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THE
NON-BANTU LANGUAGES
OF NORTH-EASTERN
AFRICA

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BY
A. N. TUCKER AND M. A. BRYAN

WITH A SUPPLEMENT ON
THE NON-BANTU LANGUAGES OF
SOUTHERN AFRICA

BY
E. O. J. WESTPHAL

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INTRODUCTION

THIS volume presents a survey of the non-BANTU languages in north-eastern Africa—i.e. the area extending south of the Sahara, from Lake Chad (approx.) to the Indian Ocean—together with those of South Africa. It thus completes the study of the non-BANTU languages of Africa begun in Volumes I and II of the *Handbook of African Languages*.¹

In such a study the arrangement of the various sections is bound to be somewhat arbitrary. A purely geographical arrangement would not only be impossible, owing to the overlapping of some of the language areas, but if attempted would cut across important linguistic groupings. A purely linguistic arrangement is likewise impossible, owing to the very varied nature of the connexions between the different linguistic units; and the grouping together of linguistic units on the strength of a slight conjectural affinity would imply a degree of confidence in classification which the authors are far from feeling.

The arrangement adopted here is therefore primarily linguistic, inasmuch as larger units which show some indisputable affinities are where possible treated contiguously. Roughly speaking, languages in the centre of the total area are treated first, followed by those in the west, north, east, and finally south.

The method of classification used in the *Handbook of African Languages* is based on a technique devised for the purpose by the Linguistic Advisory Committee of the International African Institute.²

1. *The BASIC UNIT of classification*

The starting-point for classification is not the language area but the individual language. Since the individual language is the basic unit of classification, it is necessary to determine exactly what this unit is. In some cases this proves difficult, particularly where several dialects have been recognized as one 'language'. Several different sorts of basic unit must therefore be distinguished:

- (a) a language, without recognized dialectal variants, e.g. AMHARIC (p. 135);
- (b) a language, with which are associated dialects of lesser importance, e.g. BARI (p. 106).

Both these types of unit are termed LANGUAGE;

- (c) a number of dialects, no one of which appears to dominate.

This type of unit is termed DIALECT CLUSTER, e.g. DINKA (p. 94).

For purposes of classification, however, they are all regarded as basic units at the same level of classification.

In the case of the simple Language, i.e. type (a), no subdivision is necessary; the other units, however, may be subdivided into dialects. Useful or even necessary though this subdivision may be for purposes of reference, it must be emphasized that

¹ Vol. I. Basset, *La Langue Berbère*; Vol. II. Westermann and Bryan, *The languages of West Africa*.

² See *Africa*, 16, 3, 1946.

this is a kind of fragmentation, since the dialect is smaller than the basic unit of classification.

2. *The LANGUAGE GROUP*

Basic units known to be related are grouped together into larger sections which are termed LANGUAGE GROUPS; since the term 'Group' is used exclusively to denote a number of related Languages or Dialect Clusters, any loose use of the word becomes undesirable, in view of the precise linguistic significance given to it.¹

The criteria governing the establishment of Language Groups are linguistic; in certain cases, however, it is necessary to take other factors into consideration.²

3. *The LARGER UNIT*

In some cases it can be seen that several Language Groups and/or Single Units (see 4 below) show an overall relationship, and the classification of Language Groups into larger units has been found necessary. The non-committal term LARGER UNIT is here preferred to the term 'Family' with its implications of genetic relationship, which is outside the scope of a factual survey.

Resemblances between certain of the Larger Units themselves have been noted, which it is impossible to ignore. These are pointed out in the Linguistic Notes (pp. 139-57) as a basis for further research, but we consider that any attempt at a more inclusive grouping would, at the present stage of our study, be premature.

The Larger Unit thus remains the highest level of classification to which we are prepared to commit ourselves at this stage.

4. *The SINGLE UNIT*

Sometimes a Language or Dialect Cluster can be seen to belong to one of the Larger Units, though it is not sufficiently closely related to any other unit to form part of a Language Group. This is termed a SINGLE UNIT, e.g. DINKA (p. 94).

5. *The ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP*

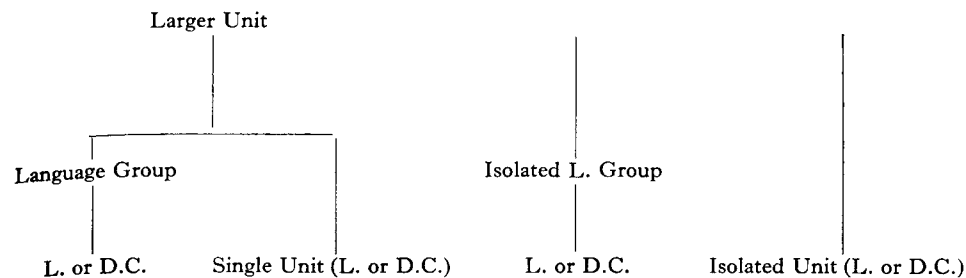
On the other hand, a Language Group may be found to display interrelationship between its constituent basic units, without forming part of any Larger Unit. This is termed an ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP, e.g. KADUGLI-KRONGO (p. 72).

6. *The ISOLATED UNIT*

Finally, there are some units which appear to possess no relationship with any others. These are termed ISOLATED UNITS, e.g. FUR (p. 58).

¹ The term 'Language Group' is always given with initial capitals; where the word 'group' is used in a non-linguistic sense (e.g. 'groups of tribes'), it is printed in lower-case type.

² Thus SAHO and AFAR (p. 122) are linguistically so closely related that they might be considered as dialects of a Cluster, were it not that they are strongly felt by their speakers to be separate. On the other hand, SOMALI (p. 125) might, linguistically, be termed a Language Group consisting of three Dialect Clusters; it is, however, here treated as a Single Unit (Dialect Cluster) because it is recognized as a unity by its speakers.



It must be remembered that information on the languages of Africa is extremely varied in its reliability, including e.g. (a) detailed studies by linguists, complete with phonetic, phonological, tonal, and morphological analyses; (b) grammars written by non-linguists but containing reasonably reliable material; (c) word lists of anything from several hundred to a dozen or so words, and (d) hearsay, unsupported by any linguistic evidence. Therefore, while some of the classifications given in this work are established beyond question, others are tentative, pending further research. The latter are always indicated by the use of question-marks, which are thus an essential part of the Handbook system and an indication of the lacunae in our present knowledge of African languages, e.g. SINYAR LANGUAGE? (p. 14).

This volume was originally planned on the lines of Volume II, in which each section was illustrated by linguistic summaries. Owing to the number of sections needing such linguistic treatment, however, its size threatened to be out of proportion to the other volumes in this series. Accordingly, most of the linguistic analyses, which provide the basis and justification for the classification adopted here, have been omitted from the present volume and will be published separately. Where the present classification differs from that adopted by other authorities, supporting linguistic evidence is given. Except where indicated by a question-mark, the classification rests on adequate linguistic evidence, which will be fully discussed in the separate volume, and the sources of which are briefly indicated in the present text.

SOURCES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

MUCH valuable information has been obtained from the Northern Bantu Borderline Survey (NBBS) on the French Cameroons (I. Richardson and A. Jacquot) and the Belgian Congo (Rev. Professor G. van Bulck and P. E. Hackett).¹ Professor Tucker was able to accompany the latter research team during part of their expedition and to collect data in the Belgian Congo. This has been supplemented by his own researches, both in the field and with African informants in London, over a period of many years. Languages thus covered are: MORU-MANGBETU, BONGO-BAGIRMI, SERE-MUNDU, MBA Group, ZANDE, BANDA, NGBANDI, NILOTIC, NILO-HAMITIC, GALLA and SOMALI.

Special thanks are due to:

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¹ For the sake of brevity, in citations from *N.B.B.S.* only the name of the principal author is given in each case, viz. Richardson and van Bulck.

² To be published in a later volume (see p. ix).

- JOHN TOMPO OLE MPAAYEI—for demographic and linguistic information on MAASAI.
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And to innumerable other persons who have from time to time answered queries, supplied sketch-maps, and made local inquiries for us.
 Special thanks are due to the cartographer, Mr. K. C. Jordan, for his very great skill and ingenuity in the production of the maps accompanying this volume.

NOTE ON TYPOGRAPHY

1. Roman capitals: names of languages or dialects.
 Many versions of such names may be found, of which the following are of most frequent occurrence:
 - (a) the name by which the language is best known to Europeans, e.g. SHILLUK (p. 100);
 - (b) names by which it is known to other tribes;
 - (c) the standard orthographic form (including that in the 'Rejaf' alphabet),¹ where there is one, e.g. DHḶ CḶLḶ (p. 100).
 The practice adopted here is to place first the name as selected for the Handbook, with alternative variants in brackets (), followed by its standard orthographic form, if any.
2. Italic capitals: names of tribes, tribal sections, &c., as under (a), (b), and (c) above.
3. Ordinary type in inverted commas: name of locality when used as a linguistic or tribal name because no other name is known, e.g. 'Fungor' (p. 68).
4. Bold type:
 - (i) all vernacular names (of languages or tribes) in phonetic notation, i.e. the 'Africa' orthography, with a few additional symbols (see below), with tone marks where known (where the exact phonetic notation is not known, names are given as under 1 and 2 above; occasionally only the vernacular rendering is known);
 - (ii) vernacular words in the linguistic notes, in phonetic notation.

PHONETIC SYMBOLS USED

For the spelling of vernacular names, and in the linguistic notes, the 'Africa' spelling is used, with certain additional symbols. The values of the letters used are roughly as follows:

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| a | as in Italian |
| ä | centralized a—somewhat similar to English 'er' |
| ɒ | as in English 'pot' (NANDI only) |
| ɓ | implosive b (represented by 'b' locally) |
| c | a sound varying between the palatal plosive and English 'ch' according to language (see also ɕ) |
| ch | aspirated c |
| ç | voiceless palatal fricative as in German 'ich' |
| ɖ | implosive d (represented by 'd' locally) |
| dʒ | as in English 'judge' (see also j) |
| ɖ | retroflex d |
| ɗ | dental d (represented by <i>dh</i> locally) |
| ð | as in English 'then' (represented by <i>dh</i> locally) |
| e | as French <i>é</i> |
| ɛ | as French <i>è</i> |
| ə | neutral vowel as in English 'er' |

¹ See *Report of the Rejaf Language Conference* (Sudan Government Office, 1928).

f	bilabial f
gb	labio-velar sound
ħ	as in Arabic ح
h	voiced h
i	as in English 'see'
j	very close i , as in French 'si'
ɪ	open i , as in English 'sit'
j	a sound varying between the palatal plosive and English j according to language (see also dʒ)
ɟ	implosive j
kp	labio-velar
ŋ	dental n
ny	as French and Italian <i>gn</i> , Spanish <i>ñ</i>
ŋ	as in English 'singer'
ŋɡ	as in English 'finger'
o	as in French 'eau'
ɔ	as in English 'caught'
ö	centralized o —somewhat closer than English 'er'
q	as Arabic ق
r	as in Scots (usually stronger than in English)
ɾ	a flapped sound between l and r
ʃ	as in English 'shop'
tʃ	as in English 'church' (see also c)
ɸ	dental t (represented by <i>th</i> locally)
θ	as in English 'thin' (represented by <i>th</i> locally)
u	as in English 'fool'
ʊ	very close u , as in French 'foule'
u	open u , as in English 'full'
v	bilabial v
x	as in German 'acht' (Arabic خ)
ʁ	as in Arabic غ
y	as in English 'yes'
ʒ	as in English 'leisure'
ʔ	glottal stop
ʕ	as in Arabic ع

Other consonants as in English.

Click sounds: see p. 158.

Long vowels and consonants are written double, or indicated by : (NANDI Group only).

Half long vowels are followed by a single dot, e.g. **a·** (NANDI Group only)

Nasalized vowels are written with a tilde, e.g. **ã**

Semi-mute vowels are in italics, e.g. *a* (BONGO-BAGIRMI and GALLA)

Tone-marks: high	á	low	à
mid	a (unmarked)	falling	â

ABBREVIATIONS AND OTHER SYMBOLS

TP	taxpayers (an approximate total figure may be obtained by multiplying the taxpayer figure by 4)
*	population figures obtained from official sources (post-1945)
C	Consonant
V	Vowel <i>or</i> Verb
S	Subject
O	Object
<i>E.S.L.</i>	Tucker, <i>The Eastern Sudanic Languages</i> , Vol. I
<i>N.B.B.S.</i>	<i>Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland</i>
NBBS	Northern Bantu Borderland Survey (research expedition)
IFAN	Institut Français d'Afrique Noire
F.E.A.	French Equatorial Africa
F.W.A.	French West Africa
S.W.A.	South-West Africa
B.P.	Bechuanaland Protectorate

See also p. 174 (Bibliography).

NOTE

Where the southern Sudan is concerned, statements as to language policy (use of vernaculars in education and administration, choice of 'standard' dialects, orthography, production of literature, &c.) are to be taken as referring to the situation obtaining at the end of 1953.

ADDENDA

Supplementary remarks on language classification

(see pp. 143-4, also 150-3)

GREENBERG's *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* first appeared in eight numbers of the *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* between 1949 and 1954, before its publication in book form, and the final section only came to the authors' attention after the present volume had gone to press. The following remarks should therefore be read in conjunction with what had already been written on pp. 143-4 and 150-3.

In the section 'Further remarks on method: Revisions and Corrections', Greenberg (pp. 106-16) sets up a 'Macrosudanic' family to cover both his 'Central Sudanic' (MORU-MANGBETU and BONGO-BAGIRMI) and his 'Eastern Sudanic' families, plus a few extra languages. No mention is made in this connexion of his 'Western Sudanic nucleus', though the languages concerned are restated as the first branch of his ('genetically distinct') 'Niger-Congo Family'.

Greenberg's carefully selected 'Macrosudanic' word list contains 69 items, of which 33 already occur in his 'Eastern Sudanic' word list. Of these 69 items there are 50 in which MORU-MANGBETU or BONGO-BAGIRMI words occur, 27 of which he is able to correlate with NILO-HAMITIC words. One may thus deduce a 54 per cent. correlation between Greenberg's 'Central Sudanic' and the 'Great Lakes' branch of his 'Eastern Sudanic'.

Since going to press, the authors have also had access to the manuscript of J. Hohenberger's article 'Comparative Masai wordlists: Nilotic-Nilo-Hamitic-Masai-Hamitic-Semitic' (*Africa*, 1956), in which the author uses Greenberg's 'Niger-Congo' word list of 43 items (op. cit., pp. 18-23), specially chosen by Hohenberger for their 'neutral' value, though they overlap the 'Macrosudanic' list in 21 items. Using identical methods of comparison, Hohenberger claims that MAASAI and the NILO-HAMITIC languages show 33 correspondences with 'HAMITIC' languages, a percentage of over 70.

Huntingford, too, in a personal communication, reports finding 21 CUSHITIC correspondences in Greenberg's 'Macrosudanic' list.¹

The only conclusion which can be reached at this stage is that mere vocabulary comparison, unsupported by phonology, may give rise to a variety of classifications, each as convincing as the other. (One is reminded of similar attempts by Homburger to relate all African languages first to, Ancient Egyptian, and, more recently, to Dravidian, by similar methods.)

That is why, in the present work, the authors prefer to keep their classification down to the 'Larger Unit', in which the relationship of member Languages or Language Groups is indisputable, leaving the wider classification open for further research. It is only in the defence of such terms as NILO-HAMITIC, or in protest at the debatable use of terms like Greenberg's 'Eastern Sudanic' that we have felt ourselves obliged to enter the wider arena.

¹ Greenberg in addition lists 27 'Macrosudanic morphological elements', of which 11 already occur in his 'Eastern Sudanic' list. Huntingford claims that 4 of these are also 'HAMITIC'.

1. THE MORU-MANGBETU LANGUAGES
(LARGER UNIT)

THE MORU-MANGBETU languages, comprising

MORU-MA'DI	Language Group
MANGBUTU-EFE	Language Group
MANGBETU	Language Group
LENDU	Single Unit

are spoken in the western part of the southern Sudan and the north-eastern part of the Belgian Congo.

In Tucker, *Eastern Sudanic Languages*, vol. i, the close interrelationship of the languages of the MORU-MA'DI Group was established beyond all doubt, as also the relationship of LENDU to this Group, in spite of its exotic phonetic system. It was further suggested that MANGBUTU and EFE might also be related. This wider grouping was likewise postulated by van Bulck,¹ and subsequent field work in connexion with the NBBS has definitely established the limits of the Larger Unit.²

For discussion of the affinities of this Larger Unit with the BONGO-BAGIRMI languages, see pp. 141-3.

LANGUAGE GROUP: MORU-MA'DI

Consists of: MORU	Dialect Cluster
AVUKAYA	Dialect Cluster.
LOGO	Dialect Cluster.
KĀLIKO	Language.
LUGBARA ('High')	Dialect Cluster.
LUGBARA ('Low')	Dialect Cluster.
MA'DI	Dialect Cluster.

Where spoken: Sudan: Moru District, extending south into Yei District;³ the north-eastern corner of the Belgian Congo; Uganda: West Nile District and some outlying areas.

MORU, own name *kālā mōrú*. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: MORU, call themselves *mōrú*, but also use their own tribal names (see below).

Number of speakers: estimated at c. 23,000.⁴

¹ *Les recherches linguistiques au Congo Belge.*

² Our grouping within the Larger Unit differs in certain respects from that of van Bulck (*Mission linguistique 1949-51; N.B.B.S.*).

³ This area is inhabited by a large number of tribes; it is impossible to define precisely the location of any one tribe, still less the area in which a language or dialect is spoken, as the tribes are much intermingled, and most people are at least bilingual.

⁴ M. F. A. Keen, personal communication.

Dialect: MIZA.

Spoken by: (MORU)MIZA, call themselves **mízá**; south and east of Amadi; a small section of the tribe among the MOROKODO.

Number: 2,031 TP*.

The MIZA dialect is used as a medium of primary education. The New Testament and some other books have been published.

Dialect: KĀDIRO, own name **kālā kādíro sj.**¹

Spoken by: (MORU)KĀDIRO (KEDIRU, KADIRU, KEDERO), call themselves **kādírò**; north-east of the MIZA, east of Amadi. A branch, nicknamed MAKU'BA, lives on River Tapari south of Tindalu.

Number: 1,453 TP*.

Dialect: LAKAMA'DI.

Spoken by: LAKAMA'DI, call themselves **lakamadí**; north of the KĀDIRO on the Tali road.

Number: 216 TP*.

These three dialects are so similar as to be almost identical.

Dialect: ĀNDRI.

Spoken by: (MORU)ĀNDRI, call themselves **āndrí**; south of the MIZA.

Number: 665 TP*.

Dialect: 'BĀLI'BĀ.

Spoken by: 'BĀLI'BĀ (BOLIBA, BALIMBA), call themselves **bālǐbā**; east of the MIZA (the name means 'easterner').

These two dialects are almost identical, but differ considerably from MIZA and KĀDIRO, especially in phonetics.

Dialect: ĀGI, own name **kālā āgí**.

Spoken by: (MORU)ĀGI, call themselves **āgí**; north-west of the ĀNDRI on the road to Maridi. A remnant of the ĀGI, fugitives from the ZANDE, lives on the Tali road north-east of the MOROKODO.

Number: 326 TP* + 44 TP* on the Tali road + some in Maridi town.

Dialect: (MORU)WA'DI, own name **wādí-tj**.

Spoken by: (MORU)WA'DI² call themselves **wādí**; north of Maridi.

Number: 100 TP*.

These two dialects are perhaps nearer to ĀNDRI-'BĀLI'BĀ than to MIZA, &c., but have also much in common with AVUKAYA.

AVUKAYA (AVOKAYA, ABUKEIA, &c.), own name **avukáya**. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialect: OJILĀ, own name **òdzilā-tj**.

Spoken by: OJILĀ section of the AVUKAYA, call themselves **òdzilā** or **òdzí-líwá**; mainly between Rivers Naam and Olo, also farther east.

Number: 591 TP*.

¹ Note that throughout this Larger Unit both **t** and **d** (explosive) are dental.

² Note that the MA'DI in general are called **wādí** by the Morokodo.

Dialect: ĀJIGĀ, own name **ādǐgā-tj**.

Spoken by: ĀJIGĀ (OJIGĀ) section of the AVUKAYA, call themselves **ādǐgā**; north of Yei; a section (the AGAMORU) lives on the outskirts of MUNDU country south of Maridi.

Number: 700 TP.¹

There are also AVUKAYA-speakers in the Belgian Congo, scattered throughout the area in the basins of Rivers Utua and Dungu. According to Costermans² they include the OGAMBI (the ruling dynasty of the AVUKAYA).

LOGO, own name **lògò-tj** or **lògò kúlǐ**. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: LOGO, call themselves **lògò**.

Where spoken: Mainly in the Belgian Congo in an area between Aba, Faradje, and Watsa; also in the Sudan, Yei District.

Number of speakers: c. 54,000 in Territoire Faradje.

Dialects: Van Bulck, quoting Costermans, says that LOGO dialects are spoken by the following:

OGAMARU (Northern LOGO) between Rivers Dungu and Obi (Nzoro);

TABULAGA and TABULOBA on River Obi;

OBILEBA (= people beyond the Obi), south of River Obi.

Number: 5,152.

BĀRI-LOGO (BARI-LOGO)³ (own name of dialect **bārǐ-tj**), scattered south-west of Faradje, also a few in Territoires Watsa and Niangara. Their speech, fast dying out, is reported to be nearer to AVUKAYA than to LOGO.⁴

Costermans⁵ considers that the **ojila** and **ajigo** in the Sudan, together with the **akori** (very few in number), speak LOGO dialects (but see under AVUKAYA above).

It will be seen from comparison of the entries under AVUKAYA and LOGO that considerable confusion exists as to the position of these dialects.⁶

Two Gospels have been published in LOGO.

KĀLIKO, own name **mādí-tj**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: KĀLIKO (KALIKO, KELIKO), so called by neighbouring tribes. They call themselves **mādí**, but also acknowledge the name **kālǐkó**.

Where spoken: Belgian Congo: south-east of Aba, between the LOGO and LUGBARA, extending into the Sudan in the southern part of Yei District.

Number of speakers: Belgian Congo: Kaliko chefferie 12,231* (but this figure includes some LUGBARA-speakers in the south); Sudan 1,455 TP*.

¹ From the taxpayer figure quoted in Tucker *E.S.L.* (probably now out of date).

² Quoted by van Bulck, *N.B.B.S.*

³ Sometimes referred to as 'BARI(Uele)' to distinguish them from the BARI on the Nile (see p. 106).

⁴ van Bulck, *N.B.B.S.*

⁵ Quoted by van Bulck, *N.B.B.S.*

⁶ Some other LOGO sections are listed by Tucker (*E.S.L.*), e.g. LOGO-DOKA, DONGO-TEDEMU. No further trace of such people has been found.

LUGBARA, own name **lúgbàrà-tj**. Two DIALECT CLUSTERS.¹

The dialects spoken by the *LUGBARA* (*LOGBARA*, *LOGBWARE*, *LU-GWARE*, &c.) are divisible into two Clusters. The people as a whole acknowledge the name **lúgbàrà**, and are called **mađi** by some neighbouring tribes;² their two main divisions are 'High' and 'Low' *LUGBARA*, and the various sections call themselves by different names. Note that dialectal divisions do not always correspond to tribal, as some people of 'Low' origin now speak 'High' *LUGBARA*.

LUGBARA ('High'), own name **úrýleṣá-tj**. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: 'High' *LUGBARA*, call themselves **úrýleṣá**.

Number of speakers: c. 144,000.

These dialects, which are fairly closely interrelated, are spoken by four groups of people in the following areas:

Uganda: Vura, Opia (Opika), and Logiri Counties; Belgian Congo: Otso (**ṣtsṣ**) and Aluru (**álu(r)u**).

Uganda: Aiiwu (**aíwu**) County (Pajulu (dialect **padzúlú**), Oluku, Yaule, and Aroi); Maraca County (Kijomeru only).

The **padzúlú** dialect is used in primary education.

Uganda: Aiiwu County (Nyio (**nyo**, **nyìṣ**), Mbaraka, and Adumi); Belgian Congo: Nio and Lu.

Uganda: most of Maraca (**maratsa**) County; Belgian Congo: Ahoho-Zaki (dialect known as **zàki** or **lui**).

van Bulck also includes the dialect of Oka.

The New Testament has been published in *LUGBARA*.

LUGBARA ('Low'), own name **ándreleṣá-tj**. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: 'Low' *LUGBARA*, call themselves **ándreleṣá**.

Number of speakers: c. 78,000.

These dialects are spoken in the following areas:

Uganda: the southern part of Aringa (**arjnga**) County; the northern part of Terego County (Omugo (**ṣmṣṣ**), Udupi); the southern part of Madi Sub-District.

These people are called **uludri** or **mađi** by the Olu'bo.

Uganda: the southern part of Terego (**térégṣ**) County; parts of Vura (**vùrà**) and Madi Counties, and Riki in Aiiwu County.

The dialect spoken by the *KULUBA*, call themselves **kulúṣa**, in the north of Aringa County, is extremely divergent from other *LUGBARA* dialects, but probably belongs to the 'Low' *LUGBARA* Cluster.³

MA'DI, own name **màđí-tj**. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: *MA'DI* (*MADI*), call themselves **màđí**.

¹ Information mainly from J. Middleton (personal communication).

² The *LUGBARA* clans consist of two groups, called **mađi** and **lu**.

³ But see also under *BARI*, p. 108.

Where spoken: Mainly in Uganda, in Madi Sub-District and in Madi County of West Nile District; also in Opari District of the Sudan.

Number of speakers: Madi Sub-District 33,300*; Madi County 25,600*; Sudan 2,254 TP*—see also *OLU'BO* below.

The following dialects are known:

Dialect spoken in Madi Sub-District (the most widespread).

Dialect spoken in West Nile District (the most closely related to *LUGBARA*).

Dialect: *PANDIKERI*, own name **pándikéri**, spoken in the northern part of the *MA'DI* area in Opari District, by a mixture of *MA'DI* and other tribes.

Dialect: *LOKAI*, own name **lokai**, spoken in the southern part of the *MA'DI* area in Opari District, by a mixture of *MA'DI* and other tribes.

Dialect: *OLU'BO*, own name **óluṣo-tj**.

Spoken by: *OLU'BO* (*LULUBA*), call themselves **ólúṣṣ-ḡṣ**, in the Luluba Hills, Opari District.

Number: c. 3,200*.

A dialect called 'BURULO is said to be spoken around Nimule.

A few books of the Bible have been published in *MADI*.

LANGUAGE GROUP: MANGBUTU-EFE

Consists of: *MANGBUTU* Dialect Cluster.

NDO Dialect Cluster.

MĂMVU-EFE Dialect Cluster.

Where spoken: In the north-eastern part of the Belgian Congo.

MANGBUTU, own name **mǎngbùtú-lj**.¹ DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: *MANGBUTU* (*MOMBUTTU*, *WAMBUTU*, &c.), call themselves **mǎngbùtú**.²

Where spoken: Territoire Watsa.

Number of speakers: 8,700.

According to Costermans, quoted by van Bulck, dialects are:

mòngbùtú, spoken in Aribi.

mangbutu karṣ (= upstream), on River Kibali.

mangbutu lṣbṣ (= downstream), on River Kibali.

awimeri or **a'imeri**, spoken by the people of the forest (this dialect is somewhat divergent).

bamṣṣ (this dialect is reported to be somewhat divergent).

¹ The sound here represented by **ngb** is a labio-velar nasal compound, which could equally well be represented by **ngb**.

² Considerable confusion has been caused in the past by the similarity of the name *MANGBETU* (see p. 7).

NDO. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Note: The name *NDO* is accepted by speakers of both dialects, but always attached to their local tribal names—see below.

There appear to be two dialects:

Dialect: NDO (OKE'BU), own name **kèbú-tɔ̃**.

Spoken by: NDO (OKE'BU), call themselves **kèbú**, on the Belgian Congo-Uganda border in Territoire Mahagi.

Number: c. 9,000.

Dialect: NDO (AVARI), own name **ávàrj-tɔ̃**.

Spoken by: NDO (AVARI) (AVARE), west of the OKE'BU around Mahagi town.

Number: c. 4,000.

The name **mèmbí**, **mèmbí**, **mùmbí**, &c., is also found, but it is not clear whether it applies to either one or to both of these dialects, or even to a third.

MĀMVU-EFE. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialect: MĀMVU, own name **mām̄vú**.

Spoken by: MĀMVU (MAMVU, MOMVU, MOMFU, &c.), call themselves **mām̄vú**, called **mudɔ̃** by the Lendu; mainly in Territoire Watsa; there are also said to be a few MĀMVU north of River Uele in Territoire Dungu.

Number: 29,355.

According to van Bulck there are six main local variants, with many minor subdivisions, spoken by numerous clans scattered through, but not coinciding with, the following chefferies: Karuka-Lendu (two chefferies), Mamvu Kebo, Mari-Minza, Andobi, Bari, and Mamvu Karo.

Note that the speech of the **ande gofa** clan in the extreme south-west of the area, around the headwaters of the Bomokandi and Ituri rivers, is claimed by its speakers to be the closest to the local Pygmy speech (see EFE, p. 7).

One Gospel has been published in MĀMVU.

Dialect: AMENGI.¹

Spoken by: AMENGI, call themselves **amɛŋgi**, on the road from Tora mines to Wanga.

Speakers of the **mùlèdrɛ** section of the AMENGI claim that they are not MĀMVU, but their speech closely resembles MĀMVU. They also say that the dialect of the **maijírù** or **móodú** section to the south differs from theirs, but it was not possible to verify this statement.

Dialect: LESE, own name **ḡálése**.

Spoken by: LESE (WA-, BA-), call themselves (w)álése (Sing. (ḡ)álése), in Territoires Watsa, Epulu, Bunia, Beni; also in Uganda.

Number: 20,100.

Several local variants are noted by van Bulck, spoken by the **lése otsɔ̃dɔ̃** of the forest; **NDESE** (lése dese) and **andali**; **LESE KARO** (= upstream); **VONKUTU**, call themselves **óbi**,² and **MABENDI**.

¹ Information from van Bulck, *N.B.B.S.* and Hackett, personal communication.

² See also under MVU'BA, p. 7.

Dialect: MVU'BA, own name **mvúḡà**.

Spoken by: MVU'BA (MVUBA, BAMBUBA, BAMVUBA, &c.), call themselves **mvúḡà** (Sing. and Plur.); in the extreme south-east of the LESE area; also in Buamba in Uganda.

Note that the MVU'BA of Uganda call their speech **mvúḡà-à** or **óbi-yè**.

Dialect: EFE, own name **éfé-ɛ**.¹

Spoken by: EFE, call themselves **éfé** (Sing. and Plur.), Pygmies living among the LESE; also a small group south of Bafwamiti.

Number: c. 10,000.

LANGUAGE GROUP: MANGBETU

Consists of: MANGBETU Dialect Cluster.
ASUA Language.

Where spoken: The north-eastern part of the Belgian Congo.

MANGBETU. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Note: The name *MANGBETU*, originally that of the ruling clan of the *MEYE* tribe, is now applied by extension to all tribes who are, or have been, under *MANGBETU* domination. There is thus a certain ambiguity in the use of the name.² It is, however, acknowledged, both as tribal and linguistic name, (a) by speakers of one dialect of the Cluster, (b) by extension, by speakers of related dialects.

According to van Bulck and Hackett³ the MANGBETU dialects are:

Dialect: MANGBETU, own name **námàngbètú-tj**.

Spoken by: MANGBETU (MANGBETTU, &c.), call themselves **ámàngbètú** (Sing. **námàngbètú**); north of the *MEYE* (see below).

Number: 5,695 (this figure, however, includes some non-MANGBETU-speakers).

Dialect: ABULU, own name **náábùrú-tj** or **náábèrú-tj**.

Spoken by: ABULU (ABERU, BABEYRU), call themselves **áábèrú** (Sing. **náábèrú**); in Territoire Wamba (an enclave among BANTU-speaking peoples).

Number: 1,452.

Dialect: LOMBI (LUMBI), own name **ḡfyalòmbj-tò**.

Spoken by: BARUMBI (BALUMBI), call themselves **ḡfyalòmbj** (Sing. **nófyalòmbj**); in Territoire Bafwasende, in an enclave around Opienge.

Number: 8,133.

This dialect is also said to be spoken by Pygmies living on the left bank of River Ituri.⁴

¹ van Bulck ('Existe-t-il une langue des Pygmées en Afrique Centrale?', *Kultur und Sprache*, 1952) says that this dialect is identical with that of the *LESE KARO*.

² Further confusion has been caused in the past by the similarity of the name *MANGBUTU* (see p. 5).

³ van Bulck, *N.B.B.S.*; Hackett, personal communication.

⁴ van Bulck, 'Existe-t-il une langue des Pygmées . . . ?'

Dialect: POPOI, own name **námàpòpòi-tj** or **námàpòpòi**.

Spoken by: POPOI (BA-, MA-, POPOIE, &c.), call themselves **ámàpópói** (Sing. **námàpópói**); in Territoire Banalia around Panga.

Number: 7,472.

Dialect: MAELE.¹

Spoken by: MAELE (MALELE), call themselves **émàéíé** (Sing. **némàéíé**); in Territoire Poko.

Number: 13,055.

Dialect: MAKERE, own name **námákéré-tj**.

Spoken by: MAKERE, call themselves **ámàkèrè** (Sing. **námàkèrè**); west of the MAELE.

Number: 17,488.

A closely similar dialect is spoken by the BAKANGO (riverains) of River Uele at Amadi.

Dialect: MEJE, own name **námèjè-tj**.

Spoken by: MEJE (MEDJE, MEDYE, MEGYE, &c.), call themselves **emèèje** (Sing. **nèmèèje**); in Territoire Paulis in the basins of Rivers Rungu, Nala, and upper Tely, extending in the south to River Nepoko.

Number: 13,288 independent MEJE, but many so-called MANGBETU (i.e. MEJE under MANGBETU domination) speak this dialect; the total is probably at least 30,000.

Dialect: MABISANGA, own name **namabisanga**.

Spoken by: MABISANGA, call themselves **ámábísàngá** (Sing. **námábísàngá**); in Territoire Niangara.

Number: 4,035.

Dialect: MAJUJU (MAIDJUWU), own name **námàjúú**.

Spoken by: **ámàjúú** (Sing. **námàjúú**); in Territoire Paulis.

Number: 8,215.

Dialects of this Cluster are also spoken by:

MANGBELE, call themselves **mangbèle**:

(a) of Territoire Watsa (but some still speak their original BANTU language, while others speak MAYOGO—see p. 23);

(b) of Gombari.

Number: Watsa 6,535, Gombari 1,496.

ASUA (AKA), own name **asua-ti**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: ASUA (AKA), call themselves **àsúá** (Sing. **àsúá-è**), called **aka** by the Mangbetu and Meje.

The ASUA are Pygmies living among the MAELE, MEJE, ABULU, and POPOI.

¹ van Bulck (*N.B.B.S.*) mentions dialectal variants between the numerous MAELE clans.

SINGLE UNIT: LENDU

LENDU. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Where spoken: Belgian Congo: mainly west of Lake Albert with centre Djugu, also farther north in ALUR territory; Uganda: a few speakers in West Nile and Toro Districts.

Number of speakers: estimates range from 110,000 to 250,000; van Bulck suggests a total of 160,000, including members of other tribes who speak LENDU.

The LENDU are so called by neighbouring tribes and by Europeans. They call themselves **balé(ndru)**. They are also known as **BALEGA**, **WALEGA**.

Dialect: Northern LENDU, own name **balé-ðà**, **baá-ðà**, **ba-ðà**.

Where spoken: Belgian Congo, Territoires Djugu and Mahagi.

Van Bulck names several 'dialects' of Northern LENDU: **balé-ðà** of Fataki; **pi-ðà** of Kwanduma and Rethi; dialect of chefferie Zangali; **jo-ðà** (whereabouts unknown; perhaps extinct).

Northern LENDU is also spoken by:

MAMBISA (**BAMBISA**), called **GO** by the Lendu—a section of the ALUR who have lost their own language; near Kilo. Their speech is known as **go-ðà**.

Number: 4,093 in Territoire Djugu.

OKE'BU (**KE**),¹ blacksmiths among the LENDU. Their speech is known as **ke-ðà**.

Number: 4,920.

'BAHEMA (**WAHEMA**), call themselves **bahéma** (Sing. and Plur.), in Territoire Djugu. Their speech is called **zi-fõa** or **jo-ðà**.

Number: 30,499.

The New Testament has been published in Northern LENDU.

Dialect: Southern LENDU (DRU, NDRU), own name **dru-na**.

Where spoken: Belgian Congo: Territoire Bunia; Uganda: in Toro District west of Fort Portal, and in Okoro County of West Nile District.

Number: c. 20,000 in Territoire Bunia; few in Uganda.

Van Bulck gives the names of three 'dialects', named after the chiefs of the areas where they are spoken: **zadu**, **monobi**, and **kabona**.

¹ But see NDO, p. 6.

2. THE BONGO-BAGIRMI LANGUAGES (LARGER UNIT)

THE BONGO-BAGIRMI languages, comprising

BONGO	Language Group
KRESH	Language Group
SINYAR	Single Unit?
KARA	Single Unit
SARA	Language Group
BAGIRMI	Language Group

are spoken over a wide area extending from the south-western part of the Sudan across F.E.A. to Lake Chad.

The relationship between BONGO and BAGIRMI has long been known.¹ The limits of the Larger Unit are now established, and are substantially the same as set out in *E.S.L.*, but much further detail has since come to light through the researches of Santandrea,² Stevenson,³ Tucker,⁴ and van Bulck.⁵

For discussion of the affinities of this Larger Unit with the MORU-MANGBETU languages, see pp. 141-3.

LANGUAGE GROUP: BONGO

Consists of: BONGO	Language.
BAKA	Language.
MOROKODO	Dialect Cluster.
'BELI	Dialect Cluster.

Where spoken: In the south-western part of the Sudan, extending into the Belgian Congo.

BONGO, own name **bonḡò**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: BONGO, call themselves **bonḡò**, called *DOR* by the Dinka.

Where spoken: In Western District, just south of Wau on River Bussere; Jur River District, near Tonj.

Number of speakers: 600 TP in Jur River District.

An offshoot of the BONGO, called BUNGÖ, is reported from River Iba, between Lat. 5° 50' and 6° 10' N.⁶

¹ Barth (*Sammlung und Bearbeitung Central-Afrikanischer Sprachen*, 1862) first drew attention to the resemblance between BAGIRMI [= BAGIRMI] and a vocabulary of DOR [= BONGO] collected by Petherick.

² See Bibliography. Much valuable material on these languages is still unpublished.

³ Unpublished.

⁴ Unpublished (MS. of *Eastern Sudanic Languages*, vol. ii).

⁵ Unpublished.

⁶ Quoted by Tucker. *E.S.L.*

BAKA, own name **tàrə baaká**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: BAKA, call themselves **baaká** (Sing. and Plur.).

Where spoken: Round Maridi; north-west of Yei; in the Belgian Congo, in the Game Reserve on River Aka, and among the LOGO (by a few speakers).¹

Number of speakers: Sudan 1,300; Belgian Congo 1,300.²

MOROKODO. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialect: MOROKODO.

Spoken by: MOROKODO, call themselves **morókòdò**;³ north and west of Amadi.

Number: 785 TP* excluding Maridi town.

According to M. F. A. Keen the MA'DI (**mà'di**) referred to by Tucker⁴ as living north of the BITI are really MOROKODO.

Dialect: BITI.

Spoken by: BITI, call themselves **bítj**; on the Amadi-Tali road.

Number: 70 TP*.

Dialect: WIRA, own name **wírà**.

Spoken by: WIRA, call themselves **wírà**; north of the BITI.

Dialect: MĀ'DU.

Spoken by: MĀ'DU, call themselves **mā'du**; among the LAKAMA'DI.

BITI, WIRA, and MĀ'DU are almost identical.

Dialect: NYAMUSA, own name **nyàmùçà**.

Spoken by: NYAMUSA, call themselves **nyàmùçà**; north of the WIRA, mainly on the right bank of River Yei.

Number: 289 TP*.

Note: Many of the people speaking these dialects acknowledge the name MORU as well as their tribal names. This is the cause of considerable confusion with the MORU proper (see p. 1). The term has become well established, but is incorrect and misleading.

'BELI. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialects belonging to this Cluster are spoken by:

LORI, call themselves **lòri**; on River Naam west and south-west of Mvolo.

Number: 282 TP*.

MODO, call themselves **mòdò**; in two sections, MODO LALI, north-east of Mvolo along the Mvolo-Gnop road, and MODO KIRIM, south and east of Mvolo and in Mvolo itself.

Number: 429 TP*.

¹ Tucker, *E.S.L.*

² Information on the Belgian Congo from van Bulck, *N.B.B.S.*

³ Kòdò according to M. F. A. Keen (personal communication).

⁴ *E.S.L.*

GBERI (*GBARA*, also known as *MUDA*); north-west of Mvolo beyond the *SOPI*, just south of Toinya.

Number: 157 TP*.

WETU (almost extinct; about five families).¹

'**BELI** (*BEILI*), call themselves **ǂélí**; north and east of Toinya.

Number: 1,258 TP*.

SOPI, call themselves **supi**; north-west of Mvolo along River Naam.

Number: 393 TP*.

The dialects of the '**BELI** and **SOPI** are almost identical.

Note: Speakers of these dialects have been known as the 'Rumbek *ǂUR*'. This name is, however, misleading, and should be avoided. *ǂUR* is merely a name used by the Dinka, meaning 'foreigner'. Moreover, these people are now no longer administered from Rumbek, so that the name has lost any significance it might have had in the past.

LANGUAGE GROUP: KRESH

Consists of: YULU-BINGA	Dialect Cluster.
KRESH	Dialect Cluster.
FURU	Language?

Where spoken: The south-western part of the Sudan; also in the Belgian Congo.

YULU-BINGA. DIALECT CLUSTER.

The dialects spoken by the following small tribes in the extreme west of Equatoria Province are closely interrelated:

YULU, between Raga and Said Bandas.

Number: c. 300 TP.²

BINGA, call themselves **BIDA** (**biŋa**); between Raga and Said Bandas; also in two sheikhships in Habbaniya District in Dar Fur.

Number: c. 200 TP.³

The speech of the **AǂA**, in the same area, may perhaps also belong to this Cluster.⁴

Number: 200 TP.⁵

¹ These may be the people referred to by Schweinfurth, Junker, and others as *MITTU*, although the vocabulary of *MITTU* collected by Schweinfurth is almost identical with *MOROKODO*. No trace of any people called *MITTU* can be found at the present day.

² Figures from Tucker, *E.S.L.* (probably now out of date).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ 'According to the natives themselves, Aja stands midway between Kresh and Banda. . . . From a grammatical point of view, Aja seems to stand closer to Kresh, showing Bongo-like elements. . . . The bulk of the language . . . differs, however, startlingly from all others that I know' (Santandrea, 'Little-known tribes of the Bahr el Ghazal basin', *S.N.R.* 1948).

⁵ Tucker, *E.S.L.*

KRESH (**KREISH**), also known as **KPALA**, **KPARA** (**kpàrà**). DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: **KRESH** (**KREDǂ**, **KREICH**, **KREISH**, &c.). This name is regarded by all sections of the **KRESH** as a foreign name; most of them acknowledge the name **KPALA**.

Where spoken: mainly in the Sudan, Equatoria Province.

Dialect: **GBAYA**, own name **ǂbàyà(-ndogo)**.

Spoken by: **GBAYA-NDOGO**, also known as **KRESH-NDOGO**,¹ call themselves **ǂbàyà**; on the Raga-Said Bandas road.

Number: 450 TP.²

Dialect: **NAKA**, own name **naká** or **kpàrà**.

Spoken by: **NAKA**, west of the **GBAYA-NDOGO** near Said Bandas.

Number: 900 TP.³

The **HOFRA** (**KRESH-HOFRA** or **KPALA-HOFRA**) west of the **NAKA** on River Boro may be the same as the **NAKA**, '**HOFRA**' being a nickname.

Dialect: **WORO** (**ORO**), own name (**w**)**ɔ̀ɔ̀**.

Spoken by: **WORO**, call themselves **ɔ̀ɔ̀**, 20 miles east of Dem Zubeir on River Kuru, to the south of the main body of **KRESH**-speakers, and described by Santandrea⁴ as 'a kind of sub-tribe of the **KRESH** with a more or less independent dialect of their own'.

Number: 100 TP.⁵

Dialect?: **DONGO**.

Spoken by: **DONGO**, in the Bahr el Ghazal area (about 20 TP), also in one sheikhship in Habbaniya District, Dar Fur; there are said to be some **DONGO** in Nyala District, Dar Fur.

KRESH (**GBAYA** dialect) is used in mission schools; a few religious books have been printed or duplicated.

FURU. LANGUAGE (or dialect of the KRESH Cluster)?

Spoken by: **FURU**, call themselves **ǂbaya**,⁶ called **fùɔ̀** by the Mbanja and Ngbandi (they themselves also acknowledge this name).

Where spoken: In the north-western part of the Belgian Congo, Territoire Bosobolo, in a few villages, mainly among the **MBANǂA** and **NGBAKA GBAYA**; perhaps also in F.E.A.

Number of speakers: c. 5,000 in Territoire Bosobolo (but many **FURU** have adopted **NGBAKA-GBAYA**—see p. 38).

BAGILO is the name of the ruling dynasty of the **FURU**. They do not use the name **ǂbaya**, but their speech is **FURU**.

¹ Cp. **BAIA** in F.E.A., near the Sudan border, described by Bruel (*La France Equatoriale Africaine*) as part of 'la famille Kreïch', in which he also includes the **NDUGGO** [= **GBAYA-NDOGO**?]

² Tucker, *E.S.L.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ 'Little-known tribes . . .'

⁵ Tucker, *E.S.L.*

⁶ Cp. **GBAYA** under **KRESH**. The name **GBAYA**, however, is of frequent occurrence in F.E.A. and the Belgian Congo (see pp. 37-39).

The affinities of FURU with the BONGO-BAGIRMI Larger Unit have been pointed out by Tanghe¹ and Tisserant;² the classification of FURU in the KRESH Language Group is tentative, being based on slender evidence.

SINGLE UNIT?: SINYAR

SINYAR. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: SINYAR.

Where spoken: on the border of F.E.A. and Dar Fur at Mogororo (about Lat. 12° N.).

Number of speakers: unknown.

Linguistic material on SINYAR consists only of a small vocabulary collected by P. B. Broadbent and A. J. Arkell. It shows some resemblance to the BONGO-BAGIRMI Larger Unit.

SINGLE UNIT: KARA

KARA. DIALECT CLUSTER?

Spoken by: KARA, call themselves *yámegi*.³

Where spoken: Sudan: in the extreme east of Equatoria Province between Raga and Said Badas.

Number of speakers: unknown.

According to van Bulck⁴ there are two dialects: *ńúńú* and *kóyo* (two names for one dialect); *ńgúru*.

The *GULA* (*GOULA*) of Mamoun (F.E.A.) are said to speak the same language.⁵

KARA, although belonging geographically to the eastern BONGO-BAGIRMI languages, shows greater affinities with the western languages; the behaviour of the Verb, in particular, shows close affinity with the BAGIRMI Group.⁶

LANGUAGE GROUP: SARA

Consists of: SARA	Dialect Cluster.
SARA MBAI	Dialect Cluster.
SARA GAMBAI	Dialect Cluster.
SARA KABA	Dialect Cluster.
KABA DUNJO	Dialect Cluster.
VALE	Dialect Cluster.

Where spoken: In a large area in F.E.A. (Oubangui-Chari and Chad).

Note: The name *SARA* is used by Europeans and by many African tribes to denote a large number of tribes speaking interrelated dialects. The name is acknowledged

¹ 'Les Fur et les Furu' (*Aequatoria*, 1945).

² *Essai de grammaire Banda* (p. 1, footnote).

³ R. C. Stevenson, personal communication.

⁴ Personal communication.

⁵ Poutrin, *Esquisse des principales populations de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française*. See also *GULA* under SARA KABA, p. 17, and p. 19. The speech of the *GULA* of Lake Iro and of Melfi, however, may belong to the BANDA Group (see p. 37).

⁶ Santandrea, *Kara Grammar* (unpublished).

by many of them as well as their own tribal or local appellations. It has also been erroneously applied to tribes speaking languages or dialects not related to the SARA Group, some of which do not even belong to the same Larger Unit.¹ There has also been considerable confusion of nomenclature, owing to the use of place-names by European writers as tribal or linguistic names.²

The following grouping is according to van Bulck, who has supplied much detail not previously known.³ Note that Poutrin⁴ divides the *SARA* into Eastern, Western, and *KABBA* (but see pp. 16-17).

It has not been found possible to identify the *SARA* of Delafosse⁵ with any particular dialect of this Group.

SARA. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialects belonging to this Cluster are spoken by:

SARA MAJINGAI (*MADJINNGAY*, *MODJINGAYE*, *MOGGINGAIN*, &c.), call themselves *maji-ńgaf* (= very good); in the basin of Bahr Sara, in an area bounded by Fort Archambault, Koumra, and Moissala.

Number: 27,000.

Note: The many names given as those of sections of the *SARA MAJINGAI* by various writers,⁶ are those of localities.

SARA NGAMA, call themselves *ńgama*, in Districts Batangafo (Région Ouham, Oubangui-Chari) and Moissala (Région Moyen-Chari, Chad).

Number: 12,600.

(*SARA*) *GULAI*⁷ (*GOULAYE*, *GULEI*, &c.), at Ngoundi, north of Koumra.

Number: Estimated at 7,000.

NAR, call themselves *nar* and *PENI*, call themselves *peni*.⁸

One Gospel has been translated into MAJINGAI.

SARA MBAI. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialects belonging to this Cluster are spoken by:

SARA MBAI (*BAI*, *MBAY*, *MBAYE*, &c.), call themselves *mbai*; around Moissala.⁹

Number: 59,000.

¹ See pp. 42-44.

² For lists of these names, see Poutrin, *Esquisse . . .*; Chabrelié, 'Notes sur la langue des Sara' (*J. Soc. Africanistes*, 1935).

³ Personal communication.

⁴ *Esquisse des principales populations . . .*

⁵ *Essai sur le peuple et la langue Sara*.

⁶ e.g. Bruel, *La France Equatoriale Africaine*; Chabrelié, 'Notes sur la langue des Sara'.

⁷ *gu* = country, *lai* = place-name. The name thus means 'SARA of the Lai country'. Contrast *LAI* = people of Lai town (see Lukas, *Zentralsudansische Studien*, p. 94) and cp. *GABLAI* (*KABA-LAY*), p. 43.

⁸ Numerals of *PENI* in Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *Documents sur les langues de l'Oubangui-Chari*.

⁹ To be distinguished (linguistically) from the *SARA MBAI* of Doba (see under SARA GAMBAI, p. 16).

According to R. C. Stevenson¹ they call their dialect **pa mbai moisala** or **pa mbai danbo**.

daɓa of Batangafo.²

Number: c. 7,000.

kaba of Batangafo.³

Number: c. 7,000.

All other names given by various writers as those of *MBAI* sections are place-names.

The New Testament has been translated into *MBAI* of Moïssala.

SARA GAMBAL. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialects belonging to this Cluster are spoken by:

SARA GAMBAL (*NGAMBAL*, *GAMB-BAY*, &c.), call themselves **sara gambal** (**ɲgambal**), in District Moundou, Région Logone, Chad.

Number: 110,000.

sara murūn, between the *GABLAI* and Doba in two villages on River Logone (Chad).

daɓa of Gore.⁴

sara mbai of Doba;⁵ possibly the **mbai gor** of Stevenson⁶ (cp. place-name Gore).

Number: over 85,000.

LAKA (*LAK*, *LAG*), call themselves **laka**,⁷ in District Baïbokoum, Région Logone, Chad; also in the French Cameroons (Bruehl⁸ describes their location as the Logone basin, south of Lat. 9° to Lat. 7° 39' N.; Poutrin⁹ as the sources of the Logone and on the upper Ouham).

Number: 40,000 in Chad.

The New Testament has been translated into *GAMBAL*, one Gospel into 'KABBA LAKA'.

SARA KABA (KABBA). DIALECT CLUSTER.

Where spoken: mainly in District Kyabé, Région Moyen-Chari.

Number of speakers: 11,500.

Dialects belonging to this Cluster are spoken by:

kaba sime.

kaba bumanɲa.

¹ Personal communication.

² To be distinguished (linguistically) from the **daɓa** of Gore (see under *SARA GAMBAL*).

³ To be distinguished (linguistically) from the *SARA KABA* (see this page) and *KABA DUNJO* (see p. 17).

⁴ To be distinguished (linguistically) from the **daɓa** of Batangafo (see under *SARA MBAI* above).

⁵ To be distinguished (linguistically) from the *MBAI* of Moïssala (see *SARA MBAI*).

⁶ Personal communication.

⁷ To be distinguished from the *LAKA MBERE* (see Westermann and Bryan, *The languages of West Africa*, p. 147).

⁸ *La France Equatoriale Africaine*.

⁹ *Esquisse des principales populations . . .*

kaba bəhə.

kaba jaha.

kaba ndim (*ndemi*) (*NDEMI*, the *SARA NDEMI* of Chabrelié,¹ *DÉMI* of Poutrin).²

kaba ndəkə³ of Ndélé.

gula of Moufa.⁴

KABA DUNJO. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: *KABA*; they use the name *SARA* when speaking to outsiders, but not among themselves.

Where spoken: District Kyabé.

Number of speakers: 17,000.

Dialects belonging to this Cluster are spoken by:

kaba dunjo (cp. place-name Njoundjou).

kaba na.

kaba mbanɲa, on Rivers Kéita and Aouk.

kaba tie (*TYE*).

kaba jɲɲe (*DENDJJE*, *DINDJJE*), between Rivers Salamat and Mindjik.

kaba joko (*NDIOKO*).

VALE. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialects belonging to this Cluster are spoken by the following (who do not call themselves *SARA*):

VALE, call themselves **vale**, between Batangafo and Kabo.

Number: 1,400.

NDUKA, call themselves **nduka**, on River Gribingui.⁵

tele and **tane** (*TANA*), in the Ndélé area.

Nothing further is known of the following, considered by Gaudefroy-Demombynes⁶ to be *SARA*:

HORO, between Rivers Aouk and Bangoran;

KUSUVULU⁷ in the Gribingui area;

SARA HII and **BUTU** (location not known).

¹ 'Notes sur la langue des Sara'.

² Op. cit.

³ To be distinguished from the **kaba joko** (*NDIOKO*) (see under *KABA DUNJO*).

⁴ To be distinguished from the **GULA** of Lake Iro, whose speech may belong to the *BANDA* Group (see p. 37). Bruehl also refers to 'GOULA de Mamoun' and says that they and the *KARA* (see p. 14) speak the same language. See also p. 19.

⁵ See, however, footnote 1 on p. 35.

⁶ *Documents sur les langues de l'Oubangui-Chari*.

⁷ Numerals from Bruehl in Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit. See also Bruehl, 'Noms donnés par les populations de l'Oubangui et du Chari à des planètes, à des étoiles et à des constellations' (*J. Soc. Africanistes*, 1942).

LANGUAGE GROUP: BAGIRMI

Consists of: BAGIRMI Language.
 KUKA Language or Dialect Cluster.
 KENGA Language or Dialect Cluster.

Where spoken: F.E.A.: Chad.

BAGIRMI (BARMA, TAR BAGRIMMA), own name **tar farma**. LANGUAGE.

The term **lis**, **lisi** is also heard; according to van Bulck, it is the name given to the BAGIRMI language by the *KUKA*, according to Lukas, to the *KUKA* language by the *BAGIRMI*.

Spoken by: *BAGIRMI* (*BAGHIRMI*, *BAGUIRMI*), call themselves **farma-ge**.

Where spoken: Région Chari-Baguirmi, Districts Bousso and Massénya; Région Salamat, District Melfi.

Number of speakers: c. 38,000 (but this figure may include some speakers of other languages); Devallée¹ gives 31,160.

KUKA. LANGUAGE OR DIALECT CLUSTER.

The speech of the following is practically identical:²

KUKA (*KOUKA*), in Dar Kouka, between Dagana and Lake Fitri.

Number: 38,845.

BILALA (*BULALA*, *BOULALA*), call themselves **bilala** (according to Stevenson³ they also call themselves **ma-ge**, Sing. **ma**); in the Lake Fitri area.

Number: 25,767.

MUDOGO (*MEDOGO*, *MIDOGO*, *MODOGO*), call themselves **kɔɔi** of Medogo; east of Lake Fitri.

Number: 6,644 in District Mongo.

Note: The *MEDOGO* of Jebel Geira speak *KENGA* (see below); the *KODOI* of Abéché speak a *MABA* dialect (see p. 54).

The *ABU SIMMIN*, referred to by Nachtigal,⁴ appear now to be extinct, although the name is still known locally.⁵

KENGA. LANGUAGE OR DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: *KENGA* (*KENGE*, *KENYA*), acknowledge the name **ɕɛŋɛ** or **bɔkiyo**.⁶

Where spoken: In the lower valley of the Bahr Bourda.

Number of speakers: 20,000–25,000.

¹ 'Le Baghirmi' (*Bull. Soc. Rech. Congolaises*, 1925).

² Lukas, 'The linguistic situation in the Lake Chad area' (*Africa*, 1936).

³ Personal communication.

⁵ van Bulck, personal communication.

⁶ Stevenson, personal communication. According to van Bulck, however, **bɔkiyo** is the name of a dialect of *KENGA* spoken by the *MEDOGO* of Jebel Geira (see under *KUKA* above). Other inhabitants of Jebel Geira speak *JONGOR*, which belongs to the *SOKORO-MUBI* Group of Chado-Hamitic Languages (see Westermann and Brvan. *Languages of West Africa*, p. 168).

The speech of the following clearly belongs to this Larger Unit, to judge from vocabularies;¹ in the absence of grammatical material it is not possible to make any more detailed classification.

DISA (*DISSA*), in the Lake Iro area.

BABALIA, on the left bank of River Chari below Goulfeï.

A vocabulary of *GULA*,² south-west of Dar Kara, and one of *GELE*,³ in Dar Fungoro near the F.E.A.–Sudan border, both obviously belong to this Larger Unit, and resemble each other closely. There is not sufficient material to make any more exact classification.

¹ Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Documents sur les langues de l'Oubangui-Chari*.

² Collected by A. J. Arkell. Perhaps identical with the *GULA* of Mamoun (see p. 14).

³ Collected by A. C. Beaton.

⁴ *Sahara und Sudan*.

3. THE SERE-MUNDU LANGUAGES (LARGER UNIT)

THE SERE-MUNDU languages, comprising

NDOGO-SERE	Single Unit
FEROGE	Language Group?
MUNDU-NGBAKA	Language Group

are spoken in two widely separated areas: (a) the south-western part of the Sudan and the north-eastern part of the Belgian Congo, (b) the north-western part of the Belgian Congo.

Calonne-Beaufaict,¹ Hutereau,² and others had already grouped SERE with BANGBA. This grouping is substantiated in *E.S.L.* Mortier³ has recently shown the relationship of BANGBA to the 'Nzombø Group', i.e. several linguistic units in the north-western part of the Belgian Congo; Santandrea⁴ adds the languages here termed the FEROGE Group.

The languages spoken in the Belgian Congo have been further investigated by the NBBS team, whose conclusions confirm the grouping and are embodied in the present work.

For discussion of the affinities of this Larger Unit with the languages in sections 4, 5, and 6, see pp. 144-6.

SINGLE UNIT: NDOGO-SERE

NDOGO-SERE. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialect: NDOGO.

Spoken by: NDOGO, call themselves *ndɔŋɔ*; in the Sudan, Western District, along the Wau-Dem Zubeir road between Mboro and River Kpango (Pongo); there are also a few NDOGO among the ZANDE north of Tembura.

Number: c. 3,500.⁵

NDOGO is used as a medium of primary education for all speakers of dialects of this Cluster in the Sudan; there is a small amount of vernacular literature.

It is spoken as a second language by the GOLO living among the NDOGO and by the KRESH at Dem Zubeir.

Dialect: BAI.

Spoken by: BAI (BARI),⁶ call themselves *bai*, on the Wau-Dem Zubeir road west of the SERE; a few north of Tembura.

Number: estimated by Santandrea at 2,500.

¹ *Les Azande.*

² *Histoire des peuplades de l'Uele et de l'Ubangi.*

³ 'Ubangi onder linguistisch opsicht' (*Aequatoria*, 1946).

⁴ *Comparative linguistics:—Indri-Togoyo-Ndogo-Feroge-Mangaya-Mundu.*

⁵ Santandrea, 'Il gruppo Ndogo del Bahr-el-Ghazal' (*Ann. Lateranensi*, 1938).

⁶ Not to be confused with the BARI on the Nile (see p. 106) nor with the BARI-LOGO (see p. 3).

Dialect: BVIRI (BIRI).

Spoken by: BVIRI (BIRI), call themselves (b)virí,¹ the non-Nilotic section of the BELANDA,² called GUMBA, GAMBA (MBEGUMBA, MVEGUMBA) by the Bor. They are much scattered: near the BOR round Raffili; on the Wau circular road; on River Kuru about 40 miles from Dem Zubeir; round Tembura among the ZANDE; also mixed with the BOR on River Iba near Yambio, and elsewhere.

Number: estimated by Santandrea at about 16,000.

Dialect: TAGBU.³

Spoken by: TAGBU (TAGBA),⁴ adjacent to the NDOGO near Bisellia.

Number: under 100.

This dialect resembles NDOGO in vocabulary, SERE in phonetics.

Dialect: SERE.

Spoken by: SERE (BASIRI, BASILI), call themselves séřε; in the Sudan east of Wau on River Kpango; north of Tembura; in F.E.A. near the Congo border north of River Mbomu between its tributaries Boku and Kerre; in the Belgian Congo, Territoires Ndoruma (Doruma), Ango and (scattered) Dungu. Hutereau⁵ mentions a few on River Sili.

Number: Sudan 800-900; F.E.A. not known; Belgian Congo c. 2,500+.

There are slight local differences between SERE of the Sudan and of the Belgian Congo, the former being closer to NDOGO, in spite of much ZANDE influence.

LANGUAGE GROUP?: FEROGE⁶

Consists of:	FEROGE	Language.
	INDRI	Language.
	MANGAYA	Language.
	TOGOYO	Language.

Where spoken: In the western Sudan in a small area around Raga.

The languages spoken by the following small groups of people, though as yet very little known, appear to be closely interrelated, and may belong to this Larger Unit. They are therefore tentatively classified as a Language Group.

FEROGE (FEROGHE), call themselves *kali-gi, kali-ki, kali-ge, kali-ke* (local variants), FEROGE being the ARABIC name for them.

Number: c. 2,500.

The SHAYU (call themselves *cwärä*) and GBOGO are FEROGE sections.

¹ Santandrea, 'Little-known tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal basin' (*S.N.R.*, 1948).

² BELANDA is the name used by Europeans and others to denote a single cultural unit (called ABARE by the Zande), consisting of members of two tribes speaking totally different languages, but living together, intermarrying, and sharing the same customs, &c. The two tribes are:

(a) BOR, called RODI (MBERODI, MVERODI, MBERIDI) by the Bviri and others. Language: BOR (see NILOTIC languages, p. 102); (b) BVIRI. Dialect: BVIRI.

³ Tucker, 'The tribal confusion around Wau' (*S.N.R.* 1931).

⁴ Santandrea, 'Little-known tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal basin'.

⁵ To be distinguished from the TOGBO (see under BANDA, p. 32).

⁶ *Histoire des peuplades de l'Uele et de l'Ubangi.*

⁷ Santandrea, *Comparative linguistics.*

INDRI (*YANDERIKA, YANDIRIKA*), call themselves **indri**.¹

Number c. 700.

MANGAYA (*MONGAIYAT, MANGAIYAT*), call themselves **buga, bugwa, buka, bukwa** (local variants).

Number: c. 300.

TOGOYO (almost extinct).

LANGUAGE GROUP: MUNDU-NGBAKA

Consists of:	MUNDU	Language.
	MAYOGO-BANGBA	Dialect Cluster.
	KPALA	Dialect Cluster?
	NGBAKA MABO	Dialect Cluster.
	MONJOMBO	Language.
	BURAKA-GBANZIRI	Dialect Cluster?
	and perhaps other languages or dialects.	

Where spoken: mainly in the north-eastern and north-western Belgian Congo.

MUNDU, own name **mũndu**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: **MUNDU** (*MONDO, MONDU*), call themselves **o-mũndu** (Sing. **mũndu**).

Where spoken: In the north-eastern Belgian Congo, between Rivers Dunga and Garamba;² also in the Sudan north-west of Yei (separated from the **MUNDU** in the Congo by a strip of uninhabited territory); and in Moru District south of Maridi.

Number of speakers: Belgian Congo 2,798 in Territoire Faradje; Sudan 1,857 TP*.

MAYOGO-BANGBA. DIALECT CLUSTER.

This Cluster consists of dialects which can be grouped under two headings, **MAYOGO** and **BANGBA**, but which are sufficiently closely interrelated to constitute one Cluster.

Where spoken: In the north-eastern Belgian Congo, mainly around Paulis, also south of Niangara.

According to van Bulck **MAYOGO** is spoken by the following:

mayugo, in Territoire Paulis.

Number: 29,881.

majügü, in Territoire Niangara.

Number: 10,449.

mayko (**maiko**) clan, in Territoire Watsa.

Number: 987.

This dialect is also spoken by the **DAI** (**DAY**), call themselves **angai**, in the same area (few in number). They are referred to by Hutereau³ as 'riverains of the **BERE**'—but see footnote to **BANGBA**, p. 23.

¹ **ya-** and **-ka** are affixes.

² They were formerly in two separate areas, but have recently been united.

³ *Histoire des peuplades de l'Uele et de l'Ubangi*.

mayogo, in Territoire Niangara on the south bank of River Dunga.

Number: few.

This dialect is also spoken by (a) the **maambi** in the same area, (b) the **BAKANGO**, fishermen of River Uele in Territoire Niangara,¹ who call the dialect **bàlĭka**, (c) the **BAKANGO** of River Bomokandi, who call the dialect **likango**.

MANGBELE, call themselves **màngbèle**, in Territoires Wamba and Paulis on River Nepoko; they call the dialect **majogo**.

Number: 5,133.

Note: These people do not seem to be aware of ever having spoken any other language, but cp. the **MANGBETU**-speaking **MANGBELE** (p. 8). Some **MANGBELE** speak a **BANTU** language (**li-ngbè**).

BANGBA dialects are spoken by:

BANGBA (**ABANGBA**),² call themselves **bàngbà**; mainly south of Niangara between Rivers Uele and Bomokandi; a smaller section just north of Watsa.

Number: 28,941.

There appear to be at least four dialects according to Costermans:³ **koko**, **merei**, **alo**, **makudukudu**, also perhaps **mòdo** and **tibu**.

KPALA,⁴ own name **kpá(a)là**, **kpwálá**, or **gbakpwä**. DIALECT CLUSTER?

Spoken by: **KPALA** (**KPWALA, KPWAALA, or GBAKPWA**).

Where spoken: In the north-western Belgian Congo, just east of Libenge; also near Banzyville.

There are slight dialectal differences between the speech of the various **KPALA** sections (**kpaala, bakpwa, gbendere, nyanngo**), but whether they are sufficient to justify classification into dialects of a Cluster is not certain.

NGBAKA MA'BO. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: **NGBAKA MA'BO** (**NGBAKA MABO, BWAKA, GWAKA, GBAKA, MBWAKA, GMBWAKA, &c.**),⁵ call themselves **ngbaka** or **ngbakà mabo**.

¹ **BAKANGO** is a generic term applied to riverain people in many parts of the Belgian Congo.

² The name **BANGBA** is applied by some writers to people who do not speak **BANGBA**, e.g. the **MAYENGA, BOTE**, and **MABADI** (**BANTU**-speaking) south of the **BANGBA** proper. Liesenborghs ('Aanvullende Nota's over enkele Volksstammen uit nord-ost Kongo', *Kongo-Overzee*, 1936) distinguishes these people as 'pseudo-**BANGBA**'.

The name **BERE** occurs in the writings of several authors; no trace of any such people can, however, be found, and informants deny any knowledge of the name (see Costermans, 'Dai ou Angai?', *Zaire*, 1950). Czekanowski (*Forschungen im Nil-Kongo Zwischengebiet*) refers to the **BERE** as 'the main mass' (*die Hauptmasse*) of the **BANGBA**. His **BERE** material is, however, inadequate for any classification to be made.

The **TODO** referred to by e.g. Hutereau (op. cit.) cannot be traced, according to van Bulck.

³ Quoted by van Bulck (*N.B.B.S.*).

⁴ Not to be confused with **KPALA** = **KRESH** (see p. 13).

⁵ Considerable confusion is caused by the fact that there are two tribes in the north-western Belgian Congo, both called **NGBAKA**; for **NGBAKA GBAYA** see p. 38.

Where spoken: Belgian Congo, Territoire Libenge, between Zongo and Libenge; F.E.A., Région Lobaye, Districts M'Baïki and Mongoumba—roughly between Rivers Lobaye and Mpama bounded on the west by Lat. 17° 45' E., on the south-west by the Boda-Mongoumba road.

Number of speakers: F.E.A. 17,323;¹ Belgian Congo not known.

According to van Bulck,² dialects of NGBAKA MABO are spoken by:

ngbaka mafo of Territoire Libenge, Belgian Congo;

gilima (a NGBAKA clan);

ngbaka mapi in F.E.A.

Note: The name NGBAKA LIMBA (MBAKA LIMBA) is used by some writers. Tessmann³ describes the MBAKA LIMBA as living on the right bank of the Ubangi, north of River Lobaye. Richardson, however, states⁴ that the NGBAKA of F.E.A. call themselves **ngbaka mafo** and use the name **ngbaka limba** to refer to those on the Belgian side of the Ubangi, whereas Mortier⁵ states that these are the NGBAKA MABO. It is possible that the tribe is one (the dialects are practically identical), called **ngbaka**, the people of each section calling themselves **mafo**, and those across the river **limba**.

The MPOMBO of Grenfell and Stapleton⁶ appears to be a NGBAKA MA'BO dialect, as does Ouzilleau's MPAGGA of Loko and Mongoumba,⁷ from their respective vocabularies.

One Gospel has been published in NGBAKA.

MONJOMBO. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: MONJOMBO (MONDJEMBO, MONZOMBO, MODJEMBO, &c.), call themselves **mɔ̀nʃɔ̀mbɔ̀** according to Hackett, **mɔ̀ndʒombo** according to Richardson, **nzɔ̀mbɔ̀** according to Mortier.⁸

Where spoken: F.E.A., Oubangui-Chari, and Moyen Congo, on the Ubangi; also across the river in the Belgian Congo (note that Tessmann⁹ shows them much farther south—but see BONJO below).

Number of speakers: F.E.A. 582 in Région Lobaye, some (number unknown) in Moyen Congo; Belgian Congo, estimated at 600;¹⁰ Mortier¹¹ estimates the total at 13,000.

Informants state that immediately to the south are people called **mbunjo**, whose language is virtually the same. This may be the explanation of the name BONJO, used by some Europeans for both the NGBAKA MABO and the MONJOMBO.

¹ Information from I. Richardson, *N.B.B.S.*

² *N.B.B.S.*

³ 'Die Sprache der Mbaka-Limba, Mbum und Lakka' (*M.S.O.S.*, 1930).

⁴ Personal communication.

⁵ 'Ubangi onder linguistisch opzicht' (*Aequatoria*, 1946).

⁶ Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*; Stapleton, *Comparative handbook of the Congo languages*.

⁷ 'Notes sur la langue des Pygmées de la Sanga' (*Rev. Ethnogr. et Sociol.* 1911).

⁸ Op cit.

⁹ *Die Baja*.

¹⁰ Hackett, personal communication.

¹¹ Op. cit.

BURAKA-GBANZIRI. DIALECT CLUSTER?

Dialects which may belong to one Cluster are spoken by:

BURAKA, call themselves **bùràkà**, north-west of Banzyville, north-east of Bosobolo on the Ubangi, adjacent to the **KPALA**; also some in F.E.A.

Number: Belgian Congo 715.

GBANZIRI (**BANZIRI**, **GBANDERE**, &c.), call themselves **gbanziri**; adjacent to the **BURAKA** west of Banzyville, but mainly in F.E.A.

Number: Belgian Congo c. 150.

Other languages or dialects which appear from vocabularies¹ to be related to this Group are spoken by several little-known groups of people, variously described as 'Pygmées, Pygmoides, Négrilles', in the area to the west of the languages and dialects listed above:

GUNDI of River Bodingué;²

so-called **BAYAKA** living among the Sub-Bantu **GUNDI** on River Sangha between Nola and Bayanga;

so-called **GANZI** living among the **GBAYA** near Bayanga;

'Négrilles' of Bomassa;

so-called **MBACCA** living among the Sub-Bantu **BIJUKI** in the triangle Yokadouma-Nola-River Kadeï.

Examination of the speech of the so-called **BABINGA** Pygmies on River Dja south of Abong M'Bang in the French Cameroons³ shows a high vocabulary correlation.

The speech of 'Pygmées' of Gabon may also be related to this Group.⁴

¹ Ouzilleau, op. cit.; Bruel, 'Les populations de la Moyenne Sanga: Les Babinga' (*Rev. Ethnogr. et Sociol.* 1910).

² To be distinguished from the Sub-Bantu **IJCNDI** (**GUNDI**) on River Sangha (see Richardson, *N.B.B.S.*).

³ Vocabulary collected by M. Bertaut, examined and corroborated by M. Guthrie in the field.

⁴ Trilles, *Les Pygmées de la forêt équatoriale*.

4. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP: MBA (NOUN CLASS LANGUAGES)

Consists of: NDUNGA Language.
MBA Language.
MA Language.
'DONGO Language.

Where spoken: Belgian Congo.

Although MBA and NDUNGA have been sufficiently well documented¹ for their relationship to be known, 'DONGO and MA have only recently been added to the Group, as the result of the researches of the NBBS team.

This Group is unique in that it is the only Group of non-BANTU languages in the Belgian Congo which has a system of paired Classes in Nouns, with alliterative Concord.

The Classes are indicated by Suffixes; these Suffixes have no apparent connexion with the BANTU Prefixes (except the collective **-m**). Concorde are either prefixed or suffixed, according to language.

For discussion of the affinities of this Group with languages in sections 3, 5, and 6, see pp. 144-6.

NDUNGA, own name **ndunga-lè**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: NDUNGA (MONDUNGA, BONDONGA), call themselves **ndungε-yè** (Sing. **ndungá-gè**).

Where spoken: In eight villages in Territoire Lisala, on the road north from Lisala.

Number of speakers: c. 2,500.

MBA (MANGA, KIMANGA), own name **mbà-nì** or **mbà-nè**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: MBA (BAMANGA), call themselves **mbà-yì** (Sing. **mbà-gì**).

Where spoken: In an enclave among BANTU-speaking peoples, in Territoire Banalia, on River Lindi north of Stanleyville between Rivers Aruwimi and Congo.

Number of speakers: c. 16,000.

According to van Bulck, there are regional differences between the central and southern parts of the area, and in the north the language is influenced by the speech of neighbouring tribes.

MA (AMADI), own name **(à)ma-ṛɔ**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: MA (AMADI, MADI, MADYO, &c.), call themselves **(à)má-dí** (Sing. **(à)má-ṛíṓ**).

¹ Carrington, 'Esquisse de la langue Mba (Kimanga)' (*Kongo-Oversee*, 1949); de Boeck, *Grammaire du mondunga*.

Where spoken: Mainly opposite Amadi in the loop of River Uele north-west of Niangara; also (with slight dialectal variants) south of Niangara between the BARAMBU and BANGBA.

Number of speakers: c. 4,700.

A few religious books have been published.

'DONGO (DONGO), own name **ḍḍḍḍ-kḍ**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: 'DONGO (DONGO), call themselves **ḍḍḍḍ-nyḍ** (Sing. **ḍḍḍḍ-gḍ**).

Where spoken: Territoire Faradje, in the neighbourhood of Makolo.

Number of speakers: 4,870 in 1949; decreasing.

According to van Bulck, there are four local variants.

5. ZANDE (LARGER UNIT?)

THE ZANDE Single Unit (?) together with the PAMBIA-BARAMBU Language Group (?) is spoken in the southern Sudan, F.E.A., and the Belgian Congo.

The grouping of ZANDE with PAMBIA and BARAMBU is extremely tentative, and is based largely on vocabulary resemblance rather than on grammatical behaviour.¹ It should be noted that whereas ZANDE has long been well known, information on PAMBIA and BARAMBU is still fragmentary.

ZANDE is unique among languages of the Belgian Congo and adjacent territories in that its Verb system shows striking resemblance to that of the BANTU languages.

For discussion of the affinities of ZANDE with languages in sections 3, 4, and 6, see pp. 144-6.

SINGLE UNIT?: ZANDE

ZANDE, own name **pá zande**. LANGUAGE, with subsidiary dialects.

Spoken by: ZANDE (*AZANDE, ASANDE, ASSANDEH, BADĴANDE, BAZENDA, SANDE, SANDEH, ZANDEH*; also known as *NYAM-NYAM, NIAM-NIAM, GNAM-GNAM*, &c.), call themselves **â-zândè**.

Where spoken: In the southern Sudan, Belgian Congo, and F.E.A., in an elongated, semicircular area with River Uele as its base line. South of this there are some projections into BANTU-speaking country. The whole area lies roughly between Long. 23° and 30° E., Lat. 2° 50' and 6° N.

Number of speakers: Belgian Congo over 500,000;² Sudan *c.* 181,000;³ F.E.A. 25-30,000.⁴

ZANDE as spoken by the ZANDE is fundamentally uniform, though van den Plas⁵ distinguishes the following variants:

'Mbomu', spoken on the upper Mbomu river and on Rivers Api, Gurba, and Bwere;

'Sueh-Meridi', spoken in the Sudan between Rivers Sue (Sueh) and Maridi (Meridi or Gel);

'Bile', spoken on the right bank of Rivers Uele and Dungu and along River Bima; the speech of the *BANDIYA* section (call themselves **â-bândíyà**), west of Long. 26°, north of River Uele, and between Bondo and River Rubi;

the speech of the *BAMBOY* section, south of River Kibali, on River Aka and in Yei District of the Sudan.

¹ van Bulck (*N.B.B.S.*) classes BARAMBU (but not PAMBIA) as a ZANDE dialect. Tucker notes certain affinities of both BARAMBU and PAMBIA with the MBA Group (see pp. 26-27).

² Tucker, *E.S.L.*

³ *Equatoria handbook*, 1951.

⁴ J. W. C. Wyld, 'The Zande Scheme' (*S.N.R.*, 1949).

⁵ Lagae and van den Plas, *La langue des Azande*.

To these can be added:

'Bomokandi', spoken in Territoire Poko south of River Bomokandi, and in Territoire Niangara between the mouth of River Tely and River Niangara; the speech of the *ANUNGA* section (call themselves **a-nunġa**), in Territoire Ango.

ZANDE is also spoken by many peoples not of ZANDE origin. The following dialects have been noted:

Dialect: DIO.

Spoken by: *ADIO (MAKARAKA)*, in the Sudan between Yei and Maridi in the basin of River Tori.

Number: 415 TP.¹

Dialect: NZAKARA, own name **kpóřó nzákářá**.

Spoken by: *NZAKARA (ANSAKARA, N'SAKARA, SAKARA, ZAKARA)*, call themselves **â-nzákářá**;² west and north of the ZANDE, in the north-western part of Territoire Bondo, Belgian Congo; also in F.E.A.

Number: Belgian Congo 3,000.

Dialect?: PATRI.

Spoken by: *PATRI*, north-west of the *NZAKARA* on River Kotto in F.E.A.

PATRI is classed with *NZAKARA* by Poutrin;³ van Bulck classes it as perhaps a ZANDE dialect.⁴

The New Testament and Psalms have been published in ZANDE.

LANGUAGE GROUP? PAMBIA-BARAMBU

Consists of: PAMBIA Language.

BARAMBU Language or Dialect Cluster?

Where spoken: Sudan and Belgian Congo.

PAMBIA, own name **pá pambia**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: *PAMBIA (PAMBIYA, APAMBIA)*, so called by the Zande; they themselves acknowledge the name **a-pambiá**.⁵

Where spoken: Sudan, near Yambio, also in F.E.A., Oubangui-Chari.

Number of speakers: Sudan 2,900 TP;⁶ F.E.A. not known.

BARAMBU, own name **bařambu-řò**. LANGUAGE OR DIALECT CLUSTER?

Spoken by: *BARAMBU (ABARAMBO, BALAMBU, BARAMBO)*, call themselves **băřambù** or **băřambu-gu**, called *AMIANGB(W)A* by the Zande (but see below).

¹ Tucker, *E.S.L.* (probably now out of date).

² Santandrea, in 'What is the real name of the Nzakara (or N'sakara)?' (*S.N.R.*, 1952) gives an alternative name **buru** or **bulu**.

³ *Esquisse* . . .

⁴ *N.B.B.S.*

⁵ Santandrea, 'Little-known tribes in the Bahr-el-Ghazal'.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Where spoken: Belgian Congo, Territoires Poko, Ango, Dungu; also in the Sudan.

Number of speakers: c. 46,000 (c. 5,600 TP according to Santandrea).¹

A form of BARAMBU, called **pa miangba** according to van Bulck,² is spoken by the *DUGA* section of the *BARAMBU* east of Niangara.

A few religious books have been published in BARAMBU.

¹ Santandrea, 'Little-known tribes in the Bahr-el-Ghazal'.

² *N.B.B.S.*

6. THE BANDA-GBAYA-NGBANDI LANGUAGES (LARGER UNIT?)

THE BANDA Language Group, together with the GBAYA and NGBANDI Single Units, are spoken over a wide area, mainly in F.E.A. (Oubangui-Chari), the north-western part of the Belgian Congo and the French Cameroons, also in Chad and in the Sudan.

The classification of this Larger Unit must be regarded as provisional, pending further research. The relationship of the BANDA Group and GBAYA appears to be fairly close; NGBANDI, however, differs considerably in some respects (notably in the tonal conjugation of the Verb), and its position within the Larger Unit is thus less certain.

For discussion of the affinities of this Larger Unit with languages in sections 3, 4, and 5, see pp. 144-6.

LANGUAGE GROUP: BANDA¹

Consists of: BANDA Dialect Cluster?

GOLO Language.

and perhaps other units.

Where spoken: Mainly in Oubangui-Chari and in adjacent territories.

BANDA. DIALECT CLUSTER?

Spoken by: a large number of tribes, most of whom acknowledge the name *BANDA* as well as their own tribal names.

There are so many BANDA-speaking tribes, and some of them are so much split up and scattered,² that it is not always possible to give precise details of their location. Nor is it possible, on the whole, to attempt any classification into dialects, which appear to shade into each other to a considerable extent.

Number of speakers: estimated total 321,000.³

The following tribes speak dialects which are sufficiently closely interrelated for Tisserant to group them together under the general heading BANDA.⁴ The tribes speaking them are known as *BANDA* not only to Europeans and to non-BANDA-speaking African tribes, but also to those tribes speaking other BANDA dialects. They call themselves, however, by their own tribal names. Some of these tribes are included by Tisserant with a query.

¹ Information mainly from Tisserant, *Essai sur la grammaire Banda*; also from Eboué, *Les peuples de l'Oubangui-Chari*; Poutrin, *Esquisse des principales populations . . .*; Bruel, *La France Equatoriale Africaine*, and from van Bulck and Richardson (*N.B.B.S.*).

² Bruel, for instance, lists no less than sixteen *BANDA* tribes of which fragments are to be found at Ndélé.

³ van Bulck, *N.B.B.S.*

⁴ As opposed to other dialects of this Cluster.

LINDA, on Rivers Ouaka and Bayedou (Baïdou); also scattered fragments elsewhere.

Number: c. 27,000.¹

GBWENDE (*BENDE*, *BENDI*, *BINDI*, *GBINDI*), on the upper Bangui and Bayedou rivers.

Note: Tisserant points out that this tribe is in process of splitting up, and that names which have been used by some writers as tribal names (e.g. *KPYA*, *MBWALA*, *KOZO*, *LASO*) are only the names of *GBWENDE* sections.

BANDA (called *BANDA-BANDA* by Tisserant), very much scattered: (a) at Bambari; (b) near Mobaye; (c) at Ndélé; (d) on Rivers Kotto and Mbari (Mbali); (e) on River Vovodo (affluent of the Chinko); (f) in the Kare mountains between Bozoum and Lia, in the extreme west of *BANDA* territory; (g) in the Sudan, on River Sopo.²

BELINGO (*BILINGO*), a small tribe on River Ouaka.

MORUBA (*MARABA*, *MOROUBA*, &c.), (a) at Moroubas, Région Ouaka-Kotto; (b) north of Kaga Mbrès, Ndélé.

Note: Eboué's map shows *MOROUBA* east of Fort Crampel, *MARABA* farther south, north of Fort Sibut.

TOGBO (*TAGBO*), call themselves a-tògbò (Sing. tògbò), one of the most widely scattered *BANDA* tribes: (a) at Damara (Ombella-Mpoko);³ (b) in the Belgian Congo, at the top of the bend in the Ubangi (Territoire Bosobolo), also a few in Territoire Libenge, north-east of Zongo; (c) in Ouaka-Kotto, in the neighbourhood of Bria; (d) in Kémo-Gribingui; (e) in Ouham-Fafa; (f) in the extreme east of F.E.A. towards the Sudan border.⁴

Number: Belgian Congo c. 9,500;⁵ total not known.

NGURA (*UNGOURRA*), between Rivers Tomi and Gribingui.

NYELE (*NDELE*, *NDERE*, *NGELE* appear to be versions of the same name), perhaps call themselves *NDRI*; near Bangui; also near Damara.

WADA (*OUADDA*, *WADDA*), (a) in a wide area in Ouaka-Kotto and M'Bomou (Mbomu); (b) on the lower Ombella far to the south-west.

Poutrin quotes Modat as reporting the presence of *WADA* at Kafia Kingi in the Sudan.

LAGBA, (a) on the lower Kémo; (b) also said to be in the Belgian Congo, but not mentioned in any works dealing specifically with that area. According to Eboué they are also in the extreme north-west of *BANDA* territory, south of Bozoum.

GBAGA (*BAGA*, *G'BAGGA*, *M'BAGGA*), on River Tomi; also on River Ouham south of Bossangoa.

¹ From figures obtained by Tucker from French Government sources, and quoted in *E.S.L.*

² There are several small groups of *BANDA* in the Sudan. The dialect of only one (on River Sopo) has been analysed by Tucker; it is almost identical with that described by Eboué.

³ There are two towns called Damara, one in Ombella-Mpoko, the other near Bambari.

⁴ The *ATOGBO* referred to by Calonne-Beaufaict (*Les Azande*) as being in area (f) are apparently not *BANDA*, as they are related to the *BASIRI* (*SERE*); they may be the same as the *TAGBU* in the Sudan, who speak a dialect of the *NDOGO-SERE* Cluster (see p. 21).

⁵ *N.B.B.S.*

BONGO,¹ in Dar Kouti (Région M'Bomou), south of the *WADA*, and in the Bambari area, Région Ouaka-Kotto. Scattered fragments of the tribe are also found elsewhere.

YETO (*DJETO*, *DJIOTEAU*, *DJYETO*, &c.), in the Bambari area; also on the upper Kotto, Dji, and Chinko.

WASA (*OUASSA*), in the Bambari area.

NGAPU (*NGAPOU*), on the upper Ouaka and Kandjia, at Ndélé and on the lower Kémo; also, according to Toqué,² in an enclave among the *NGURA*.

NDOKPWA (*NDAKPWA*, *NDOKOUA*, *NDOPA*, &c.), on Rivers Ouaka, Kandjia, and Goumbourou. Eboué gives *NDOPA* (*NDAKPA*) on River Ouaka.

Santandrea³ mentions *DUKPU* in the Sudan, just south of River Sopo, and refers to other *DUKPU* on the western tributaries of River Chinko in F.E.A. It is possible that this is the same name. There is, however, considerable confusion between *NDOKPWA* and *DAKPA* (various versions of both names)—see p. 35.

NGAƶA (*NGADƶA*), in Ndélé and in Ouaka-Kotto.

MBELE (*MBRE*), at Kaga Mbrès.

MBI, on Rivers Kémo and Kandjia.

MBULU (*M'BOULOU*), in the same area as the *MBI*.

BURU (*BOROU*, *BROU*, *MBROU*, *MBRU*, &c.), between Rivers Kémo and Ombella, and farther west. Eboué gives *MBROU* south of Fort Sibut, *BOROU* north of Damara (Ombella).

YAKPA (*YACOUA*, *YAKPWA*, *YAKWA*, &c.), call themselves à-yákpà; on the Ubangi above Kouango and to the east; on Rivers Kotto and Mbari (Poutrin gives *YAKOUA* west of the middle Ouaka, *YAKPA* on the lower Kotto and Bangui rivers); in the Belgian Congo, north-east of Bosobolo in Territoires Banzyville and Bosobolo, between the *MONO* and *NGOMBE*.

Number: 26,000;⁴ Tanghe⁵ quotes Fulgens Collard as reporting 4,000 in the Belgian Congo; Hackett suggests 1,000 as a more likely figure.

MONO, call themselves à-mòno, in the Belgian Congo, south of the *GOBU* and *TOGBO*, from north of Bosobolo to north of Libenge, in Territoires Bosobolo and Libenge; a few in F.E.A.

Number: 23,423* in the Belgian Congo.

TAGBWALI, a small tribe which has followed the *TOGBO* in their migrations (Tisserant gives no details of location).

NYELE (*NDRI*), in the Bangui area.

¹ Not to be confused with the *BONGO* in the Sudan (see p. 10).

² *Essai sur le peuple et la langue Banda*.

³ 'A new tribe? The Ngala or Ngara.' (*S.N.R.*, 1952).

⁴ Tucker, *E.S.L.* (from French Government sources).

⁵ 'Overzicht van de Volken en Stammen in Ubangi (Belgisch-Kongo)' (*Kongo-Overzee*, 1947).

The following tribes are included by Tisserant with a query:

NDI and *KA* (*KHA*), between Rivers Tomi and Gribingui.

BABA (*GBABA*), on the lower Ombella (but see *MANJA-BABA*, p. 38).

NGAO (*NGAWO*), at Ndélé; on the lower Ombella; west of Fort Crampel on Rivers Bassa and Dji.

Toqué¹ distinguishes between the *NGAO DAKOUA* on the upper Chari south of Ndélé and the *NGAO N'GAPOU* on the upper Ombella and the Kémo (but cp. *NDOKPWA* and *NGAPU*, p. 33).

TAMBAGO (*TAMBAGGO*, *TOMBAGGO*), in Ndélé and in Ouaka-Kotto; also between Rivers Bamingui and Gribingui. Santandrea² mentions *TANGBAGU* in the River Chinko area of F.E.A.

BRIA (*MBRIA*), around Bria; also, according to Eboué, in Ouham and Ouham-Pendé.

MVEDERE (*VIDRI*, *VODERE*), in Ouaka-Kotto.

MBALA, in the Ndélé area.

JUNGURU (*DJINGBURU*, *DJOUNGOUROU*), on the upper Kotto and in the Ndélé area. Mentioned by Santandrea,³ but no location given.

The following tribes speak dialects which are sufficiently closely interrelated for Tisserant to group them together under the heading *LANGWASI*:

LANGBASE (*LANGBWASSE*, *LANGWASI*, &c.), call themselves *a-la-ngbasé*; in F.E.A. between Rivers Kémo and Kouango on the north bank of the Ubangi; in the Belgian Congo north of Bosobolo.

Number: c. 3,000 in the Belgian Congo.

MBUGU (*BOUBOU*, *BUBU*, *GBUGBU*, *MBOGU*, *MBUBU*, &c.), at Mobaye and on the lower Kotto. Probably the same as the *NGBUGU* in the Belgian Congo, among the *NGBANDI*, in Territoire Banzyville, who call themselves *ngbugu* or *gbugo*.

Perhaps also:

LANGBA, call themselves *langbà*, on the lower Kotto; a few in the Belgian Congo, Territoire Bondo, in the neighbourhood of Monga.

GOBU (*GABOU*, *NGOBO*, *NGOBU*), call themselves *gobu*; in the Belgian Congo, Territoire Bosobolo, north of the *MONO*, west of the *TOGBO*. According to Eboué, the *GABOU* are on River Chinko in F.E.A. and those in the Congo are a part of the tribe who have crossed the Ubangi from the Kouango area, where some of them are still to be found (Poutrin's map shows *BOUBOU* in this area).⁴

¹ Op. cit.

³ Op. cit.

² 'A new tribe? . . .'

⁴ Note that *TOGBO* and *GOBU* are referred to (a) by Poutrin and Bruel as adjacent on River Chinko; cp. a reference by Gaudefroy-Demombynes (*Documents sur les langues de l'Oubangui-Chari*) to 'les Gobu ou Togbo de l'est'; (b) by Mortier and others as adjacent in the Belgian Congo; (c) by van den Plas (introduction to Lagae, *La langue des Azande*) as *GABU* on the borders of *ZANDE* country and *NGOBWU* and *TOGPWO* on River Mbomu.

Dialect: *DAKPA*.

Spoken by: *DAKPA* (*DAKOA*, *DAKPWA*),¹ call themselves *dakwa*, around Grimari.

Tisserant groups under the heading *DAKPA* the dialect spoken by the *GBI*, a small tribe on River Kandjia, much mixed with both *DAKPA* and *MANJA*, and perhaps also that of the northern section of the *GBAGA* (see p. 32), on the Ndélé-Kaga Mbrès road.

Dialect: *VORA*.

Spoken by: *VORA* (*VERA*, *VORHAS*), at Bambari (shown on Eboué's map, on River Kandjia east of Grimari).

Described by Tisserant as a small tribe, formerly of great importance, 'ayant un dialecte très spécial'.

MBANJA dialects.²

Spoken by: *MBANJA* (*MBANDJA*, *BANJA*, (*M*)*BANZA*, &c.), call themselves *a-mbanja*, in the Belgian Congo, between the *NGBAKA GBAYA* and the *NGBANDI*; also in several areas on the periphery of *NGBAKA* territory.

Number: c. 81,000 (Tanghe³); c. 72,000 (van Bulck).

van Bulck considers that there are several *MBANJA* dialects, spoken in the south, south-east, centre, north, and north-west of the area respectively; that spoken in Territoire Molegbwe shows *NGBANDI* influence. The *MBANJA* dialects differ considerably from other *BANDA* dialects.

Dialect: *SABANGA*.

Spoken by: *SABANGA*, on the upper Ouaka and on River Tomi; also, according to Poutrin, south of Bangui on the right bank of the Ubangi.

Number: a few hundreds.

According to Tisserant the *SABANGA* are of *NZAKARA* origin, and speak 'un banda fort défigure'.

Dialect: *NGBUNDU*.

Spoken by: *NGBUNDU*, call themselves *a-ngbündü*, in the Belgian Congo, Territoire Libenge, east of Libenge between the *MONO* and *KPALA*; also south of Libenge.

Number: c. 9,000.

Dialect: *YANGERE*.⁴

Spoken by: *YANGERE* (*YANGHERE*, *YANGUERE*), call themselves *yangere*⁵ or *kra*; in F.E.A., Régions Haute-Sangha and Lobaye, between about Lat. 4° N. and the Mbéré and Mambéré rivers, extending westwards to south of Berbérati; an

¹ There appears to be some confusion in the writings of various authorities between *NDOKPWA* and *DAKPA* (several versions of both names), and perhaps also *NDUKA* (see under *VALE*, p. 17).

² van Bulck considers *MBANDJA* as a separate language belonging to the *BANDA* Group (*N.B.B.S.*).

³ 'Overzicht van de Volken en Stammen in Ubangi (Belgisch-Kongo).'

⁴ Information on *YANGERE* from Richardson, *N.B.B.S.*

⁵ Struck ('Die Sprachverhältnisse im "Moyen-Congo"', (*Kol. Rundschau*, 1912) says that the *YANGHERE* speak *GBAYA*. This is true of the *YANGELE* (*yangele*) on the eastern border of the French Cameroons (see p. 30).

'arm' of *YANGERE* territory extends in the south of the area between Long. 16° 40' and 16° 50' E. as far as Lat. 3° 35' N.

Number: 3,460 in Lobaye, probably about 10,000 in Haute-Sangha.

This dialect differs considerably from other *BANDA* dialects, mainly in phonetics. The *YANGERE* say that they cannot understand the *BANDA* dialects spoken farther north (e.g. at Damara).

Many other names of tribes, not mentioned by Tisserant, are given by other writers as those of *BANDA* tribes. Nothing is known of the speech of any of them; they are here listed according to geographical location. Some of these names may be those of localities.

BADA, KANA, MORIA, OUIA, on Rivers Koumi and Fafa;
BERIA, BOUKA, RIMA, ZOYO, north of Bangui in the Fafa valley;
OUNDIO, on River Gribingui;
GOUNDYOU, on River Kouango;¹
PATA, in Ombella-Mpoko;²
BAIA (MBAIA), on River Chinko (included by Poutrin among the *BANDA* tribes);³
BIRI, on River Chinko;
GBWAMBA, mentioned by Daigre, but no location given.

Some religious books have been published in *BANDA*.

GOLO. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: *GOLO*.

Where spoken: In the Sudan, between Wau and Mboro.

Number of speakers: c. 3,400.⁴

The *GOLO* consist of two sections. Those in the east call themselves *mòci*; those in the west, who call themselves *vità*, are said to be in F.E.A. and to constitute the major portion of the tribe. There is, however, no mention of *VITA* in the writings of French authorities, though Calonne-Beaufaict⁵ refers to *AGOLO* in French territory, and Poutrin's map shows *GOLO* in the extreme east of the *BANDA* area.

GOLO was reported⁶ to be dying out, but Santandrea points out that since the tribal regrouping of the *GOLO* undertaken by Government in 1930, it has taken on a new lease of life.

The *GOLO* in the Sudan all speak *NDOGO* as well as their own language.⁷

¹ Daigre ('Les Bandas de l'Oubangui-Chari', *Anthropos*, 1930/1) mentions *GOUNDYOU*, but gives no location.

² Daigre (op. cit.) mentions *KPATA*, but gives no location.

³ But see footnote to *GBAYA*, under *KRESH*, p. 13.

⁴ Santandrea, 'Il gruppo Ndogo del Bahr el Ghazal' (*Ann. Lateranensi*, 1938).

⁵ *Les Azande*.

⁶ Tucker, *E.S.L.*

⁷ This accounts for the fact that the 'GOLO' vocabulary given by Westermann (*M.S.O.S.*, 1912) is actually a vocabulary of *NDOGO*.

van Bulck¹ suggests that the speech of the following tribes in F.E.A. (Chad) may be related to the *BANDA* Group:

KOKE (KHOKE),² in Région Salamat, District Melfi, at the foot of the mountains near Daguéla.

Number: 855 (Devallée);³ 550 (Hersé).⁴

BOLGO (BOLGÖ), in the Moulouk-Bassa-Bedi area.

The name *BOLGO* is used by the French and Arabs to denote two different people, speaking different languages:

BOLGO KUBAR (Ar.), Grands *BOLGOS* (Fr.);

BOLGO DUGAG (Ar.), Petits *BOLGOS* (Fr.).

According to Devallée⁵ the *BOLGO* speak 'un dialecte commun' with the *BUA* (see p. 42). He does not state to which *BOLGO* he refers, nor does he say anything about the speech of the other *BOLGO*.

GULA (GOULA) of Lake Iro (District Kyabé); the *GULA* of Melfi apparently speak the same language or dialect.⁶

SINGLE UNIT: GBAYA?

GBAYA. DIALECT CLUSTER?

Where spoken: F.E.A., Oubangui-Chari; the north-western part of the Belgian Congo; French Cameroons.

The dialects constituting this Cluster, and the tribes speaking them, are mostly known as *MANJA (MANDJA, MANDJIA, &c.)* (mainly in Oubangui-Chari) or *GBAYA (BAYA, BAJA)* (mainly in the French Cameroons). In the Belgian Congo the name *NGBAKA (BWAKA, GBAKA, GWAKA, GMBWAGA)* also occurs. There is thus considerable confusion of nomenclature;⁸ moreover, some of the names of tribes or sub-tribes occur more than once. It seems, however, that the dialects spoken by all these people are fairly closely interrelated (with some exceptions noted below), and they are therefore tentatively considered as dialects of one Cluster.

Number of speakers: total estimated by van Bulck at not less than 300,000.

Tribes speaking dialects of this Cluster are:

MANJA BAYA, in Oubangui-Chari, between Fort Crampel and Bouka.

MBAKA (MANDJIA-BAKKA), west and south-west of the above. This dialect has been recorded by Gaud.⁹

¹ Personal communication.

² But see also under *BUA* Group, p. 42.

³ 'Le Baghirmi' (*Bull. Soc. Rech. Congolaises*, 1925).

⁴ 'Observations sur les margayes de Melfi' (*Bull. Inst. d'Études Centrafricaines*, 1947).

⁵ Op. cit.

⁶ The existence of other peoples known as *GULA* is reported from various sources: *GULA* of Moufa (see p. 17), *GULA* of Mamoun (see p. 14), *GULA* of Dar Fur (see p. 19).

⁷ Information mainly from Tessmann, *Die Baja*; Poutrin, *Esquisse . . .*; Richardson, *N.B.B.S.*;

van Bulck, *Mission linguistique* and *N.B.B.S.*

⁸ Further complicated by the fact that in the Belgian Congo there are two tribes, both acknowledging the name *ngbaka*, but speaking different languages; *NGBAKA GBAYA* and *NGBAKA MA'BO* for which see pp. 23-24.

⁹ *Les Mandja*.

KAKA, south of the *MBAKA*.

MOMBE (*BAKA MOMBE*), in Région Ombella-Mpoko, in the Mpoko valley.

According to Calloc'h¹ *GBEA* is the name of the dialect spoken by the *MOMBE*; he deals especially with the dialect spoken at Buruse, but gives a long list of *GBEA*-speaking people (many of these names appear to be those of localities). The name *GBIA* also occurs as a tribal name.

MANJA BABA, inland from Bangui.

Gaud² gives the names of three 'MANJA' dialects (these may, however, be place-names): Bugumi, Uanguï, Zukoro.

There is also an enclave of *MANJA* among *BANDA* tribes east of Fort Sibut.

NGBAKA GBAYA, in the Belgian Congo, Territoire Gemena. van Bulck gives the names of four sections, speaking different dialects:

ngbaka, in the eastern part of Territoire Gemena;

ngbaka si, in the northern part;

gbaya, in the west;

gbaya of Botili (who speak an archaic dialect).

NGBAKA GBAYA is used as a medium of primary education and in religious teaching; some vernacular literature has been produced (in the 'Africa' orthography and with tone-markings).

It is also spoken by the *FURU* (see p. 13) who live among the *NGBAKA GBAYA*.

NGBAKA MANJA, in Oubangui-Chari, north of Bangui and around Diuma.

According to van Bulck, they do not themselves accept the name *NGBAKA*.

GBANU (*BANU*, *BAYA BANOU*), call themselves *gbanu*, around Bossembele in Région Ombella-Mpoko.

BUDIGRI (*BIDIGRI*), call themselves *budigri*, between Bossangoa and Bouka.

Number: 5,059.

BAGBA, call themselves *bagba*, in Région Ouham, between Bossangoa and Bogangolo.

Number: c. 5,500.

ALI (*GBEE*), call themselves *ali*, in Région Lobaye, Districts Boda and M'Baïki on the right bank of River Mpama between Long. 17° 30' and 17° 50' E., extending southwards to about Lat. 4° 25' N., in Région Ombella-Mpoko on the left bank of the Mpama about Long. 17° 30'–18° 30' E.

Number: 2,184 in Région Lobaye.

GBOFI (*BOFI*, *BOFFI*), call themselves *gbofi*, in Région Lobaye, District Boda, about Long. 17°–17° 40' E., Lat. 4°–4° 10' N., extending northwards to beyond Boda, southwards along the right bank of River Lobaye for about 10 miles.

The so-called *GBAYA GBOFI* on the Boda-Carnot road are a mixed people

¹ *Vocabulaire français-gbéa précédé d'éléments de grammaire.*

² *Op. cit.*

(*GBAYA* and *GBOFI*) who are said by the *GBAYA* tribes and by the *GBOFI* to speak a mixed jargon.

The so-called *GBAYA KAKA*, in a few villages near Bambio in District Boda, are said to be unable to understand *GBAYA* dialects, and to use *SANGO* (see p. 40) as a lingua franca.

GBAYA BIANDA, just east of Berbérati.

GBAYA BOKOTO (*BOGOTO*), between Long. 16° and 17° 30' E. on both banks of River Lobaye as far south as Lat. 4° 20' N.

GBAYA BULI BUKUM (*BOLI BOKOM*), in Région Haute-Sangha, south of Berbérati on River Kadeï about Long. 15° 40' E.

GBAYA KAKA,¹ call themselves *gbaya kaka*, in Région Haute-Sangha, around Carnot.

'*BANGANDO* (*BANGANGDO*, *BANGANDU*, *BANGANGTU*, sometimes known as 'South *BANGANGDO*'²), call themselves *bangando*; north of Mouloundou in the French Cameroons, far to the south of the main *GBAYA*-speaking area.

Number: 2,736.³

NGOMBE KAKA, in Haute-Sangha, on the Cameroons border near Gamboula.

YANGELE, call themselves *yangele*,⁴ on the Oubangui-Chari—Cameroons border, on the Batouri-Yokadouma road.

Number: 2,752.⁵

BOKARI, in French Cameroons about Lat. 4° N.

SOMO (= Tessmann's *BESSOM*).

Note: *BOKARI* and *SOMO* may perhaps be names for the *YANGELE*.

GBAYA BULI, in Haute-Sangha, west and east of Berbérati.

GBAYA LAI, in French Cameroons, around Bétaré Oya.

GBAYA BODOMO, between Bertoua and Bétaré Oya.

GBAYA KARA (*KALA*) (Tessman's *BAJA-BAJA*), call themselves *gbaya kara*; in Oubangui-Chari, Région Ouham-Pendé, extending into the French Cameroons around Meiganga and Bouar.

The New Testament has been published in 'BAYA Mbéré', and parts of the New Testament in 'BAYA GBÉA'.

Two 'secret' or 'cult' languages are spoken among the *GBAYA*: *TO* and *LABI*. Tessmann⁶ suggests that these may be the remnants of extinct languages. *LABI* is also used as a cult language among the *LAKA* and *MBUM*.

¹ To be distinguished from the *KAKA* between Batouri and Gamboula, who speak a sub-BANTU language.

² To distinguish them from the *BANGANDU* (a) near Batouri, (b) near M'Baïki, who are BANTU-speaking.

³ Dugast, *Inventaire ethnique du sud-Cameroun* (Mém. IFAN, 1949).

⁴ To be distinguished from the *BANDA*-speaking *YANGERE* in Région Lobaye (see p. 35).

⁵ Dugast, *op. cit.*

⁶ 'Die drei Sprachen des Baja-Stammes: To, Labi, Baja' (*M.S.O.S.*, 1931).

SINGLE UNIT: NGBANDI

NGBANDI, own name **ngbandj**. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: NGBANDI (MONGBWANDI, MONGWANDI, &c.), call themselves **á-ngbandj**, called MBATI by some neighbouring tribes.¹

Where spoken: In the north-western part of the Belgian Congo, between Long. 21° and 23° approx., north of Lat. 3°; there are enclaves to the west, south, and south-west of the NGBAKA.

Number of speakers: estimated at 137,000.

According to van Bulck,² dialects are spoken by:

dóndó and **bwato**;

abasango (SANGO) (riverains of the Uele at Bondo);

yakoma, at Yakoma in F.E.A.;

bangi, in F.E.A.;

dendi, in five villages in F.E.A.;

sango, on the rapids of Mobaye (but see also SANGO below);

nzomboy or **mónjomboli**, north of River Dua;

mbaati, south of River Dua, near Businga;

mongwandi ('Southern NGBANDI'), in Territoire Budjala;

mbaati or **mbati** of Territoire Libenge ('South-western NGBANDI').

NGBANDI is used in education in Roman Catholic schools (but not in Protestant schools). There is some vernacular literature.

SANGO is a lingua franca widely used throughout Oubangui-Chari, and known as 'SANGO commercial'. It is based on the NGBANDI dialect spoken by the SANGO, but contains many French and BANTU words.

The speech of the following small tribes in the north-eastern part of the Belgian Congo may be related to NGBANDI, but it is not certain:

MONGOBA, call themselves **móngoba** or **mùngubá**, in Territoire Watsa, near Aribi (Aribi).

Number: c. 50.

KAZI'BATI (KAZIBATI, KASIBOTI, GANZIBATI, HADJIBATIE), call themselves **kàzibätj**, in Territoire Watsa, near Makolo (Ara village).

Number: 365.

Liesenborghs³ suggests that their speech has NGBANDI affinities, though Costermans⁴ suggests affinities with BANGBA (see p. 23). van Bulck's evidence⁵ supports Liesenborghs's classification.

One Gospel has been published in 'MONGWANDE', the New Testament in SANGO.

¹ The name BAZA is used in the writings of several authorities, and appears to be the old name for the NGBANDI language. Calonne-Beaufaict (*Les Azande*) equates the two names; elsewhere he says that BAZA is the name by which the NGBANDI are known to the Bandiya.

² N.B.B.S.

³ 'Bijdrage tot de Studie der voorgeschiedenis van Noord-oost Kongo' (*Congo*, 1932).

⁴ 'De Kazibati' (*Kongo-Overzee*, 1938).

⁵ N.B.B.S.

7. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP? BUA

Consists of: BUA Language.
 NIELIM Language.
 MILTU Language?
 SARWA Language?
 TUNYA Language?
 DAI Language.
 BUSO Language?
 and perhaps other units.

Where spoken: F.E.A.: Chad and Oubangui-Chari.

Very little is known of these languages.

The relationship of BUA and NIELIM was first pointed out by Nachtigal,¹ and later confirmed by Lukas,² on whose work, supplemented by recent information from van Bulck,³ the present tentative classification is based. It is possible that there may be some relationship between this Language Group and the SOMRAI Group (p. 43), but further research is needed. The possibility of affinities with the CHADO-HAMITIC languages⁴ also needs investigation.

BUA. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: BUA (BOA, BOUA), call themselves **bâyâ**,⁵ called BWA by the Sara.

Where spoken: In the Korbol area; also in District Melfi.

Number of speakers: 10,700;⁶ according to Devallée⁷ 5,513.

NIELIM. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: NIELIM (NIELLIM, NYILEM, &c.), call themselves **lúwà**.⁸

Where spoken: On the left bank of River Chari south of the BUA; also in the Fort Archambault area.

Number of speakers: c. 2,000 (but this figure may include some SARA-speakers). Devallée:⁹ 585.

MILTU. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: MILTU (MILTou).

Where spoken: In villages along River Chari, in District Bouso.

¹ *Sahara und Sudan*.

² *Zentralsudanische Studien*.

³ Personal communication; we have not seen his as yet unpublished linguistic material.

⁴ See Westermann and Bryan, *The Languages of West Africa*.

⁵ van Bulck.

⁶ Figures for this Group from van Bulck, unless otherwise stated.

⁷ 'Le Baghirmi' (*Bull. Soc. Rech. Congolaises*, 1925).

⁸ van Bulck.

⁹ Op. cit.

Miltou is a place-name. It is not known whether it is also the true name of the people.

SARWA. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: SARWA (SARUA, SAROUA).

Where spoken: Région Salamat, District Melfi, south of the BUA.

Number of speakers: c. 400.

TUNYA? LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: TUNYA (TUNIA, TOUNIA, erroneously called SARA TOUNIA by Poutrin).¹

Where spoken: North of Fort Archambault.

Number of speakers: c. 800.

DAI. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: DAI (DAI, DAY, erroneously known as SARA DAI).

Where spoken: Région Moyen-Chari, Districts Moïssala and Koumra, in a few villages south of Koumra.

Number of speakers: c. 600.

The people of Bouna are said to speak a dialect of DAI.

BUSO. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: smiths in Bouso town.

Number of speakers: estimated at between 40 and 50.

The speech of the FANYA (FANA, FANIA, FANIAN, apparently also known as MANA and KOBE), in District Melfi between Boli and Lake Iro, is said to be related to this Group.²

Number: c. 1,500; Devallée,³ 1,224.

The short vocabulary of 'KOKE' of Melfi given by Lukas shows some resemblance to NIELIM. van Bulck, however, considers that the speech of the KOKE may belong to the BANDA Group (see p. 37). See also BOLGO (p. 37).

Note: The name NUBA⁴ (used by French writers in the form NOUBA) has been applied to the FANYA and to some other tribes in this area, who are said to have been brought as captives from the east. No linguistic affinities with languages farther east have as yet been found, however.

¹ *Esquisse des principales populations . . .*

² Gaodefroy-Demombynes (*Documents sur les langues de l'Oubangui-Chari*), classes MANA and TUNIA with 'BOA'.

³ 'Le Baghirmi.'

⁴ On the use of the name NUBA, see also p. 146.

8. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP? SOMRAI

Consists of:	SOMRAI	Language.
	GABRI	Language.
	GABLAI	Language.
	TUMAK	Language.
	NDAM	Language?
	GAM	Language?
	'Kim'	Dialect Cluster.
	BESME	Language.
	NANCERE	Dialect Cluster.
	and perhaps other units.	

Where spoken: F.E.A., Oubangui-Chari and Chad.

Very little is known of any of these languages. The relationship of SOMRAI to GABRI was first pointed out by Nachtigal.¹ The present tentative classification is based on the work of Lukas,² supplemented by recent information from van Bulck.³ It is possible that there may be some relationship between this Group and the BUA Group (see p. 41), and the possibility of affinities with the CHADO-HAMITIC languages⁴ should not be ruled out.

SOMRAI. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: SOMRAI (SOMRAY, SOMRE, SOMREI, erroneously known as SARA SOUMRAY),⁵ call themselves somrái.

Where spoken: Around Manga; also between Lai and River Ba Ili.

GABRI. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: GABRI (GABERI, erroneously known as SARA NGABRE,⁶ also said to be known as TSHERE, TSHIRE, TSIRE), call themselves gabri.

Where spoken: South-west of the SOMRAI on both banks of River Logone, in 19 villages around Drosia.

GABLAI. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: GABLAI (GABLAY, KABALAY, LAI—i.e. the KABA of Lai,⁷ erroneously known as SARA LAY), call themselves gablái. The GABLAI are fishermen on the Logone river, few in number.

¹ *Sahara und Sudan.*

² *Zentralsudamische Studien.*

³ Personal communication; we have not seen his as yet unpublished linguistic material.

⁴ See Westermann and Bryan, *Languages of West Africa.*

⁵ Muraz, quoted by Chabrelie, 'Notes sur la langue des Sara'.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ The KABA of Lukas, op. cit. Not to be confused with KABA (see under SARA MBAI, p. 16), SARA KABA (pp. 16-17), or KABA DUNJO (p. 17).

Where spoken: In the town of Lai.

Lamy¹ considers GABLAI to be a NANCERE dialect (see p. 45).

TUMAK. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: TUMAK (TOUMAK, TUMMOK, TUMOK, erroneously known as SARA TOUMAK²), call themselves **tumak**, called *DIJE* by the Somrai.

Where spoken: South-east of the Ba Ili around Ngoundi.

Number of speakers: few.

NDAM. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: NDAM (DAM, NDAMM, erroneously known as SARA NDAM³).

Where spoken: Near the TUMAK.

Number of speakers: 670 (van Bulck).

GAM. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: GAM, call themselves **gam**.

Where spoken: Between the MASA and Ba Ili around Gam.

Their speech is said to be closely related to NDAM.

'Kim'. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Where spoken: In an enclave between the MASA in the north and the MUSEI in the south,⁴ on the banks and islands of River Logone (Kim is a place-name).

Dialects belonging to this Cluster are spoken by:

KOSAP.

Number: 1,591.⁵

JUMAN (called **džuman** by the Masa—a place-name), call themselves **gerep**.

Number: 720.

KOLOBO, call themselves **kolob** (after a place-name).

Number: 673.

ERE (from the place-name **here**), call themselves **garap**.

Number: 1,710.

A Gospel has been published in 'Kim'. It is linguistically unreliable.

BESME. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: BESME (UNAR, HOUNAR), call themselves **besəme** or **bés-səmmè**.

Where spoken: In scattered villages between the 'Kim' and GABLAI.

¹ 'Le nombre et le genre dans la langue lélé' (CR. I^o conf. int. Africanistes de l'ouest, 1951).

² Muraz, quoted in Chabrelie, op. cit.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Documents. . .

³ Ibid.

⁴ The MASA and MUSEI speak languages of the MASA Group of CHADO-HAMITIC languages (see Westermann and Bryan, *Languages of West Africa*, p. 167).

⁵ This Cluster from van Bulck.

NANCERE. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: NANCERE (NANTCERE).

Where spoken: In Région Logone, in the southern part of District Kélo.

Number of speakers: c. 20,000.

According to van Bulck, dialects of the NANCERE Cluster are spoken by: CWA (CHUA, TSCHWA), call themselves **tjwa**; west of the GABRI; LELE, call themselves **lèrè**; west of the CWA.

According to Lamy¹ there are two NANCERE dialects, NANTCHOA and KABALAI,² and LELE is a separate, but related, language.

Two Gospels have been published in 'NANJERI'.

NANGIRE, spoken on River Logone opposite Lai, is mentioned by Lukas³ as related to GABRI.

DORMO, spoken at Lai, is also mentioned by Lukas.⁴

Note: KERA, although in some ways resembling the languages of this Group, is probably more closely akin to the MBUM Group.⁵

¹ 'Le nombre et le genre dans la langue lélé.'

² But see GABLAI, pp. 43-44.

³ *Zentralsudanische Studien*.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ See Westermann and Bryan, *Languages of West Africa*.

9. THE EAST SAHARAN LANGUAGES (LARGER UNIT)

THE EAST SAHARAN languages, comprising

KANURI Language Group
ZAGHAWA Language Group or Single Unit?

are spoken over a wide area, mainly in F.E.A., Chad, and the north-eastern part of Nigeria, extending into F.W.A., Colonie du Niger, and into Libya and the Sudan.

The existence of this Larger Unit has been established by the work of Lukas on KANURI, KANEMBU, and TUBU-TUDA (relationship between KANURI and TUBU having been first pointed out by Barth in 1862). Examination by Lukas of the material on ZAGHAWA given by MacMichael¹ enabled him to postulate the existence of a Larger Unit, composed of the KANURI Language Group and ZAGHAWA, whose relationship to the three units of the KANURI Group is less close than their interrelationship within the Group.² Material on ZAGHAWA recently collected by R. C. Stevenson³ substantiates this classification.

Information on BIDEYAT is slight; of its relationship to ZAGHAWA there is no doubt (vocabulary, the Verb system, and the Personal Pronouns show considerable resemblances), but further research is needed to determine whether BIDEYAT is to be considered as a dialect of ZAGHAWA or as a separate language (see p. 52).

LANGUAGE GROUP: KANURI⁴

Consists of: KANURI	Language, with associated dialects.
KANEMBU	Language.
TUBU	Dialect Cluster.
TUDA	Dialect Cluster?

Where spoken: F.E.A.: Chad, from Tibesti and Ennedi in the north to about Lat. 13° in the south; Nigeria: mainly in Bornu Province; F.W.A.: Colonie du Niger, as far north as Kaouar (Kawar) oasis; in the Libyan desert.

KANURI, own name *kànùrì*. LANGUAGE, with associated dialects.

Spoken by: KANURI, call themselves *kànùrì*, called *AGA* by the Tubu and Tuda, *BAREBARI* by the Hausa, *ZAN* by the Karekare.

Where spoken: Nigeria: mainly in Bornu Province, also in Sokoto, Kano, Zaria, and Bauchi Provinces; F.W.A.: Colonie du Niger.

Number of speakers: over 900,000, probably understood by about 1,000,000.

¹ 'Notes on the Zagháwa and the people of Gebel Mídób, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan' (*J.R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1912).

² 'Umrisse einer ostsaharanischen Sprachgruppe' (*Afrika u. Übersee*, 1952).

³ Unpublished.

⁴ Figures throughout this section are mainly from Nigerian Census 1931, and (Colonie du Niger) *Annuaire de l'Institut Linguistique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française* (Mém. IFAN 30, 1952).

The name *KANURI*, originally applied to the conquering people from Kanem (*Kanuri* < *Kanum-ri*), is now used to include a number of formerly independent tribes. They now all speak *KANURI*, whatever their languages may have been in the past, and call themselves *KANURI*, while mostly still recognizing their own tribal names.

These names have been applied (e.g. by Ellison)¹ to the dialects spoken by them. The dialects of *KANURI* have not yet been studied in detail;² the 'standard' form is that spoken at Yerwa (Maiduguri), and this is used as a medium of education and administration in Nigeria.

Tribes speaking *KANURI* ('standard' or various dialects) are:

KAGAMA, call themselves *KANURI*, their old name being *kağámà*; in Kaga and Wuje Districts.

FADAWU, call themselves *fadawú*; in Marte, Daloi, and Konduga Districts, and in the northern part of Dikwa Emirate, east of Maiduguri.

NGUMATIWU, call themselves *ngumatiwú*; in Anno, Mongonu, and parts of Magumeri and Marte Districts.

LARE (LAREWA, LEREWA), call themselves *larê*; in Bauchi and Bornu Provinces, Fune and part of Damaturu Districts.

Number: c. 24,000.

NGAZAR, call themselves *ngázàr*; in Gujba and part of Fune Districts.

KOYAM (KWAYAM), call themselves *kwayâm*; mainly in Nganzai District, also in parts of Magumeri and Gubio Districts. There are also said to be some in Colonie du Niger.

Number: c. 9,000.

This dialect diverges considerably from the others.

MABAR (MOBER, MOBBER, MOBEUR), call themselves *mávàr*, called *MAFUR* by the Tubu; in Nigeria: Mober and part of Kanembu Districts; Colonie du Niger: Cercles Gouré and Nguigmi; probably extending into Cercle Zinder.

Number: c. 28,000 in Nigeria, 16,823 in Colonie du Niger.

MANGA, call themselves *manğa*; Nigeria: the north-western part of Bornu Province (Machena, Nguru, Mober, and part of Kanembu Districts); extending into Kano Province in the west; Colonie du Niger: Cercles Gouré and Nguigmi (probably also in Cercle Zinder).

Number: c. 109,000 in Nigeria, 39,678 in Colonie du Niger.

KARDA, call themselves *kárdá*; between Magumeri and Geidam.

BADAWAI, call themselves *KANURI* or *BADAWAI*; in Damaturu, Magumeri, Nganzai, and parts of Gubio and Anno Districts.

KANEMBU, call themselves *kanëmbu*; in Kanembu District. They have adopted *KANURI* instead of their own language (see p. 48).

¹ *English-Kanuri sentence book*.

² The dialects spoken by the *MANGA* and *NGAZAR* have been dealt with by Prietze and Koelle respectively (see Bibliography).

There are some *KANURI* settled among the *KANEMBU* in Chad, around Mao and elsewhere; they still speak their own language.

KANURI is spoken as a second language by many *TUBU* and *BUDUMA*, and in F.W.A. by some *ARABS* and *TUAREG*.

KANURI-speakers in F.W.A.¹ include:

JETKO (DIETKO), in Cercles Gouré and Nguigmi.²

Number: 1,120 in Cercle Gouré.

KUBURI, in Cercle Nguigmi, east of Nguigmi on the shores of Lake Chad.

Number: 550.

DOGARA (DAGARA), in Cercle Gouré.

Number: 19,324.

TSUGURTI, in Cercle Nguigmi, on the western shore and islands of Lake Chad, among the *BUDUMA*.

Number: 1,150.

KANEMBU, own name *kanəmbukanəmbú*. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: *KANEMBU*, i.e. people of Kanem.

Where spoken: F.E.A.: Chad, in the Kanem region east of Lake Chad.

Number of speakers: not known; Niger 2,250 around Nguigmi.

The *KANEMBU* in Nigeria now speak *KANURI* (see p. 47).

TUBU. DIALECT CLUSTER.³

Where spoken: Over a vast area, mainly in Chad, extending as far north as Borkou and Ennedi, west of Lake Chad into F.W.A. (Colonie du Niger), south to Massakori and Lake Fitri, east beyond Abéché.

Number of speakers: c. 200,000.⁴

Note on nomenclature. The following names (linguistic and tribal) are in general use: *TUBU (TEBU, TIBBU, TOUBOU)*, a general name, covering a large number of tribes of closely related speech. It is the name given by the Kanuri (the people do not appear to have any common name of their own), and is also used by other neighbouring tribes and by Europeans. It means 'people of Tu', i.e. Tibesti.

DAZA (DAZZA), a name recognized by some *TUBU* tribes, mainly in the west (Borkou and Kanem), as well as their own tribal names. Tribes so designated by the Kashirda⁵ are here indicated by [*DAZA*].

¹ de Lavergne de Tressan, op. cit.

² There are also 1,776 *JETKO* in Nigeria. Nothing is known of their speech. de Lavergne de Tressan also lists *DIETKO* (600) as a *TUBU*-speaking tribe in the Colonie du Niger.

³ Much of the information on the tribes speaking these dialects dates back to Nachtigal, *Sahara and Sudan* (1879, 1881, 1889), supplemented where possible from more recent sources, especially Cline, *The Teda of Tibesti, Borku and Kawar in the eastern Sahara*. Note that Cline uses the term *TEDA* to cover both *TEDA* and *TUBU*.

⁴ Dalloni, *Mission au Tibesti 1930-31*.

⁵ Information given to Lukas by *KASHIRDA* informants.

DAZAGA (DAZZAGA) = the speech of the *DAZA*, a general name, probably covering several closely related dialects.

Other names with more restricted usage are:

GORAN, a name given by the Arabs to some of the *TUBU*, and also used by the French in the form *GORANES*.

AMMA BORKUA, Arabic name for *TUBU* tribes in Borkou.

TUBU-speaking tribes of which the names are known are:

GAIDA (GAEDA), on the northern border of Ennedi.¹

TEBIA, in Tebi valley, Ennedi.

MURDIA, on the eastern border of Ennedi, extending north to Erdi desert.² This is the most easterly *TUBU* tribe.

SHER(A)FADA (CHURAFADA), in Wadai, in Mourrah region east of Abéché, on the El Fasher road (semi-nomadic). According to Cline,³ they are on the borders of Wadi Yen and in the Mortcha area (i.e. northern Wadai and southern Ennedi).

NOREA, in northern Wadai.⁴

KREDA, call themselves *karda* or *karra*; (a) in the Bahr el Ghazal area between Massakori and Koal; (b) in Mortcha in northern Wadai; (c) scattered in Kanem.

The tribe consists of four main sections:

NGALAMIYA or *YORDA* (the most numerous); *KARDA*; *NOREA*; *IRIA*.

The *KREDA* in Kanem consist of: *BOGAREA (AULAD BUGER)*, between Nguri and Mao; *JURA* (nomadic), near the Bahr el Ghazal; part of the *NOREA* in Mondo and north of Mao.

KASHIRDA (KASHERDA, KECHERDA, KESHERDA) [DAZA], (a) in the Bahr el Ghazal area; (b) in the Alakherit, Am Dele, and Am Naiala area; (c) north of Lake Fitri; (d) between the *KREDA* and the *KHUZAM ARABS*; (e) in a few villages in Mortcha north of Ras el Fil; (f) in Kanem, scattered north of Mondo and in District Rig Rig (the *TORDA* section); (g) in F.W.A. between Nguigmi and Bir Koufei; (h) a few farther west among the *WANDALA* (see p. 50).

Note: Nachtigal uses *SAKERDA (SAKARDA)*, the name of a section of the *KASHIRDA*, to denote the whole tribe. IFAN mentions both *SAKARDA* and *KECHERDA* in District Nguigmi.

ANKA(Z)ZA (ANAKATZA, NAKAZA) (nomadic). At the beginning of the century they were in Oum Chalouba in the Mortcha region; according to Carbou,⁶ in the Oasis of Wun.

¹ Cline, op. cit.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The *NOREA* of northern Wadai, though perhaps of the same origin as the *NOREA* section of the *KREDA*, are considered as separate.

⁵ See previous note.

⁶ *La région du Tchad et du Ouadai* (1912).

- NOREA*, called *NAWARMA* by the Arabs, in the same area as the above.¹ They were formerly in the Bahr el Ghazal area between Birkiat and Koro Toro.
- BULGEDA*, a comprehensive name covering several nomadic tribes in Borkou, Bodele, and Egei:
- JAGADA* (*DIAGADA*, *DSCHAGADA*), also known as *MUSU*; in Kirri (Kirdi) oasis.²
- SANGADA* (*KOROA*), called *DABUS HILLAL* by the Arabs; in Ngur Tigre.
- DALEA* (*DALIA*), called *NAS MARAMMA* by the Arabs; at the beginning of the century they were in Kindirmi oasis north of Ain Galakka.
- BULTU* (*BULTOA*), in Elleboi (Oluboi) oasis (according to Nachtigal); in Kirri oasis (Carbou).³
- IRIA*⁴ (*IRIE*, *YIRI*), in Bathel.
- DONGOSA* (*DONZA*, *DOSA*), a collective name covering several sedentary tribes in Borkou, subject to the nomads:
- YENOA* (*YINOA*), called *ULAD AMIAN* by the Arabs; in Yen oasis near Ain Galakka.
- BIDEA*, in Bondou oasis (Nachtigal).
- TIWA*, in Tigui and Tolli oases (Nachtigal).
- YARDA*, in Yarda and Forom.
- GADIWA* (*GADUA*, *GADUWA*, *QADAWA*) [*DAZA*], called *gaaduwa* by the Kashirda;⁵ semi-nomadic, in the northern part of Chitati area, north-east of Lake Chad. According to IFAN they are also found in Nguigmi, F.W.A.
- YURUWA* (*YUROA*) [*DAZA*], called *yuruwa* by the Kashirda, in the south-eastern valleys of Chitati. According to Nachtigal they were formerly in the north-western part of the *MANGA* area (see p. 47), where they were known as *OZIMMA*.
- WORABBA* (*WARABBA*, *ORABBA*) [*DAZA*], called *worabba* by the Kashirda; in the valleys of Chitati; formerly also in the south-eastern part of Manga; also in Lilua (Lelua, Lulua) region adjacent to the *DOGORDA*; some west of Lake Chad on River Komadugu.
- WANNALA* (*WANDALA*, *WANDALLA*)⁶ [*DAZA*], called *wannala* by the Kashirda. By the beginning of the century they had moved from northern Chitati to the Kajel area west of Lake Chad. According to IFAN they are in District Nguigmi in F.W.A. Some, however, may have remained in the neighbourhood of Rig Rig in Chitati.
- ALALIWA* [*DAZA*], in the Bir Alali area in the north-western part of Lilua.
- DOGORDA* (*DUGORDA*) [*DAZA*], called *dogorda* by the Kashirda; in the northern valleys of Lilua (Nachtigal).

¹ Carbou, op. cit.² Ibid.³ Ibid.⁴ Cp. *IRIA* under *KREDA*, p. 49.⁵ Phonetic rendering of many of the names of *TUBU* tribes is that recorded by Lukas, and obtained from *KASHIRDA* informants.⁶ Not to be confused with the *MANDARA*, who call themselves *wandala* (see Westermann and Bryan, *Languages of West Africa*).

ATEMATA, in Ashenuma.

JOARDA, in Tigomami.

DIRKAWA, in Dirki.

TAURA, in Anikuma.

YELMANA, in Gisebi.

The name *KEDELIYA* (*kɛdɛliya*) was given to Lukas by a Kashirda informant as that of a *DAZA* tribe, but no further information is available. The *KEDELA* mentioned by Poutrin¹ may be the same.

Another tribe said to be *DAZA* is *KAZALEA*, of which only the name is known. Lukas² gives the names of several other alleged *DAZA* tribes: **kumasalliya**, **kumosalima**, **tummuliya**, **medeliya**.

TUDA (*TEDA*). DIALECT CLUSTER?

The name *TUDAGA* is used to denote the speech of a number of tribes collectively known as *TUDA* (*TEDA*, *TODA*) (cp. *DAZAGA*, the speech of the *DAZA*, p. 49). The name *TUDA* has the same meaning as *TUBU* ('people of Tu', i.e. Tibesti), and is used by neighbouring tribes and by Europeans.

Names of *TUDA* tribes are not known, and no precise details are available of their habitation. The majority of them are probably in the mountains of Tibesti, and there are some *TUDA* at or around El Gatrun. It is not known how far into Libya they extend. They were at one time in the Kufra oasis, where a few scattered remnants are perhaps still to be found.

Le Coeur³ shows the following names on his map:

GUNDA, in the north-eastern corner of Colonie du Niger; also between Kawar Oasis and Nguigmi;

BRAWIA, south-west of the *GUNDA*;

TOMAGERA, on the Chad-F.W.A. border between the *GUNDA* and *TUA*; also around Toro in Ennedi;

TUA, in the north of Tibesti;

CHIGAA, in Kawar oasis.

No detailed study of dialectal differences has been made.

LANGUAGE GROUP OR SINGLE UNIT? ZAGHAWA

Consists of: ZAGHAWA Dialect Cluster?
and perhaps other units.

ZAGHAWA, own name *beri-àà* in Dar Fur, *ber̥i* in F.E.A. DIALECT CLUSTER?

Spoken by: ZAGHAWA (*ZAGAOUA*, *BERRI*), call themselves *béri* (Sing. *ber̥i*), called *MERIDA* by the Fur, *KEBADI* by the Arabs.

Where spoken: F.E.A.: Chad, mainly in subdivision Biltine of Région Wadai, extending almost from Gereda in the south to Fada in Ennedi in the north; also in

¹ *Esquisse des principales populations . . .*² *Die Sprache der Tubu in der Zentralen Sahara.*³ *Dictionnaire ethnographique Teda.*

the Sudan, in the north-western part of Dar Fur (northern Magdumate and Dar Kabja), and scattered farther south.

Number of speakers: Chad 17,500,¹ Dar Fur c. 41,000.²

As far as is known, ZAGHAWA is uniform in Dar Fur; in Chad there may be dialects spoken on different hills, but information is lacking.

Note: The semi-nomadic ZAGHAWA in Dar Fur and Kordofan are ARABIC-speaking.

A dialect? of ZAGHAWA is spoken by the *BERTI* in the Sudan: in the Tagabo hills, Dar Fur, and in Kordofan. According to MacMichael³ their speech is closely related to ZAGHAWA, but is now spoken by very few people, all the *BERTI* having adopted ARABIC.

BIDEYAT. LANGUAGE, or DIALECT of ZAGHAWA?

Spoken by: BIDEYAT (BAELE), call themselves *beli*.

Where spoken: Chad: north of the ZAGHAWA in Ennedi, northward through Unianga to Tekro, southward to Wad Hawash; some *BIDEYAT* are to be found in the Libyan desert as far east as 'Uweynat,⁴ and a few in Dar Fur.

Number: c. 3,000⁵ (in Nachtigal's time they numbered between 14,000 and 20,000).

Vocabulary shows considerable resemblance to ZAGHAWA; the two are inter-intelligible.

¹ van Bulck, personal communication.

² Stevenson, personal communication.

³ 'Darfur linguistics' (*S.N.R.*, 1920).

⁴ Cline, *The Teda of Tibesti* . . .

⁵ Chalmel, 'Notice sur les Bideyat' (*Bull. Soc. Rech. Cong.*, 1931).

10. ISOLATED UNIT? MIMI?

CONSIDERABLE confusion exists as to the people apparently known as *MIMI* and their speech.

According to both Nachtigal¹ and Gaudefroy-Demombynes² the *MIMI*, called *MUTUTU* by the Maba, are to be found in F.E.A., mainly in northern Wadai, though some are scattered farther south. The linguistic material (vocabularies) collected by these two authorities,³ however, shows remarkably little correspondence; material recently collected by van Bulck⁴ differs widely from both. Further research is therefore needed before any statement can be made, not only as to the linguistic position, but even as to the identity of the language or languages recorded under the name of *MIMI*.

van Bulck provides the following information:⁵

MIMI, own name *andaŋ-ti*. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: *MIMI*, call themselves *andaŋ* (= people), called *MUTUTU* by the Maba, *MIMI* by the Arabs.

Where spoken: Wadai, District Biltine, north of the TAMA; the southern part of District Abéché (the *MIMI* in the northern part of the district speak ARABIC); also in District Oum Hadjer. There are also some *MIMI* in Dar Fur and Kordofan, but they all speak ARABIC.

Number of speakers: c. 15,000.

Several other languages, of which nothing is known, are said to be spoken in District Oum Hadjer.⁶ The people speaking them are known to the Arabs as *RATANING*, i.e. 'those who speak the strange language'. The names *MIGE* or *míkí*, *màkú*, and *mànyáŋ* were recorded.

¹ *Sahara und Sudan*.

² *Documents sur les langues de l'Oubangui-Chari*.

³ Nachtigal's linguistic material was published in Lukas and Völkers, 'G. Nachtigal's Aufzeichnungen über die Sprache der Mimi in Wadai' (*Z.E.S.*, 1939).

⁴ Unpublished; we have not seen this material.

⁵ Personal communication.

⁶ Information given to van Bulck.

II. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP? MABA

Consists of: MABA Dialect Cluster.
 KARANGA Dialect Cluster.
 MASALIT Dialect Cluster.

Where spoken: F.E.A.: Chad, mainly in Wadai; Sudan: Dar Fur.

The classification of this Group is based mainly on the work of Lukas,¹ supplemented by recent information from van Bulck² and Stevenson.³ van Bulck includes MARARIT and KIBET in this Group, but see under TAMA Group, p. 56.

MABA (MABANG), own name **bura mabaŋ**, sometimes known to the French as 'Ouaddaïen'. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: MABA, call themselves **mábâa** (Sing. **mábâk**); also spoken by other tribes who do not use the name MABA (see below).

Where spoken: Mainly in Wadai, District Abéché; also in District Am Dam.

Number of speakers: The figure 56,782⁴ includes not only all the MABA sections, but also speakers of KARANGA dialects.

The MABA sections, who all speak MABA with local dialectal variants, are:

MANDABA (MADABA), call themselves **ma ndaba**;

MANDALA (MADALA), call themselves **ma dala**;⁵

MALANGA, call themselves **malanŋa**;

KAŋANGA, call themselves **kajanŋan**;

nyabadan;

keliŋan;

abkar.

MABA dialects are also spoken by:

KODOI (KODOÏ), call themselves **kɔdɔi** (the warriors of the MABA); in District Abéché.⁶

ULED DŶEMMA (AULAD DŶEMA), call themselves **uled jemma**; north of the KODOI.

kujiŋa; Région Batha, District Oum Hadjer.

KONDONGO, call themselves **kɔndɔŋɔ**; north-east of Abéché.

¹ 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprachen Wadais' (*J. Soc. Afric.*, 1933); see also 'The linguistic situation in the Lake Chad area in Central Africa' (*Africa*, 1936) and 'Linguistic research between the Nile and Lake Chad' (*Africa*, 1939).

² Personal communication; we have not seen his as yet unpublished linguistic material.

³ Unpublished notes on MASALIT.

⁴ All details of dialectal and tribal distribution and population figures from van Bulck.

⁵ Not to be confused with the MANDALA (WANDALA) of the French Cameroons (see Westermann and Bryan, *Languages of West Africa*, p. 159). There are also some MANDALA in the Sudan in the RIZAYKAT (ARAB) country, and in the northern Bahr el Ghazal area.

⁶ For other KODOI see under KUKA (p. 18) and KENGA (p. 18, footnote 6).

KASHMERE (KACHMERE, KASCHEMERE, &c.), call themselves **kefmerɛɛ**.

ABU SHARIN, call themselves **abfarin**; District Abéché.

RUNGA, call themselves **ruŋa**; in Dar Rounga on the Wadai-Oubangui-Chari border in the extreme east.

Number: 9,000 in Wadai.

The linguistic position of RUNGA has long been uncertain.¹ Lukas, however, considers it to belong to this Cluster.

KARANGA, own name **karanŋa**. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Where spoken: Wadai, south of Abéché on the road to Am Dam.

KARANGA dialects are spoken by:

KARANGA (KURUNGA), call themselves **karanŋa**; west of the KASHMERE.

MOYO, call themselves **mɔyɔ**.

FALA, call themselves **faala**, called BAKKA by the Arabs;

baxa;

konyarɛ.

MASALIT, own name **kaana masala**. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: MASALIT (MASSALIT), call themselves **masaraa** or **massaalit** in Chad, **masala** in Dar Fur.

Where spoken: Gereda in Wadai and Dar Masalit in Dar Fur, between the TAMA in the north and the MARARIT in the south; also in Nyala District, Dar Fur.

Number of speakers: Chad 73,410 (including the MARBA); Dar Fur c. 27,000.

Dialects: Local informants² state that there are several dialects, spoken in the following localities:

Jebel Hosh, Ifémé; Kanjanga (two villages); River Batha area; a dialect is spoken by the **massaalit ali** (location not given); the dialect spoken in Dar Masalit in Dar Fur differs from that spoken in Nyala District.

Dialect: spoken by MARBA (MARFA), call themselves **marfa**; in District Abéché.

This dialect differs considerably from the others; it is also spoken by the MASALIT of Surbakal in District Adré.

¹ See Tucker, *E.S.L.*, p. 11.

² Information given to van Bulck.

12. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP? TAMA

Consists of: TAMA	Dialect Cluster.
SUNGOR	Language.
MARARIT	Dialect Cluster.
KIBET	Dialect Cluster.

Where spoken: F.E.A., Chad; Sudan: Dar Fur.

The classification of this Group is based on the work of Lukas¹ and Stevenson,² supplemented by information from van Bulck.³ van Bulck includes MARARIT and KIBET in the MABA Group (see p. 54). Stevenson's material, however, shows clearly that MARARIT and TAMA are fairly closely related, especially in their highly complex and characteristic verbal conjugation, and also in the Personal Pronouns, and that the differences between TAMA and MARARIT on the one hand and MABA and MASALIT on the other are such as to make it impossible to consider them as all belonging to one Group. Whether the two Groups together perhaps constitute a Larger Unit can only be determined after further research. SUNGOR is classed as a TAMA dialect by van Bulck; there is no doubt that it belongs to the Group, but differences in Verb Conjugation are sufficient for it to be considered as a separate language.⁴ KIBET is included in this Group, since it appears to be related to MARARIT, according to both Lukas and van Bulck.

On the possible affinities of this Group with the DIDINGA-MURLE Group see pp. 151-3.

TAMA, own name **tamoŋoŋo**. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: TAMA, call themselves **tamok** (Sing. **tamot**).

Where spoken: F.E.A., Wadai, in Dar Tama and District Goz Beida; Sudan: Dar Fur, about 70 miles north of Geneina, Dar Masalit east of Geneina, and around Kebkebiya west of El Fasher.

Number of speakers: Chad 44,000 in Dar Tama, 550 in Goz Beida; figures for Dar Fur not known.

There are probably dialectal differences, but detailed information is lacking.

TAMA dialects are also spoken by:

jabaal or **mileere**; in Dar Fur: Jebel Mun 50 miles north of Geneina; a few in Chad, District Biltine north of Abéché.

Number: 1,584 TP in Dar Fur.

¹ 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprachen Wadais' (*J. Soc. Afric.*, 1933). See also 'The linguistic situation in the Lake Chad area in Central Africa' (*Africa*, 1936) and 'Linguistic research between the Nile and Lake Chad' (*Africa*, 1939).

² Unpublished material on TAMA (including many Verb paradigms) and MARARIT.

³ Personal communication; we have not seen his as yet unpublished material.

⁴ Lukas, 'Die Sprache der Sungor in Wadai' (*Mitt. Ausland-Hochschule an d. Univ. Berlin*, 1938). From Nachtigal's MS. material.

Note: Bororit and Mun (Mul), both of which names occur in the writings of several authors, are place-names only.

ERENGA, own name **ερεŋa**, in Dar Fur, north and east of Geneina.

Number: 1,850 TP (figures uncertain; much mixed with other tribes).

There are several sections, possibly with dialectal differences: **asuŋɔɔɛ**;¹ **jaale**;² **maduŋɔɔɛ**.

ORRA (*GIMR*, *QIMR*), call themselves **haura**; in Dar Fur, at Maku 12 miles east of Geneina on Wadi Kaja.

Number: 372 TP.

Note: The *GIMR* in Chad all speak ARABIC, as do the people of Dar Gimr in Dar Fur.

SUNGOR. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: SUNGOR; according to van Bulck³ they call themselves **asuŋɔɔɔri**, and include the *WALAD DULLA* and *GIRGA* of Nachtigal.⁴

Where spoken: Chad; between Abéché and Adré, mainly in Géréda; Dar Fur: Melmele in Dar Masalit.

Number of speakers: Chad c. 30,000, Dar Fur c. 9,000.

MARARIT. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialects of this Cluster are spoken by:

MARARIT (*MERARIT*, *MARARET*), call themselves **abiyi**, **abiri**, or **ebiri**, but also acknowledge the name *MARARIT* given them by the Arabs; in Chad, District Am Dam and part of Goz Beida; also in Dar Fur: Dar Masalit.

Number: Chad 15,000, Dar Fur c. 400.

ABU SHARIB, call themselves **abu farib**; in Chad: District Biltine, north of Abéché.

Number: 26,480.

KIBET. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialects of this Cluster are spoken by:

murru (**muru**, **murro**); in Chad, District Goz Beida (one village).

Number: 965.

dagel; in Chad: Région Salamat, District Am Dam.

Number: 5,000-6,000.

kibet; west of the **dagel**.

Number: 10,000.

¹ But cp. the name SUNGOR below.

² The *SHALE* of Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*.

³ Who considers SUNGOR a TAMA dialect.

⁴ Op. cit.

13. ISOLATED UNIT: FUR

FUR, own name **bele for**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: FUR, call themselves **fora** (Sing. **forduŋgɔ**), called **FURAWI** by the Arabs. They are also known as **KONĴARA** (**KONDĴARA**, **KUNGARA**, &c.), the name of the ruling clan of the FUR.

Where spoken: Sudan: throughout a large part of Dar Fur, just extending into F.E.A.: Chad.

Number of speakers: Dar Fur c. 170,000, Chad 1,086.

The language appears to be largely uniform, though Beaton¹ states that there are some dialectal differences.

¹ Fur Grammar (MS.).

14. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP: DAJU

Consists of: DAJU of Dar Dadjo	Language.
DAJU of Dar Sila	Language.
DAJU of Dar Fur	Dialect Cluster.
DAJU of W. Kordofan	Language or Dialect Cluster?
NJALGULGULE	Language.
'Liguri'	Dialect Cluster.
'SHATT'	Dialect Cluster.

Where spoken: F.E.A.: Wadai; Sudan: mainly Dar Fur and Kordofan.

This classification is based mainly on the work of Stevenson,¹ supplemented by information from van Bulck.² Note that several of the units composing this Group are called DAJU. Linguistic differences are, however, sufficiently great for them to be classed as separate units. The tribes speaking them call themselves by different names, although most of them also acknowledge the name DAJU (variants of the name include *DAGO*, *DAGU*, *DADĴO*).

The Group is divided into two sections differing considerably from each other: Western: all the DAJU units and NJALGULGULE; Eastern: 'Liguri' and 'SHATT'. The main differences are in phonetics and in Plural formation: Western DAJU has many Singular Suffixes, but only one Plural Suffix **-ge** (**-ke**) (cp. the western languages of the BONGO-BAGIRMI Larger Unit), Eastern DAJU has many Singular and Plural Suffixes.

See also Linguistic Notes, pp. 150-1.

DAJU of Dar Dadjo. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: **DAĴU**, call themselves **sáaróŋgé**.

Where spoken: Dar Dadjo in Wadai.

Number of speakers: 27,000.

DAJU of Dar Sila, own name **bòkórùgé**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: **DAĴU**, call themselves **bòkórikè** (Sing. **bòkórnicè**).

Where spoken: Wadai: Dar Sila (Sula), mainly in District Goz Beida, extending into District Am Dam.

Number of Speakers: Goz Beida 27,900; Am Dam 5,000 (but many of the latter are ARABIC-speaking).

DAJU of Dar Fur. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: **DAĴU**, call themselves **finiŋga** (Sing. **finice**), called **daju ferne** by the **DAĴU** of Dar Sila.

¹ Personal communication.

² Ibid.

Where spoken: Dar Fur, in the Daju Hills 25 miles north-east of Nyala; also in Geneina District in Dar Masalit.

Number of speakers: 2,801 TP.

A dialect of the same Cluster is spoken by:

BAYGO: (*BAIGO*, *BEGO*, *BEIGO*, *BEKO*, &c.), in southern Dar Fur, in the hills east of Kube (Kubbi).

Number: 213 TP.

Note that the *BAYGO* do not use the name *DAJU*.

DAJU of W. Kordofan. LANGUAGE OF DIALECT CLUSTER?

Spoken by: *DAJU*, call themselves *BEKE*.²

Where spoken: Kordofan Province, in the Daju Hills near Lagowa, the main settlements being Dar el Kabira (Kebira),³ Nyukri and Tamanyik, and some other hills.

Number of speakers: 1,528 TP.

Linguistic material is insufficient to show whether this is a single language or a Dialect Cluster.

NJALGULGULE, own name *nyɔɔlne*. LANGUAGE.⁴

Spoken by: *NJALGULGULE* (*NGULGULE*), call themselves *nyɔɔlge* (Sing. *nyɔɔlnice*), called *begi*, *bege*, *beko* or *njalgulgule*, *njangulgule* by their neighbours.

Where spoken: Equatoria Province, on the Sopo river just above the Sopo-Boro confluence.

There are also said to be some *NJALGULGULE* on Jebel Nyukri in Kordofan.⁵

Number of speakers: 219 TP* on the Sopo river.

'Liguri'. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Note: Speakers of these dialects do not use the name *DAJU*. They call themselves by local names.

Where spoken: In the Nuba Hills: on Liguri and other hills north-east of Kadugli.

Number of speakers: 513 TP*.⁶

Dialects of this Cluster are spoken in three villages:

Liguri.

Saburi.

Tallau (Talau, Talo).

¹ Note the frequent occurrence of the names *BAYGO*, *BEKE*, *BEGI*, &c., in this Group.

² Hillelson, 'Notes on the Dago' (*S.N.R.* 1925).

³ A dialect of the TULISHI Cluster (KADUGLI-KRONGO Group) is also spoken on Dar Kabira (see p. 72).

⁴ Santandrea, 'Little-known tribes . . .'

⁵ Henderson, 'A note on the migration of the Messiria tribe into south west Kordofan' (*S.N.R.* 1939).

⁶ Stevenson considers this figure too low.

'SHATT'. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Note: This is the name given by the Arabs to the inhabitants of the hills in Kordofan which they also call Shatt. The name means dispersed, scattered, and is also applied to some other fragmented tribes.¹

Where spoken: The Shatt Hills south-west of Kadugli (Shatt Damam, Shatt Safia, Shatt Tebeldia), also parts of Abu Hashim and Abu Sinun.²

Number of speakers: 2,178 TP* in the Shatt Hills.

Each locality has its own dialect; the speakers use local names and do not call themselves *DAJU*.

A few scattered colonies of *DAJU* are to be found in the neighbourhood of El Obeid (Jebel Daju); east of Tegali; near Abu Zabad. Nothing is known of their speech, but it is probable that they have adopted ARABIC.

¹ The 'SHATT' in southern Dar Fur (a mixture of tribes) are all ARABIC-speaking. Note that the name *SHATT* is also applied to the *THURI*, who speak a dialect of the THURI Cluster (NILOTIC)—see p. 102.

² A dialect of the 'Kanga' Cluster is also spoken on Abu Sinun (see p. 73).

15. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP: NYIMANG

Consists of: NYIMANG Language.
'AFITTI' Language.

Where spoken: Sudan: Nuba Hills.

This classification is according to R. C. Stevenson.¹ Although 'AFITTI' is still very little known, there is no doubt of its relationship to NYIMANG—the speakers themselves, however, are unaware that the NYIMANG speak a related language.

It has so far been found impossible to establish any relationship between this Group and any other languages.²

NYIMANG, own name NYIMAD. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: NYIMANG, call themselves **ama** (= people), but also acknowledge the name NYIMAD (**nyimang**) which is that of a prominent hill.³

Where spoken: west and north-west of Dilling, on the range of hills of which Jebel Nyimang (also spelt Nyamang, Nyima) is a part, and on the Mandal range.

Number of speakers: 5,454 TP* (official estimate of total 26,000); Nadel's estimate⁴ 37,000.

There is a small amount of vernacular literature.

'AFITTI', own name not known. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: Three groups of people, calling themselves AFITTI, DITTI, and UNIETTI.

Where spoken: In the eastern part of Jebel Dair,⁵ with main centre Sidra.

Number of speakers: 735 TP*.

¹ Ph.D. thesis, 'A survey of the phonetics and grammatical structure of the Nuba Mountain languages' (in course of publication *Afrika u. Übersee*).

² For a fuller discussion of the languages of the Nuba Hills, see pp. 146–8.

³ It will be noted that many peoples and their languages in the Nuba Hills are known by the name of a locality. The name by which they call themselves is frequently that of a hill (sometimes of a town or village) where they live.

⁴ *The Nuba*.

⁵ The greater part of Jebel Dair is inhabited by speakers of Hill NUBIAN (see p. 76).

16. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP: TEMEIN

Consists of: TEMEIN Language.
'Keiga Jirru' Language?

Where spoken: Sudan: Nuba Hills.

This classification is according to R. C. Stevenson.¹

TEMEIN, own name RODE (ጠገጋጥ ጠገጋጥ). LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: TEMEIN, call themselves RODE (ጠገጋጥ ጠገጋጥ) (Sing. ጠገጋጥጠገጋጥ).

Where spoken: In the Temein (Temain) Hills south-west of Dilling, between Jebels Ghulfan Morung and Julud (Gulud).

Number of speakers: 570 TP*.

'Keiga Jirru'. LANGUAGE (perhaps with dialectal variants).

Where spoken: Keiga Jirru (Girru) west of Debri, and in the villages of Tesei (Teis) and Umm Danab, north-east of Kadugli.

Number of speakers: 353 TP*.

¹ Ph.D. thesis. See also pp. 146–8.

17. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP: KATLA

Consists of: KATLA Language (with minor variants).
TIMA Language.

Where spoken: Sudan: Nuba Hills.

This classification is according to R. C. Stevenson.¹ The two languages differ considerably and are not inter-intelligible.²

KATLA, own name AKALAK (**betel gali akalak**). LANGUAGE, with minor variants.

Spoken by: KATLA, call themselves AKALAK (Sing. kaalak).

Where spoken: In the Katla Hills 35 miles south-west of Dilling.

Number of speakers: 2,177 TP*.

Local variants are spoken at: Koldrong; Kirkpong and Karoka; Kiddu, Kateik, and Bombori; Julud (Gulud).

TIMA, own name LOMURIKI (**tamanik lomuriki**). LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: TIMA, call themselves LOMURIKI (**yibwa lomuriki**).

Where spoken: In hill villages on and near Jebel Tima (**umorik**), 10 miles south-west of Katla, in western Kordofan District.

Number of speakers: not known.

¹ Ph.D. thesis.

² For a fuller discussion of the Nuba Hills languages, see pp. 146-8.

18. THE KOALIB-TAGOI LANGUAGES
(NOUN CLASS LANGUAGES)
(LARGER UNIT)

THE KOALIB-TAGOI languages, comprising

KOALIB-MORO	Language Group
TALODI-MASAKIN	Language Group
LAFOFA	Single Unit
TEGALI-TAGOI	Language Group

are spoken in the Nuba Hills in the Sudan.

The following classification is based on that of R. C. Stevenson.¹

The outstanding feature of these languages is the system of paired Classes in Nouns, distinguished by Prefixes, with alliterative Concord with other parts of speech. There is some correlation of Noun Classes with meaning.

The amount of linguistic material available varies considerably: Stevenson has first-hand knowledge of several Units in the KOALIB-MORO Group, of MASAKIN in the TALODI-MASAKIN Group, and of 'Rashad' and TAGOI in the TEGALI-TAGOI Group. The other Units are still little known, but material is sufficient for their interrelationship within one Larger Unit to be reasonably certain.

LANGUAGE GROUP: KOALIB-MORO

Consists of: KOALIB Dialect Cluster.

HEIBAN Language.

LARO Language, with subsidiary dialect.

OTORO Dialect Cluster.

SHWAI Dialect Cluster.

TIRA Language.

MORO Dialect Cluster.

'Fungor' Dialect Cluster?

Where spoken: In hills ranging from the neighbourhood of Delami in the north to the Moro Hills north-west of Talodi in the south, with some outlying hills.

KOALIB (KAWALIB, KOWALIB). DIALECT CLUSTER.

This is the name originally applied by the Arabs to the inhabitants of a small range of hills west of Abri, and later extended by them and by Europeans to cover the speakers of all the dialects of this Cluster, and, collectively, the dialects themselves. The people have no single name for themselves.²

¹ Ph.D. thesis. See also pp. 146-8.

² Nadel (*The Nuba*) states that they call themselves LGALIGE; the name lgalige is, however, only applied to the inhabitants of Delami (kalige) town.

Dialect: **ɲu-gwuraŋ**.

Spoken by: **lu-gwuraŋ**, in the neighbourhood of Delami, including Umm Berumba and Turum.¹

Number: 2,044 TP*.

Dialect: **ɲi-rɛɛɛ**.

Spoken by: **li-rɛɛɛ**, in villages scattered over the plain round Abri.

Number: 1,350 TP*.

There is some vernacular literature in this dialect, which is used by the Sudan United Mission at Abri as a 'standard' dialect.

Dialect: **ɲu-nduna**.

Spoken by: **lu-nduna**, south and south-west of Abri and all around the Koalib range.

Number: 1,669 TP*.

Dialect: **ɲi-nyukwur**.

Spoken by: **li-nyukwur**, at and around Nyukwur, also at Umm Heitan and Hadra.

Number: 952 TP* excluding Hadra, for which no figures are available.

Note: Some of these localities have a mixed population, containing speakers of more than one dialect, e.g. Habila in the Kadaru Hills,² Nyakma, Tendik near Rashad, and Delami.

HEIBAN, own name DHE-BAD (**ɖe-baŋ**). LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: **le-baŋ** (Sing. **ɣwe-baŋ**).

Where spoken: In the neighbourhood of Heiban, Abul (Obul), and nearby hills, and at Heiban town on the Abri-Talodi road.

Number of speakers: 690 TP*.

Parts of the New Testament and a few other books have been published.

LARO, own name YILLARO. LANGUAGE, with subsidiary dialect.

Spoken by: **LARO**, call themselves **ɲwu-llaro** (Sing. **ɖi-llaro**).

Where spoken: On the hill of Laro (Alleira) and a few small hills nearby.

Number of speakers: 900 TP*.

Dialect: **igwɔrmɔny**, spoken in the hill village of Lormany and neighbouring villages.

OTORO, own name DHI-TORO (**ɔi-toɾo**). DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: **OTORO**, call themselves **LITORO** (**li-toɾo**) (Sing. **ɣwu-toɾo**).

Where spoken: In the Otoro Hills³ south of Heiban and west of the Heiban-Talodi road.

Number of speakers: 2,610 TP*; Nadel⁴ estimates the total at 40,000.

¹ Other inhabitants of Turum speak a dialect belonging to the TEGALI-TAGOI Group (see p. 71).

² See under Hill NUBIAN, p. 76.

³ The name Kawarma, Kawama, used for these hills by earlier writers (B. Z. Seligman, Meinhof), and on some maps, appears to be unknown locally.

⁴ *The Nuba*.

Dialect: **ɔi-jama** and **ɔu-gwujur** (one dialect spoken in two localities).

Spoken by: **li-jama** and **lu-gwujur** (Nadel's *LIGYAMA* and *LUKUFUR*).¹

Dialect: **ɔɔ-kwara**.

Spoken by: **lɔ-kwara**.

Dialect: **ɔu-ɣuɾila**.

Spoken by: **lu-ɣuɾila**.

Dialect: **ɔɔ-ɾɔ(m)be**.

Spoken by: **lɔ-ɾɔ(m)be**.

Dialect: **ɔa-garro** and **ɔɔ-gɔɾindi** (one dialect spoken in two localities).

Spoken by: **li-garro** and **lɔ-gɔɾindi**.

All the OTORO dialects are interintelligible, and closely related to HEIBAN, **ɔɔ-kwara** being the furthest removed from HEIBAN.

'SHWAI', own name **ɲurun ɲa ludumör**. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: 'SHWAI' (*SHUWAY*), call themselves *LUDUMÖR*.

Where spoken: In villages in the Shwai Hills, north-west of Otoro near the Heiban-Kadugli road.

Number of speakers: 700 TP*.

Dialects: Material has been collected in two almost identical dialects,² spoken in the north and south of the area respectively.

The speech of the people of Sheibun, west of Shwai, is stated by informants from Shwai to be a related dialect; comparison of the SHWAI dialects with Rüppell's 'SCHABUN'³ does not, however, lead to any conclusive results.

TIRA, own name THIRO (**ɲarta ɲa ɾiro**). LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: TIRA, call themselves *LI-THIRO* (**li-ɾiro**) (Sing. **(i)ɾiro**).

Where spoken: In hill villages extending from near Otoro to the neighbourhood of Talodi, including Tira el Akhdar (Tira Dagig), Tira Mandi, Kinderma (Kanderma), and Tira Lumun (Luman).

Number of speakers: 2,540 TP*.

The language appears to be uniform, or to have, at most, very slight minor variants. There is a small amount of vernacular literature.

MORO, own name DHI-MƏRƏD (**ɔi-mɔɾɔŋ**). DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: *MORO*. This name, derived from the local name of Lebu Hill, has been used by the Arabs to cover the whole tribe, and is becoming accepted by the people themselves in this sense.

¹ *The Nuba*.

² By the Rev. K. J. Nobbs of the Sudan United Mission, and by R. C. Stevenson (both unpublished).

³ *Reisen in Nubien, Kordofan und dem peträischen Arabien* (1829), reproduced in Meinhof, 'Sprachstudien im ägyptischen Sudan' (Z.K.S. 1915-19).

Where spoken: In the Moro Hills (see under dialects below).¹

Dialects: There are four main dialectal divisions. There is no single name to cover each of these: each dialect is spoken in several localities, with corresponding local names. The main localities are:

Umm Dorein and neighbourhood (the *LOGORBAN* of Nadel²).

Number: 1,147 TP*.

Abu Leila and Lebu (local name *mɔrɔŋ*).

Number: 1,024 TP*.

Umm Gabralla and neighbourhood.

Number: 2,247 TP*.

Acheron and neighbourhood.

Number: 304 TP*.

This dialect has some affinities with TIRA.

One Gospel has been published in MORO.

'Fungor'. DIALECT CLUSTER?

These dialects are very little known; material consists only of vocabularies.³ They appear to constitute a Cluster, and are spoken on several small isolated hills in the extreme eastern part of the Nuba Hills between Talodi and the White Nile:

Fungor (Fungur).

Number: 134 TP*.

Kau (Kao) and Nyaro.

Number: 259 TP*.

Werni (Werna).

Number: 221 TP*.

The position of this dialect is doubtful; MacDiarmid⁴ notes that it is 'a different dialect of this group' and Nadel⁵ states that it 'differs radically from the rest'.

The speech of the people of Lukha, south-east of Tira el Akhdar, probably belongs to this Group, but information is lacking.

Number of speakers: 519 TP*.

LANGUAGE GROUP: TALODI-MASAKIN

Consists of:	TALODI	Language.
	ELIRI	Language.
	MASAKIN	Dialect Cluster.
	'Moro Hills'	Dialect Cluster.

Where spoken: In the neighbourhood of Talodi, and to the south-east (Eliri range⁶) and west (Masakin Hills); also in the Moro Hills.

¹ Note that dialects belonging to the TALODI-MASAKIN Group are also spoken in the Moro Hills (see p. 69).

² Op. cit.

³ MacDiarmid, 'The languages of the Nuba Mountains' (*S.N.R.*, 1931).

⁴ Op. cit.

⁵ Op. cit.

TALODI. LANGUAGE.

Where spoken: In the town and on the hill of Talodi, including villages Tasomi and Tata.

Number of speakers: 305 TP*.

Although the people of each locality have their own name for themselves and their speech (e.g. *ga-jomaŋ*, spoken by the *a-jomaŋ* of *ta-jomaŋ*, i.e. Tata), no appreciable dialectal differences have been noted, and the name best known to Europeans has been chosen to denote the language.

ELIRI. LANGUAGE.

Where spoken: At the southern end of the Eliri range.¹

Number of speakers: 96 TP*.

Little is known of this language beyond the investigations of Mrs. Seligman.²

MASAKIN. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Where spoken: In the Masakin (Mesakin) Hills, and on some outlying hills.

Number of speakers: 2,407 TP*.

Dialects of this Cluster are spoken in the following localities.

Masakin Gusar (Mesakin Qusar), including Masakin Buram and Dagig,³ the speech of each locality having its own name, although the dialect is one.

Masakin Tuwal (Tiwal, Towal) Hills.

Outlying hill-villages of El Akheimar (Aheima) and Daloka (Taloka).

'Moro Hills'. DIALECT CLUSTER.⁴

Where spoken: Four small settlements in the Moro Hills.

Number of speakers: 763 TP*.

Dialects of this Cluster are spoken at:

Part of Acheron.

Tacho (Toicho).

Torona.

Lumun (Kuku-Lumun).⁵

Little is known of these dialects beyond vocabularies and sentences (unpublished) collected by the MacDiarmids, and a few words of 'Lumun' collected by Mrs. Seligman.⁶

SINGLE UNIT: LAFOFA

LAFOFA. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Where spoken: In the central part of the Eliri range⁷ and on two hills to the south and east.

¹ For other languages spoken on the Eliri range see LAFOFA, and p. 74.

² 'Note on the languages of the Nubas of Southern Kordofan' (*Z.K.S.* 1910-11).

³ Not to be confused with Tira Dagig (see p. 67).

⁴ To be distinguished from the better-known MORO dialects (pp. 67-68).

⁵ To be distinguished from Tira Lumun (p. 67).

⁶ Op. cit.

⁷ For other languages spoken on the Eliri range see ELIRI, and p. 74.

Dialect: LAFOFA, own name **kiɖiɛ lafofa**.

Spoken by: **amɛɛ lafofa**, in Lafofa village and nearby settlements in central Eliri, and on hills Umm Shatta and Takei.

Number: 501 TP*.

Dialect: spoken on Jebel el Amira.

Number: 60 TP*.

Dialect: spoken on Jebel Tekeim.

Number: 45 TP*.

These dialects are known only from the vocabularies of Mrs. Seligman¹ and the MacDiarmids,² with some additional material (unpublished) collected by R. C. Stevenson.

LANGUAGE GROUP: TEGALI-TAGOI

Consists of: TEGALI Dialect Cluster?

TAGOI Dialect Cluster?

Where spoken: The hill region (including the Tegali range, Tumale and Moreb) between the Rashad-Rahad and Rashad-Umm Ruwaba roads, with a few outlying hills west of Rashad (including Tagoi and Turjok); scattered hills south of Rashad.

These dialects are still insufficiently known for any definitive classification to be attempted. Although all the dialects are without doubt interrelated, some of them have Noun Classes, while others have a Plural formed by Suffixes. They are therefore tentatively grouped into two Dialect Clusters, with the presence or absence of Noun Classes as the distinguishing criterion.

TEGALI. DIALECT CLUSTER? (without Noun Classes).

Dialect: TEGALI.

Where spoken: on the Tegali (Tegele, Tagale, Togole, &c.) range.

Number: 3,739 TP* (this figure, however, probably includes some ARABIC-speakers).

Dialect: 'Rashad', own name KOM (**ɲə kom**).

Spoken by: **KOME**, in the Rashad Hills in the southern part of the Tegali range; also in Rashad town, which has a mixed population.

Number: 1,271 TP* in the Rashad Hills.

These two dialects are almost identical and may perhaps be mere variants of one language.

The speech of the people of Tingal or Kajakja (Kajaja) is reported to be different from that of Tegali and Rashad; it is uncertain whether it belongs to the TEGALI or TAGOI Cluster.

Number: 520 TP*.

¹ Op. cit.

² Unpublished.

TAGOI. DIALECT CLUSTER? (with Noun Classes).

Dialect: TUMALE, own name **tu-male**.

Spoken by: **su-male** (or **hu-male** or **yu-male**), on Tumale (Tumeli) Hill; possibly also spoken in the neighbouring village of Tuling.

Number: 277 TP* on Tumale Hill.

Dialect: 'Moreb'.

Where spoken: at Moreb (Moreib), north of Tumale.

Number: 138 TP*.

The dialects spoken at Tagogen, to the south, and Wadelka, to the north-west, are perhaps similar.

Dialect: TAGOI (TAGOY), own name TAGOI (**ɲɔŋ ɲa tagɔi**).

Spoken by: TAGOI, call themselves TAGOI (**kɔmbo ka tagɔi**), at Tagoi west of Rashad; also spoken at Turjok (Turjuk), and possibly on Jebels Tongam and Fayt in the same range.

Number: Tagoi 361 TP*, Turjok 215 TP*.

The dialects spoken in the following localities, although undoubtedly belonging to the TEGALI-TAGOI Group, cannot at present be definitely assigned to either Cluster for lack of linguistic data:

Tukum (Tukam).

Number: 511 TP*.

Part of Turum.

Number: total 205 TP*.¹

¹ Other inhabitants of Turum speak the **ɲugwuraŋ** dialect of the KOALIB Cluster (see p. 66).

19. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP:
KADUGLI-KRONGO
(NOUN CLASS LANGUAGES)

Consists of:	TULISHI	Dialect Cluster.
	KEIGA	Dialect Cluster.
	'Kanga'	Dialect Cluster.
	MIRI	Language.
	KADUGLI	Language.
	KATCHA	Language, with minor variants.
	TUMMA	Dialect Cluster.
	KRONGO	Language, with subsidiary dialect.
	TUMTUM	Dialect Cluster.

Where spoken: Sudan: on scattered hills in the south of the Nuba Hills area, from Tulishi in the west to Kurondi in the south-east.

The following classification is that of R. C. Stevenson.¹

Degrees of interrelationship within the Group are indicated by spacing in the list given above. MIRI, KADUGLI, KATCHA, and TUMMA are so closely inter-related as to be interintelligible; their speakers, however, regard them as separate entities, and closer investigation reveals more differences than are at first evident.

Languages of this Group have Noun Classes, distinguished by Prefixes, but do not belong to the KOALIB-TAGOI Larger Unit of Noun Class Languages (see pp. 65-71).

TULISHI. DIALECT CLUSTER.

There appear to be three dialects, of which the local names are not known.

Dialect: TULISHI.

Spoken by: TULISHI (TULESHI), call themselves THULISHI (ka-**ṭulɪʃi**) (Sing. **ṭa-ṭulɪʃi**), on Jebel Tulishi south of Katla.

Number: 637 TP*.

Dialect: KAMDANG.

Spoken by: kaḍo ma nya (= people of the hills), on Jebel Kamdang north of Lagowa, south of Tulishi.

Number: 720 TP*.

Dialect: spoken at Dar el Kabira (el Kebira) in the Daju Hills, among the DAJU.² The speakers are called TURUḶ (TRUḶ) by the Arabs, LOGOKE or MINḶIM-MINA by the Daju.

Number: unknown (the figure 887 TP* includes the local DAJU).

¹ Ph.D. thesis; see also pp. 146-8.

² DAJU is, of course, also spoken in this area (see p. 60).

No linguistic material on this dialect is available, but MacDiarmid notes¹ 'Kamdang and Dar el Kebira dialects are very similar'.

DI-LECT CLUSTER.

Where spoken: on many small hills north of Miri.

Number of speakers: 1,504 TP*.

Dialect: KEIGA, own name AIGAD (**sani m-aigaṅ**).

Spoken by: KEIGA, call themselves AIGAD (**kaḍo m-aigaṅ**), on the Keiga (**kaigaṅ, kaiga, kayi**) Hills, at Keiga el Kheil, Kalda, Keiga Lubun (Luban), Keiga Tummero (with minor local variants).

Dialect: 'Demik', own name RḶFIK (**sani mḶ rḶfik**).

Spoken by: RḶFIK (**kaḍo mḶ rḶfik**), at Jebel Demik.

'Kanga.' DIALECT CLUSTER.

There is no general local name for this Cluster; it has accordingly been provisionally named after one of the principal hill villages (**kaṅa**).

Where spoken: In several localities on the southern fringe of the Miri Hills, west and south-west of Kadugli.

Number of speakers: 1,585 TP*.

Dialects of this Cluster are spoken at:

Kanga, Lima, and Kufa.

Part of Abu Sinun.²

Chiroro and Kursi.

MIRI, own name **ṭoma ma miri**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: kaḍo ma miri (**muri**) or ka-miri.

Where spoken: Throughout the Miri Hills, except in those localities where 'Kanga' dialects are spoken.

Number of speakers: total population of Miri sub-administration (including 'Kanga'-speakers) estimated at c. 14,000.

KADUGLI (KUDUGLI), own name DHALLA (**ṭoma ma ḍalla**). LANGUAGE.

This name is the Arabic version of ka-ḍalla, i.e. people of ṭalla, the Mek's Hill, named after a former chief, and now recognized as the name of the main township of the area.

Spoken by: ka-ḍalla (Sing. **ṭa-ḍalla**).

Where spoken: In hill villages around the town of Kadugli, and in the town itself, which has a mixed population.

Number of speakers: estimated population of the Kadugli Nuba administration (including, however, some DAJU-speakers) 18,000-19,000.

¹ MS. vocabulary of TULISHI, quoted by Stevenson.

² 'SHATT' is also spoken on Abu Sinun Hill (see p. 61).

KATCHA,¹ own name DHOLUBI (ṭoma ma ḍolubi). LANGUAGE, with minor variants.²

Spoken by: ka-ḍolubi (Sing. ṭa-ḍolubi).

Where spoken: In hill villages a short distance south of Kadugli and south-east of the Miri Hills, Katcha being the geographical and administrative centre.

Number of speakers: 1,439 TP*.

There is a small amount of vernacular literature.

TUMMA. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Where spoken: on a small range of hills between the Katcha range and Miri.

Number of speakers: 1,299 TP*.

Dialects of this Cluster are spoken at:

Krongo Abdullah.

Tumma.

Belanya.

KRONGO. LANGUAGE, with subsidiary dialect.

Spoken by: KRONGO, call themselves kaḍu mo di (= people of the home), but are beginning to accept the name KRONGO (KORONGO, KURUNGU) given them by the Arabs.

Where spoken: In the Krongo Hills south of the Masakin range and west of Talodi (including Tabanya).

Number of speakers: 2,590 TP*.

Dialect: spoken in a few villages to the north-west (Fama, Teis, and Kua).

Number: 865 TP*.

There is a small amount of vernacular literature in KRONGO.

TUMTUM. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Number of speakers: 329 TP*.

Dialects belonging to this Cluster are spoken at:

Tumtum on Jebel Talodi.

Talassa on the northern part of Eliri.³

Kurondi (Karondi, Korindi) south of Eliri.

¹ This anglicized spelling of a name, given by the Arabs after an old chief Kaca, has now become firmly established and is therefore used here to denote the language as well as the town.

² As is usual in the Nuba Hills, there is a different name for the people and their speech in each locality, but this does not here imply any dialectal differences.

³ For other languages spoken on Eliri see pp. 69-70.

20. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP: NUBIAN

Consists of: DONGOLA-KENUZ	Dialect Cluster	} 'Nile NUBIAN'.
MAHAS-FIYADIKKYA	Dialect Cluster	
'Hill NUBIAN'	Dialect Cluster.	
MIDOB	Language or Dialect Cluster?	
BIRKED	Language?	

Where spoken: (i) in the Nile valley, on both sides of the Egypt-Sudan border; (ii) in the northern part of the Nuba Hills area in Kordofan; (iii) in Dar Fur.

Note on nomenclature. The name NUBA is a very old name, known to have been in use in Old Egyptian (**nb**), in Coptic and Greek, to denote the inhabitants of the Nile valley south of Aswan. It is used by Europeans in various forms (English: Nubia, the country; NUBIAN, the language; NUBIANS, the people), and is acknowledged by speakers of the Nile NUBIAN dialects (**nubii**). The NUBIANS are also called **barabra** by the Egyptians; they regard this name as an insult, but occasionally use it among themselves.¹

During the destruction of the Nubian Kingdoms by the Arabs (XIIIth to XVIth centuries), some of the NUBIANS dispersed to the hill country of Kordofan, taking with them their speech and their name. Later, by extension, the name was used to cover all the peoples of the Nuba Hills as well as the hills themselves, and has been used in this sense by Europeans.² In this work, however, the name 'Nuba' is not used except as a geographical term, the name NUBIAN being used as a linguistic term for the whole Language Group dealt with below.³

DONGOLA-KENUZ. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialect: DONGOLA.

Spoken by: DONGOLA (DONGOLAWI, DANAGLA), call themselves **dongolawi**, in Dongola Province, i.e. the Nile valley south and north of Dongola.

Dialect: KENUZ, own name **kənuuz**.

Spoken by: KENUZ (KENUZI, KUNUZI), in Egypt, from Seiyala northwards to beyond Aswan.

These two dialects are practically identical, although the areas in which they are spoken are separated by speakers of MAHAS and FIYADIKKYA.

The Gospels have been published in 'KUNUZI'.

MAHAS-FIYADIKKYA. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialect: MAHAS, own name **mahas**.

Spoken by: MAHAS (MAHASI, MAHASS), between the DONGOLA and the Egyptian border.

¹ A. R. Ayoub, personal communication.

³ See also pp. 150-3.

² See p. 146.

Dialect: FIYADIKKYA, own name *fedicca*.¹

Spoken by: FIYADIKKYA (*FADICCA*, *FADICHA*, *FADIJA*, *FIADIDJA*, &c.), call themselves *fedicca*; from the Sudan–Egyptian border northwards to Korosko.

These two dialects are practically identical.

One Gospel has been published in 'FIADIDJA'.

'Old NUBIAN', i.e. the language of the old Christian Kingdoms between the sixth and thirteenth centuries, is known to us mainly from the writings of Griffith (collections of texts) and Zyhlarz (grammar, based on the work of Griffith). There would appear to have been several dialects, the best known of which is virtually the same as modern MAHAS.

'Hill' NUBIAN. DIALECT CLUSTER.²

Where spoken: Sudan: Kordofan, in the northern and north-western part of the Nuba Hills, from El Hügeirat (Hagerat) in Western Kordofan District to Jebel Dair south of Rahad.

Note: Most of these dialects are known by the names of the localities where they are spoken. As many of the names of localities used by various writers to denote dialects as possible have been included here to facilitate reference.

Dialect: DAIR (DAIER), own name THAMINYI (*ṭaminyi ni be*).

Where spoken: in the western and southern parts of Jebel Dair.³

Number: 225 TP*.

Dialect: KADARU, own name KODHIN (*kod̄in ni ai*).

Where spoken: in the northern and eastern part of the Kadaru Hills (Kadaro, Kadero, Kaderu, Kodoro) between Dilling and Delami.⁴

Number: The figure 1,668 TP* includes speakers of 'Western KADARU'—see p. 77.

Dialect: 'Ghulfan', own name WUNCI (*wunci m be*).

Where spoken: in two hill ranges 25–30 miles south of Dilling: Ghulfan Kurgul (Kurgal) and Ghulfan Morung (Moron).

Number: 3,260 TP*.

Dialect: 'El Hügeirat'.

Where spoken: on El Hügeirat (Hagerat) Hills in Western Kordofan District.

Number: 202 TP*.

This dialect is only known from word-lists.⁵

Dialect: DILLING (DELEN), own name WARKI (*warki m be*).

Where spoken: in the town of Dilling and surrounding hills, including Kudr.⁶

¹ Ayoub, personal communication.

² From R. C. Stevenson, Ph.D. thesis, and personal communication.

³ 'AFITTI' is also spoken on Jebel Dair (see NYIMANG Group, p. 62).

⁴ The dialect called KADERO by Meinhof ('Sprachstudien im ägyptischen Sudan, No. 36', *Z.K.S.* 1918/19) is 'Western KADARU' (see p. 77).

⁵ MacDiarmid, 'The languages of the Nuba Mountains'.

⁶ Note that NYIMANG-speakers also live in Sobei and Adlan west of Kudr.

Dialect: 'Western KADARU'.

Where spoken: in the western and southern part of the Kadaru Hills, including Dababna, Kortala, and the western part of Habila.¹

Number: included in figures for KADARU above.

Dialect: KARKO (GARKO), own name KITHONIRI (*kīṭoniri jε*).

Where spoken: in the Karko Hills 20 miles west of Dilling, including Dulman.

Number: 2,122 TP*.

This dialect is perhaps also spoken on Abu Jinik (Ginuk) to the west (300 TP*) and El Tabaq, south-west of Katla (165 TP*), as the inhabitants of these localities are said by the people of Karko to be closely allied to them.

Dialect: WALI, own name WALIRI (*waliri jε*).

Where spoken: in the Wali Hills south of the Karko Hills.

Number: 487 TP*.

Very little is known of this dialect.

A NUBIAN dialect was spoken on Jebel Haraza and adjacent hills, north of El Obeid, but is now probably extinct. Vocabulary shows considerable resemblance to the Nile NUBIAN dialects.²

MIDOB. LANGUAGE OR DIALECT CLUSTER?

Spoken by: MIDOB (*MEIDOB*), call themselves *tidda* (= people).

Where spoken: Sudan: Jebel Midob in Dar Fur.

Number of speakers: c. 1,800.

There are three sections: *URRTI*, *SHELKOTA*, and *TORTI*; and perhaps two dialects.

BIRKED. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: BIRKED (*BIRQED*, *BIRKIT*), call themselves *MURGI*, called *KAFJARA* by the Fur.

Where spoken: Sudan: Dar Fur, north and east of the *DAJU* and *BAYGO*, east of Jebel Marra between Jebel Harayt and the *RIZAYKAT* (*ARAB*) country; also north of Nyala; there are said to be some *BIRKED* north-east of El Fasher; a few in Kordofan south of El Obeid, and (according to Nachtigal,³ some in Wadai).

Number of speakers: not known.

Most *BIRKED* now speak ARABIC, and their own language is becoming extinct.

¹ The eastern part of Habila is inhabited by speakers of KOALIB (see p. 66).

² D. Newbold, 'Some links with the Anag at Gebel Haraza' (*S.N.R.*, 1924).

³ *Sahara und Sudan*.

21. ISOLATED UNIT? BAREA

BAREA. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: BAREA (BARIA, BARYA). This is the name by which they have been known from antiquity,¹ and are still known to their neighbours; they call themselves by the names of the various tribal sections, according to Grottanelli.

Where spoken: Eritrea: in the northern part of the Barentu area, in the valleys of Rivers Amideb, Mogareb, and Maref (Mareb), and on the left bank of River Baraka (Barca).

Number of speakers: c. 15,000.²

See also Linguistic Notes, pp. 150-3.

¹ See Grottanelli, *I Baria, i Cunama e i Beni Amer* (Missione di studio al lago Tana. 6.), pp. 11-14.

² *Races and tribes of Eritrea* (British Military Administration, 1943).

22. ISOLATED UNIT? KUNAMA

KUNAMA. LANGUAGE OR DIALECT CLUSTER?

Spoken by: KUNAMA (CUNAMA), call themselves **kunama**; also known as BAZA, BAZEN, BADEN.

Where spoken: Eritrea: in the southern part of the Barentu area, between Rivers Braia in the north and Setit (Takazze) in the south, extending west to the Sudan border, and south into Ethiopia.

Number of speakers: not more than 30,000.¹

According to Pollera² there are several dialects. Four sections of the tribe are known by name: BARKA in the south-east, on River Mareb; MARD A in the north-east; AIMASA; TIK A in the south.

The New Testament has been published in KUNAMA.

Nothing is known of the speech of the ILIT (c. 600) in the hills of Alkota in BENI AMER country in Eritrea, except that it is said to differ from both BAREA and KUNAMA, and to be neither CUSHITIC nor SEMITIC.³

¹ Giuseppe-Fermo, *Grammatica della lingua cunama*.

² *Le popolazioni indigine dell' Eritrea*.

³ *Races and tribes of Eritrea*.

23. ISOLATED UNIT? BERTA

BERTA. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: BERTA. This is the name by which the dialects as a whole, and the people speaking them, are generally known to Europeans. The people are also known, in Sudan ARABIC, as *BENI SHANGUL* (see 'Note on nomenclature', p. 148).

Where spoken: On both sides of the Sudan-Ethiopian border south of the Blue Nile, in an area bounded in the west by the *BURUN*, *TABI*, and *UDUK*, extending possibly as far as the junction of River Didessa and the Blue Nile in the east, and to River Yabus in the south. Small settlements of *BERTA* are scattered among other tribes in the south, e.g. the *KOMA*.

Number of speakers: estimated at 10,000-20,000 in the Sudan; number in Ethiopia not known.

Very little is known of the BERTA dialects. From the small amount of material available, dialectal divisions do not appear to be very great, except in the case of the dialects of Sillok, &c. (see p. 81), where there is considerable vocabulary difference (no grammatical material is available). There is, however, considerable confusion of nomenclature, and it is not possible to give a coherent picture either of dialectal or of tribal divisions. Various names used by different writers are given below; some of them are those of localities, and further research is needed to determine to what realities all these names correspond.

'Dul', a locality near Kurmuk, in Ethiopia.¹

WA-KOSHO, a dialect spoken in Ethiopia.²

WA-'DASHI, a dialect spoken in Ethiopia. This name is a variant of Fadasi, as shown on maps (a place-name).³

RIKABIYYAH, a dialect spoken in Ethiopia.⁴

FADON, a 'group' of BERTA in the Belfodio area.⁵

'Fazoglo', a place-name, used as a linguistic name by Tutschek⁶ (variant Fazughli). *GEBELAWIN* (= people of the hills), a name applied to some BERTA-speaking people in Ethiopia.⁷

WATAWIT (= bats), a name applied to a BERTA-speaking tribe or tribal section near Kurmuk, in Ethiopia.⁸

GAMILA, a tribe living around the junction of the Blue Nile and Dabus rivers in

¹ Marno, *Reisen im Gebiete des blauen und weissen Nil*; Evans-Pritchard, 'Ethnological observations in Dar Fung' (S.N.R., 1932).

² Cerulli, 'Three Berta dialects in western Ethiopia' (*Africa*, 1947).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. Note that *RIKABIA* is the name of an *ARAB* colony in Dongola, with branches elsewhere in the Sudan (see MacMichael, *A History of Arabs in the Sudan*, vol. i).

⁵ Grottanelli, *I Mao*.

⁶ 'A vocabulary of the Fazoglo language' (*Proc. Philol. Soc.*, 1850).

⁷ Grottanelli, op. cit.

⁸ Ibid.

Ethiopia.¹ The name may be identical with *QAMAMYL*;² according to Grottanelli³ it is *QAMELI* or *GAMELI*.

SHOGALE, the principal tribe of the *BERTA*, of which the *GAMILA* are a part.⁴ According to Cerulli⁵ the *BERTA* in Ethiopia call themselves *xojalee* or *hoyalee*, and are called *SHOGALE* (*joogalee*) by the Galla (cp. also *SHANGALLA*, under 'Note on nomenclature', p. 148).

MABI TAYU (= people of the village), on River Yabus in the Sudan.⁶

To the west of the main BERTA-speaking peoples, in the Sudan, are several small communities of people speaking dialects which appear to be interrelated, and to be to some extent related to the BERTA dialects.⁷ They live in two areas, separated by *BURUN*:

(a) on Hills Sillok (Silak), Malkan and Yakan;

(b) to the east, contiguous with the main *BERTA* area, on Hills Tornasi and (probably) Keili (Kele, Kelle).

The people of Sillok call themselves *FECAKA*; they are called *NAS SILLOK* by ARABIC-speakers, and are also known as *HAMEG* (see 'Note on nomenclature', p. 148). The people of Malkan and Yakan are called *FECAMALGA* by those of Sillok. The people of Tornasi are known as *BARARO*.

These dialects are tentatively classed as BERTA dialects by Evans-Pritchard.

¹ Conti Rossini, 'Popoli dell' Etiopia Occidentale' (*R. C. Reale Accad. Lincei*, 1920).

² Caillaud, *Voyage à Meroë* . . . (1826).

³ *I Mao*.

⁴ Conti Rossini, op. cit.

⁵ Op. cit.

⁶ Paris W. Reidhead, *Report on linguistic survey among tribes Berta, Ingassana, Koma, Uduk, Jum Jum, Maban* (cyclostyled 1946).

⁷ Evans-Pritchard, op. cit.

24. ISOLATED UNIT? TABI

TABI (INGASSANA). LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: TABI, called *INGASSANA (INGESSANA)* by the Arabs (this name has also been used by Europeans); according to Reidhead¹ they, or some of them, call themselves *TABI*; according to Evans-Pritchard² they are called *ME-TABI* by the people of Jebel Ulu, *MUNTABI* by the Jumjum, *MAMEDJA* or *MAMIDZA* by the people of Mughaja, *KAMANIDI* by those of Sillok.

Where spoken: Sudan: north of the Sudan *BERTA* on Tabi massif and outlying hills.

Number of speakers: estimates vary between 8,000 and 20,000.

Dialects: The dialect of Jebel Tabi has been noted by Mrs. Seligman,³ and there are said to be other dialects, interintelligible but not understood by neighbouring peoples.

See also Linguistic Notes, pp. 150-1.

¹ *Report on linguistic survey among tribes Berta, Ingassana, Koma, Uduk, Jum Jum, Maban.*

² 'Ethnological observations in Dar Fung.'

³ B. Z. Seligman, 'Note on two languages spoken in the Sennar Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan' (*Z.K.S.*, 1911-12).

25. ISOLATED UNIT? 'GULE'

'Gule.' LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: the inhabitants of Jebel Gule and neighbouring hills San and Roro, in the Sudan north of the *TABI*. The people are called *HAMEG* by the Arabs (see 'Note on nomenclature', p. 148), *FECAKOMODIYO* by the people of Sillok.¹

The language is dying out, being superseded by ARABIC.² It is the language recorded by Lejean³ and Marno⁴ under the name of FUNGI (see p. 148).

¹ Evans-Pritchard, op. cit.

² B. Z. Seligman, op. cit.

³ *Voyage aux deux Nils* (1865).

⁴ *Reisen im Gebiete des blauen und weissen Nil* (1874).

26. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP? KOMA

Consists of:	GUMUZ	Language or Dialect Cluster?
	UDUK	Language.
	GANZA	Language?
	KOMA	Dialect Cluster.
	GWAMA	Language?
	MAO	Language?

Where spoken: Sudan–Ethiopian border, mainly south of the *BERTA*.

The only unit on which any material, other than vocabularies and a few sentences, is available is KOMA, of which a grammar has been written by S. J. Burns.¹ The evidence for the existence of a Language Group is very slight (see p. 86).

GUMUZ. LANGUAGE OR DIALECT CLUSTER?

Spoken by: GUMUZ (*GUMUS*, *GUMZ*, *GUNIZ*, *GUNZA*).

Where spoken: East of the *BERTA*, mainly in Ethiopia. The territory of the *GUMUZ* extends in the north to River Gandua (Ghendoa) and possibly even as far as River Angareb; in the east the boundary is undefined; in the south they extend across the Blue Nile (the *NAGA* on the south bank are considered by Conti Rossini² to be part of the *GUMUZ*); in the west, into the Sudan, possibly as far as Fazoglo. They are separated by *BERTA*-speakers from speakers of other possibly related languages.

Note: Conti Rossini³ refers to *COMA* as a section of the *GOSA* reaching as far as River Didessa. It is not impossible that the name *GOSA* may be a variant of *GUNZA*; the name *KOMA* is loosely applied to various tribes farther south.

A short vocabulary collected by J. D. P. Chattaway⁴ in the Roseires area and headed *KADALLU* has a note 'Perhaps belonging to the *GUMUZ* tribes'. The name Kadalo (in the Quba region) is mentioned by Schuver;⁵ whether it is a tribal or geographical name is not certain, but the *KADALLU* vocabulary contains several *GUMUZ* words.

UDUK. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: *UDUK*, call themselves *KWANIM PAS* (people of the village); called *BURUN* by the Arabs, *KEBEIRKA* by the Koma of Daga valley, *OTHAN* by the northern Burun.⁶ The name *KORARA* is also applied to the *UDUK*, but according to A. W. M. Disney⁷ this is a place-name. They are also said to be known as *KUMUS* (cp. *GUMUZ*?).

¹ MS. ² 'Popoli dell' Etiopia occidentale' (*R.R.A.L.*, 1919–21).

³ *Ibid.* ⁴ MS.

⁵ *Reisen im oberen Nilgebiet* (*Petermanns Mitt. Ergänzungsheft* 1, 1883).

⁶ Evans-Pritchard, 'Ethnological observations . . .'

⁷ Personal communication.

Where spoken: In Upper Nile Province, Sudan, from Belila in the north, southwards along the Blue Nile Province boundary to River Yabus.

Number of speakers: c. 5,000.

GANZA. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: *GANZA*, called *GWAMI* by the Uduk, *GANZO* by the Koma; they are also known as *KOMA*.

Where spoken: In the Sudan, in an area bounded in the north by River Yabus, in the south by Yeshkap mountain, in the east by Jebel Bange, in the west by Khor Bum; perhaps extending into Ethiopia.¹

Number: c. 1,000.²

KOMA. DIALECT CLUSTER.³

Spoken by: *KOMA* (*COMA*), call themselves *gokwom* or *hayahaya*, called *KOMA* by Europeans and Arabs (this name is officially recognized by Government in the Sudan), *KOMO* by the Galla; also (erroneously) known as *BURUN*.

Note: The name *KOMA* is also loosely applied to other tribes in the area.

Where spoken: In two areas on the Sudan–Ethiopian border, separated, according to Grottanelli, by a stretch of uninhabited territory: (a) north of River Yabus; (b) from Jebel Manga in the north to River Jokau in the south.

Number of speakers: c. 3,000, according to Burns.

Dialect: called by Corfield *CIITA*. According to Burns, this dialect is spoken by the *ANSITA*, call themselves *ansita*, with local variants spoken by the *BULDIT* (*BULDIIT*) section of the *ANSITA*, and the *KUSGILO*. Note that a MS. vocabulary by Corfield headed 'Kigille' (a place-name) appears to be almost identical with *KUSGILO*.

The speech of the *KOGO* or *KWOGO*, along River Lau and in the village of Pil, may also be akin to *CIITA*.

CIITA is mainly spoken on River Daga, around Daga Post.

Dialect: called by Corfield *MADIN* (*MODIN*, *MARIN*); according to Burns, *MADIN* is the name by which the *ANSITA* call the (other) *KOMA*. This dialect is spoken south of the *CIITA*-speaking area. The *KOMA* living on River Baro near Gambela are said to speak this dialect. The speech of Reidhead's informants, from the River Yabus area, seems to resemble Corfield's *MADIN*. They call themselves, however, *ARU*, by which name they are also known to the Berta and Uduk. The dialect spoken in the northern part of the *KOMA* area on Khor Hudush appears, from Grottanelli's vocabulary, to resemble *MADIN*. He says that the people call themselves *MIDIN*, but according to Burns this merely means 'there isn't any', and the name *MADIN* remains unexplained.

¹ Reidhead, *Notes on the Ganza language* (dupl. 1947).

² S. J. Burns, personal communication.

³ Information from Corfield, 'The Koma' (*S.N.R.*, 1938) and unpublished vocabularies; Grottanelli, 'Materiali di lingua Coma' (*R.S.E.*, 1946); Reidhead, *Report on linguistic survey . . .*; S. J. Burns, unpublished grammar of Koma, and personal communication.

GWAMA (GWAMI). LANGUAGE?

A 'KOMA' vocabulary, collected by Grottanelli in the region of River Yabus and Khors Gamsa and Seba—i.e. in the northern part of the KOMA area, but south of the Khor Hudush *KOMA*—shows a striking resemblance (78 per cent. correspondence) to a MS. vocabulary collected by Aglen and entitled GWAMA or GWAMI. According to Burns, the *GWAMA*, called *NOKANOKA* by the Koma, *AMAM* by the Berta,¹ live intermingled with the *KOMA*, but speak a different language.

MAO, own name MAO. LANGUAGE?²

Spoken by: MAO (*MAU*), northern section,³ call themselves MAO, called *SIG-GOYO* or *MAYO* by the Koma, *AMAM* by the Arabs, *FADIRO* by the Gamila.

Where spoken: North of Lat. 9°, mostly on the left bank of River Dabus.

Number of speakers: c. 5,200–6,500.

There may be several dialects of MAO, Grottanelli gives the names DOKONU, SHURRI (SHIRRI),⁴ and PHOSKO, which may be names of dialects.

The possibility of some relationship between KOMA, GWAMA, GANZA, and UDUK was first put forward by Bryan;⁵ Grottanelli⁶ further suggests that GUMUZ and MAO may be related to these languages. Reidhead⁷ draws attention to the phonetic similarity of UDUK and KOMA.

The results of a comparison of all available vocabularies at least indicate the possibility of some relationship between these languages.

¹ But see MAO.

² Information from Grottanelli, *I Mao*.

³ The MAO are divided, geographically and linguistically, into two sections. Only the northern section have kept their own language; the southern section, who live in Anfillo forest in Ethiopia, have adopted the CUSHITIC language of their overlords (see pp. 129–30), but call themselves and their speech MAO. There are thus two entirely different languages called MAO.

⁴ Cp. SURI, &c., p. 89, and see 'Note on Nomenclature', p. 91.

⁵ 'A linguistic no-man's land' (*Africa*, 1945).

⁶ *I Mao*.

⁷ *Report on linguistic survey* . . .

27. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP:
DIDINGA–MURLE

Consists of: DIDINGA Language.
LONGARIM Language.
MURLE Language.
SURI Language.
and perhaps other units.

Where spoken: On both sides of the Sudan–Ethiopian border, roughly between Lat. 4° and 8° N., Long. 33° and 36° E.

The existence of this Language Group has been established beyond doubt; sufficient linguistic material (published and unpublished) is available in some of the languages¹ to show that there is grammatical, as well as vocabulary, relationship. Other languages or dialects are tentatively included in the Group on the basis of vocabulary evidence alone, a few, even more tentatively, on the strength of statements or suggestions by various writers. It is not, however, possible at this stage to define more than a few of the linguistic units composing the Group. Names of languages or dialects are given where known; otherwise the names, or alleged names, of tribes or tribal sections are given.

On the possible affinities of the DIDINGA–MURLE Group with other languages see pp. 150–3.

DIDINGA, own name 'DI'DIDA (ð̥ð̥ kɪ d̥ɪd̥ɪŋa). LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: DIDINGA, call themselves d̥ɪd̥ɪŋa, called xaroxo by the Lango and Lorwama, TOI by the Logir and Lopit, lango by the Acoli.

Where spoken: Southern Sudan: in the Didinga and Boya Hills, and to the north.

Number of speakers: 2,845 TP*.

The DIDINGA consist of two sections: LOWUDO and CHUKUDUM (also known as 'Nagichot'—a place-name). There are slight differences in their speech—mainly phonetic.

LONGARIM, own name (ð̥ð̥ kɪ l̥arim̥). LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: LONGARIM, call themselves larim (Sing. lariminit), called BOYA by the Toposa.

Where spoken: On the Boya Hills north of the DIDINGA.²

¹ DIDINGA: Driberg, 'The Didinga language' (*M.S.O.S.*, 1931); Tucker, unpublished material. LONGARIM: Tucker, unpublished material. MURLE: Lyth, *Murle grammar*; Tucker, 'Notes on Murle ("Beir")' (*Afrika und Übersee*, 1952). SURI: Lyth, unpublished material.

² Note that on the map accompanying Cerulli's 'Il linguaggio dei Tirma, popolazione della zona del lago Rodolfo' (*Oriente Moderno*, 1942) the LONGARIM are erroneously shown in the extreme west of the southern Sudan.

Number of speakers: 923 TP*.

Several villages on Lafit Hill are inhabited by *IRENGE* who call themselves *tennet*, and are called *irɛŋɛ* by LOTUHO-speakers, *tenat* by the Longarim and Murle. Muratori¹ reports that they claim to have come from Boma, and to speak like the *MURLE*, with whom they are in touch. No linguistic material is available, so that it is not possible to state whether their speech is a language or a dialect of either LONGARIM or MURLE.

MURLE, own name *ðõð mùrle*. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: MURLE, call themselves *mùrlê* (Sing. *murlény*). Many names have been applied at one time or another to these people. The Dinka call them *BEIR*, and this name has frequently been used by Europeans,² the Anuak call them *AʒIBA*, another name used by Europeans, and variously spelt *ADʒIBBA*, *AGIBA*, *AʒIBBA*.³ Other names are: 'Boma' (i.e. the Boma plateau), *KAPETA* (*EPEITA*, *KAPEITA*, &c.), the Jiye name for the *MURLE* at Pibor Post, *LOTILLA* (*ROTILLA*), the name of a river.

Where spoken: In two separate areas in the Sudan:

- On the Pibor river near Pibor Post, and on and around the Maruwa Hills. This section of the tribe is known as the 'Pibor *MURLE*', and referred to by the other section as *ɔl ci lotilla* (= people of the Lotilla). They are semi-nomadic and pastoral.
- On the Boma Plateau and to the east and north. This section of the tribe is known as the 'Boma *MURLE*', and referred to by the other section as *ɔl ci bom* (= people of Boma). The nickname *ɲalam* is also given to the Boma *MURLE* by those of Pibor (but see under *MASONGO*, p. 90). They are agricultural.
- There is also said to be a section of *MURLE* in Ethiopia, on the River Omo (the 'Omo *MURLE*'), and according to B. Lewis⁴ they are known to the other *MURLE* as *mandarec* or *ɲandarec*. They are mentioned by several of the older writers,⁵ but there is no reference to them in the recent writings of Chiomiò, Cerulli, or Grottanelli, and on recent maps the *GELEBA* or *MARILLE*⁶ are shown in the area previously said to be occupied by the *MURLE*. It is possible that they have now died out, but this point needs further investigation. Moreover, there has been considerable confusion between the names *MURLE* (*MURULE*, &c.) and *MARILLE* (*MARLE*, *MERILLE*, &c.) in this area.⁷

Number of speakers: Pibor *MURLE* estimated at c. 40,000.⁸

¹ Personal communication.

² e.g. Logan, 'The Beirs' (*S.N.R.*, 1918).

³ There is also a River Ajiba, rising on the Boma plateau and flowing north into River Akobo.

⁴ Personal communication.

⁵ See Bryan, 'A linguistic no-man's land' (*Africa*, 1945).

⁶ A little-known people speaking a CUSHITIC language (see p. 130).

⁷ See Bryan, op. cit.

⁸ Lyth, *Murle grammar*.

SURI. LANGUAGE.¹

Spoken by: *SURI*, call themselves *SURI* (*CHURI*, *SHURI*, *DHURI*), called *KICHEPO* (*KACHIPA*, *KACHIPO*, &c.) by the Jiye, *DHUÁK* (*THUAK*, *ZUAK*, *DZUAK*) by the Anuak and the Boma Murle.

Where spoken: On the Boma Plateau among the *MURLE*, extending into Ethiopia (the headquarters of the tribe are at Koma, about Lat. 6° 01', Long. 35° 07'); a few *SURI* live north-east of the Boma Plateau in the Meyun district;² also north-east of Koma, at Zulimamu (but see *ZELMAMU* p. 90) and to the north on River Kari.

Number of speakers: estimated at 3,950.

MEKAN. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: *MEKAN* (*MIE'EN*, *MIEKEN*, *MEQAN*), called *SURO*, *SHURO* by the Kaffa, *SURMA* (*DURMA*) by the Gimira; also known as *TISHANA* (this being their habitual greeting).

Where spoken: In Ethiopia, in a horseshoe-shaped territory which separates the *MAʒI* from the *GIMIRA*, and eastwards as far as the Omo valley.³

Very little linguistic material is available,⁴ but there is considerable vocabulary resemblance to other units of this Group, and the few examples of verbs given indicate that verbal behaviour appears to be likewise similar to the rest of the Group.

Conti Rossini states that the language of the *TIRMA* (see below) is the same as that of the *MEKAN*.

The languages or dialects spoken by the following appear to belong to this Group, but are still very little known:

TIRMA (*TIRIMA*), west of the *MAʒI* on River Kibish and on Tid and Birima mountains, on the Sudan-Ethiopian border. Chiomiò⁵ states that they are also to be found on the Boma Plateau, but as he calls these people *KACHEPO* he is probably referring to the *SURI*. Certain non-*MAʒI* people living among the *MAʒI* are of *TIRMA* origin, and of these some have retained their own speech, while others have adopted the CUSHITIC language of the *MAʒI* (see p. 129).

TID (*TIDI*), south of the *TIRMA* on Mount Tid (Naita). According to Chiomiò⁶ they consist of three sections:

GUREDİRMA (note the similarity of the name to *TIRMA*);

KAMARTANI;

KARABACHICH (*CHACH* or *CHAICH* (probably *cac*) may be either the name by which the *TID* call themselves, or that of a section of the tribe).

Chiomiò also states that some of the *TID* emigrated to the Bako area in Ethiopia,

¹ From Lyth, 'The Suri tribe' (*S.N.R.*, 1947).

² *MEYUN* is the name of a *SURI* clan.

³ Fr. Borello reports that he failed to find any *MEKAN*-speakers in this area (personal communication).

⁴ Conti Rossini, 'I Mekan o Suro nell'Etiopia del sud-ovest e il loro linguaggio' (*R.R.A.L.*, 1914); 'Lingue nilotiche' (*R.S.O.*, 1926). In both these articles vocabularies from the MSS. of d'Abbadie are reproduced, with comments.

⁵ 'I Magi (Masi) nell'Etiopia del sud-ovest' (*R.S.E.*, 1941).

⁶ *Ibid.*

across the Omo river. These may be the *TDAMA* referred to by Conti Rossini¹ and other writers.

ZELMAMU (*ZELMAMO*, *ZULMAMU*), north of the *TIRMA*. They are considered by Cerulli² and others as a separate, but related tribe. Lyth,³ however, states that Zelmamu or Zulimamu is merely the name of a locality inhabited by the *SURI*.

MASONGO? DIALECT CLUSTER?

A multiplicity of nomenclature combined with a paucity of linguistic material makes it impossible to state with any degree of accuracy what language or dialects is/are spoken by the tribe, tribes, or tribal sections designated by the various names given below.

The people concerned live in Ethiopia, in an area bounded by Rivers Baro in the north and Bako in the south, by the territory of the *MOCHA* in the east and that of the *ANUAK* in the west; a few live farther north in the Gore area, and to the south on River Akobo.

According to Brotto⁴ they call themselves *MAJANGIR* (Italian spelling *MAGIANGHIR*; other versions of the name *MOJANG*, *OJANG*, *UJANG*) and are called *MASANGO* by the Galla, *MASHANGO* by the Mocha (also *MASONGO*, *MAJANGO*, *MAGENO*). They are also known to neighbouring peoples as *TAMA*, *TDAMA*, *TTAMA*, *DAMA*.⁵

According to Lyth,⁶ *MOJANG* (*mojan*) and *NGALAM* (*ḡalam*) are two sections of one tribe, the *MOJANG* (c. 600) on River Yobia, the *NGALAM* (c. 1,500) between River Akobo and the Gurrarfarda range. They claim a common origin with the *MANTARAICH* (*mandarec*) section of the *MURLE*.⁷ (Note that *ḡalam* is a nickname of the Boma *MURLE*.)

Linguistic material consists almost entirely of short vocabularies, which show some resemblance to those of the DIDINGA-MURLE Group. There is, however, noticeable divergence between the vocabularies of *OJANG* and *MASANGO*⁸ on the one hand, and *OLAM* and *DALAM* (of Ukwaa on River Akobo)⁹ on the other. Fuller material on *MASONGO*¹⁰ is still insufficient for classification; Cerulli classes this language in the DIDINGA-MURLE Group, but the grammatical differences are too great for this classification to be acceptable at this stage (verbal behaviour, for instance, does not appear to be that typical of the Group), and further research is needed.

Linguistic material on the speech of the following peoples is negligible.¹¹

MURZU (*MURSI*, *MURZI*, &c.), in Ethiopia, between the Omo river and its

¹ 'Sui linguaggi parlata a nord dei laghi Rodolfo e Stefania' (*Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927). See also under *MASONGO*.

² 'Il linguaggio dei Tirma, popolazione della zona del lago Rodolfo' (*Oriente Moderno*, 1942).

³ Personal communication.

⁵ But see under *TID*, above.

⁷ See p. 88.

⁹ Short MS. vocabularies of *OLAM* (Evans-Pritchard) and *DALAM* (Lyth).

¹⁰ Cerulli, 'Il linguaggio dei Masongo nell'Etiopia occidentale' (*R.S.E.*, 1948).

¹¹ Conti Rossini, 'Sui linguaggi . . .'

⁴ 'I Magianghir' (*R.S.E.*, 1947).

⁶ Personal communication.

⁸ Short MS. vocabularies (Evans-Pritchard).

tributary the Usno, and between the Omo and Kibish rivers. In this area are the mountains known as Ngilibong, and the name *NGALIBONG* (*NGALIA-BONG*, *KALIBONG*) may thus perhaps refer to the *MURZU*.

Chiomio¹ says that they speak the same dialect as the *TID*, Conti Rossini² that they perhaps speak *MEKAN*.

KERRE. There is no mention of these people in recent writings, but they are described by older writers³ as living north of the *MURZU* on the left bank of the Omo river.

Conti Rossini⁴ suggests that their language may be related to that of the *MEKAN*.

They may be the same as the *NKERA* mentioned by Shackleton⁵ as living north of the *DONGIRO* (*DONYIRO*, see p. 110) and differing from them in language.

Note on nomenclature

The name *SURI* does not occur in the writings of Italian authorities, but the name *SURMA*, which they frequently use, almost certainly refers to the same people. The name *SURO* (*SHURO*), said to be a nickname meaning 'negroes', is so similar as to suggest that it may be yet another version of the same name; in fact, according to Chiomio,⁶ *SURMA* is the *GIMIRA* version of *SURO*. Conti Rossini⁷ suggests that *SURMA* may be a collective name applied to several tribes in the area, and Chiomio uses the term 'the *SURMA* people' to include the *TIRMA*, &c. *TIRMA* may, indeed, be the same as *SURMA*.

The name *NIKOROMA* (*NYIKOROMA*, &c.), used by Nalder⁸ as a tribal name, appears to be applied to some or all of the *SURI-TIRMA-TID* people, probably by the Turkana or Toposa. The *NYIKOROMA* are said to be a branch of the *KICHEPO* (i.e. *SURI*), and to be called *MURSIA* by the Marille (cp. *MURZU?*); according to Shackleton⁹ it is the *TID* who are called *NKOROMA* by the Turkana and *MURUTUIN* by the Marille. Conti Rossini¹⁰ suggests that *KORMA* (Italian spelling *CORMÀ*) may be identical with *SURMA*. Note that the *TID* are called *DOLOT* by the Tirma, and compare *SURMA KUMERU DOLOTI* given by Conti Rossini as a name for part of the *SURMA*. It is thus possible that all these names are variants of the same.

¹ 'I Magi (Masi) nell'Etiopia del sud-ovest.'

³ von Höhnel, Bottego, &c.

⁵ MS. notes.

⁷ 'I Mekan o Suro . . .'

⁹ MS. notes.

² 'Sui linguaggi . . .'

⁴ 'I Mekan o Suro . . .'

⁶ Op. cit.

⁸ *A tribal survey of Mongalla Province.*

¹⁰ 'I Mekan o Suro . . .' (quoting Bottego).

28. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP? BAKO

Where spoken: Ethiopia, east of the Omo river.

Virtually no linguistic material has been published. The existence of this Group was postulated by Cerulli,¹ who calls it NILOTIC.

Languages or dialects placed by him in this Group are spoken by:

BAKO (*BAKA, BAKKO*), call themselves *are*, Bako being the headquarters of the tribe; in Bako District, between Rivers Omo and Sagan (Galana Sagan).

ARE may be the same as *ARO* mentioned by older writers.²

DIME, north of the *BAKO* in the bend of the Omo.

GAYI, south-east of the *BAKO*.

BIYA (*BIYE*),³ east of the *BAKO*, north of the *GAYI*.

BUSSA,⁴ east of the *GAYI*.

AMAR (*AMARR, HAMAR, AMAR KOKKE, HAMERKOKE, &c.*), called *NKAMAR* by the Turkana; north-west of Lake Stephanie on the Amar Mountains (the *ARBORE* occupying the lowlands).⁵

¹ *Etiopia Occidentale*, 1927-8; 'I risultati linguistici dei miei viaggi in Etiopia . . .' (*C. R. Congr. Inst. Int. Langues et Civilisations Afr.*, 1931). 'Il linguaggio degli Amar Cocche e quello degli Arbore della zona del lago Stefania' (*R.S.E.*, 1942). We have not seen his material on these languages, which is unpublished.

² See da Casotto, 'Note sulle popolazioni dell'alto e medio Galana' (*Studi Etiopici raccolti da Conti Rossini*, 1945).

³ Included in this Group in *Etiopia Occidentale*, but not mentioned elsewhere.

⁴ The speech of these people may, however, belong to the KONSŌ-GELEBA Group of CUSHITIC languages (see p. 131).

⁵ Note that the vocabulary given by Donaldson Smith (*Through unknown African countries*) under the heading 'Arbore-Amarr' is not AMAR but ARBORE (CUSHITIC, see p. 131).

29. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP OR UNIT? TEUSO

Where spoken: Eastern Uganda.

The speech of the following small groups of people in Uganda appears, from vocabularies, to be unrelated to any other. Enough is common to the different vocabularies available to suggest that they may be those of dialects of a Cluster or Languages of a Group.

TEUSO (*TEUTH*),¹ called *NGULAK* by the Turkana and Jie; on the Karamoja-Turkana escarpment in Timir forest—also reported as being on Mount Debasien (but see *TEPES* below).

Number: c. 1,500.²

'*DOROBO*',³ on the Karamoja-Turkana escarpment.

TEPES (*TEPETH*),⁴ in Karamoja District, on Mounts Debasien (Kadam), Moroto, and Nopak (Kamalinga).

Number: a few hundreds.

NYANGEYA (*NYANGIA, NYANGIYA*),⁵ call themselves *UPALE*; on the southern part of the Nyangeya range.⁶

¹ Short vocabulary collected by G. R. King; vocabulary of about 60 words by J. C. Dakin (both unpublished).

² Gulliver, *The central Nilo-Hamites*.

³ Wayland, 'Preliminary studies of tribes of Karamoja' (*J.R. Anthropol. Inst.* 1931)—short vocabulary. The name *DOROBO* is apparently here used to denote a small group of people differing in language and culture from their neighbours. These people should not be confused with the *DOROBO* who speak NANDI dialects (see p. 115).

⁴ Vocabulary of about 60 words by J. C. Dakin (unpublished).

⁵ Driberg, 'Lotuko dialects' (*Amer. Anthropologist*, 1932)—vocabulary; vocabulary of about 60 words by J. C. Dakin (unpublished).

⁶ Note that the *POREN* on the northern part of the Nyangeya range are also known as *NYANGEYA* (see *TESO* Group of NILO-HAMITIC languages, p. 111).

30. THE NILOTIC LANGUAGES (LARGER UNIT)

THE NILOTIC languages, comprising

DINKA	Single Unit
NUER	Language Group
Northern LWO	Language Group ✓
Southern LWO	Language Group

are spoken in the southern Sudan and the northern part of Uganda, extending in the west into the Belgian Congo and in the east into Kenya.

Within the Larger Unit, DINKA and NUER are fairly closely interrelated, over against the LWO languages. The latter are, however, here treated as two separate Groups, as there are important differences between them, Northern LWO having more in common with DINKA and NUER than has Southern LWO.

For discussion of the affinities of this Larger Unit with the NILO-HAMITIC languages see pp. 149-50; see also pp. 150-3.

SINGLE UNIT: DINKA

DINKA, own name THOD (DE) JIED (toŋ (de) jien). DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: DINKA, call themselves *JIED* (jien, jian).

Where spoken: In the southern Sudan (for details see below).

Number of speakers: See under tribal sections below.

The DINKA tribes are divided, geographically, into four main groups:

Northern: mostly in Northern District, Upper Nile Province, but also on the left bank of the Nile as far as the Bahr el Zeraf, and on the right bank around Lake No as far as the Bahr el Ghazal;

Eastern: on the right bank of the Nile from south-east of Ayod to around Malek;
Central: on the left bank of the Nile between Shambe in the north and Malek in the south;

Western: west of the NUER, mostly in Jur River and Aweil Districts.

Dialectal differences correspond approximately to geographical; each sub-tribe or section has minor dialectal variations, but within each area the dialects are more or less interintelligible.

All four main dialects of DINKA (PADANG, BOR, AGAR, REK) are used in education in both Government and Mission schools, and in administration. The New Testament has been published in the BOR and PADANG dialects, and parts of the New Testament in other dialects. There is a fair number of readers and other school books.

1. *Dialect:* PADANG, own name PADAD.

Spoken by: PADANG, call themselves *PADAD*, a general name, used to cover: *ABIALANG*, call themselves *ABIALAD*, sometimes known as *DINKA-IBRAHIM*; around Renk on the right bank of the Nile.

Number: c. 7,200*.

The *ABIALANG* consist of three sections (north to south):

BAWOM (*BOWOM*), call themselves *BAWOM*;

AKOON, call themselves *AKOON*;

GIEL, call themselves *GIEL*.

PALOC (*PALOIC*), call themselves *PALOC*; south of the *ABIALANG* around Melut and Khor Adar.¹

Number: c. 13,400*.

The *PALOC* (the name was originally a geographical term) consist of:

AGEER (*AGEIR*), call themselves *AGEER*;

ABUYA (an offshoot of the *AGER*);

BEER, call themselves *BEER* (béër);

NIEL (*NYEL*), call themselves *NIEL*.

DONGJOL (*DONJOL*), call themselves *DODJOL*, on the right bank of the Nile opposite Kodok.

Number: c. 9,000*.

The speech of the *DONGJOL* has been chosen as 'literary' PADANG.

The following tribes speak dialects which are nearer to PADANG than to other DINKA dialects, but it is not certain whether PADANG will serve as the literary dialect for these tribes.

NGOK (*NGORK*), call themselves *DOK*; on both banks of River Sobat from the *SHILLUK* boundary 35 miles from its junction with the Nile, for about 60 miles upstream to the *NUER* boundary; also on Khor Filus (Fellus). Another large section of the *NGOK*, known as *JOK*, live in Western Kordofan.

Number: *NGOK* c. 16,000*; *JOK* 5,000 TP*.

The *NGOK* dialect has been used in education in the past; a few books exist.

THOI, call themselves *THOI* (toi), on Khor Filus in Central Nuer District.

Number: 366 TP*.

RUT, on the right bank of the Bahr el Zeraf.

Number: 515 TP*.

LUAC (*LUAIC*), call themselves *LUAC*, on Khor Filus.

Number: 695 TP*.

Note: Both the *THOI* and *RUT* speak NUER as well as their own DINKA dialects.

RUWENG (*RUENG*), call themselves *RUWED*, in Western Nuer District, also farther to the north-west.

Number: 7,839 TP*.

The *RUWENG* consist of the following sections:

KWIL, between the Bahr el Ghazal east of Long. 30° and Kordofan Province boundary (i.e. north and west of Lake No);

¹ To be distinguished from Khor Atar in Central Nuer District.

AWET, in the same area as the *KWIL* and northwards to Lake Abiad;

ALOR, in an area bounded in the north by the territory of the *HUMR ARABS*, in the south by the Bahr el Ghazal, in the east by the *BUL NUER*, and in the west by the *NGOK* (*ʃOK*), to whom they are closely allied;

PAWENG, call themselves *PAWED*, on the left bank of the Nile between the *KWIL* and the *SHILLUK*; also on Khor Atar in Central Nuer District.

2. *Dialect: BOR.*

Spoken by: BOR (*BOR GOK*), call themselves *BOR*; at and around Bor on the right bank of the Nile.

*Number: 5,813 TP**.

BORATHOI (*BOR ATHOIC*), call themselves *ATHOC* (aṭoc), in Bor District north of the *BOR*.

*Number: 5,230 TP**.

Closely related dialects are spoken by the following:

GHOL, call themselves *ʃOL*, south of the *GAWAAR NUER* (whose dialect they also speak.

*Number: 2,051 TP**.

NYARUENG (*NYARWENG, NYARREWENG*), call themselves *NYARUED*, south of the *GHOL*. They also speak the dialect of the *LOU NUER*.

*Number: 1,980 TP**.

TWI, south of the *NYARUENG*.

*Number: 8,825 TP**.

3. *Dialect: AGAR.*

Spoken by: AGAR, south-east of Tonj, north of Rumbek.

Number: c. 16,000.¹

Closely related dialects are spoken by:

ALIAB, south-east of the *AGAR* (*AKER* section); south of the *BOR*, in a few fishing-villages mainly on the right bank of the Nile (*THANY* section).

*Number: AKER c. 550 TP;² THANY 508 TP**.

GOK, call themselves *GOK*, between the *AGAR* and the *REK*, in Jur River and Lakes Districts.

Number: c. 6,000 TP.³

The dialect of the *GOK* is largely influenced by *AGAR*, but also slightly by *REK*, and contains a number of *ARABIC* loan-words.

CIEC (*CIC, CHICH*),⁴ call themselves *CIEC*; in Lakes District on the left bank of the Nile.

Number: c. 5,500 TP,⁵ in three sections: KWAC, AʃAK, and ADOR.

¹ Figures from Tucker, 'Survey of language groups in the southern Sudan' (*B.S.O.S.* 1935) (probably now out of date).

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Possibly the *KESH* or *SHESH* mentioned by some writers (e.g. S. L. Cummings, 'Sub-tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinkas', *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1904).

⁵ Tucker, op. cit.

4. *Dialect: REK.*

Spoken by: REK (*RAIK*), call themselves *REK*, in Jur River District, from Wau in the south-west and Tonj in the south to Meshra in the east, and across River Jur in the north; also in Aweil District.

*Number: 39,050 TP**.

The *REK* consist of 24 sections, of which the chief are:

APUK, AWAN, AGWOK, LAU.

Closely related dialects are spoken by:

LUAC (*LUAIC*), call themselves *LUAC*, east of the *REK*, south-east of Meshra, on the eastern side of Jur River District.

*Number: 3,510 TP**.

TUIC (*TWIC, TWICH, TWIʃ*), call themselves *TUIC*, north of the *REK*.

*Number: 12,600 TP**.

The *TUIC* consist of thirteen sections, of which the chief are:

THON, ADHIANG, AMIOL, NYANG.

PALIET (*BALIET*), call themselves *PALIET*, a branch of the *REK* between the Aweil Road and River Lol, on both banks of River Pongo (Kpango).

*Number: 4,370 TP**.

The *PALIET* consist of the following sections:

AʃAK; KONGDER (*KONDAIR*), call themselves *KODDEER* (kón-deer); *BUONCUAI* (*BWON SHWAI*), call themselves *BUON CUAI* (bwóncwài); *THANY BUR* (*TAINBOUR*), call themselves *THANY BUR* (ʃany búr).

MALUAL (*MALWAL*), call themselves *MALUAL*, between the Bahr el Arab in the north and River Lol in the south.

*Number: 9,410 TP**.

The *MALUAL* consist of the following sections:

KOROK, call themselves *KOROK*; *ATOKTHOU* (*ATOKTO*), call themselves *ATOKTHOU* (atóktʃú); *PETH* (pet); *MAKEM*, call themselves (*M*)*AKEM*; *DULIT* (*DULUIT*), call themselves *DULIIT* (see also under *ABIEM* below).

PALIOUPINY (*PALIOPING, PLYOUPINY*), call themselves *PALIOUPINY* (palyóúpiny), south and south-west of the *MALUAL*.

*Number: 8,300 TP**.

The *PALIOUPINY* consist of the following sections:

GOMJUER (*GOMJIER*), call themselves *GOMJUER*; *CIMEL* (*CEMEL, CHEMIEL*), call themselves *CIMEL*; *AJUET* (*AJWET*), call themselves *AJUET*; *AKUANG AYAT* (*AKWAK AYAT*), call themselves *AKUANG AYAT*.

ABIEM, between the *MALUAL* and *PALIET* from the Bahr el Arab in the north across River Lol in the south.

*Number: 13,800 TP**.

ABIEM (*abíém*) is a general name covering several tribes or sections:

DULIT (southern); *WUNDING* (*WUNEDING*), call themselves *WUN-DIID*; *AKANY* *ʒOK* (*AKERN* *ʒOK*), call themselves *AKANY* *ʒOK*; *APUOTH* (*APWOT*), call themselves *APUOTH* (*apuot*); *AʒONG THI* (*AʒUONG THI*), call themselves *AʒOD THI* (*ajɔŋ ti*); *ANEI* (*WUN ANEI*), call themselves *ANEI*; *AʒONG DIT* (*AʒUONG DIT*), call themselves *AʒOD DIT*; *LOU* (*LAU*), call themselves *LɔU*.

REK is now also used as the medium of education and literacy for the *ʒUR* (*LWO*-speakers), and is spoken as second language by all speakers of the *THURI* Dialect Cluster.

LANGUAGE GROUP: *NUER*

Consists of: *NUER* Dialect Cluster.
ATUOT Dialect Cluster.

Where spoken: Almost entirely in the southern Sudan.

NUER, own name *THOG NAATH* (*toŋ náãð*). **DIALECT CLUSTER.**

Spoken by: *NUER*, call themselves *NAATH* (*náãð*); the *NUER* in Ethiopia are known as *ABBIGAR*, and this name has been used by some writers.

Where spoken: Mostly in Upper Nile Province, the main *NUER* territory being in and around the triangle formed by the Bahr el Zeraf and Bahr el Jebel (often referred to as Zeraf Island); also extending up River Sobat across the Ethiopian border.

Number of speakers: official estimate *c.* 260,000.

There are several main dialects, roughly corresponding to the geographical divisions of the *NUER* tribes.

NUER is used in education and administration. A few vernacular books (Gospels and elementary religious and school books) have been published. Both the *JIKANY* dialects (Eastern and Western) were formerly used in education and for literature. The dialect of the *THIANG*, who occupy a central position, has now been adopted as standard *NUER*.

Dialect: *THIANG*.

Spoken by: *THIANG*, call themselves *THIAD* (*tyän*), west of Bahr el Jebel.

Number: 2,516 TP*.

Closely related dialects are spoken by:

BUL, north of the Bahr el Ghazal (8 sections).

Number: 5,860 TP*.

LEEK (*LEIK*), call themselves *LEEY*, south of the *BUL* (4 sections).

Number: 4,825 TP*.

ʒAGEI, south of the *LEEK*.

Number: 2,377 TP*.

LAAK (*LAK*), north of the *THIANG*.

Number: 6,706 TP*.

GAWAAR (*GAWEIR*), call themselves *GAWÄÄR*, east of the Bahr el Jebel on Bahr el Zeraf, mainly on 'Zeraf Island'.

The dialect of the *GAWAAR* is also spoken by the *DINKA* living among them.

Dialect: *JIKANY* (Western).

Spoken by: *JIKANY* (*ʒEKAIN*, *ʒEKAING*, *ʒIKAIN*), call themselves *ʒIKÄNY* (the western section of the tribe), on the Bahr el Ghazal north of the *LAK* (4 sections).

Number: 2,935 TP*.

Closely related dialects are spoken by the *DOK* (call themselves *DOK*) (2,752 TP*) and *AAK* (1,193 TP*), west of the Bahr el Jebel. Both these tribes also call themselves *DAR CIED* (= in the centre).

Dialect: *LOU*.

Spoken by: *LOU* (*LAU*), call themselves *LɔU*, east of the *GAWAAR*, extending towards River Sobat.

Number: 12,499 TP*.

This dialect differs considerably from *THIANG*.

Dialect: *JIKANY* (Eastern).

Spoken by: *JIKANY* (Eastern section of the tribe), in the region of Nasser (Nasir) on the upper Sobat, extending across the border into Ethiopia.

Number: Sudan 17,600 TP*; number in Ethiopia not known.

This dialect is the farthest removed, both phonetically and in vocabulary, from all other known dialects of *NUER*.

Other dialects are spoken by:

NYUONG, call themselves *NYUOD*, west of the Bahr el Jebel.

Number: 1,123 TP*.

A Gospel in *NYUONG* has been published.

DOOR (*DOR*), west of the Bahr el Jebel.

Number: 1,553 TP*.

Various dialects of *NUER* are also spoken by the *DINKA* living along Khor Filus and near Fangak.

ATUOT. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: *ATUOT* (*ATWOT*), call themselves *ATUOT*.

Where spoken: In Lakes District near Yirrol, in an enclave among the *DINKA*.

Dialect: *APAK*.

Spoken by: *APAK* (*AFAK*).

Number: *c.* 2,300.¹

Dialect: *ARIL*.

Spoken by: *ARIL*.

Number: *c.* 5,600 TP.²

¹ Figures from Tucker, 'Survey of Language groups . . .' (probably out of date).

² *Ibid.*

LANGUAGE GROUP: NORTHERN LWO

Consists of:	SHILLUK	Language.
	ANUAK	Language.
	BURUN	Dialect Cluster?
	MABAN	Dialect Cluster?
	LWO	Language.
	THURI	Dialect Cluster.
	BOR	Language.

Where spoken: The southern Sudan, extending into Ethiopia.

SHILLUK, own name DHḐ CḐLḐ (ḐḐ cḐlḐ). LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: SHILLUK, call themselves CḐLḐ (nywḐli cḐlḐ, Sing. ócoolḐ).

Where spoken: In the Sudan: Upper Nile Province, between the Nile and Kordofan Province boundary, from Lat. 11° in the north to about 80 miles west of Tonga; also on the right bank of the Nile round the junction of the Nile and Sobat, and for about 20 miles up the River Sobat.

Number of speakers: estimated by Crazzolarà¹ at c. 110,000.

SHILLUK is used in education. A few vernacular books (Gospels and elementary readers) have been published.

ANUAK, own name DHḐ ANYWAA (ḐḐ anywaa). LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: ANUAK (ANYWAK), call themselves ANYWAE (anyuae, Sing. anyuaa); called NURO by the Toposa. The name YAMBO is used by the Ethiopians, and is officially recognized in Ethiopia.

Where spoken: Sudan: on the lower Akobo River, from Akobo Post to Lat. 6° 45'; Ethiopia: on the right bank of the Akobo and on Rivers Baro and Gila (Bako).

Number of speakers: estimated by Lyth² at c. 40,000, by Evans-Pritchard³ at c. 45,000, of which about 10,000 are in the Sudan.

ANUAK is also spoken by the PĀRI (PARI, FARI, BERRI), call themselves PĀRI (and their speech lúm(i) pāri), called LOKORO (lɔkɔrɔ), LOPOL (lɔpɔl) by neighbouring tribes; in the Sudan, on Lafon Hill north-east of Torit, also among the so-called MADI or ACOLI of Opari District.

Number: Lafon Hill 1,337 TP*; Opari District 6,000.⁴

BURUN. DIALECT CLUSTER?

Little is known about the languages or dialects known as BURUN, spoken in Gezira Province of the Sudan. The name BURUN (BARUN) is used by the Arabs, and has been adopted by Europeans to refer to a number of tribes in Gezira Province (including some whose languages are not NILOTIC, such as the UDUK and

¹ *The Lwoo people. 1. Lwo Migrations.*

² Personal communication.

³ 'Further observations on the political system of the Anuak' (S.N.R., 1947).

⁴ Crazzolarà, op. cit.

KOMA).¹ It is here used, however, only to refer to the NILOTIC languages or dialects spoken in this area, and to some of the people speaking them.

It is not known whether there are several languages, at present together designated as BURUN, or whether they are dialects of one, or two, Clusters. The latter appears probable, from the material available. That they are NILOTIC there is no doubt.

Tribes speaking BURUN dialects are:

BURUN (BARUN), also known as 'Hill BURUN', 'BURUN proper', or 'Northern BURUN', called lang by the Acoli, cai by the Nuer; in Fung District, on Jebels Mayah (Maiak), Kurmuk, Jerok, Mughaja, Abuldugu, &c. It does not appear that they call themselves by any one name; Evans-Pritchard² records the following:

The people of Kurmuk call themselves TARAK or BOIT, and are called MEKORMUK by those of Jebel Ulu;

the people of Mughaja call themselves MUMUGHADJA;

the people of Mufwa are called MOPO by those of Kurmuk;

the people of Abuldugu are called BOGON by those of Jebel Ulu, MUGO-MBORKOINA by those of Mughaja.

Number: estimated at 18,000*.

RAGREIG, east of the BURUN, an enclave among the BERTA.

Number: estimated at 3,500*.

MABAN. DIALECT CLUSTER?

Dialects, possibly constituting one Cluster, are spoken by:

MABAN (MEBAN, also known as 'Southern BURUN'), called GURA by the Berta; on the border of Gezira and Upper Nile Provinces, between Rivers Yabus and Tombak in the north and Khor Daga in the south. According to Evans-Pritchard³ they are called TUNGAN by the people of Kurmuk, BARGA by those of Ulu, TONKO by the Jumjum.

Number: estimated at 20,000*.

JUMJUM, called BERIN by the people of Kurmuk, OLGA by those of Ulu;⁴ along Khor Jumjum on Jebels Tunga (Tunya), Terta, and Wadega. According to Reidhead,⁵ 'some members of the tribe refer to themselves as WADEGA, but possibly this is true only of those who live on the hill of that name'. Evans-Pritchard distinguishes between the JUMJUM and the people of Wadega; he includes the JUMJUM in the general name of 'Southern BURUN', also the people of Jebel Ulu (called BEGU or MUNULU by the Jumjum) and of Jebel Gerawi. He states that the MABAN, JUMJUM and the people of Ulu can all understand each other's speech, but not that of the 'Northern BURUN'.

A Gospel and tract have been published in MABAN.

¹ See pp. 84-85.

² 'Ethnological observations in Dar Fung' (S.N.R., 1932).

³ Op. cit.

⁴ Evans-Pritchard, op. cit.

⁵ *Report of linguistic survey among tribes Berta, Ingassana, Koma, Uduk, Jum Jum, Maban.*

LWO (JUR, GIUR, LUO), own name DHE LWO (ǰé lúo). LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: ǰUR (LWO),¹ call themselves ǰO LWO (jo lúo, Sing. ólúo).

Where spoken: North of Wau towards Aweil, south-east of Wau as far as Tonj.

Number of speakers: Jur River District 4,120 TP*, Western District 660 TP*.

THURI. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialect: THURI, own name DHE THURI (ǰé ʈuri).

Spoken by: THURI (also known as SHATT),² call themselves ǰO THURI (jo ʈuri, or wáda ʈuri, Sing. óʈuri); on the Raga-Nyamlell road adjacent to the PALIOUPINY; also on the Wau-Dem Zubeir road.

Number: 372 TP*; Santandrea³ estimates the total at c. 3,800, Crazzolaro⁴ at 4,500.

Dialect: BODHO, own name DHE BǪǪDHǪ (ǰé bǪǪǪ).

Spoken by: BODHO (DEMBO, DEMEN, DOMBO), call themselves ǰO BǪǪDHǪ (jo bǪǪǪ or bwǪǪǪ), called bwǪǪǪ by the Jur; between Wau and Aweil.

Number: 197 TP*; Santandrea estimates the total at c. 3,500, Crazzolaro at 5,000.

Dialect: COLO, own name DHE CǪLǪ (ǰé cǪlǪ).

Spoken by: COLO (ǰUR SHOL), call themselves jo cǪlǪ; in the same area as the BODHO.

Number: c. 400 TP.

Dialect spoken by: MANANGEER (ǰUR MANANGEER), call themselves manǰeer; among the REK DINKA between Rivers Jur and Lol.

Number: 350 TP*; Crazzolaro estimates the total at 4,000.

All these tribes also speak DINKA and are practically absorbed into the DINKA.

BOR, own name DHE BOR (ǰé bor). LANGUAGE.⁵

Spoken by: BOR (the Nilotic section of the BELANDA⁶), call themselves ǰO BOR, called RODI by the Bviri (the non-Nilotic BELANDA).

Where spoken: Mainly along the Wau-Tembura road near Raffili, between Rivers Bo and Bussere; also farther south towards Tembura.

Number of speakers: estimated by Santandrea⁷ at about 3,000 near Raffili, and as

¹ The name ǰUR (a DINKA word meaning 'strangers') is also applied to several speakers of dialects of the THURI Cluster (see below); compare also the misleading use of the name for speakers of 'BELI dialects (see p. 12). JUR ABAT, given by Tucker ('Survey of language groups in the Southern Sudan', *B.S.O.S.*, 1935) as a tribal name, is stated by Santandrea ('Minor Shilluk sections in the Bahr el Ghazal', *S.N.R.*, 1938) to be a nickname for the ǰUR (LWO). Tucker also gives ǰUR WIR as a nickname for the MANANGEER; there is, however, a section of the REK DINKA north of Tonj, known as ǰURWEIR.

² The name SHATT is also applied by the Arabs to the inhabitants of the Shatt Hills in Kordofan, who speak a DAJU language (see p. 61).

³ *Grammatichetta Giur.*

⁴ *The Lwoo.*

⁵ To be distinguished from the BOR dialect of DINKA (see p. 96).

⁶ See note on the BELANDA under BVIRI (p. 21).

⁷ 'Shilluk Luo tribes in the Bahr el Ghazal' (*Anthropos*, 1942-5).

many more scattered among the ZANDE. More accurate figures are impossible to obtain, as the BOR and BVIRI are so much intermingled.

BOR is much influenced by BVIRI both in pronunciation and grammar.

LANGUAGE GROUP: SOUTHERN LWO

Consists of:	ACOLI	Language.
	LANGO	Language.
	KUMAM	Language.
	LABWOR	Language?
	LWO	Language.
	ALUR	Language.
	ADHOLA	Language.
	LUO	Language.

Where spoken: Uganda,¹ the north-eastern part of the Belgian Congo, and Opari District of the southern Sudan; the north-western part of Kenya, extending into the north-western corner of Tanganyika.

ACOLI (ACHOLI), own name LOG (DOK) ACOLI (log acólí in Uganda, dók ácòli in the Sudan), sometimes known as GANG. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: ACOLI (ACHOLI, ACOOLI, SHULI, &c.), call themselves ACOLI (ácólí); also known by the nickname GANG (ǰǰǰ), called jo ǰǰǰ or lo ǰǰǰ by the Lango and others, laǰǰǰ by the Alur.

Where spoken: Uganda: Acholi District. The boundaries of the District are approximately those of the tribe, except in the north where the ACOLI extend into the Sudan in Opari District (the Acholi Hills), where they are much mixed with LOTUHO-speaking peoples (see pp. 108-9). ACOLI are also to be found scattered through most parts of Uganda, in the police, army, &c.

Number of speakers: 209,161 in Uganda.

There are several minor local variants of the language (the differences being in vocabulary and pronunciation rather than in grammar). The 'standard' is generally taken as being the speech of the PAYIRA clan, whose headquarters are some 25 miles north-east of Gulu.

ACOLI is used in education in both Government and Mission schools, and in administration. Vernacular literature includes the New Testament, *Pilgrim's Progress*, and other religious books, and some readers and school books.

LANGO, own name LEB LADO. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: LANGO, call themselves LADO (laǰǰǰ miro).²

Where spoken: Uganda: Lango District and part of Acholi District.

Number of speakers: 265,296.

The LANGO are of NILO-HAMITIC origin, and the name LANGO is still to be found as a tribal name in the Sudan (see p. 109). It is also used in connexion with

¹ Figures mainly from 1948 Census.

² Huntingford, personal communication.

the *KARAMOJONG* and related tribes (p. 110), and the *KUMAM* see below. When the *LANGO* of Uganda moved to their present habitat they adopted a form of *ACOLI*, which is now considered as a separate language, and which still contains many *NILO-HAMITIC* words (notably the names of plants, which are almost identical with *TESO*).

KUMAM. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: *KUMAM* (*KUMAN*, *KUMUM*, *IKUMAMA*, *AKUM*, *AKOKOLEMU*, *IKOKOLEMU*), call themselves **laŋo ikokolemu**.

Where spoken: Uganda: mainly in Teso District, also in Lango District, between the *TESO* and *LANGO*.

Number of speakers: 55,900.

The *KUMAM*, like the *LANGO*, are of *NILO-HAMITIC* origin; their present language, however, is nearer to *LANGO* than to *TESO*, although it contains even more *TESO* words than does *LANGO*.¹

LABWOR, own name **log mé lábùòr**. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: *LABWOR*, call themselves **jí àbùòr** (Sing. **jà àbùòr**), called *TOBUR* by the Karamojong and others.

Where spoken: Uganda: On the Labwor Hills, on the borders of Karamoja and Acholi Districts.

Number of Speakers: c. 5,200.

The *LABWOR* are also said to speak a dialect of *KARAMOJONG* (see p. 110).²

LWO (DHOPALUO, DHO PA LWO, CHOPI). LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: *JO PA LWO* (*JAFALU*, *SHEPALU*, *SHIFALU*, *CHOPI*), call themselves **JO PA LWO** (**jò pà luo**), called **lòlòka** by the Acoli.

Where spoken: Uganda: mainly in the south-eastern part of Acholi District and the northern part of Bunyoro District.

Number of speakers: estimated at 5,000* in Bunyoro District; total estimated by Crazzolara³ at c. 6,000.

ALUR, own name DHO ALUR (**đo alúùr**). LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: *ALUR* (*ALURU*, *ALULU*, *LUR*), call themselves **JO ALUR** (**jo àlúùr**).

Where spoken: Uganda: north of Lake Albert, mainly in West Nile District; Belgian Congo, west of Lake Albert, in Territoire Mahagi.

Number of speakers: Uganda 80,697, Belgian Congo 72,542.⁴

¹ Information from J. C. D. Lawrance, who reports that the *KUMAM* understand *ACOLI*, but not *TESO*. Recent researches by Tucker confirm this classification (contr. Bryan and Tucker, *Distribution of the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic languages*, p. 32).

² Gulliver, *The Central Nilo-Hamites*.

³ *The Lwoo*.

⁴ van Bulck, *N.B.B.S.*

A form of *ALUR* is also spoken by:

JO NAM, call themselves **jò nam**, between the Nile at Pakwach and the Alur escarpment to the west.

Number: 15,492.

JUKOT and **WANYORO** (sections of the *BANTU*-speaking *WAHEMA* who have adopted *ALUR*; in the Belgian Congo).

Number: **JUKOT** 16,507, **WANYORO** 15,605.¹

ALUR is used in primary education, both in Uganda and in the Belgian Congo. The Bible has been published, also various religious and school books.

Note: The *MAMBISA* around Kilo in the Belgian Congo are a branch of the *ALUR*, but now speak *LENDU* (see p. 9).

ADHOLA (DHOPADHOLA, BUDAMA), own name **đó p áđólà**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: **JO P ADHOLA** (i.e. 'people of Adhola, **jo p áđólà**), called *BADAMA* by their Bantu-speaking neighbours (the name *BUDAMA*, used by Europeans, is really that of the district in which they live.)

Where spoken: Uganda: Mbale District, extending into Kenya.

Number of speakers: Uganda 73,037.

LUO, own name DHO LUO (**đó luò**). LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: *LUO* ('Nilotic Kavirondo', also known as *NYIFE*, *NIFE*—from the name of one of the tribal sections), call themselves **JO LUO** (**jò luò**). The name (*WA*-)*GAYA* has in the past been applied to those in the south of the area.

Where spoken: Kenya: Central, Southern, and Northern Nyanza Districts, extending southwards into the northern part of Tanganyika. The *LUO* are also to be found scattered through Kenya in the larger towns (especially Nairobi, Nakuru, and Mombasa) in considerable numbers.

Number of speakers: Kenya 725,585, Tanganyika c. 50,000.²

LUO is a name applied to a great number of hardly distinguishable tribes speaking one language; in spite of the number of tribes, the language is remarkably uniform.

LUO is used in education by missions (*SWAHILI* being the language of Government). There is an increasing volume of vernacular literature: the Bible has been published, and there are various religious and school books. Two books on tribal customs have been written by Africans. Two periodicals in *LUO* are published.

¹ van Bulck, *N.B.B.S.*

² 1948 Census.

31. THE NILO-HAMITIC LANGUAGES (LARGER UNIT)

THE NILO-HAMITIC languages, comprising

BARI	Single Unit
LOTUHO	Single Unit
TESO	Language Group
NGASA	Single Unit?
MAASAI	Single Unit
NANDI	Language Group

are spoken in the southern Sudan, in northern and eastern Uganda and the western part of Kenya, in northern Tanganyika and the north-eastern corner of the Belgian Congo.

BARI shows very great divergences from LOTUHO, the TESO Group, and MAASAI in pronominal and verbal behaviour, but has a very large common vocabulary of words and morphemes, and a common grammatical Gender system. The NANDI Group, on the other hand, while similar to LOTUHO, the TESO Group, and MAASAI in pronominal and verbal behaviour, has a large vocabulary of Roots not found in the other NILO-HAMITIC languages. Note also the absence of grammatical Gender in the NANDI Group.

All these languages, however, have considerable vocabulary relationship with the NILOTIC languages, the divergences being largely in their non-NILOTIC vocabulary.

For discussion of the affinities of this Larger Unit with the NILOTIC languages, see pp. 149-50; see also pp. 150-6.

SINGLE UNIT: BARI

BARI, own name **kútuk ná bàrì**. LANGUAGE, with subsidiary dialects.

Spoken by: BARI, call themselves **bàrì** (Sing. **bàrínft**).

Where spoken: Southern Sudan: on both banks of the Nile—south of Terakeka on the left bank, of Mongalla on the right bank, as far as the Kajo Kaji escarpment (i.e. from Lat. 5° 30' N. on the left bank, 5° 15' N. on the right bank, to just south of Lat. 4° 15').

Number of speakers: 35,010.¹

BARI is used in primary education and in administration for all speakers of BARI dialects in the Sudan. It is spreading rapidly, and is understood not only by speakers of BARI dialects but by most of the *OLU'BO* (see p. 5) and in parts of *LOTUHO* and *MADI* country; it is replacing the mother-tongue of the *LOKOYA*. The New Testament has been published, also other religious books, readers, and school textbooks (see also under *KAKWA*).

¹ Huntingford, *The Northern Nilo-Hamites. The Report of the Rejaf Language Conference* (Sudan Government Office, 1928), mentions over 8,000 BARI in the Belgian Congo. There is perhaps some confusion with the *BÀRI-LOGO* (see p. 3).

Dialect: NYEPU.

Spoken by: NYEPU (*NYEFU, NYEPO, NYPHO*); north-west of Kajo Kaji, between the *KAKWA* and *KUKU*.

Number: 2,806*, total 3,496 according to Huntingford.

According to Janson Smith,¹ their dialect is the most closely related to BARI; they claim to be of *PÖJULU* origin.

Dialect: MONDARI, own name **kútúk nà m̀ndàrì**.

Spoken by: MONDARI (*MANDARI, MUNDARI*), call themselves **m̀ndàrì** (Sing. **m̀ndàrìcò'**); in four areas: (a) on the right bank of the Nile opposite Terakeka; (b) on the left bank, north of Terakeka as far as Tombe; (c) round Tindalu (a few only); (d) round Tali.

Number: 35,812.²

The dialect spoken in areas (a) and (b) is identical; there are slight local variants in areas (c) and (d).

Note: Several writers refer to the *SHIR* (*CHIR, KIR*) (**çérà** Sing. **çéràcò**). They are probably identical with the *MONDARI*.

Dialect: PÖJULU, own name **pöjúlú**.

Spoken by: PÖJULU (*PÄJULU, FADJULU, FAJELU, &c.*), call themselves **pöjúlú**; in four areas: (a) between Lat. 4° 35' and 4° 45' N., Long. 31° and 31° 45' E. (approx.); (b) between Lat. 5° and 5° 15' N., Long. 31° 15' and 31° 30' E. (approx.); (c) round Loka, mainly to the north-west; (d) a tiny enclave on the Belgian Congo border north of Aba.

Number: Sudan 24,594,³ Belgian Congo, c. 200.⁴

PÖJULU is also spoken by about 1,200 so-called *MADI* in the Sudan, near Opari.

Dialect: NYANGBARA.

Spoken by: NYANGBARA (*NYANGWARA, NYAMBARA*), call themselves **nyangbara**;⁵ in three areas: (a) between Lat. 4° 45' and 5° 15' N., Long. 31° 15' and 31° 45' E. (approx.); (b) between Lat. 5° 15' and 5° 30' N., Long. 31° and 31° 15' E. (approx.); (c) between Lat. 5° 15' and 5° 30' N., Long. 31° 15' and 31° 30' E. (approx.).

Number: 17,762.⁶

Dialect: KUKU, own name **kútúk na kùku**.

Spoken by: KUKU, call themselves **kuku**; on the Kajo Kaji plateau, and in Uganda: West Nile District, Madi sub-district.

Number: Sudan 23,563*, Uganda 293.⁷

¹ Personal communication.

² Huntingford, *The Northern Nilo-Hamites*.

³ Ibid.

⁴ van Bulck, however, states that no PÖJULU-speakers are now to be found in the Belgian Congo; they apparently speak *KAKWA* or *LOGO*.

⁵ **ngb** is here used to represent a labio-velar nasal compound (see p. 5, note).

⁶ Huntingford, *op. cit.*

⁷ All figures for Uganda from the 1948 Census, unless otherwise stated.

Dialect: KAKWA.

Spoken by: KAKWA (KAKUA, KWAKWAK), in Yei District of the Sudan, extending into the Belgian Congo in the west, at Aba, and in the south, around Mahagi; in Uganda, West Nile District.

Number: Sudan 45,345,¹ Belgian Congo 17,200*, Uganda 21,533.

A beginning was made at using KAKWA as a medium of education, and a few vernacular books exist, including a Gospel in KAKWA of the Sudan and one in KAKWA of the Congo (there are slight local variants within the dialect).

KAKWA is the BARI dialect farthest removed from BARI itself, the differences being mainly in vocabulary, though there are some phonetic and grammatical differences.

The KULU'BA living among the KAKWA in Uganda are described by Spagnolo² as remnants of a BARI-speaking tribe. It has, however, also been suggested that they speak a 'Low' LUGBARA dialect (see p. 4).

Note: The LIGGI, referred to in the writings of Czekanowski³ and others, are not a tribe but a hunting clan. Other clans or submerged peoples living among the BARI-speaking tribes are the TOMONOK (smiths) and the 'DUPI. Though the 'DUPI at least are distinguished in stature and general physiognomy from the LUI or 'aristocratic' BARI, they have no separate language.

SINGLE UNIT: LOTUHO

LOTUHO, own name ótuxò'. LANGUAGE, with subsidiary dialects.

Spoken by: LOTUHO (LOTUXO, LOTUKO, LATUKO, LATTUKA, &c.), call themselves ótuxò' (Sing. ótuxònj'), or ólotòrit.

Where spoken: Sudan: in the plains round Torit, mainly to the north and east.

Number of speakers: 9,063 TP.⁴

LOTUHO is used in primary education for all speakers of LOTUHO dialects; also for the PARI (ANUAK-speaking, see p. 100) and the IRENGE (see p. 108). It is also spoken by some of the so-called MADI (the ILERIJI) near Opari. A few religious books and school readers have been published.⁵

Dialect spoken by: LOGIR, on the Imatong Hills.

Number: (included in figures for LANGO).

Dialect spoken by: LOGIRI, on the Dongotono Hills north-east of the LOGIR.

Dialect spoken by: LOMYA, call themselves lomya, on the Lafit Hills.

Number: 970 TP*.

Dialect: DONGOTONO, own name (ibàlit na) ðəŋə̀tə̀nə̀.

Spoken by: DONGOTONO, call themselves ðəŋə̀tə̀nə̀, called ðəŋə̀tə̀lə̀ by the

¹ Huntingford, op. cit.

² Forschungen im Nil-Kongo Zwischengebiet.

⁴ Huntingford, op. cit.

⁵ Muratori gives a bibliography in Grammatica Lotuxo (pp. xxvii-xxviii).

² Bari grammar.

Lotuho; on the Dongotono Hills east of Torit, with a small offshoot in the Madial area.

Number: (included in figures for LANGO).

Dialect spoken by: LOWUDO, north of Torit.

Dialect spoken by: LORWAMA (LOWAMA), around Madial.

According to Muratori¹ this dialect closely resembles DONGOTONO, but is not inter-intelligible with LOTUHO.

This dialect is also spoken by the LOKATHAN or BIRA, call themselves ketebo, on the Acholi Hills south-east of the DONGOTONO (but see p. 111).

Dialect: rórí ne lə̀pít.

Spoken by: LOPIT (LOPPIT), call themselves lə̀lə̀pít; on Lafit Hill.

Dialect: LANGO.

Spoken by: LANGO,² call themselves LAO (laŋə̀); south-east of Torit on the Imatong and southern Dongotono Hills.

Number: 3,876, with LOGIR and DONGOTONO.

Note: The name LANGO is often loosely used to cover several dialects spoken in this area. Some of the so-called ACOLI of Torit District (the LOLIBAI and LOGIRI) speak a LANGO dialect.

Dialect: nétük ə̀n ə̀yó̀riük.

Spoken by: KORIOK (KORIOK), call themselves ə̀lə̀yó̀riük, sometimes known as 'Hill LOTUHO'; south of the LOTUHO, mainly in the Kineti valley; also a few on the northern side of the Imatong Hills.

Number: c. 2,500 TP*.

This dialect is also spoken by some of the so-called ACOLI (the OBOLONG) of Torit District.

Dialect: oyutuk nó xó̀riük.

Spoken by: LOKOYA (LOKOIYA, LOKOYA), call themselves lə̀yó̀riük, called lə̀kə̀ya by neighbouring tribes; in two sections, calling themselves (l)owoi and (l)oirya, after the hills (Lueh and Lyria on maps) on which they live, north of Torit.

Number: 12,392.³

LANGUAGE GROUP: TESO

- Consists of: TOPOSA Language.
- TURKANA Language.
- KARAMOJONG Dialect Cluster.
- TESO Language.
- and perhaps other languages or dialects.

Where spoken: The eastern part of Uganda, the north-western part of Kenya, and the south-eastern corner of the Sudan.

¹ Op. cit.

² Ethnographically, Huntingford (op. cit.) regards the LOGIR, LOGIRI and DONGOTONO as components of the LANGO people. See also the LANGO in Uganda, who now speak a NILOTIC language (p. 103).

³ Huntingford, op. cit.

TOPOSA, own name (àkèrò à) tòpósà. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: TOPOSA (TOPOTHA, TAPOSA, DABOSSA, &c.), call themselves **ɲf-tòpósà'** (Sing. nyé-tòpòsáit), called AKARA (AKARU, KARE) by the Lotuho and others, KHUMI (HUMA) by the Didinga, KUM (KUMI) by the Murle, ABO by the Acoli.

Where spoken: Sudan: on both sides of the Zingietta (Thingeita, Singeita) and Lokalyan rivers, with Kapoeta (in the south of the area) as administrative centre. The TOPOSA are semi-nomadic, and may be found as far as the Kenya border.

Number of speakers: c. 34,000.¹

TOPOSA is used in primary education. There is very little vernacular literature.

The DONYIRO (DONGIRO, IDONGIRO, &c.) or NYANGATOM (NYAMATOM) are a TOPOSA offshoot. They formerly lived in Ethiopia, on the Omo and Kibish rivers, but have recently moved into the Sudan. They call themselves **ɲiaɲatom** and number about 5,500. Their speech is much influenced by TURKANA (but see also BUME under TURKANA).

TURKANA, own name **ɲá-tùrkánà**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: TURKANA, call themselves **ɲi-tùrkánà** (Sing. é-tùrkánáit).

Where spoken: Kenya: an area bounded by Lake Rudolf, the SUK country, and the borders of Uganda and the Sudan (extending over the Sudan border).

Number of speakers: c. 85,000.²

The BUME (BUMA, BUMI, &c.) are a TURKANA offshoot in Ethiopia, on or near River Kibish. They are also said to be called DONYIRO (but see under TOPOSA).

KARAMOJONG, own name **a-karimojoɲ**, **a-karamojoɲ**. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Where spoken: Uganda: Karamoja District.

The three main tribes of Karamoja District, closely interrelated and speaking related dialects, are:

KARAMOJONG (KARIMOJONG), call themselves **ɲi-karamojoɲ** or **ɲi-karimojoɲ**, called **laɲo dyaɲ** by the Kumam³ in the southern part of the District.

Number: 55,600.

JIE, call themselves **ɲi-jiye** (Sing. e-jiot); north of the KARAMOJONG.

Number: 18,200.

DODOS (DODOTH, DODOTHO, DODOSI), call themselves **ɲi-dʊdʊθ** and their dialect **í-dʊdʊθ**; north of the JIE.

Number: 20,200.

These three tribes together are called **laɲo dyaɲ** (= cattle people) by the Acoli and Kumam. The LABWOR (see p. 104) are also said to speak a dialect of KARAMOJONG.⁴

¹ 1948 Census.

³ Huntingford, personal communication.

² Gulliver, *The Central Nilo-Hamites*.

⁴ Gulliver, op. cit.

The speech of the **NGIAKWAI**, call themselves **ɲi-nyakwai** (Sing. é-nyàkwàit), on the southern end of the Labwor Hills, may also belong to this Cluster.

Number: c. 1,000.

The speech of the **ɲi-gatio** of Logutio in the Nyangeya Hills shows vocabulary resemblance to that of the DODOS.¹

Nothing is known of the speech of the **JIYE** in the Sudan, north of the TOPOSA near the Boma Plateau. They may be an offshoot of the **JIE** (see above).²

Parts of the Bible have been published in KARAMOJONG.

TESO, own name **a-tesò**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: TESO, call themselves **j-tesò** (Sing. é-tèsòt), called **IKUMAMA** by the Lango and Karamojong (cp. KUMAM, p. 104) **BAKEDI** (**BAKIDI**) by BANTU-speaking peoples. The TESO near Tororo and in Kenya are known as **ITESYO** (**ITESIO**, **ETOSSIO**), also as **ELGUMI** and **WAMIA**.

Where spoken: Uganda: mainly in Teso District; also in Mbale District near Tororo and in Kenya: mainly in Northern Nyanza District (separated from the main body of the tribe by BANTU-speaking tribes).

Number of speakers: Uganda 462,644,³ Kenya 42,288.⁴

Dialectal differences are slight, and the language may be considered as uniform. According to Fr. McGeough⁵ the **ITESYO** have preserved an older form of the language.

The 'standard' form is that spoken at Ngora. TESO is used in primary education in Government and mission schools. The New Testament has been translated, and several school books are published or in preparation.

Other tribes or tribal sections whose speech may belong to this Group are:

NYANGEYA⁶ (**NYANGIA**, **NIPORI**, **POREN**), call themselves **ɲa-pore** or **ɲi-aɲgeya**, on the Nyangeya Hills. They perhaps speak a DODOS dialect.⁷

OROM (**ROM**) in the hills south of Madial. Seligman⁸ calls them a DODOS section; according to J. V. Wild⁹ they consider themselves to be **ACOLI**. A short vocabulary collected by Wild shows undoubted TOPOSA affinities; Gulliver, however,¹⁰ states that their language is unintelligible to both DODOS and **ACOLI**.

According to Muratori¹¹ the speech of the **LOKATHAN** or **BIRA** (call themselves **ketebò**) on the Acholi Hills south-east of the **DONGOTONO**, belongs to the TESO Group. Most of them, however, speak the LOTUHO dialect of the **LORWAMA** (see p. 109).

¹ Gulliver, *The Central Nilo-Hamites*.

² Ibid. Gulliver makes an orthographic distinction between **JIE** and **JIYE** for purposes of classification.

³ 1948 Census.

⁴ 1948 Census.

⁵ Personal communication.

⁶ Also on the Nyangeya Hills live a people called **UPALE** whose speech may be related to that of the **TEUSO** and **TEPES** (see p. 93). They are sometimes also referred to as **NYANGEYA**.

⁷ Gulliver, op. cit.

⁸ *Pagan tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*.

⁹ Personal communication.

¹⁰ Op. cit.

¹¹ *Grammatica Lotuxo*.

SINGLE UNIT? NGASA¹

NGASA. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: NGASA, so-called by their Bantu neighbours, call themselves ONGAMO (Sing. ONAMONYE).

Where spoken: Tanganyika: on the north-eastern slopes of Kilimanjaro in Uresi chiefdom of CHAGGA territory.

Number of speakers: estimated at about 1,000.

NGASA is known only from a short word list compiled by Fosbrooke.² From this, however, the following facts can be deduced:

- (i) vocabulary shows considerable affinities with MAASAI;
- (ii) other words, however, while obviously NILO-HAMITIC, resemble other languages (especially BARI and the TESO Group) rather than MAASAI;
- (iii) the sign of Gender is Masc. **o**, Fem. **na** (with the latter cp. LOTUHO).

In the absence of grammatical material NGASA is provisionally classed as a Single Unit.

SINGLE UNIT: MAASAI

MAASAI, own name **maâ** or **enġkútúk ɔ́ 1-máásáì**. LANGUAGE, with subsidiary dialects.

Spoken by: MAASAI (MASAI), call themselves **il-máásáì** (Sing. **ɔl-máásaní**); they also use the name **ɔl-maâ** to denote all speakers of the **maâ** language.

Where spoken: Kenya: the Masai Reserve, i.e. Narok and Kajiado Districts; Tanganyika: Masai District of Northern Province, also in other Districts (scattered).

Number of speakers: Kenya *c.* 87,000, Tanganyika *c.* 103,000.³

The MAASAI tribes are as follows (north-west to south-east):⁴

Kenya (Masai Reserve):

SIRIA, call themselves **i-siryá** (Sing. **o-síryaní**).

WUASINKISHU (WASIN GISHU, GUAS NGISHU), call themselves **il-wwásínkífù** (Sing. **ol-wwásínkífúí**),⁵ with sub-section MOITANIK, call themselves **il-móytánfk**.

PURKO, call themselves **il-purkó** (Sing. **ol-púrkóy**).

DAMAT, call themselves **il-dámát** (Sing. **ɔl-dámátí**).

OITAI, call themselves **il-óytài** (Sing. **ol-óytái**).

KEEKONYOKIE, call themselves **il-keékonyókyè** (Sing. **ol-keékonyókyéy**).

LOODOKILANI, call themselves **il-ɔɔdɔ́-kflaní** (Sing. **ɔl-ɔ́dɔ́-kfláy**).

DALALEKUTUK, call themselves **il-dalálekutúk** (Sing. **ɔl-ɔ́dalálekutúk** or **il-kánjkerê** (Sing. **ɔl-kánjkeréy**).

¹ Information from a MS. note by H. A. Fosbrooke.

² The NGASA and their language are mentioned by Dundas (*Kilimanjaro and its people*), who quotes the opinion of Hollis that their language is a debased form of MAASAI.

³ Figures compiled from 1948 Census.

⁴ Information supplied by John Tompo ole Mpaayei.

⁵ This tribe was broken up about 1850, but has now been reconstituted.

SIKIRARI, call themselves **í-síkírárí** (Sing. **o-síkírárí**).

KAPUTIEI (KAPITI), call themselves **il-kápútyèy** (Sing. **ɔl-kápútyení**) (part of the tribe; also in Tanganyika).

MATAPATO, call themselves **il-matapató** (Sing. **ɔl-mátápátói**).

KISONKO (KISONGO), call themselves **il-krsɔ́ŋkò** (Sing. **ol-kísóŋkóy**) (the greater part of the tribe is in Tanganyika).

Note: The PURKO, KEEKONYOKIE, and DAMAT together are known as KINOPOPOP (KINANGOP). The KEEKONYOKIE who used to live at Naivasha were formerly known as NAIPOSHA. Some other MAASAI tribes are now broken up and scattered e.g. (L)AIKIPIAK (LAIKIPIA), mainly among the PURKO and KEEKONYOKIE, (L)OOGOLALA (among the KIPSİKIS).

Tanganyika:

KAPUTIEI (part of the tribe), on the northern fringe of Masai District.

KISONKO (the main part of the tribe), throughout the greater part of Masai District.

ARUSA (ARUSHA), call themselves **il-arúsa** (Sing. **ɔl-árúsáy**), in an enclave among the KISONKO.¹

BARAGUYU, in the extreme southern tip of Masai District.

Dialects of MAASAI are spoken by the following tribes in Kenya, outside the Masai Reserve.

SAMPUR (SAMBUR, SAMBURU), call themselves **ɪ-sámpur** (Sing. **ɔ-sámpúrri**), also known by the nickname **il-ɔ́íbór-kínèjì** (= people of the white goats), a name which occurs in some published works as BURKENEŶI. They live in Rift Valley Province, in Maralal sub-district of Rumuruti District.

Number: estimated at *c.* 20,000.

TIAMUS (NŶAMUSI, NŶEMPS, &c.), call themselves **il-tyámús** (Sing. **ol-tyámúsí**), near Lake Baringo.

Number: 3,423.

The following names are also used to refer to MAASAI people:²

KWAVI (WAKWAVI, WAKWAFI, &c.), a name used by various BANTU-speaking tribes to denote MAASAI in Tanganyika, mainly outside Masai District, e.g. in Handeni and Kilosa Districts.

(L)OIKOP (OIGOB), a term loosely used among the MAASAI on the Kenya-Tanganyika border, mainly to denote agricultural, as opposed to pastoral MAASAI (this name is, however, also used e.g. by the Dorobo for the MAASAI in general).

LUMBWA, a name applied to agricultural MAASAI, mainly in Tanganyika. This name is, however, also used to denote the KIPSİKIS (see p. 114).

The New Testament and some readers have been published.

¹ Not to be confused with the BANTU-speaking RUSHA (ARUSHA).

² See also Huntingford, *The Southern Nilo-Hamites*.

LANGUAGE GROUP: NANDI

- Consists of: NANDI Language, with subsidiary dialects.
 POKOT Language, with subsidiary dialects.
 TATOG Language or Dialect Cluster?

Where spoken: Mainly in Kenya and Uganda; also in Tanganyika.

NANDI, own name (ɲale·k ap) na·ndì. LANGUAGE, with subsidiary dialects.

Spoken by: NANDI. This name, originally a nickname, said to be derived from the SWAHILI *mnandi* (cormorant),¹ is now accepted by the people themselves: ná·ndì/ná·ndièk (Sing. nò·ndiin/nò·ndiindèt).² They are called *cemuel* by the Pokot, *il-tiéɲwál* by the Maasai, both derived from *cemual*, the original name of the NANDI.

Where spoken: Kenya: Nandi District, on the Nandi escarpment and around Kap-sabet; some NANDI live as squatters on European farms.

Number of speakers: 1945 Census 50,440, 1948 Census 116,681. There would appear to be some doubt as to the accuracy of the latter figures.

NANDI is used as a medium of primary education for the NANDI and most speakers of NANDI dialects. Vernacular literature is slight, but on the increase, and includes the whole Bible.

Dialect: KIPSIKIS, own name kipsiyí·s (ɲale·k ap kipsiyí·s).

Spoken by: KIPSIKIS (KIPSIGIS, KIPSIKI, also (erroneously) known as *LU-MBWA*), call themselves kipsiyí·s/kipsiyí·syék (Sing. kipsiyisi·n/kipsiyisi·ndèt); in Kericho District south of the NANDI.

Number: estimated at 71,090 in 1920;³ 80,000 in 1939;⁴ 1948 Census 159,692. The Census figure appears doubtful.

KIPSIKIS is used in primary education, and a very small amount of vernacular literature exists, including the New Testament.

Dialect: KEYO, own name kéyyò.

Spoken by: KEYO (ELGEYO, KEYU), call themselves kéyyò/kéyyè·k (Sing. kéyyò·k/kéyyò·t); in Elgeyo–Marakwet District east of the NANDI in the Kerio valley.

Number: 1931 Census 16,178, 1948 Census 40,414.

This dialect resembles KIPSIKIS in vocabulary, NANDI in tone.

Dialect: TUKEN.

Spoken by: TUKEN (TUGEN, TUGIN, TUKIN) or *KAMASIA* (KAMASYA) call themselves túyèn/túyénè·k (Sing. tuyeni·(n)/tuyeni·ndèt or *kamasya*; in Baringo District, north-east of the NANDI in the Kerio valley.

Number: 1931 Census 33,255, 1948 Census 65,973.

¹ Huntingford, *Nandi work and culture*.

² The Definite form of the name is here given after the Indefinite in tribal names.

³ Barton, 'Notes on the Kipsigis or Lumbwa tribe of Kenya Colony', *J.R.A.I.*, 1923.

⁴ Peristiany, *The Social Organisation of the Kipsigis*.

Dialect spoken by: TERIK¹ or NYANGORI (NYANGNORI), call themselves *tèrik/tèriye·k* (Sing. *tèrikín/tèrikindèt*, called *nyangori* by some of their neighbours; south-west of the NANDI.

Dialect: KONY, own name ɲàlek ap Ikóny.

Spoken by: KONY (ELGONYI, ELGON, also known as 'Elgon MASAI'), call themselves kony/kòɲjèk (Sing. kòɲjín/kòɲjindèt); on the Kenya-Uganda border south of the SAPINY (see below).

Dialect spoken by: POK or LAKO (LAGO), also known as BAGWET,² call themselves *pok*; on the southern slopes of Mount Elgon.

Dialect: SAPINY, own name kùtét à(p) sáviny.

Spoken by: SAPINY (SABEI, SAVEI, SEBEI, &c.), call themselves sáviny, sáviny (Sing. sávinyin) or *kamecak*; in Uganda, Mbale District, on the northern slopes of Mount Elgon.

Number: 1931 Census 13,477, 1948 Census 24,070.

Dialect spoken by: SABAOT (SABAUT), on the western slopes of Mount Elgon.

Number: 1948 Census 25,478, including also KONY and POK.

Dialect spoken by: KIPSORAI (SORE), call themselves kipsórái/kípsòraik, on the western slopes of Elgon.

Dialect spoken by: MBAI, on the western slopes of Elgon.

NANDI dialects are also spoken by the DOROBO (NDOROBO, NDEROBO, TOROBO), primitive forest-dwelling hunters living in small settlements scattered in Kenya and Tanganyika, among the NANDI, MAASAI, KIKUYU, and various Tanganyika peoples. They are unrelated to any of the people among whom they live, but they all speak NANDI dialects and all call themselves AKIEK (OKIEK) (óɲí·óɲièk (Sing. óɲíò/óɲíòt)).

The names MOSIRO (ELMOSIRO), MEDIK, KISANKASA, and (L)ARAMANIK have been given as those of DOROBO peoples in Tanganyika³ who have not adopted MAASAI and lost their own language.

According to Huntingford⁴ the dialects spoken by the DOROBO of Tanganyika have a definite NANDI base, though not so large a proportion of NANDI words in their vocabulary as the dialects of the Kenya DOROBO; the Tanganyika dialects do not appear to be inter-intelligible, and are not understood by the Kenya DOROBO. Maguire's MOSIRO vocabulary shows close resemblance to NANDI, while that of ARAMANIK shows considerable divergences.

¹ To be distinguished from the TIRIKI, a BANTU-speaking tribe west of the TERIK.

² BAWGEEK by Dundas (*J.R.A.I.* 1913).

³ Maguire, 'Il-Toróbo' (*J. Afr. Soc.*, 1927-8, reprinted in *Tanganyika Notes*, 1948).

⁴ Personal communication.

POKOT (SUK), own name **ɲal áp pəkǒ·t**. LANGUAGE, with subsidiary dialects.

Spoken by: POKOT (SUK),¹ call themselves **pǒkwó·t**, **pǒkwót**, or **pǒko·t** (Sing. **pǒcǒ·n** or **pǒcǒ·n-dé**), called *KIMUKON* by the Nandi, and also known as *UPE* in Uganda.

Where spoken: The 'East' or 'Pastoral *SUK*' live in Baringo District, Rift Valley Province, Kenya, the 'West' or 'Hill *SUK*' in West Suk District, Kenya, and in Karamoja District, Uganda.

Number of speakers: c. 60,000.

POKOT is used in primary education. A Gospel and a few readers have been published.

Dialects of POKOT are spoken by:

MARKWET (*MARAKWET*, *MARAGWET*, *MERKWET*), call themselves **mǎrkwê·t** (Sing. **mǎrkwetín**); in Kenya: Elgeyo–Marakwet District, south of the POKOT.

Number: 22,340*.

ENDO (*TO*) or *CEPLENG*, call themselves **cepléŋ** (Sing. **cebleŋín**); between the *KEYO* and *POKOT* on the Elgeyo escarpment.

Number: 7,200*.

KADAM (*NGIKADAMA*), call themselves **kádámá'** (Sing. **kóǰəmín**); in Uganda, on Mount Debasien (Kadam).

Number: almost extinct.

TATOGA. DIALECT CLUSTER?¹

Spoken by: TATOGA (*TATOG*, *TATURU*, call themselves *TATOGA* (Sing. *TATURNYANT*).

Where spoken: Tanganyika: mainly in Mbulu District of Northern Province, round Mount Hanang, but also in Musoma and Shinyanga Districts of Lake Province and Manyoni and Singida Districts of Central Province.

Number of speakers: c. 64,000.

The *TATOGA* consist of several tribes, listed below as far as is known; it is not known whether they speak one language or dialects of a Cluster, though the latter is probable. The speech of the largest tribe, the *BARABAIK*, is the only one of which enough is known for classification;² it undoubtedly belongs to the *NANDI* Group.

TATOGA tribes:

BARABAIK (*BARABAIG*), call themselves **bárábáík** (Sing. **barabándá** or **baraban**).

GISAMAŶENK—largely assimilated to the *IRAQW*; bilingual.

DORORAŶEK.

BURADIK.

BAŶUT (*BAYUTA*).

¹ Information on distribution and nomenclature mainly from G. McL. Wilson, 'The Tatoga of Tanganyika' (*Tanganyika Notes*, 1952).

² Information from G. McL. Wilson (personal communication); also from gramophone records in the possession of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

ISEIMAŶEK (*SIMAŶEK*, *SIMITYEK*, also called *WANONEGA*).

RUTAGEINK (*ROTAGEINK*).

DARAGWAŶEK

REIMOŶIK

MANGAT'K

GHUMBIEK

BIANŶIT.

} almost completely assimilated to neighbouring BANTU-speaking tribes, but still retain their own language as well.

Other *TATOGA* tribes have become completely assimilated to neighbouring tribes, and no longer speak *TATOGA*.

32. THE CUSHITIC LANGUAGES (LARGER UNIT)

THE CUSHITIC languages, comprising

BEDAWIYE	Single Unit
AGAU	Language Group
SAHO-AFAR	Language Group
SIDAMO	Language Group
GALLA	Single Unit
SOMALI	Single Unit
JANJERO	Single Unit
OMETO	Language Group
GIMIRA	Language Group or Single Unit?
KAFFA	Language Group
KONSO-GELEBA	Language Group?

are spoken in the north-eastern part of the Sudan; part of Eritrea; French and British Somaliland and Somalia; a large part of Ethiopia; Kenya: Northern Frontier Province and west of the Tana River.

The classification given here is based on that of Moreno,¹ with some modifications worked out in collaboration with him. It differs from that of Cerulli,² notably in the avoidance of the term SIDAMA, which is used by Cerulli to cover what are here treated as separate Language Groups.³

Moreno has pointed out⁴ that there is a sharp cleavage within the Larger Unit between the languages according to the Bases for the 1st and 2nd Sing. Personal Pronouns.

In BEDAWIYE, the AGAU Group, the SAHO-AFAR Group, the SIDAMO Group, GALLA and SOMALI, these are:

1st Person **an**, 2nd Person **at**.

In JANJERO, the OMETO Group, the GIMIRA Group, and the KAFFA Group, they are:

1st Person **ta**, 2nd Person **ne**
(both forms are found in KAFFA itself).

The languages tentatively classed together under the heading 'KONSO-GELEBA Group?' are insufficiently known for a reliable classification to be made.

See also Linguistic Notes, pp. 153-6.

¹ *Manuale di Sidamo*; see also *Grammatica della lingua Galla, Introduzione alla Lingua Ometo*, and 'Le mie indagini linguistiche nel Galla-Sidama' (*Oriente Moderno*, 1938).

² The classification followed in Bryan, *Distribution of the Semitic and Cushitic languages*.

³ Huntingford also uses this term in an ethnographic sense, e.g. in *The Galla of Ethiopia*.

⁴ *Manuale di Sidamo*, pp. 286-7.

SINGLE UNIT: BEDAWIYE

BEDAWIYE (BEDAWIE, BEDAUYE, BEJA). DIALECT CLUSTER?

Where spoken: Eritrea, throughout the greater part of Agordat Division (many areas, however, being bilingual—see also under TIGRE, pp. 132-4), extending east into Keren Division; Sudan, mainly in Kassala Province.

Number of speakers: total not known: for details, see below.

BEDAWIYE is spoken by the *BENI AMER* and affiliated tribes, also by some other, autonomous, tribes.

The *BENI AMER* consist of a number of units sometimes referred to as sections, sometimes as tribes; some speak BEDAWIYE, some TIGRE, and some are bilingual.

BEDAWIYE-speaking *BENI AMER* and affiliated tribes are as follows (in Eritrea unless otherwise stated):

DAGGA 4,000 (a), 12,000 (b, c).¹ Bilingual: BEDAWIYE and TIGRE.

AD OMAR 5,500 (a), 5,700 (b), 7,600 (c). In five sections which claim the status of separate tribes:

AD AL ALLAM, AL HAMID AWAD (AD HAMAD AWAT), AD HUMBIRRA, HASSAL, SHENEIAB.

AD OKUD (AD 'UQUUD), 6,500 (a), 10,000 (b, c). Part of the tribe speak BEDAWIYE, part TIGRE.

AD TOWAS 1,700 (a, c), 1,000 (b).

SINKAT KEINAB (SINKATKENAB) 920 (a), 700 (b, c); also in the Sudan (Tokar District).²

AD AL BAKHIT 3,400 (a, c), 4,000 (b). Part of the tribe speak BEDAWIYE, part TIGRE.³

LABAT (LABBAT, LEBET) 700 (a), 2,500 (b), 2,000-3,000 (c); also in the Sudan. They are of *HADENDOWA* origin and were originally a serf-clan, but have now been assimilated to the *BENI AMER*.

AD NASEH (AD NAZI) 450 (a), 550 (b), 300 (c).

AD ALI 370 (a), 1,000 (b), 300 (c).

(*AD*) *ELMAN* 550 (a), 200 (b), 300 (c). Bilingual: BEDAWIYE and TIGRE.

HASHISH 300 (a, b), 400 (c). They are largely of *HADENDOWA* origin, affiliated to the *BENI AMER*.

EL HASA, in the Sudan, around Tokar. Bilingual: BEDAWIYE and TIGRE.

EL GURESHAB, in the Sudan. Bilingual: BEDAWIYE and TIGRE.

AD KUKAL (KOKUDUAB), in the Sudan. Bilingual: BEDAWIYE and TIGRE.

DIGLEL, in the Sudan (2,000 in Tokar District), in six sections.

¹ Figures marked (a) from Nadel, 'Notes on Beni Amer Society' (*S.N.R.*, 1945), (b) from Italian Census 1931, (c) from *Races and tribes of Eritrea* (British Military Administration, 1943).

² Information on BEDAWIYE-speakers in Tokar District from A. Paul, formerly D. C. Tokar (personal communication).

³ A. C. A. Wright, personal communication.

BEDAWIB (IBDAWI), in the Sudan, in hill country near the Eritrean border.

BEIT AWAT, in Eritrea and the Sudan. (The majority speak TIGRE.)

Other BEDAWIYE-speaking tribes:

BEIT MALA (BEIT MAALA), in Eritrea and the Sudan (1,000 in Tokar District). Bilingual: BEDAWIYE and TIGRE.

KIMMEILAB, 1,500 in the Sudan, Tokar District. Of *ARAB* origin.

HASSANAB, 1,000 in the Sudan, Tokar District. Of *ARAB* origin.

AD SHERAF (ASHRAF), 1,300 (a), 2,000 (b), 1,000 (c), in Eritrea; also 2,000 in the Sudan, Tokar District. They claim *ARAB* origin. Bilingual: BEDAWIYE and TIGRE.

ARTEIGA, 5,000 in the Sudan, Tokar District. Claim *ARAB* origin.

SHAIAB, 5,000 in the Sudan, Tokar District. Claim *ARAB* origin.

MORGHUMAB and *KAMALAB*, round Tokar and Khor Arbat.¹

The following tribes in the Sudan acknowledge the name *BEDAWIYE* as well as their own tribal names:

HADENDOWA (HADENDOA, HADENDIWA), in an area extending from north of Sinkat and Suakin to Khashm el Girba, south of Kassala. Estimated by Nadel² at 30,000–40,000, by Owen³ at about 70,000.

AMARAR, north of the *HADENDOWA*, as far as Lat. 21° N.; also some in the River Atbara area, and a floating population of a few thousands in Port Sudan. Sandars⁴ estimates them at 40,000–50,000, on the increase.

The *NURAB*, 2,000 in Tokar District, are an *AMARAR* offshoot.

According to Moreno,⁵ the name *AMARAR* ('amar'ar) is the TIGRE version of the name *BENI AMER*.

BISHARIN, estimated at c. 15,000.⁶ Their territory, north and west of the *AMARAR* and *HADENDOWA*, is divided into four regions: (a) the Gwineb, consisting of the eastern face of the hills and the coastal plain; (b) the Atbai, comprising the country from the coastal plain watershed to Wadi Gabgaba and from the Egyptian frontier to Wadi Amur; (c) the Tamarab, south of Wadi Amur, bounded on the west by the Kassala–Northern Province boundary and River Atbara, on the east by a line from Musha Mitareb (30 miles up-stream from Goz Regeb) through Musmar to Sarara Well on Wadi Amur; (d) the River, i.e. River Atbara and the area to the south-west, north-west of Goz Regeb and Umm Shadida wells.

Some of the *ABABDA* (ARABIC-speaking) north of the *BISHARIN* in the deserts on the Egyptian border also speak BEDAWIYE.

Nothing is known of dialectal divisions within BEDAWIYE.

¹ G. E. R. Sandars, 'The Bisharin' (*S.N.R.*, 1933).

² 'Notes on Beni Amer Society.'

³ T. R. H. Owen, 'The Hadendowa' (*S.N.R.*, 1937).

⁴ G. E. R. Sandars, 'The Amarar' (*S.N.R.*, 1935).

⁵ Personal communication. ⁶ Sandars, 'The Bisharin'.

LANGUAGE GROUP: AGAU

Consists of: *BILIN* Language.
KHAMIR Dialect Cluster.
QWARA Dialect Cluster.
AWIYA Language or Dialect Cluster?

Where spoken: Eritrea: Keren Division; Ethiopia: scattered enclaves north of the Blue Nile and Awash rivers.

Most AGAU-speakers also speak TIGRE, TIGRINYA, or AMHARIC, according to the locality. Many of the AGAU dialects are dying out.

The name AGAU is used by their neighbours to denote the AGAU-speakers of Ethiopia, and is acknowledged by them (but not by the *BILIN*). It has long been used by Europeans for the Language Group.

The name *GALLA* is also indiscriminately applied by the Amhara to non-Amharic peoples, including the *AGAU*.

BILIN; own name *bəlin*.¹ LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: *BILIN (BILEN, BELEIN)* or *BOGOS*, call themselves *bəlin* or *bogos*, called *bəlen* by the Tigre and Tigrinya.

Where spoken: Eritrea: in the southern part of Keren Division.

Number of speakers: 24,300 (*Races and Tribes*); 24,466 (Italian Census 1931).

Owing to the geographical isolation of the *BILIN* from other AGAU, their language differs somewhat from the other languages of the Group.

Some differences have been noted between the speech of the two main sections of the tribe: *BEIT TARKE (BET TARQE)* and *BEIT TAWKE (BET TAQWE)*.

There is virtually no vernacular literature; one Gospel has been published.

KHAMIR. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialect: *KHAMTA* (Amharic ነምታ or ኸምታ).

Spoken by: *KHAMTA*, in Ethiopia, in Averege (Avergalle) District south of Tigrai.

TIGRINYA is rapidly gaining ground in this area.²

Dialect: *KHAMIR* or *KHAMIT* (Amharic ነሚር or ኸሚር or ነሚት or ኸሚት).

Spoken by: *KHAMIR (CHAMIR)*, in Lasta and Waag regions in Ethiopia.

QWARA. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialect: *QWARA (QUARA, KWARA, QUARINYA)*³ (Amharic ቋራ).

Spoken by: *QWARA* in the eponymous region on the western shores of Lake Tana.

The variant of *QWARA* spoken by the *FALASHA* is known as *QWARASA*.

¹ Information on nomenclature from F. R. Palmer (personal communication).

² Cerulli, personal communication.

³ The Suffix -iñña is the AMHARIC Suffix denoting 'language'.

Dialect: QEMANT (Amharic ቅማንት).

Spoken by: QEMANT (KEMANT), in the eponymous region on the northern shores of Lake Tana.

Dialect: KAYLA (KAILINYA)¹ (Amharic ካላ).

Spoken by: FALASHA, i.e. the AGAU Jews in Qemant region (Amharic ፈላሻ).

Number: not more than 30,000.²

One Gospel has been published in 'FALASHA KARA'.

AWIYA. (Amharic አዊያ). LANGUAGE OR DIALECT CLUSTER?

Where spoken: South of Gojam in Agaumeder, Ethiopia.

Conti Rossini³ considers the dialects spoken in Agaumeder and Damot to be 'two dialects of one language'.

LANGUAGE GROUP: SAHO-AFAR

Consists of: SAHO Language.

AFAR Language.

Where spoken: Eritrea, extending into Ethiopia and French Somaliland.

SAHO. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: SAHO (SAO), call themselves SAHO, called SHIHO or SHOHO by TIGRE-speakers.

Where spoken: Eritrea: in the eastern part of Akkele Guzai Division and the southern part of Massawa Division; Ethiopia: in scattered enclaves in the districts of Irob, Serukso, and other parts of Agame.

Number of speakers: 48,000 (*Races and Tribes*), 41,170 (Italian Census 1931).

There are minor local variants, but the language may be regarded as uniform. The speech of the ASSAORTA and HAZU tribes, and that of Irob District, have been recorded.

AFAR (DANKALI), own name 'afar. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: AFAR, called DANAKIL by neighbouring tribes (this name is also used by Europeans), ADAL in AMHARIC, TELTAL in TIGRINYA.⁴

Where spoken: Eritrea: south of the SAHO, extending into the northern part of French Somaliland; the north-eastern corner of Ethiopia, extending as far south as Mataha on River Awash.

Number of speakers: c. 28,000 in Eritrea (*Races and Tribes*).

It is not known whether there are dialectal variants. The speech of the Dahlak Archipelago has been described as divergent.⁵

¹ The Suffix -iñña is the AMHARIC Suffix denoting 'language'.

² Cerulli, personal communication.

³ 'Note sugli Agau, 2. Appunti sulla lingua Awiyā del Danghelā' (*Giorn. Soc. asiatica ital.*, 1905).

⁴ Moreno, personal communication.

⁵ H. S. Senior, personal communication.

LANGUAGE GROUP: SIDAMO

Consists of: HADYA Language.

KAMBATTA Dialect Cluster.

ALABA Language.

SIDAMO Language.

DARASA Language.

and perhaps BAMBALA Language.

Where spoken: South-western Ethiopia.

HADYA (HADIA), own name GUDIELA or GUDELLA. LANGUAGE (Amharic ካዲያ Hadya).

Spoken by: HADYA, call themselves GUDIELA or GUDELLA.

Where spoken: Between Rivers Omo and Billate, south and west of the GURAGE-speaking areas.

One Gospel has been published in 'GUDEILLA'.

KAMBATTA. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialect: KAMBATTA.

Spoken by: KAMBATTA, south of the HADYA.

Dialect: TAMBARO, own name t'ambaro.

Spoken by: TAMBARO, south of the KAMBATTA, north of the WOLAMO.

ALABA. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: ALABA, east of the TAMBARO on the left bank of River Billate, between it and Lake Awasa, with main centre Colito (Kolito).

Number of speakers: 40,000.¹

SIDAMO. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: SIDAMO.²

Where spoken: On the hills forming the watershed between Rivers Juba and Webi, and Lake Margherita; to the east as far as the upper valley of the Juba with its affluents, to the west as far as Lake Margherita, and to the north to Lake Awasa.

One Gospel has been published.

DARASA. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: DARASA.

Where spoken: South of the SIDAMO.

Leslau³ regards all the above units as dialects of a Cluster rather than separate languages. He also reports the existence of another SIDAMO dialect:

¹ Moreno, 'Nuove notizie sull'Alaba e sugli Alaba' (*R.S.E.*, 1941), quoting the Resident of Zwai, about 1940.

² It is from this tribal name that the name SIDAMA, used by the Galla to denote a number of tribes in this area, is derived; 'SIDAMA' has been used by Europeans as a linguistic term, including JANJERO and the OMETO, KAFA, and SHINASHA Groups.

³ Personal communication.

K'ABENA

Spoken by: K'ABENA, in the eponymous district north of the GURAGE, and separated by them from other SIDAMO speakers.

Number: probably some thousands.

BAMBALA ('Burji'). LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: BAMBALA, called AMARO by the Galla, and known to Europeans as 'Burji'.

Where spoken: Round Burji in an area south of Lake Ciama between River Sagan on the west and its affluent the Bishan Guracha on the south.

Leslau¹ considers its affiliation with SIDAMO doubtful; Cerulli² classifies it in the KONSÓ-GELEBA Group (see pp. 130-1). The classification adopted here is that of Moreno.

SINGLE UNIT: GALLA

GALLA, own name in Ethiopia OROMO (afán orómón, orma). DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: GALLA, call themselves OROMO (orómó, Sing and Plur.) in Ethiopia.

Where spoken: Mainly in Ethiopia, in an area including the western part of the Ethiopian highlands between Rivers Blue Nile in the north and Gojeb in the south; a large part of the Shoa Province and part of Wollo; the whole of the area between the GURAGE, SIDAMO, and DARASA and the SOMALI; from River Galana Sagan to east of Lake Stephanie, the valley of the Ganale Doria, and southwards into Northern Frontier Province of Kenya; also in the lower Tana river region.

Number: c. 2,350,000.³

Dialects in GALLA have not been studied in detail, but there appear to be several main dialectal divisions, spoken by the following tribes or groups of tribes:

MACHA tribes (call themselves macc'a) in western Ethiopia, west of River Gibie to the Sudan border.

TULAMA tribes, east of River Gibie in Shoa Province.

ITTU and ARUSSI, on the highlands of Chercher and in the area between River Awash, the valley of the Webi Shebeli (Shabeli) and the upper course of the Ganale Doria.

BORAN(A) (call themselves boorâna) tribes in the area of Ethiopia south of the lakes (BORAN GABBRA), and in Northern Frontier Province, Kenya.

WARDAI, on the northern border of Kenya.

There is little vernacular literature; the Bible has been translated into 'Northern' GALLA; the New Testament and parts of the Old into 'Central' GALLA, single Gospels into 'SHOA' and 'ITTU', and two Gospels into 'BORAN' and 'BARARETTA'.

¹ Personal communication.

² 'Il linguaggio degli Amar Cocchè e quello degli Arbore nella zona del Lago Stefania' (R.S.E., 1942).

³ Zoli (ed.), *Africa orientale* (1935).

SINGLE UNIT: SOMALI

SOMALI, own name af soomáali. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Spoken by: SOMALI, call themselves soomaali'.

The SOMALI people consist of a large number of tribes, grouped together in 'Confederacies', but all acknowledge the name SOMALI as well as that of their Confederacy, tribe, &c.

Where spoken: French Somaliland, British Somaliland, Somalia, and the eastern part of Ethiopia (Harar region); Kenya: part of Northern Frontier Province and Tana river area. Outside this area there are colonies of SOMALI in other parts of Ethiopia (e.g. on the Chercher plateau), in Aden, and even in the British Isles—especially Cardiff, Sunderland, Tilbury, Birmingham, and Hull.

*Number of speakers:*¹ French Somaliland c. 70,000, British Somaliland 176,000, Somalia 1,300,000, Kenya 66,500, Ethiopia not known.

Dialects: There are three main dialectal divisions, each with countless greater or lesser variants. No complete survey has yet been made of SOMALI dialects, and much further research is needed. The tentative division given below is that of Andrzejewski.²

The differences between the main subdivisions of SOMALI are such that linguistically it would be possible to consider them as constituting three Dialect Clusters, together forming a Language Group. But there is sufficient affinity between these main groups of dialects, and sufficient consciousness of social unity, to justify their classification in one large Dialect Cluster, or even Language.³

The dialects have no separate names, and therefore only tribal names are used here.

The SOMALI confederacies (tribal families), according to Huntingford⁴ are:

DIR, including ISA and GADABURSI;

IS'HAK;

DAROD;

HAWIYA;

DIGIL, including JIDDU.

RAHANWEN.

According to I. Lewis⁵ DIGIL, TUNNI, and RAHANWEN call themselves collectively SAB (after their eponymous ancestor).⁶

The distribution of dialects, according to Andrzejewski, is as follows:

1. Spoken by the following tribal families:

ISAQ (IS'HAK, ISHAK, ISAAQ), call themselves isáàq;

DAROD, call themselves daaróod;

¹ Figures from Maino, *La lingua somala strumento d'insegnamento professionale*, for Kenya from 1948 Census.

² Personal communication.

³ See Moreno, *Il Somalo della Somalia* (introduction).

⁴ *East African background*.

⁵ Personal communication.

⁶ Care must be taken not to confuse the name SAB with the word sab, which among the northern SOMALI means 'low-born people' and refers to the MIDGAAN, YIBIR, and TUMAAL outcaste tribes.

ISA (ISSA), call themselves *‘iise*
GADABURSI, call themselves *gedabúursi* } together known as *DIR*;
HAWIYA (HAWIYYA), call themselves *hawíya*.

Where spoken: in the greater part of the SOMALI area, i.e. French and British Somaliland, the northern part of Somalia, and the SOMALI-speaking areas in Ethiopia and Kenya.

2. Spoken by:

RAHANWEIN (RAHANWEN), call themselves *rahanwîin*, called *rahan-wêyn* by other Somali.

To this group the *TUNNI* and *JIDDU* may be added, but there is not enough reliable information as yet on their speech.

Where spoken: in the central and southern part of Somalia (the extreme south being, however, occupied by speakers of dialect 1).

3. Spoken by:

BENADIR, call themselves *banáádir*, i.e. the largely detribalized inhabitants of the coastal towns of Somalia (the area often being referred to as the Benadir Coast).

This dialect represents a type of SOMALI somewhere between dialects 1 and 2.

The *RENDILE (RENDILLE, RANDILE)* in Northern Frontier Province of Kenya are ‘closely allied in language to the *SOMALI*’.¹

There is a vast quantity of oral literature in SOMALI, particularly in dialect 1. The literary language is highly stylized, and differs very widely from the spoken language. Literature in printed form is practically non-existent: some parts of the Bible and other religious works have been produced by Europeans, but these are not popularly read, not only on religious grounds (practically all the *SOMALI* being Moslems) but also because their language does not conform to the literary traditions of the people.

The Ismanya (Osmania) script, also known as ‘Somalia writing’,² has recently assumed a certain importance, and is used for dialects 1 and 3—dialect 2 not being written at all.

ARABIC is used throughout the SOMALI area in much the same way as was Latin in medieval Europe—i.e. for all official documents, &c.

SINGLE UNIT: JANJERO

JANJERO. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: *JANJERO*, call themselves *YEMMA* or *YÄMMA*, called *YANGARO* by the Kaffa, *JANJOR* by the Hadia, *ZINGERO* by the Abyssinians.³

Where spoken: Ethiopia: between the Gibie and upper Omo rivers.

¹ Huntingford, *East African background*.

² A detailed account of this script (which is based on the alphabetic principle but uses entirely new symbols) is given by M. Maino: ‘L’alfabeto “Osmania” in Somalia’ (*R.S.E.*, 1951).

³ According to Cerulli, a nickname meaning ‘monkeys’.

Note. Cerulli¹ has noted the existence of two ‘special languages’ among the *JANJERO*: the ‘royal language’, used to the King only; the ‘language of respect’, used to lesser chiefs. The vocabulary of these ‘special languages’ contains many words which do not exist in the ordinary language.

LANGUAGE GROUP: OMETO

Consists of: *WALAMO* Dialect Cluster.
CHARA Dialect Cluster.
KOYRA Dialect Cluster.

Where spoken: Ethiopia: in the middle basin of River Omo.

The name OMETO (in AMHARIC: WAMMATE) means ‘men of the Omo’. It is used here as a linguistic term to denote several Dialect Clusters, all of which are fairly closely interrelated. Cerulli includes OMETO in his ‘SIDAMA languages’.

WALAMO. DIALECT CLUSTER (Amharic ወላም Walāmo).

Dialect: *WALAMO*.

Spoken by: *WALAMO (WOLAMO, WOLAITSÄ, WALAITTA*²), on the left bank of the Omo between it and River Billate.

One Gospel has been published.

Dialect: *ZALA*.

Spoken by: *ZALA*, south-west of the *WALAMO*.

Dialect: *GOFÄ*.

Spoken by: *GOFÄ*, south of the *ZALA*.

One Gospel has been published.

CHARA. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialect: *CHARA*, own name *c’ara*.

Spoken by: *CHARA*, in Chara region on the right bank of the Omo, south of the *KAFFA*.

Dialect: *BASKETO*.

Spoken by: *BASKETO*, south of the *CHARA*.

KOYRA. DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialect: *KOYRA*.

Spoken by: *KOYRA*, call themselves *KOYRA*, called *BADDITU* by the Galla (this name has also been used by Europeans); south of Lake Margherita, east of Lake Ciamo (Ruspoli).

¹ *Il linguaggio dei Giangerò (Studi Etiopici, 3)*.

² The name *WOLAITSÄ (WALAITTA, &c.)* has been used by Beke (‘On the languages and dialects of Abyssinia and the countries to the south’, *Proc. Philol. Soc.*, 1845) and others as a linguistic name; this is, however, only the singular form of the tribal name *WALAMO*.

Dialect: KACHAMA.

Spoken by: KACHAMA, call themselves **k'ac'ama**, also known as *HARURO* and *GATZAMBA*; fishermen on islands in Lake Margherita.

Number: c. 150.²

Dialect: ZAYSSE.

Spoken by: ZAYSSE, south of Lake Ciamo in Zaysse region.

Numerous other names are given by various writers as those of dialects spoken in the Omo basin area; many of these, however, are the names of tribes or of regions, and may or may not prove to be names of dialects. Some of the names (used by Moreno and others) are: Uba—a district; Kullo—a State; Dawaro, Dauro—alternative names for Kullo; *WARATTA* or *WORATTA*—a tribe in Kullo; *KONTA*, *MALO*, *DOKO*—tribes; Kucha (Kosha), Borodda, Gamo—districts.

There appear to be considerable dialectal differences, not only from tribe to tribe but from place to place within a tribe. Moreno³ points out, for example, that a man may say that he speaks *KONTA* because he is of the *KONTA* tribe, or *KULLO* because he is from Kullo; this does not necessarily mean that *KONTA* and *KULLO* are two different dialects, in fact there may be greater differences between the speech of two people who both state that they speak, e.g. *KULLO*, than between that of two people who call their speech by different tribal or regional names. Further research into the dialects of this area is still needed.

LANGUAGE GROUP OR SINGLE UNIT? GIMIRA

Consists of: GIMIRA Dialect Cluster.

MAJI Language?

Where spoken: Ethiopia, south of the *KAFFA*-speaking tribes.

GIMIRA. DIALECT CLUSTER.

This is a name used by the Galla to cover most of the tribes speaking dialects of this Cluster. The name has been widely used by Europeans (variants *GHIMIRRA*, *GIMIRRA*, &c.).

Where spoken: in a roughly horseshoe-shaped area stretching from Gurrafarda range in the west to Chara region in the east, south of the *MOCHA* and *KAFFA*.

The names of the following dialects have been recorded:

SHAKKO (SHAKO), in the Gurrafarda area—Western.

BIENESHO

SHE or DIZU } Central.

KABA

NAO—Eastern. This dialect is somewhat divergent.⁴

¹ This is the name used by Conti Rossini ('Contributi alla conoscenza della lingua Haruro', *R.R.A.L.*, 1937), following d'Abbadie.

² Cerulli, personal communication.

³ *Introduzione alla lingua Ometo* (pp. 11–12 footnote).

⁴ Cerulli, personal communication.

MAJI. LANGUAGE (or Dialect of GIMIRA Cluster)?

Spoken by: *MAJI*, call themselves **maji** or **mazi**.

Where spoken: in an enclave south of the *GIMIRA*-speaking peoples, separated from them and surrounded by speakers of non-CUSHITIC languages. The main centre is Maji.

Number of speakers: estimated by Cerulli¹ at 6,000–7,000, by Chiomio² at 5,000.

LANGUAGE GROUP: KAFFA

Consists of: KAFFA Dialect Cluster.

SHINASHA Language or Dialect Cluster?

MAO Language.

Where spoken: Western and south-western Ethiopia.

KAFFA (KAFA). DIALECT CLUSTER.

Dialect: KAFFA (*CAFFINO*).

Spoken by: *KAFFA* (*KAFA*), call themselves **kafico**, Fem. **kafice**, called *KAFFA* in AMHARIC, *GOMARO* by *GIMIRA*-speakers; between Rivers Omo and Gojeb.

Dialect: BOSHA.

Spoken by: *BOSHA*, call themselves *BOSHA*, also known as *GARO*, north of River Gojeb, west of the Omo.

Dialect: MOCHA or SHEKKA.

Spoken by: *MOCHA*, call themselves **jekka**, called *MOCHA* by the Galla and by Europeans; west of the *KAFFA* across River Baro.

SHINASHA, own name **bwɔrɔ**. LANGUAGE OR DIALECT CLUSTER?

Spoken by: *SHINASHA* (*SCINASCIA*), call themselves **bwɔrɔ**.

Where spoken: on the Blue Nile (Abbai), far to the north of the other Units in this Group, in four areas:³

in the Guba region among the *GUMUZ*;⁴

in the south-western part of Wambara among the *GALLA*, about Lat. 10° 30' N.;

to the east, about the same latitude, on the southern border of Agaumedder district,

among the *NAGA* (a section of the *GUMUZ*);

farther south, on the left bank of the Blue Nile.

Grottanelli suggests that there may be dialectal differences between these areas.

MAO. LANGUAGE.⁵

Spoken by: *MAO* (southern section of the tribe).

Where spoken: In Anfillo forest, north of River Baro.

¹ Personal communication.

² 'I Magi (Masi) nell'Etiopia del Sud-ovest' (*R.S.E.*, 1941).

³ Grottanelli, 'Gli Scinascia del Nilo azzurro ed alcuni lessici poco noti della loro lingua' (*R.S.E.*, 1941).

⁴ See p. 84.

⁵ Information on MAO from Grottanelli, *I Mao*.

Number of speakers: c. 2,600–3,300.

The name 'Anfillo' has been used to denote this language and its speakers. They, however, call themselves *MAO*. The tribe is in two widely separate sections, of which the southern section has adopted the CUSHITIC language of their overlords the *BUSASI* or *BUSHASHI* (probably originally a *KAFFA* clan, and now numbering only a few hundreds).

The northern section of the tribe still speak their original, non-CUSHITIC, language.¹ Both sections, however, call themselves and their language *MAO*.

Note: The name *GONGA* has been used by several writers as a linguistic term to denote either the *SHINASHA* language or the whole Language Group.² According to Cerulli,³ however, this name denotes the *SHINASHA* aristocracy only, and the name *KAFFA* is used here for the Language Group, being the name best known to Europeans.

LANGUAGE GROUP? KONSO-GELEBA

Perhaps consists of: *KONSO* Language?
GELEBA Language?
ARBORE Language?
 and other units.

Where spoken: South-western Ethiopia, in the Lake Rudolf-Stephanie area.

Very little is known as yet about the languages and dialects which perhaps constitute a Group, and much of the information about them is misleading. In spite of the work of Cerulli (who first postulated the existence of this Group)⁴ and Moreno, these remain the least known of the CUSHITIC languages.

KONSO. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: KONSO.

Where spoken: South of Lake Ciamo in the bend of River Sagan.

GELEBA (MARILLE). LANGUAGE?

This is the officially recognized name of the language and its speakers, in Ethiopia at least, although English writers use the name *MARILLE*; it is not known by what name the speakers call it.

Spoken by: GELEBA (GELLABA, GELLEB, GELUBBA, &c.); also known as *MARILLE (MERILLE, MARLE, &c.);*⁵ also as *RESHIAT (RECHIAT, RACHIAT, RUSIA, &c.)* and as *DATHANAIC (DATHANIK, DASANEK, &c.)*. According to Chiomio,⁶ *DASANEK* is the original name of a tribe of which the *GELEBA* are a part.

¹ See p. 86.

² In this sense it is used by Moreno, in his *Manuale di Sidamo*.

³ Personal communication.

⁴ 'Il linguaggio degli Amar Cocchè . . .'

⁵ Further confusion is caused by the similarity of the name *MURLE* and its variants *MURULE*, &c. A branch of the *MURLE* are said to live on River Omo (see p. 88).

⁶ 'I Magi.'

Where spoken: North of Lake Rudolf, mostly on the right bank of River Omo, but also on the left bank of the lower part of the river, and extending into Kenya on the eastern shore of Lake Rudolf.

Number of speakers: estimated at about 2,160 adult males.¹

ARBORE. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: ARBORE.

Where spoken: north of Lake Stephanie, on the low ground.²

Number of speakers: probably under 3,000.³

The speech of the following tribes may also be related to this Group:

TSAMAI or *TSAMAKO*, in Kule region on River Galana Dule, affluent of River Sagan. They are also known as 'Kule'.

*Number: c. 1,000.*⁴

GARDULLA or *CIRASHA*, on the hills between Lake Ciamo and the *KONSO*.

GIDOLE, in the same area.

GOWAZE, in the same area.

BAMBALA? (but see p. 124).

The speech of the *BUSSA*, north of the above tribes, may belong either to this Group or to the *BAKO* Group (non-CUSHITIC).⁵

Many other names are given by various writers as those of tribes living in the Omo-Rudolf-Stephanie area, and some statements have been made about their languages. It is, however, uncertain which of these many names are tribal or linguistic and which geographical, and further research is needed before any linguistic classification can be attempted.⁶

¹ MS. notes on the *MARILLE* by Shackleton, in the possession of A. C. A. Wright.

² The high ground in this area is occupied by the *AMAR* (see p. 92). Note that the vocabulary of Donaldson Smith (*Through unknown African countries*) entitled 'Arbore-Amarr' is in fact *ARBORE* and not *AMAR*. The two tribes have also been confused by Wellby ('*Twist Sudan and Menelik*).

³ Grottanelli, 'I Niloti dell'Etiopia allo stato attuale delle nostre conoscenze' (*Bull. R. Soc. geogr. ital.*, 1941).

⁴ da Casotto, 'Note sulle popolazioni dell'alto e medio Galana, 3. Gli Šamai (o Šamaco) del Cule' (*R.S.E.*, 1945).

⁵ (p. 92). See Cerulli, 'I risultati linguistici dei miei viaggi in Etiopia . . .' (*C. R. Congr. Inst. Int. langues et civilis. afr.*, 1931).

⁶ For a fuller discussion of this problem see Grottanelli, 'I Niloti dell'Etiopia . . .' and Bryan, 'A linguistic no-man's land' (*Africa*, 1945); also Pauli, 'Die Splitterstämme nördlich des Rudolfsees' (*Ann. Lateranensi*, 1950).

33. THE AFRICAN SEMITIC LANGUAGES¹

THE AFRICAN SEMITIC Languages are here provisionally regarded as constituting a Language Group within the Larger Unit of SEMITIC languages, of which most are not spoken in Africa (see p. 153).

In both AMHARIC and TIGRINYA there is a large body of vernacular literature in the Ethiopic (GE'EZ) script, dating back for many years, the oldest documents in AMHARIC being of the fourteenth century.

Both languages now have flourishing vernacular newspapers.

Texts in TIGRE and TIGRINYA, written by natives, have been collected and published by Europeans (Littmann, Kolmodin, Conti Rossini).

LANGUAGE GROUP: AFRICAN SEMITIC

Consists of:	GE'EZ	Language.
	TIGRE	Language.
	TIGRINYA	Language.
	AMHARIC	Language.
	HARARI	Language.
	ARGOBBA	Language.
	GURAGE	Dialect Cluster.
	GAFAT	Language.

Where spoken: Ethiopia and Eritrea, extending into the Sudan.

The AFRICAN SEMITIC Languages fall into two main divisions, as indicated by spacing above.

GE'EZ. This language is no longer spoken in everyday life, but is the recognized language for religious observances throughout the Coptic Church in Ethiopia.

There is a very large body of religious and historical literature.

TIGRE. LANGUAGE.

Where spoken: Eritrea: Agordat, Keren, and Massawa Divisions, north of the TIGRINYA-speaking area, i.e. the northern, western, and eastern lowlands of Eritrea; also in the Dahlak archipelago; Sudan: north of the Eritrean border as far as the environs of Tokar.

Number of speakers: Eritrea: estimated by Cerulli² at about 250,000 (i.e. the majority of the Moslem section of the total population), by Ullendorff³ at 170,000, Italian Census 113,000.

TIGRE is spoken by some of the *BENI AMER* and affiliated tribes, also by some other, autonomous, tribes. (Some of the *BENI AMER* speak TIGRE and some

¹ Also known as ETHIOPIC.

² Personal communication.

³ *Exploration and study of Abyssinia*, 1945; in his *The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia* (1955) he considers that Cerulli's estimate might be correct for the entire TIGRE-speaking area.

BEDAWIYE, while others are bilingual—see pp. 119–20). It is also spoken by the compact urban and sedentary population in Keren and Massawa Divisions, but is losing ground in favour of ARABIC.¹

TIGRE-speaking *BENI AMER* and affiliated tribes are as follows (in Eritrea, unless otherwise stated):²

DAGGA (see BEDAWIYE).

AD OKUD (see BEDAWIYE).

AD AL BAKHIT (see BEDAWIYE).

AD IBRAHIM 900 (a), 3,000 (b), 2,000 (c).

AD GULTANA 400 (a), 1,500 (b), 4,000 (c).

AD HASSARI (AD HASRI, ADHASERI) 300 (a, c), 500 (b); also in the Sudan (800 in Tokar District).³

(*AD*) *ELMAN* (see BEDAWIYE).

AD TAULE (TAULIAB) 340 (a), 500 (b), 400 (c).

AD SALA (ASSALA, ABSADAB), 530 (a), 700 (b), 400 (c).

ALMADA, in the Sudan, Tokar District (4,000).

ASFADA, in Tokar District (2,000).

RIGBAT, in Tokar District (1,700).

ABHASHEILA, in Tokar District (1,500).

AD FADIL, in Tokar District (1,000).

DOBA'AT, in Tokar District (400).

WILINNOHO, in Tokar District (250).

EL HASA (see BEDAWIYE).

AWADAB

GANIFRU } in the Sudan.

AD HASAN }

EL GURESHAB (see BEDAWIYE).

AD KUKAL (see BEDAWIYE).

AL GEDEN 800 (a), 1,500 (b), 500 (c), of negro origin. In Eritrea.

FEIDAB (EL SHEIKH WAD FAID) 800 (a), 3,000 (b), 1,500 (c). In Eritrea and the Sudan. A branch of the *AD SHEIKH* of Keren Division.

AD SHEIKH GARABIT 1,500 (a), 1,000 (b), 2,000 (c), north-east of Agordat. A branch of the *AD SHEIKH*.

AD SHERAF (see BEDAWIYE).

¹ Ullendorff, Review of Bryan, *The Distribution of the Semitic and Cushitic languages of Africa*, in *Africa*, 1948.

² Figures marked (a) from Nadel, 'Notes on Beni Amer society', (b) from Italian Census 1931, (c) from *Races and tribes of Eritrea*.

³ Information on TIGRE-speakers in Tokar District from A. Paul, formerly D. C. Tokar (personal communication).

BEIT AWAT 1,000 (a), 1,100 (b), 1,300 (c) in Eritrea; also (1,000), in the Sudan, Tokar District. Of serf origin. A few speak BEDAWIYE (q.v.).

BEIT JUK (BEJUK) 150 (a, b), under 400 (c), said to be descended from TIGRINYA-speaking peoples on the plateau.

Other TIGRE-speaking tribes:¹

SABDERAT, c. 3,000, in Agordat Division, Eritrea, on the Sudan border. They speak TIGRE and ARABIC.

BITAMA, 150, among the **KUNAMA** in Agordat Division (see p. 79), to whom they are perhaps related.

MARIA, 25,000 in Eritrea, Keren Division (south). A few have emigrated to the neighbourhood of Agordat and to Kassala in the Sudan.

MENSA 5,000, in the south of Keren Division.

BEIT ASGEDE 42,000, in the north of Keren Division in three main sections: **HABAB**, **AD TEKLES**, **AD TEMARIAM**.

AD SHEIKH, c. 9,000, in the same area as the **BEIT ASGEDE**. They claim **ARAB** origin.

AD TSAURA in the north of Keren Division.

AD MUALLIM in the north of Keren Division.

BEIT MALA (see BEDAWIYE).

BELLU (BELOU, BELAU), in the northern (Samhar) plain in Massawa Division.

AFLENDA (AFILANDA, AFLANDA), 2,500 in Massawa Division, 3,000 in the Sudan (Tokar District). Of BEDAWIYE origin.

MES'HALIT, 1,600 in Massawa Division. Of mixed origin.

AD AHA 400

AD SHUMA 2,500

AD ASHKER 750

GEDEM SIKTA 600

NABARA 800

WAIRA (WARIA) 1,700

} in the northern foothills of Massawa Division.

TIGRE is also spoken by the mixed population of the Dahlak archipelago, and by some of the **SAHO** and **BILIN** as a second language.

Dialectal divisions within TIGRE have not been studied in detail, but the language appears to be remarkably uniform, although such terms as 'the Massawa dialect', 'the **MENSA** dialect' have been used.

There is virtually no vernacular literature. The New Testament and parts of the Old Testament have been published, and there are a few other religious books.

¹ Figures for Eritrea from *Races and tribes*.

TIGRINYA (TIGRIÑA, TIGRIGNA, &c.), own name **təgrəñnya**. LANGUAGE.

The language takes its name from the Ethiopian Province of Tigre (Tigrai), and is sometimes known as **TIGRAI (TIGRAY)**; this name, however, is liable to be confused with that of the **TIGRE** language, and the name **TIGRINYA** is therefore now generally used.¹

Where spoken: Eritrea: Hamasien and Serae Divisions; part of Akkele Guzai; also spoken by emigrants from the central plateau who have settled in the southern part of Keren Division, and in Agordat and Massawa Divisions; Ethiopia: north of a line drawn from Lake Ashangi to River Takazze and beyond it to River Angareb and to the Sudan border—i.e. Tigrai Province; also spoken in Azabo and Raia regions (a predominantly **GALLA**-speaking area).

Number of speakers: Ullendorf² estimates the total at 1,300,000, of whom 500,000 in Eritrea.

The language is more or less uniform, with only slight regional variants. Conti Rossini has pointed out³ that in the east, especially in Enderta, these differences are considerable, though it is not certain whether they are of sufficient importance to constitute a separate dialect.

AMHARIC, own name **amarəñnya**. LANGUAGE.

Where spoken: (a) as a spoken language, over a wide area of Ethiopia, mainly in the centre and south, south of the **TIGRINYA**-speaking area. The southern border of the **AMHARIC**-speaking area runs along the edge of the Ethiopian tableland to the Dankali depression, following the Blue Nile–Awash watershed (except for Addis Ababa which is south of the watershed), and along the Blue Nile to the Sudan border (within this area there are, however, enclaves where other languages are spoken); (b) as the official and literary language, throughout Ethiopia.

Number of speakers: 3,000,000–5,000,000.⁴

The language is more or less uniform throughout, though less so than **TIGRINYA**. There are minor differences, mainly phonetic, between the speech of different regions, notably Shoa and Gojam.

HARARI, own name **adare**. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: the inhabitants of Harar city in Ethiopia.

Number of speakers: estimated by Cerulli⁵ at c. 35,000.

ARGOBBA. LANGUAGE.

Where spoken: Ethiopia: (a) 'northern **ARGOBBA**' in Ifat region, north of the Shoa plateau; (b) 'southern **ARGOBBA**' in a few villages immediately south of Harar.

Number of speakers: c. 2,000–2,500 in area (a), not more than 300–400 in area (b).

According to Cerulli⁶ there are slight dialectal differences. The language is fast disappearing in favour of **AMHARIC** in Ifat, and of **GALLA** near Harar.⁷

¹ The Suffix -iñña is the **AMHARIC** Suffix denoting 'language'.

² *Exploration and study of Abyssinia*.

³ Review of Bryan, *Distribution of the Semitic and Cushitic languages of Africa*, in *Oriente Moderno*, 1948.

⁴ Ullendorf, op. cit.

⁵ Personal communication.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Leslau failed to find any **ARGOBBA**-speakers in this area (personal communication).

GURAGE (GURAGIE, GOURAGHIE, GURAGUE, &c.). DIALECT CLUSTER.

Where spoken: Ethiopia: in the Province of Gurage, south of Shoa, from the head of the valley of Lake Margherita to the middle course of River Gibie.

Number of speakers: estimated by Cerulli¹ at c. 350,000.

The following names of dialects have been recorded by Leslau:²

Eastern:

SEITI.

WOLANE (WALANI).

ULBARAG (URBARAG).

INNEK'OR.

ZWAY, spoken by fishermen on the islands of Lake Zwai.

Western:

CHAHA, own name **c'aha**. The dialect used for poetry.³

EZHA, own name **eza**. Closely akin to CHAHA.

GIETA (GYETA, GYETO), spoken in Yecerit region.

ENNEMOR (ENNAMOR, INNEMOR), own name **inor**.

ENDEGEN' (INDAGEN), own name **endagony**.

MUHER.

MASQAN (MASKAN).

GOGOT.

Northern:

AYMELLEL (AYMALLAL), own name **aimallal**, spoken south of Addis Ababa.

There is practically no vernacular literature; a catechism in CHAHA has been published.

GAFAT is the name of a SEMITIC language now virtually extinct, which was spoken south of Gojam on the Blue Nile until about the middle of last century. The people now speak AMHARIC.

¹ Personal communication.

² Ibid.

³ According to Cohen, *Etudes d'Ethiopien méridional*.

34. ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUP? IRAQW

Consists of: IRAQW Dialect Cluster?
 GOROA Language?
 BURUNGI Language?
 and perhaps other units.

Where spoken: Tanganyika Territory.

For a discussion of the linguistic position of this Group, see pp. 156-7.

IRAQW. DIALECT CLUSTER?

Spoken by: IRAQW (IRAKU, EROKH, also known as (WA-)MBULU), call themselves **iraqw**.

Where spoken: Northern Province, mainly in Mbulu District.

Number of speakers: 104,365 in Mbulu District, c. 7,000 in neighbouring areas.¹

Dialects: Material collected by Guthrie² differs sufficiently from that of Whiteley³ for it to be conjectured that there are at least two dialects.

GOROA. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: GOROA (GOROWA, also known as FIOME, FIOMI).

Where spoken: Mbulu District, on the slopes of Fiome mountain; also in Kondoa District of Central Province.

Number of speakers: 17,557.⁴

BURUNGI. LANGUAGE?

Spoken by: BURUNGI (BURUNGE, MBULUNGE).

Where spoken: Kondoa District.

Number of speakers: 8,909.⁵

The speech of the ALAWA or WASI (ASI) in Kondoa District (also scattered further south in GOGO country) may also belong to this Group.

Number: 11,291 in Kondoa District.⁶

¹ Huntingford, *The Southern Nilo-Hamites*.

³ *Studies in Iraqw*.

⁵ 1948 Census.

² Unpublished.

⁴ 1948 Census (probably an overestimate).

⁶ Huntingford, *op. cit.*

35. ISOLATED UNIT? MBUGU

MBUGU. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: MBUGU, call themselves *va-ma'a* (Sing. *ma'a*) according to Copland,¹ *wa maathi* according to Meinhof.²

Where spoken: Tanganyika: Eastern Province, in Usambara.

For a discussion of the possible affinities of MBUGU with the IRAQW Group, see pp. 156-7.

36. ISOLATED UNIT? SANYE

SANYE. LANGUAGE.

Spoken by: SANYE (WA-SANYA).

Where spoken: Kenya: on the coast opposite Lamu near Mkunumbi.³

The SANYE are perhaps identical with the ARIANGULU (LADGULO) and BONI, in the same area,⁴ and may also be known as WATTA (a name also applied to some small tribes in Ethiopia).

The language is fast disappearing in favour of GALLA.

See also p. 157.

¹ 'A note on the origin of the Mbugu with a text' (*Z. Eingeb. Spr.*, 1934).

² 'Linguistische Studien in Ostafrika. 10. Mbugu' (*M.S.O.S.*, 1906).

³ Dammann, 'Einige Notizen über die Sprache der Sanye (Kenya)' (*Z.E.S.* 1950).

⁴ Prins, *The coastal tribes of the north-eastern Bantu* (1952).

LINGUISTIC NOTES

PRINCIPLES OF LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

As already stated,¹ the languages treated in this volume have been classified as the result of intensive study of all available linguistic material. In the absence of the actual analyses,² it is important that the reader should know the guiding principles behind the classification.

The most obvious, and too often the only available material for classification is, of course, vocabulary.³ Owing to the prodigious amount of inter-tribal borrowing, however, vocabulary by itself is a dangerous criterion unless controlled by a rigid system of comparative phonology. This type of study, unfortunately, has rarely been brought to such a state that it may safely be used for purposes of classification.

In any case, the study of vocabulary must be supplemented by judicious comparison of grammatical and syntactical behaviour. The following are some of the more important points which have been considered by the present authors in their analyses of the languages. Taken singly they are seldom of much importance, but in combination with each other they are often convincing.

General

It is not often that the composition of Noun or Verb *Roots* can be regarded as a classifying factor, though cases do arise; Formative elements, however, are often of importance.

Phonetics

Apart from the SANDAWE-HOTTENTOT and BUSHMAN-HADZA languages, where clicks are characteristic,⁴ it is unusual for a Language Group to have sounds which are in themselves of much significance in classification. Certain phonetic *processes*, however, are worthy of note (see p. 156 and note 1).

Tone is such a universal feature that its mere presence is useless as a criterion. Some of its functions (e.g. distinguishing Number or Case) may be significant for classification.

Morphology

In Nouns, the following criteria are important:

The presence and form of Noun Classes, with or without Concord.

The presence and form of grammatical Gender, with or without Polarity. (The word 'Gender' is here used to indicate a Masc./Fem. alternance as found, e.g. in SEMITIC).

The presence and form of Case distinction.

The manner of indicating Number.

¹ pp. vii-ix.

² See p. ix.
³ Under vocabulary are included, where known, those Particles and Morphemes which play such an important part in grammar.

⁴ But see footnote 6 on p. 166.

In personal Pronouns, apart from the a|i alternance between 1st and 2nd Persons Sing. in certain languages (see p. 152), the actual forms of the Pronouns are less important than their overall pattern. Two such overall patterns need special attention:

Block Pattern. The Plural Pronouns are the same as the Singular, with some tonal or affixal modification.

e.g.	MA'DI	DIDINGA ¹	MARARIT
a ¹ S. 1.	má	<i>nana</i>	wa
b ¹ 2.	nyí	<i>nina</i>	i
c ¹ 3.	andá	<i>neni</i>	an
a ² Pl. 1.	àma	<i>naga</i>	wanj
b ² 2.	ànyí	<i>niga</i>	ij
c ² 3.	àndápi	<i>negi</i>	aniŋ

Interlocking Pattern (realized predominantly in the pronominal element in Verb conjugation). The 1st Sing., 3rd Masc. Sing., 1st Plur., and 3rd Plur. are identical or closely similar; the 2nd Sing., 3rd Fem. Sing. (where existing), and 2nd Plur. are identical or closely similar.

e.g.	AMHARIC	SOMALI	GALLA	KADARU ² (Hill NUBIAN)	IRAQW ³
S. 1	→ə-	→-àà	→-à	-ire -ca	→à káh à hànís
2 m.	tə-	←-tàà	←-tà	-ira -cara	a kát à hànís
f.	tə-	←-i	←-à		
3 m.	→yə-	→-àà	→-à	→-o -ci	→i káh gà hànís
f.	tə-	←-tàà	←-ti		i kát gà hànís
Pl. 1	→ənnə-	→-nàà	→-nà	→-o -ci	→à káh-án à hànís-án
2	tə-	←-tään	←-tù	-iru -ceru	à kát-á à hànís-á
3	→yə -u	→-ààn	→-ù	→-o -ci	→à káh-fr ñi hànís-fr

In the above languages the pattern is similar; the interlocking in NAMA shows but a faint resemblance:

NAMA ⁴	
S. 1.	-ta
2 m.	-ts ←
f.	-s ←
3 m.	-b
f.	-s ←
Pl. 1 m.	-ge
f.	-se ←
n.	-da
2 m.	-go
f.	-so ←
n.	-du?
3 m.	-gu
f.	-ti ←
n.	-n

¹ Examples from Driberg, 'The Didinga language' (*M.S.O.S.*, 1931).

² Two typical classes of Conjugation Suffixes, of which there are many.

³ Two typical classes of Verb Stem, of which there are many.

⁴ From Olpp, *Nama course* (MS.).

Other pronominal features found important include:

Inclusive-Exclusive and Dual forms in the Plural.

Presence of a velar consonantal element in the Plural (see DIDINGA and MARARIT examples p. 140).

Position of the pronominal element in conjugation (prefixed or suffixed to the Verb Stem).

Demonstrative, Interrogative, and other Pronouns, though not negligible, are less rewarding from a classificatory point of view.

In Verbs, the most important feature is the conjugational pattern, closely linked with the Personal Pronouns. Associated with this is the form or forms of the Verb Base and its relation to Aspect¹ and/or Voice.

Verbal Derivatives have to be regarded from two angles:

(a) correspondence of ideas;

(b) correspondence of morphemes,

of which the second is, of course, the more important.

Syntax

Word order in the Genitive construction.

The use of Prepositions or Postpositions. This is closely linked both with the Genitive construction and with the occurrence or non-occurrence of Case distinction in the Noun or in other parts of speech.

Word order in the sentence, i.e. relative position of Subject, Verb, and Object.

THE MORU-MANGBETU AND BONGO-BAGIRMI LANGUAGES

GREENBERG, in his *Studies in African linguistic classification*² groups all these languages³ under one heading: 'Central Sudanic', without subdivision.

It is true that there are vocabulary similarities, including the Singular Personal Pronouns, and that these same similarities are not found in the SERE-MUNDU or the BANDA-GBAYA-NGBANDI languages, nor in the MBA Group or ZANDE. But there are also a great many word Roots which are common throughout the MORU-MANGBETU Larger Unit but unknown in BONGO-BAGIRMI, and vice versa.

An analysis of some 150 Nouns collected by Tucker reveals the following:

(i) Roots common to both MORU-MANGBETU (M-M) and BONGO-BAGIRMI (B-B): 16.

Typical examples:

M-M	bj	ear	bà	breast	zá	animal	drj	hand
B-B	mbí		mbà		ja		ji	

¹ The term 'Aspect' is here used as defined in Tucker, *E.S.L.*, p. 180.

² pp. 6-23. The Niger-Congo Family.

³ i.e. 'Bongo, Baka, Bagirmi, Sara, Kredj, Kara, Yulu, Mangbetu, Momvu-Balese (with the language of the Efe pygmies), Lendu, Logbara, Avokaya, Moru, and Madi'.

(ii) Roots common to M-M but not B-B: 120 (88 in the MORU-MA'DI Group).

Typical examples:

pu, ɔfo ash wá beer kotú navel arí blood

(iii) Roots common to B-B but not M-M: 55.

Typical examples:

buru ash jú beer kumu navel sama, masu blood
kaga¹ tree pad'u fire

Other features common to both Larger Units are:

Similar shape in both Nouns and Verbs, e.g. Verb Stem CV, VCV or CVCV (VCV being very common).

Similar formative elements:

Nouns: deverbative Prefix k-; a Suffix -a.

Verbs: Prefix t-, l-, indicating, among other things, intensified action.

Verb Stem has a Prefix for Indefinite Aspect in many languages of both Larger Units.

Divergent features are:

Separate forms for Plural Pronouns in B-B, whereas in M-M the Plural Pronouns are a form of the Singular with low Tone and (often) Prefix à- (Block Pattern, see p. 140), e.g.

	MORU	MANGBETU	BONGO	BAGIRMI
S. 1.	má	ímá	má	ma
2.	mí	ímí	yí	i
3.	ányà	ínè	bá, ne	ne
P. 1.	àma	àmà	jé	je
2.	àmí	àmí	hé	se
3.	ànya	íyè	yé	je

Word order in the Indefinite Aspect (in M-M this applies to the MORU-MA'DI Group, NDO and LENDU):

	M-M	B-B
Definite:	SVO	SVO
Indefinite:	SOV	SVO (Verb often with consonant Prefix)

Word order in the Genitive:

	M-M	B-B
Possessed+Possessor+Postposition or Possessor (+Particle)+Possessed		Possessed (+Preposition) +Possessor

Postpositions in M-M regularly correspond to Prepositions in B-B (the actual morphemes often being similar).

To sum up:

i. Each Larger Unit has its own characteristic vocabulary, which far outweighs in importance the vocabulary common to the two Larger Units.

¹ Italicized vowels are semi-mute (a characteristic feature of the BONGO-BAGIRMI Larger Unit).

ii. The two Larger Units show *some similar morphemes, but mainly divergent grammatical behaviour*. Thus, although future investigators may with justice wish to group them into one 'Family' or 'Larger Larger Unit', the fundamental cleavage between the two Larger Units, as given here, cannot be ignored.

LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY THE PYGMIES

It would seem from the investigations of many authorities that there is no truly indigenous Pygmy language now extant, whatever might have been the situation in the past. The present Pygmies live for the most part a life of dependence on neighbouring Bantu or non-Bantu tribes and speak a version of the language of their hosts. This explains why EFE is closely related to LESE and ASUA (AKA) to the MANGBETU dialects (see also the SERE-MUNDU languages, p. 25). In the Ituri forest area other Pygmies speak KI-MBUTI (related to KI-BIRA) and KU-SUWA (related to KU-AMBA).

Tucker notes that in the pronunciation of EFE, KI-MBUTI, and KU-SUWA certain common phonetic relationships between the speech of the Pygmies and their hosts are evident, e.g.

ü for u

glottal stop for k

Hackett reports that these characteristics are not found in the speech of the more western Pygmies.

NOTE ON THE TERM 'EASTERN SUDANIC'

THE term 'Eastern Sudanic' was first used by Tucker, but was intended to be regarded as entirely geographical,¹ being coined at the time to counterbalance Westermann's 'Western Sudanic'.² Up to that time (c. 1940) it had been tacitly assumed that all previously unclassified languages were in some way 'Sudanic', and some vague degree of interrelationship was taken for granted, this relationship being set out in *E.S.L.* (pp. 56-58), where a 'Definition of a Sudanic Language' was attempted under sixteen heads. The trend of modern investigation, however, would seem to be against the establishment of an overall 'Sudanic Family' in the sense used by Werner³ and others; the term is accordingly avoided in the present work,⁴ though writers may care to revive it with particular reference to some as yet undiscovered unity among any of the languages of Central and West Africa.⁵

Greenberg,⁶ for instance, postulates (i) a 'Western Sudanic nucleus' (corresponding

¹ *Eastern Sudanic Languages*, vol. i, where not only the MORU-MANGBETU and BONGO-BAGIRMI languages but also ZANDE and BANDA are 'described, because of their geographical position, as the "Eastern Sudanic Languages"' (see especially pp. viii-ix).

² *Die westlichen Sudansprachen*.

³ *Language families of Africa*.

⁴ As also in Westermann and Bryan, *Languages of West Africa*.

⁵ Even the use of the word 'Sudan' to denote a geographical area is confusing, owing to the different interpretations put upon it by e.g. the Germans, to whom it means an undefined area south of the Sahara; the French, to whom it denotes the 'Soudan Français'; and the English, to whom it meant the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, now the 'Sudan'. It is only in this latter sense that the word is used here.

⁶ *Op. cit.*

approximately to Westermann's 'Western Sudanic') of the 'Niger-Congo Family', (ii) a 'Central Sudanic Family' (see p. 141, footnote 3), (iii) an 'Eastern Sudanic Family', by which is meant *inter alia* NILOTIC and NILO-HAMITIC (see p. 150). We are left in doubt as to whether the term 'Sudanic' is used by him merely geographically or to imply some fundamental unity underlying his three groupings. But see p. xvi.

Any fundamental unity of (i) and (ii) has yet to be demonstrated, while the present authors are not convinced of a fundamental unity between (ii) and (iii). Even in the realm of vocabulary there is no discernible common basis. Some words can be made to show apparent correspondences between e.g. the MORU-MANGBETU and NILOTIC Larger Units, by the process of regarding unexplained sounds as Affixes:

MORU-MA'DI Group (Word Stems (V)CV)		SHILLUK (Word Stems CVC)	
fire	asi	mac	m- could be regarded as a Prefix
blood	ari	rem(o)	-m " " " " Suffix
to cut	lo	ɲol	ɲ- " " " " Prefix
to remain	ri	rɛer	-r " " " " Suffix

and the two Larger Units can also be shown to have certain morphemes in common.

Of correspondences in grammatical *behaviour* there are none which can be regarded as significant (except possibly the prefixing of Personal Pronouns to Verbs—which, however, occurs in SERE-MUNDU, ZANDE, &c. as well). In verbal Aspect, and in the Genitive and adjectival constructions, the dissimilarities are most striking.

Moreover, many of Greenberg's 'Eastern Sudanic' languages have common features with CUSHITIC languages (see pp. 150-3). In fact, both linguistically and anthropologically, many of the tribes speaking these languages have links with the East rather than the West.

THE SERE-MUNDU LANGUAGES, THE MBA GROUP, ZANDE AND THE BANDA-GBAYA-NGBANDI LANGUAGES

GREENBERG¹ groups all these languages² under one heading: 'Eastern Branch' of his much larger 'Niger-Congo Family', with all the BANTU languages as one member of a sister unit, the 'Central Branch'.

In boldly taking these languages out of the nebulous 'Sudanic' family in which they had been tentatively placed by Tucker, he has made a great advance in African language classification, for there is no doubt that there is a fair basic vocabulary com-

¹ Op. cit., pp. 6-23. The Niger-Congo Family.

² 'Gbaya-Manjia, Bwaka-Gbanziri-Monjombo, Sango-Yakoma-Ngbandi, Banda group, Nzakara, Monjombo [*sic*], Zande, Mondunga, Mundu-Mayogu-Bangba, Barambo, Madyo, Ndogo-Sere-Bviri-Golo'. He further suggests (p. 116) a 'special relationship' between this 'Branch' and the 'Adamawa Branch', which contains e.g. the Vere Group (see Westermann and Bryan, *Languages of West Africa*, p. 150), Chamba, &c. (*ibid.*, pp. 148-51), the Mbum Group (*ibid.*, pp. 145-8), also Bua, Nielim, and Koke (see pp. 41-42 of this volume).

mon to all these languages, and that furthermore many words have Roots in common with Bantu. Note the following, for example:

	ear	dog	bird	mouth	die	drink
Ur-BANTU ¹	tu	m-vua	yuni, nuni	nua, lomo	kua	mua, nyiva
SERE	té	bvóɾɔ	nu	[nze]	ci, cu	njù
MUNDU	[gɔdzè]	bóɾɔ	lù	kómò	ikpi	nju
BANDA	(t)utu	yavóɾɔ	(n)yanu	[(m)ama]	(kú-)cù	nju
NGBAKA- GBAYA	[záláwi]	[tòlo]	nǒě	nówi	fè	nó
NGBANDI	[ma]	mbò	hù	nyǒ	kpe	nyɔ
MA	-sǔ-	-buún-ɔ	-nu-	-mu-	kpj	n(d)ɔ
MBA		ǂf-á	nǔ	[cǂ-]	kwǂ	njwa
ZANDE	tǂe	baɾa	[zǂɾe]	ɲǂbáá	kpǂ	[mbǂɾa]
BARAMBU	tu	bara	[mbǂyǂ]	ɲǂba	kpǂ	nyɔ

But any such grouping must come at a level, or levels, higher than that of the present work, which does not aim at anything more comprehensive than the Larger Unit. At the present stage of research it but confuses the issue to group all these languages together without making it clear, for instance, that NZAKARA and ZANDE are so closely related as to be mutually intelligible, that NDUNGA (MONDUNGA) and MA (MADYO) belong to a Group of Class languages, totally different in almost all grammatical aspects from NZAKARA and ZANDE, and that GOLO belongs to the BANDA Group.

True, there are some grammatical features which seem to suggest a relationship between the Larger Units themselves, e.g. the o- Plural Prefix of MUNDU and some languages of the GBAYA Group, or the Genitive construction of ZANDE and NGBANDI (Particle+Possessor+Possessed). But there are also sufficiently great divergences to make a grouping into Larger Units a necessary preliminary to any overall classification.

For instance, the Noun Class system of Suffixes and ConCORDS of the MBA Group is sufficient to isolate this Group from the rest, and is in fact more reminiscent of Greenberg's 'Adamawa Branch' (including, *inter alia*, Suffixes in -l, -k, -m (Collective)).

Then ZANDE, although the forms of the 1st and 2nd Person Pronouns are similar to those in NGBANDI and GBAYA (i.e. mi and mɔ), must stand by itself by reason of its remarkably BANTU-like Verb system, with the following features:

- (i) A system of Tenses shown by Prefixes.
- (ii) Perfect Stem in -i (both Simple and Perfect Stem may be used with Tense Prefixes).
- (iii) Numerous Stem Extensions denoting Verbal Derivatives, with largely similar morphemes to those of BANTU.

On the other hand, vocabulary correspondence with BANTU is no greater than is that of some other languages, and there is no Noun Class and Concord system.

In SERE-MUNDU and BANDA there is Inclusive-Exclusive distinction in the

¹ From Meinhof, *Introduction to the phonology of the Bantu languages*.

1st Person Plural Pronoun, but not in the other languages, while in ZANDE, MBA, and MA there is Gender distinction in the 3rd Person Singular.

To sum up, the divergent features of these languages would seem to be sufficient to exclude some of them from this 'branch', and possibly to allocate them to other branches, while the features common to all these languages are common also to other branches of Greenberg's 'Niger-Congo Family'—including BANTU. We therefore feel that Greenberg's 'Eastern Branch' grouping cannot be justified (still less the order of his items), except on the grounds of geographical expediency.

LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE NUBA HILLS

It is unfortunate that the use of the term 'Nuba' by both Arabs and Europeans to denote the tribes of the Nuba Hills area should have become so widely known, as it is erroneous in view of the diversity of language and culture which these tribes present. The term was probably applied by the Arabs in the first place to the northern communities on account of their relationship to the *NUBIANS* of the Nile valley, and later extended to include other non-related peoples (the same name has also been used by the Arabs for some peoples in Chad, F.E.A.);¹ there is no evidence that such peoples have any connexion either with the Nuba Hills or with the *NUBIANS*.

To avoid confusion, the name 'Nuba' is not used in the present work except as a geographical name: the Nuba Hills.

That the languages spoken in this area are far from homogeneous has long been known. Meinhof² divided them into three types:

Nubian dialects;

'Prefix' languages, i.e. languages with Noun Classes distinguished by Prefixes;

Languages without Noun Classes (which he called 'Sudanic').

Later, a further subdivision, into ten groups (including DAJU and NUBIAN) was made by P. A. and D. N. Macdiarmid.³

The intensive researches of R. C. Stevenson⁴ have led him to a classification (similar in many respects to that of the Macdiarmids) which is followed in the present work, and which may be summed up as follows:

1. Languages without Noun Classes. Three Language Groups have been established: NYIMANG (see p. 62), TEMEIN (p. 63), and KATLA (p. 64). Although there are a few features common to these groups (mainly phonetic, and common also to other languages in this area),⁵ the differences are too great for any unity between the Groups to be postulated. For instance, a characteristic of NYIMANG is the distinction of Aspect in the Verb by a difference in Verb Base, with a complete series of Verbal Derivatives formed from each Aspect Base; TEMEIN has no Aspect distinction, and KATLA has a Suffix -ŋ in the Definite Aspect. Singular and Plural

¹ See p. 42.

² 'Sprachstudien im Egyptischen Sudan' (*Z.K.S.*, 1915-19).

³ 'The languages of the Nuba Mountains' (*S.N.R.*, 1931).

⁴ Ph.D. thesis (unpublished).

⁵ Notably the existence of dental *t*, *ɖ*, (*ɳ*) as well as alveolar *t*, *d*, *n*.

Note also a Plural Suffix -ŋ- in NYIMANG for Nouns denoting kinship terms only, which occurs also in several languages of the KOALIB-TAGOI Larger Unit.

of Nouns are not differentiated in NYIMANG; in TEMEIN there are Singular and Plural Suffixes, in KATLA Prefixes.

These three Groups are accordingly treated as Isolated Groups.

Stevenson suggests that there may be some affinities between the KATLA Group and the TEGALI-TAGOI Group of Class Languages—mainly in vocabulary—but further research is needed on this point.

The Pronominal system of the NYIMANG Group exhibits some of the features also found in other languages: *a|i* alternance, Block Pattern, and the velar element in the Plural (see pp. 140-1).

The TEMEIN Group shows several affinities with the NILOTIC and NILO-HAMITIC languages, notably:

Noun Formative Suffix -t or -ɖ (NILO-HAMITIC);

Singular and Plural Suffixes (NILO-HAMITIC);

Singular Personal Pronouns (NILOTIC and NILO-HAMITIC).

There is slight vocabulary resemblance to NILOTIC and NILO-HAMITIC.

2. Languages with Noun Classes.¹ One Larger Unit (KOALIB-TAGOI) has been established, consisting of three Language Groups and one (little-known) Single Unit. The Noun Class System of Prefixes and Concords is much the same throughout the Larger Unit. The TEGALI-TAGOI Group, however, consists of dialects some of which have Noun Classes while others have not. Their close interrelationship in other respects, however, necessitates their classification in one Group, and hence the inclusion of a Cluster of non-Class dialects in a Larger Unit consisting of Noun Class Languages.

3. A Group of languages with Noun Classes (KADUGLI-KRONGO). Not only does the Noun Class system differ from that of the aforementioned Larger Unit, but other grammatical features make it impossible to class KADUGLI-KRONGO with any other Group. The Concord system of agreement with Verbs and Adjectives, for instance, is determined firstly by the phonetic composition of the Noun and secondly by the Gender (Masc., Fem., Neuter) of the Noun in the Singular only. Verbal behaviour also differs from that of the KOALIB-TAGOI languages. This Group is accordingly treated as Isolated.

4. DAJU languages. These languages belong to the DAJU Group, spoken outside as well as within the Nuba Hills area (see pp. 59-61 and pp. 150-1).

5. NUBIAN dialects ('Hill NUBIAN'). These form part of the NUBIAN Language Group (see pp. 75-77 and pp. 150, 152).

It is thus impossible to treat the languages spoken in the Nuba Hills together on any but a purely geographical basis. Note that Greenberg,² although classing TEMEIN as a separate 'Family' (Temainian),³ groups all the Noun Class languages

¹ The name BANTOID has been applied (e.g. by Struck, 'Somatische Typen und Sprachgruppen in Kordofan', *Z. Ethnol.*, 1920-1) to the Noun Class languages of the Nuba Hills, but it is not used here, being reserved for a language (MBUGU, pp. 138, 157) which has the Noun Class system of BANTU, combined with a non-BANTU vocabulary. In the Nuba Hills Class Languages there is no formal resemblance of the Noun Class system to that of BANTU, the mere fact of the existence of a system of paired Classes, distinguished by Prefixes, and with alliterative Concords, being the only thing common to these languages and to BANTU.

² *Studies in African linguistic classification*, pp. 96-97.

³ Of the features reminiscent of NILOTIC and NILO-HAMITIC (see above) Greenberg was naturally unaware, since no linguistic material other than vocabularies has been published.

of the Nuba Hills together ('Kordofanian Family'): Kawalib Group [= KOALIB-MORO], Tagele Group [= TEGALI-TAGOI], Talodi [= TALODI-MASAKIN], Tumtum [= part of KADUGLI-KRONGO], together with KATLA, and makes no mention of NYIMANG.

LANGUAGES OF THE SUDAN-ETHIOPIAN BORDER

VERY little is known about the languages spoken on both sides of the Sudan-Ethiopian border, between Roseires in the north and Gambela in the south. Apart from the BURUN and MABAN dialects, which belong to the NILOTIC Larger Unit, one Isolated Language Group (KOMA) is here tentatively suggested; the other languages (BERTA, TABI, and 'Gule') are regarded for the present as Isolated Units (with query). Most of the material available on all these languages, except KOMA, consists of vocabulary only. Sporadic vocabulary resemblance has been noted between BERTA, TABI, 'Gule', and the KOMA Group; also between 'Gule' and NILOTIC.¹

Note on nomenclature

HAMEG, HAMAG, HAMEŷ. An ARABIC appellation, meaning 'serfs', and applied to several tribes in this area, including *BERTA, TABI*, and 'Gule'.

SHANGALLA, SHANKALLA. This name is continually met with, especially in older writings, as a tribal name throughout the Ethiopian border regions. It is a general term used by the Ethiopians to denote negro peoples. Thus the vocabularies of Beke² (SHANKALA of Agaunider) and Salt³ (Dar Mitchequa or SHANGALLA) are both of GUMUZ (see p. 84). The name *SHANGALLA* may be the same as *BENI SHANGUL*, the ARABIC name for the *BERTA*; *SHOGALE* may be a version of the same, and if this is indeed the name of a *BERTA* tribe,⁴ this may be the origin of the name.

FUNG (FUNŷ). This name occurs in the works of many nineteenth-century writers, was perpetuated in the name of the former Dar Fung Province, and is occasionally used as a geographical term; it seems to have originally denoted a kingdom. There has been much speculation as to the nature and origin of the *FUNG* people, and many writers have associated them with the *SHILLUK* in one way or another.⁵ Linguistically, however, there is little to suggest any close relationship between 'Gule' and the NILOTIC languages, other than the resemblance of a few words. The geographical name 'Gule' is here used in preference to '*FUNG*', as there is no evidence that the present inhabitants of Gule are really the remnants of the old Fung Kingdom.

BURUN. Although strictly applicable only to the people speaking NILOTIC

¹ Westermann (*The Shilluk people*) points out some resemblances of FUNGI (i.e. 'Gule') to SHILLUK; Greenberg, on the other hand, places 'Gule' in his 'Koman Group'.

² 'On the languages and dialects of Abyssinia and the countries to the south' (*Proc. Philol. Soc.*, 1849).

³ *Voyage to Abyssinia*, 1814 (Appendix).

⁴ See p. 81.

⁵ See especially A. J. Arkell, 'Fung origins' (*S.N.R.*, 1932); 'More about Fung origins' (*S.N.R.*, 1946); O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar* (pp. 156-62).

dialects (see pp. 100-1), the name has often been used to cover, and is even acknowledged by, other peoples, including the *UDUK* and *KOMA*.

THE NILOTIC AND NILO-HAMITIC LANGUAGES

THE term NILOTIC is much better known than Crazzolarà's alternative JII,¹ and is accordingly used here.

It has long been recognized that there are close affinities between the NILOTIC and NILO-HAMITIC languages; indeed, the term 'NILOTIC' has been used by Conti Rossini and Köhler to cover the languages of both these Larger Units.²

Vocabulary relationship (including Personal Pronouns) between the two Larger Units is close enough to be realizable in terms of phonological rules.

But the following points of divergence cannot be ignored:

(i) Whereas the NILOTIC *Word* may often consist in CVC, the same elements occur usually in NILO-HAMITIC languages as a *Root*, with Affixes attached.

(ii) Both Larger Units have a multiplicity of Singular and Plural forms, but in the NILOTIC languages Number is differentiated by internal change, in NILO-HAMITIC by a series of characteristic Suffixes.³

(iii) In both Larger Units there are Verbal Derivative forms expressing *inter alia* Motion towards, Motion from, Action on behalf of, Inchoative and Intransitive. Here again the NILOTIC forms are differentiated by internal change, the NILO-HAMITIC by Suffixes.⁴

Greenberg's attempt to relate the NILOTIC forms to the NILO-HAMITIC Suffixes cannot be substantiated phonologically from the abundant material available.⁵

(iv) Grammatical Gender occurs in the NILO-HAMITIC languages only; the sign of the Masculine is l, of the Feminine n.⁶

(v) In MAASAI, the TESO Group, and the NANDI Group Nominative and Accusative Case are distinguished by Tone and the Accusative is the form of the Noun used in isolation. This phenomenon is nowhere found in NILOTIC languages.⁷

Indeed, no NILOTIC language has an Accusative Case, though NUER has Genitive and Locative, and DINKA (occasional) Locative. Case is differentiated by internal change, and these forms are not found in NILO-HAMITIC languages.

¹ *A study of the Acooli language.*

² Conti Rossini, 'Lingue nilotiche'. He also includes KUNAMA (see p. 79) and MEKAN (see p. 89). Köhler, 'Die Ausbreitung der Niloten'.

³ Some of these Suffixes are also to be found in NUBIAN, the DIDINGA-MURLE Group, TEMEIN, DAJU, and the TAMA Group, where, however, vocabulary correspondence is but slight.

⁴ Some of these Suffixes are also to be found in NUBIAN, the DIDINGA-MURLE Group, and DAJU.

⁵ The Inchoative -an in NILO-HAMITIC might perhaps be compared with the nasalization of final consonants in NILOTIC (Northern LWO only). But Greenberg's example of -un (= 'motion towards') in NUER is an isolated case. Note also that the Causative Suffix -ye in many NILO-HAMITIC languages might be equated with a similar Suffix in many other languages, including BANTU.

⁶ Greenberg (p. 70) cites SHILLUK nyal/nyan = boy/girl, but this is the only example of l/n alternance in the language.

⁷ It is, however, characteristic of CUSHITIC languages (see p. 156).

(vi) The NILOTIC sentence order is SVO, the NILO-HAMITIC VSO (except in BARI).

(vii) There is a large vocabulary of common stems throughout the NILO-HAMITIC languages which do not occur in the NILOTIC languages, and vice versa.

GREENBERG'S 'EASTERN SUDANIC FAMILY'¹

GREENBERG² postulates a large 'Eastern Sudanic Family' with the following members:

Nubian

Beir-Didinga [= DIDINGA-MURLE Group]

Barea

Tabi

Merarit [= MARARIT, in the TAMA Group]

Daju [= DAJU]

Southern Branch: 1. Nilotic: Burun, Luo Group, Dinka-Nuer

2. Great Lakes [= NILO-HAMITIC]

In his supporting vocabulary of about 70 items, 39 show undeniable relationship between NILOTIC and NILO-HAMITIC; in the other languages, possible relationships with either NILOTIC or NILO-HAMITIC are shown as follows:

NUBIAN 25, DIDINGA 13, BAREA 10, TABI 10, MARARIT 9, DAJU 7

and some of these languages also show vocabulary affinities with each other³ which are foreign to NILOTIC and NILO-HAMITIC.⁴ DAJU is the only one of these languages which show correspondence (to NILOTIC) in the Personal Pronouns.

Some grammatical correspondences between these various languages exist, but are mostly inconclusive, and our investigations do not allow us to postulate more than the following:

NUBIAN. Plural Suffixes, as noted by Greenberg, include **-i** and **-gu**. The Singular Suffix **-d** (**-t**) occurs in Hill NUBIAN only. Case endings are Accusative **-g** (**-j**), Genitive **-n**. With the latter might be compared the nasalization of the final consonant in NILOTIC languages, except that it is the final consonant of the *Possessed Noun* which is thus modified, whereas in NUBIAN the Case ending is attached to the *Possessor*. The Accusative is the form of the Noun used in isolation.⁵

For Personal Pronouns, see p. 152.

Of the Verbal Derivative Suffixes, only the Inchoative **-an** shows any resemblance to the NILO-HAMITIC Suffixes. Verbal behaviour differs greatly from both NILOTIC and NILO-HAMITIC.

BAREA. For Personal Pronouns, see p. 152.

The Causative Suffix **-igis** might be considered to resemble the CUSHITIC **-is**,

¹ For a criticism of this term, see p. 144.

² Op. cit., pp. 62-79. The Eastern Sudanic Family.

³ And with Greenberg's 'Macrosudanic' (op. cit., pp. 111-14).

⁴ It should be noted that, in some of the comparisons, Greenberg falls into the error for which he condemns Westermann and Struck, of 'the loose assumption of prefixes and suffixes, by which almost anything can be proven in languages with short words'—e.g. 'backbone', 'child', 'rain' (op. cit., pp. 76, 78).

⁵ But is not the simple (uninflected) form of the word, as in e.g. NILO-HAMITIC and CUSHITIC (see p. 156).

which is, however, also a feature of other languages, including BANTU. Verbal behaviour does not resemble that of NILOTIC or NILO-HAMITIC.

TABI. Linguistic material available is too slight for any conclusions to be drawn. As well as the vocabulary resemblances noted by Greenberg, there are some words in common on the one hand with BERTA, and on the other with the KOMA Group.

DIDINGA. For Personal Pronouns, see pp. 140, 152.

Some Singular and Plural Suffixes resemble those of NILO-HAMITIC (the Plural Suffixes **-tin** and **-wa** being common also to CUSHITIC languages). Some Verbal Derivative Suffixes likewise resemble those of NILO-HAMITIC, but the relationship does not seem to be close.

There is no grammatical Gender.¹ As in the NILO-HAMITIC and CUSHITIC languages (see pp. 149, 156), the Accusative is the simplest form of the Noun, other Cases being shown by Suffixes, also by tonal change.

The behaviour of the Verb strikingly resembles that of the TAMA Group (which includes MARARIT),² but not that of NILOTIC or NILO-HAMITIC.

MARARIT. For Personal Pronouns, see pp. 140, 152-3.

Verbal behaviour of the TAMA Group is highly characteristic, and differs entirely from that of NILOTIC or NILO-HAMITIC. It does, however, show a remarkable resemblance to that of DIDINGA,³ although lexical affinity between the two Groups appears to be so slight as to have no significance.

DAJU. The Self-standing Pronouns (1st and 2nd Persons Sing.) show slight resemblance to NILOTIC (in conjugation the Pronoun Subject is different).

Some Singular Suffixes to Nouns resemble those of NILO-HAMITIC, notably **-t** (which is also found in DIDINGA and the TAMA Group; the Singular Suffix **-ic** and the Plural Suffix **-iny** occur in both DAJU and DIDINGA, the latter also in the TAMA Group). Some Verbal Derivative Suffixes may also have NILO-HAMITIC affinities.

There is no Case in DAJU. Grammatical Gender is distinguished in the 3rd Person Sing. Pronoun only (Masc. **ma**, Fem. **ce**; there is also a Neuter **nya**).

It should be noted that the western DAJU languages have a general Plural Suffix **-ge** (**-ke**) similar to that of the BONGO-BAGIRMI languages. This Suffix replaces (and in some words is added to) the various Plural Suffixes of the eastern DAJU languages.

The Personal Pronoun system

A study of the Personal Pronoun system, both in the Self-standing forms and in Verb conjugation, has brought to light some interesting correlations between some of these languages, which are foreign to both NILOTIC and NILO-HAMITIC.

¹ Driberg ('The Didinga language') considers Masc. 1/Fem. **n** in *locyen* (Masc.), *nacyen* (Fem.) (= sister's son/daughter), and in a few personal names, to be borrowed from neighbouring NILO-HAMITIC languages.

² Bryan, 'The Verb in the Tama and Didinga Language Groups' (*Afrikanistische Studien herausgegeben von F. Lukas (Festschrift Westermann)*, 1955).

³ Ibid.

Of the criteria discussed on pp. 140-1, the following have been particularly considered in this context:

a|i alternance between 1st and 2nd Person Sing.; occurrence of a velar element in the Plural;

Block or Interlocking Pattern in conjugation; position of the pronominal element in conjugation.

No one of these phenomena can be regarded as significant in itself. For instance, the a|i alternance is found in KOMA and TEMEIN as well as in many of the languages under consideration. Association of a velar element with Plurality occurs in SARA MBAI (-ki Suffixed to Pronoun Subject) and BAGIRMI (-ki suffixed to Verb Stem). Block Pattern is found in MORU-MANGBETU. There are only two possible positions for the pronominal element in conjugation, so that this criterion, unless supported by others, is obviously of little significance.

But when two or more of these criteria occur, e.g. when Sing. and Plur. forms are differentiated only by the velar element in the Plural, the possibility of relationship between the languages concerned at least merits further investigation.

Their occurrence is as follows:

NILOTIC. a|i alternance; no velar element; no recognizable Pattern; Pronoun Subject precedes Verb Stem.

NILO-HAMITIC. a|i alternance (not in BARI); no velar element; no recognizable Pattern; Pronoun Subject Particle precedes Verb Stem.

NUBIAN. Self-standing: a|i alternance; no velar element; partial Block pattern. In conjugation: Interlocking Pattern in KADARU, elsewhere various intermediate forms between Interlocking and Block patterns; Pronoun Subject follows Verb Stem.

BAREA. i|a alternance; velar element (k or g); Block Pattern; Pronoun Subject follows Verb Stem.

DIDINGA. a|i alternance; velar element (g, k); Block Pattern (both in the Self-standing forms and in conjugation); Pronoun Subject follows Verb Stem, but 1st Person Sing. and Plural also has a Prefix (k-).

Self-standing (see p. 140)	Conjugation
S. 1	k- -a
2	-i
3	-e
Pl. 1	k- -a-k
2	-i-k
3	-e-k

MARARIT. Self-standing: a|i alternance; velar element; Block Pattern. In conjugation the velar element (k, g, or ŋ) occurs in an Infix between the Verb Stem and a Suffix invariable for Person but apparently comparable to the Pronoun Subject Suffix in DIDINGA. There is also a Prefix (n-) in the 1st Person, Sing. and Plur. (plus Vowel in 1st and 2nd Persons with Verbs whose Stem begins with a consonant):

Self-standing
(see p. 140)

S. 1 n(+V)-
2 (V)-
3
Pl. 1 n(+V)-
(V)-

Conjugation

-ey
-ey
-ey
[Infix containing velar] -ey
[Infix containing velar] -ey
[Infix containing velar] -ey

To sum up: vocabulary correspondence between any of these languages (NUBIAN, BAREA, TABI, DIDINGA, MARARIT) and NILOTIC-NILO-HAMITIC is far less than that between NILOTIC and NILO-HAMITIC. There is insufficient grammatical correspondence to justify any grouping together of these languages. We therefore treat the languages of Greenberg's 'Eastern Sudanic Family', other than NILOTIC and NILO-HAMITIC, as Isolated Units or members of Isolated Language Groups, while drawing attention to such correspondences as appear to open up lines for future investigation.

NOTE ON THE TERM 'HAMITIC'

SOME authorities (e.g. Cohen) postulate a large 'Hamito-Semitic' unit; Greenberg¹ supports this classification, but suggests the use of 'Afroasiatic' in order to avoid an overemphasis on 'Semitic'. The term 'Hamitic' has also been used² with the meaning of 'early Semitic'.

We have not found the criteria sufficiently conclusive for any such overall classification, and prefer a less comprehensive grouping, according to which the following are regarded as Larger Units:

BERBER (not dealt with in this work)³

Ancient Egyptian } (not dealt with in this work, which is concerned only with living
MEROITIC } languages)

CUSHITIC

SEMITIC. The Ethiopian languages are considered as constituting one Language Group, called here AFRICAN SEMITIC,⁴ within the SEMITIC Larger Unit. Other members of this Larger Unit are ARABIC, which, being comparatively recently introduced into Africa, is not dealt with here; and other languages which are not spoken in Africa at all.

The possibility of establishing a HAMITIC 'Larger Larger Unit', to cover the units mentioned above, belongs to a higher level of classification than that of this work, and is left to future workers.

There are also two hybrid Larger Units: CHADO-HAMITIC⁵ and NILO-HAMITIC.

The term HAMITIC is only used in our classification as an element in the names

¹ Op. cit., pp. 43-61. Hamito-Semitic.

² e.g. by Zyhlarz.

³ See Basset, *La Langue Berbère* (Handbook of African Languages, part i).

⁴ Also known as ETHIOPIC.

⁵ See Westermann and Brvan. *Languages of West Africa* (Handbook of African Languages, part ii).

of the two hybrid Larger Units, and, in the linguistic notes, to refer to features which are common to several of the Larger Units.

NOTE ON THE TERM 'NILO-HAMITIC'

GREENBERG¹ attacks the use of the term NILO-HAMITIC very strongly, both in the sense in which it is used by Meinhof and Struck,² that the languages are basically HAMITIC, and in the sense used by Westermann and Murray,³ that 'they are basically NILOTIC, but have undergone HAMITIC influence to the point where they must be considered a kind of linguistic hybrid'.⁴

While admitting that, compared with the CHADO-HAMITIC languages, these languages reveal only a few HAMITIC characteristics, the present authors prefer to retain the title NILO-HAMITIC for the following reasons:

- The great number of common non-NILOTIC characteristics (including the presence of grammatical Gender) makes it essential to regard this as a parallel Larger Unit rather than a grouping of Groups within an existing NILOTIC Larger Unit.⁵
- The term NILO-HAMITIC is already well known, and no satisfactory alternative has yet been put forward.⁶
- Most of the non-NILOTIC correspondences⁷ so far discovered are with the CUSHITIC languages to the east.

The following points are suggested for consideration. They include most of the points selected by Greenberg to illustrate morphological resemblances of the CHADO-HAMITIC languages to 'Hamito-Semitic' (op. cit., pp. 49-50).

(i) *Feminine Formative t*

A strictly Feminine Formative *t* is not found in NILO-HAMITIC, but a common Diminutive Suffix is *-tat*, *-tot*. Diminutive Nouns are invariably Feminine⁸ (except in TESO, where there is a Diminutive Gender).

(ii) *The opposition k (Masc.) t (Fem.)*

In NANDI, although there is no grammatical Gender as such, certain Nouns denoting males are introduced by the Particle *kip-*, Nouns denoting females and diminutives by the Particle *cep-*, e.g.

kip-sikisindet/cep-sikisiât Kipsigis man/woman.

(See also under Polarity, p. 185).

¹ Op. cit. 5. The Eastern Sudanic Family.

² Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*; Struck, 'Über die Sprache der Tatoga- und Iraku-Leute'.

³ Westermann, *The Shilluk People*; Murray, 'The Nilotic languages'.

⁴ Greenberg, op. cit., p. 67.

⁵ See pp. 149-50.

⁶ Greenberg's suggested title 'Great Lakes' is ridiculous in that none of the languages concerned is spoken on or near any of the recognized 'Great Lakes' of Africa (with the exception of Lake Rudolf).

⁷ And even some of the NILOTIC traits as well.

⁸ The linking of Gender with size is a common characteristic of many languages which have grammatical Gender. Note that a Diminutive Suffix *-t* has been recorded in the BERBER of Mauretania (F. Nicolas, *La Langue Berbère de Mauretanie*. *Mém. IFAN* 22. 1052).

(iii) *The employment of n as a Genitive connective*

Personal Possessive Pronouns contain the element *n* in NANDI.¹

(iv) *Formation of Noun Plurals*

(a) *Doubling of final consonant.*² These Plurals occur sporadically in NILO-HAMITIC:

MAASAI *ɛŋkaji* Pl. *ɛŋkájíjík* house; *ɛŋkáló* Pl. *ɛŋkálòli* side.

(b) *Internal change of some other vowel to a.* This, again, occurs sporadically in NILO-HAMITIC:

BARI *kele* Pl. *kala* tooth

(c) Suffixation of *-en*.³ *-n* is the commonest NILO-HAMITIC Plural Suffix (excepting *-k*), sometimes occurring as *-ni*.

Another feature of Plurality, not noted by Greenberg is:

Polarity of Gender.

In SOMALI, many Nouns which are Masculine in the Singular are Feminine in the Plural, and vice versa. This is shown with the Definite Article Suffix, e.g.

daméér-kii' the male donkey; Pl. *dameerrá-dii'* (Fem.)

daméér-tii' the female donkey; Pl. *dameeri-hii'* (Masc.)

In NANDI, although there is no Gender agreement, the opposition Sing. *t*/Pl. *k* in the Definite Suffix bears too close a resemblance to SOMALI Polarity to be dismissed as non-significant, e.g.

íit-it Pl. *íit-íik* ear (Indefinite form *íit*, Pl. *íit-in*).

Note also the opposition Sing. *t*/Pl. *k* in BARI (not related to Gender), e.g.

lopijot Pl. *lopijoki* male sheep.

(v) *The pronominal system*

Here, except for the 1st Person (which is common also to NILOTIC languages), there is no correlation. In fact there is relatively little agreement in the pronominal system among the NILO-HAMITIC languages themselves.

In this connexion it may be of interest to compare the vowel relation *o* (Masc.), *a* (Fem.) in the Pronouns of SIDAMO and Noun Suffixes in KAFFA with the MAASAI Article *oi-* (Masc.), *en-* (Fem.) and the BARI Demonstratives *lo* (Masc.), *na* (Fem.).⁴

Other points of correspondence between CUSHITIC and NILO-HAMITIC languages which have been noted are:

¹ But note nasalization of final consonant of the Possessed Noun in DINKA and SHILLUK (NILOTIC) and the case ending in NUBIAN (see p. 150).

² Greenberg stipulates a final *-e*, but this is to make a general feature too narrow. HAUSA, BERBER and SOMALI double the final consonant, but use different vowels.

³ Here again Greenberg is too narrow; *-n* is the common HAMITIC feature. Even in BERBER the Suffix is *-n* (*-ən*, *-an*, *-in* according to Gender), and Greenberg has selected one phonetic variant for his example.

⁴ Note also SHILLUK. ACOLI. and LUO Prefixes *o-* (Masc.), *a-* (Fem.) (in proper names only).

Change of vowel quality

Both in the formation of Noun Plurals and in certain Tenses there is a change of Stem vowel from 'open' to 'close' in SOMALI, NANDI, and TESO. This change is not caused by any observable 'Umlaut' Affix.¹

Case

Nouns in the CUSHITIC languages have what Moreno calls the 'Absolute' form,² which is used when the Noun stands in isolation or as the Object of a Verb. The 'Nominative' form is distinguished by Suffixes, in SOMALI by Suffix or change of Tone.

In MAASAI, NANDI, and the TESO Group this distinction is shown by change of Tone only,³ but, as in CUSHITIC, it is the Object or 'Accusative' which is the Absolute form.

When the great body of non-NILOTIC vocabulary has been analysed and evaluated, perhaps then some hitherto undiscovered correspondence will be found, indicating that these languages, far from being basically NILOTIC with superimposed HAMITIC influence, may be an old form from which the NILOTIC languages themselves represent a breakaway.⁴ Such speculations are not within the scope of the present work. The authors therefore see nothing to be gained by departing from a well-known term, which is the linguistic parallel to the equally well-known ethnographic term *NILO-HAMITE*.⁵

THE IRAQW GROUP AND MBUGU⁶

IRAQW has sometimes been described as HAMITIC, or, even more precisely, as CUSHITIC.⁷ The following points may be noted:

Interlocking Pattern in the pronominal element in conjugation is found in SEMITIC languages (including ARABIC) in the Imperfective, in BERBER, and in CUSHITIC languages. In IRAQW a Pattern occurs which is similar in layout to that of SEMITIC, BERBER, and CUSHITIC, but the distinction between (a) 1st Sing., 3rd Masc. Sing., 1st Plur., 3rd Plur. and (b) 2nd Sing., 3rd Fem. Sing., 2nd Plur. is shown, not in a suffixed pronominal element, but in the Verb Stem itself (by change of vowel length and/or final consonant). For examples, see p. 140.

Polarity of Gender, which is found in SOMALI (see p. 155), is highly characteristic of IRAQW; Gender and Number in the Noun are shown by Suffix.

¹ In NILOTIC there is a parallel phenomenon, but the change is from 'non-breathy' to 'breathy' voice in Northern LWO, from 'open' to 'close' quality in Southern LWO. It occurs in Noun Plural and Verbal Derivative formation. See Tucker, 'The Verb in Shilluk' (in the press 1955).

² See *Grammatica della lingua Galla*, p. 3.

³ As also in DIDINGA.

⁴ This would account for residual HAMITIC (?) features in NILOTIC, as well as for those features common to other languages (see pp. 150-3).

⁵ See, for example, *Ethnographic Survey of Africa. East Central Africa*, vols. vi, vii, viii, *The Northern Nilo-Hamites*, *The Central Nilo-Hamites*, *The Southern Nilo-Hamites*.

⁶ Information on IRAQW from Whiteley, *Studies in Iraqw* (East African Institute of Social Research, 1953), and personal communication, and from Prof. M. Guthrie (personal communication).

⁷ Greenberg (op. cit., p. 51) refers to 'Mbugu, Iraku and Mbulugwe [sic] in Tanganyika' as 'Cushite languages'. While his 'Mbulugwe' presumably refers to BURUNGI, his map erroneously shows 'Mbugu' in the area occupied by the BANTU-speaking *MBUGWE* instead of in Usambara in Eastern Province.

Case is distinguished both by Suffix and by change of Tone.

The opposition Masc. **ka**/Fem. **ki** in the 2nd Person which occurs in AFRICAN SEMITIC languages (and in CHADO-HAMITIC) may be compared with the Self-standing Pronoun in IRAQW: Masc. **ku(ŋ)**, Fem. **ki(ŋ)** (which does not, however, occur in conjugation).

But it is the highly complex system of 'Conjugation Particles' preceding the Verb,¹ i.e. indivisible Particles which express both Person and Tense,² which mark out IRAQW as differing from any other known language, and make it impossible to regard it as anything but a member of an Isolated Language Group.

Vocabulary resemblance to SEMITIC and CUSHITIC languages is very slight.

GROA and BURUNGI are tentatively included in the IRAQW Group on the strength of great vocabulary resemblance, but linguistic material is very scanty, and it would appear that neither of these languages has the complex verbal system of IRAQW.

MBUGU shows striking vocabulary resemblance to the IRAQW Group, but has been so strongly influenced by BANTU that it must be regarded as an Isolated Unit and the oft-misused term BANTOID is truly applicable here, in that MBUGU has the BANTU Noun Class system of Prefixes and Concords (the morphemes being identical with those in neighbouring BANTU languages) together with the BANTU system of Tense Affixes to the Verb (here again the morphemes are the same as those in neighbouring languages, though not all the BANTU Tense Affixes occur) and at least one BANTU Verbal Derivative Stem Extension (Passive **-wa**). The Self-standing Pronouns are non-BANTU, but the pronominal forms used as Subject of the Verb are BANTU. Yet the vocabulary of MBUGU, apart from obvious loan-words, is basically non-BANTU and resembles that of the IRAQW Group. Phonetically, too, MBUGU differs notably from BANTU languages, but contains sounds (e.g. laterals) found also in the IRAQW Group but not in any East African BANTU language.

SANYE

Only two vocabularies of this language exist, the more extensive being that of Dammann.³ In this vocabulary there are words which have cognates in GALLA, SOMALI and SWAHILI, but the few sentences given by Dammann show no relationship with these languages. There are also some words containing clicks, but Dammann reports that attempts to correlate SANYE with the other click languages (e.g. SANDAWE and HADZA) have proved inconclusive.

¹ Called 'Selectors' by Whiteley, op. cit.

² e.g. 1st Pers. Sing. Perfect Tense **aga**, Contingent **bara**, Past. **niri, ŋiri**
2nd Pers. Sing. **aga** **bara** **tari, kuri**
3rd Pers. Sing. **aa, gaa** **biira, binga** **iri, ŋiri**

The inflected Verb-Stem follows the Conjugation Particle, as in the examples on p. 140 (Present Tense).

³ Dammann, 'Einige Notizen über die Sprache der Sanye (Kenya)' (*Z.E.S.*, 1950).

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NOTES

The bibliography is arranged as follows:

GENERAL: bibliographies; works dealing with the classification of African languages; works consisting of, or containing, linguistic material on languages of many different Larger Units or Groups. These are also entered under the relevant sections, if (i) they are of sufficient importance, or, (ii) the bibliography of the section concerned is 'Complete'.

SECTIONS 1-37. Bibliographies are either 'Complete' (as far as possible) or 'Selected', as indicated under each section or subsection.

The following symbols are used:

* Recommended or important works.

† Unpublished works which have been used by the authors in the preparation of this volume.

ABBREVIATIONS

- B.S.O.S., B.S.O.A.S.** Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies—later Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. (London.)
- J.R.A.I.** Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
- M.S.O.S.** Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen. (Berlin.)
- R.R.A.L.** Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. (Rome.)
- R.S.E.** Rassegna di Studi Etiopici.
- R.S.O.** Rivista di Studi Orientali.
- S.N.R.** Sudan Notes and Records.
- T.N.R.** Tanganyika Notes and Records.
- Z.E.S.** Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen (Hamburg).
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1. THE MORU-MANGBETU LANGUAGES (Selected)

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Short analysis of Mangbetu, with comparative vocabularies of Mangbetu, Makere, Medje, Mabishanga, Bakango, Bari [= Logo], Logo-Avukaya, Mamvu, Mangbele; also Abasili, Bangba, Mayogo, Mundu; Amadi [= Ma]; Abarambu, Zande; Gbwaka, Gbandi; Shilluk, Alur; Kakwa, Bari, Lotuko.
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Vocabularies from various sources (Muraz, Decorse, Delafosse), of Sara Madjinngay, Sara Mbay, M'bay Moissala, Kaba (Makounda), Sara Laka, Sara Dendje, Sara, Kabba, Barma.
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Furu.
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† — Grammars of Bongo, Yulu, Aja and Kara. [MS.]
— Grammar of Kresh; Vocabulary and notes on Bel; short notes on Biña; English-Kara vocabulary; short notes and vocabulary of Sara; short notes on Dongo; notes on Aja phonetics, compared with Yulu, Kara, Bongo; Aja vocabulary. [MS.]
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- TUCKER, A. N. 1940. *The Eastern Sudanic Languages.* (See GENERAL.)
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- VAN BULCK, G. Material on languages and dialects of the Sara Group. [MS.]
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Siri, Gbaka Mabo, Nzombo.
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Mavogo.

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Mono.
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- VERRI, S. 'Il linguaggio degli Ingassana nell'Africa Orientale.' *Anthropos*, 50, 1955, 282-318.
- ZOPPRITZ, K. 'E. de Pruyssenaere's Reisen und Forschungen im Gebiete des weissen und blauen Nil.' *Petermanns Mitt.* 11, 1877.
Contains a Tabi vocabulary.

25. 'GULE' (Complete)

- EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 'Ethnological observations . . .' (See GENERAL.)
- LEJEAN, —. 1865. *Voyage aux deux Nils.*
Contains a vocabulary of Fungi.
- MARNO, E. *Reisen . . .* (See GENERAL.)
Fungi.
- RÜPPELL, E. 1829. *Reisen . . .* (See GENERAL.)
Funj.
- SELIGMAN, B. Z. 'Note on two languages.' (See SECTION 24.)

26. THE KOMA GROUP (Complete)

- †[AFRICA INLAND MISSION.] Considerable vocabulary of Uduk. [MS.]
- †AGLEN, —. Vocabulary and sentences in Gwama. [MS.]
- BEKE, C. T. 'On the languages and dialects of Abyssinia . . .' (See GENERAL.)
Shankala of Agaumider [= Gumuz].
- †BURNS, S. J. A fairly full and detailed grammar of Koma. [MS.]
- †CHATAWAY, J. D. P. Vocabulary of Kadallu [= Gumuz]; vocabulary and sentences in Uduk. [MS.]
- CERULLI, E. Material on Komo [= Koma]. [MS.]
- CONTI ROSSINI, C. 'Popoli dell'Etiopia occidentale. 1. I Gunza ed il loro linguaggio.' *R.R.A.L.* 28, fasc. 7-10, 1919-20, 251-85.
Based on material from the MSS. of D'Abbadie.
- *CORFIELD, F. D. 'The Koma.' *S.N.R.* 21, 1, 1938, 123-65.
Contains vocabularies of Ciita (Kusgilo and Buldiit) and Madin dialects.
†— Vocabulary and sentences in Koma dialects. [MS.]
- †DISNEY, A. W. M. Vocabulary and sentences in Ganzo. [MS.]
- EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 'Ethnological observations . . .' (See GENERAL.)
Vocabulary of Uduk.
- *GROTTANELLI, V. L. 'Materiali di lingua Coma.' *R.S.E.* 5, 1946, 122-55.
— 1940. *I Mao.* Roma: Reale Accad. Lincei (Missione etnografica nel Uollega occidentale. 1). Pp. 397.
Pp. 91-105 notes on the linguistic position of Mao; pp. 345-79 vocabulary.
- †REIDHEAD, P. W. *Report of linguistic survey . . .* (See GENERAL.)
Koma.
†— 1947. *Notes on the Ganzo language.* Sudan Interior Mission. Pp. 34 [duplic.]
- SALT, H. 1814. *A voyage to Abyssinia . . .* (See GENERAL.)
Dar mitchequa [= Gumuz] (122 words).
- SCHUVER, J. M. 'Les sources du Toumat, du Yabus et du Yal.' *Bull. Soc. Khédivale Géog.* Cairo, 3, 1883.
Contains a Koma vocabulary.
- In: KAN, C. M. De reizen van Juan Maria Schuver in het gebied van den Blauwen Nijl.' *Tijdschr. Aardkundig Genootschap*, 1883.
Appendix 3: 'Kleene woordenlijst der Goma-Taal' [probably Ganza].

- STEVENSON, R. C. Uduk grammar (from material supplied by M. I. Forsberg): phonetics, grammar, vocabulary. Pp. 131. [MS.]
- SUDAN INTERIOR MISSION. Short grammar of Uduk; Uduk-English, English-Uduk vocabulary of c. 4,000 words. [MS.]

27. THE DIDINGA-MURLE GROUP (Complete)

- *BRYAN, M. A. 'The Verb in the Tama and Didinga Language Groups.' (See SECTION 12.)
- CECCHI, A. 1855-7. *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa.* (See GENERAL.)
Vol. 3, pp. 455-6, vocabulary of Sciorù (Sciankallà).
- CERULLI, E. 'Il linguaggio dei Tirma, popolazione della zona del lago Rodolfo.' *Oriente Moderno*, 22, 1942, 26-35.
Comparison of Whalley's vocabulary (see under NALDER, below) with Conti Rossini's Mekan, and with Didinga, also with Nilo-Hamitic languages.
— 'Il linguaggio dei Masongo nell'Etiopia occidentale.' *R.S.E.* 7, 2, 1948, 131-66.
— Material on Mekan. [MS.]
- CONTI ROSSINI, C. 'I Mekan o Suro nell'Etiopia del sud-ovest e il loro linguaggio.' *R.R.A.L.* 22, 1914, 397-463.
Vocabulary from the MSS. of D'Abbadie, with notes.
— 'Lingue nilotiche.' (See GENERAL.)
Mekan.
— 'Sui linguaggi parlati a nord dei laghi Rodolfo e Stefania.' (See GENERAL.)
Murzu, Kerre, Murle.
- *DRIBERG, J. H. 'The Didinga language.' *M.S.O.S.* 34, 1931, 139-82.
- EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. Short word lists of Olam, Masongo, Ojang. [MS.]
- LEWIS, B. Z. Material on Murle. [MS.]
- *LYTH, R. E. 1947. *Murle grammar.* Juba: Publications Bureau, Min. of Educ., S. Province.
Pp. 57 [cyclostyled].
— Vocabularies of Suri and Ngalam, Mojang; vocabulary of Suri with plural of nouns and imperative of verbs, in phonetic notation. [MS.]
- MARCHETTI, M. 'Notizie sulle popolazioni del Tirma, Tid e Zelmamo.' *Archiv. per l'Antrop. e la Etnol.* 71, 1-2, 1939, 59-75.
Contains some vocabularies.
- MOLINARO, L. Vocabulary of Didinga. [MS.]
- MURATORI, C. Notes on Didinga phonetics and morphology; Didinga-English vocabulary; notes on Didinga and its dialects, and their link with Tirma. [MS.]
- NALDER, L. F. (ed.). 1937. *A tribal survey of Mongalla Province.* Oxford Univ. Press for Int. Afr. Inst.
P. 151 a few words of Tirma collected by Capt. Whalley.
- *TUCKER, A. N. 'Notes on Murle (Beir).' *Afrika u. Übersee*, 36, 3, 1952, 99-114.
†— Material on Didinga, Longarim, Murle. [MS.]

28. BAKO GROUP (Complete)

- CERULLI, E. 'Il linguaggio degli Amar Cocchè e quello degli Arbore nella zona del lago Stefania.' *R.S.E.* 2, 3, 1942, 260-72.
— Considerable material on Bako, Dime, Gayi, Bussa. [MS.]
- CONTI ROSSINI, C. 'Sui linguaggi . . .' (See GENERAL.)
Amarr.
- DA TRENTO, G. 'Vocaboli in lingue dell'Etiopia meridionale.' (See GENERAL.)

29. TEUSO GROUP (Complete)

- †DAKIN, J. C. Vocabulary of about 60 words of Teuso, Tepes, Nyangeya. [MS.]
- DRIBERG, J. H. 'Lotuko dialects.' *Amer. Anthropol.* 34, 4, 1932, 601-9. (See also SECTION 31. ii.)
Includes a vocabulary of Nyangīya.

- †KING, G. R. Short vocabulary of Teuso. [MS.]
 WAYLAND, E. J. 'Preliminary studies of the tribes of Karamoja.' *J.R.A.I.* 41, 1931, 187-230.
 Contains vocabulary of Dorobo [sic]; Labwor, Lango, Karamojong. This 'Dorobo' is certainly not a Nandi dialect, but appears to belong to this Group.
 †WILSON, W. A. Vocabularies from Mounts Kamalinga, Moroto, Debasien, Nyangeya. [MS.]

30. THE NILOTIC LANGUAGES

GENERAL

- BRYAN, M. A., and TUCKER, A. N. *Distribution of the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic languages . . .* (See GENERAL.)
 Pp. 20-26 'Linguistic survey of the Nilotic languages' by TUCKER.
 *KÖHLER, O. *Geschichte der Erforschung der Nilotischen Sprachen*. Afrika u. Übersee, Beiheft 28, 1955. Pp. 84.
 Deals with Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic languages.
- i. DINKA (Selected)
- BELTRAME, G. *Grammatica e vocabolario della lingua Denka*. Roma. Pp. 283.
 GIRGIS, S. 'A list of common fish of the upper Nile with their Shilluk, Dinka and Nuer names.' *S.N.R.* 29, 1, 1948, 120-1.
 NEBEL, A. 1930. *Useful Dinka phrases*. Wau. Pp. 84 [duplic.].
 From English conversational sentences compiled by G. B. Crole.
 — 'Dinka folklore: Kur e Man Amol.' *Messenger*, July 1935.
 Text with interlinear translation.
 — 'Life history of a Dinka.' *Messenger*, 1937-9.
 *— 1948. *Dinka grammar (Rek-Malual dialect) with texts and vocabulary*. Verona: Missioni africane. Pp. xiv + 173.
 — and TUCKER, A. N. [c. 1930]. *Dinka grammar*. Lalyo. Pp. 77 [duplic.].
 SCHUCHART, H. 'Bari und Dinka.' *Wiener Z. Kde. Morgenl.* 26, 1912, 11-41.
 SHAW, A. 'Dinka songs.' *Man*, 24, 1917.
 — 'Dinka animal stories (Bor dialect).' *S.N.R.* 2, 2, 1919, 255-75.
 — 1930. *Akokol (Dinka fables)*. London: Sheldon Press. Pp. 92.
 *TRUDINGER, R. 1942, 1944. *English-Dinka dictionary*. 2 parts. Sudan United Mission [duplic.].
 Donjol dialect (Padan); a comprehensive work, with tone-marks.
 TUCKER, A. N. Rules for Dinka spelling and word-division [duplic.].
 †— Grammatical material and vocabularies of all main dialects; Gramophone course in Bor Dinka. [MS.]
 WESTERMANN, D., and WARD, I. C. 1933. *Practical phonetics . . .* (See GENERAL.)
 WILSON, H. H. 1906. *English-Dinka vocabulary*. Khartoum. Pp. 72.

ii. NUER GROUP (Selected)

- 1946. *Simple English-Nuer phrases for beginners*. Bussere Press, Mill Hill Fathers. Pp. 42.
 Thian dialect.
- CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY. 1950. *Rudiments of Nuer grammar*. Yambio: C.M.S. Press. Pp. 30.
- *CRAZZOLARA, J. P. 1933. *Outlines of a Nuer grammar*. Wien: Anthropos Bibliothek 13. Pp. 218 + xii.
 In Jikany (western) dialect; now being used with modifications made by Kiggen.
 — 'A Nuer story: Goor Kene Nyaaan.' *Messenger*, June 1937.
 Text with interlinear translation.
- GIRGIS, S. 'A list of common fish . . .' (See SECTION 30. i.)
- HUFFMAN, R. 1929. *Nuer-English dictionary*. Berlin: D. Reimer. Pp. 63.
 — 1931. *English-Nuer dictionary*. Oxford Univ. Press. Pp. viii + 80.
 — 1931. *The human body: Some Nuer terms in relation to the human body*. Nasser: Amer. Mission. Pp. 79.

- HUFFMAN, R. *Nuer-English, English-Nuer Dictionary*. Pp. 242. [MS.]
 *KIGGEN, J. 1948. *Nuer-English dictionary*. Steyl bij Tegelen (Nederland): Druckerij van het Miniehaus. Pp. 346.
 Thian dialect. Incorporating material collected by Crazzolara.
 KÖHLER, O. 'Zum Konsonantischen Auslautwechsel im Nuer.' *Z. Phonetik u. Sprachwiss.* 3, 5-6, 1949, 232-8.
 STIGAND, C. H. 1923. *A Nuer-English vocabulary*. Cambridge Univ. Press. Pp. 33.
 TUCKER, A. N. Memorandum on Nuer orthography [duplic.].
 †— Grammatical material and vocabularies in all main Nuer dialects and Atuot.
 WESTERMANN, D. 'The Nuer language: an outline grammar.' *M.S.O.S.* 15, 1912, 48-141.
 — and WARD, I. C. 1933. *Practical phonetics . . .* (See GENERAL.)

iii. THE NORTHERN LWO GROUP (Selected)

- BANHOLZER, W., and KOHNEN, B. 1922. *Schilluk-Wörterbuch*. Khartoum. Pp. 166.
 EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 'The Mberidi (Shilluk group) and the Mbegumba (Basiri Group) . . .' (See SECTION 3.)
 — 'Ethnological observations . . .' (See GENERAL.)
 Ulu, S. Burun, Jumjum, Mughaja, Maiak, Kurmuk.
 — Notes on Anuak grammar. [MS.]
 GHAWI, J. B. 1925. *First steps in Jur*. Khartoum. Pp. 42 [cyclostyled].
 GIRGIS, S. 'A list of common fish . . .' (See SECTION 30. i.)
 *HEASTY, J. A. *Shilluk dictionary*. Juba: S. Educ. Office [duplic.].
 HOMBURGER, L. 'Le genre sexuel dans le sous-groupe Choli-Shillouk des langues nilotiques.' *XVI^e Congr. Inst. d'Anthrop.* Bruxelles, 1935.
 A discussion of gender in Choli [sic], Masai, Teso, with references to Shilluk.
 HUFFMAN, R. English-Anuak vocabulary. Pp. 50 [duplic.].
 KOHNEN, B. 1931. *Grammatica della lingua Scilluk con l'aggiunta di un piccolo dizionario italiano-scilluk*. Cairo: Missioni nell'Africa Centrale. Pp. 201.
 *— 1933. *Shilluk grammar with a little English-Shilluk dictionary*. Verona: Missioni africane. Pp. xvi + 317.
 A translation and revision of the above.
 — Material for a large Shilluk dictionary. [MS.]
 LEHR, J. 'Die Sprachliche Stellung des Schilluk.' *Bibl. Afr.* 1, 1, 1924, 18-26; 2, 1, 1926, 235-8.
 MURATORI, C. 1938. *Grammatica Lotuxo*. (See also SECTION 31. ii.)
 Contains Shilluk and Acoli vocabularies.
 NALDER, L. F. [1930]. Short vocabularies of Barun, Gura [= Maban], Ragreig. [MS.]
 NEGRINI, P. Pöri grammar. [MS.]
 PUMPHREY, M. E. C. 'Shilluk "Royal" language conventions.' *S.N.R.* 20, 2, 1937, 319-21.
 REIDHEAD, P. W. *Report on linguistic survey . . .* (See GENERAL.)
 Jum Jum, Maban.
 SANTANDREA, S. 'Shilluk Luo tribes in the Bahr el Ghazal.' (See SECTION 3.)
 Appendix: 'The Luo dialects in the Bahr el Ghazal.'
 *— 1946. *Grammatica Giur*. Verona: Missioni africane. Pp. 142 + xiv.
 — 'The Belanda, Ndogo, Bai and Sere . . .' (See SECTION 3.)
 STEVENSON, R. C. Vocabulary of Maban (phonetic). [MS.]
 SUDAN INTERIOR MISSION. Short grammar of Maban, and extensive vocabulary. [MS.]
 TUCKER, A. N. Memorandum on Shilluk orthography [duplic.].
 *— 'The verb in Shilluk'. *Mitteilungen des Orientinstituts, Berlin*. (In the press, 1955.)
 †— Grammatical material on most languages of the group. [MS.]
 TUNNICLIFFE, E. C. Anuak dictionary. [MS.]
 VIOLINI, A. 'A Belanda Bor fable: Kan ni ket ka winy ke u ngom kpi.' *Messenger*, Aug. 1938.
 Text with interlinear translation.

- WESTERMANN, D. 1911. *Short grammar of the Shilluk language*. Philadelphia: Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of N. America; Berlin: D. Reimer. Pp. v+76.
- 1912. *The Shilluk people, their language and folklore*. Philadelphia: Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of N. America; Berlin: D. Reimer. Pp. lxxiii+312.
- 'Some notes and a short vocabulary of the Anywak language.' *M.S.O.S.* 15, 1912, 142-50.
- ZORN, B. M. 1916. *Praktische Einführung in die Schilluk-Sprache*. Khartoum. Pp. 334. From material collected by Banholzer.
- 1917. *Taschen-Wörterbuch der Schilluk-Sprache*. Khartoum. Pp. 423.

iv. THE SOUTHERN LWO GROUP (Selected)

- n.d. *Vocabulary Nilotic-English*. Nyere: Catholic Mission Press. Pp. [124]. 'Nilotic' = Luo.
- 1939. *The Acholi-English handbook*. Juba: Verona Fathers. Pp. 60.
- COX, T. R. F. 'Lango proverbs.' *Bull. Uganda Soc.* 51, 1945, 21-29.
- 'Lango proverbs.' *Uganda J.* 10, 2, 1946, 113-23.
- *CRAZZOLARA, J. P. 1938. *A study of the Acooli language*. Oxford Univ. Press for Int. Inst. Afr. Lang. and Cult. Pp. xv+426.
- *DRIBERG, J. H. 1923. *The Lango, a Nilotic tribe of Uganda*. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Pp. 468.
- Contains a section on language: grammar, vocabulary, texts, and translations.
- FATHERS OF ST. JOSEPH'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY. 1910. *Elementary grammar of the Nilotic Kavirondo language (Dhō Lwo)*. London.
- 1921. *Handbook of the Kavirondo language*. London.
- A revised edition of the above.
- 1936. *Dho-Luo for beginners*.
- A further revision of the same.
- †HUNTINGFORD, G. W. B. 1949. *Elementary lessons in Dho-Luo*. S.O.A.S. Pp. 38 [duplic.].
- KITCHING, A. L. 1907. *Outline grammar of the Gang language*. London: S.P.C.K. Pp. 96.
- 1932. *An outline grammar of the Acholi language*. London: Sheldon Press. Pp. 95. A revised edition of the above.
- LAW-RYAN, [Fr.]. Acoli grammar. [MS.]
- *MALANDRA, A. 1952. *A new Acholi grammar*. Eagle Language Study Series. E.A. Lit. Bureau (Eagle Press). Pp. 153.
- MALO, SHADRACK. *Dhuluo without tears*. Kisumu [duplic.].
- MURATORI, C. 1938. *Grammatica Lotuxo*. (See also SECTION 31. ii.)
- Contains Shilluk and Acoli vocabularies.
- *— 1948. *English-Bari-Lotuxo-Acoli vocabulary*. Okaru: Catholic Mission Press. Pp. 270.
- *RINGE, P. C. 1953. *A simple Alur grammar and Alur-English, English-Alur vocabulary*. Eagle Language Study series, E.A. Lit. Bureau. Pp. 72 [duplic.].
- SAVAGE, G. A. R. 1955. *A short Acoli-English and English-Acoli vocabulary*. Nairobi: Eagle Press. Pp. 50.
- TARANTINO, A. G. 1938. *English-Acoli-Lango-Kiswahili pocket dictionary*. Trento. Pp. 38.
- TUCKER, A. N. 'De unificatie der zuidnilotische talen.' *Kongo-Overzee*, 12-13, 1946-7, 257-64.
- Memorandum on Acoli, Lango and Alur orthography [duplic.].
- Memorandum on Luo orthography [duplic.].
- †— Grammatical material and vocabulary of all languages of the Group. [MS.]
- VANNESTE, M. 'Regels der welluidendheid in de Alur-taal (Mahagi)'. *Congo*, 1925, 2, 1, 49-50.
- 'De getallen in de Alur-taal.' *Congo*, 1934, 2, 5, 692-700.
- *— 1940. *Woordenboek van de Alur-taal. Mahagi (Belgisch-Kongo)*. Boechout: Seminarie der Witte Paters. Pp. [438] [duplic.].
- An extensive dictionary. Unfortunately the author does not distinguish between dental and non-dental sounds.

- VANNESTE, M. 'Vergelijking van een paar Alur-woorden met de taal der Farao's.' *Kongo-Overzee*, 9, 1943, 160-5.
- 'Persoonsnamen bij de Alur in Belgisch-Kongo.' *Kongo-Overzee*, 14, 3, 1948, 129-43; 4, 193-212.
- 1949. *Legenden geschiedenis en gebruiken van een nilotisch volk: Alur teksten (Mahagi, Belgisch-Kongo)*. Bruxelles: Inst. roy. colon. belge, Mém. Sect. sci. mor. pol. 18, 1. Pp. 201.
- 1953. *Sprookjes van een nilotisch volk: Alurteksten (Mahagi, Belgisch-Kongo)*. Bruxelles: Inst. roy. colon. belge, Mém. Sect. sci. mor. pol. 25, 3. Pp. 391.

31. THE NILO-HAMITIC LANGUAGES

GENERAL

See under 30. NILOTIC (GENERAL).

i. BARI (Selected)

- BEATON, A. C. 'Bari studies.' *S.N.R.* 15, 1, 1932, 63-95.
- Songs with translation.
- 'Bari names.' *S.N.R.* 17, 2, 1934, 255-9.
- 'Some Bari songs.' *S.N.R.* 18, 2, 1935, 277-87; 19, 2, 1936, 327-44.
- CONTI ROSSINI, C. 'Lingue nilotiche.' (See GENERAL.)
- COOKE, R. C. 1940. *Bari-English conversation*. Lalyo: S. Educ. Office. Pp. 43 [duplic.].
- From English conversational sentences compiled by G. B. Crole.
- HILLELSON, S. 'The Nyangbara language.' *S.N.R.* 5, 1922.
- MELDON, J. A. 'The Latuka and Bari languages.' *J. Afr. Soc.* 9, 1910, 193-5.
- MITTERUTZNER, J. C. 1867. *Die Sprache der Bari. Grammatik, Text und Wörterbuch*. Brixen. Pp. 262.
- 'Likikiri-lo-kija-kua i jur lo Bari. Thiermärchen im Lande der Bari (Central-Afrika). Original-text mit Übersetzung und sprachlicher Analyse.' *Z. dtsh. morgenl. Ges.* 21, 1867.
- MÜLLER, F. 'Bari-Text mit Anmerkungen.' *Z. Völkerpsych. u. Sprachwiss.* 2, 2, 1861.
- 1864. *Die Sprache der Bari. Grammatik, Lesestücke und Glossar*. Wien: Gerold. Pp. 84.
- *MURATORI, C. 1948. *English-Bari-Lotuxo-Acoli vocabulary*. (See SECTION 30. iii.)
- MURRAY, G. W. 'The Nubian and Bari languages compared.' (See SECTION 20.)
- OWEN, R. C. R. 1908. *Bari grammar*. London: J. & E. Bumpus, Ltd. Pp. 164.
- A translation of Mitterutzner's *Die Sprache der Bari* (1867).
- PHILIP, —. 1938. *Kakwa-English conversation*. Lalyo: S. Educ. Office. Pp. 43 [duplic.].
- From English conversational sentences compiled by G. B. Crole.
- RAGLAN, Lord. 'Some roots common to the Turkana, Lotuko and Bari Languages.' *B.S.O.S.* 4, 2, 1926, 427-8.
- SCHUCHART, H. 'Bari und Dinka.' (See SECTION 30. i.)
- *SPAGNOLO, L. M. 1933. *Bari grammar*. Verona: Missioni africane. Pp. xxvii+452.
- *— 1942. *Bari-English-Italian dictionary*. Lalyo: S. Educ. Office. Pp. 258 [duplic.].
- †TUCKER, A. N. Grammatical material and vocabularies of all Bari dialects. [MS.]
- VAN DEN PLAS, V. H. 1910. *Les Kuku*. (Collection de monographies ethnographiques, ed. Van Overbergh, 4.) Bruxelles: Bureau de documentation. Pp. xliii+407.
- Pp. 301-8 vocabulary.
- VERRI, S. 'Saggio di comparazione lessicale . . .' (See SECTION 22.)
- WHITEHEAD, G. O. 1822. *Likikirilen*. London: S.P.C.K.
- Collection of Bari stories.
- 1936. *Bari fables*. London: Sheldon Press.

ii. LOTUHO (Selected)

- *ARBER, H. A. 1936. *A simple Lotuko grammar and Lotuko vocabulary*. Pp. 40 [duplic.]
- DRIBERG, J. H. 'Lotuko dialects.' *Amer. Anthropol.* 34, 4, 1932, 601-9.
Vocabularies of Lotuko, Lopit, Lërya, Owe, Dongotono, Lokothan; also Turkana and Nyangiya.
- MELDON, J. A. 'The Latuka and Bari languages.' (See SECTION 31. ii.)
- *MURATORI, C. 1938. *Grammatica Lotuxo*. Verona: Missioni africane. Pp. xxx+498.
A full and detailed grammar: includes fables in Loppit, Ləkəya, Telegu (Ləyirya), Bari (from Spagnolo), Lotuxo, Topossa, Lanə, Ləkəya (Lowoi), Dəŋətəno, Lərwama; also comparative vocabularies of the above, plus Karimojoŋ, Masai, Turkana, Nandi, Suk, Scilluk, Acoli; and grammatical and phonetic comparison of Lotuxo with Bari, Karimojoŋ and Masai.
- 'A linguistic curiosity in Equatoria Province: an interlabial b.' *S.N.R.* 30, 1, 1949, 119.
- *— *English-Bari-Lotuxo-Acoli* vocabulary. (See SECTION 30. iv.)
- RAGLAN, Lord. 'Some roots common to the Turkana, Lotuko and Bari languages.' (See SECTION 31. i.)
- 'The Lotuko language.' *B.S.O.S.* 2, 2, 1921, 267-96.
- †TUCKER, A. N. Grammatical material and vocabulary of most Lotuko dialects. [MS.]
- VERRI, S. 'Saggio di comparazione lessicale . . .' (See SECTION 22.)
- WESTERMANN, D. 'Das Oxoriok. Eine sprachliche Skizze. Nach Aufnahmen von A. C. Beaton bearbeitet von D. Westermann.' *Afrika* (Berlin), 33, 1, 1944, 1946.

iii. TESO GROUP (Selected)

- n.d. *Akarimojong-Swahili-English* vocabulary. Uganda Bookshop Press. Pp. 31.
- BARTON, J. 'Turkana grammatical notes and vocabulary.' *B.S.O.S.* 2, 1921, 47-73.
- †CLARKE, D. Grammar of Karimojong. Pp. 27. [MS.]
- DAKIN, J. C. Vocabulary of Karamojong. [MS.]
- DA TRENTO, G. 'Vocaboli . . .' (See GENERAL.)
Turkana Bume.
- FARINA, F. Karamojong grammar and dictionary. [MS.]
- GULLIVER, P. Turkana-English dictionary. [MS.]
- HALL, C. R. n.d. *English-Teso* vocabulary. Portsmouth: Charpentier & Co. Pp. 41.
- HENRIKSEN, [Fr.]. Teso grammar. [MS.]
- *HILDERS, J. H., and LAWRENCE, J. C. D. 1956. *An Introduction to the Ateso Language*. Kampala: Eagle Press. Pp. xx+89.
- HOMBURGER, L. 'Le peul et les langues nilotiques.' *Bull. Soc. ling. Paris*, 37, fasc. 1, 1936, 58-72.
Comparison of Massai, Teso, and Peul [= Fulani].
- HULLEY, D. M. 1923. *Vocabulary and grammar for use in Turkana, Karamoja and Topossa*. Kampala. Pp. 50.
- KIGGEN, J. [1928?] *Grammar Nak' Ateso*. Ngora: Mission Press.
— Grammar of Ateso. [MS.]
— Ateso dictionary. [MS.]
- *KITCHING, A. L. 1915. *Handbook of the Ateso language*. London: S.P.C.K. Pp. 144.
- MCGEOUGH [Fr.]. Teso grammar. [MS.]
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37. THE SANDAWE-HOTTENTOT LANGUAGES

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