 96, ɔkw 97, ·pɔkw 98 99, ·pɔku 110 111, ·pɔkw* 112 a 114 118 122, ·bɔkɔ 220b.

·pup' 119; ·busw 141; ·epw 255; ·yifun, ·fun 254; ·pu 230; ·ho 248.

·šom 248, ·sum 251.

·hamba* 1, ·ambi* 2 a, ·tambi* 2 c 3 b, ·ambe* 4, ·ambi 9 c, ·pamba* 37, ·wabi* 39 a, ·ambi (Mwambi) 105, ·bambu* 124, ·hamba* 133, ·ambe 148, ·tambi* 149; ·kumba 45; ·bomba 193, ·bamba* 228 235; ·kamba* 225, Kamp* 264; ·embe* 5 b 32, ·imbe 32, ·fimbw* 28, ·himbe 28 a, ·embe* 155, ·emba* 161, ·bomba 193; ·kumba 45; ·hompw* 3.

·mban, ·mbanji 269-71.

·njam 236; ·amali 216.

·ɔba, ·kɔba, ·hɔba 226; ·kebi 7 a, ·khebi 86; ·wabi 39 a 144.

·kuma (Ve-kuma), Cuma 187; ·fuma, ·tuma, ·tfuma 200.

·timi*, ·tima 227; ·tame, ·tɔma 227, ·tema, ·tame 228; ·pami 258; ·sime* 19; ·camw* 44, ·çamu* 75 c.

·ihiu* 2, ·yɔw 2 b, ·hyɔw* 2 c, ·iʃw* 2 e, ·hyɔw, ·siɔw* 2 f, ·iyɔw, ·ʃw 2 g, ·usɔw* 3 b, ·siū 2 d, ·eyu 7, ·oyɔw* 7 a, ·ʃu 9 c, ·ye 10, ·hiɔw, ·hiyu, ·jiū 11, ·biu, ·viu* 12, ·su* 13 16 (also ·fiū*), ·ʃu 17, ·ɔʃw* 17, ·su 21 21 a-e 59, ·uʃu, ·ufyu* 26, ·weyɔw 44, ·fiū* 49 50, ·viɔw 89, ·hiɔw* 147, ·ciɔw* 220, ·cɔw* 226 a, ·jɔw* 226 b; ·tesio*, ·ensio 249; ·nsu 144; ·tis*, ·bis 263; ·wi 259.

·guʃi* 256, ·gɔse* 25; ·risi 244; ·jase* 267; ·gesɔw* 2 7 a; ·weʃi*, ·beʃi 44 b 77, ·bei* 233; ·ezi* (Ru-ezi) 62, ·ese* 75 a; ·sei 244 a.

·tetoñ 237; ·didaw 238; ·tudɔw* 266.

Tuni 19 19 a.

·buni 159.

·ini, ·nyi 230.

·nama 230.

·tcarr* 274; ·garr', ·gat, ·ga* 234, ·gat* 227, ·kiet* 228 a; Jeñgat 253; ·gɔta* 3; ·kuata 191 194, ·kwara 192; ·kwale 202.

¹ At first sight it would seem inevitable to derive the ·paka, ·faka roots from the Portuguese 'faca', 'knife', seeing that probably the Portuguese early introduced a trade knife to the North-west Bantu (1480 onwards). Yet this ·paka root, nasalized as ·pañga, extends all over Bantu Africa, and is even found in the most recondite and isolated Bantu language, No. 151 a of the Bahr-al-ghazal.

-ida, -dia, -da 226.

-londa 104 c, -londw 124 125, -landa 193, -kondw 76, -konda 91; -funda 23 a; -lundi 21 f; -bondw 126; -banda 2 g; -mban 269, -mbanji 272; -ba 220; -endw 160; -wendi, -windi 204 205 206, -endi 207, -rendi 208, -lendi 209, -lende 211, -len 212, -lend' 213, -len 214 215; -xande 5, -handi 14 15, -andwi 17; -gwende 203.

-kin 261; -keñ 217 218 219; -kioñ 200 a; -koñgw 210.

-ñgwu* 149, Nguwa* 150 152, -gwe* 151, Nguwa* 161, -kwa* 69 (-kwana) 70 (-kwa*) 71, -kwana* 71 f, -ñkwa* 75 b, -kwa 76 237 j; -ewa* 250.

Nereza 24.

-rani 267.

-balw 5 a, -banw 6 6 a; -adu 17, -alw 56 56 a, -padi 56 b; -salw 124; -kala 45, -kalw 60 61 c, -gala, kala 69; -cala 124; -pata 216.

-pula* 34 35 44 b 54, -pura* 55, -pula 61 61 c; -pfa 232; -kura* 123, -kula* 124 125 129, -kfula* 130 131 (also -kuwa, -kfa) 132, -kula 134 136 162; -gola* 20, -golw* 168, -hōrw* 2, -fōlw* 80, -furu*¹, -ferw* 81; -fun 254.

-nūi 230.

-khiki 92; -ikw (Cikw) 67.

-tipa 80, -thipa 73 74, -tipa 74 b; -liba 273 a.

-godywa 75 b; Ngyoya 151 b.

-cece 75.

LAKE, SEA

(Sometimes meaning 'estuary', 'big, broad river'.)

-tiwa* 6, -ria 11, -ia, -tsiwa* 12, Ziwa*, Zuwa 14, -swa, -ziya* 16, -ruwa* 17, Ziwa 19 19 a 20, -siwa 24, -riba* 39, -ziba* 40, -siwa 44 44 b 45, -siba* 51, -tia* 56 a 56 b, Dziwe* 61 a, -tsiba, -civa* 69, Tiba* 71, Tiva 71 f, Dzivha 72, -ziba 75, -siwa 76, -ziba, -ziwa, -ziba, -ziva 84, -civa 86, -jiba* 88, -tia 89, -zia 90, -diva 92 b, -iva 94, -siba 104, -ciba, -siwa 105, -siwa 106, -jiba 109, -ziya 110, -juwa* 134, -siwa 139, -liba*, -diba 141, -ziba 143, -riba* 144, -lia 157, -liba 166, -dzia 175 178, -diba 184, -liba 186, -iba 187, -liwa 190 193, -tima* 195, -liba 218, -riba* 226, -reb*, Rep 252; -qweba* 75; -imp' 273; Bimbi 69.

-taba* 4, -tawa* 9 b, Hawa* 9 c, Bwawa* 21 (H.), -law* 26; -gawa* 64, Gandwa 64 a; -dōbe* 91; -duyi 40; -lwa* 226; -lambw* 9 c, -lamba 23 24, -ramba* 25, -lamba 29 33 a 38, -lambe 41, -rambe 45, -yembe 41, -emba* 43 a; -dab 266.

-sumbi 49 50 51.

Zaṅga* 177, -aṅge* 184, -jaṅge 186, -diaṅga* 189, Maṅga* 195, -aṅg'* 217; -daṅgu* 75 a; -bañ 264.

-anja* 2 2 a, -anza* 2 c-f (also -andya*) 3 b, -anja 4 5, -anza 5 a 6, -anja 6 a 7, -anza 9 a-c, -anja 29, -anza (Eny-anza) 38, -anja 44 44 b 45, -asa* 54, -ansa* 58, -anja, -anza 59 59 a, -anja 61 61 b-c, -anza 64, -andwa*, Gandwa 64 a, -wata* 73, -andle* 71 75, -andhle 75 a¹; -anda (sea coast) 98, -nja 203 204.

Tamanda 61 a.

-dami 75 b.

-mana 44 45; -ina 255.

-šana 91.

-isa* 83, -biza 41; -itta* 226; -tsa* 73 a, -ts'a 74, -sa 74 b, -za 100; -sw 201 202.

-sir' 121; -sali* 85²; -tali* 86 a; -vare* 89, -bale*, -bali* 161 164; Tavare* 59, Taware* 61 b; -tala 91 a (see words for 'river' beginning -sali 85, -zadi 100); -tarw 8.

¹ This is the far-reaching -anza root in the term 'Nyanza', applied to the great African lakes since the times of Speke and Livingstone. In the South African Bantu it is usually applied to the sea; -andle comes from an older -anje [see roots for 'river'].

² This is the root that occurs in the Central Sudan in 'Lake Chad'.

- saŋga* 2 a, -eŋga* 6 a, -taŋga* 3 b, Taŋga*-nyika 3 b, -daŋgu* 75 a, -yaŋga* 100 103, -aŋga* 189, -aŋgɔ* 193, Maŋga 194, Mañ' 200, Aŋg' 217.
 -luŋga (Kaluŋga) 98 99 105.
 -geŋge 84.
 Ikwa (Rikwa, Rukwa, Rukuga) 45 48; -dike 75; -likɔ 159 a; -litɔ 147.
 -twaka* 142; -tɔkɔ* 136, -tɔku* 194, -tok* 273; -gɔkɔ* 40, -kɔkɔ* 41.
 -mot, -mōit 273.
 -wata 73; -bete 103; -beki 151 a, -beke 166 168; -bah 264; -beni 193, -wini 175 178.
 -gbutɔ 151, -bɔɔtɔ 153.
 -vu*¹, -vɔ 3, -bū* (sea) 103; -kpɔ* 258, -vo*, -hɔu 259; -bɔm 203; -bɔ 220-220 h, -wɔ 254, -fɔ,
 -vɔ, -pɔ 258 259.
 -pula 42; -ñguli 97.
 -qibi* 75 75 b-c; -cipi-cipi* 118, -ci 139; -gi 143; Kidbin* 253; -d'ibi, -dhibi*, -divi 64.
 -gedze 1.
 -zi 3, -si (Lusi) 43 a.
 -temela 27; -tende 88.
 -toŋka 263.

LEG²

-yulu*, -guru*, -gulu* 2 2 a-g 3 3 b 4 5 5 a (also -guɔ*) 6 a 7, -gōrɔ* 7 a, -guru 8, -kulu* 9, -gulu 9 a-c, -huru*, -guru 11, -gūū* 13, -gū, -gulu 14, -gū, -yu 15, -gulu 16 20 d, -guu 20 21 21 a-e, -ulu*, -ɔlu 21 f-g, -dūū* 22, -gulu 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25, -kulu, -ulu, -gulu 26, -gulu, -guru 27 29 31 32, -ulu 34, -guru 35, -kulu 39, -gulu 40, -ulu 41, -kulu 43, -ulu 43 a, -kulu 44, -ulu 44 b 45, -wuru 55, -kulu, -ulu 78 79, -kulu 80, -kɔlɔlɔ* 83, -kɔnɔ* 84, -ulu, -uru 87, -ulu, -ɔlu 88, -gulu 90, -ulu 91, -ulu 92, -gulu, -kulu 93, -ulu, -kulu 94, Kulu, -lu 100 101 102 103, -kɔlɔ, -kɔnɔ* 104, -kulu, -ulu 105, -kɔlɔ 108, Kulu, -lu 116 117 118 119, -l*, Kulu, -lɔ*, -furu* 120, Kun, Kul** 121, Kulu 122, Kuru 123, Kulu 124 125 129 130 131 132 133, Kɔlɔ 136, -uli, -ulu 137, -uru 139, -gulu 140, -ɔ* 141, -gɔlɔ 142, Ke-gū* 145, -gɔlɔ 151 153 (and -gulu), Gurɔ-ku* 151 a, -kɔlɔ, -kōlō 155 159, Kulu, Kɔlu 160, -kɔ 161, -kulu, -kɔlɔ 164 166, -kɔlɔ 167, -ɔlu (Kw-ɔlu), -ele* 168 168 a, -lɔ 176, -ulu, -kulu, -lu' 177 178, -lɔ 179 180, -ɔlu, -ele* 181, -ōlɔ 182, -erɔ, -eru* 184, -ōlu 185, -kōbi*, -kōdɔrɔ*, -kɔdɔ, -kōlɔ, -kōli* 186, -kɔdɔ* 187, -gɔlɔ, -gulu 190, -gɔlɔ, -hɔlɔ, -lɔ 191, -hɔlɔ* 192, -gɔlɔ 193, -kɔlu 194, -kɔ 195, -kū 200 211 214, -kɔ 202 213, -kuɔ 215, Keɔ* 221, -ɔli-, -ɔlɔ* 226, -kɔ 228, -ku, -kɔ, -kut* 230, -kū 236, -kɔ, -ku 237, -ɔlu 232, Gōrɔ* 235; -sōrɔ 61 c; -keɔ* 221; -gere* 4 6, -kele* 157, -ele* 168 181, -erɔ*, -eru 184, -kela* 86; -kli-pɔbi 257; -kɔlɔ* 92; -kuar* 231; Kwōrō 252; Nguɔ*-hale 248; -kot*, gots, -gats 273, -ot, -got*, -wat* 269-71; -kat* 227; -kats* 272; -kore* 268; -kus*, -kɔs 253; -kōta* 239 b, -kɔtɔ*, -ɔtɔ 73, -kutu* 74, -utu 74 a 74 b, -kut* 230; -wut* 266.

-ōsan* 250; -sōni* 38; -kɔna* 109; -ɔni* 210; -von*, Hɔon* 240, -yon*, -wan 244; -koŋ* 230, -koŋwe* 186; -koŋɔnu* 32, -koŋgɔlɔ* 54; -kɔnɔkɔnɔ* 28; -koŋgɔ* 193; -kōkō* 210, -ɔkɔ* 224 (most of these are roots originally referring to 'knee'); -rɔku 151 a.

-tuŋgɔ* 75, -diŋgɔ*³ 150; -jiaŋ, -diaŋ 249; -buŋgi, -baŋgi 253; -taŋka*, -raŋka* 267,³ -laŋk*, -raŋk*, -liŋk 263,³ -luŋk* 261³; -leŋge* 4 a,³ -reŋgi* 5 a (R.), -reŋge*³ 64 a 65 65 a, -neŋge* 60 70 71 (and -leŋge) 71 e; -enze 67, -lenze 75 76, -lenzi* 75 a 75 c, -lent'e 65 b.

-faŋga 208; -wan 244.

-asa*, Mɔwa 94; -pasɔ* 226; -esɔ, -isɔ 226 b; -weza* 35 a; -keta* 135, Kela* 86, Kele* 157; -kat* 227, -kats* 272; -wat* 269; -kednum* 273; Kwōkat 253.

-kak 234; -kā 229, -gā 15, -iga (Ciga) 53, -dzwa 64.

¹ In the word Ki-vu ('Lake Kivu').

² In some languages there is a distinction between the lower leg and the thigh; in others there is a misuse of the root for 'arm', which is used for 'leg', just as 'hand' sometimes also means 'foot'.

³ These correspondences are really remarkable, especially between the southernmost and northernmost Bantu and between the Bantu and the westernmost Semi-Bantu.

-halabu 109.

-pū 238 ; -pula* 226, -buna* 255 ; -bōn 243.

-inu (Mu-inu) 117 ; -wini 175 178.

-ōsun 250 ; -sinō 211 ; -zimω 11.

-genderω* 6 a ; -endω* 44 b, -etω* 56, -edω* 56 a, -etu 56 b, -edω, -entω* 57, -endω* 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 a-b 62 72 77 78 79 (and -endi) 85 110 111, -wende* 127, -ende* 146 156, -bendi* 198, -bende 199, -ende 205 206, -bwendi* 207, -bian* 217, -vende* 222, Munde 223, -pfen* 232, -bene* 235, -pini* 254, -fien* 251, -indi*, -tindi* 39 a, Hindi* 80, -hinji* 84, -indi* 85, -hindi 86, -indi* 144 ; -enze* 67, -lenzi* 75 75 a, -tende* 78, -tindi* 148, -rende*, -dende, -tendu* 17, -rende 18, -lindi* 19 ; -rundi* 2 2 f-g 3, -lundi* 16 19 a, -nundi* 48, -rundi 51 52, -lunde 38, -rundi 37 ; -rondω 16, -undu 22, -ondω 28, -gonhω 23, -londω 126, -būdū* 1, -fondω* 35, -kondω* 83, -pondω* 224 ; -konsω (Mu-konsω) 42, -konzω 44 62, -onzω, -oncω 81, Konzω 106, -kwsω 162.

-tandω 69.

-rumbu* 2, -dumbu* 6 6 a ; -fumba* 19 a ; -fupa* 82 ; -pwpω 86 ; -gumbω* 64, Gumbu 64 a, Gumbω 66 68 ; -limba 128, -lemba 134 ; -bimbira 64.

-guv, -muv 274.

beñ 261.

-tω 254 ; -dωdω 34.

-tā 228 ; -tea 86 ; -ti 258.

-tame* 117 ; -rama* 89 ; -phama* 126 ; -ama* (Nyama) 7, -nama* 49 50 95 96 97 98 114 152 161 189 211 212, -nam* 229.

-zimω* 11, -bumω* 12, -ωmω* 73 a ; -sume* 147, Cōme, Sōma* 227 ; -tsema* 270.

-awa 256 ; -kpa 258 ; -kpω 247, -kwō 230 ; Eñgba 151 b.

-bω 151 218 219 220.

-balu 34.

Pfen 232 ; -bele 151, Libe 161, -be 152, -fe 218, -bei 225, -bebe 204, -fe 240 242 (see 'foot').

Tiehe* 225 ; -še 248 ; -tek*, -tseg* 264-5.

-bukpω 239, -fuk, -buk 242.

LEOPARD

-gwe* 1, -gω* 2 2 c, -gwe 2 b 2 d, -gω, -gwi 2 g, -gwe 3 3 b, -gω, -gwi 4, -gwe 5 5 a 6 6 a, -gω 7, -gwe 7 a 8, -gωω, -gω 12, -ge*, -gwi, -gwa* 14, -gwe 17 d, Gūi* 24, Nwe* 39, Nge*, Ngwe* 40, Nañgu* 43, Iñgω* 44 44 b, Iñgwe 45, -gwi 48, Yiñgω* 52, Iñgω 62, Iñgwe 64 67 69, Yiñgwe 71 71 e 71 f, Ngwe 72, Nkwe* 73, Ngwi 74 b, Iñgwe 75 75 a-c 76, -gwe 80, Kue* 81, Gwe 85 86 89 90 91 92 93 94, -gω 95 96, -gwe 97, -gω 98 100 101 102 103, -ge* 105 106, -ñgwe, -gwe 108, Ngw 117, Kwi* 118, -gω 119 120 (and -guē), -gω 121, Kwi 123 124 125, Gwei* 127, -ge 128, Kōi 129 130 131 132 133, -gwi 134, -gwe 135, Kōi 136 137, -gōi, -gwe 139, -gōi 140, -gωω* 141, -gwe 143 144 145 147, -gwi 146, -gōi, -kōi 155 157 158 159 160 161 (in 159 to 161 the root means 'hyena') 162 164, -gōi 166, Kōie* 167, -kōi 168, -gω 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182, -kw-eyu* 148, -jegω* 183 184, -gōi 185, -je*, -sie* 186, -jegω 187 189 (also Ngoin), -jehuω* 190, -jegω 193, -jebi* 194, -gi*, -jō* 195, -jō 198 199, -ze*, -nze 200 202, -je 203, -jω 204 205 206, -je 207, -kω 208, -jω 209, -uñgu* 210, -jω 211, -ji 212, -go 213, -gω, -gwa* 214, -go 215, Uñgω 216, -še* 217, -ze 218, -kwe*, -gwi 220, -goi 225, -gbe* 227, -gbe, -gbwe 228, -koi* 228 a, Kwi, Gui, Gue, Khuw* 230 ; Kwo* 234, -kω 235, -kwe*, -kpe, -we 238 244, O-ñgω 256 ; Bi 249 ; -gbω 261.

-ñaw 73, -ñau 74 ; -ñga-lotω 94 c.

-ñuga 259.

Suwi* 9, -suwi 9 c, Tsui* 16, Cui* 21, Tūi* 21 a 21 b-d, Tuvi* 21 e, Šuvi 21 f-g, -sui 25, Suwi 26, -huwi 28, Kiubi* 32, Huwi*, Juhi* 34, -huwi, -sui 35, -sūi, -suwi 54, -huwi 55, Inzowe* 49 ; Tωwω* 87 ; -luwe* 77 78, -lwe* 79 ; -supa* 84, Šumba* 86, Sua 159, -hua 159 a, Sua, Swa* 161, -su* 250, -ju* 251 ; -sīp*, -sip 263 264 ; Cuei 252.

- Nyama-nru* 17, Nya-rubwi* 53, Nya-rugwe* 57, Nya-lugwe* 58, -rugwe* 58 a, -lugwe 59, -lubwe 61, -lugwe 61 a, -ribwe* 61 b, -rubwe* 61 c.
- öt (Wuöt, -ñguöt*) 269-72; -mbwot* 43 a; -guad* 237; -gaj* 273.
- honju* 94, -ñganju* 188; -ñgonya*, -ñgenya 230; -gon* 236, -kon* 228.
- kunda 112 a.
- kense* 44 b, -kenje* 141.
- kiti 258; -sisi 259.
- hiŋga*, -siŋga*¹ 90 91, -siŋka* 270; -sip, -sip 263 264; -simba* 94, -simpa* 105 110 111 (also -simpe, -supa), -umwa* 2 a, -somp* 109 b, Sumba* 86, -supa* 84; -tumbala* 265.
- ñau* (ex -ñgabu) 74; -khapi* 92, -babi 189, -gabi*, -gebi* 255 256; M-yangob* 230; -kwipi* 151, Kwipi-kw 151 a.
- ziera* 50; -havara* 56 56 a, -severe* 56 b; -para* 4 b, -bada* 64; -balale* 44 b, -baladi 92 b;² -mbarañ* 268; -piraŋga* 149, -piloŋga*, -biaŋga* 150; -paŋge 156; -maŋga 109; -naŋgu 43 43 a.
- hoŋga 94 b, -koŋga 109; -poŋga* 146, -pōxw* 73 a.
- kamba 64 a 65 65 a 66 68 69; -kambuku 60; Kampulu 87.
- kaŋama*, -sama* 104, -sama*, -samai 273, -jeamu*, -samu* 267; -zañ 274; -tami 116; Kuluama 88, Kulwama* 114, Kwama* 99, -gulamu* 17.
- nyam* 248, -nyama-nru* 17, -nama* 254; -myañ- 230; -nyambe* 266.
- zumura* 2 e 2 g, -dzumula* 3 b; -rumu* 17, -duma* 19 23 23 a 24 25 27 28 29 38; -gulamu* 17; -tō-rōme* 37; Kw-lōma* 122; -ōma* (Mōma) 104 c; -mfūma* 41; -bwima 45.
- umwa* (Mumwa) 2 a; -kumbu* 103; -kom 134.
- iri* 7; -bwiri* 42; Mbid, Nbit* 253; -biu-kabui 153; -bica, -busa 151 b.
- kuru 178.
- gare* 11, -keri* 15, -keregere* 56 b; -hela* 142; -gena* 184, -gen 220 f.
- lula* 18; -lōle* 153; -ōli* 150; -wōle*, -bōle 51, bore 253.
- dara 2 f.
- dōze* 13, -hlōzi*, -dlōzi* 75; -bō 82, -dō 83.
- fon 233; -gban 229; -pene 257; Kplele 258; -flete 260; -banda 189; -bada 64; Ea 232.
- basi 17.
- mbuku 60.

LION

- simba* 2 a 9 9 c, -šimba* 9 a, -bimba* 12, Dzimba* 13, Šimba 14, Simba 15, Tsimba 16, Simba 17 18 19 19 a 20 21 21 a-g 22 23 23 a 24 25 26 28 45 54 55, Imba* 32, -himba* 28 34 35, Sumba* 64, 64 a, Cumba* 63, Šumbwa 78, -dumba*, -domba 86 88; -dumbi* 89, -dumbu* 92 93; -tambwe* 88, -tambue* 104, -tambw* 105 106 108, -tamp* 109, -tambu 110, Tambw 118, Tambwe 134, -dambwe 39, -tambwe 40, -dambue* 139 143 144; -damse* 75; -lavu*, -davu* 78 79 80, -tavw* 81; -dyau* 71, -dau* 72, Tau* 73 74; -emba* 79; -nyembw* 12, -nyambw* 14 16; -zum* 253, -tumu* 251, -tumi* 34, -kumu* 180, -kum 252; -tuni 25; -muma 94 c.
- ñgwem* 217; -nyembw* 12.
- nyime 85, -nime 90; -geama 89; -sama 43 a.
- gadama*, -jadame* 267 268; -damse* 75; -gōdōmi* 23; -dōmu* 247 b; -zum* 253; -kalamu* 42 44 44 b, -galamu* 51, Karamu* 56 56 a, -kalamw 58 59, -karamw 61 c, -kalamu 62 77 79, -kalamw 87, -kalamu*³ 106; -kalaŋga 41 45.

¹ These are variants of roots that mean in other tongues 'lion', 'cat', and 'hyena'.

² Another surprising instance of far-off relationships. 44 b is Bisa of Western Nyasaland [E. Africa]; 92 b is Kuvale of S. Angola.

³ The roots in this paragraph illustrate a singular degree of correspondence between the easternmost Bantu and the westernmost Semi-Bantu.

- khiyama 91 a.
 -kañgu 56 a, -kañgw 61 61 a-b, -bañgw 206; -kaga* 176; -key* 234; -zagi* 255 256.
 -ñan*, -ñeñ 273; -nani* 5 5 a; -nina* 186.
 -kila* 192, -gia 199, -sio, -nšio 200, -gile 202, -gila* 204 209; -ñera (for Ngera*) 273; -sontā* 261; -soñala* 263; N̄gala, N̄ala* 65 65 a.
 -wara 230; -yari 264; -dare 1, -tale 2, -tali 2 a, -tare 2 d-g 3, -tali 3 b; -talanyi, -tolani 6.
 -Jata 258, -dzata 259; -atw 56 b, -andwe 57; -ganza 2 g.
 -porogwoma* 4, -pōdōgwoma* 57; ¹ -pondōrwa 59, Imondōrwa 64, -pondōrwa 64 a 76, Bondwa*, Bonda 69, -bonjwa 35, -bonzu* 38, -bondwa 203; -pwozōngwa 76.
 -rwi, -rwi 11.
 -gwaši* 90, -hwaši* 91, -hwaši 94 95 96, -hwaši 97, Hwaši, Hwaši 97 98, Hwaši 100, Kōse* 101, -kwaši, -kwaši 112 a, Hwaši (or Kwaši) 114, Kwaši* 162 166 (also Kwaše) 177 179.
 -dūi* 5 b, -dwe 8, -ndūi* 228 b; -de 82 83 (also -di).
 -ñgure, -guli* 94; -ñu (possibly for N̄guli*) 6 a; -kūe* 117, -kwe 175 176 178; -mugur* 269-72, -makur, -mukor* 273; -šumuñku 264.
 -ki (N̄ki) 227; -ji 229.
 -cuncu 2 c.
 -bube*, -bubesi 75 75 a-b; Böyiku, Böyuku 151 a; -bawwa 181, -bawwa* 182; -bwagwi* 105 a; Boge 202.
 -log 237, -nog 228; -šinuk 266; -šumuñku 264.
 -khurika 92.
 -kakuba 73.
 -kakala 155 a.
 -lwana 75 c, -rwani 76.
 -gombulu 175.
 Gbai 230; -gbwan 230; Gba-sor 248; Gboñgw 161 a.
 -bine 257.
 -paya-nyañ 236; Bēya 248.
 Buru 232.
 -wizan 274.

LIPS

- lɔmɔ* 9 a 9 c, -nɔmɔ* 9, -rɔmɔ* 11, -lɔmɔ 12 (also -wɔmɔ*), -yɔmɔ* 13, -ɔmɔ 14 15, -lɔmɔ, Dɔmɔ* 16, -lɔmu, -ɔmɔ 17, -umu* 18, -lɔmɔ 19 19 a 20, -ɔmɔ, -dɔmɔ, -lɔmɔ 21 21 a-b, 21 d-e, -rɔmɔ 21 f-g, Dɔmɔ, -ɔmɔ 22, -lɔmɔ 23 23 a, -lemɔ* 24, -lɔmɔ 25 26 27, -rɔmɔ 28, -lɔmɔ 34 35 36, -dɔmɔ 37 38 (and -lɔmɔ), -lɔmɔ 39, -rɔmɔ 40 42, -lɔmɔ 41 43 43 a, -rɔmɔ 44 45, -lɔmɔ 44 b 48, -rɔmɔ 49 50 51 52 53, -gɔmɔ*, -lɔmɔ 54 (also -jɔmɔ*), -rɔmɔ 55, -lɔmɔ 56 b, -rɔmɔ 57, -iɔmɔ* 58, -rɔmɔ 58 a 59, -lɔmɔ 60 61 61 a-c, -rɔmɔ 62, -lɔmɔ 63, -rɔmɔ 64 64 a 65 65 a, -iɔmɔ* 67, -lɔmɔ 66 68 69 (and -nɔmɔ), Nɔmɔ, -lɔmɔ 71 71 f 72 73 74 b 75 a 76 77 78 79 80 83 104 105 106 107 108 125, -luma* 126, -lɔmɔ 129 131 132 134 135 140 142 143 144; -lemu* 104, -ramu* 17 (see 24 and 54); -lebu* 195; -tɔmi* 123 125; -tum*, -pitum*, -picam, Butum* 273.
 -rumbu* 17, -zumbu 112 a, -lumbu* 136 193, -numbɔ* 194, -numbi* 200, -lumbū 205, -umbu* 187 206, -lumbw 211; -lambw* 110; -vumbu*, -vumbw 84 87 88, -bumbw* 150, -zumbu* 98, -fumbu* 110 a; -vuñgu* 122; -luñgu* 90.91 92; -nugū* 259; -lugbu*-pi 259; Sum 261; -rambɔ 255.
 Yimba 124.
 Mwa* 127; -da-nwa*; nwa-nwa* 137, -nwa* 2, -mwa* 2 a, -nwa 2 b-d, -nna* 2 e, -nwa* 2 f-g 3

¹ A remarkable instance of discontinuous distribution of roots. No. 4, with its -porogwoma and 57 with -pōdōgwoma are some 1,400 miles apart—the one language north of the Victoria Nyanza, and the other near the Zambezi delta.

3 b, -nūa 4 a-b, -mwa 4, -nwa 5 5 a 6 6 a, -nua 7, -nwa 8, -mwa-mwa 155 a; -nya* 124, -na*, -na 89, -ena* 94, -nō*, -nwa 85; -nu* 1, -ka-nō* 32, -kanua 97, -nyō* 227, -nya 258, -nū* 234, -munu* 148; -nōkō* 145 146, -nyōkō* 149, Nōka* 151 a, -nō 151 b, -nōkō* 155 a; -nugu* 259; -šinikō* 14; -uku*, -mco 230; -siku*, -suku* 104 109; -bu-cuki* 153; -kpok* 245; -nyekuli 257.

-kōba* 7; -kop* 119; Ngap-kunni* 253; -kwa* 121; -kpaŷe* 227, -kpa;* 228, -kpa* 238. -baŋga* 128; -veŋgi* 189.

Baba* 234, -bebe* 75 b, -bembe* 155 a, Beb 203, -bebe* 214, -bebo* 226, -bwegbwe* 207, Kbekbebu* 155 c, -bebu* 162 166, -wewu* 133, -eu* 139; -babu*, Bōbō* 100, -bōba*, -bōbō 100 b, -bōvu* 75, -pōpō* 199 204 (also -pupa*) 209 211; -baba*-ye-nu 234; -pōu-nama* 73 74; -pipi 130; -kpwama 242; -be-anu 202.

-basu* 184; -wās* 274.

-gōnō* 161 a; -bōnō* 146; -pōrō* 81; -bōle* 117, -bōli*, -bōle 175 176 178; -bori* 190, -bōte* 210; -bila 273; -ulu 151, -hulu* 157; -kōlō* 211; -kala 211.

-šua 230.

-tia 121.

Degbwe* 151, -teke* 159, -taka* 159 a, -teke* 160 164 (also -take), -leka* 167; -tōke 194; -ehe*, -ēē* 226; -reg-nu 252.

-nene-vu* 7 a; -dere* 56, -lele* 156, 168, -lili* 103 120.

-lebeta 70, -lebe 75, -debe 75 a-c; -lebu 195; -yeye, -jeye 34.

-šenze, -nsenze 153.

-sanu 254; -sañ 263.

-tutu 141 150.

-bai (probably for -lai or -lami) 186.

-yā 217 218, -yae* 219, -yeye, -jeye* 34; -yanō 56 a.

-gundi 159 a.

MAGIC

(This word-root is sometimes identical with the meaning of 'sorcery', but also inclines independently towards the sense of 'religion', of 'medicine', and of the beneficial powers of 'magic', as contrasted with the maleficent powers of witchcraft.)

-lōyi* 1, -rōgō* 2, -lōgō* 2 a, -rōji* 2 c, -rōgō 2 d, -lōgō 2 f 4, -rōzi* 3, -lōkō* 5, -lōgō 5 β, -rōgō 6 6 a 7 7 a 8, -lōsi* 6, -lōzi 9 9 a, -lōgi* 9 c, -rōgi 11, -ōi* 12, -lōga* (verb, 'to bewitch') 16 32, -lōha* 34, -lōzi 39 41 42, -dōci* 44, -lōsi 44 b, -lōzi 44 45, -dōzi 48, -rōzi 49 50, -dōsi 51, Lōzi 62, -rōwa, -rōwi*, -rōyi* 64, -lōi*, -lōi 66, 68 69 (and -oi), -lōyi 70, -rōi 71, -lōi, -lōya 73, -lōi 74, -lōza, -lōzi 75 75 a, -lōya 75 b 75 c, -lōwi 76 (Tōw 74 b), -lōzi 77 78 79, -lōti* 83, -lōdi 92 b, -dōki* 100 104 c, -ci, -uci* 105 108, -lōji 109, -dōki 118, -nok** 123, -nōke* 125, -eci* 127 131 132, -lō, -lōgō* 175, -dōkō* 193, -lok** 194, -dōki* 204 (meaning 'drugged', 'deaf', 'bewitched'), -dōwe* 208; -orō-su 263.

-lua* 119, -luba* 118; Kōba* 141; -nubō* 254, -nibu* ('medicine') 254, Nubi* ('medicine') 256; -luwi* 105 106.

-alu* 104; -madü* 148; -rut* 244.

-wadzi* 2 e, -wazi* 2 g; -laji* 110; -gāsi* 248.

-dzawi* 13, -cawi*, -sawi*, -sai* 14, -sawi 15, -tsai* 16, -sawi 17 18, -šawi* 19, -cawi 19 a, -sayi* 20, -cawi 21, -tawi* 21 a-b 21 d, -tavi* 21 e, -sawi 21 f-g, -wai* 25 26, -hawi* 27, -hiawi*, -hawi 34, -cawi, -hawi 35, -hawi 36 37 52, -havi 38, -sawi 54, -hawi 55; -dyai* 89; -hūi 259; -sue 204; Etsaf*, Tsa-v* 248; -yawi* 274.

-kbahu* 151; -kpabi* 235 238; Šibsebi 232; -je, -ye 227; -tse 250; -jiep 234, -jibi 247 b; -fephe* 73; -veva 189; -bibō 80; Afō 231.

-bui* 151, -bu* 227, -fō* 230 a, -bu* 234, -burō* 236 268, Bur* 253, -buli* 237, -hūi* 259, -bu* 259, -biri*, -bwiri* 193; -bol* 270; -jol* 263; -gbwel* 218 219; -gvule 200; -kwiri* 56 56 a-b; -fwiti* 44 b 53,

-fiti* 58 a 61 61 a-b, -fwiti* 62, -fidi* 104, -firi* 175, Firie* ('God') 39 144; -futa-futa 88; -ñkwara* 52; -hara* 146, -ha 250; -kerr* 121; Li-mbari 151 a; -kali* 204, -kale* 214; -kin* 273, -gili* 120; -gyi 200; -git 202; -gir*, -ñgir* 218; -ikila* 94, -hia* 255, -fiw* 258; -ere* (Ma-ere) 61 a-b; -lea 182; -le (Bw-le) 161, -le (Ma-le) 57 59, Li 230.

-law 39 a; ¹ -labra 230.

-ceni* 238; -sani* 267; -kanyi 235; -bani 263; -hanw 2.

-fekwla 96; -teka* 98, -tekow* 167 a, -takatw* 75 a, -tagati* 75 c, -takati* 76; -jeg 203; -dig* 230; -suog 269-72; -kōla 257.

-kin 273; -siña 261; Seña 57, Tseña 60 61 a; Feñgω 157; -suña 134; -kuña 116.

-gaña* 1 2 c 2 f ('gunpowder') 3 4 ('good magic'), -kaña* 7, -r-xaña* 5 a, -kaña* 9, -gaña* 9 c 14 15, -aña* 17, -gaña ('good magic') 19 a 21-21 f-g 23 23 a 24 28 40, -aña 42 43 43 a, -si-ñaña* 61 c, -ñaña* 64 70 72, -gaña 85, -aña 86 88, -gaña 89, -aña 92 94 95 96, -gaña 97, -aña 98 100 104 109, -gaña 122, -kaña 125, -gaña 128, -kaña 129 a 133, -aña 135, -kaña 136, -aña 139; -waña* 140, -gaña 142, -aña 143, -kaña, -gaña 159 160 164, -añ 186, -gañ 200, -sañgω 202, -aña, -sañgω* 204, -gañ, -añ 217, -gā, -gañka* 230; -kan* 244 a 246, -kanyi 235; -kañka 263.

-liñgω* 72 75 b; -loñgω* 97 191, -hoñgω* 104 c, -loñw* 180, -dion* 245, -joñ* 227; -poñw 104; -on 111, -non 227, -hōn 214; -una 243; -bon 273.

Moñgos' 253; -wsi, Wbosi 247.

-kin 273; -kinda* 193; -kundu* 160, -kunda* 162, -kunda*-nyini 267; -monda 192 193; -andw 155, -banda 98; -tendañ 237.

-kombw 248, -yombw 101; -bombu 193; -jimbu 104; -lom 230; -jam 213; -dambi 72; -hemba* 94, -hamba 95, -lemba* 98, -mpa 100, Hemba 116, -lemba* 145 194 195, -limba* 150 184 190, Limbari* 151 a, Limba 151 b, -demba 161, Alem- 167, Impa* 178, -remba* 186, -lemba 193 205, -emba 206, -embe 207, -remba 208, -lemba* 210, -lem 215 220, -lim* 237; -limu 129, -demw, -demwa* 166; -jimbili 202.

-lenemi 168 a.

-rwbw* 209; Rwmw* 226.

-ñgōma ('drum') 51 f.

-gisa 2 g; -sezi 4; -sisa 156; -isw 155 a; Bis 252.

-sirisimbi 4 a, Sir-xaña 5 a

-kumu* 147, -kuñw* 178, -kum* 214, -fumu* 9 c.

-muwei 5.

-kbahu 151; -bkw 153; -pwga 193; -fw 230 a.

Baʒatok 242.

-kpi 227; -kibi 178.

-ere 61; -ete 160; -etw*, -itw 162; -beto* 249.

Butu 264; -ti (Bu-ti) 75 117 120, -te 141 155 c 176 179 181 182, -le 57 59 161.

-gisi* 39 a, -kisi* 100 101 102 103, -kiʒi* 105 106 109 111 116 118, -kit* 119, -isi* 143, -gisi* 144,

-kisi 172, -gisi* 251; Alem-wisi* 167; Kōsō 262.

-mutana 5.

-vina ('dance') 9 c.

-ninji 64 a; Nyint 266; -nyini 268.

-fiw 258.

MAN (In the sense of Hwmw—'PERSON')

-ndu* 1, -ntu* 2 2 a-g 3 3 b 4, -ndu* 5 5 a 6 6 a, -ntu 7 7 a, -nthu 8, -nhu* 9, -ntu 9 a-b, -nhu 9 c, -ntu 10, -ndu 11 12, -ntu 13, -ndu 14 15, -tu*, -thu* 16, -nru*, -ndu 17, -ndu 18, -ntu 19, -nthu 19 a, -ntu 20 20 d, -tu 21 21 a-d, -cu* 21 e, -nu* 21 f-g, -tu, -ntu 22, -nhu* 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25 (and -ntu), -ntu 26, -nu, -nhu 27, -ndhu 28, -nhu 29 30 31, -ndu 31 a 32, -ndu 33, -nu 34, -ndu 35, -nhu 36, -ndu 37, -nu 38,

¹ See 'medicine'.

-ndu 39 40, -ntu 41 42 43 43 a 44 44 b 45 (also -nthu, -nu), 46 48 49 50, -ndu 51, -ntu 52 53, -ndu 54 55, -tu 56 56 a-b 57 (and -ntu) 58, -ntu 58 a 59, -tu, -ntu 60, -ntu 61 61 a-c 62, -nu 64, -ntu 64 a 65 67, -tu 68 69, -ndu 70, -nu, -nhu, -hu* 71, -nhu 71 f, -thu 72 73 74, -ntu 75 75 a, -ntfu* 74 b, -ntu 75 c 76 77 78 79 80, -tɔ* 81, -nɔ 82, -nu 83, -tu 84, -nu 85 86 (and -ntu), -ntu 87, -tu 88, -ndu 89, -ntu 90, -nhu 91, -nthu 92, -ntu 93, -nu 94, -ntu 95 96 97 98 (also -tu) 99 100 101 102 103, -tɔ 103 a, -ntu 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 (also -ncu*) 111, -tsu* 112, -tu 114 115 116, -ru* 115, -tu 118, -t*, -ntu 119, -r*, -ru 120 121, -tu 122 123, -tɔ 124 (also -ntu), -ntu, -tɔ 125, -tu 127 129 a, -utu 131, -ntu 128 129 130 132 133 134 (also -tɔ) 135 136 137 (also -tu), -ndu, -nu 139, -ntu 140, -tɔ 141, -ndu 142 143 144, -tu 151 152 153 (Um-metu; be-metu), -rɔ, -lɔ*, -tɔ 154, -tɔ, -tu 155 156, -itɔ* 157, -nɔ 157, -itɔ 158, -tɔ, -tu 159 160 161, -ntu 162, -tu 163 164, -tɔ 165, -tɔ, -ntu 166, -ɔtɔ* 168 a, -te* 168 a, -tɔ 167 168 170, -ru, -buru* 175, -butu*, -buru, -ru, -tu 176 178, -t' 179 (Mot; bat) 180, -tyi* 186, -tu 187 188 189, -ntu, -ndu 193, -tɔ 195 196, -tu 197 198, -tɔ 199, -ri*, -ra*, -ta* 200 200 a, -t', -d' 201 202 203, -tɔ, -rɔ 204, -tu 205, -tɔ, -tu 206, -ti 207, -tɔ 208 209, -ti 210, -tɔ 211, -ti 212, -t' 213 214, -tɔ 216, -ti (Mot; bot) 217 218 (also Mor; bɔr) 219 220, -ru 221, -tɔ (Mu-motu*) 222 (see 151-3), -ɔ* (Mɔ) 223, -tu, -tɔ 224, -li* 225, -cu*, -cɔ 226, Undi*; pl. bendi 229 b, Mu; pl. -boñ 234, -mɔ; pl. -pɔ, Num; pl. bum 230, -ru* 235 247 a 248, -tu* (ɔtu; batu) 243, Mu 249, -tɔ* 254, -atu, -tu* 256, -tsrūi* 257, -ti* 258, -ɔtɔ*, -suɔtɔ 258, -nɔ, -nɔ 239 b 241 259 260, -noñ 242, -nɔ (pl. -anɔ) 261; N-ent* 269, Nji-ent* (pl. ba-ent) 270, Nyi-ent* (pl. bi-ent) 271, Ny-endz* 272, Be-ut* (pl.) 246; -nüt 245; Gwū-adu 243; Mw-ad 252; -r (Uu-r; a-r) 264.

-retse 247.

Mi 126; Mu 249.

-ma (ɔma*) 193 187 (Mɔma; ɔma*), -mɔ* (Mɔ; bɔmɔ) 194 195, -om*, -ɔma* 253.

An, -ana* 274, -an, -kan* 273; -ine*, Aina* 273 (also 'male'), -na*, -na-bi 257; -ena* (M-ena) 249, -mana* 3; -nen*, Nwen* 244 a, -nen*, -nan* 240, -ni*, -ne* 227, -nye* 230, -net* 229, -ne* 228 241 244 (Nen* 244 a), -ni* 238; Nya* 204, -nya* 250 267, -nyi* 248, Nyie*, -yin 266; -wuni 263; -ye 226, -ya 226; -nuñ 228; -nyūar 249; -onwɔ* 193, ɔwɔ* 245.

-kwa* 80, -ka* 84, -ñba*, Npa* 145, -mba* 194, -kba*, -gba* 150; -ku, -gɔ 149; -naka 191, -naga 193.

-fim*, Fum*, -fam* 263 264, -m* (Lam; bam) 266.

-fɔ* (meaning 'mortal') 75; Bɔ* 253, Pɔ 261; Ngbɔ 151 b.

-mbi 148 148 a 153 230; -mba 194.

-si¹ (Musi*) 103; -sa 267.

-gabu 255.

-ubi (really -ume, meaning 'vir') 226.

-ihulenu 84.

-tɔkɔ 100.

-dia (Ka-dia) 193; Andea 251.

Oñöre, Oñgorre 247.

ɔlol, Olok 239.

MAN, VIR, MALE PERSON

(Very often the same root appears for 'husband'.)

-lume* 1, -rume 11 12 (and -umu*), -gume* 14, -lume 16, -dumi* 17 (also -mi*), -ume* 21, -ūme 21 a, -lume 21 f-g, -ūme 22, -lume 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 26, -dimi* 25 26, -lume 32, -mume*, -lume 34, -pa-lū* 28, -pa-lume* 40, -lume 40 41 43 a 44, -dume 51, -lume 54 62, -rume 63, -rumi 64 65 65 a, -lume 66 68 77, -lumi 79, -rume 81 83 85, -lume, -rume 87 87 a, -rume-ndu 89, -lume-ntu 90, -lume-nhu 91, -lume 91 a 94 98 (-nume*) 99, -nuni* 100 103, -lumi 104 105 106 (and -lume) 109, -luɔ* 117, -liim* 119,

¹ This root -si (-tsi, -zi, -ti) was evidently widespread at one time. It reappears now in many composite terms, such as in -si-kazi, -si-kati, 'female' (i. e. -man-female).

-lume 120 133, -rume 139, -ome* 141, -omω* 152, -lome* 155, -lomi 157 160 (also -mili*), -omi 161 162, -loi* 164, -lumi 184, -dumω*, -lomω*, Nomi* 186, -lome 187, -om-ene* (Mōmene), -lome 187, -num 188, -lumi 189, -lome, -nome, -nomi 191 192, -nome 193, -ba-domu* 194, -omω, -omi 195, -omω 196 199, -rom, -nom 200, -lom 203, -ume, -omi 204, -um-ana* 205, -ny-ana* 206, Mui*, -i, -in* 207, Mi-ana* 209, -om' 213 214 215, Nom, Nome, -yom* 217, -rom 220, -dom 220 a, 'um, -tum, -zum 220 b 220 h, -ubi*, -ome, -dome, -umannω* 226, -omam 220 h, Num, Rum, Nim*, -om 227, -num 234, -um, -dob* (-dom) 237, -dumen*, -ndum 232, -rementu* 235, -dum-nan* 240, -rum, -dom 241 244, Num*-usu, Nom- 248, -rom* 251, -om* 253, -m* 266, -nū* 268, -kōma 63; -nū* 268; -runi, -ruguni* 263; -nyime* 259.

-sube 8; -sumba* 9c, -umbe* 13, -lopw*, -lugω* 56, -lopw*, -lobω (from -lombω) 56 a, -logw*, 56 b, -lopw 57, -mbw* 58 59, -lombu, -dumbw* 78, -dombe* 114, -sombe* 141, -lombe 198, Nombi* 230.

-nuna* (Na-nuna) 69 70 (young male) 71 f, -nna* 72 73 74, -nōna* 73 74; -nōnye* 260; -nya* 206 267; -nyare* 209; -nya-mbara* 50, -nya-mbala* 51; -tsuna* 71, -tōna* 73, -duna* 75 75 a 75 b; -junō* 242; -muna* (Mwa-muna) 57 59, -mna* 60, -muna 61 61 a 61 b; -nana* 257; -mana* 3, -mā* 69, -mani* 230; -ine, Aina 273.

Tōta* 73, Dōda* 75 75 a 75 c.

-pami*¹ 162 201 202, -fam* 217 218 219, -bam* 225, -fam* (pl.) 263.

-fim, -fum* 263 264.

-luñga* 84 88; -nuñgu* 124; -noñku* 257; -nōgu* 9c; -nyoñ* 214; -nuñ* 228; -ba-doñ* 194; -suñgu* 90; -señgi* 155; -ziñga 156, -jeñga 164; -kuñgi 110, -kunji 111; -ceñgω* 32; -nin-ceñ* 229; -can (Fa-can*) 274, -pω, -pω-kan* 261; -weñgeñga 155 c.

Bapuk 151 a.

-lenzi 9c; -lese ('boy') 103; -esa 67; -onsi* 43 a; -bu-oñge* 18.

-nōgu* 9c; -dō-gume* 14; -lōkω* 146 150; -rugū-ni* 263; -mōgω* 187, -mōga* 190; -gūi, -gbu* 148; -gwi-rarω* 2c.

-zira* 4; -zererω* 25.

-se-kōta* 166; -su-ōtω* 258.

-sika* 63; -swaka* 58 59; -saka* 162; Jakaji* 64 a, Jaha* 65 a 70 (young male), Dyaha* 71; -bakpak 151 a; -waha* 27; -baɣa, -waɣa* 234; -bakala* 101 102 103, -balaga* 175 177, -bakala* 177, -balaya 179, -balaka 180, -yakala, -kala* 100, -yala* 86 110 114, -jara* 85, -iala, -yala, -ala 96 97 98, -yala 112 a, Li-ala* 162, Duele* (pl. Mele) 164, -peli* 156 223, -pele* 159, -ele*, Pele 166, -ele 167 168 170, -baɣeya* 181 182, -baka, -bake 183, -baña*, -mbā 230 236 232, -bagala* 184 188, -bigalω* 23 23 a; -bala* 189; -mbala* 51, -mbara* 50; -pai*, -paye 224, -pe 230, -pa- 28 40; -bali* 166, -balu, -bali* 178, -wadu* 239 b; Fa 274; -pω- 261; -vule 21 b-d, -vuli 21 e, -vulana 21.

-gabū* 255, -gabω* 3; -hōbe 199.

-kambakω 35.

-sadjā* 2, -saiza* 2 a, -seizi* 2 d, -zaidza* 2 e, -seza* 2 f, -saja* 4, -sada* 4 b, -saca* 5, -saza* 5 b, -seja* 6; -esa* 67; -silisa 75 a; -as 252.

-ele, -mpele 167, -lele, -jele 159, -ele 160, -lele 161; -kiele 266.

-reje 255.

-sōre* 3, -sōrω 17; -dur* 243.

-diω, -diū 92 b.

-kañgali 51 a.

-kalamba 43 a.

-gōsa* 9 a, -gōsi* 19, -gōsi 24 25, -gōzi* 27 29 35, -gōsi 38.

-genda 142, -kenda 136; Sunda 256.

-ki 218.

-bunu, -buru 175; -bon 186.

Bit 253.

This root may be derived from a contraction of -pa-lumi.

MEAT

-ama* I to 7 a 8 9 to 9 c II to 35 37 to 44 b 48 to 62 64 to 84 87 89 to 92 104 105 108 to III 117 124 125 127 to 137 (but 129 has -*omega**) 139 to 142 144 to 147 150 151 a, -ame* 154, -ama 155 157 159 160 162 164 168 179 to 182 184 185 186, -uma, Muma* 187, -ama 189, -am ω * 194, -ama 204 205 206 208 209, -am* 213 214 215, -nam* 218, -ama 223 224, -amu* 225, -ama* 226 (also -aba*), -am' 227, -ā 234, -am 230, Nyañ* 236, -am 237, -iam* 232, -am 235 228 229 236, Kiap*, -yap* 244, -nam 225, -am, -om, Inyam*, Inyom* 248, Nyam* 251 253, Nama 252, -nā 258, -*seam**, -*sem* 263, O-yemunts* 270, -iamat*, -yamadz* 271-2.

-nak' 266.

-jab 230, Kiap, -yap 244; -pap 230; -pebe 220; -dza, -dzya 259.

-via (see 'penis') 218, -vian 219.

-zane 78; -ren 243; Jel 203; Lena 257.

-mamba 4 b; -tambwa* 3 ('Pygmy's word'); -zumb ω , -zumb ω a 255 256; -saba* 122, -samba* 142; -seib ω 188; -*sem*, -*seam** 263 264; -kembwa 3 a.

-salwa, -sarūa 4 4 a.

-ari* 267; -iyar* 274; -dagala 4.

-belela 91; -bwele 166; -bere 191; -bōre 150; -bōdi (Oim-bōdi) 91; -b ω lu 189.

-bien 236, -bi 250, -bie 251, -be 247; -bere* 191, -were* 192, -vere*, -were 193; -fete* 162; -biji* 100, -bizi* 101 102, -bisi* 103, -biji 110, -beši* 114, -biri* 120, Iši* 151, -bizi 176 177, -bidi* 219; -vis* 261; Nsi 17.

-kwiru* 61; -bitu* 85 86 (also -*ci ω* *), -fu, Ifu* 88, -bihu* 89, -hit ω * 92, -hitu 93, -situ* 94, -*si ω* 95 96 97 98 (and -*ci ω* *, -*setu**), Nitu* 100, -ita* 105 106 108, *Si ω* 110, -tse 120, -*ci ω* '* 121, -turu 120, -zutu* 123, -*tu* 148, -*ti ω* * 161 a, -titi* 186, -*ti ω* * 199, Tit'* 201 202, Titi 207 210 212, Zit* 217, Tyit* 218, Titi* 221 225.

-suni* 100 102, Sunya* 106, -suni 116, -*sun* 119, -nun 121, -sune* 144, -hu 151, -suni 162 178, -*soni** 184, *Šoni* 186, -sōi 187, -zonli* 193, -*h ω ni** 199, -nsuni* 200, -*swan* 202; -suna* 190; -sinji 183; -tin 238.

Z ω 151 b.

Tu ω 175 178.

-sunda, Sundwa, 254 256; -bunda* 86 97 113, -punda* 136.

-manda 9 c.

Nuka* 168, Nuga 203; -nyua* 226 b, Nyua* 249; -nyinyi* 104, -nyini* 104 c, Nyinyia* 109.

Nimbu 149.

-bemb ω 211; -beba 203.

-k ω ma 114; -kupa 149.

-seku 153; -seib ω 188.

-b ω ga 143.

-*lu*, -*leu*, -*lewa* 273.

Ngai 151 153.

-kelāpi 226 a.

-toñg ω 191.

-kwiru 61 a.

-foi, -fu (Ši-fu) 112 a; -fu ω 88.

MEDICINE

-gañga* 9 c, -kañga* 9, -ñañga* 41, -si-ñañga 61 a, -nyañga 64, -ñañga 70, -aṅw* 75, -gañga 77, -aṅga 81 82 104, -kañga 105, -aṅga 106 108 109, -kañga 130 136, -yañga, -gañga 142, Boṅgā 175, -añ* 186, -gañga* 187, -aṅw, -gaṅw 193, -aña* 194, -aṅga 195 199 200 204, -kañ*, -añ 201 202 203 213 215 218, -ñaṅñ* 230.

-yanda 44 77, -banda 86 98.

-tende* 32, -thende 37, -rete* 56 a, -rende* 69 70.

-nient (see 'magic') 266; -nyini 258.

-tondω 83.

-goda ('tree') 23 a 24, -oda 26, -goda 27, -goda 28, -koda 51.

-tera ('tree') 28, -tela 32, -tera 33, -tela 34, -tera 35, -tera, -tela 54; -sala 5 a.

-ñkwalo 44 b, -ñkhwara 52, -ṅware 59, -ñkwala 61 61 a, -ñkwaro 61 b; -tl'are 74.

-sahω 4; -samω ('tree') 44 b 77 78 79, -sambω 83.

-lembω 43 a, -emba, -hemba 85 86 91 a 94 97.

-rimu* 63 64, -lema* 73, -lemω* 74, -eme* 168, -emω (Mwemω) 175, -miñω 178.

-fumu* 9 a, -pfumω* 230 a (doctor); -pom 262.

Mivu* 71 f; -niwu*, -nibu*, -nubi 255 256, -nubu 254.

-bur* 253, -burω* 236 268, -buri*, -buli* 237; -pfula* 230; -bωnω* 270.

-gili 178.

-ziyi* 19, -ziye* 19 a; -jik, -jiyi* 248.

-koṅw 28; -seṅge 94; -soṅga 64, -ṣoṅga 72; -woṅge 172; -jañ 227; loṅw* 92 b 98, -loñkω* 96, -lañkω 95, -loṅw* 100 101 103, -loñ 109, -loṅw* 177, -loñω* 180, -loṅw 184 190, -loṅw* 191 192.

-kanju 110; -kam 250; -kan 246, -kani 69.

-ωnω* 110, -on' 111 156, -ωnω 164, -ωlω* 165, -nō 166 167, -lω* 167 168; Wi-lω* 274; -trol, -dzol 263.

Lisω 155; -sisa 156; -lesi 6 6 a.

-kakasi* 155 a; -bazi* 2, -wazi 2 e, -bazi 2 g; -hasω* 16; -yeza 75; -kase* 272.

-drombwe, -rombwe* 58, -tombwe* 59, -tombω 64 a, -tumbu* 84 88; -rom* 261 (cf. Rωmω*,

Rωbω* 'magic' in Nos. 222 and 209); -nubu 254, -niwu, -nibu 255-6.

Tiba* 21 f-g; -saba* 114; -laba* 143, -lap*, -deb* 230; -law* 39 a; -lagu* 54.

-baiga 11.

-kia 229; -kayi 186.

Kbahu 151; -bawe 234.

-bala 217; -kubalω 75 a; -al 252.

-biki* 35; -bvku* 100 b, -bωgω* 153, -bok* 245, -bugω* 271,

-pωsω* 32.

-fω, -fu, -pfula 230, -fu, -fω 232 233, -vω 257, Mivu 71 f; -fa 258; -wwa 259.

-tuguva 38.

-tuñaya 38.

-yωbω 206.

-mbiam 227 a.

Manyi 235.

-panje 162.

-ti* ('tree') 2 f 3 3 b 8, -di* 12 14 24 40 41 42 44 44 b 45, -re* 72 73 74, -li.* 74 b, -ti* 75 75 a, -tsi* 75 b, -ti 75 c 76 89 92 100, -ci* 105 a, -ti 117 120 141 155 (and -te), -le* 160 161 a, -ete* 161 162, -ti 178 179, -te 181 182, -eli* 185, Are* 192 193, -ti 189, -le 205 208, Bwe* 206, Bwel* 214, -e* (Gie, Dzie*) 211, -ji* 251.

-me (Bω-me) 157.

Mus' 151 a.

MILK

-weri*¹ 5a, -beri* 6 6 a, -vere* 7 7 a, -bele* 8 9, -wele* 9 a 9 c, -vee*, -were 15, -ele* 19 19 a 20 23 a (also -ere), -eli* 24, -eri 25, -wele 28, -bele 32, -were 34, -bele 40, -bere 41, -wele 54, -pele* 56 a, -ere, Bere 61 a, -bele, -vele 84, -wē 83, -yere* 85, -vere 86, -yere 89, -vele 92 93 94, -ele 95 96, -bele 97, -ele 99, -yeni* 100, -bēne* 103, -bele 104, -vele 105, -bele 106 108 109, -yele 110 111, -bele 112 a 114, -yene 116, -bil* 119, -biele* 120, -biel 121, -bele 124 125 127 128 130, -ele 129, -wele 131 132, -bele 133 135, -yele 136, -fwere* 139, -bele 140, -bē 141, -bele 142 151, -beli 153, -ele 155, -mele* 157, -bele, -bei 160 161, -ele 162, -bele 164 166, -beinω* 175, -biele 176, -beni* 177, Bielω 178, -biele 179, -bele 180, -biele 181, -beni 184, -belω* 189, -bene 190, -menu* 192, Ambē* (pl. from Ama-bele) 193, -bē 208 213, -bi* 214 218, -be 217, -bele, -wele, -beli 226, -be 227, -ben 228, -bi 236, -pen 235, -bai* 244, -ben 266; -ihr*, -ihl, -iñ 273.

-būω*, -būn 230, -bum 243; -bur* (Ki-bur) 253; -fula* 9 c; -lela 17; -mala 92 b; -mūi 97; -mōla* 98; Amω-abi 229 e, -mωe 234; -mil 250; -mωani 259; -mbilla* 274.

-ale* (Ji-ale) 100 b; -ri (Ma-ri) 18; -sal 252; -mōli 260.

-kama* (mostly restricted to a verbal sense, 'to milk', 'to press', 'to squeeze', 'to massage') 2 e 3 3 b 11 12 16 17 19 a 20 a 24, -kamω* (noun), -kama 38 42 43 a 44 b, -kama 51 54 61 61 a 64; -hama*, -yama* 72, -xama* 73 74, -kama 75 77 78 79 89 91 94 104, -hama 155 a, -ama* 164, -kanω* 178.

-kaka 44 44 b 57 58 59 61 a-c 62 64 64 a, -khaha 72.

-anda 78, -kanda (verb) 89 94; -enji 83.

-hwa 70; -swe 85, Sia 86, -nsui 90.

-silili 74 b; -ndili 77; -hini 86 90 92, -sini 91; -ihr, -ihl, -iñ 273.

-tai 1, -ta 2 2 a, -te 2 c 2 d 2 e, -ta 2 f 2 g 3 3 b 4.

-ntωu, -ntau 269-72.

-suta 81 (see 'fat').

-tuma (verb) 12.

-tumba* 248; -dimbe* 215.

-vumina 100, -bumina 100 b; -wuin 232.

-nna 267; -nωnω 263; -ñωñω-dukwe 194.

-hoñ 215, -boñ 230.

-nyi-ntu 257, Nye-tu 258; -ntωu 271.

-buba 187; -kupa 44 b 77 78 79 149; Tupiyω 29; -ba 240 c.

-tywamba 71.

-mwa 211; Yamwa 88.

-ria* 11, -ya 12, -ziwa* 13, -zia, -ziwa 14, -zia 16, -ruwa* 17, -riwa* 18, -ziwa 21 21 a 21 b 21 d, -biwa* 21 e, -ziwa 21 f-g, -zia 22, -ziwa 27 28 35, -tsiva* 38, -siba* 42, -ziya* 43 a, -ziva 45, -ziwa 61 a-c, Ngω-diba* 100, -diba 186, -suba*, -zuba 254-6, Many-diwe* 182, Menya-jiba* 185, Many-diba 186; -yip* 227; Leba* 240 c.

-si 70, -fi, -si 71 f, -fhi 72, -fi, -fsi 73, -si, -s' 74, -si 75 75 a-c 76; -bisi* 23 74 b 75 75 a 75 b, -bisi* 78, -visi* 86, -ihi, -isi* 76 89, -wiši* 105 a, -besa* 98; -visa* 35, -wise* 53, -pisa* 69, -bese* 73 a.²

-titi 147.

-señga (verb) 51 75.

-lōmi 155 c.

Me-iyōñ-dugūe 194; Ma-nyaño 195, Ma-njoñgω 199, Ma-nyañ 200, Mi-nya 202, Ma-nyuñ 203, Ma-nyoñgω 204 205 209, Me-nyan 217 218, Mi-nyoñ 237.

-ruñgum, -ruñgō 151 a-b.

¹ All the word-roots in this paragraph are virtually identical with the word-root for 'female breast'.

² See word-roots for 'oil, fat' and 'honey'.

MONKEY

·gema* 1, ·kima* 3 4, ·šima* 5 a, ·xima* 6, ·kima 6 a, ·gema, ·gima 11 12, ·cima* 13, ·gima 14 15, ·khima* 16, ·gima 17 18, ·kima 20 21-21 g 24, ·ima* (Ny-ima) 34, ·gema, ·kima 40, ·cima* 42, ·kima 43 a, ·šima 59, ·cima 61 a-c, ·ñima 85, ·šima 86, ·cima 88, ·dyima* 89 90, ·hima* 91, ·tyima 92, ·kima 93, ·sima*, ·hima 94 94 c, ·hima 95 96 97 98, ·kima 99 100 101 102 103 (also ·jima, ·cima) 104 105 106 108, ·cima 109, ·kima 110 111 112 a 114 116 118 119 120, ·kiem* 121, ·kima 122, ·kem* 123, ·kima 124 125 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135, ·kema 136, ·gima 137, ·kima 139, Pegema* 141, ·gema 142, ·kema 151, ·gema, Nge* 155 157, ·kema 159 160 162 164 166 167, ·kima 175 176 178 (also Nkenω*) 179, ·kema 180 181 182, Jema, Tsema 185, ·kiema 186, ·kema 187 189 191 192 193, ·gemω 194, ·kema 195, Tyema 196, ·kema 198 199, ·kima, ·cema 200, ·kema 204 205, ·ema 206, ·kema 208, ·yema 209, ·kem 210, ·kema 211, ·kiem, ·kem 213 214, Kiem 215, ·cem 220, Hima 226; Nyemu* 225; ωma* 226 a; ·amwa 254; ·wama 254 255.

·kene 39; ·gende* 1, ·kende* 2 2 c, ·kyende* 2 d, ·kende 2 f-g 9 a 146, ·genda* 193; ·anda (My-anda) 9 c; ·andaru 14; ·yan, ·jan 274; ·janjama 60; ·sanje 44 44 b, ·sañgye 43, sanji 62; ·soñnya 234.

·kembω* 4 b, ·xembω 5, ·kembω 7 a; ·simbu* 58; Samba 66; ·zambu 100.

·ka, ·kai, ·kañ 228, ·kawañ, ·kan 230 236; ·kad* 237, ·kale* 248, ·kar* 264, ·kari* 184, ·gali* 161; ·karama* 56 b; Jaram 252; Tshalu* 16; ·kxatla 74; ·ncanca 62; ·salila 51; ·satra 271.

·sapwe* 56 a; ·cupu* 226 a; ·kabukabu* 51, ·kau* 51, ·kavu* 70, ·kabω* 71 f, ·kxavω* 73, ·kxabω* 74, ·kau* 75 75 a-c, Nkewω* 100, ·kewa* 177, ·kau* 232; ·kwap* 251; Kωω, Koi 202 203, ·kωu* 211; ·sau* 204; ·bew*, ·deu 12; ·tepe* 150, ·sawau* 14, Tawau* 21 b-d 21 e; Taha 26.

·ntωtω 92 b.

·nyarω 273.

·pombwe 80, Pombω 110, ·pombωli 153; ·bωmu, ·bom' 148.

·mbωlω 94 c, ·tombωlω* 104, ·tumbwili* 45, ·tumbiri* 9 9 c 16 18, ·tumbili 8 19 19 a 20 21 21 a 24, ·dumbili, ·tumbili 32 35, ·tumbi 49, ·tumbiri 50 54 55, Tupili* 56 a.

·lumba 109.

·biri 28, ·bele.41 104 109, ·bei 140.¹

·pura* 268, ·bula* 145, ·buya* 85, ·puya* 77 84 105, ·buyi* 52, ·pwi 109; ·bωa* 226; ·bwadzi 48.

·ilol, ·lōi 273.

·kωtω* 56; ·gōda* 76; ·kωlω*, ·kōrω* 57, ·kωlω 58 59, ·kōrω 58 64 a, ·kωlω 68 92; ·kil* 261; ·gilili*, ·kilili 38; ·kūi 207, ·kwe 217 219, ·kwe 218; ·kωkωω 178; ·na-ñgoyω 17; ·gωω 18, ·kω, ·kωu 211; ·ωu, Nyu, ·nyωu (Nyωu) 253; ·nu (Kunu) 244; Bōnu 256.

·beñga 12, Gediñgwa 25; ·gedege 27; ·degwa 267; ·neñgω 34; ·bweñgω 37; ·peñge 41, ·penje 42; ·kuñga 147, ·ñkuñga 9 c.

·kuiku* 94 b, ·guku* 4; ·fugω*, ·fūω* 229, ·buk* 227 229, ·fugō* 238, ·fuk* 241, ·fu; 242, ·ok 244, ·bog*, ·pok* 228, ·bok* 245; ·boš* (Umboš) 235; ·pusi* 53 59 61 61 a 61 b 61 c; ·boñkwe 59, ·boñgwe 62; ·bonji 74 b.

·bōnu 256; ·kuna 8, Kunu 244; ·bωmu 148; ·pundω 86; ·hundu 88; ·gondω* 100 b, ·kon*, ·gon 271-2, ·kondω* 7 7 a, ·gōwōnda* 17; ·kōtω 56; ·findu 104.

·ndondi 92; ·tōna 214.

·ripa 28, ·lipa 33 a; ·litpi 250.

·fasak 266.

·sōkω* 64, Cōkω 64 a, ·sōgω 69, ·jōkω 74 b, ·sokwe* 77 78, ·jōkω 83, ·sōkω 84; ·sakω* 206, ·sek* 234; Šō 243.

·yek 263.

·jei, ·jiwe 237; ·jie 249; ·dzi 257, ·tse 259; ·dōzi 259.

·ceta 62 79; ·tede 65 65 a; ·satra 270.

·nyani 7 (see 'baboon').

¹ This word-root may be connected with ·beli, ·pala, meaning 'face', 'before'.

MOON

(Paraphrases not usually given.)

-ezi* 1 a (and -wezi*) 2 a, 3, -edzi* 3 b, -ezi 4, -edi* 2 a, -ūsi* 3, -ezi 3 a 6 6 a, -eri* 7 a, -eli 8, -ezi,
-eci* 9, -ezi 9 a 9 b (also -edi), -ezi 9 c, -edi 10, -eri 11, -ei* 12, -zal 13, -ri*, -ōri, -zi 14, -ejl* 15, -ezi 16,
-eri, -di, -ri 17, -eri 18, -ezi 19 19 a, -edzi 20 20 d, -ezi 21 a 2-a-d, -ebi* 21 e, -ezi 21 f-g 22 23, -edzi 24 a,
-ezi 24 24, -eri 26, -ezi 27 28 29, -edzi 31, -ei 32, -edi 34, -zal, -ebi 35, -edzi 36, -ezi 37, -etsi* 38, -ezi 39,
-ejl, -ejl 40, -zal 41, -zal, -epi 42, -ezi 43 a 44, -zal 44 b, -ezi 45, -edi 48, -zal 48 49 50 51 53 54, -ebi* 55,
-eri 56 56 a-b 57 58, -edzi 58 a, -ezi 59 (also -eri), -ezi 60 60 a c 62, Mguenzi, Gueti* 63, -ōwedzi*, -zal
64, -ejl 64 a, -ezi 65, -edzi 65 a, -ezi 66 68, -ete* 69, Hweti 70, Hweti 70 c, Nhweti 71 c, Nhweti 71 f, Nhwedi,
Mēzi 72, Nweti*, Kzweti* 73, -centza* (= 'moonlight') 72, Seetsa* (= 'moonlight') 75, Kkwedi* 74,
Nwedi 74 a, -kwedi 74 b, -eze* (Unyazi = 'moonlight'; also Ikwezi = 'planet') 75 75 a-b, -ezi 77 78,
-eze 79, -zi 80, -eze, -zi 81, -ebi* 82, -ebi, -ezi 83, -zi 84, -ezi 86, Uji -ejl, -kaje, Ku-eji* 88, -eze, -ete
89, -zi 90, -dji* 94 b, -mei 94 c, -beji* 95 96, -beji, -ezi 98 (also -eze, -beze, -bepe), -beji* 99, -zi 100,
-eze 101, -epi, -ezi, -epi*, -zal* 104, -ezi, -ezi 105, -epi 106, -zi, -epi 108, -beji 110 a, -beji* 111, -epi 108,
-edi, -edi 134 135, -esi 140, -eli 141, -zal 142, -eri 147, Uri* 148, -ele 155 a, -eza* 156, -eli 157, -ejl 162,
-ela* 178, -eli 180 181, -ere 192, -eli, -ōgweli 193, -eli, -ōkweli 195, -ōdi*, -ese 205, -edi 211, -e, -ei
212, -ea, Mico 218, -ēli 220 b, -eli 222 224, -eja*, -eba*, -ea 226, -mō* 227, -zali 235, Mō 238, -ye, Uei*,
dye 244 244 a, Wuelo, Wiri* 248, -wuer*, -wue 249; -li 269 270, -eli* 272; Ewē 246.

-tiere 178; -daldal 255; -gesēra*, -esēra 1; -lepera* 274.

Mi 227 a, Mu, Nu 230; Nyui, Nūi, 232 237; -ūny 235; Muu, -gumut, Mōi 230; -ūal 271;
Gonāi 274.

Leñi*, Leñ 253, -leñge* 23 a, -leñgi* 24, -leñge 25 26 27 30 31 a, -ñ, -hlen*, -lhen*, -en 273;
Juñga* 24, -dañga* 187; -daña, -dañ 194, -Jañga* 193; -wūga* (Nyāuga) 52 67, -ñyauga 75 75 a-b,
-ñyauga 75 c, -nyāuga 76; -wūga* 143 144; -keñka* 104; -geñgi* 157; -bweñga 57, -Tweñga 153,
-Teñga 155 a; -mōñu 230, -dāñ 234; -pañ 231, -sañ 230; -sanja* 164; -wōñgi* 101 102, -Sanye* 209,
-nyī* 167, -suñgi* 153, -Sañga* 236, -Suñgi* 137 139 143 145 146 149 150, -Senze, -binji 153, -Sōñge*,
-Suñgi* 155, -soñge 159 161 a, -soñge 161 163, -wōñge*, -wūñgi 166, -wōñga* 167, -wōñgi 170, -suñgi
177 183, -suñgi, -conji 184, -Suñgi 187, -Suñgi* 188 189 (also -wōñgi) 190, -Soñ 202 203, -suñ* 203 207.

-en (Fleñ) 273; -jen 256; -dende 60, -dendendi 57; -Alnduyw 100; -tlenyi 7; -tiere 178.

-wente, -wentre 258.

-lampa* 267, -lemba* 226 226 b, -leba* 226 a, -leba* 156; -lepera* 274.

Temba* 151, -Timba*, -Timba 151 a b 153, -Tembe* 154; -tunba* 54.

-cha, -ea 226; -gesera, -esera 1.

Pwel 252, -phelo* 226, -pale 267, -hai* 172; -buli 257; -piana 235, -peana, 256, -penna, -penana
254; -wente 258; -pañ 261 262.

-fe*, -he 216, -fe* 236 241; Kōñ* 230 a, -pī, -phie* 242, -mī* 230; -bi 243; -feñ 228 228 a; -ōñiñ
245; -wūyū* 247; -fo 250; -ōf* 263; -Fa* 268; -pañ 261; -Puñat 271.

-hinañ 266.

-kima, -gima 69, -cima 70; -kōma* 193, -kōmi* 27, -sama 41; -kwuy* 220 a.

-luna 166; -lwum 220 c; -tuna 259.

-egabe-gabe 4.

-bā 203, -wā, -ā 226 a; -beu 122, -Bakōu 221, -Fakēa, -Bakwa, -Bakwa 220 220 g; -Ku-pācu 139.

-zuba* 4, -zūwe* 60, -jūi 176 175 180; -depa* 153 c, -ōñoa* 202; -loya*, -ka, -tūa, -ka, -ta 229.

-nyuy 233.

-elūa* 150; -lewe 260.

-ōrōw* 2 (= 'night' in No. 3).

Bota* 223 a; -Kūi 223, -bui* 12, -Puli* 271; -burugwuru* 149; -jūi 179 180, -Neiu 176, -Njūi 176.

* -sora really means 'full moon' in the Nyoro dialects. Ku-sora, 'the full moon', was a name given to the great snow mountain of Equatorial Africa, which Stanley misrendered 'Rowenora'.

Nšwi 175, Ntswi 178, -suyi 117; Nñü 237, Nñü 230; Uye, Kaiye 244, Uei 244 a; Mū, -muat, -mot 230.

-lu (I-lu) 148 148 a.

-kana* 90, -hani* 91, -hami 91 a, -hanyi 92, Sani* 93, Sai 94; -zali* 168.

-gonde* 85 86, -gonda* 87, -gonde 100, -gonda, -gonde 101 102, -gonde 103, -gondω* 104, Nfondω* 105 110 (also -gonde) 111, Gondω 116, Gonde 118 119, Guon, Gondω 120, Gon' 121 123, -gonω*, -gondω 124 125 127 129 131 132, -gōnω 168, Gondī* 151, -wunda* 156, -gonde 160, -gōni* 175, -gondω 181, -gontá* 182, -gondzi* 185, -gōnje* 186, -gondei, -gonde 187, -gūndi* 195 196 197 198 199, 200 (also -guon), -gon 201, Ngonde (= 'new moon', 'crescent') 204, Ngwende* 205, Ngwendi 206, Ngonde 208, Ngonde 209 210, -gon 213 214 (also Gwan*), -jwn, -gōn 215, -gwan, -gon 217 218 219, Gonde* 220 a 225 (also Kundi*).

-diji* 94 b; -dzidzi* 259.

-kōkō 239 b.

MOTHER

Mama* 1, Mau* 2, Mama, Mau 2 b, Mawe* 2 e-g (Maha*) 3 (also Mama), Mama 3 b, Ma 4, Mama 5 a, Mayi* 6 6 a 8, Maya* 9, Mayω*, Mwa 9 a, -mai 9 b, Maya* 9 c, Mama 10, Mai- 11, Mwai* 12, Mama 13, Mau, Mawe, Mae, Mayω 14, Mama, Me* 15, Mayω, Maye, Ame-, -mama 16, Ma, Mau, -ma, Mama, Mayω, Maye 17, Maω, Mae 18, Mami 19 a, Mame 20, Mama 20 d, Mama 21 21 a-d, Mame 21 e, Mama 21 f-g 22, Mamω* 23, Mama 23 a, Maū, Waū* 24, Mawe 26 a, Maω 31 a 32 (also Mau), Manyω- 34 a, Mau 35, Maju* 40, Mayω, Mama 42, Bama*, Wama 44 b, Umai* 46 49, Amaω* 54, Mae 56, Manyi* 56 a, Māā 56 b, Umā 57, Mama 58 59, Mai, Maω 61 61 a, Mai 61 b, Maye 61 c, Wama 62, Mai 64, Mayi 64 a, Amai 66, Mai 69, Mamani* 70, Mamana 71, Mana 71 e, Manana 71 f, Mme* 72, Mme, Mama 73, Mma 74, Me 74 b, Umā 75, Uname* 75 a-b (also Make*) 75 c, Mama 76 77, -ma 78, -ma, Ba- 79, -mama, Mayω 80, Ma 81, Mawe 83, Mama 84, Mamai 85, Mama 87 88 89, Meme 90 91, Me, Meyω 92, Me, 73, Mai 93 94, Mama 95, Mayi 96, Mama 97 98 99, Manii* 98 (see 56 b), Mama 100 101 103, Mamu, Baba* 104, Mama 107 109, Maku* 110 111, Mama 112 a 114 116, Mame 117, Mei 118, Mma 119, Ma 120, Mōa* 121, Mama 122, Mei 123, Amā- 125, Mmω* 127, Mama 129 136, Mali 140, Bamma 141, Mama 146, Mā, Mai 147, Ioi-ma, Eimā 149, Amme*, Ama 150, Ama 151, Ama* 151 a 151 b, Amma 153 154, Mama 175 176, Māā 178, Mama 179 180, Mōki*, Mwañgi* 183, Mamā 185, Mia-weñ* 186, Mama 189, Mamω 190, Ūmī, Emmi* 226, Mā 234, Ma, Maya 230, Mūa* 231, Mañ, Moñ 237, Ama 235 244, Mā 258, Am' 256, Māno 264, Mama 265, Bom 263, Amma, Namma 274.

Nya* 1 2 (also Nyω*, Nyina*), Nina*, Nōkō* 2 f,¹ Nina, Nyina, Nyōkō 2 g 3 4, Nina, Nōkō 9 a 9 c, Nana*, Nyu*, Nyina 211, Nana, Nyu-, Nyina 211, Nana, Nyu-, Nyina 11, Nina, Nyω-, 13, Nine* 16, Nyω-, Nine 19 20, Nina 21 (Kiñgōzi dialect), Inya* 21 e, Nya 22, Inyω* (also 'parturient' and 'vagina'), -wenye* 23 a, Nginga*, Nyina 24, Nyω- 27, Unω-* 28, -nyōkō 30, Nyōñgō* 32, Nginga, Nina 27, Nine- 29, Nyōkō, Nina 35, Nyω-ñgōrō, -nyōñgō 35, Uva-nyōka*, Uva-nyika* 38, Nyω-, Nana*, Nina 40, Nō-, Nina 41, Nō-, Nyina, Na- 42, Niω-, Nina 43 a, Nañgu*, Nyina, Nyω- 44, Nyina, Nyω-, Unω- 44 b, Nyω-, -na 51, Nyina 62, Nyω- 62 70, Nwa-* 71, Nyω-, -nyω-, -nina 75 75 a-c, Nyω-, Nina 76, Nōkō, Nina 77, Nōkō, Baina* 78, Banyōkō, Nyina 79, Nyōkō, Nyina, Na- 80, Nyena 81, Nana 82, Nyina, Nyω- 83, Naye*, Nō- 84, Baina 85, Ba-nana 85, Ina, Nana, Bana, Baena, Nyω- 86, Ina 86 a, Nōhō, Naye 88, -ina, Nyω- 89, Ūyina*, Ūnyω 90, Ūina, Ūnyω- 91 92, Ina, Nyω- 93, Ina, Nyω 94, Nyina, Nyōku 104, Ina, Nō- 105, Ina, Gina* 106, Ina 108, Nnā 120, Nyω 124 125, Inyω 128, Nyūñgu 131, Nyañgō 136, Naya 137, Nai, Nene 139, Ina, Nina 141, Mina* 146, Nya- 147, Innā 148,

¹ The frequent termination -kō, -ōkō, which occurs in so many forms for 'mother', is only the apposition of -akō, -kō, meaning 'thy', and the original root of such a word would be Na- or Nyω-; the real meaning of this widespread root-word being traceable to an original form -nya, which means 'evacuation'. Nya-, Nina, -ina originally meant 'mother' in the parturient sense, while Mama was the 'nursing-mother', 'protecting mother'.

Nyañgwo 155, Nañgwo 155, Nyañgwo 159 a 160, Nañgwo, Nañgi 161, Nyañgwo 162 164, Ngwo, Ngoi 165, Nyañgu 166, Nyañgwo 167 168 170, Nyañgwe, Nyoñgwo 186, Ina 198, Njañgwe*, Ine, Hoñgwe* 199, Nyane 202, Nyañ 203, Ini 203, Inyi, Nyañgwo 204, Inye 212, Ne 213, Nya, Nyañ, Nyoñ, Ne 214, Ne 215, Nya, Nyuw* 217, Inyō, Nyia, Nan, Nya 218, Nyie*, Nanwo 219, Na, Nyaga, Nyañe, Nyañwa 220-220 h, Inyā 222, Nañgwo 223, Niañgwo 225, Nyañgwe 225 a, Nyē*, Enu*, Nyowmwo* 226, Nyen* 227, Nina, Nā 230, Na, Nyuñ* 236, Nā 232, Inya 235, -nē 229, -na 228 244, -nyen 250, Noye 249, Neñ 252, -inā 254, -na 255 257 (also -ni), -ne, -li* 259, Na- 263, Nya* 266, Na-, Nie 267, Ne, -ni, Nana* 271, -nya, Inya* 273, Nūmux (= 'thy mother?') 274.

Ngā* 253, -ka* 245, Ngwa*, Neñgwa 100, Ngwe* 191, Ngie*, Ngūe* 192, Gu, Ngu* 189, Ngwo, Ngwe 193, Gwai* 195, Kw* 3, Akw* 55, Ngoya* 162 167 170, Nguywo 181, Ngoywo 182, Nguya 184, Nguya 184, Koiya* 3 b; Ngudi* 100, Oñgū* 101, Iñguli* 102, Moñgwo* 102 103, Ngu 135 175 176, Ngūū 178, Ngu 179 189, Ngui 181, Ngwe 221 223, Ngū, Ngwo 224, Ngob 233, Ngō, Ngu.* 248, Nwole* 34; Ma-ñgwo* 18; Imañga* 45; Moñgwoe* 221 223.

Iyw* 10, Iya* 15, Waya* 15, Yaya*, Yiya* 25, Ihywo*, Iyw* 26, Hiyi* 34, Yowwa*, Yuwe 27, Yuwa* 29, Yuawa* 30, Ujuva*, Uva 38, -ya 41 43 a, Juba*, Yuwa 51, Hiyi, Tuyi* 34, -yei 126, Yaya* 124 131 142, Yiha* 134, Yeye 144, Adyi* 150, Iyaya* 155 a 155 b 156, Iyw 157, Yaya 177, Iya 187 188 193, Waye 194, Ya 200, I-ye 202, Yana, Yeye 204, Yeya, Iya, Jeje* 206 208 209, Ayō, Ya 220, Aywo 246, Iwa* 251, -ya 258 263; Aiya* 240 240 c, Ya, Ye* 261; Jagaam, Jaga* 243.

Dyā, Dyai, Dā, Jā 273.

Ade 239 (see 150); De 252.

-meri, -beri, -bedi, -eri (? meaning also 'woman') 226.

-kara (? meaning also 'woman') 263; Ba-kana 239 a; A-kā 239 b, Akaka, Akam 241-241 c.

Mbw 132, Mbwni 134; Mbwoti 166, Mbwota 187.

-liswi 79.

-lala 19 19 a, -nala 20; -lwo 105 106.

Miela 230; -viele 104.

Au 211; Akw- 55.

-tañgu 133.

-dende? 59; -de 239.

MOUNTAIN

-gulu*¹ 5 5 a, -kulu* 6 6 a 9 9 a, -guru 8, -gulu 9 c 19 a 20, -lulu* 26, -kwilwo* 24, -gulu, -guru* 40, -kwo 73, -gulu 85, -ulu 106 139, -lulu 135, -guru 137, -gulu 143 144, -ti-kwo 157, -kwo 168, -kwo, -ri (Mu-ri) 209, -kol* 217 218, -kōl 219, -hulwo*, -ho 226; -dyuri* 70, -kudi* 189, -kodi* 195, -hodi* 199, -kwo 200 (also -kuli), Kwodi*, Kuri* 21, -kol* 213, -kul* 238, -kūn* 246; Hulan 240 c; -kuna 139; -gun 228, -gundi* 20 a, -gundu* 124, Kunji* 125, Kwenzi* 123, Gunji* 133, Kunji, Kundze 134, Kunji 162; -kpun* 243; -ku 252; Kwān 253.

-pili* 41, -piri 42 44 44 b 45 50 52 53 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 a-b, Phiri 61 c, -piri 62 (also -pili), -pili 77 84, -pide 85, -biri 86, -pidi* 87 105 106 110.

-kanju 110.

-tunda* 24 25, -dunda 27 29 35, -donda 37, -dundu 64 a, -tundwo 65, Duntwo 65 a 66 68, -lundu 77 78 79 80 83, -punda* 86, -lundu 88, -dundu, -runda 89 90, -dudu 91, -phunda* 92, -unda 94, -lunda 94 b, -lundu 98, -lunda 104, -lundu 122, -dundu* 127; Tūdū 148.

-tanda* 9 b, -tandwo 40; -dandam 227; Zanza* 100.

-rōrōdō 227; -rw 17; -tw 259; -roñ 261 263.

-no 161 a; -ōna 147.

-loti* 73; -sodzi* 2, -swozi* 2 a-c, -swozi 2 g, -swoyi* 3 b, -sodzi 4, -sodi* 4 a, -swozi 9 b, -swoiri* 51 a; -kodi* 211 195, -hodi* 199, -kudi* 189, -edi 226.

¹ This root is synonymous with 'above', 'sky'.

- gusia 145.
 -tunwa* 7; -tumba* 105, -tumbi* 32 34 a 35 54 55; -lumb'* 124; -ūūm* 244; -lambw*, -rambw*
 I, -ambu* 149, -amba* 150 43 a 45 48 51, -gamba* 49; Nomba 193; -fumbu 14 17 (also -fufu) 18;
 -bimba 146.
 -pɔpe 129 a.
 -gɔmɔ* 64 69, -kumu* 120; -ɔma* 141.
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 -ñgu-rima 21 (H.), -lima* 21 a-e 22 23.
 -kumu 120.
 Subalɔ 17; -kupa* 150, -kɔba* 160, -kuba* 164, -gɔba, -uba* 226, Guba* 13; Mkpup* 228 a;
 -fūa 92 b; -kwa 203.
 -guku* 7 a, -ñkuku* 129 130 132, -kɔkɔ* 207 210 212, -kɔ 229, -kū 247; -kneku 220 c.
 -lɔkɔu* 140; -eruka* 1, -rika* 2 c; -rity' 273.
 -kwō 230; -kiɔ* 117 175, -kiū* 178, -ciū* 220.
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 -beka* 186, -bikɔ* 149, -biɔ* 200; -phakɔ*, -fakɔ 205 206.
 -haba* 71, Tawa* 67 69, -cava* 71 f, -thava* 72 73, Thaba* 74, -taba* 75 75 a 75 c, -tsaba 75 b,
 -tawa 76; -camɔ 3; -sɛma 254.
 -ncwe 74; -je 234.
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 -eñge 108 128; -ciñga 34; -cenje 54; -cuñgɔ 34, Soñgwe 64; -añgɔ* 21 f-g 34, -akɔ* 56 56 a,
 -agu* 56 b, -añgɔ* 57, -bañga, -wañga* 2 d-g, -pañga* 2 c; -kuña 274; -koñgu* 184, -goñgɔ* 8 100
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 -duñgɔ* 204; -roñ* 261 263.
 -dūwi* 15; -duli* 75 75 a 76.
 -wi 227 a; -bin 244.
 -ekbubu 150; -bō 214; -bɔkɔte 258.
 Ekbon 240.
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 -tara 151 a, -tali 151 a 159; -sari* 17; -sele* 118, -şwel'* 119; -sil* 273.
 -ahe, -ahi 131.
 -basa 226, -ɔmasa 226 b.

MOUTH¹

-anɔ* 1, -nwa* 2, -mwa* 2 a, -nwa 2 b 2 d 2 e 2 f 2 g 3 3 b, -mwa 4, -nwa 5 a, -nɔa* 7 7 a, -nwa 8 9 c
 11 13 16, -na* 17, -nwa 19 19 a, -nywa* 21 (and -nwa), -nwa 21 a-e, -nywa 21 f-g, -nwa, -mwa 22 25,
 -kanɔ* 32, -kanūa* 28, Kanywa 34, Nkanu 35, -kanya*, -kanwa 40 41, -nwa 42 43 a 44 44 b, -mwa
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 87, -nuɔ, -nua 88, -na* 90, -ena*, -ela 94, -kanu 95, -kanɔ 96, -kanwa 97, -kanu 98 99, -nwa 100 101
 (also Munū), -nūe 102, -nu 103, Kana, -na 104, -nwa 105, Kanu 106 108 (also Kanɔ), -kana 109, Kanɔ,
 -kanwa 110, Kanwa 114, Kanu 116, -nwa 117, Kanu 118, -nwa 119, -na, -ia 120, Mun 121, -mɔa 127,
 -nya 129, -nɔa 130, -nyɔ 132, -niya 134, -mwa, Kamwa 135, -nywa 136, nywa 144, -nwa 147 157,

¹ As far as possible words meaning 'lips' only are withdrawn from this category, but it is in some languages difficult to do so. As a rule the root-words here given refer rather to the cavity of the mouth than to the lips.

-nɔ 151 b, -mwa 162, -nwa, -nya 166 167, -nya 168, -nwa 175, -nwa, -nywa 176, -nwa 178, -nyua 179 180, -nyua 181 182, -nu, -nɔ 184, -ana 186, -ana, -anɔ, -nya 187 187 a (-nya), -na, -nywa 189, -nũ 190, -hwana*, -ɔ-gwana* 191 192, -ɔ-gwana* 193, -nu, Nyɔ 202 203, -wana 206, -ɔwan* 210, -alɔ, -anɔ, Wanɔ* 226, -nwa 244 245, -kuan 249, Kun* 253, -nyā 258; -nina 224; -nuni* 56 b; -nyei 261; -nyu* 22, -nyɔ* (also 'anus', 'mother', &c.) 89 131 132, Nɔkɔ 145 146, Nyɔkɔ* 149, -nɔgɔ* 150, -nɔɔ 151, -nɔka 151 a, -nɔkɔ* 152, -nɔku 153, -nɔ 154, -nɔku, -nɔkɔ 155, -nɔke 159 a, -nɔkɔ 160 161 164, -nɔ 184 213, -nu 218, -nyu 217 218, -nyoi, -nyɔ 224, Nyɔ 227, -nyɔ 228, Nu, Nyu 234, -cu, -cɔ, -jũe*, -sud*, -jot* 230, -nu 235, -nu 250, Njɔ* 251, Nu 252, -nu 254 255, -nye, -nya* 257, -nugu*, -nugbu, -lugbu* 259 260; -nyei 261.

-tumbu* 15, -dumbu*, -rumbu, -lumbu* 17, -rumbu* 18, -sumbɔ* 98, -wumbu* 131, -rumbu* 133, -dumbu 183 185, -numbu 194, -dumbu 195 198, -numbu 199, -numbi 200, -dumbu 204, -lumbu 205, -dumbi 207, -mbɔ* 208, -umbu 209, -numbu 211, -dũm* 212, Dium* 213, -numbɔ 220 221, -non 222, -numbu 225, -dum 236, Nũm 237, -tum* 271 273, -tun 272, -tũ 269, -tuñik* 270; -lɔmɔ* 2 g 9 9 a, -dɔmɔ* 9 b 10, -lɔmɔ 14, -rɔmɔ* 11, -ɔmɔ* 12, -ɔmu*, -emu* 14, Mɔmɔ* 15, -ramu* 17, -lɔmɔ 20 20 d 23 23 a 24, -lɔmɔ, -dɔmɔ 24 c-g, -lɔmɔ 25 27 28 29 30 31, -dɔmɔ, -lɔmɔ 36, -dɔmɔ 38, -lɔmɔ 46, -dɔmɔ 49, -lɔmɔ 57, -rɔmɔ 58 59 64 64 a, Nɔmɔ 71, Nɔmɔ, Lɔmɔ 71 f, -lɔmɔ 72 73 74 75 75 a-c 76, -lamɔ* 111; Ema* 240 c, Ama*, Gama* 241, Ema 242, Mama 238, -ba 243.

-luñgu 92 99, -zuñgu 98, -luñgu 114.

Mɔna* 73*; -mɔni* 148.

-mirɔ (Ru-mirɔ? = 'throat') 29.

-ʃɔfɔ* 69 70; -siku 104 c, -sũku* 107; -ʃua* 227, ʃu*, -tsõu* 232 233, -suga* 2 c; -tsɔm 229, -tsoa*, -jɔa*, -gɔa 248; -su* 267; Musu 267; -mes 268; Wās 274; -suñ 264 265, -sãñ 263.

Mbɔkɔ 151 a, -õkɔ 223.

-hɔlɔ or -gɔlɔ* 80; -põrɔ* 81; -sɔlɔ 204 a, -ʃol*, -sõ 213, -ʃear*, -sõl 214, Siõl* 215; Atsurɔ* 231; -sɔle* 266.

-bañga 128.

-dida 26.

-dari (Me-dari) 149.

-ɛw (Lɔ-ɛw) 139; -ehe, -ē 226.

-lagu 56 a, -laka 25.

NAIL (FINGER- or TOE-NAIL)

-alā* 1, -zala* 2 e, -zara* 2 f, -ara 3, -ala 4, -cara* 7, -ala 9 a, -zala 9 c, -ara 11, Wāā* 12, -aa* 13, -ala 14, -ʃaa*, -caa, -jaa* 17, -jala* 18, -caa, -yaa* 21, -ca 21 a, -yaa 21 b-d, -era* 24, -zala 25 39, -ala 40, -zala 41, -ala 42, -gala* 43, -era* 43 a, -ala 44 44 b, -ara, -ala 51, Cara 53, -kala* 54, -ala 57, -yaya*, -aia 58, -ara 58 a, -ala, -ʃara 59, -ara 61 b, -ala 62 63, -zara 64, -ara 64 a, -ala* (Indu-ala-na) 66 68, -nun-ala*, -ala, -kata* 69, -ala 70, -hwala* 71 f, -ala, -nala* 72 73 74, -galɔ* 75 b, -ala 77 78, -gala*, -ala 79, -zala 80, -gara* 81, -thala* 82, -ala 83, -zala 84, -ala 85 86 87 88, -ara 89, -ala 90 91 94, -nyana* 91 a 92 b, -ñgala, -yala 97 98, -zala 100 104 105 106 107, -zala, -ala, -gala 108, -zala 109 110 111 117, Yar* 123, -ala 124, -yala, -kala 125, Gyala* 128, Kɔla 129 130, Kala, -ala 131, Kɔla* 132 133, Kala 134, Cala 135, Kala 136, -ala 137, Kara 139, -ala 140, -jā, -yā 141, -ala 142, -cala, -jala 144, -dāra* 148, -ala, -dala* 155, -ala, -yara, -jara 159 160, -kɔla* 162, -kwala* 164, -zali*, -jara 166, -yala 175, -jara, -yala 176, -zala 177, -yala 198, -ala 180 184 185 186 (and -ada*), -ata* 187, -ara 189, -adia* 190, -ara 191 192, -era*, Fuera, Fera* 193, -nyā 194 200, -janda* 199, -andi* 204, -ganda* 105 206 210, -gandi* 209, -ā 207, -yanda*, -gan* 211, -an* 213, -ane* 214, -yan* 215 (-yen 233), -e 217 218, -ae 219, Nyā 220, Nyare*, -are, -gare* 227, -nyā, -nya 234, -nye 228, Nyāl* 253, -swari 254, -swāye, -swali 255, -nyere*, -nyeri* 271-2.

-karu*, -karuka 56 b, -karu*, -haru* 267, -ñkuarɔ* 269; -kbala* 151; -kwara* 153; -bada*

245, -mara* 153; -kpa*, -gba*-maya 228, -gwa* 12; -gba*-sip 250; -fwa, -fia, -mfia 229; -baa* (Ke-baa) 120, -waa* 12; -kea, -kewa 230; -kabadω* 61 61 a (also Kadabω), -katawω* 61 b.

-zura* 49; -zu* (Zuana) 95, -zω* 96; -dωe* 21 e; -tωli*, -tωle* 181 182; -korω* 239 b, -kod*, Kōr*, -od, -or, -hor* 273; -kωle* 21 g, -gωle* 58, -gōre* 59 a; -akule* 14; -kuwule* 248; -fωdω* 268; -ñkure*-fab 229.

-goñgulu* 101, -goñgωω* 102 103, -kulu* 145, -kuru* 147, -kωle* 150 21 g (connects with -gωle 58, -gōre 59 a); akule 14; -ñkuti 168, -ñkure- 229.

-kadem* 274; -kata* 56 56 a (also -hata), -kata* 69; -karu*, -haru 267, -karu*, -karuka 56 b; -kaxa* 253; -kalak 253.

Ñgañguω 237; -tuñgω 89.

-fete* (Ki-m-fete) 179; -dete* 5, -tere*, -tera* 5 a (R.), -tere 6 6 a (and -teta), -era* 24; Nzà-gere 151 a; -eri, -iere 226, -keri*, -eri* 232, -erere* 235, -sari* 254, -swali 255, -sui 256, -nerω 27; -mōre 227; -riri 26; -sie 249, -sehe, -eh'e 226; -bie 243.

-jibω* 225, -zipω* 35, Suwu* 35 a, Dzipω* 65 a 67, -zipω* 75 75 a 75 c 76 (see also 'finger'); -nefω 258; -ñlωafu 259; -nuwe 260; -nyωwe 27, -owe, -owe 50 51 a 52; -fop* 251; -ñkure-fab* 229; -kop*, -kih* 230, -kωfu* 22, -ωbω* 32; -fūū* 22; -suwu*, -uwu 35; -ogω* 37, -uhu* 55; -hωhω* 157; -hωka 92; -rox 273; Kw-ōgω 252.

-kumω* 4 b, -kωmω* 7 a, -kumu 8, -umwe* 64 a; -kombe* 14 16, -kombwe* 15, -kombe 19 20, -ombe 21 f, -hombe* 23 23 a, -kombi 24, Kombe 25 33 a, -ñombe, -kombe 34.

-konci, -gonji 28, -konze, -ñonze 38.

-kamba 61 c; -pambω 2 g.

-kanambira 60.

-bondi* 88, -bonde 99, -bondi 112 114, -bondω* 122.

-dendi, -dende 161.

-santrok, -santak, Sants 263 264 265; -sentañ 261.

-saka* 151, -sasa* 208.

-noñga 9, -niñgwa 48; -tuñgω 89.

-gunyu 12; Ñgω 236, Ūku 247.

-nωnω 2 2 a 2 c 2 d; -nu 238; Ñwueñ 266.

-not, -nuot 244 244 a.

-ida 226.

-ladi 165.

-poñbuca 151 b.

-bωsω 127, -pωsω 167.

Yesi-ke-bωkω (bone-of-finger) 146; Kala-wesa* 54.

yen 232, -kin 251.

-fwa, -fia 229, -fio 257.

NAME

-rina* 1, -zina* 2 d, -dzina* 2 e, -zina 2 f 3, -dzina 3 b, -inya* 4, -sina*, -lina* 6 6 a, -ema* 7, -na 7 a, -ina 8 9, -gina* 9 a, -sina 9 b, -ina, -zina, -inha* 9 c, -zina, -rina 14, -zina 15, Džina 16, -ina 17 18 19 19 a 20 20 d 21 21 a (and Yina), 21 b-g 22, Sina* 24, -rina 26, -ina, -hina* 28, -lina 32 33, -ina 34, -hina 35 37, -ina 39 40 41 (and -zina), -sina, -zina 42, -zina, -ina 43, -sina 44 44 b, -zina 45, -ina 48 49 50 52 53 54 (and -jina), -hina 55, -zina 56, -cina* 56 a, -sina 56 b, -zina 57, -ina 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 a-c 62, -zima* 64 a, -ina 65 65 a 66 68 69, -tina 70, -dzina 72, -ina 73 74 77 78 79 80, -tina* 83, -jina 84, -bina* 85, -zina 86, -bina, -dina* 87 87 a, Jina 88, -ena, -na 89, -ina, -zina 90 (also -bina), -dina, -ina 91, -mima* 91 a, -yina 92, -jina 97 98 99, -jina, -zina 100 101 102 103, -ina 104, -zina 105, -šina, -zina 106, -ina 107, -šina 108, -zina 109, -jina, -zina 110, Din' 119, Jina 120, Jin' 121, Jina 122, Dina 124 125, Nina 129 a, -ima 134, -ina 137, Dina 139 140, Lina 141, Zina 142, -dina 145, -inya* 147, -iyω* 148,

Inw* 150, Lina 151, -inw 151 b, Dina 153, Lina 155 157, -rina 159, Lina 160, -ina, Jina 162, -dina 165, Edina, Lina 166, Dina, Lina 167, Dina; pl. bena 168, Lina 170, Dina 184 186 187 190, -ina 193, -inō* 194, -ina 195, Dina 199, Jina 200, Dzina 200 a, -ina 204 205 206, -iū* 207, -ina 209, -ine 210, -ina 211, -in 213 214, Jina 218, Die* 220, D-ina 220 a, -ina, -ira, -ila 226*, I-lil*, -lel 261, -en 234, -jen* 229, Liñ* 230, -dinoñ 238, -in, Sin 244, -nyñ 245, Leyi* 247, Tina* 248, Linyi* 259 (also -nyi*); -zuin 254.

-iza 255, -izw*, Bizw*¹ 67, Bitw*, -witw* 69, Bitw 71, Vitw* 71 f, Vitsw 73, -bizw 74 b 75 (Hlonipa) 75 a, -bitw 75 b, -bizw 75 c 76; Jo 212, Dzwe 217, Jüi 218, Jwe 219; -cu 230, -isü* 245; Riza 252, -es* 263, -rēs*, -rēsi 273.

-dya* 273; -ta* 5, -ra*, -era, -ira 5 a, -eta* 7, -ta 7 a, Retwa* 11, Sietua*, Dzitwa* 12, Setha* 63, -zita* 64; Sidara 63; -yotw 258.

Sari 13.

-ziyi 254; Leyi 247; -nyi 257 259 260.

Tewe 264, -tagwa*, -tañgwa* 23, Twaga* 23 a, -tagwa 24 24 c-g 25, -tawa* 27, -tahw 28, -tagwa 29 31, -tavwa* 38; -dakana-ri 151 a.

-kumbu* 100, Kombw* 123, Kwomw 126, Kumu* 127, Kumbu* 131, Kombw 136, Kombe 161 163, Kumbu, Kembu 164, -kombw 166 167, -kumbw 177, -kumbu 189; kumi 175, -kumw 176, -kumi 178; -um* 243.

-gamu* (Iñ-gamu) 51, -gama* 75.

-bara* 2 2 a 2 c 2 g, -bala 4 a; -bareña 7; -bañ, -beñ, -biñ 227, -biñ 228, -buñ 229; Mpi 228 a.

-tuka* 94 b, -dukw* 92 94, -duku 98, -lok* 253; -ak 274.

-we 217 219, -üi 218, -e 220; -w 202, -w 203.

NAVEL

-khwñ* 5 a, -kwfu*, -kwvu* 13, -kuvu* 14, -kuju*, -kudu* 15, -twvu* 16, -kufu, kũũ* 17, -kufu 18, -kuvu 19 19 a 20, -twvu 21 21 a-d (and -cwvu*), -kwvu 21 e, -twyow* 21 f, -kwvu 22, -kuvu 23, -kubfu* 23 a, -kuvu 25, -kufu, -kuvu 28, -kũ 32, -kufu 33 a, -kufu, -kuhu* 35, -swfu* 45, -swu* 54 [Subw 151 b], -khwow* 72, -huvu, -khuvu, -khuthu* 73, -khubu* 74, -kubu* 74 b, Kuvu 90, -tũũ 89, Kuvu, Kwow 110 111, Kubu 127 146 151, Kubu, Kubu-r, Kuvu* 151 a, -kwbw* 153, -ō 202, -wb 203, -wvu, -wbu* 255, -wbi* 256; -wfw* 104 105, -wfw*, Kof* 109; -vwi* 148, -vōkpw* 259; -kombw* 28, -kombw* 43 43 a 44 b, -jombw* 56 58, -combw* 61 61 a-c 64, -kombw 77 78 79, -gombw* 98, Kumba* 100 101, Kombw 102, Kumba 103, Kuma* 116, Kumi* 117, -cimbi 88, -jimba* 118, -kum* 119, Kume 120, Kum' 121, -omba* 124, -kumi 175, -kume 176, -kuñi 178, -kuma 179 181, -kwomw* 180, -gumbu* 184, -kumba* 190, Ngom* 236, Kom* 229, -yum, -wum* 243, -jombw* 248, -kuom* 251, -kum*fulot, -xulot, -pulot, -sulot, -kom-palat 273-273 c; -tam-vul 274; -tumbu* 38; -kōwa* 44 b, -k'ōpa* 92, -hōpa* 94, -gua*, -kua* 89; -kava* 71, -kaba* 75 75 a-c, -qawa* 76; Hw-op 252.

-kundi* 1 2 e-g 4 8, -kondw* 9 c, Ngondu* 159 a, -kunde* 147; -nšuntoñ, -šinden, -suntan 269-72; -tuntu* 22, -tudũw* 24; -tendu* 226 b; -dende* 69; -dawwa 14; -twtw* 41 42 44 44 b, -dudu* 61 a, -twtw* 105 125, -tutu* 104 131 132, -twlu* 133, -twtw 136, -tutu 140, -twtw 141, -twlu 160, -twju 162, -twlu 164 166 (and -twdu) 195, -tolu 167, -tōi, -tōde* 186, -tōrw* 191, -rōrw* 192 193, -tōdu* 198 199, -tondw 216, Twali* 200, -tōri 204, -tōla* 205, -tōrw 209, Dōl* 218, -rw* 235; -sō 249; -lub*, -tub 266.

-kwnyw, -kwnya 11, -kwnyw 12.

-duñgu* 27, Nuñgu* 34, -toñgw* 130, -toñgu* 157, -toñga* 162, Toñge* 182, -toñgu, -toñgi* 187, -tuñgu 189, -juñgu* 205 206, -teñgu* 208 (-tendu 226 b), -toñ* 213 214 215 230 234, -tetuñ*, -tuñ 227, -tu 230, Toñ 232, Toñ, Tuñgi, Toñg* 253.

-rwkw* 267; -rugu* 69; -teku* 56 56 a, -twku* 56 b, -tōyw*, -twku* 57, -suku* 106, -sukw* 108, Cuku* 139, Suku 142, Swke* 156, Cowku, Swkw, Ceku* 226; -kwkw* 137; -nwku 9 c, Nykw² 128; -bwkw 98; -vōkpw 259; -wkw (Kw-wkw) 155, -kwka* 162; -wgun 254, -uku* 250; -bakw 95 96; -pük 261.

¹ From the root -ita, -iza, 'to call', 'to be called'.

² Cf. words for 'mother'.

- bont 263.
 -dende 69; -cinji 84; -ci 227; -şinden 269; -timbi* 86, -timpi 97, -cimbi 114, -jim ba* 118.
 Bemba 120; -bumbucu 17.
 Duup, -up 244, -tupi 136; -dumpe 268.
 ·bɔnɔ 75 75 b.
 ·ñkɔle 168, ·kɔlɔ 83 85; Kōtɔ* 91 129, ·kbatɔ* 151.
 ·xulot, ·sulot, ·fulot, ·pulot 273.
 ·dira* 4, ·lila* 11.
 ·nena 23 a.
 Ngi 237.
 ·ya 227; ·yiesi 260.
 ·i (Mui; pl. mi) 214.

NECK

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¹ See words for ‘yesterday’

² Funan = ‘nose’ in Gala.

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¹ Note the striking correspondence in this root between the westernmost Semi-Bantu (No. 273) and the Nyanza Group of Bantu.

Akin to the -tende root for 'date palm' in East Africa.

OX¹

- Kuhe* 6, Kumdzi 68, Kuze* 69; -ube* 17, -ve* 73, Hwbe* 69, -gobe* 91, -hove* 92, -sove* 94. -okw* 226; -kōpō*, -kōpōw*, -bōkw* 226; Hōukw* 226. -gome* 175, -gomi* 178, -gume* 259, Guom* 120, -wum* 244; -kumw* 74b; Kōmw* 67; -huma* 6; Ndyōma* 187, Ndyōmo* 194; Niom 151 a; Kum-dzi* 68. -dumbe 97, -sumbe 112 a. Kōñōw 24 c-g 28; Kholōmw, -gōlōmw 72. -zaw 12, -dzaw 16, -azw (Nazw) 27, -nasu 6 a; Nantwi 257, Nancwi 258, Nencu 260; -na* 256 257 261; -naa* 254, -nā* 263. -kawi* 35, -ga* 39, Gabe* 65 a, -havi* 71 f, -kabi* 75 75 a-c, -kawi 76 (see -gabe root for 'cow'). -gaini 7 a; Ini 274; Yonni 247. -ziku 9 a 9 c, -jeku 19; -degwa or -tegwa 11, -dewa 16; -dafu 24 26; -madiba 273 c. -padw 57 59; -bapw 75 a. -pale 58, -palala 19 20 26; -buale 226 a. -fule 51, -fure 54, -fule 61 61 a-b; Phulu 72, Pulu 74 b, -pōrw 81, -pulu 85; -turu 248; -tula 83; -sune 78 79. -kōrwa 2 a, -gōra 3 (old R.); -iarak 252. -kida 29; -gwada 38; -gide 38; -kat 273; -twatwa 85. -foñ 227, -foñ, -poñ 228, -poñ, -fuon 230, Ate-mpoñ 229, -poñ 234. Sañga* 27 31 36 38.² -tañgana 7 8; -toñga* 60, -oñgw 79. Ondu-ombe 89; Onsi 43, -onde 98. Tondōla 35; -tende 95. -unwa 6. -simbe 266, -sembe 2 g; Sōwe 88. -same 6; Sān 253. -dume-tana 90. -hei 5 a. -giruxi 5, -urusi 5 a. N-yaga 202-3, Njun-nyak' 214. -bōyi 35,³ Bwa 69, -bōya 76, -bwa 248.

PADDLE

-gahi*, -kasi* 2, -gahl 2 e-f, -gal, -gasi 2 g, -gafi* 3, -gefi* 3 b, -kasi 4, -gasi 5, -gai 8, -gyehi* 9, -gyefiga*, -gahya* 9 a, -saha* 9 c, -pae* 13, -kasia* 14, -kafi* 16 19, -kasia 21, -kafi 21 21 a, -kasi 21 b-e, -kapi*, -kasia 21 f-g, -hafi* 23, -kavi* 28, -xafi* 29, -kafi 33 a, -gahi 34, -kai, -gafi 40, -kafi 41 42 44 44 b 51 (-gafi), -gavi* 54 (Capa = verb 58), Capa, Kapa* 61 a, -kafi 61, -capw* 61 b, -kafi (-capa) 62, -capw 64, Kafe 64 a, -kaši* 78, -gasi, -kasi 86, -hafi 98, Kafi 100 105, -kabw* 117, -kā 120, Kai 124, Kapi 125, Kavia* 127, Kapi 128 129 131 133, Kai 136 137, Kapi 139 (also Gafi) 144 151, Kafi 152, Kai 155 160 161 (and Kafi) 162 164 166, -kē 175, -kafi 177, -kēē* 178, -kafi 184, -gape*, -kapi 186, -kabi*, -kavi 187 190, -kapi 189, -kabi 193, -kape 194, -kapi 195 198 199, -gabi 200, Pāi 204, Phaki*

¹ As far as possible all words are omitted in connexion with 'ox' which are merely generic expressions for 'cow' or the bovine genus, but it is not easy to be quite certain that the word cited may not also be applied generically. Sometimes the word for 'ox' means specifically a castrated bull. In other cases it refers vaguely to a male bovine used for purposes of riding or transport rather than breeding.

² Sañga = 'ox' in Gala.

³ This and the two following words may be a corruption of the Portuguese 'boi'. Yet the Semi-Bantu Munşi (No. 248) has Bwa for 'ox'.

205, -faki* , -paki* 206, Kapi 209, Pagw 202-3, Paku* 211, Pake* 214, Kab* 217, -kap 218, -kape, -kapi* 226, -kafi* 227 ; -ñkob 220 ; -as 264 ; Gbañki 266.

-swege* 79 ; -supi* 105, -suhī* 106 ; -hu 104 ; -cute* 131.

-labw* 74 b, -jazw* 79, -gasw* 94, -rahw* 80, -rapw* 81, -labw 82, -rabw, -labw 83, -lapu* 84, -lapw 85 86 88, -lapu 110 a, -lapw 105 a ; -ja 132 ; Ha-lamu 256.

-phalulw 91 a.

-lala 261.

-vale 92 b.

-gwehla 75 b ; -kiela 103 ; -tera 27.

-kiñgi 45 ; -sañgw 88, Sañgu 110, -kañku 162 ; -nañga 88 151 157 ; -dinhw 9c ; -deñ 245 ; -reñgw 254.

-pondw* 3 ; -pondw 61-61 c (a punting pole), -bondwkw 273 ; -andw 114, -handu 97.

-bambu 104, -bambw 104 c 108 ; -pombw 153, -ñombw 57 58 59, -gombw 61 a ; -tambila 186 ; -dam 243.

-pete 108.

-pini* 75 75 a ; -en* , -ven* 273 ; -banaj* 274.

-dusw 25 ; -rusw 26 ; -dukw 220.

-ulwi 12.

-si 259.

PALM WINE, BEER ¹

-abu* 1, -loww* 18, -lowti* , -lowoti* 17, -lusw* (Ma-lusw) 25, -rusw 26, -lowvu* 80, -loww* 82, -loww* 83, -luvu 88, -lowvu 90, -lowdu* 91, -lufu 92 b, -luvu 98, -lavu* 100, -lafu* 103, -luvu 104, -luwa* 105, -lafu* 106, -lufu 108, -luvu 109, -rafw* 110, -luvu 114, Ma-lafu 120, -lowfu 128, -lowvu 142, -lakw* 162, -lek* 167, -alu* 175, -lafu, -lavu 176 177, -alu 178, Ma-lamu* 184, -tak' , -laku* 186, Malu, -laku 189 190, Alugu* 193, -lok 202, -og 203, Māū* 204, Mahu* 226, Melū* ; -dū* 230, Meluk' 235.

-rwa* 2 2 c-g, -lua* 5 a, -rwa 6 6 a 7 8, Mawa* 14 18, Walwa* 34, -luā 39, -arwa* 40 41, -alwa* 51, -lwa 54, -alwa 57, Badwa* 58, -alwa 62, -carwa* 64, -adwa* 70, -ala* 71, Halwa* 72, Yalwa 73 74 (and -jalwa), -tyalwa* , -tyala* 75 75 a, -tywala 75 b, -tyala 75 c, -cwala* 76, -alwa, -arwa* 77, -ara* 81, -ala* 84 85 86 88 (and -alwa), Aluva, -alwa 94 b, -ala 97, -alwa 98 104 106 108, -rwa, -ra 109, -alwa, -arwa, -ara 110, -alwa 114, Māl* 119, Māu 120 121 ; -agwa* 3 9 c.

-zaru 80 ; -korro 229 ; -lw 258, -nu, -lu 259.

-kana* 54 116 118, -kin 227 ; -tana 127 ; -hōna* 199, -na (Ma-na*) 123 124 125 129, Bana* 130, Anu* 131 132, Bana 133, -nua 134, Bana 136, -gana* 137, Mana* 141 151, Manum* 151 a ; Kana* 153, -ana* 155 157 159 (and -anna) 160 161 168 170.

-kem* , -kin 227, -gemi* 2 a 9 c, -gemūa* 16, -gema* 23 23 a 24, -kama* 52 53, -cema* , -cima* 54, -wema* 56 b, -wiema* 57 58, -cema 58 a 59 61 61 a-b 64 a 65 65 a 68 69, -tsema* 66, -cema 70 71 f, -tyema* 75 b ; -cembw* 21 b, Thembw* 21, -tembw* 9 c 13 19 a 21 21 a-d 23 23 a, -dumbu* 16, -gembe* 38, -gimbi* 23 24, -gimbw* 27, -jimbi* 28, -wimbi* 32, -gimbi* 33 a, -gwimbi* 35, -hembe* 91, -pembe* 90 ; -pombe* 16 19 20, -tombe* 122, -thwbi* 72, -komp* 263 ; -imbw* 191, Min* 214 ; -mwemwa* 104 c, Membw* 193, Mimba* 206.

-mmi 254, Mūi 261 ; Mō 207, -mū 227.

Manyūa 200, Menyw 220, Nywu 26 ; Nyemw 44, -nyemvu 101.

-swmw 60 ; -duma 186 ; -du 230.

-lamba* 2 g ; -zamba* 43, -samba* 194, Hamba* 195 ; -bomba 94.

-dahi 55 ; -dā 259.

Siriñ 252 ; -ciri* 274 ; Sura* 56 65 a 71 ; -turi, -tūi 10 ; -sorom* 248 ; -korro 229.

-kube 81.

-iba 126, -libw 150 ; -vōbw 216.

-bwte 79.

¹ Any native fermented drink, words merely meaning 'water' or 'liquid' excluded.

-khela 92; -syeli 184.
 -gaka 148, -kaya 67, -gai 76.
 -tana* 127, -ten* 237; -tara* 243; -carr* 238.
 -sanza 9; -sañgi* 144, -añga* 164, -sañga* 166 172, -añga* 69, -jeñga* 54, -eñge* 4 5 5 a 145.
 -luñga 92 b.
 -pusa 116.
 -tondω 42.
 Mōki 210, Makin 227.
 -šesadi 187.
 -bale 42; -ber 264.
 -kandi 79; Amum-ande 228.
 -kōkω* 79, -koyω* 105; -yōg* 217, -yok* 218 219; -zōgω* 3; -lōha 3 b; -jōhi 11, -jōvi 14;
 -suka* 168; -duku* 187; -tutu 193; -nuk 273.

PARROT¹

-gusu* 1, -kusu* 2 2 c-d, -suku* 2 e, -gusu*, -kusu 4, -gusω* 5, -gusu 5 a (also -suku), -kusu, -suku
 9 13 14 17 18 20 21 21 a, -gusu 39 40, -suku 41, -kusu 43, -cusu 44, -husu* 97, Kōsω* 98, Hōsω* 98 a,
 -kusu 100, -kuzu* 101, Kusu 103 104 108, Sukwa* 105, Sukω* 106, Kusu 109, Kusω 110, -kusu 112 a,
 Kōs* 114, Kusu 116 118 120 122 123 124 125, Gōjω* 127, Kusue* 128, Kusu 129, Kuš' 129 a, Kusu
 130 132 133 135, Gucu* 139, Kusu 140, -gusu 143, Kusu 144 145, -kū* 148, -kōsω* 159 160 162, Kusu
 164 166 176 177 179, Kuizu* 180, -kōšω 181 182, -kusu 184, Kōsu 185, -kōšē*, Kōsa* 186, -gōzω,
 -gōsu 187, -kusu 189, Gōšω 191, -gōsω 192, Gōzyω* 193, Gōsu 194, Kōhō* 195 198 199, Kōi*, Kuhi*
 200, -kōh 202, -gōs' 203, -gusu 204, -gōsω 205, Ūsō*, -kōsω 206, Guš'* 207, Kōsω 208, Kōsi 209,
 Kusi, -gōsω 211, Kōs' 212, Kōi, Kōij* 213, Kōi, Kut* 214, Kōi 215, -kusu 216, Kus 217, Kōs 218, Kōs
 219, Kōhω 220, -kō, -kōjω* 226, -gut*, -kut*, -wot* 227, -ōš* 229, Kut 230, -kuot* 237, Gujei 252,
 -kō 259; -gweš* 54; -kūi* 120 121, -kwiu* 178; -gōwe* 59; -tūi 27, -šui 91 a; -kwia 56, -kuei 56 a;
 -kwala* 28, -kwele* (Ci-kwele) 83, -gwalu* 54, -kwalu* 19 19 a 32 33 a 35; Kwasiū 6 a; -kulekwe*
 53; -galikōi* 175; -kalai* 255; -kelala* 253; -karω 263; -kerie 92 b.
 -gōkōkω* 178, -goh*, -ñguk* 234, Hōkwe* 71 f; -guru-kōkω* 228; -hekwa* 55, -kukwa* 150;
 -jōga, -sōga* 267, -jōi 268; Kakω* 229; -kō 258; -gaga* 148; -baka 266; buku 151 a.
 -hweñka* 64, Guañga 64 a 65 67, -eñga* 71 f, -kweñga* 80, -keñge* 86 88, Kañke* 248, -cence*
 42, -kuañ* 230; -ciñkwe* 60, -ñkwe* 61 61 a-b, -kwenene 75, -kwe 75 b; -koñgω 131, Kuñgu
 134, -huñgu 137.
 -kurañga 3; Kekōra 273; -guru-kōkω 228; -kulu, Kukulū 161.
 -kōpekwē 62; -kombi 155, Kombe 156, -kombi 157; -khwamba 72.
 -lomwe 58; -rum, -dum, -dim 244, -nim 245.
 -roñgω* 42, -loñga* 84, -loñgω* 94 105, -lioñ'* 109 b, -loñ* 111.
 -boñgi 116.
 -keya 210.
 -mame 54 56 b; -cam 243; -semane, -šimna, -simana 269-72.
 -mpie 59, -mpse 61 c.
 Dzapa 65 a.
 -šidi 125.
 -lusi 6; -lesi 255.
 -bara 110 a; -pal 263; -lala 253; Dura 21 b-e.
 -ñari 8, -nyari 119.
 -cereketē 58.
 Tañgwe 58 a.

¹ The word-roots here given apply in the main to the grey parrot with the red tail.

PENIS

(Other than paraphrases.)

-bwal* 2 2a, -bōrw* 2 c-e 2 g 3, -bwal* 4 5, -bōrw 7 7 a, Bwal 9 16 (also -bwag*), -bwlu 17, Ta-m-bwal* 19, -bwal 19a 20 20 d, -bw* 21, -bw 21 a, -bwal, -bōrw 21 b-d, -vōrw, -vwal 21 e, -bōrw 21 f-g, -bw 22, -bwal 23, -bw 26, -bwal 28, -bōrw 37, Bōlw 40, -bōla* 41, -bōlw 43, -bwal 44 44 b, -bōrw 50 51 (and -bōlw) 52, -ōlw, -wwal* 54, -bōrw 55, -bwal 56, -pwal* 56 b, -bōrw 58 58 a, -bwal 60 61 a (and -bwal*), -bōrw 61, -bōrw 61 b-c 62 64, -bwal 64 a, Bōrw 65 65 a, -bwal 66 67 68 69, -bōlw 71 f, Pwal 73, -pōlō 74, -bōlw 75 75 a-c, -bwal 76, -bwal, -bōrw 78 (-bwal means also a 'testicle'), -bwal (meaning a 'pod', a 'plantain') 100, Ma-bwal ('an obscene word') 100, -bwal 104, -bwal 104 c 105 106 (also -pwal*), -pulu* 120, -bwal 128, Li-bwal (meaning distorted to 'vagina') 164, M-pulu 175 178, -pol* 274.

-sulu* 1; -swal* 94, -swali* 136, -sot* 219; -sun* 123, -cuni*, -cunu* 18; -sinw* 51; Širw* 71; -cina 151 b; -kun* 218, -kon, -ñkon 218 219; -runi 263.

-zuñga 8, -suñga* 14, -suñga 130 132 133 156, -siñga* 160, -suka* 131 134 157, Swka* 140 164 166, -swa (Lu-swa*) 137, -soñgw, -soñge* 155, -swkw* 159 161, -sōi 162, Cuku* 74, huku* 89, Ywkw* 204 205 206, Nsuk* 207, Jō* 220, Guki* 221, Jwka* 222, -sugi*, Suk 253, -gw 257, Swkwswkw* 258; -lwku* 224; -yuku 257; -yege 256; -cuku* 74, -cucu* 73 75; -bwkw (Ca-m-bwkw) 64,¹ -bwgw 16.

Okpw 240.

-tyiñgw*, -tyeñgw* 89; -toñgw* 53; -hoñgwone* 151; -loñgi* 199.

Com, Kom 261; -sombw 155 a, Yombw 155 c; -lumba* 155 a; -rumbi* 17 d; -amba 226 a; -bambu 189.

-ruw* 11, -lua* 39, -rūa* 48 139; -dūe* 200; -tiwō* 238.

-runi* 263; -tōni* 78 79 80 (see 'testicles', No. 253), Tini* 92 b, -tuli* 129, -tōne* 145; -teni 150, Teñ, Tenya* 151 a, -cina 151 b, -tene, -tini* 227, -te 229, -dine* 5 a 6 6 a, -deñ 266; -sinw* 51, -širw* 71.

-lempe 264; -temūa* 23 a, -tamu* 100, -dam* 234, -daam* 243; -da 227; -ja or -za 98 110, -nza 122; -ya'wi 259.

-nōma* 4 b, -lume* 16, Ume* 21, -nom* 242, -num* 244, -lōmw* 56 a 84 110 a; -runi 263; -lumba 155 a; -rumbi 17 d.

-gandegande* 16, -kandi* 41, -cende* 61 a, -condi* 141; -hunt*, -font*, fonta 273; -dondw* 27, Sondw* 57 58 59, -tondw* 67 75 75 a 75 c.

-kā* 53 120; -kata* 100, Kala* 106, Kata 116 167; -fat* 241; -kala 41 42 44, -xara* 49; -tata* 254, -tā 255; -tōtwe* 41, -tōtw* 73 75 b 131; -kuti*, -kutu* 86 88 124 125 (also -kwōw*) 223 a (-kwōw, -kutu), -kwōw* 127, -kwōw* 166 167, -kot*, Kut*, Ket*, Keru* 230.

-sepa* 89, -nsip* 228; -sita* 11, -seta* 101; -saji* 4; -zai* 118; -sese* 153; -si*, -ši*, -nši, Nsip* 228.

Kia* 12, Ciwa* 13, -kia 17, -viya*, -via 100, -bia* 119 121 223, -mvi* 178, -pi* (Api) 247; -bima 148.

-ōnin, Winuin 189, -nunu* 210, -nini* 226; -nena* 126; -nyenye* 260; -nyw 72.

-nik 235.

-nufu 91.

-peke 70.

-nja* 98, -ja, -za* 110; -jō* 220.

-ali (Bu-ali) 142; -azi 23; -ñgali 151.

-pala* (? 'in front') 78, -npalw* 225; Yalw* 54; -vel* (M-vel) 218.

Nyama 166.

Nnyw 72.

-jabw (Masai) 15.

Lasa, Rase 252.

¹ Probably the root-word for 'arm', 'hand', 'trunk'.

PIG¹

-guluwe* 1,² -gurube* 3, -guruwe 3 b, -kuru* 7, -guluwe 9 9c, -gurube 9a, -guruwe 11, -guwe*, -guyuwe* 13, -gūwe, -guluwe 14, -guwe 15, -guluwe 16, -guve, -guwe 17 18, -guluwe 19, -guuwe, -gumwe* 19a, -guluwe 20, -guruwe 21, -gūwe 21 a-e, -guūwe 21 e, -guluwe 22 23, -guruwe 24 28, -gūbi 25 27, -gume* 24, -gube 32, -guruwe 33a, -guluwe 34, -guruwe, -guruwi 35, -guruwe 37, -gube, -gwehe* 38, Nulube* 39, -guluwe 40, -gulube 41, -guluwe 44 44 b 45, -guruwe 49 50, -guluwi 51, -gurūi 53, -guluwe, -gōlule* 54, -uluwe 55, -guluwe 56, -kuluwe* 56a, -guluwe 56 b 57 61 61 b, Gudani 60, -guruwe 61 c 62, -gulube 64, -Guruwe 65 a 67, -guluwe 69, -gulube 71, -gulube 71 f 72, -kōlwe* 73, -guluwe 77, -gulube, Culube* 78, -kulube 79 83, -gulu* 84, -guro 86, -gulu 88, -guruwe 89, -gulu 90, -gulube 91 92 94 (and -gulū), -gulū 92 b, -gulu 92 94, -gulu 95, -gulū 96, -gulu 97 98, -gōlwe 98 a, -gulu 100, -gulubu* 101 102, -gulu 103, -gulube 104, -guluwe 105 106, -gulubi 107,² -gulube 108 109, Nuli 110, -gulu 111 112 a, -gulu 116 118, -gul* 119, Gwal* or -gul' 120, Gul 121, Gombile* 120, Gulu 122, Gurv 123, -gōlwe* 127, -guluwe 128, -kulu 129, -gulube 135, -guruwe 139, Guru 140, -Gulube 142 143, -kuluma* 146, -guluba* 164, -gulu, -gumbili*, -gombele* 166, -guligi* 175, -gumbili, -gulebe* 176 [-zumburu 151 b], -gulu 177 178, -guwile* 179 [Zu-kubere 151 a], -guele* 180, -guw 181, -gōwele* 182, -gulu 184, -gudu* 187, -gubele 189, -gwea 199, -gō, -gw 200-203, -gūa 204, Guru, Guru*-sunu 253, Gur', Gur-sunu 254, Nguru*-sunu 255; -kurog* 229; -gume*, -wume*, -gumi, -gōwe 227, -gumu 228, -gum 230 d; -kōme* 247 b; -kam 256.

-ntula* 78; -sulu*, -sōlwe*, -sōlwe* 226, -sunu* 253 254 255; -seu 268; -punu* 2 2a 2c 2d, -bunu* 2 e 2f, -punu* 2 g 147; -pinyw* 94; -pyur*, Per* 261; -pōdi* 9, -pōli* 41 42, -pōli* 43, -pōri* 43 a, Kapōdi* 47 48.

-noli 267.

-gala* 86; -zale* 150; -bara* 225.

-piyw 261; -payā* 274; -pañgw* 35, -hañgu* 75, -poñgw* 79; -ñgoñgw 160 161, Goñgwe 193; -soñge 86, -siñgwe 87.

-unje (I-ūnje) 75 b.

Ndi* 137, Endi* 241 c, Edi* 245, Dei* 155 157; -dudu* 61 b; -kō-tōtōw* 75 a.

-bidzi 4, -bidi 4 a 4 b, -bici 5, -bidzi 5 a 6, -beci 7, -bizi 8.

-geri* 11, -gee* 12, Ngili* 43 a, -ziri* 64; ³ -zin* 274; -ter* 249; -per* 261.

-ši 241; -kēsē* 6 6a, -kasi*, -hasi 267 268; -ha 259; Bazu* 151 a; Iza 252.

Xōna, -kun 230, -kuanef 235, -gena 230 a; -henehene 52.

-binda 89, -pinda 90, -bonde 110, -bonde 111; -suinda 110 a.

-tumba*, -humba* 9c, -tupa* 10, -tumbi* 23 23 a 28, -dumbi* 94; -petumwa* 34; -kumba* 44 44 b 58 58 a 59 61 61 a 61 b, Humba* 64, -gumbe* 64 a [-kumbe* 272], -kumba* 65 66 68 69 (-komba*) 70 240 242 269-72 273; -ombōw* 84 85 94 97 98, Sumbu* 118, Sumpu* 123, Sumbu 124 125 129 130 131 132 133 134, Sombōw 136 141, -zumburu 151 b, -combōw* 159, Sombōw 162, Sombu 167; Sembañ* 231, -sōam* 248; -sop* 263; -sum* 250; -kām 256; -ambōw 16; -nembōw 148; -bimbi 126.

-cōmi* 168 a; Cim 253; Kōme 247 b; -kam 256.

-muma 79.

¹ Though the roots that follow may mostly be applied to the domestic swine when these animals are introduced to Bantu Africa by Europeans, they are, as a matter of fact, terms to indicate the indigenous river hogs of Negro Africa of the sub-genus *Potamochoerus*. There is usually a marked distinction in nomenclature between the wart-hog and the river hog.

² -guluvi in some of the East African Bantu means 'ghost' or 'spirit'. See also words for 'God'. The Pygmies of the Ituri Forest believe that the spirits of their headmen or chiefs pass into the bodies of the red river hog. There may thus be something more than accidental similarity in the root-words for such utterly different concepts as 'pig' and 'spirit of a dead man'.

³ Related to the -jiri root for 'wart-hog'.

-gōya* 145, N̄beya* 151, -gwe* 151, -gwoya* 154, -gwoya* 159 a, -gōya 166 167, -guya* 178, -guyi* 184, -gueya* 185 187, -gwoya 186, -gueiya 190, -gwoya 191, N̄gwa* 192, N̄gowa* 193, -gwoya 194, N̄gowa 195, N̄gweya 198, N̄gwea 199, -gō, -ñgō, -ñgu* 200, N̄gwa 204, N̄gūa 205 206, N̄gūi 207, N̄gwa 208 209, N̄gu 210, -gwēa* 211, -gwe 212, -gwo 213, -gu 214, -gwo 215, -gwoe 217, -gui 218, -gwoe 219, Kō 220, -gwo 248, -gūi, -dyui 234, -gi 236, -guyañ, -juyañ* 237, -jue, -ge 230, -ji 232; -kuānef* 235.
 -guñu 93, Guñga (wart-hog) 151 b.
 -huka* 125, -kuk* 228 a 229 238, N̄kuyuk* 228, -kuk* 238 238 a; -gū, -gūge, -gugwo 220-220 h.
 -jik 251; -jifek 271.
 -nyenye 244.
 -prakwo 258;¹ -Fariki 73.¹
 -ram (Keram) 229 e.
 Gbazu (wart-hog) 151 a.

PIGEON

-iba* 1 2, -iva* 2 a, -iba 2 c 2 g, -zewa* 3 b, -jiba* 4, -ibai 4 a, Gia* 12, Jia*, Giya*, -ziya* 16, -giwa*, -suwa* 19 19 a, -suwa 20, -jiwa* 21, -diwa* 21 a-d, -diva 21 e, -jiwa, Siwa 21 f-g, -ziwa 23 23 a (also Huwa*), -jiwa 24, -dziwa 24 c-g, -ziwa 25, -siwa 27, -ciwa, -dziwa 28, Huwa 33 a, -jiwa, -ziwa 35, -jewa 37, -iwa 44 44 b, -dziwa 48, -jiwa 52, -juwa 54 55, -zia* 56, -cia* 56 a, -bia* 56 b, -iwa* 57 58 59 (-kañga-iwa), Jiwa 58 a 61 a-c, -iwa 62, -jiba 64, Jiwa 65 65 a 67, Dziba 66, Jiba 68 69, -duva* 90, Tuba* 71, Tuva* 71 f, -ivha* 72, -eva* 73, -eba* 74, Liba 74 b, -zuba*, -hobe* 75, -juba* 75 a, -tuba 75 b, -jiwa 76, -ziwa 78, -kuba 90, -dyuva* 92, -kuba* 178, -kua* 229, -deia* 34, -dwea* 161, -di 121, -liba* 148; -iya* 254.
 -gōra* 64 a; -kuar* 251; -guru*, -guru-kuku 229; Gū-murus 252; Kuru-gdog* 253; Kuru-ñguli* 164, Kuñguli* 159, Kuñgulu* 159 a; Kuñgum* 248; -koñgwo* 248, -guñgu*widza 51; -wuñwo* 234.
 -gugu* 5 49, Kuk* 119, Kuka* 121, -gugu* 153, -kikila 151, Kuku*, Kwo* 155, Kwo* 155 c, -pwoke-kuku*, -sesesu 162, -kugi* 175, -kuku* 236 256, -kwokut* 230; -guru-kuku* 229; Kuru-gdog 253.
 -nyowko 57.
 -wuzi* 5 a, -uzi*, -hutu* 6 6 a, -guti* 7 a 8, -būi*, -vwi*, -wūi* 12, -kwici*, -kwinje 83, Nuti* 85, -guti* 89 90, -kuti* 94, -cici 107, -kuci* 109, Kuti* 139.
 Swo 151, Zuzu 176; -tōzi 50.
 -sire 208.
 -dutura* 11, -jejura* 179, -jejure 176, -didura* 181, -dudura* 182, -dudūa* 220 (a remarkable instance of a root of far-off relationships, as between East and West Equatorial Bantu).
 -tutu* 230 259, -dutu* 32; Toñtoñ* 228, -tōmtōm* 227; -tōta-hue* 249; -tete-bara* 255.
 -beta 15 17 18.
 -bale* 267 270, -pele* 39 42; -eleh* 273; -ili 153; -tela* 84, -tere* 86, -telya* 88.
 -ñkwam 244; Kum' 121; -siom 120; -gumbi* 131, -kombe* 2 d; hobe* 75; -kwo* 168.
 -yemba* 4 b, Kwilimbi* 75 c, Kulimba* 77, Kwidimba* 78, Kwilimba* 79 83, -yembe* 84, -embe 88, -ambe* 95 98, -embe* 94 b 96 97, -bembe 97, -embe 99, -yembe 100, Bembe* 101 102 103, -dimba* 104, Diem* 104 c (also -bembe), -dimba 108, -dimbe 109, -embe, Yembi 110, -ñku-dimbe 111, -bembe 112 a 114, Yembi 116, Yembe 118, -limba 125 131 (also -dimba), -ñgu-limba 142, -bimbwo 145, -wembe* 177, bembe* 191 192 193 195, -bem 202, -beñ 203.
 -kañga- 57 58 59.
 -kunda* 9, -gundu* 27, -gundi* 28, -gunda* 35, -gundya* 38, -gunda 40, -kunda* 41 42 43 43 a 44 b, -gunda 51, -khunda* 53, -gunda 54, -kunda 56 61 61 a-b 62, Oñkhun* 92, -kunda 105; Šun* 228.

¹ ? Derived from Portuguese 'porco'.

-gol* 214; -huli* 45, Gōra* 64 a; -bwal 90, -bwalwal 136; -pale 268; -bale* 267 270; -far* 266.
 -pura 236, -būa 227; -bugara 263.
 -ruma 7.
 -benyoñ 194; -non 235.
 -buñgu 151 a; -poñgw 92; -wuñw 234; -pañkoñ 273.
 Pōkpōka, -pōgi 263; Faya, Fāk 274; -pō 261; -pōi 74; -pi 237; Bukbuk 151 a.
 -kwe 13, -we 227.
 -leka* 226; -leh* 273.
 -lhaban, -laḥal 273; -balap 271-2.
 -panda 131.
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 -Bubu 150; Pōpō 160; -pepika 186, Peba, Piba, -pi 237, -paba 220.
 -pompō 166; -fop 263.
 -gbesu 250.
 -neñgw 228; -riñgw 14, -riñga 140; -beñga* 127, -biñga* 130, -biñgi* 124, -eñga* 134, -eñgua*
 157, -beñga 164 166, -beme* 180, -wiñga*, -iñga 184, -bena* 186, -beya* 186 [-kpeyi 243], -beka* 226,
 -eñga* 187, -beñga* 189, -biñga 190, Meñga* 193, -benyoñ 194, -beñga 195 198 204 205 206 207 209
 210 211 112, -beñg 213, -beñge 214, -beñ* 217, -bōñ* 218 219, Gbeñgbeñ* 230, -beñ 232, -pañkon 273.

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-ndu* (Ah-andu) 1, -ntu* 2 2 c, -ndi* 2 e, -ntu 2 f-g 3, -ndi 3 b, -ntu 4, -ndu 5 a 6 6 a, -nhu* 9, -andi,
 -ndu 9 c 11 12, -ntu 13, -ndu 14 15, -tu*, -thū* 16, -nda*, -ndra*, -ndu 17, -ndu 18, -ntu 19 19 a 20,
 -nhu 23 23 a 24 (also -ntu), -ntu 26 28, -ndu 32 33 39, -nzi* 40, -tu 56, -citu* 56 a, -zue* 66, -ta*, -tō*
 69, -thu 72, -ntu (Pa-ntu*) 78 80, -ikarō* 2, -calō* 42, -caru* 53 62, -raru*¹ ('sleeping-place') 50;
 -witu-garō* 51; -lō* (Ma-lō) 54 61 61 a, Dalō* 58, Marō 61 b, Malō 62, Garō 64 64 a, Helō* 70,
 Felō* 73, Helō* 74, Xwlō* 74, -lō* 77 78 (Ka-dilō*) 79, -lalō*¹ 83, Helu* 84, -lala-nda*¹ 85 88, -ladi*
 177, -hela* 86, Pālō* 110, -lōdu* 150; -palō* 104 108; -betō* 136; -burō* 56 56 b, -butō 57, -burō*
 58, -butō 58 a 59 60 61 61 a, -bura* 184, -bōra* 193, -bwiru* 176, -bua* 175, -buō 178.

Bō 159 a.

-bati* 71, -badi* 104, -pali* 160, Pari 254 [-hali 21], -bete* 168, -biti* 190.

Der* 263; -tala* 4; Alia* 5, Halia* 7, -hali* 21 21 a 22, -hala* 25 34, -hali 34, -hare* 26, -hala*
 21 b-c 34, -hela* 86, Alaha* 45.

Di-bwa 199; Ūwa* 2, Pawa* 34; Pōa 92 b; Paja* 61 c; -aba* 104 109; -ōbe* 159, Mabe* 164;
 -jibe* 228; -bā* 230; Ban* 253; -pam* 228; I'pā* 241; -peripami* 254.

-fulō* 44 b, -fulu* 100 b, -fulō 105 a, -fukō* 106, -fō* 4 5.

-ōnō* 48, -gōnō* 49¹ 51; Kwon 252.

Hōma 203, -uma 204, Fōmi*, Fom 207, -bōma* 247; -kum 238; -ma* (Pama, Bama, Kuma,
 &c.) 98, Vuma*, Kuma* 100, Vama* 101 103 (pl. mumu), -sima* 141, Yuma* 164, -kuma 178, Hōma
 203, -uma, W-uma* 204, Ūma* 205, Wuma, Ūwuma* 209, Hum* 214, Vom* 217 218 219, Ūmō* 226,
 Ūkwum* 244; -yumō*, -umō*, -imu 70; -tamu* 35.

-nzi* (Anzi) 40; -anza* 134, -anja 145, -anda* 167; -anya* 2 2 c-d; -bande 151 a; -ndende
 148.

-dambu* 100 b, -rambō 54, -lapō* 56 b; Dem 252.

-tumba 92 b.

¹ Really a 'sleeping-place'. 'Sleeping-place' or 'sleep' is a concept which is frequently associated with locality, as though in former times the emigrating Bantu only formed the idea of a definite location from his camping places.

-lela 155, -lia 79; -die 168; -digaa 187, -diga 189.
 -didi 97, -riri 98.
 -gilw 8; -kili 206, -kie 205; -ji 227, -gyi 227.
 -goŋgwa* 2 a, -geŋgwa* 168, -doŋgwa 161, -noŋgwa 166; -wuŋgu 27; kuŋgu 76, -kunja 35.
 -baŋgu 70 71, -boŋgwa 125.
 -bɔkw 195, -bɔku 193, -bɔhw 199, -bɔkw 211, -bɔke 212.
 -baka*¹ 74 80; -bege* 151; -beŋe 194.
 -lɔkw* 162 226; -laka* 273.
 -kaku* 162, Kakō* 258; Wkw*, -kw 259.
 -su 257; Yipi 256.
 -hika* 92 b, -seke 155 a; -sika 161 a; -seke 259, -siekw 258; -sevw 153; -sw 151 b; -yeke 210;

Keket 229.

-vuka 142.
 -ūsi 1; Pwasa 166; Hassa 255.
 * -sena* 78; Heni* 248, Hani* 195.
 -pampuni 110.
 Nōm 200.
 -conde 44; -tundw 65 a 66 68.
 Tin, Tan 273; -te, -tw 69; -tamu 35.
 -dima 55.
 -dzimba 64.
 -kaya* (really 'town') 28, Cea 141, -kayu* 146; -kei 273.
 -tok 234, -tik 228.
 -dāwaw 75 75 a, -dzawaw 75 b, -daww 75 c 76, -daw 70, -jau 71 f.
 -siŋgani 157.

RAIN

-bula* 1, -jura* 2, -jirw* 2 b, -bula* 2 c, -zura* 2 d, -zula* 2 e, -zura 2 f, -yura*, -dzura 2 g, -vura* 3;
 -vula* 3 b, -fula* 5 5 a 6 6 a, -bura 7 7 a, -bula 8, -pula* 9, -vula 9 a, -bula 9 c, -vula 10, -bura 11, -būa*
 12, -vuya* 13, -vūa, -vula 14, -vūa 15, -vula, Wula* 16, Fuw*, -vuw*, Vua 17, -era* 18 (see 81), Fula
 19, Fua* 19 a, Fula 20, -vua 21-21 e, -vula 21 f-g, -vua 22, -vula 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25 26, -vula 28, Ula*
 32, -bula 34, -vula, -hula 35, -fula 36, -fura 37, -sula* 38, -vula 39, -ila*, -bila* 40, -vulu 41, -fula 42,
 -vula 43 43 a 44 44 b 47-48, -vura 49 50, -fura 51, Vura 52, Vua 53, Ula 54, -hura* 55, -bula 56, -pula
 56 a, -bula 56 b, -vula 59, -bvula 60 61 a, -vula 61, -bvula 61 b, -vura 61 c, Vua 62, -vula 62 63 64 a,
 -vura 64 65 65 a, -vula 66 68 69, Pfula 71 f, -vula 72, Pula 73 74, -vula 75 75 a-b 76, -fūla 77, -vula 78
 79 80, -vōra*, -fera* 81, -vula 82, -bula, -hōla* 83, -vula 84, -vura 87, -vula 88, -bura 89, -vula 90,
 -dula* 91, -bula 91 a, -bira 92 b, -bila 92 93, -bela* 94, -vulu 94 b, -fula 95 96, -vula 98, -fōla 98 a, -vula
 99, -vula, -fula 100 101 103, Vula 104 105 106 107 109 110, -vuala* 110 a, -fula 111 114, -vula 116 118
 119 120 (also -bula), -bul' 121, -vula 122, Pura 123, -bula 124 125 127 129, Gula* 128, Gvula* 130,
 Vula 131 132, Bula 133, -fula 134, -bula 135 136 137, -bira* 139, -bula 140, -bua 141, -vula 142 143
 (also -bula) 144, -bura 145 146 147, -bu, -būa 149, -būa, -būw, -bura 150, -bwe 151, -bua 151 b 152,
 -bulw 153, -bula, -bōla 155 157 159 160, -bua 161, -bula 162 164 166 168, -vula 172 175, -fula 176, -vula
 177 178, -pfula 179, -pfōla 180, -bula 181, -bōla 182, -fula 184, -bula 185, -buba*, -buda*, -buya*, -bulw*
 186, Bula, Bua, -buwa* 187, -bula 189, -fula, -vula 190, Pfula 192, -gula ('rain-storm') 193, -buyw*
 194, -bwia, -bwiya* 195, -buya 198, -buwa 199, -fua, -vwa, -pfuw 200, -bua 204 205 206 208, -bū 210,
 -bula 211, -pū 213, -bu 214, -bō 215, -vōñ 217, -veñ, -vōñ 218, -veñ 219, -pie*, -būi 220, -biw* 220 a
 225, -ōla, -pula, Kōla, -ula 226, -buta* 227, -wunta* 227 c, -būe 230, -wō 247, Wū 232, -muw, -mu(?)
 220 229, -buta* 228 228 a, Wura*, Wōla 248, -ful, -vul* 253, -bal*, -wal* 269-72; -porr*, Pō 261,
 -puō 262; -pōli* 167.

¹ See preceding footnote.

- yalō 238.
 ·beñ 202-3, ·vöñ* 217, ·veñ, ·vöñ 218, ·veñ 219, ·bañ* 230 232, ·böñ* 230, ·boñ* 235, ·fañ* 229, Böm 243, ·famu* 248, ·fam*, ·pōān* 251; ·fun* 249; ·wundw* 248, ·wunta* 227 c; ·cafan 265.
 ·nantu* 257, ·ntu* 258; ·onbi* 85, ·ondi*, ·ondzi 86.
 ·luñgu* 33 a, ·nuñgu* 34, ·luñgu* 34 a, ·uñgu*, ·uñku* 58, ·luñgu 58 a, ·niñgu* 193; ·luyu* 268.
 [an interesting root because of its connexion with an East Bantu root for 'God', ·luñgu].
 Muñ 246; (W)mw, Ommū 229; ·kōma*, ·gōma* 161, Böm 243, ·om*, ·am* (Kōam*) 263; ·tsuma* 69, ·zuma* 70; ·Šuwa* 56, ·suba*, Supa 259 260; ·kuba* 4; ·sōbal* 271-2; Huei 261.
 ·bw 236, ·pfuw, ·fu* 237, ·fugu* 27; ·bue 230, ·bie 250, Bi 249; ·fe 250.
 ·gawa 120 166 178 182; ·jam 273.
 ·lōci 62.
 ·nōga* 114 193, ·ōka* 195; ·dōka* 100 b; ·tak* 266; ·dakali* 2 a; jaji* 69; ·ak (Rw-ak) 252;
 ·kak 266.
 ·tiw* 268, ·ti* 270; ·izi*, ·di* 4 a-b, ·ndzi* 67; Dzeni 259.
 ·insa* 97, ·inza* 62.
 ·inni 244.
 ·nana 228.
 ·dōnya* 27, ·hōnya* 29, Tō-nya* 25 (Tōni = 'a drop' in 21), ·nya 234.¹
 Nob 203; ·lep*, ·nep* 234, ·nif* 235, ·neb* 228, ·lap* 228, ·lub*, ·lup*, ·luba 273 c-273, ·rrebi* 274; Lō, Lof* 207; ·luyu* 268; Dōba-ri* 151 *, Diba-ri 151 a.
 ·soñkwe 56 b, ·zōgwe, ·tšōkwe 57.
 ·kombi 126.
 ·bimba* 207; ·vumba* 58 d; ·semba 48.
 ·jule 94; ·zulu 75 c.
 ·šira, ·širu*, ·šile*, ·šila* 254 255, ·sina* 267; Dzeni* 259.
 ·nele* 151, ·neri* 153; ·nai* 244 a.
 ·peši 108.

RAT

- pube* 4.
 ·puku* 20, Buku* 21-21 g, ·puhu* 22, ·huku* 83, ·buku 24, Puku 26, ·buku 27, ·puku 32, ·buku 35, ·puku 41 42, ·buku 54, ·puku 61 a, Buku 72, ·phōhō* 73, ·puku 75 75 a, ·uku* 83 85, ·puku 87, Puku 89 90, ·huku 91, Phuku 92, Puku 93, ·uku 94, ·puku 97 98 (and ·pōkw), ·puku 100 102 103 104 105 106 108, Huka* 109, Pukw 110, Puk* 116, Puku 118, Puk' 119, Puh*, Puyū 120, Pū 121, Puk' 123, Phū 124, Puku, Pw 125, ·vōkw* 127, Puku 128, ·pō 136, ·phugu* 137, Buku* 139, Pōkw 141, ·buku 142, Kbeku 151, ·pō 159 160 162 164 166 (and ·puku) 168, Pu, ·pugu 175, ·puku 177, ·puw*, ·pi* 178, Puku 179 180, ·pōy* 181 182, ·buyi* 184, ·pōk 185, ·pō 186, ·pugu 187, ·bōy* 191 192, ·pōgw, ·bōkw 193, Pōgw 195, Bō 194, ·huka 198, Pūi* 204, Pū 207, Pw 208, Pō 209, Pū 210, Pw 211 212 213 214 215, Fw* 218, Pō 220, ·fō, ·mbw* 226, ·fu* 247, ·buye* 234, Jōku* 230, Pōk*, Pu 237, Kpōfō* 258;
 ·kuka 273 c.
 ·bwa (Im-bwa) 110.
 ·beba* 1 2 2 a (bēwa*) 2 c-d, ·bewa 2 e, ·beba 2 f-g 3, ·bewa 3 b, ·beba 4 5 5 a 6 6 a 7 7 a, ·beva* 9 c, ·bea* 11 12, ·bewu 14 17 18 23 23 a 25 27, ·beya* 28, Mpewa* 33 a, ·bewa 38, ·beba 39, ·bea 43 a, ·bewa 44 44 b 51 52 61 61 b (and ·bwea), ·bwewa* 62, ·bewa 64, ·beva 70 71 71 f, Peva 73, Peba* 74, ·bewa 76 77, Peba 80, ·babu* 145, ·beba 147, ·bebe* 148, ·be 227, ·feb* 229, ·be, ·pep* 228 228 a, ·hiewe* 248, ·ve* 260; Ikpi 243, Ekpi 244.
 ·bavu* 135 140, ·babu* 145 150 151 159 a 161, ·ba*, ·bab* 230, ·mbak* 236, ·buap* 234, ·bab, ·bap* 253; ·hubw 151 b.
 ·panya 13, ·bānya 14, Phanya, ·panya 16 21 21 ā-e (·pana) 21 f-g 35; ·gben 262.
 ·ayi 155 a.

¹ ·nya is a widespread root for the verb 'to rain' throughout the Bantu languages.

- janca* 53; -landa* 109; -dyunta* 273; -tsuñ 251; -ceñkwō 230.
 -duru* 13, -dwirw* 28; -sulu* 43, -silu* 56 b, -cili* 56 b, -cilu*, -jilu* 57, Ciū* 58, -ciru 58 a 59;
 -gelu* 98; -toli* 195, -ntuli 200; -ntuli 200 205, -tw 206, -du 217 218 219; -forw* 231; -sur* 250;
 -kwl 202, -kwlw 226; Cu 252; -gule* 19 a, Gwle 27, -gule, -kule 32, -kuli 35, -kula 34, -kule* 56 56 a;
 -lwula 133; Raguru 151 a.
 -kutu* 155 c, Kuta* 155, -kuza* 43 a, -kusa* 256, -kote* 74, -kwete* 101.
 -gonzaw 64 64 a, -konzaw 64, Gwsaw 66, Gonjw 68, Konjw 69 70, Konjua 69, Khondlw 71; -asw 220 h.
 Kundana 65 a, Gudani 60 65 a 67, -gundwane 75 b-c 76.
 Giñgondw* 34; Ceukwō* 228, -jeñkun* 232; Goñgoñgw* 27; -doñgw 98, -hoñgw 217.
 -beñgw 95 96, -beñgu 98.
 -biriñga 48.
 -rindie 62; Linde 40.
 Tañga 187, -ndañga 190; -nañ 274.
 -di* 129, -dyi* 129 a, -ji, -jiji* 130, -si 131, -ji 132, -idi* 134; -buđi* 74, -buzi* 75 75 a; -dezi 13;
 -dzē 259.
 -kesi*, -si 257, -gasi* 189; -kenje* 37, -cenje* 55.
 -kwsaw* 9 9 a-c, -gwswe* 15 18 a; -gwshe* 19, -gwswe* 19 a, -gwsaw* 20, -kwswe* 44 44 b, -kuza*
 49 50, -kwswe 54 60 61 61 a-c 62 77 78, Kwsaw, Kwsaw, -kuswe 79, -jusaw 111, Kwsaw 134, -kwōbi* 186,
 Kw 195, Kō 199, Kw 200 204 b 213, Ku 214, Kwsī* 203 217; -bwōtwe* 259; -budi* 74, -buzi* 75 75 a;
 -fusu 258.
 -tunzw 110.
 -mese* 4, -mede* 56.
 -yat 271, -yars 270.
 -feta 206; -vatsa 226; -bica* 226, -wica, -iṣa 226 a, Bisa* 254.
 -demba 114; -lema 122.
 -tuma 157.
 -tumbi 84 86 88 109 (and -tombi), -tōbi 126.
 -dugi 8; -tuku 273; Jōku 230.
 Sal* 213, -san 220, Sane* 235; -sa*, -swa 254; -ṣenna 256.
 -gyaha 17; -nyau 16; -liawa 255.
 -wu 249.
 -gelu* 98; -beli* 146, Biili* 153, -bel* 261; -er, Wer* 263; Fiali* 267, Fear* 268.

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- pera* 2 e 2 g 3 b 9 a, -pela, -hela 9 c, -bila* 12, Pea* 13, -bela 14, Pera 16, Bia 17, -pela 19 19 a
 20, -pea 21 21 a-d, Mera* 21 f-g, -phera 24, -pera 26, -mela, -pera 27, -bela 28, Mela 34, -bela 54, Pela
 56 a, Phera 73, -pejane* 75 a, -bejane 75 c, -pela* 78, Phala* 92.
 Kakavele 105.
 Pembere* 35, Pembele 41, Pembēre 42, Bembere 44 44 b 51, Pembere 54 56 b, Pemfere 58,
 Pembere 59 61 61 b, Pembeli 61 c 62, Pembere 63, Bembere 69; Melembe* 71.
 -kura* 1 2 2 a 2 d 2 f-g 3, -kula 4, Huria 11, -kwōli 44 b; -bura* 17, -buria 15.
 Falu 19, Faru, -faru 21 21 e 23 a.
 -panda 50, -manda 94.
 -tupa* 23 28 33 a 43 a; -humba* 91; -kombw* 70, -kombe 75, -kombw* 74 b-c, -kombwe 87.
 -whw* 34 a, -hwfu* 75 c, -xwfw* 73, -kwvw* 86; Kwba*, -wba 74.
 -poñgw 106.
 -cawj, -jwaj 56; Dwgw 58; -ṣawgwjw*, -ṣoñgwōdzw* 81; -toñgōrw* 146; Tsukulu* 73,
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 -ṣwa 91.
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-laŋgwa 87 a 105.
 -pwete 58, -pueti 57 59.
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 -gamba* 106; -gava* 89; -dawane 70.
 -cipedω 146; -weω 5 a.
 -butsia 12.
 -kxetlwa 74.
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-sesa 1; -sia 1; -dzendze 49; -gezi*, -gesi 3 3 b, -izi*, -di* 4 a-b, -gasi* 38, -ezi* 41, -izi 50, -isi, -esi* 51, -si 56 b, -ezi, -izi 63, -izi 64 64 a, -ndzi 67, -izi 80, -iji* 84, -ontbi* 85, -ondi*, -ondzi* 86, -iji 88, -izi 97, -iji, -giji 98, -gije* 98 a, -iji 114, -iyi* 115, -zi 140, -gezi* 142, -ehi* 144, Dei* 148; -usi*, -si 1, -luci* 6 6 a, -doci*, -oci, -weci* 7, -dyi, -dyidiy* 10, -si, -dzi, -tsi* 12, -si 35, Luji* 40, -uzi* 43 43 a, -hici* 56, -uši, -ši 130 131 132 133, -ci 135, -si, -ci 139, Afi 149, -si, Lwsi* 162, Loi* 164, Luji* 237; Rod* 252.

-lūi 93, -luwi*, -dwi* 94, -wi, -ūi 105, -lobi* 184, -obi* 187, -lōvi, -lohwi* 193, -ωbu* 194, -obi* 195, -opi, -ōpi* 198 204 212, -ophi* 205, 226, -ωpe, -ωphe (water)*, -ωbe* 274, -lōi*, -lē* 273; Lom 203.
 -kōba* 64; -kōga* 27 29, -kuka* 55; -iga* 2 g 4 a, -ga 4, -iga 9 a (-bwiga*); -nika 44 44 b; -ya, a 227 227 a; -kpa* 244 245 246.

-likω* 160 161, -hω 195, -kω 198, -ikω* (E-ikω*) 222; -klω 81; -kωkω* 100, -cōgω* 69, -sōkω* 37; -saka* 7 a; -kuka* 55, -kwak* 119 121; -likekpu 259; Laga 256.

-biŋga 94 b.

-raña, -haña 242; -eña 25, -eñge, -geñge 87 a.

-roŋga* 44, -loŋga* 44 b 45, Loŋgira* 63, Nōka* 73 74, -doŋga* 75 75 a ('river valley'), -loŋga 77 78 79 80, -roŋka* 81, -loŋka 82, -roŋga 83, -doŋga* 85 86, -roŋga 89, -loŋga 90 91, -doŋgi* 92, -noŋga* 106, -loña* 110; Lōka* 146; -nōga* 114 193, -ōka* 195, -tok* 273; -oŋgω* 9 9 c; -dugu* 225, -lōkω* 56 a; -foŋgω* 17; -koloŋgω* 24 25; -koŋe 40; -goŋgōla 126.

-fōnyi 18.

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-šali* 85,¹ -zadi*, -zali 100, -zale* 117, -dzari* 123, -jali* 124, Cali* 125, -jale* 129 a, -dzali* 162, -zali* 166, -zale 168, -zali 175, -jare 176, -zadi* 177, -zale 178, Cali 190, Sal 253, Šal*, -sale 261; Ada*, Wada* 240; -cara* 5 a, -sarū* 2 2 c¹; -nari.*wari 254; -katu 258.

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-jenda* 54; -yandi, -yande*, -bande 155; -paŋku 248, -baŋgi* 157, -banze* 159 a, -banye* 183; Banya* 239 b; -anda, -tsanda* 23 23 a, -anja* 57, -anza* 58 a, -anja 59 60 61 a-c, -andhle* 75 75 a

¹ ? Related to the Sudanic terms Cada, Dzade, Cad, Šare, meaning 'big river' or 'lake'.

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-hundi* 34, -kindi* 224, -sinji* 53, -tsinje* 61 a, -cinje* 61 61 c, -dzenze* 49, -jenda 54, -šinte* 87, -šindi* 87; -kiñgi* 141.

-kemba* 32 33 a, -cemba* 28, -kemba 35; -ambu* 2 2 a, -ambw* 2 d, -ambu 3, -rambw* 64 a 65, -lambw* 66 68, Nambw* 69 70 71 f, -lambw 72, -lapw* 73 74, -lambw 75 75 a-c, -ramba 89, -dambu*, -lambu 100, -tamba* 145, -rembw* 184; -jaam* 243; -ambai* 83, -ambeši* 42; Dombasi* 58; -dom 81, -ombw 205; -sumbi 49 50 51 a.

-karaba 136; -yaba 141; -ya, -ā 227, -ya, Baya 228 228 a.

-kiv* (for Kivw) 120; -kiw* 225 (Kivu = lake, 3).

-furw* 15, -vulw* 26, -hulu* 38, -sulw* 54; -gūw* 58; -kurw* 59; -fuya* 65 a 67, -fula* 71 75 75 a-c 76; -mura* 17; Purupuru* 146; -putu* 137.

-basa* 1; -gasi* 35 38; -beši* 42; -laši* 104 b; Dombasi* 58.

-edenyi, -renyi, -denyi 17; -rie, Die, Di 226.

-orw* 7; -hw* 16, -tw* 19 19 a 20 21 21 a-d (and -cw), -cw* 21 e, -tw 21 f-g, -rw 22, -tw 34 a, -tutw* 40, -rw 56, -itw*. -ita* 110, -hw* 195, -šw* 186, -tu* 257.

-sima 90.

Maki 128; -mazi 59.

-bale* 4 b, -bali* (Ki-bali) 151, -bale* 166, -bani* 189, -bene*, Bei* 187, -bene* 191; -biala* 186; -bana* 48.

-bw 202; Bol 253; -bon 263; -fwnyi 18.

-foñgw* 17; -ñge-boñgw* 86; -eñga 25, -eñge, -geñge 87 a.

-pañku 248.

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[Jar* 253]; -sera* 1, -jira* 3 b 4 b, -zira* 3, -gira* 5 5 a (and -jira), -tsira* 6, -gira 6 a 7 (also -cira*), -cira 7 a, -zila 8, Dzira* 9, -zira 9 a, -zila* 9 b-c, -jira 11, -sia*, -dtia* 12, -cia*, -jia 13, Čia, -jila* 14, -zia 15, -gira 16, Sia*, -jia, -jila 17, -jia, -sia 18, Šila* 19, Sia 19 a, Sila* 20 20 d, -jia 21, -dia* 21 a-e, -šira 21 f-g, -dzila 23, -zila 23 a, -gila 24, -zira 25, -jira 28, -zila 29, -dila* 32, -dila, -dira 34, -jira 35, -jila 36, -jera*, -dera* 37, -zila 38 39, -yila* 40, -gila, -zila 41, -sila 42, -zila 43 43 a, -sila 44 44 b, -zira 45 48 49 50, -dzira, -jira 51, -dira 55, -tila* 56 b, Dila 57, Sia 58 58 a, -jira 59 60 61 a, -jila 61, -jira 61 b-c, -zira, -jila 62, -zira 64, -jira 64 a 65, -zira 66, Jeiya* 67, Jira 68, Jera, -jela* 69 (also -jila), -zila 70, -dlela* 71 71 f, -dila 72, Tsela* 73 74, Zila 74 b 75, -zila 75 (‘cattle’ or ‘wagon track’), -dlela* 75 75 a 75 c, -dhlela* 75 b, -tlele* 75, -jira 76, Šila 77, Zila 78 79 80, -jera 81, -dera 82, -dila, -dela 83, -jila 84, -gila 85, -gela, -zira 86, -bila* 87, -dira 87 a, Jila 88, -dyira 89, -dyila 90, -jila 91, -dila 91 a, -dyila 92, -gira 92 b, -jila 94 97 98 100, -zila 101 102 103, Šila 104, -jila 105 106, -cila 107, -jila 109 110 116, -zil’ 119, -jil’ 121, -jila 122, -jela 127, Gila 128, -zila 135, -jila, -sila 139, -zia 140, -geya 141, -sinda, -senda* 142, -zila, -sinda* 143, -zira 144, -zi 149, -zea 152, -jela 160, -jea 161, -jila 164, -zela 166, -jia 176, -zila 177, -jila 184, -jeba* 186, -djea 187, -jela 189, -jila 190, -je 194, -jea 195, -jeya 198, -jea 199, -zie* 200, -señ, -sen, -sen* 200 201 202, -gea*, -jeya 204-204 c, -jia 205 206, -je* 207, -ja 209, -jañgu* 210, -gia* 211, -gie* 212, -yi* 213, Si* 214, Sen 217, Sen, Zen 217 218 219, -ze, -nze* 220, Dzi 221, -gila, -dzia* 223, Dzila 224, -gia, -se 225, -ke* 226, -anše, -njia*, -nyi* (Ma-nyi) 230.

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-tun 244 a, -suñ 245, -oñ (Gw-oñ) 252, -oñ (R-oñ) 263, -ruñ, -tin, ruñga 273-273 c; -lunji 211.

-timma 238; Timpw 260.

-gondw* 83, -kondw* 23 54; -koñkw 86; -kañcw, -gwañcw 75 b; -anjia, -anše 230.

- Gamwɔnon 222.
 -kombwela 84; -be-yumbi 234.
 -bɔka* 118, -bɔha* 120, Pɔkɔ* 123, Bɔka 124 125 (and Bɔkɔ) 129, -bɔka 130, -buka* 130 132
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 -kubɔ* 4; -kop* 229.
 -gwagwa 64, -kwakwa 44 74 b.
 -alala or -kwalala 60.
 -kwasa 60.
 -sese 9 a; -seu* 44 b 65; Ziɔ* 146; Sa 146.
 -dzɔ 260.
 -ŋgãw 274.
 Nã 261.
 Jar* 253, -dala* 56 b, -tala* 54, -tale*, -tele* 226.
 -pali* 159, -bali* 159 a, -pele* 195; -pilɔku 247 b; -ba 227 228, -va 64 a; -patw 65 a; -pirɔ* 56
 56 a, -pitw 56 a; -bie* 168, -bia* 263.
 -putw 151 b; -pulɔ* 51, -pɔla* 90, Pɔnɔ*, Pɔnlɔ 193; -kpölö* 247.
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 -kute* 2; -putw 151 b.
 Nitw (possibly related to M-pitw, -pitw) 126.
 -pi (Mu-pi) 148, -fi, -hi 150, -pe 153, -be- 234; -bia 263.
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 -bã 227 228.
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 -hambi 151 153.
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 -kuya 27.
 -tɔhwa 52, -tɔwa 53.
 -suku 258.
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 Duli 137, -dɔle 155 c 157.

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- nyu* 1, -ɔnyɔ* 2 e, -ɔnu* 2 f, -ɔnyu 2 g, -unyu* 3 3 b, -unyu 4, -unyu 5 a, -nyu 8, -nũ* 9, -nyu,
 -enu* 9 c, -nyu 10 11 12 13 14 16 17 19 19 a 20, -nyu, -nyɔ 21 a-g 22 23 a 24, -inu* 25, -nyɔ 27, -nũ 28,
 -nyu 29, -inyɔ 32, -nyu 34, -inyɔ 35 38, -nyu 40, -unyu 51, -inyu 57, -enyu* 58, -inyɔ 59, -nyu 62 63
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 -nane 159 a; -nam 269-72.
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 192 193 (also Yañga*), -añga (Mañga¹) 195 198 199 204 205; -kañ* 227 228, -gañ 229, -guañ, -gbañ*
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 -ka 56 56 a; -ba 56 b; -gbale* 248, -bala* 17.
 -kwakwa* 79, -ñgwa* 83 84 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 (ñgüa*) 96 97 98 99 100 102, -ñgua 108, -ñgua,
 -ñwa, -ñgu* 110, -ñu* 111, -ñgwa* 114 116 120, Moñ* 121, -ñgwa 142 144, -kwa* 156, Kwe* 148, Kua
 149 150, -kwɔ, -kwoa, -kwe, -kba* 151-151 b, -kwɔ, -kwa* 161 a-b, Kwe, Ka 152 (-ka 56 56 a, -ba*
 56 b), -kwɔ* 153, Kwa, Kba 155, Hwa* 157, -kwa 159 a 160, -kba 161, -kwa 162 164 166 168, -a*

¹ Mañga means 'sea-water'.

(Mwa) 168 a, -gwa* 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182, -ñgwa 190, -kū 202, -kwa 206, -kwa 208, Kūa 213, -kwa, Kwe 214, -kwa 215 225, -ā, -ha, -nwa* 226, -gua* 230, -ñma* 250, -ñwañ* 251, -kwa* 249; -tyuwa, -tyiwa* 75; -cwai* 74 75 c, -tswai 73, -tswayi 75 b, -swai 74 b, -tswai* 81; -sei* 123; -cayi* 64; -kwas* 60, -vwasa*, -vwaši 252.

-tehel 270; -er 263; -kwi*, -kōre* 267 268; -ñiri* 274; -sereri* 14; -kele* 9 c, -cele* 21-21 f, -kele* 23, -kere* 33 a, -kele 40 41, -cere* 42, -kyere 43 a, -keri 44, -cele 44 b, -kere 45, -jete* 54, -cele, -cere 61 61 a-c; -še (Mw-še) 121; -dze 185; -ji 230; -ki, -ke 230.

-siki* 135 136 139, -sege* 175, -siw* 178, -sek* 235; -sis*, -sisa 273-273 c.

-leke 167.

-silya* 43 a, -sura* 2 147; -sōlō* 226, -dulō* 61 a; -sal 220; -hōta 254.

-lambw 51; -nam 269 271-2.

-kiemba 186, -kembw 194, -kimbw, -tyimbw 200; -tumbu* 189, -tomba* 64 a, -fumbw* 42; Cumvi* 16 19 a, -umvi, Cumvi 21, -humvi* 23.

-ōma 247.

-ninha 226.

Kindu 116.

-kebu* 184; -efw*, -ehw 104, -epw* 104 c 105 106, -wehw* 134, -w 141.

-veya 49.

-poñgwe 166.

-huñgu 35, -kuñgu 61 a (allied to root -cuñgu, -tuñgu, meaning 'bitter').

Ma-anje, Mande 255, Mani 256, Mā 257; Mbā 258, -mō, -mōe, -moe 259.

Kon 236 237.

-woj 266; Bas 203.

SHAME

-soni*¹ 1 2 2 a 2 c-g 3 3 b, -sonyi* 4, -soni 5 a 6 8 9 a 9 c, Tsoni* 11, Dsoni* 12, Ssoni 15, Ssonu*, Ssoni 17, Ssoni 19 19 a, Ssoni 20 24 24 c-g 25 26, -oni*, -yoni* 27, -zoni, -honi* 28, -soni 29, -oni 32, -onyi, -hyonyi* 34, Ssoni, -honi 35, -honi 36, -soni 38 41 42 43 43 a 44 44 b 51 54, -soni 56 a, -cōni*, -soni 61 61 c 62, -soni 64, Thoni* 72, Xloñ* 73, -tlhoñ* 74, -tloni*, -hlona*, -hloni 75 a-c, Ssoni 76, -soni 77 78 79, -sonyi 83 88, -tsoni, -soni 86, -soni 87, -honi 89 90 91, -honyi 92, Ssonyi 94 b 98, -soni 100, -sonye 101, -sonyi 103 108, Seinye* 110, Cuen* 121, Ssonyi 124 125, Tsony' 128, Ssonyi, Ssonyi 129, Sōyi* 130, Ssonyi 131 132, Ssoni 133 134 136 141, Ssonyi, Hōni 151, Ssoni 153 155 156, -tsoni 159 a, Ssoni 160 161, Ssonyi 162, -soni 164, -cōni* 166, -soni 175 177, -tswene* 178, -soni 184, Ssoni 186, Tcōi* 187, Tcōni 190, -tyoni 193, -dyōnu* 194, -honi 195, -hōni 198 199, Sūoni* 200, -son' 202, -son', -honi, -solō* 204 204 c, Ssoni 205 206, Sson, Sun 214, Sōn 217, Sōn 218, Cōom*, Sōom*, Cōm, Cōñ 226, Son 227, Ton* 244, Nzun* 253; Sōonsu 151 a; -nunsō* 258; -nyisu* 273; -nyinyekw* 273; -kiñ 252.

-isisiō 157.

-nyasi* 58, -niazwi* 59, -nyazi* 61 61 a-b, -nyadzō* 63, -hlazō* 75 75 a 75 b; -nyadō* 58, -nyarō* 61 b, -nyara* 64, -nyala* 23 23 a 33 a 61 a; Ngana* 70, -ñgana 71 f.

-seta 110; -šai 193; -ntei 167.

-hamu* 35, -emu*, Bu-wemu 4; -eme, Bweme* 79.

-ene 83; -neñe 175.

-ndu, -nivu (Bu-ndu, Bu-nvu) 104, -mfu 105, -mvu 106, -ndu 107, Mvūa 109, -kyūāmūa 86; -mvua (Bu-mvua) 109, Bundie 139, -vu, Buvu 142.

-wuñgu 100 b.

-bañga 137.

¹ This, which is one of the most widespread and universal of the Bantu word-roots, seems to be connected with a root meaning 'eye', 'face', coupled with the -ni locative—'in the eyes', 'in the face'.

-swaba* 74 b 80; **dzwa**, -tswa* 14; -wca 151 b.

Ila 16; -lap-dap 261 262 263.

-seta 110.

Nyowa 64 a; **Koyob** 203.

-kuti 168 a, -kutu 189; **But** 245; -ñot 266.

-bolu 166.

Kuye 259; **Kiwi** 260.

-pfula* 120, -pfuru*, -pfuru 175 178; -fa 257.

-sufra, -sufanāx 274.

-kope 44 b.

-okwe* (B-okwe) 127; **Okpi*** 243; **Ciwa** 151 b.

-jinu (Ri-jinu) 98; -yena 85; -nje, -yēyē 255 256.

-rēze 17.

-rawā 18.

Waya 14, **Haya** 16 21-21 e 56.¹

SHEEP

-gondu* ('ram') 2 f, -konde* 5 5 a (and -xande*), -gonde* 5 b, -kondi* 6 a, -ondi* 7 7 a, -gondu 8, -gondi 9 a, -ondi 9 c, -ondu* 11, -londu*, -wodu 12, -gonde, -ondi, -gonzi* 14, **Fonji***, -onji 15, -gonzi, -gondzi 16, -ondu, -wondi, -condi* 17, -ondw, -onzi 18 18 a, **Kondw***, **Kondw***, **Kondw*** 21, **Kondw** 21 a, **Kondw** 21 b-d, **Hondw** 21 e, **Kondw** 21 f-g, **Gonderu*** 22, -hondw* 23, **Nondōw*** 23 a, -ñondi* 31, -gondw* 33 a, **Nondw** 34, -kondō 34 a, **Gondw** 54, **Kondōw** 56 a, -gōdwbge* 63, -gondwbhye* 64, **Hondwhwe***, **Gundata*** 64 a; -ñwsi* 37 48, -gonzi, -ñonzi 49 50, -nwsi* 51, -gwa* 54, -kwa* 60 61 61 a-b, -guša* 75; -fws* 258; -bwsi* 259; -wesi* 259, -gese* 5 a, -xese, -kese* 6, -hesi* 6 a; -ki-ñgesia* 266.

Ton 211.

-gudw* 256, -gudw* 19 19 a, -git* 235, -cōdu*, -cōru*, **Šōru***, **Šelu***, **Celu*** 226, -mlōdu 247 b, -rot 238, -zur* 253, -khw* 24, -khw* 29, -ñw* 27 28 38, -hw* 9 9 c, -gw* 20, -kws-w* 19, -hw* 23 a, **Hw** 225; -swna*, **Ṭwna*** ('ram') 90, **Fwna*** 91, **Fwnu***, **Hwnu*** 257; **Ba-uru*** 14; -bwkw* 100; **Pwulw*** 61 b; -njuar 231; rot 238.

-kwkw* 39 40 41 84 88 104 105 106, -kwakwa* 107, **Kkw*** 108 109 110 111 122 126 127 131 133 134 135 136, -kw* 139, **Kkw*** 141 142 143 144 155.

-dw*, -du* 11, **Du***-rume (= 'ram') 16, -dw*-lome ('ram') 20; **Ba-uru*** 14; -luvi* 17.

-bv* 59, -mv* 67, -iw* 69, -pfu* 71 71 f, -gu* 72, -ku* 73 74, -gu 74 b, -vu* (**Im-vu**) 75 75 a-c 76, -ku* (-ñku) 81, -gu 83 85, -du*, -thu, -zu 89, -swi*, -bi* 90, -di* 91, -gi* 92, -ji 93; -jūi 92 b; -vwa* (= 'lamb') 162.

-tw* 200 a; -swka* 208; -tioxa* 214.

-doñw 175, -doñgi 204, -loñgw* 205 206, -loñgu* 206, -loñge* 207, -roñki* 208, -loñgi 209 213, -oñg* 213, -goñgw* 201, -yoñ* 234, -roñ* 245, -oñgw* 248, -loñgwome* 264, -loñkwobe* 261.

-buri* 1, -buzi* 13 16, -putiputi* 22, -butibuti* 56, -putiputi 56 a, -buiji* 64 a, -puizi* 65 65 a, -buli* 94, -budi* 94 b 95, -bwi* 96, -budi, -buri 98 110, -budi 112 a, -bwi 114, -buli 140, -bwi 150, -pun* 237, -bun*, -bōre* 228, -wesi, -fesi, -bwi, -pwsi 259 260; **Fws** 258; -pode* 268; -pwulw* ('ram') 61 b; **Bauru*** 14; -bu-mebw 229.

-lome 263.

-kum 230.

-bat* 214 215, -pot* 213; -vuta* 66 68 69 70; -bata* 159 161 166 168, -pata* 160, -pate* 162, -pati* 164.

¹ Derived from Arabic.

- liam* 240, -jamba* ('ram') 11, -samba* 19, -samba* 19 a, Hamba* 70 71; -ndomba* 103 a
 -dōmi* 175, -dombi* 184, -gombe 185, -dōmōki*, -dombe* 186, -dombw* 187 189, -tombe*, -dombe
 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 198 199 200, -tombe*, -tumba*, -tomba 202 203 216 (also -humba), Dōma*
 211, -tumba, tomba* 217, -tōme*, -tuma, -dōmōki* 218, -tomba* 219, Rumaga 256; -jōbui, -jambui,
 -gyombwē*, -jombe* 227; -tombu*, -domba* 235.
 -tama* 2 2 a-g 3 3 b 4 b 9 a 145 146 147 148, -tem* 220, -tam*, -tame* 229, -nami* 244, -tā 250,
 -tañ* 251, -tama* 255, -raam* 243, -ram* 246; -cemi 256; -tumai 254.
 -meme* 94 97 100 101 102 103 113 123 137 141 156 157, -meñe* 175, -meme* 176 177, -meñe* 178,
 -meme 179 180 181; -mai* 254.
 -hwai*, Gai* 64, Guae 63; -sari* 3 (old R); -saya*, -saha* 273.
 -jinju* 230; -jūi 92 b; -vinzūi* 230; Šui*, -juet 230, -ju* 236; -joñgan 237.
 -jä 229 e; -je 230 232, -jag 233, -ya 232.
 -diga, -riga, -ziga 4; Daguman 254.
 -babw 269-72; -bwebi 210.
 -fe 274.
 -paya ('ram') 2.
 -pañga* 42 44 44 b 86 88, Phañga* 124, -pañga, -beñgela* 125 129, -bañgali* ('ram') 1, Beñgel*
 120; Pycñ 252.
 -gañgasia* 265; -kiñgesia* 266; -kišia 264.
 -fuñgamw, Funyamw ('ram') 28.
 -balega 2 f.
 -berere*, -belele 35 44 b, -berere 52 53 55, -belele* 61 62 77 78 79 80, -berere 82, -belele 86 87,
 -berere 87 a, -belele 120; -mpalela* 267, -palalw* 270.
 -pila 56 b, Bira 57, -bia 58 58 a, -bira 59 61 a-c.
 -fwere* 40, -fule* 43, Fwere 43 a 45; -vyel*, -vyol 252.
 Rē 13.
 -anria 17; -horima 17.

SHIELD

- gabw* 1 2, -gabu 2 a, -gabw 2 c-d, -gaw* 2 e, -gabw 2 f-g 3 4 5 5 a 6 6 a, -guba* 7 8, -gwbw* 6 9 a,
 -gawa* 9 c, -gw* (or -ñgw) 11, -gau* 12, -gaw 13 14, -gaww* 15, -gaw 16, -gaw, -gaww 17 18 19 19 a
 20, -gaw 21 21 a-d 28, -gavw* 21 e, -gavu* 39, Nābw* 39 a, -gabw 41, -gaww 44 b, -nwbw*, -hwaww* 64,
 -kawu*, hawu* 75, -yau* 75 a, -hawu* 75 b, -kapu* 75 b, Kepwe* 84, -vaww* 89, -gubw* 98, -gubu 100,
 -guba 103, -gabu 104, -gabw 105 106 108, -gabu 109, Kebu*, Kibw* 110, -guba 124 125 (and -gaw),
 -gabu 228, -gua* 129, -gwa* 130, Kwakwa* 107 [-ukwa* 274], -gvua*, -gau 131 133, -gabw 135, -guba
 136 137, -gabw 139 140 142, -guba 145, -gabw 147, -kōbe* 148, Nguba 151 152, -gubw 151 a-b 153,
 -guha* 155, -guwa 155 a 156, -guba 159, -gua 160, -guba 161, -guwa 162, -guba 164 166 168 a, -vuba
 178, -guba 186 189, -guwa 193, -guba 199 202 204 205 206, -kōpa* 28 33 a 35 54 56 a 61 61 a-b, -gūb
 218, -guba 220, -kupw* 61 a-b, -kōbw*, -kōbe* 226; -nwbw*, -hwaww* 64; -tubi* 6, -tōbw* 78 79
 -dōvw* 64 a, Dōbw* 69, Dōa* 58, -lōbw* 168.
 -savōla 146.
 -papa 62.
 Klebe* 81; -tebe* 83 a, -thebe* 73 74.
 -pHEMELE 73; -felege ? 266.
 -kumbi* 5 b, -humba* 5 a, Gamba* 13, -gwembe* 27 38, -yembe* 167; -komba* 80, Kumba 105 a,
 -kumbu* 216; -tomba 82 83.
 -gōma* 157; -guluma* 23 a, -gulu* 24 25; Nulu* 44, -guru* 51.
 -akuliilw 92 b.

-syañgu* 43 a, -şañgu* 63, -cañgu*, -tlañgu* 70, -tlhañgu* 71, -tañgu* 72, -hlañga* 75 a-b; -añga* 184 187 190; Kañ* 204; -bañga*, -bañgal* 273; Toñ 253.

-tera 51.

-nok 227; Ruga 252.

-k'aka 75.

Sika 194.

-kidzw 23, -kande-kisw 90; -keele-lifw 91; helw 88; -ñkeli 254; -klüi 259.

-banda 85 86; Ben 203; -binta 263; -wante¹ 13; -pende 32; -tende 132; -beta 227.

SHOULDER

-vega* 2 a, -bega* (sometimes meaning 'back') 2 2 d, -wega* 2 e, -bega 2 f-g 3 b 4, -wexa* 5 a, -gega* 7, -begw 8, -vega 9 c, Wega* 14, -veva* 17, Wega, Eya* 19 19 a 20, Bega* 21, -bega 21 f-g 22, -yega* 23 23 a 24, -wega 25 27 28, -yega 33 a, -vega 35 38, -bea* 42, -weya* 44 b, -beja* 51, -wega* 55, -pewa* 59 61 61 a 62, -pea* 64, -paya 88, -bwew 95, -beka* 151 (or -bega*), -beke* 160, -beki* 166, -beke* 167, -peke* 168, -beke* 186, -bega, -beyā* 192 193, -bekw* 194, -beke 195, -beki* 198, -behe 199, Bia* 200, -beeka* 215, Bekw 220, -be 233; -vwgw*, -bagw* 193, -bag* 250; -mbahi* 267; Mod-bog 253; -pewka* 85, Piak* 121.

-pe 262, -pi 44; -pepe 90 91 92 94, -bebe 96; Pepe 262; -kape* 268; -kubi* 253, -kope* 41 42, -xope* 73; -kwbw* 165; -ceba* 75 a, -cebe* 75 b; -tabe* 216 249; -tafe*, -tafwa* 266.

Kwaba* 81; Gcalāba* 75; -aha, -afa* 104; Kiya 104, Kiiye 43 a; Keha 104, Keba* 104 c 105 106; Vihw 22; -bahi*, -fahi* 267; -abu* 162, -babu* 166; -ababa* 226; -bwabw* 233; Kwor-kab 253; Mbwa*, Mbūa* 230; -papa*, -pampa* 108, -mampa*, -mañgba 257; -vambi* 89, -pamba, -bamba* 32; -vembw* 100, -vembua* 100, Hembw, Gembw* 100 b, Vembw 101, -vimbua 102, -vembw 103, Kim* 119, -gembe* 142, -kembel* 213; -keem* 229; -jebw* 176; Kegbw* 229 e.

-kombe*, -gombe* 27 41, -hlombe* 75 a-c, -şombe* 76; -kumba* 231; -womba* 193; -kamba*, Kambw, -kambot* 230.

-wali* 178, -wala* 34; -fara* 245; -ban* 218, -baña* 246, -fañ* 227; -vandeya 248; -pañga* 97 99 114 116; -gañga* 272; -kañkela 263.

Ñlōadw 259.

-kadyw 251.

Ciuñgw 151 a.

-ñgama 269.

-sama* 117; Samuga* 175, -samuñw* 175 176, -samw* 177 178, -sameña* 179, -samaña* 180, -şamōra* 181; Dzam 220; Sanat 252.

-şada* 72, -xetla* 73 74, -heta* 74 b, -katla* 71 71 f, -kata* 56 b 69 70, -kaba* 56 a, -kata 56 204 205 206; -njat* 236; -ñker* 234; -kadyw* 251.

-kexal 214.

-kelekele 155 a 157.

-kulw 237.

-kōyw 54.

-tuw* 12, -turw* 16; -turi* 56 56 a-b 57 58; -ruli* 73, -rudi* 74, -bili* 85, -tuli* 136 141 153, -durw* 182, -tulu* 208, -tul* 217, -thol, -tul* 218; -tei* 94; Dzudzuri* 16.

-kwlkwkw* 156; -lkwkwkw* 161, -twkwkwkw* 159, -twkwkw 155, -twtwkw* 155, -twtwkw 164; -cwkw* 162; -kwkw* 191, -kuku* 189, -kukw* 78 79; Ba-gug* 151 a.

-tut, -twotok 202; Utu 254, -tutu 255 256; -wudw 260.

-duk* 185; -bipitw* 64; -petuk* 261, -tipetsok* 261; -şak, -sak, -jak 270 271.

-tañgatañga 109; -tantan 109 b.

Kañkela, -kiñkila 263.

¹ Wunte = 'shield' in Gala.

Moose 151 b, -musi 258; Fuzi* 21 a-d, Fubi* 21 e, Fusi* 44 44 b, Puzi* 61 a, Puzi, Pwsi* 61 b, Pfutsi* 63, -pfudzi* 64, Fudsi* 64 a, -fusi* 77, -funzi* 78; -ñikus* 274; -futi* 83, -fwiji* 84, -tuve* 89, -susi* 97 98 (and -soze*); -tyitse* 86, Kiji*, Cizi* 110, -ges* 111, -viso* 176; -eziw, -ezw* 79.

Hihi 112 a.

Elefese 159 a.

-sinze, Citsinzi 86.

-wşöre 235.

-fun'oww 228.

-andi* 11; -bande* 118, -ban 218, -banda*, -ban 273, -bantsa*, -banca, -gbäts 264 265.

-ondw 226 b; Kon 214; -añkon 236; Añikus 274.

Lala 237.

SISTER¹

-lumbu* 2 g, -rumbu* 9, -lumbu 9 a 9 c, Imbu* 13, -umbu* 14, Rumbiria* 15, -lumbu* 19 19 a 20 20 d, -umbu 21-21 e, -lumbu 21 f-g 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25 26 29 31 a, -numbu*, -lumbu 32 33 a, Numbw 34, -dumbw*, -lumbu 35, -dumbu, -rumbu 37, -lumbu, -rumbu 48 51, Dumbu 52, -lumbu 54, -numbw 55, -rubw* 56, -dumbu 86, -dumbw 88, -dumbu, -dumba* 84; -ombi* 193.

-dō 85, -dōme 204, -dōmani 205 206; -dōni 69.

Nyumi 253.

-gogw* 6, -şigi-ogw* 17; -ruza* 7, -rukaw* 56 b, -rōgōra* 56 56 a (also -rōkōra), -logw* 57; -luku* 195; -dugu* 13 16 19, Zuguni* 20, -duhu 20 d 21-21 d, -dugwe 26.

Ŋgu 58.

-rōgora 56, -roñkw-riw* 58, -loñgw* 60 61 61 a-b (and -roñgw) 61 c, -loñgwi* 62, Noñgw* 70; -oñgwe* 193; -sañga* 100, -añgw* 156, -jañgw* 210; -nyeñga* 105, -eñga* 157.

Pañgia 96, Pañge 97 98 a, -pañgi* 100, -panji* 114, -pañgi 116 118 119 122 123 124, Phañgi 126, -pañgi 129 a; -bagi* 265; -paka* 168.

-vuna* 9, -rua* 11, -runa* 14, Nuñuna* 34, -nuna* 38, -nōnu* 38; -dōni* 69; -bura* 175 178; -fuji 88; Fur' 232; -bunani 167.

-hara* 1 3 4; Khala'dzi* 72; -kara'm* 121; -fala*, -fera*, -fuda* 230; -vele* 19, -viala* 42; -hela* 110, -kele* 181 182; Kal'* 217 218 219 220; -bale* 44 b, -bai* 58, Bali* 64.

-xolw* 73, -goli* 55, Kōlu* 185, Kōdō* 267, Kōdu* 195.

Apōdigō* 243; Polgwō* 252.

-kana, -xana* 6, -xana 5 a, -kxan* 74, -kana* 166 167; -nana* 175 209; -na-ñgōya 133.

Mimama* 154, Umama* 38; Hama* 65; Mana* 211, Manye* 212; Mu-ndanye 226; -na, -bena 235; -anyañ* 213, -annyā* 214, -anya* 215, -hanya* 10, -ganya* 81; -gene* 161, -gini* 237; -hanzw* 64; -anye, -anna* 228; Manu* 125; -nyanya* 2 2 c-e 2 g; -nyañgw* 167.

-linw, -lina 273.

-inyina*, -ina* 42, -ine* 41 43; -nyen* 228 a; -haina 92 b.

-nanti* 57; -anju* 64 a, -andi- 65 a, -hanza* 64, -panda* 87, -yanja* 94 b, -anji 185, Manda* 83; Wante 261; -wañhai 262; Wenc-u-ren 264.

-hadza* 24 c-g, -haza* 27, -haja*, -aca* 28, -hasa* 29, -hadza 30 31, -atsa* 38, -kasi* 44 44 b, -kxai* 74; Kai* 74 b; Kaki* 43 a; -sale 148; -kaja* 164; -kwasw* 62; Khala'dzi* 72.

-edu 12, -edw, -elw 155 157; -kwero 69; Kele, 175, Kere* 176, Kele 178, Kede* 179, Keat* 180, Ketu* 184, Kadi* 187, Kedi* 189, Keri 190.

-ēda, -eta, -ita 226; -ide 268.

¹ As far as possible words or paraphrases merely meaning 'female', 'female brother', 'female child', 'woman', are avoided, though throughout the Bantu languages there is no very clear distinction between 'sister' and 'brother', and in a few languages between 'sister' and 'wife', 'sister' and 'aunt', 'sister' and 'mother'.

Bwaru 207; Datu* 67, -rathw* 73; -ari* 11; Dada* 21 21 a, -dade* 75 75 a-b 76, -dzadze* 75 b; -dsasia* 230; -dá 260.

-tiaiya 12, Yaya*, Yaiya* 97 103 109, Yayi* 111, Aya* 148, Ayaya* 153, -yeye* 206, -iya* 209, -ndiya 251, Yan* 253, Ya* 254, Ja*, -yena* 255; -yabina 256.

-yebi 166; -yemba 50.

-komba 101.

-tambane 135.

Sikam' 146.

-jima 248, -šima 269-72.

-fuama 17; Hama 64 65.

-nemi 259; -dimi 167.

-sice* 53, -cizi* 79, -cizi* 78, -cizi 80, -jike*, -dzike* 194, -tigi* 230, -jie* 229.

-lisa 62.

-teta 68.

-ti, -li, -lina, -linw 273.

-ili, -ilu 137; -witu 46.

-bwswa* 5 a, -bwcw* 5, -bwtsw* 5 a (R.), -bwsie* 56 b, -buzi* 100 b.

-sawe 233; -subati 8.

Makwa* 71 71 f; -pwa 58, -paka 168.

-makw* 250; -muike 244.

-mū or -ū 44 b.

SKIN

-goba* 1, -gwi* 2 a 4, -xoba* 5 5 a 6, -koba* 6 a 7, -kopa 8, -gww* 9 c, -yua*, -ūa* 11, -gwi* 13, -gwi* 14, Gwi* 16 21 a, Gwi 21, -gwi* 21 b-e, -gwi 21 f-g 22, -gwi 32, -kwa* 37, -kwa* 43 a, -kōp* 44 b, -kwa 50, -kopa* 61 a, -gubw* 51, -gufu* 146, Jwb* 65, Dwa* 65 a, -jwv 71 f, Kwbw 73, -kugu* 57, -kwa* 84 89 92, -kwa, Kupu 88, Kiba*, -iba* 98, Kibadi* 99, -koba* 105, Kupa 105, Kwa 106, Kwa 110, -iba 114, Kwbw 120, -yobe* 125, Kwe* 126, Kwa* 130, Kwa 135 136 141, Kwa 134, Kwa 145 147, -gufu 146, -komba 155 156, Kw* 155 a, -kwbw 175 176, -kww 179, -gwbw 187, -kuba 192, Kwbw 195, Kwb 203, -ywbw 204, -yww 205 206, -gww 208, -kwbw 209, Kw* 207, Kw* 212, Kop*, Kokop* 213, -gob* 214 215, -kwbw 217, -kō 218, -kōp 219, -gu, -guba, -gub* 227, -gw 228, -küe 229 e, -gup*, -gob, -gwe*, -guba* 230, -kwō, -kuob* 234, -gū 236, -juwun* 232, Ywp* 235, -up, -yub* 244, Kwgub* 250, Kupa* 251, Ngob*, Ngup* 253; -kww* 75 c, -gōg* 75 b,¹ -guguta* 64, -huku* 124, Gugu* 137, Gufu* 146, Kw* 207, -gu 227, -kü, -kw 258; -kwa 202; -hww 252.

-dawa* 12; Dwb* 64 a 68, Jwb* 65, Dwa* 65 a, -zwbw* 69, -lwa* 125, -dwa* 129, Jw 129 a, Dwa, -lwa 131 132 139 (Lwa), -lwp* 159 a, Lwa 204 b, -duba* 254; -sba* 226 b; Juwun 232; -šipa* 90 91, -cipa* 94, Tebe* 56 b, Seba* 104, -seva* 105, -seba 142 143; -dipa*, -diba* 151, -diba, -liwa*, -iwa* 4 4 a.

-papa 42 43 43 a 62, -paya* 77, -papha*, -papala* 28, Mapw* (-papw) 34, -babu* 19 19 a, -hafu* 6, Kapw* 121, Kabi* 80 81, -wavu* 53, -wewe* 44 b, -waba*, -awa* 255 256.

-rwg-k, -raku-k 151 a.

-lambw 86; -bamba*, -umba* 148; -šumba* 111; -kamba* 58, -kumba* 44 66 67, -kombwa* 54, -kumba* 75 b 76, -kwimba* 57, -kwembe* 23 23 a 24, -cimba* 48 52, -dimba* 130, -tembe* 59 62 110, Tebe* 56 b; -thē* 71.

-yambala* 34; -rapala* 56 a; -pale* 44 b, Pela* 118.

-thalw*, -tlalō 73 74, -talw* 74 b; -thē* 71, -tel*, -tila* 269-72; -der* 263, -ndar* 268.

-lula 12.

-kuli* 25 26, -dzuli* 178; -golya* 27; -kwera* 43 a, -gōra* 49; -kwlw* 9, -kōlw* 211, -kōrw* 220, -kwnw* 220, -ōru* 235, -korri* 261; -fol*, -pol* 273; -pwar* 231; Pu-ṅgol* 273 b; -porw 151 b.

¹ Gwga in Gala.

- guta* 4, -kota* 20, -gwo* 81, -utu*, -tw 83, -gōtō* 95 96, Kutō* 97, Kutu* 164 166; Kwat* 237; Lōtō* 226.
- satō* 2 a 3, -sarō* 87, -ša* 104 c, -serō* 7 a; -kwetu* 61, -ketu* 109; -kita* 110 210; -tetō 157; Nitu* 177, Nyetu* 179; Nyadu* 267.
- buma 12.
- senze 153.
- konde* 15 16 85 98 a, -konda* 114, 186 200, Kondō*, Kondo* 194, -kono 220; -jōni 18.
- pende* 54; -bandwa* 92, -ban' 119 120, -bana* 175 176 178, -banda*, Gbanda 191, -wanda* 192, -banda* 193.
- kanda* 1 3 b, -ganda* 16, -kanda* 20 32 35, -anza* 41, -kanda 42 44, -ganda 45, -kanda 51 59 62 63, -ganda 64, -handa 94 b, -kanda 72 77 78 79 100 101 103 116, -kana 180, -kaṣa* 185, -kanja* 189, -kanda* 190; -ṅgan* 274; -guanti* 249; Kwat* 237; -kunda 220.
- kataka* 56, -kada* 56 b, -kata* 165 184; -tata 226; -kata 264.
- kaya 181 182; -kpayu, -kpaju 238.
- Kuaye, Kuawe, Kuawuyō 248; -kwa 228.
- kunami 54.
- plekpa 259; -reka* 263; -reṅga* 39, -leṅga* 40; -ega*, Hiega 55; -aka 86; -tega* 146, -teke* 166; Cōgi* 69, -sōke* 108.
- Soṅge* 67 69, -hloṅge* 71.
- kiṅgō* 16 20 32 33 a, Ciṅgō* 13, -giṅgō* 14, -kuṅu* 13; -kuṅku* 58, -kuṅgu* 58 a 60 61 61 a-b, Khuṅga* 61 c; -roṅgō 14 17, -doṅgo 17; -toṅkot 266; Daṅga 256; -loṅa 257.
- biri* 2, -bili* 2 f, -wiri* 3 b; Biji* 227; Beki 228 a.
- iṣ, -dis 263.
- hu* 2 2 b-d (also -h'u, -pū*) 2 f, -ṣuṣu* 2 g, -susu* 4, -hu 3, -u, -pu* 4 b, -hō 7 7 a, -hu, -pu 9 a; -pusu* 133 140 160 161, -fōsō* 162, -pōsō* 166 168, -sū*, -usu* 75, -pōsō 159, Lumpū* 164, -hō 150; -buru* 146; -bu* 230.
- mwai 87.
- Enyam-bekō 229.
- caūkpa 240 c.
- nyūe* 1; -anyu* 237.

SKY¹

- guru* 2 2 b-c, -gulu* 2 a, -iguru* 2 d, -guru* 2 e, -gulu 2 f, -guru 2 g, -zuru*, -juru* 3, -dzulu*, -juru 3 b, -gulu 4, -kulu* 5, -gulu 5 a, -kuru, -kulu 6 6 a, -guru 7, -kulu 9, -zuru 35, -ulu* 39, Gulu, Yulu* 40, -yulu 41 43, -ulu 43 a 44 b, -yulu 45, -gulu 46, -lulu* 48, -dzulu 60, Khō-gōlō* 61 a, Ku-mulū* 62, -zulu 67, -xōli* 73, -zulu 75 75 a, -tulu* 75 b, -zulu 75 c, -zuru 76, -julu 77, -ze-ulu* 78, -julu 79, -ulu 80, -rō, -iru* 81, -ōlō* 82, -vulu*, -wilō, -wilu 83, -vilu*, -lu 84, -lu 85, -lō, -elō 86, Kōlō, Līlu 88, -yuru 89, -gulu 90, -ulu 91 92, -lu 94, -ulu, -lu 98, Kulu, Hulu* 99, -zulu, -yulu 100, -yīlu* 101, -yīlu, -īlyu, -līlyu* 103, -ulu 104, -iuru* 105, -yulu 106, -īulu 108, -ulu 109, Yulu, -urō, -ulu, -hulō 110, wulō*. 111, Hōlō 112 a, -ōlō, -ulu 114, Julu, Yulu 117, Zulu 119, Dū* 121, Yōlō* 127, -gulu 128, -lōlā* 133 134 (also -lōā*), -kō, -lōlā 136, Lula* 137, -suru* 139, Yulu 140, -ō* 141, -yulu 142, -guru 147, -kū 149, -kō 152, Likōlō 155 a, Ndili-kōlō 156, -kōlō 159 160, -ikō*, -ōlā 162, Dikō 163, Likōlō 164, -kuru, -yulō, -kōlō 166, Kōlō, Likō 167, Dikō 168, -yulō 168 a, -yulu 175, -zulu, -yulu 176 177 178, Yōlō 181 182, -yulu 184, Kōlu 185 189, Yulu 190, -huōnō* 192, Kō 220, -gur-igu*, -guru-bu* 227, -zōlō* 239, Kuru 264; -alō 25; Tirō*, Tilō* 69 71 71 f; -sarō 8.
- Gōre* 64, -gōre 64 a 65, -kōre 65 a, Gōle* 68, -xōli* 73, -xōdi* 74, -huli- 74 b; -hute* 56 a; Foi* 261.

¹ Sometimes synonymous with 'day', 'sun', 'above'.

- ela 226.
 -tuna 273; -tuwana 256.
 -oba* 7 7 a, -yubu* 39 a, -kuba* 42, -zuma* 70, -kūma* ('atmosphere') 98, -kova* 146, Kuba* 145, Kuba, Kupa* 150, -yubu* 144, Kugu* 151 153; Yop* 217, Yō* 218, Yōp, Jōp* 219, Jwa* 220, -kōb* 230, -soww* 228; Ew 244 a; -zuba* 254; -lōbw* 164, Tōbe* 186, Drowa* 186, -ōba* 187, -rowa*, -towa* 193, -lōba*, -ōba*, -ōbō 194, -ōba* 195, Lōba* 198 199 205, Lw 202, Lōwa* 206, Rowa* 208, Dōbi* 210, Diob* 213 214.
 -bu* 228 234 249, -bw* 236, -bube*, -bobe* 204 212; Bōbelala* 211; -yu* 18; -fu* 259, Foi* 261; -buñ* 229; -buci* 17; -büt* 246, -put* 230; -bonta* 227.
 -bōla* 1 157, -vura* 1, Bvūa*, Gua*, Bōwō* 200; -wūnna* 274; -forw* 243.
 -bont* 1 227, -ondw* 248, Tōndu* 253, -gundi* 207, -runde* 9 a, -lunde* 9 c, Vunde* 24 25, -bindi* 28, -undi* 34, -iunde* 54, -hute* 56 a.
 -tuti* 101 177; -sot* 273; -tō 257 258, -tū 11 12; Tuke 261.
 -didori 238; Tora 254.
 -ōkw 226 b; -lōkw 258.
 -bakw 226; -bagabaga* 75; -bañga* 4 a; -mbañ 235, -mba 232.
 -lañga* 19 a 20 23 24 27 31 33 a, -leñga* 61, -diñga, -liñga, -tiñga* 63, -deñga* 64; -renj 264; -halañ* 266; Lagwi 252; -luñgu* 12 14 16 19 28 129 130 131 132 (see 'rain' and 'God').
 -wiñgu*, -biñgu* 13 16 19 21 21 a-e 29 34 35, -wiñgō 49, -wiñgu* 50 51; Ngi 203.
 -dye 121, -dzi 178; -ñgie, -ñge 120, -gi 119, -ñgēē 165.
 -fimbi 45, -wimbi ('clouds') 21.
 -rumbi 11 17, -jumbi 15, -kumbi 44 62, -hombe 66; -kumba 151 b; -tombw 72; -tambu 53, -rapw 56 b, -drabu 57, Tambw 58 58 a 59 61 61 a-c, -amba 61 a.
 -re 2 g, -rere 3.
 Kiari 151 a.
 Lezi ('clouds', 'God') 40, -lesa, -leza 42 62.
 -deen* 253; -dana* 267; -rantr*, -renj 263; -riana 263.
 [Kanya 257], -canya* 34 52, -kianya* 37 38, -cani* 69; Kanu* 265; Ganw, Ganōbw 220; mwanya* 49 50 51; -nani* 32 35, -inane* 54, -nani 55; -nenere* 61 a.
 Nw'w 226.
 Keñbo 230.
 -kpi 250.
 Moi 204.
 Lihā 230.
 -irimu, -rimu 56 a.
 Gbate*, Gbadzi* 269-72; -besw, -bazi* 237, -basi* 244, -wasi* 227, -wazi* 234; -busi* 148, -use* 155 (Bu-use), -buse 161 163 (Busa*), -burse* 270, -büt* 246, -put* 230, -buci*, -fuši* 17; -kusi* 28; -isa* 159 a.
 Wñu-sōsw 259 260.
 -mits, -mit 273-273 b.
 -galiki* 153; -ligi* 240 c; Kō-lōkw 258.
 -papuān 251.
 -rua 17, -ruhu 17 c, -ruweu 17 b.

¹ See word-roots for 'rain'.

SLAVE

- fugwa* 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25 27 29; -bike* 87; -zike* 79, -zike 78, -hik-ana* 80, -teka* 27, -tuke* 156, -tuki* 157, -tuga* 217, -sugha* 218; -juok* 269-72, -wōke* 261; -via* 81, -peka* 82, -bika* 83, -pika* 90 91 (and -piya*), -pika* 92 94, -bika* 95 96 97 98, -hika* 99, -vika*, -bika* 100 b 101, -wika* 102, -vika 103, -hika 104, -fika* 104 c, -pika 105 (also -šia*), 106 108, -hika 109, -ika 112 a, -bika 114, -hika 116, -ika 118, -iya* 120, Pika 128 139 166, -yeya* 181 182, -vega* 184, -yeka* 185, -vega 186 189, -beya 215, Biag*, Biak* 253; -teya* 235 (also -teka); -fei* 233; -si-ixa* 244; -pi* 250; -bši, -babši* 251; -piŋga* ('female slave') 23 23 a, -wiŋgi* 27; -ciña* 75 c, -pina* 51; -pinji 88.
- gya 8, -usya* 44, -sya* 44 b, -za* 45, -zia* 46, -ja* 3, -zia 3 b, -ja- ('female') 21, -ja 21 f-g, -aza* ('female') 61 a, -jya* 40, -zyw* 41, -šya 42, -zya 43 a, -dzia* 48, -zia 62; -tsa* 61 b, -ša 77, -sasa 147, -sese* 9, -sere* 9 a, -sese 9 c; -si 244, -su* 229; -saka*, -šiaka 186, -šaka 191, -saga*, -siaga 192, Šaka 193, Šiakw, Sakw 194, -haka* 195; -taki* 226; -tek* 240 c.
- siŋga 15, Siŋga 17, Siŋga 26.
- suñ* 227, -soñ*, -teñ 237; -duŋgu* 84 85, Duŋgw 87 88, -doŋgw* 86 103, -yoñ 202, -loñkw* 258, -dōkō* 259, -doñku 260, -lōku* 56 a, -nduka* 168, -hlōkw* 71, -njok*, -juok*, -jux 270 271 272.
- zorw 15*; -kōlw* 41; Kw 204; -kōle* 61, -hōli* 75 c, Kuli* 84; Phuli* 72; -fōli* 240 b; -bol* 266.
- Kele* 117, -gele* 146, -ñkera* 175 178; -kea 203; -çili* 75 a, -gcili 75 b; -megel, -mikel* 273.
- iru* 1 2 2 c-g, -erw* 3 b, -du* 4, -rurw* 110, -rōrw* 111, -lō, -ōlw* 217, -nō*, -lō* 236; -hutu* 3, -sutu* 31 à 35 75 c 76; -zōrw* 15, -sōrw*, -zōrw 18.
- lō*, -ōlw* 217; -pōlw* 42, -pōlw 44 44 b; -kapōlw* 54, -kapōrw* 56 a, Kapōrw 58 61 b, Kapōlw 61 61 a, Kapōlw 62.
- buri* 159 a, -buli* 161, Phuli* 72; -bwedi* 195; -buene* 257; -puna* 19, -pina* 51; Apw* 231; Ofu* 245; -fu* 76; -fwa* 249.
- fa 206 208, -pa 209; -phaŋgu* 24 c-g.
- bala* 225 226; -kwala* 162; -gbae* 234; -gare* 269; -sare* 56, bare* 57; -trar*, -tsar*, -car 263 264; -sere*, -sese 9-9 c; Karere* 89; Karawa* 71.
- banda* 94, -wanda* 33 33 a, -banda* 35, -manda*, -wanda* 55, -anda* 10 28 32; -randa* 64, -nanda* 71; -rendi* 121.
- londeli* 170; -ndele* 20, -lelwa 25, -lelelwa 30, -leluwa* 27, -ruwa* 73, -rerwa* 26 a, -terewa* 26; -lala*, -lata* 74.
- kōat 234, Kuañ 234, Kuān 230, -gban 232 236 248, -kiwen 251, -wan 244, Bwan 248.
- wayi* (M-wayi, N-g-wayi) 100, -weya* 129, Gbayu* 148.
- kōbe* 137 140 141 150, -kōwa* 155 a, -kōa* 155, -xōba* 74, -kōbōka* 75, Çōbōka* 75 a; -tōbe* 218; -jō, -jop* 228.
- huma* 13; -kumu* 198 199, Kum*, Kom 204, -kōmi* 205 206; -yum* 246.
- pumbi* 69, -kumbi* 70, -khumbi 71 f, -fumbi* 129 a, Pfumbe* 130, Fumbi 131 132; Pimbi* 226; -gombō* 11, -kombolwa 12; -ombō* 127, -hombō* 134 (also -fombō) 136, -ombō 160 164; Kuom 220; -hembō* 1; -sumba* 5 a, -dumba* 12, -zumba* 14, -humwa*, -huma 13, -sumye*, -sunyi* 14, -šumba* 19, -tumwa* 19 a 20 20 d 21 21 a-d, -cumwa* 21 e, -tumwa 23 23 a, -ruma* 22, -tumba 26, -tumwa ('female') 19; -sam 229 252, -samp* 268; -rrambu* 274; -ntemba* 61 a b, -tamba* 133 166 167; -lam* 213, -lama* 151, -leme* 155; -giama*, -geama, -jama* 255 266; -yem* 243; -khami* 29; -kape*, -kapa* 73.¹
- ruma 22, -lume 41.
- taŋga* 206 74 b, -tlañka* 74, -tañ* 212 213 214, -teñ* 232, -tsañ* 178; -eñw 175, -maña 154, Mañgei 151; -beña 203.

¹ This may simply be derived from the Dutch word for 'cape', 'Cape of Good Hope', whence slaves were introduced into southernmost Africa.

-ane, Mane 154.
 -nəne 34.
 Nete 83 (from N-ge-te).
 -bundu 100.
 -pōta 56 a.
 -bace* (Im-bace) 216; -bese* 226.
 -lasa 267.
 -cawa 76.
 -nabha 64.
 -mōya 153.
 -kalañgə* 93.
 -kunju 162.
 -intu 176.
 -twa*¹ 89, -tswa* 178, -twana* 21, -ba-twa* 64 a; -rūwa* 73; -loa, -lua*, 200; -nwa* 193.
 -keka 142.

SLEEP²

-lɔ* (Wtu-lɔ) 1, -ru (Wbu-ru*) 2, Wtu-ru* 2 c-d, -lɔ (-tulɔ) 2 e, -tilɔ* 2 f, -rɔ 2 g 3, -lɔ 4, -dɔlɔ* 4 b 5 5 a, -rɔ (-lirɔ) 6, -tōrɔ 7 7 a, Ti-rɔ 8, -lɔ (Tu-lɔ) 9 9 a 9 c, -rɔ 11, Tɔw 12, -lɔ (Di-lɔ) 14, -lalɔ* 16, -dɔ, -rɔ, -ɔ 17, -riɔ 18, -tulɔ 23 23 a, -dalɔ (-lala) 23 a, -tulɔ 27, Etu-lɔ 38, -lɔ (Ka-lɔ) 39, Tu-lɔ 40 41 42 43 43 a 44 44 b, Utu-rɔ 48 49 50 51 52, Ku-ra* 53, Tu-lɔ 57, -rulu* 56 b, Tu-lɔ, -ruɔ* 58, -ruɔ 58 a, Tu-lɔ 59 60 61 61 a-b, Tu-ru 61 c, Tu-lɔ 62, -lalɔ (meaning 'peace') 70, -lele* 75 b, -lɔ (Tu-lɔ) 77 78 83 84 85 86 87 88 94, -lu, -lɔ 98, -lu, Tu-lu 99, Tu-lu, Tɔ:lɔ 100 102 103 104 (Tu-lɔ) 105 106 107 (Tu-lu) 108 (Tu-lɔ, N-tu-lɔ) 109 (Tu-lu), Tu-lɔ, Cu-lɔ 110, Ku-lu 112 a, Tu-lu 114, -lu (Ki-lu) 116, Tɔ:lɔ 117, Tu-lu 118, Tol* 119, Tɔal* 120, Tu-lɔ 122, Tol* 124, -lɔ, -tɔi* 125, Lɔ 129, -dɔ* 130, -Sɔ* 131, -jɔ* 132, -lɔ 133, Tɔ:lɔ 134, Kɔ:lɔ* 135, -lɔ 137, -sɔlɔ* 140, Tɔw 141, Tō-rɔ 145, Tɔ:lɔ 146, Tō-rɔ 147 149-150 153, Ilɔ, Tɔ:lɔ 155, Ilɔ 156 157 159 a, Hiɔ* 161 a, Ilɔ 164, Tɔ:lɔ 166 167 168 175 178, Vi-tɔ* 186, Vi-yɔ* 187, Sɔ:lɔ 189, Vi-nō 193, Vi-dō* 194, Vi-yō 195 199, Lɔ 203, Iyō 204 205, Ijō, Ijōō 206, Fi-lɔ* (pl.), -ulɔ 207, Iyɔ 209, -ijɔ 210, Ilɔ 211, Fi-lɔ* 212, Kyɔ* 214, Oyɔ 217 218 219, Jō 220, Bü-lɔ* 223, Tɔ:lɔ, Tu-lɔ, Tō-lɔ, Tɔ* 226, -yō, -yɔe* 227, -la* (Wō-la) 247, -lō*, -nō* 228 228 a 234, Tu-lu* 253; Lul* 261; -torinye 226.
 -tsyōsi 258; -ntyɔ 193; -ithɔ 73.
 -kwōd* 274; -kutu* 166; Gwēre 200; -ñot 273.
 -toñgɔ* 20, Noñgɔ* 23 a, Nhoñgɔ 25, Toñgɔ 67, -roñgɔ* 67 71 f, -rōkɔ* 73, -rɔkɔ 74, -lɔkɔ* 74 b, -toñgɔ* 75 75 a, -tfoñgɔ, -t'oñgɔ 75 b, -tɔñgɔ 75 c, -toñgɔ 76 160, -tonzu* 177, -doñgi* 224, -yoñgɔ* 248; -loñgya* 124; -lañgi 149; -puñkhi* 91 a, -poñgiri 159; -poñgi 164; -lok 230.
 -dañgale 147.
 -galaka 155.
 -tuya 75.
 -diagɔ 225; -zikɔ 255; -dehu 266.
 -gɔnɔ* 32, -gonja 28, -ɔnɔ 34, -gɔnɔ 35, -gōnɔ 37, -kɔna* 41, -gɔnɔ 54 55, -gɔnɔ (-kɔna, -gɔna) 77, Jɔna* 139; -gɔli* 166; Gɔnɔ* 200.
 -gonja 28; -onzi (In-onzi) 79; -cwenzi 123.
 -kɔsa 86; Pɔwɔta, -bɔta 28, -hɔta 33 a; Bɔtu 89; -bata, -vata 64 64 a; -basia 2 a.
 -pɔcūi* 92 b, -pɔswi* 90, ɔfi* 91, -phɔki* 92, Khɔfhe* 72, -kɔve* 56 56 a, -ɔpe* 63, Hɔpe* 64 65 65 a 66 68; -wɔhe* 15; Hwe 161.
 -luci, -duci 261 262.
 Wlel* 121, Ileleza 120; -elu 184; -lele* 75 b; Zela* 75 b; -dira* 263; Lul 261; -dun 252.

¹ Meaning 'dwarf', 'pygmy', 'bushman'.² 'Sleep' is often connected with a root meaning 'extension', 'lying down', 'length'.

·sinzizi 12, ·sudzizi 13, ·sinjia 15, ·sindzizi 16 (also ·siñgizi, ·şişira) 19, ·ziñgizi 21, ·siñgizi 21 a, ·sindzi 21 b-d, ·sinditi 21 e, ·ziñgizi 21 f-g, ·Sinzira 25, ·sinsila 44 b.

·nana 193 (probably a perversion of ·lala, verb-root, 'to sleep'); ·lā 247; ·rara 151 b; ·lal 202; Doda 238; ·dan 244; ·dap 245; Jā 131, ·da, ·dai 241, ·dā 259; ·tare-tu 151 a; Dya-gwō 220.
·re 263; ·riw 148; ·ji 255.

Hariñga 14.

·bom 218.

Vi-ame* 2 b; ·tama* 168, ·dema* 22, ·dem 252; ·taam* 243; ·diamw* 240 c.

·rabu 254, ·labw 256; ·ruba 56.

·siwa 53; ·vwa 252.

·bap 229.

SMOKE

·ki, ·eki* 1, ·ika* 2 2 a 2 c-g, ·wsi* 2 g, ·wtsi*, ·ywtsi 3, ·wdzi* 3 b, ·si* 3 b, ·uka* 4, ·wsi 4 a-b 5
5 a, ·risi, ·susi* 6 6 a, ·wki 7 7 a 8, ·wci* 9, ·onşı* 9 a, ·wsi 9 c, ·uki, ·iki, ·uci 12, ·wsi 13 14, ·wşi 15 16,
·zu*, ·su 17, ·tsi* 18, ·wşi 19 19 a (also ·wsi) 20, ·wşi 21 21 a-b 21 d, ·wsi 21 e 22, ·wşi 21 f-g, ·wsi 23
23 a 24, ·wsi 25, ·usi, ·susi* 27, ·wsi 28, ·wi 32, ·wsi, ·whi, ·hywhi* 35, ·wsi 36 37 38, ·usi (Mū-si) 39,
·unsi* 41, ·unşı, ·usi 42, ·unsi 43 43 a, ·ūsi 44 44 b, ·onşı, ·unsi 45, ·wsi 48 49, ·usi 50, ·ōsi 51, ·wsi 52
53 54, ·whi 55, ·işi 56, ·işi, ·iñşi* 56 a, ·isi 56 b, ·ici, ·uji 57, Uci 58 58 a 59 61, ·tunzi* 60, ·tsi 61 a-b,
·ci 61 c, ·usi 62, ·tsi, ·utşi 64, ·ci, ·si 64 a, Use 65, ·utşi 65 a, ·si 67, ·isi 66 68, ·si, ·ci, ·zi 69, ·butşi*,
·usi 70 71 71 f, ·utşi, ·vutşi* 72, ·wşi 73, ·wsi, ·si 74, ·si 75 75 a 76, ·si 77 78, ·si 79 80 81 82, ·ise* 83,
·işi 84, ·ise, ·bi* 85, ·si, ·ezi* 86, ·işe, ·uşe 87, ·işi 88, ·ise 89, ·isi 90, ·ifi* 91, ·ihi 92, ·esi 92 b, ·isi 94,
·işi 94 b 95 96 97 (and ·şişi) 98 99 100 (and ·isi), ·izi 101, ·isi 103, ·inşi* 104, ·esi, ·işi 105 106, ·wşi
108, ·işa* 109, ·işi 110 111 112 a, ·eşi 114, ·ji 121, ·jia, ·zja 120, ·dia 168, ·şi 122, ·wki 128, ·gi* 137,
·ki 139 140 141 (and ·wse), ·eşi* 142, ·şi 143, ·zi 144, ·ika* 147, ·iyi* (Mo-iyi) 157, ·yūi* 175, ·uki
(L-uki) 176, ·isi 177, ·yuw 178, ·ywki 179, ·yuki* 180, ·yōyi, ·yōge 181 182; ·ei 235, ·uye 245, ·jiyw,
·fiw 254, ·yw 257, ·nyw 259; ·tye, ·te, ·se, ·di, ·dzindzi*, ·dindi*, ·jinji 230-231 [-tunzi 60], ·se 260,
·tyityi* 274.

Jintsi* 65 a; ·kenji*, ·ndi 232; ·tunzi 60.

Jaşu 12; ·atu 214, ·ā 211; ·entū 214; ·yal, ·yel (? for Yalu?) 253, Alu 229 e; ·lue 255; ·ju, ·ji
267 268; ·du, ·ru 269-72; Nua 259.

·tutu* 56 b 75 c, ·tfutfu 75 b, ·tut'u 75 b, ·didi* 161, ·tutu 187 189 190 191 192 193 195 198 204 205
206 208 209, ·duti* 207, ·tut' 213 215, ·tita, ·tuta* 218, ·tita 219, ·tsida* 217; ·titeg*, ·titik 228;
·butsuk* 185; ·sisō 238; ·nşikw* 256, ·tuk*, ·tuyunğu 227; ·dωgω* 11; ·lukwa* 229; ·luku 220 c;
·roxat 266.

·rizi* 240 c; ·didi* 161, ·lilia* 155, ·lidi 155 a, Widi* 194, ·di, ·dzindzi 230; ·zilele 200; ·jia, ·sia
166; ·dia 168; ·alie, ·alia 186.

·iñgi 40; ·kw (İñ-kw) 83; ·liñga* 125, ·iñga 125, ·nyiñga 124 125, ·niñga* 124, ·iñga 127, ·diñga*
129, ·jiñga* 129 a 130, ·diñga 131, ·şiñga 132, ·linda* 133, ·diñga 134, ·liñga 136 151, ·diñga* 152,
·luñgō* 156, ·liñga 160, ·jiñga 162, ·liñga 166; ·yunğō, ·oñgō* 234; ·lañku 220 h.

·bañge, ·wañge 210.

·sañ 250; ·kiañ 251, Kyeñ 252; ·kuem 262.

·kiri* 145, Kili* 146, ·ei 148 234, ·ki 150, ·kili 151, ·hiri 151 a, ·sili* 153, ·idi, ·iri* 226, ·idi* (Wi-di)
194, ·şiri* 237; ·suru* 236; ·kur*, ·kut* 228, ·kor*, ·kod* 273; Fhita 202, Hida 203.

·wala, ·wola, ·gwōla 247; ·yal, ·yel 253.

Rahat 266.

·pewa 151 b.

·kuem 262; ·kuma* 176; Kimw, Kima 263; ·yim*, ·ini 248; ·gwēen 243; ·gbimi, ·gbemi 261.

·tumbu 159; ·dimbele 166, ·jombele 164; ·dam 230.

·nyam 249; ·nime 264.

·tan 244.

Jubw 220 b.

SNAKE

-zōka* 1, jōka* 2, zōk' 2 c, -zōka 2 d-f, -yōka* 2 g, -zōka 3 3 b, -yōka 4 b, jōka 4 (meaning 'a long, snake-like intestinal worm'), -juxa* 5, -dzuxa*, -dzōxa 5 a, jōka 5 b, jōxa 6, jōka 6 a, -cōka 7 a, Tsōka, Sōka* 9 (cf. -sōta* 4), -zōka 8 9 c, jōka 12, -ōka* 13 14, jōka 15, -zōka, -ōka 16, Sōka, jōka 17, jōka, -ōka 18, -ōka 19 19 a 20 21 21 a-g, -zōka 23 23 a, jōka, -ōka 24, Zōka 25, -ōka 26, -sōka 27, jōka 28, -ōxa 29, -zōka 33 a, -ōka 34, -yōka 35, jōxa 36, jōka 37, jōka, -zōka 38 39, -yōka 40, -zōka 41, -sōka 42, -zōka 43 43 a, -sōka 44 44 b, -zōka 48, jōxa 49, -zōka 50, jōka 51 52 53 54, -ōka 55, -nōa, -nōya 56 56 b, -nōa 57, -ōka 58, -ōa 58 a, -ōka 59, jōka 60 61 61 a-c 62, -ōka 63, Inyōga 64, -ōka 64 a 65 65 a 66, -hōka 67, -ōka 68 69 71 71 f, -ōwa 72, -ōxa 73, -ōxa, -ōha 74, -ōka 75 75 a-b 76, -ōga 75 c, -sōka, -zōka 77 78 79 80, -yōkw 83, -nōka 84, -ōka 85, -nōka* 86 87, -lōka*, -yōka 88, -ōka 89 90 91 92 93, -uka 92 b, -ōha 94, -ōka 95 96 97 98 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 109, -gaka* 110, -naka* 111, -ōka 112 a 114 116 118, -ōga 122, Cō 123, Jō 124, jōka 127, -ōka 128, jōa*, jō 129, jā 130, jōā 131, -zōa 134, -yōka 135, jō 136, -ōka 140 141 142 143, jōka 145, -dzōka 146, jōka 147, -zōka 150, -zō, jōa 151 151 b, -ōkwōkō* 153, jō, jōw* 155, -zō 156, -giō* 157, jō 159, -ōka 159 a, jō 160 161, jōa, -ōke 162, jō 164, Dzōa* 167, -zō 167 a, Nōga 184, Nyōñ, Nyo* 186, Nyōgw* 187, -gōga* ('a snake's trail') 193, -ōwe,* 194, -yō 202-3, Nyō, Inyō 207 208 209 210 211 214 217 218 219 220, -ōa, Nōa 226, Nyō, Nyō 227 228 228 a, Nok, Nu, Nyō, Nyō 230, Nō 231, Nyō 234, Nyu 236 237, Yō, Jō 232 238, -ah 235, Yagwa* 247, Jok* 241 242, -yō 248, -yūa, Yeyūa* 247 b, -juō 249 251, Nyam-nyū 249, -yōg, -yōkw* 253; -bok, -buk* 263.

Dzōl 239 b, Yōd 240 a, Duō 240 c.

-sōta 4 (this Ganda root for 'snake' may be a perversion of the frequently met with form -sōka); -sō, -sōa 243.

Nywañ* 200; Nyuñge* 225; -nuñ 244; -hyōñgō* 34.

-nunu 75; -lōlō 105 a; -dōa 133; -luyi 131 132.

Nyamu-yabi* 11; Ngamu* 151 a-b; Nyama-gbwawa* 204 205 206, Babba* 226; -yagwa* 247; -hwaā* 254, -hua*, -hōh 255; -bōbō* 110; -bōmō* 204, -vōm* ('python') 218, -bōma* ('python') 100 100 b; -om* 252 (Gwom); Kem, Hem 262.

-ša, Ca 125; -ah 235; Sō, -sōa 243.

Dzwa 167; -šwema* 166 (also -seme), -seme* 167; -demu* 6.

Mamba*¹ 61 a 70 75 75 a 192 193, -mwamba* 193, -bamba* 195 199 204 226; -vam 200 a, -bam 202.

Dzōl* 239 b; -raru* 11; -lalwe*, -dalwe* 38; -lōlō* 105 a; -lan*, Hlan* 273, Lannō* 274;

-lina*, -rine 267-8.

-magenta 270.

-blaga 259, -gblega, -blija 260.

-lakpi, -lakpwi 257.

-raru* 11; -catu* ('python') 21, -hlwatu* 75 a; -yabi* 11.

-kuya 32.

-sis, -sise 266.

-kirr, -ker 261; -wela 273; -pela 88.

-piri*² 2 a 2 f-g, -pili* 32, -piri 34, -p'ili 21, Pili 24, -hili*¹ya 24, -piri 61 a, -piti* 61, -bidi* 74 b, -pili, Mpil' 120, Piri 139, Pfili* 137, Eli* 148, -fele* 157, -felu*, -fela* 110 a, -wela* 250, -pe 202 204, -fi, -ši 229, -bi-niye 250; -fōli* 75; -pula* 269-72; -kpwēē* ('viper') 219; -pwi* ('viper') 61 a.

-kōputat* 269; -kōt 202 203.

-tali* 120 b, -ter* 119, -tieye* 121, -tale* 168, -tali 175 178, -tare* 176 179, -tadi* 177, -tade* 180, -tali 181, -tale 182, -tade 185, -tadi 189, -tari 190, -tare* 191.³

¹ Often with the local meaning of 'cobra'.

² This root frequently means 'viper'.

³ All the roots in this paragraph mean 'long', the 'long animal'—an indirect way of alluding to the dreaded snake without invoking it.

SON, BOY

(Excluding as far as possible word-roots relating mainly to 'child' or 'male'.)

-anike* 40, -aice* 42, -añkiye* 43 a, -anike 51, -keke*, -geke* 83 (also -uke* and -ukana), -neke* 86, -mike* 88, -anehe* 94, -kaa 144, -ike* 145, -iki* 146, -ike, -iki, -ku 150, -gebe* 189, -ñke, -ñkw, -kūa 230; -leke* 100, Neke* 165; -mñiki, -niki 151 a; -ineñge* 155, -eñga 156, -leñge* 167 170; -lenzi* 4, -lese* 103; -lisa* 64.

-mbezi* 78, -ebeše* 82; -kweze* 84, Keze* 86; -swizu 80.

-kenda* 136, -genda 142; -canda* 54, -yanda* 2 f 9 a 9 c.

Imwana-inume 34; Umana 75, -mana 17; Ūna-pa 131, Ūna-pe 134, -anya 43; Unyana 75 75 a; Mwaima 58; M-añ-ga-sul 216.

-fana* (diminutive of -fow?) 67 70 71 73 75 76, -fan* 272; Wen 252.

-mati, Ūmumati 90 91; -nyamata 61 61 a.

-tabani* 2 f 4, -tawana* 26, Tabale* 121, Libala* 189; -hale 23.

Mame 27.

-i, -mi 151 153 154; -dimi 28 29.

Wam, Bam* 241; -swamu* 27, -swamba* (Un-swamba) 38; -zombwe 61 b; -sombi 141; -jambi* 70.

Nimba*, Numbi, Numba* 267; -nemba* 34; -ba 251, Baa 254; -waw, Baw, -we 255 256; -pe 247 b; -bi 257 258 259.

-baw 177.

-bat* 271, -mbaj* 273; Fatak* 274.

-paka 17; -bok, -buk 270.

-sata, -satana 70; -sawa 75 b; Jaha 70, Dyaha 71; -za, -uza, Ūmuzandu 89; -was, Kamwas 98; -sasa 147; -zi-uha 31 a.

-tauzi, -taudi 100.

-isia 7, -risia 7 a; -iši* 153, -ise*, -se 268, -uci* 226; -onsi* 43; Monše, -onše* 236; -waw* 2, -waw 2 d 2 f, -wadyw 2 g.

-pōs* 270; -wut*, -fet* 263.

-diti 168; -tutu 105, -utu 204, -kutu 205; Gwōtu (pl. pematu) 243.

-tawk 100 102.

-tax* 274, Trak* 262; Tsam 261.

-jañ* 269, -sañgi* 17; -soñ* 229, -soñga* 104, Soñgwa 105; -zañgala 112 a; -huñgu* 3 3 b, -huñgw 32, -soñgwaw* 23 a 24 c-g 29 31 54, -soñgōw 35 37.

-mañga 223; M-añ-ga-sul 216.

Miñya 151 b.

-bw-añge 18 20; -wō (Onwō) 193; -baw 255.

Nunana 70; Nuñunu 94; -nuñga 123 126; -duñ 250; -enoñ 244, -on 248; Iñgwa 92.

Hwe 252; -kwenju 94; -kweñka 75.

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-ulam (? -ula-) 250; -lā, -lafu 266.

-dele 92 b, -jil 120.

-zererw 25 28, -sōriri 6; -pwerere 68, -pgere, -pwere 65 a.

-dimi 28.

-nyel, -nyol 273; -nyu 273 b.

-twa, -ta (M-twa-na) 76, -rw* 74, -rwa 72 73 (these words are probably identical with the -twa root for 'dwarf' or 'little man').

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-lundwa 45.

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¹ From the verb-root -imba, 'to sing'.

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-rama* 11 a, -nama* 161; -gamw* 61 a.

-koba* 4; -huka*, -puka* 3 a; -gowa* 23 23 a 25, Guha 19 19 a 20 24, -gōya, -gowa 27, -gowa 28, -gowa 30 33 a, -koha 35, -gowa 37 38, -koha 55 179 180, Kōa 220, Nkpa* 242 b, -gūa* 249, -kuba* 110 a, Kua* 114, Zua* 120, -yuw 120, Uw^w* 148, -yuw 175 178, -yw 177, -zuw 176, Luw* 178, Yūw* 181 182.

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-gwegw* 51; -kwagi* 248; -gwab 255.

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-puntsa 100 b.

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-sokow^w 110.

-duinda 94 b.

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-sosa 98; -kōsa 51; -kot 244 a.

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-gbasa 264 266.

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- hembexw 5 a; -embw 161; -lelembia 94.

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-weti, -keti, -wet* 230; -beri* 2 a; -büri* 17; -biti* 228, -titi 238; -ti (many languages, including 266); -fitw* 211; -beketi* 149; -bueti 86 92 b, -bweti* 94, -bueci 88; Bōta 100; -wiri* 56 b, -biviri 23 a; -ele (Gw-ele) 252.

-bwendi 207, -bwem 212.

- pondw 79; -phandw 24; -mundu 151 a; -Gwɔw-mondw 58, -gɔwɔmondw 59 61 a.
 Thonda 72; -tondeɔ 56 a 83 84 88 104 c 110.
 -tendeɔ 109; -gendelw 92.
 -dindisw 54; -cisw 70; -disa 49; -dici 17.
 -lenda 150.
 -pende 187.
 -pini 41.
 -bau 21 153.
 -bani 89; -pa, -pūa 176 179; -pava 193, -peha 195.
 -basw 95 151.
 -swazi, -tswazi 75 76.
 -giri 51; -riare* 235, -riri* 228; -siare*, -siyare 11; -hyatu 35,
 -wsw 258; -tsu 250; -ši (Muçi) 98, -ši, -si, -se 259, -ci, -ici 104 105 229; -nt', -ntr' 263.
 -cupa* 80, Thupa*, Tɔbani* 74, -bani 89, -tuba* 45, -tuwa* 48; -tōbe 202; -teaww* 228;
 -tiā 230; -khabi 71.
 -pfwala 100 b, -bala 144 256; -pa, -pūa 176 179.
 -deta, -data 12, -data, -zata 14 16; -tete 84.
 -dabwɔyi 5, -dabuyi, -dawuši 5 a; -tay 249; -lawi 34.
 -bika* 23 a, -bike* 24, -biki* 25 33 a, -piki 51, -bihi* 55.
 -bubi 40.
 -sema 73.
 -tale 56 86.

STONE

- bwe*, -gwe* 1, -wie, -bwe 2 c, -we* 9, -vwe*, -gwe* 9 c, -we 13 14, -bwe 15, -we 16 17 18 (and
 -bwe) 19 19 a 20 21 (and -bwe) 21 a (and -iwe*) 21 b-d 21 e-g 22 (and Būi*), -bwe 23 23 a 24 (or -we)
 25, -we 26, -bue* 28, -bwe 33 a, Bue 39 40, -bwe 40 41 42, -we 43 43 a, -bwe 44, -we, -hwe* 44 b, -bwe
 45, -we 49, -bye*, -bwe 50, -bwe 51, -be, -bwe, -we 52 55, -bwe 58 a, Tsañga-la-bwe 60, -we 62, -bge*
 63, -bhye* 64, Bwe 64 a, Pūe* 65 65 a, Bwe 67 68 69 (and Kwe*), -ce* 67, Di-rigwe* 70, Ri-bwe 71,
 Dyi-bye, -ribye 71 e-f, -vzɛvzɛ*, -ntswe*, -itswe, -ywe, -ye 73 73 a, -ncwe*, -ye 74, -jwe*, -dye* 74 b,
 -wa* 75, -iye*, -ce, -je, -j'e 75 75 a-c 76, -gbwe* 75 b, -bwe 77 78 79 80, -ue 81, -we 82, -we, -bwe 83,
 -vwe 86, -we 88, -we* 89, -we 90 92 b 93 94 99, -bwe, -bwā* 104 105 106 107 108, -bwe, -ū* (Diō) 109,
 -we 112 a 114, -hwa 122, -bwe 128, -bwe 129 a 130 131, -fwe*, -vūe* 134, -we 135 136, -vūe 139, -we 141,
 Bue 142, -bwe 144, -bwa* 166; -hwahwa* 27; Kwa, Kwe 200 219; -guw*, -uw, -wua, yō* 230, Fwa
 252, -guw 237, -fuw* 258; -hw, -ihw* 17; -bw* 19; -wu (Ili-wu) 35; -wūen 248, -wendī 69, -windi 70.
 -bia*, -via 12, -wia 34 a, -vwiga* 49, -higa* 11; -wiue*, -buye* 3 3 b (and -wuye).
 -lugu* 56, -luku* 56 a, -lugu 56 b; -loñ*, -doñw* 230; -gw 14, -gɔwɔ 16; Γō 230, -go 235; -bɔkw*
 123 125, -bɔgu*, -bɔgw 151, -bɔkw 152, -buku* 153; -kuku* 149, -gog 202 203, -kōgi 204 a, -kɔgu*
 225; -kōki*, -koke* 186, -kɔk* 207 212 217 218 219, -kɔgw* 217 220 a, Ngok*, -gɔge, Kox* 218;
 -kɔwi 148.
 -kā 229, -gā 201; -ā (Lā; mā) 203.
 -kōi 140, -gɔdi 143.
 -kulu-gusi 2 g.
 -lɔlwa* 84, -lɔla* 110; -dɔw* 191 192 193, -ɔlw* 226, -hɔlw* 157, -lɔ-ala* ('mill-stone') 73.
 -ala* 21 32, -ā 53 203, -wala* 54, -ala 57 58 59 61 61 a-b, -ara* 61 c, -ala 62, -yala* 110 111; -bare*
 2, -bali* 2 a, -bare 2 c-d, -wale* 2 e, -bale 2 f, -bare 2 g, -bare, -bale 4, -bali 6 6 a, -wari 6 a, -bale 9 a,
 -vale* 147, -bara* 148, -weri* 81, -wal*, -wöl* 273; -bila 166; -la 213 214 215; -klā 259.
 -tatal* 239 b; -tala* 75, -tali* 94, -dati 94 b, -tadi*¹ 95, -tari* 96, -tanti* 97, -tare, -tadi 98, -tari

¹ It is from this -tadi root for 'stone,' (often applied to 'rock') that first Sir Henry M. Stanley and next the Congo Independent State derived their native name: **Bula Matadi**, which simply means 'breaker of rocks'.

100, **-tandi** 113, **-tarr** 114 121, **-tale** 137, **-tare** 145, **-tale** 146, **-tari** 149, **-tali** 150, **-tari** 151 a, **-tara** 151 b, **-tali** 153, **-te**, **-tee*** 150, **-tale**, **-tali** 155, **-tale** 159 160, **-tali**, **-tai** 161, **-tare** 176, **-tadi** 177, **-tae** 187, **-tare**, 194, **-lale*** 195 196 198 199, **Dari***, **-dali***, **-dale** 204, **-lali*** 205, **-yai**, **-ya*** 206, **-ale** 208, **-rari*** 209 210, **Dali** 211, **-le**, **-ale*** 214, **-tane*** 216, **-te**, **-ti** 226, **-tai**, **-tae*** 227, **-te**, **-tae** 234, **-tei**, **-teih*** 232, **-tan*** 228, **-tā** 238 240 b 240 c, **-nan** 244, **-tan**, **-taω*** 241, **-iā**, **-tat** 242, **Tal*** 253, **-tari*** 254, **-tale***, **-tai**, **-taiyi** 255 256; **-tabi** 257; **-sar*** 263; **-ran*** 243.

-keli* 162, **-kele*** 181 182; **-yiri*** 119.

-taka*, **-raka*** 274, **-lak***, **-lag*** 266 269-72, **-laku** 220 h and 220 d; **-lañkin***, **-liñkin*** 273; **-tañgi*** 132 133; **-añike*** 268; **-yañga*** 267, **-gañga*** 27 29 33, **-añga*** 34, **-gañga*** 35 37 38 54; **-mañga*** 87; **-klagbω** 260.

-manya* 85 86 87 a 90 91 92 101 102 (also **-manja***) 103, **-manyi*** 103 a, **-manya*** 116 124 126 127 129, **-me*** 175, **-mei*** 176, **-mēē*** 178, **-maya*** 179 180, **-manya*** 185 189 190, **-mani*** 184 [these roots smack of the Stone Age. They are obviously connected with the **-manya** root, 'to know'].

-inja*, **-ija** 4; **-viñga***, **-fiñga*** 45, **-fiñga** 48; **-beñgu*** 2 b.

-beki 107; **-pe** 261.

Kōrañ 246; **-klā** 259.

-kina 5, **-gina**, **-cina** 5 a, **-ena**, **-gina** 7 7 a 8.

-azi* 4; **Gas*** 253.

-sasa 155 a; **-šiši** 249; **-sω** 250; **-cω** 247.

Tombω* 72; **Kom*** 236; **Atkom*** 251; **-toñ** 262.

-bucwa 56 b.

-kenje 162; **-kenzeke** 167.

STOOL¹

-tebe* 2 2 c 2 f-g (and **-tewi**) 3 4, **-tewe*** 3 b, **-tebe** 9 b, **-teve*** 9 c, **-tebe** 41, **-thebe*** 45, **-tebi*** 105 (also **-tewe**) 106, **-tübe*** 148; **-tuwa*** 43; **Töbe** 203; **-tuω*** 217, **-tω** 218; **-sua** 185, **-šawa*** 186; **-kwa*** 218, **-küa*** 230; **-šegba** 255; **-upa*** 226; **-ube*** 255.

Kōbi 178; **-ube** 255; **-ubu** 254.

-pū* (**Gipū**) 184, **-pūe***, **-pwi** 193.

-pula* 74 b, **-bula*** 79, **-bila*** 166; **-pōna*** 41, **-puna*** 42 44 44 b, **-una*** 77 78, **-unω** 83, **-puna** 105 a, **-hōna*** 106; **-kunω*** 176; **-kōneye*** 248.

-dzulω* 72, **-tulω** 73 74; **Tudyu***, **-rudyu** 267 268.

-buri* 227, **-büri*** 17.

-buga* 176; **-bōkω*** 206, **-bōkū*** 257; **-gbω** 260; **-blegω** 259.

-buñga* 162, **-boñgω*** 187 191, **-wuñgω*** 192, **-boñ**, **-boñu*** 194, **-boñga*** 195; **Buñol**, **Buñgul*** 253; **-guñgu*** 161, **-yuñga** 155 a, **-yog*** 235; **-joñkot** 273; **-mañgu** 94, **-bañgu** 97 98, **-añga*** 181 182 189, **-bañ*** 218, **-wañ*** 263; **-yuañ** 266.

-ñgbak* 236, **-baka*** 114 98 a.

-teñgω*, **-degu*** 27, **-tehu*** 28, **-teñgu*** 54; **-tenji*** 228.

-leñ* 230, **-rañ** 230.

-bata* 146 149 152 161 168, **-bara*** 175 178; **-buta*** 150; **-gbwtu*** 161 a.

-gōda* 23 23 a 24 25 27, **-gōta*** 28; **-gōda** 33 a, **Gōgōtω** 256; **-kōnda*** 199, **-kūnda*** 200 209, **-gwende*** 166 167, **-gende** 160, **-gande** 164; **-yen** 273; **-gbet**, **-gbet** 263.

-getan* 237, **Jedan*** 253.

-tanda 109; **-ntonta** 86.

-limba 43 a 62.

-tumbi 1 8, **-sumbi** 9 c, **-cumbi** 18; **-com** 264.

¹ Sometimes this root is identical with the meaning 'stick' as the original Bantu stool or throne was either a carved block or simply the adaptation of a forking branch.

- pumburu 153; -bambu 204.
- pundi* 90 91; -pandω* 58 61 61 a, -panda 59 a, -panyω 59, -pandω 61 b.
- twamω 84, -tuama 88.
- tamelω 38.
- Tumi 232.
- kāk 151 a; -lak, -nak 273.
- hici* 56 56 a; Esiki* 156.
- nōγω 234.
- teli* 155 a; -tare* 179; -kili 166.
- sala 5 5 a; -wala 40; -garω 64.

SUN¹

-ωba* 1, -zωba* 2 2 a-d, -zωwa* 2 e, -zωba 2 f, -zuwa*, -sωba, -zωba 2 g 3, -dzua*, -zuwa 3 b, -juba* 4, -uwa 5, -uba 5 a 9, -ωba 8, -dzuwa 9 b, -dzωwa 9 a, -uwa 9 c, -yua* 10, -yūa, -ūa, -jūa 11, Sua, Tūa*, Jua, Dzūa 13, -jua, -ruwā* 14, -zuwu* 15, -zūa 16, -rua, -ruva 17, Suva 18, Zuwa 19 19 a 20, Dzuwa 20 d, Jua 21, -dyua 21, Yuω 21 b-d, Yuva* 21 e, Yua, Jua 21 f-g, Dzua, Zua 22, Zuwa 23, Dzuwa 23 a, Jua 24, Dzua 25, -zōwa 27, -cuwa 28, -dzuva 29, -jua 30, -dzua 31, -Juba* 32, -tsuwa 33 a, -dua 34, -dula* 34 a, -juwa, -uwa 35, -dzuba 36, -juwa 37, -tsuva 38, Zuba 39, Juba 40, Kōba*, -zuba 4, Suba 43, -sōwe* 44, -suwa 44 b, -zua 45, -dzuwa 46, -diūwa 48, -zua 49, -suwa 51, -uwa 54 55 (and -cuwa), -zua 56, -cuwa 56 a, -sua 56 b, -zua, -tsowa 57, Dyuwa, Zua 58, Zua 58 a, Zuwa, Dzuwa 59, Dzuwa 60 61 a, Jua 61, Dzuwa 61 b-c, Dzuruwā*, Dzuruwā* 61 b, Dzuwa, -zuwa, -zua 62, Suba 63, -zuba, -zware*, -dzōwa 64, Zuva 64 a, Zua 65 65 a, Zuba 66 68, Duva, Duvha* 72, -sua 77, -zuva 78 79 80, -ba, -va 81, -ōwa 82, -ywa, -yua, -sōba 83, -yuva 89, -tuba* 100, -iba 104 104 c (and -uba, -yuba), -uva 105, -guba*, -uba 106, Kuba* 108, -iba* 109, -gyuba 128, -dzuba 135, Lōba*, -ōwa 141, Juba 143, Luha* 137, -leba*, -epa* 148, Kupa* 149, Lōwa 157, Jeva* 162, Jōwa 191, -dsōwa 192, Diōwa, Dyōbω* 194, Diōba, Jōba or -ōba 195, Dōba 198, Dūa, Dūō, Duwω 200, Lω 202, Jōb 203, Lōba, Liwaliwa*, Ive*, Wē 204, Kōba 209, -ob 213, Yō 211, Jō, Dyō 218, Jōp* 219, Dō, Dōbω, Duω, Dyūhe 220 220 b-h, Yω 221, N-lω-dzob* 217, -yu, -jūi, -jūe, -juji 227, Šūi, -jūi 232, Luwe* 239, Lōwe* 239 b, Dōwei* 241 b, -juω 251.

-sawa 144; Sōyaha 157; -hwahi 153.

-s'ōta* 75 (Hl.), -sōsa* (Mω-sōsa) 222; -sō 220 h 229; -asω* 25 26 220 c, -basa*, -basu*, -wasω* 5 a (identical with the root meaning 'fire' and 'heat'), -basu* 7, -basω* 7 a.

-tiω* 168, -siω* 178; -sūi* 228 a, -šūi 229 e; -wōe, -wūi* 259, -hwe* 257, -fi 258; -hω (Lω-hω) 157, -hōkω* 205 206, -ōkω* 226, -ok* 234; -hu 254; -hōhō 255.

Mūi* ('sunshine') 17, Mwi* 80, Mōi* 156, Mwi* 159, Mōi 164, Mī 176, Mūi* 178 180, Mūe 182, Mūi 189, Oñgwei* 193, Vioi* 198, Mūi, Mūe* 220 d 223, -mω 234; -mi, -emi* 9, -emi 9 b, -imi* 9 c; -limi* 45.

-am, -gam* 230; -um 230; -ambω, Dyambω* 71 e 71 f, -jamu* 203, -camba* 51 a, Gambω* 69, Dambu*, Gambω, Tambu* 70 71; -dembe* 166.

-kumbi* 84 92 94, Kombi* 95, Kumbi 97 98 112 a, Kombi 114, Kumbi 122, Dyumbi* 184, Kombe* 187, -umbi* 188, -kombe 191 193, -ombi* 204; -um 230.

Mes', Mus' 253; -et*, -ets*, -etr* 263; -ise* 1, -ōze* 26, -isi* (Bu-isi) 102, -se*, Mōse 140, Bu-use* 155, -ōse* 157, -ese* 164, -se 165, -sa* 166 183, -ōsa* 186, Yesω* 225 a (may be related to the -basω group); -pōzi* 100 b; -cōze* 26.

-tōgi, -tōhi, -tōi* 226; -rog* 247; Royi* 238.

Sunji* 185, Sonji* 208; -jence* 28, -ransi* 43 a; -tonde* 214, -tondi* 213; -ntun* 244 a; -utin* 245; -jon*, -jun 228.

-ini*, -inyi* 100 b, -inyω* 101, -nyi* 103, -nyenyi* 109, -ninya* 143, -ōni* 151, -ōni* 154, -enye* 191, Oñweye* 192; Ma-ni, Ma-niki* 151 a.

¹ See also 'day', 'sky': the three concepts are often identical.

-oñ, -ruñ* 243.

-nob 230, -nō 269-70; Munō 231, -munō 6a; -yenō* 247, -anō* 118; -ani* 69, -ny' 124, -yani* 130, -ane* 145, -ana* 146, -ani* 134 149 150 (also -ane*) 153 159 a (-yane*), -ane* 168; -sana* 2 b 4, -sani* 69, -sanya* 43 48, -sana 147, -ana* 256; -tena* 87 87 a 110 111, -tenya* 91 92, -tanya* 94; -ina*, Wina 125 (also Wela*); -eya* 88, -nya* ('sun', 'heat') 94, -anya* 96 97 98 104 108, -enya* 106, -anya 114, -ani* 125 [Mani- 151 a], -anye* 127, -anyi 131, -inya* 131, -ina* 129, -nya 133 134, -ina 137, -minya* 144, -nyaa* 210, -nyā 215, -nyai* 214, -yā 213, -eya*, -deya* ('sunlight') 88; -nei* 263.

-tañgwa* 85 86 (also -tanya*), -tañgua 88, -tañgō* 90 91 92 b, -tañgwa* 100, -tangu* 101 103, -te 105, -tañgu 113, -tañgō 119, -tañgu 120, -toñ 121, -tañgwa* 123, -tañgu* 181, -teñ* 265; -yaña* 207 212, -yañge, -yañga* 248; -bwañge* 18; -lañga*-rara ('sun-rays') 2 f, -lañgala* 9 b; -neñgeri* 17, Tañga* 67, -laka* 73, -lañga* 75 75 a-b, -laña 75 c, -rañga* 76; -nyañge* ('sunlight') 80, -nyaka* 164, -nyañgō* 182, -nyañga* 6 6 a; -kañga* 166 167, -añga 202 203; -vako* 73; -ya-kat, -gat 266.

-nari 267 (see 'day'); -nuar 270.

-mayu 34; -deya 88; -tiw 168.

Mōt* 231, Mōtō*¹ 234, Wurō* 250.

-manda 187.

-bari* 18; -gala* 75, -pal*, -pan (Le-pal) -pan-de 261 262; -bil* 120; -bulu 152.

Wei 204 c, -bwei* 206; -yei* 242, -ei* 263; Gwe 252; -fě, -hwe 257, -fi, -fiñ 258, -wūi, -wōe 259-60. -ipō, -imejō 188.

-vuna* 168 a; -gūna* 216, -kwen* 244.

-alwa ('sunlight') 88.

-zea 251.

Lezi* 242 b, Dazi* 52 53, -caci*, -tsatsi* 73 74, zazi* 74 b, Šasi* 132; -jence* 28, -ransi* 43 a, -teji* 100, -tedi* 177; Det*, -et*, Ret, -retr* 263 264 265, -dyade* 268, Dadi* 224, -tere*, &c.

-tere* 120, -te* 105, -tale* 117, -tele* 155, -hele* 156, -tali* 172, -cal* 169, -tali 175, -tere* 176, Tedi* 177, -tali*, -tiri* 178, -tari 179, -tadi* 185 189, -tati* 190, Dadi* 224, -dyade* 268, -lai* 273 b (also -lā); -lohwe* 274.

-dula 34.

-ciwa 75 b.

Ekpegera 242 a.

-nūar 271, -nor 272.

Mōnō 151 b.

TAIL

-kira* 1 2 2 d-g 4 8, -kila*, -khila* 9, -šira* 9 a, -kila* 9 c, -cia* 13, -kira, -cira 16, -kia 17; -kila 19 19 a 20, -kia 21 21 a-d, -kiya* 21 e, -kira 21 f-g, -khila 23, -cira 25, -kira 27, -cira 28, -kila 30 32, -cira 34, -kira, -kila 35, -xila* 36, -kila 38 39 40 41, -cira 42, -sinda* 43 a, -kila 44, -cila* 44 b 54, -ila 55 a, -ira* 57, -jia* 58, -šira 59, -cira 61 a, -cila 61, -cira 61 b-c, -cila 62 70 (also -kila), -kila 71, -cila 71 f 72, -sela* 73, -sila 75 75 a 75 c, -sira 76, -cila 77 78 79 80, -sila 83, -kila 84 85, -tyila 86, -cila 88, -cira 89, -šila 90 91, -tyila 92, -cina* 94, -kila 97 98 100 103 (and -cila) 104, -kira 105, -kila 106 108 109 110 116 120 128 129 a, -ela* 129, -ila 130, -era, -re, -ila 131, Kšia* 132, Wela* 133, Kila 136, -ela 142, Kira 139, -kira 147, -iya 153, -hela* 157, -kila 175 177 178, -kela 189, -gila* 184, -kila 190, -ela* 226, -ki 227; -kra 257.

-lizō 3; -lišin 264; -lity' 273; -bita* 11, -site*, -iti* 12, -tize* 15, -desi* 17; -sise* 18, -sisa* 28, -sese* (see 'penis') 94 160, -se* (Mu-se) 24 260; Kus* 151; -enše*, -eš' 124; -rensi* 14; -wisi*, -isi* 64; -casi* 166, -asi*, -gasi*, -hasi* 17, -ñgwaši* 18.

Sawi* 274; -šwe* 64, -swe 64 a, -skwi* 64; -swi-gara* 51.

¹ Probably identical with the widespread root -otō for 'fire'.

- eke, -ike* 226; -iken* 244.
 -kuli* 17; -kōi* 140; -kie 141.
 -pepe 51 156; -pi 259.
 -pɔpa 199 195.
 -suka 44 b.
 -siŋga* 5 a; -iŋgɔ* 23 a; -leña 263, -laja- 273 c.
 -kaŋga* 104 c; Kuru-aŋga* 146; -kañ 258.
 -kombɔ* 161, -sumba* 94, Kɔba, Komba* 14, -cɔva* 73, -cɔba* 75 a, -ɕɔba* 75 b, -cɔwa* 76;
 -saba 151 b.
 -kbaya, -yaya 151.
 -kunda 151 a, -kundu* 151, -kwende* 193, -kundi* 200; -undɔ, -undu* 204, -kondɔ* 205, -ondɔ*
 206, -undɔ 209, -konji, -kondɔ* 186, -kondɔ 187, -konju* 194, -konji* 186, -kon 214.
 -rɔtɔ 69.
 -lōi, -lity* 273; -tori 254, Toyi 255.
 -wet 273.
 -ndin 253; Ruon 252.
 -ŋgem 217 218, -ŋgiem 218.
 -ŋgoŋgɔ 162.
 -sumba 94; -lum 261.
 -tɔmōi 11.
 -hatla 73, -xatla 74, -hata 74 b; -handi 94; -an 243.
 -ali* 137, -kali* 155; -kili* 155 a, -gili* 164; -kuli* 17; -kuru- 146.
 -gwelɔ* 156.
 -pɔpa 195 199.

TEAR

- ɔswazi*, -ɕwazi* 3 a, -isōri* 7 a, -sɔji* 9, -nswazi 9 a 9 c, -izɔli*, -itōrri* 11, -bōyi* 12, -dzɔzi*,
 -tsɔzi 13, -sɔzi 15, Tswazi 16, -sōri* 18, -sōru* 17, -ɕwazi 19 19 a, -sɔzi 20, -cɔzi 21, Tɔzi* 21 a-d, Tɔbi*
 21 e, Tɔzi 21 f-g 22, Hwazi* 23, Hwatsi* 23 a, -sɔzi 24 24 c-g, Udzi 25, Hwazi, -hwazi 27, -sɔzi 28, -swali
 30, -ɔli 32, -hwatsi 33 a, -ɔdi* 34, -hɔli* 35, -hɔdzi 36, -hɔsi 37, -ihwatsi 38, -sɔzi 39 40, -nswazi 41 42
 43 43 a (-nswazi) 44, -sɔzi 44 b, -nswazi 45 48 49 50, -sɔsi 51, -sɔzi 52, -sɔzw 53, -sɔzi, -sɔsi 54, -hɔli 55,
 -bōri* 56 a, -sɔdi 56 b, -tōri 57, -sōri 58 58 a, Tswazi, -sɔzi, -sɔdzi 59, -sɔzi 60 61 61 a, Dzɔzi, -sɔzi
 61 b-c, -nswazi 62, -sɔdzi 64, -kɔji* 64 a, -sunzi* 65, -sɔzi 65 a, -sɔzi 66 68, -sɔti* 69, -sɔtsi 70, -hlɔti*
 71 f, -tɔdzi* 72, -sɔzi 77, -sɔzi 78, -sɔzi 79 80, -ɔti*, -ɔkw* 83, -sɔzi 84, -zɔsi, Sɔbi 85, -sɔzi, -souzi
 86, -hɔte, -hɔti 87, Sɔzi 88, -hɔze 89, -hɔzi 90, -hɔdi 91 92 b, -sɔsi 97 98, -sonji* 109, -ɔswanyi* 124,
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¹ This and several preceding words are more related to the root-word for 'shame'.

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Gwai* 67 74 b 75 a, ·kwāi*, ·gwayi 75 b 76, ·gwai 75 c; ·kaya* 83, Kanya* 84 86, Kaya* 85 88 89 90 91 92 94, Kani 88, Kania, Kanya 97 98, Kaya 99, Kanya 104 110 111, ·gaya* 118, ·ke 119, ·jia, ·kāā 120, ·kia 121, Kaya 122 123 124 125 127 129 130 164 166, ·kē 175, ·kaya* 176, ·kee* 177, Kā* 225

·aceya 226; Asra 260.

Sayw 27.

·sajw* 38, ·saji* 147; ·sei 234.

·bagi 145, ·base 146, ·vagi 147, ·bagi 148.

Ūria*¹ 34, Fwja* 53, Fwdia* 57, Fōria*, Fōiya* 58, Fwdia 58 a 59 60 61 61 a-c, -fwdya 64, Fōrya, Fōrya 64 a, Fōrga* 65 65 a 66 (and Fōiya), Fwlya 68, Fwle* 69, Fwla*, Fwwa* 70, Fwla 71, Fwle 71 f, Fwla 72, Fwlia* 79; -bwla 188, -vwla 189.

-fwma, -fuama 100, -fumu 100 b, Fuma 118, -fumu 177 178.²

-šumbai 273.

-juŋgw* 40, -suŋkw* 41, -suŋgu* 45, -suŋga, -soŋga* 100 101 102 103, Suŋkw* 105; -poŋga 125; -cwkw 73 74.

-hwna* 34, -hōna 37, -hwona 52, Swna* 54, -hwona 55, Swna 56, Šwona 56 a, Swla, Hwra* 56 b.

Kondi 24, Konde 25.

-siŋse 1.

-dyani 27.

-wenyi 209, -wene 227, -ñwana 227, Onwawana 243, -wana 244.

-davügā 274.

-fari 2 (old R.).

-neŋga 126.

-gwi 263.

-čuba 75.

-papw 2 f.

-bonda 104; -anda 11c.

-twa 220; -talakwe 186 194, Talaku 184, -dalw, -dalaw 200 200 a, Dalak 220.

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-gambw 37 51.

TO-DAY

Derw* 2, Lerw* 2 a, Derw* 2 c, Lerw 2 f, Lelw* 2 g, Leru* 3, Lerw 4 5 5 a 6 6 a (also Rerw), Rerw 7 7 a, Relw 8, Lelw 9, Lerw 9 a, Lelw 9 c, Reu* 11, Yew* 13, Lew* 14, Yw* 15 18, Rerw 16, Lulu* 17, Lelw 19 19 a, Dyelw* 20, Lew 20 d 21 21 a, Yew 21 b-d, Ew* 21 e, Lelw, Rerw, Reru 21 f-g, Lelw 22, Lelw 23 23 a 24 24 a (also Di-lelw), Dya-lelw, Lerw 28, Lelw 31, Linw* 32, Lelw 33 34 (also Nerw*), Lerw* 35, Lilinu* 35, Lerw, Irerw* 37, Lelw 38, Leu*, Lelw 41, Lelw 42, Lelō 42, Lelw 43 a 44 44 b, Irerw 45, Lerw, Ilerw 49 50, Lerw 52, Lē 53 54 55 56 a-b, Lelw, Lerw 59 60 61 61 a-c 62, Lelw 83 (also Ba-lelw) 84 85 86 (-lerw), -nena 90 91, -dinw 92 b, -lelw 95 96, Linw 97, -lelu, -lelw 98 104 105 106, Delw*, Lelwnw* 108, Lelu 109, -lelw, Lelunw* 110, Lelu 111, Lwlu 112 a, -lelw 114, -luiu* 124, Lwlu* 125, -lulu 127, -lwlu 129 a, -lelw 130, Elw 132, Winwne* 133, Elw 134, Sinw 135, Lelw 136, -dinw* 139, Lelw 140 142, Leru 144, Lelu, Lelw 164 166 168, Nwnw* 168 a, Lelw 177, Leri* 177, Leli* 178, Lw 176 179, Lwlu 180, Dew* 187, Lwlu 185 189 190, Dōle 200 (Dol* 274), Nenw 192 193, Nlōlō* 193, Len 202 203, Len* 212, Den 219, Lilw*, Delw* 226, Eē* 227, Elē* 228, Elei* 228 a, -den* 238, Len* 253, Le* 267, Dol* 274.

Jasw, Rau*, Rō 226; Dars, Dāt, Dyat* 273; -dan* 232, -tane* 246; -tenyūū* 12; -sanya* 18, -noñ*, -nañ 263, -nañ, Nante 261; -nene 244 a; -yene 250.

Dia*, -de, -tie, -diw* 230, -dee* 237, -tidi 243; -deigwi 244; Dya-lelw* 24 c-g; Dyat*, Dāt, Jaat, Dars 273.

¹ All these are derived from the Portuguese word *folha*, meaning 'leaf'.

² From the Portuguese *fumo*, 'smoke'.

-būenu* 2 d, -buenω 2 e, -buenu 2 g, -buinω*, -bunω* 57, Dam-bwinω 58, -bunω 58 a, -zuinω* 63, -hunω* 69, Sunω* 77, Sunu* 78 79, Sunω 80, Sωnω* 88, -hωnω* 92, -xωnω* 73, Wunu*, Unu 100, Gunu, Wwunω* 100 b, Šu 130, Winωne* 133, Sinω* 135, La-ωnω* 155 a, -une 159, -swene*, 162, Wunu-bunya* 205, -wωnω, -bon' 206, Iωma* 211; -run*, -ron 229, Yunuñ 252, -yeni 255, Lunω* 6 6 a, Lunu* 17, -inu*, -nu 17, -rinu* 51 55, -lienω*, -jenω* 73, -yenω 74, -ndimω* 12, -ndinω* 89, Dinω 92 b 139; Linω 97; Eim 218; Mωnω-bwtu* 141, Mωnω* 259; Muna-bwiri* 1; Munŋi, Mωonŋu 12; Buna-*busu 39; -munyi* 27, Ne-muni 184; Mōni-ma* 154.

Moñkω* 194; -mōe 257; Mōkω-mōkω* 152, Mōkō* 194, Mōhō* 220; Mū 218; Megω* 294.

Buli* 178, Bwiri* 1 5 b 248.

Tsuūli* 178, Duωli* 200, Diōle* 207, Diωli 200, Diōle 207, Diωli 210, Tsōrō* 230; Zuari* 25; -are, -aria 254; -tali 94; -ta 269-72, Tō 268.

Mwana* 116 118, Lω-ana* 189, Anā* 217, Yana*, Yan* 248¹; Hwai-gana* 355; Ene*, Ele* 228; Nina* 209; Mu-ine 88.

Nawina 137.

Nante 262; Nyanse* 69, Nyansi 70; Nya-masa*, Nya-maša 64 a, Nyamase* 65 65 a, Inyamuce* 67 69, Nyamasi 66 68 69, Namusi*, Nausi 72; -usi* 51, -ūse* 155 (Lω, Le-, Use-), -nasi* 64, Nase 73, Mω-se 73, Muti* 12, Mwonŋu* 12.

Nekω* 131, Ne-muni* 184, Ne-ñgōni* 27; -newe 152; Kyi-maniki 151 a; Megω* 263; Mie 268; Miamau 163.

Busa-ebω* 161, Wbu-hwa* 195, Buwa* 198; Buna-busū* 39; -šue* 230; Eš-i-wetsω* 249.

-mu-nhla* 71 71 f, -mhla*, -hla* (for -ca, -ša), -mhlanje 75, -muhla* 75 a-c, -mušla* 76.

Kiē* 230, Gēē* 213 215, Gē 214; -keke* 156; -cekω 74 b; Nje 131, -ji 214, Yei 148, Egye*, Ee 227.

-newe 274, -nyūe 230; -jiwe 230, -sibe 186, -šue 230; -eāwe 208; -nyika 251.

-hombwi 157; -lumbu 100 b 101 103, -lombi 129.

Yobi-ni 151 b; Lōbu* 175, Lōbω* 178, Lōwω, Lōbω 181, -lōwe* 182, -libu* 119; U-lōbu* 274; -ra-dob* 273.

-bubu* 100 b 103, Bubu 120 b, -bu, Bubu 121, -bōbω* 160, -bubu 176, Bω* 186 204 a 260.

Kōō 233.

Hati* 2 2 c, Fadefade* 161.

-pele 124 b, Ve 151; Bebe 255; -ofu 235, -fin 245.

-tap 236.

-mpi- 74, -pia 148 a.

Wisi-ñgu 51.

Veñge 199, Weñge 204.

Lōye 167; Lōkω 126 130.

Hwaigana 256.

Kañkama 123.

-coñ, -jañ 234.

Cacawa 164.

Undu-kwani 125.

I-sikω* 26, Lω-siω* 168; -sok 266.

Le-gulu 40.

¹ *Vide* roots for 'yesterday'.

TOE¹

- zw.* 75 75 a 75 c, -zw., -tw.* 75 b, -twō*, -tō*, Sω*, -tu, -si* 230-1; -tihω*, -tiū* 69, -zipω* 76.
 -dole 20 21 21 a 23 a 24 25 28.
 -fω, -fua 229; -vwavwa 254, -bωhω 255, -fωä, Vwaba 256; -hō 248, -foñ 250; -guω 237.
 -nōno 216, -nō* 1 4 b, -muyω, -mōnyω*, -munu*, -nu 17, -nywe* 18, -nwe* 21 b-d, Jinω* 65 65 a
 66, -nwe 88, -nyi 97, -nywe 136, -nyω* 141, -nwe 142, -nu 140, -nyu 202, -nω 203; -nyeiñ*, -nyei;
 -noñ 234; -neñ 227; Sanwe* 1, Sanzu* 49, -kunwe* 64, -ñgbe* 148, Beñgbe 153; -kpe* 258.
 -bunω* 57 58, -bunω-ca-tavu 58, -bunω 59; -funya 60; Bweni 151 a; -buna, -funa 255.
 -kumu* 2 a, -kumω* 2 d-e 42 44 44 b 62 77 79 105 106, -kume* 68, Gume* 66; -siume* 151; -vuma
 256.
 Gumba 23 32 35.
 -lembω* 98 100 109 114 124, -dembu* 129, -lyemω* 175, -liam* 176, -lemω* 177, -limω* 178, -leam*
 180, -liemi* 181 182, -lembω* 185 189, -lembu 184, -wem, Vem, -huem, 261; Tem 123, Neme 123
 125, -nimi 257; -nimbi* 228 a.
 -kondω* 42, -ondω* 77, -kon* 249; -konje* 35, -konze* 38; -ponjω 195; -anda* 21 b 23, Kandω*
 43 43 a.
 Kaca 127.
 -ara* 2 g, -ala* 5 5 a, -ara 7 7 a 8, -ala 9 c, -ara 11, -caa 15, Cala* 16, -ā 12, -ala 19 19 a 54, -yaa*
 21 e, -ala 28; -fare* 253, -pare* 274; -zali* 120, -jali* 168, -sal*, -sil 263; -sarara* 50.
 -karu* 267; -kōla 133; -gere* 147, -nekeli 157, -gere* 2 2 c 3 4; -niri 227; -tere 5 a, -tete 6 6 a;
 -tsede 262; -lar, -ler 263-4.
 -koñω 34, -koñgω 54 61; -kōkω 56 a-b; -kukω 101; -kūjw-ana 71 f.
 -buga 145, -buka 146; Kwen-bwol 252.
 -bōbō 255.
 -heu* 151; -fei* 232.
 -ki 251.
 -šaya* 22, -sai*, -sei 164 166 168, -savi* 187; -zaga 151 b; -sañga 137, 155; -siñk 273; taña 249.
 -kli 259.
 -ōwe 13, -ōwe 51.
 -ena 81, -nā (Di-nā) 139.
 Memba 26.
 -naša* 85, -nyeša 86; -nesu*, -esu 226; -gbes, -gbesta 266.
 -nulω* 4; -Julωme 78; -niri* 227; -ni 17.
 Pitω* 56, Pita* 131, -hita 132, Pita* 134.
 -guω 237
 -ak 236.
 -gakuni 178.
 -mai 94.

TO-MORROW

- eñkya* 2, -eñkea, -encea 2 g, -kiω 5 b 7 a, Ancω 7, Icω 7 a, Tsiū, Ciū* 11, Jω 40, Ca 81, Nci 109,
 -eša* 124, Penšu 125, -esa* 127, Kisa* 133, -ñkesa* 161, Nikiā* 151 a, Bukya* 175, Ukia 178; -gesa*
 184; -edza* 2 e, Edjω* 3, Edzω, Hezω* 3 b, -kesω* 13 14, Kešω* 21 21 a-e, -tsesu* 21 f-g; -pešelu*
 56 b, -celω* 72; -tsūor 251; Desi* 17 b 17 d; -šia 105, Niša* 154, -sasa* 75 b 76; -itse 6 a, -se 258;
 -ijua 119, -iyū 151; Kasalu 146.

¹ As far as possible words are given which are distinct in meaning from the root for 'finger', but the root sometimes means 'big toe' only, while the rest of the toes are called by the same word as 'finger'; and the two are so much mixed in the Bantu mind that it may occur that unwittingly I simply supply a root which means 'finger' as well as 'toe'.

Bai* 266, Mbai 91 a, Mbaji* 100, Baſi* 100 b, Baſi* 100 c, Bazi* 111; Bare* 120, Ber* 119, -bale* 168 a, -bali 175 178, -badi* 177, -bade 179, -bede* 180, -badi 189, -bari* 190; -vale* 195, Vaſe*, Vwaſe 198, -badi* 226; -bwaſi 232.

-jw 2, Jw* 4, -nju* 21 (Pemba), Jw* 40, -jō* 227, -zō*, Dziedzō* 230, -sō 73, ſō (Ka-muſō) 74, -sw* 74 b 75.75 a-c, -msu 230, -ſu* 232.

-huka* 89 92, -sua 176, -suga* 176, -ſuōya* 181 182, -ſoke* 194; -swzi* 44 b.

-ſwba* 213, ſuba 214; -wbi* 135, Lwbi* 140 162 (also Lwme), Luvi*, Lōi 19, -rubfi* 23 a, Luvi* 20 26, Lib, Lip* 253, Luwi 130, Lūi 131 132, Lwbi 164 166 167 168; -lumi 129 a, Lumū 134, -lwme 162, -lumbi* 130, Imbi-tw-elaw* 226 b.

Kwpe 148 a, Kwbi 151 b; Kōhū 250.

Lkw* 129, -wkw* 12, -duku* 71, -juku* 71 f; -cikw* (Dia-ma-), -diki (Kuma-diki) 110; -li, -i 243; -ni (U-ni, Ū-ni) 12.

-gula* 90, -gura* 13, -kwkw* 9, -gōrw* 9 a, -gwkw* 9 c¹; Na-hwol 252; Ugweddi* 243; -kudi* 246 267; Kwade*, Kwalia 186.

-kelela 104.

-pulea 235.

-kake-lapa 150; -kaliba 148; -ke 202, Keke 204 b.

-kon-dab* 230; -labu*, Lau 14, -law* 25, -lau, -rau 27, -lau* 28 32, -rau 35, -raww* 37, -laww* 38, -law 48, -dawi* 50, -labw* 51, -lawi 54, -laba* 104, -lwa* 106 108, -lomba* 108, -lebw* 120, Lib* 253; -yaww* 15; Mawa* 61 61 a-c 62.

Bware 234, Bwiri 248; Ta-bori 8.

-cerw* 16 52, -kere* 41, -celw* 72, -kila 97, -kela* 118, -hena* 94, -ele* 206; Mele* 193, Na-mene* 200, -mene* 84 85 86 88 113 187 192, -myen, -menw, Dya-men 220-220 h, -man* 236.

-nina 263 (also -lina, Ninañ); -yana* 164 185, -eana* 208, -yana* 209, Gean* 215, -wana* 228; -yen* iki 244, Diene* 244 a, -tyan* 274; Fan 269-72; Gbeñ 261; Gber* 248; Beli*, Bei 255 256.

Bwiri* 248; -irw* 41 42 44, -ilw* 44 b 56 56 a, Ma-ilw 62.

Mañgwana* 57 58 58 a 59 61 a, Mañwona* 63, Nañgwana* 64 64 a, Mañgwane* 69; Muñgu* 95 96 97 98, Muñgu 112 a, Moñgu* 109 114, Muñke* 147.

-puma 152 161 a, -pumw 153.

-wuwu 121.

-fomfi 230.

-mpie 268.

-swna 77, -zwna 78, -jhwna 79, -zwna 80.

-nandya 128; -nadi 257.

-gama 17 18, -gamba 6 6 a; -nambw 139, -dyom, -jem 273; -ſim 237.

-dende ('to-day') 150, -dinde 161; -nindw, -belindi ('to-day') 150.

-keke 204 205, -ke 204.

Ka-eti 135; -kiere 204; Kiari, Ne-kiari 151 a.

-pindu 130, Pinsu 131, Napinda 137, -pandu 140.

Ŋgoñ 23 38; Mkpoñ 245.

Vwe 259.

-onda* 82, -inda* 83, -onza* 86, -tondw* 18 21 21 a-d, -condw* 21 e, -tondw 21 f-g 23 24 24 c-g 25 26 43 43 a.

-ansiku 24.

TONGUE

-leme* 1, -limi* 2 2 a, -rimi* 2 b-c, -rrimi 2 d, -limi, -dimi* 2 e-g, -rimi 3, -limi 3 b 4, -limi 5 5 a 6 6 a (and -limu*), -meme* 7, -reme*, deme* 7 a, -rimi 8, -limi 9 a-c 10 (and -dimi), -limi, -rimi 11, -imi* 12 13, -umi* 14, -lumi* 15, -limi, -dimi 16, -ilimi*, -lumi, -limi 17, -limi 18 19 19 a 20 20 d 21 (and -dimi) 21 a-e,

¹ Note also -le-gulu, meaning 'to-day' in No. 40.

-rimi, -limi 21 f-g, -limi, -dimi 22 23 23 a 24 25, -limi, Lumi- 27, -rimi 28, -limi, -miri* 29, -limi 30 31 32 34 35 (and -nimi*), -limi 38 39 40 41 42 43 43 a, -rimi, -limi 44, -limi, -mini* (Lu-mini) 44 b, -lumi 45 46 48, Miri* 49, Rimi 51 52, Limi 53, Rumi* 54, -limi 55 56 56 a, -lumi 56 b, -lumi 57, -yumi* 58, -rumi 58 a, -rimi 59, -lime* 60 61, -limi, -lume* 61 a, -lime, -rume 61 b, -rimi 61 c, -limi 62 63, -rimi 64 64 a 65, -rumu* 65 a, -imi 66, Lime 67 68, -rime 69, -dime 70, -dyimi* 71, -rime 71 e-f, -jimi*, -limi, -dimi 72, -leme 73 74 (and -teme), -lime 74 b, -imi 75, -limi 75 a, -lwimi* 75 b, -limi 75 c 76 77, -dimi 78 79, -limi 80, -rime 81, -lime 82, -limi, -leme 83 84 85, -rime, -lime 86, -lime, -dime 87 87 a 88 94, -demi* 95, -limi 96, -lemi 97, Rimi, Dimi 98, -dimi 100 b, -limi 101, -lumi 102, -dimi, -diyi* 104 105, -diw* limi 106, -dimi, -dyimi 108 109, -dimi 110, -dim' 111, -dimi 112 a, -limi 114 116 117 118 119, -limu, -lum 120, -lim 121, -deme 123, -nimi, -nem 124, -limi, -neme* 125, -lemi 127, -demi 128, -limi 129 131 132, -limu 133, -lim 134, -limi 135, -lame* 136, -game* 137, -rimi 139, -lame 140, -ami* 141, -limi 142 143 144, -remi 147, -leme 150, -leme 151, -yemi 151 a, -lemi 152, -limi 153, -lame* 155 (also -dei*), -hw-lemw* 156, -leme 157, -lemw 164, -lemi 165, -lemu, -limu 166, -lemu, -nemu 167, -limu 175 176, -dimi 177, -limi 178 179, -limu 180, -lemi 182, -limi 184 185, -bem*, -yem*, -wem* 186, -meni* 187, -limi 189 190, -lemi 191, -nemi 192, -leme, -neme 193, -demi 194, -yemi 195, -dem, -yem 198, Jimi, Gimi* 200, -lemb 202 203, -leme, -yeme, -yemi 204, Jeme, -dyeme, -eme 205 206, -dem 207, -emi 208, -eme 209, Demi, Dim' 211, -lem 212, -giem, -em 213 214, -am, Egeam* 215, Yem 217, Yem, Dem 218, Yem 219, Jem, Dyem, Gimu 220, Dem 221, Lemi 222, -lemu 223, Lemi 224, Gieme, Jem* 225, -rem 227, -lebi* 228 a, Nebe 239 e, Lam, Lem, Lim* 230, -rim* 236, Demw*, Demog 237, -dxum* 230, -demi*, -nemi 232, -demile* 238, -dem, -gem 245, Lem 252, -lě 254, -nyemi* 257, -nemi* 259, Muliñ* 261, -lem, -lembe 266, -dema* 267, -leme* 268, -riamd*, -remte*, -diamont, -demnt* 269-72.

-uam 249; -nyūa 12; -anya 255.

-mini* 44 b, -men* 240 241, -miene* 193, -mile* 238, -mien* 250; -miri* 49, -mer, -mir* 263; -meminyw* 228; -meliñ, Miliñ 261.

-rerup, -lelumf 273 273 b.

Diña, Diña* 274, -liñ, Muliñ, Meliñ 261; -leñyi* 247, -deñ* 230, -lě* 255, -lō 230.

-ndiamont 271; -jia 251; -ndiō, -ndiō 231; -riatu 254, -ratu 256; -rarita 151 b.

Las, Lisi 253.

-laka* 2 f 19 24 44 b 61 a 75 a 77 78 85, -daka* 86, -raka* 89, -laka 90 91 92 94 97 101, -daka 103, -lako* 105, -daka 145 146 149 150; -neke*, -nike 260; -ley*, -ruy* 234.

-dada*, -lala* 148 148 a 151, -dede* 154, Deda* 151 a, -dak* 242 a, -da, Lelā* 242 242 b, Leda* 239 b 240 a, Lata* 243, Dara* 244, Deda* 244 a.

-riwi, -nibe, -riwe 228, -ebe, -ribe, -dibi 227.

-bebω (?-memω) 226; -baboñ 229.

-bωmω 210; -pomp 235; -nombōrω 248.

Luwa 26.

-lō 230.

-belω 226 b; -tωlω* 226 b; -kωlω* 16.

-bini (Lu-bini) 100.

-konji, -gonji 37.

-sasū, -sasω 153.

-gambw* 2; -gumba* 12.

TOOTH

-inw*, -inyw* 1, -inw 2 2 a 2 c-g, -inyw 3 3 b 4 (and -inw), -inw 5 5 a 6 6 a 7 8 9 9 a-c 10 16 19 19 a 20 20 d 21 21 a-d (and -enw*), -enyw* 21 e, -inw, -inu* 21 f-g, -inyw 22, -inw 23 23 a (and -zinw*), 24, -dzinw*, -inw 24 c-g 25, -inw 26 27 28 29, Izinw 30 31, Lilw* 32, -tsinw* 33 a, -inw (Linw) 33 34 35, Irinw* 37, Elinw* 38, -inw 39 40 41 42 43 43 a 44 44 b 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52, -inu, -inyw 53, -inw 54 55, -innw 56, -inw 56 a, -inu 56 b, -inw 57 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 a-c 62 63 64, -zinw 64 a 65 65 a, -iw*,

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¹ This group ordinarily is confined to 'molar teeth', and in some languages means 'all the teeth'.

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¹ Derived, of course, from the Dutch *Dorp*.

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¹ Evidently the Proto-Bantu root for 'two'.

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-wsw 206.
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-tonti 101.
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-kuma 65 68.

WELL, SOURCE, SPRING, WATER-HOLE

- ziba*** 1 2 2 c-d, **-ziwa*** 2, **-ziba** 2 f-g, **-liba*** 3, **-liwu*** 3 b, **-diba*** 4, **-ziba** 9 a, **-liwa** 35 54, **-ziya***
43 a, **-ziba** 63, **Dziwa** 64 a, **-dziba*** 71 f, **-liba** 73, **-diba** 74, **-zia*** 90, **-fifiya*** 91, **-iva*** 92, **siwa*** 106,
-jiba* 109, **-diba** 161 a, **-liba** 164 166, **-diba** 167, **-dzia** 178, **Seba***, **-seba** 198, **-riba*** 226.
-sima 8, **-bima*** 11 12, **-sima*** 16 19 20 20 d 21 21 a 23 23 a 24 31, **-ima** 41, **-sima** 42 44 44 b 54,
-himi* 56 a, **-sime*** 61 a, **-time*** 61, **-dzime*** 64, **-sima** 70 72, **-sima** 73 84 86, **-simw*** 86, **-sema*** 89,
-sima 90, **-fima*** 91, **-simw** 92 b, **-sima** 105, **-cima*** 162, **-tsimi*** 175, **-seba*** 198, **-dim*** 245; **-cemmu***
274; **-rimōyw** 26.
-gezi* 2, **-zi*** 4, **-inzi*** 9 9 a-c, **-zi** 16, **-ji*** 40, **-ze** 75; **-lindi***¹ 41; **-bweci*** 194; **-lōse*** 32,
-luṣi* 56 a.
-te, **-ite** 177.
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-jelw* 75 b, **-ṣeri** 254; **-bila** 250; **-pera*** 27; **-sulw*** 88 106, **Ṣulu*** 175, **-sulu** 28, **-curw*** 2 g, **-sulw*** 4;
-hulikpw 259; **-kut** 246; **-kōloñ** 273; **-fōr*** 263; **-bulu*** 204, **-bōle*** 218; **-weri** 5 a, **-eru** 35.
-tōtw 92 b; **-torw** 151 a.
-wñw 94; **-hōnyw** 226 b.
-tagulu* 184, **-teregu*** 189, **Tekelōi*** 19 a, **-tehw*** 190; **-negu** 28; **-dyake*** 186; **-tugu*** 150,
-tōkw* 162, **-sōkw*** 3 9 a, **-tōka*** 187; **-tōbw*** 41; **-subi*** 168 a; **-fuku*** 130; **-ikw*** 148 a; **Wōge** 255.
-negu 28.

¹ **Lindi**, a not uncommon place name or river name in East and Central Bantu Africa, recalls the word for 'river' in that non-Bantu language, Bamanga of the Northern Congo.

-eñgɔ* 2g, Añga 13, -leñgu* 16, -dañgɔ* 195; -diñga* 100 b, -riñkazɔ 26; -doñ 200, Toñgɔ 202, -ñgoñ 203, -toñ 218.
 -kwina* 83, -ina*, Ki-na 14, Ikina* 51.
 -fwe 42.
 -vimbi 9 c.
 -dzitsɔ 22.
 -fuʃi 98; -luʃi 56 a, -lɔse 32; Hw-iʃ 252.
 -yɔɔ 178.
 -wi (Ōru-wi) 89.
 Duyi 244; Luei 261; -lite 266.
 -puputɔ 76.
 Parawe 56 a.
 Jar 141.
 Banda 161 a.
 -pā 153.
 -tapa* 42, -tabu* 94 b; -tombɔ 75 75 a; -tam 217 219; -lamp 263.

WHITE MAN

-juñgu* 1 2, -zuñgu* 2 a 2 c 2 d-f 3 3 b 4, -duñgu* 4 a, -suñgu* 5 5 a, -zuñgu 6 6 a, -suñgu 7, -cuñgu* 7 a, -zuñgu 8 9 9 a 9 c 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 19 a 20 20 d 21 21 a-d, -buñgu* 21 e, -zuñgwe* 21 f-g, -zuñgu 23 23 a 24 25, -juñgu* 26 32, -zuñgu 27 28 29 30 31, -xñgu* 33, -suñgu 37 38, -zuñgu 39, -dzuñgu 40, -zuñgu 41, -suñgu 42, -zuñgu 43 43 a 44 44 b (-suñgu), -zuñgu 45, -ziuñgu* 48, -zuñgu 49 50 51 52 53 54, -suñgu 55, -zuñgu 56 b, -zugu, -zuku* 57, -tsuñku, -dzuñku* 58, -zuñgɔ* 58 a, -zuñgu 59 60 61 61 a-c 64 64 a, -zuñgɔ 65 65 a 66, -iuñgɔ* 67, -zuñgɔ 68; -zuñgu 77, -juñgɔ 88, -juñgu 94, -juñgu, -joñgɔ* 98, -jiñgu 106 114, -suñgu 125 131, -zuñgu 134, -cuñgu 139, -zuñgu 140, -soñgɔ 141, -juñgu 145 148, -yuñgu* 144, -zuñgu 150 151; -luñgɔ* 69, -luñgɔ 69 71 71 f 72, -luñgu* 75 75 a 77 105.¹

-rumbi* 64, -lumbi 75 b, -rumbu 89, -lumbu* 90; -lulum* 273.

¹ The distribution of these variants of an original -zuñgu suggests the following explanation: We find that this root-word is most strongly represented in the eastern half of Bantu Africa with the variant -luñgu in the extreme south-east. It is possible that -luñgu may link up this root -zuñgu with the well-known root-word for 'God', the first light-skinned immigrants into Eastern Equatorial Africa being certainly associated with the idea of a semi-divine person. But in addition to the eastern half of Bantu Africa wherein this root-word may have originated in the equatorial regions from the arrival of the first civilizing Hamites or Arabs, we find the root also throughout the heart of Congoland, and what is still more remarkable, in Añgōla, as far south as the Kiokɔ country, where it competes with another root-word, -dele, which is strongly implanted in Western Congoland (-dele would appear to have originated from a root meaning 'white', or 'cloth'; more probably the adjective 'white' also applied to the white man's cotton cloths). We can easily explain the enigma of -juñgu or -zuñgu in the heart of Congoland. It has penetrated there, within the present writer's personal experience, from Stanley's expeditions and their Zanzibari porters; but the Añgōla problem is a much more interesting one because the root -juñgu or -zuñgu was in existence long before there was any opening-up of Africa or any traversing of the continent from east to west. I believe that this Eastern Bantu root was introduced into Añgōla, even to its west coast, by that great factor in African history, the astonishing uprising and conquests of the Ba-jok — the Jaggas of the Portuguese and the ancestors of the modern Va-kiokɔ. The Va-kiokɔ in their amazing raids in the sixteenth century first came into contact with white people on the Lower Zambezi as well as subsequently throughout East Africa. They picked up from the Eastern Bantu, and especially the Swahili Arabs, the term already in existence of -zuñgu, -luñgu, or -juñgu. In their surge to and from some of them must have returned to their original territories in the interior of Añgōla bringing this term for 'white men' with them. It was then applied by their descendants to the Portuguese, who at the close of the sixteenth century and during the seventeenth were penetrating more and more as colonists into that region. With regard to the Zulu term -luñgu, it was probably brought to the Zambezi by Zulu raiders

-kala 202, -kana 203, -kara* 204, -kala* 205, -karara* 207 208 209 210, -kala 211 212 213 214, Kara 215 226 227 (and Karera*) 228 229 230, -karat* 236, -kara 238, -kana* 235.

-dele* 84, -dere* 86, -ndeke 88 92 94 95 96 97 98 a 100 101 103 110 111, -diel* 120, -dele 137, -celele* 137 159 160 161, -tendele*, -ndeke* 162, -ndeke 164 165 167 168, -dele 175 176 177 178; -wēra* 2 g, -welw* (Mum-welw) 175; Mutu-agbeli* 151 a, -bie* 178; -biu* 178.

-kiwa* 63 75 c, Giwa* 64 (also -kiwa), -khuwa* 72, -kxwa* 73, -khwa* 74, -kuwa* 74 b, -kua* 78 79, Kuwa* 80, Kua 87; -kuta* 133; -zuba 151 b.

-lowa 130.

-kiliŋga* 104 a, Keleŋge* 105 108 128, Kelēga* 129; -laŋgala* 132; -taŋga 97, -taŋgadi* 185, -taŋga* 186, -taŋgani* 189 191 192 193 194 (-taŋgane*), Naŋge* 198, -taŋgani 195 199 200 a, -taŋan* 200, -taŋge, -taŋga 217, -taña* 218, -taŋgan* 219.

-geŋgilia 193.

-ŋgandun' 120.

-iŋgita 156.

-gundw (Kaŋ-gundw) 98.

-gunya 56, -guiŋya 56 a.

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-bunju 161 a.

Ambut* 244; -puru* 175 178; -dūa, -ura* 243.

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Ntō 232.

-tuku* 2, -tōke* 124, Cōke* 125 126, -tōka* 127, -tlōka* 70; Lifōka* 155 a; -lowa* 130.

-dima 70.

-yeme* 123, Wema* 131; -bama* 180, -bami* 179 182; -bamba 103 181 187 190; Pañ (-mukwō 228, Mum-pañ 232) 228 232.

-babu* 268, -babw*, -mbaww* 269-72; -tabu, -tabw 264; -kafu* 207.

-buka 86.

Mbarane 228.

-fare 263.

-simaši 129 a.

-tōmeni 256.

-pephw ('spirit') 226.

-sweta 62.

-tōmeni 256.

bature (Hausa term) 253 254 255.

Nasala (Arab word through Fula) 216.¹

WIFE

(As far as possible an attempt is made to distinguish between 'wife' or 'spouse' and the ordinary terms for 'woman', but the two concepts run so close together that it is not easy to exclude from the list of roots meaning 'wife' those equally meaning an 'adult woman'.)

and thus planted in the Lenji tongue, but we may note its penetration also into Southern Luba, no doubt by the same agency, the Matebele in their extreme raids or commercial intercourse.

-lumbu, another very interesting root, may be a variant of the older -luŋgu. Its headquarters would seem to be in South-west Africa, but it has also penetrated into Mashonaland and still farther south into Swaziland.

¹ It is interesting to find this Arab term derived actually from Nazareth, Nazarene, and applied in the Middle Ages by Arabs to Christian Europeans, carried by the Fula raiders so far into the depths of forested Africa as the little territory of Bati or Baceŋga on the Middle Sanagá river in the Cameroons.

·kaza* 16 19 19 a 20, ·haza* 22, ·aha*, ·waha* 27, ·kahanω* 31 a, ·haza 22, ·kaza 58 a 59, ·gadie* 58, ·kate*, ·gade*, ·aja* 69, ·kata* 71 f, ·xaca* 73, ·kata*, ·kabe 87, ·kaza* 100, Kasa* 100 b, ·kaasa* 107, Kaja* 109, ·aja* 130, ·aji* 132 142, ·asi* 164, ·aši* 166, ·asi 167, ·kaşω* 188, ·ada* 195, ·ajω* 195; ·basa* 129 a.

Mu-tā-wa-kā* 74 b, ·ka 75 75 a-c; ·si-kati* 75 b; ·kali 8; ·mbai 266.

·mωtω* 129, ·mutu*, ·matu* 131, Mu-tā-wa-kā 74 b, ·ditu*, ·itu* 198, ·tω* 204, ·witu* ('sister') 46, ·antω* 73, Kandu* 128, Kalu* 117, ·karu* 120, ·gatu* 127.

·beti* 12; ·wehe* 23 23 a 31 38, ·weha*, ·ehi* 24 c-g, ·mahi* 4, ·pahi* (34), ·fazi* 67 75 75 a-c 76; ·mbai 266.

·leku 257, ·deku*, ·ceku* 18; ·sek*, ·sex* 273 273 b; ·gyivu* 86; ·pwevω* 84 85, Pō 88.

·amut 220; ·amω* 210; ·kωma* 228, Nōma* 261; ·kama* 98 100 b 101 103 227; ·kaba* 154; ·kima* 9, ·cima* 48; ·hrima* 70, ·rima* 226; ·liemi 125.

·rani* 263; ·lana* 206; ·tsanω* 61 a; ·geni* 3; ·wani* 238; ·yen* 243; ·ina 78; ·sωnω 54; Nana*, ·ana 21.

Njā* 199, ·nja 204 205, ·nya* 206, ·nyam* 247.

·kiala* 4; ·fele* 17, ·vyēē* 19 a, ·viele* 20, ·vala* 186, ·bala* 178, ·bōra* 17 18, Bali* 176, Wa 43; ·ba 254; Gwa, 240, ·gwa 241, Gwa, Kwa, 242, Hwa, Ha 252.

La*, Lakan*, Lak* 261-2, ·laka* 168; ·leku 257; ·taka* 202, ·tawa* 203; ·lwawa* 32; ·tā 207; ·sek, ·seki-, ·sex 273; ·ceku 18.

·mama* 35 125 126, Mām* 253; Ma-am, Ma-wam 220 e-f, Mā 261 262.

Meri 225 226.

·kaŋgwa* 20 d; ·eŋga* 84; ·kuŋgu* 7 (see 'woman'); ·hunji* 98; ·saŋkω* 258.

·kasigω 40.

·kωlω* 41 42; ·kōta* 45; ·gō;ō 234; ·kōli* 153, ·ñkulu* 176, ·gōri* 37, ·gōle-ce* 25; ·kudi* (also ·lōku*) 257; Nōdi*, ·odi 110 a; ·ōze 134; ·ōra 200.

·lele 79.

·endi 85.

·side*, ·si* 124; ·iši* 49; ·dze, ·dzini* 259; ·dyūi* 230; ·dy' 34.

·riši* 254.

·sōfō 258.

·yumbω* 32 55, ·bumba* 35 55; Bomba 220 h.

·tembω 92 94,

·fūi* 260, ·wūi* 232.

·ri-kandi 91 a.

·kupūa 92 b.

WIND

·behω* 1 2 2 c-e 3 3 b, ·behω*, ·pewω* 4, ·behω 5, ·bōhω*, ·behω 5 a, ·bew* 6, ·behω 6 a 7 7 a, ·pew* 9, ·behω 9 c, Hehω* 11, ·hebω* 12, ·pewω* 13, ·pewω 14 15, ·phevω*, ·pewω, ·vehω* 16, Bew 17, ·behω 17, Pehω 19 19 a (and ·hehω) 20, ·pewω* 21 21 a-e, ·epω* 21 f, ·bevω*, ·pevω, ·peva* 22, ·behω 23 23 a, ·pewω 24, Pehω 26, ·mepω* 27, ·pewω* 28, ·bepω 30 32, ·mepω* 34, ·pewω 35, ·hephω* 36, ·bepu* 37, ·epω (Em-epω) 38, ·bew 39, ·pewω 42 44 b, ·behω 45, ·bepω 48, ·pewω 49 50, ·bepω 51 a, ·pewω 53, ·befω 54 55, ·peu* 56, ·pew 56 a, ·pewω 56 b 57, Pevωω, ·pewω 58, Pevω 58 a, ·pewω 59 60 61 61 a-b, Phepω 61 c, ·pēpω 62, ·mepω 64, ·pewω 64 a 66 68, Mehω 69, ·puhω* 70, ·hehω 71, ·phephω 72, ·pfehω 73, ·pfehō 74, ·pewω, ·bepω 75, ·pewω 75 a 75 c, ·peyω* 77, ·pipω*, ·pawpω* 81, ·ebω* 83, ·pewω 84, ·bepω, ·vepω* 89, ·pewω 90, ·hepω 91, ·phepω 92, ·fela, ·fele 94 94 b, Puji 97 [Puši 113], ·peve*, ·pevi*, ·pevelω*, ·pemω* 100, ·pemu* 101, ·pemω* 102 103, ·hehehe*, ·fefela*, ·fufu* 104, ·pepele 106 107, ·hehe 109, Pepela* 110, Pil* 119, Pep* 120, Pele 121, Phephe, Pep' 124, Pelele 125, ·hele, ·pehele 131, ·ewω* 133, Pelele 134, ·wpela 136, ·pwa* 139, ·fu* 103, ·fufu* 104, ·fawω* 141, ·hehe

142, Hey ω * 145, Yew* 148; Pep ω 150, -pepe, -pip ω 151, -faw ω * 155, -falela* 157 [-ful ω * 9 a; -wul \bar{o} * 238], -piu* , -pi ω , -we 159, -pwi ω * 160, Pwea*, Pweya 161, -pyaya 255, -fefe 257, -fef \bar{o} i*, -fefaki* 162, -mpebe* 168, Pepe* 172, -pepe, Pejiei* 186, -peba* , -pebe 200, -bebi, -bepi 203, -pupe 204 c, -pema* 214, -fep* 219, -fap* 227, -fep* 227 a, -fep 228, -pep* 228 a, -fefe* 240 c, -bep* 244, -beb 246, -fef ω * 258, -fef* 263, -hefa* 273; -fim* 245; -pukp ω 151 b, -pupu* 44 b, -pub ω * 69, Pup ω 220, Fufot* 230, Pup ω ω * 225, -fu* 229, -pupe* 195 198 207 211 212; -hug ω * , -huh ω * 11, -huh ω 80, -guw ω * , -w ω 77 78 79, Puega* , Puera* 147, Vwga* 189, -buye* 234, Wwu* 247, -fu* 229, W \bar{o} 259, -huga* , -hug ω 254; -hu \bar{n} ga* 1 2, -pu \bar{n} g ω * 35, -bu \bar{n} g ω * 54, -pu \bar{n} ga* 184 186 193 194, -punya* 190; Mun \bar{u} 125, Mu \bar{n} gu 126; -vu \bar{n} ele* 218, -vu \bar{n} ulu* 219; He \bar{n} * 261; Gu \bar{n} * 253, -gu \bar{n} hu* 9 c, -gu \bar{n} gu* 15, Ku \bar{n} ku* 78, Ku \bar{n} guru* 142, Ngu \bar{n} gu* 209; -fu \bar{n} ga* 124, -fu \bar{n} ge* 127, Phu \bar{n} ga* 128, Pu \bar{n} ge* 129, -fu \bar{n} gi* 129 a, -bu \bar{n} ge* 166. -hwahi 35, -fefaki 162.

Fuji 8; -fot* 230, -vut ω * 13, La-vut ω * 16; Dut ω * 65 65 a.

-wand ω 64; -fan 243; -undi* 85, Ponzi*, Bonde*, -honde* , -hondzi 86, -gundu* 87, -vunde* 104, -funji* 114 118, -fun* 121 [-fan* 243], -wundu* 217; [-wand ω * 64], Dut ω * 65 a; -dundu* , -dulu* , -nrudu* 226; -duhu* , -rudu* 226, - \bar{u} li* 156, -uri* , -udi* 204; -ful ω * 9 a, -vuli* 218; -wul \bar{o} * 238; -wili* 206; Gul 252.

-rusi, -rus \bar{e} 273.

-gudwa* 27; -gu \bar{s} a* 87, -uza* 43 a, -we \bar{s} a* 105 a, -wesia* 44 b.

-kind ω 110 111.

Bela 256, -fela* , -fele 94 94 b, -pele* 178, -pira* 177, -ela* 41 105 a, -leli, -jele* 164, -tiera* 137, -era* 44 52, -ber ω * 51; -zalla 274; Nala 27; -fula 105 175 176 178, -vulu 109, -vuli 218; Yurr 253.

-sola 38; -zalla 274.

-wili 206, -li 205, -le 259; -ilu 84.

-didi* 206, -liti* 28; Dut ω * 65 65 a.

-dimu* 17, -ilimi ω * , -tim ω * 73; -umu* 132; -fum 242.

M \bar{u} ya* 58, -weya* 64, - \bar{o} ya* 67 71 71 f, -uya* 72, -iya* (M \bar{o} -iya) 74 b, - \bar{o} ya 75 75 b-c 76; -yega* 28, -yaga* 2 2 a 2 f-g, -iaga* 3, -yaga* 4 6, -ieka* 5 a, -aga* 7 9 c, -yaya* 40, -aka* (Eci-aka) 155 a; Kuka 131; -tak ω 56 b; Nyan 266.

N-gwa 202, Ngo 204 206, Ng ω , Ngwi 205, Ngwi 210.

-mpomp ω * 162, -pumbu* 140, -bumb \bar{o} 151 a, -simbu* 146, -bumb ω * 153, Mumb ω * 151 a.

-temb ω * 98, -emb ω * 167.

- \bar{n} oke 226 b.

-le \bar{n} ge 98.

Senwe 108; -tanu 17.

-rat ω 17 d.

kama 7 a 8, -kuma 17 c 18.

-bambara 64 a.

Nyefu 16.

-gwere 120.

WITCH, WIZARD, SORCERER, WITCHCRAFT ¹

-roi* 1, -r ω g ω * 2, -l ω g ω * 2 a 2 c-d, -l ω gi* , -r ω gi* 2 e-g, -r ω zi* , -l ω zi* 3, -l ω g ω * 4, -l ω si* , -l ω si* 5 5 a, -l ω si 6, -l ω zi* 6 a, -r ω ki* 7, -r ω gi 7 a 8, -l ω ki* 9, -l ω zi 9 a, -l ω gi, -l ω ji* 9 c, -r ω gi 11, - \bar{o} ii* 12, -l ω zi 16, -l ω a* 17, -d \bar{o} ywa* 19, -l ω ga* 32, -l ω zi 39, -l ω gi, N ω gi 40, -l ω zi, -d \bar{o} zi 41, -l ω si 42, -l ω zi 43 43 a,

¹ All these root-words indicate what might be called 'bad magic' as opposed to the ordinary sense of magic, which is usually associated with religion and sometimes with medicine or wonder-working; though not infrequently, especially in the case of the widespread root -ga \bar{n} ga, both white and black magic are fused. Sometimes, where a noun form is lacking but the sense is present as a verb-root, that is also quoted. The original root-word for noun and verb alike was -l ω ga, and this by a common process in Bantu is frequently modified in a substantival or adjectival sense by a change of the termination from -ga to -gi (-zi, -si, &c.).

-dɔsi 44 b, -lɔzi 45 48, -rɔzi 49 50, -rɔsi*, -dɔsi* 51, -lɔa 56, -lɔza 62, -rɔyi*, -rrɔi* 64 64 a, -rɔi 65, -lɔi 66 68, Dɔi*, Nɔi*, Inɔi* 69, Lɔyi*, Lɔya*, Nɔyi 70, Nɔi 71, Nɔyi, Lɔyi 71 f, -lɔi 72 73 74, -lɔyi 74 b, -lɔzi 75 75 a, -lɔyi 75 b, -lɔwi* 76, -lɔzi 77, -lɔzi 78, -lɔzi, -lɔw* 79 80, -lɔti* 83, -lɔzi 84, -lɔbi*, -rɔbi* 87, -rɔci*, -lɔbi 85, -lɔzi (= 'poison', 'witchcraft') 90, -lɔwa ('to bewitch') 90, -lɔdi 92 b, -lɔwa ('to bewitch') 94, -lɔji, -rɔzi 98, -dɔki* 100, -dɔci* 101, -dɔcie* 103, -lɔsi 104 105, -dɔzi 106, -lɔzu*, -lɔji 109, -lɔji*, -lɔzi, -lɔji 110 113, -dɔji 112 116, -lɔwe 118, -lɔki 124 125 129, -dɔka* 131 (also -lɔka) 132, -lɔki 134 136, Dɔi* 139, -dɔzi 142, -lɔga* 151, -lɔki, -dɔki 155 157 162 164 166 (also -lɔkw, -lɔki), -lɔki 167 168 a, -lɔgi 175, -lɔ, -lɔkw* 176, -lɔwi 177, -lɔw 178, -lɔki 189, -wɔce* 229, -ɔce* 228 228 a, -ɔse* 238 247; Mo-ŋgos* 253.

-buki* 106, -vutsi* 3 (old R.), -fot* 245, -fwici* 105, -fwiti* 44 44 b 53, -fiti* 59 61 61 a-c, -fwiti 62 77; -ŋgit* 119, -ŋgim 120; -kwiri* 56 56 a-b 58 58 a, -kuri* 57; -kuti* 168.

-bɔsɔi* 141, -bɔ* 212, -bu* 234 Busa* 244, -wusu* 204, -vus* 218, -vũ 219; -isɔ* (L-isɔ) 155; -hũi 259; Bɔ-gũa* 226; -se (Ba-se) 258; -sai 273; -ser 263; -sɔsɔ 259.

-sezi* 4, -swezi* 9 c; -kpagba* 228, -kpabi* 229; -yawi* 274, -sai* 273, -sawe* ('devil') 271, -jai* ('devil') 269, -sawɔ* 4, -dzawi*, -tsawi* 13, -sabi*, -sawi*, -sai 14, -sawi 15, -tsawi*, -dzai* 16, -sawi 17 18, -sawi 19, -sayi 19, -sawi 19 a 20, -cawi* 21, -tawi* 21 a-d, -tavi* 21 e, -psawi* 21 f, -hawi* 23 23 a, -sai, -hai 24 25, -hawi 27 28 30, -abi* 32, -hyawi* 34, -hawi, -cawi 35, -hawi 37, -avi*, -havi* 38, -hawi 52, -sawi 54, -hawi 55, -sawi 60; -dyai* 89; Kedye* 121, Adye* 227 a; -seh 258; -so-ŋgwai, -fo-ŋgwoi 261-2.

-mbasa 58; -bet 266.

-garap 252; -hara* 146; Kerr* 121; -ŋketa* 159; -ser* 263; -fira 5 a.

-kaŋgɔ* 9 c, -gaŋga* 11 12 16, -aŋga* 17, -gaŋga* 22 23 25 28 35 36, -aŋga 43 a, -ñaŋga 72, Inŋaŋga* (= 'a man of high position') 75, Nyaŋga* (with somewhat the meaning of 'doctor') 76, -aŋga 86, -gaŋa, -aŋga, -gaŋga* 88, -aŋga, -gaŋga 89, -gaŋga 90 92 94 (-aŋga), -gaŋga, -aŋga 97, -gaŋa 98, -gaŋga 98 a 99 100 103, -aŋga 105, -gã* 120, -gaŋga 159 a, -kaŋga* 160 168, -aŋga 177, -gãa* 178, -gaŋga 184 187 189 190 195, -gaŋa 194, -gaŋgañ* 200, Nŋambi* 204, -gambi 205, -gaŋga 206, -aŋa 211, -gaŋ-loŋge 214, -gañ 217, -geŋgañ* 217, -gaŋa 218, -bi-añ*, -gaŋga, Nŋã 230; -li-aŋgu* 94.

-hoŋgɔ, -foŋgɔ* 104, -boŋga* 153; -soŋge* 100; -siŋgi 100; -jiŋga 126, -piŋga 75.

-lumbu* 106, -lumba* 137, Mumba* 150; Jimbɔ 200; -reba*, -neha* 73, -hɛpe* (for -hembe) 74 a, -embe, -yembe* 105 a, -lemba* 145 151 160, -emba* 161 193, -imbɔ 200, -emb' 203, -lemba 204 205 206, -lembe 207, -remba* 209, -lemba 210, Lem 214 220, -lembɔ* 221 222 223 224, -yem* 218 219.

Ku-ŋkũi 67; -ŋkõya 110.

-dze 259, -je, -ye 227 228.

-bibɔ 80.

-bɔna 4.

Rɔmɔ* 226 a; Rɔbɔ* 209; -tubi* 74; Tɔw 73 74; -nubu 254.

-adak 253; -adye 227 a; -madũ 148.

-ti'ɔdi 74.

Igqwiya 75.

-laga, -laguzi 4.

-takati* 65 a 75 75 a, -takhati* 74, -tsakats'i* 75 b, -tagati 75 c 76, -takatɔ* 75 75 a, -tsakatsɔ 75 b, -tagatɔ* 75 c, -takati 76.

-kombɔ 248; -imbɔ 200, -emb' 203.

-kumɔ* 1 147; -pfumu* 3; -gɔma* 75 a-b, -ŋgɔma* 71.

-kundu* 222, -kunda* 140; -ŋkon* 244 a; -konzi* 118; -kyenci* 107.

-banda* 86, -bandwa* 2, -panda* 42.

-zandi-wa 156; -tan 242 243 246.

-simbia 9 c.

-ila 135; -lalane 257.

-ulu, -gulu, -ñulu* 42; -dudu* 91; -lu 120.

-ti (meaning 'tree', 'drug', 'poison') 106 117; -tyeni 193.

WOMAN¹

·kari* 1,² ·kazi*, ·ka 2, ·kali* 2 a, ·kazi 2 c-f, ·ka, ·kazi 2 g, ·ka 3 a, ·ka, ·kazi 4, ·kadi* 4 a, ·xana 5, ·xasi* 5 a, ·xanω 5 a (R.), ·xana, ·xasi 6, ·kana, ·kazi 6 a, ·ke, ·ka* 7, ·kare 7 a, ·kali 8, ·ke 9, ·kazi, ·ke* 9 a 9 b, ·kaxi 9 c, ·ka 11 12, ·ke 13 14 (and ·ka), ·ce* 15 16, ·cethu* 16, ·etu* 12, ·ka, ·ali* 17, ·ka 18, ·ke 19, ·kazi 20, ·ke 21 21 a-e, ·ka 21 f-g, ·še* 22, ·ke, ·ali 23, ·ke 23 a 24 (and ·ce) 24 c-g, ·ke, ·ce 25 26, ·kodzi* 24 c-g 31, ·kazi 39, ·ka, ·ba-kaji*, ·pa-kasi 40, ·kazi 41, ·kasi 42, ·kyi* 43, ·ki* 43 a, ·kasi 44 44 b, ·ce 45, ·kadi* 46, ·ce 48, ·kazi 50 51 52, ·ti-kazi* 53, ·ti-ana*, ·ar* 56, ·ti-ana, ·ti 56 a, Mwar*, ·ti-ana 56 b, ·adie*, ·adi*, ·i-ana 57, ·gadi*, ·gadie, ·tsi-kana 58, ·si-gana 58 a, ·kazi 59 60 61 61 a, ·si-kana 61 a, ·kazi 61 b-c 62, ·katsi 63, ·kadzi 64, ·kazi 64 a 65, ·kadzi, ·adzi-mai 65 a, ·kate*, ·gade*, ·sate*, ·gaji*, ·ade 69, ·kaji 66 68, ·katsi, ·satsi 70, ·nsati* 71, ·sati* 71 f, ·sadz* 72, ·sali*, ·xali* 73, ·sali*, ·sadi*, Tsali*, Cadi* 74, ·kazi, ·kazana 75 75 a, ·si-kati 75 b, ·kazi 77, ·ka-intu 78, ·kazi 79 80 81, Kabi, Kathi 82, Kati 83, Kabi 85, Kazi 86, ·kabe 87, ·kaze-ndu*, ·ari* ('woman in child-birth')³ 89, ·ki-ntu*, ·ali, ·yali* 90, ·ali-kadi 91, ·ri-kandi 91 a, ·kai 92 94, ·hatu*, ·hetu* 95 96 97 98, ·ketu, ·kenω 97, ·kani 94 b, ·kazi 98 99, ·kentω*, ·kentu* 100, ·centu* 101 102 (also ·cetω, ·kyetω*), ·cientω 103, ·kientω 103 a, ·kaši, ·kašiana 104, ·kaji* 105, ·kaši 106 107 108, ·kaja*, Kaš' 109, Kaje 110, ·ketu 112 a 113 114, ·kentω 116, ·keu*, ·kalu* 117, Kai*, Ket* 119, ·karu* 120, ·kan* 121, ·gari*, ·gata* 123, ·gate, ·ate 124, ·gate, ·lintu* 125, ·kaši 129, ·tu, ·t* 129 a, ·ntu*, ·dimutu, ·dibatu* 130, ·atu 131, Wmuntu* 132, Bwmutu* 133, Wmuntu*; Wamantu* 134, Wamontu*; Kari 135, Wamo-ntu 136, ·gali* 137, ·kare 139, ·kazi 140, Kali 140, ·aji 142, ·azi 143, Kazi 144, Kari 145, ·kali 146 147, ·uli, ·ri 148, ·i, ·ui 148 a, ·kali 149, Kali, ·ke 150, ·kai, ·kā, ·kali 151, Kurri* 151 a, ·keri, ·kōri 151 a-b, ·kai, ·adi 152, ·ttu*, ·kōli* 153, ·kā, ·kaba* 154, ·ali 155, ·mwali 167, ·oli, ·uli* 156, ·hali* 157 158, ·wali, ·ali, ·oli, ·odi 159, ·ali, ·mali* 160 161 (also ·adi, ·madi*), ·mōtω*, ·matω* 162, Muntaka* 164, ·atu, ·itu* 165, N̄ga-intω* 167, ·ētω* 168, ·kati 168 a, ·kale 168, ·keω, ·kayu, ·kali 175, ·kali, ·karu 176, ·kantu* 177, ·keω, ·keniŋge* 178, ·kaš 179, ·keat* 180, ·kašu 181 182, ·atu, ·adye 183, ·gaci, ·getω, ·getu* 184, ·atu 185, ·ale, ·adi, ·ali 186, ·wantω*, ·getω 187, ·kašω, ·aitω, ·yetu 188, ·kasu, ·kadi 189, ·gašu 190, ·intω, ·antω 191, ·atu 192, ·antω* 193, ·wadi, ·badi*, ·are 194, ·ajω 195, ·adω 196, ·ayω 198, ·ditω, ·itω, ·adi, ·atω 199, N̄gā 202, ·arω, ·atω, ·tu, ·itu 204-204 c, ·aitu 205 206, ·lana* 206, ·arana* 208 209, ·awω* 210, ·ayω 211, ·tan* 212, ·at, ·ran, ·alañ* 213, ·at, ·ad* 214 215, ·kudu*, ·kōtω* 216, ·ga, ·gal, ·ya, ·yal* 217, ·gal 218, ·gal, ·n̄ga 219, al, ·ōma*, ·ōda* 220 220 a, ·a, Mia 221, ·ai 122, ·oli (Mum-oli) 223, ·itu, ·aitu 224, ·ia, Mimia, Meri* 225, ·adi, ·aisω, ·ita, ·arana*, ·ñki*, ·ahōla* (cf. ·kazōna of 189) 226, ·kai* 227, ·ñikani 228 a, ·ga 229, ·andω*, ·rō 235, ·atun*, ·atuen* 244, ·ñka, ·ñkane*, ·kal* 244, ·kuasa, Kasef* 248, ·še 249, ·dze 259, ·nali 267, ·āt, ·adz*, ·as 269-72, ·kata* 273, ·kare*, ·are, ·nare, ·nara 273; ·fazi (ex ·fω-azi, 'female mortal'⁴) 67 75 75 a 75 c 76; ·fai 266; ·hiki* 11, ·kigi* 55, ·ki*, ·kyi* 43 43 a, ·kikuru* 51; ·nahi 34; ·kau, ·kω 250, ·kω 256, ·kōwa* 3 b; ·gō;ō 234; ·kudu*, ·kōtω* 216; ·kōta* 9 b.

·mwali 167 (see 'girl').

¹ These roots are very often identical with the sense of 'wife' and 'female'. They do not usually connote the sense of 'virgin', yet sometimes they are equivalent with the meaning of 'child' in a caressing sense.

² So that the reader may the better understand the association of these varied forms in the same paragraph, he should understand that the original root-word for 'woman' in Old Bantu was evidently ·kati, probably the same as the root-word for 'middle'. An early variant of ·kati was ·kazi, and other forms that soon sprang up were ·kari, ·kali, ·kabi, &c. Early in the history of Bantu evolution a habit arose of associating the root ·ntu with ·kazi or the abbreviated ·ka (-ke, -ce) so that the full word for 'woman' was occasionally ·kazi-ntu, or ·kabe-ntu = 'female human being', and this might be shortened into ·kentu, ·centu, ·entu.

³ Perhaps related to the ·ali root for 'virgin'.

⁴ This at least is given as the etymology of ·fazi by writers on the Zulu language. It may, however, be a fanciful derivation. ·fazi may well derive from an older ·hazi, and that from ·kazi. Compare the ·sati and ·sadi of 71 f and 74.

-kima* 9 9 a-c (and -kema*), -xema* 10, -dzima* 27, -jima* 29, -kima, -cima* 48, -jim 252; -hrima* 70; -gɔma* 16, Numa* 39; Nɔma* 261; Kɔsɔma* 118.

-gɔle* 4, -gɔli* 9 a 9 c, -gurra* 11, -göre* 37, -göre 3 3 b (also -gɔligɔli), -göre 234; -kudi* 257; -dyui*, -ñgui* 230.

Pō 86, Pwevɔ* 84 86 (Puebɔ*), Pō, Puō 88; -ku-pūa 92 b; Buɔ* 254.

Wa* 43; -ɔ, Bɔba, -ba* 254, -a* 255; Gwa-* 240, -gwa* 241, Kwa-* 242, Hwa*, Ha* 252.

-buyama 87.

-kumba* 92 b, -humba* 17, -lumbu*,¹ -yumbɔ* 32, -bumba* 35 54 55 61 61 a; -pomba* 167, -bom* 263.

-anzi* (Mtw-anzi) 20 d 23 a, -enza*, -henza* 38 (see -eñga, * 'wife' of 84), -hinja* 26; -piñga* 23 23 a 24 c-g 31.

-banda* 85 110 111; -andɔ* 235, -wan*, -ban* 245, -wani 238, Weñ* 246; -wuni 263; -tanda* 49.

-dala* 25 27 28 29 30 35 36, -dara* 37, -dala 38; -ra, -ura, -ōra* 200; -bōra* 17; -bera* 264;

-rani* 263, -rān*, -alañ* 213, -alam 220, -lana* 206, -arana* 208-9, -nara* 273; -tan* 212, -ta 207, -ndā* 201, Ondā* 251; La*, Lam-* (feminine prefix) 266.

-tsanɔ* 60; Kahanɔ* 31 a, Nya-hanɔ* 56 a, -hanɔ* 55; Kenɔ* 86; -iyena 57; -ene 166; -ende 186, -endi 85; -yen 243.

-fele* 17, -vyele*, -vele*, -ndele* 19 19 a 20, -veli* 24, -psele* 71, -viele* 104; -vie, -nvie* 230, -svel*, -savel* 274.

-fai, -mbai 266.

-niñga* 9 b, -ñhya* 9 c, -ke-niñge* 178, -niñga* 217; -nege, -nögö*, -uñga 218; -ninye*, -nyinyi* 229; -ñgbe*, -wue*, -ñgue*, -ñgui*, -dyūi*, -ñgua* 230, -wūi 232, -fūi 260; -ñge 236 233, Ñgbe, Gbe 249; -kuñgu* 7; -goñgwe*, -koñgwe* 32 33 34 54; -oñgwe* ('sister') 193.²

-sañge* 42; -sañkɔ* 258; -sea* 137; -seki* 9 9 a, -sieki* 9 c; -hiki* 11; -kigi* 55; -ceku* 18, -deku* 18, -regɔ* 11.

Bikɔ 256.

-ndiga 202; -ntaka* 159 a 160 164, -tawa* 203, -taka* 202, -tea 203.

La*, Lak* 261 262, La*, Lam-* 266; Laɔ* 18; -lɔku*, -leku 257; -regɔ* 11, -deku* 18; -lwawa* 32; -lagwa* 239 b; Gwa-* 240; -ne-gwa*, -nu-gwa* 241; -kwanoñ*, Gwanō* 242; Hwa 252.

-iletu* 26; -ledi* 104 257; -tedzi* 2 g.

-nina* 75 75 a; -nen* 240 b, -nan* 240 c, -nali* 267, -nara* 273.

Ñgōndō 166.

Lep, Yep 237; -jafe 268.

Mam, Mamna 253.

Nɔma 261; -naba 239.

-bera 264; -bōra 17 18.

WOMB, FOETUS³

-butɔ* 4, Budu* 58; -ñgɔ-bɔti* 75 b, -buti* 100; -bū* (Ki-bū) 98, -fu* 104 107 114 178, hu* 11, -bu* 12, -fu 14 19 a 20 24, -sū 64, -susu* 70, -sū 85 a; -fumɔ* 42 44, -vumɔ* 62, -dum* 120, -jumu* 175, -fumɔ 105, -fumu 162, -bum* 186, -wumu* 193; -kuma* 27; -vuni 12.

-humbɔ 13, -dumbɔ 89, -dum 120; Tumbura 254; -com 264.

-sambɔ 24 24 c-g.

Mimba, Bimba* 16 21 f-g 61 61 b-c, -mimba* 64 70.

¹ See 'sister'. Some of the words for 'sister' are similar to roots meaning 'spouse', 'wife'. The Proto-Bantu may have tolerated sister-marriages.

² The root -koñgwe frequently means 'vagina'.

³ As far as possible the root-words in this sense are dissociated from words merely meaning 'belly', 'stomach', though it is sometimes impossible to dissociate the two concepts.

Nimi* 24 c-g, Reme* 35, jimō* 84, -imi* 104 105 106, -jimi* 189, -diemi* 155 a, -eme* 193, -demi* 204, Reme* 226, -remi* 230 231, Jim 252, -leme* 258, Lime 259; -lemwa* 18 (see also 'belly').

-nene 17.

-uñgu* 11, Koñgwe* 41 42¹; -ceñgō 255.

-kundu* 125, -ñgundu* 156 170.

I-mita or Imi-ta* 44 b 45.

-za-dilō* 78; -bi* 12, -sii* 11, -ji* 21.

-si-menō* 83, Se-menō* 84 110; -sien*, -nsien* 244; -din* 243; -zina 151 b.

-kisi 110.

-sita 118.

-saje* 98, -sari* 204, -zazi* 21 21 a, -tati* 21 b-d, -taa* 21 e.

Kaza 85.

-bela 86; -bali* 175; -hali-kazi* 75 c; -gal* 240 c; -kala 266; -alō* 16; Zwarō* 64 a, -zalō*

75 75 a.

-la* 98, -la (Bu-la) 226; Kila* 178; -da* 2 3, -la* 4, -da 8, -la 10 11 15, -a 12, -la 19 20 26; -dia* 100; -diliwa* 43 a; -ya*, -wa 227; -ruku-la 56 a; -hwola- 273 c.

Lōwō* 162, -rōwō* 17, -rudō* 17 c.

-kuku* 164, -gōgō* 51.

Mōi 166.

-nō 12; -nyō 41 42.

-khuri 71.

-hlapō 75 b.

-cuva 94.

-pafu* 44 b; -papiro* 51 a, -pōpelō* 73 74 (and -bōpelō); Kafō 257.

-kakabendi 161 a.

Ngiere 151 a.

WOOD (FIREWOOD)²

-kumi*, -khumi* 13, -guni* 14, -kuni*, -khuni* 16, -kuni 19, -khuni 19 a, -kuni 20-21 g 34, -guni 39, -kuni 41 42 44 44 b 52, -khuni 53, -kuni 56 56 a-b 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 a-c 62, Hōnyē* 63, -huni* 64 64 a, -ñgōni* 69, -kuni 70, -kunyi*, -hunyi* 71, -kunyi 71 b, -hunyi, Khuni, Guni 72, -kxon*, -xon* 73, -xoñ*, -kxoñ* 74, -k'uni 75, -kuni 75 a, -khuni 75 b, -kuni 75 c 76 77 78 79 80, -ñuni* 83, -kunyi 84 86 88, -kuni 87, -gune, -kune 89, Kuni 90 91, -yinyi 94 b, -hōnyī 95 96, -kuhyi, Huinyi* 97 98 (and Hunyi), Kuinyi* 99, Kunyi 104, Kuni 105 106, Kunyi 109 110 111 112, -kuyi, -kuni 113, -hōnyī 114, Kūn* 119, Kunyi* 123, -kunyi 124 125 (and Any*), Kōny* 127, Kōnyī 128, Kunyi 129 a, Kun' 130, Kunyi, -unyi 131, Kuni 133, Kōni 136, -guy*, -Nguy* 137, Kōni 141, Kukue* 150, -gū, -kōni* 152, -gōi 157, -kōni 159 160 162 (also -kōnyī), -kōi*, -kū 164, Kōni 166, -kūi 176, -kuni 177, -kōe* 181, -kōye* 182, Kūi* 185, Kōni 187, -kunyi 189, -kōni 191 193 (also -gōni), -ōnu* 194, -hiō* 195, Hion*; Lun* 214, Iyon*; Lon* 215, Kōni 223 224, Kuin, Kueñ* 220, -om*, Lō-om* 226, -kun 227, Kon*, Kul* 228, -kon, -kun 229, -kueñ* 229 e, -kōe, -jue, Kōe, Kuin* 230-1, -yue 234, Wen 236, Wun* 237, Hueñi* 235, Kōnu*, Kuōnu* 248, -hon* 250, -kuān* 249, Ngun* 253, -cōeni* 257, Wōnyī*, Wōnye, -nyi, -nye 259.

-kwe*, -kūe* 1, -kū* 2 2 a, -kūe 2 c, -ku 2 d, -kwi* 2 e-g, -kū 3, -ku, -kwi* 4 4 a, -xui* 5 5 a 6, -ku 6 a, -kō 7, -kō, -kwe 7 a, -kwi 8, -hwi* 9, -kwe 9 a, -kwi, -hwi 9 c, -kū 11, -gu, -kō, -kie 12 [151 a], -gwi* 15, -kūi, -gwi, -gū 17, -gūi* 18, -kūi 26, -kwi 43 43 a 45 (and -khwi), -gwi 48, -kwi 49 50, -gwi 54 (and kwi), -ñkūi* 228 a, -kōe, -kpi* 230-1; -kie 151 a; -gi 216.

-hiō* 195; -ō*, Eō 254, Yeō*, Enhō 255.

-su* 151, -ōsō, La-ōsō 226, -su*, -usu* 248; -sasū* 54, -sōcu* 184; -ancu*, -anyu* 32, Handzu* 35, Hanju* 55, Kanzu* 166, -sanju* 184 188 190 (and -senju*).

¹ Koñgwe also means 'vagina'.

² This root is generally distinct from those which mean 'tree', 'stick', or 'plank', but not always.

- de-ketu* 32; -su-kiti* 151; -tyiti* 86; -tete* 84 142; -met 238 244; -futu 179.
 -zakw, -sakw* 187; -tok*, -tog* 261 263; -yookw* 160.
 -si* 43 a; -ši-demu* 213; -tiabw* 85, -tiñbw* 148.
 -sa* (Mu-sa) 145 146 153, Lesa* (pl. besa) 162; -ja* 132 186, -dya* 134 186, -jw* 186, -ca*-kaki
 194; -ka*, -ñka 232; Kaya* 140; -kala* 149 218, -wala*, -yala* 155; -yad, -aju 273-273 c.
 -pia* (Tu-pia) 139, -fia* 245, -hiw* 195, -wea* 204, -sia* (In-sia*) 121; -jika* 186; -sig* 217, -sik*
 218, -dziki* 61 b; -pekaw* 23, -pik 262; -fe* 120; Tu-i 203.
 -bid* 243; -bilw* 24; Kula* 156, Gwota 220, Guda* 221; -le (Ww-le*) 119; -ri* 57; Lü 218
 219; Lwli* 205; Lōya* 222; -dodi* 199, -lw 202, Lodi 204, -lwli* 205, Jwli* 206, Ywli* 206, Yuri*
 209, -godi* 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 28.
 -doww* 118, -om, Lw-om* 226; -dwan* 217; -wan 233; -doɣwa 274; Wumbān 266, Wom 261.
 -duñgɔ 28.
 -tali 85.
 -hlati* 75; -sari* 2 c; -sala* 6; -sagala* 27 35, -hagala*, Inyagala* 38; -cakida* 187; Cokot
 252; -yala* 155, -kala* 149 218, -kaya* 140.
 -gatsi* 40; -yad* 273; -lapat 264.
 -onha 151.
 -buna 146.
 -bau* 146, -baw* 28, -bawu* 37, -babu*, -bau 51 (see Swahili -baaw, meaning 'plank').
 -gama 126.
 -sime 151 b; -tima 267.
 -sañga 62.
 -mol 269-72.
 -bande 14, -pande 18.
 -lapat 264.

YAM

- luñgu* 19 19 a, -luñgwa* 41, -ruñgwa* 42, -ruñgu* 43, -luñgu 43 a, -luñgɔ 86, Ruñgwa 105 a,
 -roñgɔ* 111, -luñgu 105 106 110, -ruñga 134; -liñgɔ 88, -diñgɔ* 94 b, -lieñgɔ* 96, -liñgɔ* 97,
 -riñgɔ* 98, -deñgɔ* 98 a, -riñgu* 99, -lieñgɔ 114; -boñgɔ* 118, Moñgɔ* 192 193; -moñge* 218;
 -soñgi 155; -bondoñgɔ 7 9.
 -nyañgɔ 92 b.
 -tuku* 3 9, -tugw* 49, -tuu* 37, -tugu* 51, -tuww*, -tuwu* 50 51 a, -sog* 233; -sōū* 148; -yok*
 230, -yoɣw* 248; -kwotok* 213, Kwotō* 214, Kwodw* 217, -tok* 269-72; -yōka* 274; -fukwa* 5 a;
 -kōa, -kwa* 11, -kwa* 6 6 a 12 17 100 120, -kwa* 176, -kwa* 177 178, -kwa 179, -kūa* 181 182 185 189,
 -gwa* 193, Nañkwa* 200, Nguon 200 a, -sūa* 206, -kue* 209, -kuw*, -kw* 14 230, -ku 259 266; -ikwa*
 175, -ika 16 a, -ewa* 168; N̄ik 264; -kaa* 211 212; Kuad* 213 215; -yū 207 227, -ew, -yew* 227, -yɔ,
 -zɔ, -zu* 230; -ywnɔ, -wnɔ 206; -w 208.
 -kubi 175.
 -yaww* 28, -aww* 52, -yaw* 53¹; -ya 254.
 -kōla* 88; -gulu* 83, -kulu* 39 a; -wle*, -wli 226, -gwali* 175; -guaci 11, -kwatsi 12.
 -kis* 273; -kurs* (Keñ-kurs) 232; -kir* 251, Kit 252; -kusu* 118; -ise* 156, -si* 247 b, -si*
 258; -jiw* 249; -dia* 244 a; -wi* 162.
 -fisōre 65 65 a.
 -rali* 2 2 c, -ra 2 c-d 4, -rai* 4 a, Kirali* 145, -sirala* 95, -raia* (Ka-) 244; -razi* 16, -azi* 21
 21 a-d, -abi* 21 e, -azi 22, -kirazi* 56, -lazi* 61 a, -razi* 61 b; -karara* 67; -wkala* 94; -jaasi* 9 c;
 -ala* 177.
 -hlata 71 f.
 -peta 44 54 56 a 61 a; -biti (Dim-biti) 157; -butu 216.

¹ This may be the origin of the tribal name, Yaw, i.e. 'the people of Yams'.

-paru* 55, -bala* 100 101 180 184 190, -baa* 187, -bā* 198 202 204 205 206, -bade 204 c; Bia* 245; -ya* (Ki-ya) 17 18; -bɔ 199; -pɔ (Ō-pɔ) 220.
 -telu* 56 b, -silu* 70, -ilu* 226, -erw* 229, -elū*, -enū* 228, -lu, Lilu* 257; -idi* 80, Idi* 261.
 -gana* 255, -gene* 256.
 -sadi 100 b, -sari 113.
 -kiep* 266; -gapa* 254; -kama* 273, -hama* 1, -zama*, -tsama* 57, -pama* 58 59 61 a; -gama*, -gōme 255; -goma* 160, -oma, -yoma* 161, -goma, -oma 166 167, -oma 186 194 195 199 (also -oma*); -bomu* 16; -bunvu 103.
 -zumɔ* 39; -sum* 204; -sun 250; -tun 243.
 -benja* 159; -beñke* 159 a 162; -benju* 160; -benya 61.
 -mena 104.
 -likwa 15.
 -wuliga 9 c.
 -dia* 244 a, -ndia* 219, -dien* 236, -jian*, -tsan 237, -jañ 238.
 Ka-jiba* 14.
 -niak*, -niaga* 229.
 -nyaya* 234, Beak, Beāg* 253; -wek* 246.
 -lajɔ 267.
 -ñkumba 61 c.
 -kudumbe 20.
 -sambu 104; -rambɔ 72; -tombɔ 97; Numbu 8.
 Jimbi 21 54.
 -nei 261 263.
 -gondɔ 23.
 -keke 164, -cece* 60.

YEAR

-aka* 1 2 2 a 2c-d, -aga* 2 e, -aka 2 f-g 3 4 5 a 7, -ka* 7 a, -aka 8 9 a-c 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 (-waka*) 19 a 20 21 21 a-g, -āha* 22, -aka 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25 26 27 28 31 32 (and -saka*) 39 41 42 43 43 a 44 44 b 45 48, -axa* 49, -aka 50 52 54 55 56 56 a, -nyaka* 56 b, -aka 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 a-b 62 71, -aha* 72 73, -axa 73 a 74, -aha 74 b, -aka 75 75 a 75 b, -aga* 75 c, -aka 76 77 78 79 (and -aga) 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 105 106 110 a 146, -aga 147, -aka 150 165 168, Mwā* 206, -e* 214, -ā, Luā*; Mā 226; -ya* 227; Nyā* 248; -iya* 254.
 -ika* 5 5 a; -higw* 6 6 a; -bikw* 167; -dekɔ* 162, -lekɔ* 167; -cɔkɔ* 226.
 Ce-kaša, -kaša 151 b.
 -ša 22; -sua 245; -šiu 89; -šipɔ 107; Sei 252.
 -enja, -inja 51.
 -mū* 14; -vɔ* 90, -dɔ* 91, -vu* 98 100 101 102 103 109, -vɔ*, -ve 110, -vu* 113 114 117, -zɔ* 135, -vu, -bu* 164 166, -bvu* 175, -vu 176 177, -bvu 178, -bū 186 198 199, -vu, -fu* 200, -bu 202 204 205, -ū* 203 207, -bū-sija* 211, -ō* 212, -bu 217 218 219, -pu* 220; -gūa* 69; -gū* 230; -fɔu 266.
 -puma 194, -puma 193 195, -pumu 186; -vɔmura 151 b.
 -nyamɔ 94 97.
 Gōre* 68, Gōle* 67, Kōle* 164, Gōle 57, Gōre 59, -kōre* 64, Gōre, Gōle 64 a, -kōre 65 65 a.
 -kɔnɔ* 61 a; -böna* 274; -fen 243.
 Duda 226.
 -fula* 6, -mula* 90, -bula* 125, -ula* 127 129, -bula 129 131; -bura 89, Vula* 90 176, -puru* 123, -pɔa* 139, -ɔwa*, -wa* 134, Yɔlwa* 142, -vula 131 172, -bula* 137, Bira- 151 a; -böna* 274.
 -rimɔ* 23 a, -limika* 44 b, -rimika* 61 c, -limika* 62, -nima* 92, -lima* 94, -dima 94 b, -dimu*, -dimɔ* 104 108, -lima 184, -ema* 187, -lima* 190; -mima 91 a.

-ñgawa 120.
 -eru (Mw-eru) 148 a; -mera 11; -mie 234.
 -rubuli 145.
 -ondw 89; -anda 148; -dyandw 273.
 Lembe 69 70 71 71 f; -le 258; -ren 263; -nen 261.
 -lañga*, -rañga* 148 a, 151 a 159 160, -añga*, Yañga* 161 163; Biañ* 253; -kwañ 257.
 -jiñgi 162.
 -boñw 166.
 -keke 136; -kwe 210.
 -et (Di-et) 244; -mit 273.
 -tia* 124, -tyi* 124, -ci* 125, -tia* 168, -jia* 229, -yi* 247, -je* 238.
 -tū* 209 246, -dūe* 244 a, -sua* 250.
 -zuiw 67 (probably a corruption of -zulu, 'heavens').
 -bwgwa ('green corn?') 1, -woga 3.

YESTERDAY

(As apart from 'to-morrow'.)¹

Dzana* 13 16, Zana* 19 19 a, Jana* 21, Dyana* 21 a, Yana* 21 b-e, Dzana, -jana 21 f-g, -zana 22, -zana 56, -jana 56 a, -yana (Mbisa-yana) 185, Yani 203, -eana* 208, -yana, Jana 209, Gian* 213 214, Yen* 244, -tsañ* 250; -ane* 120, -abane 74; -nyane*, -nyāre* 227; -ya 256; -nañ 264.

-zawnw* 100 101 103; -yōni* 232, -yōne*, -yini* 248, Yinw* 274, -nyunu* 253.

-nenebi 256; Cinidi 243.

-jō* 2, -dyō* 2 g, -djōrw* 3, -jw 4, -ju 8, -w* 11 12 (and -ew, -enw*), -jw 26, -lisw* 54, -zō* 230; -zaw* 84, -law* 85, -zaww*, -zaw 86 88, -sa* 95, -za* 96, -sa 97, -zā 98 99, -šia* 105, -zau 109, -saw 114, -ṣw* 120, Ke-sa 133, Jaww* 191, Jiaw* 192, Jau 193; -yu* 234, -yō-ūse* 155; Vwase* 198; -juzi* 14, Dzuzi* 13, Zuzi* 19 20, Juzi 21 21 f-g, -zuzi 22, -jusi 54, Na-gyusi* 137; Kw-dwaci* 187.

Li-dw*, -ndw* 34, Ma-irw* 41 42 44, -ilw* 44 b, -yirw* 52 (-yirw* 274), -ilw* 62 (Ma-ilw), -ilw 77, -jilu* 79, Ōrw* 81, -zerw* 89; Nyekilw* 2 e, Nye-edzilw* 2 g, -erw* 3 b, Nye-igōrw* 2 g, N-egorw* 2 f, -djōrw* 3, -dzōlw* 3 b, -zilw* 57, -ōrw* 81, Kwōlw* 82, -gōrw*, Gōlwa* 83, -ñgulw* 92, -gōlwṣe*, -lwṣi*, -galōw* 110; Bu-dōw* 148 a, -gōbwōma* 186, -ñkw 202, -kōlw* 230, -kōlu* 235, -gōrw 2 f 7, -gōlw 23 a, -gulw* 24 24 c-g (and -gōlw), -gōlw 25; -kura* 230; -ñku* 230 236; -kōle* 166; -gulw* 14, -kulw* 5 5 a, -ñgwōl-be 6, -kōlwā 6, -gōrwōba* 7 a, -gōlwā 9 b, -zuli* 9 9 c, -yulw* 19, -gulw 20, -gōlw 27, Gōrw 35 37, -yōlō 38, -yulu 45, Yōlw 48, -jōlw, -yōrw 51, -gōrw 55, -zilw 57, Dzuluw 61 b, -zuru 64, -zurw* 64 a, -zōlw 75 75 a, -tōlw* 75 b, -zōlw 75 c 76 (and -zōrw); -yirw 274.

-ra* 11 254; -sa* 258, -s', -sa 263, -ca, -cenca 261.

-yu 234; -yō-ūse 155; Vwase 198.

Manyunu* 253, Menū* 253; Nya-nōya* 69, Bu-nōwa* 69, Nōanōwa* 70, -lōvha* 72, -lōwa* 73.

-kakelapa* 150, -laba* 104, -lōba* 108, -ōbi* 135 151, Lōi 136, -ōbi* 161, Lōi 160, Lōbi* 162 164 166 167.

Maha* 94 b; -maya* 264; -waye*, -paki* 267; -cōyw*, -nakuḡw*, -koḡw 200, -gwōw* 14, -wuw* 15, -yuuw* 18, Kwuwu*, Kwau* 17, Kau* 17, -wōw* 17, -gōwe* 217 218; -jukw*, -cukw 194, -ikw* (Va-ikw) 195, -iku (Na-iku) 195, -iku (Va-iku) 198, -tsiga* 175 179, -tsiow* 175 178, -siga* 184, -jeka* 180, -jiya* 181 182, -cuk* 119, -tuka* 131; -ṣiṣia 249; Bula-bu-sigi* 40; Keke 204 c; Kuku 220.

-kese* 39; -kere* 41, -kiari 151 a, -kiere-ni-tumbi* 204; -ele* 205 206; -kōle 166.

-cu* 28 176, -zu* 35, -sw* (Li-sw) 32 54.

-biū* 177; -vōwe* 259; -vū* 260.

-hela* 90, -khila 91 a, -hena* 94; -kelela* 104, Kalela* 104 b; -huala* 255; -byira 50.

¹ Not infrequently there is confusion in the native mind between 'the day before' and 'the day after', and it will be observed that some of the word-roots for 'yesterday' are interchangeable with those for 'to-morrow'.

- dele* (Hin-dele) 86.
- bali* (Mom-bali) 157, -bale* 168, -badi* 189, -bari* 190, -padi* 226; -jebeli* 101; -mal 230; -madi 257.
- uma* 145, -pumω* 153; -luma* 155.
- Tagal 269-72.
- rie* 251; -lue* 121, Duē* 248.
- enda 142.
- kwope 148 a, -kwope (Na-kwope) 148, -kwoi 151 b; -suoba 215.
- pwasa 226; -vws 252.
- sumba 131.
- pipi 189.
- tondω 43 43 a.
- liki 166.
- deñ* 237, -deñ-kuω 230; -doñ 237; -boñ 233; -leñge* 86 155 a, -lenje* 229; -yen* 244; -ken 273; -enda 142.
- Nya-tutω* 69, Nya-tulω* 70, Tωω* 71 71 f.
- fot, -fodin 266.

ZEBRA

- dōrω* 2 e, -sōrω* 6, -dulu* 9 c, -kulo* 19 a, -gulo* 40, -koloω* 42, -ñgole*, Cōlwa* 44 b, -gulo* 84 85 86 88, -gōrω* 89, -gulo 90 91 92 93 94, -tulo* 109, -sulu* 145; Kululu* 74 a.
- ñala* 110 a; -ñika 43 a, -galika, -ñgalika* 41 43.
- zowe* 9, -dōge* 25, Duva* 70, -dube*, -tube* 75 a, -dube 75 c, -duwe 76, -dauw*, -dube 75, -dfuba*, -duba* 75 b.
- damwe* 40; -dakwa* 26; -kwaha* 73, -kwaxa*, -qwaya* 75¹; -jage* 7 11 (also -jagi*), -zai* 12; -jiga* 49.
- itikω* (Lō-itikω) 15, -tikω* 17 18, -tugω* 56; -tiñkwe* 87.
- sendze-were 51.
- turege 1, -tulege 2 2 a 2 c-d 2 g 4 146.
- bisi* 44, -pisi* 56 a, -bizi* 58 a 59, -biji* 61, -bidzi 61 a, -biši* 77, -bizi 78 79 80, -bī 81 82 83, -biji 105 a, -pisi, -bidzi 61 b, -bisi 64, Buiji* 64 a, -bidi* 72, Pitse* 73 74, -pizi* 74 b.
- byωbyω 42.
- sia 5 a.
- ziū 58.
- pōtω* 5, -puru* 13, Fōrω*, Furω* 14, Fōrω 16, -buru* 12, Bōri* 52; -bwete 44 b 62 (also -pwete).
- ōrwa 43 a, -ωlwa 44 b, Cōlwa 44 b, Cōrwa 50.
- hañgwa 71, Mañgua 69, Mañgwa 70 71 f.
- Bañgani (pl.) 151.
- Insami 48.
- Hambarundu 89.
- twasi 39.
- punda* 19, -punda-milia 20 21-21 e, -punda 24, -hunda* -mlia 23 a 28, -punda, -bunda* 35, -unda* 38, -apinda*, 53, -bunda 54 55, -puta* 56 a.

¹ These three last terms in Sesùthó and Kafir (ᵛōsa) were the origin of the English word 'quagga', applied to the southernmost form of Burchell's zebra. Dawu, in the preceding paragraph, was another ᵛōsa name for zebra or quagga: possibly the mountain zebra. It was the 'Doww' of the Dutch colonists.

CHAPTER XI

THE ADJECTIVE AND ADJECTIVAL ROOTS IN BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU

ALTHOUGH a very large proportion of adjectival roots in Bantu and Semi-Bantu are derived from verb-roots and substantives, there remains a small residuum that seems to have arisen direct from the root-forming consciousness of the founders of these Central African languages. Of such perhaps are **-bi**, 'bad'; **-nene**, 'great'; **-ke** and **-tutu**, 'little'; **-la** or **-da**, 'long': **-kati**, 'female': though even in the case of some of these, one is inclined to remember a verb or noun-root that may be more primitive. Many adjectives were originally formed from the verb-roots by changing the terminal **-a** to **-i**, **-u**, **-o**, or **-e**. The widespread Eastern Bantu adjective, **-kali**, 'fierce' may have come from **-kala**, 'charcoal', 'fuel'; **-lume**, 'male', from **-lumō**, 'sperm'; **-nene**, 'great', from **-nena**, 'to swell', 'abdomen'; **-kati**, 'female' (also 'woman', 'middle') from **-kata**, 'to cut', 'to separate'—'a solution of continuity'.

Many of these languages have adjectival verbs, or roots which imply existence in a qualified condition: 'to be good', 'to be sick', 'to be white', 'to be red'. But that adjectives also arose once out of noun-roots is shown by their use of noun prefixes derived from the classifying as well as the pronominal particles. They are in fact subsidiary nouns. The most common use of the adjective in Bantu and Semi-Bantu is in this simple form; an adjectival root, preceded by a prefix accorded to the class of the noun it qualifies. Thus in Nyanza Bantu, 'the great man' would be **Omu-ntu omu-kulu**, literally 'The-man the-great'. In the vast majority of these tongues of the two families the adjective follows the noun¹. It has already been pointed out in the chapter on Prefixes and Concords that Classes 1, 3, 4, 6, and 9, have two forms of concord: the adjectival or class prefix and the pronominal (the difference between **Mu-** and **Gu-**, **Mi** and **Gi**, **Ga-** and **Ma-** (&c.). The normal adjective in such cases adopts the class prefix of the noun rather than the pronominal or preprefix particle. In Bemba (42), however, both forms of concord may be used by the simple adjective. In most of the Western and North-western Bantu and Semi-Bantu the adjectival concord prevails over the pronominal, so that in Classes 1, 3, 4, 6, and 9, it becomes not only the concord with adjectives but also with pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, and verbs. In orthodox Bantu one might say **Omu-ti gu-le**, or **Imi-ti gi-le** for 'Tree-that', 'Trees-those', using the pronominal concord. But in the case of the adjective, it would be **Omu-ti mu-kulu**, **Imi-ti mi-refu** 'Tree-great', 'Trees-tall'.

But in numerous Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages this simple use of the adjective is supplemented or even thrust on one side by more elaborate phrasing. Nouns and verbal forms are used in an adjectival capacity. The former are linked to the noun they qualify by that useful particle **-a** ('of'), which, preceded by an abbreviated pronominal concord becomes the copula between the qualified noun and the adjectival substantive. Thus 'a good man' might be rendered by 'a man of goodness'. Throughout the Eastern, Southern, and some of the Western Bantu, adjectival verbs or phrases are formed by adding the suffix **-pa** (**-ha**, **-a**, **-ba**) to an adjectival or substantive root (**-le-pa** = 'to be long', **-nene-pa** = 'to be large', **-bi-pa** = 'to be bad'); or **-fu** (**-vu**), **-su**, **-hu** ('full of') to some substantival root. Sometimes the linking particle between noun and adjectival phrase is the relativized pronominal particle ending in **-o**. Verbs are turned into adjectives by using them in the infinitive, in the aorist, the imperfect or the preterite

¹ In the Fañg Group (RR) adjectives often precede the noun; they do so occasionally in Koñgō (100), and perhaps this may occur in some of the Semi-Bantu languages.

tenses, or as participles. An adjectival sense can also be conveyed by certain prefixes such as Nos. 5 and 6, 8a, II, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, &c.

To illustrate the various methods of forming adjectives, concrete instances might be taken from a selection of Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages.

The Adjective in Lunyoro (No. 2) is formed:

- (1) in the simple way above described of adjectival concord, and root. Ex. **Omw-ɔju omu-hañgu**, 'the lad the tall'—'the tall lad'.
- (2) by the pronominal concord and 'present-imperfect' tense, that which is formed by the infix **-ruku-**. Ex. **Eki-kegi eki-ruku-era**, 'the bowl it was white'—'the white bowl'.
- (3) with the preterite tense of the verb. Ex. **Ru-hañga a-hi-kirire**, 'a God he was righteous'—'a righteous God' from the verbal root **-hika**, **-hikira**.
- (4) by the infinitive of the verb, preceded by **-a** and the pronominal concord.
- (5) by a supplementary noun, preceded by **-a** and the pronominal concord.¹

In Yao (54):

- (1) by prefacing the adjectival root with the adjectival concord and prefixing to that the copula **-a** ('of'), surmounted by the pronominal concord of the noun referred to. Ex. **Mu-ndu ju-a-m-kuluñgwa**, 'a man he of he great'—'a great man'; **-ju** representing the pronominal particle of **Mu-ndu**, **-a** = 'of', **m-** = the adjectival concord of Class I, and **-kuluñgwa** the root meaning 'great'.
- (2) by a supplementary noun preceded by the copula **-a**, to which has been prefixed the pronominal concord.
- (3) using the infinitive of a verb in the same way.
- (4) by changing terminal **-a** of verb-root to **-e**, prefixing to it the adjectival concord and preceding that by the pronominal concord and copula. Ex. **Nyama sia-si-uwe**, 'animals, they-they die'—'dead animals'. **Ma-señgɔ g-a-ma-male**, 'the works they-of-they finish'—'finished work'.

In Bemba (42):

- (1) by the simple process of adjectival root and adjectival concord prefix; but sometimes adjectives may apply the pronominal concord instead.
- (2) by supplementary nouns preceded by the copula **-a** and the pronominal concord.
- (3) by the infinitive and other verbal forms already described.

In ɔosa (75):

- (1) simple root and prefix.
- (2) by use of pronominal concord instead of adjectival. Ex. **Um-ntu u-susu** ('the man he hot') instead of **Um-ntu om-susu**.
- (3) by a noun, preceded by **-a** and the pronominal concord.
- (4) by the preterite of a verb, preceded by relativized pronoun and followed by **-yɔ**; or by the preterite only, or the preterite tense of the passive verb, followed by **-yɔ**. Exs. **Um-ntu ɔ-luñg-ile-yɔ**, 'the man who was good', **-luñgile** being the preterite of **-luñga**, 'to be straight, good, right'. **A-ma-çanda a-bɔlile**, 'the eggs which rotted'—'the rotten eggs'. **I-hase eli-diniwe-yɔ**, 'the horse which was tired'—'the tired horse' (from **-dina** to weary).

In Makua (56-56 b):

- (1) adjectival root, preceded by pronominal or adjectival concord of noun, usually a concord that is far-fetched and associated with honorific prefixes.
- (2) the adjectival root preceded by relativized pronominal particle, **ɔ**, **wɔ**, **cɔ**, &c.

In Karaña (64-64 a):

In the Karaña dialects, where the prefix is dropped in the noun it is likewise dropped in the adjective, which simply appears as the naked root. In many Bantu languages the prefix

¹ In the Ruanda languages (3-3 b) and in the Masaba dialects (6-6 a) there are much the same methods of forming the adjective as in the Nyoro sub-group; perhaps also in Konjo (1). Lu-ganda adheres mostly to the simpler method of adjectival root preceded by the noun's prefix.

of the noun may have been discarded but it or its abbreviated concord always reappears before the adjective root. In addition to (1), the simple method, Karaña makes adjectives out of nouns preceded by *-a* and the pronominal concord; out of the infinitive of verbs; and from various tenses of the verb in the manner already described.

In Ila (78):

- (1) simple root and prefix.
- (2) special adjectival stems formed from verb-roots by changing terminal *-a* to *-u* or *-w*.
- (3) by taking a neutralized verb-root with the termination *-ika*, *-ka*, turning that termination to *-si* or *-ki* and prefixing the adjectival concord. Ex. *Muntu mu-bōnesi*, 'a man a-visible'—'a visible man', from *-bōneka*, 'to be visible'. Stative verbs ending in *-la* may be turned into adjectives by changing *-la* into *-zi*.
- (4) by abstract nouns, preceded by a relativized pronominal concord and *-a*.

In Angōla (98-99):

- (1) the adjectival root, turned into an abstract noun (Class 14) by the apposition of *-u* and *-a*, the two fusing into *ω*, *wω*, *mω*, &c., to which is added the adjectival concord prefix.
- (2) by verbal processes similar to those described.

In Koñgo (100-100 b):

In Koñgō and perhaps Kakoñgo, adjectives sometimes *precede* the nouns they qualify. They are formed (1) from the adjectival root, preceded by *-a*, to which the adjectival concord (here prevailing over the pronominal) is affixed. Ex. *Nti mi-a-mbōte*, 'trees the-of-good'—'good trees' (*Nti* has dropped its plural prefix, *Mi*, but this adjectival prefix revives in the adjective).

- (2) The root preceded by pronominal concord, and that by a doubled demonstrative. Ex. *E-vata* (for *Edi-vata*) *di-a-n-di di-la*, 'the town it-of-this the-distant'—'the distant town'. In mode No. 2, the sense implied by the adjective is sometimes excessive in quantity: 'too good', 'too far'. It is noteworthy also in Koñgō adjectives that to the *plain root* in the simpler forms an initial *n* (*m*-) is prefixed—*luelω*, 'small', becomes *-ndwelω*, *-bōte*, 'good' becomes *-mbōte*. Where an excessive or exaggerated quality is given to the adjectival root this initial *n* does not precede the root, which is reduced to its bare form after the pronominal prefix.

- (3) by participles of the verb (especially those formed by suffix *-aṅga*) preceded by pronominal prefix of noun.

In Lulua (104):

- (1) Adjective root and prefix.
- (2) by participle of verb, formed out of verb-root by changing its terminal *-a* to *-e*, and prefixing adjectival concord.
- (3) by prefixing *-a* and pronominal concord to noun.

In Li-duma (189):

- (1) Adjective root and prefix.
- (2) Root preceded by *-a* and concord.

In Duala (204):

- (1) Adjective root and prefix.
- (2) by *-a* and concord preceding abstract noun.
- (3) by pronominal concord joined to verb 'to be', preceding an abstract noun (i. e. of Class 14).

In Yaunde (217) and Faṅg Group generally:

- (1) In Yaunde and probably the other Faṅg Languages (218-220), adjectives *precede* as well as follow the nouns they qualify. The adjective is generally an adjectival root preceded by concord.

In Fernandian (226).

Adjectives are generally abstract nouns, preceded by the concord.

In Temne (263) :

(1) with very few exceptions by the simple process of adjectival root preceded by concord prefix.

When the adjective is separated from its noun by any tense of 'to be', it is usually the root only, *without* a concord prefix. The sense and application of the adjective, especially in the way of verbal action, may be changed by altering the terminal vowel of the root, but in such circumstances the adjective is more to be identified with a verbal participle.

(2) adjectives can also be formed by prefacing a noun with *mω*, a particle meaning 'like'.

Negative adjectives are made by inserting the negation particle (-*tse*- or -*ce*- between the concord prefix and the root. Ex. *Ma-kōmi ma-ce-lol*, 'fruit they-not-ripe'—'unripe fruit'.

In Dyōla (273) :

The adjectival root is preceded by the concord prefix of the noun it qualifies and is followed by the demonstrative pronoun or pronominal concord of the noun. Ex. *Hu*· (or *Fū*·)*nuk hu-mis a,hu*, 'the-stick the-slender this' (-*mis* = 'slender'). *Ku-nyil ku-tyωfω-ku*, 'the servants the-sly the'—'the sly servants'.

The degrees of comparison in adjectives in all these languages, Bantu and Semi-Bantu, are not effected by any suffix or prefix, or by any change in the root, but by paraphrases of speech sometimes rather clumsy. Generally it is some phrase like 'He surpasses me for wisdom'—'he is wiser than I'; 'These cows are wild; this one is very wild'—'This is the wildest cow'.

The following adjectival roots have been selected for comparison between the four hundred and fifty-three Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages and dialects because of their relative universality of existence in these languages as concepts and equivalents of the English words. And also because purely adjectival roots in Bantu being rare (as distinct from substantives and verbs) those here chosen for illustration are generally to be regarded as adjectives and not adapted nouns and verbs: though it is very few even of these that can claim to be of purely adjectival descent.

COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVAL ROOTS IN BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU

BAD¹

*·bi** 1 2 2 a-d, *·vi** 2 e, *·bi* 2 , *·vi*, *·bi* 2 g, *·bi* 3 3 b 4 5 5 a 6, *·be** 7 7 a, *·bi*, *·vi* 9 9 a-b, *·vi* 9 9 a-b, *·vi*, *·wi** 9 c, *·vevii** 12, *·wiwi* 15, *·ii** 16, *·bi* 17, *·wiwi* 19, *·e**-*ha* 20, *·e-ha*² 20 d, *·i** (Mu-i) 21 f-g, *·wii*, *·bi* 22, *·i**-*ha* 23 23 d, *·e-ha* 24, *·bi* 24 c-g, *·e-ha*, *·bi* 25, *·e-ha*, *·we-ha* 26, *·e-ha* 27, *·bi* 29, *·e-ha*, *·wi-pa* 31 31 a, *·bi-fu** 36, *·be-fu** 37, *·vivi* 38, *·bi* 39 40 41 42, *·wi* 43 44 44 b (also *·fi*), *·yi* 45, *·bi* 46, *·wi*, *·e-ha* 48, *·wiwi* 49 50, *·bibi* 51, *·bi* 54 (meaning 'angry'), *·bi* 55, *·e-pa* 59 61 61 a, *·bi* 61, *·i-pa* 61 b-c 62, *·bi* 61 b, *·wi* 62, *·i-pa* 64, *·bie* 67, *·i-pa* 69, *·bi-hele* 69, *·bi-ha* 70 71 71 e 71 f, *·vi*, *·vhi* 72, *·ve*, *·mpe** 73, *·swe** 74 b, *·bi* 75 75 a-c, *·wi* 76 77 (also *·wiwi*), *·bi-abe* 78, *·bi* 79 80, *·yi* 83, *·pi** 84, *·bi* 85, *·pi**, *·vi*, *·bi*, *·bibe* 86, *·bi*, *·be* 87, *·ibi*, *·ipi* 88, *·vi*, *·mbi*, *·na-vi** 89, *·na-i* 90, *·vi* 92 93 94, *·e-wa* 95, *·yi**-*wa* 97, *·a-mbe*, *·ibe* 100, *·bi* 101 102, *·mbi*, *·mbe* 103, *·bi*, *·vi* 104 105, *·bi* 106 107 108, *·bi-ha* 109, *·i-pa*, *·ipe* 110, *·bi* 120 121 123, *·bi*, *·pi* 124 125 126, *·phi* 128, *·bi* 129 130 132, *·be* 134, *·bi* 135, *·be* 136, *·bi* 137 139, *·be-a* 141, *·bi* 142, *·bibi*, *·bebi* 148, *·opi*, *·upi* 151, *·bi* 152, *Wω-i* 153, *·be*, *·bi* 155, *·be* 156 157 160 161 162, *·bi* 164, *·be* 165 166 167 168, *·bi*, *·be*, *·mbe*, *·mbi* 175 186, *·dubi**, *·bi* 184, *·be-vani** 187, *·pe-ka*

¹ The sense of 'bad' is conveyed in numerous Bantu languages by the paraphrase 'not good', and when this expression is clearly such a paraphrase it is not included in this list of equivalents. The same practice is followed throughout all its rendering of adjectival concepts: if the concept is rendered by a paraphrase, it is usually—but not always—of little service for comparative purposes.

² Wherever in this analysis of adjectival roots *·pa* (also its variants *·wa*, *·a*, *·ba*, *ha*-, *·hele* or *·pele*) appears, it indicates that the adjective has become an adjectival verb, in the sense of 'to be bad', 'to be good', 'to be fierce'. &c. Sometimes the suffix is *·fu*, a termination which originally implied 'fullness', 'to be full of bad', and so on. These verbal suffixes so swallow up the actual adjectival root at times that they quite disguise its relationships.

187, -bi 189 190, -mbe 191, -mbe, -ve, -we 193, -be 194 195, -be-ba* 196, -be 198, -bevi, -be 199, Biw^ω*, Abu^ω* 200, -be 201 202 203, -we 204 205 206 207 210 211 212, -bebe 214, -be 217 218 (also -bi), -bebe 219, -biw^ω* 220, -be 222 223 224, -bew* 225, -be, -me, Mi* 226, -beb*, -bi, -wbi* 227, -bibi 228 229 c, -wi 234, -büe, -biy*, -be, -piū* 230, -buwe* 236, -bewe 237, -bir* 232, -piape*, -pope 235, -biū 238, -be 244, -bi 250, -wi* 251, -bib*, -bigin 253, -bie* 257; Kpile 258.

-boki* 209, -bigin 253; -ka-ki* 35; -ke-ka* 29, -ki-wa* 34, -ike-p^ω* 74; -peka* 187, -wika* 19 a, -wicwa* 17, -icwa* 18.

-b^ω-vu* (from a root -b^ωla, meaning 'rotten') 21 21a, -^ω-vu* 21 b 21e, -^ω-fu 27, -b^ω-u* 32; -w^ωl^ω* 56, -^ωla* 43 a, -b^ωla* 122; -w^ōna* 274; -w^ōri* 261, -w^ursi* 271; -p^ωhu* 230; -walu 70; -ru, -uru 11; -kir^ω 1; -k^ωl^ω* 130 133; -b^ωl^ω, -a^ω 254; -buie 257.

-ila 264, -ira, -aira 268; -arat 271; -yale 267.

-bakala 56, -takala 57, -sakala 60; -nanara 56 a, -warara 56 b.

-kerela 98.

K^ωk^ārula 146.

-kak^ω* 26; Ka^{ṣa} 17; -haki 35; -wasi* 14, -gasi* 51.

Kabu* 118; Kabu^ṅgi* 151.

-bada, -baya 19, -baya 19 a 21 (and -baa) 21 a 32 58 58 a.

-buku 11, -bugu 12, -suka, -zuka 13; Mugu 254.

-dakut 273.

-jiak 266.

-lagelage 14; -las 263; -detsa, -letsa 263.

Nyata 32 34.

-sasa 226, -ṣata 64 a 65 65 a.

Dikaya 165.

-hene* 52, -heni 53, -fani* 71.

-keti 165.

I^ṅkisa 134.

-nyenyi, -ñi^ṅi 273; -enje 151; -e^ṅgen^ω 131.

-m^ωtu 96.

-fut 273.

-k^ωmu 28, -himu 55; -timi 116; -tama 110.

-ṣi^ṅṣi 243; -zimizi, -zizi 259, -titi 269-72.

-ji^ṣsyu 256.

-lew^ω 255.

-bañ 261.

Kefel^ω 134.

-ajedi 150.

-azinani 145.

-mp^ωsombi 162.

-renop 228.

Silombea 192.

BLACK

-si* 64 a, -ṣi-pa* 65, -si-f^ω* 65 a, -si-pa 66, -ṣi-a 77 78, -si-a 79, -se-ha 80, -si-pa 81, -si-kalela* 95, -si-gela* 96, -si-gelela* 97, -ṣi-ketela* 98, -si-kele* 98 a, -ṣi, -sia, -si, -san, -fan, -ṣiṣi, -ṣi^ṅked, -fi^ṅked* 230-1, Ṣili, Sī* 255; -sina* 2f; -fin*, -fine* 236, -mbin* 244; -pi* 129 a 134 136 151 153, -bi* 54 238, -pi 34, -fi-pa 52 53, -fi* 62, -tifi* 43 43 a 50, -fi, -fi^ṅi, -fitila, -fita* 44, -fisi, -fi^ṅa 44 b, -fisu* 45, -fi^ṅa 23 41 42, -fi^ṅa^ṅfi^ṅa 142, -fi^ṅōta* 103; -fy^ω* 184, -vy^ō* 187, -viū* 103 186, -vi* 193, -bi* 238; -iū, -ñgiu* 17, -vy^ωvy^ω, -wewiw^ω* 199, -pu^ω* 222, -by^ωby^ω* 191; -swi* 59 64 64 a 252; -psi* 58 59; -pi^ω 182 183, -piūki* 100, -pipi* 164, -api 9 c, -pipiti* 103, -fibi* 117; -be 120, -bebi 263 61 61 a; -hitu* 23, -titu* 23 a 24 25, -hit* 119, -piti* 156, -bit, -biri* 245-6, -titu 51, -tit^ω 35, -thithu, -hithu 36, -titu 37 38;

-širi 254, -siyi, -šili 255, -piri* 55, -biririri, -biriwiri* 61 b, -ebr* 250, -tu-bir* 251, -pili* 121, -pipili 119, -pili, -pilia 32, -pili 35, -pilyūū, -pilila 54, -fulula* 109, -iliya* 110, -piri 120 176 192; -pini* 120 b, -pi, -pini 175 176 178, -pini, -pina* 179 180, -pina 181, -hina 214, -fin*, Aga-fin 213, -evine* 218, -pfin 232-3, -fōna* 243, -mbin 244, -pen*, -pini 253; -pindi* 103, -windi- 151 b, -findω* 152, -indu* 155, -yinda* 156, -findu 160, -yinda* 189, -binda* 183, -yindi* 185 186, -pinda* 190, -pindi 193, -vinji 186, -hindu* 161, -pindω 162, -indu 164, -yindω 166, -windω, -vindω* 194 195, -vinda 196, -vindω 198, -vinda 199, -fhiū 202, -hindi 203, -indu, -windu 204, -inda 205, -indω 206, -inda 209, -hindi 217, -windi 217, -evindi* 219, -bindωa* 221; -bundi* 103 a, -yundu, -yundω* 224 225; -gidω 220 h; -pita, -pita 262.

-bi, -ti* 261, -titu* 20 23 a 24 25 27 28 29, -titω* 35, -thithu, -hithu* 36, -titu 37 38 51, -tutu 260;

-tifi 43 43 a 50; -tigli 234; -tontω 257.

-ji* 229; -dibi* 217; -ndibel* 214; -jirra* 228 a; -ši 256, -si 64 a; -culu* 130; -uju 131; -jue* 249, -cu* 229, -ncω, -nsu* 74 74 b; -zō* 200, -zuω*, -ziu* 200; -zōrω* 89; -yōyω 162; -šut* 218 219; -tswu* 72, -ntsw 73, -nzi 70; Swi 252.

-iraulu*, -iraguru* 1, -iragura* 2, -irugadju* 2 c, -ligula* 2 e, -iragura, -iraguzu 2 f, -yilagula* 2 g, -irabula* 3, -ilawuza* 9 c; -iru*, -wiru* 10 11, -ziū, -wiū* 12, -ilu* 14, -jiru* 15, -iru 16, -iū, -ñgiū* 17, -uru-he 18, -udu* 22, -iru 25 26, -yiru* 35, -ilu 39, -hiru, -iru 49, -elω 82, -ilu, -iru 83, -ilava* 84, -lava* 86, -la 88, -ila* 135, -lu, -bilu* 137, -ilω, -wili, -wilω* 226, -irω, -yirōg* 237, -buila* 126, -bui-ela* 99, -buyila 112 a; -lelω 187; -buyele* 69; -eu-zi* 13, -eu-si* 21-21 e, -eru-fi* 21 f-g.

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-ke* 1 2 2 c, -ce*, -itce* 2 d, -ke 2 e-f, -ki*, -ñki*, -ke 2 g, -kexe*, -kekke*, -kece* 6, -keki* 7 7 a, -keke 9 c, -yeke*, -jece* 20, -cace* 21, -cōcōw* 21 d, -ñgeke* 24, -keke 39, -ani-ke* 40, -ike* 41 44, -ke, -ce 44 b, -ce-pa* 61 a-c, -ñcici*, -ende* 75, -ñcici 75 a 75 c, -ce, -ke 77, -ce, -sece* 81, -nyi-ke 84, -se 87, -cece 87 a, -ñke* 100, -keke 100 b, -ncicie* 103, -kete* 100, -kese*, -kise* 104 106, -keke 105, -kehe*, -ceci 109, -ki, -kie-pe*, -ie-pe 110, -cici, -leki* 116, -jigijigi* 118, -cici 119, -ke, -kie*, -kiege* 120, -ciceri*, -cidi* 121, -keke 124 125, -inci*, -inji* 129, -icici, -ecike*, -etsike* 130, -cice 131, -cike 132, -cici 135, -ikeike* 136, -keke 135 140, -ke 144 145 (also -kisisi*), -kidi*, -kede* 151, -keke 152, -keleke* 153, -kereke* 248, -kele 230, -hede* 148 a, -keda* 254, -kede 154, -keke, -ōke 155, -hekeheke, -kei 157, -keke 160, -kekeke 161, -ke 164 166, -keke 175 176 (also -ekiage*, -ñkeñke*) 178, -keye*, -kege 179, -kiw* 180 181 182, -gegi* 184, -gege* 187, -keye* 189, -kege 190, -kere* 191 (also -gehe*) 192 228, -kiēye*, -ici, -isi 226, -keke 258; -kele* 230, -kereke* 248, -jige* 227, -sike*, -esike 194, -jike* 256; -hihun* 273; Kit* 261; -jimi* 255; -yeya* 56; -zihi* 19, -teki 97, -teke 112, -tigi*, -titiki, -tikitiki* 202 203 204, -tige 213, -teke* 213, -ti 164, -tikie* 220, -cigi* 34, -diki* 64; -tite, -dide* 16, -titi 21 e 22 89, -iti* 104, -titi 208 209 211, -tete 98 a, -tekete* 104, -tietie* 106, -te 185, -titw* 94, -tiw, -jw, -cw 101, -kyōkyw*, -cw* 102, -kōkw* 226, -cōkw* 55, -ñkw* 230, -jicok* 230, -tita* 273, -tōtōw* 160, -tōkw* 207 212, -tōk* 217 218 219, -tyōtyōw* 219, -tōtōw, -cōcōw 21 21 b-d, -tōitōw* 2, -tāitōw* 2 c, -titirōw* 2 c, -tiritu* 4, -tutu* 17 92, -cucu* 13, -dū, -dōri* 18, -dōdōw* 19 19 a 20 20 d, -tōtōw* 21, -cōcōw 21 b-d, -tōtōw 21 f, -dōtōw 49, -tontōw* 62, -tōlu* 95, -cucu 105, -tōlu 95 96 97, -dōwelōw* 100, -dōw, -ndōw* 9 a-b, -tōw 9 b, -dōw 9 c 70, -dōdā* 21 e, -dōdōw* 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25 27 29 31, -dōtōw* 69, -dudu* 5 5 a, -dutu, -tutu* 5 5 a, -dudia* 26, -didi*, -dididi* 28, -dōkw* 65 65 a 66 69, -tuku* 72, -tōñgōw* 71 71 e, -thōñgōw*, -ncoñgōw 71 f, -tsoñga* 64 a, -loñga* 134, -xōkw* 33, -diōkw* 34, -sōkw* 35, -cōkw* 37 55, -tōga* 201 202, -tōfu* 109, -tūa, -tuaga* 200, -tūi* 209.

-bogbōw 229 e; -papakpare 243.

-tun, -ton 262; -tini* 14, -ntini* 52, -tsene*, -tsini* 32; -nyini, -nini* 11, -nini¹ 12, -ñkinyi* 22, -nini 41 42 44 44 b 51 77 79 80 91, -nene*¹ 105 106, -nini 139 183, -nie, -niw* 168, -nyō 248, -nyen, -nyin* 229, -nyani 255, -nyenye* 73, -nentiti* 268, -nyōnyōw 82 83, -nōnōw* 41 43 43 a, -nunu* 1, -ñōnōw* 56 b 57 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 a-b, -nye* 57, -ye, -ye-wa 56 a, -nye 74; -njan 230, Nyāñgōw* 192, -nywa, -nya, -nyw 17, -añgōw* 193, -añgōw* 141; -nye-nyani*, -nyani 74 b, -n'ana 67, -munyane 68 69, -ncinyane* 75, -ñcane*, -ñcane 75 b, -nyanya* 104, -nyañana 104 c, -nana* 17, -mana* 53.

Won- 238.

-nōrōw 2 f.

-nandi* 37 50 51 54, -nanju* 56 b.

¹ It is remarkable that one of the roots for 'little'—*-nene, -nini*—should so closely resemble a similarly sounding root for 'great' (*-nene*). A similar reversal of meaning attends one or two other adjectival or adverbial roots—for example, *-mbele*, 'before', in some languages means 'behind'.

- ndende* 84 86, -dindi* 222; -ndondw* 85 86, -indu*, -ndw 49.
 -bende 107.
 -debe* 35 38, -tebitep* 235, -dibi* 258; -bigbet 238.
 -onde 157, -onşe 236; -şontw 78, -tontw 62; -kunda 116.
 -ndambu 148; -tembe 16.
 -deñge* 98; Ke-reñgi 151 b; -geñge* 200; -kiñga* 108.
 -bwañgu 127 128.
 -dekω 153.
 -suhu 8; -şwgonya 69.
 -gwan* 90, -şwana* 90, -şwane* 205, -şwle 2 f, -ōni* 214; -bonne 227; -mwmwōw 221, -mon 223.
 -sō 257; -kususu 259.
 -sese, -sekase* 39; -şişet* 230; -sisame* 259.
 -kwōw* 108, -kwōtw* 106, -kwat* 237, -kueti* 230; -bwat, -bōt 217.
 -suhu 8; -tsake* 32, -tsak* 236; -sekele 38; -sekase* 39; -cigi* 34; -diki* 64, zihi* 19, -teki* 97, -teke* 112, -dekω 153, -tigi 201 202, -tikitiki 204, -tige, -teke 213, -tikie 220, -jige 227, -jike* 256.
 -kwle 39.
 -tyana*, -thana* 71 71e; -tā* 249; -gerañ* 250; -cana* 83, -kane*, -kani 56 56 a, -kani*, -kanj* 111, -ana* 24 c-g, -ana*, -hiana* 102, -an* 217; Kanyw* 123; Hala-ge 267.
 -saji* 162, -azi* 118, -sadi* 204, -sali* 205 206, -şali* 133 186 (and -şade*), -sat*, -sal* 213, -sada* 214, -sad* 215, -sa* 168, -hadi* 199, -hate* 199, -şar* 232; -hali*, -hōli 195, -hwle* 198, -hōle 196; -kwle* 39; -niñgōli 91.
 -kepe 88, -kabi* 122, -gab* 253, -aba* 21 g.
 -kwōnu 226.
 -pimpi, -bibi 258, -bii 257.
 -pirenu 250.
 Avetyan 218.
 Fina 200; -finyak 266; -foñ 266; -hiñkun 273 c.
 Ki-pela 32.
 -pesa 189.
 -bui* 210, -buw* 222; -bwebwe* 137; -bwōwle 260.
 -fele 97 98; -dyelele 187.
 -fetw 263.
 -ijibw 183; -idi 257.
 -leñge 126; -teñ* 206, -reñ, Gereñ 252; -temi*, -tentem* 273; -teñgets* 269-72, -tiañk*, -tiers 270; -ben 262.
 -name 234; -nwan 229; -kwana 237 244.
 -jimi 255.
 -jije 227; -jike 256.
 -buda 148; -vula 220 a.
 -bale 104 166.

LONG, FAR¹

- de*, -le 1, -ra*, -rai-ha* 2 2 c-d, -la-iñgwa* 2 e, -le-ha 2 f, -la*, -rere*, -rai 2 g, -le, -ririre* 3, -lele*, -la 3 b, -ra-mbi*, -la-mbi* 5, -le, -ra-mbi 5 a, -le-hi* 6, -ra-ia 11 (-da-ia 58), -lele, -la 14, -re, -e 15, -ye, -yeya* 13, -le 9, -lele 9 a, -li-pa 10, -li, -kali, -le 9 c, -le-şe* 17, -le 19 19 a 20, -lali* 20 d, -re-fu* 21 21 a, -re, -re-fu 21 b-e, -le-ho 26, -le-fu 31 a, -le-hu 34, -le 39 a, -la* 40, -le 41 42, -leu* 54, -la- 57, -de 56, -te* 56 a, -la-, -ya- 58, -re 64 64 a, -te 67, -la- 69 70 (and -le-), -lau-, -le- 71 71 e, -la-, -le 72, -lele, -le 73,

¹ Because of their close affinity in translation it is better to take together the adjective 'long' and the adverb or adjective 'far'. These roots are often used as well with the meaning of 'high', 'tall'.

-telele* 74, -da* 75, -de 75 a-c 76, -le 75 b, -dze* 75 b, -lale, -la-mfu 77 78 79, -kale (indicating length of time) 77, -nde*, -ndende*, -le, -lele 80, -le 83, -la-ja 85, -la-ha 86, -re*, -nde 89, -le 90 92, -la, -laala 92 b, -le-pa 94, -le-wa 95 97, -le-ba 98, -da*, -la 100, Ku-la 103, -le 104, -la-hwe 104 c, -le-pa 105, -ola, -la 106 108, -le-he 109, -le-pa, -lehi 110, -la-ha 116, -nda* 118, -le 119, -tele* 120, Kō-lā 121, -lala 127 128, -la 134, -alea* 135, Ku-la 137, -ku-le 140, -eya, -eā 141, -la 141, -le 144, -da-ñga* (meaning 'far') 148 150, -danda* 150, -da 151 153, -ele 151, -lai 156 160, -yai 161, -lai 164, -la 175, -la, -da 178, -la-ba, -ba-ba 186, -la 189, -nda, -la 193, -te* 204 206, -ja 214, -ale 218, -ja-ha 220, -ha-nda 223, -dam, -dandam* 227, -tañ* 229, -dza*, -dze 259, -rañ, -yañ 263; -ja 200 214, -ca 248, -sa 155 157, -aşa*, -aca* 17 18; -cane* 75 b, -cana* 75 c; -sanda* 164 166, -sa-ñga* 168; -ta-ñgau* 12; -ta (-buta*) 148; -te* 204; -ta-ale 228; -ta-ya 184; -utw, Bwtw, -tw* 226; -ta-wene 56; -tadi* 187, -tari* 118, -tadi, -tal' 124, -tali*, -tale 125 129 130 131 132 133 136, -rai* 139 140 156 160 161, -lai* 140, -tali 162, -lai 164, -tale 168, -tali 9 b 19 20 20 d, -hali*, -tali 23, -tali 23 a 24, -tari 25, -tali 26 27 29, -tari 28, -tali, -tati* 31, -talu* 32, -tali 35, -tāle 38, -tari, -tali 41, -tali, -tala* 42, -tari 43 a, -tali 44 44 b 45 46 48 51 56 a (also -tai), -daia* 58, -tari 59, -tali 61-2; -cane 75 b, -cana 75 c; -zar, -zari* 253; -tanda 202 203.

-pala 94 b; -kala* 34; -al* 121, -an' 116, -ana* 151, -nan 120, Ku-el* 121, Kōl* 119; -kuri* 227, Huli* 74 b, -gure* 59, -gulu* 9 b, -ñgali 151 b; Şul* 261; Jōlōlō 257, -dzlwlw 260.

-piri* 25; -were* 255; -bali* 21-21 e, -baida 21 f-g, -bali 22, -vali*, -hali* 24, -hale 92 b, -heli* 156, -hali 161, -ele*, -bele* 151 154; -ne 257; -bōli* 224, -wil, -vil, -şul, 261 262, -bol, -bōli* 263; Enii 168; Lüli, Lüliü 273; -yiri 244.

Bw* 193 195, -pw* 261; -w (Bwō) 136, Bwōw* 153, -bw 153; Fwfwf* 206; -twpw 73.

-vaba* 199; -yah* 217, -yap* 219, -ya* 218; -pib* 214; -bwa 154, -bwaba* 195 196, -aba*, -bwaba, -awe, -bwawe 198 199 (also -yavi), -bwaba*, -gbwawa* 204 205, -wawi, -wawa* 206, -wa*-mvu, -wa*-nvu 4.

-mōmōk 273; -noñk 274.

-kxakala* 74; -kala* 34; -kale* (often used for 'length of time' in the Eastern Bantu languages); -kahle 202; -kehi 203.

-boñgō 203; -kuñgu*, -koñgō* 153; -hañgu* 2; -jañga* 189; -laña 266; -deñgō 195; -toñgō* 187; -añgai 222; Mw-iñgō* ('a far distance') 69.

-kōkō 165.

-suku 84 88; -kucu 34; Ku-nciw 178; Duk 252.

-sevō 194; -sōvi 94, -sōmi 94 b.

-ata* (Uxw-ata) 26, -wasa*, -atsa* 12; -laca* 14, -lasō*, -nasō* 32.

-lihu, -lihu 9 c.

-lipite 32.

Esi 162 164.

-şei 193.

-suku 88; -sika* 155 157 165 166 224; -cisa* 230.

-eza, -weza 15.

-reka* 226; -nega* 184; -dalak 253.

-tambi 8, -tambō 64 a; -tumbi 209 212, -tum 204, -tun 214; -cimpa 56 b, Esimba 160.

Ugama 56.

-pagi 30.

-mia 230.

-lipite 32.

-busabusa 137.

-tanda 134.

-kendō 132; -yenduwa 151 b.

-sina 262.

-ñgeswa 254, -ñgesō 255.

MALE, MASCULINE (HUMAN AND ANIMALS)

-lume* 1, -enume*, -rumi* 2, -irumi, -enimi* 2 d, -nume 2 f, -rumi 2 f, -lume 3 3 b 4 (also -nume), -rume 11, -ume, -umiu* 12, -yume* 13, -lume 14, -ume 15, -lume, -dume* 16, -wōmi*, -vōmi* 14, -lume, -pe-lume 9 a, -dume, -lume 9 b, -umi 17 18, -lume 19 19 a (also -dume), -dume 20 20 d, -ume, -dume 21 21 d, -lume 21 f-g, -ume, -dume 22, -lume 23 23 a 24 25 26 27 29 (and -dume) 31, -dumi 31 a, -lume 32, -dume, -nume 34, -lume, -dume 38, -lume 39, -ba-lume, -lume 40, -lume 41, -ume, -lume 42 43 a 44 44 b 46 48 (and -dume), -rume-ndō, -rumi 50, -dumi 51, -rumi 52 53, -lume 54 55 62, -dume, -rume 64 65 65 a 66, -lume 72 73 75 a, -lume, -dume 77 78 79 (-lumi) 83 85 86, -rume, -ndume 89, -lume-90 91 92 94 98 (also -nume), -lumi 104, -lume 105 106, -lumi 109, -lume 108 118, -lūm* 119 128, -ume, -Ka-ume 130, -ōme* 129 a, -ume 132, -lume 133, -ōme 136, -lume 137 140 142, -ōme 141, -nume 145, -Joma* 148, -lōme 155, -lōmi 157 160, -ōmi 161, -lumi 175, -lume 176, -ulumi 178, -lumi 179, -ōlōm* 181 182, -lumi 184, -ndom* 186, -mōme 187, -lumi 189 190, -nōmi 191 192, -nōme 193, -mōmō*, -ōmi 195, -ōmō*, -lōmi (meaning rather 'savage', 'truculent') 199, -gum*, -ñgum* 200, -lōm 203, -ōmi, -ume 204, -ume, -ōme 205 206, -lum 207, -ume 209, -dom, -lom 210, -Nōm 211 (also -lum), -lom 212, -om 213 214 (also -jom), -om, -dem 215, -nom, -lom 217, -nōm, -yum 218, -yom 219, -jom 220, -ōbe, -Dōme, -ōme, -me-ō 226, -num, -du, -duñ 227, -num 228, -dum, -dū, -dō, -dumi 230, -num 234, -di 236, -dom, -dim, -dob* 237, -dumen*, -dum 232, -dō, -nom 235, -dum, -rum 244, -nom-ō*, -munu-su, -nom*, -nam 248, -rom*, -om, Ni-om 251; -runi 263; -mō (probably for -lōmō) 195 [related to -luma, 'sperm'].

-lam* 250; -tam 229; -jamba* 186; -lombi* (-lombw-ana) 78, -dombe* 114, -komba* 86, -lombe* 198, -lōbw-* 56, -lōpw-* 56 a-b, -lōbw- 57, -umbw-*, -ōbw- 58, -nombw-* 58 a, -dumbe 97.

-duna* 67 70, -tune* 71, -tōna* 73, -tuna* 74 b, -nuna* 69 70 71 71 f, -nōna* 73 74, -duna 75 75 a, -dfuna, -duna 75 b, -duna 75 c 76; -runi* 263; -mūna 59 60 61 61 a (Mwa-mūna) 61 b-c [related to -duna, 'old'].

-gyani, -jani 257; -yen 229; -nana 257; -dzeñ 260.

-vina, -wina 27; -ine, -en 273.

-luku* (for -luñgu) 56 b, -luñgu* 84 88, -nuñga* 123, -nuñgu* 124 125 126, -kuñgi* 110; -juoñ* 111; -son 200; -oña, -moña, -boña 236, -buñga 17; -bañ, -baña 230, -mpañga* 4, -pañā* 111; -poñgō* (restricted to animals) 55, -pōgō* 57, -poñgō* 58 59 61 61 a, -pwoñgō* 61 b-c; -pōna 192; -pō, Pō-kan 261.

-nyime, -nyie 259; -nji 229.

-jende* 162, -sinde* 6.

-kuji 88; -su* 148, -ntsulu* 179, -sōlire* 5, -sōrō*, -nserō* 17; -sūōtō 258; -tuli* 145, -tōr* 213 214, -tue-, -du- 89 90; -tutu 204; -tušir 251; -tara 255; -gule* 198; -gula*.ti 9 c; -bula*.ta 20 d; -yōle* 5, -xōle* 5 a, -gōre* 7 7 a; -vuli* 21 e, -vuri* 49, -ifur* 250, -far* 251, -bōli* 254; -pale* 214 215; -epalu* 28; -peli* 156 223, -ele*, -pele* 166 168; -lele 155 a; -dwele 160 164 (and -lele); -liū 92 b, -jil, -jiru 120; -kel, -kiele 266.

-ōlō* 142 181, -ōlu* 151, -lōō*, -ōrō*, Mōrō*, Mōrōya* 154.

-ala*, -gala*, -yala*, -ara* 85, -Iala* 86, -ala 95, -ara, -iala 97, -ala 98, -yakala*, -kala*, -kakala 100, -bakala* 101 103, -iyala*, -iala 110 111 114, Bāl* 121, -kakala 116, Bakala, -yala 118, -yala 122, -Aba-bu 151 b, -balaga* 175 180 (and -bakala), -balaγa* 179, -balō 178, -bala* 189, -Di-ala* 226, -Ayara* 245; -nya-mbara* 51; -bagalō* 33 a; -baγa, -waγa* 234; -ake 145, -ke 230, -he (Bu-he) 155 a.

-jakaji 64 a; Jaha, Dyaha ('a young male') 70 71.

-kambakwa* 27, -gambakō* 37, -kambaku* 38 50, -gambakō 51, -kambakō 54.

-hondōkwe 64.

-handira 64.

-londō 162.

-sadjā*, -saijā* 2 2 c, -seizi* 2 d, -saidza* 2 e, -seza* 2 f, -seja*, -saija, -šaija 2 g, -sadjā, -saja 4, -sacā* 5, -sadzā* 5 a, -setsa* 6, -saja* 7, -sacā* 7 a [probably related to a root -saja, 'stout', 'fat'].

- doda* 68 69, -dōda 75, -doda 75 a 76.
 -kwo, -kūa 230.
 -kwoa 64.
 -demba 88.
 -lito, -dit' 124, -metu 153; -yetu 155 a; Bit 253.
 -tep 229.
 -ekwka 100.
 -wja* 2, -wza* 2 d 2 f, -wsi* 45; -gwsya*, -gwsia* 9 9 a-b, -gwsya, -gwsa 9 c 19, -gwsa* 19 a 20 24
 25 35 38, -gwozi*, -kwzi* 27 (related to a widespread root for 'chief', 'king').
 -onsi* 43 43 a 45, -enzi* 79; -lenzi* 4; -nse* 228.
 -nwa 49.
 -za* 89, -sa* 218; -lisa*, -si-lisa* 75 a, -risia*, -isia* 7 a.
 Na 234; -nana 257; -nina 273.
 -can 274.
 -fizi 3.
 -waa 215.
 -pami* 125 129 131, -pe*, -api* 134, -pai* 148, -fam* 218.
 -bandwa 4.
 -bi 267; -ba 269.
 -sube 8.
 -pheke, -heke 73.
 -tuali 243.
 -saṅgwe 185, Saṅgwe 186 194 (Saṅgwe) ['father'].
 -masa 2 f 3 b; -as 252; -roṅgas 253.

OLD

- kuru* 2, -ikuru* 2 c-d, -kura* 2 c, -gulu-su 2 e, -kei-kulu* 2 e, -ke-kuru, -guru-si 2 f, -gulu-si,
 -kuru 2 g, -kuru, -ke-curu* 3, -kuru 11, -kū 12, -kuru 13 16, -kekū* 14, -kuru 9, -kuo, -kūu, -kū 17,
 -kukūu 21 21 a-e, -kulu 22, -kulu 23 28 (and -kwoa), -ce-kulu 34, -kulu 40, -ce-kulu 44, -kulu 44 b,
 -kuru, -kulu 51 54, -ulu 56 a, -kuru 64, -ke-kwoa, -xwoa* 73.
 -gore* 6; -buri* 11, -toli*, -tolo*, -toda* 186, -toda* 194 196 199, -tuli* 200, -dun* 204, -tul*,
 -tol* 218, -lolu* 126, -yōra* 248; -gwoa* 27 35 38.
 Gagaa, -gōs* 253, -gwsa* 14 24, -wzi*, -wsi 26, -gōi* 32, -kōsa* 70, -gusu* 133, -kusi* 141,
 -huzu* 19, -kuji* 255, -gos 256.
 -kuṅgu 8, -koṅgwe*, -koṅga* 16, -koṅgwa* 94, -koroṅgwa 124, -koṅgwoa* 124, -koṅgwa 136,
 -kuṅgu* 141, -kwoṅ* 204.
 -kwoa 120 181; Kop 252.
 -gbog 237; -ba 151; wok 266.
 -kote* 40, -kōta*, -kote* 41 42 43 a, -kote 44, -ṅkōta* 44 b, -kōta 62 98 a 105, -kote 106, -kōta
 114, -kutu* 119, -kōta 162, -kōtwa 166, -kōtwa* 226 b; -nhit 266.
 -kokwe* 9 a, -guga* 75 a, -kuka* 94, -kōka* 95, -kuka 96 97, -guga* 114, -kuku* 130, -kake 121,
 -kōke* 165, -uhe 155 a, -kok* 234, -kokun* 228, -kuku, -keku 259; -kōsa* 70; -kuji* 255; -cikwa
 69; -xwoa 5 a, -gufu 104; Kop 252.
 -kade* 4, -kale* 9 c, -hala* 9 c, -kala*, -kale 14, -kai* 15, -kare* 16, -kala 18 54, -kalai 56 a;
 -kalanba* 44 57, -karamba* 59 61 a, -kaluamba* 61 c, -kulamba 69; -harahwa* 64 a, -gai* 58, -kale*
 61 61 a-b 62 69 83 86, -kare 64, -ale 94, -hala* 74, -khale* 71 71 f, -kali*, -kala* 166.
 -hanya 9 c; -enye 256.
 -lakanu 94 b; -nakun 254.
 -dala* 19 19 a 20 23 24, -lala* 38, -tala* 56 a, -wala* 56, -dala* 72, -tala* 73, -dala 75 75 a,

-dzala* 75 c, -dala 75 c, -dala, -dara 76; -dele* 151, -tene* 12, -zee* 13 21 21 a, -zee*, -tee* 21 b-d 21 e, -cē, -zee 21 f-g; -vere* 21 g, -vyele* 23, -vele* 23 a; -yele* 178; -tyeri* 274 (see also words for 'mother', 'wife', which are really related to the sense of 'old' and 'female').

-kembele* 69, -cembele* 77, -cembala* 78; -niel 120.

-cindi 77; -ende 19 a; -cici, -cili 226 b; -tsitsi 259; -se, -tsi 260.

-dundu 132.

-nū* 12, -nuna* 100 (also -nunu*), -nunu 101 102 103 104 105 106 109 118 120, -nun 121, -nunu 129 142 155 160 164 (also -nuna) 175 176, -nuni* 178, -nunu 179, -nuna 181, -nunu 189, -nuñgu* 192; -runa, -runω 151 b, -duna* (meaning 'grown-up male', 'headman', 'elder') 75, -duna* ('old') 185, -dun* 204, -duni* 205, -luni*, -dun, -duna, -uni, -una 206, -tina* 208 209, -juni*, -dyun* 213, -jun* 214, -jiwω* 215, -luna* 226, -dun*, -nun 232, -lūn*, -juñ* 230, -runu* 236, -rūn* 235, -hun* 250, -hina 273; -ru, -du 230.

-vunda 184.

-takuna 118.

-tōka 28.

-nōrω 34; -nōfu 258; -noñku 257.

-ran, -rana, -ren 230.

-kian, -jian 251.

-ñgenja 162.

-enya 256.

-wun 202, -wuon 263.

-nom* 217, -om, -nom 218, -num* 244; -tim* 227; -demω* 14; -tima* 21 e; -tōma*, -tama* 243; -sōmω 252.

-dōsie 237.

-heti* ('females only') 11, -vedi* ('females only') 16; -su-pezi 74 b.

-sumbi 131.

-saza 3; -šakala 19, -šakaru 19, -saka 15; -kasa 127 128; -kasi 229 e.

-kake 121 (see also roots for 'grandfather').

Rafω* 268; -tafe*, -rşafi* 269-72.

-lobathi 82.

-elane 176, -lami 2 f.

-falen, -finan 273.

-mwa (Bu-mwa) 137, -wa 155 a.

-viω 195 198, -vyω 195.

-yaya 108.

-biga, -biya 182; -baki 263; -pai 187.

-balibi- 267.

-bañga* 161, -añkω* 249, -ben 229, -be 258, -gben, -ben 261; -mañ 203.

-tañgu 34.

-yuωma 237; Kukuma 120.

-femi* 192; -pama* 110.

-butu 190.

-fwie 14.

-mpite 43 a.

-mtūa 28.

-nuta 116.

-pulu* 125, -bōlω* 193; -butu* 190.

-luñgu 193.

-pemba 44 b.

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- duñkwu* 23, -duñhu 23 a, -domyɔ* 24, -duñkhu*, -đuñu* 25, -đuñu 27, -ndũhu* 29, -đuñu 35
 38, -duñk* 273, -đuñ* 244; -libuñgu 71; -tuna* 213, -tune*, -tuni* 11, -duune* 12, -tuñe*, -dune* 16.
 -kunze*, -kunza* 104, -sunza* 109 110; -kundu* 13 14 15 16 20 20d 21 21 a-d, -hundu* 21 e,
 -undu* 21 f-g, -kundu 22, -gundu* 14 17 151, -ere-ñikundu*.
 -tukula* 2 e 101, -kuli* 9 a, -kula* 125 129, -kwila* 56 a, -phula* 108, -tɔlatɔla* 226; -tuku* 1,
 -tukura* 2 d, -tuku 2 f, -tukura 2 g 3; -laluku* 9 c; -ñgɔla* 160; -tukwere* 147, -kwete* 152;
 -lɔka* 100, -lɔwɔ* 130; -suka* 64 a, -tsuku* 63 64, -suka 98, -pswuku* 64, -suege* 218.
 -kusu 91 a; -cucu* 124; -cejeu* 64, -susu* 162; -cɔ 187, -sɔ 164.
 Tii, Tili* 90 91, -cila* 88 105 106 110, -tele* 130, -lili* 244, -tenatena* 191 193, -tenate 225; -teya
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 -fia* 58, -fuila* 61, -fuira* 59, -fiira* 61 a-b; -sweta 44 b 62; -psyu*, -pyɔ 61 a-b, -pyũ 89, -fube*
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 -seku 9 c; -seha 266.
 -bie* 117, -bye* 175, -be*, -bye 176 178, -yebe* 178, -bei* 186, -behi* 199, -bi*, -biyi 200, -ve*
 201; -leBILE* 120; -evele* 217 219.
 -piriri 139.
 -kele* 32, -cere* 28; -ñare* 17.
 -kasuke* 40 45, -keše- 51, -kašika* 77, -kasika, -kasi- 41 42; -yexa 214.
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 -bomvu 75 75 a 75 c 76, -bɔvu 75 b.
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 -lamu 216; -wama 135; -kamu 120.
 -šeria 56, -šera 56 a.
 -wina 140.
 -yim 263.
 -yenzu 43 a.
 -tonda 209; -tandara 17.
 -mondɔ 157 166.
 -esemu 6.
 -bala 116 118.
 -beñga*, -veñga* 85 86, -ku-biñga 97, -beñge* 184 189 190, -bañ* 230, Bañgi* 253; -dañedaña
 194; -nañge 198, -nañga 204; Sinañ 252; -bantak 274.
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 -myu 4.
 -fwete 77; -efhefhe 202.
 -swene 178; -hpen 243; -isenje 254, -sön 255; -sěle, -sě 258.
 •koyob, -kwjɔb 203.
 -twa- 4.
 -rɔtɔme 18.
 -kanyɔ 5 a.
 -kũikũi 227.
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-bōra* 3, -bwa-vu* 4, -bwa* 5 5 a 6, -boru 8, -vwa-zū*, -wā-zu* 9 c, -buta* 11, -wa* 14, -wōrie* 14, -wa 16, -waa* 18, -bōru* 18, -wa 19 a, -wa-vu, -bwa-vu 21-21 e, -bwa 32, -waa 35, -waa* 36, -bwa-fu 36, -vwa-su 38, -bwa-vu 39, -bwa 40 41, -bwa 42, -wa 43 a 44 44 b, -wa 51, -waa 54, -wa 61 61 a-b 62; -bōra* 64, -wōra* 64 a, -bwa, -mbwa 70, -bwa 71 71 f, -vwa* 73, -bwa* 74, -bwa 74, -bwaile* 75 75 a-c, -bwa 76, -waa 77, -bwa-zi 78, -bwa-ete* 80, -wa 83, -pwa* 84, -bōra 85 86, -bōra 87, -pwa 88, -wōra 89, -waa 92 94, -bwa 97, -bwa 98, -a-waa 100, -bwa 103 104, -vōza*, -vōra, -bōra 105, -bwa 106, -bōra 109, -bwa 142, -hwa 145, -pwa* 151, -pwa* 153, -fwa* 157, -bwa 175, -bōri* 184, -bwa* 186, -bwa 189, -bōra*, -bwa* 193, -bwa 194, -bōru* 195, -bwa* 199, -bu* 200, -bol 202 203, -bwa, -bōru* 204, -bō 205 206, -bwa 214, -bol*, -bie 218, -bōi 226, -pō 229, -kpō* 227; -pōpōt*, -fufut* 273; -pia* 230; -biru, -bicu* 17, -vizū* 19, -vira* 26 76; -puera* 28; -bwa 252; -putul 261; -bu, -bun 257.

-waa 13, Ku-waa 15.

-junda* 2 2 c, -sunza* 2 e, -zunzi*, -zunda* 2 f, -vundu* 4, -vunda* 19 a, -bvunda* 21 f-g, -vunya* 56, -unta* 56 a, -vunda 57 58, -bvunda 59 61 a, -vunda 61, -bvunda 61 b, -funda* 77, -ponda* 136, -fondwa* 155, -sundu* 209; -bun 257; -pente 264.

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-fama 243.

-kaŋga 254.

-dwa 24; -twa 110; -cwa, -wu 12.

-kiw, -kigu 12.

-tei* 263; -tek* 217; -sak* 227; -twa* 110; -tubat 255.

-lutu* 162, -uru* 11.

-gata* 23 a, -gata 27, -kata* 35; -gallak 274.

-imbi 25.

-wan* 244, -weni* 69.

-cā 227; -nje 90 91; -nyel 266.

-nafu 2 g,

-lale 258.

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-kuhi* 1, -gufu*, -ihi* 2, -gufu* 2 c, -guffu* 2 d, -gufu* 2 c 2 f, -gufu*, -gufi* 2 g, -gufi 3, -mpi* 4, -futyu*, -mbi* 6, -guhi 8, -kuhi* 11, -kupi* 12, -fufi* 13, -fupi* 14, -fufi 15, -fufi, -futi, -ivi* 16, -hihi* 9 a, -guhi* 9 9 c, -fūi* 17, -gihi*, -zihi* 19, -jihi* 19 a, -guhi, -gihi 20, -fupi 21-21 e, -guhi* 23 23 a 24, -fupi 25, -kuhi 26, -fupi 27 28, -fufu* 29, -ipi* 32 34 (and -wipi*), -fupi, -yipi* 35, -fufi 36, -supi 38, -ihi* 40, -ipi 41 42 43 43 a 44, -ifi*, -ipi 44 b, -guhi, -ihi 45 (N. and S.), -upi*, -ipi 54, -kuvi* 56, -kuvea* 56 a, -via* 58, -fupi 59 61 61 a-b 62 64, -pfupi 64 a, -fupi, -fubi* 69, -fufi 70, -sufi*, -fufue* 71, -sufu* 71 f, -pfufi* 72, -khufo*, -khufo*, -khufo* 73, -khufo* 74, -kuswa* 74 b, -fupi* 75, -fufa* 75, -fupi 75 a, -fifa*, -fica* 75 b, -fity 75 c, -fic 76, -fwifwi* 77, -fwafwi* 78, -fwhifwhi* 80, -ibi* 83, -ihi 84, -ii, -yei* 85, -iki*, -hihi* 86, -cihi 88, -supi* 89, -fupi 90, -h'upi 91, -supi 92, -hupi 94, -fikufi* 100, -yeye*, -kufi* 103, -ifi*, -ihi* 104, -ipi 105 106, -ihihi 109, -sui-pa* 110 (also -ihi), -sut* 119, -hiha* 122, -nkwiw* 123, -kui* 124 125, -kiye* 135, -kuwe* 136, -hebwe* 142, -uhi 143, -abibi* 150, -abili*, -gbititi* 153, -uwe*, -we 155, -kwe* 156, -fe*, -ufu* 157, -kwe 160, -kue 161, -yuwe 162, -kue 164, -kuse* 166, -pfifi* 175, -ipfi* 178, -gufi* 184, -wubie* 186, -upe* 187, -kubi* 189, -kuvi 190, -pe 193, -ugwe* 194, -vuvu* 195, -uve 198, -huwei* 199, -gbutō 151 b, -uti* 204, -kutu* 205, -utu* 206, -tūi* 209, -kūi* 218; -pepi* 89, -pe 90, -pepi* 91 92 94; -kpekpi* 259; -fi-muipa* 61 b; -bikiti* 5 a; -wisi* 56, -ivisi* 56, -pfulwā* 200; -gbut* 263; -buta* 98, -butw* 98 a 114; -bit 252; -kit 262; -nut 266.

·tūn* 202, ·etun* 217, ·thun* 218; ·ntū*, ·xundu*, ·huntu* 226; ·kuñku* 258.
 ·tōtōg, ·tōg* 273; ·duka* 102; Dik*, ·dak 253; ·duze* 75 b; Kudūū 151; ·lulu 141; Kidig 203.
 ·tita 97.
 ·leđi 126.
 ·bela ('near') 100.
 ·geñga 100.
 ·goma 71, ·koma 71 f.
 ·šimba* 17, ·pimba* 51; ·embw 112 a.
 Nwōanā 274; ·mpsene 264.

SICK

·aluere* 1,¹ ·rwarā* 2 2 d, ·rwaire* 2 c, ·luaile* 2 e, ·rwere* 2 f, ·dwara* 2 g, ·rwarā* 3, ·lwade* 4, ·luada* 5 a, ·were 8, ·ruaru*, ·dwari* 11, ·waw* 12, ·cwaa* 13, ·jwaasi* 13, ·cwajūa* 15, ·lwele* 9 a, ·lwile* 9 c, ·ndwari* 17, ·ilua* 18, ·lwāā* 17 d, ·weli* 21, ·wele* 21 a, ·we, ·dwe* 21 b-d, ·we* 21 e, ·lwala* 21 f-g, ·ade* 22, ·lwala, ·lwaiye 26, ·luala 28, ·luile* 32, ·lwala 34, ·rwarā* 35, ·lwere*, ·lwala 41 42 43 a, ·lwele, ·dwerā* 44 44 b, ·luile*, ·lwala* 45, ·lwele, ·lwala 54, ·wyada* 58, ·dwara* 58 a, ·duara 61 b, ·lwala 62, ·gwara* 64, ·rwarā 64 a, ·lwala 70, ·lwali*, ·lwatsi* 70, ·luala, ·lwala 72 73 74 144, ·lwele 75, ·lwaši 77 78, ·luele 106, ·aruere 147, ·lwadi, ·lodi 226; ·luā 175 178 179; ·vera*, ·vela* 86, ·vera, ·vere* 89, ·ala* 90, ·vela 91, ·veri, ·vera 92, ·vela 94, ·yela*, ·bela* 100, ·bela 101 103 104 (also ·bedi*), ·ruala*, ·vela 105, ·bela* 109, ·bil* 119, ·pel*, ·biele*, ·bielw* 120, ·cal* 121, ·bel 124, ·dilala* 133, ·ali* 137, ·bela 142, ·ela* 155, ·hale* 157, ·bele 180, ·bielw 175 176 178, ·biele 181 182, ·beli 184, ·biele 185 (also ·bele), ·bei 187, ·beru* 190, ·beli 193 194, ·be 200.
 ·bevō* 100, ·mbefw* 175, ·bedu 189.
 ·kpi 250.
 ·bina 51.
 ·binja 85, ·viza 84, ·biza 97; ·finyē 258; ·ciswa 77 79.
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 ·nuna 235.
 ·tōma* ('old') 243, ·tōma* 83; ·tamu* 19 19 a 20 23 23 a 24, ·tamwa* 25 27, ·tami* 28, ·tamwe* 32, ·tamu 35 38; ·sama* 104 107; ·sumūte* 273.
 ·sum* 250.
 ·ñgame 243.
 ·sambi* 140, ·ambe, ·yambe* 208 209.
 ·koñkwa*, ·koñgō* 14, ·goñgō*, ·koñgō* 16, ·gonjwa* 21 21 a; ·kon 202 203; ·kuañ* 237, ·kañgi* 129 a, ·gañgi* 189, ·gbañge*, ·wañge* 248, ·mañe, ·mañge 227, ·mage, ·maki 269-72; ·jañ, ·dyañ, ·yayā 230; ·yayañ 228, ·zazañ 248; ·hwyēñ 257; ·kana* 164, ·kani* 192; ·kwan*, ·kōan, ·kōanan 217, Kanañ 252, ·kwōnan* 253.
 ·kaka* 157, ·saka* 17; ·daka* 198, ·daha* 199, ·daki* 195 196; ·naka 262; ·kata* 95 97, ·gata* 96, ·kata 98 a 110, ·gata 111 114; ·bata 112 a; ·tata* 186, ·tara* 200.
 ·ndōre 17.
 ·nyōrō 232.

¹ This and the words that follow frequently take the preterite tense of a verb-root ·dwala, ·lwala, meaning 'to be ill'. That is the form of the original root of this verbal adjective. Possibly the actual root may be ·lu or ·du, or ·lua or ·dwa, and the terminal ·ala or ·la be merely one of the stative terminals to the verb-root implying condition.

- luwa* 17, -luwa* 155; -luom 235.
 -luk 253, -lugwa* 14; -waka* 155, -wowa* 151, -woka 151b, -moka* 244, -yañka 160, -yoka 186, -jōyω* 191, -jōgō* 193, -yōkw* 194, -ōka* 205, -waka, -woka* 206 209.
 -soñgw* 84, -suñga* 108 128, -zōgw* 120, -tsokw* 236, -cuñgu* 139, -toñga* 41, -doñ* 230; -nyoñge* 20.
 -nyā 259.
 -dwapā 226.
 Banye 130, Ban 249.
 -reya* 56, -reta*, -reiya 56 a, -reta 57, -tenda* 59; -res 274.
 Rawe- 267.
 -yeji 110; -yiza 88.
 Kienzω, Cienzω 103; -inza 118.
 -trū, -trūi, -tū, -cū 263.
 -dwapā 226.
 -babya 71, -vabya 71 f.
 -misa 40.
 -haši* 98, -kaši* 114, -paši* 116, -kanji* (probably related to the series beginning -kañgi*).
 -jut, -dyurs 273.
 -me, -neme 234.
 -bim 243.

WHITE

- eru* 1, -era*, -ru-wera* 2, -era* 2 c, -era, -wera 2 d, -dzela*, -gera* 2 e, -era, -eru 2 f-g, -era 3, -eru 4 8 11, -au*, -eu* 12, -zeru* (meaning 'holy', 'pure') 13, -eru-vu, -aru*-he 16, -ewa* 15 17 18, -elu* 9 a 9 c, -eru 10, -eu-pe* 20 d 21-21 e, -elu-pa* 21 f-g, -jeu*, -eu 22, -zelu* 23, -zeru* 23 a, -eru, -jeru* 24, -eru, -geru*, -zeru 25, -eru 26 27 (also -era*, verb 'to be white') 28, -eru, -jeru 31, -ū 32, -zelu 19, -zeru 49, -erω, -elu 51, -eu 72, -sew*, -tseww* 73, -ceu*, -seu 74, -sweu* 74 b, -yera* 60, -era, -yera 61 61 a, -yera, -yela 61 b-c, -helela* 34, -yela, -hela* 94, -zele* 95 96 97, -sele* 98 a, -zela 98, -dele* 98, -lele* 100 b 109, -eila 112 a, -dere* 229, -elu 137, -a-zela*, -ce-lele* 139, -rire-be* 147, -wēē* 168, -elw*, -mwelw* 175, -elw 178, -kele* 192, -vele-tete* 196, -vele-lete 198, -vele-tea, -vele-tele*, -welete 199, -vele-tete 201, -tele-pu* 234, -fera* 263; -fuara* 257; Nyerrk* 274; -kehω* 82; -tela* 56 56 a, -wela* 56 b, -cena* 57 58 (also -jena*) 58 a 59, -pfene* 63, -cena* 64 64 a 65 65 a, -sena, -cena 66, -sena 69, -kena* 83, -cena 72, -jene*, -ceni 255, -je 229; -cenje* 254, -jenje* 256; -tien* 273; -titsen* 251; -tan 250, -tanω* 155, -tani* 160 164, -tanω* 195, -tana* 205; -kenya* 75 b; -yema* 124 125, -wena* 131 133; -tira* 86, -tela* 56 56 a.
 -kenda 103.
 -lafu* 5 a 7, -dabu*, -rabu*, -labw* 7 a, -dapele* 130, -ape 9 9 b-c, -ebve 63; -vapa*, -bapa* 89; -sepa, -seba 94 b.
 -pupvi* 136, -fω*, -fubi* 253, -pfu* 185, -pu* 187, -pupu* 193, -pupa* 194, -pu, -pubi, -puba* 202 203, -pu 152, -fufu* 162, -mbu* 61 a, -bω* 17, -huhu* 35, -ebuω* 145, -pweñ 252, -biē 120 178, -piw* 121 129, -pepe* 178, -pe* 222, -fe 230, -ape* 9 9 b-c, -pe, -mbe 34, -pes*, -pez* 119, -pezω* 122; -bōmi 206, -bω 17 207; -fuka* 189 190, -fuga* 184, -pekepeke* 100, -vuki* 117, Kubuka* 118, -vuka* 86, -fuka* 89 90, -fawōka 141, -fōya* 179, -fuωgw* 180, -bōket* 230; -tōka* 85 86, -tōkele* 90; -tōka* 91, -tōke* 104, -tōka* 105 106 109 110, -tōki* 116, -tōke 124, -tōa* 73, -tuwa* 44 b.52, -ituwa* 53 61 a, -tua 62, -tuwa, -twite 77, -tuba 78 79 80, -twa 73 81, -tω 134, -cω 73, -tuku* 4, -cōkwa* 14; -tōma 84 88; -tumpuy* 273; -cōpe* 67, -sōpe* 68 69, -mhlōpe* 75 75 a-c, -mšlōpe* 76; -tōtōw, -hōtōw, -utōw, -hututu* 226, -fututu* 258, -pititi* 259, -hit', -fita* 273, -tu (Bω-tu, Sa-tu) 148, -futōw* 37, -puru* 229 e, -fur* 232 273, -fuara, -hwala 257, -but', -buri* 244, -buta* 41, -wuta*, -buta 42 44 44 b; -pumpu* 166, -pumapum, -pupupu* 183 187 191, -pfumanu* 216; -dōrōw 210; -tunu* 120; -lūū* 151; -fuli 260, -huli 262.
 -linte, -dinte 261; -dundu 100 b, -dūn 119.

- faka* 208; Fasi* 248, -fasi*, -faj* 269-72; -basa* 70 71 f.
 -bare*, -bāt* 227, -bara* 228, -bara 55, -wara* 35, -vala* 38, -āā* 39, -bala-fu, -ewara*-fu 24,
 -fera, -fere 263 264; -vele*-tete 196, -vele-lete 198; -bañ 230; -ñala* 198, -ñala, -ñaza, -izañgala
 20; -na 249; -nanañ, -nañanañ 235, -nañje, -nyañge 14.
 -man 238.
 -nahi 34.
 -susu* 107, -sɔsɔ* 126; -sase* 120, -tsetse* 121 175, -tsitse* 178, -siet* 229, -satu* 148.
 -swe 41 50, -swela 54, -tiswe 43 43 a 45, -tuise 44 b.
 -dala* 61 a, -djāā* 70; Ka-tale* 2 f, Ki-tare* 2 g, Ra-cari* 5; -kwala, -kwara* 153; -kwakwa 157.
 -kula 243.
 -wañga 161, -weñga 140, -yeñga 166; -muñge 40.
 -pembai 92 b, -pembe* 100, -pemba 101, -pembe 103 104 c 108, -pemba* 116, -pembe 123 125 151,
 -fembe* 155 a, -pembe 162, -pemba 193, -fembe* 205, -pemba 42, -phepa* 73; -dembe* 61 a;
 -bambala 200.
 -hekuke 91 a; -kuka 146; -kwakwa 157; -yakwa 151 b.
 -kɔta 97.
 -gweci 161.
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 -sañga 204 209.
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 -ili, -lyi, -lya* 17, -lya* 32.
 -meta 32; -marira 5 a.
 -lumbu 162.
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 -pundaya* 221, -pfum* 219, -fum* 217 218, -fumele* 218 219, -pum 220, -pumbu* 224, -pumon*
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 -wūin, -wune, -wuiña 266.

CHAPTER XII.

PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVES

THE Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages in their origin conceived of personal pronouns which should only apply to humanity and should be quite apart from those that answer to the English 'it', to the creatures and things which were distinct from men and women: 'I' and 'We', the persons speaking; 'Thou' and 'Ye', the persons addressed, and 'He' and 'They', those not present in the conclave.

The pronouns of the first and second persons, singular and plural, are not associated with any of the noun classes; they were concepts formed long before nouns were divided into categories. But the third 'personal' pronouns, singular and plural, belong to Classes 1 and 2. They are only used in connexion with any other Class if the object thus honoured bears a human guise, if, for example, in folk-lore tales animals are introduced in a humanized form carrying on conversations in man-like fashion.

When the human being, for adjectival purposes or as an honorific, assumes another prefix not of Class 1, he or she may use the pronoun of that other Class in accord with its qualifying prefix, but perhaps only in the instance of Class 13, the diminutive, **Ka-** and its plural **Tu-**. There is of course in Bantu and Semi-Bantu no sex discrimination in the pronouns of the second or third persons, no equivalent in the pronouns to the feminine or masculine gender¹; they only correspond with the category to which their noun belongs (ordinarily), the exception being where the noun is not of Classes 1 and 2 but assumes their pronouns because it belongs to the 'human' category in meaning or by assumption.

For the reader's better understanding of the presentation of Bantu and Semi-Bantu pronouns, I offer a few words of preliminary explanation. It is necessary to classify the usual pronominal forms in these languages as follows:—

(1) The *full, absolute*, or '*substantive*' form of the pronoun, independent of any coupling with verb or preposition.

(2) The *pronominal prefix* in the *nominative* case, adjoined to the verb.

(3) The *pronominal particle* in an *objective* sense, generally an *infix* in the verb-phrase.

(4) The pronoun as a *terminal* or *suffix* combined with a preposition, that is to say, the pronoun in a dative, an ablative, or (4 a) a genitive sense, the last-mentioned being equivalent to the possessive pronoun.

These divisions might be illustrated by a reference to the Swahili language. The *first* is represented by **Mimi**, 'I', in the absolute or substantive sense; the *second* by **N-** in **N-a-penda**, 'I love', or by **Ni-** in **Ni-me-penda**, 'I have loved'. The *third*, the pronominal particle in the objective sense (which in many Bantu languages does not so closely resemble the nominative as it does in Swahili) would be represented by **-ni-** in **U-ta-ni-pa**, 'Thou wilt give me' ('Thou wilt me give'); and the *fourth* by two distinct forms, the **-mi** in **na-mi**, 'with me', and (4 a) **-ngu** in **a-ngu**, 'of me', 'mine'. The same forms of the pronoun may be seen in most of the other persons ordinarily: 'Thou' in the first position being **Wewe**, in the second, **U-**, in the third, **-ku-**, and in the fourth, **-we** and **-a-ko**.

¹ Gender in nouns may in some of these languages be indicated by prefix or suffix.

COMPARISON OF PRONOMINAL ROOTS IN BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU

First Person Singular, 'I': Substantive Form.

Me, Mi, -me, -mi, Mω, Ma, Mō, Mu, -mu, -m'.

One or other of these syllables or a duplication of them—and far more commonly than any other—**Me, Mi**—is the form employed by the following Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages:—13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 19a, 20, 21, 21 a-g, 22, 23, 29, 34, 56, 56 a-b, 57, 58, 58 a, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71 f, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101 to 103, 104 to 126, 128 to 134, 136, 137, 139, 142, 143, 145, 148, 148 a, 150 to 155 (except 151 a), 162, 175, 176, 178 to 182, 184, 186, 187, 189, 193, 200, 202, 207, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214, 217, 218, 219, 220, 222, 224, 225, 226 to 266 and 267.

Associated with prefixes or suffixes this pronominal root assumes a great variety of shapes (I attach an identifying numeral to the rarer or more eccentric, without implying that such an out-of-the-way form is the exclusive possession of the language instanced).

Ame, Yami, Ngame, Eme, Kwame, Meme, Ami, Mimi, Imi, Ime, Nami, Limi, Dimi, Nim', Umi, Wami, Ūme, Ūmi, Yime, Geme (81), Kimi, Gami (254), Minω, Menu, Miω, Minyanω, Imiwanω, Mipa, Mia, Amuwa, Amevω, Mebω, Meniñ (207), Miye, Müye, Mina, Mine, Mna, Mena, Mēē, Mene, Mini (266, &c.), Minañ (263, together with Mina), Mωnω (100), Mā, Minu, Mōna, Minyi, Lemi, Mie, Menie, Mmē, Men.

It might be observed that Nos. 67, 70, 71, 75 and all dialects, 119, 221, and 263, share the form **Nina** (with variants **Min'** and **Mena**).

Ne, Nye, Ni, Na, Nω, Nō. This form varied by duplication (**Nene, Ninye, Nine, Nyinyi, Nyeni**) also seems to pass through the transition of **Nye** into **Nje, Nze, Nji, Ngi, Nge, Ngie, Ndye, Njie**, and with other changes and the adding of prefixes or suffixes may be **Ane, Ani, Anye, Ine, Ini, Inye, Inyi, Une, Ūne, Ūnω, Yini, Neye, Neēni, Nanu, Nyeni, Neju, Nebω, Newω, Nēω, Neñga, Nna, Ngie, Njie, Nga, Ngai, Ngaye, Ngω, Ūwe, Nyōwe, Nzewe, Jewe, Nōxi, Sōyu** (from **Nsōyu, Nzōyu**), This **N** form for the First Person Singular is adopted by the following languages:—Nos. 1, 2 (**Nyōwe**), 2 a, 2 d, 3 b (**Nzewe**), 3 (**Jewe, for Njewe**), 4, 4 a, 5 (**Sie for Nsie**), 5 a, 6 (**Sese for Nsese**), 6 a (**Sōyu**), 7 a (**Inci**), 7 (**Inje, Nōxi**), 8, 9, 9 c, 10 to 14, 17, 18, 20 d, 23, 28 (**Neñga**), 30 to 33, 35, 37 to 46, 48 to 55, 59 to 63, 64 a, 65 (**Ininω**), 65 a (**Inini**), 66 (**Kine**), 68, 69, 70, 74, 77, 85, 106, 139 (**Ūnω**), 140, 141 (**Nō**), 151 a (**Nye**), 157, 158, 160, 164, 166, 202, 223, 226, 269-72, (**Ngi, Gi, Yi, Nji**), and 273 (**Njēni, Indye**). No. 33 a has the peculiar form of **Heni** for this pronoun.

Eccentric and isolated forms of 'I' as a substantive pronoun are:—**Wañ (211), Bili (221), Ba (235), I (263), Yañ, Ya (261).**

First Person Singular, 'I': Nominative Prefix with Verb.

The greater number of Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages use for 'I' in the nominative case, where it precedes the verb, some root traceable to **N-** or **Ni-**, which may be varied as **Ngi-, Ndi-, Ndyi-, Di-, D', Ntsi-, Isi-** (No. 22), **Gi-, Ki-, Si-, I-** (17), **Nyi-, Nga-, Nka-, Ka-** (87), **Nje-, Ngu-, Hu-, Ni-**. These forms can nearly always be traced back to an original initial **N** followed by a syllable which may be a demonstrative or one of the roots for 'am'. Sometimes the initial **N** dies out and only the additional demonstrative or stative particle remains, as **Di-, Gi-, Si-, Ka-, &c.** No. 263 has **In-** for this nominative particle.

M-, Mi-, Me-, Ma-, Mω-, Mu-. One or other of these forms is in use in Nos. 68, 82, 89, 120, 121, 130, 148 (**Mu-**), 157, 175, 178, 181, 182, 186, 189, 190, 193, 194, 200, 207, 214, 217 to 220, 224, 225, 226, 230, 234, 237 to 255, 267, 274.

M-, Mb-, Mbi-, Mba-, Mbe-, Mbai-, is the form used by Nos. 34, 89, 134, 137 (**Mbai-**), 156 (**Mbai-**), 159, 159 a, 161, 194, 195, 198, 199, 204, 205, 206 (**Mban-**), 208, 209. This form may really be related more to the **N-** Group, as it may become **M-** before **-bi-, -ba**, and this suffix be only a relic of the verb 'to be', so that the nominative particle of 'I' may have meant in this case, and perhaps in some other forms of **N-**, 'I am'.

As far as I can understand the little-known **Járawa** language (253), the nominative particle for the

verb is strengthened by a nominative suffix **-m**. In No. 267 there does not appear to be any nominative prefix for this or other pronouns; there are only nominative suffixes which in the case of the first person singular are **-limu** and **-gumu**. Aberrant forms of nominative prefixes for 'I' not obviously connected with the **N** or the **M** Groups are, **I**, **Y**, **E**, in Nos. 89 137 152 (**Ibai**), 155 175 198 255 259 263 273. Perhaps the **I**-met with in the Kilimanjaro language (17) may belong to this type. In Nos. 215 and 261 the nominative particle is **A**. In Nos. 74 87 and 226 it is **Ka**, which probably came from an older **Ŋga**, since it is also **Ŋka** in 74, and **Ŋga** in 227 230. In Nos. 19 56 56 a it is **Ki**, and Nos. 73 74 **Ke**, in No. 74 **Kea**, and in some dialects of Makua, **Gi**, but all these have probably lost an initial **Ŋ**,¹ present in the **Ŋgi**, **Ŋge**, **Ŋi** of Zulu and **Ŋgōni** (75 a-76). In Nos. 124 130 134 and 159, the nominative particle is **La**, apparently from an older **Na**. In Nos. 157 257 and 258 it is **Le**- or **Li**-, The **Hu**- of 21 a-d and 21 e may be derived from an earlier **Ŋgu**-, which is the nominative particle for 'I' in Nos. 84 94 114 115 124 (**Nu**-), 157 (**Ŋgō**-), 162 (**Ŋjō**-), and 226 (**Ŋkō**). Nos. 49 and 50 are without any nominative particle of the first person singular, and in this person start straight away with the verb-root.

'Me' in the Objective, Accusative sense is represented in the majority of Bantu languages by an infix inserted in the verbal phrase, and most of them for this purpose use **-n**- or **-ni**-, which may vary occasionally as **-nji**-, **-ñgi**-, **-nyi**-, **-nj**-, **-ñg**-, **-ny**-, **-nri**-, **-ndi**-, **-di**-, **-un**-, or **-m**- before a labial. Exceptional forms of infix are **-mi**- in Nos. 16 69 130 193 and 229, **-limi**- in No. 131, **-m**- in Nos. 73 74 91 166, **-mb**- 92 130 (and **-mp**-), **-mba**- 156, **-mbai**- 159, **-ñgu**- 34 (and **-gu**-), 34 a 94 110, **-ki**-, **-gi**-, 56 56 a 56 b and **-si**- 17. The use of this objective infix, however, though practically universal throughout Eastern, South-eastern, Southern, South-western, Western, Central, and Northern Bantu,¹ dies out in the North-western Groups. So far as researches go (they are not quite conclusive) the last group to possess this objective infix (following the course in which the languages are considered in this book), is that of the North-central Congo, and the last language in this direction in which it is recorded is No. 166. It fails markedly in the Teke Group (LL) but reappears in Mpoñgwe (193). The only Semi-Bantu language in which an infix has been recorded for 'me' is No. 229, in which it takes the form of **-mi**-.

As regards the terminal, suffixial forms of the first person singular, they may be loosely divided into two categories, the ablative or dative, which in the N.W. Bantu becomes also the accusative; and the genitive or possessive. In the majority of the languages the representation of these two cases is of different type. The preponderating term sometimes employed for genitive or possessive as well as ablative and dative—'to me', 'by me', 'with me'; also 'of me', and 'my'—is **-mi**-, **-me**-, **-m**-, **-ime**-, **-mu**-, **-imu**-, **-ama**-, and **-amō**-. The **-a**- which so often precedes the pronominal syllable has the meaning 'of', but it is not easily separable from the pronoun. Thus with the use of **-a**- or other prepositional syllables, we have such terminal forms for 'Me' or 'My' as **-ami**-, **-am**-, **-lami**-, **-ñgwami**-, **-ñgam**-, **-nami**-, **-kam**-, **-kami**-, **-akami**-, **-kiami**-, **-emi**-, **-iseme**-, **-em**-, **-ewem**-, **-om**-, **-ama**-, **-ōnum**-. The first language on my list to possess one or other of these forms of **-mi**-, **-me**-, &c. (generally **-ami**) types of terminal pronoun, is No. 21. The others are 21 a-d 21 f-g 40 67 (**-hame**), 69 (**-amina**), 73 74 75 76 77 to 80 84 87 88 96 to 103 104 a 105 106 109 110 111 112 114 117 120 124 (**-alem** as well as **-ami**), 125 (**-lami**, **kemi**), 129 130 131 (**-akimi**), 132 134 137 140 145 (**-amu**), 148 (**-nem**), 148 a (**-emi**-, **-iseme**), 150 151 (**-ñgami**), 151 b (**-yami**), 153 (**-injikami**-, **-ambakami**), 154 155 162 165 167 175 179 180 181 182 184 to 189 193 195 199 200 202 204 to 207 211 to 215 217 218 219 225 226 227 230 232 234 235 237 244 245 248 250 251 253 254 257 258 259 261 263 267 269-72 273 274.

The next most prominent type of terminal for 'Me', 'My', 'Mine', is **-ñgu**-, **-ñga**-, **-ñge**-, **-ñgi**-. This may also appear as **-ñgō**-, **-añ**-, **-eñ**-, **-yañ**-, **-yeñ**-. It is used by Nos. 2 a 13 14 15 16 19 19 a 20 20 d 21 to 21 g 22 23 to 25 27 to 38 51 53 to 57 (**-aga**-, **-aka**-, 56 and 57), 58 58 a 59 60 61 to 66 70 71 71 e-f 72 73 74 77 to 80 89 158 200 207 210 212. 230 and 234 may possess this form as **-ya**-.
-ne-, **-na**-, **-nō** with variants are used by 7 (**-ane**), 7 a 9 9 a-b-c 10 26 24 (**-neni**), 38 39 40 41 43 44 45 51 (**-nine**), 52 61 61 c 68 69 71 135 (**-ane**), 144 150 (**-ani**), 155 (**-a**), 158 (**-le**), 161 226 (**-ne**-, **-le**-, **-na**-, **-nō**), 253 (**-la**), and 255 (**-ni**).

¹ It seems to be **-ni**- in 151 b of the Bahr-al-Ghazal.

Nos. 12 24 104 109 139 150 151 a and 226 have a variant of a *-ne* root for 'Mine' as *-nyi*, *-nye*, *-inye*, *-inyi*. A further development is the *-nōye* of No. 249, and perhaps the *-hōi* of 157, and the *-yei* of 137. This again may be further reduced to *-e* in 91, and *-i* in 158, and *-ea* in 209. Allied to the *-nye* forms no doubt are the *-ndye* and the *-ji* and *-eji* of 229, the *-sie* of 5 a, and the *-se* of 6, which seems sometimes to recur to something more like *-nji*. The *-ndi* of Nos. 4, 42, 106 (also *-nde*), and 249 (*-de*), may as in other instances be a mutation from an earlier *-ñge*, *-ñgi*. Nos. 159 159 a 194 195 198 199 204 206 208 209 and 225, use for their terminal *-mbi*, *-mbe*, *-mba*, or *-mbai*. The terminal of No. 274 (besides *-emi*) is *-mūna*, sounding almost like *-mna*. Altogether peculiar and aberrant are the *-kwa* of 11 12 17 18; the *-pω* or *-pwa* of No. 14, the *-a*, *-ba* of 230, with which also may be related the *-a* of No. 155, unless this be merely a shortening of the *-ani* of cognate tongues.

Second Person Singular, 'Thou': Substantive form.

The most archaic type of this seems to be *Gu* or *Ku*, then an *-e* has been added in some of the languages, and *Gwe* is a common and archaic type; oftener heard, however, as *We*. *Gu*, again, softens to *Wu* and *Yu*, *U* and *Ū*. *We* may harden into *Be*, *Bi*, or *Ve*, or change into *Ye*, *He*, *Fe*, *Hwe*, *Bwe*, *E*, *I*, *Je*, *Ge*, *Wi*, *Wa*, and *-ba* (97 *Iba*). *Wu* likewise can become *Bu*, *Yu*, *Fu*, *Wō*, *Wō*, *Juω*, *Zω*. *Gwe* sometimes loses its labial vowel and becomes *Ge*, especially in the Angola and Lunda Groups. These syllables descended from *Gu*, *Ku*, *Gwe*, &c., may be prefixed by *U*, *A*, *An* (39), *I*, *Yi*, *E*, *Ū* or *Ūñ*, *Wa*, *Na*, *Ya*, *Yω*, *Ga* (as in 254), *Si* (as in 17), *Fi* (as in 83), *He* (as in 23 a, 33 a), *Ni*, *Ne*, *N*, *Nd'*, *Ndi*, *Ñki*, *Ka* (as in 248, allied no doubt to the *Ga* of 254); or—and—the substantive form of this pronoun may be further enlarged by a suffixed *-bω*, *-pω*, *-fω*, *-vω*, *-ju*, *-yu*, *-wa*, *-ne*, *-na*, *-ñga*, *-ñge*, *-ye*, *-dye*, *-ba*, *-ma*, *-anω*, *-niñ*, *-ndω* (126), *-nde* (125), *-ye*, *-dye*, *-oni* (221), *-nya*, *-mon* (214), *-a*.

The Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages that do not adopt some form of *Gu*, *Gwe*, &c., for this substantive form of 'Thou' are very few. The exceptions are No. 184 which has *Ndyau*, and Nos. 151 a, 263, and 261, which have *Mω*, *Munō*, *Munoñ*, and *Muñ* (261). *Berewe* of 20, *Warakω* (? *Wara-kω*) of 34, *He*, *Ahe*, *Age* of 137, and *Ahē* of 223, may all be derived from a *Gu*, *Gwe*, *We* source.

'Thou': Nominative Prefix used with Verb..

The oldest form of this pronoun was no doubt identical with the accusative, *-ku*. It is not, however, common in the form of *Ku* or *Gu* in any of these languages at the present day, being only thus used in Nos. 13 14 17 (also *Ki*), 18 19 a 21 f-g 23 23 a 25 28 (*Gu*), 29 30 75 86 and 160 (*Kω*). It is usually *U*, *Wu*, *Ūu*, *Vu*, and *We*, but may also be varied as *Wa*, *Yu*, *Ya*, *Ki*, *Bō*, and *Bω*. The only exceptions to this use of *Ku*, *Gu*, *U*, &c., for the nominative prefix of the 'second person singular are the following: *E* 214 230 245, *I* 245, *Mω* 89 151 a 261, *Mā* 263, *Fa* 258, *Ha* 135, *A* 139 175 176 177 178 230 244, *Na* 123 124, *Ni* 261.

'Thee' as an Accusative Infix in the Verbal phrase.

The original form of this was *-ku*, which is its most common type, though it may be *-gω*, *-u*, *-aku*, *-kω*, *-xω*, *-xu*, *-hu*, *-wu*, and *-gu*. With one exception, its use as an infix does not seem to proceed farther to the north-west than No. 165 of Group KK, but there is an *-ωwe* infix in No. 198. Otherwise this infix, so far as we know, is completely absent from all the remaining N.W. Bantu. In the Semi-Bantu, 'Thee' is represented by an infix. In Nos. 235 (*-mω*), and 234 (*-nω*). Exceptional forms of this infix are the *-we* of 16, and the *-ωwe* of 198, *-ei* cf 110 111, *-na* of 148, and the already mentioned *-mω*, *-nω* of 229 and 234.

The terminal forms of 'Thee', 'Thy', &c., in the accusative, dative, ablative, and genitive or possessive cases are closely related to the substantival form and are based generally on *-gwe*, *-kω*, *-gu*, *-we*, &c. Perhaps for the usual terminal, apart from the possessive case, the commonest type is *-we*, *-gwe*. The following forms, however, deserve notice: *-ñgu* 89 244, *-oñgω*, *-añgω* (varying as *-oñ*, *-yeñ*, *-ewoñ*, *-ñhu*), found in Nos. 71 71 e 89 148 199 204 20; 206 210 211 212 213 214 236 237 244 and 251. The

form of **-nuŋwe** is found in No. 51. The commonest form of the possessive case, 'thy', 'thine', is **-akw** or **-aku**, varying as **-xw**, **-aka**, **-gu**, **-wu**, **-yω**, **-zω**, **-gω**, **-ω**, **-hw**, **-u**, **-uhu**, **-wω** (274). These are adopted by an overwhelming majority of the languages under discussion. Special variants might, however, be noted in the **-fω**, **-fu** of 17 18 240 244 251 257 258, **-bu**, **-mu** of 253, **-bu** 254, **-bω** 255, and the **-pω**, **-pō** 254, and **-kuω** of various languages, and the **-hau** of 74 b. Forms departing altogether from these standards are as follows: **-ei** (probably derived from **-eye**, **-egwe**) 110 111 273, **-ye-na** 112, **-ye** 234, **-ya** 235, **-iya**, **-i**, **-ae**, 273, **-a** 227, **-ha**, **-as'** 235, **-wai** 229, **-wōa**, **-mōa**, 261, **-me** 269-72, **-mu** 250 263 (also **-kamu**), 253, **-nu**, **-ōnu** 250 269-72, **-lu**, **-du**, **-ndu** 253, **-yid** 274.

Third Person Singular, 'He' ('She'): Substantive Form.

This pronoun does not (like its plural, 'They' to Class 2) entirely correspond to Class 1 in the nouns, in that most Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages retain elements in its representation by prefix and affix which are not reconcilable with the prefixes **Gu**- and **Mu**- characteristic of that class. It must therefore have had an independent existence before classes or categories were conceived in the minds of the originators of these languages.

As a substantive pronoun, the most archaic equivalent of 'He' seems to have been both **Gu** in a demonstrative sense and **Mu** as an object or numeral. **Gu** is evidently identical with the **Ŋgu** demonstrative which enters so much into the composition of the First, Second, and Third pronouns of the Singular number. **Gu** or **Ŋgu** as the substantive pronoun 'He' exists to-day in Nos. 40 78 79 131 134 (**-ñkw**), and 248, generally with a suffix or prefix. The **Gu** element may be found in other tongues of these two families under the easily recognizable variants of **Yu**, **Ju**, **Jw**, **Dyu**, **Zu**, **U**, **Ū**, **Ww**, **Ku**, and **Kw**; and it may be preceded or followed by the prefixes **N**-, **Ŋ**-, **U**-, **Ū**-, **A**-, **E**-, **Ww**-, **Wi**-, **He**-, **Ndu**-, **Dw**-, and the suffixes **-ya**, **-la**, **-mω**, **-embe**, **-wa**, **-ve**, **-wena**, **-ra**, **-ria**, **-lia**, **-e**, **-ni**, and **-nu**, mostly locative in origin. With these adaptations the **Gu** form is found in Nos. 1 2 f-g 3 3 b 5 5 a 6 a 7 a 9 9 a-b 10 12 14 19 20 a 20 d 23 23 a 24 25 f 27 28 29 30 31 31 a 32 33 35 37 39 40 41 42 46 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 a-b 62 70 78 79 83 99 125 130 (**Dw-kw-ni**) 131 (**Ndu-ñgu**) 134 161 164 187 (**A-ngw**) 225 248 257 (**Añu**) 258 (**Ŋw**) 273.

Another root of some antiquity for this pronoun is a presumed **Ge**, which early changed to **Ye**, and has further varied as **Je**, **Yö**, **Yi**, **Dyi**, **E**, **Ö**, **Ya**, **Ce**, **Ke**, **Xe**, **He**. This root may be preceded by prefixes such as **I**-, **A**-, **We**-, **N**-, **Mi**-, **Ki**-, **Ū**-, **Yi**-, or followed by suffixes, **-i**, **-ni**, **-ne**, **-na**, **-naiw**, **-ikw**, probably of locative meaning. The **Ge** form for 'He' is met with in languages Nos. 2 2 a 4 5 5 a 6 6 a 7 12 (**Yeyai** and **Miya**) 13 14 15 16 17 19 19 a 20 21-21 g 22 24 26 44 44 b 45 57 58 58 a 59 60 61 61 c 62 63 64 64 a 65 65 a 66 (**Kina**) 67 69 70 71 71 e-f 73 74 b-c 75 75 a-b 76 80 84 (**Ikiya**) 86 (**Ge**, **Iye**) 87 89 90 91 92 94 104 105 106 107 109 120 122 137 142 143 150 151 151 b (**Zi**) 153 157 (**He**, **Xe**) 158 164 166 186 193 211 212 221 226 (**Ke**) 227 228 230 (**Ezia**) 234 253 259.

Further equivalents of 'He' are:

We (varying as **Wi**, **Wa**, **Ww**, **Vw**, **Ö**).

Sometimes preceded by prefixes **U**-, **A**-, **I**-, or followed by suffixes **-ne**, **-dia**, **-w**, **-ende**, **-wω**, **-lw**. This form occurs in Nos. 2 2 c 2 f-g 3 3 b-9 a-c 17 41 43 43 a 61 b 64 77 78 79 139 140 141 148 223 227 228 246 263 (**Ö**).

Ndi, **Yandi**, **Nde** (varying as **Endi**, **Kwandi**, **Nandi**, **Yende**, **Ande**, **Indi**, **Inde**, **Eñge**, **Ŋgi**, **Ende**, **Anja**, **Hende**, **Mendie** (145)). This is found in Nos. 85 86 100 101 102 103 108 110 116 117 118 119 120 121 130 131 132 133 134 136 137 145 155 156 159 160 162 170 175 176 177 178 189 190 194 223 (**Wu-ende**). Allied forms may be **Adi** of No. 80 and **Ai** of No. 274.

Mu, **Ūmu**, **Mō**, **Mw**, &c., Nos. 1 92 167 195 198 199 204 206 209 213 214 (also **Mwen**) 226 (**Mw** and also denasalized as **Bwe**), 244 (**Moñ**), and 245 (**Imō**). **Amō** in 238. **Ume** in 273; **Ame** in 255. The **Bwōw** of No. 214 may be denasalized from **Mwōmō**. [This **Mu** form of the absolute pronoun obviously accords with the class prefix of Class 1, **Mu**-.]

Ene, **Ena**, **Mwene**, **Ana**, &c., 25 35 38 (**Umwene**) 72 74 88 97 98 108 112 114 115 125 126. [The **Ere** of No. 7 and **Ire** of 21 f-g may be allied to the above.]

Nye, Nyi preceded sometimes by **Na-** or **E-** or followed by **-nu**, is found in Nos. 34 (**Neñe, Nahie**), as well as **Nanye** 194 200 200a 207 217 218 219 229 246 (**Enye**).

Nw, Nu, sometimes preceded by **A-** or **W-**, **Wō-**, **Kw-**, or followed by a locative suffix, or denasalized as **Dw, Lw**: Nos. 2 f (**Wnu**), 2 e (**Nw-liya**), 2 f (**Wliha**), 5 a (**Nu**), 22 35 141 (**Wnw**), 152 (**Wdω**), 205 206 226 a-b (**Wlw**), 247 (**Anū**), and 261 (**Won**). Allied to this group are the **Kwō**, **Kwōñ** of 263, and perhaps the **Añu** of 257, and **Nw** of 258.

The **Wle** of 56, **Wria, Urya** of 2 d 8 and 11, the **Ulia** of 11, and **W-liha** of 2 f and the **Wōla** of 222, perhaps also the **Ere** of 7 and **Ire** of 21 f-g, may be all derived from the locative demonstrative 'That'. Other forms for 'He' as a substantive pronoun not so easily explained are the **A** of 200, **Akila** of 273, **Kina** of 66, the **Isw** of 18, the **Tsua** of 22, **Nduñgu** of 131, the **Tawe** of 220, and the **Bōki** of 254.

'He' as Nominative Verbal Prefix is most commonly **A-** in the vast majority of Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages. But there is another form **Ka-** (varying as **Ga-, Ha-, Aka-**) from which the simpler **A-** may have been derived. This **Ka-** form is found in Nos. 2 f 13 19 a 20 21 f-g 23 23 a 24 25 28 30 31 31 a 75 84 100 (**Ke-**) 102 135 (**Ha-**) 139 159 159 a and 160.

Ba- or **Wa-** is the nominative prefix for 'He' in Nos. 39 40 52 53 57 59 61 61 c 71 (**Awa-**) 74 (**Wa-**) 254.

The **Ye-** prefix (varying as **E-, I-, Ya-, Yi-**) is met with in Nos. 2 d 3 b 4 5 5 a 6 9 a-b 15 15 f-g 23 a 29 30 31 34 38 48 70 71 71 f 75 76 100 145 148 186 193 194 214 226 253 259.

Yu- (derived from a primitive **Gu-** and varying as **U-, Ku-, Wi-, Wō-, Hu-, Ju-, W-, Ō-, Wgu-**, and **Wku-**), is the form preferred by Nos. 6 6 a 10 14 16 20 d 21 21 a (**Hu-**) 21 b-e 24 25 28 32 38 41 42 44 44 b 45 54 56 56 b 62 63 64 64 a 65 66 70 71 71 f 72 73 74 75 75 a (**Ku-**) 75 b-c 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 86 87 88 89 90 (**Ku-, Wgu-**) 91 (**Wku-**) 92 94-104 104 a 105 106 108 109 110 114 115 141 143 202 229 245 248 257 261 263.

Mu- (or **Mw-, Mwa-**) Nos. 1 80 81 82 84 145.

Nu- 123 124.

Na- 85 273.

Ma- 89.

Nye- 200, **Nyi-, Nyw** 229.

Ndi-, D' 131 158.

'Him' as Accusative Infix in the Verbal phrase.

-mu-, -mō-, -mō-, -m- (varying also as **-kumu-, -kum'**; **-kuñ-** in 32, as **-imu-** in 109, **-ñw-** in 258, **-lw-** for **-nw-** in 162, **-w-** or **-u-** in Nos. 104 a and 130 a). Beginning with language No. 1 the use of this infix prevails in almost every Bantu language as far to the north-west as No. 167. After that in the direction of the Gaboon and Cameroons this pronominal infix becomes disused, only reappearing in No. 198 and perhaps in 205 and 206. Except in regard to Nos. 228 (**-mō-**) and 258 (**-ñw-**) an infix accusative particle for 'Him' seems to be absent from all the Semi-Bantu. No. 131 has an exceptional infix **-ndi-** for this pronoun.

'Him' as Terminal Pronoun with Preposition, or 'His' in a Possessive sense.

-kwe-, gwe-, -ke-, -khe-, -se-, -ze (varying also as **-kwō-, -ñgue-, -ce-, -ge-, -xwe-, -ñe-, -e-, -ue-, -we-, -be-, -bwe-, -ei-, -i**) and usually met with as **-akwe** or **-ake** with the possessive particle prefixed. Nos. 3 to 3 b 7 9 9 b-c 10-35 37 39 40-45 48-55 57 58 58 a-67 69-80 86 89 140 144 145 150 151 a (**-kw**) 154 155 157 158 (**-lehe**) 162 (**-kai**) 186 193 209 217 218 219.

-we in Nos. 1 2 a 3 (**-iwe**) 3 b 6 21 34 77 78 (and **-ze**) 200, (**-ūe**) and 202.

-mwe in Nos. 9 9 a-b 46, **-mbui** 230 226 (**-bwe, -abe**).

-mw, -mu in Nos. 31 a (**-a-ya-mw**) 148 (**-da-mu**) 195 (**-mō**) 199 204 209 (also **-ca-mw**) 213 (**-emw**) 226 (**-mw**, also denasalized as **-bw** or taking the form of **-mi**), 244 (**-mōn**) 257 (**-ñu, -ñuna**) 258 (**-ñw, -nw**). Allied to this may be **-un** of 248 and the **-oñ** of 263.

-ene, -mwene 38, -ena 64 a, -yeni 121, -ana 145 148 a, -iyene 194, -eni 205 206, -la, -na 226, -na 248 258 274 (-nai).

-ye 8, -nye 11, -enyi (-ñgwenyi) 84, -enji 99 100, -yenji 104, -eñgi 104 a, -enji 114 115, -kenyi 125, -nye 202 217 218 219 220, -enye 245.

-yω, -yu, -yi, -kω, -ñgω, -ñgu 19 24 71 f (-ñω, -ñw, -nwe) 76, 148 a (-ñgω, -oñgω) 151 a (-kω) 151 b (-yi) 195 (-ju) 198 (-yω, -ayu) 207 (-oñ) 195 (-ju) 198 204 (-au) 229 257 (-ñu) 258 (-ñω) 263 (-kω), and 273 (-ωyω).

-andi, -endi (varying as -anji, -indi, -anci, -ende, -ande, -akindi, -acindi, -andeni, -teni, -nande, -nde, -kande, -kiandi (Nos. 85 86 87 101-107 109 110 117 124 129 130 131 132 134 137 (also -yute) 141 148 159 160 161 162 164 170 175-178 184 189.

-ōle 226, -ōl' 23, -ω 273, -ωdi 2 a, -edi 187.

-esie 246.

-i (-bi, -mi) 253.

-wωa 261.

-ba 254.

'We'. First Person Plural : Substantive Form.

The original root for 'We' as a substantive pronoun in Proto-Bantu seems to have been both **Su** and **Tu**. **T** and **S** may almost permute as initial consonants within the language of one tribe, for example, in connexion with the numeral roots for 3 and 5—**-satu** and **-tatu**, **-sanω** and **-tanω**. The commonest root for the substantive form of 'We' in modern Bantu is **Swe** or **Twe**, which may vary in the forms of **Cwe**, **Se**, **Zwe**, **Ze**, **Twe**, **Tui**, **Tie**, **Ibi**, **Swi**, **Sω**, **Sō**, **Šwi**, **Suwe**, **Si**, **Tie**, **Te**, **Su**, **Hwe**, **Xwe**, **We**, **Tsue**, **Zuwe**, **Šya**, **Sá**, **-a**, **-e**. And this root may be extended by the prefixes **Si**, **I**, **Yi**, **N**, **Ō**, **Ū**, **U**, **E**, **Wa**, **A**, **He**, **Aū**, **Yu**, **Ba**, **Be**, **Bi**, **Ndi**, **Ya**, **Ye**, **On**; and—or—by the suffixes **-bwe**, **-ñga**, **-yω**, **-pa**, **-re**, **-tu**, **-ju**, **-ω**, **-wω**, **-bω**, **-na**, **-ba**, **-ben**, **-tω**. This **Swe**, **Twe** root is found in Nos. 1 to 3 b 7 9 to 13 15 to 35 37 39 40 43 a 45 46 48 49 to 52 54 55 62 77 to 80 87 88 90 91 92 105 106 108 151 b (**Bwsω**) 186 187 193 194 195 198 199 207 209 212 213 214 217 218 219 226 228 a 234 246 248 263.

A variant of the original **Swe**, often derived through an intermediary **Hwe**, is **Fwe** or **Fu**. This varies as **Fe**, **He**, **Fi**, **Vi**, **Vwe**, **Fwi**, **We**, **Fie**, and may be prefixed by **I**, **E**, **A**, **U**, **Yi**, **Ū**, **Be**, or followed by the suffixes **-bω**, or **-pa**. **Fwe** or its variants is found in Nos. 2 g 4 5 6 6 a 9 a 9 b 16 21 f-g 34 38 41 42 43 44 44 b 53 58 a 59 60 61 61 a-c 64 91 101 103 200 a and 202. Its presence probably does not import near relationship between Bantu languages, as there is such a widespread tendency for *s* to pass into the aspirate and the aspirate to become *f*.

Although the form **Si** or **Ti** is probably derived from an older **Su**, **Tu** by the sharpening of the vowel, it is a somewhat widespread root for 'We' and varies as **Ci**, **Hi**, **I**, **Ri**, **Re**, **Tsi**, **Se**, and **Te**. It may be prefixed by **I** or **A**, or followed by the suffixes **-nω**, **-yanω**, **-nyω**, **-yω**, **-na**, **-sω**, **-kina**, **-ne**, **-kω** (No. 67). It is met with in Nos. 14 16 20 d 56 56 a-b 57 58 62 (**Sew**, **Se**, referable perhaps rather to the **Šwe** Group) 64 68 (**Tina**), 66 (**Tisω**), 69 (**Hihina**), 70 (**Hina**), 71 71 c 71 f 72 (**Rine**), 73 (**Rena**), 75 to 76 (**Tina**, **Tsina**, **Tini**), 83 (**Aci**), 89 (**Ete**), 209 (**Isi**), and 261 (**Hi**).

The original form **Su**, **Tu**, usually without the **-e** suffix is in common use. It may be prefixed by **I**, **E**, **Ti**, **On**, **A**, **Ye**, **Be**, **Bi**, **Bω**, **Bu**, **Ba**, **Ga**, **Kwe**, **Ū**, **Ū**, and **Ibω**, or be followed by the suffixes **-wanω**, **-na**, **-la**, **-ga**. It is found in Nos. 2 7 a 26 58 63 64 64 a 65 65 a 67 68 69 70 84 85 86 91 a (**Onthu**) 94 to 102 106 108 110 112 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 122 to 126 129 to 134 137 139 140 145 148 150 151 b 153 to 170 175 to 178 189 204 205 206 209 210 211 217 253 (**Su**).

Wut, **Ud**, **Ut** 227, **Wurr** 228, **Wod** 252; **Uli**, **Ūli** 273. These forms would seem to be derived from an older **Wutu**, a development of the **Tu** root. They are probably of wider distribution than we are aware. It is remarkable that they should occur in the Cameroons-Cross River languages and recur in the Burum tongue of the Middle Benue. They may be allied to the **Uli**, **Ūli** of Fulup, and even to the **Ali-ma** of 247 and **Da** of 225.

Exceptional forms for this pronoun are **Ba** of 232, **Be** of 229, **Balω**, **Blω** of 259, **Balu** of 210, **Abu** of 257, **Awω** of 258, **Ibun** of 245, **Bunō** of 274, and **Binω** of 220, **Wete** of 89, and **Bide** of 200¹, **Wpāk**, **Pō**, of 230, **Alima** of 247, and **Nyin** of 246.

'We': as Nominative Prefix with Verb.

Tu, varying as **Ti**-, **Tō**-, **Twī**-, **Du**-, **Di**-, **Hu**-, **Hō**-, **Kō**-, **Ku**-, **Ki**-, **Xu**-, **U**-, **Lu**-, **Dō**-, **D'**-, **Ta**-, **Ki**-, **Ci**-, **Cu**-, **Cō**-, **Ri**-, **Re**-, **Le**-, **Hi**-, **He**-, **Ka**- (No. 148), **I**-, **Ni**- (from **Li**- which is derived from **Ri**- through **Ti**-—36 to 57), **Ne**-, **E**- (227 234), **Ga-tu**- (254).

This **Tu**- form is characteristic of languages I 2 7 a 9 to 35 37 to 46 48 to 55 58 to 64 a 70 to 74 76 to 80 83 to 110 114 115 123 124 130 131 134 135 137 139 141 143 145 (**Ki**-) 148 (**Ka**-) 153 154 155 157 to 160 162 164 166 167 175 to 178 184 187 189 193 (**Azue**-) 195 198 205 206 (**I**-) 199 206 (**Di**-) 206 206 a 209 226 233 (**Le**-) 254 (**Ga-tu**-), 259 (**Ku**-, **Kūi**-), 273 (**Du**-, **Di**-, **U**-).

Si- (varying as **Swi**-, **Fi**-, **I**-, **Bi-s'**-, **Sa**-, **Su**-, **Sō**-, **Se**-, **Siti**-, **Ṣa**-, **Hi**-, **He**-) 13 75 (**Si**-, **Siti**-) 75 a (also **Sō**-) 75 b-c 198 (**I**-) 199 205 206 207 (**Biṣi**-, **Ṣa**-) 211 (**Basa**-) 212 (**Sa**-) 213 (**Si**-) 214 (**Se**-) 248 (**Se**-) 253 (**Su**-) 261 (**Hi**-, **He**-).

Fw- 16, **Fi**- 200 a 202, **Vi**- 200, **Bi**- 150 202 217 219 220, **Bie**- 218, **Be**- 229.

Wu- 16, **Bō**- 161, **Buō**-, **Bu**-, **Mu**- 257 258; **Wod** 252; **W**- 230.

The **Ni**- of the Makua languages (56 to 57) is, as already suggested, derived from **Li**-, which no doubt comes through **Ri**- from **Ti**-. Perhaps a similar origin from **Te**-, **De**- may be attributed to the **Ne**-, **E**- of Nos. 227 and 234.

'Us': as Accusative Infix in Verbal phrase.

This is almost universal from No. 1 to No. 177, but has not hitherto been traced farther to the north-west, except for the isolated form of **-we**- in No. 198. I cannot find any use of the infix pronoun for 'Us' among the Semi-Bantu. This infix in nearly all cases is traceable back to an original **-tu**-, though this may take the varying forms of **-xu**-, **-ku**-, **-hu**-, **-di**-, **-ti**-, **-lu**-, **-du**- (17), **-tsu**- (18), **-k**- (20), **-cu**-, **-ci**-, **-hi**-, **-he**-, **-ri**-, **-re**-, **-itu**- (106), **-ta**- (124), **-lō**-, **-tō**-. Variants from an older **-ti**- are the **-ni**- of Nos. 56 to 57, and the **-gi**-, **-ki**- also met with in the Makua languages. The commonest form of the infix in No. 75 a-c and No. 148 is **-si**-, but **-ti**- is also met with in 75 and 76. No. 161 employs **-bō**-, the infix of the third person plural, and the **-we**- of No. 198 is probably derived from an older **-twe**- or **-swe**-.

The terminal forms of the First Person Plural in an objective, a dative or possessive case are the following:

-swe, varying as **-se**-, **-he**-, **-we**-, **-hwe**-, **-hi**-, **-ze**-, **-ese**-, **-iswe**-, **-swi**-, **-uswe**-, **-twe**-, **-cue**-, **-le** (206) is used by Nos. 9 9 c 10 16 19 21 to 21 g 25 26 40 (**-betwe**), 51 77 to 80 193 (**-ziω**-, **-ziω**), 195 198 199 200 202 213 226 and 261 (**-hi**). The form **-fwe** (varying as **-fu**-, **-vwe**) is found in Nos. 4 5 9 a 44 b 61 b-c, **-etu**-, **-itu**-, varying as **-cu**-, **-ju**-, **-ru**-, **-ehu**-, **-ebu**-, **-a**-, **-mω**-, **-du** (17), **-etfu**-, **-etuta**-, **-a-bi-u** (117), **-a-bitu**-, **-ita** (124), **-ki-atu** (139), **-a-beti** (177), **-ed** (214), **-au**-, **-ωu** (226), **-yet'** (234), **-tu** (254), **-lō** (259) used by Nos. 1 to 3 b, 5 a 7 7 a 9 b 10 to 28 30 to 35 37 38 39 41 43 43 a 45 46 48 to 53 59 to 61 c 64 to 67 69 to 71 f 73 75 to 76 80 83 to 110 114 115 117 124 to 139 140 141 144 177 184 214 226 234 254 260.

-esu-, **-isu**-, varying as **-ehu**-, **-ihu**-, **-eu**-, **-aṣu**-, **-asu** (263), **-ki-asu** (129), **-ecω**-, **-sō** (151 b), **-su** (129 263), **-a-ki-su**-, **-ndi-asü** (145), **-a-dō-sü**-, **-dō-sō**-, **-i-nde-su** (148), **-inji-ku-su** (153), **-ñō-su**-, **-ñba-su** (154), **-ahu**-, **-abō-sō** (163), **-ya-iyō** (167), **-beṣe**-, **-aa** (211), **-a**-, **-aza** (218), **-ze** 220, **-si** (248), **-fu** (274), used by Nos. 19 29 42 44 44 b 56 56 a-b 57 58 62 72 73 77 78 79 125 129 130 131 132 134 137 145 148 150 153 154 155 157 158 159 to 167 175 to 178 186 to 187 189 193 194 195 198 199 204 205 206 209 212 217 218 220 248 263 274.

Exceptional forms of this terminal pronoun are **-lāl**-, **-lī**-, **-uri** 273, **-jera** 228, **-ira**-, **-ra** 227, **-dlō**-, **-lō** 259 260, **-be**-, **-we** 229, **-ōū** 226, **-wω**-, **-ω** 258, **-mbu** 89, **-bu** 257, **-bun** 245, **-apūk** 234, **-ñgani** 110, **-yeñ** 210, **-an**-, **-wan** 217, **-an**-, **-añgan** 219, **-nyin** 246.

¹ Instead of this being derived from the **Fwe**-, **Fwi**- root, it may be a modification of the **Wod** instanced above.

'Ye'. Second Person Plural, Substantive Form.

This seems in the parent tongue to have varied between Nu and Mu.

Ŋwi-, Nu-, Nyu-, varying as **Nω-, Ni-, Ne-, Onne¹, Ŋwe-, Nywi, Nyi, Nyω, Ŋgui, Nyie, Nuwe, Nye, N-, Inω-, Lu-, Ũ-, Nū-, Nyō-, Yie-, Lue-, Lule-, Lωe-, Ná-, Nyá-, Nyañ-**. This root may be prefixed by **I-, Yi-, E-, Iye-, Ni-, U-, Mwi-, Wa-, A-, Be-, Ba-, Bi-, Bω-, Bu-, Wu-, We-, Wω-, Ibu-, O-, Kwe-, Gi-, Ya-**; or adopt the suffixes **-e, -ω, -re, -bω, -ye, -ni**. This Nu, Nω, Nyi, Nyu root is met with in Nos. 1 2 2 a 2 c 2 d 2 g 5 5 a 6 6 a 7 7 a 9 9 c 10 to 17 19 to 22 24 to 27 30 35 38 39 40 48 56 to 58 61a-c 63 69 70 71 71 e-f 72 73 to 76 79 to 86 88 92 94 b 95 to 110 112 114 115 116 118 to 126 129 to 134 137 139 140 141 148 150 151 151 b (**Bωnω**) 153 154 to 166 168 184 187 189 190 193 194 195 198 199 202 204 205 206 209 211 212 213 214 226 228 a 263 and 274.

Perhaps to this group should be attached the **A-lu-wa** of 247.

Mwe, Mu, Mi, varying as **Me, Mūe, Mūwe, Mwi, Mwi, Muhi, We** (sometimes prefixed by **Yi-, I-, E-, Ū-, U-, A-, He-, Ki-**, and **Ba-**, or suffixed by **-bwe, -we, -ñga, -yω, -pω, -dω, -vω, -wω, -ju, -ω, -se, -na, -n, -ne, -yue**); met with in Nos. 2 d-g 3 3 b 4 6 7 9 9 a-c 18 21 f-g 23 23 a 28 29 31 31 a 32 33 33 a 34 35 37 41 42 43 43 a 44 44 b 45 46 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 58 a 59 61 62 63 64 64 a 65 a 69 70 71 f 74 b-c 77 78 79 87 145 210 (**Ba-mum**) 217 (**Mina, Mine**) 218 219 220 225 226 b (**Mūe**) 157 (**Ami**) and 271 (**Muyul, Miul**),

Ila (226) may be derived from an earlier **Ina**; **Ná, Nyá** 263, **Uña** 274, **Nañ, Naña** 261.

Ūena, Ene 89, **Ūne** 90. **Ūnye** 91; **Ene** 94, **Inyeni, Inyi** 195.

Wun, Un, Wurr 227, **Wun** 228 248 253. **Wωnω** 259 260.

Mlω (probably derived from **Mnω** 259 260). With this may be allied the **A-lu-wa** of 247, **Ioñgwe** 67.

Ŋgiñgi 113.

Ben 229; **Mbe** 245; **Be** 175 178, **Bee**² 176, **Begwe**² 186, **Bi** 200, **Biu** 137, **Beeka** 234.

Buku², **Bukurul** 273; **Mbufu**² 246; **Pu, Mpuo** 250; **Ū, O** 230.

Vωbω² 94, **Bebω**² 117, **Biba** 207.

Gahi 254; **A-ye** 258.

'Ye': as Nominative Prefix with Verb.

Mu- (varying as **Mω-, Mi-, Mwi-, M', Bu-, Bω-, Vu-, Mi-, Ml-, Ma-**):

Nos. 1 to 35 37 to 46 48 to 62 64 64 a 70 71 71 f 76 to 80 86 87 89 90 to 94 102 105 106 110 113 123 124 135 145 150 154 217 (**Mi-**) 218 219 258 (**Mi-**) 218 219 258 (**Mi-**) 259 260 (**Me**).

Nu-, varying as **Ni-, Ny-, Ne-, Ŋw-, Nω-, Le-, Lω-, Lωa-, Lu-, Li-, Nyω-, Nyu-, Na-, Ū-, N-, Na-**: Nos. 16 (**Ny'**), 71 (**Ŋw-**), 72 (**Ni-**), 73 (**Le-, Ne-**), 74 75 (**Ni-**) to 75 c 75 a (**Nω-**), 100 (**Nu-**), 101 102 103 104 106 107 108 109 110 114 115 130 131 134 139 (**Na-**) 148 (**N-, Na-**) 162 175 to 178 (**Le-**), 184 187 189 193 (**Anuē**) 194 195 (**Ū-**) 198 213 214 226 227 234 248 254 259 260 261 263.

Be-, Bi- 141 200 200 a 257 258 (**Bie-, Bi-**); **Bu-** 150, **Bω-** 155 157 158, **Ūbω-, Bω-** 162 164 166, **Beba-** 186, **Ba-** 207 209 211, **Be-** 212; **E-** 205 206 246, **I-** 230.

Ū- 137 195 198 204.

Kω- 159 160, **Ku-** 273.

Wun- 253.

Yin- 252.

Mbufu- 246.

Ml- 259.

Dyi-, Dyu- 273.

'You': as Accusative Infix in the Verbal phrase.

The infix objective particle for 'You' is employed almost without a break from No. 1 to No. 166. After that it appears to be missing till No. 198 is reached. An infix (**-nu-**)³ is also present in the Temne

¹ In 91 a.

² Some of these forms may be 'Thou' pluralized.

³ A remarkable point of resemblance to the Bantu tongues.

language (263). This infix is most commonly **-mu-** varied as **-mi-**, **-mω-**, **-imu-**, **-bω-**, **-vu-**, **-u-**, **-m-**, **-bu-**. In these forms it is found in Nos. 6 11 to 18 40 to 46 48 52 53 62 64 64 a 70 71 71 f 77 to 80 86 87 89 90 91 92 94 99 102 105 106 109 145 164 166. As **-nu-**, **-ni-**, **-mi-** (varying as **-lω-**, **-lu-**, **-le-**, **-inu-**, **-nwa-**, **-enu-**, **-nywe-**, **-ne-**, **-wani-**, **-nyω-**, **-gu-ni-**, **-ku-ni-**), it is found in Nos. 56 (**-hu-**), 56 a (**-u-**), 57 (**-nu-**), 59 (**-ku-ni-**), 72 to 76 98 100 to 110 124 130 145 148 159 162 198 and 263 (**-nu-**).

The next most common form of infix for the second person plural is really that for the third person plural—**-ba-**, **-wa-** (varied as **-va-**, **-kwa-**, **-wa-ni-**). This is met with in Nos. 1 to 5 a 9 9 a-c 19 19 a 21 to 21 g 22 23 to 27 29 to 35 37 to 41 48 51 54 76.

Nos. 61 61 b employ the infix of the second person singular for the objective case 'You' (**-ku-**), and this is possibly the origin of the **-hu-** of 56 and the **-u-** of 56 a, together with the **-ku-ni** of 59 and the terminal forms **-gu-ni**, **-ku-ni** of 28 and 59.

The terminal forms of the pronoun 'You' in the objective, dative, and possessive cases are the following:

-mwe (with occasional variants as **-umwe**, **-mu**, **-mina**, **-mi**, **mlω**, **-mbu**, **-pū**, **-mpuo**) Nos. 3 4 21 f-g 51 77 78 91 217 244 246 257 (**-mlω**) 89 259 (**-mbu**), 230 (**-pū**, &c.).

-ni, **-nyi**, **-inyi**, **-nye**, **-ne** (varying also as **-ene**, **-en**, **-lena**, **-lōna**, **-nyena**, **-ini**, **-nini**, **-n** (252), **-wun**, **-wu**, **-un** (253), **-ben**, **-ugun** (274), **-ul** (273), **-mbun** (244)) Nos. 17 21 25 26 38 56 a 59 61 b 62 73 74 75 75 a 90 to 94 148 151 194 195 202 213 214 229 248 252 253 273 274.

-inu, **-nwe**, **-nu**, **-nyu** (also met with **-ñwe**, **-iñwe**, **-inyω**, **-nūe**, **-anu**, **-nω**, **-nuna**, **-a-bi-nu**, **-ki-a-nyu**, **-wenu**, **-ndi-anii**, **-nōwe**, **-inde-nu**, **-yōnō** (151 b), **-inji-ku-nu** (153), **-ñōnu** (154), **-ila** (for **-ina**, 157), **-nuni**, **-ki-nyω**, **-a-ni**, **-in**, **-nweni**, **-jeñ**, **-anan**, **-wanan** 217, **-ena**, **-ina** (218), **-enen** (219), **-yin**, **-unu** (248), **-wōnō** (259), **-anu** (263), **-nō** (261)). This terminal form is found in the majority of Bantu languages, especially in the possessive case of the Semi-Bantu.

Exceptional terminal forms for 'You', 'Your' are **-ōbō** 94, **-abu** 211, **-mbu** 89, **-pū** 228, **-be**, **-abe** 117 175 to 176, **-bewē**, **-begwe** 186, **-abūe** (possibly for **-amūe**) 226 b, **-bira** 257, **-ye** 258, **-yeka** 234, **-iya** 228, **-tīhi** 254.

'They': Substantive Pronoun.

An overwhelming majority of the Bantu languages and some of the Semi-Bantu, depend on the root **Ba** or **Bω** as the basis of the pronoun in the third person plural. Perhaps the most archaic form of this is **Babω**, and common variants are **Baba**, **Bω**, **Abω**, **Aba**, **Ba**. The *b* widening into *w* or narrowing into *v* produces **Awa**, **Ava**, or the second *b* may become an aspirate in **Bahω**. The initial *b* may be prefixed by the directive *m*, which turns the form into **Mbābω**. Therefore the commoner variants of an original **Babω** are, besides those mentioned, **Nibω** (1, 6), **Wawω**, **Hewω** (23), **Yayω** (56 a), **Ahōwa** (56), **Mbōbōna** (78), **Vakivω** (84), **Vōbana** (94), **Mbaiyu** (7 a), **Ava**, **Awa**, **Weu**, **Waw**, **Maω**, **Wa**, **Wω**, **Wuwω** (49), **Mbω**, **Ū** (43 a), **Aω** (43), **Vava**, **Iva**, **Ūvω**, **Ūwω**, **Ūgω** (90), **Yaū** (100), **Kwau**, **Bau**, **Bōbwe**, **Babā**, **Iwω**, **Mbvω** (130), **Bωω**, **Bvω** (132), **Ahω**, **Beω** (145), **Baiω** (148), **Bakω**, **Bū**, **Ifω**, **Iyω**, **Bōni**, **Bō**, **Be**, **Mbō** (218), **Ebōa** (218), **Ō**, **A** (230).

Amongst the Semi-Bantu languages No 228 a has **Bō**, No. 259 **Bā**, No. 253 **Ya**, No. 248 **Ve**, **Be**, **Mba**, and No. 247 **Awā**. Other variants of the **Ba** root for this pronoun are **Babi** 2 a, **Wadi** 3 b, **Aria** 11, **Wadya** 20, **Ware** 21 f, **Balya** 41, **Waya** 34, **Wale** 54, **Bara** 37, **Balω** 78, **Badi** 80, **Abale** 226, **Bale** 259, **Ale** 274.

Wana 33, **Ana** 110, **Bana** 124 125 126, **Iane** 133, **Banu** 209, **Anω** 16.

Avene 38, **Bene** 45, **Awene** 57 58, **Wena** 68, **Bōbene**, **Bene** 88 97 112 114, **Ene** 98 99 110, **Iene** 120 a, **Ben** 214.

Wewere 55, **Yere** 210.

Vōna 70, **Bōne** 71 74, **Bōna** 71 e-f 74 b, **Vhōne** 72, **Vōna** 73, **Bōna** 75 75 a-c, **Ki-bōna** 74 c, **Wōna** 76, **Mbōbōna** 78.

Weñga 55, **Bañga** 167 206, **Añga** 205 206, **Bañgω** 164 166, **Añgω** 187, **Wañkω** 134.

Bōniñ 207.

Bembe 32, Mbe 229 244.
 Nau, Ana 110, Nga, Na, Nañ 261 263; Wa-nañ 34.
 Bape 123; Pape 230.
 Iya 125, Ya 253, Iy 155.
 Akie 251.
 Tsawa 22.
 Acw, Asu 12.
 Andua 12.
 Ama 257, Ma 258; Wamw 122; Mō 245.
 Ngunw 248.
 Ku-kula 273.
 Bukw 250.

'They' as Nominative Prefix with Verb.

With very few exceptions in the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages this is **Ba-** with its variants **Wa-**, **Va-**, **A-**, **Ya-**, **Ma-**, **Be-**, **Bw-**, **Wu-**, **Wi-**, **Ve-**. **Ū**, **E-**, **Bi-**, **I-**, **Bōba-**, **Mbe-**, **Pe-**. The Semi-Bantu languages which use this form are Nos. 227 (**A-**), 229 230 234 244 (**Mbe-**, **Be-**), 257 (**Bw-**, **Ba-**), 258 259 (**Ba-**, **Be-**), 253 (**Ya-**), 252 (**Bi-**, **A-**), 261 (**Pe-**). Exceptional forms for 'They' as nominative particle are **Na-**, **Na-** (261 263); and **Ku-** (273).

The objective infix 'Them', like the nominative particle, is almost invariably **-ba-** or **-wa-**, varying very rarely as **-a-**, **-aba-** (100), **-iba-** (109), **-i-** (110), **-wi-** (14), and **-ha-** (56). In two or three languages like 167 it is **-bw-**. In No. 162 it has the unique form of **-la-**. The use of this objective infix begins with No. 1 and ceases with No. 167. After that it is only met with in No. 198 (**-bw-**) and does not seem to be present in any of the Semi-Bantu languages.

The terminal forms of 'Them', objective, dative, possessive, are based generally on **-aba** for the objective and dative-ablative cases, and on **-babw**, **-abw** for the possessive. **-aba** varies as **-awa**, **-abe**, **-awe**, **-bwe**, **-vwe**, **-we**, **-aya**, **-ae**, **-baba**, **-aweww**, **-ava**, **-mba**, **-ajw**, **-owe**, **-avw**, **-a**, **-ee**, **-yabe**, **-beñ**, **-ab'**, **-ap'**, **-wa**, **-bwa**, **-be**, **bala**, **-mbe**, **-gambe**, **-bere**, **-vi**, **-ve**, **-bale**, **-ale**. It is met with in languages Nos. 4 to 259 with few exceptions. Amongst Semi-Bantu languages it is present in Nos. 229 (**-mbe**, **-gambe**) 228, (**-bere**) 244, (**-mbe**) 254, (**-baba-**) 248, (**-vi**, **-be**, **-ve**) 253 (**-be**) and 259 (**-ba**, **-bale**, **-ale**). No. 253 also has the form **-ya**.

-babw, **-abw** (varying as **-abu**, **-bw**, **-bu**, **-w**, **-aww**, **-w**, **-waww**, **-ww**, **-mwaww**, **-aw**, **-waw**, **-avw**, **-bebaw**, **-ayw**, **-au**, **-baw**, **-a.ki-w**, **-bwabw**, **-ndi-babw**, **-dww**, **-dabw**, **-andabw** (148), **-ku-kww** (153), **-ñabw** (154), **-ifw**, **-kiyw**, **-abi**, **-yabw**, **-ebw**, **-ap'**, **-pop**, **-abō**, **-eu**) ranges from No. 1 to No. 253, which last language has the form **-eu**.

Exceptional types of terminal for 'Them' are the **-ciw** of No. 1, **-ejw**, **-zejw** of 140, **-ywyw** of 151 b, **-aiye** of 244, **-ama** of 124, and **-ma** 257, 258, the **-mō** of 245, **-ene** of 38 110, **-iyane** 194, **-le** 258, **-ale** 259, **-olil**, **-il** 273; and the **-bedda** of 228 a b.

ALL

The numerical adjective or pronoun 'All' has probably been present in Bantu concepts from the earliest times. The most nearly universal and therefore perhaps the original roots for this concept are **-onse** or **-onte**; **-oñke**; and **-wna**, **-ōna**. It is quite possible that **-onte** (**-onse**) and **-oñke** may be variants of one and the same root. It is not so clear at first that **-wna** or **-ōna** is a second variant of **-onse**, **-oñke**, except that there is a form **-onha** in No. 36, and an **-wha** in 31 a 33 35 and 37, which might connect **-wna** with a previous **-onsa**, **-oñka**, and this again with **-oñke**, **-onte**.

Some form of **-onse** or **-onte** is in use over all Bantu and part of Semi-Bantu Africa from language

No. 1 to languages No. 244 and 247, though the variation is considerable and the derivation sometimes a little hazardous and only to be realized by numerous transitional forms. The chief variations of an original *-onse* or *-onte* for 'All' are *-usi*, *-wsi*, *-wsiye*, *-wse*, *-se*, *-ese*, *-wze*, *-wsi*, *-esi*, *-onsi*, *-wse*, *-ōbe*, *-ōse*, *-wte*, *-onte*, *-onde* (No. 12), *-wsi-ni* (16), *-wse*, *-wse-ni* (20), *-onji* (22), *-wse-re* (28), *-wsa-ka* (37), *-onze* (40), *-ensi* (43 a) *-ōsa*, *-onti* (49), *-ōsa* (51), *-ōsepe* (54), *-wha* (55), *-wtene* (56), *Atene* (56 b), *-wbene* (57), *-onsene* (58 a), *-entse*, *-ontse* (59), *-ōsepa* (63), *-mu-ese* 64 a, *Jese*, *-ese* 65 65 a, *-ese* 71 e, *-ōthe* 72, *-ōxle* 73, *-tlhe*, *-otlhe* 74, *-onje* 83, *-wsena* 84, *-he* 89, *-xe*, *he* 90, *-se* 91, *-si* 94, *-wsw* 97, 98, *-nsw*, *-onsw* (100 104 109 152 164 176), *-wsw* (102 103 106 112 112 a), *-wsw* (110 111), *Concwai* (139), *-oncw* and *-ncwki* (166), *Nswkw* (168), *-entw* (175), *-ōdu* (193), *-ei* (175), *-yehe* (199), *-behe* (200), *-ehe*, *-ēē* (198), *-he-pi* (195), *-we*, *-yue* (178), *-ase* (205), *-asi* (151), *-isu* (151), *-nsi*, *-misi* (154), *-sie* (211), *-siañ* (214), *-se*, *-sese*, *-sō* (217-219), *-b-ehe* 220, *-ese* 225, *-ci* (248), *-se* (257), *-señk* (263). The *-ese* (*-ehe*, *-jese*, *-yehe*, *-ei*, *-se*, *-esi*, *-ase*, &c.) variant of this root has a rather curious distribution. Its employment occurs in languages Nos. 3 6 6 a 43 a (*-ensi*), 59 (*-entse*), 64 a 65 65 a 71 e 89 90 91 94 135 140 (*-anse*), 146 (*-aze*), 154 (*-misi*), 156 160 175 (*-ae*), 186 194 195 198 199 200 204 205 (*-ase*), 206 210 211 217 218 (*-se*, *-sese*, *-sō*), 219 220 (*-b-ehe*), 225 (*-ese*), 248 (*-ci*), 257 (*-se*), and perhaps 263 (*-señk*).

The *-oñke* root is met with as *-oñkea* in 56 a, *-oñge* 67, *-oñke* 75 75 a-c, and *-oñge* 76 78.

The *-wana*, *-ōna* root (which may not be connected with *-onte*, *-oñke*, but come from an expression meaning 'alone' or 'all together') is met with as *-wana* in all the Nyōrō dialects (2-2 g) as well as in Nos. 4 9 a 29 and 38 (*-ōni*). It is *-onha* in 36, and this may be a transitional form from the *-wha* of 31 a 33 35 and 37, and the *-whe* of 34.

A root *-su* may possibly be connected with variants of the *-onse*, *-onte*, *-onsw* roots. It is *-su* or *Ba-susu* in 151 152 161 a 209, *-zu* in 154, *-tute* in 186, *-tu-bu* in 137, *-hw* (for *-sw*) 92, *-ecw* 187, *-cu* 184, *-cw* 132, and *-kyw* 125. This last-named may connect with a *Tu-ca* root in Nos. 122 and 242, and this again with the *-ha* (for *-sa*), in No. 94, the *-tse* of 130 and *-tsa-bw* of 69. The *-sammw* of 131 offers some resemblance to the *-tcam* of 230.

The *-ma*, *-ama* (varying as *-ba*, *-kuba*, *-kuma*) of the Fernandian dialects (226 to 226 b) reappears in Nos. 123 and 129 of Central Congoland and No. 162 of the Northern Congo. In 162, 'All' is also rendered by *-wumuna*, *Muma*, and *-maka*. Connected with these *Ma* roots may be the *Mōmōmō* of 230 and the *-mwa* (*Amwa*) of Nos. 87 134 and 136.

The *-ejima* of No. 110 seems to be related to the *-akima* of 118, *-kima*, *-kuma* of 123 126 226, *-ñkuma* of 129, *-ñkfumw* of 129 a 130, *-kfumw* 131, and *-ñkw*, *-ñkom* of 229. There also seems to be some relation between this *-kima*, *-kuma* root and the *Kekima* which stands for the single numeral 'one' in No. 156, and also for several terms for 'ten' in Nos. 183 187 188 and 236: in which case it would arise from the meaning of 'all the fingers'.

'All' is expressed in No. 70 by *Hikwe*, and by *Hikwa*, *Hikwe* in 71 71 e-f. Perhaps this term is related to the *Kpekpwe* of 237 237 a, the *Kba* of 155 b, *-akakpa* 207, *-papa* 236, and the strange and isolated term *Apa*, *Apawa* meaning 'All' in the southernmost Swahili dialect No. 21 g. A suffix which frequently means 'All', 'Entirely', and consequently occasionally has a wholly negative meaning, because of its former association with a negative infix or prefix, is *-pa*, *-pe*. This is often found as a suffix (*-pi*, *-pia*, *-pe*, *-ve*, *we*) either meaning 'entirely' or 'not at all', in the East and West African Bantu, and especially in the sense of 'All' in No. 63 (*-pa*), 155 b and 54 (*-pe*), 157 250 247 (*-be*), 159 (*-ba*), 159 a (*-ne-ba*), and 160 (*-esi-ba*). The form *-pia*, *-bia*, *-pie*, is recorded from Nos. 13 21 21 f 48 and 200. The *-pete* for 'All' in 259 resembles the *Pöt* of 253 and perhaps the *-pūs* of 273.

Another root for 'All' which is further associated with terms for 'ten' is *-bom*, *-bomu*, met with in 148 and 148 a, and in 274 (*-bum*). Its association with 'ten' would of course arise from the meaning of 'all the fingers'. Allied to this possibly is the isolated *-omwike* meaning 'All' in No. 32. In the Hehe language (27) the sense of 'All' is rendered by the prefix *Mbe* followed by the qualified noun or pronoun, and that supplemented by the particle *-li* or *-ri*. 'All' in No. 145 is rendered by the root *-pōne*, which may be related to the *-bum* of 244. The Dyōla language (273-273 b) of Portuguese Guinea, besides other terms has *Pōpa* for 'All', which is obviously related to the *Fop* of No. 274 and perhaps with the *-bubu* of 150, *-bōbu-mani* of 153, and the *Buwe* of 151.

Other words for 'All' not easily explained in their relationships or meaning are **-noka** 94 b; **Dundukω** 151 b; **-tubu** 137; **-tute** 186; **-yūe**, **-we** 178; **-kwami** 124 125; **-kwatω** 157; **-twtina** 155; **-tsina** 175; **-kura** 259; **Banza** 120, **-bance** 121; **Buleñ** 261; **-gañkañ** 229; **Ramañ** 263; and **-lomω** 133.

RELATIVE PRONOUNS

The sense of relativeness in Bantu is often associated with the demonstrative pronouns; indeed the demonstrative of the 'second' position, 'that-near-by' is often formed by affixing the 'relative' vowel, **-ω**, to the stem of the pronominal prefix. Throughout the Bantu languages (except perhaps in those of the North-west division) the vowel **-ω** has a 'relative', a 'refer-back' sense. In the greater number of the Bantu languages the relative in the nominative¹ is generally formed by affixing or prefixing **ω** to the pronominal root—**Bω** = They-who, from **Ba**, 'They'; **Ilyω**, 'It-which' (for pronouns of the 5th Class), from **Ili** 'It'. Another vowel which sometimes conveys a relative sense is **e** in place of **i** (**ω** usually 'relativizes' the tonic **a** and **u** in a prefix or pronoun). Sometimes when all other class pronouns are relativized by **ω**, the pronoun ('he', 'she') of the 1st Class will prefer **e** and become **ye** instead of **yω**. A few examples may elucidate this exposition of the relative:

Swahili (21-21 g):

Mtu a-na -ye -penda 'the man who loves'; or, **A-penda-ye**.
The man he who loves

Wa-tu tu-taka -ω -wa -penda 'the people whom we will love' (**ω** is an abbreviation of an older **wω**, **bω**; **ba** 'they' relativized).
The people we will who them love of an older **wω**, **bω**; **ba** 'they' relativized).

ᵛōsa (75):

Um-ntu ω-teta-yω 'the man who speaks' (instead of **Um-ntu u-teta**, 'the man speaks').

Um-ntu e-si hamba na-ye 'the man with whom we go'.

Isi-pω e-teta ñga-sω inkωsi 'the gift about which the chief speaks'.

In Luganda (4) the 'relative' vowel is **-e**, **-ω** being reserved for demonstratives of the second position. In Runyoro (2-2 g) there is no 'relative' vowel, a relative sense being indicated by the ordinary prefixes and particles.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

These vary so much in their elements as to be of little value in comparison and classification. The syllables which enter most frequently into their composition are **ki**, **na**, and **ni** for persons and **ki** and **pi** (**hi**, **fi**, **i**) for other classes of nouns.

THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

'Self', 'myself', 'ourselves', 'himself', 'itself', is usually indicated differently from the intensive personal pronoun if it is associated with a verb. In the latter case it is formed nearly always by associating a suffix with the pronominal prefix²; but in relation with the verb another mode is followed by a very large number of Bantu languages. This is the insertion as an infix, in the place occupied in the verb phrase by the objective pronoun (if any), of a syllable (usually **-li**, **-ri**, **-i**). For example, in Swahili, **N-a -ji -penda** = 'I love myself'. The **-ji-** infix indicates the reflexive pronoun.

I self love

This reflexive infix particle was perhaps originally **-li-** or **-di-**. It is that still (and also **-ri-**) in Nos.

¹ There nowhere seems to be any special form to indicate the relative in the objective case ('Whom') this is usually rendered in conjunction with the relative-nominative by the ordinary accusative case of the pronoun.

² Sometimes a form like **-ene**, **-enye**. In Swahili this is **-enyewe** and takes the adjectival concord: *Ex.* **Mtu mw-enyewe**, 'the man himself'; **Watu w-enyewe**, 'the men themselves'.

28, 34, 34 a 44 b 54 55 55 a 62 78 79 80 89 90 91 92 94 98 99 100 104; it is **-dzi-**, **-zi-**, **-ji-** in 13 16 21-21 g 52 53 59 61-61 c 64 69 70 (-tsi-) 71 (-ti-) 75 76 175; **-i-**, **-yi-** in Nos. 3 6 9 10 11 12 21 b-d 23 23 a 24 25 26 41 42 43 a 44 45 47 48 51 52 56 73 74 84 85 90 91 100 102; **-e-**, **-ye-** in Nos. 2 4 5 20 38; **-se-** in No. 27.

In Nos. 130 160 162 and 166 it assumes rather a different shape, **-ya-**; in 161 this changes to **-ja-**. An infix of quite a different source, but also implying 'Self', is **-ku-** in varying forms, found in Nos. 14 17 18 19 (**-ki-**) 20 (**-kwe-**) 24 (**-ki-**) 32 (**-kwi-**) 100 101-3 (**-ki-**). In 164 it is **-mi-**.

The *infix* for 'Self', follows very much the same course over Bantu Africa as the other pronominal infixes. That is to say, it is hardly absent from any Bantu language of Eastern, Central, South or South-west Africa. But its use does not extend beyond the southern fringe of the Teke Group on the Western Congo (No. 175 is the last recorded language with a reflexive infix). In North-west Bantu, and as far as I know, in all the Semi-Bantu, the reflexive pronoun is indicated by a suffix or by a paraphrase. A reflexive suffix added to the verb-root may also exist alongside the infix particle in orthodox Bantu languages. Thus ḡōsa (75) has a reflexive suffix, **-ata**. It is **-yiti** in 207, **-ete** in 226; **-me** in 193 and **-mete** in 198-9. In Nos. 110-111 the reflexive suffix is **-ene**; **-ñgene** in 155 157; **-mene** in 166, 204, 217 (**-men'**, **-beben'**); **-en**, **-oñ**, **-ben** in 214; **-ne**, **-nene** in 263. In 214 it is also **-yol**, and **-enyul** in 218; **-tokei** in 226; **-ha** in 260, **-a**, **-e**, and **-ω** in 245, **-ω** in 273.

DEMONSTRATIVES

These range in affinities between pronominal and locative particles. They are very closely related to the prefixes and the pronominal concords; indeed, in some cases it is difficult to draw a line between the class prefixes, which are largely composed of demonstrative particles, and the demonstrative or locative pronouns.

The demonstratives in Bantu and Semi-Bantu may be divided into three categories. No. 1, or the near position, answers to the English 'This' 'These'; No. 2, the second position, to 'That', 'Those' comparatively near at hand; No. 3 to 'That' or 'Those yonder', to objects far away.

In the languages enumerated as follows, the demonstrative of the *first* position (No. 1) is rendered by pronominal particles *only*, with preprefix affixed or without any preprefix:

2 g 3 5 5 a 6 6 a 7 9 10 (with a suffixed **-i**), 11 to 16 17 18 19 19 a 25 27 (often preceded by **I-**), 37 to 45, 48 to 53 55 56 b to 62, 64 to 66 69 70 72 to 75 77 to 80 83 85 86 89 (but preceded by **N-** and followed by **-i**), 70 91 92 94 98 100 104 (followed by **-a**), 107 to 110 123 155 161 164 175 to 178 186 187 (with an additional **e** either suffixed or infixed) 189 204 211 212 217 218 226 227 258 273 (but with terminal vowel changed to **-e** or **-u**). These demonstrative pronominal particles may be either prefixed or suffixed to the noun. Sometimes the pronoun is relativized by having its vowel changed to **-ω**.

The demonstrative of the *first* position is indicated by a *locative particle* **-nω** or **-nu** as infix or suffix, combined with the pronominal concord, in the following languages:

1 2 2 a 2 c 2 g 3 3 b 4 5 6 6 a 7 a 8 16 19 20 20 d 22 23 23 a 24 26 32 34 (39 41 43 a 44 44 b have **-nω**, **-nu** in locative adverbs), 45 54 (56 57 use **-nω**, **-nu** adverbially), 59 61 61 a-c 62 73 73 a 78 79 80 82 to 85 87 106 110 137 140 184 (adverbially) 193 195 (adverbially), 199 (in Class 15 only), 204 to 207 (**-nu**, **-ni**, **-cu**) 226 (**-nω**, **-lω**) 248 (**Ńgu-nu** prefixed; **-nu**, **-n'** suffixed), **-wōnω** 261.

Other forms used as suffix, infix, or prefix in combination with the pronominal particle to indicate the demonstrative of the *first* position are:

-ñku 130, **-ñgω** 124, **-ñgunna** 261, **Uñgu**- 248, **Ńgu**- (used with Class 1) 2 2 c, **-njō**, **-ji** 228, **-kω**, **-ka**, **ku**, **-ki**, **-ke** 160, **-ke** 161, **-kō** 194, **-cu** 207, **-cω** 209, **-icω** 226; **-kwu**, **-ki** 244; **-cia** 260.

Hu-, **Ha-**, **Hi-**, **He-**, **Hω-** 2 e 13 21 to 21 e 23 23 a 25 26 64 a (**Hō-**) 72 (**Hω-**, **Ha-**, **He-** for 'this' and 'that', infixed and prefixed).

To- (for Class 1 only), **Te-** (for other classes) 199, **Te**¹ 195, **-tei**, **-te** 136 160 161 162, **-te-** (infix), **-tω-**

¹ This demonstrative also means 'In', 'There'.

148, Te- 199 to 204, -ti 186, Ti-, Te- 261, -te, -ti 200, Di- 273, -di 245, -ici 226, -tɔ- 261, -dese 119, -cu, -cɔ 207 209, Sɔ- 212, -asɔ, -si, -sa, -sɔ 10, Ndi-, -ndi 145, Nyi 201; Yei- 118.

E- 218 245, -e, -e- 187 263 273, -we 273.

Eka-, Ka- 168, Eka- 195.

-wa, -ya, -yau, -ye, -yɔ 70 71 to 71 f 75 to 76 124 166.

Lɔ-, La-, -lɔ-, -la- 71 to 71 e, Lu-, Le- 71 f, Lɔ-, Le-, La- 75 to 76, Le- 120 122 (-le), -le 226 260; -lama 247; -la 56 56 a 72 73 73 a (also -na), -le 73 74 122 226 260; -na 75 a 230 254; -gina- 200; -in 214, -en 234, -n 248 253; -ani 74 b, -kiani 139; -kunya (usually meaning 'That') 125; -wene- 58 58 a, -ene-, -ne- 72, -ne, -le 73 73 a 74, -le 122, -ne 123 124 125 131 132 134 141 157 162 167 168, -le 226 248 257 260 263; -mwe, -mene 61 to 61 c.

Mɔ-, Mu- 234, Mɔ- 245, Mɔ-, -me 257, -mi 245 274; -mana 261.

A-, -a- 21 f-g 24 28 31 33 34 35 54 70 95 102 105, -a 104 230, -aŋ 263.

'This' is also indicated by the 'directive N-' (M- before labials) prefixed to the pronominal particle in Nos. 5 a 26 44 44 b 77 78 79 80 89 90. [In the Proto-Bantu and equally in the mother tongue of the Semi-Bantu, n seems to have had a particularly demonstrative quality. It recurs ever and again in the Bantu languages prefixed to pronouns and demonstrative particles to enhance their 'indicative' quality].

The demonstratives Nos. 2 and 3 of the *second* and *third* positions, 'That near-by', 'That yonder' assume the following forms:

(It is not easy to discriminate as to the exact original meaning of these demonstrative roots, since in one language a demonstrative may indicate a distant position for the object, and in a closely allied form of speech a nearer position, or even the nearest of all, 'This').

As a general rule, the second position is definitely indicated in the following languages by the full prefixed pronominal concord, or by the bare root of the pronominal particle. This last however may be 'relativized' by changing its terminal vowel into -ɔ:

2 2 c-g 4 5 a 6 9 9 a-c 10 17 19 20 20 d 24 38 (followed by -a) 41 44 44 b 45 50 51 59 61 to 61 c 64 64 a 74 75 76 77 78 79 83 84 87 89 90 to 100 106 157 175 178 193 226.

The following suffixes, prefixes, and infixes—combined of course with the pronominal particles—usually indicate the *third* or furthestmost position only:

-lia 1, -li, -linya 2, -ri 2 a, -li 2 c, -ria 2 d, -li, -lia 2 e, -liha 2 f, -linya 2 g, -liya, -eya 3, -le 4 5 5 a, -la, -ra 6 7 7 a, -rya 8, -dia 9 b, -ya, -uya 10, -ria 11, -ya 12, -lya, -ja 14, -le, -de 13, -ya, -yathu, -riat'u, -riahu 16, -lya 17, -ya 18, -ja 19, -da 19 a, -dya 20 20 d, -le 21 to 21 e, -re 21 f-g, -le 22, -dya 23, -ja 23 a, -da 23 b, -dia 24, -ria 25, -re 26, -la 22, -ra, -lia 28 29 30, -la 31, -lia 32, -la 33, -ya 34, -la 35, -ra 37, -lya 38, -nia 39 40 41 42 43 a 45, -ra 49 50, -la 51, -ra, -wa 52, -la, -ra 54 55, -le, -ne 56 56 a-b 57, -ye, -are 59, -ja, -dya 61 to 61 c, -la 62, -ya 64 67, -le 69, -lee, -leyaa 70, Lɔ-, La-, &c., 71 to 71 f, -la 72 73 73 a, -le 74, -ali 74 b, -ya 75, -yani, -ya 76, -riɔ, -lya, -dia, -lia 77 78 79, -ya 81 82 83, -ze 84, -je 85, -ze, -ye 86, -ya, -yɔ, -yɔ 87, -di, -ya, -ye- 110, -ya 141, -lɔ 194, -eda 214, -li 217, -ele 218, -le 219, -he 220, -le 226, -ra 248, -daku 253, -re 254, -le 258, -lele 260, -di 274.

Ngu-, Nga-, Ngi- (followed by concord) 38, Ng'- 3, Ngunu-, -ngunu- 248, -ngɔ 124, -ku- 130, -ŋkɔ 134 162, -ku 131, -ikɔ 167 170, -gɔ, -nyɔ, -ba-gɔ 227, -kwɔ, -kɔ 244, -kɔ 245, Kɔ- 263; -kuti 137; -zɔ 140, -cɔ 207, -icɔ, -ici 1 226, -tɔ, -tɔ-kɔnɔ 261, -kɔlɔ 259, -kull, -kollum 261; (with the directive N- or Ng- preceding the pronominal concord), Ngugu, Mbabɔ, &c., 2 c 2 g 3 5 38 44 44 b 75 75 a-b 75 c 80.

Ndi- 100, -nde 175 178, Me-ndi-, -mend' 145; -te- 148, Te-ka- 195, -ti 186, -ji 227, -ci 263, -di (Gedi-, Xedi-, &c.) 274.

Ta- 210; -eda 214.

-ayat 218 a; -ɔwaci 226.

A- 23 33 54 70 95 98 103 104 105 212 214 273, -a- 100 102 106, -a 38 105 110 141.

Ka- 104, -ka, -jaka 90, -aha 109, Eka- 195, Te-ka- 195.

-au 101.

Su-, Sa-, Si- 19, Su-, Sa-, Si- 20 20 d; Hu-, Hɔ-, Hɔ-, Ha-, Hi-, He- 13 16 21 to 21 g 72, -hɔ-, -ha- 72, -he 220; -asɔ, -sɔ, -si, -sa (usually meaning 'This') 10.

¹ Compare the Iɔ-, Ic', Ica-, Ici- prefixes in 151 b (p. 124 of this volume).

Lw-, La-, Le- 71 (also **-lw-, -lu-, -la-**), **Lu-, Le-** 71 f 75 76, **-lō** 195, **-lō** 226, **-ru** 245, **-re** (**Ba-re**, &c.) 254, **-le** 258, **-kōlō** 259, **-lele** 260.
-eni- 52 (**Mw-eni-yu** Class 1), **-ele-** 54, **-le-**, **-ne-** 56, **-ene-**, **-ne-** 72, **-ene-** 99, **-ne-**, **-ene-** 187, **-ni-** 189, **-ine-**, **-ene** 214, **-le** 226, **-ene**, **-e** 230 235.
Na- (**Nōre**, **Naware**, **Nere**, **Na-rire**, &c.) 26, **Na-**, **Ni-**, **Ny-**, **N-** 62, **-na-** 109; **-nō** 263.
-añ, **-oñ** 263.
Me- 193, **Me-ndi-**, **Mend'** 145.
Mō-, Ō- 245; **-um-** 273.
Ū- 102, **-ō** 175 178 226.
-ondōō 65 65 a.
-ōbua 226.
-wara 207; **-sara** 248.
Pi-, Ūi-, Pu- 56 a.

A special note might, perhaps, be added explaining an 'emphatic rendering of 'this', 'these', 'that', 'those' in Dyōla, No. 273. The pronominal particle is triplicated, the terminal vowel becomes **-e** for 'this', **-u** for 'that', and **-a** for 'that yonder'. In some classes the syllable **-um-** or **-n-** is intercalated. The following examples will better illustrate this arrangement: **Yi-oñ**, 'crocodile'; **Yioñ yayuye** = 'this crocodile'; — **yayuyū**, 'that'; — **yayuyā**, 'that yonder'; **Dyi-kihl**, 'eye'; **Dyi-kihl dyadunde**, 'this eye'; — **dyadundū**, 'that eye', — **dyadundā**, 'that (eye) yonder'.

Classes 1 and 2 ('human') are exceptional. They are: **A-umē**, 'this', **A-umū**, 'that', **A-umā**, 'that yonder'; plural, **Bukakumbukē**, **Bukakumbukū**, **Bukakumbukā**,¹ &c. To this the arrangement in the Járawa language, No. 253 of Eastern Nigeria, offers some resemblance. The demonstrative 'that' for Classes 1 and 2 being **Makum** and **Bōbaku**. 'That' is also represented in No. 253 by the locative suffix **-daku**.

¹ This demonstrative form of Class 1 may be better pronounced **A-hu-me**, &c., while that of Class 2 is slurred into **Bukakuñkē**, &c.

CHAPTER XIII

THE BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU NUMERALS

IN the hypothetical parent of these prefix-using languages which arose—we may safely assume—somewhere in or south-east of Nigeria, the system of counting, as elsewhere throughout the evolution of the human species, was based on the division of the hand into fingers. One is inclined to add ‘and of the foot into toes’, but that the nomenclature of toes and fingers is almost identical (the big toe ranking as another thumb) and that not much direct reference is made to feet in the numeral roots. Still, the feet, like the hands, must have been taken into consideration, because in so many of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages ‘the whole man’ stands for ‘twenty’, with his ten fingers and his ten toes. On the other hand, in some Bantu languages the toes seem to have been overlooked and the conjunction of the two hands is considered to represent a man.

In the Proto-Bantu, therefore, there were separate numerals for ‘five’, for ‘ten’, probably for ‘twenty’, and for ‘one hundred’. ‘Six’, ‘seven’, ‘eight’, and ‘nine’ would be indicated by ‘five plus one’, ‘five plus two’, ‘five plus three’, ‘five plus four’; but a tendency early arose (in which Bantu and Semi-Bantu participated) for the giving of special names to ‘six’, ‘seven’, ‘eight’, and ‘nine’; and these names were either based on slurred or corrupted duplications or additions to the first four numerals or on paraphrases indicating the relations which ‘six’, ‘seven’, ‘eight’, or ‘nine’ bore to ‘five’ or to ‘ten’. In the same way ‘teens’ were described as ‘one’ to ‘nine’ added to ‘ten’ (though in the North-western Bantu and in Semi-Bantu there was a tendency to distinguish ‘fifteen’ by a special paraphrase¹). It became a custom amongst the Semi-Bantu which was borrowed or inherited by a few of the Bantu languages, to count the decades by scores or twenties. A special word was applied to ‘twenty’, and ‘thirty’ was rendered by ‘twenty and ten’, ‘forty’ by ‘two twenties’, ‘fifty’ by ‘two twenties and ten’, and so on. This feature of counting by twenties exists in Nos. 145 205 206 208 209 226 in the Bantu family, and in Nos. 227 228 229 234 235 244 248 among the Semi-Bantu. It occurs somewhat commonly in the vast range of Sudanic languages, and this distinction conferred on ‘twenty’ may be explained by the individual person or human being standing for ‘twenty’ with his ten fingers and ten toes.

So much associated was the hand with counting that in many of the Northern Bantu and their Semi-Bantu neighbours ‘five’ and ‘ten’ are represented by roots that originally meant ‘hand’ or ‘hands’. Nevertheless this meaning cannot be detected in the widespread roots **-tanw** for ‘five’ or **-kumi** for ‘ten’, though sometimes a Bantu root for ‘twenty’ may seem to coincide with one which also means ‘feet’; and the widespread **-kumi** may be related to a root meaning ‘all’ (‘all the fingers . . .’, see p. 458).

It became customary, however, early in the history of Bantu evolution, to indicate ‘six’, ‘seven’, ‘eight’, and ‘nine’ by special roots which had some long-forgotten, substantival meaning. A root for ‘six’, for example, may be traced to a meaning of ‘thumb’, because after the first five fingers of the right hand had been counted, the counter went on to the thumb of his left hand. ‘Six’ was also indicated very early by a duplication of ‘three’, just as ‘eight’ was by a duplication of ‘four’. Sometimes, having fixed

¹ See Nos. 151 a (p. 127 of this volume) and Nos. 148 157 160 226–226 b 228 228 a 229 234 235 238 244 245 273.

on a word for 'six', a lazy tribe which had slipped backwards in culture would indicate 'seven' by 'six-and-one', or the 'second-six', just as 'six' itself might be regarded as 'the second five'. 'Seven' might also be 'the second five'. 'Eight', the 'third five' or the 'second six', and 'nine' the 'fourth five' or the 'third six'. Even 'ten' here and there has lost its root of entity and is classed as 'five and five'. In a very few languages there is a special word for 'eleven' and even for 'twelve', just as I have mentioned an individual root for 'fifteen', which has a tendency to occur in the North-west Bantu and in the Semi-Bantu. 'One hundred' seems very early in the Bantu evolution to have been represented by a word, which meant 'a big ten'—**Kama** or **Kana**. But the conception of 'one thousand' as a specific numeral did not occur in Bantu until long after the original dispersion. In most Bantu languages it is either represented by a foreign word or by 'ten hundred'. Some of the Bantu languages, however, before the European got into contact with them during the last hundred years had developed an elaborate system of decimal counting and could supply numerals up to a million by varying the prefix.¹ There was degeneration, however, as well as advance in Bantu arithmetic. Indeed, one's whole impression of the Bantu movement in Africa in language and culture has been that of an originally high impulse, one possibly derived from the Neolithic European, which has since degenerated in many parts of Central and South Africa into absolute savagery. Thus there are a few Bantu tribes that cannot definitely count above 'five', except by repeating the numerals and differentiating them by gesture, though even they are scarcely ever without a distinct root for 'ten'. Some of them would be troubled to count above 'twenty', and scarcely able to conceive of 'one hundred' as a definite quantity.

NUMERAL ROOTS OF BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU SUMMARIZED

ONE

Mō, **Mω**, **Mωmu**, **Mom'** (248), **Mωmω** (119), **-mu**, **-mω**, **-mō**, **-mūe**, **-mwe**, **-mwi**, **-mōi**, **-ñu**, **-ñui**, **-nwe**, **-ñwe**, **-ñui** (255), **-mwi-ne** (9 a), **-ñgwe**, **Mwā** (188), **-umwi**, **-umω**, **-imwe**, **-mbei**, **-we**; **-ō**, **-wō**, **-vu**, **-fō**, **-vō**, **Pω**, **Bω** (19 25 58 59 64 64 a 65 68 97):

With suffixes **-ine**, **-jeri**, **-eri**, **-ka**, **-dza**, **-za**, **-ja**, **-sa**, **-ha**, **-ḍa**, **-ya**, **-yω**, **-lika**, **-deke**, **-rika**, **-luka**, **-ñga**, **-neñka**, **-iñi** (110), **-re**, **-i**, **-ye**, **-je**, **-ji**, **-ci**, **-si**, **-si**, **-te**, **-ti**, **-tsi**, **-dze**, **-ndzi**, **-de**, **-di**, **-nsi**, **-ndi**, **-zu**, **-zi**, **-hi**, **-tω**, **-itω**, **-tu**, **-edω**, **-idω**.

Nos. 2 to 4 6 to 37 39 to 48 51 to 71 f 74 77 to 80 82 to 114 116 to 120 121 (**Mbei**) 123 to 125 128 to 131 134 to 137 139 to 145 147 150 to 155 (151 b has **Imωtu**) 157 158 159 161 to 164 167 to 172 175 to 184 186 to 194 200 204 210 213 216 218 220 a 221 222 223 229 230 235 248 253 255 257 258 273 employ this '**Mω**, **-mω**' type of root for 'one'.

Emu-luka, a recorded word for 'one' in No. 151 a (the **Hōma** language), belongs to this section, **-mu** being obviously the root form, and **-luka** a subsidiary word or suffix.²

Other roots are:

-bōte (58), **-fōri**, **-vōri** 230-1, **Wōd** 220 a, **Wōrō** 221, **-vure**, **-vude**, **-fudi** 200, **-wōte** 194, **-wōtō** 186, **-mōtω** 151 a, **-wada**, **-yada**, **-gada** 202 203, **-wato**, **-wate** 225, **-wti**, **-wci** 159; **Kōsi**, **-wsi** 86 94 (probably for **Ka-wsi**), **-kωs'**, **-kōci**, **-konji** 126 127 129 a 131, **-gωs**, **-ñgωs** 122, **Kāsi** 88, **-āsi**, **Maši** 90, **Kafi** (for **Kasi**, **Kahi**) 191.

Weka (31 a), **-wka**, **-wkw** 49, **-wka**, **-eka** 50, **-mōka** 56 a, **-eka**, **-vika** 101 102 103 (also **-eta**); **-weñga**, **-eñga**, **-oñga** 43 a 45, **-ñike**, **-ñgi** 80, **-ñga**, **Muñga** 148 a, **-ñgwe** 74 b; **-mōkw** 125 130, **-makω** 132, **-hōkw** 133, **-ōkw** 160, **-pōkw** 183, **-ōkw** 185, **-mōkw** 162 166, **-pōkw** 183, **-ōkw** 185, **-pōkw** 187,

¹ See the **Luganda**, **Koñgω**, and **Ŋtomba** vocabularies (4, 100, and 170).

² See the **-mω-lika** of 85 and **-mω-rika** of 86: interesting correspondences, though 85-6 and 151 a are separated by some 1,500 miles of distance; also note the **-ndeke** root for 'one' in 'eleven', No. 91 a.

Another rendering of 'one' in No. 151 a is **A-huma-tuka**. In this case the **-huma** root may be akin to the **-guma**, **-wuma** of No. 1.

-bɔkɔ 188, -ɔhɔ, -pɔhɔ, Mɔhɔ 199, -pɔkɔ, -ɔkɔ 195 198, -wɔkɔ 196, -yɔhɔ 197, Pok' 201 203, -wɔ 204, -yɔkɔ, -ɔkɔ 205, -yɔ, Fɔkɔ, -ɔkɔ, -ɔ 206, -ɔkɔ 208 209, -fɔ 210, -yɔgɔ, -wɔ, -hɔ 211, -ɔk, -hɔ, -hok, -fɔ 213, -fok, -mpok 217, Fo 218, Fok 219, -fɔg 232 236, -bɔ, -bog 237, Mɔk 253.

-keke 81.

-nyi, -nye¹ 67 73 75 75 a-c 76 86, -ne 106, -ne, -ni, -nye 226, -ne 238, -ne, -ni 242, -le, -li 226 259; -uni 244, -ini 263, -in 230, Umbu-ni 246.

-yeno 241, -gɔnɔ 148 a, -gon 241, -von 239, -oñɔ 242; Gwen, Wana 240, -van 239, -an 232, -en 250, Jen, Sañ, Gwañ 241.

-boñe 229, -bañ, -jañ 228, -añka 139, -añgɔ 274, Mo-ñgɔ 188; Moñkɔle 166.

Ingana 148, -gañi 240, -kɔni 243, -kani 263:

-dɔ 249, -dũ 266; -jɔ 251.

-sɔwa 155 a.

-sɔrɔ 9 a, Sɔlɔ 9 9 b 9 c 134; -jũũ 151; -udju 153.

-setɔ 104 a, -itu 137.

Kadi 149 150, Keci 134, -ci 230, -si 258²; -gi, Jigi 228, Yiyi 228, -thihi 72; -igiri, -gilini 146.

-de 226 255, -ɔdi 257, Unde 244 a.

Mw-anda 21 b-d.³

-da, -a 217; -lalañ, -loñ, -lɔlɔ 269; -dala 4 b, -lala, -dala, -ala 5 5 a,⁴ -lala, -twera, -terwa, -dwerwa 6 6 a, -a dura 13; Ntlhā (-ca) 74, -ā, -cā 207, -ca, -kya 212.

-keke 81; -kekima, -kikima 156.

-ñgwe 74 b; -gbe 223 a.

Numa 267, -guma, -ɣuma, -wuma 1; A-huma 151 a; Kekima 156.

-vimpa 103.

-pamatɔ 38.

-bul 261.

-t, -it, -yit, -err 227, -ut, -it 228, -yut 228 a, -kiet 245.

TWO

This is most commonly represented by the disyllabic root **-bali** (with such variants as **-bare**, **-bale**, **-wari**, **-vali**, **-vari**); and the languages using this more normal form of the root for 'two', or as 'two' in composition with other numerals, are Nos. 38 42 43 43 a 47 and 69, in the East African Bantu, and Nos. 84 85 86 89 90 92 93 94 97 103 118 137 145 146 149 150 151 151 a 151 b 152 153 154 155 156 159 160 162 164 166 183 186 187 195 197 223 253. But in addition there occur the following variants of an original **-bali**: **-ari**, **-adi**, **-ali** 86 88 90 91 (also **-kali**, **-bali**), 95 (**-ade**), 101 102 110, **-badi** 94 b, **-yati**, **-yali** 96, **-yade**, **-wade** (as well as **-bali**) 97, **-yadi**, **-yari** 98, **-ati** 98 a, **-wadi** 102, **-yaji** 109 b, **-yedi** 110, **-yati**, **-yat'** 111, **-yadi** 112 a 114, **-yali** 122, **-ɔle**, **-zɔle** 100 100 b 101, **-ɔle**, **-ɔle** 102 103, **-bɔle** 116, **-buɔle**, **-ɔle** 117, **-bue** 121, **-bɔle** 176, **-ɔli**, **-muɔli** 178, **-bɔle** 180, **-ɔle**, **-yɔle** 181, **-yɔle** 183, **-iɔlɔ** 185, **-yɔle**, **-ɔle** 189, **-ɔli** 190, **-bani** 187 191 192 193 (also **-vani**, **-ani**, **-hwani**), **-mban** 230, **-wan'**, **-an** 244, **-fan** 251, **-fande**, **-fare**, **-fent** 235, **-bala** 146, **-vaa** 232, **-bae** 161, **-bei** 184 188, **-wai** 205, **-bē** 217 218, **-bae** 219 222, **-bai**, **-baye** 224, **-bae**, **-wai** 227, **-fai** 228 251, **-fare** 235, **-hāre**, **-hara** 248, **-fa** 250, **Gbari** 253, **-bau** 152, **-bake** 206, **-ba**, **-wa** 159, **-ba** 186 196 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 (also **-wa**), 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 (and **-mba**), 215 216 (and **-baba**), 220 (and **-mba**), 221 225 226 (**-pā**), 228 230 232 (and **-bal'**) 259 (and **-'wa**), **-ā** 207, **-pai** 234.

¹ Probably identical with the root meaning 'finger'.

² There is possibly a series of roots for 'one' based on **-si**, **-ɔsi**, **-ɔsi**, **-ɔti**, **-nsi**, **-su**, **-sɔ**; which reappears in the Ababua Group (II) in a position to form numerals like 'six' by addition to 'five'.

³ This is one of the many incongruous uses of a root **-anda**, nearly always preceded by the prefix **Mu**, a root which is used chiefly for 'seven', 'eight', 'one hundred'.

⁴ Also a root probably meaning 'finger', 'finger-nail', originally.

Another series in which the first vowel of the root is weakened to *e* runs thus: **-bere** 1, **-beri**, **-were** 7, **-eri** 11 12 15 18, **-ele** 24 24 c-g, **-were** 37, **-veli** 38, **-beli** 51, **Peli** 56, **-edi**, **-beli** 57, **-ei** 58, **-bere**, **-bede** 69, **-beri** 71 e, **-veli** 73, **Peli**, **-beli** 74, **-bele** 80, **-eri** 83, **-bele** 87, **-yedi** 110, **-pe** 120 123 124 126 (and **-pene**), **-he** 130, **-hei** 131, **-bele** 127, **-hei** 131, **-pe**, **-fe** 134, **-be** 141, **-pe** 148 a, **-hele**, **-ele** 157, **-yele** 158, **-wele**, **-yeli** 175, **-pe**, **-fe** 162, **-ipe** 167, **-pe** 170 172, **-weli**, **-yeli** 175, **-ele** 179 182, **-bei** 184 188, **-be** 209 213 217 220 230 (**-mbe**), 236 232, **-fe** 229, **-bele** 266.

Another long series in which both vowels are *i* is chiefly characteristic of the Eastern Bantu, though it has its representatives in the west, north-west, and even in the Semi-Bantu: **-bili**, **-wili**, **-biri**, **-bidi**, **-viri**, **-vili**, **-ili**.

The following are the languages using one or other of these forms based on **-bili**: 2 a-g 3 3 b 4 5 5 a 6 6 a 7 7 a 9 9 a-c 10 11 (**-hiri**, **-giri**), 12 (**-ile**), 13 (**-wii**, **-pili**), 14 (**-wi**), 16 (**-iri**, **-hiri**), 17 18 19 19 a (also **-idi**), 20 20 d 21 to 21 g 22 23 23 a 24 and all its dialects, 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 39 40 41 42 (and **-bidi**), 43 (**-idi**), 43 a (**-iri**), 44 44 b 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 (**-wi**), 54 55 56 57 58 (**-biyi**), 58 a 59 60 61 61 c 62 63 64 65 66 67 (**-bihi**), 68 69 (and **-mbire**), 70 (**-mbidi**), 71 71 f 72 (**-vhili**), 75 (and **-bini**), 75 a to 76 77 (and **-wilw**), 78 79 81 82 (**-biti**), 83 87 104 (**-bidi**), 105 106 (and **-biji**), 107 (**-bidi**), 108 (and **-bidi-nka**), 109 109 b (**-wij**), 116 (**-vil**), 119 (**-bili**), 120 (**-pi**), 124 (**-bi**), 125 (**-pi**), 132 (**-ahi**, **-ahe**), 133 (**-pi**), 134 (**-fi**), 136 (**-api**), 141 (**-ibi**), 155 a (**-api**), 256 (**-wi**), 267 (**-bihe**); **-pia**, **-piat**, **-bia** 230.

Variants of the 'a', 'e', and 'i' roots for 'two' are those in which a *d* or *t* is introduced after an *n* which has taken the place of an older *l*. Of such are the **-fent**, **-fande** of No. 234, and the **-pende**, **-hende** of 130, and the **-pindi** of 129 a. From these again spring more eccentric forms such as **-phindi** 124, **-hindi** 132, **-kendi** 131, and **-kiti** 134.

No. 25, the language of Ugwogw, has an isolated root, **-ijete**, for 'two', not easily derived from a **-bili** or a **-beli** basis.

No. 274 has **-xi** for 'two'.

No. 124 has **-fu** which may be connected with the **-bue** of 121, which again seems to be a contraction of **-bwele**. The **Wule** of 255 no doubt has some connexion with a **-bwele** or **-bale** root.

The **-gawa**, **-kaba**, **-luba** of 273, and the **-tab**, **-taba**, **-taw** of 269, 271, 272, may also be related to the **-balli** basis and be preceded by a **Ga**, **Ka**, **Ta**, **Lu** prefix. Not easily explained is **-gap-ten** quoted for 'two' by Koelle in No. 273; except that **-gap** is akin to the modern **-gawa**, **-kaba**, and that **-ten** is a suffix. The **-rañ** of 263 is quite isolated. Other peculiar roots for this numeral are **-pugus** of 249, **-wuma** of 188, **-ñge**, **-ruñke** 267, **-tiñ** of 261, **-tsiñ**, **-trin** of 262, **-ribu** 254, **-yewi** of 256, **-swona** 31 a (the Buñga language), and the **-nyō** of 257 and **-nyw** of 258.

THREE

All Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages represent 'three' by some form of the **-ta**, **-tatu** root: except No. 31 a, the Buñga language of East Africa, which has **-lila**; and 269, 270, 271, 272 of Portuguese Guinea, which represent 'three' respectively by **-ant**, **-jint**, **-yant**, **-yents**; and 273 (Dyōla) -273 b by **-fōxi**, **-fegi**, **-fōdyi**, or **-hödyi**. 273 also has **-fwa-ten**, or a **-fwa** root for 'three'. There is, however, or was, a **-saji** root for 'three' in No. 273 (the Fulup-Dyōla language), which Mungo Park recorded some 120 years ago, but which has not since been rediscovered.

A considerable range of variation occurs in the **-ta**, **-tatw**, **-tatu** root. As regards the first syllable **-ta**, this, with an occasional lapse into **-sa**, **-sa**, is not only present in many Sudanic languages, but is the monosyllabic root for 'three' in a number of Bantu or Semi-Bantu: such as Nos. 202 (**-lā**), 203 (**-ya**, **-āā**), 207 (**-ā**), 210 (**-lā**), 212 (**-ia**, **-ā**), 213 (**-la**), 214 218 226 (**-ta**, **-ca**), 228 (**-ra**), 234 (**-ra**), 236 (**-ra**), 237 (**-le**), 250 (**-ta**), 257 (**-te**), 258 (**-ta**, **-tie**), 259 (**-ta**), 239 (**-tia**), 242 (**-ta**), 243 (**-raa**), 245 (**-ta**), 261 (**-ra**). But some of these languages that use a monosyllabic root for 'three' also possess a fuller form—(**-tar**, **-tat**, **-tet**, **-tad**, **-lal**, **-lan**, **-lau**, **-tal**, **-tan**, **-lat**, &c.).

The majority of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu use a root which is traceable back to **-tatu**, with variations that will be presently cited. But others, also considerable in number, adopt **satu**, **-satw**, or a

variant traceable to **-satu**. Those that prefer an initial *s* or *ʃ* to an initial *t* are Nos. 1 2 2 a 2 b 2 d 2 f 2 g 3 3 b 4 7 9 a-b (and **-atu**), 11 (**-zatu**, **-tabu**), 12 (**-bata**, as well as **-datu**), 13 (**-hahu**), 17 (**-hahu**), 40 46 82 (**-atw**, **-hatw**), 87 (**-hātu**, **-satu**), 104 (also **-setu**), 105 106 107 108 109 110 118 120 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 a (**-atu**, **Batu**), 149 150 151 151 a-b (**-sarw**, **-saru**), 152 153 (**-harw**, **-karw**, **-sialw**), 154 155 155 a 156 157 158 159 159 a 160 161 162 164 (also **-atu**), 166 167 168 170 (**-atw**, **-yatw**), 172 (**I-sā**), 183 (also **-nsalw**, **-calw**), 185 224 227 228 263 (**-sas**), 273 (**-saji**).

The form of the **-tatu** root varies a good deal because of the tendency in Bantu and Semi-Bantu for *t* to pass into *d*, *c*, *ty*, *r*, *l*, and even *n*; while an occasional *ts* shows uncertainty and compromise between **-tatu** and **-satu**. Similarly, the first vowel may (rarely) weaken into *e* or even *i*, or thicken into *o*, while the second vowel may equally rarely change into *a* or *i* or be diphthonged with an *e*. Thus we have as modifications of **-tatu** or **-tatw**, **-tatwe** or **-tatwe** 77 78 79 80; **-datu** or **-datw** is very common in East Africa and in North-west Bantu, with a frequent variant of **-ratu**, **-taru**, **-tarw**, **-tarw**. **-thathu**, **-thatu**, **-thathu** is an aspirated form met with in Nos. 29 45 59 72 (**-tharu**), and 73 74 75 b (**-tsatfu**, **-tat'u**); **-latu** is met with in 33 74 b (**-lalw**) and 74 c 148 (**-letu**, **-ratu**), 184 (**-reru**, **-irerw**), 187 190 195 (**-lalw**), 198 206 209 211 222, &c. The root is nasalized in the **-tantu** of 112 a, and **-natu** occurs in 21 b-d 34 63 190 64 71 f (**-naru**), 224 (**-natw**), and 244 (**-nān**).

Owing to the duplicated form of 'three' which stands for 'six' in so many East and West Central African Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages being seemingly based on an **-ntatu-ntatu** origin, some students of Bantu have thought that in the most archaic form of the root there must have been an initial *n*—**-nta** or **-ntatu**—which has persisted in modern forms like **-natu**.

Cases where the vowels of the original root have undergone marked change are seen in the **-tutu** met with (as well as **-tatu**) in No. 15, **-tutu** 119 177, **-tala** in 121, **-telu** 117, **-teru** in 175, **-tiru** 176 178, **-tetu** 179 180, **-reru**, **-ererw** 184, **-lali**, **-rale** in 186, **-tadi** 188, **-tsearu**, **-jearu** 192, **-tasi**, **-tati**, **-taj'** 194, **-lali** 200, **-lale** 201 220 a, **-lali** 221 225, **-ata** 223, **-tet** 230, **-le** 214 220 237, **-jiat**, **-ciat** 229 (cf. with the **-tsearu** and the **-jearu** of 192), **-tōri** 249, **-te** 257, **-tie** 258, **-tia** 239, **-tili**, **-tele**, **-cili** 240. Peculiar or specially interesting forms are the **-zatu** of 11, **-sasw** of 137 and 157, **-sas'** of 263, **-saji** 273, **Tat'** of 253, **-tata** of 259, **-daat** of 246, the **-ra** of 274, and the **-ra** of 261-2. **Ra** (which is only a variant of **Tat'**) is found in the basin of the Upper Gambia, and **-ra** in the South-east part of Sierra Leone. The isolated Nalu language (No. 266) has **-pat** for 'three'—perhaps an ancient derivation from **-tat**.

FOUR

The numeral 'four' in an overwhelming majority of Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages (and in some of the adjoining non-Bantu tongues in North Central Africa) is represented by a root which, stated in its simplest form, is **-ne** or **-na**. Frequent variants are **-nne**, **-ni**, **-nei**, **-nai**, **-ine**, **-ini**, **-ena**, **-eni**, **-nye**, **-nyi**, **-nya**. **-nya** passes in the West Congoland languages (100 100 b 101 116 182) into **-ya**, **-iya** (101 has also **-nya**). No. 103 has the form of **Iyene**, which is curiously similar to the **Iyen**, **Yin** of the Semi-Bantu language 253 (Járawa of East Nigeria). No. 141 of East Congoland has **-inya**. No. 120 has **Iniy'**, 253 also has the form **Nin**. 251 has **Njie**, and 249 **Nyi'**. 250 has **-ñgie**; 267, **-ñehi**, **-nihi**; 268, **-ne**, **-ni**, or **-mane**; and the Temne languages (263-5) have **-ñile**, **-ñere**, **-ñegele**. The **-nam** of 266 (Nalu) may be related to the **-ne**, **-na** root of Proto-Bantu.

Group HH has a form **-gena**, **-geni** (pluralized by the prefix **Ba-** to express the numeral 'eight'), which may be derived from a fusion of two separate roots, one of which was the original **-na**. This **-gena** may be akin also to the **-sina** of 150, **-zina** of 153, and the **-cene** of 32; or to the **-ngani**, **-ngena** in Nos. 151-3. Another series of variants adds a particle to the **-na** root and turns it into **-naye** (52), **-inaye** 107, **Iniy'** 120, **-nanji** 135, **-naci** 139, **-naya** 186, **-nezi** 166, **-niš'** 235, **-naši** 254 255, **-naye** 274. No. 242 adds the suffix **-bw** (**Nebw**). The root is sometimes duplicated—**-inine** (123), **-nyinu** (110), **-nanu** (212), **-anw** (apparently from **-nanw** 121), **-nem** (74 c), **-nem**, **-neñ** (134), **-nan**, **-nañ** (244 245). The **-nañka** of 106 and 108 may mean 'only four', that being the restrictive sense sometimes applied to an **-ñka** suffix, not infrequent in numerals and pronouns. Another cluster of peculiar developments of the

root **-na** takes the following forms: **-wana** 84 88 95 96 97 98 99 III-III4 119, **-vuane** 86, **-kwana** 92 93 94, **-gwana** 118, **-inwana** (also **-inana**) 88. By a very exceptional confusion between *m* and *n* the root for 'four' in No. 227 is **-me**. More frequently the *n* of the root passes into *l*, especially in the Fernandian language (226), so that **-ene** becomes **-ele** and **-le**; also in No. 228 and in 263-5 (**-ñle**, **-ñere**, **-ñgele**). The westernmost trace of the **-ne** root for 'four' is in Biafada (267) of Portuguese Guinea (**-nehī**).

Another root for 'four' seems to have arisen independently and can be traced from Eastern Nigeria to South-east Africa. This is the **-kes'**, **Kiṣ'** of 253, but which becomes **-cece**, **-xexe**, **-dzesi**, **-jese**, **-sesi**, &c., in Nos. 28 31 32 33¹ 34 35 37 54 55 56 56 a.

There is a very peculiar equivalent for 'four' in composite numerals in No. 157: **-melia**, which may be equivalent to **-me-nia**, or the **-lia** may be a further corruption of the **-lea**, **-leka** root in common use for 'four' in Nos. 157 158. In these two languages 'four' is also **Keleka**.

Another peculiar form is **-kwa**, **-ñkwa** of 230, **-kwa**, **Likwa**, **Gba**, **Kea** of 230 b-231, **Gbe**, **Kuē** of 232. These variants of **Kwa** recall the II Group of Ababua languages, which is linked together by a special root for 'four' or combination of roots. This is heard in its simplest form as **Kwañga** in 154, but more characteristically as **Ikwañgani** 151, **Ekwañgani** 151 a, **Ikuñgani** 151 b, **Kwañgane** 152, **Kweñgena** 152, **Kwañgenya** 153.

In languages 27, 30, and 31 a, 'four' is represented by **-dai**, **-tai**, **-tei**, which may possibly have some distant connexion with the **-daū** of 243 on the opposite side of the continent. The Pygmy languages of the Gaboon (No. 188) express 'four' (if they are rightly recorded, but very probably there was a misunderstanding) by **Koñgoli** and **Jimaboñg**—quite possibly idiotic mistakes of the interpreter. Although the Semi-Bantu languages 257, 258, and 274 of West Africa represent 'four' by the very Bantu-like roots of **-ne**, **-na**, and **-naŋe**, No. 273, the Dyōlā or Fulup, and the languages of Portuguese Guinea, 269, 270, 271, 272 have a root for 'four' which is not traceable elsewhere: **-bagr**, **-bakir**, **-baxed**, **-bare**, &c.

Bulom and Mampa (261, 262) have **-hyūl** or **-hiōl**.

FIVE

'Five' is ordinarily represented in the Bantu languages, and to some extent in the Semi-Bantu, by a root which can be traced back to an ultimate **-tanu**. As in the case of **-tatu** for 'three', there is an easy interchange between *t* and *s*, so that **-tanu** may become **-sanu**, **-tsanu**, **-sanu**, **-salu**, **-zanu**, **-dzanvu**, **-canu**, and **-canu**. **-canu** or **-sanu** changes characteristically into **Hlanu**, **-Xlan'**, **Xlanu**, **Ṣlanu**, **-tlanu**, **-tl'anu** in the South African Bantu (Groups R, S, and T).

The initial *t* also may readily pass into *r*, or the *s* into *h*, so that in a number of languages 'five' is **-ranu**, **-hanu**, and **-anu**; or if *t* has been palatalized into *ty* and *c* it may further pass into *j* (**Jen** in 256 as well as **Tin**). *T* may also be nasalized as **-nt** (**-nten** and **-ncen** in 244 a), or from *r* pass to *l* (**-lanu** 121, **-lān** 234), and *l* into *n* (**-neñ**, **-nañ** 244; **-nyan**, **-nyene** 269-72).

The first vowel of the root (*a*) weakens sometimes into *e* (**-tenu** 104 a, **-ten** 220, **-tien** 121, **-tian**, **-tia** 172, **-ted**, **-tie** 228, **-teu** 240, **-te** 234, **-tie** 230, **-tiün** 245, **-tene** 240 a, **Tin**, **Jen** 256); or the *a* changes to *o*, *ō*, or *u*, **-tu**, **-tu** 226, **-ron**, **-run**, **-don** 227 228 a 244, **-toñ** 250, **-tsoñ** 251, **-tuen** 249, **Ton**, **Tōni**, **Tōnan** 253, **-loñ** 244 257, **-no** 245 258. The first vowel is dropped in the **Tna** of 254.

The terminal vowel **-o** or **-u** changes in a few languages into **-a** (**-tana**) 217 255 256; into **-e** (**-tane**) 103 a 152 240 (**-tene**); or into **-i** (**-tani**) 179, **-tyani** 193, **-tai** 187.

The root is shortened to **-tan** in 129 a, into **-ta**, **-tai** in 187, **-nte** in 214, **-te** 234, **-tie** 230, **-teu** 240 a, **Ta**, **Taa** (besides **Tana**) 255, **-tu**, **-iti** 259.

It should be noted that the otherwise aberrant, mysterious Bati language (No. 216) has the normal **-tanu** for 'five'. The rendering of 'five' in the Temne languages (263-5) is not easily connected with the **-tanu** root. 263 has **-a-mat**, **-tamat**, and **-tōmat**; 264 and 265 have **-tsamat**; which forms might be traced back to a **-tsanu** root with the word **-mot**, **-mat** = 'one' added, i.e. 'fist-one', 'one hand'.

¹ 33 a reverts to the orthodox **-nne**, and 32, as already mentioned, has also the form **-cene**.

Landoma (265) actually has **-tsan-** for 'five' in composition. The equivalent for 'five' in the Fulup languages 273-273 b is **-tōk**, **-tōx**, **-tak**, **-tog-en**; and connected with this may be the **Jeg** of 223 a.

'Five' in the Irañgi language (26) is the inexplicable **Salia**. In composition, in Group II, it appears to derive from a form **-ada**,¹ which in its application to 'six', 'seven', &c., may become **Madia**. In composition it is **Menji** in the Pygmy language, 188, a form which may be connected with the form **-men**, **-man** of Bulom and Mampa (261-2). It is also represented in 188 by the term **Moñgō-bi**, which may, perhaps, be translated 'one hand'. The same group of Pygmy dialects also renders 'five' by **Jiō**.

Another direct reference to 'hand', as a root equivalent to the numeral 'five', is in the **-bōkwō** (Kw-**bōkwō** of 141 146 148, **-buku** of 153, Ku-bok of 239, **-ubok**, **-ubōō** 241, and the **-ōwa**, **-ōbwō** of 240. A shortened form of this root is met with in **Bu-muti** (**-muti** stands for 'one'), in the **Bu-mudi** of 151, **Bw-mutu**, **Ñbōmōti** of 151 a-b, **Ūbō-mōti**, **-bumōti** of 152 154, **Bumuti** of 153, and **Bw-omwi** of 155. Further changed by substitution of *h* for *b*, this becomes **Hw-mō**, **Huō-moi** in 157, **Hw-mwe**, **Hw-mō** 137, **Hōmō** 158. It is very interesting to note that in the stranded **Hōma** and **Bañgminda** languages (151 a-b) in the Bahr-al-Ghazal, 'five' is **Ibō-mōtō**, **Bw-mutu**, **Ñbō-mōti** ('one fist'), which is very close to the forms adopted in the other Ababua languages. The **Vue** of 223 a and 224 may be related to this **-bōkwō** root, but it is more probably borrowed from a neighbouring Sudanic language. Another 'five' root traceable to words indicating 'hand' or 'fingers' is the **-bida**, **-beda** of 267-8, **-bit**, **-bidi** 274, **-pi** of 153, and the **-bi** of 188.

'Five' in composition is **-balō** in 157; this may be related to the **-bara**, **-wara** of 241. In the **Babira** or **Bakumu** language (150) 'five' is **Mambunja**; in composition it is **Siñga** in 224.

A lengthy paraphrase represents 'five' in two **Secuana** dialects: **Keta-li-zōhwō** (= 'finishes-the-hand') in 74 b and **Likita-li-zō** (meaning the same) in 74 c. In No. 5 there is **Zimane-anza**, meaning very much the same. I cannot explain, except that the second word means 'hand', the **Mawa-rianja** of 81. In Nos. 31 a and 49 the term for 'five' (originating in some roundabout simile), is **Fundō** (31 a), **-fundisire** (49), which is no doubt connected with the **-fundika**, **-funduka**, **-hundu**, used for 'ten' in Nos. 26 27 30 31 a and 36. In Nos. 52 and 53 of North-west Nyasaland 'five' is **Ñkonde**, **Konde**; in Nos. 66 69 and 70 'five' is **-bande** or **-handi** (Hu-bande, Lu-bande, &c.).

The **Tedū** of **Nalu** (266), that very peculiar Semi-Bantu language of Southern Portuguese Guinea, has no very definite relationships. The root may be **Te-** (**-dū** may mean 'one', 'five-one'), since **Te-bele** = 'ten', or 'five-twice'.

SIX

'Six' is a very interesting numeral in the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages because of the widespread affinities its rendering sometimes evidences, so that there may quite possibly have been special terms for 'six' in the parent Bantu tongue which have been inherited by many of its descendants. There are considerable numbers of Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages which, in addition to definite roots for 'one', 'two', 'three', 'four', 'five', and 'ten', have others indicating 'six', 'seven', 'eight', and 'nine'. But again there is also a considerable proportion of these languages which represents 'six', 'seven', 'eight', and 'nine' by a clearly stated 'five-and-one', 'five-and-two', 'five-and-three', 'five-and-four'. And even when we seem to have come upon an archaic root for 'six' we find it after all to be only a combination of 'five-and-one', but are temporarily misled by the fact that the root which stands for 'five' is wholly different to that which is employed when 'five' alone is indicated (or in 'fifteen', 'twenty-five', and 'fifty'). Thus, for example, there is a widespread root which enters into the composition of 'six' and 'seven' and is traceable back to **-sambō** or **-samba**. If in expressing 'six' this root invariably stood alone, one would take it to have been an original conception of 'six', as 'six units'. But it is so often accompanied by the additional 'one' that the student may be inclined to take **-sambō** or **-samba** to

¹ **-ada** suggests some resemblance to the **Atena** which stands for 'five' in 242 (in composition). On the other hand, it is still more suggestive of the **-aza** meaning 'one' in 238. **Tedū** in **Nalu** (266) may also be related.

have meant originally 'five' or 'hand',¹ and the fullest form of its modern representatives (**Hambw-umwe** in No. 89) to represent 'five' and 'one'. But this root for 'one' may also indicate 'first', and the combination **Sambw-mw**, **Ombw-mwe** (83) may merely mean the 'first six'; while **Sambw-mbali**, which in varying forms stands in so many West African Bantu languages for 'seven' may mean the 'second six', quite as much as 'five and two'. Then, again, some forms for 'six' are: **Samba-nw**, **Samba-nu** (**Hama-nw**, **Xama-nw**, **Sama-na**, **Esam-en**, **Sambw-mbw**, **-sembw-mbw**, **Samba-ñw**, **Samba-n'**, **Siamo-n**, contracted further into **Senu- 117**, **Siana 177**, **Şienw 178**, **Şamw 120**, **Semun 120 a**, **Seme-le**, **Sama-lu 125 129 130 131**, **Samba-lu 131**, **Sama-rw**, **Uşama-lw 135**, &c.), in which the last syllable is almost certainly the **-nw**, **-nu** locative meaning 'this here'; so that if **Samba-** originally meant 'hand' or 'fist', when the Negro enumerator had counted up to 'five' with the right hand he would pass to the left and call 'six'; 'this hand'. Perhaps by elision of the locative, **Samba-nw-mwe**, 'this hand one', would be reduced to 'hand one' (**Sambw-mwe**). In a few Bantu languages the rendering of 'six' has simply been reduced to the root which can be traced back to **Samba-**, **Sambw-**, but this reduction, curiously enough, occurs more often with 'seven' than with 'six'. The following languages express 'six' by some rendering of **Sambw-**, **Samba-**, with or without suffixes indicating 'this' or 'one'. (I cite in brackets the exceptional forms, but do not repeat the more normal already quoted):

78 (**Sambō-mwi**), 83 86 88 89 90 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 103 a 104 104 a 105 (**Samba**), 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 114 116 117 (**Senu**), 118 120 (**Şamw**), 120 a (**Semun**), 120 b 123 124 (**Seme-le**, as well as **Sambanu**), 125 (**Sama-lu**, &c.), 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 134 137 139 (**Cambō-mbw**), 152 158 159 160 161 161 a 168 172 (**Sambw**), 175 (**Syem-enw**), 176 (**Şiem**), 177 (**Siana**), 178 (**Şienw**), 179 (**Semini**), 180 (**Jam**), 181 184 (**Kambw**, **Samanw**, &c.), 188 (**Samuna**), 189 190 201 202 (**Zam'**), 203 207 (**Bi-sana**), 211 212 217 (**Samena**), 218 (**Sam**), 219 (**Saman**), 223 (**-amane**).

A puzzling form, **Sasaba**, **Sesaba**, **-sansaba**, is found in languages 5 a 6 7 a and 8. It may be related to an obvious doubling of 'three' met with in the Cameroons-Cross River Groups of Semi-Bantu, or it may be connected with this root **Samba-**, or again it may be 'three' (**-satw**) abbreviated, doubled, and accompanied by **-ba** (for **-bali**), meaning 'twice'.

The **Esaesa**, **-saksaka**, **-sakesa**, **-sakansa** of 227; the **Kasa-asa** of 244, and the **Asa-asa**, **-sayabesa** of 228, would seem to be derived from the duplicated **-satw** (with its variant, **-sakw**) root for 'three'. It is just possible that the **-latw** (**Ba-latw**) of No. 216 may also be a pluralized 'three'; so also the **Nya-jiat** of 229 and the **Enyintae** of 249; and again, the **Diata** of 188.

This, however, may be connected with the peculiar **Madia**, &c., of 148, **Madianika** 148 a, **Madie** 146, **Madya-a-mwoti** of 153. But these last forms bring us up against a puzzle already alluded to under 'five'. 'Six' is represented in Groups HH and II either by **Madia** alone or with some suffix, or with the numeral 'one'; but also in Group II by the combination **Adansw-mwoti** (in varying forms and abbreviations).

The question that arises for our consideration, especially in regard to the last, is in which of the first or second roots we find the equivalent of 'five'. Is it in **-ada-** or in **-adansw** (**-mwoti** = 'one')? The syllable **-nsw-** becomes in others of the Ababua languages **-isu-**, **-nsi-**, **-misi-**. In the Bahr-al-Ghazal subgroup of Ababua tongues (151 a 151 b) 'six' (as well as 'seven', 'eight', and 'nine') is formed by adding to 'five' in 151 a, **nagesa**, **yemut** (yemut = 'one'): **bwmutu nagesa yemut**. And in 151 b, **-akidi** or **-akira** is the copula—**Ñbwmwoti-akidi mwoti** = 'six'.

A more obvious duplication of 'three' to form the numeral 'six' is seen in a widespread form **-tandatu**, chiefly met with in the East African Bantu, but also recurring (as **-sasalu**) in No. 152 of Group II, and in the Semi-Bantu of the Cameroons-Cross River (234 235). In the East African Bantu it is met with as **-tandatu**, **-bantatu**, **-handahu**, **-zandatu**, **-randadu**, **-tandarw**, **-thatarw**, **-sansatu**, **-sasatu**, **-sasatw**, **-şesatu**: being, however, occasionally abbreviated to **Ndatu**, **Tanda**, **-lintanda**, **Sati** (9 b 9 c).

In the interesting Ababua language, No. 152, it is **Sasalu**, obviously related to the **-sasatu** of 26, the

¹ In Nos. 153 155 188 6 130 161 251 'hand' is actually represented by **Kamba**, **Samba**, **-emba**, **-amberi**, **-tambe**, **Damba**, **-tsam**, &c.

-sasatw of 11, and the **-sesatu** of No. 3. No. 42 has the peculiar paraphrase **Vili-mw-tanda**. The following languages of East and South Africa participate in employing this **-tandatu** form for 'six' under the varying types to be met with in the vocabularies: Nos. 1 3 3 b 9 b 9 c 10 11 12 13 14 15 17 18 19 a 20 20 d 21 21 f 22 23 a 24 24 c-g 25 27 29 30 31 31 a 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 43 a 44 (Old language), 44 b 45 (S.), 48 51 58 58 a 59 60 61 b 63 64 64 a 65 65 a 66 68 69 73 74 75 75 c.

But we meet with an interesting recurrence of the use of this duplicated 'three' in the following Semi-Bantu languages: **-tanda**, **-tandat** 234; **-lendarw**, **-landarw** 235; **-taratar** 248, **-ra-ra** (**Be-ra-be-ra**) 228 228 a. In the very peculiar Buñga dialect of East Africa, 31 a, the **-tandatu** root for 'six' is reduced to **Mtā**. It seems almost certain that all these forms were derived from an original duplication of **-tatu**, but the medial *n* is a little difficult to account for, unless we assume that the old root for 'three' was nasalized for greater definiteness and turned into **-ntatu**, **-ndatu**. In that case an original **-ndatundatu** would give us easily all the modern forms by derivation; and similarly the **-sansatu**, **-sasalu** might be derived from **-sato-sato** or **-nsato-nsato**.

'Six' is represented in Nos. 136 155 by **Li-ambi**, and in 137 by **Li-ame**, a root which seems to be related to the **-ambi** so often used in Congoland and Cameroons languages for 'eight'.

Other words for 'six' which are compounded of added numerals are the **Bi-nin** ('two plus four') 119, (**Be-nai**) ('two plus four') 183. Perhaps the same may have been the meaning of **Nka-ine** of 268. The **Aza-dani** or **Nja-dene** of 242 stands for 'one plus five', and in the same language or group of dialects **Ate-wōñw** stands for 'five plus one'. **Wbarw-gon** of 241 is 'five plus one'. So also the **Mbalw-mōi** of 157. The **Bw-rani** of 239 and the **-ti-tan** of 238 stands for 'one plus five'. The **Wlumbw-melia** of No. 157 means 'ten (less) four'. In No. 153 'six' is represented by **Ijju**, which is said to mean merely 'one', namely, 'one after five'. In No. 69 'six' is **Ni-ji-mwe**, which means 'and one'; and this, perhaps, is the meaning of **Ma-mu-mwe** of 66 and 68. The nondescript No. 67, which seems like a degraded Zulu dialect in Portuguese South-east Africa, represents 'six' by a curious paraphrase, **Sanw-wa-muntu-munye**, which means literally 'five of man one'.

Another group of roots for 'six' is connected more or less obviously with the word 'thumb'; because in counting, after exhausting the five fingers of the right hand, the calculator would begin with the thumb of the left hand. Thus we have **-tave** meaning 'thumb' as a root for 'six' in No. 73, and **-tupa** ('thumb') in 75 a, **-tfupa** 75 b, **Rōba** 74, **Tōba** ('six' in composition) 75. Obviously connected with this South African 'thumb' root for 'six' is the widespread **Tōba**, **Tōbō**, **Tuba**, **Rōba**, &c., of Congoland, the Cameroons, and the adjoining Semi-Bantu. This root is used for 'six' by Nos. 44 (**Tuwa**), 133 135 139 140 141 142 143 144 149 150 151 162 164 166 170 183 187 191 (**Rua**, **Rōba**), 192 193 195 196 198 199 200 204 205 206 210 211 212 (**-itū**), 213 (**-tob**, **-tw**, &c.), 214 215 220 230-1 (**-tōwō**, **-tuyū**, **-tuhū**, **-ntōwa**, **-tōkw**, &c.), 232 (**-ntuñfu**).

The root **-kwob** in No. 121 remains without affinity or explanation.

I can find no definite meaning for the **-kaga** so characteristic of the Nyanza and adjoining groups of East African Bantu. Apparently this is met with in its fullest form in **Kawaga** (Nos. 9 b and 46). It is **-kaga** or **-kage**, usually with the prefix **Mu-** preceding it, in Nos. 1 2 2 a-g 3 b 4 5 b 6 a 9 a 9 c 45 48; and also in Nos. 145 and 147, which have probably borrowed it from the neighbouring Nyanza tongues. It is just possible that to this may be allied the **-raqa** of No. 81, and even the **-aḥah**, **-aḥa**, **-Daḥah**, **Raḥa**, **Naḥa** of the Fernandian dialects—226-226 a-b.

The following isolated roots also stand for 'six': **-paji** and **-paji** 267 269-72; **Tselela** 73 a 74; **-solu**, **-sōrw** 237, **Hōlw**, **Glw** 259, **-ku**, **-kuo** 258, **-kwōle** (**Kw-kwōle**) 78 a; **-pandu** 86 92 92 b 94 94 b.

The Arabic **Sita** is used for 'six' to the complete displacement of any other word in Nos. 21 21 a-e and 23.

SEVEN

The preponderating root for 'seven' in use amongst the Bantu languages is some form related to **-samba** or **-sambw** without any qualifying second word-root; though it is obvious that **Sambw** was originally applied to either 'five' or 'six', and that its use for 'seven' has been a secondary one, and originally necessitated some explanatory term in addition. The most common form of this was **Sambw-m-bali**, which we may presume either meant 'five and two' or the 'second hand' or 'second six'. The fullest form of this paraphrase is met with in No. 89 (**Hambw-m-bari**), which comes, of course, from an older **Sambw-m-bali**. In other renderings the initial *b* of **-bali** drops out and the first vowel of the **-bali** root may even be weakened to *e* or lost. Thus we have **Samb'ari** in No. 86, **Cimbi-adi** in No. 88, **Sambw-ade** in 95, **Sambu-ari** in 98, **Sambw-eli** in 118, **Sambele** in 131, **Ūsam-ede**, as well as **Sambw-ali**, in 137, **Mw-comw-endi** in 141, **Hembwedi** in 195.

In those languages which prefer the Eastern root for 'two' (**-bili**), we have **Samba-vidi** 105, **Mu-sambw-bili** 106, **Sambw-ka-bidi**, **Sambi-bidi**, as in 108 and 109, or **Cambw-biri** in 139. Considerable abbreviations occur such as **-he**, **-ali** in No. 90, **-sale**, **-san'** in 120, **-tsam-wan** 121, **Sambwodi** in 123, **Sambol'** in 125, **Nšima** 188, **-šimma**, **-semma** 228, **-tsema** 119, **-tseme** 116, **Tsam'** 180, **-lama** 252.¹ There are also the eccentric forms of **Nzomu** (168), **Assau** (172), **Ndzami** (179), **Tsiambany'** 213, **Zaŋgba** 217, **Šiampfa**, **Šiamba** 214, **Sambok** 203.

In No. 4 (Luganda) 'seven' is simply represented by the word **-samba**. In Nos. 1 2 2 a-g 3 b, the labial consonant, as in so many other words, is replaced by *s*, *z*, or *j*. Thus in No. 1 'seven' is **-sanzu**, in all the Nyōrō dialects it is **-sanju**, **-sanzu**, **-sansu**, or **-šanju**, **-šanyu**; except that in No. 2 g it is also **-samvw**. In 3 b it is **-samvw** as well as **-sanzu**. In 5 6 and 6 a it is **-safu** as well as **-samvu**. In 9 a-c it is **-sanvw** or **-sanvu**. After 46, a language of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Plateau, one does not meet with it again southward until the regions of North-west Zambezia, Damaraland, and Angōla are reached, when it recurs in the fuller form as **-sambari**, **-sambu-adi**, **Hambw-m-bari**. Here is a summary of the distribution of this **Sambw** root for 'seven': Nos. 1 2-2 g 3 b 4 5 5 b 6 6 a 9 a-c 40 46 86 88 90 95 to 103 105-112 114 116 117 (**Samu**), to 121 123 to 127 129 to 134 136 to 139 141 143 144 145 147 (**Mu-sanjw**), 150 (**Sambu**), 151 152 155 158 159 160 161 162 164 166 168 170 172 175 176 to 181 183 184 187-189 190 195 198 to 207 210 to 215 217 to 219 228 230 232 233 236. In one of the Pygmy dialects of the Gaboon (188) 'seven' is **Mi-samu-nw**, a type of root elsewhere usually applied to 'six'. No. 184, which has **Kambw** for 'six' (as an alternative root to **Sama-nw** and **Syamanu**), represents 'seven' by **Kambw-mwze**, which may very likely stand for 'six and one'.

Diambe stands for 'seven' in 137 and may be a misuse of the **-ambi** term for 'eight', or may be a variant of **-sambw**.

The next most frequent root for 'seven' is the East African **-puŋgati**. This begins as far north as Nos. 7 a and 8 (**-huŋgati**), and is continued as **-puŋgati**, **-fuŋgati**, **-fuŋgahe**, **-fuŋgade**, **-fuŋgata**, **-fuŋgare**, **-fukare**, **-kare** (22), **-fuŋga** (48), and **-fu** (31 a) southward and eastward, and is thus represented in languages (additional to 7 a) Nos. 9 9 b-c 10 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 19 a 20 21 21 f 22 23 to 27 30 31 31 a 44 (old), 45 (N.), and 48.

In No. 3 'seven' is **Lindwi**, **-ndwi**; **Ndui** in 3 b and No. 39.

Dzimbi, **Tirimbi**, **Tsimpi** in No. 61 b.

-nomwe in 58 58 a 59 64 64 a (and **-nōme**), **-nōme** in 65 65 a, **-noŋgwe** in 63, **-nomwe** 66 and 68, and **Nōnye** in 75 c.

-lōba in 41, **-lōwa** in 40 44 b, **Ci-lōba** in 78, **Ki-lōwa** in 106; **Mu-tōba-na-bōkw** (six and one') in 196, **Orwa-genon** ('six and one') 191, **Ora-genon**, **Orw-wanw**, **Orw-rum** in 192, **Orō-genu** in 193. In No. 216 it is also rendered by 'six and one' (**Ba-latw-ōmōsi**). In 188 it is **Menje-iba**, presumably 'five and two'. In Nos. 148 148 a it is some paraphrase commencing with **Mada-neka**, **Madya-nika**, **Madi'**, **Mada-neka**. In 153 it is **Madi-a-mbali**, which may mean 'five plus two' or the 'second six'.

¹ This is the term in Burum (252) in S.W. Bauci. But it may be traceable to other affinities than **Sambw**.

In No. 36 it is **Heneka-muhana**, and in 37 **Tu-li-mhanω**, in which the last word-root probably stands for 'five'. In No. 11 it is **Guanja**. In No. 12, **Anza, Onza**. No. 128 uses for 'seven' **Mwanda**, that maid-of-all-work amongst numerals over 'five'; in 104 it is **Mwanda-mutekete** or the 'little **Mwanda**'. In 106 it is **Habulwa-mwanda**, and in 104 or 104 b the inexplicable **Mwakunyi**. No. 146 applies to 'seven' a vague numeric term **Lalωdu** or **Laludu**, borrowed from an adjoining Sudanic language. No. 157 expresses it by **Mbaitω-hele**, 'five and two'. Nos. 151 152 and 154 by the combination **Adesu-mabili, Adansω-bali, Ada-misi-mibale**, probably once again 'five and two'. Nos. 43 and 43 a have a curious paraphrase: **Kine-ruwari, Kini-mbali**: no doubt with a back reference to 'five', since the second word means 'two', and **Kine, Kini** may represent the link between 'five' and 'two'. The same may be the explanation of **Pandu-viri** (-viri = 'two') in Nos. 86 92 and 94. In No. 157 'seven' has the clumsy paraphrase **Olumbω-isasω**, 'ten (less) three'; and likewise in 104 a 'seven' is '**Kōkwi-setω**, 'ten (less) three'. In No. 38 it is rendered by **Lekela-ku-pamatω**. -pamatω means 'one', -ku- means 'to' (preposition), but I cannot explain the rest of the paraphrase. 'Seven' in 149 is **Ki-ta-nai**, which may stand for '(three) plus four'. In No. 75 a it is represented by -kombisa or -kombile as well as by **Iñkōta**. The first two terms are said to mean 'pointing with the index finger', the thumb of the left hand being taken up for 'six'. I can find no explanation for the **Iñkōta** (Zulu); or for the **Tuñgula** of No. 72, and the far-away and perhaps related **Tukōle** of 78 a. No. 74 has an equally inexplicable term **Supa**, and No. 75 (the Kafir dialects) indicates 'seven' by -peñpe, **pabela**, and **Iñpomba**.

In No. 75 b (Swazi), it is **Li-sontfω** or **I-sondω**, one of the many isolated terms for this numeral. In Nos. 183 and 187 it is **Napω**. In No. 257 the term **Mate** suggests some possible connexion with the **Madi, Madia** or **Ada** of Group II ('seven' is **Madi-ambali** in No. 153).

Lastly, the Arabic **Saba** represents 'seven' in Nos. 21 to 21 e and 23.

EIGHT

'Eight' is usually conceived of in the Bantu, and even the Semi-Bantu languages, as being 'twice four', so that the commonest term for it harks back to a duplication of the 'four' root and is -nane (as in No. 1), -nana, -nani, -nyanya, -neni, -nene, -nan'. The following languages make use of this rendering for 'eight': Nos. 1 2 to 2 g 3 to 27 29 to 31 a 36 38 39 43 to 46 48 86 a 92 92 a 94 100 to 103 a 116 118 to 137 141 145 147 148 150 152 155 159 160 172 182 183 187 191 to 193 226 229 232 234 236 and 237 b-d. The most eccentric forms of this root are: **Ei-kinana** 94 b, **Innan'** (126), **Ba-gi-na** of 148, **Dyi-na** (? from **Gi-na**) 148 a, **Etela** (from **Enena**) 226, **Mani** 226, **Mane** 257, -nyenen 234, **Hnane** 16, -neñane 228, **Nyinyi** 248, and **Ōne** 258. It should be observed that in the Semi-Bantu languages Nos. 228 a 237 238 239, 'eight' is expressed by -nene, -nana, as in so many of the Bantu languages. In Nos. 86 88 95 to 99 111 112 and 114, 'eight' is expressed by -nake, -naka, in No. 122 by -nage. In 97 by **Nañki** as well as -nake. In No. 216 it is the inexplicable **Beleman**.

A fairly common root for 'eight' is **Ambi** (Mw-ambi). This is sometimes varied as **Gwambi** (Lω-gwambi), or is shortened to -am, -om, -ami (Wω-ami) 232, -lombi 199 200 204 205 211 (**Lombe**), **Lu-em, Gu-em** (203). Participants in this **Amba** root are Nos. 133 151 159 161 162 164 166 168 170 183 195 198 199 200 203 204 205 206 207 211 212 213 214 215 217 218 219 232. In the **Teke** and the **Kwañgō-Kasai** Groups, and thence northward into the **Gaboon**, 'eight' is represented by -phuωmω (117), **Mpwōmω** 175, **Mpwōmω** 176, **Mpwōmω** 177-8, **Pwamω** 179, **Pwamω** 180, **Pwombω** 183, **Pumbω, Pombω** 189 190. This is probably related to the **Fōmω, Hom, Fo, Fa, -fum, -fōmi, -fam, -fama** of 230-1. In South-east Africa we have the unexplained -sere 58 58 a, **Seri, Sere** 59 63, **Tsere, -serē, -zere** 64, **Sere, Zere** 64 a, **Sere** 65 65 a 66 68, and -sele 78. Seeing the frequency with which s permutes with f, this -sere root may be allied with the paraphrase **Vω-fera-menω-e-meveli** of 73, and the **Fera-ele-mebeli** of 74, both possibly meaning 'two off ten'. There is also the unexplained solitary word **Dwera, Dwere** in No. 61 b. Amongst isolated, unconstrued terms may be cited the following: **Kisen, Kesnīn** of 253 (which may be a duplication of 'four' in two roots); the very diversely used **Mwanda** (perhaps in its fullest form represented in 139, **Muhanda**), which is employed for 'eight' in Nos. 40 41 105 106 108 109 139; -asi (**Lwasi**; pl. n-dwasi) stands for 'eighty' in No. 166 and may be related

to the *Āsē*, *Wase*, *Kuās* for 'eight' in Nos. 260 267 and 269. 'Eight' is *-eñge* (*Mw-eñge*) in No. 143. In No. 152 it is *Nkwañgane*, which is also the root for 'four'. In 149 it is *Kibbe*. In 196, *Ebuwa*. In 259, *Gōwa*. In 146, *Lalω* (probably related to the vague numeral *Lalωdu*, which is sometimes used for 'seven'). In Nos. 75 and 75 b 'eight' is *Pwhloñgω* and also *-bωpω* or *-b'ωzω*. It is, of course, frequently represented (like 'six', 'seven', and 'nine') by overt additions to the numeral 'five'—'five-and-three'. No. 67 expresses 'eight' by *Sanω-na-antω-atatω*, which, if correctly rendered, would mean 'five, and three men'. Other paraphrases go back to the *Sambω*-root, as *Hambω-ndatu* of 89, *He-latu* (or *He-tatu*) 90, *Kambω-bei* of 184, and *Nzom-bale* of 168. In No. 157 'eight' is *Ωlimbω* (or *Ωlumbω*) *-ñga-hwele* (or *-iele*), which apparently means 'ten less two'. In No. 74 it is *Rōba-ele-mebeli*, 'six and two'. In No. 210 *Mω-tuwa-beke*, and in *Kafir* (75) *Tōba-bini*: both of which mean 'six and two', as possibly does *Tōkōtω-biri* of 140. In No. 188 it is *Kōku-nje-ba*, which, like the *Kōkwi-bidi* of 104 a, means apparently 'ten (less) two'. In No. 42 it is *Kine-konse-konse*, which I cannot explain, except that *-onse* means 'all'. In No. 36 the phrase *Heneka-kōha* likewise awaits translation. In Group II, *Ada-nsω-salu* (152), *Ade-su-misatω* (151), *Ada-misi-mi-salu* (154), and *Madi-amşalu* (153), probably all mean 'five-and-three'. In No. 244 'eight' is *Cañga-cañga*.

NINE

The most widespread root for 'nine' can be traced back to a form like *-fuka* or *-buka*. It is met with most fully expressed in Nos. 78 (*I-fuka*), 183 and 187 (*Buka*), 205 (*Li-buka*), and 213 (*Di-buk*). More commonly, however, it is reduced to *-vua*, *-vū*, *-uwa*, *-bwa*, *-bue*, *-bω*, *-ibu*, *-mbia*, or even *-ā* (*Eci-a*, *Eci-eha*, *Ei-kia*, Nos. 94 94 b), or *-ph*' (*Di-ph*') No. 126. More eccentric forms are *-bul* 218 219, *-vō;ω*, *Be*, *Bemi*, *fi*, *Ve*, *Bō*, *Pfωω* 230-230 j, *Tu-mbia* 143. The following languages use some form of this *-fuka*, *-buka* root: 78 86 88 92 94 to 98 103 a 110 111 112 114 116 to 127 129 to 134 136 137 141 143 150 151 152 155 158 to 166 168 170 172 175 to 181 183 187 189 190 195 196 198 199 200 to 207 210 to 215 217 218 219 230-230 j 232 235. No. 231 has the unassignable form, *Tsiañuω*. The *-muviu* of No. 89 is not easily traced to any connexion with the *-buka* root; nor is either the *-subi* of 145, *Subia*, *Sōbyā* of 146 or the *Sipō*, *-jibω*, *Şibω* of 230 c-230 i.

In East Africa the common root for 'nine' is *-enda*, which may be varied as *-kenda*, *Şenda*, *Xenda*, *Nşinda*, *Inda*, *Cenda*, *Endai* (2 g), *Ende*, *Anda* (which rather approximates it to the *Mwanda* root), and *-ēda*. It is in use amongst the following languages: 1 2 to 2 g 3 3 b 4 5 5 a 6 6 a 7 7 a 8 9 to 27 30 31 39 44 (Old) 45 (N.), 46 48 61 b 147. Possibly the *Tyindiye* of 91 a is an allied form. In South-east Africa the root for nine is sometimes *Femba*, *Pfemba* (58 58 a 59 64 65 65 a), or the allied *Fumba*, which, however, is generally followed by a numeral meaning 'one'—*Fumba-ñwe* 64, *Fuba-mwe* 63, *Fumba-mwe*, *Fumba-we* 64 a 66 68. In South-east Congoland and West Tanganyika the favourite term is *-tema* (*Ki-tema*, *Ci-tema*). This is found in Nos. 40 104 105 106 108 109 128 139 144. It may possibly have some connexion with the *A-jima* (or *A-sima*) *-wubω* of 228. Isolated terms for 'nine' not easily explained are the *Se-nyane* of 73, *Lu-erubω* of 267, *Ka-mpusyω* of 45, the *Fwanω* of 31 a, the *Gōyi* or *Gōi* of 90, the *Bati* of 83, the *-gonzi* or *-gonza* of 27, and the *Elalω* of 149. There is a curious correspondence between the *Ezita*, *Ehita* of 259, a language of South-west *Tōgōland*, and the *Eci-a*, *Eci-eha* of 94 in South-west Africa—doubtless only a coincidence. I can find no explanation for the *La-cwele* of 226, unless it should mean 'five and four'. The *Fundika-mu-hana* of 36 and the *-budika-ku-pamatω* of 38 are paraphrases related to the shortened *Fundi* of 41 and 43, *Fundi-lu-bali* of 42, and *Fundi-mbali* of 43 a. *Habula* in 40, *Pabula* in 42, and *Habulwa-li-kumi* in 106, are paraphrases indicating no doubt the numeral that precedes 'ten'. The *Ba-gina-mgōnω* of 148 means 'eight and one'. So also the *Vaga-mugōnω* of 148 a, the *Beleman-ōmōsi* of 216. The *Kambω-irerω* of 184 means 'six and three'. The *Ωlimbω* (or *Ωlumbω*) *-ñga-ōmōi* of 157 is 'ten less one'. Possibly the *Mōñka-nyōlō-nşuma* of 188 is 'one from ten'. In No. 191 'nine' is represented by *Enoñguma* or *Enω-gōmi*, which, together with the *Inωgōmi*, *Enω-hōmi*, and *Seni-hōmi* of 192, *Inω-gōmi* of 193, means 'one from ten'. In the *Ababua* Group (II) 'nine', like 'eight', 'seven', and 'six', is represented by a paraphrase with *Ada*- or *Madia*. In No. 73, 'nine' is *Vω-fera-mōnω-ōte*. And in 253 of Eastern Nigeria, *Xes-ton*, *Kes-toñan* obviously means 'four and five'.

TEN

The nearly universal root for 'ten' in the Bantu languages—one which penetrates slightly into the Semi-Bantu—is **-kumi**.¹ When this term has a prefix at all it almost invariably employs the 5th prefix, **Li-** (in the singular), the few exceptions being in favour of the 9th prefix or of the 'directive N'. It is necessary to mention this prefix **Li-** (pl. **Ma-**), because it is evidently of ancient application and sometimes fuses with the **-kumi** root by the elision of the *k*. It is possible, also, that the *k* of **-kumi** has permuted ever and again with a labial *v, b, w*; and that the resulting **-vum, -bum, -wum** really descend from the same origin and are *not* connected with the quite distinct roots for 'ten'—**-bw, -bu, -vu**, which are most probably derived from the **-bɔkwɔ** root for 'five' (**-bɔkwɔ** = 'hand', 'arm').

The **-kumi** root varies in sound as regards its initial consonant, according as *k* is palatalized, aspirated, or even labialized. Thus, from an original **-kumi, Li-kumi, Di-kumi**, have proceeded the following forms, occasionally implemented by a suffix: **-kyumi, -cumi, -cum', -jumi, -xumi, -kumi, -humi, -gumi, -ŋgumi, -kyumi, -khumi, -ɕome (73-4), -ɕumi (75-75 b), -humi, -fumi (72), -yumi (124), Dyum (125), -kfumi, -wɔmi, Wum (200); -ɕume, -sume (66), -ɕome; -sumu (74 b), -jɔmɔ (120), -gumu, -umu (136), -wɔmɔ, -ɔmi, -zumɔ, -zɔmu, Nzɔmɔ, Nyumu, -jɔmu; -jima, -ɕima, -ɕuma, -jema, Edjima; -kumbe (69), -sumu, -sumwe (74 c), Gumbɔ (230); Kɔ-kɔmi-ki 81; E-hɔmi-nɔ (192); Kwi 92, Kui 93, Kwi, Kwin 94, -kwiŋku 94 b, -kuiŋ 95, -kuyin 96, -kuhi, -kuinyi 97 99, -kuini 98, -kunyi 92 b 111, -kuini 112, -kuni 114, -kwim 121; Yuny' (126); Vundu (134); Wum (200), Vuum (133-4), Um- (136), -ū (Di-ū, Li-ū 137), Si-ō (244), Sō, Jɔ, Ju (238 240), U' (166), Jɔ (211), -ku, -kō, Nju-, Ndi-um (197), Dum (201), Lum (253), -wom, -vwom, -wuom (217), -ɣom (230), -on (Di-on, I-on—172 226).**

The languages that make use of this **-kumi** root in one form or another consist of Nos. 1 to 29 31 33 to 35 37 39 46 to 50 52 to 88 92 a 106 108 to 111 114 116 to 122 124 to 126 128 to 137 139 to 141 143 to 148 151 155 156 159 to 172 175 to 207 210 211 213 to 215 217 219 226 228 230 232 233 237 237 c 237 f 241 253 (**Lum**); **-bum** 194, **-bom** 184 198 200 212 213; **-ū** (Di-ū, Li-ū), 137 (and 244), 155 **-ɔ** (Si-ɔ) 244, **-ū** (Bi-ū) 234, **-ɔ** (Bi-ɔ, Mi-ɔ), **-eu, -emu** 226,² **-emi** 168 a.

Another root for 'ten' of apparent ancientness is **-kama**, which, however, as is the case with some other decimal roots, can also be applied with or without a different prefix to 'one hundred', and to 'twenty'. In the sense only of 'ten', **-kama** exists in Nos. 131 132 137 141, and as **-kam** in 220, **-kamɔ** 221, **-kamon** 224 225, **-kamu** 225 a, **-gam** 230, **-cam** 230 a, **-ja** 249. The reader is advised to consult the pages dealing with 'twenty' and 'one hundred' in a further search for the distribution of the **-kama** root.

In No. 164 'ten' is **-kaŋgu**, which may be related to a more common and widely spread root, **-saŋgi**, in 107 123 124 126 and 129. This becomes **-seŋ** in 104 a, **-seŋge** in 124, **-siŋgele, -seŋgi** 127, **-saka, -saki** 205, **-saki, -sai** 206, **-ɕa** 124 126 and **-sa** 123.

Another widely spread root for 'ten', more especially in East Africa, is **-loŋɔ, -roŋɔ**, which would seem to be derived from a similar root meaning 'twin', 'a pair', and referred to 'a pair of hands', 'five-and-five'. This is distributed as follows: **-roŋɔ** 3, **-loŋɔ** 3 b, **-roŋɔ** 6 a 7 7 a 11 12 13 14 (**-ruŋɔ, -oŋɔ, -loŋɔ, -yoŋɔ**), 19 19 a 20, **-oŋga** 21 21 b-d, **-eŋɔ, -oŋɔ, -iŋɔ** 22, **-loŋɔ** 23, **-roŋɔ** 26 28, **Noŋɔ, -loŋɔ** 32 35 a 39, **-roŋɔ, -loŋɔ** 51, **-loɔɔ** 56 56 a, **-lokw** 56 b; **-diŋgu** (E-diŋgu) 153; **Ndoŋ** 249.

¹ Elsewhere I have indicated the possibility that **-kumi** may be related to a root meaning 'all' ('all the fingers') or 'chief'.

² This **-ɔ, -eu, -emu** root for 'ten' in the Fernandian language (226) may be connected with the curious **Ō, Biewɔ, Bieyu, Eɔ** for 'fifteen' in the same language; but, on the other hand, the **-eu, -ɔ** root for 'ten' may be derived from **-kumi, -kumu** through a transposition of vowels and a dropping of *k* and *m*, while the 'fifteen' root **Eɔ** may come from a Semi-Bantu form for 'fifteen', **Deku-, Lekɔ-, Eku-, &c.** A remarkable parallel to the **-emu** for 'ten' is the **-emi** in the Tende dialect of Seŋgele (168 a) on the Congo, near Lake Ntomba.

Possibly *-rundu* of 6 6 a may be a mispronunciation of *-ruñgu* (see No. 14) related to the *-loñgwo* root.

-undaru, *-ndaru* 209, *-ndarwo* 208, *-ndalwo* 209.

-hundu 31 a; *-fundika* 26, *-funduka* 27, *-fundika* 30, *Fundika-kwoha* 36; *-vundu*, *-vundwo* 134; *-vu* (Le-vu) 257.

-kwa 166; *-kwwo* (Bi-kwwo) 151, *-kw* (Mkwwo) 150,¹ *Mukkwwo* 149 150, *-mwo* 188.

-kwo (in composition) 104 a, *Kwo* (in composition) 188.

Boku 150,² *Bokwo-bokwo* 148 a, *Ma-bokwo*, *Ma-gbokwo* 151 a, *Bwo* 151 b, *Bokwo* 157, *-bwo*, *Labwo*, 157, *Naabwo* 158, *Bwo* 166 168 195, *Ma-bwo* 152 153 154, *-puo*, *-pue*, *-puwe* 248, *-po* 151, *Pu* 263, *Bu* 195 254, *-vu* 257, *-vuwo* 230, *Wwo*, *-wwo* 228, *Pohwo* 267, *Papwo* 268, *-pohwo*, *Fuka* 274, *Pwa*, *Pa* 255, *-pwā* 254, *-bwo-fe* 222, *-bwo-pe*, *-bwo-pe* 223 224, *Piū-har*, *Yu-har*, *Bwo-hara*, *Jwo-har*, *Bi-hwar* 235; *Ōfo*, *Bōfo* 227 228 228 a, *-fwo* 258 260, *-ōfo* 259; *Ōfatr*, *Ōfats* 263-5.

-tsigwo 38, *-dzigwo* (meaning 'eleven') 36; *Digi* 148; *-tuku* 151 157 162, *-tugu* 164; *Tiag* 249; *Jwka* 224, *-jok* 242.

-twe 222, *Jop* 239 242 (also *-rop*, *-hop*, *-jok*), *Swbā* 241, *-sōva* (in composition) 240, *-cuup*, *-daap* 243, *Bu-njup* 246.

Duup 245.

Degbwo, *Ekwwo* 229.

-devulwo, *-levulwo* 38; *-vula*, *-vla* 257, *-vu* 257; *-vuwo* 230.

-bota 188, *Ba-bōt* 216; *-beti* (A-beti) 154; *-itu* (pl. B-etu) 137 148, *-etwo* 226.

-tete (Bwo-tete) 152 161, *-tade* 235, *-tet*, *-tat* 219 236 (pl. Me-tat).

-te-bele ('five-twice') 266.

-ñgulu 162; *-kur* 250, *-kuru* 252.³

-nyu, *-nywo* 226, *-nyu*, *-yu* (decades only) 166.

A-riyōr 251.

-nya, *-nyane*, *-nyan*, *-nyen* 269-72, *-ñen*, *-nyen* 273.

Wwañ, *-wañ*, *-wan* 261; *Bañkwwo* 273 (? related to *Kañgu* 164).

Mine, *Mene*, *Mini* (possibly meaning 'fingers') 148 206.

Li-cira 55 (see roots for 'twenty').

Tanutanu 33 a (meaning 'five and five').

In addition to the roots which are used for 'ten', or for 'ten' pluralized as 'twenty', I might add others which in a sense also refer to 'ten', but are used for the decades up to 'one hundred', either as special terms for 'twenty', 'thirty', 'fifty', 'eighty', 'one hundred', &c., or for all or some of the decades after 'ten'. Almost the entirety of the Bantu languages—I can only think of six Bantu exceptions—enumerate the decades by tens, 'twenty' being 'two-tens' (though 'twenty' not infrequently has a special word-root of its own); 'thirty', 'three-tens'; 'forty', 'four tens'; and so on. But amongst the Semi-Bantu and many of the Sudanic languages there is a great tendency to count by scores ('twenties'). The six Bantu languages above referred to, Nos. 145 205 206 208 209 and 226, resemble the Semi-Bantu in counting by scores; but the Semi-Bantu languages that adopt this practice seem to be limited to Groups A (S-B.), B, and C, and to consist of Nos. 227 228 229 234 235 244 and 248. The other Semi-Bantu languages seem to follow the normal Bantu practice of counting by decades.

¹ The *Mkwwo* and *Mukkwwo* here given may possibly be derived from a contraction of the *Mu-tuku* of 151 157, &c.

² This root is evidently derived from *-bokwo*, 'hand', and originally meant simply 'five'. It is sometimes pluralized by duplication, sometimes by a plural prefix or the numeral 'two' suffixed.

³ The *-kuru* root recurs in certain Central Nigerian languages such as *Barba* and *Bokwo*, which, indeed, have other root affinities with the Semi-Bantu.

ELEVEN

Occasionally there are special terms for 'eleven'. So far as my information goes they are the following:

Ki-dzigw 36 (in this language, the Paŋgwa of North-east Nyasaland, counting actually goes by elevens. **Ki-dzigw-kavili** = 'twenty-two', **Ki-dzigw-kadatu** = 'thirty-three'). Yet the root **-dzigw** is obviously the same as the **-tsigw**, which stands for 'ten' in No. 38. It may also be related to the **-digi** ('ten') of 148, **-tuku** or **-dugu** of the Ababua and Congo tongues, **-dikw** of 130, **-liku** of 175 ('eight'), and the **Tiag** of 249.

-mpambu 60 (this is probably an abbreviation of the **Kumi-pambu-mwɔzi**, 'ten increased by one' of 61 b).

Mkati-ci-mwɔza 53 (this is an abbreviation of **Kumi-mkati-mwɔzi** of 61 c).

Ntsere 230; **Baitwɔda** 148; **Dukena** 272; **Deku** 234. This last root is also given as the equivalent for 'fifteen', and there is considerable doubt about both applications, as there is about the **Nekw**, **Lekw** of 228, and **Ekū** of 228 a. These forms are likewise cited by some authors as the equivalent of 'eleven', and by others as answering to 'fifteen'. In any case they seem to be connected with the rather enigmatic roots for 'ten' already referred to, the **Dzigw** of 36, the **Tsigw** of 38, **Dikw** of 130, **Digi** 148, **Tuku** 151 157 162, **Tugu**¹ 164, **Liku** 175-8, and **Tiag** 249; perhaps, also, with the **Jwaka** of 224, and the **Jok** of 242.

TWELVE

No. 148 has a special term for 'twelve', **Ba-kumba**, using the **Ba-** prefix no doubt with the same unexplained idea as is indicated in that language's word for 'eight', **Ba-gina**, and 'eleven', **Ba-itwɔda**.

FIFTEEN

This is rendered in a few languages by some special form, not always at once resolvable into 'ten and five'. In the Fernandian dialects (226 to 226 b) the term for 'fifteen' is sometimes reduced to the vowel **Ū**, but its fuller forms are **-eww** and **-eyu**, together with the prefix **Bi-** (**Bi-eww**, &c.). The **-eww** or **-eyu** may be derived from the **Deku**, **Nekw**, **Lekw**, **Eku** of 228 228 a 234. In Fernandian, as in some of the Cross River Semi-Bantu, and also in **Hōma** of the Bahr-al-Ghazal, the 'teens between 'fifteen' and 'twenty' are formed by adding 'one', 'two', 'three', 'four' to 'fifteen'.

'Fifteen' is **Reya** in No. 226 b.

Buni 235, **Enyi** 229, **Bw-kurw** (? 'ten-big') 238, **Bu-tiŋken** 273.

Bū-ntūn 244.

Kwal 273.

Efut 245.

The **Mwkwɔwɔmōi** of 160 derives from a fuller form the **Bwkwɔwɔ-hwɔmōi** of 157, which is simply **Bw-kwɔwɔ**, 'five-big', (i.e. 'ten') + **-hwɔmōi** ('ten plus hand-one', i.e. 'five'). 'Fifteen' in No. 148 seems to be **Digi-bwkwɔ**, which is simply 'ten + five'. 'Fifteen' in No. 151 a is **Gerezakwɔwɔ**, which I cannot explain.

¹ With the **Tuku**, **Tugu** root in the Northern Congo tongues may be connected the **-fuku**, standing for 'tens' or 'decades' in No. 274, and the **-fuku** sometimes meaning 'fifty' and sometimes 'one million' in No. 100 (Kofŋo).

TWENTY AND OTHER DECADES

As already indicated, there may be two or more roots for 'ten' persisting in a language, one of which is used only for 'ten units' and another for a repetition of 'ten'. Thus, in some languages where **-kumi** means exactly 'ten', **-loñgwo** with an appropriate prefix and qualifying numeral may be used for all the other decades up to 'one hundred'. Connected in origin with **-loñgwo** (the original meaning of which root seems to have been 'twin' or 'near relation', in reference to a second hand being added to the first) is the **-diñgu** of the Ababua Group (II). This makes its appearance specially for 'twenty' in No. 153, **Amo-diñgu-mabali**, 'tens-two'. To this again may be related the **Iliñga** of 143, which is specially used for 'twenty'.

Another 'ten' root often given a special application as 'twenty', but sometimes even used for 'one hundred', and very rarely for 'ten' only, is **-tinda**¹ (**Li-tinda**, **Di-tinda**), **Ntinda**, **-cinda** of Nos. 155 158 159 and 160. To this seem to be allied the forms **-jila** of Old Yaow (No. 54), **-cira** 55, **-cila** 226, **-hint**, **-hit** of 234; and perhaps the abbreviated **-ci** of 226, **-ti** (**Diti**; pl. **mati**) of 210, the **Eti** of 227, **-rina** (**Me-rina**) of 235, and the **-ten** (**Ke-ten**; pl. **e-ten**) of 242. In most of the languages cited this **-tinda** root is applied to 'twenty' in the first place, and when pluralized, to 'scores'; but sometimes it clearly has reference in the singular to 'ten' only, and when pluralized to 'twenty' only. There is some indication that the **-tinda** or **-cira**, **-cila** root indicated a foot, or a leg, and this reference to the foot or feet might complete the score of 'twenty' in addition to the use of the hands for 'ten'.

On the other hand, the **Ne-iten**, **Na-itan** of No. 228 (which resembles greatly the **Ke-ten**; pl. **e-ten** of 242) seems to be composed of the roots for 'four' and 'five' and to represent 'twenty' by 'four fives'. The **Denū** of 244 a is also rather a puzzle. It may be connected with a **-ten**, **-tinda** root for 'twenty' or be the abbreviation of some paraphrase in which 'five' played a part.

'Twenty' is represented by **Ma-nukoñ** in No. 251, which would point to **Nukoñ** as a root for 'ten'; and by **-nubwo** (**Nu-nubwo**, also **Ne-nau**) of 240, which may indicate a **-nubwo** or **-nabwo** (cf. No. 158) for 'ten'. 'Twenty' is also specially indicated by the **-daap** of 243, the **Edip** of 245, **-rop**, **-hop** of 242, **-vap** of 237 f, **-lop** (**Ndwo-lop**, **Kwo-lop**) of 239, **-nap**, **-lenup** of 241, **-nip**, **-nap** of 246.

With these last roots for 'twenty' may be associated the forms apparently meaning either 'decade' or 'ten'. **-twepe**² No. 222, and **-jop** 239-42 (as well as **-rop**, **-hop**, **-jok**, **-sowbo** 241, **-sōva** (in composition) 240, **-cuup**, **-daap** 243, **Bu-njup** 246, and **Duup** 245.

'Twenty' or 'twenties' are also specially indicated by the following roots: **Mwo-kama** 182. (This, with some that follow, are obviously forms of the alternative **-kama** root for 'ten'), **-kam**, 220, **-maku** 225, **Ge-kam** 250, **Nsam**, **Esam** 227, **Ncam** 228, **Bo-jiam**, **Bu-jam** (pl. **ba-jem** or **a-jam**, meaning 'scores') 229, **A-jā** 249; **Mu-yam** 271, **E-ram** 228, **-ram** 228 a.

Other forms which may be allied to both **-kumi** and **-kama** stand for 'twenty' and sometimes for other decades: **-yuma** 58, **-woma** ('twenty' to 'sixty', with appropriate additions), 129 a, **-gum** 218, **-wom** 218 219, **-wuom** 217, **-ñgum** 230, **-bom** 186 198, **-bum** 194, **-bom** 212 213, **-pfum**, **-vum** (**M'-pfumba**, **M'-vum-ba**) 232; and **Ane-bum**, meaning 'man-whole', represents 'twenty' in No. 274.

Perhaps with the preceding roots should be placed the **-on** (**Ma-on**) of No. 172. The **Ka-kum** for 'decades' of No. 132 may be related to **-kumi**. The **-ku** (**Li-ku**; pl. **a-ku**) of Nos. 175-8 is an enigma.³ The most probable explanation seems to be that **Li-ku**; pl. **a-ku** stands for a contraction of **Li-kumi**,

¹ The root **-ti** stands for 'fifty' in No. 257.

² The full form is **Mwo-twepe**, which may either stand for a root **-twepe** with a **Mwo-** prefix, or be resolvable into **Mwotwepe**, 'man-two'. But in this case the **Mwo-** singular prefix would not correspond with the numeral 'two', so that we have possibly here a **-twepe** for 'ten' in this language of the Upper Sañga. **Dakaanu** is 'twenty' in No. 244, so is **Hanya-mok** 253 (? 'twenty-one', 'a single score').

³ This abbreviated **-ku**, **-kw** root for 'ten' is used (as **Maku**, **Makwo** in Nos. 159 a 161 170 175 178 186) for 'ten', 'twenty', &c., in one or two of the North Congoland languages, especially No. 166. It seems to be extended to **Kwa**, 'twenty', **Kwa-ma-bale**, 'tens-two'.

Ma-kumi; yet in many ways the Li-ku of the singular corresponds markedly with the Dzigw, Dikw root for 'ten'.

'Twenty' and other decades are also indicated by a -bw, -bu root which appears in Nos. 151 (Pw), 152 153 168 194 195 199. Perhaps it may also be traced as part of the explanation of the Fernandian word for 'thirty', Bw-rapa, or Bw-drapa 226, and again in the Bwe, which stands for both 'twenty' and 'thirty', Nos. 145 167 and 170 respectively. In No. 145 'twenty' is either Bwe or Bwe-si, and in Nos. 166 and 170 'thirty' is Bwe-le, but I can offer no explanation of the meaning or origin of the -si, -le suffixes. There is a perhaps illusive resemblance to the Bwesi 'twenty' (of 145), in the Ww-si ('twenty') of 255.

The Avi, Afi of 259, and the Av' of 257, though they sometimes stand alone for 'twenty', may indicate another root for 'ten', as the fullest form for 'twenty' in 259 seems to be Afi-ta'wa, and in No. 257 Av'la. There is a very peculiar root for 'twenty' in No. 157: Li-fefe or Li-fefi, which may be related to the foregoing.

'Twenty' and the other decades are also either indicated by direct references to a man or men, either as implying the use of the two hands or of fingers and toes together, by such terms as Mwonw-mundu in 151 a (literally 'one man'),¹ Mwtw-sitw in 151 b, Mutu-asi-mwti (? 'man-all-one') 154, and the Batu-basi-bumwti ('men all five') standing for 'fifty' in No. 154.

The term 'two men' seems to explain the much abbreviated Mw-hei, which stands for 'twenty' in No. 159, and the Bw-pele of 168, and the Betu-bele of 137. These again suggest whether the Mwtwpe of 222 may not be derived from 'man-two' rather than from a -twpe root with a Mw- prefix. The Betu-bele ('men-two') of 137 helps to explain the use of Betu for 'twenty' and the decades up to 'one hundred' in No. 137. The Mukkw, which is an invariable term for the 'tens' in Nos. 149 and 150, may be a contraction of Mu-tuku in Groups II and KK, or it may possibly be a strange corruption of the Mutu, Muntu word for 'man'. Derived, perhaps, from a shortened form of this 'man' root is the Mu-, Mw-, Mw- used for 'twenty' and the other decades in Nos. 120 (Mw-äre), 120 a (Mw-pe), 172 (Ma-, Mu-, Mw-, Mi-), 202 203 (Mu-mā), 204 211 (Mw-aba), 205 206 (Ma-), 207 (Mu-mwā), 211 212 213 (Mu-maba), 214 (Mw-muba), and 215 (Mw-mba), and 232 (Mumba). The only difficulty about this explanation is that the prefix employed with the qualifying numeral is sometimes Ma- or Mu-, which would not easily correspond with Muntu. And again it is difficult to understand why the word for 'man' used in this sense should be in the singular form even when dualized or pluralized.

Nyu, Yu represent the decades in No. 166, and are obviously related to the -nyu, -nyw of Fernandian (226).

Dō, Dw, Du, Dū stand for 'twenty' in 205 206 208 and 209. Related, perhaps, with this may be De, Du for 'twenty' in 244 a. Isolated roots for 'twenty' are the Mbañgi and Muaaya of 206, though the last-mentioned may be a corruption of the already cited Mu-aba. A-kata is 'twenty' in No. 159 a and can apparently be pluralized for 'scores' in the same language. Ti-tade, 'twenty', in No. 234, seems to be only a pluralized form of 'ten', as is also the Ngulu (Bi-ñgulu-pe, 'twenty') in 162. I cannot find any relations for the form Ikundu, 'twenty' of No. 248, unless it be in the decadal East African roots, the -rundu of 6 and 6 a, the -hundu of 31 a, and the -funduka of 27, and -fundika of 26 30 and 36; possibly also in the Undaru, Ndaru for decades in 208 and 209. The Kabanā and Kabanān, 'twenty', of 273 commences with the Senegambian Kaba, Gawa, Taba root for 'two', followed by a Nan root for 'ten', which reappears in the same region as -nyan, -ñien, &c., and is, perhaps, akin to the Bulom -wan. The -sa, -ša, -sañgi, -señgi roots for the decades in the Central Congoland languages have already been referred to under 'ten'. Their use seems to extend to No. 172, and they may be related to the -kañga of 164. Mention should be made of another term in Bulom (261) for the decades -ton, -toñ, which seems to be akin to a widespread root for 'five', and also to the Ke-ten, Na-itan for 'twenty' in Nos. 242 and 228. The word for 'twenty' in No. 148—Ba-mene—is simply the pluralizing of 'ten' which in that language again seems to be merely a plural term meaning 'fingers'; but this form for 'twenty' in 148 again

¹ Another word or phrase for 'twenty' in 151 a is Mw-deza-mwtw. -deze, -reza is used in 151 a as a copula for the formation of the 'teens'.

makes use of the **Ba-** 'human' prefix, a practice which occurs with other numerals in the Upper Ituri group of languages.

The prefix **Tw-**, followed by the root for 'seven', indicates 'seventy' in No. 120, and the prefix **Lw-asi** (pl. *ndwasi*) indicates 'eighty' or 'eighties' in Nos. 166 170. Decades over and above 'forty' are also indicated (with the exception of 'sixty') by a **Lu-** prefix in the Koñgø Group (Z). Thus 'fifty' is **Lu-fuku**, and this can be pluralized as **Mfuku** to mean 'one hundred' or exaggerated with the **E-** augmentative prefix to mean 'one million'.

Attention should be drawn to the facility with which large as well as small sums can be expressed in the Nyanza languages by the use of **-kumi**, 'ten', as a root coupled with changes of prefix. Thus, whereas 'ten' only might be **Ikumi** or **Kumi** in the Nyōw and the Luganda languages, 'one hundred' in Ruguñgu or Luganda would be **Eki-kumi**; 'one thousand', **Oru-kumi** (Runyorow) or **Ūlukumi**; 'ten thousand', **Aka-kumi** (Luziba and Luganda); 'tens of thousands', **Ūbu-kumi**.

ONE HUNDRED

In the early days of their diaspora the Bantu peoples must have had roots or adaptations of decades to mean 'one hundred', and must have had some use for counting in fairly large numbers, because comparatively few of their descendants at the present day are without the conception of a 'hundred' or fail to possess one of two very widely distributed roots to indicate that numeral. These two are **-gama** or **-kama**, **-gana** or **-kana**. **-kama** is obviously the same root that is used in a few Bantu languages in the sense merely of 'ten' or even of 'twenty', or for the decades; **-kana** or **-gana** may be related to the **Hanya** root for 'twenty' and 'twenties' in No. 253 of Eastern Nigeria.

-kama, **-gama**, **-hama** and its variants exist in the following Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages: 1 (**Ngama-gana**),¹ 17 (**-gama**), 39 a 40 97 98 100 to 104 106 (**Ndu-kama**), 107 108 112 114 116 117 (**Khama**), 118 to 125 129 130 132 134 135 137 141 143 144 146 151 157 159 a 162 164 166 168 170 172 176 178 184 186 187 189 190 193 194 195 212 263 (**Keme**), and 274 (**Keme**).

The form **-gana**, **-kana**, **-šana**, **-jana**, **-yana**, **-yana**, **-hana**, **-zana**, **-zala** (41), **-dzana**, **-tsana**, **-dana**, &c., is found in Nos 1 2 to 3 b 5 5 a 7 a 9 to 20 d (including No. 17, which also has **-gama**), 21 (Old language), 22 to 27 29 30 34 39 to 41 46 48 54 55 57 58 58 a 59 61 to 72 146 (also **-gama**), and 227 (**Ngan**).

The **Gwmai** and **Gwma** of No. 225 (which is pluralized for 'hundreds' as **Te-gwoma**), is probably related to **-gama** and also to the **-guma**, **-suma**, **-woma**, **-yuma** roots for 'ten' or the decades. An expression which may be allied to this is the **Ke-djum** for 'one hundred' in No. 129 a. The **Nkw**, **Nku**, **Nku-mbø** of No. 230 are also related to roots expressing the decades. [Note the fact that **Gumbø** stands for 'ten' in 230; allied to this is the **Kombi** for 'one hundred' in 140; and perhaps, by some palatalizing, the **Kondye**, 'one hundred' in 61 b, though this may be more akin to the **-tondø** of 6 6 a.] The **-zañgu**, which indicates 'one hundred' in No. 253, may be related to the **-sañgi**, **-kañgu** roots for 'ten' in Central Congoland and in No. 164. Another 'ten' root which is sometimes used for 'one hundred' is **-tadi** in 254, and **-radi** in 148 (cf. the roots for the decades in 152 161 219 235 and 236). The **-ta** (**Ci-ta-keta**), which indicates 'one hundred' in 86 92 94 94 b (**Ei-keta**, **Eketa**), 105, and the **-ra** (**Ci-ra**) of 55, may also be related to this **-tadi** decadal root, which reappears occasionally for 'one hundred'. But the **Ci-ta** and **Ci-ra** just enumerated for these South-west and East African languages, together with the **Cila** of 61, lead us again to the **-cira**, **-cila**, **-cinda**, **-tinda** root for 'twenty'. In No. 160 of the Northern Congo 'one hundred' is **Lo-ntukø**, use being made of the **-tukø**, **-tuku** root for 'ten' (**Lo-ntukø** would mean 'long ten'). This suggests a similar derivation for the peculiar **Ki-tufu** of Luganda (No. 4). Amongst the North-west Bantu 'one hundred' is represented by roots that seem to

¹ This is a rather remarkable form in the Konjw language of Ruwenzori (No. 1), as it combines both the roots above mentioned, **-gama** and **-gana**.

go back to an original *-eda*, *-era*. The term is *Bweda*, *Mwera* in 226 and its dialects, *Bweya* in 198, *Bwea* 199, *-bwia*, *-bwea* 200, *Egbwea* 204 205, *Egbei* 206. Elsewhere in the West Cameroons 'one hundred' is *-wōke* 206, *-buki* 213, *-buka* 211, *-bōka* 214, *Bōkeya* 211, *-bōkō* 207 212, *-bōkol* 213, *Bōkal* 214, *-buγō* 203. This set of roots may be connected with the *Ūgot* (pl. *igot*, *igōr*) of 241, *Egot*, *Egōr* of 229, and the *Egōrō* of 228, which last three terms, however, mean 'two hundred'. *Egot*; pl. *begot*, mean 'four hundred' and 'eight hundred' in 228 a, while 'five hundred' is the meaning of *Lo-god* in 227.

'One hundred' is also indicated occasionally by one of those 'maids-of-all-work' amongst numeral roots that with such ready versatility can be applied to any numeral between 'five' and 'ten', and thence with a leap to 'one hundred' or 'one thousand'. Of such is the *-sere* 89, *-sele* 90, *-fele* 91, a root which in the S.E. Bantu may stand for 'eight'; or the *-anda* (*-andō*) of Nos. 42 43 43 a 44 44 b 45 54 74 b 77 78 79 80 and 83, which elsewhere may mean 'eight' or 'seven'.

The *Le-kxwōlō* for 'one hundred' of 73 and 74, the *-kōwō* of 74 b, *Giri* of 11, *Curu*, *-uru* of 59 are perhaps the remains of some paraphrase into which the adjective 'big' entered. This is the case with the *Kulu kaji* ('big woman') of 84, the *Kulu-kase* of 104 c, *Ikulu-kazi* of 110, and perhaps the *Kōla-fa* of 258. This *-kulu*, *-kōwō* root, which means 'big', 'great', in so many Bantu languages, and which is so associated with 'hundred' and 'thousand', suggests some affinity with the *-gōrō*, *-gōt* root for 'two hundred' in 228 and neighbouring Semi-Bantu tongues; and the *-kuru*, *-kur*, *N-gulu* for 'ten' in Nos. 252 250 and 162.

The *-nunu* for 'one hundred' in No. 41 may also refer to an adjective meaning 'fat' or 'big'.

The following equivalents of 'one hundred' are isolated and to me inexplicable: *-sa-kumira* 5 a, *Ikie* 245, *-kōi* 141, *Moŋgenja* 159, *Bondō* 100, *Uši* 253 (? related to the *Wōke*, *Buki* of 206 213 and other Cameroons languages).

It might be rash to say that the maternal or materteral language of the Bantu, somewhere in Eastern Nigeria, possessed the numerical concept of 'one thousand', though it is certainly probable that it used a term for 'one hundred', no doubt through coming in contact two thousand years ago and more with peoples of superior intelligence and mixed blood—Hamites, Egyptians, Libyans. It is permissible to suppose that several sections of the early Bantu groups in Northern Equatorial Africa did a good deal of counting over shells, grains, sheep, cattle, or slaves, and formulated single words to express 1,000, as well as later 100,000, 200,000, 500,000. One such ancient root for 'one thousand' seems to have been *-funda*, which we find possessed at the present day by such widely separated forms of Bantu as No. 151 of the Upper Wele, No. 15 near the base of Kilimanjaro, No. 100 on the Lower Congo, Nos. 175 176 178 between the Congo and the *Ūgōwe*, No. 200 on the Cameroons coast, and No. 166 on the Equatorial Congo, and Nos. 116 118 119 in the region of the Lower Kwaŋgō and Kasai. It is true that *-funda*, though it is the same in Nos. 116 118 151 166 and 176, varies sufficiently to be *Hinde*, *Hindi* in No. 15, *Zunda* in 100, *Pfun* in 119, *Pfuna* in 175 178, and *Pfude*, *Fure* in 200; but there is a strong probability that all these forms descend from the same term in northernmost Bantu. Compared to the *-funda* root the distribution of other terms is somewhat restricted. Still there is *-kōtō*, *-kutu*, a root much in use in North-central Congoland (Nos. 157 162 164 166 168 170 and 172) which also reappears in No. 213 of the West Cameroons. Another word which seems to be based on a *-kuli*, *-kulu* root, also has a most extended distribution: *-kuli-ja* 19, *Giri* 11, *Curu*, *-uru* 59, *Hulu* 98, *Kōne* 107, *N-kuru* 178, *-kōli* 205, *-kū*, *-kō* 206, *-kuri* 211, *Kululu* 85, *Kuluŋgwa* 75 a-b, *Ulukai* 86 a, *Luai* 124, *Kula-kasi* 88, *Kulukasi*, *Hulu-kazi* 97 98, *Kula-gasi* 122, *Kula-ji* 100 b, *Kiku-lazi* 102, *Hulukai* 94. The root *-kuli*, *-kulu* seems in some cases to mix up with the term *-kazi* (*-kaji*) for 'woman', so that it might be translated 'big woman'.

The same conception may lie at the base of the *Komba-kaji* of 84, *Komba-kazi* of 110 a. A root for 'thousand' which resembles this *Komba-* of S.W. Africa is the *Humbi*, *-umpi* of the Nyanza and Nyamwezi Groups (2 f 2 g 3 and 9 to 10).

Some of the East African languages appear to have concocted a word for 'thousand' out of an old

root meaning 'ten', **-kū**, **-kwi**. From these forms have arisen the **Kiku** 17, **Kikwi** 21, **Cikwi** 21 f-g, **Cikwi** or **Jigwi** of Nos. 57 58 58 a 59 a 61 a 61 c. The **Šuhi** of No. 22 (Komorō Islands) may be related to the **-huke** of No. 94 in Southern Angōla.

The word-root meaning 'fat', 'big' is used for 'thousand' in South Central Africa. This is the **-nōnō** of No. 39, **-nunu** 104 105 106 108 109, **-nunō** of 110 125 129 140, and the **-nana** of 110. No. 17 of Kilimanjarō also expresses 'thousand' by **Lūle**, which corresponds with the **Dole** of No. 24. The **Kum'** of 120 a and the **Bumi** of 178 may be related to the **Humbi** of the Nyanza and Nyamwezi Groups, or simply be derived from words meaning 'ten'. **Kama-kiandi** of 129 a brings in the **-kama** root, which may mean either 'ten' or 'hundred'. The **-yōvi** root for 'thousand' of 89 90 91, seems to be connected with the **-veve** and the **-vefe** of 103. The **Kakpe** of 258, **Iwaka** of 75, **-bōke** of 123, **Imbirima** of 27, **Empōšōmō** of 42, **Ndambō** of 230, **Zambar** of 253, **Sikiti** and **Sigiti** of 74 and 75 c are isolated terms at present, with no hint as to their original meaning. No. 44 in its word for 'thousand' — **Ki-rōva**, **Ki-rōwa**, has evidently borrowed the vague numeral root **-tōba**, which is usually applied to 'six'. No. 54 similarly has applied to 'thousand' the word **Mwanda**, which elsewhere may mean 'seven', 'eight', or 'one hundred'. No. 61 expresses 'one thousand' by **Kalume**, which only means 'male' in an honourable sense.

The value of 'one hundred thousand' has a special term for itself in Koñgō (No. 100). This is **-lundu**. A 'hundred thousand' is rendered by **Mukō**, **Mukōgō** in No. 175; 'two hundred thousand' by **Mubunō** in 175. 'Ten thousand' is **Tsuku** in 116, **Epuma** in 162, **Kiai**, **Kiasi** in 175. This last term can be pluralized as **Biai**, **Biasi** to express 'tens of thousands'. The root **-fuku** is used in the meaning of 'million' in No. 100, and, with a different prefix, in the same language is also the equivalent for 'one hundred'. It seems to be akin to the **-fuku** which means decades, 'tens', in No. 274, and perhaps to the **-tuku** for the decades in Group KK. In No. 170 of the Northern Congo **Nkese** means 'one million'. In Luganda (4), 'one hundred thousand' is **Aka-sirivu**, with a plural 'hundreds of thousands', **Ūbu-sirivu**. 'One million' is **Aka-kadde**, and 'millions', **Ūbu-kadde**.

CHAPTER XIV

ADVERBS, CONJUNCTIONS, PREPOSITIONS

ADVERBS in Bantu and Semi-Bantu consist of noun-roots or adjectival roots, of interjections independent of syntax, or of suffixes added to the verb-root. An adverbial sense is often conveyed by the terminals to the verb-roots which in the next chapter I have grouped under the numeral 14. In addition, the prefixes **Ki-** (7), **Bi-** (8), **Tu-** (12), **Ka-**¹ (13), **Bu-** (14), **Ku-** (15) may turn a noun-root or an adjective into an adverb.²

Conjunctions can be made out of prefixes, nouns, and verbal tense-particles or terminals. The conjunction 'and', and the preposition 'with' are almost indistinguishable in their Bantu sense, and are nearly universally represented by the particle **na**, which in a few Bantu languages (2 g 6 a 44 b 61 104 193) is **ne** or **ni**. In **Koñgwo** (100-100b) it is **ya**, in **Lwlo** (162) and **Swkwo** (157) it is **la**.

Na does not seem to extend to all the North-west Bantu or to be present in the Semi-Bantu. 'And' is expressed in **Dyōla** (273) by **di, dy'**.

Prepositions are often identical with some of the prefixes, as for example with Nos. 5 11 13 15 16 17 20 21 and 22, and with particles like **Nga, Ndi, Nda, Nja, Mbi, Mbu**, or a combination of the prefixes with the vowel **-a** which acts as a copula in the sense of 'of' in nearly all the Bantu and some of the Semi-Bantu. This vowel in a few Bantu languages becomes **-e, -i**, or even **-o** (for example, in Nos. 2 g 6 a 161 166 193); or it is **-ka** in **Kafir-Zulu** as well as **-a**. It enters into the syntax of all the languages that adopt it by prefixing the consonant of the class or pronominal concord of the class to which its governing noun belongs. Thus it may become **wa, ũa, gwa, ba, gya, ya, lia, ga, kya (ca), &c.**

Umuntu wa kibira. Ebintu bya bukade.

A man he-of the-forest. Things they-of the long-ago.

As already said, this **-a** copula ('of') may combine with a simple prefix-preposition to form a preposition of a different or extended sense. Thus from **Ku-**, 'to', conjoined with **-a** may come **Kwa**, which may mean 'for', 'on account of', 'at', 'concerned with'. **Mwa, Bwa** are other instances. The prepositions precede the oblique cases of the pronouns, and in nearly all cases the nouns, but become postpositions with the verbs, except in the infinitive. Sometimes the preprefix vowel has the quality of a preposition, as where **I-** is substituted for **U-**, **A-** (**Ibu-** instead of **Ubu-**, **Iba-** instead of **Aba-**, **Ika-** instead of **Aka-**). This, and the **E-** of **Kafir-Zulu** (75-75 c), which reappears in North-west Bantu, has usually the meaning of 'in', 'to', 'at'.

¹ **Ka-**, though extinct as a noun-prefix, is very prominent in **Kafir-Zulu** (75-6) as a former of adverbs from noun or adjective roots or from numerals.

² Herr J. Raum, in his thorough-going grammar of the Caga language (No. 17), published in 1909 at Berlin in the *Archiv für das Studium deutscher Kolonialsprachen*, draws attention to a remarkable 'adverbial' feature in the Caga speech, existing at any rate in the **Mōši** dialect: that of inserting into verbal, adjectival, and adverbial roots, before the last syllable of the root, an 'intensive *ñ*'. Thus: **Ñ-ga-siha** would mean 'I searched', but **Ñ-ga-siñha** 'I searched *thoroughly*'; **A-luō** = 'he is sick', but **A-luñō** = 'he is *very* sick'; **Si-ñdō si-foi** = 'things many'; **si-ndō si-foñi** = 'things *very* many'.

This is an almost isolated feature in a Bantu language—i. e. to meddle with the root by inserting any element into it, in preference to modifying it by accretions at beginning or end.

SOME ADVERBIAL AND PREPOSITIONAL ROOTS FOR
PURPOSES OF COMPARISON¹

ABOVE, UP, ON TOP

-iguru 2 2c-d, igulu 2e, -ruguru 2f (also -guru and -gulu), -igulu, -guru 2g, -djuru, -ruguru 3, -julu 3b, -gulu, -ngulu 4, -kulu 5a, -gawo 7 7a, -gulia 9, -gulu 9a, -gulya 9c, -guru 11, Ulu, -yulu 12, Dzũũ 13, -gulu 14, Dzulu 16, Jũũ 21, Jũũ, Dyũũ 21a, Yũũ 21b-d, Iyũũ 21e, Julu 21f-g, Uzyu, Dzũ, -yulu 41, -mulu 42 44 44b, -gulu 46, -zulu 56, -culu 56a, -zuru 57, -dzuru 58 (and -duyu), -zuru 59, -dzulu 61a, -mulu 62, -zuru, -zugu 64, -sõrw 64 64a, Dulu 72, Pe-zulu, Pe-zu 75 75a, E-tulu 75b, Pe-zulu, Pe-zu 75c, Pe-zuru 76, -julu 77, -izelu 78, -julu 79, -eyulu, -iyulu 80, -wilu, Be-ulu 83, Kw-ilu, Ko-ilu 86, He-lu 84, Ku-iwuru 87, -iuru, -iulu 92, -ilu 94, -rilu 98, -zulu 100, -yilu 103, -ulu 104 105, -ilu 106, -ũlu 108, -yulu 109, -urw, -ulw, -lulu 110, -yulu 116, -vulu 118, Lu-ku 123, Di-kw, Di-ka 124, Di-kw, Li-ku 125, Di-kã 126, Li-ku, -di-ku 129, La-di-kw 130, Li-di-kw 131, -si-kw 132, -li-kw 133 136, -dyulu 137, -sõru 139, -ulu 134, -yuru 135, -gulu 140, Ki-w 141, -yulw 142, -ku 148, Ge-gũ 150, Ku-gũ, Wli-kulw 151, Li-gulu, Kw-dulw 153, Kw-gũ 154, Li-kulw 155 157 160, Di-kw, W-ji-kw 162, W-li-kulw 164, Pe-pe-ki, -koni 165, Li-kulw 166, Wni, W-ni-kw 167, Di-kw 168, -yulu 175 177 178, Gu-yulu 184, Fu-yula 189, Gu-yulu 190, -gawu 193, Garw 193, E-kõyu 194, Wulu 206, Li-kw 222, A-kw 221, Li-kulw 223, Wb-w, -ulw 226; -turw 243 [All the roots in this paragraph are akin to those which mean 'sky', 'God', 'great'].

Ndulw, Dwalwa 17, -ndũ 121.

-juũ 244; Dẽn 253.

Wmon 204; -õni (Mw-õni) 38; Muin 214, Mõi 204; -gaww 63, -koiw 263.

Li-bw 223a.

-wba* 195, Pe-bobe*, Pe-lowe* 186, -yop* 217, -yob* 219, -yow, -yõ 218.

-lula 151.

-rira 81, -riũ 7a; -eri* 26, -eli* 257, -li* (Ku-li) 84; Kuhe, -he 90; Huye 17; Muha 34.

Xw-limw* 73, Xw-dimw* 74, Gw-dimw 74a, Hu-limw 74b.

-tsimwi 74.

-canya* 20d 23a, -cana* 23, -canya 24 24c-g 25 27 29 30 31 34 35, -kyanya* 38, -canya 48, -hanya* 52 53, -anya*, -mwanya* 51, -canya 54, -cani, -sani* 69; -henhla* 71 71f, Nthla, -ntha* 72 73; -nani* 32 35, Nena, -nina* 38, -nani 54 55, Neña 61a; -manyu 205; Wmon 204, -õni (Mw-õni) 38, Muin 214, Mõi 204; -ñwan 209; Wañga 15, -mañga 41.

Dẽn 253; -deñga* 64, -teñge* 156; -juũ 244.

-oñgw 102 103, Va-ñgoñgw 187.

-lañga* 19 19a 20 24 24g, -lañgw* 31.

Aka, Buka 204; Kayu* 18, -gagi*, -ñgagi 6, -kagu 151b.

Kaale 17.

-ñgi 119, -ñgie 120.

-tsimwi 74.

-mbin* (Ga-mbin) 274, -mbindi* 31b, -mpindi* 38.

-banda* 89 90 92 193; -bata* 100 102.

-bua, Pwã 226; -bwuw (Pe-, Pe-peli-bwuw) 200.

-kõsa* 122, -õsõ, -k'õsõ* 227.

-lunde 9.

¹ Adverbs usually differ from adjectives in Bantu by not agreeing with the governing noun in concord. They are mostly nouns with or without a prefix or preposition, both of which are invariable so far as any concord with the nouns in the sentence is concerned.

-loba* 199, Libω* 223 a, Pe-tωbe* (-loba) 186, -ωba* 195, -yωp 217.
 Fa-tiai, -tiai 273.
 -pera 43 a.
 -tandu (Ya-) 98 100.
 Muha 34.
 -tōliti 26.
 Milu 97.
 -mutu 109; fūūt, -fure 243.
 -awa, -aba 259.
 -amba 61 61 a-b.

BEFORE¹

-mbere* 2 2 f, -mbele* 2 g, -mbere 3 3 b, -mberi* 4 5 a, -mbele 9 9 a-c 10, Mbere 11, Mbēē* 12 13, Mbele 14, Mbere 16, Mbele 17 21 21 a, Mbēē 21 b-e, Mbele 21 f-g 22 26 (also Mhele) 46 48, -mberi 63 64 64 a, Imbele* 69, Pele* 73 74, -pidi* 74 b, -mbili*, -mbilē* 75 75 a-c, -mbele 76, -mbene* 187, E-mōle* 194; -pelω* 138 155 b, Felω* 157, Peha* 151, -elu* 246 a; -dilu* 104; Sele* 204; -pe, -pende* 148; -hala* 109.
 -ntwala* 102 103; -ntalω* 30.
 Nkula* 175 178, -yuli* 189, -kil* (Fa-kil, Ha-kil) 273; Buhl-, Bu-dyole 273; -bol* 261, -pōlω* (Ya-) 98 110, -bω, -bōla* 154, -hōlω* 56 56 a.
 -kwon 252.
 -zōgōrō* 57, -tsōgōrō* 58, -dzugōrō*, -tsōgōrō 59, -cōgōlō* 61, Tsōgōlō, -tsōgōrō 61 a-b; -loñgōlō* 27, -roñgōlō, -loñgōlō 28 35, Mbu-loñgōlō 38, -loñgōla 24, -loñgōzi* 23 23 a, -loñgōdzi* 29; -nuñgi, -uñgi 32, -luñgi 35.
 La-ntundu* 130, -tondō* 136.
 -lundi- 19 a.
 -tu, Ka-tu 258.
 -luha* 86 a, -lutwe* 86 105 110.
 Tene 11.
 Añkω 92 b.
 Anω 193.
 -nembω 77.
 -mimha 61 a.
 La-kavi*, Lu-kavi 134; -di, Kadi* 263.
 Dūmi 253; -pumi 61 a.
 -huñga 89.
 -mwandi* 23 b, -mwandō* 24 c-g, -mwandi 25 29, -mundi*, -mwandi 31 31 a; -mansō* 43 a; -phanda* 72, -ponda* 204; -tanzi* 41 62, -tanši* 42, -ntansi 44 44 b,
 Nsia-ya- 175.
 -mugi 55.
 -mbujō 54.
 Nkusu 230.

¹ As far as possible paraphrases or word-roots simply meaning 'face', 'in the eyes', are excluded, but it is not always possible to express this preposition without some reference to the human body.

BEHIND ¹

-uma* (this root, more often used adverbially than as a substantive, is very frequently present in the Eastern Bantu languages. It is only necessary to insert here examples of it where it assumes a somewhat peculiar form or where it is isolated far away from geographical connexion with the Eastern Bantu, because it is fully given in the noun-roots under 'back'), Ny-uma*, 193, Nnuma* 42, Njima* 87, Ba-jim* 227, **-ma*** (Ka-ma) 257 258, E-njime* 194, Va-ñgima* 187, Gu-ncima* 184; **-rima*** 98, **-ema*** 99; **-mima** 91 a; Hima 97.

-fin 218, **-jin*** 218; **-tinda*** 154; **Edina*** 12.

-ñgui, **-nwūi*** 120; **Ta-kwūdi*** 253.

-duli* 56, **-buli*** 56 a, **-duri*** 59, **-duyu*** 58, **-vuli*** 62, **-isule***, **-sure*** 64, **-sure*** 64 a (Pe-sule*), **-kuwisule*** 77 79 80, **-sol*** (Bu-sol) 273, **-isila***, **-sila*** 43 a; **-nsele*** 62; **-ili*** 141 155 a, **Mpili***, **Mbili*** 175, **Weliñ*** 261, **-mbele*** 24 c-g 25 ² 27, **-mberi***, **-mbere*** 28, **-mbele** 30 31 a, **-mphele*** 31, **-mbele** 35 38, **-piri***-mu 9, **Pe-fihe*** 200; **-wara*** 139, **-gari*** 92, **-ai** 226; **Ūmō-kia***-mwa (the **-kia** stands for **-kila**.) 164.

Tuta 11.

Sigya 26; **-ihye** (for **-isye**) 34.

Ku-icw 80.

-mbese 54.

-siñgō 13; **-sañga** 138.

-koñgō* 132 133 134 136 139, **-goñgō*** 25 142, **-goñga** 151 b, **-hoñgō*** 199; **-gwoñ*** 252.

-ruk* 243; **-lukō*** 15, **-cugu***, **-sogō*** 23 23 a, **-sogō*** 24 c-g, **-cisogō*** 30, **-cugu**, **-sugu** 32; **-buku*** 103; **-buyō*** 59 61 61 a-b.

Nthaku* 71, **Jakō*** 71 f, **-rahu*** 72, **-raxō*** 73, **-raxō** 74, **-lahō*** 74 b.

-afeka 162.

-lemuk 273.

-nanye-hw 226 a.

-mūni 274.

Ōde 244, **-ede** 259.

-pundū* 75 c; **-bunda*** 89.

-nimba 106.

-kyamba* 41; **-bamba*** 162; **Emva*** 75 75 c, **-muva*** 75 a-b 76.

-pwa, **-hua** 226.

-beū 199.

-rarañ 263.

Ke-tambō 92 b; **-hatam*** 226; **-alam*** 243.

BELOW, DOWN ³

-fō* 2, **-fwō*** 2 f, **-pfō*** 3, **-fufuntsi*** 59; **Su-mbai*** 17, **Mbai** 18; **-fuñgō*** 28; **-wū*** 243.

-sōke; **-lōce** 226; **Zwōli** 193.

Tak* 253; **-tañgi*** 156; **-tam***, **-lam*** (Tentam, Delam, Detam) 273.

-samba, **-isamba** 42.

Nda-se* 155 a, **Da-si*** 72, **Tla-se*** 73, **-tlha-tse*** 74, **-ta-si*** 74 b, **-nda-si***, **-nthasi** 75 b; **Kwasi** 151 b, **-iada*** 110, **Wanda*** 17 102 103, **-vanda*** 86, **-iwanda*** 54; **-ata*** 226 a; **-rata*** 263.

¹ As far as possible words merely meaning 'back' are excluded.

² It is remarkable that the root **-bele** or **-mbele** so prominent in some languages in the sense of 'before', should reappear in others in the exactly opposite sense of 'behind'.

³ Words only meaning 'ground' are, as far as possible, eliminated.

-nyantsi* 59, -nyansi* 62, -nyasi* 64 a; -setse* 110, Sesi* 165; -ōsere*, K'ōsera 227.
 -isika 43 a.
 -insima 41.
 -du* 91, -ulu* 150, Ka-lō* 257, Kā-lō* 258, A-lō* 261, -mwalō* 6, -bwelō* 92.
 Ruñgu 11.
 -himō 226,
 Bondō 223.
 -bume 156.
 -buke 244.
 -rie 226.
 Ku-alebu 86.
 Gödd' 274.
 -nan 244.

HERE

(Other than 'this place', or merely the preposition Pa, Papa, Panō, Kunō, derived from locative prefixes.)

Hen, Hene* 72 214, Heni*^[248], Pene* 90 91, Buene* 98, Hene* 99, Hele* 157, Ane* 134 136, Ūhwane* 137, Weni* 166, Ane 167 168 (also Anii, Ūni), Uni 164, Vena*, Vei* 193; Kōni 151 b, Wōni 186, Vōnu 194, Wōi 230; Pō-enu 92 b.

Ku-kwene* 125; Ani 155, Ni 246, Anne 124, Ane, Bōine 157; Andane 124; Pani* 35, Pana* 34 254; Ku-ana* 148, Kw-ala* 69, Kwanu* 74 b; Ku-na-pa 69; Gana*, Gaga 100 b, Kane* 123; Na- 175 178.

Ūnami 163.

Wandi* 150, Wuande* 223, Ma-ndi* 244.

Añgō 126, Añkō 92,

Nō*, -nō 263, -nō* 259, -nō* 54-56 57, -nu* 184, -nunu* 103, Nu* 105, Nuni* 160 [special importance attaches to these forms as they show the origin, in a locative sense of 'here', of the -nō suffix which forms so many Bantu demonstratives].

-imone 132.

-ipa* 27, Iapa* 68, Eva* 187, Ūkava* 195; Ba* 259, Baha* 38, Pamba* 35; -pipa* 120, Ūwipa* 139, Wō-pō-papa* 34; Pompa* 61 a-b; Pōba 94 b.

Ai-ga* 7; Ka*-mō 73, Ka*, Ga.* 251 252.

Gige 140.

Ce 238 261; Icia*, Ikya* 259, Işikā* 129 a; Mō-siki* 222; Ka-suki* 133.

Mō-klu 73.

Uwen 121.

Mēw 145; Mē, Mēnke 257.

Kōlōkōlō* 124 125; Kul* 261.

Lā, Ha-len*, Lōmu 71, Ha-lenu* 71 f, Lapa* 75 a-c, -rapa* 76.

Bu* 110, Ka-bu* 148 a, A-wu* 176; Bu*-dōli 253; Bōbe* 151; Mfō 258.

Enyaha 114.

Yamaya 155.

Nyari 274.

Pōdōpō 66.

Lindō 130.

Etsa 230.

Thē 80; Tate 273.

Mama 242.

IN, INSIDE

(Sometimes confused with word-roots for 'betwixt', 'middle').

- (Umu)*¹ 1 2 2 c-e, Mu* 2 f, -omu, -mω* 2 g, Mω, -mω*, Mu- 3 3 b, Mu 4 5 6 9 9 a-b (also Mω),
 Munu*, -mω, Mu, M' 9 c, -mweni* 14 (see 90 91), Mu, -mω 16, Mu 19, Mwe*, -mω 19 a, -mu, -m', -mω
 21-21 e, -mi*, -mu 22 23, Mumω, Muna*, Mna*, Mgati* 23, Mu, Mω, Muna, Munω, Mla*, &c., 23 a,
 Mu 24 25 26 27 28 29 31, Mu, Mumω, Mulia* 32, Mu, M' 34 35 37 38 39, Umwa* 38, Mōnu, Mu,
 Mukati 41 42, Mu, -mω 43 a, Mu, Mwa 44, Mukati 44 b, Umu, Munω, Mumω 51, Mwe, Mkati 54, Mū,
 Muhina* 56, Mhina* 56 a, M', Mwe 56 b, M', Muare* 57, Ngari* 58, Me, Mwi, Mu 58 a, Muare 57, Mu,
 Mukati 59 61, Mu, M', Mōmwe* 61 a, Mgati 61 b, Umu 61 b, Mkati, Mu 62 64 64 a, Mu 70, Mω 73, -mu
 72, Mω 74, Mwa- 74 b, -mω 75, Mu 76 77 78 79 80, Mōmω 80, Mu 83, Mu, Mutulu* 84, Mu 85 86 89,
 Mω 90 91 92 94 (also Vu*), Mumu, &c., 94 94 b, Mω 98, -mu, Mu 100 101 102 103 104 (also Munda*)
 105 106 107 108, Amwa* 105, Munda*, Mu, -imu* 109, Mu, Muişini*, Muine* 110, Nu* (for Mu) 134,
 Mu 139, Nu*, Nω* 140, Mω 141, Mω, Mu 142, M' 151, Mumōni* 154, Mwa* 156, Ω* (for Mω) 160 161,
 -mōi, -mω 166, -mω 165, -mu 175, Mu, Muna 176, Mu 177 178, -mu 217 218, Mu, -mu 219, Mω, Mu 230,
 Bω*, Bu* 226, -ri-mω* 226, Ūmu* (in Ūmu-alalω, 'outside') 226, -mō*, -kemō 257, -me* 258, -me*,
 Ni, Ne.* 259; -meni* 90 91; Muse* 7 a; -onse 120; Ime* 7; Ma* 230.
 -ini* 11 12, -ni* 13 15, -ni, -nyi* 14 16 18, -ni 19 19 a-20 d, -ni 21-21 e 22 (also -mi*), -i 26, -ñ
 38 56 56 a-b, -ñ 58, -ne, -ni 65-9, -ni, -n' 70 71 72, -ñ* 73 74, E-ni, -ni, -ini* 75 75 a-c 76 [this is also a
 very common locative suffix which corresponds with the locative prefix Mu-, meaning 'in'].
 -bi* (a suffix meaning 'in') 32, -būi* (a negative suffix meaning 'not in') 32.
 -idi (Ki-idi) 17; -gudi 100.
 -ila* (bwila), -hila* 226, -hina* 56 56 a.
 Bula, -bua 226.
 Uba 167.
 Wi, We 218.
 -kari* 17, Katika* 21, Iñkati* 34, Ngari* 58, -kahi* 70, -kari* 71 71 f, -kateñ* 73, -hali* 74 b,
 Pa-kati* 75 75 a, -katsi* 75 b, -gati 75 c, -kati* 76, -gari* 184, Va-kace*, Daci* 194.
 -nda* 2 2 f, Nda 2 g 6, Nja-nue* 12, Ndenji* 14, Ndeni* 15, Ndani* 16, Ndayi* 19, -ndani 20 21-
 21 e 24 32, Imdani* 69, Ndani 70, Nden- 71, Njen- 71 f, -nda 137 155, Nda* 162; La*, La-tee* 157;
 Ulan* 243.
 Fōsi 18; Fi* 259; Di* 226 273, Dye* 193; Ji, Jin* 252; Debe* 253; -a-beni*, -beni* 11, Dini* 12,
 Deni* 15 18, Vω-te* 73, Tei* 136, -tei 148 a, -te, -tee* 157, -tei 162, Ūnti* 164, Onse* 120, -tei 167, -ti,
 Tema* 186, -teni 199, -ōtin, -tetin* 204, -teni 205, -titin* 206, -ti 209, -tete* 211 212, -ten 213, -te 214,
 -te, -tere* 217, -ti, -te 218 219, -itim*, -etim 227, -tyum* 230, Ōre-tiñ* 244; Tōñele* 220, Tañūri* 274.
 Ne 256, Nende*, -nende, -hinde* 273, Ne-bani* 56.
 -onse 120, -nza 175, -cwa 189; -nzan 218.
 Lu* 130; -tu* 200; Rω*, Ra- 263.
 Ka* 145 152 227 263, -ga* 248, -a.* 217.
 Ku.* 259, Kω, Ku, Ki* 261.
 Na 151.
 Eyω 212; Iya 248.
 Ombe 166.
 Ngenω, Ngei, Ngōmu 72.
 Puñgwe, Pe- 186.
 Ū-haŋga-ne 195.
 Libuki 125.
 Zimu 13.
 Sōpω 151 b (*vide* 'bowels').

¹ Of course these roots are often identical with the locative prefix No. 17, Umu-, Mumu-.

MIDDLE ¹

-gati* 2 2 c, **-kati*** 2 d, **-gati** 2 e-f 3 3 b, **-kati** 4, **-kari*** 5 a, **-gadi*** 6, **-kati** 9 9 a-b, **-gati** 9 c 11 (also **-kati**), **Kati** 12, **Kahi*** 13, **Gati** 14, **Kahi** 16 17 (also **-kari**), **Gati** 18 19 19 a 20, **Kati**, **-kati** 21-21 d, **Kaci*** 21 e, **Gati** 23 23 a 24 25 26 27, **-kati** 28 29, **-gati** 31, **-kati** 34 35 36 37, **-gati** 38, **-kati** 41 42, **-kasi** 43, **-kati** 44 44 b 51 52 53, **-kati**, **Si-kati**, **Li-kati** 54, **-are*** (Iri-are, Iri-ari*) 56 56 a, **-are** 57, **-gari**, **-kati** 58, **-kati** 59 61 61 a, **-gati** 61 b, **-kati** 62 64 64 a, **-kari** 71 71 f, **-ari**, **-kati** 72, **Xare***, **-kxate*** 73, **Xare*** 74, **-hali*** 74 b, **-kati** 75 75 a, **-katsi*-ni** 75 b, **-gati** 75 c, **-kati** 76 77 78 79 80, **-kate** 81, **-kaci** 83 84, **-kati** 85, **-kati**, **-ceci*** 86, **-kati** 89 90 91 92 94 94 b, **-kaci**, **-şaşi*** 98 99, **-kati** 100 102 103, **-kaşi**, **-ñkaşi*** 104, **-kata**, **-kaci** 105, **-kaci** 106 107 108 109, **-kaşi** 110, **-kati** 112, **Kateta*** 116, **-kari** 118, **Ki-tenji*** 119, **Ati** 131, **-zari** 140, **-kati** 141, **Aitei**, **Ati*-teni*** 155, **Hate*** 155 b, **Ūte**, **Late*** 160, **Tate*** 161, **Ndatei*** 162, **Ūntanti*** 164, **Ntantei**, **Ntei** 166 167, **Mω-si-kati** 165, **-kari** 175 178, **Tema*** 186, **-kacekace*** 187, **Kate** 189, **-gare** 193, **-kw-are*** 200, **Ate** 201, **Watiati*** 209, **Ten** 213, **-tinte*** 214, **-aci*** 226.

Bω-telω 226.

-etēt 250.

Tetin* 204, **-tiyen***, **Teyain*** 252; **-troñ** (for **-tsoñ**) 263.

-hala* (Pa-) 200; **Kxala*** 73; **-palañga*-ni**; **-hañga*** 199; **-eliñga** 273.

Tema* 186, **Pe-tema*** 184, **-tima*** 200, **-tema** 195 (perhaps related to the **-tima** root for 'heart', 'breast').

-sañ* 217, **-zan**, **-nzan*** 218; **-gant*** (Fa-gant) 274.

-si, **-şi** 259.

Bin-suggē 253.

-pulisa-ne 204.

-me 259.

-nika, **-riki** 25 (Ku-fa-nika, Tu-rika).

NEAR ²

-ihi* 2 2 c-d, **-ehi*** 2 f, **-fi*** 3, **-mpi*** 4, **-mbi*** 5 a 6, **Behe** 10, **-kubi***, **-kuhi*** 11, **-kupi*** 12, **-fufi*** 13, **-vūi*** 14, **Yevi***, **Hehi*** 16, **-fui*** 17, **-fuhi*** 18, **-ehi** 19 19 a, **-guhi*** 20 20 d, **-fupi*** 21-21 e, **-pepi*** 21 f-g, **Behibehi*** 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25 26, **Pipi*** 27, **Pa-behi*** 28, **Behe** 29, **Pipi*** 30, **Behi** 31, **Pa-pipi** 32 35, **Pipi**, **Kwipi*** 38, **Pepi-nu**, **Pa-bwipi*** 41, **Pepi**, **Kwipi** 42, **Pipi** 43 a, **Pepi** 44 44 b, **Hihi***, **Pipi** 45, **Pimpi*** 46, **-pipi** 48 51, **Pahipahi*** 55, **-kivi*-ru** 56, **-kuvi*** 57, **-fupi*** 59 61 61 a-b 62 64 69, **-fui** 70, **-suhi*** 71, **-suhe*** 71 f, **-uhe**, **-uhi**, **-ufi*** 74 74 b, **-fupi** 75, **Futy*-** 75 a, **-dfute*** 75 b, **Futs'*** 75 c, **-fica*** 76, **-fwifwi*** 77, **-fwafwi*** 78, **-fwifwi** 79, **-fōhi*** 80, **-pupe*** 81, **-pepi** 82, **Bibe**, **-beebi*** 83, **-yeye***, **-yei** 85 86, **-pezu*** 89, **-pepi** 90 91 92 94 94 b, **Ku-fi*** 100, **Hehi**, **-pefwi*** 104 104 a, **Pepe** 105, **Ipe***, **Efi** 106, **-bu-ihia*** 109, **-su-impe*** 110, **Abibi*** 150 153, **Kwi** 166, **Iku***, **Ibu*** 178, **-vape*** 187, **Beibei*** 199, **Bebe*** 200 204 (also **Pe**), **Babe***, **Bebe**, **-be** 217, **Bi**, **Bibi***, **-be** 218, **Bebe** 219, **-piē*** 226, **Bihō***, **Beō***, **Biω*** 226 a-b, **Dyu-kufō*** 274.

Pe-dyu* 64, **Pediω***, **Peđlō***, **Pahlō*** 64 a; **-bela*** 100, **Hele*** 156, **Penepene*** 164, **Beleme*** 166, **-belébele*** 170, **-bene***, **-bezene*** 175, **-benibeni**, **-bena*** 178, **-bele** 184, **-piere*** 193, **-pele*** 195; **Heti*** 106; **-palupi*** 30; **Bembe*** 212, **Bemben*** 214.

Peñka* 105, **Pañga*** 189; **-hañe**, **-hañi***, **-ñe** 7 7 a.

Baka* 195; **Bayat*** 252.

Baraba 193.

¹ The commonest root, **-kati**, may be related to the similar root for 'woman'. The equivalents also for 'middle' are very often identical with those for 'in', 'inside'.

² Closely allied to the adjective root, 'short'.

- Paṅgulu 54.
 Bitw, Butotwlu 124.
 -duka* 102, -toga* 189; -ṣogi* 193, La-nsuke* 130; -duze* 75 a, -tuze* 75 b, Tuci* 162;
 Nda-tu 253.
 -kudu 154.
 -vundu 193.
 -kiki 94 b.
 Kunakuna 186, Kunō 194.
 Tsini 72.
 Tinene 148.
 Tent' 261.
 Ngeṅga 100; Nyenje 34.
 Nsaṅgama 162; Andamana 58; -tama 56 a.
 -dambu 103.
 Mbali 162.¹
 -ikale, -ikeile 2 e; Gelagaha 9; Kari-asi 25.
 Mwenda 102.

NO! (as interjection)

NOT (with pronouns, demonstratives, and nouns)

Where the negative expression is associated with the verb it is treated as part of the verb-conjugation in Chapter XV of this volume. Sometimes the negative particles, or their near relations the negative or 'annulling' verbs are associated with pronouns, nouns, or adjectives, and become in a measure adverbial. But from the point of view of comparison (as between one language or another) they are included in the survey of the verb forms. There remains, therefore, only to be discussed in this place 'No!' as an interjection. This is only of meagre interest as a means of judging inter-relationships between Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages, because the interjection of denial or refusal is sometimes onomatopoeic—**Aā!**, **Ahāā**, **Ha;a**, sometimes a paraphrase expressive of improbability or disdain. Often, however, 'No!' is identical with the negative particle of the verb.

The following are equivalents of 'No!' which may indicate once again the intricate inter-relationships of the Bantu languages:

- Tawe!, Tawi! 3 b 5 a 6, Tawa 13, Teve 18 a, Ndawa 24, Tawa 77; Nyawe 193 194 195.
 Ndala! 27 28 30, Ndali! 29, Nale! 35, Ndari! 45, Ndati! 92.
 Ntupu! 32, Tupu 21 55 a 92, Tuhu! 104 109 140.
 Byw! 9 a 9 c, Biw! 87, Bi! 104 124 125, Bitu! 164, Bya! 186.
 Kema! 130 131 132, Kem! 204, Kæm! 205-6 214.
 Bula! 2 f 5 6, Burre! 21, Bule 23.

OUTSIDE

-nza* 2 f, -dya* 2 g, -nze* 3, -tsie* 6, -ndze* 9, -nse, -nze* 9 c, Nja* 11, Ndza* 12, Nse 13, Ndze, -nze 16, Nja 17, Ṣa* 17, Nze 18, Se* 19, -se 20, Nje* 21, Nde* 21 a-e, -nze 23, -nse 23 a, -nje 24, -nze 25, -nja 28, -nja, -ntsa* 32, -nji*, -nda* 34, -ndza 35, -nzi* 38, -nze 41, -nse 42, -nsi 43 a, -nze 44, -nja 51 52 53, -sa 54, -ta* 56, -ṅsa* 59, -nja 61 a-b 62, -nṣe 64, -nze 64 a, -nze 70, -ndle* 71 71 e 71 f, Nda* 72, Ntle*, -nte* 73, Ntle 74, -ndi* 74 b, -ndle 75, -ndhle 75 a-c, -nje, -nṣle* 76, -nse 77, -nze 79 80, -nde 83, -nca* 85, -ndye* 89 90, -nje* 91, -ndye 92, -nja 105 106, -nze 110, La-nja* 131, La-nza* 134, -nja

¹ This root in Swahili, and some other languages of Eastern Bantu, means the exact opposite—'far'.

141, -za* 142, -ūsa* 155, Nda-nza, Anza* 162, Nzi 175 178 (also -nciω*), -nsene* 186, -sene* 194, -nseñ* 217, -nseñ* 218, -nsöñ* 219, Si*., -su* 259, -tieñ* 273; Nsax* 253; -ezi, Ki-ezi 151 b; -anyi* 5 a.

-ne, -ane*, -yane* 136, -oni 195, Ni 259.

-nyere* 273, Ere* 227; -werwi* 26; -eru* 2, -iru* 2 c, -erω* 2 e, -eru 2 f-g 4 9 a.

-nseñgwe* 77 78, -heñge* 151 196, -eñge* 199; -sensi* 153.

-aṅga* 18, -nyaṅgω* 32; -kaṅga* 98.

Oñwe 259.

-cuñgula 125.

-kana 184.

-ganda* 102 103; -tanda* 105 106, -danda* 166; Ω-di-banda* 164; -dende* 200; Endendω* 161; -tan 218, -san 160.

-kuma* 98, Ku-uma* 11; -nyima* 104; Tima* 11.

-dambω 57 58.

Yawa 13; -wa, -samwa 94.

-bara* 7 a, -ibala*, -iwala* 27, -ibala 35, Vade* 56, Vate* 56 a, -gati* 14 15, -gara* 193, -baji* 100, -badi* 189, -mbadi* 187, -bari* 190, Parr* 274, pal* 261 (all these forms may be related to the root -bali*, meaning 'far' in Swahili and other of the Eastern Bantu).

Pwli, Pwla* 110, -bula* fu 6, -bwbe* (for -bωle) 186, -bωω* 17.

-bwalω 61, -alalω* 226, -lelω* 257.

-lombwaa 226.

-kwa 104.

Kω 259.

-uka* 5 a; -bōka, -wōka* 209, -bōkω* 204, -bok* 213; -vuguvugu* 193; -luhūū 56.

Ōru-tuñ 244; Dū 248, -ru 263.

-sika 7; -sinω 204; Si-ωtω* 258; Sōta* 17.

-esazi 2 f.

-bom 243.

Sōme 15.

Hea 157; -hita 226.

-isonde 44 b.

PLENTY, MUCH, MANY

-ñgi* 1, -iñgi* 2 2 c, -iñgi 2 d, -iñgi 2 f, -ñgi 2 g, -ñki* 3, -nši* 3, -ñgi 4, -iñgi 5, -ñgi 5 a 6 7, -iñgi 9 a 9 c 11 12, -inji* 13, -eñgi, -iñgi 14, -eñgi 16, -iñgi 17, -jiñki* 18, -iñgi 19 19 a 20 21 21 f-g 22 23 23 a, -ñgi 24 24 c-g, -nji* 25 29, -ndi* 34, -ñgi 31, -iñgi 32 35 37, -iñi* 39, -iñi, -inyi 40, -ñgi 41, -iñgi 42 43 43 a, -inji, -iñgi 44, -inji, -indyi 44 b, -inji 49, -enji 50, -iñgi 51 52, -jinji* 54, -iñgi 55, -inji* 56 a 57 58 58 a 59 61 62, -cinci* 63, -zinzī* 64, -iñgi 64 a, -iñge 68, -iñgi 69, -ñgi 70, -nyñgi* 71 71 f, -nzi* 72, Nce* 73, Ntsi* 74, Ninzi* 75, Niñgi* 75 a, Nyenti* 75 b, Niñi 75 c, -ninzi* 76, -ñgi 77, -nji 78, -iñgi 79 80, -ñgei* 85, -iñgi 86 87 89, -enyi*, -inji 90, -iñgi 92 99 100 103, -ñgi, -iñgi 104 105 106 107 108 118, -ñgin' 119, -ñgi 128 139, -biñgi* 140, -ñgi 142, Kiñgi* 176, -eñge*, -nyeñge* 193 198, -sa-ñgi 206, Keñ* 213, Hiñ* 214, -zin* 218, Nkeñke* 226.

Ñgañ 212, -añguñbu 150; -anañgu 148.

Segege 32; -yika* 102, -iki* 124 126, -ike* 125, Wuki* 129, -jiki* 134, -wiki* 136, Hii* 151, -ikeω* 152, -ike 155 157, -jike* 159 160, -ke, -uke 162, -iki 164, -yike* 166, -ike 167, -seke* 168, Bike* 226; Pyak* 252; Bōhi* 226 b, -ōhe* 34; -ce*, -ye, -dyee*, -je* 134 137, Ma-die* 145 (also Mamada*), Nce* 73, Ntsi 74, Ninzi 75, -nzi 72, -ninzi 76, Nyenti 75 b; -ite* 195 198; -hitω* 199; -iti, Gita*, Jita* 204, -ti 227, Titi* 230, -wita* 12; -cici* 56 b; -iza* 230; Kaši* 110, Asi 150, Ba-si* 154; Gbati* 263.

-nceni* 56 b, -njēne* 56, Keni* 222; -mweni* 58; -nene* 83, -ni, -nini* 153, -ine* 105; -nana* 86.

-anatsima 32.

Kem 213; Kamara 4 b.

Ŋgañ*, -ganω* 74, -hani* 23 23 a 24, -khana* 61, Diñgan* 207; -dyam 230; -yam 243.

-andω* 23, Anda* 66 70, Fwanda* 15, Fanda* 18; -nandi 53; -landa 97; Balanta 112 a; Anjawω* 244; Ndā-bilin* 253.

-bonde 186.

Ndω* 178, Lω* 178, -du* 210; -ωω-* 27, -yωω-* 32, -ōlō-su* 38; Lwli* 14; Lē 155 a; -lai 247; Lω-sωmω 160; Nōr 273; -ñgω 2 e; -oñgō-sū, -onge-su 38.

-nω* (Mūnω) 2 f-g 9 a, -mnω* 24, Munω* 26.

Bū 9 c, Bwūbwu 200; Abau 16; -hapu 91, -yōbω 151 b, -yabω 178; -hepa 91 a.

-butu* 151, -bōtω* 223; -mōte* 226 a; Pūs* 273; -bōja* 148; -buyi* 153; -pω*, Mpω* 245; Fōi* 17; Pōna* 65 a; -pōlu* 193, Vululu* 35, Vua* 28, Pulu* 83, Vulu* 84 98 99 (and Kulu*), -vura* 105, -fula* 106, -vula 109, -vula, -vudi* 110, Vula 116 118, Vω 120, -fula 130, -vula 131, -fula 132 133, -būa* 141, Afulu* 158, -fula 162, -puli* 166, Bvula*, -lula* 175, -bunla* 193, Mfuli*, Bvōa 200, -būa* 205 209, -bii* 217 218 (and -būi*), bui 219, -bu 220, Buaya* 221; -bilin* 253, -bili* 184, -biri* 61 61 a-b, -bule* 186.

-jalω 71 f.

-eru 2 c; -ere 60; -ame-here 35.

Tele* 21-21 e, -zitere* 69; Gele* 246 a, Glegle* 146.

Bē* 109, -bea* 65 65 a 67; Bāā* 168; -papa* 101 103; -panpin* 102; Kpañ* 259, -baña*

104 c.

Kpi 258.

Kiki 248.

Panya 63.

Tañgala 28.

-ine 105.

-sañgi 206, -saisai 206.

-sia 151, -si 238.

-sueja 110.

-kwōje 254.

Kōkōi 211; -hōka 94 b; -jōku 189.

-kōbe 121.

-kuma 84.

-kuna 189.

Lω-sωmω* 160; L-ωmω* 226 a.

Eşuşun 228.

-ñgata 73.

Pyak* 252; -yaga* 9 c; -yai* 32.

Dupōdupō 273.

-jō 234.

-alwa 94.

-wombu 101, -ombe 161.

Bideli 186.

Cuō 229.

-kundu-guru 2 g.

THERE ¹

- K**kw^{*} 64 78, **K**ka^{*} 90, **K**kw^{*} 94; **E**ngkw^{*} 194, **E**nyohw^{*} 114.
Eyw^{*} 4, **I**yw^{*} 64 a 148, **H**ōiyw^{*} 157, **I**w^{*} 65 a, **I**e 67.
Uw^{*} 56 b, **Ū**w^{*} 164, **Ū**wone^{*} 195, **A**wuna^{*} 176, **A**wu^{*} 234; **M**bowu^{*} 186; **B**w^{*} 273; **K**ibu^{*} 148; **F**w^{*} 74, **H**ene-fw^{*} 72; **L**a-pw^{*} 75 75 a 76.
Ba^{*} 230, **B**aba^{*} 273; **P**are^{*} 254, **N**fa^{*}, **M**fa^{*} 258, **N**a-paia^{*} 68, **L**a-haya^{*}, **-lahw**^{*} 71 71 f; **W**a-lai^{*} 228 a; **M**fēlē^{*} 238.
Ta^{*} 210; **I**tai^{*} 6; **P**a-daku^{*} 241, **T**e^{*} 218, **T**eñ^{*}, **T**eni^{*} 74 b; **T**sahw^{*} 22.
Ganā^{*} 242, **G**a^{*} 228; **G**enw^{*} 66; **N**ana^{*} 178.
Se-nyane 69.
Sara 248.
Elw 157.
De^{*}, **R**e^{*}, **R**w^{*}, **D**ia^{*}, **R**ia^{*} 263, **E**ri^{*} 4, **G**edi^{*} 274; **M**a-ndiw^{*} 244.
Lwa 261.
Ūna-mwona 155.
Ūka-wani, **Ū**ka-vani 195.
Aṅgani 166; **A**ṅkapw 108.
Liṅku 130; **L**ina 131.
Oṅg^{*} 166; **M**oṅka 105.
Kw^{*} 229, **-kw** 259, **I**klō, **I**kōlō 259; **K**ul 261.
Kwene^{*} 125, **E**ne^{*} 129, **E**ena^{*} 243; **M**ani 74 b; **-nani**^{*} 103, **-na** 184, **N**ana 178; **S**e-nyane 79.
Etse 230; **T**sahw 22.
Lapw, **L**a 75 75 a 76, **L**a-haya^{*}, **-lahw**^{*} 71 71 f.
Mwla^{*} 73.
Mwonw^{*} 73; **M**womw^{*} 78; **Ū**na-mwona 155; **Ū**mōi 164.
Nwe^{*} 56; **W**e 195; **C**ii 121.
Pompw 61 b.
Kwa-wikwa 110.

WHERE ?

- ka-hi**^{*} 2 e, **H**a-i^{*} 2 f, **H**e^{*} 3 3 b, **A**-hi 9 a, **-he** 9 c, **H**i-yw^{*} 14, **H**i 15, **L**a-vi^{*}, **-hi**, **H**i-kw^{*} 16, **K**a-he 17, **H**a-hi, **-hi** 19 a, **H**ii 19, **H**iw 18, **-pi** (**W**a-pi) 21 21 a-d, **K**wa-pi 21 e, **-pi**^{*} 21 f, **-hi** 23 23 a, **-i** 26 27, **-da-pi**^{*} 38, **I** 39, **P**l 41 43 a, **-li-pi**^{*} 44 b, **K**wa-pi 54, **V**a-i^{*}, **V**a-yi^{*} 56 56 a, **U**-vi^{*} 57, **P**i 63 64 64 a, **I**ti-pi^{*} 69, **-hi** 70, **K**wi-hi 71 e-f, **N**ga-fhi^{*} 72, **-fe** 73, **K**a-e^{*} 73 74, **K**a-i^{*} 74 b, **P**i-na^{*} 75, **P**i, **P**i-na 75 a, **P**i 75 b-c 76, **N**a-pi^{*} 75 c, **K**u-hi, **-hi** 80, **K**u-pi^{*} 82, **-bi**, **B**ini^{*} 83, **L**i-hi 84 86, **P**e^{*}, **P**i, **P**u^{*} 89, **P**e-ni^{*} 90 91, **Ū**-pi^{*} 92, **P**i 94, **-ihi**, **-iyi** 97, **B**i 98, **K**ue-bi 98, **H**i, **K**ue-hi 99, **-yi**, **-e** 100, **W**a-fe^{*} 104 a, **P**i 104 105, **V**i-li 119, **-pai**^{*} 106, **-hi** 110, **-mbi** 157, **V**i 186, **G**wi^{*}, **V**e-ni^{*} 193 (also **H**a-i^{*}), **Ū**-ve^{*} 195, **E**-ve 194, **Ū**-wele^{*} 198, **Ū**-wewe^{*} 199, **P**e, **Ū**-pe-nye^{*} 200, **Ū**-we 204, **-fe** 207, **W**e-kw^{*}, **Ū**-we 209, **W**ee^{*} 211, **F**e 212 213, **H**e 214 217, **V**i 218, **V**e 219, **K**a-xe^{*} 226, **F**e^{*}, **F**e-le 258, **-a-i**^{*} (**T**a-i, **B**a-i, **B**oba-i) 273; **K**wi^{*} 18 25 42 44 44 b 45, **K**wi-ni 71, **K**wi-, **U**kwi 78, **K**w^{*} 105 106 124, **E**-kwe 126, **K**i 116, **K**wi 118, **K**ui-sw 110, **K**ui-sakw 110, **K**wi-kw 85, **K**ue-kw 86, **K**ui-nyi^{*} 125; **K**yuni 108.
-ti² (**K**u-ti^{*}, **P**a-ti^{*}) 58 61 61 a-b 87.
-li^{*}, **K**u-li 77 79, **K**ō-ri^{*} 81; **R**e^{*}, **R**e-ke 263; **-ndi**^{*} 134, **-nde** 137, **U**ndi 204; **L**i-ku^{*} 131, **L**i-ni 140.

¹ Not including words meaning 'that place' or other paraphrases or mere demonstratives, except where it is unavoidable.

² This is really one of the **-pi** roots, the labial *p* frequently changing into *t* in these Nyasaland languages.

Nda-ena 243.

Iyare, Iare 7 a ; -raii 7.

Hoki* 24, -oci* 28, Poki* 51, -ki 116.

-oye* 4, Iye* 155 ; -iya* 27, -ia* 263 ; Yani* 141, -ani* 23 a.

-fan* 227, -fa* 234, Wa* 4, Awa* 186, -iba* 12, -cha* 109, Haω* 14, Awe* 132 ; Awa 151 b ;

Yaban* 253.

Ku* 35 38 44 44 b, Nku* 52, Gu* 184, Kω* 226, -hω* 230, Nkωhe* 220, Nω* 261 ; Ku-pōni* 59, -kω* 9 c, -ku 11 12, Ku, -kuni* 13, -kuni* 62 175 (also Muni), Guni* 189 190, Gōni* 187, Kyuni* 108, -ñkω* 162, -liku 131, Kwaku 32, Kuñ 121, Kunu* 122.

Kwa-ci 34, Kwa 35, Kwa-ku 32.

Ka* 2 g 11, -ha* 11, Ka-ōna* 123, Ka-ha* 2, Dω-ka* 129, Ka* 226 ; Nga*-fhi 72 ; Ne 274 261 ; Ke*-ci 226.

Komwe 59 ; Dω-kom 129.

Jω* 161 ; Sω* 204 ; Ω 214.

-nyi 104, -ni 103, Nye 212.

-niñga 205 206.

-na 5 5 a 6.

-amina 155.

Teni 151.

-fω 259.

-kwilakwi 44 44 b.

CHAPTER XV

THE VERB IN BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU

THE conception and the construction of the verb in these two great families presents many features in common, and the type prevalent in the Bantu is sufficiently followed in the Semi-Bantu for us to be able to use the normal Bantu arrangement as a standard from which few variations occur.

We find that in general the verb-root is disyllabic, or where the terminal vowel has been dropped in the North-west Bantu or the Semi-Bantu, it consists of a consonant, a vowel, and a consonant. There are, however, in both groups, monosyllabic verb-roots. The auxiliary verbs, and verb-roots dealing with elementary ideas such as 'come', 'go', 'eat', 'drink', 'die', 'strike', 'give', and the renderings of 'be', 'exist' are usually monosyllabic. Trisyllabic verb-roots are common, especially in Bantu, but the last syllable can nearly always be traced back to one of those special suffixial terminations which are so much in use for the modification of the original, simple sense of the verb-root. As a rule, therefore, we have had to deal with a disyllabic verb-root which usually (and perhaps always, originally) commenced with a consonant.

To this virtually unchangeable root are prefixed the pronominal particles representing the agent or the pronoun in the nominative sense, and a variety of syllables which carry verbal action beyond the mere aorist announcement. Also, prefixed to the actual verb-root, though coming after the tense particles and the nominative pronoun, is a pronominal infix representing the objective pronoun associated with the verb, if any. The custom of treating the objective pronoun as an infix *preceding* the verb-root is of nearly universal use in all the Bantu languages except those of the North-western branch¹. It is rare, however, in the Semi-Bantu. The objective, where no infix is used, or even in all the Bantu languages where great emphasis is desired, is represented by a suffixed pronoun in its terminal form (after the style of the French '*moi*', '*toi*'). The negative particles may also precede the verb-root either as infixes between the nominative pronoun and the verb-root, or as prefixes to the nominative pronouns. And negative suffixes to the verb-root are of frequent use. The terminal vowel of the otherwise unchangeable verb-root may be modified to express a negative or a subjunctive case, in which instances the terminal -a may be changed to -i for the negative or -e for the subjunctive.

The suffixial additions to the verb-root may indicate tenses other than the simple aorist, especially a pretérite (-ile, with variations) and a pluperfect; or they may indicate negation, completeness, emphasis, or continuation of action. A very important and widespread series of modifying suffixes are those which alter and elaborate the sense of the original verb-root, making it passive instead of active, reflexive, neuter, applicative or prepositional, causative, reciprocal, continuous or 'thorough' or repetitive, adverbial (connected with time, place, &c.), qualitative or adjectival, stative, &c.

The particles that indicate the tense meanings beyond the mere aorist, or even those that modify the sense of the verb-root, can be traced in most cases to an affinity with noun-prefixes, with prepositions, adverbs, demonstratives, or with independent—or once independent—verb-roots (mostly monosyllabic);

¹ Infixed pronominal particles ('me', 'thee', 'him', &c.) exist in all the groups of Bantu languages until we reach Group LL of the Teke tongues (Nos. 175-182). Here, with the exception of one instance in No. 177 of an infix pronoun 'us', the infix objective vanishes and only reappears in Nos. 198, 205, and 206. Infixed objective pronouns reappear in the Semi-Bantu in Nos. 228, 229, 234, 235, 258, and 263.

and most markedly with the various forms of the verb 'to be'. The verb-roots most often employed in the auxiliary conjugation of other verbs or of themselves usually signify 'come', 'go', 'finish', 'do', 'say', 'appear', 'extend', 'wish', 'stand', 'sit', 'know', and 'can'. The affinities of the verbal particles with noun-prefixes, concords, or pronouns are mainly with Classes 2 4 6 7 8 11 13 14 16 and 17; with the prepositions 'to', 'on', 'with', and 'in'. There are, indeed, times when the searcher into Bantu etymologies seems to discern an original 'oneness' between class prefixes, demonstratives, pronouns, forms of the verb 'to be', prepositions, and the particles used in conjugating the verb.

To facilitate comparison and the indication of relationships between one language and another, one group and another, and to avoid confusion, it is better to enumerate the following features of the verb in Bantu and Semi-Bantu, and to refer to these features by the numeral at the head of each clause:

(1) The *Verb-root*: is it *disyllabic* (as usual), or *monosyllabic* only, or *trisyllabic* as well?
 (2) Does the verb-root terminate in *-a* (the normal condition, and at any rate the most frequent); or if not, what are the other terminal vowels of the simple verb-root, or is the termination not vocal but consonantal?

(3) Is the *verb-root* identical with the *Second person singular* of the *Imperative* (as it is nearly always).

(3 a) Or if not, what is the form of the second person singular of the Imperative?

(3 b) Is the second person *plural* of the *Imperative* the bare verb-root followed by the *pronominal particle -ni* (or its variants)?

(4) The *Infinitive* of the verb being usually the verb-root preceded by the prefix *Ku-*, what are the exceptions to this rule?

(5) Is the simplest form of the *present tense* the Aorist, that is to say, merely the unchanged root of the verb preceded by the pronoun? [The Aorist may sometimes have the meaning of an indefinite past.]

(5 a) Is the *terminal vowel* of the verb-root in the *present tense* changed to indicate a *Negative* sense (usually from *-a* to *-i*)? If so, is it *-i* or *-e*?

(5 b) If the *Present tense* is *not* represented by the Aorist—the verb-root merely preceded by the pronoun—how is it indicated? And in such case, and also in the formation of an imperfect present ('I am beating', &c.), by what preceding or suffixial case particles is the tense indicated?

(6) Is the form of the *simple Preterite* the *-ile* termination added to the verb-root? [Commonly the terminal *-a* of the verb-root is lost in the *-i* of the *-ile* termination or may fuse with it to form an *-e*. The *-ile* termination may assume many other related forms—*-ide*, *-ine*, *-ire*, or less commonly *-ike*, *-ise*. Usually, however, it is traceable back to *-ile*, *-ike*, or *-ise*, these being no doubt suffixes of different origin.]

(7) How is the *Near Past* ('was doing', 'have done') indicated?

(8) Are there *Pluperfect* or other past tenses ('had done', 'done long since') more remote than the simple preterite? If so, how are they indicated?

(9) How is the *Subjunctive* formed? (usually by changing the terminal *-a* of the root to *-e*).

(10) How is a *Conditional tense* formed?

(10 a) Is there a *Narrative tense* ('And he did so and so', 'And they went', 'And then I got up', &c.)?

(11) How is the *Future* formed?

(12) Are there any verbal forms answering to our *participles* or *gerunds*?

(13) How is *Negation* indicated? (a) By a negative *prefix*, (b) *infix*, (c) *suffix*, (d) or a combination of prefix or infix and suffix, (e) by changing the terminal vowel of the verb-root to *-i*, (f) by stressing a syllable, usually a preliminary pronoun, or (g) by the use of negative verbs, namely, verbs having a purely privative or negative sense?

(14) What are the *Terminal syllables* added to the simple verb-root to modify its sense? What in this connexion is the termination making the verb *Passive* instead of active?

(14 a) How is the verb made Reflexive ('to see one's self')?

(14 b) What is the terminal syllable that gives a *Neutral* or *Semi-passive* signification to the verb-root? (thus, if 'I cool water' be transitive, and 'the water is chilled' passive, 'the water is chilly' would be neuter).

(14 c) The *Prepositional* or *Applicative* terminal (as 'I do for some one', 'I do to some one', 'by or on account of some one', as contrasted with the simple 'do')?

(14 d) What is the *Causative* terminal ('I give' would be the simple form of the verb; 'I cause to give' would be the causative modification of the root)?

(14 e) The *Reversive* ('I undo' or 'untie' as contrasted with 'do' and 'tie')?

(14 f) *Reciprocal* ('to fight each other', not merely 'to fight')?

(14 g) *Repetitive, continuous, confirmative, emphatic* action?

(14 h) *Adverbial* ('to put in', 'to put there', 'to put here', 'to put in some particular manner' as contrasted with merely 'to put')?

(14 i) *Qualitative* ('to be fat', 'to be thin', 'to be long', 'to be good', &c.)?

(14 j) *Stative* (usually connected with states or conditions at the time of acting, with position, lying down, standing up—often with an increasingly vague application difficult to trace back to its original stative meaning)?

There are other special modifications of the verb sense ('privative' and 'postponed') which I have classed as (14 k) and (14 l), but they occur perhaps only in No. 273, and are explained in dealing with that language.

For the further elucidation of the drift of these comparisons it might be stated that the passive terminations classed as (14) are generally **-wa**, **-ba**, **-ibwa**; the *infix* of (14 a) is normally a syllable like **-ji-**, **-di-**, **-li-**, indicating 'self', and immediately preceding the verb-root; (14 b) is the termination **-ika** (**-eka**), **-ka**; (14 c) **-ila**, **-ira**, **-ina**; (14 d) **-isa**, **-isa**, **-iza**; (14 e) **-ula**, **-ura**; (14 f) **-ana**, **-kana**; (14 g) **-ga**, **-nga**, **-ge**; (14 h) **-pw** (**-hw**), **-kw**, **-mw**; (14 i) **-pa** (**-ha**); (14 j) **-ama**, **-ma**, **-ala**, **-la**, &c.; (15) the auxiliary verb which is most important for comparison is nearly always the verb 'to be', which, with a preposition ('to be with'), becomes the verb 'to have', and the commonest roots for 'to be' are **-ba** (**-wa**), **-li** (**-di**), and **Ni**, **Ndi**.

Before I proceed to catalogue the forms answering to these enumerated features, it might be as well to give *paradigmata* of the verb as it is arranged in some of the more remarkable of the languages under review, prefacing this with the statement that *I do not pretend to give all the possible tenses that might be adduced*. In some languages such as those of the Nyanza Group, the Zulu-Kafir-Secuana, Koñgō, Temne, and Dyōla Groups, there may be an astonishing variety of subtle modifications of the verb by the introduction or change of position of particles affecting its meaning. This subtlety may be confined to a few abstruse thinkers in the community, and the tendency has been somewhat over-encouraged by missionary teachers and by a native press, it being thought to be a subject for national pride to have verbal expressions as complicated as possible. This tendency would lead us too far from the plain paths of philology, and its illustration would not help us in any comparison of language with language. It may be taken as a fact that the 15 clauses above set forth represent as a rule the average extent to which the verb may be developed in expression by normal speakers of Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages.

PARADIGMATA OF THE VERB IN SEVERAL BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU LANGUAGES

IN RU-NYŌRŌ (2-2 g)

(1) and (2)¹ **-rora**, 'see'.

(3) **Rora!** 'see!' (2nd pers. sing. Imperative).

(3 b) There is no **-ni** termination to the 2nd pers. plur. of the Imperative, either in Ru-nyorō or in other members of the Nyanza Group.

(4) **Ūku-rora**, 'to see'; **Ūku-ta-rora**, 'not to see'.

¹ The numbers in brackets at the head of each paragraph refer to the numbered clauses of verb-conjugation characteristics cited in the foregoing pages. The accent, it might be mentioned, is always on the penultimate, except where otherwise indicated.

- (5) Aorist Present :
- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| N-dora , ¹ ' I see '. | Tu-rora , ' we see '. |
| Ū-rora , ' thou seest '. | Mu-rora , ' ye see '. |
| A-rora , ' he sees '. | Ba-rora , ' they see '. |
- (5 a) No change of terminal **-a** of verb-root for Negative Present or other tense.
- (5 b) Imperfect or Literal Present Tense :
- Ni-n-dora**, ' I am seeing '.
- N-ŵ-rora**, ' thou art seeing ', &c. [Note use of **N-** or **Ni-** prefix.]
- Also :
- N-a-rora**, ' I see '.
- W-a-rora**, ' thou seest ', &c.
- N-duku-rora**,¹ ' I who am seeing ', or ' I seeing '.
- Ū-ruku-rora**, ' thou who art seeing ', &c.
- (6) Preterite Tense :
- Ndŵzire** (for **N-dorire**),¹ ' I saw '.
- Ū-rŵzire**, &c., ' thou sawest ', &c.
- (7) Imperfect Past Tense :
- N-do-zire-ge**, ' I was seeing ', &c.
- (8) Pluperfect or Distant Past Tense :
- N-ka-rora**, ' I did see ', ' I had seen ', &c.
- N-a-rora**, ' I used to see ', &c.
- (9) Subjunctive Mood :
- N-dore**, ' I may see '.
- Ū-rore**, ' thou mayest see ', &c.
- (10) Conditional Mood :
- N-ku-rŵzire**, ' I might have seen ', &c.
- N-a-ku-rŵzire**, ' I should see ', ' I should have seen ', &c.
- N-a-ba-ni-n-dora**, ' I should be seeing ', &c.
- (10 a) [There is no ' Narrative Tense '.]
- (11) Future Tenses :
- N-da-rora**, ' I shall see '.
- Ū-ra-rora**, ' thou shalt see ', &c.
- N-di-rora**, ' I shall be seeing '.
- Ū-li-rora**, ' thou wilt be seeing ', &c.
- (12) No very clearly marked participial forms, apart from the Infinitive of the verb.
- (13) Forms of Negation in the Verb :
- | | |
|--|--|
| Ū-ta-rora ! ' see not ! '. | |
| Ti-n-dora , ' I see not '. | Ti-tu-rora , ' we see not '. |
| T-ŵ-rora , ' thou seest not '. | Ti-mu-rora , ' ye see not '. |
| T-a-rora , ' he sees not '. | Ti-ba-rora , ' they see not '. |
| | Ti-n-do-zire , ' I have not seen ', &c. |
| | Ti-ndi-rora , ' I shall not see ', &c. |
| N-ta-rora , ' I who see not '. | |
| Ū-ta-rora , ' thou who seest not ', &c. | |

¹ As often happens in the Bantu, *r* changes to *d* after *n*. In the middle of a word, also, *r* tends to become *z* in this sub-group.

N-ta-li-rora, 'I who will not see', &c.

N̄-ka-ba-n-ta-rora, 'I used not to see', &c. (**-kaba-** is a Past Tense of the verb **-ba**, 'to be').

Ūbu-ta-rora, 'not seeing'.

(14) **Ūku-rorwa**, or **Ūku-rorebwa**, 'to be seen' (Passive).

(14 a) **Ūku-e-rora**, 'to see oneself'.

(14 b) **Ūku-roreka**, 'to be visible'.

(14 c) **Ūku-rorira**, 'to see for, or to, or on account of some one'.

(14 d) **Ūku-rorya**, **Ūku-roreza**, **-roriza**, &c., 'to cause to see'.

(14 e) **Ūku-rorura**, 'to unsee'.¹

(14 f) **Ūku-rorana**, **-rorañgana**, 'to be transparent', 'to see one another'.

(14 g) **Ūku-rora-ga**, 'to see completely, continuously'.¹

(14 h) **Ūku-rora-hw**, **-rora-ha**, **-rora-yw**, **-ror'-emu**, &c., 'to see there; see yonder, in', &c.

(14 i) **Ūku-kura-ihā**, **Ūku-kura-hara**, 'to be tall', 'to be weedly tall'.

(These examples of the 'qualitative' terminal, **-ihā**, **-ha**, **-hara**—elsewhere in Bantu, **-pa**, **-para**—are given in another verb, **-kura**, 'to increase', as they are not applicable to 'see'.)

(14 j) **Ūku-konda-ma**, 'to become weak from illness', from a disused root, **-konda**, **-gonja**, 'to be sick'—an example of a 'Stative' extension of the verb-root. Other 'Stative' terminals in Nyōrō dialects are **-la**, **-ra**; but the formation is not as common and well-recognized in this sub-group as elsewhere among the Bantu.

(15) **Ūku-ba**, 'to be'; **Ūku-li**, defective verb, 'to be', not used in Infinitive Subjunctive and certain tenses of Indicative.

IN SWAHILI (2I-2I g)

(1) and (2) **-piga**, 'beat'.

(3) **Piga!** 'beat!'

(3 b) **Piga-ni!** 'beat ye!'

(4) **Ku-piga**, 'to beat'; **Ku-twa kupiga**, 'not to beat'.

(5) **Ni-piga**,² 'I beat'.

U-piga, 'thou beatest'.

A-piga, 'he beats'.

Hu-piga, 'one beats'.

(**Hu** is an impersonal pronoun for the 3rd pers. sing., equivalent to French 'on'.)

Tu-piga, 'we beat'.

M-piga, 'ye beat'.

Wa-piga, 'they beat'.

(5 a) **Si-pigi**, 'I beat not'.

Hu-pigi, 'thou beatest not', &c.

(5 b) **N-a-piga**, 'I beat'.

W-a-piga, 'thou beatest', &c.

Ni-na-piga, 'I am beating'.

U-na-piga, 'thou art beating', &c.

Ni-piga-ye, 'I who beat'.

U-piga-ye, 'thou who beatest', &c.

¹ This is virtually a supposititious form, not actually verified, to illustrate the Reversive terminal, **-ula** or **-ura**.

² This Aorist Tense is very seldom used in conversational Swahili.

(6) The Preterite in **-ile** has virtually disappeared from Swahili, though there are traces of it (**-re**) in the Komorō dialects (22) and in such dialects of Swahili as have preserved the **-lele**, **-wene**, and **-kēē** as the Preterites of **-lala**, **-ōna**, and **-kaa**. These inflexions (**-lele**, &c.) are formed from the apocopation of **-lalile**, &c.

In ordinary Swahili, the place of the **-ile** Preterite is taken by the

N-a-li-piga or **Ni-li-piga** tense, 'I beat, did beat', &c.

(7) **Ni-me-piga**, 'I was beating', &c.

Ni-ndō-piga, 'I was beating' (21 e).

(8) **Ni-li-piga** or **N-a-li-piga**, 'I beat' (both Preterite and Pluperfect), &c.

Ni-lime-piga, 'I beat' (21 b), &c.

(9) **Ni-pige**, 'that I may beat', 'let me beat', &c.

Ni-pige-je? 'how shall I beat?' &c.

(10) **Ni-ki-piga**, 'if I beat', &c.

Ni-japō-piga, 'even if I beat', &c.

Ni-ñge-piga, 'I should beat', &c.

Ni-ñgali-piga, 'had I beaten', &c.

(10 a) **Ni-ka-piga**, 'and I beat', &c.

(11) **Ni-ta-piga**, 'I shall beat', &c.

(12) (No special participial tense for what is rendered generally by the Infinitive, or the **-ki-** tense —**Ni-ki-piga**.)

(13) **Si-pigi**, 'I beat not'.

Hu-pigi, 'thou beatest not'.

Hā-pigi, 'he beats not'.

Si-ku-piga, 'I did not beat'.

Hu-ku-piga, 'thou didst not beat', &c.

Ni-si-pige, 'that I may not beat', &c.

Ni-sipō-piga, 'unless I was beating', 'if I was not beating', &c.

Ni-sije-piga, 'I may not already have beaten', &c.

Si-piga, 'beat not'; **Si-pigani**, 'beat ye not', &c.¹

Hatu-pigi, 'we beat not'.

Ham-pigi, 'ye beat not'.

Hawa-pigi, 'they beat not'.

(14) **N-a-pigwa**, 'I am¹beaten' (**Si-pigwi**, 'I am not beaten')

(14a) **Ku-ji-piga**, 'to beat oneself'.

(14b) **Ku-pigika**,² 'to be beatable'.

(14c) **Ku-pigilia**, 'to beat for, at, on account of'.

(14d) **Ku-pigiza**, **-pigiṣa** 'to make to beat', 'to cause to beat'.

(14e) **Ku-pigūa**,² 'to cease beating'.

(14f) **Ku-pigana**, 'to fight together' (**Ku-piganiṣa**, 'to cause to fight together', **Ku-piganiṣana**, 'to set on to fight').

(14g) **Ku-pigana-je?** 'to beat (or fight) how?' **Ku-pigana-tō**,² 'thoroughly to fight'.

(14h) Scarcely used.

¹ This is quoted to show structure, but in ordinary conversation the Negated Imperative is more often rendered by the Subjunctive—**U-si-pige**; pl. **m-si-pige**.

² A supposititious form; where the **-ua** termination exists it is the **-ula** of other tongues.

(14 i) Scarcely used.

(14 j) **-ma** and **-ta** terminals used with Stative verbs, like **-sima-ma**, 'stand', **-kama-ta**, 'catch', without present day consciousness of the signification.

(15) **Ni-**, **Ndi** = 'is', 'it is'. **Si-** (Neg.) = 'it is not'. **-wa** and (rarely) **-iwa** and **-li** are verb-roots for 'to be'.

•
IN ṚŌSA (75)

(1) and (2) **-tuma**, 'send'.

(Several prominent verb-roots are monosyllabic, and a few like **-azi**, 'know'; **-co**, 'say so'; and **-ti**, 'say', do not terminate in **-a**.¹)

(3) **Tuma!** 'send!'

(3 a) **Ka-tume**, **Ma-tume**, politer or more entreating forms of the Imperative; **Yi-** is used as a prefix before monosyllabic roots.

(3 b) **Tumani!** 'send ye!'

(4) **Uku-tuma**, 'to send'. Negative: **Uku-ñga-tumi**.

(5) **Ndi-tuma**, 'I send'.

Si-tuma, 'we send'.

U-tuma, 'thou sendest'.

Ni-tuma, 'ye send'.

U-tuma, 'he sends'.

Ba-tuma, 'they send'.

(5 a) **A-ndi-tumi**, 'I send not'.

(5 b) **Ndi-ya-tuma**, 'I am sending'.

U-ya-tuma, 'thou art sending', &c.

Nd-a-ku-tuma, 'when I send'.

(6) **Ndi-tumile** or **Ndi-tumé**, 'I sent'.

(7) **Ndi-be-ndi-tuma**, 'I was sending'.

U-be-u-tuma, 'thou wast sending'.

Nd-a-ye-ndi-tuma, 'I was sending'.

W-a-ye-u-tuma, 'thou wast sending', &c.

Be-ndi-tuma, 'I have been sending'.

Be-si-tuma, 'we have been sending'.

U-b-u-tuma, 'thou hast been sending'.

Be-ni-tuma, 'ye have been sending'.

E-be-tuma, 'he has been sending'.

Be-be-tuma, 'they have been sending'.

Nd-a-ndi-tuma, 'I was sending'.

W-a-wu-tuma, 'thou wast sending', &c.

(8) **Nd-ā-tuma**, 'I sent' (some time ago).

W-ā-tuma, 'thou sentest', &c.

Nd-ā-ye-ndi-tumile, 'I sent, I had sent' (a long time ago), &c.

(9) **Ndi-tume**, 'that I may send', &c.

(10) **Nd-a-ye-ndi-ya-ku-tuma**, 'I would have sent', &c.

(10 a) **Nd-a-tuma**, 'and I sent', &c.

(11) **Nd-ω-tuma**, 'I shall send'.

W-ω-tuma, 'thou shalt send', &c.

Ndi-ya-ku-tuma, 'I shall send' (at a more remote time, or more expressive of intention).

¹ The first and third of these are contractions from an older **-aziba** and **-tia**.

(12) (Various tenses express the participial sense, especially the Aorist (5) and the Preterite (6). The Infinitive is the real participle or verbal noun.)

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| A·ndi-tumi , 'I send not'. | A-si-tumi , 'we send not'. |
| A-ku-tumi , 'thou sendest not'. | A-ni-tumi , 'ye send not'. |
| A-ka-tumi , 'he sends not', | A-ba-tumi , 'they send not'. |
| · A·ndi-tuma-ñga , 'I sent not'. | |
| A-ku-tuma-ñga , 'thou sentest not', &c. , | |
| A·nd-a-tuma , 'I sent not'. | |
| A·ndi-yi-ku-tuma , 'I shall not send', &c. | |
| Ndi-ñga-tumi , 'I not sending'. | |
| · U-ñga-tumi , 'thou not sending', &c. | |
| Ndi-be-ndi-ñga-tumi , 'I was not sending', &c. | |
| Ndi-be-ndi-ñga-tuma-ñga , 'I had not sent', &c. | |
| U-ñga-tumi! 'send not!' | |
| Musa-ni-uku-tuma! 'send ye not!' | |
| A·ndi-ka-tumi , 'I send not yet', &c. | |
| · A·ndi-sa-yi-ka-tuma , 'I shall never send', &c. | |

(14) **Uku-tunywa**¹ 'to be sent'.

(14 a) **Uku-zi-tuma**, 'to send oneself'.

(14 b) **Uku-tumeka**, 'to be sendable', 'to be fit for sending'.

(14 c) **Uku-tumela**, 'to send to or for'.

(14 d) **Uku-tumisa**, 'to cause to send'.

(14 e) **Uku-tumula**, 'to unsend, to cancel sending' (a supposititious term to illustrate the Reversive terminal common in other verbs).

(14 f) **Uku-tumana**, 'to send one another'.

(14 g) **Uku-tumulula, Uku-tumalala**, 'to make a point of sending', 'to send repeatedly'.

(14 h) **Uku-tuma-ke**, 'to send thus'.

(14 i) (Not represented in ǒsa or Zulu.)

(14 j) **Uku-tuma-kala**, 'to be in a condition of sendableness, to be despatchable'.

(There are numerous verbal endings in ǒsa of a Stative quality, **-ma, -la, -ata**, which last is also Reflexive.)

(15) **Uku-ba**; 'to be'.

IN HERERŪ (89)

(1) and (2) **-suta**, 'pay'.

(3) **Suta!** 'pay!'

(3 a) **I-suta!** 'pay thou!' 'pay ye!'

(3 b) **Suteye!** 'pay ye!'

(4) **Ūku-suta**, 'to pay'. **Ūku-ha-suta**, 'not to pay'.

(5) **Mbi-suta** (or **Ndyi-suta**), 'I pay'.

U-suta, 'thou payest'.

U-suta, 'he pays'.

Tu-suta, 'we pay'.

Mu-suta, 'ye pay'.

Ve-suta, 'they pay'.

¹ In Kafir-Zulu, **-mw-** (as in **-tumwa**) becomes **-nyw-**.

(5 a) No change for Negative in -a terminal.

(5 b) **M-e-sutu**,¹ 'I am paying'.
M-e-sutu, 'thou art paying'.
M-a-sutu, 'he is paying'.

Ma-tu-sutu, 'we are paying'.
Ma-mu-sutu, 'ye are paying'.
Ma-ve-sutu, 'they are paying'.

(6) (Only as a Pluperfect):

Mb-a-sutire, 'I paid, had paid'.
W-a-sutire, 'thou paidest, hadst paid', &c.

(7) (Really the Preterite):

E-sutu, 'I paid'.
Ω-sutu, 'thou paidest'.
A-sutu, 'he paid'.
Mb-a-sutu, 'I was paying'.
W-a-sutu, 'thou wast paying'.
W-a-sutu, 'he was paying'.

A-tu-sutu, 'we paid'.
A-mu-sutu, 'ye paid'.
A-ve-sutu, 'they paid'.
Tu-a-sutu, 'we were paying'.
Mu-a-sutu, 'ye were paying'.
V-a-sutu, 'they were paying'.

(8) (See No. 6.)

(9) **E²sute**, 'that I may pay'.
Ω-sute, 'that thou mayest pay'.
A-sute, 'that he may pay'.
Ndyi-sute, 'if I pay'.
U-sute, 'if thou payest', &c.

A-tu-sute, 'that we may pay'.
A-mu-sute, 'that ye may pay'.
A-ve-sute, 'that they may pay'.

(10) **Ŋg-e-sute**, 'I shall or should pay'.
Ŋg-ω-sute, 'thou shalt or shouldst pay'.
Ŋg-a-sute, 'he shall or should pay'.

Ŋga-tu-sute, 'we should pay'.
Ŋga-mu-sute, 'ye should pay'.
Ŋga-ve-sute, 'they should pay'.

(This is the nearest to the average Conditional form which I can find in Hererω; there is seemingly no Narrative Tense, 10a.)

(11) **Me-e-sutu**, 'I shall pay'.
Mo-ω-sutu, 'thou wilt pay'.
Ma-a-sutu, 'he will pay'.

Ma-a-tu-sutu, 'we will pay'.
Ma-a-mu-sutu, 'ye will pay'.
Ma-a-ve-sutu, 'they will pay'.

(12) **Na-ku-suta**, 'paying'.

(13) **Hi-suta**, 'I pay not'.
Ko-suta, 'thou payest not'.
Ka-suta, 'he pays not'.

Ka-tu-suta, 'we pay not'.
Ka-mu-suta, 'ye pay not'.
Ka-ve-suta, 'they pay not'.

Hi-n'ωku-suta, 'I am not paying'.
Ko-n'ωku-suta, 'thou art not paying'.
Ke-n'ωku-suta, 'he is not paying', &c.

Hi-mb-a-sutire, or **Hi-sutire-kω**, 'I did not pay'.
Kω-wa-sutire, or **Kω-sutire**, 'thou didst not pay', &c.

E-e-sutu-kω, 'I paid not'.
Ω-ω-sutu, 'thou paidst not'.
A-a-sutu, 'he paid not'.

A-a-tu-sutu, 'we paid not'.
A-a-mu-sutu, 'ye paid not'.
A-a-ve-sutu, 'they paid not'.

E-e-sute, 'I might not pay'.
Ω-ω-sute, 'thou mightst not pay', &c.

He-sute, 'I should not pay'.
K-ω-sute, 'thou shouldst not pay'.
K-a-sute, 'he should not pay', &c.

¹ The terminal vowel of the verb-root in Hererω changes from -a to -i, -ω, and -u in certain tenses here given, according to whether the first vowel of the root is a or e, o, or u.

² E- and Ω- in these pronominal particles stand for A-i, A-u.

Ū-sutu-kᵛ! 'pay not!'

A-mu-sutu-kᵛ! 'pay ye not!'

(14) **Ūku-sutwa!** 'to be paid'.

(14 a) **Ūku-ri-suta,** 'to pay oneself'.

(14 b) **Ūku-suteka,** 'to be payable'.

(14 c) **Ūku-sutira,** 'to pay to, for'.

(14 d) **Ūku-sutisa,** 'to cause to pay'.

(14 e) **Ūku-sutura,¹** 'to cancel payment'.

(14 f) **Ūku-sutana, -sutasana,** 'to pay one another'.

(14 g) (Apparently no terminal of this kind: effect produced by doubling terminal of 14 e—**-urura**).

(14 h) **Ūku-suta-mᵛ,** 'to pay in' (not much used).

(14 i) **Ūku-suta-para,** 'to be or to become payable'.

(15) **Ūku-ri,** 'to be'; **Ūku-rira,** 'to be, become'; **Ūku-kara,** 'to be, remain, reside'; **Ūku-hara,** 'to be' (qualitatively).

IN DUALA (204)

(1) and (2) **-pula,** 'desire' or 'will', 'wish'.

(3) **Pula!** 'desire!'

(3 b) **O-pule,** 'desire ye' (Subjunctive).

Sedi-mba-na-pule, 'let me desire'.

Sedi-wa-o-pule, 'mayest thou desire'.

Sedi-mᵛ-a-pule, 'let him desire', &c.

Na-ma-pule, 'I must desire'.

(4) **E-pula, Ū-pula, Di-pula,** 'to desire'; **Ū-si-pula,** or **Ūse-tᵛ-pula,** 'not to desire'.

(5) **Na-pula,** 'I desire'.

Ū-pula, 'thou desirest'.

A-pula, 'he desires'.

Di-pula, 'we desire'.

(Binyᵛ) **Ū-pula,** 'ye desire'.

Ba-pula, 'they desire'.

(5 a) (No change in **-a** terminal for Negative Present.)

(5 b) **Na-ma-pula,** 'I am wishing'.

Ū-ma-pula, 'thou art wishing'.

Na-ma-puli-nᵛ, 'I wish'.

Ū-ma-puli-nᵛ, 'thou desirest', &c.

(6) **Na-puli,** 'I desired'.

(7) **Na-ta-pula,** 'I was desiring'.

Ū-ta-pula, 'thou wast desiring', &c.

Na-pula-nᵛ, 'I was wishing', &c.

(8) **Na-ta-pula,** 'I did wish', &c.

(9) **Na-pule,** 'that I may wish'.

Ū-pule, 'that thou mayest desire', &c.

¹ This is a supposititious form to illustrate the Reversive terminal, **-ura**, common to many verbs.

- (10) **Na-puli-te**, &c. ; **Na-ma-pula-te** : 'if I wish or if I desired'.

Na-puli- ω -teŋge, 'if I should wish'.

Ŋga-na-puli? 'suppose I desire?'

Ŋga- ω -puli? 'suppose thou desirest?' &t.

Ŋga-te-na-pula, 'it may be, if I desired'.

- (10 a) (No clearly marked Narrative Tense, **Ŋga-ta-na-pula-te**, 'and should I desire', or **Ŋga-na-puli** with much the same meaning comes nearest.)

- (11) **Na-ma-pule**, 'I shall wish', &c.

Na- ω -ma-pule, 'I will desire', &c.

Na-ma-pule- ω , 'I shall be calling', &c.

Na-emedi-pula or **Na-mende-pula**, 'I intend to wish', &c.

- (12) **Puledi** ; **Pulan ω** , **Pulen ω** , **Pulin ω** : 'desiring' ; 'desired'.

- (13) **Na-si-pula**, 'I desire not' ('I don't want').

ω -si-pula, 'thou desirest not', &c.

Ŋa-si-puli, **Na-si-pulan ω** : 'I desired not'.

Si-pula! 'call not!'

- (14) **Na-pula-be**, 'I am desired, wanted'; also, **Ne-pule**.

- (14 a) **Na-pula-mene**, 'I want myself'.

- (14 b) (Missing.)

- (14 c) **Na-pulana**, **Na-pulena**, **Na-pulele**, **-pulire**, **-puledi**, 'I desire to, for, on account of'.

- (14 d) **Na-pulise**, 'I cause to desire', &c.

- (14 e) **Na pulua**, 'I have no wish in the matter' (Reversive form found with some verbs).

- (14 f) **Di-pulane**, 'we are desiring reciprocally'.

- (15) **Na-e**, 'I am'.

ω -e, 'thou art', &c.

Mba-ndi (**wanu**, 'here') 'I am —'.

ω -e-ndi, 'thou art —'.

ω -be, 'to be'; **-ta**, 'was', 'were'.

IN YAUNDE (217)

(1) **Diŋg'**,¹ 'love'. (All the original verb-roots in Yaunde and other Faŋg languages seem to be monosyllabic or trilateral roots, those of two or three syllables being derived and modified forms. But there are some that have remained disyllabic, and many that, like **Diŋg'**, recover the terminal vowel in the inflexions.)

(2) The verb-root generally terminates consonantly, with a suppressed **-a**; other vowel endings in **-e**, **- ω** , **-u**, and **-i**.

(3) The 2nd person of the Imperative is not the simple root, but (3 a), the root followed by an **-i**, as **Diŋgi!** 'love!', or by suffixes such as **-oñ**, **-iñ**, **-añ**, **-ak**, **-ek**, **-uk**, **-g**; **-aŋga**, **-iŋgi**, **-oŋg ω** , **-gi**, **-gō**, **-ge**, **-ga**, **-gu**, &c.

(3 b) **Diŋgan!** 'love ye!'

¹ The root seems to be **Diŋg'**, rather than **Diñ**, as when there is a vowel following it is pronounced **-diŋg'**.

(4) **N-diñg-an** and **E-diñg**, 'to love' [also, **A-di**, 'to eat', &c.].

(5) (No Aorist.)

(5 a) No change of terminal vowel for Negative.

(5 b) **N-a-diñg**, 'I love'.

Ū-a-diñg, 'thou lovest'.

A-diñg, 'he loves'

Me-ñgel-diñg, 'I am still loving', &c.

Bi-a-diñg, 'we love'.

Mina- (or **Mia-**) **diñg**, 'ye love'.

Ba-diñg, 'they love'.

(6) **Me-diñgi**, 'I loved'.

Ū-diñgi, 'thou lovedst'.

A-diñgi, 'he loved'.

Bi-diñgi, 'we loved'.

Mi-diñgi, 'ye loved'.

Ba-diñgi, 'they loved'.

(7) **Me-ñga-diñg**, 'I have loved, was loving'.

O-ñga-diñg, 'thou wast loving'.

A-ñga-diñg, 'he was loving', &c.

(8) (Apparently absent.)

(9) (Apparently absent.)

(10) A Conditional Tense seems to be formed in Yaunde by affixing to the root an **-a**, **-ŵ**, or **-i**, according to the tonic vowel of the root; or by prefixing **Ñge-** to the Nominative Pronoun Prefix.

(10a) There is a Narrative Tense, made perhaps by adding a vowel to the root to match the tonic vowel, i.e. **-jana**, from **-lan**, **-ŵŵŵ** from **-non**, &c.; or by stressing the last syllable of the verbal phrase with a different tone.

(11) **M-a-yi-diñg**, 'I shall love'.

Ū-a-yi-diñg, 'thou wilt love', &c.

(12) The Infinitive, especially the form **N-diñg-an**.

(13) **Ma-diñg-iki**, 'I love not'.

Ū-a-diñg-iki, 'thou lovest not'.

Me-ñga-diñg-iki, 'I have not loved'.

Ma-n-siki-diñg, 'I was not loving'.

T'-ŵ-a-diñg, 'love not'.

Te-mina-diñg, 'love ye not', or

Min'-be-diñg! 'love ye not!'

(14) **N-diñg-ban**, 'to be loved'.

(14 a) **Ma-diñg-ma-men**, 'I love myself'; **Ū-diñg-ŵ-a-men**, 'thou lovest thyself'.

(14 b) **E-diñgi**, 'to be lovable'.

(14 c) **E-diñg-ai**, **N-diñg-an-ai**, 'to love for, on account of'.

(14 d) **E-diñg-ele**, **-ŵŵ**, 'to cause to love'.

(14 e) ?

(14 f) ? **-an** as a root terminal.

(14 g) ¹**Ma-diñg-ili**, 'I love intensely' (according to the tonic vowel of the verb this terminal is **-ala-**, **-ele**, **-ili**, and **ŵŵ**).

(14 h) **-ya**, **-ye**, **-e** added to verb-root seems with some verbs to express the sense of 14 h.

(15) **Me-ne**, 'I am'.

Ū-ne, 'thou art', &c.

-siki, 'not to be'; **-ikik**, **-kik**, 'is not', 'are not', &c.

Me-belŵ, 'I have'; **Me-belege**, 'I had', &c.

Me-be, 'I was'.

Ū-mbe, 'thou wast', &c.

IN EKOI (227), SEMI-BANTU

- (1) Mostly monosyllabic.
- (2) Consonantal and vowel endings to verb-roots:
 -yim, 'do' or 'make'. (In some phases, the root is -yima.)
- (3) Yim ! 'do !'
- (3 a) Yim-un ! 'do ye !'
- (4) E-yim-un, 'to do'.
- (5) Me-n-yim, 'I do'.
 We- ω -yim, 'thou dost'.
 We-a-yim, 'he does'.
 Ut-e-yim, 'we do'.
 Un- ω -yim, 'ye do'.
 Ab ω -a-yim, 'they do'.
- (5 b) Me- \tilde{n} -ki-yim, 'I am doing, making'.
 We- ω -ki-yim, 'thou art doing', &c.
 Me-na-n-yimi, 'I have been doing'.
 We-na- ω -yimi, 'thou hast been doing', &c.
- (6) (Not represented.)
- (7) Me-ba-n-yim, 'I did, have done'. (The particle -ba- changes to -be- with the Negative.)
- (8) Me-n-de-n-yim, 'I had done'.
 We-o-re-o-yim, 'thou hadst done', &c. (-de, -re changes to -d ω , -r ω with Negative).
 Me-n-de-na-n-yim, 'I had been doing'.
 We-o-re-na- ω -yim, 'thou hadst been doing', &c.
- (9) (No evidence of Subjunctive.)
- (10) Me-kun-n-yim, 'I would do'.
- (11) Me-tik (or tuk) -n-yim, 'I shall do', &c.
 Me-n-j \ddot{o} e-n-yim, 'I am about to do', &c.
 Me-tik-n-j \ddot{o} e-n-yim, 'I shall be doing', &c.
 Me-ta-ba-n-yim, 'I shall have done', &c.
- (12) E-yim-um, 'doing'.
- (13) Me- \tilde{n} -ka-yim, 'I do not'.
 We- ω -kai-yim, 'thou dost not', &c.
 Me-be- \tilde{n} -kai-yim, 'I have not done'.
 We-be- ω -kai-yim, 'thou hast not done'.
 Me-ka-n-d ω -n-yim, 'I had not done'.
 We-ka- ω -r ω - ω -yim, 'thou hadst not done', &c.
 Me-tik-m ω -yim, 'I shall not do'.
 We-tik- ω -m ω -yim, 'thou shalt not do', &c.
 Me-m ω -j \ddot{o} e-n-yim, 'I am not about to do', &c.
 Me-kpe- \tilde{n} -ki-yim, 'I shall not have done'.
 We-kpe- ω -kai-yim, 'thou wilt not have done', &c.
- (14) (No clear evidence as to terminals for modification of verb-root.)
- (15) Me- \tilde{n} -ki, 'I am'.
 We- ω -ki, 'thou art', &c.
 Me-n-de or Me-n-di, 'I am'.
 Be-, Kpe-, Negative, 'am not', 'is not', &c.

IN MUNŪSI (248)

- (1) Verb-roots are monosyllabic and disyllabic.
- (2) They end vocally and sometimes consonantly.
Examples : **-va**, 'come'; **-tondω**, 'cut'; **-iv**, 'steal'.
- (3) **Va!** 'come!'; **Tondω!** 'cut!'
- (3 b) **Ne-va!** (?), 'come ye!'
- (4) **Van**, 'to come'; **Tondon**, 'to cut'.
- (5) **M-va**, 'I come'. **Se-va**, 'we come'.
U-va, 'thou comest'. **Ne-va**, 'ye come'.
A-va, 'he comes'. **Ve-va**, 'they come'.
- (5 b) **Van-em** **Tondon**
or 'I am coming' ('coming-my'). or 'I am cutting'.
Van-mω, **Tondo-mω**,
M-ñgu-van, 'I am coming'; **Se-mba-van**, 'we are coming'.
- (6) (The same as for 5.)
- (7)
- (8) **M-va-vω**, 'I came', 'I did come'.
U-va-vω, 'thou didst come', &c.
M-tondω-vω, 'I did cut'.
- 9) (**Ya-m-va**, **Ya-m-tondω**, 'that I may come', 'that I may cut'.)
- (10)
- (11) **M-va-va**, 'I shall come'. **M-va-tondω**, 'I shall cut'.
U-va-va, 'thou wilt come'. **U-va-tondω**, 'thou wilt cut'.
M-a-va, 'I shall come'. **M-a-tondω**, 'I shall cut'.
U-a-va, 'thou wilt come'. **U-a-tondω**, 'thou wilt cut'.
U-van, 'coming'. **U-tondon**, 'cutting'.
M-va-ga, 'I come not'.
U-va-ga, 'thou comest not', &c.
Dē-van! Dē-tondon! 'do not go!' 'do not cut!'
Dē-kara-vañ-ga! 'come not!' (lit. 'leave-off again coming, cutting').
De-kara-tondon-ga! 'cut not!'
De-ne-van! 'do not ye cut!'
- (14) (Probably by implication, the use of the third person—'it cuts me', instead of 'I am cut'.)
- (14 a) (Possibly 'yol, 'body', with Possessive particle, is used for 'self'.)
- (14 b)
- (14 c)

No trace whatever of modifying verb-root terminals with the exception of that answering to the category 14 g. This 'frequentative', intensive character is given to the action of the verb by changing the dominant vowel of the verb-root to **-e**. Thus if **-va** stand for 'come', **-ve** would mean 'frequently coming'; if **-tondω** for 'cut', **-tendω** would imply 'frequently cutting'.

(15) **Ñgu**, **-ñgu** in the singular and **Mba**, **-mba** in the plural stand for 'is', 'are' with nouns of Classes 1 and 2. Similarly with the nouns of the other classes the pronominal particle or class concord stands for 'is', 'are'.

IN TEMNE (263)

(1) and (2) The original root-form of verbs is monosyllabic—a consonant, a vowel, and a consonant; but derived verb-roots are numerous and may be disyllabic and trisyllabic, and in such cases end vocally as often as consonantly.

Example: **-gbal**, 'write'.

- (3) **Gbal!** 'write!'
- (3 b) **Gbal-nañ!** or **Gbal-noñ!** 'write ye!'
- (4) **Ka-gbal**; and **Tra-** (**Tsa-**), **Tra-ka-gbal**, 'to write'. **Ka-ce-gbal** = 'not to write'.
- (5) **I-gbal**, 'I write'. **Sa-gbal**, 'we write'.
Ma-gbal, 'thou writest'. **Na-gbal**, 'ye write'.
O-gbal, 'he writes'. **Ña-gbal**, 'they write'.
I-yi-o-gbal, 'I am writing'. **Sa-yi-a-gbal**, 'we are writing'.
Ma-yi-o-gbal, 'thou wast writing', &c.
Mine-me-gbal, or **Mina-me-gbal-añ**, 'I am writing'.
Munω-ma-gbal, or **Munω-ma-gbal-añ**, 'thou art writing', &c.
I-ci-gbal (or **I-tra-gbal**), 'I am writing', &c.
- (6) (Unrepresented in Temne.)
- (7) **I-poñ-gbal**, 'I wrote, have written', &c.
I-poñ-yi-o-gbal, 'I have been writing', &c.
I-yi-nañ-o-gbal 'I was writing'.
I-bω-gbal, 'I was writing'.
I-bω-na-gbal, 'I was just writing'.
- (8) **I-gbal-nañ**, 'I wrote', &c.
I-poñ-gbal-nañ, 'I had written'.
- (9) **I-gbali-gbal**, 'I may write', &c.
Be-i-gbal, 'if I write'.
Be-ma-gbal, 'if thou writest', &c.
- (10) **I-ci-gbal-nañ**, **I-ci-poñ-na-gbal**, **I-ci-re-poñ-na-gbal**, **I-ci-kω-gbal-nañ**, 'I would write, would write by and by, would have written, could go to write', &c.
- (10 a) (No trace of a 'Narrative' Tense.)
- (11) **I-oi-gbal**, &c., 'I shall write', &c.
I-ci-kω-gbal, 'I shall go to write', &c.
I-ci-re-gbal, 'I shall write by and by'.
I-ci-poñ-gbal, 'I shall have written', &c.
- (12) (Often only the verb-root; also the Infinitive.)
- (13) **I-gbal-he**, 'I write not' (-he is sometimes pronounced -fe).¹
Ma-gbal-he, 'thou writest not', &c.
I-poñ-he-gbal, 'I wrote not', &c.
Ce-gbal! 'write not!'

¹ This particle is really -fe, and -fe- in Landōma (265), and -ki- in Baga (264). Temne also has the Negative verb-root **-kaši**, 'to refuse', 'to fail', which can be used negatively with other verbs.

(14) (Verbs either have a distinctly passive meaning in their root, or the passive sense is expressed by the use of the 3rd person singular, 'he' or 'it'—'it hurts me' instead of 'I am hurt'.)

(14 a) **Ka-gbal-ne**, 'to write oneself'.

(14 b) (Not clearly represented, unless by the terminal **-i**.)

(14 c) **Ka-gbal-ia**, **Ka-gbal-ar**, **Ka-gbal-a**, **Ka-gbal-ena**, &c., 'to write to, for, on account'.

(14 d) **Ka-gbal-as**, 'to cause to write'.

(14 e) **Ka-gbal-i**, **Ka-gbal-e**, 'to unwrite'.

(14 f) **Ka-gbal-ane**, **Ka-gbal-ar-ne**, 'to write mutually', 'to write to each other'.

(14 g) **Ka-gbalgbal**, or **Ka-gbal-as-asa**, **-gbal-at**, 'to write continuously, excessively'.

(14 h) (Not found in Temne.)

(14 i) **Ka-gbal-ba**, **Ka-gbal-i**, 'to be writable'.

(There are still other qualifying terminals in Temne that cannot be identified with those of the Bantu.)

(15) **I-yi**, 'I am'; **O-yi**, 'he is'; **I-ba**, 'I have, I am with' (**-ba** is used in a qualitative sense like 'to be').

IN DYŌLA (273)

(1) and (2) Verb-roots in Dyōla are nearly always monosyllabic, a consonant, a vowel, and a consonant; or a consonant and vowel; unless they are increased by modifying terminals.

Example: **-dyuk**, 'see'.

- | | | |
|---------------|--|--|
| (3) and (3 a) | U-dyuk! 'see!' | Dyi-dyuk or Zi-dyuk! 'see ye!' |
| (4) | Ka-dyuk , 'to see', | Ka-dyuk-ut , 'not to see'. |
| (5) | D'i-dyuk (lit. 'and I see') I see. | Di-di-dyuk (or D'u-dyukal), 'we see'. |
| | D'u-dyuk , 'thou seest'. | Di-dyidyuk , 'ye see'. |
| | D'a-dyuk , 'he sees'. | Di-ku-dyuk , 'they see'. |
| | Di-dem-di-dyuk , D-omω-dyukal , 'we are seeing'. | |
| | Di-dyom-dyi-dyuk , 'ye are seeing'. | |
| | Di-kom-mu-dyuk , 'they are seeing'. | |
| (5 b) | D'em-i-dyuk , 'I am seeing'. | |
| | D'om-u-dyuk , 'thou art seeing'. | |
| | D'am-a-dyuk , 'he is seeing'. | |
| | D'inah-i-dyuk , 'I see habitually'. | |
| | D'unah-u-dyuk , 'thou seest habitually', &c. | |
| (6) | D'i-dyukē , 'I saw'. | |
| | D'u-dyukē , 'thou sawest', &c. | |
| | D'em-i-dyukeñ , 'I have seen'. | |
| | D'om-u-dyukeñ , 'thou hast seen', &c. | |
| (7) | D'ete-dyuk , 'I was seeing'. | |
| | D'ωtω-dyuk , 'thou wast seeing'. | |
| | D'ate-dyuk , 'he was seeing', &c. | |
| (8) | D'etēn-i-dyuk , 'I was seeing', &c. | |
| | D'i-dyukeñe , 'I had seen'. | |
| | D'u-dyukeñe , 'thou hadst seen', &c. | |

(9) (The Subjunctive Mood is really the original Indicative without the incessant repetition of **Di-**, **D'** ('and') as an introductory word.)

I-dyuk, 'that I may see'.

U-dyuk, 'that thou mayest see'.

A-dyuk, 'that he may see'.

I-dyuke, 'that I may see', or 'that I saw', &c.

I-dyu-keñe, 'that I might see'.

U-dyukal, 'that we may see'.

Dyi-dyuk, 'that ye may see'.

Ku-dyuk, 'that they may see'.

(10) (No special Conditional Tense.)

(11) **Fan-** (or **Pan-**) **i-dyuk**, 'I shall see'.

Fan-u-dyuk, 'thou wilt see', &c.

Fan-ib'-i-dyuk, 'I shall see later'.

Fan-ub'-u-dyuk, 'thou wilt see later'.

Fan-ab'-a-dyuk, 'he will see later'.

(12) **-dyuk-umu** (Present); **-dyukeñ-mu** (Past).

(13) **D'i-dyuk-ut**, 'I see not'.

D'u-dyuk-ut, 'thou seest not'.

D'a-dyuk-ut, 'he sees not'.

D'ilet-i-dyuk, 'I am not seeing'.

D'ulet-u-dyuk, 'thou art not seeing'.

D'alet-a-dyuk, 'he is not seeing'.

D'inah-ut-i-dyuk, 'I do not see habitually'.

D'unah-ut-u-dyuk, 'thou dost not see habitually', &c.

D'i-dyuk'-ut-e, 'I saw not', &c.

D'i-let-i-dyukëñ, 'I have not seen', &c.

D'et'-ut-i-dyuk, 'I was not seeing', &c.

Let-i-dyuk, 'I shall not see', &c.

Dyakum-i-dyuk, 'that I may not see', &c.

I-dyuk-ut-umu, 'I not seeing'.

Dyakum-u-dyuk! 'see not!'

D'u-dyuk-ut-al (or **D'u-dyuk-a**).

Di-dyi-dyuk-ut, 'ye see not'.

Di-ku-dyuk-ut, 'they see not'.

Di-dile-di-dyuk, or **D'u-let ω -dyuk-al**, 'we are not seeing'.

Di-dyi-le-dyi-dyuk, 'ye are not seeing'.

Du-ku-le-ku-dyuk, 'they are not seeing'.

(14) (The Passive is rendered by a paraphrase and use of the 3rd pers. sing. as agent.)

(14 a) **Ka-dyuk- ω** , 'to see oneself'. (Some verbs employ **-huk ω** ('head') for the 'self' suffix.)

(14 b) **Ka-dyuk-et**, or **Ka-dyuk-iken**, 'to be visible'.

(14 c) **Ka-dyuk-um**, 'to see for, to, on account of'.

(14 d) **Ka-dyuk-eñ**, 'to cause to see'; [**Ka-sen-a**, 'to cause to give', from **-sen**, 'give'].

(14 e) **Ka-dyuk-ul**, 'to be unable to see'; **Ka-dyuk-ati**, 'to be invisible'.

(14 f) **Ka-dyuk-or**, 'to see one another'.

(14 g) **Ka-dyu-dyuk** (and other forms of duplication).

(14 h) (No clear example of this phase.)

(14 i) Ditto.

(14 j) Ditto.

(14 k) **Ka-dyuk-edit**, 'not to be able to see' (termination with a privative sense).

(14 l) **Ka-dyuk-orut**, 'not yet to see' (a terminal implying postponement of action).

- (15) **E-mu**, 'I am'. **D ω -mu**, 'we are'.
Ū-mu, 'thou art'. **Dy ω -mu**, 'ye are'.
A-mu, 'he is'. **K ω -mu**, 'they are'.
Em'mu! 'here I am!'
Om'mu! 'here thou art!' &c.
D'em, 'and I am'; **D'om**, 'and thou art', &c.
D'emen, '(and) I was'; **D' ω men**, '(and) thou wast', &c.
D'ēn and **D'ēnē** ('and I was') are other forms of the Past Tense of 'to be'.
Ata, 'he is at —'; **Kata**, 'they are at —'.
D'ētē, **D'ēteñē**, 'and I was at —'.
Ka-nah (**I-nah**, **U-nah**, &c.), 'to be habitually —', 'to be wont to —'.
-kē (**D'ēkē**, **D' ω -kē**, &c.) = 'to be in possession of', 'to have'.
-bad (**Ka-bad**) = 'to have'.
Lē, 'it is not'; **I-let** or **I-lē**, 'I am not'.
D'ēt'ut, '(and) I was not'.

ANALYSIS OF THE VERB CONSTRUCTION IN THE BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU LANGUAGES

(1) LENGTH OF VERB-ROOT IN BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU

This is usually disyllabic, and was probably so in Proto-Bantu and in the group of tongues from which both Bantu and Semi-Bantu arose, though, as in the case of the nouns, certain root-concepts were in their very origin of one syllable and commenced with a consonant (**-ta**, **-ti**, **-ba**, **-pa**, **-li**, **-fa**, **-la**, **-za**, &c.). Disyllabic verb-roots predominate overwhelmingly in Bantu, except in the northern part of the north-west division. Here, as in numerous Semi-Bantu languages, they are most commonly monosyllabic, but the syllable consists usually of a consonant, a vowel, and a consonant, and the lost vowel which would make these roots into words of two syllables sometimes reappears in the inflexions: an original **-wena**, **-duka**, **-poka**, **-tala** being clipped to **-wen**, **-duk**, **-pok**, and **-tal**. Trisyllabic verb-roots which are apparently not due to the tacking on of a suffix or modifying terminal (such as the Swahili **-kamata**, 'catch') are not uncommon in N.E., E., S., and South Central Bantu. But it is very unlikely that such three-syllabled roots are of ancient ancestry, entirely free from the accretion of one or other of those terminals which I have grouped in my classification under the numeral 14.

(2) THE TERMINAL VOWEL OF THE VERB-ROOT

The original and most ancient terminal vowel seemingly was **-a**. One or two primitive verb-roots, usually monosyllabic, however, always terminated in **-i**, such as **-li** ('be'), **-ti** ('say').¹ The **-a** termination is usually *the only one* in the majority of the Bantu languages, except, of course, where the verb-root is inflected.

Other vowel endings than **-a** (or **-i** in a few monosyllabic verb-roots) occur very sparsely in: Lukonjō (No. 1), which occasionally has **-u**; in Lusōga (4 b); in Kikuyu (11), **-e**, **-i**, **-o**, **- ω** , **-u**; Caga (17), **-e**, **-i**, **- ω** , **-u**; Šambala (19-19 a), **-e**, **-i**, **- ω** , **-u**; Zigula (20), **- ω** , **-e**; Pōgōrō and Sañgō (Nos. 28 29), **- ω** ; Kimatumbi and Kimateñgō (32 35 35 a), **-ō**; Guha (40),² **-e**; Tumbuka, Toñga (52 a 53 a), **-e**; Cimpōtō (55 a), **-u**; Karaña (64), **- ω** , **-e**; Roñga (71), **-u**; Venda (72), **-e**; Sesutō (73), **-e**; Kañr (75),² **-i**; Lenje (77), **-e**; Nyaneke (92), **-e**; Kakoñgō (101 to 103), **-u**; Luba (104), **-u**; Bambala (118), **-e**; Huana, Buma,

¹ In regard to **-ti**, there are, however, variants such as **-tia**, **-tya**, **-ca**, **-c ω** , which may serve to show that the oldest form terminated in **-a**. Other monosyllabic verb-roots like **-zi**, 'know', **-i**, 'go', are only truncated from **-ziba** and **-ya**.

² This has one exceptional terminal, **- ω** in the verb **-c ω** , 'to say so', besides several **-i** endings due to contraction and abbreviation—thus, Uku-**zi**, 'to know'.

and Yanzi (119 to 121)—sometimes consonantal, and also -e, -ɔ, -i, -u, -ö; Misumba and the remainder of the languages of Group D (127 to 137 a), -i, -e, -ɔ; Baenya or Genya (141), -e; Kuamba (145), -i; Lihuku (148), -u, -ɔ; Bañginda (151 b), -i, -ɔ; Kele (155), -ɔ, -e; Bwela and Pwɔw (159 160), -e, -ɔ; Sɔkw and Likañgana (157 158), -ɔ, -e; Ngombe (161), -e, -ɔ; Ngala and Bañgi (164 166), -e, -ɔ; Ifumu (175), -e; Bakeli (186), -ɔ, -ē; Aduma (189), -e, -ɔ, -ɔ; and the remainder of the North-west Bantu, in which section the terminal vowel is frequently -e, -ɔ, -ɔ, -u.

In Ngumba (200 a), Yaunde (217), Pañwe (218), Bulu (219), Fernandian (226); Eköi (227), Temne (263-5), and Dyöla (273), the termination of the verb-root is sometimes consonantal, as well as in the vowels -a, -e, -i, -ɔ, -u. In Nos. 257 to 259 the root ends in vowels only—-a, -e, -ɔ, -u, -i. In Burum (252), Járawa (253), Bulom (261), and Mampa (262), the termination is mainly consonantal.

(3) and (3 a) THE FORM OF THE IMPERATIVE IN THE SECOND PERSON SINGULAR

This (3) is identical with the *root* of the verb and *without* any prefixes or suffixes in the great majority of the Bantu languages and in most of the Semi-Bantu. As regards (3 a), Nyamwezi (No. 9) has a suffix -ga, which in the 2nd person plural of the Imperative becomes -ge. Kamba (12) has -a, Nos. 24 and 27 have -e (this in the plural becomes -age, -añge). Nos. 29 and 49 add -ga, No. 34 -e; No. 41 has a peculiar suffix for the singular, -ekɔ, -kɔ, and for the 2nd pers. plur., -e. No. 43 has a suffix in the singular, -ñga, which in the plural is -ñgini. 52 and 53 employ -eñge as a suffix in both singular and plural of the Imperative; 70 adds -na, 72 -ha; 186 -ga, -gaka, -ika, -ikɔ, -ike, -ikwe; 98 99 -e; 104 -ku; 105 -ñga; 109 -ñga, -ñgayi, and -aka. Nos. 127 to 137 occasionally add a -ka suffix. No. 160 adds the -ka, -ke, or -kɔ suffixes. No. 195 employs the -ka suffix occasionally; and No. 226 a -ha suffix; No. 200 -a; No. 198 -ka, -kɔ, -se; No. 199 -a, -ɔ, -e; No. 200 -a; No. 207 -ka; No. 214 -e; No. 217 -i, -ak, -ek, -uk, -gi, -gɔ, -gu, -ge, -oñ, -añga; No. 218 -ayk, also -ka, -ke, -ge, -ege, -e, &c. No. 226 sometimes adds -la to the root.

In No. 193 the verb-root in the Imperative has initial consonantal variations.

No. 89 prefixes I- sometimes to the verb-root, especially in a hortatory sense; No. 4 prefixes I-, Y-, W-; No. 25 Ki-; No. 42 I-; Nos. 44 b and 59 Ka-. No. 64 has I-, Ci-, and Dɔ-, and A- as a hortatory; No. 47 uses Yi- as an Imperative prefix, and also has a -wa- infix between the pronoun and root. No. 49 (in the plural of the Imperative only) prefixes Si- or Mu-; No. 75 prefixes Yi-, Ki-, Ma-; 77 I-, Ka-; 78 Ka-, Kɔ-, Na-, No-; 55 a Ka-; 89 I-, Ka-; 90 91 98 99 Ka-; 100 N-; Nos. 101 to 104 Ku-; [No. 104 has Ku-, followed by a suffix -i in the Negative only]; No. 109 employs usually the root only, but besides adding suffixes may also prefix Inda-ka-, Indayi-ka- to the root to give special emphasis; No. 130 uses the prefixes U-, E-, Sɔ- as hortatives; No. 141 prefixes ɔ-, with Be- in the Negative; No. 157 Ka- (and Subjunctive); No. 161 employs the -ka- infix and Ye- prefix; 162 has Lɔ- and Jɔ- (the latter in 2nd person plural only); 164 166 Bɔ- (2nd person plural only); 175 Le- (2nd person plural only); 193 Ka-; 205 I-; 226 La-, Lɔ-; 245 E-; 260 Tɔ- (plural Nɔ-); 259 Atɔ- (plural Atɔ- and Mla-); 273 U- (plural Dyi-, Zi-); 261 N-; 252 N- (in plural).

(3 b) THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIX ATTACHED TO THE ROOT IN THE SECOND PERSON PLURAL

In most of the Bantu languages the 2nd person plural of the Imperative is differentiated from the 2nd person singular (usually the plain root) by a pronominal suffix -ni, -ini, -nyi, which seems to be identical in origin with the pronoun of the 2nd person plural. This is a far-reaching feature of the Bantu languages, though the suffix may vary in form as -ni, -ini, -nyi, -i, -n, -yi, -eni, -añge, -gi, -ine, -ñgini, -gani, -eñ, -añ, -enu, -inu, -ñga, -eye, -ee, -ii, -eni, -nu, -anu. [No. 218, Pañwe, has the unusual forms of -ga, -ega, -a, -aya.] The pronominal affix to the 2nd person plural of the Imperative is found in the last on the list of Bantu languages, Fernandian, in the forms of -i, -in, -ine, but it does not appear so far to have been traced in any Semi-Bantu language. It is also absent from the following Bantu languages: Nos. 1 to 7 28 40 41 49 51 72 77 78 (present in only one word, *Zeni*, 'come ye!'), 79 80 83 100 155 162 164 166 175 204 205.

(4) THE INFINITIVE PREFIX

This is well-nigh universally the 15th prefix and varies in form from **Uku**, **Ūku** to **Ku**, **Xu**, **Hu**, **Gu**, **Kō**, **Gō**, **Xō**, **Kwi**, **Ki**, **U**, **Wu**, **Wō**, **Ū**. Besides in the vast majority of the Bantu languages, this **Ku**- prefix is also used for the Infinitive of the verb in Nos. 248 249 (?), 250 (?), 251 (**Ku**, **Kō**, **U**), 254 255 258 (**Ku**, **Kō**), and 259 (**Ku**). In No. 245 (Efik) **Ku**- is used with the Infinitive, but only in a *negative* sense.

But the infinitival particle is virtually identical with the 5th prefix (**Eri**, **Ndi**, **Li**, **I**; with the variants **Lu**, **Lō**, **Nō**, drawn apparently from the 11th prefix) in the following languages: Nos. 1 (**Eri**), 4 (**Eri**- is used occasionally in Luganda), 17 (**I**-), 18 124 125 131 (**Li**-), 132 133 (**Lō**-), 136 (**Lō**, **Li**-), 157 164 (**Lō**-), 166 (**Nō**-), 198 199 204 (**Di**-), 205 206 (**Li**, **Lu**-), 207 (**Di**, **Li**-), and 245 (**Ndi**, **Eri**-). In No. 195, the infinitival prefix is sometimes **Ka**-. **Ka**- and **Tra**- (**Tsa**-) fulfil this rôle in Temne (263), and **Ka**- is the infinitival prefix in Dyōla-Fulup (273).

A- is the infinitival prefix of Nos. 120 214 217 and 226, which last also uses **Ala**, **Ale**-. **E**- is the infinitival prefix in Nos. 189 204 206 217 and 218. **Pe**- in 186 and **Be**- in 253. In No. 193, besides the orthodox **Ūgu**-, **Gu**-, &c., the Infinitive is sometimes expressed by **Yi**-.

Pa- is the infinitival prefix in No. 191 and is probably allied to the **Pe**- of 186. The **Pa**- prefix frequently precedes the **Ku**- (**Pa**-**ku**-) in Nos. 51 55 61 62 of East Africa. Note also the **Fa**-**ōkō**-, **Fa**-**ōku**- of 91. The 14 prefix (**Bō**-, **Bu**-) is used for the infinitive verb in an affirmative sense in Nos. 161 and 257. On the other hand, **Ūbu**- is a negative infinitive prefix in Nos. 4 and 6. **Ma**- is the infinitive prefix of No. 121. **N**-, **Mi**-, **Mbi**- is the infinitive prefix in Nos. 130 130 a; **N**- in 162 a; **M**-, **N**- in Nos. 164 166 168 and 217; and **N**- with a suffix **-an** in 217. **Ndō**- of Nos. 137 and 155 may be related to the **Lō**- prefix already cited in connexion with Nos. 132 133 136 164 166 205, &c. Lastly might be mentioned the **Te**- prefix for the Infinitive in No. 260, and this seems somewhat to lead up to the **Tsa**-, **Tra**-, **Ta**- of the Temne Group (263-5).

(5) THE FORM OF THE AORIST OR PRESENT INDEFINITE TENSE

This is usually in Bantu, as in our own language, the simplest phase of the verb after the Imperative, in the sense of 'I love', 'I do', 'I see', implying vaguely a present sense. In most of the Bantu languages it consists of the verb-root only, with the prefixed personal pronoun; but in Nos. 14 and 109, the Aorist is only used for the Subjunctive mood, as is also markedly the case in Dyōla (273). In Nos. 27 32 34 51 54 64, the Aorist is only used with the Negative. In Nos. 56 and 59 only with auxiliary verbs. In No. 72 in a conditional sense. It is met with in most of the Semi-Bantu languages which have had their grammar recorded, but in No. 273 its pronoun is preceded by a prefixed **Di**-, **Du**-, or **D**-, which is somewhat of the meaning of 'and'—'and I do', 'and he does'. In a few of the Semi-Bantu languages, especially Nos. 248 253 (?) and 267-8, it is used with an additional pronominal suffix.

(5 a) To express negation in addition to the employment of a negative prefix or infix, the terminal vowel of the verb-root in the Aorist present changes from **-a** to **-i** (or rarely, **-e**) in some of the Bantu languages. This change of terminal vowel seems to result from the ancient suffixing of **-i** in a negative sense, and this archaic form is met with in Nos. 1 (**Ūlukonjō**), 145 148, where the termination of the negative Aorist root is **-ai**. In No. 2 (**Nyōrō**) this change takes place, not in the Aorist present, but in the Past and Future tenses only. This is the case also in Nos. 4 6 18 a 54 61 141 175 195. The **-i** termination in the Aorist present occurs in 1 (as **-ai**), 13 16 (rarely), 21 (always), 22 27 34 (slightly), 43 (with rather a past meaning), 45 55 64 69 70 71 (also **-e**), 73 (**-e**), 75 76 77 78 79 80 85 (**-e**), 90 and 91¹ 92 (sometimes), 94 (sometimes), 100 (but more with the Subjunctive sense), 104 (interrogatively), 130 (**-e**, **·yi**), 134 (**-i**), 127 to 137 a (**-i**), 145 (**-i**, **-ai**),² 148 (**-ai**, **-ei**, but only in 2nd person singular), 155 (**-e**), 157 158 160 226 (**-i**).

¹ These languages have the special feature of changing the terminal vowel in the negative Aorist to the tonic vowel of the root, which may be **ō**-, **-u**-, as well as **-i**.

² In No. 145 the negative Aorist sometimes loses its terminal vowel altogether.

(5 b) The Present Tense in a participial, continuative, progressive, and actual sense is usually indicated in addition to the simple Aorist by infixed, prefixed, and suffixed particles of too great a variety to be severally instanced. The most common infixes are **-a-**, **-na-**, **-li-**, **-ku-**, **-ka-**. The usual employment of the particle or particles is as infixes of one or two syllables between the nominative pronoun and the verb-root, the objective pronominal particle (in the Bantu languages) usually coming between the tense particle and the verb-root; but sometimes 5 b is indicated by a prefix placed *before* the nominative pronoun (like the **Ma-**, **M'** of $\Omega\text{tyiherer}\acute{\omega}$) or by a suffix added to the verb-root. For illustration of these features consult the paradigmata of the verb in the preceding pages.

(6) THE PRETERITE TERMINATION TO THE VERB-ROOT

This is a very interesting and marked feature of the Bantu languages which is prominent in the orthodox Bantu of North Central, East, South, and West Central Africa, but which fades away in the North-west Bantu and has only a few doubtful parallels in the Semi-Bantu. A definite Past sense is given to the verb by affixing syllables such as **-ile**, **-ire**, **-ine**, **-ide** to the verb-root. There are further variations which may or may not have had an independent origin—**-ite**, **-ike**; and also, and almost certainly from another source, **-ise**, **-ize**, **-idza**. And **-ile**, **-ire**, &c., may also vary as **-ele**, **-ere**, **-ede**, **-ene**. Occasionally the **-ise**, **-ize** syllables may merge with the **-ile** group, so that we have preterite terminations in **-zile**, **-izye**; or the **-ike** variant may become **-ege**, **-iege** (as in No. 14). The first vowel of this disyllabic preterite termination being **-i** in origin it frequently fuses with the terminal **-a** of the verb-root and results in an initial **-e** of the preterite termination (**-ele**, **-ete**, &c.). Again, it happens in some languages that from long use this preterite termination is absorbed into the verb-root itself. Thus: **-tera** ('beat') may become in the Preterite **-tire** and not—as formerly—**-terire**; **-terana** (meaning 'to agree together') may become in the Preterite **-teraine**, instead of **-teranine**; **-kalile**, 'sat down', may contract to **-kele**, **-kede**; **-letile**, 'brought', may become **-lete**; **-bōnine**, 'saw', can be compressed into **-bene** or **-wene**.¹

In some suffixial form or other of **-ile**, **-ike**, **-ise**, the following Bantu languages express the simple Preterite or Past—'I did', 'I gave', 'I lost': Nos. 1 2 to 2 g 3 4 4 b 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 (it is entirely absent from most forms of 21, but represented by slight vestiges in dialectal Swahili), 22 (traces of it as **-re**), 23 23 a 24 to 24 g 25 27 28 (generally confined to a relative sense), 29 32 34 35 a 38 40 41 42 43 a 44 44 b 45 47 48 49 50 51 54 55 56 57 62 63 64 69 70 71 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 83 84 85 86 89 90 91 92 94 98 99 100 101 102 103 105 109 110 111 134 141 145 148 151 b (a trace, **-ie**), 154 157 160 161 164 166 170 175 186 (**-ine**, **-i**), 189 191 193 195 (**-indi**), 199 200 (**-si-**, **-hi-** as infixes), 204 205 206 207 213 a (**-ere**, **-re**, **-eri**), 214 217 218 219 226.

The termination is markedly absent from Nos. 13 21 52 53 59 61 72 86 104 116 to 133. But because its presence is not instanced in languages not enumerated, it must not be concluded that this feature has been dropped. It is not mentioned in their case simply because it has not been recorded in our defective knowledge of their grammatical structure. So far the only approach to this preterite termination which has been found in the Semi-Bantu is in the **-re** suffix present in Bulom (261) and the **-ĕn**, **-ĕne** in No. 273.

(7) THE FORM OF THE 'NEAR PAST'

The Near Past 'have done' and Imperfect—'was doing', 'was seeing', 'was building',—is represented in most of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages and is expressed very variously. Most commonly by an infixed particle between nominative pronoun and verb-root. Sometimes two or more particles are joined together to express this tense, thus producing a lengthy locution. Occasionally, it is indicated by a syllable prefixed to the nominative pronoun (**Na-**, **Ni-**, or by **Mu-**, as in No. 1, Konjw). Sometimes by a suffix additional to infix or prefix (such as **-ānga**, **-ga**, **-iki**, **-mbw**). Usually, however, the tense indicator is an infix, and this may consist of quite a number of syllables, as, for instance, in No.

¹ The root for 'see' in North-west Bantu and in several Semi-Bantu languages seems to be derived from this preterite form **-wene**. Transitions between **-bonine** and **-wene** are met with in the **-bine**, 'saw', of Nyamwezi (9-9 c) and the **-vwene** of 18-18 a.

70, which may insert the phrase **-kuṅgadiku-** to indicate its Near or Imperfect Past ; or No. 78, which has **-akuyabu** ; or 49, **-lemuku** ; or 131, **-ambuṣila**. A not uncommon indicator is **-ma-**, **-me-**, or **-am-**, which is found in Nos. 17 18 21 57 122 125 189 198 199 205 206 213 245.

(8) PLUPERFECT

A Pluperfect Tense is distinguished in most of the Bantu languages, and is indicated usually by an infix or conjoined infixes, or by infixes plus prefixes or suffixes. Occasionally, but not often, it is formed out of the simple Pretērite, with the **-ile** termination and prefixes or infixes added thereto. A Pluperfect is present in some of the Semi-Bantu languages, though it should be mentioned that many of these are much simplified in their verb developments, possessing little more than an Aorist present, a Preterite, a Future, and a Subjunctive.

(9) SUBJUNCTIVE

The Subjunctive, with a remarkable degree of unanimity, is indicated in the Bantu languages by changing the terminal vowel of the verb-root to **-e**. This feature extends to the last on the Bantu list, the Fernandian language, but in this tongue the Subjunctive has acquired rather more of a future or an Imperative sense, and the termination may, besides **-e**, be also **-i** and **-ei**. In the Faṅg languages the Subjunctive termination, besides **-e**, is **-ege** or **-ge** ; and similarly the terminal **-e** in some of the Central Congoland tongues can be enlarged to **-eke**. So far, I have not found any trace of the **-e** termination of the verb-root to express the Subjunctive in the Semi-Bantu tongues, with the doubtful exception of No. 273.

(10, 10a) CONDITIONAL AND NARRATIVE

There are several verb tenses in the Bantu which may be styled Conditional and also Narrative. The Narrative or 'Contingent' tense is represented in English by some such paraphrase as 'and he was going', 'and he said', 'and he spoke thus', 'and then', &c., &c. The Conditional, of course, we should express by 'I should like', 'I might go', 'he would dance', and also by 'if I did this', 'if I went'. The 'if' conditional is sometimes represented by an infixed **-ki-** (**-ci-**), **-gi-** (as in Nos. 1 2 12 13 17 18 21 30 41 51 64 69 and 263 ; 'would', 'should', 'might', 'could', by syllables prefixed to the nominative pronoun or by infixes between pronoun and verb-root, sometimes rather lengthy. Conditional tenses are present in the better developed of the Semi-Bantu languages. The particles **ṅga** and **ṅge** are often connected with the Conditional tenses.

Narrative tenses, usually expressed in English by a preliminary 'and', and by the use of the past form of the verb, are present in Nos. 1 4 5 9 11 13 14 17 19 20 21-3 27 29 32 41 43 a 47 49 59 a 69 75 79 80 83 85 89-91 103 109 145 160 161 186 193 198-9 217 and 273.

(11) FUTURE

The Future Tense is most commonly indicated by an infix of one or more syllables, but this infix may be also supported by particles prefixed to the nominative pronoun and (very rarely) by suffixes to the verb-root. Infixes indicating a Future Tense somewhat commonly dealt with are **-da-**, **-la-**, **-ta-**, **-ra-**, **-na-**, **-li-**, **-ku-**. A Future Tense is present in all the Semi-Bantu languages which have had their grammars recorded.

(12) PARTICIPLES

Verbal forms answering more or less to the participles in European languages are indicated by prefixes, suffixes, and infixes, most commonly by the Infinitive, to which a second prefix may be added, making it **Pa-ku**, **Mu-ku**, **Ha-ku**, **Na-ku**, **Lo-ko**, &c., instead of the simpler **Ku-**, **Ko-**. Participial forms are found in Nos. 1 4 5 6 9 14 16 17 19 21 24 25 26 29 43 43 a 45 49 54 62 63 64 69 70 74 75 76 77 to 80 84 89 90 91 92 98 99 100 104 109 130 160 162 164 170 175 186 191 195 198 199 200 204 207 217 218 219 226 245 261 263 273.

(13) NEGATION

Negation is indicated in the Bantu and Semi-Bantu verbs in the following ways:

(1) By modifying the terminal vowel of the verb-root, usually only in the *Present* tense, but sometimes in the *Future*, and always in combination with the employment of a distinct negative particle. This method of expressing the Negative has already been instanced in the consideration of the Present Tense. It extends through the Bantu languages from No. 1 to No. 226, but I have not met with it in the Semi-Bantu. Nos. 2 4 6 18 a 54 105 141 175 195 employ this method (changing the terminal vowel of the verb-root to -i or -e) to negative the *Past* and *Future* tenses.

(2) By stressing the first vowel of the verb-root, or the vowel of the pronominal (nominative) prefix. A few languages—particularly Mpoŋgwe (193) and Nkōsi (214)—convey thus a negative meaning to the verbal phrase.

(3) By incorporating negative particles into the verbal phrase, as prefix, infix, or suffix, or by using prefixially or suffixially a negative verb (that is to say, a verb that has a negative or nullifying meaning, as 'to fail', 'to abandon', 'to cease', 'to refuse', 'to deny'). In this process, a much-used negative particle is:

Ka- (Ga-), with its variants **Γa-**, **Ha-**, **Xa-**, **Ke-**, **Ge-**, **Ko-**, **Go-** Γω, **Ku-**, **Ki-**, **Gi-**. This is used as a *prefix* to the nominative pronoun, as an *infix* between pronoun and verb-root, or as a *suffix* to the verb-root by:

No. 1, **-ke** (as suffix to the Negative Infinitive), 2 (as infix combined with **-uku-**, **-duku-**), 2 f 4 5 (as **-kata-**, meaning 'neither', 'nor'), 6 9 14 14 a 16 19 20 21 22 23 24 32 34 38 40 45 51 52 54 55 55 a 56 57 64 69 70 (A-), 71 (A-), 73 74 75 (A-, **-ka-**, 'not yet'), 76 78 80 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98-9 (Ki-, chiefly), 100 (Ke-, generally), 101 102 103 105 106 107 109 110 111 114 (A-), 124 125 126 130 134 141 145 150 151 b (Ki-, Kω-), 152 154 155 159 164 165 166 167 175 177 178 179 180 181 182 187 189 190 191 (A-), 193 200 a (**-ekale**), 205-6 (**-ku-**, **-kω-**), 207 209 213 214 215 217 (Iki-), 218 219 (**-ki-**), 220 (**-aka-**), 222 (A-), 224 (A-), 225 (Ke-, A-), 227 227 a 227 b 228 229 230 234 237 245 248 250 (**-gan**),¹ 251 (**-ke**), 259 (Ki-), 261 (**-ken**), 265 (**-ki-**), 266 (**-ha-**), 267 (Gal-), 268 (Ka-).²

The following languages use as a negative prefix or infix some form of **Si-** which may vary as **ti**, **ci**, **hi**, **si**, **zi**, **s'**.

(Where not specially mentioned the form used is **Si** as prefix, infix, or suffix):

1 2 (Ti-), 3 3 a (-ti), 4 5 6 (Hi-), 7 (Ti-), 11 (Di-, Ti-), 12 (Ti-, Di-), 13 14 15 16 17 (-ci, as neg., verb), 18 19 20 (-se-), 21 (Si-), 22 23 24 25 26 27 34 (Hi-), 39 (-si-), 40 (and Zi-), 41 42 (Si-), 43 44 44 b (Si-), 47 (-ti-), 49 (-ti-), 51 (-ti-, -di-), 52 (-si-, -ti-), 53 (Si-), 56 (? -hi-), 59 60 61 64 69 70 71 72 73 (-se-), 74 (-se-), 77 (-si-), 78 79 80 83 84 (-cesi-), 86 (Ti- as well as Si-), 87 (Ci-), 89 (Hi- as well as Si-), 92 (Hi- and Si-), 94 101 102 103 (Tsi-, -si-, Tsidi-, Sidi-), 104 (Ci-), 105 109 110 119 (Te-), 121 141 (Ti-, Te-), 148 151 (Tiba-), 155 (Ti-), 157 158 (Ti-, Di-, Ci-), 159 160 161 162 163 164 (Ci-, Ti-, Iti-, Te-), 184 186 (Tyi-, Te-), 192 (Te-, Re-), 193 (-re, Zie-), 200 (Digi-), 204 (Si-, Se-, Titi-), 205 206 207 211 (-ti-), 213 214 217 (-siki-), 218 (Se-, Si-), 219 (-te-), 226 (-ci-), 227 (-tsi-), 234 235 (-se-), 245 (-si-, -su-), 253 (-sin-), 254 (-ci-), 256 (Ji-, Ci-), 257 (-te-), 260 (-ti-, -te-), 263 (-ce-).

This seems to be identical with an old verb-root for 'to be' which, as in the case of other particles, developed *both in an affirmative and in a negative sense*. As an *Affirmative* it was no doubt identical with **-isi**, **-ise**, **-izi**, which occasionally forms the preterite termination already discussed under the numeral 6 of the enumerated verb characteristics. As a *Negative* verb **-si** exists in a good many Bantu languages, and it is rather difficult to distinguish between the negative verb **-si** and the negative particle **si** (**Si-**, **-si-**); neither is it easy to decide whether **ti** or **si** represents the most archaic form of either. Further, it should be noted with some emphasis, as a very constant feature in the Bantu languages that this **si**

¹ Cf. the Gal- of 267.

² Attention should be called here perhaps to the following negative phrases connected with the **Ka** root which are used for the emphatic 'No!' and which seem to be evidence of interrelationship: **Kena!** 130 131 132, **Kem!** 204, **Kæm!** 205 206, **Kem!** 214.

negative particle is frequently reserved for the pronoun of the first person singular only. In a great many of these languages the negative of the verb connected with the pronoun 'I' may be indicated by **si** or its variants, whereas all the other persons of singular and plural may employ **ka**, **sa**, or **ta** (or their variants). There remains, however, a proportion of Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages which applies the **si** negative to all pronouns.

The following languages employ the particles **Ta** or **Sa** or their variants as *Negatives*, and the variants may be **S'**, **Da**, **Tsa**, **Tza**, **Ha**, **H'**, **Ca**, **Tya**, **Ša**, &c. :

1 (-**sa**, **Sa**, **S'**), 2 (-**ta**), 2 f 3 (-**ta**), 4 4 b (-**ta**), 5 (-**ta**), 7 (-**da**, -**ta**), 9 (-**tali**), 10 (-**ta**), 12 (-**da**, -**ta**), 13 (-**ta**, ?-**dza**), 14 (**Sa**), 15 (-**ta**), 16 (-**tša**, -**dza**), 19 (**Ša**), 34 (**Hi**, **Hu**, **Ha**, ?=**Si**, **Su**, **Sa**), 39 (-**sa**), 41 (**Ta**), 42 (**Ta**), 43 a 44 45 (**Tha**, **Ta**), 47 50 52 (**Ta**), 59 a (-**tayu**), 61 (**Sa**), 62 64 (**Sa**, **Ha**), 70 (-**saŋga**), 71 73 (-**sa**), 74 75 (in the phrase **Mu-sa-ni**, and the particle -**sa**, 'ever', 'never'), 77 (-**ta**), 78 (**Ta**, -**ka**), 79 (**Ta**), 80 (**Sa**), 83 (**Sa**), 89 (**Ha**), 90 91 (**Ha**), 92 (**Ha**, **Sa**), 94 (**Ha**), 108 (**Ta**), 130 (**Ta**), 155 (-**tya**, -**ca**), 157 (-**ta**), 161 (-**ta**), 162 168 170 184 (**Sa**), 186 (**Ša**), 194 (**Tsa**, **Ša**, -**sa**, **Ta**), 195 (**Ha**), 205-6 (**Sa**), 207 212 (**Ta**), 214 (-**da**, -**Sa**), 226 (-**ta**, -**da**, -**ca**), 230 (**Ta**), 254 (-**za**), 255 (-**nda**), 257 (-**ta**), 258 (**Ta**, **Taŋ**), 273 (-**ut**, -**at**, -**et**).

The following languages use some form of **Pa**, **Pe**, **Pa** as suffix, prefix, or infix, with the variants **Be**, **Bi**, **Ve**, **We**, **Fw**, &c. :

17 (-**fw**), 41 (-**fw**, -**pa**), 52 (-**vie**), 59 to 61 (-**be**), 62 (-**ve**), 81 (**Pa**), 101-3 (**Pele**, **Ve**), 110 (**Pe**, -**pe**), 120 (-**we**), 124-5 (**Bi**, **Pa**, **Pe**, -**bi**), 129 (**Pa**), 134 (**Pa**, **Ha**), 137 (-**pa**), 145 (-**mbe**), 155 (**Mba**), 161 (**Pe**, **Pepe**) 162 (-**fa**), 164 (**We**, **Bitu**), 166 (-**w**), 175 (**Pele**, -**w**, -**we**), 176 (**Ve**, **We**), 178 (**We**), 182 (-**pe**), 186 (**Byā**), 189 (**Ve**), 191 (-**pa**), 193 (**Be**, **Pa**), 196 (**Ebe**), 199 (**Bah**), 230 (-**uba**), 234 (-**pe**, -**pure**), 237 (-**ba**), 251 (**We**), 252 (-**wet**), 255 (-**va**), 259 (**Bi**), 261 (**Be**), 263 (-**fe**).

A negative particle not easy to classify is **I**, used also as an infix (-**i**), and perhaps identical with the -**i** suffix which so often modifies by its addition the form of the verb-root of the Aorist tense. It seems also to be related to a negative particle **Wi**. Apart from the inflexion of the verb-root already instanced, the **I** or **Wi** negative particle is used as follows :

No. 3 (in the Imperative singular, **Wi**; pl. **mwi**) 42 (-**i**, **Wi** in Imperative), 78 (**I**), 90 91 (-**i**), 155 (-**i**), 161 (-**i**, -**li**), 164 (-**i**), 199 (-**i**).

The following languages use some form of **Nga** (with variants **Na**, **Ngw**, **Nkw**, **Nw**) as their *negative* particle, as prefix, infix, or suffix) :

5 a (-**nga**), 9 (-**ngw**), 24 (-**ŋka**), 40 (-**ngw**), 51 (-**nga**, -**ng'**), 54 55 a 59 a (**Nkha**), 64 (**Nga**), 69 (**Nga**), 70 71 75-6 (-**nga**, -**ña**, -**nge**); 101 103 (-**ña**, -**nga**), 166 (**Nga**), 196 (**Anga**), 230 (**Nga**, **Ngañ**), 245 (-**ña**, -**ñw**).

The following languages use **Na** (**Ne**, **Ni**, **Nu**, &c.) as a *negative* particle :

28 (**Na**, -**na**), 32 (-**na**), 34 (**Na**), 35 a (**Na**), 38 (**Na**), 55 a (**Na**, **Ka**), 56 (-**na**, **Ne**, **Ni**), 59 (**Ne**), 47 (**Na-nti**), 78 (**Ina**, **Na-ni**), 105 (**Ne**), 107 (**Ka-nana**), 110 (**Nu**), 109 (-**una**), 141 (-**na**), 220 (-**nya**).

Another particle which is used negatively is **La**, **Le**, or **Li**, with a possible enlargement into **leka**, and with variants **Lw**, **Lō**, **Dw**, **Nda**, **Nde**, **Ndi**, &c. Such forms are met with in

Nos. 17 (-**la**, -**le**), 27 (-**la**, -**nda**), 56 (-**le**), 92 94 (**La**, **Lw**, **Nw**), 114-16-18 (-**lō**, -**lō**), 119 (**Lw**), 120 (-**lō**, -**la**, -**le**, **Lw**, &c.), 122 (-**dō**), 131 (-**lō**), 160 162 (**La**), 186 (**Dw**), 192 193 (**Re**, -**re**), 200 (-**le**), -**dia**, 218, 223 (**De**), 226 (**La**, **Li**, -**lō**, **L'**), 228 (-**de**), 248 (**De**), 255 (**Nda**), 257 (-**le**, -**la**), 258 (-**lō**), 259 (-**li**), 263 (**De'**), 274 (-**la**); 49 (**Ndali**); 14 (**Nde**), 17 (**Ndi**), 28 (**Ndiri**), 32 (-**lili**), 35 (**Andi**), 52 (-**rivie**), 53 (-**livi**), 55 (-**lietu**), 59 (-**ribe**, -**be**), 61 (-**libe**), 166 (-**nde**), 185 (-**nde**).

11 (-**diku**); 200 (-**digi**); 38 (**Jw**); 11 (**Tiga**), 227 (**Tik**); 230 (-**daya**); 23 a (**Leke**), 24-6 (**Leka**), 35 (-**ndeka**), 42 (**Lika**), 47 53 (**Reka**), 64 (-**rega**), 77 (-**leka**).

Dyak-um or **Zak-um** of No. 273 and -**suga** of 248 may be related to the foregoing -**deka**, -**leka** root, which as a negative verb means—like -**tiga**, -**tika**—'to abandon', 'to cease',

The following languages use **-ma** (varying **-mu**, **-mω**) in a negative sense :

43 a (**-mω** adverbial suffix with pronouns), 51 (**Mma-**), 96 (**Mi-**), 114 (**-mu-**), 199 (**-ima-**), 227 (**-mo**), 230 (**Ma**, **Mωmω-**, **-ma**, **Mā-**), 232 (**-mω-**), 236 (**-mω**), 253 (**Ma-**), 255 (**-ma-**), 260 (**Ma-**), 261 (**-ma-**), 263 (**Amām-**), 269-72 (**Ma-**, **Mu-**).

No. 69, for a negative suffix meaning 'No!' 'None!' has an anomalous form, **Mwalω**; and employs **Guna-** in the sense of 'Never!' Nos. 122 and 232 use **Bω!** as a negative exclamation. No. 234 has a negative suffix, **-boγω**; and No. 273 a negative exclamation, **Bωω!** For the treatment of 'No!' as an adverb or an interjection, apart from the conjugation of the verb, see the chapter on Adverbs.

SUFFIXIAL TERMINATIONS TO THE VERB-ROOTS—14-14j—EXTENDING OR
MODIFYING THE MEANING OF THE VERB.¹

(14) PASSIVE TERMINATIONS

-wa 1 2 2f 3 3a 4 5 5 a6 (**-iwa**), 7 9 10 12 13 14 15 16 18 19 20 21 22 23 23 a 24 25 26 27 29 31 a 32 to 51 54 55 55 a 61 61c 62 63 64 (**-wa**, **-ya**), 69 70 72 73 to 80 83 to 92 100 102 105 162 186 (**-we**, **-wa**), 191 195 (**-we**).

-ban, **-ba**, **-be**, **-bi**, **-bu**, **-bω** 217, **-ba**, **-iba**, **-eba** 218 (also **Ba-**); **-be** 198 199 204 (**-e**), 205 206; **-pe**, **Pe** 261.

-ibwa 1 (also **-ibwawa**), 2 2f (**-ibwa**, **-ebwa**, **-abwa**), 3 (**-ibwa**, **-bwa**, **-vwa**), 4 5 5 a 6 (**-iwa**), 38 (**-vwa**), 45 (**-ibwa**, **-ivwa**, **-ipwe**), 51 52 53 78 (**-iwa**), 92 (**-iwa**), 94 100 (**-iwa**), 104 (**-ibua**), 109 (**-bwa**, **-ibūa**), 166 (**-ibwa**); **-igwa** 25 26 29 30 31 51 64 (**-xwa**, **-txwa**), 79 (**-igwa**), 92 (**-ikwa**), 98 99 (**-kwa**). 175 (**-ga**, **-gω**, **-gi**), 186 (**-kwe**, **-gwe**), 195 (**-kwe**); **-idwa**, **-edwa** 4 54 (**-ilwa**), 59 (**-idwa**), 61-61c (**-idwa**, **-edwa**, **-tswa**, **-izwa**), 69 (**-idwa**), 90 91 (**-ilwe**, **-inwe**), 195 (**-udwe**).

-ωω, **-ulu** 100.

-wω, **-ω** 11 17 (and also **-ew**, **-ω**), 100 (**-u**, **-ω**), 101-3 (**-u**), 191-3 (**-ω**), 200 a (**-ω**, **-wω**), 245 (**-ω**, **-ō**), 252 (**-wω**).

-ia 56 155 162 164 186 (**-ia**, **-ie**, **-yie**, **-jie**), 219 (**-ya**).

-ta 214.²

-ekake, **-ke** 141.

-ñi, **-ñω** 175; **-weñgω** 195.

-ωmω, **-ωmωkω** 155.

The Passive terminal suffix is *wanting* in Nos. 28 110 111 157 158 159 160 161 170 189; and in all the North-western Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages not specified as possessing it.

¹ The times, the methods, and manner of the action covered by the verb-root are, of course, conveyed in the conjugation of the verb by a variety of particles. But through all this conjugating, the essential *meaning* of the *original verb-root* remains unaltered. It is the purpose of these suffixial syllables to modify that meaning, even to reverse it or greatly extend it. With the exception of 14 a, Reflexive action—which is ordinarily conveyed by an infix, though sometimes by a suffix—the position of these modifying particles is always at the *end* of the verb-root; but there are two exceptions to this rule—in the Šambala and Casu languages (Nos. 19 and 18 a). In these, besides the suffixial particles, *infixes* are used, especially in the Aorist and Present tenses, to change or amplify the meaning of the verb-root. In Casu there are three such adverbial infixes: **-ra-**, implying 'again' or retrospective action; **-ta-**, 'well', 'soundly'; and **-te-**, 'in very fact', 'indeed'. In Šambala the range, number, and length of these infixes is considerable. They may be in one, two, or three syllables, and may be used singly or in conjunction, so that sometimes the verbal phrase stretches out to almost unmanageable length. These infixes are inserted between the nominative pronoun and the verb-root, or if there be further a tense particle, then between the tense particle and verb-root. Examples of them are: **-ha-**, **-ka-**, **-sinda-**, **-ca-**, **-celeza-**, **-kana-**, **-fika-**, **-ma-**, **-kusa-**, **-va-**, **-nda-**, **-na-**, **-la-**, **-fe-**, **-fa-**, **-fya-**, **-ya-**, **-za-**, **-ta-**, **-te-**, **-he-**, **-ke-**, **-ki-**, **-hω-**, **-a-**, &c. They may be introduced to express every kind of adverbial meaning—'quickly', 'slowly', 'at night', 'by day', 'early', 'late', 'gladly', 'crossly', 'obligatorily', 'for the whole day', 'in between', 'lying down', 'standing-up', and so on.

Ex., in Casu, **U-m-vōna** = 'Thou-him-seest'. But **U-te-m-vōna** = 'Thou-in-very-fact-him-seest'. In Šambala, **Ni-kunda** = 'I wish'; **Ni-sinda-kunda** = 'I-for-the-whole-day-wish'.

² **Ta** not infrequently appears as a Demonstrative particle meaning 'it is there' (see No. 273) or merely 'is'.

(14 a) THE REFLEXIVE PARTICLE

Verbs are made reflexive ordinarily in Bantu by the insertion of an infix between the nominative pronoun and the verb-root. This infix takes the following forms :

-li- 28 34 34 a 44 b 54 55 55 a 62 78 (-**di-**), 79 80 (-**di-**), 89 (-**ri-**), 90 91 92 (-**ri-**, **-li-**), 94 98-9 (-**ri-**), 100 (-**di-**), 104 (-**di-**) ; **-dzi-** 13 16 21 (-**ji-**), 52-3 (-**ji-**), 59 61-61 c 64 (-**zi-**, **-bzi-**), 69 (-**ji-**), 70 (-**tsi-**), 71 (-**ti-**), 75 (-**zi-**), 76 78 (-**di-**), 80 (-**di-**), 175 (-**dzi-**) ; **-i-**, **-yi-** 3 6 9 10 11 12 21 b-d 23 23 a 24 25 26 41 42 43 43 a 44 45 47 49 51 (also **-iy'**), 52 (-**ji-**), 55 (-**ji-**), 56 73 74 84 85 90 91 100 102 105 109 ; **-e-** **-ye-** 1 2 4 5 20 38 ; **-e** (terminal only) 245 ; **-se-** 27.

-ku- 14 17 18 19 (-**ki-**), 20 (-**kwe-**), 24 (-**ki-**), 32 (-**kwi-**), 100 (-**ku-**), 101-3 (-**ki-**).

-ya- 130 160 161 (-**ja-**), 162 166.

-mi- 164.

The following Reflexive particles are *suffixes* added generally to the verb-root :

-ha 260, **-a** 245.

-o 273, **-o**, **-ō** 245.

-yol 214 ; **-enyul** 218.

-ene 110 111, **-ñgene** 155 157, **-mene** 166 204, **-men**, **-beben** 217, **-en**, **-oñ**, **-ben** 214, **-ne**, **-nene** 263.

-ata 75 ; **-ete** 226 ; **-yiti** 207 ; **-mete** 198 199 ; **-me** 193.

-tōkei 226.

(14 b) THE NEUTRAL OR SEMI-PASSIVE TERMINATION

As already explained, this inflexion of the verbal sense, which in some languages becomes an actual Passive, rather indicates what is vaguely called the neutrality of the verb. It states the condition of feeling or circumstance in which no agency is indicated as bringing about the result. For instance, if the Active verb be represented by 'I heat'; and the Passive by 'I am heated', the Neuter answering to this 14 b category would be 'I am hot'. Or, again, if 'I see' be the Active, and 'I am seen' the Passive, 'I am visible' would be the Neuter, 14 b. These phases are indicated in many Bantu languages by the following examples : **-bōna**, 'see', **-bōnwa**, 'be seen', **-bōneka**, 'be visible'. The basis of this terminal in its original form is evidently **-ika**, and the **-i** fusing with the **-a** of the verb-root produces **-eka**. Sometimes, however, the terminal is simply **-ka**, or at others it borrows a vowel from the Reversive termination (14 e) and becomes **-uka**, **-ōka**. The following languages make use of this neuter modification of the verb-root in the forms **-ika**, **-eka**, **-uka**, **-ōka**, **-ka** :

1 2 3 3 b 4-7 9 11 12-22 (-**eha**), 23-8 29 (-**ixa**, **-exa**, &c.), 30-55 56 (-**ea**), 57 58 59 60-61 c 62-8 69 (-**iga**, **-eka**), 70 71 72 (-**ea**), 73 (-**eha**), 74 (-**exa**), 75 76 (-**ega**, **-gala**), 77-111 114 141 (-**eka**, **-ekake**, &c.), 155 (-**eke**), 157 (-**eha**, **-ōha**), 160 (-**uka**), 161 170 (-**eka**, **-aka**), 175 (-**iga**, **-igō**, **-igi**), 186 (-**eka**), 189 195 (-**eke**, **-ka**, **-ke**, **-ōkō**), 207 (-**seke**, Reflexive in sense), 217 (-**i**), 218 (-**ia**) ; 273 (-**et**, **-ikēn**).

(14 c) THE APPLICATIVE OR PREPOSITIONAL

This termination gives the verbal action the sense of being performed to, for, or on account of some other person. Thus if **-bōna** means simply 'see', **-bōnela** would be 'see to something', or 'see something on account of another person'. The ordinary form of this termination is **-ila**, **-ela**, **-ira**, **-era**, with the variants of the alveolar consonant **l**, which occur so readily in the Bantu languages. In some form traceable to **-ila** or **-ira** this terminal is possessed by the following languages :

1 2 3 (and **-iza**), 4 5 (and **-sira**), 5 a 6 6 a 7 9 10 11 12 (and **-ia**, **-ilya**, **-elya**), 13 (-**ia**, **-ea**), 14 (-**ila**, &c., **-ia**, **-ea**, **-iria**, **-ya**), 15 16 (and **-iza**, **-iza**), 17 (-**ia**), 18 (and **-ia**, **-iza**), 19 (and **-iza**), 20 21 (-**ia**, **-ea**), 22 23 23 a 24 to 40 41 (and **-wila**, **-ina**, **-ena**, **-una**), 42 (and **-ina**), 43 43 a 44 44 b (and **-ina**, **-ena**), 45 to 54 56 (and **-lia**), 57 to 61 c 62 (and **-la**), 63 to 70 71 (-**eta**), 72 73 (-**tsa**, **-etsa**), 74 (and **-etsa**), 75 76 77

(and *-ita, -ina, &c.*), 78 (and *-ina, -ena*), 79 (and *-ida, -ina, -ena*), 80 (*-ina, -ena*), 81 82 83 (and *-ena*), 84 85 (and *-išila*), 86 87 88 89 (and *-ina, -ena*), 90 91 92 (*-ina*), 94 95 to 99 (and *-ina*), 100 (and *-ina*), 101 102 103 (and *-idi, -ina, &c.*), 104 (and *-ina, -yina*), 105 (and *-ina, -ena*), 109 (and *-ina*), 110 111 114 115 130 (*-e*), 141 (*-ea*), 155 (*-ela, -ele*), 157 (*-ia, -ele, -ela*), 160 (*-ele, -ela*), 161 (*-ela, -ele, -ea*), 162 (*-ela*), 164 (*-ela, -ele*), 166 (*-ela, -ele*), 170 (*-ela*), 175 (*-ee*), 186 (*-ida*), 189 191 (*-ia, -inya, -ina*), 193 (*-ina, -na*), 195 (*-kia, -ia*), 198 199 (*-ea*), 204 (*-ele, -ere, -ena, -na, -edi, -iri, -ea, -ia*), 205-6 (*-ere, -ele, -eli, -ea*), 207 (*-ea, -ele, -ene*), 214 (*-na*), 217 (*-ele, -elw*), 218 (*-ea, -ile, -ele, -ita*), 219 (*-ela*), 226 (*-era*), 263 (*-ia, -a, -ar', -ena, -ana, -na, -nana*); 273 (*-um*).

(14d) THE CAUSATIVE TERMINATION

The effect of this modification in the simple verb-root is to give it a causative tendency, so that the meaning of the root no longer indicates action on the part of the speaker but his having caused the action by some other person; thus, if *-bwna* be 'see', *-bwnesa* or *-bweza* would be 'to cause to see', 'to make some one else see'. This terminal, like that of 14 b and 14 c, can combine with other syllables to give an even more complex meaning; and apart from these compound variations (easily detected), it is evident that in some of its forms it represents the combination of two separate elements not easily identified (possibly *-isa* and *-ia*). In its simplest utterance it is *-iza* or *-isa*, but it may also be *-sa, -za, -ša, -eza, -esa, -iša, -eša*; *-iya, -ia, -ya, -isya, -esya, -ezya*. In one or other of these forms or in further variants, it is possessed by the following languages:

1 (and *-isaya*), 2 (and *-lisa*), 2 a-2 g 3 (*-itsa*), 3 a 4 (and *-idza*), 5 6 7 9 10 11 (*-ibia*), 12 (*-ya*), 13 14 (and *-ra*), 15 16 (and *-nya*), 17 (and *-niya*), 18 19 (and *-fya, -vya*), 20-5 26 (and *-ica*), 27 28 29 (and *-osa, -asa*), 30 31 32 (*-ya, -iya*), 33 34 (*-ya*), 35 36 37 38 (and *-tsa, -itsa, -ihitsa*), 39 40 (*-ya, -ia*), 41 42 (and *-fya*), 43 (and *-fya*), 44 44 b 45 46 47 (and *-ica*), 48 49 50 51 52 (*-iška, &c.*), 53 (*-iška*), 54 (and *-ica, -ici, -ya*), 55 (and *-iha, -ēca*), 56 (and *-iha, -iŕsa, -wŕsa, -la*), 57 58 59 (and *-dza, -bza*), 60 61 (and *-itsa, -tsa*), 62 63 64 (and *-dza, -tza*), 69 (and *-eja, -ija, -iheja*), 70 (and *-etsa*), 71 72 73 (and *-nya, -ca, -tsa, -wsa*), 74 (and *-tsa*), 75 (and *-wza, -usa*), 76 77 to 83 84 (and *-inya*), 85 to 90 91 (and *-ifa*), 92 to 103 104 (and *-yiŕsa*), 105 (and *-jia*), 106 107 108 109 (*-ija, -uŕsa, -wŕsa*), 110 to 116 130 (*-ye*), 141 (*-esa*), 155 (and *-esa, -ese*), 157 (*-ia, -sia*), 159 160 (*-isa*), 161 (and *-eja*), 162 (and *-ca, -eja*), 164 166 (and *-iŕgingiya, -itinya*), 170 (*-ia, -eya*), 175 (*-aa, -aya, -wzw, -ōyō*), 186 (*-iŕse, -ŕe, -ie, -lie*), 189 (*-usw, -asa, -ise*), 191 (*-iza*), 193 (*-iza*), 195 (*-kide, -ide*), 198 199 (*-ede*), 204 (*-ise*), 205 206 (*-ice; -ema*), 207 (*-ise; -aki, -eke*), 214 (*-ta, -ata, -ada, -la, -ela*), 217 (*-ele, -elw, -lu, -le, -ā, -i, -e, -w, -dōw, -ū*), 218 (*-ika, -ha, -ike, -iki*), 226 (*-sa, -asa*), 263 (*-is', -as', -a, -ōs'*), 273 (*-ēn, -ena*).

(14e) REVERSIVE (OR SOMETIMES INTENSIVE)

The purport of this terminal is usually to reverse the original sense of the verb-root, so that if *-fuŕnga* means 'to shut', *-fuŕngula* means 'to open'; if *-ata* means 'to tie', *-atula* means 'to untie'. In a few languages, however, the reversive sense has passed into a very intensive one meaning to perform an action extravagantly, abundantly. The reversive, however, is by far the commonest meaning attributed to this terminal, the original form of which seems to have been *-ula*, with the customary variants of *-ura, -wla, -ōra*, and *-una*. As such it is possessed by the following languages:

1 to 13 14 (*-ua*), 15 16 17 (*-uw*), 18 19 20 21 (and *-ua, -wa*), 22 (*-ua, -wa*), 23 to 31 32 (*-ua, -wa*), 33 to 52 53 (*-ua*), 54 (and *-ikula, -ukula*), 55 (and *-uha*), 56 to 63 64 (and *-unura*), 66 to 68 69 (and *-uda, -uga*), 70 71 72 (and *-uwa, -owa*), 73 (and *-wŕha, -wŕwla*), 74 75 76 77 (and *-una*), 78 (and *-una*), 79 (and *-una*), 80 (*-una, -wŕna*), 81 82 83 (and *-utula*), 84 to 88 89 (and *-una, -wŕna*), 90 to 97 98 to 99 (and *-una, -umuna, -wŕwŕna*), 100 (and *-una, -wŕna*), 101 to 103 (*-una*), 104 (and *-una*), 105 (and *-una*), 106 107 108 109 (and *-una, &c.*), 110 (and *-una*), 111 112 113 (?), 114 (and *-una*), 115 116 130 141 (*-wa*), 155 (*-wa, -wla*), 157 159 to 160 (and *-wla*), 161 (*-wa, -wza, -wja*), 162 (*-wa, -wla*), 164 (*-wa*), 165 166 (*-wa, -wla, -wla*), 170 175 (*-wla, -wla*), 186 198 to 199 (*-wa, -wa*), 204 (*-ūa*), 205 206 (*-wa*), 217 (*-i*), 245 (*-are, -ade, -ōre, -wde, -ere, -ede*), 261 (*-en, -an, -ken*), 263 (*-i, -e*), 273 (*-ul'*).

(14 f) RECIPROCAL

The effect of this widespread terminal is to give a sense of reciprocity in the action : 'to love each other', 'to help each other', or 'to fight together', 'to walk together', 'to speak together'. It is represented chiefly by the form **-ana**, which, however, sometimes takes the extension of **-kana**, **-ñgana**, &c. It is possessed by the following languages :

1 2 (**-ñgana**), 2 f (**-ana**), 3 3 a 4 (and **-agana**), 5 5 a 6 (**-gana**), 7 7 a 9 to 12 13 (and **-anya**), 14 15 16 (and **-anya**), 17 18 (and **-na**, **-anya**), 19 to 73 74 (**-na**, **-nya**), 75 to 88 89 (**-sana**), 90 91 (and **-fana**, **-ifana**, **-asana**), 92 to 97 98 to 99 (**-anana**), 100 (**-kana**, **-jana**), 101 to 103 (and **-asana**, **-ziana**, **-isina**), 102 104 (**-gana**), 105 (and **-kana**), 106 107 108 109 (**-añgana**), 110 111 (**-jana**), 112 113 114 115 116 130 (**-ane**), 141 (**-isana**), 155 (**-ana**, **-ene**, **-ωνω**), 157 (**-ana**, **-anya**), 159 160 (**-ana**, **-ene**, **-ωνω**), 161 (ditto), 162 164 (**-ana**, **-ene**, **-ωνω**), 166 (**-asana**, **-ωσωνω**, **-esene**), 170 175 186 (**-ia**, **-ā**), 189 191 (only slight traces), 195 (**-naka**, **-ana**, **-ani**), 198 to 199 (**-ane**, **-ne**), 204 (**-ana**, **-ane**, **-ani**), 205 to 206 207 (**-ani**), 214 (**-tana**), 217 (**-an'**), 218 (**-ā**, **-ana**), 226 (?), 263 (**-ana**, **-nane**, **-rne**, **-arne**, **-arane**), 273 (**-ōr**),

(14 g) CONTINUING

Implying continuity or an action still proceeding or frequently repeated ; sometimes used as intensive.

The purpose of this terminal is sometimes achieved by employing the forms of Nos. 14 d or 14 e ; but there is a more common and appropriate ending traceable to an original **-ga**, **-añga**.

A continuative or intensive terminal to the verb-root is possessed (with many variants and divergences from type) by the following languages :

1 (**-ga**, **-ge**, **-ya**), 2 (**-ge**, **-ga**), 2 f (**-ga**, **-ka**, **-hara**), 3 (**-gura**), 4 (**-ñga**), 5 6 (**-ga**, **-tsaka**), 7 9 (**-ga**, **-ta**, **-ata**, **-ga**, **-ula**), 12 (**-a**, **-ala**, **-ata**), 14 (**-ya**), 15 (**-ze**), 16 (**-t'w**), 18 (**-ša**, **-iša**), 19 (**-eza**, **-iza**, **-ta**), 21 (**-ki**- infix, also **-ye**, **-je**, **-tw** terminals), 22 (?), 24 (**-mνω**, **-ga**), 25 26 (**-ga**), 27 (**-ga**), 28 (**-añga**), 29 (**-ga**), 32 (**-ge**), 38 (**-ge**, **-ye**), 41 (**-kw**), 43 a (**-isya** ; **-piū** ; **-mūνω**), 44 (**-izya**, **-ezya**), 44 b (**-aula**), 45 (**-ñga**), 47 (**-añga**), 49 (**-je**, **-aja**), 51 (**-ga**, **-ge**, **-gi**), 52 53 (**-ca**, **-eñge**), 54 (**-ga**, **-je** ; **-pe**), 55 (**-ye**), 56 (**-ha** ; **-pe**-infix), 59 (**-isa**), 61 (**-be**, **-de**, **-tu**, **-di**), 62 (**-izya**), 64 (**-isa**, **-esa**), 69 (**-gw**), 71 (**-isisa**, **-eta**), 71 (**-ñga**), 78 (**-iša**), 79 (**-isia**, **-isisia**), 80 (**-el'**, **-wla**), 90 91 (**-ida**, **-iza** ; **-niñga**), 98 99 (**-ziñga**), 100 (**-añga** ; **-ji'**), 103 (**-añga**), 104 (**-akana**, **-enena**), 105 (**-tw**), 109 (**-akana**), 120 (**-ya**, **-w**), 157 (**-ka**), 161 (**-eke**, **-ke**, **-kede**, **-kadea**), 164 (**-eñgene**, **-añgana**, **-oñgωνω**), 166 (the same), 170 (**-ka**, **-ke**), 189 (**-ñgw**, **-ñga**, **-ñge**), 191 (**-iga**), 193 (**-ga**), 195 (**-kate**, **-te**), 207 (**-ka**), 214 (**-ta**), 263 (**-as**, **-at**, **-asa**, **-sa**).

A great number of Bantu and some Semi-Bantu languages convey the same meaning of intensity or reiterated action by duplicating or partially duplicating the verb-root : **-dukaduka**, **-duduka**, **-lanalana** or **-lalana**, **-begabega** or **-bebege**.

(14 h) ADVERBIAL

This suffix usually indicates how, when, why, where, an action was performed. Its sense verges also on the prepositional, especially in regard to location—'in', 'on', 'at a distance', 'up against'. Its meaning very often grades into 14 g and sometimes into 14 c. As a rule the particles are really the relativized locatives derived from the prefixes 15, 16, and 17. An adverbial terminal is made use of by the following languages :

1 (**-yw**, **-hw** ; **-kw** ; **-mu**, **-mw** ; **-wω**), 2 2 f (much as in No. 1), 3 (much as in No. 1), 4 (as in No. 1) 5 (**-wω** ; **-hw** ; **-mwω**), 6 (**-hw**, **-yw** ; **-kwω** ; **-mu**), 7 9 10 11 18 (**-ω**), 21 (**-pw** ; **-kw** ; **-mw**), 22 28 (**-pw**), 29 (**-tha**), 40 (**-hw** ; **-mw**), 41 (**-kw** ; **-pw**, **-pi** ; **-mw**), 42 (**-pw** ; **-mw** ; **-kw**), 44 (**-kw** ; **-pw** ; **-mw**), 51 (**-mw** ; **-pw** ; **-kw**), 52 53 (as in 51), 56 (**-vω**), 59 (**-pw** ; **-mw** ; **-kw**), 62 (ditto), 71 (**-kw** ; **-mw** ; **-pw** ; **-ka**, **-ku**, **-iki**, **-ileke**), 73 (**-ñ**, **-ω**), 74 (**-ñ**), 75 (**-ke** ; **-yw**), 84 (**-vyw**, **-hw**, **-evw** ; **-ekw** ; **-emw** ; **-kw**), 89 92 (**-pi** ; **-wi** ; **-tyi** ; **-pw** ; **-kw** ; **-nye**, the last meaning 'why?' 'how?'), 98 99 (**-ω**), 101-3 (**-tw**), 104 (**-hu**, **-fu** ; **-ku** ; **-mu**), 105 (**-pw** ; **-kw** ; **-mw** ; **-ñge**, which last means 'near'), 109 (**-ωmu** ; **-ωku** ; **-ωhu** ; **-ωmw** ; **-ωkw**, **-ωhw**), 145 (**-iki**), 170 (**-ω**), 195 (**-Bw**, **-Ta**), 204 (**-inω**), 207 (**-mbusa**), 217 (**-ya**, **-ye**, **-e**, **-ai**).

(14 i) ADJECTIVAL AND QUALITATIVE

This terminal is much used in some languages for making verbal adjectives: 'to be good', 'to possess the quality of goodness, of length, breadth, badness, rottenness, whiteness'. It is usually rendered by the syllable **-pa, -pala**; occasionally by **-fu, -vu, -bu**. Terminal 14 i, is possessed by the following languages:

1 (**-ha, -wa**), 2 (**-ha**), 2 f (**-hara, -ha**), 4 (**-vu**), 5 (**-hala**), 9 to 10 (**-ha, -pa**), 12 (**-va, -pa**), 19 (**-ta, -ha, -hala, -la, -ya, -ñga, -nda, -nta**), 21 (**-pa**), 23 to 23 a (**-ha**), 24 (**-ha**), 25 to 26 (**-pa**), 27 (**-ha, -fu, -ga**), 28 (**-pa**), 29 (**-pa, -fu**), 32 (**-ha**); 34 (**-pa, -la, -pala**), 38 (**-pa, -pala**), 41 (**-pa**), 44 (**-pa**), 44 b (**-pa**), 45 (**-ha**), 47 (**-pa**), 51 (**-pa, -la, -ba**), 54 (**-pa, -fu**), 56 (**-va, -bale, -pale, -wa, -ha**), 57 (**-ba, -pa, -le, -li**), 59 (**-pa**), 62 (**-pa, -mpa**), 64 (**-pa**), 69 (**-ba**), 72 (**-fa, -pala, -ba**), 74 (**-pa**), 77 (**-ca, -jā**), 78 (**-a**), 79 (**-ha, -hala**), 83 (**-ba**), 89 (**-para**), 90 91 (**-pala, -pa**), 98 99 (**-ba**), 100 (**-va**), 105 (**-pa**), 110 111 (**-pa, -pe**), 114 (**-ha**), 157 (**-ha**), 263 (**-i, -ba**). In Temne the **-ba** root is not suffixed to adjectival or noun-roots to turn them into qualitative verbs, but is used independently as a verb, with precedence of the qualifying adjective or noun.

(14 j) STATIVE

The particles used for this terminal are very diverse, but chiefly refer to the form **-ma** or **ima** connected originally with the sense of 'standing' or 'stopping still'; but **-pa, -la** are also much in use, sometimes in connexion with prone attitudes, 'lying down', 'length', 'extension', 'breadth'. The original sense of this terminal has been worn to tenuity, and it often transgresses on the fields covered by the other verb-root modifications, occasionally supplying a passive voice. It is in use in the following languages, more or less with a stative quality:

1 (**-ma, -gala**), 2 (**-ma**), 3 4 (**-la, -ra, -ma**), 5-5 a (**-gala, -ma**), 9 (**-ma, -la, -ala**), 12 (**-ma**), 17 (**-ma**), 19 (**-ma**), 21 (**-ma, -ta**), 25 26 (**-ama**), 29 (**-ama, -ala**), 32 (**-ma**), 38 (**-ata, -ta, -ala, -la, -ama, -ma, -ima, -tsima**), 40 (**-ma**), 41 (**-ma, -ta**), 42 (**-ma, -ta, -la**), 44 (**-ma, -la**), 44 b (**-ama, -ala, -ata**), 45 (**-ata, -ala, -ana, -ma, -nda, -mba, -kya**), 47 (**-ama**), 49 (**-ama**), 51 (**-ama, -ala, -ata**), 54 55 (**-ma**), 56 (**-ama**), 64 (**-ara**), 71 (**-ala, -ata, -eta, -akala**), 72 (**-ama, -ala, -ara, -la**), 73 (**-la, -ma**), 74 (**-ma**), 75 (**-la, -akala**), 76 (ditto), 77 (**-ama, -ata, -ala, -aka, -añga, -amba**), 78 (**-ama, -ala**), 79 (**-ama**), 84 (**-ama**), 90 91 (**-ma**), 92 (**-ma**), 98 99 (**-ama, -alala, -ata, -eta, -ita, -uta**), 100 (**-ama, -ma, -la, -lala, -iñga, -ita, -eta, -ota, -uta, -uza, -enya**), 101-3 (**-ama, -lala**), 104 (**-ama**), 105 (**-la, -ma**), 109 (**-ama, -ema, -oma**), 110 111 (**-ama, -ma, reflexive**), 114 (**-ama, -la, -ala**), 141 (**-ama, often passive**), 155 (**-ama, -oma, -ala**), 157 (**-ama, -ala**), 161 (**-ama, -ema, -eme**), 162 (**-ama, -ema**), 164 (**-ama, -ema, -oma, -eme**), 166 (**-ama, -ema, -eme, -ata, -ete, -ota**), 170 (**-ama**), 175 (**-ama, -oma**), 195 (**-la**), 207 (**-ame**).

(14 k, 14 l) See the paradigm of the verb in Dyōla, 273.

(15) THE VERB 'TO BE'

The verb 'to be' as an auxiliary for the declining of other verb-roots, or for the statement of existence, of position, of quality, is virtually present in all the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages. It is related in one of its forms to the common passive termination of verbs in Bantu. It is also with prepositions or postpositions the usual rendering of 'have'. In the Bantu there are two widespread roots for 'be', **-ba** and **-li**, which may be in use together in the same language. **-ba**, which, on the eastern side of Africa, is more often **-wa**, appears to have referred originally rather to 'being' in the sense of 'existence'; while **-li** (**-ri, -di, -ni**) usually indicated position, presence; the distinction between the two roots being somewhat that of the difference between *ser* and *estar* in Spanish and Portuguese. But these restrictions of meaning are often confused or reversed. The particles which we translate by the verb 'to be' are much used in the conjugation of other verbs.

-li, -ri, -di, -i. This *affirmative* root, with variations, is possessed by the following languages :

1 2 (and **-yi**), 3 4 5 5 a (also **-du, -ru, -lu** in *singular number*, and **-liŋgye** for all persons, besides **-li, -di**), 6 7 (**-du**), 9 10 (**-i**), 11 (**-ri**), 12 (**-i**), 14 (**-ri**), 16 (**-ri**), 17 (? **-nyi**), 19 (**-i**), 21 22 23 23 a 24 25 26 27 29 (**-kali**), 30 31 34 58 (and **-le**), 39 (?), 40 41 42, 43 44 44 b (also **-lu**), 45 47 (**-linji**, as well as **-li, -ri, -di**), 49 50 51 52 53 (**-ri, -diri, -de**), 54 55 (**-yū, -ile**), 56 57 58 (?), 59 (?), 60 61 62 63 64 65 to 68 (?), 69 71 (and **-liki**), 71 f (**-re, -reke**), 73 (**-le**), 77 78 79 80 (and **-ji, -ci**), (? 81 (? 82 84 85 86 to 89 90 91 92 (scarcely used), 93 (?), 94 100 (**-i, -di, -ndi**), 101 to 103 (**-di, -li, -idi, Kidi**), 104 (**-di, -cidi, -tadi, -kadi, -tu, -dua, -lua**), 105 109 (**-i, -di, -cidi, -kadi**), 110 111 (**-di, -cidi**), 114 115 122 to 125 (**-ele**), 131-4 (**-le**), 137 (**-li**), 145 (**-di**), 155 (**-le**), 161 (**-di, -dia**), 162 (**-le, -ole, -leki, -oleki**), 166 (**-liki**), 170 (**-le, -liki**), 175 (**-li**), 186 (**-di, -le, -diya**), 189 (**-li, -ni**), 191 (**-re**), 193 (**-re, -are**), 195 (**-te, -di, -i, -didi, -jadi**), 189 199 (**-ndi**), 200 (? **-ni**), 204 (**-e, -ndi**), 207 (traces of **-li**), 212 (**-ni**), 214 (**-de**), 217 (**-ne**), 218 (**-ni, -ne**), 219 (**-ne**), 226 (**-e**), 227 (**-de, -di**), 259 (**-li, -le, -ni**), 260 (**-le**), 261 (**-re**), 263 (**-yi**), 273 (**-ne**).

-lē, -let (*negative*), 273.

-ba, -wa (*affirmative*).

1 (also **-hya**), 2 3 3 a 4 (and **-va**), 5 5 a 6 9 (**-vi, -va, -bi, -ba, -wa**), 10 (**-ya, -ja, -ai, -bi, -be**), 13 (**-a, -wa**), 14 (**-a**), 16 (traces of **-wa**), 17 (**-wa, -va, -ba**), 20 21 22 25 26 27 28 (**-a, -na**), 29 30 31 (and **-a**), 32 (**-ba, -bi, -ai**), 34 38 (**-va, -pia**), (?) 39 40 (**-ba**), 41 42, 43 (**-ya**), 44 (**-wa**), 44 b 45 (**-ba**), 46 (**-wa**), 47 48 52 54 59 62 63 64 (**-ba, -wa**), 70 (**-va**), 71 (**-ba**), 73 74 75 (and **-be, -bi**), 76 77 78 (**-ba**), 80 83 84 85 (**-va; -pwa, -pu**), 100 b (**-ba**), 101 to 103 109 (**-ba, -badi**), 122 125 (**-ba**), 157 (**-baka, -ebaki**), 164 (**-be, -beki, -baka, -kaba**), 186 (**-mbie, -be**), 189 (**-be**), 193 (**-be, -pe, -ve**), 195 (**-be**), 198 199 (**-ja**), 200 (**-be, -mba, -mbe**), 204 (**-be**), 205 206 (**-veli, -beli**), 214 (**-be, -be, -ba = negative**), 217 (**-ban** (*passive termination*), **-mbe**), 218 (**-be, -bi, -mbe**), 219 (**-vē**), 252 (**-bi**), 263 (**-ba**),¹ 273 (**-bad**)¹.

-ba (*negative*), 61 214; **-be, -ibe** (*negative*), 195; **-be, -kpe** (*negative*), 217; **-fa** (*negative*), 162; **-bω** (*negative*), 257; **-būe** (*negative*), 32.

Ni, Ndi (*affirmative*).

1 2 f 3 5 11 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 (**Ndi**), 20 21 23 a 29 30 32 (i) 39 40 42 44 44 b 47 48 (and **Ndi**), 53 (**Ndi**), 59 (**Ndi**), 62 (**Ni**), 69 (**Ndi**), 77 (**Ni, i**), 78 (**Ndi, Ni**), 80 (**Ne, N', N, Ni, &c., Ndi, Nji, Nei**), 83 (**Ni**), 100 (? **I**), 145 (**Ndi, Ni**), 148 (**Ni, Ne**), 193 (**Ne**), 246 (**-ni**), 189 (**-ni**), 217 (**-ne**), 227 (**-nde, -ndi**).

105 (**Ne** in a *negative sense*), 56 (**Ne, Ni** as a *negative*).

-ikala, -kala ('to be' in reference to position, locality: really the verb-root for 'sit', 'remain') (*affirmative*).

1 13 (**-kaa, -kee**), **-kā** 14 16 (**-kala**), 23 23 a 29 (**-kali, preterite**), 28 (**-ikaala**), 48 (**-kali = past**), 56 (**-kala**), 92 98 to 99 100 101 to 103 104 (**-ikala**), 105 (**-ikala**), 119 (**-kel'**), 161 (**-kada**), 162 (**-yala**), 166 (**-zala**), 175 (**-kala**), 186 (**-diyā**), 195 (**-jadi; -diya-ka**) (*in negative sense*), 198 (**-jā**), 252 (**-sal, future tense, 'will be'**).

-si, -isi (*affirmative*).

5 (**-isi, -si**), 83 (**Ti, T'**), 92 (**-kasi**), 157 (**-isi**), 195 (**-te**), 252 (**-si, -se**), 273 (**-tē, -tēnē**) (*see the preterite termination in 226*).

-si, Si, Ti (*negative*):

1 2 3 3 a 4 4 b (**Ti**), 6 (**Hi**), 7 (**Ti**), 10 (**-ti**), 11 (**-ti**), 12 (**Ti**), 13 (**Si**), 14 (**Si**), 15 16 18 (**Si, Seki**), 19 21 22 23 (**Hi**), 23 a (**Si**), 24 25 26 27 34 (**Hi**), 42 (**Te**), 43 a (**Si**), 44 44 b (**Si**), 45 (**Si**), 47 52 53 59 61 62 (**Te**), 73 (**-se**), 73 (**-iši**), 78 (**I, Ši**), 80 83 94 101 103 (**-isi**), 104 (**-i**), 193 (**-zi-ene**), 214 (**-sa**), 217 (**-siki**), 218 (**-si**), 241 (**-si**).

-ma (*negative*), 259 260.²

-ma, -mu, -am, &c. (*affirmative*).

207 (**-mω-mu**), 273 (**-m, -mu, -mēn**), 84 85 (**-twama**), 55 a (**-tama**), 160 (**-ikama**).

-na (*affirmative*).

¹ 'To be with', 'to have'.

² This merges into the negative particle or exclamation, 'not'—**ma, mω, mō, mu, mi, mam, &c.**, in Nos. 43 a 51 96 114 199 227 230-1 232 236 253 255 260 261 263 and 269-72.

74 (-una), 100 (-na), 98-9 (-ene), 101-3 (-ena), 118 (-wena, -wene), 121 (-kí-en), 273 (-an, -n, -nē), 259 (-nu), 211 (-nɔ); -nah ('to be wont to'), 273.

-ziene (*negative*), 193.

-ina (*negative*), 78 109 56 (Ne-), 105 (Ne-).

-ñgite 195, -ñge 218 (*affirmative*).

Ŋga- (*negative*), 54 55 166.

Ŋki- (*negative*), 20.

-ka, -ke, -ki, -kɔ, &c. (*affirmative*).

14 (-kɔ, -kɔwɔ, -kɔkɔ, -ka), 15 (-ɔhɔ), 24 (-hɔ), 19 (-ke), 25 26 (-ha), 18 (-ke, -eki, -ki, -ɔka), 73 (-ke), 101-3 (-eka), 102 (-ke), 109 (-ki), 122-5 (-iki), 130 (-ke), 139 (-ikɔ, -kɔne), 129 141 (-ka, -ki), 148 (-ki), 155 (-iki, -aka), 157 (-baka), 160 (-iki, -ikama), 161 (-daki, -aka), 218 (-kaya, -ñgaya), 226 (-ka), 227 (Ki-), 248 (Ka-), 273 (-ke); 164 (-beki), 207 (-weke), 162 (-leki, -leka), 126 (-ekɔ, -dekɔ), 137 a (-yehɔ), 101-3 (-kidi), 104 (-cidi), 109 110-11 (-cidi), 191 [-ekake, -kake (*passive*): -vegigi], 193 (-pegaga), 205-6 (-yege), 104 and 109 (-kadi, -tadi), 195 (-jadi), 198 (-ja), 204 (-ta), 273 (-ata); 218-19 (-tɔbe, -tɔbe), 261 (-cɔe).

Ka- (*negative*):

56 (Ka-), 69 (Ka-), 73 (Ha-, Ka-), 74 (Xa-, Ka-), 83 (Ka-), 86 to 89 90 91 92 110 217; 79 (-kwe); 164 (-kɔ); 130 a (Kema), 204 (Kem').

-ja, -ya 10, -ya 13, -yɔ, -yau (*affirmative*), 207.

-du, -vu, -lu 5 5 a, -du 7, -lu 44 b, -ɔ, -nɔ 211, -ɔ 226, Dɔ- 186, -du 245, -nu 246 259, -duana 193 (*all affirmative*); -ɔ (*negative*), 164; Dɔ- 186, -tūe, -itūe (*negative*), 198-9.

-pia, 38; -pwa, -pu, 84-5; -buma, 120; -wu-ɗa, 156; -pol, 252 (*past tense*, 'was') (*affirmative*).

-e 10 42, E- 20, -e 204 226 273 (?) (*affirmative*).

There is usually a monosyllabic verb-root which might be instanced here, both as an auxiliary to other verbs and as a possible development of the 'be', 'being' concept by originating in the assertion 'it is', 'he is', 'it is so', and gradually coming to mean—in most cases 'he says', 'I say', 'it is thus'. This is -ti (varying as -ri in a few cases); but this monosyllabic -ti seems to proceed from an older -tya, -tia, a form still existing in languages Nos. 1 25 90 and 91. This provenance from -tia apparently prevents the close association of -ti, 'says', -tile and -tite, 'said' with the affirmative Ti-, -si, -te, -isi cited among the equivalents of 'be', 'is' on a foregoing page.

-ti, -tia, -tya, 'to say', 'to speak', &c., is present in the Bantu languages 1 5 5 a 18 19 25 43 a 45 47 51 52-3 54 59 64 70 71 72 73 74 75 77 78 80 90 91 92 94. Occasionally it is translated as 'it is thus', 'thus', 'do thus'.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU VERB-ROOTS

I GIVE here the root-words of certain verbs that are in constant use and which by their widespread affinities assist in classifying the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages. There are many other verb-roots not here given which appear and reappear with intervals of discontinuity in Bantu and Semi-Bantu Africa, but are not so remarkable for wide diffusion as those of my selection. In normal Bantu the verb-root ends nearly always in *-a*, and in some cases it would appear to be an older conception (as the name of an action) than the substantive or adjective which is formed from it; formed usually by changing the terminal *a* to another vowel—*-e*, *-i*, *-o*, *-u*, and supplying a class prefix. Most of the Bantu languages attach considerable importance to the infinitive prefix, **Ku-** (identical with the preposition 'to'), and this is sometimes so much fused with the actual root that it becomes part of it. Equally it is not always easy to detach those modifying terminations (classified in the preceding chapter as 14 to 14 j) from what is often a mere vestige of the original root. The reader should be guided by these factors in considering the interrelationship of these verb-roots.

COMPARISON OF VERB-ROOTS IN BANTU AND SEMI-BANTU

BEAT

*-kw-ita** 14, *-bits*ula* 38, *-wata** 56 a, *-vaḍa** 57, *-beta** 69 75, *-betsa* 74, *-veta** 84 86 92 94, *-beta** 95 96 97 98, *-wita* 97, *-weta** 100, *-yeta** 100 b, *-beta* 102 109, *-eta** 110, *-bera** 117, *-betw**, *-beti** 120, *-beta** 150, *-bete** 160 164 166, *-bera* 175 178, *-buda** 179, *-beta* 180 181 182, *-be* 194, *-yit** 217, *-yire** 218, *-yer** 232, *-gbede**, *-gbidye** 248.

-nyata 62.

*-gwa** 11, *-ōca**, *-ōtla** 73, *-ōta** 74 b, *-hōra** 11; *-kuta** 165 166; *-ñgōten** 273.

*-vwa** 12, *-tula** 9, *-hula** 9 a, *-tula* 9 c 31 a, *-pula** 46, *-pola** 48, *-bula** 50, *-pfura** 64, *-fula** 83, *-bula* 102 103 116 118 121, *-kul** 121, *-tula*, *-hula* 134, *-tua** 161 a, *bola* 166, *-bula*ya* 185, *-hua*gw* 255, *-bōla** 193, *-būla* 190, *-wōla** 253.

*-kuba** 4, *-kupa** 6, *-xuya** 5 a, *-xūa** 10, *-kuba* 9 b, *-kopa**, *-koba** 24 c-g, *-khopa* 73, *-opa** 73, *-ba** 71, *-hōva** 92, *-zuba** 100 b, *-kuba* 101, *-ñkōba** 124, *-opa** 226, *-mba** 226 b, *-wbi**, *-wba** 209 210, *-gwa** 230; *-kubita** 3, *-kuwita** 3 b, *-kupila** 105 108, *-kušila** 109; *-kumbwa** 32; *-kapa**, *-kava** 17; *-kōwe** 269; *-pupa** 86, *-pōpa* 94 b.

*-tōwa** 19, *-twa** 19 a 20 20 d, *-tōwa* 23, *-twa* 23 a 24 24 c-g, *-tōwa* 25, *-twa*, *-tōwa* 27, *-thōwa** 29, *-twa* 30, *-tōwa* 31 35, *-tōwa* 37, *-rōba** 64, *-rwa** 64 a, *-dob** 230; *-tipula** 94, *-lyiba** 186, *-dipa** 198 199 (also *-tiba**), 204, *-tia** 205 206, *-šiva** 191, *-šiw** 192, *-di** 230, *-dewe** 256, *-tuwa** 274; *-dimba** 184.

*-tuta** 104 109, *-tuja** 269.

*-tea** 73, *-teta** 226, *-tera** 1 2 2 c-d 2 f-g; *-tare*ga* 34.

-zebela 142.

-tatula 94.

-pāpula 94.

-sap 263; *-lap* 230.

-bubudwa 58; -bubūw, -būibūi 148 a.

-kōma* 3 4, -ōma* 26, -kōma 34, -uma*, -puma* 41 42, -uma 43 a, -puma, -pama* 44 44 b, -kōma* 44 51, -huma*, -uma 45, -hima* 70, -uma 77 78 79, -kama* 87, -puma 87, -kumu* 104, -puma 105, -kuma 107, -ntumi* 151, -ōma*, -ma* 155, -ma-ka 155, -bōma* 161 195, -bom* 219, -bō 237, -buñ 252, -gbumw* 230 (also -bu), -fumu*, Na-fu- 267.

-tumbok 235.

-funju 189.

-bōyω 236.

-biga* 13 15, -piga* 16, -biga* 18, -piga 21 21 a-d, -bika* 21 e, -peka* 70; -piwka* 168.

-puta 35 55.

-mωwω 228.

-laba* 214, -lap* 230.

-kasa 85.

-kusi 259.

-kwak* 245; -huagw* 254.

-lubia* 141, -lua* 213 214 215.

-ka 89.

-tina* 9 c, -šina* 98; -tōma 89.

-lōmōna 88; -bōmōna 187.

-bienu 251; -vyu 249.

-nata 74 b; -not 263.

-mat 266.

-ntalia 85.

-kalane 165.

-mana* 56; -mama* 153; -men* 229, -menya* 54 55 59 61 61 a-c; -menda* 194.

-deñga* 91, -zeñga* 90; -nañga* 157; -šoñ 232.

-tem* 227; -rem*, -dem* 234.

-tek 273.

-sambwla 136.

-fila*, -hila 106, -ilia* 21 f-g.

-halika 24.

-bala* 110, -bana* 119.

-panda* 77, -wanda* 100.

-kunda 162.

-binda 145, -benda 148.

-tiza 90.

-dā 71.

-ōru 250.

BUY, SELL¹

-awōla*, -wōla* 1, -gura* 2 2 c, -gula* 2 e-g (and -gura), -gura 3, -gula 3 b 4, -kula* 5, -kula, -kura* 5 a, -gula 6, -gura 7, -gula 9 9 a-c, -gura 11, -ua 12, -guya* 13, -gula 14 16, -ula 17, -γula 19, -gula 19 a 20 20 d, -uza* 21 21 a (and -uliza*), 21 b-d, -kuba* 21 e, -uza 21 f-g 22, -gula 23 23 a 24 24 c-g 25, -wla* 26, -gula 27 29 31, -gura 35 37, -gula 38, -ula 39, -gula 40, -ula 41, -wula* 44 44 b, -wura 50, -kula, -ula, -ura 51, -guura 52, -gura 55, -gula 57, -gura 58, -gula, -gura 59, -gula 60 61 61 a, -gura 61 b, -gula, -ula 77 78 79 (and -kula), -ōra, -wōra* 81, -ōla 82, -ula 83 104 108, -γwla,

¹ Throughout much of Negro Africa the same root means both 'buying' and 'selling': 'marketing' or 'trafficking' would probably be the truest rendering, as in the primitive days when these languages were formed a person could not buy without at the same time selling, bartering one kind of goods against another.

-*lɔwɔla** 142, -*ɔwa* 141, -*kōra* 148, -*kɔla* 191 192 193, -*ɔla*, -*ɔlɔ**, -*wela** 226, -*gōri*, -*guri* 227, -*guro** 228, -*kula** 238, -*kur** 253, -*wel** 269; -*wuŋgūe** 261:

-*wen** 212, -*giane** 213 214 215, -*jana** 214, -*jane* 215, -*feni** 230, -*pfeni** 232, -*pin** 261, -*gian** 248; -*jwani*, -*yɔna**, -*juemo* 230, -*jun* 232; -*kan** 249; -*gantri** 269, *Gandr** 267, *Kante** 268; -*landa** 84 85 86 87 88 89, -*randa** 90, -*landa* 92 94 97 109 110, -*ganda**, -*anda** 204, -*yanda** 205, -*anda*, -*manda** 206, -*andi** 208, -*anda* 209; -*ronda*, -*rɔanda** 226; -*nondu** 235; -*tunda** 2 2 f-g 4 145, -*dun** 254.

-*nunua* (from an older -*nuna*, -*nun-ula*), 21 21 a-d, -*nunuva* 21 e.

-*nam** 227, -*nyam** 245, -*nemi** 250, -*nemate** 269; -*nom**, -*nomulɔ*, -*nonom** 273.

-*femɔ**, -*fi*, -*fwe*, -*fi* 230, -*hw* 237; -*pima** 32, -*hemela** 27 35, -*himera** 37, -*lemele** 126; -*nemi** 250.

-*kamba** 198; -*šamba**-*dzira* 64; -*šawa** 69, -*šava** 71 f; -*kawa** 250, -*kaba** 124 125, -*kā* 17; -*gawi** 208, -*awe** 269, -*wap** 269, -*jap** 251, -*dep** 245.

-*tewa** 117; -*ti* 229; -*tɔ*, -*twa* 12 248; -*taga** 18, -*taya** 19, -*taga** 20, -*jaga** 200, -*tekea** 136, -*teka** 162, -*tigila**, -*tila* 263.

-*twa** 12, -*zōra** 15 18 (probably related to the -*gula* section).

-*dara* 236, -*da* 259.

-*kara* 43 a 49.

-*lomba** 35 (probably related to a Bantu root meaning 'to beg'); -*sumba** 184 185, -*šomba** 186, -*somba** 187, -*šomba* 189, -*sumba** 190, -*sombu** 194, -*hamba** 199, -*somba* 211, -*sumba* 95, -*sombɔ*, -*sumbɔ* 96, -*sumba*, -*sumbɔ* 98, -*sumba* 100 101 102 103 104 114 122, -*sombɔ* 134 136, -*sumba* 150, -*homba** 151, -*sumba* 152, -*somba* 153, -*sumba* 154, -*somba* 155, -*sumba* 156, -*somba*, -*samba** 157, -*somba* 158 159 161 162, -*sumba* 160, -*umba** 164, -*somba** 166; -*suma** 3, -*hyūma** 34, -*suma* 54, -*tuma** 56 56 b, -*buma** 56 a, -*suma* 61 a 117, -*sum*' 119, -*šuma** 120, -*sum*' 121 123, -*suma*, -*fuma** 175, -*luma** 176, -*suma* 178, -*tsuma** 179, -*juma** 180, -*juɔma** 181, -*šɔma** 182, -*šoma* 213 214, -*šiwma** 215, -*sum* 218, -*tɔwɔ** 230; -*šon** 233.

-*šusa** 64, -*susu**, -*sunsu* 258.

-*saska* (from -*sasya*), 53.

-*našeni* 235.

-*ɔmi* 186.

-*uŋga* 160.

-*kus*** 217 219; -*kuf**, -*kuh*** 234; -*kɔpa** 28.

-*beda** 159 a; -*gita** 42, -*sita** 44 44 b, -*šita** 77, -*sia** 229; -*kie** 237, -*ŋgedza** 161; -*ɔta** 105.

-*gɔgɔ* 228.

-*mende* 229.

-*mana* 97.

-*teŋga** 64 64 a 69 (also -*reŋga**), -*taŋga** 66, -*tanya** 68, -*reŋga* 70 72, -*reka** 73 74 (also -*leka**), 74 b, -*teŋga** 75 75 a, -*tseŋga** 75 b, -*teŋa** 75 c, -*teŋga* 76; -*uŋga** 160; -*sa*, -*saŋga** 255 256.

-*ba* 207.

-*wai** 263; -*waya** 266.

-*ye* 257, -*ya* 258.

COME

-*asā** 1, -*iza** 2 d, -*ija** 2 c, -*idza** 2 e, -*iza* 2 f, -*iza*, -*ija* 2 g, -*za** 3 3 b, -*ja** 4, -*eja*, -*ija* 5, -*nzie*, -*ndzidza**, -*widza** 5 a, -*tɔsa** 6, -*ja*, -*ca** 7 7 a, -*iza* 9 9 a-c, -*dza* 13, -*ja* 14, -*za* 15, -*dza* 16, -*ja*, -*ca*, -*ša** 17, -*ca* 18, -*iza* 19, -*eza** 19 a, -*iza* 20, -*za* 20 d, -*ja* 21, -*ja*, -*dya** 21 a, -*ya* 21 b-e, -*dya* 21 f-g, -*iza* 22, -*eza*, -*iza*, -*idza* 23, -*iza* 23 a, -*idza*, -*isa* 24 24 c-g, -*za*, -*zala** 25, -*ja* 26, -*za* 27, -*iza* 28, -*iza*, -*jinja** 29, -*idza* 31, -*isa* 32, -*ida** 34, -*hisa** 35, -*ija* 36, -*ica*, -*iza* 37, -*itsa* 38, -*iza* 41, -*isa* 42, -*iza* 43 a, -*isa* 44 44 b, -*iza* 45, -*idza* 46, -*iza* 48, -*inza** 49, -*iza* 50, -*isa* 51, -*iza* 52, -*za* 53, -*isa* 54, -*ica* 54 55, -*da** 57, -*da*, -*da* 58, -*dza* 59 60 61 a, -*ja*, -*dza* 61 b, -*za* 61 c 62, -*za* 64 a, -*ta* 69 70 71 71 f; -*da* 72, -*tla** 73 74,

·ta* 74 b, ·ta 75 b, ·iza, ·za 75 75 a 75 c 76, ·isa*, ·sa 77, ·eza 78 79, ·iza 80, ·iya 81, ·eja, ·eza, ·iza 84, ·ija 85, ·indya*, ·eza 86, ·ida* 87, ·iza 88, ·sa, ·isa 95 96 97, ·iza, ·eza 98 100 101 102 103, ·eza, ·ja, ·inza* 110, ·isa 114, ·za-kw 118, ·za 119 120, ·ce 121, ·iza 122, ·za, ·za-ka 156, ·za, ·zi-ri 179, ·nze, ·nzi 200, ·su, ·su* 217, ·nzu*, ·sō*, ·nza 218, ·zu 219, ·nsye* 220, ·nda 220 a, ·ta, ·nta 230; ·la* 141, ·ra* 252; ·iya* 81 83 86, ·ye*-ka 87, ·ya 89 90, ·ya, ·dia*, ·di 91, ·ya, ·endyu* 92, ·iya, ·enju* 94, ·iya 105 109, ·ya-ka 116, ·ya 121, ·iya 124 125, ·ya-ka 129, ·ya 130 131, ·ya-ka 132 133, ·ye, ·yi, ·ya 134 136, ·yoo* 137, ·i-ka, ·e-ka 141 148 a-b, ·bi*-ka 150, ·bia*, ·bi-ka 151, ·di*-kw, ·ji*-ka, ·ya 155 160 162 164 166 167 168 175, ·za 176, ·ya 178, ·ja, ·ji-de 180 181 182, ·ya 185, ·ja, ·nja, ·jw-me 186, ·ya 189 190 204, ·ja 206, ·ya-ka 223, ·ya*-te 224, ·ye* 233; ·uya*, ·buya* 64, ·uya 66, ·buya 67 68 69 (also ·bua), ·vuya* 70, ·buya 71.

Joo* (*imperative*), 21, Jw! 21 f-g, Sool! 19 a, Izw*! 20 d, ·xw*! 22, Enju*, Endyu* 92 94, ·jiū* 236, ·yu* 237 253, Yum* 253; Dookw*! 98, ·swga* 9, ·wka*, ·ka 11, ·uka 12, ·tlwxa* 73; ·ruga* 184, ·rōkw*, ·dōkw* 208, ·rōkw* 209, ·lōw* 212.

·twci 130.

·lō 203, ·dō* 151 b 154, ·dwa* 163, ·due* 165, ·lwa* 157, ·lua* 104, ·lwa 108, ·dwa* 104 c 106, ·dua, ·dwa 161, ·lōa 207, ·rwa 56 b, ·ūa 56 a, ·wa 56; ·lawa* 21 f-g 23 a 24; ·zua* 140; ·fua* 108, ·fwa* 107, ·vwaya* 142, ·vu 167, ·buya* 143, ·mwa, ·ma 167.

·pam 202, ·pa*, ·pax* 214, ·page*, ·pa, ·peri 213, ·pere* 215, ·perede* 268, ·pa* 226, ·pwa* 226, ·pelw*, ·pelu, ·pulo 226, ·ba* 227 259, ·wa* 258, ·pō 199, ·pōi*, ·pō 204, ·pō* 205, ·pōkw* 209, Pw*! 195.

·suba* 9 a; ·sui* 249; ·wui* 232; ·va* 195, ·van, ·va* 248, ·wa* 204; ·wiwi* 194; ·via* 198, ·wia 199; ·ve*, ·vei 252; ·vwa* 39, ·pfa* 71; ·via* 64 a, ·bika* 145 146, ·viga* 187, ·bia* 150 151 191; ·giwa* 251.

·bien 192.

·mbek 263.

·mikwō 126; ·ñgōna 70.

·mōi 261.

·e 141; ·hela³86; ·la 141; ·haliga 255; ·bwera 31 35; ·bile 273.

·bōla 79 80.

·gule 256.

·nyō 224; ·yu, ·yum 253.

·tua, ·tuγō 230 234.

·tōma 230.

·wuwūnya 123.

·wana, ·mbāā, ·mbee 211.

·der' 263.

Legi- 267.

·rin, ·rindi 273; ·yine 266.

·ni 229 e, ·ani 254.

·fini 212; ·fe 230.

·fu* 234, ·fuw*²230, ·fom* 212; ·hu* 214; ·wū, ·niwū* 243.

Kwi 244.

·kasa; ·kawa 148.

·geseñ 250.

·wbi 139.

·nyōa 224.

·ra 252.

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-tema* 2, -teme-ra* 2 c-d, -tema 2 f-g 3 3 b 4 7 9 a 11, -dema* 14, -tema 15, -dema, -tema 16 18 23 a 24 25 26 27 28 32 35 44 44 b, -teme-ra 49 50, -tema, -teme-ra 51, -tema 54, -rema* 57 58, -tema 61 61 a-c 62 64 64 a 70, -cema*, -tyema 71, -tema 77 79 87 106; -sem 202 203; -nema* 193; -kemi* 227; -gbema* 230; -te* 269.

-tina* 9 c, -tena* 39 75, -tenena* 134, -ntena* 136, -tene-ra 148, -tena 151 153 155 (also -tena-ka), 156 157 160 162, -lena* 161, -tena 164, -tenō* 194, -lena 195 209 211; -tinda* 11, -sinja* 14, -tsimsa* 16, -cinja* 21, -sinša* 21 f-g, -sinda* 43 a, -tenda* 62 79 89.

-teta* 84 86 88 91 92 94; -tesasa* 152; -sesa* 44 44 b; -hikita* 35, -ceka* 44 44 b 64; -weha*-hwa 17; -seka* 71 f, -cea* 72, -sexa*, -seha* 74, -sika* 75 75 a, -siga* 75 c, -sika 76, -tigila* 56, -tikila* 56 a, -siki* 207, -tsik* 217, -kige* 217 218 (also -kiy*), -tyiji*, -ciyi* 219, -cikw, -kekω 220; -taha 104; -teŋga* 91, -leŋga* 92, -zeŋga* 100, -seŋga* 19 a 20 24 61 c; -yieñ* 244.

-zala* 2 e, -sara* 2 g, -sala 4, -zala* 5 5 a (also -kalaxa*), -kala* 6 40 (also -gala*), -kera* 26, -tsela* 73, -ciela* 103, -tsira* 175, -cira* 176, -tsira 178, -jera* 191, [-yer*, -yet 252], -sela* 192, -seale* 215; -tsit* 119; -jitewa* 185; -tia* 200; -keca* 187, -kese* 190.

-dura* 1, -dila* 12, -dura, -duya* 58, -dula* 59 60 61 61 a; -swla* 92, -cul* 121; -kōla* 194, -kōō* 212; -kue* 232, -kuere* 186.

-gwa*, -gba* 230; -keba* 7 a 8, -ciba* 108, -ciwa* 106, -juba* 75 b, -kewe* 228, -ke 204 205; -kiap* 258, -tsap* 263.

-kata* 9 21 21 a-d, -kaca* 21 e, -kata, -kakata* 56 b 61 a 104, -keta* 105 106, -kacula*, -ketula* 110, -kala* 142, -kete* 166 186, -kese* 189 190, -keca* 187, -ket* 235, -ke 204, -ka 230, -kasa* 253; -ñet 264.

-gwata* 59, -gwada* 57, -kwale* 213 214, -kuere* 186, -gweli* 208, -gwar*, -wara* 232, -gbere* 248; -yer, -yet 252; -kpad-ta 266.

-kwsa* 88 104, -kwsω-la* 78 109; -kωkw-la* 92; -kwtwta 94 b; -sωkw-la* 155; -swla* 92, -kōla* 194, -gura* 64 a.

-vōla* 36, -pōw*, -bōla*, -mbōla* 226, -pōlea* 225.

-konda 89; -kindwla 94.

-himba 94 c; -komba* 145, -kom* 234; -kumōya* 181; -bumu* 267, -puma* 74 b.

-dum-ula* 19 a 28, -dum-ōra 29, -dumu-wa 53, -dumu-ra* 55.

-hoŋg-wla* 36, -hoŋga 90 92, -soŋg-wla 108, -soŋgω* 143.

-añga* 102; -kanha* 23, -kañana* 34; -jañga* 243.

-but-ura* 7, -vit-ōra* 7 a, -put-ula* 43 a, -but-ira* 51, -bat-ula* 83 85, -bat-ura 86 95, -bat-ula, -tula 98, -bat-ura 114, -bat-ula 122, -bat-era* 123, -bat-ala* 124 125; -tab-ula* 103 184; -buk-ula* 116; -buka* 141; -baya* 120, -baga* 182; -gbek* 263; -bōgu* 266; -budi*, -buri* 258; -pit*, -fit-ik* 273, -bet* 261; -gbek, -gbak 263 264.

-pa 259; -fal* 269, -far* 273.

-huna 13.

-piŋgwa 32.

Habu 267.

-ya wi 259, -ya 260.

-jaja 260.

-lani 96.

-tondω 248.

-manyia 17; -mine 273.

-dwisa 19 a.

Rufu 268.

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-bina*, -wina* 1, -zina*, -nzina 2, -zina 2 c 2 f, -byina*, -kina* 3, -vina*, -kina 3 b, -zina 4, -xina* 5, -šina* 5 a, -kina 6, -vina 7 a, -kina 9, -vina 9 b, -bina, -vina 8 9 c, -ina, -wina 11, -ina, -kuina* 12, -vina 13, -fina*, -šina 17, -fina 18, -vina 19 19 a 20, -vina 21 f-g 24, -vija* 26, -wina 28, -ina 32, -vina 34, -hina* 35, -keena* 40, -kinda* 41, -cinda* 42, -kina 43 a, -fina, -kinda, -cinda 44 44 b, -bina, -kina 45, -cina 50, -fina 51, -vina 52, -wina, -ina* 54, -ihina* 55, -wina 56, -wtuina* 56 a, -ihina 56 b, -jina* 58, -bvina 58 a, -bvina, -bzina* 59, -bvina 60 61 a, -vina 61, -bvina 61 b, -vina 61 c 62, -zina 64 a, -šina 68 69 (also -kina), -kina, -sinya* 70, -kina 71, -cina 71 f 72, -vina, -bina 73 74, -sina, -pina* 75, -sina 75 a 75 c, -bina, -kina 82 84 85 86, -tyina* (noun only), 89, -cima 94, -kena* 95, -kina 96 97 98 100, -jina, -bina 101 102, -cina 103, -kinda 106, -kina 110 112 a, -gina* 114, -cina, -kina 120 121, -kine* 122, -mina* 123 124 125, -ka-mina 129, -mina 130, -kinye* 131, -mina 139, -mbina* 145, -bunω* 148, -bina 151, -bini 151 b, -wine* 153, -ina 155, -wina 156, -bina 157, -ina 159, -ōina*, -ina 160, -bina 162 164 165 166, -kina 175 176 178 180, -kena 181, -kina 182, -gina 184 187, -bina 185, -kena 189, -kina 190, -jina 191 192, -dyina, -jinla* 193, -bina, -bila* 226, -ben*, -bin* 227, -wan, -ben* 234, -pin*, -binpin, -nyeñbin, -banban 230, -gwine* 236, -guan* 237, -bin 232, -pin 235, -bene 228, -vina* 248, -bin* 253

-siana* 44, -dzana* 64, -šana* 77, -zana* 78, -ziana* 79, -zana, -šana* 80 90, -dana* 91, -nyana* 92, -señana* 110, -sana* 166.

-sag 203, -saka* 207 208 209 212, -sa 204 205 206, -sae 213, -ša 214, -šaa* 215.

-sambω* 28, -tamba* 64 64 a 65 65 a, -lamba* 66, -semba* 83 142, -sambwa* 141, -jemba*, -yimbi* 194, -embe*, -yembω* 194, -yemba* 195 198, -yem 202, -emba 204 c, -dzem* 217, -zem* 218, -jem* 219, -sam* 237 j; -jumba* 37, -tumba* 53; -gimbω* 200, -imba* 81 (both these last roots seem to belong to the -imba root for 'singing', 'song', which is often confused with 'dancing').

-kama* 251, -kame*, -kam 266, -gama* 267, -pe-kamede* 268; -saba* 104.

-mama 91 a.

-kombω* 249; -kumbela* 38, -lukumbi* 132; -bombom* 273, -fum, -bum* 273.

-twnω-ka 94 b; -tōmω* 263; -tō* 267; -tuñgusa* 250; -soñga* 12; -teñga* 7; -neñga* 83; -nek 245; -kwañga* 49; -hañgana* 88, -pañgana, -hañana* 110, -wañga* 137, -yañgω* 151.

-haka* 14, -kak* 273, -aka, -akadea* 161; -kaša* 104, -kaja* 104 c, -ja 105, -sa 107, -aša*, -za 108, -ja 109, -katsa* 135; -ajaiā* 67; -ceta* 57 58, -ceza* 21, -teza* 21 a-d, -teba* 21 e, -gida, -gidza* 75 b, -gida* 75 c, -jita* 126; -sekω* 249; -ziziga* 16, -seziga* 20, -heziga* 27; -teheba* 256; -taωka* 12.

-bōha 158, -bua 161.

-yωlω 168, -yω 259; -bōle 220; -nahūe 152.

-bwiita 11, -twela 56 a; -jula 255.

-pilu-ka 94; -guru-ka 2 d; -tōrω-ka 15; -taω-ka 12.

-kawω 251.

-ñgudu* 248; -ñikuju* 243.

-rugunea 56.

-lutuni 125.

-gei*, -ke 269-72, -yei* 261.

-ñgand' 201; -randa 21.

-punda 89.

-kiondω 43 a.

-tuma 9 a.

-pambira 63.

-pisa 263.

-nerāne 229.

-nō 229 e.

-abwe 159 a.

-wōhima 133.

-mara 248; -ra, -rei 252.

-dawala 25.

-jōikωjω 244.

DIE

-wa*, -kuwa 1, -fwa* 2, -fa* 2 c-d, -fwa 2 f, -pfa* 3, -fa 3 b 4, -fwa 5 5 a 6, -kwa* 6 a 7 7 a 8, -fwa 9 9 a 9 c (also -fa, -ca), -kuya* 10, -kua* 11, -kwa 12, -fwa 13 14 15, -fa 16 23 23 a 24, -fwa 25 27, -fua, -hwa* 28, -fwa 29, -ifa* 30, -fwa, -fa 31, -wa 32, -hwa 34, -fwa, -hwa 35, -fwa 36 37, -swa* 38, -fwa 39, -kia* 40, -fwa 41 42 43 a 44 44 b 45 46, -wufa* 48, -fwa 49 50 51 52 53, -uwa* 54, -fwa, -huwa* 55, -kwa 56 56 a, -pwa* 56 b, -kwa* 57 58, -fa 59 60 61 61 a, -fa 61 b-c, -fwa 62, -fa 63 64 64 a 65 65 a 66 67 68 69 70 71 71 f 72, -swa* 73, -sua* 74, -fa 75 75 a-c 76, -fwa 77 78 79 80, -fa, -fu* 81, -fa 82 83, -fwa 84, -ba* 85 86 (also -tsa*), -fwa 87 88, -ba 89, -sa*, -bui*, -bua* 90, -fia*, -fi* 91, -ñkha* 92, -cua 92 b, -fa, -ha 94, -fo*, -afw 95 96 97, -fwa 97 98 (also -fa, -fo), -fwa 100 101 103, -fwa 104 105, -fa, -fu 106, -fua 108 109, -fwa 110, -fa 114, -ku*, -sa 120 120 a, -fwa 122, -gwa* 123, -iwa*, -amwa*, -amwa* 124, -no* 125, -iwa 126, -lwa* 127, -ambw-fu* 132, -awa 133, -fwa, -fu, -fwe* 134, -fa 135, -wa 136, -oñgwa* 137, -kia, -kwa 139, -waka 140, -kwa, -kba* 141, -fa 142, -fwa 143, -kwa 144, -wa 145, -kwa 146, -gbw* 147, -gw* 148, -wu* 148, -aku*, -ku 150, -kba 151, -kua 151 b, -kwa 154, -ku, -kuku*, -kwokwu* 153, -wa, -waka 155 a, -hūa* 157, -wa 160, -gwa 161, -bwa 162, -wa 164 166 168, -kwa 175, -kwa, -fwa 176 178, -kua 179, -pfi* 180, -kūa 181 182, -fu 184, -wa 185, -gwa 186 187, -kūa 189, -kwa 190, -juwa* 191, -juwe* 192, -jwa 193, -wu-emw 194, -yō*, -gū 200, -wu 202, -wō 203, -wō 204 205 206, -va*, -veri* 208, -wedi*, -wa 209, -waa 211, -wōō* 212, -gūa 213 214 215, -wu 217 218 219, -je 220, -gwa 225, -bwa*, -xu*, -hu, -hwa 226, -kpō* 227, -kwō*, -gbw* 228, -gbw 229, -kūe* 229 e, -kūi*, -gfum, -kwe, -gbe, -gbw, -ku 230, -gue 236, -ye, -yi, -yu 237, -gbw 232, -ku 233, -wu, -gu, -ñgu 234, -wa 235, -bi* 243, -kwa, -kba 244, -gbw*, -pō* 248, -ku* 250, -pi* 249, -ku 252, -wu* 253, -ū* 254, -uō, -wui 255, -kpūi* 257, -kpi 258, -fi* 263, -fur* 273, -wū* 261.

-tse 256; -swe-ka 44 44 b; -jwe, -dye, -sie 220-220 h.

-taka 94.

-gate, -jat* 269-72; Sadi* 267.

-akaba* 2 d, -kaba* 2 e, -zaha* 2 g; ñkiba* 75 b.

-sila 44 44 b.

-siñga 155.

-kome-ka 17 (meaning really 'to be killed').

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-anubwa* 129 a, -ambubwa* 230.

-ket*, -kekers* 273, -kerse*, -ketse* 269-72.

-rufe, -rif 266.

-nahi 94 b.

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-lia* 1, -dia* 2 2 c-e, -lya* 2 f, -la*, -ria* 2 g, -lya 3, -lia 3 b, -lya 4, -dia, -lia 5, -dia 5 a, -lya 6, -lia 7 9, -lya 8 9 a, -lia 9 b, -lya 9 c 10, -ria 11, -ya*, -li-ka 12, -ca*, -ja* 13, -ja-ga 14, -la 15, -rya* 16, -la, -lya 17 18, -ja 19, -da 19 a, -dya* 20, -la 21-21 e, -ria 21 f-g, -la 22, -ja, -dya, -la 23, -dya 23 a, -dia 24, -ria 25, -rya 26, -lia 27, -dia 28, -lia 29 30 31, -lya 32, -ria 34 35 36, -ra* 37, -lya 38, -ria 39, -lia 40, -lya 41 42 43 a, -dia, -lia 44 44 b 48, -ria, -dia 49 50 51 52, -rya, -rya* 53, -lia 54, -ria, -dia 55, -ja 56, -lia 56 a, -ca 56 b, -ja 57, -ya 58, -dia 59 60 61 a, -dya 61, -dia 61 b, -lia 61 c, -lya 62, -dya, -la, -dhla* 64, -rga 64 a 65, -rza* 67, -dia 66, -lya 68, -la, -ga 69, -gya* 70, -da* 71, -dya 71 f, -la 72, -lya 73, -ya, -ja, -ra 74 74 b, -cia 74 c, -dla*, -tya*, -ja 75, -dhla* 75 a-c, -sla 76, -lia 77, -dya 78, -lia 79, -dia 80, -lia 81 83 84 85 86, -dia 87 88, -ria 89, -lya 90, -lia 91, -ria 92, -lia 94, -dia 95, -li 96, -la 97, -ria, -te 98, -dia 100, -lia 101, -dia 102, -lia 103, -dia, -dya 104 to 108, 109 110 111, -lia 114, -lya 116, -dza 117, -dya 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 129 a, -nja, -le* 130, -le 131, -nde* 132, -lōle* 133, -tsa 135, -ōle* 136, -la 137, -rea* 139, -dya 140, -a, -añga 141, -lia 142 143 145, -ja, -dya, -dyadya 148, -dia

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-yah* 267, -re, -de* 269-72, -rie* 273, -teny* 273, -dyw* 261 ; -teri* 266.

-nya* 191, -nye* 192 193, -nya 193, -nye 234 ; -ñā* 259.

-uma* 12, -yuma* 224 ; -jue, -tsō*, -dyu*, -jiu* 230.

-tafuna 21 ('chew'—this root is also met with here and there in the sense of 'eat' in the E.A. Bantu).

-memena 31.

-dakula 27.

-vanda 94 c ; -bala 126.

-dombwale 129.

GIVE

-ha*, -ba* 1, -wa*, -ha 2 2 c, -hwa*, -wa 2 d, -mpa* 2 e, -ha (-pa*), -gaba* 2 f, -ha, -mpa 2 g, -ha 3, -ha (-pa), 3 b, -wa (-pa), -gaba* 4, -wa (-ba), 5, -ha -ba (-be), 5 a, -ha (-ba), 6, -wa 7, -ha 8 9 -ha (-pa), 9 a, -pa, -pe-la* 9 c, -ha (-pa), 10, -hee* 11, -bfa* 13, -hawa* 14, -va* 16, -pa* 17, -ha, -pa 20, -pa 21 21 a-g, -be* 22, -va 22 a, -pa 24 c-g 25 (and -pe-ra), -ha 26, -pa, -pe-la, -pe-ra 27, -pa 28, -pa, -pe-la 29, -pe-ra 30, -pe-ya 32, -pya*, -pe-ra, -pa 35, -pa 37 38, -wa, -we-le 39, -ha 40, -pa 41, -pa, -pe-ra 42, -pa 43, -pa, -pe-ra 43 a, -pa, -pe-la 44 44 b, -ha 45, -pe-la 46, -pa 48 49 50 51 52, -pa 54 55, -vaha* 56 56 a, -vaa 57, -vasa*, -pasa* 58, -patsa*, -pasa* 59, -patsa 60 61, -paca* 61, -padza* 61 b, -pa, -pe-la 62, -pa 63 64 64 a 65 65 a 66, -ha 70, [-hwa 7], -fa* 72 73 74 b, -aba* 74, -pa* 75 75 a-c 76 (also -pasa*), -pa 77 78 79, -ha 80, -ba 83, -ha-na 84, -ha-na, -ha-nyina 84, -awa* 85, -ava*-na, -ha-na 86, -ha-na 88, -pa 89, -pa, -pe, -pe-le 90, -pa, -pe 91 92, -ava 94, -wa-na 95, -ba-na 96 97 (also -a-na), 98 (also -be, -pe), -ha-na 99, -va-na 100, -va-la, -va-na 101 103 (also -pa-na), -ha, -pa, -fa* 104, -pa, -pa-na 105, -pa, -ha 106, -pa-na 108, -pa 109, -pa-na 110, -ba-na, -ha-na 114, -pe-ka 116, -wa 117, -pe-za 118, -pa, -apa* 119 120, -hwa* 122, -ma 123, -pe-ke, -wa-ke 124, -pi*-ke, -bōi* 125, -ma* 126, -pa 132 134, -pa-ge 137, -pa 139, -pe-lele 140, -he-e, -pe-le 142, -pa 145 150 151 154, -pa 151 b, -wa 153, -fa, -ka* 155, -Ha-kw 156, -a*-si 158, -he-ke 159, -pa 159 a, -fa 160, -pa, -pi 161, -ka*, -ka-ya 162, -pa-só 163, -pa, -pe-se 164, -pe 166, -ka-pele 167, -pa 168, -ka-pa 170,¹ -wa, -yaa 175, -pa, -va-na 176, -wa 178, -pa 179, -ve-ga 184, -ve, -be*, -ye 186, -vē 189 190, -pa 191, -apa 192, -pe, -pa, -ka-wa 193, -ve-ke 195 198, -bēē 199, -be-ke 209, -ba 213, -bw, -be, -ba*-xa 214, -ba 215, -ve, -va-ga 217 218, -ve, -va'a 219, -mpa*, -mba*, -va*-la 226, -ha, -he*-nw 230, -fa*, -fa-na, -fe- 230 237, -pfw* 232, -ha 235, -fw* 249, -ww* 252, -pa*, -pañ, -pam 253, -pa-na, -pö*-nu 254, -pua*, -pe-ni 255 ; -gaba* 2 2 f 4, -yavya* 13, -hawa* 14, -gaw*-ila 31, -awa* 85, -ava*-na 86, -ava* 94, -kaba* 103, -kaya* 162, -kapa* 170, -kaba 185, -apa* 192, -kawa* 193.

-ka* 261, -ga* 23 a, -ka*, -kaya 162, -kōya* 131, -kare* 227, -kalia* 157, -kañ* 234, -kea* 226, -kie* 200, -kea*, -ki 228, -kiw* 229, -ke* 229 e, -ki* 252, -ncie* 234 ; -die, -dia* 266, -dyi* 273 ; -kw* 259 ; -kue* 39.

-neñga* 12, -iñga* 15, -niñga*, -neñga 17, -iñka*, -iñga 18 19 19 a (also -eñka), 20, -eñka, -iñka 23, -iñka 23 a, -iñka, -inha* 23 a, -iñka 24, -wiña*, -winya* 34, -niñka 53 61 61 b 67, -niñga 69, -kuika 94 b, -iñka 110, -ñikaki* 133, -ñika* 227, Niñka- 248 a ; -nyā* 56 a, -inya* 56 b ; -neka* 17, -eleka* 17 b, -neka* 18, -elezia* 39 a, -nika* 66 68 69 (and -nyika*), -nika 70, -nyika 71, -nyeka* 71 f, -nea* 72 73, -nika 75 75 a-b, -niga* 75 c, -nyaku* 180, -nyaya* 182 ; -ndeka* 129 ; -naea* 74 ; -nata* 81 ; -na, -nyana*, -ana* 134, -na 248 ; -nts'a* 74 ; -injw*, -inyw* 148, -injuya* 148 a, -njō* -ja 220, -jw* 251.

¹ Cf. this double form -ka-pa with the -gaba of 2 f and 4.

- nyeri 208, -nye 209.
 -noñ 252, Nuñi- 267; -num 250.
 -gyane, -gyene 220; -jañ* 244, * -sen, -sene* 273; -ñgen* 243.
 -wema 194; -weme 220.
 -le 200.
 -tendw 269-72.
 -ambi*-ka 104 a; -nšamba* 130; -sanja* 90, -yanja* 91.
 -kata 73.
 -futa 118.
 -ewu 234.
 -fumia* 9 b; -kumi*-ha 56 a.
 -kunda 81.
 -ti 202 203.
 -gu, -yu 181.
 -sō, soñ, -sañ 263.
 -uli 273; -yōri 225.
 -ruta 11.
 -ta 258; -tō 257, -twa 21.
 -mbisi 211.
 -yiha 94, -ye 136, -ya 257; -ica 187.
 -bwla 199 204 205 206 (and -wōla), -bw 207, -wōwō 269; -swla, -kaswla 25, -gwlela 23 23 a.
 -boñ 207 212, -boñku 236.
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GO

-genda* 1 2 2 c, -jenda* 2 d, -genda 2 e-g 3 3 b 4, -cenda* 5 a, -genda 6 6 a 7 7 a 8, -yenda* 9 b, -genda 9 c, -enda* 12 13 16 (and -enenda*), -henda*, -eda* 17, -yenda* 18 19, -genda 20 20 d, -enda, -enenda 21 21 a-g, -enda, -senda*, -inda* 22, -genda 23 23 a 24, -jenda 25, -genda 28, -jenda 29, -enda, -yenda 32, -hwenda* 34, -genda 35 36 38, -enda 42 44 44 b, -genda, -enda 51, -enda, -jenda 54, -genda 55, -eta* 56, -weta* 56 a, -nenda*, -enda 58, -nenda, -yenda 59 61 61 a-c, -yenda 62, -venda*, -enda 63 64 64 a, -nenda, -enda 65 65 a, -enda 69 70 72 (in derivations), -eta*, -ea* 73 74, -enda (= 'to go away', 'to be married'), 75,¹ -endw* (a noun meaning 'going', 'journey'), 75 a, -enda, -yinda* 77 78 (also -endenda*), -ndenda*, -nda* 79, -enda 80 81 82 (also -ea), -enda 83 85 86 88, -yenda 89, -inda, -enda 90 91 92 94 97, -wenda*, -enda 98, -enda 100 101 102 103 (also -yenda*), -enda, -kenda* 104 105 106 108 109 (also -inda), -wenda, -enda 110 114 116 118, -nda 119, -inda 122, -kenda 130, -kende* 131 132, -kenda 133, -enda 135, -kea* 137, -ende, -enda 139 140 141 143, -ena, -yena* 142, -tenda* 148, -inde* 153, -kende, -kende-ke 155, -kea 157, -ko* 160 161, -kenda 162, -kende 164, -ke*, -kende-le 166, -kende 167 168, -kenda 170, -ye, -yene 175, -aye, -ayene 176, -ye, -yene 178, -jeni 179, -jene 180, -jena 181, -enda 184, -je 185, -kie 186, -kea 187, -yende 189 192 (and -kenda, -ke, -ge, kenda-ga) 193, -keke* 195, -ke, -kandā 100, -ke, -kene, -kenek* 201 202 203, -kende, -lende* 206, -ke 207, -kenda, -kendi 209, -ke 211 212 215, -ke, -ñken* 217, -ke, -yeña* 218, -kē 219, -h'ela*, -xela*, -eda*, -enda* 226, -ke 236, -dzende* (meaning 'travel') 248.

-gya* 2, -gia* 40, -ya* 41 42 44 44 b 45 62 69 70 71 71 e-f 72 73 74 b 75 75 a-c 76 77 78 79 80, -iya*, -ya-kw 84, -ya 85, -ma-ya*, -ma-ye* 86, -ya*-ñga 87, -ya 88, -i*, -ya 89, -i*, -iā* 91, -ya 92 95 96 97 98 104 105 106 107 109 110 111 114, -ye 117, -yaya* 121, -yaka 123 124 125, -ya 141 145 182, -ga* 150 259, -gala* 14, -gea* 151 154, -ke* 161, -ka* 21 f-g 23 a 56 b 135, -aa* 141, -ñka 60 61 a, -ke 161, -kea 187, -ka- 237 245, -kae* 273, -giw* 256, -gia*, -giya*, -pia* 269-72; -za* 2 f, -ja* 3, -dzia*, -dza* 5 a, -tsya* 6, -icia* 7, -dya*, -ca*, -ja 9, -zia*, -dya* 9 a, -iya 9 b, -ja, -zya* 9 c, -ja 10, -bie*, -zie* 11, -bi*

¹ -enda for 'marry' may be related to the Swahili root -penda, 'love'.

12, -jaya* 69, -dlaya* 71 71 f, -jaya 77, -yaya 78, -jaya 79, -ihaya* 80, -biha*, -diha* 87, -jaha* 88, -zuha*, -zuhaya* 109, -jia*, -sia* 114, -jia 118, -ja 120, -sia 122, -tidyak* 123, -ija 125, -dya*-kω 124, -dya-ka 129 131, -ya*-ka 132, -dya-ka 133, -sa*-ka 134, -lia*-ke 136, -ha*-ga 142, -iya 141, -weyak* 198; -ta* 2 g, -ja* 3, -ita*, -ta 4, -eta, -ita 26, -yata* 39, -ta*-manya 26, -za*-maya 74 b-c; -ki-ta* 73.

-lula* 24 24 a 27, -ruta* 29, -luta 30 31 38, -ruta 53, -luta 62.

-pita*, -hita* 89 94, -bita* 83 98, -hita 19 19 a 20 20 d (and -pita), -pita 21 21 a 43 a 44 44 b, -hita 45, -pita 46 58 62, -pinda* 63 66, -feta* 73, -fi* 229, -bire* 248, -hera* 27, Pera*-de 268; -biar*, -bia-, -bē* 253; -bari 254.

-cōla* 23; -kω, -kōne*, -ñkω* 261 263, -kōhe*, Kōha 266; -guω* 255, -giω* 256, -gω*, -guω*, -gō*, -guā*, -wω*, -gōra* 230; -cwe* 119, -tyie* 121, -tyω* 130, -cui* 134, -cu* 136, -cua* 162, -cōa, -ωcōla*, -yōli* 162, -cōla* 23; -tω 220, -ndω*, -dω 232, -dωu*, -dau 273, -juwi* 208, -sō* 154, -nsu* 213, -nṣu 214; -suaka* 152, -ṣuak*, -nsu 213; -su-muka* 143; -ṣi-mela 126.

-guro*-m 251; -wula* 218, -wuara* 234; -wuha* 49, -wuka* 50 51, -buka* 51, -wuka 52, -vuka* 38, -wōka* 37, -buka* 32, -bōka* 86, -bōke 200, -muka* 61 75 75 b; -mu 236.

-inuka* 11; -nika* 79; -eñka* 61 b; -beka*, -eka* 226, beha* 38.

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-inji* 10, -ji, -nji* 227; -nye 227; -jia* 229; -dze 259, -se 257; -la-nye 273.

-lāā* 16, -laba* 1, -laṣa* 120, -la* 199; -ala* 204 205; -gala* 14.

-landa 195.

-ila* 78, -cila* 226, -cera* 11.

-hua 16.

-de-kade 165.

-itema 198.

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-bōata* 191; Bwarω* 267.

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-nω 249; -nōle 153; -nuru 235.

-sa 148, Isa 145 148 a, -se 230.

-ima 44.

-utu 134.

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-bōka 184; -gɔga 49 51.

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-wea* 195, -weya-k' 198.

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-soŋga* 69; -toñ* 230 232; -tañ 233.

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 -hamb*-uya 13, -tamb*-ua 21, -tamb-ula 27, -dembw* 194, -lemb*-ela 157.
 -mōna* 124, -namamōni*, -nōlōmōne* 124, -mamōna* 125, -maman* 273.
 -sen 243.
 -tyindi 91 a.
 -na 9 c.
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 -luñga* 144 [see roots for 'good', 'God', 'straight', 'build'].
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 -nying-ika 84 88; -maman* 273; -mei, -meya 266.
 -noñgon-uka 92 b.

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- seka* 1 2 2 c-f, -seka* 2 g, -seka 3 4, -cexa* 5, -tsexa* 5 a, -zeka* 6 6 a, -seka 8 9 9 a-c, -teka* 11
 12, -dzeka* 13, -seka 14 15, -tseka 16, -seka 17, -seka 18, -seka 19 19 a 20, -ceka* 21, -teka* 21 a-e,
 -zeka* 21 f-g, -teş-ia* 22, -seka 23 a 24 26, -heka* 27, -seka 28, -hexa* 29 30, -kweka* 32, -seka 33 a,
 -hyeka* 34, -heka 35, -hexa 36, -heka 38, -seka 39, -seva* 39 a, -seka 40 41 42 43 43 a 44 44 b 45 49 50
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 -tevi*-eki 145, -saba*-kia 148, -teba* 151, -sebw* 152, -teba 153, -şebe, -şebw* 175, -ceba* 176, -sebw
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- wca* 132, -wji*, -wşi* 208.
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 -jimeju* 229; -giyu*, -yuhu, -yu 266.
 -jwla* 85, -zōra*, -yōla*, -gōla* 86, -yōra* 89, -ywla 90, -yōla 91, -ywla 92 94, -zōla 114, -tōla*
 129 130, -wla* 131, -tōla 133, -wla 134, -mbwla* 136, -wla 158, -jata* 186, -jwna* 191 192, -jōnla* 193,
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 213, -ww 214, -guw, -gua* 215, -wue* 217, -we 218, -wwe* 219, -njw* 220, -ywe*, -ñwe 227, -wue, -ñgūe*,
 -gwie*, -gue*, -gui*, -ge 230, -we 234; -şw* 237; -wwal*, -wal* 253; -porw*, -rw* 209; -kpera-na 243.

-lela* 95 96 97, -elela, -lela* 98, -lele* 122; -delhu*, -hlu* 273.
 -batwɔw 162.
 -tɔti 151.
 -gati 230; -ratu 254.
 -wiw 194; -gɔ-wiɔ 236.
 -mā 257, -mä 258, -mam 261; -mōe 259.
 -bebet, -ber 273.
 -naki 239.
 -reñkeñ 273.
 -hiñga 256.
 -ye 82.

LEAVE, LEAVE OFF, CEASE, ABANDON

(Also used as a Negative Verb prefixed to the Infinitive of other verbs in the sense of 'not to'.)

-leka* 1 2 2 c, -reka* 2 d-g 3, -leka 3 b 4 5 a 6 9 9 a-c, -lek*ia 11, -eka*, -lek-ya 12, -rega*, -rica*
 16, -leka, -lek-ia 17, -leka 19 19 a 20, -reg*ea 21, -reka 21 f-g, -leka 23 23 a 24, -reka 25 26, -leka 27
 28, -lexa* 29, -leka 32 33 a 34 35 38 40 41 42 43 43 a 44 44 b 45 51, -reka 52 53, -leka 54 55, -leha* 56 a,
 -leka 58, -reka 59, -leka 61 61 a, -reka 61 b, -leka 61 c 62, -rega 64 64 a, -diša* 69, -leka 70, -tika* 71,
 -tyika* 71 f, -liṭša*, -lica* 72, -lesa* 73 74, -yeka* 75 75 a-b, -yega* 75 c, -leka 76 77 78 79 80, -liša*
 81, -lesa 83, -eca* 84, -yeka*, -yesa* 89, -esa* 90, -efa* 91, -yeka 92, -ehela 97, -eha* 98, -bika* 100
 102 103, -lek-ela 104, -lɔka* 105 106 109 110, -eca*, -ec*ela 114, -eka 118, -eka 141, -laga* 144,
 -de-dekɔw* 156, -eca 160, -pika* 161 (cf. -bika of 100-3), -jika*, -cika*, -leka 162 (sometimes meaning
 'to go by', 'to pass'), -leka 166 168 170 (meaning 'to pass'), -lika*, -lyela* 186, -riga* 193, -cikɔw*
 194, -dika* 195 198, -dia* 204 205, -lia* 206, -lik* 217, -lik* 219, -lige* 218, -daha* 244 245, -de* 248,
 -lakɔw* 273; -yadza* 13, -laca* 16, -aca*, -ata* 21, -ata* 21 a-e, -asa* 21 f-g 23 33 a (-asa in 23 and
 33 a really means 'to sleep', 'to become indifferent to'); -suka* 75 b; -siga* 2 2 f, -siga*la 4, -tiga*
 8 11, -siga* 14, -siya* 15, -sia*, -sika* 16, -siga 18, -hia* 56 56 a, -tia* 57, -sia 61 61 a 76, -siya* 83,
 -sia 84, -siga* 90, -sia 94, -sia 105 106 110, -tika* 164 166 167 168, -sa* 178, -sisa* 184, -cika* 187,
 -tiga* 193, -size* 218, -cia* 226 b, -tik* 227, -tig* 252, -die* 258; -tus-ula 97.
 -nyaga* 189 190; -nyara* 209; -nañ 253.
 -pua 92 b; -bia* 175, -bika* 100 102 103, -pika* 161.
 -kina 161, -ki 259.
 -ten-eka 82; trai, -ter, -ce 263 264.
 -kɔma 21.
 -kɔwɔw 175.
 -hɔla 84, -hala 92 b.
 -yelɔ 178.
 -mwena 110; -mana 91 a.
 -leme* 164; -lemb*wa 103.
 -muah, -muas 201 202 203; -fatɔw, -was' 273; wɔɔtan, -wɔɔse 266.
 -nyima 92 b.

LOVE, WANT, DESIRE

-yenda* 1, -enda* 2 2 c, -yenda 2 d, -enda 2 e-g, -enda, -yenda ('to love carnally') 4, -enya* 5,
 5 a, -enda 8 9 a, -yāñga* 10, -enda 11, -kyenda*, -enda 12, -enda 13, -hendza* 16, -vintsa* 22, -penda*
 21 21 a-g, -enda 24, -wenda* 25, -enda 26 27, -penda* 32 34, -penja* 51, -penya* 61, -enda (meaning
 'to marry'), 75, -yanda* 77 79, Henda* (as noun), 98, -keña* 110, -kenda* 114, -enē* 120, -penda*
 134, -gbeñ* 232; -kunda* 2 d 3 3 b 15 16 17 18 19 19 a 40 41 ('copulate'), 42 43 a 45, -konda* 58 60 61
 61 a-b, -kunda 79 91 (in the sense of 'to greet'), 135 145 148 150, -konda 153, -kunja* 158, -konda 168;
 -bunda* 125, -buta* 187; -gonza*, -gondza* 2 2 c, -gonza 2 g, -gomba* 3 b, -kumba* 53; -kwanza*
 49, -anja* 61 b, -kanza*, -ganza* 1, -gānda* 4 (in the sense of 'brother', 'brotherly love', 'comrade-

ship'); -yonde* 159; -londa* 23 23 a, -ronda* 37 50 51 52, -londa* 44 44 b 55, -tonda* 100, -lunda* 106, -tondω* 185, -tuanu* 181, -tuωnω* 182, -tondω* 189 191, -tondō* 190, -ronda* 184, -tonda 192 193, -tondō 195, -tondω 198 199 204, -tundu* 207, -tonda, -tondie* 211; -handa* 69, -randa* 70 71 71 f, -rata* 73, -rata, -lata* 74 74 b, -tanda* 75 75 a 75 c 76, -tsandza* 75 b, -rata* 226.

-tombe 220, -tomba* 21 ('copulate' 163, same sense in 21), 104 c 162 193, -romba* 184, -jomba* 193; -wumbe 200.

-ruñga* 139, -uñga* 20; -diñ* 194; -nyoñg-eω 187.

-nyege*, -nyeye*, -nye;e* 218 219; -naka* 186; -naig*-ela 29; -aga*-la, -yaga*-la, -era-ka* 4, -dzaka* 13, -saya* 14, -taka* (meaning 'want'), 21 21 a, -saka* 21 f-g 25 26 54, -sak*-ura 29, -saka 80, -haka* 86 a 87, -saga* 190 209, -kwaka* 244; -ika* 144; -waha* 114; -asa*, -aša* 86, -aš* 235, -gasek* 244; -naza* 154; -anja*, -yanja* 61 a-b, -hanca* 7 7 a, -hanya*, -kwanya* 142, -fany* 273; -mwanca* 7; -finyan* 251; -nañga* 107 126 131, -lañga* 130, -laka 266; -ñaha* 226 a, -ñgak*-un 121; -kan* 230; -gana* 6 6 a 29 35 38 (and -γana*); -đana* 57; -kan*-uka 75 b.

-pañgwa 62.

-kama* 109, -cama* 5 a.

-kata 104; -rata 226.

-bziñga* 66, -biñge* 82, -siñga* 83, -zañga* 84 88, -leñga* 90, -lañga* 136 162 168, -liñga* 166, -diñ 202, -liñgi*, -liñga, -liñga-na 205 206 209, -diña*, -diañ* 186, -diñ* 194 212, -diña* 213, -deña*, -diω* 214, -deñω* 215, -diñgi* 208, -diñg* 217, -diñ* 212, -jiañ* 229; -ton* 207 212.

-yema 264; -yeva 92 b; -tia* 102, -jia* 179 180, -dzia* 175 178, -dzi* 175, -nji* 176; -thwi* 257; -jiωbe* 266.

-dayi 253.

-yi 217 218 219.

-giri 236; -fira 28; -kpara 243.

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-yeden 253.

-tuale 230.

-tet-ela 85.

-kucwe* 123, -ekuzwa* 140.

-gwes* 203; -kwat, -kwak 234.

-yoñg*-ōla 94, -koñgu* 194, -koñu* 230 234.

-nony-ela 54.

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-rubi 254.

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-sene 81.

-yō 257.

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 -lava 71 f.
 -liɔ-ta 162.
 -fwa-ya 44 44 b.
 -mba 85.
 -bɔ, -bombɔ 258.
 -bɔtr, -bɔter, -bobir 263 264.
 -amena 92.
 -ñalɔ 269-72.
 Duki- 267.

SEE, LOOK

-bōna*, -bɔna* 1 2 2 c-g 3, -wɔn*-ya 3 b, -bɔn*-eka 4, -bɔna 6 6a 9a, -vɔna 8, -wɔna*, -bɔna 9 c, -ōna* 10 11 12, -ɔna 13, -ōna 14, -wɔna 15, -ōna 16, -wɔna 17 18 (and -vɔna*), -ɔna 19 19 a, -wōna 20, -ōna 21 21 a-d, -vōna 21 e, -ōna 21 f-g, -hɔna 22, -ōna 23 23 a, -wɔna 25, -ōna 27 28, -bōna, -wōna 29, -bɔna 32, -ōna 33 a, -ōna, -wōna 34, -wɔna 35, -bɔna 36, -vɔna* 38, -mōna* 39 40, -mɔna 41 42, -ōna 43 a (pret. -wene*), -wōna, -wena* 44 44 b, -wɔna (pret. -wine*), 45, -ōna 51, -wɔna 52, -ɔna 53, -wōna, -ōna 54 56, -wɔna 56 a, -ɔna, -kɔna* 56 b, -ɔna 57 58, -ōna 59 61, -ōna, -bɔna 61 a, -ɔna 61 b 62, -bɔna 64, -ōna, -vɔna 64 a, -ɔna 65 65 a, -bɔna 67, -ōna 68, -ɔna 69, -vɔna 70, -bɔna 71 71 e, -vɔna 71 f, -vōna 72 73 (and -vɔna), -bɔna 74, -bōna 75 75 a-b, -bɔna 75 c 76, -wɔna 77, -bɔna 78 79 80, -mɔna* 81 82 83 84 85 (also -bɔna), -mɔna (pret. -mwene*), 87, -mɔna 88, -muna 89, -mɔna 90 91 92 94, -mɔna, -mɔna 97, -mula-i 96, -mɔna 98 100 (also -mwene), -mɔna, -bɔna 101, -mɔna 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 110 114, -ɔna 116, -mɔna 117 120, -mon' 121, -ena 131, -mena 134, -ena 136, -mɔna 141 142, -ɔna, -wɔna 143, -wena 151, -ene 153 160 161 162, -lena* 162, -sene*, -ene 164, -bɔna, -yene* 166 168, -mɔna* 175, -mɔna* 178 179 180, -mōna 181 182, -yeni* 185, -jene* 186, -ena 187, -mɔna 189 190, -jene* 191, -jena 192, -pɔna*, -vɔna 193 (also -bɔn-wa*, passive, and -dyena*, -jena), -yena 194, -wene* 194 195, -yene 199, -ēn 201 202 203, -ene 204, -nyina* 200, -ene, -eni 206, -ne 207, -eni 208, -nene*, -ene, -eni 209, -yen* 217 218 219, -be 220, -ela*, -ena* 226, -yen 227, -yɔn, -dieni*, -juen, -juana*, -yɔna 230, -ye, -yina* 237, -yen 232, -pfeni* 233, -ūni, -niñ 244, -mono* 245 ; -hianau* 255.

-sene* 164, -sin-, -sene* 253, Jene* 267, -uene*, -yeni*, -wen 269-72.¹

-reme 229 e.

-siom 230, -ʃo 233.

-sieyen 235 ; -juge 273, -jujox, -dyuk 273.

-nū 257.

-nya 258.

-ye 228, -tsɔ, -yɔ, -zɔ 230, -kyɔ, -ki, -ke 261 ; -gɔ 234, -kɔ, -kɔte 266 ; -ge 236, -ye 237, -ñge 248, -nege 248.

-dōkō*, -dōji 251 ; -dyuk* 273.

-iyu-wa 15.

-mō 259.

-ka-ula 20.

-citɔ-ka 104 c.

-yomb*-wa 198, -omb*-wa 204 ; -siom* 230.

-ɔbamɔ 205.

-oñgɔ 206.

-lañg*-era, -lañk*-era 1, -lañga* 24 44 44 b, -nañk* 263, -tañg*-ilila 98, -tañga*, -tañgi* 145, -sañ* 250 ; -tɔñe* 213, -toñ* 214, -tō* 215 ; -liñga* 5 a 9, -niñga* 248, -niñ* 244.

¹ It would almost seem that in the Proto-Bantu there must have been two cognate roots for 'see': -bɔna and -bena, from which these modern variants are descended. But very early in Bantu evolution the original preterite -bonine became contracted to -bene, -wene, and branched off to form a new verb by itself.

-keka* 166; -hēki* 256.
 -buka 75 b 76.
 -dzidza* 12; -cit-ɔka* 104 c; -jia* 186; -ñgeta* 51.
 -di* 251 252 259; Le-*, -le* 267, -de*, -nde*, -le 229, -re* 229 e, -lete* 94.
 -fei 233; -fēri 243.
 -kañ-ela 75 c; -sañ 250.
 -sɔbōra 2 d.
 -bali* 56 b; -ala* 83, -tala* 84 86 91, -mutata 95, -tala* 100 102 103 105 108 109, -tar*-ira 64.
 -dewa*, -lewa* 2 e, -leba* 2 f, -reba* 2 g, -raba* 3, -laba*, -raba 4, -laba, -lawā* 44 44 b, -laba
 71 71 f (' to see archfor '), 73 (' to look for eagerly '), -leba 74, -lepa 82, -laba 184.
 -gwebe 243; -kɔpe 94 c.
 -liaia 81.
 -luɔ 17; -nū 257.
 -dōra* 2, -rōra* 2 c, -dōra* 2 d-f (also -rōra), -lɔla* 2 g, -rōra 3, -lɔla* 3 4 5 5 a (also -dɔla), 6,
 -rōra 7 11, -lɔla* 14 16, -lɔl-ia* 17, -lɔla 20 23 23 a, -lɔle-ra* 27, -lɔla 32 34, -lōra 35, -rōra 37, -lala*
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SIT, REMAIN, ABIDE

-ikala* 1,¹ -ikara* 2 2 d, -ikala 2 c-e, -ikara 2 f, -kala* 2 g, -ɪsala* 3, -idzala* 3 b, -ikala 5 a 6 9,
 -ikara, -ekala* 8 9 a, -ikala 9 b-c, -kala 10, -ikara 11, -ekala 14, -ikāā* 15, -kala, -sala*, -sagala* 16,
 -kāā 17 18, -kala 19 19 a, -ikala 20 20 d 21 f-g, -kaa, -kalia* 21 21 a-d, -kala 23 23 a 24, -ikala 26,
 -kala 27, -ikaala* 28, -kala 29 30 31, -ikala, -kikala* 34, -ixala* 36, -ikana* 40, -ikala 41 42, -ikala
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 -kala, -tsala* 61 a, -kala, -sala* 61 b, -kala 62, -kana*, -gara* 63, -gara 64 64 a, -kala 69 70, -sala*
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 -ikala 77, -kala 78 79, -kala, -kada* 80, -ikala* 82 83 (also -siala*), 86, -kara 89, -kala 90 91 92 94,
 -ala, -kala, -icala* (ancient), -sala 97 98, -kala 100 101 102 103, -ikala, -sala 104, -sala 104 c, -ikala
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 -likiliki* 153, -lie* (from -like), 154, -yala, -ñgala* 155, -yala 157, -ika 160, -diā* 161, -yala, -cikala*
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 -dyagala* 190, -are 193, -diyɔ* 194, -jadi, -diya- 195, -dikā 198, -jie, -jia 200, -ja, -jai 204, -ja, -dyā*
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 -siala* 83, -sikata* 109, -ida* 148, -da* 161, -sila* 178; -yira* 263; -tala*-ma 4; -tie 264.
 -ɪtame* 2 g; -taka*-ma 110, -sama* 143, -tama*-nya 248; -tama* 31, -dama*, -tama 32, -tama
 35 38 54 55, -cama*, -thama*, -tama, -sama 71, -tchama* 71 e, -tyhama* 71 f, -ɔtama* 75; -sikama*
 81 95 96 97 98, -ɪsakama* 104, -sikama 107 110 111, -sigama* 114; -yamu* 250; -twama* 84 88;
 -tuom* 232; -tumbama* 85, -tubama*, -tumama* 86 97, -tumana 94, -tumara 94 b, -sumame* 209,
 -jumami* 208; -jime* 229 e; -duana* 191 192; -danya 274; -dima 186, -nima 194.
 -igesā 9, -kensa 22; -tensi 43 a.
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 -jon 228.
 -non* 237, -nɔñe* 227, -non-non* 230; nyōhe, -ōhe, -yɔañ 266.
 -nɔk-ula 255.
 -gege 256.
 -teti 21 e.
 -ce, -nce 230; -ze, -di 259; Die- 267.

¹ This widespread verb-root would almost seem to have a trisyllabic root in the Old Bantu: -dikala, -sikala, or -kikala. It is sometimes taken as equivalent to 'be', 'exist'.

- sori*, -tsō 269-72, Jode.* 267; -kora* 236.
 -lifuga 28.
 -ligi 218, -likiliki 153, -like 154.
 -tō 201, -tōbō, -twa 217, -sowa, -swe 251, -tōbō 219, -rōbō 273, -tue, -taba 218, -tie 245, -tef' 269;
 -jiwa 233.
 -wuere 234; -bwa 178.
 -kawa 28.
 -rah'.* (rah'ma = 'I sit'), -nak, -rak 253, -dök, -daq.* 253, -lakω* 273.
 -kuna* 87, -kin* 273; -kume 229.
 -pena, -pela 226, -pindi 209; -fwenda, -vwanda 100 b.
 -bata 156.
 -baši* 118, -bwaš* 119, -bwai, -bwanji* 121; -bwa 178; -wos 266.
 -tula* 4, -dzula* 72, -lula* 73, -dula* 74.
 -nōtuan 235.
 -tuñgi 94 c, -tuñga 97.

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- rara*, -lala* 1, -rara 2 2 c-d, -lala 2 f, -rara 3, -lala 4 7 9 9 a-c 10 (-lāā*), -yala* 13, -lala 16,
 -ilaa*, -ilala*, -lala 17, -lee* 18, -lala 19 21 21 a-d, -iyala* 21 e, -lala 21 f-g 26 34 39 40 41 42 43 a 44
 44 b, -rā* 53, -lala ('to be worn out'), 61 a, -lala 61 62, -rara 64 64 a, -lala, -ilala 69, -lala 70 72 73
 (-lao* or -lalo, 'a sleeping-place'), 74, -lala 75 75 a-c 76 80 83 85 86, -rara 89, -lala 90 92 94 100 (also
 -lela*, and in the preterite, -lele*), 101 104 105. 106 107 108 109, -lela 110, -e-lela* 111, -lā* 117, -lal'
 119, -lela 120, -lala 135, -ilō* 137, -tulu*¹ 140, -lala 142 151, -bo-lala* 162, -le*-ka 164, -la, -lali 175,
 -lala 176, -la 178, -dada* 179 180, -lala 181, -bata* 186, -nana* 193, -dā* 194, -yā* 195, -lal 201 202,
 -jā* 220, -lala 224, -dā 236, -dea.* 237, -dala* 238, -de* 245, -nan* 228, -dan*, -dand.* 267 (also -data,
 -dasω*); -lul* 261; -tlela*, -yetlela* 71, -tlela 71 e-f, -edela* 72; -salara* 186; -lama* 141, -etama*
 136; -sama* 143, -lama* 186; -rañga-ra* 81, -lañga* 83 (also -lañga*-na), -rañga-ra* 81, -lañga*-na
 83 87, -nañgo*-la 91, -lañga-la 94 c, -lañga 149, -nañga 185 204 205 206 209, -nañge* 208, -naña*
 214, -nañe* 215, -nae* 213, -nare* 214, -nari* 251, -na* 250.
 -nagira 2 f.
 -biyama*, -niama* 2, -viyama* 2 b, -biama* 2 d, -viyama 2 g, -nyama* 2 g, -liama* 2 e 3 b;
 -ruama* 69, -ruama* 70; -bitama* 124, -etama* 136, -letama* 162, -tama* 168, -sama* 143, -bita*
 118, -bira* 120; -kulama* 155; -kame* 110; -bakama* 165; -oñgama* 162; -lama* 141, -etama*
 136, -sama 143, -lama 186; -kindama* 82, -sendama* 45; -dem* 252; -mama* 2 f 12; -nem* 253;
 -kōma* 11 12; -tutuma* 166.
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 -dira*, -ndira 263, -dia*.gω 225, -die.* 237, -lia* 230; -de 230, -je, -ye 227, -ye 218, -te 257.
 -likwa* 12, -leka* 100, -zeka* 109, -soga* 114, -tegi* 194, -seka* 95, -zeka 96 97 98 (and
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 -nuka* 103, -nōka* 232; -nau 151.
 -ñōt* 273, -ñōte* 271.
 -tōndi* 191; -hundω* 255, -funta* 263, -fintω* 273; -pende* 269; -denta 266.
 -sinzira* 3, -hindila 8, -sindzia* 13, -sinzia* 15 18, -sinsila* 44 44 b, -sisila* 24; -siñgizi* (noun), 21.
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 -vidō* 194, -viō* 198, -yω, -vyō* 199, -guω* 200, -kelω 203, Kω-iyω* 205, Wγō* 217, Ōyω 218 219,
 -viω 222, -tōlω* 226; -filω* 273; -dω*-sida 259, -dω*-teda 260, -jω*-si 258.

¹ This word, of course, comes from the noun Tulω, 'to sleep', which, with the very old apposition of the diminutive prefix Tu-, is a substantive derived from the old root -la, -lala, 'to lie down', 'to sleep', 'to extend oneself'.

- basa*, -wasa* 23, -asa* 33 a; -lasa* 190; -kosa* 86 a 97, -gowz*-ela 35, -kas*-ula 43 a; -bata* 63 64, -vata* 64 a; -savala* 84, -šabala* 86; -šipula* 43 a; -dakara* 249; -dešare* 229.
 -dyagwō 220 h, -diagw* 225; -agw*-ci 233.
 -yawē 248.
 -reši* 229 e; -leji* 255; -weje* 256; -biji* 40.
 -rupa* 56 56 a, -luba*-la 87, -rōba*-la 73, -lōba*-la 74; -lamba*-lāla 98, -lembōle* 229;
 -lambe*-ma 184.
 -mene 249.
 -were* 234; -uwete*, -wete* 266.
 -hwe* 161; -vwā* 252.
 -fianen 235.
 -nina 251.
 -bum* 121, -bom* 218, -bomba*, -pomba* 88.
 -bōni* 232.
 -tuenye, -twenye 124 125.
 -mōri 273.
 -wōnya* 1, -gōnya*, -gōna* 2, -gōna 2 c-d, -gōna 3, -kōna* 5 5 a (also -xōna*), -gōna 6 6 a, -kōnya* 9 c, -gōna 19 19 a 20 23 a 24 25 27, -gōnya 28, -igōna 29, -gōnya 32, -gōna 35 36 38, -ōna 45, -gōna 51, -gōna 54, -ñōna*, -kōna 56, -gōna 57 58 59 61 61 a-c, -kōna 62, -k'ōna*, -xōna* (meaning 'to snore'), 75, -ōna, -gōna 77 78 79 89 (meaning 'to snore'), -gōna 90 ('snore'), -ōna 91 94, -kōna 100, -ñgōnya*, -ñgōsi* 100 b, -ñgōnya 101, -ōnōna* 104, -ōña* 108, -ñgōna* 114, -kōla* 136, -ñyōna* 142, -kōla 162, -gōlō*, -ñgōlō* 194, -ñgōr* 253; -ñgōma* 243.
 -dewa* 191, -dewe*, -dewi 192 266.
 -si 244.

STAND, STOP, TO BE ERECT

- ema*, -ema-na 1, -em*-era, -im*-uka 2, -ema, -em-era 2 c-d, -jem*-elela 2 e, -ima* 2 f 4, -ema 5 a, -eme-rera 8, -ima 9 9 a-c 10 (also -im-ika), -mama* 12, -umama*, -uma*-na 12, -sumama* 13, -šōma* 15, -ima 16, -kīma* 19, -kīma*-la 20, -ima* 20 d 21, -simama* 21 21 a-e, -ima 23 23 a 24, -wīma*, -ima* 25, -ima 26 27 29, -jīma* 29, -wīma 30 31, -yīma* 32, -hyim*-ila 34 (for -sim-ila), -yīma 35, -ima 36, -ema, -sim-ika 38, -jīma*-na 40, -ima-na 41, -ima 42, -ima, -im-ilila 43 a 44 44 b, -ima, -im-ika 45, -im-ililia 46, -wīma 48, -ema 51, -ima, -jīma 54, -yīma 55, -em-ela 56, -wem-ela 56 a, -im-ela 57, -im-ea 58, -ima 59 61 61 a-c 62, -sīma, -m-ira*, -m-iriga 64, -sim-uka 64 a, -em-ila 69, -ema, -em-ela 70, -yīma 71 71 f, -ima 72, -yēma, -ema, -eme-la 73, -ema 74, -ma, -simama* 75 75 a-c, -ema 75 b-c, -yīma 75 76, -qumama* 75, -ima 77, -zīma 78, -ima 79, -zīma 80, -gēma*, -ima 81, -ima 82 83 84, -ma*-nyina 84, -ima 85 86, -ima-na 87 95 96 97 98, -ima-nu 98 a, -ima-na 104 105 106 107, -ima-ñgana 108, -ima-nakana 109, -ima-na 110 111, -ma-kana, -ma-gana 114, -wīma*-le 134, -ema-la 136, -ima-na 141, -ema-na 142, -mama-ni 148, -mama 150, -wāma* 151, -mēma* 152, -ima-la 153, -wāama* 154, -ema-la 155 156 157, -ema-la, -lēma-la 162, -yēma-la 168; -atēma 94 b, -tāma 94 c, -cēma*, -recēma* 184, -tē*-ima 187, -tēme-ne 190, -tēma* 194, -tēme* 195 205 206, -tē 209, -mī*, -ēma* 226, -yēme* 227, -kēma* 230, -tēm* 232, -sāma*se 233, -bīm* 229, -yīmī* 228, -dyūme* 273, -sēm* 261; -tēme* 166, -tēbe* 186 217 218, -tēbō* 219, -tēm-uñē 175, -tēm-iñē 179 180, -tēm-ina 181 182 189, -tēme-ne 190, -tēma 194, -tēme 195 204 205 206, -twei* 213, -tēmi 215, -tīma, -tāma, -cīme 263 264; -tēnuā* 117, -tēñw* 178, -tēna*, -tēn*, -jēni* 230, -tē 234, -tē, -tēle, -tēleb 202 203, -tēle* 217, -tēle*, -kīle* 248, -tēlwa* 164, -tēra*-ni 186, -lē 259; -tāla*-ma 92, -tēla*-ma 100 101 103, -jāla*-ma 109, -tēla-ma 164; -kūra*-ma 89; -kūm*-una 191, -kūma*-na 192 193 (also -kūma-nla), 193; -uñgēma*, -uñgāma* 12; -tsuma*, -ntsema* 263; -lūkēma* 87, -rūgāma* 11; -sīkāma* 90, -fīkāma* 91; -māna, -māka*-na 88.
 -tī, -jījīe*, -jī* 230, -šē 236, -tsīa* 230; -riera 92 b.
 -pana-ma 62.
 -tētum* 251; -kēdu* 259; -hitw* 273.
 -tōte, tōta 266.
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 -dunda* 185; -jundum* 273.
 -teba 220 h; -tomp 235; -tumul 252; -rompa 266.
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 -sikama* 90, -fika*-ma 91, - \dot{s} ika*-ni 256; -teka* 2; -lyika* 17; -hagar*-ika 3, -hag*-arika 3, -hagal*ala 3 b, -tak*.aluka 34; -ka*-ula 75 b.
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- iba* 1 2-2 g 3 3 b 4 (also -ba*), 5 5 a 6 7 8, -iwa* 9 c, -iya* 11, -ya 12, -iwa 13, -iva* 14, -iwa 15, -ia, -iya 16, -iwa 17 18, -iba 21 21 a, -jepa* 21 b-d, -yepa* 21 e, -iwa 21 f-g, -iba 22 23 23 a, -hija* 24, -hidza* 25, -iva 26, -hiza* 27, -iwa 28, -ija 29, -yiba* 32, -iwa 34, -hija, -yiwa 35, -hedya* 37, -hetsa* 38, -iba 39, -giba* 40, -iba 41 42, -iha 43 a, -iba, -iwa 44 44 b, -iya 45, -iwa 49, -iba 50 51 52, -heja* 51, -bba* 53, -jiwa* 54, -jiba* 55, -wia 56, -wiya* 56 a, -iya 56 b, -iba 57, -ba, -iba 58, -ba 59 60 61 61 a-b 64 64 a 65 66 68 69, -pa* 70, -yiba 71, -yiva* 71 f, -uba* 73, -utswa* 73, -tsa*, -tswa* 72, -iba 77 78, -ba 77 79, -iba 80 81 (and -iva), -iba*, -ita*, -iba 83, -keva*, -iva 84, -iba 85 86, -yiba 87, -iya 88, -va*-ka 89, -ia*-ka 90, -va-ka 91 92, -iva 94, -kaba* 99, -yiya* 100, -iba 101 102 103, -laba 100 b, -iba 104, -iva 105, -iba 106, -ivwa* 108, -iba 109, -iya 110 120, -ya 122, -imba* 123, -imb ω * 124 125, -bu-iba 130, -iba 134, -iya 136, -iba 140 141, -yiba 142, -weba* 151, -iba 152, -ibe 153, -wia, -iya 155, -yiwa 156, -yiba 157, -iba 160 161, -yia 162, -iba, -siba* 164, -yiba 166, -jiba 186, -iswa* 187, -iba 189, -yiva 190, -yib ω 194, -yiba 195 198, -jufa* 193, -hiba 199, -iba 204, -ju, -ji ω 200, -yi 202, -nib 203, -iba 205 206, -nif* 207, -wiba, -wibe, -iba, -ipa* 209, -iwa 211, -ipa* 212, -jiba 214, -dzib* 217, -zu* 218, -wup* 219, -jiba, -jib ω , -gib ω 220, -ubi*, -iba, -hubi* 226, -ju 227, -zu 230, - γ ap* 234, -juju* 244, -yip* 245, -iv* 248, -gib* 253; -pfuba* 120; -suka* 168; - \dot{s} igi 252; -p ω ka* 44 44 b, -paka* 253; -tapa* 64, -ta* 90; -da*-ga 184; -bawa* 19 19 a 20; -pamba* 44 44 b.
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 -suma* 2 f, -nsuma* 145.
 -seba* 243; - \dot{s} ebe* 124 125; -tapa* 64.
 -yu 258; -d \ddot{u} i 261; -zudu 259.
 -bot* 273; -kuet* 273; -a \dot{n} gata* 104 c; - \dot{n} ea, - \dot{n} gea 12.
 -k ω na 4.
 -hwa \dot{n} ga, -kwa \dot{n} ga 94.
 -to \dot{n} ga 63; - \dot{t} ugya 266.
 - ω b ω m ω 148.
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 -pun \dot{s} a* 62, -punda* 86 a.
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 -tura* 175 178, -t \ddot{o} ra* 64.
 -nyana*, 94 b 98, -nyanya* 114, -nya \dot{n} ga* 126; -hwa \dot{n} ga, -kwa \dot{n} ga 94.