

Maarten Mous

A Grammatical Sketch of Mbugwe

Bantu F34, Tanzania

RÜDIGER KÖPPE VERLAG · KÖLN

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GRAMMATICAL ANALYSES
OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES

GRAMMATISCHE ANALYSEN
AFRIKANISCHER SPRACHEN

Volume / Band 23

Editors / Herausgeber:
Wilhelm J. G. Möhlig & Bernd Heine

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Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

ISBN 3-89645-048-4

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RÜDIGER KÖPPE VERLAG

P.O. Box 45 06 43

D - 50881 Cologne

Germany

www.koeppe.de

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Production: DIP-Digital-Print, Witten / Germany

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Abbreviations

| | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|---------|------------------------|
| 1, etc | class 1, etc | l | low tone |
| 1SG | first person singular | NEG | negative |
| 2PL | second person plural | NP | nominal prefix |
| aj | adjective | OC | object concord prefix |
| adv | adverb | OPT | optative |
| AP | adjectival prefix | PAS | passive |
| APPL | applicative | PF | perfect |
| BE | verb 'to be' | PL.ADDR | plural addressee |
| cl | class | PP | pronominal prefix |
| COND | conditional | prep | preposition |
| CAUS | causative | PRES | present |
| CSEC | consecutive | pro | pronoun |
| DEM | demonstrative | PROG | progressive |
| DIST | distal | PROX | proximal |
| FUT | future | PST | past |
| GEN | general | ques | question word |
| h | high tone | REC | reciprocal |
| ideo | ideophone | REF | referential |
| interj | interjection | REFL | reflexive |
| IMPER | imperative | SC | subject concord prefix |
| IMPFV | imperfective | v | verb |
| INF | infinitive | VENT | ventive |
| IRR | irrealis | √ | verb root |

Preface

The present study is based on a very short period of fieldwork of only a few days. This should be kept in mind. The sketch lacks a full analysis in various parts of grammar and the data do not do justice to the richness of the language. Unfortunately it is the poor state of documentation of this interesting language that justifies the publication of this work. I hope that it will stimulate others to study Mbugwe.

The research was sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft as part of the project 214 Identität in Afrika, Teilprojekt A5, under the guidance of Prof. Franz Rottland, University of Bayreuth. I am grateful to all these people for their share in this work, and also to Derek Nurse who urged me to publish these data, to Maarten Kossmann and Thilo Schadeberg for comments on an earlier version, and to Eithne Carlin, Eefje Gilbert and the publisher for additional suggestions of improvement.



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1 Introduction

The Mbugwe (Bowe for its speakers) form a small ethnic group that live in Tanzania, Arusha province, Babati district, around the town of Magugu, in the villages Mwada and Mdori, and others. Mbugwe is not to be confused with Mbugu, a Bantu language of the Pare cluster spoken in the Usambara mountains. It is possible that the two names are etymologically related but the two languages are very much apart. The Mbugwe numbered about 10,000 in 1910 according to Dempwolff (1915/16:1) but only 5,000 in 1967, and at that time this number was on the decline, see Lucas and Philippon (1973).

Oral traditions of the Mbugwe and of their neighbours indicate that they once were extremely rich in cattle. Hence their name often appears as an important group, e.g. the Hildebrand's travel map mentions them to the exclusion of their neighbours. According to some oral traditions the Mbugwe are originally Rangi people that moved northwards in search of salt and then settled there, see Baumann (1894:139); another tradition claims that the Rangi and Mbugwe split after a battle with the Gorwa, see Reche (1914); yet another origin myth can be found in Dempwolff (1915/16:26) according to which "A girl appeared out of an anthill. One person went to live in Rangi area, another one stayed in Mbugwe area and another one went to Rimi area". For more ethnographic information on the Mbugwe the reader is referred to Gray (1953, 1955, 1963).

The neighbours of the Mbugwe are all non-Bantu: Iraqw (Southern Cushitic) to the West at the high end of the Rift Valley escarpment, Datoga (Southern Nilotic) to the South (and passing through Mbugwe area), Maasai (Eastern Nilotic) to the East in the Maasai plains, and Gorwa (Southern Cushitic) to the South around Mt Fiome. There is a long tradition of language contact. Dempwolff (1915/16:18) observed Maasai influence to the extent of a Maasai prefix *le-* added to Mbugwe nouns, as in *le-nyumba* 'house', *le-mo-somba* 'slave', *le-vatambi* 'trip'. The *le-* prefix has now been lost. The present situation shows a different type of language contact. In recent years, people from different parts of Tanzania, mainly Rangi and Chaga, have come to settle in Magugu, the main town of Mbugwe area. The attraction of Magugu lies in the profitable conditions for growing rice. As a consequence, the Mbugwe language has increasingly been under pressure from Swahili. This is most recognisable in the replacement of non-core vocabulary by adopted Swahili counterparts. For example the original word *le-mosomba* 'slave' (Dempwolff 1915-16:18) has been replaced by *mtumwa* after Swahili *mtumwa*. Some other examples of such growing Swahili influence are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Mbugwe under lexical influence from Swahili

| gloss | modern Mbugwe | Swahili | archaic Mbugwe |
|-----------|---------------|-------------|----------------|
| be angry | u-kasirika | ku-kasirika | o-véna |
| to breath | u-pumua | ku-pumua | o-fwéréra |
| to mould | u-finyánga | ku-finyanga | o-tulatúla |
| to bend | u-pínda | ku-pinda | w-únánya |
| salt | chumbi | chumvi | tónyo |

Mbugwe is closely related to Rangi (= Langi) which is the dominant language of Kondoia region. The Gorwa (Fiome) separate the Mbugwe from the Rangi. Mbugwe is classified as F.34 in Guthrie's Bantu classification, other zone F.30 languages being Rangi (F.33), Rimi or Nyaturu (F.32), and Nyiramba (F.31). However, several authors have argued that Mbugwe and Rangi are not closely related to the other zone F languages, notably Ehret (1998), Nurse (1999), Masele (2001), and Masele and Nurse (2003).

Published linguistic research on Mbugwe is limited to a list of numerals in Baumann (1894), a few words in Seidel (1898), a few notes by Struck (1909), a grammatical sketch in Dempwolff (1915-16), some words in Kesby (1986) and a word list in Masele (2001).

The present study is the result of three days of fieldwork in Magugu in October 1993. My main informant was a 24 years old young man from Magugu called Zephania Mohamedi with whom I went through the three questionnaires for the linguistic and cultural history of Tanzania, designed at the University of Dar es Salaam and collected some stories from his aunt. In 1994 I checked the material and collected some additional material with the help of Thomas K. Kassi, a former school teacher who studies the culture and history of the Mbugwe.

2 Phonology

The Mbugwe consonant phonemes are given in Table 2. The table presents the orthography that I adopt in this work. The palatals *ch* and *j* are slightly affricated. The trigraph *ng'* represents the velar nasal [ŋ], while *ng* is a velar nasal+oral stop compound [ŋg], following Swahili orthography. In the fricative row, the system is out of balance in the sense that only the labial *f* has a voiced counterpart while it does not have a prenasalised counterpart.

Table 2: Consonant phonemes

| | labial | | alveolar | | palatal | | velar | | glottal | |
|----------------------------------|--------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|---------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|---------|-----|
| voiceless stop | p | [p] | t | [t] | ch | [c] | k | [k] | | |
| voiced stop | b | [b] | d | [d] | j | [j] | g | [g] | | |
| nasal stop | m | [m] | n | [m] | ny | [ɲ] | ng' | [ŋ] | | |
| voiced prenasalised stop | mb | [^m b] | nd | [ⁿ d] | nj | [^ɲ j] | ng | [^ŋ g] | | |
| voiceless prenasalised stop | mp | [^m p] | nt | [ⁿ t] | nch | [^ɲ c] | nk | [^ŋ k] | | |
| voiceless fricative | f | [f] | s | [s] | sh | [ʃ] | | | h | [h] |
| voiced fricative | v | [v] | | | | | | | | |
| voiceless prenasalised fricative | | | ns | [ⁿ s] | nsh | [^ɲ ʃ] | | | | |
| liquid trill | | | r | | | | | | | |
| lateral liquid | | | l | | | | | | | |
| approximant | w | [w] | | | y | [j] | | | | |

Differences with Rangî are the presence of prenasalised fricatives in Mbugwe (but see below) and the phonemic status of *sh*, which in Mbugwe occurs not only as a palatalised allophone of *s*, as is the case in Rangî, see Stegen (2002:131).

The homorganic nasal+oral stops together fill the onset of a syllable. These nasal-oral compounds occur frequently word-initially in class 9 and 10 nouns, but also occur word-medially in which case syllabification does not split them up, e.g. *mɔ-sá.mpa* 'cl.3-ewe'. The combinations nasal+fricative *ns*, *nsh* are also homorganic and similarly fill the onset of a syllable, e.g. *nsó.vé* 'cl.9:leopard', *nshí.ngwe* 'cl.9:neck'. There are no examples of *mf*, *mv* (see below); nor of *nch*. The nasal in the voiceless nasal plus fricative compounds is often realised as voiceless, or not realised at all, e.g., *nsimba* ~ *ɲsimba* ~ *simba* 'lion'; occasionally this also happens before voiceless stops, e.g. *ntómbere* ~ *tómbere* 'vervet monkey,

nkamba ~ *kamba* ‘pig’, *Nkalábo* ~ *Kalábo* name of a person, see 7.1.

When nasality has to fit in an onset of a syllable with a liquid (*r*, *l*) the result is *nd*, e.g. *n-lal-é* 1SG-sleep-OPT → *ndalé* ‘I should sleep’, *lo-réme* ‘tongue’, PL: *ndéme*. In some instances the combination of nasality and *sh* results in a palatalised prenasalised labial stop *mpy*, e.g. *lo-shó* ‘knife, cl. 11’; plural in class 10 is *mpyó*. This is a remnant of the original value of the sound before the sound change *py* > *fy* > *sh* (Dempwolff 1915/16:12). Words such as *lo-shó* / *mpyó* ‘knife’ are synchronically to be considered lexical exceptions, compare *úshú* ‘face, class 11’; plural in class 10 (*n*)*shu*. Nasality in combination with *f* or *v* results in *mp* or *mb*, e.g. *lofémhá* ‘horn’, PL: *mpémhá*. Again the original value of the sound is preserved in the nasal compound given the sound change *p* > *f* (Dempwolff 1915/16:5).

A syllabic bilabial nasal *m* occurs as an allophone of the class 1 or 3 prefix *mú-*, e.g., *mú.teré* ~ *m.teré* ‘kind of edible leaves’. This allophonic variant is not written in this work and thus all written nasal+obstruent combinations are to be interpreted as prenasalised consonants, i.e., as one consonant.

The combination consonant plus *y* can be considered as a palatalised variant of that consonant. Certain combinations do not occur, such as **by*, **ky*, **ly*. Instead, *ky* is realised as *ch*, e.g., *chi-ungo* ‘7-relish’, *choóma* ‘axe’ from *oma* ‘hit, throw’, and *ly* as *y* in the perfect formation, e.g. *tol-lye* → *toye* get-PF, or as *ry* in the causative formation, e.g., *-lala* ‘have pain’ *-lal-i-a* → *-larya* ‘inflict pain’. In addition, *fy* is often realised as *sh*, specifically in the realisation of the class 19 prefix, e.g. *fyaána* ~ *shaána* ‘babies, cl.19’. The combinations *py*, *dy* and *ty* do occur, e.g., *-pya* ‘trash’, *vidyé* ‘8.tassel’, *-tyá* ‘harvest’.

The vowels are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Vowels

| | |
|---|---|
| i | u |
| ɪ | ʊ |
| e | o |
| a | |

Masele (2001) recognizes only five vowels in Mbugwe. There is considerable variation between *i*~*ɪ*~*e* and *u*~*ʊ*~*o*. Despite this variation Mbugwe is to be considered a seven vowel language since certain lexemes have an *i* that does not vary with *ɪ* or *e*, e.g. *vina* ‘dance’, *utíku* ‘night’, or an *e* that does not vary with *ɪ* or *i*, e.g. *nene* ‘fat, big’, *tema* ‘cut’, *pefo* ‘wind’ in addition to lexical items in which there is variation between *ɪ*~*e*, e.g. *rma* ~ *rema* ‘cultivate’, *fita* ~ *feta* ‘go’. Mutatutis mutandis the same applies to

u and *o*. Stegen (2002) analyses Rangi as having ATR harmony in which high + ATR vowels trigger a left-ward ATR assimilation with lesser effect at larger distance from the trigger. It is possible that some of the variation in Mbugwe is due so a similar assimilation effect. In particular, prefixes containing *u* and *ɪ* are realised as *o* and *e* respectively when the first root vowel is *o* or *e*. The reverse applies to suffixes, except for the usual Bantu asymmetry that the round vowel does not assimilate after mid non-round vowels. I represent the vowels phonetically, as I heard them, without regularising the variation in my data.

An orthographic sequence of two vowels represents two adjacent syllable nuclei. There is always a morpheme boundary between them and there are no long vowels in lexical roots. Note, however, that Stegen (2002) shows that Rangi does have vowel length opposition. In most cases when vowels become adjacent as the result of concatenation of morphemes, vowel coalescence occurs: A low vowel is deleted before another vowel *va-ónse* → *vónse* cl.8:all, *a-ónse* → *ónse* cl.6:all. A front vowel is deleted before a low vowel *ji-a* → *já* cl.10: connective. In some other morphologically determined cases there is compensatory lengthening, *rɪ-áni* → *raáni* cl.5:mine.

The sporadic word-final sequence *we* as in *n-shíngwe* ‘neck’, cf. Rangi *ikingo* (Seidel 1898) and in the name *mbugwe* (< *Mbugu*) is reminiscent of the Pare (Chasu) variation *u* ~ *we* word-finally. Breaking has also been observed in the pronunciation *mwangi* of *mú-ngɪ* ‘cl.1-other’ and in the stem *-kwia* ‘die’, while the perfect stem is *-kúye*.

Mbugwe is a tone language with two level tones, High and Low. Falls and rises are the realisation of two different tones on adjacent syllable nuclei. Tone plays a distinctive role in lexicon as well as grammar; some morphemes consist of just a tone. In this work we mark surface tone and refrain from an analysis of tonal alternations.

Mbugwe does not have the phrase-final high tone deletion of Rangi (Stegen 2002:132). As a consequence, the tonal pattern of nouns in isolation as given in the lexicon is likely to be the underlying tone; at least it shows the four possible tonal patterns on disyllabic noun roots.

The syllable consists maximally of CwV and minimally of V (or *m* in the syllabic allophone of *mɪ*). C stands for for any consonant including the prenasalised stops and the palatalised consonants. The glides *y* and *w* occur as filling the onset, *yo.ló* ‘sky, roof’, *wá.re* ‘porridge’. Word-initially a high vowel before a vowel forms a glide, e.g. *ɪ-ándika* → *wándika* ‘write’, *ɪ-á* → *yá* cl.9:connective. A round vowel between a consonant and a non-round vowel becomes the glide *w*, e.g. *mɪ-ené* → *mwené* cl.1-self.

3 The Verb

The verb is constructed in the usual Bantu manner, i.e. a subject prefix (SC) is followed by a “tense” prefix which is followed by an optional object prefix and the Verb Stem which ends in an inflectional ending or in the default final vowel *a*, e.g. *va-ka-téma* 2-CSEC-cut ‘and then they cut’, *n-ké-ku-téka* 1SG-COND-2SG-lift ‘if I lift you’.

The reflexive object prefix is *-*. In one instance I encountered a reflexive pronoun in addition to an object pronoun but this evidence is not strong enough to assume that the reflexive prefix and an object prefix can be combined because there is a possibility of confusion between *-vekera* ‘dress’ and the verb with lexicalised reflexive prefix *-evekera* ‘wear’.

- (1) ná-ká-mw-e-vekér-a ka-ra ka-mwéndá k-éru.
 with: 1-CSEC-1-REFL-dress-F 13-DEM.DIST 13-3.sheet 13-white
 ‘And she dressed him with a white sheet.’

All tenses require the presence of a subject prefix SC. All inflected verb forms and the infinitive allow an object prefix immediately preceding the verb root. The object prefix refers to an understood object or agrees with an explicit object in the clause. The forms of the subject and the object prefixes are given in Table 8 in 4.1 and Table 12 in 4.6. In Table 8 the subject concord of class 1 (singular third person humans) is given as *u* (*a*); *u* is the most common form; however, class 1 subject concord (SC) is *a* and not *u* for all auxiliaries, in negative tenses, and in the conditional, optative, and consecutive tenses.

3.1 Verbal conjugation

The attested tense formations of Mbugwe are presented in Table 4. The first column gives a formula of a particular “tense”; the third column contains the label that I use for that particular tense. Tenses are defined by a combination of a “tense” prefix and an inflectional ending (final vowel). In columns two and three I give the glosses that I use for these morphemes. The verb root is symbolised by $\sqrt{\quad}$; if $\sqrt{\quad}$ is not followed by a suffix, it has the default final vowel *a*. The variation that some of these tenses display is indicated in the formula in the first column.

Table 4: Verbal conjugations

| form | label tense marker(s) | label final vowel | name tense | example |
|------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|---------|
| SC-á(a)-√á | PST | PST | far past | 1 |
| SC-√-íye | PF | PF | perfect | 2 |
| SC-áa-√íye | PST | PF | past perfect | 3 |
| SC-ka-√ | CSEC | - | consecutive | 4 |
| SC-ké-H-√ | COND | - | conditional | 5 |
| SC-ándá-√ | GEN | - | habitual | 6 |
| SC-ende-√ | PROG | | progressive | 16 |
| SC-jé-√ | FUT | | future | 17 |
| SC-ka-H-√íye | IRR | PF | irrealis | 7 |
| SC-H-√e | - | OPT | optative | 8 |
| NEG-SC-ándá-H-√ | GEN | - | not yet | 9 |
| NEG-SC-áa-ré-H-√ | PST-BE | - | negative past imperfective | 10 |
| NEG-SC-á-√íye | PST | PF | negative far past | 11 |
| NEG-SC-jé-já-H-√ | NEG | - | general negative | 12 |
| NEG-SC-jé-H-√íye | NEG | PF | negative past | 13 |
| NEG-SC-ká-√íye | IRR | PF | negative irrealis | 14 |
| SC-ki-sé-√~ | COND-NEG | - | prohibitive | 15 |
| SC-káy-sé-H-√ | | | | |
| INF + SC-kénde | PRES.PROG | | present progressive | 20,21 |
| INF + SC-je | come:OPT | | future | 22 |
| INF + SC-anda | HAB | | habitual | 23,24 |
| INF + SC-áa-re | PST-BE | | past imperfective | 25 |

The most simple verb form is that of the imperative which consists of just the verb stem including the final vowel. A clitic *-i* is added to express plurality of the addressee, e.g., *veka* ‘put!’, *vekai* ‘put! (to many)’, *lála* ‘sleep!’, *lálái* ‘sleep! (to many)’. The irregular imperative of *-rendera* ‘wait’ is *nendera*.

The inflectional endings other than the default *-a* are *-á*, *-íye* and *-e*. The ending *-íye* is used for the perfect and for the irrealis tenses. The ending *-á* indicates past and *-e* optative.

After the tense marker a directional marker may follow, *ja-*ventive, from the verb *-ja* ‘come’, e.g., *o-jé-ja-mu-ra* 2SG-FUT-VENT-1-eat ‘you will eat him’.

In one negative tense (the prohibitive) the negation marker *sé* precedes the verb stem; the other negative tenses have a negative prefix *te* preceding the subject prefix (19) or a negative form of the subject prefix *si* for 1SG.NEG. A number of negative tenses induce a tonal change on the verb stem. This is indicated by H- preceding √ in the table.

There is some uncertainty about some of the negative tenses: The

negative irrealis form is not certain; at one point it was rejected, and the negative past was once formed as NEG-SC-jé-H-V-íye but this was also rejected. My materials contain some negative verb forms that have a morpheme *i*, e.g. *t-a-i-kí-loseka* NEG-1-*i*-COND-talk ‘s/he does not usually talk’, *t-a-i-je-féta* NEG-1-*i*-NEG-go ‘s/he will not go’, *va-i-se-soma* 2-*i*-se-read ‘when they read’. The analysis of the verbal conjugation presented here is probably incomplete.

The tenses that make use of an auxiliary are treated in 3.2. First, we present examples of the simple tenses using the verb *o-rem-a* ‘cultivate’.

- (2) *n-áa-rem-á* *yonda r-áne wiki aloká*
 1SG-PST-cultivate-PST 5.farm 5-my week past
 ‘I cultivated my farm last week.’
- (3) *ndem-íye* *yonda r-áne énsíku na mutóndo*
 1SG:cultivate-PF 5.farm 5-my 9.today with 3.morning
 ‘I cultivated my farm this morning.’
- (4) *n-áa-rem-íye* *yonda r-áne néejo*
 1SG-PST-cultivate-PF 5.farm 5-my yesterday
 ‘I cultivated my farm yesterday.’
- (5) *n-ka-rema* *yonda r-áne*
 1SG-CSEC-cultivate 5.farm 5-my
 ‘And I cultivate(d) my farm.’
- (6) *n-ké-rema* *yonda r-áne*
 1SG-COND-cultivate 5.farm 5-my
 ‘If I cultivate my farm, ...’
- (7) *n-ándá-réma*
 1SG-GEN-hoe
 ‘I usually hoe.’
- (8) *n-ká-rém-íye* *yonda r-áne*
 1SG-IRR-cultivate-PF 5.farm 5-my
 ‘I would have cultivated my farm.’

- (9) ndém-e yonda r-áne
1SG:cultivate-OPT 5.farm 5-my
'Let me cultivate my farm.'
- (10) s-andá-réma yónnda r-áne bádo
NEG.1SG-GEN-cultivate 5.field 5-my still
'I have not yet cultivated my farm.'
- (11) s-áa-ré-réma yondar-áne áfo áa-j-á
NEG.1SG-PST-BE-cultivate 5.field 5-my when 1:PST-come-PST
'I was not cultivating my farm, when he arrived.'
- (12) s-á-rem-íye yónnda r-áne náijó
NEG.1SG-PST-cultivate-PF 5.farm 5-my yesterday
'I did not cultivate my farm yesterday.'
- (13)a. si-jé-réma yónnda r-áne mara nyingé
NEG.1SG-NEG-cultivate 5.field 5-my times many
'I do not cultivate my farm often.'
- b. si-já-lóséka na wée
NEG:1SG-NEG-talk with you
'I will not talk with you.'
- c. te-ko-je-va-ténnya kimaka
NEG-1PL-NEG-1-tell thing
'We will not tell him a thing.'
- (14) si-jé-rém-íye énsiko na mutondo
NEG.1SG-NEG-cultivate-PF today with morning
'I did not cultivate my farm this morning.'
- (15) si-ká-rem-íye kabisa yonda r-áne
NEG.1SG-IRR-cultivate-PF completely 5.field 5-my
'I would never have cultivated my farm.'
- (16) n-ki-sé-réma yonda r-áne
1SG-COND-NEG-cultivate 5.field 5-my
'I should not cultivate my farm.'

- (17) kw-ende-téka
1PL-PROG-lift
'We are going to lift.'
- (18) n-jé-mu-vekéra
1SG-FUT-1-dress
'I will dress her/him.'

Verb stems are reduplicated to express iterative actions, (19), or actions done only half-heartedly, (20).

- (19) níngo o-muto-mut-w-e kéndé
drum 15-beat:PASS-beat-PASS-PF PRES.PROG
'The drum is always beaten.'
- (20) a-kol-e-kol-e
1-grow-OPT-grow-OPT
'Let him grow a bit.'

The perfect ending *-íye* shows some allomorphy. The suffix is *-e* after the passive extension *w* and, with stop formation after the ending *-any*, e.g., *-mutwe* 'beaten', *-remanje* 'cultivated for each other' and the suffix is also *-e* after some applicatives, e.g. *-fetere* from *-fet-er-a* 'pass'. If the final stem consonant is *l* this *l* disappears together with the vowel *i* of the suffix, e.g. *-lal-a* → *-láye* 'suffer:PF'. If the stem final consonant is *r*, this *r* is palatalised, e.g. *rimerye* 'lost', *tongérye* from *tongera* 'begin', *sindikírírya* 'accompanied' from *sindikíra*. The form of the perfect ending is *-írye* or *-írýe* (apparently containing an applicative extension) after verb stems that end in a palatal consonant, e.g., *-óchírye* from *-ócha* 'carry, take', *-fishírye* 'burnt' from *-físha*, *-jishírye* from *-jísha* 'do'.

Table 5: Realisations of the perfect suffix

| stem | meaning | 1SG-√-PF |
|-------|-----------|----------|
| rema | cultivate | ndemiye |
| téma | cut | ntemiye |
| úna | break | njuniye |
| lánga | watch | ndangíye |
| muta | hit | mmutiye |
| feta | go | mpetiye |
| véka | put | mbekiye |
| seka | laugh | nsekiye |
| refa | pay | ndefiye |

| stem | meaning | 1SG-√-PF |
|----------|----------|----------------------|
| lala | pain | njuláye |
| ikala | reside | nkáye |
| ofwérera | rest | mpweréye |
| lolwa | married | ndóywe |
| locha | let pass | ndochírye |
| vija | dance | mbijéye |
| tiyá | harvest | ntíye |
| anja | agree | nianjíye |
| fífyá | burn | mpifírye ~ mpishírye |

The perfect forms of monosyllabic verb stems show different realisations reflecting their etymological history: *-rée* from *-ra* 'eat', *-wéye* from *-wá* 'fall', *-nyéye* from *-nya* 'drink', *-míye* from *-mwa* 'tear', *njijíye* 'I have come' from *-ja* 'come'; another irregular form is *-uláe* from *-úla* 'kill',

The perfect refers to the past with present relevance, the past perfect to the past and the far past to anything earlier than the day of reference. The perfect is used to express a present resultative state of stative (or inchoative) verbs, e.g. *n-kat-íye* 1SG-fatigue-PF 'I am tired'.

3.2 *Infinitive–Auxiliary tenses*

All the tenses that make use of an auxiliary in combination with an infinitive have the word order infinitive–auxiliary. These tenses are the Present Progressive (21), (22); the Future (23); the Habitual (24), (25); and the Past Imperfective (26). None of the negative tenses make use of an auxiliary. For the Habitual there is an alternative construction with the *anda* as tense marker, (7). The conjugation for the present progressive of the verb 'cultivate' is given in (27).

- (21) mbúla o-tova e-kénde ná ngulu
 9:rain 15-rain 9-PRES.PROG with 9:force
 'The rain falls with force.'
- (22) serera rá mwényi o-lóma re-kénde
 5:illness 5:of 1:visitor 15-bite 5-PRES.PROG
 'The visitor is ill.'
- (23) o-ra ko-je mohogo
 15-eat 1PL-come:OPT 3:cassava
 'We will eat cassava.'

- (24) o-ra w-anda nsíye ?
 15-eat 2SG-HAB 9:fish
 'Do you eat fish?'
- (25) nyeé werera mw-anda mwembé-i kwa véja
 2PL 15:climb:APL 2PL-HAB 3:mountain-LOC by slow
 'You climb the mountain slowly.'
- (26) nosíta áa-re onyá irusú
 COP:15:refuse 1:PST-be 15:drink beer
 'He used to refuse beer.'
- (27)
- | | | |
|---|--------------|---------------|
| | SG | PL |
| 1 | orema nkéndé | orema kukéndé |
| 2 | orema ukéndé | orema mokéndé |
| 3 | orema akende | orema vakéndé |

3.3 Copula and verbs 'to be'

Nominal sentences contain either the copula *ni* (or negative *si*) or the locative verb 'to be' *ri*. The copula *ni* is used for adjectives used predicatively, (34), and for identification, (28). The negative copula is *si*. For location the verb *ri* is used, e.g., in the relative clause in (28). This locative 'to be' is used as auxiliary for progressive tense (see 3.2) and whenever tense is expressed in a nominal sentence, (29). Locative referential clitics such as *ko* in (29) are used with conjugated forms of the verb 'to be'.

- (28) mwana u-ri áfa ni wáani
 child 1-be 16.DEM.PROX COP 1:mine
 'The child that is here is mine.'
- (29) Maganga afo á-j-íye sáa-ri-ko
 Maganga 16.DEM 1:PAST-come-PF NEG:1SG-PAST-BE-17:REF
 'When Maganga arrived, I was not there.'

3.4 Verbal derivation

The most productive suffixes of verbal derivation are the applicative, passive and causative. Some of the other common Bantu extensions can be recognised in various lexical stems. The *l* of the verbal derivational suf-

fixes harmonizes to *e* after stems containing *e* or *o* and the *u* of verbal derivational suffixes harmonizes to *o* after stems containing *o*.

The applicative is a suffix *-r*. The applicative indicates that the verb is directed at the object, which is benefactive, instrumental or locative. Examples are: *-rem-er-a* 'cultivate with/for, weed' from *-rem-a* 'cultivate, dig', *-vék-er-a* 'dress sb', from *-véka* 'put'.

The passive is formed by *-w*, or *-iw*. The patient becomes subject of the passive verb. Some examples are *-yál-w-a* 'be born' from *-yál-a* 'give birth', *-féw-a* 'be given' from *-fá* 'give'.

The causative is *-i*. After liquids this results in *ry*; thus the applicative+causative combination is *-ry*. The causative introduces a new actor as agent in subject position. Examples are *-sínɡísia* 'shake (tr)' from *-sínɡisa* 'shiver', *-lár-y-a* 'wound' from *-lála* 'get hurt', *-íjúr-i-a* 'fill' from *-íjóla* 'be full', *-vér-y-a* 'ripen' from *-vera* 'boil (intr)', *-fónya* 'cool (tr)' from *-fól-a* 'cool down'. Lexicalised causatives are present in *-orékérya* 'ask', *-síndekérya* 'accompany', *-rerya* 'carry', *-kwerya* 'can'.

The other verbal derivational suffixes are less productive but can be recognised in a few lexemes. The available evidence is presented in (30).

(30) Less productive verbal derivational suffixes

separative *-ul*

u-kún-ul-a 'to uncover'

kún-ék-ér-a 'to cover'

u-tíng-ul-a 'to open'

utúnga 'to close'

stative (neuter) *-ík*

o-tér-ék-a 'to cook'

o-téra kirusu 'to brew beer'

o-lós-ék-a 'to speak, chat'

o-séh-ék-a 'to lack, fail'

impositive *-ík*

u-ván-ík-a 'to hang up'

o-send-ek-a 'to push'

intransitive separative *-uk*

u-tínguka 'to walk'

u-taluka 'to return'

extensive *-al*

o-kát-ál-a 'to be tired'

o-kata 'to be tired'

repetitive *-ang*

u-fíny-ang-a 'to mould'

reciprocal *-an*

u-kwát-án-a 'to shake milk'

u-kwáta 'to seize'

combined extension *-any* REC:CAUS

w-ún-ány-a 'to bend'

w-úna 'to break'

o-rem-any-a 'to weed'

o-rema 'to cultivate'

The reflexive/reciprocal object prefix *I* is used instead of a reciprocal derivational extension, e.g. *w-I-túl-a* ‘fight’, from *u-túl-a* ‘hit’, cf. Swahili *ku-pig-an-a* from *ku-pig-a*; the reflexive prefix has middle meaning in *w-e-vékéra* ‘to wear’, from *o-vekera* ‘dress’. The same is attested in Rangi (Stegen 2002:139 ft. 9).

A de-adjectival verbaliser only occurs as a frozen suffix in the verb *o-lé-íf-a* ‘become tall’ from *-I* (adj) ‘tall’; otherwise, the verb *ová* ‘become’ is used with adjectives.

4 Nouns and nominals

4.1 The noun class system

Mbugwe has a Bantu noun class system which is an overtly marked gender system defined by morphological agreement to the head noun on nominal modifiers, nominal pronouns, and by subject and object agreement on the verb. Singular and plural classes form pairs. The noun classes and verbal agreement are presented in Table 6; the singular/plural noun class pairs are given in Table 7; adjectival prefixes and pronominal prefixes are presented in Table 8; possessives, demonstratives, numerals and verbal agreement in Table 10, the other modifiers with a pronominal prefix as agreement in Table 9.

Table 6: Noun classes and verbal agreement

| class | NP | allomorphs | SC / OC | example | meaning |
|-------|------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------|---------|
| 1 | <i>mú</i> | <i>m-</i> | <i>ú (a) / mú</i> | <i>monto</i> | person |
| 2 | <i>va</i> | | <i>va</i> | <i>vanto</i> | persons |
| 3 | <i>mú</i> | | <i>ú</i> | <i>muti</i> | tree |
| 4 | <i>mí</i> | | <i>í</i> | <i>miti</i> | trees |
| 5 | - | <i>r(i)-</i> | <i>re</i> | <i>tumbe</i> | chair |
| 6 | <i>ma</i> | | <i>a</i> | <i>matumbe</i> | chairs |
| 7 | <i>kí</i> | <i>ch-</i> | <i>kí</i> | <i>kimaka</i> | thing |
| 8 | <i>vi</i> | <i>vy-</i> | <i>vi</i> | <i>vimaka</i> | things |
| 9 | <i>N</i> | <i>nj-, -</i> | <i>í</i> | <i>mburi</i> | goat |
| 10 | <i>N</i> | <i>nj-, -</i> | <i>ji</i> | <i>mburi</i> | goats |
| 11 | <i>lo</i> | | <i>lo</i> | <i>lodi</i> | rope |
| 13 | <i>ka</i> | | <i>ka</i> | <i>kabúri</i> | kid |
| 14 | <i>ú</i> | | <i>ú</i> | <i>ushú</i> | face |
| 15 | <i>kú</i> | | <i>kú</i> | <i>koto</i> | ear |
| 16 | <i>fa</i> | | <i>fa</i> | <i>fanto</i> | place |
| 19 | <i>fyi</i> | | <i>fyi</i> | <i>fyibúri</i> | kids |

There is a subclass 1a without the class 1 prefix *mɔ-* but with the agreement pattern of class 1. It consists of relational terms such as *sé* 'father', *níná* 'mother', *mawé* 'mother' and lexicalised complex forms such as *mawanyu* 'our/my mother', *korényina* 'somebody's mother', and words like *búbu* 'dumb person', *kewéte* 'lame person', *kizíwi* 'deaf person'.

Class 15a is a subclass of class 15 which has the noun class prefix *ɔ-* rather than *kɔ-* but the same agreement as the rest of class 15. Class 15a is the noun class for infinitives.

Allomorphy: The phonologically conditioned allomorphy is given in the phonology chapter. In addition, there is also morphologically or lexically conditioned allomorphy: The regular pattern of class 5 is to have no noun prefix, for example *no* 5/6 'finger'; PL: *ma-no* (class 6), *ua* 'flower', plural: *ma-ua* (class 6). Class 5 has a noun class prefix variant *r(i)* before certain vowel initial roots (31). These roots are lexically marked, because other vowel initial roots in class 5 have the regular pattern of no noun prefix, for example, *rino* (class 5) 'mushroom', plural: *ma-rino* (6). There are also a number of roots that have an (optional) *i-* prefix in class 5. These are given in (32).

| | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------|-------------------|
| (31) | <i>ri-íkó</i> | fireplace | PL: <i>ma-íkó</i> |
| | <i>ri-ína</i> | name | PL: <i>ma-ína</i> |
| | <i>ri-ísó</i> | eye | PL: <i>ma-ísó</i> |

| | | | | |
|------|----------------|-----|----------|-------------------|
| (32) | <i>ibónde</i> | 5/6 | valley | also <i>bónde</i> |
| | <i>ifánda</i> | 5/6 | baldness | also <i>fánda</i> |
| | <i>ikuto</i> | 5/6 | fence | also <i>kuto</i> |
| | <i>iseré</i> | 5/6 | iron hoe | also <i>seré</i> |
| | <i>itímu</i> | 5/6 | spear | also <i>tímu</i> |
| | <i>itína</i> | 5/6 | stem | also <i>tína</i> |
| | <i>ikúmi</i> | 5/6 | ten | |
| | <i>irambo</i> | 5/6 | pool | |
| | <i>isaké</i> | 5/6 | forest | |
| | <i>iseréri</i> | 5 | east | |
| | <i>itumbi</i> | 5/6 | stool | |
| | <i>itúre</i> | 5/6 | town | |

Classes 9 and 10 have a variant *nj* before vowel-initial stems. This is not evident from the singular/plural pairing since singular and plural are identical in the 9/10 class pair. There some nouns in the class pair 9/10 that start with *nj*, e.g. *njaikó* 'bull', plural *njaikó* (10). Other examples are *njala* (9) 'hunger' and *njana* (9) 'birth'. The assumption that these nouns contain a prefix *nj* is based on the addition of a noun class prefix *nj* for

the class 9 or 10 forms of adjectives and quantifiers which are vowel initial, see (33). Among the nouns in class pair 11/10, *lu-* / *N-*, we have no vowel-initial roots in our data, otherwise that could have provided us with additional evidence for the allomorph *nj-* for vowel-initial roots.

| | | | | |
|------|--------|---------|-------|-------|
| (33) | njaré | 9.wide | -aré | wide |
| | njére | 9.white | -íre | white |
| | njíru | 9.black | -íru | black |
| | njónse | 10.all | -ónse | all |

Table 7 gives the regular singular/plural pairing of noun classes. Unpaired nouns exist in all class pairs, e.g. *wóke* (14) 'honey', *mrongo* (4) 'tens', *mbúlo* (10) 'beard', but especially in class 6 for liquids, e.g. *masosó* 'fresh milk' and in class 8 for uncountables, e.g. *virjó* 'millet, sorghum', and in class 11, e.g. *wongó* 'brain'. Class 15a of infinitives has no plural correlate, nor has the locative class 16.

Table 7: The singular/plural noun class pairs

| pair | example | meaning |
|-------|----------------------|----------|
| 1/2 | mosává / vasávé | sorcerer |
| 1a/2 | búbu / vabúbu | dumb |
| 3/4 | movére / mevére | body |
| 5/6 | no / mano | finger |
| 7/8 | krdédu / vidédu | chin |
| 9/10 | mpóla / mpóla | nose |
| 11/10 | lokasá / nkasá | cheek |
| 13/19 | kachúríó / fyichúríó | chick |
| 14/10 | otá / ntá | bow |
| 15/6 | kotó / mató | leg |

Class pair 15/6 contains only a few underived lexical items: *kutú* 'ear', *kulo* 'foot', *kulóme* 'right', and *kumóso* 'left'.

Class 14/10 also contains very few underived lexical items. In fact my data only contain the example in the table.

Nouns can be moved to certain noun classes adding particular derived meaning: Diminutives are derived by placement into 13/19 with the noun prefix added to the full word, e.g. *ka-mwaulá* 'small necklace' from *mw-aulá* (3) 'necklace'. Derived abstracta are in class 14 for example *weémbo* '14.song' (PL: *mi-émbo* '4.songs') is derived from *-émba* 'to sing'. Abstracta borrowed from Swahili are mostly in class 11, following the shape of the prefix in Swahili.

Evidence for the presence of the Bantu locative classes 16, 17, 18 is scarce in Mbugwe. Class 16 contains very few lexical items such as *fanto*

'place', *faiife* 'near', *péri* 'forest', and is used for agreement with locative nouns (noun phrases), such as those that have a locative clitic *-i*, e.g. *meremo-i* 'at work'. There is no agreement with a locative class 17 or 18. Relative clitics of class 17 *-ko* occur with the verb 'to be' *rí*, as in *taríko*, *tekeríko* 'there is no'; and of class 18 in *nakímo* 'there is none'.

Infinitives are nouns of class 15a with the noun prefix *u-*, and *w-* before vowels. The prefix of class 15a is identical in form to that of class 14, i.e. *u-*, as in *uta* 'bow', but the adjectival concord for the infinitive is *ku-*, (34), which makes it different from class 14.

- (34) *u-lala ni kú-ja*
 15-sleep COP 15-good
 'To sleep is good.'

Other deverbal nominalisations are not productive but the lexicon reveals the following de-verbal nouns and nominalising suffixes.

- (35) Examples of de-verbal nouns.

- i* *mo-rem-i* 'farmer' < *-rem* 'cultivate'; *mu-túm-i* 'servant' < *tum-a* 'send'; *mw-a-ívi* = *mo-a-ív-i* 'thief' < *ív-a* 'steal'
- é* *olombé* 'game' < *-lomb* 'hunt'.
- á* *mo-lomb-á* 'hunter' < *-lomb* 'hunt'.
- o* *ma-lósék-o* 'conversation' < *-lósék-a* 'chat', *w-émb-o* '14.song', PL: *mi-émb-o* '4.songs' < *-émb-a* 'sing', *mo-rem-o* '3.work' < *-rem* 'cultivate'
- erio* *ki-kwát-erio* 'tongues, tweezer' < *kwáta* 'seize'

4.2 Adjectives

The adjectival stems are: *lí* 'tall, long, high', *didí* 'small', *néne* 'big', *ájá* 'nice', *vé* 'bad', *rítu* 'heavy', *gómu* 'dry', *kufe* 'short', *túvu* 'blunt', *rére* 'sweet, nice', *ire* 'white', *írú* 'black', *are* 'wide', *gomu* 'dry'. Used attributively, the adjectives, like other modifiers, follow the head noun; used predicatively the adjectives follow the copula *ni*, (36). A strong form of the word for 'self' is *shavéne*.

- (36) *mwána ni mo-dídí mono.*
 1.child COP 1-small too
 'The child is too small.'

Table 8: Adjectival agreement

| class | NP | AP | <i>lí</i> 'long' | <i>ené</i> 'self' |
|-------|-----|-----|------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | mU | mU | molí | mwené |
| 2 | va | va | valí | veené |
| 3 | mU | mU | molí | mweené |
| 4 | mi | mi | milí | mieené |
| 5 | - | - | didí | yeené |
| 6 | ma | ma | madidí | meené |
| 7 | ki | ki | kilí | cheené |
| 8 | vi | vi | vilí | vyeené |
| 9 | N | N | ndí | nyeené |
| 10 | N | N | ndí | nyeené |
| 11 | lo | lo | lolí | lweené |
| 13 | ka | ka | kalí | keené |
| 14 | u | ku | kuúja | weené |
| 15 | ku | ku | kulí | kweené |
| 16 | fa | fa | falí | feené |
| 19 | fyi | fyi | fyilí | fyeené? |

4.3 Quantifying modifiers

A number of modifiers are not adjectival in the sense that they require a pronominal prefix rather than a nominal prefix in agreement. These quantifying modifiers are the numerals 'one', 'two', 'all', 'any', 'how many?', 'which? (from a given set)', 'different', and 'a lot', e.g. *nkó ji-ri* firewood PP-many 'a lot of firewood'. The quantifiers and their forms in the various classes are given in Table 9. Note that the form of class 10 for the word 'two' is *ívere* rather than *jívere*. The locative class 16 form of the numeral 'one' *fámo* is used for 'together'. Numbers are discussed in 4.5.

Table 9: Quantifying modifiers

| | one / two | all | any | how many | which? | different |
|----|-----------|--------|-----------|----------|--------|-----------|
| 1 | ómo | | wowónse | | oróre | mwangí |
| 2 | váveré | vónse | vovónse | várengá | varóre | vángé |
| 3 | ómo | | wowónse | | oróre | mwóngi |
| 4 | évere | yónse | yoyónse | érengá | eróre | myengí |
| 5 | rémo | | rorónse | | reróre | réngé |
| 6 | ávéré | ónse | oónse | árengá | aróre | ángé |
| 7 | kemó | | chochónse | | keróre | chíngé |
| 8 | vivere | vyónse | vyovyónse | vírengá | viróre | víngí |
| 9 | emó | | yoyónse | | eróre | yengé |
| 10 | ívere | jónse | jojónse | jírengá | jiróre | jíngé |

| | one / two | all | any | how many | which? | different |
|----|--------------------|---------|--------------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 11 | lómo | | lolónse | | loróre | lóngí |
| 13 | kámo | | kokónse | | karóre | kángí |
| 14 | | | wowónse | | oróre | |
| 15 | komo | | kokónse | | koróre | kóngí |
| 16 | fámo | | fofónse | | faróre | fángí |
| 19 | | | fyofyónse | | | |
| | PP-mo / PP-vére | PP-ónse | PP-o-PP-ónse | PP-rengá | PP-L-róre | PP-ngí |

4.4 Demonstratives, possessives, connectives

The connective (glossed with ‘of’) represents the possessed and precedes the possessor in genitive constructions; the head noun need not be expressed, (37). The connective consists of the pronominal prefix (PP) plus the stem *a*. Family relation nouns in 1a require *na* as connective: *sé na muká* ‘father of wife’, *walwé na muká* ‘sibling of wife’.

- (37) mburi já mwényi; já mwenyi
 10.goats 10:of guest; 10:of guest
 ‘The goats of the guest; those (i.e. the goats) of the guest.’

Table 10: Possessives, demonstratives, connectives

| class | PP | connective | my, mine | DEM.PROX | DEM.DIST |
|-------|--------|------------|----------|---------------------|----------|
| | | PP-á | PP-áni | V _{pp} -PP | PP-rá |
| 1 | ò | wa | wáani | úu | òrá |
| 2 | vá | vá | vaáni | áva | vára |
| 3 | ó | wá | waáni | úu | órá |
| 4 | é | yá | aáni | éé | érá |
| 5 | ré | rá | raáni | éé | rérá |
| 6 | á | á | áani | áa | ará |
| 7 | ki, ch | chá | chaani | éche | kérá |
| 8 | vi, vy | vyá | vyaani | ivi | virá |
| 9 | è | yá | aani | éé | èrá |
| 10 | jí | já | jaani | iji | jirá |
| 11 | lo | lwá | lwaáni | ólo | lórá |
| 13 | ka | ká | kaani | áka | kárá |
| 14 | u | wá | waáni | úu | órá |
| 15 | ko | kwá | kwaáni | óko | kórá |
| 16 | fa | fá | faani | áfa | fárá |
| 17 | | | | óko | kórá |
| 19 | | fyá | | | |

The possessives consist of the connective agreeing with the head noun, followed by a person marker. In Table 10 only the paradigm for the 1SG possessive is given. The possessive stems for the other persons are given in Table 12. Since possessives are expanded connectives, they behave like connectives and can be used attributively but also independently, (38).

- (38) *vaána* *áva* *ni* *va-áni*
 2.children 2.DEM.PROX COP 2-of:me
 These children are mine.

There is a three way distinction among demonstratives. The proximal demonstratives consists of the pronominal prefix preceded by a copy of the vowel of this prefix upon which a HL tone pattern is imposed, its forms are given in Table 10. A proximal demonstrative in *-no* has only been attested in *kono* ‘here’ and as an alternative to *óko*, e.g. *koto kono ~ koto óko* ‘this ear (cl.15)’. The referential demonstrative is built on the proximal demonstrative with a suffixed vowel *o*. Some examples are *munto áo* ‘this person in question’, *vanto ávo* ‘these people in question’. The distal demonstrative consists of the pronominal prefix followed by the root *rá*, e.g. *o-rá montomoká* 1-DEM.DIST 1.woman ‘that woman’.

The regular position of the demonstrative is after the noun but demonstratives quite frequently show up in front of the noun. This is predominantly the case with human referents.

Demonstratives are often used independently where non-Bantu languages use adverbs: *óko* cl.17.REF.DEM ‘here’, *kono* cl.17.PROX.DEM and *korá* cl.17.DIST.DEM ‘there’, *afa* cl.16.PROX.DEM and *afo* cl.16.REF.DEM ‘when’, *fafa* cl.16.PROX.DEM reduplicated ‘now’ and *jaó* cl.10.REF.DEM ‘such’.

4.5 Numbers

The numbers are not in a unified morphological word category. Table 11 gives the primary numbers plus the agreement suffix they take: numbers 1 and 2 are quantifiers taking the pronominal prefix; numbers 3, 4, 5, 6 (*tantátu*) and 8 are adjectives; 6 (*sita*), 7, 9 and higher numbers are modifying nouns and have no agreement prefix and are juxtaposed after the head noun. The original word for six, *tantátu*, is in the process of being replaced by the Swahili word *sita*. *Ikúmi* is the most common word for ‘ten’ and *merongo* is less common and only used in the plural.

Other numbers are formed on the basis of the basic numbers using juxtaposition for multiplication and the connector *na* ‘with’ for addition, e.g., *vanto ikúmi na vávere* ‘12 people’, but *merongo ikúmi na emo* ‘110’.

Table 11: Numbers

| number | root | agreement |
|--------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 | mo | PP |
| 2 | vere | PP |
| 3 | tátu | AP |
| 4 | nne | AP |
| 5 | sáno | AP |
| 6 | tantátu | AP |
| 6 | síta | - |
| 7 | mufunkáte | - |
| 8 | nana | AP |
| 9 | kenda | - |
| 10 | ikúmi | - |
| 10 | merongo | - |

In the pre-colonial period the word *mpia* was used for counting money. The word comes from *rupia* and represented a ten rupia coin. The old way of counting money was as follows: *mpia isáno* '50', *mpia isansáto* '60', *mpia mufunkáte* '70', *mpia inyanya* '80', *mpia kenda* '90', *merongo omó* '100', *merongo kúmi* '1000'. Apart from some archaic forms of the numbers it also shows that the unit was indeed ten rupia since 100 rupia is represented by 'ten ten-rupia'.

4.6 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns, possessive stems and agreement prefixes for person are given in Table 12. The alternative third person plural pronoun *vó* is in fact a short form of the class 2 referential demonstrative. The third person possessives refer to people only as possessors. The subject and object concord of class 1 and 2 are repeated here from the table of concords for all third persons, Table 6. Personal pronouns are only used for contrast and emphasis

Table 12: Person markers

| person | pronoun | possessive | subject concord | object concord |
|-------------|---------|------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1SG | née | PP-áne | n | n |
| 2SG | wée | PP-áko | o | ku |
| 3SG = cl. 1 | weé | PP-áchwe | ú | mo |
| 1PL | síye | PP-itu | ku | kú |
| 2PL | nyee | PP-ányu | mo | mú, va |
| 3PL = cl. 2 | vaá, vó | PP-ávo | va | va |

5 Other words

The question words are *néki* ‘what’, *nányu* ‘who’, *néna* ‘who’, *mofi* ‘where’, *jari* ‘how’, and *-renga* ‘how many’ (see 4.3 above).

Many time and manner adverbials are nouns; for others it is difficult to establish the word class: *lovi* ‘tomorrow’, *ínje* ‘yesterday’, *sa’iji* ‘now’. Other invariable adverbials and conjunctions are *ba* ‘even’, *amú* ‘really’, *pó* ‘just’ (sentence finally). Sentence initial concluding conjunctions are *roró* and, from Swahili, *basi*. Sentence initial starting conjunctions are *nyenye*, *hamú* ‘now’, and sentence initial consecutive conjunctions are *náka* ‘and’, *mé* ‘and’, *nong’o* ‘then’, *kento* ‘later’, and, from Swahili, *ha-lafu* ‘then’.

Interjections for surprise are *kómbá*, *nejóre*, *aróme*, *káká*, and, from Swahili, *jemani*.

There is a multi-purpose preposition *na* ‘with, and, at’; and a preposition *ni* for agent. The loan from Swahili *mpaka* ‘until’ functions as a preposition next to the etymologically related inherited noun *mupáka* (3/4) ‘boundary’. The class 17 connective *kwa* is used for controlled manner (39), and for instrument.

- (39) u-kwat-íye morésa kwá ngulu
 1-hold-PF 3.stick with force
 ‘He is holding the stick tightly (with force).’

6 Syntax

6.1 Noun phrase

Noun phrases are head initial. Demonstratives are occasionally placed before the head noun.

Agreement with multiple nouns is in class 8: the noun phrases *lodí na moíri* ‘the rope and the tree’ (11+3) and *nyondó na nshéri* ‘the hammer and the stone’ (9+9) both take class 8 agreement on the verb.

6.2 Prepositional phrases, non-verbal sentences

The phrase that is introduced by *na* has a variety of functions, all oblique. It is used for accompaniment (40), conjunction (41), time, in words such as *notíku* ‘at night’, *nejóre* ‘today’, (46), and to make phrases locative, (43). The preposition *ni* is used for the agent (52) and is homophonous with the copula.

- (40) h-a-je-vija na vá vá-chwe
 NEG-1-NEG-play with 2:of 2-his
 'He is not playing with his friends.'
- (41) wé na a-ká-vekér-a mwénda wá isé.
 3SG with 1-CSEC-wear-F 3.sheet 3:of father
 'And he wore the sheet of his father.'

The vowel of the preposition *na* 'with, and' or of the copula *ni* is elided before a vowel initial conjugated verb form (45) or before a vowel initial infinitive (42); example (44) shows that the nominal second clause of the conditional sentence requires a copula (and not a preposition). In some cases it is not entirely clear whether the element *n-* before the verb form is a copula or a preposition (45).

- (42) a-ka-werwa nekéja nolála noréra
 1-CSEC-call: PAS OK and: 1:sleep and: 1:get.up
 'And he was told "OK" and he slept, and got up.'
- (43) ko-ke-ona toló n-ólala
 1PL-COND-see sleep COP-sleeping
 'When we are tired, we go to bed.'
- (44) kwíyo e-ke-fika ni wófa
 death 9-COND-arrive COP fearing
 'When death comes, one is afraid.'
- (45) a-ka-m-wera nó-je-mo-túnga mwaulá mw-eéru.
 3-CSEC-1-tell COP/with: 1-FUT-1-close 3.necklace 3-white
 'S/he told her/him: and he wears a white necklace' or
 'S/he told her/him: it is he who wears a white necklace.'

6.3 Questions

In content questions, question words often occupy the first position in the sentence.

(46) néki w-ánda-ra na motóndo
 what 2-PROG-eat with morning
 ‘What do you eat in the morning?’

(47) néna n-á-mU-rokera
 who 1SG-PST-1-leave:APPL
 ‘Whom did I leave?’

(48) nányu o-jé-mo-lócha
 who 2-FUT-1-cross
 ‘Whom will you help to cross?’

6.4 *Infinitival phrases*

Mbugwe allows infinitives preceding the auxiliary, see Mous (2000) for a historical analysis of this feature which is unexpected in an SVO language. In these infinitival phrases, objects and other complements follow the auxiliary (49), (50), (51); object concords occur in the infinitive (51); the passive is marked on the infinitive, that is, on the main verb, (52).

(49) onkérera a-kéndé lodí losho
 15:cut:APL 1-PRES.PROG 11:rope 11:knife
 ‘He cuts the rope with a knife.’

(50) ora ko-kéndé wáre
 15:eat 1PL-PRES.PROG porridge
 ‘We are eating food.’

(51) o-n-térekéra a-kéndé chákúra
 15-1SG-prepare:APL 1-PRES.PROG food
 ‘She prepares food for me.’

(52) yondá oremo re-kénde ni montomoká
 5:field 15:dig:PAS 5-PRES.PROG by 1:woman
 ‘The field is cultivated by a woman.’

Infinitival objects of such an infinitive - auxiliary construction follow the auxiliary (53), in line with the fact that infinitival objects usually follow the inflected verb (54). This has the effect that for example in (53), the verb of wanting and the verb denoting the activity that is wanted are separated by the auxiliary. The object of the infinitive, “your words”, can also precede the infinitive as in (54).

- (53) wanja n-kéndé monó olánga njóta
 15:like 1SG-PRES.PROG very 15:watch 10:stars
 'I love to watch stars.'
- (54) okeyséwa oréta mpongó jáko
 2SG:NEG.OPT:forget 15:bring 10:words 10:your
 'Don't forget to bring your news.'

6.5 *Relative clauses*

Relative clauses follow the head noun and are juxtaposed to them without a relative marker on the head noun or in the verb. Locative relative clitics occur in expressions with the verb 'to be', see 4.1 above. Occasionally referential concords containing *o* occur in verb forms in the story in 7, suggesting relative verb forms. The data are insufficient to establish certainty about the presence of relative verb forms in Mbugwe.

- (55) mūti ómo o-re áfa ni waáni
 tree 3DEM.PROX 3-be here COP 3:my
 'The tree which is here is mine.'
- (56) duka r-anda-tíngurir-w-a ni ri-ra
 5.shop 5-GEN-open-PAS-F COP 5-DEM.DIST
 'The shop that is opened is that one.'

6.6 *Locative phrases*

Locative phrases occur both sentence initially (57) and sentence finally.

- (57) korá a-mu-kundiryé
 17.DEM.DIST 1-1-find:APPL:PF
 'He found him there.'

Locative subjects are avoided and in a construction with a sentence initial locative this is followed by *nako* 'and' and Verb-Subject, (58). I assume *nako* is the general purpose preposition *na* plus the referential locative class 17 concord *ko*.

- (58) kaí nako vá-ré veenyi
 home and 2-be visitors
 'At home, there are visitors.'
- (59) kanda-né na-kó lo-ré lo-dí
 wall-? with-17:REF 11-BE 11-rope
 'On the wall there is a rope.'

7 Texts

The following texts are three stories that I recorded from an elderly lady in Magugu. The stories were translated into Swahili with the help of my informant Zephania Mohamedi. Some of the stories contain songs; those passages are printed in italics. The lady was no longer used to telling stories (in fact my informant was very surprised that his aunt knew stories in Mbugwe). This is reflected in the texts which are not edited and follow the recordings strictly. Interruptions, such as greeting someone who happened to pass by, are left out and indicated with (...).

7.1 *Nkalabo*

This story is a well-known story in Northern Tanzania. The neighbouring ethnic groups have this story too. Among the Iraqw it is one of the most prominent stories in which the protagonist is called Lách or Láy, see Berger and Kießling (1998), Mous (1998). In the second part of the story the storyteller got confused about the chronological order (the goat should come before the cow) and ended it abruptly.

Vantovaká va-ka-féta na nkó. Afo va-féta na nkó,
 2.women 2-CSEC-go with firewood. 16.DEM.REF 2-go with firewood

montomoká omo nénda á-rí va-ka-téma nkó, va-ka-túnga.
 1.woman 1.one with:pregnancy 1-be 2-CSEC-cut firewood 2-CSEC-bind.

halafu va-ka-i-wéra kw-ende-téka shavéne shavéne.
 then 2-CSEC-REFL-tell 1PL-PROG-lift self self.

halafu á montomoká o-ré-nda a-ka-shót-w-a.
 then DEM.PROX 1.woman 1-be-pregnant 1-CSEC-overcome-PAS-F

náka a-ká-o-mo-kóla símba.
 and 1-CSEC-REF-1-call 9.lion.

simba njoon-téká. simba i-ka-m-wéra
 9.lion come 1SG-lift. 9.lion 9-CSEC-1-tell

n-ké-ku-téka néki o-jé-m-pá. o-rá montomoká a-ka-m-wéra
 1SG-COND-2SG-lift what 2SG-FUT-1SG-give. 1-DEM.DIST 1.woman 1-CSEC-1-tell

n-ké-ála mwáná o-jé-ja-mu-ra. náka y-á-ala (...)
 1SG-COND-give.birth 1.child 2SG-FUT-VENT-1-eat and 9-PST-give.birth ...

simba afo y-á-féta halafu a-ka-va-o-áye
 9.lion when 9-PST-go then 1-CSEC-2-REF-give.birth:PF

ni mu-dídí munó. kento simba y-á-fét-á
 COP 1-small too later 9.lion 9-PST-go-PST

e-ka-wér-w-a mwáná ni mu-dídí mono.
 9-CSEC-tell-PAS-F child COP 1-small too

reka a-kol-e-kol-e. simba i-ka-táloka.
 let 1-grow-OPT-grow-OPT 9.lion 9-CSEC-leave

i-ka-féta i-kikala eee wíki.
 9-CSEC-go 9-COND:stay week

halafu i-ka-féta. o-kúndía mwána w-a-kúr-íye.
 then(Sw) 9-CSEC-go. INF-meet 1.child 1-PST-grow-PF

a-ka-m-wéra fáfa nejóore
 1-CSEC-1-tell now with:today

o-jé-mó-ra na monsé katí kaí. nenderá, né-mo-túm-e
 2SG-FUT-1-eat with afternoon middle home. wait 1SG-1-send-OPT.

ná-tyá masambé a súka masí.
 with-harvest- 6.greens 6:of churn milk

a-ka-mo-túma. mwána kómbá o-pampá-ye a-ka-va-wéra
 1-CSEC-1-send. 1.child well 1-clever-PF 1-CSEC-2-tell

va-á-va-chwé hée. afo mo-ké-n-anj-e u-tum-u-tum-o
 2-of-2-POSS3SG 16:DEM.REF 2PL-COND-1SG-agree-PF INF-send-PAS-send-PAS

na-tyá-i masambé. a-ka-táloka símba o-mo-sov-íye
 with-harvest-LOC 6.greens 1-CSEC-return lion 1-1-miss-PF

mwána mwána o-tálók-eye njéra odangan-íye va-á-vá-ache
 child child 1-return-PF road 1-fool-PF 2-of-2-POSS3SG

a-ka-táloka. simba é-kikala chobú mwána nakemo. a-ká-já
 1-CSEC-return. 9.lion 9-COND:stay road? child with:NEG:18REF 1-CSEC-come

kaí loví. hamú w-amb-w-er-íye o-mu-túma ínje mwána
 home tomorrow now 1-tell-PAS-APPL-PF 2-1-send yesterday 1.child

s-á-mo-tó-e. a-ka-mw-ambia nendé rakáká loví u-ka-ja.
 NEG.1SG-PST-1-get-PF 1-CSEC-1-tell wait sir tomorrow 2SG-CSEC-come

a-ka-m-wera nóje-mo-túnga mwaulá mw-eéru.
 3-CSEC-1-tell with:15-FUT-1-close 3.necklace 3-white

o-mo-kúndia ó-je ha-jé-vija na v-á-vá-chwe.
 INF-1-meet 2SG-FUT 1-FUT-play with 2-of-2-POSS3SG

haláfu o-móna ó-je na ka-mwaulá k-eéru.
 then INF-1:see 2SG-FUT with 13-3.necklace 13-white.

nong'o o-ka-mw-ócha.
 then 2SG-CSEC-1-take

kinto á-feta mw-á-w-achwé n-amb-ija wée a-ka-va-wéra
 when? 1:PST-go 1-of-1-POSS3SG 1SG-tell-CS 3SG 1-CSEC-2-tell

v-á-v-áchwe hée angalía ne angá na
 2-of-2-POSS3SG hee look with high with

n-ka-túng-w-a mwaulá mw-eéru.
 1SG-CSEC-close-PAS-F 3.necklace 3-white

v-á-v-achwé va-ka-féng'a va-ká-rera
 2-of-2-POSS3SG 2-CSEC-run.away 2-CSEC-cry

va-ka-túng-w-a miaulá mi-éru. o-fika nsimba o-kúnd-e
 2-CSEC-close-PAS-F 4.necklace 4-white. INF-arrive 9.lion 1-meet-PF

vaána v-ónse ni miaulá mi-éro va-tété.
 2.child 2-all COP 4.necklace 4-white 2-all

simba ó-fika a-ka-va-wéra nj-oné-sh-í nkalabo.
 9.lion 1-arrive 1-CSEC-2-tell 1SG-see-CS-OPT:PL.ADDR Kalabo

va-ka-séma v-ónse ni kalábo pó. simba a-ka-táloka.
 2-CSEC-say 2-all COP Kalabo just lion 1-CSEC-return

a-ka-féta na korényina. a-ka-lósa
 3-CSEC-go with somebody's.mother 1-CSEC-say

ni-va-kund-ír-i v-ónse vá-ri-na na miaula mi-éru.
 1SG-2-meet-APPL-PF 2-all 2-be-with with 4.necklace 4-white

a-ka-m-wéra nong'o talóka áa.
 1-CSEC-1-tell then return

ko-ké-lalá notíku ka-mwénda k-éru n-jé-mo-vekéra.
 1PL-COND-sleep with:night 13-sheet 13-white 1SG-FUT-1-dress

a-ka-táloka simba. utíko w-íra simba a-ka-ja.
 1-CSEC-return lion 14.night 14-fall lion 1-CSEC-come

a-ka-va-kúnd-iye va-lá-ye. ka-ra ka-nkalábo
 1-CSEC-2-meet-PF 2-sleep-PF 13-DEM.DIST 13-Kalabo

ka-ka-tárfifa mé ka-ka-mo-súncha sé ka-ka-lála katí.
 13-CSEC-informed and 13-CSEC-1-move father 13-CSEC-sleep middle

ná-ká-mw-e-vekér-a ka-ra ka-mwénda k-éru.
 with:1-CSEC-1-REFL-dress-F 13-DEM.DIST 13-3.sheet 13-white

wée na a-ká-vekér-a mwénda wa isé.
 3SG with 1-CSEC-dress-F 3.sheet 3:of father

o-kúndía simba no-mo-rér-iye sé. a-ka-mó-re kankalábo.
 INF-meet lion with:1-1-lift-PF father 1-CSEC-1-leave 13 Kalabo

na-ka-lála me a-ka-lála-ye pó w-ok-ér-a kocheyé (...)
 with:1-CSEC-sleep and 1-CSEC-sleep-PF just INF-appear-APPL-F morning

a-ka-m-wéramolóme nejóre amú o-ke-lá-ye mpaka sá'iji.
 3-CSEC-1-tell 1.husband with:today really 2SG-COND-sleep-PF until hour:now

a-ka-m-wéra reká nda..ndal-i tolo kalábo w-a-fét-iye
 3-CSEC-1-tell leave- 1SG:sleep-OPT sleep Kalabo 1-PST-go-PF

n-a-wén-e moreré mo-nó. ní a-ka-lála
 1SG-PST-see-PF 3.sweet 3-very with 1-CSEC-sleep

a-ka-m-wera moká o-tomam-íye méremo o-kon-íye ba sáko.
 1-CSEC-1-tell 1.wife 1-work-PF 4.work 3-sweep-PF cowshit

basi a-ka-m-wéra níná kerá nkóko
 well 1-CSEC-1-tell mother cut chicken

ndé na nyama kalábo a-fét-íye. moká a-ka-kerankókó
 1SG:eat:OPTwith meat Kalabo 1-leave-PF. wife 1-csec-cut chicken

a-ka-téréka nyama. a-ka-lúva wáre a-ka-m-wa mokóla
 1-CSEC-cook meat. 1-CSEC-cook ugali 1-CSEC-1-call husband

njoo káká mokólo kó-ree. a-ka-m-wéra ra wée
 come:IMPER sir 1-big 1PL-eat:OPT. 1-CSEC-1-call eat:IMPER you

o-ka-súma na njé. o-ketómama mameremo yako
 2SG-CSEC-go.out with outside 2SG-CSEC:do 6.work 6:your

ní o-re-n-je.
 COP 15-eat-1SG-come:OPT

moká a-ka-ra. a-ka-súma a-ka-ikala lokómbe
 1.wife 1-CSEC-eat 1-CSEC-go.out 1-CSEC-sit 11.back.of.house

mwána ne a-ka-réra kalábo.
 1.child and 1-CSEC-get.up Kalabo

ne a-ka-rá ware pó na masí a-ka-nya ne a-ka-súma.
 and 1-CSEC-eat porridge all with 6.milk 1-CSEC-drink and 1-CSEC-go.out

a-ka-m-wéra niná heeloo a-ka-mo-rekera molóme
 1-CSEC-1-call mother fool 1-CSEC-1-leave.behind husband

a-ka-féta na simba. basi mama a-ka-piga kelelejemani.
 1-CSEC-leave with lion well mama 1-CSEC-beat noise well

kwat-er-í nkalábo, kwat-er-í nkalábo. watu va-ka-m-kwáta.
 grasp-APPL-PL.ADDR Kalabo grasp Kalabo 2.people 2-CSEC-1-grasp

a-ka-va-ambia afo moké m-bwéra súka masí
 1-CSEC-2-tell now wife 1SG-tell churnmilk

mawé o-ke-m-bwéra ní súka masí ní nji-re montomoká.
 mother 1-COND-1SG-tell COP churn milk COP 1SG-be 1.woman

ndekér-e-i va-ka-mo-rekéra
 1SG:leave:APPL-OPT-PL.ADDR 2-CSEC-1-leave:APPL

a-ka-fwéng'a oo máwe noféng'ay noféng'ay nyenye
 1-CSEC-run o mother with:1:run with:1:run well

vará vanto kwat-er-í kalábo.
 2-DEM.DIST 2.people grasp-APPL-PL.ADDR Kalabo

va-ka-mo-kwáta. a-ka-va-wéra áfo mawé a-ke-mbwéra nésia
 2-CSEC-1-grasp 1-CSEC-2-tell now mother 1-CSEC-1SG:tell 1SG:grind

ní nji-re montomoká. ndakére-i
 COP 1SG-be woman 1SG:leave:APPL-PL.ADDR

roró mawé okatae akatáloka na kaí
 but mother tired 1-CSEC-return with home

ní á-ka-fwéng'a a-ka-kundia mofulo.
 COP 1-CSEC-run 1-CSEC-meet 3.river

nokúndia njów. mofuló ná máaji otéte.
 with:1:meet 9.elephant 3.river with 6.water there.is

nányu o-jé-mo-lócha na a-ka-lómbo njów támboché-y mofulo.
 who? 1-FUT-1-cross with 1-CSEC-beg 9.elephant transport-PL.ADDR 3.river

o-mo-fánje nyama ní chochónse tóye.
 1-1-make:OPT meat COP 7-all I.get:PF

njów néki mo-rér-iyé ní ikóno e-ka-mo-táyra óko.
 elephant what 1-take-PF COP 5.arm 1-CSEC-1-throw there

ní a-ka-férenka a-ka-va-wéra óo mo-re vadíma
 COP 1-CSEC-go 1-CSEC-2-call o 2PL-be 2.fool

mo-ka-támbocha mofulo nofeng'a
 2PL-CSEC-transport river with:1:run

a-ka-kúndia vanto va-kerá nyama na ntálángi
 1-CSEC-meet 2.people 2-cut meat with strip.of.cane

a-ka-va-wéra néki mw-á-sóvaafó mo-kerá nyama na ntálángi.
 1-CSEC-2-call what 2-PST-lack now 2PL-cut meat with strip.of.cane

a-ka-lósa ní loshó a-ka-va-wéra n-ke-mo-fa loshó
 1-CSEC-say COP 11.knife 1-CSEC-2-call 1SG-COND-2PL-give 11.knife

néki mo-jé-m-pá.
 what 2PL-FUT-1SG-give

a-ka-werwa o-ko-fa kó-je ng'ombe
 1-CSEC-call:PAS 15-2SG-give 1PL-come:OPT cow

a-ka-vá-fá loshó a-ka-féwa ng'ombe
 1-CSEC-2-give 11.knife 1-CSEC-give:PAS cow

ng'ombe ní á-kócha ní á-ká-kerá
 cow COP 1-take COP 1-CSEC-cut

a-ka-véka motwé ko-ré máje na mo-kerá
 1-CSEC-put 3.head 17-be 6.water with 3.tail

lakini movére t-o-rí-ko o-réeye nyama po.
 but 3.body NEG-3-be-17.REL 3-eat:PF meat all

ní wánséra motwé ku-rí tofe na mokera.
 COP cover? head 17-be mud with 3.tail

mokéra o-ka-chálá nje. halafu ne á-ka-mokola vanto.
 3.tail 3-CSEC-remain outside then is 1-CSEC-call 2.people

ng'ombe y-ané e-fonkéye njo sunj-ish-e.
 cow 9-my 9-sink:PF come:IMPER pull.out:CAUS-OPT

vanto va-ka-ja kwat-i o-ko motwe.
 2.people 2-CSEC-come grasp-PL.ADDR 17:DEM.REF 3.head

na ava vá-kwát-e mokéra. wá movere to-rí-ko
and 17DEM.PROX 2-grasp-OPT 3.tail 3:of body NEG-be-17REL

a-ka-kéta hé a-ka-va-wéra aróme ní jári
3-CSEC-say he 1-CSEC-2-call *surprise* COPhow

mo-njolayé ng'ombe y-ané o-ndefa mó-je
2PL-1SG:kill:PF cow 9-my 15-1SG:pay 2PL-come:OPT

néke mo-je-m-pa
what 2PL-FUT-1SG-give

mo-njoláye ng'ombe y-ané.ní a-ka-féwa mbori
2PL-1SG:kill:PF cow 9-my COP 1-CSEC-give:PASgoat

ni kwénde a-ka-fétáye na mbóri
and still 1-CSEC-run:PF with goat

U-fika nókúndia lová la vánto lo-re-na ng'ombe
15-arrive and-meeting:APPL 11.kraal 11:of people 11-be-with cattle

na a-ka-va-lomba nyenye mbori y-ané í-lale
with 1-CSEC-2-ask well goat 9-my 9-sleep:OPT

a-ka-werwa nekéja nolála noréra notonja
1-CSEC-call:pas OK and:1:sleep and:1:get.up and:1:pierce

lofémbe lwá ng'ombe.
11.horn 11:of cow

mbóri ní í-ka-tónjiwa lofémbe mpaka e-ka-kwía
goat COP 9-CSEC-pierce:PAS horn untill 9-CSEC-die

o-tombola na motóndo káká mbori a-tóngiw-e
15-get.up with morning surprise goat 1-pierce:PAS-PF

a-ka-va-wéra káká nejóre mbóri y-ané y-a-kúye
1-CSEC-2-call surprise surprise goat 9-my 9-PST-die:PF

néke mo-je-m-pa.
what 2PL-FUT-1SG-give

roró n-á-féwa mbori y-engé káye
well with-1-give:PAS goat 9-other again

na á-ká-ferenkana á-ka-kúndia vanto
and 1-CSEC-leave with 1-CSEC-meet people

wanakula nyama te-mo-késaka
they.eat(Sw) meat NEG-2PL-want

ní mofí mbori n-téte ko-kerey ko-re nyama
 COP where goat 1SG-get:PF 1PL-cut:PL.ADDR 1PL:eat:OPT meat

vá-ra vanto va-ka-m-wéra nekéja
 2-DEM.DIST people 2-CSEC-1-call OK

na vá-kerá mbóri í-ra
 with 2-cut goat 9-DEM.DIST

na va-ka-ra nyama
 with 2-CSEC-eat meat

roró ne va-ka-ra nyama ne va-ka-shotwa na á-ka-wéra
 well and 2-CSEC-eat meat and 2-CSEC-overwon:PAS and 1-CSEC-call

wóchá n-ke-nde nyama jímó
 15-send 1SG-COND-be meat 10:other

notéréka nyama na w-á-mo-kola mpíti
 with:1:cook meat and 1-PST-1-call hyena

mpíti neekara mpaka nda pára
 hyena and:1:sit until stomach full

roró cháno ke-siriye ne fáfo ne-féréria
 well story 7-finish:PF and here 1SG-stop:APPL

7.2 *Translation: Kalabo*

Some women left to collect firewood. When they went to collect firewood, one woman happened to be pregnant. They were cutting firewood and they were binding it together. They said to each other: "Let us lift the loads by ourselves." That woman who was pregnant could not do it. Then she called for Lion. "Lion come, help me lift the load." Lion told her: "If I help you to lift the load, what are you going to give me?" That lady answered him: "When I give birth to a child, you can come to eat it." And she gave birth. When Lion arrived, she told him: "The child is too small." Then Lion left and he was told, "The child is too small, let it grow a bit". Lion returned. He left, stayed away for a whole week and came again, finding that the child had become big. She told him: "At home, in the afternoon, you will be fed with the child. Wait, let me call him. He is collecting leaves, those to churn milk with." She called him. The child, however, had already become smart and he told his friends: Why did you agree to be sent to cut leaves. Lion returned, he didn't get the child. The child went to the road. He had already cheated his friends. Lion sat on the road to meet the child that it wasn't there. He came again the next day. He told her: "You sent the child yesterday but I didn't get it." She told

him: "Wait, mister, come tomorrow, and I will put a white necklace on him. You will find him while he is playing with his friends. And you will recognise him from his white necklace. And you will take him away." When he went to play with his friends, he told them: "Look at me, I have been given a white necklace." His friends ran home to beg for a white necklace. When Lion arrived, he met only boys with a white necklace. When Lion arrived, he said: "Show me Nkalabo!" The said: "We are all Nkalabo." Lion returned and went to his mother. He said: "I found that all the boys were wearing white necklaces." She said: "Well, come back, when we go to sleep, I will give him a white sheet." Lion left. When night had fallen, Lion came again. He found them asleep. That child Kalabo had played a trick, he had pushed his father to the side and he had covered him with that white sheet. He covered himself with his father's sheet. Lion came and lifted the father, he left Kalabo behind. He ate father and Kalabo slept till the morning. She told her husband: "Why do you sleep till this hour?" He told her: "Let me sleep my sleep. Kalabo has left. And I see that as a nice thing." And he slept and he told his wife. She did the work, she swept the cow dung. Well he said: "Mother, slaughter a chicken. Let me eat meat, Kalabo left with Lion." The wife slaughtered a chicken, she cooked the meat, she cooked the porridge, she called him: "Come, husband, let us eat." "You eat, and leave and do your work, I will eat (later)." The wife ate, finished and sat behind the house. The child Kalabo got up. He ate all the porridge and drank all the milk and then he left. He told his mother: "Oo you are a fool, you left your husband and he left with Lion." Mother cried for help and said: "Oo, stop Kalabo for me, stop Kalabo for me." The people got him. He told the people: "Oo, why does my mother tell me to go and churn milk? Why? Am I a woman? Let me go." They let him go. Mother ran and ran after they had let him go. She ran and ran. "Stop Kalabo." They grapped him. He told them: "Why does my mother tell me to do the grinding? Am I a woman?" He told them to let him go. But Mother was already tired and returned home. And then he ran and he arrived at a river. He met Elephants. The river was full with water. "Who will help me pass?" Then he asked Elephants. He asked: "Elephants, help me across the river." He said: "Elephants if you help me across I will give you meat or anything I have." Elephant took him on his leg and threw him to the other side of the river. He said: "O you fools, you threw me across the river", and then he ran and he met people. They were cutting meat with a sugarcane blade. He said: "Why are you suffering that you are cutting with a sugarcane blade? They said: "We don't have knives." He said: "If I give you a knife, what will you give me?" He was told, "we will give you a cow." He gave them a knife. He was given a cow. He took the cow and slaughtered it. He went and put

the head into water (mud), and the tail as well. But the body was not there. He had eaten all the meat. He had hidden the head into the mud and the tail into the mud. Then he called people. He called people saying that his cow had fallen into the mud. "Come and help me to get it out." People arrived. "Take the head, and you, take the tail." People pulled out the head and from the tail. There was no body. He said: "Oo, people you have waisted my cow." He told them: "What will you pay me?" Then he was granted a goat. Then he continued with his goat. Then he arrived at a kraal of people with cattle. He asked (for a place to spend the night). He asked: "Where can my goat sleep?" He was told: "OK [you can spend the night]". He slept and got up. He got up early in the morning, took the goat and put it on the horns of those cattle. When they got up in the morning, the goat was pierced by the cattle. He said: "How come!, my goat has died, has been killed by your cattle. Me, what are you going to give me?" He was given a new goat. When he was given a goat, he left and he met people who were eating. "What is it, don't you like meat? I have a goat! Let us slaughter it and eat meat." Those people said: "OK". They slaughtered the goat. They ate the meat. They ate the meat, they couldn't finish, the remainder he took. Then he met hyena. Hyena ate until it had a full stomach. The story is finished here.

7.3 *Mwana nsólái*

The story recounts of a boy called Ndí that was killed by his friends and how he takes revenge through magic by taking the shape of a pumpkin plant.

vaána ne va-ka-féta na-tubuja.

2.children COP 2-CSEC-go with-bathe

notomama moremo ógelea

COP:15:do work swim

mwawachwé omó nomosíndera mwawachwé ko-ré nsólá.

1:of:3SG.POSS 1:one COP:1:push 1:of:3SG.POSS 17-be well

mwana ne a-ka-kwíra kóko

1.child COP 1-CSEC-die:APPL 17:DEM.PROX

ne vá-ka-táloka na kaí o-rekériwa kaí: nyenye Ndí njowe.

COP 2-CSEC-return with home 15-ask:APPL:PAS home 2PL Ndi where

va-ka-lósa kóko ko-mó-rek-iye o-ja a-kéndé

2-CSEC-say 17:DEM.PROX 1PL-1-leave 15-come 1-PROG

basi na o-rekéria hamwána t-a-jéndé-ja

well with 15-ask:APPL surprise NEG-1-NEG:PROG-come

né va-ka-tóngeria weémba nong'o:

COP 2-CSEC-start 15:sing well

kw-a-mu-rá mirongo Ndi;

1PL-PST-1-eat tens Ndi

kalei na-vaána v-ánu;

sit:OPT:PL.ADDR with-children 2-1PL.POSS

néna n-a-mu-rokera.

who 1SG-PST-1-leave:APPL

ne a-ka-lósa avá vaana afo va-ke-némba jaó néeke.

COP 1-CSEC-say 2:DEM.PROX 2.children 16:DEM.REF 2-COND-1SG:sing 10:REF what

a-korekiri vaána nyeényi Ndi njowe.

1-CSEC:ask 2.children 2PL Ndi where

a-ka-lósa áh"song".

1-CSEC-say

áva vaána néekéso

2:DEM.PROX 2.children what:how

kwanini afo va-ke-némba jaó néke

why 16:DEM.REF 2-COND-1SG:sing 10:REF what

ava vaana nómanya va-kéndé na-vo

2:DEM.PROX 2.children with:15:know 2-PROG with-2:REF

va-mo-reye mwána wáné.

2-1-kill:PF child 1:1SG.POSS

róró ne ákála lonyínyi óo mónto

well COP 1-CSEC-plant 11.pumpkin 1:DEM.PROX person

w-a-ríye lonyínyi né lo-ka-yála

1-PST-plant:PF pumpkin and 11-CSEC-give.birth

óo montomoká nong'o o-rekyé o-rera chá mwána wachwé.

1:DEM.PROX woman well 1-leave:PF 15-cry 7:of child 1:3SG.POSS

nong'o lonyínyí ló-ra né lo-ka-kóla

well 11.pumpkin 11-DEM.DIST COP 11-CSEC-grow

vára vaána va-ka-féta natyá yóri. kinto va-tya

2-DEM.DIST 2.children 2-CSEC-go with-pick pumpkin when 2-pick

va-ka-rá ne va-ka-sufa ndá,

2-CSEC-eat COP 2-CSEC-swell stomach

ne va-ka-kwía.

COP 2-CSEC-die

káye éche ké-lokiye

well 7:DEM.PROX 7-pass:PF

mo-tényeroró ke-lokiye hadithi i-siríye.

1-tell:OPT well 7-pass:PF story 9-end:PF

mweré káye yenge róro.

1:say again 9:other well

7.4 *Translation: The boy in the well*

The children went to bathe. When they were bathing one of them pushed his companion into the well. The child died in there. Then he returned home. he was asked at home: where is Ndi? They said: We left him there, he is coming. They told him: Well, the child is not coming. Then they started to sing. They said; why are the children singing this song? They asked their children: Where is Ndi? Those children, why are they singing this way? Is it that they know where Ndi is? Ask my child. Then he planted a pumpkin and the pumpkin produced. That woman had already stopped crying about her child. Well, the pumpkin grew. Those children went to pick the pumpkins. They picked it, ate it, their stomach swelled and they died. After they had eaten those pumpkins, all those children died. The story ends here. Maybe another one.

7.5 *Mora vanto*

The story recounts how a woman is married to an ogre and how she escapes and the witch is defeated. The connection between witches and hyenas plays a role. Witches which are hyenas are well-known problem in Mbugwe area, see Gray (1963).

montomoká ní á-ka-lólwa

woman COP 1-CSEC-married:PAS

kombá i-rá nyumba ní vasáve

surprise 9-DEM.DIST house COP 2.witch

ní vanto v-anda-kéra.

COP 2.people 2-HAB-cut

vimaka nója mpiti na-rá waré.

things COP:15:come hyena COP:1-eat food

orá mwáná nowér-w-a akúnja t-ó-féyé

1-DEM.DIST child COP:15:tell-PAS if NEG-2-give:PF

vimaka ívi waré nókwiá o-kéndé.
8.things 8:DEM.PROX food COP:1:die 15-PROG

a-ka-m-wéra fáfo ne-jóre n-je-kéta
1-CSEC-1-tell now COP-how 1SG-FUT-do

a-ka-m-wéra akúnja ó-re motari o-feng'e-feng'e na kw-ányu.
1-CSEC-1-tell if 2-be 1.fool 15-run-run:OPT with 17:2PL.POSS

basi mwanámoká a-ka-amua a-ka-ansa ofeng'ana kw-ávo.
well woman 1-CSEC-realise 1-CSEC-start 15-run with 17:3PL.POSS

molóme ne á-ka-ja a-ka-mo-kúndia moká t-a-rí-ko.
1.husband COP 1-CSEC-come 1-CSEC-1-meet 1.wife NEG-1-be-17REF

na á-ká-tóngeria o-feng'a o-mo-túmba nyuma
with 1-CSEC-start 15-run 15-1-follow behind

noféng'a njerayoónse ní á-ke-neémba
COP:1:run road 9:all COP 1-COND-sing

ne á-ke-m-wéra moká
COP 1-COND-1-tell 1.wife

wáne sikerá ko-twál-e nakwányu. kwáné
? listen:APPL 2SG-send-OPT with 17-2PL.POSS 17-1SG.POSS

tuvaya molanda w-ol-éye.
hyena.plate 1.hyena 2SG-marry-PF

óo ní molóme o-kenemba
1.DEM.PROX COP husband 1-COND:sing

na a-ka-feng'a moká na-we moká ní-wémba
with 1-CSEC-run wife with-3SG wife COP-song

ní wémba a-kéndé njera-y.
COP song 1-COND:be road-LOC

a-ke-kéta
1-COND-say

toko néne si-re moká kaNjeréka
no surprise NEG-be wife 13 Njereka

na-ange-veja na-ngaré w-a-ndiméria
1SG-IRR?-look with-well 2-PST-1SG:lose:APPL

na ifánda ere ré-lúye chwé ja unga
with baldness 5:DEM.PROX 5-shine:PF white 10:of flour

óo ní moká.

1:DEM.PROX COP wife

a-ré w-e-neémba kembuwe kaé ba wé
1-be 2SG-REFL-sing 7-Mbugwe well 2SG

nong'ó na-wé molóme lo-féng'a kwené.
well with-3SG husband 11?-run again

moká sikira ko-twál-e nakw-ányu.
wife listen:APPL 2SG-send-OPT with 17-2PL.POSS

kw-ane tuvaya molanda wóleye.
17-1SG.POSShyena.plate 1.hyena 2SG-marry-PF

basi né-va-ka-fika kw-ávo
well COP-1-CSEC-arrive 17-3PL.POSS

moká a-fikiye kw-ávó
wife 1-arrive:PF 17-3PL.POSS

né-vá-ka-lósa na-wé molóme o-fikiye
COP-2-CSEC-speak with-3SG husband 3-arrive:PF

ne-jóre ko-jé-mo-kéta óo monto
COP-how 1PL-FUT-1-do 1DEM.PROX man

orá mwáná moká a-ka-lósa ná nj-óla vá-re-rára
1-DEM.DIST 1.child 1-female 1-CSEC-say with 1SG-kill 2:PST-be-want

na-m-pweng'-íye na kw-á-itó.
with-1SG-run-PF with 17-of-1PL.POSS

basi né va-ka-lósa mo-ténj-i óko nyumba é-ra
well COP 2-CSEC-say 2PL-tell-PL.ADDR 17:DEM.PROX house 9-DEM.DIST

o-mo-teénja nong'ó notónja nyumbá mótó
1-1-invite thus COP:1:set.fire house fire

a-ka-fyá-po
1-CSEC-burn-16:REF

hadithi e-sir-íye ké-lok-íye.
story 9-end-PF 7-finish-PF

7.6 Translation: *The Ogre*

Long ago a girl was married. But, that house was one of witches. In that house they used to slaughter people. Hyenas came to eat the food. That girl told herself: Is this really food? I am going to die! She said: "Now, what do I do?" She said: "You fool, run home!" Well, the woman got to

her senses. She started to run home. When her husband arrived home he found his wife absent. Then he started to run to follow his wife. He ran and the whole road he sang: "My wife, listen. I will send you home." Both ran. "No, watch carefully, your bald spot shines white like flour." That man ran. (Song.) Well they arrived home. The wife arrived home. They said: "That man has arrived. What to do with that man?" The woman said: "They wanted to kill me and then I ran home." They said: "Invite us to your house." They were invited. They put fire to that house. They killed him. The story is finished.

7.7 Riddles

The standard invitation to riddle is *mbúo* which is accepted by *néje*. A number of the riddles consists of sound associations (2, 6, 9); for others the link is association of movement (5, 11), of vision (3), of form (8). Riddles 1 and 10 are opaque to me.

- 1 chasú máng'áti - tolo
7:indigenous Datooga - sleep
- 2 sinoré sonore - lwendo lwá arise
ideo for care - 11.walk 11:of sheep
- 3 sé ónse masóla - ni njúta
land all maize+beans.dish - COP stars
- 4 kí-rí yoló-y - mwéri
7-be high-LOC - moon
- 5 tinde yóri yóri - kéra rá arise
root pumpkin - tail 5:of sheep
- 6 sukúsukú o-ka-mta nótá - ni otá
ideo of running 2-CSEC-beat with:bow - COP bow
- 7 kí-rí katí katí - monyóku
7-be middle middle - navel
- 8 ch-á-ringáká - kitóri
7-PST-go.round - mortar
- 9 tambiókáa - nyaú
sound for movement of cat - cat
- 10 kasépé - kalusuku
metal.bracelet.of.Datoga - small.animal.sp.
- 11 kísámbe kí-ri lóje utékatéka - mwána o-re-nda-y
7.leaf 7-be river playing - child 1-be-inside-LOC

- 12 kwányu va-tátu - mafia
ours 2-three - cooking.stones
- 13 nkámango njiyá t-o-jé-kwámia wé - yayé
round.stone nice NEG-3-FUT-hit rock - egg

8 Mbugwe lexicon

8.1 Mbugwe - English

The following is a list of Mbugwe lexicon containing just under 1000 entries. The entry is given in bold. Low tone is not marked. The entries for which I have no tone indication are marked with T? After the entry word class information is given in italics with numbers referring to noun classes, *v* = verb, *aj* = adjective, *adv* = adverb, *interj* = interjection, *ideo* = ideophone, *quan* = quantifier, *ques* = question word, *prep* = preposition, *pro* = pronoun; other abbreviations are *sp.* = species, *k.o.* = kind of. Verbs, adjectives and quantifiers are represented in their stem form and the initial hyphen indicates that the form needs an agreement prefix to form a complete word. Only occasionally derivations (*der.*) are given. In a few cases I have indicated parallels to Iraqw and Swahili.

áfo when (16.DEM.REF)
ála 9/10 breeding (bull)
-ála mbeu *v* plant seeds
aloká past
-ándíka *v* write
angá *adv* high
-ánja *v* agree, admit
-ánsára *v* cover
-ápa *v* oath (take)
-aré *aj* wide
arisé 5/6 sheep; PL: **maarisé**
aromé *interjection of surprise*
asíra 9/10 anger
ba *adv* even if
baba 1a father; **babá modídí**
'paternal uncle'
bafá *adv* although
bandáma 9/10 spleen
báranda 9/10 horn used as
flute
bavá 5/6 wing
bayí 5/6 calabash
bónde 5/6 valley; also **ibónde**

bové 5/6 stalk (of grain),
maize plant
búbu 1a/2 dumb
bubúti bushbuck
busa beer of maize; loan
from
Iraqw
bwaó 9/10 pot (k.o.)
chákora 7/8 food
chambo 7/8 bait
chángo 7 early, fast; also
chángochángo
cháno 7/8 story, tale; also
yáno
chatu python; cf. **ng'aro-**
roda
chemí 7/8 hare
-chéúwa *v* belch
chúngo 7 relish
chobú 7/8 road?
chóma 7/8 axe
chorá 7/8 frog
chumba 7/8 room
chúmbi 10 salt; cf. **tonyo**

- chúnychumala** *v* squat
churú 9/10 bird's nest
-churusha *v* trade
chuto hut in the field
dada 1*a* older sister
-dángánya *v* deceive
dáwa 9/10 medicine
dengu 10 lentil
-dídí *aj* small
díyo 5/6 dog; loan from
 Maasai
dú darkness
-éma *v* stand
-émba *v* sing; after COND:
némba
-éva *v* forget
-efúnza *v* learn
-éné *aj* self
-énéza *v* explain
énsíku 9 today
-eregú *aj* red
-éreméra *v* quarrel
-eserérya *v* try
-etová lóvi *v* fight war
-etúla *v* fight; der. (REFL)
 from **-túla**
-evékera *v* wear; der. (REFL)
 from **-vékera**
-fá *v* give; PAS: **-féwa**
fáfa *adv* now; also **fáfafáfa**
-fafa *v* be expensive
-fafu *aj* difficult, hard,
 expensive
fakapepe without
-falala *v* fly
fánda 5/6 baldness; also
 ifánda
fantu 16 place
faufé 16 near
-fémba *v* deceive
-féng'a *v* run away
-féréinka *v* leave
-ferera *v* jump
-féta *v* go, go away, pass;
 APPL: **-fétéra**
fía 5/6 stone in the fire under
 the pot
-fífia *v* burn up
-fika *v* arrive
-fíkíria *v* think
-fínyánga *v* mould
-fisha *v* burn; cf. **-fífia**
-fóa vyoma *v* forge
-fokera *v* bury
-fóla *v* cool down, cure
-fómbú *aj* sharp
fongofongo light
-fónya serera *v* cure (lit.
 'to cool illness')
-fotola *v* apply medicine,
 smear
-fúga *v* rear
-fukera moshi *v* smoke
-fukuza *v* chase away; cf.
 -kamatia
-fúndísha *v* teach
-fúnga *v* shut
-f(w)áta *v* twist (rope)
fwére 5/6 rash
-f(w)érera *v* rest; cf.
 -pumua
-fyéka konde *v* clear a
 field
gála 9/10 granary
gambóda 5/6 shield
ganda 5/6 bark
gari 5/6 vehicle
-gómu *aj* dry
góndi 9/10 ram
hamú *adv* now; loan from
 Iraqw
hóma 9 fever
homba 9/10 ox
hurúma 9/10 pity
ibónde 5/6 valley; also
 bónde
ifánda 5/6 baldness; also
 fánda
-íva *v* steal
-íjóla *v* full
-íjúria *v* fill
-íkala *v* sit down. sit. re-

- main, reside
 -**íkóta** *v* satisfied
ikúmi 5/6 ten
ikuto 5/6 fence; also **kuto**
 -**ína ngo** *v* wash clothes
 -**íngéra** *v* enter
 -**ínóla** *v* lift
irambo T? 5/6 pool
 -**íre aj** white
isaké 5/6 forest
isé 1a father; also sé
iseré 5/6 iron hoe; also **seré**
iseréri 5 east
 -**íta maáje** *v* pour
itímu 5/6 spear; also **tímu**
itína 5/6 stem; also **tína**
itumbi 5/6 stool
itúre 5/6 town
 -**íru aj** black
 -**já aj** good; class 9/10: **njjá**
 -**ja** *v* come
jámba 9/10 male animal; also
 nyámba
jángwa 9 desert
jári *ques* how?; also **júri**
jásho 5/6 sweat
 -**jenga** *v* build
 -**jíbu** *v* answer somebody
 -**jisha** *v* do, e.g. -**jisha**
 moremo
jóva 14 sun, light
júri *ques* how?; also **jári**
 -**ká aj** female; e.g. **monto**
 moká 'female person',
 ng'ombe nka 'female cow'
kaáná 13/2 infant; PL: **vaáná**
kachéche 13/19 rat sp.
kachúrió 13/19 chick
kadamá 13 calf
kaka 1a elder brother, sir!
kála 5/6 charcoal; SG rare, PL
 usual
kalanga 10 gound nut
 -**kálánga** *v* fry
kaléi past
kalusuku 13 small animal sp.
- káma** *v* milk
 -**kámátía** *v* chase away
kámba 9/10 pig, wild hog;
 also **nkámba**
 -**kánwa** *v* warn
káreri 5/6 buttocks, gall
 bladder?
kasépé 13 metal bracelet
 -**kasirika** *v* angry cf.
 -**véna**
kata 5/6 carrier
 -**kata** *v* tired, fatigue
 nkatáye I am tired
 -**kátála** *v* tired
katambo 13 bush; also
 katombo
kayay barren (animal)
káye *adv* again
kedédu 7/8 chin
keé *ques* which one?
kejéfa 7/8 sugar-cane
kekókóla 7/8 elbow
kenda 9 nine
 -**kerá** *v* cut, slaughter
keremera pleiades
kererí 7/8 feather
keréro 7 side-dish
keretímo 7/8 bat
keséngo 7/8 syphilis
kesongi 7/8 spur of cock
kéta *v* do
ketóri 7/8 mortar
kevéro 7/8 upper leg
kewéle 7/8 udder
kewéte 1a/2 lame
kiangázi 7/8 dry season
kibofu 7/8 bladder
kidéru 7/8 kid of goat or
 sheep
kihóri 7/8 trough
kipimo 7/8 measure
kirennya *v* be quiet
kiziwi 1/2 deaf
kibango 7/8 leprosy
kibúku 7/8 hippopotamus;
 cf. **mwina**

- kibúndu** 7/8 dish of bananas
kibwá 7/8 fetlock
kifungulu 7/8 calabash of
 medicine man
kifúta 7/8 bracelet of leather
kigánja 7/8 palm (of hand)
kijánga 7/8 ankle
kijiko 7/8 little spoon
kikapu 7/8 basket
kikúva 7/8 chest; **kikúva**
osóngo tuberculosis
kikwáterio 7/8 tongues,
 tweezer
kilungulungu 7 maize; also
mulungulungu
kilwáye 7/8 wound
kimaka 7/8 thing
kinto *ques* when?
kinyaló 7/8 bracelet
kinyamborí 7/8 monitor liz-
 ard
kirási 7/8 potatoe; plural
 more common; cf. **virási**
kirátu 7/8 shoe
kiring'ányi 7/8 gazelle sp.
kiriséense 7/8 lizard
kirú 7/8 knee
kirimé 7/8 voice, thunder
kisámpú 7/8 cassava leaves
kítándá 7/8 bed
kítanga 7/8 piece of meat
kíturu 7/8 arrow head
kocheyé *adv* morning cf. **na**
motondo
-kola *v* call
kole far
kolekole separate
-kolofala *v* get old
-kólóla 5/6 cough
koloma 5/6 buffalo
kómbá interj of suprise
-kona *v* sweep cowshit
konde 5/6 cob (of maize)
korényina *la* somebody
 else's mother; cf. **ukwányu**
-kóróma *v* snore
koromero 5/6 throat
kóvó lightning
kúfa 5/6 bone
-kufe *aj* short
kuku 9/10 hump
kundi 5/6 herd
-kundira *v* meet; also
-kundia
kundo 5/6 tobacco balls
-kunekera *v* close
kúníkéra *v* cover (a pot)
kúnola *v* uncover
kusara 15 bone (rump-
 bone)
kúti 5/6 dry leaf
-kula *v* grow
-kula muri *v* up-root tuber
kulo 15/6 foot; PL: **mulo**
kulome 15 right-hand;
mukónó wá kulóme
 'right hand'
kúlu 5/6 scar
-kúmbúka *v* remember
kumóso 15 left hand; also
kumonso; **mukónó wá**
kumóso 'left hand'
kúngú 9 wind; also
nkúngú
kuto 5/6 fence; also **ikuto**
kutú 15/6 ear
kwári jaw
-kwáta *v* seize; APPL:
kwátéra
-kwátána *v* shake milk
kwáto hoof
kwáwa 9/6 armpit
kwéndé *adv* still
-kwéria *v* be able, can
kwiya 9 death
-kwiya *v* die
-laani *v* curse
lako 9/10 desire
-lála *v* hurt, have pain;
 APPL: **-láría** 'to wound'
-lála *v* sleep
-lánga *v* look at; **-lánga**

- mbare** divine
langalanga 9 white sorghum
-láola *v* divine
lava 9/10 lake; **lava yá Bu-runge**
-lenga *v* aim; **-lenga na meyé** 'aim by arrow'
-lí *aj* long
lodí 11/10 rope; PL: **ndí**
lofémbé 11/10 horn; PL: **mpémbé**; cf. **lufamba**
lofére 11/10 biceps ring
lofóo 11/10 biceps ring made of ivory (elephant, rhino)
lofóso 11 firestick
loje 11 river
lokó 11/10 firewood PL: **nkó**
lokoko 11 slope
lokómbe 11/10 back of house
-lóla *v* marry
-lóma *v* bite
-lómbe *v* ask for
-lomba *v* hunt
lome 11 dew
-lóme *aj* male, man; **monto molóme** 'male person'
lóngó 11 lie
loréme 11/10 tongue; PL: **ndéme**
-lósa *v* say
-lóséka *v* speak, chat
loshó 11/10 knife; PL: **mpyó**
loshoró 11 banana dish
losí 10 beans; loan from Iraqw
losómbo 11 horn
-lótéra *v* dream
-lova *v* bewitch
luga 9/10 language; cf. **ndoseka**
-luta *v* pull
-lúva *v* cook
lobálu 11/10 rib; PL: **mbálu**
lofanofa 11 horn for sucking blood
lojálá 11/10 fingernail; PL: **njálá**
-luka *v* pass, vomit; CAUS: **-lucha**
lokoku 11/10 valley PL: **nkoku**
lokúndu 11 beer container
lungongo 11 calabash plant
lungu 11 winnowing tray
lungulungu maize grain
lunyinyi 11/10 pumpkin, relish cf. **nyinyi**
luriyo 11 peas
lová 11 cattle kraal, fence
loví 11 tomorrow
lovi 11 quarrel, war
lowi skull?
lufamba 11 horn; cf. **lofémbé**
-lwala *v* fall ill
lwendo 11 walk, movement; der. from **-enda**
maáje 6 water
mabása 6 twins
mabólwe 6 facial tatoo of diagonal line under the eyes with highest points near the nose
madinda 6 clouds
maffa 6 cooking stones; SG: **ffa**
maísóri 6 tears (lit. in the eyes)
majámbi 6 mats
maka 9/10 animal
makála 6 charcoal; SG: **kála** 5
makuta 6 oil, ghee
mala 6 intestine
maláya 6 banana type
malíndi 6 banana type
malóséko 6 conversation; der. from **-lóséka**
mamay 1a grandfather (and great-grandfather etc), maternal uncle;

- loan from Iraqw
mamba 9/10 crocodile
manguré 6 beer of sorghum;
 loan from Datooga (possibly through Iraqw)
mánya *v* know
manyúngu 6 drizzling
-máréra *v* finish (intr)
masénya 6 gap of teeth removed
masíi 6 milk
masóla 6 dish of maize and beans
masosó 6 milk (fresh)
masúmáa 6 urine; der. from -súmáa 'urinate'
matá 6 saliva
matamwa 6 curds
matarúma 6 facial tattoo; cf. **mabolwe**, **nsare**.
matembére 6 leaves of sweet potatoes
matóndó 6 forest
maumivu 6 pain (of body)
maveré 6 eleusine
mawé 1a mother; **mawé modídí** 'maternal aunt, wife of paternal aunt'
mawi 6 edible calabashes
mbalási 10 red beans
mbare wá nsei 3 diaphragm
mbé bad, dirty
mbeka 9/10 funeral
mberá 9/10 grave
mbere 9 front
mbere 9 hide; cf. **mberú**
mberú 9/4 skin, skin as cloth; PL: **mimberú**
mbése *aj.9* unripe
mbévá 9/10 rat
mbeú 9/10 seed
mbíjao 9/10 dance (k.o.)
mbiró 9 heat
mbó 9/10 mosquito
mbowí 9/10 partridge
mbuga 9 savanna
mbúla 9/10 rain, rainy season
mbúlo 10 beard
mbúo 9/10 tale, riddle, opening/inviting formula for riddle
mbúu 9/10 chameleon
mbulu T? 9/10 large lizard sp.
mburi 9/10 goat
mbwalá 9/10 duiker, gazelle; **mbwalá yá iválale** gazelle sp.
mchére 3 rice (uncooked)
mé and
mekéko 4 roof (flat)
-mera *v* swallow
merí 6 fold for cattle
meriwaó 4 tree sp. (for firewood)
mikútu 4 rust
miongá 4 tree sp. (for firewood)
míre 9/10 bird
mizizi 4 husks
mirongo 4 tens; **mirongo omó** 'one hundred'
moó 3/4 heart; PL: **mió**
-mo *quant* one
mochicha 3 spinach
modíma 1/2 fool
moféa 1/2 young unmarried woman
moféfo 3 shade
moféto 3/4 trap; also **moféta**
mofí *ques* where?
mofómbúmo 3 heat, sharpness
mofoniko 3/4 lid
mofulo 3/4 river; cf. **loje**, **sólá**
mogunga chúma 3/4 tree sp. (for firewood)
moká 1/2 wife
moké 1/2 grandmother;

- moké kóló** 'great grand mother'
mokébe 3/4 container
mokéka 3/4 mat
mokéra 3/4 tail
mokéva 1/2 pauper
mokóló 1/2 father, husband, ancestor, old person
mokongo 3/4 stalk, banana bunch
mokonkojo 3/4 walking stick
mokóno 3/4 arm
mokóva 3/4 belt
mokoyé 1/2 dead person
moláyo 3/4 lightning, electricity; cf. **nkova**
molomba 1/2 hunter; der. from **-lomba**
molomo 3/4 lip
molombo 9/10 calabash for milk
mómo 9 dried dung
mongamele 3/4 tree sp. (for firewood)
mongo 3/4 back (of body); PL: **miongo**
monse 3/4 pestle; PL: **mionse**
monsé 3/4 afternoon
monsé katí 3/4 daytime
monto 1/2 person; formula of announcing oneself at door: **ni vantú?** 'Are there people'
montomoká 1/2 woman; lit. 'female person'
monyóku 3/4 navel
moóki 3/4 smoke
moótó 3/4 fire; PL: **miótó**
mopáka 3/4 boundary
moré 1/2 rich person
moremi 1/2 cultivator
moremo 3/4 work
morengo 3/4 door
morengwí 3/4 door post; cf. **morengo**
morére 3 sweet, joy
- moréri** 1/2 patron; der. from **-rera**
morésa 3/4 stick; **morésa wá símbéra** 'digging stick'
morí 3/4 root, rope
morigo 3/4 load, bundle (grass), luggage;
morigo wá nkú 'bundle of firewood'
morímu 1/2 ancestral spirit. ogre, ghost, avoidance
morírímu 3/4 shadow; cf. **morímu**
moromé 3/4 rumble;
moromé wá nková 'thunder (of lightning)'
mosanga 3/4 sand
mosávé 1/2 sorcerer, witch
mosombwa 1/2 slave
mosorí 3/4 sauce
mosowa 3/4 termite
motábaya 3/4 calabash stopper
motari 1/2 fool
motavano 1/2 boy, young man
moté 3/4 tree
motéo 3/4 trap; **motéwi simbo** 'lion trap'; cf. **mofeto**
motífálú 1/2 blind
motiko 3/4 spoon, peddle
motúmwa 1/2 slave; cf. **mosombwa**
motosíno 3/4 tree sp.
movére 3/4 body
movímba 3/4 corpse; der. from **-vímba** swell
moyé 3/4 arrow
mpaka *prep* until; loan from Swahili; cf. **mpaka**
mpalála male

- mpeá** *aj.9* new
mpéfo 9 cold
mpémbé 10 horn; SG: **lofé-mbé** 11
mpende 9/10 period of time
mpia 10 ten rupia, money; e.g. **mpia inyanye** 'eighty rupia'
mpítí 9/10 hyena
mpóla 9/10 nose
mpongó 9/10 word, news
mpóti 9/10 louse (of body)
mpulúri 9/10 flute made of a reed
mpunga 10 rice (seed)
mríla 10 rains; ~ **ja mbére** 'early rains'; ~ **ja mwísho** 'late rains'; ~ **mdídí** 'gentle rain'; ~ **mnéne** 'heavy rain'
mteré 3 type of edible leaves
mtóri 9/10 banana dish
mufoló wá maji 3/4 water ditch
munjó 9/10 jackal
-múta *v* hit; PAS **-mutwe**; **muta miáo** 'sneeze'
mubúru 3 water; cf. **maaje**
mufíni 3/4 handle
mufunkáte 3 seven
mugómba 3/4 banana tree
muhógo 3/4 cassava; PL: 'pieces of cassava'
mujohóro 3/4 tree sp.
mukúfa 3/4 pincers, tongs
mulánda 1/2 hyena; cf. **mpiti**
mulóme 1/2 husband
mulungulungu 3 maize; also **kilungulungu**
munga 3/4 tree sp.
muringa T? 3/4 bee hive
mürungu 3/4 hollow piece of wood used as drum or as quiver
müriri 3/4 bed
musámpa 3/4 ewe
musénsé 3/4 hen
muté 3/4 land; cf. **se**
mutóndo 3 morning; often **na mutóndo**; cf. **ko-cheyé**
mutúmi 1/2 tailor, weaver; der. from **-túma**
mutwé 3/4 head
-mwa *v* tear
mwaívi 1/2 thief; der. from **-íva** 'to steal'
mwaka 3/4 year
mwana 1/2 child; PL: **vaáná**
mwanga 1/2 doctor, medicine man; PL: **vaanga**; **mwanga wá mbúla** 'rain maker'
mwari 3/4 blood
mwáto 3 gap of lower incisor teeth taken out
mwaulá 3/4 necklace
mwáwanyu 1 our mother
mwáwiye 3/4 baobab
mweéri 3/4 moon, west
mwejokolo 1/2 grandchild
mwembé 3/4 mountain; PL: **miembé**
mwénda 3/4 cloth, (bed) sheet; cf. **mberu**, **ngo**
mwendíye 1/2 circumcision candidate; der. from **-wenda**
mwenyi 1/2 guest; PL: **veenyi**
mweté 3/4 medicine; PL: **meté**
mwíná 9/10 hippopotamus
mwíndé 3/4 ebony tree
mwiro 3/4 taboo
mwíwa 3/4 thorn; PL: **mi-íwa**
mwómbi 1/2 potter; der. from **-omba**
mwirétu 1/2 young girl;

PL: **vairétu**

na ijó yesterday; also **néejo**
na iyóló 5/6 evening; cf. **yolo**
'sky'

naka and

-nana *aj* eight

nányu *ques* who?

nda 9/10 abdomen, stomach,
pregnancy; **nda osóngo**
'stomach illness'

ndáko 9/10 donkey; **ndakó**
ya isaké 'zebra'

ndamá 9/10 calf; cf. **kadamá**

ndaó 9 grass sp.

ndí 9/10 trap (k.o.)

ndísha 9/10 grazing ground

ndísi 9/10 banana; ~ **gérusu**

'bananas for beer'; ~ **jire-**

morére 'sweet bananas';

banana sp.: ~ **mbóo**, ~

ng'ombe, **mkono wa té-**
mbo

ndító *aj.9* heavy; cf. **-rító**

ndoa 9/10 marriage

ndoano 9/10 fishhook

ndóda 9/10 goat (young, fe-
male)

ndoséka 9/10 language; cf.
luga

ndótó 9/10 dream; cf. **-lótéra**

ndúnde 9/10 cloud; also

madúnde 6

nduné 9/10 den

ndír *aj.9* long; cf. **-lí**

ndúú 9/10 clan

neé *pro* I, me

néejo yesterday (contains prep
na)

nejóore today (contains prep
na); cf. **énsíku**

-neka *v* hurt

nekéja *interj* OK

neki *ques* what?, where?,
when?; also **néeke**

néna *ques* who?

nendera wait!; imperative of

-rendera

-néne *aj* fat, big

ngalawa 9/10 canoe

-ng'ára *v* shine

ngaré *adv* well, goodness

ng'ároroda 9/10 python

ngía 9/10 house fly

-ngí *quan* different

ngo 9/10 clothing

ng'ombe 9/10 cow, cattle

ngovi 9/10 cloth to carry
child

ngúgu 9 grass sp.

ngulata 9/10 goat (male)

ngulu 10 force

ngiri 9/10 warthog

nina 1a mother; cf. **mawé**

ninga 9/10 drum, dance;

names of dances: **soró**,

mpatá, **hiyári**, **mbíjao**

njaikó 9/10 bull

njala 9/10 hunger

njana 9/10 birth

njegére 9/10 green beans

njera 9/10 path, road

njére 10 hair

njeú 9/10 wildebeest

njoka 9/10 snake; species:

~ **kepíri**, ~ **nsongó**, ~

ere kwanyí, ~ **kobóko**,

~ **ng'ároróda**, ~ **songo**,

~ **swíra**, ~ **ya miéga**

njów 9/10 elephant

njowe *ques* where?

njúke 9/10 honey bee

njúta 9/10 star

nkámango 9/10 round
stone

nkámba 9/10 pig, wild
hog; also **kámba**

nkanda 9/10 wall

nkánga 9/10 guinea fowl

nkasá 9/10 mouth

nkókó 9/10 chicken

nkolo 9/10 soul

nkondí 9/10 hartebeest

nkósankósa 9/10 kidney
nkúlu 9/10 tortoise
nkunde 10 red beans
nkúndo 9/10 knot
nkúya 9/10 death; der. from
 -kwiya
nkúngú 9/10 wind; also
 kúngú
-nne *aj* four
no 5/6 finger; PL: **mano**
nong'o *adv* well, then, thus
norio whetstone
nsáre 9/10 facial tattoo of two
 small vertical lines under
 each eye
nsé 9/10 land; also **sé**
nshíngwe 9/10 neck; also
 shíngwe
nsímbá 9/10 lion; also **símbá**
nsiyé 9/10 fish; also **siyé**; cf.
 Iraqw **siyó**
nsólá 9/10 well, river; also
 sólá
nsólo 9/10 point, tip
nsóvé 9/10 leopard; cf.
 mosóvé
nsúku 9/10 ring (bracelet)
 just under the knee
ntálángi 9/10 strip of sugar
 cane
ntómbere 9/10 vervet mon-
 key; also **tómbere**
ntóya 9/10 giraffe; also **tóya**
núngu 9/10 ostrich
-nya *v* drink
nyama 9/10 flesh, meat
nyámba 9/10 male animal;
 also **jámba**
nyanyá 9/10 soldier ant
nyásinde 9 grass sp.
nyáw 9/10 cat; **nyáw ya**
 isaké 'wild cat, genet'
nyéé *pro* you (plural)
nyenye *adv* well
-nyenyushi *v* roast
nyéréra *v* have diarrhoea

nyingé *aj.10* many
nyinyi 9 relish
nyondo 9/10 hammer
nyota 9/10 thirst
nyuma back, behind
nyumbá 9/10 house
nyungú 9/10 beer con-
 tainer, pot
nungú 9/10 porcupine
notíku 9/10 night; also **na**
 utíku
-ócha *v* take; **-ócha maáje**
 v carry water
-ofa T? *v* be afraid; CAUS:
 ofya
-ofála *v* winnow
ofémba 14 sorghum sp.
-ólo *v* be cheap
-óma *v* dry
-óma *v* throw
-ómba *v* mould
-ónyéshe *v* show
-óna *v* see; CAUS: **-ónéshe**
 'show'
-ónse *quan* all
-orékérya *v* ask (question)
páfu 5/6 lungs
pamba 9 cotton
-pámba *v* decorate
-pampa *v* be clever
panga 5/6 matchet
pára a lot
péndo 1a neighbour
péra 9/10 rhinoceros
péri 16 forest
-peta *v* barren
-pima *v* measure
-pinda *v* bend; cf.
 -únánya
pó *ideo* full
-pumua *v* breathe; cf.
 -fwerera
-pweng'a *v* run
-pyá *v* thresh, pound grain
-rá *v* eat
-rára *v* want

- refa** *v* pay
-réka *v* leave; APPL: **-rékéra**
rekandaremo 5/6 fallow
-rekerá *v* leave
-rema *v* cultivate; APPL:
-remera 'weed'
-rendera *v* wait
-rénga *quan* how many?
-réra *v* look after a child
-rera *v* cry
-rérya *v* lift; cf. **-inola**
-resa *v* shoot; **-resa na meyé**
 'shoot arrow'
-réta *v* bring
-réva *v* get drunk
-ri *quan* many
-ria *v* sprout
riíkó 5/6 fireplace; PL: **maíkó**
riína 5/6 name; PL: **maína**
riísó 5/6 eye; PL: **maísó**
rika 5/6 age-set
riko 5/6 kitchen
riko 5/6 spoon
-rímya *v* extinguish
-ringa káa *v* go round
rino 5/6 mushroom; PL: **ma-
 rino**
-rísha ng'ombe *v* herd
-ríto *aj* heavy; class 9/10:
ndító
rongó white clay; cf. **nko-
 ndose** 'red clay'. The right
 half of the body of circum-
 cision candidates is covered
 with white clay, the left half
 with red clay.
-róre *quan* which?
roró *adv* well
ru T? north
rúmo level
rusu 5 beer
-saidia *v* help
sá'iji *adv* now
-sáka *v* like
-sakera *v* search (for game)
sákó 10 dung
-sála *v* split (firewood),
 incise
sálo 9 soil; ~**njiru** 'black
 soil'; ~**njómo** 'red soil'
sama branch
samádi cattle dung fertil-
 izer
-sámba *v* swim
sambe 5/6 leaf, grass ~ **ra**
mugómba 'banana leaf';
 ~**la kúnde** 'kunde leaf'.
 Grass sp.: ~ **remíwa**, ~
rería, ~ **ulinywa**
mbogo, ~ **ra rijévu**, ~
masambé á minyára, ~
á ndanyara
-sanja *v* mix
-sáno *aj* five
-sanyasanya *v* add
sáré 9/10 half of a calabash
sé 1a father; also **isé**
sé 9/10 land; also **nsé**
-sécha *v* sift grain by shak-
 ing
-séhéka *v* absent, miss
-seka *v* laugh
-sengera *v* collect
sengí 5/6 gourd, milking
 jug, churn
senkó 9/10 neck ring
sénsí down; from **sé**
-séra *v* taste (food); PAS:
-sérwa
seré 5/6 iron hoe; also **is-
 eré**
serera 5/6 sickness
-séséré *aj* narrow, thin
seséu 9/10 cock
-séwa *v* forget; cf. **-éva**
-shangaa *v* astonished
shangázi 1a paternal aunt;
 loan from Swahili
shára *v* sweep
shéro 5/6 broom; der.
 from **-shéra**
shíngo 9/10 neck; also

- nshingwe**
shó 10 unfermented sorghum drink
-shota *v* win; PAS: **-shotwa**
-sia *v* grind (grain)
síbika small cap for women
-sikera *v* listen
siku 9/10 day (of 24 hours)
-síma *v* take out
símbá 9/10 lion; also **nsímbá**
-símba *v* dig (hole)
símbó 5/6 hole; der. from **símba**; **masímbó á mpóla** 6 nostrils (lit. holes of nose)
símpá 5/6 smell
-singa *v* touch
-singisa *v* shiver
-singisia *v* shake (tr)
singisio 9/10 sieve
-sira *v* end, finish
siri 9/10 debt
siribi 9/10 water-pot
síta *v* refuse; cf. Iraqw **sii'**
siyé 9/10 fish; also **nsiyé**; cf. Iraqw **siyó**
siye *pro* we, us
só 1a your father; cf. **se**
soa 9 grass sp.
soko 9/10 market
sólá 9/10 well, river; also **nsólá**
soló praise for hero, ceremony of emergence of initiation
-solola *v* leak
sololó 9/10 pot for urinating at night; der. from **-solola**
-sóma *v* read
-someria *v* take out
sóngwé 9/10 boil
soni 9/10 shame
-sónja *v* skin
-sova *v* miss
-sufa *v* swell
-suka masii *v* churn
sukúma 9 south
-súkúma *v* push
-súma *v* come from
-súmáa *v* urinate
-súndíkíra *v* push, accompany guest when leaving
-sunjisha *v* pull
-sunsha *v* move
-súnya *v* subtract
súngu bitter, sour
-tá *v* sell
táá 9/6 lamp
-táfa maáje *v* draw water
-tákúna *v* chew
tala 5/6 platform
-taloka *v* return, leave
tambo 9/10 cucumber
-támbocha *v* transport
-támúbuka *v* jump
-tantátu *aj* six; cf. **sita**
-tása *v* plaster a house
-tátu *aj* three
-táyra *v* throw
-téa *v* trap; **-tea nsíye** 'fish' (lit. to trap fish)
-téka *v* lift
téma 5/6 liver
-téma *v* cut firewood
-ténga *v* invite; also **-téngéa**
-ténya *v* tell, answer
-téra *v* hear
-téréka *v* cook; **-téréka irusu** 'brew'
-tété kebúri *v* proud
tetere 10 edible calabash seed
tíí *ideo* ideophone for blue like the sky
timbó 9/10 filter for beer
timpa 9 flu
tímu 5/6 spear; also **itímu**
tína 5/6 stem; also **itína**
tina njere *v* plait
tindi 9/10 trunk of tree

- tingoka** *v* walk
tingola *v* open
tisho 9/10 pot (k.o.)
-toa *v* get
tofi 5/6 mud, clay
-tokera *v* insult
toko *interj* no
tolo 9/10 sleep
-tomama *v* work
tómbéré 9/10 vervet monkey;
 also **ntómbéré**
tombo 5/6 breast(s)
-tombola *v* get up
tondo 5/6 grove; ~ **ra**
mígómba ‘banana grove’
-tongera *v* start; also
-tongería
-tónja *v* kindle (fire)
-tónja *v* pierce, spear; PAS:
-tonjiwa
tónyo 10 salt; cf. **chúmbi**
toómá 5/6 cheek
tóya 9/10 giraffe; also **ntóya**
tubati 9 tobacco
-tubuja *v* bathe
tukula 9/10 wild dog
-túla *v* beat, hit, smash; **túla**
makófi ‘slap’
-túlatúla *v* mould
tulo T? 9/10 club, stick
-túma *v* sew, plait
-túmba *v* follow
túmbé 5/6 chair
tumbe 5/6 dust
tunda 5/6 fruit
-túnga *v* bind
túri 5/6 peg
tutúnyá 9/10 heel
túvaya 19 wooden container,
 plate for hyena’s food
túve 9/10 baboon
-túvu *aj* blunt
-twá *v* pound
-twála *v* send
-tyá *v* harvest, pick; ~
matunda ‘gather fruits’
- túma** *v* send
-túnga (nyumba) *v* put-
 ting grass on the roof
-tuva *v* rain
ua 5/6 flower; PL: **maua**;
 ~ **ra mugómba** ‘banana
 flower’
ukwányu 1a somebody
 else’s mother
-úna *v* break (tr)
-únánya *v* bend; der. from
-úna
-únda *v* stink, rotten
uwási 14 Iraqw area,
 Mbulu
uzúni 14 sorrow
ubwábwa 14 soft rice
 pudding
udú 14 red sorghum
-úla *v* buy
-úla *v* kill
unga 14 flour; ~ **wa**
kwárúza ‘coarse flour’
ushú 11/10 face; PL: **shu**
utá 14/10 bow; PL: **nta**
utíku 14 night; also **itíku**
 9
vaá *pro* they, them
-vála *v* begin
-vala *v* count; cf. Iraqw
faar, Pare **fara**
-vánika *v* hang up
-vanka kati *v* ferment
váno 5/6 arrow shaft
-vanya *v* divide
varímu 2 ancestral spirit;
 SG: **morímu** 1
vashoá 2 Sandawe
ve 5/6 shoulder; PL: **mave**
-veja *v* look
-véka *v* lay down, put,
 bury; cf. **-fokera**
-vékera *v* put into, dress
 (tr); der. from **-véka**
-vélúla *v* ruminant, belch
-véna *v* angry, sad

-vera *v* boil (intr)
 -vere *quan* two
 -vérya *v* ripen (intr)
 vidyé 8 tassel
 -vija *v* play
 -vína níngá *v* dance
 virási 8 potatoes; ~ uláyá;
 ~vyo mviríngó 'Irish potatoes'; ~ viómíríwe 'dried sweet potatoes'; ~ viterékiwe 'cooked sweet potatoes'
 virío 8 ankle bells
 viriyó 8 millet, sorghum
 -vísa *v* hide (something)
 viséne 8 necklace of leather
 visínga 8 beads
 visugério 8 bellows
 -vúma *v* blow (wind)
 -wa *v* fall; APPL: -wira
 wáli 9 rice (cooked)
 walwé 1a sibling
 -wanga *v* divine
 waré 14 porridge
 wásiwási 14 fear
 waya 14 spoor
 wé 5/6 stone
 weé *pro* s/he, him, her
 wee *pro* you
 wémbo 14/4 song; PL: mié-

mbo; der. from -émba
 weéro 14 light
 -wénda *v* circumcise
 -wera *v* tell; APPL:
 -werera, PAS: -werwa
 wíki 9/10 week; loan from Swahili
 -wína *v* undress
 wóke 14 honey
 wongó 11 brain
 -wóya *v* bathe; -wóya míkóno 'wash hands'
 -yála *v* give birth; PAS:
 -yálwa be born
 yáno 9/10 story, tale; also cháno
 yáo 5/6 tooth; PL: máo
 yayé 5/6 egg; PL: mayé
 yengé other [root form]
 yoló 9 sky, roof; yoloy 'up'
 yolú 10 sticks, bar (iron)
 yonda 5/6 field, cultivated field; PL: monda
 yóri 9/10 pumpkin plant
 yorí 9 price
 yuu 5/6 ashes; PL: mayuu

8.2 English - Mbugwe Index

In this English index to the Mbugwe wordlist tone is indicated by the tone pattern after the Mbugwe equivalent: h = high, l = low tone; the tone for each vowel of the stem is given; prefixes of nouns are low by default, as is the final *a* of verbs.

abdomen, stomach, pregnancy
 nda l 9/10
 able, can -kweria hl *v*
 absent, miss -seheka hhl *v*
 accompany guest when leaving,
 push -sindikira hhlh *v*
 add -sanyasanya llll *v*

admit, agree -anja hl *v*
 afraid -ofa *v*
 again kaye hl adv
 age-set rika l 5/6
 agree, admit -anja hl *v*
 aim -lenga ll *v*
 all -onse hl aj

although **bafa** lh adv
 ancestor, father, husband
 mokolo hh 1/2
 and **me** h conj
 anger **asira** lhl 9/10
 angry **-kasirika** llll v
 angry, sad **-vena** hl v
 animal **maka** ll 9/10
 ankle **kejanga** hl 7/8
 answer somebody **-jibu** hl v
 answer, tell **-tenya** hl v
 ant, soldier ant **nyanya** lh 9/10
 arm **mokono** hl 3/4
 armpit **kwawa** hl 9/6
 arrive **-fika** ll v
 arrow head **keturu** ll 7
 arrow **moye** h 3/4
 arrow shaft **vano** hl 5/6
 ashes **yu** ll 5/6
 ask (question) **-orekerya** lhhl v
 ask for **-lomba** hl
 astonished **-shangaa** hll v
 aunt (maternal), wife of paternal
 aunt **mawé modidí**
 aunt (paternal) **shangazi** lhl 1a
 axe **chooma** lhl 7/8
 baboon **tuve** hl 9/10
 back (of body) **mongo** ll 3/4
 back **nyuma** ll
 back of house **lokombe** hl 11/10
 bad, dirty **mbe** h
 bait **chambo** ll 7
 baldness **ifanda** ~ **fanda** hl 5/6
 banana bunch, stalk **mokongo** ll
 3
 banana dish **loshoro** lh 11
 banana dish **mtori** hl 9
 banana **ndisi** hl 9
 Banana sp.: **malaya** hl 6 **ma-**
 lindi hl 6, **mkono wa témbo,**
 ndisi gérusu bananas for beer
 ~ **jiremorére** sweet bananas ~

mbóo, ~ **ng'ombe**
 banana tree **mugomba** lhl 3
 baobab **mwawiye** hll 3
 bar (iron), sticks **yolu** lh
 bark **ganda** ll 5
 barren (animate) **kayay** lh
 barren **peta** l v
 basket **kikapu** hl 7/8
 bat **keretimo** lhl 7/8
 bathe **-wova** hl v
 bathe **-tubuja** lll v
 beads **visinga** hl
 beans (red) **nkunde** ll 10
 beans **losi** lh 10
 beard **mbulo** hl 10
 beat, hit, smash **-tula** hl v
 bed **ketanda** hh 7/8
 bed **murriri** ll 3/4
 bee hive **muringa** 3/4
 bee, honey bee **njuke** hl 9/10
 beer container **lokundu** hl 11
 beer container, pot **nyungu** lh
 9/10
 beer of maize **busa** ll
 beer of sorghum **mangure** llh 6
 beer **rusu** ll 5
 begin **-vala** hl v
 belch **-cheuwa** hhl v
 belch, ruminant **-velula** h v
 bellows **visugerio** lhll 8
 bells (ankle) **virio** hl 8
 belt **mokova** hl
 bend **-pinda** hl v
 bend **-unanya** lhhl v
 bewitch **-lova** ll v
 bind **-tunga** hl v
 bird **mire** hl 9/10
 birth **njana** ll
 bite **-loma** hl v
 bitter **sungu** ll
 black **njiru** hl
 bladder **kibofu** ll 7

- blind **motifalu** hhh 1/2
 blood **mwari** lh 3/4
 blow (wind) **-vuma** hl v
 blue like the sky **tiii** h ideo.
 blunt **-tuvu** hl aj
 body **movere** hl 3/4
 boil (intr) **-vera** ll v
 boil **songwe** hh
 bone (rumpbone) **kusara** ll 15
 bone **kufa** hl 5/6
 born **-yalwa**
 boundary **mopaka** hl 3/4
 bow **uta** h 14/10 PL: **nta**
 boy, young man **motavano** lll
 1/2
 bracelet **kinyalo** lh 7/8
 bracelet of leather **kifuta** hl 7
 bracelet of metal **kasepe** hh 13
 brain **wongo** lh 11
 branch **sama** ll
 break (tr) **-una** hl v
 breast(s) **tombo** ll 5/6
 breathe **-pumua** lll v
 breeding (bull) **ala** hl 9
 brew **-tereka irusu** h v
 bring **-reta** hl v
 broom **shero** hl 5/6
 buffalo **koloma** lll 5/6
 build **-jenga** ll v
 bull **njaiko** llh 9/10
 bundle (grass, firewood), load,
 luggage **morigo** ll 3/4
 burn up **-fifia** hhl v
 burn **-fisha** ll v
 bury **-fokera** lll v
 bury, lay down, put **-veka** hl v
 bush **katombo** ~ **katambo** lll 13
 bushbuck **bubuti** lhl
 buttocks, gall bladder ? **kareri**
 lll ~ hll 5/6
 buy **-ula** hl v
 calabash **bayi** lh 5/6
 calabash for milk **mombo** ll
 calabash half **sare** hh 9
 calabash of medicine man **ke-**
fungulu lll 7/8
 calabash plant **longungo** ll 11
 calabash seed (edible) **tetere** lll
 10
 calabash stopper **motabaya** hll 3
 calf **ndama** lh 9/10 **kadama** lh
 13
 call **-kola** ll v
 can, be able **-kweria** hl v
 canoe **ngalawa** lll 9/10
 cap for women **sibika** hll
 carrier **kata** l 5/6
 carry water **-ócha maáje** v
 cassava leaves **kesampu** lhh 7
 cassava **muhogo** lhl 3/4
 cat **nyaw** h 9/10
 genet, wild cat **nyáw ya isaké**
 cattle kraal, fence **luva** h 11
 cattle, cow **ng'ombe** ll 9/10
 ceremony of emergence of
 initiation, praise for hero **solo** lh
 chair **tumbe** hh 5/6
 chameleon **mbuu** hl 9/10
 charcoal **makala** hl 6
 chase away **-fukuza** lll v
 chase away **-kamatia** hhlh v
 chat, speak **-loseka** hhl v
 cheap **-olo** hl v
 cheek **tooma** lhh 5/6
 chew **-takuna** hhl v
 chick **kachurio** hhh 13/19
 chicken (female) **musense** ll 3/4
 chicken **nkoko** hh 9/10
 child **mwana** hh 1/2
 chin **kededu** hl 7/8
 churn **-suka masii** ll lhl v
 churn, milking jug, gourd **sengi**
 lh 5/6
 circumcise **-wenda** hl v

mwendiye lhl 1/2 circumci-
 sion candidate
 clan **nduu** lh 9/10
 clay (red) **nkondose** lll clay
 (white), **rongo** lh The right
 half of the body of circumci-
 sion candidates is covered
 with white clay, the left half
 with red clay.
 clay, mud **tofi** ll 5/6
 clear a field **-fyeka konde** v
 clever **-pampa** ll v
 close **-kunekera** lll v
 cloth to carry child **ngovi** ll 9/10
 cloth **mwenda** hl 4
 clothing **ngo** l 9/10
 cloud **ndunde** hl 9/10 Also
madunde 6
 clouds **madinda** lll 6
 club, stick **tulo**
 cob (of maize) **konde** ll 5
 cock **seseu** lhl 9/10
 cold **mpefo** hl
 collect **-sengera** lll v
 come from **-suma** hl v
 come **-ja** l v
 container (wooden), plate for
 hyena's food **tuvaya** hl 19
 container **makebe** hl 3
 conversation **maloseko** hhl 6
 cook **-luva** hl v
 cook **-tereka** hhl 3
 cooking stones **mafia** hl 6
 cool down, cure **-folo** hl v
 corpse **movimba** hl 3/4
 cotton **pamba** ll 9
 cough **kolola** hhl 5/6
 count **-vala** ll v
 cover (a pot) **-kunikera** hhhl v
 cover the roof with grass **-tunga**
(nyumba) hl v
 cover **-ansera** hhl v

cow colours: **njirutwi** black,
eregu red, **erebwash** spock-
 led, **erosisa** colour of sorghum
 beer, **erosimba** colour of lion,
erelageen red-and-white spot-
 ted, **busi** green-white, **erek-**
wanyí yellowish, **mara** grey,
erematangá spotted
 cow, cattle **ng'ombe** ll 9/10
 crocodile **mamba** ll 9/10
 cry **-rera** ll v
 cucumber **tambo** ll 9
 cultivate **-rema** l v
 cultivator **moremi** lll 1
 curds **matamwa** ll 6
 cure **-fonya serera** hl lll v
 cure, cool down **-folo** hl v
 curse **-laani** lll v
 cut firewood **-tema** h v
 cut, slaughter **-kera** ll, hl v
 dance **-vina ninga** hl hh v
 dance, drum **ninga** hh 9/10
 Names of dances: **soró**,
mpatá, **hiyári**, **mbíjao**
 darkness **du** h
 day (of 24 hours) **siku** ll 9/10
 daytime **monse kate** h lh 3/4
 dead person **mokoye** lh 1
 deaf **kiziwi** hl 1/2
 death **nkuya** ~ **kwiya** hl 9/10
 debt **siri** ll 9/10
 deceive **-danganya** hhl v
 deceive **-femba** hl v
 decorate **-pamba** hl v
 den **ndune** lh 9
 desert land **jangwa** hl 9
 desire **lako** ll 9/10
 dew **lome** l 11
 diaphragm **mbare wá nsei**
 diarrhoea (have) **-nyerera** hhl
 die **-kwiya** hl v
 difficult, hard, expensive **-fafu**

- hl aj
 dig (hole) **-simba** hl v
 dirty, bad **mbe** h
 dish of bananas **kibundu** hl 7
 dish of maize and beans **masola**
 hl 6
 ditch for water **mufoló wá maji**
 divide **-vanya** ll v
 divine **-laola** hlh v
 divine **-wanga** ll v
 divine **-langa mbare**
 do **-jisha** ll v
 doctor, medicine man **mwanga**
 ll 1/2
 dog **diyo** hl 5/6
 donkey **ndako** hl 9/10
 door **morengo** ll 3/4
 door post **morengwi** lh 3
 down **sensi** hh
 draw water **-tafa maaje** hl lhl v
 dream **ndoto** hh 9/10
 dream **-lotera** hhl v
 dress (tr), put into **-vekera** hhl v
 drink **-nya** h v
 drizzling **manyungu** hhl 6
 drum, dance. **ninga** hh 9/10
 Names of dances: **soró,**
mpatá, hiyári, mbíjao
 drunk (get) **-reva** h v
 dry **-gomu** hl aj
 dry season **kiangazi** llhl 7
 dry **-oma** hl v
 duiker, gazelle **mbwala** lh 9/10
 dumb **bubu** hl 1a/2
 dung (dried) **momo** hl
 dung of cattle fertilizer **samadi**
 hhl
 dung **sako** hh 10
 dust **tumbe** lh 5/6
 ear **kutu** h 15/6
 early, fast **chango** hl 7
 east **isereri** hlh 5
 eat **ora** h v
 edible calabashes **mawi** l 6
 egg **yaye** lh 5/6 PL: **maye**
 eight **nana** ll aj
 elbow **kekokola** hhl 7/8
 elder brother, sir! **kaka** ll 1a
 electricity, lightning **molayo** hl
 3/4
 elephant **njow** hl 9/10
 eleusine **mavere** llh 6
 end **-sira** l v
 enter **-ingera** hhl v
 even if **ba** l adv
 evening **na iyolo** l lhh 5/6
 ewe **musampa** hl 3
 expensive, hard, difficult **-fafu**
 hl aj
 expensive **-fafa** ll v
 explain **-eneza** hhl v
 extinguish **-rimya** hl v
 eye **riiso** hh 5/6 PL: **maiso**
 face **ushu** h 11/10 PL: **shu**
 fall ill **-lwala** ll v
 fall **-wa** l v
 fallow **rekandaremo** llhl 5/6
 far **kole** ll
 fast, early **chango** hl 7 **chan-**
gochango
 fat (person) **nene** hl aj
 father (your) **so** h
 father **baba** lh 1a
 father **se ~ ise** h 1a
 father, husband, ancestor
mokolo hh 1/2
 fear **wasiwasi** hhlh
 feather **kereri** lh 7/8
 female **-ka** h aj
 fence cattle, kraal **lova** h 11
 fence **kuto, ikoto** ll 5
 ferment **-vanka kati** h v
 fetlock **kebwa** h 7
 fever **homa** hl 9

- few **-didi** hh
 field, cultivated field **yonda** ll
 5/6
 fight war **-etova lovi** lhl hl
 fight **-etula** lhl v
 fill **-ijuria** hhl v
 filter for beer **timbo** lh 9
 finger **no** l 5/6
 fingernail **lojala** hh 11/10
 finish (intr) **-marera** hhl v
 fire **mooto** hh 3/4
 fireplace **riiko** hh 5/6
 firestick **lofoso** hl 11
 firewood **loko** h 11/10
 fish **nsiye** ~ **siye** lh 9/10
 fish **-tea nsiye** hl hl v
 fishhook **ndoano** lll 9
 five **sano** hl aj
 flesh, meat **nyama** ll 9/10
 flour **unga** ll 14
 flower **ua** ll 5/6
 flu **timpa** ll 9
 flute made of a reed **mpuluri** lhl
 9/10
 flute out of horn **baranda** hll 9
 fly **-falala** hhl v
 fly, house fly **ngia** hl 9/10
 fold for cattle **meri** lh 6
 follow **-tumba** hl v
 food **chakora** hll 7/8
 fool **modima** hl 1/2
 fool **motari** ll 1/2
 foot **kulo** ll 15/6
 force **ngulu** ll 10
 forest **isake** lh 5
 forest **matondo** lhh 6
 forest **peri** hl 16
 forge **-foa vyoma** h v
 forget **-sewa** hl v PAS.
 forget **-eva** lhl v
 four **nne** l aj
 frighten **-ofya**
- frog **chora** lh 7/8
 front **mbere** ll 9
 fruit **tunda** ll 5/6
 fry **-kalanga** hhl v
 full **po** h ideo
 full **-ijola** hhl v
 funeral **mbeka** ll 9
 gap of lower incisor teeth taken
 out **mwato** hl 3
 gap of teeth removed **masenya**
 hl 6
 gazelle, duiker **mbwala** lh 9/10
 Gazelle sp.: **kering'anyi** lhl
 7/8, **mbwala ya iválale**
 genet cat, wild cat **nyáw ya**
 isaké
 get **-toa** ll v
 get up **-tombola** lll
 ghost, ogre, avoidance **morimu**
 hl 1/2
 giraffe **ntoya** ~ **toya** hl 9/10
 girl (young) **mwiretu** lhl 1/2
 give birth **-yala** hl v
 give **-fa** h v
 go, go away, pass **-feta** hl v
 goat (male) **ngulata** 9/10
 goat (young, female) **ndoda** hl
 9/10
 goat **mburi** ll 9/10
 good **-ja** lh
 goodness, well **ngare** lh adv
 ground nut **kalanga** llh 10
 gourd, milking jug, churn **sengi**
 lh 5/6
 granary **gala** hl 9
 grandchild **mwejokolo**
 grandfather (and great-
 grandfather etc), maternal un-
 cle **mamay** lh 1a
 grandmother **moke** h 1/2 **moké**
 kóló great grand mother
 grass, leaf **sambe** lh 5/6 ~ **ra**

- mugómba** banana leaf ~ **la kúnde** kunde leaf.
 Grass sp.: **nyasinde** hhl, **ndao** hl~lh 9, **ngugu** hl 9, **soa** ll 9, **sambé remiwa**, ~ **rería**, ~ **ulinywa mbogo**, ~ **ra rijévu**, **masambé á minyára**, ~ **á ndanyara**,
 grave **mbera** lh 9
 grazing ground **ndisha** hl 9
 green beans **njegere** lhl
 grind (grain) **-sia** ll v
 grove **tondo** ll 5 ~ **ra migómba** banana grove
 grow **-kola** hl v
 guest **mwenyi** ll 1/2
 guinea fowl **nkanga** hl 9/10
 hair **njere** hl 10
 hammer **nyondo** ll 9/10
 handle **mufiri** hl 3/4
 hang up **-vanika** hhl v
 hard, expensive, difficult **-fafu** hl aj
 hare **chemi** lh 7
 hartebeest **nkondi** hh 9/10
 harvest, pick **-tya** h v ~ **matunda** gather fruits
 head **mutwe** h 3/4
 hear **-teera** hhl v
 heart **mo** lh 3/4
 heat **mbiro** lh 9
 heat, sharpness **mofombumo** hhl 3
 heavy-**rito** hl, lh aj
 heel **tutunya** lhh 9/10
 help **-saidia** llll v
 hen **musense** hh 3
 her, him, s/he **wee** lh
 herd **kundi** ll 5
 herd **-risha ng'ombe** hl ll v
 hide (something) **-visa** hl v
 hide **mbera** ll 9
 high **anga** lh adv
 him, her, s/he **wee** lh
 hippopotamus **kebuku** hl 7/8
 hippopotamus **mwina** hh 9/10
 hit **-muta** l v
 hit, beat, smash **-tula** hl v
 hoe (iron) **isere** ~ **sere** llh 5
 hog (wild), pig **nkamba** ~ **kamba** ll 9/10
 hole **simbo** hh 5/6
 honey **woke** hl 14
 hoof **kwato** hl
 horn for sucking blood **lofanofa** hll 11
 horn **lofembe** hh 11/10
 horn **losombo** hl 11
 horn **lufamba** ll 11
 horn used as flute **baranda** hll 9
 house **nyumba** lh 9/10
 how many? **-renga** hl
 how? **jari** ~ **juri** hl ques
 hump **kuku** ll 9
 hunger **njala** ll 9/10
 hunt **-lomba** ll v
 hunter **molomba** ll 1/2
 hurt **-neka** ll
 hurt, have pain **-lala** hhl v
 wound tr **-laria**
 husband **mulome** hl 1/2
 husband, ancestor, father **mokolo** hh 1/2
 husks **mizizi** ll 4
 hut in the field **chuto** ll
 hyena **mpiti** hh 9/10
 hyena **molanda** hl 1/2
 I, me **nee** lh
 incise, split (firewood) **-sala** hl v
 infant **kaana** hh 13/2
 insult **-tokera** hhl v
 intestine **mala** l 6
 invite **-tenga** hl v
 Iraqw, Mbulu **uwasi** hl 14

- jackal **munjo** lh 9
 jaw **kwari** hl
 joy, sweet **morere** hl, hh, lh 3
 jump **-ferera** lll v
 jump **-tambuka** hhl v
 kid of goat **kideru** hl 9
 kidney **nkosankosa** hlhl 9/10
 kill **-ula** hl v
 kindle (fire) **-tonja** hl v
 kitchen **riko** h 5
 knee **keru** h 7/8
 knife **losho** h 11/10
 knot **nkundo** hl 9/10
 know **-manya** hl v
 lake **lava** 9/10.
 lame **kewete** hl 1a/2
 lamp **taa** hh 9/6
 land **mote** h 3/4 cf. **se**
 land **se** ~ **nse** h 9/10 **sensi** hh
 down
 language **luga** ll 9
 language **ndoseka** lhl 9.
 laugh **-seka** ll v
 lay down, put, bury **-veka** hl v
 leaf (dry) **kuti** hl 5
 leaf, grass **sambe** lh 5/6 Species:
mtere lh 3 (edible), leaves of
 sweet potatoes **matembere**
 llhl 6, **sambé ra mugómba**
 banana leaf, ~ **ra kúnde**
 kunde leaf.
 leak **-solola** lll v
 learn **-efunza** hl v
 leave **-ferenka** hhl v
 leave **-reka** hl v
 leave, return **-taloka** lll v
 left hand **kumoso** ~ **kumonso** hl
 15 **mukónó wá kúmóso**
 leg (upper) **kevero** hl 7
 lentil **dengu** ll 10
 leopard **nsove** hh 9/10
 leprosy **kebango** ll 7/8
 level **rumo** hl
 lid **mofoniko** lll 3
 lie **longo** hh 11
 lift **-rerya** hl v
 lift **-inola** hhl v
 light **fongofongo** llll
 light **weero** lhl 14
 light, sun **jova** hl 14
 lightning (n) **kova** hh 9
 lightning, electricity **molayo** hl
 3/4
 like **-saka** hl v
 lion **nsimba** ~ **simba** hh 9/10
 lip **molomo** ll 3/4
 listen **-sikera** lll v
 liver **tema** hl 5/6
 lizard **kerisense** lhl 7/8
 lizard sp. (large) **mbulu**
 load, bundle (grass), luggage
morigo ll 3/4
 long **-li** h aj
 look after a child **-rera** hl v
 look at **-langa** hl v
 look **-veja** ll v
 lot, a lot **para** hl
 louse (of body) **mpoti** hl 9/10
 luggage, load, bundle **morigo** ll
 3/4
 lungs **pafu** hl 5/6
 maize grain **lungulungu** llll 9
 maize **kelungulungu** lllll 7
 maize plant **bove** lh 6
 male animal **nyamba, jamba** hl
 9
 male **mpalala** lhl 9
 male, man **lome** hl aj
 man, male **lome** hl aj
 many **nyinge** lh
 market **soko** ll 9/10
 marriage **ndoa** ll 9
 marry **-lola** hl v
 mat **mokeka** hl 3/4

- matchete **panga** ll 5/6
 mats **majambi** hl 6
 Mbulu, Iraqw **uwasi** hl 14
 me, I **nee** lh
 measure **kipimo** ll 7
 measure **-pima** ll v
 meat (piece of) **ketanga** ll 7
 meat, flesh **nyama** ll 9/10
 medicine **dawa** hl 9/10
 medicine **mwete** lh 3/4
 medicine man, doctor **mwanga**
 ll 1/2
 meet **-kundira** ~ **-kundia** ll v
 milk (fresh) **masoso** lh 6
 milk **masii** hl 6
 milk **-kama** hl v
 milking jug, gourd, churn **sengi**
 lh 5/6
 millet, sorghum **viryo** lh 8
 miss **-sova** ll v
 miss, absent **-seheka** hhl v
 mix **-sanja** ll v
 money, ten rupia **mpia** ll 10
 monitor lizard **kenyambori** llh
 7/8
 monkey (vervet) **tombere** ~
 ntombere hhh 9/10
 moon, west **mweeri** lhl 3/4
 morning **kocheye** llh adv
 morning **na motondo** l lhl 3/4
 mortar **ketore** lhl 7/8
 mosquito **mbo** h 9/10
 mother (our) **mwawanyu** hll 1
 mother (somebody else's) **ko-**
 renyina lhl 1a
 mother (somebody else's) **u-**
 kwanyu hl
 mother **mawe** lh 1a **mawé**
 modídí maternal aunt, wife of
 paternal aunt
 mother **nina** ll 1a
 mould **-finyanga** hhl v
 mould **-tulatula** hhl v
 mould **-omba** hl v
 mountain **mwembe** lh 3/4 e
 mouth **nkasa** lh 9/10
 move **-sunsha** ll v
 mud, clay **tofi** ll 5/6
 mushroom **rino** ll 5/6
 name **riina** hl 5/
 narrow, thin **sesere** hhh aj
 navel **monyoku** hl 3/4
 near **faufe** lh 16
 neck **chingo** ll 9/10
 neck **nshingwe** hl 9
 necklace **mwaula** llh 3/4
 necklace of leather **visene** hl 8
 neighbour **pendo** hl
 nest (bird's) **churu** lh 9
 new **mpea** lh
 news, word **mpongo** lh 9/10
 night **nutiku** lhl 9/10 **na utiku**
 night **utiku** hl 14 also **itiku** 9
 nine **kenda** ll 9
 north **ru**
 nose **mpola** hl 9/10
 nostrils **masimbo á mpóla** 6 (lit.
 holes of nose)
 now **fafa** hl adv; also **fafafafa**
 hlhl
 now **sa'iji** hll adv
 oath (take) **-apa** h v
 ogre, ghost, avoidance **morimu**
 hl 1/2
 oil, ghee **makuta** ll 6
 OK **nekeja** lhl interj
 old (get) **-kolofala** ll 1/2 v
 old person **mokolo** hl 1/2
 one **-mo** l
 open **-tingola** hll v
 ostrich **nungu** hl 9/10
 other **yenge** lh
 ox **homba** ll 9
 pain (of body) **maumivu** ll 6

- palm (of hand) **keganja** hl 7/8
 partridge **mbowi** lh 9/10
 pass, go, go away **-feta** hl v
 pass, vomit **-loka** hl v
 past **kalei** lhl
 path, road **njera** ll 9/10
 patron **moreri** hl 1/2
 pauper **mokeva** hl 1
 pay **-refa** ll v
 peas **loriyo** ll 11
 peddle, spoon **motiko** ll 3
 peg **turi** hl 5/6
 period of time **mpende** ll 9
 person **monto** l 1/2
 pestle **monse** ll 3/4
 pick, harvest **-tya** h v ~
 matunda gather fruits
 pierce, spear **-tonja** hl v tr
 pig, wild hog **kamba** ~ **nkamba**
 ll 9/10
 pincers, tongs **mukufa** hl 3/4
 pity **huruma** lhl 9/10
 place **fantu** ll 16
 plait **-tina njere** ll hl v
 plait, sew **-tuma** hl v
 plant seeds **-ala mbeu** lhl ll v
 plaster a house **-tasa** hl 14
 plate for hyena's food, container
 (wooden) **tuvaya** hl 19
 platform **tala** ll 5
 play **-vija** ll v
 pleiades **keremera** llll
 point, tip **nsolo** hl 9/10
 pool **irambo** 5/6
 porcupine **nungu** lh 9/10
 porridge **ware** hl 14
 pot (k.o.) **bwao** lh 9
 pot (k.o.) **tisho** lh 9
 pot for urinating at night **sololo**
 llh
 pot, beer container **nyungu** lh
 9/10
 potatoe **kerasi** lhl 7/8 ~ **uláyá**,
 ~ **vyo mviríngo** Irish potatoes
 ~ **viómíríwe** dried sweet pota-
 toes ~ **viterékiwe** cooked
 sweet potatoes
 potter **mwombi** hl 1/2
 pound grain, thresh **-pya** lh v
 pound **-twa** h v
 pour **-ita maaje** hl lhl v
 praise for hero, ceremony of
 emergence of initiation **solo** lh
 pregnancy, abdomen, stomach
 nda l 9/10
 price **yorí** lh 9
 proud **-tete keburí** hl lhl v
 pull **-luta** ll v
 pull out **-sunjisha** lll v
 pumpkin plant **yorí** hl 9
 pumpkin, relish **lunyinyi** hl
 11/10 cf. **nyinyi**
 push **-sukuma** hhl v
 push, accompany guest when
 leaving **-sindikira** hhhl v
 put into, dress (tr) **-vekera** hhl v
 APPL
 put, lay down, bury **-veka** hl v
 pyhton **chatu** ll
 python **ng'aroroda** hlll 9/10
 quarrel **-eremera** hhhl v
 quarrel, war **lovi** l 11
 quiet **-kirenya** lll v
 quiver **murungu** lll 3/4
 rain **-tuva** ll v
 rain, rainy season **mbula** hl 9/10
 rains **mrila** hl 10 ~ **ja mbere** h
 hl early rains, ~ **ja mwisho** h
 hl late rains, **mrila mdidi** hl
 hh gentle rain, **mrila mnene**
 hl hl heavy rain
 rain maker **mwanga wa mbúla**
 ram **gondi** hl 9
 rash **fwere** hl 5/6

- rat **mbeva** hh 9/10
 rat sp. **kacheche** hl 13/19
 read **-soma** hl v
 rear **-fuga** hl v
 red beans **mbalasi** lhl 10
 red **-eregu** llh
 refuse **-sita** hl v
 relish **chiungo** hl 7
 relish **nyinyi** ll 9
 relish, pumpkin **lunyinyi** hl
 11/10 cf. **nyinyi**
 remain, sit, sit down, reside
-ikala hll v
 remember **-kumbuka** hhl v
 reside, sit down, sit, remain
-ikala hll v
 rest **-f(w)erera** hhl v
 return, leave **-taloka** lll v
 rhinoceros **pera** hl
 rib **lobalu** hl 11/10 PL: **mbalu**
 rice (cooked) **wali** hl 9
 rice (raw) **mchere** hl 3
 rice (seed) **mpunga** ll 10
 rice pudding (soft) **bwabwa** hl
 rich person **more** h 1
 riddle, opening/inviting formula
 for riddle, tale **mbuo** hl 9/10
 right-hand **kulome** hl 15
mukono wa kulome lhh h lhl
 ring (biceps) **lofere** hl 11/10
 ring (biceps) made of ivory
 (elephant, rhino) **lofoo** hl
 11/10
 ring (neck) **senko** lh 9/10
 ring just under the knee **nsuku**
 hl 9/10
 ripen (intr) **-verya** hl v
 river **mofulo** 3/4
 river, well **sola ~ nsola** hh 9
 road **chobu** lh 7/8?
 road, path **njera** ll 9/10
 roast **-nyenyushi** l v
 roof (flat) **mekeko** hl 4
 roof, sky **yolo** lh **yoloy** up
 room **chumba** ll 7/8
 root, rope **mori** h 3/4
 rope **lodi** h 11/10 PL: **ndi**
 rope, root **mori** h 3/4
 rotten, stink **-unda** hl v
 rumble **morome** lh 3/4 **moromé**
wá nková thunder (of light-
 ning)
 ruminant, belch **-velula** h v
 run away **-feng'a** hl v
 rupia (ten), money **mpia** ll 10
 rust **mikutu** hl 4
 s/he, him, her **wee** lh
 sad, angry **-vena** hl v
 saliva **mata** h 6
 salt **chumbi** hl 10
 salt **tonyo** hl 10
 sand **mosanga** ll 3/4
 Sandawe **vashoa** lh 2
 satisfied **-ikota** hhl v
 sauce **mosori** lh 3/4
 savanna **mbuga** ll 9
 say **-losa** hl v
 scar **kulu** hl 5/6
 search (for game) **-sakera** l v
 see **-ona** lhl v
 seed **mbeu** lh 9/10
 seize **-kwata** hl v
 self **nyeene** lhh
 sell **-ta** h v
 send **-tuma** hl v
 send **-twala** hl v
 separate **kolekole** llll
 seven **mufungate** lhl
 sew, plait **-tuma** hl v
 shade **mofefo** hl 3
 shadow **moririmu** hhl 3/4
 shake (tr) **-singisia** hhhh v
 shake milk **-kwatana** hhl v
 shame **soni** ll 9/10

- sharp **fombu** hh aj
sharpness, heat **mofombumo**
hhl 3
sheep **arise** llh 5/6
sheet (bed), cloth **mwenda** hl
3/4
shield **gamboda** lhl 5/6
shine **-ng'ara** hl v
shiver **-singisa** lll v
shoe **kiratu** hl 7/8
shoot **-resa** 15
short **kufe** hh aj
shoulder **ve** l? 5/6
show **-onesha** lhl v
shut **-funga** hl v
sibling **walwe** lh 1a
sickness **serera** lll 5/6
side-dish **kerero** hl 7
sieve **singisio** lhl 9
sift grain by shaking **-secha** lhl v
sing **-emba** lhl v; after COND:
neemba
sir!, elder brother **kaka** ll 1a
sister (older) **dada** ll 1a
sit, sit down, remain, reside
-ikala hll v
six **tantatu** lhl aj
six **sita**
skin **-sonja** h v
skin, skin as cloth **mberu** lh 9/4
skull **lowi** ll ?
sky, roof **yolo** lh
slap **-tula makofi** hl lhl v
slaughter, cut **-kera** ll, hl v
slave **mosombwa** ll 1
slave **motomwa** hl 1/2
sleep **-lala** hl v
sleep **tolo** lh 9/10
slope **lokoko** lll 11
small animal sp. **kalusuku** lll 13
small **-didi** hh aj
smash, beat, hit **-tula** hl v
smear, apply medicine **-fotola** v
smell **simpa** hh 5/6
smoke **mooki** hl 3/4
smoke **-fukera moshi** l v
snake **njoka** hl 9/10 Species: ~
kepíri, ~ **nsongó**, ~ **ere**
kwanyí, ~ **kobóko**, ~
ng'ároróda, ~ **songo**, ~
swíra, ~ **ya miégá**
sneeze **-muta miao** h lhl v (lit.
hit a sneeze)
snore **-koroma** hhl v
soil **saló** hl ~ **njiru** black soil ~
njómo red soil
song **weembo** lhl 14/4
sorcerer, witch **mosave** hh 1/2
sorghum, millet **viryo** lh 8
sorghum (red) **udu** lh 14
sorghum(white) **langalanga** 9
sorghum sp. **ofemba** hl
sorghum drink (unfermented)
sho h 10
sorrow **uzuni** hl 14
soul **nkolo** ll 9/10
sour **songo** hl
south **sukuma** lhl 9
speak, chat **-loseka** hhl v
spear **timu** ~ **itimu** hl 5/6
spinach **mochicha** ll 3
spirit (ancestral) **morimu** hl 1/2
spleen **bandama** lhl 9
split (firewood), incise **-sala** hl v
spoon (little) **kejiko** 7
spoon **riko** l 5
spoon, peddle **motiko** ll 3
spoor **waya** ll
sprout **-ria** ll v
spur of cock **kesongi** ll 7
squat **-chunchumala** hlll v
stalk (of grain), maize plant
bove ll 5
stalk, banana bunch **mokongo** 3

- stand **-ema** hl v
 star **njuta** hl 9/10
 start **-tongera** ll v
 steal **-iva** lhl v
 stem **tina ~ itina** hl 5
 stick for digging **moresa wa simbera** lhl h hll
 stick for walking **mokonkojo** ll 3
 stick **moresa** hl 3/4
 stick, club **tulo**
 sticks, bar (iron) **yolu** lh
 still **kwende** hh adv
 stink, rotten **-unda** hl v
 stomach, abdomen, pregnancy **nda** l 9/10 **nda osóngo** stomach illness
 stone **we** h 5/6
 stool **itumbi** ll 5
 story, tale **chano** hl 7/8; also **yano** hl 9
 strip of sugar cane **ntalangi** hhl 9/10
 subtract **-sunya** hl v
 sugar-cane **kejefa** hl 7/8
 sun, light **jova** hl 14
 surprise (interj of) **komba** hh
 surprise (interj of) **arome** llh
 swallow **-mera** ll v
 sweat **jasho** hl 5/6
 sweep cowshit **-kona** ll v
 sweep **-shara** hl v
 sweet, joy **morere** hl, hh, lh 3
 swell **-sufa** ll v
 swell **-vimba**
 swim **-samba** hl v
 syphilis **kesengo** hl 7/8
 taboo **mwiwo** ll 3
 tail **mokera** hl 3/4
 tailor, weaver **mutumi** hl 1/2
 take out **-sima** hl v
 take out **-someria** lhl v
 take **-ocha** hl v
 tale, riddle, opening/inviting formula for riddle **mbuo** hl 9/10
 tale, story **chano** hl 7/8; also **yano** hl 9
 tassel **vidye** h 8
 taste (food) **-sera** hl v
 tattoo (facial) **mataruma** lhl 6 In particular **mabolwe** hl 6 of diagonal line under the eyes with highest points near the nose **nsare** hl 9/10 of two small vertical lines under each eye
 teach **-fundisha** hhl v
 tear **-mwa** l v
 tears **maiori** hhl 6 (lit. in the eyes)
 tell **-wera** hl v
 tell, answer **-tenya** hl v
 ten **ikumi** hl 5/6
 tens **mirongo** ll 4
 termite **mosowa** ll 3/4
 then, well, thus **nong'o** adv
 they, them **vaa** lh
 thief **mwaivi** lhl 1/2
 thin, narrow **sesere** hhh aj
 thing **kemaka** ll 7/8
 think **-fikiria** hll v
 thirst **nyota** ll 9/10
 thorn **mwiwa** hl 3/
 three **tatu** hl aj
 thresh, pound grain **-pya** lh v
 throat **koromero** ll 5/6
 throw **-oma** hl v
 throw **-tayra** hl v
 thunder (of lightning) **moromé wá nková**
 thunder, voice **kerume** llh 7/8
 thus, well, then **nong'o** adv
 tip, point **nsolo** hl 9/10

- tired -**katala** hhl v
 tired, fatigue -**kata** ll v
 tobacco balls **kundo** ll 5
 tobacco **tubati** lll 9
 today **ensiku** hhl
 today **nejoore** lhll
 tomorrow **lovi** h 11
 tongue **loreme** hl 11/10 PL:
 ndeme
 tongues, tweezer **kekwaterio**
 hlll 7/8
 tooth **yao** hl 5/6 PL: **mao**
 tortoise **nkulu** hl 9/10
 touch -**singa** ll v
 town **iture** hl 5/6
 trade -**chorusha** lll v
 transport -**tambocha** hhl v
 trap **mofeta**, **mofeto** hl 3/4
 trap **moteo** hl 3/4
 trap -**tea** h 14
 trap (k.o.) **ndi** h 9
 trap (k.o.) **motewi simbo** hl ll
 tray (winnowing) **lungu** ll 11
 tree **mote** h 3/4
 tree sp.: (for firewood:) **meri-**
 wao llh 4, **mionga** lh 4, **mo-**
 gunga chuma ll hl 3, **mon-**
 gamele lll 3;) **mwinde** hh 3
 ebony, **mori wa o** ll l h, **mo-**
 tosino lhl 3, **munga** hl, **wiiwa**
 lhl, **mujohoro** lhl
 trough **kihori** hl 7
 trunk of tree **tindi** ll 9
 try -**esererya** lhhl v
 tuberculosis **kekuva** hl 7/8 chest
 kekúva osóngo
 tweezer, tongues **kekwaterio**
 hlll 7/8
 twins **mabasa** hl ~ ll 6
 twist (rope) -**f(w)ota** hl v
 two -**vere** ll aj
 udder **kewele** hl 7
 uncle (maternal), grandfather
 (and great-grandfather etc)
 mamay lh 1a
 uncle (paternal) **babá modídí**
 uncover -**kunola** hhl v
 undress -**wina** hl v
 unripe **mbese** hl
 until **mpaka** ll prep
 up **yoloy** < **yolo** lh sky, roof
 up-root tuber -**kula muri** lll ll v
 urinate -**sumaa** hhl v
 urine **masumaa** hhl 6
 us, we **siye** hl
 valley **ibonde** lhl 5
 valley **lukuku** hl 11/10
 vehicle **gari** ll 5
 voice, thunder **kerume** llh 7/8
 vomit, pass -**luka** hl v
 wait -**rendera** lll v **nendera**
 wait!
 walk -**tingoka** lll v
 wall **nkanda** ll 9/10
 want -**rara** hl v
 war, quarrel **lovi** l 11
 warn -**kanwa** h v
 warthog **ngiri** ll 9/10
 wash clothes -**ina ngo** hl l v
 wash hands -**wóya mikóno** v
 water **maaje** hl 6
 water **muburu** hh 3
 water-pot **siribi** lll 9
 we, us **siye** hl
 wear -**evekera** lhhl v
 weaver, tailor **mutumi** hl 1/2
 weed -**remera**
 well **nyenye** ll adv
 well **roro** lh adv
 well, goodness **ngare** lh adv
 well, river **sola** ~ **nsola** hh 9
 well, then, thus **nong'o** adv
 west, moon **mweeri** lhl 3/4
 what?, where, when **neeki** ques

what? **nejoro** lhl ques
 when **afo** hl 16.DEM.REF
 when? **kinto** ll ques
 when?, what, where **neeki** ques
 where **njowe** ll ques
 where? **mofi** lh ques
 where?, what, when **neeki** ques
 whetstone **norio** lll
 which one **kee** lh ques
 which? **-rore** hl
 white **-ero** hl
 who? **nanyu** hl ques
 who? **neena** lhl ques
 wide **njare** lh
 wife **moka** h 1/2
 wild dog **tukula** lll 9
 wildebeest **njeu** lh 9/10
 win **-shota** hl v
 wind **kongo** hh 9
 wind **nkungu** ll 9/10
 wing **bava** lh 5/6
 winnow **-fala** lhl

witch, sorcerer **mosave** hh 1/2
 without **fakapepe** lllh
 woman (young unmarried)
 mofea hl 1
 woman **montomokal** lh 1/2
 word, news **mpongo** lh 9/10
 work **moremo** ll 3/4
 work **-jisha moremo** ll lll v
 work **-tomama** lll v
 wound **kilwaye** hl 7/8
 write **-andika** hhl v
 year **mwaka** hl 3/4
 yesterday **na ijo** l lh
 you (plural) **nyee** lh
 you **wee** ll
 young girl **mwiretu** lhl 1/2 PL:
 vairétu
 young man, boy **motavano** lll
 1/2
 zebra **ndakó ya isaké** < **ndako**
 hl 9/10 donkey

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ISBN 3 - 89645 - 048 - 4